

Chimiini-English Dictionary and Chrestomathy

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Chimiini and Want^hu wa Miini.

Chimiini, a Bantu language closely related to the northern Kiswahili dialects (e.g. Kitikuu/Bajuni and Kiamu), has been spoken for centuries in the town of Brava (=Miini) in southern Somalia. Until recently, it was the primary language of the town. If Somalis came from the surrounding countryside to live in the town, they acquired Chimiini in addition to their native Tunni dialect of Somali. Even in the 1970's, when Said Barre ordered the resettlement of thousands of Somalis in Brava, this population too began to accommodate itself to the Chimiini linguistic hegemony (p.c. from GM). Not only was Chimiini the primary language of Brava, but the vast majority of its speakers lived in Brava. While some want^hu wa Miini ("people of Miini") could be found in Mogadishu or Mombasa, the history of the language is uniquely identified with Brava. This situation changed radically in the 1990's when in the course of the Somali civil war, successive waves of Somali factions pillaged the town, terrorizing the men and raping the women, driving a large portion of the population out of the country. In the end, the town became a center for the Al-Shabab fighters. It was only at the end of 2014 that the town was freed of Al-Shabab control. While the precise number of Chimiini speakers now living in Brava is unknown, it appears that they are outnumbered by ethnic Somalis who have moved into the town. The Chimiini linguistic domination is over.

At present, the Chimiini presence, outside Brava itself, is concentrated in Mombasa in Kenya, London and Manchester in the United Kingdom, and Atlanta and Columbus in the United States (although naturally speakers may be found elsewhere in the United States, e.g. St. Louis and Grand Rapids). Each of these environments has its own threats to the survival of the language (in Brava, the Somali majority that now makes up the town; in Mombasa, the dominance of Kiswahili; in the UK and the United States, the dominance of English, particularly among the young, and the growing likelihood of marriage outside the community. There is no question that Chimiini counts as an "endangered" language, and there is no doubt that its differences from Kiswahili are so profound as to render the loss of this language intellectually catastrophic.

The present book is an attempt to preserve as much information as possible about the linguistic features that render Chimiini so significant for linguistic theory (in our opinion): its prosody. But it also attempts to preserve much else: the lexicon, the idioms, the proverbial lore, the places and the personages that represent Brava as it was prior to the upheavals of the 1990's. This goal is obviously an impossible one, particularly for a single linguist, however blessed he has been with the assistance of intellectually gifted native speakers (particularly Mohammad Imam Abasheikh and Gelani Mohamed Diini) and fellow researchers (particularly Sandra Alessandro Abud and Prof. Brent Henderson). And its very scope renders it perhaps unfit for ordinary publication. But the internet is a storehouse that does not rely on economic profitability to make knowledge available. No doubt, in the marketplace of the internet, the dross threatens to obscure the valuable. But hopefully this effort will not only preserve much of the Chimiini linguistic heritage, but will also stimulate more intensive work while the language remains a vibrant instrument of communication among the **want^hu wa Miini**.

A review of the history of research on the Chimiini language.

In 1973, Mohammad Imam Abasheikh began his linguistic studies at the University of Illinois

We are unaware of any significant research on the Chimiini language prior to a short paper written by W.H. Whiteley in 1965, "Notes on the Ci-Miini dialect of Swahili".

Whiteley's paper was followed in 1967 by Morris Goodman's paper "Prosodic features of Bravanese, a Swahili dialect"; Goodman's discussion of the vowel length alternations in Chimiini was both insightful and also critical in stimulating our subsequent work.

Goodman, M. 1967. "Prosodic features of Bravanese, a Swahili dialect", *Journal of African Languages* 6:278-84.

Whiteley, W.H. 1965. "Notes on the Ci-Miini dialect of Swahili", *African Language Studies VI*, 67-72.

The goals of this dictionary.

This book is quite different in its intent from any other dictionary known to us, whether dealing with a language with a substantial written tradition or not. In one respect, of course, it is quite traditional: we attempt to provide as many Chimiini lexical items as we have been able to discover. The less conventional aspects of the book derive from two facts: (1) Chimiini is a largely undocumented language and it is also an endangered language. As such, it seems appropriate to provide as many examples of Chimiini sentences as possible, and to sometimes comment on structural aspects of these sentences. (2) Chimiini is a language where the way a sentence is "phrased" (i.e. the way that words are joined together or not into larger groups) has a remarkable impact of the distribution of vowel length and the presence and even location of accent (High tone). Given this fact, it seems appropriate to sometimes provide examples of the different ways in which a given sentence may be phrased.

It is not only the language that is endangered. At one time, the town Mwiini (Brava, Baarawe) and the language Chimwiini (Chimbalazi, Bravanese) were wedded to one another; every aspect of the town (its history, the culture of its people)

The orthographic representation of Chimiini words.

There are significant issues with respect to writing Chimiini sentences. Since this book is filled with a vast array of examples of Chimiini sentences, these issues will have to be examined in detail, and our orthographic practices explained. But before doing this, let us look at the representation of words.

We begin with consonants. The voiceless stops are ***p t ch k***.

(xxx) ***p***
t
t
k

The robustly attested voiced stops are: ***b d dh j g***. The symbol ***d*** stands for a dental voiced stop, whereas the symbol ***dh*** stands for a retroflexed post-alveolar stop that occurs in a number of Somali loanwords in Chimiini. There are an extremely small number of words with an alveolar voiced stop. These stops are transcribed with the symbol ***ḍ***. It should be noted that this discussion is with reference to the voiced stops found in initial or post-vocalic position. Stops that are part of so-called "prenasalized" structures are examined below.

(xxx) ***b*** ***ku-bóola*** 'to steal', ***chi-hába*** 'little', ***bikéeri*** 'drinking glass', ***ku-bíga*** 'to hit', ***báaba*** 'father'
d ***ku-dáara*** 'to touch', ***ku-dáakha*** 'to graze', ***ku-háda*** 'to say', ***hóodi*** 'permission to enter'
dh ***ku-dhóora*** 'to guard', ***i-dheréeri*** 'saliva', ***dhíbu*** 'difficulty', ***ku-gúḍha*** 'to dry up'
j ***ku-jáaja*** 'to itch', ***fjírí*** 'morning', ***ku-júba*** 'to answer', ***kh-tarája*** 'to hope'
g ***ku-gúura*** 'to move', ***márgi*** 'sinews, tendons', ***chi-góbe*** 'small', ***glaasi*** 'drinking glass'
exceptional alveolar voiced stop: ***chi-dúku*** 'navel', ***chi-dévu*** 'chin'

The voiceless fricatives in Chimiini are: ***f th s sh kh***. The interdental ***th*** is found in loanwords from Arabic. The voiceless velar fricative ***kh*** (which was written as ***x*** in CLE) requires special note. There are some lexical items that have this sound in their underlying structure and it is always pronounced as a fricative. It may also be the result of a morphophonemic process; specifically, it is the realization of the infinitive prefix ***ku*** in position before voiceless consonants. In this use, it is also always pronounced as a fricative. However, there also many words which have been borrowed from Arabic which have the sound ***q*** (a voiceless uvular stop). In Chimiini, such words may retain the uvular pronunciation, but more often are realized with a ***kh***.

(xxx) ***f*** ***kh-foofáta*** 'to go to graze', ***kh-furáha*** 'to be pleased', ***fíiti*** 'blossom', ***kh-túfa*** 'to spit',
th ***ku-warítha*** 'to inherit', ***thalaathíni*** 'thirty', ***thúumu*** 'garlic', ***thíqa*** 'trust', ***kh-kathúra***
'grow'
s ***kh-súka*** 'to weave', ***kh-sokóta*** 'to twist', ***Ø-pisile*** 'he passed', ***kh-síifa*** 'to praise'
sh ***kh-shúnda*** 'to defeat', ***k-óosha*** 'to wash', ***hásho*** 'pebbles', ***mársha*** 'gears', ***kéesho***
'tomorrow'

kh **ku-dhakháakha** ‘to move’, **khansíiri** ‘pig’, **khátí** ‘letter’, **khatári** ‘danger’, **khéema** ‘tent’

The well-established voiced fricatives in Chimiini are **v**, **ð**, **z**, **gh**. There is in addition a few examples of a voiced bilabial consonant we write as **b**.

(xxx) **v** **ku-vúuya** ‘to leak’, **í-vu** ‘ashes’, **ku-víila** ‘to call’, **i-vívu** ‘s.t. ripe’, **n-gúva** ‘dugong’
ð **féða** ‘silver’, **ðahabu** ‘gold’, **ku-ðaráawa** ‘to despise’, **ku-riðíka** ‘to be content’
z **n-gúzo** ‘pillar’, **zú-nt^hu** ‘things’, **máazi** ‘blood’, **ku-míza** ‘to swallow’, **ku-záama** ‘to sink’
gh **ku-ghaðábika** ‘to become angry’, **gháfla** ‘suddenly’, **lúgha** ‘language’, **gháli** ‘expensive’
 exceptional bilabial voiced continuant sound: **m-úbli** ‘man’, **habéesa** ‘wooden milking vessel’

There are two laryngeal consonants: **h** ‘ (the latter being a glottal stop, associated primarily with loanwords).

(xxx) **h** **ku-háda** ‘to say’, **rúuhu** ‘soul’, **saháli** ‘easy’, **hamásho** ‘backbiting’
 ‘ (intervocalic position)
kh-faza’áta ‘to be afraid’, **sá’a** ‘hour’, **ku-'ororáta** ‘to gather things in one place’, **ku-ruku’a** ‘to stoop in prayer with hands on knees’
 (post- or pre-consonantal)
qur’áani ‘the Quran’, **du’édá** ‘fox’, **náf’i** ‘usefulness’, **raf’áani** ‘court appeal’

The liquids in Chimiini are **l l r**.

(xxx) **l** **náli** ‘light (bulb)’, **lúzi** ‘thread’, **láano** ‘story’, **ku-liwaana** ‘to succeed’
l **ku-líma** ‘to hoe’, **léelo** ‘today’, **l-kaambála** ‘rope’, **ku-lúma** ‘to bite’, **ku-láala** ‘to sleep’
r **ku-ráasha** ‘to follow’, **réri** ‘family’, **ku-hergeláta** ‘to take a rest’, **kh-toróka** ‘to flee’

The well-established nasal consonants in Chimiini are **m n ny** (bilabial, alveolar, and alveo-palatal). In addition, there are a few instances of a dental nasal **n**. It should be emphasized that this discussion is restricted to pre-vocalic nasal consonants that are not part of a pre-nasalized consonant.

(xxx) **m** **múu-nt^hu** ‘person’, **máli** ‘money’, **ku-míza** ‘to swallow’, **ku-miimína** ‘to pour’
n **náma** ‘meat’, **nóka** ‘snake’, **m-p^hána** ‘rat’, **múnu** ‘salt’
n **m(w)-ána** ‘child, son’, **naank^hó** ‘again’, **ku-nooláta** ‘to recover, survive’, **níya** ‘intention’
ny **kh-fáanya** ‘to do’, **nyúnyi** ‘bird’, **kú-nya** ‘to defecate’, **nyóki** ‘bee’, **nyáanya** ‘tomato’

There are two “glides”, which we write as **w** and **y**, though the former has two allophonic variants.

(xxx) **w** as in English (in the environment before round vowels):
síwo ‘is not’, **chi-wóvu** ‘pocket’, **wuyaawúya** ‘sp. fish’, **ku-wóna** ‘to see’
 unrounded bilabial approximant
k-íiwa ‘to know’, **waawá=y-e** ‘his father’, **ku-wáandra** ‘to get fat’, **kh-túwa** ‘to rub’,
ku-wíika ‘to crow’, **w-íizi** ‘thieves’, **ku-letóowa** ‘to be brought’
y **yána** ‘yesterday’, **múu-yi** ‘town’, **yóoyo** ‘that one [cl.1,3] near you’, **ku-yéla** ‘to be full’

Many Bantu languages lack consonant “clusters” (except for **Cw** and **Cy**), but do have a class of complex segments known as “prenasalized” consonants. These consonants consist of a nasal onset followed by a consonant at the same point of articulation. These sounds are usually written as a sequence (**mp**, **mb**, **nt**, **nd**, **nk**, **ng**), but function as a single consonant. Chimiini is not different from these other Bantu languages, except – as we will see below – it does allow consonant sequences that consist of a nasal consonant followed by another consonant.

Chimiini has the following prenasalized voiceless consonants (if the consonant is a voiceless stop or affricate, then it is aspirated):

(xxx) **mp^h** **m-p^húundra** ‘donkey’, **m-p^hépo** ‘spirit’, **m-p^háamp^ha** ‘shark’, **m-p^háka** ‘cat’
nf **k-ínfa** ‘to be of use’

nth	n-t^há ‘end, point’, kh-pepéent^ha ‘to separate out husks’, kh-toont^héla ‘to poke to revive fire’,
n-t^héte ‘spark’	
nth	wáa-nthu ‘people’, n-t^há ‘candle’, kh-papáant^ha ‘to shape dough’, n-t^háka ‘garbage’
nth	úuntha ‘a female’
ns	k-uunsáta ‘to cover oneself to inhale vapors’, khiyaansáta ‘to cheat’, kh-tóonsa ‘to be capable of defending oneself in a fight’
nch^h	
nk^h	n-k^húku ‘chicken’, n-k^háanga ‘guinea fowl’, n-k^hóonk^ho ‘a kind of game’, ku-núunk^ha ‘to smell’

The following voiced prenasalized consonants occur.

(xxx)	mb	ku-yáamba ‘to fart’, furúumbu ‘sp. fish’, mbáli ‘different’, mbíli ‘two’, k-aambáta ‘to stick to’
	nd	kh-túinda ‘to cut’, kh-péenda ‘to love’, hóonde ‘seed, stone of fruit’
	ndr	kh-téendra ‘to do, make’, i-fúundo ‘knot’, k-éendra ‘to go’, sh-tandrawíli ‘riddle’, l-vúundo ‘a bad smell’
	nz	kh-túunza ‘to look stealthily’, Ø-yaanzíle ‘he farted’, Ø-túinzíle ‘he cut’, Ø-peenzéle ‘he loved’
	nj	ku-jenjéena ‘to groan’,
	ng	n-góombe ‘cow’, m-júinga ‘s.o. foolish’, náanga ‘anchor’, u-lóongo ‘mud’

In stem-initial position, it is evident that these pre-nasalized consonants are formed by morphophonemic rule (e.g. **m-p^háka** ‘cat’ but **sh-páka** ‘dim. cat’; **n-t^héte** ‘spark’ but **sh-téte** ‘dim. spark’; **n-t^háka** ‘garbage’ but **sh-táka** ‘dim. garbage’; **n-k^haambála** ‘ropes’ but **l-kaambála** ‘rope’; **n-k^húku** ‘chicken’ but **sh-kúku** ‘dim. chicken’). But they are also very common in stem-medial position, as the examples above illustrate. It is also worth noting that in words of Bantu origin, a pre-nasalized consonant is regularly preceded by a long vowel (if the vowel is in a position that allows vowel length – see below for detailed discussion).

While aspiration of the voiceless stops is a clear indication of the status of **mp^h**, **nth**, **nth**, **nch^h** and **nk^h** as pre-nasalized consonants, in the case of **mb**, **nd**, **ndr**, **nj**, and **ng** there is no immediately obvious phonetic trait that would tell us that these are in fact prenasalized consonants and not consonant sequences. In fact, there are instances where there is some unclarity on the matter.

(xxx) **bundúkhu** ‘gun’

There are words which have consonants that are quite often pronounced with gemination, though we have also observed them pronounced without gemination.

(xxx) **-ótte** ‘all’, **ládda** ‘sweet’, **hábba** ‘a little’,

Syllable structure.

In most Bantu languages, syllables are open, i.e. syllables do not have coda consonants. Chimiini is replete, however, with consonant sequences which can be argued to consist of a coda consonant followed by an onset. The examples in (xxx) are representative, but we have not attempted an exhaustive listing of possibilities.

(xxx)	rC	jársi ‘bell’, shárti ‘condition’, mu-rzámu ‘drainpipe’, hárbi ‘war’, ku-harfísha ‘to smell s.t.’, kh-parpáta ‘to rummage through s.t.’, konchéerto ‘a theatrical performance’
		hargábu ‘head cold’, fórða ‘custom-house’, fúrsa ‘opportunity’, mársha ‘gears’
	lC	vaalyóla ‘valve’, ki-l-léeta ‘to bring it’, l-páanga ‘a sword’, fulkhéeri ‘blessing’, kalfaa^ti ‘caulking cotton’, sh-kalkala ‘palate, velum’, ku-galmáta ‘to have sex’, khálbi ‘heart’
	fð	láfði ‘pronunciation, elocution’, máfta ‘oil’, háfla ‘celebration, ceremony,
	sC	jísmu ‘corpse’, fús.ha ‘break, vacation’, fúusto ‘large barrel’, uslúubu ‘method of doing’
	shC	mashghúuli ‘busy’
	kh/qC	bákh^ti ‘carcass’ bákhsha ‘envelope’, múkh^ta ‘when’, maqsádi ‘aspiration’, muqtáfa ‘the

chosen one (of the Prophet)', **kh-kása** 'to listen', **kh-píka** 'to cook', **taqdúmu** 'something given in advance'

ðC	iðráabu 'work strike'
ghC	búghði 'hatred'
bC	k-úbla 'to kill', dóbla 'government'
kC	bíkra 'virgin', rúkni 'customer, client'
dC	fídyá 'ransom', tadríbu 'training', ádlí 'justice'
hC	shúhra 'fame', mahzúuni 'sad'
'C	
mC	mamláka 'kingdom', mwanáamke 'girl', kumráaði 'forgive me!', m-kóno 'hand', m-táana 'room', Ø-chi-m-dírka 'he reached', m-gárwa 'fisherman'
yC	karaayle 'crow', sáydi 'master, owner', éyni 'kind, sort', ha-y-faanyíki 'it cannot be done', máyti 'corpse'

In the case of **'C** and **hC**, we have sometimes encountered alternative pronunciations where a vowel separates the laryngeal from the following consonant: **mahazúuni** 'sad',

We will see later that there is some evidence that long vowels may be disallowed in front of a coda consonant, but there are certainly borrowed lexical items with long vowels do occur in this position.

(xxx) **kopéerto** 'blanket', **vaalvóla** 'valve', **fúusto** 'large barrel', **féesta** 'party', **rimóorkyo** 'a truck with trailer'

In addition to being open, syllables in Bantu typically have a simple onset, consisting of a single consonant which may be followed by a glide (**w**, **y**). The **CG** onsets generally have their origins in glide formation processes where a non-low vowel at the end of a morpheme develops into a glide in pre-vocalic position. Chimiini does have **CG** onsets.

(xxx) **Cy**
my-úundra 'farms', **rimóorkyo** 'a truck with trailer'

Cw
m-gárwa 'fisherman'

Chimiini is unusual in having an extensive range of consonant sequences at the beginning of words that are unusual for a Bantu language. Some of these are found primarily in loanwords and do not reflect active morphophonemic processes in the language.

(xxx) **kláasi** 'class', **skú** 'day'

But in other cases, the initial consonant sequences are due to rules eliding prefix vowels in a pre-consonantal environment (see discussion in the section on prefix morphophonemics).

(xxx) **sC** **s-péte** 'rings',
shC **sh-kála** 'was residing', **sh-péte** 'ring'
khC **kh-píka** 'cook',

In order to address issues connected to syllable structure in Chimiini, we shall resort to evidence provided by the "secret language" (the phenomenon also referred to as "talking backwards", "speech disguise", etc.) known as Chijini.

Segmental morphophonemics.

There are numerous cases of segmental morphophonemic alternation in Chimiini, but in all cases these alternations are tied directly to specific morphemes and must be mentioned in the discussion of the morphemes in question. However, to the extent that there is some generality involved, we will make note of many of these

alternations in this section.

Vowel deletion in prefixes.

One pervasive morphophonemic alternation in Chimiini involves the possible elision of the vowel in prefixes of the shape *CV* when a consonant-initial element follows. There are two cross-cutting factors that need to be taken into account. Does the *CV* prefix have a high vowel or not? Is the consonant in *CV* an obstruent or a sonorant?

The prefixes that have an initial obstruent are particularly complex. In (xxx), we illustrate the infinitive prefix *ku* when it stands in front of a consonantal stem.

(xxx) no elision of the vowel before voiced consonants or before laryngeals:

ku-bíga ‘to hit’, **ku-wóna** ‘to see’, **ku-víva** ‘to be ripe’, **ku-dáara** ‘to touch’, **ku-zíika** ‘to bury’, **ku-jéera** ‘to be ashamed’, **ku-yéla** ‘to be full’, **ku-gúta** ‘to pull’, **ku-mála** ‘to finish’, **ku-nyakúla** ‘to claw’, **kú-láta** ‘to leave’, **ku-lípa** ‘to pay’, **ku-réba** ‘to stop’, **ku-hísa** ‘to feel’, **ku-éeta** ‘to blame’

elision of vowel before voiceless consonants, with shift of {k} to {kh}

kh-píka ‘to cook’, **kh-fúla** ‘to wash’, **kh-téka** ‘to laugh’, **kh-tafúna** ‘to chew’, **kh-shúika** ‘to hold’, **kh-kósa** ‘to make a mistake’

but complete absence of the prefix if the stem has an initial {kh} or {q, which freely may also be kh}

khadá’a ‘to cheat’, **khóofa** ‘to fear’, **khóokha** ‘to become arrogant’, **qahíra** or **khahíra** ‘to force’, **qusudíla** or **khusudíla** ‘to intend’, **qaribíla** or **kharibíla** ‘to go close to’

Among present-day speakers, one finds the possibility of the full prefix *ku* being used in front of stems beginning in {kh} or {q}, but we never observed such a form in MI’s speech.

It should be noted that the vowel of *ku* does not in general elide if the following stem is *-CV*: **kú-fa** ‘to die’, **kú-ta** ‘to pound’, **kú-cha** ‘to dawn’. There is one exception to this: **kh-pá** ‘to give’.

There are a number of prefixes of the shape *chi* and they exhibit a pattern of morphophonemic alternation largely parallel to the infinitive *ku*.

(xxx) noun class prefix {chi}

no elision of vowel before voiced consonants and laryngeals

chi-lóho ‘fishing hook’, **chi-réeza** ‘razor’, **chi-jámu** ‘plate’

elision of vowel before voiceless obstruents with shift of {ch} to {sh}

sh-péte ‘ring’, **sh-finíko** ‘lid’, **sh-tána** ‘comb’, **sh-tóka** ‘axe’, **sh-kóombe** ‘cup’, **sh-qálbi** ‘little heart’, **sh-kóombe** ‘cup’, **sh-kápu** ‘basket’

lack of elision before {CV} roots

chí-to ‘gem’, **chí-ti** ‘chair’, **chí-fo** ‘mortality’, **chí-fu** ‘gizzard’, **chí-ke** ‘in a feminine manner’, **chí-su** ‘knife’

chi subject marker

chi-rebeelé ‘we stopped’

sh-pishilé ‘we cooked’

chi object marker

wa-chi-rebeeléle

wa-sh-pikilíle ‘they cooked for us’

chi agreement marker on adjectives etc.

no elision of vowel before voiced consonants and laryngeals

chi-jamu chí-móoyi ‘one plate’

elision of vowel before voiceless consonants with shift of {ch} to {sh}

sh-kapu sh-kúlu ‘a large basket’, **chi-jamu sh-píya** ‘a new plate’, **chi-reza sh-káli** ‘sharp razor’
chí-su íchi/ ní sh-káli ‘this knife is sharp’

lack of elision before {CV} roots

chi Tense-Aspect-Mood (=TAM) marker

no elision of vowel before voiced consonants and laryngeals

wa-chi-vúula ‘if they fish, they were fishing, they fished’, **wa-chi-darbáta** ‘they were getting ready’

elision of vowel before voiceless consonants with shift of {ch} to {sh}

wa-sh-píka ‘they were cooking; if they cook; they cooked’

wa-sh-téza ‘they were playing’ if they play; they played’

There are also various prefixes of the shape *zi-* which also show a parallel pattern of alternation before consonant-initial stems.

(xxx) *zi-* noun class prefix

no elision of vowel before voiced consonants and laryngeals:

zi-lóho ‘fishing hooks’,

elision of vowel before voiceless obstruents with shift of {z} to {s}

s-péte ‘rings’, **s-finíko** ‘lids’, **s-tána** ‘combs’, **s-tóka** ‘axes’, **s-kóombe** ‘cups’, **s-qálbi** ‘little hearts’

lack of elision before {CV} roots

zí-to ‘gems’, **zí-ti** ‘chairs’, **zí-fu** ‘gizzards’

zi- subject marker

zi- object marker

zi- agreement marker on adjectives, etc.

There is also a negative element *si-*.

It is necessary to make note of another factor that constrains the deletion of a high vowel from a prefix. Specifically, a high vowel may not be elided if to do so would create a triconsonantal sequence. When confronted with a sequence of prefixes with a high vowel, the speaker must determine whether a vowel may be elided by working in a left-to-right fashion.

Consider, for example, an input like /chi-chi-vuula/ ‘we were fishing’. The subject prefix {chi} elides its vowel in front of the TAM prefix {chi}, but the latter cannot in any case elide its vowel because the stem has an initial voiced consonant. The result is **sh-chi-vúula** ‘they were fishing’. A similar example is **sh-chi-líma** ‘they were cultivating’. But then consider an example like /chi-chi-píka/ ‘we were cooking’. The leftmost prefix will elide its vowel because it is followed by a voiceless consonant. However, the TAM prefix also stands in front of a voiceless consonant and might be expected to elide its vowel. But this does not happen, since elision of its vowel would result in a three-consonant sequence. The actual pronunciation is **sh-chi-píka** ‘we were cooking’ and not ***sh-sh-píka**. Also, it is not possible to elide the TAM prefix’s vowel while retaining the subject prefix vowel: ***chi-sh-píka**.

There is one prefix of the shape obstruent+high vowel which does not ever undergo deletion in front of a consonant-initial stem: the second person object marker *khu*.

(xxx)

Let us now consider prefixes that have a high vowel, but whose initial consonant is a sonorant. We begin with a number of morphemes which have the underlying structure *mu*. When these prefixes stand before a consonant, the vowel of *mu* elides in most cases (the exception: the following root is *CV*. When the vowel of *mu* elides, the nasal *m* does not assimilate the point of articulation of the following consonant, indicating that it does not form a prenasalized consonant, but rather is the first element in a sequence of two consonants.

(xxx) *mu* (noun class prefix)

mú-ti ‘tree

m-káte ‘bread’, **m-kóno** ‘arm’

For the most part, the difference between a sequence *Nasal-Consonant* and a pre-nasalized consonant can be predicted on the basis of the morphology. Thus we write **m-páka** ‘boundary’ and **m-p^háka** ‘cat’ with no overt indication that *mp* in the former case is a consonant sequence and in the latter case a prenasalized stop.

There is one prefix of the shape sonorant+high vowel which does not ever undergo deletion in front of a consonant-initial stem: the noun class prefix *mi*.

(xxx) **mí-ti** ‘trees’, **mi-páka** ‘boundaries’, **mi-káte** ‘cakes’, **mi-kóno** ‘arms’

The first person singular subject and object prefix appear to be underlyingly *ni*; the second personal plural subject and object prefix also appear to be underlying *ni*. This identity can be seen when these morphemes appear in an environment where the vowel of *ni* is retained.

When the first person prefixes elide their vowel and stand in front of a voiceless stop, the nasal assimilates the point of articulation of the stop and the stop becomes aspirated, i.e. a prenasalized consonant is formed.

(xxx) **m-p^híke** ‘that I cook’, **n-t^héke** ‘that I laugh’, **n-t^hafúne** ‘that I chew’, **n-ch^hiimbíle** ‘that I flee’, **n-k^haláant^he** ‘that I sit’

(xxx) **Ø-n-k^hamulílee n-gúwo** ‘he dried the clothes for me’

Ø-n-t^homeze péesa ‘he made me pay the money’

Ø-na-ku-n-t^hoshaa mí/ ní m-p^hundra w-a dóobi/ só. ‘Do you think that I am a washerman’s donkey?’

When a second person plural subject or object prefix elides its vowel and stands in front of a consonant, the interaction of the nasal *n* and the following consonant is quite different from the case of the first person singular prefixes.

(xxx)

There is one important limitation on the deletion of a high from a prefix that holds true regardless of whether the prefix has an obstruent or a sonorant in its onset: the high vowel does not elide if the following consonant is part of an Object Marker.

(xxx) **ni-ch-uuzíle** ‘I bought it ([cl.7]).’

Hiatus resolution.

As we have noted earlier, Chimiini has *long* vowels. We write these long vowels with the symbols **aa ee ii oo uu**, but do not consider them to be examples of “successive” vowels. With that clarification, we can move to the subject of this section. Chimiini does not allow successive vowels in a word. Morphology often creates the potentiality for successive vowels in a word, but they are avoided by the following repairs: Vowel Assimilation (i.e. the first vowel assimilates the quality of the second), Glide Formation (i.e. the first vowel develops into a glide *w* or *y* accompanied by the compensatory lengthening of the following vowel), and Glottal Stop Insertion (a glottal stop is introduced between the two vowels). In some cases, there is evidence that what might originally have been an instance of Glide Formation has been merged with Vowel Assimilation due to the deletion of the glide.

The habitual prefix *hu* is a case where the vowel of the prefix assimilates the quality of the following vowel, resulting in a long vowel (although this vowel may shorten due to factors discussed later in great detail):

(xxx) **hu-píka** ‘x cooks’, but **h-aatúka** ‘x bursts, splits’

The negative imperative morpheme *si* assimilates to the following vowel:

(xxx) **s-eendré** ‘(you) don’t go!’ (**s-endree=ní** ‘(pl.) don’t go!’)

The object prefixes assimilate to a vowel-initial verb stem:

(xxx) **ni** (first person singular)
n-iinfa ‘be of use to me!’

khu (second person singular)

kh-iinfe ‘that I might be of use to you’ **is the first person SP omitted here?**

The infinitive provides an important example where it looks like Vowel Assimilation is involved, but from an historical point of view it is probably a case of Glide Formation, with compensatory lengthening, followed subsequently by the loss of the glide element. The data in (xxx) illustrate cases where the infinitive prefix *ku* is followed by a vowel-initial verb stem.

- (xxx) **k-áala** ‘to plant’, **k-aatúla** ‘to tear s.t.’
nt^h-a-na-k-oolóka ‘he is not going’

when a vowel-initial stem follows, the vowel of the prefix {ku} contracts with the following vowel to form a bimoraic vowel of the same quality as the second vowel

alá ‘sow!’, but k-áala ‘to sow’	eléza ‘explain!’, but k-eeléza ‘to explain’
olóka ‘go!’, but k-oolóka ‘to go’	izá ‘refuse!’, but k-íiza ‘to refuse’
uzá ‘sell!’, but k-úuza ‘to sell’	ulúka ‘jump’, but k-uulúka ‘to jump’
ináma ‘bend over’, but k-iináma ‘to bend over!’	owá ‘bathe!’ but k-óowa ‘to bathe’

Prefixes of the shape *mu*, in the speech of our consultant MI, constitute cases where the high vowel *u* glides to *w* and compensatorily lengthens the following vowel. In the speech of our present-day consultants, the glide *w* has been elided, though the compensatory lengthening remains.

- (xxx) **mu** (noun class prefix)
mw-áana or **m-áana** ‘child, boy’; **mw-aalímu** or **m-aalímu** ‘teacher’

Glottal Stop Insertion is triggered by the presence of the low vowel at the end of a morpheme and a following vowel-initial stem. Examples:

- (xxx) prefix **wa** followed by a vowel
e.g. subject prefix **wa-**
w-áana/ wa-’ikusíle ‘the children are full, satisfied’
wa-wíli/ ha-wa-’ínfi ‘two are not of use’
e.g. object prefix **-wa-**
Ø-chi-wa-’ambila w-eenzáwe ‘he told his friends’

prefix **ya** before a vowel
e.g. subject prefix **ya-**
ma-’ishá=ye/ ha-ya-’onyéshi ‘his way of living does not show’

counterfactual conditional prefix **ka**
Ø-ka-’íwá ‘if you knew’

ma- noun class prefix before a vowel
ma-’ísha ‘way of living’

na (a formative used in third person affirmative subjunctive forms)
Ø-na-’éndre ‘that [cl.1] should go’

Chijini provides some evidence that the default repair strategy may be Glottal Stop Insertion. Since all words in Chimiini end in a vowel, preposing a final syllable to a vowel-initial word necessarily puts the No Hiatus constraint at work. Chijini avoids hiatus by inserting a glottal stop between the preposed syllable and the word-initial vowel.

- (xxx) **i-kúmi** ‘ten’ > **mi’ík^u**, **i-shiríini** ‘twenty’ > **ni’ishírⁱ**

It is important to stress that unlike many other Bantu languages, the juxtaposition of vowels across words does not trigger hiatus resolution. A word-final vowel (both in content words and particles/prepositions) neither assimilates to the initial vowel of a following word nor is a glottal stop inserted.

- (xxx) **khima y-a éelo** ‘the price of a gazelle’ (in contrast to **chi-’éelo** ‘dim. gazelle’)

Vowel quality alternations.

There is some morphophonemic alternation in vowel quality, but it is restricted to particular morphological elements.

Two prefixes, the infinitive prefix *ku* and the habitual prefix *hu*, alternate with *ki* and *hi* when located in front of certain object markers. The object markers that trigger this change either contain the vowel *i* or have a alveopalatal consonant in their onset...

(xxx)

ku-zi-rúuda ‘to return [cl.10], e.g. **péesa** ‘money’

The orthographic representation of Chimiini.

In this book, we utilize three systems of transcription. One system is restricted to the **headwords** (and **subhead** words) in a lexical entry. We refer to this system as the **simplified orthography**. The second system is that employed for the examples of spoken Chimiini that occur in exemplification of the headwords. We refer to this as the **spoken language orthography**. The third system is used in transcribing Chimiini **steenzi**, poems, and songs. These language forms are sung and do not exhibit the prosodic patterns found in the spoken language. We refer to this as the **sung language orthography**, although it would be entirely possible to utilize a simplified version of this orthography rather than the richer one that we in fact utilize here. We will explain these different orthographies now.

Aspirated voiceless stops.

In Chimiini, the only sounds that can occur with aspiration are **p t̥ t̥ ch k** and then only when they form a so-called prenasalized consonant with a homorganic nasal. The [cl.9/10] nasal prefix forms a prenasalized aspirated voiceless stop with a stem that begins with any of the above-mentioned sounds. A voiceless aspirated prenasalized consonant is also formed when a stem beginning with any of these consonants is preceded by the first person singular subject prefix or object prefix. Aspiration here is completely predictable. Inside a stem, we can find aspirated prenasalized voiceless stops, but there are a few examples where a nasal followed by a voiceless stop does not form a prenasalized consonant. The data in (xxx) illustrate these points.

first person singular object prefix

wa-n-p^hisile ‘they passed me’ **wa-n-t̥^hekelelele** ‘they laughed at me’

stems:

muu-nt̥^hu ‘person’

kh-kuunt̥^ha ‘to be in difficulty’ **kh-pepeent̥^ha** ‘to separate husks from grain’

ku-nuunk̥^ha ‘to smell’ **buku zii-mp̥^hi** ‘which books?’

unaspirated N-C clusters:

[cl.1] noun class prefix

m-pata ‘one who gets’ **m-peenzi** ‘lover’

m-t̥ooro ‘thief’

[cl.3] noun class prefix

m-paka ‘boundary’ **m-pinyi** ‘handle’

m-kono ‘hand, arm’

second person plural subject prefix

n-pike ‘that you (pl.) cook’ **n-teke** ‘that you (pl.) laugh’

n-tafune ‘that you (pl.) chew’ **n-ch^hiimbile** ‘that you (pl.) flee’

n-kalaant^he ‘that you (pl.) sit’

[cl.1] object prefix

wa-m-pisile ‘they passed him/her’ **wa-m-tekeleele** ‘they laughed at him/her’

second person plural object prefix

wa-n-pisile ‘they passed you (pl.)’ **wa-n-tekeleele** ‘they laughed at you (pl.)’

stems:

santuuri ‘gramophone’ **stantiivo** ‘badge’

bonta ‘bridge’

In the case of voiceless stops, this contrast between a prenasalized consonant and a consonant cluster is obvious from our ‘scientific’ orthography since the prenasalized consonant has aspiration and the consonant cluster does not. However, in the case of voiced stops the difference between a prenasalized (single) consonant and a consonant cluster is not shown explicitly.

The same morphemes discussed above trigger prenasalization in the case of stems beginning with a voiced stop: ***b d j g***.

When a sonorant consonant follows one of the prefixes that induces prenasalization, one often finds the sonorant being converted to a stop so that a prenasalized consonant can be formed.

(xxx)

That there is a difference between a prenasalized voiced stop and a consonant cluster of nasal followed by a voiced stop is revealed by phrasal phonology.

(xxx) **kh-shikaa luti** ‘to hold a stick’ **ku-biga l-kuta** ‘to hit a wall’

ku-wonaa m-p^haka ‘to see cat’ **ku-wona m-paka** ‘to see a boundary’

ku-bigaa n-k^huta ‘to hit walls’

Chimiini prosody.

There are two distinct facets of Chimiini prosody that will be reviewed here, both massively attested in the body of this work. The first is the matter of vowel length; the second is the matter of accent (or high pitch).

Vowel length at the word level.

Vowel length in Chimiini is contrastive: i.e., there are environments in which a given vowel may be either short or long, with no possibility of predicting whether it will be one or the other. The language learner must simply learn, for any given word, which it is. The data in (xxx) illustrate the two environments where vowel length is contrastive in Chimiini: penult (second syllable from the end of a word) and antepenult (third syllable from the end of the word).

(xxx) *penult syllable*

khteka ‘to fetch’

khtufa ‘to spit’

sh_htana ‘anger’

khteeka ‘to load an animal’

khtuufa ‘to go around the **ka’aba** in Mecca’

m_htaana ‘room’

kubaligha ‘to report’

kubalama ‘to promise’

kubaaligha ‘to reach the age of puberty’

kubaarama ‘to talk’

Accent at the word-level.

We use the term “accent” here to refer to the raised pitch that can be observed on Chimiini words when they are pronounced in isolation. This accent may either be on the penultimate syllable or the ultimate syllable of the word. If, however, the word consists of a single syllable, then accent is necessarily on this syllable. There is ample indication that in the default case accent is on the penult syllable. Because penult accent is the default

pattern, we do not indicate it. We also do not indicate the accent on a monosyllabic word, since there is no contrast to be made in that environment. However, one can find words where there is accent on the last syllable and not on the penult. We indicate this final accent with an acute mark over the final vowel.

Final accent is triggered by a variety of structures.

First and second person verbs in the present and past tenses require final accent.

(xxx)

Relative clauses are marked by final accent.

- (xxx) **hiinfó** ‘who is of use’
zimrudiiopó ‘when [cl.10] returned to him’
shṭakumalizó ‘(when) [cl.7] will have finished’
wanakhtamanó ‘(that which) they want done’
watukiiló ‘which they had carried’

The conjunction **na** requires a final accent to fall on the final syllable of a (non-verbal) complement.

- (xxx) **na khpumulá** ‘and to rest’

Prosody and the phonological phrase.

In the preceding section, we saw that it is possible to provide a basic description of vowel length and accent by looking at words in isolation. However, the isolation pronunciation of a word does not actually reveal the prosody that a word in a sentence displays.

Accent.

In the example phrases and sentences, we show the end of each Phonological Phrase (PP) with a slash mark (though the slash mark is omitted at the end of the last phrase in the example). As discussed above, accent always falls on the last word of a phrase. In principle, the last word may have either penult accent (the default case) or ultimate accent. However, if the last word in the phrase is monosyllabic, then it must have the accent, regardless of whether the phrase is exhibiting the default accent or the final accent pattern. Because a final monosyllable word is always accented, there is no need to actually write an accent over its vowel. The accent here is entirely predictable. If the final word is bisyllabic or longer, then its accent is penult in the default case and final in the marked case. We write the accent in the marked case only. If accent is on the penult syllable, then we do not write the accent.

Let us illustrate this extremely simple transcription method.

In certain cases, a monosyllabic PP may lack accent. If this happens in any of our example sentences, we indicate this by writing a co-called ‘grave’ accent over the vowel.

The phonological phrasing of sentences in Chimwiini determines whether a word will have an accent or not, and it will also determine whether a word’s long vowel will be realized or not. In addition, the phrasing will play a critical role in whether a word-final vowel is lengthened or not.

Phrasing principles.

In Chimwiini, a sentence is exhaustively segmented into a sequence of phrases (we set aside for the time being whether it is ever the case that one wish to view phrases as sometimes being inside larger phrases). As a consequence, the beginning of a sentence is always the beginning of a phrase and the end of the sentence is always the end of a phrase. In our transcription of phrases, we only show – by means of the slash symbol “/” -- where phrase separation occurs and thus do not place a slash at the beginning or the end of a sentence. For example: **Mwaana/ chamura wataana/ na ma’askari/ kumraasha.** ‘The boy ordered the servants and the soldiers to follow him.’ However, in connected speech, it is not always clear whether a sequence of clauses should be regarded as separate sentences or not; consequently, in our examples we do use the slash mark between clauses which in fact be considered to be independent sentences.

A sequence of two clauses, where one is *not* subordinated to the other, requires phrasal separation.

(xxx) **Wachiya/ wachilaala.** ‘They ate [and then] they slept.’

The most fundamental phrasing principle requires that the right edge of a Noun Phrase stand at the right edge of a Phonological Phrase. This principle explains why a subject NP is always in a different phrase from its verb.

(xxx)

There is some ambiguity with respect to whether some elements should be regarded as being Noun Phrases or not. One example is the head of the associative phrase.

In the following examples the head of the associative phrase is in the same Phonological Phrase as the complement.

1

(xxx) **Mwana wa sultaani/ naayé/ chishkila/ ka mutiini.** ‘The son of the sultan also descended from the tree.’

Lexical aspects of phrasing.

Although phrasing is, by and large, determined by general principles, there are nevertheless some lexeme-specific aspects to phrasing.

The prepositional use of **hattá** ‘until’ is one where the preposition is generally a phrase on its own and has final accent.

(xxx) **Wataana/ wachimkookota/ hattá/ muyiini.** ‘The servants dragged it [the giraffe] as far as/ up to the town.’

The quantifier **-otte/ -ont^he** is, most of the time, a phrasal isolate.

(xxx) Askari/ **wotte/** wa’ingile maduriini. ‘All the soldiers entered the bush country.’

The conjunction **laakini** has the default penult accent and in the data we have seen is always pronounced as a phrasal isolate, never being joined with anything that precedes it nor with anything that follows it.

(xxx) **Maama/ mrebee/ lakiini/ mwaana/ iize/ khkasa.** ‘Mother [tried] to stop him, but the boy refused to listen [to her].’

Variation in phrasing.

Separation of a verb from its complement.

In the following examples, we have put the verb that is separated phrasally from its complement in small capital letters.

(xxx) **Wazele/ wachimkhiirila/ naayé/ CHILAWA/ na ma’askariye/ na wataanawé.**
‘His parents/ accepted him [his promise]/ and he/ departed/ with his soldiers/ and his servants.’

KALEENT^hE/ ilu yaa muti/ kuliindra.

‘He sat/ in the tree/ waiting.’

Kila/ mooyi/ SHTIYA/ kishkila/ ka mutiini.

‘Each/ one/ was afraid/ to come down/ from the tree.’

CHIWONA/ kuwaa ndovu/ leele.

‘He saw [thought]/ that the elephant/ was asleep.’

CHIRUUDA/ ka tartiibu/ kuleta khabari.

‘He returned/ slowly/ to bring the news.’

Wamalizopo kujá/ mwaana/ chamura ma’askari/ KUDARBISHA/ bundukhu zaawo. ‘When they

finished eating, the boy ordered the soldiers to get their rifles ready.’

Mwaana/ CHIIZA/ khfungula safari. ‘The boy refused to unpack.’

Separation of a noun from a following demonstrative.

(xxx) **Mi/ ni laazima/ kendra maduriini/ kummeera/ siimba/ uyu.** ‘It is necessary for me to go into the bush to look for this lion.’

Separation of the head of the associative phrase from its complement.

(xxx) **Mwaana/ wa sultaani/ naayé/ waaliko/ ilu/ yaa muti.**
‘The son/ of the sultan/ also [lit. and he]/ was/ up/ the tree.’

Final-accent triggers.

(xxx) **Sultaani/ wanayo siimba/ waa ye/ mkorsheezó.** ‘The sultan had a lion which he had raised.’

The are additional sorts of relative clauses that display final accent.

(xxx) **Wapeetopó/ washkalant^haa kuja.** ‘When they got [these things], they sat down to eat.’

The conjunction *na* is a final-accent trigger.

(xxx) **Wote/ wacheendra/ kumera zombo zaawo/ na ala zaawó/ na zakuja zaawó.** ‘All went to look for their things and their weapons and their food.’

Ye/ na ma’askariyé/ washkalant^haa nt^hi/ khfanya shaawuri. ‘He/ and his soldiers/ sat on the ground consulting.’

Final-accent triggers and phrasing.

As a general fact, one can say that when a final-accent trigger is located in some phrase **PP_i**, then the final accent appears not on the trigger necessarily but rather on the final prosodic word in the phrase in question.

(xxx) *relative verb triggers final accent*

Siimba/ uyu/ anzize kubla hoola/ ZIKO APÁ. ‘This lion began to kill animals which were there.’

The transcription of Chimiini prosody.

We do note indicate some features of the Chimiini pronunciation of default accent. In isolation, a default accent word always has a raised penult and a low final syllable. In words bearing focus, the same pronunciation is maintained. In medial, non-focused positions, we observed that MI would continue the raised pitch onto the final syllable. In GM’s speech, we found the phonetics to be somewhat different: he would have the penult raised (to some degree), but then a rise on the final syllable. Sometimes the rise on the final syllable was higher than the penult and led us to interpret the accent as being final rather than penult.

Noun classes.

One of the hallmarks of a Bantu language is the system of noun classes. Roughly speaking, nouns are grouped into classes which are identified by their characteristic prefix and the agreement that they control on other words to which they are grammatically connected (e.g. verbs, adjectives, demonstratives and the like). Noun classes are generally paired, with a root in one class having a singular significance and the same root in the other class having a plural significance. There are, of course, various complications which will not be discussed here but which can be seen from the entries in the dictionary.

Since the noun classes currently observed in present-day Bantu languages are historically derived from the noun classes that existed in Proto-Bantu (i.e. the language from which the present-day languages evolved, in the same way that, say, the modern-day Slavic languages like Russian, Bulgarian, Polish, etc., derive from Proto-Slavic), it is the common practice to label the classes with numbers that refer back to their Proto-Bantu source. We follow this time-honored practice in this dictionary.

The noun classes in Chimwiini are these:

(xxx)[cl.1]**muke** ‘woman’

[cl.2]**wake** ‘women’
 [cl.3]**muti** ‘tree’
 [cl.4]**miti** ‘trees’
 [cl.5]**ijiwe** ‘stone’
 [cl.6]**majiwe** ‘stones’
 [cl.7] **chiti** ‘chair’
 [cl.7]**ziti** ‘chairs’
 [cl.9]**mbuzi** ‘goat’
 [cl.10]**mbuzi** ‘goats’
 [cl.11]**lbawa** ‘feather’
 [cl.14]**uvivo** ‘ripeness’
 [cl.15]**kuviva** ‘to be ripe’

The [cl.1] class prefix in its full form is *mu-*, but this shape actually appears only when the stem is monosyllabic: **muke** ‘woman’, **muna** ‘one who drinks’, **mubli** ‘man’, and when the stem has an initial consonant cluster: **mubjaana** ‘young unmarried male’, **muḏnibu** ‘sinner’.

Noun derivation.

Possession.

Adjectives and adjective agreement.

Adjectives fall into three rough types: *variable* adjectives, *invariable* adjectives, and *fixed* adjectives. These labels give a rough approximation of the behavior of the adjectives, but they require some elaboration (e.g. invariable adjectives are not always invariable).

An invariable adjective is one that has no prefix when it modifies a noun belonging to one of the non-derived noun classes. For example, the adjective **mahtuuti** ‘very sick’ has this shape when it modifies any ordinary nominal, no matter its class: **munt^hu mahtuuti** ‘a sick person’, **want^hu mahtuuti** ‘sick people’, **ngombe mahtuuti** ‘sick cow(s)’. However, a so-called invariable adjective does agree with the diminutive and augmentative nouns; e.g. **chijana chimah^htuuti** ‘a very small dim. child’, **zijana zimah^htuuti** ‘very small dim. children’, **ijana imah^htuuti** ‘a very sick aug. child’, **mijana mimah^htuuti** ‘very sick aug. children’.

Verb roots.

The prototypical verb root in Chimiini is of the shape CVC. All examples are put in the infinitive, since this is the form that they are listed in this dictionary. The final *a* vowel in the infinitive is not a part of the root, of course. A few examples: **ku-luma** ‘to bite’, **kh-kosa** ‘to make a mistake’, **ku-lawa** ‘to get out of’, **kh-teza** ‘to play’, **ku-biga** ‘to strike’, **ku-zuuba** ‘to roll up’, **kh-faanya** ‘to do’, **kh-sooma** ‘to read’, **ku-meera** ‘to turn about’, **ku-viila** ‘to call’.

The root may lack an initial consonant. If it does lack a consonant, there is no contrast between whether the initial vowel is short or long. The vowel of the infinitive prefix merges with the initial vowel of the root to form a long vowel. Some examples: **k-aala** ‘to plant’, **k-iimba** ‘to sing’, **k-uusha** ‘to hide’, **k-eendra** ‘to go’.

The root sometimes is more complex than (C)VC. Most polysyllabic verb roots are loanwords or seem to be (C)VC Bantu roots that, at some point in history, were extended by an element that eventually became an inseparable component of the verb. Some examples of polysyllabic roots: **k-eeleza** ‘to explain’, **k-iinama** ‘to bend over’, **k-eepuka** ‘to avoid’, **k-aawanya** ‘to divide’.

Verb extensions.

As is usual in a Bantu language, there are various productive verbal "extensions" which may alone, or in combination with other extensions, be appended to the basic verbal root to derive a variety of meanings related to the meaning of the basic root. Sometimes, however, the meaning of the extended form is not "compositional" (i.e. one that follows from the general meaning of the extension and the meaning of the verb root). This system of verbal extensions in Chimiini is extensively documented in this dictionary.

The most common extensions are discussed below.

The semantically empty extension /at/.

There is a formative **at** which is used with many but not all Somali verbal roots to form a verb. It is always appended directly to the root, with no other verbal extension separating it from the root.

The **at** is often omitted when the causative extension is appended to the verb.

Root+il/el (transitive) or Root+iz/ez (transitive/causative) or Root+ik/ek (intransitive).

(xxx)ku-zimila ‘to hide from, escape’ku-zimiza ‘to help s.o. escape’

Root+ul/ol (transitive)or Root+uz/oz (transitive/causative) or Root+uk/ok (intransitive).

There are a fairly substantial number of verb roots (many of which are not used in their simple form) that are extended by *ul/ol* to form a transitive verb, or *uz/oz* to form a causative verb, or *uk/ok* to form an intransitive verb. Often the root will occur with more than one of these extensions. The high vowel form is used when the final vowel of the root is *i*, *u*, or *a*, while the mid vowel is used when the root final vowel of the root is a mid vowel, *e* or *o*. This vowel harmony principle is observed with other verbal extensions as well.

(xxx)kh-taambula ‘to beat, hit with s.t. (esp. a stick)’kh-taambuza (caus.)

The applied extension /il/~ /el/~ /iliz/ ~ /elez/.

The applied verb is potentially ambiguous between the following uses: a ‘benefactive’, an ‘instrumental’, and a ‘directional’ interpretation. The benefactive usage however is not restricted to the expre

We will use the term "beneficiary" to refer to the noun phrase that benefits from the action and

It is important to understand that the use of the term ‘beneficiary’ does not transparently cover all of the uses of the benefactive applied. Specifically, a common use of the construction is to establish a relationship (some sort of possession) between the

Causative.

The suffix *ish/esh* is used to form a causative verb from a verb root.

(xxx)ku-waandra ‘to get fat’ku-waandrisha ‘to fatten’
ku-waara ‘to be long-lasting’ku-waarisha ‘to perpetuate’
ku-viva ‘to be ripe, cooked’ku-vivisha ‘to ripen, cook something’

Polysyllabic stems ending in the syllable *uk/ok* mutate the *k* to *sh* to form a causative stem.

(xxx)k-oondroka ‘to wake up’k-oondrosha ‘to wake someone up’
k-eeputa ‘to avoid’k-eeputsha ‘to cause to avoid’
kh-teluka ‘to go away’kh-telusha ‘to exile’

Reciprocal.

The extension *an* is used to form a reciprocal verb stem.

(xxx)ku-’ahidana ‘to promise one another’ (cf. ku-’ahada)
kh-saaydana ‘to help one another’ (cf. kh-saayda ‘to help’)
k-ambilana ‘to tell one another’ (cf. k-aambila ‘to tell’)
kh-peendana ‘to love one another’ (cf. kh-peenda)
ku-buusanya ‘to kiss one another’ (cf. ku-buusa)
ku-daarana ‘to touch one another’ (cf. ku-daara)

The reciprocal can be freely added to applied verb stems.

(xxx)kh-pikilana ‘to cook for one another’
ku-letelana ‘to bring to one another’
kh-patilana ‘to get for one another’
kh-somelana ‘to read to one another’

Verb agreement: subject and object.

Verb tenses.

Infinitive.

The infinitive form of the verb has considerable importance in Chimiini as it is used extensively, appearing both as an independent form and as a component in the construction of other verbal forms (present and future tenses). There is some phonological complexity to the form, as well as a few other complications. We summarize these

matters below.

The basic structure of the infinitive is *ku-verb stem-a*. The prefix *ku* alters its shape according to the following pattern.

(xxx)if the stem has an initial voiceless obstruent (*p t s ch k*), the prefix is pronounced *kh*

if the stem has an initial *kh* or *q*, the prefix is entirely absent

if the stem has an initial vowel, the prefix is pronounced *k* and the vowel is lengthened (if lengthening is permitted; see discussion of vowel length above)

elsewhere *ku* appears

The above pattern holds only for the case where the verb stem immediately follows the infinitive prefix. If an object prefix follows the infinitive prefix, a different pattern is observed. The shape that *ku* assumes depends on the object prefix.

(xxx)kuif the object is first person singular *ni-*

ku-n-k^hasa ‘to hear me’

Oif the object is second person singular *khu-*

khu-kasa ‘to hear you’

ku~Oif the object is [cl.1] *mu-* (but the O form is preferred)

(ku-)m-kasa ‘to hear him/her’

kiif the object is first person plural *chi-*

ki-sh-kasa ‘to hear us’

kiif the object is second person plural *ni-*

ki-n-kasa ‘to hear you (pl.)’

kuif the object is [cl.2] *wa-*

ku-wa-kasa ‘to hear them’

Affirmative past continuous.

(xxx)Mi/ n-ch^h-andikaa **khati**. ‘I was writing a letter.’

Affirmative habitual.

The affirmative habitual does not show any subject agreement. It consists of an invariable prefix *hu* and the verb stem ending in a final vowel *a*. Examples:

(xxx)**hu-biga** ‘x hits’, **hu-sooma** ‘x reads’

Negative present.

There is the possibility in the negative present to have the [cl.2] subject prefix *wa-* located in front of the negative element rather than after it. Thus one can **Nt^ha-wa-na-kh-ṭeza**. ‘I am playing.’ but also: **Wa-nt^ha-kh-ṭeza**.

review this point

Negative past.

(xxx)**s-ku-sooma** ‘I did not read’

nt^h-u-kh-sooma ‘you did not read’
 nt^h-a-kh-sooma ‘(s)he did not read’
 nt^h-a-sh-ku-sooma ‘we did not read’
 nt^h-a-n-ku-sooma ‘you (pl.) did not read’
 nt^h-a-wa-kh-sooma ‘they did not read’

In the [cl.2] negative past form, we observed variation between whether the negative element precedes the *wa* subject prefix or vice versa. Thus we recorded either nt^h-a-waa-ku-ja ‘they did not eat’ or wa-nt^h-aa-ku-ja; nt^h-a-wa-k-aandika ‘they did not write’ or wa-nt^h-a-k-aandika; nt^h-a-wa-kh-sooma ‘they did not read’ or wa-nt^h-a-kh-sooma.

Negative future.

The formula for the negative future tense is: Neg-SP-ta-ku-(OP-)stem-a. The first person singular prefix *si* (which The negative prefix is *ha* which has the shape *h* in conjunction with the second person singular *u* and the third person singular *a*, but retains its full form elsewhere. **confirm with the other vowel-initial object prefixes.** The subject prefixes are the same as in the other negative tenses.

(xxx)si-ta-ku-da^oaalata ‘I will not try hard’
 h-u-ta-ku-da^oaalata
 h-a-ta-ku-da^oaalata
 ha-sh-ta-ku-da^oaalata
 ha-n-ta-ku-da^oaalata
 ha-wa-ta-ku-da^oaalata

Although in the negative past, it is possible for the [cl.2] subject prefix to be located in front of the negative element, the same is not true in the negative future. One says **Hawatakh^hteza**. ‘They will not play.’ and not ***Wahatakh^hteza**. Similarly, one says **Hawataakuja**. ‘They will not eat.’ and not ***Wahataakuja**.

Negative habitual.

(xxx)si-**bigi** ‘I do not hit’ si-**soomi** ‘I do not read’
 h-u-**bigi** ‘you do not hit’ h-u-**soomi** ‘you do not read’
 h-aa-**bigi** ‘(s)he does not hit’ h-a-**soomi** ‘(s)he does not read’
 ha-chi-**bigi** ‘we do not hit’ ha-chi-**soomi** ‘we do not read’
 ha-n-**bigi** ‘you (pl.) do not hit’ ha-n-**soomi** ‘you (pl.) do not read’
 ha-waa-**bigi** ‘they do not hit’ ha-wa-**soomi** ‘they do not read’

s-**taandi** ‘I do not insult’ s-**piti** ‘I do not pass’
 h-u-**taandi** ‘you do not insult’ h-u-**piti** ‘you do not pass’
 h-a-**taandi** ‘(s)he does not insult’ haa-**piti** ‘(s)he does not pass’
 ha-sh-**taandi** ‘we do not insult’ ha-sh-**piti** ‘we do not pass’
 ha-n-**taandi** ‘you (pl.) do not insult’ ha-n-**piti** ‘you (pl.) do not pass’
 ha-wa-**taandi** ‘they do not insult’ ha-waa-**piti** ‘they do not pass’

s-ooloki ‘I do not go’ si-**ji** ‘I do not eat’
 h-ooloki ‘you do not go’ h-u-**ji** ‘you do not eat’
 ha-’oloki ‘(s)he does not go’ h-aa-**ji** ‘(s)he does not eat’
 ha-ch-ooloki ‘we do not go’ haa-chi-**ji** ‘we do not eat’
 ha-n-ooloki ‘you (pl.) do not go’ haa-ni-**ji** ‘you (pl.) do not eat’
 ha-wa-’oloki ‘they do not go’ ha-waa-**ji** ‘they do not eat’

The presence of an object prefix is illustrated in (xxx):

(xxx)ha-chi-m-**taandi** ‘we do not insult him/her’

Affirmative imperative.

The affirmative imperative has an extremely simple structure: *stem-a* in the singular and *stem-aa-ni* in the plural.

(xxx)**kasa** ‘listen!’ **taala** ‘take!’ **teza** ‘play!’

kasaa=ni ‘(pl.) listen!’ **talaa=ni** ‘(pl.) take!’ **tezaa=ni** ‘(pl.) play!’

The inclusion of an object prefix in the affirmative imperative is illustrated in (xxx). Notice that in the case of the first person singular object prefix, the final vowel is *a* and not the usual *e*.

(xxx)**n-jiiba** ‘answer me!’

m-jiibe ‘answer him/her!’

chi-jiibe ‘answer us!’

wa-jiibe ‘answer them!’

Negative imperative.

(xxx)**s-taale** ‘don’t take!’ **s-teeze** ‘don’t play!’

s-talee=ni ‘(pl.) don’t take!’ **s-tezee=ni** ‘(pl.) don’t play!’

The inclusion of an object prefix in the negative imperative is illustrated in (xxx).

(xxx)**si-n-jiibe** ‘don’t answer me!’ **si-n-t^heke** ‘don’t laugh at me!’

si-m-jiibe ‘don’t answer him/her!’ **si-m-teke** ‘don’t laugh at him/her!’

si-chi-jiibe ‘don’t answer us!’ **si-sh-teke** ‘don’t laugh at us!’

si-wa-jiibe ‘don’t answer them!’ **si-wa-teke** ‘don’t laugh at them!’

It will be noted that the high vowel in the prefix does not delete before a voiceless obstruent in the object prefix, although it does delete before a voiceless obstruent in the verb stem.

Subjunctive.

The formula for the affirmative subjunctive is *SP-(na)-stem-e*, where the *na* prefix occurs just in the event the subject is third person.

(xxx)**n-soome** ‘that I read’

soome ‘that you read’

na-soome ‘that (s)he read’

chi-soome ‘that we read’

n-soome ‘that you (pl.) read’

wa-na-soome ‘that they read’

In the negative, the prefix *si* is used to indicate negation, and the prefix *na* is not used in third person forms (unlike in the affirmative). The only wrinkle in the negative subjunctive is in the location of the subject prefix, which generally precedes *si* but not when the subject is *chi* ‘we’. [review](#)

(xxx)**n-si-soome** ‘that I not read’

si-soome ‘that you not read’

si-soome ‘that (s)he not read’

si-chi-soome ‘that we not read’

n-si-soome ‘that you (pl.) not read’

wa-si-soome ‘that they not read’

Conditional.

The formation that is used to express a past continuous or a narrative past sense also has a conditional usage. This is most transparent when the word **kama** ‘if’ is employed.

(xxx)**kamaa mi/ n-ch^hi-ya** (or: **chi-ya**) ‘if I come’

kamaa we/ chi-ya ‘if you come’

kamaa ye/ chi-ya ‘if (s)he comes’
kamaa si/ sh-chi-ya ‘if we come’
kamaa ni/ n-chi-ya ‘if you (pl.) come’
kamaa wo/ wa-chi-ya ‘if they come’

Counterfactual conditional.

(xxx)**mi/ n-k^ha-sooma** ‘if I had read it’
we/ ka-sooma ‘if you had read it’
ye/ ka-sooma ‘if (s)he had read it’
si/ ka-chi-sooma ‘if we had read it’
ni/ ka-n-sooma ‘if you (pl.) had read it’
wo/ ka-wa-sooma ‘if they had read it’

Copular

The present tense affirmative copula is an invariant **ni** and the present tense negative copula is an invariant **siwo**.

(xxx)**Nuuru/ ni mwaalimu.** ‘Nuuru is a teacher.’
Nuuru/ siwo/ mwaalimu. ‘Nuuru/ is not a teacher.’

The future tense affirmative copular has the formula **SP-taa-ku-wa** while the negative has the formula **Neg-SP-taa-ku-wa**.

(xxx)**Mi/ n-t^ha-ku-aa mwaalimu.** (Or: **Mi/ ta-ku-wa mwaalimu.**) ‘I will be a teacher’
We/ ta-ku-wa mwaalimu. ‘You will be a teacher.’
Ye/ ta-ku-wa mwaalimu. ‘(S)he will be a teacher.’
Si/ sh-ta-ku-wa waalimu. ‘We will be teachers.’
Ni/ n-ta-ku-wa waalimu. ‘You (pl.) will be teachers.’
Wo/ wa-ta-ku-wa waalimu. ‘They will be teachers.’

Mi/ s-taa-ku-wa/ mwaalimu. ‘I will not be a teacher.’ **s- or si-??**
We/ h-u-taa-ku-wa/ mwaalimu. ‘You will not be a teacher.’
Ye/ h-a-taa-ku-wa/ mwaalimu. ‘(S)he will not be a teacher.’
Si/ ha-sh-taa-ku-wa/ waalimu. ‘We will not be teachers.’
Ni/ ha-n-taa-ku-wa/ waalimu. ‘You (pl.) will not be teachers.’
Wo/ ha-wa-taa-ku-wa/ waalimu. ‘They will not be teachers.’

The past tense copular is **SP-waaliko** in the affirmative and **Neg-SP-ku-waaliko** in the negative.

(xxx)**Mi/ m-baliko mwaalimu.** ‘I was a teacher.’
We/ waliko mwaalimu. ‘You were a teacher.’
Ye/ waliko mwaalimu. ‘(S)he was a teacher.’
Si/ chi-waliko waalimu. ‘We were teachers.’
Ni/ n-waliko waalimu. ‘You (pl.) were teachers.’
Wo/ wa-waliko waalimu. ‘They were teachers.’

Mi/ s-ku-waaliko/ mwaalimu. ‘I wasn’t a teacher.’
We/ nt^h-u-ku-waaliko/ mwaalimu. ‘You weren’t a teacher.’
Ye/ nt^h-a-ku-waaliko/ mwaalimu. ‘(S)he wasn’t a teacher.’
Si/ nt^ha-sh-ku-waaliko/ waalimu. ‘We weren’t teachers.’
Ni/ nt^ha-n-ku-waaliko/ waalimu. ‘You (pl.) weren’t teachers.’
Wo/ nt^ha-wa-ku-waaliko/ waalimu. ‘They weren’t teachers.’

Have.

(xxx)**Mi/ n-na-ch-o chibuuku.** ‘I have the book.’

We/ na-ch-o chibuuku. ‘You have the book.’
Ye/ na-ch-o chibuuku. ‘(s)he has the book.’
Si/ chi-na-ch-o chiuuku. ‘We have the book.’
Ni/ n-na-ch-o chibuuku. ‘You (pl.) have the book.’
Wo/ wa-na-ch-o chibuuku. ‘They have the book.’

Mi/ si-naa-ch-o/ chibuuku. ‘I do not have the book.’
We/ nt^h-u-naa-ch-o/ chibuuku. ‘You do not have the book.’
Ye/ nt^h-a-naa-ch-o/ chibuuku. ‘(S)he does not have the book.’

Syntax.

This is not the place for any extended discussion of Chimiini syntax, though a careful examination of the example sentences in this dictionary would reveal much. We often, in the entries, illustrate a variety of points about Chimiini syntactic structure, including word order and possible variations in word order.

Like many, but not all, Bantu languages, Chimiini permits the verb to have a single object marked on the verb. This object prefix is located immediately in front of the stem. Non-human objects are not marked obligatorily on the verb (if the object prefix occurs, it indicates a definite reference); human objects are generally marked.

If an unextended verb takes more than one object, then it is the logical indirect object that functions as the primary object and controls marking on the verb.

(xxx)**W-aana/ wa-m-bozele mw-aalimu/ zi-buuku.** ‘The children stole books from the teacher.’
Haliima/ m-pashile mw-aana/ dawa. ‘Haliima rubbed medicine on the child.’

A verb extended by the "applied" extension has the beneficiary or the goal as its primary object.

(xxx)**Ni-mw-andikilile Omari/ khaṭi.** ‘I wrote a letter to Omari.’ (The object prefix *mw* in the verb is governed by the goal **Omari**.)

In a passive sentence, it is the primary object that becomes the subject. The translation of the following examples is literal, since there is no natural English equivalent for these sentences.

(xxx)

beneficiary is the passive subject

W-aana/ wa-pikilila ch-aakuja/ na Hamadi. [Lit.]The children were cooked food for by Hamadi.’

goal is the passive subject

Mw-aana/ andikilila khaṭi/ naa mi. [Lit.] The child was written a letter to by me.’

Passive sentences in Chimiini are noteworthy for the ease with which the subject may be located after the verb and an object fronted:

(xxx)**Khaṭi/ wa-’andikilila w-aana/ naa mi.**

In this example, the subject of the verb is **w-aana** ‘children’, but it appears in post-verbal position while the logical object **khaṭi** has been fronted. There is no pause between this fronted object and the verb.

Chijini

A phenomenon found in many of the world’s languages is the existence of one of more systems of speech manipulation referred to variously as "language games", "secret languages", "language disguises", and so on. We studied one of these in Chimiini with our consultant MI. This secret language is known as Chijini.

Since Chijini is derivative from ordinary Chimiini, there is no particularly reason to refer to it in this dictionary or to site examples from it. However, sometimes the Chijini form of a word or phrase is useful in revealing some aspect of the structure of Chimiini. For that reason, we on occasion discuss Chijini.

Intonation.

For every example used in this dictionary, we have indicated its phrasing (and sometimes alternative phrasings of the same sequence of words). We also sometimes show alternative word orders (and at least one of the phrasings connected to these word order variants). This, of course, goes far beyond what is commonly found in dictionaries, but it is necessary because vowel length in this language is dependent on the phrasing, as is the accent. The location of accent in the phrase can be determined from our transcription, so there is no ambiguity as to where the accent is located in any phrase in this dictionary. And we have been careful to transcribe vowel length as it is found in the phrasing illustrated. (Of course, these remarks pertain only to the spoken language examples. The lines from the songs and from poetry cannot be given a similar treatment since in these literary forms, vowel length and accent do not occur

(setting aside examples from poetry and songs

What we do not attempt to do is to indicate the *intonation* of the examples. By ‘intonation’ we mean particularly the relative pitch levels of the accented syllables (as well as the realization of the unaccented syllables). To a certain extent, the phrasing itself is a signal of aspects of the intonation.

When a sentence exhibits default word order and default phrasing (i.e. the phrasing predicted by Align-XP R discussed above), the sentence is pronounced with what we refer to as a "downstep intonation": specifically, the accent in each phrase is progressively lowered across the sentence, but the accented syllable is raised above preceding and following unaccented syllables. Sentences such as those in (xxx) show this pattern.

(xxx)

Downstep intonation does not hold, however, when a phrase edge occurs following a focused element. For example, a negative verb in Chimiini seems to be inherently focused and thus regularly appears at the end of a phonological phrase. The negative verb is not downstepped relative to the preceding accent, rather it is raised in pitch to some degree. This raising is entirely predictable, and we do not indicate it in our transcriptions.

(xxx)

Similarly, when a verb is focused and phrasally separated from its complement, then it too is raised in pitch and not subject to the usual downstep intonation. Some examples:

(xxx)

Departures from canonical word order also have an effect on the intonation. For example, when in a word is moved from its ordinary position and located immediately after the verb, it is focused and thus not subject to the usual downstepping.

(xxx)

Sentences that have canonical word order and phrasing do not, of course, necessarily have default intonation. Focus/emphasis may be put on any phrase, including the last phrase. Such cases of intonational raising cannot, however, be inferred from the phrasing. It *may* be inferred in some cases from accent location (since the final accent triggered, particularly by certain verbs, does extend beyond a focused element). If we wish to draw attention to such cases of focus/emphasis, then we do so by (a) enclosing the example in brackets and (b) locating an upwards pointing arrow in front of the focused element. Examples are given in (xxx).

(xxx)

There may be differences of interpretation associated with the *degree* of raising (a higher degree of raising being associated with some sort of contrastive focus and a lower degree with simple focus), but we have not explored this matter in detail. There are probably other uses of exaggerated raising to convey the emotional state of the speaker, but they are beyond the scope of our research.

In addition to the raising of focused elements, there are also cases where out of focus phrases are radically lowered in pitch. One might even consider these radically lowered phrases to be lacking in accent, particularly when we are dealing with monosyllabic pronouns.

If we wish to make this radical lowering explicit, we enclose the example in brackets and indicate the lowering

with a downwards-pointed arrow. Such lowering, however, is predictable. One very notable case involves a postposed subject which is not phrasally joined to the verb.

(xxx)

It is impractical to regularly provide a detailed transcription of the "intonation" of Chimwiini sentences (i.e. the relative pitch heights of the accents in a sentence). However, it is sometimes useful to indicate a few significant departures from the default downstep intonation. When we have included one of these intonational indicators, we have put the example in brackets, to indicate that this example contains pronunciation information that is not contained in the ordinary transcriptions.

The prosody of yes-no questions.

The principle prosodic difference between statements and simple yes-no questions is the absence of downstep intonation from the question. This difference is relatively clear in the case of canonical sentences like

- (xxx) a. **Maana/ bozele chibuuku.** 'The boy stole a book.'
b. **Maana/ bozele chibuuku?** 'Did the boy steal a book?'

In (xxxa), the pitch height of the accent on the penult syllable of **chibuuku** is clearly lower than the pitch height of the penult syllable of **maana**. In the yes-no question, on the other hand, the pitch height on the penult syllable of **chibuuku** is relatively raised in contrast to the statement. The raising is not, however, necessarily significantly higher than **maana**. We indicate this difference in prosody by placing a question mark at the end of the simple yes-no question. Because of this usage, we refrain from using the symbol “?” in our transcription of sentences that are *not* yes-no questions, even if they are questions of other kinds.

The downstep intonation observed in canonical sentences is halted when there is a focused phrase. For example, focusing a verb involves separating the verb phrasally from its complement. In (xxx), we provide an example of a sentence with verb focus and the corresponding simple yes-no question.

- (xxx) a. **Maana/ boozele/ chibuuku.** 'The boy *stole* a book.'
b. **Maana/ boozele/ chibuukú?** 'Did the boy *steal* a book?'

In (xxxa), the focused verb is raised in pitch, and is somewhat higher than **maana**. On the other hand, **chibuuku** is lowered relative to the verb. In the yes-no question version (xxxb), once again the pitch peak is at the focused verb, though the pitch on the complement is relatively raised. But the most notable aspect of the pronunciation is that **chibuuku** has shifted to final accent. This final accent can be interpreted as indicating the out-of-focus nature of the verbal complement when the verb is focused.

Yes-no questions.

There are two types of yes-no questions in Chimiini, a “simple” question and an “exclamatory” question. The simple questions simply asks whether something happened or some state holds true. The exclamatory question indicates some amazement that something happened or some state exists and seeks confirmation that it is really the case. The problem, from the point of view of exemplifying Chimiini, is that both types of question differ from one another and from the corresponding statement only in terms of intonation and (sometimes) accent placement. Word order and phrasing does not change between a statement and the corresponding yes-no question.

Although we might of course simply exclude yes-no questions from our exemplification of Chimiini, this seems rather short-sighted, as such questions actually are sometimes quite helpful in revealing aspects of Chimiini linguistic structure. For this reason, we document yes-no questions rather abundantly in this book. It is necessary, therefore, to explain our transcriptions of these sentences and to discuss what these questions reveal about the statements from which they are derived.

There is one type of sentence where we do, at least in a schematic way, explicitly indicate some aspects of intonation; namely, yes-no questions. Yes-no questions do not differ from their corresponding statements except in terms of intonation, and -- in certain cases -- in accent location. It is because these questions may involve shifts in accent that it is relevant to identify them systematically.

There are two types of yes-no questions. One type we refer to as a "simple" yes-no question. The second type we refer to as an "exclamatory" yes-no question.

The components of each entry.

There are two principal components to each entry (or sub-entry): the main body of the entry and the set of exemplifications. The main body has the following elements (not all of which may be present in every case) in the order indicated:

- (a) the part of speech (e.g. "v." for verb, "n." for noun, etc.)
- (b) if the item is a noun, then the noun class membership follows immediately (e.g. "5/6" = a noun that belongs to [cl.5] in the singular and [cl.6] in the plural)
- (c) if the item is a noun, and if it is a derived noun, information about its derivational type will follow the noun class membership (e.g. "dim." indicates that the noun is a diminutive, "aug." indicates the noun is an augmentative)
- (d) if the item is a verb, and it contains a verbal extension or combination of extensions, these are indicated (e.g. "pass." = a verb with the passive extension)
- (e) information about the etymology of the word (i.e. whether it shares the word with its sister Bantu language, Swahili, or whether it has borrowed the word from Somali, or Arabic, or Italian, etc.); this information is in brackets
- (f) if the item is a verb, then the perfect stem inside parentheses immediately follows the (a,c,d) sequence of information
- (g) the English gloss for the item
- (h) in cases where the head of the entry does not specify adequately the pronunciation of an item, there is a section labeled "pron." (=pronunciation) which provides a more accurate transcription; we refer to this as "the guide to pronunciation"; most words do not require this emendation
- (i) on a separate line, any pronunciation or morphological variants of the item are listed

(e) etymological information

The use of the term "etymological" is misleading. For instance, if Swahili has a word that is similar to the Chimiini word, we provide the Swahili word. Since Chimiini and Swahili are closely related languages, in many cases this means that the Chimiini and Swahili words can be viewed as words inherited from an earlier stage where the two languages had not yet been differentiated from one another.

There are a number of general observations that can be made with regard to the relationship between the Chimiini words derived from Arabic and the Swahili words derived from Arabic.

There are a few points regarding phonological shape of the Chimiini words derived from Somali as compared to the phonological shape of their Somali source.

There is in Somali a phonological principle whereby a stem ending in the labial *m* will be converted to *n* if it stands in word-final position. This rule is at play in certain loanwords. For example, Chimiini has a nominal form **baḷani** 'promise' which derives from the Somali noun **ballan**, but there is also a verbal form **ku-baḷama** 'to promise'.

Notes: CLE page numbers on the left. Spelling as in CLE. When Chimiini retains original meaning, I have not indicated it again in language from which the term has been borrowed.

Somali: from "Dizionario Somalo-Italiano" by Cooperazione Italiana allo Sviluppo, Gangemi, Rome, 1985 (abbreviated as DSI). All terms are in Standard Somali.

Somali etymologies already in CLE have been given again, according to DSI, with page indication. Somali variants indicated (ex. geddi/gaddi) are all included in DSI.

Arabic: from Hans Wehr Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic edited by J. M. Cowan (1976 edition). Abbreviated as Wehr.

Swahili: A Standard Swahili-English Dictionary, Oxford University Press, 1990 edition (abbrev. SSED). Where CLE already gives Swahili etymo with further indication "Ar.", I only added the Arabic etymo.

Dialectal forms (Tunni, Hadrami, etc.) are usually from personal communications or personal experience and are all to be checked.

The second principal part of an entry is the exemplifications of the item. The exemplifications include both phrases and complete sentences. Sentences begin with a capital letter while phrases do not. Some of the phrases are common word collocations, some of which may have a meaning that is not "compositional" (i.e. not derived from the meaning of the individual words themselves). These collocations are sometimes themselves illustrated by an example or examples that appear, indented, beneath them.

The examples fall into two broad categories: (i) Examples that follow the ordinary prosodic structure of the language and which, therefore, are transcribed in a fashion that accurately indicates vowel quantity and the location of accent as discussed earlier. If such examples come from ordinary or elicited speech, or from stories that we have recorded, then no label has been applied to them. If they come from proverbs, riddles, or some other sort of oral literature, then they are so identified. (ii) Examples that come from forms of the language where normal prosody does not hold. This includes **steenzi** and songs. Since such examples have their own prosodic patterns and do not reflect ordinary prosody, they cannot be written like the examples from the first category and must therefore be clearly differentiated. We write these examples in italics and we do not include either vowel length or accent in the transcription. We label these examples either as "st." or "song".

Example sentences.

The reader will notice that there are copious examples for many of the entries in the dictionary. The motivation for this is simple: Chimiini is a largely undocumented language and an endangered one at that. The examples are meant first and foremost to illustrate the different uses of a word and the various fixed phrases in which it occurs. But they are also used to illustrate aspects of the phonology and the morphology as well as the syntax. Numerous notes (labeled "phon." for phonological notes, "morph." for morphological notes, and "syn." for syntactic notes) are appended to examples so as to clarify their structure. Often, we show variations in word order and in phonological phrasing that are possible. These elaborations of the examples have, of course, made the book much longer than would otherwise be the case.

We have taken many example sentences from our text collection. In order to make the example sentences more intelligible, it is sometimes necessary to supply context; we do this generally by adding supplemental information that is not in the sentence itself but rather derives from the context. This information is located inside of parentheses.

Abbreviations.

The following abbreviations are used in the dictionary.

adj.adjective

adv.adverb

appl.applied form of the verb

Ar.Arabic

aux.auxiliary

caus.causative form of the verb

encl.enclitic

Eng.English

freq.frequentative form of the verb

gram.grammar

Hind.Hindi

imper.imperative

interj.interjection

irreg.irregular

Ital.Italian

intr.intransitive

invar.invariable

lex.lexicon

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n.noun

p/s.passive-stative form of the verb

Pers.Persian

phon. phonology

pron.pronunciation

rec.reciprocal form of the verb

Som.Somali

SSED

st.*steenzi*; used in the main body of an entry to identify a word whose usage is largely confined to **steenzi**; used in the exemplification section of an entry to identify an example drawn from **steenzi**

subj.subjunctive

Sw.Swahili

swah.used in the body of an entry to indicate that the word appears to be a Swahilism found in the speech of our

principal consultant, MI, but apparently not generally used in Chimiini
syn.syntax
tr.transitive
v.verb

Ø

Phonologically null morphological elements are not indicated in any section of the dictionary other than the present one. Our goal here is simply to make certain that the reader is aware of those morphological elements that are inaudible.

Ø [cl.1] subject prefix
Ø-mbeene. ‘He saw me.’
Muke/ Ø-tokoseze maayi. ‘The woman boiled water.’
Mwaana/ Ø-chishkila/ Ø-komelopo lfuwooni/ Ø-chimdirka sultaani.
‘The boy disembarked, and when he reached the shore, he found the sultan [there].’

Ø second person singular subject prefix
Ø-jiilení. ‘What did you eat?’
Ø-mpeelé. ‘You gave it to me.’

A

-a verbal inflectional element, occurs at the end of an infinitive verb
kooloka ‘to go’
khpika ‘to cook’
Mwana wa sultaani/ chimwambila khadimuye/ kendra muyiini/ kula zaakuja/ kuleeta. ‘The son of the sultan told his servant to go to town and buy food and bring it back.’ (Morph: There are three infinitive verbs in this example: **keendra** ‘to go’, **kuula** and **kuleeta** ‘to bring’.)
‘to buy’,
Sultaani/ chimpa waant^hu/ keendra/ kuleta sanduukhu. ‘The sultan gave him some men to go and to bring the box.’

-a verbal inflectional element, occurs at the end of a verb in the *chi* conditional
-a verbal inflectional element, occurs at the end of a verb in the *chi* narrative/continuous past
playing
Apo/ ye/ chidirka/ waant^hu/ wiingi/ zamaa zama/ wanakh^{te}za/ matezo/ ya lamna/ ka lamna. ‘There he met many people in groups games of different kinds.’
Khaadimu/ chiineendra/ choloka muyiini. ‘The servant walked and went to town.’
Khaadimu/ chondroshoowa/ chiwekoowa/ mahala yingine. ‘The servabt was moved and put in another place.’

-a verbal inflectional element, occurs at the end of a future affirmative
-a verbal inflectional element, occurs at the end of negative past tense
Laakini/ nt^hakubarata/ chiint^hu. ‘But he did not learn anything.’
-a verbal inflectional element, occurs at the end of the negative future
Hawatakiwa/ almasi iyi/ iwalawiliilepi. ‘They will not know where this diamond comes to them from.’
-a verbal inflectional element, occurs at the end of a *ka* conditional
-a verbal inflectional element, occurs at the end of a present affirmative
-a verbal inflectional element, occurs at the end of an imperative affirmative
Chimviila/ baduwi/ chimwaambila/ oloka/ uzá/ ikoofiya/ iyi/ ka sultaani/ takhpata peesa/ niingi. ‘He called the nomad and said to him: go and sell this hat to the sultan, you will get a lot of money.’

-a

verbal inflectional element, occurs at the end of an habitual affirmative

Kiḷa/ fijiri/ mṭindaa mbuzi/ hutaala/ mbuzi/ mooyi/ na munt^hu mooyi/ huwaṭiinda/ hudanganya/ nama zaawo/ chimaliza/ hukalant^ha chizingitiini/ kaake/ huuza. ‘Each morning the goat-slaughterer takes one goat and one human being and slaughters them and mixed their meat together and then sits on his doorstep and sells it.’ (Morph. This example sentence contains four habitual verbs: **hutaala, huwaṭiinda, hukalaant^ha, and huuza.**)

-a

associative particle

ch-a [cl.7]

chisima cha habaasa ‘the well of the prison’

Naani/ nakhsulo kula chiṭa cha ngoombe. ‘Who wants to buy the head of a cow?’

Shkapu cha maame/ chiyelee gele. ‘My mother’s basket is full of corn.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **miino** ‘teeth’.)

l-a [cl.11]

ḷkandra laa ngozi ‘leather belt’

ḷkuta la nuumba ‘wall of a house’

ḷtata laa chili ‘the part of the leg of the bed that extends above the bed’

ḷuti la Ali ‘Ali’s stick’

mb(w)-a [cl.1 copular] belongs to, is of, comes from

Hamadi/ mba Mkhodiisho. ‘Hamadi comes from Mkhodiisho (i.e. that is where he was born etc.)’

Mbuzi/ uyu/ waa mi/ niṭiinziḷo/ mbwa sulṭaani/ muunt^hu/ siuwe/ chiza sulṭaani/ shpata khabari/ ye/ takunubḷa. ‘This lamb that I slaughtered belongs to the sultan, no one should know, otherwise the sultan will get the news and he will kill me.’

mb(w)-a [cl.3 copular] belongs to, is of, comes from

Muti uyu/ mbwaaká. ‘This tree is mine’

Numba iyi/ na muyi uyú/ mzimawe/ mbwaa noka/ mooyi/ mkulu/ ka ziṭaa saba. ‘This house and this town in its entirety belong to a large snake with seven heads.’

Walá/ nt^hakhtaala/ hattá/ musmari mooyi/ kuwa mbwaaké. ‘Nor did he take even one nail to be his (of the house).’

nd-a [cl.6 copular] belongs to, is of

Ifungu ya kaandra/ kuwa nda mwajitu/ ya piili/ kuwa nda sulṭaani/ ya taatu/ kuwa ndaa nsi/ zinapate ku’iisha/ katiike. ‘The first portion belongs to God, the secone belongs to the sultan, the third belongs to the fish so that they may live in it.’

nd-a [cl.9 copular]

Nambile waant^hu/ kuwa kiitu/ ziint^hu/ zotte/ nza ḷahabu/ hattá/ nt^hi / nda ḷahabu. ‘I told people that in our [my] country everything is of gold, even the earth is of gold.’

Numba iyo/ nda sulṭaani. ‘That house belonged to the sultan.’

nz-a [copular, cl.10]

Chiwona kooḷi/ zaa dafa/ nza ḷila. ‘It realized that the words of the hawk were the truth.’

Jawaabu/ zaa mi/ nikhambiiló/ nza ḷila. ‘The news that I told you is true.’

Nfanyize jis’iyó/ kiiwa/ kama kooḷi/ za waawe/ nza ḷila/ amó/ siwo. ‘I did things this way in order to know if the words of my father were true or not.’

w-a [cl.1]

Munt^hu simemo kharibu yaa ndila/ ni mwanafunzi wa jaama’a. ‘The man who was standing near the road is a student of the university.’

mwana wa mwaalimu ‘the teacher’s child’

w-a [cl.2]

wana wa mwaalimu ‘the teacher’s children’

w-a [cl.3]

muti wa paamba ‘cotton plant’

mwezi wa weelu ‘moon’

w-a [cl.14]

Chimaliza/ chamura shpeteche/ kumruuda/ jisaa ye/ waalikó/ mlusi/ usooowe/ kama uso waa nfuye/ na mavaaziyé/ yotte/ mashepe. ‘Then he order his [magical] ring to return him to the way that he had been: black, his face like the face of a monkey, and all his clothes rags.’

Sultaani/ shfurahika/ nt^ho/ ka ushujaa’a/ wa Hasani. ‘The sultan became very happy with the courage of Hasani.’

y-a [cl.5]

Ikofiya yaa mi/ mp^hheetó/ nda mwaana. ‘The hat that I found is the child’s.’

y-a [cl.6]

Mbene maluwa ya Haliima. ‘I saw Haliima’s flowers.’

y-a [cl.9]

darsi yaa mi/ nimweleezó ‘the lesson that I explained’

numba ya Huseeni ‘Huseeni’s house’

z-a [cl.8]

zisima za habaasa ‘the wells of the prison’

ziwo za qur’aani ‘koranic school’

z-a [cl.10]

Baaba/ ondroshelopó/ chimuza khabari za nt^heendre. ‘When father woke up, he asked him the news about the dates.’

dughaghi za maduriini ‘wild animals of the bush’

ndruti za Ali ‘Ali’s sticks’

nk^handra zaa ngozi ‘leather belts’

nk^huta za nuumba ‘walls of a house’

numba za Huseeni ‘Huseeni’s houses’

sku za uzeele ‘old age [lit. days of old age]’

-a

relative clause particle (perhaps to be regarded as a special case of the associative particle)

ch-a [cl.7]

chiboonk^ho/ chaa ye/ uziló ‘the whip that he bought’

chisu chaa muke/ cha Nuuru/ azimiiló ‘the woman’s knife that Nuuru borrowed’

chisu cha Nuuru/ azimilo kaa muké ‘the knife that Nuuru borrowed from the woman’

Na kila shpandre chaa nama/ chaa ye/ weeshelo/ weshele be’iye. ‘And each piece of meat that he placed, he put its price.’

l-a [cl.11]

li/ nii luti/ laa mi/ chilmeeró. ‘This is the stick that I was looking for.’

luti laa ye/ vuunziló ‘the stick that he broke’

Mwanaamke/ juile/ ka lpaandre/ laa ye/ nt^hakhtilaa dawá. ‘The girl ate from the side that she did not put the drugs.’

w-a [cl.1]

Mun^hu w-a Baana/ mweenó/ oloshela. ‘The man whom Baana saw left.’

mwana waa ye/ msomesheezó ‘the child whom he taught’

w-a [cl.2]

wana waa ye/ wasomesheezó ‘the children whom he taught’

w-a [cl.3]

Sku mooyi/ ile eelo/ panzile ilu/ yaa muti/ wa mwalimu Goosó/

chisomesho waaná/ nt^hiiniyé. ‘One day there came a gazelle; he climbed up the tree that Teacher Gooso/ tasught the children under [lit. its under].’

Waṭinzile makharba/ ya kulla muti/ waa wo/ waweenó. ‘They cut the leaves of every tree that they saw.’

y-a [cl.9] (also used for any unspecified head)

Mukhtaa we/ takumalizo khfanya yaa mi/ khufaramiilo/ ruda kaaka. ‘When you have finished doing what [cl.9] I advised you, come back to me.’

numba yaa we/ washiló ‘the house that he built’

We/ tala riyali yaa mi/ khurudiliilo/ weka ilu ya chitaache. ‘You take the *riyaali* [cl.9] that I returned to you and put it on his head.’

z-a [cl.8]

Ba’ada/ ya kuwona/ steendro/ za Hasani/ fanyiizó/ karka harbí/ Sulṭaani/ chimwambila waziiriwe... ‘After seeing the actions that Hasani had performed in the battle/ the sultan/ said to his ministers...’

ziboon^ho/ zaa ye/ uziló ‘the whips that he bought’

z-a [cl.10]

Mwanaamke/ uyu/ nakuwona/ zotte/ za Hasani/ nakhfaanyó. ‘This girl sees everything that Hasani is doing.’

ndruti zaa ye/ vunziló ‘the sticks that he broke’

numba zaa ye/ washiló ‘the houses that he built’

pesa zaa ye/ leeselo madrasaaní ‘the money that he brought to the school’

-a

first person singular possessive enclitic

=**ch-a** [cl.7]

chibuukucha ‘my book’

Chisimacha/ hasht^hiindiki/ maayi. ‘My well never stops yielding water.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **kana** ‘mouth’.)

Mp^ha chakujaacha. ‘Give me my food.’

Nt^hetemesheze chiṭaachá. ‘I shook my head.’

=**k-a** [cl.15]

kubigoowaka ‘my being hit’

kulaalaka ‘my sleeping’

=**l-a** [cl.11]

lutiila ‘my stick’

=**w-a** [cl.1]

Baaba/ chighaḍibika/ chimwaambila/ we/ siwo/ mwaanawa/ we/ hiinfi/ shokuwaa kuja/ na kulaala. ‘Father became angry and said: you are not my son, you are good for nothing except to eat and to sleep.’
mweenzawa ‘my friend’

Endrá/ nviḷila mubjaana/ uje onyeshezo ushujaa’á/ mi/ nakhsuḷa

kumloza mwanaamkewá. ‘Go and call for me that young man who showed courage, I want to marry him to my daughter.’

mwaanawa ‘my child’

Nini/ waawé/ kuwalata waant^huwo/ awa/ kunvangila mtumishiwa/ ka buure. ‘For what, my father, do you allow these your people to beat my servant [on me] for no reason?’

=**w-a** [cl.2]

Mp^haamp^ha/ chihada/ nlaazima/ we/ leelo/ kundraasha/ koloka naami/ we/ khpata kumwona mukeewa/ kubaraṭana na waanawá.

‘Shark said: You must today accompany me to go with me so that you get to see my wife and become acquainted with my children.’

=**w-a** [cl.3]

Mutiwa/ wa nt^heendre/ uchizaala/ mara yingine/ mi/ nakhsuḷa konda nt^heendrezé. ‘My tree of dates, if it bears fruit another time, I want to taste its dates.’

=**w-a** [cl. 14]

ungawa ‘my flour’

=**y-a** [cl.4]

milaangoya ‘my doors’
 =y-a [cl.5]
iṭooya ‘my eye’
 =y-a [cl.6]
matakoya ‘my buttocks’
 =y-a [cl.9]
mbeleya ‘in front of me’
su’aaliya ‘my question’
 =z-a [cl.8]
zibuukuza ‘my books’
 =z-a [cl.10]
nuumbaza ‘my houses’
zoomboza ‘my things’

a’a
 [pron. ā’ā]

interj. no; an expression of disapproval of s.t. that has been done (esp. by a child);

Ā’ā/ **hadiile/ mi/ seendri.** ‘No, he said, I won’t go.’

Ā’ā/ **illa/ lawa kiitu.** ‘No, you must come to my [lit. our] place.’

Ā’ā/ **sinuulizi.** ‘No, I won’t sell it to you (pl.).’

Jiilé/ chaakuja/ ā’ā/ skichija. [speaker A] Did you eat the food? [speaker B] No, I did not eat it.’

Ma’askari/ wachimjiiba/ ā’ā/ uyu/ siwo/ ye/ uje wa’ub̄lelo ngoombé.
 ‘The soldiers answered him: no, this one is not him who killed the cattle.’

Uje/ mwambiile/ ā’ā/ we/ ni mwanaa masultaani/ mi/ hutiya kiinu/ mi/ siisi/ kuja ziinu. ‘He told him: no [in the context of the story: I cannot accept your invitation to come to eat with you], you are the son of sultans, I am afraid [to go to] your place, I do not know about your (pl.) food.’

aa

interj.

Aa/ m̄late Omari/ jawuubuzé. ‘aa! forget all about Omari’s words!’

abadan

adv. [Sw. *abadan* SSED1; Ar. *abadan* "always. for ever; (with neg.) never, not at all" W 1] never

abadi

adv. [Sw. *abada* "continually, forever" M&N 2; Ar. *abad* "eternal duration" and *abadi* "everlasting" W 1] forever

abadi + pronoun ‘always’

Abadi yiitu/ hendra madrasaani/ kahima. ‘We always go to school quickly.’

Abadiye/ hufanya kaazi/ nusunu. ‘He always does the work half-heartedly.’

We/ kapata mayi yaa noka/ we/ sula ku’isha abadi. ‘If you would get the water of the snake, you would live forever.’

Wo/ abadi yaawo/ hendra sukhuuni/ fijiri. ‘They always go to the market in the morning.’

abadiya

adv. forever, permanent

abari

n. 9 [Som. *abbaare* "approximately" DSI 6] about

abari ya kilometri n̄^haano ‘about five kilometers’

abaari

adv. [Som. *cabbaar* "moment, instant", while the plural form *cabbaarro* has the adverbial meaning "recently" DSI 78] awhile, a short period of time

Linzile abaari. ‘He waited for a short while.’

abdi

n. [Sw. *abd* "n. servant, slave, but only used in such names as Abdullah, Abdulrahamani" SSED 1; Ar. *ʾabd* W 586] subject(s) of God

God,
na wo ni abdi hu’insha miyaaka [st.] ‘and they (angels) are subjects of they live years and years’

abi

n. [Ar. *ab* W 2] poetic father (poetic only)

mtume iisa [...] naayo maamaye, nt^hana abi [st.] ‘the prophet Jesus has a (lit. his) mother, [but] has no father’

aabidi (*O, ma-*) adj. one who worships devoutly
chijana chi’aabidi ‘a little boy who worships devoutly’ (cf. **zijana** ‘little boys who worship devoutly’)

zi’aabidi

Hamadi/ ni munt^hu aabidi. ‘Hamadi is a devout worshipper.’

ijint^hu i’aabidi ‘a big man who worships devoutly’

abiri n. [Som. *cabbir* DSI 78] measure(ment)

Fulaani/ nayo maali/ pashpo abiri. ‘So-and-so has wealth without measure.’

Sanduukhu/ ilese_lapó/ Huseeni/ chihada/ mi/ nnayo maató/ lamna niingi/ laakini/ ni laazima/ mbele/ mi/ kumtomola/ ito/ ya piili/ mp^hate kiiwa/ lamnaye/ na abiriyé. ‘When the box was brought, Huseeni said: I have eyes of many kinds, but it is necessary first for me to take out his second eye so that I get to know its type and its size.’

abiriya (*O, ma-*) n. [Sw. *abiria* SSED 1; Ar. *ábara* "to cross, traverse" and *ábr* "crossing, transit" W 587] passenger

abiriya msuura ‘a nice passenger’ (cf. **ma’abiriya wasuura** ‘nice passengers’)

abiriya uyu ‘this passenger’ (cf. **abiriya awa** or **ma’abiriya awa** ‘those passengers’)

rel.

chi-’abiriya (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim.

chi’abiriya chisuura ‘a nice dim. passenger’ (cf. **zi-’abiriya zisuura** ‘nice dim. passengers’)

i-’abiriya (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.

i’abiriya isuura ‘nice aug. passenger’

ku-’abirsata v. [Som. *abbaar* "head towards s.t., be aimed at s.t." DSI 6 and *cabbir* "to measure" DSI 78] (**abirseete**) be aimed at, be faced toward, beheaded toward s.t.; take someone’s measurements, be fitted for clothes (Usage. Although MI used this verbs in both the sense of ‘face’ and ‘measure’, it has been suggested that the sense of ‘face’ is usually conveyed by the verb **ku’abaarsata**, see below.)

Abirseete nuumba. ‘He faced or headed towards the house.’

ku’abirsata kooði ‘to reflect on someone’s words’

Abirseete koði za mwaalimu. ‘He reflected on the teacher’s words.’

Nuuhu/ oloshole ka saarto/ ku’abirsataa nguwo. ‘Nuuhu went to the tailor’s to be fitted for clothes.’

Saarto/ m’abirseete Nuuhu. ‘The tailor measured Nuuhu.’

rel.

ku-’abaarsata v. (**abarseete**) go in a certain direction, face

ku-’abirsata’abirsata v. freq. (with a disparaging connotation)

Ali/ uko apaje/ naku’abirsata’abirsata waana. ‘Ali is just there, fitting children for clothes.’

ku-’abirsatana v. rec.

Waana/ wa’abirsateene. ‘The children faced one another.’

ku-’abirsatika v. p/s.

Muti uje/ haw’abirsatiki. ‘[Lit.] hat tree cannot be headed towards.’

Mwana uje/ ha’abirsatiki/ nguwo. ‘[Lit.] That boy cannot be fitted clothes (e.g. he moves around too much).’

ku-’abirsatila v. appl. (**abirsatiliile**) aim at s.t. for s.o.

N’abirsatiliile mwaana/ nguwo. ‘He fitted my child for clothes.’

Tete meetiri/ ku’abirsatilaa nguwo. ‘He took a measuring stick to use to measure for the clothes.’

ku-’abirsatilana v. appl. rec. aim at for one another; fit for one another

- ku'abirsaṭilana waana/ nguwo** 'to fit the children for clothes for one another'
- ku-'abirsaṭisha* v. caus. aim s.o. towards, face s.o. towards, head s.o. towards
M'abirsaṭishize mwaana/ mutiini. 'He faced the child toward the tree.'
 (Morph. The cause verb is not used with reference to the concept of fitting someone for clothes.)
- ku-'abirsaṭishan(y)a* v. caus. rec. face one another toward; cause one another to aim at
- ku-'abirsaṭishika* v. caus. p/s.
Nuuru/ ha'abirsaṭiki. 'Nuuru cannot be faced.'
- ku-'abirsaṭishiliza* v. caus. appl.
Jaama/ n'abirsaṭishilize mwaana/ mutiini. 'Jaama faced the child towards the tree for me.'
- ku-'abirsaṭishilizanya* v. caus. appl. rec. face one another towards for rel. nom.
- u-'abirsato* n. 14 aiming at s.t.
U'abirsaṭowe/ nt^ha'uwaaliko/ tamaamu. 'He was not faced perfectly toward something [lit. his facing toward was not complete].'
- u-'abirsaṭiko* n. 14 being able to be aimed at
- u-'abirsaṭilo* n. 14 aiming at for, with
- u-'abirsaṭisho* n. 14 act of causing someone to aim at s.t.
- ableeyi** (Ø, ma-) n. 9/10, 6 [Som. *abley* DSI 7] dagger; [pron. **ableeyi** or **aḅleeyi**, **ma'ableeyi** or **ma'aḅleeyi** (pl.)]
Aḅleeyi iyi/ ivundishile. 'This dagger is broken.'
aḅleeyi izi 'these daggers'
aḅleeyi ziinu 'your (pl.) daggers'
Kanaye/ kama aḅleeyi. 'His mouth is like a dagger (this is said of someone who uses words efficiently).'
- rel.
chi-'ableeyi (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.
i-'ableeyi (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
- abḷuusi** eaten in Brava n. (cf. *fulusi*) Mahi Mahi, found in huge numbers in kaskazi, but not traditionally
- absi** [Som. *cabsi* "danger" and *cabso* "to be afraid" DSI 79] [pron. **apsi**] in the expression:
khtila absi 'to frighten'
- ku-'abuda* v. [Sw. *abudu* SSED 1; Ar. '*abada* "to worship" and '*ubūda* "adoration" W 586] (**abudiile**) worship God
 variant form: **k-aabuda**
Abuda. 'Worship God!'
chi'abuda 'if (s)he worships'
ku'abuda fulaani 'to toady to someone, do someone's bidding servilely'
ku'abuda mwajiitu 'to worship God'
Mwajiitu/ ni awa/ waa si/ chinakuwa'abudiló/ walá/ nt^haku/ wiinginewe. 'The only God is those we are worshipping, there is no other.' **review**
Want^hu awa/ hu'abuda sanamu. 'These people worship idols.'
- rel.
ku-'abudika v. p/s. (**abudishile**)
ku-'abudila v. appl. worship
Ka wamooyi/ daaba/ zina heshma/ na ẉenewé/ huzidhoora/ na huzi'abudila. 'For some [people], animals are respected [lit. have respect], and their owners protect them and worship them.'
Nt^haku/ mwajiitu/ mwajiitu/ ni awa/ waa si/ chinakuwa'abudiló/ walá/ nt^haku/ winginewe. 'There is no God; God is those that we worship, nor is there another God.'

- Want^hu awa/ hu'abudila sanamu.** 'These people worship idols.'
- ku-'abudisha* v. caus. (**abudishiize**)
- Banafuunzi/ m'abudishize mwaana/ sanamu.** 'Banafuunzi caused the child to worship idols.'
- ku-'abudishana* v. caus. rec. (**wa-'abudisheene**)
- ku-'abudishika* v. caus. p/s.
- ku-'abudishiliza* v. caus. appl. (**abudishiliize**)
- Banafuunzi/ m'abudishilize Suufi/ mwaana/ sanamu.** 'Banafuunzi caused Suufi's child to worship idols.'
- ku-'abudishilizanya* v. caus. appl. rec. (**wa-'abudishilizeenye**)
- Want^hu awa/ wa'abudishilizenye waana/ sanamu.** 'These people caused one another's children to worship idols.'
- rel. nom.
- m-'abuda* (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who worships
- ma-'abuudu*
- n. the one who is worshipped, the object of worship
- variant form: **ma'abuudi**
- chimnoombe ma'abuudi/ rabbi rahiimu waduudi** [st.] 'let us implore the One to be worshipped/ the Lord, compassionate [and] favorably disposed'
- Nfungulila mlaango/ mi/ niingile/ numbaani/ nt^hakhulombela ma'abuudu/ nakhutile rahaani.** 'Open the door for me so that I can enter into the house; I will pray to the one who is worshipped to put comfort (in you).'
- ukopi fir'ooni...waqinjilo waana waawo/ waaliko ma'abuudi yaawo** [st.] 'where is Pharaoh...who slaughtered their children [and] was the object of their worship?'
- abuusa*
- adj. [Ar. *'abūs* "frowning, scowling, melancholy" W 588] **meaning**
- chijana chi'abuusa** (cf. **zijana zi'abuusa**)
- Ni munt^hu abuusa.** **meaning** (cf. **Ni want^hu abuusa.**)
- abuseefu*
- n. [Ar. *abū* "father of, the one with" and *saiḥ* "sword"] swordfish (=mp^hamp^ha **lpaanga**)
- abusefu uyu/ iyi** 'this swordfish' (cf. **abusefu izi** 'these swordfish')
- rel.
- i-'abuseefu* (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.
- achaari*
- n. 9/10 [Sw. *achali* SSED 2; Hind., Pers.] pickles, chutney made of mango mixed with chillies, lemon, and pepper
- Achari iyi/ iwozele.** 'This chutney has gone bad.'
- m(w)-aachisi* (*w-*)
- n. 1/2 bastard, illegitimate child (lit. child of odd number – i.e. only one of the parents, the mother, is recognized in religious terms)
- contraction of: **mwana waa chisi**
- variant form: **mw-aazisi** (*w-*) n. 1/2 *ibid.*
- Finika shkoombe/ mwaachisi/ napite.** 'Cover the cup (until) the bastard goes away.' (A proverb.)
- Maachisi/ haleeti/ kheeri.** 'A bastard won't bring blessing.' (A proverb which conveys the general view that illegitimate children are always problematic and not good people.)
- Mahaḷaa we/ tamtiló/ hattá/ nt^hupaani/ mwaachisi/ takhtomola chaala.** 'Wherever you put him, even in a bottle, a bastard will stick out his finger.' (A proverb.)
- Mwaachisi/ haafi/ pashpo kulisa) aari ya maamaye.** 'A bastard does not die without revenging his mother (i.e. by making another woman pregnant).' (A proverb.)

We/ ni maachisi/ so. ‘You’re a bastard, aren’t you? The way you are behaving, I am guessing that you must be a bastard.’ Or: **Ni maachisi/ so/ we.** (Prosody. Pitch is raised on the word preceding **so**, and **so** is itself raised, not undergoing downstep. In the second example, even **we** continues the string of high-pitched syllables.)

aada

n. 9/10 [Sw. *ada* SSED 23; Ar. *‘ada* W 654] custom, way, tradition; manners, behavior

Aada/ ya mtaana/ maneeno/ ya mlungaana/ shteendro. ‘The custom of the **mtaana** is talk, (that) of the **mlungaana** is action.’ (A proverb.)

Ada zaawo/ mbovu. ‘Their traditions are bad.’

Fijiri/ mkulu/ wa makhaadimu/ kama aadaye/ choondroka/ kulangala muundra. ‘In the morning, the head of the servants, as was his habit, came and surveyed the garden.’

Isa/ teena/ Abunawaasi/ kilasku/ kama aadaye/ hufanya mzaaha/ na khtelega waant^hu. ‘Now, then, Abunawaasi every day, as is his habit, teases and kids people.’

Iyi/ siwo/ ada suura. ‘This is not a good tradition.’

jisa aada ‘as usual’ = **kama aada** ‘as usual’

Khariibu/ ya muuyi/ mwaana/ chanza kiimba/ jisa aada. ‘Near town, the bou began to sing as usual.’

khfanya aada ‘to make s.t. a habit’

Maama/ chimpa chaakuja/ makooko/ tu/ kama aada/ kumpelekela. ‘Mother gave her food, just the hard crust of the rice, as usual, to take to her.’

mambo ya aada ‘traditional matter, affair’

Munt^hu uyu/ aadaye/ (nii) mbovu. ‘This man’s behavior is bad.’

Ni aada/ ka Nuuru/ kuraaga. ‘It is normal, customary for Nuuru to be late.’ Cf. **Nuuru/ kuraaga/ ni aadaye.** ‘For Nuuru to be late is his custom.’ Cf. **Ni aadaye/ Nuuru/ kuraaga.** ‘It is his custom (for) Nuuru to be late.’ But not with the preposition **ka**: ***Ni aadaye/ ka Nuuru/ kuraaga.** It is probably grammatical, but unusual, to say: **Ka Nuuru/ kuraaga/ ni aada.** ‘For Nuuru to be late is customary.’

Ni aada/ ya nuumba/ mubli/ chiya ka kaziini/ kumwuza mukeewe/ kula yaa ye/ nakhsulo kiwá. ‘It is a custom in the family for the husband, when he comes home from work, to ask his wife whatever he wants to know.’

Ni aadaye/ kuraaga. ‘It is his custom to be late.’

Waana/ hawabarshoowi/ adaa mbovu. ‘Children are not taught bad manners.’

Wene chita cha sultaani/ ilu ya meeza/ chinakuhokoma kama aada/ na mweene/ uje ijini/ waa ye/ tezezo naa ye/ khamaari/ nampa sultaani/ salaamu. ‘He saw the head of the sultan on the table passing judgement as usual and he saw the djinn whom he had played games of chance (with him) greeting the sultan.’

adabdara

n. bad manners, ill-nature, lack of discipline

Mi/ sinakhsuula/ waana/ kubarshowa adabdara. ‘I do not want the children to be taught bad manners.’

Omari/ maamaye/ mvunaanzile/ khisaa ye/ ni adabdara. ‘Omari’s mother beat him because he was badly behaved.’

Omari/ ni adabdara. ‘Omari is ill-natured; Omari is misbehaved.’

ku-’adabisha

v. caus. [Sw. *adibisha* SSED 2; Ar. *adab* W 9] (**adabishiize**) punish (esp. a child) for a wrongdoing with the intention of teaching by means of this punishment

Hamadi/ mkali/ kuwa’adabisha waana. ‘Hamadi is good at disciplining children.’

Omari/ maamaye/ ham’adabishi. ‘Omari’s mother does not discipline him.’

rel.

ku-’adabishiliza v. caus. appl.

Maalimu/ m'adabishilize muunt^hu/ maana. 'The teacher punished the child for/on someone.'

ku-'adabishoowa v. caus. pass. be punished

Wana adabidara/ wa'adabishoowa. 'Badly behaved children should be disciplined.'

rel. nom.

m-'adabisha (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who punishes

m-'adabisho n. 3 the act of punishing

M'adabisho wa Hamadi/ ni mkali. 'Hamadi's disciplining (of children) is severe (lit. hot).'

m-adabishoowa (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who is being punished

adabu n. [Sw. *adabu* SSED 2; Ar. *adab* W 9] good manners, good character; discipline, punishment

Ghaḏabu/ nt^hayná/ adabu. 'Anger has no courtesy.' (A proverb.)

Humwaambila/ we/ skooḏé/ na waant^hu/ adabu/ inakhuṭoshe/ nt^haasá/ nt^hukhkoma. '[The step-mother] tells her: You, do not speak to people. Behave [lit. good manners should suffice for you]! Not yet have you [lit. arrived].'

kumbarsha adabu 'to discipline s.o.'

kumtila adabu 'to discipline s.o.'

munt^hu mwenye adabu 'a man of good character, manners'

Mwaambile/ nabarate adabu. 'Tell him that he should learn good manners.'

napate kubarata adabu 'so that he learns good manners'

Nchikoma/ nt^hi izo/ endraani/ ka masultaani/ wa nt^hi izo/ na koḏaani/ naa wo/ ka adabu/ na ka zeema. 'When you (plural) reach these lands, go to the kings of these lands and speak with them respectfully and nicely.'

Ni laazima/ ye/ kubarshowa adabu. 'It is a must that he be taught manners.'

Nthaná/ adabu. 'He has no manners.'

Tomele salaamu/ ka adabu. 'He extended greetings with good manners.'

uso kulekeza qibla ni adabu [st.] 'to direct one's face towards **qibla** is good manners'

Wachimwaambila/ iyi/ ni adabuyo/ mara iyi/ nda piili/ si/ hendra kubigaa zita/ we/ huzimila. 'They told him: this is your punishment. This time is the second (time) we go to fight a war and you hide [from it].'

Waana/ wa sku izi/ nt^hawana/ adabu. 'Children these days do not have good manners.'

adadi

n. 9 [Ar. *'adad* W 595] number, amount, quantity

adadi ya want^hu wa muyi uyu 'the number of people in this town'

Barzaani/ ka sultaani/ waant^hu/ shokuwana adadi/ wawaliko wakaleent^he/ wanamlinda Ali. 'In the royal hall of the sultan people without number were seated waiting for Ali.'

bilaa adadi 'countless, numberless' (Phon. In general, a long vowel is not permitted in a syllable that is more than two syllables from the end of a phrase. This principle does not hold in the case of **bilaa adadi** where the long vowel is the result of a contraction of **bila ya**. This sort of contraction is common in Chimiini and the contracted long vowel escapes the usual shortening of vowels that are too far from the end of the phrase.)

Chiwona makhluukhu/ nt^hawaná/ adadi. 'He saw human beings without number.'

Inaaye Ja'data Alkani/ peela maali ka adadi [st.] 'her name is Ja'data, she was given an agreed sum of money'

Ipisile miyeezi/ nt^hayaná/ adadi/ jisaa mi/ kumwona nt^haku. 'Countless

months passed with there being no way for me to see her.’

ka muda ya miyaaka/ miingi/ nt^ho/ ya sho kiwoowa/ adadiye. ‘for a period of very many years the number of which is not known’
na maluwa nt^hayna adadi ‘and countless flowers [lit. flowers that do not have number]’
pashpo adadi ‘without number’
want^hu awa/ adadi yaawo/ ni... ‘these people, their number is...’
Ye/ peḷa maali/ bilaa adadi. ‘He was given wealth without limit.’
Zombo izo/ nt^haziná/ adadi. ‘Those things are countless (lit. have no number).’

adaala

n. [Ar. *‘adāla* W 596] justice
Ameerika/ yiko adaala. ‘In America there is justice.’
Munt^hu mwenye adaala/ hupendowa na waant^hu. ‘A just man is loved by people.’
want^hu wenye adaala ‘just men’
rel.
u-’adaala n. 14 justness
khfanya u’adaala ‘to treat fairly, justly, equally’
U’adaala/ ni sifa njeema. ‘Justness is a good attribute.’

Aadamu

n. Adam
Aadamu waanawe ni arba’iini [st.] ‘Adam’s sons were forty (in number)’
kana Haawa/ na Aadamú ‘like Eve and Adam -- said of a married couple who are always seen together and are an example of conjugal bliss’ (Note that in Chimiini speech as well as literature it is always “Eve and Adam”, never “Adam and Eve”).

mw-aadamu (w-)

n. 1/2 [see *mw-anaadamu*] human being

adaawa

n. enemy
Mlata aada/ ni adaawa. ‘One who quits tradition is an enemy.’ (A proverb.) Variant: **Muunt^hu/ kulata aada/ ni adaawa.** ‘For one to abandon (his) tradition, culture is to be an enemy.’
rel.
u-’adaawa n. 14 enmity
U’adaawaye/ ha’umali. ‘His enmity never ends (said of someone who holds grudges).’

adeesi

n. [Som.]
Haliima/ namtilila muḷiwe/ chaayi/ adeesi. ‘Haliima is pouring for her husband tea with milk.’ Also: **Haliima/ namtilila muḷiwe/ chayi cha adeesi.**

aadi

adj. [Som. *caadi* DSI 73] normal, usual, common (This word is much used in ordinary speech.)
Kilaa chiint^hu/ (ni) aadi. ‘Everything is fine, normal (a response to the question: how are you?).’
ndila ya aadi ‘main (or normal) road, as opposed to **ndila ya bardunaale**, which is used when the main road is impassable’
ni kana aadi nvula ileesela / laakini baraka kati itomeela [st.] ‘the rain arrived (lit. was brought) as usual, but blessing was taken out of it.’ (Meaning: this rain did not help the harvest, instead it caused floodings, etc.)
Omari/ naa ye/ fanyiizó/ ni aadi. ‘What Omari has done is normal.’
zinanaande/ za aadi ‘the normal **zinanaande** pastry’

adiibu

adj. inv. [Sw. *adibu* SSED 2; Ar. *adīb* W 10] (a person) of good manners, behavior,

cultured, refines; (rarely) a man of letters, writer, author

munt^hu adiibu 'a person of good manners and behavior' (cf. **want^hu adiibu** 'people of good manners', but **chijana chi'adiibu** and **zijana zi'adiibu** 'dim. child/ children of good manners')

Mwana uyu/ adiibu. 'This child is well-mannered.'

Sheekh Qaasimu waaliko adiibu mkulu [st.] Sheikh Qasim was a great author/man of letters'

Wana awa/ (ma')adiibu. 'These children are well-mannered.'

wana ma'adiibu 'well-mannered children'

ku-'adila

v. [Sw. **adili** "be impartial, just, righteous, etc." SSED 3; Ar. **'adala** "be balanced, moderate" W 596] use beautiful words and sentences, choose words well; (of judge) to be just, impartial in his judgement; to be expert in doing s.t. (e.g. driver); (of teacher) to keep discipline; (of parent) not to discriminate among children

Shuferi uyu/ hu'adila. 'This chauffeur drives expertly.'

Mzaazi/ hu'adila. 'The parent does not discriminate among his children.'

aadili (Ø, ma-)

adj. [Ar. **'adil** "just, upright, righteous" W 597]

ama kuwona mweezi muunt^hu aadili [st.] 'or if a just person sees the moon (if on the twenty-ninth day of the month prior to **Ramadhan** a reliable person sees the crescent moon, fasting begins the next day)'

munt^hu aadili 'just person' (cf. **want^hu aadiliu** or **ma'aadili** 'just people', but **chijana chi'aadili** and **zijana zi'aadili** 'just dim. child/children')

muunt^hu sho kiiwa namuuze jo aadili [st.] 'a man who does not know [the regulations] should ask one who is knowledgeable'

Wa'ambile waant^hu/ ya kuwa waant^hu/ wanakinenzo hukuma iyí/ ni waant^hu/ ma'aadili/ ni waant^hu/ wenye ilmu/ ni waant^hu/ wana'iwó/ killa chiint^hú. 'Tell people that the people who are running this government are just people, are people of knowledge, are people who know everything.'

Wanakumera muunt^hu/ aadili/ na faahimú/ kuwawejele sultaani. 'They are looking for a person just and intelligent to be (for them) the sultan.'

k(u-')adilisha

v. caus. [Sw. **adilisha** SSED 3; Ar. **'adala** W 596] make just, correct rel.

k(u-')adilika v. p/s.

k(u-')adilishana v. caus. rec. correct one another

k(u-')adilishika v. caus. p/s.

Ba'aði ya waana/ hu'adilishika ka sahali. 'Some children are easy to correct.'

k(u-')adilishiliza v. caus. appl. (**adilishiliize**)

Mwaalimu/ hachi'adilishiza/ waana. 'A teacher cannot correct the children for/ on us.' **review the verb form, had hi- in "Lexicon"**

k(u-')adilishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. (-('adilishizeenye) correct someone for one another

Weenza/ hu'adilishilizanya waana. 'Friends do correct children for one another.'

k(u-')adilishoowa v. caus. pass.

rel. nom.

m-'adilisha (wa-) n. 1/2 one who corrects

m-'adilishoowa (wa-) n. 1/2 one who is corrected

m-'adilishilizoowa (wa-) n. 1/2 one who is corrected for

adli

n. [Sw. *adili* SSED "right, righteous, just, impartial" SSED 3; Ar. *ʿadli* W 596]
justice, right

ka adli 'in right. justice'

hufaanya kuḷa chiint^hu ye ka adliye [st.] ' [God] does everything
[according] to its rightness'

khfanya adli 'to treat fairly, justly, equally'

Haakimu/ humḷazima khfanya adli/ bena ya waant^hu. "A ruler
is obliged to treat people fairly [lit. make justice among
people].'

**kuwa ni muunt^hú/ waliko mwenye adli/ liini/ chilawanganyo bena
taajiri/ na maskiini** 'that you were a just person who never
distinguished between rich and poor'

Adnaani

n. a name for the Prophet Mohammad

aduwi (Ø, ma-)

n. 9/10, 6 [Sw. *adui* SSED 3; Ar. *ʿadūw* W 599] enemy; [pron. **ma'aduwi**
'enemies']

Aduwi aakhili/ ni kheeri/ kolko mweenza/ jaahili. 'A wise enemy is better
than a foolish friend.' (A proverb.) A variant of this proverb:

Kheeri/ aduwi aakhili/ kama mwenza jaahili. 'Better a wise
enemy than a foolish friend.'

Aduwi/ mpeende. 'Love (your) enemy.' (A proverb.)

Aduwi/ khufuundrisha/ mweenza/ khuzuulisha. 'An enemy teaches you,
a friend destroys you.' (A proverb.)

aduwi izi or **ma'aduwi awa** 'these enemies'

aduwii mbovu or **ma'aduwi mawovu** 'bad enemies'

aduwi mwovu 'a bad enemy'

Aduwi ump^hi. 'Which enemy?'

Aduwi zimp^hi. or **Ma'aduwi waamp^hi.** 'Which enemies?'

aduwi uyu 'this enemy'

Aduwiya/ nshiinzile. 'My enemy defeated me.'

Aduwiza/ zinshiinzile. 'My enemies defeated me.' Or: **Ma'aduwiya/
yanshiinzile.**

...kuwakoo noka/ mweepe/ amó/ aduwi mweepé 'there might be a snake
or some other enemy'

Mi/ siwo/ aduwi nakhumero khuðurú. 'I am not an enemy who wants to
harm you.'

Mshinzile aduwi/ ka hiila/ na basará. 'He defeated the enemy with tricks
and astuteness.'

Mwajiitu/ mwingile garabuuni/ na mshiinzile/ aduwi. 'God helped him
and he defeated the enemy.'

Peesa/ ipasiiza/ aduwi/ ifanyiiza. 'Money has been lent, an enemy has been
made.' (A proverb.)

rel.

chi-'aduwi (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

i-'aduwi (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

u-'aduwi n. 14 [Sw. *uadui* SSED 3] enmity

Hamadi/ nt^haná/ u'aduwi/ na Omari. 'Hamadi does not have enmity with
Omari.'

aduwiniimo

n. [Som. *cadownimo* Ab 5] enmity (Morph. *nimo* is a nominalizer of Somali origin.
It seems here to be added to chimiini **aduwi** rather than Somali **cadow**.)

aḏaabu

n. 9 [Sw. *adhabu* SSED 2; Ar. *ʿaḏāb* "torture, punishment" W 600] hell, fire, pain

Aḏaabu/ nda want^hu aasi. 'Hell is for disobediant people.'

Aḏabu ya khabri/ hiiwó/ mayṭi. 'The one who knows the pain of the grave'

is the corpse.’ (A proverb.)

Hasiibu/ mukhta aḍaabu/ imwelelo niingi/ shkhiira/ kuwapeleka/ mahala ya sultani waa noka/ hupatikano. ‘When the pain became great for Hasiibu, he agreed to send them to a place where the king of snakes could be found.’

Ishqi/ ni aḍaabu. ‘Love is hell.’

kingila aḍabuuni ‘to enter hell’

Mooja/ nakhokola na aḍabu iyi. ‘May God save you from this hell.’

Muḷo wa aḍaabu/ ni mkali. ‘The fire of hell is fierce.’

ndila ya aḍaabu ‘the road to hell’

Waant^hu/ hum’aso mwajūitū/ watakhilowa aḍabuuni/ keesho/ aakhera.

‘People who disobey God will be put in hell in the life hereafter.’

aḍama n. [Sw. *adhama* SSED 3; Ar. ‘*az?ama* W 623] greatness (This item was not known to our consultant GM, but was offered by MI.)

Fulaani/ ni munt^hu mwenye aḍama. ‘So-and-so is a great man.’

aḍaana (ma-) n. [Sw. *adhana* SSED 3; Ar. *adān* W 11] the call to prayer

aḍaana na iqaama sunna akmalī [st.] ‘the call to prayer and the announcement that it is time to pray are **sunna** (i.e. preferred but non-obligatory) acts’

ikum na keendra kilma za aḍaana [st.] ‘nineteen are the words of the **aḍaana**’

kubiga aḍaana ‘to make the call to prayer’

ichigargariḷo ni kubiga aḍaana [nt.] ‘making the **aḍaana** helped us -- lit. that which helped us was making the call to prayer’ (Note: the call to prayer is also made when a natural disaster occurs, as a cry for help.)

numa miskitiini takhkasa ma’aḍaana [nt.] ‘then from the mosques you will hear the **aḍaana**’

ku-’aḍiba v. [Sw. *adhibu* SSED 2; Ar. ‘*adaba* W 599-600] (**aḍibiile**) torture, inflict pain (whether physical or mental)

rel.

ku-’aḍibika v. intr. (**aḍibishile**) suffer pain

ku’aḍibika kaa ndala ‘to suffer from hunger’

ku’aḍibika ka ooni ‘to suffer from thirst’

ku-’aḍibisha v. caus. (**aḍibishiize**) torture, inflict pain

ku-’aḍiboowa v. pass.

Kiḷa/ muunt^hu/ hu’aḍibowa ka ḍambize. ‘Everyone is punished according to his sins, crimes.’ (A proverb.)

sho kiiwa waajibu hu’aḍiboowa [st.] ‘the one who does not know what the religious obligations are is punished’

rel. nom.

m-’aḍiba (wa-) n. 1/2 one who tortures

ma-’aḍibo n. 6 torture

ku-’aḍimishav. [Sw. *adhimisha* SSED 3; Ar. ‘*az?uma* and ‘*az?ama* W 623] (**aḍimishiize**) exalt, glorify, respect someone

rel.

ku-’aḍimoowa v. pass.

nazidiloowa daraja/ nk^hulu ku’aḍimoowa [st.] ‘may his position be enhanced/ increased and exalted’

aḍiimu (O, ma-)adj. [Ar. ‘*az?im* W 623] great, exalted

Nuuru/ ni munt^hu aḍiimu. ‘Nuuru is a great man.’

Wo/ ni want^hu (ma’)aḍiimu. ‘They are great men.’

k-aađina

- v. [Sw. *adhini* SSED 3; Ar. *ađina* W 11] (**ađiniile**) call to prayer
kađina bałasiini ‘to air grievances secretly, not out in the open [lit. to call to prayer in a **bałasi** -- this expression is derived from religious tradition, where the first Muslims, afraid of being persecuted, are said to have called people to prayers in a **bałasi** rather than openly]’
muke kađina awali haraamu [st.] ‘for a woman to make the call to prayers, the beginning, is unlawful’ **review the meaning**
- rel.
k-ađiniłoowa v. appl. pass. be called for; upon the birth of a child, immediately a call to prayer is made for the child
k-ađinila v. appl.

mw-aađiini (wa-)

- n. 1/2 [Sw. *mwadhini* SSED 3] the one who calls for prayers; [pron. **wa’ađiini** (pl.)]
sharti ya mwaadıini kuwa isłamu [st.] ‘it is necessary for the one who calls to prayer to be a Muslim’

aafa

- n. 9 [Sw. *afa* SSED 3; Ar. *āfa* "defect, disease, undesired consequence" W 34]
damage, disaster, defect, disease
afa iyi ‘this disaster’
Andishile chiluungu/ cha piili/ numbaye/ chimaliza/ ilesele aafa. ‘He built a second storey to his house, [but] afterwards a defect appeared (lit. it brought a defect).’
Bali/ maka uyu/ spete aafa/ fasali/ itakuwa mbovu. ‘This year the corn plants were affected by (lit. caught) a disease [so] the harvest will be bad.’
kudirka aafa ‘to suffer damage, disaster’
Jahazi/ idirshile aafa/ nk^hulu. ‘The boat suffered great damage.’
Naambila/ nini/ aafaye (=dhibuye)/ mana uyu. ‘Tell me what is the problem with this child.’

afashi

- n. something without value
rel.
mi-afashi n. 4 odds and ends, things without value
Mi’afashi/ ba/ miizi/ boozele. ‘Even the odds and ends the thief stole (he didn’t leave anything behind).’
Miizi/ hatá/ mi’afashi/ boozele. ‘The thief even the odds and ends stole.’

afđali

- adv. [Sw. *afadhali* SSED 3, 89; Ar. *afđal* W 718] better, rather
Afđali/ inamp^hate/ ije itakump^ható/ kama keendrá/ kunsiba ghađabu za mwajitú. ‘Better that it befalls me, whatever will befall me, than to go and have the wrath of God strike me.’ (Phon. **The final accent in the last two phrases appears to be triggered by this use of kama.**)
Afđali/ kuweeka/ maali/ kama khtumila yoté. ‘Better to set aside money than to use it all.’ (Phon. As above, **kama** seems to trigger final accent. If **kama** is replaced by **kolko**, then the final accent is missing: **Afđali/ kuweeka/ maali/ kolko khtumila yoté.**) **review phrasing and yoté**
Afđali/ khkalaant^ha/ kuiliindra/ kama keendra/ kulana naawo. ‘It is better to stay and wait than to go and quarrel with them.’ **review accent on keendra and naawo**
Ali/ wene kuwa iwaliko afđali/ ye/ chiza/ kuwa’ambila. ‘Ali saw that it was better not to tell them.’
Basi/ chiweene/ ni afđali/ si/ kumubła. ‘So we saw that it was better for us

to kill her.’

Isa/ mi/ nnakuwoná/ kuwa ni afðali/ we/ kuruuda/ karka nt^{hi} yinu/ na mruudile/ sul^{taani}/ mwanaamkewe/ naayé/ sul^{taani}/ nakhurudile maaliyo/ yotte. ‘Now I see that it is better for you to return to your country and return to the sultan’s daughter and also let the sultan return all your wealth.’

Mi/ mbene kuwa... iwaliko afðali/ mi/ kumwambila...lilá. ‘I saw that...it was better that I tell him... the truth.’ **accent**

Mwaana/ chihada/ kuwa ni afðali/ wo/ kulata zombo zaawo/ apo/ na kendra nt^{hi}iini/ na ala zaawó/ tu. ‘The boy said that it was better that they leave their things there and go down with their weapons only.’

Ni afðali/ kuloola. ‘He is better off getting married.’

Ni afðali/ ye/ kooloka. ‘It is better for him to go.’ Or: **Ni afðali/ ye/ na’oloke.**

We/ ni afðali/ kuloolá. ‘You are better to marry.’

afgaawani adj. untalkative, does not talk much (lit. from Somali “short mouth”)
Huseeni/ ni afgaawani. ‘Huseeni does not talk much.’

Afgooye n. a large city, about seventy kilometers north of Shalaambood on the road to Mogadishu, which is located some thirty kilometers further north

afiifa (Ø, ma-) adj. [Ar. *ʾafīf* W 624] loyal, honest, respectful (of women in relationship to their husbands and family); [pron. (ma’)afiifa (pl.)]

Amá/ mi/ nimwene kuwa nii muke/ msuura/ na afiifá. ‘As for me, I have found her to be a woman good and loyal.’ **accent does not appear right, recheck**

muke afiifa ‘a loyal woman’ (cf. **wake afiifa** or **wake ma’afiifa** ‘loyal women’, but **chijike chi’afiifa** and **zijike zi’afiifa** ‘loyal dim. woman/women’ and **ijike i’afiifa** and **mijike mi’afiifa** ‘loyal aug. woman/ women’)

ku-’afisha, k-aafisha v. caus. [Sw. *afu* SSED 4; Ar. *ʾafw* “pardon, forgiveness” W 625] (**afishiize**) pardon, forgive, excuse someone, give one’s share to another

Afisha. ‘Forgive!’ (The imperative form, without an object marker present, does not distinguish between the two different stems: /afisha/ and /’afisha/ since a word-initial glottal stop is deleted in Chimiini. A stem initial glottal stop will only be visible when the stem is preceded by a prefix.)

kafishaka ‘my forgiving someone’

kumaafisha ‘to forgive someone’

Sul^{taani}/ husuloowa/ kuwa ni muunt^hu/ hukhadiro khsaamehá/ na kaafishá/ kama mo/ mweepe/ karka waanawe/ ambó/ ra’iyawe/ ambó/ wataanawé/ shfanya makosa. ‘A sultan should be a man who is able to forgive and pardon if someone among his children or his subjects or his servants makes a mistake.’

rel.

k-afishan(y)a v. caus. rec. (**afisheenyé**)

k-afishanoowa v. rec. pass.

raadi hulombanoowa wont^he/ jamii’a kafishanoowa [st.] ‘all are beginning each other’s forgiveness and seek a general pardon’

k-afishika v. caus. p/s. (**afishile**) be forgivable

Ingile ðambi/ sho kafishika. ‘He committed a sin that is unforgivable.’

k-afishiliza v. caus. appl. (**afishiliize**) forego a debt

k-afishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. (**afishilizeenyé**)

k-afishoowa v. caus. pass. be forgiven

Baana/ nakulomba kafishoowa. ‘Baana is begging to be forgiven.’

k-afoowa v. pass. (**afila**) be pardoned, forgiven; recover

Anshuura somuye hafoowi mwaaka [st.] ‘(one who) fasts on **Anshuura** is forgiven his sins for a year’

muunt^hu hijiilo ḍambize hafoowa [st.] ‘the one who goes on pilgrimage, his sins are forgiven’

Ye/ afile na maraḍi. ‘He has recovered from his sickness.’

k-afishoowa, ku-afishoowa v. caus. pass. be pardoned, forgiven

kafishoowaka ‘my being forgiven’

na mi ka barka zaawo/ huloomba ku-afishoowa [st.] ‘and through their blessings/ I beg to be forgiven’

rel. nom.

mw-aafisha (w-) n. 1/2 one who forgives

mw-aafisho n. 3

afiya

n. 9 [Sw. *afya* SSED 4; Ar. *‘afiya* “[good] health, well-being” W 625] health

Afiya/ imbeele ‘he lost his health -- [lit.] health was lost him.’

afiyaa mbovu ‘bad health’

Afiya/ ni maali. ‘Health is wealth.’

afiya suura ‘good health’

Boora/ afiya/ kolko maali. ‘Better health than wealth.’ (A proverb.)

humwiinfa mwenye afiya na mleele [st.] ‘it (referring to the Quran) is useful to the healthy and to the sick (as well)’

isa ni afiya laṭakunt^heleza [song] ‘now (there is) health, stop making a joke of me’

mbuzi mbili ya matako za afiya [st.] ‘two healthy sheep’

Moojá/ nampa afiya. ‘[Lit. may God give him/her health.’ (In addition to being a wish for s.o.’s health, this expression is used when criticizing a person. In a certain way it expresses the idea that the speaker does not mean any harm, and it counteracts the weight of the criticism.)

Mana uyu/ moojá/ nampa afiya/ hakasi/ jawaabu. ‘This child (may God give it health) does not listen to anything (warning, advice, prohibition).’

mwenye afiya ‘someone healthy’; **wenye afiya** ‘healthy people’

Nt^haná/ afiya suura/ sku izi. ‘He does not have good health these days.’

Wanayo afiya. ‘They have good health.’

afkhari

adj. [Ar. *afkar* “more splendid, more magnificent” W 699] expensive, beautiful

afkhari yaa nguwo ‘the best clothes’

na nguwo afkhari huundru na akhḍari [st.] ‘and clothes, beautiful, red and green’

Omari/ nayo afkhari/ ya nuumba. ‘Omari has the best house.’

afo

n. 9/10 [Som. *af* “mouth” DSI 10] fever blister, lesion, crack in the mouth

afo iyi ‘this blister’

afoya ‘my blister’

Omari/ nayo afo. ‘Omari has lesions in the mouth.’

rel.

i-’afo (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

aafrika

n. [pron. *aafrika*] Africa

aftahi

of some event

v. [? Ar. *fataha* W 693] vacation given to the pupils of the koranic schools because

Sku iyo/ wanafuunzi/ huṭomolowa aftahi. ‘On that day the students are set free [do not have to attend classes].’

Waana/ leelo/ wanayo aftahi. ‘The children have off today from school.’

aftaali

n. 9/10 a dangerous, thorny fish, not eaten

miiwa/ wa aftaali ‘thorn of the *aftaali*’

Omari/ imdurile miwa wa aftaali. ‘Omari has been stung with the thorn of an **aftaali** fish.’

- af̣iini** adj., adv. [Som. *iftiin* “light, splendour, clear sky” DSI 322] clear, light
variant form: **iftiini**, which apparently can be used as a noun as well
If̣tini iyi/ huṭoſha khsomeloowa. ‘This light is sufficient to be used to read with.’
- khfanya afṭiini** ‘to make clear’
Fanya ruuhuyo/ afṭiini. ‘Make yourself clear!’
Khuṭbaye/ afṭiini. ‘His speech is clear.’
Kooḏize/ zivaliko if̣tini. ‘His words were clear.’
Mtana uyu/ afṭiini. ‘This room is clean.’
Omari/ hadile jawaabu/ afṭiini. ‘Omari spoke the words clearly.’
Omari/ koḏele jawaabu/ afṭiini. ‘Omari spoke the words clearly.’
Omari/ kooḏize/ siwo/ afṭiini. ‘Omari’s words are not clear.’
- afu** n. 9/10 fever blister
afu iyi ‘this blister’
afuya ‘y blister’
rel.
chi-’afu (*zi-*) n. dim.
- ’aafu** v. pardon
huloomba Mooja kun’ aafu/ ḏambi kughafiriloowa[st.] ‘I implore God to obliterate my sins/ may God pardon my sins’
Muun^hu/ suura/ kum’afu meenziwe. ‘It is good for a person to pardon another person.’
Mwajiitu/ nakhu’aafu. ‘May God relieve you of your ailing.’
rel.
Omari/ nakhsula ku’afoowa. ‘Omari wants to be pardoned.’
- m(u)-’aafu** adj. forgiven, excused; n. someone who pardons
ka shartize na dambize mu’aafu [st.] ‘under these conditions (with reference to the requirements for the pilgrimage) and his sins will be forgiven’
M’aafu/ ni mojiitu. ‘The one who pardons is God.’
Omari/ ni m’aafu. ‘Omari is someone who pardons.’
We/ m(u)’aafu. ‘You are forgiven, pardoned.’ Or ‘You are one who pardons, forgives.’
- ku-’afura** v. [Som. v. *affur* DSI 11] (but **kh-futura** is more common in Chimiini than **ku-’afura**) eat the first meal of the day after fasting
Leelo/ Omari/ naku’afura ka Hamadi. ‘Today Omari is going to break his fast at Hamadi’s place.’
- afuri** n. [Som. n. *affur* DSI 11] the first meal of the day after fasting
Leelo/ Hamadi/ nayo afuri. ‘Today Hamadi is having the breaking fast meal (i.e. he is having people come to break the fast).’
Leelo/ ka Hamadi/ yiko afuri. ‘There is the breaking fast meal at Hamadi’s place.’
- afwu** n. 9 [cf. Sw. *afua(a)* SSED 4; Ar. *afw* W 625] forgiveness
afwu ya mwajiitu ‘the forgiveness of God’
- afyuuni** n. 9 [Sw. *afyuni* SSED 4; Ar. *afyūn* W 21] opium
afyuni iyi ‘this opium’
- aaga** n. rubber, plastic
aaga/ ya maayi ‘a plastic water container’

chijamu cha aaga ‘a plastic plate
ikaandra/ la aaga ‘plastic belt’
shana cha aaga ‘a rubber, plastic comb’
zilaatu/ za aaga ‘plastic shoes’

aghaarsho

n. [Som. *cagaarshow* DSI 81] jaundice, hepatitis; [pron. **aghaarshó**]
Omari/ pete aghaarshó. ‘Omari got jaundice.’
Uki/ ni dawa ya aghaarshó. ‘Honey is a remedy for jaundice.’

aghlabiya

n. [see etymology immediately below for *aghlabu*] the majority, mostly
Aghlabiya ya waanthu/ ni wasuura. ‘The majority of people are good.’
Waanthu/ aghlabiya (or: **aghlabu yaawo/ntawakuuya**. ‘The majority of
the people did not come.’
Ye/ pete sooti/ (ya) aghlabiya. ‘He got the votes (lit. voice) of the
majority.’

aghlabu

adv. [Sw. *aghalabu* SSED 5; Ar. *aglab* “the majority”; adv. expressions meaning
“most likely, probably, in most cases” formed with *aglab* followed by other words, W 680] often, usually; n. the
majority

variant form: **ghaalibu**

Aghlabu ya waanthu/ ni wasuura. ‘The majority of people are good.’
Mi/ aghlabu/ hendra chinemaani/ naaye. ‘I often go to the cinema with
him.’
Wana awa/ aghlabu/ huraaga/ kuya madrasaani. ‘These children often
delay going to school.’
Wantu wa maduriini/ aghlabu/ hujani. ‘What do people from the bush
usually eat?’ (A possible answer: **Hujaa nama**. ‘They eat meat.’)

ah

interj.

Ah/ chilawé/ chilawé/ oo/ jawaabuze/ mi/ skupeenda. ‘Ah! let’s go, let’s
go, that guy, his words, I do not like.’

mu-’aahada

n. 3 [Ar. *mu’ahada* W 652] agreement
mu’ahada uyu ‘this agreement’

ah(a)di

n. 9/10 [Sw. *ahadi* SSED 5; Ar. *ahd* W 651] promise, appointment

Ahadi/ muuntu/ laazimu/ khfulisha. ‘A promise, a person must fulfill.’

Ahadi/ ni kana deeni. ‘A promise is like a debt.’ (A proverb.)

Ahdi/ ni deeni/ ka muuntu/ nawo diini. ‘A promise is a debt for the man
who is religious.’ (A proverb.)

**Ahdi/ ya maraa piili/ iwaaliko/ ya kuwa takhshindroowá/ takuna maayi/
ya tawala yotte**. ‘The promise of the second time was that the one
who was defeated would drink all of the water in the sea.’ (Phon.
Although *-otte* is often isolated from a preceding word, in this
example we did not observe a phrasal break in front of *yotte*.)

**Ahdi yitu/ iwaaliko/ ya kuwa takhshindroowá/ takhtomola maaliye/
yotte/ kumpa muntu shiinzió**. ‘Our promise was that the one
who was defeated would give away all his wealth to the man who
won.’

Iyi/ iwaliko ahdi/ ya maraa kandra. ‘This was the promise [made] the first
time.’

khfanya ahdi ‘to make an appointment’

khfulisha ahdi ‘to fulfill a promise’

khpa ahdi ‘to give a promise’

khptomola ahdi ‘to give a promise’

khurashiize ka tama’ aahdiyo nteete mi skiiza [song] ‘I followed you with
hope, I took your promise, I did not refuse’

kuḷawa karka ahdi ‘to break [lit. withdraw] a promise’

kuvunda ahdi ‘to break a promise’

Mithaali/ iyi/ inakuharama/ waant^hu/ kudhoora/ na kofisha ahdi. ‘This proverb warns people to respect and to fulfill a promise.’

promise is not a man.’

Munt^hu sho (kudhora) ahdi/ si muunt^hu. ‘A person who does not respect a

Naayé/ baaba/ mpele ahdi/ muḅli mwiingine. ‘And he, father has already promised her to another man.’

Ni muunt^hu/ nt^haná/ ahdi. ‘He is man who does not keep promises.’

Washfanya ahdi. ‘They made an appointment.’

We/ laazimu/ khfulisha ahadiyo. ‘You must fulfill your promise.’

ahamiya

n. [Ar. *ahammīya* W 1033] importance

Chiwaa we/ peesa/ nt^haziná/ ahamiya/ kaako/ teena/ sababu gani/ yiiko/ yiingine/ yaa we/ nakuhadó/ kuwa muḅjaaná/ haṭakhaadirá/ kundroolá. ‘If it be that for you money has no importance, then what other reason is there that you say the young boy can not marry me?’

Jawabu iyi/ ina ahamiya/ nt^ho. ‘This matter has a lot of importance.’

Jawabu iyo/ ha’ina/ ahamiya. ‘That matter does not have importance.’

Hamadi/ nt^hakhpa/ ahamiya/ jawabu iyo. ‘Hamadi is not giving importance to that matter.’

ahaani

[Som. *ahaan*, from *ahaw* "to be, to become" DSI 15] a word postposed to nouns and adjectives to give an idea of approximation or ‘like’

chigobe ahaani or **chigobeeni** ‘shortish’

hundru ahaani or **hundruuni** ‘reddish’

lada ahaani or **ladaani** ‘sweetish’

masku ahaani ‘(at an unspecified time) during the night’

Omari/ masku ahaani/ choondroka/ chizimila. ‘During the night Omari woke up and hid.’

Siimba/ chanza kuya muyiini/ masku aahaani/ na kuḅlá/ ije ichimwiliḷo mbeleyé. ‘The lion began to come into the town during the night and to kill whatever came in front of him.’

Miizi/ muunt^hi/ ile kamba msaafiri/ ahaani/ masku/ ingiile/ bozele. ‘The thief came by day pretending to be a traveler, (then) at night he entered to steal.’ **review phrasing**

nelpe ahaani or **nelpeeni** ‘white-ish’

Nimweshela Ali/ kaaká/ waardiyá/ ahaani. ‘I put Ali to act as a kind of watchman at my house.’ **phrasing and accent needs to be checked, example was given in writing**

nyulusi ahaani or **nyulusiini** blackish’

Shfanya kaazi/ kamba wardiya ahaani. ‘He was working as a watchman (but this means that he was not a professional watchman, just acting like one).’

sita ahaani or **sitaani** ‘sourish’

ahbali (Ø, ma’-)

1017] stupid, irresponsible person

adj., n. [Som. *ahbal* DSI 15; Ar. *ahbal* “dim-witted, weak-minded” W

ahbali uyu ‘this stupid person’; **ahbali awa** ‘these stupid ones’

Hamadi/ ni ahbali. ‘Hamadi is stupid.’

Ni munt^hu ahbali. ‘He is a stupid person.’

Wo/ ni want^hu (ma’)ahbali. ‘They are stupid people.’

ahdiya

?

ata qiyaama ahdiya [poem] ‘until the end of time’

ku-’ahida

v. [Sw. *ahidi* SSED 5; Ar. *ahida* W 651] (**ahidiile**) promise

chibuku chaa mi/ nim’ahidilo Nuurú ‘the book that I promised Nuuru’

munt^hu waa mi/nim'ahidilo chibuukú 'the man whom I promised a book'
Nim'ahidile^fchibuukú/ Nuuru. 'I promised a book to Nuuru.'
Nim'ahidile Nuurú/ chibuukú. 'I promised Nuuru a book.'

rel.

ku-'**ahidana** v. rec. (**-ahideene**) promise one another

Si/ chi'ahideené/ ya kuwa takhshindroowá/ takhtomola maaliye/ yotte.
'We promised one another that who was defeated would give over all his wealth.'

ku-'**ahidila** v. appl. (**ahidiliile**) promise to

Chi'ahidiliila kishpa deeni. 'He promised to lend us money.'

ku-'**ahidisha** v. caus. (**ahidishiize**)

ku-'**ahidoowa** v. pass. (**ahidiila**)

Nuuru/ ahidila chibuuku/ naami. 'Nuuru was promised a book by me.'

ahlan

[Som. *ahlan*] a greeting

rel.

ahlan wa sahlán [Ar. *ahlan wa-sahlan* "welcome" W 33] a greeting

ahli

or member of one's clan

n. 9/10 [Sw. *ahali*; Ar. *ahl* "relatives, kinsfolk, family" W 33] one's clan, a relative

ahli infariqiile mi nakhkooða na nafsiya [nt.] 'my relatives have left me and I talk to my soul'

former example, the plural noun triggers [cl.2] agreement, while in the latter example it triggers [cl.10] agreement.)

Ahliža/ wa'oloshé. 'My relatives went.' Or: **Ahliža/ zoloshé.** (In the

former example, the plural noun triggers [cl.2] agreement, while in the latter example it triggers [cl.10] agreement.)

Ali/ lazile karka ahli/ nt^hawana mapeesá/ miingí. 'Ali comes from a family which does not have much money.'

Ba'adi yaa sala/ kuḷa mooyi/ humlazima kendra kuzura wazaaziwe/ ahliye/ na weenzawé. 'After the prayer (on the **idi ya wamuusi**) everyone is obliged to go to visit his parents, his relatives, and his friends.'

haṭá/ ichiwa ziwovu izo/ zinakhudirkaa we/ na ahliyó 'even if these evil deeds affect you and your relatives'

Isa/ we/ endrá/ sulṭaani/ nakhuloole/ mi/ nnakhfunga zoombozá/ nakendra kiitú/ ku'iishá/ na ahliyá. 'Now you go to the sultan so that he may marry you, and I am going to pack my things and go to our place and live with relatives.'

kuzuura/ ba'aði ya ahliye 'to visit some of his clan'

Munt^hu uje/ ni ahliye. 'That man is my relative.'

Wawaliko waant^hu/ weema/ ka ahli yaawo/ na winginiwe/ ba. 'They were people good to their relatives and others as well.'

Ye/ sulḷile kumloola/ mwanaamke/ lazilo ka ahli. 'He wanted to marry a girl who came from his clan.'

rel.

u-'**ahli** n. 14 kinship

kumera undrú/ na u'ahli 'to seek relatedness and kinship'

Wawaliko waant^hu/ weema/ ka ahli yaawo/ na winginiwé/ ba. 'They were people good to their relatives and others as well.'

ahluḷ badri

n. [Ar. expression, where *ahl* + genitive = "the people, members, inhabitants, etc. of" ; W 33; here it means the "people of Badr", i.e. those who fought and died at the battle of Badr] a group of fighters who died on *jihad*

ahluḷ banadiri

n. [see etymology above] the people of Banadir

ahluḷ banadiri hujjuza hirima/ karka Judda hadiilo Sheekhi'ullama [st.]

'the people of Banadir are permitted to state their intention to make pilgrimage in Jeddah, the one who said this is the Scholar of Scholars [a name for **Ibnu Hajari**]'

ahluḷ fitna

n. people of chaos, discord

<i>ahluḷ ilmu</i>	n. people of knowledge
<i>ahluḷ jana</i>	n. [see etymology above] <i>Arabicism</i> the people of paradise <i>wene ahluḷ jana wotte wasuura</i> [st.] ‘he saw the people in paradise, all nice’
<i>ahluḷ kheeri</i> and has blessing’	n., adj. [see etymology above] someone who does good deeds <i>islaamu ahluḷ kheeri wenyē baraka</i> [st.] ‘a Muslim who does good deeds
<i>ahluḷ sadaqa</i>	n. people of charity, who give charity
<i>ahluḷ sunna</i>	n. people of <i>sunna</i> , i.e. people who follow the Prophet’s path
<i>ahmaqi</i> (Ø, ma-)	adj. [Ar. <i>aḥmaq</i> W 206] stupid, foolish; [pron. <i>ahmaqi</i> or <i>ahmakhi</i>] Hamadi/ ni ahmakhi. ‘Hamadi is foolish.’ Mi/ siwo/ ahmakhi. ‘I am not foolish, stupid.’ want^hu ahmakhi or want^hu ma’ahmakhi ‘stupid people’ Want^hu awo/ ni (ma’)ahmakhi. ‘Those people are stupid.’ We/ ni ahmakhi. ‘You are stupid.’ Wo/ siwo/ ahmakhi. ‘They are not stupid.’ rel. <i>u-’ahmaqi</i> n. 14 stupidity; [pron. u’ahmaqi or u’ahmakhi]
<i>ahsanta</i> you, thanks honored me’	interj. [Sw. <i>a(h)sante</i> SSED 19; cf. Ar. <i>aḥsanta</i> “well done!, bravo!” W 178] thank <i>ahsanta khushukura we nsharifiile</i> [song] ‘thanks, I thank you, you have Mukewe mgarwa/ chimjiiba/ chimwaambila/ ahsanta/ saydiyá/ nkhiriiélé/ laakini/ chiliindre/ sku sitta zimó. ‘The fisherman’s wife answered him saying to him: thanks, my master, I accept, but let us wait some six days.’ Sultaani/ chimwaambila/ ahsanta/ mwaanawá. ‘The sultan said: thank you, my son.’
<i>ahwaali</i>	n. (cf. <i>haali</i>) [Ar. pl <i>aḥwāl</i> W 216]
<i>ku-’ajabisha</i>	v. [Sw. <i>ajabisha</i> SSED 6, but said to be little used; Ar. ‘ <i>ajab</i> W 591] surprise
<i>ajabu</i>	n. 9/10 [Sw. <i>ajabu</i> SSED 6; Ar. <i>ʿajab</i> W 591] surprise, amazement, marvel, wonder (The penult syllable of this word is extra-high in pitch in some examples we have given. We have indicated this fact with an upwards-pointing arrow in front of the vowel.) Aj[↑]abu. ‘Amazing!’ ajabu iyi ‘this marvel’; ajabu izi ‘these marvels’ Ajabu/ nt^haykuwapungulika/ kuwona celo/ khkooḍa/ ka fasaaha. ‘They were amazed (lit. wonder was not reduced to them) to see a gazelle speak so eloquently.’ chint^hu cha ajabu ‘something amazing’ Duniya/ iyele ajabu. ‘The world is full of wonders.’ kuleta ajabu ‘to surprise (lit. bring surprise)’ Kuwa Hamadi/ pisile imtihaani/ ilesele ajabu. ‘That Hamadi passed the examination surprised me.’ mwenye ajabu ‘someone who does amazing things’ Ni munt^hu mwenye ajabu. ‘He is an amazing man.’ Ni ajabu gani/ nk^hulu/ hushindro iyi. ‘What great wonder surpasses this?’ Ni ajabu/ mp^huundra/ khkooḍa chaarabu. ‘It is a wonder for a donkey to speak Arabic.’ (A proverbial saying.) Nuuru/ fanyize jawaabu/ za aj[↑]abu. ‘Nuuru made things of wonder.’ Sa’iidi/ oweele/ muda/ wa skuu saba/ mukhta skuu saba/ stimiiló/ ujé/

muke/ ile/ mteete/ oloshela/ monyeze ziint^hu/ zenye ajabu.

‘Sa’iidi bathed for a period of seven days, and when the seven days were completed, that woman came and took him and went and showed him things possessing wonders.’

Shpete ichi/ ni shpete cha ajabu. ‘This ring is a wonderous ring.’

ajala n. [Sw. *ajali* SSED 6; Ar. *ajal* W 6] fate; time of death; accident, emergency, something unexpected that happens

variant form: **ajali**

Ajala/ ichiingila/ nt^haku/ hukhaadiró/ kureebá. ‘When *ajala* is coming, there is nothing that one can do to stop it.’

Ajala/ ichiya/ ha’ireebeki. ‘When the time to die comes, it cannot be stopped.’

Ajala/ ishpita/ ha’iruudi. ‘If an emergency happens, it does not return back.’ (A proverb.)

Ajala/ nthayná/ mas’ala. ‘You cannot question fate (it just happened, there is no room for argument, etc.).’

Ajaliyo/ ikomeele. ‘Your time of death has come.’

Daxtari/ hareebi/ ajala. ‘A physician does not stop fate.’ (A proverb.)

ghaf̣la/ kana ajali ‘as unexpected, sudden as death’

Omari/ ajalaye/ yiile (or: **yiingile**). ‘Omari’s time of death has come (or lit. has entered).’

m-’ajami (wa-) n. 1/2 [Ar. ‘*ajam* W 593] someone who is not Arab

ajabu adj. strange

possible

Jaama/ kooloka/ ni ajabu. ‘For Jaama to go is strange.’ (Phon. It is to put **Jaama** after the infinitive verb, but it does not phrase with the verb: **Kooloka/ Jaama/ ni ajabu.** ‘For Jaama, as opposed to someone else, to go is surprising.’)

Jaama/ kolokake/ ni ajabu. ‘Jama’s going is strange.’

Kuwa Jaama/ nt^hakuuya/ ni ajabu. ‘That Jaama did not come is strange.’

Or: **Jaama/ kuwa nt^hakuuya/ ni ajabu.**

Kuwa Jaama/ oloshela/ ni ajabu. ‘That Jaama went is strange.’ Or: **kuwa oloshela/ ni ajabu.**

Jaama/

Ni ajabu/ kuwa Jaama/ nt^hakuuya. ‘It is strange that Jaama did not come.’ Or: **Ni ajabu/ Jaama/ kuwa nt^hakuuya.**

ku-’ajiba v. [Ar. ‘*ajiba* "to please, delight, appeal" W 591] (**ajibiile**) please

Basi/ we/ mwenewe/ mmereḷaa muke/ mweema/ takhu’ajibó. ‘Therefore you yourself should look for a good wife for me who pleases you (i.e. meets with your approval).’

mukhṭaa ye/ mpeto mp^huundrá/ m’ajibiló ‘when he found a donkey which pleased him’

Ni muuyi/ utakhu’ajibó. ‘It is a town that will please you.’

Nuumba/ im’ajibile Nuuru. ‘The house suited, pleased Nuuru.’

Shaati/ im’ajibiile. ‘The shirt pleased him.’

ajili

ku-zuuba ajili = lit. to roll/wind a cassette. Meaning: to record on cassette (e.g. songs, voice).

ku-’ajira v. [Sw. *ajiri* SSED 7; Ar. *ajara* W 5] (**ajiriile**) rent, hire, employ

variant form: **kaajira**

Chajira nuumba/ chiingila/ ye/ na/ farasiyé. ‘He rented a house and

moved in, he and his horse.’

Nuuru/ ajirile gaari. ‘Nuuru rented a car.’

Nuuru/ mtile Suufi/ kajira gaari. ‘Nuuru had Suufi rent a car (from someone else).’

rel.

ku-’ajirika v. p/s.

ku-’ajirila v. appl. (**ajiriliile**) rent s.t. for

variant form: **kaajirila**

Ajiriliile gaari/ garaacha. ‘He rented a garage for the car.’

ku-’ajirisha v. caus. rent (to someone), rent something; convince, persuade someone to rent something

variant form: **kaajirisha**

kajirisha baaskiili ‘to rent a bicycle’ (In the old days in Brava, people used

to go to the port area to rent bicycles to ride as a means of relaxation, entertainment. Bicycles were not used as a means of transportation. Goods were moved by camel, donkey, or truck; human beings were transported by truck, bus, etc.)

Najirishize garacha ya Omari. ‘He convinced me to rent Omari’s garage.’
or ‘He rented Omari’s garage to me.’

Najirishize gaari. ‘He rented a car.’

Osmaani/ mwajirishize mwaana/ gaari. ‘Osmaani rented a car to the boy.’

(The “causee”, **mwaana**, controls the OM on the verb. The causee may be omitted, while still being present as an OM on the verb: **Osmaani/ mwajirishize gaari.** ‘Osmaani rented a car to him.’ The logical object may be omitted while the causee remains: **Osmaani/ mwajirishize mwaana.** ‘Osmaani rented it to the boy.’ Our consultant accepted a sentence where the causee is removed from the sentence: **Osmaani/ ajirishize gaari.** ‘Osmaani rented out a car.’ Sentences where the causee is omitted and the verb agrees with the logical object are of dubious acceptability: ?? **Osmaani/ yajirishize gaari.** ‘Osmaani rented out the car.’)

ku-’ajirishana v. caus. rec.

variant form: **kajirishana**

ku-’ajirishika v. caus. p/s.

variant form: **kajirishika**

ku-’ajirishiliza v. caus. appl.

variant form: **kajirishiliza**

Najirishilize gaari. ‘He rented a car for me.’

rel. nom.

m-’ajiro n. 3 the act of renting

ajiri, ajri
nature)

n. [Ar. *ajr* W 5] s.t. praiseful, productive; recognition, reward (but non-material in

praise.)

khtala ajiri ‘to take praise, i.e. be praised’

Muunt^hu/ shfanya zeema/ hupata ajiri. ‘If one does good things, one gets

praise.’

pashpo khuuza ajri/ amó/ ijaará ‘without asking you for reward or salary’

soomu zinaayo ajri niingi na jeza [st.] ‘fasting has many rewards and compensations’

Ukhuba/ numbáani/ ajiri/ ibanyaani. ‘At home, bad [behavior], outside, good [behavior].’ (A proverb, commenting on someone who is very poorly behaved at home, but outside the home everyone thinks he is wonderful etc.)

mw-ajitu

n. 1 (see **mojiitu**, currently the more common pronunciation) God

ku-’ajiza

v. [cf. Ar. ‘*ajaza* “to be weak, incapacitated” W 592] (**ajiziize**) be hesitant, be unable to do s.t., give up, fail to complete s.t. that one has started

khaansa Abađe msuura Maana Faatima/ si’ajize Madiina mzuure ka hima [st.] ‘and in particular the good Lady Fatima/ do not delay, visit here soonest in Medina’

ku’ajiza kuwakuza/ na kuwasharifá/ awo/ wafilo ka khisaa si/ na khisa n̄thi yiitú ‘to fail to honor and respect those who died for us and for our country’

Naku’ajiza kendra kaziini. ‘I am feeling reluctant, hesitant, lazy to go to work.’

Naku’ajiza khpikaa kujá. ‘I am reluctant to cook food.’

Naasi/ chiko hayi/ husuloowa/ chiza ku'ajiza kuwakuza/ na kuwasharifa awo wafilo ka khisaa si/ na khisa n^{hi} yiitu. 'And we who are alive are wanted to not fail to honor and respect those who died because of us and because of our country.'

si'ajize Madiina mzuure kahima [st.] 'don't hesitate, visit her quickly in

Medina'

rel.

ku-'ajiza'ajiza v. freq.

Muke/ naku'ajizo'ajizo/ nini/ shtalaa chisu/ chimdura. 'His wife is hesitating [to do what he told her to do], what, [and] he took a knife and pricked her [with it].' (The word **nini** in this example is semantically empty filler.)

ku-'ajizisha v. caus. (**ajizishiize**) baffle, bewilder (e.g. of a problem that one cannot solve)

ku-'ajizoowa v. pass.

Kaazi/ ha'i'ijizoowi. 'Worki is not something to feel hesitant or be lazy to do.'

Sala/ ha'i'ajizoowi. 'Praying is not hesitated or felt lazy about.'

aajizi (Ø, ma-)

adj. [cf. Ar. *ajiz* "weak, incapable" W 592] lazy, lax, remiss, idle, slow of action

Omari/ ni aajizi. 'Omari is reluctant, sort of lazy.'

umatiyo ni aajizi da'uifu [st.] 'your people are lazy (and) weak'

Want^hu ma'aajizi/ haliwaani. 'Lazy people do not succeed.'

Wele aajizi. 'He became lazy.'

rel.

u-'aajizi n. laziness

ajzi n. laziness, laxness, remissness

u-'ajzi n. ibid.

ajli

[Ar. *li-ajli* W 6] in expression **ka ajli** 'because of, for the sake of

ka ajliye Mooja duniya unzile [st.] 'for his sake God created the world'

Mwanaamke/ ufungile mlaango/ ka ajli ya mwaalimu. 'The girl closed the door because of the teacher.'

ajnabi (Ø, ma'-)

adj. [Ar. *ajnabi* W 139] not closely related by blood (e.g. in Islamic practice, a male may not touch a woman other than his mother or sister on the skin after having taken ablutions – all other women are *ajnabi* and touching them would result in nullifying the ablutions); s.o. available to one for marriage; foreigner, stranger (s.o. not belonging to this place)

ajnabiyo 'someone who is *ajnabi* to you'

ajnabizo 'people who are *ajnabi* to you'

lughā za ajnabi 'foreign languages'

Ma'ajnabi/ wako muyiini/ wont^{he}/ wawiliila/ hafisaani/ ka rasdente. 'All strangers in the city are called to the commissioner's office.'

Mi/ muḅli uyu/ simpendi/ kuwa ni muḅli/ na nch^hilazimoowa/

khkalan^ha naaye/ nt^hakhalant^ha naaye/ kama ajnabi. 'This man, I do not want him to be (my) husband, and if I must live with him, I will live with him as someone unmarried to him.'

Mkhodiisho/ ma'ajnabi/ wiingi/ waako. 'In Mogadishu there are many strangers.'

Omari/ siwo/ ajnabi/ ni mkala muuyi. 'Omari is not a stranger, he is a resident of the city (a city-dweller).'

rel.

chi-'ajnabi adj. foreign

nt^hi za chi'ajnabi 'foreign countries'

ajnaasi

n. [Ar. *ajnaas* pl. of *jins* "kind, sort, variety" W 141] kind, different kinds

Mashariifu/ naawó/ hufanya kaazi/ za ajnaasi. ‘The mashariifu as well do jobs of different kinds.’

Mp^huundra/ waliko tukiile/ zaakuja/ za ajnaasi/ niingi/ ilu ya moongowe. ‘The donkey was carrying foods of many different kinds on his back.’

Tunne/ hukalo muyiini/ hufanya kaazi ajnaasi. ‘The Tunni who live in town do jobs of different kinds.’

Waant^hu/ awa/ ajnaasi/ wakomelopo mahala zikoo ziti/ na meezá/ wachisimama. ‘When these different kinds of people reached the place where there were chairs, they stopped.’

ajuuza (ma-’ajuuza) n., adj. [Ar. *’ajūz* W 592] a very old person (usu. a woman)

muḅli ajuuza ‘an old man’

muke ajuuza ‘an old woman’

...na kumḷata mzeele/ uyu/ ajuuza/ kiineendrá ‘...and leave this old man to walk?’ *review accent, phrasing*

rel.

chi-’ajuuza (zi-) n. 7/8 a very old woman; in the manner of an old person

Basi/ chi’ajuuza/ shchifungafunga zoomboze/ shchiruda kaawo. ‘So the old woman packed up her things and returned [lit. to their] home.’

Nakinendra chi’ajuuza. ‘He is walking in the manner of an old person.’

=aaka first person singular possessive root

chibuku chaaka ‘my book’ (cf. **chibuukucha** ‘my book’) (Note that **ch-aaka** is an independent word while **=ch-a** is an enclitic. The talking backwards language Chijiini reveals this difference: [kuchíbu/ kách^a] versus [kuchachíḅ^a].)

Mayaank^huku/ yawozelo/ ndaaka. ‘The eggs that went bad are mine.’

mwana waaka ‘my child’ (cf. the encliticized first person singular possessive: **mwaanawa** ‘my child’) (The contrast between **w-aaka** and **=w-a** is demonstrated by the treatment in Chijiini: [námwa/ káw^a] and [nawámw^a].)

wana waaka ‘my children’ (cf. **waanawa** ‘my children’)

zibuku zaaka ‘my books’ (cf. **zibuukuza** ‘my books’)

k-aaka v. (**ashile**) be lit, on (of a light), be burning

ka maraḁi aya niwiile kufaaka/ na kuḷatta speendo qalbi hunaaka [st.]

‘from this illness I got aware of my death, and my heart burns me in leaving those whom I love’

kaka miimba ‘to be extremely sorry, grieved -- lit. burn the stomach’

Miimba/ hunaaka. ‘I am very sorry.’

Miimba/ inakunaaka. ‘I am very sorry.’

Miimba/ inakunaaka/ Omari/ kufa. ‘I am very sad about Omari’s dying.’

Lizile munt^hu oyo/ haṭá/ miimba/ itakhaaka. ‘That man cried until [lit.] the stomach will burn you.’

Maluungo/ yanakunaaka/ kana pilpili. ‘My body is burning me like hot chili peppers.’

Mulo/ unakaaka. ‘The fire is burning.’

Sigareeti/ inakaaka. ‘The cigarette is lit.’

Tala/ inakaaka. ‘The lamp is on.’

Sku mooyi/ masku/ sultaani/ naayé/ nakinendo’inendo karka ndilaani/ wene nuumba/ mooyi/ inakakaa tala/ katiike. ‘One day, at night, while the king was taking a stroll, he saw a house burning a lamp in it.’

Zibiriti izi/ hazaaki. ‘These matches / won’t light.’

rel.

k-aakila v. intr. appl.

Mulo/ wize kumwaakila. ‘The fire wouldn’t start for him.’

k-akoowa v. pass.

- Mi/ nakakoowá/ maluungó.** ‘I am very sad.’
k-aasha v. caus. light s.t., burn s.t.
Ashá. ‘Burn it!’
Ashaani. ‘You (pl.) light it!’
Ashanii nt^ha. ‘You (pl.) light a candle!’
Takaasha. ‘He will burn it.’
Takashaayi. ‘How will he light it?’
k-aashika v. caus. p/s. able to be lit
- Muĵo/ hawaashiki/ apa/ ka lpepo.** ‘A fire cannot be lit here because of the wind.’
k-ashikila v. caus. p/s. appl.
- Muĵo/ wize kumwashikila.** ‘The fire wouldn’t start for him.’
k-ashoowa v. caus. pass. be burnt, lit
miskiti huwa miinza hatta tala ichashoowa [st.] ‘the mosque will be dark even when it is lit’
- rel. nom.
mw-aako n. the act of burning
mw-aasho n. burning
- mw-aaka* (m(i)y-) n. 3/4 year; [pron. **mwaaka** or **maaka** in the singular, **myaaka** or **miyaaka** in the plural]
- Baaba/ ishiize/ miyaka miingi.** ‘Father lived for many years.’
Mahamuudi/ shfanya Mkhodiisho/ kaazi/ miyaaka. ‘Mahamuudi worked in Mogadishu for years.’ Or: **Myaaka/ Mahamuudi/ shfanyo kaazó.** ‘For years Mahamuudi worked in Mogadishu.’ Or: **Mkhodiisho/ Mahamuudi/ miyaaka/ shfanyo kaazi.**
- miyaka miwili** ‘two years’
muda/ wa mwaaka/ mzima ‘for a period of an entire year’ (The phrasing shown here is that employed in the text that this example is extracted from; there are other variations, including one where this word sequence to be pronounced as a single phrase: **muda wa mwaka mzima.**)
mwaka mooyi ‘one year’
Ndrinzile majiibú/ miyaka mitatu. ‘I waited for an answer for three years.’
Ndriinzilé/ miyaka mitatu. ‘I waited for three years.’
Ngurile Columbús/ mwaka upisiló. ‘I moved to Columbus last year (lit. the year that has passed).’
- Ngurile Columbús/ mwakaa yana.** ‘I moved to Columbus last year?’
Nimlinzile waawé/ miyaka mitatú. ‘I waited for my father for three years.’
Noloshele Mambasá/ makaa yana. ‘I went to Mombasa last year.’
Nt^hashkuwona/ chineema/ makaa yana. ‘We have not seen a movie this year (lit. last year).’
- rel.
mw-akaani n. next year
Sultaani/ liinzile/ haṭá/ mwakaani. ‘The sultan waited until the next year.’
- l-’ akbari** [Ar. *akbar* W 810] have only observed this item in the **steenzi** line:
mapeendo ya nafsi ni ḍambi l’akbari [st.] ‘love of self is a major sin’
- rel.
akaabiri [Ar. *akābir* W 810]
wamiinzilo akaabiri/ ni Bur’i na Buusiri [st.] ‘the greatest ones who sang his praises (lit. him) are Bur’i and Buusiri’
- aake** his, her
Chaako/ chiwovu/ si cha muunt^hu/ chisuura. ‘The bad that is yours is not (i.e. is better than) the good of another.’ (A proverb that says that one should rely on oneself, not on others.)
Filól/ yaake/ imaliize. ‘He who has died, his (affairs, issues, concerns, etc.) are finished.’ (A proverb.)

Kiġa mooyi/ yaake/ imshishile. ‘Everyone’s catches him (i.e. everyone has his own problems etc.).’ Or: **Kiġa/ mooyi/ yaake/ imshishile.**

Muunt^hu/ humfunguloo nguwo/ walaaliwé/ mojiitu/ humfungula yaake.
‘The one who takes the cloth off his companion/brother, God takes his (clothes) off him.’ (A proverb.)

Muunt^hu/ hushika zaake. ‘A man takes care of his (business, affairs).’ (A proverb.)

Omari/ yaake/ imaliize. ‘Omari is dead (lit. Omari, his is finished).’

Sho khkasa ya waake/ huwona yaake. ‘The one who does not listen to his (i.e. the people close to him, family and friends) will see his (i.e. the unfortunate consequences of ignoring these people).’ (A proverb.)

aake n. Kalashnikov assault rifle (“AK-47”)
khori aake ‘AK rifle’

akh interj. of smelling bad
Akh/ ni kuja gani/ awo/ yanakunuunk^ha. ‘Akh! what kind of food is that, it smells bad!’

akharaba n. 9 one’s relatives **is q possible?**
Awa/ ni akharabaya. ‘These one are my relatives.’

akhðari adj. [Ar. *akðar* W 243] green
chibuku chi’akhðari/ cha mwaana ‘the child’s green book’ (cf. **zibuku zi’akhðari/ za mwaana** ‘the boy’s green books’)
Chibuku ichi/ ni chi’akhðari. ‘This book is green.’ (Cf. **Zibuku izi/ ni zi’akhðari.** ‘These books are green.’)
Na weene/ ziski/ saba/ akhðari/ zoloolo/ na ziskí/ sabá/ skavú. ‘And he saw seven ears of green corn and seven ears of dry corn.’

aakhera [Sw. *ahera* SSED 5; Ar. *al-ākira* W 8] the hereafter] (Note that a locative form with the enclitic =ni is not possible.)

aakhera/ na ĩminguuní ‘in the hereafter and in this world’
kendra aakhera ‘to go to another life, i.e. to the life after death’
Ismu/ ya muunt^hu/ ðakeendra/ aakhera. ‘Everybody will die.’
N^haku/ husulo kendra aakherá. ‘No one wants to die.’
Omari/ kamba munt^hu nakendro aakherá. ‘Omari (looks) like a man who is dying.’
kesho aakhera ‘the life hereafter’
Mtume Mhamadi/ ðakhshafiya umañiye/ kesho aakhera.
‘Prophet Mohamad will forgive his people in the other world, the afterlife.’

aakhiba n. [Sw. *akiba* SSED 7; Ar.] future; something held in reserve for the future, savings
variant form: **aaqiba, aaqibi, aakhibi**
Aakhibi/ ha’iwoli. ‘Something set aside as a reserve does not go bad.’ (A proverb.)
kuweka aakhiba ‘to keep something for the future, to save money or other things for future use’
Mwana uyu/ nt^haná/ aakhiba. ‘This child has no future (nothing good will come to him in the future).’

ku-’akhira v. [Sw. *ahiri* SSED 5; Ar. *akira* W 8] (**akhiriile**) delay, postpone
Awuukari/ akhiriile fadhi. ‘Awuukari postponed the meeting.’
Baana/ akhiriile majlisi. ‘Baana postponed the meeting.’
Nuuru/ akhiriile safari. ‘Nuuru postponed the trip.’

rel.

ku-’akhirika v. p/s. able to be postponed

Majlisi aya/ haya’akhiriki. ‘This meeting cannot be postponed.’

ku-’akhirikila v. p/s. appl.

Huseeni/ majlisi/ yam’akhirikiliile. ‘Huseeni, the meeting was able to be postponed for him.’

ku-’akhirisha v. [Sw. *ahirisha*] (*akhirishiize*) delay, postpone

Hamadi/ m’akhirishize mwaana. ‘Hamadi delayed the child.’

Nuuru/ m’akhirishize mwaana/ kuya sukhuuni. ‘Nuuru delayed the child coming to the market.’

ku-’akhirishana v. caus. rec.

Waana/ wa’akhirishene kuya madrasaani. ‘The children delayed coming to school (lit. delayed one another, although the meaning does not seem to imply that they each caused the other to delay).’

ku-’akhirishika v. caus. p/s.

Mwaana/ ha’akhirishiki. ‘The child cannot be delayed.’

Mwaana/ ha’akhirishiki/ kuya sukhuuni. ‘The child cannot be delayed going to the market.’

ku-’akhirishikila v. caus. p/s. appl.

Mwaana/ n’akhirishikiliile. ‘The child was able to be delayed for, on me.’

ku-’akhirishiliza v. caus. appl.

Baazi/ m’akhirishilize Omari/ majlisi. ‘Baazi postponed the meeting for/on Omari.’

Nuuru/ m’akhirishilize Suufi/ mwaana/ kuya sukhuuni. ‘Nuuru delayed Suufi’s child coming to the market.’

ku-’akhirishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Want’u awa/ wa’akhirishilizenye waana/ kendra madrasaani. ‘These people delayed one another’s children going to school.’

ku-’akhirishilizika v. caus. appl. p/s.

Awiikari/ ha’akhirishiliziki/ majlisi. One cannot postpone a meeting for, on Awiikari.’

ku-’akhiroowa v. pass. [Sw. *ahiriwa*] be delayed

taraawehe sunna ku’akhiroowa [st.] ‘it is better for the Ramadhan prayers to be delayed’

aakhiri

n. [Sw. *aheri* SSED 5; Ar. *ākīr* W 8] end, last

Aakhiri/ komele numbaani/ komeeló. ‘At last he reached his house, that; what he did.’ (This example illustrates the use of verb repetition, with the copy having the form of a relative verb, as a means of verb focus. It is important to note that the verb copy is required to be *morphologically* identical to its triggering verb (seeing aside, of course, that the copy has the morphology of a relative verb); phonological identity is not a requirement. Thus in the present example, the verb **komeele** must shorten its vowel due to being in phrasal medial position; the verb copy, however, retains its long vowel since it is phrase-final. This phonological difference does not render the trigger and the copy non-identical.)

aakhiri ya kooði kuliindra majiibu [song] ‘the end of talk is to wait for an answer’

Chimooyi/ chiseeló/ cha aakhiri/ chingiile/ mahaḷa/ maape/ mutiini. ‘The last remaining one [lit. one which remained of last] entered a place inside the tree.’

Chiineendra/ muda/ wa sku ^hniingi/ nt^ho/ haṭá/ aakhiri/ shkoma nt^hi mooyi. ‘He walked for a period of many days until at last he reached a land.’

Islaamu/ wote/ hufuunga/ nt^hangú/ awali ya mweezi/ haṭá/ akhiriye. ‘All Moslems fast from the first day of the month (of Ramadhan) until its end.’

Mi/ nile aakhirí. ‘I came last.’ (cf. **Ye/ ile aakhiri.** ‘He came last.’)

Munt^h mwovu/ akhiriye/ mbovu. ‘A bad man, his end is bad.’

Na ifungu ya aakhirí/ ilete apa/ uyu islaamu/ nayine. ‘And the last part, bring it here so that this Muslim may drink it.’

ndiye mufti wa aakhiri zamaani [st.] ‘he is the *mufti* of the last days’

akhiri adv. [see above] at last, in the end
Akhiri/ wo/ washpatana/ kumtukula/ Yuusufu/ kendra kumtila/ karka chisima mweepe. ‘In the end, they agreed to carry Joseph and go and put him in some well.’

Chiineendra/ jis’iyo/ pisile/ wakhti/ na ba’adaa wakhti/ miyaaka/ na miyaaká/ akhiri/ mwajitu/ chimwaambila... ‘He went on that way, time passed and after time, years and years, and at last God said to him...’

akhlaaqi n. 10 [cf. Ar. *aklāqī* “moral” and *aklaqīya* “morality” W 259] morals, good manners or behavior; the total behavior or moral character of a person; [pron. **akhlaaqi** or **akhlaakhi**]

Akhlaakhize/ mbovu. ‘His morals are bad.’

Akhlaqi suura/na aqli/ liini/ schimpungukiló. ‘Good morals and wits he never lacked.’

Ama/ muke/ uje/ walimo numba iwaliko lpandre la kusootó/ waliko nii muke/ msuura/ ka akhlaakhi/ mwenye naharisi/ na heshimá. ‘As for the wife who was in the house on the left hand side, she was a woman beautiful with good manners and respect.’

Fulaani/ nt^haná/ akhlaakhi suura/ waant^hu/ wote/ hum’awaaða. ‘So-and-so does not have good character, everyone complains about him.’

Husomeshowa diini/ akhlaaqi/ toohiidi. ‘They are taught religion, civics, theology.’

Mwanamke oyo/ chivilowa Safiya/ naayé/ waliko mwanaamke/ msuura/ mwenye akhlaaqi/ kaðaalika. ‘That girl was called Safiya and she was a girl beautiful, having good morals as well.’

akhyaari + poss [Ar. *ikhtiyār* “choice, preference, free will” W 267] a warning expression (lit. it is your decision)

Akhyaariyo/ choloka oko. ‘Be warned if you go there – i.e. don’t go there (if you go, you have been warned and you will be blamed for what happens).’

Haye/ de/ akhtari yiinu/ baṭaṭa izi/ muunt^hu/ sidaaré/ waló/ sisubuté/ khtiinda/ haṭá/ si/ shchiya laakuja. ‘I warn you, don’t anyone dare touch these potatoes nor dare to collect(lit. cut) any until we come at dawn.’

akhwaani (Ø, ma-) n. 9/10,6 brother(s) (in religion, i.e. fellow Muslims)

akhwaaniwa ‘my brother’

akhwaaniza ‘my brothers’

akhwaaniza laṭaani niingi kibri [st.] ‘my brothers, abandon excessive pride’

Awo/ ni akhwaani. ‘Those are brothers.’

Awo/ ni akhwaaniza. ‘Those are my brothers.’

Awo/ ni ma’akhwaani. ‘Those are brothers.’

Awo/ ni ma’akhwaaniwa. ‘Those are my brothers.’ (Note that one cannot have [cl.10] agreement when the prefix *ma-* is employed: ***Awo/ ni ma’akhwaaniza.**)

Oyo/ ni akhwaani. ‘That one is a brother.’

akhwanulmuslimiina n. Muslim Brotherhood
variant form: **akhwaanilmuslimiina**

akhyaari (Ø, ma-) adj. [Ar. *akyar* “better, superior” W 267] gentle, kind, docile (of human beings); n. noble person

Mi/ nt^humiḷa kaakó/ na muunt^hu/ mweema/ na akhyaari. ‘I have been sent to you by a good and kind man.’ *review*

munt^hu akhyaari ‘a gentle man’ (cf. **want^hu (ma’)axyaari** ‘gentle men’,
chijint^hu chi’akhyaari, zijint^hu zi’akhyaari)

**Sultaani/ chiwavila mawaaziri/ wotte/ na ma’akhyaari/ wa muuyi/
pamó/ na qađi/ kumloozu/ Hasani/ mwanaamkewe.** ‘The sultan
called all his ministers and the nobility of the town together with
the judge to marry Hasani to his daughter.’

rel.

chi-’akhyaari n. 7 civilization, gentleness

Siwo/ mambo ya chi’akhyaari. ‘It is not the behavior of a civilized, gentle
person.’

ku-’akida

v. [Ar. **akada** W 21] (**akidiile**) affirm, assert, recommend (Phon. Verb stems that
write with an initial glottal stop do not realize this glottal stop when there is no prefix
to the stem, but when there is a prefix, then the glottal stop appears. This glottal stop
is treated like any other consonant, and thus a preceding [cl.1] object prefix is heard
as **m-**, eliding its underlying vowel.)

Akidile (ya) kuwa... ‘He asserted that..’

Chi’akidilee si/ khfanya kaazi/ ka bidi’i. ‘He recommended to us to do the
job with effort.’

M’akidile mwaana/ khfanya kaazi. ‘He reaffirmed to the child that he
should do the work.’

N’akidiile/ kuwa madrasa/ itakhfungoowa/ kahima. ‘I affirmed that the
school would be closed soon.’

rel.

ku-’akidila v. appl. (**akidiliile**)

N’akidiliile. ‘He assured me.’

ku-’akidilana v. appl. rec.

ku-’akidisha v. caus. (**akidishiize**)

ku-’akidishanya v. caus. rec.

rel. nom.

u-’akido n. 14 assertion

mu-’akidi

adj. recommended

variant form with gemination: **mu’akiddi**

ziyaara za mtume sunna mu’akiddi [st.] ‘visiting the Prophet is something
recommended’

ta’akiidi

n. affirmation

ku-’akisa

v. [Ar. **akasa** W 63] (**akisiize**) oppose

Killa/ mi/ shkoođa/ ye/ hun’akisa. ‘Whenever I talk, he opposes me.’

rel.

ku-’akisana v. rec. (**-akiseene**)

akmali

adj. [Ar. **akmal** W 841] *poetic* complete, better, good

ađaana na iqaama sunna akmali [st.] ‘the call to prayer and the
announcement that it is time to pray are preferred (but non-
obligatory) acts’

owa Maka chiingila ni akmali [st.] ‘wash if you enter Mecca, it is better’

imaamu yitu Shafi’i na Hambali Maliki na Hanafi wote akmali [st.] ‘our
leaders Shafi’i and Hambali, Maliki and Hanafi (are) all good’

=aako

your(s)

Chimo kaakó/ mkonooni/ ndichó/ chaako. ‘What is in your hands is what
is yours.’ (A proverb.)

others)’

kendra zaako ‘to follow your (affairs, business, etc., do not pay attention to

to others)’

khshika zaako ‘to follow your (affairs, business, etc., do not pay attention

Shika zaako/ liwale/ Omari/ habtize. ‘Follow your affairs, forget about Omari and his stuff (arguments, words).’

Kuja/ kamba siwo yaakó/ miimba/ ndaakó. ‘Food if it is not yours, the stomach is yours.’ (A proverb.)

Mayaank^huku/ yawozeló/ ndaakó. ‘The eggs that went bad are yours.’ (cf.

Ndaakó/ mayank^huku yawozeló. ‘Are yours the eggs that went bad.’)

akthari adj. green

zilatu zi’akthari ‘green shoes’

akthari n. [Ar. *aktar* W 815] majority

Ilooni/ jahazi/ ichizaama/ na waant^hú/ akthari yaawo/ wachifa. ‘At dawn the dhow sank and the majority of the people died.’

L^uaakini/ leelo/ akthari ya waant^hu/ hawakalaant^hi/ zaaydi/ ya sku mooyi/ ambo skuu mbili. ‘However, today most men do not stay inside (after the wedding ceremony) for more than one or two days.’

T^uunne/ ni waant^hu/ akthari yaa wo/ wakaziló/ baadiya Mwiini. ‘The Tunne are people the majority of whom live in the country around Brava.’

Wabjaana/ akthari yaa wo/ heendra/ humaliza masoomo/ yaawo/ Mkhodiisho. ‘Most of the young men go to Mogadishu to finish their studies.’

Waant^hu/ akthari yaa wo/ wachifa. ‘The majority of the people died.’

Zombo izi/ akthari/ nii nshepe. ‘Most of these things are old.’

aktoore n. actor

fakhari/ kana aktoore ‘as proud as an actor’

ch-aakuja (z-) n. food (This noun is derived from the associative phrase **ch-aa kuja** ‘of food’.)

Chaakuja/ nichijiilé. ‘The food, I ate it.’ (In this example, the left-dislocated object of the verb governs an object marker on the verb, indicating the definiteness of this noun phrase. Cf. **Chaakuja/ njiilé.** ‘Food, I ate.’)

al’uraayi n. a type of rice that smells bad, but swells to become a large quantity

mpunga wa al’uraayi ‘rice of the al’uraayi type’

Omari/ ni al’uraayi. ‘Omari is a person who does not bathe and smells bad etc.’

alafu n. luck

Alafu/ ha’ilanyilizoowi. ‘Luck is not something that can be fought for/ over.’ (A proverb.)

Chiint^hu/ siwo alafú/ ha’ijoowi/ bilaa ajali/ ha’ifoowi. ‘Something which is not luck is not eaten, unless it is the prescribed time, one does not die.’ (A proverb.)

Kilaa muunt^hu/ huja alafuye. ‘Everyone eats (i.e. gets) his luck.’ (A proverb.)

Albaamba n. [origin uncertain; possibly from Somali *ceel* ‘well’ plus *baamba*, from *boomba* ‘water pump’] One of the four main quarters in Brava. Extending south of **Biruuni**, along the beach, and consisting mainly of huts made of wood and mud, it came into existence in the early years of the 20th century, when the Italians decided to remove the poorer population and their huts from the main quarters of **Mp^haayi** and **Biruuni**. This was part of a general town-planning scheme, which also saw the cutting of an avenue, lined by coconut palms, linking **Biruuni** with **Baghdaadi**.

Muskit' aa Shekh Nureeni/ wi-ko Al̥baamba. 'Shekh Nureeni's mosque is in Al̥baamba.'

Spit̥ale ya Miini/ yiko Al̥baamba. 'Barawa's hospital is located in the *Al̥baamba* section of Barawa.'

al̥baazi

n. [Ar. article *al* + *bāzin* "falcon" W 57] a medium-sized bird of prey, believed to be a good omen and bring good luck to those who see it, as in popular lore it is connected with the presence of Sheikh Abdulqadir Al-Jilaani; this bird has an almost mythological status, as several people consulted were quite familiar with the name but had not actually ever seen one; as a consequence, views varied as to what it actually looks like: one person thought that it must be white and green since the followers of Sheikh Abdulqadir wear turbans of this color; another consultant thought it was the same size and color as *dafa*; SA saw one which had a uniform gray color

Ka mfaano/ want^hu wa Mwiini/ chiwa wamo safariini/ wachiwona al̥baazi/ hufurahika/ na haamina/ ya kuwa watakhkoma mahala_a wo/ wanakeendr^o/ ka salaama. 'For example, if people of Brava are travelling, if they see *al̥baazi*, they rejoice and they believe that they will reach the place where they are going safely.'

al̥bergo

n. [Ital.] a hotel

Omari/ lele al̥bergooni. 'Omari slept at a hotel.' (Phon. A sentence such as this has what we refer to as canonical word order, with no inherent emphasis. Its pronunciation involves a lowering of the pitch of the second phrase as opposed to the first phrase. We refer to this as "downstep intonation". The corresponding simple yes-no question involves no alteration in the location of accents, just a raising of the pitch of the second phrase. We indicate this raising with a question mark: **Omari/ lele al̥bergooni?** The exclamatory yes-no question, on the other hand, lacks the pitch raising but involves a shift in accent: **Omari/ lele al̥bergooní!?** We indicate the lack of raising in exclamatory yes-no questions by writing "!" at the end, and we show the accent shift(s) connected with this form. When the shifted accent is sentence-final, it has a very noticeable falling character, indicated by the circumflex sign over the vowel.)

alfu

n., adj. [Sw. *alfu* SSED 9; Ar. *alf* W 23] thousand

al̥fu mara 'a thousand times'

Bandeera/ ya Somaaliya/ ipanziiza/ luulyo/ mezi muusi/ maaka/ wa al̥fu/ na miya keendr^a/ na siitiini. 'Somalia's flag was raised (for the first time) on July 1, 1960.'

marā al̥fu 'a thousand times'

na zo ni al̥fu dirhamu/ kubloowa meema faahimu [st.] 'it was a thousand dirhams/ to have the virtuous scholar killed'

Ndratilani/ mi/ mwanaamke/ uyu/ mi/ takinpa/ kila mooyi/ riyali al̥fu. 'You (pl.) leave for me this girl and I will give each one (of you) a thousand riyals.'

nt^hakhupa dinaari/ al̥fu/ kumi. 'I will give you ten thousand *dinaari*.'

rel.

al̥feeni n.,adj. two thousand

ku-'al̥hama

v. [Som. *alxan* DSI 18] (**al̥hamiile**) weld

rel.

ku-'al̥hamika v. p/s. (**al̥hamishile**)

ku-'al̥hamila v. appl. (**al̥hamiliile**)

ku-'al̥hamilana v. appl. rec. (**al̥hamileene**)

ku-'al̥hamisha v. caus. (**al̥hamishiize**)

rel. nom.

u-'al̥hamu n. 14

u-'al̥hamisho n. 14

u-'al̥hamilano n. 14

alhamu

n. solder

Alhamu iyi/ siwo/ yaaka. ‘This solder is not mine.’

alhamdulilla

praise to God! (One use of this expression is as the obligatory reply to the greeting: **mojiitu/ khugargariile** ‘has God assisted you?’, which is said when visiting or speaking to a member of a household where a wedding ceremony has recently taken place.)

alhaasili

adv. [Ar. *al-hāṣil* "briefly, in short" W 182] in conclusion, in short, the final result
Alhaasili/ we/ washkhiira (or: **wakhiriile**). ‘Finally, you know, they agreed.’

Waawaye/ chilola muke mwiingine/ chizaala/ mwanaamke/ mooyi/ naank^hó/ uko/ chizala waana/ sabba/ alhaasili/ we/ wanaashke/ sabba. ‘Her father married another woman [after her mother’s death] and she gave birth to a girl, again, she stayed, she gave birth to seven children, the final result, you know, [was] seven girls.’

mw-aalimu (w-)

n. 1/2 [Sw. *mwaliimu* SSED 318; Ar. *mu ‘allim* W 637] a teacher in a koranic school; [pron. **mwaalimu** or **maalimu**]

Apo/ zamaani/ waliko mwaalimu/ mooyi/ chivilowa Gooso. ‘Once upon a time there was a teacher who was called Gooso.’

Mwaalimu/ mkulu. ‘The teacher is big.’

mwaliimu mkulu ‘a big teacher’

mwana mkulu/ wa mwaalimu ‘the big son of the teacher’; **wana wakulu/**

wa mwaalimu ‘the big sons of the teacher’; **wana wakulu/ wa waalimu** ‘the big sons of the teachers’

mwana wa mwaalimu ‘the son of the teacher’; **wana wa mwaalimu** ‘the sons of the teacher’; **wana wa waalimu** ‘the sons of the teachers’ (The language game Chijini gives some evidence that the associative particle **wa** in this example should be regarded as a proclitic to **mwaalimu**. The game moves the final syllable of the word in front of the first syllable; the game version of the present example is: **namw^a/ muwamwaalⁱ**. Notice that the final syllable of **mwaalimu** is moved in front of the associative particle, not the noun itself, indicating that the particle is proclitic to the noun.)

mwana wa mwaliimu mkulu ‘the son of the big teacher’; **wana wa mwaliimu mkulu** ‘the sons of the big teacher’

Nimene Osmaani/ maalimú. ‘I saw Osmaani the teacher.’ Or: **Nimene ‘Osmaani/ maalimu.** ‘I saw *Osmaani* the teacher.’

Tuuma/ waawaye/ ni maalimu. ‘Tuuma’s father is a teacher.’

Wamó/ humletela mwaalimu/ nguwoo mp^hiya. ‘Some bring the teacher a new piece of cloth.’

rel.

aalimu (\emptyset , *ma-*) adj. learned, scholarly; [pron. **ma’aalimu** (pl.)]

khaansa mub^lee^lo aalimu/ Huseeni meema faahimu [st.]
‘particularly for those who have killed the scholar, the virtuous and learned Husein’

munt^hu aalimu ‘a learned man’; **want^hu aalimu/ ma’aalimu**

‘learned men’; **chijint^hu chi’aalimu** ‘learned dim. man’;

zijint^hu zi’aalimu ‘learned dim. men’

mwajiitu qaadiri ka zote aalimu [st.] ‘God is able to do anything and knows everything’

chi-j-aalimu (*zi-j-*) n. 7/8 dim.

Chijalimu icho/ ni chiwovu. ‘That (dim.) teacher is bad.’

Zijalimu izo/ nik ziwovu. ‘Those (dim.) teachers are bad.’

i-j-aalimu (*mi-j-*) n. 5/4 aug.

Ijalimu iyo ni inene. ‘That (aug.) teacher is fat.’

Mijalimu ayo/ ni minene. ‘Those (aug.) teachers are fat.’

u-w-aalimu n. 14 the condition or state of being a teacher

- aalkola** n. [Eng. and Ital. *alcohol*] alcohol (not limited to alcoholic drinks)
aalkola iyi 'this alcohol'
- almaasi** n. 9/10 [Sw. *almasi* SSED 10; Ar. *almās* W 24] diamond
almasi iyi 'this diamond'; **almasi izi** 'these diamonds'
Chiwona almaasi/ nk^hulu. 'He saw a big diamond.' (Phon. The separation of the modifier **nk^hulu** into a separate phonological phrase from **almaasi** is a device used to convey the indefinite nature of the noun **almaasi**.)
Ilu ya ijabali/ we/ takuwona luulu/ na almasi. 'On top of the mountain you will see pearls and diamonds.'
- rel.
i-'almaasi (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
- altente** n. [Ital. *aiutante*] assistant to a driver
- aluraayi** n. a kind of rice
mpunga wa aluraayi a kind of (bad-smelling) rice'
- alwandari** n. [Eng. *lavender*] a kind of perfume that contains much alcohol
tahaðari alwandari haraamu [st.] 'beware of **alwandari**, it is unlawful'
- aala** n. [Sw. *ala* "sheath, scabbard, case of knife, sword, etc.; any sort of instrument, apparatus, tool, utensil. machine" SSED 8; Ar. *āla* "instrument" W 34] weapons, hunting equipment
Chimalizopó/ kulaa mooyi/ shtala aalaze/ chingila maduriini/ kuwiinda. 'When we finished, each one took his (hunting) equipment and went into the bush to hunt.'
Shpowa chaala/ simizé/ chotte. 'If you are given a finger, do not swallow all of it.' (A proverb.)
Shtete ala ziitu/ chiineenzelé/ haṭá/ shkomele ibanya ya kaandrá. 'We took our (hunting) equipment and we walked until we reached the first open land (that we had been told about).'
Wote/ ka ala zaawo/ tu/ wachanza/ kishkila mlima. 'All, with only their weapons, began to descend the hill.'
Zinakudarbata/ na zuuzile/ aala/ niingi/ zilasilo ka Ameeriká. 'They are preparing (to fight) and have bought many weapons which have come from America.'
- alaa ayi haali** fixed expression: under, in any circumstance
Luulu/ nakuya alaa ayi haali. 'Luulu is coming whatever the circumstances.'
- ch-aala (z-)** n. 7/8 [Sw. *chala* Sac 129] finger, toe
Aaba/ tinzile ruuhuye/ chaala. 'Aaba cut her finger.'
Baana/ mtinzile Haaji/ chaala. 'Baana cut Haaji's finger.' Cf. **Baana/ mtinzile Haaji/ chaala/ chont^he.** 'Baana cut off Haaji's finger (lit. cut the finger all).' Or: **Baana/ mtinzile chaala/ chont^he/ Haaji.** 'Baana cut off the finger [of] Haaji.'
chala chaa kati 'middle finger'
chala cha shpete 'ring finger'
chala cha kuulu 'toe'
Chala cha mooyi/ hachubli/ nthawa. 'One finger does not kill a louse.' (A proverb.)
chala chihabba 'little finger'
chala chihuundru 'red finger'; **zala zihuundru** 'red fingers'
chala cha shahaada 'second finger'
chala shkulu 'thumb, big-toe'

chala shkulu cha kuulu ‘big toe’

hatá/ khalamu/ imvuyile ka zalaani ‘until the pen dropped from his hands’

kama chaala/ na shpeté ‘like a finger and a ring’ (a proverbial saying which describes two things that are very close, “thick as thieves”)

Maana/ mpende chilaala/ choondroka/ mnumile chaala. ‘Love a child when he is sleeping, when he wakes up, bite a finger at him (i.e. indicate your disapproval, etc.).’ (A proverb that says that one must show “tough love” to one’s children, disciplining them and making sure that they follow the correct path.)

Nuuru/ na Jaamá/ kama zala ziwili ‘Nuuru and Jaama are like two fingers’ (a proverbial saying that describes people who are always together)

Sku ya sitta/ tomola shpete/ ka chalaani/ chimaliza/ ruuda/ ka sultaani. ‘On the sixth day take the ring off your finger and then return to the sultan.’

Tinzile ruuhuye/ chaala. ‘He cut himself (on the) finger.’

rel.

i-j-aala (mi-j-) n. 5/4 aug.

Ijala iyi/ ni inene. ‘This (aug.) finger is fat, thick.’

Mijala aya/ ni minene. ‘These (aug.) fingers are fat, thick.’

k-aala

v. [Sw. *yaa* Sac. 1027, who associates it with northern dialects, of which Chimwiini is of course the northernmost] plant, sow; spread

Abunawaasi/ chala msala/ nt^hi. ‘Abunawaasi spread the mat on the floor.’

Alaani/ miyaaka/ saba/ fululizaani/ na yaa ni/ nt^h akhshafó/ lataani/

karka ziskize/ shokuwa habamó/ yaa ni/ nt^h aakujó. ‘Plant for seven years successively and what you (pl.) will harvest, let it remain in its cobs, except for a little that you will eat.’

Hala mhuundru. ‘They cultivate sorghum.’

kalaa chili ‘to make a bed’

kalaa gelle ‘to sow maize’ (Phon. Although we commonly transcribed the word **gelle** with gemination, it nevertheless permits the lengthening of a preceding word-final vowel. This indicates that in some fundamental sense, the word consists of two light syllables: **gele**.)

kalaa gelle/ iwaani ‘to spread maize in the sun’

kala ijambi ‘to spread a mat out to eat on’

kala muundra ‘to farm’

kalaa nguwo ‘to spread clothes out’

kala ziwovu ‘to sow evil’

Kula muunt^hu/ hushafa yaa ye/ aziló. ‘Each man harvests what he sows.’ (A proverb.)

Muunt^hu/ yaa ye/ aziló/ hutuundró. ‘What a man sows is what he harvests.’

Nakhsulaa ni/ (n)saale. ‘He wants that you (pl.) not sow.’ (The second person plural subject marker may not follow the negative morpheme in the negative subjunctive: ***Nakhsulaa ni/ sinaale**.)

Ndimi/ naaziló. ‘It is me who planted it.’

Ndraani/ chaala/ miti/ ya matuundra/ ya lamna/ ka lamna. ‘Inside it (the garden) he planted fruit trees of different kinds.’

Saalé. ‘Don’t sow!’ Cf. **Saleeni.** ‘(Pl.) don’t sow!’

rel.

k-aalila v. appl. (**aliile**) sow for

N^hanakaalila. ‘He is not sowing with/for.’

k-alilana v. appl. rec. sow for one another

k-aloowa v. pass. be planted

Basi/ chaamura/ khadimuze/ kala mteendre/ uchalooowa. ‘So he ordered his servants to plant a date tree (and) it was planted.’

k-aalika v. p/s. **N^hi iyi/ hayaaliki.** ‘This land is not arable.’

k-aalisha v. caus.

Mwalishize Hamadi/ muundra. ‘He made Hamadi farm.’

k-alishanya v. caus. rec.

k-alishiliza v. caus. appl.

k-alishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ku-yaalila v. appl. (**yaaliile**) sow for

ku-yaala v. (**yaazile**) ibid. (Phon. In the past tense, the initial *y* of this stem may undergo ‘hardening’ to *j* or not in the first person singular subject form: **njaazilé** or **n.yaazilé**. The second person plural form does not undergo hardening: **n.yaazilé**. We have not determined whether the sequence **n.y** is phonetically identical in the first singular and second plural forms. The nasal element in both forms derives from an underlying prefix **ni-**.)

Kula muunt^hu/ hushafa yaa ye/ yaaziló. ‘Each man harvests what he sows.’ (A proverb.)

Mi/ mwenewe/ ni’uyaaziló. ‘I myself am the one who sowed it (referring to a [cl.3] noun).’

Siyaalé. ‘Don’t sow!’ Cf. **Siyaleeni** ‘(Pl.) don’t sow!’

Yaala. ‘Sow!’ Cf. **Yalaani.** (Pl.) sow!’

nom. rel.

mw-aalilo n. 3

mw-alishanyo n. 3

mw-aalisho n. 3

mw-aalo n. 3

alaama

n. 9/10 [Sw. *alama* SSED 8; Ar. *alāma* W 636] sign, mark; a sign indicating a trail that is to be followed; trademark

alama iyi ‘this mark’; **alama izi** ‘these marks’

Alama yaa nvula/ ni mawiingu. ‘The sign of rain is clouds.’ (A proverb.)

alama ya zaala ‘fingerprints’

alaama/ za maraōi ‘symptoms’

Basi/ numa/ andika alaama/ mwambiile. ‘So, then, write a sign (on the younger goat), he told her.’

khfanya alaama ‘to make a sign’

kubiga alaama ‘to make a sign, mark’

Basi/ tambiga alaamaye/ tampelekela. ‘So he will put his mark on him (the goat) and send him to him (the sultan).’

Chibiga alaama. ‘He put a mark on it (in the story, a goat).’

Mbiga alaama/ mbigé. ‘Put a mark on him, that is what you should do.’ (Notice that in this common construction, where the verb in the main clause is repeated as a pseudo-relative verb in the tag to the main clause, it is an imperative verb in the main clause and a pseudo-relative form of the imperative in the tag.)

Waa we/ tamtaambuló/ mbige alaama. ‘The one that you will identify, put a mark on him.’

kurasha alaama ‘to trace (follow signs, clues)

Mi/ sinakuwona/ alaama/ yo yotte/ kaake/ malungooni/ honyesho kuwaa ye/ ubleelá. ‘I do not see any sign whatsoever on his body that shows that he has been killed.’

Nchimwona/ muunt^hu/ naayó/ alama iyo/ ndretelaani/ mi/ nnamsuuló. ‘If you see the man who had this mark, bring him to me, I want him.’

rel.

i-’alaama (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.

ku-’alaamisha

v. (**alamishiize**) mark

alamu (\emptyset , *ma-*)

n. 9/10 [Sw. *alamu* SSED 8; Ar. *alam* W 636] flag, esp. a religious flag associated with a particular Islamic order

Alamu/ Ali/ ibashiize. ‘The flag, Ali lost it.’

Alamu/ Ali/ zibashiize. ‘The flags, Ali lost them.’ Or: **Ma’alamu/ Ali/ yabashiize.**

Alamu/ haṭá/ uchandikoowa/ ^fmaazi/ yaṭa(w)anyishiló. ‘Until the flag (e.g. of independence) was raised, a lot of blood was shed.’

Alamu iyi/ inakhpepela. ‘This flag is waving’

Alamu izi/ zinakhpepela. ‘These flags are waving.’

alamu ya Khadiriya ‘the flag of the Qadiriya, a Sufi order’

alamu ya Salihiya ‘the flag of the Salihiya order’

Alamu ya Somaaliya/ inayo noota/ kati. ‘The flag of Somalia has a star in the center.’

khtundrika alamu ‘to hang (put up) a flag’

kishkiza alamu ‘to lower a flag’

kishkiza alamu/ nt^hiini ‘to lower a flag down (to half-mast)’

Want^hu wa Somaaliya/ ^fwotte/ wamo nt^hiini ya alamu ya Somaaliya. ‘All the people of Somalia are under the Somali flag (i.e. under the protection of Somalia).’

rel.

i-’alamu (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

aleeso n. [Ital. *alesso*] meat boiled in water

Ṇama ya aleeso/ nt^hayná/ ayi/ dhadhamu. ‘Boiled meat does not have taste.’

Ali n. cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet; also used as a male proper name

kumpeenda heeḍari Ali st^hoshe haba [st.] ‘to love **heeḍari** Ali, don’t think it insignificant’

m-’aali adj. [cf. Ar. *’alliy* “the Most High, the Supreme (one of the attributes of God)” W 639] *lit.* the Most High

mahaṭi nda mwajiitu wiitu m’aali [st.] ‘praise belongs to our God, the Most High’

k-aalika v. [Sw. *alika* SSED 9] *Swahilism* ? (**alishile**) invite s.o. to a party, wedding, or other ceremony (This verb was offered by Mohammad Imam, but our present consultants our unfamiliar with the word. Perhaps it is a Swahilism.)

rel

k-alikana v. rec. (**-alikeene**)

k-akikila v. appl. (**alikiḷiile**)

k-alikoowa v. pass. (**alishiḷa**)

allahu n. Allah

Mayṭi/ ṭakambiḷoowa/ hada/ moojá/ ni Allahu/ mtumewo/ ni Muhammad/ diiniya/ ni isḷaamu/ khibḷaya/ ni Makka/ ni ka’(a)ba. ‘The dead person is told to say: my God is Allah, my Prophet is Muhammad, my religion is Islam, my direction for praying is Mecca, the **ka’ba**.’

allahuma [Ar. *allāhumma* “o God!” W 24] O God!

wanahade allahuma ḷabeka [st.] ‘let them say, O God, here we are (in answer to your call through the angels)’

chi-’alo chi-haba n. the contents of a bottle of 110 cc. (Etym. The source of **chi’alo** is unknown. The Tunni Somali word is *gaasle*.)

chi-’alo sh-kulu n. the contents of a bottle of 220 cc. (a soft drink bottle) (Etym. The source of **chi’alo** is unknown. The Tunni Somali word is *aley*.)

ama interj. [Sw. *ama* SSED 10, from Ar. *’ammā* W 641, given as a contraction of *’an mā*] oh, truly; [pron. **amá**]

amá/ mi [Som. *amba*, contraction of *ani ba* “as for me”, DSI 18,20]

Amá/ mi/ humphati/ na uweenzá/ wiitú/ ukomele apa/ waraadi. ‘As for me, you won’t get me, and our friendship ends here. Goodbye!’ **need to check out the accent here, added accent marks**

Amá/ mi/ nimwene kuwa nii muké/ msuura/ na afiifá. ‘Truly I think that

she is a good and loyal woman.’

Amá/ mp^huundra/ uyu/ hapuunguli/ kuwa mnene/ huṭasawaraayi/ hayawaani/ kuwaandra/ jis’iyi. ‘Ama! This donkey does not lac being fat! How can it be that an animal gets this fat?’

Amá/ ni/ wanaadamu/ aqili ziinu/ haba. ‘Oh, [I see] you humans, your intelligence is little.’

Amá/ wazeele/ wa sku/ izi/ nt^hawaná/ nahrisi. ‘Truly, old people these days have no pity.’

ama conj. [Sw. *ama* “conj. either...or” SSED 10, from Ar. *am* “or (introducing a question” W 25; cf. Som. *ama*, variants *amba*, *amma* “or” DSI 18] or; [pron. **amá**]

variant forms: **amó, ambó**

Amá/ koowela/ wazelewa/ nt^hawachiiwa/ walá/ nt^hawakunaambila/ kubarata. ‘But to swim, my parents did not know how to nor did they tell me to learn how to.’

Amá/ ye/ chikhushiindra/ we/ takumbelela khadimu wa nuumba. ‘But if she defeats you, you will become a house servant for me.’

kazima nk^heje za mp^huundrá/ ndriliile. ‘Because if you came to borrow the donkey, he is not here, but if you came to borrow the brays of the donkey, let me bray for you.’

inawe niizé/ ba/ ambó/ nsuliile ‘whether I don’t or I do like it’

Jaa we/ amá/ ndimi/ taakujó. ‘Eat or it is me who will eat.’

Nakhsula chaayi/ amá/ kahawa. ‘Do you want tea or coffee?’

Nuuru/ amá/ Muusa/ takuuyó. ‘Nuuru or Muusa will come.’

Omari/ huna kahawa/ amá/ chaayi. ‘Does Omari drink coffee or tea?’

We/ mene Sa’iidi/ ambó (or: amá)/ Saḷwa? ‘Did you see Sa’iidi or Salwa?’

(A possible answer to this question is: **Mi/ nimene Sa’iidi.** ‘I saw Sa’iidi.’ It is not appropriate to respond: **Mi/ nimeené/ Sa’iidi.** Such a sentence focuses on the verb and not the complement. The question requires the complement to be new information.)

zaaydi/ ya sku mooyi/ ambó/ skuu mbili ‘more than a day or two’

ch-ama (z-) n. 7/8 [Sw. *chama* “club, society, association” SSED 48; note that in Sw. this term has assumed political connotations (“party” like the name of the governing party in Tanzania) which it does not have in Chimiini] group of people, band of people (used especially to denote singing and dancing groups)

zama sabba ‘seven dances’ **review**

rel.

z-amaazama adv. in groups

k-aama v. [Sw. *amwa* SSED 13] (**amiile**) suck

kama iwele ‘to suck (of a child at his mother’s breast)’

rel.

mw-aama (wa-’) n. 1/2 one who sucks

mu-’aamala n. [Ar. *mu’āmalā* W 646] treatment of people, dealings with people

amali n. 9/10 [Sw. *amali* SSED 10; Ar. *amal* “doing, acting, action” W 645; cf. also Som. *camal* “character, temperament”] deeds, behavior, manners, temperament

amalii mbovu ‘a bad act, deed’

amali suura ‘a good act, deed’

Amaliye/ imkirihishize waawaye. ‘His behavior displeased his father.’

Amaliye/ mbovu. ‘His behavior, deeds are bad.’

amalize ‘their deeds, behavior’

chiruuda amali mbovu hutinda[st.] ‘when he returns [from the pilgrimage] he ceases doing evil deed’

chiruuda amali njeema huteendra/ hamraashi ḍaalimu illa humpiindra [st.] ‘and, after he returns (from the pilgrimage), he acts righteously/ he does not associate with a wrongdoer, but opposes him’

Munt^hu amaliye ni khaalisi/ hatiyi/ chiint^hu. ‘A man whose deeds are

sincere is afraid of nothing.’ **check the phrasing**

Muunt^hu/ amaliye/ ni nguwoye. ‘A man’s behavior is his clothes.’ (A proverb.)

Ni munt^hu nt^hana amalí. ‘He is a man who does not have a good temperament, manner.’

someelo *ilmu rashiliizo amali* [st.] ‘the one who studied [lit. read knowledge] and who followed up with deeds’

ye nafsi faanya amali jo khaalisi [st.] ‘O human beings, do deeds which are sincere’

Ye/ tete amali ya maamaye/ -- takaburi/ na koonyeshá/ na fakharí. ‘She took the manners of her mother -- arrogance, showing off, ostentation.’

amaamiso

n. **no etymological source known** night blindness

amaana

protected

n. 9/10 [Sw. *amana* SSED 10; Ar. *amāna* W 29] s.t left with s.o. to be kept,

kudhora amaana ‘to keep and protect what is left in one’s custody’

kuweka amaana ‘to leave s.t. with s.o. with s.o. to protect, or as collateral’

Omari/ mambile Hamadi/ kuweka amaana/ ka Dahabshiili.

‘Omari told Hamadi to put a security deposit at Dahabshiili [a well-known remittance company in Somalia].’

Lete amaanaya. ‘Bring that which I left in your custody.’

Tala amaana/ iyi/ yaa mi/ ndreeseló. ‘Take for safe-keeping this that I have brought you.’

Waana/ ni amana ya mwajiitu. ‘Children are given [to us] by God to keep and protect.’

amaani

n. [Sw. *amani* SSED 10; Ar. *amān* W 28] safety, peace

Abdalla/ shkala/ ka amaani/ walá/ zita/ izije/ schifilaṭiṭoowá/

nt^haskondroka teena. ‘Abdalla lived in peace, neither did the war that was expected break out anymore.’

Amaani/ hupatikana ka amaani. ‘Peace is gotten with peace.’ (A

proverb.)

amaani/ kamba numbaani ‘as safe as in a house’

Amaani/ naa zitá/ bà/ hutuluke. ‘Peace and war, both happen.’ (A

proverb.)

Amaani/ nda mwenye mameeló. ‘Peace is with the one who has kept quiet.’ (A proverb.)

Chi’iisha/ ye/ mukeewe/ na want^hu wa muuyí/ karka raaha/ na amaaní.
‘He lived, he, his wife, and the people of the town in comfort and peace.’

jisaa wo/ watakingilo amaniini/ naa mp^haká ‘how they could be safe from the cat’

Hasiibu/ ishiize/ karka raaha/ na amaaní/ hatá/ mowti/ umwijiṭopó.
‘Hasiibu lived in comfort and peace until death came for him.’

ka amaani ‘peacefully’

Walele ka amaani. ‘They slept peacefully.’

ka’ba ni nuumba ya Mooja Rahmaani/ muunt^hu takiingilo peete amaani
[st.] ‘the Ka’ba is the abode of God, the Merciful/ the one who enters it will find peace’

kamaa we/ nakhsula amaaní/ ka mwaadamú ‘if you want peace from a human being’

Mi/ nt^hakhpata amaani. ‘I will find peace.’

Mp^ha amaani. ‘Give me peace (i.e. leave me alone).’

Mtileni amaniini/ siimba/ ye/ mbwaaká/ na hoolá/ nzaaká. ‘Leave the lion in peace, he is mine and the animals [that he has killed] are mine.’

Ndila/ ni amaani/ muunt^hu/ hukhaadira/ kinendra ka mtimiino. ‘The road is so safe that a person can walk on it with a toothbrush (for protection, instead of a weapon).’

ndila ya amaani ‘a safe road’

onyeeza janna nuumba ya amaani [st.] ‘he was shown heaven, the house of peace’

Pete waant^hu/ wachaache/ kumraasha/ laakini/ ye/ walá/ waant^hu/ wamrashizoo ye/ nt^hawakhpata/ amaani. ‘He got a few people to follow him, but neither he nor the people who followed him found peace.’

Waant^hu/ wa Miini/ ni ma’islaamu/ wont^he/ ni waant^hu/ hupeendó/ amaani. ‘The people of Brava are all Muslims; they are people who love peace.’

Ye/ siwo/ munt^hu wa amaani. ‘He is not a man of peace.’

Zamani izi/ nt^haziná/ amaani. ‘These times are not peaceful.’

amaara adj. [cf. Sw. *amari* cited in Sac 55 and in the form *amara* in Prins with the meaning "anchor rope"] strong (of rope, thread, etc.)

Lkambala ili/ ni amaara. ‘This rope is strong.’

mw-aamba (mi-) n. 3/4 [Sw. *mwamba (mi-)* SSED 318] rock (in the sea); [pron. **miyaamba** (pl.)]

Jahazi/ ipanzile mwaamba. ‘The boat went aground on the rock.’

Panzize choombo/ mwaamba. ‘He ran the vessel onto the rock.’ (A proverbial saying.)

ambali n. 9/10 small ear-rings which in the past were usually worn together with a larger kind of ear-ring called *mateenge*

-ambaamba adj. [Sw. *-embamba* SSED 82] thin, narrow, slim, slender

variant form: **-embaamba** (used by MI, whose speech is perhaps more influenced by his Swahili roots on his mother’s side)

ch-ambaamba/ kana chiluti ‘as thin as a stick’; **mambaamba/ kana chiluti** ‘as thin as a stick’

kulu nembaamba ‘thin leg’

Lkaambala/ hutindika mahala nembaamba. ‘A rope breaks where it is thin.’ (A proverb.)

mambaamba/ kanaa luzi ‘as thin as thread’

mambaamba/ kana ngoondra ‘as thin as ngoondra (sp. fish that is dried)’

mambaamba/ kana siindanu ‘as thin as needle’

mikono membaamba ‘thin arms’

mikono mwembaamba ‘thin arm’

Mloongoti/ oyo/ uwaliko mwembaamba/ kama chimuti cha chibiriiti. ‘That mast was thin like a matchstick.’

Muti/ mwembaamba. ‘The tree is thin.’ (Cf. **muti mwembaamba** ‘a thin tree’. It is only prosody that distinguishes the predicative use of the adjective from its use as a modifier of the noun.)

Ye/ loosele/ kuwaa ye/ wene ngoombe/ saba/ wanene/ nakuwajó/ ni ngoombe/ saba/ wembaamba. ‘He dreamed that he saw seven fat cows and the one(s) who were eating them were seven thin cows.’

rel.

w-ambaamba n. 14 [Sw. *wembamba* SSED 82] narrowness, thinness

variant form: **wembaamba** (used by MI)

ambaani maybe, perhaps -- expresses a possibility that is weaker than **humkina**, because it implies doubt

Ambaani/ ni ka jis’iyo/ we/ nakhkaso harfu mbali/ leeló. ‘Perhaps it is for this reason that you smell a different smell today.’

Ka qalbiini/ chihada/ ambaani/ Abunawaasi/ nakhkoða lila/ sababu/ mi/ nk^hasiizé/ peesa/ kuwa zinakhpimoowa/ kaake/ numbaani.

‘In his heart he said: maybe Abunawaasi is telling the truth, because I heard coins being measured in his house.’

Uyu/ ambaani/ ni mtana wa waarabu. 'This one perhaps is a slave of the Arab.'

ambari n. 9/10 [Sw. *ambari* SSED 12; Ar. 'anbar W 647] ambergris (eaten in the belief that it will protect one from cold weather)

ambaaro n. [Som. *cambaar* DSI 86] eczema

k-aambaṭa v. [Sw. *ambata* SSED 1] (-**ambeṭe**) stick to s.t.
kaambaṭa/ kana koola 'to stick to s.t. like glue'
Ḳwarakha/ lambete Ḳkuta. 'The paper was stuck to the wall.'
Mi/ nk^hawa hukhadira khfanya kiḲa/ yaa mi/ nnakhsuuló/ mazá/ mi sula...kumḲaṭa/ mp^haapasi/ kunaambaṭa. 'If I [in the story, a cow is speaking] were able to do everything that I want, how come I let a tick stick to me?'
N^hakhaambaṭa/ kama mp^hapaasi. 'I will stick to you like a cow tick (i.e. like glue).'
Ṭeena/ uje mlungaana/ ṭakoondoka/ ṭakambaṭa ka chivundooni/ ṭakhfinika ruuhuye/ ṭakumera nguwoze. 'Then that one who is free-born will move and stick to the corner and she will cover herself and look for her clothes.'

rel.

k-ambaṭana v. rec. (-**ambaṭeene**) stick to one another

Mbarakha/ zambaṭeene. 'The papers stuck to one another.'

k-aambisa v. [Sw. *ambisa* SSED 11] stick something to something, patch something, glue or attach s.t.; bake bread in an oven

Ambisize Ḳwarakha/ Ḳkutaani. 'He attached the paper to the wall.'

kambisa maandra 'to bake bread'

kambisaa ndruti 'to beat soundly with a stick'

k-ambisan(y)a v. rec. (**ambiseen(y)e**) glue together; beat one another (**kambisanyaa ndruti**)

Ambisenye mbarakha. 'He glued the papers together.'

Wa'ambiseene ndruti. 'They hit each other with sticks.'

k-ambisika v. p/s. (**ambisishile**)

k-ambisiliza v. appl. (**ambisiliize**)

k-ambisilizanya v. appl. rec. (**ambisilizeenye**)

k-ambisisha v. caus.

k-ambisishana v. caus. rec.

k-ambisishiliza v. caus. appl.

k-ambisishiliza v. caus. appl. rec.

k-aambuka v. rev. intr. become detached

k-aambula v. rev. tr. (**ambiile**) detach something from something, peel something off

Ambula ikandra yaa mazu/ ambulá. 'Pull off the banana's peel, that's what you should do.' Or: **Ambula ikaandra/ ambulá/ yaa mazu.** 'Pull off the peel, that's what you should do, of the banana.'

k-ambulakaambula v. freq.

Chambulachaambula. 'He peeled off and peeled off.'

k-ambulisha v. rev. tr. caus. cause someone to detach something

k-aambusa v. detach something from something

rel. nom.

mw-aambaṭo n. 3

mw-aambiso n. 3

mw-ambisilizo n. 3

mw-ambisiko n. 3

mw-ambisilizanyo n. 3

k-aambila v. [Sw. *ambila* SSED 11] (**ambiile**) tell, say to

Ambila. 'Tell!'

Baana/ mwambile Hamadi/ kooḲi. 'Baana told Hamadi what had been said (lit. the words, the talking).'

Basi/ cheendra/ teena/ chimwambila jis'iyó/ chimwaambiló. 'So she went then and told him (her father) this, that's what she told him.'

Chendra ka waawe/ simwaambilé/ kuwaa we/ mwene mwanaamké/ numbaani/ kaaká. 'If you go to my father, don't tell him that you have seen a girl at my house.'

chi-kh-aambila/ kuwaa ye/ nakhsulá khuloolá 'if he says to you that he wants to marry you'

Chimwaambila/ ya kuwaa ye/ nakhsulá kumjariiba. 'He told him that he wanted to test him.'

Chimwambileni) maamaye. 'What should we tell his mother?'

Chimwaambiló/ nii muke. 'The one who told him that was the woman.'

Jaama/ khambile lila. 'Jaama told you the truth.'

Khambile muble mubliwá. 'I told you that you should kill my husband.'

Muke/ chimwaambila/ ya kuwa waana/ maanzine/ wajiile. 'The woman told him that the children had already eaten.'

Mukhta Safiya/ nambiló/ kuwaa ye/ hampeendi/ mubli uyú/ namsulá

Jeelaani/ mi/ nk^haraashá/ jawaabú/ za mwanaamkewá/ dhibu izi/ skaziwaako. 'When Safiya told me that she did not love this man, (and said) I want Jeelaani, if I had listened [lit. followed] the words of my daughter, these troubles would not have befallen us.' (Phon. Observe how the final accent triggered by the adverbial relative clause extends all the way through to the end of the relative clause, despite the fact that there is emphasis on **hampeendi**, which leads to its phrasal separation from its complement. This illustrates the failure of the Accentual Law of Focus to hold in relative clauses. Observe also that the Accentual Law of Focus does not hold in the *ka*-conditional clause, where the verb is also phrasally separated from its complement, but nevertheless the final accent projects to the end of the verb phrase.)

Mwambile Ali/ nalete chaayi. 'Tell Ali that he should bring tea.' (When the main clause is in the affirmative imperative form, then the complement is in the subjunctive and not the infinitive: ***Mwambile Ali/ kuleta chaayi.** 'Tell Ali to bring tea.')

Mwambilopoo muke/ muke/ chishikowa shtana. 'When he told the woman, the woman became angry.'

Nambile lila. 'He told me the truth.'

Nimwambile Ali/ kulaa mbuzi. 'I told Ali to buy a goat.'

Nimwambile Ali/ kuleta chaayi. 'I told Ali to bring tea.'

Niwa'ambile waaná/ wasilete chaayi. 'I told the children that they should not bring tea.'

Simkahaté/ muunt^hu/ chikhambila lila. 'Don't hate someone when he tells you the truth.' (A proverb.)

Simwaambilé/ Ali/ kuleta chaayi. 'Don't tell Ali to bring tea.' (Observe that when the main verb is in the negative imperative, an infinitival complement is used and not the subjunctive: ***Simwaambilé/ Ali/ nalete chaayi.**)

ref.

k-ambilila v. appl. (**ambiliile**) tell for

Nambilila mwaalimu/ kuwaa mi/ skhaadiri. 'Tell the teacher for me that I am sick.'

Nambilile mwaana/ wanaafaqi. 'He told the children lies on me.' (The applied verb form conveys that the children are mine or that I am somehow affected by what happens to them.)

k-ambililana v. appl. rec. (**-ambilileene**) tell for one another

Wa'ambililene waana/ wanaafakhi. 'They told the children lies on one another (i.e. they told one another's children lies).'

k-ambiloowa v. pass. (**ambiila**) be told

Komelopo ka ujee muké/ Sa'iidi/ chambiloowa/ chimwaambiló/ nii muke/ we/ tetee ribá/ umriwo/ hutakiikuta. 'When he reached that woman, Sa'iidi was told, the one who told him was the woman, you have taken usury, in all your life you will not be

satisfied.’

Muunt^hu/ ambiila/ maneeno. ‘The man was spoken to [lit. the man was spoken to words].’ Or: **Maneeno/ ambiila/ muunt^hu.**

Mwaana/ chambiloowa/ na mzele Simsini/ endrá/ mwishkize. ‘The boy was told by old Simsini: go! have him disembark.’

Nambiilá/ kummeraa nyunyi/ mwiingine/ kama oyo. ‘I have been told to look for another bird just like this one.’

Nambila kuwa Safiyá/ ilé. ‘I was told that Safiya came.’

Naambila/ naami/ mp^hate kiiwa. ‘Tell me so that I get to know.’

Nini/ chambiloowa. ‘Why? he was asked (lit. said).’

Wachambiloowa. ‘They were told.’

Waawaye/ kila/ chuza khabarize/ hambiloowa/ kuwa hakhaadiri. ‘Every time his father asked his news (e.g. news of his son) he was told that he (the son) was sick.’

Zishpetopo ndilaani/ siwo/ hukhadirowa kambilowa muunt^hu. ‘What befell us outside is not something that is able to be told to anyone.’

k-ambilana v. rec. (-ambileene) tell each other

Kambilana/ yiiko/ khkasanya/ nt^haku. ‘There is giving each other advice, there is not listening to each other.’ (A proverb.)

Muke/ na mublí/ huwalaazima/ kambilana lila. ‘A wife and a husband must tell one another the truth (lit. it is necessary for them).’ (This example comes from MI. Our present consultant, GM, accepts the sentence as grammatical, but would prefer to say **Muke/ na mublí/ (ni) laazimu/ kambilana lila.** ‘It is necessary for a woman and a man to tell one another the truth.’)

Waana/ wa’ambilene kooði. ‘The children told one another what had been said.’

k-ambilanika v. rec. p/s.

Kooði izi ya/ hazambilaniki. ‘Talk of this kind should not be told to one another.’

k-ambilanoowa v. rec. pass. (-ambileena)

Ali/ na Hamadi/ wa’ambilene majiibu. ‘Ali and Hamadi told one another the answers.’

Majiibu/ ya’ambileena. ‘Answers were told one another.’ (MI judged this to be a grammatical sentence, but only if the people doing the telling are not specified. He rejected: ***Majiibu/ ya’ambilena na waana.** ‘Answers were told one another by the children.’) **review**

Majiibu/ yambileena. ‘Answers were told one another.’ (This is an impersonal passive. The word order could also be **Yambilena majiibu.**)

Yambilena wanaafakhi. ‘There was telling of lies to one another.’ (This is an impersonal passive, as indicated by the *i* > *y* subject marker.)

k-ambilika v. p/s. (-ambilishile)

Baazi/ ha’ambiliki/ kooði. ‘Baazi cannot be told anything (e.g. whatever you say, he will report it to someone else).’

Mi/ simkhaadiri/ mwaanawo/ ka khisa/ ye/ ha’ambiliki/ chiint^hu. ‘I cannot tolerate your child because he cannot be told anything.’

Mwana uyu/ ha’ambiliki/ chiint^hu/ na maamaye. ‘This child cannot be told anything by his mother.’

Wana awa/ hawa’ambiliki/ kooði. ‘These children cannot be told what has been said (e.g. they will not keep a secret).’

k-ambilisha v. caus.

k-ambilishan(y)a v. caus. rec. (ambilisheenyé)

k-ambilishiliza v. caus. appl. (ambilishiliize)

k-ambilishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. (wa-’ambilishilizeenyé)

rel. nom.

u-’ambilo n. 14

u-’ambililo n. 14

u-’ambilosho n. 14

ambiya (*ma-’ambiya*) n. pl. (cf. **nabiiyi**) [Ar. *anbiyā* W 941] poetic prophets

ambo

conj. or, else; [pron. **ambó**]

Ijini/ chihada/ we/ mwaadamu/ mp^hikila/ chaakuja/ ambó/ mi/

nt^hakhubla. ‘The djinn said: you, human being, cook food for me, otherwise, I will kill you.’

Jaa we/ ambó/ ndimi/ taakujó. ‘You eat, or it is me who will eat.’

Talaani/ wafungeeni/ skuu nt^hatu/ ambó/ skuu sabá. ‘Take (the goats) and tie them up for three days or seven days.’

Ye/ hakhaadiri/ kumwambila waawaye/ kuwa nt^heendre/ ziboozela/

ambó/ zijiilá. ‘He could not tell his father that the dates either were stolen or eaten.’

ch-aambo (z-)

n. 7/8 [Sw. *chambo* SSED 48] bait placed on a hook, net, trap

Chaambo/ chijila naa nsi. ‘The bait was eaten by the fish.’

Chiloho/ pashpo chaambo/ hashpati/ nsi. ‘A hook without bait does not catch a fish.’ (A proverb.)

Mbeshele chaambó/ kumpata nk^haanga. ‘I set a trap to catch a guinea fowl.’

Mukhta mi/ nimtomeeló/ ka chambooni/ nimshiishilé/ ka mkonó.

‘When I took it [the guinea fowl] out from the net, I held it by the hand.’

Nk^haanga/ ingiile/ chambooni. ‘The guinea fowl was caught [lit. entered in the net/trap].’

rel.

i-j-aambo (mi-j-) n. 5/4 aug.

k-aambuka

v. intrans. [Sw. *ambuka* SSED 12] (-**ambushile**) be(come) peeled, stripped off, detached

Chilaatucha/ yambushile koola. ‘My shoe, the glue has become undone.’

Lwarakha/ lambushile. ‘The paper has become detached.’

rel.

k-ambulila v. tr. appl.

k-ambulilana v. tr. appl. rec.

k-ambuloowa v. tr. pass. (**ambiila**)

k-aambula v. tr. (**ambiile**) peel or strip off, detach

Abubakari/ ambile lwarakha. ‘Abubakari detached the piece of paper.’

kambulaa mazu ‘to peel a banana’

Ambilee mazu/ ambiiló. ‘He peeled a banana, that’s what he did.’

Ambile ndrriimu/ ambiiló. ‘He peeled a lemon, that’s what he did.’

(But not ***Ambiile/ ambiiló.** ‘He peeled it, that’s what he did.’ Verb repetition is ill-formed if the trigger verb and the copy verb are adjacent.)

k-ambulana v. tr. rec.

k-ambulika v. tr. p/s.

k-ambuliza v. caus. appl. (**ambuliize**) separate people for

Haadi/ mwambulize Bay/ waana. ‘Haadi separated the children for Bay.’

k-ambulizanya v. caus. appl. rec. (-**ambulizeenye**)

Want^hu awa/ wa’ambuliuzenye waana. ‘These people separated for one another their children.’

Want^hu awa/ watilene kambuza waana. ‘The people indirectly caused one another to separate the children.’ (In this periphrastic causative, the children are not necessarily related at all to the people.)

k-aambuza v. caus. (**ambiize**) separate people fighting

Nureeni/ wa’ambize waana. ‘Nureeni separated the children.’ One can also omit the object marker: **Nureeni/ ambize waana.**

k-ambuzanya v. caus. rec. separate from one another

Bay ambuzenye waana. ‘Bay separated the children from each other.’ (Syn.

This verb, being a reciprocal verb, does not allow an object prefix:

***Bay/ wa’ambuzenye waana.**)

k-ambuzanyoowa v. caus. rec. pass.

Waana/ wa'amuzenya na Haadi. 'The children were separated by Haadi.'

k-ambuzika v. caus. p/s.

k-ambuziliza v. caus. appl.

k-ambuzilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

rel. nom.

mw-aambulo n. 3

Ameerika

n. America

Breshnev/ leelo/ karka khutbaye/ wa'ambiile/ marusi/ ya

kuwa...ba'ada/ ya miyaaka/ miwili/ ruusya/ takhshiindra/ natakhpita/ ameerika/ ka killa chiint'u. 'Brezhnev today in his speech told the Russians that after two years Russian will surpass and overtake America in all things.'

Hu'insha Ameerika/ isa. 'I live in America now.'

Mukhaa ye/ peḷa rukhsá/ mwambile Breshnev/ tafaḍali/ mukhṭaa we/ takhkomo Ameeriká/ mi/ ndratani paapo/ Ameerika/ ni/ yolokelenii mbele. 'When he was given permission (to speak), he said to Brezhnev: please, when you will reach America, mi, leave me right there in America, you (resp.) take yourself beyond (America).'

rel.

m-'ameerika (wa-) n. 1/2 an American

Amhaara (Ø, ma'-)

n. 1/2 an Ethiopian

Amhaara/ huja namaa mbiti. 'Ethiopians eat raw meat.'

Ma'amhaara/ hawawoni/ masku. 'Ethiopian people do not see in the dark.' (It was a common belief among Bravanese that Ethiopians could not see at night because they ate raw meat.)

rel.

Amhaara n. Ethiopia

Biyoole/ yiko kharibu ya konfini ya Amhaara. 'Biyoole is near the border with Ethiopia.'

Somaaliya/ na Amhaará/ ni aduuwi. 'Somalia and Ethiopia are enemies.'

Somaaliya/ na huduude/ na Amhaara. 'Somalia shares a border with Ethiopia.'

chi-'amhaara n. 7 the Amharic language

chi-'amhaara (zi-) n. 7/8 dim. Ethiopian

i-'amhaara (mi-) n. 5/4 aug. Ethiopian

ku-'amilata

v. [Ar. 'amila W 644; see also *mu'āmala* "treatment, behaviour" W 646] (**amileete**) deal with people, treat people

kum'amilata jis'iyi 'to treat him this way'

rel.

ku-'amilatana v. deal with

Wote/ wa'ishiize/ naawó/ wanakhpendaanó/ na waant^hú/ wa muuyi/

wawapeenzele/ nt^ho/ ka khisaa wo/ wa'amilateene/ na ra'iya/

ka jisa suura/ na wahokomeele/ ka adli/ na haqí. 'They all lived

[and they] in harmony and the people of the town loved them very much because they dealt with the citizens of the town in a good manner and they ruled with justice and righteousness.'

ku'amilana v. rec. have a relationship with

rel.

ku-'amilatanoowa v. pass.

Hayawaani/ na daba zinginezé/ hazi'amilatanoowi/ naazo/ sawa sawa.

'[Domestic] animals and other animals as well are not treated equally [in Islam].'

ku-'amima

v. [Ar. 'amma W 640] spread, cover; generalize, nationalize

faraḍi ya koowa amima maluungo/ yote ka maayi silate chilungo [st.]

‘(there is an) obligation of washing up (after ejaculating) (and) cover the body, all with whater, don’t leave any part untouched (by the water)’

rel.

ku-’*amimoowa* v. pass,

mane ya mwiimbili hufufiloowa/ iluke maayi yo hu’ amimoowa [st.]

‘(anything that has on it) the urine of a boy (should) be sprinkled with water, over it (the unclean thing) water should be spread’

amina

n. belief

k-aamina

v. [Sw. *amini* SSED 10; Ar. *amina* W28] (*aminiile*) believe, trust s.o.

variant form: *ku’amina*

Abdalla/ aminiile/ ya kuwa mukeewe/ nakhsulaa ye/ naafe/ napate

kulojowa na sulaaani. ‘Abdalla believed that his wife wanted him to die so that she could be married by the sultan.’

Ahliyo/ ma’anaye/ ni muunt’u/ khaminilo we/ na naminilo mi. ‘Your

relative, its meaning is someone who believes in you and who believes in me.’

Haliima/ aminile kuwaa ye/ ni mwaalimu. ‘Haliima believed that (s)he was a teacher.’ (The pronoun *ye* in this example may refer to *Haliima* or to some other individual. The pronoun *ye* may not be replaced by the reflexive pronoun: **Haliima/ aminile kuwa ruuhuye/ ni mwaalimu.* ‘Haliima believed that herself was a teacher.’ One can however say: *Haliima/ aminile ruuhuye/ kuwa ni mwaalimu.* ‘Haliima believed herself to be a teacher.’)

Humamino mojiitú/ hakosi/ chiint’u. ‘He who believes in God does not

miss getting things (i.e. if you believe in God you will get what you want).’ (A proverb.)

Jaama/ aminiile/ kuwa Nuuru/ ni taajiri. ‘Jaama believed that Nuuru is

rich.’

kaamina ka qalbi numa ibada [st.] ‘to believe with one’s heart and then to

worship’

kamina ruuhuye ‘to be confident (lit. to trust oneself)’

Maama/ uyu/ waliko aminiile/ ya kuwa mwaanawe/ chibaraṭa/ kila/

chiint’u/ madrasaani/ itamwinfaa ye/ na maamayé. ‘This mother believed that if her son learned everything in school, it would be useful to him and to his mother.’ (Phon. We have not identified the explanation for the final accent in the phrase *madrassani*.)

Meenza/ mi/ khaamina. ‘My friend, I believe you.’

Mi/ na’iwá/ kuwaa we/ hutakhaadiri/ kunaamina. ‘I know that you will not be able to believe me.’

Mi/ naminiilé/ kuwa Nuuru/ ni taajiri. ‘I believe that Nuuru is rich.’ Cf.

Mi/ naminile Nuurú/ kuwa taajiri. ‘I believe Nuuru to be rich.’ (In the first example, the main verb is phrasally separated from its complement, hence the final accent triggered by a first person past tense verb does not project past the emphasized verb. The *kuwa* in this example is clearly a complementizer, since there is a copular verb present in the sentential complement. In the second example, there is no internal focus and the final accent projects to the end of the VP. The *kuwa* here seems to be the infinitive form of ‘be’.)

Mubjiwá/ amina nasiibuyo. ‘My husband, trust to your luck.’

Muunt’u/ diiniye/ laazimu/ kaamina. ‘One, his religion, he must believe.’

Muunt’u/ humaamina/ mojiitu/ na mtumewé. ‘One believes in God and

his prophet.’

Mwana wa Hamadi/ aminilo kuwa Jaamá/ msomesheezé/ ni Sheekhi.

‘The child whom Hamadi believed that Jaama had taught is Sheekhi.’

Mwaanawa/ we/ laazima/ kumwamina mwajiitu. ‘My child, you must have faith in God.’

na kamaa we/ hunaaminí ‘and of you do not believe me...’

Na kila/ mará/ mo mweepe/ karka waant’u/ wa’izó/ kumwaaminá/

shpitá/ wachimteleza. ‘And every time someone among the people who refused to believe him, when passing, they made jokes at his expense.’

Naamina/ mi/ nt^hakuruuda/ kaako. ‘Believe me, I will return to you.’

Nt^hukaamina/ kooḏiza. ‘You did not believe my words.’

Sultani waa dafa/ chamina kooḏize/ chimlata/ ku’iisha/ kati kaawo.

‘The king of the kites believed his words [referring to Crow] and allowed him to live among them.’

Waant^hu/ haamina/ yaa wo/ wanakhsuuló. ‘People believe what they

want to.’ Or: **Waant^hu/ haamina/ yaa wo/ wanakhsulo kaaminá.**

‘People believe what they want to believe.’

Ye/ chiiza/ kaamina/ kuwaa ye/ fiile. ‘He (the crow) refused to believe that he (the hare) was dead.’

rel.

k-aminana v. rec. trust one another

k-aminika v. p/s. be trustworthy

k-aminila v. appl. entrust to, with

Mi/ nakhaminila mwaanawá. ‘I entrust my child to you./

Noka/ waliko barateene/ mwana wa muunt^hu/ na ka jis’iyó/ baaba/

chimwaminila mwaana/ kuḷa/ ye/ choloka ndilaani. ‘The snake became used to the man’s child and for this reason, father entrusted the child to him whenever he left the house.’

We/ naminililee mi/ nuumba/ nt^hukuwa’aminila waana. ‘You entrusted

the house to me, you did not entrust it to the children.’

Yaayi/ we/ huchaminili/ so/ we/ muna yitú. ‘How come you do not entrust us with our younger brother?’

k-aminisha v. caus.

k-aminishika v. caus. p/s.

k-aminishiliza v. caus. appl.

k-aminishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

k-aminoowa v. pass.

naa wo hawaminoowi/ khabari zaawo hizoowa [st.] ‘and (those who knew it) were not believed/ their attestations were denied (lit. refused)’

Nuuru/ kuwa taajiri/ yaminiila. ‘Nuuru to be rich is believed.’ (Observe that the sentential complement, NP + infinitive phrase, is the subject of the passive verb. It does not seem possible to promote the subject of this complement sentence to be the passive subject: ***Nuuru/ aminila kuwa taajiri.** ‘Nuuru is believed to be rich.’)

Yaa ye/ takuhadó/ haḥakaminoowa/ na waant^hu. ‘Whatever he will say won’t be believed by people.’

rel. nom.

mw-aamina (wa’-) n. 1/2 one who trusts in

Mwamina mwajiitu/ si mkosefu. ‘One who trusts in God is not needy.’ (A proverb.)

u-’amino n. 14 trusting

Amiini

n. a name for the prophet

amiini

adj. trustworthy; n. trust

kubasha amiini ‘to lose trust’

Mi/ mbashiizé/ amiini/ na Hamadi. ‘I lost trust with (in) Hamadi.’

Mi/ nakhsula kuweka amaana/ ka Ali/ sababu/ ye/ ni muunt^hu/ amiini. ‘I want to put my money with Ali because he is trustworthy.’

Ni munt^hu amiini. ‘He is trustworthy.’

Omari/ nt^haná/ amiini. ‘Omari is not trustworthy, he cannot be believed.’

want^hu amiini ‘trustworthy people’

mw-aminifu

adj. trustworthy

ku-’amira

v. [Ar. *amarr* ‘firmer, stronger’ W 901 (**amiriile**) make something more active,

make strong, strengthen

rel.

ku-'amirika v. p/s. become more active, revive, come alive again, prosper, grow

Apo/ zamaani/ muuyi/ wa Mwiini/ uwaaliko/ u'amirishilee nt^ho. 'Once upon on a time the town of Brava was well-populated.'

Muuyi/ unaku'amirika. 'The town is growing.'

ku-'amiriḷa v. appl.

ku-'amiriḷana v. appl. rec.

ku-'amirisha v. caus. (**amirishiize**)

ku-'amirishiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-'amirishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ku-'amiroowa v. pass. **added, get examples**

amiiri (*ma-*)

[pron. **ma'amiiri**]

n. [Sw. *amiri* SSED 13; Ar. *amīr* W 27] commander, leader, authority, ruler;

Sultaani/ ma'amiiri/ maqaadi/ ma'akhyaari/ na makhaadimú/ wachingila safari. 'The sultan, the authorities, the judges, the chieftains, and the servants started traveling.'

amiya

n. [Sw. *ami* SSED; Ar. '*amm* W 640] (my) paternal uncle; [pron. **amiyá**]

amiyá/ wa khpaka 'the man married to my aunt from father's side (lit. uncle of coating)' **review issue of phrasing, accent**

Waaliko/ muḷi mooyi/ nnowelee/ manaamke/ wa amiyé. 'A man married the daughter of his paternal uncle.'

aamma

n. the public

Mwalimu Nyereere/ wafaramiile/ waṭanzaanya/ kudaḍaalata/ na khfaanya/ bidi'i/ karka kaazi/ zaawo/ za khaansá/ na za aammá. 'Mwalimu Nyerere recommended the Tanzanians to do their best and to try hard in their private tasks as well as the public (tasks).'

amo

conj. or, but; [pron. **amó**]

Amó/ chijamuuni/ kaaka/ ye/ nt^hilile makooko/ na chiṭa chaa nsi. 'But on my plate she put the hard crust of the rice and a fish head.'

Ilopo/ eelo/ weene/ kuwa maambo/ yawaliko mawili/ kufaa ye/ amó/ kufa aduwí/ yíitú. 'When the gazelle came, he saw that there were only two alternatives, for him to die or for our enemy to die.'

kama tamwiinfa/ kumfanyiliza kaazi/ amó/ hamwiinfi 'if he will be of use working for him or not'

Khupa zigobe/ amó/ zile. 'Shall I give you the short ones or the long ones?' **review accent**

kumera kaazi/ amó/ kinenza kazi zaawó 'to look for a job or to carry on with their jobs'

Mi/ nt^haakufa/ amó/ nt^hamuḷa/ dughaaghi/ amó/ nt^haki'irudila kiitu/ ka waawe/ na maamé. 'I will die or I will kill the beast or I will return home to my father and mother.'

Ndretelele kheeri/ amó/ shari. 'Did you bring good news or bad?' **review accent**

Nii ndre/ amó/ chigobe. 'Is it long or short?' **review accent**

We/ nt^hakhaadira/ khkuumbuka/ zeema/ zaa ye/ khufanyizoo we/ amo mukeewé. 'You could not remember the good that he did for you or for your wife.' (Phon. Notice that in this example, **amo** phrase with the following noun and governs final accent.)

yanawe masuura/ amó/ mawovú 'be it (e.g. the answer) good or bad'

amri

n. 9/10 [Sw. *amri* SSED 13; Ar. *amr* W 26] order, command; imperative (in grammar); matter, issue, incident, affair, deal; purpose, intention, motive, reason; accomplishment

Ali/ chuuza/ amri gani/ nt^hatu. 'Ali asked: what are these three purposes?'

Amri/ ihuduthiiló. 'Something (an incident, an occurrence, etc.) has

happened.’ (Once speaker A has made a statement like this, speaker B may respond: **Nini**. ‘What?’ in reply to which speaker A might say: **Omari/ boozela**. ‘Omari has been robbed.’)

Amri/ itinzila na sarkaali. ‘The matter was decided by the government.’

Or: **Itinzila amri/ na sarkaali**. ‘A matter was decided by the government.’

amri iyi/ haqiiqaye ‘this matter, its certainty’

Amri iyi/ nii nk^hulu/ naami. ‘This matter is too big for me (i.e. it is beyond my authority).’

Amri/ nt^h ayindowa na sarkaali. ‘The matter was not decided by the government.’ Or: **Nt^h ayindowa amri/ yoyote/ na sarkaali**.

‘Nothing at all was decided by the government.’

Amri ya kaanda/ ni kuwaa ye/ ile kuboola/ amri ya piili/ ye/ ile kichubla/ ya taatu/ ambaani/ ye/ zimila naa muke/ ambó/ na mtaaná/ naayé/ nakhtosha kuwa ile kiitu. ‘The first (possible) reason is that he has come to steal; the second reason, that he has come to kill us; and the third, perhaps, that he has been run away from by a wife or a servant and thinks that she has come to our place.’

amri ya kheeri ‘s.t. good’

ni ajabu amri ya kheeri khtaraja [song] ‘it is strange that he should expect something good’

Amri/ ya mwajiitu/ ipisile. ‘God’s command, wish has come to pass.’

Amri za muuyi/ na za waant^huwé/ ni kaako. ‘The affairs of the town and of its people are yours.’

Iyi/ ni amri/ nk^hulu/ na ni amri/ chihaba/ ka sababu ni sahali/ kaaka/ mi/ khudirkamanishaa we/ na mwanaamke/ laakini/ itakuwa amri/ nk^hulu/ we/ khpata idni/ ya baaba/ sul^htaani/ kumlola mwanaamkewe. ‘This is a big matter and it is a small matter, because for me it is easy to arrange for you to meet with the girl, but it will be a big matter for you to get permission from her father, the king, to marry his daughter.’

khpa amri ‘to give orders’

kh^hawala amri ‘to rule’

kh^hinda amri ‘to decide’

Wash^hinda amri/ kh^huumba. ‘They decided to dig.’

kh^homola amri ‘to issue an order’

Apo/ zamaani/ sul^htaani/ Haruun Rashiidi/ toleme amri/ kuwa nt^haku/ rukhsa/ karka muuyiwe/ kashoowa/ mibeebe/ yaa mu^hlo. ‘Once upon a time Sultan Haruun Rashiidi issued an order that there was no permission in his town for fires to be lit.’

khtala amri ‘to take orders’

kulangala amri ya muuyi ‘to look after the affairs of the town’

Lazile bilaa amriya. ‘He left without my permission.’

Mkulaze/ wachimjiiba/ ya kuwaa wo/ waamo/ nt^hiini/ ya amriye. ‘His elder brothers answered him that they were in under his orders.’

Mpele amri/ mpeeló/ endrá/ finda muti uje. ‘He gave an order, that’s what he did: go and cut down that tree!’

muunt^hu hijilo amriye siwo haba/ Safa na Marwa wachimbiilo mara saba [st.] ‘those who perform the *hajj* achieve a great accomplishment, they run between Safa and Marwa seven times’

na kula amriye chaanza ka bismila [st.] ‘and each of his actions he began by reciting the name of God’

ndruuza ni wajibu amri ya diini/ khaansa kiwoowa mas’ala sitini [st.] ‘O my brothers ,it is obligatory (to know) the matters of religion, especially for sixty questions to be known’

Ni munt^hu mwenye amri. ‘He is a man of authority.’

Siwo/ amri/ chihaba/ muunt^hu/ kub^hel^howaa ndru/ watatu/ ka sku mooyi.

‘It is not a small matter for a man to have three brothers killed [on him] on the same day.’

Sulṭaani/ chiwapa askari/ amri/ kummeera/ siimba/ mahaḷaa ye/ ukó/ kumubḷa. ‘The sultan ordered the soldiers to look for the lion wherever he might be and to kill him.’

Uje wowote/ ṭaakuwó/ mi/ siná/ shaka/ ye/ ile/ na mooyi/ karka amri/ nt^hatu. ‘Whoever he may be (in the story, referring to someone who has knocked at the door), I have no doubt that he has come with one of three purposes.’

k-aamura v. [Sw. *amuua* SSED 13; Ar. *amara* and *amr* W 26] (**amuriile**) order someone to do something (The verb *amura* governs an infinitival or subjunctive complement.)

Amurile ma’askari watatu/ kulindra waradiya/ amuriiló. ‘He ordered three soldiers to stand guard, that’s what he did.’ Also: **Amurile ma’askari watatu/ amuriiló/ kulindra waradiya.**

Huseeni/ chamura khpanzowa itaanga/ wachisaafira. ‘Huseeni ordered the sail to be raised and they traveled.’

Mwaalimu/ amurile Ali/ spoowa/ chaakuja. ‘The teacher ordered that Ali not be given food.’ (A negative verb like **spoowa** is, in the default case, phrase-final. We take this to mean that the negative verb is inherently focused. However, it is possible for the complement to be focused instead. When this happens, the verb is no longer phrase-final: **Mwaalimu/ amurile Ali/ spowa chaakuja.**)

Mwaalimu/ (mw)amurile Ali/ sooloke. ‘The teacher ordered Ali not to go.’

Mwaalimu/ mwamurile Nuuru/ kuleta zibuuku. ‘The teacher ordered Nuuru to bring the books.’

Mwamurile Ali/ kandikaa khaṭi. ‘He ordered Ali to write a letter.’ (It is unacceptable for the higher verb to not agree with the subject of the infinitive: ***Amurile Ali/ kandikaa khaṭi.** In order to have the main verb not object-marked, the lower clause must have a subjunctive shape: **Amurile Ali/ nandikee khaṭi.** ‘He ordered that Ali write a letter.’ In this case, the order was not necessarily issued directly to Ali.)

Sarkaali/ amurile Nuuru/ na’oloke. ‘The government ordered that Nuuru should go.’ (If the higher verb exhibits object agreement, then the preferred interpretation is that the order was directed personally to Nuuru: **Sarkaali/ mwamurile Nuuru/ na’oloke.** ‘The government ordered Nuuru to go.’)

Sarkaali/ amurile waant^hu/ kulawa ibenyaani. ‘The government ordered people to go to the outskirts of town.’

Sulṭaani/ chiwa’amura kumwingiza eelo/ numbaani. ‘The sultan ordered them to bring the gazelle into the house.’

Sulṭani waa noka/ chamura Hasiibu/ na’ondroloowa/ ka usinziizi. ‘The king of snakes ordered that Hasiibu be woken up from sleep.’

Yiiko/ amri/ inakhtulukó/ karka muuyi/ uyu/ ya mwajiitu/

nt^hakaamurá. ‘What matter is there that is happening in this town that God has not ordered?’

rel.

k-amurana v. rec.

k-amurika v. p/s.

k(u’)-amurisha v. caus. order

Harun Rashiidi/ chi’amurisha mkulu wa mawaardiya/ kuletoowa.

‘Harun Rashiidi ordered the head of the guards to be brought (to him).’

Mwamurishize khkalaant^hapí. ‘Where did you order him to sit?’

Nim’amurishize khkalant^ha chitiini. ‘I ordered him to sit on the chair.’

k-amurishana v. caus. rec.

k-amurishiliza v. caus. appl.

k-amurishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

k-amurishoowa v. caus. pass.

Namurishiza keendrá. ‘I was ordered to go.’

Namurishiza kendra na Nuurú. ‘I was ordered to go with Nuuru.’

Namurishiza kumwendela Nuurú. ‘I was ordered to go to Nuuru.’

Namurishiza na Nuurú/ keendra. ‘I was ordered by Nuuru to go.’

k(u’)-amuroowa v. pass. (**amuriila**)

Mtaana/ shfaanya/ zaa ye/ amuriilá. ‘The slave did what he was ordered to do.’

Nuuru/ amuriila kooloka. ‘Nuuru was ordered to go.’

Yamuriila nuumba/ zinapakowa buraashi. ‘It was ordered that the houses be painted.’

k-aamusa

v. [Sw. *amwisha* SSED 13] (**amusiize**) suckle a child; wean a child from suckling

i-j-ana wanziirin. [lit. son of the minister] largish grey fish so named because it looks healthy and well-fed; however, it is not commonly eaten (Phon. Note that the word for ‘minister’ is **waziiri**, without the nasalization in front of z.)

m-w-aana (w-)

n. 1/2 child

kuḷa/ kana mwaana ‘to cry like a child’

mwana petaa nṭhi ‘[lit.] child found on the ground -- someone whose ancestry is not known, a nobody’ **examine phrasing etc**

mwana wa baado ‘first child of a couple’

mwana wa khtiinda ‘[lit.] child of cutting – i.e. the last child born of a couple’

Omari/ ni mwana wa khtiinda/ maamaye/ humpeenda. ‘Omari is the last-born child, his mother loves him (very much).’

mwanaa mule ‘tall child’

mwananaa nṭhi ‘(in Sw. this expression has the meaning: citizen of a country, and MI used it with this meaning; in Chimiini it has a different, derogatory meaning: **mana wa nṭhi** is someone whose roots/ancestry are not known.’

Mwaana/ uyu/ chivilowa Hasani. ‘This boy was called Hasani.’

mwana wa khpeenda ‘(lit.) child of love – i.e. spoiled child’

Hamadi/ ni mwana wa khpeenda/ maamaye/ kilaa chiinṭhu/ humpa. ‘Hamadi is spoiled, his mother gives him everything.’

Mwana wa naani/ iló. ‘Whose child came?’

mwenza wa mwaanawa ‘friend of my child’ or **mwaanawa/ mweenzawe** or [in the speech of MI] **mweenzawe mwaanawa**

Wana awa/ nii wale. ‘These children are tall.’ (cf. **Wana awo/ ni zigobe.** ‘Those children are short.’)

Wana awa/ nii wale/ kuzida wana awo. ‘These children are taller than those children.’ (cf. **Wana awo/ ni zigobe/ kolko wana awa.** ‘Those children are shorter than these children.’)

wanaa wale ‘tall children’

rel.

chi-j-aana (zi-j-) n. 7/8 dim.

Chijaana/ haachiji. ‘The (dim.) child does not, won’t eat.’ (cf. **Zijaana/ haaziji.** ‘The (dim.) children do not, won’t eat.’)

Chijana ichi/ ni chembeemba. ‘This (dim.) child is thin.’ (cf. **Zijana izi/ ni zembeemba.** ‘These (dim.) children are thin.’)

Jaama/ sḥtilangilile chijaana/ nama. ‘Jaama sliced meat for the (dim.) child.’ (Morph: The diminutive noun triggers the object prefix **chi** on the verb, which is realized here as **sḥ** in front of a voiceless consonant.)

chi-w-aana childish **check into**

i-j-aana, ḷ-j-aana (mi-j-) n. 5,11/4 aug.

Ijaana/ (i)bozele peesa. ‘The big boy stole the money.’ (Note that the augmentative noun may have either [cl.5] or [cl.1] subject agreement.)

Ijana iyi/ ni yembeemba. ‘This (aug.) child is thin.’

Mijana aya/ ni membeemba. ‘These (aug.) children are thin.’

Mijaanayo/ hayaaji. ‘Your (aug.) children won’t eat.’ (Cf. **Ijaanayo/ haayiji.** ‘Your (aug.) child won’t eat.’ or **Ḷjaanaḷo/ haaliji.**)

u-w-aana n. childhood

ma mpeembe n. a rough doll with body made of a maize cob [lit. child of horns];

[pron. ma mp^heembe]

m(w)-anaachiwo (w-) n. 1/2 student
rel.
m(w)-anachiwooni (w-) n. 1/2 student

m(w)-anaadamu (w-) n. human being
variant form: **m(w)aadamu**

Choowa/ muda/ wa skuu saba/ harfu/ ya wanaadamu/ itakhuḷaṭa. ‘If you bathe for a period of seven days, the smell of human beings will leave you.’

Itō/ ya maadamu/ ni khaṭari/ zaydi/ ya maraḍi. ‘A human’s eyes is more dangerous than disease.’ (A proverb.)

Mwanaamke/ chihada/ mi/ ni mwaadamú. ‘The girl said: I am a human being.’

na killa maadamu khtiyila nafsīye [nt.] ‘and every one is fearing for his own life’

Siimba/ chanza kuja wanaadamu/ apo/ muyiini. ‘The lion began to eat human beings there in town.’

Ye/ takiwaayi/ naayé/ wo/ ba/ ni wanaadamu/ tu. ‘How will he know, him and they being just human beings.’

mw-anaafaqi (w-)

n. liar; lie; [pron. **m(w)anaafaqi** or **m(w)anaafakhi**]
variant form: **m(w)aafaqi** or **m(w)aafakhi**

Koḍele wanafakhi gani. ‘What lies did you speak?’

Mahala/ yiko lilá/ wanaafakhi/ hayiingili. ‘Where there is truth, a lie does not enter.’ (A saying.)

Mi/ nakuzimila ka sababu/ ya kooḍi/ za wanaafakhi/ zaa mi/ nk^hoḍeeló. ‘I am running away because of the lies [lit. words of lies] that I have spoken.’

Miilu/ ya wanaafakhi/ ni zigobe. ‘The legs of lies are short.’ (A proverb.)

Ndila ya mwaafakhi/ ni chigobe. ‘The way of the liar is short.’ (A proverb that says that a liar is soon discovered.)

Omari/ hukahaṭa wanaafakhi. ‘Omari hates lies.’ Or, with focus on the verb: **Omari/ hukahaṭa/ wanaafakhi.**

Omari/ maafakhi/ mkulu. ‘Omari is a big liar.’

Wana awo/ wanaafakhi. ‘Those children are liars.’

Wanaafakhi/ nt^ha’iná/ miilu. ‘Lies do not have legs.’ (A proverb.)

Wanaafaqi/ nt^haná/ haaja. ‘Lit. lies have no need, i.e. there is no need to lie.’ (This is a way to say “to tell you the truth”, or “I have no need to find a false justification, I can tell you the truth”. This expression is used when somebody gives the true reason for his action, even though this reason might put him in an unfavorable light. For example, if you have missed an appointment, instead of giving a false reason for this, you will say “I do not give you false excuses, I simply forgot about it”.)

mw-anafuunzi (w-) n. 1/2 student (The Chijini form of this noun establishes that *nzi* is a syllable with a prenasalized consonant as onset: [n^hzimwanáf^h] since it is transposed to the beginning of the word.)

mwanafunzi mooyi ‘one student’

mwanafuunzi/ na khalamú ‘a student and a pen/pens’

mwanafuunzi/ na khalamuyé ‘a student and his pen’; **mwanafuunzi/ na**

khalamuzé ‘a student and his pens’

wanafunzi wawili ‘two students’

wanafunzi watatu ‘three students’

wanafunzi wanne ‘four students’

wanafunzi waṭaano ‘five students’

m(w)-anaankuku

n. chick [lit. child of chicken]; [pron. **m(w)anaank^huku**]

rel.

z-anaank^huku n. 8 chicks [pron. **zanaank^huku**]

m(w)-anaamke

n. girl

Chendra ka waawe/ simwaambilé/ kuwaa we/ mwene mwanaamké/ numbaaní/ kaaká. ‘If you go to my father, don’t tell him that you have seen a girl at my house.’

Chishika miimba/ chizaala/ mwaana/ mwanaamke. ‘She got pregnant and gave birth to a baby girl.’

Mpele ina gani/ mwanaamkewo. ‘What name did you give your daughter?’

Mwanaamke/ mukhtaa ye/ malizoo kujá/ oyo mwaarabu/ mviile oyo/ khaadimu/ mpele amri/ xtalaa luti/ kumbiga mwanwamkewe/ ndruttii miya. ‘When the girl finished eating, that Arab called that servant and gave him an order to take a stick to hit his daughter one hundred blows.’

Nimpeelé/ sultaani/ kuwa mahari/ ya mwanaamkewe. ‘I gave it to the sultan to be the dowry of his daughter.’

Nimtanile Haliimá/ manaamkewá/ mashuungí. ‘I combed my daughter Haliima’s hair.’ Or: **Nimtanile manaamkewá/ Haliimá/ mashuungí.** (The parts of the construction **Haliima/ manaamkewa** ‘Haliima my daughter’ can be reversed.)

Ye/ mlowele mwanaamke. ‘He married the girl.’

rel.

m(w)-anaashke n.1 girl, daughter

Muunt^hu/ nayo manaashké/ nayo ebu. ‘He who has a girl has shame.’ (A

proverb.)

Tuuma/ mtanile Haliima/ mashuungi. ‘Tuuma combed Haliima’s hair.’

Or: **Tuuma/ mtanile mashuungi/ Haliima.** (Observe that **mashuungi** is not marked as a possessive noun in this construction.)

Tuuma/ mtanile manaashkewe/ Haliima/ mashuungi. ‘Tuuma combined her daughter Haliima’s hair.’

w-anaashke n. 2 girls, daughters

Basi/ ichiwa wanaashkewe/ heendra/ hukooða/ na waant^hu. ‘But when it comes to her daughters [in contrast to her step-daughter], they go about, they talk with people.’

Chimvīla waziiri/ chimwaambila/ mwanaamkewa/ nakhsuļa Kendra markabuuni/ basi/ ye/ nakhsuļa/ wanaashkewo/ wana’endre naa ye. ‘He called his minister and said to him: my daughter wants to go to the ship, but she wants your daughters to go with her.’

Hupika/ haalawi/ hattá/ na wanaashke/ weenzawe/ hakhiiri/ khkooða. ‘She cooks, she does not go out, even with her girl friends, she does not accept to talk.’

Karka wakhti oyo/ wanaashke/ wa masultaani/ na wanashke winginewé/ ba/ liini/ wachilaatoowá/ kumera ndilaani. ‘During those times, daughters of sultans and other daughters as well did not go out to wander the streets.’

Na waaná/ awa/ wotte/ wawaliko wanaashke. ‘And all those children were girls.’

Nnakhsuulá/ bahariyawa/ kuwa ni wanaashke/ tu. ‘I want my crew to be only girls.’

Sultaani/ shfuraha/ nt^ho/ kuwona wanaashkewe/ wotte/ wamrudiliile. ‘The sultan was very pleased to see all his daughters returned to him.’

Wanaashke/ watuziza ruuhu. ‘The girls were comforted.’

Watuziza ruuhú/ ni wanaashke. ‘The ones who were comforted were the girls.’

- ananaasi** (\emptyset , *ma-*) n. 9/10, 6 [Sw. *nanasi* SSED 330, from Persian *ananaas*] pineapple
Ananasi iyi/ iwozele. ‘This pineapple has spoiled.’
Ananasi izi/ ziwozele. ‘These pineapples have spoiled.’
Ma’ananasi aya/ (ni) maladda. ‘These pineapples are sweet.’
rel.
chi-’ananaasi (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim.
i-’ananaasi (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.
- ku-’anaanata** v. [Som. *canaano* DSI 87] (**ananeete**) rebuke, reproach
ku-’anaanata (Somali verb *canaano*, DSI p. 87)
rel.
ku-’ananatana v. rec. (**-ananateene**)
ku-’ananatika v. p/s.
ku-’ananatila v. appl. (**ananatiliile**)
ku-’ananatilana v. appl. rec. (**ananatileene**)
rel. nom.
ma-’anaanato n. 3
- ch-andaruwa** (*z-*) n. 7/8 [Sw. *chandalua* SSED 49; Hind.] mosquito net, umbrella
- m(w)-anaskoola** (*w-*) n. 1/2 student
Wanaskoola/ wont^he/ iwapete murúgu. ‘All of the students got worried.’
(This sentence illustrates one type of “experiencer” verb construction. The experiencer occurs in initial position, but is marked by an object prefix on the verb, while the subject – that which is experienced, in this case ‘worries’ – is post-verbal and phrased with the verb. Notice that the quantifier {-ont^he} occurs after the experiencer without necessarily triggering pseudo-relativization of the verb. However, it is possible for pseudo-relativization to occur: **Wanaskoola/ ^fwont^he/ iwapeto murugú.**) **confirm focus is on wont^he**
- ch-andaruwa** (*z-*) n. 7/8 mosquito net
Chandaruwa ichije/ ni chishepe. ‘That mosquito net is worn-out.’
Zandaruwa izije/ ni zishepe. ‘Those mosquito nets are worn-out.’
- mw-andawazimu** (*w-*) adj. crazy, mad
Muyiini/ waant^hu/ wamkaheete/ na kila/ chimwonó/ chimtuusha/ na kumtelezá/ kama muunt^hu/ mwandawazimu. ‘In the town, people hated him and everyone who saw him, derided him and teased him as (being) a crazy person.’
- andho** n. [Som. *cadho* “scabies” DSI 81] a skin disease that affects the back of the hands, the knees, and sometimes the heel of the foot
- k-aandika** v. [Sw. *andika* SSED 14] (**andishile**) write; enroll, register (e.g. for school); join military service
Andishilee khatí/ ka Aasha. ‘He wrote a letter at Aasha’s place; he wrote a letter to Aasha.’ (Notice that this sentence may not mean ‘He wrote a letter for Aasha.’)
Andishilee khatí/ ka Aasha/ numbaani. ‘He wrote a letter at Aasha’s house.’
Andishile ruuhuye/ askari. ‘He joined the army.’
Khalamu/ nandikilílee khatí. ‘A/the pen, I used to write a letter.’ (MI does not accept putting an object marker in agreement with **khalamu** on the verb in order to make this noun phrase definite: ***Khalamu/ niyandikilílee khatí.**)
Khatí/ yandikishile. ‘The letter was able to be written.’
muke waa ye/ andishiloo khatí/ kaaké ‘the woma whom he wrote a letter to her (or: at her place)’
muke waa ye/ andishiloo khatí/ kaaké/ numbaani ‘the woman whom

he wrote a letter at her house' (It is perhaps worth observing that since one does not 'write a letter from', the relative clause ***muke waa ye/ andishiloo khaṭi/ ka kaaké** 'the woman who wrote a letter from her place' is not valid.)

Mwaalimu/andishilee khaṭi. 'The teacher wrote a letter.'

Mwalimu andishiloo khaṭi/ oloshele. 'The teacher who wrote the letter left.'

Mwaana/ andishile ruuhuye/ madrasaani. 'The child enrolled in school.'

mwaana/ haṭakaandika/ khaṭi/ ka khalamu ya rasaasi 'the child who will not write a letter with a pencil' (cf. **mwana haṭakandikaa khaṭi/ ka khalamu ya rasaasi** 'the child who will not write a letter with a pencil'.)

Mwaana/ nt^hakaandika/ khaṭi/ ka khalamu ya rasaasi. 'The child did not write a letter with a pencil.' (Cf. **mwana nt^hakandikaa khaṭi/ ka khalamu ya rasaasi** 'the child who did not write a letter with a pencil'.)

Mwaana/ nt^hanakaandika/ khaṭi/ khalamu ya rasaasi. 'The child is not writing a letter with a pencil.' (Cf. **mwana nt^hanakandikaa khaṭi/ khalamu ya rasaasi** 'the child who is not writing a letter with a pencil'.)

Nakandikaa khaṭi. 'I am writing a letter.'

Nandishilee khaṭi/ ka khalamu. 'I wrote a letter with a pen.'

Nandishilee khaṭi/ pashpo Sheekhi/ kiiwa. 'I wrote a letter without Sheekhi knowing.'

Nimwandishile mwaaná/ madrasaani. 'I registered the child in school.'

Nt^hakaandika/ khaṭi. 'He did not write a letter.'

Omari/ chandikaa khaṭi/ teená. 'If Omari writes a letter, then what?' Or

Teená/ Omari/ chandikaa khaṭi/ chandikaa khaṭi. Or: **Omari/ teená/ khaṭi/ chaandiká.** (Prosody. Observe the variation in the sentence-initial subject with respect to whether it undergoes accent shift or not in this sort of question.)

Saandiké/ khaṭi. 'Don't write a letter!'

We/ waliko chandikani/ mukhṭaa mi/ niiló. 'What were you writing when I came?' (A possible answer: **Mi/ waliko nch^handikaa khaṭi/ mukhṭaa we/ iló.** 'I was writing a letter when you came.')

Ye/ waliko chandikani/ mukhṭa waana/ wa'iló. 'What was he writing when the children came?' (Cf. the possible response: **Ye/ waliko chandikaa khaṭi/ mukhṭa waana/ wa'iló.** 'He was writing a letter when the children came.')

rel.

k-andikanisha v. rec. caus. make pl. register one another

Ali/ chandikanishiize. 'Ali made us register one another.'

k-andikika v. p/s.

Khaṭi/ hayandikiki. 'The letter cannot be written.'

Khaṭi/ inakandidikika. 'The letter is starting to get written now (e.g. after a great struggle).'

k-andikiloowa v. appl. pass. be written to; be used to write

Khalamu iyi/ nii dhibu/ kandikiloowa. 'It is difficult to use this pen to write.'

Khalamu/ yandikililaa khaṭi/ naami. 'A pen was used to write the letter by me.' (The logical object may not be the subject of the passive verb: **Khaṭi izi/ zandikilila khalamu/ naami.** In order for the logical object to be the subject of the passive verb, the simple verb must be used with an instrumental prepositional phrase: **Khaṭi izi zandishila ka khalamu/ naami.** 'These letters were written with a pen by me.')

khaṭi ni sahalí/ kandikilowa Mubiidi 'the letter that it is easy to write to Mubiidi'

munt^hu ni sahalí/ kandikilowaa khaṭi 'the man who it is easy to write a letter to'

Nakhsulaa ni/ (n)sandikiloowa. 'He wants that you (pl.) not be written to.' But it is also possible, in the passive, to have the morpheme order

in Nakhsulaa ni/ sinandikiloowa.

Ni sahali/ kandikilowa Mubiidi/ khaṭi. ‘It is easy for Mubiidi to be written a letter.’ Or: **Ni sahali/ Mubiidi/ kandikilowaa khaṭi.**

Omari/ andikililaa khaṭi/ naami. [Lit.] Omari was written to a letter by me.’ (Syn. A [cl.1] noun like **Omari** controls a null subject prefix on the verb. It is not possible for **khaṭi** to be the subject of the passive verb, as shown by the fact that it may not control subject agreement on the verb: ***Khaṭi/ yandikilila Omari/ naami.** Word order, on the other hand is flexible, and one may have **Khaṭi/ andikilila Omari/ naami.** In this sentence, **Omari** is still the subject of the verb, but it appears in post-verbal position and even joins the verb in a single Phonological Phrase.)

k-andikila v. appl.

Andikilileni/ khaṭi. ‘Why did you write a letter (if...)?’ Or: **Khaṭi/ andikilileni.** ‘The letter, why did you write it (if...)?’

Andikilileni/ khaṭi/ ka khalimu ya rasaasi. ‘Why did you write a/the letter with a pencil (if...)?’ (It should be noted that the preposition *ka* is obligatory in this sentence.

Jaama/ mwandishile mwaana/ sanduukhu/ chitaani. ‘Jaama loaded the box on the child’s head.’

Jaani/ mwandikilile mwaalimu/ khaṭi. ‘John wrote a letter to the teacher.’

Khaṭi/ mwandikilileni. ‘The letter, why did you write it to him (if...)?’

Mp^hele khalimu/ kandikila. ‘He gave me a pen to write with.’

muke waa ye/ mwandikililo khaṭi ‘the woman whom he wrote a letter to/for’

muke waa ye/ wa’andikililo waana/ khaṭi ‘the woman whom he wrote a

letter to for the children’ (Syn. This sentence is striking in that it shows that both the beneficiary **waana** and the indirect object **muke** are allowed to appear without any prepositional marking due to the presence of the applied suffix. In other words, the applied affix does “double duty” allowing both NP’s to be unmarked. It should be noted that it is ungrammatical to say: ***muke waa ye/ wa’andikililo waana/ khaṭi/ ka kaake** ‘the woman whom he wrote a letter for the children to her’. Our consultant MI was uncertain about the grammaticality of **muke waa ye/ wa’andikililo waana/ khaṭi/ kaake/ numbaani** ‘the woman whom he wrote a letter for the children at her house’.)

mwalimu wa Jaani/ mwandikililo khaṭi ‘the teacher to whom John wrote a letter’

Mwandikilile Aasha/ khaṭi. ‘He wrote a letter to (or: for) Aasha.’

Mwandikilileni/ khaṭi. ‘Why did you write a/the letter to him (if...)?’

Mwandikilileni/ mwaana/ khaṭi. ‘Why did you write a/the letter to the child (if...)?’

Ni sahali/ kumwandikila Mubiidi/ khaṭi. ‘It is easy to write to/for Mubiidi a letter.’

Nimwandikilile Jaama/ khaṭi. ‘I wrote a letter to Jaama.’ (Syn. Either of the post-verbal complements in this sentence may be fronted:

Jaama/ nimwandikilile khaṭi. Or: **Khaṭi/ nimwandikilile Jaama.**)

Niwa’andikilile khaṭi/ waana. ‘I wrote the children a letter (not anything else).’ (Cf. **Niwa’andikilile waana/ khaṭi.** ‘I wrote the children a letter (not anyone else).’)

Niwa’andikilile mwaana/ khaṭi/ ka Jaama. ‘I wrote a letter for children to Jaama.’ (Syn. The applied verb does not allow both the beneficiary and the location NP’s to be unmarked in post-verbal position: ***Niwa’andikilile mwaana/ khaṭi/ Jaama.**)

Niwa’andikilile waana/ khaṭi. ‘I wrote the children a letter.’ (Note that unlike the preceding example, here the final accent triggered by the verb extends to the end of the verb phrase. There is no emphasis on any word internal to the verb phrase. One can even put the noun phrase **khaṭi** into post-verbal position, but not alter the scope of the final accent: **Niwa’andikilile khaṭi/ waana.** This does put emphasis on the immediately post-verbal element, but it is not contrasting **khaṭi** with anything else.)

Niwa'andikilile waaná/ khatí/ ka khalamú. 'I wrote a letter for the children with a pen.' (Syn. Given the presence of a beneficiary NP **waana**, it is not possible for the instrument to appear without a preposition in post-verbal position: ***Niwa'andikilile waaná/ khatí/ khalamú.**)

k-andikisha v. caus. write something to someone; persuade, compel someone to write; recruit someone (i.e. cause someone to sign up)

Bashiiri/ mwandikishize mwaana/ askari. 'Bashiiri recruited the child (to) the police force.'

Bashiiri/ mwandikishize mwaana/ ruuhuye/ madrasaani. 'Bashiiri had the child enroll in school.'

Dheera/ nandikishizee khatí/ pashpoo we/ kiiwa. 'Deera made me write a letter without your knowing.'

Ji/ mwandikishize mwaalimu/ khatí. 'Ji made (i.e. persuaded, compelled) the teacher to write a letter.' (A periphrastic causative construction may be used as an alternative: **Ji/ mtilé mwaalimu/ kandikaa khatí.**)

khatí ya mwaalimu (mw)andikishizo mwaaná 'the letter that the teacher wrote to the child'

khatí ya Suufi/ mwandikishizo Nuurú/ numbaaní... 'the letter that Suufi had Nuuru write at home...'

Mwaalimu/ (mw)andikishize mwaana/ khatí. 'The teacher wrote the child a letter.'

mwana wa mwaalimu/ mwandikishizo khatí 'the child whom the teacher wrote a letter to' **review the issue of the accent on the subject**

put write a letter.'

Ni Maajidi/ waa mi/ nimwandikishizo khatí. 'It is Maajidi whom I made

k-andikishanya v. caus. rec. (**-andikisheenyé**) make one another write

Si/ chandikishizenyee khatí. 'We made one another write a letter.'

k-andikishoowa v. caus. pass.

Mwaana/ andikishizaa khatí/ na mwaalimu. '[Lit.] the child was written to a letter by the teacher.' Or, with NP interchange: **Khatí/ andikishiza mwaana/ na mwaalimu.** (Syn. But it is not possible for **khatí** to be the subject of the passive verb: ***khatí/ yandikishiza mwaana.**)

k-andikoowa v. pass.

Khatí/ imalize kandikoowa. 'The letter is written (lit. the letter is finished being written).'

Naank^{h6}/ schandikowa alaama/ schipelekoowa. 'Again they were marked (which was which) and they were sent (to the sultan).'

Ni sahali/ kandikowaa khatí. 'It is easy for a letter to be written.'

Nsulílee khatí/ zina'andikowa himaahimá. 'I want the letter to be written quickly.' **review phrasing**

rel. nom.

ma-'andiko n.6 way of writing

ma'andikoye 'his way of writing'

k-aandika v. load, put something on something else, place on head; accuse s.o. of s.t., assign a task or a responsibility; lay or put a part of the body on s.o. or s.t.

Ali/ andishile gaari/ ngamiila. 'Ali loaded a camel onto the truck.' Or: **Ali/ andishile ngamiila/ gariini.**

Ali/ andishile majiwe/ chigaari. 'Ali loaded stones onto the cart; Ali put a cart on top of the stones.' (Note the ambiguity when **chigaari** is unmarked. If an enclitic is added: **Ali/ andishile majiwe/ chigariini.** 'Ali loaded stones onto the cart.' The enclitic guarantees that the cart is the location where the stones have been put.)

Ali/ andishile ngamiila/ zoombo. 'Ali loaded stuff onto the camel.' Cf. **Ali/ andishile ^fzoombo/ ngamiila.** 'Ali loaded *stuff* onto the camel.' (Note that an animate noun does not accept a locative enclitic: ***Ali/ andishile zoombo/ ngamilaani.** It is possible to say: **Ali/ andishile zoombo/ ilu ya ngamiila.** 'Ali loaded stuff on the camel.')

Ali/ zandishile ngamiila/ masanduukhu. ‘Ali loaded boxes onto the camels.’ (Note that the OM on the verb here agrees with the plural noun **ngamiila** ‘camels’. If one said: **Ali/ ya’andishile masanduukhu/ ngamiila.**, where the OM is in agreement with **masanduukhu** ‘boxes’, the sentence could only be understood as saying ‘Ali loaded camels on the boxes’.)

Andishile sanduukhu/ chiṭaani. ‘She put the box on her head.’

Bakari/ andishile ruuhuye/ mas’uuliya. ‘Bakari assumed a responsibility.’

Gari ya Saahibu/ andishiloo mazú/ ni iyi. ‘The truck that Saahibu loaded with bananas is this one.’

Haliima/ nt^hanakaandika/ kuja/ muḷooni. ‘Haliima is not putting food in the fire.’ (In this sentence, there is default focus on the negative verb. The simple yes-no question based on this focus structure exhibits accent shift in both complements: **Haliima/ nt^hanakaandika/ kujá/ muḷooni?** Although GM usually fails to find an emphatic yes-no question version of a sentence with focus on an affirmative verb, he did provide such a question for this negative verb construction: **Haliima/ nt^hanakaandiká/ kujá/ muḷooni!?** We should note, however, that GM also provided yes-no question versions of the negative verb sentence where focus seems to be absent from the verb: **Haliima/ nt^hanakandikaa kuja/ muḷooni?** and **Haliima/ nt^hanakandikaa kujá/ muḷooni!?** Note that in these sentences the verb is joined into a phrase with the first complement; moreover, in the simple yes-no question there is no accent shift triggered by an out-of-focus complement.)

Hamaali/ andishile gaari/ majuuniya. ‘The porter loaded the truck with sacks.’ Or: **Hamaali/ andishile majuuniya/ gariini.**

Jaama/ mwandishile mwaana/ sanduukhu/ chiṭaani. ‘Jaama loaded onto the child’s head the box.’

kandika chaayi/ muḷooni ‘to make tea – [lit.] to put tea in fire’

Skumó/ muke/ nakhpika/ maskiini/ andishile chaayi/ muḷooni.

‘One day the woman was cooking, the poor woman was making tea.’

kandika itaanga ‘to put up a sail’

Ye/ chandika itaanga/ kendra kuza nsiize/ karka muyi

mwiingine. ‘He put up the sail [of his boat] to go to sell his fish in another town.’

kandikaa nguvu ‘to use force, try hard, do one’s best’

Hamadi/ mambile Omári/ nakhuloomba/ meenza/ andikaa

nguvu/ jawabu iyo/ jisaa y/ kuwa. ‘Hamadi said to Omari: I beg you, my friend, try your best in this matter so it can happen.’

Omari/ andishilee nguvu/ nuumba/ iyo/ kuula. ‘Omari made a great effort in buying that house (e.g. got additional loans or convinced the owner to sell to him or seeking any means possible to get the house)’

Ni gari iyi/ ya Saahibu/ andishiloo mazú. ‘It is this truck that Saahibu loaded with bananas.’

Sadiiqi/ andishile ngamiila/ zoombo. ‘Sadiiqi loaded things onto the camel.’ (Syn. This represents the normal word order. Locating **zoombo** after the verb is possible, but puts focus on it: **Sadiiqi/ andishile zoombo/ ngamiila.**)

Omari/ andishile zoombo/ ilu ya ngamiila. ‘Omari loaded things on the camel.’ (Syn. The animate noun **ngamiila** may not be put into a locative form ***ngamilaani**. Thus it is wrong to say ***Omari/ andishile zoombo/ ngamilaani**. In comparison, one can say **Omari/ andishile majiwe/ chigariini.** ‘Omari loaded stones into the cart.’)

Omari/ zandishile ngamiila/ masanduukhu. ‘Omari loaded boxes onto the camels.’ (Syn. This example illustrates that **ngamiila** may govern an object prefix, z-, on the verb.)

Saahibu/ andishile gaari/ zoombo. ‘Saahibu loaded the truck with things.’

Or: **Saahibu/ andishile zoombo/ gariini.** ‘Saahibu loaded things onto the truck.’

Saahibu/ mwandishile mwaana/ gariini. ‘Saahibu loaded the child onto

the truck.’ (One cannot use **gaari** in an unmarked form: ***Saahibu/ mwandishile mwaana/ gaari.**)

wala mubli chiint^hu chita ha’andiki [st.] ‘neither does a man put anything on his head’

rel.

k-andikiloowa v. appl. pass. (**andikiliila**)

Khalamu iyi/ yandikiliila mwaana/ khati (naa muke). ‘This pen was used to write a letter to/for the child (by the woman).’

k-andikika v. p/s. able to be put on

Chigari ichi/ hachandikiki/ majiwe. ‘This cart cannot have stones put in

it.’

Majiwe aya/ haya’andikiki/ chigariini. ‘These stones cannot be put on a cart.’ (Note that if the locative enclitic were omitted from **chigariini**, the sentence could only be interpreted as saying ‘these stones can’t have a cart put on them’.)

Ngamila izi/ hazandikiki/ zoombo. ‘These camels cannot have stuff loaded onto them.’ Cf. **Ngamila uyu/ ha’andikiki/ zoombo.** ‘This camel cannot have stuff loaded onto it.’

Zombo izi/ hazandikiki/ ngamila uyu. ‘These things cannot be loaded onto this camel.’

k-andikila v. appl. (**andikiliile**)

Khalamu/ nandikiliile khati. ‘A/the pen, I used to write a letter.’ (MI rejected the use of an object marker agreeing with **khalamu** as a way of making this preposed noun phrase definite: ***Khalamu/ niyandikiliile khati.**)

Ye/ tamwandikila waawaye/ khati/ napate khufanyiliza dawa. ‘She will write a letter to her father so that he will take care of you (medically).’

k-andikisha v. caus.

Bakari/ mwandikishize Luulu/ mas’uuliya. ‘Bakari caused Luulu to assume the responsibility.’

Ni Nuuru/ waa mi/ nimwandikishizo Saahibu/ gariini. ‘It is Nuuru whom I made load Saahibu onto the truck. Or: It is Nuuru whom I had Saahibu load onto the truck.’ **check this ambiguity; one interpretation preferred? at one point MI suggested the interpretation is that Nuuru is the causee, but then suggested the object role is preferred**

Nimwandikishizee mazu/ Nuuru/ gariini. ‘It is bananas (not something else) that I had Nuuru load onto the truck.’

Nimwandikishize Nuuru/ mazu/ gariini. ‘It is Nuuru (not anyone else) that I had load bananas onto the truck.’

Nimwandikishize Nuuru/ mzele/ gariini. ‘I had Nuuru load the old man onto the truck.’ (Syn. In this example sentence both the "causee" and the logical object are third person singular humans and thus verb agreement does not make clear the thematic role of each of these NP’s. The word order, however, identifies **Nuuru** as the causee. However, this worder is rigid just in the absence of focus. An NP can be focused by locating it after the verb. Thus the logical object can be put in position immediately after the verb if it is focused. Consider a sentence like: **Nimwandikishize Nuuru/ mzele/ gariini.** We know that **Nuuru** is being focused here since the final-accent triggered by the verb does not extend beyond **Nuuru**, in accordance with what we call the Accentual Law of Focus. Now, in this example **Nuuru** can certainly be the causee, but it could also be the logical object. The latter sort of interpretation may be favored by pragmatic considerations. This is illustrated by the sentence: **Nimwandikishize mwaaná/ mzele/ gariini.** This sentence is most naturally understood as saying ‘It is the child that I had the old man load onto the truck.’ Older people generally are the ones putting children onto something rather than vice versa.)

Saahibu/ andikishize gaari/ zoombo. ‘Saahibu had the things loaded onto

the truck.’

Saahibu/ mwandikishize Sa’iidi/ zoombo/ gariini. ‘Saahibu had Saiidi load the things onto the truck.’ (Syn. While the cited sentence is preferred, it is likely also possible to say: **?Saahibu/ mwandikishize Sa’iidi/ gaari/ zoombo.**)

Saahibu/ mwandikishize Sa’iidi/ mwaana/ gariini. ‘Saahibu had Sa’iidi load the child onto the truck.’

k-andikoowa v. pass.

Chigaari/ chandishila majiwe. ‘The cart was loaded with stones (by someone).’

Gari/ yandishila ngamiila. ‘The truck had a camel loaded onto it.’

Majiwe/ ya’andishila chigariini. ‘Stones were loaded onto the cart.’ (Note that if the locative enclitic were omitted from **chigariini**, then the sentence could only be understood as ‘the stones had the cart put on them’.)

Majuuniya/ ya’andishila gariini. ‘The sacks were loaded into the truck.’

Masanduukhu/ ya’andishila ngamiila. ‘Boxes were loaded onto the camel.’

Muunt^hu/ nt^haku/ nk^hulu/ kana kandikowa mkono/ chi^htaani. ‘There is nothing bigger for a man than putting the hand on one’s head.’ (A proverb.)

Ngamiila/ andishila gariini. ‘The camel was loaded into the truck.’ (Note that if the locative enclitic is omitted from **gariini**, the sentence would mean that a truck was loaded onto the camel!)

Ngamiila/ andishila zoombo. ‘The camel had things loaded on him.’

Sanduukhu/ yandishila gariini. ‘The box was loaded into the truck.’

Zoombo/ zandishila ngamila uyu. ‘Stuff was loaded onto this camel.’

k-aandika

v. (**andishile**) lay or put a part of the body (leg, hand, etc.) onto someone or something

meza yaa mi/ nandishilo igoonjó ‘the table that I put my knee on’

meza yaa mi/ nandishilo igoonjó/ ilu ye ‘the table that I put my knee on it’

Nandishile igoonjó/ mezaani. ‘I put my knee on the table.’

andho

n. scabies

k-angamiza

disrespectfully wrong s.o.

v. tr. [Sw. *angamiza* SED 17] (**angamiize**) damage; spoil; make a mess, a muddle;

book.’

Jeelaani/ angamize chibuku cha Huseeni. ‘Jeelani spoiled Huseeni’s

kangamiza uso ‘[lit.] spoil, make the face look bad -- show the bad side’

kumangamiza qalbi ‘to hurt someone’s feelings’

Mi/ ninfanyiizeni/ mi/ ninangamiizeni. What did I do to you (pl.), what wrong did I do to you?’

friendship.’

Mzaha mwiingi/ hangamiza uweenza. ‘Too much joking spoils a

Si/ laazima/ kuloozanya/ walá/ mi/ speendi/ kumwangamiza waawe. ‘We must marry, but I do not like to disrespectfully wrong my father.’

Wa’angamize waana. ‘He spoiled the children.’

proverb.)

Wapishi wiingi/ hangamiza mtuzi. ‘Too many cooks spoil the broth.’ (A

We/ angamiize/ nt^ho/ chiza kunaambila/ khabla yaa mi/ kishkila ka mutiini. ‘You made a big mistake in not telling me before I came down from the tree.’

rel.

k-angamikila v.

Mubliwá/ laazima/ we/ kumwubla/ siimba/ oyo/ na chiza kumwubla/ haali/ yitu/ itakichangamikila/ apa. ‘My husband, you must kill that lion, and if you do not kill him, our condition here will become bad for us.’

k-angamila v. intr. [Sw. *angamia* SED 17] (**angamiile**) be damaged; be spoiled; be a mess

kangamila ina ‘to lose one’s reputation, have one’s name besmirched’
Mwaana/ angamiile. ‘The child is spoiled.’

Sku ya taano/ haali/ yangamilee nt^ho/ nt^hawaná/ yaa wo/ kuja. ‘On the fifth day, their situation worsened very much, they had nothing to eat.’

k-angamiliza v. tr. appl. (**angamiliize**) spoil s.t. for s.o., folul s.t. up on/for
Nangamilize raadiyo. ‘He fouled up the radio on me.’

Sinangamilizé/ mwaana. ‘Don’t spoil my child!’

k-angamilizika v. tr. appl. p/s.

Munt^hu uyul/ ha’angamiliziki/ zoomboze. ‘This man cannot have fouled up on him his things.’ (Note that only the “beneficiary” (or in this case better the “anti-beneficiary”) can be the subject of this verb, not whatever was fouled up or spoiled. One cannot say ***Radiyo izi/ hazangamiliziki/ Baana.** ‘These radios cannot be fouled up on Baana.’)

k-angamilizoowa v. tr. appl. pass. (**angamiliiza**)

Nangamiliza raadiyo. ‘I had the radio fouled up on me (i.e. to my detriment).’

k-angamizika v. tr. p/s.

Wana zihaba/ hangamizika ka sahali. ‘Small children can easily be spoiled.’

k-angamizoowa v. tr. pass. (**angamiiza**)

Waana/ wa’angamiza na Baana. ‘The children were spoiled by Baana.’

-angaangu

adj. light, quick, easy

variant form: **-engaangu** (provided by MI)

Chint^hu changaangu/ heeluka/ chint^hu chizito/ huzama. ‘Something light, floats; something heavy, sinks.’ (A saying.)

chita changaangu ‘light-headed – i.e. able to grasp things easily’

Hamadi/ chitaache/ changaangu. ‘Hamadi grasps things easily.’

Hasani/ ni mangaangu/ Omari/ ni mzito. ‘Hasani is light, quick; Omari is heavy, slow.’

huwa nangaangu khsooma kaamu waana [st.] ‘it becomes easy for children to read by heart’

ikoti yengaangu ‘light coat’; **makoti mengaangu** ‘light coats’

luti lengaangu ‘light stick’; **ndruti zengaangu** ‘light sticks’

mbuzi mwengaangu ‘light goat’

munt^hu mwengaangu ‘a light man’; **want^hu wengaangu** ‘light men’

nangaangu ‘something easy, light’

nanaangu/ kamba lbawa ‘as light as a feather’

nanaangu/ kamba lkuti ‘as light as a reed’

nanaangu/ kamba lwarakha ‘as light as a piece of paper’

nanaangu/ kana lpepo ‘as light as wind, air’

shtoka changaangu ‘light axe’; **stoka zangaangu** ‘light axes’

Waliko mwengaangu/ kujiba su’aali. ‘He was quick to answer the question.’

zilatu zangaangu ‘light shoes’

rel.

w-angaangu n. 14 lightness

variant form: **wengaangu** (provided by MI)

k-aangaza

v. (**angeeze**) in the expression:

kangaza maato ‘to have the eyes open -- i.e. to be alert, watchful’

Angaza maatoyo. ‘Keep your eyes open!’

mw-aangi

n. boiled grains of maize (possibly with beans added)

Mwaangi/ ufuriile. ‘The mwaangi boiled over.’

Sku ya taatu/ wajile mwaangi/ utokoseza kaa nsi. ‘On the third day they ate mwaangi which was boiled with fish.’

Ye/ waliko chija mwaangi. ‘He was eating mwaangi.’

ku-'anida

v. [Ar. *ʔanada* W 648] contradict

rel.

ku-'anidana v. rec. (**anideene**)

ku-'anidika v. p/s.

aniidi

adj. inv.

munt^hu aniidi 'stubborn person'; **want^hu aniidi** 'stubborn people'

rel.

mu-'aanidi adj. inv.

munt^hu mu'aanidi 'a stubbornly contradictory person'; **want^hu mu'aanidi** 'stubbornly contradictory people'

k-aanika

v. [Sw. *anika* SSED 17] (**anishile**) spread something to dry in the sun or wind/breeze
Abunawaasi/ shtaala/ igozi/ iyo/ chiyanika iwaani/ hattá/ ichiwa ikavu.
'Abunawaasi took that skin and spread it in the sun until it became dry.'

Anika. 'Spread it out to dry!'

Anishilee nguwo/ iwaani. 'He spread clothes in the sun to dry.'

Anishilee nguwo/ lpeponi. 'He spread clothes in the wind to dry.'

Anishilee nguwo/ lkambalaani. 'He spread the clothes out on the clothesline to dry.'

Gele/ haypati/ iwa/ apa/ anika ndilaani. 'The (pounded, soaked) maize won't get the sun here, spread it outside to dry.'

Nakhsulaa ni/ (n)saanike. 'He wants that you (pl.) not spread s.t. to dry in the sun.'

rel.

k-anikika v. p/s. (**y-anikishile**)

k-anikila v. appl. [Sw. *anika* SSED 17]

k-anikisha v. caus. [Sw. *anikisha*] (**anikishiize**)

Ji/ zanikishiize/ nguwo. 'He spread the clothes out to dry.' (Syn. It is more likely that an object prefix will be employed with an inanimate object when there is focus on the verb, as in the present example. It is not the case, however, that the presence of an object prefix requires that there be focus on the verb and thus that the verb is final in the phonological phrase.)

Mwanikishize mwaana/ nguwo. 'He had the child spread the clothes out to dry in the sun.' (Cf. **Mwanikishizee nguwo.** 'He had him spread the clothes out to dry.')

k-anikishanya v. caus. rec.

Want^hu awa/ wa'anikishenyee nguwo. 'The people had one another spread the clothes to dry in the sun.'

k-anikishiliza v. caus. appl. (**anikishiliize**)

Zubeeri/ manikishilize Amarow/ maana/ nguwo. 'Zubeeri had Amarow's child spread the clothes in the sun to dry.'

k-anikishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. (**wa-'anikishilizeenye**)

Amarow/ na Zubeeri/ wa'anikishilizenye waana/ nguwo. 'Amarow and Zubeeri had one another's children spread the clothes in the sun to dry.'

k-anikishoowa v. caus. pass. (**anikishiiza**)

Maana/ anikishizaa nguwo. 'The child was made to spread the clothes out to dry in the sun.'

k-anikoowa v. pass. [Sw. *anikwa* SSED 17] (**-anishiila**) be spread out to dry in the sun

Nguwo/ zanishiila iwaani. 'The clothes were spread out to dry in the sun.'

ku-'anisa

with people, keeping them entertained at the same time

v. [Sw. *anisi* SSED 14; Ar. *anisa* "to be sociable" W 30] (**anisiize**) keep company

ankabuuti n. [Ar. *'ankabūt* W 650] spider (Phon. Prenasalized voiceless stops are ordinarily aspirated in Chimiini, but here no aspiration occurs. The lack of aspiration suggests that the *nk* sequence here is not a prenasalized stop, but rather a consonant sequence where the nasal is the coda to one syllable and the stop is the onset to the next syllable. The nasal did, however, appear to be a velar nasal, though this point bears investigation.)

ankabuṭi izi 'these spiders'

ankabuṭi uyu 'this spider'

rel.

chi-'ankabuuti (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim.

i-'ankabuuti (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.

k-aankila

v. [Sw. *akia* SSED 7] (**ank^hile**) put food in one's mouth; [pron. **kaank^hila**] (Phon. Notice that in Swahili the *l* has elided, and the prenasalized stop has lost its nasal component, though some dialects have retained the aspiration of the stop.)

Ank^hile t̄ibaaku. 'He put tobacco between his lip and teeth.'

Maana/ ank^hilee kuja. 'The child put food in his mouth.'

rel.

k-ankiliza v. tr. appl. put food in s.o. else's mouth for/on; [pron. **kank^hiliza**]

Nank^hilize maana/ kuja. 'He put food in my child's mouth.'

k-aankiza v. tr. put food in someone's mouth; [pron. **kaank^hiza**]

Muke/ mank^hize maana/ kuja. 'The woman put food in the child's mouth.'

k-ankizisha v. tr. caus. cause someone to put food in mouth

Muke/ mank^hizishize maana/ kuja. 'The woman made the child put food in his mouth.'

aano

n. [Som. *caano* "milk" DSI 76]

gule anoole 'thunder [lit. the thunder that brings milk, because pastures will renew their greenery with rains and cows will have more milk]'

is aano used outside this phrase?

ch-aano (*z-*)

n. 7/8 a large tray for carrying food; a washing table

baṭera ya chaano 'a type of boat in which the stern is large and flat'

ansaḷaaṭa

n. [Ital. *insalata*] lettuce

anuuna

[Ital. *anona* or *annona*, scientific name: *Annona muricata*] soursop, a common fruit in Somalia; the species is slightly different from the one found in America

anwaa'i

adj. [Ar. *anwā* 'pl. of *nau* 'kind, sort, variety' W 1011] different kinds

Apo/ spishiḷa zaakuja/ anwaa'i. 'There foods of different kinds were cooked.' (Syn. Note that the indefinite subject **zaakuja** 'foods' is postposed after the verb in this example.)

Nuuhu/ shfanya jis'iyo/ chooloka/ shtalaa muke/ na mubli/ karka kuḷa/ noo'i/ karka anwaa'i/ za hayawaani. 'Noah did just that, he went and he took a female and a male from each type, from different types of animal.'

Ye/ azilee mboga/ za anwaa'i. 'He grew a variety of vegetables.'

Ziwaliko zaakuja/ anwa'i niingi. 'There were many kinds of food.'

rel.

anwa'i anwaa'i adj. different kinds

Yakhugafile maambo/ harusini/ ziwaliko zaakuja/ anwa'i anwaa'i/ ka apa/ na apa. 'The things that you missed at the wedding! There were different kinds of food everywhere.'

k-aanza

v. [Sw. *anza* SSED 17] (**anziize**) begin

Anza ka wanaadamu/ hayawaani/ na kuḷla chiint^hú. 'Begin with human beings, wild animals, and every thing (other creatures).'

Baaba/ chanzaa kuḷa. 'Father began to cry.' Or: **Baaba/ chaanza/ kuḷa.**

Chanza keendra/ mahala ya waant^hu/ hutawanyoo nt^haká/ kumera spandre za maandra/ na zakuja ziinginé/ hutawanyoowá. ‘He began to go to the place where people dump garbage to look for pieces of bread and other food that gets thrown away.’

Chanzaa kuḷa/ kaa nk^heḷe. ‘He began to cry loudly.’
Haliima/ anzize kumpikila Hamadi/ chaakuja. ‘Haliima began to cook food for Hamadi.’

Hamadi/ anzize kujaa nama. ‘Hamadi began to eat meat.’
Hamadi/ anzize kumpaka mwaana/ mafta. ‘Hamadi began to apply oil to the child.’

Hamadi/ anzize kumsomela mwaana/ khaṭi. ‘Hamadi began to read a letter to the child.’

Ichanza kunyaa nvula. ‘It began to rain.’
Iisa/ anzize kumsomesha mwaana/ qur’aani. ‘Iisa began to teach the quran to the child.’

ka khisa/ ye/ apo/ tu/ anzizo kulalá ‘because he had then only just begun to sleep’

kanza khfanya kaazi ‘to begin to work’
Kuḷa haanzoó/ humaliza. ‘Whatever has a beginning ends.’ (A proverb.)
Maskiini/ histirika/ kaawo/ dhibuye/ hanza chiwa mgeeni. ‘A poor man is not seen in his own place, his difficulties begin if he becomes a stranger somewhere.’ (A proverb.)

Mgeeni/ nt^haasá/ kanzaa kuja. ‘The guest is not yet beginning to eat.’
gloss?

Mi/ kanza leelo/ siimo/ karka khabarize. ‘Beginning today I am not involved in her affairs.’

Mwaana/ chanza khfanya kaazi. ‘The boy began to do work.’

Nanzize kaazi/ fijiri iyi. ‘I began the work this morning.’

Nanzize kaazi/ leelo/ fijiri iyi. ‘I began the work today in the morning.’

Nanzizee kuḷá. ‘I began to cry.’

Nanzize kuḷa kaa nk^heḷe. ‘I began to cry loudly.’

Nuuhu/ chaanza/ khfanya jahazi. ‘Nuuhu began to build a boat.’

Tawala/ yanzize kuyela. ‘The tide [lit. sea] began to rise.’

Waant^hu/ wa’anzize kumkahaṭa. ‘People began to hate him.’

We/ anzizee kuḷá. ‘You began to cry.’

Yuusufu/ anzizopo kondroka ka apó/ muke/ chimshika haanzu/ ka chinume/ chimgiita/ hatá/ haanzu/ ichaatuka/ ka chinume. ‘Joseph, when he began to move away from there, the woman grabbed him by his outer garment from behind and pulled until the garment tore from behind.’

rel.

k-aanzika v. p/s. [Sw. *anzika* SSED 17] able to begin

Kaazi/ haytakaanziki/ pashpo rukhsa ya sarkali. ‘The work will not be able to begin without the permission of the government.’

Kaazi/ itakaanzika. ‘This work can begin.’

k-anziliza v. appl. (*anziliize*) help to begin

Mwaalimu/ mwanzilize mwaafuuzi/ suura. ‘The teacher helped the student to begin the chapter of the Quran.’

k-anzilizanya v. appl. rec.

k-anzilizoowa v. appl. pass. (*anziliiza*)

Hamadi/ anziliza khpikilowa chaakuja. ‘Hamadi was begun for to be cooked food for.’ (Note that the main verb is used in the applied form, not the simple form: ***Hamadi/ anziza khpikilowa chaakuja.** Also note that **chaakuja** cannot be the subject of the passive of the main verb: ***Chaakuja/ chanziliza khpikilowa Hamadi.** ‘Food was begun for to be cooked for Hamadi.’ Also not ***Chaakuja/ chanziza khpikilowa Hamadi.**

Mwaana/ anziliza khsomelowaa khaṭi. ‘The child was begun to be read a letter to.’ (Observe that the verb *-anza* is put into an applied form when the applied infinitive verb is passivized and its passive subject is made the subject of a passive version of *-anza*. One does not say ***Mwaana/ anziza khsomelowaa khaṭi.** ‘The child was begun to be read to a letter.’)

k-aanzisha v. caus. [Sw. *anzisha* SSED 17] (**anzishiize**)

Ghazaali/mwanzishize Rabiya/ chingereenza. ‘Ghazaali made Rabiya start (to learn) English.’

Ghazaali/ mwanzishize Rabiya/ kubarsha ruuhuye/ chingereenza. ‘Ghazaali made Rabiya start to teach herself English.’

Yunusu/ anzishize kaazi. ‘Jonas had the work started.’

k-anzoowa v. pass. [Sw. *anzwa* SSED 17] (**anziiza**) be begun

Apa/ qur’aani/ yanziza khsomeshowa waana/ nt^hangú/ mwaka 1945. ‘Here the quran was begun to be taught to children since the year 1945.’

Baraka/ yanziza kawanyoowa. ‘Charity etc. has begun to be given out.’

bismillahi andika/ ni awali ya kanzoowa [st.] ‘write: in the name of Allah for that is the commencement for everything’

Chaakuja/ chanziza kawanyilizowa waana. ‘Food was begun to be distributed to the children.’

Chaakuja/ chanziza khpikoowa. ‘Food was begun to be cooked.’

Hamadi/ anziza kubigoowa. ‘Hamadi was begun to be beaten.’

Kaazi/ yanziiza. ‘The work has been begun.’

Mwaana/ anziza khpakowa mafta. ‘The child was begun to be applied oil to.’ (But it is also possible to say **Mafta/ ya’anziza khpakowa mwaana.** ‘Oil was begun to be applied to the child.’)

rel. nom.

mw-aanzo n. beginning, start, initiation of s.t.; [pron. **mwaanzo** or **maanzo**]

mwaanzo/ wa qisa ‘the beginning of the stories’

mwaanzo wa waajibu ndruuza kasaani/ kumwiwa moojo khuunzilo rahmaani [st.] ‘the beginning of one’s religious duties, listen my brothers/ is to know your God, the one who created you, the merciful one’

Nama/ yanziza kujowa na Hamadi. ‘Meat was begun to be eaten by Hamadi.’

ch-aanzo (z-)

n. 7/8 [Sw. *chanzo* SSED 17] beginning, start

Kula chenye chaanzo/ china mwiisho. ‘Everything that has a beginning has an end.’ (A proverb.)

Lano ili/ chaanzoche/ hashtambuliki. ‘The beginning of this story is not understandable.’

unzile pashpo chaanzo mooja witu [st.] ‘our God created the world without any beginning’

mw-aanzo

adv. first; n. beginning

Mi/ nile mwaanzó. ‘I came first.’ (cf. the different accentual pattern when the subject is third person: **Ye/ ile mwaanzo.** ‘He came first.’)

Neeleza/ khabarizo/ nt^hangú/ mwaanzo/ haṭá/ mwiisho. ‘Explain to me your news/ story from beginning to end.’

apa

loc. demon. [cl.16] [Sw. *hapa* SSED 127] here

Ali/ nt^haako/ apa. ‘Ali is not here.’ Or: **Nt^haako/ Ali/ apa.**

Apa/ nii nk^hulu. ‘This here is a big place.’

Apa/ ni suura. ‘It is good here.’

Apa/ siwo/ kiinu. ‘This place here is not your (home).’

ka apa ‘from here’

Awa/ waḷazile ka apa. ‘These, they left from here.’

Ondrokaani/ ka apa. ‘(Pl.) move from here!’

ka apa/ na apá ‘everywhere’

Mereḷe buukuze/ ka apa/ na apá. ‘He searched for his books everywhere.’

Muke/ chimera ka apa/ na apá. ‘The woman looked here and there.’

Kalaant^ha/ apa. ‘Sit here!’

Mi/ nzazila apá. ‘I was born here.’

Ni apa. 'It is here.'

Ni apa/ mahaḷaa si. 'It is here where we are.'

Uko apa. 'She is there (close to you).'

want^hu wa apa 'people of these parts'

Waant^hu/ wako apá/ (ni) wawovu. 'The people who are here are bad.'

Waant^hu/ wako apá/ (ni) wawovuu nt^ho. 'The people who are here are very bad.'

apaje

loc. demon. [cl.16] [cf. Sw. *pale* SSED 362] there (farther away from speaker and hearer)

Apaje/ miti/ hukula. 'There trees grow.'

Apaje/ wo/ sula khpata kula yaa wo/ wachihtaajó. 'There they would have been able to get whatever that they needed.'

Ni apaje. 'It is over there.'

Ye/ cheendra/ apaje mashakaani/ chizika lpaangale/ na ijambiyayé. 'He went to that place in the bush and buried his sword and his dagger.'

m(w)-aape

invariable adj. some, any; [maape]

variant form: **m(w)-eepe** [recorded in the speech of MI, who sometimes pronounced with *mw* but sometimes elided the *w*];

chibuku mweepe 'some, any book'

Chiwa'egasha/ chiwapa chiint^hu/ mweepe/ kuna. 'He welcomed them and gave them something to drink.'

ila ichiwa iweele/ waajibu/ sababu mweepe... 'unless it becomes obligatory for some reason'

Kama mahala/ mweepe/ ivundishile/ kama yako mataandru/ wa'ambile watumishi/ wanapeele. 'If some place is broken, if there are cobwebs there, tell the servants that they should sweep (there).'

Leelo/ ma'isha yaawo/ hulawa ka kaazi/ meepe/ zaa wo/ hukhadiro khfaanya/ apó/ muyiiní. 'Today their living expenses come from some jobs that they are able to do there in town.'

Mbwa/ chilomba mp^huundra/ nampe chiint^hu/ mweepe/ karka chaakuja/ zaa ye/ tukilo mongooní. 'The dog asked the donkey to give him something from the food that he was carrying on his back.'

Mlete muunt^hu/ nakhubarshee kuja/ mlete mwaana/ mwaapa/ ja naaye/ nakhubarshee kuja. 'Bring someone (home) so that he teaches you to eat, bring any child and eat with him so that he teaches you to eat.'

mo mweepe 'someone, anyone'

Mp^ha chint^hu mweepe. 'Give me anything.'

munt^hu mweepe 'someone, anyone'

Mwambile muunt^hu/ mweepe/ nakhuble. 'Tell anyone that he should kill you.'

Mwaana/ tiyiile/ ye/ cheendra/ kulaala/ munt^hu mweepe/ kuuya/ kubola nt^heendre. 'The child feared that if he went to sleep someone would come and steal the dates.'

Na kila mará/ mo mweepe/ karka waant^hu/ wa'izó/ kumwaaminá/ shpita/ wachimteleza. 'And every time someone among the people who refused to believe him, as he was passing, they made jokes at his expense.'

Ni laazima/ si/ khfaanya/ hiila/ mweepe/ kumwoondrola/ Yuusufu/ kharibu ya waawaye. 'It is necessary for us to make some sort of trick to move Joseph away from his father.'

Peleshela nuumba/ maape/ ya matajiiri/ khtumika. 'He was sent to the home of some rich people to work as a servant.'

Sheekhi/ naayé/ takhkalaant^ha/ muunt^hu/ maape/ apa/ tamfunga maato.

‘Sheekhi too will stay and someone here will blindfold him.’

Wapelee cho/ chibuuku/ waana/ maape. ‘He gave them, books, to some boys.’ (In this sentence, **chibuuku** is downstepped strongly, presumably due to the focus on **cho**.)

Wapelee cho/ waana/ maape. ‘He gave it to some boys.’

Wapele waana/ maape. ‘He gave some boys (something).’

Wapele waana/ maape/ izo peesa. ‘He gave some boys that money (which we were talking about).’

Wapele waana/ maape/ peesa. ‘He gave some boys money.’ (There is no downstep between **waana** and **maape**.)

Wapele waana/ maape/ peesa/ 'zo. ‘He gave some boys money, it.’

Wapele waana/ maape/ 'wo. ‘He gave some boys s.t., them.’

Wapele waana/ maape/ 'wo/ peesa. ‘He gave some boys, them, money.’

rel.

-eepe var. adj. some, any

chibuku cheepe ‘some book’

Wo/ watosheze kuwaa ndovu/ zimile mahala meepe/ nakuwalindraa wo/ kishkila. ‘They thought that the elephant was hiding some place waiting for them to come down [from the tree].’

apo

loc. demon. [cl.16] [Sw. *hapo* SSED 127] there, then

Apo/ iwaliko ni masku/ nch^hilaala/ attá/ fijiri. ‘Then it was night [and] I slept until morning.’

apo kulla muunt^hu tiila waswaasi [nt.] ‘at this point everybody was shaken with fear’

Apo/ nch^hiwona mbadiikhi. ‘There I saw a melon plant.’

Apo/ ningile kumera kaazi. ‘There (at that place) I began to look for a job.’

Apo/ teena/ noka/ chishikowa shšana. ‘There, then, the snake got angry.’

Basi/ cheendra/ shkalaant^ha/ apo/ tu/ huja/ apo/ tu/ heendra/ huja/ hulawa/ jis'iyu/ tu. ‘So he just went and stayed there [at the sultan's], he just eats there, he goes and eats and then goes away, just that way.’

Basi/ waana/ wachoondroka/ ka apo. ‘So the boys moved from that place.’

Endra apo/ endrá. ‘Go there, that's what you should do.’

Ka khisa/ ye/ apo/ tu/ anzize kulaala. ‘Because just then he had gone to sleep.’

Lmalize ka apo. ‘It [the tale] ended here.’

Mi/ apo/ ndilaani/ niskitishilee nt^ho. ‘There, outside, I was very sad.’

Ni apo. ‘It is there (near you).’

Nondroshelé/ ka apo/ niineenzelé/ sku niingi. ‘I went from there and I continued on walking many days.’

Shkalant^ha na mukeewe/ apo. ‘He stayed with his wife there.’

rel.

apo/ apo at the same time

Apo/ apo/ lpepo/ lchanza kuvuma. ‘At that same time the wind began to blow.’

apo/ zamaani once upon a time

Apo/ zamaani/ waliko sulṭaani/ mooyi/ na mwaanawé. ‘Once upon a time there was a sultan and his son.’

apo/ zamaani

once upon a time

Apo/ zamaani/ waliko sulṭaani/ mooyi/ na mwaanawé. ‘Once upon a time there was a sultan and his son.’

ch-appa (z-)

n. 7/8 [Sw. *chapa* SSED 51] trademark (Phon. Although we recorded this item with gemination when we encountered it in our data collection, the status of such

gemination is still open to question: is it an invariable property of this item or a stylistic variant.)

chappache 'its trademark'

aaqiba n. [Sw. *akiba* SSED 7; Ar. '*aqaba* "to follow, to ensue" and '*aqib* "that which follows subsequently" W 626] future; s.t. held in store for the future, savings;

consequences; [pron. **aaqiba** or **aakhiba**]

variant form: **aaqibi**

Aakhiba ha'iwoli. 'Something set aside as a reserve does not go bad.' (A proverb.)

kuweka aaqiba 'to keep s.t. for the future, to save money or something for future use'

kuwekela aaqiba 'to set aside for'

Haliima/ mekelele manaashke=w-e/ aakhiba/ ðahabu/ niingi.

'Haliima set aside much gold for her daughter.'

Mwana uyu/ nt^haná/ aaqiba. 'This child has no future (nothing good will come to him in the future).'

Ye/ waliko tinzile kuwalaṭa ahliye/ chinume/ pashpo khfikiriḷa aaqiba/ ya steendroze. 'He decided to leave his relatives behind without thinking about the consequences of his actions.'

ku-'aqiba

v. [Ar. '*aqaba* W 626] (**aqibiile**) punish

kum'aqiba 'to punish him'

rel.

ku-'aqiboowa v. pass.

Isa/ majini/ ayaje/ ya tawala/ yasuliḷo kumshika Sa'iidi/ naayó/ ya'ile mbele ya sulṭaani/ yamlesele mayti/ yamlonzele sulṭaani/ naṭomole amri/ ku'aqibowa qaaṭili. 'Now those djinns at the sea who wanted to catch Sa'iidi also came in front of the sultan and brought the dead man and begged the sultan to give an order for the killer to be punished.'

aqiida

n. military commander, captain (historically, this word referred to the commander of the Zanzibari garrison in Brava)

aqiida

n. [Ar. '*aqīda* "article of faith, dogma, doctrine" W 628] in the expression:

ilmu ya aqiida 'knowledge of theology'

ku-'aqida

v. [Ar. '*aqada* W 627] (**aqidiile**) tie, bind (figuratively -- e.g. in marriage)

ku'aqida nikaaha 'to tie in marriage' (=khfunga nikaaha)

aqili
or **akhili**

n. 10 [Sw. *akili* SSED 8; Ar. '*aqil* W 630] wits, cleverness, intelligence; [pron. **aqili**

variant form: **aqili** [pron. **aqili** or **akhili**]

Akhili/ hatelezi/ chaake. 'A wise man does not waste [lit. play with] his things.' (A proverb.)

Akhili/ hazuloowi. 'Intelligence cannot be purchased.' (A proverb.)

Akhili/ ni kama mashuungi/ kiḷa mooyi/ nayo yaake. 'Brains are like hair, everyone has his own.' (A proverb.)

akhilii mbovu 'bad judgement, bad thinking'

Akhili/ muunt^hu/ huzaliḷoowa. 'A person is born with intelligence (i.e. it is not something acquired).' (A proverb.)

Akhili/ ni maali. 'Intelligence is wealth.' (A proverb.)

Akhili niingi/ hubasha ma'arifa. 'Too much cleverness makes one lose understanding.' (A proverb.)

Akhili niingi/ huletaa dhibu. 'Too much cleverness causes harm.' (A proverb.)

Akhili za khtila/ haaziwi/ akhili. 'Intelligence that is put into someone'

does not become intelligence (i.e. one cannot be told how to become intelligent, one is born with it).' (A proverb.)

Akhili za maana/ haaziwi/ kana za munt^hu mzima. 'A child's intelligence is not like that of an adult.' (A proverb.)

Akhilize/ kamba (or kana) za waana. 'His way of thinking is like a child.'
Aqlizo/ zikhubeele. 'Your wits have left you.'

Baaba/ mtume Yaaquubu/ waliko ni muunt^hu/ mwenye ilmu/ aqli/ na hikmá/ mwajiitu/ mpeeló. 'The father, the prophet Jacob, was a man having knowledge, intelligence, and wisdom which God gave him.'

Izi/ ni jawaabu/ hingilo aqliini. 'These are reasonable words [lit. words entered in reason].'

Jeelaani/ waliko muḅjaana/ wa miyaka sitaashara/ laakini/ akhilize/ schipita/ aqli za munt^hu wa miyaka thalathiini. 'Jeelaani was a youth of sixteen but his intelligence surpassed the intelligence of a man of thirty years.'

ka akhiliza 'according to my view, in my opinion'

Ka akhiliza/ mi/ hunk^halila Hamadi/ nayo gaarí. 'According to my view, it seems to me that Hamadi is right.'

kangamila aqili 'to go crazy'

khpotela aqili 'to lose one's head, go crazy'

Rabiya/ aqili/ zimpoteele. 'Rabiya lost her head.'

khtila akhiliini 'to understand'

kubasha akhili 'to lose one's mind, temper etc.'

Maadamu/ ha'isuḷoowi/ kubasha akhilize. 'A person should not lose his temper, his mind etc.'

kurasha akhilizo 'to follow your own judgement'

Muunt^hu/ suura/ kurasha akhilize/ chiza kuraasha/ akhili za waant^hu. 'It is good for one to follow his own judgement, not that of others.'

kuzulata aqili 'to lose one's head, go crazy'

Mi/ akhiliza/ huziida/ akhili za sultaani. 'My intelligence surpasses the intelligence of the sultan.'

Namiiwá/ muunt^hu/ msuura/ akhili. 'I know a wise, good man.' Or: **Namiiwá/ muunt^hu/ msuura/ akhili.** (There is declination of the accented syllables in this sentence, but not downstep.)

Namiiwá/ muunt^hu/ akhili/ na msuurá. 'I know a man wise and good.' Or: **Namiiwá/ muunt^hu/ msuura/ na akhilí.** 'I know a man good and wise.' (It should be pointed out that the *na*-phrase is downstepped in these examples, while the preceding accented syllables only show some declination.)

Namiiwá/ muunt^hu/ nazo akhilí. 'I know a man who is wise (lit. has intelligence).' Note that the verb 'have' may be elided, but in this case **akhili** receives default accent: **Namiiwá/ muunt^hu/ akhili.** 'I know a wise man.' (It should be observed that there is not downstep intonation in these sentences, although there is some declination of the accented syllables.)

Nazo akhilí/ we. 'You have intelligence.'

Nelo maayí/ mbelekó/ khuzida ka akhili. 'The one who drank water before you (meaning who was born before you) has more wisdom than you.' (A proverb.) **review pronunciation**

Nt^haná/ aqli. 'He has no intelligence.'

Omari/ akhili niingi. 'Omari is very intelligent.'

Ruuhu/ ichimbiga/ nt^ho/ na kharibiliile/ akhilize/ kumpotela. 'His heart pounded very much, and his wits nearly fell [from him] – i.e. he nearly lost his mind.'

Waliko muunt^hu/ mwenye aqli/ fikiri/ na maalí. 'He was a man of intelligence, thought, and wealth.'

aaqili

adj. [Ar. *ʿāqil* W 630] intelligent, clever; [pron. **aaqili** or **aakhili**]

Kheeri/ aduwi aakhili/ kama mwenza jaahilí. 'Better a clever enemy than an ignorant friend.' (A proverb.)

Ye/ ni aakhili/ na nazo fahamu/ na basará. 'He is intelligent and has

understanding and talent.’

- ku-'aqilisha* v. (**aqilishiize**) make smart
- aqiqa* n. 9/10 [Sw. *akika* and *akiki* SSED 7-8; Ar. *'aqīq* “camelian” W 626] precious stone used in rings; feast, etc., for a dead child
aqiqa iyi ‘this gem’; **aqiqa izi** ‘these gems’
khfanya aqiqa ‘to read the burial service for a child who has died’
- ku-'aqoonsata* v. [cf. Som. noun *aqoon* and verb *aqoonso* “to recognize” DSI 22] (**aqonseete**) recognize
Oono/ iize/ ku'aqoonsata/ dowla ya Soomalya. ‘The UN refuses to recognize the government of Somalia.’
rel.
ku-'aqonsatisha v. caus. (**aqonsatishiize**)
ku-'aqonsatoowa v. pass. be recognized
Dowla ya Soomalya/ nt'aasá/ nt'a'iku'aqonsatoowa/ na Oono/ na duniyá. ‘The government of Somalia is still not recognized by the United Nations and the world.’
- aqraba* n. [Sw. *akraba* SSED 8; Ar. *aqrab* W 755] blood relative (used in Chimiini to refer to blood relative either on mother’s or father’s side); [pron. **aqraba** or **akhraba**]
chilo cha aqraba mayti hiskitika [st.] ‘the crying of his close relative, the dead person is bothered by [this]’
Hamadi/ akhrabaze/ wiingi. ‘Hamadi, his relatives are many.’
Ismu ya muunt'u/ naayo/ akhraba. ‘Anybody has relatives.’
sadaqa afđali ni khpoowa aqraba [st.] ‘it is preferable to give alms to blood relatives’
Sadaqa/ mbele/ hupowa akhraba. ‘Charity is first given to relatives.’
- aaquwaaalideeni* n. [an Arabicism] someone who has severed relationship with his parents
ajabu aaquwaaalideeni kuhija [st.] ‘it is strange for someone who has broken ties with his parent to perform the pilgrimage’
- ara'ara* n. [Som. *caaro* DSI 76] spider; a kind of small fish like a sardine
- arabiya* n. [Ar. (*al-*)*arbi* ‘āW 323] Wednesday
Ka raađiya/ oloka/ mwaabile/ mubli/ naaye/ munthi wa arabiya. ‘With my blessing go and tell that man that he should come on Wednesday.’
munthi wa arabiya ‘Wednesday’
sku ya arabiya/ amó/ ya arkhamiisi ‘Wednesday or Thursday’
- ch-aarabu* n. [Sw. *kiarabu* SSED 319] the Arabic language; in the manner of an Arab
Mwaana/ chimjiiba/ ka khisa karka chimwiini/ zimo jawaabu/ za chisoomaali/ za shālyaani/ za chingereenza/ za chaarabu/ za chihindi/ haṭá/ jawabu za majini/ zimo. ‘The child answered him, Because in Chimwiini there are words from Somali, from Italian, from English, from Arabic, from Hindi, even words of the djinns are in it.’
- mw-aarabu (w-)* n. 1/2 [Sw. *mwarabu* SSED 319; Ar. *'arabī*, coll. *'arab* W 601] an Arab
Isa/ leelo/ waarabu/ hichiijila/ si/ ka koođi. ‘Now today the Arabs come to us with words.’
mwaarabu/ na mwanaamkewé/ na khisa ziinginé ‘the Arab and his daughter, and other tales’
Omo/ ye/ chimwona mwaarabu/ mooyi/ uje mjibilo hoodi. ‘Inside (e.g. the house) he saw an Arab, the one who had answered his request to enter.’
Uje/ wa'ublelo ngoombé/ waliko ni mwaarabu/ na waliko mwelpe/ uyu/ ni mlusi. ‘The one who killed the cattle was an Arab and he was white, this one is black.’

- aarafa** n. [cf. *Arafaati* below] a non-obligatory fasting day during the hajj month
idi/ ya aarafa ‘a feast where a goat is slaughtered, held the day following
munt^hi wa aarafa
munt^hi wa aarafa ‘the day during the **hajj** where one stands in front of
Mount Ararat’
mtume tindiliile wakeewe aarafa [st.] ‘the Prophet slaughtered for his wives
on **aarafa**’
m(w)ezi wa aarafa ‘the third month after Ramadhan = **wataatu**’
- Arafaati** n. [Ar. ‘*arafāt* “mountain and plain near Mecca, where pilgrims spend the 9th day of
month of Zu’lhijja” W 606] a mountain and plain near Mecca
- aragosta** n. 9/10 [Ital. *aragosta*] lobster
- araamila** adj. [see **armila** below] ones whose husbands have died
ndiye shpeendo yaṭiima na araamila [st.] ‘it is he [=Mohammad] who
loved orphans and widows’
wake araamila ‘widows’
- aarani** n. [Som. *aaran* “prosperity (in pasture and fields), abundance of greenery after rains”
DSI 3] plenitude; the opposite of drought -- i.e. plentifulness of rain
Killa/ maaka/ ichinshaarata/ jawaabu/ stakuuyó/ jawabu
stakupatikanó/ kamba ni awaari/ kamba ni aarani/ ka mbuzi
oyo. ‘Every year, it gave a forecast of what would come and could
be expected, either famine or abundance of harvest by that goat.’
Maka uyu/ ni aarani/ miyuundra/ yaḷazile jisa suura. ‘This year is
prosperous, farms have yielded abundantly.’
nakhsuula aarani apa sipo suura [st.] I want abundance, here it is not
good’
- arba** [Ar. *arba* ‘a W 323]
arba alfu ‘four thousand’
- arba’iini** adj. forty
arba’ina keendra or **arba’iini/ na keendrá** ‘forty nine’
arba’ina mbili or **arba’iinu/ naa mbili** ‘forty two’
arba’ina naane or **arba’iini/ na naané** ‘forty eight’
arba’ina saba or **arba’iini/ naa sabá** ‘forty seven’
arba’ina sitta or **arba’iini/ na sittá** ‘forty six’
Miizi/ sku arba’iini/ hushikoowa. ‘A thief is caught in forty days.’ (A
proverb.)
Ndripa farasi/ arba’iini/ na nuumbá/ arba’iini/ na ngoombé/ arba’iini/
na mbuzi za matakó/ arba’iini/ and sandukhu za ḍahabú/
arba’iini/ na sandukhu za feḍá/ arba’iini/ na sandukhu za
shabá/ arba’iini/ na hunda nt^haanó. ‘Pay me forty horses, and
forty houses, and forty cows, and forty sheep, and forty boxes of
gold, and forty boxes of copper, and forty boxes of silver, and five
measures.’
- arbab** n. gods
- arbaataashara** n., adj. fourteen
- arbeeni** n. [Ar. *arba’ūn* “ceremony held on the 40th day after s.o.’s death” W 323] food given
to the poor as a final giving after someone’s death
khfanya arbeeni ‘to celebrate, perform **arbeeni**’
- arbuuni** [Ar. ‘*urbūn, ‘rab ‘n* W 602]

- arði** [Ar. *arḍ* W 13]
- ku-'arfisha** v. [Ar. *ʿarf* "fragrance, perfume, aroma" W 605] (**arfishiize**) smell sweet, good
Mi/ naku'arfisha barafumú/ suura/ apa. 'I smell good perfume here.'
 rel.
ku-'arfishoowa v. pass.
Numba iyo/ inaku'arfishowaa kuja. 'That house is smelling good (from) food.'
- aari** n. [Som. *aar* "revenge", noun and verb, DSI 3] revenge
aari iyi nda dunya/ aakhera halo baaqiya [st.] 'this vengeance was on earth, but the hereafter still remains'
- aari** n. 9 [Sw. *ari* SSED 18: Ar. *ʿār* "shame, disgrace, dishonour" W 661] revenge; fear of losing one's position in society and becoming disgraced; disgraced
lata kumdhiba aariya/ we naniwa mi haaliya [song] 'stop bothering me regarding my disgrace, you know (me) my condition'
Mlungaana/ ntʰana aari/ ni kama ngoombe/ ntʰana mpʰeembé. 'A noble man who has sense of disgrace is like a cow who had no horns.' (A proverb.)
mwiize mukhtaari ka sababu ya aari [st.] 'he rejected the prophet because of fearing losing his position'
- ku-'arida** v. [apparently related to Som. *arday* "student" DSI 23, but there is no related verb in Standard Somali] (**aridiile**) recite
- ku-'arifa** v. [Ar. *ʿarafa* "to know" W 605 and *ta ʿrif* "information" W 606] inform
Laazimu/ kum'arifa Omari/ jawabu izo. 'You must let Omari know about those matters.'
 rel.
ku-'arifoowa v. pass.
Laazimu/ ku'arifowa Omari/ jawabu izo. 'Those things should be made known to Omari.'
- ma-'arifa** n.
Mi/ nayo ma'arifa niingi/ na Omari. 'I have a lot of knowledge, much information, a strong relationship with Omari.'
Mi/ siná/ ma'arifa/ na Omar. 'I have no relation/ connection to, knowledge of Omari.'
- ariplaano** n. [Ital. *aeroplano*]
 variant form:
eroplano n. *ibid.*
Safiriile/ ka ariplaanoye/ khaasá/ kooloka/ ka kuzuura/ ntʰi za sharqi/ yaa kati. 'He traveled by his special airplane to go to visit the countries of the Middle East.'
 rel.
chi-'ariplaano (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim.
i-'ariplaano (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.
- ariishi** n. 9/10 [Som. *cariish* DSI 91] a house made of wood and mud
Arishi iyi/ iwashila na Haaji. 'This house was built by Haaji.'
numba ya ariishi 'a house made of wood and mud'
 rel.
chi-'ariishi (*zi-*) n. dim.
Chi'ariishicha/ shpiile. 'My little house burned.'
Zi'ariishiza/ spiile. 'My little houses burned.'
i-'ariishi (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.

- aariya** n. [Som. *caariyo* "borrowing" DSI 76] something borrowed, given temporarily
- arkaani** n. (cf. **rukni** 'pillar') [Ar. *arkān*, plural of *rukn* W 359] pillars, the essential elements of the Islamic faith
arkaani za islaamu baraṭaani / naa zo ni nt^haano ni fahamilaani [st.]
 'learn the pillars of Islam and understand that they are five'
kulla ibaada taḥidaani umaṭi / khaansa karka sala arkaani na shartī [st.]
 'O [Muslim] community, strive [to perfect] every act of worship – especially [observing] the essential elements and conditions during the prayer'
- arkhamiisi** n. [Sw. *alhamisi* from Ar. *yaum ak-kamīs* W 262] Thursday
munṭ^hi wa arkhamiisi 'Thursday (lit. the sixth day)
Sku ya arkhamiisi/ nuzizee chiṭá/ cha ngoombé/ sukhuuni. 'On the day of Thursday, I sold the head of a cow in the market.'
Sku yaa ye/ nakendro kingila nt^hi ya mayahuudí/ iwaliko arkhamiisi.
 'The day that he was going to enter the land of the Jews was Thursday.'
Tahara yaa jima/ nda arkhamiisi. 'The ritual cleanliness for Friday prayer is (a matter) of Thursday (i.e. you need to prepare yourself in advance).' (A proverb.)
Tuumá/ uje Ø-vushilo Mkhodiishó/ fijiri ya jimaa tatú/ Ø-ṭa-ku-ruda Miini/ arkhamiisi 'Tuuma, who went to Mogadishu Monday morning, will return to Brava on Thursday'
- ch-arkhaani (z-)** n. 7/8 sewing machine
 variant form: **sharkhaani**
Awaje wanazo peesá/ hula zarkhaani/ khshomela waant^hu/ nguwo/ ka peesa. 'Those who have the money buy sewing machines to sew clothes for people to make money.'
Maliizopó/ Hasiibu/ maamaye/ mpeleshele charkhaniini/ kubarata khshomaa nguwo. 'When he finished (school), Hasiibu's mother sent him to a tailor's shop to learn to sew clothes.'
- armajo** n. [Ital.] cupboard **review**
Omari/ tundrishile shaatiya/ armajooni. 'Omari hung his shirt in the cupboard.'
ziamu/ za Faatima/ tilo armajooni 'the plates that Faatima put in the cupboard' (Phon. If the relative verb is separated from its complement, the final accent still extends to the end of the relative clause: **ziamu/ za Faatima/ tiiló/ armajooni** 'the plates that Faatima put in the cupboard'.)
- armala** adj. [Ar. *armala*, pl. *arāmila* W 360] (used only in the singular) widow
muke armala 'a widow'
We/ na'iwa kuwaa mi/ ni armalá. 'You know that I am a widow.'
 rel.
araamila n. [Ar. pl. *arāmil* W 360] widows
- aarmi** n. [Eng. *Army*] (fire-)arms (larger than a gun, like a cannon or a tank etc.)
aarmi/ na bundukhú 'arms and guns'
- arnabu** n. [Ar. *arnab* W 14] rabbit
- arshanta** n. whorehouse, brothel

- arshi** n. [Ar. *ʿarš* "throne" W 602] throne
- ma-'aruufu** adj. [Ar. *ma fūf* W 607] renowned, famous
- ku-'aruurisha** v. [Som. *aruuri* "to gather--people or things" DSI 25] (-'arurishiize) collect, gather s.t. (things, money) (In word-initial position, a stem with an initial glottal stop is pronounced without that stop. We failed to observe the glottal stop even when the word in question is medial in a phonological phrase.)
Arurishize uki. 'He collected honey.' Or, of course: **Arurishiize/ uki.** 'He collected honey.'
Arurishizee wo. 'He collected, gathered it (e.g. honey).'
Arurishiize/ wo/ uki. 'He collected it, honey.' Somewhat less preferred is: **Arurishiize/ uki/ wo.** 'He collected honey, it.'
Shaafi/ arurishize ijaara/ ka waant^hu. 'Shaafi collected rent from people.'
 (Note: this verb would not be used for collecting rent from a single person.)
Shishile ku'aruurisha/ ku'aruurisha/ ku'aruurisha/ chimooyi/ ba'ada chimooyi ku'aruurisha. 'He began to gather them all up, one by one, to gather up.'
Wo/ arurishiize. 'It (e.g. honey) he collected.'
Ye/ arurishize luulu/ na almaasi. 'He gathered up the pearls and diamonds.'
- rel.
ku-'arurishiliza v. appl. (-'arurishilize) collect for
Mtumile Jamaala/ kum'arurishiliza ijaara. 'He sent Jamaala to collect rent for him.'
Sheekhi/ wa'arurishilize waant^hu/ ijaara. 'Sheekhi collected rent for people.'
- ku-'arurishilizoowa** v. appl. pass. (-'arurishiliza)
Huseeni/ arurishiliza ijaara/ n Sheekhi. '[Lit.] Huseeni was collected for rent by Sheekhi.'
- ku-'arurishoowa** v. pass. (-'arurishiiza)
Ijaara/ arurishiza na Mahmuudi/ ka waant^hu. 'Rent was collected by Mahmuudi from people.'
Maliize/ hu'arurishowa waana/ wa muuyi/ faḷqa/ awaje wawovu. 'When this is done, the children of the town, the rascals, the bad ones, are gathered together.'
- arzaaqi** n. (cf. **rizqi**) [Ar. *arzāq*, plural of *rizq* "livelihood, subsistence, daily bread" W 337] what can be gotten, provided, eaten; daily food; [pron. **arzaaqi** or **arzaakhi**]
Arzaakhi/ naazó/ mojiitu. 'The one who has daily food is God.' (A proverb. This is said, for example, by the struggling businessman who is not having success and gives up, saying that it is only God who can provide **arzaaqi**.)
Si/ chiwaliko waant^hu/ watatu/ moyi wiitu/ wele arzaakhi/ za mp^haamp^ha. 'We were three people, one of us became food for sharks.'
Sultani Daraayi/ naayé/ loosele/ kuwaa ye/ uko nt^hakaani/ nakumera arzaakhi. 'Sultan Daraayi also dreamed that he was at the garbage dump looking for food.'
- ku-'arzuqa** v. (-'arzuqiile) bestow upon; provide the necessities; [pron. **ku'arzuqa** or **ku'arzukha**]
 variant form: **kuruzuqa**
Mwajiitu/ m'arzukiile/ mwiimbili/ inaye/ Ali. 'God bestowed upon him a boy, his name was Ali.'
wamo huwa 'arzuqa ka fadhiini/ na wiingine huwafaanya maskiini [st.] 'some [God] cares for their needs while they are at their own place, and others he makes them poor'

asaa conj. [Sw. *asaa* SSED 19; Ar. *asa*, which we did not locate in W, but found in “The Concise Oxford English Arabic Dictionary of current usage”, Oxford University Press, 1985 edition, page 280, under entry “perhaps”] perhaps

ku-’aasa v. [Sw. *asa* “forbid, warn” SSED 19; Ar. *’aṣā* “disobey, resist, oppose” W 618] disobey (orders, God); rebel

Asize sarkaali. ‘He rebelled against the government.’

chi’ aasa ‘if she rebels, disobeys’

hu’ aasó ‘a rebel, one who disobeys’

kum’ asa mwajiitu ‘to disobey God’

M’ asize waawaye. ‘He disobeyed his father.’

Naku’ aasa. ‘He is rebelling, disobeying.’

Nth anaku’ aasa. ‘He is not disobeying, rebelling.’

ku-’ aasika v. p/s.

ku-’ asishana v. caus. (**asishiize**)

Nuuru/ m’ asishize mwaana/ waawaye. ‘Nuuru induced (in some fashion) the child to disobey his father.’

ku-’ asishana v. caus. rec.

ku-’ asishika v. caus. p/s.

Mwana uy/ ha’ asishiki/ waawaye. ‘This child cannot be induced to disobey his father.’

ku-’ asishiliza v. caus. appl.

Nuuru/ m’ asishilize Suufi/ mwaana/ mwaalimu. ‘Nuuru induced Suufi’s son to disobey the teacher.’

kuasishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Want^hu awa/ wa’ asishilizenye waana/ walimu waawo. ‘These people in induced (somehow) one another’s children to disobey their teachers.’

rel. nom.

m-’ aasa (*wa-*) n. 1/2 rebel

asabikhuuna

Asabikhuuna/ al’ awaluuna. ‘Those who came first should be treated first.’ (An Arabic proverb that has been “Chimiini-ized” and used in the language.)

aasaasi n. 9 [Ar. *asās* W 15] foundation, basis

asasiini ‘loc. foundation’ (The word *aasiisi* is one of a fair number of loan words that have long vowels in both the antepenult and penult positions in the word, a situation not tolerated in the native Bantu vocabulary nor in morphological concatenation. But when the final vowel is lengthened in formation of the locative noun, both of the stem long vowels shorten as expected.)

iyi ni asaasi yingiilo bukuuni [nt.] ‘so begins the chronicle of this day [lit. this is the foundation that entered the book]’

khtila aasaasi ‘to lay a foundation’

Kooðize/ nt^h aziná/ aasaasi. ‘His words have no foundation.’

kuweka aasaasi ‘to lay a foundation’

Muunt^hu/ ismu ya chiint^hu/ faanya/ mbele/ husułowa kuweka aasaasi. ‘For one to do anything, first one must build a foundation.’

numba iyi/ aasaasiye ‘this house’s foundation’ (This example illustrates a surprising aspect of the phonology of loanwords like *aasiisi*. When the enclitic *y=e* is appended, this puts the second long vowel in *aasiisi* in antepenult position in the word, a position that allows a long vowel. But it puts the first long vowel in *aasiisi* in a pre-antepenultimate position, which ordinarily does not allow a long vowel. However, the length on this vowel seems to be retained.)

asbaabu

n. (cf. **sababu**) [Ar. *asbāb* W 392] false cause/reason, pretext, justification (observe that the meaning of this form, which derives from the Arabic plural, differs from **sababu**, which means ‘cause, reason’)

asbuu'i

n. 9 [Ar. *usbū* ' W 394] week

variant form: **usbuu'i**

asbu'i inakuuyó or **asbu'i itakuuyó** 'the coming week'

asbu'i iyi 'this week'

asbu'i mooyi 'one week'

asfari

adj. [Sw. *asfari* "yellow"]

feḍa na ḍahabu kuvaala khaṭari/ na nguwo asfari huundru na akhḍari
[st.] she must not (lit. it is dangerous to) wear (ornaments of) silver and gold, or yellow, red, or green clothes'

as.haabu

[Ar. *aṣḥāb*, plural of *ṣāḥib* W 504]

ku-'aashiqa

v. [Ar. *'aṣiqa* W 614]

aslan

Sooloki/ aslan. 'I won't go. I'll never go.'

k-aasha

v. tr. (**ashiize**) light a fire, put a light on

Ashizee muḷo/ ka chibiriṭi. 'He lit a fire with a match.'

kasha maato 'to be awake'

kashaa muḷo 'to create differences, hatred'

kasha muunt^hu 'to do everything possible to get s.o. arrested'

kashaa muḷo 'to get a fire going (by adding s.t. to it, not by starting from scratch, which would be **khfanyaa muḷo**)

kashaa nt^ha 'to light a candle'

kasha sigareeti 'to light a cigarette'

kashaa tala 'to put on a lamp'

Muunt^hu/ shpenda chiint^hu/ tala/ hashaa kaa mate. 'When one loves/likes something, he lights the lamp with spit (i.e. he can do/tolerate every thing).' (A proverb.)

Muḷo/ hashaa muḷo. 'Fire burns fire.'

Nashiizé. 'I lit a fire.' Cf. **Ashiizé.** 'You lit a fire.' **Ashiize.** 'He lit a fire.'

Chashiizé. 'We lit a fire.' **Nashiizé.** 'You (pl.) lit a fire.' **Wa'ashiize.** 'They lit a fire.' (Note that even though there are morphophonemic differences between the first person singular subject marker *ni* and the second person plural subject marker *ni*, they do not contrast in front of a vowel-initial root. The vowel of *ni* in both cases fuses with the root vowel. In the present paradigm, this fusion does not yield a long vowel due to their already being a long vowel in the penult syllable.)

Sandukhuuni/ zimo zint^hu haakó. 'In this box there are things that are flammable.'

rel.

k-aashika v. p/s. able to be lit

Muḷo/ hawaashiki/ apa. 'A fire cannot be lit here (e.g. it is too windy).'

Sandukhuuni/ zimo zint^hu haashikó. 'In this box there are things that are flammable.'

k-ashikila v. p/s. appl. able to be lit for

Muḷo/ wize kumwashikila. 'The fire wouldn't start for him.'

k-ashiliza v. tr. appl. light for, with

Chibiriṭi/ ashilizee muḷo. 'A match, he used one to light a fire.'

Mafta/ yaḷazilo ka namaani/ chashilizaa tala. 'The oil that came from the meat [e.g. of the snake], she used it to light the lamp.'

k-ashilizoowa v. tr. appl. pass.

Chibiriṭi/ chashilizaa muḷo. 'A match was used to light a fire.'

k-ashoowa v. tr. pass.

Apo/ zamaani/ sultaani/ Harun Rashiidi/ tomele/ amri/ kuwa nt^haku/ rukhsa/ karka muuyiwé/ kashoowa/mibeebe/ yaa muḷo/ walá/ kuḷatowaa talá/ kaaká/ maskú. 'Once upon a time king Haruun Rashiidi issued an order that there was no permission in the town

for **mibeebe** of fire to be lit nor for lamps to be permitted to be lighted at night.'

Muḷo/ washiza ka chibiriti. 'A fire was started with a match.'

Muunt^hu/ mzimawe/ washizaa tala. 'The whole of the town was lit up by lamps.' Or: **Tala/ washizi/ muuyi/ mzimawe.**

Muuyi/ mzimawe/ washizaa tala. 'The entire town was lit up with lamps.' (Syn. But one can also say: **Tala/ zashiiza/ muuyi/ mzimawe.** 'Lamps lit up the entire town.')

Tala/ zashiiza. 'Lamps were lit.'

Washiza muuyi/ mzimawé/ nii tala. 'What the whole town was lit up by is lamps.'

Zashiza muuyi/ mzimawé/ nii tala. 'What lit up the entire town were lamps.'

Zashiizá/ nii tala. 'What were lit were lamps.'

ashaabu

n. pl. [cf. **saahibu**, the singular form] [Sw. **sahibu** "friend" SSED 438; Ar.] friends

ku-'aashiqa

v. [Sw. **ashiki** SSED 19; Ar.] (**ashiqiile**) long for someone, be infatuated with someone, have a desire for someone; [pron. **ku'aashiqa** or **ku'aashikha**] variant form: **kaashiqa**

Mi/ nim'ashiqile mooyi/ karka kaawo. 'I longed for one among them.'

Mubjaana/ mooyi/ m'ashiqiile/ mwanaamke/ wa sulṭaani. 'A young man was infatuated with the daughter of the sultan.'

Ye/ hattá/ sku mooyi/ nt^hakumwona/ mwanaamke/ msuura/ kama oyo/ chim'aashiqa/ mwanaamke/ na ka paapo/ qalbiye/ chiyela/ mahabaye. '[If] even one day he did not see the beautiful girl like that [i.e. peeping out from the window], he longed for the girl and at the same time his heart filled with love.'

aashiqi (Ø, ma-)

n., adj. [Sw. **ashiki** SSED 19] one who is in love, a lover, a playboy

ashiqi uy 'this lover'

nt^hayiiko aashiqi nt^hayiiko manya'a [nt.] 'there is no [thought of] dalliance or impropriety'

want^hu (ma')aashiqi 'lovers'

ashkali

[Sw. **ashkali** "better of health" SSED 19] how are you? (plural form: **ashaliini**) (formal greeting); the obligatory reply is: **ashkali** (invariable); better (SSED gives this word as a borrowing from Ar. **aškāl** "likeness, appearance" W 482, but Bravanese do not recognize this word as a borrowing from Arabic.)

kuwa ashkali 'to get better (after an illness)'

Mada Imaamu/ ni ashkali. 'Mada Imaamu is better now.'

Ni waana/ tu/ ashkali/ tu/ zihaba/ siwo/ wakuluu nt^ho. 'It is just children, it's just easy, small children are not grownups.'

ashuura

n. [Sw. **ashura** "ceremony of the tenth day of the month of *Muharram* at which a sheep is slaughtered to commemorate Abraham's readiness to sacrifice his son; 'The Counsel', the title of Durs XLII of the Koran" M&N 89-90; Ar. '**ašūrā**' "name of a voluntary fast day on the tenth day of Muharram, day of mourning for Husain's death" W 614] a celebration held on the tenth day of the fourth month of the Bravanese calendar (**muharram** in Arabic), which requires that one provides doubly for one's family on that day

masku ya ashuura 'the evening of **ashuura**'

ku-'ashuurata
tax

v. [Som. **canshuur**, variant **cashuur** "tax" DSI 88; from Ar. '**ušūr** "tithe" W 614]]

ashuuru

n. tax
variant form: **ushuuru**

- aasi** adj. [cf. Sw. v. *asi* SSED 19; Ar. ‘*aṣīy* “rebel, refractory” W 618] disobediant
huqaadiro sho keendra aasi ḍaalimu [st.] ‘he who is able [to make the pilgrimage to Mecca], if he does not go, he is someone disobediant and a wrongdoer’
mtume onyeeza muunt^hu aasi sho khsala [st.] ‘the Prophet was shown a disobediant man who does not say his prayers’
- aasima** n.[Ar. ‘*āṣima* W 617] capital (of a country, e.g.)
Aasima/ ya Somaaliya/ ni Mkhodiisho. ‘The capital of Somalia is Mogadishu.’
nt^h iyi/ aasimaye ‘this country, its capital’
- ku-’asira** v. [Ar. ‘*asira* “to force, oppress, treat harshly” W 612] (**asiriile**) take captive in war
- ku-’asisa** v. [Ar. *as* “to found” and *asās* “foundation: W 15] (**asisiile**) found (an organization) (Morph. Notice that the perfective verb stem is irregular; one would expect ***asisiize**.)
asisiiló ‘one who founded [an organization]’
- askari (Ø, ma-’)** n. [Sw. *askari* SSED 20; Ar. ‘*askar* “army, troops” W 613] soldier, policeman
Askari awa/ wa’ile. ‘These soldiers came.’ Or: **Askari izi/ ziile.** ‘These soldiers came.’ (In the former example, **askari** is treated like a [cl.2] noun. In the latter example, it is treated like a [cl.10] noun.)
- askari/ bundukhuye** ‘soldier, his rifle’; **askari/ bundukhuze** ‘soldier, his rifles’; **ma’askari/ bundukhu zaawo** ‘soldiers, their rifles’
askari uyu ‘this soldier’ (cf. **askari izi** or **askari awa** or **ma’askari awa** or **ma’askari aya** ‘these soldiers’; in the singular one does not say ***askari iyi**, i.e. **askari** in the singular cannot be treated as [cl.9])
Askari/ wamwenopo eeló/ washfakata kumkhubura sulṭaani/ kuwa... ‘When the soldiers saw the gazelle, they ran to inform the sultan that...’
Askari/ wako numbaani. ‘The police were at home/ at the house.’
Askari/ waakopi/ tu. ‘Where are the police only found?’ Possible answer: **Askari/ wako steeshini/ tu.** ‘The police are found only at the station.’
Askari/ tu/ wako numbaani. ‘Only the police are at the house (everyone else has gone or no one else came).’
bundukhu ya askari ‘the rifle of the soldier’; **bundukhu za askari** ‘the rifles of the soldier(s)’; **bundukhu za ma’askari** ‘the rifles of the soldiers’
Chimaliza/ wene ma’askari/ na makhaadimú/ wachiingila. ‘Then he saw policemen and servants entering.’
Chiwa’ambila ma’askari/ wa sulṭaani/ langalaani/ jawaabu/ za zotte/ nza lila. ‘He told the soldiers of the sultan: look, all my words are the truth.’
Iló/ ni sulṭani waa noka/ na ma’askariyé. ‘The one who came was the sultan of snakes and his soldiers.’
kandika askari ‘to recruit s.o. into the army; to join the army’
Mada Nuuru/ andishile (ruuhuye/) askari. ‘Mada Nuuru joined the army.’
ma’askari miingi ‘many soldiers’
Ma’askari/ wachimtaala/ wachendra naaye/ ka sulṭaani. ‘The policement took him and went with him to the sultan.’
Mchimbile askari. ‘He ran from a policeman.’
Mi/ na askarizá/ chondroshelé/ kendra ijabali Khaafu/ kubadilaa hawa. ‘Me and my soldiers left to go to Mount Khaafu for a change of air.’
Mwenye zijuumba/ izo/ ni mzele Simsimu/ na mahaḷaa ye/ hukaló/ wako majini/ wiingi/ nt^ho/ ndiwó/ ma’askariye. ‘The owner of these

nests is old Simsimu, and in the place where he lives, there are very many djinns and they are his soldiers.'

Naani/ tu/ wako numbaani. 'Only who remained at the house?' A possible answer: **Askari/ tu/ wako numbaani.** 'Only police remained at the house.'

Naani/ wako numbaani. 'Who was at home/ at the house?' A possible answer: **Askari/ wako numbaani.** 'The police are at home/ at the house.'

Numbaani/ tu/ wako askari. 'Only at the house/ at home are there police [i.e. they aren't anywhere else].' Or: **Numbaani/ tu/ waako/ askari.**

Numbaani/ wako askari. 'At home/ at the house there are police.' Or:

Numbaani/ waako/ askari. 'The police are *at home/ at the house.*'

Numbaani/ wako askari/ tu. 'There are only police at the house/ at home.'

Numbaani/ wako naani. 'At home/ at the house, who was there?' A possible answer: **Numbaani/ wako askari.** 'At home/ at the house there were police.'

Sultaani/ waliko pele askarize/ amri/ kumlindra Sultani Daraayi/ khpata kumweegesha. 'The sultan had given his soldiers orders to wait for Sultan Daraayi to welcome him.'

Tuuma/ waawaye/ ni askari. 'Tuuma's father is a policeman.'

Uje muunt^h/ chooloka/ chimvila askari. 'The man went and called a policeman.'

Watumila ma'askari/ khfitisha nuumba. 'Policemen were sent to search the house.' Or: **Ma'askari/ watumila khfitisha nuumba.** Or: **Ma'askari/ watumila/ khfitisha nuumba.**

rel.

chi-'askari n. 7 in the manner, style of soldiers, police

Waana/ wanakhpowa tadribu ya chi'askari. 'The children are given military training.'

i-'askari (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

u-'askari n. 14 [Sw. *uaskari*] being a soldier or policeman

askari n. [lit. police] small fish that attach to large sharks, a kind of Romera fish; good to eat

aslan [cf. Sw. *asilani* "never"; Ar. *aslan* "originally, primarily"; (with neg.) "by no means, not at all" W 19] never

Sooloki/ aslan. 'I will never go.'

asli n. 9 [Sw. *asili* SSED 20; Ar. *asl* W 19] origin

Chimeera/ asli yaawo/ wo/ hulawaangana/ lamnaa nt^hatu. 'If you trace their ancestors, they can be divided into three groups.'

kibri ni asli ya fiina zont^he [st.] 'pride is the root of all discord'

Munt^hu asli mbovu/ hiwowa ka steendroze. 'A man of bad origin is known [to be so] by his deeds.' **did not mark final accent in notes, so need to review what the structure here is and whether there is a final accent**

na asliye karka jana ileesela [st.] 'originally it was brought from heaven'

Nt^hana/ asli/ wala/ faoli. 'He does not have (either) ancestry (i.e. noble birth) nor manners.' (A proverb.)

Want^hu awa/ asli yaawo/ wa'ile Keenya. 'Those men originally came from Kenya.' Cf. **Munt^hu uyu/ asliye/ ile ka Keenya.** 'This man originally came from Kenya.'

Waant^hu/ hukalo Mwiini/ wote/ ni wasoomaali/ ka sharii'a/ laakini/ chimeera/ asli yaawo/ wo/ hulawaangana/ lamnaa nt^hatu. 'All the people who live in Mwiini are Somalis legally, but if one traces their ancestry they are divided into three groups.'

Wowi/ asliye/ ni matete yaa nvula. 'A river, its origin is drops of rain.' (A proverb.)

asraari n. [Som. *asraar* “magic” DSI 28, which specifies that it is the plural of Arabic *sirr* “secret”, cf. *asrūr* W 404] astrology, magic

mwenye asraari (lit.) a person of hidden things – i.e. a person who uses astrology etc. to give advice to people; s.o. who is religious, devout, and by virtue of this receives hints of what will happen in the future’

asriya adj. [Ar. *‘asrī* W 616] modern

assalaamu aleekum greeting: ‘peace be on you’

Astaghafiru n. **Astaghafiru** comes from the Arabic root for “forgiveness”. This ceremony was also held in Brava and other coastal towns (Merka, Mogadishu) in the spring. It involved a procession to the beach, including teachers and children from Koranic schools, prayers for rain at the end of the northern monsoon winds, and the slaughtering of animals on the sea-shore.

Mi/ nakuhadá/ isa/ apa/ chint^hu maape/ tarafu ya aada/ ya want^hu wa Miini/ yaa wo/ washfaanyó/ wakhtí/ ya Astaghafirú. ‘I will speak here now something, about a traditional celebration of the people of Miini that they conducted at the time of Astaghfiru.’

astaale adj. possessing miraculous gifts, able to foresee the future

possessing miraculous abilities.’ **Oyo/ Hamadi/ ni astaale/ karaamaale.** ‘That Hamadi is someone

possessing miraculous abilities.’ **Shekh Omari/ ni astaale.** ‘Sheekh Omari is someone possessing

miraculous abilities.’

shekhiya ni sheekhi astaale karaamaale ni sheekhi Jeylaani ‘[st.] ‘my sheikh is a sheikh who possesses miraculous gifts, it is Sheikh Jeylani’

aswadi adj. black

Nuuru/ ni aswadi looni. ‘Nuuru is of black color/type.’

Sabuura/ ni aswadi. ‘The blackboard is black.’

atari n. [Ar. *‘itr* “perfume, scent” W 619] scent, perfume

Atari iyi/ inakunuunk^ha. ‘This perfume smells good.’

ku-’aatiba v. [Sw. *atibu* “blame, reproach, find fault with” SSED 20; Ar. *‘ataba* W 589] (atibiile) blame, reproach

rel.

ku-’atibika v. p/s.

ku-’atiboowa v. pass.

atqiya adj. (plural of taqiiyi) [Ar. *atqiyā*, from *taqīy* W 95] God-fearing, pious

atqiya adj. pl. poetic (cf. taqiiyi) [Ar. *atqiyā*, from *taqīy* W 95] God-fearing, pious

ku-’atilika v. [Sw. *atilika* “be injured, deformed, etc., as the result of an accident, illness, etc.” SSED 20] (atilishile) suffer, be in hardship

Naku’atilikaa ndala. ‘He is suffering from hunger.’

rel.

ku’atiloowa v. pass.

Siwo/ suura/ muunt^hu/ ku’atiloowa. ‘It is not good for a person to be put into hardship.’

ku-’atila v. (atiile) put in hardship, make suffer

Hamadi/ nakichi’atila/ nakhsula kishkula ruhu ziitu. ‘Hamadi is making us suffer, he wants to take our souls out (from our bodies).’

kum’atila ‘to put him in hardship’

M’atiile. ‘He put him in hardship.’

Omari/ hupeenda/ ku’atila waant^hu. ‘Omari likes to put people in hardship.’ (Notice that when the object is indefinite, the verb does not get object marking in agreement with it.)

Siwo/ suura/ muunt^hu/ kum'aṭila meenziwe. 'It is not good for one to make his friend suffer.'

Siwo/ suura/ muunt^hu/ ku'aṭila waant^hu. 'It is not good for one to make people suffer.' (Observe the possibility of the use of the verb without an object marker when the object is indefinite plural.)

ku-'aṭilanana v. rec.

ku-'aṭilanoowa v. rec. pass.

Siwo/ suura/ ku'aṭilanoowa. 'It is not good to give one another a hard time.'

ku-'aṭilisha v. caus. (**aṭilishiize**)

Atlasi

n. Atlantic

bahari y-a Atlasi 'Atlantic Ocean'

athari

n. [Sw. *athari* SSED 20; Ar. *atar* W 4] trace, effect
rel.

i-'athari (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.

ku-athirisha

v. [Ar. *atara* Wehr 3]

ati

interj. [Sw. *ati* or *eti* 'a common int. or expletive expressing surprise, or calling attention. Generally can be translated by 'I say!', as it is from the verb *ti*, say, found in many Bantu languages" SSED 20] I say; is it true that...? an expression of doubt; (a way of suggesting that something is true but disclaiming or avoiding responsibility for the truth of the statement); exclamatory expression sometimes used to call attention; [pron. **aṭi**]

Atí/ Hamadi/ ilé. 'Is it true that Hamadi went?'

Atí/ Hamadi/ safiriile. 'Did Hamadi travel (I am not sure).'

Atí/ ndiwé/ ondroka/ ka apa/ nt^huná/ rukhsa/ khpita ka apa. 'I say, it's you; get away from here, you have no permission to pass by this place.'

Atí/ we/ nakulawa kaziini. 'I heard that you are quitting your job.'

Atí/ we/ nakhsafira Ameeriká. 'Is it true that you are traveling to America?'

k-aatuka

v. intr. [Sw. *atuka* SSED 20] (**-atushile**) split, tear, explode

Chiguwo/ chatushile. 'The cloth is torn.'

Chiguwo/ hachaatuki. 'The cloth won't tear.'

Ichiwa/ haanzuye/ yatushile/ kaa mbele/ muke/ koḏele lila/ Yuusufu/ ni mwaafakhi/ na ichiwa/ haanzuye/ yatushile/ ka chinume/ muke/ koḏele wanaafakhi/ Yuusufu/ ni mooyi/ karka wakoḏa lila.

'If it be that his garment is torn in the front, the woman spoke the truth and Joseph is a liar, and if it be that his garment is torn in the back, the woman spoke lies and Joseph is one among the tellers of truth.'

Mataanga/ yaye lepepo/ hatá/ ya'atushile. 'The sails filled with wind until they split.'

Ngoma huvumó/ hayraagi/ kaatuka. 'A drum that beats loudly does not delay in bursting.' (A proverb.)

Ngoma/ ichilaa nt^ho/ haatuka. 'If a drum sounds loudly, it bursts.' (A proverb.)

Yuusufu/ anzizopo kondroka ka apó/ muke/ chimshika haanzu/ ka chinume/ chimgiita/ hatá/ haanzu/ ichaatuka/ ka chinume.

'When Joseph began to move away from there, the wife grabbed him by his outer garment from behind and pulled until the garment tore from behind.'

rel.

k-atukila v. intr. appl.

Chiguwo/ chimwatukiliile. ‘The cloth tore on or for him.’

k-atuliila v. tr. appl. (**atuliile**) tear, cut with

Atuliile chireenza/ shaati. ‘He cut with a razor the shirt.’ (This example from GM shows that he accepts a version of the instrumental applied where focus is placed on the instrument by locating it in the Immediately After the Verb position. In this sentence, the logical object is radically lowered in pronunciation. In the corresponding simple yes-no question, the out-of-focus **shaati** undergoes accent-shift: **Atuliile chireenza/ shaati?** It should be noted that Q-raising does not raise this out-of-focus element, which remains lower than the instrument. In the emphatic yes-no question, both phrases undergo accent-shift: **Atuliile chireenzá/ shaatí!?** The falling character of the final accent is notable in this exclamatory question. GM does not seem to utilize the register-lowering technique that MI does in emphatic yes-no questions.)

Atuliile/ chireenza/ shaati. ‘He cut with the razor the shirt.’ (Phon. Here there is focus on the verb, and the pitch level of the following phrases is radically lowered, indicating they are out-of-focus. The simple yes-no question confirms this point, as there is accent-shift in both of the post-verbal phrases: **Atuliile/ chireenzá/ shaatí?** ‘Did he cut with the razor the shirt?’ The accent-shift on **chireenza** was not as clear-cut as in the case of **shaati**, but the preponderance of the evidence from other examples favors considering shift in this situation to be obligatory. GM was not comfortable with an emphatic version of this question when the verb is focused.)

Atuliile shaati/ chireenza. ‘He cut the shirt with a razor.’ (Phon. Our consultant GM accepts an instrumental applied verb where the logical object is located immediately after the verb and the instrument follows. However, in such a sentence, there is focus on the logical object and the instrument is out-of-focus. This is reflected by the fact that the instrument is radically lowered in pitch. The simple yes-no question confirms this point, since the instrument undergoes accent-shift: **Atuliile shaati/ chireenzá?** In the emphatic version, the sentence-final accent has a decided falling character: **Atuliile shaatí/ chireenzá!?**)

Mmatuliile Nuurú/ shaatí. ‘I tore Nuuru’s shirt.’ Or: **Mmatuliile shaatí/ Nuurú.**

Natuliile chireenzá/ shaati. ‘I used a razor to cut the shirt.’ (Phon. This example shows that in GM’s speech an instrument may be focused in the instrumental applied structure. The fact that the final-accent triggered by the verb does not extend past the instrument establishes that it is focused. It is not well-formed to extend the final accent onto the logical object: ***Natuliile chireenzá/ shaatí.**)

Natuliile shaatí/ chireenza. ‘I cut the shirt with a razor.’ (Phon. Notice that in the instrumental applied, GM allows the logical object to be located after the verb, with the instrument following. However, in this word order, the logical object is focused, and as a consequence the final-accent triggered by the verb may not extend past the logical object: ***Natuliile shaatí/ chireenzá.**)

Omari/ matuliile Hamadi/ shaatiye. ‘Omari tore Hamadi’s shirt.’ Or: **Omari/ matuliile Nuuru/ shaati.** ‘Omari tore Nuuru’s shirt.’ Or: **Omari/ matuliile shaatí/ Nuuru.** (Syn. The applied extension is used to permit the possessor, **Nuuru**, to be “raised” to object position. The human possessor must be marked on the verb in this case: ***Omari/ atuliile Nuuru/ shaati.**) (Phon. The yes-no questions: **Omari/ matuliile Nuuru/ shaatí?** and **Omari/ matuliile shaatí/ Nuurú?** suggest that when **shaatí** is in IAV position, it is more likely to be regarded as focused than **Nuuru** is in the same location. This accounts for the shift of accent in **Omari/ matuliile shaatí/ Nuurú?** The emphatic yes-no question shifts accent in verb phrase elements without regard to focus: **Omari/ matuliile Hamadi/ shaatí!?** and **Omari/ matuliile shaatí/ Hamadí!?**)

k-atuliilowa v. appl. pass. (**atuliila**) be cut, torn with

Shaati/ yatuliila chireenza. ‘The shirt was cut using a razor.’ (Syn. Our consultant GM accepts, in the passive applied construction, having either the logical object or the instrument as the subject. Hence in addition to the sentence above, he also accepts: **Chireenza/ chatuliila shaati.** ‘The razor was used to cut the shirt.’)

k-atuloowa v. pass.

Tonele igoonjaye/ skuu mbili/ ba’adi ya katuloowa. ‘He reinjured his knee two days after surgery.’

k-aatula v. tr. [Sw. *atua* SSED 20] (**atiile**) tear something, make an incision, cut

Ali/ atile khati yaa ye/ mwandikiliilo Nuurú. ‘Ali destroyed the letter that he wrote to Nuuru.’

Atile shaati/ ka chireenza. ‘He cut the shirt with a razor.’ (Prosody. This sentence has the canonical downstep intonation. The simple yes-no question simply raises the pitch on the second phrase: **Atile shaatí/**

ka chireenza? The exclamatory question, however, shifts the accent in both phrases to the end: **Atile shaatí/ ka chireenzâ!?**)

Haamidi/ mbozele Daawuudi/ chibuuku/ (ch)atiile. ‘Haamidi stole the book from Daawuudi and destroyed it.’ (The presence of the object marker on the conjoined verb is preferred.)

Ka chireenza/ atiiló/ shaati. ‘It is with a razor that he cut the shirt.’

Mukhtaa wo/ wa’atilo miimbá/ zaa nsi/ badali ya kuḷawa/ matuumbo/ zilazile spaandre/ za ḍahabu. ‘When they cut open the stomach of the fish, instead of intestines coming out, piece of gold came out.’

Nakaatula. ‘He is tearing (it).’

Nt^hakaatula. ‘He did not tear (it).’

Omari/ atile Hamadi/ shaatiye. ‘Omari tore Hamadi’s shirt.’ Or: **Omari/**

atiile/ Hamadi/ shaatiye.

Omari/ atile shaṭi ya Hamadi. ‘Omari tore Hamadi’s shirt.’ Cf. **Omari/ atile shaṭi ya Hamadi?** and **Omari/ atile shaṭi ya Hamadî?** (One cannot have the verb agree with **Hamadi**: ***Omari/ matile shati ya Hamadi.** Even putting the verb into the applied form does not make it possible for **Hamadi** to control object agreement: ***Omari/ matulile shaṭi ya Hamadi.**)

Shaafi/ atile ḷwarakha. ‘Shaafi tore the piece of paper up.’

k-atula’atula v. freq.

Waawaye/ jisaa ye/ chiyó/ shtala sarbi/ chimvunaanga/ chimvunaanga/ chimvunaanga/ hattá/ chimwatulamwatula maluungo. ‘Her father, as he came, took sticks and beat her and beat her and beat her until he tore her body into pieces.’ (Observe that in the reduplication of a vowel-initial verb stem such as /atula/, when there is an object prefix that becomes the onset to the initial syllable, the object prefix is reduplicated along with the stem proper.)

k-atulika v. tr. p/s.

Chiguwo ichi/ hachatuliki/ na mwaana. ‘This cloth won’t be able to be torn by the child.’

k-atulisha v. tr. caus. (atulishiize)

Harameni/ mwatulishize mwaana/ ḷwarakha. ‘Harameni caused the child to tear up the piece of paper.’ (A periphrastic causative form is available here: **Harameni/ mtile mwaana/ katula ḷwarakha.** ‘Harameni induced the child to tear up the piece of paper.’)

k-atulishanya v. tr. caus. rec. (-atulisheenye)

Wana awa/ wa’atulishenye mbarakha. ‘These children caused one another to tear up the pieces of paper.’ (A periphrastic causative version is also possible: **Wana awa/ watilene katula mbarakha.** ‘These children induced one another to tear up the pieces of paper.’)

k-atulishika v. tr. caus. p/s.

k-atulishiliza v. tr. caus. appl. (atulishiliize)

Harameni/ mwatulishilize Baazi/ mwaana/ ḷwarakha. ‘Harameni caused Baazi’s child to tear up the piece of paper.’ (A periphrastic version of this sentence is possible: **Harameni/ mtulile Baazi/ mwaana/ katula ḷwarakha.** ‘Harameni caused Baazi’s child to tear up the piece of paper.’)

k-atulishilizanya v. tr. caus. appl. rec. (-atulishilizeenye)

Want^hu awa/ wa’atulishilizenye waana/ mbarakha. ‘These people caused one another’s children to tear up the pieces of paper.’ (A periphrastic version is also possible: **Want^hu awa/ watililene waana/ katula mbarakha.** ‘These people somehow induced one another’s children to tear up the pieces of paper.’)

rel. nom.

mw-aatulo n. 3

awa

demon. these [cl.2]

Awa/ naawó/ wa’ishize niingi. ‘These ones (lit. these and those) lived a long time.’

Awa/ wamalizopoo kujá/ maama/ chiwa’ambila/ ya kuwa mwaana/ leelo/ nakhpowa ina. ‘When these ones finished eating, mother told them that the child today would be given a name.’

Awa/ wamweenopó/ wachimweegsha/ walá/ nt^hawakumḍukurila/ yaa ye/ wafanyiizó. ‘These ones [his parents], when they saw him, they

greeted him and neither did they mention what he had done to them. ‘

Wana awa/ nii wale. ‘These children are tall.’ (cf. **Wana awa/ ni walee nt^ho.** ‘These children are very tall.’)

awa’ahadi n. A resin which is found on plants that grow in Somalia, in particular in the inner regions of Bay and Bakool. It is applied on swollen limbs (legs, feet) and on cheeks against tooth-ache. Also mixed with water and drunk as a remedy against kidney stones and bladder problems.

ku-’awaaða v. [Som. *cabaad* (verb and noun) DSI 77] complain, lament over s.o., s.t., moan
Fijiri/ nch^hoondroka/ nnaku’awaaða/ nnaku’awaaða. ‘In the morning, I got up [and] was lamenting and lamenting [my situation].’
Hamadi/ nam’awaaða maanawo. ‘Hamadi is lamenting about your son [e.g. your son has been troublesome, etc.].’
Kilasku/ yaa mi/ namona Hamadi/ naku’awaaða/ tu. ‘Every day that I see Hamadi he is just complaining.’

ku’awaaða ka ulaazo ‘to groan with pain’

ku’awaaða/ kana naakufó ‘he is groaning in pain as if he is dying’

rel.

ku-’awaaðana v. rec. (-**awaaðene**) complain about one another

ku-’awaaðila v. appl.

Nt^hashkuwanaayo/ sababu yaa si/ ku’awaaðila. ‘We did not have reason to complain.’

ku-’awaaðisha v. caus. cause someone to complain

ku-’awaaðoowa v. pass. be complained about, lamented about

Omari/ naku’awaaðoowa. ‘Omari is being complained, lamented about (e.g. he is always doing bad things).’

awaaði n. [Som. *cabaad* (verb and noun) DSI 77] complaint; act of complaining, groaning

awaje [cl.2] dem. those
awa wachiingila awaje hulawa [nt.] ‘when one group enters [Brava], the others leave’
awaje wanazo peesá ‘those who have money’
Chiwa’ambila awaje waant^hu. ‘He said s.t. to those people.’
Wana awaje/ ni zigobee nt^ho. ‘Those children are very short.’
Wana awaje/ walanile kati kaawo. ‘Those children fought each other.’
Want^hu awaje wa’uzilo magaari/ wanaṭomole ashuuru. ‘Those people who bought trucks/ should pay taxes.’

awalbuudi [Ar. *awwal* + ?*bad’a* ‘beginning’ W 45] the first thing (in enumerating events, e.g.)
Muunt^hu/ fijiri/ choondroka/ awalbuudi/ hubiga mtimiino/ husala. ‘When someone wakes up in the morning, the first thing (he does) is to brush the teeth and pray.’
Muunt^hu/ islaamu/ awalbuudi/ mbele/ ni laazimu/ khsala. ‘For a Muslim, first of all, before (anything else), it is necessary to pray.’

awaaldara n. [Som. *abaaldarro* DSI 5] ingratitude

awali n. [Sw. *awali* SSED 21; Ar. *awwal* ‘first, main, beginning’ and *awwalit* ‘primary, original, fundamental’ W 35] beginning; first

-a awali ‘of the beginning’

want^hu wa awali ‘the ancients’

Islaamu/ wote/ hufuunga/ nt^hangú/ awali ya mweezi/ haṭá/ akhiriye. ‘All Moslems fast from the first day of the month (of Ramadhan) until its end.’

	<p>ka awali ‘the first moment after sunset; at, in the beginning’</p> <p>Karka maskuu kati/ maskiini/ chufkula iboholi/ <i>sh̄tomola ije iwaalimó/ yoté/ na maliizopó/ chizumbiza iboholi/ kamba awali.</i> ‘Around the middle of the night, the poor man dug up the hole and took whatever was in it, and when he finished, he covered up the hole as it was originally.’</p> <p>kuguursha mataanga niya leete awali [st.] ‘(before) taking the sand (from its place to use to clean with) state the intention first’</p> <p>Mi/ nile awali. ‘I came first.’ (cf. Ye/ ile awali. ‘He came first.’)</p> <p>Muunt^hu/ awali/ humshukura mojiitu/ thaaniya/ maadamu. ‘One first thanks God, second, human beings.’</p> <p>ni sunna soomu khfutura ka awali [st.] ‘it is best to break fast at the first moment after sunrise’</p> <p>nüngi ni khatari mila awali [st.] ‘many of the old traditions are dangerous (i.e. not religiously lawful)’</p> <p>niya ni sharti kuwanaayo awali [st.] ‘[the statement of one’s] intention [to pray] is obligatory to have at the beginning’</p> <p>waant^hu/ awali yaawo/ na akhiri yaawó/ ni maali ‘people whose beginning and their end is money (i.e. people who give importance only to material things’ review accent</p>
awaali	<p>n. [Som. <i>abaal</i> "1. gratefulness; 2. reward" DSI 5] gratitude; [pron. awaali or abaali]</p> <p>Nt^haná/ awaali. ‘He is an ingrate.’</p> <p>Sa’iidi/ ni muunt^hu/ sho awaali. ‘Saiidi is a man without gratitude.’</p>
mu-’awaana	<p>n. 3 help, aid</p>
k-aawanya	<p>v. [Sw. <i>awanya</i> M&N 103] (awanyiize) divide, distribute, give out</p> <p>Ali/ mtilé Ji/ kawanyaa nama. ‘Ali persuaded Ji to distribute the meat (e.g. from the sacrificed animal).’</p> <p>Awanya chakujaacho/ na want^hu wanayoo ndalá. ‘Divide your food with people who are hungry.’</p> <p>Hamadi/ awanyize peesa. ‘Hamadi divided up the money.’</p> <p>Mi/ nawanyiizé. ‘I have divided it up.’</p> <p>Mi/ nawanyize maaliyá/ mafungu manné. ‘I divided my wealth into four shares.’</p> <p>mukhta ukomelo wakhti/ wa kawanya mawiindó ‘when the time came to divide up the loot’ review accent</p> <p>Wachawanya peesa. ‘They divided up the money.’</p> <p>wachaawanya wachimala/ teena ina’inedroowa [st.] ‘only after they have been blessed this way will people start to walk back’</p> <p>Wachondroka/ wachawanya maali/ ya mama yaawo/ walatiliiló. ‘They arose and divided the wealth that their mother had left to them.’</p>
	<p>rel.</p> <p>k-awanyika v. p/s. (-awanyishile) able to be divided up</p> <p>Nama/ bilaa chisu/ hayawanyiki. ‘Meat cannot be divided up without a knife.’</p> <p>k-awanyiliza v. appl. (awanyiize) divide up for (Syn. The primary object of the applied verb here is either a beneficiary or a recipient. However, the form does not permit both a beneficiary and a recipient to appear in bare form when there is a logical object. It is ungrammatical to say *Hamadi/ mwawanyilize Nuuru/ waana/ mazu. ‘Hamadi gave bananas to the children for Nuuru’s benefit.’ ***This point is not certain, as we did record: Hamadi/ mwawanyilize Nuuru/ waana/ peesa. ‘Hamadi gave money to the children for Nuuru.’)</p> <p>Chawanyilize mawiindo/ aya/ kati kiitu. ‘Divide the booty for us among us!’</p> <p>Hamadi/ wa’awanyilize waana/ peesa. ‘Hamadi distributed the money to the children.’</p>

k-awanyilizanya v. appl. rec.

Waant^hu/ wa'awanyilizenye waana/ mazu. 'People gave out for one another bananas to the children.' (Syn. Observe that the reciprocal element may refer to the beneficiary while there is an overt recipient and logical object expressed in the sentence.)

k-awanyilizoowa v. appl. pass. be distributed, given out (Syn. This passive applied goes against the general pattern in that both the beneficiary/recipient and the logical object given may be the subject.)

Mazu/ zawanyiliza waana. 'The bananas were given to the children.'

Mp^haka izi/ zawanyilizaa nama. 'These cats were given meat.'

Nama iyi/ yawanyilizaa mp^haka. 'This meat was given to the cats.'

Nuuru/ awanyilizaa mazu. 'Nuuru had the bananas given out for him.'

Wana awa/ wa'awanyilizaa mazu. 'These children were given bananas.' (Syn. But one cannot say: ***Wana awa/ wa'awanyiliza Nuuru/ mazu/** 'These children were given bananas for Nuuru.' Nor can one say: ***Nuuru/ wa'awanyiliza waana/ mazu.** [Lit.] for Nuuru was given to the children bananas.' CHECK)

k-awanyoowa (awanyiiza)

Mazu izi/ zawanyiiza. 'The bananas were distributed.'

watakaawanya thawaabu/ jisa buni huwanyoowa [st.] 'they will distribute heavenly rewards much like coffee beans are distributed'

rel. nom.

mw-aawanya (wa-) n. one who divides; [pron. **wa'awanya** 'ones who divide']

ma-'awanyo n. dividing

mw-aawanyo . dividing, act of dividing

awaari

n. [Som. *abaar* "drought, famine" DSI 5]

Killa/ maaka/ ichinshaarata/ jawaabu/ şakuuyó/ jawabu

şakupatikanó/ kamba ni awaari/ kamba ni aarani/ ka mbuzi oyo. 'Every year, it gave a forecast of what would come and could be expected, either famine or abundance of harvest by that goat.'

Maka ayuu/ Miini/ ni awaari/ miyuundra/ yabakheete. 'This year there is drought in Miini, the farms have failed to produce (crops).'

awaayle

n. albino

aweeso

n. [Som. *abeeso* "family of poisonous snakes" DSI 7] a kind of large snake (apparently one that squeezes its prey to death, although it is possible that there is some confusion of this snake with another one name **jiwiso**, for which see below)

rel.

chi-'aweeso (zi-) n. dim. 7/8

i-'aweeso (mi-) n. aug. 5/4

aweeso (Somali *abeeso* = family of poisonous snakes, DSI p. 7)

NOTE: CLE etymo says it is not poisonous. Must be checked.

ku-'awina

v. [Ar. 'aun W 659] help

awlaadi

n. [Ar. plural noun *awlād* from *walad* W 1097] Arabicism male children

awlaadi wa mtume ka jimla ni saba [st.] 'the male children of the Prophet are seven in total'

awo

those [cl.2]

among those people.'

Hasani/ naayé/ waalimo/ karka waant^hu/ awo. 'Hasani (lit. and he) was

Mooyi/ karka awo majini/ mwambiile/ Sa'iidi/ mi/ naawé/ ştakhteza khamaari/ laakini/ uje takhshiindró/ tamuja mweenziwe. 'One

among those djinns told Sa'iidi: I and you will gamble, but the one who wins will eat his companion.'

Wana awa/ nii wale/ kuzida wana awo. 'These children are taller than those children.'

Wana awo/ ni zigobe/ kolko wana awa. 'Those children are shorter than these children.'

=aawo

their

Wachendra nt'i yaawo/ mwaana/ oyo. 'They went to the land of his, that boy [lit. their (i.e. his) land, that boy].'

Watetemesheze ziṭa zaawo. 'They shook their heads.'

=aawo

possessive root, third person plural

chaawo [cl.7]

chibuku chaawo 'their book'

kaawo [cl.17]

Aawó/ simeme lwavuuni/ kaawo. 'Aawo stood at their side.'

Choondroka/ chunganyachunganya ziint^huze/ chishikaa ndila/ kendra kaawo. 'He got up and gathered his things and took to the road to go home.'

kati kaawo 'between them'

kaawo 'at their place; for them; from them'

Mi/ siná/ ihtiramumu/ kaawo. 'I have no respect in their eyes.'

Mubjaana/ ichimlazima kuwakhabila wazeelewe/ kumera kaawo/ peesa. 'It was necessary for the young man to approach his parents to seek money from them.'

numbaani/ kaawo 'in, at their house'

Oloshela kaawo. 'He went home (lit. to their place, i.e. his parents' place).'

Spati/ ihtiraamu/ ka kaawo. 'I do not get respect from them.'

Suufi/ mpeleshele mwaana/ kaawo. 'Suufi sent the child home (lit. to their place, i.e. his parents' place).'

Wachiwindaa nyunyi/ hatá/ ilooni/ chimaliza/ wachiruda kaawo. 'They hunted birds until dusk, then they returned home.'

laawo [cl.11]

waawo [cl.1]

moyi waawo 'one of them'

mwana waawo 'their child'

waawo [cl.2]

watatu waawo 'all three of them'

wawili waawo 'both of them'

waawo [cl.3]

mṭana waawo 'their room'

waawo [cl.14]

yaawo [cl.4]

miṭana yaawo 'their rooms'

yaawo [cl.5]

yaawo [cl.6]

yaawo [cl.9]

zaawo [cl.8]

zaawo [cl.10]

Nthawakhfuungúla/ kana zaawo. 'They did not open their mouths.'

awo awoo

interj. an expression that implies something bad is going to happen as a consequence of some action; [pron. **awó/ awóo**]

Awó/ awoo/ Hamadi/ boozele. 'Hamadi stole s.t. (and there are going to be serious consequences as a result)!?' (The intonation of this sentence is one that lacks downstep. The last two phrases are HH in contrast to the simple sentence **Hamadi/ boozele.** 'Hamadi stole s.t.', which has downstep of the

verb.)

Awó/ awoo/ Hamadi/ mbishile Omari. ‘Hamadi hit Omari (and something bad is going to follow from this)!’ (The intonation of this sentence is one that lacks downstep. The last two phrases are HH as opposed to a simple sentence like **Hamadi/ mbishile Omari.** ‘Hamadi hit Omari’, which has downstep of the second accented syllable H!H.)

awoo umuri

n. a kind of dance **review**

awoori

n. [Som. *aboor* ‘termite’ DSI 7] a kind of insect from the termite family

awraadi

n. [Ar. *awrād*, plural of *wird* W 1060] private prayers or devotions made at specific times by day or by night
khsoma awraadi ‘to read prayers’

k-aawuka

v. intr. (-**awushile**) become detached, separated, peel off
Igozi/ imwawushile. ‘His skin peeled (lit. the skin peeled off from him).’
Lwarakha/ halaawuki. ‘The paper does not peel off.’
Lwarakha/ lawushile. ‘The paper became detached.’
Maandra/ ikookoye/ yawushile. ‘The bread’s crust became detached.’
Maandra/ zawushile makooko. ‘The bread (pl.) became detached from its crusts.’
Ranji/ yawushile. ‘The paint peeled off.’

rel.

k-awukana v. intr. rec. (-**awukeene**) separate from one another

Jahazi/ zawukeene. ‘The boats separated.’

Waana/ wa’awukeene/ wamwenopo mwaalimú. ‘The children separated when they saw the teacher.’

k-awukila v. intr. appl. separate, detach for

Lwarakha/ limwawukilile ka sahali. ‘The paper detached easily for him.’

k-awulila v. tr. appl. peel off for, peel off with

Mwawulile mwaana/ mazu. ‘He peeled the banana for the child.’

Tetee chisu/ kawulila bataata/ makaandra. ‘He took a knife to peel off the skins of the potatoes.’

k-awulilana v. tr. appl. rec.

k-awuloowa v. pass. (**awiila**)

k-aawula v. tr. (**awiile**) detach s.t., peel s.t. off

Awile ijarah/ ikooko. ‘He peeled the scab off the wound.’

Awile lwarakha/ ka lkutaani. ‘He detached the paper from the wall.’

Awilee mazu/ igaandra. ‘He peeled the skin from the banana.’

Mtume mweene muke uso nakaawula [st.] ‘the Prophet saw a woman peeling skin off her face’

Nakaawula. ‘He is detaching it.’

k-aawula

v. (**awiile**) peel s.t.

rel.

k-awuloowa v. pass. (**awiila**) be peeled

k-awulika v. tr. p/s.

Lwarakha/ halawuliki. ‘This paper cannot be detached.’

Lwarakha/ haltakawulika. ‘This paper will not detach.’

k-awuliza v. caus. appl. separate for, with

k-awulizan(y)a v. caus. appl. rec. separate for one another

k-aawuza v. caus. (**awiize**) separate (particularly people fighting)

Wa’awize waana. ‘He separated the children (who were fighting).’

k-awuzanya v. caus. rec. (-**awuzeenye**) separate from one another

Waana/ wa’awuzeenye. ‘The children separated from one another.’

k-awuzanyana v. caus. double rec. (-**awuzanyeene**)

Waana/ wa’awuzanyeene. ‘The children separated one another.’

Check whether there is a possibly perfect wa-‘awuzanyeene.

k-awuzika v. caus. p/s.
rel. nom.
mw-aawuko n. 3
ch-aawuza n. 7 the thing that separates

- ku-'awuna* v. (variant of *ku-'awina*)
Khadija [...] *chim'awuna* **RasuulAl^laahi Mhamadi** [st.] Khadija helped the Messenger of God, Mohammad
- awuuri* n. [Som. *abuur* "seeds" DSI 8] seed
which) you will harvest.'
Awuuri/ yaa we/ t^hakaaló/ t^hakhshafó. 'The seed that you will plant (is that
khtila awuuri 'to cultivate
rel.
chi-'awuri (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim.
i-'awuri (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.
- aya* [cl.4] demonstrative
Mikate/ sayá. 'The cakes are here.' Or: **Sayá/ mikate.**
Mikate/ yako apa? 'Are there cakes here? Or: **Apa/ yaakó/ mikaté?** 'Are there cakes here?' Or: **Yako apa/ mikaté?** 'Are there cakes here?'
Or: **Apa/ mikaté/ yaakó?**
mitana aya 'these rooms'
Miti aya/ (nii) mile. 'These trees are tall.'
Miti aya/ siwo/ milee nt^ho. These trees are not very tall.
- aya* [cl.6] demonstrative
behavior of a gentleman.'
us.'
Aya/ siwo/ mambo ya waant^hu/ akhyaari. 'This (lit. these) is not the
Chawanyilize mawiindo/ aya/ kati kiitu. 'Divide for us the booty among
Mashaka aya/ ni makulu. 'These doubts are large.'
Mayank^huku aya/ (ni) masuura. 'These eggs are nice.' (cf. **Mayank^huku**
aya/ (ni) masuraa nt^ho. 'These eggs are very nice.')
- Nt^hakuwanaayo/ majiibu/ miingine/ shokuwa aya.** 'He did not have any other answer except this (one).'
- aaya* n. 9/10 [Sw. *aya* SED 21; Ar. *āya* W 36] a verse in the Quran
aaya/ ya qur'aani 'a verse of the Quran'
aaya/ za quraani 'verses of the Quran'
Aaya/ za quraani/ hubayina halaali/ na haraamú. 'The verses of the Quran clarify what is pure and what is impure.'
Omari/ nakhsoma aaya/ za quraani. 'Omari is reading verses of the Quran.'
Sheekhi/ huleta daljili/ ka aaya/ za quraani. 'The Sheikh brings evidence (on some religious point) with quranic verses.'
- ayaje* [cl.4] demonstrative
lost.'
Misala ayaje/ ni minasha. 'Those mats are smooth.'
Misufuriya ayaje/ ya'uzilá/ yabeele. 'Those pots that were bought got
mitana ayaje 'those rooms'
Miti aya/ nii mile/ nt^ho/ kuzida miti ayaje. 'These trees are much taller than those trees.'
Nakuwoná/ misufuriya ayajé? 'Do you see those pots over there?' (The final accent on **misufuriya ayajé** shows that this is a yes-no question where an out-of-focus complement phrase undergoes accent-shift. If this were a statement, there would be default accent after the emphasized verb.)
- ayaje* [cl.6] demonstrative

Basi/ shtaala/ ayaje/ mashuungi/ ya chizeeló/ mpeeló. ‘So he took those strands of hair that the old woman had given him.’

Majambi ayaje/ ni mataka. ‘Those mats are dirty.’

Makopa ayaje/ ni makulu. ‘Those cups are large.’

ayaamu n. [Sw. *ayamu* M&N 104; Ar. *ayyām*, pl. of *yaum* “day” W 1110] (the seven days of the) week; days (this meaning is confined to poetry and proverbs and comes directly from the Arabic meaning)

Abubakari/ ile Miini/ ka fatuura/ ayamu ije. ‘Abubakari went to Brava by car last week.’

ayamuu mbili ‘two weeks’

Ba’ada ya ayaamu/ mubli/ chimwambila mukeewe/ ya kuwaa ye/ nakendra kaziini/ kanza khfanya kaazi. ‘After a week, the man told his wife that he was going to his job to begin to work.’

Haruusi/ na mukeewé/ wakaleent^he/ numbaani/ muda wa ayamu mooyi/ kama aada/ ya muuyi. ‘The bridegroom and his wife stayed indoors for a period of one week as is the custom of the town.’

ka muda wa ayaamu/ mooyi ‘for a period of one week’

Lada ya haruusi/ ni saba ayaamu/ na shidayé/ ni dawaamu. ‘The sweetness of marriage is seven days and its hardship is everlasting.’ (A proverb.)

na sku nt^hatu ni ayaamu sa’iidi [st.] ‘and three days are blessed’

Sharti/ ka ayaamuye/ kendra khtaloowa/ maayi. ‘It is a must that it be the day fixed for water to be taken (from the well).’

ch-ayyi (z-)

n. 7/8 tea

Chaayi/ chilesela na mgeeni. ‘Tea was brought by the guest.’

Chaayi/ leeseló/ ni mgeeni. ‘Tea, the one brought it is the guest.’

Chaayi/ ni chimulo. ‘The tea is hot.’

Chilesela na mgeeni/ ni chaayi. ‘What was brought by the guest is tea.’

Huseeni/ haani/ chaayi. ‘Huseeni does not drink tea.’

kandika chaayi ‘to make tea (lit. to put tea on fire)’

Sku mo/ muke/ nakhpika/ maskiini/ andishile chaayi/ mulooni/ nakuliindra/ nini/ nakhpepela/ nakudhakhsha. ‘One day the woman was cooking, the poor woman was preparing tea on the fire, she was waiting, what, she was fanning (the fire), making it in a hurry.’

khtilla chaayi ‘to pour tea for’

Haliima/ namtilla mubliwe/ chaayi/ adeesi. ‘Haliima is pouring for her husband tea with milk.’ Also: **Haliima/ namtilla mubliwe/ chayi cha adeesi.**

Haliima/ namtilla mubliwe/ chaayi/ cha ranji. ‘Haliima is pouring for her husband tea with just leaves.’

khtila chaayi ‘to pour tea’

Mgeeni/ lesele chaayi. ‘The guest brought tea.’

Muunt^hu/ hafanyi kaazi/ haani/ chaayi. ‘The one who does not work does not drink tea.’ (A proverb.) (Observe that when the negative verb is a relative verb, there is no phrasal break between it and its complement – **hafanyi kaazi** – whereas when it is a main verb, there is a phrasal break, as in **haani/ chaayi**.)

Wabariziile/ wanakistereha/ ka zayi zaawo/ na tambu yaawó. ‘They were settled down, comfortably, with their tea and their **tambú**.’

ku-’ayida

v. [Ar. *ayīd* W 37] (**ayidiile**) support, second (an idea)

Si/ shiwa’ayidiile/ waarabu/ ka haali/ na maali/ na ba’adi ya dobla za chi’aafrika/ wapeleshele/ ma’askari/ yaawo/ khsaayda/ nt^hi za ch’arabu. ‘We supported the Arabs with strength and money and some of the government of Africa sent soldiers to help the Arab countries.’

ku-’ayina

v. [Ar. *ayīn* W 662] (**ayiniile**) clarify, indicate; **appoint s.o. to be s.t.**

Hamadi/ nt^haku’ayina/ shaati/ lamna gani/ nakhsuuló. ‘Hamadi did not clarify which color/ type of shirt he wants.’

. Chnntu suura ku ayinoowa, sababu ha yiya dhibu/wereeri (It is good to poitn/clarify things, because

confusion/difficult do not come).

rel.

ku-'ayinoowa v. pass.

Chiint^hu/ suura/ ku'ayinoowa/ sababu/ hayiyi dhibu (or **wereeri**). 'It is good for something to be clarified so that (lit. for reason, cause) that difficulties (or confusion) not come.'

ku'ayinoowa ramaḏaani laazimu [st.] 'it is necessary for Ramadhan to be mentioned [when you state your intention to fast the next day during Ramadhan']

ayo

[cl.4] demonstrative

miṭana ayo 'those rooms'

Miti ayo/ ni zigobe/ kuzida miti aya. 'Those trees are shorter/ than these trees.'

ayo

[cl.6] demonstrative

Cheendra/ masku ayo/ chilala maduriini. 'He went that night and slept in the bush.'

Heendra/ Omari/ kuja/ ka maraḏi ayo. 'It is possible that Omari will die from that disease.'

Mi/ shkalaant^ha/ ilu/ ya majiwe ayo. 'I used to sit on those stones.'

Ayuubu

n. the prophet Job

sabri/ kana za mtume Ayuubu 'patience like that of the prophet Job'

Nazo sabri/ kana za mtume Ayuubu. 'He has the patience of the prophet Job.'

ayuuuni

n. [Sw. *ayuni* M&N 105; Ar. *'uyūn*, pl. of *'ain* "eye" W 663] eyes (but usually meaning the "evil eye")

Omari/ ayuuuni/ impeetó. 'The evil eye got Omari (i.e. he was affected by the evil eye).'

rel.

ayuni naasi n. [Ar. *'uyūn al-nās* "eyes of people", from the plural of *'ain* "eye, evil eye" W 663 and *nās* "people" W 936] *Arabicism* evil eye (cf. the usual

Chimiini expression: **ito ya waant^hu** '(evil) eye of people')

Ayuuni/ naasi/ khatari/ humuḅla muunt^hu. 'The evil eye is dangerous, it kills one.'

ayyi

part. any

Mayti/ ha'ipishoowi/ ha'ibadiḷoowi/ ha'ifanyoowi/ ayyi/ ya chiint^hu. 'The corpse is not burned, it is not altered, nothing is done to it.' (Excerpted from a discussion of burial practices in Brava.)

taste.'

Nama ya aleeso/ nt^hayná/ ayyi/ dhadhamu. 'Boiled meat does not have

Sinaayo/ ayyi/ dooḏi. 'I don't have any complaint.'

Skuula/ ayyi/ chiint^hu. 'I did not buy anything.'

Skuula/ ayyi/ shaati/ za rakhiisi. 'I did not buy any cheap shirts.'

azali

n. [Sw. *azali* "eternal" SSED 21; Ar. *azal* "eternity" W 14] destiny, s.t. decreed by divine will; God's place, the sky, the heavens

Chiint^hu/ chandishiḷa azali/ nt^hi/ huwa. 'Something that is destined (was written in the heavens), (on) earth it comes to pass (is, happens).' (A proverb.)

Yandishiḷa azali (or: **kuzimu/ Omari/ leelo/ kufa.** 'It is written in the heavens that Omari will die today.'

k-aazima
umbrella)

v. [Ar. *'azima* W 611] (**azimiile**) borrow (returnable items such as clothes or an

Ali/ azimile chibuuku/ ka Nuuru. ‘Ali borrowed a book from Nuuru.’
Azima. ‘Borrow it!’
chisu chaa muke/ chaa Nuuru/ azimiiló ‘the knife of the woman that Nuuru borrowed’ (In this construction, the knife necessarily belongs to the woman. In an example like **chisu chaa Nuuru/ azimilo kaa muké** ‘the knife that Nuuru borrowed from the woman’, the knife is only in the woman’s possession, it is not necessarily hers.)

Chooloka/ ka jiraaniye/ kazima sufuriya. ‘He went to his neighbor to borrow a pot.’

Fijiri/ shtaala/ ije/ huunda/ yaa ye/ azimilo ka sultaani/ shtila katiike/ rupiya miya nt^haano. ‘In the morning he took that measuring tin that he borrowed from the sultan and he put in it five hundred rupees.’

Isa/ we/ ile kazima mp^huundrá/ ambó/ kazima nk^hele za mp^huundrá.
 ‘Now, did you come to borrow a donkey or to borrow the brays of a donkey?’

Mooyi/ karka jiraanize/ chiya/ kazima mp^huundra/ ka Abunawaasi.
 ‘One of his neighbors came to borrow a donkey from Abunawaasi.’

Nguwo ya kaazima/ hayende_loowi/ jima. ‘One does not attend Friday prayers in borrowed clothes.’ (A proverb.)

Ni njeema/ tu/ laakini/ mukhta_a we/ taku’azimo safari/ taala/ shpete ichi. ‘It is good, just, but when you decide [to set off] on the journey, take this ring.’

Sku mo/ chiya muunt^hu/ kazima mp^huundra. ‘One day a man came to borrow the donkey.’

Wa’azimiile. ‘They borrowed something.’ or ‘He lent them something.’ (Phon. The glottal stop that appears between *wa-* (whether it is a subject prefix or an object prefix) and the stem *-azima* is the result of a phonological rule that inserts a glottal stop between the low vowel *a* in a prefix and a following vowel. The glottal stop is *not* an indication that this verb stem has an underlying initial glottal stop.)

rel.

k-azimana v. rec. lend to one another

k-azimanika v. rec. p/s.

k-azimika v. p/s. (*y-azimishile*, *y-azimikishile*)

k-azimila v. appl.

k-azimisha v. caus. (*azimishiize*)

k-azimishan(y)a v. caus. rec.

k-azimishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

k-azimishika v. caus. p/s. (*azimish*)

k-azimishiliza v. caus. appl.

k-azimishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

rel. nom.

mw-aazimo n. 3 the act of borrowing

ku-’azima

v. decide

Abdalla/ mukhta_a ye/ peto khabari/ kuwa sultaani/ namviilá/ chimwingile shtiisho/ shkulu/ azimile kuzimila. ‘When Abdalla got the news that the sultan was summoning him, great fear entered him and he decided to escape.’

Ka dhibu/ kumwelela niingi/ mwaana/ chi’azima/ kondroka ka apo.
 ‘Because there were many difficulties weighing on him, the boy decided to move from there.’

Wabjaana/ wakasizopo qisa za jazira iyi/ wa’azimile khsaafira/ kendra jazira iyi. ‘When the young men heard the stories of this island, they decided to travel and go to this island.’

ku-’azira

v. [Sw. *aziri* SSED 22; Ar. ‘*azar* and ‘*azara* W 610] (*aziriile*) a verb used in a very

restricted sense and only (apparently) in a religious context; it refers to any punishment not specified in Sharia law, but decided by the teacher of a koranic school or a sheikh of a Suufi order for some misdeed, e.g. for not attending a **ðikiri** without justification (**pashpo uðuri**). It may consist of a public humiliation (public naming of the culprit) or in penances like bringing tea and **maandra** to the mosque or attend some extra **ðikiri**. In koranic schools, the pupil could be detained.

variant form: **kaazira**

rel.

k-azirika v. p/s. (**azirishile**; or, with doubling of the *ik* extension: **azirikishile**, this form deriving from the stem **k-azirikika**; this doubling was noted in several cases as a possibility, but we have not determined whether there is any meaning difference involved)

ku-’azirikisha v. caus.

ku-’azirikishoowa v. caus. pass.

aziri

n. disgrace, shame

aziizi

22] dear, precious

adj. [Sw. *azizi* “precious, rare, valuable, and of persons, excellent, highborn” SSED

Sheekhi aziizi ka Mooje/ maghani mba kingiloowa [st.] ‘the Sheikh is dear to God, his protection is to be sought’

ku-’azula

s.o., dethrone a king

v. [Ar. *’azala* “to remove, depose” W 610] (**azuliile**) remove s.o. from office, dismiss

Sultaani/ azuliile ruuhuye. ‘The sultan abdicated.’

ku-’azuma

v. [Ar. *’azama* W 611] (**azumiile**) invite

rel.

ku-’azumika v. p/s.

ku-’azumisha v. caus.

ku-’azumishana v. caus. rec.

ku-’azumishiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-’azumishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ku-’azumoowa v. pass. (**azumiila**) be invited

Karamuuni/ wa’azumiila masheekhi/ walangala noota/ na ma’akhyari wa muuyi. ‘To the feast were invited learned men, astrologers, and gentlemen of the town.’

k-aazura

v. (**azuriile**) dismiss from a high position, office

variant form: **ku’azura**

kazura ruuhu ‘to resign from office’

Waant^{hu}/ awa/ watulubiile/ Niksoni/ ku’azura ruuhuye/ amó/ kendra karka mahkama/ ka khisa ðambi/ zaa ye/ ingiiló. ‘These people demanded that Nixon resign or go to trial because of the crimes that he had committed.’

ba

particle [Som.] even

Ali/ ba/ na Sa’iidi/ wabishiila na mwaalimu. ‘Ali (unexpectedly) as well and Saiidi were beaten by the teacher.’ Or: **Sa’iidi/ na Ali/ ba/ wabishiila na mwaalimu.** ‘Saiidi and (unexpectedly) Ali as well were beaten by the teacher.’

Amó/ mi/ ba/ naa nt^hi/ chisimeemé. ‘Or are both me and the earth standing still?’

Attá/ leelo/ mwanaa masultaani/ hakhiiri/ ba/ kuja. ‘Until one day [lit. today] the son of sultans would not eat.’

Basi/ chimwaambila/ iyo/ tu/ iyo/ siwo/ ba/ chiint^{hu}. ‘So he told her: just that, that is not anything at all (i.e. that is easy to do).’

Hamadi/ na Nuuru/ ba/ siwo/ want^hu haminikó. ‘Both Hamadi and Nuuru (even) are not people who can be trusted.’ Or: **Hamadi/ ba/**

na Nuurú/ siwo/ want^hu haminikó. ‘Hamadi (even) and Nuuru are not people who can be trusted.’

Hasani/ ba/ nt^hampa/ Nuuru/ peesa. ‘Even Hasani did not give Nuuru money.’

Haṭá/ kamwoná/ ba/ skampe. ‘Even if you had seen him, he would not have given it to him.’

Haṭá/ kampá/ ba/ skataale. ‘Even if you had given it to him, he would not have taken it.’

Haṭá/ kaayá/ ba/ skafaanye. ‘Even if he would have come, he would not have done it.’

Hawapeendi/ ba/ ziint^hu/ kubadilika. ‘They do not want, also, for things to change.’

inawe niizé/ ba/ ambó/ nsuliilé ‘whether I don’t or I do like it’

Isa/ ba/ mi/ nakhuṭahaḍarishá/ chiza keendra/ kumeera/ tafsiiri/ ka Ali. ‘Right now I warn you not to go looking for an explanation from Ali.’

Jiile/ ba/ ye. ‘He has already eaten.’

Kamaa mi/ ba/ chiza khtaambula/ kooḍi/ izi/ ka aqiliza/ mi/ khupee/ ije yaa mi/ humilkó. ‘If I don’t decipher these words with my wits, I will give you (lit. I have given you) everything that I own.’

Kuraaga/ ba/ amó/ kudhakhá/ mi/ nt^hakuruuda/ kiitu. ‘Be it late or earlier, I will return home.’

Mp^hakiizé/ ba/ gaari/ majiwe. ‘I have already loaded the truck with stones.’ Or: Mp^hakize gaari/ majiwé/ ba.

Muusa/ ba/ somele zibuuku/ zont^he. ‘Muusa also read all the books.’

Naamí/ stakump^ható/ zinawe zeema/ amo ziwovú/ ba/ ni tayaari/ kishpokela. ‘And whatever happens to me, be it good or bad, I am ready to receive it.’

Ni/ hanpeendi/ ba/ khkasa jawaabú. ‘You (pl.) do not listen to anything at all!’ (Phon. The use of final accent in the last phrase here is a phenomenon that requires further research.)

Oloshelé/ ba/ ye. ‘He has already gone.’ (cf. Noloshelé/ ba/ mi. ‘I have already gone.’ Choleshelé/ ba/ si. ‘We have already gone.’ But the pronoun may not precede **ba**; hence the ungrammaticality of *Choloshelé/ si/ ba.)

Omari/ ba/ nt^hakhpoowa/ peesa. ‘Even Omari was not given money.’

Omari/ ba/ nt^hakuuya. ‘Even Omari did not come.’

Omari/ ba/ someele/ chibuuku. ‘Even Omari read a book.’ (Note that **ba** cannot be located in initial position: *Ba/ Omari/ someele/ chibuuku. Nor can **ba** be put after the verb: *Omari/ someele/ ba/ chibuuku.)

Omari/ ba/ somelo chibuukú. ‘It’s Omari who read the book.’ Or: Omari/ ba/ someeló/ chibuuku. ‘It’s Omari who read the book.’ (In this construction, where the verb is put in pseudo-relative form, **ba** no longer simply conveys the idea that even Omari read the book, but rather there is something noteworthy about Omari that makes it significant that he read it; perhaps, because he is an expert on matters relevant to the book, I believe what he has to say about the book more than others who may have read it.)

Omari/ ba/ tezeeze/ mpiira. ‘Even Omari played football.’

Omari/ nt^hakuuyá/ ba. ‘But Omari did not come (if he had come, things would have been different; or, he would have gotten something, etc.).’ (Prosody. **Ba** is not lowered in pitch in an example such as this where it is post-verbal.)

Oyo mwaana/ hakhiiri/ ba/ kujaa kuja/ yee/ peeke/ illa/ nakhsula kuja na muunt^hu. ‘That boy refuses to eat food by himself, he must eat with someone.’

Sa’iidi/ oloshelé/ ba/ numbaani. ‘Sa’iidi hasn’t gone home, has he?’ Or:

Sa'iidi/ oloshole numbaani/ ba.
Si/ nt^haku/ hichiililó/ hatá/ muunt^{hi}/ laṭa masku/ ba. 'Us, there is no one who comes to us even during the day, let alone at night.'
Sulṭaani/ kumwonake/ ba/ chaanza/ kumpeenda. 'The king, upon seeing him, began to like him.'
Waana/ na wazeelé/ ba/ wanakhsulowa sukhuuni. 'Young and old as well should be in the market.'
Wawaliko waant^hu/ weema/ ka ahli yaawo/ na winginewé/ ba. 'They were people good to their relatives and to others as well.'
We/ ba/ iizé, 'Even you refused.'
We/ iizé/ ba. 'But (remember) you refused.'
We/ oloshole dukaani/ ba. '(I came as we had agreed) but you had gone to the shop.'
Ye/ ba/ oloshole. 'Even he has gone.'
Ye/ nt^hakeendra/ ba. 'He (was supposed to go) but didn't go; he went, didn't he?'
Ye/ nt^hakhpakiza/ ba/ gaari/ majiwe. 'Didn't he load the truck with stones -- i.e. he loaded the truck with stones, didn't he?' Or: **Ye/ nt^hakhpakiza/ gaari/ majiwe/ ba.** (But apparently not *Ye/ nt^hakhpakiza/ gaari/ ba/ majiwe. It is interesting that the element **so** exhibits a similar distribution.)

baa

n. daddy

ba'ada

n. 9 [Sw. *baada* SSED 25] after, afterwards (This noun regularly serves as the head of an associative phrase which has a prepositional/adverbial function.)
 variant form: **ba'adi**

Ba'ada ya ayaamu/ mubli/ chimwambila mukeewe/ ya kuwaa ye/ nakendra kaziini. 'After a week, the man said to his wife that he is going to his job.'

Ba'ada ya wakhti/ haba mo/ mooyi/ karka weenzawe/ wawili/ chiloota/ kuwaa ye/ wene ruuhuye/ uko mahaḷa suura. 'After a little time, one of his two friends had a dream that he saw himself in a beautiful place.'

Ba'adaa ye/ kuzaala/ mwanaamke/ oyo/ hupendoowa. 'After she gave birth (to a daughter), that girl was loved.' (Note that the final vowel of **ba'ada** is lengthened when followed in a phrase by a monosyllable pronoun like **ye**; this lengthening does not occur when **ba'ada** has the enclitic possessive marker =y-e attached to it, as in the example immediately below.)

ba'adaye 'after that (lit. its after)'

Ba'adi yaa sala/ kuḷa mooyi/ humlazima kendra kuzura wazaaziwe/ ahliye/ na weenzawé. 'After the prayer (on the **idi ya wamuusi**) everyone is obliged to go to visit his parents, his relatives, and his friends.'

ba'adi yaawo 'after them'; **ba'adi yiinu** 'after you (pl.)'; **ba'adi yiitu** 'after us'; **ba'adiya** 'after me'; **ba'adiyo** 'after you'; **ba'adiye** 'after him or after that'

Basi/ ba'ada khpita skuu nt^hatu/ ujee muke/ chimwambila Sa'iidi/ pandra teena/ mloongoṭi/ langaḷa/ takuwonani. 'So after three days passed, that woman told Sa'iidi: climb up the mast again and look what you will see.'

Muke/ ba'ada ya kumzalila mwanaamke/ yampete maraḍi/ fiile. 'The woman, after bearing him a daughter, fell sick and died.'

Muke/ wa mmamulaṭaa nt^{hi}/ ba'ada ya Yuusufu/ khkula/ kuwa mubjaana/ chimṭamana. 'The wife of the caretaker of the land, after Joseph grew up to become a young man, desired him (sexually).'

Mwaalimu/ takendra numbaani/ ba'ada ya kumaliza khfanya kaazi.

‘The teacher will go home after he finishes working.’
...na kuwa takuruuda/ ba’ada ya skuu saba ‘and that he would return after seven days’
Ndovu/ ba’aḍa/ ya kht̥inda/ masaafa/ tulushile/ fiile. ‘The elephant, after running for a long distance, fell down and died.’
Ndrazole numbaani/ ba’ada (or: **ba’adi**) **ya Nuurú/ (kulawá).** ‘I left the house before Nuuru (left).’ Or: **Ndrazole numbaani/ ba’ada** (or: **ba’adi**) **ya Nuurú/ kuwa lazilé.** ‘I left before Nuuru left.’
Nile ba’adiyé. ‘I came after him.’
Nile ba’adi ya Alí. ‘I came after Ali.’
Nt̥hakhuruudila/ ba’ada ya im̥tihaani. ‘I will return it to you after the test.’
Sungura/ ba’ada ya kht̥omola/ salaamu/ chimwaambila... ‘Rabbit, after extending his greetings, said to him (Lion)...’
Waako/ waako/ wazazile waana/ba’adi ya apo/ muḅli/ chimpenda muke miingine/ sul̥ile kumnoola. ‘They had children and after that, (this) husband then loved another woman, and he wanted to marry her.’

ba’aḍi

n. 9 [Sw. *baadhi* SSED 22] some, a portion of something
ba’aḍaa (a contraction of **ba’aḍi ya**)
Ba’aḍaa waana/ wa’ile. ‘Some of the children came.’
ba’aḍi ya muunt̥hi ‘part of the day(time)’
Ba’aḍi ya waana/ wa’ile. ‘Some of the children came.’
Ba’aḍi ya want̥hu awa/ hala miyuundra. ‘Some of these people plant gardens.’
Ba’aḍi yaawo/ wapaanzile/ ilu yaa miti/ na ba’aḍi yaawo/ wafakeete/ pashpo kiiwa/ mahalaa wo/ wanakeendró. ‘Some of them climbed up trees and some of them ran away without knowing where they were going.’
ba’aḍi yiitu ‘some of us’
kuzuura/ ba’aḍi ya ahliye ‘to visit some of his relatives’
Lakiini/ inakiht̥ajowa ba’aḍi ya ziint̥hu. ‘But some other things are needed.’
Rupiya/ miya/ nt̥hano/ izi/ ni ba’aḍi/ ya peesa/ zaa mi/ mp^heetó/ ka kuza igozí. ‘These five hundred rupees are part of the money that I got by selling the skin.’ (Phon. Notice that although the verb **mp^heetó** is separated phrasally from the prepositional phrase **ka kuza igozí** and thus one would expect the Accentual Law of Focus to come into play and prevent the final accent from being extended to the prepositional phrase, we in fact recorded final accent in our text. The explanation for this is at present not clear to us.)
Siimba/ lazile/ kachinume/ chaawo/ wa’ub̥lele ba’aḍi/ na ba’aḍi/ wa’ifakaṭ̥iile. ‘The lion came from [their] behind and killed some of them and some of them ran away.’
Wa’ineenzele/ masaafa/ ba’aḍiye/ sungura/ chisimama. ‘They walked some distance, and then Rabbit stopped.’
Waana/ ba’aḍi yaawo/ wa’ile. ‘Some of the children came.’

ba’iidi

far from, at a distance from, distant

Aamina/ chimshika muḅliwe/ mkono/ chendra naaye/ ba’iidi/ na waant̥hu/ chimwaambila/ wa’ambile/ awa waant̥hu/ kuwaa mi/ nt̥hakujaariba/ kumfanyiliza mwanaamke/ wa sultaani/ dawa/ heendra/ ye/ kaapolá. ‘Aamina held her husband’s hand and went with him far from people and told him: tell these people that I will try to administer medicine to the sultan’s daughter; maybe she will get well.’

Makaraayle/ washpatana/ masku yahaani/ huzimila/ ka apo/ kendra mahala ba’iidi. ‘The crows agreed during the night to flee from there to go to another place far away.’

ku-ba'ida

v. (**ba'idiile**)

Mba'idile mwaana/ na kaawo. 'He sent the child far from home.'

Mba'idile mwaana/ naa muḷo. 'He moved the child away from the fire.'

rel.

ku-ba'idisha v.

Karka ba'aḍi ya khasaara/ za uqabiila/ huleetó/ ni ya kuwa huba'idisha want^hu wa qabila mbaḷmbali. 'Among the disadvantages that tribalism brings is that it separates people of different tribes.'

ba'si

n. repulsiveness, hatefulness

Munt^hu uyu/ ba'siye/ hayqadiriki. 'No one is able to tolerate this man (lit. this man, his repulsiveness, no one can tolerate it).'

mwenye ba'si 'repulsive, hateful'

ba'athi

n. [SSED cites as a verb and only in a single phrase: *siku ya kubaathiwa* 'the day of the general resurrection'] resurrection

baaba

n. 1 [see **waawe** 'my father' for the possessed forms of 'father'] [Sw. *baba* SSED 23] (my) father

Baaba/ chimwuzwa mwaana. 'Father answered his son.'

Baaba/ chingilaa kuḷa. 'Father began to cry.'

Baaba/ maraḍi/ yachimziida/ chifa. 'Father became more sick and died.'

Baaba/ mtume Yaaquubu/ waliko ni muunt^hu/ mwenye iḷmu/ aqḷi/ na hikmá/ mwajiitu/ mpeeló. 'Father, the prophet Yaaquubu, was a man having knowledge, intelligence, and wisdom, which God gave him.'

Baaba/ namsuula/ maama/ namsuula. '[Lit.] he wants father, he wants mother.' Also: **Waawó/ namsuulá/ maamó/ namsuulá.** **Hupati.** '[Lit.] you want your father, you want your mother. It cannot be (or: you cannot have it so).' Used when s.o. wants two opposite things that are mutually incompatible.

Baaba/ shfurahaa nt^ho. 'Father was very pleased.'

baba wa Hamadi 'Hamadi's father' (= **Hamadi/ waawaye** 'Hamadi's father')

baba (w)a nk^haambo 'stepfather'

Baabaa nk^haambo/ si baaba. 'A stepfather is not a father.' (A proverb.)

ka baaba 'paternal'

daadá/ ka baaba 'paternal grandmother'

Maana/ humzika baaba/ baaba/ humzika maana. 'The child buries the father, the father buries the child.' (A proverb.)

Naayé/ maama/ shfaanya/ jisa/ baaba/ fanyiizó/ chiwaviḷa/ wanawaḅli/ sittawe/ chiwa'uzá/ nnakhsuḷa maalí/ amó/ raaḍi. 'Mother also did the way that father had done; she called the boys, the six of them, and asked them: do you want wealth or [my] blessings?'

wank^hulá/ ka baaba 'paternal grandfather'

Siwo/ mwana wa baabá? 'Is he not father's child?'

rel.

u-baaba n.14 fatherhood

baabo

interj. all gone! nothing more! (used with children to tell them that there is no more food, e.g.) [pron. **baabó**]

baabuuri

n. 9/10 [Som. *baabuuri*] motorcar

Baburi iyi/ ndaaká. 'This car is mine.'

rel.

chi-baabuuri (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim. toy car

- badani** n. 9/10 [Sw. *badani* SSED 24; Ar.] front part of the **haanzu**
Hanzu iyi/ badaniye/ ifumushile. ‘This **haanzu**, its front part has unraveled.’
- baade** interj. a word used to introduce a suggestion; [pron. **baadé**]
- ku-baḍata** v. [Som. *badi* DSI 37] increase (number or quantity), make more abundant
- ma-badi’iyo**
Ichiwa kanayo/ ni nfuunge/ we/ laazima/ khfungula kanayo/ kendra khfanya propaganda/ kuhada/ jawaabu/ zaa we/ haamini/ kooloka/ ḍiddi ya mabadi’iyo. ‘If it be that you close your mouth, [in order to get ahead in the world] you must open your mouth and go and make propaganda, say things that you do not believe, go against your principles.’
- badīla** n. 9/10 [Ital. *badile*] shovel
badīla ya mṭaanga ‘sand shovel’
khtumba ka badīla ‘to dig with a shovel’
- ku-badila** v. [Sw. *badili* SSED 23] (**badilīle**) change, transfer, exchange
Badilīle gaari/ majulu. ‘He changed the car’s tires.’
Badilīlee nguwo. ‘He changed clothes.’
Haliima/ mbadilīle mwaana/ nguwo. ‘Haliima changed the boy’s clothes.’
kubadilaa hawa ‘[lit.] to change the air – i.e. to get away for awhile from one’s regular routine’
Mi/ na askarizá/ chondroshelé/ kendra ijabali Khaafu. ‘Me and my soldiers arose and went to Mount Khaafu for a change of air.’
kubadila/ kana shaati ‘to change like shirts – i.e. to change often’
Omari/ hubadilaa wake/ kana shaati. ‘Omari changes wives like shirts.’
kubadila maali ‘to barter goods’
kubadila zaamu ‘to change the guard’
kumbadila muunthu/ chiṭaache ‘to change someone’s mind’
Omari/ mbadilīle Hamadi/ chiṭaache. ‘Omari changed Hamadi’s mind.’
kumbadila muunthu/ ongoye ‘to change someone’s mind’
Omari/ mbadilīle Hamadi/ ongoye. ‘Omari changed Hamadi’s mind.’
Naank^hó/ chimwaambila/ mbadile mwana uyu. ‘Again she told him, change this child (in the context of the story: bring a different child to eat with you).’
Oloshale dukaani/ kubadila shaati. ‘He went to the shop to exchange a shirt.’
Suufi/ badilīlee nguwo. ‘Suufi changed his clothes.’
Suufi/ mbadilīle mwaana/ nguwo. ‘Suufi changed the child’s clothes.’
Suufi/ mbadilīle Nuuru. ‘Suufi transferred Nuuru.’
- rel.
ku-badilīla v. appl. (**badilīlīle**) change for, with
ku-badilīloowa v. pass.
Mwaana/ badilīlaa nguwo. ‘The child’s clothes were changed.’ (Cf. the ungrammaticality of a sentence where clothes is the grammatical subject: ***Nguwo/ zibadilīla mwaana.** ‘The clothes were changed the boy.’)
ku-badilana v. rec. exchange, trade
Haliima/ badilenee nguwo/ na Maryamu. Haliima exchanged clothes with Maryamu.’
ku-badilika v.
Ka paapo/ apo/ zotte/ zaa ye/ loonzeló/ shpata/ ye/ loonile/ lchibadilika/ chiwa mlusi/ usoowe/ uchiwa kama uso wa wataana/ na

mavaazyé/ yachibadilika. ‘Immediately, all that he begged for, he received. His complexion changed, he became black, his face became like the face of slaves, and his clothes changed.’

Mi/ hubadilika luumbo/ kula shpindri cha wakhti shchipita. ‘I change my shape when each period of time passes.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **chibli** ‘shadow’.)

Mwana uyu/ habadiliki/ nguwo. ‘This boy cannot be changed clothes – i.e. this boy’s behavior makes it difficult for someone to change his clothes, e.g. he moves around too much.’

Nguwo/ hazibadiliki. ‘These clothes cannot be exchanged.’ (Note however that one cannot have **nguwo** as subject if the person affected is present in the clause: ***Nguwo/ hazibadiliki/ mwaana.**)

Tabi’a/ haybadiliki. ‘Behavior cannot be altered.’ (In the course of our research we have sometimes written **ha’i** rather than **hay**. Both pronunciations seem to be valid.)

ku-badilisha v. caus. (**badilishiize**) have s.o. change

Haliima/ mbadilishize mwaana/ nguwo. ‘Haliima had the boy change his clothes.’

rel. nom.

m-badilo n. 3

ma-badilo n. 6

u-badilo n. 14

badili

Abunawaasi/ lazile/ ka ijuniyaani/ ndimi/ ningiiló/ badiliye. ‘Abunawaasi got out from the sack, it is me who entered it as his substitute.’

munt^hu waa ye/ oloshelo badiliyé ‘the man whom he went in place of (him)’ (cf. **Oloshelo badili ya Nuuru.** ‘He went in place of Nuuru.’)

ruuhu ichilawa nt^haku badiliye [nt.] ‘if you lose your life there isn’t another one’

Sultaani/ ka paapo/ chiwa’iwisha/ waant^hu/ wotte/ ya kuwa mkeewe/ Hasani/ ndiyé/ takuwo sultaani/ badiliye. ‘The sultan at that same moment made it known to all the people that his son-in-law Hasani is the one who will become sultan in his place.’

baadiri

n. [It. *padre*] priest

rel.

m-baadiri (*wa-*, *ma-*) n. priest

mbadiri uyu ‘this priest’; **mabadiri awa (*aya)** ‘these priests’; **wabadiri awa** ‘these priests’

kabaadiri n. church (Morph. Note that one does not say ***kabadiriini**, whereas for **kaniisa** ‘church’ one does say **kanisiini**.)

Omari/ uko kabaadiri. ‘Omari is at the church.’

baairoone

n. [Ital. *padrone*] owner, boss

baado

[Sw. *bado* "not yet" SSED 24]

mana wa baado ‘[lit.] child of not yet -- meaning: first born child’; this expression can be applied to either parent, i.e. it can be the first born for the mother but not for the father, or vice versa.

baduwi

n. nomad

Apo/ muyiini/ waliko baduwi/ kaaziye/ shtinda hoola/ chuzaa nama. ‘There in the town was a nomad whose work was slaughtering animals and selling the meat.’

Baduwi uyu/ shtiinda/ ije/ humwiililó/ mbeleyé/ mp^haka/ mbwa/ na

hattá/ wanaadamú/ na chidanganya/ nama/ za hoola/ ma za wanaadamú/ chiwa'uliza/ want^hu wa muuyi/ walá/ nt^haku/ chiiwó. 'This nomad slaughtered whatever came in front of him: cats, dogs, and even human beings, and he mixed up the meat of animals with the meat of humans and he sold it to the people of the town, nor was there anyone who knew [what he was doing].'

baaði in the expression:
kingila baaði 'to go astray'
muunt^hu/ mooyi/ ngamiilaye/ yingilo baaði 'one man whose camel had gone astray'

-baðiri adj. [Sw. *-badhiri, -badhirifu* SSED 24] one who squanders
munt^hu mbaðiri 'someone who squanders', **want^hu wabaðiri** 'people who squander', **chijint^hu chibaðiri** 'someone dim. who squanders', **zijint^hu zibaðiri** 'dim. people who squander', **ijint^hu ibaðiri** 'someone aug. who squanders', **mijint^hu mibaðiri** 'aug. people who squander'

ku-baðira v. [Sw. *badhiri* SSED 24; Ar. *badara* W 48] () squander (esp. money)
Chizuḷa kuwa taajiri/ sibaðizé/ maaliyo. 'If you want to be rich, don't squander your money.'

u-baðirifu n. 14. [Sw. *ubadhirifu*] extravagance, squandering of money

baf ideo. of breaking of bone
Hamadi/ mkonon/ umvundishile/ baf. 'Hamadi's hand broke **baf**!'

bafta n. 9 [Sw. *bafta* SSED 24] white cotton cloth (imported, from Japan, e.g.)
bafta iyi 'this cloth'
melpe/ kana bafta 'someone white as **bafta**'; **nelpe/ kana bafta**
 'something white as **bafta**'

i-baafu n. [Som. *baafa* DSI 32] large circular metal vessel with high rim, used to wash clothes
ibafuuni 'in the washing vessel'

baghali n. [cf. Ar. *baql*, Som. *bagal*] a kind of aromatic large-leafed **mboga** used to make salads, with a root that has a sharp taste like radish
Baghali/ inayo vitamiina. 'Baghali has vitamins.'
kuja baghali 'to eat *baghali*'

baghali n. mule
Jeshi mooyi/ ishpantra farasi/ yiingine/ ishpantra baghali/ wotte/ wachoondroka. 'One army rode horses, another rode mules, all took off (for the battle).'
Mp^huundra/ chimpantra farasi/ huzala baghali. 'When a donkey rides (i.e. copulates with) a horse, it gives birth to a mule.'

Baghdaadi n. One of the quarters of Brava. In the 1880's Sheikh Aweys built a mosque (**miskiti wa Sheekh Uweesu/Aweeso**) in a then empty area north of **Mp^haayi**. Soon a village of huts (**ariishi**) rose around it, which was called **Baghdaadi** (from Baghdad in Iraq) in of the seat of Sheikh Abdulqadir al-Jilaani, the patron of the Qadiriyya brotherhood, of which Sheikh Aweys was a prominent leader. This village was originally separated from **Mp^haayi** by an area of bush (**maduuri**), but later extended to the south to reach **Mp^haayi** and became one of the main quarters of Brava.
chimini cha Baghdaadi 'the **Chimiini** spoken in **Baghdaadi**'
Muskiti' aa malim Biimaaló/ wi-ko Baghdaadi. 'The mosque of Malim Biimaalo is in Baghdaadi.'

ku-baha

v. [Som. *baḥ-* Ab 24] (*beele*) be or get lost, spoiled

Ali/ mwaana/ mbeele. ‘Lit. the child became lost to Ali.’

Beelé/ we. ‘You are just talking, speaking words that will have no results, impact, etc.’

Chibuuku/ chibeele. ‘The book is lost.’ Cf. **Chibele chibuuku.** ‘A book is lost.’

Chibuuku/ chimbeele. ‘He has lost the book.’ (Prosody. This simple sentence displays canonical downstep intonation; as such, it forms its yes-no question variant without accent-shift: **Chibuuku/ chimbeele?** The exclamatory question obligatorily shifts the accent in the verb phrase: **Chibuuku/ chimbeelê!?**)

Chibuku gani/ chaako/ chibeeló. ‘Which book of yours is lost?’

Chibuuku/ nch^haakó/ chibeeló. ‘It is your book that is lost.’

chint^hu chibeeló ‘the thing that is lost’; **zint^hu zibeeló** ‘the things that are lost’

Chisu chaa mi/ nuuziló/ chibeele. ‘The knife that I bought is lost.’

Chisu chaa muke/ chibeeló/ shpeeta. ‘The knife of the woman which was lost has been found.’ (The subject marker on **chibeeló** makes it clear that it is the knife that was lost and not the woman. One could also say: **Chisu chibeeló/ chaa muke/ shpeeta.** ‘The knife that was lost of the woman was found.’)

Chisu/ chibeele. ‘The knife got lost.’

Hamadi/ chimbele chibuuku. ‘A book is lost to Hamadi – i.e. Hamadi lost a book.’ Or: **Hamadi/ chibuuku/ chimbeele.** Or less commonly: **Chibuuku/ chimbele Hamadi.** ‘The book is lost to Hamadi.’

Hamadi/ chisuuche/ chibeele. ‘Hamadi’s knife is lost.’ Cf. **Hamadi/ zisuuze/ zibeele.** ‘Hamadi’s knives are lost.’

Huseeni/ ka khkoḏa niingi/ sooti/ imbeele. ‘Huseeni lost his voice due to talking too much.’

Imbeele. ‘He lost it – lit. it is lost to him.’

Karkaa we/ nakuuyó/ mweené/ ngamiila/ mo/ beeló? ‘On your way coming did you see a stray camel?’

Kiwa kuwa belee ndilá/ ndiyoo ndila. ‘To know that you have lost the way that is the way.’ (A proverb.)

Maali/ bilaa daftari/ hubaha bilaa xabari. ‘Possessions without an accounting book get lost without information about them being preserved.’ (A proverb.)

Mp^handramp^haandra/ ikhubeele. ‘The trumpet is lost to you.’

Mwana uyu/ beele. ‘This child is spoiled.’

Oyo/ ni mwaana/ beeló. ‘That one is the child who went astray.’

Peesa/ zikhubeele. ‘The money (coins) were lost to you.’

Peesa/ zimbeele. ‘The coins were lost to me.’ (A boy might say this to his mother, as a way of not taking responsibility. The mother might reply: **We/ bashiizé.** ‘(No), you lost them.’)

Sibahé. ‘Don’t go astray!’ **Sibaheení.** ‘(Pl.) don’t go astray!’

Wakhtí/ ukhubeele. ‘You wasted time (lit. time was lost to you).’

Wana sitta/ wambele ka jis’iyo. ‘Six children were lost to him in this way.’

Ye/ belee ndila. ‘He lost his way.’

Zeema/ zaa we/ fanyiizó/ zi-beele/ apa. ‘The good things that you have done are lost here.’

Zotte/ zibeele/ wa laakini/ zibeleeeyi. ‘All (my dreams) are lost, but how are they lost?’

rel.

ku-baasha v. (**bashiize**) lose something, waste time; lead someone astray; cause to be

lost

Ali/ bashizee chisu. ‘Ali lost the knife.’

Ali/ chibashize chibuuku. ‘Ali lost the book.’

Ali/ mbashize mwaana. ‘Ali spoiled the child (causing him to go astray in life).’ (The periphrastic causative cannot be used in the sense of ‘spoil’; one cannot say ***Ali/ mtilé mwaana/ kubaha.** ‘Ali instilled in the child to get spoiled.’)

Ali/ mbashize mwaana. ‘Ali got the child lost.’ (A periphrastic causative could be used in this sense: **Ali/ mtile mwaana/ kubaha.** ‘Ali (somehow) induced the child to get lost.’)

Bashize maaliye. ‘He squandered his wealth.’

Bashize maaliye/ bashiizó. ‘He squandered his wealth, that’s what he did.’

Chibuku gani/ (cha) we/ bashiizó. ‘Which book did you lose?’

Chichibashiizé. ‘We have lost it [cl.7].’

Hamadi/ bashize peesa. ‘Hamadi lost the money. (This sentence implies culpability on the part of Hamadi.)

Ji/ bashize chibuuku. ‘Ji lost a book.’ (Cf. **Ji/ chibashize chibuuku.** ‘Ji lost the book.’)

Ji/ chibashiize. ‘Ji lost it [cl.7].’ (It is ungrammatical to have neither an object prefix nor an overt object: ***Ji/ bashiize.**)

ku-basha hayaatiye ‘to lose one’s life – i.e. to kill oneself doing something’

Alí/ nakubasha hayaatiye/ tu/ ka kazi iyo. ‘Ali is just killing himself with that job.’

kubasha ina ‘to lose one’s name, reputation’

kubashaa ndila ‘to cause to lose one’s way’

Mbashize mwaana/ ndila. ‘He caused the child to lose his way.’

kubashaa nguvu ‘to waste energy, strength’

kubasha peesa ‘to waste money’

Bashize peesá. ‘You squandered (your) money.’

kubasha wakhti ‘to waste time’

Bashize wakhtí. ‘You wasted time.’

Hamadi/ mambile Omari/ we/ apo/ nakubasha wakhtiwó/ tu/ nt^haku/ chint^hu chimooyi/ cha) we/ takhpató. ‘Hamadi told Omari: there you are just wasting your time, there is not a single thing that you will get (from what you are doing).’

Mwaanawe/ bashize wakhti/ ndilaani. ‘Her child wasted (his) time (playing) in the street.’ Cf. the negative version of this sentence and its phrasing: **Mwaanawe/ nt^hakubaasha/ wakhti/ ndilaani.**)

Maana/ bashize chibuuku/ yuuzi. ‘The child lost the book the day before yesterday.’ Or with verb focus: **Maana/ bashiize/ chibuuku/ yuuzi.**

maana/ kabasha chibuukú ‘if the child lost the book’; or: **kabaashá/ chibuukú** ‘ibid.’ (Note that in this example we recorded the *ka*-tense as not necessarily being subject to the Accentual Law of Focus, since in the second variant, the phrasal break after the verb does not prevent the final accent from being extended to the complement.)

maana/ kabasha chibuukú/ yuuzi ‘if the child lost the book the day before yesterday’; or: **maana/ kabaashá/ chibuukú/ yuuzi** ‘ibid.’

Mi/ sibashe peesá. ‘I shouldn’t lose the money.’ Or: **Peesa/ mi/ sibaashé.**

Confirm accent.

Mi/ sibaashení. ‘What shouldn’t I lose?’ (The final accented syllable in this example did not have the falling quality associated with sentence-final declarative sentences. Study whether the fall is absent in questions. Review and make sure the accent is final.)

Nichibashize chisu cha mpishí. ‘I lost the knife of the cook.’

Omari/ bashize chibuuku. ‘Omari lost the book.’ (Prosody. This sentence exhibits canonical downstep intonation, and as such forms its yes-no question with no accent-shift: **Omari/ bashize chibuuku?** The exclamatory question as always shifts accent in the verb phrase: **Omari/ bashize chibuukú!?**)

Omari/ bashiize/ chibuuku. ‘Omari *lost* the book.’ (Prosody. When the verb is focused, the prosody of the sentence becomes non-canonical. In particular, the pitch on the verb is raised. In the corresponding simple yes-no question, the complement to the verb undergoes accent-shift: **Omari/ bashiize/ chibuukú?**)

Pesa izi/ sibaashé. ‘This money, don’t lose!’ (It should be noted that the verb is clearly downstepped relative to the preposed complement.)

Sibaashé/ nguvuzo/ karka ziint^hu/ nt^hazina manfa’á. ‘Don’t waste your strength on things that have no use.’

Sibaashé/ pesa izi. ‘Don’t lose this money!’ (Recall that a sentence-final

accented vowel has falling pitch. Although not sentence-final, **sibaashé** in this example exhibits the same falling pitch. This is presumably connected to the fact that there is a small pause between the verb and its complement.)

Sibashe pesa izi/ tu. ‘Just don’t lose this money (lose anything else, but don’t lose this money)!’ (This would be said by a person who is afraid that the other person might lose the money.)

Sibaasheni/ mi. ‘What shouldn’t I lose?’ **confirm the final accent**
rel.

ku-baashana v. caus. rec. (-**basheene**)

ku-baashika v. caus. p/s.

ku-bashiliza v. caus. appl. (**bashiliize**)

Shaafi/ mbashilize Muusa/ mwaana. ‘Shaafi spoiled Muusa’s child.’ (The periphrastic causative cannot be used in this sense of the verb: ***Shaafi/ mtilile Muusa/ mwaana/ kubaha.** ‘Shaafi caused Muusa’s child to be spoiled.’ But the sentence is grammatical if the meaning is ‘Shaafi caused Muusa’s child to get lost.’)

ku-bashilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. (-**bashilizeenye**)

Wantu awa/ wabashilizenye waana. ‘These people spoiled one another’s children.’ Or: ‘These people caused one another’s children to get lost.’ (In the latter sense, a periphrastic causative is acceptable: **Wantu awa/ watililene waana/ kubaha.** ‘These people caused one another’s children to get lost.’)

bahaluuli (*ma-*)

adj. easygoing person, who looks stupid but is not necessarily so, s.o. who does not care about anything

Ni muunt^hu/ bahaluuli. ‘He is easygoing.’

Ni waant^hu/ mabahaluuli. ‘They are easygoing.’

bahari

n. 9 [Sw. *bahari* SSED 24] sea, ocean

bahari iyi ‘this ocean’

bahari ya atlasi ‘Atlantic ocean’

bahari ya haadi’i ‘Pacific ocean’

bahari ya hiindi ‘Indian ocean’

bahari shuwaari ‘calm sea’

Bahariini/ apo/ chiwona jahaazi/ ya mku^le. ‘At sea there he saw the ship of his older brother.’

Basi/ choloka oko/ bahariini. ‘So, he went there at the sea.’

Chilasila lfuwooni/ hupatikana bahariini. ‘That which is left on the shore is found in the ocean.’ (A proverb.)

kama kuwaka nuumba karka bahari [st.] ‘like building a house in the sea’

Naank^ho/ mwiimbili/ uko bahariini/ isa. ‘And again, the young boy is at sea now.’

Ni bahari. ‘[Lit.] he, it is a sea -- meaning: very deep and so large you cannot know it fully.’

Ghazaali/ ni bahari. ‘[The writing of] Ghazzali is so deep that it is impossible to comprehend him fully.’ (Note this common use making reference to (religious) writers.)

Lugha la chaarabu/ ni bahari. ‘The Arabic language is a sea -- i.e. deep.’

Oloshela tawala/ koowa. ‘He went to the sea to bathe.’

bahaariya (*ma-*)

n. 1/2 [Sw. *baharia* SSED 24] seaman, sailor, crewman

bahaariya uyu ‘this seaman’; **mabahaariya awa** ‘these seamen’

Ingilopo jahaziini/ chiwapa mabahaariya/ amri/ khtomola ngiisha/ khsaafira/ mabahaariya/ wachimwaambila/ hachimliindri/ mu^o. ‘When he entered the ship, he gave the crew an order to raise the anchor; the crew said to him: don’t we wait for your younger brother?’

Mabahaariya/ wachendra markabuuni. ‘The crew went to the ship.’

Mabahaariya/ wote/ na naakhu^oa/ ni wanaashke. ‘All the sailors and the captain are girls.’

ku-bahatha

v. [Ar. W 42] (**bahathiile**) investigate

variant form: **kubahitha**

rel.

ku-bahathila v. appl.
ku-bahathilana v. appl. rec.
rel. nom.
u-bahatho n. 14

- bahati** n. 9/10 [Sw. *bahati* SSED 25; Pers.] luck, fortune
bahati suura ‘good luck’
bahati mbovu ‘bad luck’
Bahati zaawo/ mbovu. ‘Their luck is bad.’
Bahatiye/ mbovu. ‘His luck is bad.’
Nt^haná/ bahati. ‘He has no luck.’
Sho kuwana(yo) bahati/ habiimishi. ‘The one who does not have luck does not trust to luck.’ (A proverb.)
- ku-bahati* v. trust to luck, guess
- bahiima** (Ø, ma-) n., adj. animal, s.o. stupid, oaf
Ni munt^hu bahiima. ‘He is an oaf.’ (cf. **Ni want^hu wabahiima.** ‘They are oafs.’)
- ku-bahitha** v.
Oko/ Mkhodiisho/ mawaziiri/ wa khaariji/ wa nt^hi za chi’aafrika/ wakunt^hameene/ ili kubahitha/ mashaakili/ ya nt^hi zaawo. ‘There in Mogadisho the ministers of foreign affairs of the countries of Africa met in order to look into the problems of their countries.’
- baahuunzi** (mi-) n. an illness whereby white spots and larger white areas appear on the skin, especially on the face and shoulders or chest; it usually affects teenagers
- bajeela** n. [Ital. *pagella*] school report card
- bajiya** n. 9/10 [Sw. *bajia* SSED25; Hind.] a small cake made of ground beans and pepper
- m-baajuuni** (wa-) n. 1/2 a native of the Bajuni islands
rel.
chi-baajuuni n. 7 the language of the Bajuni islands
- bakayle** n. 9/10 [Som. *bakayle* DSI 39] rabbit, hare (Morph. Animate [cl. 9/10] nouns like this one typically show some [cl.1] behavior in the singular, but not as much [cl.2] behavior in the plural.)
Bakayle/ chiiza/ kuuya. ‘Hare refused to come.’
Bakayle izi/ sfiile. ‘These rabbits have died.’ (Morph. Note the [cl.10] behavior of the demonstrative **izi** and the subject prefix, *s-* derived from *zi-*.)
Bakayle/ ni hayawaani/ chihaba/ na chida’iifú/ laakini/ chijaanja/ na chi’aakhili. ‘The hare is a mammal, small and weak, but clever and intelligent.’ (Morph. Observe that the adjective **chihaba** has a fixed noun class ([cl.7/8]), and in this example we see that the subsequent adjectives agree with it and not with the noun **hayawaani**.)
bakayle/ naa dafá ‘a hare and a hawk’
Bakayle uyu/ fiile. ‘This hare has died.’ (Morph. Note the [cl.1] agreement on the demonstrative **uyu** and the [cl.1] null subject prefix on the verb.)
Bakayle/ waliko nt^hiini/ yaa muti. ‘A hare was under a tree.’
Sku mooyi/ ondroshele/ bakayle/ mooyi/ ingile maduriini/ kumera chaakuja. ‘One day the hare left and went into the bush to look for food.’
- bakhaamu** adj. s.o. who is a fool

rel.
i-bakhaamu (*ma-*) adj. fool

bakhaari (\emptyset , *ma-*) n. 9/10,6 [Sw. *bohari* “storehouse, warehouse, large shop, magazine, go-down, etc.” SSED 37; Hind.] storehouse

bakhari ya jumla ‘a shop where things are sold wholesale’
review pronunciation with Gelani, as wrote bokhaari in CLE; Sandra corrected to bakhaari

baakhasho n. [probably from the Som. noun *baaqasho*, from the verb *baaqo* “to be absent” DSI 34] The season when the sea is calm (**bahari shuwaari**), there is an absence of strong winds, and the temperature is high (approximately corresponding to the **deeri** and **jilaali** seasons). Also called **mitanga miwili** (cf. Sw. **tangambili**).

ku-bakhatā

v. (**bakheete**) miss, fail to show up, fail to come to fruition, fail to live up to expectations, not show up, be absent, skip (a class), come to nothing (in life)

Bali/ zibakheete/ ka nvula haba. ‘The corn plants did not bear corn due to the small amount of rain.’

Bakheete madrasaani. ‘He skipped school.’

Matezo/ yabakheete. ‘The game has been cancelled.’

Mwaana/ bakheete. ‘The child did not come; the child amounted to nothing.’

Omari/ bakheete/ safari. ‘Omari *cancelled* the trip.’ (Phon. The corresponding yes-no question: **Omari/ bakheete/ safari?** The emphatic yes-no question: **Omari/ bakheeté/ safari!?**)

Reeli/ ibakheete. ‘The train did not come; the train was late.’

rel.

ku-bakhatika v. p/s.

ku-bakhatiloowa v. appl. pass.

Sababu iyo/ hubakhatiloowa skoola. ‘That [type of] reason can be used for being absent from school.’ Or: **Sababu iyo/ hubakhatiloowa/ skoola.** (Phon. The simple yes-no question versions of the preceding two sentences: **Sababu iyo/ hubakhatiloowa skoola?**, with no accent shift, and: **Sababu iyo/ hubakhatiloowa/ skoolá?**, with accent in the out-of-focus final phrase. The exclamatory yes-no questions that we were able to elicit is: **Sababu iyo/ hubakhatiloowa skoolá!?** and **Sababu iyo/ hubakhatiloowá/ skoolá!?**)

ku-bakhatila v. appl. (**bakhatiliile**)

Omari/ bakhatiliileni/ skoola (or: **skolaani**). ‘Why was Omari absent from school?’

ku-bakhatoowa v. pass.

Siwo/ suura/ kubakhatoowa/skoola (or: **skolaani**). ‘It is not good to be absent from school.’ (Phon. The simple yes-no question shows accent shift in all except the initial negative: **Siwo/ suurá/ kubakhatoowá/ skoolá?** The exclamatory yes-no question also does not shift the accent in the initial negative: **Siwo/ suurá/ kubakhatoowá/ skoolá!?**)

ku-baakhisha v. caus. postpone, cause to be late or not go

Nuuru/ mbakhishize mwaana/ madrasaani. ‘Nuuru caused the child to not go to school.’

Nvula/ imbakhishize Ali/ kuya madrasaani. ‘Rain caused Ali to not come to school.’

ku-bakhishana v. rec.

ku-bakhishika v. caus. p/s.

ku-bakhishiliza v. caus. appl.

Nuuru/ mbakhishilize Suufi/ mwaana/ madrasaani. ‘Nuuru caused the Suufi’s child not to come to school.’

ku-bakhishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Wantu awa/ wabakhishilizenye waana/ madrasaani. ‘These people

caused one another's children to not come to school.'

bakhiili

adj. Ø/Ø, *ma-* [Sw. *bahili* SSED 25; Ar.] stingy, miserly; n. miser

Apo/ zamaani/ waliko muunt^hu/ bakhiili/ nt^ho/ hattá/ kharibilile kuja manyalaye. 'Once upon a time there was a man so miserly that he almost ate his fingernails.'

Bakhiili/ lisila/ deeniye. 'The miser was paid his debt.' Or: **Lisila deenié/ ni bakhiili.** 'The one who was paid his debt is the miser.'

Bakhiili/ lisile/ deeni. 'The miser paid the debt.' Or: **Lisilo deeni/ ni bakhiili.** 'The one who paid the debt is the miser.' Or: **Deeni/ ilisila na bakhiili.** 'The debt was paid by the miser.'

Mali ya bakhiili/ hujowa na duudu. 'The possessions of a miser are eaten by insects.' (A proverb.)

munt^hu bakhiili 'a miserly person'; **want^hu (ma)bakhiili** 'miserly people'

rel.

u-bakhiili n. stinginess, miserliness

bakhsha

n. 9/10 [Sw. *bahasha* SSED 187] envelope

Bakhsha iyi/ ipeta ndilaani. 'This envelope was found on the road.'

Bakhsha izi/ speta ndilaani. 'These envelopes were found on the road.'

kambisa bakhsha 'to glue an envelope shut'

khfunga bakhsha 'to close an envelope'

Uzile bakhsha. 'He bought an envelope.'

rel.

chi-bakhsha (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim.

i-bakhsha (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.

bakhshiisha

n. 9/10 [Sw. *bakhshiishi* SSED 25] gratuity, tip

bakhshisha iyi 'this tip'

bakhti

n. 9/10 [Som.] carcass

Bakhti iyi/ inakunuunk^ha. 'This carcass smells.'

Inakunuunk^ha lyuundro/ kamba bakhti. 'It is smelling bad like a corpse.'

kufa bakhti '[lit. to die carcass – i.e. to die like a worthless carcass'

Mfungaa miya/ bakhti/ hafungulili. 'The one who fasts a hundred does not break the fast with a carcass.' (A proverb.)

rel.

i-bakhti

Omari/ fiile/ kana ibakhti/ imooyi. 'Omari died like a worthless carcass.'

bakhti

in the expression:

bakhti ya nasiibu 'raffle, lottery'

Omari/ nt^hakhshiindra/ bakhti ya nasiibu/ chimteleza

mukeewe/ tu. 'Omari did not (really) win the lottery, he was only joking (about winning) with his wife.'

ku-bakhtika

v. (**bakhtishile**) die (worthlessly and valuelessly), to die like an animal

Igoombe/ ibakhtishile. 'The aug. cow died worthlessly.'

rel.

kh-bakhtikoowa v. pass.

Apo/ hubakhtikoowa. 'That place is a place where one dies like an animal (i.e. if one goes there, one will end up dead, like an animal).'

ku-bakhtisha

v. (**bakhtishiize**) bet

baakoora (Ø, *ma-*)

n. 910, 6 [Sw. *bakora* SSED 25, Som. *bakoora* "walking stick with crooked handle" DSI 39] walking stick with a crooked handle

bakora zaawo 'their walking sticks'

bakoraani 'on the cane' (Phon. The regular lengthening of a word-final

vowel in front of the locative enclitic *=ni* has the effect of requiring

that preceding long vowels shorten – in this example, both long vowels in the stem shorten.)

baakooraya ‘my walking stick’ (Phon. A noun with successive long vowels in the antepenult and penult syllables retains this length when a monosyllabic enclitic possessive element is appended, even though this extra syllable puts the first long vowel in a position where length would be expected to be lost.)

Chiruda numbaani/ khtala baakooraye. ‘He went back home to pick up his walking stick.’

Chivalaa nguwo/ ka himaahima/ chiḷawa/ ndilaani/ laakini/ liwele baakooraye. ‘He dressed quickly and went out on the road but he forgot his walking stick.’

Kiḷa mooyi/ nambige baakoora/ napate kubarata adabu. ‘Each one (of us) should cane him, so that he learns good manners.’

baakoora

n. jack (in a deck of playing cards); an alternative name for this card is **khulaamú**

baḷ

conj. [Sw. *baḷi* SSED 26; Ar. *bal* "nay, rather, but, however, yet" W 71] rather, on the contrary

ku-baḷama

v. [Som. *ballan* v. DSI 40] (**baḷamiile**) promise

Jaama/ baḷamile keendra. ‘Jaama promised to go.’

Mi/ sinakuḷiḷiḷa/ nt^heendre/ mi/ nakuḷiḷiḷa zombo za waawé/ baḷamiiló/

kump^há. ‘I am not crying over the dates, I am crying over the things that my father promised to give to me.’

Waawe/ baḷamile kundrooza/ muke/ mwenye jamaala/ na kunfanyiliza haruusi/ nk^hulu. ‘My father promised to marry me to a beautiful woman and to hold a large wedding for me.’

baḷani

n. [Som. *ballan* n. "promise, appointment" DSI 40] promise, appointment

khpa baḷani ‘to promise’

Basi/ we/ mp^ha baḷani/ kuwaa we/ chiḷawa/ ka apa/

kunk^huumbuka/ ka moojó. ‘So, you promise me that when you will leave from here, you will remember me to your master.’

Laakini/ mwaana/ pele wazelewe/ baḷani/ kuwaa mara/ ya isa/ chiruuda/ bila ya dughaaghi/ yaa ye/ ni ki’imeeró/ haṭakendra teena/ maduriini. ‘But the boy promised his parents that this time if he returned without [killing] the wild animal that he was looking for, he would not again go to the bush country.’

Mi/ leelo/ nt^hakhulata huri/ kamaa we/ chionooyeza/ Ali/ na chimp^ha baḷani/ kuwaa we/ huṭamwaambila/ muunt^hu/ yoyote/ kuwaa mi/ nenzele ka Alí. ‘I today will set you free if you show me Ali and promise me that you will not tell anyone that I went to Ali.’ (Phon. The final accent on **baḷani** in this example appears to be triggered by the preceding conjunction **na**, but in the best attested cases where **na** triggers final accent the complement of **na** is a nominal phrase and not a verb phrase. **More research is required on this point.**)

Mpele Nuuru/ baḷani/ kooloka. ‘He gave Nuuru a promise (that he would) go.’

Nakhupa baḷani/ kuwaa mi/ nt^hakhuleetela/ namayo/ paapa/ apa. ‘I promise to you that I will bring your meat to you right here.’ (Phon. The fact that the final accent in this example did not extend to the complement clause suggests that focus was placed on **nakhupa baḷani**.)

Nimpele baḷani/ Nuurú/ kumpa chibuukú. ‘I promised Nuuru to give him a book.’ (Cf. **Nimpele baḷani/ Nuurú/ mi/**

kumpa chibuuku. ‘I gave a promise to *Nuuru* for me to give him a book.’ Notice that the final accent triggered by the main verb does not extend past past **Nuuru**; this is not clear with regard to the monosyllabic pronoun, since it has only one syllable and thus cannot reveal whether it has default or final accent. However, the default accent on the infinitive phrase makes it clear that the infinitive phrase is not within the scope of the final accent of the main verb. The following example makes it clearer that an overt subject for the infinitive blocks the projection of final accent: ***Nimpele bałani/ Nuuru/ Muusa/ kumpa chibuuku.** ‘I promised Nuuru that Muusa would give him a book. Further research on the prosody of NP+infinitive phrases as compared to Ø+infinitive phrases is needed.)

Nimpele Nuuru/ bałani/ kooloká. ‘I gave Nuuru a promise to go.’
Or: **Nimpele bałani/ Nuuru/ kooloká.**

Suuyú/ myaana/ waa mi/ khpelo bałani/ khuleetelá. ‘Here is the servant that I promised to bring to you.’

khtomolaa bałani ‘to extend a promise’

kofisha bałani ‘to fulfill, keep a promise’

Iwaaliko/ bałani/ mi/ khupa/ usultaani/ kamaa we/ shkhaadira/ khtaambula/ maneenoya/ na maneno ya Ali/ pashpo kumuza muunt^u. ‘It was a promise for me to give you the sultanship if you were able to understand the meaning of my words and the words of Ali without asking anyone [to explain them].’

kuława bałaniini ‘to break [lit. withdraw] a promise’

kuvunda bałani ‘to break a promise’

We/ vuzile bałani yitú. ‘You broke your promise.’

Omari/ nayo bałani/ taariikhi/ meezi/ shiriini. ‘Omari has an appointment on the twentieth day of the month.’

Omari/ nayo bałani/ tarikhi yaa mbele. ‘Omari has an appointment at an earlier date.’

bałari

n. [Som. **ballaar** DSI 40] width

bałasi

n. 9/10, 6 [Sw. **balasi** SSED 26 and Som. **ballaas** DSI 40, both from Ar. **ballāṣ** W 72] jug, a large clay jar with a narrow neck used for storing water

Bałasi iyi/ ivundishile. ‘This jar is broken.’

bałasi izi ‘these jars’

Kata/ na bałasi/ haskosi/ kudaarana. ‘A ladle and a jug never fail to touch one another.’ (A proverb.)

Mabałasi aya/ yavundishile. ‘These jars are broken.’

rel.

chi-bałasi (zi-) n. a clay jar for liquids

(i-)bałdi

n. 5/6 [Som. **baaldi** DSI 33] metal bucket

ibałdi ya maayi ‘a water bucket’

ifiniko ya bałdi ‘a bucket cover’

ikono ya ibałdi/ bałdi ‘a bucket handle’

rel.

chi-bałdi (zi-) n. 7/8 dim. a small bucket

chibałdi cha iziwa ‘a small milk bucket’

ikono ya chibałdi ‘handle of a small bucket used for carrying milk’

i-bałdi (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

mi-bałdi n. 4 aug.

bałdoosi

n. [Som. **baldoosar** Italian-Somali Dictionary, p. 89] bulldozer
variant form: **bałdoozar** **check final vowel**

i-bałghamu (ma-)

n. 5/6 phlegm

ku-baalışa

v. [Sw. **balehe** SSED 26; Ar.] (**baalışiile**) reach the age of puberty

Balışiilopó/ Suufi/ fanyizee wake/ diiniye. ‘When Suufi reached puberty,

he made women his religion.’ (Notice that due to the indefinite nature of **wake** in this example, there is no object marking on the verb.)

Weele/ kama mwanaamke/ apo/ tu/ balighiiló. ‘She became just like a girl then who has reached puberty.’

baalighi (Ø, ma-)

adj. [Sw. *balehe* SSED 26; Ar.] having reached puberty

Kula muunt^hu/ islaamu/ baalighi/ na aqilizé/ ni tamaamu/ humwajiba

ziint^hu/ staano. ‘Every Muslim having reached puberty and his faculties being perfect is obliged five things.’

mwana baalighi ‘a child who has reached puberty’

Mwana uyu/ ni baalighi. ‘This child has reached puberty.’

Nafuunge/ kulla baalighi/ jo aaqili. ‘Let fast every person who has reached puberty and has his wits.’

wana baalighi ‘children who have reached puberty’

rel.

u-baalighi n. 14 [Sw. *ubalehe*]puberty

ku-baligha

v. (**balighiile**) report

Nuuru/ balighile khabari/ ka sarkaali. ‘Nuuru reported the news to the government.’

rel.

ku-balighisha v. caus. convey (news)

Nt^hume/ chooloka/ chibalighisha ka muḷli. ‘The messenger went and conveyed (the news) to the man.’

Nuuru/ balighishize sarkaali/ khabari. ‘Nuuru conveyed the news to the government.’ Or: **Nuuru/ balighishize khabari/ ka sarkaali.**

Nuuru/ mbalighishize Jaama/ khabari. Nuuru reported the news to Jaama.’

Nuuru/ pokeele/ risaala/ ya moojé/ oloshele/ kubalighisha. ‘Noah received the message of his Lord and went to (make the Lord’s message) reach the people.’

ku-balighishanya v. caus. rec. **Nuuru/ na Alí/ wabalighishenye khabari.** ‘Nuuru and Ali reported to one another the news.’

ku-balighishoowa v. caus. pass. (**balighishiiza**)

Nuuru/ balighishiza khabari/ na Jaama. ‘Nuuru was reported to the news by Jaama.’ (Note that **khabari** cannot be the subject of the passive sentence: ***Khabari/ zibalighishiza Nuuru/ na Jaama.** ‘The news was reported to Nuuru by Jaama.’

Khabari/ zibalighishiza ka sarkaali/ na Nuuru. ‘The news was reported to the government by Nuuru.’ (Although it is preferred for **ka** to be retained here, Mohammad Imam judged the sentence grammatical even if **ka** were omitted. Passivizing **sarkali** was considered to be ungrammatical here: ***Sarkali/ ibalighishiza khabari/ na Nuuru.** ‘The government was reported to the news by Nuuru.’

bala

n. 9/10 [Sw. *baa* “(1) evil, disaster, calamity, anything which brings bad luck or disaster; (2) an ill-omened person, one who causes disaster, brings bad luck” SSED 22] mishap, trouble, calamity, misfortune

Bala/ hulawa ka waana/ na wataaná. ‘Trouble comes from children and slaves.’ (A proverb.)

bala zaawo ‘their misfortunes’

balaye ‘his misfortune’

Laakini/ mp^haka/ chiðihira/ mp^hana/ hulata kula/ yaa wo/ wachijó/ na

hufakaṭa/ hingila mitundruuni/ kokola ruhu zaawo/ na bala

yaa mp^haka. ‘But if a cat appears, rats leave anything they are eating and run away and enter [their] holes to save themselves from the scourge of the cat.’

Nayoo balá/ nk^hulú. ‘I have a big problem.’ **did not have accent recorded correctly, I believe, so check whether this is right**

munt^hu mwenyee bala ‘someone who causes trouble, someone harmful, a troublemaker’

Nyunyi uje/ nt^hongelelee bala. ‘That bird did cause me a mishap.’

bali n. 9/10 [Som. collective noun: *bal* "stems of cereals, straw"] corn plant; bamboo
Bali iyi/ ifiile. 'This corn plant has died'
Bali izi/ sfiile. 'These corn plants have died.'

m-bali n. 9, adv. far off; adj. different (Note that there is some inconsistency in our data with respect to whether **mbali** behaves as though it has a pre-nasalized initial *mb* and thus lengthens a preceding vowel in the same phrase, or whether it is a consonant sequence *m+b* and does not lengthen a preceding vowel in the same phrase. Our consultant GM recognized a difference between **nii mbali** and **muḅli mbali**, but we were unable to identify precisely what is involved in the contrast. Furthermore, our data from MI does contain any evidence for an unexplained failure to lengthen in front of **mbali**.)

Chijini/ siwo/ lūgha/ mbali. 'Chijini is not a different language (from Chimiini).'

Chijini/ síwo/ lūgha/ m-báli. 'Chijini is not a different language (i.e. from Chimwiini).'

Haliima/ mkhiyanseṭe mubliwe/ lele na muḅli mbali. 'Haliima cheated on her husband, she slept with another man.' (Observe the phrase **muḅli mbali** and not ***muḅlii mbali**.)

Ile kaa mbali. 'He came from far away.'

Kiḷa shpandra chaa nama/ chiweshela mbaliye. 'Each piece of meat, he put separately.'

Kuḷa mooyi/ hokomeḷa mbaliye/ bishilo waant^hú/ naayé/ bishiḷa/

boozeló/ tinziḷa mkono/ na ubḷelo waant^hú/ naayé/ ubḷeḷa. 'Each one was sentenced differently; the one who beat people, he was beaten; the one who robbed, he had his hand cut off; and the one who killed people, he was killed.'

mbuzi mbali 'another goat'

Muḅli oyo/ nii mbali. 'This man is different.' (Note that in our data, the *ni* element regularly lengthens before **mbali**.)

wabli mbali 'other men'

Wachiraasha/ ndilaa mbali/ mara ya isa. 'They followed a different road this time.'

Waant^huwe/ ye/ mwanaamke/ wana'endre mbali yaawo. 'Her people, her the girl, let them go a different way.'

rel.

m-balmbali adv. separately

Weshela mbaḷmbali/ miilu/ mikono/ sharabu/ saraana/ iṭure/ shiingo/ naa nsó/ na ma'inyí/ na matuumbó/ naa chitá. 'He separated the meat: legs, hands, flank, sirloin, the back of the neck, the neck, and the kidneys, and liver, and intestines, and the head.'

zi-bali n. a thin golden chain or ear-rings

baliidi (*Ø, ma-*) inv. adj. [Ar. *balīd* W 72] s.o. stupid, dull-witted, slow to learn (As demonstrated by the data below, if modifying a [cl.1/2] nominal, this adjective can appear in bare form, i.e. with no agreement prefix. If the nominal is [cl.2], then there is an option for *ma* to appear as the agreement prefix. Regular agreement is observed only with diminutives and augmentatives, as is the usual case for invariant adjectives.)

chijana chibaliidi 'dim. children who are slow-learners'

kuwa baliidi 'to be a slow learner'

mwana baliidi 'a child who is a slow learner'

wana mabaliidi 'children who are slow learners'

baamiya n. 9/10 [Sw. *bamia* SSED 26] a vegetable served with fish and meat
Bamiya iyi/ iwozele. 'This **baamiya** has gone bad.'

Bana Gaameeli n. an individual who appears in a proverbial saying
Sho kujiiba/ ni Bana Gaameeli. 'The one who does not answer is Bana Gaameeli.' (A proverbial saying.)

i-bana nkaani n.
Hutaḷoowa/ huwekowa mahaḷa/ kama chijoolo/ ibana nk^haani/ hutilowa

maayi/ hupowa sabuni zaawo/ hupowa makopa yaawo/ hambiloowa/ ingilaani/ walwiinu/ owaani. ‘They (the girls) are taken and put in a place like a small bathroom that is in the open (outside the house) and water is put there and they are given their soap and they are given their glasses and they are told to go in, both of them, and take a bath.’

- Banaadiri** n. [Sw. *banaderi* SSED 27] Benadir
chiguwo cha Banaadiri ‘Benadir cloth’
- bandari** n. 9/10 [Sw. *bandari* SSED 27; Pers.] port, harbor
bandari ya Mwiini ‘the port of Brava’
ndegsha mi bandariini nthomola karka bahari [song] ‘help me settle in the harbor, get me out of the sea’
- bandeera (O, ma-)** n. 9/10,6 [Sw. *bandera* SSED 27; *bendera* SSED 33] flag
Bandera huundru/ iniliile. ‘My (lit. red flag) menstrual period has come.’
Bandera huundru/ ni alama ya harbi. ‘A red flag is a sign of war.’
Bandeera/ inakhpepela. ‘The flag is waving.’
Bandera nelpe/ ni alama ya amaani. ‘A white flag is a sign of peace.’
Bandeera/ ya Somaaliya/ hatá/ uchisimikoowa/ maazi/ yata(w)anyishiló. ‘Until Somaliya’s flag was raised (indicating independence), a lot of blood was shed.’
Bandeera/ ya Somaaliya/ inayo nota nth’aano. ‘Somalia’s flag has five stars.’
Bandeera/ ya Somaaliya/ ni bulú. ‘The Somali flag is blue.’
Bandeera/ yandishila. ‘The flag has been raised, put up.’
kandika bandeera ‘to raise a flag’
khpanza bandeera ‘to raise a flag’
khsimika bandeera ‘to raise a flag’
kishkiza bandeera ‘to lower a flag’
Bandeera/ yishkiziiza. ‘The flag has been lowered.’
limbo la bandeera ‘flag song’
Markabu/ ishpanza bandeera/ ba’adaa yo/ khtila ngiisha. ‘The ship raised a flag after it dropped anchor.’
Mukhta waziiri/ fiiló/ bandeera/ ya Somaaliya/ yishkiziza nth’iini. ‘When the minister died, the flag of Somalia was lowered down (to half-mast).’
muti wa bandeera ‘flagpole’
- chi-baandra** n. [Sw. *banda* "a large shed (usu. without walls)" SSED 27] **kiosk, shed, shelter**
variant form: **chiwaandra**
Chiwa’ambila/ kuwaka/ zibaandra/ ka himaahima/ khpata khtilowa ayo/ magozi/ chiiza/ magozi/ yatakuwola/ nvulaani. ‘He told them to build shelters quickly so that the hides could be put in them otherwise the hides would rot in the rain.’
rel.
ma-baandra n. ****
- bangi** n. 9/10 bank
bangiini ‘in the bank’
Hufanya bangiini. ‘He works at the bank.’ (Cf. **nakoloka mahala ya bangii mp’hiyá/ iwashilá.** ‘I am going to the place where the new bank has been built.’)
Nuzile gaari/ ka do’toore/ ka pesa zaa mi/ nth’eto (ka) bangiini. ‘I bought the car from the doctor with money that I took from the bank.’
Pesa zaa mi/ nth’eto (ka) bangiini/ nulile gaari/ ka do’toore. ‘The money that I took from the bank I used to buy the car from the doctor.’
- bangiili** n. 9/10 [Sw. *bangili* SSED 28; Hind.] bracelet, made of silver or gold, worn on wrist

by women

Bangili iyi/ inakuwala. ‘This bracelet is shining.’
Bangili izi/ zinakuwala. ‘These bracelets are shining.’
bangiili/ za ðahabu ‘gold bangels’
bangiili/ za fetha ‘silver bangels’
Vete bangiili. ‘She wore bangels.’

chi-bangu (zi-)

n. 7/8 a game of fighting with sticks, dancing and drumming
Kaaziye/ khēza zibangu. ‘All he ever does is play **chibangu** [lit. his work is playing **chibangu**].’
Nakhēza chibangu. ‘He is playing **chibangu**.’

l-baani

n. 11 [Sw. *ubani* SSED 485; Ar.] incense
Chiwozeló/ nt^hachiná/ lbaani. ‘That which is rotten has no incense.’ (A proverb.)
Mi/ nakendra chisimaaní/ khtila lbaani/ / kumlomba mwajiitu/ kichonya ndila ya kiitu. ‘I am going to the well to burn incense to pray to God to show us the way to our country.’
Moloolo/ kana lbaani. ‘He is soft, like *lbaani*.’

baniikolo
negative confirm

n. [Som. *baniikol* Italian-Somali Dictionary, p. 431; from Ital. *pellicola*] film

ku-baanisha

v. caus. [cf. Som. *baano*] (**banishiize**) provide a balanced diet to someone who is recovering from an illness; nourish, cause to gain strength; give s.t. extra to someone (e.g. food)

Oloka/ maamó/ nakhubaanishé/ nakhupe chakuja chisuura. ‘Go and let your mother nourish you and give you good food.’

rel.

ku-banishiliza v. caus. appl. (**banishiliize**)

chaakuja/ chisuura/ kubanishiliza ruuhuyo ‘good food to use to restore your health’

baaniyaani (ma-)

n. [Sw. *banyani* SSED 28; Hind.] a member of an Indian ethnic unit

baano

n. 9/10 [Som. *baan*] that which makes one strong, fattens one, gives one added weight; a balanced diet given to someone who is recovering from illness

i-banya

n. a stretch of unoccupied land, flat ground, outside s.t., outskirts (of town)
variant form:

i-bana n. ibid.

i-benya n. ibid.

Chiraasha/ chiraasha/ hata chiwona/ ruuhuye/ uko karka ibenya/ ikulu. ‘She followed [the opening] and followed until she found herself in a large open space.’

Mukhtaa we/ takulawo ibenya ya muuyi/ chivaala/ shpete ichi/ chimaliza/ ruuda/ apa. ‘When you get out to the outskirts of town, put on this ring, and then return here.’

Munt^hi uyu/ lapiilile/ wakulu/ na zihabá/ hulawa ibana ya muuyi/ hendra kulangala matezo za namna ka namna. ‘On that day, in the afternoon, old and young go to the outskirts of town to go and watch games of different kinds.’

Naakula/ lazile ibanyaani/ ee/ mendrelelee mp^hana. ‘[The boy] cried and went outside, then he went to the rat.’

Sku ya piili/ muke/ kama oyo/ shukula/ kuulu/ ya piili/ yaa mbuzi/ chi’iweeka/ ibenya/ ya nyuumba. ‘The next day [lit. the second day] the woman like that carried the second leg of the goat and put it outside her house.’

Ye/ nt^hampeenda/ mwana waa saba/ ka khisa/ ye/ fanyize miiko/

nuumbaye/ na nt^h achilawa/ ibenyaani/ khteza na weenziwe.
'He did not love the seventh child because he (the child) made the kitchen his home and did not go outside to play with his companions.'

- banziina** n. 9 gasoline, petrol
Banzina iyi/ inakunuunk^ha. 'This petrol is smelling.'
- baqali** n. 9/10 [Som.] raddish
- baaqi** n. [Sw. *baki* SSED 25; Ar.] what remains, that which has no end
baaqi bila khkoma wo pashpo adadi [st.] 'eternal, without end, it is immeasurable [in terms of minutes, hours] [referring to the hereafter, **aakhera**']
- baqsha** n. 9/10 envelope; [pron. **bakhsha** or **baqsha**]
Bakhsha iyi/ ipeta ndilaani. 'This envelope was found on the road.'
Bakhsha izi/ speta ndilaani. 'These envelopes were found on the road.'
kambisa bakhsha 'to glue an envelope shut'
khfunga bakhsha 'to close, seal an envelope'
Uzile bakhsha. 'He bought an envelope.'
rel.
chi-baqsha (*zi-*) n. dim. 7/8 small envelope
i-baqsha (*mi-*) n. aug. 5/4 large envelope
- baaquli** n. 9/10 [Sw. *bakuli* SSED 25; Ar.] basin, bowl; [pron. **baaquli** or **baakhuli**]
baquli ya iziwa 'a metal milk container'
baquli ya maayi 'a metal water container'
- baraabara** adj. and adv. [Sw. *barabara* SSED 28; Pers.] just as it should be, exact, quite right, OK
Chikhambila lila/ Omari/ siwo/ baraabara/ kazi iyi. 'If I tell you the truth, Omari is not good, right for this job.'
Fanyize kaazi/ baraabara. 'She did the work just right.'
Omari/ hufanya kaazi/ baraabara. 'Omari does the work well.'
Ye/ ni munt^hu baraabara. 'He is a man just right, just as he should be.'
- barafu** n. 9 [Sw. *barafu* SSED 29 Port.] ice, snow
bardi/ kana barafu 'as cold as ice'
Mayi aya/ ^fmabardi/ kana/ barafu. 'This water is as cold as ice.'
Omari/ mkonowe/ mbardi/ kama barafu. 'Omari's hand is as cold as ice.'
Zijo/ zibardi/ kama barafu. 'The *zijo* is as cold as ice.'
Chooloka/ chingila karka ibirka/ ya mayi ya barafu. 'He went and got into a storage container of ice water.'
na mayti zitu/ zilelo nt^hini ya barafu 'and our dead bodies lying under the snow'
- barafuumo** n. [Som. *barafuun* DSI 44, from Ital. *profumo*] perfume; this word is used to indicate Western type of perfume (with alcohol) while **atari** is the Arab kind of perfume (which is based on oil); see also **parfuuma**
Shtila ruuhuye/ barafuumo. 'She put perfume on herself.'
- baraha** n. a mixture of sugar and water (if flavored, then referred to as **sharbaati**)
kubiga baraha 'to make **baraha**'
- baraka** n. 9 [Sw. *baraka* SSED 29; Ar.] blessing; the distribution of food after the reading of the Quran; s.t. given to the poor (food, money)

Khamaari/ nt^hayná/ baraka. ‘Gambling has no blessing.’

khpa baraka ‘to give s.t. to the poor’

kh̄tomola baraka ‘to give s.t. to the poor’

mwenye baraka ‘someone blessed’

Ni munt^hu nt^hana baraká. ‘He is a man who is not blessed.’

Sultaani/ naayé/ sh̄ta’ajaba/ chihada/ nt^haku/ shaka/ kuwa mgarwa

uyu/ ni mwenye baraka. ‘The sultan also was astonished and said: there is no doubt that this fisherman is a man having blessing.’

takuhijo takhpata niingi baraka [st.] ‘the one who will perform the pilgrimage will get much blessing’

rel.

baraka n. 10 in the phrase:

ka baraka za ‘for the sake of’

ku-baarama

v. [Som. *waran-* "talk"] (**baramiile**) talk, say, hint at

Baramile naami. ‘He talked with me.’

Hasani/ baramiile/ jawabu iyo. ‘Hasani hinted at that matter.’

Omari/ nt^hakubarama/ ba/ karka shiri. ‘Omari did not say anything at the meeting.’ (Phon. The particle **ba** is emphasized and thus it is not lowered in pitch relative to the negative verb that precedes it.)

rel.

ku-baramila v. appl. talk for, with

ku-baramisha v. caus. (**baramishiize**) talk to someone; seduce or court a woman

Mi/ nnakhsuulá/ we/ keendra/ kumbaramisha sarmala/ kendra

kh̄tindaa muti/ uje/ kh̄tomola sh̄tolokocho/ chimooyi/

chint^haliló. ‘I want you to go order a carpenter to go and cut

down that tree to get out my one little bean that it [the tree] took from me.’ (Morph. Note the absence of an overt subject prefix on

chint^haliló; one would expect *u-* given that **muti** is the subject.)

Nbaramishiize. ‘He talked to me.’ (Cf. **Mbaramishiize.** ‘He talked to him.’)

ku-baramishana v. caus. rec. talk to each other

ku-baramishika v. caus. p/s.

Habaramishiki. ‘She cannot be talked to.’

ku-baramishiliza v. caus. appl. (**baramishiliize**) talk to someone for someone

ku-baramishoowa v. caus. pass. (**baramishiiza**) be talked to

Roodha/ baramishiza na maamaye. ‘Roodha was talked to by her mother.’

ku-baramoowa v. pass. (**i-baramiila**) be talked

baraamburi

n. 9/10 spark; firecracker, sparkler; main vein (midrib) of the coconut palm tree

Baraamburi/ zaa muḷo/ hupiisha. ‘Sparks from the fire can burn.’

Baraamburi/ zinakuulukó. ‘Sparks are jumping/flying out from the fire.’

Muḷo/ inakuḷawa baraamburi. ‘Sparks are coming out from the fire.’

barasi

n. 9 [cf. Sw. *barasi* SSED 29] leprosy

mwenye barasi ‘a leper’

Pete barasi. ‘He got leprosy.’

ku-barata

v. [Som. *baro*] (**bareete**) learn, study, get used to

Ali/ barete qur’aani/ ka kaamu. ‘Ali learnt the Quran by heart.’

Barata aada. ‘Learn the customs.’

learn to give.’ (A proverb.)

Chibarata khpokela/ barata kh̄tomola. ‘If you (wish to) learn to receive,

Chimsoomesha/ oyo mwaana/ numa/ teena/ maamaye/ chimsoomesha/

chibarata qur’aani/ chibarato/ attá/ chiwa mkulu. ‘She taught

that boy, then after his mother taught him, he learned the Quran, that is what he did, until he grew up.’

Haṭá/ ichiwa/ kuwa...kíla/ mooyi/ muyiini/ bareṭe/ majibu ya Ali.
'Until it came to be that each one in the town learned Ali's answer.'

Hupeendi/ kubarāṭa. 'You do not want to learn.'

Laakini/ ntʰakubarāṭa/ chiintʰu. 'But he did not learn anything.'

Mi/ nakhsulā kubarāṭa chingereenzá. 'I want to learn English.'

Mukhtāa we/ iló/ mi/ liini/ nchʰibarató. 'When you came I was not studying.'

Muuntʰu/ yaa ye/ bareṭó/ haalaṭi. 'A person does not abandon, quit that which he is used to.' (A proverb.)

Mwaana/ bareṭe chinjereenza/ ka yee peeke. 'The child learned English on his own.'

Naayé/ mwaana/ bareṭe/ apo. 'And the boy had gotten used to [being there at] that place.'

rel.

ku-baratana v. (**barateene**) get acquainted with, get to know one another

Basi/ wabarateene/ ni waana/ tu/ chiwooni/ basi/ ni weenza. 'So they became acquainted, they were just children at school, so they became friends.'

Dul'eda/ barateene/ na mzele. 'The fox got used to the old man.'

Jis'iyó/ si/ shtakuwona/ miyi miingi/ miingine/ shtakubaratana/ na

waantʰu/ wiingine/ wiingi. 'That way we will see many other towns and get to know many other people.'

Karka habaasa/ Yuusufu/ chibarātana/ na waantʰu/ wawili. 'In prison, Joseph became acquainted with two people.'

kubarātana na waanawa 'to get acquainted with my children'

M(w)eenzá/ siwo/ mbovu/ naami/ nakhsuulá/ kubarātana/ na ahliyo/ laakini/ mi/ siisi/ koowela. 'My friend, that is a not bad idea, and I do want to get acquainted with your relatives, but I do not know how to swim (from a story where the monkey is explaining to the shark his problem in accepting an invitation to visit the shark's home).'

Ntʰaasá/ skupata/ kubarātana naaye/ jisa suura. 'I have not yet gotten well acquainted with him.'

ku-baratika v. be learnt

Chimwiini/ hachibaratiki. 'Chimwiini can't be learned.'

Chimwiini/ siwo/ sahali/ kubaratika. 'Chimwiini is not easy to learn.'

ku-barsha v. caus. (**barshiize**) teach, train; become accustomed to, used to; introduce s.o. to s.o.

kachiwa waalimú/ sulā khubarsha 'if we were teachers we would teach you' (Note that one cannot put emphasis on **kachiwa** by making it phrase-final. The use of an overt subject pronoun would apparently add emphasis: **si/ kachiwa waalimú/ sulā khubarsha.**)

kubarsha ruuhu 'to teach oneself'

kubarsha adabu 'to punish s.o. (thereby teaching him correct behavior)'

kubarsha za mwanaamke/ husulowa kiwá 'to teach her what a girl is required to know'

Mlete muuntʰu/ nakhubarshee kuja. 'Bring someone to teach you to eat.'

Mlete mwaana/ mwaape/ ja naaye/ nakhubarshee kuja. 'Bring some child and eat with him so that he teaches you how to eat.'

Mwaalimu/ mbarshize mwaana/chinjereenza. 'The teacher taught the child English.'

Mwaanawá/ mwana uyu/ ndiyé/ takhubarshó/ kujá/ naankʰó/ keesho/ mletee. 'My son, this boy, it is he who will [lit.] teach you to eat

[i.e. accompany you in eating, thereby training you to eat your meals instead of not finishing them]; again, tomorrow, bring him.'

Nimbarshize Alí/ mweenzáwá. 'I introduced Ali to my friend.'

ku-barshabarsha v. freq.

Peleshela chibulooni/ kubarshabarsha waana. 'She was sent to a village

to teach kids.’ (The frequentative verb form in this example has a disparaging connotation.)

ku-barshanya v. caus. rec.

ku-barshika v. caus. p/s.

ku-barshiliza v. caus. appl. (**barshiliize**)

ku-barshoowa v. caus. pass. (**barshiiza**)

Korsheeza/ na barshiiza/ na want^h u wasuura. ‘He was raised and trained by good people.’

Mi/ sinakhsuula/ waana/ kubarshowa adabdara. ‘I do not want the children to be taught bad manners.’

Waana/ adabu/ hubarshowaa mbele. ‘Children (must) be taught discipline first (early in their lives).’ (A saying.)

Waana/ hawabarshoowi/ adaa mbovu. ‘Children are not taught bad manners.’

m-barawala

n. 9/10 Lane Snapper or Mahogany Snapper (has a black dot on upper body)

barðuuli (*O, ma-*)

n. and adj. [Sw. *baradhuli* SSED 28; Ar.] a dull-witted person

bardi

n. [Sw. SSED 29; Ar.] cold

Bardi/ apa/ nk^hali. ‘The cold here is very bitter.’

bardi/ kana barafu ‘as cold as ice’

bardi/ kana mayti ‘as cold as a corpse’

bardi niingi ‘great cold’

khkasa bardi ‘to feel cold -- [lit.] hear cold.’

khshikowa bardi ‘to feel cold – (lit.) to be caught by cold’

Hamadi/ nakuhada xáax/ apa/ bardi/ shiishiġá. ‘Hamadi is saying **xaax!** I feel cold here.’

kingila bardi ‘to be cold -- [lit.] cold to enter’

Hamadi/ bardi/ imwingile mishpaani. ‘Hamadi was chilled to the bones.’

kubiga bardi ‘to be cold’

Bardi/ imbishile Hamadi. ‘Hamadi is cold -- [lit.] cold hit Hamadi.’

kubigowa bardi ‘to be cold’

Hamadi/ bishiġa na bardi. ‘Hamadi is cold -- [lit.] hit by the cold.’

kuhisa bardi ‘to feel cold’

kuwona bardi ‘to feel cold’

Masku/ yawaliko bardi/ naawó/ wotte/ wa’ofeete/ laakini/ nt^hawakhaadira/ khalifa amri. ‘The evening was cold and they were all tired but they could not disobey an order.’

Ni bardi. ‘It is cold.’

-bardi

adj. cold, slow-moving; (of people) cold -- said of a person who does not show emotion, anger, arrogance

-bardi/ kana (/ kama/ kamba) barafu ‘as cold as ice’

Mayi aya/ mabardi/ kana/ barafu. ‘This water is as cold as ice.’

-bardi/ kana mayti ‘as cold as a corpse’

chint^hu chibardi ‘something cold’

mayi mabardi ‘cold water’

Ni wabardi. ‘They are cold, slow-moving.’

Wangereenza/ ni mabardi/ laakini/ mataġyaani/ ni wakali. ‘English people are “cold” but Italians are hot tempered.’\

zint^hu zibardii nt^ho ‘very cold things’

rel.

u-bardi n. 14 coolness, coldness

ku-bardika

v. be cooled

- rel.
ku-bardisha v. caus. (**bardishiize**) cool something or someone (e.g. by applying a cooling ointment)
 rel. nom.
ma-bardisho n. 6 refreshment
- bareela** n. [Ital. *barella* “stretcher”] the full load of a cart (driven by a camel) with stones or coral rag
 variant form: **baṛla**
- barfango** n. 9/10 [Ital. *parafango*] mudguard, bumper
barfango ya gaari ‘the bumper of a car’
barfango yaa mbele ‘front bumper’
barfango yaa numa ‘rear bumper’
barfango za gaari ‘the bumpers of a car’
- barfuuji** in the expression:
musmari wa barfuuji ‘screw’
- bari** n. 9 [Sw. *bara* SSED 28; Ar.] land (as opposed to sea)
 variant form: *bara*
bara ya suwaahili ‘the Swahili coast’
ka(a) bari/ na bahari ‘from land and sea’
- baari** adj. obedient, nice
- barii’u** invar. adj. innocent
munt^hu barii’u ‘innocent man’ (cf. **want^hu barii’u** ‘innocent people’)
Ye/ ni barii’u/ na ðambi/ izo. ‘He is innocent of those crimes.’
- bariida** [Som. *bariidi* “to ask if s.o. spent the night peacefully” DSI 46] a morning greeting (plural **barideena**); see **barsamá** for the obligatory response
- ku-baarika** v. [Sw. *bariki* SSED 29; Ar.] (**barikiile**) bless (The perfective form does not follow the usual principles of Chimiini morphophonology; we would have expected ***barishile**.)
 variant form: **kubaariki**
Mwajiitu/ nambaarika. ‘May God bless him.’ (This phrase is used by older speakers as a kind of ‘thank you’.)
 rel.
ku-barikiḷoowa v. appl. pass.
ḷiwaani yaawo ni nk^hulu/ janna kubarikiloowa [st.] ‘their bliss is great/ their reward is paradise’
ku-barikila v. appl. bless for; **give to a person who has made the highest bid at an auction NEED AN EXAMPLE OF THIS USAGE**
Mwajiitu/ mbarikiliile muundrawe. ‘God blessed his farm for him.’
Mwajiitu/ nakhubarikile waanawo. ‘May God bless your children for you.’
ku-barikoowa v. pass.
 variant form: **ku-barukoowa**
kulaaliza unganaani/ Sheekhi natabarukoowa [st.] ‘invite all to this celebration when the Sheikh will be blessed’
- ku-bariza** v. [Sw. *barizi* SSED 29; Ar.] (**bariziile**) appear to s.o., be seen, attend a meeting (e.g. of a sultan appearing in the royal hall before his subjects); be settled down, seated comfortably (Phon. The perfect stem of this verb is exceptional; one would have expected ***bariziize** according to the general pattern where stems endings in *s z sh ny* trigger the *iize* form of the perfect and not **iile*.)
Ba’ada ya sku/ shpita munt^hu mwiingine/ khariibu/ ya numba ya waziiri/ naayé/ chimwona Ali/ bariziile/ mbele ya nuumba. ‘After a day, another man passed near the house of the minister and he too saw Ali, seated in front of the house.’

Hubariza numbaani/ pashpo adabu. ‘He appears [enters] in the house ill-manneredly.’

Karkaa ye/ nakuruudó/ muyiini/ chimwona mp^hana/ mkulu/ bariziile/ mbele/ ya nuumbaye. ‘As he was returning to town, he saw a large rat, it had appeared in front of his house.’

Numbaani/ mdirshile waawaye/ bariziile/ na waanawe/ wa taano. ‘In the house he found his father sitting with his five children.’

Sa’a za sul^taani/ hubarizó/ skomeelopó/ waziiri/ chilawa/ chendra ka sul^taani/ naayé/ mzimawe/ furaha. ‘When the time for the sultan to sit in the royal hall came, the minister left and went to the sultan, he was happy all over [in anticipation of what was going to happen].’

Wabariziile/ washtafuna t^umbú. ‘They were settled down comfortably chewing **tambu**.’

rel.

ku-barizila v. appl. (**bariziliile**)

barka

n. [cf. *baraka*] blessings

hatta waako zolokooni/ barka watakhoowa [st.] ‘even those watching from the windows will receive this blessing’

na mi ka barka zaawo/ huloomba ku’afishoowa [st.] ‘and through their blessings/ I beg to be forgiven’

barkhuumbo

n.

barlamaani

n. parliament

Waant^hu/ karka Landrani/ leelo/ washuhudiliile/ haadithi/ nk^hulu/ karka sa’aa ne/ za muunt^hi/ boomba/ ibishile mzaiinga/ karka barlamaani/ ya chingereenza. ‘People in London today witnessed a big event: around ten (lit. four) in the morning, a bomb exploded in the English parliament.’

barmiili (*Ø, ma-*)

n. 9/10, 6 barrel

Waana/ wasimamishenye barmiliini. ‘The children made each other stand on the barrel.’

Waana/ wasimamishenye ilu ya barmiili. ‘The children made each other stand on the barrel.’

baaro

n. 9 mold

baro iyi ‘this mold’

barwa

n. 9/10 summons

chi-barwa (*zi-*)
that day

n. 7/8 a worker who is paid at the end of each day for the work that he has performed

Kazi gani/ kaaziye/ ni kazi ya chibarwa. ‘What kind of job is his job, it is [just] daily labor.’

khfanya chibarwa ‘to do daily labor’

barwaakhi

n. [Som. *barwaaqo*] abundance

variant form: **barwaakho**

Chimaliza/ utakuya mwaaka/ barwaakhi. ‘Afterwards there will come a year of abundance.’

Ni muuyi/ barwaakhi. ‘It is a prosperous town.’

Nii nt^hi/ inayo barwaakhi. ‘It is a land that has prosperity.’

Nii nt^hi/ yenye barwaakhi. ‘It is a land that is prosperous.’

Wa’ishiize/ karka barwaakhi/ na raahá. ‘They lived in prosperity and comfort.’

Ye/ umo karka barwaakhi. ‘He is prosperous.’

<i>barsama</i>	[Som. <i>berisamaad</i> "happy time; period of prosperity and plenty" DSI 55] obligatory reply to bariida (invariable) [pron. barsamá]
<i>ku-barsishoowa</i>	v. pass. be felt <i>maghhaniye hayraagi/ hudhakha kubarsishoowa</i> [st.] 'his protection comes swiftly and is immediately felt'
<i>baruudi</i>	n. [Sw. <i>baruti</i> "gunpowder" SSED 30; Turkish] bomb, firecracker, anything that explodes with a loud noise (in everyday speech, baruudi is used to mean firecracker) <i>baruudi yaawo Mooja fanya maayi</i> [st.] 'their bomb, o God, change into (lit. make) water' (Note: the poet was writing during World War II, when naval guns were aimed to fire on the British troops going towards Mogadishu to oust the Italians. The shells passed over Brava. In another line he says: <i>unapiishe woowo mulo waawo</i> 'may their fire burn (i.e. fall upon) themselves.'
<i>barza</i>	n. [Sw. <i>baraza</i> SSED 29; Ar.] (i) meeting; (ii) place for a public gathering, reception, meeting, royal parlor, courthouse (i) kuvunda barza 'to break up a meeting' Yiko barza/ leelo. 'There is a meeting today.' (ii) Barzaani/ zivalimoo ziti/ ziingi. 'In the reception room were many chairs.' Mukhtaa ye/ oloshelo barzaani/ chiwapa khabari/ mawaziiri/ ma'akhyaari/ na kila/ waliko haaðiri/ apó. 'When he went to the royal parlor, he gave them the news, the ministers, the nobility, and anyone who was present there.' Numbaani/ iwaliko barza/ nk^hulu. 'In the house there was a large reception room.' Sa'iidi/ chilawa/ cheendra/ karkaa nt^hi/ ya mayahuudi/ chendra barzaani/ ka sulṭaani/ chimwaambila/ maaliya/ yotte/ yamaliize/ isa/ mi/ siná/ yaa mi/ khfaanya. 'Sa'iidi left and went to the land of the Jews and he went to the meeting place of the sultan and told him: my wealth, all of it, is exhausted; now I do not know [lit. have] what to do.' Sulṭaani/ na waant^hú/ wawaliko naayé/ barzaani/ wotte/ wamwene Abdalla/ ilu ya siimba. 'The sultan and the people who were with him in the reception hall, all of them, saw Abdalla on the lion.' Wanaa nt^hi/ wampele ra'iisi/ zawaadize/ barzaani. 'The citizens gave the president his gifts at the courthouse.'
<i>barzakhi</i>	n. [Ar. <i>barzak</i> W 52] interval, break, gap
<i>chi-barzi (zi-)</i>	n. 7/8 stone bench chibarza chaa ndila 'the curb of the street'
<i>barzuuli</i>	n. a person who is a wishful thinker, an unrealistic dreamer
<i>basara</i>	Nazo fahamu/ na basará. 'He has understanding and talent.'
<i>basbaasi</i>	n. [Som. <i>basbaas</i> DSI 49] hot pepper mkali/ kana basbaasi 'sharp, hot like hot pepper, chillies'
<i>ku-bashaalata</i>	v. "kill" time rel. <i>ku-bashalatabashaalata</i> v. freq. Hukalant^ha apo/ hubashalatabashaalata. 'He sits there, entertaining himself.'
<i>baashaali</i>	adj. someone who does not do anything

ku-bashira v. [Ar. *bašara* 'to rejoice, to announce good news, to spread a religion' W 59] (**bashiriile**) bring good news to, predict (esp. favorable things) for someone

rel.

ku-bashirila v. appl. announce good news to someone; congratulate s.o. for s.t.

chibashirila kheeri [st.] 'bring us news of happiness'

kumbashirila 'to congratulate him, bring him good news'

ku-bashiriloowa v. appl. pass. (**bashiriila**)

ka Nabii'i Mokhtaari/ kheeri kubashiriloowa [st.] 'near the Prophet, the Chosen One/ may he receive eternal happiness'

khfuraha/ kana bashiriila janna 'to be as happy as if one has been announced for heaven [i.e. it has been announced that one is going to heaven]'

basi
enough, stop!

conj. [Sw. *bas(i)* SSED 30] (i) and so (in narration), well, therefore; (ii) just; (iii)

(i) **Basi/ Sa'iidi/ shpowa maali/ ya oyo ijini/ chiyolokela.** 'So, Sa'iidi was given the wealth of that djinn and he went away.'

Basi/ washtala/ hayawaani/ mweepe/ wachimtiinda/ washtala haanzu/ ya Yuusufu/ washpaka maazi/ ya hayawaani/ waa wo/ wamtiinzilo. 'So they took some animal and slaughtered it and they took Josph's cloak and daubed it with the blood of the animal that they had slaughtered.'

Basi/ we/ mp^ha balani/ kuwaa we/ chilawa/ ka apa/ kunkuumbuka/ ka moojo. 'So, promise mt that when you leave from here to remember me to your master.'

Leelo/ basi/ takuwona/ we. 'So, today you will see, you [this is a threat].'

Skhaadiri/ kumlaṭa numbaani/ ka yee/ peeke/ basi/ kheeri/ mi mmeree muke/ nimloole/ napate kumlangala mwaana. 'I cannot leave her (my child) home alone, therefore it is best that I look for a woman and marry her so that she can take care of the child.'

(ii) **Ichiwa/ teena/ kuḷa mara/ humviila/ pashpo/ sababu/ basi/ kumwona/ tu.** 'It became then that every time she just called him with no reason, only to see him.'

Ye/ mereḷe kuwasimika qalbi/ winginiwe/ bas. 'He sought just to lift the spirits of others.'

(iii) **nakhulangala we sikhaambili basi** [song] 'I am looking at you and I will never say' enough!'

baaskiili

n. bicycle

Ba'adi ya Osmaani/ khtomola kulu itumbishilo/ baaskiili/ tilee mp^hiya. 'After Osmaani took off the flat (lit. punctured) tire, he put on a new one.'

baskuuti

n. 9/10,6 [Eng. *biscuit*, Ital. *biscotto*] cookie

Sina/ unga wa khfanyiliza baskuuti. 'I do not have flour to make cookies with.'

basteena

after that (from **baasi** plus **teena**)

Teena/ basteena/ oyo (or: **oo**) **mwaana/ shkalaanta/ tu.** 'Then, after that, that boy just sat down.' (Phon. This example, with its optional reduction of **oyo** to **oo** illustrates how glide reduction may result in an antepenult long vowel in front of a penult long vowel, even though this is generally not allowed in the system.)

bastoola

n. [Sw. *bastola* SSED 31; Ital. *pistola*] pistol

Hamadi/ mbishile Omari/ ka bastoola/ kaw!/ mubleele. 'Hamadi shot Omari with a pistol **kaw!** and killed him.'

bastoone

n. [Ital. *pistone*] piston

- baṭaala** adj. [Sw. *batili* SSED 31; Ar.] void, null, invalid
chiza baṭaala somuyo fasaadi [st.] ‘otherwise your fasting is invalid’
- baṭaṭa** (Ø, ma-) n. 9/10,6 [Ital. *patata*, Som. *bataato*] sweet potato
baṭaṭa ladda ‘sweet potato’
baṭaṭa mooyi ‘one potato’
baṭaṭa za chizuungu ‘white man’s potatoes’
baṭaṭa za wilaaya ‘white man’s potatoes’
Baayá/ tete baṭaṭa/ jiile. ‘My older sister took the potato and ate it.’
Cheendra/ shṭinda baṭaṭa mooyi. ‘She went and cut off one potato.’
Illa/ mi/ nakhsula baṭaṭá. ‘I do not want anything but potatoes.’
- rel.
chi-baṭaṭa (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.
i-baṭaṭa (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
- bateera** (Ø, ma-) n. 9/10,6 [Sw. *batela* SSED 31; Port. or Hindi] boat
Bateera/ izamiile. ‘The boat has sunk.’
batera ya chaano ‘a type of boat in which the stern is large and flat (cf. **chaano** ‘a large dish or tray’)’
khfanya bateera ‘to repair a boat’
kulunga bateera ‘to build a boat’
Makasiya/ ya bateera/ yavundishile. ‘The oars of the boat are broken.’
Wagarwa/ hupataa nsi/ ka bateera. ‘Fishermen catch fish with boats.’
Woowo/ omo batera mooyi. ‘They are in one boat (i.e. they are in the same situation, or share the same beliefs, etc.)’
- rel.
chi-bateera (zi-) n. 7/8 dim. boat
chibatera chibeeló ‘a boat that was lost’; **zibatera zibeeló** ‘boats that were lost’
chibatera chihaba ‘a small boat’; **zibatera zihaba** ‘small boats’
chibatera chimooyi ‘one boat’; **zibatera ziwili** ‘two boats’
Haliima/ fanyize zinanaande/ kana zibatera. ‘Haliima made **zinanaande** (that look) like small boats.’
- Laakini/ kuḷa muunt^{hi}/ chimalizá/ kishkiza nsiize/ ka chibateraani/ huya askari/ wa sulṭaani/ oyo/ huzolaa nsi/ zotte/ walá/ hawampi/ peesa.** ‘But every day after unloading his fish from the boat, come the soldiers of the sultan to sweep up all the fish and not give him any money.’
- Mgarwa/ uyu/ kuḷa muunt^{hi}/ heendra/ bahariini/ khpataa nsi/ na nasiibuyé/ kuwa suurá/ huruuda/ na chibateeraché/ chiyeloo nsi/ noo’í/ ka noo’í.** ‘This fisherman each day goes to the sea to catch fish and his luck being good, he returns and his boat filled with fish of different kinds.’
- Shchiya/ chibateera/ washpanza sanduukhu/ naawó/ washpaandra/ wachendra markabuuni.** ‘A boat came and they loaded the box on it and they boarded [the boat] and went to the ship.’
- Zibateera/ hasfilatiloowi/ kulawa salaama.** ‘Little boats are not expected to escape safely.’
- i-bateera* (mi-) n. 5/4 aug. boat
ibatera imooyi ‘one boat’; **mibatera miwili** ‘two boats’
ibateraa yile ‘a long boat’
Ijitaye/ yile/ kana ibateera. ‘His head is long like a boat.’
mibateraa mile ‘long boats’
- baṭi** (Ø, ma-) n. 9/10,6 [Sw. *bati* SSED 31; Ar. or Hindi] corrugated, galvanized iron used as roofing for houses

ku-batila v. [Sw. *batili* SSED 31; Ar.] (**batiliile**) nullify, cancel; render ineffective or invalid; broken, violated; not carried out (in particular, certain formal requirements having been violated or not fulfilled – ablution, prayer, marriage (Notice the failure of the stem-final *l* to be converted to *ḷ* in front of the perfective extension, while the perfective extension itself does convert to *l*.)

kubaṭila kooḏa ‘to invalidate a statement by giving evidence to the contrary

kubaṭila wuuḏu ‘to nullify an ablution’

kula ibaada ya suna kubaṭila [st.] ‘every act of worship of an non-obligatory sort can ne broken or not carried out’

rel.

ku-baṭilika v. p/s.

ku-baṭilisha v. caus.

ku-baṭilishika v. caus. p/s.

ku-baṭilishiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-aṭishilizanaya v. caus. appl. rec.

Wantu awa/ wabaṭishilizenyee sala. ‘These men caused each other’s prayers to be invalid.’

u-baṭili
31] fault

n. 14 [Sw. *ubatili* “nullity, emptiness, vanity, futility, uselessness, falseness” SSED

ka ubaṭili ‘with no reason’

Ni/ nnakunvunanga ka ubaṭili/ tu/ nt^haku/ ziwovu/ zaa mi/ nna’iwo kuwa ninfanyiizé. ‘You (pl.) are beating me for no reason at all, there is nothing bad that I know that I have done to you.’

Nt^hanzile ka ubaṭili. ‘He insulted me for no reason.’

rel.

baṭili adj. [Sw. *batili* “(1) worthless, invalid, ineffective; (2) tending to, or with the characteristics of annulling; (3) untrue, false” SSED 31] lies; void, nullified, cancelled, invalid

Muntu uyu/ salaye/ baṭili. ‘This man’s prayer is invalid.’

ya baṭili iḷaṭeni/ ndilaye hupoteḷoowa [st.] ‘reject deception and lies, which lead to eternal damnation’

ya nafsi sooma ilmu chiiza baṭili/ sala ya jaahili stoshe ni kaamili [st.] oh mortals, acquire (lit. study) knowledge (about how to pray), otherwise (your prayers) are void/ the prayer of someone ignorant, don’t think it is complete’

baṭini

n. 9/10 [Sw. *batini* “the belly, only used, and that rarely, in a fig. manner of the innermost thoughts or intentions” SSED 31; Ar.] inner thoughts, feelings

Baṭiniye/ siwo/ suura. ‘His inner thoughts are not good.’

Wantu awa/ baṭini zaawo/ mbovu. ‘These people, their inner thoughts are bad.’

m-baata

n. [Sw. *mbata* “the coconut in the final state of ripeness and dryness, when the nutty part inside gets loose from the shell, commonly used for copra” SSED 267] the last stage of the development of the coconut, where there is little liquid, hardened meat, hard shell

Mṭala mbaata/ hupata idaafu. ‘One who chooses a coconut at the **mbaata** stage gets a coconut at the **idaafu** stage.’ (A proverb that conveys the idea if one strives for the best, one gets something less.)

m-bavu

n.

kumvundaa mbavu ‘to break the ribs’

Namvunda maaná/ mbavú/ kumtukuza mijombo ayo. ‘You are breaking the child’s ribs by loading him with those things.’

ḷ-bawa (m-)

n. 11/10 feather

Harbishiize/ hattá/ ndrazile/ ka mkonooni/ ulushile/ laakini/ ye/ lasile/ mbawaze. ‘It struggled [the trapped guinea fowl] until I let it go from my hand and it flew away, but it left its feathers.’

which is **ariplaano** ‘airplane’.) **Huuluka/ bilaa mbawa.** ‘It flies without feathers.’ (A riddle, the answer to

kubiga lbawa ‘to die’

Saalimu/ bishile lbawa. ‘Saalimu died [lit. hit the wing].’

lbawala ‘my feather’; **mbawaza** ‘my feathers’

rel.

i-bawa (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.

bawaaba

n. 9/10 [Sw. *bawaba* SSED 31; Ar.] hinge (of a door)

Bawaba iyi/ ivundishile. ‘This hinge is broken.’

Bawaba izi/ zivundishile. ‘These hinges are broken.’

bawaabu (*Ø, ma-*)

n. [Sw. *bawabu* SSED 31; Ar.] door-keeper, gatesman

Mabawaabu/ mawaardiya/ wachimwaambila/ kuwa nthaku/ rukhsa/ sa’a iyi/ muunt^hu/ kumwolokela Harun Rashiidi. ‘The gatesmen, the guards told him that there is no permission at this hour for anyone to see Harun Rashiidi.’

Sku iyo/ mukhta ikomeeló/ chizeele/ chooloka/ ka mabawaabu/ waliko wachishiko zaamú/ milangooní. ‘When that day arrived, the old woman went to the door-keepers who were guarding the doors.’

Wamwenopo chizele ichó/ mabawaabu/ wachuuzá/ we/ naaní. ‘When they saw that old woman, the door-keepers asked: who are you?’

bawaasiri

n. 9 [Sw. *bawasiri* SSED 32] piles, hemorrhoids

chi-baawu (*zi-*)

n. 7/8 a sleeveless waistcoat worn over the **haanzu** (generally by elderly people), given to the father of the bride, for example, as a sign of respect

baaya

n. (my) older sister (but used only of a female sister to a female); [pron. **baayá**]

baayá ‘my elder sister’

Baayá/ tete baata/ jiile. ‘My older sister took a potato and ate it.’

baya yaawo ‘their older sister’

baya yiinu ‘your (pl.) older sister’

baya yiitu ‘our older sister’

baya zaawo ‘their older sisters’

baya ziinu ‘your (pl.) older sisters’

baya ziitu ‘our older sisters’

baayaza ‘my older sisters’

sisters, I haven’t told anyone what you did.’ Or: **Baayazá/ yaa ni/ fanyiizó/ ismu/ ya muunt^hu/ skumwaambila.**

with me to the meeting.’

Baayazá/ tafaðali/ lawa naami/ shiriini. ‘My elder sisters, please come

baayaze ‘her older sisters’

baayé ‘her older sister’

baayó ‘your older sister’

Kanaa we/ nayo baayó/ mneete. ‘If you have an older sister, bring her.’

meet my three elder sisters.’

Mi/ hupeenda/ we/ kudirkamana baayaza/ watatu. ‘I would like you to

elder sister.’

Moomo/ peenzele/ kuwanayo baayé. ‘Moomo (a girl) wishes she had an

Munaza/ na baayazá/ wa’oloshela kulangala matezo. ‘My younger and older sisters went to watch games.’

muunt^hu/ na baaye ‘and person and her older sister’

Mwanamke chhabba/ baayá/ baayá. ‘The little girl (said): my older sister, my older sister!’

Nimene Fariidá/ na baayé. ‘I saw Farida and her older sister.’ (In Chimiini, one cannot say ‘Farida and her sister’ -- it is always necessary to specify whether the sister is older, as in this example, or younger, as in: **Nimene Fariidá/ naa muné.** ‘I saw Fariida and her younger sister.’)

Tuuma/ naayo/ baayé? ‘Does Tuuma have an older sister?’

Walazilopo ka mutooní/ baayaze/ wavete nguwo zaawo. ‘When they

emerged from the river, her older sisters put on their clothes.’

Ye/ dirkamene wawiliwe/ baayaza/ shiriini. ‘He met both my elder sisters at the party.’ Or: **Ye/ dirkamene baayaza/ wawiliwe/ shiriini** (or: **karkaa shiri**).’

bayaana

n. [Sw. *bayana* SSED 25; Ar.] certainty, clear evidence; adj. clear

ka bayaana ‘clearly, with clarity’

kibri ni asli ya fitina zont^he/ ni mbovu bayaana lataani wont^he [st.] ‘pride is the root of all discord, it is manifestly wrong: all of you should abandon it’

munt^hu bayaana ‘a clear person’ (cf. **want^hu bayaana**, but **chijana chibayaana, zijana zibayaana**, etc.)

na karaama ziitu ziweena bayaana [nt.] ‘and our miraculous delivery became clear’

ni suna we lawaanganya bayaana [st.] ‘it is preferred for you to enunciate

clearly (the call to prayer)’

rel.

u-bayaana n. 14 evidence; clearness

ku-bayina

v. [Sw. *baini* SSED 25; Ar.] (**bayiniile**) make something clear, be manifest, be plainly shown

Nuuru/ bayinile kooḏize. ‘Nuuru made clear what he said [lit. his words].’

rel.

ku-bayinika v. intr. (**-bayinishile**) be clear, be manifest, be plainly shown

Ibayinishile kuwa Siimba/ nt^hakuboola/ chibuuku. ‘It was evident that Siimba did not steal the book.’

Kuwa Siimba/ bozele chibuuku/ ibayinishile. ‘That Siimba stole the book was evident.’

ku-bayinikila v. intr. appl. (**-bayinikiliile**) be clear to

Mwaalimu/ imbayinikiliile/ kuwa Sa’iidi/ mkhiyanseete. ‘It became clear to the teacher that Sa’iidi had cheated him.’

Siimba/ kuboolake/ peesa/ iwabayinikiliile waant^hu/ mahkamaani.

‘Siimba’s having stolen the money became evident to people in court.’

ku-bayinila v. appl. (**bayiniliile**)

ku-bayinisha v. caus.

ku-bayinishika v. caus. p/s.

ku-bayinishiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-bayinishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

rel. nom.

m-bayina (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who makes clear

bayini

adj. clear

bayna ya

prep. [Sw. *baina ya* SSED 25] between, among
variant form: **benaa**

Msaafa/ benaa Mkhodiisho/ na Mwiini/ ni kilometeric 200. ‘The distance between Mogadishu and Brava us 200 kilometers.’

baazara

n. a kind of rice (presumably *bagara* rice from India)

mpunga wa baazara ‘a kind of rice’

baazi

n. ??

Lasile kaazi/ lasile baazi/ kullasku/ nakhsasa. ‘He abandoned working, he abandoned caring about life, every day he grew thinner’

Nt^haná/ kaazi/ nt^haná/ baazi. ‘He has no job whatsoever; he has no job and no income.’

m-baazi

n. ambergris (which is eaten in the belief that it will protect one from cold weather)

khfuraha/ kana peto mbaazi ‘as happy as one who has found **mbaazi**

(produced by sperm whales and considered valuable)
kumeera/ kana mbaazi ‘to search hard for s.t., as one searches for **mbaazi**’

- be** n. [Sw. *beberu* SSED 32; Hindi] in the phrase:
mbuzi yaa be ‘goat’
- be’i** n. 9/10 price, cost, value
Be’i gani. ‘What’s the price?’
kubigaa be’i ‘to make a bargain’
Na kila shpaandré/ chaa namá/ chaa ye/ weesheló/ weshele be’iye. ‘And each piece of meat that he placed, he put its price.’
- m-beebe (mi-)** n. 3/4 fire
Tomele amri/ kuwa nthaku/ rukhsa/ karka muuyiwe/ kashoowa/ mibeebe/ yaa mujo. ‘He issued an order that there was no permission in the town for fires to be lit.’
- rel.
beebe
-mujo/ kana beebe ‘lit. as hot as a bonfire (extremely hot, said of things)
i-beebe (mi- or ma-) n. a large fire made for warmth or to keep animals away
ibebe yaa mujo ‘a fire’; **mibeebe yaa mujo** ‘fires’
- l-bege (m-)** n. 11/10 page
variant form: **lbege**
lbege ili ‘this page’ (cf. **mbege izi** ‘these pages’)
lbege lpisiló ‘the previous page [lit. the page that passed]’ (cf. **mbege spisiló** ‘previous pages’)
Ye/ barete madawa miingi/ karka lbege laa ye/ someeló. ‘He learned a lot of medicine from the page that he read.’
Ye/ husoma lbege/ hubodisha lbege. ‘He reads a page and (then) omits a page.’
- beebe** v. irregular perfect stem of the verb **ku-baha** ‘to get lost’
- m-bele** n. 9/10, adv. [Sw. *mbele* SSED 267] before, front, in front of, ahead, first
Baazi/ ile mbele ya waana/ wotte. ‘Baazi came before (in time) any of/ all the children.’
Chilee mbelé. ‘We came earlier.’
Chiṭa chuumu/ hapiti/ mbele. ‘A stubborn person (hard-headed one) does not progress.’ (A saying.)
Hujoo mbele/ haaji/ numa. ‘The one who eats first does not eat later.’ (A proverb.)
Isa/ mi/ nakhuloombá/ watume ma’askariyo/ wanamleete/ muunt^hu/ oyo/ mbelezo. ‘Now I beg you to send your soldiers to bring that man in front of you.’ (Note that the addressee in this sentence is a king, and perhaps this accounts for the fact that **mbelezo** rather than **mbeleyo** is used, the plural form being a sign of respect.)
kaa mbele ‘straight away’
huvuunda milaango hiingila ka mbele [nt.] ‘they break doors and into the houses straight away’
kendraa mbele ‘to go forward’
mbele/ kaa mbele ‘far, far away’
Mwaambile/ khtokomelaa mbele/ kaa mbele. ‘Tell her to get lost.’
Tokomela/ mbele/ kaa mbele. ‘Go far, far away.’
Mbele/ lawa khonye nuumba/ iyi. ‘First, let me show you this house.’
Mbele/ nakhsula khsoomá. ‘First, I want to read.’
Mbele/ ndrooni/ jaani. ‘First, come and eat.’
mbele ya ‘in front of, before (e.g. in line), in the presence of
Nile mbele ya Nuuru. ‘I came before Nuuru.’

- Nsimeme mbele ya nuumbá.** ‘I stood in front of the house.’
Nuuru/ ile mbele ya waana/ wote. ‘Nuuru came before all the children.’
- Mbenee ndilá/ mbeleya/ niineenzelé.** ‘I saw the road in front of me and I walked.’
- Mi/ nsimeme mbelezó.** ‘I stood in front of you (pl.).’
- Mubli/ chendra ka chizeele/ mbele.** ‘The husband went to the old woman first (before doing something else).’
- mwana waa mi/ nsimemo mbeleyé** ‘the child whom I stood in front of’ (cf. **Nsimeme mbele ya mwaaná.** ‘I stood in front of the child.’)
- Mwanaamke/ chiya/ shkalaant^ha/ mbele/ za Hasani.** ‘The girl came and sat down in front of Hasani.’ (Morph. Notice that **mbele** is treated as a [cl.10] noun triggering **za** as the associative link.)
- Ndrazole (ka) numbaani/ mbele ya Nuuru.** ‘I left the house before Nuuru.’ (Cf. **Lazole (ka) numbaani/ mbele ya Nuuru.** ‘He left the house before Nuuru.’)
- Ndrazole (ka) numbaani/ mbele ya Nuuru/ kulawá.** ‘I left the house before Nuuru left (lit. to leave).’ Or: **Ndrazole (ka) numbaani/ mbele ya Nuuru/ kuwa lazilé.** ‘I left the house before Nuuru left.’
- ngombe zaa mi/ nsimemo mbelezé** ‘the cattle that I stood in front of’
- Nile mbele ya Nuuru.** ‘I came before Nuuru.’
- Nile mbeleyé.** ‘I came before him.’
- Nimweshelee mbelé.** ‘I placed him in front.’
- Nnakhsula khsomaa mbelé.** ‘I want to be the first to read.’
- Nnakhsula khsoma mbele ya waant^hú.** ‘I want to be the first of the people to read.’
- Nndrokela mbeleya** (or: **mbeleza**). ‘Get out of my sight (lit. move away from my front).’
- Nsimeme mbele ya mwaaná.** ‘I stood in front of the child.’ Cf. **mwana waa mi/ nsimemo mbeleyé** ‘the child that I stood in front of’
- Nsimeme mbele ya nuumbá.** ‘I stood in front of the house.’ Cf. **numba yaa mi/ nsimemo mbeleyé** ‘the house that I stood in front of’
- Sku mooyi/ muke wa Sultani Daraayi/ loosele/ kuwaa ye/ uko kaawó/ kaleent^he/ mbele za waawaye/ na mwaambila/ igema/ we/ uko kiinú.** ‘One day the wife of Sultan Daraayi dreamed that she was at home, sitting in front of her father, and he was telling her: welcome! you are at home.’
- Sultaani/ shtuma waant^hu/ keendra/ ka mwanaamkewe/ kumleta Hasani/ mbeleze.** ‘The sultan sent people to go to his daughter [‘s place] to bring Hasani in front of him.’ (Notice the use of the plural enclitic =z-e in this example, apparently a mark of respect for the sultan.)
- Waṭuunzile/ zisima/ mbele ya kila miskiti.** ‘They dug wells in front of each mosque.’
- Ye/ nt^hanaa mbele/ walá/ numá.** ‘He has neither front nor back – i.e. he is broke, has no money.’
- Ye/ simeme mbeleya.** ‘He stood in front of me.’

beena

prep. between

Ba’ada/ ya wakhtí/ mchaache/ zondroshlee zita/ bena sultaani/ uyu/ na sultaani/ jiraaniyé. ‘After a little while, war broke out between the sultan and his sultan

neighbor.’

Mukewe mgarwa/ chiruda numbaani/ chimweleza mubliwe/ ijé/ itulushiló/ bena ye/ na sultaani. ‘The fisherman’s wife returned home and explained to her husband what had happened between her and the sultan.’

Sultaani/ hafaanyí/ farkhí/ bena taajirí/ ma maskiiní. ‘A sultan who does not differentiate between a rich man and a poor

man.?’

- beepari** (*ma-*) n. someone who attempts to hold himself above other members of society, one who lives lavishly
- beer muddo** n. [Som.] spleen
Beer muddo/ na inyí/ beer muddo/ rakhíisí. ‘(Between) spleen and liver, spleen is cheaper.’
Omari/ nakuja beer muddo. ‘Omari is eating the spleen.’
- beer yare** n. [Som. *beer* ‘liver’ + *yar* ‘small’] spleen
- i-beeramu** (*ma-*) n. 5/6 [Sw. *beramu* SSED 33; Port.] flag
Oyo/ iberamuye/ inakhpepela. ‘[Lit.] That one’s flag is flying -- i.e. he is strong because he has someone in the government on his side.’
- rel.
chi-beeramu (*zi-*) n. 7/8 banner
Kula mwaana/ hutukula chibeeramu. ‘Each child carries a banner.’
- ku-berbeerata** v. (**berbereete**) go around aimlessly, wander jobless
Berbeerata. ‘Go around aimlessly!’ **Berberataani.** ‘(Pl.) go around aimlessly!’
Siberbeeraté. ‘Don’t go around aimlessly!’ **Siberberateení.** ‘(Pl.) don’t go around aimlessly!’
- rel.
ku-berbeerisha v. caus. cause to go around aimlessly
We/ berberishiizé/ tu/ fanyiizení. ‘You just made people go around aimlessly, what else did you do?’
ku-berberishana v. caus. rec.
ku-berberishika v. caus. p/s.
ku-berberishiliza v. caus. appl.
Khaadara/ mberberishilize mzaazi/ mwaana. ‘Khaadara made the parent’s child go around aimlessly.’
ku-berberishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
Khaadara/ na Gaawó/ waberberishilizenye waana. ‘Khaadara and Gaawo caused one another’s children to go around aimlessly.’
- berbeeri** (\emptyset , *ma-*) adj. of someone who goes around aimlessly
munt^hu berbeeri ‘a person who goes around aimlessly’ (cf. **want^hu berbeeri** or **want^hu mabebeeri**)
- beeti** n. 9/10 verse, stanza
Hafiða beti izi. ‘Memorize these verses.’
- betiriya** n. 9/10 [Ital. *batteria*] battery (of a car)
variant form: **bitiriya**
- biibi** term of address: madam
Mwaana/ choloka markabuuni/ apo/ ye/ chimwambila mwanaamke/ biibi/ mi/ nile khishkizá. ‘The boy went to the ship and there he told the girl: madam, I have come to get you down [onto shore].’
- biibita** n. soft drinks, juices (not water); a shop where such drinks are sold
Bibitaani/ ka Habiibi/ Chita/ ichuzowa mayi ya ndrimumu/ malada. ‘Sweet lemonade was sold at Habiibi Chita’s drink shop.’

are sold.’
Hamadi/ dukaye/ huzowa biibiṭa/ suura. ‘At Hamadi’s shop, good drinks

Hamadi/ nayo biibiṭa. ‘Hamadi had a drink shop.’

Nele maya (y)a ndrīimú/ bibiṭaani/ ka Habiibi/ ^f(ma)bardi/ kana barafu.
‘I drank lemonade from Habiibi’s drink shop that was as cold as ice.’ (The drink shop referred to here was one that was well-known in Brava.)

i-biibo (ma-) n. fruit of the cashew tree
variant form: **ibiibu**

Bida n. the two Bravanese clans: **Wakohaatiimu** and **Raa Waali**, taken together

bidi’i n. 9 effort

Bidi’iye/ nt^haykiinfa/ chiint^hu. ‘His effort was of no use.’

khfanya bidi’i ‘to make an effort’

Nt^haná/ bidi’i. ‘He makes no effort.’

biḍaa’a n. 9/10 goods, merchandise (carried on a vessel or vehicle to take to be sold at another place)

Apo/ ye/ chuuza/ biḍaa’aze/ ka faayda. ‘There he sold his goods for profit.’

Markabu/ zotte/ shchipakiloowa/ biḍaa’a/ za lamna ka lamna. ‘The ships were loaded with goods of different kinds.’

Ye/ shpowa jahazi/ iyelo biḍaa’a/ lamná/ ka lamná. ‘He was given a dhow which was filled with goods of different kinds.’

bidhoori n. [Som.]
ikopa ya bidhoori ‘a cup made of glass’

ku-biga v. [Sw. *piga* SSED 376] (**bishile**) strike, hit, beat

Basi/ wachimbiga/ noka oyo/ wachimwubla. ‘So they hit that snake and they killed it.’

Chanza kumbiga moojé. ‘He began to beat his master.’

Haadi/ mbishile Nuuru/ kaa luti. ‘Haadi beat Nuuru with a stick.’ (MI accepted the possibility of eliding the preposition in this example, without changing the verb to the applied form: **Haadi/ mbishile Nuuru/ luti.**)

kubiga alaama ‘to put signs up, mark something off’

kubiga booli ‘to rob, to kidnap’; **kubigowa booli** ‘be robbed, kidnapped’

Mabahariyawé/ mwanamke wa sulṭaani/ wakomelopo

Ifuwooní/ wachanza kubigaa nk^hele/ mwanamke wa sulṭaani/ bishiḷa booli. ‘When the sultan’s daughter’s crew reached shore, they began to shout: the daughter of the sultan has been kidnapped.’

Si/ chimbishile booli/ ka kaawó/ chile naayé/ apá/ na isá/ kuḷa mooyi/ ndiyé/ namsuḷo mtaalá. ‘We kidnapped her from her house and we came with her here and now each one (of us) wants to take her.’

kubiga boomba ‘to operate a pump, spray with chemicals, fire off a bomb or rocket’

kubiga bunduqu ‘to fire a gun’

kubiga buraashi ‘to paint with a white paint made of burned stones’

kubiga chileemba ‘to wear a turban’

kubiga faali ‘to wish someone a good or bad omen; to use magical devices to foresee the future’

kubiga firimbi ‘to whistle (using a whistle)’

kubiga fooji ‘to whistle’

kubiga harbi ‘to wage war’

kubiga hoodi ‘to ask for permission to enter a house’

kubiga ifuundro ‘to tie a knot’
kubiga igoonjo ‘to sit on the knees’
kubiga ijaraha ‘to wound’
kubiga ikoondro ‘to strike someone with the fist’
kubiga ipi ‘to slap, spank with the open hand’
Mbishile ipi ya dhofoori. ‘He slapped him on the side of the face.’
kubiga iteke ‘to kick, walk’
kubiga ito ‘to wink, move the eyebrow’
kubiga itama ‘to take a mouthful of something’
kubiga jarsi ‘to ring a bell’
kubiga ka garbaashi ‘to whip’
kubiga kampaneela ‘to ring a bell’
kubiga kheema ‘to put up a tent’
kubiga khpala ‘to lock up’
kubigaa khura/qura ‘to ask the cards, flip a coin’
kubiga lbawa ‘to die [lit. flap the wings]’
kubigaa limi ‘to make innuendos, insinuate, make biting remarks’
kubiga lkele ‘to shout’
kubiga lkope ‘to wink at, move the eyelid’
kubigaa luti ‘to hit with a stick’
kubiga ma’ipi ‘to slap, spank with the open hand’
kubiga mafuungu ‘to divide up into shares’
kubiga marti ‘to invite someone for food’
kubigaa mbawa ‘to flap the wings (of a bird)’
kubiga miilu ‘to walk’
kubiga mishtari ‘to draw a line’
kubigaa mulo ‘to make a fire for warmth or for scaring off animals, not for cooking’
Omari/ lele maduriini/ bishilee mulo/ jisaa ye/ kudhora mahayawaani. ‘Omari slept in the bush and made a fire so as to protect himself from animals.’
kubiga musumaari ‘to make a biting, stinging remark’
kubiga mziinga ‘to explode, set off a bomb’
kubiga neefu ‘to breathe, pant’
Mahabuusi/ bishile neefu/ nt^ho. ‘The prisoner breathed out hard.’
kubigaa ngoma ‘to beat a drum’
kubigaa nk^hele ‘to bark’
kubigaa nk^hele/ kanaa mba ‘to shout like a dog – i.e. to shout nonsensically, for no reason’
Mba/ chibigaa nk^hele. ‘The dog was barking.’
Mba chibigoo nk^hele/ ingile numbaani. ‘The dog that was barking entered the house.’
kubiga nk^hengele ‘to ring a bell’
kubiga paasi ‘to iron (clothes)’
kubiga piicha ‘to photograph’
kubiga qalbi ‘to beat (of the heart)’
kubiga ramli ‘to foretell the future using some means’
kubiga raandra ‘to plane’
kubiga rasaasi ‘to pull the trigger of a gun’
kubigaa sa’a/ tak tak ‘to tick (of a clock)’
kubigaa safa ***
kubiga santuuri ‘to play a phonograph’
kubiga siimo ‘to telegraph, cable’
kubiga telefona ‘to telephone’
kubiga tuupa ‘to file’
kubigaa zita ‘to wage war; stop talking to someone, show enmity’
kubigilaa nk^hele ‘to shout at’

Mbigililee nk^hele. ‘He shouted at him.’

mana wa Nuuru/ mbishiló ‘the child whom Nuuru hit’ (but also: **mana wa Nuuru/ mbishiló** with the same meaning)

maana/ wa Nuuru/ mbishiló ‘the boy whom Nuuru hit’ (but also: **maana/ wa Nuuru/ mbishiló** with the same meaning)

Mbishile. ‘He hit me.’ versus **Mbishile.** ‘He hit him.’ (It is important to note that these two examples are slightly different in pronunciation, even though we have written them the same way. In the first person object case, the **mb** represents a pre-nasalized stop, a single sound despite its complex structure. In the third person singular object case, **mb** represents a sound sequence, a **m** followed by a **b**. Perhaps a clear orthography would have been **^mb** for the prenasalized stop and **mb** for the sequence. However, this contrast is not one that is highly articulated in the language.)

Mbishilee mi. ‘He hit me.’

Mbishile mwaana/ mkono (kaa luti). ‘She hit the child’s hand (with a stick).’

Mbishilee nt^ho/ haṭá/ maskiini/ chanzaa kuḷa. ‘He began to beat him very badly until the poor man began to cry.’

Muunt^hu/ mbishiloo mi/ oloshole. ‘The man who hit me left.’

Munt^hu uyu/ mbishile waawe. ‘This man beat father.’

Mwaalimu/ mbishile mwaana/ kaa luti. ‘The teacher beat the child with a stick.’

mwalimu mbishilo mwaaná ‘the teacher who beat the child’

mwana wa mwaalimu/ mbishiló ‘the child whom the teacher beat’

Mwiizi/ chimbishile/ sì. ‘The thief, we beat him.’

Nimbishile Jaamá/ kaa luti. ‘I beat Jaama with a stick.’

Nimbishile Omarí. ‘I hit Omari.’ Or with verb focus: **Nimbishilé/ Omarí.** ‘I hit Omari.’ (The default case is for the final accent triggered by the verb to be restricted to the verb when it is focused/emphasized. But when questioned on this point, GM accepted a pronunciation: **Nimbishilé/ Omarí.** The context when this pronunciation might be used has not been established. It should be stressed that in this alternative pronunciation there is a clear downstep on the phrasally separated complement. Thus this pronunciation is quite different from the simple yes-no question: **Nimbishilé/ Omarí?** ‘Did I hit Omari?’ In the yes-no question, the out-of-focus complement has undergone accent-shift, but downstep is suspended. Thus while the complement is not as high in pitch as the verb, nevertheless it is clearly raised in comparison to the statement cited above: **Nimbishilé/ Omarí.**)

Nt^hawambiga. or Want^hambiga. ‘They did not hit him.’

Nuuru/ mbishile maana. ‘Nuuru beat the child.’ (This statement has canonical downstep intonation. The simple y/n question has only Q-raising: **Nuuru/ mbishile maana?** In our recording of the exclamatory question, downstep is employed as usual and both phrases undergo accent shift: **Nuurú/ mbishile maaná!?**)

Nuuru/ mbishile mana wa Haliima. ‘Nuuru beat Haliima’s child.’ There is no accent-shift in the simple yes-no question (since there is nothing out of focus) but there is in the emphatic version (which is not dependent on a phrase being out-of-focus): **Nuuru/ mbishile mana wa Haliima?** and **Nuurú/ mbishile mana wa Haliimâ!?**)

Nuuru/ mbishile maana/ wa Haliima. ‘Nuuru beat Haliima’s child.’

(In the simple yes-no question version of this sentence, we did not observe accent-shift: **Nuuru/ mbishile maana/ wa Haliima?** Perhaps this pronunciation indicates that phrasal separation of the head of the associative construction is not necessarily linked to focus. More research is required on this point. Accent shift in the emphatic yes-no question is not connected to the out-of-focus nature of a phrase: **Nuuru/ mbishile maaná/ wa Haliimâ!?**)

Nuuru/ nt^hambiga/ maana. ‘Nuuru did not beat the child.’ (We recorded the simple y/n question both with and without accent shift on the complement: **Nuuru/ nt^hambiga/ maaná** (or: **maana**). The emphatic version always displayed accent shift: **Nuuru/ nt^hambigá/ maaná.** These data then are inconclusive as to whether the complement of the negative verb in the default case is out of focus necessarily. More research on this topic is needed.)

Nuuru/ nt^hambiga/ mana wa Haliima. ‘Nuuru did not beat Haliima’s child.’ (Phon. We recorded the simple yes-no question both with and without accent-shift in the complement phrase: **Nuuru/ nt^hambiga/ mana wa Haliima?** and **Nuuru/ nt^hambiga/ mana wa Haliimá?** There is just one emphatic version: **Nuuru/ nt^hamibigá/ Nuurû!?**)

Si/ chimbishile mwiizi. ‘We beat the thief.’ (cf. In the following version of this sentence, the postposed subject is deaccented: **Mwiizi/ chimbishilé/ sì.** We indicated the deaccenting of a pronoun by the grave sign over the vowel.)

Wachimbiga mapoliisi/ wachimbigó. ‘The police beat him, that’s what they did.’

Waali/ bishila naami. ‘Waali was beaten by me.’ (Cf. **wali bishila naamí** ‘the Waali who was beaten by me’; from a segmental point of view, the relative of a passive verb is not different from the non-relative -- it is only the final accent in the relative clause form that makes the distinction explicit.)

Waali/ tu/ bishila naamí. ‘Only Waali was beaten by me.’

wana wa maalimu/ wabishiló ‘the children whom the teacher taught

(them)’

Waawe/ mbishile munt^hu uyu. ‘Father struck this man.’ Or: **Waawe/**

mbishile/ munt^hu uyu. (Syn. In this sentence, both the subject and object are [cl.1] nouns. As a result, word order is critical in distinguishing the grammatical role that these noun phrases are playing. A different word order yields a different meaning:

Munt^hu uyu/ mbishile waawe. ‘This man struck father.’ The subject may be postposed, but it must be postposed to the end of the clause: **Mbishile waawe/ munt^hu uyu.** ‘Struck father, this man.’ This postposed subject has a lowering of its pitch level that indicates its out-of-focus nature.)

rel.

ku-bigaabiga v. freq.

Hamadi/ hupeenda/ kubigabiga waant^hu. ‘Hamadi likes to beat people repeatedly.’

repeatedly.’

Hamadi/ hupeenda/ kumbigabigaa mi. ‘Hamadi likes to beat me

mahaalaa ye/ nakubigoobigó ‘the place that he was pounding’

Ye/ tete ijiwe/ nakubigabigaa nt^hi. ‘He took a stone and pounded the ground with it.’

ku-bigana v. rec. (-bigene) collide with one another, strike one another

Bigene na Omari/ festaani. ‘I ran into/ bumped into Omari at the party.’

(In the speech of GM, the first person subject marker is very often phonologically null, whereas in MI’s speech, an overt nasal is usually present.)

Gaari/ ya Hamadi/ bigeenó/ mbaaká. ‘The truck that Hamadi hit/ ran into etc. is mine.’

Gaari/ zibigene. ‘The cars/trucks collided.’

Hamadi/ (fakeete)/ bigene na gaari. ‘Hamadi ran into a truck/ collided with a truck/ hit a truck (i.e. he was running and hit a truck).’

Hamadi/ bigene na lkuta. ‘Hamadi ran into/ banged against the wall.’

Wamaanga/ wanakubigana ka mp^haanga. ‘Arabs are hitting one another with swords.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **daank^hu** ‘popcorn’.)

ku-bigika v. p/s. able to be beaten

easily, well; it is hard.’

Ngoma iyi/ ha’ibigiki/ jisa suura/ ni nuumu. ‘This drum cannot be beaten

ku-bigikila v. p/s. appl.

him.’

Fulaani/ habigikili/ mwaana. ‘So-and-so cannot have his child beat on

ku-bigiloowa v. appl. pass.

Liikopi/ luti/ lbigilila mwiizi. ‘Where is the stick that was used to beat the thief.’ (Syn. Notice that in this example the instrument is the subject of the passive applied verb.)

Liikopi/ luti/ la mwaana/ bigilila mkonó. ‘Where is the stick that the child was hit on the arm with?’ Or: **Liikopi/ luti/ bigilila mwaaná/ mkonó.** (Syn. In both of these sentences, **mwaana** is the subject of the passive verb. In the first example it is in canonical pre-verbal position, but in the second example it is postposed after the relative verb. This sort of postposing is common in relative clauses. It is possible for the instrument to also be the subject of the relative clause: **Liikopi/ luti/ lbigilila mwaaná/ mkonó.** ‘Where is the stick that was used to hit the child on the arm?’)

Luti/ lbigilila Jaama/ naami. ‘A stick was used by me to beat Jaama.’

Luti/ lbigilila mwaana/ mkono. ‘The stick was used to hit the child on the arm.’ (Syn. It seems also to be possible to have **Luti/ bigilila mwaana/ mkono.**, where **mwaana** is the subject of the passive instrumental verb. However, **mwaana** cannot be the passive subject – at least in the speech of MI -- if **luti** remains in post-verbal position: ***Mwaana/ bigilila mkono/ luti.**)

Mi/ nbigilila mwaaná/ na Alí. ‘[Lit.] I was beaten on [my] child by Ali – i.e. my child was beaten to my detriment by Ali.’

Muunt^hu/ bigilila waana/ na mwaalimu/ kaa luti. ‘The man’s children were beaten by the teacher with a stick [lit. (on) the man was beaten the children by the teacher with a stick].’

munt^hu waa mi/ mbigilila mwaana/ naayé ‘the man whom I was hit my child on by him’

mwana waa mi/ mbigilila na Alí/ waliko Huseeni ‘the child who I was hit on by Ali was Huseeni’

Paasi/ inakubigilowaa nguwo. ‘The iron is being used to iron the clothes.’ (This answers the question: **Inakhfanyowaayi/ paasi.** ‘What is being done with the iron?’)

Sultaani/ chamura ma’askariwe/ keendra/ kuleta matuundra/ na zaakujá/ kubigilowa Hasiibu/ marti. ‘The sultan ordered his soldiers to go and bring fruit and food to be used to treat Hasiibu as a guest.’

ku-bigila v. appl. (**bigilile**) hit on s.o. [i.e. to someone’s detriment, to hit s.o. related to s.o.]; hammer

Ali/ nbigilile mwaanawa. ‘Ali hit my child on me.’

Bigilile kani/ musmaari/ lkutaani. ‘With what did you hammer the nail into the wall?’ (A possible answer: **Mbigilile ka ndrundo/ musmaari/ lkutaani.** ‘I hammered with a hammer the nail into the wall.’)

Bigilile musmaari/ lkutaani. ‘He hammered a nail into the wall.’

Bigilile musmaari/ lkutaani/ ka ndrundo. ‘He hammered a nail into the wall with a hammer.’ (Cf. **ndrundo yaa ye/ bigililo musmaari/ lkutaani** ‘the hammer that he used to hammer a nail into the wall’.) (Syn. **The bare instrument does not occur comfortably in the post-verbal position in conjunction with an applied verb: ?Bigilile ndrundo/ musmaari/ lkutaani.**)

Bigilileni/ lkutaani. ‘What did you hammer into the wall?’ (A possible answer to this question: **Mbigilileni musmaari/ lkutaani.** ‘I hammered a nail into the wall.’ This has focus on **musmaari**. The simple statement would allow final accent to extend to the end of the clause: **Mbigilile musmaari/ lkutaani.**)

Bigilileni/ musmaari/ lkutaani. ‘What did you use to hammer the nail into the wall?’ (A possible answer: **Mbigilile ndrundo.** ‘I used a hammer.’)

Bigililepí/ musmaari. ‘Where did you hammer a nail (into)?’ (A possible answer: **Mbigilile Ikutaaní/ musmaari.** ‘I hammered into the wall the nail.’)

kubigila lkele ‘to call someone loudly, shout to someone’

kubigaa nk^hele ‘to scold someone, shout at someone’

Likopi/ luti la Haliima/ mbigililo mwiizi. ‘Where is the stick that Haliima used to hit the thief.’

Ikuta laa ye/ bigililo musmaari ‘the wall that he hammered a nail into’ (Cf. **musmari waa ye/ bigililo Ikutaani** ‘the nail that he hammered into the wall’.)

Luti/ mbigilile mwaana/ mkono. ‘A stick, he hit the child on the arm with it.’ (Syn. In an instrumental applied verb structure, the instrument may be fronted to initial position in the sentence.)

Luti/ mwaalimu mbigilile mwaana. ‘A stick, the teacher used it to beat the child.’

Mbigilile naaní/ luti? ‘Whom did you hit with the stick?’ (Phon. Notice that the final accent triggered by the second person perfect verb appears only on **naani** and not on the following complement: ***Mbigilile naaní/ luti?** This is due to what in the introduction we refer to as the Accentual Law of Focus.)

Mbishilee chiṭa. ‘He hit me on the head.’ Cf. **Bishile chiṭaacha.** ‘He hit my head.’ (In the former example, there is a first person object marker on the verb; in the second example, there is no human object marker since it **chiṭaacha** ‘my head’ which is the object.)

Mbishile Jaamá/ kani. ‘You hit Jaama with what?’ (A possible answer:

Nimbishile Jaamá/ kaa luti. ‘I hit Jaama with a stick.’)

Mbishile naaní/ ka luti. ‘Whom did you hit with a stick?’

munt^hu nbigililo mwaanawá/ waliko Ali ‘the man who hit my child on me was Ali’

munt^hu wa Ali/ mbigililo mwaanawé ‘the man whom Ali hit his son on’

Mwaalimu/ mbigilile muunt^hu/ waana/ kaa luti. ‘The teacher beat the man’s children with a stick.’

mwana wa Ali/ nbigililó ‘the child whom Ali hit on me’

Nimbigilile Jaamá/ luti. ‘I beat Jaama with a stick.’ (Syn. This would be an appropriate answer to a question like: **Mbigilile naaní/ luti.**

‘Whom did you beat with a stick?’ It should be noted that the instrument in the instrumental applied verb construction does not govern object agreement on the verb and is not located immediately after the verb.)

Paasi/ inakubigilaa nguwo. ‘The iron, it is being used to iron clothes.’ (This example, which does not explicitly identify the one doing the ironing, could be used as a response to the question: **Nakhfanyaayi/ paasi.** ‘What are you doing with the iron?’)

ku-bigilana v. appl. rec. hit one another with; be compact (short, strong, solid)

Bigileene/ kana shpiipa. ‘He is as compact as a tin storage drum.’

Haliima/ bigileene kana/ shpuundra. ‘Haliima is as compact as a small donkey.’

Hamidi/ bigileene/ kana mubjaana. ‘Hamidi is as compact as a young boy.’

Nt^hawaná/ ndruti/ zaa wo/ kubigilana. ‘They do not have sticks with which to hit one another.’

Zibigilene zoombo/ kaake/ sandukhuuni. ‘Stuff had become compacted in his box.’

ku-bigisha v. caus. (**bigishiize**) make s.o. hit, beat, fire

Ali/ mbigishize mwaana/ ruuhuye. ‘Ali made the child hit himself.’

Nimbigishize Hamadí/ mwaaná. ‘I made Hamadi beat the child.’ (Syn. In this sentence, where both **Hamadi** and **mwaana** are human singular nouns and thus govern the same object prefix on the verb, it is only word order that clarifies the meaning: the causee must be immediately post-verbal. This naturally raises the question: what about the case where one of the complements is preposed? One can

prepose the causee here: **Hamadi/ nimbigishize mwaaná.** ‘Hamadi, I made him beat the child.’ However, if one puts **mwaana** into initial position, the meaning changes: **Mwaana/ nimbigishize Hamadí.** ‘The child, I made him beat Hamadi.’ In other words, only the causee can be preposed. At first glance, this restriction can be understood as a restriction designed entirely to avoid ambiguity between who is the causee and who is the logical object. But see the example below.)

Nimbigishize Hamadí/ waaná. ‘I made Hamadi beat the children.’ (Syn. In this example, object agreement on the verb clearly shows that **Hamadi** is the causee and the [cl.2] nominal **waana** is the logical direct object. Naturally, one can prepose the causee: **Hamadi/ nimbigishize waaná.** But MI rejected preposing the logical direct object: ***Waana/ nimbigishize Hamadí.** ‘The children, I made Hamadi beat them.’ Observe that in this case, the [cl.1] object prefix *m* on the verb unambiguously identifies **Hamadi** as the causee, but still one does not like to have the logical direct object preposed.)

Niwabigishize waaná/ Hamadí. ‘I made the children beat Hamadi.’ (Syn. As expected given the preceding examples, one can prepose the causee **waana** here but not **Hamadi**: **Waana/ niwabigishize Hamadí.** is grammatical, but not ***Hamadi/ niwabigishize waaná.**)

ku-bigishana v. caus. rec.

ku-bigishika v. caus. p/s.

ku-bigishiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-bigishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ku-bigishoowa v. caus. pass. (**bigishiiza**) be made to hit

ku-bigoowa v. pass. (**bishiila**) be hit, beaten

Bishiila. ‘He was hit, beaten.’

Chibigoowa/ ndrutize/ khamsiini. ‘He was given his fifty blows.’

Chuuma/ hubigowa cho chimuló. ‘Iron is hit when it is hot.’ (A proverb.)

kubigowa paasi ‘to be ironed’

Nguwo/ zinakubigowa paasi. ‘Clothes are being ironed.’

kubigowaa safá ‘to be arranged in rows’

Waana/ wabishilaa safá/ wawili wawili. ‘The children were arranged in rows, lines two by two.’

Luti/ lbigilila Jaama. ‘A stick was used to beat Jaama.’ (Syn. The instrument is the subject of the passive version of a sentence containing an instrumental applied verb. It is not grammatical for the affected noun to be the subject:

***Jaama/ bigililaa luti.** ‘Jaama was beaten with a stick.’ is ill-formed.)

mi/ kubigoowake/ na Jaama ‘my being beaten by Jaama’

Miizi/ bishiila naasi. ‘The thief was beaten by us.’ (Orth. We write the agentive *na* as a separate word from what follows when it has a polysyllabic complement. However, when a monosyllabic pronoun like *si* in the present sentence follows, there is some reason to consider *na* and *si* to form a single prosodic word, justifying an orthography like **naasi**. The reason why it makes sense to write **naasi** has to do with the accent. In general, when the last word in a phrase is monosyllabic, it is accented, regardless of whether the accent in the phrase is expected to be penult or final. But notice that in the case of an agentive plus monosyllable sequence, if a penult accent is required, this accent appears on the syllable *naa* and not on the monosyllable. In other words, the monosyllable does not

behave like a separate word.)

Muusa/ bishila naami. ‘Muusa was hit by me.’ Cf. **Musa bishila naami** ‘the Muusa who was hit by me’. Or: **Muusa/ uje bishila naami** ‘Muusa, the one who was hit by me’.

Muusa/ tu/ bishila naami. ‘Only Muusa was hit by me.’ (In this example, **tu** is raised in pitch.)

Mwaana/ bishila na mwaalimu. ‘The child was hit by the teacher.’

mwana bishila na mwaalimu ‘the child who was hit by the teacher’

Naasi/ bishila miizi. ‘By us the thief was beaten.’ (Phon. The preposed agentive phrase is quite radically raised in pitch.)

waana/ wabishila or **wana wabishila** ‘the children who were beaten’ (Our consultant rejected ***waaná/ bishila**, at least

in isolation; although there are structures where final accent may appear in material involving the head of the relative clause, this does not appear to be an environment that favors such a realization.)

Waziiri/ chibigoowa/ ndruti miya/ ziseeló. ‘The minister was beaten the one hundred blows that remain (to be struck).’

Waziiri/ malizopo kubigoowá/ ndrutiizé/ mwaarabu/ chimuza/ ndo/ taakuna/ kahawá/ wè? ‘When the minister finished being beaten his blows, the Arab asked him: come, will you drink coffee?’ (The final accent on **kahawa** in this example is triggered by yes-no question formation.)

rel. nom.

m-biga (wa-) n. one who hits

mbiga faali ‘an astrologer (who reads symbols, e.g. written in the sand, or cards, but not the stars)’

Mbigaa nk^hele/ ha’ushi/ ziwovu/ mimbaani. ‘The one who shouts does not hide evil inside him.’ (A proverb.)

mbiga paasi ‘one who irons’; **wabiga paasi** ‘ones who iron’

ma-bigano n. 6 the act of beating one another

m-bigo n. 3 hitting, beating

mbigo wa khalbi ‘heartbeat’

ma-bigo n. 6 beating, the act of beating

u-bigo n. 14 hit, beat

ubigo wa khalbi ‘heartbeat’

bikeeri n. 9/10 drinking glass, cup

bikeri iyi ‘this drinking glass’; **bikeri izi** ‘these drinking glasses’

Bikeeri/ zimo dawatiini. ‘The drinking glasses are in the cupboard.’

biikhi (Ø, ma-) n., adj. [Som.] coward

Biikhi/ maamaye/ haali. ‘A coward’s mother does not cry.’ (A proverb.)

Gaasi/ maamaye/ lizile/ biikhi/ maamaye/ teshete. ‘A brave man’s mother cried, a coward’s mother laughed.’ (A proverb.)

rel.

i-biikhi (mi-) n. aug. 5/4

u-biikhi n. 14 cowardice

maatoya yaweele miinza ka mapeendo ya ubiikhi [song] ‘my eyes became dark because of love of cowardice’

bikra n., adj. virgin

khtumbula bikra ‘to deflower’

Ni mwanaamke/ bikra. ‘She is a virgin.’

rel.

i-bikra (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

ku-bilikhсата v. [Som.] (**bilikhseete**) loot, take by force

bilikhho n. [Som.] looting, taking by force

bilikuliya adv. forever, ever, never (This adverb, in the sentences we observed, was pronounced with some degree of emphasis, escaping any sort of downstep intonation.)

ever.’
Mi/ jawabu iyo/ skhiiri/ bil̥kuliya. ‘I will not accept that (e.g. argument)
forever.’
Omari/ ile Miini/ khkalaant̥a/ bil̥kuliya. ‘Omari came to Brava to live
thing (argument, etc.) ever.’

bilyeeti n. 9/10 ticket
bilyeti iyi ‘this ticket’ (cf. **bilyeti izi** ‘these tickets’)

bila prep. [Sw. *bila* SSED 35] without
bilaa khfilatila ‘unexpectedly’
bilaa khkoma ‘without end’
bilaa sababu ‘without reason’
Maali/ bilaa daftari/ hubaha bila khabari. ‘Possessions without an
accounting book get lost without information about them being
preserved.’ (A proverb.)
Mate/ hayoondroki/ bilaa m̥taanga. ‘Saliva does not move unless there is
sand.’ (A proverb.)
Mi/ hupowa makooko/ makavu/ bilaa sh̥towelo. ‘I am given the hard crust
of the rice, without relish.’
Muti/ bilaa l̥pepo/ ha’tetemi. ‘A tree without wind does not shake.’ (A
proverb.)
Mukhtaa si/ chisimeemó/ bilaa kooði/ ngisi/ ile kharibu yiitu. ‘While we
were standing without speaking, the buffalo came towards us.’
Nimwambile mzeelé/ kuwaa mi/ skhaadiri/ ku’iisha/ bilaa mwanamke
oyo. ‘I told the old man that I was not able to live without that girl.’

bilaadi n. This word (derived from **Bilaadu al-Rahma** (Arabic for "village of [God’s]
mercy") refers to a small cluster of about 10 houses and huts around a mosque,
situated on the sea shore approx. 1 km. south of **Albaamba** and separated from
Brava. Its founder was Sheex Nureeni Mohamed Saabiri (died 1909), a judge and
religious leader of the Idrisiyya brotherhood (also called Al-Ahmadi), who is now the
patron-saint of Brava. (**Bilaadi** is also known as **Ka Sheekh Nureeni**). The mosque
bears his name and contains his tomb. It is the venue of a great **ziyaara**, or annual
celebration on the anniversary of his death, which sees the participation of the whole
population of Brava, with chanting of **?ikiri** and recalling of the many miracles
performed by Sheex Nureeni.

bilaashi adj. [Sw. *bilashi* SSED 35] without value, no good

m-bili adj. [Sw. *-wili* SSED 530] two; **mbili** ‘two [cl.10]’
Dibii mbili/ haskali/ karka moro mooyi. ‘Two bulls do not dwell in one
fenced-in enclosure.’ (A proverb.)

Mi/ nazo nuumbá/ mbili/ nk̥ulu. ‘I have two large houses.’ Or: **Mi/ nazo**
nuumba/ nk̥ulu/ mbili.

Niwapele wana zihaba watatú/ mazu mbiliimbilí. ‘I gave the three small
children two bananas each.’ (Cf. **Niwapele wana zihaba watatú/**
mazuu mbilí. ‘I gave the three small children two bananas.’)

Omari/ nazo nuumba/ mbili/ nk̥ulu. ‘Omari owns two large houses.’ Or:
Omari/ nazo numbaa mbili/ nk̥ulu. Or: **Omari/ nazo nuumba/ nk̥ulu/ mbili.** Simple yes-no questions do
not show accent shift: **Omari/ nazo numbaa mbili/ nk̥ulu?** and **Omari/ nazo numbaa nk̥ulu/ mbili?**
orii mbili ‘two roosters’

rel.
i-kumi naa mbili twelve

biloori n. [Sw. *bilauri* SSED 35] a jar made of glass

biima n. [Sw. *bima* SSED 35] chance, risk, bet, insurance; adj. of one who takes chances,

risks

Munt^hu uyu/ biima. ‘This man takes risks.’

Ni munt^hu biima. ‘He is a man who takes risks.’

Sfaanyé/ biima. ‘Don’t take risks!’

ku-biimisha

v. (**bimishiize**) take a chance, risk, trust to luck

Nuuru/ bimishiize. ‘Nuuru took a chance.’ (This verb does not allow a human object. One cannot say ***Nuuru/ mbimishize Iisa.** ‘Nuuru took a chance on/risked Iisa.’)

Sho kuwanayo bahati/ habiimishi. ‘The one who does not have luck does not trust in luck.’ (A proverb.)

rel.

ku-bimishika v. p/s.

ku-bimishiliza v. appl. (**bimishiliize**) bet with, for

Ali/ mbimishilize Nuuru. ‘Ali made a bet for Nuuru.’

ku-bimishilizanya v. appl. rec.

Nuuru/ na Ali/ wabimishilizeenye. ‘Nuuru and Ali made bets for one another.’

bin’amu

n. the son of a paternal uncle

Awa/ ni bin’amuza. ‘These are the sons of my paternal uncles.’

Uyu/ ni bin’amuya. ‘This is the son of my paternal uncles.’

bina

n. (physical) features

changed’

na ye gedishiiza bina na looni [st.] ‘and her features and complexion were

binaadamu

n. 1/2 [Sw. *binadamu* SSED 35; Ar.] human being [lit. son of Adam]

Ito ya binaadamu/ kamba ha’ikhubli/ itakhuluza. ‘If the eye of a human being does not kill you, it will make you suffer.’ (A proverb.)

rel.

u-binaadamu n. 14 humanity, human nature

binti

n. daughter

Binti sultaani/ mukewe mgarwa/ chimjiiba/ nkhubaliile/ sayidiya/ laakini/ chiliindre/ muda wa sku sita. ‘The sultan’s daughter, the wife of this fisherman, replied to him: I agree [to this proposal], my master, but let us wait for a period of six days.’

Laakini/ uje mwanaamke/ binti/ wa sultaani/ hiiwa/ killa/ hutuluko apo. ‘But that girl, the daughter of the sultan, knows all that happened there.’

Muxtaa ye/ mwenoo mbwa/ kuwa ikusilo/ chimviila/ binti/ wa mwaarabu/ oyo/ kuyaa kuja/ chaakuja/ chiseelo. ‘When he (e.g. the servant) saw that the dog was satiated, he invited the daughter of the Arab to come to eat the food that remained.’

Bin.yaamini

n. Benjamin

Mooyi/ karka waanawe/ chiviloowa/ Yuusufu/ na chihabache/ chivilowa Bin.yaamiini. ‘One of his children was called Joseph, and his younger brother was called Benjamin.’

biira

n. 9 beer

bira iyi ‘this beer’

m-biriimbiri

n. 9/10 sign, trace

Ali/ nt^haku/ mbirimbirize. ‘There are no signs of Ali.’

Mbirimbirize/ stozeja. ‘No signs of him were seen.’

Mi/ nimmereele/ muuyi/ mzimawe/ na skukhaadira/ kuwona/ hattá/ mbirimbiriyé/ mpaka leelo. ‘I searched for him in the whole town and I was not able to see even a trace of him up until today.’

Nt^hawampata/ tozela/ mahala/ yaa ye/ ingiiló/ mbirimbirize/ stozela/ walá/ athariye/ nt^haykuwonoowa. ‘They could not find him; he was not found in any place that he entered, his traces were not to be found, neither could his mark be seen.’

biringaani (Ø, ma-) n. 9/10, 6 [Sw. *bilingani* SSED 35] eggplant
rel.
chi-biringaani (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.
i-biringaani (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

i-biriüqi (ma-) n. 5/6 [Sw. *birika* “a large metal vessel for holding water, water-jug, a kettle” SSED 36] kettle; [pron. **ibiriüqi** or **ibiriikhi**]

ibirikhi ikulu ‘a big kettle’

Ibiriikhi/ ikulu. ‘The kettle is big.’

mabirikhi makulu ‘big kettles’

Mabiriikhi/ makulu. ‘The kettles are big.’

Numa/ shtala ibiriikhi/ imo ikulu/ kanaaye/ iwaazi/ ikulu. ‘She took a water jug, one big one, its mouth open and large.’
the yes-no question nature of the sentence.)

rel.

chi-biriüqi (zi-) n. 7/8 kettle; [pron. **chibiriüqi** or **chibiriikhi**]

Maayi/ karka chibiriikhi/ yanakhtokota. ‘The water in the kettle is boiling.’

Yanakhtokota/ maayi/ chibirikhiini. ‘Is boiling the *water* in the kettle.’

Yanakhtokota/ mayi yamo chibirikhiini. ‘Is boiling, the water that is in the kettle.’

Yanakhtokota/ mayi ya chibirikhiini. ‘Is boiling, the water [lit. of] in the kettle.’

chi-biriüti (zi-) n. 7/8 match; a book of matches
variant form: **chibiriidi**

mkali/ kana chibiriidi ‘as hot as a matchbook’

biriyaani n. 9 [Sw. *biriani* SSED 36; Pers.] rice cooked with meat and vegetables

Biriyani iyi/ nt^haykuviva. ‘This **biriyaani** is not cooked.’

Biriyani iyi/ nt^haykuviva. ‘This rice dish is not cooked/done.’

i-birka (ma-) n. 5/6 [Sw. *birika* SSED 36; Ar.] a large vessel, usu. stone, in which water is stored
Chooloka/ chingila karka ibirka/ ya mayi ya barafu. ‘He went and got into a storage container of ice water.’

Mi/ nzimiilé/ ndraani/ ya ibirka ikulu/ nt^ho. ‘I hid inside a very large stone container for water.’

biiro n. [derived from an Italian brand of ball point pen] pen
khalamu ya biiro ‘a ballpoint pen’

Biruuni n. [*biruni* "the outer area" Pers.] The name of one of the four main quarters of Brava, located immediately south of Mp^haayi. **Biruuni** was probably outside the original walls of Mp^haayi. It also borders the sea-front, but was built on lower sandy ground. In 1900 many plots of land were still unbuilt, but later it boasted some of the largest stone houses of Brava. Its inland border is marked by the open area reserved for the market and in more recent times, Brava town hall, a bank, a hospital and some government schools were all built in or adjoining Biruuni.

bismiilaahi in the name of God

ku-biisha v. (**bishiize**) knock; sail a vessel (boat, dhow) against the wind

Bishize mlaango. ‘He knocked on the door.’

kubisha iṭo ‘to glance, take a quick look’

Nnaku’ubiishá/ mboni/ unakuraaga/ wo/ khfunguloowa. ‘I am knocking (e.g. on the door), why is it being delayed to be opened?’

rel.

ku-biishan(y)a v. rec. knock one; visit one another

Hachibiishanyi/ mlaango. ‘We do not visit each other anymore (lit. we do not knock on one another’s door).’

ku-biishika v. p/s.

ku-bishiliza v. appl.

Haṭaa mi/ niko ndilaani/ mbishiliza nuumba/ iṭo. ‘While I am gone out, keep an eye on my home.’

ku-bishilizanya v. appl. rec.

rel. nom.

ma-biishanyo n. 6

m-biisho n. knock

bishaara

n. 9/10 good news

variant form: **bashaara**

khpa bishaara ‘to give good news’

m(w)enye bashaara ‘having goodness’

Rabbi chiruzuqe keendra ziyaara/ ka Mtume Mustafa menye bishaara [st.] ‘O Lord, grant us that we may visit the Prophet Mustafa who brought us news of eternal happiness’

bisi

in the expression:

bardi yaa bisi ‘rheumatism’

yaa bisi ‘constipation’

bismiḷa

[Sw. *bismillahi* SSED 37; Ar.] in the name of God

kuleta bismiḷa ‘to say **bismiḷa**’

leeta bismiḷa mweenza raasha diini [st.] ‘say **bismiḷa**, my friend, follow religion’

na kuḷa amriye chaanza ka bismiḷa [st.] ‘and each of his actions begins with **bismiḷa**’

rel.

bismiḷaahi interj. in the name of God

(*ma-*)

n. 5/6 duck, goose

mayaank^huku/ ya ibita ‘duck eggs’

rel.

mi-bita n. 4 aug. big ducks, geese

-bivu

adj. [Sw. *bivu* SSED 37] ripe

namaa mbivu ‘cooked meat (as opposed to **namaa mbiti** ‘uncooked, raw meat’)’

biyaashara

n. 9/10 [Sw. *biashara* SSED 37; Ar.] trade, commerce

Cheendra/ chimwaambila/ biyaashara/ nini. ‘He went and said to her, what business?’

Hufanya biyaashara. ‘They do business.’

khfanya biyaashara ‘to engage in trade’

mfanya biyaashara ‘a businessman, merchant, trader’

Mi/ ni muunt^hu/ nakuzo biyaashara. ‘I am a person who sells merchandise.’

Mi/ nnakhpenda khfanya biyaashara. ‘I want to do business.’

muza biyaashara ‘a merchant’

Biyoole n. the name of a village on the border with Ethiopia where Sheikh Aweeso was killed and buried; the Bravanese people perform **ziyaara** by going to Sheikh Aweeso's grave in Biyoole
Biyoole/ holokowa kuziyarata Shekh Aaweeso. 'Biyoole is gone to (by people) to visit the grave of Sheikh Aaweeso.'

Shekh Aaweeso/ zishile Biyoole. 'Sheikh Aaweeso is buried in Biyoole.'

bizi adj. [Eng. *busy*] used by present generation busy

Mi/ nayo kazi niingi/ ni bizi. 'I have a lot of work, I am busy'

bizaari n. 9/10 [Sw. *bizari* SSED 37; Ar.] a kind of spice; a slice of bamboo

biz(i)nes n. [Eng. *buisness*] used by present generation

Omari/ Kenya/ nayo biznes nkulu. 'Omari in Kenya has a big business.'

mu-bjaana (wa-) n. young man; [pron. **mubjaana**]

Lowelee muke/ naayé/ mubjaana. 'He married a woman while he was a young man.'

Mubjaana/ chimlola mwanaamke. 'The young man married the girl.'

Mubjaana/ shtukulaa dawa/ chendra naayo/ numbaani. 'The young boy took the medicine and went with it to the house.'

Mubjaana/ uyu/ waliko shkalaant^ha/ ka waawaye/ numbaani. 'This young man used to stay at his father's house.'

mukhta^a ye/ waliko mubjaana... 'when he was a young man...'

Wabjaana/ awo/ weenzawe/ chiwa'ulila rooti. 'Those young men, his friends, he bought bread for them.'

Wabjaana/ wa leelo/ siwo/ sahali. 'The young men of today are not easy to deal with.'

Wabjaana/ wa'ile/ wanakhkoðakoða jawabu zaa mbuzi. 'The young men have come. They are talking about matters concerning the goat.'

Ye/ wele mubjaana/ mwenye suura/ na jamaala. 'He became a young man having attractiveness and handsomeness.'

rel.

chi-bjaana (zi-) adj. young; [pron. **chibjaana**]

Wamweenopó/ waant^hu/ wafurahiile/ wachihada/ sultani wiitu/ wele

chibjaana. 'When they saw him, people became happy, they said: our sultan has become young.'

chi-bli (zi-) n. shadow of an animate object; [pron. **chibli**]

Wene chibli. 'He saw a shadow.'

Ye/ hukoda na chibliche. 'He talks to or with his shadow (said of someone showing abnormal behavior).'

mu-bli (wa-) n. 1/2 husband, adult male; [pron. **mubli**]

Chimwambila ujee noka/ mi/ nakhsuulá/ we/ kumubla mubliwa. 'She told the snake, I want you to kill my husband.' **Look into the final accent on the infinitive phrase despite the focus on the verb.**

kambaa we/ ni muβli [lit.] if you are a man (i.e. if you have the courage) -- this is said to challenge s.o. to do s.t. that the speaker will oppose'

Person A says: **Takhonyeza taakha.** 'I'll show you!' Person B replies: **Jaariba/ kambaa we/ ni muβli.** 'Try it, if you are a man!'

kuwa mubli 'to become a man, i.e. to become responsible, mature, self-reliant' (This is often said in the imperative/subjunctive, speaking of/to a child.)

Na'endre/ nafanye kaazi/ nawe mubli. 'Let him go and work, let him become self-reliant.'

Mi/ nakhsuulá/ we/ kumwubla mubliwa. 'I want you to kill my husband.'

Mi/ ni muβli. 'I am a man.'

mi/ takuwa mubliwo [song] 'I will become your husband'

Mubli wa maame/ ni waawe. 'The husband of your mother is your father.'

(A proverb.)

Muke/ mpikilile muḅliwe/ chaakuja. ‘The woman cooked food for her husband.’

Skumwona/ muḅli/ walá/ muké/ mwaana/ walá/ mzeelé. I saw neither man nor woman, child nor old person.’

Uyu/ ni muḅliwa/ Nureeni. ‘This is my husband Nureeni.’

Uyu/ ni Nureeni/ muḅliwa. ‘This is Nureeni my husband.’

Wabli/ ni kaziini/ wake/ ni numbaani. ‘Men are at work, women are at the house.’ (A proverb.) Or: **Wabli/ ni kaazi/ wake/ ni numbaani.**

Waliko muke mooyi/ na muḅli mooyi/ walozeenye/ ka kheeri/ ka fulkheeri. ‘There was a woman and a man; they married each other in blessing and in blessing.’

Wo/ hufanya kaazi/ khpata khsaayda/ wabli waawo/ na ruhu zaawó. ‘They (e.g. women) do jobs so as to get to help their husbands and themselves.’

Ye/ ni muḅli/ naa mi/ ni muḅli. ‘He is a man and I am a man.’/

Ye/ shpata muḅli/ chimloola/ itakuwa kheeri. ‘If she finds a man, and if he marries her, it will be a blessing.’

Ye/ siwo/ muḅli. ‘He is not a man (i.e. he is sexually impotent).’

rel.

chi-bli n. in a manly way; [pron. **chibli**]

Ba’adi ya waant^hu/ karka muyi uyu/ ichiwa wake waawo/ wana

miimba/ wo/ huweka ma’ina mawili/ ina yaa chike/ na ina ya chibli. ‘Some people in this town [i.e. Brava], if their wives are pregnant, they keep in store two names: a female name and a male name.’

Steendroze/ siwo/ za chibli. ‘His actions are not done in a manly way.’

i-ji-bli (*mi-wa-*) n. 5/4 aug.

mw-aa-mu-bli n. boy, a young man

Apo/ zamaani/ waliko taajiri/ mooyi/ zaliila/ mwaana/ mwaamubli/ chimvila Fikiriini. ‘Once upon a time there was a rich man, he was [lit.] born to a baby boy, (and) he called him Fikiriini.’

Mwaamubli/ umo ndilaani/ nakuuya. ‘A young man is on his way, coming.’

Teena/ sku mooyi/ masku/ ye/ chiloota/ kuwa mahala/ meepe/ karka nt^hiyee/ takuzaloowa/ mwaamubli/ msuura. ‘Then one day at night he dreamed that someplace in his land would be born a nice boy.’

Waliko mwanamke mooyi/ na mwamubli mooyi/ walozeenye/ ka kheeri/ ka fulkheeri/ uko/ uko/ attá/ leelo/ chishika miimba/ chizaala/ mwaana/ mwaamubli. ‘There was a girl and a boy, they got married with blessings and blessings; [the girl] stayed and stayed until one day she became pregnant and gave birth to a baby, a boy.’

Ye/ nt^hakuwanaayo/ mwaamubli. ‘He did not have a boy [all his children were girls].’

chi-ji-bli (*zi-ji-*) n. 7/8 dim.

chi-mu-bli (*zi-wa-*) n. 7/8 dim.

i-ji-bli (*mi-ji-*) n. 5/4 aug.

wu-bli n. 14 manhood; the state of being a husband

Wuke/ na wubli/ umaliize/ kati kiitu. ‘Wifehood and husbandhood stopped between us (i.e. we stopped being wife and husband).’

wu-blinima n. 14 manhood

We/ wublinima/ hufuungula. ‘Your manhood is lacking (i.e. you are not a real man).’

blukeeti

n. 9/10 [Ital. *blocchetti*, Som. *bulukeeti*] brick
variant form provided by MI: **blokeeti**

boobo

n. a common nickname for ‘brother’ (used affectionately, esp. by women); also used

as a male personal name

ku-booda

v.

from sandra: I heard *ku-booda* in the idiom “*chuuluka chibooda*” with meaning that is probably not connected to *ku-boodisha*.

ku-boodisha

v. caus. [cf. Som. *bood* ‘jump’ N 35] (**bodishiize**) omit something (Phon. Observe that the formation here is exceptional: we would expect the suffix *ish* to lower its initial vowel to *esh* following a stem whose last vowel is mid: ***kuboodesha**.)

Ye/ husoma lbegi/ hubodisha lbegi. ‘He reads a page and (then) omits a page.’

rel.

ku-bodishika v. p/s.

ku-bodishoowa v. pass. (**bodishiiza**)

Ba’adi ya ziina/ zibodishiiza. ‘Some of the words were omitted.’

zina zibodishiiza ‘words that were omitted’

boodo

n. 9/10 [Som. *boodo* N 9] flea

bodo uyu ‘this flea’ (cf. **bodo izi** ‘these fleas’)

Boodo/ zimingile zala za kuulu. ‘Fleas [lit.] entered his toes.’

jara ya boodo ‘a game similar to dominos’

Nk^huku izi/ zinayo boodo. ‘These hens have fleas.’

rel.

chi-boodo(zi-) n. flea

Chiboodo/ chiraasha/ nk^heje/ mahala za/ zinakuawilo/ hattá/ shkoma/ mahala/ ya weenziwe/ wawaalikó. ‘Flea followed the shouts [to] the place where they were coming from until he reached where his companions were.’

boflo

n. 9/10 [Sw. *bofulo* SSED 37]

mandra ya boflo ‘bread made of flour (in the European manner)’

m-boga

n. 10 [Sw. *mboga* SSED 269] general term for edible greens

kalaa mboga ‘to grow vegetables’

khpikaa mboga ‘to cook vegetables’

kujaa mboga ‘to eat vegetables’

kulaa mboga ‘to buy vegetables’

kuzaa mboga ‘to sell vegetables’

mboga izi ‘these vegetables’

mtuzi waa mboga ‘vegetable soup’

Wachimeera/ nt^hi suura/ washfanya muundra/ na wachaala/

matuundra/ naa mbogá. ‘They searched for some good land and they made a garden and planted fruits and vegetables.’

Ye/ azilee mboga/ za anwaa’i. ‘She grew a variety of different vegetables.’

rel.

mi-boga n. 4 aug. large quantity of vegetables

boghoni (Ø, ma-)

n. [Som. *boqon* “Achilles Tendon”] calf of the leg

Mbwa/ mtinzile Ali/ boghoni. ‘The dog bit Ali’s leg (causing a gash).’

i-boholi (ma-)

n. 5/6 [Som. *bohol*] hole (in the ground), pit, cave

Ali/ tunzile iboholi. ‘Ali dug a hole.’

iboholi ikulu ‘a large hole’

iboholi ipaana ‘a wide hole’

iboholi iviriinge ‘a circular hole’

iboholi/ ndraani ‘deep in the hole’

iboholi (/) yaa wake ‘pool of the women’ (This is a place name in Brava for

a location near the **Shekh Nureeni** mosque. There is a legend associated with this place. Three women are said to have attempted to swim here, but were drowned in the deep water and their bodies were never found.)

iboholi ya qabri ‘hole dug for a grave’

Khaadimu/ nakuzumbiza iboholi.

khtila iboholiini ‘to do something that causes one to be in trouble [lit. put in a hole]’

khtumba iboholi ‘to dig a hole’

Maaziyo/ yanatawanyike/ moomo/ omo/ iboholiini. ‘Your blood should spill into that very same hole.’

Mtumba iboholi/ hiingiló/ ye/ mwenewe. ‘The digger of a hole is the one who enters it himself.’ (A proverb.)

Muunt^{hu}/ chimtumbila muunt^{hu}/ hufanya qiyaasi/ yiko kendra khpotele/ ye. ‘If a person digs a hole for someone, he should make one not too deep, as he himself might go and fall into it.’

Naank^hó/ ichirudilowa jisiwo/ hattá/ ichendroowa/ mahaḷa/ huviḷowa Iboholi yaa Waké. ‘Then it (a song) was repeated like this until they reached a place which is called the Pool of the Women.’

Omari/ potele iboholiini. ‘Omari fell into the hole.’

Wachiwona iboholi/ kama chisimama. ‘They found a hole like a well.’

rel.

chi-boholi (zi-) n. 7/8 dim. a small hole

chiboholi chihaba ‘a small hole’

chi-boholi n. a kind of game involving small holes made in the ground where stones or bottle caps are used

Nakhteza chiboholi. ‘He is playing **chiboholi**.’

mi-boholi n. aug. 4 large holes

Lame iyo/ yiko miboholi. ‘That tarmac road has potholes.’

Ndila iyo/ yiko miboholi. ‘There are potholes in that road.’

N^{thi} iyo/ yiko miboholi. ‘That ground has holes in it.’

ndila ya miboholi ‘a road with large potholes’

bohora (ma-)

n. [cf. Sw. *bohora* "a member of one of the two chief sects or divisions of Muhammadan Indians, the other being the Khoja" SSED 37]

ku-bokha

v. (**bokheele**) (of eggs, melons) be spoiled

Mwanaamke/ bokheele. ‘[Lit.] the girl became spoiled -- i.e. she stayed so long without getting married that she lost her vividness.’

bokhaari (Ø-, ma-)

n. 9/10, 6 storehouse

ku-boola

v. [Som.] (**boozele**) steal

Abú/ mbozele mzeele/ mwaana. ‘Abu stole the child from the old man.’

(When both complements belong to the same noun class, the first complement must be interpreted as the "logical" indirect object.

Furthermore, only that complement may be the head of a relative clause based on this sentence: **mzele wa Abú/ mbozelo mwaaná** ‘the old man whom Abu took the child from’; one cannot say:

***mwana wa Abú/ mbozelo mzeelé** in the sense ‘the child whom Abu stole from the old man’, although it is acceptable if the meaning is ‘the child whom Abu stole the old man from him’. Of course, if the second complement belongs to a different noun class,

as in **Abú/ mbozele mzeele/ waana.** ‘Abu stole the children from the old man.’, then that complement can be the head of the

corresponding relative clause: **waana wa Abú/ mbozelo mzeelé** ‘the children whom Abu stole from the old man’.)

Ali/ bozele zibuuku. ‘Ali stole some books.’

Ali/ mbozele mwaalimu/ chibuuku. ‘Ali stole from the teacher a book.’

Ali/ mbozele naani/ chibuuku. ‘Ali stole a book from whom?’

Boola ‘steal!’ Cf. **Bolaani** ‘pl. steal!’

Bola fatura iyo/ boolá. ‘Steal that car, that’s what you should do.’

Bolanii chisu. ‘You (pl.) steal a knife!’

Bozele chibuku cha Nuuru/ boozeló. ‘He stole Nuuru’s book, that’s what he did.’ Cf. **Bozele chibuuku/ boozeló/ cha Nuuru.** ‘He stole a book, that’s what he did, of Nuuru’s.’ Or with object marker:

Chibozele chibuku cha Nuuru/ chiboazeló. ‘He stole the book of Nuuru’s, that’s what he did.’ Cf. **Chibozele chibuuku/ chiboazeló/ cha Nuuru.** ‘He stole the book, that’s what he did, of Nuuru.’

Bozele chibuuku/ maana. ‘He stole a book, the child [did].’ (Phon. This sentence illustrates the right-dislocation of the subject of the verb. The yes-no question version of this sentence is revealing: **Bozele chibuuku/ maaná?** ‘Did he steal a book, the child?’ The shift to final accent in the yes-no question is due to the out-of-focus status of the right-dislocated subject.)

Hendra miyundaani/ ka waant^hu/ kuboola. ‘She goes to gardens to steal from people.’

Ibraahimu/ bozeleni. ‘What did Ibraahimu steal?’ (A possible answer: **Ibraahimu/ bozele chibuuku.** ‘Ibraahimu stole a book.’)

Khaje/ mbozele Sarmadi/ chibuuku/ chuziiza. ‘Khaje stole the book from Sarmadi and sold it.’ (Note that in this construction, it is preferable to have an object marker in agreement with **chibuuku** on the conjoined verb, though **uziiza** would be grammatical.)

kubola chaakuja ‘to steal food’ (The variation in the length of a word-final, phrase-medial vowel is illustrated by the following examples of different complements to the verb: **kubolaa kuja** ‘to steal food’, **kubolaa miti** ‘to steal wood’, **kuboola ltaki** ‘to steal a necklace’, **kubolaa nt^haki** ‘to steal necklaces’, **kubola ðahabu** ‘to steal gold’, **kubola maayi** ‘to steal water’, **kubola chowovu** ‘to steal a wallet’, **kubolaa luti** ‘to steal a stick’, **kubolaa ndruti** ‘to steal sticks’.)

Malimu bozelo chibuukú/ ni Huseeni. ‘The teacher who stole the book is Huseeni.’ Cf. **Maalimu/ bozele chibuuku.** ‘The teacher stole a book.’

Maana/ bozele chibuuku. ‘The boy stole a book.’ Or, with verb emphasis: **Maana/ bozele/ chibuuku.** ‘The boy *stole* a book.’ (Phon. The yes-no questions associated with these two sentences show a notable contrast: **Maana/ bozele chibuuku?** and **Maana/ bozele/ chibuukú?** In yes-no questions, an out-of-focus phrase is assigned final accent; focusing on the verb puts the verb complement in an out-of-focus state.

Maana/ bozele/ chibuuku/ naachó. ‘The boy stole a book also – i.e. he stole something else and also a book.’

Maana/ bozele chibuuku/ naayé. ‘The boy stole a book, and he [also] – i.e. someone else stole a book and the boy stole one also.’

Maana/ bozelo chibuukú/ ni Omari/ maanawe. ‘The child who stole the book is Omari’s child.’ Or: **Maana/ bozelo chibuukú/ ni mana wa Omari.** (Note that an alternative phrasing is available where the head is joined in a phrase with the relative verb: **Mana bozelo chibuukú/ ni Omari/ maanawe** (or: **ni mana wa Omari**). We have not determined any difference in meaning attached to this phrasing difference.)

Mana wa Omari/ bozele chibuuku. ‘Omari’s child stole a book.’

Mana wa ^fOmari/ bozelo chibuukú. ‘It is Omari’s child who stole a book.’ (In addition to focus on the subject, one can also focus the verb: **Mana wa ^fOmari/ boozeló/ chibuuku.** Notice that the Accentual Law of Focus bars the extension of final accent to the complement. However, it is possible also to have: **Mana wa ^fOmari/ boozeló/ chibuukú.** Our consultant suggested that the difference between these two forms is that in the latter case, it is a specific book that is being referred to, while in the former case, it is an indefinite book. **More research on this point is needed.**)

Mbozele chibuuku. ‘He stole a book from me.’ (Note that when the stem is preceded by a first person object marker, the **mb** represents a prenasalized stop. Although our orthography does not indicate the phonetic contrast, a sequence **mb**, where **m** is the [cl.1] object marker, is a consonant sequence that contrasts with a

prenasalized stop: **Mbozele Hamadi/ chibuuku.** ‘He stole a book from Hamadi.’)

Mbozele chibuku cha Nuurú. ‘I stole Nuuru’s book (which may or may not have been in his possession at the time).’ Or: **Mbozele chibuukú/ cha Nuurú.** ‘I stole Nuuru’s book.’ (Note that the phrasal separation of the head of the associative phrase does not trigger the Accentual Law of Focus coming into play.)

Mi/ skuboola/ ngamiila. ‘I did not steal a camel.’

Miizi/ bozele mbuzi wa Omari. ‘The thief stole Omari’s goat.’ Or: **Miizi/ bozele Omari/ mbuziye.**

Miizi/ bozele pesa za Omari/ ka Tuuma. ‘The thief stole Omari’s money from Tuuma.’ Cf. also: **Miizi/ mbozele Tuuma/ pesa za Omari.** ‘The thief stole Omari’s money from Tuuma.’

Mwaana/ tiyiile/ ye/ cheendra/ kulaala/ munt^hu mweepe/ kuuya/ kubolant^heendre. ‘The child feared that if he went to sleep, some person would come to steal the dates.’

Nakhtóshá/ kuwa Nuuru/ bozele/ faṭuura. ‘I think that Nuuru stole a car.’

Nakhtósha kuwa Nuurú/ bozele faṭuurá. ‘I think that Nuuru stole a car.’ Or: **Nakhtósha kuwa Nuurú/ bozele/ faṭuura.** ‘I think that

Nuuru *stole* a car.’ (In the first sentence, we have an example where the final accent triggered by the main verb extends all the way to the end of the complement sentence. This can be attributed to the absence of internal focus in this complement clause. The second example is perhaps a bit surprising. The final accent does extend to the subject of the sentential complement, but not to the verb, which is apparently emphasized to some extent, as indicated by the phrasal separation of the verb and the following object. What is not immediately clear is why the final accent appears not to be able to extend into the verb. We did not record **Nakhtósha kuwa Nuurú/ boozelé/ faṭuura.**

Nakhtósha kuwa ^fNuurú/ bozelo gaarí. ‘I think that Nuuru bought a car.’

Or: **Nakhtósha kuwa ^fNuurú/ boozeló/ gaari.** (In these examples, the final accent in the verb (phrase) of the sentential complement is not due to the final accent of the main verb, but rather is due to the pseudo-relativization of the complement verb phrase that is triggered by focus on **Nuuru**.)

Naani/ mbozelo mwaalimú/ chibuukú. ‘Who stole a book from the teacher?’

Ndiwé/ boozeló. ‘It is you who stole it.’

Ni ka kalíla/ we/ bozele ngamiilá. ‘Is it true that you stole a camel?’

Ni Nuuru/ boozeló/ chibuuku. ‘It is Nuuru who stole the book.’

Nimbozele Nuurú/ chibuukú. ‘I stole the book from Nuuru.’ Or: **Nimboozelé/ Nuuru/ chibuuku.**

Nimbozele Nuurú/ chibuukuché. ‘I stole Nuuru’s book from him.’ Or: **Nimboozelé/ chibuukuche.**

^fOmari/ maanawe/ bozelo chibuukú. ‘Omari’s child stole a book.’

Omari/ ^fmaanawe/ boozeló/ chibuuku. ‘Omari’s child stole a book.’ (Although we have placed the symbol ^f in front of **maanawe**, it is not the case that **maanawe** is raised higher in pitch than the initial element. Furthermore, it seems that the entire possessive structure **Omari/ maanawe** is what is being focused here, and not just **maanawe**.) (This example shows the pseudo-relative verb focused as well and the Accentual Law of Focus constraining the projection of final accent to the complement. However, our consultant judged the following sentence to also be possible: **Omari/ ^fmaanawe/ boozeló/ chibuukú.** He suggested that in this case a definite book is involved.)

Saalimu/ mbozele mwaalimu/ peesa. ‘Saalimu stole money from the teacher.’ (Cf. **pesa za Saalimu/ mbozelo mwaalimú** ‘the money that Saalimu stole from the teacher’ or **mwaalimu wa Saalimu/ mbozelo peesá** ‘the teacher from whom Saalimu stole the money’.)

Si/ chimbozele mwaalimú/ chibuku cha hisaabú. ‘We stole the arithmetic book from the teacher.’ Or with verb emphasis: **Si/ chimboozelé/ mwaalimu/ chibuku cha hisaabu.**

Siboolé. ‘Don’t steal!’ Cf. **Siboleení.** ‘(Pl.) don’t steal!’

Waana/ wachibozele chibuuku. ‘The children stole the book.’

Waana/ wambozele mwaalimu/ zibuuku. ‘The children stole books from the teacher.’

Yimo khalbiini/ kana/ huboola. ‘What is in the heart, the mouth steals (i.e. people do not keep secrets).’ (A proverb.)

Zibuuku/ bozelo miizi/ nzaaka. ‘The books that the thief stole are mine.’
Or: **Zibuku bozelo miizi/ nzaaka.** (These examples illustrate that the head of the relative clause may be phrased with the immediately following relative verb or not. Furthermore, they illustrate that the subject of the relative verb may be located after the verb and phrased with it. In this event, the *a*-link that joins a head to a following subject NP is missing.)

zibuku za miizi/ boozeló ‘the books that the thief stole’ (Notice that in this example, the phrase ‘books that the thief’ is a single phrase and is assigned final accent. The conditions for the appearance of final accent in the structure preceding a relative verb need to be explored. We should also stress that under no condition may the subject **miizi** be phrased with the relative verb: ***zibuku za mizi boozeló.**)
rel.

ku-boolela v. appl. (**bolele**)

Miizi/ mbolele Omari/ mbuzi. ‘The thief stole Omari’s goat.’ Or: ‘The thief stole the goat for Omari.’

Miizi/ mbolele Omari/ muke. ‘The thief stole a woman from/for Omari.’

Miizi/ mbolele Omari/ peesa/ ka Tuuma. ‘The thief stole Omari’s money at Tuuma’s place.’

Munt^hu uyu/ mbolele ngamiilaya. ‘This man stole my camel.’

Skhuboolela/ chaako. ‘I did not steal from yours (i.e. you or your people).’

Or: **Sikhuboolela/ chaako.** **review the reason for possible final accent here**

Sikhuboolela chaako/ ka nishtaka. ‘I did not steal yours so that you sue me.’

review this construction

ku-boleloowa v. appl. pass. (**bolela**)

mwalimu bolela chibuuku/ na mwaaná ‘the teacher who was stolen from a book by the child’

ku-booloowa v. (**boozela**) be stolen

Apa/ chibozele chilaatu/ weené. ‘Here a shoe was stolen, have you seen it?’ (Note the common postponing of a subject into IAV position in a passive clause.)

Chisu chaa mi/ nuuziló/ chibozele. ‘The knife that I bought has been stolen.’

Ibozele/ ka Hamadi/ numbaani. ‘What has been stolen at Hamadi’s house?’ (An answer to this question might be an impersonal passive: **Ka Hamadi/ numbaani/ ibozele peesa.** ‘At Hamadi’s house there was money stolen.’ Or: **Ibozele peesa/ ka Hamadi/ numbaani.**)

Khalamu/ ibozele na Hamadi. ‘A pen was stolen by Hamadi.’ (Note that if the person from whom the pen was stolen is not mentioned in the sentence, then it is possible for the thing stolen to be the subject of the passive verb **-booloowa**. If the person is identified, however, then it must be the subject of the passive verb.)

Mbozele peesa. ‘I had money stolen from me.’

Munt^hu boozeló/ huboowa. ‘The one who steals is stolen from.’ (A proverb.)

Mwaalimu/ bozele chibuuku/ na Ali. ‘The teacher had a book stolen from him by Ali.’ (Only the logical indirect object can be the subject of the passive verb. Thus a sentence like ***chibuuku/ chibozele mwaalimu (na Ali).** ‘The book was stolen from the teacher (by Ali).’ is ungrammatical. However, it is possible to reverse word order: **Chibuuku/ bozele mwaalimu/ (na Ali).** In this sentence, **mwaalimu** is still the subject: the verb has a phonologically null subject prefix as is always the case with a [cl.1] subject. The preposed **chibuuku** is not the subject; if it were, a prefix **chi** would be required on the verb.)

Numbaani/ ka Hamadi/ zibozele peesa. ‘At Hamadi’s house money was stolen.’ (An impersonal passive may also be used: **Numbaani/ ka Hamadi/ ibozele**

peesa. ‘At Hamadi’s house there was money stolen.’

Peesa/ ziboozela. ‘Money was stolen.’

Zibuuku/ zibozeḷa ka waalimu. ‘Books have been stolen from the teachers (or, from where the teachers live).’ Or: **Zibuuku/ zibozeḷa waalimu.** ‘Books were stolen from the teacher.’

Zibuuku/ zibozeḷa na Boora. ‘The books were stolen by Boora.’

Ye/ hakhaadiri/ kumwambila waawaye/ kuwa nt^eendre/ ziboozeḷa/ ambó/ zijūlá. ‘He could not tell his father that the dates either had been stolen or eaten.’

ku-bolowaboloowa v. pass. freq. (**bozeḷaboozeḷa**)

ku-bolaboola v. freq. (**bozeleboozele**) steal repeatedly

ku-boolana v. rec. (**-boleene**) steal from one another

ku-bolanoowa v. rec. pass. (**-boleena**) be stolen from one another

Apa/ iboleena. ‘There was stealing from one another going on.’

ku-booleka v. p/s.

Apa/ haybooleki/ chiint^hu. ‘Here one cannot steal anything.’

Chibuku ichi/ hachibooleki/ ka mwaalimu. ‘This book cannot be stolen from the teacher (e.g. there is something about the book that prevents it from being readily stolen).’ (Notice that the logical object can be the subject of the potential/stative verb as long as **mwaalimu** is marked with a preposition. If **mwaalimu** is unmarked, it must be the subject of the potential stative verb, as the example below shows.)

Ka fulaani/ haybooleki. ‘From so-and-so there is no stealing.’

Miizi/ habooleki. ‘A thief cannot be stolen from.’ (A proverb.)

Mwaalimu/ habooleki/ chibuuku. ‘This teacher cannot be stolen from a book (e.g. he is too careful, too observant, too strong).’ (Cf.

Chibuku ichi/ habooleki/ mwaalimu. ‘This book, the teacher cannot have it stolen from him.’ In this example, **chibuku ichi** is preposed, but **mwaalimu** remains the subject of the verb. It is not possible for **chibuku ichi** to be the subject: ***Chibuku ichi/ hachibooleki/ mwaalimu.**)

ku-boolesha v. caus. cause to steal

Haaji/ bolesheze peesa. ‘Haaji had money stolen.’ (The causative verb allows the “causee” to be absent from the clause. The logical object **peesa**, however, cannot control an OM on the verb: ***Haaji/ zibolesheze peesa.** ‘Haaji had the money stolen.’)

Haaji/ mbolesheeze. ‘Haaji had him steal s.t.’ (In the case of a causative verb, the logical object may be omitted.

Haaji/ mbolesheze mwaana. ‘Haaji had the child steal s.t.’

Haaji/ mbolesheze mwaana/ peesa. ‘Haaji had the child steal money.’

Haaji/ mbolesheze peesa. ‘Haaji had him steal money.’

ku-boleshana v. caus. rec.

ku-bolesheka v. caus. p/s.

ku-bolesheleza v. caus. appl. (**-bolesheleeze**)

Boora/ mbolesheleze Hamadi/ mwaana/ peesa. ‘Boora caused Hamadi’s child to steal money.’

ku-boleshelezanya v. caus. appl. rec. (**-bolesheleezenye**)

Nuuru/ na Ali/ waboleshelezenye waana/ zibuuku. ‘Nuuru and Ali had one another’s children steal books.’

rel. nom.

m-boola (*wa-*) n. thief (but less commonly used than **mw-iizi**)

mbolaa nk^huku ‘a chicken thief’

booli

n. looting, taking by force

kubiga booli ‘to loot, rob, take by force from someone

We/ nakubiga booli/ mali ya waant^hú. ‘You are looting people’s wealth.’
ngamila za booli ‘camels taken by force from the owners’

[*-bolo* (*m-*)

n. 11/10 [Sw. *mboo* SSED 269] penis

- chita cha lbolo** ‘head of penis’
mwana lbolo la waawo ‘(an insult) son of your father’s cock’; **mwaa lbolo**
waawo ‘ibid.’
- Nimbishile mbolozé.** ‘I fucked her several times (lit. I hit her penises).’
rel.
chi-bolo (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.
khsunula chibolo ‘to turn back the foreskin, uncovering the glans of the penis’
i-bolo (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
- Bolobaazi** n. a newer area in Brava
- boomba** (ma-) n. 9/10,6 [Sw. *bomba* SSED 38] pipe, pump, bomb, faucet, tap
bomba ya maayi ‘water pump; drinking fountain, water tap’
bomba ya tibaaku ‘plug of tobacc wrapped in a banana leaf’
kubiga boomba ‘to explode (of a bomb)’
mayi ya boomba ‘tap water’
rel.
i-boomba (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
- bon** ideo.
Miziinga/ yanakuḷa/ bon/ bon/ bon/ bon. ‘Explosions are crying *bon bon bon bon!*’
- m-booni** (wa-) n. a member of an ethnic group, originally nomadic hunters, located in northeastern Kenya; they speak a Cushitic language
izo khtumila oyo mbwa muḷooni/ nt^haasa wazuungu wote na wabooni [st.]
‘one who refuses to use [Islamic knowledge] belongs in hell, especially all unbelievers and Wabooni’
- chi-boonk^{ho}** (zi-) n. 7/8 whip
- bonta** n. 9/10 [Ital. *ponte*] bridge
bonta iyi ‘this bridge’; **bonta izi** ‘these bridges’
Bonta/ zivuunzila/ sfanyiiza. ‘The bridges that were damaged were repaired.’
rel.
chi-bonta (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.
i-bonta (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
- Bontaani** n. A 900 meters long causeway-bridge was built by the Italians to connect **Mp^haayi** and **Chilaani** island. However, the bridge was broken at several points by the British during the Second World War, and **Chilaani** can now be reached only by boat. The name for the whole length of the (broken) bridge and its general area is **Bontaani**, the locative form of **bonta** above.
- boora** [Sw. *bora* SSED 38] (not commonly used) better, rather; of highest quality
Boora/ afiya. ‘Health is better.’ (A proverb, which extols the importance of one’s health in comparison to other things.)
Boora/ ḍahabu/ kama feḍa. ‘Better gold than silver.’
Ḍahabu/ ni boora/ kolko feḍa. ‘Gold is better than silver.’
Ni boora/ ye/ kooloka. ‘It is better for him to go.’
Ni boora/ ye/ na’oloke. ‘It is better that he go.’
- i-boori** (ma-)
ibori hiindi ‘pumpkin’ (also called **ibori yaa khula** ‘calabash’)
ibori kaṭiito (pl. **mabori kaṭiito**) ‘squash’ (also called **maborii male** ‘long squash’)
ijita iboori ‘pumpkin head (a big, round head)’

Omari/ ni ijita iboori. ‘Omari is a pumpkin head – i.e. he has a big, round head’

- boroodo** n. broth
boroodo/ yaa nsi ‘fish broth’
- boorsa** (\emptyset , *ma-*) n. 9/10, 6 [Ital.] purse, handbag, traveling bag, briefcase; scholarship
Boorsaya/ ibeele. ‘My briefcase is lost.’
borsa ya mayi mamulo ‘hot water bottle.’
rel.
chi-boorsa (*zi-*) n. dim. 7/8 small traveling bag, small purse, etc.
i-boorsa (*mi-*) n. aug. 5/4 large traveling bag, large purse, etc.
- boortii** (\emptyset , *ma-*) n. 9/10, 6 pole used in the construction of houses (cut from the **mkoko** tree)
Isa/ tambula boortii izi/ mbilize. ‘Now, distinguish between these two poles.’
Letelele boortii mbili. ‘He was brought two poles.’
Naank^h6/ cheendra/ chimletelele boortii/ mbili/ sawa/ sawa. ‘And again, he went and brought to him two poles which look alike.’
Yiimp^hi/ boortii/ yiimp^hi/ ikulu/ yiimp^hi/ chihaba. ‘Which pole, which one is big, which one is small?’
rel.
chi-boortii (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim.
i-boortii (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.
- booshi** n. hide-and-peek game
Omari/ nakhteza booshi. ‘Omari is playing hide-and-peek.’
- boweeta** (\emptyset , *ma-*) n. 9/10, 6a small box or chest of drawers
boweetaya ‘my chest of drawers’
rel.
i-boweeta (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.
- booya** (\emptyset , *ma-*) n. buoy
boya iyi ‘this buoy’ (cf. **maboya aya** ‘these buoys’)
rel.
chi-booya (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim.
i-booya (*mi-*) n. 4/5 aug.
- boyeesa** (*ma-*) n. maid, female servant
Keesho/ nt^hakajiriila boyeesa. ‘Tomorrow I will hire a maid for you.’
- booyi** n. 1/2,10 [Eng. *boy*, Som. *booy* Ab 34] male servant, waiter
boyi uyu ‘this waiter’ (cf. **boyi awa** or **boyi izi** ‘these waiters’)
ilmu ni nuuru jaahili ni booyi [st.] ‘knowledge is light, an ignorant person is a ‘boy’
- booyi** adj. stale, vapid (said of chewing tobacco that has lost its effect)
tibaku booyi or **tibaaku/ booyi** ‘spoiled, tasteless tobacco’
- bu** ideo.
Bu/ nt^hakuhada. ‘He didn’t say anything at all.’
Hamadi/ ile numbaani/ nt^hakhkooḍa/ ba/ bu. ‘Hamadi came to the house, he didn’t say anything.’ (The ideophone **bu** is raised in pitch in this example.)
- m-bu** n. 9/10 mosquito
Mbu/ huleta malaariya. ‘Mosquitoes cause malaria.’
Mbu za dhoowooyi/ zinayo malaariya. ‘Mud, clay area mosquitoes carry

malaria.’

Mbu za tawala/ nt^haziná/ małaariya. ‘Mosquitoes (from) the coast do not carry malaria.’

Mbu/ zimnumiile. ‘Mosquitoes bit him.’

Miiluye/ mambaamba/ kanaa mbu. ‘His legs are as thin as a mosquito’s.’

Muusa/ lumila naa mbu. ‘Muusa was bitten by a mosquito.’

Zijuulúze/ kamba zaa mbu. ‘His legs are as thin as those of a mosquito.’

bubiina n. [Ital. *bobina*] solenoid

buubu (*Ø, ma-*) adj. mute; shy; n. mute person

buubu/ mkonowe ‘mute person, his hand’; **buubu/ mikonoye** ‘mute person, his hands’; **buubu/ mikono yaawo** ‘mute people, their hands’ (Morph. A human noun requires the possessive enclitic *-e* in the singular and *-awo* in the plural, whereas non-human nouns trigger *-e* in both the singular and plural. This contrast is independent of the noun class membership characteristics of the noun, but depends whether on the semantics of the noun, i.e. human or not.)

bubu uyu ‘this mute person’; **bubu uje** ‘that mute person’; **bubu awa** ‘these mute people’

mkono wa buubu ‘the hand of the mute person’; **mikono ya buubu** ‘the hands of the mute person; the hands of the mute people’

mun^hu buubu ‘a mute person’

budi ? way out; [pron. **budi** or **buddi**]

Chiwa nayoo ndalá/ nt^haná/ budi/ we/ kumereḷa ruuhuyo/ chaakuja/ jisaa mi/ nakhfaanyó. ‘If you are hungry you have no choice but to look for food for yourself, just as I am doing.’

Isa/ taajiri/ teena/ ichiwa nt^haná/ budi/ ḷa kuula/ chulungu cha kaandra. ‘It came about then that the businessman had no choice but to buy the first storey [of the building].’

Nt^haku/ budi. ‘There is no doubt.’

khulaazima/ kumlipa/ kuuluye. ‘There is no way out, the words of the old man are true, and for being that way, you must repay him his leg.’

Nt^haná/ budi. ‘He has no way out, no alternative.’

Nt^haná/ budi/ we/ khtokosa maayi. ‘You have no choice but to boil water.’

[**Waan^hu/ wachihada/ kuwa nt^hamu/ budi/ wo/ kumtala muḷjaana/ uyu/ kuwaweḷeḷa sulṭaani.**] ‘People said that there was no way to avoid their taking this young man to be their sultan.’

Weene/ nt^haku/ budi/ ye/ kiingila/ numba iyi. ‘He saw that there was no choice but for him to enter the house.’

Ye/ nt^haná/ budi/ takeendra. ‘He has no choice but to go.’

ku-buufisha v. (**bufishiize**) spray
kubufishaa mp^hula ‘to spray s.t. into the nose’

i-bufu (*ma-*) n. anklet, usually made of silver, with little bell-shaped pendants that tinkle; this is worn by women when dancing

ku-bughuḷa v. (**bughuḷiile**) hate someone and speak evil of that person
rel. nom.

m-bughuḷa (*wa-*) n. 1/2

ukopi waawaye Jahḷi/ mbughuḷa haqi na adḷi [st.] ‘where is Abu Jahl who hated right and justice?’

buguḷi n. 9/10 hatred, abhorrence

variant form: **bughōi**

Bughōi/ hayiinfi. ‘Hatred is of no use.’

Bughōi/ hazimsaaydi/ mwenewe. ‘Hatred does not help one.’

bughōi na kibri na ðulmu rebaani [sɬ.] ‘talking ill of people and arrogance and wrongdoing, you (pl.) stop!’

m-buja

n. (my) sister (of a boy); [pron. **mbujá**]

Ali/ mbujaze/ ni wataano. ‘Ali has five sisters [lit. Ali, his sisters are five].’

Aziizi/ mbujé/ hukoða chingereenza. ‘Aziizi’s sister speaks English.’

Kanaa we/ nayo mbujó/ mneete. ‘If you (a male) have a sister, bring her.’
(Notice that a non-possessed form of the kinship term is not used here; literally, the sentence is: if you have your sister, bring her.)

Mbujá/ ni msuura. ‘My sister (a boy is speaking) is beautiful.’

the meeting.’ Or: **Moomo/ mbujá/ ile naami/ shiriini.** ‘Moomo my sister came with me to the meeting.’

the meeting.’ Or: **Moomo/ mbujá/ ile naami/ shiriini.** ‘Moomo my sister came with me to the meeting.’
Moomo is used here as a female name. A boy is speaking.)

mbuja yiitu ‘our sister’; **mbuja yiinu** ‘your sister’; **mbuja yaawo** ‘their sister’; **mbuja ziitu** ‘our sisters’, **mbuja ziinu** ‘your sisters’,
mbuja zaawo ‘their sisters’

mbujaza ‘my sisters’; **mbujazo** ‘your sisters’, **mbujaze** ‘his/her sisters’

mbujó ‘your sister’; **mbujé** ‘his sister’

Moomo/ mbujá/ shiriini/ ile naami. ‘Moomo my sister to the meeting came with me.’ (Note that the preposing of **shiriini** does not necessarily put focus on it, as in this example the verb is not in a pseudo-relative form, as it would be if **shiriini** were focused.)

Moomo/ peenzele/ kuwanayo mbujé. ‘Moomo (a male) wishes he had a sister.’

and his sisters’
mwaana/ na mbujé ‘a boy and his sister’; **mwaana/ na mbujazé** ‘a boy

Ye/ dirkamene mbujaza/ karkaa shiri. ‘He met my sisters at the meeting.’

Or: **Ye/ dirkamene mbujaza/ shiriini.**

Ye/ dirkamene mbujaza/ wawiliwe/ shiriini. ‘He met both my sisters at the meeting.’

chi-buji (zi-)

n. 7/8

bukeeni

n. in the expression:

mazu ya bukeeni ‘a kind of very large banana, not sweet enough to eat raw, but instead is cooked’

bukhuuri

n. 9/10 [Sw. **buhuri** SSED 40; Ar. ; Ar. **bakūr** “incense” W 43] a vapor made by burning certain herbs, used for medicinal purposes or as a scent; the verb **kootela** is used to refer to the act of covering oneself with a cloth to keep this vapor from escaping (Phon. The **kh** in this word is one that does not have a variant pronunciation as **q**.)

bukhuri iyi ‘this vapor’

buuku

n. 9/10 [Eng. **book**] any book not dealing with religious matters; a book on religious matters is called **ch-iwo**

buku iyi ‘this book’ (cf. **buku izi** ‘these books’)

rel.

chi-buuku (zi-) n. 7/8 book

chibuku cha mana wa Omari ‘the book of Omari’s child’ or: **chibuuku/ cha mana wa Omari**

chibuku chimooyi ‘one book’; **zibuku ziwili** ‘two books’

chibuku chisuura ‘a nice book’; **zibuku zisuura** ‘nice books’

chibuukucha ‘my book’ (Morph. We write the monosyllabic possessive enclitics as part of the same word as the noun to which they are attached. The Chijini secret language reflects the twin facts that the possessive is added to the end of the word, but at the same time

time is part of the word. The Chijini form of **chibuukucha** is [kuchachib^u]. Notice that Chijini picks out **ku** as the final syllable of the word, but at the same time it drags the possessive along with it when it moves to the beginning of the word. This tells us that the enclitic is part of the word, even if the **ku** in another sense is also the end of the word.)

Lesele chibuukú? ‘Did you bring a book?’

Mi/ waliko chisoma chibuuku/ mukh̄taa we/ iló. ‘I was reading a book when you came.’

Mp^hete chibuku cha mana wa Omari. ‘I found Omari’s child’s book.’ Or:

Mp^hete chibuukú/ cha mana wa Omari. Or: **Mp^heeté/ chibuku cha mana wa Omari.** (Phon. Our consultant GM expressed some doubt as to the acceptability of ??**Mp^hete chibuku cha maaná/ wa Omari.**)

Nuzile chibuku cha Hamadí. ‘I bought a book of Hamadi’s.’ Or: **Chibuku cha Hamadi/ chuzīla naami.** ‘A book of Hamadi’s was bought by me.’

Nuzile Hamadí/ chibuukuché. ‘I bought Hamadi’s book.’ Or: **Hamadi/ chibuukuche/ chuzīla naami.** ‘Hamadi’s book was bought by me.’

i-buuku (*mi-*) aug. 5/4 book

ibuku itaka ‘dirty book’; **mibuku mitaka** ‘dirty books’

buku

interj. not a word; [pron. **búku**], usually followed by **ṭakuhada**

Omari/ mameele/ ṭu/ búku/ ṭakuhada. ‘Omari just kept quiet, he didn’t say a word.’

buḷaati

n. sand (of the desert), desert

buḷaatiini ‘in the desert’

Chiineendra/ ilu ya buḷaati/ iyo/ inampiisha/ ka sababu/ iwa/ iwaliko ikali. ‘He walked on that desert, it was burning him because the sun was hot.’

Muda wa sku niingi/ chisaafira/ chisaafira/ hattá/ shkoma/ mahaḷa/ yiikó/ buḷaati/ niingi. ‘For a period of many days, he traveled and traveled until he reached a place where there was much desert.’

rel.

chi-buḷaati (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim.

bulbuli

n. [Sw. *bulibuli* SSED 40]

ikofiya ya bulbuli ‘a white, machine-made, embroidered skullcap (also known as **ikofiya ya kaazi**) in contrast to the **ikofiya ya chimwiini** or **ikofiya ya stuundru**, which are handmade skullcaps

Ni muunt^hu bulbuli. ‘He talks a lot (and eloquently).’

bulbuli

Ni muunt^hu/ bulbuli. ‘He talks a lot (and eloquently).’

ku-bulbulika

v. talk a lot

kubulbulika/ kana raadiyo ‘to talk non-stop, like the radio’

bulu

n. [Sw. *buluu* SSED 40] blue; [pron. **bulú**]

Alamu ya Somaaliya/ ni bulú. ‘The flag of Somalia is blue.’

Bandeera/ ya Somaaliya/ ni bulú. ‘The flag of Somalia is blue.’

khalamuy ya bulú ‘a blue pen’

zilatu zibulú ‘blue shoes’

bulukaato

n. [Ital. *placcato* "gold- or silver-plated] costume jewelry

bulaati

n. desert, sreand (of the desert)

rel.

- i-bulaati* (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
- buulo** n. 9/10 [Som. *buulo* ‘village’] village
bulooni ‘in the village’
rel.
chi-buulo (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.
Mwiini/ iwaaliko/ chibuulo/ chihaba. ‘Brava was a small village.’
Mzeele/ waliko lazile chibulooni. ‘The old man had left his small village.’
Sku yaane/ iloni/ shkoma chibuulo/ chimó. ‘On the fourth day at dusk he reached a small village.’
i-buulo (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
- Buulo** n. name of a village between Brava and Merka
Buulo/ ni tuulo/ nkhulu. ‘Buulo is a large village.’
- Bulo Baazi** n. the name of a new quarter that sprang up in Brava to the west of **Biruuni**; it consists of both stone houses and huts and straddles the road that comes down from the hill; although it is clear that the **Baazi** in **Buulo/ Baazi** is a male proper name, it is not known which Baazi is being referred to in this name
Bulo Baazi/ mtaangáwe/ mhuundru. ‘The soil of Bulo Baazi is red.’
Bulo Baazi/ ni karka haafa/ mooyi/ za Miini. ‘Bulo Baazi is one of the quarters of Brava.’
- Bulo Iji**
Buulo/ Baazi n. the name of a village (**Buulo/ Iji**) on the western side of Baghdaadi, bordering
Bulo Iji/ na Bulo Masaakiini/ ni kharibukhariibu/ tu. ‘Iji and Masaakini villages are close to each other.’
Bulo Iji/ yiko chiburiini. ‘Bulo Iji is on a small mountain.’
- Bulo Mareer** n. a village of the road to Mogadishu, some eighty kilometers north of Brava.
- Bulo Masaakiini** n. The name for a cluster of very poor huts [lit. the village of poor people] locate further up the hill from **Buulo Baazi**. These huts were not of the rectangular **ariishi** type, but were mostly round and covered with tarpaulin, plastic sheets and any other recycled material. They mostly disappeared during the 1980’s.
variant form: **Bulo Maskiini**
Bulo Masaakiini/ siwo/ kule. ‘The village of Masaakiini is far.’
Waant^hu/ ^fmasaakiini/ hukalan^ho Bulo Maskiini. ‘Poor people live in the village of Maskiini.’
Zamaani/ matuundra/ yashpatikana Bulo Maskiini. ‘In the olden times, some fruits used to be gotten in the village of Maskiini.’
- m-bulu* n. 10 pubic hair, male or female
mashungi yaa mbulu ‘pubic hair’
- buuma** n. 9/10 [Ar. *buum* ‘owl’, W. 84] owl
Buuma/ ha’iwonoowi/ ka wiingi. ‘An owl is not seen often.’
Buuma/ nakuuluka. ‘The owl is flying.’
Buuma/ uko mutiini. ‘An owl is on the tree.’
buma uyu ‘this owl’; **buma izi** ‘these owls’
rel.
chi-buuma (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.
i-buuma (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
- chi-buumba* (zi-) n. horn (of a car), instrument for making noise (e.g. a whistle)
variant form: **chibuumbu**
chibumba cha gaari ‘horn of a car’
chibumba shpiya ‘a new horn’
Gari ya Omari/ chibuumbuche/ hachirurumi. ‘Omari’s car, its horn does not make a loud noise.’

Gari ya Omari/ chibuumbuche/ hururuma. ‘Omari’s car, its horn makes a loud noise.’ (The simple yes-no question version of this sentences does not entail any change in the accent location. The exclamatory yes-no question is different: **Gari ya Omari/ chibuumbuche/ hururumâ!?**)

Gari ya Omari/ hururuma/ chibuumbuche. ‘[Lit.] Omari’s car makes a noise its horn.’ (Phon. Apparently relocating **chibuumbuche** puts it out of focus. This explains why in the simple yes-no question it undergoes an accent shift: **Gari ya Omari/ hururuma/ chimbuumbuché?** In the corresponding exclamatory yes-no question, the accent shifts for both the verb and the postposed element: **Gari ya Omari/ hururumá/ chibuumbuchê!?**)

Gari ya Omari/ nt^haynaayo/ chibuumbu. ‘Omari’s car does not have a horn.’

kubiga chibuumba ‘to honk the horn of a car, blow on a whistle’
masku leelopo takhkasa zibuumbu [nt.] ‘in the night, when you have just gone to sleep, you will hear the hooting of cars’

Omari/ mulile maanawe/ chibuumbn. ‘Omari bought a whistle for his son.’

bun

ideophone of the sound of s.t. falling

Maana/ tulushile/ bun. ‘The child fell **bun!**’

bunduqu (*Ø-, ma-*)

n. 9/10,6 [Sw. **bunduki** SSED 41; Ar., Hind., Pers.] gun, rifle; [pron. **bunduqu** or **bundukhu**]

askari/ bundukhuye ‘the soldier, his gun’

bundukhu iyi ‘this gun’, **bundukhu izi** or **mabundukhu aya** ‘these guns’

Bundukhu/ nimub^helele Nuuru. ‘The gun, I used it to kill Nuuru.’

bundukhu ya askari ‘soldier’s gun’

Bundukhu yaa mi/ nimub^helele Nuuru/ ndaaká. ‘The gun that I used to kill Nuuru is mine.’

ka qahri na huuri na wana umbukhu/ kaa ndruti tayaari shchitiya bundukhu [nt.] ‘overpowered, sweating, suffocating/ ready with sticks, we were fearing guns’

kubiga bunduqu ‘to fire a gun’

kulekeza bunduqu ‘to aim a gun’

Niwapeelé/ waant^hu/ bundukhu/ zont^he. ‘I gave the people all the guns.’

Niwapeelé/ waant^hu/ wont^he/ bundukhu. ‘I gave all the people guns.’

Niwapele waant^hú/ zont^he/ bundukhu. ‘I gave the people all the guns.’

shkasapo bunduqu mi huwersata [nt.] ‘when I hear guns I become troubled and confused’

wenye mabunduqu wanaayo tele [nt.] ‘those who wield the guns have the upper hand’

Wotte/ wachila^hila bundukhu zaawo/ washfakata. ‘All threw down their guns and ran away.’

rel.

chi-bunduqu (*zi-*) n.dim. toy gun

i-bunduqu (*mi-*) n. aug.

buni

n. 9/10 [Sw. **buni** SSED 41] coffee bean(s)

buni za kahawa ‘coffee beans for making coffee’

buni za khkalaanga ‘a kind of coffee bean that is fried’

Haliima/ ponzelee buni. ‘Haliima ground the coffee beans.’

Karkaa nt^hi/ iyi/ buni/ ni ghaali/ nt^ho/ na ka wiingi/ buni/ haspatikani/

na schipatikaná/ huzowa ka almaasi. ‘In this country, coffee is very expensive, and most of the time coffee beans are not to be found, and if they are found, they are sold for diamonds.’ (Phon.

Notice the final accent on the verb **schipatikana**. The presence of this accent requires explanation.)

Mp^hakilee buni. ‘I have loaded coffee [onto the ship].’

- unga waa buni** ‘ground coffee beans
Wachishkizaa buni/ zoŋe. ‘They unloaded all the coffee beans (e.g. from the ship).
- rel.
chi-buni (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.
i-buni (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
- m-buuni** n. 9/10 [*mbuni* SSED 270; Ar.] ostrich
Fulaanai/ ni sant^{hi} ya mbuuni. ‘So-and-so is the foot(print) of an ostrich.’ (A proverbial saying. It is believed that wherever an ostrich steps, that place goes bad, is corrupted, etc.)
Maatoŋe/ makulu/ ya mbuuni. ‘Her eyes are as big (=beautiful) as an ostrich.’
Mbuuni/ namaye/ ni halaali/ na maftayé/ waant^{hu}/ hamina nii dawa/ laakini/ mbuuni/ naksiye/ hisabaŋowa kuwa ni mkoroofi/ na ka jis’iyo/ want^{hu} wa Mwiini/ hawaweeki/ mbuuni/ numbaani. ‘The ostrich, its meat is **halaali**, and its oil, people believe it is medicine, but the ostrich itself is considered to be an ill-omen and for that reason, the people of Brava do not keep ostriches in their house.’
Miimbaye/ kama ya mbuuni. ‘His stomach is like the stomach of an ostrich (i.e. he can eat anything).’
- i-bura** (mi-) n. 5/4 [Som. *buro* DSI 69] tumor (also benign); wart
- buraangeeti** (Ø-, ma-) n. 9/10,6 [Eng. *blanket*] blanket; [pl. (ma)buraangeeti]
Finishile buraangeeti. ‘She covered herself with a blanket.’
Hufinika duniya/ ka buraangeetiye, ‘It covers the world with its blanket.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **miinza** ‘darkness’.)
Omari/ mfinishile mwaana/ buraangeeti. ‘Omari covered the child with a blanket.’ (Syn: This sentence answers the question: **Omari/ mfinishileni/ mwaana.** ‘What did Omari cover the child with?’)
Omari/ mfinishile mwaana/ ka buraangeeti. ‘Omari covered the child with a blanket.’ (Syn: This sentence answers the question: **Omari/ mfinishile mwaana/ ka ni.** ‘Omari covered the child with what?’)
Waana/ wafinikene buraangeeti. ‘The children covered one another with blankets.’
- rel.
chi-buraangeeti (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.
i-buraangeeti (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
- buraaqi** n. a horse with a human face which took the Prophet to heaven; [pron. **buraaqi** or **buraakhi**]
- buraashi** n. 9/10 [Eng. *brush*] brush
buraashi/ ya miino ‘toothbrush’
kubiga buraashi ‘to paint; to whitewash’
Lbishile lkuta/ buraashi. ‘He painted the wall.’
kubiga numba/ buraashi ‘to paint the house’
- ku-burbuka** (a hill), roll over, tumble v. [Som. *burbur* DSI 68] (**burbushile**) fall down, collapse(of a structure); roll down
Kama muti uyu/ uchiburbuka/ naambila. ‘If this tree falls, tell me.’
Muti / uburbushile. ‘The tree fell.’
Muti uyu/ ka’uburbuká/ sula khshikowaa mi. ‘If this tree were to fall, I would be held responsible.’
Nk^huta/ za numba iyi/ stakuburbuka. ‘The walls of this house will collapse.’
Nk^huta/ za numba iyi/ ziburbushile. ‘The walls of this house have

collapsed.’

nt^haaśá kuburbuka ruuhuya kuguura [song] ‘I haven’t collapsed, my soul departing’

Omari/ burbushile. ‘Omari tumbled.’

Wo/ wamo karkaa ndilá/ barza/ ya sultaani/ jasiye/ ichiburbuka/ ichiwa’ubla/ waant^hu/ wawaliko haađiri/ apó/ woté. ‘While there were on the way, the roof of the reception hall of the sultan collapsed and it killed all the people who were present there.’

rel.

ku-burbukaburbuka v. freq.

Masku/ ye/ leeló/ ichinyaa nvula/ niingi/ nt^ho/ hattá/ miti ya nt^heendre/ yachiburbukaburbuka. ‘At night when he was sleeping, it rained very much until date trees fell all over.’

ku-burbukiloowa v. appl. pass.

Mwaana/ burbukilila naa muti. ‘The child was fallen on by the tree.’

ku-burbukila v. appl. (*burbukilile*) fall on, fall over on, roll over on

Gaari/ imburbukile Sa’iidi. ‘The car rolled over onto Saiidi. Saiidi’s car rolled over.’

Muti/ uburbukilile nuumba. ‘The tree fell on the house.’

Muti/ umburbukilile mbuzi. ‘The tree fell on the goat.’

ku-burbusha v. caus. cause to fall down, roll over

Aawo/ mburbushize Sheekhi/ muti/ ka shtoka. ‘Aawo caused the tree to fall on Sheekhi using an axe.’

Muusa/ burbushize gaari/ mlimaani. ‘Muusa rolled the car over the hill.’

Omari/ mburbushize mwaana. ‘Omari rolled the child over, knocked him down, etc.’ (A causative verb such as this, which involves the subject of the verb acting directly on the causee, does not permit a periphrastic causative version, at least in the same meaning:

***Omari/ mtile mwaana/ kuburbuka.**

ku-burbushiliza v. caus. appl. (*burbushilize*) cause to fall on, for

Haaji/ mburbushilize Abaawali/ muti. ‘Haaji caused the tree to fall for Abaawali(’s benefit.’ (This same sentence might also mean ‘Haaji caused the tree to fall on Abaawali.’, but this meaning is not the primary one.)

Muusa/ burbushilize gaari/ muti. ‘Muusa caused the tree to fall on the

car.’

Muusa/ burbushilizeni/ gaari. ‘What did Muusa cause to fall on the car?’

Muusa/ burbushilizeni/ muti. ‘Why did Muusa cause the tree to fall?’

(This is the only meaning our consultant accepted. He rejected a meaning ‘what did Muusa cause the tree to fall on?’)

Mwiizi/ mburbushilize Suufi/ lwawo. ‘The thief caused the plank to fall on

Suufi.’

Mwiizi/ mburbushilize mzeele/ mwaana/ mlimaani. ‘The thief caused the old man’s child to roll over the hill; also: the thief caused the child to roll over onto the old man on the hill.’

Nuuru/ burbushilize muti/ nuumba. ‘Nuuru caused the tree to fall on the house.’

Omari/ mburbushilize Iisa/ mwaana. ‘Omari rolled Iisa’s child over, knocked Iisa’s child down, etc.’ (Syn. Again, a periphrastic causative in this meaning is not available: ***Omari/ mtile Iisa/ mwaana/ kuburbuka.**)

Saahibu/ mburbushilize baaba/ mwaana/ chitaani. ‘Saahibu caused the child to fall down onto father’s head.’

ku-burbushilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. (*-burbushilizeenye*)

Omari/ na Nuurú/ wamburbushilizenye waana. ‘Omari and Nuuru knocked one another’s children down, rolled them over, etc.’ (Syn. Again, a periphrastic causative is not possible in this meaning: ***Omari/ na Nuurú/ watililene waana/ kuburbuka.**)

ku-burbushilizoowa v. caus. appl. pass.

Gaari/ iburbushilizaa muti. ‘The car was caused to be fallen on (by) the tree.’ (This is a possible sentence, though the structure invites an interpretation where **gaari** is a beneficiary, but

no such interpretation seems available.)

Nuumba/ iburbushilizaa muti/ na Nuuru. ‘The house was made to be fallen on by a tree by Nuuru.’

ku-burbushoowa v. caus. pass.

Nk^huta/ za numba iyi/ ziburbushiiza. ‘The walls of this house have been knocked down.’

Nk^huta/ za numba iyi/ stakuburbushoowa. ‘The walls of this house will be knocked down.’

burda

n. [Ar. *burda* ‘‘Mohammad’s outer garment’’ W 51] a religious poem that is read to the sick (the religious poem takes its name from the Prophet’s mantle (*burda*) to be spread over the faithful as protection

Burdunaale

n. The old route from Mogadishu to Brava involved in part a dirt road from Shalaambood (**Shirombooto**) to Mudun (**Muduni**). However, during the rainy season, this dirt road was often impassible and vehicles had to follow a narrow track among the thick bush, called in Chimwiini **Burdunaale** (from Italian *pedonale* ‘‘pedestrians’ way’’.)

buure

adv. [Sw. *bure* SSED 42; Hind.; cf. Ar. verb *bāra, baur* ‘‘to be unprofitable, lead to nothing’’ W 81-82] free, gratis, uselessly

ka buure ‘without pay; uselessly, in vain; for no reason’

Hattá/ sku mooyi/ choondroka/ cheendra/ ka waawaye/

chimwaambila/ waawé/ mi/ nofeeté/ khkalaant^ha/

jis’iyi/ ka buure. ‘Until one day he got up and went to his father and said: my father, I am tired staying (here) in this way uselessly.’

Mazá/ we/ nakuja ka buuré. ‘Why are you crying for nothing?’

Mp^hikishize chaakuja/ ka buure. ‘He caused me to cook food free (i.e. without paying me) or uselessly.’

khsumbuka buure ‘to waste one’s efforts [lit. to worry for nothing]’

Sultaani/ chiwavila watumishi/ chiwa’ambila/ nt^hanná/ rukhsa/

kumbiga uyu/ ka buure. ‘The sultan called the servants and told them: you (pl.) do not have permission to beat this one for no reason.’

m-buure

in the expression:

chana mbuure (plural **zana mbuure**) ‘a kind of bird, smaller than **stigaa nt^hi**, possibly light brown and white in color; found in the areas around Brava)’

burgante

n. 9 [Ital. *purgante*] purgative

Nele burganté/ so. ‘You took a laxative, didn’t you? did you take a laxative (e.g. I have observed you going repeatedly to the bathroom)?’

burhaani

n. [Ar. *burhān* ‘‘proof’’ W 56] proof that one or one’s words have been sent by God; miracle

burhani iyi ‘this proof’

burhaanize ‘his miracles’

i-buuri (mi-)

n. [Som. *buur* DSI 71] hill (of sand), waste dump

Cheendra/ shtawanya iburiini. ‘She went and discarded (the cut up body) at the garbage dump.’

iburi ya kapeelo ‘a place name in Brava’ (the name comes from Emilio Cappello who was the Italian Resident in Brava for some years starting from 1898)

iburi yaa nt^haka ‘a heap of garbage’

kharibu ya ibuuri ‘near a hill’

Maayi/ hishkiḷa/ hayapaandri/ ibuuri. ‘Water comes down, it does not go up a hill.’ (A proverb.)

Nakhtawanyaa nt^haka/ iburiini. ‘He is throwing away garbage at the dump.’

Shtala kuulu/ yaa mbuzi/ chilaṭila iburiini/ na ibuuri/ iyó/ iwaaliko/ khariibu/ ya nuumbaye. ‘She took the leg of the goat and threw it into the garbage dump, that garbage dump was near her house.’

Waana/ wanakhteza iburiini. ‘The children are playing at the waste dump.’

rel.

chi-buuri (zi-) n. 7/8 dim. small hill

chiburi cha huundru ‘a small red hill -- refers to a small red sandhill that is outside Brava on the west side, where people often went for a walk’

ku-burisha

v. (**burishiize**) expel

rel.

ku-burishoowa v. pass. (**burishiiza**)

Omari/burishiiza/ skolaani. ‘Omari was expelled from school.’

burji

n. 9/10 a kind of imported cloth, heavier than **gereesi** or **leeso**

burji iyi ‘this cloth’ (cf. **burji izi** ‘these cloths’)

rel.

chi-burji (zi-) n. 7/8 dim. (disparaging use)

Chiburji gani/ icho. ‘What kind of a **chiburji** is that (implying that it is a poor piece of cloth)?’

ku-burkhata

v. [cf. Som. *burqo* ‘to squirt out water’] (**burkheete**) become intensely angry, to the point of foaming at the mouth; talk a lot and angrily; rage, shout violently

Ngamiila/ burkheete. ‘The camel became angry.’

rel.

ku-barkhatisha v. caus. (**burkhatishiize**)

Baana/ mburkhatishize mwaana. ‘Baana caused the child to become intensely angry.’ (Cf. the periphrastic version: **Baana/ mtilé mwaana/ kuburkhata.**)

ku-barkhatishana v. caus. rec.

ku-barkhatishika v. caus. p/s.

ku-barkhatishiliza v. caus. appl. (**burkhatishiliize**)

Baana/ mburkhatishilize Iisa/ mwaana. ‘Baana caused Iisa’s child to become intensely angry.’ (Cf. the periphrastic version: **Baana/ mtilile Iisa/ mwaana/ kuburkhata.**)

ku-barkhatishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. (**-burkhatishilizeenye**)

Baana/ na Iisá/ waburkhatishilizenye waana. ‘Baana and Iisa caused one another’s children to become intensely angry.’ (Cf. the periphrastic version: **Baana/ na Iisá/ watililene waana/ kuburkhata.**)

buru

n. a general term for a kind of donut made in Brava; **khamdi** is a triangular-shaped **buru**, while **shuumbuwa** is a round ball **buru**, and **rumaani** can be either triangular- or square-shaped

i-buruuda (mi-)

n. 5/4 **etymo unknown** hip, upper pelvic area

buruko

n. 9/10 [Ital. *parrucca*] wig

buruko i(y)i ‘this wig’; **buruko izi** ‘these wigs’

Haliimu/ vete buruko. ‘Haliima wore a wig.’

rel.

chi-buruko (zi-) n. dim. small wig

chiburuko ichi ‘this wig’

i-buruko (mi-) n. aug. large wig

khkula iburuko ‘to take off a wig’

kugita iburuko ‘to pull off a wig’
kuvala iburuko ‘to wear a wig’

Burundi

n. Burundi

Maðahweena/ wa Burundi/ inqilabeeta. ‘The president of Burundi is being overthrown.’

ku-buruurata

v. [Som. *burur* DSI 69] (**burureete**) fall into a trance, fall into convulsions (of person being possessed by jinns)

Omari/ shkasa jawabu iyo/ takuburuurata. ‘If Omari hears this, he will go crazy, get mad, get out of control.’

rel.

ku-bururataoowa v. pass.

Kubururataoowa/ bilaa ma’ana/ siwo/ suura. ‘To get mad for no reason is not good.’

ku-bur(u)sha
etc.)

v. [Som. *huri* DSI 69] (**bur(u)shiize**) turn or drive s.o. out (e.g. from school, house,

Basi/ wachimburusha. ‘So they sent him away.’

the shoe [that he found].’

Mburshize mwaana/ ka khisaa chilaatu. ‘He sent the boy away because of

Mwambiile/ ni/ hanimp’enda/ chiza skanimburishe. ‘He told her: you (pl.) do not like me, otherwise you would not have driven me away.’ (Note the honorific use of the second person plural form in this statement, where the boy is addressing the sultan’s daughter.)

rel.

ku-burushoowa v. pass. (**burishiiza**) be dismissed, sent away

Basi/ maana/ nakhtiya/ kuburushowa kaziini. ‘So/now, the child is afraid of being dismissed from work.’

ku-buusa

v. [Sw. *busu* SSED 43, from Persian] (**busiize**) kiss

Kuzimu/ skomi/ nt’i/ takubusa maraa saba. ‘The sky I won’t reach, the earth I will kiss seven times.’ (A proverbial saying thanking God for having received so much and expressing one’s joy.)

Mkono/ waa we/ hukhadiri/ ku’uñindá/ ubuuse. ‘The hand that you cannot cut it, kiss it.’ (A proverb.)

Nimbusize Baabá/ Shariifú/ mkonó. ‘I kissed Baaba Shariifu on the hand.’
Or: **Nimbusize mkonó/ Baabá/ Shariifú.** ‘I kissed on the hand Baaba Shariifu.’ (Observe that locating **mkono** in post-verbal position does not necessitate putting focus on it, as the accentual pattern exhibited in the second example is not distinct from the accentual pattern of the first example: all phrases in the scope of the verb are assigned final accent.)

Omari/ mbusize mwaana/ mkono(oni). ‘Omari kissed the child’s hand/ kissed the child on the hand.’

Suufi/ mbusishize mwaana/ chibuuku. ‘Suufi had the child kiss the book.’
(It would be possible for the causee to be indicated only by the object marker: **Suufi/ mbusishize chibuuku.** ‘Suufi made him kiss the book.’ It seems to be acceptable to omit all specification of the causee, i.e. both the overt noun and the object marker, while retaining the logical object: **Suufi/ busishize chibuuku.** ‘Suufi had (s.o.) kiss the book.’)

Sultaani/ chuuluka/ chibusa oyo mwaana. ‘The sultan jumped and kissed that boy.’

rel.

ku-busilizanya v. appl. rec.

ku-buusisha v. caus.

Huseeni/ busishiize. ‘Huseeni had (s.o.) kiss (s.t.)’ (Note that it is possible for both the one made to kiss and the one kissed to be omitted from the sentence.)

Omari/ mbusishize mwaalimu. ‘Omari had the teacher kiss (s.o.)’ (Note that the object marker on the verb must refer to **mwaalimu** and **mwaalimu** must be the causee, i.e. the one who was made to kiss someone. The sentence cannot mean ‘Omari made someone kiss the teacher’.)

Suufi/ mbusishize mwaana/ mwaalimu/ mkonooni. ‘Suufi had the child kiss the teacher on the hand.’

ku-busishana v. caus. rec.

ku-busishika v. caus. p/s.
ku-busishiliza v. caus. appl.
ku-busishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
ku-busoowa v. pass.

hajari aswadi sunna hubusoowa [st.] 'it is not obligatory to kiss the Black Stone'

Mkono/ ha'utiindiki/ hubusoowa. 'A hand that cannot be cut off is kissed.' (A proverb which conveys the idea that what is indispensable must be kept.)

busaati (Ø, ma-) n. 9/10, 6 [Sw. *būsati* SSED 43; Ar. *bisāt* W 58] blanket
Busaati/ iyele nt'uundru. 'The blanket is filled with holes.'
busaati iyi 'this blanket' (cf. **mabusati aya** 'these blankets')
Busaati/ kufinikowa waqti ya bardi. 'A blanket is used to cover oneself when one is cold.'
busaati nangaangu 'a light blanket'
Busaati/ nzimaye/ nt'uundru. 'The blanket, its whole, is (all) holes.' (It should be pointed out that downstepping does not occur between the first two phrases, although there is typically some declination, but there is downstepping of the final phrase.)
busaati/ nzito heavy blanket'
khfinika busaati 'to cover with a blanket'

rel.

chi-busaati (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

i-busaati (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

bustaani (Ø, ma-) n. 9/10, 6 [Sw. *bustani* SSED 43; Ar. *bustān* W 57] garden
bustaniini 'in the garden'

rel.

chi-bustaani (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

i-bustaani (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

busuri in the expression:
busuri ya nt'heendre 'one piece of date'
busurii mbili/ ya nt'heendre 'two pieces of dates'

buuti n. 9/10 [Eng. *boot*] boot
buti iyi 'this boot' (cf. **buti izi** 'these boots')
buti za magozi 'leather boots'
buti zaa ngozi 'leather boots'
Omari/ vete buuti. 'Omari wore boots.'
rel.
chi-buuti(zi-) n. 7/ dim. (disparaging use)
Zibuti gani/ izo. 'What kind of **zibuuti** are these (suggesting they are not good boots)?'

buybuyi(Ø, ma-) n. 9/10, 6 [Sw. *buibui* SSED 40] a large spider

i-buyibuuyi (ma-) n. 5/6 [Sw. *buibui* SSED 40] a cloth used by Muslim women that covers the whole body (=ishoga)
variant form: **buyibuyi** [cl.9/10]
Buyibuyi izi/ ghaali. 'These **buyibuyi** are expensive.'
Haliima/ vete buyibuyi. 'Haliima wore a **buyibuyi**.'

m-buuyu (mi-) n. 3/4 [Sw. *mbuyu* (mi-) SSED 270] baobab tree

rel.

i-wuuyu n. fruit of the baobab tree

m-buzi n. 9/10 [Sw. *mbuzi* SSED 270] a tool used to break up the meat of the coconut and scrape it out

m-buzi

n. 9/10 [Sw. *mbuzi* SSED 270] goat

Chimpaa mbuzi. 'He was giving it to the goat.' (Morph. Observe that the singular **mbuzi** controls [cl.1] agreement, *m*, on the verb. This verbal form could also be a conditional clause: 'if he gives it to the goat'.)

Isa/ ndetela mbuziya. 'Now, bring me back my goat.'

Jiba mbuzi izi/ ump^{hi}/ mkulu/ ump^{hi}/ chihaba. 'Answer [the question] which of these [two] goats is older, which is younger.'

kudaqishaa mbuzi 'to graze the goats'

Maama/ choloka sukhuuni/ chulaa mbuzi/ sh^{ti}ndaa mbuzi/ shfanya

karamu/ nk^hulu. 'Mother went to the market (and) bought a goat (and) slaughtered the goat (and) made a large feast.'

mbuzi waa waarabu 'an Arab's goat'

mbuzi yaa be or **mbuzi waa be** 'goat' (cf. **mbuzi zaa be** 'goats')

mbuzi ya matako or **mbuzi wa matako** 'sheep (lit. goat with buttocks)' (cf. **mbuzi za matako** 'sheep (pl.)')

Apo/ maha^{la}aa ye/ waalikó/ iwaliko mbuzi ya matako ya

sultaani/ na sultaani/ humpendaa nt^ho/ mbuzi uyu.

'There at the place where he was, there was a sheep of the sultan and the sultan loved very much this sheep.'

Keesho/ fijiri/ oloka/ ula...mbuzi ya matako/ ula na lkaambalá/ ndreetela. 'Tomorrow, in the morning, go and buy a

sheep and also buy a rope and bring them to me.'

mbuzi ya waarabu 'an Arabian goat' (cf. **mbuzi za waarabu** 'Arabian goats')

Mbuziwo/ wa matako/ uko. 'Your lamb is there (alive).' (Syn. Notice that the possessive enclitic appears on the head of the associative phrase **mbuzi/ wa matako** and not on the complement element.)

Mujaa mbuzi/ hulipa ngoombe. 'The one who eats a goat repays with a cow.' (A proverb.)

nama yaa mbuzi 'goat meat'

Nt^hakhu^{ti}inda/ kanaa mbuzi. 'I will cut you like a goat.' (A threat.)

Sh^{ti}ndaa mbuzi. 'He slaughtered a goat.'

Talanii mbuzi/ na ko^{de}le ya ujee muke/ ko^{de}eló. '(You pl.) take the goat and speak what that (djinn) woman said (i.e. do as the djinn said to do).'

rel.

chi-buzi (zi-)n. 7/8 dim.

Nazo zibuzi ziwili. 'He has two dim. goats.'

Omari/ uzile chibuzi chihaba. 'Omari bought a small goat.'

i-buzi (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

Chiwona ibuzi. 'He saw a big goat.'

khkolola/ kana ibuzi 'to cough like a goat (used of adults)'

Nakhkolola kana ibuzi. 'He is coughing like a big goat.'

m-b(w)a

n. 9/10 [Sw. *mbwa* SSED 270] dog; [pron. **mbwa** or **mba**]

kubiga mikele/ kanaa mb(w)a 'to shout, bark like a dog'

kumfaanya/ kanaa mba 'to treat him like a dog [similar in use to the English expression]'

Makombo yaseeló/ chimpaa mbwa. 'The leftovers that remained he gave to the dog.'

Mbwa/ haaji. 'A dog does not, won't eat.' (Cf. **Mbwa/ haaziji.** 'Dogs do not, won't eat.')

Mbwa/ haazija/ maanyi. 'A dog does not eat grass.'

Mbwa/ mnumiló. 'The dog bit him.'

Mbwa oyo/ hurasha waant^hu. 'That dog chases people.'

Mbwa/ mrashiize. 'The dog chased him.'

mbwa qooqi 'a mean dog'

mbwa wa maduuri 'a wild dog'

mbwa waardiya 'a watch dog'

Mp^hete mbwa wa Hamadí. ‘I found Hamadí’s dog.’ Or, with **mbwa** controlling human agreement on the verb: **Nimpete mbwa wa Hamadí.**

Mp^hete Hamadí/ mbwaazé. ‘I found Hamadí’s dogs.’ Or, with the plural **mbwa** controlling [cl.10] agreement on the verb: **Nispete Hamadí/ mbwaazé.**

mwana waa mbwa ‘a puppy; a son-of-a-bitch’

Omari/ fanyize Alí/ kana mba mooyi. ‘Omari treated Ali like a dog.’

Omari/ waanawe/ ni wana waa mba. ‘Omari’s children are a dog’s children – i.e. they do not respect elders, they do all sorts of bad things, etc.’

Sarmadi/ lumila naa mba. ‘Sarmadi was bitten by a dog.’

Shkosa iwele ya maamo/ amá/ haṭa yaa mbwa. ‘If you lack your mother’s breast, suckle even a dog’s.’ (A proverb.)

Sku mooyi/ mp^huundra/ naa mbwa/ wachisaafira/ pamooyi. ‘One day a donkey and a dog were travelling together.’

rel.

chi-b(w)a (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim. [pron. **chib(w)á**]

chibwaacha ‘my dim. dog’ (cf. **zibwaaza** ‘my dim. dogs’)

i-b(w)a (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug. [pron. **ib(w)á**]

Ibá/ inakubiga mikele/ wúh wúh wúh. ‘The (aug.) dog is barking **wuh wuh**.’ (Each repetition of the ideophone is pronounced on a high pitch; these high pitches are not downstepped relative to the preceding accented syllable.)

ibwaaya ‘my aug. dog’

mibwaaya ‘my aug. dogs’

Nt^hakiineedra/ shtaambo/ chaa muda/ mule/ hattá/ chi’iwona/ ibwá/ ikulu. ‘He did not go for a long period of time before he saw a large wild dog.’

bwaana

n. [Sw. *bwana* SSED 43] a term of address, "mister", "master"

Bwana taajiri/ bwana taajiri. ‘Mr. Businessman! Mr. Businessman!’

Qbwaana/ takhaadira/ we/ khfungula shtandrawili ichi? ‘Master, will you be able to solve this riddle?’ (Phon. The final accent in the phrase is due to the intonational principles of yes-no questions.)

final

Isa/ mi/ nile kaakó/ bwana mfaime/ kumera haqiya. ‘Now I have come to you, Mr. King, to seek my right (i.e. what is mine).’

CH

ku-cha

v. (**cheele**) dawn

Basi/ fijiri/ mukhta ucheeló/ waant^hu/ wont^he/ wahuðurile ka sultaani. ‘So in the morning when it dawned, all the people were present at the sultan’s place.’

Fijiri/ icheelopó/ Abdalla/ suliile/ kishkila ka mutiini. ‘When morning dawned, Abdalla wanted to climb down from the tree.’

Ucheele. ‘It dawned; it is too late.’

Ucheelopó/ sku ya piili/ Hasani/ ile/ ka waawaye. ‘When it was morning, the second day, Hasani came to his father’s place.’

Ucheelopó/ Sultani Daraayi/ choondroka/ usinziziini. ‘When it dawned, Sultan Daraayi arose from sleep.’

Usiché. ‘Let it not become dawn (i.e. before you get up).’

rel.

kh-cheelelela v. appl. (**-cheelele**) be late

Iwa/ imchelelele. ‘He was late (lit. the sun dawned on him).’

kh-cheeleloowa v. appl. pass. (**cheelele**) over sleep, be late (i.e. be overtaken by dawn)

Nch^helelela koloka madrasaani. ‘I was late going to school.’

-chaache adj. [Sw. *-chache* SSED 46] few, a little (This word is not much used nowadays, it appears, being found mostly in **steenzi**. The ordinary language examples cited below are from MI.)

Ba'ada yaa muda/ siwo mchaaché/ askari za sultaani/ wachiruuda.

'After a period of time which was not short, the soldiers of the sultan returned.'

Ba'ada/ ya wakhti/ mchaache/ weenzawe/ walwaawo/ wachilawa/ ka habasaani. 'After a short period of time both his friends left from prison.'

ba'ada/ ya sku nch^haache 'after a few days'

Duniyaani/ nt^hana miingi/ nayo machaache. 'In this world, one who does not have many (e.g. **matata** 'troubles) has a few.' (A proverb.)

Elo uyu/ qiimaye/ nch^haache. 'The price of this gazelle was small.'

Maambo/ aya/ ya'ineenzele/ muda/ wa sku/ sho kuwa nch^haache. 'These affairs continued for a period of days that were not few.'

mayi machaache 'a little water'

mp^haka nch^haache 'a few cats'

Pete want^hu/ wachaache/ kumraasha/ laakini/ ye/ walá/ want^hu/ wamrashizoo ye/ nt^hawakhpata/ amaani. 'He got a few people to follow him, but neither he nor the people who followed him got peace (i.e. were able to live in peace).'

Sho kuwanayo miingi/ nayo machaache. 'He who does not have many (worries) has a few.' (A proverb.)

want^hu wachaache 'a few people'

Wataana/ wachaache/ wakhadirilo kuzimila ka jaziraani/ wafungile khisa za ajabu. 'The few slaves who were able to escape from the island told amazing stories.'

We/ siwo/ ijini/ we/ ni mwaadamú/ we/ nakunkhada'a/ tu/ huwaayi/ kuwa maali/ yaa we/ teetó/ yotte/ yamaliize/ ka sku nch^haache. 'You are not a djinn, you are a human being; you are just deceiving me, how could the wealth that you took, all of it, be finished in just a few days?'

zisu schaache 'a few knives'

rel.

u-chaache n. 14 scarcity

-chaafu

adj. dirty

mwana mchaafu 'a dirty child'; **wana wachaafu** 'dirty children'

chaka

n. wealth, money (Morph. It is unknown whether this item can be analyzed morphologically into a prefix *ch-* and a stem. No plural form has been recorded.)

menye chaka 'a rich person' confirm vowel length

ukopi Qaruuni kufri / menye chaka chi sho qadri = where is Qaruun, the unbeliever, rich beyond measure'

chakaari

adj. full, overloaded

Gaari/ ile chakaari. 'The car came over-loaded.'

Leelo/ nuumba/ chakaari. 'Today the house is full.' Or: **Nuumba/ leelo/ chakari.** Or: **Nuumba/ chakaari/ leelo.**

Miimbaya/ iwele chakaari. 'My stomach became full.'

Miimbaya/ iwele chakarii nt^ho. 'My stomach became very full.'

Njiilé/ hatá/ miimbaya/ iwele chakaari. 'I ate until my stomach became full.'

cheeki

n. [Som. *jeeg* DSI 341] check/cheque

-chi-

narrative past tense or continuous past tense prefix

Abinawaasi/ chi['i]fakatila. 'Abinawaasi ran away.' (Phon. Although this

example was pronounced in our text without the material in brackets, the form ***chifakaṭila** would not be expected on phonological grounds – i.e. the prefix *chi* would be expected to elide its vowel in front of a voiceless obstruent, yielding ***shfakaṭila**; it would also not be expected on morphological grounds, as the applied verb is typically used in conjunction with the reflexive prefix *i* to convey notions like take oneself away, run away, and so on.)

Basi/ chimwaambila. ‘So he told him.’

Basi/ shtaambula. ‘So he was able to differentiate (between the two).’

Chibiga alaama. ‘He made a mark (on it).’

Chilawa/ cheendra/ ka sulṭaani/ apo/ ye chimshika sulṭaani/ mkono/ chilawa naaye/ keendra/ kumwubla. ‘He departed and went to the sultan, and there he took the sultan by hand to go out with him to go to kill him.’

Mi/ nch^hoondroka/ nch^hiboola/ mbuziyo/ ya matako/ nch^himuusha/ nch^heendra/ nch^hulaa mbuzi/ ya matako/ nch^himṭiinda/ nch^himwambila mukeewa... ‘I arose and I stole your lamba and I hide it and I went and bought a sheep and I slaughtered it and I told my wife...’

Muke/ chiwaletelaa nama/ wachijá/ chimaliza/ wachi’ilawilá. ‘The woman brought the meat to them and they ate, then they went away.’ (Phon. The use of the final accent in this example is not at present understood. The pronunciation recorded here occurred in a text tape recorded by MI. Another consultant confirmed the final accent for **wachijá** in this example, but preferred the final phrase, **wachi’ilawila**, to have penult accent. Of course, in isolation, **wachija** would also have penult accent, since this is the default accent for the *chi* tense.)

Mwanaamke/ kama oyo/ shṭuluba chaakuja/ shpoowa/ chija. ‘The girl, like that, requested food and was given it and ate.’

Mwiisho/ Abdalla/ chiraasha/ kooḍi/ za mukeewe. ‘At last, Abdalla followed [i.e. accepted, agreed with] the words of his wife.’

Sku ya piiliye/ mwanaamke/ choondroka/ ka chiliini/ chilawa ndilaani/ kinendra’ineendra. ‘On the second day, the girl arose from the bed and went outside to take a stroll.’

Sulṭaani/ shṭomola sanduukhu/ chi’iweeka/ mbele/ za waant^hu/ wa’ilo kiiwá/ ije itakhtulukó. ‘The sultan took out the box and placed it in front of the people who had come to know that which will take place.’ (Syn. Note the use of the narrative past in **shṭomola** and **chi’iweeka** but the perfect in **wa’ilo**.)

Wachija. ‘They ate.’

Wachimwaambila. ‘They told her.’

Wachoondroka/ washfunga safari. ‘They arose and set out on a journey.’

Walwaawo/ wachilawa/ kendra maduriini/ khtinda makharba. ‘The two of them left to go to the bush to pick [lit. cut] leaves.’

-chi-

conditional prefix

Muunthu/ chisula chiint^hu/ masku/ hufanya muunthi. ‘If someone wants something, night makes it into day.’ (A proverb which conveys the idea that if one really wants something, one will not rest before getting it – even though one ordinarily rests at night, night will become like day.)

Muunthu/ chiwa naacho/ humambila nth^eendra. ‘If someone has it, it tells him: use me! make use of me!’ (A proverb which says that if someone has a lot of money, that money tells him to use it, spend it, keep on buying things extravagantly.)

chi-

first person plural subject prefix; morphophonemic variants: *ch, sh*

Chaajire. ‘Let us rent.’

Chaminiilé. ‘We believed.’

Chijile liini. ‘When did we eat?’

Chinakulata. ‘We are letting go.’
chisoole ‘that we crush grain’
Chiwaliko waana. ‘We were children.’
Naasi/ chiko hayyi... ‘And we who are alive...’
Si/ shtile ruhu ziitu/ karka khatari/ na shchiiwa... ‘We put ourselves in danger and we knew...’

chi-

[cl.7] subject prefix; morphophonemic variant: *ch, sh*

Chaayi/ chileseja na mgeeni. ‘Tea was brought by the guest.’
Chibuuku/ chibeele. ‘The book is lost.’
Chisimacha/ hashtiindiki/ maayi. ‘My well never stops yielding water.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **kana** ‘the mouth’.)
Chisu/ chingile miriri. ‘The knife is rusty.’
Chita cha ngoombe/ chiseele. ‘The head of a cow remained.’
Chizeele/ chileseja/ karka ikholi. ‘The old woman was brought in the mat-bag.’
Chuluungu/ cha piili/ hashtakhkalaant^ha. ‘The second storey will not remain standing.’
(Ye/ ka’oloka/ sula kichiwona. ‘If he went, he would see us.’

-chi-

first person plural object prefix; morphophonemic variant: *ch, sh*

kichibiga ‘to beat us’
Nt^hawanakhfurahila/ kichiwona. ‘They are not pleased to see us.’
Sichaaminé. ‘Do not trust us!’
Sichimereeni. ‘(You pl.) don’t look for us!’
Sishkooðishé. ‘Don’t talk to us.’ or ‘Don’t make us talk!’
Wachisharifiile. ‘They honored us.’
Washpete. ‘They found us.’

-chi-

[cl.7] object prefix; morphophonemic variant: *ch, sh*

Chakuja ichi/ hashkhaadiri/ kichoonda/ leelo. ‘This food, we cannot taste it today.’
Chibuku ichi/ hashkhaadiri/ kishpata ka sahali. ‘This book, we cannot find it easily.’ (Phon. Observe that the infinitive prefix **ku** is changed to **ki** in front of an object prefix containing a palatal element, as in the present case: **kishpata**. See preceding example as well.)
Chiiko/ laakini/ hichiwoni. ‘It is there, but one does not see it.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **lkosi** ‘nape of the neck’.) (Phon. Notice that the habitual prefix **hu** like the infinitive **ku** is altered to **hi** in front of an object prefix that contains a palatal element.)
Huseeni/ shtala shpete/ chichivaala. ‘Huseeni took the ring and put it on.’
Nuuru/ chisomele chibuuku. ‘Nuuru read the book.’ (Syn. The object prefix is used to make explicit that the object is definite. When the object is indefinite, there is no object agreement: **Nuuru/ somele chibuuku.** ‘Nuuru read a book.’)
Sultaani/ chimuuzi/ ichije chiint^hu/ shpeeté/ mwaana/ chihada/ nishpeeté. ‘The sultan asked him: that thing, did you find it? The boy said: I found it.’
Waant^hu/ won^he/ wachisimama/ kichilanga chizeele/ icho/ na kishpa salaamú. ‘All the people stood up and looked at that old woman and greeted her.’

chi-

[cl.7] noun class prefix; morphophonemic variants: *ch, sh*

chaala ‘finger’
chiguwo ‘rag’
chireeza ‘razor’
chisimacha ‘my well’
chisiwa ‘island’

chisu ‘knife’
chuula ‘frog’
shkapu ‘basket’
shpete ‘ring’

chi- [cl.7] agreement prefix
Chala chimooyi/ hachubli/ nt^hawa. ‘One finger does not kill a louse.’ Or:
Chaala/ chimooyi/ hachubli/ nt^hawa.
chibuku chiimp^hi ‘which book?’
chiguwo chiimp^hi ‘which rag?’
Chint^hu chimooyi/ huzaloo miya. ‘One thing which bears a hundred.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **awuri** ‘seed’.)
Munt^hu uyu/ chisuche/ chile. ‘This man’s knife is long.’
Munt^hu uyu/ chisuche/ chilee nt^ho. ‘This man’s knife is very long.’

Chibuuri Chihuundru

chiichi strong [cl.7] demonstrative, first position (near speaker)
chiichi/ ichi ‘this very same one (referring, for example, to **chiti** ‘a chair’)’

chiichi/ ichi [cl.7] emphatic demonstrative
chiichi/ shkapu ichi ‘this basket itself’

chiichi/ ichije [cl.7] third position emphatic demonstrative
chiichi/ shkapu ichije ‘that basket itself’

chiichi/ icho ? [cl.7] two position emphatic demonstrative (uncertain as to whether this is used)

chiichije strong [cl.7] demonstrative, third person (away)

chiichije/ ichije [cl.7] third position emphatic demonstrative (used by MI, not used by our present consultants)
chiichije/ ichije ‘that very same one (referring, for example, to **chiti** ‘a chair’)’

chiicho strong [cl.7] demonstrative, second position (near addressee)
chiicho/ icho ‘this very same one (referring, for example, to **chiti** ‘a chair’)’
chiicho/ ka chiicho ‘the same ones, over and over’
Fanyize kaazi/ ka chuma chaa ye/ wanaachó/ chiicho/ ka chiicho. ‘He did business with the capital that he had, over and over (i.e. he had no other resources, he used the same money to buy and then sell, to buy and then sell, etc.’
Takuja chakuja chiicho/ icho. ‘You will eat this very same food (e.g. a mother to her child who does not want to eat a meal).’

chiicho/ ichi [cl.7] first position emphatic demonstrative (attested among present-day speakers)
chiicho/ shkapu ichi ‘this basket itself’

chiicho/ ichije [cl.7] third position emphatic demonstrative (attested among present-day speakers)

chiicho/ icho [cl.8] second position emphatic demonstrative (attested among present-day speakers as well as MI)
chiicho/ shkapu icho ‘that basket itself’

Chilaani n. One of two little islands offshore facing the **Mp^haayi** quarter of Brava. The Italians built a 900 meters long causeway-bridge connecting **Mp^haayi** with **Chilaani** and built a lighthouse on **Chilaani**. However, the bridge was broken at several points by the British during the Second World War, and the lighthouse has not been in use for many decades. **Chilaani** was reached by boat and was a favourite spot for

picnics and bathing.

chimaliza

conj. then, afterwards

Chimaliza/ chilawa ijini/ mwiingine/ chimwambila Sa'iidi/ shtakhteza khamaari/ mi/ naawé/ na takshindroowá/ naṭomole maaliye/ yotte/ nampe uje shiinziló. 'Then another djinn came and said to Sa'iidi: We will gamble together, me and you, and the one who is defeated, let his wealth all be given to the one who won.'

Chimaliza/ ye/ chiruda muyiini/ chendra kaake/ numbaani. 'After that, he returned to the town and went to his home.'

Dede/ andishilee khaṭi/ chimaliza/ itukiize. 'Dede wrote a letter and then she sent it.'

Maryaamu/ mpikilile Ali/ zijo/ chimaliza/ mpakuliile. 'Maryaamu cooked zijo for Ali and then served him.'

phrasing of *chimaliza* -- review

kh-chiimbila

v. (**chimbiile**) flee, run away, escape

khchiimbila/ kana lpepo 'to run like the wind'

Mchimbile askari. 'He ran from a policeman.'

Mchimbile kaawo. 'He ran away from home.'

Mchimbile waawaye. 'He fled from his father.'

mi sinch^himbileeni na sink^hahateeni [song] 'do not run away from me and do not hate me'

Nch^himbiilé/ khpata kumwona. 'I ran (in order) to see him. C. **Nch^himbile**

kumwoná. 'I ran to see him.'

Nch^himbiilé/ simbone. 'I ran away so that he would not see me.'

Nch^himbiilé/ nisimwone. 'I ran away so that I might not see him.'

Nch^himbile spate kumwoná. 'I ran so as to not see him.' (If there is focus

on the verb, then final accent does not project beyond the verb: **Nch^himbiilé/ chiza kumwona.** 'I ran (in order) not to see him.' Not: ***Nch^himbiilé/ chiza kumwoná.**)

Nch^himbiilé/ spate kumbona. 'I ran away so that he wouldn't see me.' Cf.

Nch^himbiilé/ spate kumwona. 'I ran away so that I would not see him.'

Nfakeeté/ skumwona. 'I ran (after someone), but I couldn't find him.'

Omari/ nakhchiimbila. 'Omari is running away.'

Tafaḍali/ stoshé/ kuwaa si/ chinakhchiimbilá. 'Please do not think that we are running away from you.'

Walá/ mchiimbizi/ nakhchiimbiló. 'And neither am I a fugitive who is running away.'

Washchiimbila/ wizi wawili. 'Ran away two thieves.' Cf. **Washchiimbila/ wizi wawili/ washchiimbiló.** 'Two thieves ran away, that's what they did.'

rel.

kh-chimbilila v. appl. (**chimbiliile**) run with, to, in s.o.'s place

Mchimbilile mweenzawe/ kumpa salaamu. 'He ran to his friend to greet him.'

Nch^himbiliile/ laakini/ nt^hakhshiindra. 'He ran in my place, but he did not win.'

Nt^haná/ nguvu/ zaa ye/ khchimbilila. 'He does not have the strength with which to run.'

Wo/ wanakhsula ki'ichimbilila. 'They were willing to run away [for themselves] -- i.e. retreat from the fight.'

kh-chimbiiloowa v. be run away from

Apo/ inakhchimbiloowa. 'People are running away from there.'

kh-chimbilika v. p/s.

Omari/ chiwonoowa/ ba/ nakhchimbilika. Omari, whenever he is seen, he is running away.'

kh-chiimbiza v. caus. (i) send away, outcast s.o.; (ii) drive fast

(i) **Baaba/ ka shtana/ kumwelela chiingi/ mchimbize mwaana.** 'Father, overcome by anger, sent away the boy.'

Chihada/ mi/ skhaadiri/ khkoða wanaafakhi/ na shkoða ilá/ waawe/takunch^hiimbiza. ‘He said: I cannot tell a lie, and if I tell the truth, my father will send me away.’

Maama/ chimwambila muḷiwe/ waana/ ni waanawo/ siwachiimbizé. ‘Mother said to her husband: the children are your children, do not send them away.’

Mchimiize/ ka maṭaando. ‘He sent him away with insults.’

Wanch^hiimiize/ ka maṭaando. ‘They sent me away with insults.’

kh-chimbizana v. caus. rec.

Askari/ za sulṭaani/ wawaye mwanaamke/ mukhṭaa wo/ waweno jisa Hasani/ nakuwa’uḅlo wa’aduwi/ naawó/ washpata ushujaa’a/ wachiharbisha/ hattá/ ma’aduwi/ wotte/ washchimbizana. ‘The soldiers of the sultan, the girl’s father, when they saw how Hasani was killing the enemy, they too gained courage and fought until all the enemies ran away.’

kh-chimbizoowa v. caus. pass. (**chimiiza**)

Siwo/ suura/ khchimbizoowa/ muunt^hu. ‘It is not good to send someone away, throw someone away.’

Waana/ wachimbiza ka skuliini. ‘Children were sent away from the school.’

rel. nom.

m-chiimbizi (*wa-*) n. 1/2 a runaway, fugitive, escapee

Hattá/ nk^hawa mchiimbizi... ‘Even if I were a fugitive...’

Walá/ mchiimbizi/ nakhchiimbiló... ‘neither (am I) a fugitive who is running away...’

ma-chiimbilo n. 6 running

Waziiri/ ka machiimbilo/ chiya. ‘The minister came running.’

m-chimbizoowa (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who is driven away

Mchimbizowa ka waant^hu/ hendra kaawo/ mchimbizowa kaawo/ heendrapí. ‘One who is driven away from a foreign land (lit. from people), goes home; one who is driven away from home, where does he go?’ (A proverb.)

chimento

n. 9 cement

Husheroowa/ kana chimento. ‘It is as slippery as cement.’

ijuniya ya chimento ‘a bag of cement’

nasha/ kama chimento ‘as smooth as cement’

chimya

adv. [Sw. *kimya* SSED 198] silently, quietly; [pron. **chimyá**]

Jisa aadaye/ mwanaamke/ wa sulṭaani/ waliko cholokooni/ ka darbiniye/ kulangaḷa/ zinakhtulukó/ laakini/ yaa ye/ huwonó/ hamwambili muunt^hu/ ye/ hukalaant^ha/ chimyá/ imamaḷiilé/ tu. ‘As was her custom, the daughter of the sultan was at the window with her binoculars watching what was happening, but what she sees, she tells no one. She sits there silently, just keeping quiet.’

Wakaleent^he/ chimyá. ‘They sat down quietly, silently.’

china

invar. a word which is always connected to a person name and implies a plural, people who can be differently related to the main subject: they may be relatives, friends, colleagues, fellow travelers; for example, to say **China Alii/ wa’ile.** implies that Ali and some unspecified group of people came, Ali did not come alone

China Hasani/ na majeshi yaawó/ naank^hó/ wachishiindra. ‘Hasani and the others and their armies again won [the battle].’

China Madimaamu/ wapisile apa. ‘Madimaamu (aggrandized) passed this way.’ or: ‘Madimaamu and his group passed this way.’

Ishfanyowaa zijo/ ka china Mahmuudi wa Sheekh Huseini. ‘Zijo wa prepared at the house of Mahmud [son] of Sheikh Husein.’ (Syn. The initial verb in this example is an impersonal passive. The noun

zijo phrases with this verb, cas can be seen by the lengthening of the final vowel of the verb.)

Na mbuzi iyó/ wachileetó/ ni china Mahmuudi/ wa Sheekh Huseeni/ Raa Tahaara. ‘And this goat, those who brought it were the family of Mahmuudi, [the son] of Sheekh Huseeni.’ (Phon. Although in principle, **Sheekh(i)** and **Raa** have long vowels, in the pronunciation of this sentence they are grouped with the following name **and it is a bit unclear whether the vowel length is retained or not.**)

Want^hu wiingi/ wa’iló/ haṭá/ china Madimaamu/ wa’ile. ‘Many people came, even Madimaamu came.’ (Gram. It should be noted that *china Madimaamu* requires plural agreement on the verb: *wa’ile*.)

Chisima cha Abuudi n.This is one of two twin wells located in an open area in the **Baghdaadi** quarter of Brava. These public wells were still in use at least until 1990. Its name comes from its builder, Abuud Musaa’ad (who also built the Resident’s House).

Chisima cha Polepole n. A well with an upper structure like that of a windmill (with vanes). It was located just west of **Spartiwooni** (the soccer field). Pole-Pole was the nickname of a colorful character: an African of unknown origin who lived in Brava (perhaps he came with the British troops during the second World War). On some days Pole-Pole decked himself with feathers and other African ornaments and performed dances in the street. It is not known why this well is associated with his name.

chita n. consideration, value (in the eyes of others)
Maskiini/ nt^haná/ chita. ‘A poor man has no value (does not command respect).’
Nayoo chita/ ka sarkaali. ‘He is highly considered by the government.’

chiza negative auxiliary verb
Ali/ ambila chiza kooloka. ‘Ali was told not to go.’
Chiwa’ambila chiza kumdaara. ‘He told them not to touch him.’
Chiza kundreetela/ nyunyi/ kama uyu/ nt^hakhuṭinda. ‘If you do not bring me a bird like this one I will slaughter you.’
Humkinaayi/ muunt^hu/ kuwanayo mp^huundra/ chiza mpaandrá. ‘Is it possible for a man to have a donkey and not ride him?’
kuwa chiza khsuula ‘to be reluctant (lit. to not be wanting to do)’
Na chiza khaadira/ kuruuda/ ba’ada ya skuu saba... ‘And if he is not able to return after seven days...’
Teena/ nakhuloomba/ we/ chiza kunshikila shṭana. ‘Then I beg you not to get angry at me.’

chiiza otherwise; [pron. **chiizá**]
chiiza muḷooni wote wiinu nt^hakuulo [st.] ‘otherwise in the fire (of hell) (it is all of you) who will be crying’
Chiizá/ waawé/ nakuya kubloowa/ naa zita. ‘Otherwise (if we do not solve the problem) my father is going to be killed by war (war will be waged against us).’
Simlaṭé/ yee/ peeke/ chiizá/ takumala chaakuja. ‘Do not leave him alone, otherwise he will use up all the food.’

cho it [cl.7]
Chibuuku/ chatushile/ cho. ‘The book is torn, it.’
Chimo kaakó/ mkonooni/ ndichó/ chaako. ‘What is in your hands is what is yours.’ (A proverb.)
Cho/ chanaamp^haka/ chileele. ‘It, the kitten, slept.’
Cho/ chatushile. ‘It [cl.7] is torn.’
Cho/ chibuuku/ chatushile. ‘It, the book, is torn.’ Or: **Chibuuku/ cho/ chatushile.**
Cho/ chileele. ‘It ([cl.7]) slept.’

Cho/ chinyunyi/ chileele. ‘It, the little bird, slept.’
Cho/ chisu chaa we/ tindililoo namá/ chi-boozela. ‘It, the knife that you cut the meat with, has been stolen.’

Cho /chisu chaa we/ uziló/ ubliilá/ Hamadí. ‘It, the knife that you bought, is the (very) one that was used to kill Hamadi.’

Cho/ chisu chaa we/ weenó/ chiboozela. ‘It, the knife that you saw, is the (very) one that has been stolen.’

Cho/ shchisoonga/ shchilomba rukhsa/ khkalaant^ha/ kharibu ya sultaani. ‘She (i.e. the old woman, **chizeele**) moved near and asked for permission to sit near the sultan.’

Cho/ siwo/ kama lugha za want^hu wiingine. ‘It (i.e. Chimwiini) is not like the languages of other people.’

Chuuma/ hubigowa hataa cho/ chimuló. ‘Iron is hit when it is hot.’ (A proverb.)

Mpele Huseeni/ cho. ‘He gave it to Huseeni.’

Mpele Huseeni/ cho/ chibuuku. ‘He gave it to Huseeni, a book.’

Muunt^hu/ hakhaadiri/ ki’itamida/ chiint^hu/ chaa ye/ nt^hanaa cho. ‘A person cannot rely on something that he does not have.’

Nacho chiint^hú/ hula ka peesaze/ na sho kuwanaachó/ haatowi/ munt^hu wa kumpa. ‘Someone who has the means buys (e.g. new clothes) with his money; and the one who does not have anything does not fail to find a person to give him (something).’

Omari/ uzilee cho. ‘Omari bought it.’ Cf. **Omari/ uzile/ cho.** ‘Omari bought it.’

Sultaani/ chamura khaadimu/ khtukula ichije chitá/ kuruda naacho/ muyiini. ‘The sultan ordered a servant to carry that (cow’s) head and return with it to town.’ (Phon. The final accent in this phrase has not yet been accounted for.)

Wapele waana/ maape/ cho. ‘They gave it (e.g. book) to some children’
review the gloss of this example.,

chunguliya n. 9 heartburn

Chunguliya/ inakumbereerisha. ‘Heartburn is disturbing me.’

Dawa ya chunguliya/ ni iziwa. ‘The medicine for heartburn is milk.’

Mi/naayó/ chunguliyá. ‘I have heartburn.’

chuunvi ?

D

da’a n. [Ar. *da’a* W 1058] meekness, gentleness, equanimity

ku-da’a v. [Sw. *dai* SSED 67; Ar. *da’a* "to claim, to assume unduly or presumptuously" W 282-3] (**da’iile**) claim, boast

Muke oyo/ chimwaambila/ laala/ apa/ hattá/ fijiri/ choondroka/ endá/ da’a chitaa cho/ ka ujé/ mnaadisha. ‘That woman said to him: sleep here until morning, when you wake up, go and claim your (cow’s) head from that auctioneer.’

Mvileeni/ munt^hu uyu/ nakuda’o kuwaa mutí/ mbaaké. ‘Call the man who claims that the tree is his.’

Nt^hakuda’a/ usultaani. ‘He did not claim the sultanship.’

Omari/ nakuda’a kuwa nuumba/ndaaké. ‘Omari is claiming that the house is his.’

rel.

ma-da’o n. 6 boast(ing), bragging

Wachimfuungula/ wachimwaambila/ we/ mzimawo/ mada'o/ tu/ hadile kuwa bakaylé/ hakhushiindri/ mbona/ khadirileeyi/ khufungafuunga. 'They untied him and they said to him: you, your whole, is just boasting/ you said that Hare was not able to defeat you, how did he manage to tie you up and down?'

Da'(a)faraadi

n. one of the five clans comprising the **Tunni**

da'asi

n. 9/10 [Som. *dacas* DSI 123] rubber-soled shoe, thongs
chilatu cha da'asi 'flip-flop'
da'asi iyi 'this shoe' (cf. **da'asi izi** 'these shoes')

ku-da'awata

v. [Som. *dacwad* DSI 124 and Ar. *da'wā* W 283] (**da'aweete**) complain, sue, bring a suit to court, protest

Ali/ da'aweete. 'Ali complained.'

ba'ada ya isa/ waant^hu/ wachiya kumda'awata mwaanawo 'after now, if people come to complain about your child'

Skhaadiri/ khkooḏa/ walá/ kuda'awata. 'I cannot speak nor complain.'

Ye/ waliko hayi/ nt^hashkukhaadira/ kumda'awata/ walá/ kumbigá/ naayé/ hayi. '(When) he was alive, we were not able to bring a suit against him nor beat him while he was alive.'

rel.

ku-da'awata v. rec. (**-da'awateene**)

Laazima/ si/ keendra/ muuyi/ wa qariibu/ kuda'awata. 'It is necessary for us to go to the nearest town to sue one another (i.e. settle our differences).'

ku-da'awatika v. p/s.

ku-da'awatila v. appl. (**da'awatiile**) sue for, complain for

ku-da'awatisha v. caus. (**da'awishiize**) complain, raise grievances (but apparently not used in the sense of sue)

Nuuru/ da'awishize ka sarkaali. 'Nuuru brought a grievance to the government.'

Ye/ kilasku/ nakuda'awisha kuwaa kuja/ ni haba. 'He is always complaining that the food is little.'

ku-da'awishana v. caus. rec.

ku-da'awishika v. caus. p/s.

ku-da'awatishiliza v. caus. appl. (**da'awishiliize**) raise grievances for

ku-da'awatishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ku-da'awatoowa v. pass.

Ichiwa kuda'awatoowa/ da'atoowaa we. 'If it is to be sued, let you be the one sued.'

daa'ima

adv. [Sw. *daima* SED 68; Ar. *dā'im* "enduring" W 303] always, for eternity; [pron. **dáa'ima**] (Note that this word seems to be a rare lexical exception to the principle that the accent is always either penult, the default case, or final. This word has accent on the initial syllable.)

Awa/ wachiwa teena/ dáa'ima/ wanamtunzaa mp^haka. 'These ones [the rats] began then to always watch the cats.'

Ayo/ ni kama maali/ ya muunt^hu/ humpo maamayé/ khatila raadiyé/ laakini/ dáa'ima/ ye/ hatakiiwa/ kuwa maamaye/ ni raadi/ naaye/ ye/ takumera kumriḏisha ka kumpa maali/ miingine/ na zint^hu ziinginé. 'That [money which was spent on paying debts] is like her money that a man gives to his mother to earn her approval, but he never will know that his mother is pleased with him; he will be seeking to please her by giving her more money and other things.'

Baaba/ kumwona mwaanawe/ dáa'ima/ umo mikooni/ kharibu yaa wake/ imkirihishiize/ nt^ho. 'For father to see his son always in the kitchen near the women displeased him very much.'

Dáa'ima/ humkasa/ laakini/ simwoni. 'I always hear him, but I do not see him.' (A riddle, the answer to which is **lpepo**, the wind.)

Naayé/ majiibuye/ dáa'ima/ yachiwa/ la/ niko yaayá/ tu. 'And him, his answer was always: No, I am still just as I was.'

- me the truth.’
- Wa’ishize dáa’ima/ pamooyi.** ‘They lived together always.’
Wazelewa/ daa’imu/ wachinambila lila. ‘My parents always used to tell
- ya nafsi daa’ima sala na soomu/ chiiza qiyaama niingi yaako loomu* [st.]
‘oh mortals, (make it) continuous praying and fasting, otherwise in
the life hereafter your blame (will be) much’
- Ye/ dáa’ima/ shkalant^ha ilu yaa muti/ uwaalikó/ kharibu naa wowí.** ‘He
always stayed at the top of the tree, which was near the river.’
- ku-daa’ima*
uninterrupted, forever
- v. [Ar. *dāma* "to last" and *dā'im* "enduring" W 303] (**da’imiile**) continue
- fooza nda muunt^hu husalo huda’imo/ na ramaḍaani soomuye hulaazimo*
[st.] ‘success belongs to the man who prays continuously and fasts
on Ramadhan (lit. Ramadhan, its fasting, obliges)’
- nt^haku kuda’ima kuṭa ku’insha* [st.] ‘there is not eternity, no living
forever’
- Suufi/ da’imile kinendra ndilaani/ kanaa tupu.** ‘Suufi kept on walking in
the streets naked.’
- rel.
ku-da’imisha v. caus. perpetuate something
- chida’imisha haṭa miisho afḍali* [st.] ‘if one continues [praying without
having stated the intention to pray], it is better to [to state the
intention] even at the end’
- daa’imu*
adv. always
- hukasa huwona hukooḍa daa’imu* [st.] ‘[God] hears, sees, speaks eternally’
- Ka khisani/ Osmaani/ daa’imu/ hurago kuuyá?** ‘Why does Osmaani
always come late?’ Compare the corresponding statement:
Osmaani/ daa’imu/ huraaga/ kuuya. ‘Osmaani always comes
late.’ (Note that in the statement, the verb ‘delay’ is ordinarily
phased separately from ‘come’; in the question, the two are phased
together.)
- da’wa*
n. 9/10 [Sw. *daawa* SSED 67; Ar.; Som.] lawsuit; complaint
variant form: **da’awa**
- Nini/ da’awa yiinu.** ‘What is your (pl.) complaint?’
We/ nt^huná/ da’awa. ‘You have no case.’
Ye/ mzimawe/ da’awa. ‘He is all complaints.’
- daaba*
n. 9/10 [Ar. *dābba* W 270] animal
- Buraaqi sifaze ni daaba afḍali* [st.] ‘the description of Buraaqi is just a
good
animal’
- daba uyu/ iyi** ‘this animal’ (cf. **daba izi** ‘these animals’)
Hayawaani/ na daba zinginezé/ hazi’amilaṭanoowi/ naazo/ sawa sawa.
‘[Domestic] animals and other animals as well are not treated
equally [in Islam].’
- dabaali*
n. [Som. *dabbaal* DSI 121] idiot
variant form: **idabaali**
- need to check the "l" of this word**
- dabwaani*
n. 9/10 [Sw. *debwani* "(1) a kind of loin cloth; (2) also a turban cloth -- an Indian
cloth, mostly of silk, with red or brown stripes, and worn on the head as a turban"
SSED 71; ?Pers.] a special kind of cloth worn by women
- dabwaaniye** ‘the cloth’ (cf. **dabwaanize** ‘her cloth (pl.)’)
- daada*
n. [cf. Sw. *dada* “(1) sister, esp. elder sister; grandmother; (2) a term of endearment,

respect, or familiarity among women”] (my) grandmother; [pron.**daadá**]
Daadá/ fungula/ mi/ nakhsula khkoða naawé. ‘Grandmother, open the door, I want to speak with you.’
Daadá/ nt^humilile hiilá. ‘My grandmother, I used tricks [to do s.t.]’
Daadá/ tumbile mashkilo. ‘My grandmother pierced her ears.’ (But notice that if **daada** is used with a penult accent, which is possible in a non-vocative situation, the meaning is different: **Daada/ tumbile mashkilo.** ‘Grandmother pierced (my) ears.’)
daadaye ‘his or her grandmother’
dada yiitu ‘our grandmother’, **dada yiinu** ‘your (pl.) grandmother’, **dada yaawo** ‘their grandmother’
daadó ‘your grandmother’
Mi/ hukuumbuka/ mukhta mi/ mbaliko chihaba/ daadá/ chinaambila/ ja/ yeza miimbayo/ chiiza/ want^hu wa masku/ watakhuyeza miimba/ majiwe. ‘I remember when I was little, my grandmother used to tell me: eat, fill your stomach, otherwise the people of the night will fill your stomach with stones.’

daada n. 9/10 [Ital. *dado*] ball-bearing

Dada Masiita n.
Makhabriini/ ka Dada Maasiti/ huzikowa mashariifu/ tu.
‘Only **mashariifu** are buried in the graveyard of Dada Maasiti.’

ku-daðaalata v. [Som. *dadaal* DSI 124] (**daðaleete**) strive to do one’s best, struggle
Chooloka/ chidaðaalata. ‘He went and did his best.’
Daðalata khpita imtihaani. ‘Try hard to pass the examination.’
Dobla ya Aldo/ Mooro/ inakudaðaalata/ khfanyiliza/ dawa/ na kiyookola/ iqtisaadi/ ya muuyi. ‘The government of Aldo Moro is trying its best to cure and to save the economy of the country.’
Hasani/ daðaleete/ ruuhu/ imkuushile. ‘Hasani has put in so much effort that the soul has left/ gone from him.’ (Similar to English: ‘Hasani has put heart and soul into it.’)
Sidaðalateeni. ‘You (pl.) don’t try hard!’
Takudaðaalata/ khufanyiliza yaa ye/ takhaadiró. ‘She will do her best to do for you whatever she is able to do.’
Ye/ daðaleete/ karka matezo. ‘He tried his best in games.’

rel.

ku-daðalatika v. p/s.

ku-daðalatila v. appl. (**daðalatiile**)

Hi’idaðalatila ki’ishiliza jisa suura. ‘They try to live in a nice way.’ (Syn. Observe the use of an applied verb with a reflexive object in both the main clause and the infinitive complement.)

ku-daðalatisha v. caus.

ku-daðalatishana v. caus. rec.

ku-daðalatishiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-daðalatishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

daðaaali n. 9/10 effort

Daðaaaliye/ yiize/ kiinfa. ‘His effort was not sufficient.’

ka daðaaali ‘with effort’

Nch^hifanya kaazi/ ka daðaaali. ‘I used to work hard.’

khfanya daðaaali ‘to try hard, be diligent’

Muke/ uyu/ chingila daðaaali/ ya kumeera/ ndrevu/ zaa mp^hisi. ‘This woman began to make an effort to look for the beard [lit. beards] of a hyena.’

mwenye daðaaali ‘diligent’

Ye/ ni munt^hu mwenye daḏaali. ‘He is a diligent man.’

Someele/ ka juhudi/ na daḏaali/ masku/ na muunt^hi. ‘He studied with effort and trying hard night and day.’

dafa

n. [Som. *daf* "medium-sized bird of prey" DSI 125] kite, hawk, medium-sized bird of prey

Apo/ zamaani/ sultani waa dafa/ ondroshele/ mpelekelele/ sultani wa karaayle/ khati/ mwambiile/ kuwaa ye/ nakhsuula/ makaraayle/ na sultani waawó/ kumwelela askarize. ‘Once upon a time the king of the kites sent a letter to the king of the crows telling him that he wanted the crows and their king to be his soldiers.’ (This sentence illustrates the semantically empty, auxiliary-like use of the verb *koondroka*.)

dafa uyu or **dafa iyi** ‘this kite’ (cf. **dafa izi** ‘these kites’)

khisa/ zaa dafa/ na karaaylé ‘the story of the kites and the crows’

ndiwa/ chimwambilaa dafa... ‘the pigeon told the kite...’

daf’a

n. an instant

Laakini/ hastakhtomoloowa/ daf’a mooyi. ‘But it (the money) will not be given in one instant.’

ku-daafi’a

v. [Ar. *dafa’a* "to push away, to defend" W 285] (**dafi’iile**) defend

variant form: *kudifaa’a* [cf. Ar. noun *difa* ‘protection, defense" W 286; cf. Som. *difaac*, variant of *daafac* "to defend" DSI 115]

Basi/ sultaani/ shkhubala/ na shomola amri/ manwari/ nt’atu/ zinawaraashe/ kuwadaafi’a/ kama aduwi mweepe/ chiwata’araḏila. ‘So the sultan agree and issued an order for three warships to escort them to defend them if any enemy should come on their way.’

Ka sababu iyo/ kulla mgaandra/ muḅli/ naa muké/ mwaana/ na munt^hu mzimá/ ni laazima/ kubaraḏa khtumila bundukhu/ ili/ kudaafi’a/ wataniye. ‘For that reason, each Ugandan, man and woman, child and adult, must learn to use a rifle in order to defend his country.’

rel.

ku-dafi’ana v. rec.

ku-dafi’ila v. appl.

rel. nom.

m-daafi’a (*wa-*) n. 1/2 defender

ku-dafira

v. [Ar. *dafara* W 285] (**dafiriile**) push, shove, push aside; cheat

rel. nom.

m-dafiro n. 3

u-dafiro n. 14

ku-dafkula

v. [?Som. *daf* "take away s.t. from s.o. by force" DSI 125 + Chimwiini *-kuula*, which has a similar meaning] (**dafkiile**) grab and run, snatch quickly from someone as one runs by

Ali/ mdafkile mwaana. ‘Ali snatched up the child (and ran away.)’

Chiwona/ naambila/ chiiko/ lpandre gani/ mi/ nt^hakhpita/ lpandre ilo/ na shpitá/ we/ chidafkula/ chijumba icho. ‘If you see it, tell me on which side it is located, and I will pass by that side, and when I pass, you snatch that nest.’

Nakuḷawa keendra/ kumdafkula/ chimbiga ka lpaanga/ chimbigo. ‘As [the snake] was getting out to grab her [what he thought was a girl], the boy struck him with a sword, that’s what he did.’

Omari/ dafkile chibuuku. ‘Omari snatched the book.’

Omari/ dafkile chibuuku/ ka Nuuru. ‘Omari snatched the book from Nuuru’s place.’ (The use of the *ka* preposition precludes the

possibility that the book was actually snatched from Ji personally. This notion is conveyed by a sentence where the noun phrase is not preceded by *ka*. See below.)

Omari/ mdafkile Hamadi/ chibuuku. ‘Omari snatched the book from Hamadi (and ran off).’

rel.

ku-dafkuloowa v. pass.

Chibuku chidafkila Omari/ chibeele. ‘The book that was snatched from Omari is lost.’

Omari/ dafkila chibuuku/ na Ali. ‘Omari had a book snatched from him by Ali.’ (Syn. In this structure, it is not possible for **chibuuku** to be the subject of the passive verb, only **Omari** can occur in this role. This differs from relative structures, where **chibuuku** may be the head of the relative verb while also functioning as the subject of the passive verb, as seen in the preceding example.)

ku-dafkulika v. p/s.

Mwana uyu/ hadafkuliki/ chiint^hu. ‘[Lit.] this child cannot be snatched from things -- i.e. one cannot snatch anything from this child (he is too big, e.g., to be victimized).’

ku-dafkulisha v. caus.

Nuuru/ mdafkulishize mwaana/ chibuuku. ‘Nuuru made the child grab and run away with the book.’ (The periphrastic version of this sentence: **Nuuru/ mtile mwaana/ kudafkula chibuuku.** ‘Nuuru persuaded/ convinced the child to snatch the book.’)

ku-dafkulishana v. caus. rec.

ku-dafkulishiliza v. caus. appl.

Nuuru/ mdafkulishilize Ali/ mwaana/ chibuuku. ‘Nuuru caused Ali’s child to grab and run off with the book.’ (The periphrastic version: **Nuuru/ mtile Ali/ mwaana/ kudafkula chibuuku.** ‘Nuuru convinced/ persuaded Ali’s child to snatch the book.’)

ku-dafkulishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Nuuru/ na Ali/ wadafkulishilizenye waana/ zibuuku. ‘Nuuru and Ali caused one another’s children to grab and run off with the books.’ (The periphrastic version of this sentence: **Nuuru/ na Ali/ watililene waana/ kudafkula zibuuku.** ‘Nuuru and Ali persuaded/ convinced one another’s children to snatch the books.’)

dafrawu

n. 9/10 [Sw. *dafurao* "adv. face to face" SSED 68; cf. Ar. *dafira* "push back" W 285] head-on collision

dafrawuye ‘his collision’

kubiga dafrawu ‘to collide head-on’

daftari (ma-)n.

[Sw. *daftari* SSED 68; Ar. *daftar* W 285] an account book, an exercise book

Maali/ bilaa daftari/ hubaha bilaa khabari. ‘Possessions without an account book get lost without information (about them being preserved).’ (A proverb.)

rel.

chi-daftari (zi-) n. 78 an exercise book

i-daafu (ma-)

n. 5/6 [Sw. *dafu* SSED 68] the nearly fully grown coconut, with soft meat of a porridge-like consistency and a good quantity of liquid (it is at this stage that the coconut is used as food); cf. **m-baata**

idafu ilada ‘fresh coconut’

Mtala mbaata/ hupata idafu. ‘The one who chooses a fully ripe coconut, gets a half-ripe one.’ (A proverb that conveys the idea that if you go after the best, you will get something less.)

i-daafu (ma-?)

n. large and heavy golden or silver chain

daga

n. 9 [Ar. *daqqa* "beaten meat": W 287, Hadrami pron. *dagga*] ground beef cooked with vegetables, potatoes, etc.

Daga/ ka maandra/ ni lada. ‘Daga with bread is delicious.’

khikaa daga ‘to cook daga’

Omari/ fijiri/ huja maandra/ kaa daga. ‘In the morning Omari eats bread with daga.’

dagaala n. [Som. *dega la'*] deaf person; [**pron. dagaala**] (An intervocalic **g** in Somali is realized as a velar fricative, a pronunciation which is retained when Somali words of this structure are borrowed into Chimiini. This fricative **g** contrasts then with a stop **g** which occurs intervocalically in words derived from other sources.)

Hamadi/ hufanya waant^hu/ dagaala. '(Lit.) Hamadi makes people deaf – i.e. Hamadi does not listen to people.'

Hamadi/ ni dagaala/ haakasi/ jisa suura. 'Hamadi is deaf, he does not hear well.'

Muke/ chiwanayo miimba/ chiya inyi/ maana/ huwa dagaala. 'If a woman is pregnant, if she eats liver, the baby will be deaf.' (A superstition among the **want^hu wa Miini**.)

Omari/ mlazile maana/ dagaala. 'Omari, a deaf baby (lit. has come out from him) – i.e. Omari has had a deaf baby born to him.'

rel.

i-dagaala n. aug. [**pron. idagaala**]

Haakasi/ kana idagaala. 'He does not hear, he is like a deaf person.'

ku-dagaala

v. [Som. *dagaal* "to fight, to quarrel, to reproach" DSI 125] (**dageele**) blame someone; ask, wonder why someone hasn't been seen recently; [**pron. kudagaala**]

Hamadi/ mkali/ kudagala waant^hu. 'Hamadi is good at blaming people.'

kumdagaala 'to blame him'

Nakhudagaala. 'He is asking about you (because of your absence).'

Omari/ nakumdagala Ali/ ka jawabu izo. 'Omari is blaming Ali for those things.'

Sultani ðaalimu/ mwenopo mgarwá/ chonyesha kuwaa ye/ humpeendá/ chanza kumdagaala/ chimwaambila/ ni suura/ so/ zaa we/ fanyiizó/ hattá/ waraadi/ nt^hukunaambila. 'When the unjust sultan saw the fisherman, he showed that he loved him, beginning to reproach him, saying: is it nice what you did? not even a goodbye you did not tell me.'

rel.

ku-dagaloowa v. pass.

Kudagaloowa muunt^hu/ bilaa sababu/ siwo/ suura. 'Blaming someone for something without a reason is not good.'

dagaali

n. complaining because one does not see or get a letter etc. from a friend, e.g.; [**pron. dagaali**]

dahani

n. character

Dahaniye/ kana ijiniile. 'His character is like that of a mad man.'

dah(a)ri

n. 9 [Ar. *dahr* "changes of fortune, adversities" W 295] mishap, misfortune
Mwajitu/ nakhonya dahari. 'May God bring you [lit. show you] misfortune!'

Mwonyeze dahari. 'He brought him misfortune.'

Omari/ ni dahari. 'Omari is a difficult, bad person.'

ku-daharisha

v.

Izra'iili [...] *humlaṭa daharishiilo chiliini / humtala muunt^hu jadiidi samiini* [st.] 'Izra'il [the angel of death] leaves the one who is sick in bed [and] takes a young, stout person'

dahsha

n. [Ar. *dahaš* "surprise, consternation" W 296] intense amazement, bewilderment (Our example for this word comes from a text; our present consultant, GM, recognizes the word from Arabic but does not use the word in Chimiini.)

sultaani/ wawenopo wamo karka dahshá 'when the sultan looked and found them in such amazement'

dajaali (ma-)

n. [Ar. *dajjal* W 272] a creature who it is said will come to the world at the endtimes (This gloss was provided by GM. MI provided the gloss "imposter, cheater", but we do not have an

example to confirm this usage.)

Mojiitu/ sichiweeke/ wakhti wa madajaali/ wafakuuyó. ‘We pray God to not let us be/stay/live at the time of the coming of the **dajaali.**’

chi-daka (zi-) n. 7/8 [Sw. *daka* or *kidaka* "recess, receptacle, niche in a wall, cupboard" SSED 69] a niche in a wall used as a shelf, e.g. to keep medicine on so as to be out of the reach of children

chi-daka (zi-) n. 7/8 the young nut of the coconut

dakan ideo. of being totally destroyed, annihilated
Ma'askari/ wa Shabaabu/ wamaliiza/ dakan dakan. ‘The Shabaab soldiers have been annihilated.’

Numba/ ya Hamadi/ ipiile/ dakan dakan. ‘Hamadi’s house burned down totally.’

Numba (y)a Hamadi/ itumbushile/ dakan dakan. ‘Hamadi’s house broke down completely.’

dakari n. penis

ku-daakha (of humans) v. [Som. *daaq* DSI 116] (**dakhiile**) graze, feed on grass (of an animal), look for food

Ngamiila/ schiwaamo/ safiriini/ hudaakha/ ka mahaḷa mbilize/ naa zo/ zinakeendró. ‘When camels travel, they graze on both sides while they are walking.’

Ngamiilaye/ ichidaakha/ ka lpandre lmooyi/ tu. ‘His camel was grazing on just one side.’

Ngoombe/ zinakudakha maanyi. ‘The cows are grazing on grass.’

Nk^huku/ zinakudaakha. ‘The hens are feeding.’

Sku mooyi/ eelo/ malizopo kudaakhá... ‘One day when the gazelle finished grazing...’

rel.

ku-dakhadaakha v. freq.

Sku mooyi/ fijiri/ na mapeema/ sungura/ mooyi/ karkaa ye/ nadaxodaakhó/ m(w)ene mp^huundra/ mkulu/ maluungo/ yanam(w)ala/ ka maṭuuri/ na unené. ‘One day early in the morning a rabbit, while he was grazing, saw the large donkey, his body shining from fatness and fatness.’

ku-daakhika v. p/s.

ku-daakhisha v. caus. (**dakhishiize**) (i) graze (animals); (ii) **keep surveillance on s.o. secretly**

(i) **Tunne/ hukalo maduuri/ ya Mwiini/ wingi waawo/ hudaakhisha/ hoola.** ‘Tunne, who lives in the bush around Brava, most of them graze animals.’

ku-dakhishana v. caus. rec.

ku-dakhishika v. caus. p/s.

ku-dakhishiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-dakhishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ku-dakhoowa v. pass.

Manyi/ yanakudakhoowa. ‘Grass is being grazed on.’

rel. nom.

m-daakhisha (wa-) n. 1/2 (i) shepherd; (ii) one who keeps surveillance on s.o.

ma-daakhisho n. 6

u-daakhisho n. 14

ma-daakho n. 6

u-daakho n. 14

ku-dhakaṭoowa

v. pass. be treated

raaḍi hulomboowa wake/ jisaa wachidakhaṭoowa [st.] ‘they beg the

women's forgiveness for the way they have been treated'
wadakheeta nt^hawakiiwa/ mbovu wachiziwiiloowa [st.] 'as they did not know where their sustenance came from, they were kept in the dark about any evil'

ku-dakhilana
with one another

v. rec. [Ar. *dakala* "enter, join, take part" W 273] (**dakhileene**) associate with, deal

rel. nom.

u-dakhilano n. 14

dakhiliya

n.

Iyi/ ni shu'uuni/ dakhiliya 'this is an internal matter'

dakhli

n. 9/10 [Ar. *dakl* W 273] income

dakhliye 'his income'

Dakhliye/ ni haba. 'His income is little.'

Nt^haná/ dakhli. 'He has no income.'

Siná/ ismu ya dakhli. 'I have no income whatsoever.'

dakhtari (Ø, ma-)

n. 1/2, 9/6 [Sw. *daktari* SSED 69; Eng.] doctor, physician

Dakhtari oyo/ siwo/ msuura. 'That doctor [cl.1] is not good.'

dakhtari uyu 'this doctor' ([cl.1] agreement) (cf. **dakhtari awa** or

madakhtari awa or **madakhtara aya** 'these doctors')

dakhtari yiitu or **dakhtari wiitu** 'our doctor' ([cl.9] and [cl.1] agreement)

dakhtariya or **dakhtariwa** 'my doctor' ([cl. 9] or [cl.1] agreement)

madakhtari matatu or **madakhtari watatu** 'three doctors' ([cl.6] or [cl.2] agreement)

Madakhtari/ ni wiingi/ wa'enzelo kumfanyilizaa dawá/ mwana oyó/ laakini/ nt^haku/ mo/ khadiriió/ kumfanyilizaa dawá/ na

waant^hú/ ni wiingi/ wafilo jis'iyó. 'The doctors were many who came to administer medicine to that child, but there was no one who was able [to cure him] and the people were many who died that way.'

madakhtari wa Miini or **madakhtari ya Miini** 'doctors of Brava' ([cl.2] or [cl.6] agreement)

Madakhtari/ wa'ile. 'The doctors went.' Or: **Madakhtari ya'ile.** 'The doctors went.' (The first example exhibits [cl.2] agreement while the second example exhibits [cl.6] agreement.)

Mazá/ oloshale ka dakhtari. 'Well, have you been to see the doctor?'

Mi/ nakendra ka dakhtari. 'I am going to the doctor/ the hospital.'

Mubliwa/ Nureeni/ uje dakhtari/ nakhfanya kaazi/ Mkhodiisho. 'My husband Nureeni, who is a doctor, is working in Mogadishu.'

Nimpeleshele Haaji/ meenzawé/ nt^ho/ ka dakhtari. 'I took Haaji's best friend to the hospital' doctor.'

Nureeni/ mubliwa/ uje dakhtari/ nakhfanya kaazi/ Mkhodiisho. 'Nureeni my husband, who is a doctor, is working in Mogadishu.'

Sultani wa muuyi/ pozelopó/ mpeenzele/ Hasiibu/ na mfanyiize/

dakhtari/ wa muuyi. 'The sultan of the town, when he recovered, he loved Hasiibu and made him the doctor of the town.'

Waliko muunt^hu/ mooyi/ dakhtari/ mkulu. 'There was a man, a great doctor.'

Ye/ ni dakhtari. 'He is a doctor.'

rel.

chi-dakhtari (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

i-dakhtari (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

u-dakhtari n. 14

Sku mooyi/ chimvila mukeewe/ chimwaambila/ kumletela chuwo cha udakhtari. 'One day he called his wife and told her to bring to him his medical books [lit. books of doctoring].'

- Da(a)khtira** n. one of the five clans comprising the **Tunni**
- dalaali** (*ma-*) n. [Sw. *dalali* SSED 69; Ar. *dallāl* W289, also Som. *dallaal* DSI 129] auctioneer
dalaali uyu ‘this auctioneer’ (cf. **madaḷali awa** ‘these auctioneers’)
rel.
u-dalaali n. 14 [Sw. *udalali* SSED 69] auctioneering, the profession of being an auctioneer
khfanya udalaali ‘to do auctioneering’
- ku-dalbata* v. [Som. *dalbo* "ask s.t. to s.o.; invite; order (e.g. some food); give orders (in battle, military parade); make conventional signs while playing cards" DSI 128] **check for us in Chimiini**
- ku-daldalamata* v. talk a lot
kudaldalamata/ kana raadiyo ‘to talk non-stop, like the radio’
- ku-daldalata* v. [Som. *daldal* "to go to and fro carrying several things" DSI 128] (**daldaleete**) take lots of things and carry them, gather and carry things
variant form: **kudaldala (daldaliile)**
Suufi/ hupeenda/ kudaldalataa kuja. ‘Suufi likes to take a lot of food.’
rel.
ku-daldalatoowa v. pass.
Apa/ nt^haku/ kuja/ ya kudaldalatoowa. ‘Here there’s no food that can be taken in large quantities.’
- daledale** n. 9/10 [Som. *daldal* "go to and fro" DSI and Ar. *daldala* "set into a swinging motion" W 290] swing; play in which a young child is rocked to and fro on the extended legs of an adult
review pronunciation, is it daaledaale as sandra wrote, would not expect from the Somali and Arabic sources
- n-dala* n. [Sw. *njaa* SSED 339] hunger
khshikowaa ndala ‘to be hungry – [lit. held by hunger]’
Mwaana/ chihada/ kuwaa ye/ shishiḷa ndala. ‘The boy said that he was hungry.’
kufa kaa ndala ‘to die from hunger’
Mi/ naa ndalá. ‘I am hungry.’
Mubli/ ndala/ imshiishile. ‘The man felt hungry [lit. hunger gripped the man].’
Mzele uje/ filee ndala. ‘That man died of hunger.’
Ndala/ imzidiilopó/ Diini/ ondroshele/ oloshale kumera chaakuja. ‘When he became hungry, Diini got up and went to look for food.’
Nnayoo ndalá. ‘I am hungry [lit. I have hunger].’
Nshishiḷaa ndalá. ‘I am hungry [lit. I am seized by hunger].’
Waana/ wanakufa kaa ndala/ nt^hangú/ fijiri/ nt^hawaakuja. ‘The children are dying from hunger, they have not eaten since morning.’
waana wasibeete ka ooni na ndala [nt.] ‘children suffered thirst and hunger’
- dali** n. [Som. *dal* ‘country, territory' DSI 127] surroundings, environment (in the abstract sense); the land, country, world
Angamizee dali/ mkoroofi/ ye. ‘She spoiled everything [lit. the world], she is cursed.’
Chinakhsuulá/ we/ kishpa muṇa yiitu/ Yuusufu/ si/ kendra naaye/ naayé/ khpata/ khteza/ na kuwonaa dali. ‘We want you to give us our younger brother Yuusufu (so that) we go with him and he gets to play around and see places.’
dali ni dibiḷi nt^hako sarkaali [nt.] ‘the country is bereft, there is no government’
Hamadi/ lazile ibanyaani/ oloshale kulangalaa dali. ‘Hamadi went outside to look around.’

Haraka/ yaa ye/ fanyiizó/ imwangamilizee dali. ‘The move that he made spoiled his world for him.’

Mukhtaa ye/ ineenzeló/ mudda/ wa sa’a naane/ jis’iyo/ na komeloo dali/ kotté/ maduuri/ kasize sooti. ‘When he had travelled for a period of about eight hours and reached a place which was all bush, he heard a voice.’

Wachihada/ Allahi/ ni/ nna’iwá/ kuwaa si/ nt^hashkuuya/ khfisidishaa dali/ walá/ si/ siwo/ want^hu hubooló. ‘They said, by Allah, you (pl.) know that we did not come to spread corruption in the country nor are we people who steal.’

dalili
dental

n. 9 [Sw. *dalili* SSED 69; Ar. *dalil* W 289] proof, evidence **make sure both I’s are**

Dalili yaa nvula/ ni mawiingu. ‘The proof of rain is clouds.’ (A proverb.)
Daliliye/ nini. ‘What is its evidence?’

daama

n. a kind of board game similar to checkers, chess

Omari/ nakhteza daama. ‘Omari is playing daama.’

daamaani

n. [Sw. *demani* SSED 72; Pers.] the lee side; season of the year from the end of August to the beginning of November; a rope attached to lower corner of sail, by which it can be pulled in different positions

daamaaniye ‘its rope’

ku-damata

v. [This word is presumably of Somali origin, but perhaps from a dialectal source. There is perhaps some connection to Ar. *damma* "to smear, rub, anoint" W 291] (i) touch, graze, brush against someone unintentionally; (ii) see, find by chance

(i) **Mwaana/ mdameṭe mwaalimu.** ‘The child brushed against the teacher.’

Ngoombe/ ndameṭe. ‘The cow brushed against me.’

Omari/ mdameṭe mwaalimu/ ka sanduukhu. ‘Omari grazed the teacher with the box.’

Skumbiga/ ka khasti/ nimdameṭe/ tu. ‘I did not hit him on purpose, I just touched him unintentionally.’

(ii) **Haṭá/ sku mo/ skumdamata/ Omari/ muskitiini.** ‘Not even one day I did not see by chance Omari in the mosque (i.e. he never comes to pray).’

rel.

ku-damatika v. p/s.

ku-damatisha v. caus. cause someone to accidentally touch, graze someone (This verb does not seem to be used with an inanimate primary object: ***Omari/ damatishize sanduukhu/ mwaalimu.** ‘Omari grazed the teacher with the box.’ is not a well-formed sentence.)

Ji/ mdamatishize mwaana/ mlaango. ‘Ji caused the child to accidentally touch the door.’

Omari/ mdamatishize mwaana/ mwaalimu/ mkonooni. ‘Omari caused the child to unintentionally touch the teacher on the hand.’

ku-damatishana v. caus. rec.

ku-damatishiliza v. caus. appl.

Ji/ mdamatishilize Ali/ waana/ mwaalimu. ‘Ji caused Ali’s children to unintentionally touch the teacher.’

Ji/ mdamatishilize waana/ mwaalimu. ‘Ji caused his children to unintentionally touch the teacher.’ (Note that this sentence is acceptable because the singular OM clearly refers to a beneficiary NP that is different from the causee **waana**. If **mwaana** is used instead of **waana**, the sentence is unacceptable: ***Ji/ mdamatishilize mwaana/ mwaalimu.** Apparently, in this situation **mwaana** would be understood as the beneficiary, but there is no causee identified in the sentence and thus it is unacceptable. It is also unacceptable to say ***Ji/ mdamatishilize mwaalimu.** as well as ***Ji/ damatishilize mwaalimu.**)

ku-damatishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ku-damatishoowa v. caus. pass.

ku-damatoowa v. pass.

Muunt^hu/ chisala/ hudamatoowa/ tu/ mara maape/ muskitiini. ‘If

someone prays you can see him by chance at some time in the mosque.’

- dambari** n. [Som. *dambar* DSI 130] the first milk of a human or animal
- ku-damina** v. to serve as a guarantee for someone, take responsibility for someone’s debts, etc.
kumdamina ‘to take responsibility for him’
Mi/ skhaadiri/ kumdamina Omari. ‘I cannot take the responsibility for Omari (‘s debts, etc.).’
Rel.
ku-daminoowa v. pass.
Omari/ nakhsula kudaminoowa. ‘Omari wants someone to guarantee for him.’
- u-damiini** n. 14 [Som. adj. *damiin* “dull, slow-minded” DSI 131] dullness of mind
- danawa** n. [Som. *dannabe* “stolen cattle” DSI 133] booty
hubiga khafaali hupata danawa [nt.] ‘they [all] rob and take booty’
- ku-danganya** v. [Sw. *changamana*, variant *tangamana* SSED 49] (**danganyiize**) mix, confuse
(This verb is exceptional in that the common pattern inside a stem is for a vowel to be lengthened before a prenasalized consonant like *ng*. Thus one would expect ***kudaanganya.**) [review this issue of vowel length](#)
Ali/ danganyize unga/ na suukari. ‘Ali mixed flour and sugar.’
Ali/ mdanganyize waawaye. ‘Ali confused his father.’
Chidanganya nama za hoola/ na za wanaadamu. ‘He mixed meat from animals with that from human beings.’
kudanganya karata ‘to shuffle cards’
laakini jaahili zont^he haja’ali/ hudanganya haraamu na halaali [st.]
‘however, an ignorant person does not follow these rules and (mixes) unlawful and lawful things together’
Mamaḏo/ nakumdanganya Hamadi. ‘Mamadho is confusing Hamadi.’
Ndanganyize ka kooḏize. ‘He confused me/you (pl.) with what he said.’
rel.
ku-dangamana v. (**-dangameene**) be, get mixed, entangled, intermingled
Ha’isi/ kudangamana na waant^hu. ‘He does not know how mix with people [i.e. how to “win friends and influence people”].’
Hamadi/ dangameene. ‘Hamadi is confused.’
hudanganya haraamu na halaali [st.] ‘he mixes the lawful with the unlawful’
Lila/ na wanaafakhi/ ha’idangamani. ‘Truth and lies cannot mix.’ (A proverb.)
Luzi/ ldangameete. ‘The string is tangled up.’
Omari/ hadangamani/ na waant^hu. ‘Omari does not mix with people (i.e. he stays alone).’
Unga/ udangamene na suukari. ‘Flour was mixed with sugar.’
ku-dangamanoowa v. pass.
Suura/ kudangamanoowa/ na waant^hu. ‘It is good to mix with people.’
ku-danganyadanganya v. freq. (**danganyizedanganyiize**)
Wadanganyizedanganyiize/ makharba ayo/ wayatiile/ karkaa nt^hupa/ pashpo naawó/ kiiwa/ makharba ayo/ yatakiinfani. ‘They mixed and mixed these leaves and put them in a bottle without knowing what these leaves will be useful for.’
ku-danganyoowa v. pass. (**danganyiiza**)
- dani** n. 9/10 something of interest or benefit to one
Dani/ na raaha/ ha’ileetani. ‘Purpose/need and relaxation/entertainment do not go together.’ (A saying; conveys the idea that if you need something, you cannot sit and relax and expect to get it.)

daniya ‘my need, interest’; **daniza** ‘my needs, interests’
Huseeni/ koðeele/ na daniyé/ hadiile. ‘Huseeni talked and clarified his interest, need.’

Huseeni/ nayoo dani. ‘Huseeni needs something (lit. has interest, need).’
Kiła/ muunt^{hu}/ daniye/ na’iwa. ‘Everyone knows what is in his interest.’ (A proverb.)

Mi/ sinaayo/ dani/ naawe. ‘I don’t need anything from you (lit. I do not have need, interest with you).’

Muunt^{hu}/ haṭṭaa ye/ shpata daniye/ hulaala/ nt^{hi}. ‘Until a person gets the thing he needs or is interested in, he sleeps on the ground.’ (A saying that means until you get what you need, you must accept all the difficulties that you encounter.)

Muunt^{hu}/ laazima/ kiwa daniye. ‘One must know his need, what’s in his best interest.’ (A proverb.)

Sho kiwa daniye/ maslahaye/ ni dokhani. ‘One who does not know his interest is stupid.’ (A proverb.)

chi-daank^{ha} n. [cf. Ar. *dakka* "to make flat" W 288] a flat roof -- in fact a terrace -- which one can access via a staircase to cook, spread cereals, sleep, hang clothes
hatta waako zidank^{ha}aani/ watakuḷatiliiloowa [st.] ‘and those looking down from the rooftops, it will be thrown to them (lit. they will be thrown to)’
kuluka chidank^{ha}aani ‘to jump from the roof’
Nakhpandra chidank^{ha}aani. ‘He is going upstairs, climbing upstairs.’
Uko chidank^{ha}aani. ‘He is upstairs/ on the roof.’

daanku n. [Som. *daango* DSI 116] corn; [pron. **daank^{hu}**]
dank^{hu} mashaatara ‘popcorn’
khṭoraṭa daank^{hu} ‘to mix **daank^{hu}** with oil, sugar, resins, etc.’

Dano n. a village some ninety-five kilometers north of Brava on the road to Mogadishu; [pron. **danó**]

dansa n. dance
Haliima/ nakhteza dansa. ‘Haliima is dancing (a dance).’
Masku/ ishtezoowa. ‘In the night there is dancing.’
Nakhsula kiimbá/ na khṭeza dansá. ‘I want to sing and to dance a dance.’

daqiiqa n. 9/10 [Sw. *dakika* SSED 69; Ar. *daqiiqa* W 288] minute; [pron. **daqiiqa** or **dakhiikha**]
Ali/ mi/ skhaadiri/ kuliindra/ hattá/ daqiqa mooyi. ‘Ali, I am not able to wait even one minute.’
ba’ada ya dakhiikha/ haba mo ‘after a few minutes’
Dakhikha nt^haano/ nt^haskupita/ waant^hu/ wachiwa wamtilee kati/ kumteleza. ‘Not five minutes had passed before people had surrounded him to mock him.’
maatoya mawaazi sa’a na daqiiqa [nt.] ‘my eyes stay open for hours and minutes’

Daar Zooni n. The Italians did not build extensively in Brava, and most of their buildings are either in ruin or have disappeared. One important building was called **Daar Zooni**, a villa built in **Biruuni** by the very first settler, a Mr. Zoni. In the 1970’s it was razed to the ground and Brava town hall was built on its site.

i-daara n. 9/10 office, department (in the sense of a division or unit of s.t.); administration

ku-daara v. [Som. *daar* DSI 117] (**dariile**) touch; touch on a topic, mention; ‘touch’ -- i.e. affect, reach, cause to like, convince

Baaba/ haba mooyi/ izi/ schimdaara. ‘These (words) moved father a little.’ (Morph. The verb in this example sentence, **schimdaara**, consists of a subject prefix **zi-**, reduced to **s** by virtue of phonological rules, followed by the tense marker **-chi-**, followed by the [cl.1] object prefix **-mu-**, reduced to **m** in pre-consonantal position, followed by the stem **daara** ‘touch’. The subject prefix agrees with the subject **izi** ‘these’, which in context refers to **koođi** ‘words’, and the object prefix agrees with **baaba**.)

Chiwa’ambila/ chiza kumdaara. ‘He told them not to touch him.’

Darile mas’ala ya peesa. ‘He touched upon the question of money.’

Hataali/ walá/ hadari zint^hu za waant^hu. ‘She does not take nor does she touch the things of other people.’

Ikhudariileni/ we. ‘What’s wrong with you [lit. what touched you]?’

Isidaare/ nt^hi. ‘It should not touch the ground.’

kudara chibaŕeera/ maayi ‘to bail water out of a boat’

kudara chiino ‘to touch "home" in a game; to anticipate a request, question, etc., and say or do something to brush it off, diminish its importance’

kudaraa chisu ‘to sharpen a knife’

kudara koođi ‘to be convinced’

Koođi/ zimdariile. ‘He was convinced -- lit. the words touched him.’

kudara matotoope ‘to be wet with mud’

Mitaanga/ yadarile matotoope. ‘The sails were soaked in mud.’

Yadarilo matotoopé/ ni mitaanga. ‘What were soaked with mud were sails.’

kudara maayi ‘to be partially wet’

Nguwo/ idarile maayi. ‘The clothes got partially wet.’ (Syn.

Notice that one does not say: ***Maayi yadarilee nguwo**.)

kudara uđuri ‘to excuse oneself with good reason, to find a convincing and acceptable justification for not doing something’ [lit. to touch sickness]’

kudara naharisi ‘to feel pity’

Naharisi/ imdariile. ‘He felt pity -- lit. generosity touched him.’

kudara qalbi ‘to feel emotion -- lit. to touch the heart’

Qalbi/ imdariile. ‘He felt emotion.’

Sarmala/ schimdaara. ‘The carpenter liked these (ideas, e.g.) – lit. they touched the carpenter.’

kudara tama’a ‘to become greedy (lit. be touched by greed)’

Uje mubjaana/ tama’a/ ichimdaara. ‘The young man became greedy.’

Mgarwa/ schimdaara/ ye/ shkhiira. ‘The fisherman found this proposal agreeable [lit. these touched him] and he accepted.’

Mwaana/ ziize/ kumdaara. ‘The boy couldn’t be reached ([lit.] the boy, [words] refused to reach/affect him).’

Nfuye/ schimdaara/ chuuluka/ chimpantra mp^haamp^ha/ mungooni.

‘The monkey was convinced [by the shark’s argument] and jumped down and climbed on the shark’s back.’

Schichidaaré. ‘Let us not touch it [cl.7].’

Sidaaré/ apo. ‘Don’t touch there!’

Uje/ chidaara/ naayé/ hudara jis’iyo/ tu. ‘When that one touches [in context of the story: food], [the other one] also touches it in just that same way.’

rel.

ku-daarana v. rec. (**dareene**) touch one another; be touching

Chisinga ichi/ chinakudarana na ichi. ‘This cup is touching this one.’

Kata/ na balási/ haskosi/ kudaarana. ‘A ladle and a jug never fail to touch one another.’ (A proverb.)

Skombe izi/ zinakudaarana. ‘These cups are touching.’

ku-daarika v. p/s. be capable of being touched; [fig.] be so expensive as to be beyond one’s reach

Kuja/ ha’idarikiki/ sukhuni/ ʔghaali/ kilaa chiint^hu. ‘Food cannot be

touched (i.e. bought), everything is so expensive.’ (Notice the doubling of the potential/stative *ik* in this example. This sort of doubling appears to be common, as we noted it frequently in our work with MI on the potential/stative. This example is a spontaneous one from GM.)

Kuja/ sukhuuni/ ¹ghaali/ ha’idaariki. ‘Food in the market is so expensive, it cannot be touched (i.e. it cannot be bought).’

Mwaana/ hadaariki. ‘The child cannot be touched [e.g. he will do whatever he can to avoid being touched].’

Nama/ haydaariki/ sku izi. ‘Meat is so expensive these days that it cannot be bought.’

ku-darikila v. p/s. appl.

Zeena/ hadarikili/ mwaana. ‘One cannot touch Zeena’s child on him.’

ku-daarila v.appl.

ku-darilana v. appl. rec.

ku-daroowa v. pass. be touched

Mulo/ ha’udaroowi. ‘Fire should not be touched.’ (A saying.)

ku-daarsha v. caus. cause s.o. to touch or be touched; infect s.o., pass a disease; light
kudarsha chibiiridi ‘to light a match’; **kudarsha zibiriidi** ‘to light matches’

kudarshaa mulo ‘to light a fire’

kudarsha sigareeti ‘to light a cigarette’

Mdarshize Madi/ ooljiyo. ‘He [somehow] got Madi smeared with oil.’

Ndarshize hargabu. ‘He passed the cold to me.’

Ndarshizee mbwa. ‘He caused me to touch the dog [e.g. he took my hand and touched the dog with it, or he pushed the dog against me, etc., but not convinced or persuaded or ordered me to touch the dog – only direct causation is involved in the case of this verb].’

Nimdarshize Hamadi/ khabari. ‘I conveyed the news, information to Hamadi.’

Sidaarshé/ mate/ bikeeri. ‘Don’t put saliva on the cup (lit. don’t make saliva touch the cup)!’

ku-darshoowa v. caus. pass.

Hamadi/ darshiza khabari. ‘Hamadi was conveyed to the news, information.’ (One cannot say ***khabari/ zidarshiza Hamadi.** ‘The news, information was conveyed to Hamadi.’)

daraja

n. 9/10 [Sw. *daraja* SSED 70; Ar. *daraja* W 277] position or rank (e.g. in government), grade (in school), s.t. honored and respected

Daraja izi/ waspete ka da’daali. ‘These positions are gotten with great effort.’

heshma/ na daraja. ‘At the sultan’s place, he asked for permission to enter and extended greetings; he was welcomed with respect and dignity.’

kuvunda daraja ‘to disgrace s.o.’

nalombeloowa Rahiimu/ darajaye kuzidoowa [st.] ‘let us beg the Merciful Ndroola/ oko/ apo/ ndipó/ itakuwo harusi ya daraja.’ ‘Marry me there [in my country], there is where it will be a wedding of honor.’

tomola far’i takhpata daraja [st.] ‘carry out the prescribed duty (of ritual cleanliness) and you will be rewarded [lit. get rank]’ **review syllable count issue**

ya taatu kaamina ziwo za mooja/ khansa qur’aani af’ali ka daraja [st.] ‘the third [pillar of faith] is to believe in the books of God, especially the Quran, it is better in rank [than all other books]’

daraaka

n. promise

We/ tete daraaka/ kunsoomesha. ‘You made a promise to teach me.’

darani

khaansa Huseeni darani/ kuumbuka kulla zamaani [st.] ‘and especially for Husein, remember that always’

- daraasa** n. **Washpata minha za daraasa...** ‘If they get scholarships...’
- ku-daraawa** v. scorn, despise, belittle
variant form: **kuḍaarawa**
Omari/ humdarawa Hamidi. ‘Omari looks down on Hamadi.’ (Note that there must be an object prefix on the verb agreeing a noun that refers to a definite human being. One cannot say: ***Omari/ hударawa Hamadi.** Agreement is not obligatory in the case of indefinite human nouns: **Omari/ hu(wa)darawa waant^{hu}.** ‘Omari looks down on people.’
Sidaraweení. ‘You (pl.) don’t despise!’
Simdaraawé/ mubli. ‘Do not belittle a man!’
- darawu** n. 9/10 unit of land measurement, smaller than an acre
- daraawu (ma-)** n. scorn, contempt, looking down on someone, disrespecting someone
variant form: **ḍaraawu**
Daraawu/ nt^haku/ hukhiiró. ‘No one accepts humiliation.’ (A proverb.)
Madaraawu/ siwo/ suura. ‘Looking down on/ disrespecting is not good.’
- ku-darbaṭa** v. [Som. *darab* "to prepare, decorate" DSI 134] (**darbeete**) be ready, prepared
Haliima/ nakudarbaṭa haruusi. ‘Haliima is getting prepared for the wedding.’
Mfanya zeema/ nadarbaṭe kulipowa zeema/ amó/ ziwovú. ‘The one who does good should be prepared to be repaid with either good or bad.’
rel.
ku-darbatika v. p/s.
ku-darbatiloowa v. appl. pass.
Uyu/ ni muunt^{hi}/ hudarbatiloowá. ‘This is a day which is prepared for.’
Review pronunciation, added final accent at end in doing revisions.
ku-darbatila v. appl. prepare for
Ṣpisiló/ haziruudi/ darbatila/ ziko mbeleyó. ‘The things that have gone by never return, prepare for those things that are ahead.’
ku-darbaṭoowa v. pass.
Omari/ kaawo/ inakudarbaṭowa haruusi. ‘Omari’s place is being prepared for the wedding.’
ku-darbisha v. tr. made ready
Basi/ fijiri/ chidarbisha ruuhuye/ chooloka/ bahariini. ‘So in the morning he prepared himself and went to the sea.’
Darbisha/ markabu/ inawe/ tayaari/ fijiri/ khsaafira. ‘Prepare the ship, it should be ready in the morning to travel.’
Isa/ teena/ sultani jiraani/ darbishize/ jeeshi/ nk^hulu/ kuuya/ kumbiga/ wawaye mwanaamke. ‘Now then the neighbor sultan prepared a large army to come to strike the girl’s father.’
Mbiga mnaado/ shfuraha/ na bilaa kuhojeshá/ shfakaṭa/ chidarbisha/ itulubila ka kaaké. ‘The public announcer was delighted and without arguing, he made ready that which was asked from him.’
Wamalizopoo kujá/ na khpumulá/ wachidarbisha bundukhu zaawo. ‘When they finished eating and resting, they prepared their guns.’
- darbini** n. 9/10 [Sw. *darubini* SSED 71; Pers.] telescope, binoculars (This is one of a number of words where Chimiini lacks a high vowel that occurs in the corresponding Swahili word.)
kuḷangala ka darbiini ‘to look at with a telescope or binoculars’
Chilangala/ ka darbini/ chisooma/ yandishila ilú/ ya bandeerá. ‘He looked with binoculars and read what was written on the flag.’
Mwanaamke/ ka darbiniye/ weene/ steendro/ za Hasani/ fanyizó. ‘The girl, with her binoculars, saw the actions that Hasani took.’
Sultaani/ wenopo bandeerá/ nelpé/ chamura kuletelowa darbini. ‘When the sultan saw the white flag, he ordered binoculars to be brought.’

<i>ku-dardarmata</i>	v. [Som. <i>dardaaran</i> "to make a will" DSI 136] (dardarmeete) make a will
<i>dareemu</i>	n. feeling
<i>daari</i>	n. 9/10 [Ar. <i>dār</i> W 299] house (usu. of stone) rel. <i>chi-daari</i> (<i>zi-</i>) n. 7/8 dim. <i>i-daari</i> (<i>mi-</i>) n. 5/4 aug.
<i>ku-dariba</i>	v. (daribiile) train someone rel. <i>ku-daribila</i> v. appl. (daribiliile)
<i>ku-darisa</i>	v. (darisiize, darisiile) teach, study, research variant form: kudurusa kudurus chiint^hu 'to study, research s.t.' rel. <i>ku-darisika</i> v. p/s. <i>ku-darisoowa</i> v. pass. variant form: kudurusoowa kudurusoowa/ ilmu 'for knowledge to be studied, researched' rel. nom. <i>m-darisa</i> (<i>wa-</i>) n. 1/2 teacher
<i>n-daaro</i>	(cf. kudaara 'to touch') Haye/ aqili niingi/ lete ndaarozo. 'Well, you clever one, give/bring your false justifications.' khtila ndaaro 'to give unreasonable and false justification for not doing something; to refuse in a <i>pro forma</i> fashion' Mubji/ tile ndaaro/ laakini/ muke/ mloonzele/ hattá/ ye/ khiriile. 'The man refused [in a <i>pro forma</i> fashion], but the woman begged him until he accepted.' Nakumera ndaaro/ zaa ye/ kilize amri iyo. 'He is trying to find some (false) justification for the fact that he skipped/refused that order.'
<i>darsi</i>	n. 9/10 lesson; students huhuzuniko ni darsi/ fadhi ishtaji'oowa [st.] 'as will his daily circle of students/ and the lessons he used to teach' Skuliini/ waana/ husomeshowa darsi za ajnaasi. 'At school children are taught a variety of lessons.' Tafsiriile darsi. 'He explained the lesson.'
<i>darwiishi</i> (<i>ma-</i>)	n. [Ar. <i>darwīs</i> W 280] a soldier fighting under a leader for something that is right, just, etc. darwishi uyu 'this fighter' (cf. madarwishi awa 'these fighters')
<i>darzani</i>	n. 9/10 [Sw. <i>dazani</i> SSED 71; Eng. <i>dozen</i>] dozen darzani iyi ya skoombe 'this dozen cups' darzani nt^hatu izi za skoombe 'these three dozen cups'
<i>daashi</i>	n. 9/10 [Som. <i>daash</i> "veranda, open area in front of house" DSI 117] backyard; a small shelter either in front or in back of the house dashi iyi 'this backyard' Numba ya Omari/ inayo dashi ikulu. 'Omari's house has a big backyard, shelter.' Uko dashiini. 'He is in the backyard/ in a small shelter.' rel.

chi-daashi (zi-) n. 7/8 canvas shelter (e.g. on a boat)

Jahazi yaawo/ iwanacho chidaashi/ laakini/ shchivuuya. 'Their dhow had a canvas shelter, but it leaked.'

i-daashi (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

dasiisi (ma-)

adj. [Ar. *dasīsa* "intrigue, machination" W 281] mean, evil

dasturi

n. custom

Laakini/ uje mwanaamke/ wa sulṭaani/ uzila ka majini/ chihada/ si/ ka dasturi yiitu/ mwanaamke/ shpelekoowa/ karkaa nṭhi/ za wakeewe/ ni laazimu/ ye/ ka muda wa sku nṭṭaano/ khkalaantṭa/ ka wawaye mubli/ khabḷaa ye/ keendra/ ka mubliwe. 'But that daughter of the sultan who was bought from jinns said: we, it is our custom, that if a girl is sent away to the lands of his in-laws, it is a must that she for a period of five days sit with the father of her husband before she goes to her husband.'

Mi/ hukahata/ dasturi iyi. 'I hate this custom.' Or: **Dasturi iyi/ mi/ hi'ikahata.** 'This custom, I hate it.'

dawa (Ø, ma-)

n. 9/10,6 [Sw. *dawa* "medicine, medicament, anything supplied by a doctor, including 'charm, talisman, etc.; used by native medicine men' (SSED 71; Ar. *dawā* W 304] (i) medicine, remedy; (ii) ink (can be erased by water)

(i)

Chizeele/ chimpaa dawa. 'The old woman gave him medicine.'

Bareṭe madawa miingi/ karka chibuku icho. 'He learned a lot of medicine from that book.'

dawa yaa chiṭa 'medicine for a headache [lit. head]'

Mwiingine/ uchihada/ mi/ ni dawa yaa chiṭa. 'Another (of the trees) said: I am medicine for the head (i.e. headaches).'

dawa ya hasharaati 'insecticide'

dawa ya khpaka 'medicine that is applied to the body'

dawa ya khshuwisha 'a purgative'

dawa ya khtapisha 'medicine for causing vomit'

dawa ya kootela 'medicine that is applied by fumigating'

dawa yaa kuna 'medicine taken by mouth'

dawa ya kureba khsuwaṭa 'medicine for stopping diarrhoea'

dawa ya kureba khtapika 'medicine for stopping vomiting'

dawa ya kunuunkha 'medicine that is inhaled'

dawa yaa mbu 'mosquito repellent'

dawa ya miimba 'medicine for a stomach ache'

Mooyi/ uchihada/ mi/ ni dawa ya miimbá. 'One (of the trees) said: I am medicine for a stomach ache.'

Dawa yaa muḷo/ nii muḷo. 'The remedy for fire is fire.' (A proverb, like English "fight fire with fire".)

dawa ya siindano 'injection'

dawa ya zilaatu 'shoe polish'

dawa za mishaka 'herbal medicines'

dawa za waalimu 'herbal medicines of the *waalimu*'

Dawayo/ siwo/ chint^hu chiingine/ shokuwa inyi yaa nfuye. 'Your medicine is not anything except the liver of a monkey.'

Dobla ya Aldo Mooro/ inakudaḷalaṭa/ khfanyilizaa dawa/ na kiyoookola/ iqtisaadi/ ya muuyi. 'The government of Aldo Mooro is doing its best to cure and save the country.'

Huseeni/ chilomba rukhsa/ ka sulṭaani/ kendra jahaziini/ kaake/ khpata kuleta sanduukhuye/ kumfanyiliza/ mzeele/ uyu/ dawa. 'Huseeni asked permission from the sultan to go to his dhow in order to (get to) bring his box to treat this old man with medicine.'

khfanyaa dawa 'to treat a disease'

Talaa dawa. 'Take medicine!'

Ye/ chiwaa dawa/ zotte/ na chiwa maraḍi/ yotte. 'He was all medicine and all sickness (i.e. he was consumed by medicine and sickness).'

(ii)

nyulusi/ kanaa dawa 'as black as ink'

dawaamu

adv. [Sw. *dawamu* SSED 68; Ar. *dawām* "duration, perpetuity" W 303] everlasting,

always

dawaati n. shelf; cupboard

Daawu n. a coastal location north of Brava
waana wafakeete Daawu na Siyaama [nt.] ‘young people fled to Daawu and Siyaama’

Daawuudi n. David

Dawuuro n. a small area on the northern side of the **Baghdaadi** quarter of Brava
Dawuuro/ Baghdaadi/ hupitoowa. ‘Dawuuro is past Baghdaadi.’
Dawuuro/ ni chigawali/ cha Baghdaadi. ‘Dawuuro is part of Baghdaadi.’
Dawuuro/ yiko kharibu ya muskiti wa Maftaaho. ‘Dawuuro is close to Maftaaho’s mosque.’
Muskiti ya Maftaaho/ yikoo kule/ Dawuuro/ khpitoowa. ‘The mosque of Maftaaho is far, one passes even Dawuuro (to get to it).’

dayaani n. [Ar. *al-dayyān* W 305] an attribute of God (the Judge)

ku-daayata v. [?Som. *dayeyan/dayow* “to be disoriented, to be bewildered”] (**dayeete**) be hesitant to do something; to delay doing s.t.

Kudayata kaziini/ siwo/ suura. ‘To be late at work is not good.’
La’la chidaayata/ ndriindra. ‘Just in case I get late, wait for me.’
Muunt^u/ huṭindo ngamiilá/ mbuzi/ hadaayati. ‘One who slaughters a camel does not hesitate to slaughter a goat.’ (A proverb indicating that one who can accomplish large, challenging tasks can easily do smaller, simpler tasks.)

Ndayete khtomola peesá. ‘I am hesitant to pay the money.’
pesa zaa mi/ ndayeto khtomolá ‘the money that I am hesitant to pay’
Sidaayaté/ kendra kuula... ‘Don’t hesitate to go and buy...’
Ye/ hadaayati/ khfanya yaa ye/ nakhsuuló. ‘He does not hesitate to do whatever he wants to do.’

rel.

ku-dayatoowa v. pass.

Kudayatoowa kaziini/ siwo/ suura. ‘To be late at work is not good.’

daayi interj. [?Ital. *dai* “move, hurry up”] **hurry up**
Daayi/ maliza ka himma. ‘At once, finish the work quickly!’
Daayi/ oloka. ‘Hurry up and go!’

dayuura n. [Som. *dayuurad* “airplane” DSI 141; cf. Ar. *tā’ira* “airplane” W 579] airplane
shirka ya dayuura ‘air line’
Takhadira kuulapi/ tikiti/ ya dayuura. ‘Where can I buy an airline ticket?’

dayuusa n. [Som. *dayuus* “husband who does not care about sexual honor of wife; cuckold; procurer; abject person” DSI 141] **review meaning**

de in the expression: **haye de** a warning
Haye de/ akhtari yiinu/ batata izi/ muunt^u/ sidaaré/ walá/ sisubuté/ khtiinda/ hattá/ si/ shchiya laakuja. ‘I warn you, don’t dare anyone touch these potatoes nor dare to collect them until we come at dawn.’

dede in the expression:
Inendra dedé. ‘Walk!’ (said by a mother to a toddler)

ku-dega v. [Som. *deg* “to stay in a place, to land – of aircraft” DSI 143] (**degeele**) calm down; land, alight (of a bird)

Chimaliza/ wo/ wadegele na chaakuja/ cha kuwaṭoṣha skuu mbili/ tu.

‘Then they settled down with enough food to suffice them for only two days.’

Chizeele/ ulushile/ degeele/ ka furaha. ‘The old woman jumped up and down with joy.’

Iyi/ hoonyeza/ kuwa Tunne/ ni waant^hu/ wa kaandra/ wadegelo Miini.

‘This shows that the Tunne were the first people to arrive in Brava.’

kudega muyiini ‘to reside, live in town’

kudega numbaani ‘to reside, settle in a house’

Lpepo/ ldegeelopó/ naa nvulá/ ifungilopó/ ichibele majjira/ na

nt^hashkukhaadira/ kulekezaa ndila. ‘When the wind calmed down and when the rain stopped, we had lost our way and were not able to aim for the path/way.’

Maayi/ yont^he/ hudega karka iboholi. ‘All water collects in a borehole.’

(A saying; conveys the idea that equal or similar things come together.)

Muunt^hu/ chulukachuuluka/ akhiriye/ hudega. ‘When one flies high, in the end he will come down.’ (A saying, which conveys the idea that if you do not behave well, you will pay for it.)

rel.

ku-degela v. appl.

Sa’iidi/ chi’idegela/ ka maamaye/ na nt^haymwiingila/ teena/ hamu/ ya

kuwalola wanashke/ wa masultaani. ‘Sa’iidi stayed put at his mother’s and longing never entered him to marry daughters of sultans.’

ku-degesha v. caus. settle, calm, cause s.o. to get comfortably settled; put in good shape, condition, order; rearrange, spruce up, dress up; put in a place

kudegesha imaani ‘[lit.] to settle faith’. Originally this expression had a religious meaning (“be confirmed, settled in your faith”), but it has acquired a more general sense: it is used to comfort people who have suffered a bereavement or a loss of any kind (even financial). Moreover, it is much used figuratively in love songs with the meaning of “have faith in, or be assured of, my love”.

Mdegesehe mweenzawe. ‘He had his friend settle down comfortably.’

Mwanaamke/ mwene/ naayé/ chivalaa nguwo/ suura/ chidegesha

ruuhuye/ chimlawila. ‘The daughter herself also put on nice clothes and put herself in good shape and went out to him [her suitor].’

ku-degeshadegsha v. freq.

Haliima/ nakudegeshadegsha numba. ‘Haliima is putting her house in good order.’

ku-degeshoowa v. caus. pass.

Jisaa yé/ deggesheezá/ fanyiza jisa suurá/ waant^hu/ wotte

wanamyaawata. ‘The manner in which she was neatly put [and] done up so well, all the people were amazed at her.’

numba/ imalizopo khsafishoowá/ na kudegeshoowá... ‘when the house was finished being cleaned and rearranged’

degani

adj. calm

deggani/ kana barafu ‘as calm as ice’ (In our recording of this simile, there was clear gemination of the medial consonant in **degani**, although this gemination is apparently not lexical, but perhaps due to the speaker stressing just how calm someone is.)

deggani/ kana maayi ‘as calm as water’ (Note the gemination, as discussed above.)

rel.

u-degani n. 14 calmness

kubasha udegani ‘to lose calmness, one’s “cool”

Muunt^hu/ chibasha udegani/ huyaa dhibu. ‘If a person loses his cool, difficulties/ problems come.’

ku-degdegata

v. (**degdegeete**) do something with urgency
We/ degdegeete/ khfanya jawabu iyo. ‘You rushed too much to do that (it was not necessary, or good, or the results were not as desired, etc.).’

rel.

ku-degdegatoowa v. pass.

Kudegdegatoowa/ siwo/ suura. ‘To do something in a great rush is not good.’

zoombo/ za kudegela ‘things to settle, reside with’

ku-degeleowa v. appl. pass.

Kudegeleowani/ apa. ‘Why should here be settled, lived at?’

ku-degesha v. caus.

kudegesha zoombo ‘to put, organize the stuff well’

kumdegasha Omari/ mahala/ maape ‘to put Omari someplace’

ku-degoowa v. pass.

Iyi/ numba ya kudegoowa/ siwo. ‘This is not a house to reside in.’

kudegoowa/ muiyini ‘to be reside, lived in town’

degdegi

adj. urgent

khati degdegi ‘urgent letter’

Omari/ naaye/ kahima/ degdegi. ‘Let Omari come quickly, urgently.’

ku-deekha

v. [Som. *deeq* DSI 142] (**dekheele**) be sufficient, suffice

Chaakuja/ chidekheele. ‘The food was sufficient.’

Chaakuja/ chimdekheele. ‘The food was enough for him.’

Omari/ ha’imdekhi chiint^hu. ‘Nothing satisfies Omari.’

Omari/ mdekhele Hamadi/ kaa kuja. ‘Omari satisfied Hamadi with food.’

Pesa zaa mi/ nimpeeló/ zimdekheele. ‘The money that I gave him sufficed him.’

rel.

ku-deekheka v. p/s. be satisfied; be self-sufficient, not rely on anyone else

Deekheka/ ka ne’ema/ zaa we/ peetó. ‘Be satisfied with those blessings that you got.’

Omari/ dekhesehele. ‘Omari is self-sufficient.’

Weenza/ ni weenza/ mp^hiindri/ yaa we/ chidekheka naawo. ‘Friends are friends as long as you are not dependent on them.’

ku-deekhesha v. caus.

Mwajitu/ namdeekhesha. ‘May God cause him to be satisfied (spoken with reference to someone who is never satisfied).’

Omari/ mdekhesheze Nuuru/ ka kooði. [Lit.] Omari talked Nuuru into sufficiency of words --i.e. silence; in other words, he convinced, persuaded Nuuru such that Nuuru could not find anything to say.’

ku-dekheshana v. caus. rec.

ku-dekhesheleza v. caus. appl.

ku-dekheshelezanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ku-dekheshoowa v. caus. pass.

Nuuru/ dekheseheza ka kooði/ na Omari. ‘Nuuru was convinced by Omari.’

Nuuru/ dekheseheza na koði za Omari. ‘Nuuru was convinced by Omari’s words.’

ku-dhekoowa v. pass.

chi-deemi (zi-)

n. 7/8 gizzard

Hamadi/ hupeenda/ kuja zidemi zaa nk^huku. ‘Hamadi likes to eat chicken gizzards.’

deeni

n. 9/10,6 [Sw. *deni* SSED 72; Ar, *dain* W 305] debt

Ahdi/ ni deeni/ ka munt^hu nayo diini. ‘A promise is a debt to a religious person.’ (A prover.)

Deeni/ ilisila. ‘The debt was paid.’

Deeni/ takhtomola ka mkonowó/ takumera ka miiluyo. ‘A debt that you will give with your hand, you will search for (its return) with your feet.’ (A proverb.)

deni ya Nuuru ‘Nuuru’s debt’; **deni za Nuuru** ‘Nuuru’s debts’; but also: **madeni ya Nuuru** ‘Nuuru’s debts’

khfunguza deeni ‘to pay back a debt’

khpa deeni ‘to make [lit. give] a loan’ ‘to pay back a loan’

Nimpele muunt^hú/ deeni. ‘I gave the man back my debt to him.’

khshika deeni ‘to ask for the return of a loan’

khshikowa na deeni ‘to be asked for the return of a loan’

khtala deeni ‘to take a loan’

Halazimoowi/ khtala deeni. ‘He is not obliged to take a loan.’

kulipa deeni ‘to repay a loan, pay a debt’

Lisile deeniye. ‘He paid his debt.’

Nimlisile mweenziwá/ deeni. ‘I paid my friend’s debt.’

Nimlisile mweenziwá deeniye. ‘I paid my friend, his debt.’

Walisile deni zaawo. ‘They paid their debts.’

kulipila deeni ‘to use s.t. to pay a debt’

Tete peesa/ zotte/ mpele mkule/ khfanyiliza kaazi/ na kulipila deeni. ‘He took all the money and gave it to his older brother to do business and pay back loans.’

kulipowa deeni ‘for a debt to be repaid’

Deeni/ ilisila. ‘The debt was paid.’

Deeni/ ilisila na bakhili. ‘The debt was paid by the miser.’

kurashanya deeni ‘to owe one another’

rel.

chi-deeni (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

i-deeni (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

ku-dereemata
feel, sense

v. [Som. *dareen* “to suspect” DSI 136] (**deremeete**) be cautious, suspect someone;

kuderemeeta chiint^hu ‘to feel, sense s.t.’

Mi/ nimderemeete munt^hu oyó. ‘I suspected that person.’

rel.

ku-dereematoowa v. pass.

kuderematoowa/ bardi ‘for cold to be felt’

ku-dereensata v. (**derenseete**) have a premonition that something is going to happen; have a preconception; feel, sense

Hinzizi za dereemu/ sc hifa/ muunt^hu/ haderensata chiint^hu. ‘When the nerves die, one does not feel anything.’

kuderensata ulaazo ‘to feel, sense pain’

Simdereensaté/ ni munt^hu msuura. ‘Don’t have preconceptions about him; he is a good person.’

ku-dereensatisha v. caus.

ku-dereensatoowa v. pass.

Ulaazo/ huderensatoowa. ‘The pain is being felt.’

dereemu

n. caution; feeling, sensation, queasiness

hinzizi za dereemu ‘nerves’

Hamadi/ hinzizi za dereemuze/ sfiile. ‘Hamadi does not have any feeling (lit. his nerves are dead).’

khfanya dereemu ‘to be cautious, careful, suspicious’

kuwana dereemu ‘to be cautious, careful, suspicious’

Hujo namaa mbiti/ nayo deremu ya matumbo. (Or: **Muja namaa mbiti/ nayo deremu ya matumbo.**) ‘He who eats uncooked meat will have some queasiness’ (A proverb, conveying the idea that when you do something

wrong, you will be fearful of being caught, exposed.)
Nayo dereemu. ‘He is cautious, queasy’

deeri n. 9/10 [Som. *dayr* “season from September to November” DSI 141] one of the seasons of the year (the lesser rainy season)

Deeri/ ibakheete. ‘(This fall) it didn’t rain (lit. **deeri** missed).’

deri iyi ‘this rainy season’

nvula ya deeri ‘fall rain’

Nvula ya deeri/ ha’imoolozi/ muunt^hu. ‘The fall rain does not make a person completely wet.’ (The rain that occurs in the season of **deeri** is a type of rain where it might fall on a house, but not on a nearby road; i.e., there are pockets of rain here and there.)

moosimu./ wa deeri ‘fall season’

destuuri n. 9/10 [Sw. *desturi* SSED 72; Ar. *dustūr* “regulations” W 281] custom, practice, laws, constitution

Bilaa destuuri/ hayinshiki. ‘Life cannot be lived without traditions, customary practices.’

desturi izi ‘these customs’

desturii mbovu ‘bad traditions’

desturi suura ‘good traditions’

kurasha desturi ‘to follow, obey laws, constitution, customary practices’

Muunt^hu/ laazimu/ kurasha desturi/ ya doḅḷa. ‘One must follow, obey the constitution/laws of the government.’

Muunt^hu/ laazimu/ kurasha desturi/ yaa nt^hi. ‘One must follow, obey the constitution/laws of the land.’

kuweka desturi ‘to establish customs, laws, constitution’

Desturi/ huweekó/ ni doḅḷa. ‘Laws/constitution, the one who establishes them, it is the government.’

Mi/ hukahaṭa/ desturi iyi. ‘I hate this custom.’

chi-devu (zi-) n. [Sw. *kidevu* (vi-) SSED] chin; [pron. **chiḍevu**]
rel.

n-drevu n. beard

kumolaa ndrevu ‘to shave the beard’

Haaji/ mozelee ndevu. ‘Haaji shaved (his) beard. Or: **Haaji/**

mozelee^f ndevu. ‘Haaji shaved (his) beard.’ Or: **Haaji/**

moozele/ ndevu. ‘Haaji shaved (his) beard.’

onyeeza Haruuni ka ndrevu kamiili [st.] ‘he was shown Haruuni with his full beard’

Wank^hulá/ hingila khuusi/ chilawa/ ndrevuze/ huwa nelpe. ‘My grandfather dives (into water), when he emerges, his beard becomes white.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **mwiko**, a wooden spoon used for stirring food, especially **zijo**, which is white and usually sticks to the **mwiko**.)

dewe interj. be warned; [pron. **dewé**]

Takulasoowa/ dewé/ jawabu iyi. ‘Bear in mind, be warned, **you will be made to swear concerning this matter.**’

ku-deydeya v. [cf. Som. *kuddayad* “imitation” DSI 372] (**deydeyele** or **dedeele**) mimic, imitate

Mi/ hupata kumdeydeya Ali. ‘I am able to mimic Ali.’

Mi/ spati/ kumdeydeya Ali. ‘I am not able to mimic Ali.’

Nuuru/ mdeydeyele Ali. ‘Nuuru mimiced Ali.’

rel.

ku-deydeyeka v. p/s.

ku-deydeyesha v. caus.

Nuuru/ mdeydeyesheze mwaana/ Ali. ‘Nuuru caused the child to mimic Ali.’

ku-deydey(e)shana v. caus. rec.

ku-deydey(e)shaka v. caus. p/s.

ku-deydey(e)sheleza v. caus. appl.
ku-deydey(e)shelezanya v. caus. appl. rec.

dibi n. see under *diwi*

dibiði adj. deserted

dali ni dibiði nt^hako sarkaali [nt.] ‘the country is bereft, there is no government’

Mukhtaa ye/ **weno muyi**/ **dibiði**/ **ulushile**/ **enzele**/ **wapeele**/ **weenziwe**/ **khabari**/ **kuwaa dafa**/ **zote**/ **zimo kanisaani**. ‘When he saw that the town was deserted, he flew and went and gave his companions the news that all the kites were in the church.’

Muuyi/ **uwaliko dibiði**. ‘The town was deserted.’

difaa'i n. defense

digdigi

n. 9/10 a type of gazelle

gazelles’

digdigi uyu or **digdigi iyi** ‘this gazelle’; **digdigi izi** or **digdigi awa** ‘these gazelles’

rel.

chi-digdigi (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

i-digdigi (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

digi

n. warning; [pron. **digi**]

khpaa digi ‘to give a warning’

ku-digila

v. [Som. *dig-* ‘warn’ Ab 61] (**digiliile**) warn, announce (The velar stop **g** is realized as a spirant in intervocalic position in Somali, and Chimiini retains this spirantization. The sound **g** is distinct from the uvular **gh**.)

Khudigiliilo/ **nt^hakhubla**. ‘Who warned you did not kill you.’ (A proverb.)

kumdigila ‘to warn him’

Kuwasilake/ **bilaa kudigila**/ **nt^haykumpeendeza**/ **Nuuru**. ‘His arriving without warning, announcing (his coming) did not please Nuuru.’

Nimdigiliile/ **Hamadi**/ **sije**/ **zijo izo**. ‘I warned Hamadi not to eat that food.’

Nimdigiliile/ **Nuuru**/ **chiza kumpa Hamadi**/ **chibuuku**. ‘I warned Nuuru not to give Hamadi a book.’ Cf. **Nimdigiliile**/ **Nuuru**/ **simpe**/ **Hamadi**/ **chibuuku**. ‘I warned Nuuru that he shouldn’t give Nuuru a book.’

Nimdigiliile/ **Nuuru**/ **sooloke**/ **numba iyo**. ‘I warned Nuuru not to go to that house.’

Nimdigiliile/ **Omari**/ **chiza kuuya**/ **kaaka**/ **numbaani**/ **mara yiingine**. ‘I warned Omari not to come to my house again (lit. another time).’

Omari/ **mdigiliile Baana**. ‘Omari warned Baana.’

rel.

ku-digiloowa v. pass. (**digiliila**) be warned

Muunt^hu/ **hudigiloowa**/ **mi suura**. ‘For a person to be warned is good.’

Omari/ **digiliila**/ **chiza keendra**/ **numbaani**/ **ka Hamadi**. ‘Omar was warned not to go to Hamadi’s house.’

dighlo

n. 9/10 a laxative of local origin

dighlo iyi ‘this laxitive’; **dighlo izi** ‘these large quantities of laxatives’

n-dila

n. 9/10 [Sw. *n jia* SSED 339] road, path, street, way, right (vs. wrong)

Chija niingi/ **maana**/ **huwa ikulu**/ **hakhaadiri**/ **khpita ndilaani**. ‘If she (a pregnant woman) eats too much, the baby becomes big and is not able to come out (lit. to pass outside).’

Chija niingi/ **maana**/ **huwa ikulu**/ **hakhaadiri**/ **kulawa**/ **khpita karkaa ndila**. ‘If she (a pregnant woman) eats too much, the baby becomes big and is not able to come out, to pass outside.’

Chilawa ndilaani/ **chimkharibisha muunt^hu**. ‘He went outside and welcomed the man.’

Chimera ndilaa nk^hulu/ ya muuyi. ‘He searched for the main road of the town.’

Chiraasha/ ndila iyi/ haṭá/ shkoma nuumba/ nk^hulu/ mardaadi. ‘He followed this road until he reached a large beautiful house.’

Chishikaa ndila/ kendra ka maskiini. ‘He kept on his way and went to the poor man.’

Chishika ndilaze/ kendra kaake. ‘He went on his way to his place.’

Chiwonaa ndila/ chiraasha. ‘He saw a road and followed it.’

Karkaa ndila/ chidirkamana/ na watumishi/ wa sultaani/ naawó/ wanacho shṭaná. ‘On the way he met with the servants of the sultan while they were angry [with him].’

Karkaa ndila/ siimba/ chiwa’uza mweenziwe. ‘On the road, Lion asked his friend [a question].’

Karkaa ndila/ wachimwonaa ndovu/ kaleent^he/ nt^hini yaa muti. ‘On the way, they saw an elephant sitting under a tree.’

khshikaa ndila ‘keep the road -- i.e. get going, be off, take to the road’

Chilawa/ chishikaa ndila/ kendra maduriini. ‘He left and took to the road to go to the bush.’

Hasani/ chishikaa ndila/ kuruda numbaani. ‘Hasani took to the road to return home.’

khṭindaa ndila ‘to cut the road – i.e. (of thieves) to stand in the middle of the road and stop and loot travellers’

Kilaa jawaabu/ inayo ndilaye. ‘Every issue has its own logic, reason.’ (A proverb which conveys the idea that there is always an explanation, a reason behind an action etc.)

Kufa/ nii ndila/ kilamo/ hupita. ‘Death is a road, and everyone passes along it.’ (A proverbial saying.)

kuwanayoo ndila ‘[lit.] to have road -- meaning: to be correct, to be in the right. Mostly used when two persons have different opinions or positions in a dispute, to say that one of them is in the right.

Mi/ nt^hete chijamuchá/ noloshele naa cho/ ndilaaní. ‘I took my plate and went with it outside.’

Mwanaamke/ shfikira/ shfikira/ chiwona/ kuwa kooḍi/ za chizeele/ ni kooḍi/ zaa ndila. ‘The girl thought and thought and saw that the words of the old woman were the roads of right [lit. of the way].’

Omari/ nayoo ndila. ‘Omari is right (i.e. Omari has right on his side, not the person that Omari is disputing with).’

ndila chigobe ‘short road’

Ndila/ ifungeene. ‘The road is closed.’

Ndila/ ifungishile. ‘The road is closed.’

Ndila/ ifungushile. ‘The road is open.’

ndila iriiri ‘a narrow road or a congested road’

ndila mp^haana ‘a wide road’

ndilaa ndre ‘long road’

ndila nfuunge ‘a closed road’

ndila waazi ‘open, clear road’

Ndile/ ni waazi. ‘The road is open.’

ndila ya aadi ‘the main or normal road (as opposed to **ndila ya bardunaale**)

ndila ya bardunaale ‘a road, parallel to a main road, that is used when the main road is not passable; the **ndila ya bardunaale** has red sand which does not get muddy like the main road, but has many bushes and trees which hamper passage, making the main road more suitable when it is passable’

ndila ya baaskiili ‘a bicycle path’

ndila ya buḷaati ‘road through sand dunes, used only by four-wheel vehicles or heavy trucks’

ndila ya gaari ‘a road for trucks’

ndila ya laame ‘tarmac road’

ndila ya majiwe ‘a stone road’

ndila ya matotope ‘muddy road’
ndila ya mtaanga ‘dirt, sand road’
ndila ya muzdahimu ‘a crowded, busy road’
ndila ya nafasi ‘an empty road’
ndila ya reelji ‘railroad track’
ndila ya waant^{hu} ‘a footpath for humans’
ndilaze ni mbili muunt^{hi} wa aaxera [st.] ‘its roads are two, the day of the hereafter’
Njibiile/ kuwaa ye/ lazile muyiini/ kaawo/ na isá/ mbelee ndila. ‘He answered me that he had left his [lit. their] town and now was on the road.’
Sarmala/ chilindra ndilaani/ chimlataa ndruwé/ kingila kumera rukhsa. ‘The carpenter waited outside and sent his relative in to seek permission.’
Shika ndilayo/ yolokele/ kiinu. ‘Get going, take yourself home!’
Wakomeelopó/ sarmala/ chilindra ndilaani. ‘When they arrived, the carpenter waited outside.’

rel.

chi-dila (zi-) n. dim.

Komelopo ibanya ya muuyi/ chiwona ndila ya gaari/ ka kuḷji/ na chidila cha hoolá/ kusootoke. ‘When he reached the outskirts of town, he saw a road for cars on the right and a pathway for animals on his left.’

chi-n-dila (zi-n-) n. 7/8 sim. narrow, small road

i-dila (mi-) n. 5/4 aug. large road

idila ipaana ‘a wide aug. road’; **midila mipaana** ‘wide aug. roads’

dinaari

n. [Sw. *dinari* SSED 75; Ar. *dīnār* W 306] a coin used by Arabs

Sku mooyi/ Abunawaasi/ peete/ dinaari/ miya. ‘One day Abunawaasi found one hundred dinaris.’ (Prosody: The pronounced cited in an isolative one; it is also possible to have /pete dinarii miya/.)

i-diindiini

n. [Som. *diin-diin*] tortoise

dinga

ideo. of coming unexpectedly; [pron. **dingá**]

Hamadi/ ile numbaani/ dingá/ waant^{hu}/ wont^{he}/ yaweete. ‘Hamadi came home **dingá**, everybody was amazed.’ (Both **dingá** and **wont^{he}** are raised in pitch.)

diini

n. 9/10 [Sw. *dini* SSED 75; Ar. *dīn* W 306] religion

chiskatīle diini na khsooma qunuuti [nt.] ‘let us rely on our faith and pray with humility’

bilaa diini ‘without religion’

dini ya islaamu ‘Islam’

dini ya kiristiyaano ‘Christianity’

dini ya yahuudi ‘Judaism’

Khamiisi/ waliko mwenye diini. ‘Khamiisi was a religious man [i.e. pious, of good character].’

khpenda diini ‘to love religion’

Khtomola ahdi/ ni kama khtala deeni/ na diini/ huwafarama waant^{hu}/ kulipa deni zaawo. ‘To give a promise is like assuming a debt, and religion advises people to repay their debts.’

kubarata qur’aani/ na mambo ya diini ‘to study the Quran and subjects related to religion’

leeta bismila mweenza raasha diini [st.] ‘say **bismila**, my friend, and follow religion’

m(w)enye diini ‘a religious person’

Na kubarata diini/ ni waajibu. ‘And to learn religion is an obligation.’

ndruuza ni waajibu amri ya diini/ khansa kiwoowa mas’ala sitiini [st.] ‘O my brothers, it is obligatory [to know] the matters of religion, especially for sixty questions to be known’

stenzi za diini ‘religious songs’

n-dini

n. vagina, cunt

milomo yaa ndini/ mikulu ‘labia major’

milomo yaa ndini/ zihaba ‘labia minor’

Mwana ndini ya maamo. ‘Son of your mother’s cunt!’ (An insult.) Or:

Mwandinaa maamo.

Omari/ mtilee muke/ chaala/ ndiniini/ dhukh dhukh dhukh. ‘Omari inserted his finger into the woman’s vagina repeatedly **dhukh dhukh dhukh.**’

rel.

mi-dini pl.

diira

n. 9/10 [Sw. *dira* SSED 75; Ar. *dā‘ira* W 301] compass; eyeglasses

dira ya iwa ‘sun-glasses’

dira ya maato ‘eye-glasses’

diiraye ‘her glasses’

dira zaawo ‘their glasses’

Omari/ mvundiḷile Hamadi/ diira. ‘Omari broke Hamadi’s eye-glasses.’

Omari/ mvundiḷile Hamadi/ diiraye. ‘Omari broke Hamadi’s eye-glasses.’

Omari vuzile dira ya Hamadi. ‘Omari broken Hamadi’s sun-glasses.’ Or:

Omari/ vuzile Hamadi/ diiraye.

rel.

chi-diira (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim.

i-diira (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.

dira’a

n. 9/0 a kind of light, transparent cloth worn as a dress

dira’a iyi ‘this dress’ (cf. **dira’a izi** ‘these dresses’)

Dira’a za Indya/ suurá. ‘It is **dira’a** from India that are good.’

Dira’a za Indya/ suurá/ hushiindra/ za Dubáy. ‘It is **dira’a** from India that surpass [those] of Dubai.’

Nuzile dira’á/ za Indyá. ‘I bought Indian **dira’a.**’

rel.

chi-dira’a (*zi-*) n. dim. 7/8 (disparaging use)

Chidira’a gani/ icho. ‘What kind of **chidira’a** is this (suggesting that it is not a good one).’

dirhamu

n. *poetic* cent

hatta dirhamu mo haraamu khatari [st.] ‘even one cent earned illegally is dangerous’

na zo ni alfu dirhamu/ kubloowa meema faahimu [st.] ‘it was a thousand dirhams/ to have the virtuous scholar killed’

diriri

n. [Som. *dirir* DSI 191] dispute, fight

lata jawaabu niingi lata diriri [st.] ‘stop raising many objections, stop disputing’

i-diriisha (*ma-*)

n. 5/6 [Sw. *dirisha* SSED 75; Pers.] window

Haliima/ simeme idirishaani. ‘Haliima stood on the window.’

idirisha ya chuuma ‘an iron window’

idirisha yaa mbawo ‘wooden window’

khfunga idirisha ‘to close a window’

khfungula idirisha ‘to open a window’

Mwanaamke/ wa sulṭaani/ oyo/ uko idirishaani/ chimwona/ Hasani/ fakeete/ ingile mashakaani. ‘That daughter of the sultan, who was standing at the window, saw Hasani and ran off and entered into the bush.’

Nuumbaya/ chihaba/ laakini/ inayo madirisha miingi. ‘My house is small

but it has many windows.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **chilaavi** ‘a fish-trap’.)

zilango za idirisha ‘the doors of a window’

zuma za idirisha ‘the iron/steel of the window’

dirito

adj. direct

ndila dirito ‘a direct road’

diritoore

n. director

Tuuma/ waawaye/ ni diritoore. ‘Tuuma’s father is a director.’

ku-dirka

v. [Sw. **diriki** SSED 70] (**dirshile**) reach s.t., reach for; catch up with, equal, overtake; save (from danger)

Chimdirkaa muke/ mooyi/ mzeele/ nt^ho. ‘He met a very old woman.’

Chizeele/ chishkila/ chishkila/ haṭá/ mwaana/ chichidirka/ icho chijuumba/ chichidafkula. ‘The old woman descended and descended until the boy (who in the story was riding on her back while she flew) could reach that nest and snatched it.’

Dafa/ ziilopó/ nt^haskudirka/ karaayle. ‘When the kites reached [the town where the crows had lived], they did not meet any crows.’

haṭá/ ichiwa ziwovu izo/ zinakhudirkaa we/ na ahliyó ‘even if these evil deeds affect you and your relatives’

Khabari/ zimdirshile Hamadi. ‘The news reached Hamadi.’

Kooḍi/ zimdirshile Hamadi. ‘The news reached Hamadi.’

kudirka ruuhu ‘to save oneself’

kumdirka ruuhu ‘(lit.) to reach him the soul – i.e. to save s.o.’

Omari/ waliko ṭa’abaani/ kaazi/ la’aani/ Hamadi/ mdirshilo ruuhú. ‘Omari was in a bad condition, without a job, it was Hamadi who saved him (e.g. maybe got him a job).’

Hamadi/ gaari/ imvundikiḷile mahala khatari/ Sheekhi/ mdirshilo ruuhú. ‘Hamadi had his car break down at a bad place, it was Sheekhi who saved his soul (i.e. went and helped him).’

Maayi/ yadirishilee nguwo. ‘The clothes got wet – lit. wetness reached the clothes.’

Maayi/ yakhudirshile? ‘Did the water reach you (i.e. were you hit by the water that we threw out)?’

Mdirishile Ali/ ka masoomo. ‘He caught up with Ali in his studies.’

Mwaana/ dirshile gaari. ‘The child reached the car (e.g. which was about to take off).’

Mwaana/ oloshelopó/ mdirishile mweenziwe/ ineeme/ naakuḷa. ‘When she went, she found her friend bent over crying.’

Nakhfakaṭá/ kudirkaa salá. ‘I am running to reach (where) the praying (is taking place).’

Nch^hiza khfakaṭa/ simdirki. ‘If I don’t run, I won’t reach him.’

Ni hodari/ laakini/ hamdirki/ Ali. ‘He is clever, but he cannot equal Ali.’

him.’

Nk^hachiza khfakaṭá/ skamdirke. ‘If I had not run, I wouldn’t have reached

him.’

Nk^hawa skufakaṭá/ skamdirke. ‘If I had not run, I wouldn’t have reached

Wachimrasha kumshiika/ laakini/ nt^hawakhaadira/ kumdirka. ‘They chased after him in order to catch him, but they were not able to reach him.’

wanadirke khsimama karka Aarafa/ ka waṭiwe Makka al-musharrafa [st.] ‘may they reach Mount Arafah and stand on it/ at the proper time, then go to Mecca, the most revered [of towns]’

wadirke waaya khaansa wake hisani [st.] ‘go to the help of human creatures, especially middle-aged women’

Washfuraha kuwona chisiwa/ laakini/ ba’ada ya daqiiqa/ habamó/ Saalehe/ chihaba chaawo/ chibiga lkele/ ndirkaani/ ndirkaani/ mi/ nakugitowa ka nt^hiini. ‘They rejoiced to see the island, but

after a few minutes, Saalehe, the youngest of them, shouted: help me! help me! [lit. reach for me]. I am being pulled down from below.'

Waqaribililopó/ mubjana wa piili/ Faraji/ chibiga lkele/ dirkani ruhu ziinu/ mi/ nmaliizé. 'When they neared [the island], the second young man, Faraji, shouted: save yourselves, I am finished.'

Ye/ chimdirka/ sultaani/ kaleent^he/ na mwanaamkewe. 'He found the sultan sitting with his daughter.'

Ye/ mdirshile mnaadisho/ nakhtinda ngoombe. 'He found the auctioneer slaughtering a cow.'

rel.

ku-dirkamana v. (-dirkameene) meet

Chilangale/ mbele/ ndirkamane na mwanaamke. 'Let's see, first, let me meet with the girl.'

Karkaa ndila/ chidirkamana na muunt^hu/ mooyi/ ngamiilaye/ yingilo baaói. 'On the way he encountered a man whose camel had gone astray.'

Karkaa ndila/ chidirkamana/ na mwanaamke/ mooyi/ msuura. 'On the way he met a beautiful girl.'

Karkaa ye/ nakinendro'ineendró/ chidirkamana/ na muunt^hu/ mooyi. 'While he was walking here and there, he met a man.'

mahaalaa wowi/ hudirkamano na tawalá 'a place where the river meets with the sea'

Mi/ niilé/ nambila naa muké/ mzeele/ mooyi/ waa mi/ ndirkameno naayé/ kuwaa mi/ nt^hakudirkamana/ naa muke/ mooyi/ mzeele/ nt^ho. 'I came and was told by an old woman whom I met that I would meet a very old woman.'

Ndirkamene naa ye/ bilaa khfilatila. 'I met him unexpectedly.'

Sku mooyi/ walwaawo/ wachidirkamana/ wachilaana. 'One day they met each other and they fought.'

Zamaani/ nt^ho/ mi/ ndirkameené/ na waawaye/ mwaana/ uyu. 'A very long time ago I met with this boy's father (lit. his father/ this boy).'

ku-dirkamanoowa v. pass.

Kuwavila waant^hu/ kudirkamanoowa/ kuwonanoowa/ khpanana salaamu/ na kubadilana ra'yi. 'To call people to meet and to see one another and greet one another and exchange ideas.'

ku-dirkana v. rec. (-dirkeene) reach one another

ku-dirkika v. p/s.

Hawdirkiki/ walá/ hawshiikiki. 'It cannot be reached nor can it be held.' (A riddle, the answer to which is **mooshi** 'smoke').

ku-dirkiḷoowa v. appl. pass.

Dirkiḷila nakuboola. 'He was caught red-handed stealing.'

ku-dirkila v. appl. (**dirkiḷiile**) reach at; reach s.t. with; surprise s.o. (e.g. while committing adultery), find doing s.t.

Mi/ nakhsuulá/ chiruuda/ khudirkila paapa/ apa. 'When I return I want to find you right here.'

Mubliwe/ ilopo ka mundraani/ chimdirkila naayé/ naakuḷó. 'When her husband came home from the farm, he found her crying.'

ku-dirkisha v. caus. cause to reach

ku-dirkoowa v. pass.

Chiint^hu/ hudirkowa cho chihabá. 'Something is fixed (should be fixed) while it is small.' (A saying.)

Duniya/ ha'idirkoowi. 'The world cannot be reached.' (A proverb, which says that one cannot get everything that one wants.)

ku-dirsha v. caus.

kudirsha chaakuja 'to prepare food hastily, e.g. for someone who is hungry'

kumdirsha chaakuja 'to take food hastily to someone who is hungry'
Mdirshize Hamadi/ chaakuja. 'She took the food hastily to

Hamadi.’

kumdirsha gaari ‘to cause to reach a car or truck (e.g. by carrying the person) before it leaves’

kumdirsha kooði ‘to cause someone to get news hastily’

Mdirshize Hamadi/ kooði. ‘He conveyed the news to Hamadi hastily.’

ku-dirshiliza v. caus. appl.

kumdirshiliza chaakuja ‘to prepare food hastily for someone’

Mdirshilize Hamadi/ chaakuja. ‘She prepared food hastily for Hamadi.’

Uzile makala/ kumdirshiliza Hamadi/ chaakuja. ‘She bought charcoal to use to prepare food hastily for Hamadi.’ (Syn. Observe that the infinitive verb is a benefactive applied verb, but at the same time it seems to make possible an unmarked form of the instrumental noun that can be deleted under identity with the object of the main verb. While it is not necessary for the beneficiary to actually be mentioned, it is still implied: **Uzile makala/ kudirshiliza chaakuja.** ‘He bought charcoal to use to prepare food for someone.’)

ku-dirshoowa v. caus. pass.

Hamadi/ dirshiza chaakuja/ na Ali. ‘Hamadi had food prepared for him quickly by Ali.’

Hamadi/ dirshiza koodi/ na Ali. ‘[Lit.] Hamadi was caused to have the news reach him by Ali.’

Mwaana/ dirshiza gaari/ na Ali. ‘The child was caused to reach the car (e.g. before it departed) by Ali.’

ku-dirsha
s.o.

v. (**dirshiize**) make s.t. ready in time; prepare s.t. in a hurry; give news about s.t. to

n-diiwa

n. 9/10 [Sw. *njiwa* SSED 339] pigeon

Maatoye/ masuura/ kamba ya ndiiwa. ‘Her eyes are beautiful like those of a pigeon.’

mayaank^huku/ ya ndiiwa ‘pigeon eggs’

Nama ya ndiiwa/ lada. ‘Pigeon meat is delicious.’

Nama ya ndiiwa/ ni nama ya janaani. ‘The meat of a pigeon is the meat of heaven.’

Ndiiwa/ mbili/ izije/ schaanza/ kiimba/ kaawo/ zijumbaani/ naawó/ wachizaala/ waana/ wiingi. ‘Those two pigeons began to sing in their nests and they gave birth to many children.’

ndiwa za janna ‘the pigeons of paradise’

ndiwa za maduuri ‘a pigeon, smaller than town pigeons, of a muddy-red color; good to eat’

numba ya ndiiwa ‘pigeon coop (lit. house)’

suura/ kana ndiiwa ‘as beautiful as a pigeon’

Ye/ chiwona ilu/ yaa muti/ uko ndiiwa. ‘He saw that on the top of the tree there was a pigeon.’

diywaani

n. 9/10 [Sw. *diwani* SSED 76; Ar.] a book or anthology of poems

diwani iyi ‘this book of poems’

diwani zaawo ‘their books of poems’

diwi

n. [Som. *dibi* DSI 184] bull; ox; [pron. **diwi** or **dibi**]

Dibii mbili/ haskali/ karka moro mooyi. ‘Two bulls do not dwell in the same pen.’ (A proverb.)

dibi uyu or **dibi iyi** ‘this bull’; **dibi izi** ‘these bulls’

Nii dibi. ‘He’s a bull (i.e. big but with no brains).’

Siwo/ diwi humrishó. ‘He is not a bull who would impregnate (a cow).’

rel.

chi-diwi (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

i-diwi (mi- n. 5/4 aug.

nguvu/ kana idiwi ‘as strong as an ox’

diya

n. 9/10 [Sw. *dia* SSED 75; Ar.] blood-money, compensation for an injury to s.o.
Laazimu/ kḥtomolaa diya. ‘It is necessary to pay blood compensation.’
Wapela diya. ‘They were given blood compensation.’
Wa’iize/ diya. ‘They refused the blood compensation.’
Watomelee diya. ‘They paid blood compensation.’

diizali

n. [Eng. *diesel*] diesel truck

doobi

n. [Sw. *dobi* SSED 76; Hind] place where clothes are washed (contrasts with **lawandaayi**, which refers to a professional laundry); a washerman (= **mfulaa nguwo** ‘a washer of clothes’)

khisa/ ya mp^huundra/ wa doobi ‘the story of the washerman’s donkey’ (a story from Swahili translated by Mohammad Imam Abasheikh into Chimiini)

dobla

n. 9/10 [Sw. *dola* SSED 76; Ar.] government; [pron. **dobla** or **dowla**]

proverb.)

Dobla aadili/ ha’iburbuki. ‘Just government does not collapse.’ (A

Dobla ya Aldo/ Mooro/ inakudaḍalata khfanyilizaa dawa/ na kiyookolá/ iqtisaadi/ ya muuyi. ‘The government of Aldo Mooro is trying hard to cure and to save the economy of the country.’

Kana dobla la’aani/ kheeri/ dobla mbovu. ‘Instead of being without a government, a bad one is better.’ (A saying.)

Teena/ chiwa mwaana/ uyu/ nakiineenza/ amri/ za dowla/ naayé/ umo mp^hinguuni. ‘Then it came to be that this boy was conducting the affairs of government while he was in chains.’

rel.

u-dobla n. [pron. **udobla**] government

umatiyo wanakhsuula udobla / hufakata hooloka khsooma skoola =[st.] ‘your community wants to be part of the government, they run away and go to the [secular] schools’

dobla

adj. big-hearted; [pron. **dobla** or **dowla**]

Fulaani/ dobla. ‘So-and-so is big-hearted.’

muuyi usho dowla naa takhupo gari [nt.] ‘in a town without government, who will provide justice?’

ku-dooda

v. [Som. **dood-** "to discuss" DSI 192] (**dodeele**) complain about what one has received, asking for more of something; argue, trying to get more; claim

Dodelee kuja. ‘He complained about the food not being enough.’

Omari/ mkali/ kudooda. ‘Omari is good, sharp at arguing.’

Sidodeeni. ‘You (pl.) don’t complain!’

rel.

ku-doodata v. argue

Hamadi/ nakudoodata. ‘Hamadi is arguing.’

ku-doodeka v. p/s.

ku-dodeleloowa v. appl. pass.

Omari/ nakudodeleloowa. ‘Omari is being argued for.’

ku-doodela v. appl. (**dodelelele**)

Sidodeleeni. ‘You (pl.) don’t complain about it!’

ku-doodisha v. caus. ask for more of something

variant form: **kudoodesha** (Phon. This stem is exceptional in that both the expected form **kudoodesha** as well as the unexpected **kudoodisha** are permitted. Notice that it is only the causative that permits variation. The passive/stative and applied stems both show the expected vowel harmony.)

Nuuru/ mdodishize mwaana/ chaakuja. ‘Nuuru had the child complain about the food (being too little).’

ku-dodeshana v. caus. rec.

ku-dodesheka v. caus. p/s.

ku-dodesheleza v. caus. appl.

variant form: **kudodishiliza**

Nuuru/ mdodishilize Suufi/ mwaana/ chaakuja. ‘Nuuru caused Suufi’s child to complain about the food being too little.’

ku-dodeshelezanya v. caus. appl. rec.

variant form: **kudodishilizanya**

Nuuru/ na Suufi/ wadodishilizenye waana/ chaakuja. ‘Nuuru and Suufi caused one another’s children to complain about the food being too little.’

ku-dodoowa v. pass.

ku-doodata v. = **ku-dooda**

Omari/ hudoōḍaṭa niingi. ‘Omari complains, argues a lot.’ Or: **Omari/ hudoōḍaṭa/ niingi.**

Omari/ nakudoōḍaṭa kuwa hakhiye/ ntʰakhpoowa. ‘Omari was complaining that his rights were not given to him.’

Omari/ nakudoōḍaṭa kuwa nuumba/ ndaaké. ‘Omari is arguing that the house is his.’

dooḍi

n. 9/10 complaint

Dooḍize/ hazimali. ‘His complaints have no end.’ (A proverbial saying.)

Sinaayo/ ismu/ ya dooḍi. ‘I do not have *any* complaint.’

dokhani (Ø, ma-)

adj. [Som. *doqon* DSI 195] stupid, moronic

Apa/ ntʰi/ nzimaye/ madokhaani. ‘This entire country is (nothing but) morons.’

Dokhani/ ha’isi/ hisaabu. ‘Someone stupid does not know accountability.’ (A saying.)

Dokhani/ haleeti/ faayda. ‘Stupidity does not bring profit.’ (A saying.)

Dokhani/ hutambula ka chinume. ‘Stupidity understands things late.’ (A

proverb.)

Dokhani/ mtume Muusa/ minkʰariiló. ‘The stupid one, the prophet Moses

curses him.’

Dokhani/ ntʰaná/ nasiibu. ‘Someone stupid does not have luck, good fortune.’ (A saying.)

Hamadi/ ni dokhani. ‘Hamadi is a moron.’

Haṭá/ sku mooyi/ skupata/ kuwona muuntʰu/ dokhaani/ kama uyu.

‘Never [lit. even one day] have I had a chance to see a person as stupid as this one.’

Jaani/ kuwaa ye/ ni dokhani/ huwonowa ka steendroze. ‘That John is a moron can be seen from his actions.’

Mbona/ we/ ni dokhani/ Ali. ‘How come you are so stupid, Ali?’

Mwana uyu/ ni dokhani. ‘This child is stupid.’

Wantʰu awa/ ni madokhani. ‘These people are stupid.’

rel.

i-dokhani (mi-) n. aug.

Wako wiimbili/ wawili/ mo/ ni Bwanawaasi/ mo/ ni Idokhani. ‘There were two boys: one was Bwanawaasi (a legendary hero in Arab folklore) and the other was Big Stupid.’

u-dokhani n. 14 stupidity

Udokhani/ ukhuteete. ‘Stupidity prevailed over you.’

Udokhani/ umzidiile/ Ali. ‘[Lit.] (As for) stupidity, it increased to Ali = Ali became more stupid.’ Or: **Ali/ umzidiile/ udokhani.** Or: **Ali/ zidile udokhani.**

doolari

n. 9/10 [Eng. *dollar*] dollar

dolari iyi/ mooyi ‘this one dollar’ (cf. **dolari izi/ mbili** ‘these two dollars’)

Isa/ nt^hachinakuwona chiint^hu/ chinakambiḷowa kuwa chinakhpoowá/ doolari/ milyuuni/ miyaa mbili. ‘Now we do not see anything; we are being told that we are being given two hundred million dollars.’
Omari/ tete ka Hasani/ dolarii miya/ deeni. ‘Omari took a debt of one hundred dollars from Hasani.’
ziikopi ḍahabu ziikopi doolari [nt.] ‘where is the gold, where are the dollars?’

doroogo

n. [Ital. *droga*] confirm use in Chimiini and pron and meaning and examples

ku-doorsata

v. [Som. *door* "to choose" DSI 194] (**dorseete**) choose, select
kudorsataa kuja ‘to choose food’
Safiya/ mdorseete Huseeni/ kuwa mubliwe. ‘Safiya selected Huseeni to be her husband.’
Wamdorseete Sheekhi/ kuwa ra’iisi. ‘They elected Sheekhi president.’
rel.
ku-dorsatika v. p/s.
Hamadi/ hadorsatiki. ‘Hamadi is not electable, selectable.’
ku-dorsatiloowa v. appl. pass.
Omari/ kumdorsatiloowa manaamke ‘Omari to be chosen for a girl’
ku-dorsatila v. appl.
Namdorsatilani/ Omari. ‘For what are you electing Omari?’
ku-dorsatisha v. caus.
ku-dorsatoowa v. pass.
Omari/ takudorsatoowa. ‘Omari will be selected, chosen.’
Sheekhi/ dorseta kuwa ra’iisi. ‘Sheekhi was elected president.’
rel. nom.
u-doorsato n. 14

doṭoore (ma-)
be used as a title

n. [Ital. *dottore*] university graduate; medical doctor (with a university degree); may be used as a title

Doṭore oyo/ siwo/ msuura. ‘That doctor is not good.’
doṭore uyu ‘this doctor’; **madoṭore awa** (or **aya**) ‘these doctors’
Mulize doṭoore/ gaariye. ‘He sold the doctor his car.’ (This sentence exhibits canonical downstep intonation, and as a consequence, the simple yes-no question shows no accent shift., just Q-raising. The exclamatory question shifts accent: **Mulize doṭooré/ gaariyé!?**)
Nimulize doṭooré/ gaariyá. ‘I sold the doctor my car.’ (Since the verb is a final-accent trigger, accent in both phrases is located on the final vowel. The simple yes-no question differs from the statement only in Q-raising: **Nimulize doṭooré/ gaariyá?** The exclamatory question does not have any visible accent shift: **Nimulize doṭooré/ gaariyâ!?**)
Nuuru/ uzile doṭoore/ gaariye. ‘Nuuru bought the doctor’s car.’ (Prosody. This sentence exhibits the canonical downstep intonation. The simple yes-no question does not shift accent. The exclamatory question shifts accent in both phrases inside the VP: **Nuuru/ uzile doṭooré/ gaariyé!?**)
Nuuru/ uzile gari ya doṭoore. ‘Nuuru bought the doctor’s car.’ (Prosody. This sentence has canonical downstep intonation and, as a consequence, the simple yes-no question shows no accent-shift. The verb phrase shifts accent in the exclamatory question, of course: **Nuuru/ uzile gari ya doṭooré!?**)
Nuuru/ uzile/ gari ya doṭoore. ‘Nuuru bought the doctor’s car.’ (Prosody. The verb is focused in this example, meaning that its pitch is raised. The complement undergoes pitch lowering. The simple yes-no question shows accent-shift in the complement: **Nuuru/ uzile/ gari ya doṭooré?**)

ku-doothata

v. argue

Omari/ mkali/ kudoothata. ‘Omari is sharp in arguing.’
Si/ chidoreeté/ we. ‘We argued, you know.’
Wadoreete/ we/ alhaasili/ watambuleene. ‘They discussed (argued), you know, [and] finally they agreed (understood one another).’
rel.
ku-doothatila v. appl.
Omari/ namdoothatila Hasani. ‘Omari is arguing for Hasani.’

ku-dothatoowa v. pass.

Apo/ inakudoothata. ‘There arguing is going on.’

Kudothatoowa/ bilaa ma’ana/ siwo/ suura. ‘It is not good to argue for no reason.’

n-dovu

n. 9/10 [Sw. *ndovu* SSED 332, where it is noted that the usual word at the coast is *tembo*] elephant

Chiboodo/ mwenopoo mbwa/ nakinendra ilu yaa ndovú/ iwiile/ kuwaa ndovu/ fiile. ‘When Flea saw the dog walking on the elephant, he knew that the elephant was dead.’

Mapembe yaa ndovu/ ni konforobaanda. ‘The tusks of elephants are contraband.’

Mwaana/ chiwa’amura wataana/ kumkokotaa ndovu/ hatá/ muyiini. ‘The son ordered the servants to drag the elephant up to the town.’

Nazoo nguvu/ kanaa ndovu. ‘He has strength like an elephant, he is as strong as an elephant.’

Ndovu/ chiwaraasha/ kuwa’ubla. ‘The elephant chased them to kill them.’ (Morph. Observe that the animate noun **ndovu** governs [cl.1] agreement, which is phonologically null, on the verb **chiwaraasha**.)

Nguvuze/ kanaa ndovu. ‘His strength is like that of an elephant.’

rel.

chi-dovu (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim.

i-dovu (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug. [pron. **idovu**] a large elephant

ikulu/ kana idovu ‘as big as an (aug.) elephant’

n-draani

n. 9 [Sw. *ndani* SSED 331] inside; nothing but the inside (i.e. empty)

-a ndraani [cf. Sw. *-a ndrani* SSED 331] ‘internal, inner, secret’

Mp^hele khabari za ndraani. ‘He gave me secret news.’

Bur’i/ tile peesa/ ndrani ya sanduukhu. ‘Ali put money inside the box.’

Chingila naaye/ ndraani. ‘He went with her inside.’

Chingila ndraani/ kaake/ mtanaani. ‘He went into his room.’

Iboholi/ iwele ndraani. ‘The hole (which had been full of honey to begin with) became empty.’

Ilooni/ ondroshela/ chistukula chinoka/ icho/ chingila naacho/ ndraani/ numbaani. ‘At dusk she got up and took the little snake and went with it inside the house.’

ka ndraani [cf. Sw. *ka ndani* SSED 331] from inside

Shpata nt^huundru/ na weelú/ ka ndraani. ‘He found a hole and light from inside (i.e. light from outside coming into the hole).’

ndraani/ mwa ndraani ‘in and in’

ndraani ndiwe takiwo [song] ‘only you will know what is inside (you)’

ndrani ya maduuri ‘inside the forest’

ndrani ya nuumba ‘inside the house’

Ndrani ya numba iyi/ yamo maali/ miingi. ‘Inside this house there is much wealth.’

ndrani ya numba izo ‘inside those houses’

Sku yaa ne/ shtaala/ chisufuriya chihabba/ chishtila ndraani/ ya sufuriyaa nk^hulu/ ya jiraani. ‘On the fourth day he took a small pot and he put it inside the large pot of his neighbor.’

Wachimlata/ Hasiibu/ ndrani ya chisima. ‘They left Hasiibu inside the well.’

Ye/ harfishiize/ chiint^hu/ ndraani. ‘He smelled something inside (the house).’

n-drewuuni

in the phrase:

kingila ndrewuuni ‘to doze off’

Ningile ndrewuuní. ‘I dozed off.’

Nk^halen^he chibarzaaní/ l-pepo/ haṭá/ ningile ndrewuuní. ‘I sat on the stone bench (e.g. located outdoors) and (there was a nice) breeze to the point that I dozed off.’

- n-driili** n. a fish of the trevally family, yellow in color, perhaps 10kg in weight, found near coral reefs; it is caught with a net, but only caught during **kaskaazi**; it jumps very high out of the water and moves in groups
- n-driimbo** n. 9/10 song
Naayé/ chimjiba mwaana/ ka ndriimbo. ‘And she answered the boy with a song.’
Waana/ wa’imbile ndriimbo. ‘The children sang songs.’
- n-driimu** n. 9/10 [Sw. *ndimu* SSED 332] lemon, lime
Ambile ndriimu/ ambiló. ‘He peeled off the skin of the lemon, that’s what he did.’
Khaadimu/ chambiloowa/ ya kuwa waant^hu/ watakuṭaṭila/ ndriimu/ mara ya kaandra/ mara ya piili/ na mara ya taatú. ‘The servant was told that the people would throw lemons one time, two times, three times.’
muti wa ndriimu ‘lemon tree’
ndrimu ḷada ‘orange’
ndrimuu nk^hulu ‘grapefruit (lit. big lemon); grapefruit may also be called **pompeelmo**, from Italian’
Ndriimu/ mara nt^hatuze/ schimbiga/ muunt^hu/ mooyi/ munt^hu oyo/ ndiyé/ takuwo sulṭaaní. ‘If the lemons all three times hit the same person, that person, it is he who will become sultan.’
ndrimu siṭa ‘a bitter lime’
ndrimu ya Nguuja ‘orange (lit. lemon of Zanzibar)’
rel.
chi-n-driimu (zi-n-) n. 7/8 dim.
chindrimu chilada ‘tangerine’
chindrimu chisiṭa ‘lime’
- n-droolo** n. [cf. **kuloola** ‘to marry’] [Sw. *ndoa* SSED 350] marriage (as an institution)
- n-drooto** n. 9/10 [cf. **kuloota** ‘to dream’] [Sw. *ndoto* SSED 356] dream
Chilota ndrooto/ mbovu. ‘He dreamed a bad dream.’
kuwona ndrooto ‘to have a dream [lit. to see a dream/dreams’
Sku mooyi/ Yuusufu/ wene ndrooto. ‘One day Joseph had a dream.’
Ziikopi/ ndrootoza. ‘Where are my dreams?’
- n-dru** n. [Sw. *ndugu* SSED 332] relative
Huseeni/ chimtalaa ndrue/ Hasani/ mwanamke wa sulṭaani/ na want^hu wiinginé/ wawaliko wafanyiizá/ wataaná/ chendra naawo/ jahaziini. ‘Huseeni took his relative, Hasani, the daughter of the sultan, and the other men who had been made slaves and went with them to the ship.’
Ndru mwovu/ khinfa skuu mbovu. ‘A bad relative is of use to you on a bad day.’ (A proverb.)
rel.
- i-n-dru (mi-n-)* n. 5/4 aug. [pron. **indru** (sg.) and **mindru** (pl.)]
- n-druugu** n. 9/10 [Sw. *njugu* SSED 340] groundnut
khkhalanga ndrugu or **khkalaanga/ ndrugu** ‘to roast groundnuts’
kubashalaṭila ndrugu ‘to pass time with groundnuts, i.e. entertain or enjoy oneself by eating nuts’
kuja ndrugu ‘to eat groundnuts’

kuza ndruugu ‘to sell groundnuts’
ndrugu zaa munu or **ndruugu/ zaa munu** ‘salted nuts’
ndrugu za suukari or **ndruugu/ za suukari** ‘sugared nuts’

n-druundo

n. 9/10 [Sw. *nyundo* SSED 349] hammer
Mbishile ruuhuyá/ ka ndrundo. ‘I hit myself with a hammer (accidentally).’
Tete ndrundo/ khfungulila. ‘He took a hammer to open it.’
rel.
chi-n-druundo (*zi-n-*) n. 7/8 dim.

du’a
prayer; blessing
proverb.)

n. 9/10 [Sw. *dua* SSED 77; Ar. *du’ā* W 283] raising of the arms in supplication,
Du’a/ huḷoowa. ‘Blessings are earned, worked for (lit. bought).’ (A
khpokelaa du’a ‘to say ‘amen’ when s.o. in the group raises his arms in
prayer’
khsomaa du’a ‘to read supplication
khsomowaa du’a ‘being read supplication’
Isomeḷaa du’a/ niingi. ‘There was a lot of supplications being
read.’ (An impersonal passive.)
Isomeḷaa du’a/ skoḷaani. ‘There has been supplications read at
school.’ Or: **Isomeḷa/ du’a/ skoḷaani**.

kulombaa du’a ‘to pray to God’
kuwanaayo/ du’a ‘[lit.] to have blessing – someone’s blessing is upon you
(and consequently your good luck depends on this factor)’
Nayo du’a ya waawaye. ‘He has his father’s blessing (because he
was a dutiful son and therefore the father’s blessing will
help him to attain everything he wants in life).’

To be checked if also possible with plural (*du’a za waawaye*).

Nusuha/ nii du’a. ‘Advice is a blessing (i.e. to receive advice is a
blessing).’ (A proverb.)

**Sababu/ yua waant^hu/ kurasho mayṭí/ ya maaná/ ka chinumé/
huhadoowa/ kuwa maana/ haṭa haaji/ kulombelowaa du’a/ nt^haná/ ismu ya ḍambi/ ba/ ba/ husuḷowaa ye/
kulombela waant^hu/ du’a/ na maghírá**. ‘The reason for people following [the dead child] from behind [in the
funeral procession] is that it is said that the child is innocent and does not need people to pray to God for
forgiveness for him, rather it is wanted that the child pray to God for the people to be forgiven.’

ku-du’a

v. pray **confirm can be used as a simple verb**
rel.
ku-du’ila v. appl. pray for, bless

Waant^hu/ wamalizopoo kujá/ wachimdu’ila muḷi/ na mukeewé ‘After
the people ate, they blessed the man and his wife.’

Waant^hu/ wotte/ wa muyi oyo/ wanamdu’ila. ‘All the people of that town
prayed for him.’

Dubay

n. Dubai; [pron. **ḍubáy**] (Phon. Accent in Chimiini, in default cases, falls on the
penult syllable, i.e. the second syllable from the end. However, in **Dubay**, accent falls on the last syllable. It is
interesting that as a consequence, there is no contrast between final and default accent.)

variant form: **Dubey**

Uzile dira’a za Dubáy. ‘She bought **dira’a** from Dubai.’ (Cf. **Nuzile
dira’a za Dubáy**. ‘I bought **dira’a** from Dubai.’) **review this
matter**

dubi

n. 9/10 [Sw. *dubu* SSED 78; Ar. *dubb* W 269] bear
dubi uyu or **dubi iyi** ‘this bear’; **dubi izi** ‘these bears’

chi-dubi (*zi-*)

n. 7/8 [?Som. *dub* “to roast or fry” DSI 195] kebab

- dubla** n. 9/10 [Som. *dublo* DSI 196] funnel; [pron. **dubla**] **dubla iyi** ‘this funnel’
rel.
i-dubla (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.
- duburi** n. 9/10 [Ar. *dub(u)r* W 270] anus
- Duude** n. a rock, some three kilometers or so off the shore of Brava, facing the Friday mosque, whose two tips are visible at high tide (that they are connected underwater is clear at low tide); children swim out to this rock, and one is considered to be a good swimmer when one is able to do this
Duude/ hujoowa. ‘Is **Duude** something to be eaten?’ Or: **Ni Duude/ nii kuja.** ‘Is **Duude** something to eat?’ (These are said when somebody pretends to be able to do something unusual and people think that he is bluffing and cannot achieve anything.)
Duude/ siwo/ kule. ‘Duude is not far.’ (A proverb, where the speaker is saying: do not give up hope, there is nothing that cannot be achieved, just take your time and you will succeed. After all, Duude, your goal, is not that far away.)
Duude/ siwo/ khaaribu. ‘Duude is not near.’ (A proverb, where the speaker is warning that things do not come easily, one must be prepared to struggle in order to achieve something. After all, Duude, your goal, is not near by.)
Noloshele Duudé/ ka koowelá. ‘I swam to Duude (lit. I went to Duude by swimming).’
- duudu** n. [Ar. *dūd* “worm, larva, maggot” W 297] worms, insects
dudu uyu or **dudu iyi** ‘this worm’; **dudu izi** ‘these worms’
khtomola duudu ‘to take out, extract worms’
kuḅla duudu ‘to kill worms’
Magozi/ yawozele/ ya’ingila na duudu/ yaweele/ haya’infi teena. ‘The skins got rotten, they were entered by worms, they became of no use anymore.’
Mali ya bakhili/ hujowa na duudu. ‘The possessions of misers are eaten by worms.’ (A proverb.)
Zimingile duudu/ miluuni. ‘His legs were infected with worms.’
- chi-duudu* (*zi-*) n. insect
- dudumaayi** n. [Sw. *dudu mai* “chickenpox” from internet source] chickenpox, smallpox
- ku-dufata** v. [etymology unknown] (**dufeete**) embrace, hug, grip s.o. in a close fight
rel.
ku-dufila v. appl. (**dufilile**) hit, pierce with horns, jump on and attack
kumdufila ka lpeembe ‘to gore s.o. with horn’
Omari/ mdufilile Hasani. ‘Omari jumped on and hit Hasani.’
ku-dufiloowa v. appl. pass. (**dufilila**)
kudufilowa na ngoombe ‘to be gored by a bull (lit. cow)’
Tuuma/ dufilila. ‘Tuuma was jumped on, attacked.’
rel. nom.
m-dufata (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who hugs, grips in a fight
- duufu** adj. invar. [Som. *duf* “person having a weak character” DSI 197] dull (lacking personality or character)
Ni muunt^hu/ duufu. ‘He is a dull person.’
Ni waant^hu/ duufu. ‘They are tall people.’
- dughaaghi** n. 9/10 [Som. *dugaag* DSI 197] wild animal; adj. violent (of a person) (Intervocalic **g** in Somali is realized as a fricative, a pronunciation that is carried over in this loanword. Furthermore, since words must end in a vowel in Chimiini, a final vowel is added, thus putting the word-final **g** in the Somali word into intervocalic position. This **g** is then realized as a fricative in Chimiini.)
dughaghi uyu or **dughaghi iyi** ‘this wild animal’; **dughaghi izi** ‘these wild

animals'

Dughaaghi/ waliko file. 'The beast was dead.'

Islaamu/ warebela kuja nama ya dughaaghi/ niingi/ ka mfaano/ siimba/ ngeena/ dul'eda/ nfuye/ nt'huwi/ jeeri/ mp'aka/ ghuraabu/ karaayle/ mp'isi/ mbwa/ noka/ na zingineze niingi. 'Muslims are forbidden to eat the meat of many wild animals; for example, lions, crocodiles, foxes, monkeys, leopards, hippos, cats, crows, *karaayle*, hyenas, dogs, snakes, and many others.'

Komelopó/ chiwapa khabari/ kuwa dughaaghi/ file. 'When he reached them, he gave them the news that the beast had died.'

Maama/ sh'untuungila/ ka cholokooni/ chiwona/ kuwa ndiyé/ dughaaghi/ malizo waant^hú/ wa mwaana/ mleeseló. 'Mother looked out from the window and saw that it was him, the beast, who ate people, that the boy had brought to her.'

Mwana uyu/ ni dughaaghi. 'This child is violent.'

We/ chirashaa ndila/ iyi/ takuwona ibanya ikulu/ laakini/ apo/ hukaló/ ni siimba/ noka/ na dughaghi ziinginé. 'If you follow this path, you will find a large open place, but the ones who live there are lions, snakes, and other wild animals.'

duugu

n. [Som. *dug* "place sheltered from wind" DSI 197] a place sheltered from the wind or cold (Phon. It is not clear to us why Chimiini has borrowed this word with a long vowel, since the Somali word has a short vowel.)

ku-duguwa

v. [? cf, Som. *lug* "leg including foot" and *luggee* "to go on foot" DSI 391; the Tunni dialect should be checked to see whether the *d* derives from a change in this dialect] (**duguwiile**) limp

Ali/ huduguwa kaa luti. 'Ali limps along using a stick.'

Omari/ duguwiile. 'Omari limped along.'

rel.

ku-duguwika v. p/s.

ku-duguwila v. appl. (**duguwiile**)

ku-duguwisha v. caus. (**duguwishiize**) help to limp along, walk

Chimduguwishiize. 'We helped him walk along limping.'

Dakhtari/ mduguwishize mariiði. 'The doctor helped the sick person to walk (limping along).'

Duguwishize gaari. 'He drove the car slowly, carefully, haltingly (e.g. because of the dangerous curves in the road) [lit. he caused the car to limp along].

Omari/ mduguwishize mwaana. 'Omari helped the child walk (limping).'

(Syn. A periphrastic version of this sentence is possible: **Omari/ mtile mwaana/ kuduguwa.** 'Omari [lit. instilled in him] to walk limpingly.')

ku-duguwishana v. caus. rec.

ku-duguwishika v. caus. p/s.

ku-duguwishiliza v. caus. appl. (**duguwishilize**)

Omari/ mduguwishilize Nuuru/ mwaana. 'Omari helped Nuuru's child to walk limpingly.' (Syn. Again, a periphrastic version is possible:

Omari/ mtile Nuuru/ mwaana/ kuduguwa. 'Omari [lit. instilled in] Nuuru's child to walk limpingly.')

ku-duguwishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

duka (ma-)

n. 5/6 [Sw. *duka* SSED 78; Ar. *dukkān* W 288] shop

Ali/ tala nuumbáza/ zotte/ na madukayá/ yotte/ yako muyiiní. 'Ali, take all my houses and all my shops which are in the town.'

Duka/ ivuunzila. 'The shop was broken into.'

dukaa nk'ulu 'large shop'; **maduka makulu** 'large shops'

Hoolokó/ (ni) Omari/ dukaani. 'It is Omari who goes to the shop. ' Or: **Holoko dukaani/ (ni) Omari.**

Kaazi/ lasilé/ dukayo/ hafuunguli/ maaliyo/ yanakuwola. 'You abandoned work, you do not open your shop, your merchandise is rotting.'

khariibu/ naa duka 'near the shop'

khariibu/ yaa duka ‘near the shop’
Kilaa m-uunt^hi/ h-eendró/ Omari/ dukaa=ni. ‘Every day, the one who goes to the market is Omari.’ (Phon. Note that one cannot put **Omari** in IAV position: ***Kilaa m-uunt^hi/ h-endro Omari/ dukaa=ni.**)
Kuja/ huzowa madukaani. ‘Food is sold at the shops.’
Omari/ holoka dukani/ kilaa muunt^hi. ‘Omari goes to the shop every day.’ Or: **Omari/ h-ooloka/ dukaa=ni/ kilaa m-uunt^hi.**
Omari/ nakumera madukaani. ‘Omari is going around the shops.’

rel.

chi-duka (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

i-duka (mi-) n. 5/4 aug. a big shop

iduka ikulu ‘a big shop’; **miduka mikulu** ‘big shops’

duku

n. bastard; rascal

rel.

m^w-aaduku n. bastard

chi-duku (zi-)

n. 7/8 [perhaps from the Tunni dialect of Somali; in any case, it is not found in Standard Somali or Swahili or Arabic] umbilicus, navel; [pron. **chiḍuku**] (The sound we write **ḍ** occurs in very few words in Chimiini.; cf. **chi-devu** [pron. **chi-ḍevu**] for another example.)

dul’eda

n. [perhaps from Hadhrami Arabic, p.c. from Sandra Vianello Abud] fox

Chmwona chijaana/ chihaba cha dul’eda. ‘He saw a baby fox.’

dul’eda izi ‘these foxes’

Humlata dul’eda uyu/ kumlindra mwaana. ‘He goes away leaving this fox to watch the child.’

rel.

chi-dul’eda (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

i-dul’eda (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

ku-dulḍuulata

v. [cf. Som. **daldalan** ‘to speak confusedly’ DSI 128] (**dulḍuleete**) lose one’s power of reasoning, go crazy, be confused

Ka kazi niingi/ hattá/ nakuḍuulata. ‘I am going crazy from too much work.’

Leelo/ sulṭaani/ ondrokejeja/ ka khisani/ ka khisa/ mi/ nimalile chilaatú/ mukeewé/ isa/ nakuduḍuulata. ‘Today the king was taken by madness – why? Because I took a shoe from his wife. Now he is behaving crazily.’

rel.

ku-dulḍuulatoowa v. pass.

Ka kazi niingi/ hudulḍuulatoowa. ‘There’s going crazy/getting confused (going on here) from too much work.’

ku-dulḍuulisha v. caus. mess s.o. up, cause to be confused, go crazy

Sinduḍuulishé/ nakhuloombá. ‘Don’t mess me up, I beg you.’

ku-duula

v. [Som. **duul** ‘to attack’ DSI 203] attack, raid

Omari/ ile/ (na)kuduula. ‘Omari came to attack.’

rel.

ku-duuloowa v. pass.

Numbaani/ kiitu/ inakuduuloowa. ‘Our house is being attacked.’

rel. nom.

m-duulo (mi-) n. 3/4 attack

u-duulo n. 14 attack

ma-duulu

n. 6 a wild fruit, bigger than **chint^haki**, about the size of a cherry tomato, but treated like **chint^haki** in that they are picked green and kept in milk containers for two to three days while they soften and sweeten

madulu aya ‘these **maduulu** fruit’

Nakuja maduulu. ‘He is eating **maduulu** fruit.’

ma-duluuku

n. [etymology unknown] very thick bushes that grow alongside the coast of Brava
kamu wafakeeto na madulukuuni [nt.] ‘how many people ran to hide in the thick bushes’

ku-duuma

v. [Sw. *dumu* SSED 68; Ar. *dāma* and *daum* "to last" W 303] last
variant: **ku-duumu** (Phon. In Swahili, verbs derived from Arabic typically retain a final vowel from their source, whereas Chimiini regularizes the verb so that it ends in the vowel *a*. Presumably, at some stage in history, Chimiini also employed the final vowel found in the Arabic source. Perhaps the form **ku-duumu** mentioned by our consultant MI is a retention from this earlier stage of the language.)

Cheema/ hachiduumi/ nt^hachiná/ ma'iisha. ‘A good thing does not last, it does not have life.’ (A proverb.)

Hawa/ kayiwa idumile jisaa yo/ iwaalikó/ wo/ suḷa kuwa wakhadirīle/ kinendra meli ikumi naa nt^hatu/ ziwaliḱo ziwasaḷiló/ khkoma Ten Dipo. ‘If the weather had remained the way that it was, they would have been able to walk the thirteen miles that remained for them to reach Ten Dipo.’

Kazi iyi/ idumiile/ muda/ wa miyezi/ mitatu. ‘This work lasted a period of three months.’

Laakini/ mzeele/ sootiye/ itakuduumu/ mashkilooni. ‘But the voice of the old man will last in his ears forever.’

Maadamu/ haduumi. ‘A human being does not live forever.’

rel.

ku-dumoowa v. pass.

Ha'idumoowi/ duniyaani. ‘It is not stayed forever in the world (i.e. nothing lasts forever in the world).’

ku-dumaalata

v. [Som. *dumaal* "to marry the widow of one's brother" DSI 199] (**dumaleete**) marry the widow of one's brother (referring to the practice whereby one inherits the widow of one's brother)

dumaashi

n. [Som. *dumaashi* DSI 200] (a man's) sister-in-law (but note this word is not commonly used in Brava, the term **saajima** being preferred)

dumna

n. [Sw. *dhumna* SSED 73, which compares to Ar. *ḍāma* “checkers” W 534; perhaps there is some other influence, maybe Persian?] dominoes (the game)

duuna

adj. [Ar. *dūn* "lowly, inferior" and *dūna* "below, beneath -- in rank, value, etc." W 304] low (in position, prestige, intelligence), minor, inferior, less

Mp^hele peesa/ duuna. ‘He gave me less money.’

munt^hu duuna ‘a lowly person?; **want^hu duuna** ‘lowly, inferior people’

Wabli/ washpatikano jaziraani/ wawaliko wataana/ walá/

nt^hawachaminiḷoowa/ sho kuwa kazi ya kulima/ na kazi

zinginezé/ duuná. ‘Men who found themselves on this island were slaves, they were not entrusted with any jobs except cultivating and other lowly work.’

waant^hu saba na duunaye hujuzá [st.] ‘seven people or less, [a slaughtered camel or cow] is allowed [to feed]’

duniya

n. 9 [Sw. *dunia* SSED 79; Ar. *dunyā* W 295] world

variant form: *dunya*

Chidirka/ kuwa nt^haku/ chiint^hu/ chiseeló/ karka duniya/ wotte/ wafile.

‘He found that there was nothing on earth that remained, all had died.’

Duniya/ haaliye/ ni jis'iyi/ zeema/ hulipowa ka ziwovu. ‘The way of the world is this: good is repaid with evil.’

Duniya/ imwangamikilile/ nt^ho. ‘The world was totally spoiled for him.’

Duniya/ ina zeema/ na ziwovú. ‘The world has good and bad.’ (A proverb.)

Duniya/ ni kama duwaara/ ichisuula/ hendra nyaara. ‘The world is like a kite; if it wishes, it flies off loose.’ (A proverb that says that the world can treat you well, or it can cast you down.)

Duniyaani/ kilaa chiint^hu/ huwonekana/ shokuwa uso/ wa mojiitu. ‘In the world everything is visible except the face of God.’ (A proverb that counsels that in the world anything is possible, except seeing God’s face.) Or: **Duniyaani/ kilaa chiint^hu/ huwonekana/ sho kuwonekana/ ni uso wa mojiitu.** ‘In this world everything is visible except it is not possible to see the face of God.’

Duniyaani/ ziko zeema/ stupu/ tu. ‘In the world (e.g. that you have just described) are there only good things?’

Isa/ duniya/ imwelele miinza/ ka kalila/ kurudaa numa/ kendra kaawo/ nt^hanakhaadira/ na kendraa mbele/ nt^hanakhaadira. ‘Now the world became for him truly a dark place; he was not able to return to his parents’ home, and he was not able to go forward.’

jawaabu ya duniya hiingila humala [nt.] ‘the matters of this world ebb and flow’

Ka paapo/ nyunyi/ zighedishile/ ziweele/ wake/ wa wanaadamu/ wenye jamaala/ sho kuwonekana/ karka duniya. ‘Then the birds changed, they became human women with a beauty not seen in this world.’

Kila chint^hu cha duniya/ humala. ‘Everything of the world ends.’ (A proverb.) *review*

Mi/ nk^hawanazoo nguvú/ zaa mi/ khfanyiliza yaa mi/ nnakhsuuló/ karka duniya iyí/ mazá/ mi/ sula khfungoowa/ na lkaambala/ so. ‘If I had the power to do with it whatever I want in this world, would I be tied by a rope?’

Munt^hu fulaani/ nakuhada/ duniyaani/ nt^haku/ zeema. ‘So-and-so says that in the world there is no goodness.’

Na ba’ada ya apó/ muḅjaana/ nt^haku’ink^hira/ teena/ zeema/ ziko duniyaani. ‘And after that, the young man did not deny anymore the good that is in the world.’

Naaziya/ hufurahisha duniyaa nzima. ‘My coconut pleases the whole world.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is *iwa* ‘the sun’.)

Ni mzele/ msaafiri/ tu/ latila duniyaani. ‘I am an old man, a traveller, an outcast in the world.’

Sikhaambila/ mi/ kuwa duniyaani/ nt^haku/ ya ajabú. ‘Did I not tell you that in this world there are marvels?’ *review*

Sultaani/ uyu/ wanaayo (or: wanaacho)/ kila/ chiint^hu/ cha duniya/

kaake/ numbaani/ ila/ chint^hu chimooyi. ‘This sultan had everything in the world at his house except one thing.’

zint^hu za duniya ‘mundane things, things of the world’

chi-dura

n. [see next entry] rotation; circle

kumera chidura ‘to rotate (person or thing), go in a circle)

i-dura

n. [cf. Ar. nouns *daur* and *daura* "rotation" W 299] electric fan

ku-dura

v. [Som. *dur* DSI 200] (*duriile*) pierce, stab, prick (with a sharp object, a finger, etc.)

Ali/ mdurile Hamadi/ ka siindanu. ‘Ali pricked Hamadi with a needle.’

(Other possibilities: **ka mwiwa** ‘with a thorn’, **kaa chisu** ‘with a knife’, **ka musmaari** ‘with a nail’.)

Baana/ ndurilee mi/ kaa chisu. ‘Baana stabbed me with a knife.’ Or:

Baana/ ndurile kaa chisu. (Both examples here contain the first person singular object marker, but the first example also includes first person singular pronoun immediately after the verb.)

Chiloho/ chimduriiló. ‘The hook snagged him.’

Chisu/ chimduriiló. ‘It is a knife that pierced him.’

Haadi/ mdurile mwaana/ ka sindaano. ‘Haadi pricked the child with the needle.’

Ka khisani/ mdura mukeewo/ kaa chisu. ‘Why do you prick your wife with a knife?’ (Note that the infinitive prefix may be elided in front of the [cl.1] object marker, thus we find **mdura** rather than the full form **kumdura**.)

kudura ka siindanu ‘to pierce with a needle’

kudura/ kana sindaano ‘to sting like a needle’

Ipu/ inakudura/ kana sindaano. ‘The boil, infected wound is stinging like a needle [i.e. like being pricked by a needle].’

Mdurile kaa chisu. ‘He has stabbed him with a knife.’

Mwaana/ chimdura/ ka ifumo/ chimubla. ‘The boy pierced it [the giraffe] with a spear and killed it.’

Mwaana/ mdurile mwaalimu/ mkono/ ka siindano. ‘The child pricked the teacher on the arm with a needle.’

Mwiwa/ umdurile Ali. ‘The thorn pricked Ali.’

rel.

ku-durika v. p/s. be piercable

Lwawo ili/ halduriki. ‘This wood cannot be pierced.’

ku-durila v. appl. (**durile**) pierce with, for

Chondrola baakoora/ chimdurila dhoforiini. ‘He lifted his cane and poked him in the chest.’

We/ nayo mapeembé/ kudurila waanthú. ‘You are arrogant (lit. have horns to pierce people with).’

ku-duriloowa v. appl. pass.

Siindanu/ idurijila Hamadi. ‘The needle was used to prick Hamadi.’

(Observe that the instrument in the instrumental applied verb construction is the passive subject. MI did not accept ***Hamadi durijila siindanu.** ‘Hamadi was pierced using a needle.’)

Sindanu iyi/ ni sahali/ kudurilowa Hamadi. ‘This needle can easily be used to prick Hamadi.’ (MI did not accept as grammatical the sentence ***Sindanu iyi/ ni sahali/ Hamadi/ kuduriloowa.** ‘This needle is easy for Hamadi to be pierced with.’ One explanation for the ungrammaticality of this sentence would be that it involves making **Hamadi** the subject of the infinitive verb. We noted above that the instrument and not the logical object should be the subject of a passive constructed from an instrumental applied verb. However, the sentence below shows that if the instrument is not present in the clause, then it is possible for the logical object to be the passive subject. **There seems to be a different problem, then, with *Sindanu iyi/ ni sahali/ Hamadi/ kuduriloowa.**)

Yiikopi/ sindanu ya Hamadi/ durijila. ‘Where is the needle that Hamadi was pricked with?’ (Observe that in this example, MI did accept as grammatical the logical object as the subject of the passive instrumental applied verb. The explanation here would seem to be that the instrument does not overtly appear in the pseudo-relative clause. Compare, for instance, the ungrammaticality of ***Mwana durijila siindanu/ ni Hamadi.** ‘The child who was pricked with a needle is Hamadi.’ In this ungrammatical sentence, the instrument is still overtly present in the relative clause and it is impossible for the logical object to be the subject of the verb.)

ku-dur(isha) v. caus. (**durishiize**) make s.o. pierce s.t.

Haadi/ mdurshize mwaana/ ruuhuye/ ka sindaano. ‘Haadi made the child pierce himself with a needle.’ (The corresponding periphrastic version: **Haadi/ mtile mwaana/ kudura ruuhuye/ ka sindaano.**)

Omari/ durishize mpiira. ‘Omari had someone prick the ball (with a needle).’ (This example illustrates that the causee can be omitted completely from the sentence, appearing neither as a full noun or as an object marker on the verb. Both the person made to prick and the thing pricked could be omitted: **Omari/ durishiize.** ‘Omari had (s.o.) prick (s.t.).’)

Omari/ mdurishize mwaana/ mwaalimu/ mkono. ‘Omari caused the child to prick the teacher on the arm.’ (If one were to omit **mwaana** from this sentence, its interpretation would be that Omari had the teacher prick someone’s arm. It could not be understood as meaning ‘Omaru had someone prick the teacher’s arm.’)

ku-dur(ishana) v. caus. rec.

ku-dur(ishiliza) v. caus. appl. (**durishiliize**)

Haadi/ mdurshilize Baazi/ mwaana/ ruuhuye/ ka sindaano. ‘Haadi made Baazi’s child pierce himself with a needle.’ (Syn. The corresponding periphrastic construction: **Haadi/ mtılıle Baazi/ mwaana/ kudura ruuhuye/ ka sindaano.**)

Nureeni/ mdurishilize Osmaani/ mwaana/ mwaalimu/ mkono. ‘Nureeni caused Osmaani’s child to stab the teacher in the hand/arm.’ (The beneficiary in the causative applied verb structure governs the OM on the verb. In this example, all the post-verbal NP arguments belong to the same noun class and thus would govern the same OM on the verb. The word order in this case provides the sole indicator of the thematic roles of the NP’s in question. The order is: beneficiary-causee-logical object. In a sentence like this, one cannot omit the overt beneficiary, preserving only the OM that it controls: *Nureeni/ mduishilize mwaana/ mwaalimu/ mkono. ‘Nureeni caused for him the child to stab the teacher in the arm.’ The problem with this sentence is presumably the “garden path” effect whereby **mwaana** would be immediately interpreted as the beneficiary rather than the causee. It would be fine to omit the overt beneficiary if the causee is a plural noun: **Nureeni/ mdurishilize waana/ mwaalimu/ mkono.** Nureeni caused his children to stab the teacher in the arm.’ Finally, it in the sentence presently under discussion, it is not possible to omit both the beneficiary and the causee, again presumably due to the “garden path” effect: *Nureeni/ mdurishilize mwaalimu/ mkono.)

ku-dur(i)shilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Haadi/ na Baazi/ wadurshilizenye waana/ ruhu zaawo/ ka sindaano.
‘Haadi and Baazi made one another’s children pierced themselves with a needle. (Syn. The corresponding periphrastic construction: **Haadi/ na Baazi/ watılılene waana/ kudura ruhu zaawo/ ka sindaano.**)

ku-duroowa v. pass.

Nakuduroowa/ ka ulaaazo. ‘I am being pierced with pain.’

rel. nom.

u-duro n. a prick, stab (of a pointed instrument)

i-duuri (ma-)

n. 5/6 (but usually [cl.6]) [Som. *duur* "bush, deserted area" DSI 203] bush, country

Kaa ndila/ siimba/ chilawa/ ka maduriini/ chiwa’ubla/ waana/ watatu.
‘On the way, the lion came out of the forest and killed three children.’

kuwaa wo/ wanakendra maduriini/ khında skunyi ‘that they were going to the bush to cut firewood’

Maduuri/ yanakhtishaa nt^ho. ‘The bush country is very frightening’

mbwa wa maduuri ‘a wild dog [lit. a dog of the bush]’

Mwaanawa/ naakula/ maduriini. ‘My child is crying in the bush.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **sḥtoka** ‘axe’.)

Mwaana/ wa maskiini/ oloshole maduriini/ khında skunyi. ‘The son of the poor man went into the bush to cut firewood.’

Ngoombe/ hupelekowa maduriini. ‘The cows are sent to the countryside.’

Shkomelopo maduriini/ wote/ si/ shchikalaant^ha/ shchija. ‘When we reached the bush, we all sat down and ate.’

Sku mooyi/ enzele maduriini/ kuwindaa nyunyi. ‘One day he went to the bush to hunt for birds.’

Wako waana/ maduriini. ‘There are children in the bush.’ Or: **Maduriini/ wako waana.** Or: **Waana/ wako maduriini.** ‘The children are living in the bush.’

Wamwambile mamaye Hasiibu/ kuwaa wo/ wanakendra maduriini.

‘They told Hasiibu’s mother that they were going to the bush.’

Washkalaant^ha/ maduriini/ hattá/ mwaana/ wele mkulu. ‘They stayed in the bush until the boy became grown up.’

Washpita maduuri/ aya. ‘They passed [through] these bushes.’

rel.

chi-duuri (zi-) n. 7/8 dim. shrub, small bush

chi-ma-duriini n. 7 in the style or manner of country dwellers

- ku-durusa* v. [Ar. *durūs* "to instruct, to learn" W 278 (verbal form of *darasa*) (**durusiile**) study (Phon. The perfect stem is irregular; one would expect ***durusiize**.)
- duwaara* n. 9/10 [Sw. *duara* SSED 78; Ar. *daura* "rotation" and *dawwār* "rapidly or constantly spinning, circling, revolving" W 300] kite
Duniya/ ni kama duwaara/ ichisuula/ hendra nyaara. 'Life is like a kite; if it likes, it goes into a tailspin.'
duwara iyi 'this kite'
Duniya/ ni duwaara. 'The world is a kite.' (A proverb.)
Duwaara/ yoloshele nyaara. 'The kite went into a tailspin.'
rel.
chi-duwaara (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim.
i-duwaara(*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.
Ba'adiye/ shfanya iduwaara/ ikulu/ nt^ho. 'Then he made a very large kite.'
kumeera/ kana iduwaara 'to go around like a kite – i.e. not stay in one place'
- ku-duuwata* v. [Som. *duub* "to roll up a cloth" DSI 202] (**duweete**) tie a cloth around the waist in preparation for fighting, prepare to fight
Nuuru/ duweete nguwo. 'Nuuru tied the cloth around his waist (preparing to fight).'
rel.
ku-duwatika v. p/s.
ku-duwatisha v. caus. help tie a cloth around the waist
Mduwatishize mwaana/ nguwo. 'He helped the child tie a cloth around his waist.' (Morph. Notice that the causative verb form is used to convey the notion 'help tie'; to express the notion 'persuade to tie' one uses a periphrastic construction involving the simple verb stem: **Mtile mwaana/ kuduwaata nguwo.** 'He persuaded the child to tie a cloth around his waist.'
ku-duwatishana v. caus. rec.
ku-duwatishika v. caus. p/s.
ku-duwatishiliza v. caus. appl.
Nuuru/ mduwatishilize Suufi/ mwaana/ nguwo. 'Nuuru helped Suufi's child tie a cloth around his waist.'
ku-duwatishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
Nuuru/ na Suufi/ waduwaatishilizenye waana/ nguwo. 'Nuuru and Suufi helped one another's children tie cloths around their waists.'

DH

[The sound written as **dh** is a voiced retroflex stop. Most of the words in Chimiini using this sound have been borrowed from Somali, either the standard variety or Tunni, the dialect that is used in the area around Brava. There are a few examples that are not apparently connected to Standard Somali or Tunni (see below: **chidhu**, **kuddhaayika**, **chidhondha**, **chidheenk^he**).]

- dhab* ideo. of tightness
Hamadi/ shaati/ kihabache/ imambee/ dhab! 'The shirt, its smallness, sticks to Hamadi **dhab!** (i.e. the shirt is too small for Hamadi's size, it fits him tightly).'
- ku-dhadhamisha* v. [Som. *dhadhdhan*- Ab41] (**dhadhamishize**) taste
- dhadhamu* n. [Som. *dhadhdhan* "the taste which anything has" Ab41] flavor, taste
dhadhamuye 'its taste' (Phon. In Somali, underlyingly *m* changes to *n* in

syllable-final position; thus although the noun *dhadhdhan* in Somali ends in the sound *n* in its surface form, the *n* is underlyingly *m* (and may surface as such in related forms), which explains why in Chimiini a *m* appears when a final vowel is appended in the course of making the word fit the requirement that all words end in a vowel in Chimiini.)

Nama ya aleeso/ nt'ayná/ ayi/ dhadhamu. 'Boiled meat does not have taste.'

ku-dhafaraṭa

v. [Som. verb *dhafar* DSI 153] (**dhafareete**) stay awake all night
Takhaadira/ masku ayá/ kudhafaraṭá? 'Can you stay awake the whole night through?'

rel.

ku-dhafaraṭika v. p/s.

Masku/ ya jima iyi/ ha'idhafaraṭiki. 'This Friday night there won't be staying awake all night.'

ku-dhafaraṭiloowa v. appl. pass.

Omari/ masku/ dhafaraṭiliila. 'People did not sleep the whole night through because of Omari (e.g. he was very sick and they were worried about him).'

Waana/ hudhafaraṭiloowa. 'One does not sleep all night (because of) children (e.g. when children are seriously sick, people are not able to sleep all night worrying about them etc).'

ku-dhafaraṭila v. appl.+

Si/ hudhafaraṭila kahawa. 'We use coffee to stay awake all night long.'

ku-dhafaraṭoowa v. pass.

Ramaḏaani/ hudhafaraṭowa niingi. 'During Ramadhan, one often does not sleep all night long.'

dhafari

n. 9/10 [Som. noun *dhafar* DSI 153] staying awake all night
Dhafari/ inakunubla. 'Not sleeping the whole night is killing me.'
Dhafari niingi/ siwo/ suura. 'It is not good to stay awake all night a lot.'
Dhafari zaawo/ niingi. 'They often do not sleep all night (lit. their not sleeping all night is a lot).'

Leelo/ ni dhafari/ ni idul fitri. 'Today there is no sleeping all night long (because) it is the *iidi* of Ramadhan.'

Leelo/ ni dhafari/ ziyaara/ za Shekh Nureeni. 'Today there is no sleeping all night long (because) it is the celebration for Sheikh Nureeni.'

Ramaḏaani/ dhafarize/ niingi. 'During Ramadhan one often does not sleep all night long.'

ziyaara/ za Shekh Aweeso 'the celebration for Sheikh Aweeso'

ziyaara/ za Shekh Khaasimu 'the celebration for Sheikh Khaasimu'

dhaghaala (ma-)

n. [Som. *dheg* "ear" and *dheg la* "a deaf man" Ab54] a partially deaf person
dhaghala uyu 'this deaf person'; **madhaghala awa** 'these deaf people'
Sa'iidi/ shfanya ruuhuye/ dhaghaala. 'Sa'iidi pretended to be deaf.'

dhagiso

adj. **unknown etym** greedy

ku-dhahalaṭa

v. [Som. *dhaxl-* F&H 173] inherit

kumdhahalaṭa 'to inherit from him'

Maana/ humdhahalaṭa/ mzeelewe. 'A son inherits from his parents.'

Omari/ dhahaleete/ kila chiint^hu/ cha baaba/ lasiló/ mapeesa/ ḏahabu/ luulu/ majuumba/ na zinginezé. 'Omari inherited everything that father left: money, gold, pearls, houses, and other things.'

rel.

ku-dhahalaṭika v. p/s.

ku-dhahalatisha v. caus.
ku-dhahalatishana v. caus. rec.
ku-dhahalatishiliza v. caus. appl.
ku-dhahalatishilizana v. caus. appl. rec.
ku-dhahalaṭoowa v. pass.

Mzeele/ hudhahalaṭoowa/ na maana. ‘A parent is inherited from by his son.’ Or: **Mzeele/ kudhahalaṭowa na maana.**

ku-dhahalisha v. caus. (*dhahalishiize*) bequeath

Mdhahalishize mwaanawe/ peesa. ‘He bequeathed money to his son.’

Sultaani/ chamura mawaziiriwe/ kumdhahalisha mwaana/ maali/ yaa ye/ takulaṭó/ yote/ na kumtawalisha muuyi. ‘The sultan ordered his ministers to give his son all the wealth that he would leave behind and to make him the ruler of the town.’

ku-dhahalishoowa v. pass.

Nuuru/ dhahalishize peesa/ naaye. ‘Nuuru was bequeathed money by him.’ (Syn. It is ungrammatical to say ***Peesa/ zidhahalishize Nuuru/ naaye.** ‘Money was bequeathed to Nuuru by him.’)

Sultaani/ fiilopó/ ba’ada ya mataanga/ kondroloowa/ mwaana/ shfanyowa na chidhahalishoowa/ maali/ na mulkú/ na kulla ya sultaani/ chimilkó. ‘When the sultan died, after the wake was held, the boy was made sultan and inherited the money and property and everything that the sultan owned.’

rel. nom.

u-dhahalaṭo n. 14

u-dhahalisho n. 14

dhahali

n. inheritance

Aamina/ maamaye/ ndratiḷile ḷabe/ dhahali. ‘Aamina’s mother her a large gold necklace as an inheritance.’

dhahamu

n. [Som. *dhaxan* F&H 173] cold, chill, freezing temperature

Dhahali/ ni dhahamu. ‘Inheritance is chilling (i.e. a source of troubles, frustrations and the like).’ (A proverb.)

Nguwo/ yikoo kulé/ naawé// ha’ikureebi/ dhahamu. ‘A cloth far from you does not protect you from cold.’ (A proverb.)

dhakh

ideo. of laughing

Hamadi/ walishize shṭeko/ dhakh dhakh dhakh. ‘Hamadi laughed **dhakh dhakh dhakh.**’

ku-dhakha

v. [Som.] (*dhakhiile*) be early, be quick, hurry; move

variant form: **kudhakhṣaṭa (dhakhseeṭe)**

Jahazi/ haydhakhi/ bilaa ḷpepo. ‘A **jahazi** does not move without wind. (A proverb.)

Kuraaga/ ba/ amó/ kudhakhá/ mi/ nt^hakuruuda/ kiitu. ‘Be it later or be it earlier, I will return home.’

maghhaniye hayraagi/ hudhakha kubarsishoowa [st.] ‘his protection comes swiftly and is immediately felt’

Maamé/ uchiraaga/ amó/ uchidhakha/ ba/ mowti/ utakuniḷila/ mahaḷaa mi/ nt^hakuwaakó. ‘Mother, whether it be later or sooner, death will come to me, wherever I may be.’

Sheekhi/ dhakhiile/ kendra madrasaani. ‘Sheekhi hurried to school.’

rel.

ku-dhakhaakha v. move

Hamadi/ mambile maanawe/ kalaant^ha/ sidhakhaakhé/ haṭá/ chaala/ sidhakhaakhishé. ‘Hamadi told his child: sit, don’t move! even a finger don’t move!’

ku-dhakhaakhisha v. move s.t.

chiza kudhakhakhisha chaala ‘to not move a finger (i.e. to be perfectly still)’

Chaala/ sidhakhaakhishé. ‘Don’t move a finger!’

Haṭá/ chaala/ sidhakhaakhishé. ‘Don’t move even a finger!’

ku-dhakh(i)sha v. caus. (**dhakhishiize**)

variant forms: **kudhakhshisha**

Mukhtaari/ mdhakhishize mwaana/ kendra sukhuuni. ‘Mukhtaari had the child hurry to go to the market.’

Yaayi/ we/ hudhakhshi/ ba/ ka himaahima. ‘How come you make it quickly in a hurry!’ (The verb form **hudhakhshi** was used by the narrator and transcribed by MI, but we cannot explain the final vowel *i* in an affirmative habitual form.)

ku-dhakhshana v. caus. rec. (**-dhakhsheene**)

Wana awa/ wadhakhshene kendra sukhuuni. ‘These children caused one another to hurry to the market.’

ku-dhakhshika v. caus. p/s.

Haliima/ hadhakhshiki/ ʔizito/ kana ijuuniya. ‘Haliima cannot be moved, she is as heavy as a sack.’

ku-dhakhshiliza v. caus. appl. (**dhakhshiliize**)

Hasani/ mdhakhshilize Sheekhi/ mwaana/ kendra sukhuuni. ‘Hasani had Sheekhi’s child hurry to go to the market.’

ku-dhakhshilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. (**dhakhsilizeenye**)

Want^hu awa/ wadhakhshilizenye waana/ kendra sukhuuni. ‘These people made one another’s children hurry to go to the market.’

ku-dhakaakha

v. intr. [Som.] (**dhakhakhiile**) move

Dughaaghi/ nt^hakuḍakhaakha/ walá/ nt^hakhtaaharaka. ‘The beast did not move [his whole body] nor did he move [part of his body].’

Ibaṭeera/ idhakhakhiile. ‘The boat moved.’

Jahazi/ haydhakhaakhi/ bilaa lpepo. ‘A dhow does not move without the wind.’ (A proverb which communicates the idea that everything has a cause. It is also used to refer to a rumor: if there is a rumor, there is likely some truth to it. Where there’s smoke, there’s a fire.)

Mwaana/ dhakhakhiile. ‘The child moved (shifted his position).’

rel.

ku-dhakhakhadhakhaakha v. freq.

ku-dhakaakhika v. p/s.

ku-dhakaakhisha v. tr. (**dhakhakhishiize**) move something (this verb is used generally to convey the notion that someone physically moved another person or thing, not that he persuaded etc. someone to move, hence our label "tr." rather than "caus.")

Ali/ dhakhakhishize baṭeera. ‘Ali moved the boat (e.g. from one point of anchorage to another).’

Ali/ mdhakhakhishize mwaana. ‘Ali moved the child (e.g. from one position to another, from one place to another).’ (Syn. One can omit the object noun when it can be identified from context: **Ali/ mdhakhakhishiize.** ‘Ali moved him/her.’ But one cannot omit both the noun and the object prefix: ***Ali/ dhakhakhishiize.**)

Ji/ dhakhakhashizee chiti. ‘Ji moved a chair.’ (Cf. **Ji/ chidhakhakhishizee chiti.** ‘Ji moved the chair.’ Or: **Ji/ chidhakhakhishiize.** ‘Ji moved it [cl.7].’)

ku-dhakhakhishana v. tr., rec.

ku-dhakhakhishika v. tr. p/s.

ku-dhakhakhishiliza v. tr. appl.

Shu’eebu/ mdhakhakhishilize Umuri/ mwaana. ‘Shu’eebu moved Umuri’s child.’

ku-dhakhakhishilizanya v. tr. appl. rec.

Shu’eebu/ na Umuri/ wadhakhakhishilizenye waana. ‘Shu’eebu and Umuri moved each other’s children.’

ku-dhakhata

v. (**dhakheete**) maintain (e.g. a wife, family – i.e. take full care of wife, pay for all food, clothing, necessary purchases); stand, tolerate one’s spouse

Hamadi/ hamdhakhaṭi/ muke. ‘Hamadi does not take full care of his wife.’

Muke/ humdhakhaṭó/ ni muunt^hu/ humzaaló. ‘The one who cannot take of a wife is one who could be her father (lit. who gives birth to her).’ (A proverb that conveys the idea that poor provider for his wife is someone much older than her, old enough to be her father.)

Muunt^hu/ chiza khadira mdhakhaṭaa muke/ humlata. ‘If a person cannot take care/ treat well his wife, he should divorce her.’

rel.

ku-dhakhalata v. [Som. *dhaqaal-* F&H 175] (**dhakhaleete**) save money, maintain a family; treat well; keep animals

Maðhabu ya Shaafi’i/ hayreebi/ warasha maðhabu iyi/ kudhakhalataa

mbwa/ ka jis’iyo/ want^hu walima miyuundra/ hukorshaa

mbwa/ na hisaabata/ mbwa/ kuwa ni karka daaba/ haminikó/

na hukhadrowa kaminilowa nuumba. ‘The sect of Shaafi’i does

not prevent the followers of this school from keeping dogs, for this

reason people who farm raise dogs and consider them to be among

the animals that are trustworthy and able for the house to be

entrusted to them [to protect it].’

ku-dhakhaṭoowa v. pass.

Muke/ laazimu/ kudhakhaṭoowa/ jisa suura. ‘A wife should be taken care of/ treated well.’

Muke/ ka wanaafakhi/ huloḷoowa/ ka za lila/ (na) hudhakhaṭoowa. ‘Women with lies are married, (but) with truth they are maintained/ provided for/ treated (thereafter).’ (A proverb which stresses the need for truthfulness after marriage.)

dhakhaali n. maintenance (of a family)

dhakhaayo adj. skinny, without fat
ngome dhakhaayo ‘a skinny cow’
Ngombe uyu/ ni dhakhaayo. ‘This cow is skinny.’

dhakkap ?

dhalu (ma-) n. 5/6 [despite the characteristic Somali sound *dh*, this word would seem cognate to the Sw. *dau* SSED 7] a sailing boat whose sail is made of matting not cloth (no longer used in the Brava area)

i-dhanaana adj. [Som. *dhanaan* Ab 48] in the expression:
khfanya idhanaana ‘to sour (of milk)’

ku-dhaansata v. [Som. *dham-* F&H 172] (**dhanseete**) draw water; take water from a container
Jaama/ dhansete maayi/ (ka ikoopa). ‘Jaama drew water (with a cup).’

rel.

ku-dhansatika v. p/s.

ku-dhansatiloowa v. app. pass. (**dhansatiliila**)

Ikoopa/ idhansatiliila maayi. ‘The cup was used to get water.’

ku-dhansatila v. appl. (**dhansatiliile**)

Ikoopa/ Hamadi/ dhansatiliile maayi. ‘A cup, Hamadi used one to get water.’

Mdhansatiliile Baana/ maayi. ‘She drew water for Baana.’

ku-dhansatilana v. appl. rec .

ku-dhansatoowa v. pass. (**dhanseeta**)

Maayi/ yadhanseta na Jaama. ‘Water was drawn by Jaama.’

dhaqani n. [Som. *dhaqan* "culture, traditions, customs" DSI 158] culture, traditions, customs

dhara **hiskaṭilo diini Mooja hamoonyi yaa dhara** [nt.] ‘if one relies on God, He will not let him come to harm’

ku-dharara v. (**dharariile**) be in a hurry, hurry (Observe that the past tense verb is exceptional in that one would expect the perfect suffix *iil* to be altered to *iil̄* after a liquid – cf. **dariile** ‘he touched’.)
Alí/ nakudharara/ haṭá/ ye/ kendra Spartiwooni. ‘Ali is in a hurry until he goes to the stadium.’

Nakudharará/ mi. ‘I am in a hurry.’ Or: **Mi/ nakudharará.**

Omari/ nakudharara. ‘Omari is in a hurry.’

Osmaani/ nakudharara/ kendra muskitini. ‘Osmaani is in a hurry to go to the mosque.’

rel.

ku-dhararila v. appl. (**dharariliile**) hurry for (It should be noted that this verb is one where the *l* in the applied suffix does not change to *l̄* in the presence of a preceding liquid: **kudhararila**. However, the *l* does become *l̄* when followed by the perfect suffix, which also changes to *l̄*: **dharariliile**.)

Nini/ yaa we/ nakudarariló. ‘What is it that you are in a hurry for?’

We/ nakudhararilaní. ‘Why are you in a hurry? What are you in a hurry for?’

ku-dhararisha v. caus.

Hamadi/ namdhararisha Omari. ‘Hamadi is making Omari hurry (i.e. they are together and Hamadi is pushing Omari to move more quickly).’ (Note that this causative form does not have the same sense as **Hamadi/ namdharara Omari**

ku-dhararishika v. caus. p/s.

Haadi/ hadhararishiki. ‘Haadi cannot be hurried up.’

ku-dhararishiliza v. caus. appl. (**dhararishiliize**)

Endrá/ mdhararishilize/ waanawe/ chiwooni. ‘Go and hurry up for her the children from school.’

ku-dhararishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ku-dhararishilizoowa v. caus. appl. pass.

Maama/ nakhsula waanawe/ kudhararishilizoowa/ chiwooni. ‘Mother wants her children to be hurried (home) from school.’

ku-dhararishoowa v. caus. pass.

ku-dhararoowa v. be hurried up

ku-dhararoowa v. pass.

Hamadi/ maamaye/ namdharara. ‘Hamadi’s mother is hurrying him (she is not actually together with him, but rather is somewhere else, wanting him to hurry to come).’

Hamadi/ nakudhararoowa. ‘Hamadi is being hurried.’

Waanthu/ wanakudhararoowa. ‘People are being hurried (i.e. people are wanted to come in a hurry).’

dharaari

n. [Som. *dharaar* Ab 49] the middle of the day when it is hottest

ku-dhaayika

v. (**-dhayishile**) melt (of ghee, ice)

Jaḷaṭa/ inakudhaayika. ‘The ice cream is melting.’

Suukari/ idhayishile. ‘The sugar melted.’

rel.

ku-dhaayisha v. caus. melt s.t.

Mi/ nk^hakhaadira/ khfaanya/ yaa mi/ nnakhsuuló/ yote/ karka duniya/ mazá/ muḷo/ suḷa khaadira/ kundḥaayishá. ‘If I can do whatever I want in the world, how come fire is able to melt me?’

Nakudhayisha mafta. ‘He is making the oil watery.’

ku-dhayishoowa v. caus. pass.

Inakudhayishoowa/ maftaṭala. ‘The butter is being melted.’

dhee’aani

n. 10 secretion

dhe’ani haba mooyi ‘a small amount of secretion’

Hamadi/ ijarahaye/ inakuḷawa dhee’aani/ niingi. ‘Hamadi’s wound is producing a lot of secretion.’

Hamadi ipuuye/ inakḥṭanyika dhee’aani. ‘Hamadi’s infected wound is secreting a lot.’

Ipu/ inakuḷawa dhee’aani/ niingi. ‘The infected wound, boil etc. is

producing a lot of secretion.’

rel.

mi-dhee'aani n. 4 aug.

Midhee'aani ^f**miingi/ yanamlawó/ Hamadi/ ipuuni**. ‘A lot of *secretion* is coming out from Hamadi’s infected wound.’ Or: **Midhee'aani** ^f**miingi/ Hamadi/ yanamlawó/ ipuuni**.

dheefu

n. 9 [Som.] good health, the state of being well-fed

Korele ka dheefu. ‘He grew up in good health, with an abundance of food.’

mwenye dheefu ‘well-fed, in good health’

dhegaale

adj. deaf

ku-dheelmata

v. [Som.] (**dheelmete**) get up early in the morning and go somewhere

rel.

ku-dhelmishoowa v. caus. pass. (**dhelmishiiza**)

na ba'di ya ye kudhelmishoowa / panzile kuzimu [st.] ‘and after he was transported in the night [to Jerusalem], he ascended to heaven’

dheneghi

n. [cf. standard Som. where "palate" has several variants: **dhabxanag**, **dhanxalag**, **dhanxanag**, **dhanxarag** DSI 150. The **dhanxanag** variant seems the one that could be linked to the Chimiini form, possibly through some dialectal form. The term is not listed in Tosco’s Tunni glossary.] palate

Dheneghi/ inakundraaza. ‘My palate is aching.’

chi-dheenk^he (zi-)

n. 7/8 palm of the hand

ku-dherekela

v. yearn for, have a strong desire to possess what belongs to others

kudherekela kamba ruuhu ‘to want (desire) s.t. like life (soul) -- i.e. to desire something very passionately’

Nakudherekela kumwona maanawe. ‘He likes a lot to see his son.’

rel.

ku-dhereke^loowa v. pass.

Omari/ nakudhereke^loowa/ kana suukari. ‘Omari is being liked like sugar.’

i-dhereeri (ma-)

n. 5/6 [Som.] heavy saliva, spit

Hasani/ penzeleele kuja/ ha^tá/ madhereeri/ yamvuyiile. ‘Hasani loved food to the point that saliva dripped from him (in anticipation of eating).’

idhereri ya iyaank^huku ‘egg white’

Mbwa mkavu/ siwo/ haraamu/ kudaroo wake/ laakini/ muunt^hu/

taha^darishiiza/ chiza kudaara/ madhereeriye. ‘Touching a dry dog is not forbidden [by the Shaafi’i sect of Islam], but a person is warned not to touch its saliva.’

ma-dheeyo

n. 6

ma^deyo aya ‘these **madheeyo** fruit’

Nakhsonda madheeyo. ‘He is sucking out the juice of the **madheeyo** (and spitting out the remains).’

ku-dhiba

v. [Som.] (**dhibiile**) harm, bother, annoy

Haydhibi chiint^hu. ‘It doesn’t matter, it’s all the same.’

Huudi/ mdhibile mwaana. ‘Huudi annoyed the child.’

Inamdhibo mwaaná/ ni miimba. ‘What is hurting the child is his stomach.’

Majini/ mukhtaa wo/ wamweno Sa’iidí/ wahadiile/ nasibu yiitu/ leelo/ shpete muunt^hu/ kumdhiba. ‘The djinns, when they saw Sa’iidi, they said: our luck is today, we have gotten a man to do harm to.’

Mara yiingine/ sidhibe waant^hu. ‘The next time he may not bother

people.’

Maraði/ hudhiba waant^hu. ‘Diseases afflict people.’

Miimba/ imdhibiile/ mwaana. ‘The child’s stomach hurt him.’

Mwaana/ miimba/ inamdhiba. ‘The child’s stomach is hurting him.’

Mwana uje/ maamboye/ yandhibiile. ‘That child, his behavior bothered me.’

Wo/ hufaanya/ kulla ya sarkaali/ nakhsuuló/ ichiwa zint^hu izo zaa wo/ watakhaanyó/ stakuwadhibaa wo/ amó/ stakuwadhiba ahli/ yaawo/ amó/ wiinginé. ‘They do whatever the government wants, if these things that they do will harm them or harm their relatives or others.’

rel.

ku-dhibika v. p/s.

Omari/ nakudhibika apo. ‘Omari is having problems there.’

ku-dhibiloowa v. appl. pass.

Muunt^hu/ kudhibilowa jawaabu/ yaa ye/ hapeendí/ siwo/ suura.

‘For a person to be bothered with things that he does not like is not good.’

ku-dhibila v. appl.

Omari/ nakudhibila waant^hu/ qori. ‘Omari is bothering people

with a gun.’

ku-dhiboowa v. pass.

Muunt^hu/ siwo/ suura/ kudhiboowa. ‘It is not good for people to be bothered, burdened.’

dhibu

n. difficulty, harm

Akhili niingi/ kuletaa dhibu. ‘Too much cleverness causes harm.’ (A proverb.)

‘Because of difficulty being on him a lot, the boy decided to move from there.’

Mithaali/ iyi/ inakuhada/ ya kuwaa dhibu/ yiwó/ ni mwenyee dhibu.

‘This proverb says that the one who really understands difficulty is the one who has experienced difficulty.’

knows (them).’ (A proverb.)

Muunt^hu/ dhibuye/ ndiyé/ na’iwó. ‘A person, his problems, it is he who

dhibu

adj. difficult

Khfanyowa Jaani/ mabsuuti/ nii dhibu. ‘For John to be pleased is difficult.’ Or: **Khfanyowa mabsuuti/ Jaani/ nii dhibu.** Or: **Jaani/ khfanyowa mabsuuti/ nii dhibu.** Or: **Jaani/ nii dhibu/ khfanyowa mabsuuti.**

ndila yaa dhibu ‘difficult road’

Nii dhibu/ kumfanya Jaani/ mabsuuti. ‘It is difficult to please John.’ Or:

Nii dhibu/ kumfanya mabsuuti/ Jaani. Or: **Kumfanya Jaani/ mabsuuti/ nii dhibu.** Or: **Kumfanya mabsuuti/ Jaani/ nii dhibu.**

dhikh

ideo. of laughing

dhikh dhikh dhikh

Hamadi/ nakhteka/ shteko/ dhikh dhikh dhikh. ‘Hamadi is laughing a lot,

ku-dhisata

v. [Som. *dhis*] build, strengthen, make look good

look good.’

Haliima/ mkali/ kudhisata. ‘Haliima is very good at making herself up to

rel.

ku-dhisatiloowa v. appl. pass.

Omari/ nt^haná/ nguwo ya dhisatiloowa. ‘Omari does not have cloth for making himself look good.’

ku-dhisatila v. appl.

Omari/ nakhsula shaatiya/ kudhisatila. ‘Omari wants my shirt for making him look good.’

ku-dhisatoowa v. pass.

Haliima/ nakudhisatoowa. ‘Haliima is being made up to look good.’
ilmuye fafishaani/ diini inadhisatoowa [st.] ‘the dissemination of
knowledge will strengthen our religion’

dhofoori

n. 9/10 part of the face including the cheeks and jaw

Chondroka baakoora/ chimdurila dhoforiimi. ‘He raised his cane and
poked him in the jaw.’

Dhoofoorize/ sfuriile. ‘His lower face swelled up.’

Mbishile ipi ya dhofoori. ‘He slapped him on the side of the face.’

rel.

chi-dhofoori (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

i-dhofoori (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

dhokhookhi

n. faint voice, a sound

**Kula/ mooyi/ ambete mahalaa ye/ waalikó/ pashpo dokhookhi/
nakulindra jahazi kuzama.** ‘Each one stuck to the place where he
was, without making a sound, waiting for the dhow to sink.’

Ye/ shtomola dhokhookhi/ shfungula maato/ kulangala waant^hu. ‘She
emitted a faint voice and opened her eyes to look at the people.’

chi-dhoondha (zi-)

n. 7/8 wound

chi-dhoonka

n. handful; [pron.chidhoonk^ha]

chi-dhoonk^ho (zi-)

n. 7/8 [cf. Sw. *kidoko* (vi-) SSED 76] click (Phon. Despite the **dh** sound, which is
generally indicative of a Somali origin, this item seems cognate with the Swahili item
referenced. Another indication of a Bantu source is the prenasalized sound **nk^h**, with
aspiration, which is not normally found except in items of Bantu origin. The long
vowel in front of the prenasalized consonant is also a typically Bantu feature.)

kubiga chidhoonk^ho ‘to make a clicking sound’

ku-dhoora

v. (**dhoreele**) guard, protect, watch over, take care of; stop talking to s.o., sever a
relationship; be considerate, respect s.t. (e.g. laws, rules, one’s elders)

Harameeni/ mdhorele mwaalimu. ‘Harameeni stopped talking to the
teacher.’

Hudhora waant^hu. ‘He is considerate to people.’

Hudhoro ruuhuyé/ hawoni/ dhibu. ‘He who watches out for himself does
not see difficulties.’ (A proverb.)

kudhoora/ kanaa nk^huku/ kalanthijilo mayaank^hukú ‘to take care of as a
hen that is sitting on its eggs’

kudhora want^hu wazima ‘to respect one’s elders’

kulumikoowa ni dhoraani ndrúza [st.] ‘avoid being cupped [during
fasting], my brothers’

kumdhoora/ kama maatoyo ‘to protect him as [you would] your eyes’

Munt^hu sho kudhora ahdi/ si muunt^hu. ‘The person who does not respect
a promise is not a man.’

Mwajiitu/ nachidhoora. ‘May God protect us.’

**Si/ shtamhafiða/ na shtamdhoora/ jisa muunt^hu/ humdhoro ruuhuyé/ na
zaaydí.** ‘We will protect him and we will guard him just as a
person does to protect himself, and even more than that.’

Siwo/ waajibu/ ilu yiinu/ kudhora waant^hu/ wakulu wiinú? ‘Is it not
obligatory for you (pl.) to respect people older than you?’ (Phon.
This sentence is in an instance of a simple yes-no question. What is
striking is that although their several phonological phrases in the
sentence, it is only the final phrase, **wakulu wiinu**, that undergoes
the accent shift that affects out-of-focus elements in yes-no
questions.)

Wachiya/ ka sultani waawo/ wachimwaambila/ we/ ndiwé/ sultani wiitu/ ni ilu/ ya sultaani/ wa muuyi/ kuwadhoora/ ra'iyaye/ na kuwa'ondrolejá/ kila/ dhibu. 'They came to their sultan and said to him: you, its you, are our sultan, and it is the responsibility [lit. on] the sultan of the town to protect its citizens and to remove from them every hardship.'

We/ husuloowa/ kumpeenda/ na kumdhoorá. 'You ought to love him and protect him.'

Ye/ ndhoreele/ nt^hangú/ yuuzi. 'He stopped talking to me (as of) yesterday.'

rel.

ku-dhoorana v. rec. (dhoreene)

variant form: **kudhoranana** (dhoraneene)

ku-dhooreka v. p/s.

ku-dhoorela v. appl. (dhoreleele)

ku-dhoreloowa v. appl. pass.

Osmaani/ nakhsula maanawe/ kudhoreloowa. 'Osmaani wants his child to be watched/ taken care of.'

ku-dhoor(e)sha v. caus.

Mdhoresheze mwaana/ nuumba. 'He had the child look after the house.'

Nureeni/ mdhoresheze mwaana/ mwaalimu. 'Nureeni caused the child to stop talking to the teacher.'

ku-dhor(e)sheleza v. caus. appl.

Hiindrá/ mdhoresheze Suufi/ mwaana/ mwaalimu. 'Hiindra caused Suufi's child to stop talking to the teacher.'

ku-dhoroowa v. pass. be protected

Zint^hu za aada/ husulowa kudhoroowa. 'Traditional things should be [lit. are wanted to] be protected.'

ku-dhoorshaka v. p/s.

ku-dhorshalezanya v. caus. appl. rec.

dhowani

even number

dhokhookhi

n. sound

Shkasa dhokhookhi/ ndilaani. 'He heard a sound outside.'

Wachiimba/ washteza/ hatá/ sa'a ikumi/ za masku/ ba'ada ya apo/ dhokhookhi/ yaawo/ itozela/ wotte/ usiinzizi/ uwaleete/ walaŕize/ nt^hini ya mteendre. 'They sang and they danced until the hour of ten at night [i.e. four a.m.], after that their sound was missing [i.e. no sound was heard from them], sleep took them all so that they lay under the date tree.'

ku-dhokhookhisha

v. caus.

rel.

ku-dhokhokhishiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-dhokhokhishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

dhoowooyi

n.

Mbu za dhoowooyi/ zinayo malaariya. 'Mud, clay area mosquitoes carry malaria.'

dhu

n. 9 [Som. *dhuux*] marrow (Phon. In order to conform to the requirement in Chimiini that all words end in a vowel, the final consonant of the Somali word is elided as opposed to being preserved by adding an epenthetic vowel at the end of the word. The loss of the final consonant has the effect that the long vowel of the Somali word is brought into word-final position, a position where vowel length is not permitted in Chimiini. As a consequence, the vowel must be shortened.)

Mwishpa uyu/ dhuuye/ ni mtaandano. 'This bone's marrow is yellowish.' (Phon. The long vowel in **dhuuye** is not an indication that **dhu** has

an underlying long vowel, rather there is a phonological phenomenon associative with the monosyllabic possessive enclitics that lengths their final vowel under certain circumstances, one of which is that the stem is monosyllabic.)

chi-dhu (zi-)

n. 7/8 a unit of measure that corresponds to the quantity of grains/milk which fills an empty tin that originally contained 1 kg. of tomato; [pron. **chidhú**] (Phon. The initial consonant in the stem indicates a Somali origin for this word, but the local Tunni dialect uses the word *maas* for this measure. The accent on the stem in **chidhú** suggests that this is, at least in origin, a diminutive form. An ordinary [cl.7/8] noun like **chisu** has default penult accent.)

tawaaðila chidhu oweela huunda/ hadiithi ya Mtume siwo kuruuda [st.]
'make your ablutions with a **chidhu** [of water] and wash yourself completely (= shower) with a **huunda** [of water]; the saying of the Prophet is not to be refused/disregarded'

ku-dhuda

v. bring

Basi/ ndrombelaani/ mwajitu/ namp^heleke/ ka salaama/ na ndhude ka salaama. 'So, pray for me that God send me in peace and bring me back in peace.'

dhuuðuma

in the expression:

kingila dhuuðumu 'to go in the night to a sleeping woman and rape her'
kingililaa muke/ dhuuðumu 'to rape a woman while she is sleeping'

dhuugu

n. [Som. *dhug* "intelligence" DSI 179] ability to remember things, perception

Baana/ nt^haná/ dhuugu/ yaa ye/ hambiloowá/ huliwala. 'Baana cannot remember things, whatever he is told, he forgets.'

Mi/ khupele chiti/ cha ezi/ ka khisaa we/ nazo ðuugú/ na fahamú. 'I have given you the throne [the chair of power] because you have perception and understanding.'

Nk^heje za waana/ zina kunt^hoza dhuugu. 'The children's noises are causing me to lose track of my thoughts, etc.'

dhukh

ideo. of swallowing quickly and completely, gulping down

Hamadi/ nele maayi/ [↑]yont^he/ dhukh dhukh dhukh. 'Hamadi gulped down all the water **dhukh dhukh dhukh.**'

dhukh

ideo. of inserting finger, penis into

Hamadi/ tile chaala/ mkateeni/ dhukh dhukh dhukh. 'Hamadi put (his) finger in the cake repeatedly **dhukh dhukh dhukh**'

Omari/ mtile maana/ chaala/ tusiini/ dhukh dhukh dhukh. 'Omari inserted his finger into the child's anus repeatedly **dhukh dhukh dhukh.**'

Omari/ mtilee muke/ chaala/ ndiniini/ dhukh dhukh dhukh. 'Omari inserted his finger into the woman's vagina repeatedly **dhukh dhukh dhukh.**'

Omari/ mtilee muke/ ðakariye/ karka farji/ dhukh dhukh dhukh. 'Omari inserted his penis into the woman's vagina repeatedly **dhukh dhukh dhukh.**'

ku-dhukhsata

v. [Som. *dhukus-* F&H 182] (**dhukhsee^{te}**) hear, eavesdrop, listen very carefully

Chidhukhsata. 'He listened very carefully.'

Nureeni/ dhukhsee^{te} kooði. 'Nureeni listened very carefully to the words rel.

ku-dhukhisha v. listen closely

Basi/ askari/ kamba izo/ wachiiza/ kumduukhisha/ oyo munt^hu umo ijuniyaaní. 'So, the soldiers refused to listen to those [words] of the man who was inside the sack.'

Chibigaa nk^heje/ na kuhada jis'iyó/ hatá/ shpata muunt^hu/ kaa kule/ kumduukhisha. 'He shouted saying [lit. this way -- saying the same things he had been saying] until he got a man from a distance

- to listen to him.’
Chiwa’ambila/ kudhuukhisha. ‘He told them to listen carefully.’
Mwaana/ iize/ kudhukhisha koði za maamaye. ‘The boy refused to pay heed to the words of his mother.’
ndhukhisha ndimi mweenziwo [song] ‘listen carefully to me, it is me your fellow man’
Songa mlangooni/ kooða/ mi/ nt^hakhudhukhisha/ ka ndaani. ‘Come to the door and speak, I will listen to you from inside.’
ku-dhukhsaṭika v. p/s.
ku-dhukhsaṭisha v. caus.
Hamadi/ mdhukhsaṭishize mwaana/ kooði. ‘Hamadi had the child listen closely to the words.’
ku-dhukhsaṭishana v. caus. rec.
ku-dhukhsaṭishiliza v. caus. appl.
ku-dhukhsaṭishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
- dhuko** **adj.** [Som. *dhukay* “ear-wax” DSI 180] totally deaf (It should be noted that *dhaghaala* means partially as opposed to totally deaf.)
- dhum dhum** **ideo.** of staying somewhere for a long time; [pron. **dhum dhúm**]
Omari/ jisaa ye/ ingilo numbaani/ ka Hamadi/ dhum dhúm/ iize/ ba/ kuḷawa. ‘Omari, as he got into Hamadi’s house, he stayed and stayed, he refused to leave.’
- ku-dhunksata** **v.** [Som.] (**dhunkseete**) kiss with a smacking noise
variant form: **kudhunksata**
- dhuuni** **n.** [Som. *dhuunta*] throat
Hamadi/ ni^h dhuuni. ‘Hamadi is greedy (he is never satisfied, he always wants more).’
Mana chihaba/ dhuuniye/ ni chihaba/ munt^hu mzima/ dhuuniye/ nii nk^hulu. ‘A child’s throat is small, and adult’s throat is large.’
Muunt^hu/ siwo/ suura/ kuwa dhuuni. ‘It is not good for someone to be greedy.’
- ku-dhuunsa** **v.** (**dhunsiize**) become dented
Gaari/ zibigeene/ yaaka/ idhunsiize. ‘The cars collided, mine was dented.’
Sufuriya/ idhunsiize. ‘The pot has become dented.’
rel.
ku-dhuunsika v. p/s.
ku-dhuunsisha v. caus. dent s.t.
ku-dhunsishana v. caus. rec.
ku-dhunsishika v. caus. p/s.
ku-dhunsishiliza v. caus. appl.
ku-dhunsishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
- dhusi** **adj.** humid
Skiiizi/ fijiri/ nii dhusi. ‘These days mornings are humid.’

ð

- ku-ða’ifika** **v.** [cf. Sw. *dhoofika*, “also sometimes *dhoofu*”, SSED 73] be weakened
rel.
ku-ða’ifisha v. caus. [cf. Sw. *dhoofisha* SSED 73] weaken s.t. or s.o. (by not providing the means to remain strong)
variant form: **kuðu’ufisha**
ku-ða’ifishana v. caus. rec.
ku-ða’ifishika v. caus. p/s.
ku-ða’ifishiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-ḍa 'ifishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ḍa'iifu (ma-)

adj. [Sw. *dhaiifu* SSED 73] weak

Ba'ada ya maraḍi/ kumfanya ḍa'iifu... 'After sickness made him weak...'

ḍa'iifu/ kana hakhaadiri 'weak like someone sick'

Ni mzeelé/ msaafiri/ ḍa'iifu/ nt^ho/ maskiini. 'I am an old man, a traveler, very weak, and poor.'

Ni/ nakumbonelá/ ka khisa/ mi/ ni ḍa'iifú. 'You are bullying me because I am weak.'

rel.

u-ḍa'iifu n. 14 [Sw. *udhaiifu* SSED 73] weakness

m(u)-ḍabḍabu (wa-)

n. hypocrite

ḍahabu

n. 9 [Sw. *dhahabu* SSED 73; Ar.] gold

kana ḍahabu 'like gold'

ha'ipatikani/ kana ḍahabu 'as scarce, hard to get as gold'

Nguwo izi/ ghaali/ kana ḍahabu. 'These clothes are expensive like gold.'

Omari/ dukaye/ huza zoombo/ ghaali/ kana ḍahabu. 'Omari's shop sells things as expensive as gold.'

Omari/ hufanya ziint^huze/ kana ḍahabu. 'Omari makes his things as gold.' **review what the meaning of this is**

khfula ḍahabu 'to forge, make gold (of a goldsmith)'

Kuḷa/ mooyi/ nakhsuḷa kuwona/ nt^hi ya ḍahabu. 'Everyone wants to see the land of gold.'

kuvala ḍahabu 'to wear, put on gold'

shpete cha ḍahabu 'a gold ring'

Waant^hu/ wawenapo markabu ya ḍahabú/ washṭa'aaba/ nt^ho. 'The people who saw the ship of gold were greatly amazed.'

ziikopi ḍahabu ziikopi doolari [nt.] 'where is the gold, where are the dollars?'

ḍaahiri

adj. [Sw. *dhahiri* SSED 73; Ar.] clear, apparent

Kuwa Siimba/ bozele peesa/ siwo/ ḍaahiri. 'That Siimba stole the money is not clear.'

Ni ḍaahiri/ kuwa Baana/ haṭakuuya. 'It is clear that Baana won't come.'

Or: **Kuwa Baana/ haṭakuuya/ ni ḍaahiri.** 'That Baana won't come is clear.'

Ni ḍaahiri/ kuwaa we/ nayo ijiini. 'It is clear that you are crazy.'

Siimba/ kuboolake/ chibuuku/ itakuwa ḍaahiri. 'Siimba's stealing of the money will become evident in court.'

Siimba/ kuboolake/ chibuuku/ iwele ḍaahiri/ mahkamaani. 'Siimba's stealing of the money became evident in court.'

ḍakari

n. 9/10 [Sw. *dhakari* SSED 73; Ar.] penis; male

Omari/ mtilee muke/ ḍakariye/ karka farji/ dhukh dhukh dhukh. 'Omari inserted his penis into the woman's vagina repeatedly **dhukh dhukh dhukh.**'

Ungamanya/ kuḷa/ hayawaani/ ḍakari/ na uuunthá/ muke/ na muḥlí. 'Gather together every creature, a male and a female, a female and a male.'

rel.

i-ḍakari (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

chi-ḍakari (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

ḍalaali

n. [Ar. *ḍalāl* W 543] straying from the right path or from truth; (moral) error

we nakuraasha ḍalaali [st.] 'you follow a wrong path, you stray from the right path'

ḍaliili

adj. [Sw. *dhalili* SSED 73; Ar. *ḍalīl* W 311] humiliated; lowly

Sḥtomola shpeteche/ chichiloomba/ chihada/ mi/ nakhsuḷa kuwa

ðaliilí/ na loonilá/ linabadilike/ na nguwozá/ zinawe zishaambi. ‘He took out his ring and implored it saying: I want to be poor, and my complexion, let it be changed, and my clothes, let them be rags.’

ðaalimu (*Ø, ma-*) adj. [Sw. *dhalimu* SSED 73; Ar.] one who oppresses, cheats, deceives; wrongdoer
munt^hu ðaalimu ‘someone wrongdoing’; **want^hu (ma)ðaalimu** ‘wrongdoing people’ (cf. **chijint^hu chiðaalimu, zijint^hu ziðaalimu, ijint^hu iðaalimu, mijint^hu miðaalimu**)
hamraashi ðaalimu illa humpiinda [st.] he never follows the wrongdoer, rather he opposes him’
nafsi ni ðaalimu hupeenda fakhari [st.] ‘one’s inner self/emotions are wrongdoers, they love to brag’
ni waajibu sho kistan ja ni ðaalimu [st.] ‘it’s required to clean oneself (after defecating), the one who does not clean himself is a wrongdoer’
Sultaani/ wa nt^hi iyo/ waliko ðaalimu/ nt^ho. ‘The sultan of that town was very unjust.’
We/ husuloowa/ khsiifa/ hukuuma/ hattá/ ichiwa hukuuma/ ni jabbaari/ ni ðaalimú. ‘You are required to praise the government even if the government be tyrannical, unjust.’ (Phon. We have not at present worked out the explanation for the final accent in the last two phrases in this example.)
Yaziidi muunt^hu ðaalimu/ tukiize maali na sumu [st.] ‘Yazid, the unjust oppressor/ sent the money and poison’

ðamaana n. 9/10 [Sw. *dhamana* SSED 73] s.t. given as a security, collateral, a guarantee
kuweka ðamaana ‘to deposit a guarantee’
Mi/ skhaadiri/ kumtalila Baana/ ðamaana. ‘I cannot take responsibility for Baana’s debts etc.’

ðambi (*Ø, ma-*) n. 9/10 [Sw. *dhambi* SSED 73] sin, crime, wrongdoing, misdeed, guilt
ðambize mwenewe zote hafoowa [st.] ‘all his own sins are forgiven’
ðambize/ ni niingi. ‘His sins are many.’
huloomba Mooja kun’aafu/ ðambi kughafiri^loowa[st.] ‘I implore God to obliterate my sins/ may God pardon my sins’
khfanya ðambi ‘to commit a sin, a crime’
khira ðambi ‘to confess’
Khiri^le ðambize. ‘He admitted his guilt.’
Kilaa muunt^hu/ na’iwa ðambize. ‘Everyone know his (own) sins.’ (A saying.)
kingila ðambi ‘to commit a crime’
Ba’adaa wo/ kingila ðambi/ wachihokome^lowa khfungowa habaasa. ‘After they committed a crime, they were sentenced to be imprisoned.’
mapeendo ya nafsi ni ðambi l’akbari [st.] ‘love of self is a great sin’
Mbona/ nnakuvunaangá/ ni/ mi/ nfanyize ðambi gani/ tu. “Why are you (pl.) beating me? just what wrong have I done to you?”
muunt^hu hijiilo ðambize hafoowa [st.] ‘the man who has performed the pilgrimage is forgiven his sins’
Nayo ðambi. ‘He is guilty of a crime, misdeed.’
Ndro/ mi/ nini/ ðambiza/ mbona/ ni/ nnakunvunaangá ‘Come, what are my faults, how come you (pl.) are beating me?’
Nini/ ni ðambi/ waant^hu/ khkalan^ha nt^hini yaa muti/ khtezá. ‘Why, is it a crime for people to sit under a tree playing?’ **review accent**
N^haná/ ðambi. ‘He is not guilty of a crime.’
N^haná/ ðambi/ kana maana. ‘He has no sins, like a child.’
ukhirowa ðambi ‘confession’

rel.

ðunuubi n. pl. [Ar. *dunūb* W 312] poetic

ðunuubu ziitu niingi nt^ho [st.] ‘our sins are too many (extremely numerous)’

- ku-ḍamina* v. [Sw. **ḍamini** SSED 73; Ar.] guarantee s.t. rel.
ku-ḍaminika v. p/s.
ku-ḍaminisha v. caus.
ku-ḍaminishika v. caus. p/s.
ku-ḍaminishiliza v. caus. appl.
ku-ḍaminishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
- ḍaamini** (*ma-*) n. [Sw. **dhamini** SSED 73; Ar.] s.o. who guarantees or vouches for s.o., puts up bail for s.o.
- ḍamiiri** n. 9/10 [Sw. **dhamiri** SSED 73; Ar.] conscience
ḍamiiriye/ mbovu. ‘His conscience is bad.’ (Cf. **ḍamiri zaawo/ mbovu.** ‘Their consciences are bad.’)
Nt^haná/ ḍamiiri. ‘He has no conscience.’
- ḍana** n. [Sw. **dhana** SSED 73] suspicion
Danaye/ kuwaa ye/ hapendoowi/ na maamaye/ sawasawa naa muné/ imfanyilize duniya/ ḍiiki/ haṭá/ weele/ kuwa nt^hanakrahadira/ ku’isha ka wazeelewe. ‘His suspicion that he was not loved by his mother equally with his younger brother made the world narrow for him to the point that it became that he could not live with his parents.’
nimo karka ḍana nafsīya faḍaaha [song] ‘I am (living) with suspicion, a disgrace for/to myself’
- ku-ḍana* v. [Sw. **dhani** SSED 75; Ar.] suspect; think
Kuḍanaa mbovu/ siwo/ suura. ‘To think/ suspect bad things is not good.’
Omari/ nakuḍana kuwaa we/ hadile wanaafaqí. ‘Omari suspects that you told a lie.’
- rel.
ku-ḍanika v. p/s.
ku-ḍanisha v. caus.
ku-ḍanishika v. caus. p/s.
ku-ḍanishiliza v. caus. appl.
ku-ḍanishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
ku-ḍanoowa v. pass.
Kuḍanowa jawaabu/ bilaa yaqiini/ siwo/ suura. ‘To think/suspect something without certainty is not good.’
- ma-ḍara* n. 6 [Sw. **dhara** (*ma-*) “often in pl. **madhara**, hurt, harm, violence” SSED 74; Ar.] harm
Khamri/ inayo maḍara miingi. ‘Liquor has many harmful effects.’
Laakini/ ina/ iyo/ na kuwaa ye/ chimilka nusu ya duniya/ tu/ imletelele maḍara makulu. ‘But that name and his possessing just half of the world brought him great harm.’
- ku-ḍaraawa* v. [Sw. **dharau** SSED 74; Ar?] (**ḍarawiile**) scorn, hold in contempt, despise
variant form: **kuḍaraawu**
Hachiḍaraawi/ waant^hu. ‘We do not look down on, underestimate people.’
Harameni/ mḍarawile waawaye. ‘Harameni despised his father.’
Mi/ khuḍarawiilé/ na shkoḍa lillá/ mi/ skutoḥa/ hattá/ mara mooyi/ kuwaa we/ takhadira kunondesha nt^heendre. ‘I despise you and to tell the truth, I did not think even once that you would be able to cause me to taste the dates.’
Sikhaambila/ mi/ chiza kumḍarawa muunt^hú. ‘Did I not tell you not to look down on a person?’
- rel.
ku-ḍaraawisha v. caus. (**ḍarawishiize**)
Somo/ mḍarawishize mwaana/ mweenziwe. ‘Somo caused the child to

look down on his friend.’ (The same idea may be expressed with a periphrastic causative: **Somo/ mtile mwaana/ kumdarawa mweenziwe**. ‘Somo (somehow) induced the child to look down on his friend.’)

ku-darawishana v. caus. rec.

ku-darawishika v. p/s.

ku-darawishiliza v. caus. appl. (**darawishiliize**)

ku-darawishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ku-darawoowa v. pass.

Hasani/ naayé/ siwo/ kuDarawoowa. ‘Hasani as well was not to be belittled [when it comes to playing games such as cards].’

rel. nom.

m-daraawa (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who despises

darawu

n. 9/10 [Sw. *dharau* SSED 74; Ar.] humiliation, scorn, contempt

Darawu izi/ hashtukuliki. ‘These humiliations cannot be borne.’

Eelo/ fiile/ ka darawu/ na ulaazó/ wa qalbiini. ‘The gazelle died from humiliation and pain in the heart.’

darba

n. 9/10,6 storm

Bahari/ inakubiga darba. ‘There is a storm at sea [lit. the sea is storming].’

Bahari/ iwele shuwaari/ nvula itindishile/ na dabá/ irepteeeme. ‘The sea became calm, the rain stopped, and the storm ceased.’

darba iyi ‘this storm’; **darba izi** ‘these storms’; but also: **maDarba aya** ‘these storms’

darbaa mbovu/ kama izi ‘bad storms like these’

markabu nk^huluu nk^hulu/ schizaama/ ka darba ‘if large ships sink in a storm’

Sku yaa nne/ chanza darba. ‘On the fourth day it began to storm.’

darbu

n. [Sw. *dharuba* ‘stroke, blow, rush – blow of an axe, sudden calamity’ SSED 74; Ar.] blow

variant form found in poetry: **darba**

mtume hadiile mublo muzukaafiri/ darba ya kaandra naazo miya ajiri [st.] ‘the Prophet said that whoever kills a lizard/ for the first blow will be rewarded one hundred times’

Rasuul Allahi Mhamadi al-Amiini/ darba sab’iini bishila harbiini [st.] ‘the messenger of God, Mohamed the Trustworthy/ was struck by seventy blows during the war’

ulaazowe kana darba za mp^haanga alfu ni haba [st.] ‘it’s [=death’s] pain will be worse than that of one thousand sword strokes’

daruura

n. necessity

is there a variant **daruuri**?

ka daruura ‘from necessity’

chilawa muunt^hi ka aduura haydhibi/ laakini sharti ye kuruuda

maghribi [st.] ‘she (the woman in the state of **idda**, the waiting period after her husband’s death) is allowed to go outdoors by day if necessary, but she must be back home by sunset’

daruriyaati

n. pl. necessities

Ka pesa zaawo/ wawanaazó/ wa’uzile jahazi/ zaakuja/ za khtosja/ na daruriyaati ziinginé. ‘With the money tha had, they bought a dhow, enough food, and other necessities.’

daati

n. [Sw. *dhati* SSED 74; Ar.] emphatic reflexive pronoun; innermost self, essence

mi/ daatiye ‘I myself’

Nnayo daati/ mi/ siyiisi/ nini yo. ‘I have myself, but I do not know what it is.’

wo/ ðaaṭi yaawo ‘they themselves’

Ye/ ðaaṭiye/ hatambuli chiint^hu. ‘He, essentially, is not a bad person.’

ma-ðeeyo n. small, round, very juicy fruit of perhaps ½ cm in diameter, which people eat by the handful and then spit out all the seeds

ku-ði'ika v. (**ði'ishile**) be afflicted by hardship and difficulties
rel.
ku-ði'isha v. caus. allow someone to be afflicted by hardships

ðiddi n. 9 against
Ichiwa kanayo/ ni nfuunge/ we/ laazima/ khfungula kanayo/ kendra khfanya "propaganda"/ kuhada/ jawaabu/ zaa we/ haamini/ kooloka/ ðiddi ya mabadi'iyu. ‘If it be that you close your mouth, [in order to get ahead in the world] you must open your mouth and go and make propaganda, say things that you do not believe, go against your principles.’
khfanya wataano/ ðiddi ya mooyi ‘to masturbate [lit. to make five fingers) against one (the penis)]’
Kila chiint^hu/ chivaliko ðiddi yiitu. ‘Everything was against us.’

ðihaaka n. ridicule

ku-ðihira v. (**ðihiriile**) appear
Mahadi/ takuðihira aakhiri/ zamaani. ‘Mohammad will appear in the last/ end times (when the world is to finish).’

Noka/ chiðihira. ‘A snake appeared.’

rel.

ku-ðihirika v. p/s.

ku-ðihirikila v. intr. appl. (**ðihirikiliile**) appear to

Inðihirikiliile kuwa Sa'iidi/ nt^hakhfanya kaazi. ‘It appears to me that Sa'iidi did not work.’

Iwaðihirikiliile waant^hu/ kuwa Siimba/ bozele peesa. ‘It became evident to people that Siimba stole the money.’

Na ikhuðihirikiliile/ ya kuwa nt^haku/ mwajiitu. ‘And it became clear to you that there is no God.’

Siimba/ kuboolake/ peesa/ iwaðihirikiliile/ waant^hu/ makhamaani. ‘Siimba’s having stolen the money became evident to people in court.’

ku-ðihirila v. appl. (**-ðihiriliile**) appear to

Nðihiriliile kama shetaani. ‘He appeared to me like a djinn.’

ku-ðihirisha v. caus. reveal, show, prove, make appear

kuðihirisha karaama ‘to reveal a miracle’

kuðihirishaa nguvu ‘to reveal strength’

kuðihirisha ziwovu ‘to reveal evil’

ku-ðihirishana v. caus. rec.

ku-ðihirishika v. caus. p/s.

ku-ðihirishiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-ðihirishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ku-ðihiroowa v. pass.

kuðihirowa ziyaraani ‘to appear at the religious site’

rel. nom.

u-ðihiro n. 14

ðikiri n. 9/10 religious chant; religious sect (a Suufi sect)

Ba'adi ya nikaaha/ khtuluka/ mwiimbili/ hugurshowa muyiini/ ka ðikiri/ na ngomá. ‘After the marriage ceremony has taken place, the boy is taken around town with religious songs and drumming.’

- itakuvuma ðikiri/ na qur'aani khsomoowa* [t.] 'ðikiri will echo from all comers and the readings of the Quran'
- Waanthu/ watakuuya/ kilaa fijiri/ wataksomaa du'a/ na ðikiri.** 'People will come each morning [for three days after someone's death] to recite (lit. read) prayers and ðikiri.'
- rel.
- ðikri* n.anything that has the name of God on it
- wala stukula ðikri hata bismila* [st.] 'neither carry anything that has God written on it not even **bismila** [when taking care of bodily functions]'
- ku-ðikirisha* v. pray, shouting religious sayings, singing religious songs, etc.
- Masheekhi/ wamo numbaani/ wanakuðikirisha/ wanakubiga madadi.**
- 'There religious scholars in the house, they are praying, tjeay are calling for God's blessings.'
- Masheekhi/ wanakuðikirisha.** 'The religious scholars are praying.'
- rel.
- ku-ðikirishoowa* v. pass.
- Sheekhi chifa ha'iloowi/ itakuðikirishoowa* [st.] 'when the Sheikh dies, no one should weep, instead people should recite ðikiri'
- ku-ðiiqa* situation v. [Sw. *dhiki* SSED74; Ar.] (**ðiqiile**) put pressure on, esp. difficulty, put in a tight
- Omari/ hupenda kuðiqqa waanthu.** 'Omari likes to put people in tight, difficult situations.'
- qalbiya faza'a na neefu hundiiqa* [nt.] 'my heart is scared and I cannot breathe'
- rel.
- ku-ðiqoowa* v. pass.
- Kuðiqowa muunthu/ ni haraamu.** 'It is unholy to put a person in a tight situation.'
- ðiiqi* n. [Sw. *dhiki* SSED 74; Ar.] narrow space (between objects); hardship, difficulty (financial "narrow straits")
- Ba'ada ya ðiiqi/ ni faraji.** 'After hardship comes relief.' (A proverb.)
- Wawalimo karka ðiiqi/ nt^ho/ ka sababu/ wo/ nt^hawakuwanaayo/ hattá/ peesa/ mooyi/ yaa wo/ kulila chaakuja/ cho chote.** 'They were in great difficulty because they did not have even one coin for them to buy any food with.'
- ðiyaafa* n. 9 act of giving a party, having someone to dinner; hospitality
- mu-ðnibu (wa-)* n. 1/2 sinner
- ðuha* n. [Sw. *dhuha* SSED 75; Ar.] the period of day around 10:30 a.m.
- ku-ðukura* v. [Sw. *dhukuru* SSED 75; Ar.] (**ðukuriiile**) mention, talk ill or well about someone
- Ni waajibu/ muunthu/ kuðukura ikhsaani.** 'It is a must that a person talks about/ remembers a favor (that was done for him).'
- rel.
- ku-ðukurika* v. p/s.
- ku-ðukurila* v. appl. (**ðukuriliile**) mention to, touch upon
- ku-ðukurisha* v. caus. cause to mention
- ku-ðukurishana* v. caus. rec.
- ku-ðukurishika* v. caus. p/s.
- ku-ðukurishiliza* v. caus. appl.
- ku-ðukurishilizanya* v. caus. appl. rec.
- rel. nom.
- u-ðukuro* n. 14

ḍul̄irhaami	n. relative by blood
ḍulli	n. humiliation kubiga ḍulli ‘to humiliate someone, despise someone Miza jaaha/ ḍulli/ humsaaliló. ‘The one who refuses honor/dignity, humiliation is what is left for him.’ Miza jaaha/ hupata ḍulli. ‘The one who refuses honor/dignity gets humiliation.’ (A proverb.) mtume onyeeza muló nuumba ya ḍulli [st.] ‘the Prophet was shown the fires of hell, the house of humiliation’
ku-ḍul̄ma someone.’	v. [Sw. <i>dhulumu</i> SSED 73; Ar.] (ḍul̄mile) cheat, oppress Kumḍul̄ma muunt^hu/ ni haraamu. ‘It is unholy/impure to cheat/oppress someone.’ tozeleni kaaka koondroka kundul̄ma [song] ‘what did you not get from me that forced you to oppress me?’ rel. ku-ḍul̄mika v. p/s. ku-ḍul̄misha v. caus. ku-ḍul̄mishana v. caus. rec. ku-ḍul̄mishika v. caus. p/s. ku-ḍul̄mishiliza v. caus. appl. ku-ḍul̄mishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. ku-ḍul̄moowa v. pass. Muunt^hu/ kuḍul̄moowa/ ni haraamu. ‘For someone to be cheated/oppressed is unholy.’
ḍul̄mu	n. [Sw. <i>dhulumu</i> SSED 73; Ar.] wrongdoing
ku-ḍul̄ika	v. intr. be humiliated Sinakhaadira/ teena/ khuwona we/ kuḍul̄ika. ‘I cannot any longer bear to see you humiliated.’ rel. ku-ḍul̄isha v. caus. humiliate Omari/ hupenda kuḍul̄isha waant^hu. ‘Omari likes to humiliate people.’ ku-ḍul̄ishana v. caus. rec. ku-ḍul̄ishiliza v. caus. appl. ku-ḍul̄ishika v. caus. p/s.
ḍunuubi	n. pl. (see ḍambi) [Ar. <i>dunūb</i> W 312] poetic
ku-ḍura	v. [Sw. <i>dhuru</i> SSED 74; Ar.] (ḍuriile) hurt, harm Hayḍuri/ chiint^hu. ‘It does not matter, it’s all the same. There’s no harm done.’ Maayi/ hayaḍuri/ chiint^hu. ‘Water does not harm, affect anything.’ rel. ku-ḍurika v. p/s. ku-ḍurisha v. caus. ku-ḍurishana v. caus. rec. ku-ḍurishika v. caus. p/s. ku-ḍurishiliza v. caus. appl. ku-ḍurishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
ku-ḍura	v. (ḍuriile) appear Sku mooyi/ ka barzaani/ ka Harun Rashiidi/ huḍurile khaadimu. ‘One day in the parlor of Haruun Rashiidi there appeared a servant.’
ḍuri	n. (cf. ku-ḍura ‘to harm’)] harm

mooja chookole na sharri / ya bahari na ya barri / chondolele kulla ħuri
[st.] ‘O God save us from the evils of sea and of land, avert from us any harm’

ħuriya

n. 9/10 descendant, offspring, progeny

E

- e** final vowel of the subjunctive
chibige ‘that we beat’
chidaare ‘that we touch’
chigiite ‘that we pull’
chilaŋe ‘that we let go’
chimoole ‘that we shave’
Mweenza/ mi/ nakhuloombá/ chilaŋe kiitu/ chije. ‘Friend, I beg you, let us go to my [lit. our] place and let us eat.’
naapite ‘that he pass’
Mp^ha waant^hu/ wana’endre/ wanalete sanduukhuya. ‘Give me some men and let them go and bring my box.’
- e** final vowel of the imperative with [cl.1] object prefix
mtaale ‘take him!’
- e** final vowel of the negative imperative
simoolé ‘don’t shave!’
sireebé ‘don’t stop!’
siweeké ‘don’t put!’
siyezé ‘don’t fill!’
- e** final vowel of the past tense (perfect stem):
timishiize ‘he completed’
- =e** third person singular possessive enclitic
=che [cl.7]
Laakini/ oyo uziloo chiŋá/ nt^hakuuya/ khtala chiŋaache. ‘But the one who bought the (cow’s) head did not come to take his head.’
Nuzilee chittá/ ka riyaali/ mooyi/ na riyaaliyé/ ni’iweshelé/ ilu/ ya chileembache/ chiŋaani. ‘I bought a [cow’s] head for one **riyaali** and his **riyaali** I put it on top of his turban on his head.’
Tetemesheze chiŋaache. ‘He shook his head.’ (Phon. The example **chiŋaache** illustrates how a CVCV noun such as **chiŋa** lengthens its final vowel before a monosyllabic possessive enclitic.)
Ye/ chiraasha/ chiŋooche/ ka muda/ mule/ walaakini/ nt^hakhaadira/ kumwona. ‘He followed its cry for a long period of time but he could not see it.’ (Phon. The example **chiŋooche** illustrates how a CVCV noun such as **chiŋo** lengthens its final vowel in front of the monosyllabic possessive enclitic.)
- =ke** [cl.15]
ku’abirsatake ‘his taking measurements’
Mubli/ khkomake/ numbaani/ chiwaviŋa wayaana/ chiwa’ambila/ kondrola godoro. ‘The husband, on arriving home, called the female servants and told them to move the mattress.’
Sultaani/ khkasake/ jawaabu/ izo/ chishikowa shtana/ nt^ho. ‘The sultan, upon hearing those words, became very angry.’
Sultaani/ kumwonake/ ba/ chaanza/ kumpeenda. ‘The sultan, upon his observing him, began to love him.’

=ke [cl.17]

Ifungu ya kaandra/ kuwa nda mwajitu/ ya piili/ kuwa nda sultaani/ ya taatu/ kuwa ndaa nsi/ zinapate ku'iisha/ katiike. 'The first portion belongs to God, the second belongs to the sultan, the third belongs to the fish so that they may live in it.'

Sku ya piilike/ chilawa/ ka numbaani/ chendra ka sultaani/ oyo/ chintulukila miluuni/ kaake. 'On the second day [of it -- i.e., in the context of the story, his staying at the woman's place] he left from the house and went to that sultan and threw himself at his knees.'

Sultaani/ uyu/ naayé/ kila shpisa/ hukumu/ hulanga/ ka kublike/ chimaliza huteka/ kanmake/ hulanga/ lpaandre/ la kusooto/ hula. 'This sultan, each time he passes judgement, he looks to his right side and laughs, and then he looks to his left side, and cries.'

Wachi'ilata/ ijuuniya/ ndraanike/ umo Abunawaasi. 'They left the bag inside of which was Abunawaasi.'

=le [cl.11]

Hasani/ mukhta ye/ komelo maha/ inakubiganowa harbi/ tomele lpaangale/ kuharbishiliza. 'When Hasani arrived at the place where there was fighting, he took out his sword and began to fight with it.'

=we [cl.1]

mp^huundrawe 'his donkey' (Morph. This is an example of a [cl.9] animate noun **mp^huundra** governing [cl.1] agreement on the possessive element.)

mukeewe 'his wife' (Phon. This is an example of a CVCV word lengthening its final vowel before the monosyllabic possessive enclitic.)

mweenzawe 'his friend'

ndruwé 'his relative' (Morph. The noun **ndru** 'relative' is a [cl.9/10] noun, but in the singular governs [cl.1] agreement in the possessive, while in the plural it governs [cl.10] agreement in the possessive.)

=we [cl.2]

Apo/ zamaani/ ishiize/ mwaana/ mooyi/ waliko filila na wazeelé/ wawiliwé. 'Once upon a time there was a boy who was died on by his two parents.'

Sultaani/ mpeenzele/ mwaana/ uyu/ kolko waanawe/ wawili. 'The sultan loved this boy more than his own two children.'

Uyu/ naayé/ chunganya ma'askariwe/ wotte/ chiwa'ambila... 'This one also gathered all his soldiers and told them...' (Morph. Although **ma'askari** 'soldiers' formally is a [cl.6] noun with the prefix **ma-**, it may trigger human [cl.2] agreement on the possessive, as in the present sentence.)

=we [cl.3]

m^taanawe 'his room'

Waant^hu/ wammereele/ karka muuyi/ mzimawe. 'People looked for him in the entire town.'

=we [cl.14]

umriwe 'his age'

=ye [cl.4]

m^taanaye 'his rooms'

=ye [cl.5]

Ye/ chihada/ inaye/ ni Hasiibu/ Karimuddiini. 'She said that his name was Hasiibu Karimuddiini.'

=ye [cl.6]

Chihada/ kuwaa ye/ takhpandra farasi/ masku/ mazimaye/ hatá/ fijiri.

‘He said that he could ride a horse the whole night until morning.’
Mwanaamke/ fungilopo maatoyé/ wene kuwaa ye/ uko kaawo. ‘When the girl opened her eyes, she saw that she was at home.’

=ye [cl.9]

Hasani/ shfunga kanaye/ nt^hakuwajiiba. ‘Hasani shut his mouth, he did not answer them.’

jiraaniye ‘his neighbor’

maamaye ‘his mother’

Muke/ chimrudila riyaaliye. ‘The woman returned his *riyaali* to him.’

Na’endre/ namwambileni/ waawaye. ‘He should go and tell what his father??’

nasiibuye ‘his luck’

Numba/ ni nuumbaye. ‘The house is her house.’

sufuriyaye ‘his pot’

waawaye ‘his father’

=ze [cl.8]

Choondroka/ chunganyachunganya ziint^huze/ chishikaa ndila/ kendra kaawo. ‘He got up and gathered his things and took to the road to go home.’

ziti ziwilize ‘both of the chairs [lit. the chairs their two]’

=ze [cl.10]

Laakini/ sultaani/ mukhtaaya ye/ weno peesá/ chimviila/ Abunawaasi/ kuya khtaala/ peesaze. ‘But when the sultan saw the money, he called Abunawaasi to come to take his money.’

ndrevuze ‘his beard’

Sultaani/chamura askarize/ keendra/ kumvilaAbdulla. ‘The sultan ordered his soldiers to go to summon Abdalla.’

e

interj. oh

E/ muké/ we/ ndo/ we/ nakhsula kunublá/ so. ‘O woman, you, come, you do want to kill me, don’t you?’

E/ we/ bwaana/ we/ kaahini/ koðele jila. ‘Oh, mister, you, the soothsayer told the truth.’

E/ we/ muke/ ndo/ we/ pete wazimu/ so. ‘Oh you woman, come, have you gone crazy?’

E/ we/ mwenye amri/ mwana uyu/ waawaye/ ni muunt^hu/ mzeele/ nt^ho/ ka miyaaka. ‘O you ruler, this child’s father is a very old man with years.’

ee

interj. yes. This is the most used form of “yes”: na’am (see below) is an Arabic word that is not in general use. [pron. *ẽẽ*]

Si/ fahamiilé?/ Ee. ‘You understood? Yes.’ (Phon. The yes-no question differs from the statement **Si/ fahamiíé.** ‘You understood.’ only in intonation.)

ku-’ebata

v. [Som. *ceeb-* Ab 72, but not clear why root vowel has shortened in Chimiini] (**ebeete**) be disgraced; have one’s scandals etc. exposed to public notice and consequently suffer shame, be disgraced
rel.

ku-’ebaṭila v. appl. (**ebaṭiile**)

ku-’ebisha v. caus. (**ebishiize**) disgrace someone (e.g. a child’s behavior may disgrace, shame his parents); reveal someone’s fault with the purpose of shaming that person

Ebishize ruuhuye. ‘He disgraced himself.’

Ebishize sarkaali. ‘He exposed the government’s lies, deceptions, etc.’

Omari/ m’ebishize mwaana/ ka waawaye. ‘Omari made the child feel disgraced in front of his father.’

Saalimu/ n’ebishiize. ‘Saalimu disgraced me.’ Or: **N’ebishiizó/ ni Saalimu.** ‘The one who disgraced me is Saalimu.’

We/ takun'ebisha. 'You will embarrass/shame me.'

ku-'ebishiliza v. caus. appl. (**ebishiliize**)

N'ebishilize mweenzawa. 'He shamed my friend on me.'

ku-'ebishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Omari/ na Hamadí/ wa'ebishilizenye waana. 'Omari and Hamadi the faults of one another's children.'

ku-'ebishoowa v. caus. pass.

N'ebishiza na Saalimú. 'I was disgraced, shamed by Saalimu.'

rel. nom.

m-'ebisha (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who disgraces

ebu

n. [cf. Sw. *aibu* SSED 6;] defect, disgrace, shame

Chiza kiiwa/ siwo/ ebu/ chiza kuuza/ ndiyó. 'It is not shameful not to know, it is shameful not to ask.' (A proverb.)

ebu ka shkapu 'lit. shame by the bagful -- this idiom expresses the idea of s.t. very shameful, but it is often said playfully, to the person who is supposed to have done s.t.'

Ebu ya mayti/ hiiwó/ mosha mayti. 'The one who knows the defect of a corpse is the washer of the corpse.' (A proverb.)

Ebuyo/ ha'ambiloowi/ muunt^hu. 'Your shame is not told to people.' (A proverb.)

Hufafisho ebuzó/ muunt^hi/ haṭalami/ khutilaa muḷo/ masku. 'The one who reveals your defects in the daytime does not hesitate to burn you at night.' (A proverb.)

Itakichiwelela ebu. 'It would be a disgrace for us.'

Iwishize waant^hu/ ebuza. 'He made known to people my faults.'

Izi/ zaa we/ eleezó/ apa/ ni jawaabu/ za ebu/ nk^hulu. 'These (words) that you have explained to me are words that are greatly disgraceful.'

Kana ebu/ kheeri/ khasara. 'If shame, better loss (e.g. of money).' (A proverb.)

kumpatila ebu 'to shame someone'

Muunt^hu/ siwo/ suura/ kumpatila ebu/ walaaliwe. 'It is not good for someone to shame his brother.'

Lila/ siwo/ ebu. 'Truth is not shame.' (A proverb.)

Maṭo ya mpeenzi/ hayaawoni/ ebu za shpeendo. 'The eyes of the lover do not see the defects of the loved one.' (A proverb.)

Mi/ nnakuwona kuwa ni ebú. 'I think it is a disgrace.'

Mkulu wa makhaadimu/ chimwaambila/ ya kuwa ni ebu/ waana/ wa masultaani/ khfakata ka kaawo. 'The head of the servants told him that it was a disgrace for the children of sultans to run away from home.'

Mukhta stimiiló/ ndruti khamsiini/ waziiri/ chimwaambila/ mwaarabu/ ni ebu/ kumbiga mwanaamke/ mlungaana/ lamna iyo. 'When fifty blows were completed, the minister told the Arab: it is a shame to hit a girl of high social class in this manner.'

Muunt^hu/ kiwa daniye/ siwo/ ebu. 'For someone to know what his best interests/needs are is not a shame.' (A saying.)

Muunt^hu/ nayo wazeelé/ nayo ebu. 'One who has elderly parents has something to be troubled, worried by etc. (i.e. elderly parents can cause problems and be very difficult).' (A proverb.)

shkooḍa ni ebuya afḍali takuusha [song] 'if I talk (about it) it is my shame (exposes my shame), I better hide it' (The first person subject marker has been elided in *takuusha*.)

... ya kuwa ebu/ askari/ keendra/ kumwona moojé/ karka haali/ yaa ye/ umó '...that it would be a disgrace for the soldiers to go to see his master in the condition that he was in'

eedi

[Tunni eedh **reference?**] very well, better (can be used instead of **baraabara**)

khfunga eeði ‘to tighten’
khfungika eeði ‘to tighten very tight’

examples

k-eegegema

v.[Sw. *egama* SSED 80] (**egemeele**) go close, near to s.t.
variant form: **kiigema**

dhibu na maraði kaawo iseegegema [st.] ‘may troubles and sickness not reach
[lit. go near] thm’

Nakeegema. ‘He is going close.’

rel.

k-eegesha v. caus. [Sw. *egesha* SSED 80] (**egesheeze**) welcome

Basi/ ye/ chiwa’egesha/ awo/ askari/ chiwapa chaakuja/ wachija. ‘So he
welcomed those soldiers and gave them food and they ate.’

Chimaliza/ mwaana/ chimwegesha chizeele. ‘Then the boy welcomed the
old woman.’

Chineegesha/ ka heshma. ‘She welcomed me with respect.’

Muke/ chimweegesha. ‘The woman welcomed him.’

Mwaarabu/ oyo/ chimweegesha/ chimwaambila/ nakalaant^he. ‘That
Arab welcomed him and told him to sit down.’

Nakeegesha. ‘He is welcoming.’

Uyu/ chimweegesha. ‘This one welcomed her.’

Wakomeelopó/ siimba/ chiwa’egesha chisultaani. ‘When they arrived,
Lion welcomed them in a royal fashion.’

k-eegeshoowa v. pass.

Chibiga hoodi/ chegeshoowa/ chingila numbaani. ‘He asked for
permission to enter and he was welcomed and he went into the
house.’

Komeelopó/ shtomola salaamu/ naayé/ chegeshoowa/ jisa suura. ‘When
he arrived, he extended greetings, and he too was welcomed in a
nice way.’

Ye/ chijibowa salaamu/ na chegeshoowa. ‘His greetings were returned and
he was welcomed.’ (Phon. It is clear from this example that the
conjunction *na* does not trigger final accent when followed by a
verbal form, as opposed to when it is followed by other word
categories.)

EEKARI

n. [Eng. *acre*] acre

E(e)l Hindi

n. A well (cf. Som. *ceel* ‘well’) southwest of Brava, inland from the sea. From this
well donkey carts brought the best drinking water to Brava (**mayi maḷada**). The
location is marked by dunes of fine sand (**bulaaṭi**), which filter the rain water.

Chisima cha Eḷ Hindi/ chikoo kule/ kharibu ya Ka Seleemo. ‘El Hindi’s
well is far away, it is near Ka Seleemo.’

May’ aa Eḷ Hindi/ ni maḷadda. ‘The water of El Hindi is sweet.’

k-eelele

v. (**-eelele**) be clear to, comprehend, grasp

Kooḍi/ zimwelelele. ‘He understood what was said [lit. words were clear to
him].’

Yanelele/ yote/ walá/ ye/ hakhaadiri/ kiiza. ‘They [e.g. the answers to
the riddle] were all clear to me, nor can she deny this.’

rel.

k-eeleloowa v. pass. (**-eelela**)

Elela na kooḍi. ‘He understood what was said.’

Ha’eeleloowi/ na kooḍi. ‘He does not understand what was said.’

**Wenopo kuwaa ye/ chelelelá/ mnaadisha/ uyu/ chivalomba waant^hu/
wanamerele Sa’iidi.** ‘When he saw that it was dusk [lit. that he
had been overtaken by sunset], this auctioneer begged people to
look for Sa’iidi for him.’

-elpe

adj. [Sw. *eupe* SSED 87] white

me a piece of white cloth.’

Chimwambila Huseeni/ mp^ha ciguwo chelpe. ‘She said to Huseeni: give

-elpe kana bafta ‘as white as white cotton cloth’

-elpe kana kartaasi ‘white like paper’

ka Dikirow mbeene paamba/ nelpe kana kartaasi ‘at Dhikirow’s place I saw cotton as white as paper’ (from a popular rhyme)

Karkaa ndila/ chiwawona/ waant^hu/ wawili/ watukilo sufuriyaa nk^hulú/ na nguwoo nelpe. ‘On the way he saw two people who were carrying a large pot and a white cloth.’

karka numba nelpe ‘in a white house’ (Syn: One cannot modify the noun with an adjective when the noun is in a locative form. Thus it is ungrammatical to say * **numbani nelpe** (with agreement to the noun inside the locative) or ***numbani mwelpe** (with agreement to the locative).)

Marti/ ni nk^huku nelpe. ‘A stranger is like a white hen [i.e. he always stands out from the others by virtue of his dress, behavior, speech, etc.]’ (A proverb.)

numba nelpe ‘a white house’

mw-elpe ‘someone white’; **w-elpe** ‘pl. white’ (Phon. The evidence from Chijini, the "talking backwards" secret language in Chimwiini, supports the view that that *l* is a coda consonant and not part of the onset to the final syllable. Specifically, in Chijini, one says: [pemwél] and [péwel].)

Omari).’

Nimene Omari melpé. ‘I saw Omari the white (as opposed to some other

Pashile nuumba/ ranji/ nelpe. ‘He painted the house the color white.’

Waankh^hulá/ hingila khuusi/ chilawa/ ndrevuze/ huwa nelpe. ‘My grandfather dives in, when he emerges, his beard becomes white.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **mwiiiko** ‘a stirring spoon’.)

zilatu zelpe ‘white shoes’

rel.

w-elpe n. 14 [Sw. *weupe* SSED] whiteness

Welpewe/ kama qartaasi. ‘Its whiteness is like a sheet of paper.’

k-eela

v.

Waant^hu/ wako apó/ wachimwaambila/ nakhfanyaayi/ we/ ni mwaaná/ chihabá/ na jisaa we/ keeló/ inakoonyesha/ kuwaa we/ ni mwana wa ma^htaajiri. ‘The people who were there they told him: why do you do it? You are a small boy and the way you look, it is showing that you are a son of rich people.’

k-eeleza

v. [Sw. *eleza* SSED 81] (**eleeze**) explain to

Apo/ chimwelezaa muke/ mambo ya mpeetó. ‘Then he explained to the woman the events that had befallen him.’

darsi yaa mi/ nimwelezo mwaaná ‘the lesson that I explained to the child’

Eleza. ‘Explain!’

Fijiri/ ya sku ya piili/ Abunawaasi/ chimweleza sultaani/ na waziiriwé/ khabari zaa ye/ weenó/ ka mwaarabú/ numbaani. ‘On the morning of the second day (i.e. the next day) Abunawaasi explained to the sultan and his ministers the events that he had seen at the house of the Arab.’

Izi/ zaa we/ eleezó/ apa/ ni jawaabu/ za ebu/ nk^hulu. ‘These (words) that you have explained to me are words that are greatly disgraceful.’

Suufi/ nakumweleza Saalimu/ masoomo. ‘Suufi is explaining the lesson to Saalimu.’

rel.

k-eelela v. [Sw. *elea* SSED 81] (**eleele**) be understood, clear, intelligible

We/ mzeele/ aya/ hayakheeleli. ‘You are old, you do not understand these things [lit. these are not intelligible to you].’

k-eleloowa v. pass. (**eleele**) be understood

Eleele na kooḏi. ‘He understood the statement.’

Ha’eleeleowi/ na kooḏi. ‘He does not understand the statement.’

Mi/ skeleleowa na kooḏize. ‘I did not understand his statements.’ **review phrasing**

Nakeleleowa na masoomo. ‘He understands the lesson.’ (Syn: Observe the rather unusual syntax here. The one who is coming to understand the lesson is the subject of the passive verb and what is being understood is the passive agent. An active sentence such as ***Masoomo/ yanamkelele Nuuru.** ‘The lesson clarified Nuuru.’ is not grammatical.)

Omari/ nt^hakeleleowa/ na kooḏi. ‘Omari did not understand the statement.’

Waawé/ mi/ mp^heḷa su’aalí/ laakini/ skeleleowa/ na ma’anaye. ‘Father, I was posed a question, but I am not able to understand its meaning.’
MI wrote "ma’anayi" -- check into

eelo

n. 9/10 gazelle

Basi/ wachimvunaanga/ eelo/ hattá/ ye/ filopó. ‘So they beat the gazelle until he died.’

khima ya eelo ‘the price of a gazelle’

muza eelo ‘a seller of gazelles’

Nayo shiingo/ ndre/ kana ya eelo. ‘He has a neck as long as a gazelle’s.’

We/ ni eeló/ hujo mp^haapasí/ mp^haapasi/ humwambaṭo ngoombé... ‘You are the gazelle who eats the tick, the tick who sticks to the cow...’

rel.

chi-’eelo (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim.

i-’eelo (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.

-eelu

adj. light

Sidaarshé/ tala/ mṭaana/ uchiwa weelu. ‘Don’t turn on the lamp if the room is well-lit.’

rel.

w-eelu n. 14 light

Chimeera/ chimeera/ hattá/ shpata nt^huundru/ na weelú/ ka ndraaní. ‘He looked and looked until he found a hole and light within it.’

mwezi wa weelu ‘moon’

kuwala/ kana/ mezi wa weelu (or: **mezaa weelu**) ‘to shine like the moon’

Ye/ weene/ kuwa noota/ ikum na mooyi/ na mwezi wa iwá/ na mwezi wa weelú/ zinamsujudilaa ye. ‘He saw that eleven stars and the sun and the moon were prostrating to him.’

read with.’

Welu uyu/ huṭosha khsomeleowa. ‘This light is sufficient to be used to

m(w)-eelu

n. white sorghum, an important type of grain in Somalia, also called **mhundru** **m(w)eelpe** in Chim(w)iini; [pron. **mweelu** or **meelu**] (Phon. The deletion of **w** from the sequence **mw** seems to be the most common pronunciation among present-day speakers, but our consultant MI usually retained the **w**, though sometimes eliding it when the next vowel is a round vowel, **o** or **u**.)

k-eeluka

v. belch, burp

Seeluké. ‘Don’t belch!’ (Cf. **Selukée=ní.** ‘(Pl.) don’t belch!’)

k-eeluka

v. (**elushile**) swim in the “doggy paddle” style, float

Bateera/ inakeeluka. ‘The boat is floating, adrift.’

Chigaaya/ shcheeluka. ‘The potshard floated.’

Chint^hu changaangu/ heeluka/ chint^hu chizito/ huzama. ‘Something light, floats; something heavy, sinks.’ (A saying.)

Ichiwekoowa/ schifanyoowa/ ichiwonowa mooyi/ yelushile/ mooyi/ izamiile. ‘There were put (the pieces of wood), it was done, it was seen that one floated and one sank.’

Jahazi/ ichaanza/ keeluka. ‘The boat began to float.’

keeluka/ kana mp^haamp^ha ‘to swim like a shark’

keeluka/ kanaa nsi ‘to swim like a fish’

Lwawo/ n^hla keeluka. ‘The piece of wood is floating.’

Walwaawo/ wa’elushile/ hatá/ Ifuwo la muuyi/ mooyi/ ghariibu. ‘Both of them swam up to the shore of a foreign town.’

We/ ha’itakhulaaazima/ keeluka/ ka khisa/ mi/ nt^h akhutukula mongooni/ mpaka kiitu. ‘You do not have to swim because I will carry you on my back up to our place.’

rel.

k-elukika v. p/s.

k-eelusha v. caus. (elushiize) help to swim

Bahaariya/ mwelushizee muke. ‘The sailor helped the woman swim.’

k-elushanya v. caus. rec.

k-elushika v. caus. p/s.

k-elushiliza v. caus. appl.

k-elushilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

rel. nom.

mw-eeluka (wa-’) n. 1/2 one who swims

-eema

adj. [Sw. -ema SSED 82] good (esp. in character) (Usage: This item is much used in poetry, but now almost obsolete in everyday speech, except for some expressions like **muke mweema** ‘a good woman’; **-suura** is often used instead.)

chakuja cheema ‘fine, expensive, high quality food’

Cheema/ huza ruuhuye/ chiwovu/ humershoowa. ‘Something good sells itself; something bad has to be advertised, hawked.’ (A proverb.)

Kazii mbovu/ si matezo meema. ‘Bad work is better than good play.’ (A proverb.)

kazi njeema ‘a good job’

Mbene kuwa muke uyú/ ni mweema/ na nazo jamaala. ‘I think that this woman is good and beautiful.’

Mi/ nimbanyiizé/ zeema/ ziingi. ‘I did many good things for him.’

mitume meema ‘good prophets’

Muke uyu/ ni mweema. ‘This woman is good.’

mwana mweema ‘a good, nice, educated boy’

Na chiza khpolá/ we/ takufa karka mikono ya askari/ naawé/ kufa karka mikono askari/ ni njeema/ kolko kufa kaa ndala. ‘And if she does not get well, you will die at the hands of soldiers, and for you to die at the hands of soldiers is better than to die from hunger.’

Ni njeema/ tu. ‘It’s nice, good.’ (Similar in usage to: **Ni suura/ tu.**)

Niya njeema/ hutabiiba/ niyaa mbovu/ hukhariba. ‘A good intention cures, a bad intention spoils.’ (A proverb.)

rasuullaLaahi mtume mweema fiile [st.] ‘the good prophet of God has died’

Waliko waant^hu/ weema/ ka ahli yaawo/ na wiinginé/ ba. ‘They were people good to their relatives and others as well.’

rel.

w-eema n. 14 goodness, kind behavior

ka weema ziida mahaba [st.] ‘add a kind behavior to [your] love – [lit.] increase love with kind behavior’

z-eema n. 8 kindness, niceness, good deeds

Ka khisa/ zeema/ za mwaana/ wafanyiiizó/ askari/ wachimlata/ wachendra ka sultaani/ wachimwaambila/ kuwaa wo/ nt^hawa(ku)mwona/ mwaana. ‘Because of the kindness that the boy had shown them, the soldiers let him alone; they went to the sultan and told him that that did not see the boy.’

Nchikoma/ nt^hi izo/ endraani/ ka masultaani/ wa nt^hi izo/ na koðaaani/ naawo/ ka adabu/ na ka zeemá. ‘When you (pl.) reach those lands, go to the sultans of those lands, and speak with them with respect and niceness.’

Zeema/ haziwoli. ‘Kindness never goes bad.’ (A proverb.)

embe

n. 9/10 mango

Embe iyo/ ni huundru. ‘That mango is red.’

Embe izi/ nii mbiñi. ‘These mangos are unripe.’

rel.

chi-’embe (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

i-’embe (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

ma-’embe n. 6 mangos

k-eendra

v. [Sw. *enda* SSED 83] (**enzele**) go; be possible [lit. goes]

Abunawaasi/ shpaandra/ hañá/ chendra ka Harun Rashiidi. ‘Abunawaasi climbed up (the stairs) until he went to Harun Rashiidi.’

Ali/ enzele sukhuuni. ‘Ali went to the market.’

Baana/ enzele madrasaani. ‘Baana went to school.’ (One cannot make the goal into the subject of a passive version of this sentence: ***Madarasa/ yenzela (na Baana).** ‘School was gone to (by Baana).’)

Basi/ enzele/ kalent^he maduriini. ‘So he went and sat down in the bush.’

Endrá. ‘Go!’

Endra apo/ endrá. ‘Go there, that’s what you should do.’

Endrá/ ja. ‘Go and eat!’

kendra ka hima ‘to go quickly, fast, early’

Skołaaani/ muunt^hu/ suura/ kendra ka hima. ‘It is good for one to go to school early (quickly, not delaying).’

We/ kheeri/ kendra ka hima/ muskitiini. ‘You had better go quickly to the mosque.’

Endrá/ laala. ‘Go and sleep!’

Endra numbaani. ‘Go home!’ (This example shows that **endrá** has a final accent just in case it is phrase-final. Final accent in the imperative affirmative is restricted to vowel-initial **VCV** verbs and, of course, monosyllabic **CV** verbs, but only when phrase-final.)

Endra numbaani/ kaake. ‘Go to his home!’ Or: **Endrá/ numbaani/ kaake.**

Endrá/ pikaa kuja. ‘Go and cook food!’

Endraani. ‘You (plural) go!’ (Phon. Note that the encliticization of the pluralizing =*ni* removes the verb from being a trigger of final accent. Only **VCV** verbs in the imperative affirmative and monosyllabic **CV** verbs have final accent.)

Fijiri/ shtete bañera yiitú/ chenzele jaziirá/ yiingine. ‘In the morning we took our boat and we went to another island.’

Ha’endre. ‘He doesn’t go. He wouldn’t go. He won’t go (a declaration that something will not happen).’

Hamadi/ kampa Omari/ peesá/ suła kendra Mkhodiisho. ‘If Hamadi had given Omari money, he would have gone to Mogadishu.’ Or with focus on the verb: **Hamadi/ kampa/ peesá/ Omari/ suła kendra Mkhodiisho.** ‘If Hamadi had *given* money to Omari, he would have gone to Mogadishu.’ (From this example, it seems possible for the Accentual Law of Focus to be suspended in a *ka*-clause. However, note that we also recorded: **Hamadi/ kampa/ peesa/ Omari/ suła kendra Mkhodiisho.** In this version, the first complement after the focused verb fails to receive the final accent, but the final complement does. A similar possibility was recorded in relative clauses.)

Hamadi/ kampa Omari/ peesá/ peesa/ zisuła kingila amaniini. ‘If Hamadi had given *Omari* money, the money would have been secure/ in good hands.’ (In this example, where there is focus on

Omari, notice that the following complement nevertheless exhibits final accent. This phenomenon is found in *ka*-clauses, but not in the final accent associated with first and second person subjects in the present and past tenses)

Isa/ mi/ ni laazima/ keendra. ‘Now it is necessary for me to go.’

Jisaa ye/ cheendró/ shtaloo chisu/ icho. ‘As he went, he took that knife.’

Kana/ heendra/ hata Maka. ‘The mouth goes even to Mecca.’ (A proverb that suggests that talk is cheap, talk does not mean action.)

kendra akhera ‘to go to another life, i.e. to the life after death’

Omari/ kamba munt^hu nakendro akherá. ‘Omari [looks] like a man who is dying.’

Keendrake/ numbaani/ pisile ka tawala. ‘Going to his place, he passed by the sea.’

kendra hobelahobela ‘to spread rumors’

Mi/ nakhsula kendra harusini. ‘I want to go to the wedding.’

Mi/ nt^hakeendra/ Mkhodiisho. ‘I will go to Mogadishu.’ But it is also acceptable to omit the first person nasal prefix: **Mi/ takeendra/ Mkhodiisho.**

Mi/ sinakhsuula/ we/ keendra. ‘I do not want you to go.’

Mi/ skeendra. ‘I did not go.’

Nakendra nt^hiini/ kuleta zoombozá. ‘I am going down to bring my

things.’ Or with emphasis on the main verb: **Nakeendrá/ nt^hiini/ kuleta zoomboza.**

Ndraṭaa mi/ neendre/ mi/ naziwa makri zaa wake/ kolḱoo we. ‘Let me go, I know the tricks of women better than you.’

Nnakendra kumleta mwaaná. ‘I am going to bring the child (here).’ Or:

Nakeendrá/ kumleta mwaana. ‘I am going to bring the child (here).’ Or even: **Nnakendra kumlectá/ mwaana.** ‘I am going to bring the child (here).’ Or: **Nakeendrá/ kumlecta/ mwaana.** ‘I am going to bring the child (here).’

Nakeendrá/ tu/ kumeraa nyunyi. ‘I am just going to look for a bird.’

Nt^hakeendra/ numbaani. ‘He didn’t go home.’ (Compare when emphasis is on the complement: **Nt^hakendra numbaani.** ‘He didn’t go home.’)

Nt^hawakeendra. or **Want^hakeendra.** ‘They did not go.’

Nuuru/ enzele sukhuuni. ‘Nuuru went to the market.’

Ondroka/ endrá/ owá. ‘Get up and go and bathe!’

Seendré. ‘Don’t go!’ Cf. **Sendreení.** ‘(Pl.) don’t go!’

Sho/ kuwa muḱliwa/ Nureeni/ enzelo Miini. ‘Only my husband Nureeni went to Brava.’

Skeendra/ Mambasa/ umriwa. ‘I have never gone to Mombasa in my life.’

Sku mooyi/ enzele maduriini/ kuwindaa nyunyi. ‘One day he went to the country to hunt for birds.’

Tamwambila na’endre ka suriyawe. ‘She will tell him that he should go to his mistress.’

Teena/ chendra khpataa nsi/ cheendró. ‘Then he went fishing, that’s what he did.’

Wachendra numbaani. ‘They went home.’

Wamwambile mamaye Hasiibu/ kuwaa wo/ wanakendra maduriini. ‘They told Hasiibu’s mother that they were going to the forest.’

Waṭakendra ka sheekhi/ kuḱatana. ‘They will go to the sheikh to divorce.’

We/ enzelé/ so. ‘Did you go?’

Ye/ waliko cheendrapí/ yana/ pamo naa muné. ‘Where was he going yesterday together with his younger brother?’ (Possible answer: **Ye/ waliko chendra sukhuuni/ yana/ pamo naa muné.** ‘He was going to the market yesterday together with his younger brother.’

rel.

k-inenda ineenda v. take a stroll

Chiya muunt^hu/ mweepe/ kunmeera/ mwaambile/ kuwaa mi/ noloshele kinendra'ineendrá. 'If anyone comes to look for me, tell him that I went for a stroll.'

k-endreka v. p/s.

Madrasa iyo/ hayeendreki. 'This school cannot be gone to.'

k-endreloowa v. appl. pass.

Sheekhi kaleent^he jannaani/ nakuliindra kendreloowa [st.] 'Sheekhi is residing in heaven waiting for us to join him [lit. waiting to be gone to]'

k-eendrela v. appl. go to

Ali/ nt^hakuwanaazo/ hatá/ nguwo/ zaa ye/ kuvaala/ kendrela ka sultaani. 'Ali did not have even clothes for him to wear to go to the sultan.'

Sultaani/ iize/ kumendrela sarmala/ kumaambila/ endrá/ tinda muti. 'The sultan refused to go to the carpenter and tell him: go, cut down the tree!'

k-eendresha v. caus. (endresheeze)

Ali/ mwendresheze mwaana/ sukhuuni. 'Ali caused the child to go to the market.' (Syn. The periphrastic causative may also be used: **Ali/ mtile mwaana/ kendra sukhuuni.** 'Ali [lit. instilled in] the child to go to the market.')

k-endresheleza v. caus. appl. (endresheleeze)

Ali/ mwendresheleze Iisa/ mwaana/ sukhuuni. 'Ali made Iisa's child go to the market.' (Syn. The periphrastic causative may be used instead: **Ali/ mtilile Iisa/ mwaana/ kendra sukhuuni.** 'Ali [lit. instilled in] Iisa's child to go to the market.')

k-endreshelezanya v. caus. appl. rec. (-endresheleezenye)

Ali/ na Nuurú/ wa'endresheleezenye waana/ sukhuuni. 'Ali and Nuuru caused one another's children to go to the market.' (Syn. It is also possible to use the periphrastic version: **Ali/ na Nuurú/ watililene waana/ kendra sukhuuni.** 'Ali and Nuuru [lit. instilled in one another's] children to go to the market.')

k-endroowa v. pass. (enzela) be gone (Syn. Intransitive verbs in Chimiini are routinely used in an impersonal passive construction.)

hatá/ ichendroowa/ mahaala/ huviłowa Iboholi yaa Wake 'until they reached a place that is called the Pool of the Women'

Mooyi/ chihada/ natukuloowa/ na'endroowa/ na'ubuloowa. 'One (person) said: let him be taken and be gone [away with] and be killed.'

Shtumaa nt^hume/ ka apa/ na apá/ kendroowa/ kumerowa muunt^hu/ takhaadiró/ khtafsiirá/ ndroto izó. 'He sent messengers here and there to be gone to be searched for a man who would be able to interpret those dreams.'

Wotte/ chirashmanyooowa/ kaa ngoma/ na ndriimbó/ kendrowa muyiini. 'All went together with drums and songs to go to [lit. be gone to] the town.'

k-eendra

v. auxiliary verb

heendra 'perhaps'

Heendra/ kuwa Hasani/ enzele Mkhodiisho. 'It is possible that Hasani went to Mogadishu.' (Cf. **Heendra/ kuwa Hasani/ enzele Mkhodiishó.** 'It is possible that it was Hasani who went to Mogadishu.')

Heendra/ kuwa sheetaani/ ingilo kati kiinú. 'Possibly the devil has gotten between them -- i.e. possibly they are fighting.'

Heendra/ nk^hashiindrá/ nk^hazida maaliyá. 'Perhaps I will win and may add to my wealth.'

Heendra/ Omari/ kiza mraasha/ Nuuru. 'It is possible that Omari will not follow Nuuru.'

Heendra/ Omari/ kufa/ ka maraõi ayo. 'It is possible that Omari might die from that disease.'

-s-eendre lest; [pron. **seendré**]

Fakata/ seendre/ kacheleloowa. 'Run lest you be late!'

Ka jis'iyó/ nakuwoná/ ni afóali/ mi/ chiza kiziðukura ba'aði ya

ndriimbo/ nseendré/ nk^hawakirihisha wa'imbaaji. 'Therefore I see it is better that I not mention some of these songs lest I displease the singers.'

Mkuumbushe/ seendré/ kaliwala. 'Remind him lest he forget!' Cf.

Wakuumbushe/ waseendré/ kawaliwala. 'Remind them lest they forget!' Cf. **Shkuumbushe/ sicheendré/ kachiliwala.** 'Remind us lest we forget!'

Mwenye maayi/ seendré/ mwenye skunyi/ seendré. 'Sellers of water should not go, sellers of firewood should not go [to the wedding].'

Mzeele/ ndroweeze/ mwanaamke/ na nambiile/ chiza kumpa/ nguwoze/ seendré/ ye/ kayulukila/ kayendrela kaawo. 'The old man married me to the girl and he told me not to give her her clothes lest she fly herself off and take herself home.'

Nk^humbuusha/ nseendré/ nk^haliwala. 'Remind me so that I might not forget.'

nseendre/ nk^hatuluka imtihaani 'lest I fail the examination'

Nt^hakhukumbusa seendre/ kaliwala. 'I will remind you lest you forget.' Cf. **Nt^hakinkumbusha nseendre/ kanliwala.** 'I will remind you (pl.) lest you forget!'

we/ seendré/ kafa ka ooni 'lest you die of thirst'

need to review accentual pattern... is there final accent in first and second person forms of -s-eendre??

mw-ene=w-e (w-)

n. 1/2 [cf. Sw. *mwenyewe* SSED 86] its owner; oneself, reflexive; [pron. **m(w)enewe**, but **mwenewe** may also be heard] (Morph. This item is an idiosyncratic replacement for the expected ***mwenye=we** 'his owner', utilizing the nasal dental nasal **n** rather than the alveopalatal **ny**. The stem **mw-ene=**, however, can only be used with the third person singular enclitic; no form like ***mwenewa** or ***mwenewo** etc. is possible.)

Basi/ we/ mwenewe/ mmerejaa muke/ mweema/ nataku'ajibó. 'So you must look for a good woman for me who will please you.'

Iyi/ ni raadiyo/ isho wenewe. 'This is Free Radio [lit. radio without its owners].'

Mi/ mwenewe/ niwaazilé. 'I myself planted it [e.g. a tree].'

Mwenewe/ ilaliile/ salaama/ chiliini. 'He put himself to sleep peacefully on the bed.'

Numba iyi/ mwenewe/ safiriile. 'This house's owner took a trip.'

Numba iyi/ wenewe/ wasafiriile. 'The owners of this house took a trip.'

si/ wenewe 'we ourselves'

zibuku zaa mi/ namwiwo mwenewe 'the books that I know the owner

of...'

zibuku zaa mi/ nna'iwo wezibuku zaa mi/ nna'iwo wenewé... 'the books

that I know the owners of...'

Zoombo/ zimrudilile menewe. 'Things have gone back to the owner (but they were not supposed to have been returned).' Or: **Zoombo/ schimrudila menewe.**

eeni

n. [Sw. n. *aina*, v. *aini* SSED 6; Ar.] kind, type, material thing

variant form: **eyni**

eeni/ ya bulú 'blue kind'

eeni/ ya matete 'spotted kind'

eeni gani 'what kind?'

eeni/ suura 'good kind'

eeni

n. eye

nijisi ya eni ondroscha nafsiye/ na yingine ineenza maayi iluye [st.]

‘something unclean that is visible to the eye, remove the thing itself, and another (unclean thing) run water over it’ (Note: **nijisi ya eeni** refers to an impurity that can be seen with the eye, while **nijisi ya hissa** (or **hissi**) refers to other types of impurities which you can detect by using different senses -- an example could be pollution by urine or an alcoholic beverage.)

m(w)-enye (m-)

n. 1/2 [Sw. *mwenye* SSED 85] owner, one who possesses; possessing, owning; [pron. **mwenye** or **menye**] (Usage: It should be noted that the construction **mwenye** + noun is widely used to form adjectives where Chimiini does not have one available; e.g. there is no adjective ‘hungry’ formed from the noun **ndala** ‘hunger’, hence we have **mwenyee ndala** ‘someone hungry’, and there is no adjective ‘strong’ from **nguvu**, thus we have **mwenyee nguvu** ‘someone strong’.)

Apo/ ye/ shkasa khabari/ ya kuwa sultaani/ wa muuyi/ uyu/ ni muunt^hu/ msuura/ nt^ho/ na ni muunt^hu/ mwenye akhili/ niingi. ‘There he heard the news that the sultan of this town was a very nice man and was a man possessing a lot of intelligence.’

Muke mwenye miimba/ hamtaandi/ mweka uzele. ‘A pregnant woman does not insult one who attends her during the period after giving birth.’

chiti chenye milu mitatu ‘a chair with three legs’; **ziti zenye milu mitatu**

‘chairs with three legs’

munt^hu mwenye aqili ‘a man who has intelligence’

munt^hu mwenye maali ‘a man with wealth’

munt^hu mwenye zibuuku ‘a man owning books’

mwenye maayi ‘one who sells water’

Mwenyee ndala/ haataali. ‘A hungry man does not choose.’ (A proverb.)

Mwenye ngamiila/ chimuza msaafiri. ‘The owner of the camel asked the traveller.’

Mwenyee nguvu/ mpise. ‘A strong man, let him pass.’ (A proverb.)

Mwenye shtoka/ haatowi/ skunyi. ‘The one with an axe does not lack firewood.’ (A proverb.)

mwenye zibuuku ‘someone having books’; **wenye zibuuku** ‘people having

books’

Mzele Simsini/ chimvila mwaana/ mwenye markabu/ mwaana/ chiya. ‘Old Simsini called the boy, the owner of the ship, and the boy came.’

mwenye amri ‘ruler’

E/ we/ mwenye amri/ mwana uyu/ waawaye/ ni muunt^hu/

mzeele/ nt^ho/ ka miyaaka. ‘O you ruler, this child’s father is a very old man with years.’

mwenye skunyi ‘one who sells firewood’

Mwenye sufuriya/ chiwona chisufuriya chihabba/ ndrani yaake. ‘The owner of the pot saw the little pot inside it.’

Nnamsula mwenye nyunyi izi. ‘I want the owner of these birds.’

Nt^hampatapi/ mi/ mwenyee nyunyi? ‘Where can I find the owner of the birds?’

Pamo na waant^hu/ awó/ wawaliko watumishi/ wa sultaani/ mwenye nt^hi iyi. ‘Together with those people were the servants of the sultan, the owner of this country.’

Suufi/ waliko mubjaana/ mwenyee nguvu/ na utuuví. ‘Suufi was a youth possessing strength and gentleness.’

We/ ni muunt^hu/ mwenye kaazi. ‘You are a busy man.’

Ye/ ni mwenye zibuuku. ‘He is the owner of books.’

m-eenza (w-)*

n. 1/2 [Sw. *mwenzi* SSED 84] friend; [pron. **mweenza** or **meenza**] (The Chijini form of this noun, [nzámw^e] establishes that *nza* is a syllable with a pre-nasalized consonant as onset, since *nza* is transported as a unit to initial position in the word.)

variant form: **mweenzi** (Phon. Nominals with human reference, formed from verbs by the suffix **-i**, are common in Swahili, but their use in Chimwiini is less common and perhaps represents a Swahili influence.)

Apo/ ndilaani/ jisa maraa kaandra/ Hasani/ dirkameene/ na watumishi/ weenziwe. ‘There outside, just like the first time, Hasani met the servants, his colleagues.’

Apo/ zamaani/ siimba/ mooyi/ naa mp^hisi/ na sungurá/ wawaliko weenza. ‘Once upon a time, a lion, hyena, and hare were friends.’

Ba’adi yaa sala/ kuḷa mooyi/ humḷazima kendra kuzura wazaaziwe/ ahliye/ na weenzawé. ‘After the prayer (on the **idi ya wamuusi**) everyone is obliged to go to visit his parents, his relatives, and his friends.’

Haaji/ mweenzawe/ nt^ho/ Abdi/ husafira ka wiingi. ‘Haaji’s best friend Abdi travels a lot.’

kh-fanya weenza ‘to make friends’

Muunt^hu/ siwo/ suura/ want^hu weengi/ huletaa dhibu. ‘It is not good for one to make many friends, it can bring problems.’

Maali/ yamḷasile/ na weenza/ na ahli/ wamḷasile. ‘Wealth left him, and friends and relatives left him (i.e. he lost his wealth and his friends and relatives).’ (Observe that the **na** which is co-ordinating sentences does not trigger final accent on the first element of the conjoined subject, **weenza**, but the **na** that conjoins **weenza** with **ahli** does trigger final accent.)

Muunt^hu/ humdeydeyo mweenziwé/ huwa kana yeeye. ‘He who imitates his companion becomes like him.’ (A proverb.)

Munt^hu movu/ hafanyoowi/ mweenza. ‘A bad person is not made a friend.’ (A proverb.)

mwaana/ na mweenzá ‘a boy and a friend’; **mwaana/ na weenzá** ‘a boy and friends’

mwaana/ na mweenzaeé ‘a boy and his friend’; **mwaana/ na weenzawé** ‘a boy and his friends’

mwana wa mweenzawe ‘child of his friend’ or **mweenzawe/ mwaanawe** or [in the speech of MI] **mwanawe mweenzawe**

mwenza mooyi ‘one friend’

Mweenza/ Nuuru/ mp^heele/ mi/ peesa. ‘Friend, Nuuru gave me money.’

(In initial position, a vocative – like all sentence initial phrases – represents the pitch peak of the sentence. There is ordinarily a small pause separating the vocative from what follows. The subject noun **Nuuru** in this example is not downstepped relative to the vocative, but actually rather similar in pitch height. The emphasized verb is not downstepped, although the subsequent nominal elements are. The simple yes-no question: **mweenza/ Nuuru/ khupeele/ peesá?** ‘Friend, did Nuuru give you money?’

Mwenza olosheló/ wa mwaanawa/ ni Nuuru. ‘My child’s friend who left is Nuuru.’

Mwenza wa mwaanawa/ oloshela. ‘The friend of my child left.’

Mweenza/ wa mwanawa olosheló/ ni Nuuru. ‘The friend of my child who left is Nuuru.’

Mwenza wa mwaanawa/ olosheló/ is Nuuru. ‘The friend of my child who left (i.e. the friend left) is Nuuru.’

mwenza wa mwaanawe ‘a friend of his child’ or **mwaanawe/ mweenzawe** or [in the speech of MI] **mwezawe mwaanawe**

mweenzawá ‘O my friend’; **weenzawá** ‘O my friends’

Mweenzawo/ ndiyé/ khubḷó. ‘Your friend, he is the one who will kill you.’ (A proverb.)

Ni mwenza wa naani/ uyu. ‘Is the friend of whom, this one?’ Or: **Ni**

mweenzawe/ naani/ uyu. ‘Is the friend of whom, this one? [lit. is his/her friend whom, this one?’

Nuuru/ mp^heele/ mi/ peesa/ mweenza. ‘Nuuru gave me money, friend.’ (In final position, a vocative is radically lowered in pitch. In this example, where the verb is emphasized, the nominal elements preceding the vocative are also downstepped. The simple yes-no question is illuminating:

Nuuru/ khupeele/ peesá/ mweenza? ‘Did Nuuru give you money, friend?’ Notice that the out-of-focus complement ‘money’ undergoes Accent Shift, but the vocative does not. The explanation is that in any case, the vocative is not part of the focus structure of the sentence; there is no contrast between whether the vocative is in the focus or not. Only contrastively out-of-focus elements are subject to Accent Shift.)

Oloka ka mwenzu uyu/ chimaliza oloka ka mwenzu uyu. ‘Go from this friend to that friend.’

Omari/ na Alí/ ni weenza. ‘Omari and Ali are friends.’

Siimba/ chijiiba/ siwo/ mbovu/ mweenza. ‘Lion answered him (Rabbit): that’s not a bad idea, friend.’

Wakomelopo muyiini/ Hasiibu/ shfaanya/ jisa mweenzawe/ sultani waa noka/ mwambiilo. ‘When they reached the town, Hasiibu did just as his friend the king of the snakes told him (to do).’

Walazilopó/ ka apó/ kila/ mooyi/ chimkhubura mweenzawe/ na mweenzá/ chimkhubura mweenzawe. ‘When they left from there, each one [of them] informed his friend, and the friend informed his friend.’

Wawiliwe/ basi/ ni weenza. ‘So the two of them were friends.’

Weenza/ kana chaala/ na shpeté. ‘They are as good friends as a finger and a ring.’

Weenza/ kana muunt^{hu}/ na shaatiyé. ‘They are friends, like a man and his shirt.’

wenza wawili ‘two friends’

Weenza/ wotte/ wamfakeete/ na kila/ waa ye/ olosheló/ kumera chiint^{hu}/ kaaké/ mchimbize/ ka ma^{ta}ando. ‘All his friends ran away from him, and anyone whom he went to looking for something from him sent him away with insults.’

Ye/ waliko mfanyize mweenza/ mgeeni/ mooyi/ uje ndreteleloo dhibú. ‘She made a friend, a foreigner, who brought me difficulty.’

rel.

chi-w-eeenza n. 7 in a friendly manner

Nimpele salaamú/ chiweenzá. ‘I greeted him in a friendly manner.’

i-j-eeenza (*mi-j-*) n. 5/4 aug.

u-w-eeenza n. 14 friendship

khfunga uweenza ‘to establish a friendship’

khtinda uweenza ‘to break off a friendship’

Nt^hinzile na Hamadi/ uweenza. ‘I cut off my relationship with *Hamadi*.’ Or: **Nt^hiinzilé/ uweenza/ na Hamadi.** ‘I cut off my relationship with *Hamadi*.’ Or: **Nt^hiinzilé/ na Hamadi/ uweenza.** ‘I cut off with *Hamadi* my relationship.’

kuvunda uweenza ‘to break off a friendship’

Muunt^{hu}/ siwo/ suura/ kuvunda uweenza/ na meenzawe. ‘It is not good for a person to break off a friendship with his friend.’

Omari/ vuzile uweenza/ na Hamadi. ‘Omari broke off friendship with *Hamadi*.’

Uweenza/ wiitu/ ukomele apa/ waraaði. ‘Our friendship has ended here; goodbye.’

mw-eeenzi+poss. (*w-*)

n., adj. 1/2 [Sw. *mwenzi* SSED 84] fellow, companion

Chiwavila weenziwe. ‘He called his companions.’

Mwana waa muke/ mwenopo mweenziwé/ naakulá chimwaambila... ‘When the child of the woman saw her companion crying, she said to her...’

Mwiizi/ humshiikó/ ni mwiizi/ mweenziwe. ‘The one who catches a thief is his fellow thief [lit. thief, his companion].’

k-eeepuka

v. [Sw. *epuka* SSED 86] (**epushile**) avoid, get out of the way of, dodge, move away from

Ali/ mwepushile Nuuru. ‘Ali stayed away from Nuuru.’

kepuka khatari ‘to avoid danger’

kepuka lkuta ‘to move away from the wall’

kepuka loomu ‘to avoid blame’

Mi/ isa/ nch^haanza/ khfanya iyi/ khulozaa we/ mwaana/ oyo/ muuyi/

mzimawe/ utakhkooða/ na waant^hu/ wote/ wako naa mi/

watakuneepuka. ‘If I now begin to do this, to have you marry that boy, the whole town will talk, and all the people who are with me, will go away from me.’

Mwaana/ epushile naa muḷo. ‘The child moved away from the fire.’

Nuuru/ epushilee muḷo. ‘Nuuru avoided the fire.’

Sababu yaa mi/ khfuraha/ kila/ nch^hilangala/ ka kubli/ ni ka khisa/ mi/

huwona/ kuwaa dhibu/ ije/ inepushile. ‘The reason that I rejoice

each time I look to the right is because I see that those troubles (e.g. caused by the wife who had lived there) have avoided me.’

Wa’epuke! ‘Avoid them!’

Yaaquubu/ wawaye Yuusufu/ ni mooyi/ karka mitume/ watumila na

mwajiitú/ keendra/ konyeza waant^hu/ ndila toosani/ wanapate

ki’iraasha/ na kuwa’onyeza ndila mp^hotofú/ wanapate

kiyeepuka. ‘Jacob, Joseph’s father, was one among the prophets

who were sent by God to go and show people the straight path so

that they could follow it and to show the crooked path so that they

could avoid it.’ (Phon. Although the material following **watumila**

na mwajiitú would seem to be contained within the relative clause

initiated by **watumila...**, the final accent associated with the

relative verb does not extend past **mwajiitu**. Ordinarily, final

accent extends to the end of a relative clause. Perhaps the

complexity of the conjoined infinitival complement plays some

role here in curtailing the projection of final accent, but this is a

matter requiring further research.) (Syn. The construction:

/wawaye Yuusufu/ ‘Yuusufu’s father’ is characteristic of MI’s

speech and can be found in many examples in this lexicon.

However, most of our current consultants do not accept this

construction, using instead **/Yuusufu/ waawaye/**, a construction

that MI employs as well. For those speakers who only accept the N/

N=poss structure, a word sequence such as **Yaaquubu/ waawaye/**

Yuusufu would be understood as meaning ‘Jacob’s father, Joseph’

and **Yaaquubu/ Yuusufu/ waawaye** would be understood as

‘Jacob, Joseph’s father’.)

rel.

k-epukana v. (**epukeene**) stay away from

Mwaana/ epukene naa muḷo. ‘The child stayed away from the fire.’

Mwaana/ epukene na mweenzawe. ‘The child stayed away from his friend.’

k-epukika v. p/s. able to be avoided

Fulaani/ ha’epukiki. ‘So-and-so cannot be avoided.’

k-epukila v. appl. move away with, for

Nt^hakuwanaazo/ nguvu/ zaa ye/ kepukila naa muḷo. ‘He did not have the

strength with which to move away from the fire.’ (Syn. It should be

noted that the applied verb here cannot have a ‘directional’ sense,

thus the ungrammaticality of ***Ye/ epukililee muḷo.** ‘He moved

away from the fire.’)

k-epukoowa v. pass. (**epushila**) be avoided, moved away from

Muḷo/ wepushila na mwaana. ‘The fire was gotten away from by the child.’

Nuuru/ epushila na Ali. ‘Nuuru was stayed away from by Ali.’

k-epupula v. tr. [Sw. *epua* SED 86] (**epiile**) remove s.t. (e.g. a pot or dish) from the fire, the stove

- variant form: **ku'epula**
Mwepile mwaana/ naa muḷo. 'He moved the child away from the fire.'
- k-epusha* v. caus. (**epushiize**) move something or someone, induce etc. someone to move away; keep someone from something
Epushizee chiṭa/ naa muḷo. 'He moved the chair away from the fire.'
Mwepushize mwaana/ naa muḷo. 'He moved the child away from the fire; he induced, persuaded, etc., the child to move away from the fire.'
- k-epushana* v. caus. rec. avoid one another
Waana wa'epusheene. 'The children avoided one another.'
- k-epushika* v. caus. p/s.
k-epushiliza v. caus. appl. (**epushiliize**)
Nuuru/ mwepushilize Suufi/ mwaana/ na aḍaabu. 'Nuuru caused Suufi's child to move away from (hell)fire.'
- k-epushilizanya* v. caus. appl. rec.
Nuuru/ na Suufi/ wa'epushilizenye waana/ na aḍaabu. 'Nuuru and Suufi caused one another's children to move away from (hell)fire.'
- k-epushoowa* v. caus. pass. (**epushiiza**) be moved away from something
- ch-eepuwe* n. a small-sized drum that was used in the **sh-timiri** dance and was beaten on both ends
- ch-eepuwu* (z-) v n. 7/8 [Sw. *chapeo* "European hat" **SSED** ; Port.] a kind of European hat
- ku-'era* v. [Som.] (**ereele**) be on the verge of crying
Jisaa we/ bishiloo nk^heḷé/ haṭá/ Omari/ naku'era. 'The way that you are shouting, even Omari is on the verge of crying.'
- rel.
ku-'eresha v. caus. (**eresheeze**)
Siwo/ suura/ muunt^hu/ kum'eresha walaaliwe. 'It is not good for a man to bring his brothers to tears.'
- ku-'ereshoowa* v. caus. pass.
Siwo/ suura/ muunt^hu/ ku'ereshoowa. 'It is not good for a man to be brought to tears.'
- ku-'eroowa* v. pass.
Nk^heḷezo/ hu'eroowa. 'Your loud noises, shouting makes one on the verge of crying.'
- Eeriile** n. a town, about twenty-five kilometers north of Brava on the road to Magadisho; in the rainy season, the road gets very muddy at **Eeriile** and it is common for buses, trucks, etc., to break down, forcing people to walk to their destination
Eeriile/ ni shṭuulo/ chihabba. 'Eeriile is a small village.'
- erkole** n. Hercules
Nazoo nguvu/ kana erkole. 'He is as strong as Hercules.'
- eroplano** n. [Sw. *eroplani* SSED 86; Eng. *airplane*] airplane
- w-eeru* adj. [cf. **-eelu**] good [cl.1]
Maana/ haṭaa chiwa maana/ muke/ weeru/ huwa siinfa. 'Until a child becomes (fully) a child, a good woman is like caulking (that holds things together).' (A proverb; we originally recorded this proverb with **meema** 'good', but one consultant observed that in Chimbalazi, an older form of Chimiini, the word **weeru** was used and continues to be used in this proverb.)
- ku-'eeta* v. (**eteele**) blame someone
Haaruni/ hupenda ku'eṭa waant^hu. 'Haaruni likes to blame (other) people (for things that happen).'
- Na teena/ sin'eeṭé/ sihadé/ kuwaa mi/ sikhaambila.** 'And don't ever blame me, don't say that I did not tell you.' (Morph. MI regularly elided the infinitive prefix **ku** when it

precedes the second person singular object prefix, hence **sikhaambila** in the present example rather than **skukhaambila**.)

rel.

ku-'eetela v. appl.

ku-'eetisha v. caus.

ku-'etoowa v. pass.

Naku'etoowaní. 'What am I being blamed for?'

Siwo/ suura/ muunthu/ ku'etoowa/ bilaa sababu. 'It is not good for a person to be blamed for no reason.'

Yaa we/ takhfaanyó/ hulawili/ takhku'etoowá. 'Whatever you do you will not get away with it, you will be blamed.' **final accent on last phrase needs to be explained**

eeṭi

n. 10 blame

Chiintthu/ hupita/ eeṭi/ husalaa numa. 'Something happens, blame remains behind (i.e. after something has happened and is over, blame remains behind).' (A proverb.)

Omari/ eeṭize/ niingi. 'Omari's [lit. blames] fault-findings are many.'

ch-eṭi (z-)

n. 7/8 [Sw. *cheti* (vy-) "note, ticket, passport, certificate, 'chit', etc." SSED 55 Hind.] permit, license (particularly any commercial license, as for a shop, import-export)

variant form: **chati**

cheti chaa duka 'shop license'

khṭindaa cheti '[lit. cut] get a license'

Nthaná/ cheti. 'He has no license.'

ch-eetezo (z-)

n. 7/8 a small clay receptacle in which a fire is put and aromatic leaves burnt (the *cheetezo* is passed around at a wedding or funeral, as part of the traditional customs of the **want^hu wa miini**)

eyni

n. [see under *eeni*] kind, sort

ku-'ezata

v. be respected, glorified

variant form: **ku'eza**

Muunthu/ hakhu'ezi/ naayé/ ha'ezoowi. 'The person who does not respect you is not respected.' (A proverb.)

rel.

ku-'ezeka v. (**ezeshale**) be respected, glorified

variant form: **ku'ezika (ezishile)**

ku-'ezesha v. (**ezesheeze**) respect

variant form: **ku'ezisha (ezishiize)**

ku-'ezoowa v. pass.

rel. nom.

m-'ezesha (wa-) n. 1/2 one who respects

ezi

n. respect, dignity; might; glory (Phon. This item was sometimes recorded with gemination: [**ezzi**]. The status of gemination as both a stylistic and a lexical matter requires more research.)

variant form: **izi**

ezi na na'musi nda Mtume Mhamadi [st.] 'dignity and respect are due [lit. of] the Prophet Mohammad'

mwajiitu/ mwenye ezi 'Almighty God'

mwenye ezi 'a respectful person; the possessor of glory, the most Glorious one (a title of God)'

Na mwene sultaani/ wa mayahuudi/ tukila kaa chiti/ cha ezi/ na chinumeché/ wamrashiizó/ ni mawaziiriwe/ na wazele wa

muuyi/ na waant^hú/ winginewé. 'And he saw the sultan of the Jews being carried on a chair for the mighty, and behind him the ones who followed were his ministers and the chiefs of the town'

and other people.’

Nt^haná/ ezi. ‘He has no respect for other people.’

m(w)-eezi (mi-)

n. month; [pron. **mweezi** or **meezi** (sg.), **miyeezi** or **myeezi** or **meezi** (pl.)] (Phon. Because the majority of present day Chimiini speakers seem to elide *w* after *m*, the [cl.3] singular form of this noun is pronounced **meezi** and falls together with the plural form **meezi**: for example, **mezi mooyi** ‘one month’ and **mezii mine** ‘four months’.)

Abunawaasi/ kaleent^he/ maduriini/ kaa muda/ wa meezi/ miwili.

‘Abunawaasi stayed in the country for two months.’

Ba’ada ya miyeezi/ haba/ sultaani/ chifa. ‘After a few months the king died.’

Funziila miyezi mitatu. ‘He was imprisoned for three months.’

Islaamu/ wote/ hufuunga/ nt^hangú/ awali ya mweezi/ hatá/ akhiriye. ‘All Muslims fast from the first day of the month (of Ramadhan) until its end.’

kuliindra/ kana meezi/ kiindama ‘to wait for like the moon being born (i.e. to await s.t. that is certain to happen)’

meezi mine na sku ikumi ni sharti [st.] ‘four months and ten (days) are required (for a woman to stay inside on the death of her husband)’

meezi miṭaano/ siṭa/ jis’iyo ‘five, six months, something like that’

Muda ya meezi/ liinziló. ‘He waited for a period of one month.’

muda wa miyezi mitatu ‘a period of three months’

mwezi muusi ‘the first day of the month’ (cf. **mwezi piili** ‘the second day of the month’)

Mweezi/ nt^hawukhpita. ‘A month didn’t pass.’

mwezi wa iwa ‘sun’

mwezi wa piili ‘the second month’

mwezi wa weelu (or contracted: **mwezaa weelu**) ‘moon’

myezi miwili ‘two months’

ni sunna khfuunga mweezi keendra aarafa [st.] ‘it is **sunna** to fast on the ninth day of the month of **aarafa**’

Nt^ha’ukpita/ mweezi/ iisha/ chibaraṭana na mwiimbili/ inaye Mwenye.

‘Not a month passed [before] Iisha became acquainted with a young man named Mwenye.’

Ramaḏaani/ ni mwezi wa soomu. ‘Ramadhan is the month of fasting.’

ku-fa

v. [Sw. *fa* SSED 88] (**fiile**) die; n. death

Fiile ka maraḏi ya khalbi. ‘He died from heart disease.’

Fiile/ yè. ‘Died, he.’ (Phon. In the simple yes-no question, the right-dislocated pronoun is raised somewhat in pitch in comparison to the statement. The exclamatory question shifts the accent in the verb: **Fiilé/ yê!?**)

Fiile/ so/ ye. ‘He died, didn’t he?’ or **Fiile/ ye/ so.** (Phon. We have not studied the intonational pattern of sentences containing **so** in great detail, but it is striking that in the latter sentence, a final **so** eliminates downstepping from the sentence. In the first case above, **so** is lowered in pitch relative to the verb.)

Fiiló/ yaake/ imaliize. ‘He who has died, his (affairs, issues, concerns, etc.) are finished.’ (A proverb.)

Ha’isii kufá/ nalangale khabri. ‘The one who does not know death, let him look at the grave.’ (A proverb.)

Kana/ kufa leeló/ kheeri/ kufa keesho. ‘Instead of dying today, it is better to die tomorrow.’ (A proverb, reminding that it is better to be alive than dead.)

Khuzaaziló/ fiile. ‘The one gave birth to you is dead.’

Kilaa maraḏi/ inayoo dawa/ shokuwaa kufa. ‘Every disease has a remedy’

except death.'

kufa himma 'to lose enthusiasm'

kufa ilaanzi 'to be asleep (of body parts)'

kufa jisa suura 'to die well -- i.e. to die in bed, surrounded by relatives and uttering the **shahaada** as one's last words'

kufa ka shahaada 'to die believing in God and pronouncing the **shahaada**'

kufaa ndala or **kufa kaa ndala** 'to die of hunger' (There is perhaps a contrast between **kufaa ndala** and **kufa kaa ndala**. The former suggests that someone died from hunger even though food was available (e.g. he was a miser and did not want to spend money to get it) while the latter conveys the idea of starving to death from lack of food.)

Wazele awaje/ wafilee ndala. 'Those old men died of hunger.'

Kufa/ nt^hayná/ dawa. 'Death has no medicine, cure.' Is this a proverb?

kufa ooni or **kufa ka ooni** 'to die of thirst (with perhaps the same contrast mentioned above regarding **ndala**)'

kufa qalbi 'to lose enthusiasm and ability to function properly [lit. to lose heart]'

kufaa ziya 'to be weak'

kufaake 'his/her/its death'

Eelo/ kufaake/ imhuzunishize kila muunt^hu/ numbaani. 'The gazelle's death saddened everyone in the house.'

Maana/ hufa/ mzima/ hufa. 'A child dies, an adult dies (anyone can die).'

Is this a proverb?

Martⁱ/ ilo ka Mkhodiishó/ fiiló/ waliko Nureeni. 'The guest who came from Mogadishu who died was Nureeni.' Or: **Martⁱ/ oo ilo ka Mkhodiishó/ fiiló/ waliko Nureeni.**

Martⁱ/ oo fiiló/ waliko (ni) Nureeni. 'The guest who died was Nureeni.'

Or: **Martⁱ oo fiiló/ waliko (ni) Nureeni.**

Mubⁱ/ ba'ada ya mukeewe/ kufa/ nt^hakuwa/ teena/ muunt^hu. 'The man, after his wife died, was never again a human being.'

Mtiyaa kufa/ kufa/ humraasha. 'One who is afraid to die, death follows him.' (A proverb.)

Muke/ chimwambilaa noka/ kalaant^ha/ nt^hini yaa chili/ nt^hini ya godoro/ chilaala/ lawa/ mlume naafe. 'The woman said to the snake: sit under the bed, under the mattress, and when he goes to sleep, come out, and sting him to death.'

Mwaalimu/ fiile. 'The teacher died.' Cf. **File mwaalimu.** 'A teacher died.'

Cf. also: **Fiile/ uje mwaalimu.** 'That teacher died.'

Mwaana/ wa maskiini/ fiile. 'The child of a poor [family] died.'

Nt^hakhulata fa/ paapa/ apa. 'I will let you die right here.'

Nuuru/ fiile. 'Nuuru has died.' Or: **Nuuru/ fiiló.** 'It is Nuuru who has died.'

Sifé. 'Don't die!' **Sifeeni.** '(Pl.) don't die!'

Sifi. 'I do not die.' Cf. the rest of the human subject paradigm: **Hufi.** 'You do not die.' **Haafi.** 'He does not die.' **Haachifi.** 'We do not die.' **Haanifi.** 'You (pl.) do not die.' **Hawaafi.** 'They do not die.'

Wazele awaje/ wafilee ndala. 'Those old men died of hunger.'

We/ chingila apa/ takuufa. 'If you enter here you will die.'

We/ nakhsulaa mi/ nifé/ pata kulolowa na sultaani. 'You want that I die so that you get married by the sultan.'

Yampete maraði/ fiile. 'She fell sick and died.'

rel.

kh-fiilila v. appl. [Sw. *filia* SSED 88] (**fiilile**)

Fiilile maraði ya khalbi. 'He died of heart disease.'

kh-fiילוowa v. appl. pass.

Lizile kama munt^hu fiilila. 'He cried like a man bereaved of someone.'

Maama/ chila/ apo/ chimwambila mwaana/ sooloké/ mwaanawá/ waana/ watatu/ wanfiilila/ mi/ spendi/ na mwiinginé/ kunfiilila. 'Mother cried, then she said to her son, don't go, my son, three children have died on me, I do not want another to die on me.'

kh-filoowa v. appl. pass.

Apo/ zamaani/ ishiize/ mwaana/ mooyi/ waliko filiila na wazeelé/ wawiliwé. ‘Once upon a time there lived a boy who had been orphaned by both of his parents.’

kh-fiisha v. caus. [Sw. *fisha* SSED 88] weaken, exhaust, use up

khfishaa ziya ‘to use up s.o.’s stamina, weaken s.o.’s stamina

kh-fishiliza v. caus. appl.

kh-fishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ku-foowa v. pass. (**fiila**) (Phon. Observe that the prefix does not elide its vowel in front of the stem *-foowa*, in contrast to the other examples where *-fa* has been extended. The failure of the *u* to elide in **kufa** is due to the following stem being a monosyllable. One might have thought that *-foowa* would trigger the loss of the vowel.)

Kana kufowa leeló/ kheeri/ kufowa keesho. ‘Instead of dying today, it’s better to die tomorrow.’

Kufoowa/ nii ndila. ‘To die is a path (that one must take).’ A proverb?

rel. nom.

chi-fo n. 7 mortality

(w)u-fo n. 14 dying

faa’izi

adj. [Ar. *fā’iz* W 732] successful

munt^hu faa’izi ‘successful man’; cf. also **want^hu faa’izi, chijana shfaa’izi, zijana sfaa’izi**

faabrika (ma-)

n. [It. *fabbrica*] factory

Maduka/ mafaabrika/ na mahafisá/ yote/ hufungoowa/ ka muda wa skuu nt^hatu. ‘Shops, factories, and offices are all closed for a period of three days.’

Faabrika/ ya Akuwa n. the mineral water plant in Brava, located at the edge of **Buulo/ Baazi**; note the use of **akuwa** from Italian *acqua* ‘water’; this water plant was an Italian project and produced and bottled the “Salus” water; it was later bought by a Bravanese family and the former owner moved to London

fachakh

ideo. of wetness

Sivaalé/ nguwo iyo/ ni fachakh! ‘Don’t put on that cloth, it is wet!’

fadhi

n. 9/10 [Som. *fadhi* DSI 212] meeting; **class session; dwelling; fact of being seated**
variant form: **fadi**

chiza khkukutala nijisi nafsiye/ wala chiza kuguura karka fadhiye [st.]
‘otherwise (if one does not clean oneself properly after defecating) the unclean thing dries up on its own, or does not move from its place’

fadhi iyi ‘this meeting’

fadhi izi ‘these meetings’

Fadhi/ leelo/ ya wazeele/ ibakheete. ‘The meeting today of the elders has been cancelled.’

fadhiini in the meeting’

huhuzuniko ni darsi/ fadhi ishtali’oowa [st.] ‘as will his daily circle of students/ and the lessons he used to teach’

ka fadhiini

Fulaani/ pete maali/ ka fadhiini. ‘So-and-so made money without moving (i.e. right at his place).’

Wa’ondroshele ka fadhiini. ‘They moved out of the meeting.’

wamo huwa’arzuq ka fadhiini/ na wiingine huwafaanya maskiini [st.] some (God) cares for their needs while they are at their own place, and others he makes them poor’

kuvundaa fadhi ‘to break up a meeting’

kuwekaa fadhi ‘to hold a meeting’

Sku mooyi/ mp^hana/ ziweshelee fadhi. ‘One day the rats held a meeting.’

Leelo/ yikoo fadhi. ‘Today there is a meeting.’

mane yashṭiindika shpata yaqini/ istanja laakini siwo fadhiini [st.] when the urine stops (flowing) and you know for sure it has, then clean up, but not in the same place'

Nakhuloombá/ mbekelaa fadhi. 'I beg you, hold a meeting for me.' (Phon. The initial *w* of the verb stem *-weekela* 'hold for' is hardened to *b* after the first person object prefix.)

nt^haná/ fadhi 'there is no place'

Mwana oyo/ nt^haná/ fadhi. 'That child is always moving from place to place (i.e. there is not a place where he stays).'

Nt^haná/ fadhi/ yaa ye/ kuweka waant^hu. 'He has no place for him to put people.'

Wachiwekaa fadhi/ ya piili. 'They held a second meeting.'

faḍaaha

n. 9/10 [cf. Sw. *fedheha* SSED 93; Ar. *faḍḥ* and *faḍaha* W 717] scandal, disgrace
variant forms: **faḍiiba** [Ar. *faḍīḥa* W 717] and **faḍeeha**

Leelo/ Omari/ kaawó/ numbaani/ itulushile faḍeeha. 'Today at Omari's house there was a big scandal/ disgrace.'

Leelo/ ra'iisi/ Niksoni/ ba'adaa ye/ kuwona kuwa ni njeema/ kuliwala sha'ani za Wotageta/ na faḍiihaz... 'Today, President Nixon, after seeing that it was best to forget about Watergate and its scandals...'

nimo karka ḍana nafsiya faḍaaha [song] 'I am (living) with suspicion, a disgrace for/to myself'

faḍiila

n. 9/10 [Sw. *fadhili* SSED 89; Ar. *faḍīla* W 718] honor, dignity; an act which is good and merits reward; appreciation; advantage

ilmu faḍiilaze karka Qur'aani/ karka hadiithi za Mtume Adnaani [st.] 'the principles of *ilmu* are found in the Quran and in the *hadiithi* of the Prophet'

munt^hu mwenye faḍiila 'a man who is appreciative, grateful'

mzuure Abaḍe Khadija karka Makka/ pata faḍiila niingi pata baraka [st.] 'visit Lady Khadija in Mecca/ in order to obtain many favors and blessings'

Nt^haná/ faḍiila. 'He has no dignity.'

pata faḍiila niingi pata baraka [st.] 'so that you get much honor and blessing'

kh-faḍiila

v. [Sw. *fadhili* SSED 89; Ar. *faḍala* and *faḍila* W 717] (**faḍiiliile**) prefer, favor

Jaama/ nakhfaḍilani. 'What does Jaama prefer?'

Mi/ hufaḍiila khkalaant^ha. 'I prefer to stay.'

Mi/ humfaḍiila Nuuru. 'I prefer Nuuru.'

Mi/ nakhfaḍiila keendrá. 'I prefer to go.'

mooja mfaḍiiliile ka kumpa maqaamu/ ya mitume yotte ndiye khiṭaamu [st.] 'God preferred him by giving him high prestige, among all the prophets he is the last one'

Ye/ hufaḍiila ilmu/ siwo/ maali. 'He prefers knowledge not wealth.'

Ye/ suḷa khfaḍiilaa si/ keendra. 'He would prefer for us to leave.'

rel.

kh-faḍiiloowa v. pass. [Sw. *fadhiliwa* SSED 89] (**faḍiiliila**)

Nuuru/ khkalan^hake apa/ ifaḍiiliila na want^hu wiingi. 'Nuuru's staying here was preferred by many people.'

faḍli

manners

n. [Sw. *fadhili* SSED 89; Ar. *faḍl* W 718] favor, kindness, merit, appreciation, good

Nt^haná/ asli/ walá/ faḍlí. 'He does not have either ancestry (i.e. noble birth) nor good manners.' (A proverb.)

Nt^huná/ faḍli. 'You do not have appreciation.'

sh-faafa

n. 7. [Sw. *kifafa* SSED 189] epilepsy

Omari/ file ka shfaafa. 'Omari died from epilepsy.'

Shfaafa/ ni maraāi waa wovu. ‘Epilepsy is a bad disease.’
Shfaafa/ nt^hayná/ dawa. ‘There is no medicine for epilepsy.’
Ye/ ni munt^hu mwenye shfaafa. ‘He is a man afflicted with epilepsy.’

kh-faafaṭa

v. [Som. *faaf* DSI 209] (**fafeete**) be revealed, be spread over, out
Kooḏi/ sfafeete. ‘The news spread.’

rel.

kh-faafisha v. tr. (**fafishiize**) reveal; make someone’s vices, defects known;
 broadcast, spread s.t.

Fafishize kuwaa mi/ nnele khamrí. ‘He revealed that I drank alcohol.’
Fafishize kuwaa mi/ nziniiló. ‘He spread the news that I have committed adultery.’

Hufaafisha/ mane yaawo/ ka mkila. ‘They (referring to camels) spread their urine with the tail.’

Hufafisho ebuzó/ muunt^hí/ haṭaḷami/ khutilaa muḷo/ masku. ‘The one who reveals your defects in the daytime does not hesitate to burn you at night.’ (A proverb.)

Iyi/ ni raadiyo/ isho mwenewe/ hufafisho khabarí/ maraa nt^hatú/ kila muunt^hí. ‘This is Free Radio (lit. radio without owners) which broadcasts the news three times each day.’

khfafisha khabari ‘to spread news, a secret’

Nt^hawafaafisha/ siri. ‘They did not reveal the secret.’

Si/ hufaafisha/ khabari/ za duniya/ maraa nt^hatu/ killa muunt^hhi. ‘We broadcast the world news three times each day.’

kh-fafishiliza v. tr. appl.

Ali/ nfafishilize siriya. ‘Ali spread my secret all over (to my detriment).’

Nfafishilize ebuza. ‘He revealed my vices (on me).’

Nfafishilize kuwaa mi/ nnele khamrí. ‘He revealed (to my detriment) that I drank alcohol.’

kh-fafishoowa v. tr. pass.

umriwe uchiziida/ ilmu inafifishoowa [st.] ‘for if his life is extended, he will disseminate more knowledge’

Walá/ maneye/ nt^hayakhfafishoowa. ‘Nor was its (the camel’s) urine spread.’

fagiha

n. someone versed in Islamic doctrine

kh-fahama

v. [Sw. *fahamu* SSED 90; Ar. *fahima* (verb) and *fahm* (noun) W 730] (**fahamiile** or **fahimiile**) understand, figure out, solve

Ali/ fahamile darsi. ‘Ali understood the lesson.’

Fahamiilé. ‘Did you understand?’ (The question differs from the statement just in intonation. See discussion of yes-no questions in the introductory materials.)

khatí nsomeele zont^he nfahamiile [song] ‘I have read the letter and understood it all’

kuuya khuwona fahama nt^hiyiile [song] ‘understand that I was afraid to come and see you’

Mwanaamke/ malizopo khfahama majiibu/ ayo/ chilawa/ chiyendrela kaawo. ‘When the girl understood that answer, she went out and went to her [lit. their] home.’

Mukeewe/ chubḷoowa/ ka khisa lughzi/ la muḷjiwe/ ifahamiiló. ‘His wife was killed because of the riddle that her husband solved.’

Naambila/ yaa we/ nakhsuuló/ ka waaḏihi/ mp^hate khfahama. ‘Tell me what you want clearly so that I can understand.’

Nuuru/ fahamile darsi. ‘Nuuru understood the lesson.’

Si/ nfuye/ shchiwa chinakoondroka/ ka fadhiini/ kiitu/ hastukuli/ ma’inyi yiitu/ huḷaṭa kiitu. ‘We monkeys, when we leave our dwellings, we do not carry our livers with us, we leave them

home.’

Spate/ khfahama kođi izi. ‘I failed to understand the words.’

Spate/ kumfahama Ali. ‘I failed to understand Ali.’

rel.

kh-fahamana v. rec. understand one another

kh-fahamika v. p/s. capable of being understood

kh-fahamila v. appl.

kh-fahamisha v. caus. (**fahamishiize**) make understand, explain

Ali/ mfahamishize mwaana/ darsi. ‘Ali explained the lesson to the child.’

Chimfahamisha/ mnaadisha/ ya kuwaa ye/ nt^hanaksuu^la/ yiingine/ shokuwa/ kuwona chi^taache/ shtⁱinzila. ‘He made the auctioneer understand that he did want anything other except to see his (the auctioneer’s) head cut off.’

Mwaana/ shtomola majiibu/ ya shtandrawila/ icho/ jisa/ chizeele/ chimfahamishiizó. ‘The boy gave the answers to that riddle, just the way the old woman had revealed them to him [lit. made him understand].’

Nimfahamishize Jaamá/ darsi. ‘I explained the lesson to Jaama.’

kh-fahamishana v. caus. rec. explain to each other

kh-fahamishika v. caus. p/s.

kh-fahamishiliza v. caus. appl.

Nuuru/ mfahamishilize Omari/ mwaana/ darsi. ‘Nuuru explained the lesson to Omari’s child, to the child for Omari.’

kh-fahamishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Omari/ na Nuuru/ wafahamishilizenye waana/ darsi. ‘Omari and Nuuru explained the lesson to one another’s children.’

kh-fahamishoowa v. caus. pass.

Jaama/ fahamishiza darsi/ naami. ‘Jaama was made to understand the lesson by me.’ Or: **Darsi/ fahamishiza Jaama/ naami.**

kh-fahamoowa v. pass.

rel. nom.

ma-fahamisho n.6 act of making understand

u-fahamisho n. 14

fahamdara adj? [Som. *fahmaddarro* ‘indisposition, slight illness’ DSI 213; cf. Som. *fahmeysan* ‘to have recovered energy, to feel refreshed’] lack of well-being, not feeling well

Mubji/ chimwambila mukeewe/ ya kuwaa ye/ ni fahamdara. ‘The man told his wife that he was not feeling well.’

Sku mbili izi/ mi/ fahamdará. ‘These two days I am not feeling well.’

Waana/ sku mbili izi/ fahamdara/ wanayo hagarbu. ‘The children these two days are not feeling well, they have a cold.’

fahamu n. 10 [Sw. *fahamu* SSED 90; Ar. *fahm* W 730] intelligence, recognition, understanding, perception; well-being, energy, state of health, alertness, vigilance

khpata fahamu ‘to recover one’s energy/ well-being (i.e. to be on the way of recovery from illness)’

khtowa fahamu ‘to lose one’s ability to comprehend or understand’

Nazo fahamu/ na basará. ‘He has understanding and talent.’

Nt^haná/ fahamu. ‘He has no ability to comprehend, no memory; he is not feeling well, he is not alert, vigilant.’

Omari/ fahamu. ‘Omari is vigilant, alert, etc.’

Omari/ nt^haná/ fahamu/ sku mbili izi. ‘Omari has not been feeling well (not alert, vigilant, etc.) these two days.’

Teena/ mweenzawe/ humwaambila/ ndro/ tu/ we/ waawe/ ni ije/ tu/

m^la^te/ waawe/ nt^haná/ fahamu/ m^la^te/ tu/ we/ ndro/ tu/ we.

‘Then his friend tells him: just come, you, my father is just what, leave him be, my father has no understanding, just leave him be, you, just come, you [in the story, the sultan’s son is trying to persuade his friend, whom the sultan has sent away, to ignore the

sultan and come to be with him].’

faahimu (ma-)

adj. [Ar. *fahim* “quick witted, of acute discernment” W 730] intelligent
variant form: **fahiimu** [Ar. *fahīm* “discerning, sensible, intelligent” W 730

munt^hu faahimu ‘intelligent person’ (cf. **want^hu faahimu** ‘intelligent
people’; **chijana shfaahimu** ‘intelligent dim. child’, **zijana
sfaahimu** ‘intelligent dim. children’)

Na zo ni alfu dirhamu/ kubloowa meema faahimu [st.] ‘it was a thousand
dirhams/ to have the virtuous scholar killed’

Ni muunt^hu/ fahiimu. ‘He is a very intelligent man.’

faharasa
contents

n. [Sw. *faharasa* SSED 90; Ar. *fahrasa* “to compile an index” W 730] table of

faajiri

n. [Ar. *fājir* W 697] profligate, liar, shameless

ghadabu za Mooja sku iyo daahiri/ ilu ya kulla kaafiri na faajiri [st.] ‘the
wrath of God on that day clearly [will be] on every unbeliever and
profligate’

fak

ideo. [Som. *fag* “to untie”, listed in Dhoorre & Tosco, p. 141] of untying

Hamadi/ fungile surwaaniye/ fak! ‘Hamadi opened his trousers **fak!**’ (This
sentence exhibits downstep intonation in the first two phrases, but then **fak** is raised to a pitch level similar to
the initial phrase.)

kh-fakata

v. [Som. *fako* “to run away” DSI 214] (**fakeete**) run, run away, flee, escape

Abú/ khfakata ‘if Abu had run’; **ka’iza khfakata** ‘if Abu had not run’;
Abú/ kachiza khfakata ‘if Abu had not run’

Ali/ fakeete ka Jaama. ‘Ali ran towards Jaama/ to Jaama’s place.’

Chimalizaa kuja/ hufakata/ hendra miyundraani/ ka waant^hu/ kuboola.

‘When she finishes eating, she runs away and goes to gardens of people and steals.’

Chimrashize eelo/ uyu/ ye/ nakhfakata/ naasi/ chinumeche/ hatá/

shkomele tawala. ‘We followed this gazelle, he running and we at his back, until we reached the sea.’

Endrá/ fakata. ‘Go and run away!’

fakata/ kana fatuura ‘quick like a car, run like a car’

Fakeete/ ingile maduriini. ‘He ran away and went into the bush.’

Hamadi/ fakeetó/ na Nureení. ‘(It is) Hamadi (who) ran (away), and also
Nureení.’ (Notice that the focus on **Hamadi** triggers the pseudo-relativization of the main verb. The possibility
of adding **na Nureení** at the end demonstrates that pre-verbal focus in Chimiini is not necessarily *exhaustive*,
i.e. it does not necessarily indicate that only Hamadi ran (away). Note that one can also say: **Fakeetó/ Hamadi/
na Nureení.** ‘The one who ran away (is) Hamadi, and also Nureení.’)

ichiwa ka qariibu hiingila khfakata [nt.] ‘if they are close I start running’

khfakata kamba fatuura ‘to run like a car [i.e. fast like a car]’

Khfakata/ siwo/ khkoma. ‘To run is not to arrive.’ (A proverb.)

kooði/ khfakata ‘for words, secrets to slip out unintentionally’

Haaji/ kooði/ zimfakeete. ‘Haaji let the words, secret slip out (lit.
the words ran out, slipped out from Haaji).’

**Kuulu/ iyi/ nt^hayikhindoowa/ na waawo/ kuulu/ iyi/ invundishile/ naa
mi/ nnakhfakató/ chimaliza/ nt^hiinzila.** ‘This leg was not cut off
by your father, this leg broke on me while I was running,
afterwards it was cut off (lit. I was cut off).’

Haaji/ fakeete maduriini. ‘Haaji ran into the bush. Or, with veb emphasis:

Haaji/ fakeete/ maduriini.

Hamadi/ fakeete/ ingile gariini. ‘Hamadi ran into the truck (i.e. he was
running and he ran into the truck; lit. Hamadi ran and he entered
the truck).’

Maalimu/ fakeete. ‘The teacher ran away.’ Or: **Fakeete/ maalimu.** (Phon.
The corresponding yes-no questions: **Maalimu/ fakeete?** and
Fakeete/ maalimú?)

Maalimu/ fakeete/ so. ‘The teacher ran away, didn’t he?’

mbuzi izo/ schifakata ‘those goats, if they run’

Muunthu/ oo fakeetó/ ^fpoliisiya/ wamshiishiló. ‘The man who ran away, it is the police who caught him.’ (Cf. the following example where the subject noun is not focused: **Muunthu/ oo fakeetó/ poliisiya/ wamshiishile.** ‘The man who ran away, the police caught him.’)

Muunthu/ oo fakeetó/ shiishila. ‘The man who ran away was caught.’ (It should be pointed out that the relative clause is downstepped relative to the subject, while the verb is downstepped relative to the relative clause.)

Muunthu/ oo fakeetó/ shiishila/ Mkhodiisho/ yana. ‘The man who ran away was caught in Mogadishu yesterday.’

Muunthu/ oo fakeetó/ shiishila na mapoliisi. ‘The man who ran away was caught by the police.’

Muunthu/ oo fakeetó/ shiishila/ yana. ‘The man who ran away was caught yesterday.’ (The phrasal separation of the time adverb from the verb is a common pattern)

Muunthu/ oo fakeetó/ tu/ shiishilá. ‘Only the man who ran away was caught.’ (The **tu** particle triggers pseudo-relativization of the verb in this example; it is the final accent on **shiishilá** that signals the pseudo-relativization.)

Muunthu/ oo fakeetó/ waliko Nureeni. ‘The man who ran away was Nureeni.’

Na’iwá/ ^fmi/ kuwa ^fNureeni/ peesa/ boozeló. ‘I know that it’s Nureeni who money stole.’ (In eliciting this sentence, we did specifically clarify that it is **Nureeni** that is focused rather than **peesa**. Presumably it would be possible to focus either. But in the recording we have of this sentence, **Nureeni** is higher in pitch than **peesa**. We assume that if it were **peesa** being focused, it would be higher in pitch. Cf. **Na’iwá/ ^fmi/ kuwa ^fpeesa/ Nureeni/ boozeló.** ‘I know that it is money that Nureeni stole.’ In our recording of this sentence, **peesa** was higher in pitch than **Nureeni**, hence our interpretation that it is the focused element.)

Naani/ fakeetó. ‘Who ran away?’ (Pre-verbal **naani** is necessarily focused and triggers pseudo-relativization of the following verb. A possible answer to this question is **^fNuuru/ fakeetó.** ‘*Nuuru* ran away.’)

Noka/ shfakata/ chooloka. ‘The snake ran away and left.’

Nthangú/ chuunzila/ chinakhfakata/ nthashkupata/ khpumula/ hattá/ sku mooyi. ‘Since it was created, it is running and never gets to rest, not even one day.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **iwa** ‘the sun’.)

Nuuru/ mfakete naani. ‘Whom did Nuuru run away from?’ (Post-verbal **naani** does not trigger pseudo-relativization of the preceding verb. A possible answer to this question: **Nuuru/ mfakete Omari.** ‘N uuru ran away from Omari.’)

Oo/ muunthu/ shiishilá/ waliko Nureeni. ‘That one, man, who was arrested was Nureeni.’

Omari/ na’iwa/ kuwa Nureeni/ bozele peesa/ tu. ‘Omari knows that Nureeni stole only money.’ (In this sentence, **peesa** is downstepped, but **tu** is pronounced at the same pitch level as **peesa**.)

Omari/ na’iwa/ kuwa Nureeni/ tu/ bozelo peesá. ‘Omari knows that only Nureeni stole money.’ (In this sentence, the placement of **tu** after the subject puts focus on the subject and triggers pseudo-relativization of the following verb. The pitch on **tu** is of the same height as the preceding noun.)

Omari/ ^fsiri/ imfakeetó. ‘Omari blurted out the secret (lit. Omari, the secret escaped from him).’

Shfakata/ shfakata/ hattá/ shkoma numbaani/ ka ujee muke. ‘He ran and ran until he reached the home of that woman.’

Sfakate ‘Don’t run!’

Sfakateeni ‘(Pl.) don’t run!’

Sulilopo kumbiga/ noka/ shfakata. ‘When he [the man] wanted to hit him, the snake ran away.’

Sultaani/ fakeete/ ka paapo/ enzele ka sarmala/ enzeló. ‘The sultan immediately went to the carpenter, that’s what he did.’

Walimu wiingi/ wafakete. ‘Many teachers ran away.’ (Phon. While downstep intonation characterizes this simple statement, the pitch on the verb is raised in the yes-no question: **Waalimu/ wafakete?** ‘Did many teachers run away?’ ‘and in the tag-question: **Walimu wiingi/ wafakete/ so.** ‘Many teachers ran away, didn’t they?’)

Walimu wont^he/ wafakeete. ‘All the teachers ran away.’ Or: **Wafakeete/ walimu wont^he.** (Phon. The simple yes-no question of the first example has no accent-shift, while the right-dislocated form undergoes accent-shift: **Walimu wont^he/ wafakeete?** and **Wafakeete/ walimu wont^hé?**)

wamo wafakeete ndraani ya tawala [nt.] ‘some fled deep into the sea’
ran away, all were caught.’
Waant^hu/ awo/ wafakeetó/ wont^he/ washiishila. ‘People, those ones, who ran away, were caught.’

Waant^hu/ wont^he/ wafakeetó/ washiishila. ‘All the people who ran away were caught.’ (The quantifier **wont^he** is pronounced at roughly the same pitch height as the noun it quantifies, while the following phrases exhibit downstep intonation. Note that **wont^he** does not trigger the pseudo-relativization of the main verb **washiishila**. It is also possible for **wont^he** to follow the relative verb: **Waant^hu/ wafakeetó/ wont^he/ washiishila.** ‘The people who ran away, all were caught.’ In this sentence, **wont^he** is raised in pitch, but this indication of emphasis does not actually trigger pseudo-relativization of the following verb. This is just one of a variety of examples indicating that there is a contrast between focus triggering pseudo-relative clause formation and focus (or perhaps better, emphasis) that does not. Unravelling this distinction is a research desideratum.)

Washfakata/ washpeleka khabari/ muyiini. ‘They ran and took the news to the town.’

Wote/ wafakeete/ ka apo/ wa’olosehe/ khkala muyi mwiingine. ‘All ran away from there and went to stay in another town.’

Ye/ hufakataa dhibu. ‘He avoids difficulties.’

rel.

kh-fakatiila v. appl. (**fakatiile**) run to

Ali/ mfakatiile Jaama. ‘Ali ran towards Jaama.’

Ali/ mfakatiile Jaama/ sukhuuni/ mulilee nama. ‘Ali ran for Jaama to the market and bought meat for him.’

Eelo// waa si/ chihadilo ifakatiile maduriini... ‘The gazelle that we said ran away to the forest...’

Kila/ nch^hiingila/ numbaani/ chinfakatiila. ‘Every time I entered the house, she ran to me.’

Mwanaamke/ chi’ifakatiila/ kaake/ chisimaani/ chi’iruudilo. ‘The girl ran [herself] to her place in the well, that is where she went back to.’

Sula khaadira/ ki’ifakatiila. ‘He could have run away.’

Ye/ ifakatiile. ‘He ran away [lit. ran away for himself].’

kh-fakatiisha v. caus.

Omari/ shfakatiisha gaari/ bishile lkuta. ‘Omari was driving the car (too fast) and hit the wall.’

kh-fakatiishana v. caus. rec.

hufakatiishana mithali ya nt^huungu [nt.] ‘all scurry for cover like ants’

kh-fakatoowa v. pass.

ishkasoowa yiila yo hufakatoowa [nt.] ‘when people hear “they have come”, they run’

rel. nom.

ma-fakato n. 6 running

Chilawa/ ka apo/ ka mafakato/ chendra markabuuni. ‘He left from there, running, and went to the ship.’

Hasani/ chimpantra farisiwe/ na farasi/ shtila mafakato/ shfakata/ shfakata hattá/ shkoma/ mahala/ yiko nuumbá. ‘Hasani mounted his horse and the horse [lit.] put speed and ran and ran until it reached a place where there was a house.’

Ile ka chinumecha/ ka mafakato/ kumbiga ifumo/ kunubla. ‘He came from my back, running, to strike me with the spear and kill me.’

kubiga mafakato ‘to run’

Hamadi/ oloshela/ bishile mafakato. ‘Hamadi went and ran.’
Muunt^hu/ uyu/ chilawa/ ka mafakato/ cheendra/ kumvila Ali. ‘This man left running and went to summon Ali.’
Wanamwaambila/ simama/ we/ qaatili/ simama/ we/ qaatili/ laakini/ Sa’iidi/ chizida mafakato. ‘They were telling him: stop, you killer, stop, you killer, but Saiidi ran faster.’

kh-fakhara

v. [Ar. *fakara* W 699] boast (that), praise, eulogize
Ali/ nakhfakhara kuwaa ye/ nayo mali miingi. ‘Ali is boasting that he has lots of money.’
Ba’adiye/ Abunawaasi/ chaanza/ khfakhara. ‘After that, Abunawaasi began to brag.’
khfakhara maana ‘to praise the child’
Naankh^hó/ mara ya piiji/ enzele/ mbele/ za askari/ khfakhara/ na khsifa ruuhuyé. ‘Again, for the second time, he went in front of the soldiers to boast and praise himself.’

rel.

kh-fakharila v. appl. boast about s.t. to s.o.
Ali/ nakhfakirila maali/ yaa ye/ nayo mali miingi. ‘Ali is boasting that he has a lot of money.’
Ali/ nakunfakharila maali. ‘Ali is boating to me about money (e.g. that he has more money than me).’

kh-fakharilana v. appl. rec. boast about s.t. to one another
Wanafakharilana peesa. ‘They were boasting to one another about their money.’

kh-fakhariloowa v. appl. pass.
Hamadi/ fakharilila peesa/ na Ali. ‘Hamadi was boasted to about money by Ali.’

kh-fakharoowa v. pass. be praised
Chint^hu chisuura/ hachisuuli/ khfakharoowa. ‘A good thing does not need to be advertised/praised.’ (A proverb.)

fakhari

adj. pompous, proud

n. 9/10 [Sw. *fahari* SSED 90; Ar. *fakr* W 699] pomposity, showing off, pride; glory;

variant form: **fakhri**

fakhari/ kana aktoore ‘as proud as an actor’
fakhari/ kamba sulṭaani ‘as proud as a king’
ka fakhari ‘pompously, boastingly’
kamu nk^haleent^ho na wenyé fakhri [st.] ‘with how many glorious/proud people I sat’
khfanya fakhari ‘to show off, give oneself airs, give undue importance to oneself’
Sfaanyé/ fakhari. ‘Don’t show off!’
khfanya ka fakhari ‘to do s.t. in a boastful way’
ka fakhari shfaanya ibaada naaqisi [st.] ‘if you (worship) with the intention of showing off, (your) worshipping is not complete’
m(w)enyé fakhari ‘someone who gives himself airs’
Ni munt^hu fakhari. ‘He is a show-off.’

fakharoyte

n. someone with excessive pride
Fakharoyte/ hazimali/ fakharize. ‘An excessively proud person does not finish praising himself.’ (A proverb.)

u-fakhri

n.
Ufakhri/ uwazidiilopó/ mwana wa sulṭaani/ chimwambila mweenzawe...
‘When they were poverty-stricken, the sultan’s son told his friend...’

- fakhtaani** n. name of a mosque in Brava
Muskiti wa Fakhtaani/ husala/ waant^hu/ haba. ‘Few people pray at Fakhtaani mosque.’
Muskiti wa Fakhtaani/ wiko kharibu ya steeshini. ‘Fakhtaani mosque is neat the police station.’
- fa^l ya tafa^lal** fixed expression: welcome, you are cordially invited (usu. in speeches, welcoming someone to the podium)
- sh-falfala (s-)** n. 7/8 [Som. *falfal* ‘magic, withcraft’ DSI 215] “medicine” (e.g. a magical item left on the road to harm someone), same as **chige^oge^o**.
- falme** n. [lit. king] an unknown species of fish
- m-falme (ma-), (wa-)** n.1/2,6 [Sw. *mfalme* SSED 275] king
Bwana mfalme/ nt^hakhadiraayi/ mi/ kh^tinda ch^taacha. ‘Mr. King, how can I cut off my head?’
mafalme aya/ awa ‘these kings’
mfalme uyu ‘this king’
rel.
sh-falme n.7 in the manner of a king
Ye/ hinendra shfalme. ‘He walks in a kingly manner.’
u-falme n. 14 kingdom, kingship
Huko^oa ufalme. ‘He talks like a king.’
Ufalme/ umbeelee. ‘He lost his position as king.’
- falqa** n. rascal
Maliize/ hu’arurishowa waana/ wa muuyi/ falqa/ awaje wawovu. ‘When this is done, the children of the town, the rascals, the bad ones, are gathered together.’
- faaluuta** n. [Sw. *faluda* SSED 91; Ar. *fālūdaj* ‘a sweet made of flour and honey’ and *fālūdajī* ‘soft and flabby’ W 692] a sweet dish, like a soft pudding
variant form: **fayluzi** [cf. Ar. *fālūz* cited in SSED 91, but not found in Wehr]
- falaki** n. [Sw. *falaki* SSED 90; Ar. *falak* W 727] astronomy
khfanya falaki ‘to take the omens by observing the stars, etc.’
kulanga^la falaki ‘to take the omens by observing the stars, etc.’
- faali** n. 9/10 [Sw. *fali* SSED 90; Ar. *fāl* ‘to regard as a good omen’ and *fa’l* ‘good omen’ W 692] omen, wish, foreseeing
Faali/ ni kazi ya sheetaani. ‘Soothsaying is the work of satan.’
Faali/ ni wanaafaqi. ‘Soothsaying is a sham.’
kubiga faali ‘to foretell by divination’ (The future was foretold by examining the position of small items, like pebbles and cowrie shells, after throwing them onto sand.)
Kaahini/ uyu/ chibiga faali/ chilanga^la/ numa/ chihada/ Abunawaasi/ zimile karka jaziira. ‘This soothsayer cast lots and looked and then said that Abunawaasi had hidden on an island.’
Want^hu wa Mwiini/ haamina/ ya kuwa mp^haka mlusi/ ni falii mbovu/ na nt^haku/ hujo chaakujá/ mbele ya mp^haka mlusi. ‘The people of Brava believe that a black cat is a bad omen and there is no eating of food in front of a black cat.’
- famiilya** n. [Ital. *familia*] family
Killa/ famiilya/ washtukula zint^hu zaawo. ‘Every family brought their own things.’

- kh-faanana* v. [Sw. *fanana* SSED 89] (**faneene**) resemble s.o., be similar to s.t.
Ali/ hufanana na Hamadi. ‘Ali looks like Hamadi.’
Nnakuwona ziint^hú/ hufanano na zijumba zaa nyunyí. ‘I see things that look like the nests of birds.’
Sanduukhu/ ichiletoowa/ nt^hakhtala/ ito/ hufaanano/ na yaaké/ nt^hampa. ‘When the box is brought, I will choose an eye that resembles his, and I will give it to him.’ (The relative clause in this example: **ito/ hufaanano/ na yaaké** ‘an eye that resembles (with) his’ illustrates that the PP- separation of the relative verb from the following prepositional phrase does not invoke the Accentual Law of Focus. The final accent of the relative verb projects to the end of the relative clause.)
Wana awa/ hufaanana. ‘These children look like one another.’
rel.
m-faanano n. likeness, resemblance
- m-fanaani (ma-)* n. artist, designer
Abudeera/ ni mfanaani/ ma’aruufu. ‘Abudeera is a famous artist.’
- fani* n. [cf. Som *fan* “art” DSI 216, but also Ar. *fann* “art, scientific discipline” W 728]
art, science, craft
- kh-fanida* v. [Sw. *fanidi* SSED 91; Ar. *fanida* “to classify, itemize” W 729] (**fadiile**) pick out the better specimen from a group of things
- kh-faanisha* v. [Som. *faani* DSI 210] (**fanishiize**) praise s.o.
variant form: **khfaalisha**
Chimfalishize Ali. ‘We praised Ali.’
Falishaani. ‘(Pl.) praise!’
Falishize want^hu weema. ‘He praised good people.’
Falishani wasuura. ‘(Pl.) praise the good!’
Mwaalimu/ mfanyishize mwaana. ‘The teacher praised the boy.’
Nt^haskumfaalisha/ Ali. ‘We didn’t praise Ali.’
Sfalisheení/ wawovu. ‘Don’t praise bad ones.’
rel.
kh-fanishoowa v. pass. (**fanishiiza**) be praised
kh-faansaṭa v. (**fanseeṭe**) boast
variant form: **khfaanaṭa**
- m-faano (mi-)* n. 3/4 [Sw. *mfano* SSED 89] resemblance, likeness
huwala mfaano wa qammari [song] ‘it shines like the moon’
ni ḍambize ni niingi mfaano wa nt^haka [song] ‘and his sins are many, just like garbage’
nt^hana mithaali nt^hana mfaano nafsiye [st.] ‘[God] has no equal, he has nothing like himself’
waako lamna ka lamuuna, mfaano shokuwa we [song] ‘there are (girls) of every kind, but noby is like you’
- fantu* n. one of several types of Guitarfish; [pron. **fantu**]
fantu ijita ‘[lit.] large head guitarfish, a Giant Guitarfish, has a huge head and no dots’
fantu matete ‘[lit. spotted guitar fish] a guitarfish with white dots’
Fantu/ ni munt^hu safihi/ ha’ingili/ chilaviini. ‘Fantu is a stupid guy but he can’t be fished with a net.’ (A proverb.)
mp^hamp^ha wa fantu ‘a **fantu** shark’
rel.
sh-fantu (s-) n. 7/8 dim. a small **fantu** shark

faanuusi
lamp

n. [Sw. *fanusi* SSED 91; Ar. *fānūs* W 692; also Som. *faanuus* or *feynuus* DSI 210]
rel.
i-faanuusi (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.

kh-faanya

v. [Sw. *fanya* SSED 912] (**fanyiize**) do, make, prepare, fix, repair, correct; do something wrong; suppose (Observe that the stem final consonant *ny* is one of the set of consonants that induce the mutation of *l* to *z* in the perfect extension. When the stem itself is not mutated, then the perfect extension retains its underlying vowel length.)

Ali/ fanyize gari ya Hamadi. ‘Ali fixed Hamadi’s car.’

Baduwi/ chimjiiba/ ya kuwa ikoofiya/ ifanyiizó/ ni mukeewe. ‘The nomad answered that the one who made the hat was his wife.’ (Notice that when the head of the relative verb, here **ikoofiya**, is separated from the relative verb, here **ifanyiizó**, by a null subject, then there is no *a*-link between the head and the relative verb.)

Basi/ naawé/ nakhsuḷa kunfanyaa mi/ kama mp^hundra wa doobí.
‘Therefore, you want to make me like the washerman’s donkey (who, in the story, was fooled into coming back a second time to Lion and was killed as a result).’

fanya kuwa ‘suppose that’

Fanyize kaazi/ suura. ‘He did a good job.’

Fanyize wajibuye. ‘He did his duty.’

Fanyiizeni. ‘What did he do?’

Fanyiizeni/ yana. ‘What did he do yesterday?’ (An appropriate answer to this question would be: **Nandishilee khatí/ yana.** I wrote a *letter* yesterday.’ A more neutral sentence, without focus on letter, is: **Nandishilee khatí/ yaná.** ‘I wrote a letter yesterday.’)

Hasani/ fanyiize/ gaariye. ‘Hasani repaired his car.’ Or with verb focus: **Hasani/ fanyiize/ gaariye.** (It should be noted that it is possible for a pronominal referring to **Hasani** to appear in the sentence. The pronominal may precede or follow **Hasani: Ye/ Hasani/ fanyize gaariye.** Or: **Hasani/ ye/ fanyize gaariye.** These possibilities are independent of whether there is verb focus or not: **Ye/ Hasani/ fanyiize/ gaariya.** Or: **Hasani/ ye/ fanyiize/ gaariya.** It is also possible for the pronominal element to be post-verbal, but in this case it is phrasally separated from the verb: **Hasani/ fanyiize/ ye/ gaariya.** In this position, the **ye** is radically lowered in pitch.)

Hufaanyani/ Hasani. ‘What does Hasani do?’

Itamfanya Sultani Daraayi/ faqiiri. ‘Will it make Sultan Daraayi poor?’

khfanya alaama ‘to make a sign, a mark’

khfanya baṭeera ‘to repair a boat’ (as opposed to **kulunga baṭeera** ‘to build a boat’)

khfanya biyaashara ‘to engage in trade, commercial activities’

khfanya chaakuja ‘to prepare food, a meal’

khfanya da’awa ‘to complain’

khfanyaa dawa ‘to treat a disease, illness (lit. to make medicine)’

khfanya fakhari ‘to show off’

khfanya fitna ‘to create differences between people, pit one person versus another’

khfanya gaari ‘to repair a car’

khfanya haraka ‘to be in a hurry, be hasty, make a move’

khfanya harri ‘to make/be hot’

khfanya hiila ‘to devise a strategy, trick’

khfanya hisaabu ‘to total (numbers, expenditures), update figures’

khfanya ibaada ‘to worship’

wanafaanye ibada karka haramu [st.] ‘may they worship at the Grand Mosque (in Mecca)’

khfanya jaasuusi ‘to spy’

khfanya karamu ‘to provide or cook or serve food on a special occasion’

khfanya kaazi ‘to work’

khfanya khiyaana ‘to trick’

Fanyize khiyaana/ karka imṭihaani. ‘He cheated on the exam.’

khfanya khoofu ‘to be afraid’

khfanya maneeno ‘to object, have s.t. negative to say about s.t.’

khfanya masiiri ‘to be jealous’

khfanya miinza ‘to make dark’

khfanyaa mulo ‘to light, make a fire (for cooking)’
khfanya mzaaha ‘to tease’
khfanyaa ndre ‘to lengthen’
khfanyaa nk^havu ‘to make dry’
khfanyaa nk^heje ‘to make noise, shout angrily in response to s.t. that one

does not like’

khfanya rabsha ‘to disturb’
khfanya ruuhu+poss. ‘to pretend (lit. make oneself)’
Fulaani/ fanyize ruuhuye/ hakhaadiri. ‘So-and-so pretended to

be sick.’

khfanya u^oiya ‘to disturb’
khfanya weelu ‘to make light’
khfanya zeema ‘to do good things’
Ye/ khufanyize zeema/ zaa we/ hukhadiri mlipá. ‘He did good for you that you cannot repay him.’

khfanyaa zita ‘to be angry and not talk to s.o. as a result of this’

khfanya ziwovu ‘to do evil or bad things’

Mi/ njaribile khfanya gaariyá. ‘I tried to fix my truck.’

Mazá/ mwanaamke/ chihada/ waawé/ nakhsula nfaanyeni. ‘So the girl said, my father, what do you want me to do?’

Mfanyize mwaana/ mwiizi. ‘He made the child a thief (i.e. persuaded him to steal something).’

Mfanyize mwiizi. ‘He accused him of being a thief.’

Mi/ hatá/ chifa/ chint^hu icho/ sfaanyi. ‘Me, I will not do that thing even if I die.’

Mi/ sinakhfanya chiint^hu. ‘I am not doing anything.’

na nchiwona nk^hosa fanyaani [st.] ‘if you see mistakes, correct them’

Nakhfaanyani/ ka mwaana. ‘What are you doing with the child.’

Nfaanya/ yaa we/ nakhsuuló. ‘Do to me whatever you like.’

Nfanyiizé/ gari iyi. ‘I repaired this car.’ Or: **Nfanyize gari iyi.** ‘I repaired this car.’ (Phon. Our consultant did not find it to be acceptable to say: ***Nfanyize gaarí/ iyi.** This point needs exploration, however, since when something follows, this phrasing is acceptable: **Nfanyize gaarí/ iyi/ nofeeté.** ‘I repaired the car, this, until I got tired.’ It should be noted that the final accent may not appear on the demonstrative in this phrasing: ***Nfanyize gaarí/ iyi/ nofeetó.** Another possible phrasing: **Nfanyiizé/ gaarí/ iyi/ nofeeté.** ‘I repaired the car, this, until I got tired.’

Shfanyize kaazi. ‘We did work.’ Or, with verb focus: **Shfanyiizé/ kaazi.** (The pitch of **kaazi** is radically lowered.)

Shfanyiizé/ si/ kaazi. ‘We *did*, us, the work.’ (The pronoun in post-verbal position is radically lowered in pitch.)

Simfaanyé/ zeema/ zoo peeke. ‘Don’t do only good things.’

Wamfanyize Nuuru/ ra’iisi. ‘They made Nuuru president.’

Waana/ wafanyiizeni/ kawavunangoowá. ‘What did the children do that they have been beaten?’

Waant^hu/ wafanyize kaazi. ‘The people did work.’ Or, with OM included:

Waant^hu/ wa’ifanyize kaazi. Or with verb focus: **Waant^hu/**

wa’ifanyiize/ kaazi. Or with left-dislocation but no focus: **Kaazi/ wa’ifanyiize.**

We/ nakhfaanyani. ‘What are you doing?’

We/ waliko shfaanyani/ mukhta mi/ niiló. ‘What were you doing when I came?’ (Possible answer: **Mi/ waliko nch^hija/ mukhta we/ iló.** ‘I was eating when you came.’)

Ye/ waliko shfaanyani/ mukhta waana/ wa’iló. ‘What was he doing when the children came?’ (Possible answer: **Ye/ waliko chija/ mukhta waana/ wa’iló.** ‘He was eating when the children came.’)

rel.

kh-fanyafanyoowa v. freq. pass.

Inakhfanyafanyoowa/ we/ ndiwó/ siwo. ‘It is just being done, you know, like it is, like it is not.’

kh-faanyika v. p/s. be capable of being done

Bwana mfalme/ amri/ yaa we/ tomeeló/ siwo/ hufaanyikó/ hatá/ majini/

yotte/ yashkumaangana/ hayatakhaadira/ kawanya tawala/ jisaa we/ nakhsuuló. ‘Mr. King, the order that you have issued, it cannot be done; even if all the djinns gather together, they will not be able to divide the sea as you want.’

Kaazi/ ifanyikishile (or: **ifanyishile**). ‘The work was able to be done.’

Kazi iyi/ hayfaanyiki/ na waana. ‘This work cannot be done by children.’

khfanyika alaama ‘for a mark to be able to be made’

Nnayo wana watatú/ mooyi/ shpuungula/ kaazi/ hayfaanyiki. ‘I have three children; if one is missing, the work is not able to be done.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **majiiko** ‘cooking stones’.)

kh-fanyikiloowa v. p/s. appl. pass. turn out well for

Fulaani/ fanyikiliila. ‘For so-and-so things are going well, have turned out well.’

kh-fanyikila v. p/s. appl. (**fanyikiliile**)

Duniya/ infanyikiliile. ‘(Lit.) the world can be done for me – i.e. the world is a bed of roses for me.’

Hamadi/ gaari/ infanyikiliile. ‘The car was able to be fixed for Hamadi.’

Kaazi/ ikhufanyikiliile? ‘Was the work able to become finished for you (this question would generally imply that the person queried was doing the work, but it could also be used in the case where someone else was doing the work for the addressee.)’

Nuumba/ infanyikilile ka pesa habba. ‘The house was able to be built for him with little money.’

kh-fanyiliza v. appl. (**fanyiliize**) do for, make for (The stem final **ny** is one of the set of consonants that require the **iliz/elez** form of the applied suffix. This suffix always forms its perfect by means of imbrication: **iliiz/ eleez**.)

Ali/ mfanyilize Hamadi/ gaari. ‘Ali fixed the car for Hamadi (the car may or may not be one Hamadi owns).’

Ali/ mfanyilize Nuuru/ gari ya Hamadi. ‘Ali fixed Hamadi’s car for Nuuru.’

Chiwafanyiliza/ waanawe/ hadiiqa/ nk^hulu/ nt^ho. ‘He made for his children a very large garden.’

Fanyiliizeni/ Ikoombe. ‘What did you do with the spoon?’ (A possible answer to this question: **Njililee zijó.** ‘I ate **zijo** (with it).’)’

khfanyiliza alaama ‘to make a sign for’

khfanyiliza dawa ‘to give remedies to s.o. against illness (lit. make medicine for); there is no guarantee here of the outcome of the treatment, as the illness may or may not be curable’

khfanyiliza karamu ‘to provide or cook or serve food for a special occasion for someone’

khfanyiliza kaazi ‘to do business with; work for’

Mpele mkule/ khfanyiliza kaazi. ‘He gave to his brother (e.g. money) to do business with.’

Mp^hundra uyu/ siwo/ takunfanyilizo kaazi. ‘This donkey is not one who will work for me.’

khfanyiliza ruuhu+poss. ‘to pretend’

Fanyilize ruuhuye/ kuwaa ye/ fiile. ‘He pretended that he was dead.’

kumfanyiliza yaa ye/ takhsuuló ‘to do for her whatever she will want’

Ndraṭaani/ ni’ifanyilize biyaashará. ‘Let me do my own selling of goods.’

Nfanyiliza gari ya waawe. ‘Fix father’s car for me!’

Nnakhsuulá/ we/ kunfanyiliza/ sanduukhu. ‘I want you to make for me a box.’

Sultaani/ chimfanyiliza/ sanduukhu/ chimpa. ‘The sultan made a box for him and gave it to him.’

Waana/ wamfanyilize wawa yaawo/ karamu. ‘The children did the **karamu** for their father (i.e. either instead of him or for his benefit).’

Wo/ hi’ifanyiliza kaazi. ‘They work.’ (Observe the use of the reflexive applied stem.)

yaa we/ takumfanyilizo munt^hu taajiri/ na munt^hu maskiini/

kumfanyiliza ‘that which you will do for a rich man, (for) a poor man, to do (the same)’

kh-fanyilizoowa v. appl. pass.

Baana/ ni sahali/ khfanyilizowa kaazi. ‘Baana is easy to work for.’ Or: **Kaazi/ ni sahali/ khfanyilizowa Baana.** ‘Work, it is easy to do for Baana.’

kazi ni sahali/ khfanyilizowa Baana ‘the work that it is easy to do for Baana’

Ni sahali/ khfanyilizowa Baana/ kaazi. ‘It is easy to work for Baana.’

kh-fanyisha v. caus. (**fanyishiize**) make s.o. do s.t. **check whether this form exists; in his thesis MI said that it appears to not be used**

kh-fanyoowa v. pass. (**fanyiiza**) be made; be repaired, maintained; be done wrong to

Ba’adi ya meza mitatu/ ishfanyowa haruusi/ nk^hulu. ‘After three months, there was made a large wedding.’

Ifanyizo naawó/ ni kaazi. ‘What was done is the work.’

Ishfanyowa haaruusi/ nk^hulu. ‘A big wedding was arranged.’

jisa mi nfanyuza skooði duniyaani [song] ‘how I was treated, I do not talk (about it) in the world’

Markabu/ iyi/ ifanyiza ka ðahabu. ‘This ship is made of gold.’

Miloongoti/ yafanyiza ka ni. ‘What are the masts made of?’

Muunt^hu/ fanyiizó/ huliwala/ fanyiizá/ haliwali. ‘The one who has done something wrong, forgets; (but) the one who has been wronged does not forget.’ (A proverb.)

Nuumba/ ichiza khfanyoowa/ huvuundika. ‘If the house is not maintained, it will fall apart.’

kh-fanyishoowa v. caus. pass. (**fanyishiiza**) be made to do s.t. rel. nom.

m-faanya (*wa-*) n. one who does, makes

mfanya kaazi ‘a worker’

Mfanya kaazi/ tomeela/ kaziini. ‘The worker was fired from his job.’

Mfanya kaazi/ vundishile qalbi. ‘The worker was discouraged.’ Or:

Vundishilo qalbi/ ni mfanya kaazi. ‘The one who is discouraged is the worker.’

m-faanyo n. 3 the act of making or doing

Faqi Omari n. This is the name of a mosque, which like other old mosques in Brava, borders the beach. This mosque is referred to in a well-known rhyme, quoted below. [pron. **faqī omari** or **fakhi omari**]

Naa ndala Are you hungry?

Enda ja nk?ala Go eat crabs

Ka Faqi Omariat Faqi Omari

Zinaxtalatal they are crawling about

mw-aa-faqi n. [Sw. *mnaḥfi* SSED 292; Ar. *munāfiq* W 988] liar (Bravanese treat this noun as if the beginning syllable *mwaa* were a shortened form of *mwaana*, hence the plural form **wanaafaqi** ‘lies’; but note that the meaning of this plural form is ‘lies’ and not ‘liars’.)

E/ we/ mwaafakhi. ‘O, you liar.’

Ndila ya mwaafakhi/ ni chigobe. ‘The way of the liar is short.’ (A proverb.)

kh-faqida v. [Ar. *faqada* W 722] inspect, sort out (the best from a group of things), select re. nom.

m-faqido n. 3

u-faqido n. 14 inspecting, sorting out

faqiūhi (*ma-*) n. [Ar. *faqīh* W 723] a learned man who is especially proficient in Islamic jurisprudence (and therefore able to advise on matters pertaining to inheritance and to perform marriages)

- faqiiri* (*ma-*) adj. [Sw. *fakiri* SSED 90; Ar. *faqīr* W 723] poor; [pron. **faqiiri** or **fakhiiri**]
Kamaa we/ chimp^hikila sahani mooyi/ ya mpuunga/ killa muunt^hi/ itamfanya Sultani Daraayi/ faqiiri. ‘If you cook for me one plate of rice each day, will it make Sultan Daraayi poor?’
Karka muuyi/ uyu/ munt^hu faqiiri/ hakhaadiri/ kumlola taajiri/ ka sababu ya maali. ‘In this town, a poor person cannot marry a rich person because of money.’
kuwa faqiiri ‘to become poor’
We/ ni muunt^hu/ faqiiri. ‘You are a poor person.’
rel.
fuqara adj. pl. [Ar. *fuqarā* W 723] poor (pl.) (Phon. Observe that Arabic words that end in a long vowel cannot maintain this length in Chimiini due to the ban on word-final long vowels.)
- u-faqiiri* n. 14 poverty
variant forms: **u-faqri**
- kh-faqirika*
faqirika or **-fakhirika**] v. [Sw. *fukarika* SSED 90; Ar. *faqara* W 722] (**faqirishile**) become poor; [pron. -
rel.
kh-faqirisha v. caus. (**faqirishiize**) make poor
Hattá/ skumó/ skukasa/ ya kuwa mwanaamke/ hukhaadira/ mfaqirisha/ mwamubli/ jis’iyo/ ka kila haali. ‘Not one day did I hear that a girl can make a young man that poor in every circumstance.’
- faqri* n. [Ar. *faqr* W 722] poverty; [pron. **faqri** or **fakhri**]
- u-faqri* n. 14 [Sw. *ufukara* ‘utter destitution, beggary, poverty’ SSED 99] poverty
ufakhri/ uwazidiilopó ‘when their poverty increased...’
- far’a* n. [Ar. *far* ‘“branch, subdivision” W 707] descendant
aḍaabuuye nda abadi/ kubla far’a ya Mhamadi [st.] ‘she will be in hell forever/ for killing a descendant of Mohamed’
- faraji* n. [Sw. *faraja* SSED 92; Ar. *faraj* W 702] consolation, relief
Ba’ada ya ðiikhi/ ni faraji. ‘After hardship there is relief.’ (A proverb.)
Sabri/ ni ifungulo la faraji. ‘Patience is the key to [lit. of] relief.’ (A proverb.)
- faraakha* n. privacy; leisure or spare time
variant form: **faraagha** [Ar. *farāḡ* W 707]
Iwaliko mahala ya faraakha. ‘It was a private place.’
khpata faragha (or: **farakha**) ‘to find the spare time (to do something)’
Nt^haná/ faraakha. ‘He has no time.’
- kh-farama* v. [possibly connected to Som. noun *fariin*, pl. *farrimo* ‘message’ DSI 222, but no verbal form found in Standard Somali] (**faramiile**) ask or send someone to do something; advise, recommend doing, suggest, instruct something to be done; send for something, order something (e.g. by mail)
Chimera kaake/ ziint^hu/ zoṭe/ za chizeelé/ mfarmiiló/ kumera ka sultaani. ‘He sought from him all the things that the old woman suggested he ask of the sultan.’
Ibreeni/ faramiileni. ‘What did Ibreeni recommend?’ (A possible answer:
Ye/ faramile Sarmadi/ kendra ka dakhtari. ‘He recommended Sarmadi’s going to the doctor.’ Or: **Ye/ faramile kendrowa ka dakhtari.** ‘He recommended going to the doctor.’)
Isa/ mi/ nt^hakhfarama/ sanduukhuya/ inaletowa. ‘Now I will send for my box to be brought.’
Mithaali/ iyi/ inakhfarama/ waant^hu/ kudhoora/ na kofisha ahdí. ‘This

proverb advises people to respect and to fulfill a promise.’

Na zaa we/ mfaramilo mgarwá/ kaa kaná/ nkhuburiile/ zotte. ‘And those that you recommended to the fisherman verbally, he has informed of all.’

Nfaramile Jaamá/ na’oloké. ‘I advised Jaama that he should go.’ (Syn: It is most common not to have object agreement on the verb in the case of a subjunctive complement, but it is possible to say **Nimfaramile Jaamá/ na’oloké.**) (Phon. Note that while the subjunctive would ordinarily have default penult accent, in this example the subjunctive is within the scope of a final-accent triggering higher verb.)

Simfaramé/ mwaana/ ziwovu. ‘Don’t suggest doing evil to the child.’

Sultaani/ wafaramilee nt^ho/ mawaziiriwe/ na winginewé/ ba/ kumtii’a/ na kumkhuduma mwaaná/ ka ikhlaasi/ na niya saafi. ‘The king entreated his ministers and others as well to obey and serve his son with loyalty and pure intentions.’

Yaa ye/ faramiiló/ muke/ zont^he/ fanyiize. ‘That which he ordered, his wife prepared all of it.’

rel.

kh-faramila v. appl. send for something for

Ali/ faramiile gaari/ chibumbu shpiya. ‘Ali ordered a new horn for the car.’

kh-faramisha v. caus. cause someone to order

Shaafi/ mfaramishize Iisa/ chibuumbu. ‘Saafi had Iisa order a horn.’

kh-faramishiliza v. caus. appl.

Shaafi/ faramishilize gaari/ chibuumbu. ‘Shafi had a horn ordered for the car.’

kh-faramoowa v. pass. (faramiila) be advised

Baduwi/ chingila sukhuuni/ chuula/ zaa ye/ faramiila/ chimleetela. ‘The nomad entered the market and bought what he had been instructed to buy and returned to him.’

jahaziini. ‘Huseeni did not forget what he had been advised by the daughter of the sultan on board the boat.’

Ifaramilaa mi/ kooloka. ‘It was suggested that I go.’ Cf. **Ifaramilaa mi/ nooloke.** ‘It was suggested that I should go.’

Ifaramilaa si/ chooloke. ‘It was suggested to us that we should go.’

Keendraka/ ifaramila naawe. ‘My going was advised by you.’ (Syn: The possessive-complement is preferred here, in subject position, to an infinitive: **Mi/ keendra/ ifaramila naawe.** ‘I to go was advised by you.’)

Nfaramila keendrá. ‘I was advised to go.’

Nfaramila na Jaamá/ keendra. ‘I was advised to go by Jaama.’ (Phon. In this example, the agentive phrase is immediately after the main verb. This is where a focused element is located. As a result, the final accent triggered by the main verb stops at the agentive phrase and does not project to the following infinitive phrase. We refer to this as the Accentual Law of Focus.)

Shfaramila kooloká. ‘We were advised to go.’

Sultaani/ wafaramilee nt^ho/ mawaziiriwe/ na winginewé/ ba/ kumtii’a/ na kumkhuduma mwaaná/ ka ikhlaasi/ na niya saafi. ‘The sultan advised his ministers and others as well to obey him [his son] and to serve the boy with loyalty and pure intentions.’

faransa

n. [Sw. *faransa* SSED 92] French

Laakini/ mumathili/ wa Faransa/ simeeme/ hadiile/ ya kuwa kamaa si/ shchisuula/ kuwa wamooyi/ si/ want^hu wa Oorupa/ laazima/ kulla uḏwu/ karka Suqu Mushṭaraki/ iyi/ ichiwa impeete/ dhibu/ si/ wotte/ khsimama/ kubigana naayo/ dhibu iyo/ haṭá/ si/ ki’ishiindra. ‘But the French representative stood up and said that if we wanted to become one (people), we the peoples of Europe must, every member of this Common Market, if it beset by difficulty, we all must stand firm and fight against it,

until we defeat it.’

wilaya ya faransa ‘France’

rel.

m-faransa (*wa-*) n. 1/2 [Sw. *mfaransa* (*wa-*) SSED 92] a Frenchman

faransiyaale

n. 9/10 [Ital. *differenziale*] differential (on an automobile)

faransiyoone

n. 9/10 [Ital. *frizione*] gearbox (on an automobile)

farasi

n. [Sw. *farasi* SSED 92; Ar. *faras* W 704] horse; idiom. prostitute

Chihada/ kuwaa ye/ takhpandra farasi/ masku/ mazimaye/ haṭá/ fijiri. ‘He said that he could ride a horse all night until morning.’

Chimpa/ na farasi/ mooyi/ msuura/ nt^ho. ‘He gave him a very beautiful horse.’

farasi diira ‘a type of fish (lit. horse with glasses) – a fish that looks like it is wearing goggles; identified as having huge roe and long **miwa**, bones’

farasii ndre ‘a type of fish (lit. long horse)’

farasi ya sulṭaani ‘a king’s horse’

igari ya farasi ‘a horse-drawn cart’

khfakata/ kama farasi ‘to run (fast) like a horse’

khpandra farasi or **khpaandra/ farasi** ‘to ride a horse’

Mpandra farasii mbili/ hatuka tuusi. ‘The one who rides two horses splits his ass.’ (A proverb that counsels doing things one at a time; don’t be too ambitious.)

Mp^huundra/ chimpanḍra farasi/ huzala baghali. ‘When a donkey rides (i.e. copulates with) a horse, it gives birth to a mule.’

Pandra farasi/ chilawe. ‘Mount a horse and let us go.’

Sulṭaani/ hupandra farasi. ‘The king rides a horse.’

rel.

i-farasi (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.

sh-farasi (*s-*) n. 7/8 dim.

faraasila

n. [Sw. *frasila* “a measure of weight, about 35 lbs” SSED 98, which suggests the word comes either from dialectal Arabic or from English *parcel*] a unit of measurement of weight (An historical note from Sandra Abud: This unit of weight was very seldom used in the second half of the twentieth century, only for maize when sold in town by countrymen. Formerly, it was used especially for exported goods, like ivory, dried fish, maize and clarified butter. Available documentation indicates that 1 faraasila= 36 pounds. This is confirmed by all Italian commercial data at the turn of the 20th century (see in particular Robecchi Bricchetti’s “Somalia e Benadir”, p. 589). Robecchi says that 1 faraasila = 36 raṭali (= pounds) and was approximately equivalent to 16 kgs. This was the official weight. In practice, 1 raṭali was calculated as the weight of 16 Thalers (Maria Theresia Dollar), which weighed 28 grams each, and therefore was slightly less than a lb.

rel.

i-faraasila n. 5 aug.

ikulu/ kana ifaraasila ‘as big as a large *faraasila*’

fardiiḍi

adj. [Som. *far* “finger” DSI 217 + *diid* “to refuse” DSI 186, but this word is not used in Standard Somali] warm (of water)

Maya aya/ fardiiḍi. ‘This water is warm.’

farḍi

religious in

n. 9/10 [Sw. *faradhi* SSED 92; Ar. *farḍ* W 706] obligation, prescribed duty (esp. nature)

variant form: **farḷi**

farḍi ya koowa amima maluungo/ yote ka maayi silaṭe chilungo [st.] ‘(there is) an obligation of washing up (after ejaculating), cover all the body with water, don’t leave any part (untouched by the water)’

hija ni farḍi waajibu jo laazima [st.] ‘the pilgrimage (to Mecca) is a duty, an obligation which is a must’

koosha uso na mikono ndi yo farði [st.] ‘to wash the face and the hands is an obligation’

kulipa farði ‘to carry out a religious obligation’

Mooja nashfaanye wakasiizo mnaada/ walisilo farði wapeeto

faa’ida [st.] ‘may God include us among those who responded to the call (and) benefitted from fulfilling this religious duty’

laazimu/ kana farði ‘as necessary as a religious obligation’

nt^hendre ya farði ‘a kind of date, soft and sweet, often eaten to break fast

during Ramadhan’

farfarikhaati adj. (cf. *-fariqa*) separated, scattered far from each other; this word is much used now to indicate the diaspora of Bravanese people around the world

kh-fargata v. [cf.? Som. *fargo* “to have muscular contractions or spasms” DSI 221] (**fargeete**) refuse s.t., refuse to do s.t. with the purpose of showing disapproval, displeasure, pique, or as a kind of threat to get what one wants (esp. of children and old people); pout

rel.

kh-fargatisha v. caus.

rel. nom.

ma-fargato n. 6

farhaani [Ar. *farhān* “merry, gay, cheerful” W 702] merry, gay, cheerful

Walwaawo/ washfunga safari/ wachi’irudila kaawo/ wachi’iisha/ naawó/ farhaaní. ‘They both set out on a journey and returned to their place and they lived in happiness.’

kh-fariða v. [Ar. *farada* W 705] prescribe a duty

kh-farija v. [Ar. *faraja* W 702] (**farajiile**) relieve (economically); bless (in the sense of increasing health or wealth, or with reference to one’s state in the afterlife) (of God)
ya Rabi Mooja kulla kheeri farija/ ilu ya muke wa Mtume Khaðija [st.] ‘Oh God extend all blessings onto the Prophet’s wife Khadhija’ (Note that in this example, the verb has a non-human direct object, *kulla kheeri*.)

rel.

kh-farijika v. p/s. gain (economic) relief

Ye/ farijishile sku izi. ‘He has gained economic relief these days.’

kh-farijila v. appl. bless someone with (of God)

Mwajiitu/ mfarijilile ka afiya/ na maalí. ‘God blessed him with health and wealth.’

rel. nom.

m-farija n. 1 a name of God -- one who relieves

kh-farila v. [Som. *far* “to give a message or thing to s.o.” DSI 217] appl. (**fariiliile**) send through someone

waano khufariiliile [st.] ‘I have sent you (through someone) a piece of advice’

is the simple verb used?

fariina n. 9/10 [Ital. *freno*] brakes

kh-fariqa v. [Ar. *faraqa* W 708] split, separate
ahli infariqiile mi nakhkooða na nafsiya [nt.] ‘my relatives have left me and I talk to my soul’

Chisulaa nt^hi/ ya ðahabu/ nt^haku/ ndila/ ila muunt^hu/ khfarikha

duniyá. ‘If one wants earth of gold, there is no way except for a person to die [depart the world].’

kh-farisha v. eagerly plan to do s.t. (Note that although this looks like a causative verb, there is no verb ***khfara** which might be considered to be the base for the formation of the causative verb.)
kh-farisha keendra ‘to plan to go’

faarisi (*ma-*) n. a Persian
rel.
i-faarisi (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.
sh-faarisi (*s-*) n. 7/8 dim.

farji n. [Ar.] vagina
Omari/ mtilee muke/ ðakariye/ karka farji/ dhukh dhukh dhukh.
‘Omari inserted his penis into the woman’s vagina repeatedly **dhukh dhukh dhukh.**’

farkeeta n. fork
Chint^hu cha mwanaamke/ tindililoo namá/ iwaliko farketa. ‘The thing that the girl used to cut the meat was a fork.’
rel.
i-farkeeta (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.

farmaajo n. [Som. *farmaajo* DSI 221, from Ital. *formaggio*] cheese
Huja mandra yaabisi/ huja farmaajo/ hujaa zijo/ hujaa nama/ huja yaa ye/ nakhsuuló/ karka nuumba. ‘They (e.g. rats) eat dried bread, they eat cheese, they eat **zijo**, they eat meat, they eat whatever they want in the house.’

farmani n. a pole holding the sail, usually made of bamboo (= **ikuri**)

farmiyeeri n. [Ital.] nurse
Farmiyeeri/ mbishile maana/ sindaanu/ tush! ‘The nurse injected the child with a needle **tush!**’

kh-fariqa v. differentiate
Kanzaa we/ mbele/ chiza khfariqa/ bena munt^hu faqiiri/ na taajiri. ‘For you to begin, first do not discriminate between a poor man and a rich man.’

farqi n. difference
Chambiloowa/ taambula/ ni ump^hi/ myaaya/ ni ump^hi/ mlungaana/ walawaanganye/ uje mlungaana/ na uje myaaná/ mwaandike/ hattá/ kama yimo farqi mwaape/ taambula. ‘He was told to differentiate which one was a slave and which one was free-born, that he should mark her, even if there is any difference at all (between them).’

Laakini/ si/ shkhiriilé/ farqi iyi/ kuwaako/ karka muuyi/ uyu/ naa we/ ndiwé/ sultaaní. ‘But we accepted this difference [in the story from which this example comes: the unequal treatment of people] to be there in this town and it is you who are the sultan.’

Wanaadamu/ ni watana wa mwajiitu/ munt^hu faqiiri/ na munt^hu taajiri/ mwaana/ chihaba/ na munt^hu mzimá/ ni sawasawa/ nt^hamú/ farqi. ‘Human beings are servants of God, a poor man and a rich man, a child and an adult, are equal; there is no difference.’

farshi n. [Ar. *farš* W 705] furnishing; carpet

fartaki ??

farthi

faaru

n. 9/10 [Sw. *faru* SSED 93] rhinoceros

rel

sh-faaru (s-) n. 7/8 [Sw. *kifaru* SSED 190] rhinoceros

Safari iyi/ mwaana/ mwene shfaaru/ leele/ nt^hini yaa muti. ‘On this trip, the boy saw a rhino sleeping under a tree.’

Wenopo kuwa mwaaná/ ile/ na shfaaru/ chimjiiba/ ka ndriimbo/ kuwa hayawaani/ waayé/ ilo naayé/ siwo/ siimba. ‘When she saw that the boy had come with a rhino, she answered him in song that the animal that he had come with [it] was not the lion.’

kh-faarukha

v. die; disappear from the world

khfarukha duniya ‘to leave the world – i.e. die’

faarumu

n. [Sw. *farumi* SSED 93; ?Ar.] sacks of sand used to balance a **jahazi** that is empty on its return trip (ballast) (This nautical term is used by the Swahili, Omani, and Bajuni; does not seem to be known by the general population in Brava.)

fasaadi (ma-)

adj. [Ar. *fasād* and *fāsid* W 713] one who corrupts, spoils; scandalous (e.g. someone who speaks about sex in public); void, null, invalid

munt^hu fasaadi ‘a scandalous person’

rel.

u-fasaadi n. vice, corruption; act of spoiling, corrupting

Karka nt^hi za chi’aafrika/ ufasaadi/ uzidiile/ na rashwá/ iwele ni aada/ na iyi inakuleetó/ ni kuwa kuḷa nakhtawaḷo zimaamú/ za nt^hi mooyí/ nt^hanakhfikiriḷa/ shokuwa waant^hu/ wa qabiilaye. ‘In the countries of Africa, corruption has increased and bribery has become a custom, and what brings this about is that whoever administers the affairs on a country thinks about no one except the people of his tribe.’

fasaaha

n. [Ar. *fasāha* W 715] eloquence

khkoḷa ka fasaaha ‘to speak eloquently’

rel.

u-fasaaha n. 14 eloquence

fasaḷeeta

n. 9/10 [Ital. *fazzoletto*] handkerchief, headkerchief, scarf (worn over the head) (It should be noted that there was no tradition in Brava of women covering their face with a veil or piece of cloth.) (This noun does not allow a plural form with *ma-*.)

fasaḷeeta iyi ‘this scarf’; **fasaḷeeta izi** ‘these scarfs’

Fasaḷeeta/ ya Tuuma/ finishilo chiṭá/ nii mp^hiya. ‘The scarf that Tuuma put over her head is new.’

Mpangile maana/ mapula/ ka fasaḷeeta. ‘He wiped the mucous from the child’s nose with a handkerchief.’

Tuuma/ finishile fasaḷeeta/ chiṭaani. ‘Tuuma covered her head with a scarf.’

rel.

i-fasaḷeeta (mi-) n. aug. or derogatory

Ifasaḷeeta gani/ iyo. ‘What kind of a scarf is that one (i.e. deriding it)?’

Mifasaḷeeta ayo/ miwovu. ‘Those scarves are bad.’

Mifasaḷeeta gani/ aya. ‘What kind of scarves are these (i.e. deriding the scarves for their ugliness or poor quality).’

sh-fasaḷeeta (s-) n. 7/8 dim.

fasali

n. [Som. *fasal* DSI 223] season; harvest

confirm I

fash

ideo. [Som. *fash* “to splurt out, sprinkle”, cited in Dhoorre & Tosco, p. 142]

Hamadi/ chisu/ chimṭiinzile/ yamlazile maazi/ fash! ‘the knife cut

Hamadi, blood spurted out from him **fash!**'

Hamadi/ m̄ta(w)anyilize maayi/ Omari/ usooni/ fash! 'Hamadi spit water into Omari's face **fash!**'

faasha n. [Ital. *fascia*] bandage

faashili adj. [Ar. *fašil* W 714] failure
Ni muunt^hu/ faashili. 'He is a failure.'

kh-fashilika v. [Ar. *fašila* W 714] (**fashilishile**) fail (to be a success)
Dul'eda/ iwilopo kuwa hiilayé/ ifashilishilé/ chishika ndilaye/ chiyolokela. 'When fox realized that his trickery had failed, he took to [his] road and went away.'
...kuwa mu'amaara/ waawo/ ufashilishile 'that their plot had failed'
Ye/ fashilishile ka zotte/ zaa ye/ fanyiizó. 'He failed in everything that he did.'

rel.

kh-fashilisha v. caus. cause to fail (to be a success)

fashini *check isolation form*

fashini yaa mbele 'prow'

fashini yaa numa 'stern'

kh-fashira v. [cf. Ar. *fašara* "to brag, boast" W 714] (**fashiriile**) spread scandalous news etc.
about **review the meaning given difference from Arabic source**

Zeena/ nfashirile ka waant^hu. 'Zeena spread scandalous news about me to people.'

rel.

kh-fashirika v. p/s.

Tayyibu/ hafashiriki/ ka waant^hu. 'Tayyibu cannot be defamed by people (because he knows how to deal with attempts to do so, or he gets mad about it).'

kh-fashirikila v. p/s. appl.

Want^hu awa/ hawafashirikili/ zijaana. 'These people cannot have their children defamed (on them).'

kh-fashirila v. appl.

Omari/ wafashirile waant^hu/ Zeena. 'Omari exposed Zeena's scandalous behavior etc, to/for the people.'

fashista n. [Ital. *fascista*] fascist
zamani za fashista 'the time of the fascists'

kh-fasikha v. [Ar. *fasika* 'to be revoked, invalidated, dissolved' W 712] (**fasikhiile**) ask for divorce (of a woman from a man)
Muke/ mfasikhile muh̄jiwe. 'The woman asked for divorce from her husband.'

m-fasiri (wa-) n. 1/2 translator

faasiqi adj. [Sw. *fasiki* "an immoral, profligate, dissolute, vicious person" SSED 93; Ar. *faasiq* W 713 and verb *fasaqa* "to stray from the right path" W 713] profligate, scandalous, licentious etc.
munt^hu faasiqi 'someone scandalous'; **want^hu (ma)faasiqi** 'scandalous people'

kh-fasira v. [Sw. *fasiri* SSED 93; Ar. *fasira* W 713] (**fasiriile**) interpret the meaning of s.t., translate (esp. s.t. written), explain

Ali/ fasirile darsi. 'Ali explained the lesson.'

Baana/ fasirile hadiithi. 'Bana translated the sayings of Mohammad.'

Muunt^hu/ mpete mwaalimu/ shfasira darsi. 'The man found the teacher explaining a lesson.'

- Nuuru/ fasiriḷe darsi.** ‘Nuuru explained, interpreted the lesson.’
rel.
kh-fasirika v. p/s. be translatable
Qasida iyi/ hayfasiriki. ‘This poem isn’t translatable.’
kh-fasirikila v. p/s. appl.
Qasida iyi/ imfasirikilile Ali/ ka sahali. ‘This poem translates easily for Ali.’
Qasida izi/ hazimfasirikili/ Omari. ‘These poems were not able to be translated for Omari (i.e. either Omari could not translate them or someone else could not translate them for Omari).’
kh-fasirila v. appl. translate for, with; explain to
Mi/ nvundishilee himá/ ba/ ba’aḏa ya Hamadi/ kunfasiriḷaa mi/ zombo izo. ‘I lost interest after Hamadi explained to me those things.’
Suufi/ mfasiriḷile Hasani/ qasida iyi. ‘Suufi translated this poem for Hasani.’
kh-fasiriḷika v. appl. p/s.
Omari/ hafasiriḷiki/ qasida iyi. ‘Omari is unable to translate this poem.’
kh-fasirisha v. caus.
Nuuru/ mfasirisha mwaalimu/ darsi. ‘Nuuru had the teacher explain the lesson.’ (A periphrastic version is also possible using the simple verb: **Ali/ mtile mwaalimu/ khfasira darsi.** ‘Ali caused the teacher to explain the lesson.’)
kh-fasirishika v. caus. p/s.
kh-fasirishiliza v. caus. appl.
Nuuru/ mfasirishilize Ali/ mwaana/ darsi. ‘Nuuru had Ali’s child interpret the lesson.’ (A periphrastic version is also possible: **Ali/ mtile Iisa/ mwaana/ khfasira darsi.** ‘Ali had Iisa’s child explain the lesson.)
kh-fasirishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
Nuuru/ na Ali/ wafasirishilizenye waana/ darsi. ‘Nuuru and Ali had one another’s children interpret or translate the lesson.’ (A periphrastic version is also acceptable: **Nuuru/ na Ali/ watililene waana/ khfasira darsi.**)
kh-fasiroowa v. pass.
rel. nom.
m-fasiro n. 3 translation, translating
ma-fasiro n. 6 translation, translating, explanation
u-fasiro n. 14 translation, translating, explanation
- fasli** n. 9/10 [Ar. *faṣl* ‘class, grade, season’ W 715] class (in school), season; comma
fasli iyi ‘this class’; **fasli izi** ‘these classes’
Fasli iyi/ nda chingereenza. ‘This class is an English class.’
fasli ya chingereenza ‘an English class’
fasli ya filaali ‘summer season’
Omari/ umo fasliini. ‘Omari is in class.’
We/ teeté/ fasli ya chingereenza. ‘You took the English class.’ Cf. **We/ teeté/ fasli ya chingereenza?** ‘Did you take the English class?’
- fasri** n. (cf. **kh-fasira**) poetic translation, explanation
ni sahali kiiwa aya mishitari / na ka chimbalazi tambulaani fasri [st.] ‘it is easy to learn (lit. to know) these lines and you have to understand the translation in Chimbalazi’
- fat** ideo. [Som. *fad*, cited in an internet source as referring to “the bubbling of sticky cornmeal on a cooking pot”; Som. *d* is devoiced in word-final position, hence the Chimiini pronunciation] of food boiling
Maṭaaza/ yanatokota/ fáṭ fáṭ fáṭ. ‘The porridge is boiling, (it is saying) **fat fat fat.**’
- faṭaaha** n. 9 [Sw. SSED 93; Ar. *faṭiḥa* W 694] the first chapter of the Quran; reward
khsoma faṭaaha ‘to read *faṭaaha*, the first chapter of the Quran’
ya ne ni khsooma faṭaaha ka bismala ‘the fourth [requirement] is

to read the *faataha* along with its *bismala*, the first verse of the chapter'

khtala faataha 'to accept a decision' (The **faataha** is read when a decision on some matter is accepted.)

Mi/ nt'eeté/ faatahayo. 'I accepted your decision.'

kubiga faataha 'to read *faataha*, the first chapter of the Quran'

We/ chuza zint'u izi/ ka himaahima/ takhpowa faatahayo. 'If you sell these things quickly, you will be given [lit. your] a reward.'

faataali adj. [Som. *fataal* "procurer, pimp" DSI 224] s.o. who is a rogue, a rascal

kh-fatama v. (**faateeme**) hide

Chishkila/ cheendra/ shfatama ka mahaala. 'He climbed down and went and hid someplace.'

Faateeme ihandakhiini. 'He hid in a trench.'

Faatiima/ namfatama Nuuru. 'Faatima is hiding from Nuuru.' (The simple yes-no question version exhibits Q-raising, but no accent shift. Accent-shift is found in the exclamatory question: **Faatiimá/ namfatama Nuurú!?** The shift in the VP is obligatory, but there appears to be variation with respect to whether the initial subject exhibits accent-shift.)

Omari/ faateeme iboholiini. 'Omari hid in a hole.'

Omari/ faateeme m'anaani. 'Omari hid in the room.'

waaliko shfateeme ndraani ya mivuungu [nt.] 'we hid under beds'

faataani adj. s.o. who creates discord (= *mwenye fit(i)ni*), e.g. by informing someone about what another person said about him etc.

variant form: **fattaani** [Ar. *fattān* W 696]

munt'u faataani, want'u (ma)faataani (cf. agreement in the case of derived diminutive and augmentative nouns: **chijint'u shfaataani, zijint'u sfaataani, ijint'u ifaataani, mijint'u mifaataani**)

Faatiima n. the daughter of Mohammad

faatiini adj. [Ar. *faṭīn* "clever, smart, bright, intelligent" W 720] smart, intelligent

munt^hu faatiini 's.o. smart, with a good clear mind'

review the meaning of this word

kh-fatisha v. [Sw. *fatisha* SSED 93; Ar. *fatassa* W 694] (**fatishiize**) inspect, investigate

variant form: **kh-fitisha**

fatisha ma'anaye [song] 'explain its meaning'

lata khfatisha chizapo takhkufura [st.] 'leave off investigating (such things) or else you will lose your faith'

Sultaani/ chishikowa shtanaa nt^ho/ chiwavila askarize/ chizaambila/ olokaani/ fatishaani/ mp^haandre/ zotte/ za nt^hiya/ mmereeni/ mgeeni/ uyu/ inakuhadowa kuwa nubulele ngoombeza. 'The sultan got very angry and called his soldiers and told them: go and search thoroughly all sides of my kingdom and look for this stranger who is said to have killed my cattle on me.'

rel.

kh-fatishafatisha v. freq.

Shfatishafatisha teena. 'He rummaged some more.'

Sku mooyi/ naa ye/ nakhfatishofatishoo nt^haká... 'One day while he was rummaging through the garbage...'

kh-fatishana v. rec.

kh-fatishiliza v. appl. (**fatishiliize**)

rel. nom.

m-fatisha (wa-) n. 1/2

m-fatisho (mi-) n. 3/4 act of searching, inspecting

u-fatisho n. 14

m-fitisho (mi-) n. 3/4 act of inspecting

faṭuura

n. 9/10 [Ital. *vettura* “car”] motor car

Abubakari/ ile Miini/ ka faṭuura. ‘Abubakari came to Brava by car.’

Faṭuura/ fanyizeeyi. ‘The car, what did you do to it (lit. how did you do it)?’

Or: **Faṭuura/ fanyiizeni.** ‘The car, what did you do to it?’ A possible answer to both these questions: **Mp^hashile ranji.** ‘I painted (it).’

Faṭura gani/ we/ weenó. ‘Which car did you see?’ (A possible answer to this question would be: **Mbene faṭura ya Omarí.** ‘I saw Omarí’s car.’ Or another answer: **Mbene Omarí/ faṭuurayé.** ‘I saw Omarí, his car.’)

faṭuraa nk^hulu ‘large car/s’

iyó faṭuraa nk^hulu ‘that large car’

Ka faṭuura/ Abubakari/ ilo Miini. ‘By car Abubakari came to Brava.’

Mbene faṭura ya Omarí. ‘I saw Omarí’s car.’ Or: **Mbeené/ faṭura ya Omarí.** ‘I saw Omarí’s car.’

Mi/ nuzile faṭuurá. ‘I bought a car.’

Mtomele maana/ ka faṭuraani. ‘He took the child from the car.’

Nuuru/ uzile faṭuura. ‘Nuuru bought a car.’ Cf. **Mi/ nuzile faṭuurá.** ‘I bought a car.’

Nuuru/ uzile faṭuraa nk^hulu. ‘Nuuru bought the large car.’ Cf. **Mi/ nuzile faṭuraa nk^hulú.** ‘I bought the large car.’ (Phon. Because of downstep intonation, the accented syllable in **nk^hulu** in these examples would be lower in pitch than the initial accented syllable in the phrase. However, it is possible to put special emphasis on the adjective by markedly raising the pitch.)

Nuzile faṭuurá/ nk^hulu. ‘I bought a large car.’ Cf. **Nuzile faṭuraa nk^hulú.** ‘I bought the large car.’ Or: **Nuzile iyo faṭuraa nk^hulú.** ‘I bought that large car.’ (Syn. The second example, with definite phrasing, answers a question like: **Faṭura gani/ Nuuru/ uziló.** ‘Which car did Nuuru buy?’)

Nuzile faṭura ya Aziizi. ‘I bought Aziizi’s car.’

Nuzile faṭura (y)a mana (w)a Omarí/ mp^hiyá. ‘I bought Omarí’s son’s new car.’

Omarí/ muliḷe maanawe/ faṭuura. ‘Omarí bought a car for his son.’

Osmaani/ uzile faṭura ya gani. ‘Which car did Osmaani buy?’

Osmaani/ uzile faṭura ya naani. ‘Whose car did Osmaani buy?’

Uzile faṭuura/ nk^hulu. ‘He bought a large car.’ Cf. **Uzile faṭuraa nk^hulu.** ‘He bought the large car.’ (Phon. The yes-no question versions of these two sentences contrast. In the first case, the adjective undergoes accent-shift: **Uzile faṭuura/ nk^hulú?** No shifting occurs in the second case: **Uzile faṭuraa nk^hulu?**)

rel.

i-faṭuura (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

sh-faṭuura (s-) n. 7/8 dim.

faṭuura

presently in use.)

n. [Ital. *fattura*] *obsolete?* bill (MI used this word, but it does not seem to be

faṭura ya maayi ‘water bill’

Iṣṭalimile faṭura ya koranṭa. ‘He received the electric bill.’

faayda

n. 9 [Ar. *fā’ida* W 735] profit

variant form: **faa’ida**

Ali/ pete faayda/ niingi (or: **nk^hulu**). ‘Ali got a large profit.’

Ma’anaye/ simṭafsirilé/ muunt^hu/ maneenoyo/ chiwaa we/ nt^hunakhpata/ ka kaake/ faayda/ nk^hulu. ‘Don’t explain to anyone the meaning of your words if you do not

get from him a large profit.’

Mooja nashfaanye wakasiizo mnaada/ walisilo farōi wapeeto faa’ida [st.]
‘may God include us among those who responded to the call (and)
benefitted from fulfilling this religious duty’

Nini/ faayda/ ya muunt^hu/ kuwa nayo waana. ‘What is the profit for a
man to have children?’

*Sinakuwona haaja/ yoyote/ walá/ faaydá/ si/ mfunza mwanamke uyu/
namfungula/ mfuunga/ namfuungula/ chiwaa ye/ iize/
khuweleleaa muke.* ‘I do not see any need whatsoever nor profit if
we jail this girl, release her, jail her, release her, if she refuses to be
a wife to you.’

kh-faaydisha

v. [Ar. *faida* W 734]

faaydaani

n. [Ar. *fayadān* W 735]

faayluzi

n. [Ar. *fālūdaj* "a sweet made of flour and honey" W 692] custard (a synonym of
faaluuta)

faza’a

n.

qalbīya faza’a na neefu hundūiqa [nt.] ‘my heart is scared and I cannot
breathe’

wake na wabli watiila faza’a [nt.] ‘women and men [alike] are afraid’

kh-faza’ata

v. [Ar. *faza’a* W 711]

Nahiile/ faza’eete/ walá/ nt^hanakiwa/ nini/ impeeto. ‘He was scared, he
was frightened, and he did not know what had happened to him.’

rel.

kh-faza’ika v. intr. (*faza’ishile*) be frightened (away)

We/ nfunguliila mlaango/ we/ takumbona/ stiyé/ walá/ sfaza’iké. ‘You
open for me the door, you will see me, don’t be afraid, neither be
frightened.’

kh-faza’isha v. caus. (*faza’ishiize*) frighten someone or something away

Siimba/ kuboolake/ peesa/ ka sarkali/ namfaza’isha waawaye. ‘Simba’s
having stolen money from the government is frightening his
father.’

feđa

n. 9/10 [Sw. *fedha* SSED 93; Ar. *fiḏḏa* “silver” W 717] silver, money (There are
critical respects in which this word behaves as though it has a CVCCV structure and not a CVCV structure,
despite appearances. First of all, a phrase-final CVCV word requires lengthening of a preceding vowel, whereas
a CVCCV word does not. The examples below show that a vowel is not lengthened in front of *feđa*. A
monosyllabic possessive enclitic triggers lengthening on a CVCV word in front of it, but not on a CVCCV
word. Thus one finds *kanziya* ‘my treasure’ versus *lutiila* ‘my stick’. In the case of *feđa*, there is no
lengthening: *feđaya* ‘my money’.)

Hufula ḏahabu/ na feđa. ‘He forges gold and silver.’

Huseeni/ shṭomola/ feđa/ chiwapa. ‘Huseeni took out the money and gave

it to them.’

Khkooḏa/ ni feđa/ kumaamala/ ḏahabu. ‘To speak is silver, to keep
quiet is gold.’ (A proverb.)

kuweka feđa ‘to save money’

Alí/ fanyize kaazi/ ^fmiingi/ weshele feđa. ‘Ali did a lot of work
and saved money.’

Itaki la feđa ‘a silver necklace’

Nazo feđa. ‘He has money.’

*Nnakhsula markabú/ ya ḏahabú/ milongotiye/ ya feđa/ mitaangaye/ ya
hariiri.* ‘I want a ship of gold, its masts of silver, its sails of silk.’

*Nt^hakendra ka waawe/ kumwaambila/ namp^he feđa/ noondroke/
neendre/ nmere kaazi.* ‘I will go to my father and tell him that he
should give money so that I move and go and look for work.’

Nt^hanazo feḏa. ‘He hasn’t any money.’
pesa ya feḏa ‘a silver coin’

kh-feḏeha v. [Ar. v. *faḏaha* and noun *faḏīha* W 717] (**feḏehcele**) reveal someone’s wrongdoings and therefore bring shame or dishonor upon him

Omari/ hupeenda/ khfeḏeha waant^hu. ‘Omari likes to reveal the wrongdoings of people.’

Simfeḏehé/ mwaadamu/ kama weewe. ‘Don’t reveal [the wrongdoings] of a human being like yourself.’

rel.

kh-feḏeheka v. p/s. (**feḏeheshela**) have one’s wrongdoings revealed

variant form: **kufeḏehেকেকা (feḏeheshela)**

We/ chiza kulāta jawabu izo/ takhfeḏeheka. ‘If you do not leave off (doing) those things, you will be shamed.’

kh-feḏehekoowa v. p/s. pass.

We/ chiza kulāta jawabu izo/ itakhfeḏehekoowa. ‘If you do not stop (lit. leave) doing those things, you will be shamed, dishonored.’

kh-feḏehela v. appl.

Sinfedehelé/ mweenzawa. ‘Don’t reveal [on me] the wrongdoings of my friend.’

kh-feḏehesha v. caus. cause someone’s wrongdoings to be revealed

Mojiitu/ sisfeḏeheshe. ‘May God not shame us (reveal our wrongdoings etc.)!’

kh-feḏeheshanya v. caus. rec.

kh-feḏehesheka v. caus. p/s.

kh-feḏeheshela v. caus. appl.

kh-feḏeheshelazanya v. caus. appl. rec.

feḏi

n. 9/10,6 line; file

Feḏi/ ndre. ‘The line is very long.’

Feḏi iyi/ nda Hamadi. ‘This file belongs to Hamadi.’

Feḏi izi/ nza hafisaani. ‘These files belong to the office, are related to the office.’

Feḏi izi/ nza skoḷaani. ‘These files belong to the school, are school-related.’

Feḏi izi/ nza wanaaskoḷa. ‘These files belong to the students, are student files.’

Omari/ simeme feḏiini. ‘Omari stood in line.’ Or: **Omari/ simeme karka feḏi.**

Omari/ tukile feḏi/ nk^hulu. ‘Omari carried a large file.’

Omari/ tukile mafeḏi/ makulu. ‘Omari carried large files.’

Ustaadi/ lesele feḏi/ ya waana. ‘The teacher brought the file of the children.’

rel.

mi-feḏi n. 4 aug.

Omari/ tukile mifeḏi/ mikulu. ‘Omari carried large files.’

s-feḏi

n. a competition (involving drumming, singing and dancing) between two rival groups, which in Brava consisted usually of **jereeri** (people of Bantu origins) from **Albamba** and **Baghdaadi** (the two quarters in Brava where the **jereeri** usually lived; the competition was held in the last days of Ramadhan up to **iid** and would begin around midnight and last all the way to dawn

Leelo/ masku/ yiko sfeḏi. ‘Tonight there is the competition.’

Sfeḏi/ yana masku/ shiinziló/ Albamba. ‘Albamba won the competition last night.’

m-feḏi (mi-)

n. 3/4 [Sw. **feḏi** “steel of good quality” SSED 94; Persian?] water pump, also called **bomba maayi** (This word was known to MI, but completely unknown to our more recent consultant GM.)

feesta

n. holiday; party

Chiwapa khabari/ kuwaa dafa/ wanakudarbaṭa/ khfanya feesta/

nk^hulu/ na kuwa wote/ sku ya feesta/ iyo/ hendra kanisaani. ‘He gave them the news that the kites prepare to celebrate a large holiday and that all of them on the day of the holiday go to church.’

Muunt^hi/ wa feesta/ ukomeelopó/ karaayle/ mzeele/ nt^hakeendra/

kanisaani. ‘When the day of the holiday came, the old crow did not go to church.’

Nikhumereleelé/ festaani. ‘I looked for you at the party.’

Nvete haanzuyá/ mp^hiyá/ khabla yaa mi/ Kendra festaani. ‘I put on my new dress before going to the party.’

fi’ili
action

n. 9/10 [Sw. *fili* SSED 95 ; Ar. *fi’l* “action, doing, work” W 721] verb (in grammar);

Mwana uyu/ fi’ilize/ mbovu. ‘This child’s actions are bad.’

nayo fi’ili or **nazo fi’ili** or **mwenye fi’ili** ‘holding a grudge/grudges for wrongs done to one, one taking revenge for s.t., etc.’

Awo/ ni wenyé fi’ili. ‘These are people who hold grudges, seek revenge, etc.’

Ni munt^hu mwenye fi’ili. ‘He is a person who holds grudges, plots revenge, etc.’

Omari/ fi’ilize/ siwo/ suura. ‘Omari, his actions are not good.’

kh-fi’ila

v. hold a grudge, take revenge, etc.

Muunt^hu/ siwo/ suura/ kumfi’ila ka mweenziwe. ‘It is not good for someone to hold grudges etc. against his friends.’

fidya

n. [Ar. *fidya* “in Islamic law, the redemption from the omission of certain religious duties, by a material donation: W 701] the ritual sacrifice of an animal (as in the Arabic usage of this word)

chiza fidya mbuzi hutindoowa [st.] ‘otherwise a goat is slaughtered as sacrifice’

khtomola fidya ‘to make a sacrifice’

Muunt^hu/ chilapa/ chiza khfuulisha/ laazimu/ khtomola fidya.

‘If someone swears an oath (to do s.t.), and if he does not fulfill it, then he must make a sacrifice (to appease God).’

Muunt^hu/ shkoḍa wanaafakhi/ hutomola fidya. ‘If someone tells a lie, he must make a sacrifice (to appease God).’

kulaṭowa fidya ‘to be let free to do whatever one wants’

Omari/ kaawo/ lasila fidya. ‘Omari, in his house, has been let free to do whatever he wants.’

kumlaṭa fidya ‘to let someone be free to do what he wants’

Mzele Omari/ walasile wataanawe/ fidya. ‘The elder Omari let his slaves go free.’

fidya

n. [Sw. *fidia* SSED 95; Ar. *fidya* “ransom” W 701] ransom (Although this word was known to MI, our more recent consultant GM was not familiar with this item and could not provide an example of its usage.)

khtomola fidya ‘to pay a ransom’

kulaṭa fidya ‘to put at the disposal of everyone; outcast someone’

kh-fiigata

v. [Som. *fiig* DSI 228] (**fiigeete**) flee without any planned direction, or (for many people) flee in different directions, because of fright; [pron. **-fiigata**] (It should be noted that the voiced velar fricative we write as **g** contrasts with the uvular fricative written **gh**. The velar fricative derives from a Somali **g** which in intervocalic position has a fricative allophone.)

Omari/ jisa usuurawe/ movú/ hatá/ wáant^hu/ humfiigata. ‘Omari, as his face is so ugly, people even flee from him.’

Waana/ wamfiigeete/ Omari. ‘The children fled from Omari.’

rel.

kh-figatila v. appl. [pron. -**figatila**]

Mi/ nfigatila kooðizó/ ba. ‘I ran away from your words/talk (i.e I did not listen to what you were saying, I ran away from it).’

Omari/ fi’ilize/ za khfigatila. ‘Omari’s actions are (the sort to cause people) to flee from (him).’

We/ nakhfigatila mi. ‘You, why are you running away from me?’

kh-figatoowa v. pass. [pron. -**figatoowa**]

Omari/ jisa usuurawe/ movú/ haṭá/ hufigatoowa. ‘Omari, as his face is so ugly people even flee from him.’

Siimba/ hufigatoowa. ‘One flees from a lion (lit. a lion is fled from).’

kh-fiigisha v. caus. cause to flee; [pron. -**fiigisha**]

Omari/ fi’ilize/ hufigisha waant^hu. ‘Omari’s actions cause people to flee.’

fija

supports

n. [Sw. *figa* SSED 95] a local stove -- a clay bowl-shaped container with three

Fija/ inakaaka. ‘The stove is burning (i.e. fire is going).’

Fija/ ivundishile. ‘The stove is broken.’

fija ya koranta or **fija/ ya koranta** ‘an electric stove’

fija ya makala or **fija/ ya makala** ‘charcoal stove’

fija ya uloongo or **fija/ ya uloongo** ‘clay stove’

Kahawa/ yiko fijaani. ‘The coffee is on the stove.’

Kuja/ yiko fijaani. ‘The food is on the stove.’

rel.

i-fija (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.

sh-fija (*s-*) n. 7/8 dim.

fijili

n. [Sw. *figili* SSED 95; Ar. *fujl*, *fujūl* “radish, Raphanus sativus” W 698] a large white radish; this comes from the same plant as **baqili**; the white radish is left to grow bigger (to the size of an ice-cream cone) and is said to be beneficial to digestion

rel.

i-fijili (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.

m-fijili (*mi-*) n. 3/4 raddish plant

sh-fijili (*s-*) n. 7/8 dim.

fijiri

n. 9/10 [Sw. *alfajiri* SSED 9 ; Ar. *fajr* W 697] morning (up until mid-day)

chakuja cha fijiri ‘breakfast’

Njile chakuja cha fijiri. ‘I ate breakfast.’

Chija/ chilaala/ haṭá/ fijiri. ‘He ate, he slept until morning.’

Fijiri/ bakayle/ chimwambila ndiwa/ lete amaanaya. ‘In the morning Hare came and said to Pigeon: bring my **amaana** (.s.t entrusted to s.o. to be reclaimed later).’

Fijiri/ muḅli/ chimwambila mukeewe/ mi/ nnakendra kaziini. ‘In the morning, the husband told his wife, I am going to work.’

Fijiri/ Sa’iidi/ chingila muyiini/ choloka ka sultani wa mayahuudi. ‘In the morning, Sa’iidi entered the town and went to the sultan of the Jews.’

Fijiri/ sku ya piili/ maama/ chimuḷila mp^huundra. ‘On the morning of the next day mother bought a donkey for him.’

fijiri/ ya jimaa tatu ‘Monday morning’ or **jimaa tatu/ fijiri** or **jimaa tatu/ fijiriye**

Tuuma/ vushile Mkhodiisho/ fijiri ya jimaa tatu. ‘Tuuma went to Mogadishu on Monday morning.’ Or: **Tuuma/ vushile Mkhodiisho/ jimaa tatu/ fijiri.** Or: **Tuuma/ vushile Mkhodiisho/ jimaa tatu/ fijiriye.**

fijiri ya kaandra ‘dawn’

Ori/ walimo karka chijuumba/ chaa nk^huku/ chilindra fijiri ya kaandra/ khpata kuwiika/ kondrola waant^hu. ‘The cock was in the chicken coop waiting for dawn so as to get to crow to wake people up.’

fijiriini ‘[loc.] in the morning’ (Note that the locative form, while possible,

is considered old-fashioned.)

Haliima/ pishilee zijo/ fijiri iyi. ‘Haliima cooked **zijo** this morning.’

kharibu ya fijiri or **khariibu/ ya fijiri** ‘near morning’

Jaama/ mwene Nuuru/ na Hamadi/ fijiri. ‘Jaama saw Nuuru and Hamadi in the morning.’

Leelo/ fijiri/ ningile mtanaani/ ka waawayé. ‘Today this morning I entered the room of his father.’

Masku ayo/ kaleent^he/ kaa muke/ fijiriye/ cheendra/ shpandra teena/ uje mloongoŋi/ kulangala/ inakhfanyoowani/ muyiini. ‘That night he stayed with the woman (and) in the morning (following that night) he went and climbed up that mast again to see what was being done in the town.’

Mbishile na munt^hu ilo fijiri. ‘I was hit by the man who came this morning.’

Mwana oloshelo fijiri/ tukile zibuuku. ‘The child who left in the morning carried the books.’ (cf. **Mwaana/ oloshelo fijiri/ tukile chibuuku.** ‘The child left in the morning and carried the books.’)

Ningile mtanaani/ ka waawayé/ fijiri. ‘I entered the room of his father this morning.’ (In this example, **fijiri** is included within the projection of the final accent from the verb.)

Omari/ mbishile maana/ fijiri. ‘Omari hit the child in the morning.’ (In the default case, a time adverbial like **fijiri** is not included in the wide-scope focus of the verb phrase. The noun **maana** is pronounced parallel to a focused element, and there is a clear downstep of **fijiri**. The out-of-focus nature of the adverb is revealed in the simple yes-no question, where the adverb undergoes accent shift: **Omari/ mbishile maana/ fijiri?**

sala ya fijiri ‘morning prayer, around 4:30 a.m.’

Shtaanga/ ni sala husalowa fijiri ya sku ya iidi. ‘Shtaanga is a prayer that is prayed on the morning of **iidi** (ya wamuusi).’

Ye/ chendra fijiri/ na mapeema/ lapiili/ na chendra kila ilooni. ‘He went early in the morning, (and) in the afternoon, and he went each evening.’

kh-fikira v. [Sw. *fikiri* SSED 96; Ar. verb *fakara* and noun *fikr* W 724] (**fikiriile**) think, consider, decide; (idiom.) look depressed

Alfaani/ fikiriile/ kuwa ipakacha/ itakihtajoowa/ kumtukulila sultani waa noka/ mukhtaa wo/ waŋamshiikó. ‘Alfaani thought that a basket would be needed to carry the king of snakesin when they siezed him.’

check accent, as in CLE wrote final H, but that is inexplicable as far as I can tell now

Ali/ ^hchiwonoowa/ ba/ nakhfikira/ tu. ‘Whenever Ali is seen, he looks depressed (lit. is just thinking).’

Fikira chiint^hu/ nt^haasá/ yaa we/ khfaanya. ‘Think of a thing before you do it.’ (A proverb.)

Isa/ si/ laazima/ khfikira jawaabu/ mweepe/ si/ khfaanya/ khpata kiiwa/ mukhtaa mp^haka/ nakhtolezó. ‘Now we must think of something that we can do to get to know when the cat is approaching.’

Kaa kule/ wenopo kuwa ni mphuundrá/ muké/ sungura/ shfikira yaa ye/ kumwaambila/ mphuundra. ‘When he saw from afar that it was a female donkey, Rabbit thought about what he should say to the donkey.’

Mwaana/ shfikira/ chiwona kuwa ni kheeri/ ye/ kuwaraasha. ‘The boy thought and realized that it was better for him to follow them [the soldiers].’

Ndraŋa/ nfikire. ‘Let me think it over.’

Nfikirile kendra naawé. ‘I decided to go with you.’ (The preposition *na* that is used in **naawe** ‘with you’ is a default-accent trigger and therefore when outside the influence of a final-accent trigger would have accent on its initial syllable: cf. **Fikirile kendra naawe.** ‘He decided to go with you.’ In the example cited, the main verb is a final-accent trigger and consequently we get a final accent on the **naawe**.)

N^hasa yaa we/ khfaanya/ fikira. ‘Think before you do.’ (A proverb.)

Shfikira kula mp^huundra. ‘He decided to buy a donkey.’

Sku mooyi/ karaayle/ waweshele gowoli/ khfikira/ jisaawo/ kuruuda/ muyiini/ kaawo. ‘One day the crows held a meeting to consider how to return to their town.’

Sku mooyi/ ye/ nakhfikiró/ chihada... ‘One day, while thinking, he said (to himself)...’

tiya ađabu ya mwajiitu fikira [st.] ‘be afraid of the hell of God and think about it’

Walimo karka khfikira. ‘He was thinking.’

Waziiri/ choloka kaake/ shkalaant^ha/ khfikira. ‘The minister went to his place to sit and think.’

rel.

kh-fikirika v. p/s.

kh-fikirila v. appl.

Hamfikirili/ mzele msaafiri/ umo ta’abuuni. ‘He never thought about the old traveler in trouble.’ **review accent**

Ichiwa teena/ ye/ hamfikirili/ mukeewe. ‘It became then that he never thought about his wife.’

Mi/ nakhfikirila/ majiwe/ ayaje/ mawili/ imooyi/ ikulu/ na imooyi/ chihaba. ‘I am thinking about those two stones, one big and one small.’

Nt^hakhfikirila/ ruuhuye. ‘He did not think of himself.’

Wo/ hawamfikirili/ muunt^hu. ‘They do not have respect for anyone.’

kh-fikirisha v. caus. (-fikirishiize)

Khuṭbaye/ infikirishiize. ‘His speech made me think.’

kh-fikirishan(y)a v. caus. rec.

kh-fikirishika v. caus. p/s.

kh-fikirishiliza v. caus. appl.

kh-fikirihilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

fikra

n. [Ar. *fikra* W 724] thought, idea, notion, concept

jawaabu/ za fikra ‘matters that encompass concepts, i.e. meaningful matters’

Shpe fikra/ tumbura/ nini. ‘Give us an idea/notion what is **tumbura**.’

fikiri

n. [Ar. *fikr* W 724] thought, worrying

Chimwaambila/ si/ chinayo fikiri gani/ ambó/ waawé/ nayo fikiri gani/ zaa ye/ kujililaa nsi. ‘She told him: what thought do we have (i.e. we cannot think of doing anything) or my father, what thought does he have about what to eat with fish (i.e. he cannot think about eating)?’

Lolaa muke/ nakhukorshenzele mwaana/ naawé/ pata kendra kaziini/ pashpo fikiri. ‘Marry a woman so that she can raise your child and you can go to work without being preoccupied with the child.’

Nt^haná/ fikiri. ‘He has no intelligence, resourcefulness.’

Waliko muunt^hu/ wenye akhli/ fikiri/ na maalí. ‘There was a man having intelligence, thoughtfulness, and wealth.’

fila

n. evil

variant form: **fi’ili**

Lila/ naa filá/ hazidangamani. ‘Good and evil do not mix.’ (A proverb.)

filaari

n. [Som. *fallaar* DSI 215] arrow

Fakete kama filaari. ‘He ran like an arrow (i.e. fast).’

filhaali

adv. [Ar. expression *ft’l-hāl* ‘on the spot, immediately’ W 216-7] immediately

Filhaali/ ye/ chiwa ndiyé/ mwaarabu/ uje waliko shujaa’á/ na shinzilo harbí/ zotté. ‘Immediately he became [lit. it is he] the Arab who had courage and who had won all the wars..’

Ile filhaali. ‘He came at once.’

Niilé/ filhaali. ‘I came at once.’

fiilo n. [Ital. *filo* "thread, wire"] electric cables, car wires, etc.

filodifero n. [Ital. *filo di ferro* "string of iron"] wire

fitro n. [Ital. *fitro*] oil filter (on a car)

filaali n. [etymology uncertain] summer (We are uncertain as to how widely known this word is.)

fasli ya filaali 'summer season'

kh-filata v. [Som. verb *fil* and *filid* "to believe, think" DSI 229-30] expect

Menye/ nakhfilata kooloka. 'Menye/ expects to go'

Menye/ nakhfilata maana/ kooloka. 'Menye/ expects the child to go'

Menye/ nakhfilata maana/ tu/ kooloka. 'Menye expects only the child to go.' (Syn. Observe that **tu** does not trigger a shift in the following infinitive verb to the pseudo-relative form. When **tu** precedes the main verb, that verb does shift into the pseudo-relative form.)

Menye/ tu/ nakhfilato kooloka. 'Only Menye expects to go.'

Menye/ tu/ nakhfilato maana/ kooloka. 'Only Menye expects the child to go.'

Nakhfilata kuwa Fariida/ takhpita imtihaani. 'I expect that Fariida will pass the examination.' Or, with focus on the verb: **Nakhfilata/ Fariida/ kuwa takhpita imtihaani.** Or, with focus on the subject of the embedded sentence: **Nakhfilata kuwa Fariida/ takhpita imtihaani.**

rel.

kh-filatila v. Expect

Nfilatilile keendra. 'I expected to go.'

Nfilatilile kuwa Hamadi/ mkono/ imfuriile. 'I expected that Hamadi's arm would swell up.' (Cf. the accent in the main clause sentence:

Hamadi/ mkono/ imfuriile. 'Hamadi's arm swelled.' The final accents in the example sentence are projected from the first person past tense main clause verb.)

Nfilatilile kuwa Nuuru/ takuleta chaakujá. 'I expected that Nuuru would bring food.'

Nfilatilile kuwa Nuuru/ takuuya. 'I expected that Nuuru would come.'

(The verb in the complement clause is in the future tense and would be expected to trigger default penult accent; however, the final accent triggered by the main verb takes the complement into its scope and over-rides the expected default accent.)

Nfilatilile Nuuru/ kuleta chaakujá. 'I expected Nuuru to bring food.'

Nfilatilile Nuuru/ kuuya. 'I expected Nuuru to come.' Or: **Nimfilatilile Nuuru/ kuuya.** (In the first example, the main verb does not exhibit agreement with the subject of the complement clause, whereas in the second example it does.) (Note that the final accent triggered by the main verb extends throughout the complement clause.)

Nnakhfilatila/ Fariida/ kuwa takhpita imtihaani. 'I expect Fariida that she will pass the examination.' Or: **Nnakhfilatila Fariida/ kuwa takhpita imtihaani.** 'I expect Fariida that she will pass the examination.' Or: **Nnakhfilatila Fariida/ kuwa takhpita imtihaani.** 'I expect Fariida that she will pass the examination.' (Although our consultant accepted putting focus on the subject of the complement sentence, he did not accept a pronunciation where the only focus was the complement verb: ***Nnakhfilatila Fariida/ kuwa takhpita/ imtihaani.**)

***Nuuru/ (m)filatilile Hasani/ na'oloke.** 'Nuuru expected Hasani that he go.' (Observe that the verb 'expect' does not permit a subjunctive sentential complement.)

Pashpo khfilatila/ Baana/ nandikishizee khati. 'Unexpectedly, Baana made me write a letter.' Cf. **Baana/ nandikishizee khati/ pashpo mi/ khfilatila.** 'Baana made me write a letter without my expecting (it).'

Sfilatile/ khpita imtihaani. 'Don't expect to pass the examination!'

Wafilatilile Nuuru/ kuuya. 'They expected Nuuru to come.' Or:

Wamfilatilile Nuuru/ kuuya.

kh-filatiloowa v. appl. pass. (-**filatiliila**) be expected

Bay/ filatiliila keendra. ‘Bay was expected to go.’

Chaakuja/ shfilatiliila kuviva kahima. ‘The food was expected to cook quickly.’

Hasani/ kolokake/ ifilatiliila. ‘Hasani’s going was expected.’ (Observe that the “poss –ing” complement can be the subject of the passive verb, but such a complement clause is unacceptable with the corresponding active verb: ***Nuuru/ mfilatiliile Hasani/ kolokake.** ‘Nuuru expected Hasani’s going.’)

Ifilatiliila Aboowa/ khshiindra. ‘It is expected that Aboowa will win.’ Or: **Aboowa/ khshiindra/ ifilatiliila.** ‘For Aboowa to win is expected.’ (Syn. These examples illustrate the impersonal passive. The personal passive is also possible: **Aboowa/ filatiliila khshiindra.** ‘Aboowa is expected to win.’)

Ifilatiliila kuwa chaakuja/ shtakuviva kahima. ‘It was expected that the food would be cooked soon.’

Ifilatiliila Nuuru/ takuleta chaakuja. ‘It was expected that Nuuru would bring food.’ Or: **Ifilatiliila Nuuru/ kuleta chaakuja.** But not: ***Chaakuja/ shfilatiliila kuletoowa.** ‘Food was expected to be brought.’ Our consultant found the following sentence to be marginally possible: ?**Nuuru/ filatiliila kuleta chaakuja.** ‘Nuuru was expected to bring food.’

Kuwa Jaama/ takuuya/ ifilatiliila. ‘That Jaama would come was expected.’

Maali/ ayo/ siwo/ maali/ hufilatilowa kuruudá. ‘That money is not money that is expected to come back.’

Nakhfilatilowa kuuya. ‘He is expected to come.’

Nuuru/ filatiliila kuuya. ‘Nuuru was expected to come.’ (Note that the logical subject of the complement can be promoted to subject of the passive version of the main verb.)

kh-filisa
bankrupt

v. [Ar. *falasa* W 726] (**filisiize**) be, go bankrupt; bankrupt s.o., cause s.o. to go bankrupt

Ali/ ni mwaana/ wa mrehemula/ Waziri Hasani/ muḅjaana/ uje filisiizó/ mali yaa ye/ dhahaleetó/ yoté. ‘Ali is the son of Minister Hasani, (he is) the young man who squandered all the wealth that he inherited.’

Daawuudi mfilisize Sarmadi. ‘Daawuudi caused Sarmadi to go bankrupt.’

Ni liila/ so/ kuwaa we/ filisiizé/ na kuwa kuḷa/ khuuzó/ fanyizeeyí/ maaliyó/ we/ humjiiba/ kuwa ha’isí/ ma’anayé/ ha’ambiḷoowí. ‘Is it true that you have gone bankrupt and that anyone who asks you what happened to your money, you answer him that the one who does not know its reason is not told?’

Sarmadi/ filisiize. ‘Sarmadi went bankrupt.’

rel.

kh-filisoowa v. pass.

Mineendro/ waa we/ nakiineendró/ itakhfilisoowa. ‘The way that you are behaving will lead to bankruptcy.’

fimbalbaari

n. [Som. *fin* ‘pimple’ DSI 230 + *barbaar* ‘young man’ DSI 45] pimple; chickenpox variant form: *finbarbaari*

na matata na fimbalbaari khsalila [st.] ‘and blisters and chickenpox, to pray with these (on your body) (is forgiven)’

fini

n. [?Ital. *fino*, pl. *fini* ‘tiny’] sequin

hanzu ya fiini or haanzu/ ya fiini ‘a haanzu made of sequins’

rel.

i-fiini (mi-) n. 5/4 aug. sequin

mifiini mikulu or mifiini/ mikulu ‘large sequins’

sh-fiini (s-) n. 7/8 dim. sequin

hanzu ya sfiini or haanzu/ ya sfiini ‘a haanzu made of small sequins’

sfini zelpe or sfiini/ zelpe ‘small white sequins’

sfini zihaba or sfiini/ zihaba ‘small sequins’

sfini zilusi or sfiini/ zilusi ‘small black sequins’

sfiini/ zinakuwaló ‘shining sequins’

shtandriko cha sfiini or **shtaandriko/ cha sfiini** ‘a cloth (worn over the shoulder by Muslim women) made of small sequins’

kh-finika v. [Sw. *finika* SSED 106, but also cites *finika* SSED 106 as the Kimvita dialect form] (**finishile**) cover, put a lid on

Ali/ mfinishile mwaana/ buraangeeti. ‘Ali covered the child with a blanket.’ Or: **Ali/ mfinishile mwaana/ ka buraangeeti.**

Finika shkoombe/ mwaachisi/ naapite. ‘Cover the cup (until) the bastard goes away.’ (A proverb, based on the Bravanese belief that a bastard cannot be trusted with secrets.)

Finika sufuriya. ‘Cover the pan!’

Hasani/ finishile ruuhuye/ nguwo. ‘Hasani covered himself with a cloth.’

Hasani/ finishile uso/ nguwo. ‘Hasani covered his face with a cloth.’

Hasani/ mfinishile Omari/ nguwo/ usooni. ‘Hasani covered Omari’s face with a cloth.’

Hufinika duniya/ ka buraangeetiye. ‘It covers the world with its blanket.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **miinza** ‘darkness’.)

hufinika maghribi hatta mashriqi [st.] ‘it covers west and east’

khfinika chibuuku ‘to close a book’

khfinika iboholi ‘to cover a hole without filling it up, as in trying to trap an animal so that it falls into the hole’

khfinikaa nguwo ‘to cover with clothes’

khfinika ziwovu ‘to conceal evil deeds’

Mawiingu/ yafinishile iwa. ‘The clouds hid the sun.’

Maayi/ yafinishilee nt^hi. ‘Water covered the ground.’

muke sku za hija uso hafiniki [st.] ‘a woman should not cover her face during the pilgrimage’

Suufi/ finishile kani/ nama. ‘Suufi covered the meat with what?’ (It is interesting that Mohammad Imam preferred this form of the question to **Suufi/ finishileni/ nama**. We suspect that the explanation for this is that MI treats the construction *-finika NP NP* as parallel to the instrumental applied, even though there is no applicative extension involved, and disprefers for the instrument to be the focus of the sentence. In the question **Suufi/ finishileni/ nama**, the instrument is focused, which lowers its acceptability for MI.)

Suufi/ finishileni/ ka lwarakha. ‘What did Suufi cover with the piece of paper?’ (It is interesting that Mohammad Imam rejected **Suufi/ finishileni/ lwarakha*. This example suggests that the *-finika NP ka NP* construction is the more basic one.)

Wafinishile waant^hu/ maburaangeeti. ‘He covered people with blankets.’

rel.

kh-finikika v. p/s.

Maburangeeti aya/ hayafinikiki/ waana. ‘These blankets cannot be used to cover the children.’

Mayti/ nt^hakhfinikiki/ nguwo. ‘The corpse is not (completely) covered with the cloth.’

Mwana uyu/ hafinikiki/ nguwo. ‘This child cannot be covered with a piece of cloth.’

Wana awa/ hawafinikiki/ maburaangeeti. ‘These children cannot be covered with blankets.’

Want^hu awa/ hawafinikiki/ maburaangeeti. ‘These people cannot be covered with blankets.’

kh-finikila v. appl. (**finikilile**) cover with, for

Taha/ finikilile buraangeeti. ‘Taha covered himself with a blanket.’

Taha/ mfinikilile mwaana/ buraangeeti. ‘Taha covered the child with a blanket.’

Wanfinikilile majiwe/ wanfinikililó. ‘They covered me with stones, that’s what they did.’

Ye/ chishfinikila shkapu. ‘She covered it with a basket.’

kh-finikilana v. appl. rec. (**-finikileene**)

Wafinikilene makosa. ‘They hid faults for one another; they hid one another’s faults for.’

Waant^hu/ wafinikilene waana/ buraangeeti. ‘The people covered the children for one another.’

kh-finikilanika v. appl. rec. p/s.

kh-finikisha v. caus. make s.o. cover

Maryaamu/ mfinikishize mwaana/ ruuhuye/ iburaangeeti. ‘Maryaamu caused the child to cover himself with a blanket.’

kh-finikishika v. caus. p/s.

kh-finikishiliza v. caus. appl.

kh-finikishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-finikoowa v. pass.

Mwaana/ finishila buraangeeti. ‘The child was covered with a blanket.’

(Syn. Note that it is ungrammatical to have the entity used to cover something as the subject of the passive verb: ***Buraangeeti/ ifinishila mwaana.** ‘The blanket was used to cover the child.’)

Nt^hi/ ifinishila na maayi. ‘The ground was covered by water.’

rel. nom.

m-finiko (*mi-*) n. 3/4 lid, cover

mfiniko wa sufuriya ‘cover of a pot’

u-finiko n. 14 act of covering

sh-finiko (*s-*)

n. 7/8 lid, cover, cork, stopper

Chizeele/ icho/ chiwaliko shtukiile/ shkapu/ cha shfiniko. ‘That old woman was carrying a basket with a cover.’

Jaama/ iletelele sufuriya iyi/ shfiniko. ‘Jama brought a lid for this pan.’

khalamu/ na shfinikó ‘a pen and pen cover’; **khalamu/ na sfinikó** ‘pens and pen covers’

khalamu/ na shfinikoché ‘a pen and its cover’; **khalamu/ na sfinikozé** ‘pens and their covers’

shfiniko chaa nt^hupa ‘cork’

rel.

i-finiko (*mi-*) n. 5/4 lid

sufuriya/ na ifinikó ‘a pot and a lid’; **sufuriya/ na mifinikó** ‘pots and lids’

sufuriya/ na ifinikoyé ‘a pot and its lid’; **sufuriya/ na mifinikoyé** ‘pots and their lids’

fiqhi

n. Islamic jurisprudence

Ichiwaa we/ nayo haaja/ ya kiwa sababu ya nama ya khanziiri/

ifanyiliza haraamu/ ka islaamu/ soma zuwo za fiqhi. ‘If you have a need to know why pork was forbidden to Muslims, read books of Islamic jurisprudence.’

fir’ooni

n. [Ar. *fir’aun* W 707] pharaoh

Chimuuló/ ni muunt^hu/ apo/ chimamulaṭo shu’uni zaa nt^hi/ siwo/ fir’ooni/ nafsiye. ‘The one who bought him (i.e. Joseph) was a man there (in Egypt) who took care of the affairs of the country, it was not Pharaoh himself.’

Kula mtume/ nayo fir’ooni. ‘Every prophet has a pharaoh.’ (A proverb.)

m-firaado (*wa-*)

n. 1/2 someone who has one Bajuni parent and one Somali parent

firaashi (*ma-*)

n. [Sw. *firashi* ‘bed coverlet, quilt’ SSED 97; Ar. *firāš* W 705; Som. *firaash* ‘bed, any place to be slept on’ DSI 231] anything slept on -- a bed, sleeping bag (apparently the usage from Somali is most pertinent to this word’s use in Chimiini)

Lele bilaa firasshi. ‘He slept without any bedding.’

waladuḷ firaashi ‘(lit. sleeping material child) a child born unlawfully, as the mother and father did not marry according to the religion’

rel.

i-firaashi (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.

sh-firaashi (*s-*) n. 7/8 dim.

- Firdowsi** n.
Hasani peete mash'ada/ karka Firdowsi maq'ada [st.] 'But Hasani got martyrdom and a seat in Firdous.'
- kh-firgisha** v. [Som. *firdhi* DSI 231 – perhaps the consonantal difference reflects a source in a non-standard Somali dialect] (**firgishiize**) throw things (all over the surrounding area), scatter things (as someone who is angry)
Ye/ firgishizee gele. 'He scattered corn.'
rel. nom.
ma-firgisho n. 6
u-firgisho n. 14
- firiimbi** n. [Som. *firimbi* DSI 232] a whistle (the instrument)
kubiga firiimbi 'to whistle (using the instrument)'
rel.
i-firiimbi (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
sh-firiimbi (s-) n. 7/8 dim.
- fiishi (mi-)** n. a kind of fish (the name refers to the area of calm waters right where the waves stop, where this fish is found), type unknown
fishi iyi 'this sp. fish'; **mifishi aya** 'these fish'
- kh-fisida** v. [Ar. *fasada* W 712] (**fisidiile**) spoil, corrupt
khfisida maali 'to squander money'
Chaanza/ ye/ na mweenzawé/ mwana wa waziri mkulu/ khteleza maali/ na kiyafisidá. 'He began, he and his friend, the prime minister's son, to waste money and to squander it.'
Jeeli/ fisidile peesa. 'Jeeli squandered money.'
Mwana wa sultaani/ tawaliilopó/ chaanza/ ye/ na mweenzawé/ mwana wa waziri mkulu/ khteleza maali/ na kiyafisidá. 'When the sultan's son assumed authority, he and his friend, the prime minister's son, started to waste and squander the wealth he had inherited.' (Phon. Note that an infinitive preceded by the *na* conjunct is assigned final accent, reflecting the fact that infinitives are nouns in Chimiini. Also note that the infinitive prefix *ku* is altered to *ki* in front of the [cl.6] object prefix *ya*.)
rel.
kh-fisidisha v. caus.
Wachihada/ waLLahi / ni/ nna'iwá/ kuwaa si/ nt^hashkuuya/ khfisidishaa dali/ walá/ si/ siwo/ want^hu hubooló. 'They said, by Allah! you (pl.) know that we did not come to spread corruption in the country nor are we people who commit robbery.'
- u-fisqi** n. 14 corruption, scandal
- fiiti** n. 9/10 [Som. *fid* DSI 227] blossom, flower
fiiti iyi 'this blossom' (cf. **fiiti izi** 'these blossoms')
fiiti za mtume '[lit.] blossoms of the Prophet – a very sweet fruit that was already disappearing prior to the resettlement of ethnic Somalis in Brava in the 1970's and the civil war'
khptomola fiiti 'to blossom'
Mukhtaa muti/ wa nt^heendre/ wanzizo khptomola fiiti/ waana/ wafakeete/ ka wawa yaawo/ wachimpa/ khabari.
'When the date trees began to blossom, the children ran to their father and gave him the news.'
rel.
i-fiiti (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
sh-fiiti (s-) n. 7/8 dim.

- fitina** designed to n. [Sw. *fitina* SSED 97; Ar. *fitna* W 696] discord, friction, antagonism; a report produce discord; the source of discord
variant form: **fitna**
fitina na kiḏbu zotte haraamu [st.] ‘creating discord and lies are all forbidden’
khfanya fitna ‘to create discord’
khtilowa fitna ‘for discord to be sowed between people’
Muunt^hu/ siwo/ suura/ khtilowa fitna. ‘It is not good for discord to be sowed among people.’
khtila fitina ‘to cause strife between people’
munt^hu mwenye fitna ‘a person who creates discord’
Sku mooyi/ waant^hu/ wachimtilila fitina/ ka Harun Rashiidi. ‘One day people created discord between him and Haruun Rashiidi.’
- fitiri** n. [Sw. *fitiri* SSED 97; Ar. *fitr* "fast breaking" and *ṣadaqat al-ḥiṭr* "almsgiving at the end of Ramadhan" W 719] fixed quantity of maize (or equivalent value) that the head of a family has to distribute to the poor at the end of Ramadan for himself and each family member
khtomola fitiri ‘to distribute alms at the end of Ramadhan’
- kh-fitina** v. [Ar. *fatana* “to inform against s.o.” W 695] (**fitiniile**) report s.t. about s.o. with the intention of causing friction, discord; spoil, corrupt
Chiza khfaanya/ yaa mi/ nnakhtulubo kaakó/ nt^hakhufitina/ ka mubliwa. ‘If you refuse to do what I ask from you, I will report you to my husband.’
Nfitinile ka waawe. ‘He told my father about me (hoping to cause discord between my father and me).’
We/ nakhfitina waaná. ‘You are spoiling children.’
rel.
kh-fitinika v. p/s. (**fitinishile**) be spoiled
kh-fitinila v. appl. (**fitiniliile**)
- kh-fitisha** v. [Ar. *fattaṣa* W 694] (**fitishiize**) inspect, search someone
Watumila ma’askari/ khfitisha nuumba. ‘The police have been sent to search the house.’
rel.
m-fitisho n. 3
- fitnoole** n. someone who causes problems, makes people fight
Fitnoole/ ha’ambiloowi/ chiint^hu. ‘One who creates discord among people is not told anything.’ (A proverb.)
- fiyeera** n. [Ital.] fair (This Italian borrowing is used more commonly than the Arabic borrowing **ma’araḏi**.)
Nakenrda fiyeerá/ Mkhodiishó. ‘I am going to the fair in Mogadishu.’ (At an earlier time in Somali history, there was an international fair that was held in Mogadishu and people in Brava might travel to Mogadishu to attend it.)
- fiyoore** n. [Ital. *fiore*] flower (nowadays this word is more used in Chimiini than the older word **i-luwa**)
- kh-foofata** v. [Som. *foof* DSI 233] (**-fofeete**) go to graze
Ngoombe/ sfofeete. ‘The cattle went to graze.’
rel.
kh-foofisha v. cause (Phon. Observe that the causative suffix **ish** does not lower to **esh** after a mid vowel in this example, contrary to the usual situation. The failure to get ***khfoofesha** would seem to be connected to the fact that the stem is /foofat/ and the vowel **a** is not one that would lower a following high

- vowel.)
Ml̥oojiri/ fofishize ngoombe. ‘The cattle-herder took the cattle to graze.’
- fooji** n. 9/10 [Som. *foori* DSI 235, but *foodhi* in Northern Somali; we do not know whether there is an additional dialectal variant where the consonant *j* occurs] whistle (using lips)
Fooji/ masku/ ha’ibigoowi/ huviḷa majini. ‘Whistling at night is not done; it calls jinns.’
kubiga fooji ‘to whistle’
rel.
i-fooji (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.
sh-fooji (*s-*) n. 7/8 dim.
- sh-foko* (*s-*) n. 7/8 [?? connected to Sw. *fua* “to beat” SSED 98] bruise (of a fruit); a small wound
about to heal
- fontaana** n. [Ital. *fontana*] (ornamental) fountain
rel.
i-fontaana (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.
sh-fontaana (*s-*) n. 7/8 dim.
- foor̥ḍa** n. [Sw. *forodha* SSED 98; Ar. *furḍa* “seaport, small port town” W 706] customhouse
Baaskiḷi/ Miini/ schajirishowa for̥ḍaani. ‘Bicycles were rented in Brava at the port.’
Khamaari/ ishtezowa for̥ḍaani. ‘Gambling was played at the port.’
- foore** n. [?Ital. *fuori* “outside”] term used by fishermen to point the fishing bays outside the town that are scattered to the north and south of Brava
- foore** in the expression:
khtila foore ‘to win over s.o.’ (cf. Sw. *tia fora* “to win in a game, or succeed in an undertaking, i.e. a particular task of work” SSED 98; cf. Sw. verb *fora* “beat, get the better of, succeed, used in games of cards, etc., and work” SSED 98)
Omari/ mtile Alí/ foore/ niingi. ‘Omari won against Ali many times in cards, dominos, etc.’
- foorno** n. [Ital. *forno*] oven, bakery
fornooni ‘in the oven’
mazu ya foorno ‘bananas that were dried under the sun or in an oven, fried bananas’
- kh-foorooraṭa* v. [presumably from a Somali dialect, but not found in Standard Somali] (**-fororeeṭe**)
walk in line (as of cattle going along a path to be grazed)
Ngoombe/ sfororeeṭe. ‘The cattle moved along the path in a line.’
- fooza** n. [Ar. *fauz* W 732] success, victory; passing an examination
variant form: **foozi, fowza**
fowza nda muuntʰu enzelo Madiina[st.] ‘successful (in their pilgrimage) is the one who goes to Medina’
fooza nda muuntʰu ingilo janaani [st.] success belongs to the man who enters heaven’
- frijideeri** n. 9/10 [cf. Fr. *frigidaire*, which was formerly used in Ital.; cf. Som. *frijideeri* DSI 232] refrigerator
- mu-fsidi* adj., n. [Ar. *fasada* W 712] wicked, depraved; corruptor, perverter
- mu-fti* (*wa-*) n. 1/2 [Ar. *muftin* W 696] someone who is recognized as an authority on a particular subject (e.g. an authority on Islamic studies)

chi-fu (zi-) n. 7/8 [Sw. kifu, var. *kefu* “a sufficient quantity, abundance” SSED 190, where an example similar to Chimiini is given: *amekula kifu yake* “he has eaten his fill” is given; Ar. *kafā* “to be sufficient” W 834] **gizzard, stomach??**

Ile/ yezeze chifuuche/ oloshela. ‘He came, filled up his stomach, and left.’

Ile/ yezeze chifuuche/oloshela. ‘He came, filled up his stomach, and left.’

fuðuuli (ma-) adj. [Ar. *fuḍūlī* W 718] intruder, busybody, foulmouthed, insulting, insolent (most commonly used to describe someone who meddles in other people’s business)

Laakini/ Abunawaasi/ waliko muunt^hhu/ fuðuuli. ‘But Abunawaasi was an insolent man.’

Omari/ na Hamadi/ ni (ma)fuðuuli. ‘Omari and Hamadi are meddling people.’

Omari/ ni fuðuuli. ‘Omari is a meddling man.’

Want^hu awa/ ni (ma)fuðuuli. ‘These people are meddling people.’

rel.

u-fuðuuli n. 14 meddling, misbehaving by getting involved in s.t. that is not your business

Jawaabu/ haykhukusi/ chiint^hú/ hayingiloowi (siingilé)/ ufuðuuli. ‘A matter that does not concern you at all, you should not get involved (or: don’t get involved) in it; it is meddling behavior.’

kh-fuðuulika v. [cf. Ar. *fuḍūl* “officiousness. meddling” W 718] (**fuḍulishile**) speak ill of someone, speak derogatorily

Hasani/fuḍulishile. ‘Hasani used derogatory words.’

rel.

kh-fuḍulikila v. appl. (**-fuḍulikilīle**) speak derogatorily to someone

Nuuru/ mfuḍulikilīle Ali. ‘Nuuru spoke derogatorily to Ali.’

kh-fuðuulisha v. caus. (**-fuḍulishiize**) provoke someone into acting by speaking ill of him

Nfuḍulishiize. ‘He provoked me by speaking ill of me (insulting me, dishonoring me, etc.)’

kh-fuḍulishanya v. caus. rec.

kh-fuḍulishika v. caus. p/s.

Omari/ hafuḍulishiki. ‘Omari cannot be provoked (e.g. he is patient, does not react violently to derogatory words spoken to him).’

kh-fuḍulishiliza v. caus. appl.

kh-fuḍulishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-fuufila v. [Probably connected to Som. *faafi* “to spread” DSI 209 sprinkle water on something

rel.

kh-fufiloowa v. pass.

kh-fuufula v. (*fufile*) raise someone from the dead; ferret out information
variant form: *khfufula*

rel.

kh-fufuloowa v. pass. (**fufiila**) be resurrected

Keesho/ akhera/ waant^hu/ wote/ watakufufuloowa. ‘Tomorrow in the hereafter all people will be resurrected.’

kh-fufulika v. p/s.

kh-fufulisha v. caus.

kh-fufulishanya v. caus. rec.

kh-fufulishiliza v. caus. appl.

kh-fufulishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-fufuza v. caus.

kh-fufuzika v. caus. p/s.

- kh-fufunuka* v. [Probably connected to Sw. *funuka* “be uncovered” SSED 106] (**fufunushile**) be uncovered, be clear, intelligent
rel.
kh-fufuunsa v. try to discover a secret, a scandal
Ni ðambi/ khfufunsa ebu za waant^hu. ‘It is a crime to try to discover people’s vices.’
kh-fufunukila v. appl.
Khabari/ zinfunukiliile. ‘The news became clear to me.’
kh-fufunulila v. appl. (**fufunuliile**) fill in the details to, for s.o.
Nimfufunilile maambó/ yotté. ‘I filled in the details of the affair for her.’
kh-fufunililoowa v. appl. pass. (**fufuniliila**)
Ali/ fufunilila khabari/ naaye. ‘Ali received the news from her.’
kh-fufunuloowa v. pass. (**fufuniila**)
Khabari/ sfunula na Hamadi. ‘The details of the newa were revealed by Hamadi.’
kh-fufunula v. (**fufuniile**) reveal something hidden, uncover, investigate; elaborate the details of
variant form: **khfufunila**
khfufunula khabari ‘to elaborate the news, add more details, fill in the details’
Hamadi/ fufunile khabari. ‘Hamadi uncovered the details of the news.’
rel. nom.
m-fufuunsi (*wa-*) n. 1/2 someone who tries to discover secrets, scandals
u-fufuunsi n. 14 the act of trying to discover secrets
- i-fuga* (*mi-*)
homosexual act) n. homosexual (particularly of a male homosexual who is a “bottom” in the
Oyo/ ni ifuga. ‘That one is a “bottom” (in homosexual intercourse).’
- kh-fuga*
homosexual) v. [?cf. Sw. *fuga* “to tame, domesticate” SSED 100] (**fugiile**) have anal sex (of
Omari/ mfugile Haadi. ‘Omari fucked Haadi.’
- ma-fujaari* adj. [Ar. *fujjār*, plural of *fājir* “profligate, shameless, liar” W p. 697+ plural prefix *ma-*]
simama Ali kuula ðulfikaari / unazime muḷo wa mafujaari [st.] ‘rise, Ali, draw your sword, so that the fire of the profligate be extinguished’ (Note that Ali’s sword was called **ðulfikaari**.)
- fuk* ideo. of spilling out of a liquid
Mafta/ yaṭa(w)anyishile/ n^hupaani/ fuk! ‘Oil is spilling from the bottle
fuk!’
- fuukh* ideo. [Som. *fuuq*, from an internet citation where it is said to refer to “drink[ing] heavy drink like milkshake or creamy liquid”] of drinking
Hamadi/ nakuna maṭaaza/ fúukh fúukh/ yotte/ maliize. ‘Hamadi is drinking the porridge, he finished all of it.’ (Much work needs to be done with respect to the phonetics of the ideophone in Chimiini. It appears that **fúukha** is high-pitched, since it raised in pitch relative to the preceding accented syllable. We write the high pitch mark over the first mora of the long vowel, but this vowel does not seem to exhibit a fall in pitch. In the cited example, the second occurrence of the ideophone was somewhat lower in pitch than the first occurrence.)
- kh-fukhsata* v. [Som. *fuuqso* “to sip noisily” DSI 239] (**fukhseete**) sip noisily
- l-fuko* (*mi-*) n. 11/4 [Sw. *ufuko* SSED 409] a hole in underwater rocks; a hole dug within the grave, the exact size of the dead person
- m-fuko* (*mi-*) n. 3/4 [Sw. *mfuko* SSED 276] pocket, cloth bag (as opposed to a leather or plastic

bag)

khtila peesa/ mfukooni ‘to put money in a pocket’
mfuku mkulu ‘a big pocket’
Mfukuwe/ ha’uyeli. ‘His pocket does not get filled.’
mfuko wa peesa ‘a pocket for money’

fulkheeri

[probably from the Ar. expression *fi l-kairi*] in the expression:
ka kheeri/ ka fulkheeri ‘with blessings and in blessings’

Waliko mwanamke mooyi/ na mwamubli mooyi/ walozeenye/ ka kheeri/ ka fulkheeri. ‘There was a girl and a boy and they married each other with blessings and in blessings.’

fuula

n. [etymology uncertain] merry-go-round

rel.

i-fuula (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

sh-fuula (s-) n. 7/8 dim.

kh-fula

v. [Sw. *fua* SSED 98] (**fuzile**) forge, do metalworking

khfula ðahabu ‘to work gold’

Fuzile shpete cha ðahabu. ‘He forged a ring of gold.’

kubaraṭa khfula ðahabu/ na feḏá ‘to learn to forge gold and silver’

Mfuzi/ nakhfula ðahabu. ‘A smith works gold.’

khula feḏa ‘to work silver’

rel.

kh-fuliḷa v. appl.

Baana/ nfuliḷe shpete. ‘Baana forged for me a ring.’

Mfuzi/ nakunfuliḷa shpete. ‘The blacksmith is forging me a ring.’

Muke/ chooloka/ chimpa mfuzi/ shilingi khamisiini/ izo/ kumfuliḷa

shkooya. ‘The woman went and gave a blacksmith those fifty shillings to forge a necklace for her.’

rel. nom.

m-fula (wa-) n. 1/2 smith

mfula ðahabu ‘one who works gold, goldsmith’

kh-fula

v. (**fuzile**) wash (clothes, not other things like dishes or the body, where **k-oosha** is used)

khfulaa nguwo ‘to wash clothes’

Fuzilee nguwo/ ka saabuni. ‘He washed clothes with soap.’

Haliima/ nakhfulaa nguwo/ ka oomo. ‘Haliima washed the

clothes with detergent.’

Naani/ hufuloo nguwo/ jisa suurá. ‘Who washes clothes well?’

(A possible answer to this question: **Tuuma/ hufuloo n-guwó/ jisa suurá.** ‘Tuuma washes clothes well.’ Notice that the answer focuses on the subject, Tuuma, and as a result the verb is put into pseudo-relative form.)

Tuuma/ hufulaa nguwo/ jisa suura. ‘Tuuma (habitually) washes clothes well.’ (Phon. In this sentence, **jisa suura** is part of the focus, as is revealed by the simple yes-no question: **Tuuma/ hufulaa nguwo/ jisa suura?** ‘Does Tuuma wash clothes well?’ If **jisa suura** were out of focus, it would shift its accent to the end in the simple yes-no question. In emphatic yes-no questions, accent-shift occurs in all VP phrases, independent of focus: **Tuuma/ hufulaa nguwo/ jisa suurá!?**

Mfuzile mweenzawe/ mwanishile. ‘(Lit.) he washed his friend and put him in the sun to dry – i.e. he insulted his friend and called him names.’

Tete nguwo/ kisfula. ‘He took clothes to wash them.’

rel.

kh-fuliḷa v. appl. (**fuliḷe** or **fuliḷiḷe**) wash for, with

Khaḏija/ mfuliḷe maamay/ nguwo. ‘Khadhija washed the clothes for her

mother.’

kumfuliḷaa nguwo ‘to wash clothes for me’

Muke/ wafuliḷe waana/ nguwo/ ka sabuuni. ‘The woman washed clothes for the children with soap.’ (Note that it is ungrammatical to omit the preposition *ka* from in front of **sabuuni**.)

Nfuliḷee (or: **nfuliḷiḷee**) **nguwo.** ‘She washed clothes for me.’

Saabuni/ muke/ wafuliḷe waana/ nguwo. ‘Soap/ the woman washed

clothes for the children with it.’ (Note that when the instrument is topicalized to the beginning of the sentence, it can occur in bare form given the fact that the verb is an applied verb, even though the applied verb is also serving to allow a bare beneficiary to occur. This “double duty” of the benefactive applied verb is possible only if the instrument is out of the clause where the beneficiary is located.)

sabuni sfuliḷa waaná/ nguwo... ‘the soap that was used to wash the children’s clothes for them...’

Uzile saabuni/ khfuliḷaa nguwo. ‘She bought soap to wash clothes with.’

kh-fuliḷoowa v. appl. pass. (fuliḷa)

Nakhsuḷa khfuliḷowaa nguwo. ‘He wants clothes to be washed for him.’

Saabuni/ ifuliḷaa nguwo. ‘Soap was used to wash the clothes.’

Waana/ wafuliḷaa nguwo/ ka saabuni. ‘The children had their clothes washed for them with soap.’ (Note that the preposition *ka* is obligatory in this context. However, it is also possible to have **Saabuni/ sfuliḷa waana/ nguwo.** ‘Soap was used to wash clothes for the children.’)

kh-fuloowa v. pass. (-fuziḷa)

Ifuziḷa. ‘It [cl.9] was washed.’

Nguwo/ ha’ifuloowi/ yo/ iveetá. ‘A piece of clothing is not washed when it is being worn.’ (A proverb, conveying the idea that things should be done at the appropriate time.)

rel. nom.

m-fula (wa-) n. 1/2 one who washes

mfulaa nguwo ‘one who washes clothes’

fulaana

undershirt, tee-shirt

n. 9/10 [Sw. *fulani* SSED 101, where a possible source in Eng. *flannel* is suggested]

fulana ya bardi ‘sweater’ (cf. **fulana za bardi** ‘sweaters’)

fulana ya mpiira ‘(sports) jersey’ (cf. **fulana za mpiira** ‘(sport) jerseys’)

fulana ya sansamaaniko ‘vest’ (cf. **fulana za sansamaaniko** ‘vests’)

fulana ya suufi ‘cotton tee-shirt’ (cf. **fulana za suufi** ‘cotton tee-shirts’)

fulana ya waana ‘children’s undershirt’ (cf. **fulana za waana** ‘children’s undershirts’)

rel.

sh-fulaana (s-) n. 7/8 dim. (disparaging use)

Shfulana gani/ icho. ‘What kind of **shfulana** is that (indicating that in fact it is not a good one)?’

fulaani

n. [Sw. *fulani* SSED 101; Ar. *fulān* W 727] so-and-so

E/ we/ bwaana/ sku fulaani/ chendra numbaani/ kaako/ langaḷa/ ilu. ‘O, you, master, on such-and-such a day, if you go to your home, look up.’

Munt^hu fulaani/ nakuhada/ duniyaani/ nt^haku/ zeema. ‘So-and-so says on earth there is no goodness.’

Muti oyo/ mbwa muunt^hu/ fulaani. ‘That tree belongs to so-and-so.’

kh-fuulaṭa

v. [Som. *fuli* “to execute, to bring to completion” DSI 236, but note the difference in vowel length] (**fuleete**) succeed, get along well economically

Ye/ jisaa ye/ nakudaḍaalaṭó/ takhfuulaṭa. ‘The way that he is trying, he will succeed.’ [check 1](#)

kh-fuulisha

v. caus. [Som. *fuli* “to execute, to bring to completion” DSI 236, but note the difference in vowel length carry out, keep a promise, fulfill a promise

Amri yaa mi/ mp^heeḷá/ na sultaani/ siwo/ yaa mi/ hukhadiro khfuulishá.

‘The order that I was given by the king is not one that I am able to carry out.’

khfulisha ahdi ‘to keep a promise’

Ahdi iyi/ nt^haki’ifuulisha. ‘This promise, I will fulfill it.’

Muunt^hu/ oyo/ iize/ khfuulisha/ ahdi/ yaa ye/ teetó. ‘But that

man refused to keep the promise that he made [lit. took].’

khfulisha amri ‘to carry out, execute, implement an order’

khfulisha baḷani ‘to carry out a promise’

Ma’askari/ wachoondroka/ keendra/ khfulisha amri/ yaa wo/ wapeeḷá.

‘The soldiers left to go and carry out the order that they were given.’

Muunthu/ shtala bałani/ hufulisha ka hima. ‘If one makes a promise, he must fulfill it quickly.’ (A saying.)

Siyó/ namayó/ mi/ nfulishiizé/ ahdiya. ‘I fulfilled my promise.’

rel.

kh-fulishiliza v. caus. appl.

kh-fulishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-fulishoowa v. pass.

Bałani/ ni waajibu/ khfulishoowa. ‘A promise must be implemented, executed.’

Laazimu/ amri ya sulṭaani/ khfulishoowa. ‘The king’s order must be executed, implemented.’

kh-fuuliza

v. [cf. Sw. *fuliza* ‘keep on at, hammer at, cause to hammer or keep on, continue doing -- in a general sense, quicken, hasten’ SSED 98] (**fuliize**) frequent a place; also used as a synonym of **kh-fuulisha**= keep a promise

ahdi ya we teeto, mbona iize khfuuliza, na karka duniya, peenzele we kundriza [song] ‘the promise you made (lit. took), how come you refused to keep (it), and in (this) world, you liked to make me cry’

kh-fululiza

v. [Sw. *fululiza* SSED 98] (**fululiize**) do s.t. continuously, often

Alaani/ miyaaka/ saba/ fululizaani/ na yaa ni/ nṭ^hakhshafó/ laṭaani/ karka ziskize/ sho kuwa habamó/ yaa ni/ nṭ^haakujó. ‘Plant for seven years successively and what you will plant, let it remain in its cobs, except for a little that you will eat.’

Fululize kuuya. ‘He came often.’

sku izi/ yena nakhfululiza ka... ‘these days he is seen frequenting...’

rel. nom.

m-fululizo n. [Sw. *mfululizo* (*mi-*)] one after the other, in succession

Wazeelewa/ wafile (ka) mfululizo. ‘My parents died one after the other.’

fulusi (Ø, ma-)

n. 9/10,6 [Sw. *fulusi* SSED 101] a type of fish (Although MI used the form *fulusi* for this fish, a more recent consultant says that this fish is called **abjuusi** in Chimiini and that **fulusi** is the name in the rest of the Benadir and among the Bajuni.)

fulusi uyu ‘this fish’; **fulusi izi** or **mafulusi aya** ‘these fish’

rel.

i-fulusi (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.

sh-fulusi (*s-*) n. 7/8 dim.

kh-fuma

v. [Sw. *fuma* SSED 101] (**fumiile**) weave

Hufumaa nguwo. ‘They weave clothes.’

nguwo za khfuma ‘locally woven clothes’

rel.

kh-fumika v. p/s.

kh-fumila v. appl.

chiguwo.’

Ali/ mfumilile mweenzawe/ chiguwo. ‘Ali weaved for his friend a

kh-fumisha v. caus.

kh-fumishanya v. caus. rec.

kh-fumishika v. caus. p/s.

kh-fumishiliza v. caus. appl.

kh-fumishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-fumuka v. (-**fumushile**) be(come) unravelled, unstitched

Ile/ fumushile/ zotte/ zaa ye/ wanaazó. ‘He came and spoke out all that he had (with him).’

Mashomo/ yafumushile. ‘The sewing has become unstitched.’

kh-fumulila v. appl. (**fumuliile**)

kh-fumuloowa v. pass. (-**fumiila**)

kh-fumula v. tr. (**fumiile**) unravel, unroll

kh-fumulika v. tr. p/s.

kh-fumulisha v. tr. caus.
kh-fumulishanya v. tr. caus. rec.
kh-fumulishika v. tr. caus. p/s.
kh-fumulishiliza v. tr. caus. appl.
kh-fumulishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-fuma v. [Sw. *fuma* Sac 229, where the verb is identified as being found in Kiamu and Kigunya dialects, the northernmost dialects of Sw. and thus those closest geographically to Brava] be at low tide
Maayi/ yachiyela/ fuungu/ iyo/ hayiwonekani/ maayi/ yashfuma fuungu/ iyo/ huðihira. ‘When the water is at high tide, that sandbank is not visible; when the water ebbs, that sand bar appears.’

Maayi/ yafumiile/ tawala. ‘The water has ebbed in the sea.’ (Note that the noun **tawala**, which is used as a locative here, never takes the locative suffix: ***tawalaani**.)

Tawala/ ichiyela/ hufuma. ‘If the sea is at high tide, it ebbs.’ (A proverb.)

We/ ile/ maayi/ yafumiiló. ‘You came too late to get anything (lit. you have come when the water has already ebbed).’

m-fuma jima n. Saturday, the first day of the week; [pron. **mfumaa jima**]

fuumba n. sp. fish

m-fuumbi (mi-) n. 3/4 [Sw. *mfumbi* “channel dug to carry away rain water” SSED 276] toilet stool; cesspool; drain leading to cesspool

Kanaye/ hunuunk^ha/ kama mfuumbi. ‘His mouth smells (bad) like a toilet stool.’

sh-fuumbo (s-) n. 7/8 [Sw. *fumbo* SSED 102] mystery, enigma

sh-fuumbo (s-) n. 7/8 [Sw. *kifumbu* SSED 103] a strainer made of plaited strands of grass, used to squeeze a mixture of coconut and hot water, straining out the **ituuvi**

kh-fuumbula v. [Sw. *fumbua* “reveal, disclose” SSED 102] (**fumbiile**) solve a mystery

-fume adj. (cf. *kh-fuma*) at low tide
mayi mafume ‘water at low-tide’

i-fumi (mi-) n. 5/4 a chunky grey catfish with a white under side, usually not eaten and discarded

i-fumo(mi-) n. 5/4 [Sw. *fumo* SSED 102] spear

Ile ka chinumecha/ ka mafakaṭo/ kunbiga ifumo/ kunubla. ‘He came from my back, running, to strike me with the spear and kill me.’

Mwaana/ shtala bundukhuye/ na ifumoyé/ chanza kishkila mlima. ‘The boy took his gun and his spear and began to descend the hill.’

Mwaana/ tukile ifumo/ na lpaangá/ shishilee ndila. ‘The boy carried a spear and a sword and took to the road.’

Ye/ tukile ifumo/ ndrashiize/ ka chinume. ‘He carried a spear and followed behind me.’

kh-funa v. (**funiile**) (This verb is not known to GM.)

na qabri ni nuumba ya kheeri na shari/ ka ya we funiilo takhpata ajri [st.]
‘and the grave is the house of good and evil, you will be rewarded according to what you did’

kh-fuundra v. [Sw. *funda* SSED 103] advise, warn, teach

Fuundra. ‘Warn! advise!’

Fundraani. ‘You (pl.) warn! advise!’

Sfundreení. ‘You (pl.) don’t warn! advise!’

rel.

kh-fundrisha v. caus. teach

Aduwi/ khufuundrisha/ mweenza/ khuzuulisha. ‘An enemy teaches you,

a friend destroys you.’ (A proverb.)

kh-fundroowa v. pass. be warned, advised, taught

Hafundrowi na maamayé/ humfundro Imweengú. ‘The one who is not taught by his mother is the one whom the world teaches.’ (A proverb.)

fuundri

n. [Sw. *fundi* SSED 103] builder; skilled workman

variant form: **fuunzi**

Fuunzi/ haawaki/ nuumbaye. ‘A builder does not build his (own) house.’ (A proverb which says that everyone learns from someone else.)

kh-fuundrika

v. [Sw. *fundika* SSED 103] (**fundrishile**) wrap part of a cloth garment into a knot to hold money

Sfundrikeení/ peesa. ‘You (pl.) don’t make a knot (in the cloth) for the money!’

i-fuundro (ma-)

n. 5/6 [Sw. *fundo* SSED 103] knot

khfunga ifuundro ‘to tie a knot’

khfunga Ikaambala/ ifuundro ‘to tie a knot in a rope’

khfungula ifuundro ‘to untie a knot’

kubigaa nguwo/ ifuundro ‘to tie a knot in a piece of cloth’

kuleleza ifuundro ‘to loosen a knot’

kuwaliza ifuundro ‘to tie a knot tightly’

Iuti/ la mafuundro ‘a knotty stick, i.e. one that is not smooth, but has knots in it’

Shfungula ifuundro. ‘He untied the knot.’

kh-fuunga

v. [Sw. *funga* SSED 104] (**fuunzile**) close s.t.; tie up, imprison; fast

anshuura fuunzilo Muusa na qoomuye [st.] ‘the one who fasted on **anshuura** was Muusa and his people’

Chimfunga mikonon/ na miilú. ‘He tied her arms and legs.’

Fuunga. ‘Close it!’ **Fungaani.** ‘(Pl.) close it!’ **Fungani mlaango.** ‘Close the door!’ **Sfungeeni.** ‘(Pl.) don’t close it!’ **Sfungeeni/ milaango.** ‘(Pl.) don’t close the doors!’

Fungaani/ mikandra yiinu/ ariplaano/ inakuuluka. ‘Fasten your seat belts, the plane is taking off.’

Funzile maato. ‘He closed his eyes.’ Cf. **Shfunzile maato yitú.** ‘We closed our eyes.’ (In the second example, the second person past tense verb triggers final accent, which appears at the end of the verb phrase. If the complement is preposed, it does not manifest this final accent: **Maato yitú/ shfuunzilé.** ‘Our eyes, we opened.’)

khfunga bakhsha ‘to close, seal an envelope’

khfunga biyaashara ‘to purchase goods for the purpose of selling those goods elsewhere (as traders do in Brava, buying goods there and taking them to Kenya to sell, then buying other goods in Kenya and returning to Brava to sell them)

khfunga chiloho ‘to tie a fish-hook to the line’

khfunga eeði ‘to tighten’

Funzile eeði. ‘He tightened it.’

khfunga habaasa ‘to imprison’

khfunga hisaabu ‘to settle accounts (in particular, **want^hu wa Miini** use a kind of charge system whereby at the beginning of the month the storekeeper is told to grant so much credit to a family (both in goods and cash), and at the end of the month one comes in to settle the account, going over the charges with the storekeeper and paying the bill off)

khfunga ibaandra ‘to wrap and medicate a wound’

khfunga ifuundro ‘to tie a knot’

khfunga jawaabu ‘to put a question to someone’

Mi/ takinfunga jawaabu. ‘I will put a question to you (pl).’

(Morph. The first person singular subject prefix optionally elides in various verb forms. In this example it elides in the future tense. If present, the pronunciation would have been **Mi/ nt^hakifunga jawaabu.**)

khfunga ka lkaambala ‘to tie with a rope’

Mfunzile na farasi/ ka lkaambala. ‘He tied him to the horse with a rope.’

khfunga kaa luzi ‘to tie with a thread’

khfungaa kana ‘to keep one’s mouth shut’

Funga kanayo. ‘Shut your mouth!’

khfunga lkaandra ‘to tighten the belt (either literally or figuratively, in the sense of economizing)’

khfunga mas’ala ‘to put a question (to s.o., esp. in the hopes that he will be unable to answer and thus be shown-up)’

khfunga maato ‘to bind eyes, blindfold’

Takhufunga maato. ‘I will bind/blindfold your eyes.’ (Phon. The first person subject prefix *n(i)*- may be elided in the future tense, as in this example, and when it is not present, it does not induce aspiration on the *ʔ*.)

We/ takufunga maato. ‘You will bind my eyes.’ (Phon. In the speech of our first collaborator, MI, the prefix *ku* would be converted to *ki* in front of the first person singular object prefix, as well as all other object prefixes containing a palatal element.)

khfunga mlaango ‘to close the door’

Funzile mlaango. ‘He closed the door.’

Shfunzile milaangó. ‘We closed doors.’

khfungaa mp^hula ‘to hold the nose closed (either because of a bad smell or as an insult to s.o.)’

khfunga m(w)eenza ‘to establish a friendship with s.o.’

Ka jis’iyo/ ye/ chimfunga mp^haamp^ha/ mooyi/ mweenza. ‘In this way, he (the shark) made one of the sharks his friend.’

Nfuye/ choondroka/ chimfunga mp^haamp^ha/ m(w)eenza/ na ichiwa/ kuwa humtiindila/ matuundra/ humlaṭiṭiṭa mp^haamp^ha/ napatee kuja. ‘The monkey established a friendship with the shark and it became his habit to pick off fruit and throw them down to the shark.’

khfunga mzigo ‘to pack a load, tie a load up, finish packing’

khfungaa ndila ‘to close a road to traffic’

khfungaa nvula ‘to be about to rain’

Ishfungaa nvula/ na ichaanza/ kunya. ‘It started to show signs of rain and (then) it began to rain.’

Nvula/ ifuunzile. ‘It is about to rain.’

khfunga ramaḏaani ‘to fast for the month of Ramadhan’

khfunga ruuhu ‘to do s.t. to get oneself arrested (e.g. betraying oneself by one’s speech, actions, or simply by doing s.t. that is criminal and thus leads to one’s arrest)’

Funzile ruuhuye. ‘He did s.t. to lead to his arrest.’

khfunga safari ‘to prepare, pack for a trip’

Muunt^hu/ mooyi/ funzile safari/ kooloka/ muyi mwiingine. ‘A man got ready to travel and go to another town.’

Shfunga safari/ chiruda ka wazeelewe. ‘He packed and returned to his parents.’

khfunga su’aali ‘to put a question to s.o.’

khfunga shtandrawili ‘to set, pose a riddle’

Shtandrawili/ mfuunzile/ walá/ siwo/ jawabuu nk^hulu. ‘She posed a riddle to him, but it is not a big thing.’

Naku’ufuungá. ‘I am closing it.’

Nfunzile mlaangó/ ka khufulí. ‘I locked the door with a lock.’

Nakhsula kumfuunga/ illa/ oyo mwaana/ naakuḷa/ simfuungé/

simfuungé/ basi/ chimwaambila/ lawa ka apa. ‘He [the sultan] wanted to arrest him [the poor boy] except that boy [the sultan’s son] was crying: don’t arrest him! don’t arrest him! So he told him: get away from here!’

Nṽakhufungaa we/ takhufungó. ‘I will tie you up (in place of the donkey), that’s what I will do.’ (This example is quite interesting. It involves what we call the “repeated verb” strategy for putting focus on a verb. Specifically, a copy of the verb form is made, but put into a relative clause form. The copy is to the right of the verb. There is, however, a strong constraint: the copy may not immediately follow the verb. In this example, the pronoun **we** ‘you’ is redundant, since the object marker **kh** establishes that the object is second person singular. But it is necessary for **we** to present if one wants to focus the verb by verb repetition. The verb copy is always ‘identical’ to the main verb in form, but the present example indicates that the option phonological reduction where the first person subject prefix is elided in the future tense does not serve to render the verb copy non-identical to the triggering verb.)

Shfunzile milaangó. ‘We closed the doors.’

sultaani/ funzilo ruuhuyé/ mikonó/ ka silsilá ‘the sultan who tied his hands with chains’ (This example illustrates nicely how, in a true relative clause, the final accent required by the relative verb, surfaces on the final vowel of each phonological phrase in the relative verb phrase. **Ruuhuye** ‘oneself’, **mikono** ‘hands’, and **silasila** ‘chains’ each stand at the end of a NP and thus also at the end of a phonological phrase.)

wa muusi shfuunga sku sitta fululiza [st.] ‘if you fast six days in the first month [of the year], make them successive days’

Wamfunzile Sultani Daraayi/ mutiini. ‘They tied Sultan Daraayi to a tree.’

Ye/ chimwambila mwanaamke/ wa sultaani/ jisaa we/ mfunzilo mkulá/ Hasani/ naa mi/ nṽakhufunga jis’iyo. ‘He told the sultan’s daughter: just as you imprisoned my older brother Hasani, I also will imprison you in that way.’

Ye/ oyo mwaanawe/ illa/ humfuungi/ chimfuunga/ mwana uyu/ naami/ takubla ruuhuya. ‘He, that son of his (i.e. the sultan’s son) (said) you must not arrest him; if you arrest this boy, I will kill myself.’

rel.

kh-fungafuunga v. freq.

Chiwafunzilefunzilé/ wiizi. ‘We tied up the thieves.’

Omari/ nakhsaafira/ nakhfungafunga zoombo. ‘Omari is traveling, he is tying up his stuff.’

Wafunzilefunzile mizigo yaawo. ‘They packed up their luggage.’ (Morph: Observe that in the perfect form of the reduplicated verb, both parts of the stem add the perfect extension. One does not say: *wafungafuunzile.)

Wanfunzilenfunzile/ mi. ‘They tied me up.’ (Morph. Observe that the first person object prefix, which forms a prenasalized consonant with the initial consonant in the stem, appears in both parts of the reduplicated stem.)

Ye/ shfungafunga zoomboze/ choondroka. ‘He packed up his things and took off.’

Ye/ tosheze kuwa ndiyé/ siimba/ chimubla/ chimaliza/ chimfungafuunga/ ka nk^haambala/ chiya/ naaye/ muyiini. ‘He thought that it [the animal he saw] was the lion and he killed him and then he tied him up with ropes and went with him to town.’

kh-fungamana v. be entangled

maduuri/ yafungameenó ‘a tangled, thick forest’

Ndruzi/ sfungameene. ‘The threads are entangled.’

kh-fuungana v. rec. tie one another

khfungana mas’ala ‘to put questions to one another’

Mawiingu/ yafungeene. ‘The clouds are thick (lit. tied to one another).’

kh-fuunganya v. join one thing to another by tying

khfunganyaa luzi ‘to join thread’

khfunganya mizigo ‘to tie loads on one another’

kh-funganyika v. able to be joined

Ndruzi izi/ hasfunganyiki. ‘These threads cannot be tied.’

kh-funganoowa v. rec. pass.

Itakhfunganoowa. ‘[The players in the game] will bind one another’s [eyes shut] – [lit.] there will be binding of one another.’

kh-fuungika v. p/s. (-fungishile or fungikishile) able to be closed; closed

Hufuungika. ‘It can be closed.’ (cf. **Ha’ufuungiki.** ‘It cannot be closed.’)

khfungika eedi ‘to be very tight’

Mlango uyu/ hawfuungiki/ na waana. ‘This door cannot be closed by children.’ (Syn. Observe that the potential/stative form of the verb permits the use of *na* to mark the agent. This is one of the deep-seated connections between the potential/stative and the passive form of the verb.)

Mlaango/ ufungishile. ‘The door was able to be closed.’

kh-fungikafuungika v. freq. p/s.

Mnango uwu/ unakhfungikafuungika/ tu. ‘This door is just getting shut, locked [by itself, on its own].’

kh-fungikila v. p/s. appl. (-fungikiliile) close for

Mlaango/ umfungikiliile. ‘The door closed for, on him.’

kh-fungikoowa v. p/s. pass. (-fungishila)

Ifungishila. ‘It is being closed, locked up.’

Shchifanya jawabu iyi/ itakhfungikoowa. ‘If we do this thing, we are going to be locked up.’

Shfanya jawabu iyo/ ha’ifungikoowi. ‘If you do that thing, it cannot be closed/ locked.’

Shfanya jawabu iyo/ hufungikoowa. ‘If you do that thing, it can be closed/ locked.’

kh-fuungila v. appl. (fungiliile) shut for, tie with, for

Chimaliza/ rudaani/ mp^hate kinaambila/ sababu yaa mi/ nfungililo ruuhuya... ‘Then come back so that I may tell you the reason that I have tied myself up...’

Nfungilile mlaangó/ khufuli. ‘I closed the door with a lock.’ Or: **Khufuli/ nfungilile mlaangó.** (Phon. It is not possible to include the instrument in the scope of a final-accent trigger: *Nfungilile mlaangó/ khufulí.) (Syn. In the instrumental applied, the instrument is presupposed and not the focus. Thus our consultant MI considered the following to be ill-formed: *Nfungilile khufuli/ mlaango. , as well as *Mlaango/ nfungilile khufulí.)

Sultaani/ chamura makhaadimu/ kudarbisha zaakuja/ za safari/ na kumfungila mwanaamkewe/ zoombo/ zotte/ zaa muke/ wa sultaani. ‘The sultan ordered servants to prepare food for the trip and to pack for his daughter all the things that the wife of the sultan (would need).’

Wamfungilile mlaango. ‘They closed the door for him.’

kh-fungilana v. appl. rec.

kh-fuungisha v. caus. (fungishiize)

Khaliifu/ mfungishize Suufi/ mwaanawe/ miilu. ‘Khaliifu caused Suufi’s child to tie up his (own) legs.’

Khaliifu/ mfungishize Suufi/ ruuhuye/ miilu. ‘Khaliifu made Suufi tie up his (own) legs.’

Mfungishize mwaana/ mlaango. ‘He made the child shut the door.’

kh-fungishoowa v. caus. pass.

kh-fungoowa v. pass. (fuunzila)

Funzila miyezi mitatu. ‘He was imprisoned for three months.’

khfungowa safari ‘a journey to be prepared for’

Mwaana/ chendra markabuuni/ chamura khfungowa safari. ‘The boy went to the ship and order that the journey be prepared.’

Mlaango/ ufuunzila. ‘The door was closed.’

Mp^hana uyu/ naa ye/ funzila jarsi/ shingooni/ chingila naawo/ mitundruuni. ‘This rat with the bell tied around his neck entered (with the other rats) into the hole.’

mtume amuriile khfungoowa sku nt^hatu [st.] the Prophet ordered three days to be fasted’

Mwanaamke/ chimviila/ Abunawaasi/ chimwambila ndo/ mbuzi/

hafungoowi/ jis'iyó. 'The girl called to Abunawaasi and said to him: come on, a sheep (in this example, **mbuzi** is shortened from **mbuzi ya matako**) is not tied in that way.'

Ni kanaye/ imfuunziló. 'It is his mouth that sent him to prison.'

Nnakhsulá Jaamá/ khfungoowá. 'I want Jaama to be imprisoned.'

Nnakhtamaná/ kuwa Jaama/ fuunzila. 'I hope that Jaama is imprisoned.'

(Phon. The verb is focused in this example, and as a consequence the final accent triggered by the verb does not extend beyond the verb. If there were no focus on the verb, the pronunciation would be: **Nnakhtamana kuwa Jaamá/ fuunzilá.**)

Qaaði/ chaamura/ Safiya/ khfungoowa. 'The judge ordered Safiya to be imprisoned.'

Qalbiyo/ inakhfungoowa. 'Your heart is being locked (i.e. you are not showing feeling for my plight).'

Takhfungoowa/ dewé. 'Be warned, you will be jailed.'

Ye/ shfungoowa/ chilaṭowa apo/ naayé/ fuunzilá/ bakayle/ chija ukiwe/ chimaliza/ shteka maayi/ choowa/ apo/ chiyolokela. 'He was tied up and left there, while he was tied, Hare ate his honey and then fetched water and took a bath there and left.'

kh-funguka v. rev. intr. (-fungushile or -fungukishile)

variant form: **khfungukika**

Baaba/ maato/ yachimfunguka/ chiwa huwona. 'Father's eyes opened (to) him, it was then that he could see.'

Lpepo/ lyumiile/ laakini/ mlaangowa/ nt^hawuxfunguka. 'The wind blew but my door did not open.'

Mkulu wa wizi arba'iini/ hadiile/ funguka/ simsimu. 'The chief of the forty thieves said: open, sesame.'

Mlaango/ ufungushile. 'The door was opened.'

Mlaango/ ufungukishile. 'The door was openable.'

Sandukhu iyi/ hufunguka ka lfungulo ili. 'This box can be opened with this key.'

kh-fungukila v.

Mlaango/ umfungukilile mwaana. 'The door opened for, on, to the child.'

kh-fungulila v. rev. appl. (funguliile) open for, with; tell

Baaba/ chimwambila khkalaant^ha/ kumfungulila. 'Father told him to sit down and tell him about it.'

Hasiibu/ chimfungulila sultaani/ izije zimpeetó/ zotte. 'Hasiibu told the sultan all that had befallen him.'

kinfungulila laana/ ili 'to tell you (pl.) this story'

Mwanaamke/ mfungulile mwaalimu/ mlaango. 'The girl opened the door for the teacher.' (The applied verb conveys the notion that the action was done for the teacher, not because of the teacher. To convey the latter meaning, the simple verb would be used with a prepositional phrase like **ka khisa mwaalimu.**)

Ndro/ nfungulila mlaango. 'Come, open the door for me.'

Nfungulile mlaangó/ lfungulo. 'I opened the door with a key.' (Our data in connection with the instrumental applied is a bit unclear. The instrument often seems not to be allowed to appear in the post-verbal position, which is the position for a focused NP. However, in this example where the logical object is inanimate, our consultant accepted a focused instrument: **Nfungulile l-funguló/ mlaango.**)
review as this contradicts a preceding remark in this section

Nfungulila mlaango/ mi/ niingile/ numbaani. 'Open the door for me so that I may enter the house.'

Nimfungulile mwaalimú/ mlaangó/ ka lfuunguló. 'I opened the door for the teacher with a key.' (Syn. Given the presence of a beneficiary NP in post-verbal position, one cannot have a post-verbal instrument without a preposition: ***Nimfungulile mwaalimú/ mlaangó/ lfuunguló.**)

Wafungulile waant^hu/ mlaango. 'He opened the door for, to the people (e.g. assisted them, helped them to enter).'

kh-fungulilana v. rev. appl. rec.

Munt^hi mzima/ wo/ hufungulilana ndraano. 'All day long they tell each other stories.'

kh-funguliloowa v. appl. pass. (funguliila) be opened for, with

Lfuungulo/ hufungulilowa sandukhu iyi. ‘This key is used to open this box.’

Mwaalimu/ fungulila mlaango/ na mwanaamke. ‘The teacher was opened for the door by the girl.’ Or with emphasis on the agent: **Mwaalimu/ fungulila na mwanaamke/ mlaango.** ‘The teacher was opened for by the girl the door.’ (The beneficiary must be the subject of the benefactive applied verb, not the logical direct object out: ***Mlaango/ ufungulila mwaalimu/ na mwanaamke.** ‘The door was opened for the teacher by the girl.’ It is possible, however, for **mlaango** to appear in what looks like the subject position, but it does not control the subject marker on the verb: **Mlaango/ fungulila mwaalimu/ na mwanaamke.** In this construction, the subject, **mwaalimu**, is put in IAV position and is phrased with the verb.)

Na kila chilombapó/ we/ mlaango/ funguliloowa. ‘And whenever you ask for something may the door be opened for you.’

kh-funguloowa v. pass. (**fungiila**)

Chaamura/ wotte/ khfunguloowa. ‘He ordered all to be untied.’

Kula mlaango/ hufungulowa ka lfuungulo. ‘Every door is opened with its own key.’ (A proverb.)

Mboni/ unakuraaga/ wo/ khfunguloowa. ‘How come it is delayed to be opened (i.e. how come they are delaying opening it, e.g. a door)?’

Mlaango/ ufungila na mwanaamke/ ka khisa mwaalimu. ‘The door was opened by the girl for/because of the teacher.’ Or: **Mlaango/ ufungila ka khisa mwaalimu/ na mwanaamke.** ‘The door was opened for/ because of the teacher by the girl.’

Ndila/ ifungiila. ‘The door was opened to traffic.’

Nnafunguloowá/ isa/ laano/ la shtoloko. ‘Now I will tell the story of the little bean.’

Sandukhu iyi/ hufungulowa ka lfuungulo iyi (na Hamadi). ‘This box is opened (regularly) with this key (by Hamadi).’

kh-fuunguka v. (**fungushile**)

Sandukhu iyi/ hufunguka ka lfuungulo ili. ‘This box opens with this key.’

kh-fungukila v. appl.

Mlaango/ umfungukiliile. ‘The door opened for him.’ (Observe that the applied verb here has a benefactive use; it is not possible to use this formation with an instrumental interpretation: ***Sandukhu iyi/ hufungukila lfuungulo ili.** ‘This box opens with this key.’)

kh-fuungula v. [Sw. *fungua* SSED 104] (**fungiile**) open, uncover, unfasten, untie; release from prison, set free

Ali/ mfungile Iisa. ‘Ali untied Iisa.’

Askari/ mfungile mwiizi. ‘The policeman released the thief.’

Bwaana/ takhaadira/ we/ khfungula shtandrawili ichi? ‘Master, will you be able to solve this riddle?’ (This sentence is an example of a simple yes-no question. The final phrase exhibits the accent shift that affects out-of-focus elements in the VP.)

Choondroka/ shfungula mlaango/ kulangala. ‘He got up and opened the door and took a look.’

Fungile mnaango. ‘He opened the door.’

Fungile sanduukhu. ‘He opened the box.’

Fungiileni/ miizi. ‘What did he open, the thief?’ Possible answer: **Fungile mnaango/ miizi.** ‘He opened the door, the thief.’

fungilopo mlaangó ‘when he opened the door’

Fuungula. ‘Open it!’ Cf. **Fungulaani.** ‘(Pl.) open it!’

Fungula ijuuniya/ ka himaahima/ mp^hate kulawa/ naawé/ pata kiingila/ ndrani ya ijuuniya. ‘Open the sack quickly so that I get out and you get inside the sack.’

Fungulani choloko. ‘(Pl.) open the window!’

Hasiibu/ shfungula mlaango/ chingila numbaani. ‘Hasiibu opened the door and went into the house.’

khfungula chibaandra ‘to unwrap a bandage’

khfungula chibuuku ‘to open a book’

khfungulaa chiwo ‘to open a religious book; to consult a book of astrology’

Shfungulaa chiwo/ chisooma. ‘He opened the (religious) book and read it.’

khfungulaa duka ‘to open a shop for business’

khfungula ifuundro ‘to untie a knot’

Maskiini/ shfungula ltaambi/ laa nguwo/ shfungula ifuundro/ shtomola thumini ya riyaali. ‘The poor man opened the edge of the cloth and untied the knot and took out one-eighth of a riyal.’

khfungulaa kana ‘to break the fast after sunset during Ramadhan (lit. to open the mouth)’

khfungula lkaambala ‘to untie a rope’

khfungula mas’ala ‘to solve the riddle’

khfungula mashakha ‘to tell one’s troubles’

khfungula maato ‘to be alert (lit. to open the eyes)’

Fungula maatoyo/ skhada’oowa. ‘Be alert, don’t let yourself be cheated!’

khfungula miimba ‘to ‘come clean’, ‘spill the beans’, say something that one is trying not to say’

Fungula miimabayo. ‘Talk! Say it! Come clean!’

khfungulaa ndila ‘to open a road to traffic’

khfungulaa nguwo ‘to undress’

Wamfungilee nguwo. ‘They undressed him.’

khfungulaa nvula ‘to stop raining (lit. rain to stop)’

Nvula/ ifungiile. ‘It stopped raining.’

khfungula qalbi ‘[lit. to open one’s heart] be happy, be nice, considerate, show one’s love, confide in, lay bare one’s feelings’

khfungula qisa ‘to tell a story’

Buluukhiya/ chanza khfungula khisaze. ‘Buluukhiya began to tell his story.’

khfungula ruuhu+poss. ‘to free oneself (to be able to take care of one’s own problems, to take care of oneself)

Ni munt^hu hukhadiro khfungula ruuhuyé. ‘He is a man who is able to look out after himself.’

khfungula safari ‘to unpack’

Apo/ wafungile safari/ khpumula. ‘There they unpacked and rested.’

khfungula shaati ‘to take off a shirt’

khfungula shiingo ‘to free the neck – this is used as a formal greeting/compliment to a woman who has just given birth

Mojjitu/ khufungile shiingo/ ka kheeri. ‘God has freed your neck with a blessing.’

khfungula soomu ‘to break the fast after sunset during Ramadhan’

khfungula zimpeeto ‘to tell what happened to one (usu. s.t. bad)’

kumfungula muunt^hu ‘to free someone who is imprisoned or tied up’

Lfungulo iji/ hufungula sandukhu iyi. ‘This key opens this box.’

Mwanaamke/ ufungile mlaango/ ka khisa mwaalimu. ‘The girl opened the door for (or: because of) the teacher.’ (This sentence is ambiguous between whether the action of opening the door was done for the benefit of the teacher or was triggered somehow by the teacher.)

Mzeele/ chiya/ shfungula mlaango. ‘The old woman came and opened the door.’

Nambiile/ khfuungula/ mitaana/ yote/ shokuwa mtana mooyi. ‘He told me to unlock all the rooms except one room.’

Nfungile mlaango/ ka lfuungulo. ‘I opened the door with a key.’ Or, with

focus on **mlaango**: **Nfungile mlaango/ ka lfuungulo.** Or, with

emphasis on the verb: **Nfungiile/ mlaango/ ka lfuungulo.** Or:

Nfungiile/ ka lfuungulo/ mlaango. Or, with instrumental phrase

moved to IAV position: **Nfungile ka lfuungulo/ mlaango.**

Nfungile shaatiya. ‘I took my shirt off.’

Sfunguleeni. ‘(Pl.) don’t open it!’

Sfunguleeni/ choloko. ‘(Pl.) don’t open the window!’

Shfungile maoto yitutu. ‘We opened our eyes.’ Or: **Maoto yitutu/ shfungiile.**

‘Our eyes, we opened.’

Shfungulaa chuwo/ chisooma/ chimaliza mwambile mukeewe... ‘He opened the book and read it and then he said to his wife...’

Sitakhufuungula. ‘I will not untie you.’

kh-fungulana v. rev. rec.

Wafungulene mikono. ‘They untied one another’s hands.’

kh-fungulika v. p/s. (-fungulikishile)

Gari iyi/ hayfunguliki/ koofano. ‘This car cannot be opened the hood.’ Cf. the ungrammaticality of: ***Koofano/ hayfunguliki/ gari iyi.** ‘The hood cannot be opened this car.’

Mlaango/ nt^hawukhfungulika. ‘The door did not open (e.g. when someone tried to open it).’

Mlango wa numba iyi/ hawfunguliki. ‘The door of this house cannot be opened.’ Cf. **Numba iyi/ mlaangowe/ hawfunguliki.** ‘This house its door cannot be opened.’ Cf. **Numba iyi/ hayfunguliki/ mlaango.** But note the ungrammaticality of: ***Mlaango/ hawfunguliki/ numba iyi.**

Mlaango/ wize khfungulika. ‘The door would not open.’

kh-fungulisha v. rev. caus.

kh-fuungusha v. rev. caus. (fungushiize)

Mfungushize Hamadi/ mlaango. ‘He caused Hamadi to open the door.’ (A periphrastic causative is available here: **Mtile Hamadi/ khfungula mlaango.** ‘He caused Hamadi to open the door.’)

kh-fungushiliza v. rec. caus. appl. (fungushiliize)

Huseeni/ mfungushilize Iisa/ mwaana/ mlaango. ‘Huseeni made Iisa’s child open the door.’ (A periphrastic version is possible: **Huseeni/ mtile Iisa/ mwaana/ khfungula mlaango.** ‘Huseeni some induced Iisa’s child to open the door.’)

kh-fungushilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. (-fungulishilizeenye)

Huseeni/ na Haaji/ wafungushilizenye waana/ milaango. ‘Huseeni and Haaji made one another’s children open the doors.’ (A periphrastic version is also possible: **Huseeni/ na Haaji/ watililene waana/ khfungula milaango.** ‘Huseeni and Haaji somehow induced one another’s children to open the doors.’)

kh-fuunguza v. (fungiize) free (of a problem), repay (i.e. free of a debt), provide means to pay a debt

Ali/ mfungize Haaji/ deenize. ‘Ali provided the means for Haaji to pay off his debts’

Ali/ mfungize mwaana/ deeni. ‘Ali freed the child of his debt.’ (Because **kh-funguza** is not a true causative, a periphrastic form is not possible: ***Ali/ mtile mwaana/ khfungula deeni.** ‘Ali caused the child to repay his debt.’)

Funguza. ‘Pay off (the debt)!’ Cf. **Funguzaani.** ‘(Pl.) pay off (debt)!’

Funguzani deeni. ‘(Pl.) pay off the debt!’

khfunguza deeni ‘to pay off one’s debt’

Fungize deenize. ‘He repaid his debt.’

khfunguza mas’ala ‘to solve a problem, find a solution’

khfunguza ruuhu+poss. ‘to take care of one’s problems; to prove one’s innocence’

Fungize ruuhuye/ deeni. ‘He freed himself of debt.’

khfunguza shiingo ‘to establish one’s innocence in the face of an accusation, clear oneself of a charge’

Ali/ fungize shiingoye/ ka poliisi. ‘Ali established his innocence to the police.’

Sa’iidi/ mfungize Haaji/ shiingo/ ka poliisi. ‘Sa’iidi provided evidence of Haaji’s innocence to the police.’

khfunguza soomu ‘to cause s.o. to break fast’

Ali/ mfungize Muusa/ soomu. ‘Ali caused Muusa to break his fast.’

Sfunguzeeni. ‘(Pl.) don’t pay off (the debt)!’

Sfunguzeeni/ deeni. ‘Don’t pay off the debt!’

kh-funguzany(an)a v. rec. (-funguzeenye or -funguzanyeene)

kh-funguzany(an)oowa v. rec. pass. (-funguzeenya or -funguzanyeene)

rel. nom.

m-fuunga (wa-) n. 1/2 one who fasts

Mfungaa miya/ hafungulili/ bakhti. ‘One who fasts a hundred days does

not break his fast for a carcass.’ (A proverb, which encourages someone not to give up when one is so close to succeeding in what one has set out to do.) Or: **Mfungaa miya/ bakhti/ hafunguliji.**

m-fuungo (*mi-*) n. 3/4 a closing up of something; an arrest; fast (i.e. abstention from eating)’

mfungo wa muusi ‘the first month after Ramadhan’

u-fuungo n. 14 act of closing

m-fuungulo n. 3 the act of opening; a breaking of fast; month

mfungulo wa muusi ‘the first month after Ramadhan’

Mfungulo wane/ taarikhi/ ikumi/ maskuye/ huvilowa masku

Ashuura. ‘The tenth day of the fourth month, its night is called the night of Ashuura.’

sh-fuungula (*s-*) n. 7/8 [Sw. *kifungua*] an opener, s.t. that opens

shfungulaa kana ‘(lit.) something that opens the mouth – a kind of snack of coffee, dates, etc., in the morning (e.g. after returning from prayers at the mosque) before the real breakfast’

shfungula mlaango ‘a sum of money that is paid to gain entry to the house where the bride is located – the husband or his relatives pay this fee when going to the bride after the marriage ceremony’

shfungulaa nṭhupa ‘a bottle opener’

sh-fuungulo (*s-*) n. 7/8 [cf. Sw. *kifunguo* ‘a small key’] a release

Ganaha/ huwa shfungulo cha habaasa. ‘A fine can be a release from prison – i.e. one can pay a fine in order to get out of prison (in Brava, in former days, the fine was calculated by multiplying one’s daily income times the number of days of imprisonment that would be involved; the practice is no longer existent.)

u-fuungulo n. 14 [Sw. *ufunguo*] act of opening

n-fungamaato

n. 9/10

rel.

sh-fungamaato (*s-*) n. 7/8

-fuunge

adj. closed

Choloka apaje/ sa’a izi/ mlaango/ utakuwa mfuunge. ‘If he goes there at times like these, the door will be shut.’

Ichiwa kanayo/ ni nfuunge/ we/ laazima/ khfungula kanayo/ kendra khfanya propaganda/ kuhada/ jawaabu/ zaa we/ haamini/

kooloka/ ðiddi ya mabadi’iyo. ‘If it be that you close your mouth, [in order to get ahead in the world] you must open your mouth and go and make propaganda, say things that you do not believe, go against your principles.’

Kana nfuunge/ ni ðahabu. ‘A closed mouth is gold.’ (A proverb that conveys the idea that keeping quiet is very valuable, like gold; one avoids problems by keeping one’s mouth shut.’

Mbene mlango mfuungé. ‘I saw the closed door.’ (Cf. **Mbene mlaangó/ mfuunge.** ‘I saw a closed door.’)

milaango mifuunge masku ba na muunṭhi [nṭ.] ‘doors are kept closed night and day’

Mlaangowe/ ni mfuunge. ‘His door is closed.’

i-fuungo (*ma-*)

n. 5/6 portion

Ifuungo/ ya kaandra/ weeka/ ni maali/ ya mwajiitu. ‘The first portion, set it aside, it is the property of God.’

kubiga mafuungo ‘to divide up into portions’

Mi/ nimjibiilé/ kuwaa mí/ maali/ niyabishile mafungo manné. ‘I answered him that I, the money, divided up into four portions.’ (Phon. Notice that a high vowel in the subject prefix does not elide in front of an object prefix, which explains the form /ni-ya-bishilé/ ‘I divided [lit. hit] [cl.6]’.)

Mbene mafungo yaa namá/ ya ngombe wiingí/ yaweshela mbaḽmbalí. ‘I

saw portions of meat of many cows that were placed separately.’

Muunt^hu/ uyu/ naletoowa/ laakini/ we/ khulaazima/ kawanya bahari/ mafuungu/ mane. ‘Let this man be brought [to me], but you must divide the sea into four portions.’

sh-fuungo (s-)

n. 7/8 a puzzle, s.t. that requires a solution; imprisonment, bond, tie

imprisonment).’

Kuboola/ inacho shfuungo. ‘Stealing leads to imprisonment (lit. has

Mi/ ni hurri/ pashpo sfuungó. ‘Am I free without ties?’

Pete khfungula shfuungo. ‘He was able to solve the puzzle.’

fuungu

n. [Sw. *fungu* SSED 106] the wet sand along the beach close to the water, sandbank

Miti/ hayaalawi/ funguuni. ‘Trees do not grow [lit. come out] in the wet sand.’

Muda/ wa sku niingi/ wasafiriiló/ hattá/ leelo/ washkoma/ mahala/ yiko fuungu. ‘For a period of many days they traveled until today they reached a place where there was a sandbank.’

Wachondroka/ ka apo/ wachimlata Huseeni/ funguuni. ‘They moved from there, they left Huseeni on the sandbank.’

i-fuungu (ma-)

n. a group of things, heap, pile, bunch; share

ifungu yaa mazu ‘a bunch of bananas’

ifungu yaa mbuzi ‘a herd of goats’

ifungu yaa nama ‘a chunk of meat’

ifungu yaa nguwo ‘a bundle of clothes’

ifungu ya skunyi ‘a bundle of firewood’

ifungu ya waan^hu ‘a large group of people’

ifungu ya zinyunyi ‘a large flock of birds’

kubiga mafuungu ‘to make shares’

Mp^huundra/ chibiga mafungu matatu/ sawasawa. ‘The donkey made three equal shares.’

Taala/ ifuungu/ yo yotte/ itakhupeendezó. ‘Take whatever you please.’

Yotte/ takaawanya/ mafungu mawili/ sawasawa. ‘He will divide all into two equal shares.’

rel.

mi-fuungu n. 4

mifungu yaa nama ‘chunks of meat’

sh-fuungu (s-) n. 7/8 dim.

sfungu zaa nama ‘small chunks of meat’

shfungu chaa nama ‘a small chunk of meat’

shfungu shfuungu adv. in groups

Waant^hu/ wa’ile shfungu shfuungu. ‘People came in groups.’

Waant^hu/ wasimeme shfungu shfuungu. ‘People stood in groups.’

-fuungufu

adj. open

heart.’

Fulaani/ nayo qalbi/ nfuungufu (or mfuungufu). ‘So-and-so has an open

hearts.’

Hamadi/ na Ali/ wanazo qalbi/ nfuungufu. ‘Hamadi and Ali have open

Qalbi zaawo/ nfuungufu. ‘Their hearts are open.’

Qalbiye. nfuungufu. ‘His heart is open.’

We/ takuwa muunt^hu/ mu’tarafu/ mp^hiindri/ yo/ kanayo/ ichiwa

nfuungufu. ‘You will be someone recognized if your mouth be open (in the context of the text: praising your superiors).’

kh-fungula

v. (*fungiile*) narrate a story

Malizopo khfungula khisa ya mp^huundrá/ nfuye/ chimwambila

mp^haamp^ha... ‘When he finished telling the story of the donkey,

Monkey said to Shark....'

rel.

kh-fungulila v. appl. (**funguliile**) tell to

Ba'adiye/ Abdalla/ cheendra/ ka mukeewe/ chimfungulila/ dhibu/ impeetó. 'After that, Abdalla went to his well and told her about the difficulties that had befallen [lit. got] him.'

Chimfungulila zotte/ zaa ye/fanyiizó/ chimfungulila/ jisaa ye/ mkhada'илоо mp^hisi. 'She told her all that she had done, she told her how she had deceived the hyena.'

Haye/ isa/ kalant^haani/ ninfungulile laano/ kuwa sultaani/ mfanyize mwaana/ mooyi. 'Well, now, sit down so that I may tell you a story about (what) the sultan did to one boy.'

Nfuye/ chanza kumfungulila/ khisa ya mp^hundra wa doobi. 'The monkey began to tell him (the shark) the story of the washerman's donkey.'

Nimfungulile mwana wa Nuuru/ laano. 'I told Nuuru's child a story.'

Sa'iidi/ chimfungulila sultaani/ maambo/ yampeetó/ yotte. 'Sa'iidi narrated to the sultan all the things that had befallen him.' (Phon. Observe that **yotte** is not within the scope of the relative clause final accent. **Yotte** modifies the head plus relative structure: **maambo/ yampeetó** and thus is not inside the relative clause.)

rel.

kh-fungulilana v. narrate to one another

washfungulilana/ khabari/ zotte. 'When Hasani left, Huseeni came; the girl was very happy; they recounted to each other all the news.'

l-fuungulo (n-)

n. 11/10 key

khtila lfuungulo 'to wind up a clock, watch'

Kilaa mnaango/ inayo lfungulole (or **lfungulo laake**). 'Every door has its key.' (A proverb which conveys the idea that if you wish to do something, you must find the right strategy, etc., since each situation is unique and has its own solution.)

lfungulo la luulu 'a pearl key'

lfungulo laa nt^hupa 'bottle opener'

lfungulo laa tala 'a light switch'

Mmereelé/ nfunguloza/ kilaa mahala. 'I looked for my keys everywhere.'

Mp^hele nfuungulo/ za nuumaye. 'He gave me the keys of his house.'

Sabri/ ni lfungulo la faraji. 'Patience is the key to relief.' (A proverb.)

sanduukhu/ na lfuunguló 'a box and a key'; **sanduukhu/ na nfuunguló** 'boxes and keys'

sanduukhu/ na lfungulole 'a box and its key'; **sanduukhu/ na nfungulozé** 'boxes and their keys'

Shtukula lfungulole/ chishkila/ chendra ka sultaani. 'He took his key and disembarked and went to the sultan.'

kh-funuka

v. (-funushile) re-open (though the use of this verb is restricted)

Ijarah/ ifunushile. 'His wound is re-opened.'

rel.

kh-funukafunuka v. freq. uncover, reveal (though use is restricted)

Fulaani/ funushilefunushile sku izo. 'So-and-so has uncovered himself – i.e. formerly a quiet and timid person, he has become talkative, outgoing; or, formerly poorly garbed, he is now dressed fit to kill.'

kh-funula v. [Sw. *funua* SSED 106] (**funiile**) open (but restricted in use)

khfunulaa nt^hanu 'to open the oven'

funuuni

n. [Ar. *funuun*, pl. pf *fann* W 728, but note that Arabic does not have the meaning "dreams"] arts; dreams (but rare in this meaning)

nakhsuula khuwona hata ka funuuni [st.] 'I want to see you even [if only] in my dreams'

fuunzi (*ma-*)

n. craftsman, mason; trainer

Fuunzi/ haawaki/ nuumbaye. ‘A builder does not build his house.’ (A proverb.)

Fuunzi/ nakhumba iboholi. ‘The mason is digging a hole.’

rel.

m(w)aa-fuunzi or *m(w)ana-fuunzi* (*w-*) n. 1/2 trainee, apprentice

Maafuunzi/ humzida fuunzi. ‘An apprentice can become better than the craftsman (who has trained him).’ (A proverb.)

fuqara

adj. pl. (see **faqiiri**) [Ar. *fuqarā* W 723] poor (pl.)

kh-fuura

v. [Som. *fuur* DSI 239; cf. also Ar. *faur* ‘boil, simmer’ W 731] (**furiile**) swell; boil over, rise/foam up (after boiling), bubble up, fizz, get red in the face but not say anything (as the result of anger)

Ali/ furiile. ‘Ali got so mad that his face was red (but he said nothing).’

Ali/ furiile shiingo. ‘Ali’s neck swelled.’ (Syn. In this example, the subject of the verb is **Ali**, as indicated by the null subject prefix on the verb.)

Chaayi/ shfuriile. ‘The tea has boiled over.’

Chita/ chimfuriile kaa nk^hele. ‘Lit. his head swelled from the noise -- i.e.

His head was pounding, in a whirl.’ (Syn. In this example, **chita** governs subject agreement on the verb, and he human experiencer is indicated by the [cl.1] object prefix **-m(u)-** on the verb.)

Dawa/ ifuriile. ‘The medicine (e.g. alka seltzer) frothed up.’

Furiile ka shana. ‘[Lit.] He was swelled by anger.= He looked angry.’

Furiile mkono. ‘He swelled hand.’ Or: **Furiile mikono.** ‘He swelled hands.’

But not: ***Furiile mkonowe.** ‘He swelled his hand.’ Nor: ***Furiile mkonoye.** ‘He swelled his hands.’

inyi/ khfuura ‘for the liver to swell, become enlarged’

Ji/ furiile lmiilo/ kaa nk^hele. ‘Ji was very angry – lit. Ji’s throat swelled from shouting.’

khfura miimba ‘for the stomach to swell (in laughter)’

Teshele/ hatá/ miimba/ imfuriile. ‘[Lit.] He laughed until his stomach swelled.’ (Syn. Note that **miimba** is the grammatical subject, and the one who experiences the ‘swelling’ triggers the object prefix on the verb.)

Lmiilo/ limfuriile. ‘His throat swelled.’ (Syn. In this example, **lmiilo** governs subject agreement on the verb, and the experience is marked by the [cl.1] object prefix **-m(u)-** on the verb.)

Lmilole/ furiile. ‘His throat swelled.’ (Syn. In this example, the verb agrees with a [cl.1] human subject, not **lmiilo**.)

Maatoye/ yafuriile/ kana matumbo. ‘His eyes are swollen like the stomach.’

Mikono/ yashfuriile. ‘[His] hands swelled.’ Or: **Yashfuriile mikono.** (Phon. Observe that when **mikono** is in post-verbal position, it can form a phonological phrase with the verb.)

Mikono yiitu/ yafuriile. ‘Our hands swelled.’

Mikonoye/ yafuriile. ‘His hands swelled.’ Or: **Mikono/ yamfuriile.**

Mkono/ umfuriile. ‘The hand swelled [to] him.’

Mkono wa mwaana/ ufuriile. ‘The hand of the child swelled.’

Mkonowa/ ufuriile. ‘My hand swelled.’ Or: **Mkono/ unfuriile.** ‘Hand swelled [to] me.’ Or: **Unfuriile mkono.** ‘Swelled [to] me hand.’

Mkonowe/ ufuriile. ‘His hand swelled.’ Or: **Mkonowe/ umfuriile.**

Muusa/ mkono/ wanzize kumfuura. ‘Muusa’s hand began to swell.’

Mwaana/ mkonowe/ ufuriile. ‘The child, his hand swelled.’

Mwaana/ umfuriile mkono. ‘The child, [his] hand swelled [to] him.’ Or:

Umfuriile mkono/ mwaana. ‘Swelled [to] him, [his] hand.’ (Phon. The second alternative has the prosody associated with right-dislocation, as **mwaana** is radically lowered relative to the initial phrase.)

Nuuru/ furile mkono. ‘Nuuru’s arm swelled.’

Ye/ mkono/ umfuriile. ‘His arm swelled.’ Or: **Umfuriloo ye/ ni mkono.** ‘What swelled was his arm [lit. what swelled him was the arm].’

rel.

kh-fuurana v. rec.

kh-fuurila v. appl. (-**furiliile**) boil ‘on’; show anger to

Mfurilile Hamadi. ‘He showed Hamadi his anger (e.g. by his facial gestures, etc.).’

Mwaanawa/ nfulilile mkono. ‘My child’s hand swelled (“on” me).’

Nama/ imfurilile ka daqaa mbili. ‘The meat reached the point of boiling on him in two minutes.’

kh-furilana v. appl. rec. show anger at one another

kh-furoowa v. pass. (-**furila**)

Furila imilo. ‘[His] throat swelled.’

Furila na mkono. ‘Lit. he was swelled by the arm.= His arm swelled.’

(Note one cannot say ***Mkono/ ufuriila.** ‘The hand was swelled.’)

kh-fursha v. caus. (**furshiize**) swell s.t. up; cook meat until water is gone

Ali/ mfurshize Ji/ imilo. ‘[Lit.] Ali made Ji’s throat swell – i.e. Ali made Ji shout and argue so much that his throat became swollen.’

khfurshaa chita ‘to bother’

khfursha miimba (ka shiteko) ‘lit. to make the belly swell with laughter -- said when s.o. makes jokes and tells funny stories that make everybody laugh very much’

Ali/ shfurshize miimba/ ka shiteko. ‘Ali made our bellies swell with laughter.’

khfursha muunt^hu/ chita ‘lit. to make s.o.’s head swell -- when s.o. speaks too much, he makes the listener’s head swell; in particular. when s.o. repeats his request obsessively until he gets what he wants from another person’

khfurshaa nama ‘to boil meat in water until the water dries up; cook meat in water to the point of boiling (as a means of keeping meat overnight)’

nama ya khfursha ‘meat that has been cooked without water, but steamed, using a little oil’

kh-fuurshanya v. caus. rec.

khfurshanyaa chita ‘(refers to) a playful exchange between friends, with witty retorts and quick repartees’

Wafurshenyee zita. ‘They bothered one another to the point that their heads were pounding.’

kh-furshanyoowa v. caus. pass.

khfurshanyowaa chikfurshanyowaa chita (see active verb above for use)

kh-fuurshika v. caus. p/s.

Nama iyi/ haytakhfurshika/ ka khisaa mujo/ ni habba. ‘This meat will not boil because the fire is not high enough.’

kh-furshiliza v. caus. appl. (**furshiliize**) boil for, on

kh-furshilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-furshilizika v. caus. appl. p/s.

kh-furshoowa v. caus. pass. (**furshiiza**)

his head pounded.’

Furshiza ito. ‘His eye was made to swell.’

Furshiza mkono. ‘His hand was made to swell.’ Also: **Furshiza mikono.** ‘His hands were made to swell.’ (Note that one cannot say ***Mkono/ ufurshiiza.** ‘The hand was made to swell.’)

Nama/ ifurshiiza. ‘The meat has been cooked in water.’

Nfurshiza miimba. ‘My stomach is full.’

rel. nom.

m-fuuro n. 3

u-fuuro n. 14

m-fuursho n. 3

u-fuursho n. 14

furaha n. 9/10 [Sw. *furaha* “joy, pleasure, happiness, bliss, delight, gladness, mirth, merriment” SSED 107; Ar. *farah* abd *farḥa* W 702] happiness

furaha/ kamba haruusi ‘as happy as a groom’

furaha/ kamba iidi ‘as happy as iidi’

Hamadi/ imwingile furaha. ‘Hamadi is happy.’ Or: **Furaha/ imwingile**

Hamadi. Or: **Hamadi/ ingila na furaha.**

ka furaha ‘in happiness, happily, with pleasure’

Ka furaha/ Omari/ iló. ‘Happily Omari came.’ Or: **Ka furaha/ iló/ Omari.** (Prosody. The simple yes-no question for the

first example has no accent shift; in contrast, the

postposed subject in the second example shifts its accent:

Ka furaha/ Omari/ iló? but **Ka furaha/ iló/ Omari?** The

exclamatory question has accent shift on the subject in

both cases: **Ka furaha/ Omari/ iló!?** and **Ka furaha/ iló/ Omari!?**)

Muke/ shpokela riiwu/ naa nguwo/ ka furaha. ‘The woman received the gifts and clothes with pleasure.’

Omari/ ile ka furaha. ‘Omari came happily.’ Or: **Omari/ ka furaha/ iló.** Or: **Omari/ ile/ ka furaha.**

Wa’ishiize/ ka kheeri/ ka furaha. ‘They lived together comfortably and happily.’

Mzimawe/ furaha. ‘He is happy from head to toe (lit. his whole is happy).’

Nnayo furahá. ‘I am happy.’

Zawaadi/ ni furaha/ za khalbi. ‘A gift is the happiness of the heart.’ (A proverb.)

zithibitiile furaha niingi [st.] ‘much rejoicing was witnessed’

kh-furaha

v. [Sw. *furahi* “rejoice, be glad, feel pleasure, be happy, be pleased, enjoy oneself” SSED 107; Ar. *fariha* W 702] (**furahiile**) be happy, pleased

Abdi/ nt^hakhfuraha/ kumsomela Safiya. ‘Abdi did not like to read to Safiya.’

Hasani/ isa/ nakhfuraha/ nt^ho/ ka kuwaa ye/ peete/ wanaashke/ wawili/ wa masultaani. ‘Hasani now is rejoicing very much because that he has gotten two daughters of sultans.’

khfuraha/ kamba haruusi ‘to be as happy as if getting married’

khfuraha/ kana bashirilila janná ‘to be as happy as if one has been announced for heaven [i.e. it has been announced that one is going to heaven]’

khfuraha/ kana zaliilá ‘to be as happy as someone who has had a child born to him’

Majini/ wamwenopo Sa’iidi/ wafurahiile/ nt^ho. ‘The djinns, when they saw Sa’iidi, they were very happy.’

Mbona/ we/ sultaani/ chilangala/ lpaandre/ la kubli/ we/ hufuraha/ na chilangala/ lpaandre/ la kusooto/ we/ hula. ‘[Lit. I see] Why, king, is it that if you look to the right, you rejoice, and if you look to the left, you cry?’

Mwaana/ shfurahaa nt^ho. ‘The boy was very happy.’

Mzele Simsini/ shfuraha/ nt^ho. ‘Old Simsini became very happy.’

Nureeni/ furahiile. ‘Nureeni was pleased.’

Nureeni/ furahile khpata peesa. ‘Nureeni was pleased to get money.’

Osmaani/ nt^hakhfuraha/ kooloka. ‘Osmaani did not like to go.’

Sarmala/ shfuraha. ‘The carpenter was pleased.’

shatakhooda si shatakfuraha [song] ‘we shall talk and we shall rejoice’

Wanthu/ wotte/ washfuraha. ‘All the people were happy.’

Zubeeri/ nt^hakhfuraha/ Shaafi/ kooloka. ‘Zubeeri did not like for Shafi to go.’

rel.

kh-furahika v. p/s. (**furahikishile**, based on a stem where the suffix *ik* is doubled) be

happy

Sarmaḷa/ shfurahika. ‘The carpenter was pleased.’

Sultaani/ naayé/ shfurahika/ nt^ho/ chimpa mwaana/ shilingii miya. ‘The sultan became very happy and gave the boy one hundred shillings.’

kh-furahikiḷoowa v. p/s. appl. pass. **not certain whether and how this verb form could be used**

kh-furahikila v. p/s. appl. (**furahikiḷiile**) be pleased for, with

Hamadi/ mfurahikiḷiile mwaana. ‘Hamadi was happy for the child.’

Ijini/ oyo/ nt^hakhfurahikila/ amri ya sultaani/ mpeeló/ choondroka/ ka apo. ‘That djinn was not happy with the order that the sultan had given him and he moved away from there.’

Ka sababu iyo/ Harun Rashiidi/ nt^hamkhfurahikila. ‘For this reason, Harun Rashiidi was not pleased with him.’

Laakini/ Aamina/ kuwona kuwa maali/ yanamwiḷiḷa/ ka apa/ na apá/ pashpo/ naayé/ khfanya kaazi/ nt^hakhfurahikila. But for Amiina to see wealth coming to her from here and there without her doing work did not please her.’

Mi/ sfurahikili. ‘I am not happy about it.’

Waan^hu/ washfurahikila/ nt^ho/ ina iyi. ‘The people were very pleased with this name.’

Waawo/ khufurahikiḷiile. ‘Your father was pleased (for what you did).’

kh-furahila v. appl. [Sw. *furahia* ‘rejoice at (in, for, etc.)’ SSED 107]

Boobo/ nt^hakhfurahila/ kujaa nama. ‘Boobo did not like to eat meat.’

Osmaani/ nt^hafurahila/ kooloka. ‘Osmaani did not like to go.’ (Morph. Observe that the applied verb usage here is interchangeable with the simple verb shown above.)

Sfurahilé/ dhibu/ impeto jiraaniwó. ‘Do not be pleased with the misfortune that befalls your neighbor.’ (A proverb.)

Wake wa Mwiini/ hawafurahili/ kiskaṭila ka zote/ ilu ya wabli. ‘Women of Mwiini do not enjoy depending on their husbands for everything.’

Zubeeri/ nt^hakhfurahila/ Shaafi/ kooloka. ‘Zubeeri did not like for Shaafi to go.’

kh-furahisha v. tr. [Sw. *furahisha* ‘gladden, cheer, rejoice, delight’ SSED 107] (**furahishiize**) please someone

Khabari/ zimfurahishize Nuuru. ‘The news pleased Nuuru.’

Khaliifa/ keendrake/ madrasaani/ nt^haymfurahisha/ mwaalimu.

‘Khaliifa’s going to school did not please the teacher.’

Kuwa Khaliifa/ oloshela madrasaani/ nt^haymfurahisha/ mwaalimu.

‘That Khaliifa went to school did not please the teacher.’ (Syn.

This sentence illustrates that the verb **-furahisha** permits a **kuwa**-complement clause as subject, while the preceding example shows that an infinitive+**ke** clause may also occur. A bare infinitive clause is not permitted, however: ***Khaliifa/ kendra madrasaani/ nt^haymfurahisha/ mwaalimu.**)

Mambo aya/ hayanfurahishi/ mi/ ni/ nnaakuḷá/ kama ndimi/ nfiiló.

‘These matters do not please me; you (resp.) are crying as though it is me who has died.’

Naaziya/ hufurahisha duniyaa nzima. ‘My coconut pleases the whole world.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **iwa** ‘the sun’.)

Ni khabari/ hufurahishó. ‘It is pleasing news.’

nzimiliza muḷo we ndo nfurishisha [song] ‘put out the fire for me, come and make me happy’

Siwo/ tu/ khkooḷa/ killa chiint^hu/ husuḷowa yaa we/ takuhadó/ kulla itakuḷawo ka kanaani/ kaakó/ kuwa ni jawaabu/ hufurahishó/ wakulu. ‘Not just words of any kind, it is required that anything that comes out of your mouth be words that please your superiors.’

(Although the Accentual Law of Focus ordinarily does not apply in relative clauses, in the present example, there is a

particularly strong emphasis on **hufurahishó** and the complement **wakulu** does not exhibit final accent. It thus appears that in relative clauses, strong emphasis does cause the Accentual Law of Focus to come into play. Of course, more research is required on this point.)
Uhuru/ umfurahishiize. ‘Freedom pleased him.’

We/ khshindra m̄atezo/ imfurahisize Nuuru. ‘For you to win the game pleased Nuuru.’

kh-furahishiliza v. tr. appl.

Nuuru/ m̄furahishilize Suufi/ mwaana. ‘Nuuru pleased Suufi’s child.’

kh-furahishilizanya v. tr. appl. rec.

Nuuru/ na Omari/ w̄furahishilizenye waana. ‘Nuuru and Omari pleased one another’s children.’

kh-furahoowa v. pass. [Sw. *furahiwa* ‘be pleased (with), be made happy (by), be rejoiced (at)’ SSED 107] be made joyful by

Sheekhi chifa hul̄owaayi/ ni muunt̄i wa kh̄furahoowa [st.] ‘how can people weep at the Sheikh’s death, as it is a day of joy?’

rel. nom.

m-furahifu (*wa-*) adj. 1/2 [Sw. *-furahifu* ‘joyous, cheering, pleasant’ SSED 107] someone who is pleased

m-furahisha (*wa-*) n. 1/2 someone who pleases

m̄furahisha waant̄u ‘someone who pleases people’

sh-furahisha (*s-*) n. 7/8 a thing that pleases

furahoole

n. [from **furaha** + Som. **-leh**] a cheerful and merry person

fur̄ða

n. port

fur̄ðaani ‘at the port’

furqaani

n. [Ar. *al-furqān* W 709] the Koran

fursa

n. [Ar. *furṣa* W 705] opportunity, chance

Fursa/ ha’ibashoowi. ‘An opportunity should never be lost.’ (A proverb.)

kh̄pata fursa ‘to find the opportunity’

T̄akuya kum̄dafkula/ naayé/ uyu/ takuwa peete/ fursa/ kumwub̄l̄aa dafa. ‘It (e.g. the kite) will come to snatch it and this one (e.g. the rabbit) will get an opportunity to kill the kite.’

furuumba

n. sp. fish

rel.

i-furuumba n. ibid.

sh-furuumba (*s-*) n. 7/8 sp. fish

furuqu

n. [Som. *furuq* “smallpox” DSI 238] smallpox; [pron. **furuqu** or **furukhu**]

fus.ha

n. [Ar. *fusha* W 712] break, leave, vacation

variant form: **fas.ha**

Keesho/ skhaadira/ kh̄fanya kaazi/ nakhtala fas.há/ endra ka dakht̄arí.

‘Tomorrow I cannot go to work, I am taking a leave from work to go to the doctor.’

khtala fas.ha ‘to take a vacation’

Tete fas.ha. ‘He took a leave, a vacation.’

kuwanayo fus.ha ‘to have a vacation’

fuusto

n. [Ital. *fusto*] large barrel, drum

fuusto ya maayi ‘water barrel’

fuusto ya nafta ‘barrel of diesel fuel’

kuskuma fuusto ‘to push a barrel’

rel.
i-fuusto (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.

kh-fuuta v. [Som. *fuud* “to sip” DSI 238] (**fuusile**, **fuṭiile**) eat with the hands, particularly **zijo**, making a slushing noise; sip noisily, slurp (only used with respect to **zijo/ ka iziwa** and not for any other liquid (e.g. tea, water, etc.); usually **zijo** is eaten with relish, and milk is added to the last small quantity on the plate and the almost liquid mixture is sipped or slurped

Sfuteeni/ mṭuzi. ‘You (pl.) don’t eat slurpingly the soup!’

kh-fuuta v. [Ar. *fāta*, *faut* W 730] (**fuṭiile**) miss something
Chaakuja/ chikhufuṭiile. ‘You missed a lot of food!’
Imfuṭiile. ‘[Lit.] something missed him -- i.e. he missed something.’
Maambo/ yakhufuṭiiló. ‘What excitement you missed!’
muke umriwe sho mfuuta faḍila [st.] ‘a woman who in her life never failed to do good deeds’

kh-fuṭuka v. intr. [Sw. *fuṭuka* SSED 108] (**fuṭushile**) appear, emerge (e.g. plants from the ground); be revealed; stick out, protrude, pop out

Mbona/ fuṭushile ka mahaḷaamp^hi. ‘Say, where did he pop out from?’

rel.

kh-fuṭula v. [only observed in the reduplicated form below] give birth (restricted to plants; its meaning points to the moment when seed splits and plant appears; the verb cannot be used for humans

variant form: **khfuṭusha**

rel.

kh-fuṭulafuṭula v. give birth over and over

variant form: **khfuṭushafuṭusha**

kh-fuṭura v. [Sw. *fuṭuru* SSED 208; Ar. *faṭara*, *fuṭūr* W 719] (**fuṭuriile**) break fast after sunset
Msaafiri/ fuṭuriile. ‘The traveler broke fast (eating **fuṭuru**).’
ni sunna soomu khfuṭura ka awali [st.] ‘it is better to break the fast at the first moment after sunset’
nuuru schiwaako fuṭuraani haydhibi [st.] ‘even if there is light (after the sunset), break the fast, it does not matter’

rel.

kh-fuṭurila v. appl.

fuṭurilaani ka kila hujoowa [st.] ‘break the fast with anything edible’

kh-fuṭurisha v. caus. provide food for the breaking of fast in the evening; convince to stop fasting

Dakḥtari/ mfuṭurishize mariiḍi. ‘The doctor convinced the sick person to stop fasting.’

Mfuṭurishize Hamadi. ‘He provided food for Hamadi’s breaking of fast.’

Sa’iidi/ mfuṭurishize msaafiri. ‘Saiidi provided the traveler with a meal to break the fast.’

kh-fuṭurishiliza v. caus. appl.

Nfuṭurishilize mwaana. ‘He persuaded my child to break the fast.’

fuṭuru n. [Sw. noun *fuṭari* and verb *fuṭuru* SSED 208; Ar. *fiṭr* W719 and *faṭūr* W 720] first meal eaten in the evening after fasting

Nṭ^haasá/ mi/ skupata/ fuṭuru. ‘I haven’t yet eaten the first meal after fasting.’

sh-fuvu (*s-*)

n. 7/8 [Sw. *fuvu* SSED 108] the hard outer shell of the coconut immediately beneath the fibrous -- used as fuel for a fire, or can be made into a **kata** or ladle or cup by cutting in half and removing the coconut

rel.

i-fuvu n.

Ifuvu ya naazi/ siwo/ naazi. ‘The empty coconut shell is not a coconut.’ (A proverb.)

sh-fuwa (s-)

n.7/8 [Sw. *kifua* SSED 190] chest

kubiga shfuwa ‘[lit.] to hit the chest -- i.e. to declare one’s readiness for an undertaking and extend one’s financial assistance for such an undertaking’

rel.

i-fuwa (ma-)

mtume ka Aisha numbaani fūle/ ilu ya mafuwaye iskatīle [st.] ‘the Prophet died in the house of Aisha, he was leaning on her breast’

l-fuwo (n-)

n. 11/10 [Sw. *ufuo* SSED 489] beach, strip of sand along the sea, seashore

Astaghafirú/ ni sku/ want^hu wa Mwiini/ wote/ hulawa kendra Ifuwooni/ kulombaa nvula. ‘Astaghafiru is a day when all the people of Brava leave to go to the beach to pray for rain.’

Chimwambila mwanaamke/ wa sultaani/ mi/ nnakendra Ifuwooni/ kumeramera khabari za mkuá. ‘He told the daughter of the sultan: I am going to the shore to look for news of my older brother.’

Ifuwo la muuyi ‘the shore of the town’

Ifuwo la muuyi/ mooyi ‘the shore of a town’

Komeelopó/ apo/ Ifuwooni/ ye/ chiwadirka waant^hu/ wiingi/ wa’ilo kulaa nsi. ‘When he arrived, there on the shore he found many people who had come to buy fish.’

Mukhtaá wo/ wakomelo Ifuwooni/ wachiwafikhana/ kuweka ijuuniya/ nt^hi/ jisaa wo/ khpumula. ‘When they reached the shore, they agreed to put the sack down on the ground so that they could rest.’

Mwaana/ chishkila Ifuwooni/ chimaliza/ cheendra/ ka mzele Simsini.

‘The boy disembarked on the shore and then went to old Simsini.’

Nuuu/ chiruuda/ karka Ifuwo/ chishkiza ahliye/ wotte/ awaje wamrashizoo ye/ wamwaminiiló. ‘Noah returned to the shore and unloaded all his relatives, those who followed him (and) who believed in him.’

Rashani Ifuwo. ‘(Pl.) follow the shore!’

Wachi’ilata/ apo/ Ifuwooni. ‘They left it there on the shore.’

Wiiko/ ilu ya Ifuwo la tawala ya Hiindri. ‘It is located on the shore of the Indian Ocean.’

n-fuye

n. 9/10 monkey

Masku/ zilee nfuye/ niingi. ‘At night, many monkeys came.’

mkila waa nfuye ‘the tail of a monkey’; **mikila yaa nfuye** ‘the tails of monkeys’

Nfuye/ haawoni/ tuusiye/ huwona tusi ya mweenziwe. ‘A monkey does not see his ass, he sees the ass of his companion.’ (A proverb that conveys the idea that people do not see their own vices, only the vices of others.)

Nk^ha’iwá/ kuwaa we/ nakihtaajá/ khalbi yaa nfuye/ kaa dawa/ sula kuwa nishkilile na khalbiya/ ka mutiini. ‘If I had known that you needed the heart of a monkey as medicine, I would have come down from the tree with my heart.’

Nt^haako/ nfuye/ maduriini. ‘The monkey is not in the bush, Nt^hawaako/ nfuye/ maduriini. ‘The monkeys are not in the bush.’

Nt^haku/ nfuye/ maduriini. ‘There are no monkeys in the bush.’

Ukoo nfuye/ maduriini. ‘There is a monkey in the bush.’

Ukoo nfuye/ mlangooni. ‘There is a monkey at the door. **Wakoo nfuye/ mlangooni.** ‘There are monkeys at the door.’

Walikoo nfuye/ mooyi. ‘There was a monkey.’

Zikoo nfuye/ maduriini. ‘There are monkeys in the bush. Or: **Wakoo maduriini.**

rel.

i-fuye (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

sh-fuye (s-) n. 7/8 dim.

kh-fuuza
(an examination)

v. [Sw. *fuzu* SSED 109; Ar. *fauz* “to be successful” W 732] (**fuziize**) succeed, pass

Fuzize imṭihaani. ‘She passed the examination.’

Kịla/ mubjaana/ jaribiiló/ nṭ^hakhfuuza/ na ṭinzila chịtaache. ‘Each young man who tried did not succeed, and he had his head cut off.’

rel.

kh-fuziliza v. appl. (**fuziliize**)

kh-fuuzisha v. caus. (**fuzishiize**)

m-fuzi (wa-)

n. 1/2 [cf. Sw. *mfua* SSED 98, but this source does not cite a form with a final *i* vowel and the concomitant alteration of the final *l* in the stem *-fula*] blacksmith

Muke/ chooloka/ chimpa mfuzi/ shilingi khamsiini/ izo/ kumfulịla shkooya. ‘The woman went and gave a blacksmith those fifty shillings to forge for her a necklace.’

G

ku-gabạta

v. [Som. *gabbo* “seek shelter from s.t.” DSI 246] (**gabeete**) hide (in order to surprise someone), seek shelter (e.g., under something)

kugabạta gaari ‘to hold onto the back of a running vehicle’

Gabeete gaari. ‘He held onto the vehicle at the back.’

Omari/ gabeete nṭ^hini yaa muti. ‘Omari took shelter under a tree.’

rel.

ku-gabạtika v. p/s.

ku-gabạtisha v. caus.

Omari/ mgabạtishize mwaana/ nṭ^hini yaa muti. ‘Omari had the child take shelter under a tree.’

ku-gabạtishana v. caus. rec.

ku-gabạtishika v. caus. p/s.

ku-gabạtishiliza v. caus. appl.

Omari/ mgabạtishilize Iisa/ mwaana/ nṭ^hini yaa muti. ‘Omari had Iisa’s child take shelter under a tree.’

ku-gabạtishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Omari/ na Nuuru/ wagabạtishilizenye waana/ nṭ^hini yaa muti. ‘Omari and Nuuru had one another’s children take shelter under a tree.’

rel. nom.

u-gabạto n. 14 act of hiding, seeking shelter

ku-gadika

v. intr. [Som. *geddi* DSI 263] (**gadishile**)

variant form: **kugedika** [used by our primary source, MI] (**gedishile**)

Ka paapo/ nyunyi/ zighedishile/ ziweele/ wake/ wa wanaadamu/ wenye jamaala/ sho kuwonekana/ karka duniya. ‘Then the birds transformed, they became human women, having beauty that is not seen in the world.’

Kụla/ chiinṭ^hu/ gedika/ shokuwa chinṭ^hu chimooyi. ‘Everything changes except one thing.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **qabiila** ‘clan’.)

Mp̣^haamp̣^ha/ chigedika/ kuruda kaake/ mutiini. ‘The shark turned and went back to his (the monkey’s) tree.’

rel.

ku-gadisha v. caus. (**gadishiize**) turn something; change (clothes); cause someone to change his ideas etc.

variant form: **kugedisha** (**gedishiize**) used by MI

kugedisha koọdi ‘to change one’s story, one’s version of some matter’

kugedisha ḷwarakha ‘to turn the page’

kugedisha mwaana ‘to turn a child over (on his side, e.g.)’

kugedishaa nguwo ‘to change clothes’

rel. nom.
m-gadika (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who changes
ma-gadiko n. 6 act of turning
m-gadiko (*mi-*) n. 3/4 act of turning
u-gadiko n. 14 act of turning

ku-gadimisha v. [Sw. *kadimisha* "send in advance" SSED 164; Ar. *qadama* "lodge a complaint" W 747-8] (*gadimishiize*)
Saahibu_lmaali/ gadimishize da'awa. 'The owner of the property filed a suit.'

ku-gafa v. [Som. *gaf* "make a mistake; miss meeting s.o." DSI 249] (*gafiile*) make a mistake; miss something

Abu/ shkoopa/ chimgafiile. 'Abu missed the alcoholic drink.' Or: **Abu/ gafiile shkoopa.**

Kugafaa ndila/ siwo/ khtowaa ndila/ ni kubarataa ndila. 'To miss the road is not to lack the road but to learn the road.' (A proverb.)

Kugafa/ ni kubarata. 'To make a mistake is to learn.' (A proverb.)

Kugafa/ siwo/ ebu. 'To make a mistake is not shameful.' **proverb?**

Mi/ ngafiile. 'I made a mistake.'

Msoma peeke/ haagafi. 'One who reads alone does not make a mistake.' (A proverb.)

Muunt^hu/ mara mooyi/ hugafa. 'One makes a mistake (just) one time.' (A proverb.)

Mweenza/ we/ gafiile/ chiza kunambila naami/ niko mutiini. 'My friend, you made a mistake not telling me [this] while I was [still] in the tree.'

na sku sita wamuusi chiza kugafa [st.] 'and you should not miss (fasting) the (first) six days of the first month of the year'

Nakuwoná/ kuwa uyu/ gafiile niingi. 'I see that this one has made many mistakes.'

Ni/ ngafiile. 'You (pl.) made a mistake.' (Phon. Our orthography does not indicate that there is a difference between **ngafiile** 'I made a mistake' and **ngafiile** 'you (pl.) made a mistake'. Specifically, in the former case, the nasal prefix forms a pre-nasalized consonant with the initial stem **g**, while in the latter case, the nasal prefix and the **g** are a consonant sequence.)

Ni/ nna'iwá/ so/ mahalaá si/ hashtakugafa/ mawiindo. 'Do you know any place where we will be certain to find prey?'

Nthaku/ sho kugafa/ shokuwa mojiitu/ haagafi. 'There is no one who does not make a mistake, except God does not make a mistake.' (A proverb.)

Nt^hale yaa ye/ lañiló/ imgafiile siimba. 'The arrow that he shot missed the lion.'

Sho kugafa/ ni mojiitu. 'He who does not make a mistake is God.' (A proverb.)

Yakhugafiile maambo/ harusini/ zivaliko zaakuja/ anwa'i anwaa'i. 'The things that you missed at the wedding! There were different kinds of food.'

Ya mojiitu/ ozelo/ ha'imgafi/ muunt^hu. 'What God prescribed does not miss one.' (A proverb.)

rel.
ku-gafana v. rec.

Kana/ na mkonó/ ha'igafani. 'Mouth and hand do not miss each other.' (A proverb.)

ku-gafiile v. appl. (**gafiile**) mistreat (by insulting verbally) [this usage is derived from the root **-gafa** and there is a parallel form **-koseleza** derived from the root **-kosa**, which like **-gafa** means 'make a mistake']

Ali/ ngafiile. 'Ali verbally misused me.'

ku-gafilana v. rec.

ku-gafisha v. caus. (**gafishiize**)

Saalimu/ mgafishize Abu/ shkoopa. ‘Saalimu caused Abu to miss getting the alcoholic drink.’

ku-gafishzanya v. caus. rec.

ku-gafishiliza v. caus. appl. (**gafishiliize**)

ku-gafoowa v. pass.

Kugafowa niingi/ huletaa dhibu. ‘Making many mistakes causes problems.’

Kugafoowa/ siwo/ illa. ‘To make a mistake is not a deficiency/ a problem.’

rel. nom.

ma-gafo n. 6 mistake

ku-gafila v. (**gafiliile**) mistreat (by insulting verbally) (Despite the lack of an apparent connection in meaning, this verb seems to be derived from **kugafa**. This connection is suggested by the fact that a verb equivalent to **kugafa** in meaning, **khkosa**, forms an applied version, **khkoseleza**, with the same meaning as **kugafila**.)

Ali/ ngafiliile. ‘Ali abused me (verbally).’

rel.

ku-gafilana v. rec. mistreat one another

gafuuri n. [Som. *gafuur* DSI 250] snout, muzzle

ku-gaguna v. [cf. Sw. *kuna* SED 228 and Sw. *kujikuna* ‘scratch oneself’ A Standard English-Swahili Dictionary 482] (**gaguniile** or **gagiine**) scrape something from something (e.g. food from the side of a pan); detach; scratch (oneself)

Mwaana/ mgagine mwaalimu/ mkono(oni). ‘The child scratched the teacher’s hand/arm.’

Omari/ gagunile ruuhuye. ‘Omari scratched himself.’

rel.

ku-gagunika v. p/s.

ku-gagunisha v. caus. (**gagunishiize**)

Baana/ gagunishize sufuriya. ‘Baana had the pot scraped out.’ (This example illustrates the possibility of an unspecified causee. The noun **sufuriya** cannot control an object marker on the verb: ***Baana/ yagagunishize sufuriya.**)

Baana/ mgagunishize mwaalimu/ mkono. ‘Baana caused the teacher to scratch (his) hand.’ (In this example, **mwaalimu** must be understood as the causee. The sentence cannot be understood as meaning ‘Baana caused someone to scratch the teacher’s hand’.)

Omari/ mgagunishize mwaana/ mwaalimu/ mkono(oni). ‘Omari caused the child to scratch the teacher on the hand.’

Omari/ mgagunishize mwaana/ ruuhuye. ‘Omari caused the child to scratch himself.’ (A periphrastic alternative exists: **Omari/ mtile mwaana/ kugaguna ruuhuye.** ‘Omari [lit. installed in] the child to scratch himself.’)

ku-gagunishika v. caus. p/s.

ku-gagunishiliza v. caus. appl. (**gagunishiliize**)

Jeeli/ mgagunishilize Ali/ mwaana/ mkono. ‘Jeeli caused Ali’s child to scratch (his) arm.’ (In an example like this where the beneficiary and the causee belong to the same noun class, one cannot omit the overt beneficiary and have the object marker be understood as referring to the beneficiary and the following noun to the causee: ***Jeeli/ mgagunishilize mwaana/ mkono.** ‘Jeeli caused his child to scratch himself.’ It is acceptable to omit the overt beneficiary noun if the causee belongs to a different noun class: **Jeeli/ mgagunishilize waana/ mkono.** ‘Jeeli made his children scratch their arms.’)

Omari/ mgagunishilize Hamadi/ mwaana/ ruuhuye. ‘Omari caused Hamadi’s child to scratch himself.’ (A periphrastic alternative exists: **Omari/ mtijile Hamadi/ mwaana/ kugaguna ruuhuye.** ‘Omari [lit. instilled in] Hamadi’s child to scratch himself.’)

ku-gagunishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. (**-gagunishilizeenye**)

Omari/ na Nuuru/ wagagunishilizeenye waana/ ruhu zaawo. ‘Omari and Nuuru caused one another’s children to scratch themselves.’ (A periphrastic alternative exists: **Omari/ na Nuuru/ watijilene waana/ kugaguna ruhu zaawo.** ‘Omari and Nuuru [lit. instilled in] one another’s children to scratch themselves.’)

ku-gagunoowa v. pass. (-gaguniila)

gahaba (*ma-*) n. [Sw. *kahaba* SSED 166; Ar. *qahba* W 743] experienced female prostitute rel.

u-gahaba n. 14 prostitution

m-gahawa (*mi-gahaya*) n. 3/4 [Ar. *maqhāya* "coffeehouse" W 795] restaurant

Huseeni/ hufaanyani/ mgahawaani. 'What does Huseeni do at the restaurant?' (A possible answer to this question: **Huseeni/ hupikaa kuja/ mgahawaani.** 'Huseeni cooks food at the restaurant.')

Huseeni/ huna khamri/ mgahawaani. 'Huseeni drinks alcohol at the restaurant.' (This sentence has canonical downstep intonation and the corresponding yes-no questions are as expected: the simple question has the usual Q-Raising, but the accent placement is not shifted. The exclamatory question shifts accent: **Huseeni/ huna khamri/ mgahawaani!?**)

Lawa mgahawa/ uyu/ ingila mgahawa/ uyu. 'Go from this restaurant and enter this (other) restaurant.'

Mi/ njile mgahawaani. 'I ate at a restaurant.'

Nele khamri/ mgahawaani. 'I drank alcohol at the restaurant. (Since the two phrases in this example sentence have final accent, the yes-no questions based on it cannot display any accent shifting. The simple yes-no question simply has Q-Raising, while the exclamatory question has downstep-intonation, with the final syllable being realized with a very notable fall in pitch: **Nele khamri/ mgahawaani!?**)

Nele khamri/ mgahawaani. 'I drank *liquour* at the restaurant.' (In comparison to the immediately preceding example, there is focus here on **khamri**. This focus prevents the final accent triggered by the verb from projecting to **mgahawaani**, which is therefore assigned default penult accent. In the corresponding simple yes-no question, the accent on the out-of-focus **mgahawaani** shifts to the ultimate syllable. The question of course exhibits Q-Raising: **Nele khamri/ mgahawaani?**)

Oloka/ ingila migahayaani. 'Go and enter into restaurants.'

Si/ choloshelé/ mgahawa oo/ ka wiingi. 'We have gone to that restaurant often.'

Si/ choloshelé/ mgahawa o(y)o/ yana masku. 'We went to that restaurant last night (lit. yesterday night).'

m-gaala (*wa-,ma-*) n. 1/2 a person belonging to the Gaala ethnic group

Waant^hu/ wiingine/ wadegelo Miini/ ni magaalā. 'Another people [besides the Tunne] who settled in Brava were the Galla.'

galangaliyo n. [said to be of Tunne origin, but so far have not found a source listed in available lexical material; no alternative Chimiini name has been given] a small bird with blue wings and a green breast; it make a high, piercing sound; in Brava it was found perched on the coconut palms that lined the main thoroughfare.

chi-n-galaawa n. [Sw. *ngalawa* SSED 334] a type of boat (according to SSED "a small dug-out canoe with outriggers") not much seen anymore in Brava

ku-galgala v. [Sw. *gaagaa, garagara, galagala* SSED 110] (**galgeele**) roll from side to side, toss and turn

Dughaghi za maduuri/ zinakugalgala manyiini. 'Wild animals of the bush are tossing around in the grass.'

Karkaa ye/ nakugalgalo chiliini/ shkasa waant^hu/ kaa kule/ wanakuuya. 'While he was tossing and turning on the bed he heard people from afar coming.'

rel.

ku-galgalika v. p/s.

ku-galgaliza v. tr. appl.

ku-galgalizanya v. tr. appl. rec.

ku-galgaza v. tr. (**galgeeze**) roll s.t. from side to side, toss around (Morph: Stems ending in *l* form their 'causative' by transforming the *l* to *z*. In the present example, the resulting verb is simply a transitive version of the corresponding intransitive verb.)

Omari/ mgalgeze mwaana. 'Omari rolled the child from side to side.'

ku-galgazanya v. tr. rec.

rel. nom.

m-galgala (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who rolls from side to side

u-galgalo n. 14

m-galgaza (*wa-*) n. 1/2

u-galgazo n. 14

ku-galmata

v. [Som.] (**galmeete**) to have sex

Omari/ galmete na mukeewe. 'Omari had sexual intercourse with his wife.' (Observe that when *na* is not conjoining two nouns in surface structure, it does not trigger a final accent. In the present example we can gloss as "with"; but in the sentence below, the *na* follows the subject and does trigger final accent.)

Omari/ na mukeewé/ galmeete. 'Omari had sexual intercourse with his wife.' (Observe that the subject marker on the verb in this example is singular, like in the preceding example where the *na*-phrase is post-verbal.)

Omari/ na ^fmukeewé/ galmeetó. 'Omari and *his wife* had intercourse.'

Omari/ na mukeewé/ wagalmeete. 'Omari and his wife had intercourse.'
(Note that in this example the verb exhibits plural agreement with the conjoined subject.)

galtu

adj. [Som. *galti* "foreigner; uncivilized, uncouth" DSI 253] uncivilized; ignorant of s.t.

galadi

n. [Som. *gallad* DSI 252] favor, help (from God or man)

mtume shtilo galadi na fadūla [st.] 'the prophet who helped and favored us'

n-gaamba

n. [Sw. *kamba* SSED 170] shrimp

n-gaamba

n. [Sw. *ng'amba* "a kind of hawk's head turtle, from which tortoise-shell is procured" SSED 334] tortoise with incrustations on its back, not eaten

chi-gambari (*zi-*)

n. 7/8 [Som. *gambar* DSI 253] a locally-made small stool with top made of leather or stretched cow hide (Phon. Notice that the Chimwiini form has a long vowel in antepenult position in contrast to the Somali original. This would seem to reflect the general pattern in Chimwiini where vowels are lengthened before prenasalized consonants.)

zi-gambari

n. [cf. Ital. *gambero*] shrimp

gambaruusa

n. lobster

ku-gambika

v. intr. [Som. *gambi* var. *gambi*, a transitive verb, DSI 266] (**gambishile**) be overturned (In words of Bantu origin, a vowel is normally lengthened before a prenasalized consonant. The short vowel in this example is apparently a reflection of its origin in Somali. The Somali root is extended here by the intransitivizing Bantu extension *ik*. See the causative form below where this same root is extended by the causative extension *ish*.)

Ali/ gaariye/ igambishile. 'Ali's car overturned.'

Gari iyi/ haygambiki. 'This car cannot overturn.'

rel.

ku-gambikila v. intr. appl.

Chigaari/ chinakhugambikila. 'The (dim.) car is overturning on (or onto) you.'

- Chigaari/ hashtakhugambikila/ jis'iyó.** 'The (dim.) car won't overturn for you that way.'
- Gaari/ imgambikiliile.** 'The car overturned on (or onto) him.'
- ku-gambikiloowa* v. intr. appl. pass.
- Ali/ gambikiliila na gaari.** 'Ali had the car overturn on him.'
- ku-gambisha* v. caus.
- Gambishize gaari.** 'He overturned the car.'
- ku-gambishika* v. caus. p/s.
- Gari iyi/ haygambishiki.** 'This car cannot be overturned (by someone).'
- ku-gambishiliza* v. caus. appl.
- Ali/ mgambishilize Hamadi/ siniya.** 'Ali overturned the tray to Hamadi's detriment.'
- gambuusa** n. 9/10 [Sw. *gambusi* SSED 110] a native guitar-like instrument
- Ka shkapuuni/ schilawa zinaandra/ na gambuusa/ naazó/ zinakubigó.** 'From the basket she took our banjos and guitars which were playing.'
- rel.
- chi-gambuusa* (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.
- i-gambuusa* (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
- n-gamiila** n. [Sw. *ngamia* SSED 334; Ar. *jamal* W 138] camel
- Morooni/ walimo ngamiila/ mooyi.** 'In the fenced enclosure there was a camel.'
- muunt^hu/ mooyi/ ngamiilaye/ yingilo baađi** 'a man whose camel had gone astray'
- Mwenye ngamiila/ chimuza msaafiri...** 'The owner of the camel asked the traveler...'
- Nt^haskupita/ sku niingi/ siimba/ chimuja ngamila wa sultaani/ na kila/ shpowa khabari/ sultaani/ chijiiba...** 'Not many days passed [before] the lion ate a camel belonging to the sultan, and every time he was given the news, the sultan answered...'. (Notice that the conjunction **na** does not trigger final accent on the quantifier **kila** in this example.)
- rel.
- chi-gamiila* (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.
- i-gamiila* (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
- yiile/ kana igamiila** 'as tall as a camel'
- gamu** ideo. [Som. *gam* "to exterminate", cited in Dhoorre & Tosco, p. 143]
- Ma'askari/ wonthe/ harbiini/ wafanyize gamu.** 'All the soldiers in the fighting have been killed.' (Although **gamu** phrases with the preceding verb, there is no lengthening before **gamu**. The pitch of **gamu** seems to participate in the downstep intonation following the quantifier **wonthe**, which is regularly focused.)
- gamuuni** n. [Som. *gamuun* "arrow for child to play with, toy arrow" Ab xxx but "shaft of arrow" DSI 254] arrow
- kh^hoosa^ha/ kana gamuuni** 'to be straight as an arrow'
- Nt^hakhutosisha/ kana gamuuni.** 'I will make you straight as an arrow (i.e. discipline you).'
- Omari/ tosee^he/ kana gamuuni.** 'Omari became straight as an arrow (i.e. got disciplined).'
- rel.
- chi-gamuuni* (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.
- i-gamuuni* (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
- ganaha** n. [Som. *ganaax* DSI 254] a fine (that one must pay) (The vowel in the penult syllable of this word is short despite the fact that the Somali source has a long vowel.)
- kubiga ganaha** 'to impose a fine'

- i-gaandra* (ma-) n. 5/6 (cf. *i-kaandra*) [Sw. *ganda* SSED 111] bark (of a tree), peel (of a fruit)
Chambula igandra yaa mazu. ‘He peeled off the banana skin.’ Cf.
Chambula igandra yaa mazu/ chaambuló. ‘He peeled off the banana skin, that’s what he did.’
Chambula igaandra/ yaa mazu. ‘He peeled off the skin of the banana.’ Cf.
Chambula igaandra/ yaa mazu/ chaambuló. ‘He pulled off the skin of the banana, that’s what he did.’ Or:
Chambula igaandra/ chaambuló/ yaa mazu. ‘He peeled off the skin, that’s what he did, of the banana.’
Chaambula/ igandra yaa mazu. ‘He *peeled off* the skin of the banana.’
 (Note that given the focus on the verb in this sentence, it is not the case that one can add the Verb Copy, which is also used to focus the verb: ***Chaambula/ igandra yaa mazu/ chaambuló.**)
- i-gaandro* (ma-) n. 5/6 [Sw. *gando* "claw of lobster or crab" SSED 111] claw (e.g. of lobsters, crabs, etc.)
nge ya magaandro ‘scorpion’
- m-gaanga* (wa-) n. 1/2 [Sw. *mganga* SSED 111] witch (not generally used, as *saahiri* is preferred); local doctor
Iwiile/ ya kuwa uyu/ ni mgaanga/ mkulu. ‘He came to know that this one was a great witch.’
Kamaa ye/ ni mgaanga/ wa kakajila/ hařashindroowa/ kiwa/ ije yimo sandukhuuní. ‘If he is truly a witch, he will not fail to know what is inside the box.’
- ma-gaangamu* n. [cf. Sw. *kungugu* "mist, fog" SSED 229] mist, fog; overcast sky
- chi-gaango* (zi-) n. 7/8 [? Sw. *kigango*, dim. of *gango* “appliance for holding together what is separate” SSED 111] tin can
- ku-gaangula* v. [Sw. *kwangua* SSED 235] (*gangiile*) scrape out s.t. stuck to s.t. (e.g. food stuck to the bottom of a pot)
- gani* interrogative part. [Sw. *gani* SSED 111] which? what? (Phon. Examination of the examples below shows that **gani** is always phrase-final, indicating that it is inherently focused. The preceding vowel in the phrase is not lengthened, despite the fact that phrase-final CVCV words ordinarily lengthen a preceding vowel in the same phrase. What is not clear is whether this absence of lengthening is simply a lexical property of **gani**, similar to several other CVCV words, or whether it is a function of the focus on **gani**.)
Chakuja gani/ we/ nakhsuuló. ‘What food is it that you want?’
Chibuku gani/ cha Ali/ mbozelo mwaalimú. ‘Which book did Ali steal from the teacher?’
Chibuku gani/ chaako/ chibeeló. ‘Which book of yours is lost?’ (Less common is: **Chibukucho gani/ chibeeló.** ‘Your book which is lost?’)
Chibuku gani/ karka zaa we/ uziló/ we/ someeló. ‘Which book of those that you bought did you read?’
Chibuku gani/ mpelo maaná. ‘Which book have you given to the child?’
Chibuku gani/ mpelo maaná/ yuuzí. ‘Which book did you give the child the day before yesterday?’
Chibuku gani/ we/ someeló/ karka zaa we/ uziló. ‘Which book did you read of those that you bought?’
Chimuza/ Ali gani. ‘He asked him: which Ali?’
Gari gani/ we/ weenó. ‘Which car did you see?’ (Possible answer: **Gari ya Hamadi/ uziló.** ‘The car that Hamadi bought.’ Or: **Mbene gari ya Hamadí/ uziló.** ‘I saw the car that Hamadi bought.’ Or: **Mbene Hamadí/ gari yaayó/ uziló.** ‘I saw Hamadi that car he bought.’)
Fatura gani/ Nuuru/ uziló. ‘Which car did Nuuru buy?’
lamna gani ‘what kind?’
Gaari/ lamna gani/ we/ uziló. ‘What kind of car did you buy?’
Gari ya lamna gani/ we/ uziló. ‘What kind of car did you buy?’
Gaari/ lamna gani/ yuuzila. ‘What kind of car was bought?’

Uzile gaari/ lamna gani. ‘What kind of car did he buy?’ (Cf. **Uzile gaari/ lamna gani.** ‘What kind of car did you buy?’)

Yuzila gaari/ lamna gani. ‘What kind of car was bought?’

Mahala gani. ‘Where?’

Maamé/ waawe/ shfanya kazi gani. ‘Mother, what kind of work did my father do?’

Mi/ siisi/ gari gani/ Baana/ uziló. ‘I do not know which car Baana bought.’

(Because the question word is located to the left of the verb, it requires that verb to be put into pseudo-relative form: **uziló** rather than ***uzile**. The same holds true in the sentence: **Gari gani/ Baana/ uziló/ mi/ siisi.** ‘Which car Baan bought I do not know.’ But if the question word is to the right of the verb, no pseudo-relativization occurs: **Mi/ siisi/ Baana/ uzile gari gani.** ‘I do not know Baana bought which car.’)

Ni ajabu gani/ nk^h ulu. ‘What a great wonder!’

Ni koði gani/ izi. ‘What kind of words are these?’

Ni munt^h u gani/ takhadiro khpanza zombo izó/ okó. ‘Which man can take those things up there?’

Nk^h alent^h e mahala gani. ‘Where should I sit?’

Numba gani/ nuumbaye. ‘What kind of house is his house (i.e. I think his house is unsuitable or unsanitary or messy or crumbling).’ (Usage: This example illustrates a common pejorative use of **gani**.)

Nureeni/ uzile jaka gani. ‘Nureeni bought which jacket?’

Nuuru/ wanawe gani/ wa’olosheló. Nuuru, which of his children went?’ (Phon. In this example, **Nuuru** may be followed by a pause or not.) (Syn: It is ungrammatical to say ***Wanawe Nuuru/ gani/ wa’olosheló**. On the other hand, ?**Wanawe gani/ Nuuru/ wa’olosheló**, is perhaps possible, but not preferred.)

Siisi/ gari gani/ uziizó. ‘I do not know which car he sold.’

Uzile zint^h u gani. ‘He bought what things?’ Or: **Uzile/ zint^h u gani.** ‘He bought what things?’ Or: **Ni zint^h u gani/ ye/ uziló.** ‘It is what things that he bought?’

Wakhti gani. ‘When?’

Wana gani/ wa Nuuru/ wa’olosheló. ‘Which children of Nuuru’s went.’

(We)/ mpele chibuku gani/ maana. ‘You gave which book to the child?’

The accent on **maana** needs to be reviewed; in my notes I wrote a final accent, but that would seem to go against the focus on **gani**

(We)/ mpele maaná/ chibuku gani. ‘You gave the child which book?’

ganjeela

n. [Ital. *cancellò*] (=i-laango, the augmentative form of **m-laango** ‘door’) gate
ganjeelaani ‘at the gate’

n-gano

n. 9 [Sw. *ngano* SSED 335] wheat
nganoo mbiiti ‘uncooked wheat (in grains)’
unga waa ngano ‘wheat flour’

garabu

n. [Som. *garab* "shoulder; support" DSI 256] shoulder; help, support

garabu

n. 9 [Som. *garab* "shoulder" DSI 256] shoulder
Andishile nguwoze/ garabuuni. ‘He put his clothes on his shoulder.’
Chiingila/ numbaani/ chija garabu/ iyo/ chiyolokela. ‘It [the hyena] went inside the house and ate that shoulder [piece of the goat] and then took off.’
khpata garabu ‘to get support’
khpatisha garabu ‘to help get supporters’
Abdi/ mpatishize Omari/ garabu. ‘Abdi helped Omari acquire support.’
khṭowa garabu ‘to not get support’
khṭoza garabu ‘to lost support’
Abdó/ mṭozeze mweenzawe/ garabu. ‘Abdo caused his friend to lose supporters.’
kingila garabuuni ‘[lit.] to enter in the shoulder -- i.e. to help, assist’ (Used

in the common expression:)

Mojiitu/ nakhingile garabuuni. ‘May God assist you (in what you are planning to do).’

kubasha garabu ‘to lose support’

kumpa garabu ‘to help, give support to s.o.’

Mi/ nakhusūlaa we/ Hamadi/ kumpaa garabu/ ka jawabu iyo.
‘Me, I want you, Hamadi, to assist me in that matter.’

Muunt^hu/ suura/ kumpa garabu/ waake. ‘It is good for someone to help, give support to his (friend, relative, etc.).’

kumtila muunt^hu/ garabuuni ‘to take someone as an assistant, to provide someone with help’

kumwelela muunt^hu/ garabu ‘to be a help to someone, to be an assistant to someone’

Munó/ ni garabuyo. ‘Your brother is your shoulder.’ (A proverb.)

Muunt^hu/ hañindi/ garabuye. ‘(Lit.) one does not cut his shoulder – i.e. one does not fight, ignore etc. his friends, clansmen, i.e. those people that would come to one’s support.’

Mwajiitu/ mwingile garabuuni. ‘God helped him [lit. entered his shoulder].’

rel.

i-garabu (*ma-*) n. aug.

nayo magarabu mawili akhōari [st.] ‘it has two green wings’

garaacha

n. 9/10 [Eng. *garage*] garage

Baazi/ hadiile/ Nuuru/ hufanya kaazi/ garachaani. ‘Baazi said that Nuuru works at the garage.’

Baazi/ hadile Nuuru/ hufanyapi/ kaazi. ‘Baazi said that Nuuru works where?’ (The enclitic =**pi** ‘where’ stands at the end of a focus-phrase, hence the phrasal separation of the verb and its complement **kaazi**. Apparently having focus on the complement verb renders the phrasal separation of the main verb from the complement less likely (maybe impossible; the point needs to be studied). Note that when the statement in the preceding example was elicited, the first response was to make the main verb phrase-final. This was generally the case for elicitation from GM, while in the question the first response was to not to separate the main verb from the complement, as in the present example. It should be noted that if the subject of the complement clause is postposed, the main verb is phrasally separated from the complement verb: **Baazi/ hadiile/ hufanyapi/ kaazi/ Nuuru.** ‘Baazi said where works Nuuru?’)

garamudo

n. a dish of boiled meat and noodles; thick hand-made noodles are cooked in the stock and served mixed with the meat

variant forms: **galamudo, ganamudo**

Garamudo/ mp^haka/ jiile. ‘[Lit.] the cat has eaten the **garamudo** -- meaning: they have been all eaten, or: they have never been cooked.’

garaaso

n. 9 [Ital. *grasso*] grease

khpaka bawaaba/ garaaso ‘to grease the hinges’

khpaka miilu/ garaaso ‘to grease the wheels’

khpangula garaaso ‘to wipe off grease’

makiina/ ya garaaso ‘grease pump, dispenser’

garbaashi

n. 9/10 [Som. *karbaash* DSI 359] whip

kubiga garbaashi ‘to whip’

Nnakhsuulá/ we/ kunbiga garbaashi/ miya. ‘I want you to give me one hundred lashes.’

garbasaari

n. s.t. used to cover the shoulders particularly and possibly the head

variant form: **garbisaari**

Chiwona garbisariini/ yandishiila ina/ ya mwanaamke/ wa sultaani. ‘He saw a shoulder-covering on which was written the name of the daughter of the sultan.’ **syntax?**

Kibri/ ni garbasaari/ ya mojiitu. ‘Pride is the mantle of God (i.e. only

God has the privilege of being prideful, not human beings.’ (A proverb.)

Laakini/ ye/ oyo mwanaamke/ ka kumwingila haraka/ naayé/ nakuzolozolo ruuhuyé/ ki’i lawilá/ chiliwala garbisaariye. ‘But she, that girl, because of her haste [lit. haste entering her], while she was collecting herself to get out, she forgot her veil.’

Numbaani/ chiwona garbisaari/ nt^{hi}. ‘In the house, he saw the veil on the floor.’

gardara n. [Som. *gardarro* DSI 258] fault
Gardara/ hayiineendri. ‘Fault, wrongness does not walk/ work.’ (A proverb.)

Mp^hele ruuhuyá/ gardará. ‘I attributed the fault to myself.’

Muunt^hu/ ka gardara/ harashoowi. Or: **Muunt^hu/ harashoowi/ ka gardara.** ‘A man with faults is not followed.’ (A saying.) (It should be noted that in this example: **ka gardara** ‘with faults’ is *not* a reduced relative clause, as indicated by the absence of the final accent associated with relative clauses. One can, of course, use a relative clause structure to convey the same meaning: **Muunt^hu/ nayo gardará/ harashoowi.** ‘A man who has faults is not followed.’)

Nimpele Alí/ gardará. ‘I attributed the fault to Ali.’

ku-gardisha v. caus. [Som. *gaardi* DSI 244] (**gardishiize**) drill (march), exercise someone
Ma’askari/ wanakugardisha. ‘Soldiers are marching.’
rel.
ku-gardishiliza v. appl.
ku-gardishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
ku-gardishoowa v. pass.

Inakugardishoowa/ skolaani. ‘There’s marching going on at school.’

gareesa n. [Som. *garays* DSI 257] a kind of multi-colored cloth worn by women; this cloth is called *kanga* in Swahili, but women in Brava wear it differently
variant form of **gereesi**

garfa n. [Ar. *qirfa* W 758] cinnamon

ku-gargaara v. [Som. verb *gargaar* DSI 258] (**gargariile**) help
Baana/ mgargariile Hamadi. ‘Baana helped Hamadi.’
ichigargariilo ni kubiga aḍaana [nt.] ‘making the *aḍaana* helped us -- lit. that which helped us was making the call to prayer’ (Note: the call to prayer is also made when a natural disaster occurs, as a cry for help.)
mojiitu/ khugargariile ‘has God assisted you?’ (This is said when visiting (or speaking to) a member of a household where a wedding ceremony has recently taken place. Obligatory reply: **alḥamdulilla** = praise be to God.)
mundra wa Mawlaana/ mgargariilo Hamadí/ kulimá ‘the field that Mawlaana helped Hamadi to cultivate’
rel.
ku-gargaroowa v. pass. (**gargariila**) be helped
Hamadi/ gargariila kulima muundra/ na Baana. ‘Hamadi was helped to cultivate the field by Baana.’

gargaari n. 9/10 [Som. noun *gargaar* DSI 258] help, aid
gargaariye ‘his helper’ (cf. **gargaarize** ‘his helpers’)
Maskiini/ gargaariye/ ni mojiitu. ‘A poor man’s helper is God.’ (A proverb.)

gari n. [Som. *gar* “justice, legal case” DSI 255] reason, judgement as to whom is in the right
Gari/ huṭiindó/ ni mojiitu. ‘The right decision, the one who makes it is

God.’ (A proverb.)

has the right decision.’ (A saying.)

followed.’ (A saying.)

Gari/ huwanaayó/ ni munt^hu mooyi/ tu. ‘There is only one person who

Gari/ ishtindoowa/ hurashoowa. ‘When a right decision is made, it is

khpaá gari ‘to attribute a lack of fault to; tell someone that he is right’

Khpaá gari/ ka wanaafakhi/ siwo/ suura. ‘To give support (in winning an argument) by telling lies is not good.’

khṭowaa gari ‘to not be in the right’

Suufi/ tozelee gari/ ka jawabu izo. ‘Suufi was in the wrong in these matters.’

khṭozaa gari ‘to fail to declare someone to be in the right (even if one knows that he is in fact in the right)’

Omari/ namṭoza Alí/ gari. ‘Omari is making Ali lose (the contest about who is right and who is wrong, e.g. by saying things to make Ali seem wrong even though in fact he is right).’

khtalaa gari ‘to take blame, accept responsibility’

Omari/ hataali/ gari. ‘Omari does not take blame, accept that he is in the wrong.’

kumingililaa gari ‘to take the blame’

Omari/ ha’imiingile/ gari. ‘Omari does not accept blame.’

kumpaa gari ‘to tell someone he is right, support him (even if he is not)’

Omari/ nampaa gari/ meenzawe. ‘Omari is supporting his friend (in the argument etc., asserting that he is right, etc.).’

muuyi usho dowla naa takhupo gari [nt.] ‘in a town without government, who will provide justice?’

Mzuungu/ muble/ na gariyé/ mpe. ‘Kill the infidel and give him (the judgment of whether) he is in the right.’ (A proverb.)

Omari/ nayoo gari. ‘Omari is right.’

Omari/ nt^haná/ gari. ‘Omari is wrong (he does not have right on his side).’

gaari (Ø, ma-)

n. 9/10,6 [Sw. *gari* SSED 112; Hind.] truck, lorry (though MI also used this word to mean ‘car’; our other consultants preferred **faṭuura** to refer to a car and **gaari** to refer to a truck)

Ali/ fanyiize/ gaari. ‘Ali fixed the truck.’ Or: **Ali/ fanyize gaari.**

Ali/ fanyizeeyi/ gaari. ‘How did Ali fix the truck?’ Or: **Fanyizeeyi/ Ali/ gaari.**

magari ya Nuuru ‘Nuuru’s cars’

Naani/ uzilo gaari. ‘Who bought a car/truck?’

numa ya gaari ‘the rear part of a car’

rel.

chi-gaari (zi-) n. 7/8 dim. cart to carry, move things

chigari cha mkono ‘wheelbarrow’

chigari chaa nt^haka ‘a cart for carrying garbage’

chigari cha waana ‘stroller, pram’

i-gaari (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

igari imooyi ‘one aug. lorry’; **migari miwili** ‘two aug. lorries’

igari iwovu/ ya madrasa ‘the bad lorry of the madrasa’; **migari miwovu/**

ya madrasa ‘the bad lorries of the madrasa’

Igari iyi/ ni iwovu. ‘This (aug.) truck is bad.’

igari ya farasi ‘a horse-drawn cart for transporting people’

igari ya mp^huundra ‘a donkey-drawn cart for transporting goods’

Migari aya/ ni miwovu. ‘These (aug.) trucks are bad.’

ku-gariirsata

v. [Som. *gariir* DSI 259] shake, tremble

Mikuwa/ yanakubiga/ hatá/ ngarirseeté. ‘It is thundering to point that I am trembling.’

rel.

ku-garirsatoowa v. pass.

Mikuwa/ yanakubiga/ hatá/ hugarirsatoowa. ‘It is thundering to the point

that I am trembling (lit there is trembling).’

- garnyuungu** n. [Som. *riyannug* DSI 520] varan, iguana
rel.
i-garnyuungu n. tortoise **review**
- garoowu** (*ma-*) n. divorced woman
garowu uyu ‘this divorced woman’; **magarowu aya** ‘these divorced women’
Haliimu/ ni garoowu. ‘Haliima is a divorced woman.’
- m-garwa** (*wa-*) n. 1/2 member of a clan of fishermen
Apo/ zamaani/ waaliko/ mgarwa/ mooyi/ maskiini. ‘Once upon a time there was a poor fisherman.’
Wagarwa/ hupataa nsi. ‘Fishermen catch fish.’
- ku-garwaakhsata** v. (**garwakhseeṭe**) take the blame, accept being wrong
Omari/ garwakhseeṭe/ ka yaa ye/ fanyiizó. ‘Omari took the blame for what he did
- gashaani** n. [Som. *gashaan* DSI 262] a married man or woman who has a sexual relationship with a person other than his or her spouse
- gaashaani** n. [Som. *gaashaan* DSI 244] shield (Phon. Although Chimwiini bans successive long vowels generally, this item is one of a significant number of Somali and Arabic loanwords that have both an antepenult and a penult long vowel in violation of the aforementioned constraint. It is interesting that at the phrasal level both of these vowels shorten, as in **gashani zaawo** below.)
ka mp^hanga zaawo/ na gashani zaawo ‘with their swords and their shields’
- gaasi** (*ma-*) n. [Som. *geesi* DSI 165] a brave person; adj. brave, daring, courageous
gaasi/ kana siimba ‘as brave, daring etc. as a lion’
Gaasi/ maamaye/ lizile/ biikhi/ maamaye/ teshale. ‘A brave man’s mother cried, a coward’s mother laughed.’ (A proverb.)
munt^hu gaasi ‘a brave person’ (cf. **want^hu magaasi** ‘brave people’)
rel.
u-gaasi n. 14 courage, bravery
konyesha ugaasi ‘to demonstrate courage’
Sayyidina Ali tozele ugaasi [nt.] ‘Sayyidina Ali lost his courage.’
(Sayiddina Ali was a Bravanese who, when hearing the sound of guns during a raid, said “there will be no bravery after this day”.)
- gawaadi** (*ma-*) n. [Som. *gawaad* DSI 262] pimp, man or woman who helps one get the services of a prostitute
- chi-gawali** (*zi-*) n. [Som. *gabal*, variant of *gobol* “part, piece, portion” DSI 269] part, piece, slice
Dawuuro/ ni chigawali/ cha Baghdaadi. ‘Dawuuro is part of Baghdaadi.’
zigawali za haanzu ‘the parts of a haanzu’
rel.
i-gawali (*mi-*) n. aug.
- ku-gawisha** v. [Som. *gaaban* “to be short (person, thing, fig.)” DSI 241] shorten; proceed at a slow pace
watakugawisha m(w)eendro/ hatta itakofatoowa [st.] ‘the pace is so slow, the people will tire’
rel.
ku-gawishoowa v.
takbiiri ziiko mbele/ m(w)eendro unagawishoowa [st.] ‘those repeating

‘God is great’ are in front, (proceeding) as a slow pace’

- n-gawo* n. [Sw. *ngao* SSED 335] outer wall of a hut, made of wooden poles and plastered with cow dung
- chi-gaaya* (zi-) n. 7/8 [Sw. *kigae* "shard", dim. of *gae* SSED 210] shard, fragment of broken pottery
Chigaaya/ cheelushile/ chijiwe/ chizamiile. ‘The shard floated, the pebble sank.' (This is the traditional way that a Chimwiini story ends.)
Chigaaya/ shcheeluka. ‘The pot shard floated.’
Chishika chigaaya/ shtakhuwelele feða. ‘If you hold a fragment of broken pottery, it will become for you silver.’
- rel.
i-gaaya n. potshard
- ku-gaza* v. [cf. Sw. *kaza macho* "to stare" SSED 180-1] (**gaziize**) approach slowly, carefully, so as not to be seen or heard; observe someone’s movements without being seen
Nakugazaa nsi. ‘I am carefully looking for fish.’
Namgaza Omari. ‘I am watching, looking at Omari carefully.’
- rel.
ku-gazoowa v.
Inakugazoowa/ suukari. ‘Sugar is being carefully looked for.’
Omari/ nakugazoowa. ‘Omari is being carefully looked for.’
- gaazeti* (Ø, ma-) n. 9/10, 6 [Ital. *gazzetta*] newspaper
- n-gazi* n. 9/10 [Sw. *ngazi* SSED 335] ladder
mi’raji ni ngazi nt^hayna mithaali [st.] ‘[the Prophet’s] ascension is a ladder that has no equal’
Mpandraa ngazi/ mwiishowe/ hishkila. ‘The end of one who climbs a ladder is he comes down.’ (A proverb.)
- rel.
chi-gazi (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.
chigazicha ‘my dim. ladder’; **zigaziza** ‘my dim. ladders’
i-gazi (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
- chi-ge* (zi-) n. 7/8 [Sw. *kigwe* SSED 191] a small rope; tie, link
khfungaa chige ‘to tie a small rope’
Nimpele chigeeché. ‘[Lit.] I gave her her tie -- i.e. I divorced her.’
- n-ge* n. generic term for centipedes, scorpions
Chimpoetelelaa nge/ mkulu. ‘A large scorpion fell on him.’
nge ya magaandro ‘scorpion’
nge ya milu miingi ‘centipede’
Ba’adi ya waant^hu/ wachiwona nge ya milu miingi/ kaawo/ numbaani/ hawamubli/ ka khisaa wo/ haamina/ ya kuwa nge za milu miingi/ ni alaama/ ya kuwa msaafiri/ umo ndilaani/ nakuuya. ‘Some people [in Brava] if they see a centipede in their house do not kill it, because they believe that a centipede is a sign that a traveler/ guest is on the way coming.’
nge za maayi ‘[lit.] water scorpions – small stinging jellyfish which come ashore in March/April when the seas are calm’
- rel.
chi-ge (zi-) n. 7/8 dim. [pron. **chigé, zigé**]
i-ge (mi-) n. 5/4 aug. [pron. **igé, migé**] (Phon. Observe the final accent in the diminutive and augmentative nouns. The explanation for this seems to be roughly the following: The basic noun **nge** receives an accent because it is the only syllable in the word. The diminutive and augmentative prefixes replace the *n-* prefix in the basic noun, but they do not behave, from an accentual point of view, as though they are part of the word, so accent remains on the only vowel in the word proper.)

gedi

n. 9/10 [Som. *geddi* "side, part"] side of town

ku-gedika

v. (**gedishile**) turn; turn over; change

variant form: **ku-gadika** (used by our current consultants rather than MI's **ku-gedika**)

Ka paapo/ nyunyi/ zighedishile/ ziweele/ wake/ wa wanaadamu/ wenye jamaala/ sho kuwonekana/ karka duniya. 'Then the birds changed and they became human women having beauty which is not seen in the world.'

Kuḷa/ chiint^u/ gedika/ sho kuwa chint^u chimooyi. 'Every thing changes except one thing.' (A riddle, the answer to which is **qabiila** 'the clan'.)

Mi/ ngedishilé. 'I turned.'

Ni/ ngedishilé. 'You (pl.) turned.' (The second person plural nasal prefix

does not form a prenasalized stop with the initial stop in this stem, unlike the first person singular case. Our orthography does not represent this contrast.)

rel.

ku-gedikoowa v. pass.

ku-gedisha v. caus. (**gedishiize**) turn s.t.; change (e.g. clothes); cause s.o. to change

his ideas etc.

chiṭa na shkosi gedisha mara mbili [st.] 'turn the head and neck two times'

Miimba/ inakungadisha/ inakunfanya choolo. 'The stomach is disturbing me (lit. changing me), I feel like defecating (lit. it is making me defecate).'

ku-gedishagedisha

ku-gedishoowa v. caus. pass. (**gedishiiza**)

rel. nom.

m-gedika (wa-) n. 1/2 one who turns

m-gediko n.3/ the act of turning

ma-gediko n. 6

u-gediko n. 14

gedogeeḍo

n. [Som. *geed* "tree" and *gedaggoo* "to make witchcraft" DSI 264] witchcraft

rel.

chi- gedogeeḍo (zi-) n. 7/8 a pouch containing 'medicine' – roots, leaves, hair from animals, etc., which is placed on a path where a certain person might pass by and step on (this person thus will fall prey to the medicine's effects)

gedogeeḍoole (ma-) n. [Som.] witch

gedoole n. [Som.] s.o. who performs witchcraft; more specifically, one who practices sorcery by cutting certain trees in the belief that this will cause someone harm

Omari/ ni geeḍoole. 'Omari practices tree-sorcery.' (This means the same thing as **Omari/ hufanyaa miti.** 'Omari (lit. works) trees.)

geefu

n. [Etymology uncertain, but cf. Sw. *kitefutefu* SSED 209; although here the definition is "sobbing", it is given as "hiccup" in the English-Swahili Dictionary] hiccup

Chishikowa geefu/ na ikopa ya mayi bardi. 'If you have hiccups, drink a glass of cold water.'

koloka geefu 'to hiccup'

gele

n. 9 [Som. *galley* DSI 252] maize (Phon. Although the source of this word in Somali has a geminate *l*, the word does not behave like a word of the structure CVCCV. Words of this structure do not allow the preceding word in the phrase to end in a long vowel, whereas **gele** does allow lengthening, as the examples below show. In Chimiini, this word would usually be pronounced **gele**, but if emphasized, gemination may be heard.)

Mi/ speendi/ izo zotte/ mi/ nakhsulaa gele/ tu. 'I do not want all those things, I just want to pound maize.'

Ponzelee gele. 'She pounded the maize.'

Shkapu cha maame/ chiyeelee gele. 'My mother's basket is full of maize.' (A riddle, the answer to which is **miino** 'teeth'.)

Shpowaa gele/ chisoola/ naayé/ naakuló. 'She was given maize and she

pounded it while crying.’
Wo/ halaa gele. ‘They plant maize.’
zijo zaa gele ‘meal made of crushed maize’

n-geena

n. 9/10 [Sw. *ngwena* SSED 338] crocodile
kuja/ kana ngeena ‘to eat like a crocodile (i.e. a lot)’
Mchimbile ngeena. ‘He ran away from the crocodile.’
We/ ni ngeená. ‘You/ are greedy [lit. you are a crocodile].’
rel.
chi-geena (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim.
i-geena (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.

m-geeni (*wa-*)

n. 1/2 [Sw. *mgeni* (*wa-*) SSED 113] guest, stranger, foreigner (but younger speakers prefer the word **martĩ**)
Jaama/ mwene Nuuru/ na mgeenĩ. ‘Jaama saw Nuuru and a stranger.’
Maskiini/ histirika/ kaawo/ dhibuye/ hanza chiwa mgeeni. ‘A poor man is not seen in his own place, his difficulties begin if he becomes a stranger somewhere.’ (A proverb.)
Mgeeni/ lesele chaayi. ‘The guest brought tea.’
Mgeeni/ nt^haasá/ nt^hakumaliza/ koowa. ‘The guest has not yet finished bathing.’
Mgeeni/ takendra sukhuuni. ‘The guest will go to the market.’
Sukhuuni/ takeendra/ mgeeni. ‘The stranger will go to the market [lit. to the market will go the stranger].’ (Phon. Although a postposed indefinite subject would phrase with an immediately preceding verb, the same is not true for a definite subject, as in the present example.)
Waloojiri/ wachendra ka sulṭaani/ wachimwaambila/ kuwa ile/ mgeeni/ mooyi/ ubleele/ ngoombe/ mbilii/ zaake. ‘The shepherds went to the sultan and told him that there came a stranger, he killed two of his [the sultan’s] cattle.’
Wawapokeze wageeni/ mizigo yaawo. ‘They handed the guests their luggage.’
rel.
chi-geeni n. 7 something foreign
nt^hi za chigeeni ‘foreign countries’
u-geeni n. 14 state of being a guest, stranger, foreigner

gereesi

n. 9/10 [Som. *gareys* DSI 257] a kind of imported, multi-colored cloth worn by women (This word was entered in CLE p. 130 as **gareesa**, but our current consultants consider **gereesi** to be the correct form.)

gereesi niingi ‘a lot of gereesi’
Nimulĩlee mbujá/ geresii mbilí. ‘I bought two gereesi for my sister.’

rel.
chi-gereesi (*zi-*) n. dim. 7/8 (disparaging)

Chigeresi gani/ icho/ chaa we/ nulĩiló. ‘What sort of chigeresi is that which you bought for me?’ (The speaker here is disparaging the gereesi by putting it into the diminutive form.)
Zigeresi gani/ izo/ zaa we/ nulĩiló. ‘What sort of zigeresi are these that you have bought for me?’

ghaa

ideo. of the sound of crows

ghaa.’

Midafa/ yanaakula/ ghaa ghaa ghaa. ‘The crows are crying ghaa ghaa

ghaa’ibu

adj. [Ar. *ḡā’ib* W 689] absent

Naasi/ ghaa’ibu/ ilee mp^hisi/ mjile Yuusufu. ‘And while we were absent, there came a hyena and ate Yuusufu.’

ghaadir

adj. [Ar. *ḡādir* W 666] perfidious, treacherous, deceitful

ku-ghaḍabika

v. [Ar. *ḡaḍba* W 676] (**ghaḍabishile**) become angry, get angry

variant form: **kugaḍibika (ghaḍibishile)**

Baaba/ chighaḍibika/ chimwaambila/ we/ siwo/ mwaanawa/ we/ hiinfi/ sho kuwaa kuja/ na kulaalá. ‘Father became angry and said to him: you are not my child, you are good for nothing except to eat and sleep.’

Haba mooyi/ ghaḍabishile. ‘He was a little angry.’

Mubli/ chighaḍabika/ chimvunaanga. ‘The husband became very angry and beat her.’

Omari/ ghaḍabishile/ ka jawabu iyo. ‘Omari became angry over that statement.’

Siimba/ chighaḍibika/ nt^ho. ‘The lion became very angry.’

Wote/ wachighaḍika/ nt^ho. ‘All were very angry.’

rel.

ku-ghaḍibikiḷoowa v. app. pass. be the target of someone’s anger

Hamadi/ ghaḍibikiḷila na Mubiidi. ‘Hamadi was angered by Mubiidi.’

Nghaḍibikiḷila na mwaalimu. ‘I was the target of the teacher’s anger.’

ku-ghaḍibikila v. appl. (**ghaḍibikiḷiile**) be angry at

Mubiidi/ mghaḍibikiḷiile Hamadi. ‘Mubiidi made Hamadi angry.’

Nuuru/ nghaḍibikiḷiile. ‘Nuuru was angry at me.’

ku-ghaḍabikoowa v. pass. (**ghaḍibishiila**)

Kughaḍabikoowa/ bilaa ma’ana/ siwo/ suura. ‘For one to get angry without any reason is not good.’

Kughaḍabikoowa kilaa wakhti/ siwo/ suura. ‘For one to get angry every time is not good.’

ku-ghaḍibisha v. caus. (**ghaḍibishiize**)

Mwaana/ mghaḍibishiize mwaalimu. ‘The child made the teacher angry.’

ku-ghaḍibishanya v. caus. rec. (**-ghaḍibisheenyee**) make one another angry

Nuuru/ na Ali/ waghāḍibisheenyee. ‘Nuuru and Ali made each other angry.’

ku-ghaḍibishiliza v. caus. appl. (**ghaḍibishiliize**) make angry on

Nghaḍibishilize waawe. ‘He made my father angry on me.’

ku-ghaḍibishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. (**-ghaḍibishilizeenyee**) make someone angry

on one another

Waghāḍibishilizenyee wazeele. ‘They made their parents angry (on one

another).’

ku-ghaḍibishoowa v. caus. pass. (**ghaḍibishiiza**) be made angry

Mwaalimu/ ghaḍibishiza na mwaana. ‘The teacher was made angry by the

child.’

ghaḍabu

n. 9/10 [Ar. *ḡaḍab* W 676] anger

Afḍali/ inamp^hate/ ije itakump^ható/ kama keendrá/ kunsiba ghaḍabu za mwajiitú. ‘Better that it befalls me, whatever will befall me, than to go and the anger of God strike me.’

Ghaḍabu/ nt^hayná/ adabu. ‘Anger has no courtesy.’ (A proverb.)

ka ghaḍabu ‘angrily’

wenye mabunduqu huuya ka ghaḍabu [nt.] ‘men armed with guns come with anger’

khtila ghaḍabu ‘to make angry’

Ruuhuya/ iyele ulaazo/ na ghaḍabú. ‘My soul is full of pain and anger.’

ghaḍbaani

adj. [Ar. *ḡaḍbān* W 676] angry

Majini/ nt^hawakhaadira/ kujiiba/ ka jis’iyo/ wachiyondrokela/ naawó/ ghaḍbaaní. ‘The djinns could not answer and therefore they left the place angry.’

munt^hu ghaḍbaani ‘angry person’; **want^hu ghaḍbaani** ‘angry people’

ghaffaaruu

adj. (cf. **ghafuuru**) [Ar. *ḡaffār* W 678] an attribute of God (much forgiving).

(gemination to be checked)

ghaafi n. 9 [Sw. *ghafi* SSED 113; cf. Ar verb *kaffa* "to make lighter or reduce the weight" W 248] the gross weight of something

ghaafili adj. [Ar. *ḡāfil* W 679] careless, inattentive, neglectful
Mojiitu/ siwo/ ghaafili. 'God is not inattentive -- said when s.o. does s.t. unlawful or objectionable and escapes human retribution; however, God notes his deeds and will restore justice.
munt^hu ghaafili 'neglectful person' (cf. **want^hu ghaafili** 'neglectful people')
rel.
u-ghaafili n. 14 carelessness, neglectfulness

ku-ghafilika v. [Sw. *ghafilika* SSED 113; Ar. *ḡafala* "to be negligent, careless" W 678] (**ghafilishile**) be inadvertently, unintentionally neglectful
Ghafilishilee nt^ho. 'He was distracted to the point of making a mistake or doing something unknowingly.'

ku-ghafira v. [cf. Sw. *ghofiri* SSED 115; Ar. *ḡafara* W 677] forgive someone's sins (of God)
Mojiitu/ hughafira ḏambi. 'God forgives sins.'
Mojiitu/ ni menyē kughafira ḏambi. 'God is the one who forgives sins.'
(A proverb.)
rel.
ku-ghafirila v. appl. (**ghafiriliile**) forgive one's sins for one (of God)
kughafirila ḏambi 'to forgive someone his sins'
Mwajiitu/ takinsaameha/ kinghafirila. 'God will pardon you and forgive you your sins.'
ku-ghafiriloowa v. appl. pass. (**ghafiriliila**)
huloomba Mooja kun'aafu/ ḏambi kughafiriloowa[st.] 'I implore God to obliterate my sins/ may God pardon my sins'
Nannomba mojiitú/ kughafirilowa ḏambizá. 'I am begging God to be forgiven my sins.'
ku-ghafiroowa v. pass. be forgiven
Kubla/ siwo/ ḏambi ya kughafiroowa. 'Killing is not a sin, crime that can he forgiven.'
rel. nom.
m-ghafira n. 1 a name of God

ghaafiri n. a name for God (God the forgiver)

ghafila n. [Sw. *ghafula* SSED 114; Ar. *ḡafila* W 678]
ghafila/ kana ajali 'as unexpected, sudden as a death'
ka ghafila [Sw. *kwa ghafula* SSED 114] 'suddenly', unexpectedly
rel.
u-ghafila n. 14 suddenness

ghafuuru n. [Ar. *ḡafūr* W 678] a name for God [lit. one who forgives]
ka sabri mloonzele mooja ghafuuru [st.] 'from patience he (i.e. Jacob) begged God the Forgiver'

ghaala n. [Sw. *ghala* SSED 114; Pers.] storehouse
rel.
chi-ghaala (*zi-*) n. dim. 7/8

ghaalibu adv. [Ar. *ḡālib* W 680] often
variant: **ghaalibu**
Haruusi/ ghaalibu/ hufanyoowa/ ka wazeele/ wa mwaamubli. 'The wedding ceremony often is held at the home of the parents of the

young man.’

Mwana uyu/ ghaalibu/ huraga kuya madrasaani. ‘This child is often late in coming to school.’

rel.

aghalabu adj. [Sw. *aghalabu* "usually, more often, chiefly, as a rule, mainly" SSED 5] often

ghaliidi

invar. adj. [Ar. *ḡalīz* "gross, fat and uncouth" W 681] rude (of a person’s behavior), rough, thick (of a thing)

munt^hu ghaliidi ‘a rude man’; **want^hu ghaliidi** ‘rude men’

ghalta

n. [Sw. *ghalati* SSED 14; Ar. *ḡalṭa* W 681] mistake, fault

hija ka ghalta ikumi wacheendra [st.] ‘(if) they go on the pilgrimage by mistake (on) the tenth day’

khfanya ghalta ‘to make a mistake’

khtila ghalta ‘to find, show mistakes in’

Hamadi/ hupeenda/ koḏi za want^hu/ khtila ghalta. ‘Hamadi likes to show the mistakes in the words of people.’

rel.

chi-ghalta (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

i-ghalta (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

ku-ghaltika

v. [Ar. *ḡaliṭa* W 680] (**ghaltishile**) be mistaken, make an error or mistake

Kughaltika/ siwo/ ḏambi. ‘To make a mistake is not a sin, crime.’

Muunt^hu/ mara mo/ maraa mbili/ hughaltika/ laakini/ siwo/ kila/ mara.

‘One can make a mistake once or twice, but not every time.’ (A proverb.)

rel.

ku-ghaltisha v. caus. (**ghaltishiize**) cause to make a mistake

ku-ghaltikoowa v. pass.

Kughaltikoowa/ siwo/ ḏambi. ‘For a mistake to be made is not a sin.’

ghaala

n. storehouse used for grains and other staple foodstuffs

rel.

i-ghaala (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

ghaali

invar. adj. [Sw. *ghali* SSED 114; Ar. *ḡālin* W 683] expensive, dear (Morph. This as well as many other borrowed adjectives exhibits the interesting fact that there is no agreement prefix on the adjective in conjunction with ordinary nouns such as [cl.7] but there is an agreement with derived nouns such as the diminutive and

augmentative; cf. **chint^hu ghaali** ‘s.t. expensive’ and **chijumba chighaali** ‘an expensive little house’.)

Hadile kuwa ni ghaali. ‘He said that it is expensive.’

Hamadi/ huza jaaka/ ghaali. ‘Hamadi sells jackets at a high price.’

(**Ghaali** in this sentence is used as an adverbial phrase; if it were an adjectival modifier of **jaaka**, the associative phrase **ya ghaali** would be appropriate. This sentence lacks downstep at any point in the sentence.)

Hamadi/ jaakaze/ ghaali. ‘Hamadi’s jackets are expensive.’

Karkaa nt^hi/ iyi/ buni/ ni ghaali/ nt^ho/ na ka wiingí/ buni/ haspatikani/ na schipatikani/ huzowa ka almaasi. ‘In this country coffee beans are expensive and most of the time cannot be found, and if they are found, they are sold in diamonds.’

khfanya ghaali ‘to make expensive’

Maluwa ya Haliima/ ni ghaali. ‘Haliima’s flowers are expensive.’ Or:

Haalima/ maluwaye/ ni ghaali.

Mudiidi/ hula shaati/ za ghaali/ tu. ‘Mudiidi buys only expensive shirts.’

(In this example, **shaati** is phrasally separated from **za ghaali** and has raised pitch on it, while **za ghaali** is downstepped. The pitch on **tu** is not downstepped relative to **za ghaali**.)

Mudiidi/ hula shati za ghaali/ tu/ so. ‘Did Mudiidi buy only expensive shirts?’ (In this example **ghaali** is not downstepped, nor are either **tu** or **so**.)

numba ghaali ‘an expensive house’

Nureeni/ uzile jaaka/ iyo ghaali. ‘Nureeni bought a jacket, that expensive one.’ (The phrasal separation of **jaaka** and **iyo** is one that requires careful study with respect to the intonation. There is some pitch lowering of **jaaka** relative to the initial phrase in this example, but it does not appear to be as significant as what is observed in downstep intonation. Furthermore, there is no lowering of **iyo ghaali** at all. The evidence from the yes-no question version indicates that neither **jaaka** nor **iyo ghaali** are out of focus, since neither is subject to accent shift in the question: **Nureeni/ uzile jaaka/ iyo ghaali?**)

Nureeni/ uzile jaaka/ (ya) ghaali. ‘Nureeni bought an expensive jacket.’ (The corresponding yes-no question establishes that neither **jaaka** nor **ghaali** is out-of-focus: **Nureeni/ uzile jaaka/ ghaali?** In a yes-no question, an out-of-focus complement undergoes accent shift to the final syllable.)

Nuzile shati za ghaali/ tu. ‘I bought only expensive shirts.’ (The particle **tu** is not downstepped relative to the preceding phrase.)

Nuzile shaati/ za ghaali/ tu. ‘I bought only expensive shirts.’ (This sentence is of considerable interest to the account of Chimiini prosody. Notice first that in contrast to the preceding example, the head of the associative phrase **shaati** is phrasally separated from **za ghaali**. Second, the accented syllable in **za ghaali** is lowered with respect to the preceding phrase. This might be taken to suggest that **shaati** is focused. However, what we see is that the final accent of the verb projects to both **shaati** and to **za ghaali**. Focused elements ordinarily do not allow final accent to project past them. Also, note that **tu** is not downstepped relative to **za ghaali**.)

Shkombe chivunzila na Hamadi/ chivaliko ghaali. ‘The cup that was broken by Hamadi was expensive.’

Sho/ kuwa Mubiidi/ uzilo shati za ghaali. ‘Only Mubiidi bought an expensive shirt.’ (The element **sho** represents the pitch peak in the sentence and **Mubiidi** is lowered in pitch, indicating that it is **sho** that is focused and triggers the pseudo-relative clause. **Ghaali** is downstepped clearly.)

Sho/ kuwa Mubiidi/ uzilo shati za ghaali. ‘Only Mubiidi bought an expensive shirt.’ (Note that although we have often recorded the pseudo-relative verb respecting the Accentual Law of Focus, unlike the true relative, in this example ALF did not restrict the projection of the final accent to the end of the pseudo-relative clause. More research on this matter is required.)

Uza ghaali/ suuzé/ rakhiisi. ‘Sell at a high price, don’t sell cheap!’
ya ghaali ‘expensive’

Nvete shati ya ghaali. ‘I wore an expensive shirt.’ (But one can also say: **Nvete shati ghaali.** with the same meaning.)

Nvete shaati/ ya ghaali. ‘I wore an expensive shirt.’ (Phon. The failure of the final accent of the verb to project past **shaati** would suggest that **shaati** is focused and **ya ghaali** out-of-focus. Simple yes-no questions do not support the view that **ya ghaali** is out of focus. Perhaps this is most clearly seen by using a third person version of the above sentence: **Vete shaati/ ya ghaali.** ‘He wore an expensive shirt.’ The simple yes-no question version of this is: **Vete shaati/ ya ghaali?** and not ***Vete shaati/ ya ghaali?**, which would be expected if **ya ghaali** is out-of-focus. Recall that in simple yes-no questions, out of focus elements at the end of the verb phrase shift their accent to the final syllable.)

rel.

ghalighaali adj.

Mi/ njile niingí/ na nvete nguwo/ ghalighaali/ nt'o. ‘I ate a lot and I wore very expensive clothes.’

ghamu

n. 9 [Sw. **ghamu** SSED 114; Ar. verb **ḡamma** "to fill with pain, distress" and noun **ḡumma** "affliction" and adjective **ḡamm** "distressful, painful" W 683] worry, distress, grief (Phon. Although we have recorded this item with gemination on some occasions, we doubt that actual gemination is an invariable phonetic aspect of its pronunciation. In any case, we observed lengthening of a preceding word in the phrase, contrary to what would be expected if there were true gemination.)

Hammu/ naa ghamú/ zimpeetó. ‘Worries and disturbing thoughts got hold of him.’

khtomolaa ghamu ‘to assuage someone’s grief’

khtilaa ghamu ‘to cause to grieve’

kumingilaa ghamu ‘for s.o. to become sad’

Imwingilee hamu/ naa ghamú. ‘He was worried and distressed.’

kuwanayoo ghamu 'to have worries, sorrows'

Omari/ imingiile/ ghamu/ khkasa jawabu iyo. 'Omari got sad hearing that news.'

ghanūima

n. 9 [Sw. *ghanima* "good luck prosperity" SSED 114; Ar. *ghanīma* "spoils, booty, prey" W 686] (perhaps restricted to Islamic jurisprudence) booty, spoils of war
ghanima iyi 'this booty'

gharaḍi

n. 9/10 [Sw. *gharadhi* SSED 114; Ar. *gharaḍ* W 670] aim, goal, intention (It has been suggested that the use of this word is restricted to people familiar with Islamic law. MI allowed for a possible pronunciation gharḍi, but others seemed to consider **gharaḍi** as the only possibility.)

kuwanayo gharaḍi 'to aim, intend, have a goal'

Laakini/ jisa aada/ ya chiruusi/ sababu/ walá/ gharaḍi/ ya waruusi/

kulusha qamari sinaa'i/ iyi/ nt^haykiwishoowa. 'But as is the Russian custom, neither the reason nor the goal of the Russians in launching this satellite [lit. artificial moon] was made known.'

Nini/ gharaḍiye. 'What is the purpose of this? what is the meaning of this?'

gharaama

n. 9/10 [Sw. *gharama* SSED 114; Ar. noun *gharām* "penalty, fine" W 671] fee paid for services, expenses, expenditure

Gharama za waana/ zilisila na sarkaali. 'The fees of the children were paid by the government.' Or: **Waana/ gharama zaawo/ zilasila na sarkaali.** 'The children, their fees were paid by the government.'

kingila gharaama 'to incur expenses'

Sarkaali/ lisile/ gharama za waana. 'The government paid the expenses of the children.'

Waana/ gharama zawo/ lisiló/ ni sarkaali. 'The children, their expenses, the one who paid is the government.'

ku-gharaamika

v. intr. [Sw. *gharimika* SSED 114; Ar. verb *gharima* "suffer a loss, pay a fine" W 671] (**gharamishile**) incur expensive; cost

Huseeni/ gharamishile niingi/ safari iyo. 'Huseeni spent a lot of money on that trip.'

rel.

ku-gharamatiloowa v. appl. pass.

Kugharamatiloowa maana/ ka masoomu/ siwo/ mbovu. 'To spend a lot of money on children for education is not bad.'

ku-gharamatila v. appl. spend a lot of money on s.o. or s.t.

Omari/ mgharamatilile niingi/ maanawe/ ka masoomu. 'Omari has spent a lot of money on his child for education.'

ku-gharaamisha v. caus. [Sw. *gharimisha* SSED 114] (**gharamishiize**)

ku-gharamikoowa v. pass.

Muunt^hu/ chifa/ hugharamikoowa. 'If someone dies, there's a lot of money spent.'

gharbi

n. [Ar. *gharb* W 668] west

ghardhi

n. goal

Jeelaani/ oloshela chilima/ ghardhiye/ iwaaliko/ kumliindra/ mwanaamke/ waa ye/ chimpeendó. 'Jeelaani went to the little hill, his goal being to wait for the girl that he loved.'

Laakini/ jisa aada/ ya chiruusi/ sababu/ walá/ ghardhi/ ya waruusi/ kuulusha/ qamari/ sinaa'i/ iyi/ nt^haykiwishoowa. 'But as is the Russian custom, neither the reason nor the goal of the Russian launching of this satellite was made known.'

- ghaari** n. [Ar. *ḡār* W 687] cave, cavern
ghariini '(locative noun) in the cave'
Wa'ingiile ghariini/ ndiwa/ na kabuuṭi. 'A pigeon and a spider entered into the cave.' (Note **kabuuṭi** as variant of **ankabuuṭi**.)
- ghariibu** adj. [Ar. *ḡarīb* W 668] *uncommon* strange, foreign
chint^hu ghariibu 'something strange' (cf. **zint^hu ghariibu** 'strange things')
munt^hu ghariibu 'stranger' (cf. **want^hu ghariibu** 'strangers')
Muunt^hu/ siwo/ suura/ kumḍulisha ghariibu. 'It is not good for a person to humiliate a stranger.'
muyi ghariibu 'a foreign town'
muyi mooyi/ ghariibu 'one foreign town', or: **muuyi/ mooyi/ ghariibu** 'ibid.' (Phon. Apparently it is not possible to put both modifiers into a phrase with the noun: ***muyi moyi ghariibu**. Nor is it possible to put **ghariibu** next to the noun: ***muyi ghariibu/ mooyi**.)
- ku-gharima** v. [Ar. *ḡarima* "suffer a loss" W 671] squander **review meaning, get examples**
- gharqi** n. 9/10 [Sw. *gharika* SSED 114; cf. Ar. adjective *ḡariq* and verb *ḡariqa* W671, but no nominal form] shipwreck, disaster (usu. a flood)
- ku-gharqika** v. intr. [Sw. *ghariki* SSED 114; Ar. *ḡariqa* W 671] (**-gharqishile**) sink, become shipwrecked; be flooded, inundate
Mboni/ isa/ mwaanawa/ gharqishile. 'How come now my son has drowned.'
Nvula/ ichinya/ na kaa nṭhi/ maayi/ yachilawa/ ichiwa teena/ zimuuyi/ zotte/ zinakugharqika. 'The rain poured down and from the ground water sprayed out and then all the villages were sinking.'
Wamooyi/ hufa ka kugharqika/ wamó/ hufa ka kuja niingi. 'Some die from drowning, some die from too much food.'
rel.
ku-gharqisha v. caus. [Sw. *gharikisha* SEED 114] (**gharqishiize**) flood; cause to be shipwrecked
Maayi/ yagharqishize muuyi. 'Water flooded the town.'
ku-gharqishoowa v. caus. pass. (**gharqishiiza**)
fir'ooni gharqishiza karka bahari [st.] 'Pharaoh was made to drown, sink in the sea'
- ku-ghasiba** v. [cf. Sw. *ghusubu* "compel, coerce, take away by force, violate" SSED 115; Ar. *ḡaṣaba* W 675] (**ghasibiile**) force, compel, oblige, make
Jaama/ mghasibiileni/ Nuuru/ khfaanya. 'What did Nuuru force Jaama to do?' Or: **Jaama/ mghasibile Nuuru/ khfaanyani.** (A possible answer: **Ye/ mghasibile Nuuru/ kulomba raaḍi.** 'He forced Nuuru to apologize.')
- Mghasibile Nuuru/ kulomba raaḍi.** 'He forced Nuuru to apologize.'
Nimghasibile kuvalaa nguwo. 'I forced him to put on clothes.' Or, with a subjunctive complement: **Nimghasibile navalee nguwo.** '[Lit.] I forced him that he put on clothes.'
Nimghasibile Nuuru/ koloka chuwooni. 'I forced Nuuru to go to school.'
rel.
ku-ghasibisha v. caus. (**ghasibishiize**) compel, oblige, make
- ghasbu** n. [Ar. *ḡaṣb* W 675] s.t. taken or gotten unjustly
c hakuja cha ghasbu 'food gotten unjustly'
khtala ka ghasbu 'to take s.t. without the owner's permission'
kubiga ghasbu *uncommon* 'to take s.t. without the owner's permission'

mali ya ghasbu ‘wealth gotten unfairly’
mwiskiti mtaangawe haraamu ghasbu [st.] ‘a mosque, its sand is forbidden
(to be used in taking ablutions) and is like robbing’

ghasiya n. 10 [Sw. *ghasia* "confusion, complication, bustle, hurry, medley, crowding, and used of various things involving these ideas, and of annoyances generally" SSED 115; Ar. *ḡaṣṣ* "crowded, jammed" W 675; the verb *ḡaṣṣ* has the meaning "to choke or be overcrowded" W 675] commotion, trouble, noise

Awo ma'askari/ wakasizopoo nk^heje/ na ghasiyá/ na sowtí/ zaa ngomá/ wa'ondroshele naawó/ keendra/ kisterehesha/ ruhu zaawo/ pamó/ na waant^hu/ muyiini. ‘When those soldiers heard the cries and commotion and the sounds of drums, they left and went to enjoy themselves with the people in town.’

ghasiyaze ‘his making a commotion’

khfanya ghasiya ‘to make a commotion, noise, trouble’

check meaning in Chimiini

ghashiimu adj. [Ar. *ḡaṣīm* Wehr 674] uncivilized, stupid

ghasli n?

variant form: **khasli**

kowa ghasli ‘to wash after sexual intercourse, ejaculation, as required by Islamic beliefs’

niya ya ghasli ‘statement of the intention to ritually clean oneself after ejaculation’

lete niya ya ghasli karka kistanja [st.] ‘bring forth the statement of intention to clean oneself while doing the cleaning’

ghaaya adv. [Ar. *ḡāya* "extreme limit, utmost degree" W 688] very, extremely

Doobi/ mooyi/ wanayo mp^huundra/ na chimpeenda/ ghaaya. ‘A washerman had a donkey and he loved him very much.’

Ghaaya/ takhfaanyani. ‘What will he do to the maximum?’ Or:

Takhfaanyani/ ghaaya.

Ghaaya/ taakula. ‘At the most (extreme), she will cry.’ (Phon. It should be noted that it does not seem to be appropriate for an initial **ghaaya** to trigger pseudo-relativization: ***Ghaaya/ taakuló**. Nor does it appear possible to phrase a post-verbal **ghaaya** with the verb: ***Takula ghaaya**. Rather, one says: **Taakula/ ghaaya**. ‘He will cry, at the most.’

Iyi/ imudhishize waawaye/ ghaaya/ laakini/ nt^hakuwanaayo/ ya

khfaanya/ ye/ waliko cheleela/ na teená/ wakhtí/ uwela suwo/ munaasibu/ kuluma chaala. ‘This troubled his father extremely, but he did not know what to do [about it]; it was too late for him [to change things] and the time became unsuitable to bite the finger.’

Kirihile ghaaya. ‘He was extremely irritated.’

Mi/ nt^hakhpeenda/ ghaaya. ‘I would like it very much.’

Nk^hirihile ghaayá. ‘I was extremely irritated.’ Or, with verb emphasis:

Nk^hirihilé/ ghaaya.

Safiri/ sku izo/ iwaliko suura/ ghaaya/ naawó/ wotte/ wa'istereheele. ‘Traveling those days was very good and they all enjoyed themselves.’

ku-ghayirika v. [cf. Sw. *ghaira* “change one’s mind, alter plan, annul, do something unexpected, sudden, or surprising” SSED 114; Ar. *ḡāra, ḡaira*] change

Laakini/ leelo/ haali/ itaghayrishile. ‘But today conditions have changed.’

gheebu n. [Sw. *ghaibu* “a thing not obtainable because it is distant, absence” SSED 114; Ar. *ḡaib* W 689] something that is going to happen but is not known

Gheebu/ na'iwó/ mojiitu/ tu. 'It is only God who knows what will happen.'
ka gheebu [Sw. *kwa ghaibu*] from memory, by heart

Somele qur'aani/ ka gheebu. 'He recited the Quran from memory.'

kiwa gheebu 'to know the unknown, to have advanced knowledge of coming events'

Endraani/ rudaani/ ka wawa yiinu/ mwambileeni/ kuwa mwaanawo/ boozele/ walaa si/ nt^hashkuwona/ illa/ yaa si/ chiwiiló/ naa si/ gheebu/ siwo/ china'iwó. 'Go and return to your father and tell him that your (i.e. his) son has stolen something, we did not see anything except what we came to know, and we are not the ones who know the unseen.'

Hakhaadiri/ kiwa gheebu. 'He cannot know the future.'

Mwaadamu/ ha'isi/ gheebu. 'A human being cannot know the future.'

ma-ghfira

n. [Ar. *maǧfira* W 678] forgiveness

ummaṭiyo wanakhtaraja maghfira [st.] 'your people hope for forgiveness'

numa walwaawo wachiloomba maghfira [st.] 'then both of them (= Adam and Eve) begged for forgiveness'

ku-ghiiiba

one's way, get lost, disappear

v. [Sw. *ghibu* 'be lost' SSED 114; Ar. *ǧaba, ǧaiba* W 689] (**ghibiile**) be absent, lose

Ghibile sku niingi/ walá/ nt^haku/ na'iwó/ mahaḷaa ye/ ko. 'He is absent for many days, nor is there anyone who knows where he is.'

Maaliye/ yaghibiile. 'His money is gone (disappeared, got lost).'

Markaabu/ ighibiile. 'The ship disappeared (without a trace).'

Siwo/ suura/ kughiiba/ karkaa fadhí. 'It is not good to be absent from a meeting.' (Phon. In the corresponding simple yes-no question and in the exclamatory yes-no question as well, all except the initial phrase undergo accent shift: **Siwo/ suurá/ kughiibá/ karkaa fadhí?** and **Siwo/ suurá/ kughiibá/ karkaa fadhí!?**)

rel.

ku-ghiiibika v. p/s.

Shpita ndila iyo/ takuhiibika. 'If you pass that road, you will get lost.'

ku-ghiiibisha v. caus. (**ghibishiize**) make disappear

Mghibishize mwaana. 'He caused the child to disappear.'

ku-ghiboowa v. pass.

Bahari iyo/ hughiboowa. 'One can get lost/disappear in that ocean.'

Kughibowa fadhiini/ siwo/ suura. 'To be absent from a meeting is not good.' (Phon. In the simple yes-no question version of this sentence, only the adjective undergoes accent shift: **Kughibowa fadhiini/ siwo/ suurá?** Interestingly, the emphatic yes-no question does not appear to us to shift the accent in any other phrase than the adjective: **Kughibowa fadhiini/ siwo/ suurá!?**)

ku-ghisha

v. [cf. Sw. *ghoshi, ghushi* SSED 115; Ar. *ǧassa* W 674] cheat, falsify

Omari/ pisile imṭihaani/ ka kughisha. 'Omari passed the exam by cheating.'

Osmaani/ nakughisha imṭihaani. 'Osmaani is cheating on the examination.'

rel.

ku-ghishika v. p/s.

Imṭihani iyo/ ha'ighishiki. 'It is not possible to cheat on that examination.'

ku-ghishiliza v. appl.

Omari/ tumikilile chibuku icho/ kughishiliza. 'Omari used that book to cheat.'

ku-ghishilizoowa v. appl. pass.

Osmaani/ nakhsulá kughishilizoowa. 'Osmaani wants someone to cheat for him (e.g. to give him the answers to the questions on the exam).'

ku-ghishoowa v. pass.

Imṭihani iyo/ siwo/ sahali/ kughishoowa. ‘That examination is not easy for one to cheat on it.’

ghishi

n. 9/10 the act of cheating, falsifying

Awo/ ghishi zaawo/ niingi. ‘Those people cheat often.’

Ghishi/ ni haraamu. ‘Cheating is sinful.’

Ghishi ziinu/ hazimali. ‘Your (pl.) cheating never ends.’

Ghishiyo/ ni zaaydi. ‘Your cheating is too often.’

Ghishizo/ ni zaaydi. ‘Your cheating (pl.) is too often.’

khfanyaa ghishi or **khfaanya/ ghishi** ‘to cheat, deceive’

Omari/ mkali/ ghishi. ‘Omari is very good at cheating.’

ghiyaabu

n. 9 [Sw. *ghaibu* SSED 114; Ar. *ḡiyāb* W 689] absence

much.’

Ghiyaabuyo/ inhuzunishiize/ nt^ho. ‘Your absence saddened me very

Sku mooyi/ baaba/ imshishile kendra muyiini/ na karka ghiyaabuyé/ dul’eda/ chiya numbaani/ chilekela mṭanaani/ ka mwaana.

‘One day father had to go to town and in his absence, a fox came into the house and headed to the child’s room.’

ghufraani

n. [Ar. *ḡufrān* W 678] pardon, forgiveness

Nakulomba ghufraaní. ‘I beg for forgiveness.’

ku-ghura

v. [cf. Sw. *ghuri* "cheat, beguile, deceive" SSED 115; Ar. *ḡarra* "mislead, delude, dazzle, expose to danger" W 667] lead astray (of transient things like money)

Ali/ maali/ yaa ye/ dhahaleetó/ yamghuriile. ‘The wealth that Ali inherited led him astray.’

Maali/ yamghuriile/ yampeleshele muḷooni. ‘Wealth led him astray and took him into fire (i.e. caused him to go to hell)’

rel.

ku-ghurika v. intr. [Sw. *ghurika* "be proud, vain, puffed up, because of wealth, or of anything transient, which may pass and leave one in a humble state" SSED 115] (*ghurishile*) be self-deceived, led astray, misled (into wrong values, etc.)

Nuuru/ ghurushile ka peesa. ‘Nuuru was led astray by money.’

ku-ghurila v. appl. (*ghuriliile*)

ku-ghurisha v. caus. (*ghurishiize*) mislead, deceive, lead astray

Peesa/ zimghurishiize. ‘Money led him astray.’

ku-ghurishiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-ghururika v. [Sw. *ghururika* is not distinguished in meaning from *ghurika* in SSED 115] (*ghururishile*) be self-deceived

ghuraabu

adj. deserted

Mijumba ayo/ yawele (mi)ghuraabu. ‘Those houses were left deserted.’

Miini/ iwele ghuraabu. ‘Brava has become deserted (people have left Brava).’

muyi ghuraabu ‘a deserted town’; **miyi ghuraabu** ‘deserted towns’

ghuraabu

n. 9/10 [Ar. *ḡurāb* W 668] crow (This lexical item is not fully integrated into Chimiini; *dafa* is more common.)

rel.

chi-ghuraabu (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim.

i-ghuraabu (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.

ghuraafaati

n. superstition

exist.’

Ghuraafaati/ ni jawaabu/ nt^haziikó. ‘Superstitions are things that do not

Ghuraafaati/ ni jawaabu/ nt^hazinayo ma'aná/ (nt^hazinayo) mahala ya khshikoowá/ ni jawabu siwo lila. 'Superstitions are things that do not have meaning, (do not have) a place/origins to be traced or followed, they are things that are not true.'

Kooði/ zaa we/ nakuhadó/ na ghuraafaati/ tu. 'The things that you are saying are just superstitions (not real).' **Check into the absence of a SM on -na in this example.**

Ni kooði/ hukoðowakoðoowá/ ni chiint^hu/ siwo lila/ siwo chiikó/ huwiloowa ghuraafaati/ huwiloowá. 'They are words that are just said (without foundation), they are things that are not true, that do not exist, they are called superstitions, that's what they are called.'

ghurba n. [cf. Sw. *ghurubu* "the setting of the sun, sunset" SSED 115; *gurub* "setting of sun, stars" W 668] (cf. *gharbi* 'west') away from one's home town or country

nt^hi za ghurba 'foreign lands'

Wont^he/ chinaku'isha ghubá. 'We are all living in a foreign place.'

ghurfa n. 9/10 [cf. Sw. *ghorofa, orofa* "upper storey, upper room" SSED 115, 356; Ar. *gurfa* W 670] room (This lexical item is not well-integrated into Chimiini; the Bantu lexical item *m-taana* is much more common.)

Ghurfa iyi/ nda mzelee. 'This is the old man's room.'

ghurfa izi 'these rooms'; **ghurfa izo** 'those rooms'

ghurfaya 'my room'; **ghurfaza** 'my rooms'

Nuumbayo/ ghurfaa kamu/ inaayó. 'How many rooms does your house have?'

rel.

chi-ghurfa (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

i-ghurfa (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

ghuruuri n. [Sw. *ghururi* "arrogance, self-conceit, infatuation, vanity, folly, blindness, but all with the meaning of because of transient things" SSED 115; Ar. *gurur* "deception, delusion, conceit" W 667] deception

Ali/ mwenye ghuruuru 'Ali is a man who has been led astray (by transient things like money).'

Ghuruuri/ zisikhutaale. 'Don't be taken in by deception.'

rel.

u-ghuruuri n. 14 self-deception

ghuruuru n. [cf. Ar. *gurur* "deception, delusion, conceit" W 667]
mwenye ghuruuru 'someone who deceives himself, is unrealistic'

ku-ginika SSED 113] move v. intr. [etymology uncertain; connected by meaning to Sw *geuka* "change position:

Speendi/ kuginika ka apa. 'I don't want to move from here.'

We/ chiginika ka apa/ naami/ nooshelé. 'If you move away from here, I too will be gone.'

rel.

ku-ginikika v. p/s.

Numba iyo/ ha'iginikiki. 'One cannot move away from that house (i.e. once someone enters that house, he does not leave it).'

ku-ginikiloowa v. appl. pass.

Nt^haku/ sababu ya kuginikiloowa. 'There is no reason to move away.'

ku-ginikila v. appl.

Siná/ sababu yaa mi/ kuginikila. 'I do not have a reason for moving away.'

ku-ginikoowa v. pass.

Numba iyo/ haginikoowi. 'One cannot move from that house (i.e. once someone enters that house, he does not leave it).'

ku-ginisha v. caus. move something

Ikomelopo ilooni/ wawele wa'ofeete/ hattá/ ichiwa nt^hawanakhaadira/ kuginisha ruhu zaawo. 'When dusk arrived, they became tired to

the point that they became unable to move themselves.’

giriiki (Ø, mi-)

n. [Ital. *cric*, cf. Som. *griig* in Italian-Somali Dictionary, p. 175] jack, mechanical tool used to lift car when you change wheels, tires
rel.

chi-giriiki (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

chigobe/ kana chigiriiki ‘short like a jack’

giriisi

n. 9 [Eng. *grease*] grease (This word is not as commonly used as **garaaso**.)

khpaka giriisi ‘to grease something by rubbing grease on it’

khtila giriisi ‘to squirt grease into’

ku-giirsata

refuse to do something

v. [cf. Som. *giiran* ‘to frown’ and *giro* ‘to refuse to help s.o.’ DSI 268] (**girseeṭe**)

Osmaani/ girseeṭe/ khpela nuumba. ‘Osmaani refused to sweep the house.’

rel.

ku-girsatika v. p/s. able to be refused

Jawabu iyo/ ha’igirsatiki. ‘One cannot refuse to do that thing.’

ku-girsatila v. appl.

Nthaku/ sababu ya kugirsatila. ‘There is no reason for refusing to do it.’

ku-girsatiloowa v. appl. pass.

Nthaku/ sababu ya kugirsatiloowa. ‘There is no reason for refusing to do it.’

ku-girsatoowa v. pass.

Kugirsatoowa/ bilaa ma’ana/ siwo/ suura. ‘Refusing to do s.t. without reason is not good.’

rel. nom.

u-giirsato n. 14

n-giisha

n. 9/10 anchor

khtomola ngiisha ‘to pull up anchor’

khtila ngiisha ‘to anchor, drop anchor’

Apo/ wo/ washtila ngiisha. ‘There they dropped anchor.’

Apo/ ye/ shtila/ ngiisha/ chishkila/ chingila muyiini. ‘Then he put anchor and disembarked and went into town.’

Wa’ambile/ waant^huwo/ wote/ wanawe tayaari/ khpanza ngiisha/

wana’ondroshe/ motoore/ inawe tayaari/ mukhtaa ye/ takuuyó.

‘Tell all your people to be ready to pull up the anchor and start the engine so that it is ready when she comes.’

Wachigita ngiisha/ wachoondroka. ‘They pulled up anchor and took off.’

gisi

n. 9/10 [Som. *gisi* DSI 269] African buffalo (=ngombe ya maduuri ‘wild ngombe’) variant form: **n-gisi**

Hayawaani/ zotte/ scheendra/ schimlata ngombe waa gisi/ apo. ‘All the animals left, they left behind the buffalo there.’

iziwa yaa gisi ‘powdered milk (lit. milk of buffalo)’

Leelo/ chilatowa ngombe yaa gisi/ kulindra chisima. ‘Today Buffalo was left behind to guard the well.’

Mukhtaa si/ chisimeemó/ bilaa kooḍi/ ngisi/ ile kharibu yiitu. ‘While we were standing without speaking, the buffalo came towards us.’

rel.

chi-gisi (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

i-gisi (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

n-gisi

n. 9/10 [Sw. *ngisi* "a kind of cuttle-fish" SSED 335] squid

ku-giita
smoke

v. [cf. Sin. *giiji* ‘to pull or stretch a rope’ DSI 268] (**giisile**) pull, tow; jerk; pull in

Chiwona kuwa nii mp^hana/ zinakugiita/ ijarsi/ zinakuya qariibuye. ‘He saw that rats were pulling a bell and coming near him.’ **review**

Ichiwa teena/ namgiita/ ka chinumeenume/ na shpita/ ndila ya sulaaani/ apo/ mahala numba ya sulaaani/ yiikó. ‘Then it was that he was pulling from behind and passed the sultan’s road, where the house of the sultan was located.’

kugiita makasiya ‘to row a boat [lit. to pull oars]’

Chigisile makasiyá/ maskú/ na muunt^hí/ pashpo kiiwa/ chinakeendrapí. ‘We rowed night and day without knowing where we were going.’

kugiita ngoroonzi (or: **magoroonzi**) ‘to snore’

Na chanza kugiita magoroonzi. ‘And he began to snore.’

kugiita sigareeti ‘to smoke a cigarette’ (Comment: This expression is apparently not commonly used; more common is **kuvuta sigareeti**.)

Mwenye/ gisile gaari. ‘Mwenye towed the car.’

Sigiite. ‘Don’t pull!’ (cf. **Sigiteeni.** ‘You (pl.) don’t pull!’)

Wo/ watilopo wadamu yaawó/ chisimaani/ Yuusufu/ chishika wadaamu/ awa/ wachigita wadaamu. ‘When they put their bucket in the well, Joseph clung to the bucket and they pulled the bucket up.’

Yuusufu/ anzizopo kondroka ka apó/ muke/ chimshika haanzu/ ka chinume/ chingiiita/ haṭá/ haanzu/ ichaatuka/ ka chinume. ‘When Joseph began to move away from there, the wife grabbed him from behind by his outer garment and pulled until the garment tore at the back.’

rel.

ku-giitika v. p/s.

ku-giitila v. appl.

ku-giitisha v. caus.

ku-giitishana v. caus. rec.

ku-giitishika v. caus. p/s.

ku-giitishiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-giitishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

rel. nom.

m-giito (*mi-*) n. 3/4 the act of pulling

u-giito n. 14 the act of pulling

n-gizi

?

glaasi

n. 9/10 [Eng. *glass*] a glass (for drinking)

rel.

chi-glaasi (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim.

i-glaasi (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.

go’aani

n. [Som. *go’aan* "decision" DSI 269] decision

khkoma go’aani ‘to reach a decision’

Hamadi/ komele go’aani/ chiza kuuya/ numba ya Omari.

‘Hamadi reached a decision not to come to Omari’s house.’

khṭinda go’aani ‘[lit.] to cut a decision, i.e. to take a final decision’ (a neologism formed on a Somali way of speaking, but much in use nowadays, although frowned upon by purists)

Hamadi/ ṭinzile go’aani/ chiza kuuya/ numba ya Omari.

‘Hamadi made a decision not to come to Omari’s house.’

Hasani/ ṭinzile go’aani. ‘Hasani made a decision.’

We/ Hamadi/ jawabu iyo/ ṭinda go’aani/ kanaa we/

ṭnakhfaanyá/ amó/ kanaa we/ nt^hunakhfaanyá. ‘You, Hamadi, make a decision on that matter, if you are doing it or if you are not doing it.’ (Note that in the performance

of this sentence, the first of the contrasted alternatives is pronounced with a markedly raised pitch on the accented vowel, well above the sentence-initial pitch level. We can make a couple other phonetic remarks. The final vowel of the vocative exhibits what we call a continuation H pitch which, in fact, is higher than the preceding accented syllable. Also, there is a partial pitch re-setting beginning with **kanaa we**. The **we** is higher than the preceding accented syllable on the penult of **go'aani**, but not as high as the pitch at the beginning of the sentence.)

chi-gobe (zi-)

fixed adj. [Som. *gaab* “short of person” DSI 241] short

chigobe/ kana chigiriiki ‘as short as a small car jack’

chisu chigobe ‘a short knife’

Chimwona/ chizeele/ chimooyi/ chigobe/ nt^ho. ‘He saw a very short old woman.’

ishungi chigobe ‘short hair’

Lkaambala/ limwelele chigobe. ‘The rope was short for him (i.e. there was insufficient length).’

Maame/ ni chigobe/ kolko waawe. ‘Mother is shorter than father.’

munt^hu chigobe ‘a short person’

Nii ndre/ amó/ chigobe. ‘Is it long or short?’ **review**

Nimene Omari chigobé. ‘I saw Omari the short (as opposed to some other

Omari).’

Siwo/ zigobe/ miti aya. These trees are not short.’

Siwo/ zigobee nt^ho/ miti aya. ‘These trees are not very short..’

Sku ya taatu/ chimwona/ chizeele/ chimooyi/ chigobe/ nt^ho. ‘On the third day he saw a very old woman.’

Wana awa/ ni zigobe. ‘These children are short.’

want^hu zigobe(e gobe) ‘short people’

zisu zigobe ‘short knives’

i-gobeegobe (ma-)

n. 9/10 [Sw. *kobe* “land tortoise: SSED 214] land turtle, tortoise

variant form: **igombegombe review, sandra wrote igombeegombe but this seems**

unlikely given usual lengthening before mb in Bantu words

Mzele igobeegobe/ naayé/ chanza khtuumba/ shtuumba/ shpata maayi/ miingi. ‘Old Tortoise also began digging, he dug and got a lot of water.’

Ndovu/ mwenopo igobeegobé/ chimshiika/ laakini/ hayawaani/ weenziwe/ wachimwaambila/ mláte/ simðibé/ heendra/ ye/ kapata maayí. ‘When the elephant saw the tortoise, he seized him, but the animals, his companions told him: let him go! don’t bother him! it may be he can find water.’

Wotte/ wachiya/ wachina maayi/ wachimtaala/ igobeegobe/ oyo/ wachimtalisha/ na wachimpeenda/ nt^ho. ‘All [the animals] came and drank the water, and they took that tortoise and made him the chief, and they loved him very much.’

godoro

n. 9/10,6 [Sw. *godoro* (ma-) SSED 116; Hind.] mattress

Chendra numbaani/ kaako/ wa’ambile/ watumishi/ wana’ondrole/

godoro/ kama zimo nk^huungunyi/ meepe/ wanazuble. ‘When you go to your home, tell the servants that they should move the mattress, (and) if there are some bedbugs, they should kill them.’

chili/ na godoró ‘a bed and a mattress’; **zili/ na godoró** ‘beds and mattresses’

chili/ na godoroyé ‘a bed and its mattress’; **zili/ na godorozé** ‘beds and mattresses’

godoro iyi ‘this market’; **godoro izi** ‘these mattresses’; **magodoro aya** ‘these mattresses’

godoro noloolo ‘soft mattress(es)’; **magodoro moloolo** ‘soft mattresses’

Muke/ chimwambilaa noka/ kalaant^ha/ nt^hini yaa chili/ nt^hini ya

godoro/ chilaala/ lawa/ mlume naafe. ‘The woman told the snake: stay under the bed under the mattress; when he sleeps, come out (and) bite him so that he dies.’

rel.

chi-godoro (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

i-godoro (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

i-goofu (mi-)

n., adj. 5/4 [Sw. *gofu* (ma-) SSED 116] a ruin

ijumba igoofu ‘an (aug.) house in ruins’; **mijumba migoofu** ‘(aug.) houses in ruin’

Shkasa/ mahaḷaa ye/ nakubigoobigó/ inakuḷa kama igoofu. ‘He heard the place that he was pounding making a noise like a ruin.’ (The form

nakubigoobigo is interesting in that the reduplicated stem **-bigooobigo** exhibits the lengthening of the vowel at the end of the first occurrence of the reduplicated stem. This lengthening is ordinarily found only in word-final position. This lengthening thus argues that the first element of the reduplicated stem acts like a word-final element.)

rel.

chi-goofu (zi-) n. 7/8 ibid.

Oloka/ khariibu/ ya tawala/ takuwona chigoofu/ chimooyi. ‘Go near the sea and you will see a house in ruins.’

goofu!

n. [Ar. *iqfil*, imperative form of *qafala* “shut up” W 782, but derived from the Yemeni pronunciation *gaffil* “shut (your eyes)”] a game that was played at dusk by two teams: half of the people were blindfolded and had to guess who had touched them

variant form: **goofool**

Goofulé/ goofu! /ni chiint^hu /ma’anaye/ waant^hu/ ikumi/ ka ikumi.

‘Goofule goofu! is something, that is, ten people against ten.’

i-gogo (ma-)

n. 5/6 [Sw. *gogo* (ma-) SSED 116] large log of a certain tree that doesn’t grow in Brava, but whose logs sometimes wash up on the shore; used for building and making furniture; a log or tree trunk used to sit on

kuvunda magogo ‘to break up dried wood to be used as firesticks’

Omari/ kalant^hilile igogo. ‘Omari sat on a log.’

rel.

chi-gogo (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

mi-gogo n. 4 aug.

i-googolo (ma-)

n. 5/6 a generic term for large insects

igogolo ya mashkilo ‘caterpillar’

or is it:

i-golgolo

n. [cf. Proto-Sabaki **ijongolo* and Eastern Bantu **igongolo* “=millipede” N&H 626]

i-golgolo No etymo found. To be checked.

i-goole (ma-)

n. 5/6 [?connected to Sw. *kauri* SSED 180] shell, seashell; a metal cylindrical container which the captain of a dhow keeps documents in to prevent their getting wet

igole ya nk^haasa ‘the shell of a marine tortoise’

Magooḷe/ hupatowa tawala. ‘Shells are found in the sea.’

Omari/ hu’arurisha magooḷe/ tawala. ‘Omari collects shells from the sea.’

Gooloweyn

n. a village some eighty-six kilometers north of Brava on the road to Mogadishu

gooli

n. [Ital. *gol* and Eng. *goal*] the goal in a game; a score in a game

variant form: **chigooli**

chigooli/ rasmi ‘a really nice goal, a wonderful goal’

Hamadi/ tile chigooli/ rasmi. ‘Hamadi scored a wonderful goal.’

(The intonation of an example like this is interesting. Specifically, **rasmi** is of about the same pitch height as

chigooli.)

Hamadi/ tile/ chigooli/ rasmi. ‘Hamadi scored a wonderful goal.’

(The yes-no question version of this sentence shows both **chigooli** and **rasmi** undergoing accent shift: **Hamadi/ tile/ chigoolí/ rasní?**)

Tile chigoolí/ rasmi. ‘I scored a wonderful goal.’ (In this example, the consultant did not pronounce the first person subject prefix, using a null variant of it, but the final accent indicates the person. The construction **chigooli/ rasmi** is interesting. It appears that there is focus on **chigooli**, but **rasmi** is also raised, not downstepped. The final accent triggered by the verb does not appear on **rasmi**.)

khtila (chi)gooli ‘to score a goal’

Hamadi/ tile chigoli rasmi. ‘Hamadi scored a wonderful goal.’

Nimeené/ maana/ tilo chigoolí. ‘I know the boy who scored a goal.’ With focus on the relative verb: **Nimeené/ maana/ tiiló/ chigoolí.** But we also recorded: **Nimeené/ maana/ tiiló/ chigooli.**

Nimeené/ maana/ tilo chigoolí/ matezooní. ‘I saw the boy who scored a goal in the game.’

Nimeené/ maana/ tiiló/ chigooli/ matezooní. ‘I saw the boy who scored a goal in the game.’ (In this pronunciation, the focus on the relative verb seems to allow the following complement to receive default accent, but the next complement does receive the final accent associated with the relative verb construction. We have recorded this pattern on various occasions. However, we have also recorded pronunciations with all the complements have final accent: **Nimeené/ maana/ tiiló/ chigoolí/ matezooní.** This point requires continued research.

Namiwá/ maana/ tiiló/ chigooli. ‘I know the boy who scored a goal.’ (Notice that in this example, with focus on the relative verb, the complement may escape the final accent triggered by the relative verb. This seems to be an effect of the Accentual Law of Focus. But we have recorded other cases where ALF does not appear to operate in relative clauses.

kubiga gooli ‘to make a goal’

i-goli (ma-) n. 5/6 or variable adjective [cf. Som. **gol** "bay" DSI 271 and **gololo** "arched structure" DSI 272] hole, pitch; adj. **uneven**; hollowed by use, so worn out that it has become hollow, e.g. a wooden dish (though perhaps **-ifko** is more properly used in this sense)

chili chigoli ‘an uneven bed’

ijamu igoli or **chijamu chigoli** ‘soup plate’

Ndila/ ni magoli. ‘The road has potholes/ is uneven.’

Nt^hi/ ni magoli. ‘The land is uneven.’

gooma

n. 9/10 rubber; (rubber) eraser; the rubber sole of a shoe

goma iyi ‘this rubber’ (cf. **goma izi** ‘this rubber’)

Goma izi/ mbovu. ‘This rubber is bad.’

Goma izi/ suura. ‘This rubber is good.’

mpira (w)a gooma ‘a rubber ball’

Sandali izo/ goomaye/ (ni) inene. ‘These sandals, their rubber is thick.’

Or: **Sandali izo / goomaze/ ni zinene.** (Usage: Observe that **goomaye** uses the third person singular enclitic =AG-*e* with the AG element agreeing with the [cl.9/10] noun **gooma**, and the *-e* element being triggered by the non-human noun, **saandali**. When a non-human is the possessor, *-e* is used regardless of number.)

Naayó/ goomá/ nakhsula khpangulila ziiná. ‘Do you have an eraser? I want to erase some writing.’

zilatu za gooma ‘rubber shoes’

rel.

mi-gooma n. aug. 4 (disparaging)

Migoma aya/ miwovu. ‘This rubber is really of bad quality.’ (Phon. The demonstrative **aya** may be reduced to **aa** in ordinary speech. Since the form **migooma** is disparaging in its nature, it is incompatible for the predicate adjective to be, say, **suura**.)

n-goma

n. n. 9/10 [Sw. **ngoma** SSED 336] drum

kanaa ngoma ‘like a drum’

like a drum.’

Miimbaya/ itagameele/ kanaa ngoma. ‘My stomach is extended

kubigaa ngoma ‘to beat a drum’

Mbishilee ngomá/ jisa suura. ‘I beat the drum very well.’

kubigilaa ngoma ‘to give support to’

Nuuru/ nambigila mkule/ ngoma. ‘Nuuru is giving support to his older brother [lit. is beating a drum for his older brother].’

kumbiga/ kanaa ngoma ‘to beat him like a drum – i.e. hard’

Masku/ mukhta yakomeeló/ mwaana/ chamura makhaadimu/ kuletaa ngoma/ khteza/ hattá/ fijiri. ‘When night came, the boy ordered servants to bring drums to play until morning.’

Munt^{hi} oyo/ waant^hu/ wawaaliko/ washtezaa ngoma/ muyiini. ‘That day people were beating drums in town.’

Ngoma/ amá/ inawamo garabuuni/ kaako/ amá/ nashike (or: nabige)

walaaliwo. ‘A drum should either be on your shoulder or be held by your brother (next of kin).’ (A proverb which counsels that one’s property, possessions, etc., should be under your control or under the control of your brother, next of kin.)

Ngoma iyije/ ndaako. ‘That drum is yours.’ (Cf. **Ngoma izije/ ndaako.** ‘Those drums are yours.’)

Zikoo ngoma/ keesho. ‘There is drumming tomorrow.’

rel.

chi-goma (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

i-goma (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

khkolola/ kana igoma ‘to cough like a drum (used both of adults and children coughing)’

i-goomba (ma-) n. 5/6 [cf. Sw. *mgomba* ‘banana plant, plantain’ DSI 277] a kind of plant with wide leaves that are used for wrapping a paste-like plug of tobacco

igomba ya t̥ibaaku ‘a wrapped plug of tobacco’

Oloka/ nul̥ila t̥ibaaku/ igomba mooyi. ‘Go and buy for me one wrapped leaf of tobacco.’

m-goomba (mi-) n. 3/4 a kind of shark

mp^hamp^ha mgoomba ‘a mgoomba shark’; **mp^hamp^ha migoomba** ‘migoomba sharks’

n-goombe n. 9/10 [Sw. *ng’ombe* SSED 336] cow

kulala kana ngoombe ‘to sleep like a cow (i.e. deeply)’

Mujaa mbuzi/ hulipa ngoombe. ‘The one who eats a goat pays back a cow.’ (A proverb.)

Mwanaamke/ mkamile ngoombe/ iziwa. ‘The girl milked the cow.’

Naani/ nakhsulo kula ch̥ita cha ngoombé. ‘Who wants to buy the head of a cow?’

Ngoombe/ choondroka/ mbuzi/ hukalaant^ha. ‘When the cow gets up (i.e. goes away), the goat sits down.’ (A proverb.)

Ngombe izi/ nii nk^hulu. ‘These cows are large.’ (The evidence from the “talking backwards” language Chijini is that the copular should be considered as proclitic to the predicate adjective: **Mbeng^o zi^h/ lunink^hu.**)

ngoombe/ kaafá ‘if a cow were to die’

ngombe mzele ‘an old cow’; **ngombe nzele** (or: **wazele**) ‘old cows’

Ni ngoombe. ‘She is a cow (big, without brains).’

Sku ya pi̥li/ siimba/ chimujaa mbuzi/ na sku ya taatú/ chimuja ngoombe. ‘On the second day, the lion ate a goat, and on the third day, he ate a cow.’

Teena/ sku mooyi/ enzele/ ka sultaani/ chimwaambila/ ngoombewa/ uyu/ inaye/ ni Haafi/ yee peeke/ ma’anaye/ ngoombe/ uyu/ sku yaa ye/ takht̥indoowá/ na ngombe ziinginé/ naazó/ stakufa naaye. ‘Then one day he went to the sultan and said to him: this my cow, its name is Does Not Die Alone; meaning, on the day that this cow is slaughtered, others cow will die with it.’

We/ ni ngoombé. ‘You are a cow (i.e. stupid etc.).’

We/ ni ngoombé/ huno maayi/ maayi/ huzimizoo muló... ‘You are the cow that drinks the water, the water that puts out the fire...’

- Ye/ wanaayo/ ngombee muke.** ‘He had a cow (female bovine).’
rel.
chi-goombe (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.
i-goombe (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
ijint^h u igoombe ‘a stupid person’
mw-aa-n-goombe (w-) n. 1/2 calf
Siimba/ ni siimbawa/ na mwaangoombé/ ni mwaangoombewa. ‘The lion is my lion, and the calf is my calf.’
Ye/ muḅlele mwaangoombe/ mjiile. ‘He [the lion] killed a calf and ate it.’
- i-gombegoombe* n. tortoise
Hinendra kana igombegoombe. ‘He wealks like a tortoise (i.e. slowly).’
ka ṭarṭiibu/ kana igombegoombe ‘slowly like a tortoise’
- i-gome* (ma- form] a sea rock n. 5/6 [Som. *goon* “rocks in the sea” DSI 274, note that Somali only uses plural
Chiineendra/ chiineendra/ shpandra ilu ya igome. ‘He walked and walked and climbed up on a rock [looking for fish to catch].’
Diini/ waliko mkalí/ koowelá/ dirshilopo chisiwá/ fanyize haraka/ panzile igome. ‘When Diini, who was good at swimming, reached the island, he hurried and climbed up on a rock.’
Mphete magomeeni/ sichí. ‘I found it (the shoe) in the rocks; here it is.’
Naankó/ chendra kooko/ mahala/ igome. ‘Again, he went to the same place where the rock was.’
Yingile nṭhini ya magome/ apo/ naayó/ nṭhiiniké/ wamo waant^hu. ‘It [the ikodho bird] entered under the rocks there and under [the rocks] there were people [i.e. the bird’s chicks].’
rel.
n-gome n. 10 rocks in the sea
- goona* n. 9/10 woman’s skirt
gona chigobe ‘a short skirt worn by non-Muslim women’ (cf. **gona zigobe** ‘short skirts’)
gona ndre ‘a long skirt, worn by Muslim women, extending down below the knees’
- i-goondi* (ma-) n. 5/6 [etymology unknown] advice, stern warning (followed by punishment)
(Comment: This word is much used in poetry (**steeenzi**) as a synonym of **wa’aḏi**.)
kubiga magoondi ‘to give a stern warning (followed by punishment)’
- n-goondra* n. 9/10 [Sw. *ng’onda* SSED 337] dried fish
mambaamba/ kana ngoondra ‘as thin as ngoondra’
Wo/ washpeleka afrika ya mashriqi/ ngoondra/ mp^haamp^ha/ nk^havu. ‘They sent to East Africa dried fish, dried shark.’
- ku-goonga* v. [Sw. *gonga* SSED 117] (**gongeele**) knock, tap
Gaari/ imgongeeló/ Omari. ‘A truck hit Omari.’ Cf. without focus: **Gaari/ imgongeele/ Omari.**
Mi/ ṭakhugoonga. ‘I’ll hit you.’ Or: **Mi/ nṭ^hakhugoonga.** (In the future tense, the first person singular subject prefix may null, or it may be a nasal that forms a pre-nasalized consonant with the consonant in **ṭa**, causing aspiration of the **ṭ**.)
Nuuru/ gongele mlaango. ‘Nuuru knocked on the door.’
rel.
ku-goongana v. rec. (**-gongeeene**) strike one another lightly, graze
Gaari/ zigongeeene. ‘The cars grazed one another.’
ku-goongeka v. p/s.
Omari/ ni ghaasi/ hagoongeki. ‘Omari is brave, one cannot hit him (for fear of what he will do in the event one does hit him).’
ku-goongela v. appl.

- kumgongela chuuma** ‘to hit him with a piece of iron’
ku-goongesha v. caus. (**gongesheeze**)
Nuuru/ mgongesheze mwaana/ mlaango. ‘Nuuru had the child knock on the door.’
ku-gongesheka v. caus. p/s.
ku-gongesheleza v. caus. appl. (**gongesheleeze**)
Nuuru/ mgongesheleze Omari/ mwaana/ mlaango. ‘Nuuru had Omari’s child knock on the door.’
ku-gongeshelezanya v. caus. appl. rec. (**-gongesheleezenye**)
Nuuru/ na Omari/ wagongeshelezenye waana/ milaango. ‘Nuuru and Omari caused one another’s children to knock on doors.’
ku-gongoowa v. pass.
Kugongowa na gaari/ ni khatari. ‘To be hit by a truck is dangerous.’
rel. nom.
m-goonga (wa-) n. 1/2 one who knocks
m-goongo (mi-) n. 3/4 the act of knocking
- chi-goongo* (zi-) n. 7/8 [Sw. *kigongo* SSED 117] club, bat with a knob at the end
- l-goongo* (n-) n. 11/10 the hard part of the branch of a certain kind of palm tree used for making brooms (the softer part is used for making mats, baskets, fishing line -- cf. **ilala**)
kuławanganya ngoongo/ na milaala ‘lit. to separate the harder part of the palm tree branch from the softer part -- said of friends who discuss things together in order to clarify them in a crystal way’
- i-goonjo* (ma-) n. 5/6 [cf. Tikuu dialect of Swahili **igonjo** N&H (given as word of unknown origin in Appendix 4 – 100 word list)] knee
kubiga magoonjo ‘to sit on the knees’
Mzeele/ chibiga magoonjo/ chila. ‘The old man sat on his knees crying.’
Ye/ bishile magoonjo/ lizile kama munt^hu filiilá. ‘He sat on his knees crying like a man bereaved.’
Maayi/ yachanza kuyela/ maayi/ yachimkoma magonjooi/ chimaliza mimbaani/ chimaliza hewesiini. ‘Water began to fill up; water reached his knees, then his stomach, then his chest.’
Nandishile igoonjó/ mezaaní. ‘I put (my) knee on the table.’
Wachiineendra/ ka magoonjo/ hattá/ washkoma/ mahala/ ya hayawaani/ waalikó. ‘They went on their knees until they reached the place where the animal was.’
rel.
i-goonjo (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
m-goonjo
kubiga mgoonjo ‘[lit. to hit knees] to wait, sit for a long time’
Mbishile mgoonjó/ buuré. ‘I have waited for a long time uselessly.’
- ku-goontisha*
[pron. **kugont^hisha**]
rel.
ku-gontishika v. caus. p/s. [pron. **kugont^hishika**]
Hagont^hishiki. ‘He cannot be threatened.’
ku-gontishanya v. caus. rec. [pron. **kugont^hishanya**]
ku-gontishiliza v. caus. appl. [pron. **kugont^hishiliza**]
rel. nom.
ma-gontisho n. a threat; [pron. **magont^hisho**]
- gorgora* n. 9/10 [Som. *googgaarad* DSI 273] kind of skirt worn as an undergarment by

women, petticoat

rel.

chi-gorgora (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

i-gorgora (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

ku-gorgorisha
of s.t., haggle

v. [Som. *gorgori* DSI 275] (**gorgorishiize**) v. caus. bargain for lowering of the price

rel. nom.

u-gorgorisho n. haggling

gooro

[Sw. *guru*, SSED 120, cited in the phrase *sukari guru*; Hindi] in the expression:
sukari ya gooro 'brown sugar'

goroobu

n. [Som. *garoob* DSI 259] divorced woman
variant form: **goroowu**

goroodi

n. [Som. *garoodi* "a tract of land where soil is hard and there are grass and trees" DSI 244] muddy red soil, esp. that found after the rains in the canyons running from the hill behind Brava at Ka Seleemo; when it rains the soil becomes swpongy, like porridge, and children used to walk/ play on it; in contrast **matotoope** is for clay soil which remains on top, in contrast to **goroodi** which can be deep down in the earth up to one meter or two and can swallow up people or animals and can also flow and take away people and animals

Goroodi/ humiza waant^hu. 'Mud swallows people up.'

Goroodi/ inakhtukula waant^hu. 'The flowing mud is carrying people away.'

Ichinyaa nvula/ Ka Seleemo/ huwako goroodi/ niingi. 'When it rains, it is very muddy at Ka Seleemo.'

Mbuzi/ kalene gorodiini. 'The goat got stuck in the mud.'

Ngoombe/ goroodi/ immiziizó. 'The cow, mud has swallowed it.'

i-goroodi (mi-)

n. 5/4 a long thin yellow fish that is not eaten, used as a bait fish

gorooma

n. 9 roar

ku-gorooma

v. [Sw. *koroma* SSED 223] (**goromeele**) roar (of a lion etc.)

Nk^hasize siima/ nakugorooma. 'I heard the lion roaring.'

Nk^hasize goroma ya siimbá. 'I heard the roar of a lion.'

i-goroombo

n. [Sw. (Kiamu and Bajuni dialects) *gorombo* "trachee artere"=windpipe Sac. 254] throat (perhaps the most correct term for throat, although we also recorded **chimizo**)
Hamadi/ nayo kansera ya igoroombo. 'Hamadi has cancer of the throat.'
Kuja/ nt^hasaa yo/ kingila mimbaani/ ipite igorombooni. 'Food, before it enters the stomach, passes through the throat.'
Omari/ igoroomboye/ ikuulu. 'Omari is greedy (lit. Omari's throat is big).'

n-goroonzi (ma-)

n. [cf. Sw. *koroma* "to snore" SSED 223 and Som. *khuuri* "to snore: DSI 367] in the phrases:

kugita ngoroonzi or kugita magoroonzi 'to snore'

Gisile ngoroonzi. 'He snores.'

Na chanza kugita magoroonzi. 'And he began to snore.'

kuvuta ngoroonzi or kuvuta magoroonzi 'to snore'

Nakuvuta magoroonzi. 'He is snoring.'

i-goroori

n. [Som. *garoor* "1. full-cram coagulated milk of goat, cow or sheep, 2. coagulated skimmed milk" DSI 260] thick milk, with all the cream removed (in Chimiini it is just the second meaning of the Somali word that is used)

- goryaani** n. intestinal worms
Goryaani/ niingi/ zimlazió. ‘Many worms came out of him (when he defecated).’
- goosho** n. 10 a fruit with thin, but hard skin; inside it is yellow-reddish with many small seeds; it is sometimes mashed up and mixed with water to make juice; it is small and looks like a berry that has been pushed in on both sides; it does not spoil easily and can be kept for a long time
gosho izi ‘these sp. fruit’
mayi ya goosho ‘juice made from the **goosho** fruit’
Nakhsonda goosho. ‘He is sucking out the juice from the **goosho** (spitting out the remainder after the juice has been sucked out).’
- gosra** n. in the expression:
nt^hendre ya gosra ‘a type of date’
- gowoli** n. [Som. *gogol* ‘meeting of relatives or friends to resolve some dispute or discuss some matter’ DSI 271] meeting
khfanya gowoli ‘to have a meeting’
kuweka gowoli ‘to hold a meeting; to hold wake for someone who has died’
Sku mooyi/ karaayle/ waweshele gowoli/ khfikira/ jisaa wo/ kuruuda/ muyiini/ kaawo. ‘One day the crows held a meeting to consider how to return to their town.’
Naani/ ilo gowoliini. ‘Who came to the meeting?’
- Goygaali** n. one of the five clans making up the **Tunni**
- i-goyi (ma-)** n. 5/6 [Som. *gows* ‘molar tooth’ DSI 276] molar tooth
Ali/ igoyi/ imkuushile. ‘Ali’s molar tooth came out.’
Ali/ kuzile igoyi. ‘Ali had a molar tooth extracted.’ (Syn. In this construction, **igoyi** is not a primary object. It cannot control object agreement on the verb: ***Ali/ ikuzile igoyi**. It also cannot be the subject of a corresponding passive sentence: ***Igoyi/ ikuzila na Ali.**)
igoyi ya aqili ‘wisdom tooth’
Mwaana/ igoyi/ inamlaaza. ‘The child’s molar tooth hurts.’ Or: **Igoyi/ inamlaaza mwaana.** It is also possible to postpone **mwaana**, but phrase it separately from the verb, which has the verb then focused and **mwaana** out of focus: [**igoyi/ inamlaaza/ mwaana**].)
Mwaana/ nakulazowa na igoyi. ‘The child is pained by his molar tooth.’
- i-gozi (ma-)** n. 5/6 [Sw. *ngozi* SSED 337] skin, hide, leather
Abunawaasi/ wenopo kuwa ngoombeyé/ malize khtindoowá/ oloshole ka sultaani/ chimloomba/ nampe igozi/ ya ngoombe. ‘Abunawaasi, when he saw that his cow was done being slaughtered, he went to the sultan and begged him to give him the skin of the cow.’
Chimwamura Abunawaasi/ khtala magozi/ yotte/ keendra/ kiya’uza. ‘He ordered Abunawaasi to take all the skins and go and sell them.’
igozi ikavu ‘dry skin’
igozi ya chita kana na ya mp^hula [st.] ‘the skin of [her] head, mouth, and nose’
igozi ya maghadishiiza ‘leather’
kambula (or: **kawula**) **igozi** ‘to make fun of someone or of someone’s family [lit. to strip off the skin]’
Sultaani/ shkhiira/ chimpa Abunawaasi/ igozi. ‘The sultan agreed and gave Abunawaasi the skin.’
Ye/ nambiile/ kuwa inyunyi/ ikulu/ itakhtukulaa ngozi/ ka mlomowe/ itakhpandra naami/ ilu/ ya ijabali. ‘He told me that a big bird would carry the animal skin in his beak and would go up with me’

to the top of the mountain.’

rel.

n-gozi n. 9/10 skin, hide, leather

gramaaṭika

adv. [Ital. *grammatica*] grammatical, correctly, according to the rules

Abdi/ hukoḍa gramaaṭika. ‘Abdi spoke grammatically, correctly.’

grambiyoole

n. professional cook’s apron (in non-professional cooking, aprons were not worn)

gu

n. 9/10 [Som. *gu*] ‘spring-time, season of rains in March, April and May’ DSI 276] the main rainy season in the spring

Mkhodiisho/ guuze ‘Mogadishu’s spring rainy season’

guddi (Ø, m-)

n. [Som. *guddi* DSI 277] committee -- this word entered Chimiini with many other Somali words related to administration, government, offices, etc.; committee member (We recorded this word with the gemination preserved in Chimiini.)

guddi iyi ‘this committee’ (cf. **guddi izi, maguddi aya** ‘these committees’)

Omari/ ni guddi. ‘Omari is a committee member.’

Omari/ ni mooyi/ karka maguddi wa hafiisa. ‘Omari is one [i.e. a member] of the various committees in [that particular governmental unit].’

Omari/ ni naa’ibu/ ya mkulu/ wa guddi/ ya skoolā. ‘Omari is the deputy of the chief of the school committee.’

ku-gudha

v. [Som. *gudh-* “to become devoid of milk” Ab 97, Som. *gur* “to decrease slowly” DSI 281] (**-gudhiile**) become dry, dry up (e.g. of a woman not being able to give milk any longer, or someone running out of ideas, intellectual abilities; also much used in cooking, when you wait for liquid to decrease, for example, in a stew)

Akhilize/ zigudhiile. ‘His brain went dry.’

Maayi/ wowiini/ yagudhiile. ‘The water in the river dried up.’ Or: **Maayi/ yagudhiile/ wowiini.** Or: **Wowiini/ maayi/ yagudhiile.**

Wowi/ igudhiile. ‘The river dried up.’ Or: **Igudhiló/ nii wowi.** ‘What has dried up is the river.’

rel.

ku-gudhisha v. caus.

ku-gudhishika v. caus. p/s.

ku-gudhishiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-gudhishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ku-guḍbata

v. [Som. verbs *gudbi* (trans.) and *gudub* (intr.) DSI 276-7] (**guḍbeete**) cross, ford a river (Phon. The sound *d* in Somali is pronounced as a fricative [ð] when it occurs between two vowels; the stem *gudb-* receives an epenthetic vowel between *db* when a consonant-initial suffix follows, thus leading to the pronunciation of the *d* as a fricative. Chimwiini, in borrowing this word, seems to have utilized the fricative even though in the Chimwiini borrowing the consonant is not between two vowels.)

rel.

ku-ghuḍbatika v. p/s.

ku-guḍbatila v. appl.

ku-guḍbatisha v. caus.

variant form: **kuguḍbisha**

Ali/ mguḍbishize mwaana/ wowi. ‘Ali made the child cross the river.’

ku-guḍbatishana v. caus. rec.

ku-guḍbatishika v. caus. p/s.

ku-guḍbatishiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-guḍbatishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ku-guḍbatoowa v. pass. (**-guḍbeeta**)

ku-guḍbishoowa v. caus. pass.

Mwaana/ guḍbishizaa wowi. ‘The child was made to cross the river.’ (Syn.

In the causative verb construction, when two objects are present, only the causee can be made the subject of the passive version of

the sentence. Thus ***Wowi/ igughbishiza mwaana.** ‘The river was made to be crossed by the children.’ is ungrammatical.)

rel. nom.

u-guḍbato n. 14 the act of crossing a river

m-guḍbisho n. 3 the act of ferrying, causing to cross a river

ma-guḍbisho n. 6 the act of ferrying, causing to cross a river

u-guḍbisho n. 14 the act of ferrying, causing to cross a river

guḍbiya (Ø, ma-)

n. 9/10,6 [Sw. *gudulia* SSED 118] a small water jar used at the table
rel.

chi-guḍbiya (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

i-guḍbiya (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

chi-gugu (zi-)

n. egg(s) of head lice

i-gugu (ma-)

n. 5/6 [unknown etymology] eggshell

m-guuja (wa-n-)

n. 1/2 a person from Zanzibar

ku-gulguula

v. [Som. *guul* “to threaten” DSI 283] (**gulguliile**) threaten

Gulguliile kendra peeke. ‘He threatened to go alone.’ Or: **Gulguliile kendra yee/ peeke.**

Gulguliile kulata kaazi. ‘He threatened to quit work.’

rel.

ku-gulguulana v. rec. (-**gulguleene**) threaten one another

ku-gulguu lila v. appl. (**gulguliile**)

gulguuli

n. 9/10 threat

guule

n. [said to be of Tunni origin, but not found in Tosco] thunder

gule anoole [cf. Som. *caano* "milk" DSI 76] ‘thunder [lit. the thunder that brings milk, because pastures will renew their greenery with rains and cows will have more milk]’

kubiga guule ‘to thunder’

Zinakubiga guule. ‘It is thundering.’ Or: **Inakubiga guule.**

guuli

n. [Som. *guul* DSI 283] victory

khpata guuli ‘to be victorious’

chi-gulu (zi-)

n., adj. 7/8 [Sw. *kiguu* SSED 278] lame; s.o. lame, with a deformed leg (This is one of many examples where Chimiini has retained the sound *l* while Swahili has deleted it in the course of its historical development.)

chigulu uje ‘that lame, one-legged person’

Jahaziini/ pakiile/ na sanduukhú/ ndraaniye/ yawalimo mikono/ na

miilú/ yaa miti/ hinendrelowa na want^hu zigulú. ‘On the dhow,

he loaded [also] a box, inside of which there were wooden hands and legs which are used by lame people. ‘

kendra chigulu ‘to limp’

Hamadi/ nt^hanakiineedra/ ba/ kana munt^hu nakendro chigulú.

‘Hamadi is not walking (well, properly), he is like a man who is limping.’

Omari/ kuulu/ inamlaaza/ nakendra chigulu. ‘Omari’s leg is

paining him, he is limping.’

mp^haka chigulu ‘a lame cat’

munt^hu chigulu ‘a lame person’; **want^hu zigulu** ‘lame people’

Muunt^hu/ uyu/ waliko chigulu. ‘This man was without one leg.’

n-gulu

n. 9/10 [Sw. *nguru* SSED 337] large kingfish, one of the most common fish eaten in Brava

ngulu ya ishawa ‘a type of fish, but no further details known’

ngulu ya bahariini ‘a type of fish, but no further details known’

- ku-gulumisha* v. [unknown etymology] (**gulumishiize**) throw
rel.
ku-gulumishiliza v. appl. (**gulumishiliize**)
ku-gulumishilizoowa v. appl. pass. (**gulumishiliiza**)
Mwaana/ gulumishiliza majiwe. ‘The child had stones thrown at him.’
ku-gulumishoowa v. caus. pass. (**gulumishiiza**) be thrown
Majiwe/ yagulumishiiza. ‘Stones were thrown.’
- i-guma (ma-)* n. 5/6 [cf. Som. *qooman* “to receive a wound” DSI 500] bump or lump resulting from a blow; a club with a knob at the end
kubiga iguma ‘to inflict a lump on someone’
rel.
chi-guma (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.
i-guma (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
- guumeesi* n. owl
- i-gumudi (ma-)* n. 5/6 a small pouch or bag or piece of cloth wrapped around money – may refer both to the container or to what is contained inside
igumudi ya peesa ‘a bag of money’
- ma-guungulu* n. usu. [cl.6] sea urchins
- chi-guni (zi-)* n. 7/8 a kind of thick white cloth worn like a **chiguwo** (also used to carry things)
Basi/ ntʰililani ntʰeendre/ ntʰililaani/ ka chiguni. ‘In that case, put dates for me, that’s what you should do, in a bag.’
Leete/ khutilile chiguniini/ kaako. ‘[Lit.] bring it [i.e. give it to me] so that I may put it into your (piece of) cloth.’
rel.
i-guni (mi-) n. aug.
Omari/ leselee mazu/ ka iguni. ‘Omari brought bananas with a big piece of cloth.’ (Phon. The simple yes-no question version of this sentence involves just Q-raising, no accent shift: **Omari/ leselee mazu/ ka iguni?** On the other hand, the exclamatory yes-no question shifts the accent in the non-subject phrases: **Omari/ leselee mazú/ ka igunî!?**)
- ku-guunt^hata* v. [Som. *gunto* DSI 280, which has both the meanings of the Chimiini word] (**gunt^heete**) tighten a cloth that one is wearing, getting ready for s.t. undesirable (a fight, a mishap) (It is interesting that the Somali *nt* is treated here as a prenasalized stop and consequently assigned aspiration.)
- m-gunya (wa-)* n. 1/2 [Sw. *mgunya (wa-)* SSED 278] a native of the islands north of Lamu; also referred to as **bajuuni** and in the plural **wabajuuni**
rel.
chi-gunya n. 7 the language of the **Bajuuni**, also referred to as **chibajuuni**
- ku-guura* v. [Som. *guur-* “to migrate” Ab 99] (**guriile**) (i) move, shift, move from place to place, move from a house; (ii) die
(i) **Baaba/ mukhtạa ye/ mweno mwaaná/ wele mkulú/ shfikira/ chihada/ ni afðali/ isa/ teena/ mwaana/ naguure/ ka maduriini/ na’endre/ nakale muyiini/ napate kubaratana na waant^hu..** ‘When the father saw that the boy had grown up, he thought, saying, it is better now than for the boy to move away from the bush and go and live in town so that he get acquainted with people.’
Baazi/ nakugura hafisaa mp^hiya. ‘Baazi is moving into a new office.’ (Cf. **Mi/ nnakugura hafisaa mp^hiyá.** ‘I am moving into a new office.’)
Baazi/ nakugura hafisa yaawo/ mp^hiya. ‘Baazi is moving into their new

office.’ (Cf. **Mi/ nnakugura hafisa yiitú/ mp^hiyá.** ‘I am moving into our new office.’)

Gurile Columbús? ‘Did you move to Columbus?’ (A possible answer: **Ee/ ngurile Columbús/ makaa yana.** ‘Yes, I moved to Columbus last year.’)

Hasani/ nakugura nuumbaye. ‘Hasani is moving from his house.’ (Cf. **Hasani/ nakugura nuumbaye?** ‘Is Hasani moving from his house?’ **Hasani/ nakugura nuumbayê!?** ‘Is Hasani really moving from his house!?’)

Hasani/ nakuguura/ nuumbaye. ‘Hasani is *moving* from his house.’ (Cf. **Hasani/ nakuguura/ nuumbayé?** ‘Is Hasani *moving* from his house?’ Although later in our research, GM tended to not accept exclamatory questions with a focused verb, he did offer **Hasani/ nakuguurá/ nuumbayé!?** ‘Is Hasani really moving from his house!?’ This pronunciation accords with the pronunciations offered by MI, who regularly formed exclamatory questions from sentences with a focused verb.)

Ka khisani/ chiza kuguurá/ Mambasa. ‘Why didn’t you move to Mombasa.’

kugura oko ‘to move there’

kulla mukhtaa ye/ takuwo nakuguurá ‘whenever he will be moving about’

mahaḷa yaa mi/ nguriiló ‘the place where I moved to’ or **mahaḷaa mi/ nguriiló** (The second pronunciation probably should be understood as involving the contraction of *a yaa* to *aa*.)

Nakhsuulá/ we/ kump^ha rukhsa/ mi/ kugura kaaka. ‘I want you to give me permission to move to my own place.’

Nakinaambilá/ haba mooyi/ guraani/ tu. ‘I am just telling you (pl.) to move away a little.’

Ngurile ka Mwiini. ‘I moved from Brava.’

Ngurile Mwiini. ‘I moved to Brava.’

Omari/ nakugura ka Nuuru. ‘Omari moved towards Nuuru.’ (Cf. **Omari/ nakuguura/ ka Nuuru.** ‘Omari moved away from Nuuru.’) is this construction ambiguous?

Uje sultaani/ ḍaalimu/ shpata khabari/ ya kuwa mgarwa/ guriile/ oloshela nt^{hi} ziingine/ na mloweele/ mwanaamke/ wa sultaani/ wa nt^{hi} izo. ‘That unjust sultan got the news that the fisherman had moved and gone to other lands and had married the daughter of the sultan of those lands.’

Zote/ hugura kharibu yaa wowi/ kuwa kharibu ya maayi. ‘All [the animals] move near the river to be close to water.’

(ii) **Chigura ka moojé.** ‘He died [lit. moved to his lord].’

mooja chireheme sku ya kuguura [st.] ‘O God, have mercy on us on the day of our death’

Mukeewe/ chimwaambila/ ya kuwa eelo/ gurile ka moojé/ leelo. ‘His wife told him that the gazelle died [lit. moved to his maker] today.’

Saalimu/ guriile/ duniyaani. ‘Saalimu departed from the world – i.e. he died.’

rel.

ku-guraguura v. freq.

Chiguraguura/ ka magoonjo/ hattá/ qaribu yaa muti. ‘He crawled on his knees close to the tree.’

ku-guurika v. p/s.

ku-guurila v. appl.

ku-guroowa v. pass. (**guriila**)

ku-guursha v. caus. take someone around in a procession, accompanied by drums, chants, etc., esp. with reference to escorting the groom in a wedding from his home, where the marriage ceremony takes place, to the bride’s home; move something; cause someone to move away

kuguursha mataanga niya leete awali [st.] ‘(before) taking the sand (from its place to use it to clean with) state the intention first’

mara mbili kuguursha mataanga waajibu [st.] ‘twice to take sand from its place is required’

ku-guurshika v. caus. p/s.

ku-gurshiliza v. caus. appl.

- ku-gurshilizanya* v. caus. appl. rec.
ku-gurshoowa v. caus. pass. (**gurshiiza**)
Omari/ nakugurshowa kaake/ numbaani. ‘Omari is being moved to his house.’
Omari/ nakugurshoowa/ leelo. ‘Omari is being moved from his home to his bride’s home today.’
- chi-gure* [Som. *gurey* "left handed" DSI 281] left-handed; left side
ka chigure ‘from/on the left-hand side’
ka kuḅli/ na ka chiguré ‘on the right and the left-hand side’
- gureele*
 review the 1 [Som. *gurey* "left handed" DSI 281] left-handed. (Somali *gurey*, DSI p. 281)
- ku-guursata* v. [Som. *guuri* “to copy, transcribe” DSI 283] (**gurseeṭe**) copy
Mi/ ngurseeṭé. ‘I copied it.’
Ni/ ngurseeṭé. ‘You (pl.) copied it.’ (Phon. Note that in the first person case above, the **ng** is a prenasalized stop, while in the second person plural case **ng** represents a sequence of a nasal **n** plus **g**)
- rel.
ku-gursatila v. appl.
 rel. nom.
m-guursata (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who copies
m-guursato (*mi-*) n. 3/4 the act of copying
ma-guursato n.6 the act of copying
u-guursato n. 14 the act of copying
- gurtumu* (Ø,*ma-*) n. 9/10,6 [Sw.*gurudumu* SSED 120; Pers.] wheel
gurtumo ya charkhaani ‘the wheel part of a sewing machine’
gurtumo ya gaari ‘a car wheel’
- rel.
chi-gurtumu (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim.
i-gurtumu (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.
- ku-guruma* v. [Sw. *nguruma* SSED 337] (**gurumiile**) roar (of a lion), peal (of thunder)
Nimkasize siimbá/ nakuguruma ka apo. ‘I heard a lion roaring in that area.’
- rel.
n-gurumo n. roar of a lion, peal of thunder
- gurupo* n. [Eng. *group*] group
gurupo ya waant^hu ‘a group of people’
- rel.
gurupo gurupo adv. in groups
Waant^hu/ wasimeme gurupo gurupo. ‘People stood in groups.’
- n-guruuwe* n. [Sw. *nguruwe* SSED 338] wild pig
- n-guva* n. 9/10 [Sw. *nguva* SSED 338] dugong (caught with a net and eaten in Brava, though rare); (related to mermaid stories; also called ‘pig fish’) check lengthing in front of *nguva*
nguva iyi ‘this dugong’ (cf. **nguva izi** ‘these dugongs’)
Leelo/ ipetaa nguva. ‘Today dugong has been caught.’
Nama yaa nguva/ hujoowa. ‘The meat of dugong is eaten.’
- rel.
i-guva (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug. a large dugong
- n-guvu* n. 9/10 [Sw. *nguvu* SSED 338] strength, power
Anzizopoo kujá/ muke/ ka nguvuze/ zotte/ chimbiga / lpaangale/ chimtindaa chitta/ shtaala/ chimmolaa mp^hisi/ ndrevu/ izo.

‘When it [the hyena] began to eat, the woman with all her strength hit it with her sword and cut off its head and took it and shaved off the hyena’s beard [lit. beards – i.e. the hairs constituting the beard].’

kaa nguvu ‘by force’

Nshishile kaa nguvu/ kulala naami. ‘He grabbed me by force (in order to sleep with me.’

khfanyaa nguvu ‘to insist’

khpaaa nguvu ‘to strengthen’

khtilaa nguvu ‘to strengthen, apply force, strength (e.g. in pushing a car)’

Fuunzi/ tilee nguvu. ‘The craftsman applied force.’

khtumilaa nguvu ‘to use force’

Khutanazuliliile/ kula yaa ye/ peeto/ ka nguvuzé/ na aqilizé. ‘He gave up to you everything that he got from his power and his wits.’

Mi/ nk^hawa mwenyee nguvú/ jisaa ni/ nakuhadó/ na nt^hakhadira

khfanya yaa mi/ nakhsuuló/ mazá/ mi/ sula kumlata/ mp^haká/

kunijá. ‘If I had the power that you say and I were able to do whatever I want, would I let the cat eat me?’ **check into accent**

Mwenyee nguvu/ mpise. ‘Let a strong man pass.’ (A proverb which says that one cannot do anything about a person who is stronger than one, so just leave him go away.)

Mwenyee nguvu/ ndila/ ndaake. ‘He who has power, the road is his.’ (A proverb. This might be said, for example, when you see a large truck coming down the road and you are driving a small car, so you make sure to get out of the way and comment with this proverb.)

Nazoo nguvu/ kanaa ndovu. ‘He has strength like an elephant, he is as strong as an elephant.’

Nazoo nguvu/ zaydi yaa mi. ‘He is stronger than me.’

Nt^hayná/ haaja/ we/ khshikowa shšana/ kalaant^ha/ pumula/ na ruuda/ nguvuzo. ‘There is no need for you to be angry; sit, rest, regain your strength.’

Siná/ nguvu za kandikilaa khati. ‘I do not have the strength to write a letter.’

Sinaa nguvu/ zaa mi/ khkooðela. ‘I haven’t the strength to speak with.’

(However, one does not say *Nk^hoðelelee nguvú. ‘I spoke with strength.’)

want^hu wenyee nguvu ‘people of power’

Wawili waseeló/ wachoweja ka nguvu zaawo/ zotte. ‘The two who remained swam with all their strength.’

n-guwo

n. 9/10 [Sw. *nguo* SED 337] clothes (Phon.Observe that in Sw. orthography, the intervocalic glide that separates *u* and *o* is not written. We consider the glide *w* to be an integral part of the word’s pronunciation. There is clear evidence that Chimiini does not allow successive vowel. When such sequences arise for morphological reasons, either the two vowels contract into a single (long) vowel, or a glottal stop is inserted between the two vowels. Further evidence that the glide is an integral part of the word’s structure comes from the secret language Chijini, where **nguwu** is pronounced [wong^u]. We see here that the *w* is treated as a syllable onset and moved to word-initial position. If the *w* were merely present in order to separate two vowels, then there would be no need to invoke it when the final vowel is moved to initial position. A pronunciation like *[ong^u] would be expected, assuming that the game reflects the phonemic structure.)

khtindaa nguwu ‘to cut cloth’

khtindilaa nguwu ‘to cut cloth for; [idiomatically, a request to purchase cloth]’

Nt^hindilaa nguwu/ yardi nt^haano. ‘Cut for me five yards of cloth [i.e. let me have five yards of cloth, whether it has already been cut is not material].’

kulañilaa nguwu ‘to throw cloth – i.e. over-react, be extremely committed to one’s position on some matter’

Abú/ nakulatilaa nguwo/ kambilowa jawabu iyo. ‘Abu is over-reacting to being told about that matter/ those affairs, words, etc.’

Mi/ nt^hunzile iboholi/ nzishile nguwozé. ‘I dug a hole and buried her clothes.’

Na nguwoze/ wanataale/ wo. ‘And their clothes (in the story, referring to two girls bathing), let them (referring to some naughty boys) take (the clothes).’

nguwoo nk^havu ‘dry clothes’

nguwo ya khfinika ‘a cloth for covering s.t.’

nguwo ya kuvaala ‘a cloth to wear’

nguwo ya meeza ‘table cloth’

nguwo zaa chili ‘bedsheets, bedcovers’

nguwo za kaazi ‘work clothes’

nguwo za khfuma ‘locally woven cloth’

nguwo za kulaalila ‘pyjamas [lit. clothes of sleeping in]’

nguwo za malaalo ‘bedsheets, bedcovers’

nguwoya ‘my piece of clothing’ (cf. **nguwoza** ‘my clothes’)

Wamalizopo koowá/ wavete nguwo zaawo/ wa’ulushile. ‘When they finished bathing, they put on their clothes and flew away.’

Waana/ wavete nguwo suura. ‘The children wore nice clothes.’

rel.

chi-guwo (zi-) n.7/8 a piece of cloth (e.g. one wrapped around the waist by men or worn as a veil by women)

chiguwo cha meeza ‘a table cloth’

chiguwo cha mkono ‘napkin’

chiguwo cha nt^hiini ‘a cloth garment worn by men around the waist [lit. cloth of under] =ma’wizi’

Hamadi/ ile/ vete chiguwo cha nt^hiini/ tu. ‘Hamadi came (here), he just wore a cloth covering his lower body.’

Mi/ siná/ chiguwo cha nt^hiini/ cha kulaalila. ‘I do not have a lower body garment for sleeping in.’

Muunt^hu/ shkalant^ha numbaani/ hukalant^ha ka chiguwo cha nt^hiini/ tu. ‘A man sitting at home (resting) sits (wearing) just a lower body covering.’

Mwanaamke/ uyu/ wanaacho/ chiguwo/ peelá/ na waawayé. ‘This girl had a piece of cloth that she had been given by her father.’

Mwanaamke/ uyu/ shtaala/ chiguwo icho/ chimpa Huseeni. ‘This girl took that piece of cloth and gave it to Huseeni.’

Ye/ chiwa/ nt^haná/ nguwo/ sho kuwa chiguwo/ chimooyi/ chaa ye/ veto mimbaaní. ‘He became that he had no clothes except one cloth that he wore wrapped around his stomach.’

ziguwo za Banaadiri ‘pieces of cloth (not sewn clothes), woven on the traditional Benadir looms’

n-guzo

n. 9/10 [Sw. **nguzo** SSED 338] pillar, post (e.g. in the middle of a native hut, supporting the roof)

chisuula kiiwa nguzo za imaani [st.] ‘if you want to know the pillars of faith’

Isimishila pashpoo nguzo. ‘It is raised without a pillar.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **iwingu** ‘cloud’.)

nguzo za islaamu/ nt^haano ‘the five pillars of Islam’

ni nt^haano nguzo ziiitu za islaamu/ izo ni waajibu kiwoowa kaamu [st.] ‘the (our) pillars of Islam are five and it is incumbent on all to know these by heart’

rel.

chi-guzo (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

ha

interj. exclamation of pain

haa

interj. suggests some disapproval or negative attitude on the speaker's part.

Haa/ hadiilení. 'What! What did you say?' Cf. **Hadiilení.** 'What did you say?'

Haa/ kana Omari/ chiyá. 'What! If Omari comes!'

Haa/ Omari/ hadiilení. 'What! what did Omari say?' Cf. **Omari/ hadiileni.** 'What did Omari say?'

ha(a)

-pref. negative habitual

Chikhuṭukulapó/ hakhuruudi. 'When it takes you, it does not bring you back.' (A riddle, the answer to which is **qabri** 'grave'.)

Chisimacha/ hashṭiindiki/ maayi. 'My well never stops (yielding) water. (A riddle, the answer to which is **kana** 'mouth'.)

Haalawi. 'She does not go out.'

Maskiini/ haaṭali. 'A poor man does not choose.' (A proverb.)

haba

n. 9/10 [Ar. *ḥabba* "granule" W 152] a grain of s.t.

chi-haba (zi-)

adj. [Sw. *haba* SSED 121; cf. Ar. *ḥabba* "granule" W 152] small, little, young; [pron.

chihaba or chihabba]

Apo/ zamaani/ waliko suṭaani/ mooyi/ ye/ zazile waana/ sabba/ sitta/ wanawaḅli/ mooyi/ chihaba chaawo/ waliko mwanaamke.

'Once upon a time there was a sultan; he had seven children, six were boys, one, the youngest of all, was a girl.'

chihabacha 'one [cl.7] who is younger than me'; **chibachacho** 'one [cl.7] who is younger than you'; **chihabache** 'one [cl.7] who is younger than him/her'; **zihabaza** 'ones [cl.8] who are younger than me'

Ikooti/ imbelele chihaba. 'The coat became short, small for me.'

Ka khisa/ we/ ni chihabbá/ hukhaadiri/ kuwa mzeele/ waa mi/ nsifiliilá/ waa mi/ nambila mmeeré. 'Because you are younger, you cannot be that old woman who was described to me [lit. I was described to] and who I was told to look for.'

Kilamo/ nṭanakhtaambula/ ujee mbuzi/ iyo/ nini/ mkulu/ na chihabá. 'Everyone fails to recognize that goat, that one, which is big and (which is) small.'

Mooyi/ karka waanawe/ chiviloowa/ Yuusufu/ na chihabaché/ chivilowa Binyaamiini. 'One of his children was called Joseph and his younger sibling was called Benjamin.'

Muke/ nṭaná/ chihaba. 'A woman does not have/ there is no (too) young.'

(A proverb that conveys the idea that once a woman reaches puberty and can bear children, age is not important.) Also: **Muke/ nṭaku/ chihaba.**

Mwaanawa/ ni chihaba/ nṭ^ho. 'My child is very small.'

Mwaanawo/ ni chihaba. 'Your child is small.'

Mwiini/ ni muuyi/ chihaba. 'Brava is a small town.' Or: **Ni muyi chihaba/**

Mwiini. 'It is a small town, Brava.'

numba chihaba 'small house'

Omo/ numbaani/ walimoo muke/ mooyi/ waliko chihabbá. 'In that house there was a woman who was younger (e.g. than the women encountered in the story).'

We/ takuwona mbadiikhi/ unayo badiikhi/ saba/ nḳ^hulu/ na niingí/ zihabá. 'You will see a melon plant that has seven big and many small ones.' **review accent**

rel.

haba adj. a little, a few

Habba/ nhadile habbá/ ka sababu habba/ tu/ wanayo ushujaa'á/ khambila jilá. 'Few, I said few because it is just a few who have the courage to tell you the truth.'

few (lit. are a few people).'

Hulimo miyuundrá/ ni waanṭu/ haba. '(The ones) who are farmers are

Kila muunṭ^hu/ yaake/ imshiishile/ haba/ na niingí. 'Everyone is caught by his own concerns (issues, affairs), few or many.' (A proverb.)

Mukhtaa mi/ anzizo khfanya kazi habá/ na sa'a nt^haanó/ kulla

muunt^hi... 'When I began to do (only) a little work and (only) five hours each day...'

Mmera niingi/ hukosa habba. 'The seeker of much misses (even) a little.'
(A proverb that says: be satisfied with the little that you have.)

Sho kuwanayo miingi/ nayo haba. 'One who does not have many [implied: worries] has [at least] a few.' (A proverb that essentially conveys the idea: who has no problems?)

Yaa ye/ ndreteleeló/ siwo/ habba. 'What he brought to me is not a little.'

haba mooyi adv. a little, a little ways; adj. few, a little number

variant form: **habamó**

ba'ada ya dakhiikha/ habbamó 'after a few minutes'

Ba'ada ya wakhtí/ habbamó/ karka weenzawe/ wawili/ chiloota. 'After a little time, one of his two friends had a dream.'

Haba mooyi/ ghaðabishile. 'He was a little angry.'

munu habamó 'a little salt'

wa'inenzelopó/ haba mooyi 'when they had walked a little ways'

Wachiwafiqana kumpelekela mamaye Hasiibu/ peesa/ haba mooyi.

'They agreed to send Hasiibu's mother some money.'

Ye/ nt^hakhfikirila ruuhuye/ hattá/ habamó. 'He did not think of himself, not a bit.'

Habba=y-e [lit.] its little -- meaning : at the very least'

Gari iyi/ habbaye/ itakhkoma dolari alfu. 'This car will cost (lit. reach) at least one thousand dollars.'

-habaahaba adj. small

Nnakuwona nuumbá/ niingi/ zihabaahaba. 'I see many small houses.'

habaahaba adv. little by little, in small quantities

Dawa iyi/ mpe habaahaba. 'This medicine, administer it to him in small doses (lit. little by little).'

ki-haba n. small size

Hamadi/ shaati/ kihabache/ imambeete/ dhab! 'The shirt, its smallness, sticks to Hamadi **dhab!** (i.e. the shirt is too small for Hamadi's size, it fits him tightly).'

ma-haba

n. 6 [Ar. *mahabba* W 152] love, affection; [pron. **mahaba** or **mahabba**] (Phon. This item was sometimes recorded with gemination, but the precise status of gemination in the language is not easy to determine: is it entirely stylistic? is it a combination of both stylistics and the lexicon, i.e. are some words more prone to gemination than others? what is the relevance of gemination in the source language, e.g. is it these words that are most likely to exhibit stylistic gemination?)

kuvuunda mahabayo [song] 'to break your love'

Mi/ nsomeelopó/ sifa za mtume uyu/ yaningile mahabba/ ya mtume uyu.

'When I read the praises of this prophet, love entered me for this prophet.' (Observe that in this =*po* relative clause, the Accentual

Law of Focus holds, unlike ordinary relative clauses. Specifically, since focus is on the verb **nsomeelopó** and not on the entire verb phrase, the final accent does not extend past the verb to the complement.)

muḷo wa mahabayo unakump^hiisha [song] 'the fire of [my] loving you is burning me'

Sinnayo/ shakka/ ya kuwa ikhupeetó/ ni amri/ ya mahabba. 'I have no doubt that what befell you was a matter of love.'

Wa'ishiize/ pamooyi/ ka mapeendo/ na mahabbá. 'They lived together in love and affection.'

habaasa

153] prison

n. 9/10 [Ar. verb *habasa* "to detain, imprison" and noun *habs* "arrest, jailing" W

Haaji/ mukhtaa ye/ tomela ka habasaani/ chiwona ya kuwa ni afðali/ ye/ ki'irudila kaawo. 'When Haaji was released from prison, he saw that it was better for him to return to his parents' home.'

Hamadi/ kabola gaari/ sula khtilowa habaasa. 'If Hamadi had stolen the car, he would have been put in jail.' Also: **Hamadi/ kaboolá/ gaari/ sula khtilowa habaasa.** (In this second example, where there is focus on the *ka*-verb, notice that it is the normal case for the final accent of the verb not

to be realized on the complement. It should also be observed that in our recording of this example, there was a very noticeable “continuation rise” on the last syllable of **gaari**.)

Hokomejelela habaasa/ miyezi mitatu. ‘He was sentenced to three months in prison.’

Karka habaasa/ Yuusufu/ chibaraṭana na want^hu wawili. ‘While in prison, Yuusufu became acquainted with two people.’

miyaaka miingi tiila habasaani [st.] ‘he was imprisoned for many years’

Ye/ iwiile/ kuwa Hasani/ tiila habaasa. ‘She knew that Hasani had been put in prison.’

Yuusufu/ shtiḷowa habasaani. ‘Joseph was put in prison.’

habashi (*ma-*)

n. [Sw. *habeshi* SSED 122; cf. Ar. *al-ḥabaš* "Ethiopia" W 154] an Ethiopian (but also: **amhaara**, pl. **ma'amhaara**)

rel.

chi-habashi (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim.

i-habashi (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.

habaṭi sooda

n. [Ar. *ḥabba al-ṣaūda* ' "black seed" W 152] This is a plant, also known as **ilalo ilusi**, is a medicinal remedy. The scientific name of the plant is *Nigella sativa*. It is differently translated as black cumin, black sesame seed, and black caraway. This is an extremely popular remedy in the whole Arab world, because of a saying of the Prophet, according to whom “It cures all illnesses, except death”. It is also a general restorative. The crushed and powdered seeds are to be taken daily, either neat or mixed with honey (one small spoonful every morning). The oil of **habaṭi sooda** is also sold commercially.

habeeniso

n. [Som. *habeeno* "night blindness" DSI 288, from *habeen* "night"] *Somalism* night blindness; [pron. **habeeniso**] (Comment: As is often the case in bilingual situations, there may be differences in judgment as to whether a word has been truly borrowed from one language to another. Thus one consultant offered both **amaamiso** and **habeeniso** as Chimiini words for night blindness, but another consultant considered the latter to be purely Somali. Given the circumstances under which the **want^hu wa miini** live today and the circumstances under which our research has been conducted since the 1970's, we have included all words that our consultants used in speaking Chimiini. If another consultant considered the word to be Swahili or Somali or Arabic, for instance, then we have added the labels *Swahilism* or *Somalism* or *Arabicism*. This practice is simply designed to distinguish between words that are perhaps more fully accepted as Chimiini and those that perhaps may retain a more marginal status. However, it must be remembered that there were dialectal differences in Chimiini even back in the days when the speakers were primarily located in Brava, and thus some differences in judgment may go back to dialectal differences rather than individual differences.)

habeesa

n. 9/10 [?Som. *xab* "water-jar" DSI 619] wooden milking vessel (which is also used to transport milk to market); [pron. **habeesa** or **haweesa**]

Haliima/ nakoteza hawesa ya iziwa. ‘Haliima is fumigating/ smoking the wooden milk container.’

Haliima/ tukile hawesa ya iziwa. ‘Haliima carried a wooden milk container.’

rel.

chi-habeesa (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim. [pron. **chihabeesa** or **chihaweesa**]

ku-habisa

v. [Ar. *ḥabasa* W 153] (**habisiile**) imprison someone

hable (*ma-*)

n. [Som. *hablo* "girls" (pl. only) DSI 288] young unmarried female, maiden; [pron. **hable**]

Haliima/ ni hable. ‘Haliima is an unmarried girl (i.e. she has never has been

married, a virgin).’

Mwanaamke/ hab̥le/ loweḷa naaye. ‘The maiden girl was married by him.’

Omari/ nakhsuḷa kumnola hab̥le. ‘Omari wants to marry a maiden girl.’

Ye/ mlowele mwanaamke/ hab̥le. ‘He married the maiden girl.’

rel.

chi-hab̥le (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

i-hab̥le (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

hab̥ti

n. 10 [pron. **hab̥ti** or **hap̥ti**]

khshika hap̥ti ‘to mind one’s own affairs, go about one’s business’

Hamadi/ shishile hab̥tize. ‘Hamadi followed his affairs (wasn’t concerned with what others said, etc.)’

Mwaana/ shkhira chimḷataa nyunyi/ khshika hap̥tize. ‘The boy agreed to let the bird go on his way.’

Oloka/ shika hap̥tizo. ‘Go and mind your own business!’

ku’ishikila hap̥ti ‘to take oneself on one’s business’

Ali/ chilawa/ ka apo/ chi’ishikila hap̥tize. ‘Ali left from there and took himself on his business.’

Shika zaako/ liwale/ Omari/ hab̥tize. ‘Follow your affairs, forget Omari’s stuff (what he said, did, etc.)’

chi-haabu (zi-)

n. inflammable twig used as fuel (recorded in **steenzi** only in the plural)

ku-hada

v. [Som. *hadal* "to speak, talk" DSI 289] (**hadiile**) say

Ali/ hadiile/ kuwaa ye/ mpeenzele/ nt^ho/ Safiya. ‘Ali said that he loved Safiya very much.’

Hadiileni/ sulṭaani. ‘What did the sultan say?’

hadiilo mtume Mustafa Adnaani [st.] ‘the one who said [this] is the prophet Mustafa Adnaani’

Hasani/ hadile kuwa Tuuma/ pishilee zijo/ pishiló. ‘Hasani said that Tuuma cooked **zijo**, that’s what she did.’ Or: **Hasani/ hadile kuwa Tuuma/ pishilee zijo/ hadiiló.** ‘Hasani said that Tuuma cooked **zijo**, that’s what he said.’

Huhadaayi/ we/ jis’iyo. ‘How can you say that?’

Na ishtuluka/ jisa/ Yuusufu/ hadiiló. ‘And then it happened just as Joseph said (it would).’

Naa/ hadiiló/ Omari/ ilé (or: **ile**). ‘Who said Omari came?’

Nhadiilé/ Nuuru/ naaje. ‘I said Nuuru should eat.’ (The first person subject marker is null in this example in the speech of GM.)

Nhadile Nuuru/ naajé. ‘I said Nuuru should eat.’ Cf. with focus on the subject of the complement clause: **Nhadile Nuuru/ naaje.** ‘I said Nuuru should eat.’

Nuuru/ hadile (kuwa) Ali/ na’oloke. ‘Nuuru said (that) Ali could go.’

Nuuru/ hadile (kuwa) Ali/ naaye. ‘Nuuru said (that) Ali could come.’

Nuuru/ hadile (kuwa) Ali/ ni laazima/ kooloka (or **na’oloke**). ‘Nuuru said that Ali should/must go (the infinitive having the weaker and the subjunctive the stronger interpretation).’

Nuuru/ hadile (kuwa) Ali/ ni laazima/ kuuya (or **naaye**). ‘Nuuru said that Ali should/ must come.’

Omari/ hadiile/ Baazi/ uzile gaari. ‘Omari said Baazi bought a car.’ (cf. the questions: **Omari/ hadile naani/ uzilo gaari.** ‘Omari said who bought a car?’ Or: **Omari/ naani/ hadiiló/ uzile gaari.** ‘Omari who said bought a car?’ Or: **Omari/ gaari/ hadile naani/ uziló.** ‘Omari, a car, said who bought?’ Or: **Naani/ uzilo gaari/ Omari/ hadiiló.** ‘Who bought a car, Omari said?’ Or: **Naani/ gaari/ uziló/ Omari/ hadiiló.** ‘Who a car bought, Omari said?’

Omari/ hadiile/ (kuwa) Nuuru/ ile. ‘Omari said that Nuuru came.’ (Cf. the questions: **Omari/ hadile naani/ iló.** ‘Omari said who came?’ Or: **Naani/ iló/ Omari/ hadiiló.** ‘Who came, Omari said?’ Or: **Naani/ Omari/ hadilo ilé.** ‘Who did Omari say came?’

Sihadé/ kuwaa mi/ sikhaambila. ‘Don’t say that I did not tell you.’ (MI regularly elided the prefix *ku* in front of a second person singular object prefix *kh(u)*-. Perhaps there are speakers who do not necessarily apply this rule, as one consultant suggested that **skhukhaambila** should be used.)

Siná/ yaa mi/ kuhada. ‘I do not have anything to say.’
Takhadiraayi/ kuhada. ‘How can he say (what the difference is between the two poles that look exactly alike).?’

Waant^hu/ wahadiile/ rashaa nyoki/ ja uki. ‘People have said: go with bees and you will eat honey.’

We/ hadile kuwa ivundishilení. ‘You said that what broke?’ Or: **We/ hadiilení/ ivundishile.** ‘What did you say broke?’

We/ hadiilení. ‘What did you say?’

rel.

ku-hadika v. p/s.

ku-hadila v. appl.

ku-hadisha v. caus. (**hadishiize**) make s.o. say s.t.

ku-hadishana v. caus. rec.

ku-hadishika v. caus. p/s.

ku-hadishiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-hadishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ku-hadoowa v. pass. (**i-hadiila**)

huhadoowa/ ya kuwa... ‘it is said that...’

Huhadoowa/ lano ilo/ nda bātaata. ‘It is called [lit. said] the tale of potatoes.’ **review**

Ihadiila (ya) kuwa Niksoni/ takendra aafrika. ‘It was said that Nixon will go to Africa.’

Yo/ inakuhadoowani. ‘What is being said?’

rel. nom.

m-hada (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who says

ukopi fir’ooni yaawo/ mhada ndimi mooja yaawo [st.] ‘where is their pharaoh, who used to say: I am their god’

hadafu

n. [Ar. *hadaf* W 1022] goal, aim

Chiint^hu/ muunt^hu/ hufanya ka hadafu. ‘A man does something for a goal/ a reason.’

Hada hadafuyo. ‘Tell, say [what] your goal [is].’

Hadafuyo/ nini. ‘What is your goal?’

Nt^haná/ hadafu. ‘He has no goal.’

hadali

n. [Som. *hadal* "conversation" DSI 289] voice, sound of voice(s)

Nakhkasa hadali zaawó. ‘I am hearing the sound of their voices.’

Omari/ nt^haná/ hadali. ‘Omari has no voice.’

washo hadali na sowti [st.] ‘those who have no voice (i.e. are silent = the dead)’

ku-hadida

v. [Som. *haddid* “to threaten” DSI 290] (**hadidiile**) threaten; fix (a time) (Some speakers may retain the germination found in the Somali source word.)

variant form: **kuhandida**

Sheekhuna/ mhadidile mwaana. ‘Sheekhuna threatened the boy.’

rel.

ku-hadidana v. rec. (**-hadideene**) threaten one another

ku-hadidila v. appl.

ku-hadidisha v. caus.

ku-hadida

v. [Som. *khaddid* “to limit” DSI 620] (**hadidiile**) fix (a time) (Some speakers may retain the germination found in the Somali source word.)

kuhadida wakhṭi ‘to fix a time’

haadiri

v. [Sw. *hadhiri* SSED 122; Ar. *ḥādir* W 185] be present

variant form: **haadiri**

Ahli/ na kharaabá/ wote/ wako haadiri. ‘Relatives close and distant were there.’

Mukhtaay/ oloshelo barzaaní/ chiwapa khabari/ mawaziiri/

ma'akhyaari/ na kila/ waliko haadiri/ apó... 'When he went to the royal parlor and gave them the news, the ministers, the gentlemen and everyone who was there...' **the accentual structure in this example needs to be reviewed in the text and studied**

haadi'i

adj. [Ar. *hādi* 'W 1021] calm
bahari ya haadi'i 'Pacific Ocean'
tawala haadi'i 'calm sea'
want^hu haadi'i 'calm people'

hadiiqa

n. [Ar. *hadīqa* W 163] garden
Chiwafanyiliza/ waanawe/ hadiiqa/ nk^hulu/ nt^ho. 'He made for his children a very big garden.'
Mooyi/ karka waana/ shkhira/ chooloka/ hadiqaani/ kulindra nt^heendre. 'One of the children agreed to go to the garden to protect the dates.'
Ningilopo mtanaani/ mbene hadiiqá/ nk^hulu/ na muto mooyi. 'When I entered the room, I found a large garden with a river.'
Teena/ ichiwa/ ye/ heendra/ hadiqaani/ maraa nt^hatu/ ku^la muunt^hi. 'Then it became that he went into the garden three times each day.'
rel.
chi-hadiiqa (zi-) n. dim.
i-hadiiqa (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

haadiri. In example, (chiwapa xabari) is not conjunctive, therefore translation should be: When he went.... he gave them the news

hadiithi

n. 9/10 [Sw. *hadithi* SSED 122; Ar.] story, tale, saying, event
karka hadiithi za mtume Adnaani [st.] 'in the sayings of prophet Adnaani'
...qabla/ ya hadiithi/ ya Watergate 'before the event of Watergate'

haadithi

adj. [Ar. *hādīt* "occurring, new, recent" W 162] not eternal, transient, novel
makhluuqu kuwa haadithi we khsadiqa [st.] '[that] creatures are not eternal, believe [that]'
stoshe ni haadithi wala za isa [st.] 'don't think [the words God conveyed to Moses] are new or of the present time'

hadiya

n. 9/10 [Ar. *hadiya* W 1024] gift
Hadiya/ hayizoowi. 'A gift is not refused.'
kumpa hadiya 'to give someone a gift'
Mp^hokela/ hadiya/ iyi/ mi/ siwo/ takuyutíló. 'Accept this gift, I am not the one who will regret it.'
Sultaani/ wawaye mwaana/ tomele khabari/ ya kuwa takhadiro kumfanyiliza mwaanawé/ dawá/ shpolapo/ takhpoowa/ hadiya/ nk^hulu/ nt^ho/ itakumwiinfó/ sku zotté. 'The sultan, the child's father, gave out the news that the one who will be able to administer his child medicine, if he [the child] recovers, would be given a very big present that would be useful for all days.' **no final accent with =po noted here, explore this point**

rel.
chi-hadiya (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.
i-hadiya (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

- haðiri** adj. [Ar. *ḥadīr*] cautious, wary
hufuraha muunt^hu haðiri haawoni fadaaha [st.] ‘the cautious person rejoices and does not face disgrace’
- haafa** n. 9/10 [Som. *xaafad* DSI 617] quarter (of a town)
Bulo Baazi/ ni karka haafa/ mooyi/ za Miini. ‘Bulo Baazi is one of the quarters of Brava,’
hafa iyi ‘this quarter (of the town); **hafa izi** ‘these quarters’
hafa mbovu ‘a bad part of town’
hafa ya Mp^haayi ‘the quarter of Mp^haayi (in Brava)’
Miini/ inazo hafa ne. ‘Brava has four quarters.’
- ku-hafiða** v. [Ar. *ḥafīza* W 188] (**hafiðile**) preserve, protect, keep in a safe place; memorize (esp. the Quran)
Hajiya/ hafiðile peesa/ sandukhuuni. ‘Hajiya kept the money in a box.’
kuhafiða (a)khur’aani ‘to memorize the Quran’
mooja wahafiðe kula mahaaji [st.] ‘O God, protect all the pilgrims’
Mukeewe/ chimwaambila/ mwajitu/ takuhafiða. ‘His wife told him: God will protect you.’
Si/ shtamhafiða/ na shtamdhoora/ jisa muunt^hu/ humdhoru ruuhuyé/ na zaaydí. ‘We will protect him and guard him just as a person who protects himself and more.’
wake kuhafiða jismu ni wajibu [st.] ‘for women to cover [and thereby protect from view] their body is obligatory’
Waana/ wa(‘i)hafiðile darsi. ‘The children memorized the lesson.’ (An object marker in agreement with **darsi** is possible.)
rel.
ku-hafiðika v. p/s. able to be memorized
ku-hafiðila v. appl. keep for someone in a safe place
ku-hafiðilana v. appl. rec. keep in a safe place for one another
Nuuru/ na Baazí/ wahafiðilene peesa. ‘Nuuru and Baazi kept money for one another in a safe place.’
ku-hafiðisha v. caus. (**hafiðishiize**) make s.o. memorize s.t.
Mwaalimu/ wahafiðishize waana/ darsi. ‘The teacher made the children memorize the lesson.’ (Syn. It is possible to prepose either complement to the verb: **Darsi/ mwaalimu/ wahafiðishize waana.** or **Waana/ mwaalimu/ wahafiðishize darsi.**)
ku-hafiðishana v. caus. rec.
ku-hafiðishika v. caus. p/s.
ku-hafiðishiliza v. caus. appl.
Mwaalimu/ mhafiðishilize Hinda/ waana/ darsi. ‘The teacher made Hinda’s children memorize the lesson.’
ku-hafiðishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
ku-hafiðishilizoowa v. caus. appl. pass.
Nuuru/ hafiðishiliza waana/ darsi/ (na mwaalimu). ‘(Lit.) For Nuuru the children were made to learn the lesson (by the teacher).’ (Syn: Note that one cannot say ***Waana/ wahafiðishiliza Nuuru/ darsi/ (na mwaalimu).** ‘The children were made to memorize the lesson for Nuuru (by the teacher).’ This sentence is ungrammatical since only the beneficiary can be the subject of the passive applied. In passive sentences of the shape NP V-pass NP, where the two NP’s belong to different noun classes, it is quite common to interchange the location of the two NP’s, but with the post-verbal NP still controlling subject agreement. However, in an example like this with two post-verbal NP’s, our consultant did not like inversion: ***Waana/ hafiðishiliza Nuuru/ darsi.** and ***Darsi/ hafiðishiliza Nuuru/waana.** This point needs to be studied in detail with other verbs taking multiple objects.)
ku-hafiðishoowa v. caus. pass.

Waana/ wahafiðishiza darsi. ‘The children were made to memorize the lesson.’ (Syn: One cannot make **darsi** the subject of the passive sentence: ***Darsi/ ihafiðishiza waana.** One can prepose **darsi** while postposing the subject, but the verb continues to agree with the postposed subject: **Darsi/ wahafiðishiza waana.** Observe that the postposed subject phrases with the verb.)

ku-hafiðoowa v. pass. (-**hafiðiila**)

Darsi/ ihafiðila na mwaana. ‘The lesson was memorized by the child.’

rel.

u-hafiðo n. 14

haafiði

n. someone who memorizes

Omari/ ni haafiði/ aḷ khur’aani. ‘Omari is one who memorizes the Quran.’

hafisa (Ø, ma-)

n. 9/10, 6 [Som. *xafis* DSI 621; Eng. *office*] a governmental structure (unit) which deals with public affairs (as in the English “Office of the President”); office, in the sense of a designated space where one works, meets with people, etc. (not used to refer to workspace in the home, for instance)

Askari/ chiya/ chiwatukula waana/chiwapeleka hafisaani. ‘The police came and took the children and led them to the office.’

hafisa yituu/ mp^hiya ‘our new office’

Mkulu wa hafisa/ chiwa’uza waana. ‘The head of the office asked the children.’

Oloshela hafisaani. ‘He went to the office.’

Shekhow/ mlesele mwaana/ hafisaani. ‘Shekhow brought the child to the office.’

rel.

chi-hafisa (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

i-hafisa (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

hafla

n. 9/10 [Ar. *ḥafḷa* W 190] celebration, ceremony that is public and is attended by a large number of people; party

hafḷa ya haruusi ‘a wedding celebration’

khfanya hafḷa ‘to celebrate’

Fanyize hafḷa ya mowliidi. ‘He celebrated the birthday of Muhammad.’

kuweka hafḷa ‘to hold a celebration’

Naani/ mbujé/ wé/ mweenó/ hafḷaaní. ‘Whose sister did you see at the party?’ (The choice of the word **mbujé** indicates that **naani** presupposes a male. This sentence indicates that emphasis on a pseudo-relativized verb does not *necessarily* trigger the Accentual Law of Focus.)

Uko hafḷaani. ‘He is at the celebration.’

Yiko hafḷa/ nk^hulu. ‘There is a big celebration.’

Haafuuni

n. Hafun (in Somali, *Xaafuun*), a region in Puntland in Somalia

Nayoo ndala/ kana lazilo ka Haafuuní. ‘He has a hunger that is like someone who has come from Haafuni.’ (Haafuni is a place where there was drought.)

hagaayi

n. [Som. *xagaayo* "season of summer rains in Southern Somalia" DSI 621] a season of the year, corresponding to June-July, where – in Brava – the temperature is lower and a light rain falls almost daily; [pron. **hagaayi**] (The **g** found in this word is the Somali voiced velar fricative that represents the shape that **g** has in intervocalic position.)

Wakhti wa hagaayi/ hayondrokeki/ na mapeema. ‘In the cool rainy season, one cannot get up early.’

haaja

n. 9/10 [Sw. *haja* SSED 123; Ar. *ḥāja* W 211] need; affair; dispute

-a haaja ‘of good character, etc.’

Mwanaamke/ uyu/ kumwonake/ Hasani/ ba/ nt^hampeenda/ mwingile khalbiini/ tu/ kuwaa ye/ siwo/ muunt^hu/ wa haaja. ‘This girl, upon seeing Hasani, did not like him,

it just entered her heart that he was not a man of good character.’

Ba’adiye/ chimwambila sultaani/ iyo haaja/ imleeselo. ‘After that, he told the sultan the need that brought him to [the sultan].’

Haaja/ hufaanyika/ hoja/ hayfaanyiki. ‘A dispute can be settled, a quarrel cannot be settled.’ (A proverb.)

Iningilile haaja/ ka kaako. ‘[Lit.] A need from you entered me -- i.e. I need [to marry] you.’

Ma’anaye/ ye/ nt^huná/ haaja/ naami/ teena. ‘It means he has no need of me anymore.’

Maama/ kasizopo baabá/ hadile kuwa nt^haná/ haajá/ na waanawé/ sittá/ ondroshele/ oloshele/ kumubliwe. ‘When mother heard father say that he had no need for his six children, she arose and went to her husband.’

Maamé/ nayo haja gani/ ikhuleselo kaaká. ‘My mother, what need do you have that has brought you to me?’

Mi/ siná/ haaja/ na mp^hundra uyu. ‘I have no need of this donkey.’

Mi/ siná/ haaja/ naawo. ‘I have no need of them.’

Mwaana/ kamaa we/ siná/ haaja/ naaye. ‘A child like you, I have no need of him.’

Mweenza/ we/ hutakuwanaayo/ haaja/ ya koowela/ we/ mp^handra mungooni/ mi/ nt^hakoowela/ haṭá/ kaaka. ‘Friend, you do not have a need to swim, you ride on my back, I will swim to my home.’

Na chiwana haajá/ mahala ya kulaala/ we/ poowa. ‘And if you have need for a place to sleep, you will be given one.’

Nayo haja gani/ yaa we/ nakhsuuló. ‘What need do you have such that you

want it?’

qiḏa haaji ‘to satisfy a need’

Wakazile/ apo/ skuu nt^hatu/ na chizeelé/ nt^hashkuwaná/ haaja/ kumlawila sultaani. ‘They stayed there three days and the old woman did not have the need to come out for the sultan.’

Hajari Aswadi

n. [Ar. *hajar aswad* W 157] the Black Stone -- a stone given by God to Abraham from paradise and now located in the **ka’ba**

Hajari Aswadi apo iweshela/ na asliye karka janna ilesele [st.] ‘the Black Stone that was placed there (i.e. in Mecca) was originally brought from heaven’

Hajari Aswadi sunna hubusoowa [st.] ‘it is not obligatory to kiss the Black Stone’

haaji

n. [Ar. *hajj* "pilgrimage", *hāj* "pilgrim" W 156] a man who has gone on the pilgrimage to Mecca; a title given to a man who has gone on the pilgrimage; rel.

ma-haaji n. 6 male and female pilgrims to Mecca

ka jaaha ya Mtume na malaayka/ wahafiḏe mahaaji kulla maaka [st.] ‘for the sake of the Prophet and the angels, protect pilgrims every year’

Mooja wahafiḏe kulla mahaaji/ khaansa watamzuuro Mtume siraaji [st.] ‘O God, protect all pilgrims, particularly those who visit the Prophet, our Light’

haajiya (*ma-*) n. female pilgrim to Mecca; title given to a female who has gone of the pilgrimage

Haji Siimba

n. a mosque in Brava

Muskiti wa Haji Siimba/ ni chihaba/ tu. ‘Haji Siimba mosque is small.’

Muskiti wa Haji Siimba/ wiko Biruuni. ‘Haji Siimba mosque is in Biruuni.’

Haji Weelu

n. a mosque in Brava

Muskiti wa Haji Weelu/ wiko biruuni. ‘Haji Weelu mosque is in Biruuni.’

Shekh Nureeni/ chisalisha muskitiini/ ka Haji Weelu. ‘Sheikh Nureeni

was leading prayers at Haji Weelu mosque.’

- hajiimu** n. 9 [Som. *xajiin*, pl. *xajiimo* DSI 622] s.t. that causes itching; hairy caterpillar which causes itching when touched
- Hajuuwa** n. one of the five clans that make up the Tunni, the Somalis who inhabit the environs of Brava and were in part incorporated into the town of Brava, learning to speak Chimiini
Teena/ ni muhimmu/ si/ kiiwa/ kuwa Tunne/ ichilawaangana/ jamaa’a/ nt^haano/ Goygaali/ Dakhtira/ Da’faraadi/ Wiriile/ na Hajuuwa. ‘Again, it is important for us to know that the Tunne were divided into five clans: Goygaali, Dakhtira, Da’faraadi, Wiriile, and Hajuuwa.’
- hakamu** [Ar. *ḥakam* W 196] an attribute of God (= the Arbiter)
- haakimu (ma-)** n. [Ar. *ḥākim* W 197] judge, ruler (of a country)
hakimu uyu ‘this ruler’
Hakimu ya jazira iyi/ waaliko nii muke/ ma’askari/ wawaliko nii wake/ na kiila/ kazi muhimu/ iwaliko ishfanyowa naa wake. ‘The ruler of this island was a woman, the soldiers were women, and each important job was done by women.’
nt^hana shaka amri ya mooja haakimu [st.] ‘there is no doubt, it is the order of God the Just’
- hakiimu (O, ma-)** adj. [Ar. *ḥākīm* W 196] wise
kuwa hakiimu ‘to be wise’
munt^hu hakiimu ‘a wise person’ (cf. **want^hu (ma)hakiimu** ‘wise people’)
- Haako** n. an area at the southern edge of the **Aibaamba** quarter of Brava, where people used to burn clay-pots
- halahala** interj. beware! try your best! take note, focus on!
Wazaleenó/ hawalaani/ halahala/ majiraani. ‘Don’t fight with your family relations, and try your best [not to fight with] neighbors.’ (A proverb.)
- ku-halaasha** v. [Som. *hallee* "to spoil or damage s.t." DSI 294] (**halashiize**) hurt, injure, wound someone
Nhalashize ruuhuyá. ‘I hurt myself.’
Siimba/ mhalashize mwaana. ‘The lion wounded the child.’
Siimba/ mhalashizee nt^ho/ mwaana. ‘The lion wounded the child badly.’
Or: **Siimba/ mhalashize mwaana/ nt^ho.**
- rel.
ku-halaashanya v. rec.
ku-halashiliza v. appl.
Lkaambala/ Suufi/ mhalashilize Haaji. ‘The rope, Suufi hurt Haaji with it.’
Sinhalashilizé/ mwaanawa. ‘Don’t hurt my child (on me)!’
ku-halashoowa v. pass. (**halashiiza**)
ku-halaawata v. (**halaweete**) be or get hurt (e.g. bleeding, or broken bone, or sprain); have a defect, become dysfunctional, not work (e.g. of a car)
Ali/ nakhteza mpiira/ halaweete/ tindishile murukhu. ‘Ali was playing football; he hurt himself, he tore a muscle.’
Gari ya Omari/ ihalaweete. ‘Omari’s car is not working.’
Halaweete mkono. ‘He sprained, injured his arm.’ (Syn. Note that with this verb the common construction where the body part is the grammatical subject of the verb does not seem to be available:

***Mkono/ umhawalecte.)**

hal̥i n. 9 [Ar. *ḥall* W 199] solution (Phon. We recorded this item with gemination of *l*, but the status of gemination requires further review. The absence of lengthening on a preceding vowel was consistent.)

khpata hal̥i ‘to find a solution’
kumera hal̥i ‘to look for a solution’
Nt^haku/ hal̥i. ‘There is no solution.’
Nt^hayná/ hal̥i. ‘It has no solution.’

ku-hal̥isha v. solve (A simple verb stem ***ku-hala** is not used in Chimiini.)
kuhal̥ishaa dhibu ‘to find a remedy for a difficulty or problem’
khhal̥isha mas’ala ‘to solve a problem’
kuhal̥isha mushkila ‘to solve a problem’
rel.
ku-hal̥ishika v. p/s. able to be solved
Mushkila iyi/ ha’ihalishiki. ‘This problem cannot be solved.’
ku-hal̥ishiliza v. appl.
Omari/ hutumikila peesa/ kuhal̥ishiliza mushkila. ‘Omari uses money to solve a problem.’
Osmaani/ nt^haná/ ilmu/ ya kuhal̥ishiliza mushkila iyi. ‘Osmaani does not have the knowledge to solve this problem.’
ku-hal̥ishilizoowa v. appl. pass.
Peesa/ haskhadiroowi/ kuhal̥ishilizoowa/ mushkila iyi. ‘Money cannot be used to solve this problem.’
ku-hal̥ishoowa v. pass.
Mushkila iyi/ inakhsula kuhal̥ishoowa. ‘This problem needs to be solved.’
Mushkila iyi/ laazimu/ kuhal̥ishoowa. ‘This problem must be solved.’

hal̥oo-hal̥oo n. the name by which the police radio connection to Mogadishu was called

hal̥wa n. [Sw. *halua* ‘a common sweetmeat made of flour, eggs, sugar, ghee, etc. Turkish delight’ SSED 125]
ladda/ kamba hal̥wa ‘as sweet as hal̥wa’

halaaka n. 9/10 destruction (by natural phenomena), spiritual destruction
Kuja/ ni halaaka/ ivaalo/ nda mwaaka. ‘Food is a daily problem, clothes (what to wear) is (a problem) once a year.’ (A proverb.)
review use and meaning of halaaka

halaali n. [Ar. *ḥalāl* W 199] lawfulness
chakuja (cha) halaali ‘lawful food’
ka halaali ‘lawfully’
Endrá/ mwaambile/ uje khutumiiló/ ya kuwaa mi/ nkhiriiḷe/ kumpa mwanaamkewa/ ka halaali. ‘Go and tell the one who sent you that I agree to give my daughter to him in lawful marriage.’
Ye/ nakhsula ka halaali. ‘He wants you in lawful marriage.’
nama halaali ‘lawful meat -- i.e. meat from an animal the slaughtering of which was preceded by the required mentioning of God’s name’

ku-halaalisha v. caus. make s.t. lawful
rel.
ku-halalishiliza v. caus. appl.
ku-halalishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

haali n. 9 [Sw. *hali* SSED 125; Ar. *ḥāl* W 216] state, condition(s), strength, health, manner, circumstance(s)
Abdalla/ chilawa/ ka numbaani/ naayé/ haali/ azimilo kuzimilá. ‘Abdalla

left the house and meanwhile he decided to escape.’ (Notice that the expression **naayé/ haali** triggers the relative form of the following verb.)

Dafa/ chiya/ chimwona/ bakayle/ umo karka hali iyo. ‘The kite came and saw the hare in that state of being.’

Faatma/ oloshela/ haaliye/ naakuló. ‘Faatma has gone although her situation was that she was crying.’

Hali gani. ‘What condition?’

Hali gani/ yaako. ‘How are you? How is your condition?’

halii mbovu ‘bad condition’

Haali/ naayé/ naakuló/ nakulombo raađí/ sultaani/ nt^haykumwiingila/ naharisi. ‘While he (the auctioneer) was in the state of crying, begging for forgiveness, mercy did not enter the sultan.’

Haali/ nii mbovu. ‘(His) condition is bad.’

Haali/ ni suura. ‘(His) condition is good.’

haali ni yaa we nayiwo [song] ‘the condition is that which you know’

hali suura ‘good condition’

Hali yaa wo/ iwalikoo mbovu/ nt^ho. ‘Their condition [lit. condition of them] was very bad.’

Haaliya/ ni baraabara. ‘My situation, condition is ok.’

Haaliye/ ni ta’abaani. ‘His condition is very bad, i.e. he is very sick.’

Haaliyo. ‘How are you?’

ka haali/ na maali ‘with strength and wealth’

Si/ chisimeemé/ naawo/ ka haali/ na maali/ mukhtaa wo/ wawalimo karkaa dhibu/ wachibiganó/ na nt^hi za chiyahuudí. ‘We stood with them, with strength and money, when they were in difficulty fighting against the country of the Jews.’

ka kila haali ‘in, under all circumstances’

Humshukura mojiitu/ ka kila haali. ‘I thank God whatever the conditions may be.’

kaandra nonyeeze chilolo isa badiliile [song] ‘first you showed me the mirror (promising me good things), now you have changed your behavior’

kilaa haali ‘any condition’

kumshukura mojiitu/ ka kilaa haali ‘to thank God in any condition’

Laakini/ haali/ jisaayo/ mbovú/ si/ hashkaadiri/ illa/ kaamina/ ya kuwa dobla/ ya Aldo/ Mooró/ haytakhaadira/ khfanyilizaa dawa/ iqtisaadi/ ya Talyaani/ khaasá/ karka wakhti uyu. ‘But (its) condition being so bad, we can but believe that the government of Aldo Mooró will not be able to cure the Italian economy, especially at this time.’

Laakini/ haali/ naayé/ waliko ni maskiiní/ ye/ azimiile/ keendra/ ki’imeera/ huundra/ iyo/ mahala/ itaakuwó. ‘But despite that he was a poor man, he decided to go and look for that huundra at whatever place it might be.’

Laakini/ uje chizeele/ ingilo karka sanduukhú/ haaliye/ hachiisi/ si/ ndo/ ye/ umo sandukhuuni/ amó/ lazile/ hachiisi. ‘But that old woman who entered into the box, her situation, we do not know; come, is she in the box or did she leave? We do not know.’

Mi/ na Omari/ chimo hali mooyí. ‘Me and Omari are in the same situation.’

Mi/ nakuwona kuwa haaliyó/ mbovu. ‘Now I see that your condition is bad.’

Mi/ shfilatila/ ye/ kunviila/ kunshoorata/ amó/ kunuza haaliyá. ‘I expected him to call me and consult with me or ask my condition.’

Mweenza/ we/ nakuwoná/ haali/ yiitu/ peesa/ zoleshele/ na mulkú/ ubeele. ‘My friend, you see our condition; the money is gone and the property lost.’

Mzeele/ uyu/ kumwonake Huseeni/ chimraasha/ chimuza Huseeni/ haaliye/ na haali/ ya waawaye. ‘This old man upon his seeing Huseeni, he followed him and asked Huseeni his condition and the condition of his father.’ (An alternative pronunciation would be one where the last two

phrases are joined into a single phrase: **na hali ya waawayé**. Notice the phonological effects of this difference in phrasing: in the second pronunciation, **haali** loses its vowel length since it is too far from the end of the phrase to bear abstract stress, and it also loses its accent, since it is not the final word of the phrase. **Waawaye** no longer has default penult accent since now it is in a phrase containing the final-accent trigger **na**.)

Na haali/ jis'iyó/ waant^hu/ wawanayo shaka/ tu. ‘That being the case, people still had doubt.’ **did not hear final accent on haali, but need to check this out**

Omari/ haaliye/ mbovu. ‘Omari’s situation is bad (e.g. he is getting sicker and sicker).’

Umooyi/ haaliyo. ‘How is your situation? Condition?’

we naniwa mi haaliya [song] ‘you know my condition’ (Syn. Notice the triple marking of first person in this song line: the verb **naniwa** contains the first person object prefix, the first person independent pronoun **mi** follows the verb, and the first person possessive suffix =**y-a** appears on the noun **haali**.)

We/ nt^hukhaadira/ kishkila/ ka chulunguuni/ kumwuza haaliye. ‘You could not go downstairs to ask after his health.’

Ye/ walimo karka haali/ yaa ye/ waalimó/ nt^hasaa ye/ khpata thumuni/ yaa ye/ mulilo eeló. ‘He was in the same state that he had been in before he found the eighth (of a riyal) that he used to buy the gazelle.’

ku-halika v. [Ar. *halaka*, W 1031] (**halishile** or **halikiile**) be destroyed by natural phenomena; ruin, destroy (spiritually); rip off, cheat s.o.

huhalika waant^hu shikaani sabri [st.] ‘(this) leads people to ruin: practice forbearance’

Nuuru/ mhalishile Sa'iidi. ‘Nuuru cheated Saiidi.’

Zilzaali/ ihalishile/ muyi wa Miini. ‘An earthquake destroyed the town of Brava.’

haaliki (ma-) adj. [cf. Ar. verb *halaka* “to covet, crave” W 1031] of one who will do anything to get what he wants

munt^hu haaliki ‘s.o. who will do anything to get what he wants’; **want^hu mahaaliki** ‘people who will do anything to get what they want’

haliimu (ma-) adj. [Ar. *halīm* W 202] generous; gentle

munt^hu haliimu ‘generous person’; **want^hu mahaliimu** ‘generous people’

haalo n. [Som. *xaal* “compensation to be paid by s.o. who has committed a crime” DSI 618] in the expression:

kuweka haalo ‘to be revengeful; to defer vengeance to the future, when the time is right’

Sawarata/ siweeké/ haalo. ‘Be patient, don’t be vengeful!’

hamaji (ma-) adj. [Ar. *hamaji* “uncivilized, barbarous, rude” W 1033] **stupid?**

munt^hu hamaji (cf. **want^hu hamaji**, **chijint^hu chihamaji**, **zijint^hu zihamaji**, **ijint^hu ihamaji**, **mijint^hu mihamaji**)

rel.

u-hamaji n. stupidity

Hamadi/ mambile Omari/ laṭa uhamaji. ‘Hamadi told Omari to leave/quit stupidity.’

ku-hamaalata v. carry on the back; load something on a person or a truck

Gaari/ inakuhamalata majiwe. ‘The truck is loaded with/ is carrying stones.’

hamaali (ma-) n. [Ar. *ḥammāl* W 207] porter

Hamali uyu/ ha'andikishiki/ zoombo/ gariini. 'This porter cannot be made to load things onto the truck.'

rel.

chi-hamaali (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

i-hamaali (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

Hamari

n. Mogadishu

Ayamu mooyi// ba'ada ya haruusi/ muhli/ na mukeewé/ washfunga safari/ wachendra Hamari. One week after the wedding, the husband and his wife packed for a trip and went to Hamari.'

m-hamari (wa-)

n. term used to indicate a member of the Hatimi and Bida groups (collectively known as **wanthu wa Miini** 'the people of Brava'); the term derives from Arabic and means "person with light colored skin" as opposed to the darker Somalis

Wahamari /ni waant^hu/ wa'ilo/ ka nt^hi ziingine. 'The Wahamari are people who came (to Brava) from other countries.'

hamaasa

n. enthusiasm

Chiharbisha/ ka hamaasa/ na ushujaa'á. 'He fought with enthusiasm and courage.'

Nayo hamaasa. 'He is enthusiastic.'

Omari/ ile ka hamaasa. 'Omari came with enthusiasm.'

hamasho

n. [Som. *xamasho* DSI 623] defamation, slander, gossip

Hamasho/ ni ðambi. 'Gossiping is a sin.'

Hamasho/ siwo/ suura. 'Gossip is not good.'

kulla hamasho na namiima / izo huvuuta jahiima [st.] 'every kind of slander pulls (i.e. brings you near) hell' (Note: **hamasho** and **namiima** are synonyms, one from Somali, the other from Arabic. **Jahiima** = **jahiimu**; the final vowel is changed for rhyme purposes.)

ku-hamaṭa

v. [Som. *xamo* DSI 624] backbite, gossip, speak ill of someone not present

Hasani/ kaaziye/ kuhamaṭa waant^hu. 'Hasani, his job is to backbite people – i.e. all that Hasani does is backbite people.'

kumhamata 'to gossip about someone'

rel.

ku-hamaṭana v. rec.

ku-hamaṭika v. p/s.

Fulaani/ hahamaṭiki. 'So-and-so cannot be spoken ill of.'

ku-hamaṭila v. appl.

Nhamaṭilile maame. 'He spoke ill of my mother on me.'

ku-hamaṭoowa v. pass.

Apo/ nakuhamaṭoowa/ Omari. 'Omari is being gossiped about in that place.'

hamdi

n. [Ar. *ḥamd* "commendation, praise" W 204] praise

rel.

Alḥamdulillah. 'Praise be to God.' (an Arabic expression used in Chimiini as a formulaic expression, e.g. in condolences)

Hamdi/ nda Mojiitu. 'Praise is for God.'

ku-hamdisha

v. praise

Muunt^hu/ suura/ kumhamdisha meenziwe. 'It is good for one to praise another.'

hameeto

n. [Som. *xammeeti*] gall bladder

Omari/ ambila nazo zijiwé/ kaako/ hameetooni. 'Omari has been told 'you have stones in your gall bladder.'

Omari/ atiila/ tomela hameeto. ‘Omari has been operated on and his gall bladder has been taken out.’

Omari/ hameeto/ inamlaaza. ‘Omari’s gall bladder is paining him.’

haamidi n. [cf. Ar. verb *hamida* ‘to praise’ W 204] a name of God = one who is praised
ingila maghani mloombe haamidi [st.] ‘put yourself under the protection (of God), pray to God, the one who is praised’

hamiidi adj. [Ar. *hamīd* ‘praiseworthy’ W 204] **praiseworthy**

ku-hamila v. [Sw. *himili* ‘(1) bear, support; bear, endure, accept, be equal to; (3) be pregnant’ SSED 126; Ar. *hamala* ‘to carry, load up and take along’ W 206] load (a truck e.g.)
kuhamila mas’uuliya ‘to take responsibility’

haamila (Ø, ma-) adj. [cf. Sw. noun *himila* ‘pregnancy’ SSED 126; Ar. *haml*, pl. *aḥmāl* ‘foetus, pregnancy’ W 207] pregnant

muke haamila ‘a pregnant woman’ (cf. **wake (ma)haamila** ‘pregnant women’, as well as the case of derived nouns being modified: **chijike chihaamila, zijike zihaamila, ijike ihaamila, mijike mihaamila**)

hamu n. 9 [Sw. *hamu* SSED 126; Ar. *hamm* W 1033] anxiety, deep distress, longing; [pron. **hamu** or **hammu**]

ghammu na hammu na bala/ na kulla sharri na ndala chondroolele [st.] ‘take away from us anxiety, distress, and calamities, and every evil and hunger’

Hammu/ naa ghamú/ zimpeetó. ‘Worries and disturbing thoughts got hold of him.’

Hamu/ naa ghamú/ zimsasishiize/ na imdhibiloo nt^{ho}/ na kuwa wazelewe/ nt^hawakutaambula/ walá/ nt^hakudaðalaṭa/ khtambula dhibu yaa ye/ wanaayo. ‘Frustration and depression caused him to grow thin and he was troubled very much by [the fact] that his parents did not understand nor did they try to understand the trouble that he was having.’

khtilaa hamu ‘to cause stress’

kingilaa hamu ‘to worry’

Mwanaamke/ ichimwingilaa hamu/ ye/ chanza khfikira/ isa/ mi/ nfanyeeyi. ‘The girl became worried, she began to think: now, how [i.e. what] shall I do?’

kuwanayoo hamu ‘to long for s.t., be anxious about s.t.’

Moojá/ chondrolee hammu/ naa ghamú. ‘May God take from us stress and sadness!’ (A saying, prayer.)

Sa’iidi/ chi’idegela/ ka maamaye/ na nt^haymwiingila/ teena/ hamu/ ya kuwalola wanashke/ wa masultaani. ‘Sa’iidi stayed put at his mother’s and longing never entered him to marry daughters of sultans.’

hamu interj. eat! (said to a small child)

hamuuli n. 9/10 [Sw. *himila* SSED 126; Ar. *haml*, pl. *aḥmāl* ‘cargo’ W 207] load, cargo
variant form: **hamuula** (rare)

Gaariya/ ipakiza hamuuli/ zaaydi. ‘My truck has been overloaded with cargo.’

Leelo/ gaariya/ iṭozele hamuuli. ‘Today my truck lacked cargo (i.e. I had no cargo to carry in my truck).’

rel.

chi-hamuuli (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

i-hamuuli (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

- hamuumu** n. 9 [cf. Sw. *hamu* “longing, yearning, anxiety, love, desire for something (either good or bad)” SSED 126; Ar. *humūm*, pl. *hamm* “concern, interest” W 1033] craving
kuwanayo hamuumu ‘to crave s.t.’
- Hanafi** n. one of the teachers from whom a major school of Islam derives
- Hanbali** n. one of the teachers from whom a major school of Islam derives; [pron. **Hanbali** or **Hambali**]
- handaqi** n. [Sw. *handaki* SSED 126] trench; underground shelter
variant form: **khandaqi**
rel.
chi-handaqi (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim.
i-handaqi n. trench
Fateme ihandaqiini. ‘He hid in a trench,’
khtumba ihandaqi ‘to dig a trench’
Umo ihandaqiini. ‘He is in a trench.’
- handasa** n. [Ar. *handasa* “engineering, architecture, geometry” W 1036] geometry
- handaasa** n. [?Som. *hadiid* “to desire violently” DSI 290] nymphomania
Nayo handaasa. ‘She is a nymphomaniac.’
- ku-handisa** v. [Ar. noun *handasa* W 1036] (**handisiize**) invent
variant form: **kuhindisa**
kuhindisa chiint^u ‘to invent s.t.’
kuhindisa jawaabu ‘to invent s.t.’
rel.
ku-handisoowa v. pass.
variant form: **kuhindisoowa**
Kuhindisoowa/ jawaabu/ siwo/ suura. ‘To create an issue etc. is not good (i.e. it is not good to make up false things).’
- haando** (*ma-*) n. [Sw. *hando* SSED 126; Hind.; however, Chimiini speakers connect the word to Som. *haan* DSI 286, with the same meaning] a kind of wooden container (used for carrying milk bought at the market)
rel.
chi-haando (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim.
i-haando (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.
- ku-hanga’ika** v. [Sw. *hangaika* SSED 126] be astonished, be vexed
rel.
ku-hanga’isha v. caus. (**hanga’ishiize**) astonish, vex, trouble
ku-hanga’ishana v. caus. rec.
ku-hanga’ishika v. caus. p/s.
ku-hanga’ishiliza v. caus. appl.
ku-hanga’ishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
- hanga’isho** n. astonishment, vexation
- ku-hanjamaṭa** v. [Som. *hanjan*, variant of *hanjab* DSI 297] (**hanjameeṭe**) threaten
rel.
ku-hanjamaṭana v. rec. threaten one another
ku-hanjamaṭila v. appl.
Nhanjamatilile mwaana. ‘He threatened my child on me.’
rel.
u-hanjamaṭo n. 14

hanjamu

khtila hanjamu ‘to threaten’

hannaani

n. [Ar. *ḥannān* W 209] an attribute of God (Loving, Compassionate)

hanti

n. 1/2, 10 [Som. *hanti* “property, goods” DSI 298] slave; [pron. **hant^hi**] (In native Bantu words, a vowel is regularly lengthened in front of a prenasalized consonant. This lengthening does not occur, however, in this Somali loanword.)

hant^hi awa ‘these slaves’, but also **hant^hi izi**

hant^hi uyu ‘this slave’

meezi minne na sku ikumi ni sharti/ muke mnungaana nusuye uje hant^hi
[st.] ‘four months and ten days are prescribed (referring to the waiting period after husband’s death) for a free woman, and half of this (period) for a slave’

muke na mubli hant^hi na mlungaana [st.] ‘a woman and a man, a slave and a free man’

ku-hant^hisha

v. subjagate, enslave; [pron. **kuhant^hisha**]

ku-hanuunsata

v. [Som. noun *xanuun* “pain” and verb *xanuunso* “to be ill, to feel pain” DSI 626] feel pain

haanzu

by men; dress

n. 9/10, 6 [Sw. *kanzu* SSED 173; ?Ar. *qamīs* ??] long robe worn as an outer garment

Basi/ washtaala/ hayawaani/ mweepe/ wachimtiinda/ washtala haanzu/ ya Yuusufu/ washpaka maazi/ ya hayawaani/ waa wo/ wamtijnziló. ‘So they took an animal and slaughtered it and they took the **haanzu** of Joseph and daubed it with the blood of the animal that they had slaughtered.’ (Although **hayawaani** is a [cl.9/10] noun, in this example the singular form governs [cl.1] agreement. This is a common property of animate [cl. 9/10] nouns in their singular use.)

Chi’itaala/ garbisaari/ iyó/ chiyuusha/ kaake/ hanzuuni. ‘He picked up that veil and hid it in his **haanzu**.’

Faatma/ uzile haanzu. ‘Faatma bought a dress.’ Or: **Faatma/ uzile/ haanzu.** ‘Faatma bought a dress.’ (Cf. the simple yes-no questions: **Faatma/ uzile haanzu?** ‘Did Faatma buy a dress?’ , where there is no accent shift, and: **Faatma/ uzile/ haanzú?** ‘Did Faatma buy a dress?’, where **haanzu** is out-of-focus and undergoes accent shift.)

hanzu chigobe ‘a short **haanzu**’

Hanzu iyi/ badaniye/ ifumushile. ‘The front part of the **haanzu** has unraveled.’

hanzuu ndre ‘long dress’

Haanzu/ uziloo ye/ siwo/ suura. ‘The **haanzu** that he has bought is not good.’

hanzu ya bafta ‘a white **haanzu**’

hanzu ya haruusi ‘a wedding dress’

hanzu ya kaazi ‘a handwoven **haanzu** with ornamental stitching’

hanzu ya khsalila ‘a **haanzu** for praying’

hanzu ya khuðurunji ‘a yellowish brown **haanzu**’

hanzu ya makhmali ‘a dress with a special design referred to as **makhmali**’

hanzu ya mikonoo mile (or: **male**) ‘a **haanzu** with long sleeves’

hanzu ya mikono zigobe ‘a **haanzu** with short sleeves’

hanzu ya shingo mviriinge ‘dress with a round collar’

hanzu ya waana ‘children’s dress’

Mukeewa/ Barka/ haanzuye/ suura. ‘My wife Barka’s dress is beautiful.’

Nvete **haanzuyá/ mp^hiyá**. ‘I put on my new dress.’

Omari/ nakhfilatila Faatma/ kula haanzu. ‘Omari expects Faatma to buy a dress.’

Yuusufu/ chiwapa haanzuye/ chiwa’ambila/ talaani/ hanzu iyi/ endraani/ mwandikeni waawe/ usooni. ‘Joseph gave them his robe and told them: you (pl.) take this robe and spread it over my father’s face.’

haanzu. Definition: add “worn by men”. Example 1: last part of text (hayawaani waa wo wamtiiinzilo) is grammatically abnormal, since hayawaani is a class 9/10 noun (see entry CLE p. 154). Why is it here considered a class 1 or 3 noun? Check your source.

rel.

chi-haanzu (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

i-haanzu (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

hapu

a “baby talk” term, used when a baby is taken up in a grown up’s arms and carried

haqi

n. [Sw. *haki* SSED 124; Ar. *haqq* W 192] justness, justice, right; [pron. *haqi* or *haki*]

ije ya haqi awanya [song] ‘that which is [my] right (i.e. is due me), divide it’

Imkalile kuwa siwo/ haqi/ ye/ khpowa lfuungu/ sawasawa/ na wiingine. ‘It seemed to him that it was not right that he be given a share equal to the others.’

Isa/ mi/ nimwene mwaanawé/ na nakhtulubá/ khtalilowa hakhiya/ ka kaake. ‘Now I saw his son and I request that my right (i.e. what is due to me) be taken for me from him.’

Maamé/ siwo/ haqi/ yaa we/ nakuhadó. ‘Mother, it is not right what you are saying.’

Mowti ni farði na kufa ni haqi [st.] ‘death is a necessity and to die is something right’

naami haqiya isa kulata kundhiba aariya [song] ‘and my right now is [for you] to stop bothering me about my disgrace’

Nk^halent^he kuliindrá/ skuu nt^hatu/ laakini/ hattá/ isa/ skupata haqiya. ‘I stayed waiting for three days but up to now I could not get my right (i.e. what was due to me).’

Waawé/ we/ ni sulṭaani/ we/ ka kuwako sulṭaani/ mwajiitu/ khaamura/ khfanya haqqi/ beena/ maskiini/ na taajirí. ‘My father, you are sultan; because of your being the sultan, God ordered you to do justice between poor people and rich people.’

rel.

u-haqi n. 14

uhaqi wa nafsi kumeera salaama [nt.] ‘it is one’s right to seek safety’

ku-haqira
humiliate

v. [Sw. *hakiri* SSED 124; Ar. *h^haqara* W 193] (**haqiriile**) despise, belittle,

Nuuru/ mhaqiriile waawaye. ‘Nuuru despised, belittled his father.’

rel.

ku-haqirana v. rec. (**-haqireene**)

ku-haqirisha v. caus. (**haqirishiize**) cause to despise, belittle, humiliate

Nuuru/ mhaqirishize mwaana/ waawaye. ‘Nuuru caused the child to despise, belittle his father.’

ku-haqirishiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-haqirishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

haqiiri (Ø, ma-) adj. [Ar. *ḥaqīr* W 194] despised, humiliated, lowly, scorned
munt^hu haqiiri ‘a despised person’ (cf. **want^hu haqiiri** ‘despised people’)

haqiqa n. 9 [Sw. *hakika* SSED 124; Ar. *ḥaqīqa* W 192] certainty, truth, essentials, essence;
adj. certain; [pron. **haqiqa** or **hakhiikha**]
haqiqa/ kanaa kufa ‘as certain as death’
Laakini/ haqiqa/ iwaliko siwo/ ye/ chisuḷa kahawa/ chisuḷa khkoḏa naami. ‘But the truth was he did not want coffee, he wanted to speak with me.’ **review**
Nt^hakuliindra/ kiiwa/ haqiqa. ‘He did not wait to learn the truth.’
ruuhu haqiḡqaye mtume nt^hakubura [st.] ‘the soul, its essence, the prophet never mentioned anything about it (with respect to its fate after death)’
Siná/ hakhiikha. ‘I am not certain.’
Sinaayo/ hakhiikha. ‘I am not certain.’
We/ nayo hakhiikhá. ‘Do you have certainty/ sureness/ confirmation?’

haqiqa. Last example: I already gave my translation of this poem in CLE Correct (Y), under **x-tinda yaqiini** (p. 518).

ku-haqiqisha v. ascertain
Sultaani/ suḷile kuhaqiqisha/ kama zinakumero muyiini/ ka tarafu ya Ali/ ni ḷilá. ‘The sultan wanted to ascertain whether what was circulating around town concerning Ali was true.’

ku-haara v. [Sw. *hara* SSED 127; Som. *xaar* “to defecate” DSI 618; Ar. *karā?* “excrement, feces” W 231; the Arabic form cited in SSED is not found in Wehr] have diarrhea
dawa ya kuhaara [cf. Sw. *kuhara ya dawa* SSED 127] ‘a laxative, purgative’
rel.
ku-haarika v. p/s.
ku-haarisha v. caus. [cf. Sw. *harisha* SSED 127] (**harishiize**)
ku-harishana v. caus. rec.
ku-harishika v. caus. p/s.
ku-harishiliza v. caus. appl.
ku-harishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
rel. nom.
m-haarisho n. 3
u-haarisho n. 14

haraka n. 9 [Sw. *haraka* SSED 128; cf. Ar. verb *ḥaraka* “to set in motion, to prod, urge” W 170] hurry, hastiness, movement, move or step (e.g. in the completion of an action or a plan)
Fanyani haraka/ tomolani ngiisha/ na panzani itaanga/ chisafireeni. ‘Do quickly, raise the anchor and put up the sail, let us take off.’
Haraka haraka/ nt^hayna/ baraka. ‘Hurry, hurry has no blessing.’ (A proverb.)
Haraka/ yaa ye/ fanyizó/ imwangamilizee dali. ‘The move that he made spoiled things for him.’
kendra ka haraka ‘to go in a hurry’
khfanya haraka ‘to be in a hurry’
khtila haraka ‘to hurry s.o.’
Laakini/ ye/ oyo mwanaamke/ ka kumwingila haraka/ naayé/ nakuzolozolo ruuhuyé/ ki’ḷawilá/ chiliwala garbisaariye. ‘But she, that girl, because of her haste [lit. haste entering her], while

she was collecting herself to get out, she forgot her veil.’

Mi/ nk^haleent^hé/ apo/ pashpo haraka/ kuwalangala. ‘I remained there without moving, watching them.’

Mzimawe/ haraka. ‘He is all movement (i.e. he is always moving about).’

Haramu

n. the Grand Mosque in Mecca

cheendra Maka chiingila karka Haramu [st.] when one goes to Mecca and enters the Grand Mosque’

wanafaanye ibada karka Haramu [st.] ‘let them worship at the Grand Mosque (in Mecca)’

haraamu

adj. [Sw. *haramu* SSED 128; Ar. *ḥarām* W 171] forbidden (by Islamic religion), unlawful (according to Islam), illegitimate (child)

chakuja cha haaramu ‘forbidden food’

ka haraamu ‘in sin’

khfanya haraamu ‘to render illegitimate’

kuja haraamu taa’a haytasawari [st.] ‘eating forbidden foods [means] obedience [to the tenets of Islam] is not possible’

mahaṭi nda mwajiitu wiitu m’aali/ shaambizo si haraamu na halaali [st.] ‘praise belongs to God, the Most High, who made us understand [differentiate between] the unlawful and the lawful’

mbilize ni haraamu raasha madhabu [st.] ‘both are unlawful, follow (the way, the teachings) of the sect’

mwenye uzele na hiiḍi haraamu [st.] ‘it is forbidden [to fast] for a woman who is still staying in after childbirth or menstruating’

haraara

n. 9 [Sw. *harara* SSED 128; Ar. *ḥarāra* W165] heat

Soonga/ haraara/ isikhudirke. ‘Move so that the heat does not reach you.’

haraarisi

adj. [Som. verb *kharaari* “to make s.t. bitter” and *kharaarow* “to become bitter” DSI 365; note that Dizionario Italiano Somalo p. 27 gives possible spellings of ‘bitter’ as *qaraar*, *xaraar*, and *kharaar*. Tunni has *haraar* “to be bitter” Tosco 216] bitter (in taste)

chakuja (chi)haraarisi ‘bitter food’

chint^hu (chi)haraarisi ‘something bitter’ (cf. **zint^hu (zi)haraarisi** ‘bitter things’)

Duniya/ imwelele/ miinza/ na ku’iishá/ kati/ ya waant^hu/ awó/ imwelele haraarisi. ‘The world became dark for him and to live among people such as those became bitter for him.’

-haraarisi/ kamba sibiri ‘as bitter as aloe (= extremely bitter)’

mayi (ma)haraarisi ‘salty water [used for washing not drinking]’ (There were several kinds of water in Brava. The various kinds that fell under the label *haraarusi* were: sea water; the slightly brackish water of the public wells in town (used in the homes to wash); the water supplied through pipes (which was also slightly salty and not used, if possible, for drinking, but was used to make tea). Drinking water, **mayi maladda**, was brought by donkey carts from wells out of town.)

haraashi

n. [Som. *xaraash*, a noun and a verb “sell/sale at auction” DSI 626] sale at an auction (a synonym of **m-naada**)

harba’a

n. 9/10, adj. [Ar. *ḥirbā* ’W 166] n. chameleon; adj. two-faced, chameleon-like, unpredictable

harba’a uyu ‘this chameleon’ (cf. **harba’a izi** ‘these chameleons’)

munt^hu harba’a ‘two-faced person’ (cf. **want^hu harba’a** ‘two-faced people’)

harbi

n. 9/10 [Ar. *harbi* W 166] fight, war

Basi/ isa/ ni laazima/ si/ kubigana harbi. ‘So now it is necessary for us to engage in war with each other.’

Harbi/ maazi/ ^fmiingi/ huta(w)anyikó. ‘In a war, a lot of blood is shed.’

Harbi/ nt^hayná/ faayda. ‘War has no benefit, profit.’ (A saying.)

harbi itukilo mudá ‘a long war [lit. carried on for a period of time]’

Huseeni/ shfakata/ ye/ na waant^huwé/ washpandra jahaziini/ naa wo/ wachandika bandera ya harbi. ‘Huseeni ran, he and his men, they went on board the ship and they put up the flag of war.’

Ikhtariile/ kingila harbiini. ‘He chose to fight.’

kubiga harbi ‘to wage war’

shaahidi wa harbi ni oyo hawoli [st.] ‘a martyr of war is the one who does not rot, decay (upon dying)’

a flag of war to be raised.’

Sultaani/ chamura khpanzoowa/ bandera/ ya harbi. ‘The sultan ordered

Wachilawa kendra harbiini. ‘They went out to go to the battle.’

Wawaye mwanaamke/ bigeene/ harbi/ na sultaani/ oyo/ jiraaniye/ mara sitta/ na killa mará/ chishindroowa. ‘The girl’s father fought a war with that sultan, his neighbor, six times, and each time he was defeated.’

Ye/ wenopo kuwa khatari/ inamliindrá/ sula khaadira/ ki’ifakati/ laakini/ ye/ ikhtariile/ kingila harbiini. ‘When he saw that danger was waiting for him, he could have run away, but he chose to fight.’

ku-harbisha

v. [Sw. *harbisha* SSED 127] (**harbishiize**) fight, do battle with, struggle, force s.t. to happen or change

kuharbisha mlaango ‘to force a door open’

Chiharbisha mlaango/ kiingila. ‘He forced the door open so that he could enter.’

Harbishiize/ hattá/ ndrazile/ ka mkonooni/ ulushile. ‘It struggled [the trapped guinea fowl] until I let it go from my hand and it flew away.’

Hasani/ shtomola lpaangale/ chanza kuharbisha. ‘Hasani took out his sword and began to fight.’

Nyereere/ nakuharbisha kuwaka nt^hiye. ‘Nyerere is struggling to build his country.’

Si/ nt^hashkukhuwona/ we/ kuuya/ kumharbisha/ aduwi yiitu. ‘We did not see you come to fight our enemy.’ (We generally recorded the infinitive element *ku* being null in front of the second person object prefix *khu*; however, in this example the *ku* was retained.)

Want^hu hujo peeké/ na kuharbishá/ huwalaazima/ kuharbisha peeke. ‘People who eat alone and (then) fight (with someone), they are obliged (lit. it is obliged to them) to fight alone.’

We/ itakhulaazima/ kuharbisha dughaghi izi. ‘It will be necessary for you to fight these wild animals.’

rel.

ku-harbishana v. fight one another

Chiza kump^ha/ wana awo/ shtakuharbishana/ walwiitu. ‘If you refuse to give me those children, we will fight one another, the two of us.’

Karkaa wo/ wanakuharbishano/ siimba/ shtuluka/ na mp^huundrá/ shpata shpenene/ khfakata. ‘While they were fighting one another, Lion fell down and Donkey had a chance to run away.’

Mukhtaa noka/ mweno dul’edá/ nakingila mtanaani/ ka mwanaa/ chimraasha/ chiharbishana naaye/ hatá/ chimuḷa. ‘When the snake saw the fox entering the child’s room, he followed him and fought with him until he killed him.’

ku-harbishiliza v. appl. fight with

Ali/ harbishilize ruuhuye/ khpata kaazi/ ka sarkaali. ‘Ali tried hard to get a job with the government.’ Or with verbal emphasis: **Ali/ harbishiliize/ ruuhuye/ khpata kaazi/ ka sarkaali.**

Hasani/ mukhtạa ye/ komelo mahaḷa inakubiganowa harbí/ tomele lpaangale/ kuharbishiliza. ‘When Hasani arrived at the place where there was fighting, he took out his sword and began to fight with it.’

haare n. diarrhea, runny excrement; [pron. **haare**]

haare n. a poisonous snake; [pron. **haare**]

ku-harfisha v. [Som. *caraf* ‘to smell good, to be fragrant’ DSI 90] (**harfishiize**) smell something
variant form: **ku’arfisha**

Mp^hisi/ kama oyo/ harfishizopo ḷvundo laa nama/ nt^hakhaadira/ kureba ruuhuye. ‘The hyena, like that, when he smelled the bad smell of the [rotting] meat, he could not control himself.’

Ye/ harfishiize/ chiint^hu/ ndraani. ‘He smelled something inside [the house].’

harfu n. 9 [Sw. *harufu* SSED 128; Som. *caraf* DSI 90; cf. Ar. *ḥirīf* ‘pungent, spicy’ W 169] smell

Awa/ majini/ hawapeendi/ khkasa harfu ya wanaadamu. ‘These jinns don’t like to smell the smell of human beings.’

harfu iyi ‘this smell’

Masku/ mzelee mp^hisi/ chiya/ chiraasha/ harfu/ yaa nama. ‘At night the old hyena came and followed the smell of the meat.’

Mbona/ mi/ nakuharfisha harfu/ mbali/ leelo. ‘How come I smell a different smell today?’ **review phrasing and accent ,, mbali**

Muke/ chimwambila Sa’iidi/ ya kuwa/ ni laazima/ ye/ koowa/ muda wa skuu saba/ haṭa/ mukhtạa harfu/ ya wanaadamu/ itakuwo imlasile. ‘The woman told Sa’iidi that it was a must that he bathe for a period of seven days until when the smell of human beings will leave him.’

pashpo khkasa harfuya ‘without smelling myself’

harfu n. [Sw. *harufu* SSED 128; Ar. *ḥarf* ‘letter, consonant’ W 169] a letter of the alphabet, a consonant

kalamuze siwo za sowṭi na harfu [st.] ‘his (God’s) words are not made of sounds and letters’

harfujari n. 9/10 [Ar. *ḥarf al-jarr* ‘preposition’ W 169] preposition (in grammar)

hargabu n. 9/10 [Som. *hargab* DSI 300] head cold, flu
Zinakumera hargabu. ‘Colds are going around.’

hari n. [Sw. *hari* SSED 128; Ar. *ḥarr* W 165] heat [pron. **hari** or **harri**] (Notice that the preceding word-final vowel in the phrase is not lengthened in front of **hari**, even though CVCV words ordinarily trigger this lengthening. This behavior on the part of **hari** doubtless goes back to the fact that the Arabic source has a geminated *r*.)

Ka hari/ hayjiiki. ‘In hot weather one cannot eat.’

Leelo/ ni hari. ‘It is hot today.’

Mi/ nnayo hari. ‘I am hot [lit. I have heat].’

Sku mooyi/ wakhṭi/ ya harri/ sa’a za zohaari/ Juha/ na mwaanawé/ walazile/ wanakendra mahaḷa. ‘One day, when it was hot, at mid-day, Juha and his son left to go someplace.’

m-hari (mi-) n. 3/4 long needle, made of brass, used to stitch together pieces of mats or other things made of fibers, e.g. *skapu*

<i>ku-hariða</i>	v. [Ar. W 168] (hariðiile) incite
<i>hariifa</i> (Ø, ma-)	adj. clever
<i>hariifa</i>	n. co-wife (each wife of the same husband is a hariifa of the other)
<i>ku-harikisha</i>	v. caus. (cf. <i>harka</i> above) [Ar. <i>ḥaraka</i> W 170] move (emotionally) Laano/ ili/ suḷa kuharikisha qalbi za kiḷa mgereenza. ‘This story would move the hearts of all Englishmen.’ rel. <i>ku-harikishana</i> v. caus. rec. <i>ku-harikishiliza</i> v. caus. appl. rel. nom. <i>u-harikisho</i> n. 14
<i>ku-harima</i>	v. [Ar. <i>ḥarima</i> W 171] (haramiile) forbid on religious grounds, make something unlawful; make s.t. impossible; deprive Nharamile kulaala. ‘He made it impossible for me to sleep.’ rel. <i>ku-harimisha</i> v. caus. (harimishiize) render unlawful, illegitimate <i>ku-harimoowa</i> v. pass. (haramiila) kaa kuja na kaazi chiharimiila [nt.] ‘food and work are forbidden to us’
<i>ma-hariimu</i>	n. 6 those people whom one is forbidden to marry (for a male: mother, sister, grandmother; for a female, father, brother, grandfather)
<i>hariiri</i>	n. 9 [Sw. <i>hariri</i> SSED 128; Ar. <i>ḥarīr</i> W 165] silk Farasi/ oyo/ chandikoowa/ nguwo/ za hariiri/ hattá/ lijaamuye/ lwaliko nda hariiri. ‘That horse had spread on it clothes of silk, even its reins were of silk.’ hariiri iyi ‘this silk’ jezaye jana libsiye hariiri [st.] ‘(of a child who has died in childbirth) his reward is paradise and his clothese are silk’ Miloongoti/ nda feða/ na miṭaangá/ nda hariiri. ‘The masts are (made of) silver, and the sails are of silk.’ Mwanaamke/ chiingila/ mṭanaani/ kaake/ chivalaa nguwo/ za hariiri. ‘The girl entered her room and put on clothes of silk.’ nguwo ya hariiri ‘silk cloth’ noloolo/ kana hariiri ‘soft as silk’
<i>harooharo</i>	adv. Chibaṭeera/ chinakendra harooharo. ‘The boat is swinging.’ Check whether this is haroohaaro or harooharo
<i>haruusi</i>	n. [Sw. <i>arusi</i> SSED 19; Som. <i>aroot</i> DSI 24; Ar. <i>ʿurs</i> , <i>ʿurus</i> W 602] wedding ceremony and celebration, marriage feast, bride or bridegroom Basi/ nt^hakuwaṭukula/ kendra naawo/ kaaka/ keesho/ inawe haruusi. ‘So I will take them to go with them to my place; tomorrow let the wedding take place.’ haruusi/ imalizopó ‘when the wedding ceremony ended’ Haruusi/ na mukeewé/ wakaleent^he/ numbaani// muda ayamu mooyi/ kama aada/ ya muuyi. ‘The bridegroom and his wife stayed indoors for a period of one week in accordance with the tradition of the town.’ Haṭá/ oyo haruusi/ nt^hakuḷabisoowa/ jis’iyo. ‘Even the bride was not

dressed that way.'

Heendra/ kuwa Hasani/ kuuya/ harusi ya Omari. 'It is possible that Hasani will come to Omari's wedding.'

Ingile haruusi/ naayé/ nt^hana chiint^hu. 'He entered into nuptials while he had nothing.' *is there final accent here?*

khfanya haruusi 'to arrange, conduct a wedding'

Shfanya haruusi/ shfaanyó. 'He made/arranged a wedding, that's what he did.'

Sultaani/ shfanya haruusi/ chimloza mgarwa/ mwanaamkewe. 'The sultan arranged a wedding and married his daughter to the fisherman.'

khfanyowa haruusi a marriage to be arranged, conducted by'

Ishfanyowa haruusi/ nk^hulu. 'There was arranged a big wedding.'

khkalan^ha haruusi 'to stay indoors for a period of time after marriage (according to the custom in Brava)'

Wakalant^he haruusi/ muda wa skuu saba. 'They stayed inside for a period of seven days.'

kuwamo haruusi 'to be in the seven day period after marriage, during which time the married couple remains indoors and food is provided for them and their guests'

maharuusi 'a married couple'

Mi/ anakhsulá kendra harusini. 'I want to go to the wedding.'

Mi/ isa/ niilé/ na wanaashke/ wawili/ wa masultaani/ anakhsulá/ we/

kunfanyiliza/ haruusi/ mi/ kuwaloola. 'Now I have come with two saughters of sultans, I want you to make a wedding for me to marry them.'

Sultaani/ fanyize haruusi/ nk^hulu. 'The sultan held a big wedding feast.'

Sultaani/ shfanya haruusi/ nk^hulu/ chimloza mwanaamkewe/ Sa'iidi. 'The sultan held a big wedding and married his daughter to

Sa'iidi.'

Wachimpelekela haruusi/ khabari. 'They sent news to the bridegroom.'

Wachimwaambila/ kudarbisha ruuhuye/ kingila haruusi. 'They told him to prepare himself to enter into marriage.'

walima wa haruusi or **walimaa haruusi** 'food served at the marriage feast by the bridegroom's family'

hasanaati n. 10 [Sw. *hasanati* SSED 128; Ar. *ḥasanāt*, pl. of *ḥasana* "good deed, charity" W 178] good things (from a religious point of view); the credit given by God for good deeds

Daḍalaṭa khkasabaṭa hasanaati. 'Try your best to earn yourself hasanaati.'

na hasanaati nt^hazina hisaabu [st.] 'and credit which cannot be counted'

hasdi n. envy (The *s* in this word is voiced to some extent.)

haasha interj. truly no; [pron. *haashá*]

Chimwambila mukeewe/ mi/ nakhambila jawaabu/ laakini/ simwambile muunt^hú/ mukeewe/ chihada/ haashá/ nini/ mi/ mwambila

muunt^hu/ siriyo. 'He said to his wife: I am telling you something, but do not tell it to anyone; his wife answered: never! why would I tell anyone your secret?'

Wachihada/ haashá/ si/ nt^hashkuwona/ ka kaake/ ziwovu. 'They said, truly no, we do not know any evil of him.'

hasha' interj. an expression that approvingly affirms that s.t. was done; [pron. *hashá*']

Hashá'/ Hamadi/ ile/ leesele/ zoombo. 'Yes, Hamadi came and brought the stuff (and I am expressing satisfaction about this)'

Hashá'/ Hamádi/ m-peele/ Omari/ peesa. 'Yes, Hamadi did give Omari money

(and I am expressing satisfaction about this).’

hasharaati n. 10 [Sw. *hasharati* “dissipation”; Ar. *ḥasarūt* “vermin, insect pests”, pl. of *ḥasara* “insect” W 179] insects; dissipation; adj. a bother, a nuisance

hasharaati/ izi ‘these insects’

Mwana hasharaati/ oloshole. ‘The annoying child left.’

Mwana uyu/ hasharaati. ‘This child is a nuisance.’

rel.

u-hasharaati n. 14

Iyo/ ni ifuungu/ ya maali/ ya Ali/ fanyilizo uhasharaati/ na surufilo ilu yaa waké. ‘That is the part of his wealth that Ali squandered on dissipation and spent on women.’

hashaashi adj. [Som. *xasgaash* DSI 629] elegant (e.g. referring to someone who is well-dressed, new or clean clothes and shoes, hair nicely combed, skin well-oiled, etc.)

Hamadi/ ni hashaashi. ‘Hamadi is/looks elegant.’

hashiimu (\emptyset , *ma-*) adj. [Ar. *ḥašīm* “modest, shy” W 180] respectful (Although this word is accepted by GM, he prefers **heshmaale**.)

chijana chihashiimu ‘respectful child’ (cf. **zijana zihashiimu** ‘respectful children’)

munt^hu hashiimu ‘a respectful person’ (cf. **want^hu (ma)hashiimu** ‘respectful people’)

rel.

u-hashimu n. 14 respectfulness

hashiisha n. [Ar. *ḥašīš* “hemp, hashish, cannabis” W 179] hashish, cannabis, etc.

Hashiisha/ ni haraamu. ‘Hashish is disallowed (according to Islamic religion).’

Omari/ huvuta hashiisha. ‘Omari smokes hashish.’

hasiida n. boiled corn flour

Hi’ijilila hasiida/ ka iziwa. ‘We eat boiled corn flour with milk.’

Hutunga unga/ hupika hasiida/ huja. ‘He sifts flour, he cooks **hasiida**, he eats.’

Pishile Haliima/zijo/ kana hasiida. ‘Haliima cooked **zijo** as though it were **hasiida** (i.e. her **zijo** was soft and sticky like porridge rather than dry and not sticky, as **zijo** should be).’ (Syn. Observe that the subject can be moved into IAV position when the clause is expanded with a **kana**-phrase.) (Phon. In the corresponding yes-no question, there is no accent shift: **Pishile Haliima/ zijo/ kana hasiida?** In the exclamatory yes-no question, the last two phrases show accent shift: **Pishile Haliima/ zijo/ kana hasiida!?**)

Sku yaane/ wajiile/ hasiida/ ya unga waa gele/ watowejele mtuzi/ waa nsi/ uwaliko useeló/ yaná. ‘On the fourth day they ate **hasiida** from maize flour, they ate it with soup of fish which remained from the day before.’

hasho n. 10 [Som. *xash* “wood shavings, granular remains of work, small chips from working stone” DIS 629] small stones, pebbles, gravel

Fulaani/ hu’isha ka ku’arishaa hasho. ‘So-and-so earns his living by collecting **hasho** and selling it.’

rel.

zi-hasho n. 10 small stones, pebbles, gravel

hasiidi (\emptyset , *ma-*) n., adj. [Sw. *hasidi* (*ma-*) SSED ?? ; Ar. *ḥāsīd* W 176] one who begrudges or envies another to the point of wishing that the person envied will lose all that he has; someone who has the power to cause another to lose all that he has (by means of the **ito iwovu** ‘the evil eye’)

Hasiidi/ haliwaani. ‘Someone who begrudges, envies never succeeds.’
munt^hu hasiidi ‘envious person’ (cf. **want^hu hasiidi** or **want^hu mahasiidi** ‘envious people’; **chijana chihasiidi** ‘dim. envious child’, **zijana zihasiidi** ‘dim. envious children’)

hasili [Ar. verb **ḥaṣala** “to set in, to take place” W 182] with extra care, slowly
ka hasili ‘slowly’
ađina ka lkele qima ka hasili [st.] ‘call to prayer loudly, (but) announce the approaching of time to pray in a low voice’
Ineendra/ kas hasili. ‘Walk slowly, with care (e.g. on slippery ground).’
Tukula/ naank^hó/ weka ka hasili. ‘Carry (it) and put (it) down carefully.’

ku-hasinika v. improve
rel.
ku-hasinikila v. improve for, to
Haali/ imhasinikiliile. ‘The situation improved for him.’
Wachingila khfanya kazi ya miyuundra/ na ba’ada ya wakhtī mchaaché/ hali yaawo/ ichihasinika. ‘They began to farm [lit. do work of fields] and after a short period of time, their situation improved.’
ku-hasinisha v. improve s.t.

hasiira n. 9 [Sw. **hasira** SSED 129; Ar. verb **ḥaṣara** “to restrain, hold back” W 181; SSED cites the Arabic as “oppression of the heart”] anger
Ali/ ni munt^hu mwenye hasiira. ‘Ali is an angry man.’
Hasiira/ huleta khasaara. ‘Anger brings a loss.’ (A proverb.)
hasira iyi ‘this anger’

ku-hasuuda v. [Sw. **hasidi, husudu** SSED 129; Ar. **ḥasada** W 176] (**hasudiile**) begrudge someone something, be envious, wish to outdo someone and see him worse off than he presently is
Mhasudile mweenzawe. ‘He begrudged his friend (and as a result, something bad happened to him).’

haṭa conj., prep. [SSED **hata** SSED 129; Ar. **ḥaṭā** W155] even; until; [pron. **haṭá**, and with gemination: **hattá**]
variant form: **aṭá, attá**
Abunawaasi/ shpaandra/ haṭá/ chendra ka Harun Rashiidi. ‘Abunawaasi climbed the stairs until he went to Harun Rashiidi.’
aṭa chisala p(w)eke pashpo wahali [st.] ‘even if you pray alone without companion’
Baduwi uyu/ shṭinda ije humwiililó/ mbeleye -- mp^haka/ mbwa/ na haṭá/ wanaadamú. ‘The nomad slaughtered whatever came before him – cats, dogs, and even human beings.’ **review accent on "mbele"**
Basi/ uje sultaani/ hattá/ nakshulá mfuunga. ‘So that sultan even wanted to arrest him.’
Chimsoomesha/ oyo mwaana/ teena/ maamaye/ chisoomesha/ chibaraṭa qur’aani/ chibaraṭó/ attá/ chiwa mkulu. ‘She taught that boy, then after his mother taught him, he learned the Quran, that’s what he did, until he grew up.’
Chiineendra/ hattá/ shkoma/ ndila/ hupeleko nt^hi ya wanyaasá. ‘He walked until he reached the road that leads to the land of the Wanyaasa.’
Fijiri/ Sa’iidi/ shfunga safari/ chiineendra/ chiineendra/ haṭá/ shkoma numba/ mooyi. ‘In the morning Saiidi set out on a journey and walked and walked until he reach a house.’

Ghaḍibishilee nt^ho/ haṭá/ wele (kuwa) hakhaadiri/ kaandika. ‘He was so angry to the point until it became that he was not able to write.’

haṭá/ chimpaandra ‘until I found him’

Hasiibu/ chija/ haṭá/ chiikuta. ‘Hasiibu ate until he was full.’

Haṭá/ ichiwa/ kuwa...kiḷa mooyi/ muyiini/ bareete/ majibu ya Ali. ‘(So it was) until it became that everyone in the town learned Ali’s answer.’

Haṭá/ Khaḍija/ nimeené. ‘I saw even Khadhija.’ Or: Khaḍija/ haṭá/ nimeené.

Haṭá/ kanaa ye/ mp^heelé/ simruudili. ‘Even if he gave it to me, I won’t return it to him.’

haṭá/ mi/ chiya ‘even if/ until I come’

Haṭá/ Muusa/ lumila naa noka. ‘Even Muusa was bitten by a snake.’ (In this pronunciation, there is no downstep between the initial particle and Muusa.

^fHaṭá/ Muusa/ lumila naa noká. ‘Even Muusa was bitten by a snake.’ (In this example, Muusa is lowered after the particle; the particle is apparently focused, and this requires the verb to be put in pseudo-relative form. Our consultant allowed a variant, with verb emphasis in addition: ^fHaṭá/ Muusa/ lumilá/ naa noká. Notice that the final accent extends through the next phrase. This pronunciation was volunteered by our consultant, but later research did indicate that the Accentual Law of Focus does seem to work in pseudo-relative clauses, so it is not entirely expected that it would be violated here. More research is obviously in order.)

haṭá/ Nureeni/ chiya ‘even if/ until Nureeni comes’

Haṭaa ^fwe/ nakhkoḍo na Nuurú/ ṁnakendra kumleta mwaaná. ‘While you are talking with Nuuru, I am going to bring the child.’ Or: Haṭaa ^fwe/ nakhkoḍo na Nuurú/ ṁnakeendrá/ kumleta mwaana. ‘While you are talking with Nuuru, I am going to bring the child.’

Haṭaa ^fwe/ nakhkoḍo na Nuurú/ nakendra nt^hiini/ kuleta zoombozá. ‘While you are talking with Nuuru, I am going down to bring my things.’ (The pseudo-relative form of the verb indicates that there is focus on the initial phrase.)

Haṭaa wo/ washkoma apo/ nuumba/ nzimaye/ ichizaama/ ichiwa bahari/ ichiwó. ‘As they reached there, the house, all of it, sank, and it became sea, that’s what it became.’

Hupoowi/ haṭá/ shtomola peesa. ‘You won’t be given it, even if you pay money.’

Ishize na muḅliwe/ ka zeema/ haṭá/ ye/ fiiló. ‘She lived with her husband in harmony until he died.’

Jis’iyo/ haṭá/ wachimalizaa kuja. ‘[Things went on] that way until they finished eating.’

Leelo/ hattá/ peesa/ yaa si/ kuja/ nt^hachiná. ‘Today we do not even have money with which to eat.’

Mbishile/ haṭá/ skomelee ndruti/ khamsiini. ‘He beat him until he reached fifty blows.’

Mi/ skutiya/ haṭá/ mara mooyi/ kuwaa we/ takump^haka uso/ mashizi/ na takun’ebisha ka waant^hu. ‘I was not afraid even once that you would “smear my face with soot” and disgrace me in front of people.’

Ndriinzilé/ ^fhaṭá/ kuja/ imaliizó. ‘I waited until the food was finished.’ Or: Ndriinzilé/ haṭá/ kuja/ imaliize. ‘I waited until the food was finished.’ (In both these sentences, haṭá is raised in pitch, but only in the first case was this accompanied by a shift of the verb to pseudo-relative clause form.)

Ndriinzilé/ ^fhaṭá/ Nuuru/ iló. ‘I waited until Nuuru came.’ Or: Ndriinzilé/ haṭá/ Nuuru/ ile. ‘I waited until Nuuru came.’ (In both these sentences, haṭá is raised in pitch, but only in the first case was this accompanied by a shift of the verb to pseudo-relative clause form.)

Nt^hakhkalan^ha apa/ haṭaa we/ chiya. ‘I will stay here until you come.’

nt^hangú/ kaaka/ mundraani/ haṭá/ apa ‘starting from my field up to here’
need to review phrasing and accent

Sku niingi/ spisile jis’iyi/ haṭa iboholi/ iwele ndraani. ‘Many days passed this way until the hole (which had been full) became empty.’

Tuuma/ haṭá/ Barka/ mpee/ peesa. ‘Tuuma gave money even to Barka.’
 Or: **Tuuma/ Barka/ haṭá/ mpee/ peesa.**
Tuuma/ haṭá/ meene/ Khaḍija. ‘Tuuma even saw Khadhija.’ Or: **Haṭá/ Tuuma/ meene/ Khaḍija.**
Tuuma/ Khaḍija/ haṭá/ meene. ‘Tuuma saw even Khadhija.’ Or: **Tuuma/ haṭá/ Khaḍija/ meene.**
Tuuma/ waanzile/ nt^ho/ haṭá/ niizé/ mtaambula. ‘Tuuma has gotten so fat, to the point that I did not recognize her.’
Wamaliizopó/ wachiruuda/ kaawo/ kuliindra/ haṭá/ muundra/ kuḷawa.
 ‘When they finished, they returned to their place to wait until the garden bore fruit.’
We/ nt^huná/ haṭa yaa we/ kujá. ‘You do not have anything to eat.’ **review**
Wote/ wacheendra/ nt^hini ya majabali/ kulinda haṭaa nvula/ ishtiinda.
 ‘All went under the rock to wait until the rain stopped.’
Ye/ haṭá/ Khaḍija/ meene. ‘He saw even Khadhija.’ Or: **Ye/ Khaḍija haṭá/ meene.**
Ye/ nt^hakunuuzá/ haṭá/ jisaa mi/ mp^heto numba iyí. ‘He did not ask even how I got this house.’

haatifu

n. 9 [Ar. *hātif* “shouting, calling loudly” W 1018] rumors, news, sounds
 variant form: **haatufu**

Nt^haku/ haṭifuye. ‘There’s no word of him.’

Pete haatifu. ‘He got wind of something.’

Shkasa haatifu/ ndilaani. ‘He heard sounds outside.’

Hatimi

n. the name of one of the main tribes in Brava; although the Haṭimi claim that they were the first to settle in Brava, the issue of the evolution of the town and its language is not at all a settled matter. According to their traditions, the Somali Tunni were in Brava already 850 years ago. This is not historically impossible, but is unproven. In any case, a Tunni population does not explain the presence of a Bantu language. The first mention of the **Haṭimi** is in the “Chronicle of Pate”, which says that some of them settled in Pate in 1595, coming from Brava, and ultimately originating from Andalusia. This latter migration has never been researched and the date of their first settling in Brava is unknown. In any case, prior to their arrival in Brava, there must have been a Bantu population living in Brava, otherwise the existence of the Chimiini language would be unexplained.

haṭimilifu

adj. battered, beaten, half-dead

hawa
 climate

n. 9 [Sw. *hawa* SSED 130, *hewa* SSED 133; Ar. *hawā*’ W 1040] weather, air,

Ariplaano/ yimo hawaani. ‘The airplane is in the air.’

Hamadi/ umo hawaani. ‘Hamadi is daydreaming [lit. in the air].’

Hawa iyi/ haysaaydi/ ukulo wa waana. ‘This climate does not help children to grow.’

hawaa mbovu ‘a bad climate’

kubadilaa hawa ‘to get away for awhile from one’s regular routine’

Mi/ na askarizá/ chondroshelé/ kendra ijabali Khaafu/

kubadilaa hawa. ‘Me and my soldiers left to go to Mt.

Khaafu for a change of air.’

nt^hila karka hawa mbarate kuuluka [song] ‘put me in the air so that I learn to fly’

Si kheeri/ kuja/ mbelé/ chimaliza/ kingila hawa/ za dughaghi. ‘It is better to eat first and then to deal with the wild animal.’

hawa

n. 9 [Som. *xabag* DSI 619] glue

hawa iyi ‘this glue’

kambisa kaa hawa ‘to attach with glue, to glue something on’

hawa

n. 9/10 [Sw. *hawa* SSED 130; Ar. verb *hawā* “to desire” and noun *hawan*, pl. *ahwā* “passion” W 1040] longing, strong inclination, lust, passion, desire, hope, plan

Basi/ baaba/ chintokomeza/ na chilawa/ karka hawaze. ‘So father abandoned him and [lit.] went away from his inclinations (referring in this particular example sentence to his youngest boy’s propensity for playing in the kitchen) [i.e. he forsook him].’
hawa za nafsi ‘desires, wishes, passions, lusts, cravings for worldly things’
lataani hawa za nafsi tala dhibu [st.] ‘don’t obey [lit. let go] passions, forbear [lit. take difficulty]’
Siraashé/ hawa za nafsi. ‘Don’t follow (obey) the soul’s desires!’
Hawazo/ ni niingi. ‘Your hopes, desires etc. are (too) many.’
munt^hu mwenyee hawa ‘a daydreamer, a person who talks big but does little’
Nazoo hawa. ‘He has lofty, unreasonably high ambitions.’
Omari/ hawaze/ ni niingi. ‘Omari’s hopes, desires are (too) many.’
need examples of [cl.9] usage

- Haawa** n. [Sw. *hawa* SSED 130; Ar. ??] Eve
- hawaaji** n. 10 [Som. *xawaash*, var. *xawaaj* DSI 629] a mixture of cumin and coriander
Hawaaji/ hufanyaa kuja/ taamu. ‘Curry spices make food taste good.’
- hawaala** n. [Sw. *hawala* SSED 130; Ar. *hawāla* W 218] a letter of authorization to pay a sum of money to a person; it can be, and most often was, sent to individuals, e.g. a merchant in another town, with whom the sender had business relations
khfanya hawaala ‘to obtain a hawaala’
- ku-hawaalisha** v. (**hawalishiize**) obtain a **hawaala**
- ku-hawaara** v. [Som. verb *habaar* DSI 287] (**hawariile** or **habariile**) curse; [pron. **kuhawaara** or **kuhabaara**]
- hawaari** n. 9/10 [Som. noun *habaar* DSI 287] curse
- haweesa** n. 9/10 a wooden vessel for carrying and storing milk; [pron. **haweesa** or **habeesa**]
could this also be pronounced habeesa??
rel.
i-haweesa (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.
- haya** interj.
variant form: **haye**
Haya/ chilawe. ‘Well, let’s go.’
Haye/ isa/ teena/ mi/ nakendrá. ‘Well now then I am going.’
Haye/ nakump^ha pesaa kamú. ‘Well, how much money will you give me?’
Haye/ nini/ nayo amri ganí. ‘Well, what affair (matter, etc.) do you have (e.g. that brings you here to see me)?’
- haya** n. 9 [Sw. *haya* SSED 131; Ar. *hayā* W 220] shame, modesty (Observe that *haya* does not trigger lengthening of a preceding word-final vowel in the phrase. This suggests that the word has an abstract structure CVCCV; however, a superficial CVCV word that has this behavior pattern typical derives from an Arabic word with medial gemination. The Arab source of the present word, however, does not have gemination. Perhaps the long vowel in the second syllable in the Arabic word plays a role in rendering the word inappropriate for a preceding word-final vowel to be lengthened.)
konyesha haya ‘to show, reveal shame’
Ha’onyeshi/ haya. ‘He does not show shame.’
kuwanayo haya ‘to have shame’
Nt^haná/ haya. ‘He has no shame.’
We/ nt^huná/ haya. ‘You do not have a sense of shame.’
kuwona haya ‘to be embarrassed, ashamed’

Muhtaaji/ hawoni/ haya. ‘The needy person does not feel shame.’
(A proverb.)

Stiyé/ walá/ siwona/ haya. ‘Don’t be afraid nor feel embarrassed.’

Mi/ mnakuwona hayá/ ka khisa wanafakhi waa mi/ nk^hoðeeló. ‘I am
ashamed because of the lie that I told.’

munt^hu mwenye haya ‘a modest person’

hayatamo

n. a game in which players carry a long stick and a short piece of wood, which they launch by hitting it with the stick; the opponent has to run and get it and, if successful, tries to hit with it the “goal”, represented by a can; [pron. **hayatámó**]

hayaati

n. [Sw. **hayati** “departed, deceased” SSED 131, though this Swahili usage is rather removed from the Arabic use of the word; Ar. **hayāh** “life” W 220] life

Mi/ ndimí/ nfuzilo nafsiyá/ karka hayaati/ amó/ ndimí/ maquudí. ‘‘Is it me who tied himself up in life or is it me who is tied down?’’

Mi/ siisi/ yo yote/ karka hayaati/ inakuuyó. ‘I do not know anything of the life to come.’

Mukhtaay/ peto miiri/ langalile kubli/ na kusootó/ laakini/

nt^hakuwona/ alaama/ ya hayaati/ karka jaziira. ‘When he regained consciousness, he looked to the right and to the left, but he did not see a sign of life on the island.’

rel.

u-hayaati n. 14 the state of being alive

ka uhayaati apa mooja mweeshele [st.] ‘God put him there alive’

ka uhayaati ye panziiza kuzimu [st.] ‘in his aliveness he (i.e. Jesus) was lifted to heaven’

hayaathi

n. a kind of dance **review**

hayawaani (Ø, ma-, mi-)

n. 9/10 [Sw. **hayawani** “(1) brute, beast; (2) a person just like an animal, i.e. shameless, stupid, brute. idiot” SSED 131; Ar. **hayawān** W 220] animal

Apo/ zamaani/ hayawaani/ za maduuri/ washishiḷa oni. ‘Once upon a time animals of the bush became thirsty.’

Badala yaa we/ kumtaala/ kumfanya kama mwaanawo/ kumdhora/ kama maatoyo/ kuja naaye/ yaa we/ naakujó/ we/ amurilee ye/ khpowa zaakujá/ za hayawaani. ‘Instead of you taking him and making him your child, protecting him like your eyes, eating with him whatever you eat, you ordered him to be given food [fit for] animals.’

Chiwona/ kuwa hayawaani/ uyu/ ni jisa/ maamaye/ msifiliḷó. ‘He saw that this beast was just as his mother had described it.’

hayawani niingi ‘many beasts’; **mihayawani miingi** ‘many beasts’

Hayawaani/ zotte/ scheendra/ schimlata ngombe waa gisi/ apo. ‘All the animals went and left behind the buffalo there.’

Na oko maduriini/ ziko hayawaani/ niingi/ na dughaaghi/ niingi. ‘And there in the bush there are many animals and (there are) many beasts.’ (Observe the lack of final accent in **na dughaaghi**, despite the fact that **na** ordinarily triggers final accent on a following nominal conjunct. Although more research is merited, we expect the absence of final accent here is due to the fact that there is an omitted verb in front of **dughaaghi** – i.e. **na ziko dughaaghi**, and **na** does not trigger final accent in the case of conjoined verbs.)

Omari/ lele maduriini/ bishilee muḷo/ jisaa ye/ kudhora mahayawaani.

‘Omari slept in the bush and made a fire so as to protect himself from animals.’

Siwo/ zakuja za hayawaani. ‘These are not foods for animals.’

Ye/ ni hayawaani/ mwenye makri/ na khadad’á. ‘It is an animal that has tricks and deceits.’

rel.

chi-hayawaani (zi-) n. 7/8

Mp^hana/ ni chihayawaani/ chihaba/ huchileteloo dhibu/ na uđiyá. ‘A rat is a small animal who brings to us harm and nuisance.’

u-hayawaani n. 14 [Sw. *uhayawani* “the condition, state, characteristics, etc., of a brute, beast, etc.” SSED 131]

haye

interj. ok, yes; hey; well

Haye/ chilaweni wowiini. ‘Well, let us go to the river.’

Haye/ jawaabu/ ziko jis’iyo. ‘OK, [so] the situation is like this.’

Haye/ lete wahaliwe. ‘OK, bring the other one [lit. its companion].’

Haye/ mpelekele. ‘Alright, take it to him.’

Haye/ mzeele. ‘Hey, old woman!’

Haye/ maama. ‘Yes, mother.’

Haye/ nakhsuulani. ‘Yes, what do you want?’

hayee

ideo. a warning of something dangerous

Hayée!/ Faatima/ mambile maanawe/ sisoongé/ apo/ yikoo muḷo/ itakhupiisha. ‘Hayee! Faatima told her child: don’t go near that, it is fire, it will burn you.’ (The ideophone *hayee* in this example is pronounced with a high pitch on the word-final long vowel; we indicate this high pitch with the acute sign over the first mora of the vowel, but it should be noted that the high pitch continues to the second mora: there is no fall to the pitch. We have not determined whether the pitch shape of the ideophone is consistent in all instances of its use.)

hayi

adj. [Sw. *hai* SSED 123; Ar. *ḥayy* W 220] alive (Although we did not record this word with gemination of the *y*, the failure of **hayi** to trigger lengthening of a preceding word-final vowel, as in **ni hayi** and **chiko hayi** below, is perhaps a reflection of the geminate nature of the Arabic source word.)

ba’adi ya hayi ni mowti/ Sheekhi chifa isiḷoowa [st.] ‘after life comes death; when the Sheikh dies, no one should weep’

chiint^hu hayi khtila muḷooni khatari [st.] ‘to put s.t. alive in fire is dangerous (i.e. something not permitted by the religion)’

ipana ihayi ‘a live aug. rat’; **mipana mihayi** ‘live aug. rats’

once he knew that his daughter was alive and in the boat.’

Kana hayi/ hukooḍa/ mba na/ hubiga mikele. ‘A live mouth talks and what about a dog, it barks (i.e. if one is alive, then one must talk).’ (A translation of a Somali proverb.)

Khadija hayi mtume nt^hakuloola [st.] ‘during Khadija’s life (i.e. while Khadija was alive) the Propet did not marry (any other wife)’

maamé/ kawa hayi ‘if my mother were alive’

mp^hana hayi ‘a live rat/ live rats’

Munt^hu uje/ ni hayi. ‘That man is alive – i.e. energetic, active.’

muti hayi ‘a live tree’; **miti hayi** ‘live trees’

Naasi/ chiko hayi... ‘And we who are alive...’

Ngombe uje/ nt^haasá/ ni hayi. ‘That cow is alive.’ **review**

shpana chihayi ‘a live dim. mouse’ **spana zihayi** ‘live dim. mice’

want^hu hayi ‘alive, active, energetic people’

Ye/ tiyiile/ ishkila/ ka mutiini/ ka khisa/ ye/ tosheeze/ kuwaa ndovu/ nt^haasá/ ni hayi. ‘He was afraid to come down from the tree because he thought that the elephant was still alive.’

Ye/ waliko mweenza/ wa mwaana/ wa sultaani/ nt^hangú/ waawaye/ waliko hayi. ‘He was a friend of the son of the sultan since before

rel.

u-hayi n. 14 the condition of being alive, living

he

interj. an expression of warning

heeba

n. 9/(10) [Sw. *haiba* SSED 123; Ar. *haiba* “reverence, esteem, respect” W 1042]

character, personality, dignity, prestige, good appearance

muunt^hu/ heebaye ‘the man’s character’ **review**

munt^hu mwenye heeba ‘a man of character, dignity’

Nguwo zaa ye/ veetó/ zimpele heeba/ na ujamaalá. ‘The clothes that he wore gave him dignity and beauty.’

Nt^haná/ heeba. ‘He has no character.’

ku-hebela

v. [cf. Ar. n. **hiba** “gift” and v. **wahaba** “to present, donate” W 1102] (**hebeleele**) give s.t. non-perishable freely, not expecting anything in return

Na yaa ye/ peeto/ yote/ mhebeleele mooje. ‘And whatever he got, he gave freely to his master.’

heeðari

proper name

n. a name used for Ali, cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet; also used as a male

it insignificant’

kumpeenda heeðari Ali stoshe haba [st.] ‘to love Heedhari Ali, don’t think

hena

n. 9 [Sw. **hina** SSED 133; Ar. **hinnā**’ W 209] henna – red dye obtained from the dried and powdered leaves of the plant *Lawsonia Inermis*; it is applied to the hands and feet by women and to (white) hair and beard by men (Observe below that a preceding word-final vowel is lengthened in front of **hena**. This behavior suggests that the original Arabic gemination of the **n** in this word no longer functions as a mora in Chimiini prosody.)

khpakaa hena ‘to apply hena’

ku-hengaheenga

v. [?Sw. **hangaika** “to be troubled, anxious” SSED 126] (**perfect form uncertain**) pace back and forth in a perplexed or confused manner; wobble

Hamadi/ nakuhengaheenga. ‘Hamadi is pacing back and forth perplexed.’

ku-hergelata

v. [Som. **hargal** “to be a guest, rest in the shade, rest in the middle of the day” DSI 300; Tun. **hergel-** Tosco 216] (**hergeleete**) take a rest, a nap (esp. refers to the resting that is done during the hottest part of the day); spend the day

Expression: hergeleeteey = how did

you spend the day? is used as greeting for late afternoon/evening.

hergeleeteeyi

[Som. **hargal**, Tun. **hergel**] how did you spend your day (lit. the middle or hottest part of the day)? – a greeting used in late afternoon or evening; also, a more Somalized form of this evening greeting is used: **hergesha.**)

heero

n. 9/10 [Som. **xeero** DSI 631] a kind of shallow wooden bowl, the size of a soup plate, used mainly to serve coffee beans fried in clarified butter

Heero/ ivundishile. ‘The bowl broke.’

heero/ yaa zijo or **hero yaa zijo** ‘a bowl of zijo’

Want^hu wa zamaani/ wachijaa zijo/ ka heero. ‘People of olden times ate zijo with a heero.’

rel.

chi-heero (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim.

chihero chaa buni ‘a little heero used as a serving container of fried coffee beans with a lot of steaming oil’

heshiisi

n. 9/10 [**Som.**] an agreement

heshishi iyi ‘this agreement’ (cf. **heshishi izi** ‘these agreements’)

Shalayeete/ kingila heshiisi/ na Omari/ kula gaari. ‘He regretted entering into an agreement with Omari to buy a car.’

heshma

n. 9 [Sw. **hishima** SSED ???; Ar.] respect

variant forms: **hishma, heshema**

Ama/ muke/ uje/ walimo numba iwaliko lpandre la kusootó/ waliko nii muke/ msuura/ ka akhlaakhi/ mwenye naharisi/ na heshmá.

‘As for the wife who was in the house on the left hand side, she was a woman beautiful with good manners and respect.’

Apo/ wo/ washpanana salaamu/ ka adabu/ na heshmá. ‘There they extended greetings to one another with good manners and respect.’

kufanya heshema ‘to show respect’

Muunt^hu/ husu^la khfanya heshema/ karka want^hu wazima. ‘A person must show respect when among elders.’

Sultaani/ naayé/ chimpa/ chizeele/ salaamu/ ka heshma. ‘The sultan, and he, gave the old woman greetings with respect.’

ku-heshma

v. [see *hishma* below] [Sw. *heshimu* SSED 132; cf. Ar. *ḥasama* “to be modest, shy” and n. *ḥisma* “modesty, decorum” W 179] (**heshmeele**) respect someone (note the difference in meaning with respect to the Arabic); show respect for s.o. (e.g. by honoring a guest)

kumheshma/ kana mzelewa ‘to respect him like one’s parent’

Liini/ chinheshmó. ‘She never respected me.’

Ye/ huheshma waant^hu. ‘He respects people.’

rel.

ku-heshmana v. rec. respect one another

ku-heshmoowa v. pass. (**heshmeela**)

Abdalla/ heshmeela/ nt^ho/ na sultaani/ na wenye nt^hi wont^hé. ‘Abdalla was respected very much by the sultan and all the natives.’

heshmaale

adj. respectful

Omari/ ni heshmaale. ‘Omari is respectful (i.e. he respects, honors people).’

Waan^hu/ humpeenda/ munt^hu heshmaale. ‘People like someone who is respectful.’ Or: **Waan^hu/ humpeenda/ muunt^hu/ heshmaale.**

hewesi

n. 9/10 [cf. Som. *xabad* “chest” DSI 619] chest; [pron. **hewesi** or **hebesi**]

Omari/ mishpaye/ heweesi/ hisabatika. ‘Omari, the bones of his ribcage, are countable (i.e. he is so thin).’

rel.

chi-hewesi (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

i-hewesi (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

check Tunni form

hidaaya

n. 9 [Ar. *hidāya* W 1024] (divine) guidance

Mooja ni kaako hidaaya/ chi’arzuqe si imaan [st.] ‘O God, guidance is yours [lit. is at your place, is with you], grant us faith’

Mwajiitu/ nakhishkiliza hidaaya. ‘May God send down for you his divine guidance.’

hiidi

n. 9 [Sw. *hedhi* SSED 131; SSED refers to the Arabic verb *ḥadda* and noun *ḥadd* “incitement, prodding” W 183, but this meaning does not correlate with the meaning in Swahili and Chimiini] menstruation, a woman’s period

chilawa karka hiidi na uzele/ muke sho koowa nt^hana ndila beele [st.] ‘when menstruation and the laying-in after childbirth is over, a woman who does not bathe has no path (to follow), she is lost’

kingila hiidi ‘to menstruate’

kowa hiidi ‘to bathe, as required by Islamic practice, after menstruating’

kuwamo hiidiini ‘to be having one’s period’

kuwanayo hiidi ‘to be menstruating’

Nayo hiidi. ‘She is having her period.’

kuwona hiiḍi ‘to begin to menstruate’

mweepuke muke hiiḍi sho khtiindika/ chimdaara mweenziwe sala huvuundika [st.] ‘avoid a woman whose menstrual period has not ended, if her companion touches her, the prayers are broken, invalid’

wabli ka mashoga watomeele tele/ wamereele ruuhu ki’ipelekaa mbele/ Mooja wa ’lize hiiḍi na mawele [nt.] ‘men decided to wear women’s black wraps trying to save themselves, [but] God did not give them a woman’s shape [lit. menstruation and breasts]’

hifōi

n. memorization

hifōi/ na tajwiidi ‘the memorization and accurate recitation of the Quran’

hija

n. 9 [Ar. **hijja** W 156] Hajj, the pilgrimage to Mecca

muke sku za hija uso hafiniki [st.] ‘a woman should not cover her face during the pilgrimage’

muunt^hu naayo maali chifa bilaa hija [st.] ‘if a person who is wealthy dies without performing the pilgrimage’

safari yaa hija faanya khafiifu [st.] ‘make the pilgrimage easy’

waruzuqe hija ije maqbuuli [st.] ‘grant them [to perform] a pilgrimage that is acceptable [to you, God]’

ya nafsi shpata maali tomola zaka/ numa ni waajibu hija keendra Maka [st.] ‘oh mortals, if you get money, give alms; after (that) it is obligatory to go on the pilgrimage to Mecca’

ya taano ni hija ka muunt^hu qaadiri [st.] ‘the fifth (pillar of Islam) is the pilgrimage to Mecca for the person who is able (can afford to undertake it)’

ku-hija

v. [Sw. **hiji** SSED 123; Ar. **hajja** W 156] (**hijiile**) go on the pilgrimage to Mecca

muunt^hu hijiilo amriye siwo haba [st.] ‘the man who performs the pilgrimage, his deed is not a small one’

takuhijo jima mpeeni yaqinio/ awaabuze kama hija sab’iini [st.] ‘the one who performs the pilgrimage on Friday, let him be assured that his reward is as though he had performed the pilgrimage seventy

times’

wa’enzelo wanaahije timaamu [st.] ‘may those who go on the pilgrimage perform it well, completely’

rel.

ku-hijisha v. caus. provide the means for someone to go on the pilgrimage to Mecca; help someone perform all the prescribed duties of the pilgrimage to Mecca

hijaa’i

n. [Ar. **hija**’W 1020] alphabet

ku-hijaabata

v. (**hijabeete**) die (an euphemistic, more polite than **kufa**)
Omari/ hijabeete. ‘Omari died.’

hijaabu

n. 9 [Sw. **hijabu** SSED 133; Ar. **hijab** W 156] swellings that appear on various parts of the body (traditionally treated with the substance **sab’iini**) – the etymology of this meaning is unknown; something that protects one; anything in between that screens off, divides

bilaa hijaabu ye mweene rahmaani [st.] ‘without anything standing in the way he saw God’

Hirzi/ ni hijaabu. ‘Hirzi is something that protects one.’

hikaaya

n. 9/10 [Sw. **hekaya** SSED 131; Ar. W 198] story

hikma

n. 9/10 [Sw. **hekima** SSED 137; Ar. **hikma** W 196] wisdom

Baaba/ mtume Yaaquubu/ waliko ni muunt^hu/ mwenye ilmu/ aqli/ na hikmá/ mwajiitu/ mpeeló. ‘The father, the prophet Jacob, was a man having knowledge, intelligence, and wisdom, which God had given him.’

hikmaye or **hikmaze** ‘his wisdom’
mwenye hikma ‘wise’

ku-hiła v. solve

Sababu/ ya safari/ iyi/ itaakuwa/ ni kumeera/ kuhila/ ba’ađi/ ya mashaakili/ yasabibiiló/ makosanyó/ benaa nt^hi/ izii mbili. ‘The reason for this trip will be to seek to solve some of the problems that have caused misunderstandings between these two countries.’

hiłki n. [Sw. *hiliki* SSED 133, from Hindi] cardamon. a spice commonly used in Brava to flavor tea, rice dishes, cakes, etc.

hiła n. [Sw. *hila* SSED 133; Ar. *hila* W 217] trick, means of doing something, tactic, strategy

Chiint^hu/ haypatikani ka hiłá/ kaa nguvu/ ha’ipatoowi. ‘Something that cannot be gotten by strategy cannot be gotten with force.’ (A proverb.)

Dokhani/ hiła/ nt^haná/ maali/ nt^haná. ‘Stupidity has no rationale, strategy and has no wealth.’ (A saying.)

ka hiła ‘sneakingly, deviously, cleverly’

khfanya hiła ‘to devise, find ways, means, tricks to get s.t.’

Hila gani/ yaa si/ shıakhadiro khfaanyá. ‘What strategem are we able to devise?’

Hiła/ yaa si/ shıakhadiro khfaanyá/ na chiza kumwangamiza wawa yiıtú/ nt^hayiiko. ‘There is no strategy that we can devise and not disrespectfully wrong our father.’

Shfanya hiła/ yiingine/ teena/ ye. ‘He made another trick again.’

Mshinzile aduwi/ ka hiła/ na basará. ‘He defeated the enemy with tricks and astuteness.’

mwenye hiła ‘a tricky or devious person who finds a means to attain an end in whatever way possible; s.o. with a knack for doing things, s.o. who always has a way to get things done’

Na isá/ ye/ nakhsuła kishkhada’a/ ka hiłaze. ‘And now he wants to cheat us with his tricks.’

Naank^hó/ tumila hiłazo/ jisaa we/ khpata mubliwo/ khuruudila. ‘Again, use your tricks so that you get your husband to remarry[lit. return to] you.’

Wachisuła kumubla ka hiła. ‘They wanted to kill him using deceit.’

hiloowu n. [Som. *hilow* DSI 308] longing

khshikowa hiloowu ‘to feel longing (for person, thing, place)’

Nshishila hiloowuyé. ‘I am longing for him/her (lit. I was caught by his/her longing).’

hima n. 9 [Sw. *hima* SSED 133; Ar. *himma* W 1033] enthusiasm, willingness, effort ; [pron. **hima** or **himma**] (We sometimes recorded this item with gemination, but this gemination does not seem to be a consistent feature of pronunciation. However, the failure of a preceding word-final vowel to lengthen, as in **ka hima** can be interpreted as a reflection of the gemination found in the Arabic source word.)

Fanya hima. ‘Do the best!’

Hima. ‘Hurry up!’

Hima/ oloka. ‘Hurry up and go!’

Hima/ seendre. ‘Don’t go!’ review

hima yaa ye/ fanyiizó ‘the effort that he made’

Himma/ chidirke ruhu ziitu. ‘Hurry, let us save ourselves!’

ka hima ‘quickly, soon, early’

Fanya ka hima. ‘Hurry up!’

Ja ka hima. ‘Eat quickly!’ Or: **Ka hima/ ja.**

Mi/ nnakhsuḷaa we/ kuya apa/ ka hima. ‘I want you to come here early.’

Ka ^hhima/ Muusa/ jiiḷó. ‘Quickly Muusa ate.’ Or with the postposing of the subject: **Ka ^hhima/ jiiḷó/ Muusa.** (The verb in this example is strongly downstepped; the postposed subject is yet lower in pitch, but not radically so. We still consider this to be a case of right dislocation. Incorporating the postposed subject into a phrase with the verb was rejected: ***Ka ^hhima/ jilo Muusá.**)

Ka ^hhima/ Muusa/ jilo maandra. ‘Quickly Muusa ate the bread.’ Or with additional emphasis on the verb: **Ka ^hhima/ Muusa/ jiiḷó/ maandra.** Or with right dislocation of the subject: **Ka ^hhima/ jilo maandra/ Muusa.** Or with right dislocation of subject and emphasis on the verb: **Ka ^hhima/ jiiḷó/ maanda/ Muusa.** (In these cases of right dislocation, the preceding phrase is already downstepped, and it is not so obvious that there is any greater degree of lowering associated with right dislocation in comparison to other sort of elements in this position. Perhaps the right dislocated subject is associated with a small pause, but this matter has not been extensively investigated.)

Muunt^hu/ husuḷoowa/ ba’aḍi ya ziint^hu/ khfanya ka hima. ‘It is needed for someone to do something quickly, readily.’

Mp^ha majiibu/ ka hima. ‘Give me an answer quickly.’

Muusa/ jile ka hima. ‘Muusa ate quickly.’ Or with verb focus: **Muusa/ jiile/ ka hima.**

Muusa/ jile maandra/ ka hima. ‘Muusa ate the bread quickly.’

Or, with verb focus: **Muusa/ jiile/ maandra/ ka hima.**

Mwaanawa/ nakhkula ka hima. ‘My child is growing up quickly.’

Nnakosha usooḡá/ ka himá. ‘I am washing my face quickly.’

Shtakhsafira ka hima. ‘We will leave soon.’

Surwani za jiiinis/ hazimali/ ka hima. ‘Jeans [trousers] do not wear out quickly.’

kuvundikaa hima ‘to lose interest’

Alí/ vundishilee hima/ ba/ nakoloka Mkhodiisho. ‘Ali lost interest in going to Mogadishu.’

Mi/ nvundishilee himá/ ba/ ba’aḍa ya Hamadi/ kunfasiriḷaa mi/ zombo izo. ‘I lost interest after Hamadi explained to me those things.’

Kheeri/ hima/ naambila/ nakhsuḷani/ ka kaaka/ nimpfanyilize ka upeesi.

‘That’s a blessing; hurry, tell me what he wants from me so that I can do it quickly.’

Khtila hima ‘to prod [lit. to put in willingness]’

kondrosha hima ‘to prod [lit. to raise the willingness]’

kuvunda hima ‘to make someone lose his enthusiasm’

Nt^haná/ hima. ‘He has no enthusiasm.’

rel.

hima *hima* n. quickness (Phon. It is striking that while **hima** itself behaves like a CVCCV noun in failing to trigger lengthening in front of it, in the reduplicated structure shown here **hima** behaves like a CVCV noun and the second **hima** triggers lengthening on the preceding occurrence of **hima**.)
ka himaa hima ‘speedily, frantically’

Mi/ hupika na mapeema/ waana/ wanapatee kuja/ ka himaa hima/ wanarude ruuhu. ‘I cook early so that the children can get their strength, energy back.’

Mubliwo/ siwo/ takhadiro kuruda ka himaa himá. ‘Your husband is not one who will be able to return quickly.’

Na ndrazilé/ ka ngoziini/ ka himaa hima. ‘And I got out from inside the skin (used to carry me) quickly.’

Sarmala/ ka himaa hima/ shfakaṭa/ chiya numbaani. ‘The carpenter quickly ran away and came home.’

ku-himila

v. [Sw. *himili* SSED 126; Ar. *ḥamala* “to bear, endure” and *ḥiml* “burden” W 206-7] (**himiliile**) withstand, endure, forbear, put up with, tolerate

Nimhimiliile/ Omari. ‘I tolerated Omari.’

Numba ya uloongo/ hayhimili/ zishiindro. ‘A house of mud cannot withstand shocks.’ (A proverb.)

Omari/ nimhimiliile. ‘Omari, I endured/tolerated him.’

rel.

ku-himilila v. appl.

Omari.’

Siná/ sababu yaa mi/ kumhimilila Omari. ‘I have no reason to put up with

ku-himiloowa v. pass.

Dhibu/ ya duniya/ huhimiloowa. ‘Difficulties/ troubles of the world are to be endured.’ (A saying.)

ku-himilika v. be endured

Khalbi/ ulaazowe/ ha’uhimiliki. ‘The heart its pain cannot be endured.’

Ulaazo/ wa mahaba/ ha’uhimiliki (or: **hawhimiliki**). ‘The pain of love cannot be endured.’

rel. nom.

m-himila (wa-) n. 1/2

Hiindi

n. India

bahari ya Hiindi or **tawala ya Hiindi** ‘Indian Ocean’

m-hiindi (wa-)

n. 1/2 an Indian

Sultaani/ mooyi/ karkaa nt^hi/ za wahiindi/ zalila mwiimbili/ mooyi/ yee peeke. ‘There was a sultan in the lands of the Indians who had born to him only one son.’

rel.

chi-hindi n. the Hindi language

Baduwi/ nt^hachiwa/ chihindi. ‘The nomad did not know Hindi.’

Ikofiyaani/ andishile shi’iri/ ka chihindi. ‘On the hat he wrote a poem in Hindi.’

M(w)aana/ chimjiiba/ ka khisa karka chim(w)iini/ zimo jawaabu/ za chisoomaali/ za shatyaani/ za chingereenza/ za chaarabu/ za chihindi/ haṭa/ jawabu za majini/ zimo. ‘The child answered him, Because in Chimwiini there are words from Somali, from Italian, from English, from Arabic, from Hindi, even words of the djinns are in it.’

Sultaani/ mooyi/ karkaa nt^hi/ za wahiindi/ zalila mwiimbili/ mooyi/ yee/ peeke. ‘A sultan in India had only one child.’

hingaadi

n. 9 spelling

ku-hingaadi

v. [Som. *higgaadi* DSI 307] (**hingaadihiize**) spell

hingo

n. [Som. *hingo* DSI 309] hiccup (the more common word for ‘hiccup’ is **geefu**)

hinziizi

n. 9/10 [Som. *xidid* “root, vein” DSI 631; Tun. *hindis* “root” Tosco 217] vein, nerve, root (of a plant)

hinziizi ya maazi ‘blood vessel’

Dawa/ hingila karka hinziizi ya maazi. ‘Medicine goes into the blood vessels.’

Hamadi/ hinziizi ya maazi/ imatushilo. ‘Hamadi’s blood vessel was cut (to him).’

Hamadi/ hinziizi ya maazi/ zifurifuriile. ‘Hamadi has swollen blood vessels.’

hinziizi za dereemu ‘nerves’

Hamadi/ hinziizi za dareemuze/ sfiile. ‘Hamadi does not feel anything (lit. his nerves are dead).’

Hinzizi za dareemu/ schifa/ muunt^hu/ haderensaṭa chiint^hu.

‘When the nerves die, one does not feel anything.’

- hiqdi** n. [Ar. *ḥiqd* “hatred, malice, resentment” W 193] envy; [pron. **hiqdi** or **hikhdi**]
- hirfa** n. skills, having knowledge or experience of how to do something (especially in work)
- Chimaliza/ peleshela chiwandraani/ kubarata khfula ḍahabu/ na feḍa/ kaḍalika/ iize/ kubarata/ hirfa iyi.** ‘Then he was sent to a smithy to learn to forge gold and silver; similarly (as before), he did not learn this skill.’
- Hirfa gani/ we/ naayo.** ‘What skills do you have (i.e. what do you know how to do as work)?’ (The answer to this question might be: **Mi/ na’iwa khshoma sherqaani.** ‘I know how to use a sewing machine, i.e. I am a tailor’.)
- Iize/ kubarata hirfa iyi.** ‘He did not learn this handicraft.’
- ku-hirgisha** (esp. door) v. [no etymological source found] (**hirgishiize**) force something, shake something
- rel.
ku-hirgishana v. rec.
ku-hirgishiliza v. appl.
ku-hirgishilizanya v. appl. rec.
- m-hiri** (wa-) n. 1/2 [Som. *xer* (collective noun) = “followers of a sheikh” DSI 631] follower of a sheikh, particularly of the leader of some sufi order.
- ku-hirima** v. [Sw. *hirimia* SSED 134; Ar. *ḥaruma, ḥarima* W 171] (**hirimiile**) make a statement of one’s intention to go on the pilgrimage to Mecca
- chihirimo muunt^hu ni sunna koowa** [st.] ‘if one states his intention to go on the pilgrimage, it is preferred for one to wash all over’
- ku-hirima.** Example 1: I would translate (*hujuz*) as “it is proper”
(not: allowed), in accordance with definition of verb given in CLE
p. 197.
- hirimu** (O, ma-) adj. [Sw. *hirimu* SSED 134; Ar. source suggested by SSED was not found in W; cf. also Som. *heer* “grade, level” DSI 305] peer, contemporary
- Hirimuzo/ wote/ wamaliize/ masomo yaayo.** ‘All your peers have completed their studies.’ (Morph. Notice that **hirimu** in this sentence triggers [cl.10] form of the possessive enclitic, but [cl.2] agreement on **wote** and on the verb.)
- janaani waant^huwe wont^he ni hirimu** [st.] ‘in paradise all people are of the same age’
- hirzi** n. 9/10 [Sw. *hirzi* SSED 134; Ar. *ḥirz* “amulet” from *ḥaraza* “guard, protect” W 167] something written on a piece of paper and enveloped in a leather or gold container which is worn around the neck or arm as a charm (usually a verse from the Quran or one of God’s names or the name of a prophet or angel; protection)
- hisa** n. 9/10 [Sw. *hisa* SSED 134; Ar. *ḥiṣṣa* W 180] share; period (of a lesson) (We recorded this item with gemination on occasion, as in its Arabic source. However, the status of gemination as a lexical property is unclear to us, though gemination is certainly employed stylistically.)
- Hisa ya hisaabu/ imaliize.** ‘The math period is over.’
- Mp^ha hisaya.** ‘Give me my share.’
- Nt^hakhpata/ hisaye.** ‘He did not get his share.’

ku-hisa

v. (**hisiize**) feel (esp. s.t. physically or morally painful, an insult, etc.)

ku-hisaabaṭa

v. [cf. Sw. *hesabu* SSED 132; *hisabu* SSED 134; Ar. *ḥasaba* W 175] (**hisabeete**)
count, consider

variant form: **kisaabaṭa**, **ku'isaabaṭa** (Not all variations of this verb may be acceptable to all speakers. MI seemed to allow all three forms cited, while GM favors **kisaabaṭa**.)

Hisaabaṭa. 'Count!'

Humhisabaṭa Jaani/ kuwa dokhani. 'He considers [lit. counts] John to be a fool.'

Huwasabaṭa/ nii kumi. 'He counts them, they are ten.' (Notice that in this example, drawn from a text, the initial *i* vowel of the stem /isaabaṭa/ elides after the object marker *-wa-*.)

Maraa kaandra/ zimbishile khaadimu/ laakini/ mtomola amri/ apo/ chiwa'ambila/ waant^hu/ chiza kisaabaṭa/ mara ya kaandra/ na kuwa ṭayaari/ kaanzá. 'The first time [in the context of the story: the lemons were thrown], they struck the servant, but the leader [lit. the one who issues orders] there told the people not to count the first time [the lemons were thrown] and to be ready to begin.'

Maskiini/ nakhtoshani/ ka kuwa awaje/ waṭakisaabaṭa. 'The poor child, what he thought was that those [people] would count them [the number of beans].'

Sultaani/ hisabaṭo waant^hu/ wotté/ ra'iyawé/ sawasawá. 'A sultan who considers all people, his subjects, to be equal.'

rel.

ku-hisabaṭika v. be countable

variant form: **kisabaṭika**

Hamadi/ mishpaye/ hebeesi/ hisabaṭika (or: **yanakisabaṭika**). 'Hamadi, his ribcage bones are countable (i.e. he is so thin one can count the ribcage bones).'

ku-hisabaṭoowa v. pass. (**hisabeeta**) be counted, considered

variant form: *k-isabaṭoowa*

Chint^hu siwo chaako/ hachisabaṭoowi. 'Something that is not yours is not counted.' (A proverb.)

Jaani/ hisabaṭa kuwa dokhani/ na Ali. 'John was considered to be a fool by Ali.'

Laakini/ wo/ washpatana/ kuwa matezo ya kaandra/ na ya piilí/ hayahisabaṭoowi. 'But they agreed that the first and the second games will not be counted.'

Ni suura/ peesa/ kisabaṭoowa. 'It is good for there to be an accounting of the money.'

Oko kiitu/ we/ shfanya kaazi/ ka daḍaali/ chidaḍaalaṭa/ kuḷawila wajibuye/ we/ hisabaṭoowi/ kuwa muunt^hu. 'There in my country, if you work hard, if you try hard to carry out your duties, you are not considered to be anyone (a person of importance).'

We/ hisabaṭa (kuwa) dokhani/ na Ali. 'You were considered to be a fool by John.'

Ye/ kuraga koloka madrasaani/ ihisabaṭa (or: **yisabaṭa**) **kuwa makosa**. 'His delaying going to school is considered a mistake.'

hisaabu

n. [Sw. *hisabu* SSED 134, *hesabu* SSED 132; Ar.] mathematics, arithmetic, calculating numbers, accounts, count

bilaa hisaabu 'without number'

Chibuku cha hisaabu/ chimbozele mwaalimú/ sì. 'A mathematics book, we stole one from the teacher.' Or: **Chibuku cha hisaabu/**

chimboozelé/ mwaalimu/ sì. (Phon. In the speech of MI, the proposing of an XP like **chibuku cha hisaabu** did not trigger pseudo-relativization, in contrast to our more recent recordings where preposing is often accompanied by pseudo-relativization. In the present example, the subject is also postposed to the end of the sentence, and is radically lowered in pitch, which is indicated here

by the acute mark. One might plausibly consider the pronoun to be deaccented here, but the evidence from similarly right-dislocated full noun phrases suggests that this is probably not the correct interpretation.)

Chibuku cha hisaabu/ wambozele mwaalimu/ wò. ‘A mathematics book, they stole one from the teacher.’

Halaali/ masku mazima/ nakhfanya hisaabuze. ‘He does not sleep all night, he does his calculating.’

Fiiló/ nt^haamo/ hisabuuni. ‘The dead one is not counted.’ (A proverb.)

hisaabuye [lit.] its calculation/counting -- used as a synonym of **ma’anaye** preceding a further explanation : that is, i.e., it means that...; because, for the reason that...’

khfanya hisaabu ‘to make one’s accounts (e.g. of expenses, of profits and losses, etc.)’

Malimu wa hisaabu/ fakeete. ‘The math teacher ran away.’

Malimu wa hisaabu/ wa maanawa/ fakeete. ‘My son’s math teacher ran away.’ (Phon. The subject in this example has an associative phrase embedded in another associative phrase. It seems that separating the embedded associative phrase from its complement is the norm. It should be noted that there is no accent shifting in the corresponding simple yes-no question: **Malimu wa hisaabu/ wa maanawa/ fakeete?**)

Malimu wa hisaabu/ wa maanawa/ fakeete/ so. ‘My son’s math teacher ran away, didn’t he?’

Malimu wa maanawa/ fakeete. ‘My child’s teacher ran away.’ Or:

Fakeete/ malimu wa maanawa. (Phon. In the case where there is a right-dislocated subject, the yes-no question shows accent-shift: **Fakeete/ malimu wa maanawá?**)

Mwaalimu/ wo/ nt^hawakumboola/ chibuku cha hisaabu. ‘The teacher, they did not steal an arithmetic book from him.’ (Cf. the simple yes-no question: **Mwaalimu/ wo/ nt^hawakumboola/ chibuku cha hisaabú?** and the exclamatory question: **Mwaalimú/ wo/ nt^hawakumboolá/ chibuku cha hisaabú!?**)

minoka humluma bilaa hisaabu [st.] ‘countless snakes bit him’

Ndo/ shfaanye/ hisaabu. ‘Come, let us make an accounting.’

Walimu wa hisaabu/ wa waanawa/ wont^he/ wafakeete. ‘All my children’s math teachers ran away.’ (Phon. There is no accent shift in the corresponding simple yes-no question: **Walimu wa hisaabu/ wa waanawa/ wont^he/ wafakeete?**)

Walimu wa hisaabu/ wont^he/ wafakeete. ‘All the math teachers ran away.’ (Phon. There is no accent shift in the corresponding simple yes-no question: **Walimu wa hisaabu/ wont^he/ wafakeete?**)

hisani adj. [Ar. *ḥaṣuna* ‘to be chaste, to be immunized, protected (from sin)’ W 183] person (man or woman) who is married and therefore protected from the sin of fornication

muke hisani ‘a married woman’ (cf. **wake hisani** ‘married women’)

hishma n. 9 [see **heshma**] [Sw. *heshima* SSED 132; Ar. *ḥisma* ‘modesty, decorum’ W 179]

hisi n. 9/ (10) [cf. Sw. verb *hisi* SSED 134; Ar. *ḥiss* W 179] sense, feeling, perception (Phon. We recorded this item sometimes with gemination, as in the Arabic source; however, the status of gemination as a lexical feature of Chiomwiini is uncertain at present. It certainly exists stylistically.)

hisiye ‘his perceptiveness’

Nt^haná/ hisi. ‘He has no perceptiveness.’

hiisi [irregular verb form] you do not know

Iyi/ ni nuumbaya/ hiisi/ so/ we. ‘This is my house, don’t you know?’
Nini/ we/ hiisi/ so/ kuwa sultaani/ nambile kuza ghaali/ chiza kuza rakiisi. ‘What, do you not know that the sultan told me to sell dear, not to sell cheap?’

hiya’ interj. expressing negative attitude of the speaker; [pron. **hiya’**]
Hiya’/ mi/ Omari/ skupeenda/ jawaabuze. ‘Hiya’, I do not like what Omari is doing/saying.’ (We write the location of high pitch in interjections because they do not fit the accentual system of ordinary language in Chimiini.)

hizbu n. 9/10 [Ar. **ḥizb** W 173] political party
Wafafisha khabari/ wanakuhada/ ya kuwa...mas’uuli/ ya haadithi/ iyi/ ni ba’aḍi/ ya waant^hu/ wa hizbu/ ya mu’araḍa. ‘News reporters say that the people responsible for this event are some of the people from the opposition party.’

hizbu n. 9/10 a portion of the Quran

ho interj. a word used to answer a call **check vowel length**
[boy speaking:] **Chiluti/ chiluti.** [stick speaking:] **Hoo.** [boy speaking:] **Chilawe/ mbigee mp^haka.** ‘Stick! Stick! Yes! Go and hit the cat!’
Maamaye/ chimwaambila/ mwaanawá/ ho. ‘His mother said to him: my son! (And he replied:) Yes.’

hooba n. [Ar. **ḥauba** W 211] sin, offense, misdeed
Chighadirile maḍambi/ na hoobá. ‘Forgive our sins and offences.’
ni mwenye msaameha ḍambi na hooba/ ka jaaha ya mtume chinakuloomba [st.] ‘he is the one who remits all sins (**ḍambi** and **hooba**), for the greatness (glory) of the Prophet we beg (him)’

hobelahobela

kendra hobelahobela ‘to spread rumors’

hodaari (Ø, ma-) adj. [Sw. **hodari** SSED 135; cf. Ar. **ḥidr** "alertness" W 164 and **ḥāḍir** "quick witted" W 185] clever, skillful, keen, sharp (of mind), skilled, brave, active
Maama/ chimkhiirila/ na pashpo kumwambila baabá/ chimfanyiliza mwaana/ sehe/ niingi/ na chimṭalila/ ma’askari/ hodaari/ kumraasha. ‘Mother agreed to [lit.] him and without telling father, he prepared for the boy many supplies and chose for him skilled soldiers to follow him.’
Mwaana/ waliko hodaari/ na akhilí/ liini/ schimpungukiló. ‘The boy was clever and wits were not less with him.’
wana (ma)hodaari ‘clever children’

hoodela invariable verbal form [the passive past tense form of an otherwise unattested verb **ku-hooda**, cf. **hoodi** below] you have been given permission to enter; a reply to **hoodi**

Ngombe waa gisi/ chimwaambila/ hoodela/ ingila. ‘Buffalo told him: (we are here,) come in.’

hoodi n. [Sw. **hodi** SSED 135] a request for permission to enter a place

kubiga hoodi ‘to ask permission to enter’

Baaba/ kila chiya ka kaziini/ hubiga hoodi. ‘Whenever father came home from work he asked permission to enter (the house).’

Cheendra/ numbaani/ ka sultaani/ chibiga hoodi/ chegeshoowa. ‘He went to the house of the sultan and asked permission to enter and he was welcomed.’

Chisimama ndilaani/ chibiga hoodi. ‘He stood outside seeking

permission to enter.’

Naani/ nakubigo hoodí. ‘Who is it that is asking for permission to enter.’

Weenopó/ chibiga hoodi/ chingila numbaani. ‘When he saw (the house), he asked for permission to enter, and then went in the house.’

kujiba hoodi ‘to respond to a request to enter’

Omo/ ye/ chim(w)ona m(w)aarabu/ mooyi/ uje mjibilo hoodi. ‘Inside (e.g. the house) he saw an Arab, the one who had answered his request to enter.’

hogaani n. [Som.] rope that is tied around the neck of an animal (a camel, e.g.) to lead it by; guide

hogani wiitu ‘our guide’

Juha/ chiwakasa/ chishkila/ chimambila maanawe/ pandraa we/ ndimí/ ntakhshiko hogaaní. ‘Juha heard them. He got down and told his son, you climb up, I will hold the donkey’s leash.’

Juha/ panzile mp^huundra/ maana/ shishile hogaani/ na mineenza. ‘Juha climbed up on the donkey, and his child held the donkey’s rope on the trip.’

khshika hogaani ‘to guide’

mshika hogaani ‘a guide’ (cf. **washika hogaani** ‘guides’)

munt^hu hogaani ‘a guide’

ku-hogaansata v. [Som. **hoggaami** “to lead” and **hoggaansan** “to follow a guide” DSI 311] (**hoganseete**) be on the right path
rel.

ku-hogaamisha v. caus. lead, cause to be on the right path

m-hogo (mi-) n. 3/4 [Sw. **muhogo** SSED 314] cassava, manioc

kala mhogo ‘to plant cassava’

koka mhogo ‘to grill cassava’

kuja mhogo ‘to eat cassava’

hoja n. 9/10 [Sw. **hoja** SSED 123; Ar. **hujja** “argument, pretext” W 156] argument (in the sense of verbal reasoning), quarrel, excuse

Haaja/ hufaanyika/ hoja/ hayfaanyiki. ‘A dispute can be settled, a quarrel cannot be settled.’ (A proverb.)

Hoja/ hazikhupeleki/ mahala. ‘Arguing will never get you anywhere.’

ku-hojesha v. caus. [Sw. **hoji** SSED 123; Ar. **hajja** “to dispute, debate, reason” W 156] (**hojeshenze**) argue (reasoning), cross-examine

Mbiga mnaado/ shfuraha/ na bilaa kuhojeshá/ shfakata/ chidarbisha/ itulubila ka kaaké. ‘The public announcer was delighted and without arguing, he made ready that which was asked from him.’

ku-hokoma v. [Sw. **hukumu** SSED 137; Ar. **hakama, hukm** W 195] (**hokomeele**) judge, pass sentence; rule, govern, administer, direct

Abunawaasi/ chirudiḷowa kaaziye/ ya kuhokoma ma’askari/ ya sulṭaani. ‘Abunawaasi was given back his job of exercising authority over the soldiers of the sultan.’

Apa/ naani huhokomó. ‘Who’s in charge here?’

Hamadi/ hokomele waana/ wotte/ kuleta shilingi shilingi. ‘Hamadi ordered all the children to bring a shilling each.’

Hamadi/ huhokoma madrasa. ‘Hamadi administers/directs the school.’

Hokoma! ‘Judge!’

Ni muunt^hu/ mwenye ma’arifa/ na aqlí/ ni muunt^hu/ zaziḷa kuhokomá.

‘He is a man of knowledge and intelligence, he is a man born to rule.’

Waḷwaawo/ wachirashmana/ Alfaani/ mraadiwe/ khpata shpete/ cha mtume

Suleemaani/ khpata kuhokoma majini. ‘The two of them left together, Alfaani’s goal to get the ring, the prophet Suleemani, so that he might get to the rule the jinns.’

rel.

ku-hokomeleowa v. appl. pass. (**hokomelela**) be passed sentence on

Ba’adaa wo/ kingila ðambi/ wachihokomeleowa/ khfungowa habaasa. ‘After they committed a crime, they were sentenced to be imprisoned.’

Hokomelela habaasa/ miyezi mitatu. ‘He was sentenced to three months in prison.’

Hokomelela miyezi mitatu. ‘He was given a sentence of three months.’

ku-hokomela v. appl. (**hokomelele**) pass sentence on someone; decree for

Isa/ mi/ siwo/ nt^hakondroka ka apa/ ila/ waawe/ chimp^ha rukhsa/ amo/ mwajiitu/ chinhokomela/ jawaabu/ mweepe. ‘Now I will not be the one who moves from here, unless my father gives me permission or God decrees for me some thing.’

ku-hokomoowa v. be judged, be ruled

Chiineendra/ chiineendra/ haṭá/ shkoma muuyi/ mooyi/ huhokomowa na sultaani. ‘She walked and walked until she reached a town ruled by a sultan.’

Mbiga mnaado/ uyu/ kumwonake uje marti/ chizida khtetema/ na chifa qalbi/ nt^hasaa ye/ kuhokomoowa. ‘This auctioneer (public announcer), upon seeing the visitor, shook (from fear) even more, and despaired [lit. died heart], before being judged.’

rel. nom.

m-hokoma (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who judges

hokomo

n. 9/10 [Sw. *hukumu* SSED ???; Ar. *ḥukm* W 196] judgment, verdict, sentence; rule
variant form: *hukumu, hokomu*

Hokomu/ maliizopó/ waana/ wachiḷawa/ ka apo/ wachanza safari yingine. ‘When the (e.g. king’s) judging finished, the boys departed from that place and began another trip.’ (The noun

hokomu in this example fails to trigger agreement on the SM; the SM instead is null, indicating agreement with a human subject.)

Hukumu ya jazira iyi/ iwalimo mikonooni/ kaa wake. ‘Rule of this island was in the hands of women.’ (The *y-a* form of the associative particle shows a [cl.9] treatment for **hukumu**.)

khtinda hokomu ‘to judge’

Hokomo/ iṭiinzila. ‘The case has been decided. Judgement has been passed.’ (The *i-* SM indicates a [cl.9] status for **hokomo**.)

Khaaḍi/ ṭinzile hokomu. ‘The judge has made his ruling.’

khtindika hokomu

Hokomo/ iṭindishile. ‘A verdict has been given.’

Sultaani/ walimo barzaani/ nakhpisa hukumu. ‘The king was in the audience hall passing judgement.’

Waant^hu/ wakumangeene/ kulindra hokomo ya sultaani. ‘People gathered to wait for the judging of the sultan.’

holoḷoof

ideo. of being loose, hanging (e.g. of a shirt)

variant form: **holoḷoof**

Hamadi/ vete ishaati/ habbalaya/ holoḷoof! ‘Hamadi wore a very big shirt, it was loose-fitting.’

hoola

(goats, camels, sheep), livestock

n. 9/10 [Som. *xoolo* ‘cattle’ DSI 637] cattle and animals that are taken to graze

Apa/ mi/ nnaayó/ maali/ miingi/ nnazo na hoolá/ pashpo adadí. ‘Here I have much wealth, and I have countless livestock.’ (Notice the occurrence of the conjunction *na* after the verb, preceding the noun **hoola**.)

haysihi Aarafa hoola za maradi [sṭ.] ‘sick animals are not acceptable for

slaughtering on **Aarafa**'

Hola uyu/ hasoongeki. 'This animal cannot be approached.'

Iõihirile siimba/ karkaa nt^{hi}/ nakublo waant^hú/ na hoolá. 'There appeared a lion in the country who was killing people and livestock.'

Jile hoolazo/ na ziitú/ zote/ na mukhtaa we/ ambiila/ we/ ize khtila ishkiłooni. 'He ate your livestock, and all ours as well, and when you were told, you did not pay heed.'

Mpuunga/ ni chakuja cha sultaani/ siwo/ chakuja cha hoola. 'Rice is food for a king, not food for livestock.'

Mtinda hoola/ hatałami/ khpasula. 'One who slaughters livestock does not hesitate/ to skin (them).'

 (A proverb.)

Oyo/ ndiyé/ malizo hoolá/ na waant^hú. 'That one, it is he, who exterminated livestock and people.'

Uyu/ siwo/ hoola. 'This one is not livestock.'

Wamó/ hutinda hoola. 'Some of them slaughter livestock.'

Wingi waawo/ hudakhisha hoola. 'Most of them graze animals.'

hoonde

n. [etymological source unknown] seed, stone (of a fruit)

honde ya iwele 'the hardness around the nipple that occurs in boys at puberty due to hormonal changes'

honde ya embe 'mango nut'

hoonde/ ya nt^{he}endre 'date nut'

honde za iboori 'pumpkin seeds'

honde za itiki 'watermelon seeds'

khtomola hoonde (=kubaaligha) 'to reach the age of puberty'

rel.

chi-hoonde (zi-) n. 7/8 dim. little seed

i-hoonde (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

hooni

n. [Eng. *horn*] horn

Gari iyi/ hooniye/ mbovu. 'This truck's horn is not good.'

kubiga hooni 'to honk a horn'

chi-hoori (zi-)

n. 7/8 [Sw. *hori* SSED 136; Pers.] a small boat; a bobbin in a sewing machine

chihori cha charkhaani 'sewing machine bobbin'

hos gunji

n. [Som.] garment worn by men around the waist and extending down over the lower part of the body; = **ma'awazi** and its variants or **chiguwo cha nt^hiini**

hoosi

n. [Som. *hoos* DSI 313] shade, shadow (of an inanimate object)

hoosi/ ichiguura 'if the shade moves'

hoosi ya Maana Fałima/ ndrombelaani kuwekoowa [st.] 'in the shade of Lady Fatima/ implore God (o brothers) that I may find a place'

hosi yaa muti 'the shadow of a tree'

hoosiye 'its shadow'

Ineenzele/ ineenzele/ karka iwa/ nt^hawkuwaaliko/ hattá/ muti/ mooyi/ ye/ khpata/ khpumula/ nt^hiini ya hoosiye. 'He walked and walked under the sun and there was not even one tree that he could rest under its shade.'

mahała nt^haku hoosi 'a place where there is not shade'

mahała yiko hoosi 'a place where there is shade'

Muunt^hu/ hapiti/ hoosiye. 'One is not bigger/higher than his shadow.' (A

saying.)

Nk^halent^he hosiini/ khpumulá. 'I sat in the shade to rest.'

Mi/ speendi/ waant^hu/ khkalaant^ha/ nt^hiini/ ya hoosi/ ya muti uyu. 'I do not like people to sit under the shade of this tree.'

shkalaant^ha choolo karka hoosi naa ndila [st.] 'if one sits for bodily needs

in the shade and on the street (it is forbidden)'

Wene meeza/ niingi/ na wenee ziti/ ziweesheja/ nt^hiini/ yaa miti/ karka hoosi. 'He saw many tables and he saw chairs placed under trees in the shade.'

rel.

i-hoosi (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

hospi^htaale n. 9/10 [Sw. *hospitali* SSED 136; Eng. *hospital*] hospital

hote^heli n. [Eng. *hotel*] hotel

Hoteli ije/ shkalaant^he/ mara miingi/ mi/ na mukeewa. 'At that hotel, we stayed many times, me and my wife.'

hoteliini 'in a hotel'

Kalent^he hoteliini/ na mukeewe. 'He stayed at the hotel with his wife.' Cf. **Nk^halent^he hoteliini/ na mukeewa.** 'I stayed at a hotel with my wife.' (The example with a final-accent trigger makes it clear that the locative noun, when placed in IAV position, is focused and falls within the scope of the final accent. The complement **na mukeewa** is outside the scope of the final accent.)

Kalent^hepi/ na mukeewo. 'Where did you stay with your wife?'" Possible answer: **Nk^halent^he na mukeewa/ hoteliini.** (Observe that even though the locative noun represents the new information in this sentence, and even though the question focuses on the location, in the response the location is outside the scope of the final accent triggered by the first person past tense verb.)

Mi/ na mukeewa/ shkalent^he hoteliini. 'Me and my wife stayed at the hotel.'

Mwaalimu/ jilo chaakuja/ hoteliini/ hakhaadiri. 'The teacher who ate food at the hotel is sick.'

Tuuma/ nt^hakuliindra/ hoteliini. 'Tuuma did not wait at the hotel.'

hoowa a "baby talk" term: sleep

hoowa maana hoowa / yaa we nakhsuulo takhpoowa [rhyme] 'sleep baby sleep, you will be given whatever you want'

i-hoowa n. ringworm [check this item](#)

howdi n. [Ar. *hawḍ* W 214] water basin, tank

howdji na mito peela mtume Mhamadi [st.] 'the Prophet Mohamed was given the water basins and the springs [of Paradise]'

hoy interj. [Som. *hooy* DSI 314] used to call someone's attention from afar (Phon. Although this word has a long vowel in Somali, the vowel in Chimwiini was recorded as short. Also observe that this item has not been adjusted to satisfy the requirement that words end in a vowel in Chimwiini and not a consonant.)

ku-hooyata v. [Som. *hoyo* "to spend the night somewhere" DSI 316; Tun. *hoyad-* Tosco 218] (**hoyeete**) return home for the evening; apologize, seek forgiveness, seek to reconcile rel.

ku-hoyatiloowa v. appl. pass.

Omari/ nakhsula kuhoyatiloowa. 'Omari wants forgiveness to be sought from him.'

ku-hoyatila v. appl. go to someone to ask forgiveness etc.

Muun^hu/ laazimu/ kumhoyatila mzeelewe. 'A person must seek forgiveness from his parent.'

Ni maana/ humhoyatiló/ mkulú. 'It is a child who should seek pardon from his elder.'

ku-hoyatisha v. caus. make someone apologize

ku-hooyisha v. caus.

mu-h^htaaji (wa-) n., adj. [Ar. *muhtāj* W 212] a needy person

Mun^hu hufanyo kaazi/ haawi/ muht^htaaji. 'A man who works does not

become needy.’ (A proverb.)

Naawó/ wa’iwiile/ kuwa Abunawaasi/ wanayo muhtaaji. ‘They knew that Abunawaasi had need/ needed (to see Haruun Rashiidi).’

rel.

wu-h̄taajo n. 14 need

hu- [Sw. *hu*] habitual prefix (Phon. In prevocalic position, the vowel of this prefix assimilates to the quality of the stem-initial vowel; for example, /hu-endra/ becomes **heendra**. In front of object prefixes which have a palatal element, *hu* becomes *hi*, just as the infinitive *ku* becomes *ki*; e.g. **hi’iweekela** ‘he puts aside for himself’.)

Chiiko/ laakini/ hichiwoni. ‘It is there, but one does not see it.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **lkosi** ‘nape of the neck’.)

Chint^hu chimooyi/ huzaloo miyá. ‘Something that gives birth to a hundred.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **awuuri** ‘seed’.)

Heendra. ‘I, you, (s)he, we, you (pl.), they go.’

Hupika. ‘I, you, (s)he, we, you (pl.), they cook.’

Kuḷa mwaana/ huṭukula chibeeramu. ‘Each child carries a banner.’

Niya njeema/ huṭabiiba/ niyaa mbovu/ hukhariba. ‘A good intention cures, a bad intention spoils.’ (A proverb.)

Ye/ huḷa. ‘She cries.’

hu- [habitual prefix]. Prefix *hi-* (which I see has (h-i-) is found with appl. forms of verb like *h-i-jiillila* = eat on one’s own (see CLE p. 185), *h-i-meerela* = look for s.t. for oneself (see CLE p. 280, example under *ku-meerela*). In first example given here (*chiiko laakini..*), the verb prefix is not habitual but negative. In any case, (*hichiwoni*) is strange: in my opinion, it is either *hachiwonoowi* = it is not seen, or *huchiwooni* = you do not see it (and here *hu-* is 2nd sing. negative prefix). Check again your source.

u-huba
SSED 493]

n. [Sw. *ukuba* “(i) a bad smell; (ii) a bad omen, misfortune, curse, evil fortune”

kh-pata uhuba ‘to get bad luck, misfortune, etc.’

Ismu/ ya muunt^hu/ shfanya jawabuu mbovu/ hupata uhuba. ‘If anyone does bad things, he will suffer misfortunes, etc.’

Muunt^hu/ chiza kuwati’a wazelewe/ hupata uhuba. ‘If someone does not obey his parents, he will suffer misfortunes, bad luck, etc.’

Muunt^hu/ chiza mkasa waawaye/ hupata uhuba. ‘If someone does not listen to his father, he will suffer misfortune, bad luck, etc.’

ku-m-pa uhuba ‘to give him bad luck, misfortunes, etc.’

huduude
Ethiopia.’

n. [Som. *xuduud*] border

Somaaliya/ na huduude/ na Amhaara. ‘Somalia shares a border with

ku-hudutha

v. [Ar. *hadata* “happen, occur” W 161] happen

Amri/ ihuduthiló. ‘Something (an incident, an occurrence, etc.) has happened.’

Kasiize/ ihuduthileni. ‘Did you hear what happened?’

kuhudutha jawaabu ‘for something to happen’

rel.

ku-huduthisha v. caus.

ku-huduthishika v. caus. p/s.

ku-huduthishiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-huduthishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

-kuhudutha, kuhudutha amri(order/thing to happen), kuhudutha jawaabu(something to happen),

ku-huđura

v. (cf. *haađiri*) [Sw. *hudhuria* SSED 122; Ar. *hađara* W 183] (**huđuriile**) be present

Laakini/ paapo/ mwanaamke/ wa sulṭaani/ chihuđura/ mbele za waawaye/ chimwaambila/ jisa maambo/ ya'ineenzeló. 'But at once the daughter of the sultan showed up in front of her father and told him the way that matters had taken their course.'

Nuuru/ huđuriile majlisi. 'Nuuru was present at the meeting.'

Sku ya nikaaha/ zaakuja/ na zaakuná/ huṭomoloowa/ hupowa want^hu wahuđuriiló. 'On the day of the wedding, foods and drinks are taken out and given to the people who are present.'

wahuđuriilopó 'when they were present'

Wahuđuriilopó/ chiwa'uzá/ sulṭani wiinu/ chinaamura/ jawaabu/ nṭamṭii'a/ amó/ hanimṭii'i. 'When they were there, he told them: if your (pl.) sultan gives you an order, would you obey him or would you not obey him?'

Wanahuđure waant^hu/ wiingi. 'There should be many people present.'

rel.

ku-huđurika v. p/s.

ku-huđurisha v. caus.

Nuuru/ mhuđurishize mwaana/ majlisi. 'Nuuru had the child be present at the meeting.'

ku-huđurishana v. caus. rec.

ku-huđurishika v. caus. p/s.

ku-huđurishiliza v. caus. appl.

Nuuru/ mhuđurishilize Suufi/ mwaana/ majlisi. 'Nuuru had Suufi's child be present at the meeting.'

ku-huđurishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Nuuru/ na Suufi/ wahuđurishilizenye waana/ majlisi. 'Nuuru and Suufi had one another's children be at the meeting.'

ku-huđurishoowa v. caus. pass.

Ali/ chihuđurishoowa/ mbele ya sulṭaani/ na waziiriwé/ na waant^hu/ wawaliko haađiri. 'Ali was made to appear in front of the sultan and his minister and the people who were present.'

Hasani/ chihuđurishoowa/ mbele za sulṭaani/ na waant^hu/ telle/ apo. 'Hasani was made to be present in front of the sultan and the numerous people there.'

Sulṭaani/ chaamura/ waant^hu/ wapeleshela khfanya kazi ya miyuundrá/ kuhuđurishowa apo. 'The sultan ordered that the people who were sent to work in the fields be brought there.'

huđuuri

n. [Sw. *hudhurio* SSED 122; Ar. *h?ud?r* 'presence, attendance' W 184]

kubiga huđuuri 'to call roll, take attendance'

ku-hujuma

v. [Ar. *hajama* W 1020] (**hujumiile**) attack

Duḷ'eda/ chuuluka/ chimhujumaa noka. 'The fox jumped and attacked the snake.'

kuhujuma kaawo 'their attacks'

rel.

ku-hujumila v. appl.

rel. nom.

m- hujuma (wa-) n. 1/2

hujumu

n. 9 attack

ku-hujura

v. [Sw. *hujuru* SSED 137, *hajiri* SSED 123; Ar. *hajara* W 1019] (**hujuriile**) move from place to place; die; evacuate

rel.

ku-hujuroowa v. pass.

Muyiini/ waant^hu/ wotte/ wafunzile milango yaawo/ sho kuwa nuumba/ mooyi/ iwaliko ihujurila na wewewé/ ndiyó/ mlaangowe/ uwaliko mwaazi. ‘In the town, all the people shut their doors, except one house which had been evacuated by its owners; it is its door that was wide open.’

hukuuma

n. government

Wa’ambile waant^hu/ ya kuwa huukuma/ iyi/ ni hukuuma/ ya haqqi. ‘Tell people that this government is a just government.’

We/ husuloowa/ khsiifa/ hukuuma/ hattá/ ichiwa hukuuma/ ni jabbari/ ni ðaalimú. ‘You are required to praise the government even if the government be tyrannical, unjust.’ (Phon. We have not at present worked out the explanation for the final accent in the last two phrases in this example.)

huumbo

n. 9/10 [Som. *xumbo* DSI 639] foam

Huumbo/ siwo/ iziwa. ‘Foam is not milk.’ (A proverb.)

kana/ kulawa huumbo ‘for the mouth to foam’

Jeeli/ kanaye/ inamlawa huumbo. ‘Jeeli’s mouth is foaming.’

rel.

chi-huumbo (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim.

i-huumbo (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.

huunda

n. 9/10 a measure (for grains and milk) that corresponds to four **zi-dhu** (see entry for this measure) (Etym. The source for this word is presently unknown. It does not come from the local Tunni Somali dialect, which uses the word *suus*.)

laano/ la huunda/ ya Yahuudi ‘the story of the dry measure of the Jews’

Shfikira/ jisaa ye/ khpata huunda/ iyi. ‘He thought about how he could get this measure.’

Sku mooyi/ Abunawaasi/ enzele/ ka sulṭaani/ kulomba msaḷa mooyi/ na hunda mooyi. ‘One day Abunawaasi went to the sultan to ask him for a mat and a measuring tin.’

-huundru

adj. [Sw. *-ekundu* SSED 8] red

Fungile iṭooye/ ihuundru. ‘He opened his red eye.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is *iwa* ‘the sun’.)

huundru/ kana maazi ‘as red as blood’

huundru/ kana mpaatu ‘as red as a sp. fruit’

inyala ihuundru ‘red fingernail’ (cf. **manyala mahuundru** ‘red fingernails’)

khalamu huundru ‘a red pen’

kuwa huundru ‘to become red’

Maatoye/ mahuundru/ kana makuruumbe. ‘His eyes are as red as **makuruumbe** (a type of fruit).’

Maatoye/ mahuundru/ kana maazi. ‘His eyes are as red as blood.’

mazi mahuundru ‘red blood’

Nnakhsulaa nk^hukú/ mhuundru/ mkulu/ na mikaté/ na maayi. ‘I want a large red chicken and cake and water.’

Suufi/ mwandikilile Nuuru/ khatí/ ka khalamu huundru. ‘Suufi wrote a letter to Nuuru with a red pen(cil).’

Tuuma/ mashuungiye/ mahuundru. ‘Tuuma’s hair is red.’

Tuuma/ mukeewa/ mashuungiye/ mahuundru. ‘Tuuma my wife’s hair is red.’

uso mhuundru ‘red face’ (cf. **nyuso huundru** ‘red faces’)

Uso/ umwele mhuundru/ mwaana. ‘The child’s face reddened.’ Or: **Uso/ mwaana/ umwele mhuundru.** (In this construction, **mwaana**

cannot be the subject of the verb: ***Mwaana/ wele mhuundru/ uso**. Also: ***Mwaana/ wele uso/ mhuundru**.)

want^h **u wahuundru** ‘red men’
zilat u zihuundru ‘red shoes’

m-huundru n. a red variety of sorghum, hence its name – cf. **huundru** ‘red’ (= *durra* in Italian, a kind of sorghum (*Andropogon Sorghum*), according to MI

Chimwambila chizeele/ kumpikila mataaza/ ya mhuundru/ kumpa. ‘He told the old woman to cook gruel for him made from sorghum to give him.’

Hala mhuundru. ‘They cultivate sorghum.’

Mhuundru/ siwo/ chakuja cha waana. ‘Sorghum is not food for children.’

hundhuri n. [Som. *xundhur* "dysentery" DSI 639] *Somalism* dysentery

hundhuri n. [Som. *xundhur* "umbilical cord" DSI 639] umbilical cord (Comment: One consultant believed this word to be used by speakers from the **Baghdaadi** quarter in the sense ‘umbilical cord’, but the common Chimiini word is **lufkuti**.)

ku-hupsata v. [Som. *hubso* DSI 316] (**hupseete**) be certain, ascertain
rel.
ku-hupsisha v. caus. (**hupsishiize**) ascertain

ku-hura v. [Som. *huran* “to be obliged to do s.t.” DSI 319] manage to avoid; [in the negative] inevitable, cannot be avoided
Husuŀo chimo mvunguuni/ hayimhuri/ kiinama. ‘The one who wants what is under the bed cannot help stooping.’ (A proverb.)
Kufa/ ni lama huraani. ‘To die is a must, it cannot be avoided.’ (A proverb.)

hura’eeni n. 2 [Ar. expression *hur al-’ain* W 212 and W663] the women in paradise (in Islamic cosmology)

ku-hurgufa v. [Som. *hurguf* DSI 319] (**hurgufiile**) shake s.t. out
rel.
m-hurgufo n. 3

huuri n. 9/10 [Som. *huur* “sweat caused by heat and humidity” DSI 320] perspiration, sweat

Huuri/ imwoleze mwaana/ shaatiye. ‘The child’s shirt was soaked with sweat [lit. sweat soaked the child his shirt].’ Cf. **Huuri/ iwa’oleze waana/ shati zaawo**. ‘The children’s shirts were soaked with sweat.’ (These examples illustrate the use of **huuri** as a [cl.9] nominal.)

ka qahri na huuri na wana umbukhu/ kaa ndruti tayaari shchitiya bundukhu [nt.] ‘overpowered, sweating, suffocating/ ready with sticks, we were fearing guns’

Komelopo zitaani/ ah/ ni huuri/ so/ schimlawó/ na mzimawe/ shtetema ka shšana/ chaa ye/ wanaachó. ‘When he reached the fighting, ah! what a sweat was coming from him and the whole of him was shivering from the anger that he had.’

kuŀawa huuri ‘to perspire, sweat’

Hamadi/ huuri/ zimŀazile. ‘Hamadi perspired -- [lit] Hamadi, sweat poured out of him.’ Or: **Hamadi/ zimŀazile huuri**. (Syn. It is not possible for the experiencer, i.e. the one doing the sweating, to be the subject of the verb:

***Hamadi/ ŀazile huuri**. It is also not possible to put the verb into the passive and have the experiencer be the subject: ***Hamadi/ ŀazila huuri**.)

Muunt^hu/ sho/ kumḷawa huuri/ ha'ikuti. 'A person who does not sweat does not get satiated.' (A proverb.)

Zindrazile huuri. 'I perspired.' (This example, where **huuri** governs the SM on the verb, illustrates the [cl.10] use of this noun.)

Muunt^hu/ huja huurize. 'A man eats his sweat (i.e. what he worked for).' (A proverb.) (The choice of =z-e as the possessive enclitic illustrates the [cl.10] use of the noun **huuri**.)

Nuuru/ mzimawe/ huuri. 'Nuuru is perspiring heavily (lit. his whole is sweat).'

Zinamṭanyika huuri/ kana muunt^hu/ naakufó. 'He is sweating like someone dying.'

ku-huurisha

v. [Som. *huuri* "to keep s.o. or s.t. in a warm place, esp. food" DSI 320] (**hurishiize**) simmer, cook at a low temperature; put s.t. unripe in a place in order for it to ripen

kuhurishaa nama 'to cook meat at a low temperature'

rel.

ku-huursisha v. ibid.

kuhursishaa nama 'to cook meat at a low temperature'

huriya

n. [Sw. *huria* SSED 138; Ar. *hurriya* W 165] freedom
variant forms:

uhuriya

huriya [Som. *xorriyad* DSI 638]

huri

Mi/ leelo/ nt^hakhuḷaṭa huri. 'I today will set you free.'

uhuriya/ kama uyu 'freedom like this'

Uhuriya/ aṭá/ ushpatoowa/ maazi/ ^fmiingi/ huṭa(w)anyikó. 'Until independence is obtained, a lot of blood is shed.'

Uhuriya mwiingi/ hupoteza waant^hu. 'Too much freedom spoils people.'

hurma

n. [Sw. *huruma* SSED 138; Ar. *hurma* "esteem, deference, respect" W 171; Som. *xurmo* DSI 640] sympathy, kind feelings, respect, honor
variant form: **huruma**

kuwanayo hurma 'to have sympathy'

Ewe/ fungula mlaango/ nonyesha huruma/ bardi/ apa/ nk^hali/ na lpepo/ linakuvuma. 'O you, open the door, show me mercy, it is bitter cold here and the wind is blowing.' (Phon. The analysis of **ewe** 'o you' is not entirely clear. The accent is on the vowel *e*, while the pronoun **we** is unaccented. If we write this expression as two words, then we would incorrectly predict accent on **we**, since a phrase-final monosyllable should be accented. An alternative representation would be **e/ wè**, where *e* is regarded as a phrasal isolate and **we** is considered to be deaccented.)

hurri

adj. [Sw. *huru* SSED 138; Ar. *hurr* W 165] free; n. freed, manumitted slave

Mi/ naxsuḷa/ we/ kundraṭa hurri. 'I want you to let me be free.'

Mi/ ni hurri/ pashpo sfuungo/ amo/ ni oghaari/ wa quyuuḍi? 'Am I free without bonds or am I a prisoner of the bonds of life?'

mṭukiilo Umm Aymana ni hurriwe [st.] 'Umm Aymana, his freed slave, took him [=the Prophet] home'

Sheekhi ndroombela ka Mooja/ kuwa hurri kuḷaṭoowa [st.] 'O Sheikh, implore God for me that I might be free (of sin, damnation?)'

u-huru

n. [Sw. *uhuru* SSED 138; Ar. *hurr* "free" W 165] *Swahilism* freedom
Uhuru/ umfurahishiize. 'Freedom pleased him.'

husdi

n. 9 [Sw. *husuda* SSED 138; Ar. *hasad* "envy" W 176; note that there is no related Arabic word with the vowel *u* in the root] envy

ku-husuda v. [Sw. *husudu* SSED 138; Ar. *ḥasada* “to grudge, be envious” W 176] envy (coupled with a strong desire that the person envied will lose what he has)

huzni n. 9 [Sw. *huzuni* SSED 139; Ar. *ḥuzn* W 174] grief, sadness, sorrow
variant form: **huzuni**

Hamadi/ imwingile huzni. ‘Hamadi is sad [lit. sadness entered Hamadi].’
Haṭa/ sku mooyi/ dafa/ nakhpita/ chimwona ndiiwa/ umo karka huzni. ‘Until one day, a kite, while passing, saw the pigeon in grief.’

Huzniye/ imaliize. ‘His sadness ended.’

kuwa nayo huzni ‘to be sad [lit. to have sadness]’

munt^hu mwenye huzni ‘a sad person’

Mzimawe/ huzuni. ‘He is sad from head to toe [lit. his all is sad].’

Ruuhuya/ iyele huzuni. ‘My soul is filled with grief.’

waliliile ka huzuni/ kubloowa meema Hasani [st.] ‘they cried in sorrow for the killing of the virtuous Hasani’

We/ shkala karka nt^hi iyi/ takshalaayata/ na umriwó/ huzni/

haytakhulata. ‘If you stay in this land, you will have regret, and during your whole life, sadness will never leave you.’

ku-huzunika v. intr. (**huzunishile**) be or become sad

Ka paapo/ chimviila/ Huseeni/ Huseeni/ ilopó/ Hasani/ huzunishile/ nt^ho/ tozele yaa ye/ kuhada. ‘Immediately, he summoned Huseeni; when Huseeni came, Hasani became very sad, he did not know what to say.’

Laakini/ ijini/ chihuzunika/ chiskitika/ chihada... ‘But the djinn was sad and grieved and said...’

Maskiini/ chihuzunika/ chanzaa kula/ kaa nk^hele. ‘The poor man became sad and began to cry loudly.’

Mi/ teena/ nhuzunishilé. ‘Then I became sad.’

Muke/ kumwona/ mubliwe/ rudiile/ chihuzunika. ‘The woman, seeing that her husband had returned, was sad.’

Waant^hu/ wa’iwiilopó/ ije impeetó/ wachimwaambila/ chiza

kuhuzunika/ ka khisa iyi/ ndiyó/ tabi’a ya duniya/ shokuja chaake/ hujiliilowa. ‘When people learned what had happened to him, they told him not to be sad because this is the nature of the world: the one who does not eat his own is eaten for.’

Waant^hu/ wachihuzunika/ khkasa koði izi/ na nt^hawakiiwa/ ya

khfaanya. ‘People were sad to hear these words and they did not know what to do.’

Yachikhupata/ waant^hu/ wote/ huhuzunika. ‘When it gets you, all the people become sad.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **marañi** ‘sickness’.)

rel.

ku-huzunata v. (**huzuneete**) become sad

Mukhta ya/ nt^hakuuyá/ mi/ nhuzuneeté. ‘When he did not come, I became sad.’

Mukhta ya/ nt^hakuya dukaani/ mi/ huzuneeté. ‘When he did not come to the shop, I became sad.’

Mukhta ya/ nt^hakuya dukaani/ yana/ mi/ huzuneeté. ‘When he did not come to the shop yesterday, I became sad.’

Nakuhuzunata/ kana filiilá. ‘He is very sad, as if someone had died (lit. on, to him).’

ku-huzunikila v. intr. appl. (**huzunikiliile**) be sad over something for, reveal sadness to someone

Nhuzunikiliile. ‘He revealed his sadness to me.’

Nhuzunikiliile ka moṭi wa waawa. ‘He was sad for me on account of my father’s death.’

ku-huzunikoowa v. pass.

watakingiloowa shaqa/ itakuhuzunikoowa [st.] ‘they will be filled with distress and there will be mourning and weeping’

ku-huzunisha v. caus. (**huzunishiize**) sadden, make sad
Jaama/ kufaaake/ imhuzunishiize. ‘Jaama’s death saddened him.’
Khabari/ zichihuzunishiize. ‘The news caused us to grieve.’
Kufake eelo/ imhuzunishiize/ kiḷa muunt^hu/ numbaani. ‘The gazelle’s death saddened everyone in the house.’
Mhuzunishize Nuuru/ ka kumkhubura moti wa waawaye. ‘He made Nuuru sad by telling him of his father’s death.’
ku-huzunishana v. caus. rec.
ku-huzunishika v. caus. p/s.
ku-huzunishiliza v. caus. appl.
ku-huzunishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
Ji/ na Alí/ wahuzunishilizenye waana. ‘Ji and Ali saddened each other’s children.’
ku-huzunishoowa v. caus. pass. (**huzunishiiza**)
Si/ chihuzunishiza na khabari. ‘We were saddened by the news.’

i- [cl.5] subject prefix
Abdalla/ mloweele/ mwanaamke/ wa sultaani/ inaye/ iwaliko Aaminá.
‘Abdalla married the daughter of a sultan whose (i.e. the daughter) name was Aamina.’
Ijiko imooyi/ ha’ireebi (or hayreebi)/ chuungu. ‘One cooking stone does not support a pot.’ (A proverb.)
Ijiwe ikhubishile. ‘A stone struck you.’
Mukhta igozi/ iwelo ikavú/... ‘When the skin became dry...’

-i- [cl.5] object prefix
Apo/ ye/ shṭumba iboholi/ chi’itila igozi/ chizumbiza mṭaanga. ‘There he dug a hole and put the skin in it and covered the hole with sand.’
(Ye)_ ka’oloká/ suḷa ki’iwona ijabali. ‘If he went, he would see the mountain.’

i- [cl.9] subject prefix; morphophonemic variant: *y*
Ije markabu/ irudiile/ ije markabu/ imteto mwanaamké/ wa sultaani/ irudiile/ wachihada jis’iyo. ‘That ship has come back, that ship that carried off the daughter of the sultan has come back, they spoke that way.’
Kaazi/ ifanyiza naawo. ‘The work was done by them.’
Mwaana/ miimba/ inamlaaza. ‘The child’s stomach is aching.’
Numba/ yingila na waant^hu. ‘The house was entered by people.’
Numbaye/ iwaliko khariibu/ ya numba ya sultaani. ‘His house was near the house of the sultan.’

-i- [cl.9] object prefix
Jaama/ ileteleḷe sufuriya iyi/ shfiniko. ‘Jaama brought a lid for this pan.’
Kaazi/ ni’imaliize. ‘The job, I finished it.’ (Syn. It apparently is not the case, however, that a preposed primary object can always trigger object agreement. MI did not like ***Kaazi/ ni’ipeete.** ‘The job, I got it.’)
Sanduukhu/ iyo/ sultaani/ chi’iweeká/ barzaani. ‘That box, the sultan placed it in the reception room.’ (Phon. The final accents in this example would appear to be an aspect of intonation, but have not been properly researched at this point.)
Wa’ifanyize kaazi. ‘They did the job.’ Or: **Kaazi/ wa’ifanyiize.** ‘The job, they did it.’
(Ye/)_ ka’oloká/ suḷa kiyula numba. ‘If he went, he would buy the house.’

i- [cl.5] noun class prefix
igozi ‘skin’
ijiiko ‘cooking stone’
ijiwe ‘stone’

- i-** [cl.5] agreement prefix on adjectives
igozi ikavu ‘dry skin’
Ijiko imooyi/ ha’ireebi/ chuungu. ‘One cooking stone does not support a pot.’
ina isuura ‘a good name’
Mukhta igozi/ iwelo ikavú/... ‘When the skin became dry...’
- ‘ii’** ideo. sound of straining to excrete
Hamadi/ nayo yaabisi/ chinya/ sharti/ hujjirata/ kuhada ‘ii’ ‘ii’. ‘Hamadi is constipated, if he defecates it is necessary for him to strain saying ‘ii’ ‘ii’.’
Maana/ maskiini/ nakujjirata/ nt^hanakhaadira/ kunya/ ‘ii’ ‘ii’. ‘The poor child is straining, he is not able to defecate, ‘ii’ ‘ii’.’
- i’iṭibaari** n. [Ar. *i’tibār* W 588] consideration
khfanya i’iṭibaari ‘to consider’
khpa i’iṭibaari ‘to give consideration to’
- i’iṭiraafu** n. [Ar. *i’tirāf* W 606] recognition
Ye/ nt^haná/ i’iṭiraafu. ‘He does not have any recognition.’
- ku-’i’laana** v. [Ar. verb *‘alana* “to make known” W 637] (**i’laniile**) announce
- i’laani** n. [Ar. *i’lān* W 637] announcement, proclamation, notice
khfanya i’laani ‘to announce’
kḥtomola i’laani ‘to issue a proclamation’
kubiga i’laani ‘to announce’
- rel.
i’laanaati n.pl. (an Arabic plural form more likely to be used in connection with religious matters)
- k-i’iṭamida** v. rely on
Muunt^hu/ hakhaadiri/ ki’iṭamida/ chiint^hu/ chaa ye/ nt^hanaa cho. ‘A person cannot rely on something that he does not have.’
Muunt^hu/ humi’iṭamida muunt^hu/ amini. ‘One relies on someone honest/trustworthy.’
Muunt^hu/ kumi’iṭamida mwaadamu/ siwo/ suura. ‘For one to rely on someone/ people is not good.’
N̄i Nuuru/ nimi’ṭamdilo khpata peesá. ‘(It is) Nuuru on whom I relied to get money.’
Ni’iṭamidile Nuurú/ khpata peesá. ‘I relied on Nuuru to get money.’ Or:
Nimi’iṭamidile Nuurú/ khpata peesá. ‘I relied on him Nuuru to get money.’
Ni’iṭamidile peesá/ khpatoowá. ‘I relied on money being gotten.’
Ni’iṭamidile peesá/ Nuuru/ khpata. ‘I relied on the money Nuuru to get.’
check accent
Nizi’iṭamidile pesa izó/ khpatoowá. ‘I relied on that money being gotten.’
Nizi’iṭamidile peesa/ Nuuru/ khpata. ‘I relied on it the money Nuuru to get.’
check accent
Nizi’iṭamidile peesa/ Nuuru/ kispata. ‘I relied on the money Nuuru to get it.’
check accent
- rel.
k-i’iṭamidika v. p/s.
Hi’iṭamidowa mojiitu. ‘It is God that one relies on.’
Omari/ siwo/ muunt^hu/ hi’iṭadimikó. ‘Omari is not a person one can rely on.’
- k-i’iṭamidiloowa** v. appl. pass.
Chiint^hu/ chiko ka muunt^hu/ mbali/ hachi’ṭamidiloowi. ‘Something that is with another person is not relied on.’
- k-i’iṭamidila** v. appl.
k-i’iṭamidoowa v. pass.
Nuuru/ i’iṭamidila khpata peesa. ‘Nuuru was relied on to get money.’

<i>i'timaadi</i>	n. [Ar. <i>i'timād</i> W 642] reliance munt^hu mwenye i'timaadi 'a reliable person'
<i>ku-'i'tiqaada</i>	v. [cf. Ar. noun <i>i'tiqād</i> "firm belief, conviction" W 628] (i'tiqadiile) believe
<i>i'tiqaadi</i>	n. [Ar. <i>i'tiqād</i> "firm belief, conviction" W 628]
<i>ibaada</i>	n. 9/10 [Sw. <i>ibada</i> SSED 1; Ar. <i>ibāda</i> W 586] worship humbughuḍo ibaadaye ni buure [st.] 'the one who hates him, his worshipping is of no avail (useless)' ibaada pashpo shar'a zote baatili [st.] '[acts of] worship without [following] the regulations are all invalid' kaamina ka qalbi numa ibaada [st.] 'to believe with one's heart and then worship' laazimu/ kana ibaada 'as necessary, obligatory as worship' wanafaanye ibaada karka Haramu [st.] 'let them worship at the Grand mosque in Mecca' rel. ibaadaati n. pl. (an Arabic plural form sometimes used)
<i>Ibliisi</i>	n. Lucifer, Satan, the devil (The b in this item may be realized as b and w as well as b .) Ibliisi waaliko malaayka mkulu/ shfaanya ibaada niingi nt'iini na ilu [st.] 'Ibliisi was a great angel, he used to worship constantly everywhere (lit. down and up)'
<i>ibra</i>	n. [Sw. <i>ib(u)ra</i> "something wonderful, a miracle, a very rare occurrence, etc." SSED 139, but this usage is unconnected to the Chimiini meaning; Ar. <i>ibra</i> "admonition, warning" W 587] something to be taken as a warning, a lesson khtala ibra 'to take, draw a lesson from s.t.' Tete ibra/ karka ije impeetó. 'He drew a lesson from what had befallen him.' Ni ibra. 'It is a warning, a lesson.'
<i>Ibrahiimu</i>	n. Abraham variant form: Ibraahimu mwene Ibrahiimu kuzimu ya saba [st.] 'he saw Abraham in the seventh heaven'
<i>ibtila</i>	n. (cf. ku'iptila) hardship, complication, dangerous or painful situation Siti simama waloombele haamila / karka kuzaala wasiwoone ibtila [st.] 'O Lady [Fatima] rise [and] pray for pregnant women, that they might not see (= experience) complications when giving birth'
<i>ichi</i>	[cf. Sw. <i>hiki</i>] this [cl.7] demonstrative pronoun Chibuku ichi/ nch^ha naani. 'This book is whose?' chiichi/ ichi 'this same one (near you)' chiint^hu/ shkulu/ kolko ichi 'something bigger than this' Chisu ichi/ ni shkali. 'This knife is sharp.' (cf. Chisu ichi/ ni shkalii nt^ho. 'This knife is very sharp.') Siwo ichi. 'Isn't it this one?' (Phon. The phrasing and accent are different in the corresponding statement: Siwo/ ichi. 'It is not this one.')
<i>ichije</i>	that [cl.7] demonstrative pronoun chiichije/ ichije 'that same one' Mubli/ nt^hasaa ye/ kuya kaake/ shpita ka chizeele. 'Before coming home, the husband passed by that old woman.'

Siwo ichijé. ‘Isn’t it that one?’

Sultaani/ chimuza/ ichije chiint^hu/ shpeeté. ‘The sultan asked him: that thing, did you find it?’

ichiwa

verb form: it became that, it was that

Teena/ ichiwa/ ye/ heendra/ hadiqaani/ maraa nt^hatu/ ku^hla muunt^hi.

‘Then he made a habit of going to the garden three times each day.’

icho

[Sw. *hicho*] that [cl.7] demonstrative pronoun

chilatu icho ‘that shoe’ or **icho chilatu** ‘that specific shoe’

Chileemba/ icho/ chivaliko chisuura/ nt^ho/ hattá/ nishpeenzelé. ‘That turban was very beautiful, even to the point that I loved it.’

Chizeele/ icho/ ni sheetaani. ‘That old woman was a devil.’

Ilooni/ ondroshele/ chistukula chinoka/ icho/ chingila nacho/ ndraani/ numbaani. At dusk she got up and took that little snake and went with it inside the house.’

we have been talking about).’

Mpele Huseeni/ icho chibuuku. ‘He gave Huseeni that book (i.e. the one

Shpeleka icho chilaatu/ ka sultaani/ chimwaambila/ chilaatu/ ndimí/ mpheetó. ‘He took that shoe to the sultan and told him: the shoe, I am the one who found it.’

Siwo ichó. ‘Isn’t it that one?’

Ye/ shkorsheeze/ chinoka/ icho/ hatá/ chiweele/ shkulu. ‘She raised the little snake until it became big.’

ida, idda

n. [Ar. *idda* W 595] the required waiting period that is required of a woman after husband’s death (four months and ten days) or after divorce (three months and ten days) before she can remarry; the mourning period of a woman after her husband’s death

Jeelaani/ nt^hakhaadira/ kumloola/ Safiya/ ka sababu yiiko/ mas’ala ya idda. ‘Jeelaani could not marry Safiya (immediately) because there was the question of the waiting period.’

khkalan^ha idda ‘to stay indoors for the period of **idda**’

khpandra idda ‘to stay indoors for the period of **idda**’

muke mubliwe chifa ida humpandra ida [st.] ‘if a woman’s husband dies, she must stay inside for mourning’

mubli chifa muke idda ni waajibu/ kulata hawa ya nafsi khtaala dhibu [st.] ‘when her husband dies, a woman is obliged to observe the **idda**, forsaking worldly pleasures and submitting to [many] restrictions’

muke mubliwe chifa ida waajibu [st.] ‘if a woman’s husband dies, the mourning period is obligatory’

mwenye idda ‘a woman in the waiting period’

muke menye idda nt^hana khasaara/ kuja ka mkonowe mafta kudaara [st.] ‘a woman in a state of **idda** does not commit a sin if she eats with her hand and touches oil’

idaashara

n, adj. eleven

Sa’a idaashara/ za lapili/ Columbus/ ni wakhtj wa izdihaamu. ‘Five o’clock [lit. eleven] is a crowded, busy time in Columbus.’

iidi

n. [Sw. *idi* SSED 140; Ar. *id* W 661] a religious festival day; holy day(s)

furaha/ kamba iidi ‘as happy as **iidi**’

work.’

Leelo/ iidi/ waant^hu/ hawafaanyi/ kaazi. ‘Today is **iidi**, people don’t

muke chisalo iidi shiindo uo^hhiya [st.] ‘a woman who used to pray the prayers of Idd and who used to slaughter **uo^hhiya**’

<i>idiimbaaraka</i>	[a contraction of Ar. <i>iid mubaarak</i> "blessed holy day", the Arabic form of Eid greetings] This was said by children who used to go from house to house to receive money or sweets early in the morning of the Eid (keendra idiimbaaraka). If they were late and nothing remained to be given, the household members would reply: [iidi]/ yolosheelee/ Makka 'it went to Makka', and could also add: endrá/ ja staltala – ka boleeti/ zinakhtaltala 'go eat bats, at Boleti's house there are plenty (lit. they are tossing about)' . "Boleeti" refers to an Italian, probably called Paoletti, whose house in ruins was situated near the sea shore and was said to be the abode of majinni .
<i>Idriisi</i>	n. the Islamic name for the prophet Enoch
<i>idul ad.ha</i>	n. the iidi associated with the pilgrimage to Mecca
<i>idul fitri</i>	n. the iidi associated with Ramadhan Leelo/ ni dhafari/ ni idul fitri . 'Today there is no sleeping all night (because) it is iidi (associated with Ramadhan).'
<i>iðaa'a</i>	n. broadcast Iðaa'a/ ya kaandrá/ haanza/ sa'aa mbili/ za fijiri . 'The first broadcast begins at eight (lit. two) in the morning.' Iðaa'a/ ya piilí/ hanza sa'a siṭá/ za shpiindrí/ na iðaa'á/ ya taatú/ iðaa'a/ ya mwiishó/ haanza/ sa'a mooyi/ za masku . 'The second broadcast begins at twelve (lit. six) noon, and the third broadcast, which is the last one, begins at seven (lit. one) at night. review accent issue
<i>ku-'iðina</i>	v. [Sw. <i>idhini</i> SSED 140; Ar. <i>adina</i> "allow, permit" W 11] (iðinile) authorize
<i>iðni, iðini</i>	n. [Sw. <i>idhini</i> "sanction, permission, authorization, leave" SSED 140] approval, authorization, permission khtomola iðni 'to approve' Iðni/ tomeeló/ ni waawe . 'The approval, the one who gave it was my father.' Ni muḅliwa/ laakini/ mi/ mukhta mi/ nch^hilozoowá/ nt^haykumeroowa/ kaaka/ iðni . 'He is my husband, but when I was betrothed to him, there was no seeking approval from me.' Ye/ ka iðni/ ya mwajitu/ takhpata maatoye . 'He, with the permission of God, will get his eyes back.'
<i>iðraabu</i>	n. [Ar. <i>idrāb</i> W 540] strike (i.e. stoppage of work) khfanya iðraabu 'to strike' Sarkaali/ rebele iðraabu . 'The government prohibited striking.'
<i>ifiriiti (ma'-) malicious</i>	n. [Ar. <i>ifrit</i> "afreet, demon" W 624] giant, a large and violent jinn; a ghost (usu.) Simoondrolé/ ifiriiti leeló . 'Don't wake up a giant that is sleeping.' (A proverb.)
<i>-ifko</i>	adj. hollowed chijamu chifko 'hollowed plate' *** khawawa yifko 'hollowed frying pan' ***
<i>iftiini</i>	adj. [Som. <i>iftiin</i> "light, splendour, clear sky" DSI 322] clear mayi iftiini 'clear water'
<i>k-iigema</i>	v. [Sw. <i>egema</i> "come or be close to s.t."] (-igemeele) come close to; welcome! variant form: keegema Igema . 'Welcome! Come close!' Igema/ we/ uko kiinú . 'Welcome! You are at home.' Igemeele . 'He came closer.' (cf. Wa'igemeele . 'They came close.')

Muke/ chimweegesha/ chimwaambila/ tafaðali/ bwaana/ igema/ ja chaakuja. ‘The woman welcomed him and said to him: please, sir, you are at home, eat food.’
Nigemeelé. ‘I am close.’ (This is an answer to the welcoming **Igema**.)

ku-’ihmaala

v. [Ar. *hamala* W 1034 and noun *ihmāl* W 1035] (**ihmaliile**) neglect

Siwo/ suura/ muunt^hu/ ku’ihmala waanawe. ‘It is not nice for a man to neglect his children.’

ihmaali

n. [Ar. *ihmāl* W 1035] negligence, carelessness
khfanya ihmaali ‘to be careless’

ihraamu

n. [Ar. *iḥrām* W 172] statement of the intention to perform pilgrimage; the sacred state that a Muslim must enter into (through performing various rituals and wearing prescribed clothes) before crossing a certain prescribed location on journey to Mecca

mwenye ihraamu rebee^{la} ziint^hu saba [st.] ‘someone in the state of *ihraamu* is forbidden seven things’

miski hadaari saahibu^l ihraamu [st.] ‘one who is in the state of *ihraamu* does not touch perfume’

ihsaani

favor

n. [Sw. *hisani* SSED 134, *ihsan* SSED 140; Ar. *iḥsān* “beneficenc, charity” W 178]

Ihsaani/ haypoṭeli/ ka wenyé kiwa ihsaani. ‘A favor does not get lost on those who know what a favor is.’ (A proverb.)

khfanya ihsaani ‘to do a favor’

Fanya ihsaani/ sint^hiindé/ nama/ ka su’aali. ‘Please don’t annoy

me with questions.’

Wiingi/ hufanyo ihsaani/ laakini/ haba/ hulipó. ‘It is many who do favors, but it is few who pay back.’ (Translation of a Somali proverb.)

khfanyiliza ihsaani ‘to do a favor for s.o.’

Huseeni/ chiwajiiba/ nakuhadaayi/ ni/ nfanyiliza/ ni/ ihsaani.

‘Huseeni answered them: what do you all say, you do a favor for me.’

Isa/ mi/ nnakhsuulá/ we/ kunfanyiliza ihsaani/ yyingine. ‘Now I want you to do another favor for me.’

khtila ihsaani ‘to extend a favor’

Mp^hete ka ihsaaniyó. ‘I got it because of the favors you have done to others.’

Mweenza/ we/ nfanyiizé/ ihsaani/ niingi/ naami/ nakhsuulá/ khulipa jezayo. ‘My friend, you have done me so many favors, I want to repay your favors.’

Nt^huná/ ihsaani. ‘You are ungrateful (lit. you do not have favor).’

stoshe ni waajibu iyo ihsaani [st.] ‘don’t think that (God) is obligated (to do that), that is a favor’

Want^hu akhyaari/ washfanyowa ihsaani/ hulipa ihsaani. ‘If gentlemen are done a favor, they repay with a favor.’

k-ihtaaja

ihtiyā “need, necessity” W 212] (**ihtajiile**) need

v. [Sw. *hitaji* SSED 134; Ar. verb *aḥwaja* “to have need” W 211 and noun

Chinihtaaja/ ka jawaabu/ m(w)eepe/ tila mashuungiya/ karkaa

muḷo/ ka paapo/ mi/ nt^hakhiilila. ‘If you need me for anything, put the strands of my hair in the fire immediately and I will come to you.’

kumfanyiliza yaa ye/ takhsuuló/ na takih^htaajó ‘to do for her whatever she wants and needs’

Mi/ nakihtaja peesá/ tafaðali/ ulá/ chulungu cha kaandra/ nuumba/ nzimaye/ inawe yaako. ‘I need money; please buy the first storey so the house, its entirety, may be

yours.’

Mi/ nt^hakhupa yaa we/ nakihtaajó. ‘I will give you whatever you want.’

...na kuwafanyiliza/ yaa wo/ wanakihtaajó ‘and to do for them whatever they need (done)’

Sultaani/ shpakila zoomboze/ zaa ye/ takihtaajó/ chiwapa waant^hu/ waradi/ chisaafira/ kendra ka wazelewe mwanaamke. ‘The sultan loaded the things that he would need and bid people farewell and took off to go to the girl’s parents.’

Taala/ mashuungiya/ yolokele/ chinihtaaja/ ka jawaabu/ mweepe/ tila mashuungiya/ karkaa mujo/ ka paapo/ mi/ nt^hakhiilila. ‘Take my hair and take yourself off; if you need me for some matter, put my hair in fire and at once I will come to you.’

Walá/ hawahtaaji/ chiint^hu/ cho chotte. ‘Neither do they have need of anything.’ (Observe that the initial *i* of the stem elides after the low vowel in *wa*. The precise distribution of **-htaaja** as opposed to **-ihtaaja** is not known.)

rel.

k-ihtaajoowa v. pass.

Alfaani/ fikiriliile/ kuwa ipackacha/ itakihtaajoowa/ kumtukulila sultani waa noka/ mukhtaawo/ wataamshiikó. ‘Alfani thought that a basket was needed to carry the king of snakes in when they siezed him.’

Hayihtaajoowi/ we/ keendra. ‘It is not needed that you go.’

Hihatajowaa si/ khfanya tahaðari. ‘It is needed that we be careful, cautious.’

Hihatajoowa/ Siimba/ kendra na mapeema. ‘It is needed that Siimba go early.’ Or: **Siimba/ hihatajoowa/ kendra na mapeema.** Or: **Siimba/ hihatajowa kendra na mapeema.**

Sultaani/ chimpa eelo/ zoombo/ hihatajoowá. ‘The king gave the gazelle the things that are needed.’

Waana/ hawa’ihatajoowi/ apa. ‘The children are not needed here.’

Waana/ wanakihtajowa numbaani/ kumsa’ida mama yaawo. ‘Children are needed at home to help their mother.’

Waana/ watakihtajowa khfanya kaazi. ‘Children will be needed to work.’

rel. nom.

w-ihtaajo n. 14 [Ar. *ihtiyā* W 212] need

ku-’ihatarima

v. [cf. Ar. noun *ihtirām* “deference, respect” W 172] (**ihtarimiile**) respect
variant forms: **kuhtarima, kihatarima**

rel.

ku-’ihatarimika v. p/s. (**ihtarimishile**) be respected; able to be respected

Muunt^hu/ ihtarimishile. ‘The man is respected.’

Munt^hu oyo/ ha’ihatarimiki. ‘That man cannot be shown respect (i.e. it is not possible to show him the amount of respect that he thinks he deserves).’

ku-’ihatarimila v. appl.

ihtimaamu

n. [Ar. *ihtimām* W 1033] interest (in something)

Si/ apa/ hashapata/ ihtimaamu/ walá/ mahabá/ kaamili/ ya wawa yiitu/ chiwa Yuusufu/ umo karka kiitu. ‘We here will not get the attention nor the love, full, of our father, if it be that Joseph is among us.’

rel.

ihtimaamaati n. pl. (an Arabic plural form sometimes used, for example in religious matters)

<i>ih̄tiraamu</i>	n. respect Mi/ siná/ ih̄tiraamu/ kaawo. ‘I have no respect in their eyes.’
<i>ih̄tiyaaji</i>	n. [Ar. <i>ih̄tiyāj</i> W 21] (cf. k-ih̄taaja) need
<i>ku-’ijaara</i>	v. [Ar. verb <i>ajara</i> and noun <i>ijār</i> ‘letting, leasing’ W 5] (ijariile) rent, hire rel. <i>ku-’ijaarata</i> v. (ij areete) rent, hire
<i>ije</i>	[cl.5] demonstrative Ijambi ije/ ni itaka. ‘That mat is dirty.’ Ikopa ije/ ni ikulu. ‘That cup is large.’
<i>ije</i>	[cl.9] demonstrative Abdalla/ iwilopo ije itulushiló/ chiruda numbaani/ na sul̄taani/ chimwaambila/ nakuwoná/ mi/ kachiza kul̄awa naawé/ ka apá/ we/ naawé/ sul̄a kuwa mooyi/ karka waant^hu wafiló. ‘When Abdalla learned what had happened, he returned home with the sultan, telling him: do you see? if I had not gone out with you from here, you also would have been one among the people who were killed.’ Afðali/ inamp^hate/ ije itakump^ható/ kama keendrá/ kunsiba ghaðabu za mwajiitú. ‘Better that it befalls me whatever will befall me than to go and the anger of God strike me.’ Basi/ mi/ nnakuwona kuwa ni kheri yiitú/ si/ khfunga safari/ keendra/ mahaḷa ije itaakuwó. ‘Therefore I think that is best (lit. our best) for us to pack and go anywhere at all (rather than here).’ Hasani/ chimwambila sul̄taani/ ije imleselo kaaké. ‘Hasani told the sultan what brought him to his place.’ ...ka ije ya waawaye/ mpenzelezó ‘...with whatever her father liked for her’ Kiḷa/ mwaana/ humleetela/ mwaalimu/ ije yaa ye/ hukhaadiró. ‘Each child brings the teacher whatever he can.’ Luti khiinfó/ ni limo kaakó/ mkonooní/ silaaha/ ni ije/ yimo mkonooní. ‘The stick that is of use to you is the one that is in your hand, a weapon is the thing that is in your hand.’ (A proverb.) Nakuwona numba ijé. ‘Do you Ni laazima/ keendra/ khkooða/ na waawe/ ije yaa ye/ takuhadó. ‘I must go and speak with my father, whatever it is that he may say.’ Waawé/ mi/ nakhsul̄a keendrá/ kulangala markabú/ ijé. ‘My father, I want to go to look at that ship.’ check the final accents marked here Yana/ mi/ nuzize ije igozi/ ya ngoombewa/ na mp^hheeté/ feða niingi/ nt^ho. ‘Yesterday I sold that skin of my cow and I got a lot of money (for it).’
<i>ij̄tihaadi</i>	n. [Ar. <i>ij̄tihād</i> W 143] effort ka ij̄tihaadi ‘with effort’ khfanya ij̄tihaadi ‘to be diligent, try hard’ mwenye ij̄tihaadi ‘s.o. diligent’
<i>ku-’ikhaaba</i>	v. (ikhabiile) punish
<i>ikh̄laasi</i>	n. [Ar. <i>ikh̄lās</i> W 255] loyalty, sincerity ka ikh̄laasi/ na niya saafi ‘with loyalty and pure intentions’ khfanya ikh̄laasi ‘to be loyal’
<i>mu-khlisi</i>	adj. loyal

k-ikhtaara v. [Ar. *kāra* W 266] (**ikhṭariile**) choose, select, elect
Wamwikhtaariile Nuuru/ kuwa ra'iisi. 'They elected Nuuru to be president.'

Ye/ ikhtaariile kingila harbiini. 'He chose to fight.'

rel.

k-ikhtaarisha v. caus. (**ihṭarishiize**)

rel. nom.

mw-iikhtaara (*wa'-ikhtaara*) n. 1/2 one who chooses

w-ikhtaaro n. 14 the act of choosing

k-ikhtaara v. (**ikhṭariile**) suggest

Hamadi/ ikhtaariile Jaama/ kula gaari. 'Hamadi suggested that Jaama buy a car'

Hamadi/ ikhtaariile kuwa Jaama/ tu/ na'oloke kahimá. 'Hamadi suggested that only Jaama go quickly.'

Hamadi/ mikhtaariile Jaama/ kuwa kendra kahima. 'Hamadi suggested to him Jaama that to go quickly'

Hamadi/ tu/ ikhtaariilo Jaamá/ kula gaarí. 'Only Hamadi suggested that Jaama buy a car.' (The final accent in the infinitive phrase is due to its being in the scope of the final accent triggered by the pseudo-relativized main verb. An infinitive verb is not itself able to be pseudo-relativized, as the following example demonstrates: **Hamadi/ ikhtaariile Jaama/ tu/ kula gaari.** 'Hamadi suggested that only Jaama buy a car.' Note that one cannot say **kula gaarí**, where there is a final accent due to the hypothetical pseudo-relativization of the infinitive verb.)

Hamadi/ tu/ ikhtaariilo Jaamá/ kuwa na'oloke kahimá. 'Only Hamadi suggested Jaama that he should go quickly.'

Ikhtaariile Jaama/ kendra kahima. 'He suggested that Jaama go quickly.'

Jaama/ kula gaari/ Hamadi/ ikhtaariilo. 'Jaama to buy a car, Hamadi suggested.' (Note that the main verb is pseudo-relativized. Pseudo-relativization is caused by a pre-verbal focus, but we could not ascertain where focus was in this example. Perhaps it is the preposed sentence **Jaama/ kula gaari** as a whole. Our consultant GM did accept a verb without pseudo-relativization: **Jaama/ kula gaari/ Hamadi/ ikhtaariile.** However, he regarded the pseudo-relativized form as better.)

Mikhtaariile Jaama/ kuwa na'oloke kahima. 'He suggested to Jaama that he should go quickly.'

Mikhtaariile kuwa Jaama/ na'oloke kahima. 'He suggested to him that Jaama go quickly.' **Is the suggestion to someone else that J should do something, or is it to Jaama????**

rel.

k-ikhtaaroowa v. pass. (**ikhṭariila**) be suggested

Jaama/ ikhtaariila kendra kahima. 'Jaama was suggested to go quickly.'

Or: **Ikhtaariila Jaama/ kendra kahima.**

Jaama/ ikhtaariila/ kuwa na'oloke kahima. 'Jaama was suggested that he go quickly.'

k-ikhtari'a v. [Ar. *karu'a* W 235] (**ikhṭari'iile**) invent

k-ikhtariha v. [?Ar. *iqtirāh* "invention" W 756] (**ikhṭarihiile**) suggest (MI gave this as the form for the verb 'suggest'; our consultant GM did not recognize this form and used instead **kikhtaara**, which is the same as the verb "choose".)

Ikhtaarihile Jaama/ kendra kahima. 'He suggested for Jama to go quickly.' (Note that the subject of the infinitival complement cannot be "raised" to be the object of the main verb: ***Mwikhtaarihile Jaama/ kooloka.** 'He suggested Jaama to go.'

Ikhtaarihile Jaama/ kooloka. 'He suggested Jaama's going.' (Note that the complementizer **kuwa** cannot precede the complement clause: ***Ikhtaarihile kuwa Jaama/ kooloka.** One also cannot use a finite complement clause: ***Ikhtaarihile kuwa Jaama/ oloshale.** 'He suggested that Jaama went.' One also cannot use a "poss-ing" complement clause: ***Ikhtaarihile Jaama/ kolokake/ kahima.** 'He suggested Jaama's going quickly.' But compare the passive verb form below.)

Ikhtaarihile kuwa Jaama/ na'oloke kahima. 'He suggested that Jaama should go quickly.'

rel.

k-ikhtaarihoowa v. pass.

Jaama/ kooloka/ yikhtarihile na Nuuru. ‘For Jaama to go was suggested by Nuuru.’ (But it is also possible and perhaps preferred for a “poss-ing” construction to be used: **Jaama/ kolokake/ yikhtarihila na Nuuru.** ‘Jaama’s going was suggested by Nuuru.’ This contrasts with the failure of the “poss-ing” construction to be used as the object to the active verb. It should also be noted that the subject of the complement clause may not become the subject of the passive main verb: ***Jaama/ ikhtarihila kooloka/ na Nuuru.** ‘Jaama was suggested to go by Nuuru.’)

k-ikḥtima v. [Sw. *hitimu* SSED 130; Ar. *katama* W 227] (**ikḥtimiile**) complete, bring to an end (esp. the study of the Quran or certain religious activities such as the **mowjiidi** celebration)

Ikḥtimile masoomoye. ‘He completed his course of study.’

Ikḥtimile quraani. ‘He completed the study of the Quran.’

Mwaana/ chikḥtima qur’aani/ hufaanya/ sadaqa. ‘When a child completes the study of the Quran, he prepares **sadaqa**.’

rel.

k-ikḥtimisha v. caus. (**ikḥtimishiize**)

Mwaalimu/ mwikḥtimishize mwaana/ qur’aani. ‘The teacher made the child complete the study of the Quran.’

k-ikḥtimoowa v. pass. be brought to an end

Ba’adi ya skuu nthatu/ itakikḥtimoowa. ‘After three days, it (the burial of someone who has died) will be completed.’

ikḥtiraa’i n. [Ar. *iqtirāh* “invention” W 756] invention

(i)kḥtiyaari choice n. 9 [Sw. *hitari* SSED 133; Ar. *iktīyār* “choice, preference” W 267] (cf. **k-ikḥtaara**)

ka ikḥtiyaari ‘by one’s choice, at one’s option, etc.’

Fanyize ka ikḥtiyaariye. ‘He did it out of his own will.’

kazi ya ikḥtiyaari ‘voluntary work’

khfanya ikḥtiyaari ‘to act out of free will’

Kḥtiyaariyo/ chooloka. ‘It’s your choice whether you go (but then be ready for the consequences, if you do go – a kind of warning.’

Mi/ hufanya kaazi/ ka ikḥtiyaari. ‘I work when I please (lit. from choice).’

Nnayo ikḥtiyaari. ‘I have a choice, options.’

Siná/ (i)kḥtiyaari. ‘I have no choice, option.’

wa’unzilo mwajitu ka kḥtiyaariye [st.] ‘the one who created them [people] is God, [out of] his own free will’ (The syllabic requirement of this **steenzi** is such that it must have twelve syllables, given the fact that the final two syllables in the line are short. The optionality of the initial vowel of **ikḥtiyaari** makes it possible for this word to fit the syllabic requirement.)

ch-iiko (z-) n. [Sw. *kiko* SSED 193] pipe for smoking

mw-iiko n. [Sw. *mwiiko* (*miiko*) “a spoon, or instrument resembling it, e.g. a mason’s trowel” SSED 321] a wooden spoon used for stirring food, esp. **zijo**

ikrahi n. [cf. Ar. verb *karoha* “to detest, abhor” W 823] variant form: **ikraha**

mw-iikulu (w-) n. 1/2 grandchild

Basi/ chizeele/ ichi/ shkumanganya waanawe/ na wikuluwé/ wotte/

khfunga safari/ keendra/ kummwona sulṭaani/ uyu. ‘So this old woman gathered her children and her grandchildren all and set off to go to see this sultan.’

Waana/ na wiikulú/ wasḥtii’a/ amri/ ya chizeele. ‘The children and grandchildren obeyed the order of the old woman.’

rel.

mw-iikula n. my grandchild; [pron. **mwiikulá**]

Mwiikulá/ ukopi mbuziwa. ‘My grandchild, where is my goat?’

k-iikuta
satisfied (from eating)

v. [cf. Sw. *kuta* “become satisfied with food” SSED 232] (**ikusile**) be satiated, full,

Hasiibu/ chija/ haṭá/ chiikuta. ‘Hasiibu ate until he was full.’

Huja/ laakini/ ha’ikuti. ‘He eats, but he is never satisfied.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is *m(w)ooṭi* ‘death’.)

Muunt^hu/ chiikuta/ na munt^hu mwiinginé/ humiikusó. ‘When one gets satiated, satisfy someone else.’ (A proverb.)

Muunt^hu/ hikuta ka chaake. ‘One gets satiated with his own things/ stuff/ property.’ (A saying.)

Munt^hu ikusiló/ hamwiiwi/ mwenyee ndala. ‘A man who is full does not understand the one who is hungry.’ (A proverb.)

Mwaarabu/ na sulṭaani/ wachija/ chaakuja/ icho/ ka furaha/ haṭá/ wachiikuta. ‘The Arab and the king ate the food happily until they were satiated.’

Nii muke/ hiiwó/ kama waaná/ wa’ikusilé. ‘It is the wife who knows if the children are full.’

Si/ chijiilé/ haṭá/ chikusilé. ‘We ate until we were full.’

Tama’a niingi/ ha’ikuti. ‘Great longing never gets satiated.’ (A proverb.)

Wachija/ haṭá/ wachiikuta. ‘They ate until they were satiated.’

rel.

k-iikutila v. appl.

Waanawá/ naank^hó/ leelo/ ni’ikutiliilé. ‘My children, again today I am full (with food) (in the story where this example comes from, a bird – actually, a djinn – is speaking to her chicks, telling them that she is full of food that she has brought to them).’

k-iikusa v. caus. (**ikusize**) satisfy s.o.’s appetite, doubts, etc.

Nimpeleshele numbaani/ nimwiikusilé. ‘I took him home and gave him his fill.’

rel. nom.

w-iikuton. 14 satiation, satisfaction

Wiikuto/ walḍaraani. ‘Satiation has bad consequences.’ (A proverb.)

w-iikuso n. 14

ila

n. 9/10 [Ar. *illa* W 633] defect, vice

kutila ila ‘to find fault’

Yaa we/ ṭampikiló/ hutila ila. ‘Whatever you cook for him, he finds fault with it.’

Munt^hu oyo/ ilaze/ niingi. ‘That one, his vices are many.’

Numba yaa we/ nt^hukiingilá/ hiiwi/ ilaye. ‘The house that you have not entered, you cannot know its defects.’ (A proverb.) (Notice that a negative relative verb does not end in the final vowel *o* but does trigger final accent.)

ila

conj. [Sw. *ila* SSED 140; Ar.] except, but, until; [pron. **ila** or **illa**]

Basi/ chmwaambila/ illa/ huji/ mahaḷa yingine/ illa ṭakuja kaaka/ tu.

‘So [the sulan] told [the poor boy] you must not eat anywhere else except here at my place.’

ila ka sabri zotte zirudiile [st.] ‘everything came back [to Job] only as a consequence of his patience’

Ilia/ mi/ takhtala baṭaṭa/ takhtaala. ‘I must take a potato, I will take one.’

Khanziiri/ kudaroowake/ ni haraamu/ ka islaamu/ wotte/ na namayé/ islaamu/ hawaaji/ ila ka ḍaruura/ kama chiwa muunt^hu/ tozele yoyote/ yaa ye/ kuja/ apo/ nama ya khanziiri/ ni halaali/ ka islaamu. ‘For a pig to be touched is forbidden to all Muslims, and its meat, Muslims do not eat except in case of necessity such as if a man fails to find anything to eat, then pork is permitted [to be eaten] for Muslims.’

khshika illa/ kuwa ‘to hold that one must, to affirm that one will do s.t. despite orders, requests to the contrary’

Ye/ shishile illa/ kuwaa ye/ takeendra/ kummera siimba/

maha_laa ye/ uko. ‘He affirmed that he was going to look for the lion wherever he was.’

Laakini/ haali/ jisaayo/ mbovu/ si/ hashkhaadiri/ ila/ kaamina/ ya kuwa do_bla/ ya Aldo/ Mooro/ haytakhaadira/ khfanyilizaa dawa/ iqtisaadi/ ya talyaani/ khaasa/ karka wakhti uyu. ‘But the condition being so bad, we cannot but believe that the government of Aldo Moro will not be able to cure the Italian economy, especially at this time.’

Mp^huundra/ ha’ineendri/ ila/ kaa luti. ‘A donkey does not move except with (use of) a stick.’ (A saying.)

Nt^hashkupata/ ndilaani/ illa maghribi. ‘We did not find the road until sunset.’

Oyo mwaana/ hakhiiri/ ba/ kujaa kuja/ yee peeke/ illa/ nakhsula kuja na muunt^hu. ‘That boy never accepts to eat food alone, except he want to eat with someone.’

Sulhu/ hayiyyi/ ila/ ka nt^ha ya lpaanga. ‘Peace does not come except at the point of a sword.’ (A proverb.)

Want^hu awa/ hawafurahili/ talaqa/ illa ichiwa iweele/ waajibu/ ka sababu mweepe. ‘These people do not like divorce unless it becomes obligatory for some reason.’

ilbahi adj. [Som. *ilbax* "civilized, urban" DSI 324] civilized; modern, up-to-date (of a person)

Fulaani/ wele ilbahi. ‘So-and-so has become more civilized, i.e. modern, because now he is following modern fashion in dress, modern customs, etc.’

ilhaamu n. [Ar. *ilhām* “inspiration, instinct” W 881] inspiration, revelation

khtila ilhaamu ‘to inspire, give a revelation to’

Mwajiitu/ mtile ilhaamu. ‘God inspired him.’

kuwanayo ilhaamu ‘to have an inspiration’

ili [cl.11] first position weak demonstrative

Lwarakha ili/ ni ilusi. ‘This piece of paper is black.’

Ili/ nii luti. ‘This is a stick.’ (Note that the noun here would be interpreted as indefinite.)

Ili/ nii luti/ laa mi/ chilmeeró. ‘This is the stick that I was looking for.’

M(w)aana/ shtala lwarakha/ ili/ chisooma. ‘The child took this page (and) read it.’

Ni ili/ luti. It is this, the stick – i.e. the stick is this one.’ Or: **Luti/ ni ili.**

Shtala lwarakha ili/ chisooma. ‘He took this page and read it.’

Siwo/ ili. ‘It is not this one.’ (Cf. **Siwo ili?** ‘Is it not this one?’)

ilije [cl.11] third position weak demonstrative

Ltanzi ilije/ nii lile. ‘That branch is long.’

liilije/ ilije ‘that very same one’

Luti ilije/ lvundishile. ‘That stick is broken.’

Siwo/ ilije. ‘It is not that one.’ (Cf. **Siwo ilije?** ‘Is it not that one?’)

Lwawo ilije/ ni lpaana. ‘That plank is wide.’

ku-’ilisha v. [Ar. *illa* W 633] (cf. *ila*) (**ilishiize**) point out s.o.’s defects

illa conj. [Sw. *ila* SSED 140; Ar. *illā* W 22] except, until

illa ka sabri zotte zirudiile [st.] ‘everything came back (to Job) only as a consequence of his patience’

Nt^hashkupata/ ndilaani/ illa maghribi. ‘We did not find the road until sunset.’

Want^hu awa/ hawafurahili/ talaqa/ illa ichiwa iweele/ waajibu/ ka sababu mweepe. ‘These people do not like divorce unless it becomes obligatory for some reason.’

illa aux. must

Chambi_loowa/ illa/ ba/ ndiwé/ boozeló. ‘He was told: it must be you who

stole it (the shoe).’

khshika illa ‘to insist’

Ali/ shishile illa/ Hamadi/ na’endre. ‘Ali insisted that Hamadi

must go.’

Ali/ shishile illa/ mi/ keendra. ‘Ali insisted on my going.’

Shiishile/ mi/ illa/ kumaliza kazi iyi. ‘He insisted on my finishing

this job.’

Mi/ (ni) illa/ keendra. ‘I must go.’

Ye/ oyo mwaanawe/ illa/ humfuungi/ chimfunga mwana uyu/ naami/ takubla ruuhuya. ‘He, that son of his, (said): You must not arrest him; if you arrest that boy, I will kill myself.’

ilmu

n. [Sw. *elimu* SSED; Ar. *ilm* W 635] learning, knowledge, science

Baaba/ mtume Yaaquubu/ waliko ni muunt’u/ mwenye ilmu/ aqli/ na hikma/ mwajiitu/ mpeeló. ‘The father, the Prophet Jacob, was a man having knowledge, intelligence, and wisdom, which God gave him.’

Husaafira/ hendra khaariji/ kuzida ilmu. ‘They travel and go abroad to increase their knowledge.’

Ilmu/ ni bahari. ‘Learning is a sea (i.e. s.t. vast, unending).’

Ilmu/ nt’aynaayo/ miisho. ‘Learning never ends.’ (A proverb.)

Ilmu/ ni nuuru/ ujaahili/ ni miinza. ‘Knowledge is light, ignorance is darkness.’ (A proverb.)

ilmu ya tabiibu ‘medicine’

ka ilmuye iwile kula chiint’u [st.] ‘with his (i.e. God’s) knowledge, he knows everything’

Nayo ipupa ya ilmu. ‘He has a very strong desire for knowledge.’

Shtaala/ ziwo/ za ilmu/ ziwaalikó/ kaaké/ zote/ chizisooma. ‘He took all the books of learning that he had at his place and read them.’

someelo ilmu rashiliizo amali [st.] ‘the one who studied (lit. read) knowledge and who followed up with deeds’

We/ takuwa dakh’ari/ mkulu/ mwenye ma’arifa/ na ilmu. ‘You will become a great doctor having wisdom and knowledge.’

ilo

[cl.11] second position weak demonstrative

Chiwona/ naambila/ chiiko/ lpandre gani/ mi/ nt’akhpita/ lpandre ilo/ na shpitá/ we/ chiodafkula/ chijumba icho. ‘If you see it, tell me on which side it is located, and I will pass by that side and when I pass, snatch you from that nest.’

liilo ilo ‘that very same one near you’

Ltepe ilo/ ni lelpe. ‘That bandage, piece of tape is white.’

Siwo/ ilo. ‘It is not that one.’ (Cf. **Siwo/ ilo?** ‘Is it not that one?’)

iluhuma

n. suffering, hardship

Msalaa numa/ huwona iluhuma. ‘He who remains last sees hardships.’ (A proverb that counsels one to be the “early bird”, don’t delay, don’t wait to the last minute, things will not go well if you do.)

Nuuru/ wene sahariiri/ ka iluhuma/ safari iyi. ‘Nuuru experienced hardship and suffering on the journey.’

ilaakha

kh’inda ilaakha ‘to cut a relationship off’

Nt’inzile ilakhá/ na Hamadí. ‘I have cut off my relationship with Hamadi.’

ilalo ilusi

n. The name of a plant (also known as **habati sooda**) used as a medicinal remedy. See the entry for **habati sooda** for discussion.

ku-’iilata
disgraced

v. [Som. *ciil* “to mistreat, to oppress, to create resentment” DSI 100] (**ileete**) feel

Ye/ hula/ maskiini/ hu'ilata. 'She cried, the poor girl, she felt mistreated and oppressed [by her step-mother].'

rel.

ku-'iilisha v. caus. (**ilishiize**) cause remorse, rancor (as a result of having been spoken ill of, disgraced)

ku-'ilsata v. (**ilseete**) feel disgraced

ma-'ileeli n. [cf. Som. verb *alalaas* DSI 16] joyous ululation/trilling sound made by women by vibrations of the tongue (esp. at weddings)

iili n. [Som. *ciil* "to mistreat, to oppress, to create resentment" DSI 100] rancor held as a consequence of having been spoken ill of; remorse for having failed to do s.t.

iloo=ni adv. [Sw. *jioni* SSED 156] (only used in locative form) at dusk, in the evening

Chiineendra/ nt^hangú/ fijiri/ hatá/ karka ilooni. 'He walked from morning until about dusk.'

Ilooni/ muke/ na mubliwé/ wachilawa/ wacholoka kaawo. 'After dark the woman and her husband departed and went to their place.'

Ilooni/ muke/ shpika chaakuja. 'At dusk the woman cooked food.'

Ilooni/ ondroshele/ chistukula chinoka/ icho/ chingila na cho/ ndraani/ numbaani. 'At dusk she got up and took the snake and went inside the house with it.'

Kharibu ya ilooni/ ofeetopó/ chilemela mteendre/ khpumula/ na usiinzi/ uchiimtaala. 'About dusk, when he got tired, he leaned against the date tree to rest and sleep overtook him.'

Sku mooyi/ karka ilooni/ choondroka/ shpika chaakuja/ chisuura/ chaakuja/ cha khpeendeza. 'One day near dusk she got up and cooked good food, food that pleases.'

Ye/ chendra fijiri/ na mapeema/ lapiili/ na chendra kila ilooni. 'He went [to the garden] early in the morning, in the afternoon, and he went in the evening.' (Phon. The phrase **na chendra kila ilooni** illustrates the possibility that **kila** may be internal to a phrase. In the text recorded by MI, the final accent on **ilooni** is clear, but we have no explanation for its presence. Another consultant, when asked to record the line, assigned a default penult accent to **ilooni**.)

ilu n., adv. [Sw. *juu* SSED 160] above, up, on, top, over

Basi/ isa/ mwaanawá/ mi/ nt^hakuuluka/ naawe/ ilu/ nt^ho. 'So now, my son, I shall fly with you very high.'

chimeza ziwena zibuukú/ iluké 'the small table which books were seen on it' (This relative clause, where the relative verb agrees with the postposed subject is preferred, but it is acceptable to say **chimeza chiwena zibuukú/ iluké** 'the small table which was seen (with) books on it'.)

Chiwa'ambila weenzawe/ wawaliko ilú/ kumlatilila lkaambala. 'He told his friends above to throw him a rope.'

Chizeele/ chimwonya eelo/ nuumba/ ilu/ na nt^hiini. 'The old woman showed the gazelle the house from top to bottom.'

ilu/ ka ilu 'up and up'

kuwaka nuumba/ ilu/ ka ilu 'to build a house high, high up'

ilu/ ka ilu 'on the surface'

Ziwaliko ilu/ ka ilu/ tu. 'They were on the surface only.'

Ilu ya khabri/ mi/ nlizilee nt^ho. 'On the grave, I cried very much.'

iluya 'on me – i.e. my responsibility' (also: **iluyo, iluye, ilu yiitu, ilu yiinu, ilu yaawo**)

Ni waajibu/ iluya. 'It's my obligation.'

ka ilu 'on the surface; implicitly'

Mazá/ khudariile/ hatá/ ka ilú/ kamaa ye/ nakhsuulá. 'Well, has he mentioned to you, even implicitly, if he wants you?'

Kula hendro ilú/ kuzimu/ hashkomi/ hishkila. 'Everything that goes up

does not reach the sky, (rather) it comes down.’ (A proverb.)

Langala ilu. ‘Look up above!’

Mara ya isa/ Hasani/ maatoye/ yachiwa/ nt^hayaako/ ilu/ ya matezo/ maatoye/ yaako/ ilu/ ya mwanaamke/ tu. ‘This time, Hasani’s eyes were not on the play, his eyes were on the girl only.’

Meeza/ iwena chibuuku/ iluke. ‘The table, there was seen a/the book on it.’ (This sentence is probably an impersonal passive, where the subject marker is the impersonal *i-* rather than in agreement with *meeza*. This interpretation is supported by the ungrammaticality of **Chimeeza/ chiwena zibuuku/ iluke*. ‘The small table was seen books on it.’)

Mubli/ chiya numbaani. Ondroshezopo maatoye/ ilu/ chimwona noka. ‘The man came to the house. When he raised his eyes up, he saw a snake.’

Mwanaamke/ chaandika/ ilu/ ya chiguwo. ‘The girl wrote on the piece of cloth.’

Namfaðila Nuuru/ ilu ya Hamadi. ‘I prefer Nuuru over Hamadi.’

Niko ilu. ‘I am upstairs’

Sa’iidi/ chisimama/ iluke/ laakini/ shtiisho/ nt^hashkumlaða. ‘Sa’iidi stood up on it, but fear did not leave him.’

Salaamu/ niingi/ zinaawe/ ilu yiinu. ‘May much peace be on you (pl).’

Shondola maatoye/ ilu/ chiwona/ kuwa nt^heendre/ nt^hayiiko/ na mwaaná/ leele/ nt^hini yaa muti. ‘When he lifted his eyes up, he saw that the dates were not there and the child was asleep under the tree.’

Shpaandra/ ilu yaa muti/ oyo/ chilaala. ‘She climbed up that tree and slept.’

Wake wa M(w)iini/ hawafurahili/ kiskaða ka zote/ ilu ya wabli.

‘Women of Mwiini do not enjoy depending on their husbands for everything.’

Wazele/ naawó/ ni waajibu/ ilu yaawo/ khkasa waana. ‘Old people also have an obligation on them to listen to children.’

We/ husuloowa/ khsiifa/ waant^hu/ wako ilukó/ haða/ ichiwa ni waant^hu wawovu. ‘You are required to praise people who are your superiors, even if they are bad people.’

Wene chibuuku/ ilu ya chimeeza. ‘He saw the book on the little table.’

Weshele zibuuku/ ilu yaa chiti. ‘He put books on the chair.’ (Note the ungrammaticality of the passive **Chiti/ chiweshela zibuuku/ iluke*. ‘The chair was put on it books.’)

zint^hu za ilu ‘the things on top’

m-iilu

n. 4 [cf. Sw. *miguu*, plural of *mguu* SSED 278] (cf. *kuulu* ‘leg’) legs, feet (The Sw. version of this stem has undergone the deletion of intervocalic *l* that is an aspect of the historical phonology of Sw, On the other hand, Chimiini has elided the stem-initial *g* that is retained in Sw.)

Basi/ sulṭaani/ lazilopo ka mlangooní/ chizeele/ kama icho/ shchilawa/ ka ikholiini/ shchimtulukila sulṭaani/ miluuni. ‘So. the sultan, when he came out the door, the woman, like that, came out of the mat-bag and threw herself at the sultan’s feet.’

Bwaana/ mi/ niilé/ ka khisa kheezele/ ije/ indreeseló/ nt^hini ya miiluyó. ‘Sir, I came in order to explain to you that which brought me under your legs.’

Chimfunga mikono/ na miilú. ‘He tied her arms and legs.’

Karkaa we/ nakubloowá/ dawa iyi/ weka nt^hini ya miiluyo. ‘When you are being killed, take this medicine and put it under your legs.’

koloka ka miilu ‘to walk’

kubiga miilu ‘to travel by foot’

Chibiga miilu/ nt^hangú/ fijiri/ haða/ ilooni. ‘He traveled by foot from morning until night.’

Hinendro tartiibú/ halazoowi/ na miilu. ‘The one who walks slowly is not given pain by (his) legs.’ (A proverb.)

milu miingi ‘many legs, wheels’

miluu nt^hi '[lit.] feet ground -- meaning: barefooted, without shoes.

Wala zilaatu/ sineendré/ miluu nt^hi. 'Wear [your] shoes, don't walk barefooted!'

Mp^haka/ mnyakilee mbwa/ miilu. 'The cat scratched the dog on the legs.'

Or: **Mp^haka/ mnyakilee mbwa/ miluuni.**

muunt^hu/ na miilú 'a man and legs'

muunt^hu/ na miiluyé 'a man and his legs'

Wanaafakhi/ nt^ha'iná/ miilu. 'Lies do not have legs.' (A proverb.) (Note that **nt^ha'iná** and **nt^hayna** are used in free variation in Chimiini, as far as we can tell.) A variant form of this proverb: **Miilu/ ya wanaafakhi/ ni zigobe.** 'The legs of a liar are short.'

waan^hu/ na miilú 'people and legs'

waan^hu/ na milu yaawó 'people and their legs'

We/ ndrata/ mi/ khufunge miilú/ na mikonó. 'You let me tie your legs and arms.'

imaamu
religious scholar

n. [Sw. *imamu* SSED 141; Ar. *imām* W 26] leader of the congregational prayers;

imaamu yītu Shaafi'i na Hambali [st.] 'our leaders Shaafi'i and Hambali'

imaani

n. [Sw. *imani* SSED 10; Ar. *īmān* W 29] faith, belief

Imaani/ hupuungula/ bila shahaada. 'Faith is lacking (i.e. not complete) without **shahaada** (i.e. the acceptance of the oneness of God).'

khfanya imaani 'to have faith'

kuwanayo imaani 'to have faith (and nothing else), to be satisfied with little

Laakini/ imaani/ nt^hunaayo. 'But you are not satisfied, you are greedy.'

imaara

n. [Sw. *imara* SSED 141; Ar. *imāra* 'rank, authority, power' W 27] strength
gelani does not think this word is used in Chimiini

k-iimba

v. [Sw. *imba* SSED 141] (**inzile** most commonly but also **imbiile**) sing

Imbá. 'Sing!' (cf. **Imbaani!** 'Sing (pl.)!')

Kharibu ya kaawo/ mwaana/ chanza kiimba/ maamé/ nimub^hleelé/ dughaaghi/ mub^hla waant^hu/ nimub^hleelé/ maamé/ maamé. 'Near his home, the boy began to sing: mother, I have killed him, the beast, the one who kills people, I have killed him, mother, mother.'

kiimba/ kana Abu Dheera 'to sing like Abu Dheera'

kiimbake 'his/her singing'

lata kumsifa we lata kumwiimba [st.] 'leave off praising him, you, abandon singing about him'

Nakhsula kiimba/ na khteza dansá. 'He likes to sing to and to dance.'

Noloshelo numbaani/ nimkasizee ye/ chiimbá. 'When I went home, I heard him singing.'

Nuuru/ inzile. 'Nuuru sang.'

Waana/ wa'imbile ndriimbo. 'The child sang songs.'

rel.

k-imbiloowa v. appl. pass. (**imbiliila**) be sung for

k-iimbila v. appl. (**imbiliile**) sing for, with, to

Haliima/ wa'imbilile waana. 'Haliima sang to the children.'

Yimbilile (ruuhuye) ndriimbo. 'And so he sang a song.'

k-iimbisha v. caus. (**imbishiize**)

Mwaalimu/ imbishize waana/ ndriimbo. 'The teacher had children sing songs.'

k-imbishiliza v. caus. appl. make sing to or for

Nuuru/ wa'imbishilize waana/ Haliima. 'Nuuru made Haliima sing to or

for the children.'

Suufi/ mwimbishilize Nuuru/ mwaana. 'Suufi made Nuuru's child sing.'
k-imbishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
Suufi/ na Alí/ wa'imbishilizenye waana. 'Suufi and Ali made each other's children sing.'
k-imboowa v. pass. (**inzila** or **imbiila**) be sung
Yimbila ndriimbo. 'There was singing of songs.'

mw-imbaaji (wa-) n. 1/2 singer; [pron. **wa'imbaaji**]

w-iimbi n. [Sw. *wimbi* "Bullrush millet", not recorded in SSED, but found in English-Swahili Dictionary 347, under "millet"] millet

m(w)-iimbili (w-, wa-') n. boy; [pron. **mwiimbili** or **miimbili**; **wiimbili** or **wa'imbili**]

Apo/ shpata sultaani/ mwimbiliwe/ shpató. 'Then the sultan's boy got it ["Cinderella's" shoe], that's what he did.'

Miimbili/ nt^haakujá/ waliko Omari. 'The boy who did not eat was Omari.' (It is also possible for the head of the relative verb to be in the same phrase as the verb: **Mimbili nt^haakujá/ waliko Omari.**)

Mwimbili uyu/ taku'iisha/ miyaaka/ miingi/ na kuwaa ye/ sultaani/ chifa/ ni mwiimbili/ uyu/ takuwo sultaani. 'This boy will live many years, and if he, the sultan, dies, it is this boy who will become sultan.'

Mkulu/ wa mawaziiri/ wanayo mwiimbili/ mooyi. 'The prime minister had one son.'

Mukeewá/ we/ nayo miimbá/ we/ takuzala mwaana/ mwiimbili. 'My wife, you are pregnant, you will give birth to a baby boy.'

Mzalile mwimbili wa kaandra/ wa piili/ wa taatu/ waane/ wa taano/ wa sita/ wa sabba. 'She bore him a first son, a second, a third, a fourth, a fifth, a sixth, a seventh.' (The expression 'of four' is treated as though the **ne** 'four' forms a prosodic word with **waa**, indicated by the fact that in default contexts accent rests on **waa** and not on **ne**. Ordinarily, a phrase final monosyllabic phrase-final word receives accent in both default and final-accent triggering environments. In the case of **wane**, however, there is final accent only in the presence of a final-accent trigger.)

Nt^haku/ chint^hu cha wiimbili (or: **wiimbili**)/ **wanakhtiyó.** 'There is nothing that young boys fear.' Or: **Nt^haku/ chiint^hu/ cha wiimbili** (or: **wiimbili**)/ **wanakhtiyó.**

Wabjaana/ na wiimbili/ wotte/ wachiruuda. 'Young boys and boys all came back.'

wanaawake/ na wiimbili 'girls and boys'

wanaawake/ wont^he/ na wiimbili/ wont^he 'all the girls and all the boys'

wiimbili/ na wanaawaké 'boys and girls'

wimbili wont^he 'all the boys'

wont^he/ wanaawake/ na wiimbili 'all the girls and boys'

l-iimbo (n-driimbo) n. song

ndrimbo niingi 'many songs'

ndrimbo za mahaba 'love songs'

ndrimbo za mataando 'insulting songs'

Omari/ mtarjumilile Hamadi/ liimbole. 'Omari has translated for Hamadi his song.'

imkaani n. [Ar. *imkān* W 918] possibility

ch-iimo (z-)

n. [Sw. *kimo* SSED 196] height

chimooche 'his height'

na chimooche ni duna kolko baghali [st.] 'and its height is less than (that

of) a mule'

zimo zaawo 'their heights'

ku-'imtihana v. test, examine (but use of this verb is extremely uncommon, as a periphrastic expression using the noun **imtihaani** is preferred)

imtihaani n. [Sw. *mtihani* SSED 309, from Ar. *imtiḥān* W 895] examination

Aziizi/ munaze/ wotte/ wapisile imtihaani. 'All of Aziizi's younger brothers passed the examination.'

Aziizi/ muné/ pisile/ imtihaani. 'Aziizi's younger brother passed the examination.' Or: **Aziizi/ muné/ imtihaani/ pisile.**

Aziizi/ muné/ pisile imtihani ya hisaabu/ tu. 'Aziizi's younger brother passed only the math exam.'

Aziizi/ muné/ tu/ pisilo imtihaani. 'Only Aziizi's younger brother passed the examination.'

Hamadi/ nt^hakhpita/ imtihaani. 'Hamadi did not pass the examination.'

(Phon. In sentences with a negative verb, this verb is ordinarily focused and thus appears in phrase-final position. There is some raising of the negative verb, contra the usual downstep-intonation

in sentences with canonical word order. The complement following the negative verb is markedly low in pitch. The simple yes-no question responds to this structure by treating the complement as out-of-focus, shifting the accent to the final syllable: **Hamadi/ nt^hakhpita/ imtihaani?** In the exclamatory yes-no question, the accent shifts on the negative verb as well as the complement:

Hamadi/ nt^hakhpitá/ imtihaani!?)

Hamadi/ nt^hakhpita/ imtihaani/ zont^he. 'Hamadi did not pass all the exams.' (Phon. In the simple yes-no question, the final two phrases shift their accent to the final syllable: **Hamadi/ nt^hakhpita/ imtihaani/ zont^hé?** In the exclamatory version, the negative verb also shifts its accent: **Hamadi/ nt^hakhpitá/ imtihaani/ zont^hé!?**)

Imtihaani/ zont^he/ Hamadi/ nt^hakhpita. 'All the exams, Hamadi did not pass.' Or: **Imtihaani/ zont^he/ nt^hakhpita/ Hamadi.** (Syn. and phon. These examples, illustrate that a pre-verbal **-ont^he** does not necessarily trigger pseudo-relativization of the verb. However, when the quantifier is radically raised in pitch, then pseudo-relativization is obligatory: [**Imtihaani/ [↑]zont^he/ nt^hakhpitá/ Hamadi.**]

kumtalila imtihaani

kumtila karka imtihaani

Choloshele skuijaani/ imtihaani.

Mi/ takhpita/ imtihaani/ keesho. 'I will pass the exam tomorrow.'

Muusa/ takhpita imtihaani/ keesho. 'Muusa will pass the exam tomorrow.' (In this example there is no focus on the subject.) Or: **(Ni) ^fMuusa/ takhpito imtihaani/ keeshó.** (In this example there is focus on the subject. The copular *ni* is optional.) Or: **Keesho/ Muusa/ takhpita imtihaani.** (In this example neither pre-verbal phrase is focused.) Or: **Keesho/ ^fMuusa/ takhpito imtihaani.** (In this example, both **keesho** and **Muusa** are raised in pitch, thus making it a bit uncertain which is focused. The pseudo-relativization of the verb indicates that one of them is focused.) Or: **Keesho/ takhpita imtihaani/ Muusa.** (In this example, the preposed adverb is not focused, hence there is no shift to the pseudo-relative form in the verb. The subject here seems to be right-dislocated, which is manifested in its radical lowering.) Or: **^fKeesho/ takhpito imtihaani/ Muusá.** (Focus on the preposed time adverbial triggers pseudo-relativization of the main verb. The extension of the final accent domain to the postposed subject indicates that the subject has not been right-dislocated, but merely postposed.)

Muusa/ tu/ takhpito imtihaani/ keeshó. 'Only Muusa will pass the exam.'

ina (ma-'ina)

n. 5/6 name

Abdalla/ mloweele/ mwanaamke/ wa sultaani/ inaye/ iwaliko Aaminá. ‘Abdalla married the daughter of a sultan whose (i.e. the daughter) name was Aamina.’

Chimuza maamaye/ nini/ inaye. ‘He asked his mother what his name was.’

Ina isuura/ humpo muunt^hú/ ni mojiitu. ‘A good name, the one who gives it to a man is God.’ (A proverb.)

Ina isuura/ huwaza nuumba. ‘A good name brightens a house (i.e. a family).’ (A proverb.)

Inaya/ ni Bulukhiya/ na waawé/ waliko sultaani. ‘My name is Bulukhiya and my father was the sultan.’

Isa/ mwaana/ chizaloowa/ wazeele/ wanayo khtala ina imooyi/ karka ma’ina/ hupowa waaná/ sku iyó. ‘Now, when the baby is born, the parents have to choose one name from among the names that are given to babies born on that day [i.e. there is a prescribed set of names used for children born on a particular day of the week].’

kumpa ina ‘to give him a name’

ma’ina/ ya maraði ‘names of diseases’

Mpele ina gani/ mwanaamkewo. ‘What name did you give your daughter?’

Mi/ inaya/ ni Hamdaani. ‘My name is Hamdaani.’

Mi/ nimuzize inayé/ na ina ya waawayé/ naayé/ njibiile. ‘I asked him his name and the name of his father and he answered me.’

Want^hu wa Mwiini/ akthari ya ma’ina yaawo/ ni ma’ina ya mitume/ ya masheekhi/ amó/ ya mawaliyi. ‘The people of Brava, the majority of their names are the names of prophet, sheikhs [religious authorities], or saints.’

ch-iina (z-) n. 7/8 [no etymological source found] written word, writing
Isomeja ziina. ‘Writing has been read.’ (An impersonal passive, where the SM is [cl.9], impersonal, rather than [cl.8] in agreement with **ziina**.)
kandika chiina ‘to write’
kola chiina ‘to write s.t.’
kondrola chiina ‘to be able to read – lit. raise a word’
Ha’ondroli/ chiina. ‘He cannot read.’

inaaba n. [Ar. *anaba* W 29] blame, censure (This item was unknown to GM.)

inabu n. 9/10 [Ar. *inab* W 647; Som. *canab*, var. *cinab* DSI 87] grape
variant form: **anabu, enabu**
Enabu/ hulawa/ nt^hi za bardi. ‘Grapes grow in cold places.’
Mi/ hupeenda/ enabu. ‘I like grapes.’

inaadi the act of contradicting n. 9 [Sw. *inadi* SSED 142; Ar. *inād* ‘opposition, obstinacy’ W 648] a contradiction;
inadi isho kumala ‘a contradiction that never ends’
khfanya inaadi ‘to contradict stubbornly’
munt^hu mwenye inaadi ‘a person who refuses to listen, insisting on his own viewpoint’
Ni inadi waaðihi. ‘It is a clear contradiction.’

k-iinama v. [Sw. *inama* SSED 141] (**ineeme**) bend over
Husuḷo chimo mvunguuni/ hayimhuri/ kiinama. ‘The one who wants what is under the bed cannot help stooping.’ (A proverb.)
Inama. ‘Bend over!’
Mdirshile mweenziwe/ ineeme/ naakuḷa. ‘She found her friend bent down crying.’
...ya kuwa muuyi/ uyu/ wiiko/ ka lpaandre/ wineeme ‘...that that town was to one side, tilted’

rel.

k-inamika v. p/s. (**inamishile**)

k-inamisha v. caus. (**inamishiize**)

k-inamishana v. caus. rec. (**-inamisheene**)

k-inamishika v. caus. p/s.

k-inamishiliza v. caus. appl. (**inamishiliize**)

Jeeli/ mwinamishilize Nureeni/ mwaana. ‘Jeeli made Nureeni’s child bend over.’

k-inamishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

rel. nom.

mw-iinama (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who bends over; [pron. **wa’inama** ‘ones who bend over’]

mw-inamisha (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who causes to stoop or bend over; [pron. **wa’inamisha**]

mw-inamisho n. 3 act of causing to stoop or bend over

mw-iinamo n. 3 act of stooping or bending over

k-iindama

v. birth of moon, be sighted

kuliindra/ kana meezi/ kiindama ‘to wait for like the moon being born (i.e. to await s.t. that is certain to happen)’

meezi/ kiindama ‘the month/moon to be seen/ born/ sighted’

Meezi/ wa ramaḏaani/ uchiindama/ hufungoowa. ‘If the month of Ramadhan is seen/sighted, it is fasted.’

Meezi/ wa ramaḏaani/ una kiindama. ‘The month of Ramadhan is being born/ sighted.’

Meezi/ wa ramaḏaani/ windeeme. ‘The month of Ramadhan is born/ sighted.’

Indya

n. India

Nuzile dira’á/ Indyá. ‘I bought a **dira’a** cloth from India.’

k-iineendra

v. [cf. Sw. *enda* SSED 83] (**ineenzele**) walk; continue on

Chiineendra/ chiineendra/ hattá/ shkoma/ muyi/ mooyi. ‘He walked and walked until he reached one town.’

Chiineendra/ kumsonga mp^huundra. ‘He walked and drew near to the donkey.’

Hinendro tartiibú/ halazoowi/ na miilu. ‘The one who walks slowly is not given pain by (his) legs.’ (A proverb.)

Karkaa ndila/ mukhtaá wo/ wanakiineendró/ lpaandre/ mbilize/ zaa ndila/ waliko waant^hu. ‘On the street when they were walking, on both sides of the road there were people.’

kinendraa chita ‘lit. to walk on the head -- i.e., to abuse someone’s patience; to assume someone’s responsibility without his permission’

Fulaani/ ninenzele chitaani. ‘So-and-so abused my patience.’

kiineendra/ kana maana ‘to walk like a child – i.e. slowly, unsteadily’

kinendra kana maayi ‘to go like water – i.e. of s.t. going quickly, like goods at the market’

Tibaaku/ inakiineendra/ kana maayi. ‘The tobacco is selling quickly [lit. like water].’

kiineendra/ kana mzele ‘to walk like an old person – i.e. slowly, unsteadily’

kinendra ikutaani ‘to walk on a wall’ (Syn. One does not say ***kinendra ikuta**, i.e. the locative form of the noun is required as a complement to **kiineendra**. Because the locative form is required, one cannot form a relative clause like ***ikuta laa ye/ ineenziló** ‘the wall that he walked on’.)

kinendra naa zo ‘[lit.] to walk (or: continue) with those [news], i.e. to be already aware of a situation, to be already following a certain matter’ (Note that **zo** refers to “these matters” or “the news”, i.e.

jawabu izi or khabari izi).

Nenzele kumambila Nuurú/ zoṭe za Ali/ nfanyiliizó/ laakini/ ye/ maanzine/ nakinendra naa zo. ‘I went to tell Nuru about all that Ali did to me, but he was already aware/well informed about it.’

kinendra ndilaa mbovu ‘to go a bad way, i.e. to follow a bad path, way of living’

kinendra ndila suura ‘to go a good way, i.e. to follow a good path, way of life’

kinendra ndilaani ‘to walk on the road’ (Syn. One cannot say ***kinendraa ndila**. However, interestingly, one can form a relative clause as in:

Ndila yaa ye/ ineenziló/ siwo/ suura. ‘The road that he walked was not a good one.’ However, this is possible only in the figurative sense of following a good path, way of life. **Ndila yaa ye/ ineenziló** cannot be referring to an actual road or path one is walking down.)

Maana/ ha’ineendri/ sho khtuluka. ‘A child does not walk without falling down.’ (A proverb.)

Mbenee ndilá/ mbeleya/ niineenzelé. ‘I saw the road ahead of me and I walked.’

muza celo/ anizizopo kiineendrá/ kumolokela uyu maskiiní ‘when the seller of gazelles started walking towards this poor man’

Nondroshelé/ ka apo/ niineenzelé/ sku niingi/ haṭá/ nk^homele muuyi/ mooyi. ‘I left from there and continued walking many days until I reached a town.’

Nt^hakiineendra/ ilu ya ndila iyi. ‘I will be walking along this road.’

Wal_uwaawo/ washpandra mp^huundra/ wanakiineendra/ wanakiineendra. ‘Both of them climbed up on the donkey and continued on.’

We/ ineendra/ mi/ nt^hakiineendra/ na mp^huundrá/ na’ineendre. ‘You walk, I will walk, and let the donkey walk.’

rel.

k-inendra’ineendra v. take a stroll

variant form: **kinendrakiineendra**

Chiya muunt^hu/ mweepe/ kunmeera/ mwaambile/ kuwaa mi/ noloshele kinendra’ineendrá. ‘If someone comes looking for me, tell him that I have gone for a stroll.’

Sku mooyi/ masku/ sultaani/ naayé/ nakinendro’inendro karka ndilaani/ wene nuumba/ mooyi/ inakakaa ṭala/ katiike. ‘One day, at night, while the king was taking a stroll, he saw a house burning a lamp in it.’

k-inendroowa v. pass. be walked

k-iineenza v. (**inenzeze**) drive, go on, continue; help to walk (esp. a child), make

walk

Ali/ inenzeze gari ya Nuuru. ‘Ali drove Nuuru’s car (either the one he owns or the one he usually drives).’ Or: **Ali/ inenzeze Nuuru/ gaariye.**

Chinenza kaaziye/ ya khsuka. ‘She continued weaving (lit. she continued her job of weaving).’

Inenzeze gaari. ‘He drove the truck.’

Juha/ panzile mp^huundra/ maana/ shishile hogaani/ namiineenza. ‘Juha climbed up on the donkey, and his child held the donkey’s rope on the trip.’

kiineenza/ kana maayi ‘to keep on going, doing without stopping’

Omari/ nakinenza qur’aani/ kana maayi. ‘He is reciting the Quran fluently.’

Omari/ nakizinenza ndriimbo/ kana maayi. ‘He is singing songs continuously without stopping like water.’

kinenza kaazi ‘to keep the work going, progressing’

Msimamishi/ inenzeze kaazi. ‘The supervisor kept the work going.’

Mi/ namiineenzá/ mba. ‘I am walking a/the dog.’

Mwinyenzeze mwaana. ‘He helped the child walk.’

Nuuru/ inenzeze/ gaari/ ya Haaji/ uziló. ‘Nuuru drove the truck that Haaji bought.’

Omari/ namiineenza/ maanawe. ‘Omari is walking his child.’

k-inenzeleza v. appl.

Tuuma/ minenzeleze Omari/ gaari. ‘Tuuma drove the car for Omari.’

(Usage: This sentence would not be used to convey the idea that Tuuma drove Omari’s car in a situation where it was not being done for him. In such a situation, one would say: **Tuuma/ inenzeze gaari ya Omari.** ‘Tuuma drove Omari’s car.’)

rel. nom.

m(w)-iineendro n. 3 a walk, act of walking, a trip

Faatiima/ miineendrowe/ msuura. ‘Faatiima, her way of walking is very nice.’

Wake awo/ miineendro waawo/ siwo/ msuura. ‘Those women, their way of walking is not nice.’

mw-iineenza (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who drives

mwinenza gaari ‘driver of the car’

k-iinfa

v. [Sw. *faa* SSED 88] (**infiile**) be useful, of use

Baaba/ chighaḍibika/ chimwaambila/ we/ siwo/ mwaanawa/ we/ hiinfi/ shokuwaa kuja/ na kulaalá. ‘Father became angry and said to him, You are not my child, you are good for nothing except to eat and sleep.’

Chimwaambila/ ya kuwaa ye/ nakhsulá kumjaariba/ kama tamwiinfa/ kumfanyiliza kaazi/ amó/ hamwiinfi. ‘He said to him that he wants to try him out (e.g. the donkey) to see if he will be of use to work for him or not.’

chint^hu hiinfó ‘something useful’

Ha’infi/ chiint^hu. ‘He is good for nothing.’

hayi na mayi humwiinfo qur’aani [st.] ‘both the living and the dead, what is useful to them is the Quran’

Hichiinfa. ‘He is useful to us.’

Hiinfani/ Hasaní. ‘What is Hasani useful for?’

Huta’abato zeemá/ huminfa yeeye. ‘The one who works hard so that accumulates good deed gets his benefits/rewards.’ (A proverb.)

Huwa’infa. ‘It becomes useful for them.’

Isa/ nimkoseze mweenzá/chiniinfó. ‘Now I have lost the friend who was a help to me.’

Kaafiri/ khiinfó/ ni kheeri/ kolko islaamu/ sho xiinfa. ‘An infidel who is of use to you is better than a Moslem who is of no use to you.’ (A proverb.)

Kazi iyi/ itamwinfa mwana uyu. ‘This job will be suited to this child.’

Kulaa muti/ uchihada/ yaa wo/ hiinfó. ‘Every tree said that they were of use.’

Koḍi niingi/ haziinfi/ chiint^hu. ‘Too much talk does not serve anything.’ (A proverb.)

Mahala/ inakhsulá khfanyowa chiint^hu/ kooḍi/ haziinfi. ‘Where action is needed, talk does not serve anything.’ (A proverb.) (Observe the final accent on the second phrase, indicating that it is a relative clause. It seems that the auxiliary verb form **inakhsulá...** is not marked as the relative verb, since the final vowel is not changed to *o*. The infinitive verb is passive and thus its final vowel is not expected to be altered.)

Maamaye/ mwiniifi/ nt^ho. ‘His mother was very helpful to him.’

Maana/ siwo/ waako/ hakhiinfi. ‘A child who is not yours will not be of use to you.’ (A proverb.)

Mi/ skuzaala/ wana hiinfó. ‘I did not give birth to children who are of use.’

Muntu izo khiinfá/ leeló/ na keesho/ hakhiinfi. ‘A person who was not of use to you today will not be of use to you tomorrow.’

Ninfa masku/ khinfe muunt^hi. ‘Be of use to me in the night so that I may be of use to you in the daytime.’ (A proverb.)

Nnayo wana watatú/ mooyi/ choondroka/ wawili/ hawa’infi/ chiint^hu. ‘I have three children; if one moves away, two are of no use.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **majiiko** ‘cooking stones’.)

Raaði/ si/ itakichiinfani. ‘Raaði, what will it benefit us?’

Uyu/ hatakiinfa/ kaazi. ‘This one will not do for the job.’

Uyu/ takinfa kaazi. ‘This one will do for the job.’

We/ hinfi chiint^hu. ‘You are good for nothing.’ **review the negative verb**

rel.

k-infoowa v. pass.

Mwana uyu/ takinfowa kazi iyi. ‘This child will be suited to the job.’

rel. nom.

mw-ünfa (wa-) n. 1/2 one who is of use; [pron. **wa’infa** (pl.)]

infermiyeere (ma-)

n. [Ital.] nurse (male or female); [pron. **ma’infermiyeere** (pl.)]

ingaaði

n. [Som. *higgaad* DSI 307] act of spelling
variant form: **hingaaði**

ku-’ingaaðisha

v. caus. (**ingaaðishiize**) spell

rel.

ku-’ingaaðishoowa v. pass.

Kalima iyo/ hu’ingaaðishoowa/ jis’iyi. ‘That word is spelled this way.’

-iingi

adj. [Sw. *-ingi* SSED 142] many, a lot, much, hard; the [cl.9/10] form may be pronounced [**niingi**] or [**niingi**]

ahli nt^hawana mapeesá/ miingi ‘people who do not have much money’

Akhili niingi/ kuletaa dhibu. ‘Too much cleverness causes harm.’ (A proverb.)

Awa/ naawó/ wa’ishize niingi. ‘These ones lived a long time.’

Dafa/ wingi waawo/ wafiile/ na haba waseeló/ wafakete ka apo. ‘Many of the kites died and the few who remained ran from there.’

deni niingi ‘many debts’

Hulimo miyuundrá/ ni waant^hu/ wiingi. ‘It is many people who farm.’

Huteko niingi/ hula niingi. ‘The one who laughs a lot, cries a lot.’ (A proverb.)

ichiwa niingi ‘[lit.] if it is much -- i.e. at most’

Ichiwa niingi/ gari iyi/ itakhkoma dolari alfu. ‘At most, this car will cost 1,000 dollars.’

ka wiingi ‘often; hard’

kuvuma ka wiingi ‘to blow hard (of the wind)’

Omari/ ka ^fwiingi/ hendra muskitiini. ‘Omari often goes to the

mosque.’

Wana awa/ kuraga ka wiingi. ‘These children are often late.’

Kila muunt^hu/ yaake/ imshiishile/ haba/ na niingi. ‘Everyone is caught by his own concerns (issues, affairs), few or many.’ (A proverb.)

Mi/ nk^halent^he apá/ sku niingi. ‘I have sat here many days.’

Mmera niingi/ hukosa haba. ‘The one who seeks more misses a little.’ (A proverb.)

muntu mwenye mana wiingi ‘a person having many children’

Muza biyaashara/ huviloowa/ na want^hu wiingi. ‘A merchant is called by many people.’

Mwana uyu/ kooðize/ niingi. ‘This child talks a lot.’

Mzaha niingi/ hangamiza uweenza. ‘Too much joking spoils a friendship.’

Also: **Mzaha mwiingi/ hangamiza uweenza.** (A proverb.)

Naakhuḍa/ wachiwa wiingi/ jahazi/ huzaama. ‘If the captains become many, the dhow sinks.’ (A proverb, like the English “too many cooks spoil the broth”.)

Ni wiingi/ want^hu wafiló/ apa. ‘Many people have died here.’

nk^hombe niingi ‘many spoons’

Pesa izo/ ni niingi/niingi. ‘That money is a lot.’

Peete/ nsi niingi. ‘He caught many fish.’ (Morph. Observe that in this example **nsi** ‘fish’ triggers [cl.9/10] agreement on **-iingi**, as opposed to human -- i.e. [cl.2] -- agreement.)

Sho kuwanayo miingi/ nayo habba. ‘He who does not have many (worries) has a few (at least).’ (A proverb which essentially asks: Who doesn’t have any problems?)

Want^hu awa/ wanazoo zisu/ niingi/ nt^ho. ‘These people have very many knives.’ (Notice the use of the [cl.10] form **niingi** where one might have expected **ziingi** due to agreement with the [cl.8] noun **zisu**. Compare the variation above between **mzaha niingi** and **mzaha mwiingi**.)

Want^hu wiingi/ wa’oloshela. ‘Many people went.’

We/ takuwona/ zijuumba/ zaa nyunyi/ ziingi. ‘You will see the nests of many birds.’

Wingi waawo/ hudakhisha hoola. ‘Most of them graze animals.’

Wowi iyi/ maayiye/ miingi. ‘This river has a lot of water.’

zibuku ziingi ‘many books’

-ingiila

adj. diseased (lit. entered); [pron. **-ingilá**]

muti wingiila ‘a diseased tree’

k-iingila

v. [Sw. *ingia* SSED 142] (**ingiile**) enter; begin to do

Chingila kuloomba/ sadakha. ‘He started to beg for alms.’

Chingila naa ye/ ndraani. ‘He went with her inside.’

Chisu/ chingile miriri. ‘The knife became rusty -- lit. the knife entered rust.’ (Syn. Notice this rather strange construction where the thing

that has been “entered” is the grammatical subject and the things doing the “entering” is a complement of the verb. It is not possible for ‘rust’ to be the grammatical subject: ***Miriri/ yingilee chisu**. It is apparently not acceptable to have ‘rust’ as the subject by putting ‘knife’ in a locative form: ***Miriri/ yingile chisuuni**. See below for an example where such a construction does occur. A passive sentence is possible, but it is still the ‘knife’ that is the subject: **Chisu/ chingila na miriri**. It is important to note that the base sentence from which the passive is derived is not a grammatical sentence.)

ichiwa ka qariibu hiingila khfakata [nt.] ‘if they are close I start running’

Fardoosa/ nt^hakingila/ numbaani. ‘Fardoosa did not enter the house.’

(Phon. The simple yes-no question: **Fardoosa/ nt^hakingila/ numbaani?** The emphatic version: **Fardoosa/ nt^hakiingilá/ numbaani!?**)

Furaha/ imwingile qalbiini. ‘Happiness entered his heart.’ Or: **Qalbi/ imwingile furaha.**)

Ikoofiya/ imchingila sultaani/ mkonooni. ‘The hat fell into the king’s hand[s].’

Ingila. ‘Enter!’ (cf. **Ingilaani.** ‘You (pl.) enter!’)

Ingila iboholiini/ tomola uki. ‘Enter into the hole and take out the honey.’

Isa/ siimba/ ingile kuja waant^hu. ‘Now the lion has begun to eat people.’

jawaabu ya duniya hiingila humala [nt.] ‘the matters of this world ebb and flow’

Hiingila/ kaake/ nt^hundruuni. ‘He (e.g. the rat) enters into his hole.’

Huseeni/ nt^hakingila/ numbaani. ‘Huseeni did not enter the house.’ Not:

***Huseeni/ nt^hakingila numbaani.** Both phrasings, however, are possible under pseudo-relativization: **L*u*ini/ Huseeni/ nt^hakingilá/ numbaani.** ‘When did Huseeni enter the house?’ or **L*u*ini/ Huseeni/**

nt^hakingila numbaani.

hiingila makaani nuumba ya Mojiutu [nt.] ‘I go find shelter in the house of God’

kingila amaniini ‘to be safe’

Si/ shtakingila amaniini. ‘We will be safe.’

kingila deeni ‘to go into debt, take money from someone and therefore be in debt to him’

Ye/ ingile deeni. ‘He went into debt.’

kingila dhuḍuma ‘to go in the night to a sleeping woman and rape her’

kingila haaja ‘to be needy’

kingila ilaanzi ‘to be asleep (of body parts)’

Kuuluya/ yingile ilaanzi. ‘My leg is asleep.’

kingila khalwa ‘to seclude oneself in an isolated place for religious purposes’

kingila khuusi ‘to dive’

Ingile khuusi/ maraa mbili. ‘He dived in two times.’

kingila nuumba ‘to enter s.o.’s house to apologize’

Muunt^hu/ ingile nuumba. ‘The man entered the house to apologize.’ (C. **Muunt^hu/ ingile numbaani.** ‘The man entered the house.’)

kingila ruuhu ‘to revive (in spirits)’

Imwingile ruuhu. ‘His spirits revived.’

kingila ta’aziya ‘lit. to enter a bereavement (with ta’aziya as the subject)’

Leelo/ ka majiraani/ yingile ta’aziya. ‘Today the neighbours had a bereavement (lit. a bereavement has entered at the neighbours’ place).’

Kingilake/ numbaani/ nt^haykumfurahisha/ nt^hayimfurahisha/ Ali. ‘His entering the house did not please Ali.’

Laakini/ masku/ yachiingila/ na wenye numba/ wachilaala... ‘But when night comes and the owners of the house are asleep...’

Mi/ niingilo/ Nuuru/ chilawa. ‘When I entered, Nuuru was leaving.’

Mubli/ chiya/ haṭamlāṭa/ kingila numbaani. ‘If her husband came, she would not let him enter the house.’

Mukhtaawo/ wa’ingilo ka Yuusufu/ wamwambiile... ‘When they entered into the presence of Joseph, they told him...’

Muunt^hu/ siingile/ mtanaani. ‘Let no one enter the room.’

Na’ingile. ‘Let him enter.’

Nt^hanakiingila. ‘He is not entering.’

Nuumba/ yaa we/ nt^hukiingila/ hiiwi/ ilaye. ‘The house that you have not entered, you cannot know its defects.’ (A proverb.)

Peesa/ schimingila Omari/ mkonooni. ‘The money has gone into Omari’s hands (we did not hope for or expect this, and now something bad is likely to happen).’

Siingile. ‘Don’t enter!’ (cf. **Singileení.** ‘You (pl.) don’t enter!’)

Suukari/ yingile nt^huungu. ‘There are ants in the sugar (lit. sugar entered ants).’ (Syn. This sentence is similar to the one cited earlier for a knife having become rusty. In this example, **suukari** governs subject agreement. It is impossible for **nt^huungu** to govern an object prefix: ***Suukari izingile nt^huungu.** It is possible for **nt^huungu** to be the subject of the verb if **suukari** is put into a locative form: **Nt^huungu/ zingile sukariini.** It is also possible to have a passive sentence where **suukari** is the subject and **nt^huungu** appears in an agent phrase: **Suukari/ yingila na nt^huungu.** ‘The sugar has been entered by ants.’ The reverse is not possible of course: ***Nt^huungu/ zingila na suukari.** ‘The ants were entered by sugar.’)

Taahiri/ ingile numbaani. ‘Tahiiri entered the house.’ Or, with focus on the verb: **Taahiri/ ingiile/ numbaani.** ‘Tahiiri entered the house.’ (Syn. If one wishes to focus on the subject, the verb must be put into pseudo-relative form: **Taahiri/ ingilo numbaani.** ‘Tahiiri entered the room.’ It is possible to focus on the subject and at the same time put emphasis on the verb: **Taahiri/ ingiló/ numbaani.** ‘Taahiri [is the one who] entered the room.’)

Wa’ingilopo numbaani... ‘When they entered the house...’

rel.

k-ingikila v. p/s. appl. able to enter in for (This form is rather surprising. There does

not seem to be a root /ing/ used in Chimiini, but the present form seems to consist of /ing+ik+il/. As is shown below, there is a p/s. form /ingil-ik/, but interestingly, there is no applied form derived from this stem: */ingil-ik-il/.)

Chiti/ chimwingikilile mtanaani. ‘The chair was able to be brought in the room for him (usu. due to his own efforts).’

k-ingilila v. appl. (ingilile)

Bakayle/ lasile/ kanaye/ waazi/ teena/ nzi/ zinamwingilila/ kanaani. ‘The hare had left its mouth open (while feigning to be dead), then flies were getting in and out of his mouth.’

Basi/ chiwa’ingilila/ chimwaambila/ maamé/ leelo/ shpatiliileni/ kishpaa kuja. ‘So she [the mother bird] went in to them, [and the chicks] said to her: Mother, today, what did you get for us to give us to eat?’ (Morph: In this example sentence, we observe that the [cl.2] subject prefix *wa-* is elided in *chimwaambila*.)

Eelo/ chilawa/ chanza khfakata/ kiyingilila maduriini. ‘The gazelle left and began to run and took himself off into the bush.’

Hamadi/ khingilile mtanaani. ‘Hamadi entered the room on you (this sentence conveys the idea that he should not have done this, he has put himself in danger and thus has done s.t. to your detriment).’

Isa/ Abunawaasi/ imwingilile haja ya peesa. ‘Now Abunawaasi needed money [lit. the need of money entered him].’

kingilila safari ‘to travel with’

...**zaakuja/ zaa wo/ kingilila safari** ‘food for them to use as provisions on the trip’

Ningilile mtanaani. ‘He entered my room.’

Ye/ mwingilile/ baduwi/ kuza khabari. ‘He went in to the nomad to ask after the news [of the town].’

k-ingililana v. appl. rec.

kingililana numbaani ‘to visit one another (lit. to enter the house for one another)’

k-ingililoowa v. appl. pass.

Ningilila mtanaani/ naaye. ‘My room was entered by him.’

k-ingiloowa v. pass. (ingiila) be entered

Chingilowa na tuhumu/ mukeewe. ‘She got suspicious, his wife.’

(Prosody: The postposed subject is out-of-focus, and thus the corresponding simple yes-no question involves accent shift in that phrase: **Chingilowa na tuhumu/ mukeewé?** The exclamatory question also shifts accent in the preceding phrase: **Chingilowa na tuhumú/ mukeewê!?**)

Chisu/ chingila na miriri. ‘The knife became rusty -- lit. the knife was entered by rust.’

kingilowa na shaka ‘to doubt -- [lit.] to be entered by doubt’

Miti/ nt^hayakingiloowá/ haya^htakht^hindoowa. ‘Trees which have not become diseased will not be cut down.’

Mukeewe/ chingiloowa. ‘His wife was sick (lit. entered).’

(Prosody. This sentence exhibits canonical downstep intonation. The simple yes-no question involves no accent shift. The exclamatory question shifts the accent in the VP: **Mukeewe/ chingilowa na tuhumú!?**)

Mukeewe/ chingiloowa/ na tuhumu. ‘His wife got suspicious.’

Muunt^hu/ na mukeewé/ hayingiloowi/ kati kaawo. ‘A man and his wife are not entered in the middle (i.e. do not interfere between a man and his wife).’ (A proverb.)

Muti waa si/ chi^hutiinziló/ uwaliko wingiilá. ‘The tree that we cut down was diseased.’

Numba/ yingila na waant^hu. ‘The house was entered by the people.’

k-ingilowa’ingiloowa v. freq.

Hasani/ ingila’ingiila. ‘Hasani has been afflicted (lit. entered and entered) by diseases.’

k-ingilana v. rec. go to visit one another (of neighbors)

Si/ hachingilani. ‘We do not visit one another.’

k-ingilika v. p/s. able to be entered

Mtana oyo/ hawungiliki/ ka lvuundro. ‘That room cannot be entered because of the bad smell.’ (The expected pronunciation of the verb

in this example is **hawingiliki**. We are unsure whether this is a misrecording, or whether it is a sporadic pronunciation, or whether there is some systematic aspect to it.)

Mtana uyu/ hingilika. ‘This room can be entered.’

k-ingiliza v. caus. appl. (**ingilize**) take s.t. into a room, house, office, etc., for s.o.

kingiliza deeni (or: **deniini**) ‘to cause to go into debt on’

Ningilize mwaanawa/ deeni. ‘He caused my son to go into debt.’

Ningilize chaakuja. ‘He brought food in for me (to eat).’

Ningilize chaayi. ‘He brought some tea into me [where I was].’

Ningilizee chili. ‘He took a bed into [some place] for me.’

Ningilize mwaana/ chaakuja. ‘He brought food to the child for me.’

Ningilize mweenzawa/ khasaara. ‘He caused my friend to suffer a financial loss.’

Ningilize sanduukhu/ mtanaani. ‘He took the box into the room for me.’

k-ingilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. take s.t. in for one another

Wa’ingilizenye chaakuja. ‘They took food in for one another.’

k-iiingiza v. caus. (**ingiize**) make, induce s.o. enter into a place; take s.t. into, bring into; show s.o. in; allow or permit to enter

Ali/ mwingize Hamadi/ numbaani. ‘Ali let or helped Hamadi enter the house.’

Basi/ chimpa khabari/ muḷiwe/ chimwaambila/ khtumila peesa/ pashpo khfanya kaazi/ kiingiza/ peesa/ siwo/ suura. ‘So she informed her husband, telling him: to spend money without doing work to bring [this] money in is not nice.’

Chimwingiza numbaani. ‘He took him inside the house.’

Chingize kaashá/ mtanaani. ‘We took the wooden box into the room.’

Ingize chaakuja/ mtanaani. ‘He brought food into the room.’

Ingize sanduukhu/ mtanaani. ‘He put the box in the room.’

kingiza deeni (or: **deniini**) ‘to cause to go into debt’

Ningize deniini. ‘He caused me to go into debt.’

kingiza khasaara ‘to cause to suffer a loss’

kingiza mwaana/ madrasaani ‘to enter a child in school’

kumwingiza eelo/ numbaani ‘to bring the gazelle into the house’

Mwiingize. ‘Show him in!’ (cf. **Mwingizeeni.** ‘You (pl.) show him in!’)

Ningize deeni. ‘He made me go into debt.’

Ningize numbaani. ‘He made me enter the house.’

Nuuru/ mwingize mweenzawe/ chineema. ‘[Lit.] Nuuru brought his friend into the movie -- i.e. paid his friend’s way into the movie.’

Suufi/ ingizee chiti/ mtanaani. ‘Suufi brought a chair into the room.’

k-ingizanya v. caus. rec. cause each other to enter

kingizanya deeni (or: **deniini**) ‘to cause each other to go into debt’

k-ingizika v. caus. p/s.

Chiti ichi/ hachingiziki. ‘This chair cannot be brought in.’

Mwana uyu/ ha’ingiziki/ mtanaani. ‘This child cannot be brought into the room (e.g. he cannot be persuaded to enter).’

k-ingizikila v. caus. p/s. appl.

Chiti/ chimwingizikiliile. ‘The chair was able to be brought in for him.’

(This form may be used to convey the idea that someone else succeeded in getting the chair in for him, while the usual interpretation of **Chiti/ chimwingizikiliile.** is that he himself succeeded in bringing the chair in.)

k-ingizoowa v. caus. pass. (**ingiiza**) be brought into

Chaakuja/ chingiza mtanaani. ‘Food was brought into the room.’

Eelo/ chingizowa numbaani. ‘The gazelle was brought into the house.’

Huseeni/ chingizoowa/ barzaani/ ka mwanaamke. ‘Huseeni was made to

go in the hall to the girl.’

Sultaani/ chingizoowa/ chumbaani/ ka mwanaamkewe/ chiwonana naaye. ‘The sultan was brought into the bedroom of his daughter and saw her (lit. saw one another with her).’

k-ingilana

v. (**ingileene**) be stretched tight (of a rope)

Lkaambala/ lingileene. ‘The rope is stretched tight.’

Ndruzi/ zingileene/ zaaydi. ‘Threads got entwined together very tight.’
Nk^haambala/ zingileene. ‘The ropes got stretched tight.’

-iingine

adj. [Sw. **-ingine** SSED 142] other, another

Ali/ ha’isi/ walá/ hatákiwa/ kuwaa ye/ mfurahishize maamaye/ na ka jis’iyó/ ye/ dáa’ima/ takumeerá/ jisaa ye/ mriðishiza maamaye/ ka kumpa maali/ miingine/ na miinginé. ‘Ali does not know nor will he know that he has pleased his mother and for this reason, he always will seek to please his mother by giving her more and more money.’

chibuku chingineche ‘a book other than this one’

chiti chiingine ‘another chair’; **ziti ziingine** ‘other chairs’

Cho/ siwo/ kama lugha za want^hu wiingine. ‘It (i.e. Chimwiini) is not like the languages of other people.’

Chizeele/ na winginewé/ wawaliko numbaani/ wachiya ka sultaani. ‘The old woman and others who were in the house came to the sultan.’

Choloka khsimama na mp^huunda/ ziingine. ‘He went to stand with the other donkeys.’

Dawayo/ siwo/ chint^hu chiingine/ shokuwa inyi yaa nfuye. ‘Your medicine is not anything except the liver of a monkey.’

Haala/ na ziint^hú/ zinginezé. ‘They grow (and) many other things.’

ifungu yiingine ‘another share’

ikuta yiingine ‘another aug. wall’; **mikuta miingine** ‘other aug. walls’

ka ahli yaawo/ na winginiwé/ ba ‘to their relatives and to others as well’

kuwa siwo/ haqi/ ye/ khpowa ifungu/ sawasawa/ na miingine ‘that it was not right that he be given a share equal to others’

lkuta liingine ‘another wall’; **nk^huta ziingine** ‘other walls’

mafungu miingine ‘other shares’

Mi/ nnakhsula nyunyi mwiinginé/ kama uyú. ‘I want another bird like this one.’

Mp^haka/ nt^hakhfaanya/ yiingine/ chimulukila. ‘The cat did nothing other than jump at him (the rat).’

Muunt^hu/ mooyi/ funzile safari/ kooloka/ muyi mwiingine. ‘One man got ready to travel to another town.’

munth^hu mwiingine ‘another man’

muti mwiingine ‘another tree’; **miti miingine** ‘other trees’

mwaarabu/ na mwanaamkewé/ na khisa ziinginé ‘the Arab and his daughter, and other tales’

mwinginewa ‘someone other than me’; **mwinginewo** ‘someone other than you’

...na hufaanya/ kaazi/ zingineze ‘and they do other jobs’

Nnakhsoma chibuku ichi/ mara yiinginé. ‘I am reading this book another time.’

numba yiingine ‘another house’; **numba ziingine** ‘other houses’

safari yiingine ‘another trip, another time’

Si/ nt^hachiná/ chint^hu chiingine. ‘We do not have anything else.’

Sultaani/ chimpa baduwi/ riyaali/ khamsiini/ chimwaambila/

kumwambila mukeewe/ khfanya ikofiya yiingine. ‘The sultan gave the nomad fifty **riyaali** and told him to tell his wife to make another hat.’

Teena/ chilola muke mwiinginé. ‘Then he married another woman.’ (Phon. The ordinary pronunciation of the last phrase of this example would be one where there is default penult accent. The final accent in the pronunciation recorded here seems to be a kind of exclamatory intonation that we have observed elsewhere in yes-no questions.)

Wachiineendra/ wachiineendra/ hatá/ washkoma nt^hi yiingine. ‘They walked and walked until they reached another land.’

Walikoo muke/ mwiingine. ‘It was another woman.’
Want^hu wiingine/ washishila sh^htana. ‘The other people got angry.’
Washpanza itaanga/ wachisaafira/ mpaka/ washkoma/ jaziira/ yiingine.
 ‘They raised the sail and traveled until they reached another island.’
wiingine ‘others’
wiingine ‘some of them, others than them’
Zaakuja/ ziingine/ maama/ humwistirila mwaanawe. ‘Other foods
 mother hides from her children.’

k-iinika v. [Sw. *inika* SSED 141] (**inishile**) tip, tilt, turn s.t. on the side
Hamadi/ nakiinika/ ka kuḅli. ‘Hamadi is tilting toward the right side.’ Or:
Hamadi/ nakinika ka kuḅli.

N^hanakiinika. ‘He is not tilting it.’
Omari/ nakiinika/ mbelee mbelee/ haḡá/ tuushile. ‘Omari was tilting
 forward until he fell.’

rel.

k-inikika v. p/s.

k-inikila v. appl.

rel. nom.

mw-iiniko n. 3 act of tipping, tilting

in jili n. [Sw. *injili* SSED 143; Ar. *injil* ‘gospel’ W 30] Bible, New Testament
Injili/ ishkiliza mtume Iisa. ‘The Bible has been brought down/ revealed
 for the Prophet Issa (Jesus).’
Injili/ na qur’aani/ ba/ ni ziwo za mojiitu. ‘The Bible and the Quran are
 God’s books.’
Injili/ nii chiwo/ cha makiristyaano. ‘The Bible is a Christian book.’
injiliini ‘in the Bible’

injinyeeri (ma’-) n. [Ital. *ingegnere*] engineer

ku-’inkaara v. [Som. *inkaara* DSI 328] (**ink^hariile**) curse; [pron. **ku’ink^haara**]
 rel.
ku’ink^harsata v. do s.t. that merits cursing, bring a curse on oneself

inkaari n. 10 [Som.] curse; [pron. **ink^haari**] (The examples below illustrate that **ink^haari** is
 regularly treated as a [cl.10] nominal.)

Ink^haari/ huzoḷoowa/ du’a/ huḷoowa. ‘Curses are easily gathered, praise
 has to be bought (i.e. earned).’ (A proverb.)

Ink^haari/ za maana/ hazimdhibi/ mzeele. ‘The curse of a child does not
 affect, harm the father.’ (A proverb.)

kuwanaayo/ ink^haari [Lit.] to have a curse -- s.o.’s curse is upon you (and
 consequently your misfortune derives from this factor)’

Ni/ nnakumera ink^haari. ‘You (pl.) are looking for curses only.’

Jaabiri/ ink^haari/ zimpete. [Lit.] a curse got Jaabiri.’ Or: **Jaabiri/ pete**
ink^haari. ‘Jaabiri [lit. got] a curse.’

Saahibu/ mpatishize Jaabiri/ ink^haari. ‘Saahibu persuaded, tricked Jaabiri
 into doing something that brought a curse on him.’

ku-’inkira v. [Ar. *nakira* and noun *inkār* ‘denial, refusal’ W 998] (**ink^hiriile**) deny, reject (what
 s.o. says); [pron. **ku’ink^hira**]

variant form: **kiink^hira**

Huseeni/ ink^hiriile/ koḍi izo. ‘Huseeni denied those words.’

khu’ink^hiro ni kaafiri [poem] ‘whoever rejects you is an infidel’

Nink^hirile kuwaa ye/ bozele peesá. ‘I denied that he stole the money.’

(If it were a main clause, **ye/ bozele peesa** would exhibit default penult accent on *peesa* since the third person verb form **bozele** ‘he stole’ triggers default accent. In this example, we find final accent on **bozele peesa** since it is within the scope of the main verb, *nink^hiriile* ‘I denied’, a first person past tense form that triggers final accent.)

Sultaani/ mpiya/ chi'ink'hira/ chihada/ mi/ skeendra/ ka Ali/ walá/ ka muunt^hu/ mwinginiwe/ kumera majiibu/ mi/ nt^hambilee mí/ mwenewé. ‘The new sultan denied it, saying: I did not go to Ali nor anyone else to seek the answers, I figured it out myself.’

taku'ink'hiró ‘he who will deny’

ch-iino (z-) n, 7/8 [no etymological source found] goal (the thing into which or past which s.t. must go in a game), “home” in a game, goal (that one seeks to attain)

Chiino/ ni ka Omari/ numbaani. ‘The end point/ target is Omari’s house.’

kudara chiino ‘to touch “home” in a game; to anticipate a request, a question, and to cut it short, to brush it off as unimportant; to forestall another’s accusation by making a similar accusation against the person’

Hamadi/ dirshile/ kudara chiino. ‘Hamadi reached to get the goal/ end point.’ (In an example such as this, where the verb is phrasally separated from its complement, there is no radical downstepping of the verb. There is some declination between the initial phrase and the verb. The infinitival complement **kudara chino**, on the other hand, is downstepped.)

w-iino n. 14 [Sw. *wino* SSED 531] ink (Perhaps this is a Swahilism, as **dawa** is the usual word in Chimiini for ink.)

wino uyu ‘this ink’

y-iino (m-) n. [Sw. *jino* (*meno*) SSED 156] tooth

Ibanya iyi/ hukaló/ ni mituungu/ mikulumikulu/ ka miino/ mikulu/ kama mino yaa mbwa. ‘In this open area the ones who live are large ants with teeth like the teeth of a dog.’

kh^htomola miino ‘to teethe’

ku'alhama yiino ‘to fill a tooth’

kujyeza yiino ‘to fill a tooth’

Mino yaa mbwa/ hayalumani. ‘The teeth of a dog do not bite each other (i.e. they bite something else).’ (A proverb which conveys the idea that something that is a part of you, deeply connected to you, will not hurt you.)

Miinoye/ kanaa mp^hisi. ‘His teeth are (sharp) like a hyena.’

Mwaana/ yiino/ inamlaaza. ‘The child’s tooth aches.’ (Syn. It is possible to postpose **mwaana**, but it must be phrasally separated from the verb and have lowered pitch: [**yiino/ inamlaaza/ mwaana**].)

rel.

chi-j-iino (*zi-j-*) n. 7/8 dim.

i-j-iino (*mi-j-*) n. 5/4 aug.

ku-'inqilaabaṭa

v. to be overthrown

Maḍahweena/ wa Burundi/ inqilabeṭa. ‘The president of Burundi is being overthrown.’ (It should be emphasized that in an associative phrase where the head and the complement are phrasally separated, there is no downstep between the two phrases in pre-verbal position: in **maḍahweena/ wa Burundi**, there is some declination in pitch but not the radical downstepping that separate a pre-verbal phrase and the verb phrase.)

inqilaabu
inkhilaabu]

n. [Ar. *inqilāb* W 785] overthrow of the government; [pron. **inqilaabu** or

khfanya inqilaabu ‘to overthrow the government’

Siyad Barre/ shishile hokomu/ ka inqilaabu. ‘Siyad Barre took power by revolution.’

fSomaalya/ inqilaabu/ ituushiló. ‘Revolution happened in Somalia.’

insaafu
unknown to GM.)

n. [Ar. *inšāf* W 971] justice, equity (This word is perhaps an Arabicism, as it was

*Mooja hishtakoowa kaako / u'adili wiiko kaako / wenye insaafu
nt^hawaako / Mooja chooloke ka naani* [st.] 'o God, to you are
brought our complaints, [because] justice is at your door (lit.
place), there are no just men, o God to whom should we go'

insha

n. [Sw. *insha* SSED 143; Ar. *inšā* W 964] essay

Mwaajimu/ wa'uzize waana/ kandika insha. 'The teacher asked the
children to write an essay.'

insha'aLa

interj. [Sw. *inshallah* SSED 143; Ar. *in šā'a Allāh* W 495] God-willing, if God wills
(MI pronounced this word with the velarized "l" of Arabic, written here *L*)

inshaara

n. forecast

Mi/ ka inshaara/ ^ftu/ nilo apá. 'Me, by indication only, I came here.' **What
does this meaning exactly?**

Omari/ inshaaraye/ huwa. 'Omari's forecast happens/becomes.'

k-inshaarata

v. make a forecast, indicate to

Ma'anaye/ teena/ jisa waant^hu/ iyaminiilá/ mbuzi iyo/ ichinshaarata.
'Because then, as the people believed, that goat gave a forecast.

Mi/ nakinsharataa nvulá. 'I am forecasting rain.'

Nimwinsharete Hamadí/ numba ya Omarí. 'I indicated to Hamadi
Omari's house.'

rel.

k-insharata v. appl. (*insharatiile*) forecast for

Ndiwé/ insharatiilól/ mi/ khpata kaazi. 'It is you who predicted that I
would get a/the job.'

k(u')-insharatiilowa v. appl. pass.

We/ naku'insharatiilowa kheerí. 'You, for you it is being indicated/
forecasted blessing.'

m(w)-iinsho

n. 3 [Sw. *mwisho* SSED 143] end; adv. finally

variant forms: *mwiisho, mwiiso, mwiinso*

-a mwiinsho 'last'

*Mwaana/ wa mwiisho/ wa sultaani/ petopo khabarí/ kuwa
mkulazé/ watatú/ wa'ublela na siimbá/ mwambile
maamaye/ kuwaa ye/ nakeendra/ maduriini/mahala/ ya
mkulaze/ wa'ublelelá.* 'The youngest boy [lit. the last

boy] of the sultan, when he got the news that his three older brothers had been killed by the lion, he told his
mother that he was going into the bush to the place where his older brothers had been killed.'

*Ye/ zazila kuwa mwana wa taatu/ na wa mwiisó/ karka
numba.* 'He was born the third and last child in the
family.'

Chizeele/ icho/ shchikala/ mwiishowe/ wa nt^hi ya sultaani/ oyo. 'That old
woman lived at the end of the land of that sultan.'

hatá/ mwiisho/ mwishooni 'until the last days of his life'

koði ya mwiinsho 'the last word'

laakini mwiinso mowti wote laazimu [st.] 'but in the end death is obligatory
for all'

Lano ili/ mwiishowe/ una huzni. 'This story, its end is sad.'

Mpandraa ngazi/ mwiishowe/ hishkila. 'The one who climbs a ladder, his
end, he comes down.' (A proverb.)

mwinsho waa ndila 'the end of the road'

Mwiisho/ sultaani/ shkuumbuka/ kuwaa ye/ nt^hamwona/ Hasani. 'At the
end, the sultan remembered that he had not seen Hasani.'

Mwiisho/ ye/ khirile kooloka. 'Finally, he agreed to go.'

Nt^hangú/ mwisho wa muuyi/ hatá/ mi/ nk^homela apá/ skuwona/ ruuhu.
‘Since the edge of town until I reached here, I have not seen a soul.’

Sa’iidi/ shfunga safari/ cheendra/ kaa muke/ wa majini/ wa mwiisho.
‘Sa’iidi set out on a journey and went to the woman of the last djinns [i.e. the last djinns he had met on his previous trip].’

insi n. [Ar. *ins* W 30] human beings

Insi/ na jinní/ ba/ mojiitu/ wa’unziló. ‘Humans and jinnis, God created them.’ (The prosody of this sentence merits some discussion. The initial sequence **insi/ na jinní** shows some declination in pitch on the two accented syllables, but then a substantial lowering on **ba**; the subject **mojiitu** also shows only a small declination from **jinní**. but then there is the usual strong downstep between it and the verb.)

Ismu/ ya insi/ simpeendi/ kumona apa. ‘Any human being, I do not want to see him here.’ (Although negative verbs ordinarily exhibit pitch raising when separated prosodically from their complement, we did not note such a raising here. A normal downstep intonation seems to prevail. We are uncertain as to the reason for this pitch pattern.)

int̩net̩i n. internet

int̩net̩iini ‘on the internet’

=iinu

[Sw. *-enu* SSED 85] second person plural possessive stem

chiinu [cl.7]

chibuku chiinu ‘your (pl.) book’

kiinu [cl.15]

kiinu [cl.17]

Aduwi yiitu/ nakudarbaṭa/ kichihujuma/ basi/ uje/ kati kiinu/ takhshiindró/ ushujaa’á/ mi/ nt^hamloza

mwanaamkewa. ‘Our enemy is preparing to attack us, so that one among you who will win with courage, I will marry my daughter to him.’

Ali/ simeme lwavuuni/ kiinu. ‘Ali stood at your (pl.) side.’

kati kiinu ‘between you (pl.)’

kiinu ‘at your (pl.) place; for you (pl.)’

Mi/ nfaanyizení/ kiinu. ‘What wrong did I do in your family?’

numbaani/ kiinu ‘in your (pl.) house’

We/ uko kiinú. ‘You are at home.’

Kheeri/ vutila kiinu. ‘As for blessing, pull it it towards one’s own.’ (A proverb that says: if there is something to be gained or gotten, let it go to one’s relatives, one’s own family, and not to others.)

liinu [cl.11]

wiinu [cl.1]

wiinu [cl.2]

Ni wake wazimu wiinu/ kooḏi/ tu. ‘You women, all of you just talk.’

Siwo/ waajibu/ ilu yiinu/ kudhora waant^hu/ wakulu wiinú. ‘Is it not obligatory for you (pl.) to respect people older than you?’

watatu wiinu ‘all three of you’

wawili wiinu ‘both of you’

wenza wiinu ‘your friend’

wiinu [cl.3]

wiinu [cl.14]

yiinu [cl.4]

yiinu [cl.5]

yiinu [cl.6]

yiinu [cl.9]

Basi/ mi/ mbeené/ kuwa ni kheeri/ yiinu/ ni kumfanya

muunt^hu/ uyu/ sultani wiinu. ‘So I see that it is in your (pl.) best interest to make this man your sultan.’

illa yiinu/ tu ‘except what is just yours (pl.)’

Siwo/ waajibu/ ilu yiinu/ kudhora want^hu wazimá? ‘Isn’t it compulsory for you (pl.) to respect elderly people?’

Teena/ wa’ambiile/ mbele/ lindraani/ ninpe kuja yiinu. ‘Then she told them: first, wait so that I give to you (pl.) your food.’

ziinu [cl.8]

Ntetemesheze zita ziinú. ‘You (pl.) shook your heads.’

ziinu [cl.10]

Nk^hele ziinu/ zizidiile/ nt^ho. ‘Your (pl.) noise is very loud.’

inwaani

n. [cf. Sw. *anwani* "address of a letter" SSED 17; Ar. *unwān* W 650] address, title

inyi (ma-)

n. 5/6 [Sw. *ini* SSED 142] liver

Dakhtari/ mwambiile/ nt^haku/ itamweleloo dawá/ sho kuwa/ inyi yaa nfuye. ‘The doctor told her that there is no cure for her except the liver of a monkey.’

Illa/ we/ keendra/ kumeera/ inyi yaa nfuye/ amó/ kundrataa mi/ kufa. ‘Either you go and look for a monkey’s liver or you let me die.’

inyi/ khfuura ‘swelling of the liver’

Inyi/ naa namá/ ni inyi/ ghaalí. ‘(Comparing) liver and meat, it is liver which is (more) expensive.’

Mi/ fijiri/ huraa’a/ huja inyi. ‘For morning breakfast, I eat liver.’

Mi/ hupenda inyi yaa mbuzi. ‘I like goat’s liver.’

Ndimí/ tamuno maazyé/ ndimí/ takujo iniyé. ‘It is me who will drink (lit. him) his blood, it is me who will eat his liver.’

Nfuye/ chimwaambila/ si/ ni laazima/ kuruuda/ mutiini/ mp^hate khtala inyiya. ‘The monkey said to him [the shark] it is necessary for us to go back to the tree so that I may take my liver.’

ni sunna udiya inyi kujoowa [st.] ‘it is good for the liver of a slaughtered animal to be eaten’

Omari/ nayo kansera ya inyi. ‘Omari has cancer of the liver.’

Omari/ nayo maraḍi ya inyi. ‘Omar has liver disease.’

Omari/ inyi/ imfuriile. ‘Omari’s liver has swollen.’

ch-iinza

n. [Sw. *kinga* SSED 200] in the expressions:

chinza chaa muḷo ‘a burning piece of wood’

chinza ka chiinza ‘dark all over’

mw-iipa (w-)
son or daughter

n. 1/2 [Sw. *mpwa* “son or daughter of sister, a nephew or niece” SSED 298] sister’s

mwipa mkulu ‘big nephew/niece’; **wipa wakulu** ‘big nephews/nieces’

mwipa msuura ‘nice nephew/niece’; **wipa wasuura** ‘nice nephews/nieces’

mwipa ump^hi ‘which nephew/ niece?’; **wipa waamp^hi** ‘which nephew/nieces?’

mwipa wa.../ wipa ya... (associative)

wiipaze ‘his/her nephews/nieces’ (Observe that the plural noun **wiipa** triggers [cl.10] agreement on the possessive enclitic, although in other structures it governs [cl.2] agreement, as shown above.)

ipi (ma-’ipi)

n. 5/6 [Sw. *ipi* cited by Sac. 304 as used in the Kiamu dialect; cf. Proto-Sabaki **ipi* “=slap, palm of the hand” N&H 628] slap, spank

ipi ya uso ‘slap in the face, box in the ear’

Nimtakasize ipi ya usó. ‘I plastered him with a slap in the face.’

kubiga ipi ‘to slap’

Nimbishile Aziizi/ ipi/ usó. ‘I slapped Aziiza’s face.’

Nimbishile ma’ipiyé. ‘I slapped him his slaps (i.e. the slaps he deserved)’

- kubiga ka ipi** ‘to slap’
Tuuma/ mbishile Aziizi/ (ka) ipi/ uso. ‘Tuuma slapped Aziizi’s face.’
- ku-’iptila**
iptiliile) afflict
- v. [?Ar. *ibṭāl* “ruin, destruction” W 63 or *’abita* “impair, injure” W 586] (**iptiile**, variant form: **ku’ibtila**
ruuhu na maali mooja m’iptiliile [st.] ‘in spirit and in wealth God afflicted him (Job)’
- ku-’iqaaba**
- v. [Ar. noun *’uqūba* “punishment, penalty” W 627] (**iqabiile**) punish (e.g. with reference to God punishing evil); [pron. **ku’iqaaba** or **ku’ikhaaba**]
kum’ikhaaba ‘to punish him’
Muunt^hu/ ha’isi chiint^hú/ mojiitu/ hamikhaabi. ‘One who does not know anything, God does not punish him.’ (Translated from a Somali proverb.)
rel.
- ku-’iqaboowa** v. pass. (**iqabiila**) be punished; [pron. **ku’iqaboowa** or **ku’ikhaboowa**]
- Na wafanya kaazi/ ka sarkali/ wachingila ḍambi/ zozote/ hawa’iqaboowi/ ichiwa iyo sarkali ya wene/ yimo mikooni/ ka want^hu wa qabila yaawo.** ‘And those who work for the government, if they make any mistake, they are not punished if this very government [lit. government of owner] is in the hands of people of their tribe.’
Nfanyize ḍambi gani/ ka’ikhaboowá. ‘What crime did I commit that I deserve to be punished?’
- iqaabu**
- n. 9/10 [Ar. *’uqūba* “punishment, penalty” W 627] punishment
bughḍi ya aqraba mwiiho iqaabu [st.] ‘hatred of blood relatives, [its] end is punishment’
Ḍambi iyo/ ikhaabuye/ nii nk^hulu. ‘This crime, its punishment is big.’
Ḍambi izo/ ikhaabuze/ ni niingi. ‘Those crimes, their punishments are many.’
Mojiitu/ ni menye ikhabu niingi/ naank^hó/ ni menye naharisi niingi. ‘God is one of too much punishment, but also one of too much mercy.’
Muunt^hu/ shfanya ḍambi/ ikhaabu/ ka mojiitu. ‘If someone commits a crime, punishment is from God.’
- iqaama**
- n. [Ar. *iqāma* W 801] announcement that it is time to pray
aḍaana na iqaama sunna akmalī [st.] ‘the call to prayer and the announcement that it is time to pray are preferred [but non-obligatory] acts’
- iqbaali**
- n. [Ar. *iqbāl* W 741] luck
Nt^haná/ iqbaali. ‘He has no luck (e.g. everything goes wrong for him).’
- iqṭisaadi**
- n. [Ar. *iqṭisād* W 767] the act of economizing, economy
Inakuhadoowa/ ya kuwa iqtisaadi/ ya talyaani/ yiimo/ karka khatari nk^hulu. ‘It is said that the Italian economy is in great danger.’
khfanya iqtisaadi ‘to economize’
Khut^hba/ iwaliko ka tarafu ya iqtisadi yaa nt^hi. ‘(His) speech concerned the economy of the country.’
- iriri**
- n. [Som. *ciriiri* “narrowness, restricted space” DSI 104] narrowness
iririini ‘in a narrow, restricted space’
Fulaani/ umo iririini. ‘So-and-so is in straitened circumstances, in a tight spot.’
kumtila muunt^hu/ iririini ‘to put s.o. with his back against the wall (fig.)’

mahala iriiri ‘a narrow place’
ndila iriiri ‘a narrow road’
numba iriiri ‘a narrow house’

irmaani adj. [cf. Som. verb *irmaanee* “to make pregnant (of an animal) during lactation” and *irmaan* “she-animal when in milk” DSI 329] pregnant (of an animal)

k-irtada v. [Sw. *ritadi* SSED 402; Ar. *irtidād* “withdrawal, apostasy” from verb *radda* W 333-334] reject the Muslim faith, apostasize (This is one of a number of examples where Arabic loanwords in Chimiini show a metathesized initial VC structure in comparison to the Swahili CV.)

isa

adv. [cf. Sw. *sasa* SSED 411] now

Isa/ mi/ nimweené/ mwaanawe/ uyu. ‘Now I have seen this his son.’

Isa/ mi/ siná/ ndala. ‘I am not hungry now.’

Isa/ ni sa’aa nt^hatu za masku. ‘Now it is nine o’clock p.m. (lit. three of the evening).’

Isa/ ni wakhtí wa kurudoowa. ‘Now is the time for going back.’ (Phon. Emphasis/focus may be placed on **isa**, in which case the verb phrase may either be put into pseudo-relative form or not: [**isa/ ni wakhtí wa kurudoowá**] or [**isa/ ni wakhtí wa kurudoowa**].)

Isa/ nnakhsulá kumpá. ‘Now I want to give it to him.’

Isa/ nnakhsulá kumpa Nuurú. ‘Now I want to give it to Nuuru.’

isa/ tu ‘just now’

Omari/ isa/ tu/ iló. ‘Omari came just now.’ (Prosody. The focus in this construction is on **isa**, which triggers the pseudo-relativization of the verb,

ka isa ‘as of now’

Ka isa/ majawabu iyo/ nkhiriilé. ‘As of now, that thing I accept.’

mara ya isa ‘this time’

Mubli/ sulile kumubla/ laakini/ mara ya isa/ noka/ khadirile khfakaṭa. ‘The husband wanted to kill him, but this time the snake was able to run away.’

Mi/ nakhpika isá. ‘I am cooking now.’ (Prosody. **Isa** may be fronted and focused, thus triggering pseudo-relativization: **Mi/ isa/ nakhpikó**. Or: **Isa/ mi/ nakhpikó**.)

Nnakhsulá khupaa we/ isá. ‘I want to give it to you now.’

Nnakhsulá kumpa isá. ‘I want to give it to him now.’

Nnakuuyá/ isa. ‘I am coming now.’ Or: **Nnakuya isá.** ‘I am coming now.’

Omari/ isa/ iló. ‘Omari came now.’ Or: **Isa/ Omari/ iló.** (Syn. The word order *?**Omari/ ile isa.** was considered to be dubious.)

Siwo/ isa. ‘It is not now, i.e. it is not the right time to do something.’

Tuuma/ isa/ nakhpika. ‘Tuuma is cooking now.’ Or: **Isa/ Tuuma/ nakhpika.** Or: **Isa/ nakhpika/ Tuuma.** (These statements, where there is no focus on **isa**, would be used to answer a question as to what Tuuma is doing now; e.g. **Tuuma/ nakhfaanyani/ isa.** ‘What is Tuuma doing now?’ or **Isa/ Tuuma/ nakhfaanyani.** ‘Now Tuuma is doing what?’) (Prosody. **Isa** may be pre-verbal and focused: **Tuuma/ isa/ nakhpikó.** Or: **Isa/ Tuuma/ nakhpikó.** Or: **Isa/ nakhpikó/ Tuuma.** If one wishes to focus on the subject, then **isa** is put at the end: **Tuuma/ nakhpikó/ isa.** ‘Tuuma is cooking now.’)

Tuuma/ nakhpika isa. ‘Tuuma is cooking now.’

We/ siwo/ celo/ teena/ we/ isa/ ni kama mwaanawá. ‘You are not a gazelle anymore, you now are like my child.’

ni isa (+ verb conj.) = lit. it is now. If pronounced with a certain intonation, it opposes s.o.’s statement that s.t. has happened very recently, and the meaning is: long time ago, it is already a long time since... (Note that the meaning is exactly opposite to the wording!)

Ni isa guriiló. ‘It is already a long time since he moved.’ (Also: **Ni isa/ so/**

guriiló.). Compare with: **Ni isa/ tu/ guriiló.** ‘He has just moved.’

Isa

n. Jesus; [pron. **Iisá, Iisa**]

ku-’isaabaṭa

v. [cf. Sw. *hesabu* SSED 132] count (Morph. The extension **at** is used primarily in conjunction with words borrowed from Somali, though of course the Somali word may in fact have an origin in Arabic.)

variant forms: **k-isaabaṭa, ku-hisaabaṭa**

Hineendra/ nakihisaabaṭa/ ni... ‘He goes on, he counts, they are...’

Hisaabaṭa/ one/ two/ three/ four. ‘He counted (them): one, two, three, four.’

Huwasabaṭa/ ni ikumi. ‘He counts them, they are ten.’ (Phon. Observe the elision of the initial *i* of the verb stem in this example.)

Isabaṭa. ‘Count!’

saant^{hi} za mapeendo ni sisabaṭeeni [song] ‘do not count the steps of love’

ku-’iisha

v. [Sw. *ishi* SSED 143; Ar. ‘*āša, ṭša* W 661] live

variant form: **ku’insha**

Chi’ishize (karka) numba mooyi. ‘We lived in one house.’

Chinakhṭarajá/ iyi/ kuwa’infa waant^{hu}/ wote/ waṭakhsoomó/ khaasá/ waana/ wiitu/ wanaku’inshó/ apa/ khpata kiiwa/ ṭariikhi/ ya muuyi/ waawo/ na waant^{hu}/ waawo. ‘We hope that this [account] is useful to all the people who read it, especially our children who were born here [in the United Kingdom] to get to know the history of our town and our people.’ (Phon. This is an example of a consultant reading aloud from an article on Brava that appeared on the internet. It is striking that there is relatively little joining of words together into single phrases, except for **kuwa’infa waant^{hu}** and **khpata kiiwa** and cases where a particle precedes a content word: **ya muuyi** and **na waant^{hu}**. One might take this pronunciation pattern to be indicative that native speakers, when reading written Chimiini, would be comfortable with an orthography that represents words as they are spoken in isolation rather than as they might appear when in phrase-medial position, even if in the sentence in question the word would ordinarily be phrase-medial.)

Chiwa naku’iisha/ karka kheeri/ na raahá. ‘He became living in blessing and comfort.’

Fulaani/ nt^haku’isha/ miyaka miingi. ‘So-and-so did not live long.’

Hamadi/ hu’isha Mqodiisho. ‘Hamadi lives in Mogadishu.’

Hasiibu/ ishiize/ karka raaha/ na awaani/ haṭá/ mowti. ‘Hasiibu lived in comfort and peace until his death.’

Hu’insha apa/ isa. ‘I live here now.’

Hu’insha muyi uyu/ isa. ‘I live in this town now.’

Ilu yaa muti/ uyu/ chi’iisha/ nfuye/ mooyi/ mzeele. ‘On this tree lived an old monkey.’

Ishiize/ jis’iyo/ naayé/ ni sulṭaani/ muda wa miyaaka/ miingi. ‘He lived that way while being sultan for a period of many years.’

Karaayle/ uyu/ ishiize/ kati yaa dafa/ ka muda/ wa sku niingi. ‘This crow lived among the kites for a period of many days.’

Ku’isha apa/ ni rakhisi. ‘To live here is cheap.’

Ku’ishi niingi/ ni kuwona miingi. ‘To live long is to see much.’ (A proverb.)

Mubiidi/ hu’insha Mambasa/ isa. ‘Mubiidi lives in Mombasa now.’

Mubiidi/ hu’insha Mambasa/ isá? ‘Does Mubiidi live in Mombasa now?’

Mubiidi/ hu’inshapi/ isa. ‘Where does Mubiidi live now?’

Na ishiize/ naa ye/ miyaaka/ miingi. ‘And he lived with her many years.’

Nakhsuulá/ ku’isha naa ye. ‘Do you want to live with her?’

Nt^hanakhaadira/ ku'iisha/ peeke. 'He cannot live alone (anymore).'

Teena/ ichiwa/ ye/ naku'iisha/ na mwaanamkewe. 'Then he lived with his daughter.'

We/ kapata mayi yaa noka/ we/ sula ku'isha abadi. 'If you would get the water of the snake, you would live forever.'

Wo/ wa'ishiize/ sku niingi. 'They lived many days.'

rel.

ku-'iishika v. p/s.

Gurile Mwiini/ ka khisa hu'ishika ka pesa habba. 'He moved to Brava because one can live there with little money.'

Numba iyi/ hay'iishiki/ katike. 'This house can't be lived in it.'

ku-'ishiliza v. appl.

Hi'idaðalaṭila ki'ishiliza jisa suura. 'They try to live in a nice way.'

Nt^haná/ pesa zaa ye/ ku'ishiliza. 'He has no money to live on.'

ku-'ishoowa v. pass.

Apa/ ku'ishoowake/ ni rakiisi. 'Living here is cheap (lit. here, it's being lived, is cheap).'

ma-'iisha

n. 6 life

Ali/ nt^hanaku'iisha/ ma'iisha/ masuura. 'Ali is not living a good life.'

Khpata ma'iisha/ ni dhibu/ apa. 'Earning a living here is difficult.'

Leelo/ ma'iisha/ yaawo/ hulawa ka skazi meepe/ zaa wo/ hukhadiro khfaanyá/ apo/ muyiini. 'Today their daily living expenses come from some little jobs they are able to do there in town.'

Ma'iisha/ aya/ hayaṭooshi. 'The means of living do not suffice.'

expensive.'

Ma'iisha/ sku mbiliu izi/ yawele ghaali. 'Life these days has become

Ma'iishaye/ haya'onYESHI/ kuwaa ye/ nayo maali. 'His way of living does not show that he has money.'

Mp^huundra/ welopo nt^hakuwa raaḍi/ ka ma'iishá/ yaa ye/ waalimó/ ifakatiile/ yingilile maduriini. 'When the donkey became discontented with the life that he was in, he ran away and entered the forest.'

ishaara

events to happen in the future

n. [Sw. *ishara* SSED 19; cf. Ar. *ašara* "to indicate" W 18] sign, an indication of

variant form: **anshaara**

Ishaara/ ya maana/ ni uṭuungu/ anshaara/ yaa nvula/ ni mawiingu. 'The sign of a child (i.e. that a child is being born) is labor pains, the sign of (coming) rain is clouds.'

ku-'ishaarata

v. (**ishareete**) instruct a person to act in a certain manner on the basis of what one foresees as his future, what is God's will on the basis of an **ishaara** that one has had **ku'isharata ka chaala** 'to show direction with the finger'

ishaa'aati

n. lies

ishi

interj. something dirty, like faeces or urine

variant form: **ish:**

Iyo/ ni ish(i)/ lata. 'That thing is dirty, leave it!'

Lata/ iyo/ ish:. 'Leave it, that thing is dirty.'

Sidaaré/ iyo/ ishi. 'Don't touch, that thing is dirty!'

ishirini

n., adj. [Sw. *ishirini* Sac. 307; Ar. *īšrūn* W 614] twenty

Ba'ada/ ya thaaniya/ ishiriini/ sa'a yiitu/ karka stuudyo/ itakubiga mooyi. 'After twenty seconds, our clock in the studio will strike seven (lit. one) (o'clock).'

ishiriini/ na keendrá or **ishirna keendra** 'twenty nine' (Phon: Observe that when **ishiriini** is not contracted with the following preposition **na**, then we have two phrases and the second

phrase has final accent, as is usual when the conjunction *na* precedes a nominal phrase. But when contraction occurs, yielding *ishirna*, we are dealing with a single phrase and there is no final accent. The contracted form is the more usual one in ordinary speech. There may also be a generational aspect to this matter, as our consultant GM referred to the uncontracted forms as “old people’s speech”. The contracted version may thus be a relatively recent development.)

ishirnaa mbili or **ishiriini/ naa mbilí** ‘twenty two’
ishirna mó/ mooyi or **ishiriini/ na mooyí** ‘twenty one’
ishirina naane or **ishiriini/ na naané** ‘twenty eight’
ishirinaa (n)ne or **ishiriini/ naa (n)né** ‘twenty four’
ishirna nt^haano or **ishiriini/ na nt^haanó** ‘twenty five’

Mwaana/ komelopo miyaka ishirna nt^haanó.. ‘When the child attained the age of twenty five...’

ishirnaa nt^hatu or **ishiriini/ naa nt^hatú** ‘twenty three’
ishirnaa saba or **ishiriini/ naa sabá** ‘twenty seven’
ishirna sitta or **ishiriini/ na sittä** ‘twenty six’

Maliizopó/ chimwambila mwanaamke/ shchíteza/ teena/ mi/ nt^hakhutíla/ ziwawo/ ishiriini/ kaa sa’a/ mooyi. ‘When he finished, he told the girl: if we play again, I will defeat you twenty times in one hour.’

Mukhtaa ye/ ingilo chibateraani/ yachibigooa/ miziingaa/ ishiriini/ na mooyí. ‘When she entered the boat, twenty-one cannon shots were fired.’

Mwaana/ komelopo miyaka ishiriini/ na nt^haanó... ‘When the child reached (the age of) twenty-five years...’

Omari/ nayo balani/ taariikhi/ meezi/ ishiriini. ‘Omari has an appointment on the twentieth of the month.’

k-ishkíla

v. intr. [cf. Sw. *shuka* SSED 425] descend; to go down (of prices)

Chimwambila Huseeni/ mi/ nnakhsuulá/ we/ na mwanaamkewá/ kishkíla/ kendra muyiini. ‘He told Huseeni: I want you and my daughter to disembark and go into town.’

Chimwambila Sultani Daraayi/ kishkíla ka farasiini. ‘He told Sultan Daraayi to dismount from the horse.’

Chiskíla. ‘He dismounted.’

Chizeele/ chilawa/ chiskíla nt^hiini. ‘The old woman left and went downstairs.’

Chizeele/ ishkíle nt^hiini. ‘The old woman went downstairs.’

Ha’ishkíli/ koloka maduriini. ‘He never used to climb down [from that tree] to go into the bush.’

Ishkíla. ‘Get off!’

Juha/ chimambila maanawe/ ishkíla. ‘Juha told his son: Get down.’

kishkíla hoteliini or **kishkíla ka fulaani** ‘[lit.] to descend to an hotel, or to so-and-so’s place -- meaning: to go and stay at an hotel or at s.o.’s place (when on a journey)

Mi/ chendra Mambasa/ hishkíla ka Nuuru. ‘When/if I go to Mombasa, I (usually) stay at Nuuru’s place.’

Kulla hendro ilú/ kuzimu/ hashkomi/ hishkíla. ‘Everything that does up does not reach the sky, it comes down.’ (A proverb.)

Laakini/ mwanaamke/ iize/ kishkíla. ‘But (his) daughter refused to disembark.’

Mi/ nikhishkíle usultaani/ ka khisa/ mi/ iwaaliko/ inlazimiile/ koofisha/ balaniya. ‘I resigned the sultanhip because it was necessary for me to keep my promise.’

Muke/ shpata maraði/ shpandra chilini/ na nt^hashkíla/ ka chiint^hu/ hattá/ ye/ fiilopó. ‘The woman fell sick, and was confined to bed and never got up from bed until she died.’

Mwanaamke/ chishkíla/ shfungula mlaango. ‘The girl came down and opened the door.’

numa takishkila ruuhu khtaloowa [st.] ‘he will return (lit. descend back), (his) soul will be taken’

Skizi/ doolari/ ishkiliile. ‘These days the [exchange rate of] the dollar went down.’

Sultaani/ ishkiliile/ ka chitiini. ‘The sultan stepped down from his throne (i.e. abdicated his throne).’

rel.

k-ishkilika v. p/s.

Ka apa/ hayishkiliki. ‘At this point it is not descendable.’

k-ishkilila v. appl. go down by means of, go down for

k-ishkilisha v. caus. order, instruct, persuade, etc., someone to come down

Hamadi/ mwishkilishize mwaana/ ka mutiini. ‘Hamadi persuaded the child to come down from the tree.’

Osmaani/ mwishkilishize mwaana/ chibuuku/ ka chulunguuni. ‘Osmaani persuaded the child to bring the book down from upstairs.’

k-ishkiloowa v. pass. (*ishkiliila*)

k-ishkilishiliza v. caus. appl. instruct, persuade, etc., someone to bring something down for/"on" someone

Ali/ mwishkilishilize Nuuru/ mwaana/ chibuuku. ‘Ali instructed Nuuru’s child to bring a book down.’ (Syn. In this example Nuuru cannot be the goal, only the ‘beneficiary’, in the loose sense of this word discussed in the introduction. Thus the sentence cannot mean ‘Ali instructed the child to bring the book down to Nuuru.’)

k-ishkiliza v. tr. appl. lower for, by means of; bring down to, for

Muusa/ mwishkilize mwaalimu/ chibuuku/ ka chulunguuni. ‘Muusa brought a book down from upstairs for the teacher.’

k-ishkilizoowa v. caus. appl. pass.

Mwaalimu/ ishkiliza chibuuku (na Osmaani)/ ka chulunguuni. ‘(For) the teacher was brought down a book (by Osmaani) from upstairs.’

(Note that in this construction, **chibuuku** could not be the passive subject: ***Chibuuku/ chishkiliza mwaalimu/ (na Osmaani)/ ka chulunguuni.**)

k-ishkiza v. tr. (*ishkiziize*) bring/take something down, unload, have disembark, help come down

Chimwaambila/ ya kuwaa ye/ nashkiza ruuhuye/ na namtawalisha usultaani. ‘He told him that he was going to resign (lit. take himself down) and make him the ruler.’

Hamadi/ mwishkizize mwaana/ ka mutiini. ‘Hamadi brought the child down from the tree.’

kishkiza bandeera ‘to lower a flag’

Huseeni/ chishkiza bandera yaa zita/ shpaanza/ chiguwo/ cha mwanaamke/ andishilo iluké. ‘Huseeni lowered the flag of war, and raised the cloth that the girl had written on it.’

kishkiza itaanga ‘to lower a sail’

Lwato/ ka chindriimu/ na uki/ hishkiza kaõiõo. ‘Fennugreek with lemon

and honey reduces fever.’

Mi/ nt^hakhishkiza/ ka ijabaliini. ‘I will bring you down from the mountain.’

Muusa/ ishkizize chibuuku/ ka chulunguuni. ‘Muusa brought a book down from upstairs.’

Munt^hu uyu/ chimwishkiza/ mwanaamke/ nt^hi. ‘This man helped the girl climb down [from the tree].’

Mzele/ chooloka/ chilishkiza lpaanga/ chiya naalo/ ka eelo. ‘The old woman went and took the sword down and came with it to the gazelle.’

Mzele Simsini/ shfuraha/ nt^ho/ chimuza/ mwaana/ takishkiza liini. ‘Old Simsini became very happy and he asked the boy: when will you unload [the coffee from the ship]?’

Na wachiya makhaadimu/ wawili/ wachimwishkiza sultaani/ ka chitiini. ‘And there came two servants, they lifted the sultan down from the

chair.'

Omari/ ishkizize chibuuku/ ka kabaṭiini. 'Omari took a book down from on top of the cupboard.'

Sulṭaani/ shfurahikaa nt^ho/ chimwaambila/ endrá/ mwishkize. 'The sultan was very pleased; he told him: go and have her disembark.'

k-ishkiliza v. tr. appl. bring down to or for someone

Muusa/ mwishkilize mwaalimu/ chibuuku/ ka chulunguuni. 'Muusa brought a book down to/for the teacher from upstairs.'

k-ishkilizoowa v. tr. appl. pass.

Mwaalimu/ ishkiliza chibuuku/ ka chulunguuni. '[Lit.] To/for the teacher was brought down a book from upstairs.'

k-ishkizoowa v. caus. pass. (**ishkiziiza**) be brought down rel. nom.

mw-ishkila (*wa-'ishkila*) n. 1/2 one who goes down

w-ishkilo n. 3 the act of going down

ishkilo

n.

khtila ishkilooni 'to pay heed to'

Baaba/ na maamá/ wachila/ apo/ mbeleze/ laakini/ mwaana/ iize/ khtila ishkilooni/ jawabu zaawo. 'Father and mother cried there in front of him but the boy refused to heed their words.'

Laakini/ Sa'iidi/ iize/ khtila ishkilooni/ waano/ na wa'aḏi. 'But Sa'iidi refused to heed the warnings and advice.'

mw-iisho

adv. finally, in the end

Mwiisho/ shṭiinda/ keendra/ kumera majiibu/ ka Ali. 'Finally he decided to go to seek the answer from Ali.'

m(w)-ishpa (*m-*)

n. 3/4 [Sw. *mfupa* SSED 277] bone (The reduction of *mw* to *m* in present day speech leads to the merger of the singular and the plural forms of this noun.)

Chiwa/ mzimawe/ ni mishpa/ tu. 'It became that his entire body was just bones.'

Hamadi/ mp^helee mi/ mishpa/ nama/ ndiyé/ teetó. 'Hamadi gave me bones, it is he who took the meat.'

Huyo ka wakhṭi/ hupataa nama/ huraagó/ hupata mishpa. 'He who comes on time gets meat, he who delays, gets bones.' **is this a proverb?**

Komelopo mahala ziint^hú/ ziwaalikó/ chiwona kuwa ni mishpa ya wanaadamu. 'When he reached the place where the things were, he saw that they were the bones of human beings.' **phrasing and accent**

Mishpa/ hupowaa mp^haka. 'Bones are given to cats.'

mishpa yaa mbavu 'ribs'

mwishpa wa moongo or **mwishpaa moongo** 'spinal column'

Nama/ jaani/ mishpa/ mphaani. 'Meat you eat; bones, give me.' (A proverb.)

Nama/ n daaké/ mishpa/ ndaakó. 'Meat belongs to him, bones belong to you.' (A proverb.)

Omari/ mishpawe/ muumu. 'Omari's bone is hard (i.e. he is strong).'

Shtala na mishpa yaa noka/ oyo/ chiya'usha. 'She took the bones of that snake and hid them.'

rel.

ch-ishpa (*z-*) n.

chispa cha mkila 'tail-bone, backbone'

ruuhu na chishpa cha mkila ni baaqi [st.] 'the soul and the backbone are what remain [after death]'

l-ishpa n. aug. big bone

Omari/ nalo lishpa. 'Omari has a big bone (i.e. he is strong).'

- ishqi** n. [Ar. *īshq* W 614] (cf. **ku-'aashiqa**) love, affection, passion; [pron. **ishqi** or **ishkhi**] **Ishqi/ ni aḏaabu.** 'Love is hell.'
iyo noota igurshūza ye nṯiilo mi karka ishkhī [song] 'that star has been made to shift place, it is she who has put me in passion'
- k-ishtaka** v. [Sw. *shtaki* "accuse, charge, complain of, prosecute" SSED 425; from Ar. *šakā* "make a complaint" W 483] (**ishtakiile**) complain, protest, bring a suit, sue
Choloka ka khaaḏi/ chimwishṯaka. 'He went to the judge to sue her.'
Kuḷa mooyi/ karka want^hu wa Jaama/ wabishiló/ ishtakiile. Each one among the people that Jaama hit complained.'
Mi/ nile kishṯaká/ mbelezo. 'I came to complain in front of you.'
Muti oyo/ mbwa muunt^hu/ fulaani/ naaye/ ile kishṯaka. 'That tree belongs to so-and-so and he came to complain.'
Mzeele/ chishṯaka/ ka askari/ chihada/ mwaana/ uyu/ waawaye/ nṯinzile kuulu. 'The old man brought a suit to the soldiers, saying, this boy's father cut off my leg.'
rel.
k-ishtakana v. rec.
k-ishṯakika v. p/s. [Sw. *shtakika* SSED 425] added
k-ishṯakila v. appl. [Sw. *shtakia* SSED 425]
Martī/ waa we/ mwishṯakiiló/ yaná/ ile kumera haqiye. 'The visitor whom you complained about yesterday has come to seek his right (i.e. what is due to him).'
k-ishṯakilana v. appl. rec. [Sw. *shtakiana* SSED 425] added
k-ishṯakisha v. caus. [Sw. *shtakisha* SSED 425] added
k-ishṯakoowa v. pass. [Sw. *shtakiwa* SSED 425] added
rel. nom.
mw-ishṯaka (wa-) n. 1/2 one who complains; [pron. **wa'ishṯaka** (pl.)]
ma-'shṯako n. 6 complaint, lawsuit
- mw-ishṯari** (m-) n. 3/4 [Ar. *mīṣṯara* W 410] ruler (for measuring with)
- ishtiraaki** n. sharing; socialism
mi nakhpeenda ishtiraakiya [song] 'I like the sharing (of things)'
Ṭanzaanya/ nii nṯi/ mooyi/ karka za nṯi za Iṣṯ Aafrika/ zirashiizó/ mabaadi'i/ ya ishtiraakiyá. 'Tanzania is one country among the countries of East Africa that follows the principles of socialism.'
- k-iska** v. [cf. Sw. *suka* "shake. wag, move quickly to and fro" SSED 438] (**iskiile**) shake something
Gaari/ iniskiile. 'The car shook me.'
kiska iziwa 'to shake milk to get butter'
kiska/ kana iziwa igoroori 'to shake like camel's milk'
kiska mashuungi 'to wash one's hair -- said of a woman after her menstrual period is over; to wash or shampoo the hair'
kumwiska 'to shake him'
ḷata kumwiska kumuuda hizoowa [st.] 'don't shake [the corpse while washing it], to disturb is forbidden'
- rel. nom.
mw-isko n. the act of shaking s.t.
- k-iskatila** v. [Som. *cusko, cuskad* DSI 110] (**iskatiile**) lean against something; rely on
chiskatīle diini na khsooma qunuuti [nṯ.] 'le us rely on our faith and pray with humility'
iskatila kusooṯo oora istira [st.] 'lean to the left, cover (your) genitals'
Hamadi/ iskatiilile ḷkuta. 'Hamadi leaned against the wall.'
Hamadi/ mwiskatiilile waawaye. 'Hamadi leaned against his father. Hamadi depended on his father (e.g. for financial support).'

Humiskaṭilo mojiitú/ hasuuli/ wahali. ‘He who relies on God does not need a companion.’ (A proverb.)

Mpa waaya/ ni mwajiitu/ simwiskiṭilé/ mwaadamu. ‘The giver of mankind is God, don’t rely on human beings.’ (A proverb.)

Muti/ wiskaṭilile (or: **uskaṭilile**) **lkuta.** ‘The tree leaned against the wall.’

Wake wa Mwiini/ hawafurahili/ kiskaṭila ka zotte/ ilu ya wabli. ‘The women of Brava do not enjoy depending on their husbands for everything.’

rel.

k-iskaṭilila v. appl. (**iskaṭiliile**) lean on, against

Mwiskaṭilile waawaye. ‘He relied on his father.’

Osmaani/ iskaṭililee muti. ‘Osmaani leaned against a tree.’

k-iskaṭilana v. rec. rely on one another, lean on one another

k-iskaṭiliza v. caus. appl. (**iskaṭiliize**)

k-iskaṭiza v. caus. (**iskaṭiize**) lean something against something

Hamadi/ iskaṭizee muti/ lkuta(ani). ‘Hamadi leaned the piece of wood against the door.’

muti wa Hamadi/ iskaṭizo lkutaani (or, less preferred, **lkutá**) ‘the piece of wood that Hamadi leaned against the wall’

k-iskaṭizoowa v. caus. pass.

Muti/ wiskaṭiza (or: **uskaṭiza**) **lkuta na Hamadi.** ‘A piece of wood was leaned against the wall.’

rel. nom.

w-iskaṭilo n. 14 the act of leaning on

k-iskitika
nicely

v. [Sw. *sikitika* SSED 430] (**iskitishile**) feel sorrow, express sad feelings; ask for s.t.

Baaba/ chiskitika ka khalbaani. ‘Father felt sad.’

chilo cha agraba mayi hiskitika [st.] ‘the crying of his close relatives, the dead person is bothered by this’

Mzele Simsini/ chiskitika/ nt^ho. ‘Old Simsini became very sad.’

Niskitishilee nt^ho. ‘I was very sad.’

Omari/ nakiskitika/ maanawe/ kulaala. ‘Omari is sad (for) his son to be sick.’

rel.

k-iskitikila v. appl. feel sorry for someone

Mi/ nakhiskaṭikilaa nt^ho/ ka yaa we/ namfanyo eeló. ‘I feel very sorry for what you have done to the gazelle.’

k-iskitisha v. caus. sadden someone, cause someone to be sad

k-iskitikoowa v. pass.

Kiskitikoowa/ niingi/ hulet mazi miingi. ‘To be sad too much causes high blood pressure.’

rel. nom.

ma-iskitika n. 6 sorrow

alternate form: **ma-skitiko**

Naa mi/ ka maiskitiko/ ndrazilé/ noloshele khabriini/ ka maamé/ nzaaziló. ‘And I from sorrow went out and went to the grave of my mother who gave birth to me.’

mw-iskitika (*wa-iskitika*) n. 1/2 one who feels sad

w-iskitisho n. 14 the act of saddening someone

mw-iskiti (*m-*)

n. 3/4 [Sw. *msikiti* SSED 303; ?Pers., Ar. *masjid* W 397] mosque

variant form: **muskiti**

heendra miskitiini nuumbaya hulata [nt.] ‘I go to the mosque and leave my house’

Husaḷoowa/ muskitiini. ‘It is prayed in the mosque (i.e. praying is done in the mosque).’

Ibreeni/ nakhsula madrasaaniu/ Haamidi/ naayé/ mwiskitiini. ‘Ibreeni wants to go to school, and Hamadi (wants to go) to the mosque.’ (Note that the phrase **naayé** follows the noun referred to; one does not say *...**naayé/ Haamidi/ mwiskitiini.**)

khsala miskitiini ‘to pray in the mosque’
Maliizopó/ chilawa/ kiyeendrela/ miskitiini/ khsala. ‘When he finished, he left and went [with himself] to the mosque to pray.’
miskiti waa jima ‘Friday mosque – the mosque where Friday prayers are performed’
Sultaani/ oloshela miskiti waa jima/ khsala. ‘The sultan went to the Friday mosque to pray.’
muskiti wa malim Biimaalo ‘the mosque of Malim Biimaalo’
Muskiti’ aa (malim) Biimaalo/ waant^hu/ wiingi/ husaló. ‘Many people pray at the mosque of Biimalo.’
Muskiti’ aa malim Biimaalo/ wi-ko Baghadaadi. ‘The mosque of Malim Biimaalo is in Baghadaadi.’
muskiti wa Shekh Khaasimu ‘the mosque of Shekh Khaasimu’ (Shekh Khaasimu is the second most famous religious scholar in Brava after Shekh Aweeso.)
Makhabriini/ ka Shekh Abdukhaadiri/ khariibuye/ yiko muskit’ aa Shekh Khaasimu. ‘The graveyard of Shekh Abdukhaadiri is near the mosque of Shekh Khaasimu.’
muskiti wa Shekh Nureeni ‘Shekh Nureeni’s mosque’
Muskiti’ aa Shekh Nureeni/ ni karib’ aa tawala. ‘Shekh Nureeni’s mosque is near the beach/sea.’
Muskiti’ aa Shekh Nureeni/ wi-ko Albaamba. ‘Shekh Nureeni’s mosque is in Albaamba.’
Mwaana/ naayé/ chendra miskitiini/ khsala pamo na waant^hu. ‘The boy also went to the mosque to pray together with people.’
Nk^homele kharibu ya muskiti. ‘I reached near the mosque.’ Or: **Nk^homele khariibú/ ya muskiti.** Or: **Nk^homeelé/ kharibu ya muskiti.** Or, with extreme raising of **khariibu**: **Nk^homeelé/ khariibu/ ya muskiti.**
N^haasá/ n^hakuruuda/ ka miskitiini. ‘He has not yet come back from the mosque.’
Waant^hu/ wachiruudapó/ ka tawala/ wingi waawo/ hendra miskitiini/ kulomba mwajjitu. ‘When people return from the sea (on the night of Ashuura), most of them go to the mosque to pray to God.’
Wawashile miskiti miingi. ‘They built many mosques.’
We/ kheeri/ kendra ka hima/ muskitiini. ‘You had better go quickly to the mosque.’

islaamu
 follower of Islam

n. [Sw. *islamu* SSED 144; cf. Ar. *islām* ‘the religion of Islam’ W 426] a Muslim, a

Bwana mfaime/ yana/ nt^hezeze khamaari/ na munt^hu mooyi/ islaamu. ‘Mr. King, yesterday I played games of chance with a Muslim man.’
islaamu ahlu al-keeri wenye baraka/ heendra Jidda heendra Madiina na Makka [st.] ‘good Muslims who have God’s blessings/ go to Jeddah, (and then) to Medina and Mecca’
islaamu/ wa khpaka ‘a superficial Muslim’
islaamu/ waa nguwo ‘a superficial Muslim ((lit. a Muslim of clothes)’
Islaamu/ wote/ hufuunga/ nt^hangú/ awali ya mweezi/ hatá/ akhiriye. ‘All Muslims fast from the first day of the month (of Ramadhan) until its end.’
Islaamu/ wotte/ wa’oloshela. ‘All the people (lit. all Muslims) came.’
Kaafiri/ khiinfó/ ni kheeri/ kolko islaamu/ sho khiinfa. ‘An infidel who is of use to you is better than a Muslim who is of no use to you.’ (A proverb.)
Khanziiri/ kudaroowake/ ni haraamu/ ka islaamu/ wote. ‘Touching a pig is forbidden for all Muslims.’
Kula muunt^hu/ islaamu/ baalighi/ na aqilizé/ ni tamaamu/ humwajiba ziint^hu/ staano. ‘Every Muslim who reaches puberty and his

faculties are perfect is required to do five things.’

Munt^hi uyu/ ni munt^hi hukuzowaa nt^ho/ na islaamu. ‘This day (i.e. **idi ya wamuusi**) is a day very much respected by Muslims.’

muskiti waa jima ‘Friday mosque – the mosque in Brava where many people go for Friday prayers’

Sala yaa jima/ want^hu wa Miini/ ^fwiingi/ husala muskiti waa jima. ‘Friday prayers, many Bravanese pray at **muskiti waa jima.**’

sharti ya mwaadini kuwa islaamu [st.] ‘it is necessary for the one who calls people to prayer to be a Muslim’

rel.

u-’**islaamu** n. 14 the Islamic faith

ismu n. [Sw. *isimu* or *ismu* ‘(1) name; (2) a person himself, or thing itself’ SSED 144; Ar. *ism* W 427] any one, no one, none at all; everyone, everything; noun (in grammar)

chizaliloowa mwaana ismu mtaliile [st.] ‘when a child is born to you, choose a name for him’

ismu iwovu ‘a bad name’

Ismu/ ya ariplaano/ leelo/ nt^haykuuya/ Mkhodiisho. ‘No plane came to Mogadishu today (lit. any of airplane today did not come to Mogadishu).’

ismu ya chiint^hu ‘anything (lit. name of something)’

Ismu/ ya insi/ simpeendi/ kumwona apa. ‘No one do I want to see here.’

Ismu/ ya muunt^hu/ nayo su’aali/ na’uze. ‘Anyone who has a question, let him ask it.’

Ismu ya muunt^hu/ nt^hakuuya. ‘There is no one who came.’ (Note that one cannot say: ***Kilaa muunt^hu/ nt^hakuuya.** ‘Each person did not come.’)

Ismu/ ya muunt^hu/ siye/ kaaka/ numbaani. ‘No one should come to my house.’

Ismu/ ya muunt^hu/ takeendra/ aakhera. ‘Everybody will die.’

Ismu/ ya muunt^hu/ takuyo muskitiini/ takhpowaa chiwo. ‘Anyone who will come to the mosque will be given a religious book.’

Makhabriini/ ka Shekh Abdukhaadiri/ huzikowa ismu/ ya waant^hu. ‘Anyone can be buried in the graveyard of Shekh Abudukhaadiri.’

Mbujaza/ ismu/ ya muunt^hu/ skumwaambila/ yaa ni/ fanyiizó. ‘My sisters (a male is speaking), anyone I did not tell what you did.’ Cf. **Baayaza/ yaa ni/ fanyiizó/ ismu/ ya muunt^hu/ skumwaambila.** ‘My elder sisters (a female speaking) what you did, anyone I did not tell.’

Muunt^hu/ chiwanazo peesa/ ismu/ ya chiint^hu/ chiko lminguuni/ hupata.

‘When one has money everything in this world one gets (will get).’

Nt^hakuuya/ ismu/ ya maana/ skolaani. ‘No child came to school.’

Simpeendi/ kumwona ismu/ ya muunt^hu/ apo. ‘I do not want to see anybody here.’ (The word **kila** would not be found in this environment.)

Sina/ ismu ya dakhli. ‘I have no income whatsoever.’

Sinaayo/ ismu/ ya doodi. ‘I do not have any complaint.’

Sinaayo/ ismu/ ya peesa. ‘I do not have any money.’

isnidhaamis n. scabies

Israa’ili n. Israel

israafu n. [Ar. *israf* ‘intemperance, dissipation, prodigality’ W 408] abuse, misuse, overuse, squandering

israafu ni mbovu mayti koshooa [st.] ‘squandering [water] is bad [when] the corpse is being washed’

Ist Aafrika n. East Africa

Tanzaanya/ nii nt^hi/ mooyi/ karka za nt^hi za Ist Aafrika/ zirashiizó/ mabaadi’i/ ya ishtiraakiya. ‘Tanzania is one country among the countries of East Africa that follows the

principles of socialism.’

k-ista’amila v. [Ar. ‘*amila* “to put into operation” W 644 and noun *isti’māl* “application, use” W 646] (*ista’amiliile*) use s.t.

alternate form: **ku-ṣta’amila**

rel. nom.

mu-ṣta’amila (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who uses s.t.

k-ista’amira (*ista’amiriile*) v. [Ar. verb ‘*amara* W 643 and noun *isti’mār* “colonization, colonialism” W 644] enslave, colonize

alternate form: **ku-ṣta’amira**

k-ista’arabika v. [Sw. *staarabika* SSED 436; Ar. ‘*araba* “to arabicize” W 601] (*ista’arabishile*) be civilized

rel.

k-ista’arabisha v. caus. [Sw. *staarabisha*] civilize

k-ista’arabishana v. caus. rec.

k-ista’arabishika v. caus. p/s.

k-ista’arabishiliza v. caus. appl.

k-ista’arabishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

k-ista’ida v. [Ar. ‘*adda* “to make ready” W 594; cf. noun *isti’dād* “readiness, preparedness” W 595] (*ista’idiile*) be ready, prepared

alternant form: **ku-ṣta’ida**

k-ista’jaba v. [Sw. *staajabu* SSED 6; Ar. *isti’jāb* W 591] (*ista’jabiile*) be surprised, amazed

alternant form: **ku-ṣta’jaba**

ch-ista’rabu n. 7 civilized manner

Huja/ yaa ye/ nakhsuuló/ ka chista’raabu. ‘He eats whatever he wants in a civilized manner.’

k-istahamila v. [cf. Ar. verb *hamala* W 206] (*istahamiliile*) stand, bear, tolerate, forebear

variant form: **k-istahimila, k-istahamila, k-istahimila**

kistahamila bardi ‘to withstand cold’

kistahamila dhibu ‘to withstand difficulties’

kistahamila harri ‘to withstand heat’

kistahamila ndala ‘to withstand hunger’

kistahamila ooni ‘to withstand thirst’

rel.

k-istahamiliika v. p/s.

Laakini/ zaa mi/ nakuwonó/ hastukuliki/ walá/ hazistahamiliiki. ‘But what I see is unbearable and cannot be tolerated.’

rel. nom.

u-stahamilo n. 14 forbearance

k-istaahila v. [Sw. *stahili* SSED 437; Ar. *ahala* “to be or become suited” W 32] (*istahiliile*) merit, deserve

variant form: **ku-ṣtaahila**

Eelo/ hastaahili. ‘The gazelle does not deserve [what is being done to him].’

We/ histahila chiint^hu/ shkulu/ kolko ichi. ‘You deserve something bigger than this.’

Yaa si/ shtamfanyilizó/ ye/ histahila. ‘What we will do for him he deserves.’

rel.

k-istahiqa v. (*istahiqiile*) deserve s.t. as one’s right

variant form: **ku-ṣtahiqa**

rel. nom.

mu-stahiqa (*wa-’istahiqa, wa-stahiqa*) n. 1/2 one who rightfully deserves

k-istalima

v. (**istalimiile**) receive

Istalimile fatūra ya koranta. ‘He received the electric bill.’

Sa’iidi/ ba’ada ya kistalima/ zaa ye/ tulubiiló/ chistukula/ choloka naazo/ ka ujee muke/ numbaani. ‘Sa’iidi, after receiving what he asked for, carried it and went with it to that woman’s house.’

rel.

k-istalimisha v. caus.

k-istaamana

v. ?

k-istamira

(**istamiriile**) continue

v. [Ar. verb *marra* W 900; cf. also noun *istimrār* ‘duration, continuation’ W 9012]

Mkulu waawo/ naa ye/ naakufó/ na khariibuyé/ mayti za weenziwé/ istamiriile kaandika/ chimaliza kaandika/ na chimaliza kaandika/ hatá/ khalamu/ imvuyile ka zalaani. ‘Their leader, while he was dying, and near him (lay) the bodies of his companions, continued writing and wrote and wrote until the pen slipped out of his fingers.’

Suufi/ istamiriile kendra tawala/ kila masku. ‘Suufi continued to go to the sea each night.’

k-istanja

defecating

v. [cf. Ar. *najw* ‘excrement’ W 946] (**istanjiile**) clean oneself after urinating or

muunt^hu sho kistanja chidaara jismuyo/ sala haysihi hatá chiwa mwaanawa [st.] ‘if a man who has not washed (his sexual organs) touches your body, the prayer is void, even if he be your son’

ni waajibu sho kistanja ðaalimu [st.] ‘it is required [to cleanse oneself], the one who does not cleanse himself is a wrongdoer’

shkalaant^ha choolo kistanja laazimu [st.] ‘if one sits for defecation, to clean oneself is required’

rel.

k-istanjiloowa v. appl. pass.

majiwe matatu kistanjiloowa ni waajibu [st.] ‘to use three stones to clean oneself with is required’

mwaana sho kistanjoowa hatá chihaba/ mweepuke sala amriye siwo haba [st.] ‘a child who has not been cleaned, even if he is small, avoid him, the issue of prayer is not a simple matter’

k-istanjila v. appl.

k-istaanza v. tr. (**istanziize**) clean s.o.

Mwistanzize mwaana. ‘She cleaned the child.’

k-istanziliza v. tr. appl.

k-istaanzisha v. caus.

k-istawa

regularity” W 445] (**istawiile**) thrive, prosper, succeed, be in good condition (but not used with human subjects)

Maṭezo/ ya’istawiile. ‘The game has gone well.’

Muundra/ wistawiile. ‘The cultivated field is prospering.’

muuyi wütu kistawa chinakhtaraja ka Mojiitu [nt.] ‘we hope from God that our town will see better times’

rel.

k-istawika v. p/s.

k-istawila v. appl.

Ikhistawiile. ‘Things are going well for you.’ Or: **Ikhustawiile.**

k-istawisha v. caus. (**istawishiize**) make thrive; decorate a room; make look nice

Maliizopó/ chooloka/ choowa/ chivalaa nguwo/ humwistawishó/ shpaka ruuhuye/ miskhi. ‘When she finished [cooking], she went and bathed, she put on clothes that made her look nice, and she applied perfume on herself.’

Mwaana/ chiwa’ambila waant^huwe/ kistawisha ruhu zaawo/ kuvala

nguwo suura. ‘The boy told his people to make themselves look nice, to put on nice clothes.’

Nguwo izi/ khistawisha. ‘These clothes make you look nice, fit you well.’

Ni mkali/ kistawisha kooḍi. ‘He is good at making a speech effective, good, etc.’

Sultaani/ choondroka/ chistawisha ruuhuye/ chiskila tawala. ‘The sultan got up and made himself look nice and disembarked on shore.’

k-istawishoowa v. caus. pass. (**istawishiiza**) be made to thrive; be decorated by

Istawisha nuumba. ‘He put the house in good condition.’

rel. nom.

mw-istawisha (*wa-’istawisha*)

w-istawisho n. 14 making prosper

w-istawo n. 14 prospering, thriving

k-isteha

v. [Sw. *stahi* SSED 436; Pers.] (**istehcele**) respect s.o., be considerate to s.o.

Ye/ khistehcele/ nt^ho. ‘He respected you very much.’

rel.

k-istehana, k-istehanana v. rec. (**-istehcene, -istehaneene**) (The reduplicated suffix is used commonly in the past tense, while elsewhere the form without reduplication seems to be preferred.)

k-istereha life

v. [Sw. *starehe* SSED 394; Ar. *istirāha* W 366] (**istereheele**) relax, take a rest, enjoy

Eelo/ chija/ chistereha. ‘The gazelle ate, enjoying it.’

Histereha kumzura maamaye. ‘He enjoys visiting his mother.’

Istereha. ‘Enjoy!’ (Cf. **Isterehaani.** ‘(Pl.) enjoy!’)

Naawó/ wotte/ wa’istereheele. ‘And they all enjoyed themselves.’

Sisterehé. ‘Don’t relax!’ (Cf. **Sistereheeni.** ‘(Pl.) don’t relax!’)

Wanakistereha. ‘They are relaxing, enjoying themselves.’

rel.

k-istereheka v. p/s. (**istereheshele**)

k-isterehela v. appl. (**isterehelelele**)

Kaleent^he/ nakisterehela maaliye. ‘He is just sitting there, enjoying himself with his money.’

Ndro/ pata kisterehela zakuja izi/ zaa mi/ khuleteleejó. ‘Come and enjoy these foods that I have brought to you.’

k-isterehesha v. caus. [Sw. *starehesha* SSED 394] (**isterehesheeze**) cause to relax, rest, enjoy life; give sexual relief

Nafiisa/ nisterehesheeze. ‘Nafiisa relaxed me.’

Nt^hanná/ qalbi ya kulila chiint^hu/ kisterehesha ruhu ziinu. ‘You (pl.) do not have the guts to buy anything to enjoy yourselves with.’

Sku ya kaandra/ na ya piili/ safari/ iwaliko sahali/ na isterehesheeze/ wabjaana. ‘The first and the second day, the trip was easy and caused the young men to enjoy themselves.’

k-istereheshana v. caus. rec. cause one another to relax, enjoy life etc.

k-isterehesheka v. caus. p/s.

k-isterehesheleza v. caus. appl.

k-istereheshelezanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Nuuru/ na Hamadi/ wa’istereheshelezenye waana. ‘Nuuru and Hamadi caused one another’s children to relax, enjoy life etc.’

k-istereheshoowa v. caus. pass.

k-isterehoowa v. pass.

Karka miyi mikulu/ histerehowaa nt^ho. ‘Living in big cities is enjoyed very much (by people).’

rel. nom.

w-isterehelo n. 14 act of enjoying with

w-isterehesho n. 14 act of causing s.o. to enjoy himself

isti’idaadi

n. [Ar. *isti’ dād* W 595] preparedness

khfanya isti’idaadi ‘to make preparations’

Nakhfanya isti'idaadi/ kumqabila ra'iisi. 'He is making preparations to welcome the president.'

- isti'imaali** n. [Ar. *isti'māl* W 646] use
- isti'imaari** n. [Ar. *isti'mār* W 644] colonialization, enslavement
- isti'jaali** n. [Ar. *isti'jal* W 593] hurry
khfanya isti'jaali 'to hurry up, be in a hurry'
khfanya ka isti'jaali 'to do s.t. in a hurry'
- istihizaayi** n. [Ar. *istihzā'* W 1027] the act of belittling, ridiculing someone who is poor, diseased, deformed, etc.
khfanya istihizaayi 'to ridicule'
- istiqlaali** n. [Ar. *istiqlāl* W 783] independence
khpata istiqlaali 'to get independence'
Qabla/ ya istiqlaali/ na ba'adaye/ ba/ Tanzania/ liini/ ichivilowa Tanzania/ ichivilowa Tanganyika. 'Before independence and after as well, Tanzania was not called Tanzania, it was called Tanganyika.'
- k-istira** place v. [Sw. *stiri* SSED 437; Ar. *satara* W 397] (**istirile**) conceal, hide, keep in a safe place
Ba'adi/ ya miyaaka/ ayo/ yatakuuya/ miyaaka/ yaa dhibu/ yatakuja zaa ni/ ntaqdishiliizó/ miyaka ayó/ sho/ kuwa habamó/ yaa ni/ ntakistiró. 'After these years, years of difficulty will come; (during those years) will be eaten what you (pl.) have kept aside, except for a little that you (pl.) will save.'
Istirile maaliye. 'He kept his wealth in a safe place.'
kistira sirri 'to keep a secret'
Moojá/ nachistire. 'May God keep us safe -- this is said when speaking of a general situation of lawlessness, disorder, etc., expressing the hope that it will not affect us directly.'
ye mwenye kistira ebuni mwajitu [song] 'he who conceals *ebuni* (a disgrace, blemish on one) is God'
rel.
k-istirika v. p/s. [Sw. *stirika*]1 be concealed, hidden from sight; be barely alive
Maskiini/ histirika/ kaawo/ dhibuye/ hanza chiwa mgeeni. 'A poor man is not seen in his own place, his difficulties begin if he becomes a stranger somewhere.' (A proverb.)
mwaana waawaye chifa ye ha'istiriki [song] 'when a child's father dies, he (the child) can hardly live'
Nakistirika. 'I am alright, I am doing fine.'
- k-istirila** v. appl. [Sw. *stiria*] (**istiriliile**) hide for, keep for
rel. nom.
mw-istira (wa-'istira) n. 1/2 [Sw. *mstiri*] one who conceals
- ch-istiro (z-)** n. 7/8 hiding place
- k-istiwata** v. [Som.] (**istiweete**) surrender
Aduuwi/ ba'ada ya khshindroowa/ istiweete. 'After being defeated, the enemy surrendered'
Aduuwi/ istiweete. 'The enemy surrendered.'
- itaabu** n. [Ar. *itāb* W 589] the act of blaming, reproaching someone
- Itaalya** n. [Ital. *Italia*] Italy
Tuuma/ waliko Itaalya/ maraa mbili. 'Tuuma has been to Italy twice.'

	rel.
	talyaani adj. Italian Inakuhadoowa/ ya kuwa iqtisaadi/ ya talyaani/ yiimo/ karka khatarii nk^hulu. ‘It is reported that the Italian economy is in great danger.’
	ma-talyaani n. Italians Matalyaani/ laazima/ wo/ khfanyiliza dawa/ iqtisadi yaawo. ‘The Italians must cure their economy.’
ku-’itarifoowa recognized	v. pass. [cf. Ar. nouns ta rīf “determination , identification” and i tīrāf W 606] be recognized Siwo/ muunt^hu/ hu’itarifoowá (or: hitarifoowa). ‘He is not a man who is recognized.’
itifaakhi	n. [Sw. itifaki SSED 144, from Ar. ittifāq W 1085] agreement, harmony
itila	n. [cf. Ar. verb útila W 621] obstacle, hindrance, damaged state
ku-’itiqaada religion; believe	v. [Sw. itakadi SSED 144; cf. Ar. noun i tīqād “firm belief” W 628] believe in God,, religion; believe
itmi’naani	n. [Ar. itmi’ nān W 568] tranquility Nt^haná/ itmi’naani. ‘He has no tranquility.’
ku-’ithibita “proof, evidence” W 101]	v. [cf. Sw. thibitisha “establish, prove” from Ar. tabata “be proven” and noun itbāt “proof, evidence” W 101] (ithibitiile) be evidence of or for s.t., prove, substantiate, confirm ithibitiile kuwa... ‘it was evident, proven that...’ nt^ha’ikhthibita/ kuwa... ‘there was no evidence that...’
ithnaashara	n., adj. twelve
ithmu	n. [Ar. it^hm W 5] sin khfanya ithmu ‘to sin’
k-itika	v. (past tense not recorded yet) drip humitika ye ka mafuraha [st.] ‘I shower him [my husband] with joy’ (Observe the figurative, and transitive, usage found in this sh^hteenzi .) Nsi iyi/ jisaayo/ matuuri/ inakitika mafta. ‘This fish is so fat that it drips out oil.’ Nt^hendre iyi/ jisaayo/ suura/ inakitika uki. ‘This date is so sweet that it drips honey.’
mw-iito (<i>m-</i>)	n. 3/4 [cf. Sw. icho “spring, place where water bubbles from the ground” SSED 155] pool of water left behind on the beach when sea is at low tide (more commonly used: mulo)
-iitu	first person plural possessive root; see kiitu
	ndiitu
Mayaank^huku/ yawozelo/ ndiitu.	‘The eggs that have gone bad are ours.’ (cf. Ndiitu/ mayank^huku yawozelo. ‘Are ours the eggs that went bad.’)
	wiitu [cl.1] Mi/ nakhsuulá/ we/ chizaala/ kumviila/ mwana wiitu/ Hasiibu/ Karimuddiini. ‘I want you, when you give birth, to call our son Hasiibu Karimuddini.’ mwana wiitu ‘our child’ mwenza wiitu ‘our friend’ wiitu [cl.2]

Ali/ shtanzile wote/ wiitu. ‘Ali insulted all of us.’
Si/ wote/ wiitu/ chiile. ‘We all came.’ Or: **Si/ chiile/ wote/ wiitu.** ‘We came, all of us.’
wote/wiitu ‘all of us’

Wote/ wiitu/ choloshele. ‘We all went.’
wiitu [cl.14]

Uweenza/ wiitu/ ukomele apa/ waraadi. ‘Our friendship has ended here; goodbye.’

yiitu [cl.9]

Aduwi yiitu/ nakudarbaṭa/ kichihujuma/ basi/ uje/ kati kiinu/ takhshiindró/ ushujaa’á/ mi/ nt^hamloza mwanaamkewa. ‘Our enemy is preparing to attack us, so that one among you who will win with courage, I will marry my daughter to him.’

ziitu [cl.8]

Shtetemesheze ziṭa ziitu. ‘We shook our heads.’
ziitu [cl.10]

ivu

n. 9 [Sw. *jivu* (*ma-*) SSED 157] ashes
ivu niingi ‘too much ashes’

Muunt^hu/ impishizee muḷo/ haṭá/ ivuye/ hutiya. ‘A person burned by fire, he is afraid even of its ashes.’ [review this example](#)

rel.

mi-’ivu n. aug. a large amount of ashes

Shpakapaka ruuhuye/ mi’ivu. ‘She rubbed ashes all over her (body).’

zi-’ivu n. dim. a small amount of ashes

ivule

adj. [from *ivu* ‘ashes’ + Som. suffix *-le*] grey (the color of ashes)

k-iwa

v. [Sw. *jua* SSED 139] know

Ali/ chiwa kuwa Nuuru/ bozele chibuuku. ‘Ali knew that Nuuru stole the book.’

Ali/ nandikishizee khaṭi/ pashpoo we/ kiiwa. ‘Ali made me write a letter without your knowing.’

Ba’ada ya muunt^hu/ kuuya/ Jeelaani/ chiiwa/ ya kuwa nt^hakuwaaliko/ Safiya. ‘After the person came (closer), Jeelaani knew that it was not Safiya.’

Basi/ iwá/ ya kuwaa mi/ siwo/ munó. ‘Therefore know that I am not your little sister.’ (Phon. Observe that when a verb stem of the shape -

VCa such as **iwa** is used in the imperative in phrase-final position, it has accent on the final vowel, even though default accent would be expected to place it on the initial vowel. The explanation for this seems to be that, from the accentual point of view, the initial vowel behaves as though it is not part of the word. Accent falls on the only vowel in the word once the initial vowel is discarded from consideration.)

Chibuku cha Mhamadi/ iwilo kuwa Omari/ chibashiizé/ nch^haaká. ‘The book that Mhamadi learned that Omari lost it is mine.’ (Phon. Observe that in isolation, **Omari/ chibashiize.** ‘Omari lost it.’, both phrases have default penult accent. When incorporated into a relative clause, both phrases acquire final accent.)

Chili chaa we/ nt^hukichilaalila/ hiiwi/ nk^hungunyize. ‘A bed that you do not sleep on, you cannot know its bedbugs.’ (A proverb.)

Hawa’iwi/ chiint^hu/ siwo/ kamaa si. ‘They cannot know anything, they are not [djinn] like us.’

Hawatakiwa/ almasi iyi/ ilazilepi. ‘They won’t know where this diamond came from.’

Iwileeyi/ kuwaa ye/ mweene. ‘How do you know that he saw him?’

Jisa itaakuwó/ Hamadi/ siwe/ yaa mi/ khaambiló. Anyway, Hamadi should not know what I told you.’

Mi/ hiiwa. ‘I know.’

Mi/ na’iwá/ kuwa Nureeni/ bozele peesa. ‘I know that Nureeni stole money.’

Mi/ na’iwá/ kuwa ^fNureeni/ bozelo peesá. ‘I know that Nureeni stole money.’ Or: **Mi/ na’iwá/ kuwa ^fNureeni/ boozeló/ peesa.**

Mi/ nakhiwá. ‘I know you.’ (In the speech of GM, the 1 sg. prefix *n(i)*-often is elided in position before the present tense marker *na*, as in this example.)

Munt^hu ikusiló/ hamwiiwi/ mwenyee ndala. ‘A man who is full does not understand the one who is hungry.’ (A proverb.)

Mwana wa Baana/ iwilo kuwa Mhamadí/ mbishile/ ni Sheekhi. ‘The boy who Baana realized that Mhamadi hit him is Sheekhi.’

Mwaarabu/ nt^hakumwiiwa/ kuwa waa ye/ naxkoðo naa ye/ waliko ni sultaani. ‘The Arab did not know [lit. him] that the one he was talking to was the king.’

Namiwá/ mana wa Nuuru/ mukeewe. ‘I know Nuuru’s son’s wife.’ Or: **Namiwá/ muke wa mana wa Nuuru.** Or: **Namiwa mana wa Nuurú/ mukeewé.** Or: **Namiwa mana wa Nuurú/ mukeewe.**

Namiwá/ muke pishiló. ‘I know the woman who cooked.’ Or: **Namiwaa muké/ pishiló.** Or: **Namiwa muke pishiló.**

Namiwa Nuurú/ maanawé/ mukeewé. ‘I know Nuuru’s son’s wife.’ Or, with emphasis on **Nuuru**: **Namiwa Nuurú/ maanawe/ mukeewe.** (Syn. It is not possible to put focus on **maanawe**: ***Namiwa Nuurú/ maanawé/ mukeewe.**)

Namwiwa munt^hu iló. ‘I know a (or the) man who came.’

Naawó/ wa’iwiile/ kuwa Abunawaasi/ wanayo muhtaaji. ‘And they knew that Abunawaasi needed (to see Haruun Rashidi).’

Nk^ha’iwá/ kuwa waaná/ maanziné/ wajiilé... ‘If I had known that the children had already eaten...’ [review this for accent and phrasing](#)

Nuuru/ iwile kuwa Jaama/ chibashize chibuuku. ‘Nuuru learned that Jaama lost the book.’ (Syn. Cf. how **chibuuku** in this sentence could be the head of a relative verb: **Chibuku cha Nuuru/ iwilo kuwa Jaamá/ chibashiizé/ nch^haaká.** ‘The book that Nuuru learned that Jaama lost is mine.’)

Nuuru/ namwiwa Baana/ (kuwa) ni mwalimu msuura. ‘Nuuru know that Baana is a good teacher.’

Omari/ na’iwa/ kuwa Nureeni/ bozele peesa. ‘Omari knows that Nureeni stole money.’

Omari/ na’iwa/ kuwa peesa/ tu/ Nureeni/ boozeló. ‘Omari knows that it was only money that Nureeni stole.’ (In this example, **tu** and **peesa** are at roughly the same pitch height, while the subsequent phrases are downstepped relative to them. **Peesa** is not lowered relative to the main verb.)

Omari/ na’iwa peesa/ Nureeni/ boozele. (In this example, the preposed **peesa** is raised in pitch, contra the usual downstep intonation. At the same time, however, a focused *preverbal* element requires the verb to be put into pseudo-relative form, but this does not seem to apply to the present sentence. Compare the case where pseudo-relativization *does* occur: **Omari/ na’iwa ^fpeesa/ Nureeni/ boozeló.** ‘Omari knows it is money that Nureeni stole.’ In our estimation, there is no observable difference in the pitch raising on **peesa** in this example in comparison with the preceding example where pseudo-relativization does not occur.)

Omari/ tu/ na’iwó/ kuwa ^fNureeni/ bozelo peesá. ‘Only Omari knows that it is Nureeni who stole money.’

Omari/ tu/ na’iwó/ kuwa Nureeni/ peesa/ boozele. ‘Only Omari knows that Nureeni money stole.’ (In this example, **tu** is raised in pitch and triggers pseudo-relativization of the main verb. **Nureeni** is somewhat raised in pitch, but does not trigger pseudo-relativization of the following verb)

Omari/ tu/ na’iwó/ kuwa ^fNureeni/ peesa/ boozeló. ‘Only Omari knows that it is Nureeni who money stole.’

Skiiwa. ‘I did not know.’

Tuure/ ndiyé/ na’iwo malaaloyé. ‘It is the humpback who knows how (to position himself) to get his sleep.’ (A proverb.)

Uje mwaana/ namwiiwa. ‘That boy knows her.’

We/ na'iwa inayó. 'Do you know your name?'

We/ na'iwa kuwaa mi/ ni armalá. 'You know that I am a widow.'

We/ naniiwá/ nakhtiyani. 'You know me, what are you afraid of?'

rel.

-isi irregular verb form

ha'isi '[cl.1] does not know'

hachiisi 'we do not know'

haniisi 'you (pl.) do not know'

hawa'isi 'they do not know'

hiisi 'you do not know'

Kanaa we/ hiisi/ nini/ mowti/ we/ leelo/ takiwa. 'If you do not know what death is, you today will know.'

siisi 'I do not know'

k-iiwana v. rec. (**iweene**) know one another, get acquainted

Wawanayo fursa/ ya kiiwana. 'They had a chance to get to know one another.'

k-iwikana v.

Karka masheeki/ wakulu/ wana'iwikanó/ ni Shekh Awees/ Al Qadiiri/ Shekh Nureeni/ Ahmad/ Saabiri/ Shekh Qaasim/ Al Baraawi/ Shekh Haaji/ Siddiq/ Shekh Ma'alim Nuur/ Akhwaan/ 'abdo Munye/ Shekh Muhammad Hiraale/ Shekh Muhammad Gadhuudho/ Sharif Mubiidi/ Sharif 'alawi/ Dada Maasiti/ na wiinginé. 'Among the main sheikhs who are well-known are Shekh Aweys Al Qadiiri, Shekh Nureyni Ahmad Sabiiri, Shekh Qaasim Al Baraawi, Shekh Haaji Siddiq, Shekh Macallim Nuur, Akhwaan Cabdo Munye, Shekh Muhammad Hiraale, Shekh Muhammad Gadhuudho, Sharif Mubiidi, Sharif Calawi, Dada Maasiti, and others.'

uðri una'iwikanó 'a well-known excuse'

k-iiwila v. appl.

Nt'aná/ akhili/ zaa ye/ kiwila izi/ zotte. 'He does not have the intelligence to understand all these (things).' **review prosody**

k-iwilana v. appl. rec.

k-iiwisha v. (**iwishiize**) make known, make aware, inform

kumwiiwisha/ humwaajibó/ na hazimwaajibí 'to make her know what she is required to do and what she is not to do'

Kuwasilake/ bilaa kiiwisha/ nt'aykumpeendeza/ Nuuru. 'His arriving without making it known did not please Nuuru.'

Ni laazima/ mbele/ kuniwisha/ ikhupeteeyi/ amri iyi. 'It is necessary first to let me know how this matter happened to you.'

Sultaani/ chilawa/ pashpo kumwiiwisha/ mwaarabu/ kuwaa ye/ ni sultaani. 'The king left without informing the Arab that he was the king.'

k-iwishoowa v. pass. (**iwishiiza**)

ka sabri ilmu niingi iwishiiza [st.] 'because of his patience, much knowledge was made known to him'

Sheekhi shaaniye adiimu/ wiingi nt'awakiwishoowa [st.] 'the Sheikh, his shaani is great/ [but] many were not told of it'

k-iwoowa v. pass.

Baana/ na'iwowa kuwa ni mwiizi. 'Baana is known that he is a thief.'

Baazi/ na'iwowa na waant'u/ wotte. 'Baazi is known by everyone.'

Ina'inowa kuwa Hamadi/ bozele chibuuku. 'It is known (by everyone) that Hamadi stole the book.'

Mweendo/ na sifa za muunt'u/ hukhadiroowa/ kiwoowa/ ka waant'u/ waa ye/ hushirkano naawó. 'A man's behavior and characteristics can be known from the people he associates with.'

rel. nom.

mw-iüwa (wa-') n. 1/2 one who knows

m(w)-iüwa (m-)

n. 3/4 [Sw. **mwiba** SED 32] thorn (Among current speakers of Chimiini, **w** elides after **m**; as a consequence, the singular and plural forms of this noun merge: /mu-iwa/ > **mwiiwa**>**miüwa** and /mi-iwa/> **miüwa**. Of course, these forms trigger different agreement, the former being [cl.3] and the latter [cl.4].)

kubiga miüwa 'to make stinging, biting remarks'

Nimbishile miiwawé. ‘(Lit.) I hit him his thorns – i.e. I made biting remarks about him.’

Miwa/ umduriile. ‘The thorn stung him.’

miwa yaa nsi ‘fishbones’

mshaka wa miiwa ‘a thorn tree’

Nk^hukuwa/ zazile miwaani. ‘My hen has laid among thorns.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **ananaasi** ‘pineapple’.)

ch-iwo (z-)

n. [Sw. *chuo* SSED 66] a religious book; a koranic school

variant form: **chuo**

chiwoocha ‘my book’

Mwaana/ shkoma miyaaka/ nitatu/ ya umri/ hupelekoowa/ chiwooni/ kubarata qur’aani/ na mambo ya diini. ‘A child, when he reaches the age of three years, is sent to koranic school to study the Quran and religious matters.’

in the books of God’

ya tatu kaamina ziwo za mooja [st.] ‘the third (pillar of faith) is to believe

most of those who teach are women.’

Ziwo za qur’aani/ zingize husoomeshó/ nii wake. ‘At the koranic schools,

ziwooza ‘my books’

iyi

[cl.5] demon. this

Ishaka iyi/ ni ikulu. ‘This doubt is large.’

Waan^hu/ wafurahikililee nt^ho/ ina iyi. ‘People were very pleased with this name.’

iyi

[cl.9] dem. this

Iyi/ laazima/ inayo ma’ana. ‘This must have a meaning.’

Iyi/ ni kaaziyo. ‘This is your job.’

owners)’

Iyi/ ni raadiyo/ isho mwenewe. ‘this is free radio (lit. radio without

zabibu iyi ‘this raisin’

iyije

[cl.5] dem. that

yiiyije iyije ‘that very same one [cl.5]’

iyije

[cl.9] dem. that

Khalamu iyije/ ni chihaba. ‘That pen is small.’

iyio

[cl.5] dem. that one

Ijiwe iyio/ ni ilusi. ‘That stone is black.’

Iyo/ ni ifuungu/ yaa ye/ mpeloo muké/ kuwa ni mahariyé. ‘That is the portion [of his squandered wealth] that he gave to his wife as her dowry.’

iyio

[cl.9] dem. that one

Embe iyio/ ni huundru. ‘That mango is red.’

Faatma/ yuuzile/ iyo haanzu. ‘Faatma *bought* that dress [the one we have been discussing etc.]’ (Phon. In the simple yes-no question, there is shift to final accent on the out-of-focus complement: **Faatma/ yuuzile/ iyo haanzú?**) (Syn. The presence of the demonstrative **iyio** does not require an object prefix to appear on the verb. It is well-formed to say: **Faatma/ uzile(/) iyo haanzu.**)

Khaadimu/ ba’adaa ye/ khpata amri/ iyo/ chanza mbiga oyo

mwanaamke. ‘The servant, after he received that order, began to strike the girl.’

Mi/ nuzile iyo fatura nk^hulú. ‘I bought that big car.’

Nureeni/ uzile jaaka/ iyo. ‘Nureeni bought that jacket.’ (The phrasal separation of **jaaka** and **iyio** in this sentence is not a preferred phrasing for our consultant GM, as he would prefer a descriptive expansion of **iyio**, but the corresponding yes-no question clearly indicates that neither **jaaka**

nor **iyó** are out-of-focus: **Nureeni/ uzile jaaka/ iyó?** Remember, it yes-no questions the out-of-focus phrase undergoes accent shift. No such shift occurs here.)

Sa'iidi/ langaliile/ chi'iwona/ iyoo nt^hi/ yaa ye/ chi'imeeró. 'Sa'iidi looked and saw the land that he was looking for.'

Shtala maandra/ iyo/ sh^hilaanga/ shfanya zihabaahaba/ zihabaahaba. 'She took that loaf of bread and cut it and made small, small pieces.'

sku iyo 'that day'

yiiyo/ iyo 'the very same, this same one'

maha^hla yiiyo/ iyo 'at the very same place' **review phrasing**

ch-iza

neg. infinitive marker

Ali/ ambila chiza kooloka. 'Ali was told not to go.'

Hiila/ yaa si/ sh^htakhadiro khfaanya/ na chiza kumwangamiza

wawa yitú/ nt^hayiiko. 'There is no strategy that we can devise and not disrespectfully wrong our father.'

(Phon. The conjunction **na** 'and', when located in front of an infinitive, triggers final accent. This fact illustrates the nominal nature of the infinitive, since **na** does not trigger final accent on a following verb. The present example illustrates that even when the infinitive is preceded by the negative element **chiza**, final accent is still assigned by the **na**.)

Kanzaa we/ mbele/ chiza khfariqa/ bena munt^hu faqiiri/ na taajiri. 'For you to begin, first do not discriminate between a poor man and a rich man.'

Ni afóali/ mi/ chiza kuleeta/ nsiiza/ uyi uyu. 'It is better that I not bring my fish to this town.'

ukali wa sakaraati/ Sheekhi ka chiza konyoowa [st.] 'from the torturous agonies of dying/ may the Sheikh be spared'

rel.

k-iiza neg.

inawe niizé/ ba/ ambó/ nsuliilé 'whether I don't or I do like it'

Tuuma/ waanzile/ niizé/ mtaambula. 'Tuuma had put on (so much) weight that I did not recognize her.'

Waant^hu/ washtiinda/ kiza keendra/ maduriini. 'The people decided not to go to the bush country.'

Ye/ kiza kiimba/ nt^haykump^heendeza. 'It didn't please me that he didn't

sing.'

ch-iiza

otherwise, if not; [pron. **chiizá**]

Isa/ kheeri/ we/ ondroka ka apa/ yolokele kiinu/ chiizá/ mi/ nt^hakhub^hla/ ka khisaa mi/ nofeetó. 'Now it is better that you move from here and go to our country, otherwise I will kill you, because I am tired.'

Kama chiza kuruuda/ ba'ada ya sku sitta/ ndimi/ nt^hakhiiló. 'If he

does not return after six days, it is me who will come to you.'

k-iiza

v. [Sw. *iza* SED 145] refuse

Ali/ ize kooloka. 'Ali refused to go.'

Ali/ ize kumpa mwaana/ peesa. 'Ali refused to give the child money.'

Bin^hi Simsini/ chimwambila sul^htaani/ mi/ siwo/ nt^hakiizó/ laakini/ iwá/

kuwa jis'iyi/ siwo/ suura. 'The daughter of Simsini told the sultan: I am not the one who will refuse, but know that this is not a good way [of doing it].'

Chaayi/ chize kuneeka. 'The tea was not drinkable.'

Chiizá. 'If I refuse? if he refuses?' **review matter of accent**

Chiza khfaanya/ yaa mi/ nnakhtulubo kaakó/ nt^hakhufitina/ ka mub^hliwa. 'If you refuse to do what I ask from you, I will report

you to my husband.’

Heendra/ Omari/ kiza kujaa zijo. ‘It is possible that Omari will refuse to eat zijo.’ Or: **Heendra/ Omari/ kizaa kuja/ zijo.** ‘It is possible that Omari will refuse to eat zijo.’

Hukhadiraayi/ mi/ kumwiiza/ munt^hu uyu. ‘How can I refuse this man?’
Izá. ‘Refuse!’

Iize/ khkasa kođi zaa muke. ‘He refused to listen to the words of the woman.’

Khati/ yize khsomeka. ‘The letter was not readable [lit. refused to be readable].’

Maama/ chila/ na baabá/ iwiilopó/ naayé/ chila/ laakini/ mwaana/ iize/ kuwakasa. ‘Mother cried, and when father came to know, he also cried, but the boy refused to listen to them.’

Mi/ sinakiiza/ khufungulila mlaango. ‘I am not refusing to open the door

to you.’

Mp^hundra uyu/ chiiza/ khsimama mp^hundra/ izo. ‘This donkey refused to stand with those donkeys.’

Mwaana/ ize khtelushika. ‘The child could not be persuaded to go away.’

Mwaana/ iize/ kumlola mwanamke wa waawaye/ msuliliiló. ‘The boy refused to marry the girl that his father wanted him (to marry).’

Mwaanawo/ ni mwaanawo/ laakini/ siwo/ ahliyo/ ka sababu ye/ khizee we/ iize/ na diiniyó/ na miize/ mi. ‘Your son is your son, but he is not your relative (as I, God, have defined it) because he rejected you, he rejected also your religion, and he rejected me.’

Ni ka khisa iyi/ ye/ izo kuwa’ambila waant^hú/ koođizé. ‘It is for this reason that he refuses to tell people [what] his words [were].’

Niizé/ kuja. ‘I refused to eat.’

Nuuru/ ize khpaa wake/ kuja. ‘Nuuru refused to give women food.’

Safiya/ iize/ kumwelelaa muke. ‘Safiya refused to be a wife to him.’

Sultani Daraayi/ iize/ khtukula askarize. ‘Sultan Daraayi refused to bring along his soldiers.’

rel.

k-iiliza v. appl. (**iliize**)

Baazi/ mwilize mwaana/ peesa. ‘Baazi refused money to the child.’

Mwaalimu/ mwilize mwaana/ kooloka. ‘The teacher refused to allow the child to go.’

Mwilize Hamadi/ kendra madrasaani. ‘He refused to allow Hamadi to go to school.’

Nimwilize Hamadi/ chaakujá. ‘I refused Hamadi food.’

Nimwilize kingila numbaani. ‘I refused for him to enter the house.’

wablí ka mashoga watomeele tele/ wamereele ruuhu ki’ipelekaa mbele/ mooja wa’ilize hiiđi na mawele [n.] ‘men decided to wear women’s black wraps trying to save themselves, [but] God did not give them a woman’s shape [lit. menstruation and breasts]’

Waawe/ niliize/ laakini/ mi/ nanzizopoo kulá/ waawe/ shkhiira/ mi/ kumraasha. ‘My father refused me, but when I began to cry, my father agreed and I accompanied him.’

k-ilizanya v. appl. rec. (**-ilizeenye**) refuse one another

k-ilizoowa v. appl. pass. (**iliiza**)

Hamadi/ iliza kendra madrasaani. ‘Hamadi was not allowed to go to school.’

Khati/ yiza khsomoowa. ‘The letter was refused to be read (i.e. someone refused to read the letter).’

Muke/ ihsaani/ hafanyilizoowi/ na ha’ilizoowi. ‘A woman is not done a favor for, and also is not refused for.’ (A proverb.)

Mwaana/ iliza peesa/ na Nuuru. ‘The child was refused money by Nuuru.’

Waana/ wa'iliza khsomelowa zibuuku. 'Children were refused to be read books to.'

k-izoowa v. pass. (-iiza) be forbidden, be refused

Gaari/ ziza khpakowa ooliyo. 'The cars were refused to be oiled (i.e. someone refused to oil the cars).'

Hizoowa. 'It is forbidden.'

Khati/ yiza khsomoowa. 'The letter was not read [lit. the letter was refused to be read].'

naa wo hawaminoowi/ khabari zaawo hizoowa [st.] 'and (those who knew it) were not believed/ their attestations were denied (lit. refused)'

rel. nom.

mw-iiza (wa'-) n. 1/2 one who refuses

mw-iizo n. 3 objection

w-iizo n. 14 the act of refusing, refusal, objection

izdihaamu

n. crowdedness etc. (people, cars, movements)

Sa'a idaashara/ za lapili/ Columbus/ ni wakhti wa izdihaamu. 'Five o'clock [lit. eleven] is a crowded, busy time in Columbus.'

izi

[cl.8] these

Hamadi/ tukile izi/ ziti. 'Hamadi carried these chairs.'

[^fHamadi/ tukiiló/ ziti izi] 'It is Hamadi who carried these chairs.' Or:

[^fHamadi/ tukiiló/ izi/ ziti].

Izi/ stukila na Hamadi. 'These were carried by Hamadi.' Or: **Izi/ stukila/ na Hamadi.** Or, with focus on the demonstrative subject: [^fizi/ stukila na Hamadi] and [^fizi/ stukilá/ na Hamadi], where the focused subject triggers pseudo-relativization.

Mi/ nt^hukilé/ izi/ ziti. 'I carried these chairs.' Or: **Mi/ nt^hukile izi/ ziti.** (Phon. The extension of the final accent past the pre-nominal demonstrative indicates that even though the demonstrative is prosodically separated from the nominal, it is not focused. We elicited a pronunciation where **ziti** does not have final accent as well; this may indicate some variability on this matter, but we did not observe any clear overt focus on the demonstrative.)

Mi/ nt^hukilee ziti/ izi. 'I carried these chairs.'

Zibuku izi/ ni zi'akhõari. 'These books are green.'

Zisu izi/ ni skali. 'These knives are sharp.'

Zisu izi/ siwo/ skali. 'These knives are not sharp.' (cf. **Zisu izi/ siwo/ skalii nt^ho.** 'These knives are not very sharp.'

izi

[cl.10] these

Embe izi/ nii mbiti. 'These mangos are unripe.'

izi ka izi 'this and that' **review phrasing**

ra'ayi suurá. 'They thought of this and that to say, but not one of them had a good idea.'

Mbarakha izi/ ni nyulusi. 'These pieces of paper are black.'

Nfunga mikono/ na miilú/ ka mp^hingu izi. 'Tie up my arms and legs with these chains.'

Ngoma izi/ ni mp^haana. 'These drums are wide.'

Ngombe izi/ nii nk^hulu. 'These cows are big.'

Waziiri/ leselopo mp^hiingú/ mwaana/ chimwaambila/ nfunga mikono/

na miilú/ ka mp^hingu izi. 'When the minister brought the chain, the boy told him: tie my arms and legs with these chains.'

zabibu izi 'these raisins'

zakuja izi/ zaa mi/ khuleteleeló 'these foods that I have brought to you'

Zisu izi/ suwo/ skalii nt^hi. 'The knives are not very sharp.'

izi

n.dignity, respect, honor, greatness

variant form: **ezi**

m(w)-iizi (w-)

n. 1/2 [Sw. *mwizi* SSED 139] thief; [pron. **mwizi** or **miizi** (sg.)]

Aziizi miizi ‘Aziizi the thief’ (answers the question ‘which Aziizi?’) vs. **Aziizi/ miizi** ‘Aziizi, the thief’ (identifies Aziizi as a thief)

Aziizi/ miizi/ ile. ‘Aziizi the thief came.’

E/ we/ ni wasaafiri/ ni wiizi. ‘Oh, you travelers are thieves!’

khfakaṭa/ kana miizi ‘to run away like a thief (e.g. someone who does not want to be seen or to be asked to do something, and goes away to avoid these things)’

kiingila/ kana miizi ‘to enter like a thief (i.e. to go in carefully, do what one wants, and then leave without speaking to anyone or being noticed)’

kuzimila/ kana miizi ‘to hide like a thief’ (=khfakaṭa/ kana miizi)

Mapoliisi/ wamshishile miizi/ yana. ‘The police caught the thief yesterday.’

Miizi/ hakhiri/ ḍambize. ‘A thief does not confess to/admit/accept his crimes.’ (A proverb.)

Miizi/ oyo (or **owo**)/ **mapoliisi/ wamshishiloo yaná/ fakeete.** ‘The thief whom the police arrested yesterday escaped.’ Or: **Miizi/ wa mapoliisi/ wamshishiloo yaná/ fakeete.** Or: **Miizi/ oyo/ wa mapoliisi/ wamshishiloo yaná/ fakeete.** Cf. **Wiizi/ awo/ mapoliisi/ wawashishiloo yaná/ wafakeete.** ‘The thieves, those ones, who the police arrested yesterday, escaped. Or: **Wiizi/ awo/ wa mapoliisi/ wawashishiloo yaná/ wafakeete.**

miizi/ (oyo) shishiḷa na mapoliisi/ yaná ‘the thief who was arrested by the police yesterday’ or **miizi/ (oyo) shishiḷaa yaná/ na mapoliisi**

miizi/ (oyo) shishiḷaa yaná ‘the thief who was arrested yesterday’

Miizi/ sku arba’iini/ hushikoowa. ‘A thief is caught in forty days.’ (A proverb which is commenting that a thief will eventually be caught.)

Muunt^hu/ wele mwiizi. ‘The man was a thief.’ Or: **Wele mwiizi/ muunt^hu.**

‘Was a thief, the man.’ (Phon. The right-dislocated subject in the second version of the sentence has the radical lowering associated with dislocation.)

Mwiizi/ bishiḷa naasi. ‘The thief was caught by us.’

Mwiizi/ chimbishilé/ si. ‘The thief, we beat him, we.’

Mwiizi/ humshiikó/ ni mwizi mweenziwe. ‘A thief, the one who catches him is his fellow thief.’ (A proverb.)

Ni mwizi gani/ tu/ takuyo apá. ‘What thief would come here?’

Nimene Omari miizi. ‘I saw Omari the thief (not some other Omari).’

Poliisi/ hu’aḍiba wiizi/nt^hasaa wo/ kuwapeleka mahkamaani. ‘Police torture thieves before they take them to trial.’

Si/ chimbishile mwiizi. ‘We beat the thief.’

rel.

i-j-iizi (*mi-j-*) n. 5/4 aug.

y-iizi n. aug. big thief

Yiizi/ ibozele peesa. ‘The big thief stole the money.’

izije

[cl.8] demonstrative those (away)

Zireza izije/ mi skali. ‘Those razors are sharp.’

izije

[cl.10] demonstrative those (away)

Hasiibu/ chimfunguḷiḷa sulṭaani/ izije zimpeetó. ‘Hasiibu told the sultan those things that had befallen him.’

Khalamu izije/ ni zihaba. ‘Those pens are small.’

Mbawo izije/ ni mp^hana. ‘Those planks are wide.’

Numba izije/ ni zihaba. ‘Those houses are small.’

ziizije izije ‘those same ones’

ku-’izisha

v. [Ar. ‘azza W 609] respect, honor

variant form: **ku’ezesha**

Hu’izisha waant^hu. ‘He respects people.’

izo

[cl.8] demonstrative those

Izo/ zilaatu/ za Nuura/ uziló/ ni ghaali. ‘Those *shoes* that Nuura bought are expensive.’

N^hepe izo/ ni nelpe. ‘Those bandages are white.’

Nuura/ uzile izo zilaatu. ‘Nuura bought those shoes (that we saw etc.)’

Nuura/ uzile zilatu izo. ‘Nuura bought those shoes.’ Or: **Nuura/ uzile/ zilatu izo.** ‘Nuura *bought* those shoes.’

Zisu izo/ ni skalii nt^ho. ‘Those knives are very sharp.’

izo

[cl.10] demonstrative those

Basi/ oyo mwiimbili/ naank^hó/ shfakata/ cheendra/ shtukula oyoo nsi/ naank^hó/ shpeleka/ chimwambila oyo mwanaamke/ oyo mwanaamke/ chimwambila waawaye/ izo jawaabu. ‘So that young man again ran and went and carried that fish and again took it (to the sultan’s place) and told that girl and that girl told her father those things (in the story, those things that the djinn had told the young man).’ (This sentence is an excellent example of the pre-nominal use of the demonstrative in Chimiini.)

Nchikoma/ nt^hi izo/ endraani/ ka masult^haani/ wa nt^hi izo/ na koðaaani/ naa wo/ ka adabu/ na ka zeemá. ‘When you (plural) reach these lands, go to the kings of these lands and speak with them respectfully and nicely.’

Izraa’ili

n. the angel of death, Azrael

Namtiya/ kana Izraa’ili. ‘He fears him like Azrael, the angel of death.’

Nsimamiliile/ kana Izraa’ili. ‘He stood for me like Azrael, i.e. he is not letting me go until I do something for him that he wants done, he won’t give me any peace until I do it.’

ku-ja

v. eat

Baazi/ nt^haakuja. ‘Baazi has not eaten.’ (Note that one can place special emphasis on the subject, exaggerating the pitch height and loudness. We indicate this by an upward-pointing arrow, as in: [↑]**Baazi/ nt^haakuja.** ‘BAAZI has not eaten.’ But what is of considerable interest is that this sort of emphasis does not necessarily trigger pseudo-relativization of the verb, as we see in this example. There is no shift of accent in the verb to the final syllable, the characteristic feature of relativization of any kind. Pseudo-relativization is triggered by *focus*, and this seems to be different from emphasis.)

Chijaa kuja/ naawo. ‘He ate food with them.’ Or: **Chija naawo/ kuja.** Or:

Kuja/ chija naawo. Or: **Kuja/ chijo naawó.** (In the last example, focus on ‘food’ triggers pseudo-relativization of the verb.)

Hamadi/ takujaa zijo/ mi/ nt^hakuja maandra. ‘Hamadi will eat *zijo*, and I will eat bread.’ (It is also possible to use an overt conjunction and gap the second verb: **Hamadi/ takujaa zijo/ naami/ maandra.** ‘Hamadi will eat *zijo* and I bread.’ The noun *maandra* in this example could have a final accent, but this is not preferred.)

Hasani/ jiile/ ye/ maandraye. ‘Hasani *ate*, he, his bread.’ (Note the use of a pronoun, co-referential with the subject, in position after the verb.

This pronoun is phrasally separated from the verb and radically lowered in pitch.)

Hasani/ ye/ jiile/ maandraye. ‘Hasani, he, *ate* his bread.’ Or: **Ye/ Hasani/ jiile/ maandraye.** ‘He, Hasani, *ate* his bread’

hatá/ teena/ weele/ kuwa nt^haná/ yaa ye/ kuja ‘to the point that there was not anything for him to eat’

Hujoo mbelé/ haaji/ numá. ‘The one who eats first does not eat later.’ (A proverb.)

Hujo naawé/ haafi/ naawe/ illa zaleno naawé. ‘The one who eats with you does not die with you, only the one who is related to you (will die with you).’ (A proverb.)

Jile chakuja cha Hamadi/ mpeeló. ‘He ate the food that Hamadi gave him.’ Cf. **Jile chakuja cha Hamadi/ mpeeló/ jiiiló.** ‘He ate the food that Hamadi gave him, that’s what he did.’ Also: **Jile chaakuja/ jiiiló/ cha Hamadi/ mpeeló.** ‘He ate the food, that’s what he did, that Hamadi gave him.’

Jile kani/ chaakuja. ‘What did he eat the food with?’

Jiile/ ye. ‘He ate, him.’ (Phon. In this sentence, where the subject pronoun is postposed, the pitch on the pronoun is radically lower than that on the verb. In the corresponding yes-no question, however, the pitch on the pronoun is raised, though it does noticeably fall: **Jiile/ ye?** In the emphatic yes-no question, the pitch register is clearly lowered in MI’s speech, but the pitch on the pronoun is raised just as in the simple yes-no question. In addition, the verb undergoes accent shift: **Jiilé/ yé!?**)

Jiile/ ye/ nama. ‘He ate, him, the meat.’ (Phon. The postposed subject is radically lowered in pitch, and the complement even more so. In the yes-no question version, the lowering is absent and complement undergoes accent-shift: **Jiile/ ye/ nama?** In the emphatic version, in MI’s speech, there is register-lowering and in addition the post-verbal phrases are lower in pitch than the verb. The verb undergoes accent-shift: **Jiilé/ ye/ nama!?** In GM’s speech, where there is no register-lowering in the emphatic yes-no question, the final accented syllable would be markedly falling in nature.)

Jiiló/ maana. ‘The one who ate is a child.’ (This sentence is an answer to the simple yes-no question **Jiiló/ maana?** ‘Is the one who ate a child?’ or the emphatic yes-no question **Jiiló/ maaná!?** ‘Is the one who ate really a child?’)

Kana ijiló/ ha’ikooði. ‘A mouth that has eaten does not talk.’ (A proverb that suggests that someone who has done something wrong does not talk about what he has done.)

kuja kana ngeena ‘to eat like a crocodile’

Kujaako/ hulawa nt^hakaani. ‘Your food [lit. your eating] comes from the garbage pile.’

^fLeelo/ sijee nama/ ^fkeesho/ ja. ‘Today don’t eat meat, tomorrow eat (meat)!’

Liindra/ kujaa kujá. ‘Wait, I am eating.’ (Phon. Observe that the first person form (n)nakujaa kujá can undergo an elision of the initial (n)na, leaving the bare infinitive to appear, but this bare infinitive carries the final accent associated with the first person present tense verb.)

Maana/ jiile. ‘The boy ate.’ Or: **Maana/ jiló.** ‘The boy ate.’ (In the second example, focus on ‘boy’ triggers pseudo-relativization of the verb. This sentence answers a question like: **Naani/ jiló.** ‘Who ate?’)

Maana/ nt^hakujaa zijó/ waliko Omari. ‘The child who did not eat zijo was Omari.’ Or, with emphasis on the negative verb in the relative clause: **Maana/ nt^haakujá/ zijó/ waliko Omari.**

Masku ayo/ nt^haakuja/ chiint^hu. ‘That evening he did not eat anything.’

Mi/ njilé. ‘I ate’ (Phon. In a statement such as this, there is downstep intonation whereby the pitch on the first accented syllable is higher than the pitch on the next accented syllable. In the simple yes-no question version, this downstep intonation is absent and the second accented syllable is raised: **Mi/ njilé?** ‘Did I eat?’ The question mark indicates this raising/ absence of downstep intonation. In the emphatic yes-no question version in MI’s speech, the downstep intonation relationship is maintained, but the entire pitch register is lowered relative to the statement: **Mi/ njilé!?** This special intonation is indicated by the sequence “!?” at the end of the emphatic yes-no question.)

Mi/ njile maandrá/ wo/ wajilee zijo. ‘I ate bread, they ate zijo.’ (A conjunction with gapping may also be used: **Mi/ njile maandrá/ naawó/ zijo.** ‘I ate bread, and they zijo.’ In this sentence, **zijo** may be pronounced with final accent, but this is not preferred: **Mi/ njile maandrá/ naawó/ zijó.**)

Mi/ njilee nama. ‘I ate meat’ (Phon. The corresponding yes-no question undergoes Q-raising: **Mi/ njilee nama?** The emphatic yes-no question in MI’s speech shows register lowering and maintains downstep intonation; accent-shift is vacuous since the verb phrase already has final accent: **Mi/ njilee nama!?**)

Mi/ njilé/ nama. ‘I ate meat.’ (Phon. This example illustrates the case where a verb that takes a complement is focused. What we see is that the verb stands at the end of a phonological phrase and thus the complement is in a different phrase. Furthermore, we see that the final accent triggered by the first person past tense verb

extends only as far as the verb. The complement has default penultimate accent. All of this can be gleaned directly from our transcription. There are, however, additional prosodic matters that are not encoded in the transcription. The first point is that this sentence, with its focus on the verb, does not display the usual downstep intonation pattern of simple statements. In particular, the pitch on **njiilé** is raised, not downstepped. Second, although the complement is lowered in pitch, it seems that its lowering is more radical than in ordinary downstep intonation. We will assume this to be true, although it is mostly an impressionistic observation. Now let us turn to the matter of the yes-no question versions of this example. In the simple question, there is not only no downstepping of the verb, there is also no lowering of the complement either. Furthermore, the complement shifts its accent to the final syllable: **Mi/ njiilé/ namá?** The exclamatory question, shows the same shift in accent, but also downstep intonation. In MI's speech, there is also register-lowering: **Mi/ njiilé/ namá!?**

Mi/ skuja. 'I did not eat.' (Phon. The downstep intonation associated with the statement is missing in the simple yes-no question: **Mi/ skuja?** The pitch level of the verb is raised in this question, but there is no other accentual change. In the emphatic yes-no question, on the other hand, there is a register-lowering in NI's pronunciation and accent-shift in the verb in both MI's and GM's speech: **Mi/ skujá!?** Note that the downstep intonation relationship between the subject and the verb remains in the emphatic yes-no question, unlike the simple yes-no question.)

Miimbili/ nt^haakuja/ waliko Omari. 'The boy who did not eat was Omari.'

Or: **Mimbili nt^haakujá/ waliko Omari.** (Phon. When the subject of the relative verb is also the head of the relative clause and in pre-verbal position, then the head may either phrase separate from the verb or together with the verb. We did not detect any necessary meaning difference associated with this phrasing difference. However, it appears that if the speaker is using the relative clause in a non-restrictive fashion, then the head is phrasally separated. However, phrasing the head with the verb is not a necessary condition for the restrictive interpretation.)

Mp^ha chakujaacha/ nije. 'Give me my food so that I can eat!'

Mubli/ chimwambila mukeewe/ kuwavila waana/ wanaje naaye. 'The man told his wife to call the children so that they might eat with him.'

Muke/ chimwaambila/ ya kuwa waana/ maanzine/ wajiile. 'The wife told him that the children had already eaten.'

Muunt^hu/ nayoo ndalá/ hatá/ bakhtí/ huja. 'A man who is hungry even eats dead carcasses.' (A proverb.)

Mwaalimu/ mwene mwaana/ chija chaakuja. 'The teacher saw a boy eating food.'

Mwaana/ nakujoo namá/ ni mkujá. 'The boy who is eating meat is my older brother.'

naa kujá 'and to eat'

Na wachija. 'And they were eating.'

Na wajiile. 'And they ate.' Cf. **Na wajiile?** 'And did they eat?' Cf. **Na wajiilé!?** 'Did they really eat?'

Nama/ jaani/ mishpa/ mp^haani. 'Meat, you (pl.) eat! Bones, you (pl.) give to me!' (A proverb.)

fNama/ sije leeló/ fnsi/ ja. 'Meat don't eat today, fish eat!' Or: **fNama/ sije leeló/ jaa nsi.** 'Meat don't eat today, eat fish!'

Njiilé/ mi. 'I ate, me.' (Phon. In this sentence, the pronominal subject is postposed after the verb. Although we do not indicate it in the transcription, the pitch level of **mi** is sharply reduced with respect to the preceding verb. We consider this reduction to be more substantial than in ordinary down-step intonation. In the simple yes-no question version of this sentence, the **mi** is pronounced with a falling pitch that begins at the same level as the preceding accented syllable: **njiilé/ mî?** In the emphatic yes-no question, the pitch range in MI's speech is clearly lowered with respect to the statement, but the downstep intonation does not exist between the verb and the postposed subject pronoun. Rather, the pronoun begins at the same pitch level as the preceding syllable, and falls: **Njiilé/ mî!?**)

Njiilé/ mi/ nama. ‘I ate, me, the meat.’ (Phon. This sentence illustrates that the verb may be focused, with the pronominal subject in position after the verb, and the complement following it. The pronoun in this case is radically lowered, and the complement even more so. In the simple yes-no question, the complement does undergo accent-shift, but neither pronoun nor complement is radically lowered: **Njiilé/ mi/ namá?** MI pronounced the emphatic version with register lowering, and the post-verbal elements are lowered: **Njiilé/ mi/ namá!?**)

Njile namá/ mi. ‘I ate meat, me.’ (Phon. In this example, where the pronominal subject is postposed to the end of the sentence, it is radically lowered in pitch, even more so than in the usual downstep intonation. One might be inclined to say it is “unaccented”, but the yes-no question versions go against this characterization. In the yes-no question, the pronoun escapes lowering and is pronounced with a clear fall: **Njile namá/ mí?**. In the emphatic yes-no question, the pronoun shows the same absence of lowering and falling pitch. In MI’s speech, there is register-lowering: **Njile namá/ mí!**?)

Njiilé/ nama/ mi. ‘I ate meat, me.’ (Phon. In this sentence, where the verb is phrasally separated from the complement, the complement is radically lowered, and the postposed pronominal subject pronoun even more so – to the point that one might wish to characterize it as unaccented. In the corresponding yes-no question, this radical lowering is absent from both the complement and the pronoun, and the accent on **nama** is shifted to the end, while the pronoun is realized with a clear falling character: **Njiilé/ namá/ mí?** In MI’s pronunciation, the emphatic version has register-lowering and there is lowering of the complement, but with accent-shift: **Njiilé/ namá/ mí!**?)

Nt^haakuja/ ye. ‘He did not eat, him.’ (Phon. The postposed subject pronoun is radically lowered in pitch in the statement, but in the simple yes-no question it is raised, being realized with a falling pitch: **Nt^haakuja/ yê?** In the emphatic yes-no question, there is register-lowering in MI’s speech, but the pitch on the pronoun remains raised and falling. The verb undergoes accent shift: **Nt^haakujá/ yê!**?)

Nuuru/ jilee zijo/ Hamadi/ jile maandra. ‘Nuuru ate zijo, Hamadi ate bread.’ (These two clauses could also be conjoined using the preposition **na**: **Nuuru/ jilee zijo/ na Hamadí/ jile maandra**. The verb may also be gapped, with or without the overt conjunction: **Nuuru/ jilee zijo/ Hamadi/ maandra**. Also: **Nuuru/ jilee zijo/ na Hamadí/ maandra**. ‘Nuuru ate zijo, and Hamadi, bread.’ The latter sentence could also use final accent on **maandra**, but we are not aware if there is any meaning difference attached to this pronunciation: **Nuuru/ jilee zijo/ na Hamadí/ maandra**.)

Nuuru/ jilee zijo/ mi/ njile maandra. ‘Nuuru ate zijo, I ate bread.’ (Use of the pronominal subject appears to be obligatory in this conjoined construction. An overt **na** conjunction is also possible: **Nuuru/ jilee zijo/ naamí/ njile maandra**. The verb may be gapped in the second clause, but apparently only if the conjunction is present: **Nuuru/ jilee zijo/ naamí/ maandra** (or also **maandra**, as noted above). Gapping without the conjunction was rejected: ***Nuuru/ jilee zijo/ mi/ maandra** (or even **maandra**).

Nuuru/ naaje. ‘Let Nuuru eat.’ (It is possible to elevate the pitch on Nuuru without thereby triggering any change in the form of the sentence, but we have not established the function/context of such elevation might be. If one wishes to convey that it is Nuuru and nobody else who should eat, the pitch on Nuuru would be raised and the verb shifted to pseudo-relative form: ^f**Nuuru/ naajé**. ‘Let Nuuru (not anyone else) eat.’ Another way of saying this is: **Nuuru/ tu/ naajé**. ‘Let only, just Nuuru eat.’

Omari/ nt^haakuja/ zijo. ‘Omari did not eat zijo.’ With subject-focus:

Omari/ nt^hakujaa zijó. Or: **Omari/ nt^haakujá/ zijo.** (Syn. and phon. The first example illustrates that in a main clause, the negative verb phrasally separates from its complement. Focus on the subject requires putting the verb into a pseudo-relative form. A negative verb, when located in a relative clause, is typically phrased together with its complement. However, the negative verb may be phrase-final. A pseudo-relative verb projects a final accent, just like a true relative clause, but unlike true relative clauses, it respects what we refer to as the Accentual Law of Focus – i.e. final accent does not project past a focused element.)

Pilpili/ zaa we/ nt^hukujá/ hazikhaashi/ kana. ‘Peppers that you have not eaten do not burn the mouth.’ (A proverb.)

Sijé/ nama. ‘Don’t eat meat.’ Or: **Nama/ sijé.**

Sijé/ nama/ leelo. ‘Don’t eat meat today!’ Alternatively: **Leelo/ sijé/ nama.**
Or: **Sijé/ leelo/ nama.** Or: **Nama/ leelo/ sijé.**

Sijee namá/ leelo/ jaa nsi/ leelo. ‘Don’t eat meat today, eat fish!’

Siji. ‘I do not eat.’ Cf. **Huji.** ‘You do not eat.’ **Haaji.** ‘He does not eat.’

Haachiji. ‘We do not eat.’ **Haaniji.** ‘You (pl.) do not eat.’ **Hawaaji.** ‘They do not eat.’

Simpé/ Tuuma/ peesa. ‘Don’t give Tuuma money.’ Or: **Tuuma/ simpé/ peesa.** ‘Tuuma, don’t give her money.’

Simpé/ Tuuma/ peesa/ mpe Nuura. ‘Don’t give Tuuma money, give Nuura (money).’ Or: **Peesa/ simpé Tuuma/ mpe Haliima.** ‘Money, don’t give it to Tuuma, give it to Haliima.’ Or: **Peesa/ simpé/ Tuuma/ mpee kuja.** ‘Money don’t give to Tuuma, give her food.’

Skuja/ mi. ‘I did not eat, me.’ (Phon. In this sentence, the postposed pronominal subject is radically lowered in pitch. In the corresponding yes-no question, however, it is raised in pitch and has a falling character: **Skuja/ mî?** In the emphatic yes-no question, there is register lowering in MI’s pronunciation, and the pronoun is raised in pitch, with a clear fall. In addition, the verb undergoes accent-shift: **Skujá/ mî!?**)

Tuuma/ jile Haliima/ mazuye. ‘Tuuma ate Haliima’s banana.’ (Phon. The simple yes-no question involves Q-raising but no accent shift: **Tuuma/ jile Haliima/ mazuye?** ‘Did Tuuma eat Haliima’s banana?’ The exclamatory version does show accent shift in the VP: **Tuuma/ jile Haliimá/ mazuyé!?**)

[**Tuuma/ jile Haliima/ ^fmazuye**]. ‘Tuuma ate Haliima’s *banana*.’ (Phon. In contrast to the preceding example, **mazuye** is focused and thus raised in pitch.)

[**Tuuma/ jilee ^fmazu/ ya Haliima**]. ‘Tuuma ate Haliima’s *banana*.’

Tuuma/ jile mazu ya Haliima. ‘Tuuma ate Haliima’s banana.’ (Phon. The simple yes-no question involves Q-raising but no accent shift: **Tuuma/ jile mazu ya Haliima?** ‘Did Tuuma eat Haliima’s banana?’ The exclamatory version does show accent shift in the VP: **Tuuma/ jile mazu ya Haliimá!?**)

[**Tuuma/ jile mazu ya ^fHaliima**]. ‘Tuuma ate *Haliima*’s banana.’ (Phon. This example puts focus on **Haliima**, which involves raising the pitch on **Haliima**, in contrast to the example above, where **Haliima** is subject to the default downstep intonation.)

Tuuma/ jilee mazu/ ya Haliima. ‘Tuuma ate the *banana* of Haliima.’

Tuuma/ jiiló/ mazu ya Haliima. ‘It is Tuuma who ate Haliima’s banana.’

Tuuma/ simpe peesá/ ^fnguwo/ mpe. ‘Tuuma, don’t give her money; *clothes* give her.’

Wachanzaa kuja. ‘They began to eat.’

We/ waliko chijani/ mukhtaa mi/ niiló. ‘What were you eating when I came?’ (Possible answer: **Mi/ waliko nch^hija mwaangi/ mukhtaa we/ iló.** ‘I was eating **mwaangi** when you came.’)

Wo/ wajilee kuja. ‘They ate the food.’ Or: **Wo/ wajile/ kuja.**

Ye/ jiile. ‘He ate.’ (Phon. In the third person past tense form, there is default penultimate accent on the penult syllable of the verb. Downstep intonation requires this accented syllable to be lower in pitch than the initial accented syllable in the sentence. In the corresponding yes-no question, this downstep intonation is absent and the accented syllable in the verb is raised in pitch: **Ye/ jiile?** In the emphatic yes-no question, the downstep intonation is retained, but the pitch level across the sentence is lowered in comparison to the statement. In addition, in both MI’s speech and in GM’s speech, the verb shifts its accent to the final syllable: **Ye/ jiilé!?**)

Ye/ jilee nama. ‘He ate meat.’ (Phon. The simple yes-no question shows Q-raising: **Ye/ jilee nama?** The emphatic yes-no question shows accent-shift and downstep intonation: **Ye/ jilee namá!?** In the speech of MI, there is also a clear register lowering in comparison to the statement.)

Ye/ jiile/ nama. ‘He ate meat.’ (Phon. As noted above, a focused verb is phrase-final and is not subject to downstep intonation. The complement is radically lowered in pitch. In the simple yes-no question, the complement is not lowered in pitch and is subject to accent shift: **Ye/ jiile/ namá?** In the exclamatory question, accent shift affects both the verb and the complement: **Ye/ jiilé/ namá!?** In MI’s speech, there is also register-lowering.)

Ye/ nt^haakuja. ‘He did not eat.’ (Phon. The simple yes-no question shows pitch raising on the verb, but no accent-shift: **Ye/ nt^haakuja?** The emphatic yes-no question, on the other hand, shows accent-shift while maintaining the downstep intonation: **Ye/ nt^haakujá!?** In MI’s speech, there is also clear register-lowering.)

Ye/ waliko chijani/ mukhtaa waana/ wa’iló. ‘What was he eating when the children came?’ (Possible answer: **Ye/ waliko chija mwaangi.** ‘He

was eating cooked maize.’)

rel.

ku-jaanana v. rec. [cf. Sw. *lana*] eat one another; talk ill of one another

Wawaliko weenza/ laakini/ isa/ wanakujaanana. ‘They were friends but now they talk ill of one another.’

ku-jiika v. p/s. [Sw. *lika*] (**jiishile**) be edible, able to eat

Apa/ hayjiiki. ‘Here one cannot eat.’

Chaakuja/ hachijiiki. ‘The food cannot be eaten.’

Chakuja ichi/ hachijiiki/ na waana. ‘This food cannot be eaten by children.’

Hayjiiki/ chaakuja/ isa. ‘One cannot eat (this) food now.’

Ka hari/ hayjiiki. ‘In hot weather one cannot eat.’

matundra hujikó ‘edible fruit’

ku-jiikila v. p/s. appl. (**jikiliile**) able to be eaten for

Zaakuja/ zikhujikiliile? ‘Were you able to eat the food (lit. was the food able to be eaten for you)?’

ku-jiilila v. appl. [Sw. *lia*] (**jiliile**)

Ali/ mjilile Hamadi/ chaakuja. ‘Ali ate Hamadi’s food (i.e. food intended for Hamadi).’

Ijiliile/ yolokelele. ‘(After waiting and waiting, e.g.) he went ahead and ate on his own and took himself off.’

Jiliileni/ chaakuja. ‘Why did you eat the food?’

Mi/ nimweené/ nyunyi/ ye/ siwo/ takuyo teená/ kichijilila nt^heendré. ‘I have seen the bird; he will not be the one who will come back again and eat our dates [on us].’

Mp^huundra/ chingila ki’ijiilila/ maanyi/ yaakó/ qaribu ya mahālaa wo/ wasimeemó. ‘The donkey began to eat the grass that was there near the place where they stood.’

Mwaana/ jilile nama/ farkeeta. ‘The child ate meat with a fork.’ (MI prefers for the instrument in an instrumental applied construction to be out-of-focus. If **nama** is focused in this word order, then it is acceptable for **farkeeta** to appear at the end of the verb phrase. If **farkeeta** is part of the focus, then MI found the sentence of dubious acceptability.)

Tuuma/ mjilile Haliima/ mazuye. ‘Tuuma ate Haliima’s banana [on her].’

ku-jililoowa v. appl. pass.

Kana/ siyi/ inajililoowani. ‘Here is the mouth – what to eat with it?’ (In other words, talk is easy, action is not. This is the Chimiini translation of a Somali proverb which is used in Brava, but retains its Maymay form rather than being recast into Chimiini: *Af waakee may la ki aamee.*)

Shokuja chaake/ hujililoowa. ‘The one who does not eat his own is eaten for.’ (A proverb directed at stingy people.)

ku-jiisha v. caus. [Sw. *lisha*] (**jiishiize**) make something appetizing; cause to eat

Ali/ mjishize mwaana/ nama. ‘Ali had the child eat meat.’

Muusa/ mjishize mwaana/ nama/ ka farkeeta. ‘Muusa made the child eat meat with a fork.’

Pilpili/ hujishaa kuja. ‘Hot pepper makes food appetizing.’

ku-jishiliza v. caus. appl.

?**Muusa/ mjishilize mwaana/ nama/ farkeeta.** ‘Muusa made the child eat meat with a fork.’ (Our consultant MI found this sentence of doubtful validity, as he routinely dispreferred sentences where an instrumental NP licensed by the applicative suffix is included as part of the focus of a sentence.)

ku-joowa v. pass. [Sw. *liwa*] (**jiila**) be eaten

Hujoowa/ huja/ huja/ hujoowa. ‘It is eaten, it eats; it eats, it is eaten.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **mp^haamp^ha** ‘shark’.)

Ka Ra(a) Tahaara/ ichijoowa/ zijo. ‘The *zijo* was eaten at [the house of] Raa Tahaara.’ (Syn. The noun *zijo* governs [cl.8] agreement, *zi-*, thus cannot be regarded as the subject of the passive verb. Rather

the *i-* subject agreement on the verb indicates that it is an impersonal passive form. Literally, then, the sentence is: At [the house of] Raa Tahaara there was eating of *zijo*.)

Mkulu/ wa makhaadimu/ ondroshelepo ka usinziziini/ chiwona kuwa nt^heendre/ zijiila/ ye/ shfakaṭa/ chimkhubura mwaana. ‘When the head of the servants awoke from sleep, he saw that the dates had been eaten and he ran and he informed the boy.’

Ondroshelepó/ chiwona/ kuwa nt^heendre/ imalize kujoowa. ‘When he awoke, he saw that the dates had been eaten.’

Siimba/ naa mp^hisi/ wachihada/ sungura/ repteeeme/ basi/ najoowa. ‘Lion and Hyena said: Rabbit has stopped, so he should be eaten (according to the agreement that they had all made not to stop).’

Ziwo/ zoṭe/ zivaliko zijiila/ na rurumu. ‘All the books had been eaten by termites.’

ku-liisha v. caus. [Sw. *lisha*] (**lishiize**) feed

rel. nom.

mu-ja (*wa-*) n. 1/2 [Sw. *m̄la*] one who eats, an eater

muja buure ‘someone who makes a practice of eating free food’

Mujaa mbele/ haaji/ numa. ‘One who eats first does not eat later.’ (A proverb.)

Mujaa mbuzi/ hulipa ngoombe. ‘The one who eats a goat repays a cow.’ (A proverb.)

mu-jo n. 3 the act of eating; eating, foods, things to eat, variety and abundance of food

mujo uyu ‘this abundance and variety of food’

(W)uko mujo/ apo. ‘There is an abundance of food here.’ **check**

lengthening

wu-jo n. 14 the act of eating

ku-ja n. 9/10 (in origin, this noun is the infinitive verb ‘to eat’; however, now it is a [cl.9/10] noun without any certain internal morphological complexity) food

Ali/ jile chakuja cha Hamadi. ‘Ali ate Hamadi’s food (i.e. food intended for Hamadi).’

Ali/ jile chakuja cha Hamadi/ mpeeló. ‘Ali ate the food that Hamadi gave to him.’

Kuja/ ^fHamadi/ jiiló. ‘The food, (it is) Hamadi (who) ate it.’

Kuja/ ipozele/ ^fbardi/ kana/ barafu. ‘The food became as cold as ice.’

Kuja iyi/ lada. ‘This food is tasty.’

^fKuja/ mi/ njiiló. ‘The food I ate it.’

Kuja/ ndimí/ njiiló. ‘The food, it is me who ate it.’

Kuja/ (yaa) mi/ njiiló/ iwozele. ‘The food that I ate was rotten.’

Kujaako/ hulawa nt^hakaani. ‘Your food [lit. your eating] comes from the garbage pile.’

Martí wiitu/ pishilee kuja. ‘Our guest cooked the food.’

Mi/ njilee kujá/ na waanawá. ‘I ate food with my children.’ (The corresponding simple yes-no question does not exhibit downstep intonation: **Mi/ njilee kujá/ na waanawá?**)

Mi/ njiilé/ kuja/ na waanawa. ‘I ate food with my children.’ (Focus/emphasis on the verb has the effect of preventing final accent from manifesting itself to the right of the verb. The corresponding yes-no question exhibits accent-shift on the out-of-focus complements: **Mi/ njiilé/ kujá/ na waanawá?**)

Nt^haku/ kuja/ numbaani. ‘There is no food in the house.’

Wo/ wajilee kuja/ na waanawo. ‘They ate food with their children.’ (The corresponding simple yes-no question exhibits no accent-shift, just the absence of downstep intonation: **Wo/ wajilee kuja/ na waanawo?**)

Wo/ wajiile/ kuja/ na waanawo. ‘They ate food with their children.’ (In the corresponding simple yes-no question, there is accent shift in the final two phrases: **Wo/ wajiile/ kujá/ na waanawó?**)

rel.

mi-ku-ja n. 4 aug. (disparaging)

Haliima/ mp^hele mikuja/ miamooyi/ ^f(mi)bardi/ kana/ barafu. ‘Haliima gave me some food that was as cold as ice.’

Mikuja gani/ mp^hikiiliól/ we. ‘What kind of food have you cooked for me?’

Nakuletelowa mikuja ya kila lamna. ‘He was brought foods of every type.’

ch-aa-ku-ja (z-) n. 7/8 food

Chakuja gani/ we/ nakhsuulól. ‘Which food do you want?’

chakujaacha ‘my food’; **zakujaaza** ‘my foods’ (The lengthening of the final vowel of **chaakuja** in front of the possessive enclitic is of some interest. This lengthening is confined to monosyllabic and bisyllabic words whose syllables are light, i.e. CV, in shape. **Chaakuja** undergoes this lengthening because it is based on the noun **kuja**, which satisfies the required word shape.)

Mp^hishile chakuja cha Haliimá. ‘I cooked (lit. Haliima’s food) – i.e. I cooked food for Haliima to eat, I cooked food that Haliima was supposed to cook.’

Suufi/ jile chakuja cha Haliima. ‘Suufi ate (lit. Haliima’s food) – i.e. Suufi ate the food meant for Haliima, thus it was to her detriment.’

Suufi/ jile chakuja cha Hamadi/ mpeelól. ‘Suufi ate the food that Hamadi gave to him.’

Suufi/ mjilile Hamadi/ chaakuja. ‘Suufi ate Hamadi’s food (e.g. food intended for Hamadi and thus to his detriment).’

ku-ja’ala

v. [Ar. *ja’ala* "to create, bring about" W 127] (**ja’aliile**) will s.t. (of God)

Mwajiitu/ ja’alilee we/ khpata maali. ‘God willed for you to get money.’

rel.

ku-ja’(a)lila v. appl. [Sw. *jalia* SSED 147]

Leelo/ ni jimaa nne/ na mwajiitú/ chichija’alilá/ arabiya/ ni keesho/ tu. ‘Today is Tuesday, and if we are destined so by God, Wednesday is just tomorrow.’

ku-ja’aloowa v. pass. (-**ja’aliila**) be destined

rel. nom.

ma-ja’(a)liwo n. fate, destiny

ku-ja’ala

v. [Ar. *ja’ala* "to think, believe" W 127] (**ja’aliile**) take notice of, pay attention to

Hanja’ali. ‘He ignores me.’

laakini jaahili zote ha’ajali [st.] ‘but the ignorant do not pay attention to all (these matters)’

Mubliwe/ hamja’ali. ‘Her husband does not pay attention to her.’

Wanaaskoolá/ hawamja’ali/ ustaadi. ‘The students don’t pay attention to the teacher.’

rel.

ku-ja’alana v. rec. (**ja’aleene**)

ku-ja’alila v. appl. (**ja’aliliile**)

rel. nom.

m-ja’ala (wa-) n. 1/2 one who notices

m-ja’alo n. 3 noticing

ma-ja’alo n. 6 noticing

i-jaaba

n. [Ar. *ijāba* "response, fulfillment, granting of a request" W 145] answered

du’a ijaaba ‘an answered prayer’

i-jaaba

n. [Ar. *ijāba* "response, fulfillment, granting of a request" W 145] success

mamala chiiza takhkosa ijaaba [st.] ‘keep quiet about it otherwise you will miss success’

Munt^h u uyu/ nt^h aná/ ijaaba. ‘This man never succeeds at anything.’

- i-jabali (ma-)* n. 5/6 [Sw. *jabali* SSED 147; Ar. *jabal* W 111] mountain; rock
ijabali iyi ‘this rock’
Ijabali yiimp^hi. ‘Which mountain?’
kharibu ya jabali ‘near the mountain’
majabali aya ‘these rocks’
Majabali yaamp^hi. ‘Which mountains?’
Mi/ na askarizá/ chondroshelé/ kendra ijabali Khaafu/ kubadilaa hawa.
‘Me and my soldiers, we left to go to Mount Xaafu for a change of air.’
Mi/ nnakeendrá/ khpaandra/ ijabali/ ije/ ikulu/ maayi/ hayatakudirka.
‘Me, I am going to climb that big mountain, the water will not reach (me).’
Wote/ wacheendra/ nt^hini ya majabali/ kulindra/ haṭaa nvula/ ishṭiinda.
‘All went under rocks to wait until the rain stopped.’
Ye/ nambiile/ kuwa inyunyi/ ikulu/ itakhṭukulaa ngozi/ ka mlomowe/ itakhpandra naami/ ilu/ ya ijabali. ‘He told me that a big bird would carry the animal skin in his beak and would go up with me to the top of the mountain.’
- jabaari* n. [Sw. *jabari* SSED 147; Ar. *jabbar* "omnipotent, of God" W 111] a name of God, the Almighty, the Omnipotent
sultaani ni jabaari / jalla MALIKU ‘L QAHAARI [st.] ‘(God) the ruler is almighty, exalted, the king who subdues all’
- jabaari (ma-)* adj. [Sw. *jabari* SSED 147; Ar. *jabbar* "tyrant, oppressor" W 111, and verb *jabara* "to be haughty. to act strong" W 110] arrogant, cruel
We/ husuloowa/ khsiifa/ hukuuma/ hattá/ ichiwa hukuuma/ ni jabbaarí/ ni ḍaalimú. ‘You are required to praise the government even if the government be tyrannical, unjust.’ (Phon. We have not at present worked out the explanation for the final accent in the last two phrases in this example.)
- ku-jabira* v. [Ar. *jabara* W 110] (**jabiriile**) console, cheer-up someone who is heart-broken
Ile kumjabira khaatiri. ‘He came to soothe his (bruised) ego.’
Maaluulu/ waliko chila/ na maamayé/ nt^hakhaadira/ khfanya ayi/ chiint^hu/ kumjabira. ‘Maaluulu was crying and her mother could not do anything to console her.’
- jaddi* n. [cf. Sw. *jadi* SSED 147; Ar. *jadd* W113] *Arabicism (poetic)* grandfather
jaddi ya Hasaneeni ‘grandfather of Hasan and Hussein’
ni Mahadali ye asliye/ laakini maama jaddiye/ Ali Naḍiiri far’aye [st.]
‘she (=Dada Masiti) is Mahadali by ancestry, but her mother’s grandfather was a descendant of Ali Nadhiri’
yiiko Madiina qabriye/ muuyi wa Mtume jaddiye [st.] ‘his tomb is in Medina, the town of his grandfather, the Prophet’
- ku-jadida* v. [Ar. *jadda* W 113] (**jadidiile**) renew
- jadiidi* adj. [Ar. *jadid* W 114] new; [fig.] young
Izra’iili [...] **humḷaṭa daharishiilo chiliini / humtala muunt^hu jadiidi samiini [st.]** ‘Izra’il [the angel of death] leaves the one who is sick in bed [and] takes a young, stout person’
- ku-jadila* v. [Sw. *jadili* SSED 147; Ar. *jadala* W 115] (**jadiliile**) argue pointlessly
- jadwali* n. [Sw. *jedwali* SSED 152; Ar. *jadwal* W 115] a chart or table in a book
- jaḍba* n. the state of being in a religious frenzy

ku-jaḍbata v. (cf. *ku-jalḅata* below) [Som. *jidboo*, variant *jilbo* "to be in ecstasy, trance" DSI 342] (*jaḍbeete*) be in a religious frenzy

jafa

adj. uncouth

hiizo Madiina ni jafa ni jaahili/ hija bila ziyaara siwo kaamili [st.] 'those who refuse to go to Medina are uncouth and ignorant/ without this visit the pilgrimage is not complete'

jaaha

n. [Sw. *jaha* SSED 147; Ar. *jāh* W 110] glory, greatness, honor, dignity, respect

ka jaaha 'for the glory, sake of (used in prayers)'; because of'

ka jaahaye 'because of him or her'

ka jaahaye kamu wapeeto madaadi [st.] 'how many is it that have got blessing because of him (i.e. the Prophet)'

kufa jaaha 'to die doing s.t. good, honorable'

Menye kiza jaaha/ humsaaliló/ ðulli. 'The one who refuses honor, what remains for him is humiliation.' (A proverb, with variants like those below.)

Menye kiza jaaha/ huwona ðulli. 'The one who refuses honor will be humiliated.' (A proverb.)

pete jaaha. 'A wealthy person is someone important; even (if he is an) **ooji** (or **mbooni** or **mṭaana**) – i.e. a member of a lower caste—or a fool he gets respect.' (An internet source cites this proverb with an apparent proper name **Uurko** substituted for **ooji**, etc. GM was unfamiliar with this version.)

Miza jaaha/ hupata ðulli. 'The one who refuses honor/dignity gets humiliation.' (A proverb.)

mooja ka jaaha ya Mtume shariifu/ safari ya hija faanya khafiifu [st.] 'O God, for the sake of the noble Prophet/ ease the journey to the pilgrimage'

rel.

jaahi [Ar. .*jāh* W 110] honor, dignity

mwenye jaahi 'honorable, dignified'

jahanamu

n. [Sw. *jahanum* SSED 147; Ar. *jahannam* W 144] *lit.* one of the seven hells of Islamic religion

lata kuhamata lata namiimu/ tiya jahanamu tiya jahiimu [st.] 'leave off backbiting, leave off slandering (people in their absence), be afraid of hell, be afraid of hell (two of the seven hells of Islam are mentioned here)'

jahazi (ma-)

n. 9/10,6 [cf. Ar. *jahāz* "outfit, gear" W 143] boat, vessel (Despite the long vowel in the second syllable of the Arabic source, we recorded a short vowel in the Chimiini word.)

Chishkiḷa/ ka jahaziini/ kendra muyiini. 'He disembarked from the dhow to go into town.'

Huseeni/ chiwapa rukhsa/ wo/ kuuya/ jahaziini. 'Huseeni gave permission for them to come on board.' (An example of the '(for) NP infinitive' sentential complement.)

Jahazi/ haydhakhaakhi/ bila lpepo. 'A boat does not move without wind.' (A proverb.)

Jahazi/ ichoondroka. 'The dhow set sail.'

jahazii nk^hulu 'a large boat/ large boats'

jahazi ya kuweeti 'A large type of boat, with prow and stern having the same point shape. *kuweeti* refers presumably to Kuwait.

Traditionally the Kuwaitis were great sailors and used to build boats on their dhows during their journey to East Africa. These smaller boats were later sold in the East African ports (providing additional profit to the crew).'

Naakhuḍa/ wachiwa wiingi/ jahazi/ huzaama. 'If the captains become many, the boat sinks.' (A proverb.) Variant form: **Naakhuḍa/ wiingi/ huzaamisha jahazi.** '(Too) many captains cause the boat to sink.'

Sultaani/ na waziiriwé/ wachiya/ washpandra jahaziini. 'The sultan and

his minister came and boarded the ship.’

Wachishkila/ ka jahaziini/ wacheendra/ sukhuuni. ‘They disembarked from the dhow and went to the market.’

Walwaawo/ wachingila kaziini/ kulundra jahazi/ khsafirila. ‘Both of them began working, building a boat to sail in.’

Wamaliizopó/ wachuunganya/ sehe niingi/ washpakila jahaziini. ‘When they finished, they collected a lot of provisions and they loaded the boat.’

Washpakila jahaziini. ‘They loaded it on the boat.’

rel.

i-jahazi (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.

ijahazi ikulu ‘a large boat’

ijahazi imooyi ‘one boat’

mijahazi mikulu ‘large boats’

mijahazi miwili ‘two large boats’

Oloka/ faanya/ ijahazi/ ikulu/ mukhtaa we/ takumalizó/ mi/ nt^hakhupa/ amri/ ziingine. ‘Go, build a large dhow; when you have finished, I will give you another order.’

ku-jahida

v. work hard

Chijihada/ takhpata. ‘If you work hard, you will get (what you want, good results, etc.)’

jahidaani nafsi kumeera zawaadi/ za nuumba ya jana ka mooja jawaadi [st.] ‘make an effort so that your soul may get the presents for the house of paradise, (at the place of) the generous God’

Muunt^hu/ chijahida/ kulaa chiint^hu/ hukhaadira/ khfaanya. ‘If someone works hard, he can do anything.’

ku-jahila

v. [Ar. *jahila* W 144] (*jahiliile*) be ignorant

jaahili (*Ø, ma-*)

adj. [Ar. *jāhil* W 144] ignorant

jaahili nt^haayo loomu [st.] ‘someone ignorant [of the rules] is not blamed’

ilmu ni nuuru jaahili ni booyi [st.] ‘knowledge is light, ignorance is a boy (i.e. a servant)’

Kheeri/ aduwi aaqili/ kama mwenza jaahili. ‘Better a clever enemy than an ignorant friend.’ (A proverb.)

laakini jaahili hutosha laano [st.] ‘but an ignorant person thinks this a (fairy)tale’

munt^hu jaahili ‘an ignorant person’; cf. **want^hu (ma)jaahili** ‘ignorant people’; cf. **chijint^hu chijaahili, zijint^hu zijaahili, ijint^hu ijaahili, mijint^hu mijaahili**

Wabli/ leelo/ hawapeendi/ wake majaahili. ‘Men today do not like ignorant women.’

rel.

u-jaahali n. 14 ignorance

Ilmu/ ni nuuru/ ujaahili/ ni miinza. ‘Knowledge is light, ignorance is darkness.’ (A proverb.)

ujahali wiingi ‘much ignorance’

ujahaliwa ‘my ignorance’

u-jaahli n. 14 ignorance

khatari zote khfaanya ka ujaahli [st.] ‘it is dangerous to do all (these things) in ignorance’

jahiimu

n. [Sw. *jahim* SSED 147; Ar. *jaḥīm* W 113] one of the seven hells of Islamic belief

ku-jaaja

v. [cf. Som. *cuncun* "to itch", with reduplication of *cun* "to eat"; on this model, -*jaaja* could be a reduplication of -*ja* ‘to eat’ in Chimiini] (*i-jajiiile*) itch

Igozi/ ichikhujaaja/ gaguna. ‘If (your) skin itches you, scratch it.’

Ipu/ inakunjaaja/ nt^o. ‘The abcess is itching me a lot.’
Maluungo/ yanakunjaaja. ‘(My) body is itching me.’

rel.

ku-jaajisha v. caus.

Mp^helee dawa/ mo/ injajishizo maluungó/ masku mazimayé. ‘He gave me some medicine which caused me to itch the whole night.’
review

ku-jajishiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-jajishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ku-jajoowa v. pass. (-jajiila)

Mi/ nakujajowa maluungó. ‘I am itching, the body.’ Or: **Mi/ nakujajoowá/ maluungo.**

Mi/ (n)nakujajoowá. ‘I itch.’

rel. nom.

m-jaajo n. itching

Mi/ nayo mjaajó. ‘I have itching.’

u-jaajo n. itching

kuleta ujaajo ‘to cause itching’

Mazu/ hundretela ujaajo. ‘Bananas cause me to itch.’

Masku/ silaali/ ka ujaajo. ‘In the night I do not sleep because of itching.’

ku-jaajuusa

v. spy

kumjaajuusa ‘to spy on him’

rel.

ku-jaajuusan(y)a v. rec.

Ameerika/ na Ruusiyá/ wanakujaajuusana. ‘America and Russia are spying on one another.’ Or: **Ameerika/ nakujaajuusana/ na Ruusiya.** ‘America is spying reciprocally with Russia.’

ku-jajusanoowa v. rec. pass.

Siwo/ suura/ kujajusanoowa. ‘It is not good to spy on another.’

ku-jajusoowa v. pass.

Siwo/ suura/ muunt^hu/ kujajusoowa. ‘It is not good to spy on someone.’

jaajuusi

n. spy

jaaka

n. 9/10 [Eng. *jacket*] jacket, coat

jaka iyi ‘this jacket’ (cf. **jaka izi** ‘these jackets’)

Jaaka/ iyi/ Omari/ uziló? ‘This jacket, did Omari buy it?’ (This question expresses some doubt as to whether Omari did buy this particular jacket. It should be observed that Q-raising in this sentence does not raise **Omari/ uziló** to the same level as **jaaka/ iyi**, but there is not the strong downstepping associated with downstep intonation. An answer to this question does not necessarily mimic the word order. For example, one could respond: **Ee/ Omari/ uzile/ jaaka/ iyi/ nafsiye.** ‘Yes, Omari did buy this jacket itself, i.e. this precise jacket.’)

jaka ya hariiri ‘silk jacket’ (cf. **jaka za hariiri** ‘silk jackets’)

Ka khisani/ Nureeni/ uzilo jaka iyó. ‘Why did Nureeni buy that jacket?’

Nureeni/ uzile jaka. ‘Nureeni bought a jacket.’

Nureeni/ uzile jaka gani. ‘Which jacket did Nureeni buy?’

^fNureeni/ uzilo jaka iyó. ‘Nureeni bought that jacket.’ Or: **^fNureeni/ uziló/ jaka iyo.** ‘Nureeni bought that jacket.’ (It is clear that in both of these sentences, the focus on the pre-verbal **Nureeni** induces a shift of the verb to pseudo-relative clause form. Cf. the statements: **Nureeni/ uzile jaka iyo** and **Nureeni/ uzile/ jaka iyo**, where there is no focus on **Nureeni**. However, the second version of the sentence shows that it is also possible to have a secondary focus on the verb. The evidence that there is focus on the verb in **^fNureeni/ uziló/ jaka iyo** comes from the fact that the final accent triggered by the pseudo-relative verb does not project past the verb to the complement. This is a case of what we call the Accentual Law of Focus. It is important to remember that pseudo-relative verb clauses are subject to ALF, while true relative clauses are not. In any case, we should note that both of the sentences shown at the beginning of this example can be pronounced as yes-no questions. For example, **^fNureeni/ uzilo jaka iyó?** ‘Did Nureeni buy that jacket?’ differs from the statement in that the Q-Raising associated with simple yes-no questions eliminates the significant downstepping from the second phrase. In the example, **^fNureeni/ uziló/ jaka iyó?** ‘Did Nureeni buy that jacket?’, the secondary focus on the verb triggers a shift of accent on the out-of-focus complement in the simple

yes-no question, hence we get **jaka iyo** in the statement, but **jaka iyó** in the question. This discussion has sought to highlight the subtleties involved in Chimiini prosodic structure.)

^fNureeni/ uziló/ jaaka/ iyo. ‘Nureeni bought jacket, that one.’ (In this sentence, it seems that to some extent there is focus on the first three phrases, as indicated by the lack of a significant pitch drop between them. The only real pitch drop seems to affect **iyo**. That Nureeni is the primary focus is indicated by the fact that it triggers the pseudo-relative form of the verb. That **uziló** is focused is shown by the phrase break between it and the complement, as well as the fact that final accent from the verb does not project to that complement; this is predicted by the Accentual Law of Focus. That **jaaka** is focused to some extent is suggested by the phrasal separation between it and **iyo**, as well as the downstepping of **iyo**.)

Nureeni/ uzile jaaka/ iyo itumbishiḷa ilú. ‘Nureeni bought a jacket, that one that was hung high up.’ (A sentence like **Nureeni/ uzile jaaka/ iyo** is grammatical in Chimiini and puts some emphasis on **iyo** ‘that’, our consultant GM prefers for **iyo** to be expanded as in the sentence cited.)

Nureeni/ uzile jaaka/ iyo/ iwaliko kharibu surwani ya Alí. ‘Nureeni bought a jacket, the one that was near Ali’s trousers.’

Nureeni/ uzile jaaka/ yaa mi/ shpendó. ‘Nureeni bought a jacket that I like.’

Nureeni/ vete jaaka. ‘Nureeni wore a jacket.’

Omari/ uzile jaaka/ ^fiyo. ‘Omari bought *that* jacket.’ (In this pronunciation, there is emphasis on **iyo**. There is some lowering of **jaaka**, but we remain uncertain whether one should claim that normal downstep intonation prevails up to the point of the raising of **iyo**. If the focus is on **jaaka** and the **iyo** drops in pitch: ?**Omari/ uzile ^fjaaka/ iyo.** ‘Omari bought that *jacket*.’, the **iyo** seems incomplete; it wants some descriptive material to be added.)

Omari/ uzile/ jaaka/ iyo. ‘Omari *bought* that jacket.’ (In this pronunciation, the verb is focused and **jaaka** is downstepped, and **iyo** is even lower.)

Uzilepi/ Nureeni/ jaka iyo. ‘Where did Nureeni buy that jacket?’

rel.

chi-jaka (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim. (disparaging use)

Chijaka gani/ icho. ‘What kind of **chijaka** is that (suggesting that it is a bad example of a jacket)?’ (Cf. **Zijaka gani/ izo.** ‘What sort of **zijaka** are those ones?’)

jaḷaada

n. 9/10 [Sw. *jalada* SED 147; cf. Ar. verb *jalada* “to bind a book” W 130] cover (of a book)

Baana/ atile chibuuku/ jaḷaada. ‘Baana tore the book cover (i.e. the cover of the book).’

Baana/ atile jaḷaada/ chibuuku. ‘Baana tore cover the book.’ (The word order in this example is one that naturally involves the presence of focus on **jaḷaada**. This can be seen from the simple yes-no question, where the out-of-focus possessor undergoes accent-shift: **Baana/ atile jaḷaada/ chibuukú?**)

Baana/ atile jaḷada/ ya chibuuku. ‘Baana tore the cover of the book.’

chibuuku/ na jaḷaadá ‘a book and a cover’; **zibuuku/ na jaḷaada** ‘books and covers’

chibuuku/ na jaḷaadayé ‘a book and its cover’; **zibuuku/ na jaḷaadazé** ‘books and their covers’

khtila jaḷaada ‘to bind a book’

rel.

i-jalaada (*ma-*) n. 5/6 ibid.

jaḷaata

n. [Ital. *gelato*] ice cream

Jaḷaata/ inakudhaayika. ‘The ice cream is melting.’

ku-jalḷata

v. (see **kujaḷḷata**) [Som. *jilboo*, variant of *jidboo* “to be in ecstasy, in a trance” DSI 342] (**jalḷeete**) be in a religious frenzy

ku-jalḷida

v. [Ar. *jalada* “to whip” W 130] (**jalḷidiille**) whip s.o. for religious sins
variant form: **kujelḷida** (**jelḷidiille**)

jalla

adj. [Ar. *jalla* W 128] great, exalted

jalla aḍiimu shaani [st.] ‘Exalted and Sublime’

- jaḷsa** n. [cf. Sw. *jilisi* v. "sit down" and *majilisi* "n. a reception room, place for conversation" SSED 155; cf. Ar. *jalasa* "to sit down" W 130] meeting
- jalaali** adj. [Sw. *jalali* SSED 147; Ar. verb *jalla* "to be lofty, exalted" W 128] an attribute of God (the Glorious one)
- i-jali** n. 5/6 [cf. Som. *gal* "sheath" DSI 250 and Tunni verb *jal* "to enter" Tosco 220] sheath
- jaaliya** n. community, a group of people sharing certain characteristics
- jaama'a(ma-)** n. 9/10 [Sw. *jamaa* SSED 148; Ar. *jāmi ā* W 136] university
variant form: **jaami'a**
jama'a yaa ye/ koḍelo ka tarafuyé 'the university that he spoke about' (cf. **Ye/ koḍele ka tarafu ya jaama'a.** 'He spoke about the university.')
- Munt^hu simemo kharibu yaa ndilá/ ni mwanafunzi wa jaama'a.** 'The man who was standing near the road is a student of the university.'
- jamaa'a** n. [Sw. *jamaa* SSED 148; Ar. *jamā ā* W 135] family -- people of the same ancestry; a member of people gathered together, company
khsala jamaa'a 'to pray, say prayers in a group (congregation)'
Ndo/ we/ na mukeewó/ na waanawó/ ma jamaa'á/ wotte/ waa we/ uko naawó. 'Come, you, and your wife, and your children, and all company that you are with.'
Yapisile miyaka miingi/ nt^hangú/ Captain Robert Falcon/ pamó/ na jamaa'aye/ wafilo kaa ndalá/ na ta'abú/ karkaa wo/ wanakurudo ka Qutbiya Kusiini. 'There have passed many years since Captain Robert Falcon together with his company died from hunger and hardship while returning from the South Pole.'
- u-jamaa'a** n. 14 relationship
- jamaala** n. 10 [Sw. *jamala* SSED 148; Ar. *jamāl* W 137] beauty, handsomeness
Ka paapo/ nyunyi/ zignedishile/ ziweele/ wake/ wa wamaadamu/ wenye jamaala/ sho kuwonekana/ karka duniya. 'Then the birds changed, they became human women, of beauty not seen in the world.'
Laakini/ ye/ chisimika qalbiye/ chimwaambila/ ewe/ mwanamke suura/ mwenye jamaala/ nakhuloombá/ kumbelele raaḍi. 'But he ([lit.] held up his heart) retained his courage and said: O you, beautiful girl, possessing beauty, I beg you to forgive me.'
Mbene kuwa muke uyú/ ni mweema/ na nazo jamaala. 'I have seen that this woman is good and beautiful.' (Phon. The accent pattern that we recorded here indicates that there is focus on **muke uyu**, thus blocking the projection of final accent from the first person singular past tense verb **mbene...** to the end of the complement clause.)
Sheekhi nakeendra jamaala/ janna hushowatiḷoowa [st.] 'the Sheikh is going to a beautiful place, in heaven everybody is dressed with elegance'
Ye/ wele mubjaana/ mwenye suura/ na jamaalá. 'He became a young man possessing goodness and handsomeness.'
- rel.
u-jamaala n. 14 beauty
ya taatu Yuusufu ka ujamaala [st.] in the third [heaven] Joseph with [his] beauty'
- Jamaame** n. a town in the southern Lower Juba region of Somalia; one of the ethnic groups

well-represented in this town is the Biyomaal/Biamal, a Dir clan; in Chimiini, this clan is referred to as **Biimaali** and a derivative of the word appears in the name of one of the Brava mosques: **muskiti wa Malim Biimaaló** 'Malim Biimaalo's mosque

i-jaambi (*ma-*) n. 5/6 [Sw. *jamvi* SSED 149] floor matting, made of leaves stronger than those used in making the **m-sala** mat, though the leaves are from the same shrub; **ijaambi** is a much larger mat than **msala** and is used to cover the whole or a large part of the floor of a room to have people sit on it (e.g. visitors or members of the family when eating); a smaller mat, **isharafa**, was then placed on the **ijaambi** and the dishes with the different foods would be placed on it (The Chijini pronunciation of this word is instructive: [mbi'ij^a]. Recall that in Chijini, the final syllable of a word is preposed to the beginning of the word. The Chijini pronunciation supports the analysis of **mbi** as a syllable and **mb** as a prenasalized consonant that forms the onset of this syllable. Also, observe that when **mbi** is located in front of the initial syllable of **ijaambi**, a glottal stop is inserted between **mbi** and **i**. This suggests that, although the juxtaposition of two vowels often yields a long vowel in Chimiini, the default principle is that a glottal stop is used to separate juxtaposed vowels. This glottal stop insertion can be observed in several places in the ordinary language.)

Husuka misala/ na majaambi. 'They weave *misala* and *majaambi* mats.'

ijambi itaka 'a dirty mat'; **majambi mataka** 'dirty mats'

Ijaambi/ itaka. 'The mat is dirty.' Cf. **Majaambi/ mataka.** 'The mats are dirty.'

ijambi itaka/ ya mwiskiti 'the dirty mat of the mosque'; **majambi mataka/ ya miskiti** 'the dirty mats of the mosques'

Kula zilaatu/ nakhpaka matotoopé/ ijambiini. 'Take off (your) shoes, you are getting (lit. applying) mud on the floor mat.'

rel.

chi-jaambi (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim.

l-jaambi (*mi-*) n. 11/4 aug.

i-jambiya n. 5/6 [Sw. *jambia* SSED 148; Pers.] a curved, broad-bladed dagger

Baaba/ oyo/ chimulila mwaanawe/ farasi/ ijambiya/ na lpaangá. 'That father bought a horse, a dagger, and a sword for his son.'

Mwanaamke/ uyu/ waliko tilaa kati/ na wabjaana/ watatu/ na kila mujaana/ shishile ijambiya/ mkoononi/ ondreele/ kumbigila mwanaamke/ uyu. 'This girl was surrounded (lit. put in the middle) by three young men and each young man held a dagger in his hand, raised up to strike this girl.'

Ye/ apo/ mfunzile farasiwe/ chimaliza/ shuumba/ iboholi/ shtila

lpaangale/ na ijambiyayé/ chimaliza/ iboholi/ chi'izuumbiza.

'He there tied up his horse, and then dug a hole, and put his sword and dagger in [the hole], and then the hole, he covered it with earth.'

jamhuuri n. [Sw. *jamhuri* SSED 149; Ar. *jumhūr* "general public" and *jumhūrīya* "republic" W 138] republic, public

Iyi/ ni raadiyo/ isho wenewe/ ya jamhuuri/ ya wajaa nama/ za waant'u.

'This is the Free Radio (lit. radio without owners) of the Republic of the Cannibals (lit. eaters of the meat of people).'

Leelo/ fijiri/ sa'aa nt'atu/ ra'iisi/ ya jamhuuri/ ondroshele/ ka ariplano/ khaasá/ koloka Deema/ muuyi/ mkulu/ wa jamhuuri/ ya Barafu. 'Today in the morning at nine (lit. three) o'clock, the president of the republic took off in his private airplane to go to Deema, the capital city of the republic of Biafra.'

Oko/ Deema/ ra'iisi/ wa jamhuuri/ takudirkamana/ na ra'iisi/ wa Barafu/ na wakulu wa nt'hi iyó. 'There at Deema the president of the republic will meet with the president of Biafra and the officials in that country.'

ku-jami'a v. [Sw. *jamii* SSED 149; cf. Ar. *jimā* "sexual intercourse" W 136] (**jami'iile**) have sexual intercourse (a politer term than **kh-toomba**)

rel.

ku-jami'ana v. rec. (**-jami'eene**) have sexual intercourse

Omari/ jami'ene na mukeewe. 'Omari had intercourse with his wife.'

ku-jami'isha v. caus.

ku-jamila v. [cf. Ar. *jamīl* "friendly act, courtesy" W 137] (**jamiliile**) be cordial, courteous to a guest, providing him with all that he could ask for

rel.

ku-jamilila v. appl.

rel. nom.

u-jamilo n. 14

jamiili [Ar. *jamīl* W 137] nice, good (Restricted in its use to poetry apparently and in the poetry the nature of the final vowel of the words according to the verse requirements.)

Abaḍe Fatima msūife jamiila [st.] 'Fatima, praise her nicely'

ila wafarama sabri jamiili [st.] 'except those who persuade others to be

patient nicely'

chi-jamu (zi-)

n. 7/8 [etymology unknown] plate

chijamu cha ma'adini 'metal plate'

chijamu chaa nt^hupa 'a glass plate'

chijamu cha palastika 'plastic plate'

Chijamu/ chivundishile. 'The plate broke.'

chijamu cha mpuunga 'a plate of rice'

chijamu cha santuuri 'phonograph record'

chijamu cha chaayi 'saucer'

chijamu chigoli 'hollowed out plate for soup'

chijamu chiliishe 'a flat plate'

kosha kijamu 'to wash a plate'

Nuuru/ vnzile zijamu. 'Nuuru broke the plates.' Or: **Nuuru/ vuunzile/ zijamu.**

Nuuru/ vnzile zijamu/ za Faatima/ uziló. 'Nuuru broke the plates that Faatima bought.' (Phon. Postposing the subject of the relative clause seems possible, albeit less preferred: **Nuuru/ vnzile zijamu/ uzilo Faatimá.**)

Shtila chaakuja/ karka zijamu statu/ kijamu chimooyi/ cha mwaanawe/ chimooyi/ cha muḅliwe/ naayé/ na kijamu cha taatú/ tile makooko/ na chiṭa chaa nsi/ kumpa mwana wa muḅliwe. 'She put food on three plates – one for her child, one for her husband and her, and on the third one, she put the crust of the rice and a fish-head for her husband's child.'

Zijamu/ za Faatima/ uziló/ stumikili. 'The plates that Faatima bought, I will not use.' Or: **Zijamu uzilo Faatimá/ stumikili.**

jana

n. 9 [Ar. *janna* W 138] heaven, paradise

variant form: **janna**

ama janaani ow aḍabu takhkala [st.] 'either you will dwell in heaven or in hell'

humtilo muunt^hu karka janaani/ mooja hadiilo karka qur'aani [st.] 'he is the one who put man in paradise, God (himself) said so in the Quran'

kingila janaani 'to enter heaven'

masku ya mi'raaji tiila janaani [st.] 'on the night of ascension, he [Mohammad] was put in heaven'

mlango waa jana or **mlango wa janna** 'the door to paradise'

muunt^hu mtii'ilo humtila janaani [st.] 'the man who obeys [God], [God] puts him in heaven'

na niya saafi khutila janaani [st.] 'and good intentions put you in paradise'

ndila ya janna 'the road to heaven'

Wanakhaambila/ kuwaa wo/ walwaawo/ na ahliwó/ wotte/ wamo karka janna. 'They are telling you that they both and your relatives all are in heaven.'

- i-janawanziiri* n. [lit.] son of the minister – a largish grey fish so named because it looks healthy and well-fed; it is not commonly eaten in Brava
- ku-jana* v. (cf. *ja*) (-**jeene**) gossip [lit. eat one another]
- janaaba* n. [Sw. *janaba* SSED 150; Ar. *janāba* "major ritual impurity" W 139] the period of time of being ritually unclean (between the time of having sexual intercourse, e.g., and showering to ritually clean oneself)
kowa janaaba 'to wash after sexual intercourse, ejaculation (as prescribed by Islam) to achieve ritual purity'
kowowa janaaba 'to be washed etc.'
janaaba nt^haasa fijiri kowoowa [st.] 'before morning, the ritual cleaning should be washed'
Nayo janaaba. 'He is ritually impure.'
We/ nayo janaabá. 'You are ritually unclean (e.g. said to someone known to carouse with prostitutes etc.)'
- ku-jaanana* v. (-**janeene**) rub against the other, wearing out
- janaaza* n. [Sw. *jeneza* SSED 152; Ar. *janāza* "bier; funeral procession" W 141] a bedstead (or other wooden frame) used as a bier on which a corpse is carried to burial
khtomola janaaza 'to take the corpse from the funeral bier'
kurasha janaaza 'to follow the bier'
Mayti/ chimaliza koshoowa/ huzubowa kafani/ huṭukuḷoowa/ ka janaaza/ hupelekowa muskitiini/ khsaliloowa. 'After the corpse is washed, it is wrapped in a shroud, and carried on a bier to the mosque to be prayed for.'
Waant^hu/ hinendraa mbele/ ya janaaza/ ichiwa mayti/ ni munt^hu mzima/ sababu/ huhadoowa/ kuwa waant^hu/ hupitaa mbele/ kumsomela mayti/ du'a/ kumnombela mojiitu/ kum'aafu. 'People walk in front of the funeral bier if the dead person is an adult, the reason is said to be that people walk in front to pray for the dead person to be forgiven (his sins).'
- m-jaanja (wa-)* n. 1/2 [Sw. *mjanja* "impostor, rogue" SSED 150] an extrovert, an exuberant outgoing person; a clever, tricky person
Abunawaasi/ ni muunt^hu/ mjaanja/ nt^ho/ na khadiriile/ mara niingi/ kumkhada'a sultaani. 'Abunawaasi is a very tricky person and he had been able many times to deceive the sultan.'
muke mjaanja 'a cheating woman (i.e. said of a woman who is having an affair and manages not to be detected)'
- rel.
i-jaanja (mi-) n. 5/4 an eloquent, glib individual
u-jaanja n. 14 eloquence, glibness, exuberance, boisterousness, extroversion
Karkaa wo/ wanaakujó/ mwanaamke/ uyu/ shfanya ujaanja/ na pashpo/ Fikiriini/ kuwoná/ shtila/ iyii dawa/ chakujaani. 'While they were eating, this girl used female tricks and without Fikiriini seeing, she put this medicine in the food.'
- januubi* [Ar. *janūb* W 139] *Arabicism* south (This item, used in opposition to **shimaali** 'north', is an Arabicism which is understood in Brava because it is used in some specific contexts (e.g. when indicating in a document the boundaries or measurements of a plot of land or of a building. The Chimiini terms for 'south' and 'north' are **kuusi** and **kaskaazi** respectively.)
- i-jaanvula* n. rainbow (lit. the thing that eats the rain)
- jara* n. a kind of game similar to dominos
jara ya boodo '[lit.] jara of fleas – the game of jara'

Nakhtezaa jara. 'He is playing **jara**.'

i-j meta

- n. 5 [Ar. *ijār* W 5] fee, fare, rent, wage (occasional rather than regular)
ij meta gari 'fare'
ij meta ya nuumba 'house rent'
Ij meta/ ya waana/ huṭomoló/ siwo/ chiint^hu/ cha ma'ana. 'The fee that children pay is next to nothing [lit. has no significance].'
L meta/ chizide ij meta ya nuumba. 'It is necessary that we increase the rent of the house (apartment, etc.).'
pashpo kuuza/ ajri/ amó/ i meta 'without asking you for a reward or a salary'

j meta

- n. [Ar. *jarād* W 119] locust
waaya watakuwa kama j meta [st.] 'human beings will be like locusts [in the hereafter]'

i-j meta (ma-)

- n. 5/6 [Sw. *jeraha* SSED 153; cf. Ar. verb *jaraha* "to wound" and noun *jurh*, pl. *jurāh* W 119] wound
Huṭeko i meta/ ni munt^hu nt^hana i meta. 'The one who laughs at a wound is the one who does not have a wound.' (A proverb.)
Ingilopo mṭanaani/ chimwona mwaanawe/ ilu yaa chili/ na dul'edá/ ukoo nt^hi/ fiile/ ka majaraha/ yaa noka mkomeezó. 'When he entered the room, he saw his child on the bed and the fox on the floor, dead from the wounds that the snake had caused [lit. made reach him].'
karka khalbi i meta kump^hoza iize [st.] 'you refused to heal the wound in my heart'
kudara i meta 'to touch a wound – i.e. to aggravate, annoy, irritate someone by mentioning a matter that he will not like'
N^haku fiiló/ laakini/ waant^hu/ huziidó/ ikumi na siṭa/ iwadirshile/ majahara. 'No one died, but more than sixteen people have been wounded.'

rel.

chi-j meta (zi-) n. dim. 7/8

Chint^hu shpiya/ hupeendeza/ haṭá/ shchiwa chij meta. 'A new thing pleases even if it is a wound.' (A proverb.)

l-j meta (mi-) n. aug. 11/4 a large wound

i-j meta (ma-)

- n. a mountain
Ij meta yiimp^hi. 'Which mountain?'
Majar meta yaamp^hi. 'Which mountains?'
kharibu ya i meta 'near the mountain'

j meta

- n. [Ital. *giardino*] garden, park
j meta iyi 'this garden'; **j meta izi** 'these gardens'

i-j meta (ma-)

- n. 5/6 [Sw. *jarife* SSED 151, from Ar. verb *jarafa* "carry off or carry along" W 120] fishing net, fixed to buoys and placed in deep water overnight
Ij meta yiimp^hi. 'Which net?'
Majar meta yaamp^hi. 'Which nets?'
Nsi izi/ skomelopo kharibu ya Huseeni/ mooyi/ chimwaambila/ Huseeni/ mi/ ni nsi uje waa we/ mpeto i meta/ chimaliza/ we/ mrudilo bahariini. 'When these fish arrived near Huseeni, one of them said: Huseeni, I am the fish that you caught in a net and then you let it return to the sea.'

ku-j meta

- v. [Sw. *jaribu* SSED 151; Ar. *jariba* W 118] (**jaribiile**) try, attempt, test, feel out
Chij meta. 'We tried.'

Chjaribiilé/ si. ‘We *tried*.’ (The subject pronoun following the verb is radically lowered in pitch.)

Chjaribiilé/ si/ kumala kaazi. ‘We *tried* to finish the work.’

Chimwaambila/ mtaale/ oloka/ mjaaribe. ‘He told him: take him, go and try him out.’

Hasani/ jaribiile. ‘Hasani *tried*.’ Or: **Jaribiile/ Hasani.** (A postposed subject, as in the latter example, typically shows a strong reduction in pitch level.)

Hasani/ jaribile khfanya gaariye. ‘Hasani *tried* to fix his truck.’ Or with verb focus: **Hasani/ jaribiile/ khfanya gaariye.**

Hasani/ jaribiile/ ye/ khfanya gaariye. ‘Hasani *tried* (he) to fix the car.’ (GM considered it odd to wrap the **ye** into the preceding phrase: **?Hasani/ jaribilee ye/ khfanya gaariye.** This oddness perhaps is connected to the presence of the =*ye* enclitic on **gaari**.)

Jaribaa nguwo. ‘Try the clothes on!’

Jaribile koowela. ‘He *tried* to swim.’

Khaje/ jaribile khfaanyani. ‘What did Khaje *try* to do?’ (A possible answer: **Ye/ jaribile khfanya ghishi/ karka imtihaani.** ‘He *tried* to cheat on the examination.’)

Kujaariba/ ziwo/ mbovu. ‘To *try* is not bad.’ (A proverb.)

Mi/ nch^hihada/ kheeri/ jaariba. ‘I said: [it is] best, test it [the truth of the second warning he had been given].’

Mi/ njaribile khfanya gaariyá. ‘I *tried* to fix my truck.’ But with verb focus: **Mi/ njaribiilé/ khfanya gaariya.** ‘I *tried* to fix my truck.’ (Note that the presence of focus on the verb bars the final accent associated with the first person verb from projecting onto the infinitival complement.)

Mi/ nt^hakujaariba/ jawabu ya piili. ‘I will test the second warning [that my father gave me before dying].’

Njaribiilé. ‘I have *tried*.’ Cf. **Njaribiilé/ mi.** ‘I have *tried*.’ Cf. **Mi/ njaribiilé.** ‘I have *tried*.’ But with focus on subject: **Mi/ njaribiiló.** ‘I have *tried*.’ (This last sentence is a possible answer to the question: who has *tried*?)

Njaribilee mi. ‘He *tried* me,’ (Note that this sentence has a null [cl.1] SM and a first person singular OM. The pronominal object **mi** is redundant, but serves to put emphasis on the object. The accent pattern is, of course, a bit obscured. A [cl.1] SM demands default penult accent. However, when the last word is monosyllabic, it bears the accent and there is no difference between penult and ultimate accent. The accent on **mi** also shows that the pronominal object is not an enclitic to the verb. If it were, then the default penult accent would fall on the syllable preceding **mi**: *[njaribilée=mi].)

Njaribiilé/ mi/ khfanya gaari. ‘I *tried* to fix the car.’ (It is questionable whether the pronoun might be wrapped into the same phrase as the main verb: **?Njaribilee mi/ khfanya gaari.**)

Omari/ ijaribiile/ gaari/ ki’ifaanya (or: **khfaanya**). ‘Omari the car he *tried* to repair (it).’ Also: **Omari/ ki’ifaanya/ gaari/ jaribiile.** Or: **Omari/ ki’ifanya** (or: **khfanya gaari/ jaribiile**.)

Sjaribeení. ‘You (pl.) don’t *try*!’ (Phon. and morph. The enclitic element **ni** indicates a plural second person subject in both the affirmative and negative imperative. This enclitic element induces the lengthening of the preceding vowel. Observe that we write this enclitic as part of the same word as the imperative verb. The Chijini form of a word like **sjaribeení** is interesting in that it supports the proposition that the **ni** is part of the word, but it also shows that the speaker recognizes it is not actually the last syllable in the word. Recall the core principle of Chijini. Take the last syllable of the word and bring it to the beginning. The Chijini form of **sjaribeení** is [benisijár¹]. This form illustrates the loss of vowel length, the imposition of penult accent, and the devoicing or weakening of the final vowel. But more critical for our present purposes, we see that **be** is treated as the final syllable and moved to the beginning of the word, but the enclitic **ni** is dragged along as well!)

Wanaskoolá/ wajaribile khteza mpiira. ‘The students *tried* to play ball.’ Or with verb focus: **Wanaskoolá/ wajaribiile/ khteza mpiira.** (The pronoun **wo** may appear as the subject of the infinitival complement: **Wanaskoolá/ wajaribiile/ wo/ khteza mpiira.** ‘The students *tried* they to play ball.’ Note that in this usage the pronoun is not wrapped into a phrase with the preceding main verb. It does not seem acceptable to say **?Wanaskoolá/ wajaribilee wo/ khteza mpiira.**)

Wanaskoolá/ wo/ wajaribiile/ khteza mpiira. ‘The students, they, *tried* to play ball.’ Or: **Wo/ wanaskoolá/ wajaribiile/ khteza mpiira.** ‘They, the students, *tried* to play ball.’ (Note that the pronominal **wo** may co-occur with **wanaskoolá** in either order.)

rel.

ku-jaribika v. p/s.

Hajaribiki. ‘He cannot be felt out, tested etc.’

ku-jaribila v. appl. (**jaribiliile**) try with; for

Njaribiliile gaari. ‘He checked out the car for me.’

- ku-jaribilana* v. appl. rec.
ku-jaribisha v. caus. (**jaribishiize**)
Mjaribishize muunt^hu/ nguwo. ‘He persuaded the man to try on clothes.’
Mjaribishize mwaana/ nguwo. ‘He helped the child try on clothes.’
Nimwambilopo kuwaa mi/ nakhtamaná/ Ali njaribishize khpanda farasi. ‘When I told him that I longed to, Ali permitted me to ride his horse.’
- ku-jaribishan(y)a* v. caus. rec.
ku-jaribishika v. caus. p/s.
ku-jaribishiliza v. caus. appl.
Mjaribishilize mwaana/ koowela. ‘He helped the child try to swim for him.’
- ku-jaribishilizanya* v. caus. appl. rec.
ku-jariboowa v. pass. (**jaribiila**) (of s.t.) being tried
Gaari/ ijaribila khfanyoowa. ‘The car was tried to be repaired.’ Or: **Ijaribila khfanyoowa/ gaari.** Or: **Ijaribiila/ gaari/ khfanyoowa.**
rel. nom.
m-jaariba (wa-) n. 1/2 one who tries
m-jaaribo n. 3
ma-jaaribo n. 6 experiment, trial
variant form: **ma-jaaribu** n. 6
u-jaaribo n. 14
- jariida* (∅, ma-) n. [Ar. *jarīda* W 119] (not as commonly used as **jornaale**, but can be used) newspaper
- Jarmani** n. [cf. Sw. *jeremani* (ma-) "a German"] Germany
Mumathili wa Jarmani/ simeeme. ‘The representative of Germany stood up.’
wilaya ya Jarmani ‘the country of the Germans’
rel.
m-jarmani (wa-) n. 1/2 a German
- jarsi* n. 9/10 [Ar. *jaras* W 120] bell
rel.
chi-jarsi (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.
Si/ laazima/ kumfuunga/ mp^haka/ chijarsi/ shingooni. ‘We must tie on the cat a small bell around his neck.’
i-jarsi (mi-) n. 5.4 aug.
Si/ shṭakhkasa ijarsi. ‘We will hear the bell.’
- jasadi* n. [Ar. *jasad* W 125] body
tahira kulla ḍambi/ ya jasadi na qalbi [st.] ‘cleanse every sin of (=from our) body and heart’
uso kama binaadamu na jasadi [st.] ‘his face like that of a human being and his chest’
- jasi* n. **no etymo found** roof
Jasi/ iburbushile. ‘The roof collapsed.’
Jasi/ inakuvuuya. ‘The roof is leaking.’
Jasi/ ivuyiile. ‘The roof leaked.’
jasi yaa mbawo ‘a wooden roof’
jasi ya numba ‘the roof of the house’
jasi yaa shuwu ‘a concrete roof’
Nakhfinika jasi nuuma. ‘He is covering the house with strong roofing.’
- ku-jaasira* v. [Sw. *jasiri* SSED 151; Ar *jasara* W 125] (**jasiriile**) dare, venture, have courage
Jasirileyi/ kingila mtanaani/ kaaka/ bilaa we/ kunuuzza. ‘How dare you go into my room without asking me?’

Karka majlisi ayo/ nt^haku/ jasiriḷo khkooḏá. ‘In that meeting there was no one who dared to speak.’

Sijasireení. ‘You (pl.) don’t venture to do it!’

rel. nom.

m-jaasira (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who dares

u-jaasiro n. 14 the act of daring

ku-jaasuusa

v. [Sw. *jasisi* SSED 151; cf. Ar. noun *jāsūs* "spy" W 125] spy

rel.

ku-jaasuusana v. rec. (Note the retention of the vowel length in the first stem syllable violates a general phonological principle; retention here is perhaps keyed to the fact that the second stem syllable is in a position that legitimately retains its length.)

ku-jasusiliza v. appl. (Note the loss of vowel length in both stem syllables since both vowels are in positions where length is not allowed.)

rel. nom.

m-jaasuusi (*ma-*) adj. [Sw. (*m*)*jasusi* SSED 151]

munt^hu jaasuusi (or: **mjaasuusi**) ‘a spy’

u-jaasuusi n. 14 [Sw. *ujasusi* SSED 151]

jaati

n. narcotic green leaves which are chewed, esp. popular when people gather to chat, discuss issues etc., also called **khaati** or **qaati**

kuja jaati ‘to chew [lit. eat] **jaati** – the verb **tafuna** is not used in reference to chewing **jaati**’

jawaabu

n. 9/10 [Sw. *jawabu* SSED 151; Ar. *jawāb* W 145] solution, an answer to a question; an affair, matter, event; a thing, anything; words, advice

Bakayle/ chimwambila ndiwa/ nimtambiilé/ muunt^hu/ khambilo

jawabu izi/ nii dafa. ‘The hare told the pigeon: I recognize that the one who told you about these matters is the kite.’

Chihada/ iyo/ ni jawaabu/ sahalii/ tu. ‘She said: that is an easy matter

just.’

Chiwaḏihishiliizá/ jawaabu/ zoḷe. ‘All [these] matters were explained to us [lit. we were explained all these matters].’

Hasubuṭi/ khkooḏi/ amó/ kuza jawaabú. ‘He does not dare to speak or to ask anything.’

Haṭá/ ichiwa jawabu izo/ ni jawaabu/ za wanaafakhi. ‘Even if those words are lies.’

Isikhulawe/ jawaabu/ ka kanaani. ‘Let not a word come out of your mouth!’

Jawabu gani. ‘What matter?’

Jawaabu/ izi/ nza wanaafakhi. ‘These words are lies.’

jawaabu ya duniya hiingila humala [nt.] ‘the matters of this world ebb and flow’

Jawaabuze/ mbovuu mbovu. ‘His deeds are evil.’

khtinda jawaabu ‘to make [lit. cut] a decision’

Jawaabu/ isa/ t̄inzileni/ wè. ‘What’s your decision now?’ (Phon.

In this example, the pronoun **we** is clearly not accented. It is examples such as this that demonstrate the possibility of a monosyllabic pronoun being in a phrase of its own, but without an accent.)

Kilaa jawaabu/ inayo ndilaye. ‘Each issue has its reason,’ (A proverb that conveys the idea that people say or do something for a reason.)

Mi/ ndimi/ nimtamaniiló/ na nsuliloo ye/ khfanya jawabuu mbovú. ‘It is me who longed for him and wanted him to commit bad acts.’

Mi/ ndrashize jawaabuzé/ nuzize ghaalí. ‘I followed his advice and I sold dear.’

Mwiingine/ chihada la/ kuḷoowa/ siwo/ suura/ ni muna yiitu/

nalangaḷoowa/ jawaabu/ mweepe/ yiingine. ‘Another one said:

No, (for him) to be killed is not good, he is our younger brother, he should be dealt with in some other way [lit. he should be seen some other solution].’

Nazo jawaabú/ nt^hatu/ nakhsulo khaambilá. ‘I have three things that I wish to tell you.’ **need to confirm that "nthatu" will have default accent here**

Ni/ hanpeendi/ ba/ khkasa jawaabú. ‘You (pl.) do not want to listen to anything at all.’ **what is the explanation for the final accent here?**

Sfaanyé/ jawaabu. ‘Don’t do a thing!’

Sihadé/ jawaabu. ‘Don’t say a thing!’

Siná/ jawaabu. ‘I have no objection.’

Siwo/ jawabuu nk^hulu. ‘It is not a big thing.’

Sultaani/ chimwuzá Huseeni/ ndo/ mwaanawe/ ni lila/ jawabu izí? ‘The sultan asked Huseeni: come, my son, are they true, these things (that are being said)?’ (The accent shift observed in **jawabu izí** is due to the fact that this is a yes-no question; in yes-no questions phrases that are out of focus undergo shift of the accent to the final syllable.)

Wamwambile muunt^hu/ jawaabu. ‘They spoke to the man about the matter.’ Or: **Muunt^hu/ wamwambile jawaabu.**

Waawé/ mi/ nakhambila jawabu za lila. ‘Father, I am going to tell you words of truth.’

Ziwalikooyi/ jawabu ziinu/ mukhtaa ni/ nimsulilo Yuusufú. ‘What was the matter with you (pl.) when you wanted Yuusufu?’

jawaadi

adj. [Ar. *jawād* W 146] generous (an attribute of God)

jahidaani nafsi kumeera zawaadi/ za nuumba ya jana ka mooja jawaadi [st.] ‘make an effort so that your soul may get the presents for the house of paradise, (at the place of) the generous God’

ku-jaaza

v. [Sw. *jaza, jazi* SSED 152; Ar. *jazā* W 124] (**jaziize**) reward, compensate; mistreat; provide s.o. with less than he needs

Mjazize mwaana. ‘He mistreated the child.’

Mwajiitu/ nakhujaaza. ‘May God pay you back.’ (A kind of curse to someone who has done wrong: may God repay you for the wrong that you have done.)

Mwajiitu/ nakhujaza kheeri. ‘May God reward you with blessing.’

rel.

ku-jaazana v. rec. requite one another

ku-jaziliza v. appl. (**jaziliize**)

jazaari

adj. s.o. ungrateful

jazaari

n. butcher, one who slaughters animals as a profession (cf. **mtinda hoola**)

jaziira (Ø, ma-)

n. 9/10,6 [Ar. *jazīra* W 123] island

Fijiri/ shtete baṭera yiitú/ chenzele jaziirá/ yiingine. ‘In the morning we took our boat and we went to another island.’

jaziraa mbili ‘two islands’

jaziraa nk^hulu ‘a big island’

Jaziraani/ shpete matuundrá/ chijiilé/ na maayi/ chineelé. ‘On the island we found fruits; we ate, and water, we drank.’

Laakini/ ye/ nt^hakuwona/ jaziira/ yenyee sifa/ izo. ‘But he did not see an island having that description.’

majazira mawili ‘two islands’

Mudda/ wa skuu mbili/ walimo bahariini/ sku ya taatu/ shkoma karka jaziira/ mooyi. ‘For a period of two days he was in the sea, on the

third day he reached an island.'

Shfunga safari/ chisaafira/ chisaafira/ mpaka/ shkoma jaziira/ yaa ne.
'He set off on a journey, he traveled and traveled until he reached a fourth island.'

**Sku mooyi/ wachiwona jaziira/ muke/ ka qalbiini/ kaake/ chihada/ ni
kheeri/ mi/ nishkile apa/ mbahe/ siwonowa teena.** 'One day they
saw an island; the wife, in her mind, said: it is better for me to
disembark here and be lost, not to be seen ever again.'

Wachint^hukula/ hatá/ shchikoma/ jaziira/ mooyi/ yenyee miti/ miingi.
'They carried me until we reached an island having many trees.'

Washkoma jaziira/ mahala/ ya mkulé/ shiishilá. 'They reached an island,
the place where his old brother was kept.'

rel.

i-jaziira (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

ma-jðuumu

inv. adj. leprous

munt^hu majðuumu 'leper'

want^hu majðuumu 'lepers'I demonstrative

awaje [cl.2] position III demonstrative

ayaje [cl.4]

ayaje [cl.6]

ichije [cl.7]

ilije [cl.11]

iyije [cl.5]

iyije [cl.9]

izije [cl.8]

izije [cl.10]

uwuje [cl.3]

uwuje '[cl.14]

uyuje [cl.1]

jeega

[cf. Som. *jeegaxiir* "haircut" DSI 341] in the expression:

khtinda jeega 'to get one's hair cut'

ku-jenjeena

v. [no etymological source yet found] groan, lament

Alhaasili/ we/ washkhiira (or: **wakhiriile**). 'Finally, you know, they
agreed.'

**Manaashke/ jenjene ka ulaazo/ muda dakh^htari/ mdarilo mkono
unamlaazó.** 'The girl groaned in pain when the doctor touch the injured arm.'

Omari/ chiwonoowa/ nakujenjeena/ tu. 'Whenever Omari is seen, he is
always [just] lamenting, complaining about someone or
something.'

Want^hu wiingi/ wajenjeeneló. 'It is too many people who have lamented.'

rel.

ku-jenjeenoowa v. pass.

Ijenjeneela/ niingi. 'There was a lot of lamenting.'

jenjeeni

n. groan, sound of agony, lament

Kalaant^ha/ liindra/ mowti/ utakhiilila/ bilaa utuungu/ na jenjeeni. 'Sit,
wait, death will come to you without pain or groans.'

Omari/ jenjenize/ niingi. 'Omari is full of too many laments.'

ku-jera

v. [Som. *jar* DSI 338] (**jeree**) cut meat in to long strips to dry for preservation and
then to cut these strips into small pieces

rel.

ku-jerela v. appl. (**jereleele**)

chisu cga kujerelelaa nama 'a knife with which to cut into strips'

ku-jeera

v. [Sw. *jera* cited by Sac 185 as occurring in the Kigunya dialect, which is
geographically closest to Brava] (**jereele**) be ashamed, be timid

Jaahili/ ha'isi/ kujeera/ na'iwaa nguvu. 'The ignorant person does not know being timid, he knows force.' (A proverb.)

Jerele kuwaa ye/ tulushile imfihaani. 'He was embarrassed that he failed the examination.'

Jereeló/ khatile. 'The one who is ashamed goes without food.' (A proverb.)

Kana ijiló/ hujeeró. 'The mouth that has eaten is the one that feels ashamed (i.e. those who have gotten something are the ones who feel ashamed, etc.)' (Translation of a Somali proverb.)

kujeera/ kanaa muke 'to be as timid as a woman'

kujera waant^{hu} 'to be timid, afraid of people'

Muhtaaji/ hajeeri. 'The needy person does not feel shame.' (A proverb.)

Muun^{hu}/ daniye/ hajeeri. 'A person is not ashamed because of his need/best interests/objectives.' (A proverb.)

Mzeele/ chijeera. 'The old man was embarrassed.'

sina uso wa khiilila mi nakujeera [song] 'I have no face to come to you, I am ashamed'

rel.

ku-jeranoowa v.

wake na wabli nt^haku kujeranoowa [nt.] 'women and men [together], without being ashamed' (Note: In the traditional world of Brava, the gathering together of unrelated men and women was absolutely exceptional.)

ku-jeersha v. (**jersheeze**) shame, disgrace someone (We should note that the expression **kujera waant^{hu}** 'to be timid, afraid of people' can not be transformed into a causative construction: ***Baazi mjersheze mwaana/ waant^{hu}.** 'Bazi made the child timid.'

Baazi/ mjersheze mwaana/ mbele za waant^{hu} (or: **ka waant^{hu}**). 'Baazi embarrassed the child in front of people.'

Saalimu/ njersheeze/ karka waant^{hu}. 'Saalimu disgraced me among people.' Or: **Njershezo karka waant^hú/ ni Saalimu.** 'The one who shamed me among people is Saalimu.'

ku-jersheleza v. caus. appl. (**jersheleeze**)

ku-jershoowa v. pass. (**jersheeza**)

Njersheza na Saalimú. 'I was shamed, disgraced by Saalimu.'

rel. nom.

u-jeero n. 14

jeereere n. people of Bantu origin, regarded as of lower status in Somali society; adj. curly, kinky (hair), of the type associated with the Bantu ethnic group

mashungi majereere 'curly hair'

Omari/ ni mjereere. 'Omari is a person of Bantu origin.'

Tuuma/ mashungiye/ majereere. 'Tuuma's hair is curly.' Or: **Mashungi ya Tuuma/ majereere.**

Tuuma/ mukeewa/ mashungiye/ majereere. 'Tuuma my wife has curly hair.' Or: **Tuuma/ mukeewa/ majereere/ nashungiye.** 'Tuuma my wife is curly her hair.'

jeeri n. [Som. *jeer* DSI 341] hippopotamus

Hamadi/ mwene jeeri/ wowiini. 'Hamadi saw a hippo in the river.'

jeri uyu 'this hippo' or **jeri iyi** 'this hippo'; **jeri awa** 'these hippos' or **jeri izi** 'these hippos'

Mchimbile jeeri. 'He ran away from the hippo.'

rel.

chi-jeeri (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim.

i-jeeri (*mi-*) n. 5/4

Ijeeri/ kuvundavunda waant^{hu}. 'A hippo crushes (lit. breaks-breaks) people (i.e. it does not eat people).'

Omari/ inene/ kana ijeeri. 'Omari is fat like a hippo.'

jeeshi (ma-)

n. 9/10,6 [Sw. *jeshi* SSED 153; Ar. *jaiš* W 150] army

Apo/ zamaani/ Abunawaasi/ waaliko/ ni mkulu/ wa majeeshi/ ya sultaani/ Harun Rashiidi. ‘Once upon a time, Abunawaasi was the head of the armies of the sultan, Haruun Rashiidi.’

Chingila ndrani ya majeeshi. ‘He entered in the middle of the armies.’
jeshi iyi ‘this army’; **jeshi izi** or **majeshi awa** ‘these armies’

Jeeshi/ zotte/ zimlasile chinume/ ka khisa mp^huundra/ hakhaadiri/ khshindamana/ na farasi/ ka mafakato/ walá/ khshindamaná/ na baghalí. ‘All the armies left him behind because a donkey cannot compete with a horse in running, nor can it compete with a mule.’

jeza

n. [Sw. *jazua, kezwa, jizya* SSED 152; Ar. *jazā* W 124] compensation, reward

Ali/ mpele maamaye/ ifungu iyo/ kumlipa jezaye/ na walá/ ha’isi/ kuwaa ye/ mriidhiize/ maamaye/ ka kumpa mali ayo. ‘Ali gave his mother that portion [of his wealth] to repay her [for her care in bringing him up], but he does not know whether he pleased his mother by giving her this money.’

khtilaa jeza ‘to do a favor; to disappoint s.o. (by failing to do s.t. that was expected of one)’

na mkulu waawo Mhamadi shtilo jeza [st.] ‘and the greatest (prophet) of them is Mohammad, who did us favors’

Kula muunt^hu/ pete jezaye/ apo. ‘Each man received his recompense there.’

Mazá/ isa/ nini/ jeza/ ya muunt^hu/ itakhpatowa kaaké/ ikopa iyó. ‘So now what is the compensation (punishment) for the man who this cup was found with him?’ (Observe that the final accent of the relative clause extends through **ikopa iyo**, the postposed subject of the relative verb.)

Mi/ nakhsuulá/ naa mi/ kambiloowa/ kuwaa mi/ nfanyize zeemá/ na kulipowa jezayá. ‘I want also to be told that I have done good things and to be rewarded for my services.’

Mp^huundra/ nt^haná/ jeza. ‘A donkey does not have reward, recompense, favor.’ Variant: **Jeza ya mp^huundra/ ni mashuzi.** ‘The reward of a donkey (i.e. the reward that he gives) is farts.’ (A proverb.)

Na kulipowa jezayá ‘and to be rewarded for my services’

Nini/ jezaye. ‘What is his reward?’

Nt^haná/ jeza/ ka moojé. ‘He has no reward from his master.’

Si/ nt^hachiná/ jeza yaa si/ khulipa. ‘We do not have the compensation with which to repay you.’

jezaari (ma-)

adj. [Som. *jasaar*, variant *jisaar* DSI 339] ungrateful; n. ingrate

variant form: **jazaari**

kuwa jezaari ‘to be ungrateful, not remember a favor done for one’

Hamadi/ ni jezaari/ hakuumbuki/ ihsaani. ‘Hamadi is ungrateful, he does not remember a favor (done for him).’

Wanaadamu/ ni majezaari/ mi/ huwapa iziwa/ huwapaa nama/ huwapaa ngozi/ yaa wo/ khfanya zilaatu/ kiineendrela. ‘Human beings are ungrateful. I [in the story, a cow is speaking] give them milk, I give them meat, I give them hides for them to make shows to walk with.’

ku-jiiba

v. [Sw. *jibu* SSED 151; Ar. *jāba* W 145] (**jibiile**) answer, reply, retort, talk back (of a child when he has been rebuked by an elder)

Chinjiiba/ takhulata/ chiza kunjiiba/ iwá/ mi/ nakhilila kaa zitá. ‘If you answer me (in the context of the story: tell me which is the older goat and which is the younger), I will let you go; if you do not answer me, know, I am coming to you with war.’

Jibilee khatí. ‘He replied to the letter.’

Laakini/ mwanaamke/ chijiiba/ su'aali/ iyo/ mubli oyo/ takhtindowa chitaache. 'But if the daughter answers that question, that man will have his head cut off.'

Maana/ jibile su'aali. 'The boy answered the question.' (The initial element in a sentence with canonical downstep intonation, such as this one, is the pitch peak in the sentence. Even if the verb is focused, as in **Maana/ jibile/ su'aali.**, it is still the case that the initial element tends to be higher than the focused verb. The focused verb, of course, does not exhibit the type of downstep exhibited by canonical downstep intonation. It is possible to put emphasis on **maana** without this counting as *focus*. In our elicitation sessions, this emphasis involved higher pitch, but apparently also a small pause. But if this initial element is brought into focus, then the verb must shift to pseudo-relative form: **Maana/ jibilo su'aali.** 'The boy answered the question.' It is even possible to also focus on the verb at the same time: **Maana/ jibiiló/ su'aali.** 'The boy answered the question.' Notice that in pseudo-relativization, the Accentual Law of Focus holds, or at least may hold, as in this example.)

Maana/ jibile su'ali ya Omari. 'The boy answered Omari's question.' (This sentence, where there is no internal focus in the verb phrase, could be used to respond to a question like: **Maana/ jibile su'ali ya naani.** 'Whose question did the child answer.' A less preferred answer to this question would be: **Maana/ jibile Omari/ su'aaliye.** 'The child answered Omari, his question.' The question **Maana/ jibiileni.** 'The child answered what?' could be answered by either **Maana/ jibile su'ali ya Omari.** or **Maana/ jibile Omari/ su'aaliye.**)

Maana/ jibile su'ali ya Omari? 'Did the child answer Omari's question?' (A possible answer to this question would be: **ā'ā/ jibile su'ali ya Hamadi.** 'No, he answered Hamadi's question.' In this answer, Hamadi does not undergo downstep intonation. Another possible reply: **ā'ā/ nthakujiiba/ su'ali ya Omari/ jibile su'ali ya Hamadi.** 'No, he did not answer Omari's question, he answered Hamadi's question.')

Maana/ jibiile/ su'ali ya Omari. 'The boy answered Omari's question.' (The simple yes-no question corresponding to this sentence is: **Maana/ jibiile/ su'ali ya Omari?** 'Did the child answer Omari's question?')

Maana/ jibilo su'aali/ ni Omari/ meenzawe. 'The boy who answered the question is Omari's friend.' (Internal focus in a relative clause does not induce application of the Accentual Law of Focus: **Maana/ jibiiló/ su'aali/ ni Omari/ meenzawe.** 'The boy who answered the question is Omari's friend.')

Muunt^hu/ chiviloowa/ hujiba. 'If someone is called, he responds.' (A proverb.)

Mwaana/ chimjiiba/ ka khisa karka chimwiini/ zimo jawaabu/ za chisoomaali/ za shalyaani/ za chingereenza/ za chaarabu/ za chihiindi/ haṭá/ jawabu za majini/ zimo. 'The child answered him, Because in Chimwiini there are words from Somali, from Italian, from English, from Arabic, from Hindi, even words of the djinns are in it.'

Mwaana/ chimjiiba/ ya kuwa khabari/ zaa ye/ leeseló/ siwo/ suura. 'The child answered him that the news that he brought was not good.'

na kulla muunt^hu mjiibilo takeendra/ khsimama Arafati meezi keendra [st.] 'and whoever answers his call will go and stand on mount Arafa on the ninth day'

Nimjibile mwaaná/ su'aaliyé. 'I answered the child's question [lit. the child his question].'

Nthaná/ adabu/ hujiba want^hu wazima. 'He does not have good manners, he talks back to his elders.'

Omari/ namiwa/ maana/ jibilo su'aali. 'Omari knows the boy who answered the question.' (The main verb in this example, **namiwa**, is focused and thus phrasally separated from the following complement. Often in such a construction, the complement would be radically lowered in pitch. This is not the case in the present sentence. Perhaps this is due to the complex nature of the complement, **but this matter requires further exploration.**)

Sho kujiiba/ ni Baana/ Gaameele. 'The one who does not answer is Bwaana Gaameele.' (A proverbial saying.)

Simjiibé/ munt^hu mzima. 'Don't talk back to adults (i.e. when they have rebuked you).'

Wachimjiiba/ chimlatile wowiini. 'They answered her: we have thrown him into the river.'

rel.

ku-jiibana v. rec. answer one another

kujibana ka maṭaando ‘to exchange insults’

Sadiiqi/ na Haadi/ wajibene ka maṭaando. ‘Sadiiqi and Haadi exchanged insults.’ Also: **Sadiiqi/ jibene na Haadi/ ka maṭaando.** ‘Sadiiqi exchanged insults with Haadi.’

ku-jiibika v. p/s. able to be answered

Fulaani/ hajjibiki. ‘So-and-so cannot be answered (e.g. he talks so much that you cannot get in a word edgewise).’

Khaṭi ya Baana/ hayjiibiki. ‘Baana’s letter cannot be replied to (e.g. it is too vague or too illegible to read or he is making impossible requests).’

ku-jiibila v. appl. (**jibiile**) answer for

Mjibiile telefono. ‘He answered the telephone for him.’

Nimjibiile mwaaná/ su’aaliyé. ‘I answered for the child his question.’

Nthaná/ chitta/ chaa ye/ kujibila su’ali iyi. ‘He has no brains with which to answer this question.’

ku-jibilana v. appl. rec. answer for

kujibilanaa khaṭi ‘to answer letters for one another’

ku-jiibisha v. caus. make reply or make answer

Mjibishize ka makoondre. ‘He used punches to make him answer.’

Mjibishize su’ali ya mwaalimu/ muziizó. ‘He made him answer the question that the teacher asked him.’

ku-jibisha(n)ya v. caus. rec.

ku-jibishika v. caus. p/s.

Munthu uyu/ hajibishiki. ‘This man cannot be made to answer.’

ku-jibishiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-jibishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ku-jiboowa v. pass. (**jibiila**) be answered, replied

Chuuza/ sultaani/ oloshlepi/ chijiboowa/ sultaani/ oloshle miskiti waa jima/ khsala. ‘He asked: where did the sultan go? He was answered: the sultan went to the Friday mosque to pray.’

Khaṭi ijibila na Aasha. ‘The letter was answered by Aasha.’

Komelopo apo numbaani/ bishile hoodi/ jibiila/ naayé/ chingila ndraani. ‘When he reached the house, he asked for permission to enter, and he was answered, and he went inside.’

Nthakujiboowa. ‘There was no answer.’

rel. nom.

m-jiiba (wa-) n. 1/2 one who replies

chi-jiibo (zi-) n. 7/8 dim. answer

m-jiibo n. 3

ma-jiibo n. 6 answer

Naayé/ majiibuye/ daa’ima/ yachiwa/ la/ niko yaayá/ tu. ‘And his answer was always no, I am still just as I was.’

Nthakuwanaayo/ majiibu/ miingine/ shokuwa aya. ‘He did not have any other answer than this.’

u-jiibo n. 14

jibiso

n. a sp. snake, a constrictor which squeezes to death; [pron. **jibiso**]

Jibriili

n. Gabriel

ambila Jibriili mwoshe ka zamzamu [st.] ‘it was told to Gabriel that he should wash (the Prophet) with **zamzam**’ [review I](#)

ma-jiibu

n. 6 [Sw. **jibu ma-** (usu. in the plur.) answer, reply, retort, response” SSED 152] a reply to a letter or message, answer

Baana/ pete majiibu/ ka sarkaali. ‘Baana got a reply from the government.’

Kooði/ majiibuye/ ni kooði. ‘The answer to words is words.’ (A proverb.)

majiibu aya ‘this reply, these replies’

majiibu masuura ‘a good (i.e. favorable, positive) reply’

majiibu mawovu ‘a bad (i.e. negative) reply’

Mi/ nnakhsuulá/ majiibu/ kaako. ‘I want your answer.’
Moojá/ nafaanya/ kuwa ni majibu masuura. ‘May God make the answer a favorable one.’

Mwaana/ shtomola majiibu/ ya shtandrawili/ icho/ jisa/ chizeele/ chimfahamishiizó. ‘The boy gave the answer to that riddle just as the old woman had made him understand it.’

Na mp^ha majiibu/ ka himma. ‘And give me the answer quickly!’

Nayo majiibu/ kump^há/ mp^hate nimpelekelé. ‘Do you have an answer to give me so that I can take it to him?’ [review this question](#)

Nt^hakhpata/ majiibu. ‘He did not get an answer.’

Su’aali/ iyo/ mi/ shtaambula/ chikhupa majiibuye/ we/ hump^hati/ na chitaachó/ shtakhtindoowa. ‘That question, if I figure it out and give you its answer, you will not get [to marry] me and your head will be cut off.’

We/ oloshole ka Alí/ kumera majiibú. ‘You went to Ali to seek answers.’

jidaari

n. [Ar. *jīḍār* "wall" W 114] base, foundation

Jidari iyi/ itakhaadira/ khtukula zulungo statu. ‘This foundation will be able to support three stories.’

khtila jidaari ‘to lay a foundation’

kuweka jidaari ‘to lay a foundation’

Jidda

n. Jeddah

jiha

n. 9/10 [Ar. *jīha* W 1052] direction

Jahazi/ bilaa naakhuḍa/ nt^ha’iná/ jiha. ‘A dhow without a captain has no direction.’ (A proverb.)

jiha ya chigure ‘to the left’

jiha ya chinume ‘backwards’

jiha ya ka’aba ‘in the direction that a Muslim prays’

jiha ya kibla ‘in the direction that a Muslim prays’

jiha ya khsala ‘in the direction that a Muslim prays’

jiha ya kubli ‘to the right’

jiha ya kusooto ‘to the left’

jiha yaa mbele ‘forwards’

jiha ya upotofu ‘in a winding, non-straight direction’

jiha ya skoola ‘in the direction of the school’

jiha ya suukhu ‘in the direction of the market’

kumbahaa jiha ‘for someone to lose direction – become confused, not

know where he is’

Hamadi/ mbelee jiha/ mahaḷaa ye/ kulekela/ ha’isi. ‘Hamadi became confused/ lost direction, he did not know the direction to go.’

Jiha/ imbeele. ‘I became confused.’

Oloshole jiha iyi. ‘He went in this direction.’

Zeena/ nt^hanaayo/ jiha/ ya kurashoowa. ‘Zeena has no fixed principles that he follows (lit. Zeena has no direction of being followed).’

ku-jihaada

v. [Ar. *jihad* W 142; the Mw. verb seems to be built on the Arabic nominal formation rather than the Arabic verb *jahada* W 142] fight for a religion, fight against infidels; struggle against one’s emotions etc. in order to control oneself

variant form: **kujahida** (regularly used in **steezi**)

kujihada nafsi ‘to struggle with one’s inner self’

jahidaani nafsi kumeera zawaadi [st.] [gloss?](#)

Sijihadeeni. ‘You (pl.) don’t undertake **jihadi!**’

jahaadi

n. a sacred war against infidels; spiritual struggling

na kuḷa muunt^hu enzelo jahaadi [st.] ‘and everyone who went on jihad

ku-jika

v. (**jikiile**) force s.o. to do s.t. (This verb is an exception to the general principle that stem-final *k* will mutate to *sh* in forming the perfect stem.)

kumjika ‘to force him to do s.t.’
Mjike. ‘Push him; force him to do it!’
Omari/ waawe/ mjikiile/ Kendra skoola. ‘Omari’s father forced him to go to school.’

we jikiile ka khada’a nonyeeze ndila za miinza [song] ‘you subdued me with deceitfulness, you showed me the ways of darkness’

rel.

ku-jikoowa v. pass. be forced

Waana/ sharti/ kujikoowa/ haṭá/ wachija. ‘Children must be forced to eat [lit. until they eat].’

jikjiki ideo. of being young, strong, fit, etc.

Hamadi/ mzeele/ laakini/ chimona/ kana mubjaana/ jikjiki. ‘Hamadi is an old man, but if you see him, he is **jikjiki** like a young man.’

chi-jiiko (zi-) n. 7/8 pipe

i-jiiko (mi-), (ma-) n. 5/4,6 [Sw. *jiko* SSED 155] cooking stone (one of three forming a triangle, with the fire in the middle)

ijiko ikulu ‘a large cooking stone’

Ijiko mooyi/ ha’ireebi/ chuungu. ‘One cooking stone does not support a pot.’ (A proverb)

khpika ijikooni ‘to cook on a cooking stone’

rel.

mikoo=ni n. loc. in the kitchen

jilaali n. [Som. *jilaal* DSI 344] dry season, corresponding to the winter months (December to March) (It is interesting that the first syllable of this word is long in Somali but is short in Chimiini. One might take this as evidence of the constraint against a long antepult vowel when the penult is long, but there are a significant number of loanwords in Chimiini that preserve successive long vowels in those two syllables.)

Mukhta mi/ mbaliko chihabá/ waawé/ chinaambila/ chiwa umo karka jilaali/ suuzé/ hayawaani/ huwaakopi/ ka khisa zote/ hugura kharibu yaa wowi/ kuwa kharibu ya maayi. ‘When I was a child, my father used to say to me: if you are in the dry season, don’t ask where the animals are, because all move near the river to be near water.’

i-jihibu (ma-) n. 5/6 [Som. *jilib* DSI 345] knee

Ijilibu/ hudhiboowa/ ito/ hudhoroowa. ‘The knee is made to work hard, (but) an eye should be taken care of, protected, rested (i.e. the eye is of greater value than the knee and must be taken care of).’ (Translation of a Somali proverb.)

ijilibu/ khfuura ‘to swell (of) the knee’

ijilibu/ kuḷaaza ‘to have pain in the knees’

khkuta ijilibu ‘to bend the knees’

kubiga ijilibu ‘to sit down (lit. hit the knee)’

Bishile ijilibu. ‘He sat down.’

maraḍi ya ijilibu ‘ailments of the knees’

Mbishile ka ijilibu. ‘He hit him with the knee.’

jima n. [Som. *jamce, jimce, jimco* DSI 338; cf. Ar. *jum á* W 135, Sw. *ijumaa* SSED 140] Friday; Friday’s prayer

jimaa musu [Swahilism, used by MI] ‘Saturday -- the first day of the week’

jimaa nne ‘Tuesday -- the fourth day of the week’

jimaa piili ‘Sunday -- the second day of the week’

Omari/ nayo balani/ jimaa piili. ‘Omari has an appointment on Sunday.’

jimaa tatu ‘Monday -- the third day of the week’

Ka mfaano/ waana/ huzalowa munt^hi wa jimaa tatu/ hupowa

ina ya Mhamadi/ amó/ Ahmadi/ amó/ Haamidi/ amó/ Mahmuudi/ amó/ ina yoyote ya mtume Mhamadi/ kama/ Mustafa/ Mukhtaari/ amó/ Akhyaari. ‘For example, children who are born on Monday are given the name Mhamadi or Ahmadi or Haamidi or Mahmuudi or another name of the prophet Mhamadi, such as Mustafa, Mukhtaari/ or Akhyaari.’

jimaa tatu na arkhamisi suura [st.] ‘Monday and Thursday [of any week] are good [days for fasting]’

Lapiili/ laa jima/ killa mooyi/ hi’iruudila/ mahala yaa ye/ hufanyo kaazi. ‘On Friday afternoon each one returns to the place where he works.’

Leelo/ jima/ maduka/ hayafunguloowi. ‘Today is Friday, shops are not open.’

mfumaa jima ‘Saturday’

Nguwo ya kaazima/ hayendreloowi/ jima. ‘One does not attend Friday prayers in borrowed clothes.’

Sultaani/ oloshela m(w)iskiti waa jima/ khsala. ‘The sultan went to the Friday mosque to pray.’

Tahara yaa jima/ nda arkhamiisi. ‘The ritual cleanliness for Friday prayer is from Thursday (i.e. you must prepare yourself in advance).’ (A proverb.)

jime n. peer, someone equal, someone similar

(Kila/) **muunt^hu/ huteza naa jime.** ‘Every one plays with one like himself.’ (A proverb.)

Muunt^hu/ hushindramana naa jime. ‘A person competes with his peer/ agemate/ someone with the same strength etc.’

ku-jimi’sata v. [Som. *jimicso* "stretch limbs" DSI 346] (**jimi’seete**) stretch one’s arms (from being tired, or giving vent to being sexually aroused)

jimla n. [Ar. *jumla* W 137] in the phrase:

ka jimla ‘in total, wholesale’

Huza maali/ ka jimla. ‘He sells goods wholesale.’

thalaatha miya na ikumi ka jimla/ na wataatu sho kiiwa
nt^hanaayo mila [st.] ‘(there are) three hundred and ten (prophets) in total, plus three, the one who does not know this does not have religion, faith, etc.’

ku-jimlisha v. caus. add up

alternative form: **ku-jumlisha**

kujimlisha hisaabu ‘to add up the count’

kujimlisha zoombe/ zont^he ‘to add up all the things’

rel.

ku-jimlishoowa v. caus. pass.

kujimlishowa hisaabu ‘the count to be added up’

m-jiinga (wa-) n. 1/2 [Sw. *mjinga* SSED 156] a foolish or stupid person

Amá/ ni/ wanaadamu/ hanpuunguli/ kuwa mjiinga. ‘O, you humans, you are stupid [lit. you do not decrease to be stupid].’

khkooða/ kana mjiinga ‘to talk nonsense – lit. to speak like a foolish person’

i-jini (ma-) n. 5/6 [Sw. *jinni* SSED 156Som. *jiin* DSI 344; Ar. *jinn* W 138] djinn, ghost or spirit; an invisible creature, either good or bad

Chilangala/ mahala/ sooti/ inakuławiló/ chimwona ijini. ‘He looked in the place where the voice was coming from, and he saw a djinn.’

Ijini/ inayo miirize. ‘The devil/madman has his wisdom/intelligence.’ (A proverb.)

Ijini/ munt^hu tiiló/ ndi ye/ hu^utomoló. ‘The djinn, the one who brought him in, is the one who can take him out.’ (A proverb.) Or: **Ijini/ munt^hu tiiló/ hu^utomoló.**

Ishfanyoowa/ jisa uje ijini/ hadiiló. ‘It was done (i.e. happened) just as that djinn had said (it would).’

khpata ijini ‘to become crazy’

khtila ijini ‘to drive crazy’

Nazaajá/ nakunt^hila ijini. ‘My mother-in-law is driving me

crazy.’ **Review final accent issue.**

Mi/ siná/ ijini. ‘I am not crazy.’

Muunt^hu/ maashe/ haatiyi/ ijini. ‘The blind person never fears a spirit/ghost/djinn.’ (A proverb.)

Mwana uyu/ nayo ijini. ‘This child is crazy.’

majini/ wiingi/ nt^ho. ‘The owner of these nests is the old Simsimu and the place where he lives, there are very many jinns.’

Nayo ijini. ‘He is crazy, insane -- [lit.] he has craziness, insanity.’

Nayo ijini/ maana/ we/ endrá/ endrá. ‘You are crazy, you child, go away! go away!’

Nayo ijini/ naawé/ siwo/ mzima/ we. ‘You have been possessed by a djinn and you are out of your mind [lit. and you are not whole], you.’

Nii muke/ wa majini/ naayó/ na waanawé. ‘It was a djinn woman, she, and her children.’

N^hana aqilí/ nayo ijini. ‘The one who has no wits has craziness.’

Wachimjiiba/ si/ ni majini/ na uyú/ ni mwanaamke/ wa sultaani. ‘They answered him: we are djinns, and this one is the daughter of a sultan.’

We/ nayo ijini. ‘You are crazy!’

Wo/ ni wanashke/ wa sultaani/ wa majini. ‘They are the daughters of the sultan of the djinns.’

rel.

chi-jini n. the language of the **majini**: a secret language used by the **want^hu wa**

Miini that involves moving the final syllable of a Chimiini word to the beginning of the word, reducing/devoicing the new word final vowel, shortening any long vowel, and assigning the word penult accent regardless of the original accent location.)

Chijini/ suwo/ lughá/ mbali. Ni Chimwiini/ tu/ shpoteelá/ khpata waant^hu/ wa’isi noo’i/ ya koði izi/ wastaambuli/ na **complete the passage**

i-jiniile

adj. mad, crazy; n. a mad man

Kooðize/ kana ijiniile. ‘His words are like (those of) a madman.’

jiinis

n. 9/10 [Eng. *jeans*] blue-jeans

variant form: **jinsi**

jiinis iyi ‘these jeans’

Jinis izi/ nza Alí. ‘These jeans belong to Ali.’

Omari/ vete (surwani ya) jiinis. ‘Omari wore jeans [trousers].’

shkoti cha jiinis ‘a short denim jacket’ (cf. **skoti za jiinis** ‘denim jackets’)

surwani iyi/ ya jiinis ‘these jeans trousers’

Surwani izi/ za jiinis/ nza Alí. ‘These jeans trousers belong to Ali.’

Surwani za jiinis/ hazimali/ kahima. ‘Jeans [trousers] do not wear out quickly.’

rel.

chi-jiinis (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim. (disparaging use)

Chijinis gani/ icho. ‘What kind of **chijiinis** are those (suggesting that they are not good jeans)?’

jinsi

n. [Sw. *jinsi* SSED 156; Ar.] sort, kind, nature

Kila/ mooyi/ huwona ziint^hu/ jinsi/ mba^lmbali. ‘Each one sees things in a

- ku-jiirata* v. [Som. *jiiro* DSI 344] (*jiireete*) bear down, strain (as a woman in labor, a person defecating)
 Maanawa/ hujiirata/ mudaa ye/ naakunyó. ‘My baby strains when he poops.’
- jiridi* n. [Som. *jirrid* DSI 348] stump of tree, including roots
 khkula jiridi ‘to uproot, eradicate’
 rel.
chi-jiridi (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.
i-jiridi (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
- jiiro* n. dysentery
 mimba ya jiiro ‘dysentery’
- jisa* conj. [Sw. *jinsi* SSED 156; Ar. *jins* W 141] as, so that, how
 Basi/ jisa/ khfaanya/ nt^haná. ‘So, how (what) to do, she did not know [lit. have].’
 Fungula mnaango/ jisa maana/ khpata kiiingila. ‘Open the door so that the child may enter.’
 Hasani/ wenopo ngoombé/ jisaa zó/ niingí/ nt^hakhaadira/ kureba ruuhuye/ shfakata/ chiingila/ katikati ya ngoombe. ‘When Hasani saw the cows, how many there were, he could not stop himself, he ran and went in the middle of the cows.’
 Jisa aadaye/ shfanya zaa ye/ hufaanyó/ kilaskú/ chimaliza/ shpandra farasiye/ chendra harbiini. ‘As was his custom, he did what does every day, then he mounted his horse and went to war.’
 Jisa gani. ‘How?’ Or: Jisi gani.
 jisa itaakuwó ‘however, anyway -- [lit.] the way it will become’
 Jisa itaakuwó/ Hamadi/ siuwe/ yaa mi/ khaambiló. ‘Anyway, Hamadi should not know what I told you.’
 Jisa/ khfaanya/ nt^haku. ‘How to do it (tell the two poles apart) he could not (find a way).’
 jisaa mbovu ‘very badly’
 Nuuru/ tulushile/ halaweete/ jisaa mbovu. ‘Nuuru fell and hurt himself very badly.’
 jisa suura ‘well, nicely, but used as a general intensifier; thoroughly, carefully, completely’
 Fitisha jisa suura. ‘Search carefully!’
 Ja jisa suura. ‘Eat nicely!’
 Kaðiido/ impete jisa suura. ‘The fever really laid him low.’
 Muke/ naayé/ huveshoowa/ nguwo/ nelpe/ naðiifa/ hotezoowa/ jisa suura. ‘The woman also will be dressed with new clothes, white, clean, [and] will be fumigated with incense thoroughly.’
 (N)fanyize chiint^hú/ jisa suura. ‘He did something verb well.’
 (N)fanyize kaazí/ jisa suura. ‘He worked very well.’
 Siimba/ chiwa’egasha/ jisa suura. ‘Lion welcomed them nicely.’
 Tuuma/ hupikaa zijo/ jisa suura/ hupikó. ‘Tuuma cooks zijo well, that’s what she does.’ Or: Tuuma/ hupikaa zijo/ hupikó/ jisa suura. ‘Tuuma cooks zijo, that’s what she does, well.’ Or: Tuuma/ hupika jisa suura/ zijo/ hupikó. ‘Tuuma cooks well zijo, that’s what she does.’
 Ye/ bishile jisa suura/ paasi. ‘She ironed well.’ (Cf. Mi/ mbishile jisa suura/ paasi. ‘I ironed well.’)
 jisaa we/ hupeendó ‘as you like’
 jisaa wo/ hujó ‘the way they eat’
 Jisaa ye/ fiiló/ nt^haku/ na’iw shokuwa dul’edá/ waa ye/ mrashiizó/ masku mamooiy. ‘How he died, there is no one who knows except the fox that he went with [lit. followed him] one night.’
 jisaa ye/ hadiiló ‘as he said’

jisa m(w)eepe ‘somehow, in one way or the other’

Jisaayi. ‘How?’ Or: **Ka jisaayi.**

Kooði/ kila mo/ jisaa ye/ hutaambuló. ‘Talk is how everyone understands it.’ (A proverb.)

Siisi/ Baazi/ jisaa ye/ takulo gaarí. ‘I do not know how Baazi will buy a car.’ Or: **Baazi/ jisaa ye/ takulo gaarí/ siisi.** Or: **Gaari/ Baazi/ jisaa ye/ takuuló/ siisi.** Or: **Baazi/ gaari/ jisaa ye/ takuuló/ siisi./**

Songa chaa chiti/ mbele/ jisa Nuuru/ khpata khpita. ‘Move the chair forward so that Nuuru may pass.’

Sultaani/ nuziize/ jisaa mi/ mbashizo maaliyá. ‘The sultan asked me how I had lost my wealth.’

Wakomelopo muyiini/ Hasiibu/ shfaanya/ jisa m(w)eenzawe/ sultani waa noka/ mwaambiló. ‘When they reached the town, Hasiibu did just as his friend, the king of snakes, told him (to do).’

rel.

jis’aa as

jis’aa we/ hupeendó ‘as you like’

jis’aa ye/ hadiiló ‘as he said’

jis’iyi this way

Ambila khfanya jis’iyi. ‘He was told to do such and such/ this way.’

Sku niingi/ spisile jis’iyi. ‘Many days passed in this way.’

Wa’ishiize/ jis’iyi/ ka mudda/ hattá/ maali/ yotte/ yamlasile/ na ufaime/ umbeelee. ‘They lived this way for a period of time until all the money was gone [lit. left them] and he lost the sultanhip.’

We/ nakuwoná/ kuwa ni suura/ jis’iyi? ‘Do you think that it is right this way?’

Yapisile miyaaka/ miingi/ jis’iyi. ‘Many years passed this way.’

jis’iyo so, in that manner or way, thereabout, as usual

Abunawaasi/ chiingila/ na mbuziye/ na muhjaanawe/ ka jis’iyo/ muhjaana/ chidirkamana na mwanaamke. ‘Abunawaasi entered with his sheep and his young man and in that way the young man met the girl.’

Bas(i)/ kilasku/ jis’iyo/ jis’iyo/ hattá/ leelo/ waawaye/ chiwa hakhaadiri/ chifa. ‘So each day (passed) that way, that way, until (one) day his father became sick and died.’

Basi/ oyo mwaana/ hendra khpatapataa nsi/ jis’iyo/ hendro khpataapatá. ‘So that boy goes to catch fish as usual, that is what he goes to catch.’ (Syn. This example is interesting in that it reveals that the construction where a verb is repeated in relative clause form may include both an auxiliary-like verb and infinitive complement.)

Huhadaayi/ jis’iyo. ‘How can you say that?’

Huseeni/ chiwa’uza/ mboni/ ni/ nakhfanya jis’iyo. ‘Huseeni asked them: how come you (plural) are doing so/ this way?’

Jis’iyo/ si/ shtakuwona/ miyi miingi/ miingine/ shtakubarašana/ na

waant^hu/ wiingine/ wiingi. ‘That way we will see many other towns and get acquainted with many other people.’

ka jis’iyo for this reason’

Ka jis’iyo/ waant^hu/ wa’anzize kumkahata. ‘For this reason people began to hate him.’

Ni ka jis’iyo/ mi/ huló. ‘It is for this reason that I cry.’

Ka sababu gani/ we/ hadilo jis’iyo. ‘For what reason did you speak that way?’

Mukhtaaya ye/ ineenzeló/ mudda/ wa sa’a naane/ jis’iyo/ na komeloo dalí/ kotté/ maduurí/ kasize sooti. ‘When he had travelled for a period of about eight hours and reached a place which was all bush, he heard a voice.’

M(w)aana/ chiwa’ambila waant^huwe/ kistawisha ruhuzaawo/ kuvala nguwo suura. Wote/ washfanya jis’iyo. ‘The boy told his people

to make themselves look nice, to put on nice clothes. They all did so.'

Na shfanya jis'iyó/ kila mooyi/ nambige baakoora. 'And if he does things this way, each one (of us) should cane him.'

Ni jis'iyó/ so. 'Is that so?'

Sfaanyé/ jis'iyó. 'Don't do it that way!'

Wachooloka/ washfanya jis'iyó. 'They went and they did just that way (just as they were told to do).'

Wotte/ washfanya jis'iyó. 'All did so [i.e. as instructed].'

Ye/ cheendra/ khkala nt^hi yingine/ ka muda/ hupato miyaka mitatú/ jis'iyó. 'He went to live in another country for a period of three years, around that.'

jismu

n. [Ar. *jism* W 126] body

Ayuubu jismuye nvuno zingiile [st.] 'worms entered Job's body'

Jismuye/ yote/ inamlaaza. 'His whole body ached him.'

wake kuhafiða jismu ni wajibu [st.] 'for women to cover [lit. protect] her body is obligatory'

i-jiwe (ma-)

n. 5/6 [Sw. *jiwe, mawe* SSED 157] stone (The usual plural is **majiwe**, though **mawe** is used in the phrase **numba yaa mawe** 'stone house'. Presumably the root was originally **-we**, and the singular form **ijiwe** developed from the augmentative of **-we**; cf. how a noun such as **chisu** 'knife' forms an augmentative **ijisu**.)

ijiwe ikulu 'a large stone'; **majiwe makulu** 'large stones'

Ijiwe/ ilatila. 'The stone was thrown.'

ijiwe ilusi 'a black stone (cf. **Ijiwe/ ilusi.** 'The stone is black.')

ijiwe ilusi/ ya taajiri 'the black stone of the rich man'; **majiwe malusi/ ya taajiri** 'the black stones of the rich man'; **majiwe malusi/ ya mataajiri** 'the black stones of the rich men'

Ijiwe/ imbishile. 'The stone struck me.' Cf. **Majiwe/ yambishile.** 'The stones struck me.'

Ijiwe/ nt^haykulañiloowa. 'The stone was not thrown.'

ijiwe ya chimento 'a cement block (lit. cement stone)'

ijiwe yaa kuta 'large rectangular stone on which different foodstuffs are crushed and made into a paste (softened grain, tomatoes, peppers, etc.)'

ijiwe ya kuwaka 'stone for constructing buildings with'

ijiwe yaa ngome 'rock'

ijiwe ya nt^huwaakala 'limestone'

ijiwe yaa tala 'battery for a flashlight'

ijiwe ya khpalaza or **ijiwe ya khpalaliza** 'a stone for grinding corn'

ijiweya 'my stone'; **majiweya** 'my stones'

ijiweye 'his stone'; **majiweye** 'his stones'

ijiweyo 'your stone'; **majiweyo** 'your stones'

imoro ya majiwe 'stone fence'

khalbi ya ijiwe 'a stone heart – of a uncaring, hard person'

khpakila majiwe 'to load stones'

khpakiza majiwe 'to load stones on (usu. onto a camel or a truck)'

khpakizowa majiwe 'for something to have stones loaded on it'

Ngamiila/ pakiza majiwe. 'The camel is being loaded with stones.'

kumbiga ka ijiwe 'to hit him with a stone'

kuvunda majiwe 'to break up stones'

lkuta la majiwe 'a stone wall'

majiwe malusi 'black stones' (cf. **Majiwe/ malusi.** 'The stones are black.')

Majiwe/ yakhubishile. 'Stones struck you.'

Majiwe/ yalesela na muunt^hu. 'The stones were brought by a man.'

Mbashile numba yaa mawé. 'I built a stone house.' Or: **Mbashile nuumbá/ yaa mawé.** (Notice that the complement to the head of the associative phrase, when phrasally separated from the head, receives default penult accent. The pronunciation ***m-bashile nuumbá/ y-aa ma-wé** is

not acceptable. review this point)

Mbashile numba yaa mawé/ ya Nuurú. ‘I built Nuuru’s stone house.’ Or: **Mbashile numba yaa ^fmawé/ Nuuru.** Or: **Mbashile nuumbá/ yaa mawe/ ya Nuuru.** (It does not seem to be particularly felicitous to say: ?**Mbashile numba ya mawe ya Nuurú.**)

Mi/ nakhfikirilá/ majiwe/ ayaje/ mawili/ imooyi/ ikulu/ na imooyi/ chiba./ Ijiwe/ chihaba/ haypaandri/ na ijwé/ ikulu/ hayishkili. ‘I was thinking about those two stones (over there), one big and one small. The small stone does not go up and the big stone does not come down.’ (This is Rabbit’s explanation for why he has stopped walking!)

Muunt^hu/ leesele/ majiwe. ‘The man brought stones.’ (cf. **Muunt^hu/ yaleesele/ majiwe.** ‘The man brought the stones.’)

numba ya majiwe ‘stone house’

numba yaa mawe/ yaa Menye ‘the stone house belonging to Menye (this may be the only house he has)’ (Phon. Our consultant preferred to introduce a phrasal break between the complex head **numba y-aa ma-we** and the associative phrase **y-aa Menye**. A pronunciation where there is a single phonological phrase was considered infelicitous: ?**numba ya mawe yaa Menye.**)

numba yaa Menye/ yaa mawe ‘the house of Menye’s (that is) made of stone= the stone house belonging to Menye (not any other house that Menye has)’ (Phon. A pronunciation where there is a single phonological phrase was considered infelicitous: ?**numba ya Menye yaa mawe.**)

-uumu/ kana ijiwe ‘as hard as a stone’

Chitaache/ chuumu/ kana ijiwe. ‘His head is hard, like a stone.’

-zito/ kana ijiwe ‘as heavy as a stone’

Mbawo izi/ ^fmizito/ kana majiwe. ‘These pieces of wood are as heavy as stones.’

rel.

chi-jiwe (*zi-*) n. dim. 7/8 little stone

Chijiwe/ shchizaama/ chigaaya/ shcheeluka. ‘The little stone sank, the potshard floated.’ (A traditional closing to a story.)

chijiwe shpoteeló ‘a stone that fell’; **zijiwe spoteeló** ‘stones that fell’

[-ji-we (*mi-ji-we*) n. 11/4 aug.

Wachindremezandremeza mijiwe. ‘They struck me repeatedly with large stones.’

jiwiso

n. [Som. *jebiso* DSI 340] python

fakataani oyo ni noka jiwiso / takichivuunda oyo mbavu ziitu [st.] ‘run away, that one is a python, that one will break our ribs’ (Note that the poet is speaking of a person, therefore all agreements are of class 1.)

jo

? [The analysis of this item is uncertain, as we have only observed it in the following lines of poetry:]

hija ni farði waajibu jo laazimu/ hukhaadiro sho keendra aasi ðaalimu

[st.] ‘the pilgrimage is a binding religious obligation, whoever has the means and does not go, is disobedient and a wrongdoer’

muunt^hu sho kiiwa namuuze jo aadili [st.] ‘the one who does not know (the rules and regulations) should ask the one who is knowledgeable’

zi-jo

n. crushed naize or millet that is then boiled; food, cooked rice; **noun class?**

Laakini/ zijo/ mpele mwanaamke/ na ikookó/ mpele mwana wa mubliwe. ‘Bujt zijo she gave to her daughter and the crust of rice she gave to the child of her husband.’

Muke/ chimpakulilaa zijo. ‘The woman dished out zijo for him.’

Muke oyo/ pishilee zijo. ‘The woman cooked food/zijo.’

Muke/ shpikaa zijo. ‘The woman cooked zijo.’

Tete iziwa / na zijo za mpuungá/ mtukize myaana/ kumpelekela eelo.

‘She took milk and rice **ziyo** and had a female servant take it to the gazelle.’

zijoza ‘my food’

jodari n. 9/10, 6 [Sw. **jodari** SSED “a kind of dried fish, like dried shark” SSED 158; **dyodari** "Bonite (Thynnus pelamys)" Sac 191] tuna; **jodaari** or **majoodari** (pl.)

joogi n. 9/10 [Sw. **jozi** SSED 159; Ar. **jauz** W 148] pair
jogi ya zilaatu ‘pair of shoes’

jografiya n. [Ital. **geografia**] geography

johari n. [Sw. **johari** SSED 158; Ar. **jauhar** W 150] jewel, gem
Chinaqishiza ka luulu/ johaari/ na almaasi. ‘It was decorated with pearls, jewels, and diamonds.’

Dhabu/ ni ghaali/ johari na. ‘The gold is expensive, what about the gems?’

johariya ‘my jewel’ (Observe the shortening of the initial vowel of the stem as a consequence of the encliticization of the possessive marker, which puts the initial syllable in an unstressed position.)

kama joohari ‘like a jewel’
Haliima/ zazile waana/ kama majoohari. ‘Haliima bore children (as beautiful) as jewels.’

Nthakhaadira/ kumaliza ka khisa impungukilile joohari/ mooyi. ‘She was not able to finish [making a crown] because she she lacked one jewel.’

rel.

chi-joohari (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

i-joohari (mi-) n. aug.

chi-joho (zi-) n. 7/8 a member of a social class on Lamu island, consisting of wealthy old people who are regarded as arrogant and not true Muslims by virtue of their having their own mosque which they do not like others to enter **check vowel length and whether used in Chimiini**

jokaatoli n. 9/10 [Ital. **giocattolo**] toy

jornaale (Ø, ma-) n. 9/10, 6 [Ital. **giornale**] newspaper; **jornaale** or **majornaale** (pl.)

jowri n. or adj. [Sw. **jeuri** SSED 153] arrogant; arrogance; outrage
khfanya jowri ‘to act arrogantly’
Muunth^u/ siwo/ suura/ khfanya jowri. ‘It is not good for someone to behave arrogantly.’

Ye/ nfanyize jowri. ‘He acted on me arrogantly.’

kuleta jowri ‘to behave arrogantly’

Omari/ akhiri iyi/ anzize kuleta jowri. ‘Omari lately has begun to act arrogantly.’

kuwa jowri ‘to be outraged’

munt^hu jowri ‘an arrogant man’

ku-jowrisha v. [Ar. verb **jāra** W 146 and noun **jaur** "oppression, tyranny, outrage" W 147] (**jowrishiize**) outrage s.o., show arrogance, try to impose s.t. on s.o.

joosi n. [Ar. **jauz** W 148; Som. **jaws**, variant **jows** DSI 340] nutmeg

juḍaamu n. [Sw. **jethamu** SSED 153; Ar. **juḍām** W 117] leprosy
munt^hu mwenye juḍaamu ‘a leper’

ku-juḍbata v. [cf. Ar. **jadaba** "to attract, allure" W 115 and Som. **jidboo** "to be in a frenzy" DSI 342]

juha (*ma-*) adj. [Sw. **juha** SSED 159] stupid (from the legendary character **Juha** who appears to be stupid but in fact is very intelligent)

Iyi/ ni raadiyo/ isho wenewe/ ya jamhuuri/ ya majuha. ‘This is Free Radio of the republic of fools.’

Waant^hu/ wamweno Abunawaasi/ namgita mbuzi/ ka chinumeenumé/ wachingila kubigaa nk^hele/ ijuha/ ijuha/ idokhani/ mbuzi/ ha’inenzoowi/ jis’iyo. ‘The people who saw Abunawaasi pulling the sheep (**mbuzi** is shortened from **mbuzi ya matako**) began shouting: fool! fool! stupid! A sheep is not driven that way.’

juhudi n. [Sw. **juhudi** SSED 157; Ar. **juhd** W 142] effort

Someele/ ka juhudi/ na daḏaali/ masku/ na muunt^hi. ‘He studied with effort and trying hard night and day.’

i-juhudi n. a heavy punch to the chest that can kill or cause problems to the lungs

i-juukhu n. [Ar. **jūk** "broadcloth" W 146]

i-juula (*ma-*) n. 5/6 a fishing net pulled by men

chi-juulu n. 7/8 dim. form of **kuulu**

i-juulu n. 5/4 aug form of **kuulu**

chi-juumba n. 7/8 dim. of **nuumba** [cf. Sw. **kijumba** SSED 64] small house; nest
We/ kapata chijuumba/ chaa nyunyi/ wo/ sula kiimba. ‘If you could get the nest of (these) birds, they would sing.’

jumla n. 9 [Sw. **jumla** “(i) the sum, total, a lot, all together; also adv. wholesale, in lots” SSED 160; Ar. **jumla** W 137] sum, total; wholesale

bohari ya jumla ‘a store where things are sold wholesale’

kula ka jumla ‘to buy in whole lots’

kuza ka jumla ‘to sell in whole lots’

Omari/ huza zoombo/ jumla. ‘Omari sells things at wholesale.’

ku-jumlisha v. [Sw. **jumlisha** “add up, sum up, put all together, in arithm. addition, to add up, tot up” SSED 160] (**jumlishiize**)

variant form:

ku-jimlisha v. *ibid.* (**jimlishiize**)

Omari/ jumlishize^f zoombo/ zotte. ‘Omari has put the things all together in a lot to sell.’ Or, with emphasis on the verb: **Omari/ jumlishiize/ zoombo/ zotte.**

re.

ku-jumlishoowa v. *pass.*

jundi (*O,ma-*) n. [Ar. **jundi** W140] soldier

i-jungujuungu n. tortoise

ijuuniya (*ma-*) n. 5/6 [Sw. **gunia** "sack" SSED 120; Hind.] sack used for anything (grain, cement, charcoal, etc.).

Haliima/ (ni) ^fizito/ kana ijuuniya. ‘Haliima is as heavy as a sack.’ Or: **Haliima/ (ni) ^fmzito/ kana ijuuniya.** (The difference between these two examples is with respect to whether the adjective is given augmentative agreement, **izito**, or simple [cl.1] agreement, **mzito**.)

Sultaani/ shtomola amri/ chiwa’ambila want^hu wa muuyi/ wotte/

keendra/ kumshiika/ Abunawaasi/ kumtila ndrani ya ijuuniya/ kuyeza ijuuniya/ majiwe/ khfungaa kana/ kanmake/

kuvurumisha ijuuniya/ iyo/ bahariini. ‘The sultan issued an

order and told all the people of the town to go and arrest Abunawaasi and to put him inside a sack and to fill the sack with stones and to tie up the opening and then to throw that sack into the sea.’

-zito/ kana ijuuniya ‘as heavy as a sack’

rel.

chi-juuniya (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim.

l-juuniya (*mi-*) n. 11/4 aug.

ku-junuunata

v. [Ar. *junūn* W 138] (**jununeete**) become mad, crazy

rel.

ku-junuunisha v. caus. (**jununishiize**)

jutha

n. 9/10 [Ar. *jutta* W 112] *uncommon* corpse (This word seems to be largely restricted to teachers during **shari’a** lessons. The usual word in Chimwiini is **mayti**.)

ku-juuza

v. [Sw. *juzu* ‘be permissible, be allowable, be suitable, be fitting for, be right for, be duty of’ SSED 161; Ar. *jāza* W 147] (**juziize**) (i) be right for, suited for, deserved, permitted; (ii) reproach, point out that something is someone’s fault when he is suffering the consequences of his actions (thus ‘rubbing it in’)

Humjuuza. ‘He deserves something (bad) because of his actions.’

kubiga shamali s̄oshe hujuuza [st.] ‘do not think that it is permitted to jump and sing loudly’

muḷo na maayi na muḷu hujuuza/ kuwa muhtaaji hata masku miinza [st.]

‘fire and water and salt are permitted (to be borrowed/lent) if there is need, even at night’

Mwajiitu/ nakhujuuza. ‘May God punish you for your wrongdoings.’ *-e?*

nama na maaziye pamo khpikoowa/ bila koshooa hujuuza kujoowa [st.]

‘(such as the custom of) cooking meat together with its blood without washing it, (and assuming that) it is suitable for eating’

Sharafu iyi/ hayimjuuzi. ‘This honor/respect is not fitting for him.’

rel. nom.

ma-juuzo n. 6

u-juuzo n. 14

juzu

n. 9/10 [Sw. *juzuu* SSED 161; Ar. *juz’* W 123 “the thirtieth part of the Koran”] the thirtieth part of the Quran; a section, chapter, division of a book, esp. the Quran; [pron. **juzú**] (This word has an exceptional lexical final accent. Is this accent connected to the fact that the Swahili version has a rearticulated vowel at the end?)

khsomaa juzú ‘to read a section of the Quran’

khsoma juzuu mbili ‘to read two sections of the Quran (Phon. Observe that although when it is at the end of a phrase **juzu** has an accent on its last syllable, when the word is no long final in the phrase there is no indication of its lexical final accent.)

khsoma juzu ya piili ‘to read the second chapter of the Quran’

-ka-

past conditional prefix, counterfactual conditional prefix

Ali/ iwiile/ kuwaa ye/ kawa’ambilá/ waant’ú/ kooðizé/ wo/

skawataambule. ‘Ali knew that if he told people his words they would not understand them.’

kachiboolá ‘if we had stolen it’; **kachiboolá/ sí** ‘if we had stolen it, we’

(Phon. A right-dislocated subject is ordinarily radically lowered in pitch, an indication of its out-of-focus nature. However, in the present case, the pronoun **si** is raised in pitch. **We have not explored the issue of how right-dislocation works in the *ka* tense, so cannot expand on this point.**)

kaachijá/ yaná ‘if we had eaten yesterday’ or, with a right-dislocated subject pronoun: **kaachijá/ yaná/ si** and **kaachijá/ si/ yaná**

Kachiwa choloshelé/ suḷa kuwa chiwaweené. ‘If we had gone, we would have seen them.’

kachilimá ‘if we had cultivated’

Kaniwa noloshelé/ suḷa kuwa niwaweené. ‘If you (pl.) had gone, you would have seen them.’

have seen them.’
Kawa wa’oloshelé/ suła kuwa wawaweene. ‘If they had gone, they would

mi/ kaajá ‘if I had eaten’, **we/ kaajá** ‘if you had eaten’, **ye/ kaajá** ‘if (s)he had eaten’, **si/ kaachijá** ‘if we had eaten’, **ni/ kaanijá** ‘if you (pl.) had eaten’, **wo/ kawaajá** ‘if they had eaten’, **maana/ kaajá** ‘if the child had eaten’, **waana/ kawaajá** ‘if the children had eaten’

Muusa/ kawanayo chibuukú ‘if Muusa had a book’ or, with verb focus: **Muusa/ kuwanaayó/ chibuuku** (Cf. the definite version: **Muusa/ kawanacho chibuukú** ‘if Muusa had the book’ or, with verb focus: **Muusa/ kawanaachó/ chibuuku**.)

mwanaa mule/ kaayá ‘if the tall boy had come’; or: **kaya mwaaná/ mulé** ‘if a tall boy had come’; or: **kaya mwanaa mulé** ‘if the tall boy had come’

Ni lila/ kođi za waawe/ nk^halala ndrani ya logaani/ suła kuwa nfiilé.
‘They were true, the words of my father, if I had slept in the valley, I would have died.’

Nk^ha’endrá/ suła mwona. ‘If I went, I would see him.’

Nk^ha’endra kaaké/ suła mwona. ‘If I went to his place, I would see him.’

Nk^ha’endra kaaké/ yaná/ suła kumwona. ‘If I had gone to his place yesterday, I would have seen him.’

nk^ha’oloká ‘if I had gone’; **ka’oloká** ‘if you had gone/if he had gone’;
kachooloká ‘if we had gone’; **kawa’oloká** ‘if they had gone’

nk^ha’ula garii mp^hiyá ‘if I bought a new car’ (Phon. Observe that the noun **gaari** is interpreted as indefinite here, even though it is phrased together with the modifier. In other post-verbal situations, phrasing of the noun with a modifier indicates definiteness, while phrasal separation indicates indefiniteness. But this pattern does not hold in the present example. Our consultant rejected separate phrasing of **gaari**: ***nk^ha’ula gaarí/ mp^hiyá**. In order to make **gaari** definite, an object prefix on the verb is required: **nk^hayula garii mp^hiyá** ‘if I bought the new car’. We have not explored what lies behind this set of facts.)

Nk^ha’ula gaarí/ suła khupa kiineenza. ‘If I bought a car, I would give it to you to drive.’

nk^hachisoomá ‘if I had read it’

nk^hachisoma chibuukú ‘if I had read the book’

nk^hasoomá ‘if I had read’; **kasoomá** ‘if you/he had read’; **kachisoomá** ‘if we had read’; **kansoomá** ‘if you (pl.) had read’; **kawasoomá** ‘if they had read’

Nk^hawa nfakeeté/ suła kuwa nimdirshilé. ‘If I had run, I would have reached him.’

Nk^hawa noloshele kaaké/ arabiyá/ suła kuwa nimweené. ‘If I had gone to his place on Wednesday, I would have seen him.’

Nk^hawa noloshelé/ suła kuwa niwaweené. ‘If I had gone, I would have seen them.’

Nuuru/ ka’impata murugú ‘if Nuuru had been worried’, or with verb emphasis: **Nuuru/ ka’impatá/ murugú** ‘if Nuuru had gotten worried’

Nuuru/ kaṭeza na Saalimú/ sukhuuní ‘if Nuuru had played in the market with Saalimu’ (Phon. Locating **sukhuuni** immediately after the verb does not change the scope of the final accent in the **ka** tense: **Nuuru/ kaṭeza sukhuuní/ na Saalimú**.)

Omari/ kawawona wana awá/ miimba/ suła maaka. ‘If Omari had seen these children, his stomach would have burned – i.e. he would have been filled with pity, sadness etc.’ (Phon. If the verb of a **ka** clause is focused, the final accent still shifts to the end of the clause:

Omari/ kawawoná/ wana awá... Strikingly, even though time

adverbials are outside the projection of final accent in the present and past tenses, the same is not true in the *ka* clause: **Omari/ kawawona wana awá/ yaná...** 'If Omari had seen these children yesterday..')

have seen them.'

(We/) **kawa oloshelé/ sula kuwa waweené.** 'If you had gone, you would

seen them.'

(Ye/) **kawa oloshelé/ sula kuwa waweene.** 'If he had gone, he would have

ka

ideo. of breaking

stick **ka ka ka ká.**'

Hamadi/ vuzile chiti cha Omari/ ka ka ka ká. 'Hamadi broke Omari's

Muti/ uvundishile/ ka ka ka ká. 'The tree broke **ka ka ka ká.**' (In this and in the preceding example, the ideophone is repeated four times, the last occurrence being stressed/high pitched.)

ka

prep. with, to, at, towards, from, for, of, by

Ali/ fakte ka Jaama. 'Ali ran towards Jaama, to Jaama's place.'

Chendra ka sultaani/ chimpa khabari. 'He ran to the sultan and gave him the news.'

Chooloka/ ka baaba/ chimpa salaamu/ fijiri. 'In the morning, she went to her father and greeted him.'

Fanya safari/ kendra kiitu/ ka waawe/ na ka maamé. 'Make a journey and go to my place at my father's and my mother's.'

Hasani/ chiruda numbaani/ ka mwanaamke. 'Hasani returned to the house of the girl.'

Leselee khatí/ ka Faatíma. 'He brought a letter to Faatima (or to Faatima's place).' (Usage: In order to make it unambiguously the place rather than the person, one can say: **Leselee khatí/ ka Faatíma/ nuumbani.** 'He brought the letter to Faatima's house.'

Mp^hete khatí/ ka mwaaná. 'I got a letter from the child.' (Cf. the relative clause: **mwana waa mi/ mp^hetoo khatí/ (ka) kaaké** 'the boy who I got a letter from him'.)

muke waa ye/ leseloo khatí/ ka kaaké 'the woman whom he brought a letter from her'

muke waa ye/ teto peesá/ ka kaaké 'the woman whom he took money from her' (cf. **muke waa ye/ teto peesá/ ka kaaké/ numbaani** 'the woman from whose home he took money')

Mwaana/ tinzilee nama/ kaa chisu. 'The child cut the meat with a knife.'

Mwanaamke/ choondroka/ chendra ka waawaye/ sultaani/ chimwaambila... 'The girl got up and went to her father, the sultan, and said to him...'

Naank^hó/ chimwaambila/ sinsoongé/ lawa ka muyi uyu. 'Again, he told him: do not come close to me, get out of this town.'

Nimuuzilé/ ka thumuni. 'I bought him for one-eighth (of a riyal).'

Niwasaydile ka khtukula skunyi. 'I helped them by carrying firewood.'

Sultaani/ shfurahika/ nt^ho/ ka ushujaa'a/ wa Hasani. 'The sultan became very happy with the courage of Hasani.'

carrying firewood.'

Waliko chiwasayda ka khtukula skunyi. 'He was helping them by

Ka Booléeti

n. The Italians did not build extensively in Brava. A few settlers built their own houses, which now are either in ruins or have disappeared. A ruined one is called **Ka Booléeti** (from the name of the owner, Paoletti).

Ka Gargaarta

n. a place where some Somali people who were brought from the north during the drought were settled in Brava

Ka Gargaarta/ nii kule. 'Ka Gargaarta is far.'

Ka Golwaano

n. an Italian, probably called Galvani or Galvano, built a hotel-restaurant in Brava,

which in later years (after the 1950's) became a private house; it is still called **Ka Galwaano**.

Ka Kamoole n. (alternatively, **Ka Komoole**) an important activity started by Italians in Brava in the inter-wars years was a tanning and leather industry; this was especially active at the time of the Italian war with Ethiopia, when it had the contract for all leather equipment of the Italian army (boots, belts, pistol holsters, etc.); it gave work to many Bravanese, who later continued to make shoes and opened their shops also in Mogadishu; the building is still extant and is located on the main avenue; it is called **Ka Kamoole** (or **Komoole**), from the owner's name, Mr. Camogli

ka khisa

because, for the reason **review phrasing of ka khisa**
variant form: **ka qisa**

Baaba/ chiskitika ka khalbiini/ ka khisa nt^hanakhpata/ kuja na

mwaanawe/ nt^hangú/ ye/ loweeló. 'Father felt very sad because he was not able to eat with his child since he got married.'

Ka khisa Huseeni/ nt^hanaazo/ peesa. 'Because Huseeni does not have money.' This is a reply to a question like: **Ka khisani/ Huseeni/ nt^hakula fatuurá.** 'Why did Huseeni not buy the car?' Other possible answers to this question: **Ka khisa fatuurá/ ni ghaali.** 'Because the car is expensive.'
Or: **Ka khisa/ nt^hakhpeenda.** 'Because he did not like it.'

ka khisa khupele balani/ mi 'because I promised you'

ka khisaa mi/ siná/ maame 'because I have no mother'

Muusa/ na'iwa/ ka khisa ya maana/olosheló. 'Muusa *knows* why the child left.'

Mwambiile/ siwo/ ka khisa jis'iyó. 'She told him: it is not because of that (lit. it is not because of that way).'

Ndrazole na mapeemá/ ka khisa safari. 'I got up *early* for the journey.'

Sultani ðaalimu/ shkhubala/ ka khisa/ na'iwa/ kuwa mgarwa/

hakhaadira/ kuruuda/ ka sku sitta. 'The unjust sultan agreed because he knew that the fisherman would not be able to return in six days.'

ka khisa=ni

why? for what reason?
variant form: **ka khsani**

Ka khisani/ Hasani/ uzilo garii mp^hiyá. 'Why did Hasani buy a new car?'

Or: **Ka khisani/ Hasani/ uziló/ garii mp^hiyá.** (Phon. In the alternative sentence, where the verb is phrasally separated from its complement, our consultant preferred to violate the Accentual Law of Focus and have the final accent extend to the end of the pseudo-relative clause.)

Ka khisani/ muke/ olosheló/ Tuuma. 'Why did the woman go, Tuuma?'

Or: **Tuuma/ ka khisani/ muke/ olosheló.** 'Tuuma, why did the woman go?'

Ka khisani/ nt^hakiingilá/ numbaani. 'Why did he not enter the house?'

Or: **Ka khisani/ nt^hakingila numbaaní.** Or: **Numbaani/ ka khisani/ nt^hakingilá.** (Phon. These examples reveal that pre-verbal **ka khisani** triggers pseudo-relativization. If located post-verbally, no such pseudo-relativization is triggered: **Nt^hankingila ka khisani/ numbaani.** 'Why didn't he enter the house?' or **Numbaani/ nt^hakingila/ ka khisani.**)

Ka khisani/ nt^hakingila numbaaní/ yana. 'Why didn't he enter the house yesterday?'

Ka khisani/ Nureeni/ uzilo jaka iyó. 'Why did Nureeni buy that jacket?'

Ka khisani/ we/ nakunt^haaló. 'Why did you take me?'

Leelo/ mi/ siisi/ ka khisani/ laakini/ nakuharfisha ruuhuya. 'Today, I do not know why, but I smell myself.'

Mi/ nakuvunangoowa ka khisaní. 'I am being beaten for what reason?'

Mubliwe/ chimwaambila/ we/ ni laazima/ kunaambila/ nakula ka khisaní. 'Her husband said to her: you must tell me why you

are crying.’

Mwanaamke/ chimwaambila/ ka khisani.

M(w)aanawá/ nakūla ka khisani. ‘My son, you are crying for what reason?’

Ndro/ mi/ ninfanyiizeni/ nakunvunanga ka khisani/ ni. ‘Come, what have I done to you (pl.), why are you beating me, you.’

Nuuru/ nt^hakuya ka khisani. ‘Why didn’t Nuuru come?’ (Phon. Observe that the negative verb, which would ordinarily be phrase-final, is phrase medial in this interrogative sentence.)

Siisi/ ka khisani/ uzizo gaariyé. ‘I do not know why he sold his car.’

We/ nakūla ka khisani/ isa. ‘Why are you crying now?’ **review**

Wo/ kuḷa/ mara/ humsu?alaṭa/ ka khisani/ khaajá/ we/ khfunga ruuhuyo/ mikono/ na miilú. ‘Every time they ask him: why, my uncle, do you tie yourself up, arms and legs?’

ka koṭe

everywhere, anywhere, anyplace

Tuuma/ merele siindanu/ ka koṭe/ laakini/ nt^haki’ipata. ‘Tuuma searched for the needle everywhere. but she did not find it.’

Ka Mabaadiri

n. The Catholic mission was named **ka mabaadiri** in Chimwiini [lit. at the priests’ place]. In 1908 the Trinitarian Fathers were given permission to settle in Brava, where they were asked to establish a technical school for natives but were forbidden to preach. They built a very substantial mission-house on high ground west of **Biruuni**, separated from the city’s areas. It became a walled compound with an orphanage (no Bravanese children were there, only Somali orphans), school, chapel, kitchen-garden and a well. A water faucet set in the external wall allowed the town-people to draw water from it. The mission was still in use in the 1970’s, but during Barre’s regime the priests were moved to Mogadishu and the compound became a government rest-house.

Ka Mabaadiri/ hupowa want^hu/ dawa/ ka buure. At Ka Mabaadiri people are given medicine for free.’

Ka Mabaadiri/ iwashiḷa jisa suura. ‘Ka Mabaadiri is built well.’

Ka Mabaadiri/ zimo kaniisa. ‘There are churches at Ka Mabaadiri.’

Ka Mada Saalehe

Luungo

n. the name of the electric power plant in Brava, named after the man who used to run it; also known as **Makiina/ yaa Naḷi.**

Ka Maftaaho

n. this place is marked by a mosque built at the northern tip of Baghdaadi. The name comes from its builder, Shariif Maftaaho, a rich merchant of Brava who lived in **Mp^haayi**. All his sons had shops in Brava. Shariif Maftaaho was famous for the **mawḷiidi** (celebration of the Prophet’s birthday) that he held at his house every year. On that day, everybody was welcome to participate from dawn to dusk, without the need of an individual invitation.

Ka Mashariifu

n.

Skoondro/ zisuura/ huzowa Ka Mashariifu. ‘Good sugar candies are sold at Ka Mashariifu.’

Ziyara za mtume/ hufanyowa Ka Mashariifu. ‘Celebrations of the Prophet are made at Ka Mashariifu.’

Ka Seleemo

n. South-west of Brava, inland from the sea, is **Ka Seleemo** "at Seleemu’s place". It was marked by a date-palm grove planted by a Yemeni immigrant, Sulaym bin Saalimiin (*floruit* at the turn of the 20th century), whose name was “Chimiinized” to Seleemo. The grove, which was still seen in the 1970s, is now destroyed, but the place retains its name. Near Ka Seleemo the British archaeologist Neville Chittick made a brief survey in the late 1960s and found Kwale ware and other ancient shards.)

Ichinyaa nvula/ Ka Seleemo/ huwako goroodi/ niingi. ‘If it rains, Ka Seleemo has a lot of mud.’

Waana/ hendra Ka Seleemo/ khtinda steendre. ‘Children go to Ka Seleemo to harvest (lit. cut) dates.’

Ka Sheekh Nureeni n. A name for a small cluster of about 10 houses and huts around a mosque, situated on the sea shore approx. 1 km. south of **Albaamba** and separated from Brava. Its founder was Sheekh Nureeni Mohamed Saabiri (died 1909), a judge and religious leader of the Idrisiyya brotherhood (also called Al-Ahmadi), who is now the patron-saint of Brava. The mosque bears his name and contains his tomb. It is the venue of a great **ziyaara**, or annual celebration on the anniversary of his death, which the participation of the whole population of Brava, with chanting of **ḍikiri** and recalling of the many miracles performed by Sheekh Nureeni. The site is also known as **Bilaadi** (see the entry for this name).

ka=ni interrogative word: with what?

Kani/ Hamadi/ mbishilo maaná/ we/ nakhtoshó. ‘With what did Hamadi hit the child do you think?’ Or: **Hamadi/ kani/ mbishilo maaná/ we/ nakhtoshó.** (In both of these sentences, the complement clause is fronted, and within that clause **ka=ni** is also fronted. The result is that the interrogative word precedes both the complement verb and also the main clause verb, both of which must be pseudo-relativized)

Wé/ kani/ nakhtoshó/ Hamadi/ mbishilo maaná. ‘With what you think Hamadi hit the boy?’ (In this example, the question word is taken from the complement clause and put in front of the main verb. In this case, both the main verb and the complement verb are to its right and must be put into pseudo-relative form.)

Wé/ nakhtosha Hamadí/ mbishile kani/ maana. ‘What do you think Hamadi hit the boy with?’ (The main verb in this sentence is a final-accent trigger. The final accent extends rightward in the verb phrase through the question word. Since question words are focused, the final accent cannot extend past **ka=ni**. Question words do not require pseudo-relativization to their left, thus in this example neither the main nor the complement verb are in pseudo-relative form.)

Ka’(a)ba n. the Kaaba in Mecca

Ka’ba mara saba shartí khtufoowa [st.] ‘it is obligatory for the **Ka’ba** to be gone around seven times’

kaba n. a unit of measure for oils, honey, paraffin, or other such substances in Brava where they were sold at market; a one half liter container

Nakendra kula mafta ya wilaayá/ kabaa mbilí. ‘I am going to buy a liter of kerosine.’

rel.

sh-kaba (s-) n. 7/8 a small bottle used to hold oils etc.

Haba/ na habá/ huyeza shkaba. ‘Little and little fills the **shkaba**.’ (A proverb.)

kaaba n. 9/10 front, opened part of the **haanzu**

kabaaba n. 9/10 meatball

kabaliyeeri n. waiter
variant form:

kamaliyeeri n. ibid.

kamaliyeri uu ‘this waiter’; **kamaliyeri awa** ‘these waiters’

Omari/ ni kamaliyeeri. ‘Omari is a waiter.’

kaabaari n. 9/10 wedge of wood used to split logs

rel.

i-kaabaari (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

kaabaatí n. 5/6 [Sw. **kabati** SSED 63; Eng. **cupboard**] cupboard

kabati chigobe ‘a short cupboard’
kabaṭii ndre ‘a long cupboard’
kabaṭa ya chuuma or **kaabaati/ ya chuuma** ‘an iron cupboard’
kabaṭa yaa mbawo or **kaabaati/ yaa mbawo** ‘a wooden cupboard’
kabaṭiini ‘in the cupboard’
Mismaari/ yamo kabaṭiini. ‘The nails are in the cupboard.’ Or: **Mismaari/ yamo karka kaabaati.**
Mubli/ chimwaambila/ mukeewe/ kumletela tubaaku/ ka kabaṭiini. ‘The man told his wife to bring the tobacco from the cupboard.’
Muusa/ ishkizize chibuuku/ ka kabaṭiini. ‘Muusa took a book down from the top of the cupboard.’
Nguwo/ zimo kabaṭiini. ‘The clothes are in the cupboard.’

rel.

i-kaabaati (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

kabeebe
Chimiini

n. [Som. *kabeebey* "very popular traditional Somali dance" DSI 354] **check for use in**

kh-kabila

v. (**kabiile**) include; add to, give more; give

Chimaamala/ pashpo khkabila chiint^hu. ‘He kept quiet without adding anything.’

E/ we/ mwenye amri/ shkabile zaakuja. ‘O you ruler, give us more food!’
khkabilaa munu (lit.) add salt – spice up, make more appealing’

Omari/ mkali/ khkabilaa munu/ kooḍi. ‘Omari is good at adding salt to (his) talking (adding words that make what he is saying appear, seem more interesting, appealing).’

kh-kabila suulbisi ‘to add something extra to s.t. purchased’

Shekhamanaana/ dukaye/ waant^hu/ kabilowa suulbisi. ‘In Shekhamanaana’s shop people are given extra (when they purchase s.t.)’

khkabilaa munu ‘to embellish, exaggerate (lit. add salt to)’

Haliima/ naayé/ nakhkabilaa munu/ koḍi izo. ‘Haliima is embellishing (the truth) in those words.’

Naank^hó/ chimkabila mali miingi/ miingine. ‘Again, he gave him [lit. adiiided to him] much other wealth.’

Sultaani/ chimkabila/ karka watumishiwe. ‘The king included him among his servants.’

Sultaani/ shkhiira/ kumkabila mwanaamkewe/ laakini/ shtila sharti. ‘The sultan agreed to give him his daughter [in marriage], but he put one condition [on this].’

rel.

kh-kabilila v. appl.

suliile kunk^habila [song] ‘he wanted to add more for me’

kh-kabiloowa v. pass.

Abdalla/ shkabilowa mali miingine. ‘Abdalla was given [lit. was added to] additional [lit. other] wealth.’

kabisa

adv. [Sw. *kabisa* SSED 164] at all; [pron. **kabisá**]

Ize kabisá/ kooloka. ‘He refused to go at all.’

Kabisá/ wo/ hawapeendani. ‘They do not like each other at all.’

Mlaango/ ufuunzila/ kabisá. ‘The door is completely closed.’

Naayé/ weele/ mapsuuti/ kabisá. ‘And he was very pleased.’

(N)fanyize kaazi/ kabisá. ‘He worked a lot.’

Nize kabisá/ kuja. ‘I refused to eat anything at all.’ **review**

Simpé/ kabisá/ maamala/ tu. ‘Don’t give him it, just be quiet!’

Simpeendi/ kabisá. ‘I do not like him at all.’

kabooti

n. [Ital. *cappotto* "overcoat"] overcoat (this word apparently originated when a stock of overcoats was left by the Italian customs police and passed to the Somali police in

the later 1950's; the usual word for a coat is based on English: **(i)kooti**)

kaḁa wa kaḁa

adv. [Sw. *kadha wa kadha* SSED 165] a lot; thus and thus
Tomele peesa/ kaḁa wa kaḁa. 'He paid a lot of money.'

kaḁaalika
moreover

Chimaliza/ pelesheḁa chiwandraani/, kubarata khfula ḁahabu/, na feḁá/; kaḁaalika/ iize/ kubarata/ hirfa iyi. 'Then he was sent to a smithy to learn to forge gold and silver; similarly he did not learn this skill.'

Khkalanḁha khuweḁeḁa izigo/ iluyo/ skhaadiri/ na khchiimbilá/ skhaadiri/ kaḁaalika. 'I cannot stay and be a burden on you nor can I flee from you either.'

kh-kaḁiba

v. (cf. **kh-kiḁiba**) (**kaḁibiile**) deny
rel.
kh-kaḁibisha v. caus. deny

kaḁibo

n. denial

kaaḁibu (ma-)

adj. one who lies; n. a liar
Omari/ ni kaaḁibu. 'Omari is a liar.'
Wo/ ni makaaḁibu. 'They are liars.'

kaḁiiḁo

n. 9/10 fever, stroke, malaria
Chijike chizeele/ icho/ shkasizopo kuwa uko sulḁani/ huḁiḁowa Hashiindriki/ shchishikowa kaḁiiḁo/ ya khsulḁa kumwona/ sulḁani/ oyo. 'When that old woman heard that there was a sultan who was called He Cannot Be Defeated, she was gripped by a fever of wanting to see that sultan.'
Imwanzize kaḁiiḁo. 'He began to have a fever.'
Kaḁiiḁo iyi/ imshishilee yana. 'The fever caught him yesterday.'
rel.
mi-kaḁiiḁo n. fever, malaria

kh-kafana

v. [Sw. *kafini* SSED 165] (**kafaniile**) wrap in a shroud (although the phrase **khtila kafani** is more commonly used than the simple verb)
variant form:
kh-kafina v. (**kafiniile**) wrap in a shroud

kafani

n. shroud
hachilaḁi muuyi wiitu shtiloowa papa kafani [nt.] 'we won't leave our town, we will die here -- lit. let us be put in a shroud here'
Kafani/ haymeroowi/ ka mayḁi. 'A shroud is not sought after from a dead man.' (A proverb, suggesting that one does not go to a poor man for help.)

kafaara (ma-)

n. 5/6 [Sw. *kafara* SSED 165] religious sacrifice, offering
kafaara sfaanye shuruḁi [song] 'don't resort to offerings'
kafaara we takuziwo [song] 'it is you who will conceal the offering'
khtinda kafaara 'to slaughter an animal as a sacrifice'
khtomola kafaara 'to perform a religious sacrifice, make an offering of money'
sina taakha ya kaafara [song] 'I have no means to make an offering'

kafelaate

n. [Fr. *café au lait*] coffee with milk (more milk than coffee)

kaafi

adj. enough, sufficient, adequate (with mass nouns only)
chakuja kaafi 'enough food'
iziwa kaafi 'enough milk'

mayi kaafi ‘enough water’

- kaafiri** (*ma-*) n. [Sw. *kafiri* SSED 165; Ar.] an infidel, one of a different religion from oneself (i.e. from Islam)
Msaafiri/ kaafiri. ‘A traveler is an infidel.’ (A proverb, referring to the fact that by traveling, one is putting oneself in a position where one may be forced to violate one of the tenets of Islam out of necessity.)
takuwara muḷooni kuḷa kaafiri [st.] ‘he will be in hell forever every infidel’
- i-kaḷiri ya ilu** n. a kind of owl that is considered to be a bird of ill-omen; it is believed to cause convulsions in a new-born child if it happens to settle on the roof of the house in which the child is lying
- kaḷleh** interj. expression of disgust, disapproval
- kaḷlehe** adj. shameless; someone not embarrassed by anything that he does
Ni munt^hu kaḷlehe/ hafanyi wajibuwé. ‘He is a shameless person who does not carry out his duties.’ (Phon. While a negative verb is ordinarily final in a phrase, this is not necessarily the case when it is a relative verb.)
- kaḷtani** n. joking
Kaḷtani niingi/ huletaa dhibu. ‘Too much joking brings problems.’ (A proverb.)
- kaafu/ na nuuni** an expression deriving from the Arabic letters “kaaf” and “nuun” which are separated only by the letter “miim” in the alphabet sequence; [pron. **kaafu/ na nuuní**]
kubiga kaafu/ na nuuní ‘[lit.] to hit *k* and *n* -- i.e. to embarrass’
mabeena/ kaafu/ na nuuní ‘(lit.) between “k” and “n” – i.e. in a very short time, in no time at all’
- kh-kaghaḷa** flowers, e.g.) v. (**kagheḷe**) become hard, dried up, stiff (as a corpse); shrivel, wither (of
Mayḷi ua Nuuru/ ikagheḷe ka iwa. ‘Nuuru’s corpse became dried up by the sun.’
rel.
kh-kaghiḷa v. caus. make hard, stiff
- kahafi** n. 9/0 cave
- kahafi** (*ma-*) n. 5/6 [Sw. *kahafi* SSED 166; Ar.] the top, center piece of the white skull cap made in Brava (the round headband part is called **mshaaḷara**) **kahfi**???
- kh-kahaḷa** v. (**kaheḷe**) hate, dislike
Hafsa/ hukahaḷa mwaanawe/ kubigoowa. ‘Hafsa hates for her child to be beaten (by anyone).’ Cf. **Hafsa/ hukahaḷa kumbiga mwaanawe.** ‘Nuuru hates to beat her child.’
Ibraahimu/ hukahaḷani. ‘What does Ibraahimu hate/ dislike? (A possible answer: **Ibraahimu/ hukahaḷa Faatma/ koloka** (or: **kuḷawa**) **ka hima.** ‘Ibraahimu dislikes Faatma’s leaving early/ quickly.’)
Ibraahimu / kahete zibuku izi/ khsomoowa. ‘Ibraahimu hated for these books to be read.’
Khadija / hukahaḷani. ‘What does Khadija dislike?’
Mi/ hukahaḷa/ Nuuru/ kendra skolaani. ‘I hate for Nuuru to go to school.’
Mi/ hukahaḷa Nuuru/ kurashmanyana na Hasani. ‘I hate for Nuuru to go with Hasani.’ Or with focus on the main verb: **Mi/ hukahaḷa/ Nuuru/ kurashmanyana na Hasani.**
Mi/ humkahaḷa Ghazaali. ‘I hate Ghazaali.’ Or with focus on the verb: **Mi/ humkahaḷa/ Ghazaali.** (Morph. Note that the habitual

verb does not have a subject prefix, consisting just of the habitual element *hu* and the macrostem. Accent is always the default penultimate accent.)

Mi/ nk^hahete kooloká. ‘I hated going.’

Muyiini/ waant^hu/ wamkaheete/ na kila chimwonó/ chimtuusha/ na kumtelezá/ kama muunt^hu/ mwa nda wazimu. ‘In the town people hated him and everyone who saw him derided him and teased him as being a crazy person.’

Nakhkahataa mi/ neendre. ‘He dislikes that I go.’

Nuuru/ wakaheetó/ wana wa Omari. ‘It is Nuuru who hates Omari’s children.’

Omari/ hukahata wanaafakhi. ‘Omari hates lies.’ Or: **Omari/ hukahata/ wanaafakhi.** ‘Omari *hates* lies.’

Omari/ hukahata wanaafakhi/ so. ‘Omari hates lies, doesn’t he? Does Omari hate lies (I have some reason for thinking he does)?’ (Prosody. The pitch on **so** noticeably falls. When it is separated from the preceding accent by a toneless syllable, there is lowering of the **so**. Such lowering is not observed when the immediately preceding syllable bears the accent.)

Omari/ huwakahata wana wa Nuuru. ‘Omari hates Nuuru’s children.’ (Phon. The yes-no question version of this sentence involves just Q-raising: ^Q**Omari/ huwakahata wana wa Nuuru?** The exclamatory question, on the other hand, does not have Q-raising, and shifts the accent of the final phrase to the end: **Omari/ huwakahata wana wa Nuuru!?**)

Omari/ huwakahata wana wa Nuuru/ so. ‘Omari hates Nuuru’s children, doesn’t he? Does Omari hate Nuuru’s children (somehow it seems he does, observing his behavior)?’

Simkahaté/ muunt^hu/ chikhambila lila. ‘Don’t hate someone when he tells you the truth.’ (A proverb.)

Sink^hahaté/ nt^hasa yaa we/ kuniwa. ‘Do not hate me before you know me.’ (A translation of a Somali proverb.)

Ye/ hukahata Nuuru/ khfanyaa nk^hele. ‘He dislikes Nuuru making noise.’

rel.

kh-kahatana v. rec. hate each other\

kh-kahatanoowa v. rec. pass.

kh-kahatila v. appl. (**kahatiliile**) hate for s.t. to happen; reason for hating

Naambila/ we/ namkahatilaní. ‘Tell me, why do you hate him?’

Nnamkahitila kurashmanya na mut^hu uyu. ‘I hate for him to be associated with this man.’

kh-kahatisha v. caus. cause to hate

Ji/ mkahatishize mwaana/ waant^hu. ‘Ji caused the child to hate people.’ (It is also possible to omit the overt causee: **Ji/ mkahatishize waant^hu.** ‘Ji caused him to hate people.’ This sentence is acceptable due to the fact that the singular OM marker clearly refers to a causee while **waant^hu** refers to the logical object. It is not possible, however, to omit the OM: ***Ji/ kahatishize waant^hu.** Nor is it possible to say: ***Ji/ mkahatishize muunt^hu.** This sentence is unacceptable since the OM cannot be understood as referring to the causee while **muunt^hu** is understood as referring to the logical object; **muunt^hu** must be understood as a co-referential causee with the OM, but it is unacceptable to omit the logical object from the sentence.)

Nk^hahatishize waant^hu/ wote. ‘He made me hate everyone.’ (One can also use the periphrastic construction: **N^hile khkahata waant^hu/ wote.** ‘He made me hate everyone (lit. instilled in me to hate everyone).’ Cf. **Watile waant^hu/ kunk^hata.** ‘He made people hate me.’)

kh-kahatoowa v. pass.

Abunawaasi/ shkahatoowa/ nt^ho/ na waant^hu/ karka muuyi/ wa

Baghdaadi. ‘Abunawaasi was hated very much by the people in the town of Baghdad.’

Basi/ hattá/ leelo/ maskiini/ hukahatoowa/ ndiyé/ tu/ uko numbaaní. ‘So, until today, [this] poor [girl] is hated, she is the only one who stays in the house [all the time, like Cinderella].’

Desturi iyi/ hukahaṭowa naami. ‘This custom is hated by me.’
Hukahaṭoowa. ‘Someone or something is hated.’
Mbwa izi/ skaheta khsongowa na Nuuru. ‘These dogs were hated to be gone near to by Nuuru -- i.e. Nuuru hated for anyone to go near to these dogs.’
Mukeewe/ shkahaṭoowa. ‘His wife was hated.’
Muunt^hu/ hakahaṭoowi/ kaa dhibu. ‘One is not hated because he has problems, troubles, etc.’ (A proverb.)
Muunt^hu/ kulomba niingi/ hukahaṭoowa. ‘A person’s begging a lot is hated.’ (A proverb.)
Nsi izi/ skaheta na waant^hu/ wote. ‘These fish are hated by everyone.’
Qanuni iyi/ hukahaṭowa naami. ‘This custom is hated by me.’
Wana wa Omari/ wakaheeta/ na Nuuru. ‘Omari’s children are hated by Nuuru.’

rel. nom.

ma-kahaṭano n. 6

Izi/ zote/ hazileeti/ shokuwa makahaṭano/ na ziwovú/ na mara niingí/ huba’idisha want^hu wa nt^hi mooyi/ na huziida/ ufiṣqi/ ufaṣaadi/ rashwa/ na ziwovu zinginezé. ‘All of these things do not bring anything except hatred of one another, and evil, and many times separates people belonging to one country, and increases corruption, immorality, bribery and other evils.’

kahawa

n. 9 [Sw. *kahawa* SSED 166; Ar.] coffee

buni za kahawa ‘coffee beans’

kahawa haraarsi ‘bitter coffee (made with coffee husks, no sugar added)

kahawa ka suukari coffee with sugar added’

kahawaa nk^havu ‘coffee without milk and sugar (lit. dry coffee)’

kahawa ya tangawiizi ‘a beverage made by brewing dried powder of ginger with sugar added’

kahawa yaa we/ mpheoló ‘the coffee that you gave me’

Mi/ naami/ noloshele ka mwaarabú/ oyo/ laakini/ mi/ nnele kahawá. ‘I too went to that Arab but I drank coffee’

Nuuru/ nele kahawa/ na Muusá/ chaayi. ‘Nuuru drank coffee and Muusa

tea.’

shkombe cha kahawa ‘a cup of coffee’

Sultaani/ mukhta^haa ye/ malizo kubigoowá/ oyo/ mwaarabu/ chimuuz^ha/ ndo/ nakhsuulá/ kuna kahawá. ‘The king, when he was finished being beaten, that Arab asked him: come, do you want to drink coffee?’

Sultaani/ mwenopo mgarwá/ chimweegsha/ chimpa kahawa/ kuna. ‘When the sultan saw the fisherman, he welcomed him and gave him coffee to drink.’

Wanele kahawa. ‘They drank coffee.’

kahfi (ma-)

n.5/6 [Sw. *kahafi* SSED 166; Ar.] the top, center piece of the white skullcap made in Brava (the round, headband part is called **mshaaḍara**)

kaahini (ma-)

n. [Sw. *kaahini* SSED 166; Ar.] rabbi, soothsayer, deceiver

Ka khisa/ mi/ nimvilile kaahini/ kundrangalila/ mahaḷaa we/ zimiiló. ‘Because I called a soothsayer to look for the place where you were hidden.’

Oyo sultaani/ chimvila/ kaahini/ mooyi/ chimwaambila/ mi/ nnakhsulaa we/ kundrangalila/ kuniiwila/ mahaḷa/ ya Abunawaasi/ zimiiló. ‘That sultan invited a soothsayer and said to him: I want you to practice soothsaying for me to learn for me the place where Abunawaasi is hidden.’

kajini (ma-)

n. (cf. **i-jini** and **chi-jini**) indirect speech

kubiga (ma)kajini ‘to talk about s.o. but indirectly, not directly (e.g. attributing s.t. to x while really meaning y); to speak to someone, making one’s points indirectly’
Hamadi/ makajiniye/ miingi. ‘Hamadi, his talking about people in an indirect manner is a lot.’
Nakubiga makajini. ‘I am speaking indirectly.’
Omari/ mkali/ kubiga makajini. ‘Omari is good at talking indirectly about people.’
kubigila (ma)kajini ‘to talk about s.o. but indirectly, not directly (e.g. attributing s.t. to x while really meaning y)’
Omari/ nakumbigilaa mi/ makajini. ‘Omari is saying things about me (indirectly, not coming right out and saying it).’
kubigowa (ma)kajini ‘for there to be talking indirectly about s.o.’
Numba iyo/ hubigowa makajini/ tu. ‘That house is one where there is always talking about people indirectly going on.’

kaaka

to my place, at my; for me

Ali/ simeme lwavuuni/ kaaka. ‘Ali stood at my side.’
Chendra ka waawe/ simwaambilé/ kuwaa we/ mwene mwanaamké/ numbaani/ kaaká. ‘If you go to my father, don’t tell him that you have seen a girl at my house.’
Kaaka/ nthaku/ chintu chizito. ‘For me there is nothing difficult.’
Mtungiini/ kaaka/ kata/ hayiingili. ‘In my water jar a ladle cannot enter.’
 (A riddle, the answer to which is **nt^hupa** ‘bottle’.)
Muusa/ ile/ numbaani/ kaaka. ‘Muusa came to my house.’
Nfakete mtanaani/ kaaká. ‘I ran into my room.’ Or: **Nfakete kaaká/ mtanaani.** (Phon. MG did not accept a pronunciation of the second sentence where the locative noun was out-of-focus: ***Nfakete kaaká/ mtanaani.**)
Numbaani/ kaaka/ unga/ hawkosekani. ‘In my house flour is never lacking.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **ivu** ‘ashes’.)
We/ ile numbaani/ kaaká. ‘You came to my house.’ Or: **We/ ilé/ numbaani/ kaaka.** ‘You came to my house.’

rel.

sh-kaaka adv. in my way, manner

kakalila

adj. [cf. *lila*] true

kakalilaka ‘(what I said) is true, correct’
kakalilake ‘(what he or she said) is true, correct’
kakalilako ‘(what you said) is true, correct’
Kamaa we/ ni kakalila/ nakhsuulá khkoða naamí/ songa mlangooni. ‘If you are sincere in wanting to talk with me, come to the door.’
Maamé/ ni kakalila/ kuwaa si/ wotte/ chilazile karka mimba mooyi/ kuwaa si/ wawa yiitu/ na mama yiitú/ ni mooyi/ laakini/ qalbi/ ziitu/ siwo/ mooyi. ‘My mother, it is true that we all came from one stomach, that our father and our mother are one, but our hearts are not one.’
Sultaani/ malizopo khsomaa khatí// chihada/ ni/ kakalilako/ Ali/ we uzize ghaali/ nt^hukuuzá/ rakhiisi. ‘When the sultan finished reading the letter, he said, what you said is true, Ali, you sold dear, you did not sell cheap.’

kh-kakanya

v. (**kakanyiize**) pour all of something from one container to another; exchange, trade; change money (into smaller denominations, coins; cf. **khsurufa** which has this same sense of changing money into smaller units, but is also used to mean to change one type of money into another, e.g. dollars to euros)

bangi ya Omari/ kakanyizo peesá ‘the bank at which Omari exchanged the money’

Hamadi/ kakanyize maayi/ ibaldiini. ‘Hamadi poured water into the bucket.’

Hamadi/ kakanyize maayi/ karka ibaldi(ini). ‘Hamadi poured water from the bucket.’

ibaldi ya Hamadi/ kakanyizo maayi ‘the bucket that Hamadi poured water from’

ibaldi ya Hamadi/ kakanyizo maayi/ katiiki ‘the bucket that Hamadi poured water into’

mayi ya Hamadi/ kakanyizo ibaldiini ‘the water that Hamadi poured into the bucket’

Omari/ kakanyize peesa/ bangiini. ‘Omari exchanged money at the bank.’

rel.

kh-kakanyika v.

khkakanyika/ kana maayi ‘to pour out like water – i.e. to come out in a large quantity’

Waant^hu/ wanakhkakanyika kana maayi. ‘People keep on coming (e.g. at a gathering, people keep coming and coming).’

khkakanyika kanaa nvula ‘to pour out like rain’

Waant^hu/ wanakhkakanyika kanaa nvula. ‘People keep coming and coming like rain.’

kh-kakanyiliza v. appl. exchange for, pour for

Omari/ mkakanyilize mwaana/ maayi/ ibaldiini. ‘Omari poured water into the bucket for the child.’

kh-kakanyilizoowa v. appl. pass.

Mwaana/ kakanyiliza maayi/ ibaldiini/ na Omari. [Lit.] The child was poured-for water into the bucket by Omari (i.e. the child was the beneficiary of the pouring).’

kh-kakanyoowa v. pass. be poured from one container to another; be exchanged

Maayi/ yakakanyiza ibaldiini. ‘The water was poured into a bucket.’

kaake

at or to his/her/its (place)

Ali/ simeme lwavuuni/ kaake. ‘Ali stood at his side.’

Baduwi/ chilawa/ koloka kaake. ‘The nomad left to go to his place.’

Chimaliza/ mwaana/ chingila mtanaani/ kaake/ shfuunga/ mlaangowe. ‘When the boy went into his room, he closed the door.’

Chiruda kaake/ numbaani. ‘He returned to his home.’

Chizeele/ choondroka/ chi’irudila kaake. ‘The old woman got up and went back to her place.’

Eelo/ shtukula/ almaasi/ iyo/ kanaani/ kaake. ‘The gazelle carried this diamond in his mouth.’

Endra numbaani. ‘Go home!’

Endra/ numbaani/ kaake. ‘Go to his house!’ or: **Endra numbaani/ kaake.**

Fakete mtanaani/ kaake. ‘He ran into his room.’

gari ya Ali/ simemo lwavuuni/ kaake ‘the car that Ali stood at its side’

muke waa ye/ andishiloo khati/ kaake ‘the woman whom he wrote a letter to (her)’ (cf. **muke waa ye/ andishiloo khati/ kaake/ numbaani** ‘the woman whose home he wrote a letter at’)

Huseeni/ chimlata/ chimaliza chi’irudila kaake/ jahaziini. ‘Huseeni let him go and then went back to his dhow.’

muke waa ye/ leseloo khati/ kaake ‘the woman to whom he brought a letter’ (cf. **muke waa ye/ leseloo khati/ kaake/ numbaani** ‘the woman whom he brought a letter to her house’.)

Muunt^hu/ chiint^hu/ hulanga ka kaake. ‘A man discovers things from his home.’ (A proverb.)

Noloshelé/ numbaani/ kaake. ‘I went to his house.’ or: **Noloshelé numbaané/ kaake.**

rel.

sh-kaake adv. in his/her/its way, manner

Fanyize shkaaka. ‘He did it in his usual manner.’

- kaaki** n. [Sw. *kaki* SSED 167; Pers.] khaki
- [l-kaaki (n-)]** n. 11/10 [Sw. *kaki* SSED 167; Pers.] a kind of pancake with onion and salt added, cooked on an oiled pan; [pron. nk^haaki (pl.)]
- kaako** at or to your (place); for you
Ali/ simeme lwavuuni/ kaako. ‘Ali stood at your side.’
Kaako/ ni mahalaamp^{hi} ‘Where is your place?’
Kaako/ yiikopi. ‘Where is your place?’
Luti khiinfó/ ni limo kaakó/ mkonoóni/ silaaha/ ni ije/ yimo mkonoóni.
‘The stick that is of use to you is the one that is in your hand, a
weapon is the thing that is in your hand.’ (A proverb.)
Mi/ mubliwá/ na’iwá/ kuwaa ye/ shfanya kaazi/ kaakó. ‘My husband, I
know that he worked for you.’
numbaani/ kaako ‘in your house’
Osmaani/ uko kaako. ‘Osmaani is at your place.’ Cf. **Osmaani/ uko
kaakó.** ‘It is Osmaani who is at your place.’
Osmaani/ uko numbaani/ kaako. ‘Osmaani is at your house.’ Or:
Osmaani/ uko kaako/ numbaani. Cf. **Osmaani/ uko numbaani/ kaakó.** ‘It is Osmaani who is at your house.’
Or: **Osmaani/ uko kaakó/ numbaani.** ‘It is Osmaani who is at your house.’ (Observe that when the subject is
focused, both **numbaani** and **kaako** must shift to final accent, regardless of the order in which they occur. It is
important to note that our consultant rejected any sentence where just **numbaani** or just **kaako** has final accent:
***Osmaani/ uko kaakó/ numbaani.** Or: ***Osmaani/ uko numbaani/ kaako.**)
Tukiileni/ kaako/ chiwovuuni? ‘What are you carrying in your pocket?’
We/ hukhadira kaanza/ kaako/ numbaani. ‘You can begin in your (own)
home.’
- rel.
sh-kaako adv. in your way, manner
- kh-kala** v. [cf. Sw. *kwa* "strike the foot against an object" SSED 234] (**kaliile**) press, tread,
step on, trample; force s.o. to buy at a high cost; go, leave
khkala chimargi ‘to choke; squeeze someone, abuse someone’
khkala chita chaa noka ‘to press or stand on a snake’s head – i.e. to do
dangerous things and then get hurt’
khkala iteke ‘to stamp on, trample with the foot’
khkala kaa nguvu ‘to press hard’
khkala ka tartiibu ‘to press softly’
Ali/ nk^haliile ka iteke. ‘Ali stepped on me with his foot.’
Nk^haliile. ‘He forced me to buy it at a high price.’
Omari/ kaliile. ‘Omari left, went away.’
Omari/ nakhkala. ‘Omari is leaving, going.’
- rel.
kh-kalana v. rec.
Wakalene zimargi. ‘They choked each other.’
kh-kalika v. p/s.
Hakaliki. ‘He cannot be stepped on (e.g. without causing lots of trouble,
etc.).’
kh-kakalila v. appl. (**kaliile**)
Nk^haliile mwaana/ ka iteke. ‘He stamped on my child.’
kh-kalisha v. caus. make stamp or press down; make someone buy at a high price;
force s.o. to choke s.o.
Nk^halishize mwaana/ chimargi. ‘He made me choke the child.’
kh-kalishana v. caus. rec.
kh-kalishika v. caus. p/s.
kh-kalishiliza v. caus. appl.
kh-kalishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-kaliza v. appl.

Fikhiriini/ mka_lize Hamadi/ nguwo/ sandukhuuni. ‘Fikhiriini squeezed the clothes into the box for Hamadi.’

kh-kaza v. [Sw. *kaza* SSED 180] (**kaziize**) press s.t. into s.t., cram s.t. full, put in by force, tighten; hit s.t. forcefully with s.t.

Ali/ kazizee nguwo/ sandukhuuni. ‘Ali squeezed the clothes into the box.’
Or: **Ali/ kazize sanduukhu/ nguwo.**

Aamina/ nakiskazaa nguwo/ armajooni. ‘Aamini is stuffing the clothes into the cupboard.’

Chisula kuwa taajiri/ kaza lkaandra. ‘If you want to be rich, tighten your belt.’ (A proverb.)

Kaza lkaandra/ kazá. ‘Tighten your belt, that’s what you should do.’ (This example illustrates that an imperative verb can be copied as a relative verb in the phenomenon we call Verb Repetition.)

Kazaa nt^ho/ musmaari/ nt^hunduuni. ‘Drive the nail into the hole!’ (Note that the intensifier **nt^ho** may occur in IAV position and phrase with the verb.

khkaza lkaambala ‘to make a rope fast’

Nimkazize Suufi/ kaa ndruti. ‘I hit Suufi with a stick.’

^fNt^ho/ kazá. ‘Push it in hard!’ (Note the pre-verbal **nt^ho** is focused and requires the verb to be in a pseudo-relative form, even though an imperative verb does not appear in ordinary relative clauses.)

^fNt^ho/ kaza musmaari. ‘Drive in the nail harder!’ Or: **^fNt^ho/ kazá/ musmaari.**

^fNt^ho/ kaza musmaari/ nt^hunduuni. ‘Drive the nail into the hole!’ Or with verb emphasis: **^fNt^ho/ kazá/ musmaari/ nt^hunduuni.** (Note that with verb emphasis, the Accentual Law of Focus comes into play and restricts the final accent to the verb itself.)

Omari/ kazize mtaana/ majuuniya. ‘Omari filled the room with sacks.’

Or: **Omari/ kazize majuuniya/ mtaanaani.** ‘Omari packed sacks into the room.’

Omari/ nakhkaza/ ruuhuye/ mnangooni. ‘Omari pushed himself through the door, squeezed himself through the door.’

Omari/ nakhkaza zibuuku/ borsaani. ‘Omari is stuffing the books into the bag.’ Or: **Omari/ nakhkaza borsaani/ zibuuku.** But can also have an unmarked noun: **Omari/ nakhkaza boorsa/ zibuuku.** ‘Omari stuffed the bag with books.’ Or: **Omari/ nakhkaza zibuuku/ boorsa.**

sandukhu ya Ali/ kazizoo nguwo ‘the box that Ali crammed with clothes’

Waanth^u/ wakalent^he chitiini/ Omari/ ile/ naayé/ nakhkaza/ ruuhuye.

‘People were sitting on a couch and Omari came and squeezed himself in.’

kh-kazan(y)a v. rec. (-kazeen(y)e) squeeze together in a narrow space, be crowded, squeezed into a place; hit each other

Wakazenyé mtaanaani. ‘They crowded into the room.’

Wanakhkazanaa ndruti. ‘They are hitting each other with sticks.’

kh-kazika v. p/s. (-kazishile) be tight

Sanduukhu/ haykaziki. ‘This box cannot have things squeezed into it.’

kh-kazisha v. caus. cause to be crammed full

Baana/ kazishize mtaana/ majuuniya. ‘Baana had the room crammed full with sacks.’ (Syn. Observe that in this example the “causee” is not specified. One does not say: ***Baana/ kazishize majuuniya mtaana.** Also note that **mtaana** cannot control an object prefix the verb: ***Baana/ ukazishize mtaana/ majuuniya.**)

Baana/ nk^hazishize mtaana/ majuuniya. ‘Baana had me fill the room with sacks.’ (Syn. Notice that here the “causee” is present in the sentence in the form of an object prefix on the verb. It is not particularly felicitous to have the causee appear in post-verbal position as a full NP: ?**Baana/ mkazishize mwaana/ mtaana majuuniya.** The sentence improves if the causee is topicalized: **Mtaana/ Baana/ mkazishize mtana/ majuuniya.**)

kh-kazishana v. caus. rec.

kh-kazishika v. caus. p/s.

kh-kashiliza v. caus. appl.
kh-kashilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
kh-kazishoowa v. caus. pass.

Majuuniya/ yakazishiza m̄tanaani. ‘Sacks were caused to be crammed into the room.’ (Syn. Although ordinarily only the “causee” can be the subject of a passive version of a causative verb, if the causee is unexpressed, it is possible to have the logical object as subject, as in the present example. This sentence is possible, however, just in the event the location **m̄tana** is in its locative form: ***Majuuniya/ yakazishiza m̄tana**. Also, it should be noted that **m̄tana** cannot be the subject of the passive verb: ***M̄tana/ ukazishiza majuuniya.**)

kh-kazoowa v. be crammed full

M̄tana/ ukaziza majuuniya. ‘The room was crammed full with sacks.’
Or: **Majuuniya/ yakaziza m̄tanaani.** ‘Sacks were crammed into the room.’ (Syn. One cannot say ***majuuniya/ yakaziza m̄tana**.)
Sanduukhu/ ikazizaa nguwo. ‘The box was crammed full with clothes.’
Suufi/ kazizaa ndruti/ na Ali. ‘Suufi was hit with a stick by Ali.’

rel. nom.

m-kaḷa (wa-) n. 1/2 one who tramples
m-kaḷo n. 3
ma-kaḷo n. 6
u-kaḷo n. 14

kaḷamiita n. [Ital. *calamita*] magnet (though the more traditional term is **chuma cha nk^halaambi** ‘[lit.] iron from lightning’)

kh-kaḷana

v. (**kaḷeene**) be stuck in, onto something, be crammed or squeezed into; squeeze through; be tight on someone

Bangiili/ ink^haleene. ‘The bracelet is tight on me.’

Chibuuku/ shkaḷene sandukhuuni. ‘The book is stuck in the box.’

khkaḷana matotopeeni ‘to be stuck in the mud’

Kuulu/ ink^haleene iboholiini. ‘My leg is stuck in the hole.’

Meeza/ ikaḷene mlangooni. ‘The table is stuck in the doorway.’

Mkono/ unk^haleene. ‘My hand is stuck.’

Muusa/ zilaatu/ zimkaḷeene. ‘The shoes are tight on Muusa.’

Mwaana/ kaḷene sandukhuuni. ‘The child got stuck in the box.’

Ndriweelé/ kuwa faṭuura/ ikaḷene matotopeeni. ‘I forgot that the car was stuck in the mud.’ Or: **Ndriweelé/ faṭuura/ kuwa ikaḷene matotopeeni.** Or: **Nichiliweelé/ shfaṭuura/ kuwa skaleene matotopeeni.** ‘I forgot it the dim. car that it was stuck in the mud.’ Or: **Sfaṭuura/ chiliweela/ kuwa skaleene matotopeeni.** ‘The dim. car was forgotten that it was stuck in the mud.’

Shpete/ chink^haleene. ‘The ring is stuck on me.’

Waant^hu/ wakaḷene m̄tanaani. ‘People squeezed into the room.’

Zilaatu/ zink^haleene. ‘The shoes are tight on me.’

rel.

kh-kaḷanila v. appl.

Mwaana/ nk^halanilile sandukhuuni. ‘My child got stuck in the box.’

kh-kaḷanoowa v. pass.

kaḷfaati

n. [Sw. *kalafati* SSED 167; Ar.] caulking cotton

khtila kaḷfaati ‘to caulk’

khtila mashkilo kaḷfaati ‘to put cotton in the ears -- i.e. to close one’s ears to something’

kh-kalifa v. [Sw. *kalifu* ‘discomfort, cause annoyance to, impose a difficult matter on one, trouble’ SSED 168; Ar.] (**kalifiile**) force, compel, impose s.t. on s.o.

Nk^halifiile kumrasha Mkhodiisho. ‘He compelled me to follow him to Mogadishu.’

Siwakalifé/ waana. ‘Don’t force the children (to do s.t.)!’

Skalife/ ruuhuyo/ khtomola peesa. ‘Don’t trouble yourself to pay the money.’

rel.

kh-kalifila v. appl. cost to

Fatura iyi/ ink^halifilile dolari alfuu mbili. ‘This car cost me \$2000.’

kh-kalifisha v. caus.

rel. nom.

u-kalifo n. 14

kh-kalila v. (-**kaliile**) seem to, think

Hunk^halila/ mi/ we/ ni laazimu/ khsooma/ chibuku ichi. ‘It seems to me that you should read this book.’

Mogadishu.’

Hunk^halila / Nuuru/ oloshale Mkhodiisho. ‘I *think* that Nuuru went to

money that he lost.’

Hunk^halila/ Omari/ peete/ peesa/ zimbeeló. ‘I think Omari got/found the

Imkalile kuwa siwo/ haqi/ ye/ khpowa ifuungu/ sawasawa/ na miingine.

‘It seemed to him that it was not right that he was given a share equal to the others.’

ink^haliile ‘it seemed to me’

mi/ hunk^halila ‘it seems to me’; **we/ khukalila** ‘it seems to you’; **ye/ humkalila** ‘it seems to him’; **si/ hishkalila** ‘it seems to us’; **ni/ hinkalila** ‘it seems to you (pl.)’; **wo/ huwawalila** ‘it seems to them’ (This paradigm illustrates the parallelism between the habitual prefix *hu-* and the infinitive prefix *ku-*. Note that *hu-* elides before the second person object marker *khu-*, just like the infinitive; cf. **we/ khukalila**. Also note that *hu* changes to *hi* before object markers containing a palatal element: cf., for example, **si/ hishkalila**.)

Mi/ hunk^halila/ nt^hakendra kuwiinda. ‘It seems likely that I will go hunting.’

(**Mi/**) **hunk^halila/ we/ laazimu/ keendra.** ‘It seems to me that you must go.’

mi/ inakunk^halila ‘it seems to me’; **we/ inakhukalila** ‘it seems to you’; **ye/ inamkalila** ‘it seems to him’; **si/ inakishkalila** ‘it seems to us’; **ni/ inakinkalila** ‘it seems to you (pl.)’; **wo/ inakuwawalila** ‘it seems to them’

Omari/ humkalila kuwa shati iyo/ siwo/ suura. ‘Omari thinks that that shirt is not good.’

Wo/ huwawalila kuwa Nuuru/ iize/ khiira. ‘They think that Nuuru refused to accept.’

sh-kalkala(s-) n. 7/8 [Sw. *kaakaa* 162] palate, velum; (idiom.) a Somali

khtinda shkalkala ‘to cut the velum (often done in Brava since the velum was believed to cause cough, vomiting, or suffocation if too big)’

Haaji/ Maká/ mkali/ khtinda shkalkala. ‘Haaji Maka is very good at cutting the velum.’

Miini/ sh^htindo waant^hú/ shkalkalá/ ni Haaji/ Maká. ‘In Brava the one who used to cut the velum was Haaji Maka.’

Oyo/ ni shkalkala. ‘That one is a Somali.’ Cf. **Awo/ ni skalkala.** ‘Those ones are Somalis.’

kalooraa

n. 9/10 [Ital. *colore*] color (cf. **ranji** which means ‘colored paint’); colored pencil

color, yellow.’

Hamadi/ vete shaati/ kalooraye/ mtaandanu. ‘Hamadi wore a shirt, its

kalora ya lkuta or **kalooraa/ ya lkuta** ‘the color of the wall’

Ikuta/ kalooraye ‘the wall, its color’

kalora yaa nk^huta or **kaloora/ yaa nk^huta** ‘the color of the walls’

nk^huta/ kalooraze ‘the walls, their color’ (Note that *-e* is the third person plural possessive enclitic referring to non-humans; *-awo* is restricted to human beings, thus the ungrammaticality of ***nk^huta/ kałora zaawo**.)

confirm that it is a dental ↓

kałora n. [Som. *kalloorad* DSU 357] aluminum container with lid, used for milk or other foodstuffs

i-kala (ma-) n. 5/6 [Sw. *kaa* SSED 162] a piece of charcoal
makala ya majiwe ‘mineral coal’
Mi/ hukumbuka mukhta mi/ mbaliko mwaaná/ kuwa gaari/ schinendra ka makala. ‘I remember that when I was a child cars used to go by charcoal.’

rel.

l-kala (mi-) n. aug. 11/4

nyulusi/ kana ikala ‘as black as charcoal’

sh-kala (s-) n. dim. 7/8

kh-kala v. [Sw. *kaa* SSED 162] (**kazile**) stay, live in a place, inhabit, reside
Basi/ we/ kala apa/ mliindre/ hattá/ ye/ chiruuda. ‘So you stay here and wait for him until he returns.’

Dibii mbili/ haskali/ karka moro mooyi. ‘Two bulls do not dwell in one fenced-in enclosure.’ (A proverb.)

Karka muuyi/ wa Miini/ wakazile/ qabiila/ niingi/ laakini/ wa’ileene/ kaa lughá/ lmooyi/ ka diini/ mooyi/ ka aada/ mooyi/ na ziinginé/ na khaasá/ nii lughá/ la Chimiini. ‘In the town of Brava lived many clans, but they had come with one language, one religion, and one tradition, and other things, but especially the Chimiini language.’ (This passage is of questionable validity with respect to how the town of Brava became established as a Chimiini-speaking town. The formation of Swahili(-like) dialects along the East African coast doubtless arose from the interaction of various waves of maritime immigrants with the local Bantu population. The details of this interaction are not the subject of any written records.)

Mbona/ we/ hukala numba ya waziiri/ peteeyi/ we. ‘I see that you live in the house of the minister; how did it [lit. get you] happen?’

Mi/ mbaliko shkala/ muuyi uyu/ karka nuumba/ iyi. ‘Me, I was residing in this town in this house.’ (Although in elicitation, it is usual for demonstratives to be phrased with the nominal they modify, in texts it is not uncommon to find the demonstrative phrasally separated, as in this example: **muuyi uyu** but **nuumba/ iyi**. We have not been able to establish what the discourse implications are for this phrasing.)

Mwenye zijuumba/ izo/ ni mzele Simsimu/ na mahałaa ye/ hukaló/ wako majini/ wiingi/ nt^o. ‘The owner of these nests is old Simsimu and at the place where he lives, there are very many jinns.’ (This is another textual example where the demonstrative is phrasally separated from the noun it modifies: **zijuumba/ izo**.)

Naambila/ we/ hukalapi/ naamí/ fijiri/ na mapeema/ nt^hakhiilila/ kaako/ we/ pata/ kunambila yaa we/ nakhsuuló. ‘Tell me, you, where you live, and early in the morning I will come to your place so that you get to tell me what you want.’

Ndiyé/ takhkalo numba iyi/ amoo ndimí/ nt^hakhkaló. ‘Is it him who will live in this house or is it me?’

Nt^haku/ hukalo numba iyi. ‘No ones lives in this house.’

Orii mbili/ haskali/ karka moro mooyi. ‘Two roosters do not live inside one fenced enclosure.’ (A proverb.)

Shkala apo/ muda/ wa skuu saba. ‘He stayed there a period of seven days.’

Si/ shkazilé/ ilu ya jaziira/ iyi/ sku niingi. ‘We stayed on this island many days.’

Sultaani/ uyu/ karka nt^hiye/ waaliko/ mzeele/ mooyi/ shkalo tawalá. ‘In the sultan’s land there was an old man who lived at the sea.’

Tala zaa mi/ khupeeló/ zote/ na numba yaa mi/ hukaló. ‘Take all the things I have given you and the house that I live in.’

Waant^hu/ hukala numba mooyi. ‘The people live in one house.’

We/ nakhsuḷa waaná/ wanakale/ kaa ndala/ mpaka mukhtaā we/ takuuyó. ‘Do you want the children to stay hungry until you come?’

We/ oloka/ kala numba ya maamo. ‘You, go and live in the house of your mother.’

rel.

**kh-kalīla* v. appl. does not appear to be in use

kh-kaloowa v. pass.

Numba izi/ skaziḷa ka shtiisho. ‘These houses were lived in with fear [i.e. some danger was attached to living in these houses].’

Numba mooyi/ hukaloowa na waant^hu. ‘One house is lived in by the people.’

kh-kalika v. p/s.

Numba iyi/ haykaliki. ‘This house cannot be lived in.’ Cf. **Numba izi/ haskaliki.** ‘These houses cannot be lived in.’

**kh-kalisha* v. caus. does not appear in use

rel. nom.

m-kala (wa-) n. 1/2 resident, inhabitant

ma-kalo n. 6 residence dwelling, act of residing at a place

keesho aakhera makalo muḷooni [st.] ‘tomorrow in the life hereafter (his) dwelling (will be) in hell’

sh-kalo (s-) n. 7/8 dwelling

n-kala

n. 9/10 [Sw. *kaa* SSED 162] crab; [idiomatically] a person who ‘works’ both sides of two opposing forces, a double agent; a person who cannot make up his mind and changes his "direction", rejecting his previous decision; [pron. **nk^hala**]

nk^hala wimbi ‘a smaller, yellowish crab that does not enter reef caves’
confirm short vowel in wimbi

nk^hala ya bahariini ‘a large, red crab -- [lit.] sea crab’

nk^hala ya lfuwo ‘a kind of crab -- [lit.] beach crab’

nk^hala ya magaando ‘crab’

nk^hala ya magome ‘a kind of crab -- [lit.] rock crab’

rel.

i-kala (mi-) n. aug. 5/4

sh-kala (s-) n. dim. 7/8

n-kalaambi

n. 9 lightning; [pron. **nk^halaambi**]

Nk^halaambi/ ibishilee muti. ‘Lightning struck a tree.’

Nk^halaambi/ itulushile. ‘Lightning struck.’

kalaamu

n. [Ar. *kalām* "talking, speaking, language" W 838] words

kalaamuze siwo za sowti na harfu [st.] ‘his (i.e. God’s) words are not (made) of sounds and letters’

kalandaariyo

n. [cf. Sw. *kalenda* SSED 168; Eng. *calendar*] calendar; [pron. **kalandaariyó**]

Kalandariyo iyi/ nda mwaka waa yana. ‘This calendar is last year’s.’

kh-kalaanga

v. [Sw. *kanga* SSED 163] (**kalaanzile**) fry (fish, meat, etc.) with oil

Kalangaani. ‘You (pl.) fry!’

Kalanagani daank^hu. ‘You (pl.) fry the popcorn!’

Skalangeeni. ‘You (pl.) don’t fry!’

Skalangeeni/ daank^hu. ‘You (pl.) don’t fry popcorn.’

rel.

kh-kalaangisha v. caus. (**kalangishiize**) cause to fry (by force or by persuasion)

Juha/ mkalangishize Saalehe/ nama. ‘Juha caused Saalehe to fry meat.’

kh-kalangishoowa v. caus. pass. (**kalangishiiza**) be caused to fry

Saalehe/ kalangishizaa nama/ naa Juha. ‘Saalehe was caused to fry meat by Juha.’ (Syn. It is not possible for **nama** to be the subject of the passive causative verb: ***Nama/ ikalangishiza Saalehe/ naa Juha.**)

kh-kalangoowa v. pass. (**kalaanzila**) be fried

Apo/ zinakhkalangowa stata. ‘There fat is being fried.’
shikalangoowa ‘that which is being popped, i.e. popcorn’

kh-kalaanta

v. [Sw. *kaa* SSED 162 + *nchi* SSED 31, with the final vowel of the compound assuming the characteristic shape *a* of an infinitive verb] (**kaleent^he**) sit down, be sitting, reside, dwell, stay, live; [pron. **khkalaant^ha**]

Apa/ haykalaant^hi/ ka harri. ‘One cannot live here because of the heat.’

Chimlangala/ sul^htaani/ chimwona (ni) mwaana/ msuura/ basi/ chimwaambila/ kalant^ha apa/ kalaant^ha. ‘The sultan observed him, he saw that he was a good boy, so he said to him, sit here! that’s what you should do.’ (Note the common expression in Chimiini where the verb is repeated in a relative form. In the present example, the relative form of the imperative is indicated only by the final accent; the final vowel of an imperative verb remains *a* when it is put into (pseudo-)relative form.)

chiti chaa ye/ kalent^ho iluye ‘the chair that he sat on it’

Haruusi/ na mukeewé/ wakalent^he numbaani/ wakalent^ho. ‘The bridegroom and his wife stayed inside, that’s what they did.’

Hukalant^ha Marka. ‘He lives in Marka.’

Kalaant^ha/ apa/ ndrindra/ ha^htaa mi/ chiruuda. ‘Sit here and wait for me until I return.’

Kalant^haa we/ ja. ‘Sit down, you, and eat.’

Kalent^he chitiini. ‘He sat on a chair.’ Or: **Kalent^he ilu yaa chiti.** ‘He sat on a chair.’ Cf. with Verb Copy: **Kalent^he chitiini/ kaleent^ho.** ‘He sat on the chair, that’s what he did.’ Or: **Kalent^he ilu yaa chiti/ kaleent^ho.** ‘He sat on the chair, that’s what he did.’ Or: **Kalent^he ilu/ kaleent^ho/ yaa chiti.** ‘He sat on top, that’s what he did, of the chair.’

Kalent^he na mukeewe/ apo. ‘He stayed with his wife there.’ Or: **Kalent^he/ na mukeewe/ apo.** Cf. **Nk^halent^he na mukeewá/ apo.** ‘I stayed with my wife there.’ Or: **Nk^halent^he/ na mukeewa/ apo.** Cf. **Kalent^he na mukeewó/ apo.** ‘You stayed with your wife there.’

Kalent^he na mukeewó/ apo. ‘You stayed with your wife there.’ Or: **Kalent^hé/ na mukeewo/ apo.** ‘You stayed with your wife there.’ Cf. The yes/no question corresponding to the case where the verb is emphasized: **Kalent^hé/ na mukeewó/ apó?** ‘Did you stay with your wife there?’

Kalent^he na mukeewe/ apo/ so. ‘Did he stay with his wife there?’ (Perhaps *so*-sentences are similar to tag questions: he stayed with his wife there, didn’t he? But this point requires further study. (The simple yes-no question provided by AB is **Kalent^he na mukeewe/ apo?** with Q-raising and an apparently quicker tempo than the corresponding statement. The exclamatory question is **Kalent^he na mukeewé/ apó!?**)

Kalent^hepi/ na mukeewe. ‘Where did he stay with his wife?’ Possible answer: **Kalent^he na mukeewe/ hoteliini.** ‘He stayed with his wife at a hotel.’

khkalant^ha haruusi ‘to stay inside the house after marriage for a prescribed period of time (as is the custom in Brava)’

Wakalent^he haruusi/ mudda wa skuu saba. ‘They remained inside after the wedding for a period of seven days.’

khkalant^ha idda ‘to stay inside (e.g. a woman in Islam is required to stay inside for a period of four months and ten days after the death of her husband)’

khkalant^ha ka magoonjo ‘to kneel’

khkalant^ha kaa ndala ‘to spend the day without eating’

khkalant^ha ta’aziya ‘to stay in the house for the prescribed period of time after the death of a member of the family (three days)’

Mwanaamke/ kalent^he ta’aziya. ‘The girl stayed home (after the death of a family member).’ (Syn. Putting **ta’aziya** in the locative gives a different interpretation: **Mwanaamke/**

kalent^he ta'aziyaani. 'The girl stayed in the house of a friend whose relative has died.'

Mi/ takhkalaant^ha apá. 'I will stay here.'

Muke/ kalent^he mtanaani. 'The woman stayed in the room.' Or, with locative preposing and subject postposing: **Mtanaani/ kalent^hee muke.**

Mwana wa sarmaḷa/ shkalaant^ha/ nt^hi/ chiḷa. 'The carpenter's child sat on the ground and cried.'

Mwaarabu/ oyo/ chimweegsha/ chimwaambila/ nakalaant^he. 'That Arab welcomed him and told him to sit down.'

Ngoombe/ choondroka/ mbuzi/ hukalaant^ha. 'When the cow gets up, the goat sits down.' (A proverb.)

Nk^halent^he chitiini. 'I sat on the chair.'

Nk^haleent^hé/ nnakhpumulá. 'I have sat down and I am resting.'

Shkalant^ha naaye/ kuja naaye/ oyo mwaana. 'He sat with him to eat with him, that boy.'

Wachendra oko/ sku iyo/ washkalaant^ha/ wachija oko. 'They used to go there on that day and they stayed and they ate there.'

Waana/ naawó/ wachingila barzaani/ washkalaant^ha. 'The children [lit. and they] entered the audience hall and sat down.'

rel.

kh-kalaantika v. p/s. (-kalaant^hishile) able liveable, able to be sat on; [pron.

khkalaant^hika]

Apa/ haykalaant^hiki/ ka hari. 'One cannot sit here because of the heat.'

Chiti ichi/ hashkalaant^hiki. 'This chair cannot be sat on.'

Mahaḷa/ umoo noká/ ha'ikalaant^hiki. 'A place where there is a snake cannot be inhabited.' (A proverb.)

kh-kalant^hiloowa v. appl. pass. (kalant^hijiila)

kh-kalaantila v. appl. (kalant^hijiile) sit on, with; live on s.o.'s assistance, help;

[pron. **khkalaant^hila]**

Chiruuda/ ka mwanaamke/ wa sultaani/ chi'ikalaant^hila. 'He returned to [the place of] the daughter of the sultan's and stayed there [lit. for himself].'

chiti cha ye/ kalant^hijiiló 'the chair that he sat on'

Hamadi/ ikalant^hijiile. 'And so Hamadi sat down.' (Although when the reflexive-applied verb is used it is often possible to re-enforce the verb with a reflexive pronoun, MI did not like to do so in the present case: * **Hamadi/ ikalant^hijiile ruuhuye.** We are not certain, however, whether this is fixed matter of grammar, or a more stylistic matter.)

Siná/ chiti cha khkalaant^hila. 'I do not have a chair to sit on.'

We/ kalant^hijiile chibuukú. 'You are sitting on a book.'

Ye/ ikalant^hijiile/ apo/ numbaani/ ka mwanaamke/ pashpo khfanya kaazi. 'He just stayed there [lit. for himself] in the girl's house without doing any work.'

kh-kalant^hilakalaant^hila v. freq.

Humkalant^hilakalaant^hila/ khariibuye. 'They stay repeatedly by her side for her.'

kh-kalaantisha v. caus. (kalant^hishiize) seat s.o.; [pron. **khkalaant^hisha]**

Maama/ chimkalant^hisha mwaana/ shtako/ chimwaambila... 'Mother sat the boy down on his butt and told him...'

kh-kalant^hishoowa v. caus. pass. (kalant^hishiiza) be seated by, be made to live with;

[pron. **khkalaant^hishoowa**]

Ngoombe/ skalant^hishiiza. ‘The cattle were made to stay, sit.’

Ngoombe/ skalant^hishiza na waant^hu. ‘The cattle were made to sit, stay by the people.’ Or: **Na waant^hú/**

wakalant^hishiza ngoombe. ‘By the people the cattle were made to sit, stay.’ Or: **Wakalant^hishiza na waant^hú/ ni ngoombe.** ‘Those ones who were made to stay, sit by the people are the cattle.’

Waant^hu/ wakalant^hishiiza. ‘The people were made to sit, stay.’

Waant^hu/ wakalant^hishiza na ngoombe. ‘People were made to live with cattle.’ Or: **Wakalant^hisha na ngoombé/ ni waant^hu.** ‘The ones who were made to live with the cattle are the people.’

kh-kalant^hiloowa v. appl. pass. (**kalant^hiliila**) be sat on; [pron. **khkalaant^hiloowa**]

kh-kalantoowa v. pass. (**i-kaleent^ha**) (for one to) sit, live; [pron. **khkalaant^hoowa**]

Klasiini/ hukalant^hoowa/ zitiini. ‘In class one sits on chairs.’

Numba mooyi/ hukalant^howa na waant^hu. ‘One house was lived in by people.’

kalaasha n. 9/10 [cf. Tunni Somali *kalàaš* ‘kidney’ Tosco 222; Som. *calool* (which becomes *caloosha* when an article is added to it) ‘abdomen, belly’ DSI 84] abdomen (though in one of the **steenzi**, the word is used to refer to the uterus)

Kalaashaye/ inamlaza. ‘His stomach hurts him.’

kaale n. [Sw. *kale* SSED 168] old times

nt^hanaayo mwaanzo wa kaale qadiimu [st.] ‘he (God) has no beginning, (he is) timeless (lit. of old times), ancient’

want^hu wa kaale ‘people of old times, the ancients’

-kali adj. [Sw. *-kali* SSED 168] sharp; warm, hot (of spices, e.g.), hot-tempered, good at s.t., excels in s.t.

Bardi/ apa/ nk^hali. ‘It is bitter cold here.’

Chisu ichi/ ni shkali. ‘This knife is sharp.’ (Cf. **Zisu izi/ ni skali.** ‘These knives are sharp.’)

iwa ikali ‘very hot sun’

khfanya –kali ‘to sharpen’

Haliima/ nakhfanyaa chisu/ shkali/ nakhsuḷa khṭindilaa nama. ‘Haliima is sharpening a knife, she wants to use it to cut the meat.’

kuwa shkali ‘to be sharp (of a knife, e.g.)’

Maneeno/ ni makali/ khshindra lpaanga. ‘Words are sharper than a sword.’ (A proverb.)

mayi makali ‘rough water’

mkali/ kanaa muḷo ‘someone as sharp as fire (i.e. someone who is very smart, knows a lot)’

Mwanaamke/ waliko mkali/ matezo. ‘The girl was good at games [such as playing cards].’

Naḷoo limi/ lkali. ‘He has a sharp tongue.’

Nalo lpaanga/ lkali/ nt^ho. ‘He has a very sharp sword.’

Ni skalii nt^ho/ zisu izi. ‘These knives are very sharp.’

Ni skali/ zisu izi. ‘These knives are sharp.’

Ni wakali. ‘They are warm; they are very good, expert at something.’

nk^hali/ kanaa chisu ‘as sharp as a knife’

Nnakhsuḷaa chisú/ chinawe shkali. ‘I want the knife to be sharp.’

shkali/ kana chireeza ‘as sharp as a razor’

Siimba/ apa/ walali. ‘Lions here are fierce.’

Walimu awaje/ ni wakali. ‘Those teachers are excellent.’
Ye/ ni mkali/ khtafsira ndrooto. ‘He excels in interpreting dreams.’
Zisu izi/ ni skalii nt^ho. ‘These knives are very sharp.’
Zisu izi/ siwo/ skali/ kolko zisu izo. ‘These knives are not sharper than those.’ Or: **Zisu izi/ siwo/ skali/ kuzida zisu izo.** ‘These knives are not sharp to surpass those knives.’
Zisu izo/ suwo/ skali. ‘Those knives are not sharp.’

rel.

ma-kali n. the cutting edge of a knife

u-kali n. sharpness, high degree (of pain)

ukali wa sakaraati/ Sheekhi ka chiza konyoowa [st.] ‘from the torturous agonies of dying/ may the Sheikh be spared’

kalima

n. 9/10 [Sw. *kalima* SSED 168; Ar. *kalima* W 838] word, words

variant form: *kilma*

Aḏaana/ni kalima ikum na keendra. ‘The call to prayer consists of nineteen words.’

ikum na keendra kilma za aḏaana [st.] ‘nineteen are the words of the call to prayer’

kalima ikumi ‘ten words’

Kalima iyo/ yile ka chaarabu. ‘That word came from Arabic.’

Kalimaa mbili/ nt^hatu/ zaa mi/ nkhadiriḷo kaandiká/ na mayti ziitú/ zilelo nt^hini ya barafú/ huṭosha kinfungulila laano/ ili. ‘The two or three words that I was able to write, and our dead bodies lying under the ice, should be sufficient to narrate our story.’

kalima mooyi ‘one word’

sh-kalo (s-)

n. 7/8 dwelling

kama

conj. [Sw. *kama* SSED 168] like, as though **study accent and usage with kama**

Aakhili/ ni kama mashuungi/ kila mooyi/ nayo yaake. ‘Brains are like hair, everyone has his own.’ (A proverb.)

Cho/ siwo/ kama lugha za want^hu wiingine. ‘It (i.e. Chimwiini) is not like the languages of other people.’

Hawa’iwi/ chiint^hu/ siwo/ kamaa si. ‘They cannot know anything; they are not like us (i.e. djinns).’

Khkasa/ siwo/ kama huwona. ‘To hear is not like seeing.’ (A proverb.)

Mali ayo/ ni kama/ mi/ niyaḷaṭilo ṭawalá. ‘That money [spent on cavorting with women] is as though I threw it into the sea.’

Mambo aya/ hayanfurahishi/ mi/ ni/ naakuḷá/ ndimí/ nfiló. ‘These matters do not please me; you are crying as though it is me who has died.’

Mapenzi/ ni kama shkololo/ haya’ushiki. ‘Love is like coughing, it cannot be hidden.’

Mi/ nnakhsula nyunyi mwiinginé/ kama uyú. ‘I want another bird like this one.’

Mukhtaawo/ wawelo ṭayaari/ wachibiga miziinga/ kama wanakhpo waant^hú/ waraadí. ‘When they were ready [to depart], they fired cannons like they were saying farewell to the people.’ (Syn. Observe that **kama** here triggers relativization of its verbal complement.)

Ndiyó/ ni kama uyu/ nyunyi waa we/ nakummeeró? ‘Is the bird that you are looking for like this one?’

Washṭomola salaamu/ naawó/ kama/ want^hu wiingine/ washkalaant^ha. ‘They extended greeting and they, like other people, sat down.’

Ye/ yutiḷiile/ kuwaa ye/ fanyize mkaataba/ kama uyu/ pamooyi/ na Abunawaasi. ‘He regretted that he made a contract like this together with Abunawaasi.’

kama

if

variant form: **kana**

Chibuuku/ kama nt^hachiimo/ sandukhuuni/ chimera kabatiini. ‘If the book is not in the box, look for it in the cupboard.’

Kamaa mi/ nch^hiya/ nt^hakuleta chaakuja. ‘If I come, I will bring food.’

Kama nakhsula kundroolá/ mi/ ndrola kiitu. ‘If you want to marry me, marry me in my country.’

Kamaa we/ chimpata/ chizeele/ ndraani/ ya mtaanawo/ funga mlaango. ‘If you find an old woman inside your room, shut the door.’

Kamaa we/ chiwona chiint^hu/ chiza kuhada chiint^hu/ haykhupati/

chiint^hu. ‘If you see something but do not say anything, nothing will happen to you.’ (A proverb.)

Kamaa we/ hupeendi/ kuwa sul^htaani/ ndimí/ nakhsulo kuwa sul^htaani. ‘If you do not want to become sultan, it is me who wants to be sultan.’

Kamaa we/ shiinzi^hla/ taala/ dawa/ iyi/ endrá/ kaake/ oyo mu^hjaana. ‘If you are defeated, take this medicine and go to him, that young man.’

Kamaa ye/ chiya/ mpe chaakuja. ‘If he comes, give him food.’

Kana Omari/ chiya. ‘[What do you mean,] if Omari comes [e.g., we will do it anyhow, whether Omari comes or not]?’

Kana Omari/ chiya/ maambile/ nandriindre. ‘If Omari comes, tell him to wait for me.’

Kana Omari/ chiya/ sh^htakhteza mpiira. ‘If Omari comes, we will play football.’

Nambi^hla ka sul^htaani/ kama nch^hiza/ kuleeta/ zijuumba/ zaa nyunyi/ nt^hakhtindowaa chi^hta. ‘I was told that if I do not bring the nests of (these) birds, I will be beheaded.’

kama

that; appears; than

Kama wanakhpo waant^hu/ waradi. ‘It appears they were bidding the people farewell.’

Kheeri/ kufa maato/ kama kufa khalbi. ‘Better to lose one’s eyes than to die in the heart.’ (A proverb.)

Nk^hasiize/ kamaa we/ ile. ‘I heard that you arrived.’

kh-kama

v. (**kamiile**) milk (an animal or, fig, someone)

Ali/ mkamile ngoombe. ‘Ali milked the cow.’

rel.

kh-kamisha v. caus. (**kamishiize**) cause to milk

Ali/ mkamishize mwaana/ ngoombe. ‘Ali caused the child to milk the cow.’ (Syn. One can also use the periphrastic construction: **Ali/ mtile mwaana/ khkama ngoombe.** ‘Ali [lit. instilled in] the child to milk the cow.’)

Iwilopo kuwaa mi/ nakhsula kubarata khkamá/ Ali/ nk^hamishize ngoombeye. ‘When he learned that I wanted to learn to milk, he allowed me to milk his cow.’

kh-kamishiliza v. caus. appl. (**kamishilize**)

Ali/ mkamishilize Iisa/ mwaana/ ngoombe. ‘Ali caused Iisa’s child to milk the cow.’ (Syn. A periphrastic version is also possible: **Ali/ mtile Iisa/ mwaana/ ngoombe.** ‘Ali [lit. instilled in] Iisa’s child to milk the cow.’)

kh-kamishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. (**-kamishilizeenye**)

Ali/ na Nuurú/ wakamishilizenye waana/ ngoombe. ‘Ali and Nuuru caused one another’s children to milk the cows.’ (Syn. A periphrastic version is also possible: **Ali/ na Nuurú/ watililene waana/ khkama/ ngoombe.** ‘Ali and Nuuru [lit. instilled in] one another’s children to milk the cows.’)

kh-kamiza v. caus. (**kamiize**)

Nuuru/ mkamize mwaana/ nguwo. ‘Nuuru caused the child to wring out clothes.’

kh-kamuka v. intr. (**kamushile**) (of s.t. to) dry out

kh-kamukila v. appl. (**kamukiliile**)

Nguwo/ zink^h amukiliile. ‘The clothes dried for me.’

kh-kamulila v. appl. [Sw. *kamulia* SSED 169, where however a meaning of ‘squeeze s.t. over’ is given] (**kamuliile**)

Nk^h amuliile nguwo. ‘He dried the clothes for me.’

kh-kamula v. [Sw. *kamua* “squeeze, wring, compress, squeeze out” SSED 169] (**kamiile**) wring s.t. wet out

kh-kamulika v. p/s.

kh-kamulisha v.caus. [Sw. *kamulisha* SSED 169] cause s.o. to dry

Nuuru/ mkamulishize mwaana/ nguwo. ‘Nuuru caused the child to wring out the clothes.’

kh-kamulishika v. caus. p/s.

kh-kamulishiliza v. caus. appl.

Nuuru/ mkamulishilize Suufi/ mwaana/ nguwo. ‘Nuuru caused Suufi’s child to wring out the clothes.’

kh-kamulishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Nuuru/ na Suufi/ wakamulishilizenye waana/ nguwo. ‘Nuuru and Suufi caused one another’s children to wring out the clothes.’

kh-kamuliza v. caus. appl.

Nuuru/ mkamulize Suufi/ mwaana/ nguwo. ‘Nuuru caused Suufi’s child to wring out clothes.’

rel. nom.

u-kamuko n. 14 the act of drying

u-kamulo n. 14 the act of wringing s.t. wet out

kamaakana

Mukhtạa ye/ weno kuwa loonịlé/ lbadishilé/ wele mwelpe/ jisa zamaani/ na mavaaziyé/ yarudile kamaakana/ Hasani/ shfungula farasiyi/

shpaandra/ choondroka/ naayé/ kendra harbiini. ‘When he saw that his complexion had changed and he had become white as before, and his garb had returned to as it used to be, Hasani untied his horse and rode it and went off also to go to the battle.’

kaamaani

n. the mainspring of a watch or clock

kamardaariyo (Ø, ma-)

n. 9/10, 6 [Ital. *camera d’aria*] inner tube

kh-kamata

v. [Sw. *kamata* “take forcible hold of, catch hold of, seize with the hands (arms, claws, a trap, etc.), grasp, clasp, make a prisoner of, arrest, usually of something or some one going quickly or trying to escape” SSED 170] (**kameete**) catch, grasp, etc.

khkamata kama koola ‘to catch, grasp, hold like glue’

Mkameete/ kama koola. ‘He caught him like glue.’

rel.

kh-kamatoowa v. pass. (**kameeta**)

khkamatoowa/ kana koola ‘to be caught like glue’

kamba

like, as

kulla mo qalbiye yiiko kamba sa’a [nṭ.] ‘everybody’s heart beats like a lock’

lada/ kamba suukari ‘sweet as sugar’

lada/ kamba uki ‘sweet as honey’

Nakuwala/ kambaa nṭ^hupa. ‘He is shining like a bottle – i.e. he looks good, fresh.’

kamba

if, whether

Hasani/ chimjiiba/ sikhupikili/ na kambaa we/ hukhaadira/ kunuḅla/

jaariba/ mi/ ni tayaari/ kubigana naawe. ‘Hasani answer him: I will not cook for you; if you are able to kill me, try, I am ready to fight with you.’

Killa/ maaka/ ichinshaarata/ jawaabu/ stakuuyo/ jawabu stakupatikano/ kamba ni awaari/ kamba ni aarani/ ka mbuzi oyo. ‘Every year, it gave a forecast of what would come and could be expected, either famine or abundance of harvest by that goat.’

Kuja/ kamba siwo yaako/ miimba/ ndaako. ‘Food if it is not yours, the stomach is yours.’ (A proverb.)

kaamba n. a native rope made of twisted coconut fibre (i.e. **ikuumbi**)
khfunga kaamba ‘to tie a rope’
kubiga kaamba ‘to make a rope’

n-kaamba n. 9/10 [Sw. **kamba** "lobster, crayfish, prawn, shrimp" SSED 170] lobster, crayfish, shrimp; [pron. **nk^haamba**]

[-kaambala (n-)] n. 11/10 [Sw. **kambaa** SSED 492] rope; clothesline; [pron. **nk^haambala** (pl.)]

Baduwi/ nt^hakhfaanya/ yingine/ chimshiika/ chimfungafunga

nk^haambala/ chimtila numbaani/ karka mtaana/ mkulu/ nt^ho. ‘The nomad did nothing other than to seize him and tie him up with a rope and put him in a house in a very large room.’

Chiya/ shfungula lkaambala/ ka tartiibu/ chimtomolaa mbuzi/

chimotoóló. ‘He came and untied the rope slowly and set the goat free, that’s what he did.’

Haliima/ nakandika lkaambalaani/ nguwo. ‘Haliima is putting clothes on the clothesline.’ (In our recording of this example, the locative

noun was put in IAV position and focused. This focus was manifested in the pitch on the locative not undergoing the level of lowering associated with downstep intonation. Further evidence that this noun is focused is provided by the yes-no question, where the complement **nguwo** is subject to accent shift: **Haliima/ nakandika lkaambalaani/ nguwo?** We should note that focus on the locative noun in this word order is not obligatory. In the speech of GM, the emphatic yes-no question seems not to reflect any presence of focus: **Haliimá/ nakandika lkaambalaani/ nguwo!?** The shift of accent to the final syllable (observed on all three phrases in our recording of this example) is independent of focus in emphatic yes-no questions.)

Haliima/ nakandikaa nguwo/ lkaambalaani. ‘Haliima is putting clothes on the clothesline.’

khfunga lkaambala ‘to tie a rope’

khfungula ifuundro/ lkaambala ‘to untie a knot in a rope’

khfungula lkaambala ‘to untie a rope’

khtinda nk^hambala ‘to cut ropes – i.e. be committed to doing s.t., unable to be prevented from doing s.t.’

Huseeni/ nakhtinda nk^hambala. ‘Huseeni is dead-set on doing s.t., one cannot talk him out of it.’

kubiga ifuundro/ lkaambala ‘to make a knot in a rope’

kubiga lkaambala ‘to tie a rope’

lkaambala chigobe ‘a short rope’

Lkaambala/ hutindika mahala nambaamba. ‘A rope breaks where it is thin.’ (A proverb.)

lkaambala la naylooni ‘a nylon rope’

lkaambala la milala ‘a rope made of milala reeds’

Lkaambala/ nii lile/ laakini/ halkhaadiri/ khfunga skunyi. ‘A rope is long, but it cannot tie firewood.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **ndila** ‘road’.)

Mwana wa sultaani/ wene waant^hu/ wiingi/ wafunzila ka nk^haambala/ pamo naa mbuzi. ‘The son of the sultan saw many people tied up with ropes together with goats.’

Uje mbuzi takhfakato/ takhadiro kendra ka himaahimá/ takhtindó/ takhfakato/ lkaambala iló/ khtindá/ khfakata kendra kuja wisha iyó/ ndiyé/ mwaana. ‘The goat that will run and will be able to go quickly and will break and run, that rope, to break, and run to go to eat those husks, that is the one who is the younger (goat).’ (This sentence is from a text and while it seems to be a bit disjointed,

we cite it as it occurred in the narration.)

Waṭamṭomola ka lkaambala. ‘They will bring him out with a rope.’

Wataana/ wachimfunga ka nk^haambala/ kumkookota/ kendra naayé/ muyiini. ‘The servants tied him up with ropes and dragged him, going [and him] to town.’

Watete lkaambala. ‘They took a rope.’

We/ ni lkaambalá/ humfungoo mp^haká/ mp^haka/ hujoo mp^haná... ‘You are the rope that ties up the cat, the cat that eats the rat...’

rel.

i-kaambala (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

sh-kaambala (s-) n. 7/8 dim.

n-kaambi

n. [Sw. *kambi* SSED 170: "encampment, camp"; Eng. *camp*] quarantine; [pron.

nk^haambi]

khtilowa kambiini ‘to be quarantined’

n-kaambo

[pron. nk^haambo]

n. 9/10 [Sw. *kambi* “encampment, camp” SSED 170] camp, police headquarters;

Askari/ hukala nk^hambooni. ‘Police stay at the camp.’

nk^hambo ya ma’askari ‘police headquarters’

n-kaambo

n. in the expression **babaa nk^hambo** ‘stepfather’

Babaa nk^hambo/ si baaba. ‘A stepfather is not a father.’ (A proverb. In Miini society, leaving one’s children is strongly disapproved, as it is believed that a stepfather will not provide for the children as well as the biological father.)

kaamera

n. [Eng. *camera*] camera

Kamera ya Ali/ mbigilile ruuhuyá/ piichá. ‘Ali’s camera, I used it to take a picture of myself.’

Mbishile ruuhuyá/ piichá/ kamera ya Alí. ‘I took a picture of myself with Ali’s camera.’

kaamili

adj. [Sw. *kamili* SSED 170; Ar. *kāmil* W 841] complete, perfect, whole

Imaani/ haa’iwi/ kaamili/ shartí/ ka shahaada. ‘Faith is not complete unless it has *shahaada* (i.e. acceptance of the oneness of God).’

mandra kaamili ‘a whole loaf of bread’

mbuzi ya matako ya mwaka kaamili [st.] ‘a sheep of one full year [of age]’

munt^hu kaamili ‘a perfect man’ (cf. **want^hu kaamili** ‘perfect men’,

chijint^hu shkaamili ‘dim. perfect man’, **zijint^hu skaamili** ‘dim. perfect men’)

mwezi kaamili ‘a complete month -- i.e. a month of thirty days’

Peesa/ ni kaamili. ‘The money is all there.’

Si/ apa/ hashtapata/ ihtimaamu/ walá/ mahabá/ kaamili/ ya wawa yíitu/ chiwa Yuusufu/ umo karka kiitu. ‘We, here, will not get the attention nor the full love of our father if Yuusufu is among us.’

rel.

u-kaamili n. completion, perfection (with reference to God)

kamilifu

adj. perfect, complete

rel.

u-kamilifu n. 14 completion, perfection

kh-kamilisha

(*kamilishiize*) complete s.t.

v. tr. [Sw. *kamili*, *kamilisha* SSED 170; Ar. *kamala* or *kamila* W 840]

Kamilishize masoomoye. ‘He completed his studies.’

rel.

kh-kamilika v. p/s. (-*kamilishile*) be completed

kh-kamilishiliza v. tr. appl.
kh-kamilishilizanya v. tr. appl. rec.

kampaneela n. [Ital. *campanella* “small bell” or Ital. *campanello* “bell (at house, in school)”] bell
kampaneela/ kururuma ‘for a bell to ring loudly’
kampaneela ya kaniisa ‘church bell’
kampaneela ya skoola ‘school bell’
khkasa kampaneela ‘to listen to the bell’
kubiga kampaneela ‘to ring a bell’
kula kampaneela ‘to ring (lit. cry) a bell’

kampiyaale n. [Som. *kambiyaale* DSI 358, from Ital. *cambiale*] bill of exchange

kamu interrog. [Ar. *kam* W 839] how many? how much?

Alí/ mulile mandraa kamu/ Haliima. ‘How many loaves of bread did Ali buy for Haliima.’ Or: **Alí/ mulile Haliima/ mandraa kamu.** ‘Ali bought for Haliima how many loaves of bread?’

Baazi/ hadile gaari/ iyo/ kaa kamu. ‘Baazi said that car was how much?’

Or: **Kaa kamu/ hadiiló/ Baazi/ gari iyo.** Or: **Gari iyo/ Baazi/ hadil;e kaa kamu.** Or: **Kaa kamu/ gari iyo/ hadiiló/ Baazi.** (Notice that the position of **kaa kamu** determines whether the main verb is in pseudo-relativ e form or not. If **kaa kamu** is to the right of the main verb, it has no effect on its form. If **kaa kamu** is to the left of the main verb, then the verb is in pseudo-relative form. The complement clause in this sentence is a null copular, thus there is no complement verb whose form can be determined by **kaa kamu**.)

Cheendra/ kaa kamu/ chimwaambila/ ka pesa haba/ tu/ siwo/ niingi. ‘He went (i.e. asked): with how much (i.e. to purchase a goat)? With just a little money, not much.’

ka jahaye kamu wapeeto maddadi [st.] ‘because of him, how many received blessings?’

kamu wawaalimo ndraani ya sanduukhu [nt.] ‘how many people hid inside wooden chests?’

Kamu/ wa’iló. ‘How many came?’ (When **kamu** is preverbal, the verb may be put into the pseudo-relative form.)

Khalamu iyi/ kamu. ‘How much is this pen?’

Mandraa kamu/ Ali/ mulilo Haliimá. ‘How many loaves of bread did Ali buy for Haliima?’

Mandraa kamu/ ye/ jiióló. ‘How many loaves of bread did he eat?’

Nt^hakhadira kujaa kamu. ‘How much am I able to eat?’

elo/ kamu/ nt^hachikuja/ nt^hachinaakuna/ chofeeté/ ba. ‘Since how many days from today we have not eaten, we have not drunk, we are just exhausted (worrying about our problem).’

Numbaani/ wamo want^huu kamu. ‘In the house there are how many people?’ (When **kamu** is post-verbal, the verb is not put into the pseudo-relative form: ***Numbaani/ wamo want^huu kamú.**)

Osmaani/ nazo faturaa kamu. ‘How many cars does Omari have?’

Schitalowaa mbuzi/ schifungoowa/ skuu kamu. ‘The goats were taken and tied up for some (lit. how many) days.’

Wa’ilee kamu. ‘How many came?’

Wa’ile want^huu kamu/ numbaani. ‘How many people came home?’

Want^huu kamu/ wa’aminilo kuwa Alí/ weshele peesá/ bangiiní. ‘How many people believed that Ali deposited money in the bank?’

Want^huu kamu/ wa’iló. ‘How many people came?’

Want^huu kamu/ wamo numbaaní. ‘How many people are in the house?’

Or: **Want^hu/ kamu/ wamo numbaaní.** ‘As for the people, how many are in the house?’

Want^huu kamu/ ye/ waweenó. ‘How many people did he see?’

Ye/ wawene want^huu kamu. ‘How many people did he see?’

Zibukuu kamu/ karka zaaka/ we/ nakhsuuló. ‘How many books of mine

do you want?’

Zint^huu kamu/ zimo sandukhuuní. ‘How many things are in the box?’

kaamu

[no etymology known] in the phrases:

kambila ka kaamu ‘to say by heart’

We/ takhaadira/ kuhada jawabu za Hamadi/ khambiiló/ ka

kaamú. ‘Can you repeat what Hamadi told you by heart?’

kiiwa kaamu ‘to know by heart’

izo ni laazimu kiwoowa kaamu [st.] ‘these (the five pillars of Islam) must be known by heart’

kubaraṭa ka kaamu ‘to learn by heart’

khsoma (ka) kaamu ‘to read by heart (i.e. from memory)’

Hamadi/ husoma qur’aani/ ka kaamu. ‘Hamadi reads the Quran by heart.’

huwa nangaangu khsoma kaamu waana [st.] ‘it becomes easy for children to ready by heart’

kh-kamula

v. tr. squeeze, wring s.t. wet out

Ichiwa teena/ ye/ huleleza/ chileemba/ chisimaani/ schidaara/ maayi/ hichigiṭa/ hishkamula/ maayi/ yaa ye/ hupatoo kuná. ‘It became then that he puts the turban into the well and when it touches the water, he pulls it up and squeezes out the water that he collects to drink.’

khkamulaa nguwo ‘to wring out wet clothes’

rel.

kh-kamuka v. intr. (**kamushile**) dry out

kh-kamukila v. intrans. appl. (**kamukiliile**)

Nguwo/ zink^hamukiliile. ‘The clothes dried for me.’

kh-kamulila v. tr. appl.

Nk^hamulilee nguwo. ‘He dried the clothes for me.’

nom. rel.

u-kamuko n. the act of drying out

u-kamulo n. the act of wringing s.t. wet out

kaamuni

n. [Ar. *kammūn* W 841] cummin

Huta kaamuni. ‘You grind cummin.’

kana

conj. (cf. *kama*) [Sw. *kana* SSED 171]

Kana/ kufa leló/ kheeri/ kufa keesho. ‘Instead of dying today, it is better to die tomorrow.’ (A proverb.)

kana siimba/ chinija ‘if the lion eats me’

kanaa we/ chiza khaadira/ kuwaka ‘if you cannot build (e.g. a house)’

kanaa we/ shkhaadira/ khkeesha/ masku mazima/ ndraani/ ya ibirka ya mayi ya barafu ‘if you are able to pass the whole night inside a tank of ice water’

went to Mogadishu?’

Na’iwá/ we/ kana Nuurú/ olosh elo Mkhodiishó. ‘Do you know if Nuuru

Oloka/ mraashe/ kanaa ye/ ni mwenzaawó. ‘Go, follow him, if he is your friend.’

Teena/ nt^hanakuhada/ ba/ kana ni oyo mwiimbili/ nakuhadó. ‘So she did not say that it is the young man who is saying (this).’

We/ nampenda naaní/ na kanaa we/ nampeendá/dirrameené/ naayé/ koḏeelé. ‘Who do you love, and if you love her, have you met with her, have you spoken (to her)?’

kana

invar. seems (lit. it is like)

Hamadi/ kana/ pisiló. ‘Hamadi seems to have passed.’ Or: **Kana/ pisiló/**

Hamadi.

Hamadi/ kana/ pisiló/ imṭihaani. ‘Hamadi seems to have passed the examination.’ Or: **Imṭihaani/ Hamadi/ kana/ pisiló.** Or: **Imṭihaana/ kana/ pisiló/ Hamadi.**

Hamadi/ kana/ uziló/ gaari. ‘Hamadi seems to have bought a car.’ Or: **Gaari/ Hamadi/ kana/ uziló.** Or: **Gaari/ kana/ uziló/ Hamadi.**

Hamadi/ kana/ wapelo waaná/ peesá. ‘Hamadi seems to have given the children money.’ Or: **Waana/ kana/ Hamadi/ wapelo peesá.** Or: **Peesa/ kana/ Hamadi/ wapelo waaná.**

kana

n. 9/10 mouth

Ba’ada ya khtomola salaamu/ na kuza khabari/ funga kanayo. ‘After extending (your) greetings and asking how he’s doing, shut your mouth!’

Bakayle/ lasile/ kanaye/ waazi/ teena/ nzi/ zina^hwingilila/ kanaani. ‘The hare had left its mouth open (while feigning to be dead), then flies were getting into its mouth.’

Eelo/ shtukula/ almaasi/ iyo/ kanaani/ kaake. ‘The gazelle carried this diamond in his mouth.’

Funga kanayo. ‘Close your mouth!’

Fuunga/ kanayo/ we. ‘Shut up, you!’

Kana/ heendra/ hatá/ Maka. ‘The mouth goes even to Mecca.’ (A proverb that suggests that talk is cheap, talk does not mean action.)

Kana/ ijiló/ ha’ikooði. ‘A mouth what has eaten does not talk.’ (A proverb that suggests that someone who has done something wrong does not talk about what he has done.)

Kana/ imyelee mate. ‘His mouth was filled with saliva.’

kana iyi ‘this mouth’; **kana izi** ‘these mouths’

Kana/ ni numba ya maneeno. ‘The mouth is a house of words.’ (A proverb.)

kanaa nk^havu ‘dry mouth’

kanaya ‘my mouth’, **kanaye** ‘his mouth’ (cf. **kana zaawo** ‘their mouths’)

Kanaya/ nk^havu. ‘My mouth is dry.’

kanzaa kana ‘to eat breakfast (lit. to start the mouth)’

Mi/ skaanza/ kana/ nt^haasa. ‘I haven’t eaten breakfast yet.’

khfinikaa kana ‘to cover the mouth (e.g. when coughing)’

khfungulaa kana ‘to open the mouth; to eat s.t. early in the morning’

khpangulaa kana ‘to wipe the mouth clean’

koshaa kana ‘to wash the mouth’

kuyezaa kana ‘to fill the mouth (e.g. with food)’

Maayi/ yanyelee kana. ‘My mouth is full of water -- i.e. I can’t talk (what you are saying is wrong, but I can’t say anything for some reason that I cannot put forth).’

Mojiitu/ khatiloo kaná/ haatowi/ ya khutila. ‘God, who is the one that opened your mouth, does not fail to put something in your mouth.’ (A proverb.)

Muunt^hu/ hubla ruuhuye/ ka kanaye. ‘A man kills himself by his mouth.’ (A proverb.)

Mwene dul’eda/ kanaye/ na zijuuluzé/ maazi. ‘He saw blood on the fox’s mouth and paws.’ **need to review phrasing of this example**

Nt^hawakhfungula/ kana zaawo. ‘They did not open their mouths’

Reeba/ kanayo. ‘Shut up (lit. stop your mouth)!’

Wamaliizopó/ wachishoma kana ya ijuuniya/ wachi’itukula/ hattá/ Ifuwooni. ‘When they finished (putting Abunawaasi and the stones in the sack), they sewed up the opening of the sack and carried it up to the seashore.’

rel.

i-kana (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug. big mouth

Awo/ mikana yaawo/ mikulu. ‘Those [people], their mouths are big – i.e. they talk too much.’

ikana/ kana nt^heleewa ‘a big mouth like a sp. fish – i.e. of someone who talks too much’

khfunga ikana ‘to close the mouth’

Muunt^hu/ suura/ khfunga kanaye. ‘For a man to keep his mouth

shut is good.'

khfungila ikana 'to close the mouth for, with, etc.'

Muunt^hu/ suura/ ki'ifungila kanaye. 'It is good for a men to keep quiet.' (Morph. Notice the use of the applied reflexive verb form here.)

khfungula ikana 'to open the mouth'

Omari/ shfungula kanaye/ hamaamali. 'When Omari opens his mouth, he does not keep quiet.'

Omari/ shfungula kanaye/ hareebati. 'When Omari opens his mouth, he does not stop.'

khṭaga ikana 'lit. to widen the mouth -- i.e. shout'

We/ khṭaga ikana/ hayiinfi. 'Your shouting does not help.'

Omari/ ikanaye/ ikulu. 'Omari, his mouth is big; Omari talks a lot.'

Omari/ ikanaye/ iwovu. 'Omari says bad things (lit. Omari's mouth is bad).'

Omari/ ikanaye/ kana iteleewu. 'Omari's mouth is as big as that of the iteleewu fish.'

Zeena/ nt^haná/ kana. 'Zeena does not talk, he is silent, quiet (lit. Zeena has no mouth).'

kanaa ntupu

naked; [pron. kanaa nt^hupu]

Ali/ owele kanaa nt^hupu 'Ali swam naked.'

kanaa nt^hupu/ kana maamaye/ mzaaziló 'as naked as his mother gave birth to him'

kanaale

n. 9/10 [Ital. *canale*] canal

Kaande

n. the name of a graveyard in Brava

Waant^hu/ huzikowa makhabriini/ Kaande. 'People are buried at Kaande graveyard.'

kaandra

[cf. Sw. *-a kwanza* SSED 17] first

-a kaandra 'the first one'

mun^hu wa kaandra 'the first person'

sku nt^hatu za kaandra 'the first three days'

Chibiga hoodi/ maraa kaandra/ nt^hakujiboowa/ maraa piili... 'He asked for permission to enter; the first time, he got no reply; the second time...'

Isafa la kaandra 'the first line, row'

Maraa kaandra/ ile/ nawene kuwaa we/ sulile kumublá. 'The first time, she came and saw that you wanted to kill her.'

Maraa kaandra/ mi/ nshiinzilá. 'The first time, I was defeated.'

Maraa kaandra/ nt^haku/ mrashiizó. 'The first time, no one followed him.'

Mun^hu ukoo mbelé/ ndiyé/ wa kaandra. 'The person who is in front is the

first.' (A proverb.)

Sku ya kaandra/ ya piili/ ya taatu/ yaane/ ya taano/ hatá/ sku ya sita/ nt^hakhpata/ majiibu. 'The first day, the second, the third, the fourth, the fifth, up until the sixth, he could not come up with an answer (to the riddle).'

ya kaandra 'first'

Ya kaandra/ mi/ nkhiriiélé/ we/ kumbejele mooja; ya piili... 'first, I agree for you to be my master; second...'

i-kaandra (ma-, mi-)

n. 5/6,4 skin layer or membrane of a living thing, peel, bark

ikandra ya embe 'peel of a mango'

ikandra yaa mazu 'banana peel'

ikandra ya miimba 'belly membrane/skin (in animals, the thin layer that encloses the stomach and intestines)'

rel.

i-gaandra n. [Sw. *ganda* SSED 111] peel, skin (of fruit)

igandra yaa mazu ‘banana peel’

Nakaambula/ igandra yaa mazu. ‘He is peeling off the banana peel.’

Nakuja igaandra/ yaa mazu. ‘He is eating the banana peel.’

kh-kaandra

v. [Sw. *kanda* SSED 172] (**kaanzile**) knead, massage

Haliima/ namkandra maamaye/ ka mafta. ‘Haliima is massaging her mother with oil.’ Cf. **Haliima/ namkandra maamaye/ ka mafta/ namkaandró.** ‘Haliima is massaging her mother with oil, that’s what she is doing.’ Or: **Haliima/ namkandra maamaye/ namkaandró/ ka mafta.** ‘Haliima is massaging her mother, that’s what she is doing, with oil.’

khkandra kaa nguvu ‘to massage forcefully’

khkandra maluungo ‘to massage the body’

khkandra uloongo ‘to knead clay’

khkandra unga ‘to knead flour’

kumkandraa chiṭa ‘to massage his head’

Maana/ namkandra maalimu/ chiṭa. ‘The child is massaging the teacher’s head.’ (The yes-no question version does not involve accent shift, just Q-raising. The exclamatory question involves accent shift throughout the VP: **Maana/ namkandra maalimú/ chiṭâ!?**)

Maana/ mkanzile maalimu/ chiṭa. ‘The child massaged the teacher’s head.’ (Observe that with this verb, it is not necessary to mark the possessive relationship between the object **mwaalimu** and the body part. It is not felicitous to say: ***Maana/ kanzile chiṭa cha mwaalimu.** ‘The child massaged the head of the teacher.’ Only somewhat more acceptable is: **Maana/ kanzile maalimu/ chiṭaache.**)

kumkandra iluungo ‘to massage the back’

kumkandra ka magoonjo ‘to massage s.o. with the knees (e.g. as a small child might massage his mother with his knees)’

kumkandra ka tartiibu ‘to massage gently’

kumkandra miilu ‘to massage his legs’

kumkandra moongo ‘to massage the back’

Maana/ namkandra maalimu/ chiṭa/ namkaandró. ‘The child is massaging the teacher’s head, that’s what he is doing.’ Or: **Maana/ namkandra maalimu/ namkaandró/ chiṭa.** ‘The child is massaging the teacher, that’s what he is doing, (his) head.’

rel.

kh-kaandrika v. p/s.

kh-kaandrila v. appl.

Maana/ namkandrila maalimu/ mafta. ‘The child is massaging the teacher with oil.’

kh-kandrisha v. caus. have someone knead, massage

kh-kandrishana v. caus. rec.

kh-kandrishika v. caus. p/s.

kh-kandrishiliza v. caus. appl.

kh-kandrishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-kandroowa v. pass.

Wazeele/ hukandroowá. ‘It is old men who are massaged.’

rel. nom.

m-kaandro n. 3 [Sw. *mkando* (*mi-*) SSED 172] act of kneading

l-kaandra (*n-*)

n. 11/10 [Sw. *ukanda* SSED 492] belt; [pron. **nk^haandra** ‘belts’]

Chimvīla baduwi/ chimpa/ peesa/ zaa ye/ wanaazó/ **lkandraani/**

chimwaambila/ kumulīlaa luzi/ na shpandre chaa nguwo. ‘He called the nomad and gave him the money that he had in his belt and told him to buy for him thread and a piece of cloth.’

Chisula kuwa taajiri/ kaza lkaandra. ‘If you want to be rich, tighten your belt.’ (A proverb.)

khfunga ka lkaandra ‘tie with a belt’

khfungula lkaandra ‘to open belt’

kumbiga ka lkaandra ‘to hit s.o. with a belt’

Omari/ nambiga Hamadi/ ka lkaandra. ‘Omari is beating Hamadi with a belt.’

- with a belt.’
- kuvala lkaandra** ‘wear a belt’
lkandra la aaga ‘rubber belt’
lkaandra/ la chigozi ‘a leather, skin belt’
lkandra la plaastika ‘plastic belt’
Omari/ namvunanga Hamadi/ ka lkaandra. ‘Omari is beating Hamadi
- rel.
sh-kaandra (s-) n. 7/8 the belt strip at the back of a sandal
mi-kaandra n. 4 belts
Valaani/ mikandra yiinu/ ariplaano/ inakuuluka. ‘Fasten your seat belts, the airplane is taking off.’
- n-kaanga* n. 9/10 [Sw. *kanga* SSED 172] guinea fowl [pron. **nk^haanga**]
Karkaa ye/ oloshelo kumrasha nk^haangá/ mundraani/ wa’ilee nyunyi/ wajile nt^heendre/ yotte. ‘While he was (going) following the guinea fowl in the garden, birds had come and eaten all the dates.’
- kuwinda nk^haanga** ‘to hunt guinea fowl’
nama ya nk^haanga ‘the meat of a guinea fowl’
Nk^haanga/ walikoo chila/ kaa kule/ nt^ho. ‘The guinea fowl was crying from very far off.’
- i-kangaaya* (mi-) n. 4/5 Blue Tang fish
- kani** by what means?
Ali/ kani/ oloshelo Mkhodiishó. ‘By what means did Ali go to Mogadishu?’ (Syn. When **kani** is pre-verbal, it requires the verb to go into the pseudo-relative form.)
Kani/ we/ oloshelo Mkhodiishó. ‘By what means did you go to Mogadishu?’ (The pre-verbal location of **kani** triggers the pseudo-relative form of the verb. Of course, the second person form of a non-relative past tense verb would also trigger final accent.)
Tinzile kani/ nama. ‘With what did you cut the meat?’ Or: **Nama/ tinzile kani.** Or: **Kani/ tinzilo nama.** (Syn. Observe that **kani** in pre-verbal position triggers pseudo-relative clause formation, but not when it is post-verbal.)
Uzile kani. ‘What did he buy it with?’
We/ oloshelo kani/ Mkhodiisho. ‘You went by what means to Mogadishu?’ (Phon. The second person past tense form triggers final accent; however, the scope of the final accent cannot go past the focus element **kani**. This explains why in the present sentence **Mkhodiisho** has default rather than final accent.)
We/ oloshelo Mkhodiishó/ kani. ‘You went to Mogadishu by what means?’ (Phon. In Chimiini, immediate post-verbal position is the focus position for a verb complement. In the present sentence **kani** is not focused, hence it is not included in the scope of the final accent triggered by the second person past tense verb.)
Ye/ oloshelo kani/ Mkhodiisho. ‘He went by what means to Mogadishu?’
Or: **Ye/ oloshelo Mkhodiisho/ kani.**
- kani** from what?
Miloongoti/ yafanyiza kani. ‘The masts, what are they made of?’
- mu-kanifu* n. [Ar. *kanafa* W 843] protector, guardian, the one who assists (Ar. *kanafa*, W 843)
- kaniisa* n. [Sw. *kanisa* SSED 172; Ar. *kanīsa* W 842] church
kanisaani ‘in church’
Haṭá/ sku mooyi/ dafa/ wachimwaambila/ kendra naawo/ kanisaani/ khsaḷa naawo. ‘Until one day the kites told him to come with them to church to pray with them.’

Karaayle/ wachishoorata/ keendra/ khtila kaniisa/ muḷo. ‘The crows decided to go and burn the church down.’
Omari/ uko kanisaani. ‘Omari is at the church.’

kaanjuri n. a game played on a board with holes, using seashells
Nakhteza kaanjuri. ‘He is playing kaanjuri.’

kaankaro n. cancer
File ka kaankaro. ‘He died of cancer.’
kumambaṭa kana kaankaro ‘to stick to him like cancer (said of some who when he wants something, he will never quit until he gets it’
Kaankaro/ ntʰayná/ dawa. ‘Cancer has no treatment (remedy, medicine).’
maradi ya kaankaro ‘the disease of cancer’

kanmake adv. [shortened form of **ka numa=ke**, cf. **numa**] afterwards, then
Kanmake/ chibuzi/ hiyingilila/ maduriini. ‘After that, the little goat went on its way to the bush.’ (The verb **hiyingilila** is an example of the one environment where Chimiini makes use of a reflexive prefix *i* that is found in other Bantu languages. Specifically, *i* is used in conjunction with the applied stem /ingilila/, yielding a meaning ‘take oneself into’. The number of verb stems which can be used in this construction is limited.)

Kanmake/ itushileni (or: **itulushileni**)/ **kati kaawo.** ‘And then what happened between them?’

Omari/ kanumake/ haapiki. ‘Omari is not going to cook later.’ (In the simple yes-no question, no accent shift was observed. In the exclamatory yes-no question, shift occurred on all but the initial phrase: **Omari/ kanumaké/ haapiki!?**)

Omari/ ntʰakhpika kanumaké. ‘(It’s) Omari (who) will not cook later.’

Sultaani/ uyu/ naayé/ kila shpisa/ hukumu/ hulangala/ ka kublike/ chimaliza huteka/ kanmake/ hulangala/ lpaandre/ la kusooto/ hula. ‘This king [lit. and he] whenever he passes judgement, he looks to his right and then laughs, then he looks to his left, and he cries.’

Wo/ wachanza khteza/ washṭeza/ kanmake/ Saʼiidi/ chimshindra oyo ijini. ‘They began to play (gamble), they played until Saʼiidi defeated that djinn.’

u-kanme n. a silver or golden choker

kansari n. cancer
Hamadi/ nayo kansari ya igoroombo. ‘Hamadi has cancer of the throat.’
Hamadi/ nayo kansari ya inyi. ‘Hamadi has cancer of the liver.’

kanzi n. 9/10 [Sw. *kanzi* SSED 173] treasure, hoard (esp. buried treasure)
ilmu ni kanzi ya lmiingu na aakhera [st.] ‘knowledge is a treasure of this world and the hereafter’
Kaazi/ ni kanzi. ‘Work is a treasure.’ (A proverb.)
kusha kanzi ‘to hide a treasure’
kuweka kanzi ‘to set aside a hoard’

i-kaapa (ma-) n. 5/6 [cf. Sw. *gaba* Sac. 243, who identifies the word with the Kiamu dialect] fin (of a fish); wing (of a bird)

kumtila makapaani ‘to put under one’s wing – i.e. protection’
Nyunyi/ bilaa makaapa/ haʼuluki. ‘A bird without wings does not fly.’ (A proverb which says that one needs the means to do something, e.g. a soldier without a gun cannot fight.)
Washpala nsi izo/ washṭinda makaapaye. ‘They scaled those fish and cut off the fins.’

rel.

i-kaapa (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

l-kaapa (n-) n. 11/10 wing of a bird; [pron. **nk^haapa** in the plural] ‘wings’

sh-kaapa (s-) n. 7/8 dim.

shkapa chelpe ‘an oceanic whitetip shark’ (cf. pl. **skapa zelpe**)

kapartoone (Ø, ma-) n. 9/10, 6 [Ital. *copertone*] the outer rubber tire of a wheel

Kapeelo n. Cappello, the name of an Italian resident, whose name appears in the place name:
Ibuuri/ ya Kapeelo (also **Chibuuri/ cha Kapeelo**) ‘a stretch of the slope on the western side of the hill leading to Brava (not on the side nearest to the town, but the other side from which you see the inland plain) approximately half way between Brava and Muduni. At that point the hill road is particularly steep and Resident Cappello had the stretch paved, probably to facilitate the passage of carts loaded with agricultural produce that were going into Brava from the cultivated areas near the Shebelle River.’

kapsola n. [Ital. *capsula*] capsule

kaptaani (ma-) n. [Eng. *captain*] captain
Huseeni/ chiwa’amura/ makaptaani/ wa manwari/ kuruda kaawo. ‘Huseeni order the captains of the warships to return home.’

Kaptanlaas n. a village some ninety kilometers north of Brava on the road to Mogadishu

sh-kapu (s-) n. 7/8 [Sw. *kikapu* SSED 193] basket
Cho/ shchifungula shkapuche. ‘She opened her basket.’
Hufanya skapu. ‘They make baskets.’
Ikoni ya shkapu ‘handle of a basket’
Ka shkapuuni/ schilawa zinaandra/ na gambuusá/ naazó/ zinakubigó. ‘From the basket she took our banjos and guitars which were playing.’
Ni ndrani ya shkapu icho/ yawalimo mi’ujizá. ‘It was inside that basket that there were miraculous things.’
Shkapu cha maame/ chiyelee gele. ‘My mother’s basket is full of maize.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **miino** ‘teeth’.)
shkapuuni ‘in the basket’
Ye/ chishfinikila shkapu. ‘She covered it with a basket.’

rel.

i-kapu (mi-) n. aug. large basket
ikapu ikulu/ ya sukhuuni ‘the large basket for the market’; **mikapu mikulu/ ya sukhuuni** ‘the large baskets for the market’
ikapu ipaana ‘a wide basket’; **mikapu mipaana** ‘wide baskets’
mikapu aya ‘these aug. baskets’
l-kapu (mi-) n. aug. large basket
lkapu ili ‘this aug. basket’

kapuchiino n. [Ital. *cappuccino*] coffee with milk in it

karaaka n. [Sw. *kiraka* SSED 204; Ar. *raqa’u* ‘to patch a garment’ W 354] patch
kambisa karaaka ‘to attach with patch’
kandika karaaka ‘to patch s.t.’
Shaatiye/ inayo karaaka. ‘His shirt has a patch.’

rel.

sh-karaaka (s-) n. 7/8 dim. (tire) patch

karaama n. [Sw. *karama* SSED 174; Ar. *karāma* W 822] miracle, extraordinary things done by saints; honor

na karaama zitu ziweena bayaana [nt.] ‘and our miraculous delivery became clear’

Nayo karaama. ‘He has a God-given gift for performing miracles.’
ya Sheekhi Abdulqaadiri/ karaamazo ni daahiri [poem] ‘O Sheikh Abdulqadir, your miraculous powers are evident’

karaamaale adj. possessing miraculous gifts (a synonym of **astaale**)

Mitume/ mikaraamaale. ‘Prophets are miraculous.’
Oyo/ Hamadi/ ni astaale/ karaamaale. ‘That Hamadi is someone possessing miraculous abilities.’

shekhiya ni sheekhi astaale karaamaale ni sheekhi Jeylaani ‘[st.] ‘my sheikh is a sheikh who possesses miraculous gifts, it is Sheikh Jeylani’

karamu n. [Sw. *karamu* SSED 174; Ar. *karīm* ‘hospitable, generous’ W 822] feast served on a special occasion; food given to poor people

Karamu/ ifanyiiza. ‘Karamu was done.’ Or: **Ifanyiiza karamu.**

Karamuuni/ wa’azimiila/ masheekhi/ walangala noota/ na ma’akhyari/ wa muuyi. ‘To the feast were invited learned men, astrologers, and gentlemen of the town.’ (Phon. Notice that the final accent triggered by the conjunction *na* extends in this example only to the end of **ma’akhyari** and not to the end of the entire associative construction: ***ma’akhyari/ wa muuyi**. If the head of the associative had been joined into a single phrase with its complement, then the final accent would have appeared at the end of that single phrase: **na ma’akhyari wa muuyi**.)

khfanya karamu ‘to provide or cook or serve food on a special occasion’

Maama/ choloka sukhuuni/ chulaa mbuzi/ shindaa mbuzi/ shfanya karamu/ nk^hulu. ‘Mother went to the market (and) bought a goat/ (and) slaughtered the goat (and) made a large feast.’

Wa’ifanyize karamu/ ya wawa yaawo/ faramiilo. ‘They made the *karamu* that their father recommended.’

khfanyiliza karamu ‘to make a feast for’

Wafanyilize waant^hu/ karamu. ‘They made *karamu* for people.’

Maama/ chimwaambila/ kuwaa ye/ takhpowa ina/ ba’ada/ ya karamu. ‘Mother told him that he would be given a name after the feast.’

Wapikilile waant^hu/ karamu. ‘They cooked *karamu* for people.’

karaani (ma-) n. [Sw. *karani* SSED 174; Persian *kārān* ‘factor, agent’ cited in SSED 174] clerk
karani uyu ‘this clerk’; **makarani awa** ‘these clerks’
Tuuna/ waawaye/ ni karaani. ‘Tuuma’s father is a clerk.’

rel.

u-karaani n. clerkship

karata n. [Sw. *karata* SSED 174; Port.] playing card

Chambiioowa/ n^hasaa we/ kumloola/ we/ ni laazima/ khteza/ na mwanaamke/ karata. ‘He was told: before you marry her, you must play cards with the girl.’

jogi ya karata ‘a pack of playing cards’

kawanya karata ‘to deal cards’

khteza karata ‘to play cards’

Ye/ chiwona majini/ miingi/ yakumangeene/ khteza karata. ‘He saw many djinns gathered together to play cards.’

Ye/ nakendra jiraniini/ khteza karata na jiraaniye. ‘He is going to his neighbor’s [place] to play cards with his neighbor.’

khinda karata ‘to cut the cards’

kubiga karata ‘to shuffle cards’

kudanganya karata ‘to shuffle cards’

Schiletowa karata/ wachanza khteza. ‘Cards were brought and they began to play.’ (Syn. Observe the postposing of **karata**, the subject of the passive verb **schiletoowa**, as well as the grouping of **karata** into the same phrase as the verb.)

Uyu/ chaamura/ khadimuze/ kuleta karata. ‘This one ordered her servants to bring cards (for playing).’

- sh-karawa* (s-) n. 7/8 small monkey (according to GM; an internet source glosses as “baboon”)
Mbene skarawá. ‘I saw small monkeys.’
Omari/ nayo shkarawa. ‘Omari has a monkey.’
shkarawa ichi ‘this monkey’; **skarawa izi** ‘these monkeys’
Shkarawa/ shfakeete. ‘The monkey ran away.’
Skarawa izi/ zihaba. ‘These monkeys are small.’
Skarawa/ sfakeete. ‘The monkeys ran away.’
- karawaata* n. 9/10 [Ital. *cravatta*] necktie, cravat
- karaayle* (ma-) n. 9/10 [?cf. Som. *qararaflee* “to croak, to caw”, found in Dizionario Italiano-Somalo 289] crow (there are two kinds: the wholly black one, which is rare in Brava, and a larger kind that is black with a white ring around its neck)
Apo/ zamaani/ sultani waa dafa/ ondroshele/ mpelekeleele/ sultani wa karayle/ khaṭi/ mwambiile/ kuwaa ye/ nakhsuuḷa/ makaraayle/ na sultani waawó/ kumweleḷa askarize. ‘Once upon a time the king of the kites sent a letter to the king of the crows telling him that he wanted the crows and their king to be his soldiers.’
rel.
i-karaayle (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
- karbaashi* n. [Som. *karbaash* DSI 359] whip
variant form: **garbaashi**
rel.
sh-karbaashi (s-) n. dim.
- karboratoore* n. 9/10 [Ital. *carburatore*] carburator
- kaari* n. [Eng. *card*] any kind of ‘card’, e.g. identification or membership document, or ration card
- kaariko* n. 9/10 [Ital. *carico*] cargo
- kariimu* (Ø-, ma-) adj. [Ar. *karīm* “beneficent (God)” W 822] open-handed, generous (and thus respectful of others); a name for God
want^hu makariimu ‘generous people’
rel.
u-kariimu n. [Sw. *ukarimu* SSED 174] respectfulness, generosity
kurama adj. pl. [Ar. *kuramā* W 822] generous
- karka* prep. [cf. Sw. *katika* SSED 178-179] from, among, of, in, while
Dibii mbili/ haskali/ karka moro mooyi. ‘Two bulls do not dwell in one fenced-in enclosure.’ (A proverb.)
hummoni muunt^hu karka lpeengele [nt.] ‘you don’t see anybody in the streets’
karka muunt^hi/ kati ‘around mid-day’
Karkaa ndila/ siimba/ chiwa’uza weenziwe... ‘On the way, Lion asked his companions...’
karka nuumba ‘in the house’
karkaa ndila ‘on the way, in the road’
Karka waana/ wont^he/ mpenzele Nuuru. ‘Among all the children he liked Nuuru (best).’
Karka wanaashke/ wont^he/ ni ^fHaliima/ msuurá (or: **msuraa nt^ho**). ‘Among all the girls, it is Haliima who is the most beautiful.’
Karkaa ye/ nakeendró/ gaari/ imvundikiḷiḷe. ‘While he was going, the car broke down on him.’
Karkaa ye/ naakufó/ sulṭaani/ chaamura/ mawaziiriwe/ kumdhahalisha/

mwaana/ maali/ yaa ye/ takulató/ yotte/ na kumtawalisha muuyi. ‘When he was dying, the sultan ordered his ministers to give his son all the wealth that he would leave behind and to make him the ruler of the town.’

Karkaa ye/ nakugalgalo chiliini/ shkasa waant^hu/ kaa kule/ wanakuuya. ‘While he was tossing and turning on the bed, he heard people from afar coming.’

Kula mooyi/ karka want^hu wa Jaama/ wabishiló/ ishtakiile. ‘Each one of the people whom Jaama hit complained.’

Mi/ mbaliko shkula muyi uyu/ karka numba iyi. ‘I was raised in this town in this house.’

Mi/ waawe/ karaka ye/ naakufó/ mp^hele wasiya/ mbili. ‘I, my father, while he was dying, he gave me two warnings.’

mooyi/ karkaa si ‘one of us’

Mooyi/ karka waant^hu/ awa/ watatu/ chihada... ‘One of these three men said...’

Mwaana/ chilawa karka ibirka. ‘The child came out of the tank of water.’

Nile karka laakujá. ‘I came around sunset.’

Nowelele karkaa wowi. ‘I swam in the river.’ (Syn. One cannot relativize into *karka NP* and say ***wowi yaa mi/ nowelelo karkayé** ‘the river that I swam in it’. Rather one says: **wowi yaa mi/ nowelelo katiké.**)

Safiya/ lazile karka reeri/ inayo maalí. ‘Safiya came from a family that has money.’

Shtila chaakuja/ karka zijamu statu. ‘She put food on three plates.’

Sku mooyi/ muunt^hu/ mooyi/ karkaa ye/ nakhpitó/ kharibu ya numba ya waziiri/ welo sultaani/ chimwona Ali/ uko cholokooni/ nakuwapa khaadimu/ amri/ kumfungila farasi. ‘One day a man, while passing near the house of the minister who had become sultan saw Ali at the window giving orders to the servants to saddle for him the horse.’

Wakomele karka muuyi/ mooyi. ‘They reached a town.’

Walimo karka kaazi. ‘He was busy working; he was engaged in working.’

Walimo karka khfikira. ‘He was (in the process of) thinking.’

Walimo karka khsooma. ‘He was (in the process of) reading.’

Walimo karkaa kuja. ‘He was (in the process of) eating.’

Walimo karka kujaa zijo. ‘He was eating *zijo*.’

Walimo karkaa kuna. ‘He was drinking.’

Walimo karka kuna khamri. ‘He was drinking liquor.’

kh-karkarata
agitated way

v. [cf. Som. adj. *karkar* ‘energetic, lively’ DSI 359] (**karkareete**) speak in an angry,

karpaatoone

n.9/10,6 the outer rubber tire of a wheel; **karpaatoone** or **makarpaatoone** ‘rubber tires’

karshe

n. 9/10 black tip reef shark

karwaayi

adj. [cf. Tunni expression: *la kari waa* ‘impossible to restrain’] stubborn
Laakini/ maana/ wele karwaayi/ ize khtoosata. ‘But the boy became stubborn and refused to be corrected.’

Maama/ chimtiyila mwaanawe/ kendra kubloowa/ na siimba/ laakini/ mwaana/ wele karwaayi. ‘Mother was afraid for her son to go and be killed by the lion, but the boy was stubborn.’

l-kasa

n. 11 [etymology not known] ceiling

Ali/ mkomeze mwaana/ Ikasaani. ‘Ali helped the child reach up to the ceiling.’

kh-kasa

v. [cf. Som. *kas-* "understand" Ab 149] (**kasiize**) listen, see, smell; listen to, heed

Alí/ mkasize Nuuru/ da'awaze. 'Ali listened to Nuuru's complaints.' (This example requires some discussion. A possessive expression such as **Nuuru/ da'awaze** 'Nuuru, his complaints', has, as its head, the noun **da'awa** 'complaints'. The head of the possessive phrase is ordinarily the NP that controls a subject or an object marking on the verb. Thus it is out of the ordinary for the verb's object marker to be in agreement with **Nuuru**. An object marker is not required; cf. the sentence **n-k^hasize Nuurú/ da'wawazé.** 'I heard Nuuru's complaints.'

Apo/ schondrokaa nk^heje/ kati kaawo/ hattá/ ma'askari/ ya sultaani/ washkasa/ wachiya. 'There a lot of cries went up between the two until the soldiers of the sultan heard and came.'

Ba'ada/ khkasa/ jis'yo/ Huseeni/ chiruda jahaziini/ chimkhubura mwanaamke/ zaa ye/ kasiizó. 'After hearing this way, Huseeni returned to the boat and informed the girl what he had heard.'

Bakayle/ kasizopo zaa dafá/ hadiiló/ chanza khtetemesha mkilawe. 'The rabbit, when he heard what the kite said, began to shake its tail.'

Basi/ oyo mwiimbili/ shkasa jis'yo. 'So, that boy heard about this.'

Chilawe/ shkase jawaabuze. 'Let us go so that we can listen to his words.'

Da'awa za Nuuru/ nk^hasiizé. 'The complaints of Nuuru, I heard.'

Daa'ima/ humkasa/ laakini/ simwoni. 'I always hear him, but I do not see him.' (A riddle, the answer to which is **lpepo** 'wind'.)

Ito/ huwona khariibu/ ishkilo/ hukasaa kule. 'The eye sees near, the ear hears far.' (A proverb.)

jiraanize/ wamkasizopo naakulá 'when his neighbors heard him crying'

Karkaa ye/ nakugalgalo chiliini/ shkasa waant^hu/ kaa kule/ wanakuuya.

'While he was tossing and turning on the bed, he heard people from afar coming.'

Kasa koði za waawo. 'Pay heed to what your father says (and act accordingly).'

Kasaani. 'You (pl.) listen!'

Kasize khabari/ radiyooni. 'He listened to the news on the radio.'

khkasa bardi 'to feel cold'

khkasa keesi 'to hear a lawsuit, a case'

khkasa kooði 'to pay heed to someone's words'

Kasa koði za want^hu wa wazima. 'Listen to the words of elders.'

Khkasa/ siwo/ kama huwona. 'To hear is not the same as seeing.'

Kasa koði za want^hu wazima. 'Listen to the words of elders.'

Kasa koði za waawo. 'Pay heed to what your father says (and act accordingly)!'

Khkasa/ siwo/ kama kuwona. 'To hear is not like seeing.' (A proverb.)

Maamayé/ chimreeba/ laakini/ iize/ mkasa/ mnoweele. 'His mother forbid it (tried to stop him), but he refused to listen to her, and he married her.'

masku leelopo takhkasa zibuumbu [nt.] 'in the night, when you have just gone to sleep, you will hear the hooting of cars'

mooja nashfaanya wakasiizopo mnaada [st.] 'may God make us the ones who have heard the call'

Moojá/ takhfuraha/ shkasa zaa mi/ nfanyiizó. 'My master will be pleased when he sees what I have done.'

mwaanzo wa waajibu ndrúza kasani/ kumwiiwa moojo khuunzilo [st.] 'the beginning of one's religious obligations, my brothers, listen, is to know your God who created you, the merciful one'

Nakhkasá? 'Do you hear?'

Nimkasiizé/ Nuuru/ da'awaze. 'I heard Nuuru's complaints.'

Nimkasize siimbá/ nakugoroomá. 'I heard a lion roaring.' Or: **Nk^hasize**

Nk^hasaani/ waanawá. 'Listen to me, my children!'

Nk^hasiizé/ kama Omari/ ile. 'I heard that Omari arrived.' (Phon. The focus

on the main verb, signalled by the fact that the verb is at the end of a phonological phrase, prevents the final accent triggered by this verb from extending to the complement.)

Nk^hasiizé/ koði za Nuuru. ‘I heard Nuuru’s words.’

Nk^hasiizé/ tarafu ya Osmaani. ‘I heard about Osmaani.’

Nt^humkasa maamó. ‘Didn’t you hear your mother?’

Omari/ iize/ khkasa jawabu iyo/ bilkuliya. ‘Omari refused to listen to that thing (argument, point of view, etc.) ever.’

pashpo khkasa harfuya ‘without smelling myself’

Qaaði/ kasize da’awa za Nuuru. ‘The judge listened to Nuuru’s complaints.’

shkasapo bunduqu mi huwerersata [nt.] ‘when I hear guns I become troubled and confused’

Sho khkasa mkulu/ huvundika kuulu. ‘The one who does not listen to his elder breaks his leg.’ (A proverb.)

Sho khkasa ya waake/ huwona yaake. ‘The one who does not listen to his (i.e. the people close to him, family and friends) will see his (i.e. the unfortunate consequences of ignoring these people).’ (A proverb.)

Si/ humkasa/ laakini/ hachimwoni. ‘We hear him, but we do not see him.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **sootfi** ‘voice’)

Zilaatu/ zimbazize Haaji. ‘The shoes squeezed Haaji (i.e. were too narrow for his feet).’

rel.

kh-kasanya v. rec. (-**kaseenye**) listen to one another

Kambilana/ yiiko/ khkasanya/ nt^haku. ‘There is giving each other advice, there is not listening to each other.’ (A proverb.)

Waant^hu/ wakasenye kooði. ‘They listened to/ paid heed to one another.’

kh-kasika v. p/s.

Fulaani/ hukasika kooðize/ ka sahali. ‘So-and-so’s words can be heard easily.’

Koði za Ali/ hukasika ka sahali. ‘The words of Ali can be heard easily.’

Kooðize/ nt^haskukasika/ ka bayaana. ‘His words were not clearly heard.’

(and therefore grant it)

kh-kasiliza v. appl. (**kasiliize**) listen for, on; listen to a wish, an entreaty

Mkasilize Ali/ kooðiza. ‘He listened to my words (i.e. spied on me) for Ali.’

mooja nashkasiliza keendra Harameeni ‘[st.] ‘may God grant us to go to the two mosques (of Mecca and Medina)’

Nk^hasilize kooði. ‘He spied for me (lit. listened to words for me).’

Nk^hasilize kooðiza. ‘He listened to my words on me (i.e. he spied on me).’

kh-kasilizanya v. appl. rec. listen to or for one another

Waant^hu/ wakasilizenye kooði. ‘They listened to the talk for one another.’

kh-kasisha v. caus. make listen, allow to hear

Dafa/ chihada ka lkele/ kumkasisha bakayle. ‘The hawk spoke loudly so as to make the rabbit hear.’

Hakhaadiri/ khkasisha waanawe. ‘He can’t make his children listen.’

kooði za ye mkasishiizo Muusa [st.] ‘words are what he made Muusa hear’

Mkasishize kooði/ ka khastfi. ‘He allowed him to hear what he

said intentionally.’

kh-kasishanya v. caus. rec.

Wana awa/ hukasishanya ndrimbo. ‘These children make one another listen to songs.’

kh-kasishika v. caus. p/s.

Hakasishiki/ koođi. ‘He cannot be made to pay heed to the words.’

kh-kasishiliza v. caus. appl.

Mkasishilize Nuuru/ waana/ muuzika. ‘He made Nuuru’s children listen to the music.’

kh-kasishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Wakasishilizenye waana/ muuzika. ‘They made the children listen to the music for/on one another.’

kh-kasoowa v. pass.

Huwona/ hawonoowi/ hukoođa/ hakasoowi. ‘He sees, but he is not seen, he speaks, but he is not heard.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **mojiitu** ‘God’.)

ishkasoowa yiila yo hufakatoowa [nt.] ‘when people hear “they have come”, they run’

Koođize/ skasiza mashuriqi/ na maghribi. ‘His words were heard east and west.’

Nuuru/ kasiza da’awaze/ na qaađi. ‘Nuuru was listened to (regarding) his complaints by the judge.’ **review to make sure that this sentence is acceptable**

Siimba/ huło kuła mahała/ laakini/ hakasoowi. ‘A lion who roars everywhere but is not heard.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **ikuwa** ‘thunder’.)

rel. nom.

m-kasa (wa-) n. one who hears

m-kaso n. 3

ma-kaso n. 6

u-kaso n. 14

n-kaasa

n. 9/10 [Sw. *kasa* SSED 175] sea turtle; [pron. **nk^haasa**]

igozi ya nk^haasa ‘the skin of a sea turtle’

ikholofu ya nk^haasa ‘the shell of a sea turtle’

mafta ya nk^haasa ‘the fat, oil of a sea turtle’

mayank^huku ya nk^haasa ‘the eggs of a sea turtle’

nama ya nk^haasa ‘the meat of a sea turtle’

kh-kasabaťa

(**kasabeete**) gain, acquire s.t. through one’s efforts

v. [Ar. *kasaba* W 825; Som. *kasab* “to obtain s.t. with effort or difficulty” DSI 360]

variant form: **kh-kasabaťa** (seems to be invariably used in poetry)

Chimwambila kuwa husuloowa/ khfanyowa kaazi/ husuloowa/

muunt^hu/ khkasabaťa/ haťa/ muđli/ schimwingila/ naayé/

shfikira/ kaanza/ khfanya kaazi. ‘She used to tell him that it

was desired for work to be done, it was desired for a man to earn a living, until the husband decided to begin to work.’

khkasabaťa hasanaati = khkasabaťa zeema

khkasabaťa ilmu ‘to gain knowledge’

khkasabaťa maali ‘to acquire wealth’

maali/ ya muunt^hu mooyi/ kasabeetó/ ka nguvuzé ‘wealth that one person earned through his strength’

khkasabaťa zeema ‘to acquire good deeds with one’s efforts’

Omari/ kasbeete zeema. ‘Omari worked to accomplish good deeds.’ Or: **Omari/ kasbeete/ zeema.**

Kiłaa muunt^hu/ hupata yaa ye/ kasabeetó. ‘Every one gets what he earns, works for.’ Or: **Kiłaa muunt^hu/ hupata/ yaa ye/ kasabeetó.**

Muunt^hu/ huja yaa ye/ kasbeetó. ‘A man eats what he has earned.’

Nureeni/ uzile jaaka/ karka pesa zaa ye/ kasabeetó. ‘Nureeni bought a

coat with money that he earned.’

We/ kasabeetní. ‘What did you earn? what did you work for (i.e. what did you get in return for your work)?’

rel.

kh-kasabaṭika v. p/s.

kh-kasabaṭila v. appl.

Mpeleshele mwaana/ kumkasabaṭila maali. ‘He sent his child to make money for him.’

Nṯaná/ bilaa zaa ye/ khkasabaṭila maali. ‘He has no wits with to acquire money.’

u-kasaala n. [cf. Ar. *kasal* W 827] laziness

kasbu n. [Som. *kasab* “profit, gain (esp. obtained with difficulty” DSI 360] wealth

Kasbu/ ni ka mojiitu. ‘Wealth is from God.’ (A proverb.)

Maali/ ni kasbu. ‘Money is wealth.’ (A proverb.)

Nṯakhpata/ kasbu ya ma’ana. ‘He did not get enough, anything that amounted to something.’

i-kashata (*ma-*) n. a kind of confectionary consisting of boiled sugar with either grated coconut or sesame seeds

kaasha (*ma-*) n. 5/6 [Sw. *kasha* SSED 175; Port.] wooden box with decoration on top
Chingize kaashá/ mṯanaaní. ‘We took the wooden box into the room.’

i-kashata (*ma-*) n. 5/6 [Sw. *kashata* “kind of confectionery, boiled sugar with grated coconut” SSED 175] a kind of confectionary consisting of boiled sugar with either grated coconuts or sesame seeds

kh-kashifa v. [Sw. *kashifu* SSED 176; Ar. *kašafa* W 829] (**kashifile**) discover and reveal someone’s secrets, faults, sins, uncover something

Kashifile kuwaa mi/ nazo peesá/ bangiini. ‘He discovered that I had money in the bank.’

khkashifa ebu ‘to reveal a secret’

khkashifa siri ‘to reveal a secret’

Nk^hashifile ka waant^hu. ‘He reported me (i.e. my disgraceful actions) to people.’

rel.

kh-kashifika v. p/s.

kh-kashifila v. appl. (**kashifiliile**)

Nk^hashifiliile ebuza. ‘He revealed my vices.’

kh-kashifisha v. caus.

kh-kashifishana v. caus. rec.

kh-kashifishika v. caus. p/s.

kh-kashifishiliza v. caus. appl.

kh-kashifishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

rel.

u-kashifo n. 14 the act of revealing someone’s vices, secrets

kashiindri n. [etymology unknown] porcupine (large kind, living in the bush)

Ibawa la kashiindri ‘porcupine quill’

kaasi n. [Sw. *kasi* SSED 176; the Ar. source cited in SSED is *qāsin* “hard, harsh, rough, severe” W 764, but it is not clear that there is in fact a semantic connection] numbness, the sensation of the teeth after eating citrus fruit; "asleep" (of body parts); the state of being twisted or tangled (of rope-like objects)

khtila kaasi ‘to twist (thread, rope)

khtila kaasi/ mshpi ‘to twist a fishing line’

Kuuluya/ yingile kaasi. ‘My leg is asleep.’

Lkaambala/ limo kaasi. ‘The rope is entangled.’

- kasirna** [Sw. *kasirani* SSED 176]
variant form: *kasirnamuusi* [an Arabic expression formed by the words *qasr* “shortening, diminution” W 768 and *nāmūs* “honour” W 936]
kubiga kasirna ‘to humiliate, disgrace someone in front of others, embarrass someone’
- i-kasiya (ma-)** n. 5/6 [Sw. *kasia* SSED 176] oar
ikasiya ya nyonga ‘the oar in the back position that is held by the skipper and is used to steer the boat (= used as a rudder when rowing)’
ikasiya yaa mbele ‘oar in fore position, held by a rower and used to propel the boat’
kubiga makasiya ‘to row (with oars)’
kugita makasiya ‘to row’
- Chigisile makasiya/ masku/ na muunt^hi/ pashpo kiiwa/ chinakeendrapu.** ‘We rowed night and day without knowing where we were going.’
kuvunda ikasiya ‘to break the oar’
rel.
l-kasiya (mi-) n. 11/4 aug.
sh-kasiya (s-) n. 7/8 dim.
- kaasiyeeri** n. [Ital. *cassiere*] cashier **review vowel length**
- kaskaazi** n. [Sw. *kaskazi* SSED 176] winds coming from the north
Kaskaazi/ inakuvuma. ‘The north wind is blowing.’
Rasha ipandre la kaskaziini. ‘Follow the direction of the north wind (i.e. go north).’
- Kaskeera** n. the name of a cape near Brava
- i-kaski (ma-)** n. 5/6 [Sw. *kasiki* SSED 176; ?Port. or Eng.] a large jar used for honey or oil (Phon. There are many words in Swahili having an open syllable structure, but which through vowel loss have developed closed syllables in Chimwiini. The present example illustrates, as Sw. *kasiki* is *-kaski* in Chimwiini. Often the vowel deleted is a high vowel in an environment that is parallel to the environment where synchronically high vowels are deleted in Chimwiini prefixes, i.e. before voiceless consonants. However, the historical vowel deletion may also include cases with the low vowel *a*, which in the synchronic phonology is never observed in prefixes.)
rel.
l-kaski (mi-) n. 11/4 aug.
sh-kaski (s-) n. 7/8 dim.
- kaslaani (Ø-, ma-)** adj. [Ar. *kaslan* W 827] lazy
mp^hundra kaslaani ‘a lazy donkey’
ndila ya muunt^hu/ kaslaani/ ya kuwelelela taajiri ‘the way for a lazy person to become rich’
rel.
u-kaslaani n. 14 laziness
- kasraani (Ø-, ma-)** adj. [Ar. *kasara* W 826] bitter, morose, glum, etc. (of human beings)
rel.
u-kasraani n. bitterness, glumness, etc.
- kasuku** n. 9/10 [Sw. *kasuku* SSED 177] parrot
Kasuku uyu/ hakooḍi. ‘This parrot does not talk.’ (Cf. **Kasuku izi/ haskooḍi.** ‘These parrots do not talk.’)
- m(u)-kaataba (mi-)** n. 3/4 [Sw. *mkataba (mi-)* SSED 179; Ar. *mukātaba* “exchange of letters” W 813] contract, written agreement between two parties
khfanya mkaataba ‘to make a contract’
Ye/ yutiliile/ kuwaa ye/ fanyize mkaataba/ kama uyu/ pamo na

Abunawaasi. ‘He regretted that he had made a contract like this together with Abunawaasi.’

mkaṭaba uyu ‘this contract’; **mikaṭaba aya** ‘these contracts’

Ra’iisi/ nakhfilatiloowa/ khfaanya/ mkaaṭaba. ‘The president is being expected to make an agreement.’

Wachandikilana mkaaṭaba/ ya kuwaa ye/ takhpató/ yote/ takaawanya/ mafungu mawili/ sawsawa. ‘They made a contract [lit. wrote for one another a contract] that whatever he would get, he would divide all into two equal shares.’

kh-kaṭabila

v. [cf. Ar. *kataba* W 812] be destined, fated

Moojá/ nashkaṭabile kuwonaana. ‘May God allow/fate us to see each other (again).’ (This expression is used when saying good-bye to a person that you do not expect to see again soon (e.g. you live far from each other, or in two different countries).)

Mooja shṭakhuloomba hija shkaṭabile/ karka mahaaji kulla maaka shkaṭabile [st.] ‘O God, we beseech you, grant us that we may perform the pilgrimage/ include us in the [number of the] pilgrims every year’

kaṭabu

adj.

Kuwonaana/ ni kaṭabu. ‘To see each other is decreed (i.e. depends on God’s will).’ (This expression is used when you are actually seeing the person or when you hope to be able to do so.)

-kaṭaara

adj. falling apart (of a car, but extended to human beings)

gari ikataara ‘a car that is falling apart’

Gaari/ ikataara. ‘The car is falling apart.’

igari ikataara ‘a car (sug.) that is falling apart’; **migari mikaṭaara** ‘cars (aug.) that are falling apart’

kaṭarbila

n. [Eng. *Caterpillar*, a company that makes bulldozers] bulldozer

sh-kaṭi (s-)

n. 7/8 [this item could be connected to Sw. *shuka* SSED 426, which further gives Ar. source *ṣiqqa* ‘a half, a piece’ W 480; if the final *ta* of the Ar. word is pronounced, it becomes *ṣiqat*, which could be the source for *sh(i)kaṭi*] a cloth garment worn by males around the waist

Baana/ huza skaṭi. ‘Baana sells skaṭi.’

Omari/ vete shkaṭi. ‘Omari wore a shkaṭi.’

kaatibu (ma-)

n. [Sw. *katibu* SSED 179; Ar. *kātib* W 813] writer; court secretary

kaṭiito

n. [this word is recognized by Chimiini speakers as Tunni, but is not found in Tosco’s Tunni vocabulary] a type of squash

ibori kaṭiito (pl. **mabori kaṭiito**) ‘squash’ (also called **maborii male** ‘long squash’).

kaatu

n. [Sw. *katu* ‘a kind of gum, imported and sold in small dark-red lumps chiefly for chewing with betel’ SSED 179; Ar.] a kind of gum used originally in **tambú**, but now used along since the **tambú** (betel) leaf is no longer easily imported

kh-kaṭuka

v. [Sw. *kwajuka* SSED 235] (**kaṭushile**) fade

Nguwo za asli/ haskaṭuki/ nguwo/ siwo/ asli/ hukaṭuka ka sahali. ‘First-hand [original, not refurbished or copied] clothes do not fade; second-hand [or “knock offs” e.g.] fade easily.’

Omari/ mp^heele/ nguwo skaṭushiló. ‘Omari gave me clothes which were faded (i.e. not really good clothes, but old, faded ones).’

rel.

kh-kaṭusha v. make fade

Iwa/ hukaṭushaa nguwo. ‘The sun causes clothes to fade.’

- Maayi/ yaa munu/ hukatushaa nguwo.** ‘Salt water fades clothes.’
rel. nom.
m-katuko n. 3
- kh-katula* v. [Sw. *katua* SSED 179] (**katuile**) polish, burnish
rel.
kh-katūlila v. appl. (**katūiile**)
kh-katūloowa v. pass. (**-katūila**)
kh-katūlisha v. caus. cause to burnish
rel. nom.
m-katulo n. 3 act of polishing
- kata* n. [Sw. *kata* SSED 177] ladle, scoop used for drinking, made out of the coconut shell with a long stick attached
Kata ipotele mtungiini. ‘The scoop fell into the water pot.’
Kata/ na balaasi/ haskosi/ kudaarana. ‘A ladle and a jug never fail to touch one another.’ (A proverb.)
kata ya maayi ‘a water scoop’
kufa ni maayi kataani/ kulla nafsi huneshoowa [st.] ‘death is a cup of water [lit. water in a scoop], every soul is sprinkled with it’
kunelela maayi/ kata ‘to drink water with a scoop’
- m-kate (mi-)* n. 3/4 [Sw. *mkate* SASED 178] bread, cake (made from the flour of wheat, cream of rice)
Chizeele/ chija mikate/ yote/ na china maayi/ yote. ‘The old woman ate all the cakes and drank all the water.’
khtila mkate/ mikate ‘to bake a cake/ cakes’
Mikate/ yako apa? ‘Are the cakes here?’ or: **Yako apa/ mikaté?** or: **Apa yaakó/ mikaté?** or: **Apa/ mikaté/ yaakó?** (Phon. These examples are all instances of yes-no questions, whose Q-raised intonation is indicated by the question mark at the end. Observe that all of the examples except the first involve instances of the shift of accent to the final syllable in the phrase. In the case of **Yako apa/ mikaté?** the shift of accent is due to the fact that phrases that are out of focus undergo accent shift in simple yes-no questions. The other examples require further research since there is an additional accent shift in each.)
mkate wa kumiimina ‘a kind of bread made out of flour, sugar, eggs, a little cinnamon – the mixture is beaten and shortening is added, then pour into a container and baked (also called: **mkate wa siniya** ‘lit. bread of tray)
mkate waa ngano ‘bread made of wheat flour’
mkate wa tubaaku ‘a plug of tobacco’
mwaana/ na mkaté ‘a boy and bread’; **mwaana/ na mikaté** ‘a boy and cakes’
mwaana/ na mkatewé ‘a boy and his bread’; **mwaana/ na mikateyé** ‘a boy and his cakes’
Nfanyiliiza/ mikate/ ningiile safariini. ‘Make for me cakes (to live on) in my journey.’
Ntukile mikaté/ na maayi. ‘I am carrying cakes and water.’
Watakuleta mikate. ‘They will bring cakes.’
rel.
sh-kate (s-) n. dim. 7/8
- kh-kathura* v. [Ar.] (**kathuriile**) grow, increase, become more
variant form: *khkathira*
Awaði/ ikathuriile. ‘The complaints increased.’
Awaari/ ikathiriilopó/ na idirshilo mahaļa niingi/ waantʰu/ ka kuļa/ mahaļa/ wa’ile Misra/ kumera zaakuja. ‘When drought spread increasingly and affected many places, people from every place

came to Egypt to look for food.’

Kooðize/ skathiriile. ‘(Lit. his words have increased), i.e., he is doing a lot of talking.’

maayi yashkathira kahima huwola [st.] ‘if there is too much water, (the corpse) will deteriorate quickly (this is with reference to the washing of a corpse)’

rel.

kh-kathuroowa v. pass.

Khkathirowa maðambi/ ni khaṭari. ‘To increase sins, crimes is dangerous.’

Suura/ khkathirowa zeema. ‘It is good to increase good deeds.’

kati

n., prep. [Sw. *kati* SSED 178] inside, middle, among

chiti chaa kati ‘the chair in the middle’

Karka muunt^hi/ kati/ huṭindowaa mbuzi/ niingi. ‘Around mid-day many goats are slaughtered.’

kati ka ‘between’

kati/ naa kati ‘the middle of something’

Muuyi/ oyo/ kati naa kati/ ina nuumba/ nk^hulu/ nt^ho. ‘In the middle of that town there is a vcery large house.’

Nuumbaya/ mi/ iwaalimo/ kati/ naa kati/ iwaalimo/ kati nuumba/ mbili/ zaa wake. ‘My house was located in the middle, it was located between the two houses of my wives.’

kati ya mṭaana ‘inside the room’

Kati ya mṭaana/ tezeezó. ‘Inside the room, I played.’ (Phon. The preposing of the phrase **kati ya mṭaana** can trigger pseudo-relativization of the verb.)

Tezeze kati ya mṭaana. ‘He played inside the room.’ Or: **Tezeze/ kati ya mṭaana.** (Cf. **Nt^hezeze kati ya mṭaaná.** ‘I played inside the room.’ Or: **Nt^hezeezé/ kati ya mṭaana.** Or:

Nt^hezeezé/ kati/ ya mṭaana.)

Waana/ waṭezeze kati ya mṭaana. ‘The children played inside the room.’ Or: **Waana/ waṭezeze/ kati ya mṭaana.** Or: **Waṭezeze/ kati/ ya mṭaana.**

khtilaa kati ‘to surround (lit. put in the middle)’

Huseeni/ na mwanaamké/ wachanza khteza/ waant^hu/ wiingi/ wawatilee kati. ‘Huseeni and the girl began to play (cards); many people surrounded them.’

Taajiri/ chanzaa kuḷa/ kaa nk^hele/ na paapo/ waant^hu/

wachimtilaa kati/ nakumuza/ ije impeetó. ‘The rich man began to cry loudly and right then people surrounded him askng him what had happened to him.’

munth^u waa kati ‘the man in the middle’

m(w)ana waa kati ‘the middle child (in location or in terms of order of birth)’

Waana/ waṭezeze kati ya mṭaana. ‘The children played inside the room.’

Or, with emphasis on the verb: **Waana/ waṭezeze/ kati ya mṭaana.** Or, with emphasis on the verb, but also separation of *kati* from its complement: **Waana/ waṭezeze/ kati/ ya mṭaana.** There is raising of *kati* in the case, even above the preceding verb. (Phon. When the verb is a final-accent trigger, the last example is

interesting: **Nt^hezeezé/ kati/ ya mṭaana.** ‘I played *inside* the room.’ What we see here is that the final accent can not land on *kati* since the verb is focused. **It is apparently not possible to have focus on *kati* while grouping it together with the verb: *Nt^hezeze kati/ yaa mṭaana.**

want^hu waa mi/ nfaketo kati yaa wo ‘the people whom I ran between

(them)’ (cf. **Nfakeṭe kati ya waant^hú**. ‘I ran between the people.’)

kati+poss.

katikaawo

Itulushileni/ kati kaawo. ‘What happened between them?’

Mooyi/ katikaawo/ chihada/ ni kakaliḷa. ‘One of them said: it is true.’

Ningile kati kaawó. ‘I interfered between them (to try to bring them together) [lit. I entered between them].’ (Cf. **want^hu waa mi/ ningilo kati kaawó** ‘the people whom I got in between (to help bring them together).’)

katiike inside it

Chimtila chizeele/ katiike. ‘He put the old woman inside it [a box].’

Sanduukhu/ ichiwa ṭayaari/ leete/ nt^hilaa mi/ katiike. ‘When the box is ready, bring it and put me inside it.’

Sku mooyi/ masku/ sulṭaani/ naayé/ nakinendro’inendro karka ndilaani/ wene nuumba/ mooyi/ inakakaa ṭala/ katiike.

‘One day, at night, while the sultan was taking a stroll, he saw a house burning a lamp in it.’

umo katiike fikira peeke mi nseele [song] ‘think! you are in it, I remained alone’

yo/ na ije yimo katiiké/ na zimo katiiké ‘it and that which is in it and those things in it’

kati kiitu ‘among us’

Chiwanyilize mawiindo/ aya/ kati kiitu. ‘Divide the booty up among us.’

moyi kati kiitu ‘one among us’

We/ ndiwé/ mwaana/ kati kiitu. ‘You are the smallest (child) among us.’

kati ya

assoc. between, in the middle of, among, inside

kati ya mṭaana ‘inside the room’

Nṭ^hezeze kati ya mṭaaná. ‘I played in the room.’ Or: **Nṭ^hezeezé/**

kati ya mṭaana. ‘I played in the room.’

Ṭezeze kati ya mṭaana. ‘He played in the room.’ Or: **Ṭezeeze/**

kati ya mṭaana. ‘He played inside the room.’ Or: **Kati ya mṭaana/ ṭezeezó.** ‘Inside the room (was where) he played.’

kati ya nuumba ‘in the middle of the house’

kati yaa ndila ‘on the way’

Nfakeṭe kati ya waant^hú. ‘I ran between the men.’ Cf. **want^hu waa mi/ nfakeṭo kati yaa wo** ‘the men that I ran between (them)’ (Syn. In the relative form, the resumptive pronoun is required: *...nfakeṭo kati ya is ill-formed.)

Ningile kati yaa wo. ‘I entered between them [physically].’ (Cf. **want^hu waa mi/ ningilo kati yaa wo** ‘the people whom I entered between them’.)

Wawashile suukhu/ kati ya muuyi. ‘They built a market in the middle of town.’

katikati ya

Hasani/ chuuluka/ chingila katikati ya majeeshi/ ya aduwi/ chiwabiga/ mp^hanga zaawo/ chiwa’ubla/ wiingi. ‘Hasani jumped and entered in the middle of the enemy armies and struck their swords and killed many of them.’

katikati yaa ndila ‘in the middle of the street’

-kavu

adj. [Sw. *kavu* SSED 180] dry; stingy (of people); lacking in goodness

Bakayle/ chuuluka/ chihada/ mkulu siimba/ nt^hunakuwona/ maduuri/ jisaa yo/ makavú? ‘Rabbit jumped up and said: Chief Lion, do you not see how dry the forest is?’
chijamu shkavu ‘dry dish’; **zijamu skavu** ‘dry dishes’
Haatibu/ lmilole/ welee nk^havu. ‘The preacher’s throat has become dry (i.e. he has become hoarse).’
khfanyaa nk^havu ‘to make dry’
kujaa nk^havu ‘dry food’
kuwaa nk^havu ‘to become dry’
Nguwo/ zivelee nk^havu. ‘The clothes became dry.’
Ziweloo nk^havú/ nii nguwo. ‘What became dry are the clothes.’

malungo makavu ‘dry body’
mandraa nk^havu ‘dry bread; just bread and nothing else to accompany it’
Hasani/ mp^heele/ mi/ mandraa nk^havu. ‘Hasani gave me just bread and nothing else.’
manyi makavu ‘dry grass’
Mi/ hupowa makooko/ makavu/ bilaa shtowelo. ‘I am given the hard crust of the rice, dry, without relish.’
Mukhta igozi/ iwelo ikavú/ Abunawaasi/ chi^hitukula/ choloka naayo/ maduriini. ‘When the skin dried, Abunawaasi carried it and went with it into the country.’
munt^hu mkavu ‘someone stingy’
Nguwo/ (nii) nk^havu. ‘The clothes are dry.’
nk^havu/ kana igozi ‘as dry as a skin/hide’
nk^havu/ kana ijiwe ‘as dry as a stone’
nk^havu/ kanaa ngome ‘as dry as a stone’
nsii nk^havu ‘dried fish’
Nt^hi/ (nii) nk^havu. ‘The ground is dry.’
Nt^hunakuwona/ maduuri/ jisaa yo/ makavú. ‘Don’t you see how dry the forest is?’
qalbi ichiwa nk^havu ndrúza khatari [st.] ‘if (your) heart is dry, my brothers, [that is] dangerous’
qalbi ichiwa nk^havu ndrúza khatari [st.] ‘if your heart is dry (i.e. lacking goodness), my brothers, that is dangerous’
Qalbiye/ nk^havu. ‘His heart is dry – i.e. lacks generosity, kindness, mercy.’
Shaatiye/ (nii) nk^havu. ‘His shirt is dry.’
skunyi skavu ‘dry firewood’
Wowi/ iwelee nk^havu. ‘The river dried up.’
wowii nk^havu ‘a river that has dried up’

rel.

u-kavu n. 14 [Sw. *ukavu* SSED 180] dryness, drought

kaw

ideo.

Hamadi/ mbishile Omari/ ka bastoola/ kaw!/ mub^hleele. ‘Hamadi shot Omari with a pistol **kaw!** and killed him.’

Hamadi/ m-bishile Omári/ kaw!/ fanyiizó/ m-ub^hleele. ‘Hamadi hit Omari **kaw!** that’s what he did and killed him.’

Mi/ t^hakhufanya kaw!/ t^hakhufaanyó. ‘Me, I am going to **kaw!** you (i.e. exterminate you), that’s what I am going to do.’

kaawo

at or to their (place); for them

Ali/ simeme lwavuuni/ kaawo. ‘Ali stood at their side.’

Basi/ chilawa/ ka kaawo/ shfunga safari. ‘So he came out from home and set out on a journey.’

Chimaliza/ wachiruda kaawo. ‘When it was over [e.g. the hunting], they

- returned home.’
- Kaawo/ nt^haku/ isho khfaanyika.** ‘For them there is nothing that can’t be done.’
- M(w)aana/ chilawa/ kuruda kaawo.** ‘The boy left to return to his home.’
- Nsi/ shfunga kanaye/ chimtukula/ Huseeni/ mpaka/ kaawo.** ‘The fish shut its mouth and carried Huseeni until his home.’
- rel.
sh-kaawo adv. in their way, manner
- kh-kawuka* v. [Sw. *kauka* SSED 179] (-*kawushile*) be, get dry (e.g. of a stream, a spring)
Wowi/ ikawushile. ‘The river has dried up.’
- rel.
kh-kawula v. tr. dry s.t.
kh-kawusha v. caus. dry s.t.
- kaayi* adv. safely
khfaanya kaayi ‘to preserve jealously, carefully’
kuweka kaayi ‘to keep safely’
kuwekela kaayi ‘to keep safely for’
Lurma laa shaba/ nla naani/ laa mi/ mbekelela kaayi. ‘That copper bracelet belongs to whom, the one that for me has been put away safely?’ (A proverb.)
- [-kaaza (n-)* n. 11/10 ceiling; [pron. of pl. **nk^haaza**]
- kaazi* n. 9 [Sw. *kazi* SSED 181] work, job
Chinenzu kaaziye/ ya khsuuka. ‘She continued weaving [lit. her work of weaving].’
Chiwanapo kaazi/ simviile. ‘If he is busy, don’t call him!’
chiwanayo kaazi ‘if he has a job(or is busy)’
Chiwanayopo kaazi/ simdhibe. ‘If he is busy (e.g. as I suspect he might be), don’t bother him!’
Hasiibu/ kaaziye/ iwelee kuja/ na kulaala/ kulaala/ naa kujá. ‘Hasiibu’s job became to eat and to sleep, to sleep and to eat.’
kazi iyi ‘this work’
Kaazi/ ni kanzi/ maali/ nii ngazi. ‘Work is a treasure, wealth is a ladder.’ (A proverb.)
kaaziya ‘my work’
khfanya kaazi ‘to do work’
Ba’ada ya ayaamu/ mubji/ chimwambila mukeewe/ ya kuwaa ye/ nakendra kaziini/ kanza khfanya kaazi. ‘After a week, the man told his wife that he was going to go to work to begin working.’
khfanya kaazi/ kana mp^huundra ‘to work like a donkey -- said of person who works very hard and diligently when performing material tasks (e.g. cleaning, carrying stones, etc.)’
Maana/ chanza khfanya kaazi. ‘The boy began to do work.’
munt^hu hatakhfanya kaazi ‘the man who won’t work’ (Phon. Observe that when a negative verb is in a relative form, it is typically phrase-final, in contrast to when it is a main verb: **Muunt^hu/ hatakhfaanya/ kaazi.** ‘The man will not work.’)
Waant^hu/ wafanyize kaazi. ‘The people worked.’ (cf. **Waant^hu/ wa’ifanyiize/ kaazi.** ‘The people did the work.’)
khfanyowa kaazi ‘work to be done’
Kaazi/ ifanyiza na waant^hu. ‘The work was done by the people.’

Khkorsha miimba/ siwo kaazi/ kaazi/ ni khkorsha maana. ‘To raise a pregnancy is not work, work is to raise a child.’ (A proverb.)

khtila waant^hu/ kaziini ‘to make people busy’

Mfanya kaazi/ tomeela/ kaziini. ‘The worker was fired from his job.’

Mi/ siisi/ kaazi/ ila/ khfanyaa dawa/ tu. ‘I do not know how to do any work, except just to administer medicine.’

mwenye kaazi ‘one who is busy’

We/ ni muunt^hu/ mwenye kaazi. ‘You are a busy man.’

Na’iwa kazi gani. ‘What kind of work do you know [how to do]?’

Nakendra kaziini. ‘He is going to work, to his job.’

Waana/ nt^hawakhpata/ kaazi. ‘The children did not get jobs/ work.’

rel.

m-fanyakaazi (wa-) n. 1/2 worker

Mfanyakaazi/ tomeela/ kaziini. ‘The worker was fired from his job.’

sh-kaazi (s-) n. 7/8 job

kaazi

return to work

n. food given to the poor at the end of the mourning period, after which people can

the mourning period’

khfanya kaazi ‘to celebrate, perform the ceremony that marks the end of

chi-ke

mapambo yaa chike ‘female adornments’

mu-ke (wa-)

n. 1/2 [Sw. *mke* SSED 284, *mkwe* SSED 289] woman, wife

Chendra ka oyo muke mpiya/ muke chihaba/ chimaambila/ nakhsuulani. ‘Then he went to the new wife, the younger wife, and said to her, what do you want?’

Chintala mukeewe/ ka shtana/ ndretela maayi. ‘He took his wife and angrily (said) bring me some water.’

Chiwaa ye/ nakhsu^laa muke/ mi/ nii muké/ laakini/ chiwaa ye/ nakhsu^laa muke wa masku mamooyi/ masharmuuta/ wayeele/ telle/ muyiini. ‘If he wants a wife, I am a woman, but if he wants a woman for one evening, prostitutes fill in abundance the town.’

Haaji/ meenzawe/ hufanya kaazi/ nt^ho. ‘Haaji’s friend works very hard.’

Hukoða kamaa muke. ‘He talks like a woman.’

Isa/ wake/ awa/ walwaawo/ wafiile. ‘Now both of these women have died.’

Laakini/ wake/ awo/ skuwaweeka/ numba mooyi. ‘But those wives I did not put them in a single house.’

mp^hundraa muke ‘a she-donkey’

Muke oyo/ waaliko/ ni Safiya/ maamaye. ‘That woman was Safiya’s mother.’

muke/ sho kuzaala ‘a barren woman (lit. a woman without giving birth)’

muke/ sho mwaana ‘a barren woman (lit. a woman without child)’

Muke wa mana wa Nuuru/ pishilee nama. ‘The wife of the son of Nuuru cooked meat.’ Or: **Muke/ wa mana wa Nuuru/ pishilee nama.**

(Phon. Our consultant GM was not comfortable with a more highly articulated phrasing like ??**Muke/ wa maana/ wa Nuuru/ pishilee nama.**)

Muke wa Nuuru/ maanawe/ pishilee nama. ‘The wife of Nuuru’s son cooked meat.’

Nuuru/ maanawe/ mukeewe/ pishilee nama. ‘Nuuru’s son’s wife cooked meat.’

Oyoo muke/ chiiza. ‘That woman refused.’

Tuma mukeewa ‘Tuma my wife (not some other Tuuma) vs. **Tuuma/ mukeewa** ‘Tuuma, my wife’

mukeewa. ‘My wife Tuuma.’

Naani/ iló. ‘Who came?’ This could be answered by **Tuuma/**

Tuma gani/ iló. ‘Which Tuuma came?’ This could be answered by

Tuma mukeewa/ iló. ‘It is Tuuma my wife who came.’

Wabli/ leelo/ hawapeendi/ waka majaahili. ‘Men today do not like ignorant women.’

Wake wa M(w)iini/ hawafurahili/ kiskaṭila ka zoṭe/ ilu ya wabli.
‘Women of Mwiini do not enjoy depending on their husbands for everything.’

Wake/ watuziza ruuhu. ‘The women were comforted in spirit.’

rel.

chi-ji-ke (*zi-ji-*) n. 7/8 dim. little woman or wife

Chijike ichije/ ni chiwovu. ‘That little woman is bad or naïve.’

chi-ke n. 7 in a feminine manner; pertaining to the female gender

jawabu zaa chike ‘female issues’

koḍi zaa chike ‘female talk’

Hukoḍaa chike. ‘He talks like a woman.’

mapambo yaa chike ‘female adornments’

i-ji-ke (*mi-ji-*) n. 5/4 aug

mu-ke adj. female

Ye/ wanayo ngombe muke. ‘He had a cow.’

wu-ke n. 14 womanhood, wifehood

m-ke (*wa-*)

n. [Sw. **mkwe**] in-law

Ba’adi ya haruusi/ kumala/ Fikiriini/ chimera rukhsa/ ka mkeewe/ sulṭaani/ kumṭukula mukeewe/ kendra naayé/ kaawo/ ka waawaye. ‘After the wedding was over, Fikiriini sought permission from his in-law, the sultan, to take his wife with him to their place at his father’s.’

Laakini/ uje mwanaamke/ wa sulṭaani/ uzila ka majini/ chihada/ si/ ka daṣṭuri yiitu/ mwanaamke/ shpelekoowa/ karkaa nṭhi/ za wakeewe/ ni laazimu/ ye/ ka muda wa sku nṭhaano/ khkalaantṭa/ ka wawaye muḅli/ khabḷaa ye/ keendra/ ka muḅliwe. ‘But that daughter of the sultan who was bought from jinns said: we, it is our custom, that if a girl is sent away to the lands of his in-laws, it is a must that she for a period of five days sit with the father of her husband before she goes to her husband.’

Mkeewe/ chimpa/ rukhsa/ ye/ kumṭukula mukeewe. ‘His in-law gave him permission for him to take his wife [with him].’

Mwanaamke/ uyu/ shkalantṭa ka mkeewe. ‘This girl stayed at her in-laws place.’

m-kebe (*mi-*)

n. [Sw. **mkebe** ‘pot, can, canister, mug (for drinking and other purposes), a cigarette case’ SSED 284] **gloss//long vowel in root?**

Mkebe oyo/ mbwiinu. ‘That pot is ours.’ (Cf. **Mikebe ayo/ ndiinu.** ‘Those pots are ours.’) **check gloss**

keefu

adv. [Sw. **kefu** ‘much less, much more, not to mention’ SSED 182; Ar. source given in SSED is **qafan** ‘back or reverse of s.t.’ W 782] much less, much more, not to mention, let alone

Chiwa mwaalimu/ nṭhakhtaambula/ keefu/ we. ‘If the teacher could not understand, much less could you’

keefu binaadamu asliye neefu [st.] ‘what about human beings (then, who are only) in origin breath’

l-kele (*n-*)

n. 11/10 [cf. **ukelele** SSED 182] shout; noise; [pron: **nk^hele** ‘shouts’]

ka lkele ‘loudly’

Chibiga teena/ hoodi/ ka lkele. ‘He asked again, loudly, for permission to enter.’

Dafa/ chihada ka lkele/ kumkasisha bakayle. ‘The kite spoke loudly so as to make the rabbit hear.’

Ka lkele/ Muusa/ koḍeeló. ‘Muusa spoke loudly.’

kaa nk^hele ‘with shouts, loudly’

Majini/ wanamraasha/ kaa nk^hele. ‘The djinns were following’

him, shouting, making a lot of noise.'

Shkalant^ha nt^hini yaa muti/ nakula kaa nk^heje. 'He sat under the tree crying loudly.'

khtila ikele 'to cause problems, difficulties, arguments etc.'

Stilé/ ikele. 'Don't cause problems, etc.!''

kubiga ikele 'to shout (e.g. in calling someone)'

kubigaa nk^heje 'to scold, shout'

Ba'ada/ ya ma'askari/ koondroka/ kiyolokela muyiini/

Abunawaasi/ chanza kubigaa nk^heje. 'After the soldiers had left to go to town, Abunawaasi began shout.'

Chibigaa nk^heje/ chimviila. 'He shouted and called to him.'

kubigaa nk^heje/ kanaa mba 'to shout (bark) like a dog'

Mbwa chibigoo nk^heje/ ingile numbaani. 'The dog that was barking entered the house.'

Waank^hulo/ hubigaa nk^heje/ chinalapó. 'Grandfather shouts when he urinates.' (A riddle, the answer to which is **nvula** 'rain'.)

ikele ikulu 'a big noise'; **nk^helee nk^hulu** 'big noises'

Maama/ na mwaaná/ wachingilaa kula/ nt^hi/ nzimaye/ nk^heje. 'The mother and the boy went on crying, the whole place was just wailing.'

munt^hu waa nk^heje 'a man who habitually makes a lot of noise'

Nk^heje ziinu/ zizidiile/ nt^ho. 'Your (pl.) noise is very loud.'

Sfaanyeni/ nk^heje. 'You (pl.) don't make noise!'

Ye/ ni munt^hu mwenyee nk^heje. 'He shouts a lot – [lit.] he is a man having shouts.'

rel.

i-kele (mi-) n. 5/4 aug. noise

Mikele/ haytorati chiint^hu. 'Loud noises are not able to achieve anything.'

(A proverb.)

sh-kele (s-) n. 7/8 dim. noise

kubiga shkele 'to make a (dim.) noise'

Maana/ bishile shkele. 'The child made a small noise.'

kh-kemela

v. [Sw. *kemea* SSED 183] (**kemeleele**) scold, chide, rebuke, punish
ka kibri maana humkemela mzele [st.] 'with arrogance a child rebukes an old man'

rel.

kh-kemeleka v. p/s.

Ha'ambiliki/ chiint^hu/ hakemeleki/ walá/ habaramishiki. 'She cannot be told anything, she cannot be rebuked nor talked to.'

kh-kemelela v. appl. (**kemeleelele**)

rel. nom.

ma-kemelo n. 6

keendra

adj. [Sw. *kenda* SSED 183] nine

ikumi na keendra 'nineteen'

Kheeri/ keendra/ kolko ikumi/ endrá/ ruuda. 'Better nine than ten (if it means) go and come back (to get the tenth).' (A proverb.)

Laakini/ ipepo ya bardi/ yishkilile ilu yaawo/ kaa nguvu/ na idumiile/ sku keendra. 'But a cold wind descended on them with force and it lasted nine days.'

Ni keendra/ tu. 'They are only nine.'

n-kengele

n. 9/10 [Sw. *kengele* SSED 183] bell; [pron. **nk^hengele**]

kubiga nk^hengele 'to ring bells'

- Keenya** n. Kenya
Mi/ mbaliko Keenyá/ khariibu. ‘I have been to Kenya recently.’ Or:
Keenya/ mbaalikó/ khariibu.
waan^hu wa’enzele Keenya walasüle watani [nt.] ‘[some] people have gone to Kenya, have left the country’
 rel.
m-keenya (wa-) n. 1/2 a Kenyan
- kereema** n. cream, lotion
Pasile kereemá/ so. ‘You put lotion on, didn’t you? did you put lotion on (I see that your face is shiny)?’
- kh-keesha** v. [Sw. *kasha* SSED 183] (**kesheeze**) stay up all night
Khkesha kaawo/ nt^hayimpeendeza/ wawa yaawo/ hatá/ skumó. ‘Their staying up all night never pleased their fathers, not even once.’
Khkeeshake/ na waana/ imkirihishize waawaye. ‘His staying up with the children irritated his father.’
khkesha maato ‘to lie in bed with one’s eyes open’
Kesheze maato/ masku/ mazimaye. ‘He lay awake the whole night (i.e. he could not sleep).’
Uweesu/ kesheeze. ‘Uweesu stayed up all night.’
 rel.
kh-keeshaka v. p/s. able to stay up all night
Apa/ haykeesheki/ ka khisa wako waana. ‘It is not possible to stay up all night here because there are children here.’
kh-keshenzeza v. appl. stay up all night by means of, for, on (i.e. to someone’s detriment)’
Mwaana/ nk^heshenzeze. ‘The child stayed up all night on me.’
Uzile qaati/ khkeshenzeza. ‘He bought **qaati** to use to stay up all night.’
kh-keshenezanya v. appl. rec. stay up all night for one another
kh-keeshesha v. caus. keep s.o. awake all night
Mwana uje/ nk^heshesheeze/ hattá/ fijiri. ‘That child kept me awake until morning.’
Saalimu/ mkeshesheeze mwaana. ‘Saalimu kept the child awake all night.’
kh-kesheshan(y)a v. caus. rec.
Waana/ wakeshesheenye. ‘The children kept one another awake all night.’
kh-keshesheezeza v. caus. appl.
Nureeni/ mkeshenzeze Suufi/ mwaana. ‘Nureeni kept Suufi’s child awake all night.’
kh-kesheshelezanya v. caus. appl. rec.
Omari/ na Hasani/ wakesheshelezenye waana. ‘Omari and Hasani kept one another’s children awake all night.’
kh-keshoowa v. pass.
Keesho/ itakhkeshoowa. ‘Tomorrow everyone will stay awake all night.’
 rel. nom.
m-keesha (wa-) n. 1/2 one who stays up all night
sh-keesha (s-) n. dim. 7/8
Chijana ichi/ ni shkesha masku. ‘This small child is the one who stays overnight.’
- keesho** n. and adv. [Sw. *kesho* SSED 184] tomorrow
Arabiya/ ni keesho/ tu. ‘Wednesday is just tomorrow.’
Ba’adiye/ mwanaamke/ oyo/ chimwaambila/ nk^hasiizé/ jawaabuzo/ laakini/ nt^hakhujiba keesho. ‘After that, that girl said to him: I have heard your words, but I will answer you tomorrow.’
Haaji/ takuuya/ keesho. ‘Haaji will come tomorrow.’ (Cf. the simple yes-no question: **Haaji/ takuuya/ keeshó?**)

Keesho/ chiza kuuya/ nt^hakhtaala/ riyaali/ iyo/ naa chitá/ nt^hakichija.

‘Tomorrow, if he doesn’t come (back for the cow’s head that he purchased), I will take that **riyaali** and the head and I will eat it.’
(Phon. Observe how the **ku** prefix found in the future tense is converted to **ki** in front of the [cl.7] object prefix **chi**.)

Masku/ ya keesho/ ni sku yaa sabá/ cheendra/ masku ayo/ chilala maduriini. ‘The night of (i.e. before) tomorrow, which was the seventh day, he went that night and he slept in the country.’

Muja leelo/ keesho/ haaji. ‘The one who eats today does not eat tomorrow.’ (A proverb.)

Muusa/ nakhtósha/ kuwa maana/ tákhpita/ imtihaani/ keesho. ‘Muusa thinks that the child will pass the examination tomorrow.’ (This example is just one of many that illustrate that the prosodic separation of the verb from its complement may be stylistic in nature and not have a significant focus aspect.)

Mukeewa/ Barka/ nakuya keesho. ‘My wife Barka is coming tomorrow.’

Or: **Mukeewa/ Barka/ keesho/ nakuuyó.** ‘My wife Barka tomorrow is coming.’

(Ni) **keesho/ Muusa/ taakuyó.** ‘(It is) tomorrow (that) Muusa will come.’

Nnakendra keeshó. ‘I am going tomorrow.’ Or: **Nnakeendrá/ keesho.** ‘I am going tomorrow.’

Oloka/ keesho. ‘Go tomorrow!’

Siliwalé/ kuleta chibuuku/ keesho. ‘Do not forget to bring the book tomorrow.’

Siliwale kuleta chibuukú/ tu/ keesho. ‘Just don’t forget to bring the book tomorrow [I am afraid you might forget, so I am emphasizing that you must not forget].’ (Phon. Observe that in this case was the negative imperative verb is incorporated into a phrase with its complement, the phrase does not expand to include **tu** or **keesho**.)

Tamona keesho/ mukeewa/ Barka. ‘I will see tomorrow my wife Barka.’

Or: **Mukeewa/ Barka/ keesho/ tamonó.** ‘My wife Barka I will see tomorrow.’ (The subject is ambiguous, since in GM’s speech the first person singular subject marker **n(i)** is usually elided in the future tense, those merging the form with a second person singular subject and a [cl.1] subject. The verb form ‘I will see her’ is pronounced **tamona** in isolation. Notice that the **ku** prefix, which is ordinarily present in the future tense, is missing in front of a [cl.1] object marker, here realized as **m**. Note furthermore, in GM’s speech, the initial **w** of the verb stem /wona/ ‘see’ elides after the consonant **m**. It is worth mentioning that the future prefix **ta** ordinarily has a long vowel when followed by a **CVCV** structure, as in **taakuya** ‘she is coming’. There is no such lengthening in **tamona**. Apparently even though superficially **-mona** is **CVCV**, its more complex origin prevents lengthening of **ta**.)

Uko leeló/ keesho/ nt^haako. ‘What is here today tomorrow is not here.’

Ye/ tákhpata mukeewe/ keesho. ‘He will get his wife tomorrow.’

keesi

n. [Sw. *kesi* SSED 184; Eng. *case*] case at law, lawsuit

khtinda keesi ‘to make a decision, judgement’

m-keezi (wa-)

n. 1/2 someone who spends the day at someone’s place (in the same town)

Fikiriini/ takuya mkeezi/ kiitu/ keesho. ‘Fikiriini will come as a visitor at our place tomorrow.’

kha’iima

n. 9/10 list (of names, items)

kha’iini (ma-)

adj. deceitful; n. traitor, deceiver, cheater

Kha’iini/ haliwaani. ‘A deceiver, cheater does not prosper/ gain success.’

(A proverb that warns against cheating.)

kha’ini uje ‘that traitor’

munt^hu kha’iini ‘a deceitful person’

khabari

n. 10 [Sw. *habari* SSED 121] news; matters; situation

Basi/ mwana uyu/ choloka ka chizeele/ chimooyi/ chimweleza khabarize. ‘So this child went to an old woman and explained to her his situation.’

Isa/ basi/ mp^{ha} khabari zotte. ‘Now, then, give me all the news.’

Isa/ nambila khabari za badiikhi. ‘Now, tell me about the melons.’

Khabari/ izo/ paapo/ apo/ schikoma sul^{ta}ani. ‘Those pieces of news at once reached the sultan.’

khabari/ ka mukhtasari ‘the news in brief’

Khabari za maha^{la}aa we/ i^{ji}l^o. ‘What is the news from the place that you have come from?’

Khabari/ zichihuzunishiize. ‘The news caused us to grieve.’

Khabari/ zimfurahishize Nuuru. ‘The news pleased Nuuru.’

khabari ziingine ‘other news’

Khabari/ zont^he/ chimwaambila. ‘All the news she told him.’ (Phon. In our data from MI, like this example, preposing the verb complement does not trigger a shift of the verb into pseudo-relative form. Such a shift is common among the speakers we have consulted recently.)

Maali/ bila da^{ft}ari/ hubaha bila khabari. ‘Possessions without an accounting book get lost without information about them being preserved.’ (A proverb.)

Mi/ kanza leelo/ sim^o/ karka khabarize. ‘Beginning today, I am not involved in her affairs.’

Mi/ skuwaná/ khabari. ‘I did not know.’

Muke/ chimaliza kumuza khabari za kaazi... ‘After the woman asked him the news of work...’

Mwaana/ wenopo askari/ iwiile/ ya kuwa khabari/ zikomele sul^{ta}ani. ‘When the boy saw the soldiers, he knew that the news had reached the sultan.’

Nakuwona khabari. ‘I am seeing amazing things!’

Nazo khabari? ‘Do you know (what’s happening)? Do you have news?’

Ni khabari/ hufurahishó. ‘It is news that pleases.’

N^hakuwona khabari. ‘You will see things that will amaze you!’

Rudilopo suungurá/ siimba/ chimpa khabari/ spisiló/ zote. ‘When Rabbit returned, Lion reported to him all that had happened.’

Sku niingi/ skupata/ khabari zaawo. ‘For many days I did not get any news from them (lit. their news).’

Sul^{ta}ni waa noka/ chimuza Hasiibu/ khabarize. ‘The king of snakes asked Hasiibu his news (i.e. his explanation of the circumstances surrounding him).’

Wachiruda ka sul^{ta}ani/ wachimpa khabari. ‘They returned to the sultan and gave him the news.’

rel.

mw-ana khabari ‘newsman’

Wana khabari/ wamrashizo Niksoni/ wanakuhada ya kuwa... ‘The newsmen who are accompanying Nixon are saying that...’

Wana khabari/ wanakuhada/ ya kuwa ra’iisi/ nakhfilatiloowa/

khfaanya/ mukaataba/ pamó/ na ba’a^hi/ yaa nt^hi/ zaa ye/

takuzuuró. ‘The newsmen say that the president is expected to make an agreement with some of the countries that he will visit.’

khabari gani

[lit.] which news? (informal greeting at any time of day); the obligatory reply: **amaani** ‘peace’; only after this reply might the person indicate that actually he has had problems of any kind

khabiiri

n, expert

khabiithi

adj. [Sw. *habithi* SSED 122] malevolent, cruel, evil; malignant (of cancer)
sho khsala aasi faasiqi khabiithi/ chisuula sifaze sooma hadiithi [st.] ‘one who does not pray is disobedient, scandalous, evil; if you want (to know) his attributes, read the **hadiithi**’

khada'a

v. [Sw. *hadaa* SSED 122] (**khada'iile**) cheat someone, deceive someone

Boobo/ mkhada'ile mwaalimu. 'Boobo cheated the teacher.'

kumkhada'a 'to cheat, deceive someone'

Nnakhada'a. 'I am cheating.' (The general rule in Chimiini is that the

infinitive prefix *ku* elides completely in front of a stem that begins with *q* or *kh*. We recorded the possible preservation of the infinitive in GM's speech, but we have not determined how widespread this phenomenon is: **Nnakukhada'a.**)

Omari/ humkhada'a Nureeni. 'Omari cheats Nureeni.'

Omari/ mkali/ [ku]khada'a. 'Omari is skilled, sharp, clever in cheating.'

Omari/ nakumkhada'a Nureeni. 'Omari is cheating Nureeni.'

Shtezeezé/ matezo ya haqi/ we/ isa/ teena/ nakuhada kuwaa mí/ nikhukhada'iilé. 'We played a fair game of chance, and now you again are saying that I cheated you.'

Sultaani/ hakhaadiri/ kunfanya chiint^hu/ ka khisa/ mi/ kiila/ mara/ hukhaadira/ kumkhada'a. 'The sultan cannot do anything to me since each time I am able to deceive him.'

rel.

khada'akhada'a v. freq. (**khada'ilekhada'iile**)

We/ nkhada'akhada'iilé. 'You cheated me (repeatedly).'

khada'ana v. rec. (**-khada'eene**) cheat each other

Hamadi/ khada'ene na Boobo. 'Hamadi cheated (reciprocally) with Boobo.'

khada'ika v. intr. (**khada'ishile**) be deceived; able to be deceived

Hakhada'iki. 'He cannot be deceived.'

Mi/ nkhada'ishilé/ kula zilatu izo. 'I made a mistake/erred/ was deceived buying those shoes (someone did not necessarily mislead me or the like, I just deceived myself into purchasing the shoes).'

Muunt^hu/ hukhada'ika. 'Anyone can be deceived, make a mistake, err.' (A proverbial saying.)

Nkhada'ishilé/ mi. 'I was deceived, cheated, made a mistake, erred.'

Mwiizi/ khada'ishile. 'The thief was deceived.'

Osmaani/ hukhada'ika ka sahali. 'Osmaani can be cheated easily.'

khada'ila v. appl. (**khada'iliile**) deceive on

Nkhada'iliile mwaana. 'He cheated the child on me.'

khada'isha v. caus. (**khada'ishiize**) make cheat, deceive

Nuuru/ mkhada'ishize mwaana/ waawaye. 'Nuuru made the child deceive his father.'

khada'ishiliza v. caus. appl. (**khada'ishiliize**) cause to cheat on

Nuuru/ mkhada'ishilize Suufi/ mwaana/ mweenzawe. 'Nuuru made Suufi's child deceive his friend.'

khada'ishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. (**-khada'ishilizeenye**)

khada'oowa v. pass. (**khada'iila**)

khada'a

n. deception, trachery

khfanya khada'a 'to cheat, resort to deceit'

Ni muunt^hu/ mwenye khada'a. 'He is a deceitful man.'

Ye/ ni hayawaani/ mwenye makri/ na khada'a. 'It is an animal that has tricks and deceits.'

khada'oole

adj. (from verb *khada'a* plus Somali suffix **-leh**) deceitful, treacherous

duniya ni xada'oole [st.] 'the world is deceitful (i.e. the pleasures of this world lead astray and do not last)'

khadaraya

n. s.t. big, too big (recorded with gemination regularly: [ikhaddarayá])

Omari/ chitaache/ khaddarayá. 'Omari's head is big.'

Omari/ ipulaye/ khaddarayá. 'Omari's nose is big.'

need to review these two examples.

khaddirisha

v. estimate (size, weight)

Ijuniya iyi/ uzitowe/ takhadirisha/ kamu. ‘How much do you estimate is the weight of this sack? (lit. this sack its weight you will estimate how much)?’

khadiidi

?

khaadimu (Ø, ma-)

n. [Sw. *hadimu* SSED 122] servant (Morph. The noun class/agreement pattern of this noun is complex. The singular form, **khaadimu**, has no overt prefix, but governs [cl.1] agreement. The plural form may be **khaadimu** as well, in which case it governs [cl.10] agreement. But **makhaadimu** is also used, in which case it governs [cl.2] agreement.

Abunawaasi/ shkhiira/ laakini/ mbele/ chiwa’amura/ makhaadimu/ kizaanika/ izoo ngozi/ iwaani/ hattá/ schiwa nk^havu.

‘Abunawaasi agreed, but first he ordered the servants to spread the hides in the sun until they became dry.’

Basi/ chaamura/ khadimuze/ kala mteendre. ‘So he ordered his servant to plant a date tree.’

Chimwambila khadimuye/ kendra muyiini/ kula zaakuja. ‘He told his servant to go to town and buy food.’

khadimu izi ‘these servants’

khadimu uyu ‘this servant’

khaadimu/ walazilopo ndilaani ‘when the servants went outside’

makhadimu awa ‘these servants’

makhadimu wiingi ‘many servants’

Muke/ na khaadimú/ wachishkila. ‘The wife and the servant disembarked.’

Mwaana/ chamura makhaadimu/ kuletaa ngoma/ khteza/ hatá/ fijiri.

‘The child ordered servants to bring a drum to play until morning.’

Mwanaamke/ shpowa Hasani/ kumwelela khaadimu. ‘The girl was given Hasani to be for her a servant.’

we/ kumwelela mwaanawa/ khaadimu ‘for you to be a servant to my daughter’

rel.

sh-khaadimu (s-). 7/8 dim.

Chisula mtele/ wiiko/ nganu/ yiiko/ maftaa sehemu/ yaako/ ka khisani/ we/ nakhsulo khsoolá/ mtamá/ kama shkhaadimú. ‘If you want crushed maize, it is there; wheat is there; ghee is there; why do you want to grind corn like a servant?’

khaadira

v. (**khadiriile**) be able

Ali/ hukhadira khpika iyaank^huku. Ali is able to cook to cook an egg.’

(Note that one cannot passivize the infinitive and leave the passive subject in the lower clause: ***Ali/ hukhadira iyaank^huku/ khpikoowa.** ‘Ali is able for an egg to be cooked.’ The subject of the passive infinitive can be made the subject of the main verb, but that verb must be put into the passive: **Iyaank^huku/ ikhadiriila khpikowa na Ali.** ‘An egg was able to be cooked by Ali.’ It is ungrammatical to use the main verb in the active when the infinitive is in the passive: ***Iyaank^huku/ hukhadira khpikoowa.** ‘An egg was able to be cooked.’ The idea may be conveyed using the potential/stative verb: **Iyaank^huku/ hupikika.** ‘An egg can be cooked.’

Ali/ nt^hakhaadira/ kumpa mwaana/ zawaadi. ‘Ali was not able to give the child a present.’

Ali/ nt^hakhaadira/ kumpaka mwaana/ dawa. ‘Ali was not able to apply medicine to the child.’

Hakhaadiri/ khshiindra/ sku mooyi/ pashpo kumwona Abunawaasi. ‘He was not able to pass one day without seeing Abunawaasi.’

Hakhaadiri/ khuloola. ‘He cannot marry you.’

Haliima/ nt^hakhaadira/ khtindilaa nama/ chisu. ‘Haliima wasn’t able to cut the meat with a knife.’ (MI accepted this sentence, although in an instrumental applied construction he did not tend to like the instrument to reside in the verb phrase if it were part of the focus. In any case, the instrument can be the subject of a corresponding passive sentence: **Chisu/ nt^hashkukhadiroowa/ khtindilowaa nama.** ‘A knife was not able to be used to cut the meat.’ The logical object, on the other hand, cannot be the passive subject: ***Nama/ nt^hakhadiroowa/ khtindilowaa chisu.**

Haliima/ nt^hakhaadira/ kumletela Ali/ chaakuja. ‘Haliima was not able to

bring Ali food.'

Haliima/ nt^hakhaadira/ kumpikila Ali. Haliima was not able to cook for Ali.'

Hukhadira khpita. 'He was able to pass through.'

Hukhadiraayi/ mi/ kumwiiza/ munt^hu uyu. 'How am I able to refuse this man?'

Mi/ nile khaambilá/ kuwaa mi/ nkhadiriilé/ khtaambula/ ma'ana ya kooði/ za Ali/ na kooðizó. 'I have come to tell you that I am able to explain the meaning of the words of Ali and of your words.'

munt^hi waa we/ waliko hukhaadiri 'on the day that you were sick'

Ndiwa/ chimwaambila/ sin^oongelé/ zita zaa mi/ sikhaadiri. 'The pigeon told him: don't provoke for me wars that I cannot afford.'

Nthanakhaadira/ ku'isha peeke. 'He cannot live alone.'

Nthanakhaadira/ kumbiga. 'He was not able to beat him.'

Oko/ kiitu/ sul^{ta}ani/ wa muuyi/ hakhaadiri/ nt^ho. 'There, at home, the king of the town is very sick.'

Skhaadiri/ kum^lata numbaani/ ka yee/ peeke. 'I cannot leave her home alone.'

Skukhaadira/ kumwaambila/ kuwaa mi/ nile naayó/ ka khabriini. 'I could not tell her that I took it from the graveyard.'

Waako/ waako/ hattá/ leelo/ waawaye/ chiwa hakhaadiri/ chifa. 'They lived and lived until one day [lit. today] his father became sick and died.'

We/ naawé/ takhadirani/ tu. 'What can you do?'

We/ nt^hunakhaadira/ waawé/ kuhada kuwaa ye/ ni maskiini. 'You just cannot say, my father, that he is a poor man.'

rel.

khadirika v. p/s.

Mwana uyu/ hakhadiriki. 'It is not possible to put up with this child; it is not possible to outsmart this child.'

khadirikana v. p/s. rec.

Mwana uyu/ hakhadirikani. 'This child is too much of a rascal (one cannot put up with him).'

khadirila v. appl.

khadiriloowa v. appl. pass.

Gaari/ nt^ha'ikhadiriloowa/ kuzoowa. 'The car wasn't able to be sold.'

(This sentence is apparently a good sentence, but the applied form of the verb *-khaadira* is not widely attested in our data. Perhaps the car's ability to be sold is pertinent only in terms of being to the benefit of some unidentified individual.)

khadiroowa v. pass. (**khadiriila**)

Ali/ hakhadiroowi/ xpikiloowa. 'Ali cannot be cooked for.' (Notice that the main verb is not put into the applied form: ***Ali/ hakhadiriloowi/ khpikiloowa**. Note that only the beneficiary can be the subject in this construction: ***Chaakuja/ hashkhadiroowi/ khpikilowa Ali**.)

Ali/ nt^hakhadiroowa/ khpikilowa na Haliima. 'Ali was not able to be cooked for by Haliima.' (Note that the main verb is not recast into an applied form when the subject of the subordinate clause's passive verb is promoted to be the subject of the main verb: ***Ali/ nt^hakhadiroloowa/ khpikilowa na Haliima**.)

Ali/ nt^hakhadiroowa/ kuletelowa chaakuja. 'Ali was not able to be brought food.' (Note that it is ungrammatical to say: ***Chaakuja/ nt^hashkukhadiroowa/ kuletelowa Ali**. 'Food was not able to be brought to Ali'.)

Hamadi/ hakhadiroowi/ khpikiloowa. 'Hamadi cannot be cooked for.' (In this sentence, **Hamadi** controls the agreement on the negative main verb. This is the personal passive construction. An impersonal passive is also possible with the same word order: **Hamadi/ ha'ikhadiroowi/ khpikiloowa**. 'It is not possible for Hamadi to be cooked for'.)

Magaari/ nt^hayakhadiroowa/ kulooowa. 'The cars were not able to be bought (e.g. they cost more than was anticipated).'

Magaari/ yakhadiriila khtukuloowa. 'The cars were able to be lifted.'

Mwaana/ nt^hakhadiroowa/ khpakowaa dawa. 'The child was not able to be applied medicine to.' (This sentence implies that it is the child who is the problem. Cf. **Dawa/**

nt^ha'ikhadiroowa/ khpakowa mwaana. 'The medicine cannot be applied to the child.' In this sentence, it is the medicine that is the problem, not the child.)

Mwaana/ nt^hakhadiroowa/ khpowa zawaadi. 'The child was not able to be given presents.' (But one can also say **Zawaadi/ nt^haskukhadiroowa/ khpowa mwaana.** 'Presents were not able to be given to the child.' This structure could be used, for instance, in the relative clause: **zawadi nt^haskukhadiroowa khpowa mwaana...** 'the books that could not be given to the child...')

Mwaalimu/ nt^hakhadiroowa/ kublowa zibuuku. 'The teacher was not able to be stolen books from (e.g. he is too vigilant and one cannot get a chance to steal from him).'

Mweendro/ na sifa za muunt^hu/ hukhadiroowa/ kiwoowa/ ka waant^hu/ waa ye/ hushirkano naawó. 'A man's behavior and characteristics can be known from the people that he associates with.'

Waana/ nt^hawakhadiroowa/ koshoowa. 'The children were not able to be washed.' (Note that the main verb must be put into the passive form when the subject of the passive infinitive has been made subject. One does not say ***Waana/ nt^hawakhaadira/ koshoowa/.**)

Zibuuku/ nt^haskukhadiroowa/ kublowa ka mwaalimu. 'Books were not able to be stolen from the teacher.' (The sentence earlier shows that a bare noun **mwaalimu** can be used as the passive subject of the verb **-khadiroowa**. But in the present example, where **zibuuku** is the subject, it does not appear that a bare form of **mwaalimu** is possible, rather it must be preceded by the preposition **ka**. On a phonological note, observe that while **ku** is ordinarily missing in front of **kh**, the reduction of **zi-** to **s-** seems to block the deletion. This suggests strongly that the conversion of **ku** to null in front of **kh** is a phonological process of vowel deletion and subsequent spirantization of **k** to **kh** and then degemination. The presence of **s** serves to block vowel deletion.)

Khaðija n. the Prophet's first wife

khafaali n. [Som. *qafaal* DSI 482] kidnapping, robbing
hubiga khafaali hupata danawa [nt.]

khafiifu adj. [Sw. *hafifu* SSED 123; Ar.] thin, insubstantial, irresponsible, flighty, easy
Chingila mtanaani/ kaake/ chivalaa nguwo/ za hariiri/ khafiifu/ nt^ho/ hattá/ maluungoye/ yotte/ yachiwonekana. 'She entered her bedroom and put on clothes of very thin silk, [so thin] even all her body was visible.'
Fanya maataza/ khafiifu. 'Make the porridge thin!'
kuloomba mwajiitu khaanya khafiifu [st.] 'to beg God to make it easy'
miri khafiifu 'intellectually weak'
Mwana uyu/ ni khafiifu. 'This child is irresponsible.'
Ni chiint^hu/ shkhafiifu/ laakini/ hukhaadiri/ kishtafuna. 'It is something thin but you cannot chew it.' (A riddle, the answer to which is **maayi** 'water'.)
safari ya hija faanya khafiifu [st.] 'make the pilgrimage easy'

khaaja n. (my) uncle – i.e. my mother's brother; [pron. **khaajá**]
khaja yaawo 'their uncle'
khaja yiinu 'your (pl.) uncle'
khaja yiitu 'our uncle'
khaajé 'his/her uncle'
khaajó 'your uncle'
Sultaani/ Ijiniile/ mloweele/ mwanaamke/ wa khaajé. 'The Mad Sultan married the daughter of his uncle.'

khalkhaalata v. (**khalkhaleete**) go out looking for s.t. that is needed urgently (for oneself)
Oloshale khalkhaalata. 'He went out looking for s.t. needed urgently.'
rel.
khalkhaalisha v. caus. go out looking for s.t. urgently needed for one's family etc.
Oloshale khalkhalisha peesa. 'He went out looking for money (needed for his family).'

khalkhaali n. used in the phrase:
khfanya khalkhaali 'to go out looking for s.t. urgently needed (a loan, a

person, etc.)’

khaḷkhila n. [Ar. verb *qalīqa* and noun *qalaq* W 787] apprehension, perturbation, anxiety that makes s.o. sleepless
kumtila muunt^hu/ khaḷkhilaani ‘to make s.o.uneasy, perturbed, apprehensive’
review l’s and review whether q is used? and if q is used, then must both be q or kh?

khaḷqi n. [Ar. *kalq* W 258] people, creatures, mankind, everything that God created; [pron. **khaḷqi** or **khaḷkhi**]
Mi/ siwo/ moyi/ si/ ni waant^hu/ wiingi/ khaḷkhi/ ni waḅjaana/ wa muyi mzima/ na wanaawaké/ wa muyi mzima. ‘I am not alone (lit. one). We are many people, all of mankind; we are young boys from the whole time and girls from the whole town.’
naako itakuuya naada/ khaḷqi inakirimoowa [st.] ‘and then the divine call will be made for the crowd to be rewarded’
Taha xeeri ya khaḷqi [st.] ‘Taha (= Muhammad), the best of mankind’

khaḷwa [Ar.] in the phrase:
variant form: **khaḷaawa**
kingilowa muskitiini ‘for seclusion to be entered’
Khaḷwa/ hingilowa muskitiini. ‘One usually goes to the mosque to seclude oneself.’
kingila khaḷwa ‘to seclude oneself in an isolated place or the mosque for religious purposes, seeking to receive an *ishaara* (i.e. a hint of God’s will)’
Hamadi/ ingile numbaani/ nt^hanakuḷawa/ ba/ kana muunt^hu/ ingilo khaḷwá. ‘Hamadi went into the house and did not come out, like a man who has gone into seclusion.’

khalali n. [Ar. *qalqala* “agitation, disturbance, commotion” W 788; Som. noun *qaylo* and verb *qayli* DSI 496] loud but confused noise made by many people or things (e.g. indistinct voices, rattling of things, sound of wind against trees, etc.), din, confusion
Numba/ nzimaye/ khalali. ‘The house is full of noise (made by many people together).’

khalaaqi n. a name for God; creator

khalaaasa n. [a word not commonly used in Chimiini, but may be found in poetry] peace
chiza qiyama hupati khalaaasa [st.] ‘otherwise you do not obtain peace’

khaalifa v. [Ar. *kalafa* "conflict, diverge, be opposed" W 257] (**khalifiile**) disobey, contradict, oppose, object
khalifa amri ‘to disobey an order’
Hashkhaalifi/ amriyo. ‘We won’t disobey your order.’
Masku/ yawaliko bardi/ naawó/ wote/ wa’ofeete/ laakini/ nt^hawakhaadira/ khalifa amri. ‘The evening was cold and they all were tired but they could not disobey an order.’
rel.
khalifana v. rec. (-**khalifeene**) oppose one another
Nuuru/ na Hamadi/ wakhalfene. ‘Nuuru and Hamadi opposed one another.’ (Syn. It is also possible to say: **Nuuru/ khalifene na Hamadi.** ‘Nuuru opposed [lit. with] Hamadi.’)
khalifoowa v. pass.
Amiiri/ hakhalfiwo. ‘The chief is not disputed, questioned, not followed.’
Shar’a/ haykhalifoowi. ‘Sharia law is not disputed, questioned.’

rel. nom.

u-khaalifo n. 14

m-khaalifu (wa-) adj. disobedient

<i>khaaliqi</i>	n. a name for God; creator
<i>khalisa</i>	v. (khalisiize) meet requirements Gari iyi/ inkhalisiize. ‘This car suits my requirements.’ Kama chaakuja/ chaa ye/ takhpoowa/ hachimkhalisi/ namere chaakuja/ mahala yingine. ‘If the food that he is given is not of high enough quality for him, look for food some place else.’ rel. <i>khalisana</i> v. rec. Wakhaliseene. ‘They met each other’s requirements.’
<i>khaalisi</i>	adj.,v. [Ar. <i>kālīs</i> W 255] original, genuine, pure, sincere, of high character Kama chaakuja/ chaa ye/ takhpoowa/ hachimkhaalisi/ namere chaakuja/ mahala yingine. ‘If the food that he is given is not of high enough quality for him, let him look for food some else.’ munt^hu khaalisi ‘a man of high character’ rel. <i>u-khaalisi</i> n. 14 in expression: ka ukhaalisi ‘with sincerity’ ka ukhaalisi wa ndraani [st.] ‘with inner sincerity’
<i>khamadi</i>	n [Som. <i>qamadi</i>] wheat maṭaza ya khamadi ‘porridge made from wheat’
<i>khamdi</i>	n. a small leather bag used for carrying documents
<i>khamdi</i>	n. a triangular-shaped donut (buru) made in Brava
<i>khamiiri</i>	n. yeast Mandraa mbiti/ yingile khamiiri. ‘The dough has risen [lit. entered yeast].’
<i>khamiirika</i>	v. p/s. rise (of dough) Mandraa mbiti/ ikhamirishile. ‘The dough has risen.’ rel. <i>khamiirsha</i> v. caus. leaven bread (by letting it sit, by adding baking powder, etc.) <i>khamirishiliza</i> v. caus. appl. Hamadi/ mkhamirishilize Nuuru/ maandra. ‘Hamadi leavened the bread for Nuuru.’
<i>khamri</i>	n. [Ar. <i>kamr</i> W 261] liquor Chiloota/ kuwaa ye/ wene ruuhuye/ uko mahala suura/ na nakumnesha moojé/ khamri. ‘He dreamed that he saw himself in a lovely place and he was serving his master alcohol.’ Khamri/ husakharatoowa. ‘Liquor makes you drunk.’ Khamri/ insukurishiize. ‘The liquor made me drunk.’ Khamri/ khufanya sakharaani. ‘Liquor makes you drunk.’ Khamri/ ni haraamu. ‘Liquor is religiously impure.’ Waawé/ we/ nakhfanyaayí/ kuna khamri. ‘My father, why are you drinking alcohol?’
<i>khamrisha</i>	v. brew coconut palm wine khamrisha teembo ‘to brew cocomut palm wine’
<i>khamsiini</i>	adj. [Ar. <i>kamsīnī</i> W 262] fifty Chooloka/ chimwambila mubliwe/ mp^ha shilingi khamsiini. ‘She went and she told her husband: Give me fifty shillings.’ khamisina keendra or khamsiini/ na keendrá ‘fifty nine’

khamsina naane or **khamsiini/ na naané** ‘fifty eight’
khamsina nt^haano or **khamsiini/ na nt^haanó** ‘fifty five’
khamsinaa saba or **khamsiini/ naa sabá** ‘fifty seven’
khamsina sitta or **khamsiini/ na sittá** ‘fifty six’

Khamsiiniza/ mp^heeté/ isa/ nakhsuulá/ ye/ kuvi^loowa/ khpoowa/ ndrutzize khamsiini. ‘My fifty blows, I got; now, I want him to be called to be given his fifty blows.’

- khamustaashara** n., adj. fifteen
- khandaqi (ma-)** n. [Sw. *handaki* SSED 126; Ar. *kandaq* W 263] trench, underground shelter
variant form: **handaqi review**
rel.
chi-khandaqi (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.
i-khandaqi (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
- khaniisi ifuga)** n.[Ar.] male homosexual who assumes a passive role (not as commonly used as ifuga)
- khaansa** see *khaasa* below
- khanziiri** n. 9/10 [Sw. *hanziri* SSED 127; Ar.] pig
Khanziiri/ kudaroowake/ ni haraamu. ‘Touching a pig is forbidden.’
nama ya khanziiri ‘pork’
- kharaabu** n. [Ar. *karāb* W 231] ruins, destruction (Phon. Words from Arabic with the sound written *k* are only pronounced with *kh* and never *q*. On the other hand, words which in Arabic have the sound *q* are pronounced in Chimiini as either *q* or *kh*. Consequently, the present example has only the one pronunciation available.)
Majini/ wamwenopo Sa’iidí/ wafurahiile/ nt^ho/ wafurahiile/ ka khisa/ wo/ wapeete/ fursa/ kumwangamiza/ na kumsabibila kharaabú.
‘When the djinns saw Sa’iidi, they were very happy, they were happy because they had gotten an opportunity to harm him and to cause him destruction.’
nuumba iyi ni kharaabu [st.] ‘this house is in ruins, is dilapidated’
- kharanfuuri** n. 9/10 clove
muti wa kharanfuuri ‘clove tree’
rel.
m-kharanfuuri (mi-) n. 3/4 clove tree
- kharasi** n. 9/10 intestinal worm(s)
dawa ya kharasi ‘medicine for worms’
Kharasi/ huna waant^hu/ maazi. ‘Worms suck the blood from people.’
Nazo kharasi. ‘He has worms.’
Tomele kharasi. ‘He passed worms (in his feces).’
- kharaawu** [Possibly connected to Somali verb *qaraabo* "to gather wild fruits" DSI 489, with a transfer to fish: gather/catch fish, the time of a good catch.] only used in the expression:
bahari kharaawu ‘season/sea when there is plenty of catch’
- i-kharba (ma-)** n. 5/6 leaf
Chishika ikharba/ itakuwele^laa nguwo. ‘If you hold a leaf, it will become for you a piece of cloth.’
Ikharba/ ipoteele. ‘The leaf fell.’
ikharba ya mshaka ‘a leaf of a tree’; **makharba ya mshaka** ‘leaves of trees’
Karka makharba/ yaa we/ takuleetó/ humkina/ kumwele^laa dawa/

mwanaamke/ oyo/ naayé/ khpólá. ‘Among the leaves that you will bring, it is possible to be medicine for that girl and she [might] live.’ **review accent**

Kasa/ muḅliwá/ endra maduriini/ tiinda/ makharba/ ya kulla muti/ na chimutí/ ndo/ naayo/ makharba/ meepe. ‘Listen, my husband, go into the bush and pick [lit. cut] the leaves of every tree and bush, and come with any of them.’ **review whether lengthning of kulla**

makharba ma’akhthari ‘green leaves’

Makharba/ yanakuuluka. ‘Leaves are flying about.’

Makharba/ yapiile. ‘Leaves are burned.’

Muti mkulu/ unayo makharba mawili. ‘A large tree that has two leaves.’

(A riddle, the answer to which is **muunt^hu/ na mashkiloyé** ‘a man and his ears’.)

Ye/ zubile almaasi/ karka ikharba yaa muti. ‘He wrapped the diamond in the leaf of a tree.’

kharbi

n. war

Shinzile kharbiini. ‘He won a victory in the war.’

khariba

v. [Sw. *haribu* SSED 127] (**kharibiile**) damage, spoil, corrupt, make a mess, ruin s.o.’s reputation or financial status

Niya njeema/ hutabiiba/ niyaa mbovu/ hykhariba. ‘A good intention cures, a bad intention spoils.’ (A proverb.)

rel.

kharibika v. intr. (**kharibishile**) be damaged, spoiled

kharibisha v. caus.

Isa/ ye/ teena/ makhsuudiye/ ni kumkhada’a/ Sa’iidi/ jisaa ye/ khpata/ kumkharibisha. ‘Now he then, his intention was to cheat Sa’iidi in order to get a chance to destroy him.’

rel. nom.

m-khariba (wa-) n. 1/2 a spoiler, corruptor

m-kharibo n. 3 spoiling, corrupting

kharija

v. (**kharijiile**) do away with (in both the sense of 1. to kill and 2. to get rid of s.o., giving him his due; befit, suit, be convenient, afford

Hayishkhaarji/ kuhada... ‘It is not suitable for us to say...’

khariiji

adv. abroad

awaje hawapati kendra khariiji ‘those who do not go abroad’

Husaafira/ hendra khariiji/ kuzida ikḷmu. ‘They travel and go abroad to increase their knowledge.’

khaarimu

birth

adj. descriptive of a female animal that has reached the stage of being able to give

mbuzi khaarimu ‘a goat old enough to give birth’

ngombe khaarimu ‘a cow old enough to give birth’

rel.

sh-khaarimu (s-) n. 7/8 dim.

khariita

n. 9/10 [Ar. *karīṭa* W 234] map

kharsha

v. [Som.] hide (Phon. In MI’s speech, the infinitive prefix invariably deletes when preceding a stem-initial *kh* or *q*. In GM’s speech, this elision is optional.)

Omari/ karshize mayti/ ya Nuuru. ‘Omari hid Nuuru’s corpse.’

We/ kharshani. ‘What are you hiding (i.e. what secrets are you keeping, what things inside you are you not revealing)?’

rel.

kharshiliza v. appl. hide from

Jawabu izi/ nakukharshilizowa Omari. ‘His work, affairs are hidden from

Omari.’ Or: **Jawabu izi/ nakharshilizoowa/ Omari.**
Omari/ mkharshilize maana/ nguwo. ‘Omari hid the clothes from the child.’

kharshilizoowa v. appl. pass.

kharshoowa v. pass.

Inakharshoowani. ‘What is being hidden?’

Nt^haku/ ba/ ya kharshoowa. ‘There is nothing to hide.’

khaasa adv. especially; adj. special; [pron. **khaasá** or **khaasa**] (The distribution of final versus default penult accent is not entirely clear from the examples.)

variant form: **khaansá**

-a khaasa ‘private’ (Note that we did not record final accent in this use of **khaasa**.)

gari ya khaasa ‘a private car’

Ile ka gariye ya khaasa. ‘He came with his private car.’

Apa/ ni mamnuu’u/ kingiloowa/ khaasá/ ka wana zihabba. ‘It is forbidden to be entered here, especially by small children.’

khaasá/ ka tarafu yaa wake ‘especially concerning women’

Maamo/ khaansá/ nakun’aðiba/ nt^ho/ ye/ nakhsulá khuwona. ‘Your mother especially is torturing me very much, she wants to see you.’

Masku ya Ashuura/ karka dini ya Islaamu/ yanayo ma’ana khaasa.

‘The night of Ashuura in the Islamic religion has a special meaning.’

Mubjaana/ shfanya ahdi/ pamo na mwanaamke/ kudirkamana karka sa’a khaasa. ‘The young man made an appointment with the girl to meet at a special time.’

ndruuza ni wajibu amri ya diini/ khaansá kiwoowa mas’ala siñiini [st.] ‘O my brothers, it is obligatory [to know] the matters of religion, especially for sixty questions to be known’

Safiriile/ ka ariplaanoye/ khaasá/ koloka ka kuzuura/ nt^hi/ za sharqi yaa kati. ‘He travelled by his special airplane to go to visit the countries of the Middle East.’

Waant^hu/ hoshu mayti/ ni waant^hu/ khaasa/ siwo/ killa/ muunt^hu. ‘The people who wash the corpse are special people, not everybody.’

Want^hu wa Mwiini/ khaasá/ Wahamari/ wachisaafira/ nt^ho/ nt^hi ziingine. ‘The people of Brava, especially the Wahamari, used to travel a lot to other countries.’

khasabu

n. force, a must

Deeni/ kulipoowa/ ni khasabu. ‘For a debt to be repaid is a must.’

Khsomowa diini/ ni khasabu. ‘To learn religion is a must.’

khasaara

n. 9 [Sw. *hasara* SED 128; Ar.] loss, financial loss, misfortune

Ali/ imdirshile khasaara. ‘Ali experienced a financial loss.’

faayda/ na khasaará ‘profit and loss’

Itamletelaa dhibu/ na khasaará. ‘It will bring him trouble and misfortune.’

karka khasaara ‘in or at loss’

khpata khasaara ‘to suffer a financial loss’

Baana/ pete khasaara. ‘Baana suffered a financial loss.’

Khpatisha khasaara ‘to cause s.o. to suffer a financial loss’

khtila khasaara ‘to cause s.o. to lose wealth’

Omari/ mtile Ali/ khasaara. ‘Omari caused Ali to have a financial loss.’ (Phon. The final accent on **Ali** is a lexical property of this personal name in the speech of our source for this example. MI, on the other hand, has default penult accent for this name.)

kingiloowa na khasaara ‘to suffer a loss (lit. to be entered by a loss)’

Hamadi/ ingiḷa khasaara. ‘Hamadi suffered a loss.’
Kingiḷa khasaara ‘to suffer a loss’
Hamadi/ ingile khasaara. ‘Hamadi suffered a loss.’
kudirka khasaara ‘to encounter a financial loss’
Khaliifa/ imdirshile khasaara. ‘Khaliifa met with a financial loss.’

Mi/ sinakuwona/ kuwa ni khasaara/ nk^hulu. ‘I do not consider that it is a great loss.’ (Phon. The phrasal separation of the modifier from the noun it modifies is a signal of the indefinite nature of the noun.)

Nnayo khasara gani/ mi. ‘What loss is it for me? i.e. it is no loss at all.’

Nt^hakhusaameha/ laakini/ ka sharti/ mooyi/ we/ ni laazima/ kundripila

khasaara/ imp^heeṭó/ yotte. ‘I will forgive you but on one condition: you must repay me the loss that befell me, all.’

siwo faayda ni khasaara/ ndimi khtowa afiya [song] ‘it is not a profit, it is a loss for me to lose my health’

Siwo/ khasaara. ‘It is not a loss.’

khasaraṭa

v. (**khasareete**) lose (money, reputation)

Khasaraṭa. ‘Lose money!’ **Khasaraṭaani.** ‘(Pl.) lose money!’

khasaraṭa uso ‘to lose face’

Khasareetó/ kaafiri. ‘The one who has lost everything is the one who does not believe in God.’

Skhasaraṭé. ‘Don’t lose money!’ **Skhasaraṭeení.** ‘(Pl.) don’t lose money!’

rel.

khasaarisha v. caus. (**khasarishiize**) cause loss

Mkhasarishize waawaye. ‘He caused his father financial loss.’

Skhasarisheení/ ahji. ‘(Pl.) don’t cause financial harm for the family!’

khasarishana v. caus. rec.

khasarishika v. caus. p/s.

khasarishiliza v. caus. appl.

khasarishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

khasbaṭa

v. [Som. *khasab* DSI 365] (**khasbeete**) force, oblige s.o.

rel.

(*ku-*)**khasba** v. force

kumkhasba ‘to force someone’

Simkhasbé/ maana/ kuja. ‘Don’t force a child to eat.’

(*ku-*)**khasboowa** v. pass.

Kukasbowa maana/ kuja/ siwo/ suura. ‘For a child to be forced to eat is not good.’ (Phon. In the speech of MI, the prefix *ku* regularly elides when preceding the sound *q/kh*. However, with our current consultant we have recorded the retention of *ku* as an option.)

khashabu

n. 9/10 piece of wood

khashiida (Ø, ma-)

n. 9/10,6 [Sw. *kashida* SSED 175; Pers.] a kind of shawl worn by Muslim teachers, made of linen or other soft material, worn as a turban or over the shoulder

khashida iyi ‘this shawl’ (cf. **khashida izi** ‘these shawls’)

khtandrika khashiida ‘to put on a *khashiida*’

kumandika khashiida ‘to put a *khashiida* on s.o.’

kuzuba khashiida ‘to wrap with a *khashiida*’

khasirika

v. (**khasirishile**) be annoyed

Khamiisi/ khasirishile khkasa jawabu iyo. ‘Khamiisi was annoyed to hear those things.’

khasisha

v. [Som.] mess up

(**ku**)**khasishaa dali** ‘to mess up the environment’

Muunt^hu/ siwo/ suura/ kukhasishaa dali. ‘It isn’t good for one to mess up a situation (e.g. to step into a situation and cause

problems or create obstacles, foul things up).’

Omari/ ile/ khasishizekhasishizee dali. ‘Omari came and messed things up (went into a situation that was stable, working out, and messed it up).’

(ku)khasisha jawabu ‘to mess up the talking, the discussion, etc.’

khasli

in the expression:

variant form: **ghasli**

kowa khasli ‘to wash after sexual intercourse (as prescribed by Islamic principles)

khasfi

in the expression:

ka khasfi ‘on purpose’

ka khasfi shtapisha somu huvuundika [st.] ‘if you vomit on purpose, your fasting is invalidated’

khaṭa

v. (**khaṭiile**) go without, miss (esp. food) (Observe that the stem-final **t** in this verb does not undergo mutation to **s**.)

Chimaliza/ uyu/ shkhaṭa/ ntakhaadira/ koondroka. ‘Then this one (in the story: the older goat) went without food, he could not move.’

Chiraaga/ takhaṭa. ‘If you are delayed, you will miss/lose/not get in.’

Chiraga keendra/ ta(ku)khaṭa. ‘If you are late going (there), you will be without/ miss s.t.’

Jereeló/ khaṭiile. ‘The one who is ashamed goes without.’ (A proverb.)

kana miimba haykhaṭi [song] ‘if the stomach goes without food’

Mi/ kheeri/ khaṭa. ‘It is better for me to miss/ lose/ not get.’

Nakhsula khaṭaa zijó/ raaga. ‘(If) you want to miss the **zijo**, (then) be late.’

Sho/ kiwa daniyé/ khaṭiile. ‘One who does not know his interest, need, misses out.’ (A proverb.)

misses out.’ (A proverb.)

Sho/ khkooḍa/ hukhaṭa. ‘One who does not speak (say what he wants)

Uyu maskiini/ mara niingi/ huwa nt^haná/ yaa ye/ kuwapa waanawe/ na ni niingi/ masku/ yaa wo/ washkhaṭó. ‘This poor man, many times there was nothing that he had to give his children, and it was many nights that they missed [getting food].’

rel.

khaṭila v. appl. (**khaṭiliile**)

Mwaana/ nkhaṭiliile. ‘The child went without food (on me).’

khaṭisha v. caus. (**khaṭishiize**) cause to miss, go without

khaṭishana v. caus. rec. (**khaṭisheene**)

khaṭishiliza v. caus. appl. (**khaṭishiliize**)

khaṭishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. (**khaṭishilizeenye**)

khaṭoowa v. pass.

Nakhtiya khaṭoowa. ‘I am afraid to miss/lose/not get.’

khaṭa’i

n. mistake, wrong behavior

khfanya khaṭa’i ‘to make a serious mistake in behavior’

khaaṭi’i (*∅, ma-*)

adj. one who has done wrong, made a mistake in behavior (Morph. This adjective stem illustrates the complexity of the behavior of borrowed adjectives in Chimiini. This stem may be used invariantly as **khaaṭi’i** with both singular and plural nouns (always human nouns, due to the meaning of the adjective). However, if the noun is plural, the form **makhaaṭi’i** may also be used. A further complexity arises, however, when the noun modified is a derived diminutive or augmentative noun. In this event, the adjective stem agrees with this derived noun. This explains a form such as **zijint^hu skhaaṭi’i** below, where the agreement morpheme **zi-** is prefixed to the adjective stem, though phonological rules realize **zi-** as **s-** in this context.)

munt^hu khaaṭi’i ‘a person who behaves wrongly’

want^hu (ma)khaaṭi’i ‘people who behave wrongly’

zijint^hu skhaaṭi’i ‘dim. people who behave wrongly’

khaṭari

n. [Sw. *hatari* SSED 130] danger, risk; adj. dangerous, risky (and thus not permitted)

Ba'ada/ ya sku nch^haache/ karkaa nt^hi/ iyi/ ichiðihira/ jawaabu/ ya khatari. 'After a few days in this country there appeared a dangerous matter.'

chijint^hu shkhatari 'a dangerous (dim.) person'

Chimo khatariini. 'We are in danger.'

Inakuhadoowa/ ya kuwa iqtisaadi/ ya talyaani/ yiimo/ karka khatari/ nk^hulu. 'It is said that the economy of Italy is in great danger.'

khtila khatariini 'to put in danger'

We/ takunt^hila khatariini. 'You will put me in danger.'

kulumika khtomola maazi khatari [st.] 'to bleed by cupping, to take blood out is not permitted (due to the danger, risk involved)'

Malizopoo kujá/ Haaji/ sulile kulawa/ laakini/ chizeele/ chimwaambila/ kulala apo/ masku ayo/ ka khisa ndilaye/ ni khatari. 'When he finished eating, Haaji wanted to leave, but the old woman told him to sleep there that night because his path was dangerous.'

Mbalimo karka khatari niingi. 'I was in great danger.'

Mbalimo khatariini. 'I am in danger.'

munt^hu khatari 'a dangerous person'

ndila ya khatari 'a dangerous road'

ndruuza iwaani ujahli ni khatari [st.] 'my brothers, know that ignorance is dangerous'

Ni eelo/ iló/ shomelo ka khatariini. 'It was the gazelle who came and got us out of danger.'

qalbi/ ichiwa nk^havu ndruuza khatari [st.] 'if the heart is dry (lacking in goodness), my brothers, that is dangerous'

want^hu khatari 'dangerous people'

zijint^hu skhatari 'dangerous (dim.) people'

khati

n. 9/10 [Sw. *hati* SSED 130] letter

Basi/ fijiri/ iyo/ ya sku yaa saba/ mgarwa/ chilawa/ ka numbaani/ naayé/ tukiiló/ khati. 'So on the morning of the seventh day, the fisherman went out from the house [and he] carrying the letter.'

Iyoo khati/ yanziza jis'iyi. 'That letter was begun this way.'

kandikaa khati 'to write a letter'

Khati/ hayandikiki. 'The letter cannot be written.' (Cf. **Khati/ hazandikiki.** 'The letters cannot be written.')

khati ndre 'a long letter'

Khati/ niyandishilé. 'The letter, I wrote it.' (In this example, the left-dislocated object of the verb governs an object marker on the verb, indicating the definiteness of this noun phrase Cf. **Khati/ nandishilé.** 'A letter, I wrote.')

khati ya mahaba 'love letter'

kfungaa khati 'to close a letter (i.e. to seal a letter)'

kfungulaa khati 'to open a letter'

khataa khati 'to receive a letter'

khsomaa khati 'to read a letter'

Mi/ nch^himwandikilaa khati. 'I was writing a letter to him.'

[**Sultaani/ kama oyo/ shfungula** ↑**khatti/ iyo/ chi'isooma/ nt^hakhtila shakka/ ya** ↑**khatti/ ilazile ka waawaye.**] 'The sultan, like that, opened that letter and read it; he did not doubt that the letter had come from his father.' (Phon. In the performance of this sentence in the tale that we recorded, **khati** was particularly emphasized, with gemination of the medial consonant. To our ears, there was no lengthening of the preceding vowel in either instance, even though **khati** is a CVCV word that would ordinarily induce lengthening before it when occurring phrase-final. We suspect that final vowel lengthening does not occur in front of a word that bears such emphasis, but more research is required.)

<i>khati'u tariikhi</i>	n. brigands who stop [lit. cut the road] travelers and rob them Khati'u tariikhi/ ni want^hu wa muḷooni. 'Khati'u tariikhi are people of hellfire.'
<i>khaatibu</i>	n. [Sw. <i>hatibu</i> SSED 130; Ar. <i>kaḥīb</i> W 246] a pious and learned man who preaches the Friday sermon in the mosque variant forms: haatibu, khatiibu Khaatibu/ ḷmilole/ ḷwelee nk^havu. 'The preacher's throat has become hoarse.' Or: Khaatibu/ ḷmilo/ ḷimwelee nk^havu. '[Lit.] The throat became hoarse to the preacher.'
<i>khaatima</i>	n. [Sw. <i>hatima</i> "end, conclusion" SSED 130] end, conclusion kufa yiiko mbele yiiu/ khaatima inalomboowa [st.] 'death awaits us [lit. is in our front], let us pray for a blessed end' (Note the omission of the infinitive prefix from inakulomboowa .) ya nafsi shpata maali hija kahima/ chiiza nt'unayo kheeri nt'una khaatima [st.] 'oh mortal, acquire money (to go for) pilgrimage as soon as possible, otherwise you won't have blessing (if you die without have gone on pilgrimage) and you will not have a (good) end'
<i>khatwa</i>	n. Baaba/ na mamaye mwanaamké/ washkhiirá/ khatwa ya piili/ huwa ni wazaazi/ wa mwiimbili/ kuwatuma wazele/ wa khabiila/ ka wazazi wa mwanaamke. 'When the father and mother of the girl have agreed [to the marriage], the second step becomes for the parents of the boy to send the chiefs of the clan to the parents of the girl.'
<i>khawaafu (ma-)</i>	n. tramp, vagabond, loafer
<i>khawaaja (ma-)</i>	n. [Ar.] gentleman, s.o. who gives himself airs
<i>khayaali</i>	adj. imaginative; n. imagination chint^hu khayaali 's.t. imaginary' munt^hu mwenye khayaali 'a man of imagination'
<i>khazaana</i>	n. 9/10 safe Skumo/ masku/ waant^hu/ wote/ waleeló/ Haaji/ shfungula khazaana/ ya waawaye/ shṭomola peesa/ zote/ ziwaalimó. 'One evening when all the people were asleep, Haaji opened his father's safe and took out all the money that was in it.'
<i>khazina</i>	v. [Ar.] (khaziniile) keep in a safe place
<i>khazna</i>	n. [Ar.] a safe khtila khazna 'to put in a safe'
<i>kheema</i>	n. 9/10,6 [Sw. <i>hema</i> SSED 132; Ar.] tent khema iyi 'this tent' khema izi or makhema aya 'these tents' khemaa nk^hulu 'a big tent, big tents' khemaa nt^hatu 'three tents' makhema masuura 'nice tents' makhema matatu 'three tents'
<i>kheeri</i>	n. good deeds, blessings, health, peace

Huseeni/ chimjiiba/ ka adabu/ kuwa waawaye/ na kheerize. ‘Huseeni answered with good manners that his father had his health.’

Huseeni/ naayé/ shfunga safari/ ye/ na mwanaamke/ wa sultaani/ waa ye/ muzilo ka majini/ chendra naaye/ ka waawaye/ wachiloozanya/ wachi’iisha/ karka kheeri/ na furahá. ‘Huseeni set out on a journey, he and the daughter of the sultan, the one whom he bought from jinns, and he went with her to her father’s; they were married, they lived in peace and happiness.’

Muunt^hu/ uyu/ chimuza Huseeni/ waawo/ na kheerize/so/ Huseeni/ chimjiiba/ waawe/ na kheerize. ‘This man asked Huseeni: your father, does he have his health? Huseeni answered him: my father has his health.’

ndila ya kheeri ‘the road to good deeds, blessings’

kheeri

better

Basi/ mi/ nnakuwoná/ kuwa ni kheeri/ yiitu/ si/ khfuunga/ safari/ kendra mahala/ ije/ itaakuwó. ‘Therefore I think that it is better for us to pack and go any other place that be (other than this place).’

ka kheeri ‘in comfort, comfortably’

Wa’ishiize/ ka kheeri/ ka furaha. ‘They lived together comfortably and happily.’

ka kheeri/ ka fulkheeri ‘with blessings and blessings’

Waliko muke mooyi/ na muḽi mooyi/ walozeenye/ ka kheeri/ ka fulkheeri. ‘A woman and a man married one another with blessings and blessings.’

Karkaa khati/ chaandika/ bwana sultaani/ mi/ apa/ aakhera/ na kheerizá/ na afiyazá. ‘In the letter he wrote: Mr. Sultan, I, here in the hereafter, have my goodness and my health.’

Kheeri/ endra skolaani. ‘Better that you go to school.’

Kheeri/ jaa mazu. ‘It is better for you to eat bananas.’ Or: **Jaa mazu/**

kheeri.

Kheeri/ laala/ haba mooyi. ‘It is better to sleep a little.’

Kheeri/ mi/ chiza kuula. ‘It is better that I not buy (it).’

Kheeri/ mpe Nuuru. ‘(It is) better/ that you give it to Nuuru’ (Notice that **kheeri** does not trigger pseudo-relativization: ***Kheeri/ mpe Nuuru.** is ill-formed.)

Kheeri/ ni/ chiza kuula. ‘It is better for you (pl.) not to buy (it).’

Kheeri/ ni/ suleení. ‘It is better you not buy (it).’

Kheeri/ numba iyi. ‘This house is better.’ Or: **Numba iyi/ kheerí.** ‘It is this house which is better.’

Kheeri/ spiké. ‘It is better you not cook.’

Kheeri/ spikeení. ‘It is better you (pl.) not cook.’ (Note the use here of the second person plural negative imperative. The second person plural negative subjunctive was deemed weird by our consultant GM: ***Kheeri/ sinpiké.**

Kheeri/ stalee mi. ‘It is better that I not take (it).’

Kheeri/ sulee me. ‘It’s better that I not buy (it). Or: **Kheeri/ mi/ suule.**

Kheeri/ suleení. ‘It is better you (pl.) don’t buy (it).’ (Note the use here of the second person plural negative imperative. The second person plural negative subjunctive was deemed weird by our consultant GM: ***Kheeri/ sinuulé.**)

Kheeri/ wasuule. ‘It’s better that they not buy (it).’ (Notice the use of the negative subjunctive after **kheeri** with a third person plural subject.)

Kheeri/ we/ kachiza khtaalá. ‘It is better you did not take (it) out.’ Or: **We/**

↑kheeri/ kachiza khtaalá.

Kheeri/ we/ kachiza kuulá. ‘It is better that you did not buy (it).’ Or: **We/**

↑kheeri/ kachiza kuulá.

Kheeri/ we/ suulé. ‘Better that you not buy (it).’ (Notice that although this is an environment in which a subjunctive (affirmative or negative) appears, the second person singular form uses the final accent associated with the negative imperative. One cannot say ***suule.**)

Kheeri/ weené. ‘[Lit.] did you see happiness? -- In Brava, the community kept very close social relations; relatives, friends, neighbours, and acquaintances were expected to share their joys and their sad moments and to show their participation by visiting each other on

many occasions, which were all considered (**waajibu**), i.e. social duties, particularly so by women. When one heard about the arrival of a relative or guest in another household, a visit would be required (even when the newcomer was unknown to the visitors). On this occasion the greeting (by the visitor) is: **Kheeri/ weené**. The obligatory reply is: **Attá/ mbele mnené** (plural: **Attá/ chivele wanené**.) ‘Lit. I (we) even became fat.’

Nuuru/ kheeri/ kaajá. ‘It would have been better if Nuuru had eaten.’ Or: **Kheeri/ Nuuru/ kaajá**.

Nuuru/ kheeri/ kajaa mazú. ‘It would have been better if Nuuru had eaten bananas.’ Or: **Kheeri/ Nuuru/ kajaa mazú**.

Sultaani/ shfurahaa ntʰo/ kumwona mwanaamkewe/ umo karka kheeri.

‘The sultan rejoiced very much to see that his daughter was in good condition.’

Waawo/ na maamó/ naawó/ wana kheri zaawo/ wana afiya zaawo.

‘Your father and your mother also have their goodness, have their health.’

kheyraati n. pl.

khibra n. experience

Abunawaasi/ we/ ni muuntʰú/ mwenye aqlí/ muntʰu nayo khibrá/ na maʼarifá. ‘Abunawaasi, you are a man possessing intelligence, a man having experience and knowledge.’

Saʼiidi/ pete khibra/ niingi/ na zimzidiḷḷe akhili. ‘Saʼiidi gained experience and wits increased to him.’

khiḍa v. (**khiḍiile**) reach a goal

Fulaani/ khiḍiile haajaye/ yolokeleele. ‘So-and-so reached his goal and then left.’

khiḍa haaja ‘to achieve, resolve a need’

Khiḍiile haajaye. ‘He achieved his need.’

Wachondroka/ washkhiḍa haja zaawo/ chimaliza/ washkalantʰaa

kuja. ‘They woke up and washed [lit. did the necessary things] and then sat down to eat.’

rel.

khiḍoowa v. pass.

Inakukhiḍowa haaja. ‘The need is being resolved, achieved.’ (Morph.

Although Mohammad Imam did not employ the infinitive prefix **ku** in front of a stem beginning with **kh** or **q**, in the speech of Gelani Mohammed the **ku** may be retained.)

khilaafana v. rec. (**-khilafeene**) disagree with one another

khilaafu n. difference of opinion, friction, misunderstanding

Ntʰamu khilaafu/ kati kiitu. ‘There is no friction among us.’

Yimo khilaafu/ kati kawo. ‘There is friction among them.’

khiira v. [Sw. **kiri** SSED 205] (**khiriile**) agree, accept, acknowledge, admit, confess

Abubakari/ khiriile kumuḷiḷa Nuuru/ gaari. ‘Abubakari has agreed to buy a car for Nuuru.’ Or with verb focus: **Abubakari/ khiriile/ kumuḷiḷa Nuuru/ gaari**. Or with pronominal subject in lower clause: **Abubakari/ khiriile/ ye/ kumuḷiḷa Nuuru/ gaari**. ‘Abubakari agreed he to buy a car for Nuuru.’ Or with pronominal repetition in main clause subject position: **Abubakari/ ye/ khiriile/ kumuḷiḷa Nuuru/ gaari**. Observe the unacceptability of phrasing pronominal with main verb: ***Abubakari/ khiriile ye/ kumuḷiḷa Nuuru/ gaari**.

Ali/ khiriile kooloka. ‘Ali agreed to go.’

Ali/ khiriile kuwaa ye/ waliko chineema. ‘Ali admitted that he was at the cinema.’

Asadi/ khiriile/ mi/ kumuḷiḷa Nuuru/ gaari. ‘Asadi agreed for me to buy a car for Nuuru.’ (The pronominal subject of the lower clause, when it is not co-referential with the subject of the

main clause, may be phrased together with the higher verb: **Asadi/ khiriile mi/ kumulila Nuuru/ gaari.** ‘Asadi agreed for me to buy a car for Nuuru.’

Attá/ leelo/ mwanaa masultaani/ hakhiiri/ ba/ kuja. ‘Until one day, the child of sultans was not eating [lit. was not accepting to eat].’

Baaba/ chimwaambila/ kuwaa ye/ tampa/ yaa ye/ nakhsuuló/ kamaa ye/ shkhira khkalant^ha numbaani. ‘Father told him that he would give him anything that he wanted if he agreed to remain at home.’

Chikhaambila/ kuwaa ye/ nakhsula khuloola/ we/ tamkhiira.

Hakhiiri/ ni maali. (A proverb.)

Ka isa/ mi/ jawabu ^{iy}o/ (mi/) **akhiriile.** ‘As of now, that matter I accept.’

(Note that GM elides the first person singular subject marker in front of *kh*)

khira ðambi ‘to confess a misdeed’

Khiriile ðambize. ‘He confessed his sins.’

Khiriile kula gaari. ‘He agreed to buy a car.’ (Syn. This verb may have an infinitival complement if the subject of the complement is identical to the subject of *khiira*. **It is ungrammatical to say: *Khiriile**

Muusa/ kula gaari. ‘He agreed for Muusa to buy a car.’) **recheck this claim**

Khiriile kuwa Muusa/ ni mwalimu msuura. ‘He agreed that Muusa is a good teacher.’

khira makosa ‘to accept one’s mistakes’

khira ziwovu ‘to confess wrongdoings

khiraani Mooja wiitu kuwa waahidi [st.] ‘you (pl.) accept that our God is only one’; variant: **kumkhiira Mooja wiitu kuwa waahidi/ na**

Mhamadi ni mtumewe ni shaahidi [st.] ‘(the first pillar is) to believe that (our) God is One and Muhammad is His Prophet and witness’

Mi/ **akhiriile.** ‘I accepted.’

Mweenza/ **akhiriile/ kuwa mukeewe.** ‘My friend, I agree to be his wife.’

Mzeele/ shkhiira. ‘The old man agreed (to the proposal).’

Nkhiriile/ kula nuumba. ‘I agreed to buy the house.’ Or: **Nkhiriile/**

nuumba/ kuula. Or: **Nuumba/ kuula/ **akhiriile.**** Or: **Nuumba/ **akhiriile/ kuula.****

Nkhiriile kumpa Nuuru/ peesa. ‘I agreed to give Nuuru money. Or:

Nkhiriile/ kumpa Nuuru/ peesa. ‘I agreed to give Nuuru money.’

Or, with focus on **Nuuru: Nkhiriile kumpa Nuuru/ peesa.** ‘I agreed to give *Nuuru* money.’ Or with emphasis on infinitive complement verb: **Nkhiriile kumpa/ Nuuru/ peesa.** ‘I agreed to give Nuuru money.’

Nkhiriile kumpa Nuuru/ peesa/ keesho. ‘I agreed to give Nuuru money.’

(Notice that the time adverbial typically is outside the scope of the

final accent triggered by the first person verb. If final accent does extend to the adverbial, then the adverbial is being focused: **Nkhiriile kumpa Nuuru/ peesa/ keesho.** Cf. the case where the verb is focused: **Nkhiriile/ kumpa Nuuru/ peesa/ keesho.**)

Nkhiriile) kula nuumba. ‘I agreed to buy a house.’ Or: **Nkhiriile/ nuumba/ kuula.**

Nnakhsula khiiri. ‘I want to accept.’

N^hanakhsula/ khira ðambize. ‘He does not want to confess his sins.’

Oloka/ mwaambile/ kuwaa mi/ nimkhiriile. ‘Go and tell him that I accept him (in marriage).’

Omari/ khiriile kumpa Nuuru/ peesa. ‘Omari agreed to give Nuuru money.’ Or: **Omari/ khiriile/ kumpa Nuuru/ peesa.**

Omari/ khiriile Muusa/ kumulila Nuuru/ gaari. ‘Omari agreed for Muusa to buy a car for Nuuru.’

Omari/ khiriile/ Nuuru/ kumpa Hasani/ peesa. ‘Omari agreed to Nuuru giving Hasani money.’

Shkhiiriile kuwa sh^takendra numbaani/ ba’adi ya chineemá. ‘We agreed that we would go home after the movie.’

Sho khiira/ khshindroowa/ si mshindraani. ‘The one who does not accept being beaten is not a fighter.’ (A proverb.)

Sukhuuni/ baaba/ chimpataa muke/ khiriilo khkala na mwaanawé. ‘At

the market father found a woman who agreed to live with his child.’

Sultaani/ wa karaayle/ chimjiiba/ kuwaa ye/ siwo/ takhiiró/ mambo ayo.

‘The king of the crows answered that he would not agree to this proposal [lit. these matters].’ (The use of the pseudo-relative

form **takhiiró** in this example is not one that we have encountered elsewhere in MI’s speech, but both the final vowel *o* and the final accent indicate clearly that the verb has been cast into a relative form. However, the fact that the verb is at the end of a phonological phrase and final accent does not extend past this phrase to **mambo ayo** clearly indicates a pseudo-relative verb rather than a true relative clause. Remember, true relatives are not subject to the Accentual Law of Focus while pseudo-relative verbs are.)

Wote/ washkhiira. ‘All of them agreed.’

rel.

khiirika v. p/s.

khiirila v. appl. (**khiriile**) permit, authorize

Muusa/ mkhuriile Ali/ kula gaari. ‘Muusa authorized Ali to buy a car.’

Omari/ mkhuriile Muusa/ kumwulila Nuuru/ gaari. ‘Omari permitted Muusa to buy a car for Nuuru.’

Omari/ mkhuriile Nuuru/ keendra. ‘Omari permitted Nuuru to go.’

Omari/ mkhuriile Nuuru/ kumpa Hasani/ peesa. ‘Omari allowed Nuuru to give Hasani money.’

khiriioowa v. appl. pass. (**khiriila**) be permitted, allowed

Ye/ hatá/ chaakuja/ chisuura/ nt^hanakhiriioowa. ‘He is not even allowed good food.’

khiirisha v. caus. (**khirishiize**) make someone accept

khirishana v. caus. rec.

khirishika v. caus. p/s.

khirishiliza v. caus. appl.

khirishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

khiirsisha v. caus. (**khirsishiize**) make someone confess (Morph: The *s* element in this example seems to be based on a *s* element in the Somali verbal system.)

khירוowa v. pass. (**khiriila**) be accepted

Zibuuku/ skhiriila/ khpishoowa. ‘Books were agreed to be burned.’ Or:

Zibuuku/ khpishoowa/ skhiriila./ Or: Skhiriila/ khpishoowa/ zibuuku. Or: Khpishoowa/ skhuriila/ zibuuku. (The variant word-orders were volunteered by GM. They do not represent *all* the word orders/phrasings possible.)

khisa

because

We/ nakhsula kump^helekaa mi/ kufa/ tu/ khisa/ we/ na’iwa/ kuwaa mi/ siwo/ dakhtari/ walá/ siisi/ khfanyiliza waant^hu/ dawa. ‘You just want to send me to die, because you know that I am not a doctor and neither do I know how to treat people medically.’

khitaamu

n. complete; the last (cf. **khaatima**)

ilu ya mtume mustafa salaamu/ khitaamu shteenzi cha sala timaamu [st.]

‘upon the Prophet, the chosen, be peace; the end of the poem of prayers is complete’

ya mitume yote ndiye khitaamu =[st.] ‘of all the prophets he is the last’

khyaalisha

v. (**khialishiize**) imagine

Khialishize kuwaa ye/ takhfungoowa. ‘He imagined that he would be imprisoned.’

khyaama

n. [Sw. *kiyama* "the general resurrection of the dead as conceived by Muhammadans" SSED 213] the hereafter

khyaana

n. 9/10 (cf. **khaa’ini**) [Ar. *kīyāna* W 266] trick, deceit, betrayal, treason, cheating, falseness, treachery, deception, breach of faith

khfanya khiyaana ‘to betray, cheat’

- Ni khiyaana/ nk^hulu.** ‘It is a big betrayal.’
rel.
u-khiyaana n. betrayal
- khiyaansata** v. (**khiyanseete**) cheat, betray, deceive’
We/ nkhiyanseet_é. ‘You deceived me.’
rel.
khiyansatika v. p/s. be betrayed, cheated
- khiyaari** n. [Ar.] choice
huvuunda milaango wanaayo khiyaari [nt.] ‘they break doors at their will’
khkoða ka khiyaari ‘to speak voluntarily, freely’
We/ nayo khiyaari/ khkooða/ kuhada/ yaa ye/ nakhsuuló. ‘You have the right to say whatever you want to say.’
Nt^haná/ khiyaari. ‘He has no choice.’
- khiyaarisha** v. caus. (**khiyarishiize**) give a choice
- khiyaasi** n. measurement, estimation
khiyasi gani ‘how many?’
- khiza** v. [Sw. *hizi* SSED 135; Ar.] (**khiziize**) disgrace, curse
- khizaaya** n. [Sw. *hizaya* SSED 135; Ar.] disgrace, curse
- khoofa** v. [Sw. *hofu* SSED 135; Ar.] (**khofeele**) fear
rel.
khofoowa v. pass.
Siimba/ mba khofoowa. ‘A lion is something to be afraid of.’
- khoofu** n. [Sw. *hofu* SSED 135; Ar.] fear
khshika khoofu ‘to be gripped by fear’
Laakini/ Sa’iidi/ imfanyiize/ khoofu/ chimwaambila/ mi/ skhaadiri/ khpanda mloongoti/ uyu/ ka khisa/ ni mweembaamba/ hawunkhaadiri/ kunt^hukula. ‘But Sa’iidi was seized by fear and he told her, I am not able to climb this mast because it is (too) thin and cannot carry me.’
khtilowa khoofu ‘to be frightened by’
Waant^hu/ watila khoofu/ na saahera. ‘People were frightened by the witch.’
khtila khoofu ‘to frighten [lit. instill fear]’
Saahera/ watile waant^hu/ khoofu. ‘The witch frightened people.’
kingilowa na khoofu ‘to be afraid [lit. to be entered by fear]’
Nuuru/ ingila na khoofu. ‘Nuuru was afraid.’
kingila khoofu ‘to be afraid [lit. enter fear]’
Nuuru/ imwingile khoofu. ‘Nuuru was afraid.’
kuwanayo khoofu ‘to fear’
Siná/ faza’a/ siná/ khoofu. ‘I have neither fear nor dread.’
- khookha** v. [cf. Som. *qooq* ‘to be sexually aroused, said of an animal’] (**khokheele**) become arrogant; become sexually aroused (but not by virtue of direct sexual stimulation)
Muunt^hu/ shkookha/ hukabilowaa muke. ‘If a man becomes sexually active, he should be added/ given a wife.’ (A proverb.)
rel.
khookhisha v. caus. (**khokhishiize**)
Ji/ mkhokhishize mwaana. ‘Ji caused the child to become

	arrogant.’
	<i>khokhishana</i> v. caus. rec.
	<i>khokhishika</i> v. caus. p/s.
	<i>khokhishiliza</i> v. caus. appl.
	<i>khokhishilizanya</i> v. caus. appl. rec.
<i>khookhi</i>	n. arrogance; adj. arrogant kuwa khookhi ‘to be arrogant’ Wele khookhi. ‘He is arrogant.’ Ni munt^hu khookhi. ‘He is an arrogant person.’
<i>khookhisha</i>	v. caus. (khokhishiize) make haughty, proud, arrogant
<i>i-kholi</i>	n. palm leaf bag Ka jis’iyo/ wachimfanyiliza ikholi/ wachimtila katiike/ wachimtukula. ‘For [doing] that, they made a mat-bag, and they put her in it, and they carried her.’ khshoma ikholi ‘to stitch together a palm bag’ kh^htukula ka ikholi ‘to carry with a palm bag’
<i>i-kholoofu (mi-)</i>	n. 5/4 the outer covering of s.t. (like the shell of an animal) ikholofu yaa mazu ‘the cover of a banana
<i>kholow</i>	ideo. [Som. <i>qolow</i>] of the ringing of the bells on a camel’s yoke Ikora (y)a ngamiila/ inakula/ kholow kholow. ‘The yoke of the camel is crying kholow kholow. ’
<i>khoomu</i>	n. community, tribe, society, group of people Oyo/ ni khomu Luuti. ‘That one is a homosexual (i.e. a member of the tribe of Lot).’
<i>khora</i>	v. (khoreele) scratch khora khalamu ‘to sharpen a pencil’ rel. khoreka v. p/s. be scratched; grow thin Mkonowe/ ukhoreshele. ‘My arm is scratched.’ Sku izi/ oyo/ nakhoreka/ tu. ‘These days that one is just getting thinner and thinner.’
<i>khoreka</i>	v. lose weight, get, grow thin Sku izi/ oyo/ nakhoreka/ tu. ‘These days that one is just getting thinner and thinner.’
<i>khori</i>	n. [Som. <i>qor</i> “wood or object made of wood” DSI 502] (colloquial) gun, rifle. khori AK ‘an AK gun’ khori/ M16 ‘an M16 rifle’ Omari/ tukilee khori/ M16. ‘Omari is carrying an M16 rifle.’ khori owtomatik ‘an automatic gun’ kumbiga kaa khori ‘to shoot s.o.’ Ali/ mbishile Omari/ kaa khori. ‘Ali shot (lit. hit) Omari with a gun.’ Tukilee khori. ‘He is carrying a gun.’ Tuuma/ uzilee khori/ ka Omari. ‘Tuuma bought a gun from Omari.’ Tuuma/ uzile khori ya Omari. ‘Tuuma bought Omari’s gun.’ Or: Tuuma/ uzilee khori/ ya Omari. Or: Tuuma/ uzile Omari/ khoriye.
<i>khoori</i>	n. [Som. <i>khoori</i> "gulf, bay, canal" DSI 367] lagoon or deep waters Khoori/ imteete. ‘Deep water took him – i.e. he drowned.’ mayi khoori ‘deep water’

	Potele khoriiini. ‘He fell in deep water.’
khoowamu	n. crowd
khpala	n. padlock, lock khpala ya baaskiili ‘bicycle lock’ Khpala ya mlaango/ iboozela. ‘The lock of the door was stolen.’ kubiga khpala ‘to lock’ Bishile khpala. ‘He locked up.’
ku-khtari’a	v. (with an initial <i>i</i> vowel in the past: ikḥtari’iile) invent
khṭima	n. a reading of the Quran by a group of people for a specific purpose khfanya khṭima ‘to perform khṭima ’ khsoma khṭima ‘to read the Quran in its entirety’
-khu-	second person singular object prefix Adabu/ inakhuṭoshe. ‘Behave [lit. good manners should suffice you].’ Basi/ chimwaambila/ nini/ ikhuleselo apá. ‘So he asked her: what brought you here?’ Basi/ mp^ha riyali mooyi/ naami/ nt^hakhupikila chaakuja/ na nt^hakhupa/ mahala/ yaa we/ kulaala. ‘Well, give me one riyal and I will cook food for you and I will give you a place where you can sleep.’ chikhaambila/ kuwaa ye/ nakhsula khuloola ‘if he were to say to you that he wants to marry you’ Chaakuja/ chikhufuṭiile. ‘You missed a lot of food [lit. food missed you]!’ khuja ‘to eat you’ Habba/ow wiingi/ waṭakhukahata. ‘Few or many will hate you.’ khupashilo waandrá ‘the one who has applied makeup (special black makeup applied only to eyelashes and eyelids) to you’ Maambo/ yakhufuṭiiló. ‘What excitement you missed!’ Mi/ siná/ chaakuja/ cha khupaa we. ‘I have no food to give you.’ Mi/ skhaadiri/ khupa peesa. ‘I am not able to give you money.’ Nakhuwona. ‘He sees you.’ Nk^ha’oloká/ sula khuwona. ‘If I went, I would see you.’ Siná/ unga wa khufanyiliza baskuuti. ‘I do not have flour with which to make cookies for you.’ Sikhupi. ‘I will not give it to you.’ Wakhuloosele. ‘They dreamed about you.’ Waant^hu/ awo/ wachiruuda/ waṭakhutukula/ khupeleka muyiini/ khufanya sultaani. ‘When those people return, they will carry you to town to make you sultan.’ Yachikhupata/ waant^hu/ wotte/ huhuzunika. ‘When it gets you. All people become sad.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is marāḍi ‘sickness’.)
khubura	v. [Sw. <i>hubiri</i> SSED 121; Ar.] (khuburiile) inform Awa wa mwiisho/ naawó/ hukhubura wazele waawo. ‘The latter [i.e. the parents of the bride-to-be] then inform their clan elders.’ Basi/ chilawa/ chendra ka mukeewe/ chimkhubura. ‘So he left and went to his wife and informed her.’ Chimkhubura kuwaa ye/ mereḷa na muḷi. ‘She informed him that she was being sought for marriage by a man.’ Chimkhubura mweenzawe/ maskiini/ kuwa uko ndilaani/ ni waziri wa sultaani. ‘He informed his friend the poor man that the one who was outside was the minister of the sultan.’ Endrá/ mkhubure. ‘Go and inform him!’ Hasani/ mkhuburile Omari/ tarafu ya matezo. ‘Hasani informed Omari about the game.’ (Cf. Nimkhuburile Omari tarafu ya matezó. ‘I

informed Omari about the game.’)

Hasani/ nkhuburīle jawabuu mbovu. ‘Hasani informed me of the bad news.’ Or: **Hasani/ nkhuburīlee mi/ jawabuu mbovu.**

Mkulu/ wa makhaadimu/ oloshelopo ka usinziziini/ chiwona kuwa nt^heendre/ zijiila/ ye/ shfakaṭa/ chimkhubura mwaana. ‘When the chief of the servants awoke from sleep and saw that the dates had been eaten, he ran and informed the boy.’

Mtumishi/ cheendra/ chimkhubura mmamulaṭaa nt^hi. ‘The servant went and informed the caretaker of the land.’

Muke/ chimkhubura Sa’iidi/ mambo yotté/ yaṭamitiló/ keeshó. ‘The woman informed Sa’iidi of all the mishaps that would afflict him tomorrow.’ (Phon. The final accent in the phrase **mambo yotte** is not understood at present. In the course of our investigation, there were other cases where the head of a relative clause received final accent, though the more typical case was for the head to have default accent.)

Mwanaamke/ wa sulṭaani/ wenopo zimpeto Hasani/ shṭukulika maraa piili/ cheenda/ ka waawaye/ chimkhubura/ jisa Hasani/ nakhfanyoowa. ‘The daughter of the sultan, when she saw what had befallen Hasani, she took herself a second time to her father and informed him how Hasani was being treated.’

Nakhukhuburá/ (kuwa) Omari/ nt^hanakuuya/ numbaani. ‘I am informing you that Omari is not coming to the house.’ Or with emphasis on **Omari**: **Nakhukhubura kuwa Omari/ nt^hanakuuya/ numbaani.**

Nakhukhubura kuwa Omari/ ṭakuya numbaani. ‘I am informing you that Omari will come home.’ (Phon. The main verb here is one that triggers final accent. Observe that it is quite natural for this accent to extend to the end of the complement clause, provided there is no interfering focus/emphasis.)

Rudile muyiini/ khubura weenzawe. ‘He returned to the town to inform his friends (of what he had found).’

Waawé/ siná/ wakhtī/ walá/ sinakuwona/ kuwa mi suura/ kinkhubura kaa khaṭi/ stulushilo apá. ‘Father, I do not have time nor do I think that it is good to inform you by letter what has happened here.’ (Morph. Observe that in **kinkhubura**, the speaker uses the plural form of the second person object prefix when addressing her father.)

Yaasini/ mkhuburīle Hamadi/ koḏi ziitu. ‘Yaasini informed Hamadi as to what we spoke about [lit. our words].’

rel.

khuburika v. p/s.

Hamadi/ hakhuburiki chiint^hu. ‘Hamadi cannot be told anything (e.g. he will not keep anything a secret).’

Koḏi izi/ haskhuburiki waant^hu. ‘These matters are not anything you can tell people about.’

khuburisha v. caus. (-**khuburishiize**) cause s.o. to spread news

Jaabiri/ khurubishize kooḏi. ‘Jaabiri caused the news to spread.’

Jaabiri/ mkhurubishize Yaasini/ kooḏi. ‘Jaabiri caused Yaasini to spread the news (to people).’

khurubishana v. caus. rec.

khurubishika v. caus. p/s.

khurubishiliza v. caus. appl.

khurubishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

khuruboowa v. pass.

Hamadi/ khurubiḷa koḏi ziitu. ‘Hamadi was informed about what we said [lit. our words].’ (Syn. Note that one cannot have **kooḏi** as the subject of the passive sentence: ***Koḏi ziitu/**

skhuburila Hamadi. ‘Our words were reported to Hamadi.’)

- khudaari** "greens"] n. [Ar. **kudāra** "greens, vegetables" pl. of **kudāra** W 243; also Ar. **kadāra** vegetables]
- khudra** n. vegetables
- khuduru** only recorded in the following example:
Mi/ siwo/ aduwi/ nakhumero khuduru. ‘I am not an enemy who seeks to harm you.’
- khudurunji** n. [Sw. **hudhurungi** SSED 136; Ar.] yellowish brown
- khudra** n. fate
Ijtihaadi/ hayoondroli/ khudra. ‘Effort cannot undo fate.’ (A proverb.)
- khuduma** v. [Sw. **hudumu** SSED 122; Ar.] serve s.o.
kumkhuduma mwaana ‘to serve the child’
Sultaani/ shkumaanganya/ watumawe/ wataanawe/ na ma’askariwé/ na kila/ chimkhudumó/ ye/ chiwa’ambila/ wo/ kumtii’a/ sultani waawo/ mpiya. ‘The sultan gathered together his servants, his slaves, and his soldiers, and each one who served him, he told them to obey their new sultan.’
- rel.
khudumila v. appl. (**khudumijiile**)
khudumisha v. caus. (**khudumishiize**)
- khufu** n. socks
jogi ya khufu ‘a pair of socks’
khufu ya mkono ‘glove [lit. sock of the hand]’
Laazimu/ kuumisha/ khufuzo/ nt^hasaa we/ kuvaala. ‘You have to dry out your socks before wearing them.’
- khula** n. [cf. Som. **quluc**] calabash (a pumpkin dried in the sun and then emptied) for carrying liquids
Maamaye/ chimfanyiliza/ mikate/ saba/ chimpa naa khulá/ ya maayi/ na izijé/ shilingi thalathiini/ za sultaani/ mpeeló. ‘His mother made seven cakes for him and gave him as well a container of water and those thirty shillings that the sultan had given him.’ (Phon. The prosody of this example is a bit intricate. In the phrase **chimpa naa khulá**, it is the conjunction **na** that triggers final accent. The **na+NP** construction used here conveys the meaning ‘NP also’. The final accents in **na izijé/ shilingi thalathiini** are also triggered by the conjunction **na**, which here is used in its ordinary sense of ‘and’. The final accent in **mpeeló** is, of course, the final accent associated with a relative clause.)
Qaribu ya mishpa/ iwalikoo khula/ nt^hupu/ na khamdí/ katiike/ iwalimo shtupa cha daawa/ na mbarakhá. ‘Near the bones was an empty calabash and a leather bag in which there was a bottle of ink and sheets of paper.’
- khulaamu** n. [Som. **qulaan**; Hindi **gulaam**] jack (in a deck of cards); [**khulaamú**]
- khumoowa** (khumiila) faint, lose consciousness v. pass. [Sw. **ghumia**, but pass. verb **ghumiwa** used in same sense SSED 115; Ar.]
Diini/ ka chinaho/ na shtiishó/ shkumoowa. ‘Diini, because of fright and fear, fainted.’
Naayé/ shtuluka/ shkhumoowa. ‘And he fell down and fainted.’

- Omari/ khumiila.** ‘Omari fainted.’
Waliko tulushile/ khumiila. ‘He had fallen down and fainted.’
- khumusi** n. [Sw. *humusi* SSED 137; Ar.] a fifth part
- khuungula** v.
Na nt^haykhuungula/ ila/ ba’ada ya sku. ‘And it did not stop raining except after some days.’
- khuuni** n. [Som. *qun* DSI 505] tonsils
Hamadi/ khuunize/ zimfuriile. ‘Hamadi’s tonsils are swollen.’
Hamadi/ nayo maraōi ya khuuni. ‘Hamadi has tonsilitis (lit. disease of the tonsils).’
- kḥinda khuuni** ‘to cut the tonsils – i.e. perform tonsilectomy’
kḥindowa khuuni ‘to be cut the tonsils – i.e. to undergo tonsilectomy’
Omari/ nakḥindowa khuuni (or: **mikhuuni**). ‘Omari is having a tonsillectomy.’
Sheekhi/ nazo khuuni. ‘Sheekhi has tonsils – i.e. his tonsils are swollen, he has tonsilitis.’
- rel.
mi-khuuni n. pl.
Mikhuuni/ yanakunlaaza. ‘My tonsils are hurting me.’
Omari/ nayo mikhuuni. ‘Omari had tonsillitis.’
- khunsuli** (*ma-*) n. counsel
- khuntha** n. [Sw. *huntha* SSED 138; Ar.] hermaphrodite
- khura** [Sw. *kura* SSED 231; Ar.] in the phrase:
kubigaa khura [Sw. *piga kura*] ‘to ask the cards; to toss a coin (in order to decide a matter)’
- khuraafaati** n. [Ar. *kurāfa*, pl. *kurāfāt* "superstition, fable, fairy tale" W 235] myth etc.
- khursaṭa** v. lose all hope
Nimkhurseṭé/ maanawa. ‘I lost all hope for my child.’ (Our consultant preferred to phrase the verb separately. The phrasing:
Nimkhurseṭe maanawá. Was judged to be appropriate as an answer to the question: **Mkhurseṭe naani/ we.** ‘Whom did you give up all hope for?’)
Nkhurseṭé. ‘I gave up all hope.’
Osmaani/ mkhurseṭe/ maanawe. ‘Osmaani lost all hope for his child.’
- rel.
khursaṭoowa v. pass.
Ka mojiitu/ ha’ikhursaṭoowi/ chiint^u. ‘For God there is nothing for which there is no hope.’
Naharisi/ ha’ikhursaṭoowi/ ka mojiitu. ‘Mercy from God is never given up on.’ (A proverb.)
- khusa** v. [Ar. *xaṣṣa* W 240] (**khusiize**) concern, be about
Hayinkhusi. ‘It does not concern me/ you.’ (Phon. Although our orthography does not distinguish these two different meanings, the pronunciation is in fact different. The second person plural object prefix is realized as a coronal sound that is unassimilated to **kh** whereas the first person object prefix assimilates the point of articulation of **kh**.)
Hayshkhusi/ si/ keendra/ kumera peesa/ kuwapelekela. ‘It does not concern us to go and look for money to send to them.’
Koōi izi/ hunkhusa. ‘These words are about me.’
- rel.
khusana v. be concerned with
Taliile/ mooḍu’u/ hukhusano na iqṭiisaadī. ‘He chose a topic concerning

the economy.’

khushuu’ata

v. (**khushu’ete**) be humble (in a religious context); be immersed in prayers
Mambiile/ nuumba/ inakhushuu’ata/ inakusifila mojiitu. ‘He told him that the house [was shaking because it] was humbling itself, praising God.’

khushuu’u

n. immersement in prayers
shkosi na moongo liinganya khusuu’u [st.] ‘the neck and the back should be level during the immersement in prayer’

khuusi

v. [Som. **quus** ‘to submerge oneself in water, to dive’] in the expression:
kingila khuusi ‘to dive’
kubiga khuusi ‘to dive’
Ingile khuusi/ maraa mbili. ‘He dived in twice.’
Waank^hulá/ hingila khuusi/ chilawa/ ndrevuze/ huwa nelpe. ‘My grandfather dives (into water) and when he emerges, his beard becomes white.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **mwiiko**, a wooden spoon used for stirring food, especially **zijo**, which is white and usually sticks to the **mwiiko**.)

khusuuma

n. antagonism, hostility
Kani/ we/ nayo khusuumá. ‘Why do you have enmity (towards me)?’
Yim khusuuma/ kati kaawo. ‘There is enmity between them.’

khuuti

n. food
khu_{ti} ya waana ‘food for children’
khu_{ti} ya wazele ‘food for old people’
kumera khu_{ti}/ yoomu ‘to search for one’s daily food’

khu_t(u)ba

n. 9/10 speech

Breshnev/ leelo/ karka khu_tbaye/ wa’ambiile/ marusi/ ya kuwa...ba’ada/ ya miyaaka/ miwili/ ruusya/ takhshiindra/ natakhpita/ ameerika/ ka killa chiint^hu. ‘Brezhnev today in his speech told the Russians that after two years Russian will surpass and overtake America in all things.’

khsoma khu_tuba ‘to read a speech’
Omari/ tarjumile khu_tba ya Hamadi. ‘Omari interpreted Hamadi’s speech (from one language into another).’
Omari/ tarjumile khu_tba ya Hamadi/ ka chingereenza. ‘Omari translated Hamadi’s speech into English.’

khu_tuba

v. [Sw. **hutuba** "read the Koran publicly, preach, give an address" SSED 130; Ar.] give a speech (either religious or political in nature)

Ali/ khu_tubiile. ‘Ali gave a speech.’
Karka Suuqu/ Mush_taraki/ mkulu wa Suuqu/ Mush_taraki/ khu_tubiile. ‘At the Common Market, the head of the Common Market gave a speech.’

Waziiri/ wa maali/ karka Itaalya/ bishila iluuma/ leelo/ mukhta_a ye/ shkhu_tubó. ‘The minister of finance in Italy was hit on the head today when he was giving a speech.’

rel.

khu_tubika v. p/s.

khu_tubila v. appl.

Chiwakumaanganya/ waant^hu/ chiwakhu_tubila. ‘He gathered the people together and delivered a speech to them.’

khu_tubisha v. caus. (**khu_tubishiize**)

Baana/ mkhu_tubishize maana. ‘Baana had the child give a speech.’

khu_tubishika v. caus. p/s.

khutubishana v. caus. rec.

khutubishiliza v. caus. appl. (**khutubishiliize**)

Baana/ mkhutubishilize Muusa/ maana. 'Baana had Muusa's child give a speech.'

khutubishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. (**-khutubishilizeenye**)

Baana/ na Muusa/ wakhutubishilizenye waana. 'Baana and Muusa had one another's children give speeches.'

u-ki

n. 14 [Sw. *uki* SSED 493] honey

Iyele uki. 'It (a hole) was filled with honey.'

Monda uki/ haakosi/ konda teena. 'The one who tastes honey never fails to taste it again.' (A proverb.)

Rashaa nyoki/ ja uki. 'Follow bees and you will eat honey.' (A proverb.)

ukiwa 'my honey'

Uyelo mtuungi/ ni uki. 'That which filled the clay pot was honey.'

Watunzilopó/ wachiwona/ iboholi/ kama chisima/ na iyele uki. 'When they dug, they found a hole like a well and it was filled with honey.'

kibri

n. arrogance, pride; adj. arrogant; someone who cannot tolerate insults, insinuations, criticism, and becomes easily agitated even to the point of physical violence; [pron. **kibri** or **kibri**]

akhuaaniza lataani niingi kibri [st.] 'my brothers, abandon excessive pride'

khfanya kibri 'to be arrogant, to show off'

Kibri/ siwo/ sifa za mluungana. 'Arrogance is not an attribute of an intelligent person.'

mwenye kibri 'one who has arrogance'

Ye/ ka kibriize/ tosheeze/ ruuhuye/ kuwaa ye/ milkile duniya/ nzimaye. 'He, out of arrogance, believed that he himself owned the world in its entirety.'

u-kibri n. 14 arrogance

Ka sababu iyo/ ye/ peelee/ ruuhuye/ ina/ ya ukibri. 'Because of that, he gave himself the name Arrogance.'

kiöbu

n. 10 lies

fitina na kiöbu zotte haraamu [st.] 'creating discord and lies are all unlawful sins'

Koöle kiöbu. 'He told lies.'

mwenye kiöbu niingi 'one who tells many lies'

Omari/ ha'isi/ kiöbu. 'Omari does not tell lies (lit. does not know lies).'

Omari/ hukoöa kiöbu. 'Omari tells lies.'

rel.

u-kiöbu n. lies

Omari/ hukoöa ukiöbu. 'Omari tells lies.'

kh-kiöiba

v. (**kiöibiile**) deny the truth of what someone says

Muunt^hu/ siwo/ suura/ kumkiöiba meenzawe. 'It is not good for a person to deny the truth of what his friend says.'

Omari/ kiöibiile/ jawabu iyo. 'Omari denied the truth of that matter.'

rel.

kh-kiöibana v. rec. (**-kiöibeene**) contradict one another

Fikhiriini/ na Nureeni/ wakiöibeene. 'Fikhiriini and Nureeni contradicted one another.' Or: **Fikhiriini/ kiöibene na Nureeni.** 'Fikhiriini contradicted Nureeni.'

kh-kiöiboowa v. pass.

Muunt^hu siwo/ suura/ khkiöiboowa. 'It is not good for a person to be contradicted (the truth of what he is saying to be denied).'

rel. nom.

m-kiöibo n. 3

u-kiöibo n. 14 lies

sh-kifari (s-)

n. 7/8 a small metal piece linking two things (e.g. clothing, belt)
l̥kaandra/ n̥ʰalná/ shkifari. ‘The belt does not have a metal joiner.’
skifari cha l̥kaandra ‘belt joinings, fasteners, connectors’

kh-kifila

v. [Ar. *kafala* W 833] (**kifil̥iile**) stand surety, sponsor, support, protect
Moj̥itu/ nashkifila awo/ na shari yaawo. ‘May God protect us from those with their evil doing.’
Moj̥itu/ shkifil̥iile/ awo/ na shari yaawo. ‘God has protected us from those ones with their evil doing.’

rel.

kh-kifiloowa v. pass.

Chinamnomba mojiitú/ khkifil̥owa awo/ na shari zaawo. ‘We are praying to God to be protected from those one with their evil doings.’

kila

each; [pron. **kila** or **killa**]

variant form: **kuḷa, kulla**

Baaba/ kila/ chiya kaziini/ hubiga hoodi. ‘Whenever father comes (home) from work, he asks for permission to enter (the house).’

Hunlaazima/ kendra kaziini/ kilaa muunt̥ʰi. ‘It is a must for me to go to work every day.’

kilaa chiint̥ʰu ‘everything’

Kilaa muke/ ile. ‘Each, every woman came.’ (Phon. When **kila** is phrased with a following noun, one would expect that a noun of the consonant-vowel structure **CVCV** would lengthen the final vowel of **kila**. However, **kila** seems actually to be lengthened whatever the structure of the next word.)

Kila/ muke iló/ peela/ habaye. ‘Every woman who came has been given her little share.’

Kilaa muunt̥ʰi/ heendra/ Omari/ dukaani. ‘Every day goes Omari to the shop.’ Or: **Kilaa muunt̥ʰi/ heendró/ Omari/ dukaani.** ‘Every day it’s Omari who *goes* to the shop.’

Kilaa muunt̥ʰi/ Omari/ hendra dukaani. ‘Every day Omari goes to the shop.’ Or, with verb emphasis: **Kilaa muunt̥ʰi/ heendra/ dukaani.** (Phon. Observe that the pre-verbal **kilaa muunt̥ʰi** does not trigger pseudo-relativization of the main verb. If there is pseudo-relativization of the verb, as in **Kilaa muunt̥ʰi/ Omari/ heendró/ dukaani.**, it is because there is focus on the subject: ‘Every day it is Omari who *goes* to the shop.’)

to go to see that ship.’ (Phon. This example illustrates the possibility of **kila** being phrased with its complement.)

Kila muunt̥ʰu/ fakeṭe keendra/ kulangala markabu/ iyo. ‘Everyone ran

Kilaa muunt̥ʰu/ ile. ‘Everyone came.’

Kila/ munt̥ʰu nayo koodí/ nahade. ‘Anyone who has something to say, let him speak.’

Kila/ munt̥ʰu nayo su’aalí/ na’uze. ‘Anybody who has a question, let him ask it.’

Kila/ muunt̥ʰu/ nimeené. ‘Everyone, I saw.’ Or: **Kila/ muunt̥ʰu/ nimeené.**
Or: **Kilaa muunt̥ʰu/ nimeené.**

Kila/ munt̥ʰu waa mi/ chimsuuló/ nimweené. ‘Every one whom I wanted [to see], I saw him.’

Kilaa muunt̥ʰu/ yaake/ imshiishile. ‘Everyone is caught by his own wscerns (issues, affairs).’ (A proverb.)

Kilaa mwaana/ humleetela/ mwaalimu/ ije/ yaa ye/ hukhaadiró. ‘Each child brings his teacher whatever he is able to.’

Kiḷa/ nch^hitemuka zeema/ za celo/ we/ hukiriha. ‘Whenever I speak well of the gazelle you are disgusted.’

Kiḷa/ waliko ilu yaa mutí/ chanza kubigaa nk^hele. ‘Each one in the tree began to shout.’

Kuḷa/ chisulā khpandra kaake/ chulunguuni/ oyo taajiri/ ni laazima/ kuwa nakhpandra ka ndilaani. ‘Every time he wanted to climb to his place upstairs, it was necessary for this rich man to climb up from outside.’

Kooḍi/ kiḷa mo/ jisaa ye/ hutaambulo. ‘Talk is how everyone understands it.’ (A proverb.)

Kuḷa/ mo/ nimpele nuumbaye. ‘Each one (e.g. of these two wives) I gave her own house.’

Mi/ hendra dukaani/ kiḷaa muunt^hi. ‘I go to the shop every day.’ Or, with verb focus: **Mi/ heendra/ dukaani/ kiḷaa muunt^hi.**

Mmerele kiḷaa mahaḷá/ nt^hozelé. ‘I searched for it everywhere, but I could not find it.’

Mmerele kiḷaa mahaḷá/ skupata. ‘I looked everywhere, but I could not find it.’

Mp^hundra oyo/ kullā/ mukhta^haa ye/ chisulō kendra mahaḷa/ amo fanyiza kaazi/ chimtumikila mp^hundra/ oyo. ‘That donkey, every time that he wanted to go someplace or to work, he used that donkey.’

Na cheendra/ kiḷa/ ilooni. ‘And he *went* each evening.’

Na cheendra/ kiḷaa ilooni? ‘Was he going each evening?’

Na kiḷaa muza biyaashara/ humlaazima/ kumwolokela uje tamviilō. ‘And it is necessary for every merchant to go to whoever calls him.’

Nenzele dukaani/ kiḷaa muunt^hi. ‘I went to the shop every day.’

Or: **Nenzele dukaani/ killa/ muunt^hi.** ‘I went to the shop *every* day.’ Or, with verb emphasis: **Neenzelé/ dukaani/ kiḷaa muunt^hi.**

(Phon. Observe that **kiḷaa muunt^hi** is outside the scope of the final accent in the first example, presumably because it is out-of-focus.

But the phrase **killā** in the second example is also not included in the scope of the verb’s final accent. Why not? We suspect that it is due to the narrow focus on **killā** – i.e. the domain of final accent does not extend from a triggering verb when that verb is not included in the focus. Of course, the emphasis on the verb in the third example predicts that all subsequent phrases are outside the scope of the final accent. The simple yes-no questions related to these three examples provide possibly supporting evidence for the above suggestions. **Nenzele dukaani/ kiḷaa muunt^hi?** ‘Did I go to the shop every day?’ shows the expected shift of accent in the out-of-focus final phrase. **Nenzele dukaani/ killa/muunt^hi?** ‘Did I go to the shop *every* day?’ shows that the out-of-focus final phrase **muunt^hi** undergoes accent shift, but the focused **killā** does not.

Neenzelé/ dukaani/ kiḷaa muunt^hi. ‘Did I *go* to the shop every day?’ illustrates that with verb emphasis, both of the following phrases are out-of-focus. We should point out that the evidence from exclamatory yes-no questions is parallel. Exclamatory yes-no questions do not go well with cases where the verb is optionally emphasized, so we will cite just the following two variants:

Nenzele dukaani/ kiḷaa muunt^hi!? and **Nenzele dukaani/ killa/ muunt^hi!?** Observe that even in the exclamatory yes-no question, the emphatic phrase **killā** is not subject to accent shift.)

Nile kiḷaa jimapiilí. ‘I came every Sunday.’

Nimeené/ kiḷaa muunt^hu. ‘I saw everybody.’

Nimene kiḷaa muunt^hú/ waa mi/ chimsuulō. ‘I saw everyone whom I

wanted to see.’ (Phon. Notice the lengthening of the final vowel of **kīla** when it is phrase internal. This lengthening is independent of the phonological structure of the next word, in contrast with the general lengthening of final vowels in phrase-medial words.)

Nimub̄leel̄é/ kīlaa muunt^hu. ‘I killed everybody.’

Nimub̄leel̄é/ kīla/ munt^hu koðeeló. ‘I killed everybody who spoke.’

Nsomeel̄é/ kīlaa chibuuku. ‘I read each book.’ Or: **Nsomeel̄é/ kīla/ chibuuku.** ‘I read each book.’ Or: **Nsomele kīlaa chibuukú.**

(Usage: The last pronunciation emphasizes that I have read *every* book, but our consultant suggested that there is a kind of implied ‘but’ involved: e.g. **Nsomele kīlaa chibuukú/ laakini/ jawabu yaa we/ nambiiló/ skuwona.** ‘I read every book, but I could not find the matter that you told me about.’)

Nsomeel̄é/ kīla/ chibuuku. ‘I read each book.’

Nsomeel̄é/ kīla/ chibuuku. ‘I read each book.’

Omari/ kīla chiint^hu/ hutilaa shaka. ‘Omari doubts everything (lit. Omari puts in doubt to everything).’

Wacheendra/ kuḷa muuyi/ mkulu/ na chihabá/ na kīlla/ mahaḷaa wo/ wamweno mwaamub̄l̄i/ apó/ tu/ zaazilá/ wachimub̄la. ‘They went to every town, big and small, and everywhere they saw a boy who had just been born there, they killed him.’ **no final accent observed, maybe because stressed?**

Waawaye/ kīla/ chuza khabarize/ hambiloowa/ kuwa hakhaadiri. ‘Every time his father asked for news of him, he was told that he was sick.’

rel.

kīlasku always, everytime, every day (Phon. This item behaves like a prosodic word since accent falls on the penult syllable and not the final syllable: [kīl^ásku] and not *[kīla skú]. The **l̄** in this word was not ever observed with germination, contrary to **kīla** by itself.)

Kama kīlasku/ maama/ chimlomba mwaana/ chiza kendra ṭeena/ maduriini/ laakini/ mwaana/ iize. ‘Like every time, mother begged the boy not to go again to the bush country, but the boy refused.’

Kīlasku/ chimona Omari/ nakhfaklaṭa/ tu. ‘Every day when I see Omari, he is running.’

Mi/ nch^hiya kīlasku. ‘I used to come every day.’

kīl̄i

n. [Som. *kelli*] kidney

Alí/ atīla/ tīlaa kīl̄i. ‘Ali has been operated on, he has had a kidney put in.’

Hamadi/ nakhsul̄a kubigilowaa kīl̄i. ‘Hamadi wants a kidney transplant.’

kh-kīla

v. (**kīl̄iile**) step over, survive

Isa/ hattá/ leelo/ umo cholooni/ nakoowa/ naakuḷa/ kaleent^he/ nakhkīla/ nakhsul̄a kuvuuka. ‘Now, until today, she is in the bathroom, bathing, crying, seated, crying, she wants to go [to the wedding].’

Nakuḷa nakhkīla. ‘She was crying very much.’

rel.

kh-kīl̄i v. appl. (**kīl̄iile**)

Nk^hīl̄iile mwaana. ‘He stepped on my child.’

kh-kīl̄isha v. caus. (**kīl̄ishiize**) make step over

Hamadi/ mkīl̄ishize mwaana/ chiziingiti. ‘Hamadi had the child step over the threshold.’

kh-kīl̄ishoowa v. caus. pass. (**kīl̄ishiiza**) be made to step over

Mwaana/ kīl̄ishizaa mbwa. ‘The child was made to step over the dog.’

kh-kīl̄iza v. skip

ajabu muunt^hu naayo maali hiizo/ keendra Makka hu’ajizo hukil̄izo [st.]

‘how can a rich person refuse/ to go to Mecca, or hesitate and try to

avoid [this journey]?’

keendra Maka hu'ajizo hukilizo [st.] ‘the one who postpones and skips going to Mecca’

m-kila (mi-)

n. 3/4 [Sw. *mkia* SSED 285] tail; (fig.) a follower rather than a leader

khshika mkila ‘to always follow after’

kheteza ka mkila ‘(lit. to play with the tail) – said of someone who has nothing to lose, is “sitting pretty”, has an advantage (e.g. the son of the boss who is in a better position than another worker)’

mbuzi/ mikilaye ‘the goats, their tails’

mbuzi/ mkilawe ‘the goat, its tail’

mikila yaa mbuzi ‘the tails of goats’

mikila yaa mp^haka ‘cats’ tails’

mkila waa mbuzi ‘tail of a goat’

mkila waa mp^haka ‘a cat’s tail’

mkila waa nsi ‘caudal fin’

Ndovu/ chimlata/ miilu hataa yé/ nakhsulo kumshika mkilá/ bakayle/ chuuluka/ shfakata/ chingila kaake/ iboholiini. ‘The elephant let go of his [the hare’s] legs while he was trying to catch him by the tail, and the hare jumped and ran away and went into his hole.’

Ngamiilayo/ nt^hayná/ mkila. ‘Does your camel have no tail?’

Wawaye mwaana/ wanacho shpete/ chilazilo kaa noká/ mkilaaní. ‘This boy’s father had a ring that came out of a snake’s tail.’ (Phon. The word order and phrasing **wawaye mwaana** ‘the boy’s father’ is well-established in MI’s speech, but other Chimiini speakers do not readily accept it, allowing rather **mwaana/ waawaye** ‘the boy his father’, a construction that MI also used.)

Wazele wiitu/ huhada/ bakayle/ chifa/ hutetemesha mkilawe. ‘Our ancestors say that if a hare dies, it shakes its tail.’

rel.

i-kila n. 5 aug. large tail

kh-kila

v. be alive, live, survive

Nakhkila. ‘He is still alive.’

rel.

kh-kiza v. caus.

Mwajiitu/ namkiza. ‘May God give him a long life.’

kiilo

n. 9/10 [Sw. *kilo* SSED 196] kilo, kilogram

nuskiilo ‘half a kilo’

robokiilo ‘a quarter of a kilo’

rel.

ma-kilokiilo n. 6 in kilograms

Waanthu/ wape^laa nama/ makilokiilo. ‘People were given meat in kilos.’

kilometeri

n. [cf. Sw. *kilometa* SSED 196] kilometer

Muduni/ ha^tá/ Miini/ ni kilometerii né. ‘Muduni up to Brava is four kilometers.’

kh-kimila

v.

hujuzá laakini ow^la ni khkimila [st.] ‘it is permitted (not to perform a certain religious act), but it is better if (the act) is completed’

kh-kiinga

v. [Sw. *kinga* SSED 199] (**kingiile**) used in the following phrases:

khkinga ishkilo ‘to put one’s hand to one’s ear and lean forward to listen’
na khkiinga ishkilo khkasa zumaari [st.] ‘and to lean forward to listen to **zumaari** (a musical instrument)’

khkinga mashkilo ‘to listen to something being said at a distance, to listen carefully’

- Skingeené/ mashkilo!** ‘Don’t listen!’
khkinga moongo ‘to give one’s back to someone’
- rel.
kh-kiingika v. p/s.
kh-kingisha v. caus.
kh-kingishana v. caus. rec.
kh-kingishika v. caus. p/s.
kh-kingishiliza v. caus. appl.
kh-kingishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
- [-kiingo (n-)**
‘precipices’
- n. 11/10 [Sw. *ukingo* SSED 200] precipice, edge, margin, brink; [pron. nk^hiingo
- lkingo la ijabali** ‘cliff’
- rel.
sh-kiingo (s-) n. 7/8 rim (of a cup, e.g.)
- kiniini**
- n. 9/10 generic term for any kind of pill, tablet
kiniini/ za hargabu ‘tablets for a cold’
kiniini/ za malaariya ‘malaria tablets’
kumiza kiniini ‘to swallow pills’
kuna kiniini ‘to drink, take tablets (with water or other liquid)’
- rel.
sh-kiniini (s-) n. 7/8 dim.
- kiinu**
- at or to your (pl.) (place)
- Ali/ simeme lwavuuni/ kiinu.** ‘Ali stood at your (pl.) side.’
- rel.
sh-kiinu adv. in your (pl.) way, manner
- kh-kinya**
- v. (**kinyiize, kinyiile**) deny
Ali/ kinyeze kuwa oloshole. ‘Ali denied that he went.’
Baana/ kinyize kooŋi. ‘Baana denied what was said.’
Huseeni/ kinyize kuwa oloshole. ‘Huseeni denied that he went.’
Muusa/ kinyize kuwaa ye/ waliko chineema. ‘Muusa denied that he was at the cinema.’
Nureeni/ kinyize kuwa Muusa/ bozele chibuuku. ‘Nureeni denied that Muusa stole the book.’
- rel.
kh-kinyika v. p/s. (**kinyishile**)
kh-kinyiliza v. appl. (**kinyiliize**)
Nk^hinyilize kuwaa ye/ nt^haanzile. ‘He denied to me that he insulted me.’
Nuuru/ mkinyilize Muusa/ kuwaa ye/ bozele chibuuku. ‘Nuuru denied to Muusa that he (i.e. Nuuru) stole the book.’
- kh-kinyisha* v. caus. (**kinyishiize**)
kh-kinyoowa v. pass.
Khabari/ skinyiiza. ‘The news was denied.’
- kh-kiriha**
- v. [Sw. *kirihi* SSED 74] hate, abhor, be disgusted by, resent, be displeased
Baba wa mwanaamke/ uyu/ kirihile/ kondolowa ka usinziziini. ‘The father of this girl was displeased at being awoken from sleep.’
Daawuudi/ hukiriha. ‘What displeases Daawuudi?’ (A possible answer: **Daawuudi/ hukiriha Faatma/ koloka** (or: **kuḷawa) ka hima.** ‘Daawuudi is displeased by FGaatma’s leaving early/quickly.’)
- Jiraani/ wamkirihile ka maposoye.** ‘The neighbors were disgusted at his (repeated) borrowing (of things).’
Mzeele/ kirihile (kuwa) mwaana/ kuvunda ikoopa. ‘The old man was displeased that the child broke the cup.’
Mzeele/ mkirihile mwaana. ‘The old man hated the child.’

Qalbiyo/ isikirihe. ‘May your heat not resent it.’ (This is used to apologize in advance for a (future) behavior or request that might displease.)
Suufi/ mkirihile Nuuru. ‘Suufi hated Nuuru.’
Watakhukiriha. ‘They will hate you.’

rel.

kh-kirihila v. appl. (**kirihiliile**)

kh-kirihisha v. caus. (**kirihishiize**) disgust s.o., disappoint and annoy s.o. (but notice that this verb is not used to mean ‘to cause to hate’)

Baaba/ kumwona mwaanawe/ daa’ima/ umo mikooni/ kharibu yaa wake/ imkirihishiize/ nt^ho. ‘It displeased the father very much to see his son always in the kitchen near the women.’

Baana/ mkirihishize mwaana. ‘Baana disgusted the child.’

Hamadi/ mkirihishize waawaye. ‘Hamadi displeased his father.’

Khpasake peesa/ ka Nuuru/ imkirihishize waawaye. ‘His lending money to Nuuru displeased his father.’

Laazima/ we/ khfungula kanayo/ hada/ jawaabu/ yo yotte/

itakhfurahishó/ waant^hu/ wakuluwó/ haṭá/ ichiwa

jawaabu/ izo/ ṣtamkirihisha/ mwajiitu. ‘But you must open your mouth and say whatever will please your superiors, even if those words (things) will not please God.’

Siimba/ kuboolake/ chibuuku/ imkirihishize waawaye. ‘Simba’s having stolen the book displeased his father.’

kh-kirihisiliza v. caus. appl.

Nuuru/ mkirihishilize Suufi/ mwaana. ‘Nuuru disgusted Suufi’s child.’

kh-kirihisilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Suufi/ na Nuuru/ wakirihishilizenye waana. ‘Suufi and Nuuru disgusted one another’s children.’

kh-kirihoowa v. pass.

Jaama/ kirihila na Nuuru. ‘Jaama was hated by Nuuru.’

kh-kirisha v.

kumkirisha qalbi ‘to hurt s.o.’s feelings’

rel. nom.

m-kirihisha (wa-) n. 1/2 one who annoys

sh-kirihisa (s-) n. 7/8 s.t. that annoys

u-kiriho n. 14

kh-kirima v. [Sw. *kirimu* SSED 174] (**kirimiile**) extend hospitality, giving something; respect s.o. (by providing food etc. for them); entertain, treat hospitably

Mkirimilee nt^ho/ waawe. ‘He showed his father much respect (e.g. he provided him with food etc. on his visit).’

We/ mkirimilee nt^ho/ Sultani Daraayi. ‘You showed great respect to Sultan Daraayi.’

rel.

kh-kirimoowa v. pass.

naako itakuuya naada/ khalqi inakirimoowa [st.] ‘and then the divine call will be made for the crowd to be rewarded’

rel. nom.

m-kirima (wa-) n. 1/2 a person who shows respect

m-kirimo n. 3 hospitality

u-kirimo n. 14

kirkiri

n. [Tunni *kirkirro*, *kirkirro*, *kirkirra* "warthog" Tosco 222] warthog

Kismaayo

n. Kismayu

variant form: **Chismaa’ilu**

Muduni/ ni mahaḷa/ ndila/ huṭindo Chismaa’ilú/ na Miini. ‘Muduni is a place where the roads to Kismayo and Brava intersect.’

ndila ya Kismaayo ‘the road to **Kismaayo**’

- kiswa** n. [Ar. *kiswa* W 828] dress, clothes – used particularly in discussions of Islamic law and found in poetry
- kit** ideo. of laughin **review t**
- kiṭaani** n. [Sw. *kitani* SSED 209] the fibre of the sisal plant (used in ropes, string, sacks)
ḷkambala la kiṭaani ‘a rope made of sisal’
rel.
m-kiṭaani (*mi-*) n. 3/4 sisal plant
- kh-kiṭika** v. flow
rel.
kh-kiṭikila v. appl.
yatakitikila maṭozi/ nguwo ṣṭakolozoowa [st.] ‘tears will keep flowing and wet their clothes’
kh-kiṭikoowa v. pass.
wasimeemo kumnuurisha/ maṭozi yatakitikoowa [st.] ‘those who are standing and reciting **ḍikri** and the Quran praying for him, tears will flow down their cheeks’
- kiitu** at or to our (place)
Ali/ simeme ḷwavuuni/ kiitu. ‘Ali stood at our side.’
Mukḥṭa ukomelo wakḥṭi/ wa kawanya mawiindó/ siimba/ chimvḷa mp^huundra/ chimwaambila/ iyi/ ni kaaziyo/ chawanyilize mawindo aya/ kati kiitu. ‘When the time came to divide the loot, Lion called Donkey and said to him: this is your job, divide up this loot among us.’
Si/ hashkhaadiri/ teena/ kendra miyundraani/ kiitu. ‘We are not able any longer to go to our fields.’
rel.
sh-kiitu adv. in our way, manner
- kh-kiwirsata** v. [Som. *kibir* “to become arrogant, haughty” DSI 367; although ultimately this Som. word must have come from the Arabic noun *kibr*, Chimiini must have taken the word directly from Somali; this is shown by the change of **b** to **w**, the use of the suffix **at** which is generally limited to Somali borrowings, and the fact that Arabic does not have an equivalent verb.] (**kiwirseete**) become arrogant
rel.
kh-kiwirsatisha v. caus.
- kiyaawe** n. [Ital. *chiave*] any kind of wrench
- m-kiizi** (*mi-*) n. 3/4 [Sw. *mkizi* “cuttle-fish” SSED 285] a kind of fish
Chinakeendrá/ khpata mikiizi. ‘We are going to fish for **mikiizi**.’
mkizi uyu (or: **uwu**) ‘this fish’; **mikizi aya** ‘these fish’ (not: ***awa**)
rel.
i-kiizi n. ibid.
ḷ-kiizi (*mi-*) n. 11/4 aug.
- kḷaasi** n. [Eng. *class*] class in school
Adadi ya wana wa kḷasi iyi/ ni ishiriini. ‘The number of children in [lit. of] this class is twenty.’
- ko** locative copular root which appears in a great variety of forms
chiikó ‘we are at’, **nt^hachiiko** ‘we are not at’
Chiikopí. ‘Where are we?’
numbaani/ maḥaḷaa si/ chiikó ‘at the house where we are’

Si/ chiko madrasaaní. ‘We are at school.’

chiiko ‘it [cl.7] is at’, **nt^hachiiko** ‘it [cl.7] is not at’

Chiko ilu ya meeza. ‘It is on the table.’ (This construction is preferred over **Chiko mezaani.**)

Chiko numbaani. ‘It’s at the house.’

Chiko nt^hini ya meeza. ‘It’s under the table.’ (A contraction of the final vowel of **nt^hiini** and the associative particle **ya** yields an apparent violation of the principle barring successive long vowels in a phrase: **Chiko nt^hinaa meeza.**)

Chiiko/ laakini/ hichiwoni. ‘It is there, but you do not see it.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is: **Ikosi** ‘nape of the neck’.)

Chiikopi/ chireza chimojele muunt^hú. ‘Where is the razor that was used to shave the man?’ (Syn. It is interesting that the instrument may be the subject of a passive relative verb. MI rejected however the main clause sentence where the instrument is the subject of the passive verb: ***Leembe/ Imolele mwaana.** ‘The straight razor was used to shave the child(’s head).’)

Chiikopi/ shfasaleta cha mwaana/ pangulila mapulá. ‘Where is the handkerchief that the child wiped his nose with?’

Chiikopi/ shfasaleta pangulila mwaaná/ mapulá. ‘Where is the handkerchief that the child used to wipe his nose?’ (Syn. Observe that the subject of the passive relative verb is **mwaana**, as can be seen from the phonologically null subject prefix on the verb. This subject has been postposed after the relative verb, which allows the head of the relative clause ‘handkerchief’ to immediately precede the relative verb with no **-a** link, in contrast to the preceding sentence where the subject is pre-verbal and an **a**-link is required to connect the head to the subject.)

Chiikopi/ shfasaleta shpangulila mapulá. ‘Where is the handkerchief that was used to wipe the mucous from the nose?’

Chiluti/ chiikopi. ‘Where is the dim. stick?’

Chiint^hu/ cha waana/ waboozeló/ nt^hachiiko/ kule. ‘Something that children have stolen is not far away.’ (A saying.)

Chisu/ chiko chulunguuni. ‘The knife is upstairs.’

Chisu/ chiko ilu. ‘The knife is up on s.t., is upstairs.’

Chisu/ chiko nt^hiini. ‘The knife is downstairs.’

Chisu/ chiikopi? ‘Where is the knife?’

Shkapu/ chiko mikooni. ‘The basket is in the kitchen.’

liiko ‘[cl.11] is at’

Liikopi/ lembe Imolele mwaaná. ‘Where is the straight razor that was used to shave the child(’s head)?’ (Syn. Although in the relative construction, the instrument **leembe** can function as subject of the passive verb, this is not possible in the main clause in MI’s judgment: ***Leembe/ Imolele mwaana.** ‘The straight razor was used to shave the child.’)

Luti/ liko numbaani. ‘The stick is at the house.’

Luti/ liikopi? ‘Where is the stick?’

niikó ‘I am at’, **siiko** ‘I am not at’

Mi/ niko madrasaaní. ‘I am at school.’

Mi/ niikopí. ‘Where am I?’

Niko numbaaní. ‘I am at home.’ Or: **Niikó/ numbaani.** Or with preposing of the locative, leading to pseudo-relativization of the copular verb: **Numbaani/ niikó.**

niikó ‘you pl. are at’, **nt^haniiko** ‘you pl. are not at’

Ni/ niko kiinú. ‘You pl. are at your place.’

Ni/ niko kiinú/ so. ‘Are you pl. are at your place?’

Ni/ niko madrasaaní. ‘You (pl.) are at school.’

Ni/ niikopí. ‘Where are you pl.?’

uko ‘you (sg.) are at’ (but in various tenses there is no overt subject marker)

Takuwako karka numba gani. ‘Which house will you be at?’ (In the future tense affirmative, the second person has a null subject marker.)

Ukopí. ‘Where are you?’

Waliko (karka) numba gani. ‘What house were you at?’ (In the past tense)

affirmative the second person has a null subject marker.)

We/ uko madrasaani. ‘You are at school.’

uko ‘he/she is at’, **nt^haako** ‘he/she is not at’

Abunawaasi/ chim(w)aambila/ ya kuwa mp^huunda/ nt^haako/ isa.

‘Abunawaasi told him that the donkey was not there now.’

Ali/ nt^haako/ apa. ‘Ali isn’t here.’ Or, a less common word order:

Nt^haako/ Ali/ apa.

Ba’adi yaa ye/ kumnoola/ uko/ uko/ ichimshika safari/ kendra mahala.

‘Some time after marrying her, he had to take a trip to go somewhere.’

Basi/ uko numbaani/ ukó. ‘So she is at the house, that’s where she is.’

Mp^haka/ ukopi. ‘Where is the cat?’

Mp^huundra/ si oyo/ naaku^ló/ naawé/ nakuhada kuwaa ye/ nt^haakó. ‘The donkey, isn’t he the one who is braying, and you are saying that he is not here?’

Mwaana/ nt^haako/ madrasaani. ‘The child isn’t at school.’

Mwaana/ uko numba gani. ‘At which house is the child?’

Mwaana/ ukopi. ‘Where is the child?’

N uuru/ uko meezi. ‘Nuuru is here one month.’

Nuuru/ uko numbaani. ‘Nuuru is at home.’ (Preposing leads to pseudo-relativization of **uko**: **Numbaani/ ukó/ Nuuru**. Or: **Numbaani/ Nuuru/ ukó**. Or: **Nuuru/ numbaani/ ukó**. The only evidence that pseudo-relativization has occurred is the final accent on **uko**.)

Uko Ali/ apa. ‘Ali is here.’ Or: **Ali/ uko apa**. (Ordinarily the ordering of the NP after the **-ko** signals indefiniteness, but in the case of a proper name, no definiteness dimension is present.)

Uko muunt^hu/ mlangooni. ‘There is a man at the door.’ (cf. **Muunt^hu/ uko mlangooni**. ‘A man is at the door.’ Or: **Uko/ muunt^hu/ mlangooni**. ‘There *is* a man at the door.’)

Uko numbaani. ‘(S)he is at home.’ Or: **Ye/ uko numbaani**. ‘(S)he is at home.’ (Cf. **Uko numbaan í**. ‘You are at home.’ Or: **We/ uko numbaaní**. ‘You are at home.’)

Uko/ uko/ attá/ leelo/ chishika miimba/ chizaala/ mwaana/ mwaamubli. ‘She stayed until one day [lit. today] she became pregnant and gave birth to a male child.’

Ukopi. ‘Where is he/she?’

Ukopi/ sultaani/ oyo/ nakhsulo kumlola mwanaamkewá. ‘Where is this sultan who wants to marry my daughter?’

Wachimuuza/ mwaana/ uje wa maskiini/ ukopi. ‘They asked the boy: that [boy from] a poor family, where is he?’

Ye/ uko madrasaani. ‘(S)he is at school.’

waako ‘they [cl.2] are at’, **nt^hawaako** ‘they are not at’

Isa/ hadiile/ wanawake awo/ wotte/ waakoyi. ‘Now he said: all those girls, where are they?’

Nt^hawako waana/ madrasaani. ‘The children aren’t at the school.’ Or:

Waana/ nt^hawaako/ madrasaani. Or: **Nt^hawaako/ madrasaani/ waana.**

Wakoo nfuye/ maduriini. ‘There are monkeys in the bush.’ Or: **Maduriini/ wakoo nfuye.** Or: **Nfuye/ wako maduriini.** ‘The monkeys are in the bush.’

Waako/ waako/ wazazile waana/ ba’adi ya apo/ mubli/ chimpenda muke miingine/ sulile kumnoola. ‘They lived like this for some time and had children; after that, the husband loved another woman and wanted to marry her.’

Wako waant^hu/ mlangooni. ‘There are men at the door.’ Or: **Waant^hu/ wako mlangooni.** ‘The men are at the door.’

Waakopi. ‘Where are they?’

Waana/ waakopi. ‘Where are the children?’

Washtiinda/ amri/ kulaala/ masku ayo/ mahaḷaa wo/ waakó. ‘They decided to sleep that night at the place where they were.’

Wo/ wako kaawo. ‘They are at their place.’

Wo/ wako kaawo/ so. ‘Are they at their place?’

Wo/ wako madrasaani. ‘They are at school.’

wiiko [cl.3] is at (see **wuuko** below for a variant form)

Chiwona ya kuwa muuyi/ uyu/ wiiko/ ka lpaandre/ wiineme. ‘He saw that this tree was leaning on its side.’

Ikomelopo maskú/ shpandra ilu yaa muti/ kulaala/ walá/ nt^hakiiwa/ ya kuwa muti oyo/ wiiko/ khariibu/ ya siimba/ oyo/ nakublo waant^hú/ na hoolá. ‘When it was night, he climbed up on a tree to sleep, nor did he know that that tree was near the that lion who was killing people and animals.’

Wiiko/ ilu ya lfuwo la ṭawala ya Hiindi. ‘It (referring to the town of Brava) is located on the shore of the Indian Ocean.’

wuuko [cl.3] is at

Muti/ wuukopi. ‘Where is the tree?’

yaako ‘[cl.4] is at’

Mimuti/ yaakopi. ‘Where are the (aug.) trees?’

Miti/ yaakopi. ‘Where are the trees?’

yaako ‘[cl.6] is at’; **nt^hayaako** ‘[cl.6] is not at’

Masheetara/ yaakopi. ‘Where are the umbrellas?’

Mayaank^huku/ nt^hayaako/ apa. ‘The eggs are not here.’ Or: **Nt^hayaako/ apa/ mayaank^huku.**

Mayaank^huku/ yaakopi. ‘Where are the eggs?’ (Possible answer:

Mayaank^huku/ yako apa. ‘The eggs are here.’) Or: **Yaakopi/ mayaank^huku.** ‘Are where, the eggs?’ (A possible answer: **Yako apa/ mayaank^huku.** ‘Are here, the eggs.’)

Sungura/ chimuza/ khalbi/ na mashkiló/ yaakopi. ‘Rabbit asked him (Lion), where are the heart and the ears (of the donkey that Lion killed).’

Yako maayi/ ndilaani. ‘There is water in the road.’

yiiko ‘[cl.5] is at, there’

Imuti/ yikopi. ‘Where is the (aug.) tree?’

Isheetara/ yikopi. ‘Where is the umbrella?’ Or: **Yiikopi/ isheetara.**

yiiko ‘it [cl.9] as at’

Isa/ leelo/ masku/ yiiko/ nikaaha/ Safiya/ nakuloowa/ na mubli/ wa waawaye/ namsuliiló. ‘Now today at night there is an engagement, Safiya is being married by a man whom her father wants for her.’

Ka khisa numbaani/ nt^hayiiko/ kuja. ‘Because in the house there was no food.’ (A possible answer to the question: **Ka khisani/ Tuuma/ nt^hakhpiká.** ‘Why did Tuuma not cook.’)

Laazima/ tubaaku/ yiko paapo/ apo/ tu. ‘The tobacco must be there just at that very place.’

Mikooni/ yikoo nama. ‘In the kitchen, there is meat.’

Nama/ yiko mikooni. ‘The meat is in the kitchen.’

Nama/ yikopi. ‘Where is the meat at?’

Nini/ yikoni. ‘Why, what is the matter [lit. what is there]?’

Numba/ yikopi. ‘Where is the house?’

Yiko habamó/ mbele. ‘It [land] is a little ahead of us.’

Yiko mikooni. ‘It is in the kitchen.’

Yiikó/ yiiko/ tu. ‘That which is there, is just there.’ (A proverb, similar to the English “where there’s smoke, there’s fire”. It says that if there are little hints that something is true, then there is probably something behind these hints.)

yiikopi ‘it [cl.9] is where?’

Mweezi/ waa tatu/ mubli/ chimwambila mukeewe/ yiikopi/ nt^hiiyo. ‘The third month, the husband asked his wife, where is your land?’

‘It is in the kitchen.’) **Yiikopi/ nama.** ‘Where is the meat at?’ (A possible answer: **Yiko mikooni.**

ziiko ‘they [cl.8] are at’

Mikooni/ ziko zibuuku. ‘In the kitchen are the books.’

Skapu/ ziko mikooni. ‘The baskets are in the kitchen.’

Zisu/ ziikopi. ‘Where are the knives?’

ziiko ‘they [cl.10] are at’, **nt^haziiko** ‘they [cl.10] are not at’

Gele/ staawanyé/ mahala zikoo nk^hukú. ‘Grain does not spill where there are hens.’ (A proverb.)

Hasiibu/ chimuza maamaye/ ziikopi/ ziwo za waawaye. ‘Hasiibu asked his mother where the books of his father were.’

Langala ziko mbeleyo/ isa. ‘Look at the things that are in front of you now.’

Mp^haka/ ziikopi. ‘Where are the cats?’

Ndruti/ ziikopi. ‘Where are the sticks?’

Nguwo/ nt^haziiko. ‘The clothes are not there.’

Nguwo/ ziiko. ‘The clothes are there.’

Numba/ ziikopi. ‘Where are the houses?’

Spisiló/ haziruudi/ darbatila/ ziko mbeleyó. ‘The things that went by never come back, be prepared for the things that are ahead of you.’ (A proverb.)

Zikoo ngoma/ keesho. ‘There is drumming tomorrow.’

ko

invariable verbal particle: here, take it! said when handing out s.t. to s.o.

Basi/ mi/ nikusilé/ ko/ we. ‘Enough, I am satiated, here you take it.’

Ko. ‘Here, take it! Have it!’

Ko baskuuti. ‘Take a cookie! Have a cookie!’

fiile. ‘Here, take your goat! Look, here it is, I did not reach home even and it died.’

Ko telefono. ‘Take the telephone!’

Kooni. ‘(Pl.) take it!’

kh-kooda

v. (**koðeele**) talk, speak

Haṭaa we/ nakhkoḍo na Nuurú/ nakendra nt^hiini/ kuleta zoombozá.

‘While you are talking to Nuuru, I am going down to bring my things.’

Hukoḍa kaa mp^hula. ‘He is arrogant (lit. he talks through his nose).’

Kana ijiiló/ ha’ikooḍi. ‘A mouth that has eaten does not talk.’ (A proverb that suggests that someone who has done something wrong does not talk about what he has done.)

khkoḍa ka ishkiilooni ‘to whisper (lit. to talk into s.o.’s ear)’

khkoḍa liḷa ‘to say the truth’

khkoḍa na qalbiye ‘to talk to oneself’

Hamadi/ siwo/ mzima/ nakhkoḍa na khalbiye/ naank^hó.

‘Hamadi is not sane, he is talking to himself again.’

Khkoḍa/ ni feḍa/ kumaamala/ ḍahabu. ‘To speak is silver, to keep quiet is gold.’ (A proverb.)

khkoḍa wanaafakhi ‘to tell lies’

khkoḍa waant^hu ‘to slander, speak ill of people in their absence’

Koðele naami. ‘He talked with me.’

kumkoḍa ‘to backbite someone’

Hasani/ kaaziye/ khkoḍa waant^hu. ‘Hasani, his job is to backbite people – i.e. he does nothing but backbite.’

Huseeni/ humkoḍa Omari/ ka wiingi. ‘Huseeni backbites Omari frequently.’ **Huseeni/ humkoḍo Omari/ ka wiingi.** ‘(It is) Huseeni who backbites Omari frequently.’

Muke/ mwenopo mubliwé/ nakhkoḍa na mwaanawé... ‘When the woman saw her husband speaking with his child...’

Muunt^hu/ chisuḷa khfanya chiint^hu/ hakooḍi. ‘When someone wants to

make something he does not talk.’ (A proverb.)

Naani/ koðeeló. ‘Who spoke?’

Naani/ nt^hakhkooðá. ‘Who did not speak?’

Ndrata nk^hooðe. ‘Let me speak.’ Or: **Ndrataa mi/ nk^hooðe.**

Skhaadiri/ khkooða. ‘I can’t talk.’

Skooðé. ‘Don’t talk!’ (Cf. **Skoðeení.** ‘You (pl.) don’t talk!’)

Skooðé/ naami. ‘Don’t talk to me!’ (Cf. **Skooðé/ naaye.** ‘Don’t talk to him!’)

We/ skooðe/ na waant^hu. ‘Don’t talk with people.’

Ye/ koðele ka tarafu ya mwaalimu. ‘He spoke about the teacher.’ (Cf. **mwalimu waa ye/ koðelo ka tarafu ye** ‘the teacher whom he talked about him’.)

rel.

kh-koðakooða v. freq. talk much, frequently

Ba’adaa ye/ kingila ndraani/ chiwa teena/ nakhkoðakooða na oyo m(w)aarabu. ‘After he went inside, he began then talking with that Arab.’

Khkoðakooða niingi/ nt^hayna ma’ana. ‘Talking a lot is meaningless.’

Uje/ shkooða/ hukooðakooða naaye. ‘If that one talks, [the other one] talks as well.’

Ye/ nakhkoðakooða/ tu/ nakhtezaateza/ jisaa ye/ sho kubarataa kuja. ‘He was just talking and playing around without learning the way to eat.’

kh-koðeloowa v. appl. pass. be talked about

Cho/ chisu chaa we/ mpheeló/ chinakhkoðeloowá. ‘It, the knife that you gave me, is the (very) one that is being talked about.’

kh-koðela v. appl. (**koðelele**) talk about, with, for

kh-koðisha v. (**koðishiize**) cause to talk; talk to, with someone; seduce or court a woman (This causative form is exceptional. We would expect the mid vowel in the stem to induce a lowering of the high vowel in *ish* to *esh*. This does not happen.)

Nk^hoðishiize. ‘He talked to me.’

Sink^hooðishé. ‘Don’t make me talk!’ or ‘Don’t talk to me!’

kh-koðishiliza v. caus. appl. (**-koðishiliize**) seduce with or for

Gawadi uyu/ nk^hoðishilizee muke. ‘This pimp obtained (lit. seduced) a woman for me.’

kh-koðishoowa v. caus. pass. (**koðishiiza**)

Aaba/ koðishiiza. ‘Aaba was made to talk; Aaba was talked to.’

Ye/ chanza khkoðisha ruuhuye. ‘He began to talk to himself.’

kh-koðoowa v. pass. (**i-koðeela**) be talked

Ishkoðoowa/ haqqi... ‘If the truth were told...’

kh-koðowakoðoowa v. freq. pass.

Khkoðowakoðoowa niingi/ nt^hayna faayda. ‘Talking a lot has no benefit.’

rel. nom.

m-koða (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who speaks

Mkoða waako/ si waako. ‘The one who talks ill of yours (i.e. your friends or relatives) is not your (i.e. your friend).’ (A proverb.)

Yuusufu/ e/ we/ mkoða lila/ shtafsirile/ ndroto izi. ‘O you Joseph, speaker of truth, explain for us these dreams.’

m-koðisha (*wa-*) n. one who talks to, seduces

koði

n. language, talking, words

Chiwona kooði/ zaa dafa/ nza lila. ‘It realized that the words of the hawk were the truth.’

khinda kooði ‘to decide – [lit.] to cut words’

Jeelí/ tinzile kooði. ‘Jeeli made a decision.’

khinda kooði ‘to interrupt (lit. cut words)’

khtila kooði ‘to make an argument, oppose with words’

Kooði/ haspiki/ chuungu. ‘Words do not cook food (lit. the cooking pot).’

(A proverb)

Koođi/ ichilawa kanaani/ ha'iruudi. 'When talk comes out of the mouth, it does not go back in.' (A proverb.)

Koođi/ hazimali. 'Talk has no end.' (A proverb.)

Kođi iyi/ inayo ma'ana. 'This word has meaning.' (A saying, stressing that you mean something by the word you spoke.)

Koođi/ kilā mo/ jisaa ye/ hutaambuló. 'Talk is how everyone understands it.' (A proverb.)

Koođi/ majiibuye/ ni koođi. 'The answer to words is words.' (A proverb.)

Kođi niingi/ haziinfi/ chiint^hu. 'Too much talk does not serve anything.' (A proverb.)

Kođi njeema/ wahali/ kođi mbovu/ dahari. 'A good word is a companion, a bad word is suffering.' (A proverb.)

kođi ya m(w)iinsho 'the last word'

kođi za Chimwiini 'the Chim(w)iini language'

Koođi/ zimlāzilelāzile. 'He blurted out the words (lit. the words came out and came out from him).'

Mi/ nk^hođele na Nuurú/ yana. 'I spoke with Nuuru yesterday.' Or with verb emphasis: **Mi/ nk^hođeelé/ na Nuuru/ yana.**

Mi/ nk^hođelee yaná/ na Nuuru. 'I spoke *yesterday* with Nuuru.' Or with verb focus: **Mi/ nk^hođeelé/ yana/ na Nuuru.**

Mi/ anakhkođa na Nuurú. 'I am speaking with Nuuru.' Or with verb emphasis: **Mi/ anakhkoođá na Nuuru.**

Ni kođi gani/ izi. 'What kind of words are these?'

Speendi/ koođizo. 'I don't want to hear your words.'

Sultaani/ chimwaambila/ munt^hu mletelelo koođi/ keendra/ kumvilila Ali. 'The sultan told the man who had brought the information to go to call Ali for him.'

Wamwabile muunt^hu/ koođi. 'They spoke to the man [lit. they spoke to the man words].' Or: **Muunt^hu/ wamwabile koođi.**

i-kodho (mi-)

n. 5/4 a kind of shore bird that survives on left-overs of the **sahali**; it is believed that the **ikodho** cannot give birth to a **sahali**, but that the **ikodho** is an offspring of the **sahali** (Although **dh** ordinarily only occurs in Somali loanwords in Chimiini, we have not located this word in Somali.)

Chiwona ikodho/ ikulu/ yiile/ yulushile/ yulushile/ yiile/ yingile (ka iyo)/ ka sultaani/ yingiló. 'He saw a large seagull; it came, it flew and flew, it came, it entered there in the sultan's [house], that is where it went in.'

Naank^hó/ chimwona ikodho/ kamba jisaa ye/ huuyó/ naank^hó/ ile/ ingile ukuje/ nini/ watilile waanawe/ kuja. 'And again he saw the seagull like the way she used to come (home), and again she came and entered in there and, what, put food for her children.'

Sahali/ huzala ikodho. 'A **sahali** gives birth to an **ikodho**.'

koofano

n. [Ital. *cofano*] hood (of a car)

Gari iyi/ hayfunguliki/ koofano. 'This car's hood cannot be opened.'

i-koofiya (ma-)

n. 5/6 [Sw. *kofia* SSED 215; Ar.] hat (generic term)

Ikoofiya/ ichimwingila sultaani/ mkonooni. 'The hat fell into [lit. entered into] the sultan's hand[s]. (s.t. that was not wanted nor planned).' (Prosody. This sentence exhibits canonical downstep intonation. As such, the corresponding simple yes-no question undergoes no accent-shift, just Q-raising. The exclamatory question shows accent-shift in the verb phrase: **Ikoofiya/ ichimwingila sultaani/ mkonooni!?**)

ikofiya yaa mi/ mp^hheetó/ ya mwaana 'the hat that I found of [i.e. belonging to] the boy' (Syn. and phon. Notice that the relative clause **yaa mi/ mp^hheetó** 'that I found' modifies the head of the associative phrase **ikofiya ya mwaana** 'the child's hat' and as a consequence **ya mwaana** is

outside the relative clause; one does not say ***ikofiya yaa mi/ mp^hheetó/ ya mwaaná**, with the final accent triggered by the verb extending to the **ya mwaana** phrase.)

ikofiya ya mwaana ‘the child’s hat’

Ikofiyaani/ andishile shi’iri ka chihindi. ‘On the hat he wrote a poem in Hindi.’

Ka nasiibuye/ kuwa suura/ mwana wa sultaani/ ikoofiya/ ichimwingila sultaani/ mkonooni. ‘The son of the sultan’s luck being good, the hat fell into sultan’s hands.’

mwaana/ ikofiyaye ‘the boy’s hat (lit. the boy his hat)’ (Notice that the addition of the possessive enclitic to the noun **ikoofiya** triggers the shortening of the long vowel in the first syllable of the stem since the addition of a syllable puts the vowel too far from the end of the word to bear the “abstract stress” that allows a long vowel to remain.)

mwana waa mi/ mp^heto ikofiyayé ‘the child who I found his hat’

Mwana wa sultaani/ shfanya ikoofiya/ isuura. ‘The sultan’s son made a beautiful hat.’

Wo/ hushoma makoofiya. ‘They sew hats.’

rel.

koofiya n. *ibid.*

kofiya ya chim(w)iini ‘a white skull-cap with a design that is handmade’ (also known as **kofiya ya stuundu**)

l-koofiya (*mi-*) n. aug. 11/4

sh-koofiya (*s-*) n. dim. 7/8

m-kohaatiimu (*wa-*)

n. 1/2 a member of the **Haatiimu** clan, which is one of the two clans making up the **Bida**; the primary consultant for our original work on Chimiini in the 1970’s and 1980’s, Mohammad Imam Abasheikh, was a **mkohaatiimu**

chimini cha Wakohaatiimu ‘the Chimiini spoken by the **Wakohaatiimu**’

Mi/ ni Raa Waali/ Mustafa/ ni Mkoahaatiimu. ‘I am of the Raa Waali clan; Mustafa is a member of the Kohaatiimu clan.’

kooko

[Sw. *kuko* SSED 225] strong locative demonstrative; there, far away

Fulaani/ nasale kooko/ ka kheeriye/ na shariyé. ‘Let so-and-so stay far away with his blessings and his wickedness!’

kooko/ ka kooko ‘from there to somewhere else’

Mojitu/ nashfanyiliza msiba uyu/ kooko/ ka kooko. ‘May God make for us this problem be from there to somewhere else!’ (A proverbial saying.)

Mulowe/ na maayiyé/ (yanawe) kooko/ ka kooko. ‘His fire and his water, let them be far away.’ (A saying; see below.)

Maayi/ kooko/ mulo/ kooko. ‘Let water be there far away, let fire be there far away!’ (A saying where the speaker is uttering a sort of prayer that some possible disaster stay far away.)

kooko/ oko

emphatic locative demonstrative; that very place

kooko/ oko/ muskitiini ‘at that very mosque’; or: **kooko/ muskitiini/oko** ‘*ibid.*’; or: **muskitiini/ kooko/ oko** ‘*ibid.*’; or: **oko/ muskitiini/ kooko** ‘*ibid.*’; but not ***muskitiini/ oko/ kooko**

Noloshale kookó/ oko. ‘I went to that very same place.’ (cf. **Umo kooko/ oko.** ‘He is in this very same place.’) (Phon. Despite the extremely close relationship between **kooko** and **oko**, it is clear that they are in separate phonological phrases and that **kooko** is focused/emphasized. The vowel length in **kooko** shows that it is phrase-final. The failure of the final accent in **Noloshale kookó/ oko.** to extend past **kooko** shows that it is focused/emphasized.)

Nsafirile ka kookó/ okó. ‘I departed from that place.’ Or: **Nsafiriilé/ ka kooko/ oko.** (Prosody. The first example contrasts with the immediately preceding example, where **kooko** did not allow the final accent to project beyond it. In the present example, it appears that while **kooko** is in some sense focused, it is not the sort of focus that triggers the Accentual Law of Focus.)

Omari/ lasile maana/ kooko/ oko/ ka Hasani. ‘Omari left the child right

there at Hasani's place.'

Omari/ m̄lasile maana/ kooko/ oko/ numbaani. 'Omari left the child right there at the house.' (Prosody. Perhaps somewhat surprisingly, we did not observe accent-shift in the simple yes-no question, despite the clearly focused nature of **kooko**. Shift was observed in the exclamatory question: **Omari/ m̄lasile maaná/ kookó/ okó/ numbaani!?**)

Safirile ka kooko/ oko. 'He departed from that place.' Or: **Safariile/ ka kooko/ oko.**

Safirile ka kooko/ oko/ pashpo kingila muyiini. 'He departed from that very place without even coming into town.'

Safirile ka kooko/ oko/ so. 'He departed from that very place, didn't he?'

i-kooko (ma-) n. 5/6 [Sw. *ukoko* SSED 493] hard crust that sticks to the bottom of a pot when it has been cooked at too hot a temperature; scab

Chimpa mwaanawe/ chakuja chisuura/ na mwana wa muḅliwé/ chimpa makooko. 'She gave her child good food and her husband's child *makooko*.'

ikoko yaa muti 'the bark of a tree'

L̄aakini/ zijo/ mpele mwanaamke/ na ikookó/ mpele mwana wa muḅliwe. 'But *zijo* she gave to her daughter, and *ikooko* she gave to her husband's child.'

Mi/ nk^hawaa muṅó/ mi/ suḷa khpoowa/ makooko/ naawé/ zijó? 'If I were your little sister, would I be given the crust and you *zijo*?'

Nunguu nk^hulu/ haykosi/ ikooko. 'A large pot never fails to have *ikooko*.' (A proverb.)

rel.

l-kooko (mi-) n. aug. 11/4

sh-kooko (s-) n. dim. 7/8

m-kooko (ma-) n. 3/6 [Sw. *mkoko* (mi-) SSED 286] mangrove

Oloshole mkokooni. 'He went to the mangroves.'

kh-kokola v. [Sw. *kokoa* SSED 216] (**kokeele**) gather together a large quantity of s.t. (similar in meaning to **kuzoola**, which appears to be more commonly used)

rel.

kh-kokolela v. appl. (**kokolele**)

kh-kookota v. [Sw. *kokota* SSED 216] (**kokeete** or **kokosele**) drag, pull behind one on the ground

khkokota ruuhu 'to get along on one's own'

Nakhkokota ruuhuye. 'He is getting along on his own.'

Mkokosele Hamadi. 'He dragged Hamadi.'

Mwaana/ chiwa'amura wataana/ kumkokotaa ndrovu/ haṭá/ muyiini. 'The son ordered the servants to drag the elephant up to the town.'

Walá/ wo/ nt^hawakhfikira/ kuwa washkookota/ ijarsi/ kuwa uyu/

mp^haka/ takoondroka. 'Nor did they think that if they pulled the bell, that this cat would wake up.' **check**

Wamalizopoo kujá/ wachimbiga/ dughaaghi/ nk^hambalaze/

wachimkookota/ masku/ na muunt^hí/ hattá/ muyiini. 'When they finished eating, they tied up the beast with ropes and dragged him night and day until town.'

Wanakhkokotapó/ ifanyizee nk^heḷe/ niingi. 'While they were pulling it, it made a great deal of noise.'

rel.

kh-kokotana v. rec. (**-kokoteene**) pull one another

Wafiló/ wanakhkokotana. 'The dead are dragging one another.' (A riddle,

the answer to which is **jahazi/ na itaangá** ‘fishing boat and sail’.)

kh-kokoteka v. p/s.

kh-kokotela v. appl. (**kokoteleele**) pull for, with

Ali/ nk^hokotelele (i)bakhti. ‘Ali dragged the carcass for me.’

kh-kokotesha v. caus. (**kokotesheeze**)

Ibreeni/ mkokotesheze mwaana/ gaari. ‘Ibreeni had the child pull the car.’

(It is of course possible for the causee in this example to be referred to by the object marker, but otherwise not included in the sentence: **Ibreeni/ mkokotesheze gaari.** ‘Ibreeni had him pull the car.’ It is also possible to fail to specify what was pulled: **Ibreeni/ mkokotesheze mwaana.** ‘Ibreeni had the child pull something.’ It is possible to not specify the causee at all: **Ibreeni/ kokotesheze gaari.** ‘Ibreeni had the car pulled.’ But one cannot have the verb agree with the thing pulled: ***Ibreeni/ ikokotesheze gaari.** An object marker on the verb always refers to the causee and cannot refer to the logical object.)

Sarmadi/ mkokotesheze Haamidi/ waana. ‘Sarmadi had Haamidi pull the children.’ (Because the causee and the logical object belong to different noun classes, it is possible to omit the causee and rely on the object marker to convey the meaning: **Sarmadi/ mkokotesheze waana.** ‘Sarmadi had him pull the children.’ If the logical object is not expressed, then **Sarmadi/ mkokotesheeze.** conveys the meaning ‘Sarmadi had him pull something or someone’. The causee and the logical object may belong to the same noun class, as in **Sarmadi/ mkokotesheze Haamidi/ mwaana.** ‘Sarmadi had Haamidi pull the child.’ But in this case there can be no omission of the noun referring to the causee: **Sarmadi/ mkokotesheze mwaana.** cannot mean ‘Sarmadi had him pull the child’; it can only mean ‘Sarmadi had the child pull something or someone’.)

kh-kokoteshanya v. caus. rec.

kh-kokotesheka v. caus. p/s.

kh-kokotesheleza v. caus. appl.

Omari/ mkokotesheleze Ali/ mwaana/ gaari. ‘Omari made Ali’s child pull the truck.’

kh-kokoteshelezanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-kokotoowa v. pass.

rel. nom.

m-kokota (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who drags, pulls

kolko

[Sw. *kuliko* SSED 226] greater than, more than, rather than

Afðali/ khsaafira/ kolko khkalaan^ha. ‘Better to travel than to stay.’

Kaafiri/ khiinfó/ ni kheeri/ kolko/ islamu sho khiinfa. ‘An infidel who is of use to you is better than a Muslim who is of no use to you.’

Laakini/ furahiloo nt^ho/ kolko sultaani/ ni Sultani Daraayi. ‘The one who was pleased more than the sultan was Sultan Daraayi.’

maana/ kawaa mulé/ kolko Muusá ‘if the child had been taller than Muusa’

Miti ayo/ ni zigobe/ kolko/ miti aya. ‘Those trees are shorter than these trees.’

Miti ayo/ ni zigobe nt^ho/ kolko miti aya. ‘Those trees are much shorter than these trees.’

Munt^hu uje/ si/ chinamwiiwá/ kolkoo we. ‘That man, we know him better than you do.’

Naani/ mulé/ kolko Muusá. ‘Who is taller than Muusa.’ (While it may be possible to retain the copula, our consultant judged it to sound redundant: **Naani/ nii mulé/ kolko Muusá.**)

Ni Nuuru/ mulé/ kolko Muusá. ‘It is Nuuru who is taller than Muusa.’ (In this example, the **ni Nuuru** structure triggers pseudo-relativization which, in the absence of an overt verbal element, is manifested on the predicate adjective as well as the following phrase. It is apparently possible for the predicate adjective to be focused, in which case final accent does not project into the following phrase: **Ni Nuuru/ ^fmulé/ kolko Muusa.** ‘It is Nuuru who is taller than Muusa.’ There is a variant of this sentence where **kolko** is phrasally separated from the following noun phrase: **Ni Nuuru/ ^fmulé/ kolko/ Muusa.**

Raaḍi/ nii nk^hulu/ kolko maali. ‘Blessing is better than wealth.’ (A proverb.)

Sultaani/ mpeenzele/ mwaana/ uyu/ kolko waanawe/ wawili. ‘The king loved this boy more than his own two children.’

n-kol̥koro

n. trevally, a family of fish of which there are many species [pron. nk^hol̥koro]

variant forms: nk^hol̥kolo **review whether both l and r are possible pronunciations**

nk^hol̥koro abu rassi ‘a trevally with a huge head’

nk^hol̥koro huundru ‘[lit.] red trevally, but actually a bluefin trevally (and not red at all)’

nk^hol̥koro bahariini ‘[lit.] deep sea trevally, a trevally like nk^hol̥koro huundru but bigger’ **confirm long vowel in bahariini**

nk^hol̥koro joodari ‘[lit.] tuna trevally, its meat looks like tuna (jackfish?)’

nk^hol̥koro ya maṭete ‘lit. spotted trevally, has three dots with gray lines and white streamlined body; never caught in high seas, they surf with the waves’

n-kolo

large hook (e.g. on a crane)

n. 9/10 [Sw. *koleo* SSED 216] pincer of the native type used e.g. to pick up s.t. hot; a

rel.

sh-kolo (s-) n. 7/8 hook

koola

n. glue

Chilaatucha/ yambushile koola. ‘My shoe, the glue has become undone/ is not holding s.t. in place.’

kaambaṭa/ kana koola ‘to stick like glue’

Mambeete/ kama koola. ‘He stuck to him like glue.’

kumshiika/ kana koola ‘to hold him like glue’

kh-kola

(kozele) be or get warm, warm up

v. [perhaps connected to Som. *kulul* “to be hot” DSI 373 and Tunni *kulal* Tosco 223]

warm.’

Chaayi/ chiko muḷooni/ chinakhkola. ‘The tea is on the fire, it is getting

Kahawa/ ikozele. ‘The coffee has become warmed up.’

rel.

kh-koleza v. caus. appl. warm up with or for

Fanyizee muḷo/ khkoleza chaakuja. ‘He made a fire to warm the food with.’

kh-koza v. caus. (koseeze) warm s.t. up

Haliima/ nakhkozaa kuja. ‘Haliima is warming up food.’

kh-kozeka v. caus. p/s. able to be warmed up

i-koli

called by his nickname.’

n. [etymology unknown] nickname

Muunt^hu/ siwo/ suura/ kuviḷowa ka ikoli. ‘It is not good for someone to be

Omari/ ikoliye/ ni Baabu. ‘Omari’s nickname is Baabu.’

kh-kolola

v. [Sw. *kohoa* SSED 215] (koleele) cough

Baabu/ nakhkolola maazi. ‘Baabu is coughing blood.’

Hamadi/ nakhkolola/ ox ox. ‘Hamadi is coughing ox ox.’

Nakhkolola/ kana ibuzi. ‘He is coughing like a big sheep.’

rel.

kh-kololeḷa v. appl. (kololeḷe)

Ondroka/ sink^hololeḷé. ‘Move away, don’t cough on me.’

kh-kololoowa v. pass. (koleḷa) be coughed

kh-kololakolola v. freq.

Waana/ hawakhaadiri/ wanakhkololakolola. ‘The children are sick, they are coughing and coughing.’

kh-kololeka v. p/s. (**kololeshele**)

kh-kololesha v. caus. (**kololesheeze**) make cough

kh-kololeshana v. caus. rec.

kh-kololesheleza v. caus. appl.

kh-kololeshelezanya v. caus. appl. rec.

i-kololo (*mi-*)

n. 5/4 cough

Ikololo/ dawaye/ ni kumiza mayank^huku mawiti/ mawili/ killa/ fijiri/ skuu nt^hatu. ‘A cough, its medicine (remedy) is to swallow two raw eggs each morning for three days.’

Omari/ nakhkolola ikololo ikavu. ‘Omari is coughing a dry cough.’

rel.

i-kololo (*mi-*) n. aug. cough

sh-kololo (*s-*) n. cough, coughing

Mapeenzi/ ni kama shkololo/ haya’ushiki. ‘Love is like coughing, it cannot be hidden.’ (A proverb.)

kh-koma

v. [Sw. *koma* SSED 217] (**komeele**) arrive, reach (for,to), visit (but not stay at a place)

Ajaliyo/ ikomeele. ‘Your time of death has come.’

Chaaki/ oloshale Ohaayo/ khkoma wazele. ‘Chuck went to Ohio to visit his parents.’

Chimooche/ shkomelee jasi. ‘His height reached to the roof (i.e. he was so tall that he could reach the roof).’

bananas.’

Chinakhkoma dukaani/ kulaa mazú. ‘We are going to the shop to buy

Chiineendra/ muda/ wa sku niingi/ nt^ho/ haṭá/ aakhiri/ shkoma nt^hi mooyi. ‘He walked for a period of many days until at last he reached a land.’

Chishkomeelé. ‘We have reached [cl.7].’

Fijiri/ ishkomá/ holoka kaake/ mundraani. ‘When morning comes, he goes to his farm.’

Fijiri/ ishkomá/ we/ ndraasha. ‘When morning comes, follow me!’

Khabari izi/ haskomi/ Mkhodiisho. ‘This news will not reach Mogadishu.’

Khabari/ schimkoma sultaani. ‘The news reached the sultan (it was not expected and was not wanted).’ (Prosody. This sentence exhibits canonical downstep intonation. As expected, the yes-no question involves only Q-raising, with no accent shift. The exclamatory question has accent shift in the verb phrase: **Khabari/ schimkoma sultaani!?**)

Khabari/ zinkomele Omari. ‘The news reached Omari.’ (Syn. Even though **Omari** governs object agreement on the verb in this example, it is not possible to make **Omari** the subject of a corresponding passive sentence: ***Omari/ komele na khabari.** ‘Omari was reached by the news.’ This is presumably due to the non-agentive nature of the subject in **Khabari/ zinkomele Omari.**)

Kheeri/ kuraaga/ kama chiza khkoma. ‘Better to be late than not to come at all.’

Khfakata/ siwo/ khkoma. ‘To run is not to arrive.’ (A proverb.)

khkoma go’aani ‘to reach a decision’

We/ Hamadi/ koma go’aani/ jawabu iyo/ kanaa we/ nakhjfaanyá/ amó/ kanaa we/ nt^hunakhfaanyá. ‘You, Hamadi, reach a decision, if you are going to do it or if you are not going to do it.’

khkoma mpaka ‘to reach the limits (literally or figuratively)

Sabriya/ ikomele mpaka. ‘My patience reached its limit.’

khkoma na ‘to stop’

Koma na (khfanya) ziwovu. ‘Stop doing evil deeds!’

khkoma suura ‘to complete the study of a **suura** in koranic school’

Kooḍi/ zinkomeele. ‘The conversation reached him (i.e. he heard about the conversation).’

Komele hafisaani. ‘He arrived at the office.’

Komele numbaani. ‘He reached home.’

Komele Miini/ takuruda ba’ada skuu mbili. ‘He went to Brava, he will

return after two days.'

komelopo kaaké 'when he arrived at his place'

muke/ wakhtí/ ukomeelopó/ chishika uŋuungu/ chizala 'when the time came that the woman went into labor and gave birth'

mukhta wakhtí/ ukomeelopó 'when the time came'

Mukhta ye/ komeloo mbelé/ za Harun Rashiidi/ nt^hampa/ salaamu/ Harun Rashiidi. 'When he arrived in front of Haruun Rashiidi, he did not greet Haruun Rashiidi.'

Muza eelo/ mkomeelopó/ maskiini/ chimuuzsa sa'ari ya eelo. 'When the seller of gazelles reached him, the poor man asked him the price of the gazelle.'

Nnakhkoma wazeelé. 'I am going to visit my parents.'

Nuuru/ mkomele Hamadi. 'Nuuru reached Hamadi.'

Olele mkono/ khkoma mlaango. 'He stretched his arm to reach the door.'

Shfakata/ haŋá/ shkoma muuyi/ mooyi/ mkulu/ nuumbaze/ zote/ za mawe. 'He ran until he reached a big town, all of its houses made of stone.'

Sku ya ikumi/ wo/ washkoma muuyi/ wa mwanaamke/ wa sulŋaani/ namsuuló. 'On the tenth day, they reached the town of the girl that the sultan wanted.'

Sku ya taatu/ washkoma/ jaziira/ yiingine. 'The third day they reached

another island.'

Suufi/ komele kaawo. 'Suufi reached home.'

Wageeni/ wakomeele/ numbaani. 'The guests arrived at the house.' Or: **Numbaani/ wakomeele/ wageeni.**

Wakomelo numbaani/ ni wageeni. 'The ones who arrived at the house are the guests.' Or: **Numbaani/ wakomeeló/ ni wageeni.**

Wakomeelopó/ sarmaŋa/ chilindra ndilaani. 'When they arrived, the carpenter waited outside.'

Waana/ wakomele Nuuru. 'The children approached Nuuru.'

Waant^hu/ hukomó/ khariibu/ ya milyuuni/ ishiriini/ walazile/ ndilaani/ leelo/ khfanya muḏaahara/ ḏiddi/ ya ra'iisi/ Niksoni. 'People, who reached close to twenty million people, took the streets today to protest against President Nixon.' (Note that the final accent associated with the relative verb **hukomó** does not extend past the verb. Since the final accent of a relative verb always extends to the end of the relative clause, the prosody seems to indicate that **khariibu/ ya milyuuni/ ishiriini** are not regarded as part of the relative verb phrase.)

Ye/ safariŋe sku niingi/ haŋá/ komeele/ Misra. 'He travelled many days until he reached Egypt.'

rel.

kh-komana v. rec. (i) be close [lit. reach one another]; (ii) associate with

(i) **Wana awo/ hukomana na mikono.** 'Those children (by you) are close to one another (lit. reach one another with the hands).'

(ii) **Waanawa/ wawili/ hukala muyi mooyi/ laakini/ hawakomani.** 'My two children live in one town, but they do not deal with each other [lit. reach one another].' (A riddle, the answer to which is **zilima ziwili** 'two small hills'.)

Want^hu awa/ hawakomani/ ka kheeri/ walá/ ka sharri. 'These people do not associate with one another either in good times or bad times.'

kh-komeka v. p/s. be approachable, reachable

Hakomeki/ fijiri. 'He cannot be approached in the morning (e.g. because he is too moody at that time of day).'

Huwala/ hupeendeza/ laakini/ hashkomeki. 'It shines, it pleases, but it cannot be reached.' (A riddle, the answer to which is **iwa** 'the sun'.)

Khabari/ haskomeki. 'The news cannot be reached (i.e. it is secret).'

Kuzimu/ haykomeki. 'The sky cannot be reached.'

Zeena/ hakomeki/ na waant^hu. 'Zeena cannot be approached by children.'

kh-komela v. appl. (**komeleeŋe**) reach for, with

Mkomeleeŋe Hamadi/ numbaani. 'He reached the house (quickly) for/on Hamadi.'

Tete gaari/ khkomela numbaani. ‘He took a car to go to the house.’
kh-komelana v. appl. rec. visit one another
Jirani izi/ hukomelana. ‘These neighbors visit one another.’
kh-komeleza v. tr. appl.
Baana/ mkomeleze mwaalimu/ waana/ madrasaani. ‘Baana took the children to school for the teacher.’
Mwaalimu/ mkomeleze Nuuru/ mwaana/ suura. ‘The teacher taught the child to complete the **suura** for Nuuru.’
Nikhukomeleze nthumeyó/ ka Hamadí. ‘I conveyed your message to Hamadi.’
Suufi/ mkomeleze Nuuru/ mwaana/ kaawo. ‘Suufi took Nuuru’s child home.’
kh-komelezanya v. caus. appl. rec.
khkomelezanyaa nthume ‘to convey messages for one another’
khkomelezanya waana/ numbaani ‘to help the children home for another’
khkomelezanya waana/ suura ‘to help the children complete a **suura** for one another’
kh-komesha v. caus.
Nuuru/ mkomesheze mwaana/ kaawo. ‘Nuuru caused the child to go home.’
kh-komesheleza v. caus. appl.
Suufi/ mkomesheleze Nuuru/ mwaana/ kaawo. ‘Suufi caused Nuuru’s child to go home.’
kh-komeshelezanya v. caus. appl. rec.
Suufi/ na Nuurú/ wakomeshelezenye waana/ kaawo. ‘Suufi and Nuuru caused one another’s children to go home.’
kh-komez v. tr. (**komeeze**) convey, cause to reach, help to reach
Ali/ mkomeze maana/ lkasaani. ‘Ali helped the child to reach up to the ceiling.’
Ali/ komezee khati/ numbaani. ‘Ali took the letter home.;
Hamadi/ mkomeze Omari/ khabari. ‘Hamadi caused the news to reach Omari.’ (Syn. This example is interesting because the noun **Omari** controls the object agreement in the causative sentence just as it does in the simple sentence to which it is related: **Khabari/ zinkomele Omari.** ‘The news reached Omari.’ Ordinarily, the object of the causative verb is the subject in the corresponding simple verb, as discussed in the introduction. This phenomenon is connected to the inanimate nature of **khabari**.)
Jahaziyo/ haytakhukomeza/ mahala/ we/ walá/ waantú/ wakhurashiizó. ‘Your boat will not cause you to reach anyplace nor the people who have followed you.’
Ji/ komezee khati/ ka Ali. ‘Ji took the letter to Ali.’
Keesho/ nt^hakhonyezaa ndila/ khukomezo ka mzele wa taatú. ‘Tomorrow I will show you the road that will make you reach the third old woman.’
khkomeza khabari ‘to report what was said’
khkomeze kooði ‘to report what was said’
Ali/ mkomeze mwaalimu/ kooði ziitu. ‘Ali reported our conversation to the teacher.’
khkomeze nthume ‘to convey a message, cause a message to reach s.o.’
Noloshele kaa muke/ na nimkomeezé/ nthumeyo. ‘I went to the woman and conveyed to her your message.’
Komeze maana/ chaakuja. ‘He took the child food.’
Komeze maaana/ numbaani. ‘He helped the child home.’
Komeze maana/ suura. ‘He helped the child complete the study of the **suura**.’
Laakini/ ye/ takunk^homezaa dhibu/ takump^handila/ apa/ mahalaa mi/ niikó. ‘But he will cause me difficulty, he will come up for me here to the place where I am.’

Mooja (or: **Mojiitu**)/ **nashkomeza**. ‘May God let us reach it.’ This is said as comment to any long-term plan: it is uncertain whether God will let us live so long as to reach the time to implement it. It is more or less the equivalent of the Arabic Inshallah.

Mtume Nuuhu/ waliko tumiila/ na mojiitu/ keendra/ khkomeza/ risaala/ ka makhluuqu/ wa nt^hi izo/ karka waqti/ oyo. ‘Prophet Noah was sent by God to go to take a message to the people of those countries at that time.’

Muke/ mamaye Safiya/ chimkomeza/ khabari izi/ waawaye. ‘The woman, Safiya’s mother, conveyed this news to her father.’ (Syn. The construction **mamaye Safiya** is well-attested in MI’s speech, but seems less acceptable to our current consultants.)

Nimkomeze Hamadi/ khabari. ‘I conveyed the news to Hamadi.’

Sku mooyi/ mgeeni/ uyu/ ndrashiize/ kunk^homezaa dhibu. ‘One day this foreigner followed me (in order) to bring harm to me.’

Suufi/ mkomeze maana/ kaawo. ‘Suufi took the child home.’

Ye/ takunkhomezaa dhibu. ‘It (e.g. the rabbit) will cause me difficulties.’

kh-komoowa v. pass.

Fijiri/ ishkomoowa/ nt^hakhusaayda/ kingila nt^hi wako mayahuudi.

‘When morning is reached, I will help you to enter the land where there are Jews.’

Hamadi/ komela na Nuuru. ‘Hamadi was reached by Nuuru.’

Kuja/ Huseeni/ huja na mwanaamke/ laakini/ ishkomoowa/ wakhti/ wa kulaloowa/ mwanaamke/ hingila kaake/ mtanaani. ‘Food Huseeni eats with the girl, but when the time is reached for sleeping, the girl enters her bedroom.’

rel. nom.

m-koma (wa-) n. 1/2 one who reaches

m-komeza (wa-) n. 1/2 one who conveys

m-komo n. 3

Nthamkoma mkomo mo. ‘I will visit him once.’

ma-komo n. 6 end

sh-komo (s-) n. 7/8 end, destination

Komele shkomo cha suura. ‘He reached the end of the *suura*.’

shkomo cha kulla darsi ‘the end of each lesson’

u-komo n. 14

kh-koomba

v. [cf. Sw. *komba* "scrape out, hollow out, clean out" SSED 217] (**koonzele**) lick

Koomba! ‘Lick!’ (cf. **Kombaani!** ‘You (pl.) lick!’)

Kombani sufuriya! ‘You (pl.) lick the pot!’

Omari/ konzele chaalache. ‘Omari licked his finger.’

Skombeení. ‘You (pl.) don’t lick!’

Skombeení/

zaala! ‘You (pl.) don’t lick (your) fingers!’

rel.

kh-koombeka v. p/s.

kh-koombela v. appl.

kh-komboowa v. pass. be licked

Mkono mtupu/ hawkomboowi. ‘An empty hand is not licked.’ (A proverb.)

kh-koonza v. caus. (**konzeeze**)

Heedari/ mkonzeze mwaana/ chaalache. ‘Heedhari caused the child to lick his finger.’ (The periphrastic version of this sentence: **Heedari/ mtile mwaana/ khkomba chaalacha**. ‘Heedhari persuaded/convinced the child to lick his finger.’)

kh-konzeleza v. caus. appl. (**konzeleeze**)

Nuuru/ mkonzeleze Omari/ mwaana/ chaalache. ‘Nuuru caused Omari’s child to lick his finger.’ (The periphrastic version of this sentence:

Nuuru/ mtilele Omari/ mwaana/ khkomba chaalache. ‘Nuuru persuaded/ convinced Omari’s child to lick his finger.’)

kh-konzelezanya v. caus. appl. rec. (**-konzeleenye**)

Nuuru/ na Omari/ wakonzeleenye waana/ zala zaawo. ‘Nuuru and

Omari caused one another’s children to lick their fingers.’ (The periphrastic version of this sentence: **Nuuru/ na Omari/ watililene waana/ khkomba zala zaawo**. ‘Nuuru and

Omari persuaded/convinced one another's children to lick their fingers.)
kh-konzoowa v. caus. pass. (**konzeeza**)

i-koombe (ma-) n. 5/6 [Sw. *kombe* SSED 318] shoulder-blade

l-koombe (n-) n. 11/10 [Sw. *ukombe* SSED 218] a silver or metal spoon, as opposed to a wooden one; [pron. nk^hoombe] (Phon. Observe that the Sw. class prefix *u* is *l* in Chimiini.)
Jile ka l-koombe. 'He ate with a spoon.'
Jilile l-koombe. 'He ate with a spoon.' (Syn. In the absence of of the logical argument, it is possible for the instrument to appear immediately after the applied verb. However, the instrument may not control an object prefix on the applied verb: ***Chiljilile l-koombe.** The instrument may, however, be the subject of the passive verb:
L-koombe/ ljilila. 'The spoon was used to eat.'
l-kombe chihaba 'a small spoon'; **nk^hombe zihaba** 'small spoons'

sh-koombe (s-) n. 7/8 [Sw. *kikombe* SSED 218] a china cup with a handle, bowl
Nakhsula kuna shkombe cha kahawa. 'He wants to drink a cup of coffee.'
Nelele mataaza/ shkoombe. 'He drank the porridge with a cup.'
Nelele maayi/ shkoombe. 'He drank water with a cup.' Or: **Shkoombe/ nelele maayi.**
shkombe cha chaayi 'a tea cup, a cup of tea'
shkombe cha kahawa 'a coffee cup, a cup of coffee'
shkombe cha mataaza 'a bowl of porridge'
shkombe cha mtuzi 'a cup of soup'
Shkombe cha mwajitu/ ni chiwaazi. 'God's cup is open.' (A riddle, the answer to which is **chisima** 'well'.)
Shkoombe/ chivundishile. 'The cup is broken.'
Shkombe ichi/ nch^haawo. 'This cup is theirs.' (Cf. **Skombe izi/ nzaawo.** 'These cups are theirs.')

i-koombo (ma-) n. 5/6 [Sw. *kombo* SSED 218] leftovers, scraps on the plate after one has finished eating
kuja ikoombo 'to eat leftovers'
Makoombo/ yaa ye/ seezó/ chimpaa mbwa. 'The leftovers that he did not eat he gave to the dog.'
Muxtaa wo/ wa'oshezo mikonó/ khaadimu/ naayé/ chiya/ chija/ makombo yaseeló/ haṭá/ chiikuta. 'When they washed their hands, the servant also came and ate the leftovers until he was satiated.'
We/ ni muja ikoombó. 'You are an eater of leftovers -- an insult that refers to someone as so lazy that he relies on the leftovers of other people.'

rel.

sh-koombo (s-) n. 7/8 dim. [Sw. *kikombo* SSED 218]

kh-komela v. [Sw. *komea* SSED 219] (**komelele**) lock
khkomela mlaango 'to lock inside [lit. lock the door]'
Omari/ mkomelele mwaana/ mlaango. 'Omari locked the child inside.'
khkomela qalbi 'to have a closed mind, not to be able to love'
Komelele qalbiye/ nt^haku/ humwingiiló. 'He has closed his mind, there is nothing that reaches him [lit. enters him].'
Khkomelake/ mlaango/ nt^hayimdhiba (or: **nt^hayikumdhibna**). 'His locking the door did not bother anyone.' (Syn. This example illustrates a type of sentential complement found in Chimiini where the possessive is encliticized to the infinitive verb: **khkomelake** 'his locking'; notice that the verb so encliticized is always phrase-final.)

Komelele mlaango/ ka khpala. ‘He locked the door with a padlock.’
Shkomela mlaango/ wa chuumbache. ‘He locked the door of his room.’

rel.

kh-komelelana v. rec. (-komeleene)

Waana/ wakomelelene milaango. ‘The children locked one another inside.’

kh-komeleka v. p/s. (komeleshele) be locked

Mlaango/ ukomeleshele. ‘The door is locked.’

Mlango uyu/ hukomeleka ka ifungulo ili. ‘This door can be locked with this key.’

kh-komeleleloowa v. p/s. appl. pass. (komelelelele)

Mi/ nk^homelelelele na mlaango. ‘I had the door lock on me.’

kh-komelekela v. p/s. appl. (komelelelele)

Mlaango/ unk^homelelelele. ‘The door locked on me (e.g. the wind blew it shut).’

kh-komelela v. appl. (komelelelele)

Nuuru/ mkomelelele mwaana/ mlaango. ‘Nuuru locked the door for the child.’

Tete khpala/ khkomelele mlaango. ‘He took a padlock to lock the door with.’

kh-komeleloowa v. appl. pass.

Mlango uyu/ hukomeleloowa ifungulo ili. ‘This door is locked with this key.’

kh-komelelana v. appl. rec. (-komeleene)

Waana/ wakomelelene milaango. ‘The children locked doors for one another.’

kh-komeleloowa v. pass.

Mlaango/ ufuunzila/ kabisá/ unakhkomeleloowa. ‘The door was closed firmly, it was locked.’

Mlaango/ wa nuumba/ iyi/ uwaliko nt^hawukhkomeleloowa. ‘The door of this house was not locked.’

rel. nom.

m-komelelo n. 3

mkomelelo wa mlaango ‘his locking of the door’

sh-komelelo (s-) n. lock

u-komelelo n. 14

i-koomini (mi-)

n. 5/4 a black catfish (but maybe a shark, since it does not have top fin and tail like a catfish); it has tail like that of the crocodile and lives in fresh water and arrives at the sea with the river current

koncheerto

n. [Ital. *concerto* "concert"] This word is commonly used in southern Somalia for theatre pieces mixing drama/comedy and music. Concerts as such were unknown. These performances were never held in Brava, but only at the National Theatre in Mogadishu.

Skoolá/ itakhfanya koncheerto/ khpata peesa. ‘The school will put on (lit. make) a concert in order to raise (lit. get) money.’

i-koonde (ma-)

n. 5/6 [cf. Sw. *kende* SSED 183] testicle

rel.

l-koonde (mi-) n. 11/4 aug.

sh-koonde (s-) n. 7/8 dim.

i-koondre (ma-)

n. 5/6 [Sw. *konde* SSED 219] fist, blow, punch

Hubigo ikutá/ ka ikoondré/ humlaazó/ ni mkonowe. ‘The one who strikes a wall with his fist, that which gives him pain is his hand.’ (A proverb.)

ikondre ya ‘a handful of’

kubiga ikoondre [Sw. *piga konde* SSED 219] ‘to hit with the fist’

kubiga makoondre ‘to hit with the fists’

- Omari/ ikoondreye/ kana chuuma.** ‘Omari’s punch, blow is like steel.’
rel.
[-koondre (mi-)] n/ 11/4 aug.
sh-koondre (s-) n. 7/8 dim.
- sh-koondro (s-)* n. 7/8 [no etymological source known] a sweet made of honey or sugar which has been boiled and thickened
- Skoondro/ zisuura/ huzowa Ka Mashariifu.** ‘Good sugar candies are sold at Ka Mashariifu.’
- sh-kone (s-)* n. one-handed; a person who has lost a hand and lower arm
- m-koonge* n. [Sw. *mkonge* "a kind of fish" SSED 286] blue herring, has spikes that can prick; used as bait
rel.
i-koonge (ma-) n. 5/6 ibid.
[-koonge (n-)] n. 11/10 ibid. [pron. **nk^hoonge**]
sh-koonge (s-) n. 7/8 dim.
- i-koongono (ma-)* n. 5/6 elbow
- n-koonko* n. a game played at the shore when the tide is low or at an open space, involving two teams hitting a ball with sticks toward a goal; [pron. **nk^hoonk^ho**]
- m-kono (mi-)* n. 3/4 [Sw. *mkono* SSED 286] hand, arm, sleeve
Baaba/ chimshka mwaana/ mkono. ‘Father held the child by the arm.’
Chaako/ ni chimo kaako/ mkonooni. ‘Yours is the thing that is in your hands.’ (A proverb.) [review pronunciation](#)
Chimo kaakó/ mkonooni/ ndichó/ chaako. ‘What is in your hands is what is yours.’ (A proverb.) [review](#)
Chiint^hu/ ni chimo chiwovuuní/ silaaha/ ni yimo mkonooni. ‘That which is in your pocket is something that you possess, that which is in your hand is a weapon (that can be used).’ (A proverb.)
Endrá/ ruuda/ ka moojó/ muuze/ watakuwaayi/ wake/ awaje/ watinzilozinzilo ruhu zaawó/ mikonó. ‘Go, return to your master and ask him about those women who cut their hands.’
Humpa maayi/ kosha mikono. ‘She gave him water to wash his hands.’
Ikoofiya/ imchingila sultaani/ mkonooni. ‘The hat fell into the king’s hand[s].’
Khati/ ye/ chimwandikila sultaani/ mkonooni. ‘The letter he put it in the hand of the sultan.’
khpa mkono ‘to give a hand, support’
Muunt^hu/ walaali/ husuloowa/ kumpa mkono/ ka ismu/ ya jawaabu. ‘A person should (lit. is needed) to support his brother in any matter.’
Omari/ hatá/ muunt^hu/ chifa/ hampi/ mkono. ‘Omari, even if someone dies, does not help him.’
khpa mkonowa ta’aziya ‘to give my hand of condolence – i.e. express one’s sympathy for someone who has lost someone dear to them’
khshika mikono ‘to walk with someone holding his/her hand’
Muke/washishile waana/ mikono. ‘The woman walked with the children holding their hands.’
khshika mkono ‘to catch someone in the act of stealing’ (cf. Eng. to catch someone red-handed)
Mwiizi/ shishila mkono. ‘The thief was caught stealing.’
kingila mkonooni ‘to be in a very bad situation; be in the hands of, e.g. the police’
Ingile mikonooni/ ka askari. ‘He fell into the hands of the police.’
kuḷawa mkonooni ‘to be out of control, spoiled (e.g. of a child who is no

longer under the control of the parent)

Ameerika/ waana/ hulawa mikonooni. ‘In America, children get out of control.’

Omari/ lazile mikonooni. ‘Omari is doing whatever he wants (he is no longer under the control of his parents).’

Luti khiinfó/ ni limo kaakó/ mkonooni/ silaaha/ ni ije/ yimo mkonooni. ‘The stick that is of use to you is the one that is in your hand, a weapon is the thing that is in your hand.’ (A proverb.)

Luti/ limo mkonooni/ ndiló/ hubloo noká. ‘The stick which is in your hand is the thing that kills a snake.’ (A proverb.)

Mbishile mwaana/ mkono. ‘She hit the child’s hand.’

mikono/ chiṭaani ‘hands on the head – i.e. grief-stricken’

Ile mikono/ chiṭaani. ‘He came grief-stricken.’

mikono mikavu ‘dry hands; empty-handed’

mikono miwili ‘two hands’

Mikono/ yiimp^hi. ‘Which hands?’

mkono chigobe ‘small hand’; **mkono zigobe** ‘small hands’

Mkono mooyi/ hawkorshi/ mwaana. ‘One hand cannot raise a child.’ (A proverb.)

Mkono mtupu/ ha’uṭoorati/ chiint^hu. ‘An empty hand cannot do anything.’ (A proverb.)

Mkono mtupu/ hawkomboowi. ‘An empty hand is not licked.’ (A proverb.)

mkono muumu ‘(lit. hard hand – i.e. miser’

Omari/ mkono muumu/ shiilingi/ ha’impoteli. ‘Omari is a miser, a shilling does not fall down from him.’

mkono/ na zaalá ‘hand and fingers’; **mikono/ na zaalá** ‘hands and fingers’ (The Chijini, or “talking backwards”, form of conjoined nouns is interesting. The conjunction *na* forms part of the base expression, thus when the final syllable is transposed to the beginning of the base, *na* follows the transposed syllable: **nomk^o/ lanaz^a** and **nomik^o/ lanaz^a**.)

mkono/ na zaalazé ‘hand and its fingers’; **mikono/ na zaalazé** ‘hands and their fingers’ (The Chijini form of these examples shows an interesting variation. The enclitic may count as the final syllable and thus be moved to the beginning: **nomk^o/ zenazal^a** and **nomik^o/ zenazal^a**. But it is also possible for the last syllable of the noun stem to be targeted, in which case that syllable and the enclitic as well are moved to the beginning: **nomk^o/ lazenaz^a** and **nomik^o/ lazenaz^a**. These forms clearly establish the native speaker’s recognition that the enclitic is part of the word but not of the stem.)

mkono nt^huundru ‘(lit.) a hand with a hole – i.e. someone who just lets money pass through his hand, gives it away, s.o. very generous and does not save’

Hasani/ ni mkono nt^huundru. ‘Hasani is a spendthrift.’

Mkono waa we/ hukhadiri ku’uṭiindá/ ubuuse. ‘The hand that you cannot cut, kiss it.’ (A proverb that says if there is someone that you cannot go against, you had better be friends with him.)

mkonowa ‘my arm’ (cf. **mkonowo** ‘your arm’, **mkonowe** ‘his or her arm’;

mikonya ‘my arms’, **mikonoyo** ‘your arms’, **mikonoye** ‘her or his arms’,

mikono yiitu ‘our arms’, **mikono yiinu** ‘your (pl.) arms’,

mikono yaawo ‘their arms’)

Mwaana/ pishize ruuhuye/ mkono. ‘The child burned himself on the hand.’ Or with verb emphasis: **Mwaana/ pishiize/ ruuhuye/ mkono.** Or with fronting of the noun: **Mwaana/ mkono/ pishize ruuhuye.** Or: **Mkono/ mwaana/ pishiize/ ruuhuye.** Or with both verb emphasis and noun fronting: **Mwaana/ mkono/ pishiize/ ruuhuye.** and **Mkono/ mwaana/ pishiize/ ruuhuye.** Or preposing of noun and postposing of the subject: **Mkono/ pishize ruuhuye/ mwaana.** Or: **Mkono/ pishiize/ ruuhuye/ mwaana.** Or with just subject postposing: **Pishize ruuhuye/ mkono/ mwaana.** Or: **Pishiize/ ruuhuye/ mkono/ mwaana.** There are word orders that do not seem acceptable; for example, ***Mwana/ pishize mkono/ ruuhuye.** Nor: ***Mwaana/ ruuhuye/ pishize mkono.** Nor any other case where **ruuhuye** is preposed: ***Ruuhuye/ pishize mkono/ mwaana.**

Na **ṭakumneesha/ moojó/ khamri/ ka mkonowo**. ‘And you will be serving your master alcohol with your hand.’

Nt^hile **mandra gani/ kapiya mkonó**. ‘What bread did I put in fire that I burn my hand?’ (A proverb.)

Sarkaali/ mkonooowe/ nii mule. ‘The government has a long arm.’ (A proverb.)

Shika ka mikono miwili/ yaa mi ṭakhaambiló. ‘Hold with two hands that which I will tell you – i.e. believe that which I will tell you, believe what I say.’
rel.

i-kono (*mi-*) n. 5/4 handle; arm (of a chair)

ikono ya chibiriikhi ‘handle of a kettle’

ikono yaa chiti ‘arm of a chair’

(Speaker A: **Omari/ vuzile kulu yaa chiti**. ‘Omari broke the leg of the chair.’ Speaker B: **ā’ā/ vuzile ikono**. ‘No, he broke the arm.’)

ikono ya choloko ‘window handle’

ikono ya mnaango ‘door handle’

ikono ya mnaango/ ya gaari ‘the handle of the door of a car’

ikono ya sufuriya ‘the handle of a metal pot used for cooking rice, spaghetti’

ikono ya shtoka ‘the handle of an axe’

sh-kono (*s-*) n. 7/8 dim. [Sw. *kikono*] (small) bunch of s.t., a handful

shkono chaa mazu ‘a small bunch of bananas’

kontorobaanda n. contraband

kontroolo n. control

kubasha kontroolo ‘to lose control’

Hamadi/ nakeenza gaari/ bashize kontroolo/ bishile nuumba. ‘Hamadi was driving a car and he lost control and hit a house.’

Muunt^hu/ chibasha kontroolo/ bas/ hakhaadiri/ tele/ hulawa/ mkonooni. ‘If a person loses control, then he is not able (to do s.t.), managing (things) leaves his hands.’

i-koopa (*ma-*) n. a unit of measure (for grains, milk) that corresponds to the quantity which fills an empty tin that originally contained ½ kg of tomato; this was also the unit of measure for milk sold in the market (Ety. The Tunni Somali word for this measure is *koob*.)

makopa mawili ‘one **chidhu**’

rel.

sh-koopa (*s-*) n. 7/8

Haṭá/ zijo/ haba mooyi/ karka shkoopa/ huṭosha/ kuwa ni akhiba yiitu. ‘Even a little **zijo** in a tin suffices to be our reserve.’

i-koopa (*ma-*) n. 5/6 [Sw. *kopa* SSED 222; Ar. or Port., according to SSED; however, Sac. cites the Kigunya dialect form as (*i*)**kopwa**; this dialect is the Swahili dialect closes to Chimiini geographically] glass container, cup

ikopa ikulu ‘a large cup’

Ikoopa/ ikulu. ‘The cup is large.’

ikopa ikulu/ ya mwaalimu ‘the large cup of the teacher’; **makopa makulu/ ya mwaalimu** ‘the large cups of the teachers’

Ikoopa/ ishtiloowa/ pashpo/ wo/ kiiwa. ‘The cup was placed somewhere without them knowing.’

ikopa ya biloori ‘a glass’

ikopa ya maayi ‘a cup of water’

makopa makulu ‘large cups’

Makoopa/ makulu. ‘The cups are large.’

rel.

sh-koopa (*s-*) n. 7/8 dim. a little cup

sh-koopa (*s-*) n. a drink of alcohol [lit. little cup]

Abú/ shkoopa/ chimgafiile. ‘Abu missed the alcoholic drink.’

- [kope (n-)]** n. 11/10 [Sw. *ukope* SSED 222] eyebrow; [pron. **n-k^hope** (pl.)]
Faatiima/ nk^hopeze/ ^fsuura. ‘Faatima has nice eyebrows.’
Haliima/ humoola/ nk^hopeze. ‘Haliima shaves her eyebrows.’
Haliima/ nakhpaka waanda/ nk^hopeze. ‘Haliima is putting **waanda** on her eyebrows (to blacken them).’
Hamadi/ nk^hopeze/ zirashmeenye. ‘Hamadi’s eyebrows run together (i.e. there is no space between the eyebrows).’
kubiga lkope ‘to move the eyebrow’
kubigisha nk^hope ‘to make up the eyebrows’
Faatiima/ nakubigisha nk^hopeze. ‘Faatima is making up her eyebrows.’
lkopela ‘my eyebrow’; **nk^hopeza** ‘my eyebrows’
Want^hu wa Miini/ hawa’isi/ kumolaa nk^hope. ‘The people of Brava do not have the culture, custom (lit. do not know) of shaving the eyebrows.’
rel.
sh-kope (s-) n. 7/8 dim.
i-kope (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
Hamadi/ mikopeye/ mikulu. ‘Hamad’s eyebrows are large.’
- kopeerto** n. [Som. *kubeerto* DSI 372, from Ital. *coperta*] blanket (though Chimiini also uses **buraangeeti** from English *blanket*)
Finishile kopeerto. ‘She covered herself with a blanket.’
Kopeerto/ iyele nt^huundru. ‘The blanket is full of holes.’
Kopeerto/ ya Haliima/ finishiló/ nii mp^hiya. ‘The blanket that Haliima covered herself with is new.’
- i-koora** n. the yoke of a camel
Ikora (y)a ngamiila/ inakula/ kholów kholów. ‘The yoke of the camel is crying **kholow kholow**.’
- kh-kora** v. [Som. *kor* ‘to grow’ DSI 371; Som. *kor* ‘to climb’ DSI 371] grow up; climb
Hamadi/ korelee muti. ‘Hamadi climbed the tree.’ (Yes-no questions based on this sentence: **Hamadi/ korelee muti?**, simple yes-no question, and **Hamadi/ korelee muti!?**, exclamatory yes-no question.)
Muti/ ukorelopo ipotofú/ ha’ikhadiroowi/ khtosishoowa. ‘A tree that grows up crooked is not able to be straightened.’ (A proverb.)
Mwaana/ hukora/ jisaa we/ humkorshó. ‘A child grows up the way you bring him up.’ (A proverb.)
Yuusufu/ koreele/ karka nuumba/ iyo. ‘Joseph grew up in that house.’
rel.
kh-korsha v. raise, breed, make grow
Ka yee/ peeke/ chimkorsha/ mwaana. ‘All alone, she raised the boy.’
khkorshaa mbuzi ‘to raise, breed goats’
Khkorsha miimba/ siwo kaazi/ kaazi/ ni khkorsha mwaana. ‘To raise a pregnancy is not work, work is to raise a child.’ (A proverb.)
khkorshaa nk^huku ‘to raise chickens’
maana mzaale mkorshe we zote maliza/ takhilila muunt^hu
takhtaala khuliza [nt.] ‘have a child, raise it, complete its upbringing, someone will come to you and snatch it away, leaving you crying’
Mkono mooyi/ hawkorshi/ mwaana. ‘One hand cannot nurse a child.’ (A proverb which says that both parents are needed to take care of a child properly.)
Mwaana/ namkorshe/ maamaye. ‘A child, let his mother bring him up.’ (A proverb.)
Mwanaamke/ kama oyo/ chihada/ chinoka ichi/ ni chisuura/ mi/ nt^h akishkorsha. ‘The girl, (like) that one, said: this little snake is

- pretty, I will bring it up.’
- Nakuwakorsha.** ‘She is raising them.’ (Analysis: null [cl.1] subject prefix followed by present tense marker *na* followed by infinitive prefix *ku* followed by [cl.2] object prefix *wa* followed by verb stem *korsh* ending in the final vowel *a*.)
- Sultaani/ wakorsheeze/ waanawe/ chisultaani.** ‘The sultan raised his children in a royal manner.’
- Ye/ shkorsheeze/ chinoka/ icho/ haṭá/ chiweele/ shkulu.** ‘She raised the little snake until it became big.’
- kh-korshoowa* v. pass. (**korsheeza**) be raised, be brought up
- Mwaana/ korsheeze/ jisa suura/ haṭá chiwa muḃjaana.** ‘The child was brought up in a good way until he became a young man.’
- Nakhkorshoowa/ nakhkorshoowa/ haṭá/ wele mkulu.** ‘He was raised and raised until he became big.’ (Note the use of a present tense verb in a narrative telling about what had happened in the past, prior to the beginning of the action in the story.)
- rel. nom.
- m-korsha* (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who makes grow, breeds etc.
- mkorshaa mbuzi** ‘s.o. who breeds, raises goats’
- m-korsho* n. 3 way of making grow, breeding etc.
- Mkorsho/ waa we/ hukorshoo mbuzi/ siwo/ suura.** ‘The way that you breed goats is not good.’
- koranta** n. 9 [Som. *koronto*, from Ital. *corrente*] electricity; [pron. **koranta**]
- Chizimize koranta.** ‘We turned off the electricity.’
- Koranta/ izimiza naasi.** ‘The electricity was turned off by us.’ (The SM *i-* on the passive verb in this example indicates that **koranta** is a [cl.9] noun.)
- m-koroofi* (*wa-*) adj. [Sw. *-korofi* SSED 222; Ar. verb *qarafa* “to be loathsome” and noun *qarad* “loathing, disgust” W 758] s.o. cursed, an ill-omen, s.o. for whom things always go wrong
- Angamizee dali/ mkoroofi/ ye.** ‘She spoiled everything [lit. the world], she is cursed.’
- Mlate mkoroofi/ ye/ naafe.** ‘Let the accursed one die.’
- korneeli** n. [Ital. *colonnello*] colonel
- n-korooma* n. [Sw. *koroma* SSED 223] [pron. **nk^horooma**] in the expression:
- kubiga nk^horooma** ‘to snore’
- korso** n. [Ital. *corso*] course of study
- kh-kosa* v. [Sw. *kosa* SSED 223] (**koseeze**) miss, fail, err, make a mistake
- Ali/ haakosi/ kuwanayo peesa.** ‘Ali never fails to have money.’
- Isa/ nimkoseze mweenza/ chiniinfo.** ‘Now I have lost the friend who was a help to me.’
- Nunguu nk^hulu/ haykosi/ ikooko.** ‘A large pot never fails to have **ikooko**.’ (A proverb.)
- Shkosa iwele ya maamo/ ama/ haṭa yaa mbwa.** ‘If you lack your mother’s breast, suckle even a dog’s.’ (A proverb.)
- Uko kharibu ya miiko/ haakosi/ kuwaandra.** ‘The one who is near the kitchen/ never fails/ to get fat.’ (A proverb.)
- Wele mahzuuni/ kumkosa eelowe.** ‘He became sad as a result of missing his gazelle.’
- rel.
- kh-kosan(y)a* v. rec. (**-koseen(y)e**) miss one another
- kh-koseka* v. p/s.
- kh-kosekana* v. disappear, not be present or found
- Haadi/ hakosekani/ chinemaani/ kilaa masku.** ‘One never fails to see Haadi at the cinema every night.’
- Numbaani/ kaaka/ unga/hawkosekani.** ‘In my house, flour is never lacking.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **ivu** ‘ashes’.)

kh-koseleza v. appl. mistreat verbally, speak insultingly

ka khisa/ mi/ skumkoseleza mukeewo/ walá/ skukhukoselezaa we
'because I did not wrong your wife or you'

Somo/ nk^hoseleze mbele za waant^hu. 'Somo insulted me in front of people.'

kh-kosesha v. caus. (**kosesheeze**) cause s.o. to make mistake

kh-kosoowa v. pass.

Munt^hu wa khupa kooði/ hakosoowi/ hapatikani/ ni munt^hu wa khupaa kuja. 'A man to give you advice is not lacking, the one who is not found is a man to give you food.' (A proverb.)

ma-kosa

n. mistakes

khfanya makosa 'to make mistakes'

Alí/ karka darsi/ iyo yaa ye/ someeló/ fanyize makosa miingi.

'Ali, in the lesson that he read aloud, made many mistakes.'

khtomola makosa 'to correct, remove mistakes'

Hamadi/ m-pele Omari/ darsi/ m-ambiile/ langala/ kana yi-mo

ma-kosá/ tomola 'Hamadi gave Omari a lesson (and) said to him: look at it, if there are mistakes in it, take them out.'

mfanya makosa 'someone who does wrong'

Wafanya makosa/ waleesela/ moyimooyi. 'Those who had done wrong were brought one after the other (in the story: to be judged).'

Sultaani/ chaamura/ wafanyizo makosá/ kuletowa mbeleye. 'The sultan ordered that those who had done wrong be brought in front of him.'

m-kosefu (wa-)

n., adj. 1/2 [Sw. **-kosefu** 'full of (given to, liable to) mistakes, erroneous, defective, etc.' SSED 223] one who needs; needy

Mwamina mwajiitu/ si mkosefu. 'One who trusts in God is not needy.' (A proverb.)

i-kosi (mi-)

n.

l-kosi (n-)

n.11/10 [Sw. **ukosi** (**kosi**) SSED 224] back, nape of the neck; [pron. **nk^hosi** (pl.)]

lkosila 'my nape (of the neck)'

rel.

sh-kosi (s-) n. [Sw. **kikosi** SSED 224] nape of the neck, throat

kumandika shkosiini 'to put s.o. on the back of the neck'

kumbiga shkosi 'to hit on the back of the neck'

kumkala shkosi 'to press s.o. on the back of the neck'

kumkalan^hila shkosi 'to sit on the back of someone's neck'

kumla^hila shkosi 'to expel, send'

kumtukula shkosiini 'to carry s.o. on the back of the neck'

kuvundika shkosi 'to break the nape of the neck'

lkosila 'my nape'

Mlume shkosi. 'Sting/bite him on the neck!'

Mp^haka/ haani/ maayi/ chishikowa shkosi. 'The cat does not drink water if grasped by the throat.' (A proverb which says that one cannot be forced to do what one does not want to do.)

shkosi/ kulaa^haa 'for the nape of the neck to ache'

i-kooti (ma-)

n. 5/6 [Sw. **koti** SSED 224; Eng.] coat

Ikooti/ imbelejele chihaba. 'The coat became small for me.'

ikoti imooyi 'one coat'

ikooti/ na sh^hezó 'a coat and a button'; **ikooti/ na sh^hezó** 'a coat and buttons'

ikooti/ na sh^hezoché 'a coat and its button'; **ikooti/ na sh^hezó** 'a coat and

	its buttons'
	ikoti yaa nvula 'rain coat'
	makoti mawili 'two coats'
	makooti/ na stezó 'coats and buttons'
	makooti/ na stezozé 'coats and their buttons'
	Ni ikooti/ yaa ye/ veetó. 'What a coat he has on!'
	rel.
	kooti n. 9/10 coat
	Koti iyi/ nda jaana. 'This coat is made of wool.'
	Koti iyi/ nda paamba. 'This coat is made of cotton.'
	Koti iyi/ nda suufi. 'This coat is made of cotton.'
	Nureeni/ uzile kooti. 'Nureeni bought a coat.' Or with verb focus: Nureeni/ uzile/ kooti. (The simple yes-no question for these two statements:
	Nureeni/ uzile kooti? and Nureeni/ uzile/ kooti?')
	l-kooti (mi-) n. 11/4 aug. large jacket (size reference, not disparaging)
	sh-kooti (s-) n. 7/8 dim. (size reference, not disparaging)
	Omari/ uzle shkooti/ chijiin(i)s. 'Omari bought a denim jacket.'
	Omari/ uzile shkooti/ chisuura. 'Omari bought a nice coat.'
i-koowa	n. [cf. Sw. <i>koa</i> "band of thin metal plate" SSED 214] a ring put around something
broken to mend it	
kh-koowata	v. [Som. <i>koob</i> "to comprehend, to be formed of" DSI 371] (koweete) reach, obtain, possess; comprehend, encompass
	maayi ya bahari shteka hayamali / na süifa za mtume ndruwa hazimali [st.] 'if you fetch water from the sea it does not finish (i.e. you are unable to take all water out of the sea, it is an endless task), and [likewise] the praises of the Prophet, my friend, are endless'
	sandra wrote nruwa
	ndi we koweeto jaaha sho khpata mirsaliini [st.] 'you obtained the glory that the [other] prophets did not get'
	siifatizo ni niingi naa mi skhaadiri kiskoowata waLLaahi kamba bahari [st.] 'your praises are [too] many and I am unable to encompass them all, they are verily like the sea'
	rel. nom.
	m-koowata n. the one who reaches, obtains
	na mkoowata kulla faḍli/ Mhamadi wiitu sho mithli [st.] 'and the one who obtained all favors, our peerless Mohammad'
sh-kooya (s-)	n. 7/8 necklace
	Chimpa mfazi/ shilingi khamsiini/ izo/ kumfuliila shkooya. 'She gave a blacksmith the fifty shillings to forge for her [e.g. his wife] a necklace.'
	kuvala shkoya 'to wear a necklace'
	Ndrani ya shkooya/ icho/ muke/ chiyaṭila mishpa/ yaa noka/ chimaliza/ chichiweka shkooya/ icho/ nt^hini yaa chili. 'Inside that necklace the woman put the bones of the snake and then she put that necklace under the bed.'
	shkoya cha ḍahabu or shkooya/ cha ḍahabu 'a necklace of gold'
	shkoya cha feḍa or shkooya/ cha feḍa 'a necklace of silver'
	shkoya cha haruusi 'a marriage necklace'
kh-koza	v. (koseeze) warm, heat something up
i-kraahi	n. discord
	Kilasku/ itakuwa ikraahi/ kati kiitu. 'Every day it will be discord between us.'
ku-	infinitive prefix; morphophonemic variants: k before a vowel-initial verb stem (with

compensatory lengthening if allowed); *kh* before verb stems with an initial voiceless obstruent; *ki* before various object prefixes that contain a palatal element; \emptyset before a verb stem with an initial *q* or *kh*; *ku* elsewhere

kh variant:

khpika ‘to cook’, **kh-faanya** ‘to do’, **khṭeka** ‘to laugh’, **khtafuna** ‘to chew’, **khsooma** ‘to read’, **khchiimbila** ‘to flee’, **khshiika** ‘to hold’, **khkuumbuka** ‘to remember’

ku variant:

kuboola ‘to steal’, **kuviva** ‘to be ripe’, **kubiga** ‘to hit’, **kudaara** ‘to touch’, **kuziika** ‘to bury’, **kujeera** ‘to be ashamed’, **kugafa** ‘to make a mistake’, **kumaamala** ‘to be quiet’, **kuna** ‘to drink’, **kuḷa** ‘to cry’, **kulipa** ‘to pay’, **kuruuda** ‘to return’, **kuwona** ‘to see’, **kuyela** ‘to be full’, **kuhisa** ‘to feel’, **ku’ajiba** ‘to please’

k- variant (plus compensatory lengthening, context permitting):

kooloka ‘to go’, **kuula** ‘to buy’, **keeleza** ‘to explain’,

\emptyset -variant:

Chintuma/ waziiri/ mooyi/ kendra kumviḷa Hasani. ‘He sent one minister to go to call Hasani [to come to him].’

kichaambila ‘to tell us’

(n)nakinaambilá ‘I am telling you (pl.)’

Ye/ chanza kubigaa nk^heḷe/ kuḷa/ na kuhadá/ siwo/ mi/ Abunawaasi. ‘He began to shout and cry, saying, I am not Abunawaasi.’

kubli

right; [pron. **kubli**]

mkono wa kubli ‘the right hand’

Sultaani/ uyu/ naayé/ kila shpisa/ hukumu/ hulangaḷa/ ka kublike/ chimaliza huṭeka/ kanmake/ hulangaḷa/ lpaandre/ la kusooto/ huḷa. ‘This king [lit. and he] whenever he passes judgement, he looks to his right and then laughs, then he looks to his left, and he cries.’

upandre wa kubli ‘the right side’

kh-kubura

v. [cf. Ar. *kabara* W 809-810, which includes the meaning "deem important"] only observed in the example:

ruuhu haqiqaye mtume nt^hakubura [st.] **review number of syllables etc**

u-kufri

n. 14 straying from the faith

asli ya kulla ukufri/ na mbovu zont^he na kibri/ ni khtaala sharri ya amri/ za nafsi bahri ya makri [st.] ‘all loss of faith, evil and arrogance derive from following the evil commands of the soul, a sea of deceit’

kufu

equal

Fulaani/ siwo/ kufuyo. ‘So-and-so is not your equal.’

Mwajiitu/ nt^hana/ kufu. ‘God has no equal.’

kh-kufura

v. [Sw. *kufuru* SSED 166; Ar.] abandon one’s faith and convert to another religion; do s.t. forbidden that makes one an infidel

lata khfatisha chizapo takhkufura [st.] ‘leave off investigating (such things) or else you will lose your faith’

Muunt^hu/ haminoo miti/ hukufura. ‘One who believes in trees (magic) becomes an infidel.’

nt^haku mahala yaa ye sho khsujuda/ numa ka kibri shfukura chiruuda [st.] ‘in every place he (referring to Iblis) prostrated himself, (but) later, because of pride, he disobeyed God’

stosheeni niingi nt^hakhkufura chiiza [st.] ‘don’t think that there is a lot (i.e. more **qudra** than God’s), otherwise you will lose your faith

rel.

kh-kufurila v. appl. convert for

Nt^haná/ sababu yaa ye/ khkufurila. ‘He has no reason to convert.’

kh-kufurisha v. caus. convert someone

kh-kufurishiliza v. caus. appl. use s.t. to convert someone

Pela peesa/ zaa ye/ khkufurishiliza. ‘He was given money to use to convert people.’

kuja

n. (see **ku-ja**) food

n-kuku

n. 9/10 [Sw. *kuku* SSED 225] chicken, hen; [pron. **nk^huku**]

akhili zaa nk^huku ‘the intelligence of a chicken (i.e. lack of intelligence)’

Omari/ akhilize/ kana zaa nk^huku. ‘Omari’s intelligence is like that of a chicken.’

Gele/ staawanyé/ mahala zikoo nk^hukú. ‘Grain does not spill where there are hens.’ (A proverb.)

Ka’iwa yaa nk^huku/ hujó/ (we)/ skamuje. ‘If you knew what a hen eats, you would not eat it.’ (A proverb.)

khtinda nk^huku ‘to slaughter a chicken’

Kulu yaa nk^huku/ haymuḅli/ mwaanawe. ‘The leg of the hen does not kill its chick.’ (A proverb.)

Ibawa laa nk^huku ‘the feather of a hen’

Nk^huku/ nakudaakha. ‘The hen is grazing/feeding.’

nk^huku za maduuri ‘birds with black stripes and white and grey dots, similar in size to a six month old Bravanese chicken; eaten by Bravanese who considered them a delicacy’

nk^huku za Taaliyaani ‘Italian hens’

Martí/ ni nk^huku mwelpe. ‘A stranger is like a white hen (i.e. a stranger always stands out, whether it is because of his dress or his speech or his manners).’ (Phon. Note that although a vowel preceding **nk^huku** is lengthened when **nk^huku** is phrase-final, there is no such lengthening when **nk^huku** is not at the end of the phrase.

Thus we have **Nii nk^huku.** ‘It is a chicken.’ but **Ni nk^huku mwelpe.** ‘It is a white chicken.’)

nama yaa nk^huku ‘the meat of a chicken’

Nk^huku/ hamuḅli/ mwank^hukuwe. ‘A chicken never kills its chick.’ (A proverb.)

Nk^huku/ zanzizopo kuwiiká/ mi/ nondroshele/ kendra kulatiza/ haba mooyi. ‘When the cocks began to crow, I arose and went to lay down for a little while.’

nk^huku za talyaani ‘lit. Italian hen – a large red hen that is not a local type’

Nt^hakhuṭiinda/ kana nk^huku. ‘I will cut you like a chicken.’ (A threat.)

Ruuhuye/ kana yaa nk^huku. ‘His soul is like that of a chicken – i.e. he is weak, doesn’t have a strong will, is a coward, etc.’)

Takhtinda/ kana nk^huku. ‘He will slaughter you like a chicken.’

Waant^hu/ wanaakufa/ kana nk^huku. ‘People are dying like chickens.’ (This is equivalent to the English: People are dying like flies.)

rel.

i-kuku (mi-) n. aug. 5/4

sh-kuku (s-) n. dim. 7/8

kh-kukuunta

v. [Sw. *kukuta* SSED 226] (**kukuunsile**) shake out a wet cloth to dry it; sieve, strain,

- separate husks from grain; [pron. **khkukuunt^ha**]
- sh-kukuunt_o* n. 7/8 sieve; [pron. **shkukuunt^ho**]
- kh-kukutala* v. (-**kukuteele**) become dry, become dried up
chiza khkukutala nijisi nafsiye, wala chiza kuguura karka fadhiye [st.]
 ‘otherwise (if one does not clean oneself properly after defecating)
 the unclean thing dries up on its own, nor does it move from its
 place’
**Maaziye/ yachilātowa paapo/ yashkukutala/ hattá/ sku ya oyo siimbá/
 nakuuyó/ yashtalowa ayo maazi/ oyo mwiimbili/ chi’aruurisha/
 shtila karka chiguwo/ shfuunga/ shtuluka/ na lpaangá.** ‘Its
 blood (i.e. the blood of the cow that was killed) was left right there
 and dried up, until the day when that snake was to show up, that
 blood was taken, that boy collected it and put it in a piece of cloth
 and tied it and carried it, along with a sword.’
- kula* [see *kila*] [Sw. *kula* SSED 226; Ar.] every
Kula munt^hu wa Jaama/ mbishiló/ ishtakiile. ‘Each person that Jaama hit
 complained.’
**Kula waa mi/ nkoðelo naayé/ njibiile/ kuwa mtume/ uyu/ nt^haasá/
 nt^hakuzaloowa.** ‘Everyone that I spoke about to him, he answered
 that this prophet had not yet been born.’
- kuleeta* n. [Ital. *colletto*] collar
kuleeta ya haanzu ‘the collar of a **haanzu**’
kumshika muunt^hu/ (ka) kuleeta ‘to grab s.o. by the collar (in a quarrel, a
 fight, etc.)’
- kulkulu* adj. old, wornout [but a restricted range of usage] (Phon. It is a common pattern in
 Chimiini for a bisyllabic *CVCV* stem, when reduplicated, to elide the final vowel of
 the first element in the reduplication. Furthermore, if the second consonant is *l*, it is
 converted to *l̥* in pre-consonantal position. Compare, for instance, the verb
kugalgala.)
nguwo nk^hulkulu ‘old clothes’
- kh-kula* v. [Sw. *kua* SSED 224] (**kuzile**) grow (of a child or a plant, e.g.), mature (Observe
 that Chimiini is more conservative than Standard Swahili in various respects, one of which is the retention of the
 liquid consonant *l* in stems where Swahili has elided this consonant.)
Apa/ miti/ hayaakuli. ‘Here, trees do not grow.’
Kuzile maluungo/ nt^hakhkula/ aqli. ‘He matured physically, but not
 mentally.’
Mi/ mbaliko shkula muiy uyu/ karka nuumba/ iyi. ‘I grew up in this town
 in this house.’
Miti/ hayaakuli/ funguuni. ‘Trees do not grow in the wet sand along the
 beach.’ Or: **Funguuni/ miti/ hayaakuli.**
Miti/ hukula karkaa nt^hi. ‘Trees grow in the ground.’ Or: **Karkaa nt^hi/
 miti/ hukula.**
Mwaana/ kuzilopó/ chimuza maamaye/ nini/ inaye. ‘When the boy grew
 up, he asked his mother what his name was.’
**Wakhti oyo/ mi/ mbaliko chihabá/ tu/ isa/ mi/ nk^huzilé/ mi/ isa/ niilé/
 khusaayda.** ‘At that time, I was just small, now I have grown up, now I have come to help you.’
Ye/ liinzile/ hattá/ nt^heendre/ skuzile. ‘He waited until the dates grew.’
- rel.
kh-kuza v. caus. raise, bring up (a child); respect, praise (Note that only the first of
 the meanings of this verb is transparently understood as being the result of the causativization of the base verb –
kula. One might well consider the second meaning to represent an independent verb, homophonous with the

verb *-kuza* ‘raise, bring up’. There is one argument against such a view. There is a general constraint that bars a causative verb from undergoing a second round of causative stem formation. Thus *-kuza* ‘raise, bring up’ cannot become **-kuzisha* ‘cause to raise, bring up’. But if *-kuza* ‘respect, praise’ were not considered a causative verb, then there would be no reason not to allow a causative form like **-kuzisha* ‘cause to praise, respect’. Such a form does not exist, however.)

Haakuzi/ waant^hu. ‘He does not respect people.’

Munt^hu hakuzi waant^hú/ hakuzoowi. ‘The man who does not respect people is not respected.’

Want^hu wa Mwiini/ hukuzaa nt^ho/ Ashuura/ na hударбаṭila. ‘The people of Brava respect Ashuura very much and prepare for it.’

kh-kuzoowa v. caus. pass.

Mukeewe/ shkuzoowa. ‘His wife was praised.’

Munt^hi uyu/ ni munt^hi hukuzowaa nt^ho/ na islaamu. ‘This day (i.e. **idi ya wamuusi**) is a day very much respected by Moslems.’

give an example of the passive of the ‘raise’ use of this verb

rel. nom.

m-kuza n. t one who enlarges, increases, makes greater (used as an attribute of God)

kh-kuula

v. tr. [This word is of Bantu origin, but is not used in Sw., where the equivalent is *ng’oa*.] (**kuuzile**) extract, uproot, pluck, pull out (e.g. from someone’s hands by force)

Ali/ kuzile igoyi. ‘Ali had a molar tooth extracted.’ Or:

Ali/ kuzile musmaari/ (ka) ḷkutaani. ‘Ali took a nail out of the wall.’ Or:

Ali/ kuzile ḷkuta/ musmaari.

Ali/ mkuzile mwaana/ peesa. ‘Ali took the money from the child by force.’

(Syn: The human NP must be the object in this sentence; one cannot, for example, locate **ka** ‘from’ in front of it: **Ali/ kuzile peesa/ ka mwaana*. ‘Ali took money from the child.’)

Dakhtari/ mkuzile Ali/ igoyi. ‘The doctor extracted Ali’s molar.’

khkula ruuhu ‘to bother to death’

Nkuzile ruuhu. ‘He bothered me to death (repeating his request obsessively, until I had to give in).’

Mi/ niskuuzilé. ‘I took them [cl.8] off.’

Mi/ niskuuzilé/ zo/ zilaatu. ‘I took them off, the shoes.’ (Note the possibility of the co-occurrence of a [cl.8] object prefix with the [cl.8] independent pronoun as well as the overt occurrence of the [cl.8] noun itself.)

Mukeewo/ chink^hula iyo badikhi/ chimpa mwaanawe. ‘Your wife grabbed the melon from me and gave it to her child.’

Nk^hulaani/ mbawa/ zote/ chimaliza/ nt^hukulaani/ ndraṭilani muyiini/ kaa dafa. ‘Pluck off all my feathers and then take me and throw me into the town of the kites.’

Nk^huuzilé. ‘I took it/them off off.’

Nk^huzile shaatiyá. ‘I took off my shirt.’

Nk^huuzilé/ yo. ‘I took it [cl.9] off.’

Nk^huuzilé/ yo/ shaatiya. ‘I took it off, my shirt.’

Nk^huzile zilaatuzá. ‘I took off my shoes.’

Nk^huuzilé/ zo. ‘I took them [cl.8] off.’

Nk^huuzilé/ zo/ zilaatu. ‘I took them off, the shoes.’

Shati yaa mi/ nk^huuzilé/ yaatushile. ‘The shirt that I took off was torn.’

Tuuma/ namkula maana/ zilaatu. ‘Tuuma is taking the shoes off the child.’ Or: **Tuuma/ nakhkula zilatu za maana.** ‘Tuuma is taking off the child’s shoes.’ Or: **Tuuma/ namkula maana/ zilaatuze.** ‘Tuuma is taking off from the child his shoes.’

rel.

kh-kuuka v. intr. (-kuushile)

Ali/ igoyi/ imkuushile. ‘Ali’s molar tooth came out.’

Mi/ chint^hu icho/ stakhupi/ haṭá/ shkuka ruuhu/ we. ‘I will not give you that thing even if the soul comes out of you (i.e. you die).’

Musmaari/ unakhkuka ka Ikutaani. ‘The nail is coming out of the wall.’
Ye/ malizopo kumkasa myaaná/ latize ruuhuye/ chiliini/ na paapo/ apo/ ruuhu/ imkuushile. ‘When he finished listening to the servant, he threw himself on the bed and right then his soul left him -- i.e. he died.’

kh-kuloowa v. pass. (**kuuzila**) be extracted

Ali/ kuzila igoyi. ‘Ali had his molar extracted.’

Musmaari/ ukuzila ka Ikutaani. ‘A nail was taken out of the wall.’ (Syn: Contrary to the active version of this sentence, **ka** cannot be omitted: ***Musmaari/ ukuzila Ikutaani**. Nor can the bare form of **Ikuta** be used: ***Musmaari/ ukuzila Ikuta**. But MI did accept the sentence: **Lkuta/ Ikuzila musmaari**. ‘The wall had a nail taken out of it.’)

Mwaana/ kuzila peesa/ na Ali. ‘The child had money taken from him forcefully by Ali.’ (Syn: One cannot say ***Peesa/ skuzila mwaana/ na Ali**. ‘Money was taken forcefully from the child by Ali.’ One can prepose **peesa** while keeping **mwaana** the subject: **Peesa/ kuzila mwaana/ na Ali**. ‘The child had money taken from him by Ali.’)

Waziiri/ shkuoowa/ usultaani/ ka khisaa ye/ khtumila khada’a. ‘The minister had the sultaniship taken from him because he used deception (to get his position)

kh-kulakuula v. freq. (**-kuzilekuuzile**)

Noloshelé/ ndeelé/ ilu ya chilima/ masku/ inyelee nvula/ niingi/ nt^ho/ hattá/ ikuzilekuzilee miti/ ya nt^heendre. ‘I went and I slept on a small hill; at night, it rained very much, until the date trees were uprooted.’

kh-kuulika v. p/s. able to be extracted from

Chiti ichi/ hakuuliki/ mwana uyu. ‘This chair cannot be taken from this child.’ (Observe that in this sentence, **chiti ichi** has been preposed but is not the subject of the verb. One cannot say: ***Chiti ichi/ hashkuuliki/ mwana uyu**. One can, of course, say: **Mwana uyu/ hakuuliki/ chiti ichi**. ‘One cannot take this chair from this child.’)

Musmari uyu/ hawkuuliki/ ka Ikutaani. ‘This nail cannot be extracted from the wall.’ (Syn: It is not possible to omit the **ka** nor to use the bare noun **Ikuta**: ***Musmari uyu/ hawkuuliki/ Ikutaani**. and ***Musmari uyu/ hawkuuliki/ Ikuta**. But one can say: **Lkuta ili/ halkuuliki/ musmaari**. ‘This wall cannot have a nail extracted from it.’)

Mwana uyu/ hakuuliki/ peesa. ‘One cannot take money from this child.’ (It is not possible to say: ***Peesa/ haskuuliki/ mwana uyu**. ‘Money cannot be taken from this child.’)

rel. nom.

m-kuuko (*mi-*) n. 3/4 ‘the act of coming out

m-kuulo (*mi-*) n. 3/4 the act of extracting

kule

cf. *-le*

kaa kule ‘from afar, at a distance’

Askari/ wachimrasha baduwi/ kaa kule/ ha^ata kaaké/ chimaliza/ wachiruda ka sultaani/ wachimpa khabari. ‘The soldiers followed the nomad at a distance up to his place, then they returned to the sultan and gave him the information.’

Karkaa ye/ nakugalgalo chiliini/ shkasa waant^hu/ kaa kule/ wanakuuya. ‘While he was tossing and turning on the bed, he heard people from afar coming.’

Nile ka mahala^a kulé. ‘I have come from a place far away.’

kule/ kamba akheera ‘as far as the life hereafter’

Mwaana/ oyo/ skumó/ shfunga safari/ kendra nt^hi zaa kule. ‘That boy set

off on a journey to go to far-away lands.’
ndilaa kule ‘the farthest away road’

-kulu

adj. big, large

Apo/ zamaani/ waaliko/ taajiri/ mooyi/ mkulu/ mwenye maali/ na makhaamú. ‘Once upon a time there was a rich man, important, having wealth and high position.’

Chimera ndilaa nk^hulu/ ya muuyi. ‘He looked for the main street of the town.’

Chint^hu chihaba/ ndichó/ huwo shkulú. ‘A small thing is what becomes

big.’ (A proverb.)

chisu shkulu ‘large knife’; **zisu skulu** ‘large knives’

ikopa ikulu ‘a large cup’

ikulu/ kana idovu ‘something as big as an elephant’

Ishondre ikulu/ nda msaafiri. ‘The large lump of faeces is from the traveler.’ (A proverb.)

kudhora waant^hu/ wakulu wiinu ‘to respect people older than you (plural)’

Ikuta ikulu ‘large wall’; **nk^hutaa nk^hulu** ‘large walls’

makopa makulu ‘large cups’

Mi/ nuzile faturaa nk^hulú. ‘I bought the big car.’

mkono mkulu ‘large hand’; **mikono mikulu** ‘large hands’

mlango mkulu ‘a large door’

Mi/ nuzile numbaa nk^hulú. ‘I bought the big house.’ Cf. **Mi/ nuzile numbá/ nk^hulu.** ‘I bought a big house.’

Munt^hi uyu/ lapiilile/ wakulu/ na zihabá/ hulawa ibana ya muuyi/ hendra kulangaJa mapezo za namna ka namna. ‘In the afternoon of this day adults and children go to the outskirts of town to watch games of different kinds.’

munt^hu mkulu ‘a large person’; **want^hu wakulu(wakulu)** ‘large people’

muti mkulu ‘big tree’

m(w)alimu mkulu ‘headmaster’ (**walimu wakulu** ‘headmasters’)

Mwaana/ chiwa muunt^hu/ mkulu/ apo. ‘The boy became a great man there.’

M(w)aana/ mkulu. ‘The child is grown-up.’ (**Waana/ wakulu.** ‘The children are grown up.’)

m(w)ana mkulu ‘a grown-up child’ (**wana wakulu** ‘grown-up children’)

numbaa nk^hulu ‘a large house; large houses’

Nuumbaya/ nk^hulu/ nt^hayna mlaangó. ‘My large house which has no doors.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **iyaank^huku** ‘egg’.)

Nunguu nk^hulu/ haykosi/ ikooko. ‘A large pot never fails to have **ikooko.**’ (A proverb.)

Raaði/ nii nk^hulu/ kolko maali. ‘Blessing is better than wealth.’ (A proverb.)

Wachihada/ chimwub^helelee noka/ mooyi/ mkulu. ‘They said: we killed a snake, a big one.’

We/ histahila chiint^hu/ shkulu/ kolko ichi. ‘You deserve something bigger than this.’

Ye/ shkorsheeze/ chinoka icho/ hattá/ chiweele/ shkulu. ‘She raised that snake until it became a little big.’

rel.

-kulu -kulu adj. pl.

Ndrani ya ibirka/ yawalimo maayi/ na katikati ya ibirka/ yawalimo majiwe/ mikulu mikulu. ‘Inside the water container was water,

and in the middle of the water container there were big stones.’

m-kulu (*wa-*) n. 1/2 head, chief

Mkulu/ wa ma’askari/ chuuza/ ndo/ yiikoni/ apa. ‘The chief of the soldiers asked: come, what is (going on) here?’

Mkulu/ wa makhaadimu/ chimwoondrola/ chimtila numbaani. ‘The head of the servants lifted him up and took him home.’

kuulu

n. 9 (cf. **miilu** [cl.6] ‘legs’ for additional examples) leg; wheel

chala cha kuulu ‘toe’ (**zala za kuulu** ‘toes’)

Chisu/ shchimbiga cha kuulu. ‘The knife struck him on his leg.’

chiti chaa mi/ nandishilo kuulu ‘the chair that I put my leg on’

Isa/ nsele ka kulu mooyi. ‘Now (after having my leg cut off) I remained with one leg.’

Jaama/ shishile kulu yaa mbwa. ‘Jaama grasped the leg of the dog.’ Cf. some variations: **Kulu yaa mbwa/ ishishila na Jaama.** ‘The leg of the dog was grasped by Jaama.’ (In this passive sentence, **kulu yaa mbwa** is the subject, with **kuulu** triggering subject agreement.) **Mbwa/ shishila kuulu/ na Jaama.** ‘The dog was grasped by the leg by Jaama.’ (In this example, **mbwa** is the subject of the passive verb and governs the null subject prefix associated with human subjects.) **Jaama/ shishile kuuluye.** ‘Jaama grasped its leg.’ (In this example, there is no object marker on the verb.) **Jaama/ mshishile kuulu.** ‘Jaama grasped him by the leg.’ (In this example, the verb has the agreement for a human singular object, which is appropriate for an animal as well as a human.) **Kuuluye/ mbwa uje/ ishishila ma Jaama.** ‘His leg, that dog was grasped by Jaama.’ (In this example, **kuuluye** controls the subject marker on the verb, not **mbwa uje**.)

khkaza kuulu/ miilu ‘to push one’s leg into a tight trouser etc.’

khtindowa kuulu ‘leg to be amputated’

Omari/ nakhtindowa kuulu. ‘Omari is having his leg amputated.’

kubiga mpiira/ ka kuulu ‘to kick a ball with the leg (foot)’

kulu chigobe ‘short leg’ (cf. **milu zigobe** ‘short legs’)

Kuulu/ ichuuluka/ ishpotela mayiini. ‘(His) leg flew off (after being cut off) and fell into the water.’

Kuulu/ itindishile. ‘The leg is broken.’

kulu ya chigure ‘left leg’

kulu ya chinume ‘back leg’

kulu ya gaari ‘wheel of a car’ (cf. **milu ya gaari** ‘wheels of a car’)

kulu ya kubli ‘right leg’ (cf. **milu ya kubli** ‘right legs’)

kulu ya kusooto ‘left leg’

kulu yaa mbele ‘front leg (e.g. front tire of a car)’

kuluu ndre ‘long leg’ (cf. **miluu male** ‘long legs’)

kulu yaa numa ‘back leg (e.g. back tire of a car)’

kuluu nzito ‘heavy wheel’ (not: ***kulu izito**) (cf. **milu mizito** ‘heavy wheels’)

Kuuluya/ ivundishile. ‘My leg is broken.’ Or: **Kuulu/ invundishile.** ‘My leg is broken – lit. leg is broken [with respect to] me.’ Or: **Invundishile kuulu.** (Phon. Observe that when **kuulu** is placed in post-verbal position, it may be placed in the same phonological phrase as the verb.)

kumfunga kuulu/ miilu ‘to tie someone’s leg/s’

kumishkiza kuulu/ miilu ‘to bring down someone’s leg/s’

kumkandra kuulu/ miilu ‘to massage someone’s leg/s’

kumkuta kuulu/ miilu ‘to bend one’s leg/s’

kumkawaŋa kuulu/ miilu ‘to fix someone’s leg, i.e. to bandage, put a splint, etc.’

kumpotosha kuulu/ miilu ‘to twist someone’s leg/s’

kumolola kuulu/ miilu ‘to stretch one’s leg/s’

kumondrola kuulu/ miilu ‘to raise someone’s leg/s’

kumpanza kuulu/ miilu ‘to take up someone’s leg/s’

kumtinda kuulu/ miilu ‘lit. to cut one’s leg/s – i.e. to make someone do something without getting what he wanted’

kumtuwa kuulu/ miilu ‘to rub someone’s leg/s’

kumvunda kuulu/ miilu ‘to break one’s leg/s’

kumwaka kuulu/ miilu lit. to construct one’s leg/s, i.e. to fix a broken leg, to put a bandage on a leg or splint etc.’

mahaŋa ya kuweka kuulu/ miilu ‘a place to put the leg/s’

milu manene ‘fat legs’

Muunt^hu/ imṭindishile/ kuulu. ‘The man broke his leg.’ (Syn. Note that in this construction, **kuulu** is the grammatical subject and **muunt^hu** controls object agreement on the verb. See below for a variant where **muunt^hu** controls subject agreement on the verb.)

Muunt^hu/ kuulu/ immurkeete. ‘The man’s leg was sprained.’ Or:

Muunt^hu/ immurkeṭe kuulu. (Syn. and phon. In both of these variants, **kuulu** is the grammatical subject of the verb and **muunt^hu** controls object agreement. Notice, however, that in the second version, **kuulu** is postposed after the verb and forms a phonological phrase with the verb. We can see that the verb is not phrase-final by the absence of the long vowel in the verb and the absence of accent.)

muunt^hu/ na kuulú ‘a man and a leg’

muunt^hu/ na kuuluyé ‘a man and his leg’

Muunt^hu/ ṭindishile kuulu. ‘The man broke his leg.’

Muunt^hu/ uyu/ chimwaambila/ Huseeni/ waawo/ ndiyé/ nṭ^hinzilo kulu iyí. ‘This man told Huseeni: your father, it is he who cut off this leg.’

Nandishile kuulú/ chitiini. ‘I put my leg on the chair.’

Nvundishile kuulú. ‘I broke my leg.’ (Syn. Note that in this sentence, the experiencer is the subject of the verb.)

Omari/ vuzile chiti/ kuulu. ‘Omari broke the leg of the chair.’ Or:

Omari/ vuzile kulu/ chiti. (Syn. This example illustrates the presence of so-called “possessor raising” in Chimiini. Both **kuulu** and **chiti** are complements to the verb. This sort of sentence contrasts with **Omari/ vuzile kulu yaa chiti.** In the latter sentence, **kulu** and **chiti** are joined together into the possessive phrase **kulu yaa chiti.**)

Ṭindishilo kuulú/ ni muunt^hu. ‘The one who broke his leg is the man.’

Ye/ wanaayo/ kuulu/ mooyi/ tu. ‘He had just one leg.’

rel.

zi-j-uulu n. 8

Zijuulúze/ kamba zaa mbu. ‘His legs are as thin as those of a mosquito.’

m-kulu (wa-)

n. 1/2 chief; superior; a grown-up, adult

Laazima/ we/ khfungula kanayo/ hada/ jawaabu/ yo yotte/ itakhfurahishó/ waant^hu/ wakuluwó/ hatá/ ichiwa jawaabu/ izo/ sṭamkirihiha/ mwajiitu. ‘But you must open your mouth and say whatever will please your superiors, even if those words (things) will not please God.’

Mi/ skuwona/ hattá/ sku mo/ mi/ niikó/ tu/ hattá/ mbele mkulu/ mboni/ hattá/ sku mo/ skutala chiint^hu. ‘I have not seen it [the missing shoe]; not even once from when I [came] here until I became a grown-up have I taken anything.’

Sho mkasa mkulu/ huvundika kuulu. ‘The one who does not listen to his elder breaks his leg.’ (A proverb stressing the need to respect one’s elders.)

Wamfanyize Saalimu/ mkulu. ‘They made Saalimu chief.’ (cf. **Saalimu/ fanyiza mkulu.** ‘Saalimu was made chief.’)

kuma

n. [Sw. *kuma* SSED 226] vagina -- but only used in the insult: **mwana kuma ya maamo** ‘son of your mother’s cunt’, an insult now mostly used by elderly people; younger speakers prefer **mwana ndinaa mamu.** [review phonology](#)

kh-kumaangana

v. (**kumangeene**) meet, get together, gather together, have a reunion

Ka nasibuye/ kuwa suura/ ye/ shkumangana na sulṭaani. ‘His luck being good, he met with the sultan.’

kendra khkumaangana/ na mowṭiwe ‘to go to meet his death’

Si/ shkumangeene/ na qatí’uṭariiqi/ wiingi. ‘We met many brigands.’

Waant^hu/ wa muyiini/ wote/ washkumaangana/ apo/ ka furaha. ‘All the people of the town gathered together there with happiness.’

Waant^hu/ wakumangeene/ kulindra hokomo ya sultaani. ‘People gathered to wait for the judging of the sultan.’

rel.

kh-kumanganikila v. p/s. appl.

Waana/ wamkumanganikiliile. ‘The children gathered around him.’

kh-kumaanganya v. tr. (**kumangeenye, kumanganyiize**) gather together, collect together, pile together

Baana/ kumanganye waant^hu. ‘Baana collected the people together.’

Basi/ Sa’iidi/ choondroka/ shkumaanganya/ zoombo/ zote/ peesaze/ maaliye/ mingineye/ na hoolazé/ zote/ chi’irudila karka nt^hiye/ chiruuda/ mahalaa ye/ iliiló. ‘So Sa’iidi got up and gathered all his things: his money, his other belongings, and all his animals, and he returned to his country, he returned to the place where he came from.’

Chiwakumaanganya/ waant^hu/ chiwakhutbila. ‘He gathered together people and delivered a speech to them.’

Fijiri/ ya sku ya piili/ khadimu sultaani/ shkumanganya waant^hu/ wotte/ wa muuyi. ‘On the morning of the second [next] day, the sultan’s servant gathered together all the people of the town.’

Kumanganye skunyi. ‘He collected firewood.’

Laakini/ shfikira/ chihada/ waawe/ chinambila oloka/ kumaanganya/ nt^heendre/ ndreetela/ mi/ nk^hamwambilani. ‘But he thought and said: if my father told me: go and gather up the dates and bring them to me, what would I do (lit. say to him)?’

Mtile mwaana/ khkumanganya skunyi. ‘He had the child collect firewood.’

Sultaani/ shkumanganya askari/ miya. ‘The sultan gathered together a hundred soldiers.’

Washkumanganya zombo zaawo/ na nt^hakant^haka zaawó/ wachingile maduriini. ‘Tir things and their scraps and entered

into the bush.’

kh-kumanganyika v. p/s. be collectable, gatherable

Hawakumanganyiki. ‘They cannot be collected together.’

Skunyi/ skumanganyishile. ‘The firewood was able to be collected.’

kh-kumanganyikila v. p/s. appl.

Waana/ wakhukumanganyikiliile? ‘Were you able to bring the children together (lit. were the children able to be brought together for you)?’

Waana/ wamkumanganyikiliile Zeena. ‘The children were able to be brought together for Zeena (i.e. Zeena succeeded in bringing them together); the children were gathered around Zeena.’

kh-kumanganyila v. appl.

Waana/ wamkumanganyilile skunyi. ‘The children gathered firewood for him.’

kh-kumanganyishiliza v. tr. caus. appl. collect for, with

kh-kumanganyishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. collect for one another

kh-kumangan(y)isha v. caus. (=kh-kumaanganya)

Kumanganyishize skunyi. ‘He collected firewood.’

kh-kumanganyishika v. caus. p/s.

Zijiwe/ skumanganyishile. ‘Gravel has been collected together.’

kh-kumanganyishiliza v. caus. appl. gather, collect for

kh-kumanganyishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

rel. nom.

m-kumaanganya (wa-) n. 1/2 one who gathers, collects

ukopi ibnu Afaani/ mkumaanganya qur’aani [st.] ‘where is the son of Afaan who collected the Quran?’

kumbe

interj. [Sw. *kumbe* SSED 227] indicative of surprise

Huseeni/ shpandra chibateera/ chishkila jaziraani/ kumbe/ jaziira/ iyi/ ndiyó/ jaziira/ ya sultaani/ wawe mwanaamke. ‘Huseeni boarded a small boat and disembarked on the island; lo and behold, this island was the island of the sultan, the girl’s father.’

i-kuumbi (ma-)

n. 5/6 [Sw. *kumbi* SSED 227] the fibrous husk of the coconut, used e.g. in making ropes and rugs (it is buried in the sand for a few weeks to soften and then beaten)

kh-kuumbuka

v. [Sw. *kumbuka* SSED 227] (**kumbushile**) remember (The verb *kuumbuka* takes a *kuwa* complement clause or an infinitive complement. It does not allow a subjunctive or a gerundive complement.)

Ali/ kumbushile koloka madrasaani. ‘Ali remembered to go to school.’
(One does not say: ***Ali/ kumbushile na’oloke madrasaani.** Also, not ***Ali/ kumbushile kolokake/ madrasaani.**)

Ali/ kumbushile kuwa keesho/ nt^haku/ madrasa. ‘Ali remembered that tomorrow there is no school.’

Basi/ we/ mp^ha balani/ kuwaa we/ chilawa/ ka apa/ kunk^huumbuka/ ka moojó. ‘So, promise me that when you leave from here to remember me to your master.’

chibuku chaa mi/ nk^humbushilo kuulá... ‘the book that I remembered to buy...’

chibuku cha waant^hu/ wakumbushilo kuwaa mí/ n(ich)uzilé... ‘the book that people remembered that I bought (it)...’

Kuumbuka/ spisiló. ‘Remember the things that have passed.’ Or:
Kumbuka spisiló.

kuumbuka spisilo zaa we chinaambilo [song] ‘remember those things that have passed that you used to tell me about’

Kuumbuka/ spisiló/ chiza kugafa/ mara yiingine. ‘Remember what has passed so that you do not make a mistake another time.’

Kumbuka spisiló/ zaa we/ nfanyiizó. ‘Remember the things that have passed that you have done to me!’

Laakini/ kuumbuka/ jisaa mi/ khambiiló/ awanyá/ kuumbuka/ kuwaa mi/ khambile awanya tawalá/ mafunguu mané. ‘But remember how I told you to divide it up, remember that I told you to divide the sea into four parts.’

Mi/ hukumbuka (kuwa) nch^hinendra koloka Raasiini/ kuła fijiri. ‘I remember I used to walk to go to Raasiini every morning.’

Mi/ hukumbuka mukhtaa mi/ mbaliko mwaaná/ kuwa gaari/ schinendra ka makala. ‘I remember when I was a child that cars went by charcoal.’

Mi/ hukumbuka (ya) kuwaa we/ hadile hutakendra madrasaani. ‘I remembered that you said that you would not go to school.’

Mi/ nk^humbushile khpika chaakujá. ‘I remembered cooking food.’

Mi/ skuumbuki/ yo/ yotte/ karka hayaati/ ipisiló. ‘I do not remember anything of the life that has passed.’

Mubli/ shkuumbuka/ ya kuwaa ye/ tile tubaaku/ nt^hini ya mtaawo. ‘The man remembered that he had out the tobacco under the pillow.’

Mwaana/ chila/ chimkumbuka maamaye. ‘The child cried remembering his mother.’

Mwana wa Mhamadi/ kumbushilo kuwa Sheekhi/ mpele chibuukú/ ni Baana. ‘The boy who Mhamadi remembered that Sheekhi gave him a book is Baana.’

Nimkumbushile maamé. ‘I remembered my mother.’

Nimkumbushilé/ uje muunt^hu. ‘I remembered that man.’ (Syn. This sentence is an answer to the question: Did you remember that man?’ The answer to the question: **Mkumbushile naani?** ‘Who did you remember?’ would be: **Nimkumbushile uje muunt^hu.**)

Nimkumbushile (uje) munt^hu waa si/ chimweno sukhuuní. ‘I remember the man that we saw at the market.’

Nk^humbushilopo kuwaa we/ hukhaadiri/ nfakete kuya khulanga^lá.
'When I remembered that you are sick, I ran coming to visit/ look in on you.'

Nuuru/ kumbushile kuwa Jaama/ mpele mwaana/ chibuuku. 'Nuuru remembered that Jaama gave the child the book.' (Cf. The noun phrase **mwaana** can be made into the head of the corresponding relative clause: **Mwana wa Nuuru/ kumbushilo kuwa Jaamá/ mpele chibuukú/ ni Ali.** 'The child whom Nuuru remembered that Jaama gave (him) the book is Ali.')

Ori/ kumbushilopo kuwa waank^hulé/ mwambile chiza kaaminilá/ ruuhuyé/ na dul^hedá/ chihada/ mweenza/ waawe/ file naa mi/ chihabá. 'When the rooster remembered that his grandfather had told him not to trust himself with a fox, he said [to the fox] friend, my father died when I was little.'

Shkuumbuka/ kuwaa ye/ nacho chilemba. 'He remembered that he had a turban.'

Suufi/ kumbushile darsi. 'Suufi remembered the lesson.'

Waant^hu/ wakumbushile kuwaa mi/ nuzile chibuukú. 'People remembered that I bought a book.'

We/ nt^hukhaadira/ khkumbuka zeema/ zaa ye/ khufanyiizó/ amó/ mukeewó. 'You could not remember the good that he did for you or your wife.'

rel.

kh-kumbukika v. p/s.

kh-kumbukila v. appl. (**kumbukiliile**)

kh-kumbukoowa v. pass. be remembered

Kuwaa mi/ mp^hishilé/ itakhkumbukowa na waant^hu. 'That I cooked will be remembered by people.'

Namnaya ya khpika/ itakhkumbukowa na waant^hu. 'My way/ type of cooking will be remembered by people.'

kh-kuumbusha v. caus. (**kumbushiize**) remind someone

Skuumbushé/ ruuhuye. 'Don't remind yourself.'

Tuuma/ mkumbushize mwaana/ darsi. 'Tuuma reminded the child of/about/ concerning the lesson.'

kh-kumbushan(y)a v. caus. rec. remind one another

kh-kumbushika v. caus. p/s.

kh-kumbushiliza v. caus. appl.

kh-kumbushilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. (**kumbushilizeenye**)

rel. nom.

m-kuumbuko n. 3

sh-kuumbuko (s-) n. 7/8

u-kuumbuko n. 14

m-kuumbusho n. 3

sh-kuumbusho n. 7/8 momento, souvenir

u-kuumbusho n. 14

i-kumi

n, adj.[Sw. *kumi* SSED 228] ten

ikumi/ na keendrá or **ikumna keendra** 'nineteen'

ikumi/ naa mbilí or **ikumnaa mbili** 'twelve'

ikumi/ na mooyí or **ikumna mooyi** 'eleven'

ikumi/ na naané or **ikumna naane** 'eighteen'

ikumi naa ne/ne or **ikumnaa ne/ne** 'fourteen'

ikumi/ na nt^haanó or **ikumna nt^haano** 'fifteen'

Leete/ mp^ha shilingi ikumna nt^haano. 'Bring it and give me fifteen shillings.'

ikumi/ naa nt^hatú or **ikumnaa nt^hatu** 'thirteen'

ikumi/ naa sabá or **ikumnaa saba** 'seventeen'

ikumi/ na sittá or **ikumna sitta** 'sixteen'

Kheeri/ keendra/ kolko ikumi/ endra/ ruuda. 'Better nine than ten (if it means) go and come back (to get the tenth).' (A proverb.)

Mp^hundra ikumi/ uziló. ‘Ten donkeys is what he bought.’
Mudda/ wa sku ikumi/ wachisaafira/ tu/ sku ya ikumi/ wawasila. ‘For a period of ten days they just traveled, and on the tenth day they arrived.’
Omari/ nayo balani/ taariikhi/ meezi/ ikumi. ‘Omari has an appointment on the tenth day of the month.’
Sku ya ikumi/ wo/ washkoma muuyi/ wa mwanaamke/ wa sul^taani/ namsuuló. ‘On the tenth day, they reached the town of the girl that the sultan wanted.’ (Syn. Note that the two occurrences of *wa* in this example represent two different uses of the *Ag-a* particle. In the first occurrence, it is the associative link between a noun and its complement; in the second use, it is the relative clause link between the head and the subject of a relative verb.)
Uzile mp^huundra/ ikumi/ uziló. ‘He bought ten donkeys, that’s what he did.’ Or: **Uzile mp^huundra ikumi/ uziló.**
Zibuku ikumi/ uziló. ‘Ten books is what he bought.’ Or: **Zibuuku/ ikumi/ uziló.** ‘It’s ten books that he bought.’

- kumpuni** n. [Eng. *company*] company
Kumpuni/ ikhubalile utulubo wa mashakhaale. ‘The company accepted the demands of the workers.’
- kumraaði** interj. [Sw. *kunradhi* SSED 230] forgive me!
- kh-kuna** v. [Sw. *kuna* SSED 228] (**kuniile**) scratch (one’s body), grate (coconuts)
kakuná ‘if he scratched’
kawa kuniilé ‘if he had scratched’
Muunt^hu/ hukuna ruuhuye/ maha^laa ye/ hukomó. ‘A man scratches himself where he can reach.’ (A proverb that says that a person does what a person is able to do.)
- rel.
kh-kunaakuna v. freq.
Naani/ ilo kaaká/ nakunk^hunokunoo chitá. ‘Who is it that has come to my place, scratching at my head?’
kh-kunila v. appl. [Sw. *kunia* SSED 228]
kh-kunoowa v. pass. [Sw. *kunwa* SSED 228] (**kuniila**) be scratched
kakunoowá ‘if he has been scratched’
kawa kuniilá ‘if he had been scratched’
kawa nt^hakhkunoowá ‘if he had not been scratched’
Nakhkunoowa. ‘He is being scratched.’
- rel. nom.
m-kuna (*wa-*) n. 1/2 ‘one who scratches’
m-kuno (*mi-*) n. [Sw. *mkuno* SSED 228] act of scratching, grating
- n-kunaazi** n. a fruit that grows on a tall tree, camels love to eat it; a circular fruit that has a crispy, apple-like texture: identified as the *ziziphus spina-christi* (the Christ’s thorn Jujube; [pron. **nk^hunaazi**]
variant form: **nk^honaazi**
Tandrikaa chili/ chije nk^hunaazi. ‘Lay the bed so that we may eat the fruit of the **mkunaazi** tree (a tree known for bearing much fruit).’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **noota** ‘stars’.)
- rel.
m-kunaazi (*mi-*) n. 3/4 the tree bearing the fruit described above
variant form: **mkonaazi**
- kuncherto** n. [Ital.] concert
Duniya/ ni kuncherto. ‘The world is a concert.’ (A proverb which conveys the idea that the world is a place where everyone must make a contribution.)

sh-kuunda (s-) n. a unit of measure (for grains, milk) that corresponds to 2 **zi-dhu** (see the entry for this measure) (Etym. The source of this word is unknown; the local Tunni Somali uses the word **madaal** for this measure.)

ma-kundri makuundri adv. in groups
Waant^hu/ makundri makuundri/ wachilawa/ kendra kubigaa zita. In groups, the people left to go to fight the war.'

u-kuundri (ma-) n. 11/6 [Sw. *ukunde* "fruit of *mkunde* shrub" SSED 288, though this is identified as "cowpea" in one source we located and thus different from the Chimiini fruit] a type of wild fruit/plant that is very important in Brava, as it is green even in the driest seasons; camels and wild pigs depend on it, and wild pigs dig up its bulbous roots for water; the fruit has a light brown to white skin that slips off easily and a red pulp with a big green seed; in serious draughts, people would cook the hard seeds overnight and eat them; people even eat the leaves mixed with maize; identified as the *dobera glabra*; it is also used as an indicator of drought since it responds so quickly to rain

maato/ mahuundru/ kana ukuundri 'eyes red as *ukuundri*'
mshaka wa makuundri 'the *makuundri* tree'
Nakuja makuundri. 'He is eating *makuundri*.'
Ukuundri/ uwaaliko/ mlada. 'The fruit was sweet.' Or: **Ukuundri/ uwaliko mlada.**

kh-kuunduka v. (**kundushile**) be spread
iwa/ ishkuunduka 'if the sun's rays spread'
rel.
kh-kuundula v. (**kundiile**) spread s.t., unfold s.t.
kh-kundulisha v. caus. (**kundulishiize**) cause, make s.o. spread or unfold s.t.
Baana/ mkundulishizee muke/ msala. 'Baana had the woman spread the prayer mat.'
Msalá wa Baana/ mkundulishizoo muké/ mbwaaká. 'The prrrayer mat that Baana had the woman spread out is mine.'
Muke wa Baana/ mkundulishizo msalá/ ni Haliima. 'The woman whom Baana had spread the prayer mat was Haliima.'
kh-kundulishoowa v. caus. pass. (**kundulishiiza**) be made to spread s.t. out
Muke kundulishiza msalá/ ni Haliima. 'The woman who was made to spread out the prayer mat is Haliima.' (Note that the subject of the passive of a causative verb must be the "causee", i.e. the one who was caused to perform some action, and not the logical object. One thus cannot have a sentence like ***Msalá ukundulishizaa muké/ mbwaaká.** 'The prayer mat that was made to be spread out (by) the woman is mine.')

kh-kungamana v. [Sw. *kongomana* SSED 220]

n-kuungu n. sp. fish; [pron. **nk^huungu**]

n-kuungunyi n.9/10 bedbug; [pron. **nk^huungunyi**]
Chendra numbaani/ kaako/ wa'ambiile/ watumishi/ wana'ondrole/ godoro/ kama zimo nk^huungunyi/ meepe/ wanazuble. 'When you go to your home, tell the servants to move the mattress (to see) if there are some bedbugs so that they may kill them.'
Chili cha nk^huungunyi / khadiri kulaaqila. 'A bed of bedbugs cannot be slept in.' (A proverb which says that one cannot remain with a spouse who is nagging and annoying or even unfaithful.)
Chili chaa we/ nt^hukichilaaqila/ hiiwi/ nk^huungunyize. 'A bed that you do not sleep on, you cannot know its bedbugs.' (A proverb.)
kuna maazi/ kana nk^huungunyi 'to drink blood like bedbugs (said of someone who exploits someone too much, "sucks him dry")'

kunha

[Ar. *kunh* W 843]

sh-kuunku (s-) n. 7/8 general term for bracelet or ring-shaped implement (made of metal or other material); as a bracelet, it is not specifically reserved for women; as an implement, it can be used to tie or join
mishpi

kh-kuunta

v. (**kuunsile**) be in financial difficulty, hardship, narrow straits; [pron. **khkuunt^ha**]

Waant^hu/ wakuunsile. ‘The people lived in difficult circumstances.’

rel.

kh-kuunsa v. caus. (**kunsiize**) put in difficult circumstances, ill-treat s.o., esp. a wife or a child

Mkunsiz **mwaana.** ‘He caused the child to live in a difficult situation (e.g. left the child with someone who did not care for him properly).’

kh-kuunsanya v. caus. rec. cause one another to live in difficult circumstances

kh-kuunsika v. caus. p/s.

Nt^hakhkuunsika. ‘He was no longer in a difficult situation (i.e. through his own efforts he overcame a difficult situation that otherwise he would have been caused to be in).’

kh-kunsiliza v. caus. appl.

Nk^hunsilize mwaana. ‘He exposed my child to difficulties (on me).’

kh-kunsilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Abubakari/ na Nureeni/ wakunsilizenye waana. ‘Abubakari and Nureeni exposed one another’s children to hardship.’

kh-kuuntila v. [pron. **khkuunt^hila**]

Mwaana/ nk^hunt^hilile sku zaa mi/ skuwaalikó. ‘My child lived in difficult circumstances during the period that I was away [not present].’

kh-kuntoowa v. pass. [pron. **khkunt^hoowa**]

Mi/ nnakuwona kuwa inakhkunt^hoowá/ apa. ‘I notice that people are starving here.’

rel. nom.

m-kuunto n. 3 [pron. **mkuunt^ho**]

u-kuunto n. 14 [pron. **ukuunt^ho**]

Inakhkunt^howa ukuunt^ho/ apa. ‘People are in dire straits here.’

kh-kuntamana

v. (**-kunt^hameene**) meet; [pron. **khkunt^hamana**]

variant form: **khkutamana**

Apo/ Misra/ ye/ kunt^hameene/ na muunt^hu/ mooyi/ inaye/ Alfaani.

‘There in Egypt he met with a man whose name was Alfaani.’

Apo/ shkunt^hamana na chizeele/ chike/ na ba’ada ya kuzanya khabari/ chizeele/ shchimweegsha/ kaake/ na chimpikila chaakuja.

‘There he encountered an old woman and after they exchanged their news, the old woman invited him to her place and cooked food for him.’

Karkaa ndila/ shkhunt^hamana na khaadimu/ za sulṭaani. ‘On the way he met with the sultan’s servants.’

rel.

kh-kuntamanisha v. caus. cause to meet; [pron. **khkunt^hamanisha**]

kh-kutana v. [Sw. *kutana* "meet together, assemble, collect, hold a meeting, be crowded" SSED 232] meet

rel. nom.

ma-kuntamano n. 6 meeting; [pron. **makunt^hamano**]

variant form:

makutamano

- kh-kuuntana* v. rec. [pron. **khkuunt^hana**]
khkuunt^hana na muke soomu huṭaanguka[st.] ‘to lie with a woman [renders] fasting invalid’
- sh-kunyi (s-)* n. 7/8 firewood
Kazi yaawo/ iwaliko khṭinda shkunyi/ kuuza. ‘Their work was to cut firewood and sell it.’
Lkaambala/ nii ḷile/ laakini/ halkhaadiri/ khfunga skunyi. ‘A rope is long, but it cannot tie firewood.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **ndila** ‘road’.)
Mwaana/ wa maskiini/ oloshole maduriini/ khṭinda skunyi. ‘The son of the poor man went to the bush to cut firewood.’
mwenye skunyi ‘someone who sells firewood’
Skunyi/ zishishilee muḷo. ‘The firewood has retained the heat.’
Zishishiloo muḷó/ ni skunyi. ‘What has retained the heat is the firewood.’
- rel.
ḷ-kunyi (n-) n. 11/10 [Sw. *ukuni (kuni)* SSED 494] piece of firewood; [pron. **nk^hunyi**]
- ḷ-kuunzi (n-)* n. 11/10 a large golden necklace similar to *shkoya*
- n-kupa* n. 9/10 [cf. Sw. *mkupa* identified as *Dobera glabara*] the ‘seed’ of the **ukuundri** fruit which is cooked and eaten; [pron. **nk^hupa**]
- kh-kuura* v. [Tunni dialect of Som. *kuur* but not found in standard Som.] (**kuriiḷe**) sip
Ali/ kuriiḷe iziwa. ‘Ali sipped the milk.’
- rel.
kh-kuurika v. p/s. (**kurishile**)
Iziwa iyi/ haykuuriki. ‘This milk cannot be sipped (e.g. it is too hot).’
kh-kurikila v. p/s. appl. (**kurikiliḷe**)
Maame/ hakurikili/ iziwa. ‘Mother cannot be sipped milk on (to her detriment).’
kh-kuurila v. appl. (**kuriliḷe**)
Shaafi/ mkuriliḷe mwaana/ iziwaye. ‘Shaafi sipped the child’s milk (to his detriment).’
- kurama* adj. pl. (see **kariimu**) [Ar. *kuramā* W 822] generous
- ḷ-kuraasa (n-)* n. 11/10 [Sw. *ukarasa* SSED 494] piece of paper; [pron. **nk^huraasa**]
- kurba* n. [Ar. *kurba* ‘worry, distress, trouble’ W 819] hardship, difficulty
shṭeenzi shṭimūle mooja kurba ondola [st.] ‘the poem is complete, may God take away hardship’
- kh-kurbata* worried
v. [Som. *kurboo* DSI 374, from Ar. *karaba* W 819] (**kurbeete**) be disturbed, deeply worried
- rel.
kh-kurbisha v. caus. make deeply worried
kh-kurbishanya v. caus. rec. make one another deeply worried
kh-kurbishiliza v. caus. appl. make worried on
kh-kurbishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. make deeply worried on one another
- i-kuri* n. (=farmani) a pole holding the sail, usually made of bamboo
- i-kuuri (mi-)* n. ?
- kurr* ideo. of snoring
Hamadi/ hakhadaroowi/ kulaḷowa naaye/ huvuta ngoroonzi/ masku

mazima/ kurr kurr. ‘It is not possible to sleep with Hamadi, he snores the whole night **kurr kurr.**’

kursi n. [Ar. *kursī* ‘‘chair, throne’’ W 820] throne of God (?)

sh-kurubu (s-) n. 7/8 [?cf. Sw. *kuruba* ‘‘bend’’ SSED 231; Ar. *mu‘aqrab* ‘‘curved’’ W 629] ear-ring, ring

skurubu za mashkilo ‘ear-rings’

skurubu zaa mp^hula ‘nose-rings’

ma-kuruumbe n. 6 a wild fruit that grows on a vine; it is not as common as the other wild fruit (like **goosho, maḍeeyo, maduulu, chint^haki**, etc.); it is big, red, and fleshy with a large seed, much like a plum, but larger

makurumbe ya ngamiila ‘a type of **makuruumbe** that is longer and bigger than the generic variety’

maato/ kana makuruumbe ‘eyes like **makuruumbe** – i.e. big red eyes’

kh-kuusanya v. [Sw. *kusanya* SSED 232] (**kuseenye**) pile things in a heap
rel.

kh-kusanyika v. p/s. (**-kusanyishile**) be piled up in a heap

Mitaanga/ yakusanyishile. ‘The sand is piled high.’

rel. nom.

ma-kusanyo n. 6 act of piling up

ma-kusanyiko n. 6 the state of being piled up

kuusi n. [Sw. *kusi* SSED 231] southerly wind

kusiini ‘[loc.] southern wind’

Lpepo/ la kuusi/ l^yumiile/ l^taharakishiize/ n^t^haanzi/ na iwuuyú/

impotelele mwaalimui/ imub^leele. ‘The wind from the south blow and shook the branches and the baobab fell down on the teacher and killed him.’

Mooyi/ katikaawo/ chihada/ ya kuwa ni kuusi/ imub^lelo mwaalimú. ‘One of them said that it was the southern wind that killed the teacher.’

Wachi’ishiika/ kuusi/ wachi’ivunaanga. ‘They grabbed the south wind and beat it.’

kuusi n. a fish that is caught during the southern monsoon season (**kuusi**); the Arabic name for this fish is **zube(y)di**

l⁻kuusi (n-) n. [unknown etymology] hand, handful; claps (pl.); [pron. **nk^husi** in the plural]

ka l^kusi ‘by the handful’

Nazo daank^hu/ ka l^kosi. ‘He has popcorn by the handful.’

kubiga l^kusi ‘to take a handful’

kubigaa nk^husi ‘to ululate, clap, jump up in down with joy’

Haliima/ furahiile/ maanawe/ khshiindra/ nakubigaa nk^husi.

‘Haliima is happy her child won, she is clapping/ jumping up and down.’

kubigilowaa nk^husi ‘to be applauded by someone’

Ibreeni/ bigil^laa nk^husi/ naasi. ‘Ibreeni was applauded by us.’ (If

one wishes to convey the idea ‘by us and no one else’, then the agent phrase is put immediately after the verb:

Ibreeni/ bigil^laa naasi/ nk^husi.)

kubigilaa nk^husi ‘to applaud for someone’

Chimb^ligil^le Ibraahimú/ nk^husi. ‘We applauded Ibraahimu.’

Muundrawa/ ni mkulu/ laakini/ mavunoye/ hayayezi/ l^kusi. ‘My farm is large but its harvest does not fill a hand.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is: **mashuungi** ‘hair’.)

rel.

i-kusi (ma-) n. 5/6 handful

sh-kusi (s-) n. 7/8 dim.

kusooto

n. 15 [Sw. *kushoto* SSED 231] left-hand side

Chiko ka kusooto. 'It [cl.7] is on the left side.'

Chilangala ka kubli/ chimaliza/ ka kusooto/ na nt^hakuwona/ shokuwa ivuumbi. 'He looked to the right and then to the left; he could not see anything except dust.'

mkono wa kusooto 'left hand'

Sultaani/ uyu/ naayé/ kila shpisa/ hukumu/ hulangala/ ka kublike/ chimaliza huteka/ kanmake/ hulangala/ Ipaandre/ la kusooto/ hula. 'This king [lit. and he] whenever he passes judgment, he looks to his right and then laughs, then he looks to his left, and he cries.'

upandre wa kusooto 'left side'

kusummak

interj. [?Ar.] your mother's cunt

kustubaani

n. [Sw. *kustabani* SSED 23; Ar. *kustubān* W 825] thimble

kuta

adv. [etymology unknown] every day, always; [pron. **kuṭá**]

huhuzuniko mp^hengele/ kutta schinendroowa [st.] 'the pathways along which he walked daily will feel sad'

Kuṭá/ Tuuma/ nakujaa nsi. 'Every day Tuuma is eating fish.'

nt^haku kudaa'ima kuta ku'insha [st.] 'there is no living for eternity, living

always'

Tuuma/ kuṭá/ naakula. 'Tuuma every day is crying.'

Kuṭá/ Tuuma/ nakuuya. 'Every day Tuuma is coming.'

kh-kuta

v. [cf. Sw. *kunja* SSED 229] (**kusile**) fold, pinch

khkuṭaa chiwo 'lit. to close (lit. fold) a book; also figuratively: to close definitely a matter, to decide not to deal with a certain matter any more'

ziwo za Barzanji kamu wakusilo [st.] 'how many [people] have closed the books of Barzanji (i.e. no longer read the *mawliid* written by Barzanji)'

khkuṭa itaanga 'to fold up a sail'

khkuṭa ka shkuṭa 'to pinch'

khkuta uso 'to frown, grimace'

kumkuṭa 'to pinch someone'; **kunk^huṭa** 'to pinch me'; **khukuṭa** 'to pinch you'; **kishkuṭa** 'to pinch us'; **kinkuṭa** 'to pinch you (pl.);

kuwakuṭa 'to pinch them'

Nk^husile. 'He pinched me.' **Nkusile.** 'He pinched you (pl.)'

Nk^huṭa. 'Pinch me!'; **Mkuṭe.** 'Pinch him!'; **Shkuṭe.** 'Pinch us!'; **Wakuṭe.** 'Pinch them!'

Nt^hakumkuta. 'He didn't pinch him.'

Nuuru/ kusilee nguwo. 'Nuuru folded the clothes.'

Sink^huṭé. 'Don't pinch me!'; **Simkuṭé.** 'Don't pinch him!'; **Sishkuṭé.** 'Don't pinch us!'; **Siwakuṭé.** 'Don't pinch them!'

rel.

kh-kutaakuta v. freq. (**kusilekusile**) crumple, fold over and over

Malizopo kaandiká/ kusilekusile Iwarakha/ Itile karaka nt^hupa/ ifinishile/ ilatile tawala. 'When he finished writing, he folded the piece of paper and put it in a bottle, covered it, and threw it into the sea.'

kh-kutamana v. shrink, curl up, become folded

Kutamene chiliini. 'He was curled up on the bed.'

kh-kutamanisha v. caus. cause to be curled up

Bardi/ imkutamanishiize. 'Cold caused him to huddle up.'

kh-kutamanishana v. caus. rec.

kh-kutamanishika v. caus. ps/s.

kh-kutamanishiliza v. caus. appl.

kh-kutamanishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
kh-kutana v. rec. pinch one another
Ali/ na Hamadi/ wakueteene. ‘Ali and Hamadi pinched each other.’
kh-kutanisha v. rec. caus. make pinch one another
Ali/ shkutanishiize. ‘Ali made us pinch each other.’
kh-kutisha v. caus. make fold
Nuuru/ mkutishize mwaana/ nguwo. ‘Nuuru made the child fold the clothes.’
kh-kutishiliza v. caus. appl.
Nuuru/ mkutishilize Suufi/ mwaana/ nguwo. ‘Nuuru made Suufi’s child fold the clothes.’
kh-kutishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
Nuuru/ na Suufi/ wakuutishilizenye waana/ nguwo. ‘Nuuru and Suufi made one another’s children fold clothes.’
kh-kutoowa v. pass. be pinched, folded
Chiza khkasa jawabu/ takhkutoowa. ‘If you do not listen to what you are told, you will be pinched.’
Mzele oyo/ hukuta waana. ‘That old man pinches children.’
kh-kutowakutoowa v. freq. pass.
Jawabu izi/ kheeri/ khkutowakutoowa. ‘These matters, it is better for them to be wrapped up, concluded, finished.’
rel. nom.
ma-kutamano n. 6
u-kutamano n. 14

sh-kuta (s-) n. 7/8 [related to *kh-kuta* ‘to pinch’] pinch
Mp^ha shkuta cha tangawiizi. ‘Give me a pinch of ginger.’
Omari/ skutache/ chimulo. ‘Omari’s pinches are hard, painful (lit. fire).’

kh-kutamana v. [cf. Sw. *kunjamana* SSED 229]

kh-kutana v. **need gloss**
rel.
kh-kutika v. p/s.
kh-kutila v. appl.
kh-kutisha v. caus.
kh-kutishana v. caus. rec.
kh-kutishika v. caus. p/s.
kh-kutishiliza v. caus. appl.
kh-kutishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

sh-kuto (s-) n. 7/8 a little pleating in a dress (French *pince*)

m-kutaano (mi-) n. meeting

l-kuta (n-) n. 11/10 wall; [pron. nk^huta ‘walls’]
Abú/ tumbile lkuta. ‘Abu made a hole in the wall.’
chinume cha lkuta ‘behind the wall’
Chiza kuziwa lufa/ itakhushika kilwaka lkuta/ lizimale. ‘Unless you fill in a crack it will be necessary for you to build the whole wall.’ (A proverb.)
Kaahini/ nambile kuwaa we/ zimile karka jaziirá/ na jaziirá/ iyo/ imersheza na maayi/ na mayi ayó/ yamershezna lkuta. ‘The soothsayer told me that you were hidden on an island and that island was surrounded by water and that water was surrounded by a wall.’
lkuta laa ye/ andishiló ‘the wall that he wrote on’

Lkuta/ lwalikoo lile. ‘The wall was long/high.’ Or: **Lkuta/ lwaaliko/ lile.**
(The presence of the *w* after the [cl.11] prefix needs to be reviewed.)

lkuta lpaana ‘a wide wall’; **nk^huta mp^haana** ‘wide walls’

Nk^huta za numba iyi/ spomeela. ‘The walls of the house were demolished.’

Numba iyi/ iburbushizaa nk^huta. ‘This house has been knocked down the walls.’

Numba iyi/ nk^hutaze/ ziburbushiiza. ‘This house, its walls have been knocked down.’

rel.

i-kuta (mi-) n. aug. 5/4 large wall

ikuta ikulu ‘a large wall’; **mikuta mikulu** ‘large walls’

ikuti iyi ‘this aug. wall’

mikuta aya ‘these aug. walls’

sh-kuta (s-) n. dim. 7/8 small wall

i-kuti (ma-, mi-)

n. 5/6,4 coconut palm reed, used e.g. for roofing

Ikuti/ ha’imubli/ noka. ‘A reed does not kill a snake.’ (A proverb.)

Lumila naa noká/ hutiya ikuti. ‘One who has been bitten by a snake is afraid of a reed.’ (A proverb.)

mikuti ‘reeds’ (From an historical point of view, **makuti** is the expected plural for the noun **ikuti**, and indeed this is the plural volunteered by MI. However, in the speech of GM, **mikuti** was the first plural form suggested, although **makuti** was not ruled out as a possibility.)

Mtowaa luti/ hushika ikuti. ‘One who lacks a stick grabs a reed.’ (A proverb.)

rel.

sh-kuti (s-) n. 7/8

changaangu/ kana shkuti ‘light as a [dim.] coconut palm leaf’

n-kutu

n. [Sw. *kutu* SSED 232] rust; [pron. **nk^hutu**]

khpandraa nk^hutu ‘to rust’

Suulé/ gaari/ ipanziloo nk^hutú. ‘Don’t buy a car with rust.’

kuwa

sentential complementizer

Nakhtamaná/ kuwa nna’iwá. ‘I wish that I knew.’

Nakhtoshá/ ~~kuwa~~ Nuuru/ oloshole Mkhodiisho. ‘I *think* that Nuuru went to Mogadishu.’ (The strikethrough indicates that in a sentence such as this, the *kuwa* is not obligatory.)

Wamó/ wachihada/ kuwaa wo/ waṭosheze kuwaa ye/ fiile. ‘Some said that they thought that he was dead.’

rel.

ya kuwa ‘that’

Chimwaambila ya kuwaa ye/ nakhsuula... ‘He said that he wants...’

i-kuwa (ma-)

n. 5/6 [no etymology known] thunder

variant form: **nk^huwa**

jawabu zaa nk^huwa ‘words of thunder – i.e. wild talk, talk impossible things’

Omari/ jawaabuze/ nza nk^huwa. ‘Omari’s words are not possible.’

ku-bigaa n-k^huwa ‘to thunder’

Zinakubigaa nk^huwa/ kana rasaasi. ‘It is thundering like bullets.’

Masku/ yawaliko miinza/ nvula/ ichimiminika/ na yawaliko makuwa/ ya kuyeza qalbi/ shtiisho/ na faza’á. ‘The night was very dark, rain poured down, and there was thundering that filled the heart with fear and fright.’

kh-kuza v. [Sw. *kuza* "make great, enlarge, magnify, increase, glorify, prosper" SSED 224] (**kuziize**) respect s.o. (of a younger person respecting an older person); blow s.t. up out of proportion
ku'ajiza kuwakuza 'to fail to honor them'
 rel.
kh-kuliza v. appl. (**kuliize**)
 rel. nom.
m-kuza (*wa-*) n. 1/2 s.o. who respects

m-kwaayu (*mi-*) n. 3/4 [Sw. *mkwaju* SSED 289] a tamarind tree
Muti uyu/ ni mkwaayu. 'This tree is a tamarind tree.' Or: **Ni mkwaayu/ muti uyu.**
 rel.
u-kwaayu n. 14 [Sw. *ukwaju* SSED 495] tamarind
Muti uyu/ huzala ukwaayu. 'This tree bears tamarinds.'
siita/ kamba ukwaayu 'as sour as a tamarind'
 need to review the pronunciation of this item with Gelani

L

l- [cl.11] noun class prefix (Phon. Historically, this prefix had the shape *lu-*; while in Swahili, the vowel *u* is retained, in Chimiini only the consonant is retained on the surface. From a synchronic point of view, we know of no evidence that the prefix has a vowel in it. However, if it does have a vowel, it must be a high vowel, either *i* or *u*, since there is independent evidence that a prefix of the shape *sonorant consonant+high vowel* will elide this high vowel in most cases. There is one piece of evidence that might suggest that the prefix is *li-* and that is the object prefix that agrees with it. The [cl.11] object agreement is heard as *li-* in certain environments. Given that in some cases an object prefix is identical in shape to the prefix of the noun that controls it, we could reasonably expect that *li-* is indeed the shape of the noun class prefix from a synchronic point of view. However, nothing much depends on this assumption)
lkuta 'wall'
lpeelo 'broom'
lpepo 'wind'
lwarakha 'page'

l- [cl.11] agreement marker on possessive root (There is no direct evidence as to whether this prefix has, from a synchronic point of view, a vowel in its underlying structure.)
lfungulola 'my key'; **lfungulolo** 'your key'; **lfungulole** 'his/her key';
lfungulo liitu 'our key'; **lfungulo liinu** 'your (pl.) key'; **lfungulo laawo** 'their key'
 Nch^h**iwonaa dhibu/ ka khisa mukeewa/ walimo numba iyó/ muke mwovu/ safihi/ limiile/ lwovu.** 'I used to face difficulties because of my wife who lived in that house; she was a bad wife, insolent, her tongue was bad.'

l'akbari adj. [cf. Ar. *akbar* "greater, bigger, larger" W810] great, big
mapeendo ya nafsi ni dambi l'akbari [st.] 'love of self is a great sin'

la interj. [uncommon in everyday speech] no!
Abunawaasi/ chihada/ la/ laazima/ we/ kunbiga. 'Abunawaasi said: No! You must beat me.'
Dafa/ chimwaambila/ la/ stiyé. 'The kite told him: No! Don't be afraid!'
Huseeni/ chihada/ la/ hayiinfi/ iyi/ siwo/ kaaziyo/ ni kazi yaa mi.
 'Huseeni said: no, it won't be useful, this is not your work, it is my work.'

La/ Omari/ walá/ Nureeni/ tálkaadiró. ‘Neither Omari nor Nureeni are able to do it.’

La/ ye/ walá/ ra’iyawe/ nt^hawakhtosha/ ba/ kuwa humkina/ khtuluka/ jawaabu/ mweepe/ nt^hawakhtila kaawo/ qalbini/ hattá/ sku mó. ‘Neither he nor his subjects ever thought that it was possible for anything to happen [which] they did not [lit.] put in their hearts, not even one day.’

ku-la

v. (**lizile**) cry, weep; make a loud sound (of animal or thing, e.g. a telephone ringing)

Baaba/ chanzaa kuḷa. ‘Father began to cry.’ Or, with verb emphasis: **Baaba/ chanzaa/ kuḷa.** (Syn. It is also possible to postpose the subject: **Chanza baaba/ kuḷa.** ‘Began father to cry.’ Notice that the postposed subject phrases with the verb in this example. The subject may also be postposed to clause-final position: **Chanzaa kuḷa/ baaba.** ‘He began to cry, father.’

Baaba/ chingilaa kuḷa. ‘Father began to cry.’

Chanzaa kuḷa/ kaa nk^heḷe. ‘She began to cry loudly.’

Chihada/ nnakuḷá/ tu. ‘She said: I am just crying.’

Haliima/ lizile. ‘Haliima cried.’

Halima liziló ‘the Haliima who cried’

kuḷa kana maana/ mana chihaba ‘to weep like a (small) child (said of grown-up person who weeps uncontrollably, giving vent to his grief)’

Omari/ lizile/ kana maana. ‘Omari wept like a child.’

Lizile masku/ na muunt^hi. ‘He cried night and day.’

Lizile munt^hu oyo/ hatá/ miimba/ itakhaaka. ‘That man cried [to an extent that] your stomach will burn [i.e. you will be so sorry for him].’ (Syn. This example illustrates the possibility for a definite subject to be postposed after the verb and phrased with it. However, this occurs only when there is some amplification of the main clause that follows. If one is dealing with a simple sentence such as **Munt^hu oyo/ lizile.** ‘That man cried.’, one can postpose the subject and separate it phrasally from the verb: **Lizile/ munt^hu uyu.** We refer to this phenomenon as right-dislocation. However, one cannot felicitously join the postposed subject into a phrase with the verb: ***Lizile munt^hu oyo.**)

Lizile/ Omari/ kana maana. ‘Cried, Omari, like a baby.’ (Phon. The simple yes-no question is interesting in that the out-of-focus right-dislocated subject undergoes accent shift, but not the **kana maana** phrase: **Lizile/ Omari/ kana maana?** The emphatic yes-no question is different in that the **kana maana** phrase does undergo accent shift: **Lizile/ Omari/ kana maaná!?**)

Lizile Omari/ kana maana. ‘Cried Omari like a baby.’ (Syn. Observe that the subject has been relocated to IAV position; this typically requires that the affected clause be expanded in some way – this example illustrates that a **kana**-phrase is sufficient to permit the move to IAV position. The simple yes-no question has no accent shifting: **Lizile Omari/ kana maana?**, while the emphatic version shifts the final phrase’s accent: **Lizile Omari/ kana maaná!?**)

Mamaye Hasiibu/ petopo khabari/ lizile/ nt^ho. ‘When Hasiibu’s mother got the news, she cried a great deal.’

Maskiini/ chihuzunika/ chanzaa kuḷa/ kaa nk^heḷe. ‘The poor man became sad and began to cry loudly.’

Mbona/ we/ naakuḷá. ‘Why are you crying?’ (Syn. We noted a different word order in which the accent of **mbona** was shifted: **We/ mboná/ naakuḷá.** Yet another word order seemed to allow both an unshifted and shifted accent: **Naakuḷá/ we/ mboná** (or: **mbona**). These accentual possibilities are not connected to the second person subject nature of the preceding sentences, as the following demonstrate: **Mbona/ Muusa/ naakuḷa.** ‘Why is Muusa crying?’ Or: **Muusa/ mboná/ naakuḷa.** Or: **Naakuḷa/ Muusa/ mboná** (or: **mbona**).)

Muná/ mboni/ we/ naakuḷá. ‘My little sister, why are you crying?’

Mwana wa sarmala/ shkalaant^ha/ nt^hi/ chila. ‘The child of the carpenter sat on the ground and cried.’

Mwaana/ wenopo kuwa nt^heendré/ zijilá/ chanzaa kuḷa. ‘When the child saw that the dates were eaten, he began to cry.’ (Morph: Our consultant actually used [cl.9] agreement **ijilá** rather than [cl.10] agreement, **zijilá**. We have observed this usage in other cases as well, but do not know how common it is with other speakers.)

Mwanaamke/ chilá/ nt^ho/ apo/ markabuuni. ‘The girl cried a lot there in the ship.’

Naayé/ nakhtiya/ naakuḷa/ naakula/ naakuḷa/ maana. ‘An he was afraid and he cried and cried and cried, the child.’ (Syn. This example illustrates the right dislocation of a subject.)

Nk^haanga/ waliko chilá/ kaa kule/ nt^ho. ‘The guinea fowl was crying from very far off.’ (Phon. Observe the absence of lengthening of the final vowel of *waliko* in front of the verb *chilá*; words with two open syllables usually trigger lengthening -- cf. the examples *chingilaa kuḷa* and *chanzaa kuḷa*. Perhaps the critical difference is that the infinitive *kuḷa* is a noun while *chilá* is a verb.)

Omari/ lizile. ‘Omari cried.’ Or, with right-dislocation: **Lizile/ Omari.** (Phon. The simple yes-no question version of the first sentence has no shift in accent: **Omari/ lizile?** The second sentence, however, shifts the accent in the out-of-focus postposed subject: **Lizile/ Omari?** The emphatic yes-no questions are: **Omari/ lizilê!?** and **Lizile/ Omari!?** Observe that there is no accent shift in the initial verb.)

Omari/ lizile kana maana. ‘Omari cried like a baby.’ Or: **Omari/ lizile/ kana maana.** (Phon. The simple yes-no question versions of these sentences lack accent shift: **Omari/ lizile kana maana?** and **Omari/ lizile/ kana maana?** What is clear from these questions is that *kana maana* is not an out-of-focus phrase. The emphatic yes-no question versions of these two sentences are: **Omari/ lizile kana maaná!?** and **Omari/ lizile/ kana maaná!?**)

Paapo/ apo/ mp^huundra/ chilá. ‘At that very moment the donkey brayed.’

Peesa/ izo/ schiḷa kaa nk^hele/ hattá/ sultaani/ shkasa. ‘Those coins made a lot of noise until the sultan heard.’

Shteko chiingí/ ni chílo chiingí. ‘The one who laughs a lot is the one who cries a lot.’ (A proverb.)

Silé/ chiṭa/ shtakhulaaza. ‘Don’t cry! You will get a headache.’

Silé/ daadá. ‘Don’t cry, grandmother!’

Sili. ‘I do not cry.’ Cf. the rest of the paradigm of human subjects: **Huli.**

‘You do not cry.’ **Haali.** ‘He does not cry.’ **Haachili.** ‘We do not cry.’ **Haanili.** ‘You pl. do not cry.’ **Hawaali.** ‘They do not cry.’

Waawe/ niliize/ laakini/ mi/ nanzizopoo kuḷá/ waawe/ shkhiira/ mi/ kumraasha. ‘My father refused me, but when I began to cry, my father agreed that I accompany him.’

Wayaana/ na walungaaná/ wachingilaa kuḷa. ‘Servants and free people began to cry.’

rel.

ku-laakuḷa v. freq. cry often and easily (Morph. Observe that in the case of a monosyllabic stem such as *-la*, the frequentative is formed by reduplicating not just the stem, but also the preceding prefix as well. Thus **kuḷaala* is incorrect.

Mana uyu/ hulaahula. ‘This child cries often, easily.’

ku-lilila v. appl. (*lililile*)

Chimuza/ nakulililani/ we. ‘He asked her: what are you crying for?’

Ichiwaa we/ ile kazima nk^heḷe za mp^huundra/ ndraṭa khulilile.

‘If you came to borrow the brays of a donkey, let me bray for you.’

Iyo/ tu/ nakulililó/ waawé/ silililé/ ba/ we. ‘It is just that you are crying for, my father, don’t cry because of that.’

kumlilila Huseeniya/ ifaramiilo Hamziya [st.] ‘to weep for Husein is recommended by the Hamzya’

Lilile ufo wa maamaye. ‘He cried over the death of his mother.’

Mooyi/ karka makhaadimu/ mkasize mwaana/ naaku_{la}/ chimsoonga/ kumu_uza/ khisa yaa ye/ naku_lililó. ‘One of the servants heard the boy crying and approached him to ask him what he was crying for.’

Naki’ilililá/ tu. ‘I am crying for myself only.’

ku-liza v. caus. (*liziize*) make cry

maana mzaale mkorshe we zote maliza/ takhilila muunt^hu takhtaala khuliza [nt.] ‘have a child, raise it, complete its upbringing, someone will come to you and snatch it away, leaving you crying’

Nimuzizopo inamlizoni... ‘When I asked her what was making her cry...’

Nt^haná/ sababu ya kumliza/ ni raaha/ tu/ imwelelo niingi. ‘She has nothing to make her cry, it is just comfort that is too much for her.’

ku-lizanya, ku-lizanyana v. caus. rec. (*-lizeenye* or *-lizanyeene*) make one another cry

ku-lizanyoowa, ku-lizanyanoowa v.caus. rec. pass.

Sheekhi nakuzikowaayi/ ikaleent^ha kulizanyoowa [st.] ‘but how can the Sheikh be buried if all are sitting and weeping?’

ku-lizoowa v. caus. pass. (*liziiza*) be made to cry

ku-loowa v. pass. (*ilizila*) be wept

ba’adi ya hayi ni mowti/ Sheekhi chifa isiloowa [st.] ‘after life comes death/ when the Sheikh dies, no one should weep’ (Phon. The *shteenzi* from which these lines come is characterized by lines that have eight syllables; it appears that the word *hayi* ‘life’ is being regarded as monosyllabic in this line: **hay**.)

nt^haku nuumba waazi Miini sho kuloowa [nt.] ‘in all Brava’s houses people are weeping -- lit. there is not in Brava an inhabited house where there is no weeping’

Sheekhi chifa ha’iloowi/ itakuðikirishoowa [st.] ‘when the Sheikh dies, no one should weep, instead people should recite ðikiri’

Sultani Daraayi/ kasiizopó/ inakuloowá/ chuza/ khabari. ‘When Sultan Daraayi heard the crying, he asked what had happened.’

takhkasa nk^hele naa zilo kuloowa [nt.] ‘you will hear screaming and crying’

ku-lowakuloowa v. freq. pass. be cried frequently and easily (Morph. This example is interesting. The base for the reduplication is two syllable *-loowa*, and thus one might reasonably expect that it would not be necessary to reduplicate a prefix along with the stem. Bisyllabic and longer consonant-initial stems do not require the prefix to be reduplicated along with the stem. It appears that the fact that *-loowa* is derived from a monosyllabic stem is sufficient to cause the prefix to be included in the reduplication.)

Kulowakulowa niingi/ ni ta’abu. ‘To cry too much is a problem.’

rel. nom.

i-lizi n. aug. big crier

chi-lo (zi-) n. 7/8 cry, sound

Ba’ada yaa ye/ kumublaa noka/ shkasa chilo cha mwaanawe/ na shfakata mtanaani/ ka mwaana. ‘After he killed the snake, he heard the cry of his child, and he ran into the child’s room.’

chilo cha gaari ‘the sound of the car’

chilocha ‘mycrying’

khshikaa zilo ‘to cry’

Waana/ wa Omari/ hawadaariki/ ka paapo/ hushikaa zilo. ‘Omari’s children cannot be touched, immediately they start crying.’

Nii chilo/ chiliziza waant^hu. ‘What weeping it was that people were made

	to cry.'
crying.'	Nuumbaye/ nzimaye/ ishikamena naa zilo. 'The entire house is gripped by crying.'
	takhkasa nk^hele naa ziḷo kuḷoowa [nt.] 'you will hear screaming and crying'
la'ana	n. curse la'ana nt^hangilo niingi hudhibika [st.] 'it is a curse, much loud singing [the dead person] is disturbed by it'
ku-la'ana	v. [Sw. <i>laani</i> SSED 238; Ar.] curse someone Sila'ané/ waant^hu/ ka buure. 'Don't curse people with no reason.'
la'aani proverb.)	?lack of, without Iḷmu/ la'aani/ ni miinza. 'Without knowledge there is darkness.' (A proverb.) Kana doḷḷa la'aani/ kheeri/ doḷḷaa mbovu. 'Instead of no government, better a bad government.' (A saying.) La'aaniyo/ awari. 'Without you there is dearth (a complete lack of s.t.)' mikuti la'aani 'without reeds' ndala la'aani 'a lack of appetite' Omari/ uko pesa la'aani. 'Omari is without money.' skopa la'aani 'without dim. cups' (Observe that la'aani does not agree with the noun to which it is appended, even a diminutive noun, which triggers agreement on bare adjectives even when the basic noun classes do not.) usinzizi la'aani 'insomnia'
la'iimu (ma-)	adj. evil, base (Morph: This adjective occurs with a bare stem in agreeing with a [cl.1] noun, but has <i>ma-</i> in agreement with a [cl.2] noun. In conjunction with the "derived" noun classes, the stem <i>-la'iimu</i> agrees with each derived noun class.) munt^hu la'iimu 'an evil person' (cf. want^hu mala'iimu 'evil people', chijint^hu chila'iimu 'dim. evil person', zjint^hu zila'iimu 'dim. evil people', ljana lla'iimu 'aug. evil person', ijana ila'iimu 'aug. evil person')
la'iini	adj. [Ar. <i>la'in</i> W 870] cursed, damned
la'iiqi (na)	adj. [Sw. <i>laiki</i> SSED 240] suitable for, fit for, deserving of; [pron. la'iiqi or la'iikhi] Fulaani/ siwo/ la'iikhi/ na mahala. 'So-and-so is not fit for the position.' Fulaani/ siwo/ la'iikhi/ na kazi yaa ye/ aminililila. 'So-and-so is not fit for the job that he has been entrusted with.' Mambo aya/ siwo/ la'iikhi/ naawe. 'These affairs are not suitable for you.' Mi/ ni la'iikhi/ na mapeenzi. 'I am deserving of love.'
	review laa'iqi or la'iiqi
ku-laa'iqqa	v. (la'iqiile) be suited to, fit for, deserving of Mi/ hula'iqqa kazi iyi. 'I am suited for this job.'
labda	adv. [Sw. <i>labda</i> SSED 238; Ar.] <i>Swahilism</i> perhaps, maybe
i-labe	n. a gold choker necklace (an old piece of jewelry) Aamina/ maamaye/ ndratiḷile ilabe/ dhahali. 'Aamina's mother her a large gold necklace as an inheritance.'
labeeke	interj. [Sw. <i>lebeke</i> "at your service! yes, sir (madam)! -- in answer to a call, coming! I am here! A common reply of a slave or inferior to a master's call" SSED 239] yes? -- a polite word to answer a call; this word is repeated over and over by pilgrims

during the Hajj, meaning 'Oh God, I am here in answer to your call', and thus also has particular Islamic connotations in addition to its secular usage

Masku mooyi/ eelo/ shkooḍa/ chihada/ mooja/ maskiini/ chihada/ labeeka. 'One evening the gazelle spoke and said, Master. The poor man said, Yes (here I am).'

ku-labisa

v. (**labisiize**) wear; dress fit to kill

Ali/ chilabisa/ jisa suura/ choloka ke sultaani. 'Ali dressed in his finest and went to the sultan.'

Cheendra/ chilabisa. 'She went and got dressed.'

Chilabisa nguwo suura/ chendra ka mwanaamke/ wa sultaani. 'He put on nice clothes and went to the daughter of the sultan.'

Fulaani/ labisiize. 'So-and-so has put on beautiful, fine clothes.'

Haliima/ labisiize/ nakuwala/ kana/ mezaa weelu. 'Haliima was dressed fit to kill, she was shining like the moon.'

Muke/ chilabisa/ chilawa/ cheendra/ ka sultani ḍaalimu. 'The wife got dressed and went out and went to the unjust sultan.'

ku-labisoowa v. pass. (**labisiiza**)

Haṭá/ oyo haruusi/ nt^h akulabisoowa/ jis'iyo. 'Even the bride was not dressed this way.'

laabuda

inevitable, certain, must

Ba'adi ya hayaati/ laabuda/ (ni) mooti. 'After life there must be death.'

laachi

n. 9/10 lace

laachi/ ya zilaatu 'shoe lace'

Liindra/ (nna)khfunga zilaatú/ laachi. 'Wait, I am tying (my) shoe laces.'

(Nna)khfunga zilaatú/ laachi. 'I am tying (my) shoe laces.' Or:

(Nna)khfunga laachi/ zilaatú.

lada, ladda

n. [Sw. *ladha* "n. the taste of anything, whether pleasant or unpleasant but usually the former" SSED 239] sweetness; adj. sweet, flavorful, fresh, delicious, tasty

chakuja chilada 'flavorful food'

Chaayi/ ichi/ chilada. 'This tea is sweet/ good.' (Usage: We should note that **lada** refers to tasting good of sweet things; one does not use an adjective like **taamu** to refer to tasting good of sweet things.)

embe lada 'sweet mango'

Khariibuye/ iwaaliko/ ito ya maayi/ marbadi/ na maḷada. 'Near it was a spring of cool and fresh water.'

Kuja jilo Nuurú/ lada. 'The food Nuuru ate is tasty.' (Syn. Note the postposed subject of the relative clause; the absence of a pre-verbal subject allows the head noun **kuja** to precede the verb without any **-a** particle being necessary. **Kuja** is phrased with the relative verb, as is the postposed **Nuuru**.)

kuja lada 'sweet, tasty food'

Kuja/ pishilo Haliimá/ simeeré/ kuwa lada. 'Food cooked by Haliima, do not try to search out whether it is sweet, good – i.e. do not dream that it will be good, there is no way that it will be good.'

Kuja/ nii lada/ kulima/ haraarisí. 'To eat is sweet, to cultivate is bitter.' (A proverb.)

ladda/ kamba haḷwa 'as sweet as haḷwa'

ladda/ kamba (or: **kana**)/ **suukari** 'sweet as sugar'

ladda/ kamba (or: **kana**)/ **uki** 'sweet as honey'

Lada ya haruusi/ ni saba ayaamu/ na shidaye/ ni dawaamu. 'The sweetness of marriage is seven days and its hardship is everlasting.' (A proverb.)

mayi maḷada 'fresh water'

Mi/ speendi/ mayi yiinu/ maayiya/ ni maḷada. 'I do not want your water, my water is sweet, fresh.'

Maayiye/ masaafi/ na maḷada. 'Its water (referring to a river) was clean and fresh.'

Mkate uyu/ m̄lada. ‘This cake tastes good.’
Muunt^hu/ chibarata lada/ hareebeki. ‘When one learns, gets sweet he cannot be stopped.’ (A proverb.)

Uki/ ladda/ wo. ‘The honey is sweet, it.’

Ukuundri/ uwaliko m̄lada. ‘The sp. fruit was sweet.’

Wo/ uki/ m̄ladda. ‘It, the honey, is sweet.’ Or: **Uki/ wo/ m̄ladda.**

Ziko zakuja zilada/ na ziko zaakuja/ siwo/ zilada. ‘There are sweet foods, and there are foods that are not sweet.’

ladaayi n. locust, grasshopper

ladu (n-dradu) n. [Sw. *ladu* SSED 239; Hind.] a sweetmeat, made of powdered sesame seeds and sugar, in the shape of small round lumps.

laf̄di n. 11 (or 9) [Sw. *lafudhi*] pronunciation, elocution, manner of speaking (Observe how Chimwiini has derived closed syllables, [laf̄.ði], by eliding the high vowel that occurs in the Swahili form of the word.)

Laf̄dīle/ fasihi. ‘His manner of speaking [cl.11] is clear.’

laf̄dīla ‘my pronunciation [cl.11]’

laf̄diye ‘his pronunciation [cl.9]’

laghaayi (ma-) adj. one who talks a great deal but says nothing
rel.
u-laghaayi n. 14 act of talking a great deal but saying nothing

lahja n. [Ar. *lahja* "manner of speaking, dialect, vernacular" W 880; cf. Som. *lahjad* DSI 383] dialect

lakhdawa n. argument, quarrel
Hamadi/ lakhdawaze/ niingi. ‘Hamadi, his quarrels are many.’
Lakhdawa/ siwo/ suura. ‘Arguing is not good.’ (A proverb.)

ku-lakhdawisha v. tr. (**lakhdawishiize**) argue, quarrel
Sheekhi/ kaaziye/ kulakhawisha waant^hu. ‘Sheekhi, his job is to argue with people (i.e. Sheekhi makes a practice of arguing with people, it is his nature).’

rel.

ku-lakhdawishan(y)a v. tr. rec.

Karkaa wo/ wanakulakhdawishanó... ‘While they were arguing...’

ku-lakhdawishliza v. tr. app.

ku-lakhdawishoowa v. tr. pass.

Mi/ skuuya/ apa/ kulakhdawishoowa. ‘I did not come here to be argued with/ against.’

Muunt^hu/ siwo/ suura/ kulakhdawishoowa. ‘It is not good for one to be argued with.’

laki n. [Sw. *laki* SSED 239; Hind.] hundred thousand

Laakini/ kaako/ ni kama laki mooyi. ‘But for you it is like one hundred thousand.’

laakini conj. [Sw. *lakini* SSED 240] but, however

Chiiko/ laakini/ hichiwoni. ‘It is there, but one does not see it.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **ikosi** ‘nape of the neck’.)

Daa’ima/ humkasa/ laakini/ simwona. ‘I always here him, but I do not see him.’ (A riddle.)

Huja/ laakini/ ha’ikuti. ‘He eats, but is never satisfied.’

Huseeni/ laakini/ nthakiiwa. ‘Huseeni, however, did not know.’

Laakini/ Nuuru/ fiile. ‘However, Nuuru died.’ Or: **Laakini/ Nuuru/ fiiló.** ‘However, it is Nuuru who has died.’ (Syn. There is some freedom in the placement of **laakini**. One can say: **Nuuru/ laakini/ fiile**. Or:

Fiile/ Nuuru/ laakini. Or: **Nuuru/ fiile/ laakini.** However, in our text collection, **laakini** is regularly initial in the clause.)
Lkaambala/ nii lile/ laakini/ halkhaadiri/ khfunga skunyi. ‘The rope is long, but it cannot tie firewood.’ (A riddle.)
Mayti/ nakhkooḍa/ laakini/ wamtukiiló/ wamameele. ‘The corpse is talking, but those who are carrying it are silent.’ (A riddle.)
Mbene Itaki/ ndilaani/ laakini/ skukhaadira/ killokota. ‘I saw a necklace outside, but I could not pick it up.’ (A riddle.)
Mi/ huja zint^hu matuuri/ zotte/ laakini/ mi/ siwaandi. ‘I eat all fat things but I do not get fat.’ (A riddle.)
Nuuru/ laakini/ washile nuumba. ‘Nuuru, however, built a house.’ Or: **Nuuru/ laakini/ washile/ nuumba.**
Nuuru/ washile laakini/ nuumba. ‘Nuuru built however a house.’ (Phon. Although **laakini** is almost always a phrasal isolate in our experience, in this example it was phrased together with the preceding verb. We have not recorded, so far, an instance where it is phrased with anything following.)

laakiri

n. [Sw. *lakiri* "sealing wax" SSED 240] plastic
Skombe zaa si/ chineleeló/ zivaliko za laakiri. ‘The cups that we drank with were made of plastic.’

laakuja

adv. time of sunset (in Brava: from 6 to 7 p.m.)
Ikomele laakuja. ‘It reached the time of sunset.’
Iwaliko laakuja/ apo/ na kuḷa laakujá/ muḅli oyo/ mlasiló/ hulawa ka kaaké/ kendra miskitiini/ hupita mbele ya nuumba/ iyo/ yaa muke. ‘It was dusk then, and each dusk, that man who divorced her goes from his place to the mosque, [and] he passes in front of that house of the woman.’
khsala laakuja ‘to perform the formal, sunset (*maghrib*) prayers
Laakuja/ Nuuru/ iló. ‘It was at sunset that Nuuru came.’ Or: **Laakuja/ iló/ Nuuru.** But the postposed subject in the latter sentence cannot be phrased with the verb: ***Laakuja/ ilo Nuuru.**)
lakujaani ‘around sunset’
Nile laakujá. ‘I came at sunset.’
Nuuru/ ile karka laakuja. ‘Nuru came around sunset.’
Nuuru/ ile kharibu ya laakuja. ‘Nuuru came near sunset.’

ku-lalamika

v. [Sw. *lalamika* "be made to appeal for mercy, be reduced to submission, be beaten -- and so, beg for mercy, cry out for quarter" SSED 240] speak in a rush, deliriously, making no sense; talk, complain too much
rel.
ku-lalamata v. (**lalameete**) same in meaning as **ku-lalamika**
ku-lalamisha v. caus. (**lalamishiize**)
ku-lalamishana v. caus. rec.
ku-lalamishika v. caus. p/s.
ku-lalamishiliza v. caus. appl.
ku-lalamishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
rel. nom.
ma-lalamisho n. 6
ma-lalamo n. 6

laaluushi

n. 9/10 [Som. *laaluush-* "to bribe"] bribe
khtala laaluushi ‘to take a bribe’
Omari/ hutaala/ laaluushi/ niingi (or: **zaaydi**). ‘Omari takes large bribes.’
khtomola laaluushi ‘to pay a bribe’
kuja laaluushi ‘to take a bribe (lit. to eat a bribe)’
kumpa laaluushi ‘to give someone a bribe’
laaluushi/ la'aani ‘without a bribe’

Suufi/ hafaanyi/ kaazi/ laaluushi/ la'aani. 'Suufi does not work without a bribe.'

lalushi niingi or **laaluushi/ niingi** 'a large bribe'

Huseeni/ husuula/ laaluushi/ niingi. 'Huseeni wants a large bribe.'

lalushii nk'hulu or **laaluushi/ nk'hulu** 'a large bribe'

lalushi zaaydi or **laaluushi/ zaaydi** 'a large bribe'

laaluushiye 'his bribe'

ku-laala

v. (**laazile**) be sick for a rather long period of time (much used in the negative (**nt^hakulaala**) when speaking of somebody who dies suddenly, not having shown any symptoms of illness, or after a very short illness)

Miimba/ inakunaaka/ Omari/ ku^hlaala. 'I am very sorry [lit. my stomach burns me] that Omari is sick.'

Waawaye/ chimuuzi/ nini/ munó/ impeeteni/ Hasani/ chimjiiba/ chile pamooyi/ laakini/ ye shishi^hla mara^hi ya miimba/ laazile/ sku/ chimaliza/ fiile. 'His father asked him: what happened to your younger brother? Hasani answered: we came together, but he was afflicted by a stomach ailment and suffered for some days and then died.'

laame

n. 9 [Sw. *lami* SSED 241; Ar.] tar; tarmac (road)

khpaka laame/ ndila 'to put tarmac on a road'

lame imulo or **laame/ imulo** 'hot tar'

Lame iyi/ nyulusi/ kabisá. 'This tar is very black.'

Lame iyi/ nyulusi/ nt^ho. 'This tar is very black.'

Lame iyo/ yiko miboholi. 'That tarmac road has potholes.'

Nakambula laame. 'He is stripping the tar off (the road).'

ndila iyi/ ya laame or **ndila ya laame/ iyi** 'this tarmac road'

ndila ya laame 'a tarmac road'

nyulusi/ kana laame 'as black as tar'

lamiyeeri

n. 9/10 [Ital. *lamiera*] corrugated iron used for roofing a house; galvanized iron sheet

lamna

n. 9/10 [Sw. *namna* SSED 330] kind, species, way, manner, type, color

-a lamna gani 'of what kind?'

Gari ya lamna gani/ we/ uziló. 'What kind of car did you buy?'

Fatuura/ lamna gani/ Hasani/ uziló. 'What kind of car did Hasani buy?' Or: **Hasani/ uzile fatuura/ lamna gani.**

ijiwe/ lamnaye or **lamnale** 'the stone, its color or type'

lamna gani 'what kind?'

Lamna gani/ nk^hutaze. 'What color are its walls?'

Nk^hutaze/ ni lamna gani. 'Its walls, what color are they?'

lamna ya kubiga paasi 'way/style/manner of ironing'

Uzile gaari/ lamna gani. 'You bought what kind of car?'

lamna iyo 'that way'

lamna/ ka lamna 'of different kinds'

Wataana/ washpika/ zaakuja/ za lamna. 'The servants cooked foods of different kinds.'

lamna la ijiwe 'type or color of the stone' (but it is also possible to have **lamna ya ijiwe**)

lamna (/) la majiwe 'type or color of the stones' (or: **lamna (/) ya majiwe**)

lamna yingine 'a different way, another way'

lamnaye 'it's kind, color'

doolari nk^hasiize skuwoona lamnaye [nt.] 'I have heard about dollars [but] I have never seen them'

majiwe/ lamnaye 'the stones, their color or type' (or: **majiwe/ lamnale**)

neendre/ kumeraa nyunyi/ lamna uje 'that I go to look for bird of that kind' (Morph: The primary source of data in this book, MI, often uses [cl.1] agreement for a singular animate noun, thus **uje** in this example; **ije**, the class [9] form, is of course also possible.) **review**

phrasing re nyunyi lamna

Stemuké/ kooði/ lamna izi. ‘Don’t utter words like these.’

Waant^hu/ karka muuyi/ wachiwa ni lamnaa mbili. ‘People in the town were divided into two groups.’

Warudiile/ naawó/ watukilo matuundrá/ na zaakujá/ za lamna ka lamná. ‘They returned, and them carrying fruits and foods of various kinds.’ (Usage: Although MI used **lamna ka lamna** in this sentence, apparently **lamna ka lamuuna** is more common.)

Waawé/ kuwaa ye/ letele^laa mbuzi/ mbili/ lamna mooyi/ ambiila/ m̄tomole mwaana/ m̄tomole mzeele. ‘My father, it be that he was brought two goats of one kind (i.e. they looked the same), and he was told to take out the younger one and to take out the older one (i.e. pick out which is the younger and which is the older).’

lamjadiina n. 9/10 light bulb

chi-laamu n. 7 the dialect of the island of Lamu; in the manner of the people of Lamu

lamuuna found in the phrase:
lamna ka lamuuna ‘of different kinds’

laana n. wool

Koti iyi/ nda laana. ‘This coat is made of wool.’

ku-laana v. [cf. Proto-Sabaki **lawn-* “=to fight” N&H 599] (**laniile**) quarrel, "fight" (in the figurative sense); fight

Ali/ lanile na Nuuru. ‘Ali quarreled with Nuuru.’

Hamadi/ lanile naami. ‘Hamadi fought with me.’

Ichiwaa we/ hukhubali/ mi/ naawé/ shtaku^laaana. ‘If you do not consent, I and you will fight one another.’

Mi/ na mukeewá/ chinaku^laaaná. ‘Me and my wife are quarreling.’

Mi/ speendi/ we/ ku^lana na mukeewo. ‘I do not want you to quarrel with your wife.’

Mooja ilu yaawo shtila ku^laaana [nt.] ‘[as] God made them fight among themselves’ (This line from a poem about raids on Brava refers to the fact that many Somali looters fought among themselves, and killed each other, trying to steal booty from other groups.)

Si/ hashkhaadiri/ ku^lana naa mp^haka. ‘We cannot fight the cat.’

Wachi^laaana/ kati kaawo. ‘They quarreled among themselves.’

Waana/ walaⁿiile/ ‘The children quarreled (with one another).’

rel.

ku-lanoowa v. pass. (**laniila**)

Duniyaani/ hulanoowa/ hupatanoowa. ‘In this world people fight and people reconcile.’ (A proverb.)

ku-laanya v. caus. (**lanyiize**) make fight, create a fight

Ndranyize na waawe. ‘He caused me to fight with my father.’

Sheekhi/ m^lanyiize mwaana/ na waant^hu. ‘Sheekhi caused the child to quarrel with people.’ (Syn. One can also use a periphrastic construction: **Sheekhi/ m^ltile mwaana/ ku^lana na waant^hu.** ‘Sheekhi [lit. put in] the child to quarrel with people.’)

ku-lanyiliza v. caus. appl. fight for s.t.

Nuuru/ na mku^lé/ wanaku^lanyiliza maali. ‘Nuru and his elder brother are fighting for money.’

Sheekhi/ m^lanyilize Habiibi/ mwaana/ na waant^hu. ‘Sheekhi caused Habiibi’s child to quarrel with people.’ (Morph. A common use of the causative applied verb is to indicate a relationship between the "causee" and the object of the applied verb.) (Syn. A periphrastic version is also possible: **Sheekhi/ m^ltile Habiibi/ mwaana/ ku^lana na waant^hu.** ‘Sheekhi [lit. put in for] Habiibi’s child to quarrel

with people.’)

ku-lanyilizoowa v. caus. appl. pass. be fought for

Alafu/ ha’ilyilizoowi. ‘Luck is not something that can be fought for/ over.’ (A proverb.)

Nasiibu/ haylanyilizoowi. ‘Luck is not competed for (it just comes).’ (A proverb.) (Observe from this and the above example that the structure: *ha* negative + *i* [cl.9] subject prefix can be realized either as *ha’i* or *hay* in pre-consonantal position.)

ku-lanyoowa v. (**lanyiiza**) be induced to fight someone

Landrani

n. London

Waanthu/ karka Landrani/ leelo/ washuhudiliile/ haadithi/ nk’ulu/ karka sa’aa ne/ za muunt’hi/ boomba/ ibishile mzaiinga/ karka barlamaani/ ya chingereenza. ‘People in London today witnessed a big event: around ten (lit. four) in the morning, a bomb exploded in the English parliament.’

laano (n-draano)

n. 11/10 story, tale, fairytale

khfungula laano ‘to tell a story’

Laano/ ili/ humaliza ka apo. ‘This story ends there.’

Laano/ ili/ lkomele apa. ‘This story has ended here.’

laano/ la Mwalimu Gooso ‘the story of Teacher Gooso’

laanoja ‘my story’; **ndraanoza** ‘my stories’

mitume mirsali ikum na nt’haano, kiwoowa waajibu stoshe ni laano [st.]
‘the prophets who were sent (by God) are fifteen, for this to be known is obligatory, don’t think that it is just a fairy tale’

Munt’hi mzima/ wo/ hufungulilana ndraano. ‘All day long they tell one another stories.’

ndraano/ za hayawaani ‘tales of animals’ (or: **ndrano za hayawaani**)

Nafunguloowa/ isa/ laano/ la shtoloko. ‘Now I will tell the story of the little bean.’

laanti

only used in the expression below: [pron. **laant’hi**]

kubiga laant’hi ‘to go on foot (for a long distance, tiring one)’

Leelo/ skupata/ gaari/ mbishile laant’hi/ ka hafisaani/ mpaka numbaani. ‘Today I could not find any car, I had to go on foot all the way home from the office.’

Muduni/ hubigika/ laant’hi. ‘One can go to Muduni by foot.’

Nuuru/ bishile laant’hi. ‘Nuuru came on foot.’

lapiili

adv. in the afternoon (from 3 p.m. to 5 p.m.); the second part of the day, afternoon (starting about 3 p.m.)

kharibu ya lapiili ‘near afternoon’

Lapiili/ rudile kaake. ‘At around three in the afternoon he returned to his place.’

Lapiilini/ wote/ warudile na skunyi ziingi. ‘That day around **lapiili** they returned with much firewood.’

Munt’hi uyu/ lapiilile/ wakulu/ na zihabá/ hulawa ibana ya muuyi/ hendra kulangaJa mapezo za namna ka namna. ‘In the afternoon of this day adults and children go to the outskirts of town to watch games of different kinds.’

Mwaana/ na askari/ na watumishi/ wa’ineenzele/ kaa muda/ wa sa’a niingi/ hattá/ khariibu/ ya lapiili/ chidirkamena/ na ipaka/ ikulu/ ya maduuri. ‘The boy and the soldiers and the servants walked for a period of many hours until near afternoon they encountered a large wild cat.’

Sku ya piili/ shtete bātera yitú/ chigisile makasiyá/ hatá/ khariibú/ ya lapili/ shkomele jaziirá/ yiingine. ‘On the second day, we took our boat, we rowed until just before 3 p.m., we reached another island.’

lashiini (*ma-*)

n. someone who invents songs, poems, etc.
Abudeera/ ni lashiini/ ma’aruufu. ‘Abudeera is a famous artist.’

laasi (*ma-*)

n. 9,6 [Sw. *lasi* SSED 241; Pers.] a kind of silk; adj. smooth, silky, esp. of hair
hanzu ya laasi or **haanzu/ ya laasi** ‘a silk **haanzu**’
luzi la laasi ‘silk string’
mashungi malaasi ‘long, silky, soft hair’ (used also to suggest a person of higher status), in contrast with **mashungi majereere** ‘curly, kinky hair’ (used to refer to African or Bantu people of lower status)
shati ya laasi or **shaati/ ya laasi** ‘a silk shirt’
Tuuma/ mashungiye/ malaasi. ‘Tuuma’s hair is long and soft.’ Or:
Mashungi ya Tuuma/ malaasi.
Tuuma/ mukeewa/ mashungiye/ malaasi. ‘Tuuma my wife’s hair is long and soft.’ Or: **Tuuma/ mukeewa/ malaasi/ mashungiye.** ‘Tuuma my wife’s hair is *silky*.’

ku-lata

v. [cf. Proto-Sabaki *-*lac-* “=throw away, leave” N&H 595] (**lasile**) let go, leave off; stop; omit; permit, let; divorce

Ali/ mlasile Hamadi/ kandikaa khati. ‘Ali allowed Hamadi to write a letter.’

Basi/ ndovu/ chimlata. ‘So Elephant let him go.’

heendra miskitiini nuumbaya hulata [nt.] ‘I go to the mosque and leave my house’

Chichilasilé. ‘We let it [cl.7] go.’

Chimlataa ndovu/ paapo/ ye/ chiyolokela. ‘He left the elephant there and he went away.’

Lata. ‘Stop it!’

Lataa ka mbele. ‘[Lit.] leave from before – i.e. leave this matter alone, don’t bother.’

Lata matezo. ‘Stop joking! Be serious!’ (which is stronger than **Lati matezoyo**. -- see below, and employs the regular imperative form of this verb)

Mi/ simlata/ na kama chiwajiboowa/ kumlata/ mi/ laazima/ peesa/ zaa mi/ nt^h omeeló/ khpowa ka maraa mbili. ‘I will not divorce her; if I am obligated to divorce her, I must be given double the money that I spent.’

Mlate kaa mbele. ‘Let him be, don’t heed him, let him do whatever he wants without interfering.’

Mubjaana/ chimlata Safiya. ‘The young man divorced Safiya.’

Muunt^hu/ chisula khfanya chiint^hu/ hufaanya/ jisa suura/ ambó/ hulata. ‘When one wants to do something, one does it well or leaves it.’ (A proverb.)

Ni/ lataani/ khfanya farqi iyi/ bena maskiini/ na taajiri. ‘You (pl.) stop this discrimination between the poor and the rich!’

Numa/ wandrasile/ wa’oloshele. ‘Then they left me and went away.’

silate khfaanya sadakha [st.] ‘don’t omit to give alms (or prepare food as alms)’

Simlate/ yee peeke/ chiiza/ takumala chaakuja. ‘Don’t leave him alone otherwise he will use up all the food.’

Wa’ishiize/ jis’iyi/ ka mudda/ hattá/ maali/ yotte/ yamlasile/ na ufalmé/ umbeele. ‘They lived like this for a period of time until all the money was gone and he had lost his kingship.’

We/ mlasilé/ siimba/ khfanya yaa ye/ nakhsuuló. ‘You allowed the lion to do whatever he wanted.’

ya baatili ilateeni/ ndilaye hupoteoowa [st.] ‘reject deception and lies, which lead to eternal damnation’

rel.

ku-lasiliza v. appl.

ku-lasisha v. make someone divorce

ku-latana v. rec.

Maali/ yapelaa muké/ kuwa ni maharí/ hayaruudi/ ka muḅli/ kama muḅli/ naa muké/ wachilatana. ‘Money that has been given to a woman as dowry is not returned to the man if the man and woman divorce.’

ku-latiloowa v. appl. pass.

Ifungu ya taatu/ takulatilowaa nsi/ zinapate ku’iisha/ na kuzaalaná. ‘The third portion [of the sea] will be left for the fish so that they get to live and reproduce.’

ku-latila v. appl. leave for, drop to

Bundukhu yaa mi/ nimlatililo Nuurú/ ndaaká. ‘The gun that I left with Nuuru is mine.’ (The past tense form **-latililed** falls together with the past tense of **-latilila** ‘throw to’, so this sentence could also be understood as ‘The gun that I threw to Nuuru is mine.’)

Maamaye/ chilatila ruuhuye/ nt^{hi}/ chila/ nt^ho. ‘His mother fell to the ground and cried very much.’

ku-latisha v. caus. (It is not clear that this verb is properly used to convey the idea of making someone divorce.)

ku-latishiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-latoowa v. pass. (**lasila**)

Apo/ zamaani/ sulṭaani/ Harun Rashiidi/ tomele amri/ kuwa nt^haku/ rukhsa/ karka muuyiwe/ kashoowa/ mibeebe/ yaa mulo/ wala/ kulatowaa tala/ kaaka/ masku. ‘Once upon a time king Harun Rashiidi issued an order that there was no permission in the town for *mibeebe* of fire to be lit nor for lamps to be permitted to be lighted at night.’

Chilazila lfuwooní/ hupatikana bahariini. ‘That which is left on the shore is found in the ocean.’ (A proverb.)

Karka wakhtí oyo/ wanaashke/ wa masulṭaani/ na wanashke winginewé/ ba/ liiní/ wachilatowá/ kumera ndilaaní. ‘During those times, daughters of sultans and other daughters as well did not go out to wander the streets.’

Numbaani/ chilatowa yee peeke/ umo mikooni/ ni kaa ndala/ kaa ndala/ chilatoowa. ‘In the house, [the step-daughter] was left all alone; she was in the kitchen with hunger, with hunger, that’s how she was left.’

wont^he watakumraasha/ muuyi utakulatoowa [st.] ‘all will follow him (in the funeral procession) and the town will be deserted’

lati

v. irregular imperative form of **kulata**

Lati. ‘Please leave it; why not leave it? (less strong than **Lata.**)’

latifu

n. [Ar. *laṭif* W 868] an attribute of God (the Kind)

ku-latila

v. [cf. Proto-Sabaki *-lac- “=throw away, leave” N&H 595] (**latiile**) throw, hurl; fire (a gun); throw away (e.g. garbage)

Chambiloowa/ ya kuwa waant^hu/ watakulatila ndriimu/ mara ya kaandra/ mara ya piili/ na mara ya taatú. ‘He was told that people would throw lemons, a first time, a second time, and a third time.’

Hasani/ latile chiloho/ mayiini. ‘Hasani threw the hook into the water (to try to catch a fish).’ (The corresponding simple yes-no question involves no change in accent location, **Hasani/ latile chiloho/ mayiini?**, while the exclamatory yes-no question shifts the accent inside the VP: **Hasani/ latile chilohó/ mayiini!?**)

kuḷaṭila mikono ‘to reject with anger (lit. to throw the hands)’

Omari/ laṭile mikono/ khkasa jawabu izo. ‘Omari grew angry after listening to those things.’

Laṭila miziinga/ laṭilá. ‘Fire the guns, that’s what you should do.’

Ma’askari/ washtukula/ majuuniya/ ayo/ yotte/ wachiyalaṭila/ bahariini. ‘The soldiers carried all those sacks and threw them into the sea.’

Mi/ nimlaṭile Hamadí/ kana mpiira. ‘I threw Hamadi like a ball.’ (Phon.

In the simple yes-no question, our consultant did shift the accent in the **kana mpiira** phrase: **Mi/ nimlaṭile Hamadí/ kana mpiirá?** The exclamatory question also shifted the accent: **Mi/ nimlaṭile Hamadí/ kana mpiirâ!?**)

Mwaana/ shtomola amri/ na ma’askarí/ wachilaṭila bundukhu/ wote/ ka mara mooyi. ‘The boy issued the order and all the soldiers fired [their guns at one time.]’

Naani/ laṭilo ijiwé/ cholokooní. ‘Who threw a stone at the window?’

Ndo/ nimlaṭilepí. ‘Come, where have you (pl.) thrown him?’

Nfuye/ ichiwa/ huṭinda matuundra/ hulaṭila mayiini/ na mp^haamp^há/ naazó/ hufakaṭa/ hutaala/ matuundra. ‘The monkey used to pick off the fruits and throw them into the water and the sharks (and they) would run and take the fruit.’

Ni kheeri/ mi/ kuḷaṭila ruuhuya/ bahariini. ‘It is better for me to throw myself into the sea.’

Omari/ mlaṭile Hamadi/ kana mpiira. ‘Omari threw Hamadi like a ball (i.e. threw him down hard).’ (Phon. The simple yes-no question does not shift accent, while the exclamatory question does: **Omari/ mlaṭile Hamadí/ kana mpiirâ!?**) Or: **Kana mpiira/ Omari/ mlaṭilo Hamadí.** ‘Like a ball Omari threw Hamadi.’

Poliisi/ nthawakhaadira/ kiiwa/ mahala/ ijiwe/ ilaziló/ walá/ munt^hu laṭiló. ‘The police were not able to know the place where the stone came from nor the person who threw it.’

Suufi/ laṭile ijiwe/ cholokooni. ‘Suufi threw a stone at the window.’

Wachimjiiba/ chimlaṭile wowiini. ‘They answer him: We have thrown him in the river.’

Wanth^hu/ wachanza kuḷaṭila ndriimu. ‘People began to throw lemons.’

rel.

ku-laṭilila v. appl.

Chisu icho/ chimlaṭilila oyoo muke/ shchimbiga cha kuulu. ‘That knife, he threw it at that woman, and the knife struck her in the leg.’

Uki/ umaliizopó/ Hasiibu/ chiwa’ambila weenziwe/ wawaliko ilú/ kumlaṭilila lkaambala/ ye/ khpata kuḷawa/ ka chisimaani. ‘When the honey was finished, Hasiibu asked his friends who were up above to throw to him a rope so that he could get out from the well.’

Wamlaṭilile mwaana/ majiwe. ‘They threw stones at the child.’

ku-laṭililoowa v. appl. pass.

hatta waako zidank^haani/ watakuḷaṭililoowa [st.] ‘and those looking down from the rooftops, it will be thrown to them (lit. they will be thrown to)’

Mwaana/ laṭilila majiwe/ naawo. ‘The children were thrown stones at by them.’

Naawé/ kasizopo kuwa eeló/ fiilé/ we/ amurile nalaṭilowa chisimaani. ‘And when you heard that the gazelle had died, you ordered that he be thrown into the well.’

ku-laṭiloowa v. pass. (**laṭiila**)

Amri/ ichilawa/ kuḷaṭiloowa/ ndriimu. ‘The order was given for the lemons to be thrown.’

Mafta/ yachilaṭilowa ṭawala. ‘The oil was thrown into the sea.’

Majiwe/ yalaṭiila. ‘Stones were thrown.’ Or: **Yalaṭiilá/ ni majiwe.** ‘What were thrown are stones.’

Ndriimu/ zilaṭilapó/ schimbiga yeeye/ khaadimu. ‘When the lemons were thrown, they struck the servant.’

Wanakulaṭilowa masku. ‘They were going to be left at night.’

ku-latilisha v. caus. cause to throw at

Iisa mlatilishize Haaji/ ijiwe/ cholokooni. 'Iisa caused Haaji to throw a stone at the window.'

ku-latilishiliza v. caus. appl.

Suufi/ ndratilishize mwaana/ ijiwe/ cholokooni. 'Suufi caused my child to throw a stone at the window.'

ku-latiza v. caus. throw oneself down, lie down (esp. for sleeping)

Hasiibu/ chilatiza ruuhuye/ ilu ya chili/ ichi. 'Hasiibu threw himself on this bed.'

Nk^huku/ zanzizopo kuwiiká/ mi/ nondroshelé/ kendra kulatiza/ haba mooyi. 'When the cocks began to crow, I got up and went to lay down for awhile.'

Wachiimba/ washteza/ haṭá/ sa'a ikumi/ za masku/ ba'ada ya apo/ dhokhookhi/ yaawo/ itozela/ wotte/ usiinzizi/ uwateete/ walatize/ nt^hini ya mteendre. 'They sang and danced until the hour of ten at night (i.e. four a.m.); after that their sound was missing (i.e. no sound was heard from them), sleep took them all so that they lay under the date tree.'

laatulo

n. time of evening prayer

khsala laatulo 'to perform the evening prayer'

Shtakuwonana ba'di ya laatulo. 'We will meet after the time of evening prayers.' (Note that it is impossible to have a locative form ***latulooni.**)

chi-laavi (zi-)

n. 7/8 fish trap

khataa nsi/ ka chilaaavi 'to get fish with a trap'

kulatila chilaaavi 'to throw out a trap'

ku-lawa

v. [Sw. *lawa* SSED 241] (**lazile**) go or come out of, move from, leave, come from

Abunawaasi/ chilawa/ na mubjaana. 'Abunawaasi left and the child [left also].' Cf. **Abunawaasi/ chilawa na mubjaana.** 'Abunawaasi left with the child.' and **Abunawaasi/ chilawa/ na mubjaana.** 'Abunawaasi left with the child.'

Ali/ chihada/ kuwa haysta(ku)m^hlawa/ kooḍi/ ka kanaani. 'Ali said that no words would come from (his) mouth.'

Amá/ we/ takulawa/ ka apa/ laakini/ takubloowa/ takhutundrikowa wa mutiini/ naa nyunyú/ staakuja/ karka ongoyo. 'As for you, you will leave from here (prison), but you will be killed and you will be hung from a tree and birds will eat from your brains.'

Awuri/ ilazile. 'The seeds have sprouted.'

Chilawa/ waant^hu/ wote/ humwona. 'When he comes out, everyone sees him.' (A riddle, the answer to which is **iwa** 'the sun'.)

Chilawe/ mbigee mp^haka. 'Let's go and hit the cat!'

Chilawe/ mujee mp^hana. 'Let's go and eat the rat!'

Chilawe/ shkase jawaabuze. 'Let us go so that we can listen to his words.'

Haaji/ kooḍi/ zimlazile. 'Haaji blurted out the words [lit. Haaji the words came out of him].'

Haaji/ laziló/ mi/ niilé. 'When Haaji left, I came.'

Hasiibu/ chiwa'uzá/ chimaliza/ ye/ takulawaayi/ ka iboholi. 'Hasiibu asked them then how he would get out of the hole.'

Haye/ chilaweni wowiini/ chihadó/ siimba. 'OK, let's go to the river, the one who spoke was Lion.'

Huseeni/ chivalaa nguwo/ suura/ chilawa/ kendra ka sultaani. 'Huseeni put on nice clothes and went out to go to the sultan's place.'

Ka apo/ wachilawa/ waant^hu/ wawili/ mwaamubli/ na mwanaamké. 'From that place emerged two people: a boy and a girl.'

Ka muiyini/ waant^hu/ hulawa zamaa zama/ wote/ naawó/ wanakuleto

stenzi za diini. ‘People depart from the town in groups reciting religious songs.’

khaadimu/ walazilopo ndilaani ‘when the servants went outside’

Khati iyi/ ilazile ka mwaalimu. ‘This letter came from the teacher.’

kuḷawa huuri ‘to perspire’

Zimlazile huuri. ‘He perspired.’

Zindrazile huuri. ‘I perspired.’

kuḷawaa nt^{hi} ‘lit. to come out of the ground -- i.e. to be a nobody, someone who cannot trace his ancestry’

Nakhtoshaa mi/ ndrazilee nt^{hi}. ‘Do you think I am “a nobody”?’

kumḷawa ‘to resemble, be like someone’

Nuuru/ mḷazile waawaye. ‘Nuuru resembles his father.’

Nuuru/ nt^hamḷawa/ waawaye. ‘Nuuru does not look like his father.’

Nzaala/ ndrawa/ nt^haku. ‘Be born to me and be like me does not happen.’ (A proverb.)

kumḷawa maazi ‘to bleed’

Ichindrawa maazi. ‘I was bleeding.’

Maazi/ yachindrawa ka mp^hulaani. ‘I was bleeding from the nose.’

Mkonowe/ uchilawa maazi. ‘His hand was bleeding.’

Mwaana/ yamḷazile maazi/ kanaani. ‘Blood came out of the child’s mouth.’

Laakini/ kuḷa/ huḷawo ka mwajitú/ ni kheeri. ‘But whatever comes from God is a blessing.’

Lazile kana ifiriiti. ‘He appeared like an *ifrit* (i.e. appeared suddenly, huge, ugly, and with the intention to harm); however, it is also used playfully.’

Lazilee yana/ Omari. ‘He left yesterday, Omari.’ (In this example, the right-dislocated subject is downstepped. Cf. **Omari/ lazilee yana.** ‘Omari left yesterday.’ In this example, the verb phrase is downstepped relative to the subject. Cf. **Omari/ lazile/ yana.** ‘Omari left yesterday.’ In this example, the verb is not downstepped, but **yana** is.)

Mahaḷaa we/ laziló. ‘[Lit.] the place from which you went out (i.e. came from).’ (This expression is a form of inquiry about the situation (health, etc.) of people who live in the (far) location a visitor has come from.)

Mgeeni/ nt^haasá/ nt^hakuḷawa/ ka cholooni. ‘The guest has not yet come out from the bathroom.’

Mi/ ndrazile Mwiini. ‘I left Mwiini.’ Or with emphasis on the verb: **Mi/ ndrazilé/ Miini.**

Mi/ niilé/ Haaji/ laziló. ‘I came when Haaji left.’

Miti/ hayaalawi/ funguuni. ‘Trees do not grow in the wet sand along the beach.’ Or: **Funguuni/ miti/ hayaalawi.**

Mubliwa/ mbozelee mbuzi/ wa sultaani/ mḥinzile/ laakini/ jawaabu/ iyi/ isinlawe/ ni/ chizaa si/ shtakubḷoowa. ‘My husband stole a sheep of the sultan’s and slaughtered it, but this matter should not be made known on us, otherwise we will be killed.’

Muke/ lazile ka uzeleeni. ‘The woman came out of the required period of time indoors (after giving birth) (i.e. now she can go out and resume her normal life).’

Muke/ lazilee nde. ‘The woman went outside (after staying in for the required period of time after giving birth).’

Muusa/ lazile Miini. ‘Muusa left Brava.’

Muusa/ nt^hakuḷawa/ Miini. ‘Muusa did not leave Brava.’

Mwaana/ yamḷazile maatozi. ‘Tears flowed from the child.’ Or: **Maatozi/**

yamłazile/ mwaana. Or: **Yamłazilo mwaaná/ ni maatozi.** ‘What flowed from the child was tears.’

Mzeele/ mwiingine/ chilawa ka cholokooni/ chihada... Another old man peeped from the window and said...’

Mzeelewá/ siisi/ mahalaa mi/ nakeendró/ walá/ mahalaa mi/ ndraziló/ nnakeendrá/ tu/ kumeraa nyunyi. ‘My old woman (i.e. my mother), I do not know where I am going nor where I have come from, I am just going to look for the bird.’

Na ndrazilé/ ka ngoziini/ ka himaahima. ‘And I got out from inside the skin (that was used to carry me) hurriedly.’

Ndrazolee kulé. ‘I came from a far place.’

Ndrazolee yaná. ‘I left yesterday’ Cf. **Yana/ ndraziló.** ‘Yesterday I left.’

Nt^hale/ ilaziló/ hayruudi/ chinume. ‘An arrow that has left does not come back.’ (A proverb.)

Nt^hi iyi/ haylawi/ chiint^hu. ‘This country does not produce anything (i.e. it is not arable land).’

Omari/ nakhtosha/ Baazi/ lazile/ fijiri iyi. ‘Omari thinks Baazi left this morning.’ Cf. **Liini/ Omari/ nakhtosho Baazi/ laziló.** ‘When does Omari think Baazi left?’ Or: **Liini/ Baazi/ laziló/ Omari/ nakhtoshó.** ‘When did Baazi leave, Omari thinks.’ Or: **Omari/ nakhtosha Baazi/ lazile liini.** ‘Omari thinks that Baazi left when?’ This last example, with the **liini in situ** seems to require a special intonation, falling-rising, which needs to be studied further.)

O^fOmari/ yana/ laziló. ‘Omari yesterday left.’ (It is clear that **Omari** is focused since the verb is in a pseudo-relative form and **yana** is downstepped relative to **Omari**. The pseudo-relative verb is also downstepped. Cf. **Yána/ Omari/ laziló.** ‘Yesterday Omari left.’ In this example, it is **yana** that is focused, as seen from the pseudo-relative form of the verb and the fact that **Omari** is downstepped relative to **yana**.)

Safiya/ lazile karka reeri/ inayo maalí. ‘Safiya comes from a family that has money.’

Shari/ na kheeri/ hulawa na mojiitu. ‘Evil and good come from God.’ (A proverb.)

Silaweení/ ndilaani. ‘You (pl.) don’t go into the street.’

Siimba/ lazile/ ka muyiini/ ingile maduriini. ‘The lion left from the town and went into the countryside.’

Siisi/ hulawapi/ amó/ heendrapí. ‘I do not know where it comes from or where it goes.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **lpepo** ‘wind’.)

Wareebe/ waana/ kulawa ndilaani. ‘Stop the children from going into the street.’

Wareebe/ waana/ seendré/ kawaalawá/ ndilaaní. ‘Stop the children otherwise they might go into the street.’

Wareebe/ waana/ wasilawe ndilaani. ‘Stop the children so that they not go into the street.’ (Foc. A negative verb is ordinarily at the end of a phrase. This example represents a case where this is not necessary, although it is of course possible: **Wareebe/ waana/ wasilawe/ ndilaani**.)

Wasilawe/ ndilaani. ‘They should not go into the street.’ (Foc. Unlike the above example, it is not felicitous in sentence initial position to group the negative verb with the complement: **?*Wasilawe ndilaani**.)

Waawé/ chimwiini/ chilazilepí? ‘Father, where did Chimwiini come from?’

Yiino/ inamłaza mwaana. ‘(His) tooth is hurting the child.’ (Syn. Or: **Mwaana/ yiino/ inamłaza**.)

rel.

ku-lawaalawa v. freq. (**lazilelazile**)

Koođi/ humławaalawa. ‘He blurts out words.’

Koođi/ zimłazilelazile. ‘He blurted out the words.’

ku-lawika v. p/s.

Iwa/ ichiwa dharaari/ haylawiki/ ndilaani. 'If the sun is at mid-day one cannot go outside.'

ku-lawila v. appl. come, get out (for someone's sake), go away; welcome, meet

Basi/ chimwaambila/ ndrawila/ ka apa. 'So [the sultan] said to him: get out from here [for me]!'

Basi Juha/ chimambila maanawe/ nakuwoná/ duniyaani/ muunt^hu/ yaa ye/ takhfaanyó/ halawili. 'So Juha told his son: you see, in this world, when a person does something, he does not get away with it.'

Hawatakiwa/ almasi iyi/ iwalawiliilepi. 'They will not know where this diamond comes to them from.'

Ka paapo/ apo/ ichije chizeele/ shchimlawila. 'At once that old woman came for him.'

kuławila kaazi 'to do work properly, well'

Hulawila kaaziye/ jisa suura. 'He does his work very well.'

Kila/ kaazi/ yaa ye/ peleshela kubaratá/ Hasiibu/ nt^hakulawila. 'Every job that he was sent to learn, Hasiibu did not do it well.'

kuławila waajiu 'to carry out a duty'

Hulawila wajibuye. 'He carries out his duty.'

Maliizopó/ Abunawaasi/ chi'ilawila/ chiyolokela. 'When he finished, Abunawaasi departed and went away.'

Ndrawila ka numbaani/ kaaka. 'Get out of my house!' (Very strong, implies that person is turned out of the house.)

Oko/ kiitu/ muunt^hu/ haysabaṭoowi/ kuwa ni muunt^hu/ kaa ye/ khfanya kaazi/ ka daḍaali/ kaa ye/ makulawila wajibuye. 'There in my country people are not considered to be a man (of significance) by working hard, by carrying out his duties.'

Sku yaa ye/ kumlawila sulṭaani/ nt^haasá/ nt^haykhkoma. 'The day for her to come out for the sultan had not yet arrived.'

Ucheelopó/ eelo/ chi'ilawila. 'When it dawned, the gazelle took himself off.'

Waant^hu/ wamlawiliile ra'iisi/ ndilaani. 'People went out to see the president.'

ku-lawoowa v. pass. be gone out from, be gotten out of

Khariibu/ inakulawoowa/ nakhfakkaṭa/ mbele ya waant^hu/ chilatu chimó/ shchimotoḡela. 'Near [the time when] there was going away being done, [the girl, "Cinderella"] was running ahead of the people, [and] one shoe fell off.'

kuławowa mikonooni 'to get out of control (of one's parents) (lit. to get out of the hands)'

Ameerika/ hulawowa mikonooni. 'In America, there is getting out of control (e.g. children get out of the control of their parents and do whatever they want to do).'

Mwaana/ nakulazowa na yiino. '[Lit.] the child is being pained by the tooth.'

Numba ilazila. 'The house has been moved out from.'

lawandaayi

n. 1/2 a professional clothes-washer

lawandayi awa 'these clothes-washers'

lawandayi uyu 'this clothes-washer'

ku-lawangan(y)a

v. (**lawangeene**) distinguish, differentiate

lawanganya ikumi na mbili/ kati kaawo awali Jibriili [st.] 'distinguish twelve [angels], among them the first is Gabriel'

problem with the shṭeenzi example from CLE noted by Sandra as too complex

Walawangeni/ ka ilmu. 'Separate people according to education.'

ku-lawanganyoowa v. pass.
kooḍi ya Sheekhi koḍeelo/ suura ku-lawanganyoowa [st.] ‘the Sheik’s teachings (words) warrant careful consideration’

other forms of this verb

laweeni n. cream

ku-lawisha v. (*lawishiize*, *labishiize*) mix; create confusion or misunderstanding; [pron. *ku-lawisha* or *ku-labisha*]
rel.
ku-lawishiliza v. appl. (*lawishiliize*)
rel. nom.
m-lawisho n.3 act of mixing, creating confusion

layini adj. soft
chint^hu layini ‘s.t. soft’
Maluungoye/ yawaaliko/ layini/ na chiwala/ ka usuura. ‘Her body was soft and was shining with beauty.’

ku-layinisha v. caus. (*layinishiize*) soften
rel.
ku-layinika v. p/s.
ku-layinishiliza v. caus. appl.
ku-layinishilizanya v. caus. appl. pass.

ku-laaza v. (*laziize*) ache, hurt
Chaala/ shchilaaza/ hashtindoowi. ‘When a finger pains, it is not cut off.’
(A saying.)
Chiṭa/ chinakundraaza. ‘My head hurts me.’
Chiṭa/ chinamlaaza/ miimba/ inamlaaza/ na maluungo/ yote/ yanamlaaza. ‘His head aches him, his stomach aches him, and all his body aches him.’
Chiṭa/ shṭakhulaaza. ‘You will get a headache.’
Hubigo lḱutá/ ka ikoondré/ humlaazó/ ni mkonowe. ‘One who strikes a wall with his fist, that which hurts him is his hand.’
Inamlaazo miimbá/ ni mwaana. ‘The one whom the stomach is hurting is the child.’
ku-laaza/ kana ruuhu ‘to ache like the soul (coming out of one)’
Miimba/ imlaaziize/ mwaana. ‘(His) stomach pained the child.’
Mkono/ umlaaziize/ Hamadi. ‘Hamadi’s hand/arm ached.’ Or: **Hamadi/**

mkono/ umlaaziize.

Mwaana/ miimba/ inamlaaza. ‘The child’s stomach is hurting.’
Mwaana/ yiino/ inamlaaza. ‘The child’s tooth aches.’ Or: **Yiino/ inamlaza mwaana.**
Mzeele/ ito/ ichimlaaza/ chanza kubigaa nk^heḷe/ ka ulaazo/ kuwaa...mwiingi. ‘The eye pained the old man and he began to shout because of the pain.’ (We have noted in this example that sometimes a speaker starts pronouncing a phrase, but pauses after a word before he continues. In such case, the final vowel of the word before the pause is lengthened, despite the fact that this lengthening would not occur in the absence of the pause.)

rel.
ku-laazisha v. caus. (*lazishiize*) cause to pain
Chaakuja/ chimlazishize mwaana. ‘The food caused the child’s stomach to hurt.’

ku-lazoowa v. pass. feel pain
Hinendro tartiibú/ halazoowi/ na miilu. ‘The one who walks slowly is not given pain by his legs.’ (A proverb.)
Laziza na maluungo/ yoyote. ‘He hurts all over his body.’
Mwaana/ nakulazowa miimba. ‘The child has stomach pains.’

(i.e. he has a toothache).’
Mwaana/ nakulazowa na yiino. ‘[Lit.] The child is being pained by tooth

Nakulazowa miimbá/ ni mwaana. ‘The one who is being ached by his stomach is the child.’

Nnakulazowa naa chitá. ‘I have a head ache.’

rel. nom.

u-laazo n. 14 pain

Hiwo ulazo waa ndalá/ ni mwenyee ndala. ‘The one who knows the pain of hunger is the one who is hungry.’

khtila ulaazo ‘to inflict pain’

naayo kuwatila ulaazo waana [st.] ‘[God] has (the power) to inflict pain on them (in hell), O you children’

mbanaayo ulaazo zaa’idi ya utuungu [nt.] ‘we felt a pain more severe than labor-pains’

Mi/ nt’akufa ka khisa ruuhuya/ iyele ulaazo/ na ghaḏabú. ‘I will die because my soul is full of pain and anger.’

Mwiisho/ mzeele/ nt’akhaadira/ kistahamila/ ulaazo. ‘Finally, the old man could not bear the pain.’

Ulazo wa mwaana/ hiiwó/ ni maama. ‘The pain of the child, the one who knows it is the mother.’ (A proverb.)

m-lazoowa (wa-) n. 1/2 one who is ached by

mlazowa naa chita ‘one who has a head ache’

lazanya

n.

lazanya ya khudaari ‘vegetable lasagna’

ku-laazima

v. [Sw. *lazimu* SSED 242] compel; stick to, be with

Abunawaasi/ chihada/ la/ laazima/we/ kunbiga. ‘Abunawaasi said: No, you must beat me.’

Chihada/ ni laazima/ mi/ kumpata/ mgarwa uyu/ kunfanyiliza mi/ kaazi. ‘He said: it is necessary for me to get this fisherman to do work for me [and not anyone else].’

Chimaliza/ waant^huwe/ walazimeeni/ kishkila/ ka markabuuni/ khpandra chibatera chaawo. ‘Then, her people, you (pl.) should compel them to disembark from the ship to get on their boat.’

Humlazima kendra ka maama. ‘She must go to her mother.’

Hunlaazima/ kendra kaziini/ kila muunt^hi ‘It is necessary for me to go to work each day.’

...kuwaa we/ isa/ ikhulazimiile/ khfunga safari ‘...that you must now set out on a journey/ pack for a journey’

Merameera/ laazima/ tubaaku/ yiko paapo/ apo/ tu. ‘Keep looking, the tobacco must be at that very place there.’

Mi/ hukhaadira/ khurudila mubliwo/ laakini/ni laazima/ mi khpata ndrevu/ zaa mp^hisi. ‘I am able to return your husband to you, but it is a must that I get the beard [lit. beards, i.e. the hairs of the beard] of a hyena.’

Mi/ inlazimiile/ keendra. ‘I am obliged to go.’

Mi/ ni laazima/ keendra/ mahala/ dughaghi uyu/ ukó/ na nch^himwoná/ itakuwa mooyi/ karkaa mbili/ taakufó/ ndiyé/ ambo/ nt^haakufó/ ndimí. ‘It is necessary that I go to the place where this animal is and if I see him, there will be one of two things: the one who dies will be him, or the one who will die [lit. I who will die] is me.’

Mlaazime. ‘Stick to him!’

Mubli/ nakulooló/ humlaazima/ khtomola peesa/ habba mo. ‘The man who is getting married must pay some money.’

Muke/ na mublí/ huwalaazima/ kambilana lila. ‘A wife and a husband must tell one another the truth (lit. it is necessary for them).’ (Note the use of an object marker in this example, with the meaning ‘necessary for them to’.)

Ni laazima/ keendra/ khkooḏa/ na waawe/ ije yaa ye/ takuhadó/ teena.

‘I must go and speak with my father, whatever it is that he may say then.’

Nlazimile (or: **ndrazimile**) **keendra**. ‘He compelled me to go.’

maintain his wife.’

Sabri/ lazimaani. ‘(Pl.) remain patient!’

rel.

ku-lazimisha v. caus. compel

ku-lazimoowa v. pass.

Ijini/ shfaanya/ ije yaa ye/ lazimiilá/ chimpa Sa’iidi/ maaliye. ‘The djinn did that which he was obliged to do and gave Sa’iidi his wealth.’

Na shokuwa naacho/ cho choté/ halazimoowi/ khtala deeni. ‘And he who does not have anything is not obliged to take a loan.’

laazimu

obligatory, necessary, a must

laazimu/ kana ibaada ‘as obligatory as worship’

shkalaant^{ha} choolo kistanja laazimu [st.] ‘if you sit for **choolo** (i.e. to defecate), then cleaning oneself is a necessity’

lbani

n. 9/10 [Sw. *ubani* SSED 485; Ar.] incense

lee

interj.

Pandrani ka skutaani/ waṭungileeni/ wa’ambileeni/ lee/ hawajeeri/ wake wawili/ ka mara/ wanakowa cholooni/ hawajeeri. ‘You (pl.) climb up the dim. walls and peep in and tell them **lee** they are not ashamed for two girls to be bathing at one time in the bathroom, they are not ashamed.’

legdani

n. wrestling, in particular using the feet to try to cause an opponent to fall

kubiga legdani ‘to wrestle using the feet to try to fell an opponent’

leembe (n-)

n. 11/10 razor; [pron. **leembe** and **ndreembe**] (Morph. This noun is irregular. The singular noun suggests a prefix **l** plus a vowel-initial stem. If this were the structure, then one would expect the plural form **?nyeembe**. While MI suggested such a plural form is possible, he also gave **ndreembe** as the plural, a form that other speakers accept as the proper plural. The form **ndreembe** involves adding the [cl.10] nasal prefix **n-** to a stem **-leembe**.)

rel.

ch-eembe (z-) n. 7/8 a small knife

chi-leembe (zi-) n. 7/8 straight razor

leeso (n-dreeso)

n. 9/10 [Sw. *leso* SSED 243; Port.] a piece of imported cotton cloth used as a woman’s dress

(Morph. The singular form **leeso** is a [cl.9] noun which in the plural adds a nasal prefix.)

Abú/ nakuza ndreeso/ suura. ‘Abu is selling good **ndreeso**.’ (Cf. **Ndreso za Abú/ nakuuzó/ suura**. ‘The **ndreeso** that Abu is selling are good.’)

leeso iyi ‘this piece of cloth’

ndreso izi ‘these pieces of cloth’

ndreso niingi ‘a lot of **ndreeso**’

rel.

chi-leeso (zi-) n. dim. 7/8 (disparaging use)

Chilesa chimooyi/ chiwovu/ ndreteleeló. ‘One small, bad **chilesa** he brought to me.’ (The speaker is disparaging the cloth that was brought to her.)

Zilesa za Abú/ nakuuzó/ zilesa gani/ izó. ‘The **zilesa** that Abu is selling, what the hell kind of **zilesa** are they (i.e. they are not any good).’

leetiri

n. [Som. *liitir, litir* DSI 389] liter

variant form: **liitiri**

leeva

n. 9/10 [Ital. *leva*] lever

li-

[cl.11] agreement prefix on adjectives

Lkaambala/ nii lile/ laakini/ halkhaadiri/ khfunga skunyi. ‘The rope is long, but it cannot tie firewood.’ (A riddle.)

Lkaandra/ liimp^{hi}. ‘Which belt?’

Lkuta ili/ l;(i)naloo lufa. ‘This wall has a crack in it.’

lpelo lkulu ‘a large broom’

lpelo lpiya ‘a new broom’

lwarakha lmooyi ‘one page’

li-

[cl.11] subject prefix; [morphophonemic variant: **l-**, **li-**] (The most common form in which this prefix occurs is without a vowel. Historically, this prefix seems to have contained the vowel **u**, but in Chimwiini it is the vowel **i** that appears in environments where the full form is required.)

Ee/ nnayoo luti/ limo mtanaani. ‘Yes, I have a stick, it is in (my) room.’

ljiint^hu/ kaalifa ‘if the giant were to die’

Leeso/ lnuunshile. ‘The cloth smelled.’ (The subject marker is regularly **l** in front of a consonant-initial perfect stem. Another example: **Leeso/ lbeele.** ‘The cloth got lost.’ It is also **l** in the future and in the *chi-* tenses: **Leeso/ ltakunuunk^{ha}.** ‘The cloth will smell.’ **Leeso/ lchinuunk^{ha}.** ‘The cloth smelled/ was smelling.’ However, in the present tense, we record both **l** and **li**: **Leeso/ linakunuunk^{ha}.** ‘The cloth is smelling.’)

Limo mtanaani. ‘It (e.g. **luti** ‘a stick’) is in the room.’

Lkaambala/ nii lile/ laakini/ halkhaadiri/ khfunga skunyi. ‘The rope is long, but it cannot tie firewood.’ (A riddle.)

Lkuta/ likhupotelele. ‘The wall fell on you.’

Lkuta/ limburbukiliile. ‘The wall fell on him.’

Lmaliize. ‘It (the story) is finished.’

Lo/ lwaliko nlaaka. ‘It ([cl.11]) was mine.’

Lpepo la kuusi/ lyumile/ ltaharakishize nt^haanzi. ‘The south wind blew and shook the branches.’

Lpepo/ lvyumiile. ‘The wind blew.’

Luti/ liikopi. ‘Where is the stick?’

mukhta lpepo/ lanzizo kuvuma ka wiingi ‘when the wind began to blow hard’

Sku yaa nne/ ichanza darba/ na lpepo/ lchivuma. ‘On the fourth day it began to storm and the wind blew.’

We/ rebele lpepo la kuusi/ lchiza khpita/ naalo/ loloshele/ limpoteleze mwalimu Gooso/ iwuuyu/ na mwaalimu/ fiile. ‘You blocked the south wind from passing through [you], and it [then] went and caused the baobab to fall on Teacher Gooso and the teacher died.’

li-

[cl.11] object prefix

Chimwambila killeeta. ‘He told him to bring it [cl.11] (e.g. **lpaanga** ‘a sword’).’

li/ nii luti/ laa mi/ chilmeeró. ‘This is the stick that I was looking for [it].’

Wachooloka/ wachilvunanga lkuta la uloongo. ‘They went and beat the mud wall.’

chi-li (zi-)

n. 7/8 [Sw. *ulili, kilili* SSED 495] bed

Ali/ lele chiliini. ‘Ali slept on the bed.’

Apo/ barzaani/ chivalimoo chili/ chimardaadi/ ‘There in the hall was a beautiful bed.’

chili cha lkaambala ‘a bed made of ropes’

chili chaa mbawo ‘a wooden bed’

chili cha moola ‘bed springs’

chili cha waana ‘a bed for children’

Chili chaa we/ nt^hukichilaa*l*ilá/ hiiwi/ nk^hungunyize. ‘A bed that you do not sleep in you cannot know its bedbugs.’ (A proverb.)
chili ichi ‘this bed’
chili shpaana ‘a wide bed’
Hamadi/ pishiize/ cho/ chili. ‘Hamadi burned the bed.’ A less preferred word order is for the pronoun to follow the noun it refers to: **Hamadi/ pishiize/ chili/ cho.**
Hasiibu/ chilatiza ruuhuye/ ilu yaa chili/ ichi. ‘Hasiibu threw himself on this bed.’
kulu yaa chili ‘leg of the bed’
Manaashke/ nakhpanzoowa/ chiliini. ‘The girl is put on the bed (i.e. during the wedding, the girl is prepared for the groom).’
Muke/ chimwambilaa noka/ kalaant^ha/ nt^hini yaa chili/ nt^hini ya godoro/ chilaala/ lawa/ mlume naafe. ‘The woman told the snake, stay under the bed under the mattress and when he sleeps, come out and bite him so that he dies.’
Ndrani ya shkooya/ icho/ muke/ chiyatila mishpa/ yaa noka/ chimaliza/ chichiwekas shkooya/ icho/ nt^hini yaa chili. ‘Inside that necklace the woman put the bones of the snake and then she put that necklace under the bed.’
Yaayé/ mkorsheezó/ ilopo numbaani/ chimwona mwannamke/ kalent^he chiliini. ‘When his aunt who raised him came home, she saw a girl sitting on the bed.’
rel.
i-ji-li (*mi-ji-*) n. 5/4 aug.
ijile ipaana ‘a wide (aug.) bed’
u-li n. 14 [Sw. *ulili* SSED 495] *obsolete* and *poetic* bed
chidirke Amina karka mamaati/ khaansa uliini karka sakaraati [st.] ‘assist us, O Amina, at the time of death, especially on [our] death-bed’
ka uliwe wa joohari na hariiri za kaloowa [st.] ‘with his bejewelled bed and silks to be spread’
uliini ‘in the bed’

li'ajli

Maskiini/ uyu/ ichiwa nt^haná/ yaa ye/ khfaanya/ iyi/ ni kaaziye/ ye hufaanya/ kaazi/ iyi/ li'ajli ya kuwapatila/ waana/ arzaakhi. ‘This poor man, it became that he has nothing to do. This is his job [catching fish], he does this work in order to get for his children the means of subsistence.’

libsi

n. clothes; [pron. **libsi** or **lipsi**]
jezaye janna libsiye hariiri [st.] ‘(of a child who has died in childbirth) his reward is heaven, his clothes are silk’
rel.
libaasi n. pl. clothes

lijaamu

n. bit (of a horse), reins
Farasi/ oyo/ chandikoowa/ nguwo/ za hariiri/ hattá/ lijaamuye/ lwaliko nda hariiri. ‘That horse had spread on it clothes of silk, even its reins were of silk.’ (Morph. The possessive form **lijaamule** was also offered, indicating some variability as to whether this noun is treated as [cl.11] or [cl.9]. The subject agreement in **lwaliko...** reflects a [cl.11] treatment.)

lila

n. 9 truth, truthfulness, sincerity
Chikhambila lila/ Omari/ siwo/ msuura. ‘If I tell you the truth, Omari is not a good person.’
Chiwona kooði/ zaa dafa/ nza lila. ‘He realized that the words of the crow were true.’
Ichiwa/ haanzuye/ yatushile/ kaa mbele/ muke/ koðele lila/ Yuusufu/ ni mwaafakhi/ na ichiwa/ haanzuye/ yatushile/ ka chinume/ muke/ koðele wanaafakhi/ Yuusufu/ ni mooyi/ karka wakoða lila. ‘If it be that his garment is torn in front, [then] the woman has spoken the truth and Joseph is a liar, and if it be that his garment is torn from behind, [then] the woman has told lies, and Joseph is one among the truth tellers.’

We/ fanya kaazi/ lillaahi. ‘Do work, business in the righteous way, i.e. be honest and don’t cheat etc.’

l̥imbo (n-) n. 11/10 song; [pron. **ndriimbo** ‘songs’] (Morph. The morphology of this noun is a problem. It would appear that **l̥imbo** should be derived from the verb **k-iimba** ‘to sing’; this would imply a morphological structure /l̥-iimbo/. The problem is that given this structure, the [cl.10] plural would be expected to be ***ny-iimbo**, since the [cl.9/10] prefix is **ny-** when the stem is vowel-initial. But the [cl.10] form is in facty **n-driimbo**, which indicates a stem that begins with **l̥**. It is likely that what has happened in the course of the history of Chimiini is that the noun **l̥-iimbo** was reanalyzed as **l̥imbo**.)

l̥imbo la raafu l̥maliize ka apa [nt̥.] ‘the Raafu’s song ends here’

l̥imi (n-) n. 11/10 tongue; [pron. **ndrimi** ‘tongues’]
Alí/ l̥imiile/ lwovu. ‘Ali’s tongue is bad (i.e. he says bad things).’
Hamadi/ l̥imiile/ kanna/ l̥paanga. ‘Hamadi’s tongue is like a sword (i.e. he will get angry and rail against you with the slightest provocation).’

Kheeri/ kulazowa na chaala/ kama kulazowa naa l̥imi. ‘Better to have the finger aching than the tongue.’ (A proverb.)

khshikaa l̥imi ‘to catch the tongue – i.e. to not talk’

khshika l̥imiini ‘[lit. to catch in the tongue] to always say something’

kht̥indaa l̥imi ‘to cut the tongue [to stop s.o. from talking]’

Haliima/ mambile maanawe/ chiza kulata maneno miingi/ n̥t̥akhut̥inda l̥imiilo. ‘Haliima told her child: if you do not stop talking so much, I will cut out your tongue (to stop you from talking).’

Haṭá/ mojjitú/ chikhut̥inda l̥imiilo/ we. ‘Until God cuts your tongue, you! – I pray that God cuts your tongue out to stop you from talking!’ (A curse.)

kht̥omolaa l̥imi ‘(lit. to take out the tongue) to talk’

We/ simaamalé/ tomola l̥imiilo. ‘You, don’t be quiet, talk!’

Koḏi iyo/ yaa mi/ nimambilo Hamadi/ sku iyó/ sinakhuumbuka/ laakini/ yiko l̥imiini/ tu. ‘What (lit. those words) that I told Hamadi that day I am not remembering, but it is just on my tongue (meaning I am close to remember or about to remember or will remember it).’

kubigaa l̥imi ‘to speak sarcastically, to reprimand by saying the opposite of what one means; to criticize indirectly’

kulumaa l̥imi ‘to bite the tongue’

Kuja iyi/ jisaa yo/ laddá/ haṭá/ muunṭhu/ huluma l̥imiile. ‘This food is so delicious that one can bite his tongue.’

kumbiga l̥imiile ‘to browbeat someone, to scold harshly etc.’

Hamadi/ mbishile Omari/ l̥imiile. ‘Hamadi tongue-whipped Omari.’

kumizaa l̥imi ‘to swallow the tongue’

Omari/ mizize l̥imiile. ‘Omari swallowed his tongue (i.e. he couldn’t answer, he was too afraid or shy to speak).’

kumtomolela l̥imiile ‘to take out one’s tongue to s.o. – i.e. to open up to someone, to tell someone things that one would ordinarily not say etc.’

Hamadi/ mtomolele l̥imiile/ Omari. ‘Hamadi opened up to Omari.’

kureba l̥imiilo ‘to not talk (lit. to stop your tongue)’

Hamadi/ mambile Omari/ reba l̥imiilo. ‘Hamadi told Omari: stop talking (lit. stop your tongue)!’

We/ rebe l̥imiilo. ‘You, don’t talk!’

kurudilowaa l̥imi ‘to be talked back to’

Wazeele/ hawarudiloowi/ l̥imi. ‘Parents are not talked back to.’

kurudilaa l̥imi ‘to talk back’

Muunṭhu/ wazeelewe/ hawaruudili/ l̥imi. ‘One does not talk back to one’s parents.’

l̥imi/ khshiika ‘tongue to catch –i.e. learn’

L̥imi la Omari/ liize/ khshiika/ l̥imbo ilo. ‘Omari could not learn that song (lit. the tongue of Omari refused to catch that song).’

L̥imi laa mbuzi/ ni ladda/ kolko la ngoombe. ‘The tongue of a goat is

more delicious than that of a cow.’

limi langaangu ‘light tongue – refers to one who is able to learn things easily, quickly’

Hamadi/ maanawe/ limiile/ lanaangu. ‘Hamadi’s son learns

quickly.’

limi lkali ‘a sharp tongue’

limi lsuura ‘one who talks well, says good things (lit. good tongue)’

Hamadi/ nt^hakumpa Omari/ limi lsuura. ‘Hamadi did not give Omari good tongue (i.e. tell him good things).’

limi lwovu ‘(lit.) bad tongue – i.e. a sharp tongue; or, speaks negatively’

Hamadi/ limiile/ lwovu. ‘Hamadi’s tongue is bad – i.e. he speaks negatively about people etc.’

limi lziito ‘heavy tongue – i.e. one who learns slowly’

Hamadi/ maanawe/ limiile/ lziito/ habarati/ chiint^hu/ ka sahali. ‘Hamadi’s child has a heavy tongue, he does not learn things easily.’

Limi/ na miinó/ ha’ilumani. ‘The tongue and the teeth do not bite each other.’ (A proverb.)

Limi/ ndiló/ humtilo muunt^hú/ mułooní. ‘It is the tongue that puts one in hell.’ (A proverb.)

Limi/ nt^haliná/ mwishpa. ‘The tongue has no bone.’ (A proverb.)

limiila ‘my tongue’

Lumilee limi. ‘He bit his tongue.’

Muunt^hu/ suura/ kumpa walaaliwe/ limi lsuura. ‘It is good for someone to give his friend a good tongue (i.e. to speak well of him).’

Nt^haná/ limi. ‘He talks very little, he doesn’t talk (lit. he has no tongue).’

Omari/ limiile/ kana chireenza. ‘Omari’s tongue (is sharp) like a razor.’

Wallaahi/ ndrwelelelé/ jawabu iyo/ laakini/ yiko kaaka/ limiini/ tu. ‘I swear I have forgotten that thing, but it is just there on (the tip of my) tongue.’

Want^hu wa Miini/ huja/ limi. ‘The people of Brava eat tongue.’

Want^hu wa Miini/ huja/ limi la ngoombe/ na laa mbuzi. ‘The people of Brava eat the tongue of a cow and of a goat.’

rel.

i-limi n. aug.

ilimi ikhaddarayá ‘big-tongued (talks too much)’

Hamadi/ ilimiye/ ikhaddarayá. ‘Hamadi talks too much.’

ilimi ikulu ‘big-tongued (lit. talks much)’

Hamadi/ ilimiye/ ikulu. ‘Hamadi talks too much (lit. has a big tongue).’

liini

[Sw. *lini* SSED 248] when?

Ali/ liini/ iló. ‘When did Ali come?’ Or: **Liini/ Ali/ iló.**

Ali/ uzile liini/ gaari. ‘When did Ali buy a car?’ Or: **Ali/ uzile gaari/ liini.**

Or: **Ali/ gaari/ uzile liini.** Or: **Gaari/ Ali/ uzile liini.**

Andishile liini/ khati. ‘When did you write a letter?’

Khubishile liini. ‘When did I hit you?--i.e. I did not hit you.’

Khuwene liini/ mi. ‘When is it that I have seen you? -- i.e. I didn’t see you.’

Liini/ Ali/ iló. ‘When did Ali come?’ Or: **Ali/ liini/ iló.** Or: **Ali/ ile/ liini.**

(When pre-verbal **liini** triggers pseudo-relativization, but not when post-verbal. It is ungrammatical to say: ***Ali/ iló/ liini.**)

Liini/ Ali/ uzilo gaari. ‘When did Ali buy a car?’ (The question word **liini** does not appear in a cleft construction: ***Ni liini/ Ali/ uzilo gaari.**)

Liini/ Haliima/ pishiloo zijó. ‘When did Haliima cook **zijo**?’

Liini/ Hasani/ uzilo faturaa mp^hiyá. ‘When did Hasani buy a new car?’

Or: **Liini/ Hasani/ uziló/ faturaa mp^hiyá.** (Observe that in the second alternative, separation of the verb from its complement does not invoke the application of the Accentual Law of Focus.)

Liini/ Huseeni/ nt^hakingila numbaani. ‘When did Huseeni not enter the house?’ Or: **Huseeni/ liini/ nt^hakingila numbaani.**

Liini/ mapoliisi/ wamshishilo miizi. ‘When did the police catch the thief?’

Liini/ nchijó. ‘When was I eating?’

Liini/ njiiló ‘When did I eat?’

Liini/ nt^hakeendró. ‘When will I be going?’

Liini/ Nureeni/ uzilo jaka iyó. ‘When did Nureeni buy that jacket?’ Or:

Liini/ Nureeni/ uziló/ jaka iyo. ‘When did Nureeni buy that jacket?’ (It is clear that **liini** is the focused word in these two sentences; like other focused pre-verbal elements, it requires the verb to be put in the pseudo-relative form. The second version of the sentence illustrates that although **liini** is the primary focus, the verb is also focused, as indicated by the fact that it is phrasally separated from its complement and by the fact that it is not downstepped.)

Liini/ Tuuma/ nt^hakhpikaa zijó. ‘When did Tuuma not cook **zijo**?’ A possible answer to this question: **Leelo/ Tuuma/ nt^hakhpikaa zijó.** ‘Today Tuuma did not cook **zijo**.’

Liini/ olosheló. ‘When did he go?’ Cf. **Oloshela liini.** ‘When did he go?’

Liini/ tulushiló. ‘When did he fall?’ Or: **Tulushile liini.** ‘He fell when?’ Or:

Ni liini/ tulushiló. ‘When was it that fell?’ But not: ***Tulushile/ liini.**

Liini/ ye/ hatakhfanya kaazi. ‘When won’t he work?’ (Observe that although a negative verb is in the default case phrase-final, the pseudo-relative context here puts the complement into the same phrase as the negative verb.)

Mi/ liini/ nt^hakujó. ‘When will I eat?’

Muusa/ khuwene liini. ‘When did Muusa see you?--i.e. Muusa did not see you.’

Nakendra liini/ Mkhodiisho. ‘When are you going to Mogadishu?’

Njile liini. ‘When did I eat?’ (cf. **Jile liini.** ‘When did you eat?’ **Jile liini.** ‘When did he eat?’)

Siisi/ liini/ uzizo gaariyé. ‘I do not know when he sold his car.’

Sultaani/ uyu/ nt^hasaa ye/ khpeleka majeeshi/ chimvila Abdalla/

kumuuzaa/ ye/ takufa liini. ‘This sultan, before he sent his army [to fight the war], summoned Abdalla to ask him when he [Abdalla] will die.’

Takendra liini. ‘When will he go?’ Or: **Liini/ ye/ takeendró.**

We/ liini/ iló. ‘When did you come?’ Cf. **Ye/ liini/ iló.** ‘When did he come?’

We/ uzile gaari/ liini. ‘When did you buy a car?’ Or: **We/ uzile liini/ gaari.** (Assuming that **liini** is inherently focused, the

Accentual Law of Focus predicts that the final-accent triggered by the verb will not cross **liini**. It is correct that ***We/ uzile liini/ gaari.** is unacceptable as an ordinary question. A final accent on **gaari** is possible if the speaker is seeking confirmation, e.g. that he heard correctly.)

liini negative; [pron. **liini**] (Syn. The use of the negative element **liini** appears to be connected to particular tenses. It was rejected, for example, by MI in conjunction with the present, past, and habitual tenses: ***Mi/ liini/ nnaakujó.** ‘I am not eating’, ***Mi/ liini/ njiiló.** ‘I did not eat.’, and ***Mi/ liini/ hujó.** ‘I do not eat.’ We have separated this negative usage from the interrogative **liini** on the basis of the accentual difference: **liini** in the sense of ‘when’ has default accent, while this negative usage has final accent. There is, however, a close connection. For example, the first citation below might well be glossed as “good morals and wits, when did he ever lack?”)

Akhlaqi suura/ na aqli/ liini/ schimpungukiló. ‘Good morals and wits he never lacked.’

Karka wakhti oyo/ wanaashke/ wa masultaani/ na wanashke winginewé/ ba/ liini/ wachilaatoowá/ kumera ndilaani. ‘During those times, daughters of sultans and other daughters as well did not ever go out to wander the streets.’

Liini/ chinheshmó. ‘She never respected me.’

Liini/ shkhadiro khtawala ruuhuyé. ‘He was not ever able to control himself.’

Mi/ liini/ nch^hijó. ‘I was not eating at all.’

Mwaana/ waliko hodaari/ na akhilí/ liini/ schimpungukiló. ‘The boy was clever and wits were not less with him.’

Mwanaamke/ chimweeka/ Hasani/ numbaani/ kuwaa ye/ ni khaadimuye/ laakini/ Hasani/ liini/ shfanyo kaazi/ yo yotté. ‘The girl had Hasani stay in her home as though he were her servant, but Hasani never was the one who did any work.’

na zint^hu zinginezé/ liini/ schipatikanó/ Afrika ya mashriqi ‘and other things that were never found in East Africa’

Naawó/ liini/ wachimwiiwó/ muunt^hu/ wo wotte/ apo. ‘And they did not know anyone at all there.’ (Phon. Observe that **liini** triggers pseudo-relativization of the following verb. However, the phrasal break after the pseudo-relative verb inhibits the projection of the final accent past the verb to the rest of the verb phrase.)

nk^hawa liini/ nch^hijó ‘if I was not eating at all’

nk^hawa mbaliko liini/ nch^hijó ‘if I had not been eating at all’

Peesaze/ liini/ chiweko bangiini/ walá/ liini/ chimwaminilo muunt^hú/ wowoté. ‘His money, he did not put in the bank, nor he did not trust anyone at all.’

Tajiri uyu/ nt^hakuwaaliko/ bakhili tu/ yoopeeke/ bal/ waliko na liini/ chamino waant^hú. ‘This rich man was not only just a miser, rather he [also] did not trust people at all.’

Wachimtukula/ chizeele/ ichi/ liini/ shchikhadiro kiineendrá. ‘They carried this old woman who was not able to walk at all.’

Zamani ziitu/ waana/ liini/ wasfanyo jis’iyí. ‘During our time/ children did not ever do things this way.’

linsoole

n. bedsheet (=nguwo yaa chili)

lisaani

n. [Sw. *lisani* SSED 248; Ar.] tongue; flap under the front opening of the **haazu**

liishe

adj. smooth

chijamu chiliishe ‘a flat plate’

lkuta liishe ‘a smooth wall’

Maluungoye/ liishe. ‘His body is smooth.’

meza liishe ‘a smooth table’

ndila liishe ‘a smooth road’

nt^hi liishe ‘a smooth floor’

lista

n. in the expression:

mafta ya lista ‘oil, e.g. sunflower oil, that is from a source different from **mafta ya zeeti, mafta ya maansara, mafta ya sehemu**’

ku-liwaana

v. (**liwaniile**) prosper, succeed, be victorious; [pron. **ku-liwaana** or **ku-liibaana**]

Haasidi/ haliwaani. ‘An envious person does not succeed.’ (A proverb.)

Husawarató/ huliwaanó. ‘The one who exercises patience is the one who succeeds.’ (A proverb.)

Kha’iini/ haliwaani. ‘A liar does not prosper.’ (A proverb.)

Munt^hu aajizi/ haliwaani. ‘A lazy man does not succeed.’ (A proverb.)

Muunt^hu/ chinendra ka lillaahi/ huliwaana. ‘If someone walks, goes, behaves honestly, truthfully, he succeeds.’

Muunt^hu/ chiza kinendra ka lillaahi/ haliwaani. ‘If someone does not walk honestly, truthfully, he does not succeed.’ (A proverb)

rel.

ku-liwaanisha v. caus. cause to succeed

Mwajiitu/ mliwanishiize. ‘God crowned his efforts with success.’

ku-liwanishoowa v. caus. pass.

Sheekhi na sahabuze/ watakuliwanishoowa [st.] ‘the Sheikh and his

- companions/ will be granted eternal bliss'
ku-liwanoowa v. pass. [lit.] be succeeded; [pron. **kuliwanoowa** or **kulibanoowa**]
inalomboowa khaatima/ ndila ya kuliwanoowa [st.] 'let us pray for a
blessed end, the path to eternal happiness'
inasomoowa faataha/ ndila ya kuliwanoowa [st.] 'let us recite the *faataha*,
the path to eternal bliss'
Kuliwanoowa/ huvila kudaðalaatoowa. 'For one to be successful calls for
one to struggle.'
- liwaani** n. succes; [pron. **liwaani** or **libaani**]
liwaani yaawo ni nk^hulu/ janna kubarikiloowa [st.] 'their bliss is great/
their reward is paradise'
- m-liya**
- Ye/ na wamrashiizó/ wa'ineenzele/ masaafa/ hattá/**
wachidirkamana/ na mp^hundra mliya. 'He and those
who followed him walked some distance until they
encountered a zebra.'
- i-lizi (mi-)** n. 5/4 one who cries too much
- lo** independent pronoun [cl.11]
Ee/ nnalo mtanaaní. 'Yes, I have it (e.g. luti 'a stick') in (my) room.'
Lo/ lpootele. 'It ([cl.11]) fell.'
Lo/ luti/ lpootele. 'It, the stick, fell.' Or: **Luti/ lo/ lpootele.**
Lo/ ndaaká. 'It [cl.11] is mine.'
luti la Nuuru/ naaló 'the stick that Nuuru has'
Luti/ lpootele/ lo. 'The stick fell, it.'
Ndiló. 'It's it [cl.11].'
Wa'oloshela/ wamerele lkaambala/ mahalaa lo/ liikó/ wachanza
kilyunaanga. 'They went to search for a rope wherever it might be,
and began to beat it [thinking it was the cause of Teacher Gooso's
death].'
We/ rebele lpepo la kuusi/ ichiza khpita/ naaló/ loloshela/ limpooteleze
mwalimu Gooso/ iwuuyu/ na mwaalimú/ fiile. 'You blocked the
south wind from passing through [you], and it [then] went and
caused the baobab to fall on Teacher Gooso and the teacher died.'
- m-loofari (wa-)** n. 1/2 one who wastes money and spends so much that he becomes bankrupt
- logaani (ma-)** n. defile, narrow and deep depression (like those formed by water erosion on the hill
slopes near Brava)
Isa/ mi/ nakhuwasá/ zint^hu ziwili/ chint^hu cha kaandra/ silaalé/ karka
logaani/ apo/ hupita maayi. 'Now I warn you of two things. The
first: do not sleep in a defile [such that] water passes there.'
loganiini 'in the defile'
Goroodi/ inakuya ka loganiini. 'Mud is coming from the
depression.'
Ngoombe/ potele loganiini. 'A cow fell in the depression.'
- lohooho (n-)** n. 11/10 a kind of soft pancake, like **lkaaki**, but with sugar added; [plural form pron.
ndrohooho 'pancakes']
lohoohola 'my pancake'; **ndrohoohoza** 'my pancakes'
- m-loojiri (wa-)** n. 1/2 one who tends goats, cattle
Waloojiri/ wamwenopo nakeendrá/ ngombeení/ wachizimila. 'The
shepherds, when they saw him going among the cattle, hid.'
- lolo** [cl.11] strong demonstrative (This strong demonstrative, a strengthened form of the

[cl.11] pronoun **lo**, was not observed in MI's speech. GM used the form, and allowed it to co-occur with all three weak demonstratives.)

lóolo/ ili 'this very one'
lóolo/ ilije 'that very one (far from us)'
lóolo/ ilo 'that very one (near you)'

ku-looma

v. [Sw. *laumu* SSED 24; Ar.] (**lomeele**) blame

Saanzé/ kułoma waant^hu/ nt^hasaa we/ kiwa haqiiqa. 'Don't start blaming people before you know the facts.'

loomu

n. [Sw. *laumu* SSED 241; Ar.] blame

huraasho ltuungo ltuungo ni^hana loomu [st.] 'he who follows (the chain of thoughts of) our poetical composition has no blame'

iwaani chiza ilu yiinu loomu [st.] 'you (pl.) should know, otherwise blame will be on you'

kandika loomu 'to put blame on'

koddeele naa ye mooja pashpo loomu [st.] 'God talked to him without (casting) blame (on him)'

loongo

in the expression: **kubiga loongo** 'to make a fishing line'

looni

n. [Sw. *launi* SSED 241] color, complexion

hujjuza nguwo vaala kulla looni/ wala nyulusi stoshe nda mułooni [st.] 'it is permitted, wear clothes of any color/ even black, don't think that it is from hell'

Huseeni/ shkhiira/ chihadá/ mi/ nnaayó/ maato/ ya kila/ looni/ mačo aya/ yamo kaaka/ sandukhuuni. 'Huseeni agreed, saying, I have eyes of every color, these eyes are in my box.' (We are at present unable to explain the final accent observed in **chihadá**, as it does not seem to follow from any principle that we have been able to identify.)

Loonile/ lgedishile. 'His complexion has changed.' (The verb is **lgedishile** in MI's speech, but **lgadishile** in the speech of our current consultants.)

lkuuki

n. pl. [Sw. *lukuki* SSED 249; Hind.] hundreds of thousands

lowla

[Ar. *laulā* W 881] if not, if it weren't

lowla mtume Mhamadi/ skawaumboowa abadi / makhluuqu [st.] 'if it were not for the Prophet Mohammad, the creatures would never have been created'

loози (n-droози)

n. 11/10 [Sw. *lozi* 'an almond, fruit of the *mlozi*' SSED 249] candy, sweets
rel.

chi-loози (zi-) n. 7/8

Watakuleeta ziłoozi. 'They will bring candy.' Answers the question: **Watakuleetani.** 'What will they bring?' Note that it would be inappropriate to answer this question with: **#Watakuleeta/ chiłoozi.** 'They will bring candy.'

lpoororo

adv. in succession, one after the other

Wote/ wachirashmana lpoororo/ wacholoka wowiini. 'All followed one another in succession and went to the river.'

luuchido

n. polish, a tin of polish

kubiga luuchido 'to polish'

kubiga luucido/ zilaatu 'to polish shoes'

lufa (n-drufa)

n. 11/10 [Sw. *ufa (nyufa)* SSED 488] crack

Chiza kuziwa lufa/ itakhushika kilwaka lkuta/ lzimale. 'Unless you fill in a crack it will be necessary for you to build the whole wall.' (A proverb.)

kubigaa lufa 'to make a crack'

lufaale 'its crack'; **ndrafuze** 'its cracks'

Lkuta ili/ l(i)naloo lufa. ‘This wall has a crack.’

Mrashaa lufa/ hufa. ‘One who follows a crack dies.’ (A saying, its meaning: One who indulges in too much sexual intercourse dies, metaphorically.)

Nt^hanakhaadira/ kh^homola/ karka...kambaa lufa/ jis’iyo/ chiingiló/

nt^hanakhaadira/ kh^homola. ‘He could not get it out, [it had gone] into...like a crack, that’s the way it had gone in.’

lufkuti

n. [etymology uncertain, but possibly linked to Standard Somali **luuf** "small piece of s.t. worn out" and **luufuuf** "to get stripped away, to become worn out (of fiber)" DSI 392] umbilical cord

kumtinda maana/ lufkuti ‘to cut the child’s umbilical cord’

Maana/ lufkuti/ limzubile shiingo. ‘The child, the umbilical cord surrounded his neck.’

lughā

n. 11/10 [Sw. **lughā** SSED 219; Ar.] language (Morph. Even though this noun has a single shape, **lughā**, whether used as a singular or plural noun, the agreement pattern differs: it governs [cl.11] agreement in the singular and [cl.10] agreement in the plural.)

Chijini/ siwo/ lughā/ mbali. ‘Chijini is not a different language (from Chimiini).’

Cho/ siwo/ kama lughā za want^hu wiingine. ‘It [i.e. Chimiini] is not like the languages of other people.’

Kubaraṭa kilāa lughā/ ni suura. ‘To learn each language is good.’ (Phon.

If the infinitive phrase is preceded by **na** then a final accent appears at the end of the infinitive phrase: **Na kubaraṭa kilāa lughā/ ni suura.** ‘And to learn each language is good.’)

lughā ili ‘this language’ (cf. **lughā izi** ‘these languages’)

Lughā ili/ ni lughā la kaandra/ la waant^hu/ hukalo miyi ya ṭawala ya

Keenyá/ na Tanzaniyá. ‘This language [i.e. Swahili] is the first language of the people who reside in the coastal towns of Kenya and Tanzania.’

lughā la wangereenza ‘the language of the English people, i.e. English’

lughā la want^hu wa Mwiini ‘the language of the people of Brava’

lughāala ‘my language’

lughawiyaati

n. linguistics

lughzi

n. riddle

Basi/ muḅli/ fijiri/ chilawa/ kendra kumera ṭafsiiri/ ya lughzi/ ilo. ‘So in the morning the man left and went to look for an explanation of that riddle.’

What is the plural form of **lughzi**?

lūh(u)di

n. [Sw. **luhudi** = **ufuko** “the narrow trench dug to receive the body after the rest of the grave is finished” A *Grammar of Dialectic Changes in the Kiswahili Language*, p. 75] bottom niche in a grave, where body is laid; the body is placed on its right side with the face towards **qibla** in Mecca

lujna

n. 9/10 committee

Evidence of noun classification, singular and plural forms

lukuuki

n. pl. [Sw. **lukuki** SSED 249] hundreds of thousands (cf. **laki** ‘one hundred thousand’)

luulu

n. 9/10 [Sw. **lulu** SSED 249; Ar.] pearl

Ilu ya ijabali/ we/ ṭakuwona luulu/ na almaasí. ‘On top of tje mountain you will see pearls and diamonds.’

Kumera luulu/ na jooharí/ humtila muunt^hu/ karka khaṭari. ‘To crave pearls and jewels puts one in danger.’

Qufuliini/ lwalimo lfuungulo/ fuungulo/ la luulu. ‘In the padlock there was a pearl key.’

luulyo

n. [Ital. *luglio*] July

Bandeera/ ya Somaaliya/ ipanziiza/ luulyo/ mezi muusi/ maaka/ wa alfu/ na miya keendrá/ na siitiini. ‘Somalia’s flag was raised (for the first time) on July 1, 1960.’

luuma (n-druuma)

n. 11/10 [Sw. *uma (nyuma, mauma)* SSED 497] metal rod; the metal stick with which kohl is applied to the eyes.

i-luuma (mi-)

n. 5/4 cut, lump resulting from a blow from a stick or a stone, etc.; a light head wound

Hamadi/ bishile Omari/ iluuma/ maazi/ miingi/ yamta(w)anyishiló.

‘Hamadi struck Omari a blow on the head and a lot of blood came out.’

Mbishile mwaana/ iluuma. ‘He inflicted a wound on the child’s head.’

Waziiri/ wa maali/ karka itaalya/ bishiila iluuma/ leelo/ mukhtaaya/ shkhubó. ‘The minister of finance in Italy was hit on the head today when he was giving a speech.’

luqma

n. [Sw. *lukuma* SSED 249; Ar. *luqma* W 874] "bread" -- i.e. one’s daily food; a share of something (Hist. phon. Chimiini often lacks a medial high vowel that is present in the corresponding Swahili word, and there is clear evidence from prefixes that Chimiini has undergone, in its development from Proto-Bantu, a high vowel elision rule that Swahili has not. There is some reason to think that Chimiini has borrowed words from Arabic independently of Swahili; i.e. these borrowings do not necessarily date from some pre-Swahili stage that ultimately developed into Chimiini and Swahili. For instance, in the present example Swahili has **lukuma**, while Chimiini has **luqma**. But it is not necessarily the case that Chimiini elided the medial vowel from an earlier form like that found in Swahili. Since Arabic lacks the medial vowel, it may simply be the case that Chimiini borrowed the word directly from Arabic in its current shape **luqma**.)

Nhadile wiingi/ ka sababu wiingi/ hatá/ kanaa wo/ nt^hawanakhfurahila/ hukuuma/ naawó/ luqma/ ya muunt^hi/ shtiisho/ zint^hu izi/

ziwatiile/ wo/ khfunga maato/ na haqqi/ chiza kuwona/ jawabu ya lilla/ chiza kuwona/ jawaabu ya haqqi. ‘I said many because many, even if they are not pleased with the government, [the need for] daily bread, fear, these things, have forced them to close their eyes to what is right, not to see the truth, not to see what is right.’

Sinbashilizé/ luqmaya. ‘Don’t make me lose my share.’

luskila

n. crushed fish thrown into water as bait

luti (n-druti)

n. 11/10 stick

Chiwanalopoo luti/ simsoongé. ‘If he has the stick (e.g. that he usually carries), don’t go close to him!’

Chiwanapoo luti/ simsoongé. ‘If he has a stick, don’t go close to him!’

Jeeli/ bozele luti la mwaalimu. ‘Jeeli stole the teacher’s stick.’ (Cf.

mwalimu wa Jeeli/ bozele lutiile ‘the teacher from whom Jeeli stole his stick’.)

Khamsiiniza/ mp^h eeté/ isa/ nakhsuulá/ ye/ kuviioowa/ khpoowa/

ndrutize/ khamsiini. ‘I got my fifty blows, now I want him to be called to be given his fifty blows.’

kubigaa luti ‘to give a blow with a stick’

Nimbishile ndruti nt^hatú. ‘I struck him three blows.’

Luti ili/ lpeeta. ‘This stick was found.’

Luti ili/ na chisu ichi/ speeta. ‘This stick and this knife were found.’

(Observe that the subject agreement morpheme on the verb is **zi-** (>*s-*), which is the appropriate agreement for both the plural form of **luti** and also the plural form of **chisu**. It appears that when one has a conjoined subject,

one would like a plural agreement on the verb if possible; and apparently one thing that makes it possible is if the plural form of each of the conjoined NP's governs the identical agreement shape. Another example: **Ndruti izi/ na chisu ichó/ speeta**. 'These sticks and that knife were found.'

Luti/ likoo n t^{hi}/ halvuundiki. 'A stick that is on the ground does not break.'

lutiila 'my stick' (cf. **lutiilo** 'your stick', **lutiile** 'his stick', **luti liitu** 'our stick', **luti liinu** 'your (pl.) stick', **luti laawo** 'their stick'; **ndrutiiza** 'my sticks' (cf. **ndrutiizo**, **ndrutiize**, **ndruti ziitu**, **ndruti ziinu**, **ndruti zaawo**) (Phon. Observe the lengthening of the final vowel of the noun that occurs in front of the enclitic possessives =**AG-a AG-o** and **AG-e**. This phenomenon is associated with **CV** and **CVCV** nouns.)

Muun^{tu}/ hublowa ka lutiile. 'A person is killed with his stick.' (A proverb.)

Shtalaa luti/ chimbiga Abunawaasi. 'He took a stick and beat Abunawaasi.'

rel.

chi-luti (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

Basi/ maana/ nfaanyeni/ nfaanyeni/ chendra ka chiluti/ chiluti/ chiluti.
'So the child [thought:] what should I do? what should I do? [And] he went to the stick [calling:] stick! stick!'

ch-ambaamba/ kana chiluti 'as thin as a stick'

Chiluti/ na'ondroke/ nakhfakata/ nakhsula mbigaa mp^haka. 'The stick [in a story] left and ran and wanted to hit a cat.' (Morph. Observe the optional elision of the infinitive prefix **ku** in front of the [cl.1] object prefix in **mbigaa mp^haka** instead of **kumbigaa mp^haka**.)

Omari/ mbishile maana/ ka chiluti. 'Omari hit the child with a stick.'
(Phon. This is a canonical sentence with downstep intonation. The corresponding simple yes-no question eliminates the downstepping, and seems to be pronounced more quickly than the statement: **Omari/ mbishile maana/ ka chiluti?** The emphatic version maintains the downstep structure, but shifts the accent in the verb phrase and the prepositional phrase: **Omari/ mbishile maaná/ ka chiluti!?**)

i-luti (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

luuti n. the Biblical Lot

luuti n. homosexual who assumes the active role, in contrast to **khaniisi** or **ifugo** or **majo**

luzi (n-druzi) n. 11/10 [Sw. **uzi** (**nyuzi**) SSED 511] thread

Chula mbarakha/ chula naa ndruzi. 'He bought paper and he also bought thread (pl).'

luzi la chuuma 'wire [lit. thread of iron]'

luzi la koranta 'electric wire'

luziila 'my thread'; **ndruziza** 'my threads'

rel.

chi-luzi (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

i-luzi (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

L

m-lakata (wa-) n. 1/2 a member of one of the five Tunni subclans that inhabit the Brava area; the term is especially used for Tunni living in rural (as opposed to urban) areas or behaving in the uncouth ways of the countryside; [pron. **mlakata** or **mnakata**]

rel.

chi-lakata n. the language of the **walakata**; in the manner of the **walakata**
Ye/ huvalaa nguwo/ chilakata. 'He dresses in the manner of the **walakata**.'

lakhaanto n. a kind of fish, looks like **yija nk^hala**; [pron. **lakhaant^ho**] **review l, t, aspiration**

ku-laala v. [Sw. **lala** SSED 240] (**leele**) lie down, sleep

Ali/ leele. ‘Ali slept; Ali is asleep.’

Ali/ lele chiliini. ‘Ali slept on the bed.’

Basi/ mp^ha riyali mooyi/ naami/ nt^hakhupikila chaakuja/ na nt^hakhupa/ mahala/ yaa we/ kulaala. ‘Well, give me one riyal and I will cook food for you and I will give you a place where you can sleep.’

Chilaale/ isa. ‘Let us sleep now.’

Eelo/ chilaala/ hatá/ fijiri. ‘The gazelle slept until morning.’

Hasiibu/ kaaziye/ iwelee kuja/ na kulaala/ kulaalá/ naa kujá. ‘Hasiibu’s work became to eat and to sleep, to sleep and to eat.’

Kharibu/ ya tawala/ uwaliko muti/ mooyi/ nt^haanzize/ schilelo ilu ya maayi. ‘Near the sea there was a tree whose branches hung over the water.’

kulala ka lwavu ‘to lie on one’s side’

kulala ka miimba ‘to lie prone (on ground, bed)’

kulala ka moongo ‘to lie on the back’

kulala ka usiinzi ‘to sleep’

kulala ka uso ‘to lie face down’

kulala kamba igogo ‘to sleep like a log (i.e. very soundly)’

kulaala/ kamba mayti ‘to sleep like a corpse’

kulala kana ngoombe ‘to sleep like a cow (i.e. very deeply)’

Ndrele kana ngoombé. ‘I slept like a cow.’ Or: **Ndreelé/ kana ngoombe.** ‘I *slept* like a cow.’

Sheekhi/ lele kana ngoombe. ‘Sheekhi slept like a cow.’

(Syn./phon. It is interesting that it is possible to locate the subject in post-verb position and join it together with the verb into a phonological phrase: **Lele Sheekhi/ kana ngoombe.** ‘Slept Sheekhi like a cow.’ It needs to be pointed out, however, that such a construction is not possible if **kana ngoomb**)

Sheekhi/ leele/ kana ngoombe. ‘Sheekhi *slept* like a cow.’ (Phon.

In the simple yes-no question, the out-of-focus phrase undergoes accent-shift: **Sheekhi/ leele/ kana ngoombé?)**

kulala naa muke ‘to sleep with a woman’

Laala. ‘Lay down!’ **Lalaani.** ‘(Pl.) lay down!’ **Lalani chiliini.** ‘(Pl.) lay down on the bed.’ **Silaleeni.** ‘(Pl.) don’t lay down!’ **Silaleeni/ chiliini.** ‘Don’t lay down on the bed!’

Leele. ‘He is sleeping.’ (Cf. **Nakulaala.** ‘He is going to sleep.’)

Lele ilu yaa chili/ cha sulṭaani. ‘He was asleep on the sultan’s bed.’

Leele/ mana wa Haliima. ‘He is asleep, Haliima’s child.’ (Right dislocated subjects are radically downstepped. The simple yes-no question shifts the accent in the right-dislocated subject: **Leele/ mana wa Haliimá?** Although this accent is raised in pitch in comparison with the statement, in GM’s speech it is not nearly as high as the initial accent. The emphatic yes-no question shifts the accent in the main verb as well as the right-dislocated subject: **Leelé/ mana wa Haliimá!?**)

Leelé/ ni Sheekhi. ‘The one who is asleep is Sheekhi.’

Mana leelé/ ni Sheekhi. ‘The child who is asleep is Sheekhi.’ (Syn. One cannot say ***Lelo maaná/ ni Sheekhi.**)

Masku ayo/ wote/ wachilaala/ ka amaani. ‘That evening everyone slept peacefully.’

masku leelopo takhkasa zibuumbu [nt.] ‘in the night, when you have just gone to sleep, you will hear the hooting of cars’

Mwaana/ halaali/ chiliini. ‘The child does not sleep on the bed.’ (Cf.

mwana halali chiliini ‘the child who does not sleep on the bed’.)

Mwaana/ hatakulaala/ chiliini. ‘The child will not sleep on the bed.’ (Cf.

mwana hatakulala chiliini ‘the child who will not sleep on the bed’.)

Mwaana/ nt^hanakulaala/ chiliini. ‘The child is not sleeping on the bed.’

(Cf. **mwana nt^hanakulala chiliini** ‘the child who is not sleeping on the bed’.)

Ndrele chiliini. ‘I slept on the bed’

Nt^hakulaala/ Omari. ‘He did not sleep, Omari.’ (The postposed subject in this example is radically downstepped. In the simple y/n question, the postposed subject undergoes accent shift, and is not downstepped, though not as raised as in ordinary Q-raising: **Nt^hakulaala/ Omari?** The exclamatory question involves downstep and accent shift in both phrases: **Nt^hakulaalá/ Omari!?**)

Nt^hawakulaala. or **Want^hakulaala.** ‘They did not sleep.’

Nt^hukulaala/ 'we. ‘You did not sleep, you.’ (Postposed subjects are radically downstepped. However, in the simple y/n question the monosyllabic postposed subject is not radically lowered, although in the speech of GM it is not greatly raised. Downstepping and accent shift is found in the exclamatory question: **Nt^hukulaalá/ we!?**)

Oloshela kulaala. ‘He went to sleep.’

Omari/ nt^hakulaala. ‘Omari did not sleep.’ (The clause-final negative verb is not typically raised in pitch, thus this statement contrasts with the simple y/n question where Q-raising is present: **Omari/ nt^hakulaala?** ‘Did Omari sleep?’ In our recording of the exclamatory question, downstepping occurs and accent shift affects both phrases: **Omari/ nt^hakulaalá!?**)

Sheekhi/ leele. ‘Sheekhi is asleep; Sheekhi slept.’ Or, with right-dislocation:

Leele/ Sheekhi. ‘Is asleep, Sheekhi.’ (Phon. The first example exhibits the default “downstep intonation”; in the second example, the right-dislocated subject exhibits a more radical pitch drop. The simple-yes no question **Sheekhi/ leele?** involves simply Q-raising and no accentual shifting. The simple yes-no question **Leele/ Sheekhi?**, on the other hand, exhibits shift to final accent on the right-dislocated subject.)

Sheekhi/ lele chiliini. ‘Sheekhi slept on the bed.’ Or: **Sheekhi/ leele/ chiliini.** ‘Sheekhi *slept* on the bed.’ Or: **Lele chiliini/ Sheekhi.** ‘Slept on the bed, Sheekhi.’ Or: **Leele/ chiliini/ Sheekhi.** ‘*Slept* on the bed, Sheekhi.’ (Phon. Only the first of these sentences has a simple yes-no question version where there is no accent shift: **Sheekhi/ lele chiliini?** Cf. **Sheekhi/ leele/ chiliini?** And: **Lele chiliini/ Sheekhi?** And: **Leele/ chiliini/ Sheekhi?**)

Si/ wote/ chileelé. ‘We all slept.’ Or: **Si/ chileelé/ wote.** ‘We slept, all (of us).’ Or: **Si/ chilele woté.** ‘We slept all.’

Wachidarbisha/ bundukhu zaawo/ na wotté/ wachilaala/ ka miimba. ‘They prepared their rifles and all lay on [their] stomachs.’

Waant^hu/ walele mtanaani. ‘People slept in the room.’ Also possible:

Walele waant^hu/ mtanaani. Or: **Mtanaani/ walele waant^hu.**

We/ nt^hukulaala. ‘You (pl.) did not sleep.’ (The negative verb, in sentence-final position, is noticeably lowered in pitch relative to the subject. This lowering does not take place in the simple y/n question: **We/ nt^hukulaala?** The exclamatory question has downstep and accent shift: **We/ nt^hukulaalá!?**)

rel.

ku-laalila v. appl. sleep on

Chili chaa we/ nt^hukichilaalila/ hiiwi/ nk^hungunyize. ‘A bed that you do not sleep on, you cannot know its bedbugs.’ (A proverb.)

Fikiriini/ naayé/ nt^hanakiwá/ yaa ye/ nakuhadó/ chimwambila majjibu/ ya su’aali/ iyo/ chimaliza/ ye/ chi’ilaalila. ‘Fikiriini, while not realizing what he was saying, told her the answer to that question, and then he went to sleep.’ (Morph. Observe the use of the applied reflexive verb.)

Hamadi/ ilaliile. ‘And so Hamadi lay down.’ (MI did not accept adding the reflexive pronoun ***Hamadi/ ilaliile ruuhuye.**)

Siná/ chili cha kulaalila. ‘I haven’t a bed to sleep in.’

ku-’i-laalila v. reflex. appl.

Ni’ilaliilé. ‘(Finally) I went to sleep.’ Cf. **Chi’ilaliilé.** ‘(Finally) we went to sleep.’ **Wa’ilaliile.** ‘(Finally) they went to sleep.’

Oloshela ki’ilaalila. ‘(Finally, after being disappointed in his expectations) he went to sleep (lit. he took himself to sleep).’ (Cf. the simple sentence **Oloshela kulaala.** ‘He went to sleep.’)

ku-laloowa v. pass.

masku na muunt^hi haychilaloowa [nt.] ‘night and day nobody could sleep’

ku-laalika v. p/s.

Apa/ haylaaliki/ ka bardi. ‘One cannot sleep here because of the cold.’

Chili ichi/ hachilaaliki. ‘This bed cannot be slept on.’

Ilu ya majiwe/ haylaaliki. ‘One cannot sleep on stones.’

ku-laaliza v. caus. appl.

Siná/ chili cha kumlaaliza. ‘I don’t have a bed in which to put him to sleep.’

ku-laaza v.

Iwilopo kuwaa mi/ **sina mahaḷa ya kulaalá/ Ali/ ndeze kaake.**

‘When he learned that I did not have a place to sleep, Ali permitted me to sleep at his place.’

rel. nom.

ma-laalo n. 6 way of sleeping; something slept on (a mat, sleeping bag, bed cover), a sleeping place

Chimfanyiliza malaalo/ chimfanyiliizó. ‘He prepared for him a place to sleep, that’s what he did.’

Malaaloye/ mawovu. ‘His way of sleeping is bad.’

Mp^ha malaalo. ‘Give me something to sleep on!’

Tuure/ ndiyé/ na’iwo malaaloyé. ‘It is the humpback who knows how (to position himself) to get his sleep.’ (A proverb.)

ma-laazo n. 6 the act of putting someone to sleep

u-laazo n. 14 the act of causing someone to sleep

m-lala (*mi-*)

n. 3/4 a kind of palm tree; the leaves of this palm tree

khsuka milala ‘to plait *milala*’

collect examples

ku-laaliza

v. inform relatives and friends of a coming wedding, invite to a wedding; there is probably a connection between this verb and the causative applied form of **ku-laala** ‘to sleep’, namely, **ku-laaliza** ‘to put to sleep for’ – specifically, in Bravanese culture, guests to a wedding were meant to stay for several days and were provided with sleeping accommodations during the celebrations

hulalizoowa haruusi/ kulaaliza hunganoowa [st.] ‘this is what we do for a wedding, and these invitations strengthen our ties’

rel.

ku-lalizanya v. rec.

ku-lalizanyoowa v. rec. pass.

ndiwo muunt^{hi} wa furaha/ itakulalizanyoowa [st.] ‘this is actually a day of joy, a day to invite each other to a celebration’

ku-lalizoowa v. pass.

Basi/ naayé/ laliiza. ‘So, she also was invited.’

Ichilalizowa haruusi/ ka sultaani. ‘There was announced a wedding at the sultan’s.’

u-laanga

n. a kind of plant which has roots about twice the size of grapefruits and are white in color; these roots are cut, dried, and ground into powder to make a flour that is used in making **halwa**

unga wa ulaanga ‘the flour made from *ulaanga*’

ku-langala

v. [Sw. *angaa* SED 15] (*langaliile*) look at, look after, guard, look on

Basi/ jis’iyo/ hattá/ sultaani/ hattá/ leelo/ shkalant^ha kuja naaye/

chimlangala/ sultaani/ chimwona (ni) mwaana/ msuura/ basi/

chimwaambila/ kaland^ha apa/ kalaant^há. ‘So, [it went on] like

this until the sultan one day sat down to eat with him [the poor boy

who was accompanying the sultan’s son in eating]; he observed

him, the sultan, and saw that he was a good child, so he told him:

sit here, that’s what you should do.’ (There are a couple interesting

aspects to this passage. Notice the right-dislocation of **sultaani**. Also notice the repetition: **kalaant^há**. The final accent here is due to this being a pseudo-relative clause, though of course there are no true relative clauses with

an imperative as the relativeverb.)

Chilanga kuzimu. ‘He looked at the sky.’

Chimwambila sultaani/ maame/ mlanga/ jisa suura. ‘He told the sultan: look out after my mother nicely.’

Ha’isii kufá/ nalanga khabri. ‘The one who does not know death, let him look at the grave.’ (A proverb.)

Halaali/ walá/ ha’ineendri/ uko nakhulanga/ tu. ‘It does not sleep nor walk, it is just there looking at you.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **piicha** ‘a photograph, picture’.) **confirm phrasing**

Humlanga mwaana/ ka kula yaa ye/ hihtaajó. ‘He looks after the child in every way that he needs.’

Kheeri/ mi/ mmeree muke/ nimloole/ napate kumlanga mwaana. ‘It is best that I look for a woman to marry so that she can look after the child.’

Isa/ sultaani/ peleshe/ maato/ nakuwalanga/ nakuwalanga/ nakuwalanga/ wa’ambile waant^hu/ walangaleeni/ waalimu/ nini. ‘Now the sultan moved his eyes, looking at them, looking at them, looking at them, and said to the people, you look at them (the two girls that were supposed to be told apart), learned people, what.’

Kooði/ langa/ nt^hasá/ yaa we/ kuhada. ‘(Your) words, look (at them) before you speak.’ (A saying: think before you speak!)

kulanga noota ‘to prophesy, astrologize, read the stars’

Langa chijumba/ nt^hachina chiint^hú. ‘Look for a nest that does not have anything in it.’ (Phon. Observe that in a relative clause, the negative verb is not separated phrasally from its complement.)

Mi/ nk^haleent^hé/ apo/ pashpo haraka/ kuwalanga. ‘I remained there without moving, watching them.’

Mlangaleeni. ‘You (pl.) look at him!’

Muunt^hu/ chimlanga muunt^hu/ kanaa nt^hupu/ hutowa maato. ‘If someone looks at a person naked, he will lose his eyes (become blind).’

Ndrangaliilé/ nfunguloza/ kilaa mahala. ‘I looked for my keys everywhere.’

Sayidiyá/ si/ nt^hashkumlagala/ eelo/ uyu/ kama eelo/ tu/ si/ chimlangalile kama mwana wiitú. ‘My lord, we did not look on him just as a gazelle, we looked upon him as our child.’

Sku mooyi/ mwaana/ sulile keendra/ kumlanga maamaye. ‘One day the boy wanted to go and visit his mother.’

Sultaani/ chindranga nt^hangú/ chaala/ cha kuulu/ hatá/ chitaani. ‘The sultan looked at me from toe to head.’ **review**

Muunt^hu/ chiint^hu/ hulanga ka kaake. ‘A man discovers things from his home.’ (A proverb.)

Oloshela kumlanga eelo. ‘She went and looked for the gazelle.’

Ondroshelopó/ oloshela/ kulanga nt^heendre. ‘When he woke up, he went to survey the dates.’

We/ langa zikhushishiló/ na mwinginewó/ nalanga zimshiishiló. ‘You, mind your own business, and someone other than you, let him mind his own business.’

rel.

ku-langalalangala v. freq.

Karkaa ye/ nakulangalolanga/ kaa kule/ chiwona hayawaani/ nk^hulu/ laakini/ nt^hakhaadira/ kiiwa/ jinsiye. ‘While he was looking about, in the distance he saw a large animal, but he was not able to tell [lit. know] what kind it was [lit. its type].’

Muné/ shtala chaakuja/ chilangalalangala chiwekaa nt^hi. ‘Her younger sister took the food and looked at it and put it on the ground.’

Ye/ takulangalalangala eelo. ‘He will examine the gazelle.’

ku-langalana v. rec. look at one another

ku-langalika v. p/s. able to be looked at

ku-langalila v. appl. (**langaliliile**) look after (e.g. a child); practice soothsaying for

Oyo sultaani/ chimviila/ kaahini/ mooyi/ chimwaambila/ mi/ nnakhsulaa

we/ kundrangalila/ kuniwila/ mahala/ ya Abunawaasi/ zimiiló.

‘That sultan invited a soothsayer and said to him: I want you to practice soothsaying for me to learn for me the place where Abunawaasi is hidden.’

ku-langalisha v.caus. (**langalishiize**)

Suufi/ mlangalishize mwaana/ ruuhuye/ chilooni. ‘Suufi made the child look at himself in the mirror.’ (Although ordinarily the reflexive

pronoun occupies the position of primary object and is co-referential with the subject, this is not the case in the causative verb structure. In the causative, the reflexive is co-referential to the "causee", which occupies the primary object position. The following sentence is ungrammatical: ***Suufi/ langalishize ruuhuye/ mwaana/ chilooni.** ‘Suufi made himself look at the child in the mirror.’)

ku-langalishana v. caus. rec.

ku-langalishika v. caus. p/s.

ku-langalishiliza v. caus. appl. (**-langalishiliize**)

Muusa/ mlangalishilize Ali/ mwaana/ ruuhuye/ chilooni. ‘Muusa caused on Ali the child to look at himself in the mirror.’

ku-langalishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ku-langaloowa v. pass.

tala waaliko ni yeeye/ nuuru ya kulangaloowa [st.] ‘for he was the light, a bright light we all watched’

rel. nom.

m-langala (wa-) n. 1/2

mlangala noota ‘astrologer, one who reads the stars’

Karamuuni/ wa’azimiila/ masheekhi/ walangala noota/ na ma’akhyari wa muuyi. ‘To the feast were invited learned men, astrologers, and gentlemen of the town.’

m-langalo n. 3

ma-langalo n. 6

u-langalo n. 14

m-laangazo (mi-)

n. 3/4 [this noun would seem to suggest a derivation from a verb stem *-laangaza*, but no such verb has been found in present-day Chimiini] light, a ray of light coming through a crack (e.g. in the curtains) into a darkened room

rel.

chi-laangazo (zi-) n. 7/8 a light coming through an opening

m-laango (mi-)

mlaango or **mnaango**]

n. 3/4 [Sw. *mlango* SSED 289] door, gate, channel (way into a harbor); [pron.

Chimwona sarmala/ uko mlangooni/ namliindra. ‘He found the carpenter at the door waiting for him.’

Chi’ufunzile mlaangó. ‘We closed the door.’

Chisonga mlangooni. ‘He approached the door.’

Ilu ya mlaangowe/ yandishila/ kula/ huuyó/ jazira iyi/ nfuye/ wa jazira iyi/ hawamlati/ kuruda kaawo. ‘Above the door was written: whoever comes to this island, the monkeys of this island will not let them return home.’ -- relative clause phrasing and accent needs to be reviewed

Kilaa mnaango/ inayo ifungulole. ‘Every door has its own key.’ (A proverb.) **check inayo vs unayo**

Kulaa mlaango/ (hufungulowa) ka ifungulole. ‘Every door (is opened with) its own key.’ (A proverb.)

Milaango/ ni miwaazi. ‘The doors are open.’

milango ya nuumba or **milaango/ ya nuumba** ‘the doors of a house (or of houses)’

Mlaango/ uwaliko mfuunge. ‘The door was closed.’

Mlango wa numba iyi/ hawfunguliki. ‘The door of this house cannot be

opened.’

Mlangooni/ uko muunt^hu/ mletejele majiibú. ‘At the door was the man who had brought the reply.’

Mnaango/ Omari/ fungilo ka Ifuunguló. ‘The door, Omari opened it with a key.’

mnango wa nuumba or **mnaango/ wa nuumba** ‘the door of a house’

Muke/ chisimama mlangooni. ‘The woman stood at the door.’

Niyafunzile milaangó. ‘I closed the doors.’

Numba ifanyiza mlaangowé/ ndiitú. ‘The house that had its door repaired is ours.’ (Our primary consultant, MI, judged an example like this one, where the head is joined into a single phrase with the immediately following verb, to be a *restrictive* relative clause.

Ifanyiza mlaangowé serves to identify the house we are talking about. If there is phrasal separation, as in **Nuumba/ ifanyiza mlaangowé/ ndiitu.**, then the interpretation is non-restrictive: ‘The house, which had its door repaired, was ours.’ Although MI pointed out this contrast on various occasions, our more recent consultant, GM, did not seem to distinguish between these two pronunciations, regarding them simply as optional variants. More research on this matter is required.)

nuumba/ milaangoye ‘the house, its doors; the houses, their doors’

nuumba mnaangowe ‘the house, its door’

Nuumba/ nt^hayna mlaangó. ‘A house which has no doors.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **iyaank^huku** ‘egg’.)

Shfunga mlaangowe. ‘He closed his door.’

rel.

chi-laango (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

Chilango ichi/ mi chiwaazi. ‘This (dim.) door is open.’

Wambenopo kuwaa mi/ mbele sakraani/ wafunzile chilango cha ipakacha/ want^hukiile. ‘When they saw that I was drunk, they tied the door of the basket and carried me off.’

Zilango izi/ ni ziwaazi. ‘These (dim.) doors are open.’

i-laanzi

variant form: **i-yaanzi**

kufa ilaanzi ‘to be asleep (of body parts)’

Kuuluya/ ifile ilaanzi. ‘My leg is asleep.’

Mkonowa/ ufile ilaanzi. ‘My arm is asleep.’

m-laanzi (mi-)

n. 3/4 coconut tree; [pron. **m-laanzi** or **mnaanzi**]

ku-lapa

v. [Sw. **apa** SSED 18] (*lasile*) swear an oath

Nakulapá/ ka chiwo cha qur’aani. ‘I am swearing by the book of the Quran.’

Nakulapá/ ka ina ya mojiitu. ‘I am swearing by the name of God.’

Nakulapá/ ka ina mtume. ‘I am swearing by the name of the Prophet.’

Nakulapá/ ka msahaafu. ‘I am swearing by the holy Quran.’

Nakulapá/ ka qur’aani. ‘I am swearing by the Quran.’

Nakulapá/ ka yamiini (or: **ka yamiini**). ‘I am swearing by the right hand.’

Omari/ kaaziye/ kulapa. ‘Omari is always swearing (using one of the common phrases for swearing to the truth of something) (lit. Omari, his job is swearing).’

rel.

ku-lapika v. p/s.

ku-lapila v. appl. (**lapiliile**)

kulapila waanawa ‘to swear on the name of my children’

Mi/ humlapila/ Omari/ kuwaa ye/ hakooði/ wanaafakhi. ‘I swear, affirm that Omari does not tell lies.’

ku-lapiloowa v. appl. pass.

Kulapilowa qur'aani/ nii ndila. 'To swear with the Quran is the right (thing to do – one cannot use any other book etc.)'

ku-lapoowa v. pass.

Kulapoowa/ zilapo za wanaafakhi/ ni haraamu. 'To swear false swearing is impure, taboo.'

ku-lasa v. caus. (**lasiize**) administer taking an oath

kumlasa 'to make someone swear an oath – e.g. administer an oath'

ku-lasanya v. caus. rec.

ku-lasika v. caus. p/s.

ku-lasiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-lasilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ku-lasoowa v. caus. pass. (**lasiiza**)

Ra'isi wiitu/ lasiiza. 'Our president was sworn in.'

We/ takulasoowa/ ka msahaafu. 'You will be sworn in using the Holy Quran.'

rel.

chi-lapo (*zi-*) n. 7/8 [Sw.*kiapo* SSED 18] oath

khpita chilapo '(lit.) to pass a swearing – a test establishing that one is right (on some issue)'

Mi/ takhpita chilapo/ ka msahaafu. 'I will pass the swearing with the Quran – i.e. I will prove I am right by swearing on the Quran (a Muslim would never lie while swearing on the Quran due to fear of what would happen to him should he do so).'

kubiga chilapo 'to swear an oath'

ku-lapiza

v. curse

kumlapiza 'to curse someone'

Mzele oyo/ kaaziye/ kulapiza. 'That old man always curses (lit. that old man, his job, is to curse).'

Mzeele/ siwo/ suura/ kumlapiza maanawe. 'It is not good for a parent to curse his children.'

rel.

ku-lapizan(y)a v. rec.

Wazele awo/ kazi yaawo/ kulapizana. 'Those old people are always cursing each other out (lit. their work is to curse each other).'

ku-lapizan(y)oowa v. rec. pass.

Kulapizanoowa/ siwo/ suura. 'To curse one another is not good.'

ku-lapizoowa v. pass.

Kulapizowa waant^hú/ siwo/ suura. 'Cursing people is not good.'

rel.

chi-lapizo (*zi-*) n. 7/8 a curse; the act of cursing

Chilapizo chiwovu/ humrudila menewe. 'A bad curse can revert (rebound, strike back at, etc.) its owner (i.e. the one who cursed).' (A proverb.)

chi-laatu (*zi-*)

n. 7/8 [Sw. *kiatu* SSED 236] shoe

Baana/ zilaatuze/ zibishila luuchido/ zinakuwala. 'Baana's shoes are polished, they are shining.'

chilatu cha gooma 'rubber shoe'

chilatu cha mpiira 'sports shoe'

chilaatu/ cha muke wa sulṭaani 'the shoe of the wife of the sultan'

chilatu chaa ngozi 'leather shoe'

chilatu cha zookolo 'high-heel shoe'

chilatu chatushiló 'a shoe that was split open'; **zilatu zatushiló** 'shoes that were split open'

chilatu chelpe 'white shoe'; **zilatu zelpe** 'white shoes'

chilatu chimooyi 'one shoe'; **zilatu ziwili** 'two shoes'

Chilatu chimooyi/ hachivaloowi. 'A single shoe is not worn.' (A

superstition.)

Chimwaambila/ chilaatu/ ndimi/ mp^hectó. ‘He told him: the shoe, it is me who found it.’

joogi/ ya zilaatu ‘a pair of shoes’

khfanya chilaatu ‘to make a shoe; to repair a shoe’

Nakendra khfanya chilaatuchá/ chitindikijile. ‘I am going to repair my shoe (because) it has gotten cut.’

khfungula chilaatu ‘to take, pull off a shoe’

khkula chilaatu ‘to take, pull off a shoe’

khtila chilaatu ‘to put on a shoe’

kumfunga zilaatu ‘to tie someone’s shoes’

Tuuma/ namfunga maana/ zilaatu. ‘Tuuma is tying the child’s shoes.’

kumtila zilaatu ‘to put shoes on someone’

Tuuma/ namtila maana/ zilaatu. ‘Tuuma is putting shoes on the child.’

kuvala chilaatu ‘to put on a shoe’

lachi za zilaatu ‘laces of shoes’

Maamé/ maskiini/ takinendraayi/ ka chilatu chimooyi. ‘Mother, how will the poor (woman) walk with (just) one shoe?’

Maskiini/ chivala sarwaani/ haanzu/ ijuukhu/ chileemba/ na zilaatú.

‘The poor man put on trousers, a **haanzu**, a cloak, a turban, and shoes.’

Nakendra khfanya chilaatuchá/ chambushile. ‘I am going to repair my shoe (because the sole) has gotten detached.’

Nakubiga zilaatuzá/ luuchidó. ‘I am polishing my shoes.’

taki ya chilaatu ‘heel of a shoe’

Tuuma/ nt^hampa/ Omari/ zilaatu. ‘Tuuma did not give Omari the shoes.’

Wo/ hufanya zilaatu. ‘They make shoes.’

zilatu spiya ‘new shoes’

zilatu za khfakatila ‘running shoes’

zilatu za kiineendrela ‘walking shoes’

zilatu za ghaali ‘expensive shoes’

zilatu za rakhiisi ‘cheap shoes’

zilatu zimaliizó ‘worn-out shoes’

zilatu zishepe ‘old shoes’

zilatu ziwili/ naazó/ za ðahabu ‘two shoes which were made of gold’

rel.

chi-ji-laatu (zi-ji-) n. 7/8 dim.

i-ji-laatu (mi-ji-) n. 5/4 aug.

-le

adj. [Sw. *-refu* SSED 398] tall, long

ibat^heraa yile ‘a long aug. boat’

maana/ kawaa mule/ kolko Muusa ‘if the boy had been taller than Muusa’

it^harajaa yile ‘a high step of a staircase’; **mat^harajaa male** ‘high steps of a staircase’

khat^hii ndre ‘a long letter’

Laakini/ maanyi/ yawaliko maleemale/ yotte/ apo. ‘But the grass was very tall there.’

Mi ni mulé / kolko Muusa. ‘I am taller than Muusa.’ (Cf. the simple yes-no question: **Mi/ nii mulé / kolko Muusá?** ‘Am I taller than Muusa?’

In this question, the accent on **kolko Muusa** shifts to the final syllable.)

mibat^heraa mile ‘long aug. boats’

mikonoo mile ‘long arms, long sleeves’

Miti/ yote/ yatakuwaa mile. ‘All the trees will become tall.’ Or:

Yatakuwaa mile/ miti/ yote. ‘Will become tall, all the trees.’

(A right-dislocated subject ordinarily is radically lowered in comparison to the preceding verb phrase. However, in this example, where **miti** is followed by the quantifier **yote**, this

lowering does not occur. This is presumably the consequence of the presence of **yote**.)

mkonoo mule ‘a long arm’

mule/ kana igamiila ‘as tall as a camel’

mule/ kana iloongoti ‘as long as a pole’

munt^huu mule ‘tall person’

Muusa/ nii mule/ kolko ya naani. ‘Muusa is taller than who?’ Or:

Muusa/ nii mule/ kolko naani.

Mwanaa mule/ ile. ‘The tall boy came.’ Or: **Ile mwanaa mule.** Cf. It is not preferred to say ***Mwaana/ mule/ ile.** ‘A tall boy came.’, one would rather say **Ile mwaana/ mule.** to convey that meaning.)

Mwanaa mule/ mbishile Nuuru. ‘The tall boy hit Nuuru.’ Cf. **Mwaana/ mule/ mbishile Nuuru.** ‘A tall boy hit Nuuru.’

Naani/ mulé/ kolko Hamadi. ‘Who is taller than Hamadi?’ (Syn. Although **ni** is possible, it seems redundant: **Naani/ nii mulé/ kolko Hamadi.**)

Nii mile/ miti aya. ‘These trees are tall (lit. are tall these trees).’

Ni milee nt^ho/ miti aya. ‘These trees are very tall (lit. are very tall these trees).’

Nimene Omarii mulé. ‘I saw Omari the tall (as opposed to some other Omari).’

Niwawene wana watatu waleewale. ‘I saw the three tall children.’

numba ndre ‘tall building(s)’ (cf. alternative plural form: **numba ndreendre**)

Sarkaali/ mkonoowe/ nii mule. ‘The government has a long arm.’ (A proverb.)

Sultani waa noka/ chimwaambila/ kuwa khisaze/ nii ndre/ nt^ho. ‘The sultan of the snakes told him that his story was very long.’

Wana awa/ nii wale. ‘These children are tall.’

want^huu wale ‘tall people’

Waawe/ na maamé/ nii wale. ‘Father and mother are tall.’

ku-le

loc. far away, far off

Arabiya/ siwo/ kulé. ‘Wednesday is not far off.’

Duude/ siwo/ kule. ‘**Duude** (located off the shore facing the Friday mosque) is not far away.’

kaa kule ‘in the distance’

Nk^haanga/ waliko chila/ kaa kule/ nt^ho. ‘The guinea fowl was crying from very far off.’

Maraði yakoo kulé/ hayaletooi/ khariibu. ‘Disease that is far away is not brought closer.’ (A proverb.)

wu-le

n. height, length

Ali/ ni sawasawa/ na munt^hu uje/ kaa wule. ‘Ali is the same as that man in terms of height.’

ku-lekela

v. [cf. Sw. *elekea* SSED 81] (**lekeele**) face towards something, be aimed at something, head towards, turn to

Bundukhu/ imlekele Hamadi. ‘The gun is aimed at Hamadi.’ (Even though in this sentence **Hamadi** controls object agreement on the verb, it is not possible for **Hamadi** to be the subject of a corresponding passive sentence: ***Hamadi/ lekela na bundukhu.** ‘Hamadi was aimed at by the gun.’ This is presumably a function of the non-agentive nature of the subject of **Bundukhu/ imlekele Hamadi.**)

Chilikelapi. ‘Where are you headed to?’

Chilekelapi/ we. ‘Where are you headed to?’

Chimaliza/ chimlekela oyoo muke/ chimwaambila... ‘Then he faced the woman and said to her...’

Chingila mooyi/ ka mooyi/ mpaka mtanaani/ apo/ ye/ chilekela chiliini/ ka nt^hini ya mtaawo/ sh^tomolaa chiṭa/ icho/ chichiwekaa nt^hi. ‘He went straight in as far as the bedroom, there he headed to the

bed, and from under the pillow, he took out that head [of a goat] and put it on the floor.’

Chiwa nakulekela qariibu/ ya mwaana... ‘He (the snake) was going near the baby...’

Chiwalekela mp^hana ziingine. ‘He faced the other rats.’

Is^lamu/ wachisala/ hulekela ka’aba. ‘When Muslims pray, they face the ka’aba.’

Ka nasiibu/ ya Abdalla/ kuwa suura/ siimba/ lekele muyiini. ‘Abdalla’s luck being good, the lion headed towards town.’

kulekela qibla ‘to face the direction towards which one prays’

Maha^laa mi/ kulekela/ siisi. ‘I do not know where to turn (lit. the place to direct myself towards).’

Maskiini/ chimlekela mwenye eelo. ‘The poor man faced the owner of the gazelle.’

Mooyi/ ka mooyi/ lekele nunguuni/ kuja. ‘Directly he went to the pot to eat.’

Muun^hu/ chisala/ hulekela ka’aba. ‘When one prays, he faces the Ka’aba.’

N^haynakundrekela/ chiint^hu/ leelo. ‘Nothing is going right for me today.’

Qaa^oi/ chimlekela msaafiri/ chimwaambila... ‘The judge faced the traveler and said to him...’

Siimba/ chimlekela bakayle. ‘The lion turned to the hare.’

Wachilekela chisimaani. ‘They headed to the well.’

Wakomelopo muyiini/ sul^taani/ na wamrashiizo/ wote/ mo/ ka mooyi/ wachilekela chisimaani. ‘When they reached the town, the sultan and the ones who followed him, all headed straight to the well.’

We/ waliko chilekelapi/ yana/ we/ naa mun^o. ‘Where were you heading to yesterday, you and your younger brother?’

rel.

ku-lekelela v. appl.

Shkalant^ha shtako/ khfikira yaa ye/ khfaanya/ laakini/ nt^haku/ imlekelelo. ‘He sat (on hit buttocks) and thought about what he should do, but nothing came to mind (i.e. he came up with no good ideas how to cope with the situation).’

ku-lekeleloowa v. pass.

Ichisaloowa/ kulekelowa Ka’aba/ qibla. ‘When praying, it is faced the Ka’aba/ the praying direction.’

ku-lekeza v. (lekeze) aim, point at; direct; cause to face; adjust

husaalo khfikira silekezi kiitu [song] ‘what remains is thinking, I am not able to direct myself home’

Huseeni/ chilekeza/ ka chinumeche/ teena/ ichiwa/ ina/ ya sul^taani/ inakuwonekana. ‘Huseeni adjusted it (the turban) at his back, then it became that the name of the sultan was visible (the name having been written on the turban).’

Isa/ yaa ye/ kulekeza/ nt^hana. ‘Now he does not have anything to suggest.’
kulekeza bundukhu ‘to aim a gun’

Ali/ mlekeze Hamadi/ bunukhu. ‘Ali aimed the gun at Hamadi.’

kulekeza qibla ‘to make face the praying direction’

kulekeza koo^oi ‘to make one’s speech meaningful, to the point; to try to figure out what to say; to be good at using words’

Walekeze koo^oi/ izi/ ka izi. ‘They thought of this and that to say.’

Waana/ washalaant^ha/ kulekeza koo^oi. ‘The children sat, trying to figure out what to say.’

Ye/ ni mkali/ kulekeza koo^oi. ‘He is good at using words effectively.’

Kulekeza/ siwo/ khfuma. ‘To aim (i.e. to try to put things together without proper knowledge and expertise) is not weaving (i.e. does not produce results).’ (A proverb advising that theorizing about something is not doing, words are easier than actions.)

Lpepo/ ldegeelop^o/ naa nvul^a/ ifungiilop^o/ ichibele majiira/ na nt^hashkukhaadira/ kulekezaa ndila. ‘When the wind calmed down and when the rain stopped, we had lost our way and were not

able to aim for the path, way.'

Muke/ chimonyeza Sa'iidi/ chimlekeza/ ka chaala/ chimwaambila/

langala oko. Nt^hi yaa we/ nakuwonó/ ndiyó/ nt^hi ya

mayahuudi. 'The woman showed Sa'iidi, pointing with her finger, saying to him: look over there! The land that you see, it is the land of the Jews.'

ku-lekezeka v. caus. p/s.

Fulaani/ halekezeki. 'So-and-so cannot be made to face something.'

ku-lekezoowa v. caus. pass.

Askari/ walekeza kumshika mwiizi. 'The police have been instructed to arrest the thief.'

kulekezowa bundukhu 'to be aimed at a gun'

Osmaani/ lekeza bundukhu/ na Ali. 'Osmaani had a gun aimed at him by Ali.'

rel. nom.

u-lekelo n. 14 direction (of a place)

m-lekeza (wa-) n. 1/2 one who aims at, directs

chi-lekezo (zi-) n. sign, hint

ku-lela

v. [Sw. *lea* 'bring up, rear, nurse, educate' SSED 242] (?**lezele**) ?bring up (It is uncertain whether this verb in fact exists in Chimiini, but a passive verb appears to be attested in a **steenzi** passage.)

rel.

ku-leloowa v. pass. (**lezela**) be brought up, raised

wazaazila walezela/ na jisaayi wo washpendoowa [st.] 'how they were born and brought up and how they were loved'

ku-leela

v. (**leeezele**) be loose (e.g. a tooth), hang over

Kharibu ya tawala/ uwaliko muti mooyi/ nt^haanzize/ schilelo ilu ya

maayi. 'Near the sea there was a tree whose branches hung over the water.'

Nguwo/ inamleela. 'The cloth is loose for him.'

Nuumba/ inakuleela. 'The house was no longer firm (lit. was loose).'

rel.

ku-leleza v. caus. (**leleeze**) loosen, hang s.t. over

Ichiwa teena/ ye/ huleleza/ chileemba/ chisimaani/ schidaara/ maayi/ hichigiita. 'It became then that he puts the turban into the well and when it touches the water, he pulls it up.'

kuleleza/ nguwo 'to make cloth loose'

ku-lelezeka v. caus. p/s, (**lelezeshela**) able to be loosened

Ifundro iyi/ ha'ilelezeki/ jis'iyoy. 'This knot cannot be loosened in that way.'

m-leele (wa-)

n. 1/2 someone sick

humwiinfa mwenye afiya na mleele [st.] it (the Quran) is useful to the healthy and the sick alike'

leleeyi/ ondrosheleeyi

how did you sleep [and] how did you wake up? (a more personal query in the morning than **bariida**)

leelo

adv. [Sw. *leo* SSED 243] today, one day

Chiwa'ambila ya kuwa mwaana/ leelo/ nakhpowa ina. 'She told them that the child was being given a name today.'

ha^ta/ leelo 'now [lit. until today]'

Leelo/ ni jimaa ne. 'Today is Tuesday.'

Leelo/ we/ ni munt^hu taakufó/ tu. 'Today you are just a man who is going to die.'

Mbona/ ragiilé/ leelo. 'How come you are so late (doing s.t.) today?'

Muja leelo/ keesho/ haaji. 'The one who eats today does not eat'

tomorrow.’ (A proverb.)

(N)nakhsaafirá/ leelo. ‘I am leaving on a trip today.’ (Cf. **(N)nakhsafira leeló.** ‘It’s today that I am leaving on a trip.’)

Uko leeló / keesho/ nt^haako. ‘What is here today, tomorrow is not here.’ (A proverb.)

Uko/ uko/ attá/ leelo/ chishika miimba/ chizaala/ mwaana/ mubli. ‘She stayed and stayed until one day [lit. today] she became pregnant and gave birth to a baby boy.’

Waako/ waako/ hattá/ leelo/ wawaaye/ chiwa hakhaadiri/ chifa. ‘They lived and lived until one day [lit. today] his father became sick and died.’

chi-lemá (zi-)

n. 7/8 [Sw. *kilema* SSED 243] handicapped person, cripple

Mteka chilema/ hutekowaa ye/ amó/ waaké. ‘One who laughs at a cripple is laughed at, or his (relative) is.’ (A proverb.) *review*
mwenye chilema ‘crippled’

chi-leemba (zi-)

n. 7/8 [Sw. *kilemba* SSED 195] turban

Chileemba/ icho/ chiwaliko chisuura/ nt^ho. ‘That turban was very beautiful.’

piece of cloth) into a turban.’

Huseeni/ naayé/ chishfaanya/chileemba. ‘Huseeni, and he, made it (a

kubiga chileemba ‘to wrap a turban on someone; use as a turban’

Huseeni/ chivala nguwoze/ shtaala/ na chiguwó/ cha mwanaamke/ mpeeló/ chibiga chileemba/ ipiindo/ la chiguwo/ landishilá/ ina ya sultaani. ‘Huseeni put on his clothes and took as well the piece of cloth that the girl had given him and used it as a turban; the edge of the turban had written on it the name of the sultan.’

Kuvala chilemba chepe/ si kumtiya mwajiitu. ‘To wear a white turban is not (necessarily) to fear God.’ (A proverb.)

Mwaarabu/ vete chileemba. ‘An Arab has put on a turban.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **daank^hu** ‘popcorn’.)

Sa’iidi/ shpita mbele ya waant^hu/ shtala ije riyaali/ chimtilila

mnaadisho/ kaake/ chilembaani. ‘Sa’iidi took his place [lit. passed] in front of the people, and he took that **riyaali**, and he put it for the auctioneer in his turban.’

Sku ya arkhamiisi/ mi/ noloshelé/ muyiini/ apo/ sukhuuni/ nimwene mbiga mnaadó/ bishilo chileembá/ chisuurá/ chiṭaani/ kaaké. ‘On the day of Thursday I went downtown and there at the market I saw the auctioneer who was wearing a nice turban on his head.’

rel.

i-leemba (mi-) n. turban

shatakumbiga ileemba/ na nguwo ya khfinikoowa [st.] ‘tighten his turban and cover him with a cloth’

chi-leembe (zi-)

n. 7/8 straight razor

ku-lemela

(physically); be on

v. [Sw. *lemea* SSED 243] (**lemeele**) lean on s.t. or s.o. for support; be against s.t.

Baazi/ lemele lkuta. ‘Baazi leaned against the wall.’

Baazi/ mtile mwaana/ kulemela lkuta. ‘Baazi caused the child to lean against the wall.’ (Syn. This periphrastic causative formation is used to describe the situation where Baazi induced the child to lean against the wall, rather than physically manipulating him. The latter notion is expressed by the verb **-lemeza**. More complex periphrastic forms: **Baazi/ mtilile Nureeni/ mwaana/ kulemela lkuta.** ‘Baazi caused on/for Nureeni the child to lean against the wall.’ And: **Baazi/ na Nureeni/ watililene waana/ kulemela lkuta.** ‘Baazi and Nureeni caused one another’s children to lean

against the wall.’)

Kharibu ya ilooni/ ofeetopó/ chilemela mteendre/ khpumula/ na usiinzi/ uchimtaala. ‘About dusk, when he got tired, he leaned against the date tree to rest and sleep overtook him.’

Mahmuudi / lemele ikuta. ‘Mahmuudi leaned against the wall.’

Mp^hula/ indemelee kana. ‘[Lit.] my nose is leaning on my mouth – i.e. I cannot talk for some reason.’

Ngazi/ ilemele ikuta (or: ikutaani). ‘The ladder was leaning against the wall.’

rel.

ku-lemeleka v. p/s.

Halemeleki. ‘One cannot lean against him (e.g. without his showing his disapproval).’

ku-lemeleza v. tr. appl. (**lemeleeze**) lean s.t. against s.t. for, etc.

Baazi/ mlemeleze Nureeni/ mwaana/ ikuta. ‘Baazi leaned Nureeni’s child against the wall.’

ku-lemelezanya v. tr. appl. rec. (**-lemeleezenye**) lean s.t. against s.t. for one another

Baazi/ na Nureeni/ walemelezenye waana/ ikuta. ‘Baazi and Nureeni leaned their children against the wall for one another.’

ku-lemeza v. tr. (**lemeeze**) lean s.t. against s.t.; strike, pound s.t. (e.g. with a stick)

Baazi/ mlemeze mwaana/ ikuta. ‘Baazi leaned the child against the wall.’

Hamadi/ lemezee muti/ ikutaani. ‘Hamadi leaned a piece of wood against the wall.’ Also in the same meaning: **Hamadi/ lemeze ikuta/ muti.**

(In the latter example, the noun **ikuta** is in its bare form and located in position after the verb, while in the former sentence it is in its locative form and is normally ordered after the direct object **muti**. But one can also say **Hamadi/ lemezee muti/ ikuta**.)

kulemeza ka... ‘to strike sharply with’

kulemeza kaa luti ‘to strike sharply with a stick’

Lemezee ngazi/ ikutaani. ‘He leaned the ladder against the wall.’

ku-lemezalemeza v. freq.

Wachindremezandremeza mijiwe. ‘They struck me repeatedly with large stones.’ (Observe that when the stem is reduplicated, the first person singular object is repeated in both parts of the reduplication. This seems to be triggered by the fact that the nasal object prefix combines with the stem-initial consonant to form a prenasalized stop *ndr*.)

ku-lemezanya v. tr. rec. lean against one another

ku-lemezeka v. tr. p/s.

Ikuta ili/ hallemezeki/ ngazi. ‘This wall does not allow a ladder to be leaned against it.’

Ngazi iyi/ haylemezeki/ ikutaani. ‘This ladder cannot be leaned against the wall.’

ku-lemezana v. tr. rec. strike one another (e.g. with a stick)

ku-lemezanya v. tr. rec. lean against one another

ku-lemezoowa v. caus. pass. (**lemeeza**) be leaned against s.t.

Ikuta/ lemezaa muti/ na Hamadi. (There is no very good English equivalent for this Chimiini sentence. Roughly it says that the wall is the location against which a piece of wood was made to lean by Hamadi.)

Ngazi/ ilemeza ikutaani. ‘The ladder was leaned against the wall.’ (One cannot say ***Ngazi/ ilemeza ikuta**, which suggests that in the active sentence, when both verbal complements are bare – i.e. **ikuta** is not in its locative form, then **ikuta** functions as the object and is subject to being made into the subject of the corresponding passive sentence.)

ku-leeta

v. [Sw. *leta* SSED 244] (**leesele**) bring, go and bring back; bring back up (vomit)

Akhili niingi/ kuletaa dhibu. ‘Too much cleverness causes harm.’ (A proverb.)

Ali/ leesele gaari/ numbaani. ‘Ali brought the car home.’

Chaayi/ leeseló/ ni mgeeni. ‘The tea, the one who brought it is the guest.’

Cheendra/ chimleta mwaana/ chimleetó/ wa qaaði. ‘He went and brought [home] the son, that’s what he did, of a judge.’

Cheendra/ chimleta mwana wa taatu/ chimleetó. ‘He went and brought a third child, that is what he did.’

Chileta chaakuja/ chiwa’egesha. ‘He brought food and invited them to eat it [lit. welcomed them].’

Chimwambila killeeta. ‘He told him to bring it (e.g. **lpaanga** ‘sword’).’
(Observe that the infinitive prefix **ku** is realized as **ki** in front of the [cl.11] object prefix **l(i)**.)

Chimwambila mukeewe/ kuleta chaakuja. ‘He told his wife to bring the food.’

chint^hu chaa ye/ leeseló ‘something that he brought’

Fardoosa/ lesele maayi. ‘Fardoosa brought water.’ Or with verb focus:

Fardoosa/ leesele/ maayi. Or with left-dislocation but not focus on the complement: **Maayi/ Fardoosa/ leesele.**
Or with left-dislocation and focus on the complement: **Maayi/ Fardoosa/ leeseló.**

Hamadi/ chilesele chibuku cha mwaalimu. ‘Hamadi brought the teacher’s book.’ (The head of the associative phrase can trigger an object prefix on the verb, as can be seen in this example. The head is a definite noun in this case. However, when the associative phrase is "repackaged", replacing the associative particle **AG-a** with a possessive enclitic on the head, no object agreement is possible: ***Hamadi/ chilesele mwaalimu/ chibuukuche.** or ***Hamadi/ chilesele chibukuche mwaalimu.** This limitation on object agreement in the "repackaged" constructions is apparently true only of inanimate nouns.)

Hamadi/ lesele chibuku cha mwaalimu. ‘Hamadi brought a book of the teacher’s.’ The associative phrase may be "repackaged" as follows: **Hamadi/ lesele mwaalimu/ chibuukuche.** or **Hamadi/ lesele chibukuche mwaalimu.** The second repackaging was used often by MI, but seems unacceptable to the speakers we consulted recently.)

Haṭaa we/ nakhkoḏo na Nuurú/ nakendra nt^hiini/ kuleta zoombozá.
‘While you are talking to Nuuru, I am going down to bring my things.’

Haye/ lete wahajiwe. ‘Ok, bring the other one [lit. its companion].’

Kulla/ chiwo/ schilawa/ na waalimú/ washpitaa mbele/ wachileeta/ lamna iyi/ wachileetó. ‘Every Quranic school class went out and the teachers walked in front, and they brought these things (the writing boards), that’s what they did.’

kuleta dalili ‘to cite evidence’

Lesele dalili/ karka Qur’aani. ‘He cited evidence from the Quran.’

kuleta haqiqa ‘to relate the essence, the truth about something’

Lesele haqiqa ya amri. ‘He related the details of the events.’

Lesele haqiqa ya kooði. ‘He related the essence of the conversation.’

kuleta kooði ‘to relate what has been said by someone when one was not supposed to do this’

kuleta nyenyeghi ‘to bother someone greatly’

kuleta ruuhu ‘to supplicate, beg, entreat’

Fulaani/ mlesele ruuhu. ‘So-and-so entreated, begged him.’

kuleta x ruuhu ‘to bother someone very much’

Fulaani/ mlesele Jeeli/ ruuhu. ‘So-and-so bothered Jeeli very much.’

kuleta shaahidi ‘to introduce a witness’

kuleta shaawuri ‘to make a suggestion’

kuletaa zita ‘to bring war’

kumwaambila/ kuwa badiikhi/ mi/ ndresele ka khabriini/ ka maamé ‘to tell her that I brought the melon from my mother’s grave’

Lesele chibuuku. ‘He brought a book.’
Lesele da’awa/ ka sarkaali. ‘He took his complaint to the government.’
Leselee khatji/ ka Aasha. ‘He brought a letter to Aasha (or: to Aasha’s place).’
Leselee khatji/ ka Aasha/ numbaani. ‘He brought a letter to Aasha’s house.’
Lesele makina yaa tala/ Mwiini. ‘He brought an electric generator to Brava.’
Leselee nt^hume/ ka Jeeli. ‘He brought a message to/from Jeeli.’
Leeta. ‘Bring!’ Cf. **Letaani.** ‘(Pl.) bring!’
Lesele chibuuku. ‘He brought a book.’
Lesele da’awa/ ka sarkaali. ‘He took his complaint to the government.’
Lesele makina yaa tala/ Mwiini. ‘He brought an electric generator to Brava.’

Leselee nt^hume/ Jeeli. ‘He brought a message to (or from) Jeeli.’
Lesele peesa/ madrasaani. ‘He took money to school.’ (One can strip the goal of the locative enclitic and have it serve as the head of a relative clause: **madrasa yaa ye/ leselo peesá** ‘the school that he took money to’.)

Leete. ‘Bring it!’ (cf. **Leteeni!** ‘You (pl.) bring it!’)
Lete chaakuja/ ka mikooni. ‘Go and bring food from the kitchen.’
Maṭezo miingi/ huletaa dhibu. ‘Too many jokes brings problems.’ (A proverb.)
Mgeni/ lesele chaayi. ‘The guest brought tea.’
Mlesele mwaana/ Mwiini/ kumkorsha. ‘He brought the child to Brava to raise him.’ (It is perhaps worth noting that one cannot use the applied form of the verb to express this idea: ***Letelele Mwiini/ mwaana/ kumkorsha.** ‘He brought to Brava the child to raise.’)
muke waa ye/ leseloo khatji/ kaaké ‘the woman whom he brought a letter to’ (cf. **muke waa ye/ leseloo khatji/ kaaké/ numbaani** ‘the woman whom he brought a letter to her place’; also cf. **muke waa ye/ leseloo khatji/ ka kaaké** ‘the woman whom he brought a letter from’)

Muun^hu/ lesele majiwe. ‘The man brought stones.’ Or with verb focus:
Muun^hu/ leesele/ majiwe. Or with verb focus and an object marker on the verb: **Muun^hu/ yaleesele/ majiwe.**
 Or with left dislocation without focus: **Majiwe/ muun^hu/ yaleesele.**

Mpuunga/ leselo numbaani. ‘Rice he brought to the house.’
Mwaana/ chimjiiba/ ya kuwa khabari/ zaa ye/ leeseló/ siwo/ suura. ‘The child answered him that the news that he brought was not good.’
Naank^hó/ numa/ chimwaambila/ maamaye/ chimwaambila/ mwaanawá/ leelo/ mwana uyu/ mleeseló/ simleeté/ maraa ka isa/ mlete mwana mwiingine. ‘And again, afterwards, she told him, the mother told him: my son, today this child is the one whom you brought; don’t bring him the coming time, bring another child.’
Ndreeselé. Or **Nleeselé.** ‘I brought it.’
Nilleeselé. ‘I brought it [cl.11] (e.g. **luti** ‘a stick’).’

Nt^haku/ yaa ye/ hukhadiro kuleetá. ‘There is nothing that he can bring.’
Nuuru/ lesele chibuuku/ ka mwaana. ‘Nuuru brought the book to the child’s place (i.e. to his home, not to him wherever he might be).’
Omari/ leesele/ mpuunga/ numbaani. ‘Omari brought rice home.’ Or:
Omari/ lesele numbaani/ mpuunga. ‘Omari brought home rice.’ It is also possible to focus the locative *in situ*:
Omari/ lesele mpuunga/ numbaani. (Without the focus on the locative, this word order and phrasing would be an instance of a canonical (“all new information”) sentence, characterized by downstep intonation: **Omari/ lesele mpuunga/ numbaani.** The post-verbal complement can also be focused: **Omari/ lesele mpuunga/ numbaani.** ‘Omari brought rice home.’ Without this focus, realized as raised pitch, we again have the canonical sentence cited above.)

Omari/ leesele/ zoombo/ adadi niingi. ‘Omari brought things in large number.’
Osmaani/ jilee kuja/ yont^he/ leesele. ‘Osmaani ate (so much) food (that) he

brought all of it back up (vomited).’

Sileteení. ‘You (pl.) don’t bring it!’

Sultaani/ chimuuzā/ karaayle/ nini/ imleselo apá. ‘The king [of the kites] asked the crow what brought him here.’

Waliko ni eelo/ uyu/ ndreseloo mi/ apá. ‘It was this gazelle who brought me here.’

Yaa ye/ naakujó/ nakuleeta. ‘Whatever he eats, he brings it back up (vomits).’

Ye/ haleeti/ kheeri. ‘[Lit.] he does not bring blessing. (Something that is said of a person who, wherever he goes, never pleases anyone.)’

rel.

ku-leesanya v. caus. rec. (**leseenye** or **lesanyiize**) reconcile two or more parties in discord, create harmony

Lesenye waana. ‘He reconciled the children.’

Waliko ni eelo/ uyu/ lesenyo walwiitú. ‘It was this gazelle who brought us together.’

ku-leetana v. rec. (**-leteene**) of things to be compatible, agree with each other (e.g. words of two persons)’

Waletene ka qaaði. ‘They went together (at each other’s instigation) to the judge.’

ku-leeteka v. p/s.

Gaari/ hayleeteki/ gedi iyi. ‘This car cannot be brought to this side of town (e.g. there is no bridge or no ferry).’

ku-leteḷoowa v. appl. pass. be brought to, for

Chigaari/ chileteḷeḷa Nuuru/ skunyi/ na Ali. ‘The cart was used to bring firewood to Nuuru by Ali.’ (Syn. Observe that the instrument can be the subject of the passive sentence, at the same time that there are two unmarked verbal complements as well. If **Nuuru** is the passive subject, then **chigari** must be preceded by a preposition: **Nuuru/ leteḷeḷa skunyi/ ka chigaari/ na Ali.** ‘Nuuru was brought firewood with a cart by Ali.’

that in this example, **sultaani** is the subject of the passive verb and governs a null subject prefix on the verb, but it is postposed after the verb.)

mwajimu leteḷeḷa chibuukú/ naa mi ‘the teacher for whom a book was brought by me’

Mwaana/ leteḷeḷa chibuuku/ na Aasha. ‘The child was brought a book by Aasha.’

Nakuleteḷowa mikuja ya kila lamna/ nakuleteḷoowá. ‘He is being brought foods of every kind, that’s what he is being brought.’ Cf. also: **Nakuleteḷowa mikuja/ nakuleteḷoowá/ ya kila lamna.** ‘He is being brought foods, that’s what he is being brought, of every kind.’

Sufuriya iyi/ ileteḷeḷa mwaana/ chaakuja (naa Dede). ‘This pan was used to bring the child food (by Dede).’ (Cf. **Mwaana/ leteḷeḷa**

chaakuja/ ka sufuriya iyi/ (naa Dede). ‘The child was brought food with a pan (by Dede).’)

Sufuriya iyi/ ileteḷeḷa shfiniko. ‘This pan was brought for a lid (i.e. for someone to get a lid to put on it).’

Waleteḷeḷa chaayi. ‘They were brought tea.’ Or: **Chaayi/ waleteḷeḷeḷa/ wo.**

ku-leetela v. appl. (**leteḷeḷe**) (i) bring to, for; (ii) understand, grasp

(i) **Aasha/ mleteḷeḷe mwaana/ chibuuku.** ‘Aasha brought a book to the child.’

Chigaari/ Ali/ mleteḷeḷe Nuuru/ skunyi. ‘The cart, Ali brought firewood to Nuuru with it.’ (Observe that the instrument is topicalized to initial

position in an unmarked form, i.e. without a preceding preposition, even though this means that **-leetela** is occurring with three unmarked complements.)

Dede/ mleteḷeḷe mwaana/ chaakuja/ ka sufuriya iyi. ‘Dede brought food for/to the child with this pan.’

Huseeni/ mleteḷeḷe Nuuru/ skunyi/ ka chigari. ‘Huseeni brought firewood to Nuuru with a cart.’ (Note that in this sentence, it is not possible to omit the preposition **ka** and leave a bare NP **chigari**.)

Iletelele ruuhuye/ dhibu. ‘He brought the difficulties on himself.’

Isa/ ndretela mbuziya. ‘Now bring me back my goat.’

Jaama/ letelele sufuriya iyi/ shfiniko. ‘Jaama brought a lid for this pan.’

Jaani/ mletelele mwaalimu/ zawaadi. ‘John brought a gift to the teacher.’

Laakini/ shfikira/ chihada/ waawe/ chinambila oloka/ kumaanganya/ nt^eeendre/ ndreetela/ mi/ nt^hamwambilani. ‘But he thought and said if my father told me go, gather up the dates and bring them to me, what would I tell him?’

Leelo/ mp^hete nsi iyi/ mooyi/ ninletelelele. ‘Today I caught this one fish and I brought it to you (pl.).’

Letelele gaari/ ijuulu. ‘He brought a tire for the car.’

Letelele gaari/ miilu. ‘He brought tires for the car.’

Letelele madrasa/ ijarsi. ‘He brought a bell for the school.’

Letelele Mwiini/ makina yaa tala. ‘He brought for Brava an electric generator.’

Mboni/ we/ ragiile/ ndreetela/ mashkilo/ na khalbi/ mi/ nnayoo ndala. ‘Why are you late? Bring me the ears and the heart (of the donkey that was killed), I am hungry.’

Mi/ khuletelele kheeri. ‘I have brought you good news.’

Mletelele Nuuru/ mwaana/ kumkorsha. ‘He brought the child to Nuuru for him to raise.’

Muke/ chimleetela. ‘The wife brought [the books] to him.’

mwajimu wa Jaani/ mletelele zawaadi ‘the teacher to whom John brought a gift’

Ndreetelele chaakuja. ‘He brought food for me.’

Nimletelele mwaaná/ chibuukú. ‘I brought the book to the child.’

Nimletelele Nuurú/ chibuukú/ ka mwaaná. ‘I brought the book for Nuuru to the child’s place.’ (Syn. It is not possible for the applied verb to be used to incorporate both an unmarked beneficiary and an unmarked goal at the same time. It is ungrammatical to say:

***Nimletelele Nuurú/ mwaaná/ chibuukú.** ‘I brought the book to the child for Nuuru.’)

Nsi uyu/ waawó/ humpeenda/ naami/ nashiqilé/ kinleetela. ‘This fish, your father loves it, and I longed to bring it to you (pl.).’

Nuuru/ mleteleleni/ mwaalimu. ‘What did Nuuru bring to the teacher?’

Oloka/ ndretela apa/ chakujaacha. ‘Go and bring me my food here.’

Tamletelaa dhibu. ‘He will cause him trouble.’

Ye/ nt^hakuleta naani/ chibuuku. ‘To whom did he not bring a book?’ Or:

Ye/ nt^hamletela naani/ chibuuku. (Morph. The infinitive prefix *ku* which occurs in a number of verb tenses is usually deleted when the object prefix is the [cl.1] *m(u)*.)

(ii) **Chiza khadira kuletelá/ mi/ takhubla.** ‘If you are not able to grasp (the meaning), I will kill you.’

ku-leteloowa v. appl. pass. (**letelelela**)

Chili ichi/ chiletelelela mwana hakhaadiri. ‘By means of this bed the sick child was brought.’ (Note that the instrument in an instrumental applicative verb can be the subject of the passive verb.)

Nuuru/ letelele skunyi/ ka chigaari. ‘Nuuru was brought firewood with a cart.’ (Note that in this sentence, the preposition *ka* cannot be omitted, leaving a bare NP **chigaari** behind. Perhaps surprisingly, a bare NP **chigaari** can be used in the following sentence: **Chigaari/ chiletelele Nuuru/ skunyi.** ‘A cart was used to bring firewood to Nuuru.’ In this example, the applied verb allows both **Nuuru**, the indirect object that controls the OM in the corresponding active sentence, and the instrument to appear without prepositional marking. The instrument is the subject of the passive verb in this “double duty” construction.)

ku-letelana v. appl. rec. bring each other’s for, send to each other

Waleteleene/ waana/ ka qaaði. ‘They brought each other’s children to the judge.’

Waletelenee khati. ‘They sent each other a letter.’

ku-leetesha v. caus. make bring

Haaji/ mletesheze Nuuru/ chaakuja/ numbaani. ‘Haaji caused Nuuru to bring food home.’

Nimletesheze Nuurú/ mwaaná/ ka Alí. ‘I caused Nuuru to bring the child to Ali (‘s place).’

Osmaani/ (i)letesheze gaari/ numbaani. ‘Osmaani had the car brought home.’ (Observe that it is possible for the verb to agree with **gaari**, see the optional object prefix *i*, only because there is no overt “causee” in the sentence. When the causee is present in the sentence, the verb can only agree with it: **Osmaani/ mletesheze Nuuru/ gaari/ numbaani.** ‘Osmaani had Nuuru bring the car home.’)

ku-letesheka v. caus. p/s.

Mwana uyu/ haletesheki/ gaari/ numbaani. ‘This child cannot be made to bring the car home.’ (Note that a sentence where **gaari** is subject of the passive/stative verb is clearly ungrammatical if the cause is mentioned: ***Gari iyi/ hayletesheki/ mwaana/ numbaani.** If the causee is not mentioned, making **gaari** the subject is still of questionable grammaticality: ?**Gari iyi/ hayletesheki/ numbaani.**)

ku-letesheleza v. caus. appl. (**letesheleeze**)

(I)letesheleze gaari/ ijuulu. ‘He had a tire brought for the car.’ (Note that the optional object prefix on the verb is in agreement with **gaari**, the beneficiary in this causative applied sentence, though this fact is not obvious since **ijuulu** would govern the same agreement.)

Ndretesheleze mwaana/ noka/ numbaani. ‘He caused my child to bring a snake home (to my detriment).’

Nuuru/ letesheleze madrasa/ jarsi. ‘Nuuru caused to be brought for the school a bell.’ (It appears not to be possible to overtly refer to the human “causee”, the item brought, and an inanimate beneficiary; cf. the ungrammaticality of ***Nuuru/ letesheleze madrasa/ Osmaani/ jarsi.** ‘Nuuru had Osmaani bring a bell for the school.’ If the beneficiary is human, then the causee can be overt: **Nimletesheleze Suufi/ Osmaani/ chaakujá.** ‘I had Osmaani bring food for Suufi.’ In a case like this, where both **Suufi** and **Osmaani** would govern the same object prefix, the word order is of necessity the benefactive first and the causee second.)

ku-leteshelezoowa v. caus. appl. pass. (**letesheleeza**)

Gaari/ iletesheleza ijuulu. ‘The car was caused to be brought for a tire.’

Maskiini/ letesheleza chaakuja. ‘A poor man was caused to be brought for food.’

Maskiini/ letesheleza Nuuru/ chaakuja. ‘The poor man was (the one who someone) caused Nuuru to bring food for.’ (It is important to note that in the passive version of a benefactive causative verb, the subject must be the beneficiary and not the “cause”, i.e. the person who was made to perform the action. Consequently, a sentence of the form **Osmaani/ letesheleza waant^hu/ chaakuja.** cannot be understood to mean ‘Osmaani was made to bring food for the people’; it can only mean that people were made to bring food for Osmaani.)

ku-leteshoowa v. caus. pass. (**letesheeza**)

ku-letooowa v. pass. be brought

Chaayi/ chileesela. ‘Tea was brought.’

Chaayi/ chileseḷa na mgeeni. ‘Tea was brought by the guest.’

Chileseḷa na mgeeni/ ni chaayi. ‘What was brought by the guest is tea.’

Chiletowapo ka mukeewé/ hukalant^ha numbaani/ muda wa ayamu

mooyi. ‘When he is brought to his wife [after having been taken around town after the wedding ceremony], they stay at home for a period of one week.’

Harun Rashiidi/ chi’amurisha/ mkulu wa mawaardiya/ kuletoowa. ‘Harun Rashiidi ordered the head of the guards to be brought.’

Ichiletoowa/ naa mbuzi/ na mbuzi iyo/ wachileeto/ ni china Mahmuudi/ wa Shekh Huseeni/ Raa Tahaara. ‘And a goat was brought, too, and this goat, those who brought it were the family of Mahmud [son] of Sheekh Husein, the Tahaara family.’

Leselapó/ Harun Rashiidi/ chi’amurisha nabigoowa/ ndruti khamsiini.

‘When he was brought in, Harun Rashiidi ordered that he be given fifty blows.’

Majiwe/ yalesela na muunt^hu. ‘The stones were brought by the man.’

Maraði yakoo kulé/ hayaletooowi/ khariibu. ‘Disease that is far away is not brought closer.’ (A proverb.)

mukhta chaakuja/ huletoowá ‘when food is brought’

Mwaana/ chamura zaakuja/ kuletoowa. ‘The boy ordered food to be brought.’

Mwaana/ leselapó/ sulṭaani/ chimwaambila/ nnakhsuḷa chijuumbá/ cha

nyunyi izí. ‘When the boy was brought, the sultan said to him: I want the nest of these birds.’

Mwanaamke/ chishikoowa/ chiletowa mbele za sultāani. ‘The girl was captured and brought in front of the king.’

Osmaani/ leseja ruuhu/ na fulaani. ‘Osmaani was bothered very much by so-and-so.’

rel. nom.

ma-leesanyo n. 6 reconciliation

m-leeto n. 3

u-leeto n. 14

m-leevi (wa-)

n. 1/2 [Sw. *mlevi* SSED 244] a drunkard; adj. drunk

Munt^hu mleevi/ mbishile maamaye. ‘The drunk man hit his mother.’

rel.

u-leevi n. 14 drunkenness

ku-leewa

v. [Sw. *lewa* SSED 244] (**leweele**) get drunk; get or feel nauseous, esp. seasickness

Fikiriini/ ba’ada ya wakhti/ chileewa/ ye/ chisukurika/ shṭukula ruuhuye/ cheenda/ kaake/ chiliini. ‘Fikiriini, after a while, became drunk, he got intoxicated and carried himself and went to his place to bed.’

kulewa ka bahari ‘to be seasick’

Omari/ nakuleewa. ‘Omari is feeling nauseous.’

Suufi/ leweele. ‘Suufi got drunk.’

rel.

ku-lewaleewa v. freq. lose one’s balance, stagger, reel (from drunkenness or seasickness)

ku-leeweke v. p/s.

ku-leewela v. appl. get drunk with

ku-leewesha v. caus. make drunk (e.g. by putting alcohol into someone’s drink);

make seasick; spoil s.o. (e.g. of a parent giving his child things too freely)

Menye/ mlewesheze mwaanawe/ ka kumpa yaa ye/ nakhsuuló. ‘Menye spoiled his son by giving him whatever he wanted.’

Shariifu/ mlewesheze mwaana. ‘Shariifu caused the child to get seasick (though intentionality is not involved here -- e.g. he may simply have taken the child on a boat ride and the child became seasick).’

ku-leweshanya v. caus. rec.

ku-lewesheka v. caus. p/s.

ku-leweshenzeza v. caus. appl. rec.

Madi/ mleweshenze Huseeni/ mwaana. ‘Madi caused Huseeni’s child to get drunk.’

ku-leweshenzanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Mamadi/ na Nureeni/ waleweshenze waana. ‘Mamadi and Nureeni made one another’s children drunk.’

ku-lewoowa v. pass.

Khamri niingi/ hulewoowa. ‘Too much alcohol gets one drunk.’

rel. nom.

chi-leewo n. 7 drunkenness

u-leewo n. 14 drunkenness

-li-

past tense marker limited in Chimiini (in contrast to Swahili) to the verb **kuwa** ‘to be’

Apo/ zamaani/ waliko sultāani/ mooyi/ milkilo nusu ya duniyá. ‘Once upon a time there was a sultan who owned half the world.’

ku-lima

v. [Sw. *lima* SSED 246] (**limiile**) farm, cultivate, work the land for raising crops

Chimaliza/ kulla/ mo/ chendra kaake/ mundraani/ kulima. ‘Then each one went to his field to cultivate.’

Hamadi/ chilima/ amó/ chiza kulimá/ ni mamooyi/ kaaka. ‘Whether Hamadi cultivates or does not cultivate is all the same to me.’

Hasani/ chishindroowa/ ye/ sḥtukuloowa/ shpelekowa miyuundraani/ ka sultaani/ khfanya kazi ya kulima. ‘Hasani was defeated and he was taken and sent to the fields of the sultan to do the work of cultivating.’

Hulima muundra. ‘He plows, cultivates the field, farm.’

Hulimo miyuundrá/ ni waant^hu/ haba. ‘It is a small number of people who farm.’

Hulimo miyuundrá/ ni waant^hu/ wiingi. ‘Many people farm.’

Iyembe iyi/ haylimi. ‘This hoes does not [serve to] cultivate (i.e. it is broken, or not sharp, or lacks a handle, etc.).’

Lima/ amó/ silimé/ ni mamooyi/ kaaka. ‘Cultivate or don’t cultivate, it is all the same to me.’ (The verb forms used here are the imperative and the negative imperative.)

Mi/ na’iwa kulimá. ‘I know how to farm.’

Naalime/ amó/ silime/ hayinkhusi. ‘Whether he cultivates or not does not concern me.’ (In this example, the affirmative and the negative subjunctive verb forms are used. Notice that there is no final accent associated with the negative subjunctive.)

Ndrimiilé. ‘I cultivated.’

Yaa we/ takaaló/ takulimó. ‘What you plant is what you will harvest.’ (A proverb.)

rel.

ku-limika v. p/s. capable of being cultivated (e.g. of ground that is not too hard or does not have too many trees); become cultivated

Nṭi/ haylimiki. ‘This land cannot be cultivated.’

ku-limikila v. ps/s. appl. become cultivated for

Nṭi/ ikhulimikiliile. ‘This land became cultivated for you.’

ku-limiloowa v. appl. pass.

Baaba/ nakulimilowa muundra/ na Haaji. ‘[Lit.] father is being cultivated the field for by Haaji.’ Or: **Muundra/ nakulimilowa baaba/ na Haaji.** Regardless of word order, **baaba** controls the subject agreement (which is phonologically null for a third person human subject) and not **muundra**.)

Iyeembe/ hulimilowa muundra. ‘The axe is for cultivating a farm.’

Omari/ nakulimilowa muundra. ‘Omari is being cultivated for the farm.’

ku-limila v. appl. cultivate for, with

Haaji/ namlimila baaba/ muundra. ‘Haaji is cultivating the field for father.’

nguwo za kulimila ‘clothes to cultivate in’

Omari/ nakulimila iyeembe/ muundra. ‘Omari is cultivating the farm with an axe.’

ku-limilana v. appl. rec. (-limileene) cultivate for one another

Walimilene muundra. ‘They cultivated one another’s farm.’

ku-limilika v. appl. p/s. be capable of being cultivated for

Ali/ halimiliki/ muundra. ‘Ali cannot be hoed for a garden (i.e. it is not possible to hoe a garden for Ali).’

ku-limisha v. caus.

ku-limoowa v. pass.

Nṭi iyi/ siwo/ suura/ kulimoowa. ‘This land is not good for cultivation.’

Uyu/ ni meezi/ wa kulimoowa. ‘This is the month for hoeing.’

rel. nom.

m-lima (wa-) n. one who cultivates

mlima muundra ‘a farmer’; **walima miyuundra** ‘farmers’

Waant^hu/ wiingi/ ni walima miyuundra. ‘Many of the people are farmers.’

Waant^hu/ wote/ ni walima miyuundra. ‘All the people are farmers.’

m-limo n. 3 the act of farming

u-limo n. 14 agriculture

m-lima

n. 3/4 [Sw. *mlima* SSED 290] hill; more specifically, this word (as well as **ibuuri**)

refers to the coastal hill from the top of which you can see Brava and the Indian ocean

Chiruuda/ ilu/ ya mlima/ mahala/ ya ma'askari/ na watumawé/ wawaalikó. 'He returned up the hill to the place where the soldiers and his servants were.'

Fijiri/ wa'ishkiliile/ ka mlimaani/ wa'oloshele kumlangala dughaghi. 'In the morning, they descended the hill and they went to look at the beast.'

Maayi/ hishkila/ hayapaandri/ mlima (or: ibuuri). 'Water comes down, it does not go up the hill.' (A proverb that advises that one cannot change the course of events, everything follows its natural path.)

Wachanza khpandra mlima/ shpaandra/ hattá/ ilu/ ya mlima. 'They started to climb the hill; they climbed until the top of the hill.'

Waka numba/ ilu ya mlima. 'Build a house on a hill!'

rel.

chi-lima (zi-) n. dim. small hill

Cheendra/ chilaala/ ilu/ ya chilima. 'He went and slept on a small hill.'

Jeelaani/ waaliko/ simeeme/ ilu/ ya chilima. 'Jeelaani was standing on a small hill.'

Muunt^hu/ husimamó/ ilu/ ya chilima ichi/ hukhaadira/ kuwona/ muuyi/ mzimawe. 'A person who stands on his small hill is able to see the whole town.'

ku-liindra

v. [Sw. *linda* SSED 247] (*liinzile*) wait, expect, guard, look after

Abunawaasi/ shfakata/ chiwamera makhaadimu/ wa'amurila kulindra magozí. 'Abunawaasi ran and looked for the servants who had been ordered to look after the hides.'

Apo/ chila^owaa ndovu/ kulindra chisima/ na chiza m^lata bakayle/ kuuya/ khteka maayi. 'Elephant was left there to guard the well and not let Hare come and fetch water.'

Apo/ numbaani/ chimwambila mwaanawe/ waliko chimliindró... 'There, at the house, he said to his child, who was waiting for him...'

Chizeele/ chinandriindre/ haba mo. 'The old woman should wait for me a little while.'

Eelo/ chimwaambila/ maskiini/ kumliindra/ ha^tá/ chiruuda. 'The gazelle told the poor man to wait for him until he returned.'

Hundriindra. 'You do not wait for me.'

Jeelaani/ chiliindra. 'Jeelaani waited.'

Karkaa ye/ nakuliindró/ mwenee mbwa/ namsongaa ndovu. 'While he was waiting, he saw a dog approaching the elephant.'

kulindra chi^taawo 'to wait for the bus'

kumliindra or **kumniindra** 'to wait for him/her'

Mi/ mbeshela apá/ ku'uliindra/ muti uyu. 'I was put here to look after this tree.'

Mub^li/ nakulindra majiibuyo. 'The man is waiting for your answer.'

Mwaana/ chimwambila waawaye/ mi/ ndrⁱinzilé/ nt^heendre/ ha^tá/ kharibu yaa sala/ ya fijiri. 'The child told his father: I watched over the date tree until near (the time of) morning prayer.'

Mzeele/ chinaambila/ we liindra/ ha^tá/ mukhta^a wo/ watakuyo koowá. 'The old man told me: you wait until the time when they will come to bathe.'

Ndrⁱinzile. 'He waited for me.'

Ndrⁱnzile Jaamá/ kuuyaké. 'I expected Jaama's coming.' (The subject of the "gerundial" complement clause cannot be raised to be the object of the main verb: ***Nimlinzile Jaamá/ kuuyaké.**)

Ndrⁱnzile Jaamá/ kuyake kahimá. 'I expected Jaama's coming quickly.'

Ndrⁱnzilé/ kulla/ mwaaka/ konda nt^heendre. 'I waited each year to taste the dates.' (Phon. The word **kulla** is emphasized and thus diminishes the audibility of the final accent on the preceding verb. Note that that the verb is not part of a phrase with **kulla** and

consequently final accent cannot appear on **kulla**: *Ndrinzile **kullá/ mwaaka...** Also note that the final accent cannot cross **kulla** and appear on subsequent phrases.)

pass the examination.’

Ndrinzile muda ya meezi. ‘I waited for a period of one month.’ Or: **Ndriinzilé/ muda ya meezi.** Or: **Ndrinzile mudá/ ya meezi.** (Phon. The various alternative forms show phrasing options that are available for this sentence and the effects of the Accentual Law of Focus on the scope of the final accent triggered by the first person past tense verb.)

Ni laazima/ kuliinda/ mezi mitatu. ‘It is necessary to wait for three months (referring to the requirement that a divorced woman wait before remarrying).’

Nimlinzile Jaamá/ kuuyá. ‘I waited for Jaama to come.’ Cf. **Ndrinzile Jaamá/ kuuyá.** ‘I waited for Jaama to come.’ (In the first example, the subject of the complement verb has been “raised”, controlling an object marker on the main verb. In the second example, **Jaama** is not raised, functioning just as the subject of the infinitival complement.)

Nimniinzilé/ nt^hangú/ fijiri/ haṭá/ laakuja. ‘I waited for him from morning until dusk.’ **review final accent on fijiri**

Nnakulindra peesá/ ka mweenzawá. ‘I am expecting money from my friend.’

Nt^hakuliindra/ majiibuye. ‘I will wait for her reply.’

Siná/ sabri ya kuliindra. ‘I do not have the patience to wait.’

Teena/ wa’ambiile/ mbele/ lindaani/ ninpe kuja yiinu. ‘Then she told them: first, (you plural) wait so that I may give you your food.’

Wakhuliinzile. ‘They waited for you.’

Wamaliizopó/ wachiruda kaawo/ kuliindra/ haṭá/ muundra/ kuláwa. ‘When they finished (planting the garden), they returned home to wait until the garden bore fruit.’

Wardiya/ linzile nuumba. ‘The guard looked after the house.’

rel.

ku-liindrika v. p/s.

Omari/ huraaga/ haliindriki. ‘Omari delays, he cannot be waited for.’

ku-lindriloowa v. appl. pass.

Nt^haku/ sababu ya Omari/ kulindiloowa. ‘There is no reason to wait for

Omari.’

ku-liindrila v. appl.

Nakumlindrilaní/ Omari. ‘Why are you waiting for Omari?’

ku-liindrisha v. caus.

ku-lindrishiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-lindrishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ku-lindroowa v. pass.

Ba’ada apo/ wachilindrowa masheekhi/ kuuya/ wachilindroowá/

ichiletoowa/ na mbuzí. ‘After that, they waited for the sheiks to come, that’s what they did, and a goat was brought, too.’ (Syn. The conjunction **na**, when it precedes a noun that is not in fact being conjoined, has the interpretation ‘too, also’. Thus, the last clause in this example is more literally translated as: ‘It was brought, a goat too.’ Notice also the repetition of the verb in a pseudo-relative clause form: **wachilindroowá**. That this repetition is a relative form is indicated here only by the final accent. While ordinarily a relative verb ends in the vowel **o**, a passive verb always ends in **a**. This repetition pattern was not observed in MI’s speech, but has been found among other consultants. It was also found in texts that

MI recorded, apparently from family members. Thus it’s absence from our elicitation sessions and from MI’s recordings do not necessarily indicate that it is a construction that he was not familiar with.)

chihada mi nakhsuula kulindroowa/ hatta qiyaama naa ye chambiloowa/ takulindroowa karka walindroowa [st.] ‘He said: I want to have [my punishment] delayed until the Day of

Judgment. And he was told: You will be among those who will be given respite.'

Hulindroowa/ niingi/ chiṭaawo. 'It is waited for long the bus.'

Jaama/ linziḷa naami/ kuuya. '[Lit.] Jaama was waited for by me to come -
- i.e. I waited for Jaama to come.'

Uyu/ ni muunt^{hi}/ hudarbatiloowá/ na hulindroowá. 'This is a day that is
prepared for and waited for.'

Wanakulindroowa. 'They were being expected.'

i-liindri (mi-)

n. 5/4 a part of the wooden weaving tool

ku-liingana

v. [Sw. *lingana* SSED 242] (**lingeene**) be equal, be the same (e.g. in height)

Ali/ lingene na waawaye. 'Ali reached the same height as his father.'

Waana/ walingeene. 'The children are the same (in height).'

Wo/ walingene ka ilmu/ na maalí. 'They are of equal status in terms of
knowledge and wealth.'

rel.

ku-lingamana v. (**lingameene**) be of the same size, rank; be equal to

Lingamene na waawaye. 'He reached the same height as his father.'

Nakulingamana na waawaye. 'He is about to be as tall as his father.'

ku-linganila v. appl.

ku-linganisha v. caus. (cf. **kuliinganya** below)

ku-liinganya v. caus. (**lingeene** or **linganyiize**) compare the measurements of two
things, take measurements; compare two things

Sindriinganyé/ na Alí. 'Don't compare me with Ali.' **review why final
accent**

ku-linganyika v. caus. p/s. able to be compared

ku-linganyiliza v. caus. appl.

Ali/ mlinganyilize Omari/ waana/ nguwo. 'Ali took the measurement of
the children for clothes for Omari.'

ku-linganyisha v. caus. caus. make someone take measurements

rel. nom.

m-lingamano n.3

u-lingamano n. 14

m-liingano n. 3

u-liingano n. 14

m-liinganyo n. 3

u-liinganyo n. 14

ku-lipa

v. [Sw. *lipa* SSED 248] (**lisile**) repay, pay s.t. owed (Note the mutation of
stem-final *p* to *s* in forming the perfect stem. When the stem is mutated, the perfect
extension *iil/eel* loses its vowel length.)

Ali/ lisile deeni. 'Ali paid the debt.'

Ali/ lisile deni yaa Nuuru. 'Ali paid Nuuru's debt (i.e. either the debt that
Nuuru had with someone else or Ali's debt to Nuuru).'

Ali/ lisile deni ya Nuuru/ chimwiló. 'Ali paid the debt that he owed to
Nuuru.'

Ali/ mlisile Nuuru/ deeni. 'Ali paid to Nuuru the debt that he (Ali) owed
him (Nuuru).'

Bakhiili/ lisile deeni. 'The miser paid the debt.'

Basi/ isa/ we/ ni laazima/ kundripa/ kuuluya. 'So now, you, it is necessary
that you pay me back my leg (in the context of the story from which this example comes: the leg that your father
cut off me).'

Khufanyize zeema/ zaa we/ hukhaadirí/ mlipá. 'He did good for you that
you are not able to repay (him).'

 (Phon. Observe that even though
the negative relative verb is separated phrasally here from its
infinitival complement, **[ku]mlipa**, the final accent extends to the
end of the relative clause.)

kulipaa sala 'to perform an obligatory prayer at a time later than its
appointed time (i.e. when the prayer is **qaaḏa**).'

Lisilo deeni/ ni bakhiili. 'The one who paid the debt is the miser.'

Mi/ nakhsuula/ Sultani Daraayi/ naye apa/ mp^hate kumlipa zeemaze. ‘I want Sultan Daraayi to come here so that I can repay him for his good deeds.’ (Phon. The emphasis on the main verb precludes the final accent triggered by that verb from extending past the emphasized phrase, in accordance with the Accentual Law of Focus.)

Mi/skhaadiri/ khulipa. ‘I cannot pay you back.’

Naami/ ni laazima/ khulipa jezayo. ‘And I must repay you your favors (i.e. the things you did for me).’

Ndrisile deeni. ‘I paid the debt.’ (Cf. a subject which does not trigger final accent: **Ali/ lisile deeni.** ‘Ali paid the debt.’)

Nimlisile Ali/ deeni. ‘I paid the debt to Ali.’

Omari/ ndrisile (/) haba haba. ‘Omari paid me little by little.’

Sarkaali/ lisile/ gharama za waana. ‘The government paid the expenses of the children.’

takuliso Zabaaniya/ karka muḷo wa Hawiya [st.] ‘Zabaniya will avenge there, in the hell-fires of Hawiya’

Wachimjiiba/ wachimwaambila/ chinambigá/ mayti/ uyu/ ka khisa/ mukhtaa ye/ waliko hayi/ teete/ deeni/ ka kiitu/ na nt^hakichilipa. ‘They answered him and said to him: we are beating this dead man because when he was alive he took loans from us and he did not pay us back.’

Ye/ ni laazima/ kundripa/ iṭooya. ‘It is necessary that he pay me back my eye (the one that he perforated).’

rel.

ku-lipaalipa v. freq.

Omari/ lisilelisile (/) haba haba. ‘Omari paid his debt little by little.’

Omari/ ndrisilendriile (/) haba haba. ‘Omari paid me little by little.’

ku-lipika v. p/s.

ku-lipiloowa v. appl. pass.

Taale/ pesa izi/ mpe Safiya/ nalipiloowa/ muḷi. ‘Take this money and give it to Safiya so that the husband may be repaid the money (that he had paid in dowry).’

ku-lipila v. appl. (**lipiliile**) pay for, with, to

Baana/ mlipiliile Nuuru/ deeni. ‘Baana paid the debt for Nuuru (to someone else); Baana paid his debt to Nuuru.’

Ali/ mlipiliile Nuuru/ deni zaa ye/ chiwiḷoowa. ‘Ali paid for Nuuru the debts (he owed to people).’

Ali/ mlipiliile Nuuru/ deni zaa ye/ chimwiló. ‘Ali paid to Nuuru the debts that he (Ali) owed to him (Nuuru).’

Ifuungu/ yaane/ ndripiliile deenizá/ na walá/ skumaliza/ kulipaa deeniza/ zote. ‘The fourth share I used to pay my debts and neither did I finish paying all my debts.’

Nimlipiliile Ali/ deeniyé. ‘I paid for Ali his debt.’

Nt^hakhusaameha/ laakini/ ka sharti/ mooyi/ we/ ni laazima/ kundripila khasaara/ imp^heeṭó/ yotte. ‘I will forgive you but on one condition: you must repay me the loss that befell me, all.’

Teete/ peesa/ zotte/ mpele mkuḷe/ khfanyiliza/ kaazi/ na kulipila deeni. ‘He took all the money and gave it to his elder brother to use for business and to pay his debts with.’

We/ khusudiliileni/ kuhada/ kuwa ifuungu/ yanne/ we/ lipiliile deeni/ walá/ nt^hukumaliza/ kulipa deenizo.. ‘What did you mean by saying that the fourth portion [of the wealth you squandered] you used to pay your debts

ku-lipoowa v. pass. (**lisiḷa**)

Gharama za waana/ zilisila na sarkaali. ‘The expenses of the children were paid by the government.’

Lisiḷa deeniyé/ ni bakhiili. ‘The one who was paid his debt is the miser.’

Mzeele/ uyu/ chishiika/ kuwa ni laazima/ ye/ kulipowa iṭooye. ‘This old man insisted that he must be paid back for his eye.’

ku-lisa v. caus. (**lisiize**) make pay

Omari/ mlisize mwaalimu/ deeni. ‘Omari made the teacher pay the debt.’

ku-lisoowa v. caus. pass. (**lisiiza**) be made to pay

Mwaalimu/ lisiza deeni. ‘The teacher was made to pay the debt.’ (Syn: The subject of the passive verb must be the ‘causee’; it is

ungrammatical to say ***Deeni/ ilisiza mwaalimu**. One can prepose the other complement and postpose the subject, but the verb still agrees with the postposed subject: **Deeni/ lisiza mwaalimu**. ‘The teacher was made to pay the debt.’ Observe that the postposed subject phrases together with the verb.)

ku-liisha

v. (**lishiize**) feed

Muke/ mlishize mwaana/ chaakuja. ‘The woman fed the child food.’ (In this sentence, either of the verbal complements may be topicalized to the beginning of the sentence: **Mwaana/ muke/ mlishize chaakuja**. Or: **Chaakuja/ muke/ mlishize mwaana**. Notice that in either case, the complement that remains in post-verbal position phrases naturally with the verb.)

Mwaana/ mlishizee nfuye/ mazu/ ka farkeeta. ‘The child fed the monkey bananas with a fork.’ (In this example, **nfuye** ‘monkey’ governs [cl.1] human object agreement on the verb. As shown below, **nfuye** may also be the subject of the passive version of this sentence.)

rel.

ku-liishika v. p/s.

Mwana uyu/ haliishiki. ‘This child cannot be fed (e.g. he won’t sit still).’

ku-lishikila v. p/s. appl.

Baana/ halishikili/ mwaana. ‘One cannot feed for Baana the child.’

Baana/ mwaana/ mlishikiliile. ‘Someone was able to feed for Baana the child.’

ku-lishiliza v. appl. feed for, with

Farkeeta/ mwaana/ lishilizee nfuye/ mazu. ‘A fork, the child fed the monkey with it.’ (Syn. In the instrumental applied construction, it is much preferred for the instrument to be topicalized to the beginning of the sentence. The instrument in this construction does not represent new information nor is it focused in any way, thus it is not readily found in immediate post-verbal position. It is not acceptable for **nfuye** or **mazu** to be topicalized in the instrumental applied: ***Nfuye/ mwaana/ lishilize farkeeta/ mazu**. Nor: ***Mazu/ mwana/ lishilize farkeeta/ nfuye**. The post-verbal word order is irrelevant to the ungrammaticality of these sentences.)

Farkeeta ya mwaana/ lishilizoo nfuyé/ mazú/ ndaaká. ‘The fork that the child used to feed the monkey bananas is mine.’ (Syn. It is not possible for **nfuye** nor **mazu** to be the head of a relativized form of the instrumental applied verb: ***Nfuye wa mwaana/ lishilizo farkeeta/ mazú/ fiile**. ‘The monkey that the child fed bananas with a fork died.’ Nor: ***Mazu ya mwaana/ lishilizo farkeeta/ nfuyé/ ziviviile**. ‘The bananas that the child fed the monkey with a fork were ripe.’ The word order of the post-verbal NP’s is irrelevant to the unacceptability of these sentences.)

Mubli/ mlishilizee muke/ mwaana/ chaakuja. ‘(Her) husband fed the child food for the woman.’ (Any of the three verbal complements in this sentence may be topicalized to initial position in the sentence: **Muke/ mubli/ mlishilize mwaana/ chaakuja**. or: **Mwaana/ mubli/ mlishilizee muke/ chaakuja**. Or: **Chaakuja/ mubli/ mlishilizee muke/ mwaana**. Any of the complement positions may be relativized into as well: e.g. **Chakuja cha mubli/ mlishilizoo muké/ mwaaná/...** ‘The food that (her) husband fed the child for the woman...’)

Mubli/ mlishilizee muke/ mwaana/ chaakuja/ ka likoombe. ‘(Her) husband fed the child for the woman with a spoon.’ (Since the verb is in a benefactive applied form, there is not the possibility of using this same form to permit the instrument **likoombe** to appear without a preposition. However, the instrument can be topicalized or relativized *without* the use of the preposition; in these cases, the applied form licenses both the benefactive and the instrument:

Lkoombe/ mubli/ mlililizee muke/ mwaana/ chaakuja. ‘The spoon, (her) husband used it to feed the child food for the woman.’
 Also: **Lkombe la mubli/ mlililizoo muké/ mwaaná/ chaakujá...**
 ‘The spoon that (her) husband used to feed the child food for the woman....’)

Tuuma/ namlisha maana. ‘Tuuma is feeding the child.’

ku-lishilizoowa v. appl. pass.

ku-lishoowa v. pass. (**lishiiza**) be fed

Maana/ nakulishowaa kuja. ‘The child is being fed food.’

Nfuye/ lishizaa mazu/ ka farkeeta/ na mwaana. ‘The monkey was fed bananas with a fork by the child.’ (Syn. Note that in this passive structure, **mazu** cannot be the subject of the passive verb, only **nfuye**: ***Mazu/ zilishizaa nfuye/ ka farkeeta/ na mwaana.** ‘Bananas were fed to the monkey with a fork by the child.’)

ku-liwala

v. [cf. Proto-Sabaki *-liWal- N&H 597] (**liweele**) forget

Haliima/ liweele/ kuvala chiint^hu. ‘Haliima forgot to put something on.’

khfanya ruuhuye/ kana liweeló ‘to pretend to have forgotten (though in fact you just did not do)’

Kuliwala/ siwo/ ðambi. ‘To forget is not a sin.’

Maashe/ haliwali/ lutiile. ‘A blind man does not forget his (walking) stick.’ (A proverb.)

Mbona/ we/ liwele ka himá/ zema za elo uyu/ khufanyiizó. ‘How can you forget so quickly the good that this gazelle did for you?’

Mgarwa/ kama oyo/ chimliwala/ mukeewe/ na waanawé/ waa ye/ walasilo kaawó. ‘The fisherman, just like that, forgot his wife and his children that he had left behind in their country.’

Mi/ mubliwa/ ndrasile/ laakini/ mi/ sinakhaadira/kumliwala/ ka khisa/ mi/ nimpeenzelé/ nt^ho. ‘Me, my husband divorced me, but I am not able to forget him because I love him very much.’

Mi/ ndriwelee tu. ‘I just forgot.’

mooja haliwali mooja halaali [st.] ‘God does not forget, God does not sleep’

Na itakupató/ we/ umriwo/ hutakuliwala. ‘And what will happen to you in your life you will not forget.’

Muunt^hu/ fanyiizó/ huliwala/ fanyiizá/ haliwali. ‘The one who has done something wrong, forgets;(but) the one who has been wronged does not forget.’ (A proverb.)

Ndo/ laakini/ siliwale chibuukú. ‘Come, but don’t forget the book.’ (In this example, we see that while in the default case **siliwalé** would constitute a separate phrase, in some contexts the negative imperative verb may form a phrase with its complement. In that case, the final accent associated with the negative imperative extends to the broader phrase.)

Ndriweelé/ kuwa Alí/ nuzizee mi/ kumpa mwaanawe/ Omari/ peesa. ‘I forgot that Ali asked me to give his son Omari money.’ Also: **Ndriweelé/ Alí/ nuziizé/ kumpa mwaanawe/ Omari/ peesa.** Also: **Nimliweelé/ Alí/ kuwa nuzize kumpa mwaanawe/ Omari/ peesa.** ‘I forgot him, Ali, that he asked me to give his child Omari money.’

Nuuru/ liwele kuwa Jaama/ mpele mwaana/ chibuuku. ‘Nuuru forgot that Jaama gave the child a book.’ (Cf. The noun phrase **chibuuku** can be made the into head of the corresponding relative clause: **Chibuku cha Nuuru/ liwelo kuwa Jaamá/ mpele mwaaná/ nch^haaká.** ‘The book that Nuuru forgot that Jaama gave to the child is mine.’)

Siliwalé. ‘Don’t forget!’ (cf. **Siliwaleení.** ‘You (pl.) don’t forget!’)

Siliwalé/ kuleta chibuuku. ‘Don’t forget to bring the book!’ Or: **Siliwalé/ kuleta/ chibuuku.**

Siliwalé/ kuleta chibuuku/ keesho. ‘Don’t forget to bring the book tomorrow.’

Siliwale kuleta chibuukú/ tu. ‘Just don’t forget to bring the book [I am afraid that you might forget, so I am emphasizing that you should

not forget].’ (Cf. the remark above concerning the phrasing of the negative imperative verb. Also, it should be noted that in this example the pitch on **tu** is radically lowered.)

Siliwale chibuukú/ tu/ keesho. ‘Don’t forget to bring the book tomorrow!’

Siliwalé/ kuleta chibuuku/ we/ chiya. ‘Don’t forget to bring the book when you come.’

ya nafsi keesho aakhera siliwale [st.] ‘oh, soul, don’t forget the hereafter (which is) tomorrow’

rel.

ku-liwaloowa v. pass. (**liweela**)

iyi ni taariikhi sho kuliwaloowa [nt.] ‘this is a [piece of] history that will not be forgotten’

problems.’

Kuliwaloowa/ niingi/ huleta dhibu. ‘To forget too much can cause

Wo/ wafiile/ laakini/ nt^hawakuliwaloowa/ walá/ hawatakuliwaloowa.

‘They died, but they are not forgotten nor will they be forgotten.’

ku-liwaza v. caus. (**liweeze**) make forget

hardships.’

Matezo/ khuliwaza mashaqa. ‘Games make you forget problems,

forget praying.’

Omari/ hupenda kuliwaza waant^hu/ sala. ‘Omari likes to make people

rel. nom.

ma-liwazo n. forgetfulness

forgetfulnesses are many).’

Haliima/ maliwazoye/ miingi. ‘Haliima forgets a lot (lit. Haliima her

chi-loho (zi-)

n. 7/8 [cf. Proto-Sabaki ***kiloWo** N&H 598] fishing hook; bait

chiloho chaa nsi ‘a fish hook’

Chiloho/ chimduriile. ‘The fishing-hook has pierced, snagged, caught him.’

Chiloho/ pashpo chaambo/ hashpati/ nsi. ‘A hook without bait does not get a fish.’ (A proverb.)

khpataa nsi/ ka chiloho ‘to catch fish with a hook’

Mawe/ hutumikilowa chiloho. ‘Mawe [sp. fish] is used as bait.’

ku-lokota

v. (**lokeete, lokosele**) pick up, take a handful, take s.t. out of a mass of s.t. (e.g. dip water out of a larger container with a glass)

Lokosele maayi. ‘He dipped water out.’

Mbene ltaki/ ndilaani/ laakini/ skukhaadiri/ killokota. ‘I saw a necklace outside but I could not pick it up.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **siyaafu** ‘safari ants’.)

rel.

ku-lokoteka v. p/s. (**-lokoteshele**)

it (the amount) is little.’

Maayi/ hayalokoteki/ yachiwa habba. ‘Water cannot be taken out from it,

ku-lokoteoowa v. appl. pass.

Omari/ nakuloteoowa maayi. ‘Omari is being dipped out water for.’

ku-lokotela v. appl. (**lokoteleele**) take out with, for

kulokotela lkoombe/ suukari ‘to take out sugar with a spoon’

ku-lokotoowa v. pass.

kulokotowa maayi ‘(of) water to be scooped up’

ku-loola

v. [Sw. **oa** SSED 350] (**loweele**) take a wife, marry (of a man)

Ali/ loweele. ‘Ali got married.’

Chikhaambila/ kuwaa ye/ nakhsula khuloola/ we/ tamkhiirá? ‘If he says to you that he wants to marry you, will you accept him?’

Haadi/ mlowele Maryaamu. ‘Haadi married Maryaamu.’

Karka nt^hi ya Mwiini/ muunt^hu/ chisula kuloola/ humtuma maamaye/

ka mamaye mwanaamke/ na waawayé/ ka wawaye

mwanaamké. ‘In the land of Brava, if a man wants to marry, he sends his mother to the mother of the girl, and his father to the

father of the girl.’

Kheeri/ mi/ mmeree muke/ nimloole. ‘It is best that I look for a woman to marry.’

Laakini/ mwaana/ iize/ kumloola/ mwanaamke/ wa waawaye/ msulililó. ‘But the boy refused to marry the girl that his father wanted for him.’

Loweeló/ ni Haadi. ‘The one who got married is Haadi.’

Maamaye/ chimreeba/ laakini/ iize/ mkasa/ mnowelee. ‘His mother forbid it (tried to stop him), but he refused to listen to her, and he married her (the woman).’

Muke/ waant^hu/ wiingi/ humsuuló/ mooyi/ tu/ humnooló. ‘A woman, many people want her, but only one marries her.’ (A proverb.)

Mungaano/ loweele/ yuuzi. ‘Mungaano got married the day before yesterday.’

Mi/ mukhta mi/ nt^hawalishiiza/ ndroweele/ wake wawili. ‘When I was installed as king, I married two women.’

Mwana wa sultaaniwa/ takhuloola/ naami/ nt^hakuwa khadimuyo. ‘My sultan’s son will marry you and I will be your servant.’

Ndroola. ‘Marry me (spoken by a woman).’

Nimwambiile/ kuwaa mi/ nimpeenzelé/ na kuwaa mi/ nakhsula kumlolá. ‘I told her that I loved her and that I wanted to marry her.’

Nt^hamwaambila/ kuwa siimba/ nakhsula kumloola. ‘I will tell her that Lion wants to marry her.’

Sa’iidi/ nt^hile kumlola Haliima. ‘Sa’iidi persuaded me to marry Haliima.’

Sarmala mooyi/ ondroshale lowelee muke. ‘A carpenter took a wife.’

Sultaani/ Ijiniile/ mloweele/ mwanaamke/ wa khaajé. ‘The Mad Sultan married the daughter of his maternal uncle.’

Sultaani/ wenopo kuwa mwanaamkewe/ shiinziila/ chihada/ nt^hakhulooza/ mwanaamkewa/ Huseeni/ chiiza/ chihada/ mi/ spendi/ kumloola. ‘When the sultan saw that his daughter was defeated, he said: I will marry my daughter to you; Huseeni refused, saying, I do not want to marry your daughter.’

Teena/ chilola muke mwiingine. ‘Then he married another woman.’

Waako/ waako/ wazazile waana/ ba’adi ya apo/ mubli/ chimpenda muke miingine/ sulile kumnoola. ‘They lived like this for some time and had children; after that, the husband loved another woman and wanted to marry her.’

Waawaye/ chilola muke mwiingine. ‘Her father married another woman.’

Ye/ mloweele/ mwanaamke/ mooyi/ msuura/ nt^ho. ‘He married a very beautiful girl.’

Waliko... mubli mooyi/ mnowelee/ manaamke/ wa amiyé. ‘There was a man married to the daughter of his paternal uncle.’ (Phon.

Although our consultant MI retained an *l* that was preceded by a nasal consonant, many speakers convert the *l* to *n*, as can be seen in this example and the preceding one.)

Ye/ oloshale/ ka sultaani/ wa muuyi/ kummeera/ mwanaamkewe/ kumloola. ‘He went to the sultan of the town to seek his daughter to marry her.’

rel.

ku-loolela v. appl. [Sw. *olea* SED] (*lolele*)

Mwandikilile mkuulé/ khati/ kumpa idini/ yakumloolela. ‘He wrote a letter to his older brother giving him the authority to marry on his behalf.’

Nt^haná/ peesa/ za kulolela. ‘He does not have money with which to marry.’

ku-loloowa v. pass. [Sw. *olea* SED350] (*loweela*) be, get married (but the subject must be the woman)

Haliima/ takulolowa na Ali. ‘Haliima will be married by Ali.’

Isa/ leelo/ masku/ yiiko/ nikaaha/ Safiya/ nakuloowa/ na mubli/ wa

waawaye/ namsuliiló. ‘Now today at night there is an engagement, Safiya is being married by a man whom her father wants for her.’

Kuloḷoowa/ mi/ nakuwona kuwa itakunondrolela ta’abú. ‘To be married I see will eliminate difficulties for me.’

Loweeḷá/ ni Maryaamu. ‘The one who got married is Maryaamu.’

Maryaamu/ loweḷa na Haadi. ‘Maryaamu was married by Haadi.’

Mi/ speendi/ kuloḷoowa/ na muunt^hu/ mwiingine/ sho kuwaa we/ uje nt^hukilo ka kiitú. ‘I do not want to be married to any other man except you, the one who took me from my home.’

Mwanaamke/ uyu/ hapeendi/ kuloḷoowa/ na muunt^hu/ kuwa ni muḅli/ basi/ mloweele. ‘This daughter does not want to be married by a man just for the sake of being married.’

Mwanamke wa mwaalimu/ mereeḷa/ kuloḷoowa. ‘The teacher’s daughter was sought to be married (i.e. her father was asked the hand of his daughter in marriage).’

Safiya/ chiloḷoowa. ‘Safiya got married.’

Safiya/ loweeḷapó/ naayé/ nt^haku/ wanaayo/ furaha/ ka sababu nt^hamsuula/ muḅli oyo. ‘When Safiya got married, she too was not happy because she did not want that man.’

...ya kuwa mwanaamke/ wa sultaani/ nakuloḷoowa. ‘...that the daughter of the sultan was getting married.’

**ku-loolana* v. rec. A reciprocal verb of this shape does not appear to be in use in Chimiini, although in Kiswahili one does find the cognate *oana* SSED 350.

ku-looleka v. p/s. [Sw. *oleka* SSED 350]

Haadi/ kaake/ haylooleki. ‘Haadi’s family cannot be married into – i.e. one cannot marry Haadi’s daughters.’

**ku-loolesha* v. This causative verb form is not in use in Chimiini.

ku-looleza v. caus. appl. [Sw. *oleza* SSED 350]

Ndroleze mwaana. ‘He assisted my child to marry for me.’

ku-loowela v. appl. (loweelele) = **ku-looleḷa**

ku-loweeza v. = **ku-looza**

ku-looza v. caus. [Sw. *oza* SSED 350] (**loweeze**) assume the financial burden of a wedding (generally the husband’s parents do this); perform the marriage ceremony; cause to marry

Ali/ mloweeze mwaanawe. ‘Ali financed his son’s wedding.’

Hasani/ loweeza. ‘Hasani was married [to the sultan’s daughter].’

Marhabá/ laakini/ ni khuloze naaní. ‘Alright, but it is who that should marry you?’

Mi/ nakhsuulá/ kumloza mwaanawa. ‘I want to arrange a marriage for my child; I want to marry him to my child.’

Ndroweze Haliima/ ka nguvu. ‘He compelled me to marry Haliima.’

Ndrooza/ mwanaamke/ waa mi/ nimleeseló. ‘Help me marry the girl whom I brought.’

Ni waawaye/ mloweezó. ‘It is his father who helped finance the wedding.’

Suufi/ mloweeze Sa’iidi. ‘Suufi provided the means for Saiidi to marry.’

Suufi/ mloweeze Sa’iidi/ mwanaamkewe. ‘Suufi married his daughter to Saiidi (i.e. he agreed to the marriage and will help make the marriage possible by providing funds etc.’)

Sultaani/ fanyize haruusi/ nk^hulu/ mloweeze Sultani Darayi/ mwanaamkewe. ‘The sultan held a big wedding ceremony and married his daughter to Sultan Daraayi.’

Sultani uyu/ sulile mloza mwaanawe/ muke. ‘This sultan wanted to marry his son to a woman.’ (Morph. It is common in Chimiini for the infinitive prefix *ku* to elide before the object marker *m(u)*-referring to a [cl.1] noun. Thus **ku-m-looza** often will become **m-looza** as in this sentence.)

Waawé/ mi/ nnakhsulaa we/ kundrozá. ‘Father, I want you to help me get married.’

Wotte/ wachiwafikhana kumtumila khaadi/ nt^hume/ naaye/ nawalooze.

‘All agreed to send a messenger to bring a judge to come and marry them.’

ku-loozanya v. caus. rec. (**wa-lozeenye**) marry each other

Ali/ lozenye na Haliima. ‘Ali married (with) Haliima.’

Haliima/ lozenye na Ali. ‘Haliima married (with) Ali.’ (Usage: This and the preceding example shows that either the male or the female may reside in subject position, while the example below shows that the male and the female may be conjoined and reside in subject position.)

Maryaamu/ na Haadi/ walozeenye. ‘Maryaamu and Haadi married.’

Omari/ khubaliile/ kulozanya na Aamina. ‘Omari agreed to get married with Aamina.’

Sulife kulozanya naaye. ‘He wanted to get married to her.’

Walozeenyó/ ni Maryaamu/ na Haadi. ‘The ones who got married were Maryaamu and Haadi.’

Wantu wa Miini/ huloozanya/ kati kaawo. ‘The people of Brava marry from among themselves.’

ku-loozeka v. caus. p/s.

ku-lozeleza v. caus. appl.

ku-lozelezanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ku-lozoowa v. caus. pass.

Ye/ chilozowa mwanaamke/ oyo/ ka furaha. ‘He was married to that girl with happiness.’

rel. nom.

m-loola (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who marries

Mlola maamo/ ni waawo. ‘The one who married your mother is your father.’ (A proverb.)

ma-loozo n. 6 marriage (the act of performing the ceremony or the arrangements for

the marriage)

variant form: **ma-loozi**

chi-lolo (*zi-*)
with)

n. 7/8 [Sw. *kioo* SSED 202] mirror, glass (in general meaning, not a glass to drink

the mirror (i.e. promising me good things), now you changed your behavior’

Langaŕa ruuhuyo/ chilooni. ‘Look at yourself in the mirror!’

Langaŕa ruuhuyo/ ka chilolo. ‘Look at yourself with a mirror!’

Nakuwala/ kamba/ chilolo. ‘She is shining like a mirror.’ (A pronunciation like this, where **kamba** is put into its own phrase, is possible. But the following example shows that it is not necessary: **Nakuwala kamba chiloló.** ‘You are shining like a mirror.’ The absence of accent except at the end shows that we are dealing with a single phrase here.)

Nonyeze chilolo. ‘She showed me a mirror [lit.]—i.e. she cheated/ deceived me.’

rel.

i-lolo n. aug. (i) large mirror; (ii) x-ray plate

ku-loomba

v. [Sw. *omba* SSED 351] (**loonzele**) beg someone; beg God (as opposed to formal prayer)

Ahmada loonzelo ka ndila njeema/ pamo na ndrúuze na sahaaba weema [st.] ‘Ahmad who begged for the right path/ together with his relatives and good followers’

Astaghafiru/ ni sku/ waant^hu/ wa Mwiini/ hulawa kendra lfuwooni/ kulombaa nvula. ‘Astaghafiru is the day the people of Mwiini leave to go to the beach to pray for rain.’

Basi/ sku mooyi/ mgarwa/ lonzele rukhsa/ ka sultani/ wawaye mukeewe/ keendra/ ye/ na mukeewé/ kumzuura/ mweenzawe/ hukalo karka nt^hi ya sultani ðaalimu. ‘So one day the fisherman begged permission from the sultan, his wife’s father, to go, he and his wife, to visit his friend, who lives in the land of the unjust

sultan.’

Hufanyo kaazí/ haloombi. ‘He who works does not beg.’ (A proverb.)

Isa/ mi/ nakhuloombá/ watume ma’askariyo/ wanamleete/ muunt^hu/ oyo/ mbelezo. ‘Now I beg you to send your soldiers to bring that man in front of you.’

Ka paapo/ apo/ naa ye/ Hasani/ chiloomba/ ka khalbiini/ kaake/ chiloomba/ shpeteche/ chimbadi nawe karka haali/ suura/ jisaa ye/ zazila na wazeelewé. ‘At that same moment too Hasani begged in his heart, he begged his ring that it change him so that he be in the nice condition the way he had been born by his parents.’

Kuloomba/ na kiizá/ hadanganyoowi. ‘To beg and to refuse must not be put together.’ (A saying.)

kulombaa nvula ‘to pray for rain’

kulomba raaði ‘to beg forgiveness’

Basi/ oyo sulṭaani/ chimlomba raaði. ‘So that sultan asked him for his forgiveness.’

kulomba sadaqa ‘to beg for alms’

Chingila kuloomba/ sadakha. ‘He began to beg for alms.’

Maama/ chimloomba/ mwaanawe/ chiza kenda teena/ maduriini/ laakini/ mwaana/ iize/ khkasa/ kooði/ za maamaye. ‘Mother begged her son not to go again to the bush, but he refused to listen to his mother’s words.’

Mubji/ chimlomba mukeewe/ raaði. ‘The man begged his wife to grant him forgiveness.’

Muunt^hu/ kulomba niingi/ hukahaṭoowa. ‘A person who begs a lot will be

hated.’ (A proverb.)

Na killa/ chiloombapó/ we/ mlaango/ funguliloowa. ‘And every time when you ask, that door will be opened for you.’

Nakhuloombá/ lawa/ ndilaani/ mp^hate khkooða/ naawe. ‘I beg you, come outside so that I may get to talk with you.’

Nakhuloombá/ msaamehe. ‘I beg you to forgive her.’

Oloshole ka sulṭaani/ chimloomba/ nampe igozi ya ngoombe. ‘He went to the sultan and begged him to give him the skin of a cow.’

somaani mnombeeni Mooja Rahmaani/ takishpeleka ka mtume Adnaani [st.] ‘recite it and beseech God, the Merciful/ to take us to visit the prophet Adnan’

Ye/ ndroonzele/ mi/ kumpa nguwoze/ laakini/ mi/ niizé/ kumpa. ‘She begged me to give her her clothes, but I refused to give her them.’

rel.

ku-lombanoowa v. rec. pass.

teena Sheekhi nakulawa/ raaði inalombanoowa [st.] ‘now the Sheikh is going out, people are begging each other’s forgiveness’

ku-lombeloowa v. appl. pass.

Sheekhi Nureeni nasiimu/ rahma mba kulombeloowa [st.] ‘Sheikh Nureeni, the Gentle Breeze/ mercy is to be implored for him’

ku-loombela v. appl. (lombeleele) pray (to God) for s.o.

Nfungulila mlaango/ mi/ niingile/ numbaani/ nt^hakhulombela ma’abuudu/ nakhutile rahaani. ‘Open the door for me so that I may enter the house, I will pray to the one who is worshipped to be put you in comfort.’

Wa raadi/ wa raadi/ n^hakhuloombela/ we/ wekoowa/ karka sku ya uzeele/ naawé/ fanyikiloowa. ‘Goodbye, goodbye, I will pray for you that you be put in (your) days of old age and for you everything be smooth.’

ku-lombelana v. appl. rec. beg for one another

ku-lomboowa v. pass. (loonzele) be begged

Hulombowa mojiitu/ kughafira ḏambi. ‘It is God who is begged to forgive sins.’

Rabbi Rahmaani Rahiimu/ rahmaye hulomboowa [st.] ‘our Lord is the

Most Gracious, the Most Merciful/ and for his mercies we implore'
Raaði/ hulombowa ka mwajiitu. 'Forgiveness is sought from God.'
Ye/ shpoowa/ zaa ye/ loonzeló. 'He was given what he asked for.'

rel. nom.

m-loomba (*wa-*) n. 1/2 beggar

ma-loombo n. 6 begging to apologize

chi-loombo

n. begging

Chilombo/ hachizoowi. 'Begging for something is not refused/denied.'

rel.

i-loombo n. begging, request

Baaba/ shkhubala/ iloombo/ ya mwanaamkewe. 'Father agreed to his daughter's request.'

m-lome

in the expression:

mp^hamp^ha mlome 'a kind of fish'

chi-lomo (*zi-*)

n. 7/8 a narrow strip of land reaching the deep sea

Chi-lomoo=ni

n. name of a place in the sea by Brava

Omari/ nakooweja/ mpaka chilomooni. 'Omari is swimming up to Chilomooni.'

m-lomo (*mi-*)

n. 3/4 [Sw. *mlomo* SSED 291 or *mdomo* SSED 273] lip, beak; [pron. **mlomo** or **mnomo** in the singular, but only **milomo** in the plural]

Funga milomo. 'Shut up (lit. shut lips)!'

khpaka ranji/ milomo 'to paint the lips – i.e. apply lipstick'

khsonda milomo 'to lick the lips (as of a child after eating)'

kubusanya ka milomo 'to kiss one another on the lips'

kuluma mnomo/milomo 'to bit the lip(s)'

kumbusa ka mnomo/milomo 'to kiss with the lip(s)'

kumsonda mnomi/milomo 'to suck someone's lip(s) – refers to kissing as part of the sexual act'

milomo aya 'these lips'

milomo mikavu 'dry lips'

milomo mikulu 'big lips'

milomo miwili 'barracuda -- [lit.] two lips'

milomo ya ndini mikulu 'labia major'

milomo ya ndini zihaba 'labia minor'

milomo zihaba 'small lips'

mnomo (or: **milomo**)/ **khfuura** 'for lip to swell'

Milomo/ yamfuriile/ Omari. 'The lips swelled him, Omari.'

(Phon. The ordinary word order for this construction is that the person affected is in initial position – see below. In the present example, **Omari** has been postposed and is in a different phrase from the verb. The simple yes-no question reveals that **Omari** is out-of-focus, causing accent-shift: **Milomo/ yamfuriile/ Omari?** GM did allow an emphatic version of this question, but it is only the out-of-focus **Omari** that undergoes accent-shift: **Milomo/ yamfuriile/ Omari!?**. Apparently, the fact that the verb is focused leads to the fact that it escapes accent-shift in the emphatic yes-no question.)

Omari/ milomo/ yamfuriile. 'Omari's lips are swollen.' (Syn.

Note that **milomo** controls subject agreement on the verb, while **Omari** controls the object prefix.) (Phon. In the simple yes-no question, there is no accent shift. In the emphatic version, there is accent shift on each of the last two phrases: **Omari/ milomó/ yamfuriilé!?**)

Omari/ milomo/ yamfuriiló. 'Omari's lips swelled.' (Phon. If we compare this sentence to the one above, the difference is that **milomo** is the focus here; focusing on **milomo** induces a shift of the verb into the pseudo-relative form.

Yamfuriile/ Omari/ milomo. 'They swelled him, Omari, the lips.'

(Phon. In this sentence, both nominals are postposed after the verb; it is the verb that is being emphasized. In the simple yes-no question, both nominals undergo accent-shift: **Yamfuriile/ Omari/ milomó?** In the emphatic version, even the verb undergoes accent-shift: **Yamfuriilé/ Omari/ milomó!?** In the exclamatory question, the final accent is markedly falling in pitch. The principle that determines when a phrase containing the verb will

undergo accent shift in the emphatic yes-no question is not clear to us at present. Just in the data cited above, we find cases where there was no accent shift: **Milomo/ yamfuriile/ Omarí!?**, as well as cases where there is accent-shift: **Omari/ milomó/ yamfuriilê!?** **need to check the simple yes-no question here again**

mnomo uwu ‘this lip’

mnomo wa ilu ‘upper lip’

mnomo waa muso ‘hen’s beak’

mnomo wa nṭhiini ‘lower lip’

mnomo wa ori ‘cock’s beak’

mp^haamp^ha wa milomo ‘a kind of shark that has big lips’

ranji ya milomo ‘lipstick’

Ye/ nambiile/ kuwa inyunyi/ ikulu/ itakukhtukulaa ngozi/ ka mlomowe/ itakhpandra naami/ ilu/ ya ijabali. ‘He told me that a big bird would carry the animal skin in his beak and would go up with me to the top of the mountain.’

rel.

i-lomo (*mi-*) n. aug. 5/4

ilomo ya mp^haamp^ha ‘a shark’s (aug.) lip – used as an insult’

Omari/ ilomoye/ kana ya mp^haamp^ha ‘Omari, his lip is [big] like that of a shark.’ (This is an insult, rather than descriptive of someone’s lips.)

zi-loondra

n. 8 syphilis

chi-loondro (*zi-*)

n. 7/8 leg of a bed

chilondro chaa chili ‘leg of a bed’

rel.

i-loondro (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.

u-loongo

n. 14 [Sw. *udongo* SSED 488] clay, mud

fija ya uloongo or **fiija/ ya uloongo** ‘clay stove’

lkuta la uloongo/ lchuuza/ mbona/ ni/ nnakunvunaangá/ mi/ ninfanyiizení. ‘The mud wall asked: how come you (pl.) are beating me? what have I done to you?’

Mi/ nk^hawa ni hukhadiro khfanya killa chiint^hú/ mi/ nk^hawa ni

hukhadiro kubla waant^hú/ mazá/ lkuta la uloongo/ su^hla

khaadira/ so/ kundreeba/ mi/ chiza khpitá/ kingila mahala mi/ nnakhsuuló. ‘If I am able to do whatever [I want], if I am able to kill people, how come a mud wall is able to block me from passing through it and enter wherever I want?’

mtungi wa uloongo or **mtuungi/ wa uloongo** ‘clay pot’

numba ya uloongo or **numba/ ya uloongo** ‘clay house; idiomatic: someone who is easily upset, irritated’

Numba ya uloongo/ hayhimili/ zishiindro. ‘A house of mud cannot withstand shocks.’ (A proverb that conveys the idea that a person can take only what he can take.)

Ye/ ni numba ya uloongo. ‘He is easily upset.’

skopa za uloongo or **skoopaa/ za uloongo** ‘clay cups’

uloongo/ na makuti ‘mud and palm leaves’

u-loongofu

n. 14 [Sw. *wongofu* SSED 355] moral uprightness, moral straightness

Uloongofu/ ni ka mojiitu. ‘Guidance comes from God.’

ku-loongola

v. [Sw. *ongoa* SSED 355] (**longeele**) lead s.o. on the right path (of God)

mooja chiloongole khsaala ṭimaamu/ ka jaaha ya mtume wiitu imaamu [st.] ‘O Lord, lead us (on the right path) to remain perfect, for the sake of our prophet imaamu’

mooja chiloongole shfaanye ibaada/ karka amali njeema yiimo faayda [st.] ‘O Lord, guide us so that we worship (fulfill our duties as Muslims), in good deeds there is profit’

Mojiitu/ nakhuloongola. ‘May God guide you on the right path.’

rel.

ku-loongoza v. caus. (**longeeze**) show the right way; guide (physically as well as morally)

m-loongoti (mi-)

n. 3/4 mast; [pron. **mloongoti** or **mnoongoti**]

Monyeze mloongoti/ mule/ nt^ho/ ulaziloo nt^hi/ na ukomelo kuzimú. ‘She showed him a very long mast that came from the earth and reached to the sky.’

Nnakhsula markabú/ ya ðahabú/ milongotiye/ ya feða/ mitaangaye/ ya hariiri. ‘I want a ship of gold, its masts of silver, its sails of silk.’

Sku ya piili/ shpandra teena/ oyo mloongoti/ kulangala/ inakhfanyoowani/ oko/ karkaa nt^hi/ ya majini. ‘The second day he climbed again that mast to see what was being done there in the land of the djinns.’

rel.

i-loongoti n. aug. long pole or tall tree

mule/ kana iloongoti ‘tall like a tall tree’

chi-loongozi

n. guide

Moyi uyu/ ye/ chimtinda mashkilo/ chimfanya chiloongozi/ kumwonyaa ndila/ humpeleko ka sultani aduwi. ‘This one, he cut off his ears and made him as guide to show him the way that leads to the enemy sultan.’ (Usage: Notice how **aduwi** ‘enemy’ is used here to modify **sultaani**, being incorporated into the same phonological phrase with it.)

i-looni

n. [Sw. *jioni* SSED 156; cf. Proto-Sabaki **ijilo* N&H 625] after dark (Morph. This item would appear to consist of a stem **ilo** followed by the locative enclitic =*ni* – cf. **fijiri** ‘morning’, **fijiriini** ‘about dawn’; **shpiindri** ‘mid-day’, **shpindriini** ‘around mid-day’. However, there is no independent stem **ilo** that we have encountered.)

Hupelekowa mahala/ mayiini/ tawala/ ilooni. ‘(The two pieces of wood) were taken to a place of water at the sea at dusk.’

Ilooni/ muke/ na mubliwé/ wachilawa/ wacholoka kaawo. ‘After dark the woman and her husband departed and went to their place.’

Ilooni/ muke/ shpika chaakuja. ‘At dusk the woman cooked food.’

Kharibu ya ilooni/ ofeetopó/ chilemeja mteendre/ khpumula/ na usiinzi/ uchimtaala. ‘About dusk, when he got tired, he leaned against the date tree, and sleep overtook him.’

Ye/ chendra fijiri/ na mapeema/ la piili/ na chendra kila ilooni. ‘He went in the morning and the afternoon twice, and he went each evening.’

review accent

ku-loota

v. [Sw. *ota* SSED 356] (**losele**) dream (Phon. Comparison with the Swahili cognate reveals two ways in which the Chimiini form is more conservative than the Swahili: first, Chimiini retains the initial *l* of the stem, and second it retains the proto-Bantu long vowel. Swahili has lost the long/short contrast: vowels are short unless lengthened when penultimate in a phrase. Swahili does not indicate this predictable phrasal lengthening in its orthography. When Swahili has a word with successive vowels like *aa*, this represents a situation where the vowel is rearticulated.)

Ali/ losele kuwa Nuuru/ nakendraa Maka. ‘I dreamed that Nuuru was going to Mecca.’ (Syn. Chimiin is a language permitting some perhaps surprising syntactic manipulations of sentences with complement clauses. For example, in the case of the present example, it is possible to make the subject of the complement clause into the object of the main clause: **Ali/ mlosele Nuuru/ (kuwa) nakendraa Maka.** ‘[Lit.] Ali dreamed Nuuru (that) he was going to Mecca.’ It is also possible to make the subject of the complement clause into the subject of a passive form of the main

clause: **Nuuru/ losela (kuwa) nakendraa Maka.** '[Lit.] Nuuru was dreamed (that) he was going to Mecca.' The complement clause, cast into a pseudo-relative form, may be preposed, with the main verb also put into pseudo-relative form: **Ali/ Nuuru/ nakendroo Maká/ mlooseló.** 'Ali, Nuuru going to Mecca, he dreamed him.' Also: **Nuuru/ nakendroo Maká/ looselá.** 'Nuuru, his going to Mecca, he was dreamed.'

Chiloota/ kuwaa ye/ wene ruuhuye/ uko mahala suura/ na makumnesha moojé/ khamri. 'He dreamed that he saw himself in a lovely place and he was serving his master liquor.'

ziint^h/

Khpata maali/ na ku'isha karka miyi mikulú/ zivaliko ba'aði ya

za Iisha/ chilootó. 'To get money and to live in big cities were some of the things that Iisha dreamed about.'

Losele kuwa fiile. 'He dreamed that he was dead.'

Loosele/ kuwaa ye/ uko kaawo/ kalent^he mbele za waawaye. 'She dreamed that she was at home sitting in front of her father.'

Losele ndrooto. 'He dreamed a dream.'

Siloteení. 'You (pl.) don't dream!'

rel.

ku-loosa v. caus. (**loseeze**) receive a message from a dead person while one is asleep

Hamadi/ waawaye/ mloseeze. 'Hamadi's father sent him a message in a dream.'

ku-lootana v. rec. (**-loteene**)

variant form: **kulotanana (-lotaneene)**

ku-lotoowa v. pass. (**loosela**)

ku-loowa

v. (**loweele**) *obsolete* fish

ku-lula

v. (**luzile**) be worn out, rusted out (of metals)

inakululake 'it's wearing out'

Nakulula kama chuma cha miriri. '[Lit.] he is wearing out like a rusty piece of iron – i.e. he is losing weight, becoming a frustrated wreck from his worries.'

Sijsila/ iluzile. 'The chain rusted out.'

Tahaðari/ nk^holo iyi/ iluzile. 'Be careful, that hook is rusted out.'

rel.

ku-lulila v. appl.

Chuuma/ chindruliile. 'A piece of iron has worn out on me.'

Mwaana/ ndruliile. 'The child is becoming worried to death on me.'

ku-luloowa v. pass.

Apa/ inakuloowa/ siisi/ ka khisani. 'People here are becoming frustrated, I do not know why.'

ku-luza v. tr. wear out, cause to suffer

Ito ya kulangala/ kana haykhubli/ huluza. 'The eye that looks, if it does not kill you, you will suffer.' (A proverb, especially used with respect to a "wandering eye" and infidelity.)

Kooðize/ zinakundruza. 'His words are wearing me out – i.e. worrying me to death, bothering me to the point where I am losing weight, etc).'

Mayi ya tawala/ huluza chuuma. 'Sea water rusts out iron.'

ku-luzanya v. tr. rec. worry one another to death (Syn. This verb does not allow the phenomenon we refer to as reciprocal shift.)

ku-luzika v. p/s.

Chuuma/ huluzika kaa hima/ ka mayi ya tawala. 'Iron rusts out quickly from sea water.'

rel. nom.

u-lulo n. 14

ululo wa chuuma 'the wearing out of the iron'

ku-luma

v. [Sw. *uma* SSED 497 (**lumiile**) bite, sting, ache (This verb is used with human

objects, not with food, e.g.)

Boora/ mtilile mwaana/ kuluma ruuhuye. ‘Boora caused (persuaded etc.) the child to bite his [own] finger.’ (Syn. An example of a periphrastic causative, which in the case of the present verb is an alternative to the verb –**lumisha** ‘cause to bite’. Cf. also: **Boora/ mtilile Huseeni/ mwaana/ kuluma ruuhuye.** ‘Boora caused for/on Huseeni the child to bite himself.’ Also: **Boora/ na Huseeni/ watililene waana/ kuluma ruhu zaawo.** ‘Boora and Huseeni caused one another’s children to bite themselves.’)

kuluma chaala ‘to bite the finger (showing regret for a lost opportunity, e.g. missing scoring a goal or missing a target when shooting)’
Mwaalimu/ lumile chaalache. ‘The teacher bit his finger in regret.’

kuluma/ kanaa noka ‘to bite like a snake – e.g. to take s.t. on loan and not repay’

kuluma miino ‘to bite the teeth, either in pain or to show anger
Lumile miino/ ka shšana. ‘He clenched his teeth in anger.’
Lumile miino/ ka ulaazo. ‘He clenched his teeth in pain.’

kuluma mlomo ‘to bite the lip (showing disapproval)’
Mwaalimu/ lumile mlomo. ‘The teacher bite his lip (showing disapproval).’

Maduuri/ yanakhtishaa nt^ho/ naa ndalá/ inakundruma. ‘The bush is very frightening and hunger is gnawing at me.’

Maana/ mlumile Omari. ‘The child bit Omari.’

Maana/ mpende chilaala/ choondroka/ mnumile chaala. ‘Love a child when he is sleeping; when he wakes up, bite him a finger.’ (A proverb. Among the **want^hu wa miini**, biting one’s finger is a gesture of disapproval or anger.)

Mana waa noka/ haatowi/ kuluma. ‘The child of a snake does not fail to bite.’ (A proverb.)

Mi/ tu/ ndrumila naa noká. ‘Only I was bitten by a snake.’ (The data that we collected on the version of this sentence with verb focus indicated a failure of the Accentual Law of Focus to hold: **Mi/ tu/ ndumiilá/ naa noká.** This issue needs further research.)

Muke/ chimwambilaa noka/ kalaant^ha/ nt^hini yaa chili/ nt^hini ya godoro/ chilaala/ lawa/ mlume naafe. ‘The woman told the snake: sit under the bed, under the mattress, and when he goes to sleep, come out and sting him to death.’

Muusa/ hadile kuwaa mi/ nimlumiiélé. ‘Muusa said that I bit him.’

Muusa/ hadile kuwaa ye/ mlumile mwaana. ‘Muusa said that he bit the child.’

Muusa/ lumila naa mba. ‘Muusa was bitten by a dog.’

Muusa/ lumila naa noka. ‘Muusa was bitten by a snake.’

Muusa/ lumila naa noká... ‘Muus, who was bitten by a snake...’

Muusa/ tu/ lumila naa noká. ‘Only Muusa was bitten by a snake.’

Mwaana/ lumile ruuhuye. ‘The child bit himself.’ (Syn. Observe that when the primary object of the verb is the reflexive **ruuhu**, then there is no object agreement on the verb. It is ungrammatical to say: ***Mwaana/ mlumile ruuhuye.** Observe also that the reflexive **ruuhu** has a possessive enclitic appended that agrees with the subject in person. The sentence is ill-formed if there is not agreement, as in ***Mwaana/ lumile ruuhuya.** ‘The child bit myself.’)

Mwaana/ ndrumiile. ‘The child bit me.’

Nalumeni/ miino/ ba/ nt^haná. ‘What should he bite? He does not even have teeth.’ (A proverb.)

Ndrumila naa noká. ‘I was bitten by a snake.’ Or: **Ndrumiilá/ naa noka.** **Nimlumiiélé.** ‘I bit him.’

Nimlumile Omari. ‘I bit Omari.’ Or: **Nimlumiiélé/ Omari.** ‘I bit Omari.’

Ni Muusa/ lumila naa noká. ‘It’s Muusa who was bitten by a snake.’

Ni Khaliifa/ lumila naa noká. ‘It is Khaliifa who was bitten by a snake.’

Noka/ mlumile Omari. ‘The snake bit Omari.’

Nt^huungu/ ndrumiile. ‘An ant bit me.’ (Syn. Note that [cl.9] subject agreement may be used to render the subject NP definite:

Nt^huungu/ indrumiile. ‘The ant bit me.’)

Silumeení. ‘You (pl.) don’t bite!’

rel.

ku-lumaaluma v. freq.

Mbwaawa/ mukh^htaa ye/ mweno aduwiyá/ nakuya ka chinumechá/ kunub^hlá/ chimulukila/ chimlumaaluma. ‘When my dog saw my enemy coming from behind to kill me, he jumped him and bit him here and there.’

We/ lata/ kichilumaaluma. ‘You quit biting us again and again.’

ku-lumana v. rec. (-lumeene) bite one another

Ali/ na Hamadí/ walumeene. ‘Ali and Hamadi bite one another.’ (Syn. This reciprocal verb apparently does not allow ‘reciprocal shift’, the process whereby one member of the conjoined subject is postposed after the verb and preceded by the agent marker *na*: ***Ali/ lumene na Hamadi.**)

Limi/ na miinó/ ha’ilumani. ‘The tongue and the teeth do not bite each other.’ (A proverb.)

Mino yaa mba/ hayalumani. ‘The teeth of a dog/ do not bite one another.’ (A proverb.)

ku-lumika v. p/s.

ku-lumila v. appl. (**lumiliile**) bite on

kulumila chaala ‘to bite the finger in regret at s.o.’

Mwaalimu/ ndrumulile chaala. ‘The teacher bit his finger at me (as an indication of his regret over my actions).’

kulumila mlomo ‘to bite the lip in disapproval at s.o.’

Mwaalimu/ ndrumulile mlomo. ‘The teacher bit his lip at me in a sign of disapproval.’

Mbwa/ ndrumulile mwaana. ‘The dog bit my child on me.’

Mp^hamp^ha mlome/ nt^haná/ mino ya kulumila. ‘A [type of] shark does not have teeth to bite with.’

ku-lumilana v. appl. rec.

Walumilene zaala. ‘They bit their fingers at one another in regret.’

ku-lumisha v. caus. (**lumishiize**)

Boora/ mlumishize mwaana/ ruuhuye. ‘Bora caused the child to bite himself.’

ku-lumishana v. caus. rec.

ku-lumishika v. caus. p/s.

ku-lumishiliza v. caus. appl. (**lumishiliize**)

Boora/ mlumishilize Huseeni/ mwaana/ ruuhuye. ‘Boora caused Huseeni’s child to bite himself.’

ku-lumishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. (-lumishilizeenye)

Boora/ na Huseení/ walumishilizenye waana/ ruhu zaawo. ‘Boora and Huseeni caused one another’s children to bite their fingers.’

ku-lumoowa v. (**lumiiila**) be bitten

Lumiila naa noka/ hutiya ikuti. ‘One who has been bitten by a snake is afraid of a coconut palm leaf.’ (A proverb.)

Muusa/ tu/ lumiila naa noka. ‘Only Muusa was bitten by a snake.’

Ndrumiila naa noká. ‘I was bitten by a snake.’ Or: **Ndrumiilá/ naa noka.** ‘I was *bitten* by a snake.’

Ni Muusa/ lumiila naa noká. ‘It is Muusa who was bitten by a snake.’

rel. nom.

chi-luma (zi-) n. 7/8 s.t. that bites

m-luma (wa-) n. 1/2 one who bites

m-lumo n. 3 act of biting

mlumowe ‘his act of biting’

ma-lumo n. 6 bites, acts of biting

Noka uyu/ malumowe/ mawovu. ‘This snake’s [his] bites are dangerous.’
u-lumo n. 14 bite, act of biting

Ulumo waa noka/ siwo/ kama ulumo wa waana. ‘The bite of a snake is not like the bite of children [they have different consequences, etc.]’

ku-lumika v. [Sw. *umika* SSED 499] bleed s.o. by cupping (the horn of an animal is used; the part of the body that is giving pain is cut with a razor and the horn is used to suck out the blood; it is believed that this will remove the ‘bad’ blood)

kulumika khtomola maazi khatari [st.] ‘to bleed s.o., taking out the blood, is dangerous [i.e. is not allowed]’

Suufi/ lumishile. ‘Suufi bled (himself).’

Suufi/ mlumishile mwaana. ‘Suufi bled the child.’

rel.

ku-lumikika v. p/s.

ku-lumikisha v. caus.

ku-lumikishana v. caus. rec.

ku-lumikishika v. caus. p/s.

ku-lumikishiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-lumikishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ku-lumikishilizoowa v. caus. appl. pass.

ku-lumikishoowa v. caus. pass.

ku-lumikoowa v. pass.

kulumikoowa ni doraani ndruza ‘[st.] ‘to be cupped, avoid it, my brothers!’

ku-lumisha v. caus.

Suufi/ mlumishize Huseeni/ ruuhuye. ‘Suufi caused Huseeni to bleed himself.’

Suufi/ mlumishize Huseeni/ mwaana. ‘Suufi caused Huseeni to bleed the child.’

ku-lumishiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-lumishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Nureeni/ na Osmani/ mlumishilizenye waana/ ruhu zaawo. ‘Nureeni and Osmani caused one another’s children to cup themselves.’

need to confirm that –lumik- and –lum- may both be the base for caus formation etc

u-luumu n. science

ku-luundra v. [Sw. *unda* SSED 500] (**luunzile**) build (esp. boats)
variant form: **kuundra** [only observed in the infinitive, however]

Lundra jahazi. ‘Build a boat!’

Nakuluundra. ‘He is building something.’

Walwaawo/ wachingila kaziini/ kulundra jahazi/ khsafirila. ‘Both of them began to work, building a boat to travel in.’

rel.

ku-lundriiloowa v. appl. pass.

Mwaana/ chilundriiloowa/ markabu/ saba. ‘The son was built for him seven ships.’

ku-luundrila v. appl. (**lundriliile**)

Shtakhulundrila markabu. ‘We shall build a ship for you.’

ku-lundrilana v. appl. rec.

ku-lundroowa v. pass.

rel. nom.

m-luundra (wa-) n. 1/2 builder

m-luundro (mi-) n. 3/4 the act of building

ku-luunga v. [Sw. *unga* SSD 502] (**luunzile**) join two things together, unite, set (bones); build
kulunga bateera ‘to build a small boat’
kulunga jahazi ‘to build a jahazi’
kulungaa mbawo ‘to join together planks of wood’
kulunga mishpa ‘to set bones’, **kulunga mwishpa** ‘to set a bone’
Nnakulunga mishpa/ yavundishilo. ‘I am setting the broken

bones.’ (The singular form **mwishpa** falls together with the plural form **mishpa** for speakers who elide **w** after the labial nasal **m**. In the present example, the **ya-** subject marker on the relative verb ‘which were broken’ clearly establishes that **mishpa** is plural in this example.)

kulunga nk^haambala ‘to knot ropes together’

luunga chizaazi takhata thawaabu [st.] ‘be united with your blood relatives, you will be rewarded’

Lunzilee miti/ ka mismaari. ‘He nailed pieces of wood together.’

rel.

ku-lungamana v. (**lungameene**) be or get straight, make oneself erect, straighten up; have it “altogether”; be united, connected, coherent

Huseeni/ ni mwaana/ lungameenó. ‘Huseeni is a child who has it altogether.’

Koodize/ nt^haskulungamana. ‘His words were not coherent.’

Lungamana. ‘Straighten up!’

Maneenoye/ nt^hayakulungamana. ‘His words were not coherent.’

Ra’ayi izi/ zilungameene. ‘These ideas are coherent, meaningful.’

Waant^hu/ walungamene ka kula chiint^hu. ‘The people are united in all things.’

ku-lungamanikila v. p/s. appl. (Morph. Note that the stem **-lungamanika** does not appear to be in use.)

Mwaana/ mlungamanikiliile. ‘The boy grew up/ became morally straight for him.’

ku-lungamanisha v. caus. make or help s.o. to straighten up, become erect

ku-lungamanishoowa v. caus. pass.

ku-lungamanoowa v. pass. is this possible?

ku-luunganya v. (**lungeenye lunganyiize**) join two things together, unite

ku-lunganyika v. p/s.

ku-lunganyiliza v. appl.

ku-lunganyisha v. caus.

ku-lunganyishoowa v. caus. pass.

ku-lunganyoowa v. pass.

ku-luungika v. p/s. (**-lungishile**) able to be joined, set

Kuuluye/ itakulungika. ‘His leg can be set (i.e. the bone is broken but it can be set).’

Mbawo izi/ stakulungika ka mismaari. ‘These planks will be able to be joined together with nails.’

ku-luungila v. appl. (**lungiliile**) join with, for

ku-lungilana v. appl. rec. (**-lungileene**)

ku-luungisha v. caus. (**lungishiize**)

Mlungishize fuundi/ jahazi. ‘He had the skilled workman build a boat.’

ku-lungishana v. caus. rec.

ku-lungishika v. caus. p/s.

Hulungishika. ‘He is able to be made to build s.t.’

ku-lungishiliza v. caus. appl. make s.o. build, join for’

ku-lungishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. make build, join for one another

ku-lungishoowa v. caus. pass.

ku-lungoowa v. pass.

rel. nom.

m-luunga (wa-) n. 1/2 one who joins things together

m-luungo (mi-) n. 3/4 the act of joining things; joint

u-luungo n. 14 the act of joining things

ma-lungamano n. 6 the act of straightening up

u-lungamano n. 14 the act of straightening up

m-lungaana (wa-) n. 1/2 [Sw. **mwungwana** SSED 323] (historically-speaking) a free born person, as opposed to a slave; a city-dweller of the Swahili coast who can trace his ancestry and therefore considers himself to be of noble birth; s.o. who, being of noble birth, adopts the values and behavior that are considered essential characteristics of his class (this involves the adoption of a distinctive kind of dress and a set of values and patterns of behavior (*noblesse oblige*) such as a rejection of arrogance, an emphasis on deeds rather than

talking, etc.); it must be stressed that one is born a **mlungaana** and does not *become* one; [pron. **mlungaana** or **mnungaana**]

Aada/ ya mtaana/ maneeno/ ya mlungaana/ shteendro. ‘The custom of the **mtaana** (originally slave, but now referred to one whose ancestry cannot be traced) is words, that of the **mlungaana** is action.’

Kibri/ siwo/ sifa za mlungaana. ‘Arrogance is not one of the characteristics of a **mlungana**.’

Mbona/ ni/ walungaana/ wenye mahaanzu/ majuukhu/ na zileembá/ na wenye maalí/ na mulkú... ‘How come you (pl.) **walungaana** having **mahaanzu**, cloaks, and turbans, and with wealth and property...’

Mlungaana/ nt^hana aarí/ ni kama ngoombe/ nt^hana mp^heembé. ‘A **mlungaana** who has no sense of disgrace is like a cow that has no horns.’ (A proverb.)

muke na mubli hant^hi na mlungaana [st.] ‘for a woman and a man, for a slave and a free person’

na wo ni wabli walungaana kumali [st.] ‘and they (the prophets) are noble men and (in all things) faultless’

rel.

u-lungaana n. 14 [Sw. **uungwana** ‘n. usu. contracted to **ungwana** n. condition (status, rank, quality) of a freeman, commonly contrasted formerly with that of a slave. Now usually denoting a relatively high social grade – and so, good breeding, education, accomplishments, civilization, in contrast with **ushenzi**, barbarism” SSED 323] the state of being a **mlungaana**

ma-luungo

n. 6 [Sw. **maungo** ‘=limbs of body collectively, body as a whole” SSED 502] body

Aamina/ nt^haná/ maluungo. ‘Aamina does not have a (good) body.’

Faatíma/ maluungoye/ masuura. ‘Faatima, her body is nice.’

Haliima/ maluungoye/ ni mawovu. ‘Haliima, her body is not good.’

Haliima/ nayo maluungo. ‘Haliima has a body (i.e. a good body)!’

khkula maluungo ‘to grow (physically)’

Ye/ kuzile maluungo/ nt^hakhkula/ akhli. ‘He grew up physically, but not intellectually.’

maluungo huwola lata shiqaaqi [st.] ‘the body rots (after death), abandon being argumentative’

malungo (ma)waazi ‘naked [lit. open body]’

Maluungo/ yamsusumushile. ‘He shuddered [lit. body shuddered him].’

Maluungo/ yanakundraaza. ‘My body aches me.’

Maluungo/ yote/ yachanza kumlaaza. ‘His whole body began to ache.’

Mi/ sinakuwona/ alaama/ yo yotte/ kaake/ malungooni/ honyesho kuwaa ye/ ubleelá. ‘I do not see any sign whatsoever on his body that shows that he has been killed.’

waawo/ sura zaawo/ zont^he/ sawa. ‘And they are equal, their hair, their body, their whiteness, their looks, all are the same.’

Nakhpaka maftá/ maluungó. ‘I am oiling my body.’

Nayo maluungo. ‘She has a body -- i.e. she is well-built.’

Yanamlazoo ye/ ni maluungo/ yote. ‘What pains him is the whole body.’

Or: **Yanamlazoo ye/ ni maluungoye/ yote.** ‘What pains him is his whole body.’

Ye/ maluungoye/ yote/ yanamlaaza. ‘His whole body ached.’ Or:

Maluungo/ yote/ yanamlaaza.

rel.

chi-luungo (zi-) n. 7/8 part of the body

farði ya koowa amima maluungo/ yote ka maayi silate chilungo [st.] ‘(there is) an obligation of washing up (after ejaculating), cover all the body with water, don’t leave any part (untouched by the water)’

i-luungo (mi-) n. 5/4 [Sw. **ungo** ‘=1. joint or member of body. 2. back, backbone” SSED 501] back(bone)

Haba mooyi/ nakhsuḷa kuweka iluungó. ‘I want to rest my back(bone) a little bit.’ Or” **Nakhsuḷa kuweka iluungó/ haba mooyí.**

Haliima/ namkandra maamaye/ iluungo. ‘Haliima is massaging her mother’s backbone.’

Hamadi/ vundishile iluungo. ‘Hamadi broke his back.’

Iluungo/ inakundraaza. ‘My back aches.’

Iluungo/ kuḷaaza/ ni maradaa wazeele. ‘Backbone ache is a sickness of the elderly.’

Mtukile mwaana/ ilungooni. ‘She carried the child on her back.’

Muunt^hu/ chiwa mzeele/ iluungo/ humḷaaza. ‘If a person is old, his back (often) aches.’

Nt^hunakuwona/ weenziwo/ wanakhfanyo kaazi/ wanakuvundiko

miluungó. ‘Do you not see your friends working, breaking their backs?’

Washishila miluungo. ‘They have back(bone) pains.’

Wont^he/ washishila miluungo. ‘All of them have back(bone) pains.’

-lusi adj. [Sw. *ekusi* SSED 87] black (Phon. If preceded by the *m* agreement element, the *l* may assimilate to *n* among present-day Chimiini speakers; MI did not exhibit this phonetic process.)

Chibuku ichi/ (ni) chi-lusi. ‘The book is black.’

gari nyulusi ‘a black car, truck’

Haanzu/ (ni) nyulusi. ‘The haanzu is black.’

ijiwe ilusi ‘a black stone’

janaani waant^huwe wote ni hirimu/ wasuura welp^e mnusi att^a mooyi nt^hamo [st.] ‘in heaven all people are the same age, beautiful [and] white, there is not even one black one in it’

khalamu nyulusi ‘black pen’ (Phon. Observe that in the case of [cl.9/10] agreement, the vowel *u* appears between the agreement element which appears as *ny* and the stem *-lusi*. The agreement element *ny-* represents the prevocalic form of the [cl.9/10] agreement morpheme. In other words, it seems as though the stem here is *-ulusi*, though the *u* vowel is not found in other forms of the adjective.)

-lusi/ kana makala ‘as black as coal’

-lusi/ kana wiino ‘as black as ink’

luti llusi (or: **illusi**) ‘black stick’

majiwe malusi ‘black stones’

mkila mlusi ‘black tail’

yino ilusi ‘black tooth’

Tuuma/ mashuungiye/ malusi. ‘Tuuma’s hair is black.’

Tuuma/ mukeewa/ mashuungiye/ malusi. ‘Tuuma my wife’s hair is black.’

Zibuku izi/ (ni) ziluzi. ‘These books are black.’

zilatu zilusi ‘black shoes’

i-luwa (ma-)

n. 5/6 [Sw. *ua (maua)* SSED 484] flower

Haliima/ maluwaye/ ni ghaali. ‘Haliima’s flowers are expensive.’

na maluwa/ nt^hayana adadi ‘and countless flowers’

Nimpele Maryaamú/ maluwa. ‘I gave Maryaamu flowers.’

Niyawene Haliimá/ maluwayé. ‘I saw Haliima’s flowers.’ Or, without the object prefix: **Mbene Haliimá/ maluwayé.** (Syn. In this possessive construction, **maluwaye** governs object agreement on the verb, if there is agreement; **Haliima** cannot control the object agreement: ***Nimwene Haliimá/ maluwayé.**)

chi-luya

n. fish of the snapper family, silver-gray with yellow

ku-luza

v. suffer, lose weight, get worn down, get run down

Maraði/ huluza waant^hu. ‘Diseases wear people down.’

Maraði/ khuluza. ‘Diseases wear you down.’

rel.

ku-luzika v. p/s.

Omari/ nakuluzika/ tu/ sku mbili izi. ‘Omari is just wearing down these last few days.’ (Phon. In this dictionary we have systematically indicated the phrasing and attendant accentuation of every sentence cited. However, we have made no attempt to indicate the relative pitch levels of the accented syllables in comparison to one another. The default pattern is for the initial accented syllable to be highest in pitch and succeeding accents progressively lowered. However, this "downstep intonation" is set aside when a word is focused/emphasized. In the present example, the verb **nakuluzika** is emphasized, and its (penult) accent is not downstepped but similar in pitch height to the preceding phrase’s accent. The pitch level of **tu**, on the other hand, is markedly lowered and conceivably could be regarded as deaccented, since the accent on the last phrase seems to be more prominent (although clearly lowered in comparison to *nakuluzika*).

ku-luzikoowa v. p/s. pass.

Huluzikoowa/ ka maraōi. ‘He is wasting away from disease.’

ma-

[cl.6] noun class prefix

majiwe ‘stones’

maluwa ‘flours’

ma-

[cl.6] agreement prefix on adjectives

Ali/ pete maqamu makulu/ ka sarkaali. ‘Ali has gained a high position with the government.’

Haliima/ maluwaye/ ni masuura. ‘Haliima’s flowers are nice/good.’

ma

muunt^hu/ na ma/ amiyé ‘a person and child of his/her paternal uncle, i.e. cousins who are children of two brothers’

muunt^hu/ na ma/ yaaye ‘a person and a child of his/her aunt, i.e. cousins who are the children of two sisters’

muunt^hu/ na ma/ khaaje/ na ma/ yaaye ‘a person and child of maternal uncle and aunt, i.e. cousins who are the children of a brother and a sister’

maa

a term of endearment for one’s mother

ma’abuudi

n. [Sw. *maabudu* “(1) worship; (2) object of worship” SSED 1; Ar. *ma’būd* W 587] God (the one who is worshipped)

variant form: **ma’abuudu**

Nt^hakhulombela ma’abuudu. ‘I will pray for you to the one who is worshipped.’

waaliko ma’abuudi yaawo [st.] ‘(Pharaoh) was the object of their worship’

ma’adini

n. 9/10 [Sw. *madini* SSED 252; Ar. *ma’din* W 598] mineral, metal

Bati/ ni noo’i/ ya ma’adini. ‘Copper is a kind of metal.’

chijamu cha ma’adini ‘metal plate’

Nt^hi iyi/ ma’adani niingi/ yiimo. ‘In this earth there are many metals.’

ma’(a)duumu

adj. [Ar. *ma’dūm* W 597] scarce, rare, not seen much, unavailable, unobtainable

variant form: **ma’aduumu**

Chaakuja/ ni ma’duumu. ‘Food is scarce.’

chijana chima’duumu ‘a child not seen much’

chint^hu ma’duumu ‘s.t. scarce or unavailable’

kuwa ma’duumu ‘to become scarce’

ma’aduumu/ kana ḍahabu ‘as difficult to find, get as gold’

munt^hu ma’duumu ‘s.o. not seen much’; **want^hu ma’duumu** ‘people not

seen much'; **zint^hu ma'duumu** 'scarce things'
Suukari/ ma'aduumu. 'There is no sugar available, it is hard or impossible to find sugar.'

ma'(a)duuri adj. [Ar. *ma'dūr* W 600] excused; s.o. whose behavior is unbecoming
munt^hu ma'duuri 's.o. who has a good excuse for not being present';
want^hu wa'duuri 'people who have a good excuse for not being present'
Ni munt^hu ma'aduuri. 'He is a man whose behavior is unbecoming.'

ma'(a)luumu well-known adj. [Sw. *maalum* SSED 251; Ar. *ma'lūm* W 637] specific, definite, recognized,

Karka sku ma'aluumu/ wazele wa mwiimbili/ na mwanaamké/ hukumangana karka numba ya wazazi wa mwanaamke. 'On the designated day, the clan elders of the boy and of the girl get together in the house of the parents of the girl.'
khfanya ma'luumu 'to make public, well-known'
munt^hu ma'luumu 'someone well-known'
wakhti ma'luumu 'a specified time'

ma'amuumu n. [Sw. *maamumu* "guided/led (by God or by a righteous leader)" M&N 1126; cf. Ar. *amma* "lead the way, lead by example, lead prayer" W 25] rows of people praying. led by the **imaamu**, in the mosque

ma'ana significance n. [Sw. *maana* SSED 25; Ar. *ma'nan* W 650] meaning, purpose, importance,

Ha'isi/ ma'anayé/ ha'ambiloowi. 'The one who does not know its meaning, he is not told.'
Hasani/ mukhtaa ye/ iwiiól/ ma'ana ya shpeté/ ichi/ chi'azima safari. 'When Hasani came to know the meaning of this ring, he decided to make a trip.'
Ijaara/ ya waana/ hutomól/ siwo/ chiint^hu/ cha ma'ana. 'The fee that children pay is not next to nothing, of little significance (lit. not something of meaning, significance).'
Kamaa ye/ mtete suriya/ ma'anaye/ ye/ nthaná/ haaja/ naami/ teena. 'He has taken a mistress, that means he has no need of me anymore.'

Karkaa ye/ nakhtomolo peesá/ ka sandukhuuní/ mabahaariya/ wachimwona/ kuwaa ye/ tukile pesa niingi/ na tomele peesa/ bilaa ma'ana. 'While he was taking money from the box, the crewmen saw (him) that he carried a lot of money and gave it out without purpose.'

khtila ma'anaani 'to give s.t. due consideration'

koði za ma'ana 'words of importance'

ma'anaye [lit.] its meaning -- used as a pet phrase of many Bravanese before an explanation, as: i.e., that is, I mean that...'

Ma'anaye/ raaha/ imwejele niingi. 'The meaning of that is, comfort had become too much for her [she was unhappy in the comfortable circumstances in which she found herself].'

Ma'anaye/ shpete ichi/ shchiwaamo/ kaako/ chalaani/ nt^haku/

takhuwonó. 'Its purpose [i.e. of putting on the ring] is that if this ring is on your finger, no one will see you.'

Mp^haamp^ha/ chimuza/ nini/ ma'anaye. 'The shark asked him: what do you mean (lit. what is its meaning)?'

Mpende/ ka khisa kooðize/ ladda ladda/ na zinazo ma'aná, 'Love him because of his sweet and meaningful words.'

Nt^hakhpata/ kasbu ya ma'ana. 'He did not get much, enough, anything of significance.'

Siwo/ munt^hu wa ma'ana. 'He isn't a reliable man.'

want^hu washo ma'ana 'men without importance'

want^hu wenye ma'ana 'highly regarded men'

ma'(a)quuli
the discourse etc.)

adj. inv. [Ar. *ma'qūl* W 630] reasonable, logical (not of human beings but rather of

chint^hu ma'quuli 'something reasonable'
fikiri ma'quuli 'a reasonable thought'
koði ma'quuli 'reasonable talk'
Kooðize/ ni ma'aquuli. 'His words are reasonable.'
ra'yi ma'quuli 'a reasonable idea'

ma'araði

n. [Ar. *ma'rið*, plural *ma'ārið* W 604] (not commonly used; rather: **fiyeera**) fair

ma'(a)rifa
acquaintance (with)

n. [Sw. *maarifa* SSED 18; Ar. *ma'rifa* W 606] wisdom, knowledge, understanding,

Ka kheri niingi/ hubarsha ma'arifa. (A proverb.)

ma'rifaya 'my knowledge'

Ni muunt^hu/ mwenye ma'arifa/ na aqli. 'He is a person having knowledge and intelligence.'

Siná/ ma'arifa/ naaye. 'I am not acquainted with him.'

Uko muḅjaana/ muḅjaana/ msuura/ mwenye ma'rifa/ laakini/ nt^haná/ maali/ naa ye/ nakump^heenda/ nakhsuula/ kundrolaa mi.

'There is a young man, a nice young man who possesses knowledge, but he has no wealth, and he loves me and he wants to marry me.'

We/ takuwa dakhtari/ mkulu/ mwenye ma'arifa/ na ilmu. 'You will become a great doctor, having wisdom and knowledge.'

ma'aruufu

adj. inv. [Sw. *mmarufu* SSED 18; Ar.] famous, renowned

Abudeera/ ni mfanaani/ ma'aruufu. 'Abudeera is a famous artist.'

khfanya ma'aruufu 'to make famous'

kuwa ma'aruufu 'to become famous'

munt^hu ma'aruufu 'a famous person'; **want^hu ma'aruufu** 'famous people'

Omari/ ni muunt^hu/ ma'aruufu/ karka Ameerika. 'Omari is a famous man in America.'

Omari/ ni taajiri/ ma'aruufu. 'Omari is a famous rich man.'

Tuuma/ waawaye/ ma'aruufu. 'Tuuma's father is famous.'

Tuuma/ waawaye/ ni muunt^hu/ ma'aruufu. 'Tuuma's father is a famous man.'

ma'asiya

n. [Sw. *maasiya* M&N 1129; Ar. *ma'siya* W 618] sin, act of disobedience, adultery
variant forms: **ma'siya**, **maasiya**

khfanya ma'siya 'to sin'

Jeelaani/ nt^hamliindra/ Safiya/ apo/ keendra/ khfanya naa ye/ ma'siya.
'Jeelaani did not wait for Safiya there (in order) to go and commit a sin with her.'

Maasiya/ yakathiriile/ zamani izi. 'Adultery has increased these days.'

Mi/ skhaadiri/ khfanya ma'siya. 'As for me, I cannot commit a sin.'

Yuusufu/ chiiza/ chihada/ iyi/ ni ma'asiya/ mwajiitu/ rebeele/ khfanyoowa. 'Yuusufu refused, saying, this is a sin. God forbade it to be done.'

ma'ashala

adv. together **needs to be checked**

Walikoo muke/ waalikó/ na muḅliwé/ wa'inshiize/ ma'ashala/ wakhti niingi/ inshiizó. 'There was a woman who was married to a man and they lived together for a long time.'

ma'awliya

n. friends of God

ndiwe hadiilo saant^hiya/ ni ilu ya ma'awliya [poem] 'you are the one who said: the sole of my foot is upon (all other) friends of God'

ma'(a)wazi n. 9/10 [cf. Sw. *vazi* “generally used in the plr. Raiment, apparel, robes” SSED 513] a cloth garment worn around the waist by men that extends from the navel to the ankles; usually worn at home or as pyjamas, but formerly was often worn outside instead of trousers; this word is a synonym for **chiguwo cha nt’hiini**

variant form: **ma'(a)wizi**

Hamadi/ havaali/ surwaani/ huvala ma’wizi/ tu. ‘Hamadi does not wear pants, he only wears **ma’wazi**.’

Hamadi/ mulile maanawe/ ma’wizi/ mp’hiya. ‘Hamadi bought for his son a new **ma’wazi**.’

ma’awazi/ za mariingi ‘ma’awizi which are imported (from Singapore?)
Ma’awizi/ za mariinga/ ni zisuura. ‘**Ma’awizi** of the **mariinga** type are very nice.’

Want’u wa Miini/ wa zamaani/ wachivala ma’wizi/ tu. ‘People from Brava in the old days used to only wear **ma’wizi** (i.e. they did not wear trousers).’

ma’duumu adj. inv. [cf. Sw. *adimu* “rare, scarce, unobtainable” SSED 3; Ar.] lacking, scarce, not seen much, rare, unobtainable (As seen from the examples below, this is an invariable adjective, which means that there is no agreement prefix on it when the noun modified belongs to one of the basic noun classes. Diminutive and augmentative nouns, however, do trigger an agreement prefix.)

Chaakuja/ ni ma’duumu. ‘Food is scarce.’

Chijana chima’duumu ‘a (dim.) child not much seen’;

chint’u ma’duumu ‘something scarce’; **zint’u ma’duumu** ‘scarce things’

kuwa ma’duumu ‘to become scarce’

munth’u ma’duumu ‘someone not seen much’ ; **want’u ma’duumu** ‘people

not seen much’

ma’iisha n. [Sw. *maisha* SSED 143; Ar. *ma’iṣa* W 662] life

ma’shara n. a kind of thin pancake using flour, sugar, oil
mkate wa ma’shara ‘a kind of cake-like version of **ma’shara** often using ground rice rather than flour in the preparation’

ma’siya n. extramarital, adulterous sex/ activity
rel.

ma’siyoole n. 1/2 one who is adulterous/ ones who are adulterous

Awo/ ni ma’siyoole. ‘Those ones are adulterous.’ Cf. **Oyo/ ni ma’siyoole.** ‘That one is adulterous.’

Ma’siyoole/ kurujumoowa/ ni diini/ haandikó. ‘The one who commits adultery is to be stoned, it is religion that prescribes (this).’

maa’uuni n. 10 [Ar. *mā’ūn* W 915; Som. *maacun* DSI 395] cooking utensils, dishes, cutlery, etc.

Aa’isha/ numbaani/ kaake/ nazo maa’uuni/ niingi. ‘Aa’isha in her house has many cooking utensils.’

Haliima/ oloshela sukhuuni/ kula ma’unii mp’hiya. ‘Haliima went to the market to buy new cooking utensils.’

ma’uni za Nuuru ‘Nuuru’s cooking utensils’

ma’unii mp’hiya za Nuuru ‘Nuuru’s new cooking utensils’

mabaadi’i n. principle

Tanzaanya/ nii nt’hi/ mooyi/ karka za nt’hi za Ist Aafrika/ zirashiizó/ mabaadi’i/ ya ishtiraakiyá. ‘Tanzania is one country among the countries of East Africa that follows the principles of socialism.’

mabeena prep.[cf. Ar. *baina* W 87] between

Chisima/ cha Atikh(i) Abdurahmaani/ chiko mabena muskiti waa jima/ na muskiti wa Atikh(i) Abdurahmaani. ‘The well of Atiikhi Abdurahmaani is located between the Friday

mosque and the mosque of Atiikhi Abdurahmaani.’

mabena idi ya wamuusi/ na idi ya wataatú ‘between the **idi** following Ramadhan and the **idi** in the third month following Ramadhan’

mabeena qabri ya Mtume na miimbari [st.] ‘between the Prophet’s grave and the preacher’s platform (in the mosque)’

Mabena salaa lapiili/ na salaa laatuló/ yimo salaa laakuja. ‘Between the afternoon praying and the evening praying there is the sunset praying.’

mablaghi

n. [Ar. *mablaḡ* W 74] amount of money

Hamadi/ nazo peesa/ mablaghi/ niingi. ‘Hamadi has a large amount of money.’

Hamadi/ ni taajiri/ mablaghi. ‘Hamadi is a rich man, he has a (large) amount of money.’

Numba iyo/ inakuzowa ka peesa/ mablaghi/ niingi. ‘That house is being sold for a large amount of money.’

mabsuuti
mapsuuti

adj. [Ar. *mabsūt* W 58] invar. joyful, happy, pleased, glad; [pron.**mabsuuti** or

chijana chimabsuuti ‘a happy baby’

isa kaako ni mapsuuti [song] ‘now in your (company) I am happy’

Khadirile keendra/ kuruda ka moojé/ mahaḡaa ye/ hutumikó/ naayé/ mabsuuti. ‘He was able to go and return to his master to the place where he worked as a servant, and he was content.’

khfanya mabsuuti ‘to make happy, please’

Kumfanya Jaani/ mabsuuti/ ni sahali. ‘To make John happy is easy.’ Or: **Kumfanya mabsuuti/ Jaani/ ni sahali.**

Ni sahali/ kumfanya Jaani/ mabsuuti. ‘It is easy to please John.’ Or: **Ni sahali/ kumfanya mabsuuti/ Jaani.**

khfanyowa mabsuuti ‘to be made happy, pleased’

Jaani/ ni sahali/ khfanyowa mabsuuti. ‘John is easy to be pleased.’

Jaani/ ni sahali/ xfanyoowake/ mabsuuti. ‘John is easy his being pleased.’

Jaani/ khfanyowa mabsuuti/ ni sahali. ‘For John to be made happy is easy.’

Jaani/ khfanyoowake/ mabsuuti/ ni sahali. ‘John’s being pleased in easy.’

Khfanyowa Jaani/ mabsuuti/ ni sahali. ‘For John to be made happy is easy.’ Or: **Khfanyowa mabsuuti/ Jaani/ ni sahali.**

kuwa mabsuuti ‘to become happy’

munt^hu mabsuuti ‘a happy person’

want^hu mabsuuti ‘happy people’

zijana zimabsuuti ‘happy babies’

Sultaani/ weele/ mapsuuti/ nt^ho/ kuzaliloowa/ waana/ wotte/ wiimbili.

‘The sultan was very happy to have all boys [born to him].’

Waziiri/ wele mabsuuti/ ye/ nakeendra/ khpata usultaani/ leelo/ ka

khisaa ye/ na’iwa/ ma’ana ya kooḡi/ za Ali. ‘The minister was very pleased, he was going to get the sultanship today because he knew the meaning of the words of Ali.’

madadi

n. [Ar. *madad* W 897] blessings

kubiga madadi ‘to call for blessings’

Masheekhi/ wamo numbaani/ wanakuḡikirisha/ wanakubiga

madadi. ‘There religious scholars in the house, they are praying, tjej are calling for God’s blessings.’

Qureeshi wiingi wagafiule madadi [st.] ‘many of the Qureeshi missed

blessings’

takiink^hiro mḡate nt^hannayo madadi [st.] ‘he who will deny, let him, he

does not have blessings'

madali n. [Som. *madal* DSI 402] place of meeting
gelani could not confirm the use of this word in Chimiini

maadaama adv. [Sw. *maadam* "while, since, seeing that, because" SSED 251; Ar. *mā dāma* W 303] while, since, as long as, seeing that, because

Basi/ mwambiile/ maadaama/ nakulomboo nt^ho/ jis'iyi/ oloka/ mraashe/ kanaa ye/ ni mweenzawó. 'So she said to him [the son of sultans]: since you are begging this way... [speaking to her son:] go, follow him, if he is your friend.'

Maadaama/ siná/ kaazi/ nnakhsuulá/ we/ kump^ha/ kundarbishiliza/ zoombo/ za kingilila safari. 'Since I have no job, I would like you to give me, to prepare for me goods (for me) to set out on a journey with.'

Oyo mwaana/ nakhtiya/ basi/ maamaye/ mwaambile/ maadaama/ ni sultaani/ nakhupeendó/ oloka/ mwaanawá/ laakini/ jisaa we/ shiishiló/ rasha yaaya. 'That child was afraid, so his mother told him: since it is the sultan who loves you, go, my child, but the way that you have behaved, follow that [way].'

madfani n. [Ar. *madfan* W 287] burying place
gelani could not confirm the use of this word in Chimiini

mad.hi n. 9 [Ar. *madh* w 898] laudation, extolment, glorification
variant: **medihi**
chisooma mad.hiye mtume ni haadiri [st.] 'when you recite his laudations, the Prophet is present'
mad.hi ya mtume 'praising of the Prophet Mohammad'

Madransaani n. [cf. *madrassa* + loc. enc. *ni*] A small area located between the two quarters **Mp^haayi** and **Biruuni**. The name derives probably from a religious school founded by the Qadiriyya leader Sheikh Aweys (**Sheekh Uweesu**) at the turn of the 20th century, but could refer to some previous learning center. In **Madransaani** is located the house of Raa **Tahaara**, which was also for some time the Italian Residency. It also includes some mosques and the tomb or cenotaph of **Aw Nuur Chaande**.

madrasa n. [Sw. *darasa (ma-)* "(1) class, mewing, for reading or study; (2) a class-room; (3) teaching, instruction" SSED 79; Ar. *madrassa* W 278] religious school

Baana/ enzele madrasaani. 'Baana went to school.'

Chijaana/ hachooloki/ madrasaani. 'The (dim.) child does not go to school.' (Cf. phrasing in: **chijana hacholoki madrasaani** 'the (dim.) child who does not go to school' or **chijaana/ hacholoki madrasaani** 'the child, who doesn't go to school'. Notice that the negative relative verb is not routinely separated phrasally from the complement as it is in the main clause version.)

Hasiibu/ tila madrasaani/ kubarata skoola/ na khsoomá. 'Hasiibu was put into school to learn to write and to read.'

Iimu/ husomowa madrasaani. 'Knowledge is studied at *madrassa*.'

kharibu ya madrasa 'near the school'

Lesele peesa/ madrasaani. 'He took money to school.' (Cf. **madrassa yaa ye/ lesele peesá** 'the school that he took money to'.)

Madrassa izo/ hazeendeki. 'Those schools cannot be gone to.'

Maama/ uyu/ waliko aminiile/ ya kuwa mwaanawe/ chibaraata/ killa/ chiint^hu/ madrasaani/ itamwiinfaa ye/ na maamayé. 'This mother believed that if her son learned every thing in school, it would be useful to him and his mother.'

Mi/ iimu/ nsomele madrasaani/ ka Shekh Wali. 'Me, I have studied knowledge at Sheikh Wali's *madrassa*.'

Mwaana/ ingile madrasaani/ kubarata. ‘The boy entered school to learn.’
Peleshela madrasaani/ iize. ‘You were sent to school, you refused.’

Watile madrasaani/ kubarata khsooma/ na kaandika/ na kubarata kula/ ya waana/ wa sultaani/ husulowa kiiwa. ‘He put them in school to learn to read and write, and to learn everything that the children of a sultan needs to know.’ (It is striking that even though the conjunction **na** triggers final accent on its complement, as seen in the phrase **na kaandika**, when a phrase-final **kula** follows, there is **no final accent: na kubarata kula displays default penult accent**. One does not say ***na kubarata/ kula/...** nor ***na kubarata/ kulá/...**, nor any other version where a final accent appears that is induced by **na**.)

maḍahweena

n. president

Maḍahweena/ wa Burundi/ inqilabeeta. ‘The president of Burundi is being overthrown.’

maḍbuuti

inv. adj. [Sw. *madhubuti* ‘precise, accurate, trustworthy, honest, reliable, strong, firm, durable, resolute, solid’ SSED 74; Ar. *maḍbūt* ‘accurate, correct, precise’ W 535] s.o. who is well-organized, well-prepared

munt^hu maḍbuuti (cf. **want^hu maḍbuuti**)

maḍhabu

Sunni Islam

n. [cf. Sw. *madhehebu* SSED 252; Ar. *maḍhab* W 313] one of the four schools of

Ghaalibu/ islaamu/ huraashó/ maḍhabu ya Imaamu Shaafi’i/

hawashiiki/ mbwa/ numbaani/ ka khisa maḍhabu iyi/ ifanyize kudarowaa mbwa/ kuwa ni haraamu/ khaasa/ chiwaa mbwa/ ni maymaayi. ‘Often, Muslims who follow the school of Imaamu Shaafi’i do not keep dogs in the house because this school made the touching of dogs to be forbidden, especially if the dog is wet.’

maḍhabu ya Maaliki ‘the school of Maaliki’

maḍhabuye ‘his school’

mbilize ni haraamu raasha maḍhabu [st.] ‘both are unlawful, follow (the way, the teachings of) the school’

maadi

n. [Ar. *māḍn* W 913] past tense in grammar

maḍila

peete liwaani ya jumla/ hondroleloowa maḍila [st.] ‘he will crown his achievement with success and his sinful state will be annuled’

maḍluumu

adj. inv. [Sw. *madhlumu*] wronged, oppressed, treated unjustly

mi ndimi maḍluumu/ ka zaa mi nfanyiza/ kuwa chita chuumu/ sabri nishkiliiza [song] ‘I am the one (who is) wronged, for the things which have been done to me; to be stubborn, patience was sent down to me’

munt^hu maḍluumu ‘wronged person’; **want^hu maḍluumu** ‘wronged people’ (cf. **chijint^hu chimaḍluumu, ijint^hu imaḍluumu**)

maḍmuuni

n. [cf. the Sw. *madhumuni* ‘intention, purpose’ SSED 252 does not appear to be connected semantically to the Chimiini form; Ar. *maḍmūn* ‘guaranteed (adj.); meaning (noun), e.g. of a letter’ W 546] the contents of s.t.; adj. guaranteed

Khatiyo/ mp^heeeté/ na maḍmuuniye/ nfahamiile. ‘Your letter I received it, and its contents, I have understood.’

Koodize/ ni maḍmuuni. ‘His words are guaranteed.’

Mafakha(ani)

n. The name of one of two small islands (the other is called **Chilaani**) offshore from Brava, facing the **Mp^haayi** quarter. **Mafakha** is some three kilometers from Brava, and there is a small pyramidal construction in cement located there, name unknown and purpose unknown. This construction is located on **Mafakha mkulu**. There is also a **Mafakha chihaba**, a part of the same reef that is visible only at low tide.

Mafakhaani/ holokeka/ ka kooweḷa. ‘Mafakhaani can be reached by swimming.’

Mafakhaani/ hupatikana mooskolo/ na ostriiká/ niingi. ‘At Mafakhaani one can find a lot of mussels and ostrich mussels (like **mooskolo**, but larger).’

2. **mooskolo** (1 for leelo). it is muscle, you get this in sea attached to rocks. they have shells and you open the shell and eat raw with lemon. The same is with ostriika, meaning ostrich, just like muskolo but bigger

mafhuumu adj. [Ar. *mafḥūm* W 730; a cognate for this item is not cited in SSED, but words like *fahamu* SSED 90 and other words related to it are found in Sw.] s.t. understood, understandable

Iyo/ ni mafhuumu. ‘This is understood.’

Maftaaho n. the name of a mosque in Brava, named after Sharif Muftaaho

chisima cha Maftaaho ‘the well at the mosque of **Maftaaho**’

Muskiti ya Maftaaho/ yikoo kule/ Dawuuro/ khpitoowa. ‘The mosque of Maftaaho is far, one passes even Dawuuro (to get to it).’

Muskitiini/ ka Maftaaho/ husalishó/ ye/ menewe/ Sharif Muftaaho. ‘In the mosque of Maftaaho, the one who leads the prayers is Sharif Muftaaho himself.’

mafta n. 6 [Sw. *mafuta* SSED 253] oil (Morph: It is possible to consider this item to be morphologically complex, consisting of the [cl.6] prefix *ma-* and a stem *-fta*. However, we have not encountered any evidence for the existence of a stem *-fta* appearing separate from *ma*.) (Phon. Observe that this is one of many words where it can be seen that a medial vowel in the Sw. form of a word is absent in this Chimiini form. This historical vowel loss has created numerous instances of coda consonants in Chimiini -- i.e. syllables that end in a consonant. The syllabification of **mafta** is /maf.ta/, where the period indicates the syllable boundary.)

Chooloka/ chimpika/ oyoo noka/ mafta/ yaḷazilo ka namaani/ shtaala/ chiyatila karka zibaḷasi/ saba. ‘She went and she cooked it, that snake, and the oil that came from its meat, she put in seven large clay jars.’

mafta aya ‘this oil’

mafta ya maansara ‘sesame oil’

mafta ya naazi ‘coconut oil’

mafta ya ndruugu ‘oil from peanuts (groundnuts)’

mafta ya paamba ‘cottonseed oil’

mafta ya sehemu ‘ghee’

Mafta ya sehemu/ fanyizeeyi. ‘What did she do with the ghee?’

mafta yaa tala (can be contracted to **maftaa tala**) ‘animal fat, which was used to light lamps before the introduction of paraffin’

Namaye/ inayo maftaatala/ niingi (or: **miingi**). ‘Its meat has a lot of fat.’

mafta ya wilaaya ‘kerosine [lit. oil of Europe]’

maghaadi n. [Som. *magad, meged* DSI 430] a mineral substance used in **tambú** which burns the mouth; a substance used to tan hides

ku-maghaadisha v. [Som. noun *megeed*, variant of *magad* “tanned hide, vegetable tanning substance” DSI 430] (**maghadishiize**) tan hide

magh(a)fira n. [Ar. *maḡfira* W 677] forgiveness (of God)

ayamu zote chijiha ni maghfira [st.] ‘for all days, if you perform the pilgrimage, [your sins will be] forgiven’

Nakulomba maghafira. ‘He is asking for forgiveness of his sins.’

ingila maghani suluzika maghfira [st.] ‘seek [God’s] protection, ask earnestly for forgiveness’

ku-maghanata v. [Som. *maqan* “absent” DSI 415] (**maghaneete**) be absent

Maghaneete/ sku/ Hamadi/ Mkhodiisho. ‘He was absent for days,’

Hamadi, in Mogadishu.’ Or: **Maghanete sku/ Hamadi/ Mkhodiisho**. (Notice in the second variant, the noun **sku** is included in the same phrase as the verb. The final vowel of the verb cannot be lengthened due to the consonant cluster at the beginning of **sku**. What is striking is that the verb, which is **maghanete** in isolation, cannot retain the long vowel even though it is in the antepenult syllable, which is one where a long vowel typically is allowed to appear. The problem of course is that the penult syllable is heavy, *tes*, and thus attracts the phrasal “abstract stress”, requiring the preceding long vowel to shorten due to its unstressed nature.)

Na kuḷa mará/ husimama/ heendra/ ndraani/ numbaani/ humaghanata/ chimaliza/ huruuda/ kiineenza/ hukumuye. ‘And every time he stands up and goes inside the house and stays away and then returns to make his judgement.’

maghani

adj. [Som. *maqan* DSI 415] absent, being out of ones home area

kingila maghani ‘to go under the protection or shield of s.o.’

ingila maghani mloombe Hamiidi [st.] ‘put yourself under (God’s) protection and pray to Hamiidi (God)’

Sheekhi aziizi ka Mooje/ maghani mba kingiloowa [st.] ‘the Sheikh is dear to God, his protection is to be sought’

Ye/ ingile maghani. ‘He sought s.o.’s protection.’

Sheekhi ndimi maghaniyo/ nasuula kulombeloowa [st.] ‘O Sheikh, I myself wish to be granted your protection’ (Morph. Note the elision of the infinitive marker in the present tense verb form *nasuula*.)

Ye/ uko maghani. ‘He is absent, away.’

Ye/ umo maghani. ‘He is under protection.’

rel.

makhanata adj. absent

Mahala/ amá/ muukhata/ amá/ makhanata. ‘At a place either be visible or be absent (i.e. when you go somewhere, be positive/active/take part or do not go).’ (Translation of a Somali proverb.)

maghani
protection

n. [Som. *magan* “1. protection, 2. under the protection of” DSI 406] under the

Ye/ umo maghani. ‘He is under protection.’

maghasi

n. gallant deed

iyó ni ebu yaa we stosheni maghasi [song] ‘that is your disgrace, do not think it’s a gallant deed’

sinoonye maghasi furahaza nzaako [song] ‘don’t show me gallantry, my joys are yours’

maghfira

n.

maghmuumu

invar. adj. [Ar. *maǧmūm* W 683] worried, sad, grieved

munt^hu maghmuumu ‘sad, worried person’ (cf. **want^hu maghmuumu**,

chijint^hu chimaghmuumu, zijint^hu zimaghmuumu, ijint^hu imaghmuumu)

maghnaatiisi

n. [Ar. *miǧnāṭīs*, variant *maǧnāṭīs* W 916] magnet

maghnaatiisiye ‘his magnet’

maghribi

six and seven p.m.; west

adv. [Sw. *magharibi* SSED 253; Ar. *maǧrib* W 669] sunset, dusk, the time between

Maghribi/ yanzizipo kuwa miinzá... ‘Around sunset, when it began to get dark...’

Mnaadisho/ oyo/ liinzile/ apo/ sukhuuni/ haṭá/ ikomeele/ maghribi. ‘The auctioneer waited there at the market until it reached dusk.’

maghruuri invar. adj. [cf. Ar. verb *ḡarra*, *ḡurūr* “to be misled, deceived, to be or become conceited” W 667] someone with a “swollen” head; someone deceived, who does not understand a situation
munt^hu maghruuri ‘someone deceived’ (cf. **want^hu maghruuri**, **chijint^hu chimaghruuri**, **ijint^hu imaghruuri**, etc.)

mahaba n. [Sw. *mahaba* SSED 131; Ar. *maḥabba* W 152] love

mah(a)buusi n. [Sw. *mahabusi* “a prisoner awaiting trial, and the place where such prisoners are kept” SSED 253; Ar. *maḥbūs* W 154] prisoner
variant plural form: **mahaabiisi** [Ar. *maḥābis*, plural of *maḥōbūs* W 154]
mahabisi awa ‘these prisoners’; **mahabusi awa** ‘these prisoners’;

mahabusi uyu ‘this prisoner’

Mahabuusi/ bishile neefu/ nt^ho. ‘The prisoner breathed out hard.’

Sultani Daraayi/ shtomola amri/ want^hu/ wawaliko mahbuusi/ khpikiḷoowa. ‘Sultan Daraayi issued an order that people who were prisoners should be cooked for.’

Mahadi n. an individual referred to in a proverbial saying, a cousin of **Shanlō**, a rich miser; he accompanied **Shanlō** about town, wearing old, dirty clothes and doing **Shanlō**’s bidding

Hurashmanya/ kama Mahadi/ na Shanlō. ‘They go about together, like Mahadi and Shanlo.’

mahaḷa n. 9/10 [Sw. *mahali* SSED 253; Ar. *maḥali* W 199] place; somewhere (in a negative context: nowhere, not anywhere)

Apo/ ndipo mahaliye/ na ndipo mahaḷaa ye/ huzaalō. ‘There is its place (where it stays) and there is the place where it lays eggs [lit. gives birth].’

Bwaana/ zijuumba/ zaa nyunyi/ mi/ nt^hakuleta ka mahaḷaamp^hi.
‘Master, where will I get the bird nests?’

Chizeele/ ichije/ choondroka/ chendra maduriini/ mahaḷa/ ya muunt^hu/ oyo/ leelō. ‘That old woman left and went to the country to the place where that man was sleeping.’

Gari iyi/ hayrebaṭi/ mahaḷa. ‘This car does not stop anywhere.’

Hashkhaadiri/ kulima mahaḷa nt^hakuu nvulá. ‘We cannot cultivate where there is no rain.’

Hashkhaadiri/ kulima pashpoo nvula. ‘We cannot cultivate without rain.’

Hashkukoma/ mahaḷa. ‘We did not arrive anywhere.’

ka mahaḷa yaa mi/ nguriilō ‘the place where I moved from’

mahaḷa izi ‘these places; but can be used with singular reference to refer to a place that is inappropriate, wrong for s.o. to be at’

Mi/ skufilaṭila/ khuwona we/ mahaḷa izi. ‘I never expected to see you at such a place as this.’

Mahaḷaa mi/ heendró/ hundraasha. ‘Wherever I go, it follows me.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **chibḷi** ‘shadow’.)

mahaḷaa yaa mi/ nguriilō ‘the place I moved to’

mahaḷa yiingine ‘another place’

Mahaḷaamp^hi/ Hasani/ uzilo gaari. ‘Where did Hasani buy the truck?’ Or:

Mahaḷaamp^hi/ Hasani/ uziló/ gaari. (Phon. Observe that in the alternative sentence, where the verb is separated from its complement, our consultant preferred to respect the Accentual Law of Focus.)

Masku ayo/ chilawa/ chendra mahaḷa/ ya majini/ wanakhteza khamaari. ‘That night he left and went to the place where the djinns were gambling.’

Mwaana/ mahaḷaye/ ni kharibu ya mzeelewe. ‘A child’s place is near his parent.’

Ndro/ feða/ weshele mahala gani/ ye. ‘Come you, the money, where did he place it?’ (Phon. The final accent on **gani** in this example needs explanation.)

Seendré/ mahala. ‘Do not go anywhere!’

Siisi/ Hamadi/ mahala ye/ olosheló/ laakini/ ntʰakeendra/ numbaani. ‘I do not know where Hamadi went, but he did not go home.’ (The default case is for a negative verb to be phrased separately from its complement, as in the present example.)

Siisi/ mahala ye/ uzizo gaariyé. ‘I do not know where he sold his car.’

Sku mooyi/ ile muuntʰu/ mooyi/ mahala si/ chiwaalikó. ‘One day there came a man to the place where we were.’

Sooloki/ mahala ntʰaku chaakujá. ‘I don’t go where there isn’t food.’

Wachimeera/ mahala/ ya qasri/ ya sultaani/ yiikó/ wachiingila. ‘They searched for the place where the palace of the king was and they entered.’

We/ siwo/ mahalayo/ kum’amilaṭa jis’iyi. ‘You, it is not fitting for you to treat him this way.’

maharaja

n. way out, way to get out

Mojjitu/ nashtomolela maharaja/ na dhibu iyi. ‘God finds a way of getting out from these hardships.’

Ntʰayiiko/ maharaja/ yaa si/ kuḷawila dhibu iyi. ‘There is no way to get out of this difficulty.’

mahari

n. [Sw. *mahari* SSED 254; Ar. *mahre* ‘dower, bridal money’ W 929] a sum of money settled on the wife in the marriage contract; it can be paid to her by the husband at any time during the marriage or after it has been dissolved; after the husband’s death, it is paid to the widow before the inheritance is divided among the heirs; in case a woman dies before receiving it, it has still to be paid by the husband to her heirs

Maali/ yaa ye/ leeseló/ yotte/ chimpa sultaani/ kuwa ni mahari/ ya mwanaamkewe. ‘All the wealth that he brought he gave to the sultan to be the dowry of his daughter.’

Peesa/ izo/ ni kama peesa/ za mubli/ humpo mukeewé/ kuwa ni mahariyé/ zo/ haziruudi/ teena/ kaako. ‘That money [which has been lent to people] is like the money that a man gives to his wife as dowry; it does not come back again to you.’

Qablá/ yaa mi/ khpokela mahari/ ya mwanaamkewe/ ka kaako/ mbele/ we/ ni laazima/ khṭeza naayé/ karaṭa. ‘Before I receive my daughter’s dowry from you, first it is necessary for you to play cards with her.’

mahaṭi

n. [Som. *mahad* DSI 407] gratitude, thanks, appreciation; praise

khṭeza mahaṭi ‘to fail to thank s.o., fail to recognize a favor done’

mahaṭi nda mwajiitu wiitu m’aali [st.] ‘praise belongs to our God, the Most High’

Ntʰaná/ mahaṭi. ‘He has no gratitude.’

ku-mahaṭisha

v. caus. (**mahaṭishiize**) thank, appreciate, be grateful

Mwaana/ mmahaṭishiize/ baaba. ‘The child thanked his father.’

rel.

ku-mahaṭishoowa v. pass. (**mahaṭishiiza**)

Ada zaawo/ wantʰu awa/ ntʰaskumahaṭishoowa. ‘The traditions of these people are not appreciated.’

mah(a)zuuni

invar. adj. [Ar.] sad

muntʰu mahzuuni ‘sad person’ (cf. **wantʰu mahzuuni, chijintʰu chimahzuuni**, etc.)

nsomeelo risaala mbeele mahazuuni [s] ‘when I read the letter I became sad’

- mahbuubu** adj. [Ar. *maḥbūb* W 152] beloved, s.o. loved
nūko ka nkʰanda za miimba kulinda we mahbuubu [song] ‘I exist (with my) stomach tightened with a belt, waiting for your love’
- mahiibu** family n. a sum of money that was distributed before a wedding among the **wazeele** of the family
- maahine** ?
- mahkama** n. [Sw. *mahakama* SSED 137; Ar. *maḥkama* W 196] trial, court
khpanza mahkama ‘to try in court’
mahkamaani ‘in court’
Poliisi/ hu’aḏiba wiizi/ ntʰasaa wo/ kuwapeleka mahkamaani.
‘The police torture thieves before they take them to trial.’
- Mahmuudi** n. Mohammad
- mahrajaani** n. [Som. *mahrajaan* "parade of civilians, gymnastic display" DSI 408] parade, gymnastic display
- mahṭuuṭi** invar. adj. [Sw. *mahututi* SSED 254; ?Ar. *ḥatta* “to put down, reduce” W 185; this Ar. etymology was given in SSED, but it does not seem satisfactory] very sick
muntʰu mahṭuuṭi ‘a sick person’ (cf. **wantʰu mahṭuuṭi, ngombe mahṭuuṭi, chijana chimahṭuuṭi, zijana zimahṭuuṭi, ijana imahṭuuṭi, mijana mimahṭuuṭi**)
Myaana/ ilopo kuleta zoombó/ eelo/ waliko mahṭuuṭi/ ntʰo. ‘When the servant came bringing things, the gazelle was very sick.’
- mahuro** adj. [Som. *mahuraan* DSI 408] necessary, indispensable
- mahuurṭo** adj. inevitable
Sheekhi kufa ni mahuurṭo/ lombaani kuragishoowa [st.] ‘the Sheikh’s death is inevitable, implore God that it may be postponed’
- mahzuuni** adj. inv. [Ar. *mahzūn* W 174] sad
kuwa mahzuuni ‘to be sad’
na ṭeená/ wele mahzuuni/ kumkosa eelowe ‘and then he became sad from missing his gazelle’
muntʰu mahzuuni ‘sad person’; **wantʰu mahzuuni** ‘sad people’; but **chijintʰu chimahzuuni** ‘sad (dim.) person’, etc.
waleelo ka miimba qalbi mahzuuni [nt.] ‘lying on their bellies with heavy hearts’
- maja’aliwo** n. [Sw. *majaliwa* SSED 148; Ar.] fate, destiny
maja’aliwo NOTE: this entry needs careful re-checking. Sw. majaliwa = help, favour, grace of God (not fate). Ar. etymo given in SSED is verb ja’ala = to create, make a principle, fix or set (a price), Wehr p. 127, with no reference to fate, and no derived noun. Also, form given seems to have 2nd person possessive (-wo). Possible connection with ajali, CLE p. 12, from Ar. ajal, Wehr p. 6?
- majaahili** adj. ignorant
Wabli/ leelo/ hawapeendi/ wake majaahili. ‘Men today do not want ignorant women.’
- majaazi** in the expression:
khudra majaazi ‘human will’

- majðuubu** adj. [Ar.] (religiously) frenzied
- majðuumu** adj. [Ar.] leprous³
- majhuuli** invar. adj. [Ar.] ignored, unknown
Haaliye/ majhuuli. ‘His condition is unknown.’
munt^hu majhuuli ‘an unknown person’ (cf. **want^hu majhuuli, chijana chimajhuuli, ijana imajhuuli**, etc.)
- majiira** n. [Sw. *majira* “(i) time, period, season; (ii) course of a ship -- in navigation; also used of a watch keeping time” SSED 255; Ar. *majran* “course, progress, passage” W 122] **need data on range of uses in Chimiini**
khfanya majiira ‘to “case” a place that one intends to rob’
Lpepo/ ldegeelopó/ naa nvulá/ ifungiilopó/ ichibele majiira/ na nt^hashkukhaadira/ kulekezaa ndila. ‘The wind, when it calmed down, and the rain. when it stopped, we had lost our wayand we were unable to aim for the path/way.’
- majlisi** n. [Sw. *majlisi* “a reception room, place for conversation” SSED155; Ar. *majlis* W 131] council, meeting
Nuuru/ huðurile majlisi. ‘Nuuru was present at the meeting.’
Sultaani/ chivila majlisi/ chiwa’ambila mawaziiriwe/ kuwaa ye/ qaririile/ kumloosa/ mwanaamke/ muḅjaana/ fulaani. ‘The sultan called a meeting and told his ministers that he had decided to allow his daughter to marry a so-and-so young man.’
Teena/ sku mooyi/ masku/ mkulaze/ wachiweka majlisi. ‘Then one day at night his elder brother held a meeting.’
- majnuuni** invar. adj. [Sw. *majnuuni* SSED 255; Ar. *majnūn* W 138] mad, crazy
munt^hu majnuuni ‘a crazy person’ (cf. **want^hu majnuuni, chijint^hu chimajnuuni, ijint^hu imajnuuni**, etc.)
- majo** n. 1/2 a male homosexual who assumes a passive role [this word is used primarily by young speakers and is derived from the verbal root **-ja** ‘to eat’]
majo uyu ‘this homosexual’; **majo awa** ‘these homosexuals’
- majo** n. [etymology unknown] caterpillar (insect), a kind of termite found in roofs
- majruuhu** invar. adj. [Ar.] injured
askari majruuhu ‘an injured soldier’
mbwa majruuhu ‘an injured dog’
want^hu majruuhu ‘injured people’ (but cf. **chijana chimajruuhu, zijana zimajruuhu**, etc.)
- majuusi** n. [Sw. *majusi* SSED 255; Ar. *majūs* “Magi, adherents of Mazdaism” W 894; cf. Som. *majuusi* “Zoroastrians, adorers of fire” DSI 409] **astrologer – check this meaning**
- Maka** n. [Sw. *maka* SSED 255; Ar.] Mecca
haji cheendra maka koowa ni aḍali [st.] ‘when one goes on pilgrimage to Mecca, it is better to wash oneself’
Isḷaamu/ humḷazima kendraa Maka/ kuhija/ ichiwa/ ye/ naazo/ peesa/ za kumṭosha safariini. ‘A Muslim is obliged to go to Mecca to pilgrimage if it be that he has money enough for him on the trip.’
maskiini wa Maka nama hupoowa [st.] ‘the meat [of the slaughtered goat] is given to the poor people of Mecca’
safari ya Maka inayo faayda [st.] ‘the trip to Mecca has profit’
- Makadara** n.
Mombasa/ feesta/ hufanyowa Makadara. ‘In Mombasa celebrations are

held at Makadara.’

makaani n. [Sw. *makani* SSED 256; Ar. *makān* W 847] place
hiingila makaani nuumba ya Mojiitu [nt.] ‘I go find shelter in the house of God’
takonyoowa makaaniye/ na wakeewe takhpoowa [st.] ‘he will be shown his place and allotted his wives.’

makaari adj. [Ar. *makkār* W 917] cunning (We did record this item with gemination, **makkaari**, reflecting the gemination in the Arabic source.)
munt^hu makaari ‘a cunning person’ (cf. **want^hu makaari, chijana chimakaari, zijana zimakaari, ijana imakaari, zijana zimakaari**, etc.)

makhazina n. [cf. Ar. *ḥazna* W237 and various nominal forms with the prefix *ma* W 237] storehouse; treasure
Naminilaa mi/ makhazina/ zaa nt^hi. ‘Entrust to me the treasures of the country.’ (The z- agreement on the associative marker –a indicates that this is a [cl.10] noun and that the *ma* should not be regarded as the [cl.6] prefix, but rather merely as a retention of the original Arabic word.)

makhluuqu n. [Sw. *mahluku* SSED 137; from Ar. *makluq* W 259] people, creatures; [pron. **makhluuqu** or **makhluukhu**]

Aadamu/ ni awali ya makhluukhu. ‘Adam was the first creature.’
makhluuqu kuwa haadiithi we khsadiqa [st.] ‘[that] creatures are not eternal, to believe [that]’

Mtume Nuuhu/ waliko tumiila/ na mwajiitu/ keendra/ khkomeza/

risaala/ ka makhluukhu/ wa nt^hi izo/ karka wakti/ oyo.

‘Prophet Noah was sent by God to go to take a message to the people of those countries at that time.’

Siri za mwajiitu/ zimo karka makhluukhuye. ‘The secrets of God are in his creatures.’ (A proverb.)

tiinda yaqiini ka lимиini haqiqa/ makhluuqu kuwa hadiithi we khsadiqa [st.] ‘be sure [and then] say it [lit. on the tongue] be certain that people are not eternal, believe [thst]’

makhraja n. way out
nt^haasa sinaayo makhraja [song] ‘and yet I do not have a way out’

ghaala. Refine definition: storehouse used for grains and other staple foodstuffs. Storehouse (general meaning) is either baxaari (spelled boxaari in CLE, page 62) or maxazina (CLE p. 511, where meaning given is “treasure”). Checked.

maki adj. [Sw. *maki* “n. thickness, stoutness” SSED 256; cf. Ar. *waku’a* “to be hard, strong, sturdy” W 1095] firm, strong

chint^hu maki ‘something strong’ (cf. also **ikambala maki** ‘strong rope’, **munt^hu maki** ‘strong person’, **want^hu maki** ‘strong people’, **chijint^hu chimaki** ‘strong dim. person’, **ijint^hu imaki** ‘strong aug. man’, **ljana lmaki** ‘strong aug. child’, **mijana mimaki** ‘strong aug. children’ (This adjective may be pronounced with gemination: **-makki**, though it is uncertain whether this is in fact an invariable feature of the pronunciation of this item. The absence of length on a preceding word-final vowel, as in **chint^hu maki** would be explained if the adjective has the shape –CVCCV underlying, since final vowels are not lengthened when the next word begins with a closed syllable.)

makiina n. 9/10 [Ital. *macchina*] machine, engine
khfanya kaazi/ kana makiina ‘to do a job fast, like a machine’
makina ya barafu ‘refrigerator [lit. machine of ice]’

makina ya chireeza ‘razor’
makina ya kandikila ‘typewriter [lit. machine to write with]’
makina yaa tala ‘electric generator’
Nuuru/ uletelele muundra/ makiina. ‘Nuuru brought a piece of machinery for (use in) the field.’

Makiina/ yaa nali n. the electricity power plant in Brava, located at the edge of **Buulo/ Baazi**; the word **nali** (listed separately) comes from Somali *nal* meaning electric bulb or electric power; another name for the power plant is **Ka Mada Saalehe Luungo**, named after the man who used to run it

makiindri n. [unknown etymology] belly dance, dance moving the pelvis or buttocks
kheteza makiindri ‘to play, dance with the pelvis/butt’
khtinda makiindri ‘to dance with the pelvis, butt’
kubiga makiindri ‘to dance with pelvis/butt’

makiini adj. [Sw. *makini* SSED 256; Ar. *makīn* W 918] calm, stable, cool-headed
munt^hu makiini ‘stable person’ (cf. **want^hu makiini**)

maakiri adj. deceptive

makri n. [Ar. *makr* W 917] tricks, strategem
Chiwona/ kuwa humlaazima/ ye/ khfaanya/ makri meepe. ‘She saw that it was necessary for her to resort to some sort of stratagem.’
Izi/ ni makri zaa wake. ‘These are female tricks.’
Makri ziinu/ nii nk^hulu. ‘Your tricks are great.’
Ye/ ni hayawaani/ mwenye makri/ na khada’á. ‘He is an animal that has tricks and deceit.’

makruuhu adj. [Sw. *makuruhi* SSED 174; Ar. *makrūh* “abhorred, hateful, reprehensible” W 823] s.o. that people do not care to be associated with since he annoys and bothers people; s.t. that is not allowed, but yet is not a sin, as opposed to **mubaaha**

maktaba n. [Ar. *maktaba* W 813] library

mal’iimu n. [Ar. *la’uma* “to be ignoble, wicked, evil” W 853] evil
Matuundraye/ muti wa zaquumu/ ni chaakuja/ cha mal’iimu ‘the fruits of the tree of **zaquumu** are food for the evil.’

mal’uuni adj. [Ar. *mal’ūn* W 870] cursed, one who has had a spell cast on him

malbolo in the expression:
malbolo la waawowe ‘son of your father’s penis!’

mal malaata n. 9 [Ital. *marmellata*; Eng. *marmalade*] marmalade, jam

ku-mala v. [cf. Sw. *maliza* SSED 258] (no perfect form, but rather falls together with *ku-maliza* in the perfect) finish, end, use up, complete

Chaakuja/ chinakumala. ‘The food is being used up.’
jawaabu ya duniya hiingila humala [nt.] ‘the matters of this world ebb and flow’

Maadamu/ dhibuze/ hazimali. ‘A human being’s problems don’t end.’ (A translation of a Somali proverb.)

maayi ya bahari shteka hayamali / na siifa za mtume ndruwa hazimali [st.] ‘if you fetch water from the sea it does not finish (i.e. you are unable to take all water out of the sea, it is an endless task), and [likewise] the praises of the Prophet, my friend, are endless’

sandra wrote nruwa

Mwaana/ deni yaa ye/ hulipo wazelewe/ haymali. ‘A child, the debt that he owes his parents never ends.’

Naani/ nt^hakumalá/ imtihaani. ‘Who did not finish the examination?’ Or:

Naani/ nt^hakumala imtihaani. Or: **Imtihaani/ naani/ nt^hakumalá.** (Pre-verbal **naani** triggers pseudo-relativization of the verb, here manifested only by the final accent. In relativization, the negative verb is not necessarily separated phasally from its complement.)

Uki/ ukharibilile kumala. ‘The honey was almost finished.’
Zita/ zimaliize. ‘The war has ended.’

rel.

ku-maliila v. appl. (**maliile**) end for, with

Chaakuja/ chichimaliile. ‘Our food is finished (lit. the food is finished for us).’

Liindra/ khumajile kooði. ‘Wait so that I may complete my words, discourse to you.’

Mukeewa/ mmajile maali. ‘My wife has used up my wealth (on me).’

ku-malika v. p/s.

ku-maliza v. [Sw. *maliza* SSED 258] (**maliize**) end, complete, finish

Chaakuja/ chimaliza kujoowa. ‘The food was finished being eaten.’

Chimalizaa kuja/ oloka skuliini. ‘When you finish eating, go to school.’

Fiiól/ yaake/ imaliize. ‘He who has died, his (affairs, issues, concerns, etc.) are finished.’ (A proverb.)

Kooði/ zimaalize. ‘The debate has come to an end.’

Kuḷa haanzó/ humaliza. ‘Whatever has a beginning ends.’ (A proverb.)

kumaliza kaazi ‘to finish a job, work’

Malize khfaanya. ‘He finished doing it.’

Malizopo koowá/ chimwambila mukeewe/ kuleta chaakuja. ‘When he finished bathing, he asked his wife to bring food.’

Mukhtaá we/ malizoo kujá... ‘When you have finished eating...’

Mwaaka/ umaliize. ‘The year ended.’

Nt^hakumaliza kazi iyi/ lapili. ‘I will finish this work by evening.’

Nuumba/ ni qariibu/ ya kumaliza. ‘The house is nearly finished (being built).’

rel. nom.

u-malizo n. 14

malaakhi n. [Som. *malaakh* "clan headsman" DSI 410] historically, a military title for Tunnis, but in modern times with the ironic meaning of ‘self-appointed chief, leader’

malaani adj. [Ar. *mal’ān* “full, filled” W 920] full of
na qalbi ziiṭu ni malaani mahaba [st.] ‘and our hearts are full of love’
qalbiye/ malani na mahaba ‘his heart full of love’

malaariya n. malaria **check the 1**
Mbu/ huleta malaariya. ‘Mosquitoes cause malaria.’
Mbu za ṭawala/ nt^haziná/ malaariya. ‘Mosquitoes (from) the coast do not carry malaria.’

malaayka n. 9/10, or 1/2 [Sw. *malaika* SSED 257; Ar. *malak* and *malā’ik* W 922] angel
Du’a/ za wana zihaba/ (ni) kana/ za malaayka. ‘The prayers of small children are like (those) of angels.’
Ibliisi waaliko malaayka mkulu/ shfaanya ibaada niingi nt^hiini na ilu [st.] ‘Ibliisi was a great angel, he used to worship constantly everywhere (lit. down and up)’ (Note that in this example, **malaayka** is used as a singular noun controlling [cl.1] agreement.)
malaayka...wa sho baaba wala maama [st.] ‘angels... who have neither father nor mother’ (Note that in this example, **malaayka** is a plural noun that controls [cl.2] agreement.)
malaayka za rahma apo haziingili [st.] ‘angels of mercy do not enter there (where there are idols)’ (Note that in this example, **malaayka** is a plural noun that controls [cl.10] agreement.)
na nguzo yaane amina malaayka [st.] ‘and the fourth pillar (of faith) is belief in angels’

nayo imaani/ kana malaayka ‘have faith like an angel (i.e. to have a strong faith)’

Haliima/ nayo imaani/ kana malaayka. ‘Haliima has faith like an angel (i.e. she is a woman of strong faith).’

Shchambiloowa/ ya kuwa malaayka/ hupenda kuwona kuḷa muunt^hu/ nakuwaziidila/ waanawe/ arzaakhi/ nakhtomola sadakha/ nakhteza na waant^hu/ na chimaliza nakumshukura mwajitu/ ka yaa ye/ mpeeló. ‘We were told that angels love to see every man increase for his children foods, give out alms, laugh with people, and then thank God for whatever he has been given.’

suura/ kana malaayka ‘beautiful like an angel’

Sura za Haliima/ kana za malaayka. ‘Haliima’s beauty is like that of an angel.’

Waana/ ni malaayka. ‘Children are (innocent like) angels.’

Wana zihaba/ ni kana/ malaayka. ‘Small children are (innocent) like angels.’

wawashile ka’ba mbele malaayka [st.] ‘those who first built the **ka’ba** were angels’

need to see whether malaayka can ever control [cl.9] agreement in the singular

maali n. 6 [Sw. *maali* SSED 257; Ar. *māl* W 931] money, wealth, possessions, goods (We do not know of any evidence as to whether this item, from a synchronic point of view, should be considered to involve a fusion of the [cl.6] prefix *ma-* and a vowel-initial stem or not. When we lack evidence on such matters, we have opted to list the form without any indication of there being morphological complexity.)

Baaba/ ni sulṭaani/ nayo na maali/ muḃjaana/ ni maskiini/ nt^haná/ maali/ na apó/ karka wakhtj oyó/ nt^haykuwaaliko/ sahali/ maskiini/ kumlola muunt^hu/ taajiri. ‘(The girl’s) father was a king, he had wealth; the boy was poor, he had no money, and then at that time it was not easy for a poor person to marry a rich person.’

ka want^hu wenye maali ‘to people having wealth’

khpata maali ‘to acquire wealth’

khpenda maali ‘to like, love wealth’

kubadila maali ‘to barter goods’

kubasha maali ‘to lose wealth’

Leete/ maaliyo/ yotte/ mpe/ naawé/ ileete/ bahari/ apa/ napate kiyina. ‘Bring all your belongings and give them to him, and you bring the sea here so that he may drink it.’

mali aya ‘this wealth’

Maali/ bila daftari/ hubaha bila khabari. ‘Possessions without an accounting book get lost without information about them being preserved.’ (A proverb.)

mali haba ‘little wealth’

mali miingi ‘much wealth’

Maali/ ni mawaahibu. ‘Wealth is a gift from God.’ (A proverb.)

and is lost.’ **is this a proverb?**

mali ya haraamu ‘money, wealth made illegally, in a manner not compatible with religion (lit. impure wealth)’

Maali/ yamlasile. ‘He lost his wealth (lit. his wealth left him).’

Muunt^hu/ chiwanayo maali/ hupendoowa. ‘If a man has wealth, he is loved.’ (A proverb.)

muunt^hu naayo maali chifu bila hiji [st.] ‘if a man has money and dies without performing the pilgrimage’

Nanzize khfanya kaazi/ khpata maali. ‘I began to do work to get money.’

Nayo ipupa ya maali. ‘He has a very strong desire for wealth.’

Nayo maali. ‘He is wealthy, has wealth.’

Raaḏi/ nii nk^hulu/ kolko maali. ‘Blessings are better than wealth.’ (A

proverb.)

reeri/ inayo maali 'a family that has wealth'

Taajiri/ na maaliyé/ maskiini/ na mwaanawé. 'A rich man and his money, a poor man and his son.' (A proverb.)

Washpowa maali. 'They were given wealth.'

We/ nakubiga booli/ mali ya waant^hú. 'You are looting people's wealth.'

Ye/ pela maali/ bilaa adadi. 'He was given wealth without limit.'

Maaliki

n. proper. one of the teachers from whom the four main schools of Islam derive
maðhabu ya Maaliki 'the school of Maaliki'
Maaliki na Hanafi wotte akmal [st.] 'Maaliki and Hanafi are good'

maaliki

adj. [Ar. *malik* W 922] one of Allah's attributes in Islamic belief

Maliindi

n. name of a town on the East African coast

ku-maliza

v. (both intransitive and transitive) (**maliize**) finish, complete, end

Chaakuja/ chimaliza kujoowa. 'The food was finished being eaten.'

Chimalizaa kuja/ oloka skujiini. 'If you finish eating, go to school.'

Maaliya/ yamalize jis'io. 'My wealth was exhausted in this way.'

Maliza. 'Finish it!' Cf. **Malizaani.** '(Pl.) finish it!'

Mwaaka/ umaliize. 'The year ended.'

Mwaalimu/ takendra numbaani/ mukhtaa ye/ takumalizo khfanya kaazi. 'The teacher will go home when he finished working.'

Nthakumaliza kazi iyi/ lapili. 'I will finish this work by evening.'

Nthasaa we/ koondroka/ nthakuwa ni'imaliizé/ kazi iyi. 'Before you get up I will have finished this job.' Or: **Nthasaa we/ koondroka/ nthakuwa ni'imalize kazi iyi.** 'Before you get up I will have finished this job (i.e. this job, not some other job).'

Simalizé. 'Don't finish it!' Cf. **Simalizeeni.** '(Pl.) don't finish it!'

Wachija/ hattá/ wachimaliza. 'They ate until they finished.'

rel.

u-malizo n. 14

maama

n. mother

éwe maama ya muu'mini wote [st.] 'O you, mother of all the faithful.'

Maama/ humtila maana/ makapaani. 'Mother puts her child in her wings (for protection).'

mama msuura 'a nice, beautiful mother'

wake wa Mtume maamazo wa'oondrole [st.] 'the Prophet's wives, your mothers, alert them (literally: make them rise, i.e. make them act in your favour)'

rel.

maama=poss.

mama yaawo 'their mother'

mama yiitu 'our mother'

mama yiinu 'your pl. mother'

maamaye his/her/its mother

Cheendra/ chimwambila maamaye. 'He went and told his mother.'

Maamaye/ mwambiile/ nini/ mwaanawá/ khupeleshelo ka masultaani. 'His mother said to him: what, my son, takes you to [visit] sultans?'

Muke/ apa/ numbaani/ chimwambila mamaye muñiwe/ mi/ nnakhsulaa we/ kump^haa gele/ mi/ khsoola. 'The woman, here, at home, told her husband's mother: I want you to give me maize for me to pound.'

Mwaana/ namkorshe/ maamaye. 'A child, let his mother bring him up.' (A proverb.)

Ye/ chi'irudila kaawo/ ka maamaye. 'He went back to their place at his

mother's.'

maame n. (my) mother

Nakendra mwambila maamé. 'I am going to tell my mother.' (Phon. The final accent on **maame** in this example is projected from the first person present tense verb and is not an inherent aspect of the pronunciation of **maame**.)

Maame/ mlangale/ jisa suura. 'My mother, look after her in a nice way.'

Maame/ (nii) mule. 'Mother is tall.' (cf. **Maame/ ni mulee nt^ho.** 'Mother is very tall.')

Maame/ ni chigobe/ kolko waawe. 'Mother is shorter than father.'

Waawe/ na maamé/ nii wale. 'Father and mother are tall.' (cf. **Waawe/ na maamé/ ni walee nt^ho.** 'Father and mother are very tall.')

maamo your mother

you near you.'

Maamo/ khufanyilizee muḷo/ khariibuyo. 'Your mother started a fire for

Mi/ maamo/ oyo/ wele maashé. 'I am your mother who has become blind.'

Mi/ na maamó/ ba/ hashpeendi/ chiint^hu/ ka kaako/ sho kuwa chaakuja/ naa nguwo. 'I and your mother as well do not want anything from you except food and clothes.'

Shkosa iwele ya maamo/ ama/ haṭa yaa mbwa. 'If you lack your mother's breast, suckle even a dog's.' (A proverb.)

Takhshalayaṭa maamo/ khuzaala. 'You will regret that your mother gave birth to you!' (A formulaic saying, warning that if you do something, you will rue the day!)

ku-maamala

v. [unknown etymology] (**mameele**) be quiet, silent

Amaani/ nda mwenye mameeló. 'Peace is with the one who has kept quiet.' (A proverb.)

Chimaamala/ pashpo khkabila chiint^hu. 'He kept quiet without adding anything (to that which had been said).'

Chimtuzatuza/ haṭá/ mwanaamke/ chimaamala. 'He comforted the girl until she stopped crying.'

Iba iyi/ ichiwonoowa/ ba/ ha'imaamali/ inakubiga mikelé/ wúh wúh wúh. 'This dog is just seen not being quiet, it is barking wuh wuh wuh.'

Kana/ hukooḍó/ humaamala. 'A mouth that talks will (in the end) be silent (i.e. however much you may talk now, in the end you will die and be silent).' (Translation of a Somali proverb.)

Kumaamala/ ni ḍahabu/ khkooḍa/ ni matuzi. 'To be silent is gold, to speak is excrement.' (A proverb.)

Maamala/ tu. 'Just keep quiet!'

Mayti/ nakhkooḍa/ laakini/ wamtukiiló/ wamameele. 'A dead person is talking, but those who are carrying him are silent.' (A riddle, the answer to which is **chuungu/ na fiijá** 'cooking pot and stove' or **chuungu/ na majiikó** 'cooking pot and cooking stones'.)

Ndiwa/ nt^hakumjiiba/ mameele/ tu. 'The pigeon did not answer him, it just kept quiet.'

Nt^hawakhaadira/ kumaamala. 'They could not keep quiet.'

Khkooḍa/ ni feḍa/ kumaamala/ ḍahabu. 'To speak is silver, to keep quiet is gold.' (A proverb.)

Waanth^u/ wonth^e/ wamameele/ shup! 'Everybody stopped talking...silence!'

rel.

ku-mamalila v. appl. (**mamaliile**) be quiet for

Eelo/ shtowa yaa yee/ kuhada/ chi'imamalila. 'The gazelle [lit. missed what] to say and kept [himself] quiet.'

	<i>ku-mama</i> loowa v. pass. (- mamee la)
	Imamee la. ‘There was silence.’
	<i>ku-mama</i> lika v. p/s.
	<i>ku-mama</i> liza v. tr. appl. (mama liize)
	Mama ḏo/ mmama lize Adnaani/ maana . ‘Mamadho silenced Adnaani’s child.’
	<i>ku-mama</i> lizanya v. tr. appl. rec.
	<i>ku-maama</i> za v. tr. (mamee ze) silence s.o.
	Batu ula/ imamee ze raadiyo . ‘Batuula turned down the radio (so that it could not be heard).’
	Chimama za mukeewe . ‘He silenced his wife.’
	Eelo/ chimma amaza/ chimwaambila ... ‘The gazelle quietened him and said to him...’
(who is crying, e.g.)’	Haliima/ nakumma amaza/ maanawe . ‘Haliima is quietening her child
	kumma amaza ‘to silence him’
	<i>ku-mama</i> zan(y)a v. tr. rec.
	<i>ku-mama</i> zika v. tr. p/s.
	kula/ kumama zika ‘to cry and weep’
	Omari/ naaku la/ nakumama zika. ‘Omari is crying and weeping.’
	Omari/ chila/ hamama ziki. ‘When Omari cries, he cannot be silenced.’
	<i>ku-mama</i> zikoowa v. pass.
without any reason is not good.’	Kulo owa/ kumama zikoowa/ bilaa sababu/ siwo/ suura . ‘To cry and weep
	<i>ku-mama</i> zoowa v. tr. pass. (mamee za)
quieten the children.’	Haliima/ ha’isi/ jisa humama zowa waaná . ‘Haliima does not know how to
	rel. nom.
	<i>u-maama</i> lo n. 14 silence, quiet
	<i>u-maama</i> zo n. 14
mama ḏi	n. [Ar. <i>mamāṭ</i> W 930] death
maamba	n. 9/10 [cf. Sw. <i>mamba</i> "(1) crocodile; (2) a name of a very dangerous kind of snake" 218] a large shark
maamba	n. a kind of game, involving playing with small seashells
mambaraani	n. 9/10 basking shark
	mambarani ikana ‘[lit.] large mouth shark, a Whale Shark’
	mambaranii mbili ‘two sharks’
	mambarani mooyi ‘one shark’
	mambarani talyaani ‘[lit.] Italian shark, large shark so-called because it was unknown in Brava before the Italians came; type unknown’
	mnyaasa ‘the Nurse Shark, used to make ngoonda (salted dried fish)’
	mambarani pepo ‘[lit.] wind shark, Tiger shark’
	mambarani ya matete ‘[lit. spotted shark] a large shark with black spots/dots (Grey Nurse Shark?)’
	mambarani yaa nt^hi ‘a very big shark with an open mouth (same as mambarani ikana ?)’
Mambasa	n. Mombasa, a city in Kenya
	Mi/ mbaliko Mambasá . ‘I have been to Mambasa.’
	rel.
	<i>chi-mambasa</i> n. the dialect of Mambasa
maambiya	n. parrot fish; meat isn’t good for eating

maambo

n. 6 affairs

Chimjiiba/ kuwaa ye/ siwo/ takhiiró/ mambo aya. ‘He replied that he would not agree to this proposal.’ (Phon. The infinitive prefix, when located in front of a stem with an initial *q* or *kh* has a null phonological shape. Thus the relative future tense form **takhiiro** comes from /*ta*-ku-khiiro/ and the **ku** is absent in pronunciation.)

mambo yanuðishiizó/ ya mwana uje ‘the behavior that annoyed me of that child’ (Cf. **mambo ya mwana uje/ yanuðishiizó** ‘the behavior of that child that annoyed me’ – notice that **maambo** controls subject agreement on the relative verb and not **mwaana**; in other words, it is the behavior that annoyed me.)

Mwaana/ chihada/ kuwaa ye/ nakuwona/ kuwa itakhtuluka/ mooyi/ karka maambo/ matatu/ leelo/ nt^haasá/ iwa/ kiingila. ‘The boy said that he felt that one of three things would happen today before the sun set.’

maambo

n. 6 [Sw. *mambo* SSED 148] affairs, matters (Morph. In Swahili, *mambo* is the plural of *jambo*, thus there is evidence that the word should be divided into a prefix and a stem. However, in Chimiini, this singular form does not exist, thus there is no direct evidence that that this item is morphologically complex. Consequently, we do not indicate a prefix-stem structure, although perhaps evidence can be found for the psychological reality of such an analysis by speakers.)

Basi/ ni mambo gani/ aya. ‘So what is this all about?’

Duniya/ ina maambo/ haytukuliki. ‘The world has affairs that are unbearable.’

Mambo aya/ ya’ineenzele/ ka mudda/ wa miyaaka/ mitatu. ‘This situation [lit. these affairs, matters] continued for a period of three years.’

Maambo/ hayatakhuweleela/ jisaa we/ nakhsuuló. ‘Things won’t turn out for you the way that you want (them to).’

Ni mambo gani/ ajabu yaa we/ weenó. ‘What amazing affairs did you

see?’

Siwo/ mambo ya chi’akhyaari. ‘It is not the behavior of a civilized

person.’

Sultaan/ oyo/ chanza kumfunguŷila khabarize/ chimweleza mambo/ jisa yatulushiló. ‘That sultan began to narrate his story, explaining to him the events that had befallen [him].’

-mameele

ad. silent

maamili
customer

n. [cf. Ar. *mu’āmalā* “association with one another, business relation” W 646]

mamlaka

n. [Sw. *mamlaka* "(1) authority, dominion, rule, rights of ownership; (2) property, possessions, dominions" SSED 258; Ar. *mamlaka* W 923] kingdom

mamlaka ya Sa’uudi ‘the kingdom of Saudi Arabia’

mamnuu’u

adj. [Ar. *mamnū* ‘ W 927] forbidden

variant form: *mamnuu’i*

Isa/ Mkhodiisho/ khori/ ifanyiza mamnuu’u/ khtukuŷoowa. ‘Now in Mogadishu for guns to be carried has been forbidden.’

Mwaalimu/ kumbiga mwaana/ ni mamnuu’u. ‘For a teacher to hit a child is forbidden.’ Or: **Ni mamnuu’u/ ka mwaalimu/ kumbiga mwaana.**

ku-maamula

serve people (e.g. at a party)

v. [Som. *maammul*, variant *maamul* “to administer, to manage” DSI 397] deal with;

rel.

ku-mamulaŷa v. deal with, serve

Chimuuló/ ni muunt^hu/ apo/ chimamulaṭo shu'uni zaa nt^hi/ siwo/

fir'ooni/ nafsiye. 'The one who bought him (Joseph) was a man there (i.e. in Egypt) who took care of the affairs of the country, it was not Pharaoh himself.'

ku-mamulisha v. caus.

rel. nom.

m-mamulaṭa (wa-) n. 1/2 one who tends, takes care of

Mmamulaṭaa nt^hi/ uyu/ chimtukula/ Yuusufu/ chimpeleka kaake. 'This custodian of the land took Joseph and sent him to his home.'

manaami

n. [Ar. *manām* W 1013] sleep

Sheekhi Uweesu khiinzilo / karka manaami loselo / Omari yaa ye shishilo / "Mtume chimo maghanniyo" [st.] 'Sheikh Aweys, who sang your praises, in [his] sleep Omar saw in a dream [and] what he retained [was] "O Prophet, we are under your protection" -- i.e. Omar saw in a dream Sheikh Aweys singing the praises of the Prophet, but once he woke up, he could remember only the sentence: O Prophet we are under your protection'

manda

n. a unit of measure: the width of one finger; a unit of measure used esp. by women in connection with the sizes of **makoofiya** (skullcaps)

manda maṭaano 'five **manda**, i.e. the breadth of a hand'

mandari

n. [Sw. *mandari* SSED 258; Ar. *manẓar* "view, panorama" W 977] picnic

Si/ chinakhsuḷa kendra mandarí. 'We want to go on a picnic.'

mandariini
Somalia)

n. 9/10 [Ital. *mandarino*, pl. *mandarini*] mandarin orange (but not available in

u-maande

n. [Sw. *umande* SSED 497] dew, fog

Leelo/ fijiri/ yaliko umaande. 'There was fog this morning.'

Umaande/ zaaydi/ leelo/ haṭá. chiint^hu/ huwoni. 'There is a lot of fog today, to the point that you cannot see anything.'

mandari

n. [Sw. *mandhari* SSED 258; Ar. *manẓar* W 977] scene, sight, view

maandra

n. 9/10 a kind of bread made out of maize (**gelle**) or sorghum (**mhuundru**), cooked in an oven after being pounded, soaked, and rolled out

Ijila maandra. 'Has been eaten the bread.' (The passive verb is different from the active verb in being quite comfortable with having its subject postposed after the verb and forming a phonological phrase with it.)

kaja maandrá/ Muusá 'if Muusa had eaten bread' (The subject **Muusa** in this example seems to be postposed to the end of the verb phrase, not right-dislocated. This is indicated by the fact that the final accent triggered by the verb extends to this subject. **Need to look into the validity of this point.**

kaja maandrá/ Muusa 'if Muusa had eaten bread' (This example differs from the preceding in that there is no final accent on **Muusa**, but rather default penult accent. However, this difference is a bit obscured due to the presence of an intonational rise on the final syllable of **Muusa**, making the pronunciation difference between these two examples less obvious than might appear.)

kaja Muusá/ maandrá 'if Muusa had eaten bread' (Observe that the *ka-*tense verb here allows the subject to be postposed after it and form a phrase with it; the final accent triggered by this verb tense shows up both on the postposed subject and on the object **maandra**.)

kaja Muusá/ maandra 'if Muusa had eaten bread' (In this version, the final accent is not extended to the object **maandra**. It has default accent. However, this accentual pattern is obscured somewhat by the fact that there is an intonational raising of the final syllable, which makes it possible to miss the difference between this and the preceding example. Our consultant was sensitive to the difference in pronunciation in these two sentences, but did not specify a difference in usage. It is not clear from the pronunciation whether **Muusa** might be focused in the example where **maandra** is not affected by final accent. That would be the most likely explanation for the accentual facts.)

kaajā/ Muusa/ maandra 'if Muusa had eaten bread' (In this example, the

focus on the verb restricts the scope of the final accent to the verb itself; the postposed subject is not subject to final accent, nor is the object **maandra**. However, the accentual pattern is somewhat obscured due to the presence of an intonational raising of the final syllable of **maandra**. We would argue, however, that there is still default penult accent on **maandra**.)

khawaawa/ ya mandraa nne ‘a pan of/for four **maandra**’

khtila maandra ‘to cook bread (lit. put bread – i.e. in the oven or **khawaawa**)’

khtinda maandra ‘to cut bread’

mandra za kudirsha [lit. emergency or hasty **mandra**] **mandra** baked without yeast, flour or sugar’

^f**Maandra/ Faatima/ pishiló.** ‘(It’s) bread that Faatima cooked.’

Maandra/ Faatimá/ pishiló/ mi/ siji. ‘The bread that Faatima cooked, I will not eat it.’

^f**Maandra/ ijilá.** ‘Bread has been eaten.’ Cf. without focus: **Maandra/ ijila.** ‘Bread was eaten.’

Maandra/ pishilo Faatimá/ ni ladda. ‘The bread that Faatima cooked is sweet.’

Mandra pishilo Faatimá/ ladda. ‘The bread that Faatima cooked is sweet.’ (In both this and the preceding example, the subject of the relative clause is postposed after the relative verb. In this example the head of the relative clause is phrased with the relative verb, while in the preceding example it is not. In this example, the copular verb **ni** is omitted, while in the preceding example it is not. There does not appear to be any substantial meaning difference associated with these variations in form.)

Maandra/ ya Faatimá/ pishiló/ m/ siji. ‘The bread that Faatima cooked, I will not eat it.’ Or: **Mandra ya Faatimá/ pishiló/ mi/ siji.**

Maandra/ yaa ye/ peelá/ nt^haakuja. ‘The loaf of bread that she was given, she did not eat it.’

Muusa/ kaja maandrá ‘if Muusa had eaten the bread’

Muusa/ kaja maandrá/ ka himá ‘if Muusa had eaten the bread quickly’

Muusa/ wapele waana/ maandra. ‘Muusa gave the children bread.’ Or:

Muusa/ wapele maandra/ waana. Cf. **Niwapele waaná/ maandrá.** ‘I gave the children bread.’ Or: **Niwapele maandrá/ waaná.** (Syn. These examples illustrate the case where there is no narrow focus inside the verb phrase. They show that with a

ditransitive verb like *-pa* ‘give’, although the indirect object controls object marking on the verb, either complement may follow the verb immediately. The canonical order, however, is for the indirect object to precede the direct object, using those terms in their traditional sense. Observe, in particular, that the final accent projected by the first person singular verb extends to the end of the verb phrase under either order. When there is narrow focus on the noun immediately after the verb, the prosody is different. This difference is intonational (i.e. primarily a matter of relative pitch heights) in the case where the verb triggers default accent, but is revealed more clearly in the final accent case, where the final accent does not pass beyond the narrow focus: **Niwapele waaná/ maandra.** and **Niwapele maandrá/ waana.**)

mandra yaa gele ‘bread made from maize’

mandra ya mhuundru ‘bread made from sorghum’

mandra ya unga ‘bread made from wheat flour’

Muusa/ kaja maandrá ‘if Muusa had eaten bread, if Muusa ate bread’

Nt^hile mandra ganí/ kapiya mkonó. ‘What bread did I put in fire that I burn my hand?’ (A proverb.)

Nuuru/ jile maandra/ na Muusá/ zijo. ‘Nuuru ate bread and Muusa **zijo.**’

shpandre cha maandra ‘a slice of bread’

Tala maandra/ ja. ‘Take some bread and eat!’

- mandusi* n. a box in which clothing and other similar items were put
- manfa'a* n. 6 [Ar. *manfa'a* W 987] usefulness, utility
Daðaleete/ kubarata/ kila/ chiint^hu/ chaa ye/ weenó/ china manfa'á.
 'He tried hard to learn everything that he saw had utility.' (This sentence illustrates the fact that in relative clauses, the phrasal separation of the relative verb from its complement does not restrict the projection of the final accent from the relative verb to the end of the relative clause. In other words, the Accentual Law of Focus does not constrain the relative verb's final accent.)
- manfuukhu* adj. [Ar. *manfūk* W 982] someone who gives himself airs
- wa-maanga* n. 2 [Sw. *manga* "a name of Arabia" SSE 258] Arabs
Wamaanga/ wanakubigana ka mp^haanga. 'Arabs are striking one another with swords.' (A riddle, the answer to which is **daank^hu** 'popcorn'.)
- maangi* n. 9 [etymology unknown] a dish of boiled maize grains and beans, or rice and beans, with oil and sugar added; a favorite dish in Brava
Haliima/ mpikilile muḅliwe/ maangi. 'Haliima cooked **maangi** for her husband.' But also possible: **Haliima/ mpikilile maangi/ muḅliwe.** (These two word orders are both possible with canonical downstep intonation, i.e. with no internal focus. Cf. the simple yes-no questions **Haliima/ mpikilile muḅliwe/ maangi?** and **Haliima/ mpikilile maangi/ muḅliwe?** In these two questions, there is no shift of accent to the final vowel, which would indicate an out-of-focus phrase. Of course, it is also possible to have focus on the NP in IAV position: **Haliima/ mpikilile ^fmaangi/ muḅliwe.** The corresponding yes-no question for this sentence would have accent shift: **Haliima/ mpikilile maangi/ muḅliwé?**)
Maangi/ ipishiḷa. 'Maangi has been cooked.' (The corresponding simple yes-no question exhibits only Q-raising. The exclamatory question has obligatory accent shift in the verb and the optional shift in the subject: **Maangi/ ipishiḷá!?**)
mangi yaa gele 'maangi with maize'
mangi ya mpuunga 'maangi with rice'
- ku-mani'a* v. [Ar. *mana'a* W 926] (**mani'iile**) forbid (We have only observed this verb being used with an infinitive complement and a negative subjunctive complement. An affirmative subjunctive complement, or a finite complement, do not seem to be allowed.)
Hamadi/ mmani'ile mwaanawe/ kowa ṭawala. 'Hamadi forbade his son to swim in the sea.'
Hamadi/ mmani'ile mwaanawe/ soowe/ ṭawala. 'Hamadi forbade his son that he not swim in the sea.'
 rel.
ku-mani'oowa v. pass. (**mani'iila**)
Hamadi/ mani'iila na waawaye/ kowa ṭawala. 'Hamadi was forbidden by his father to swim in the sea.'
- maani'i* adj. [Sw. *manii* SSED 259] someone who forbids or is an obstacle
- maniyi* n. 6 [Ar. *minan* W 928, from the verb *manā, many* "to ejaculate" W 927] semen
Diini/ huhada muunt^hu/ laazimu/ koowa/ ichimḷawa maniyi. 'Religion says that one must take a shower if one ejaculates.'
maniyi/ kuvuuya 'for sperm to leak, slide
maniyi shṭomola bataala soomu [st.] 'if semen is emitted, fasting is invalid'
Maniyi/ siwo/ nijisi. 'Sperm is not impure.'
maniyi yachilawaqpo kowoowa/ ni waajibu na ṭaakufo koshoowa [st.]
 'when semen comes out, to be washed up is obligatory, and he who dies must be washed'
Tanyize maniyi. 'He ejaculated.'
- manjoore* n. major
- maank^hale* n. [Som. *maankaal* "solid residual part after sesame has been pressed for oil" DSI 398] a kind of food made by crushing sesame seeds into a paste that is molded into a ball, with sugar added

mank^hale ya maansara ‘the residue left behind after oil has been extracted from sesame seeds (the crumbs, containing some oil, are eaten as food by humans with sugar added; the dry, hard pieces are used as food for animals)’;

manmani n. [Som. *malmal* "plant with an aromatic resin which has medicinal properties and is soluble in water" DSI 412] A resin that is smeared on part of body (e.g. head) where it is hurting. Also used as a remedy against stomachache: to be drunk in water with salt. Men are told to use it sparingly, because it is believed to affect male sexual potency.

mannaani adj. [Sw. *manani* “a title of God, the beneficent” SSED 258; Ar. *mannān* W 925] an attribute of God (the Benefactor or Beneficient) **review gemination**

maa(n)sara n. [Som. *macsarad* “oil mill” and *saliid macsaro* “sesame oil” DSI 402] in the expressions:

chinu cha maansara ‘an oil press driven by a camel’

mafta ya maansara ‘sesame oil’

Mafta (y)a maansara/ ni dawa ya mishpa. ‘Sesame oil is (good) medicine for the bones.’ (A traditional belief in Brava.)

manthuura adj? [very probably Arabic, but an etymological source was not identified] *poetic*
watumishi kama luulu manthuura [st.] ‘servants like scattered pearls’

maanvula said of sea in the period of extreme difference between high and low tide, corresponding to end/beginning of lunar month and to 15th day of lunar month

manwari n. warship
Basi/ sultaani/ shkhubala/ na shtomola amri/ manwari/ nt^hatu/ zinawaraashe/ kuwadaafi’a/ kama aduwi mweepe/ chiwata’araðila. ‘So the sultan agree and issued an order for three warships to escort them to defend them if any enemy should come on their way.’

Sultaani/ mukhtaa ye/ kasizo jawabu za kaahini/ oyó/ shkumanganya markabuze/ na manwarizé/ na majahaziyé/ choondroka/ keendra/ kummera Abunawaasi/ karka majaziira/ yotte/ yamo karka mulkuwé. ‘When the sultan heard the words of this soothsayer, he gathered his ships and his warships and his dhows and he moved and went to look for Abunawaasi in all the islands that were in his possessions.’

i-manya adj. the second stage of the development of camel’s milk from freshest (**i-ziwa i-shu**) to sour (**iziwa i-siita**)
ishu kayiwa imanya [song] ‘lest fresh milk becomes *imanya*’
iziwa imanya ‘the *imanya* stage of camel’s milk’

manya’a n. [Som. *manyac* "joke, playful intercourse; tantrum (of children)" *citation*] joke, playful intercourse. From Somali (*manyac*) which has also the meaning of “tantrum” (of children), Example:

muunt^hu mzimawe manya’a -- gloss; phrasing

nt^hayiiko aashiqi nt^hayiiko manya’a [nt.] ‘there is no [thought of] dalliance or impropriety’

manya’oole adj. s.o. who likes playful intercourse

maanyi n. 6 [Sw. *jani (ma-)* SSED 150] [perhaps this item is morphologically analyzable, e.g. *m-aanyi* or even *maa-nyi*, but its analysis is not immediately evident] grass, weeds, hay

khpakila maanyi ‘to load grass’

khpisha maanyi ‘to burn grass’

khtilanga maanyi ‘to cut grass’

khfinda maanyi ‘to cut grass, remove weeds’

ku’arurisha maanyi ‘to collect grass’

kudakha maanyi ‘to graze on grass’

kuzola maanyi ‘to collect grass’

Leelo/ mi/ noloshele mahala iyelo maanyi/ naa miti/ mikulú. ‘Today I went to a place full of grass and big trees.’

Manyi aya/ yawaliko mwembaamba. ‘This grass was thin.’ Or: **Yawaliko mwembaamba/ manyi aya.** ‘Was thin, this grass.’ (Phon. The second version, involving the right dislocation of the subject, has a decidedly different prosody than the first version. Specifically, the first version has downstep intonation, but the accented syllable in the second phrase still has a somewhat raised pitch, albeit not as raised as in the corresponding yes-no question. The dislocated subject in the second example is radically lowered in comparison to the accented syllable in the first phrase.)

maanyi/ khpiya ‘for grass to be (lit.) burnt – i.e. grass to be dried out, wither from the sun’

manyi ma’akhðari ‘green grass’

manyi makavu ‘dry grass’

manyii male ‘long grass’

manyi maymaayi ‘wet grass’

manyi miingi ‘a lot of grass’

manyi ya chaayi ‘tea leaves’

manyi ya tawala ‘seaweed’

manyi zigobe ‘short grass’

Mbwa/ chimlomba mp^huundra/ nampe chiint^hu/ mweepe/ karka zaakuja/ zaa ye/ tukilo mungooni/ ka khisa/ mbwa/ haaji/ maanyi. ‘The dog asked the donkey to give him something else from the food that he carried on his back because dogs do not eat grass.’

manzili n. [Sw. *manzili* ‘circumstances, positions, as given by God, including revelations, etc.’ SSED 259; Ar. *manzil* ‘house, lunar phase’ W 957; note that in various languages constellations of the zodiac are called ‘the houses’] constellation

maanzine adv. already

Ahsanta/ maanzine/ njiilé. ‘Thanks, I have already eaten.’ Or: **Ahsanta/ njiilé/ maanzine.**

Ilopó/ maanzine/ ma’askari/ wawaliko waṭawanyishile ka apa/ na apá. ‘When he came, already the soldiers were scattered aimlessly here and there.’

Iwaliko maanzine/ ni fijiri/ na iwá/ yanzize kulawa. ‘It was already morning and the sun had begun to come out.’

Ma’askari/ wawaliko maanzine/ waṭinzile tama’a/ wo/ khshiindra/ wawaliko ni ṭayaari/ wo/ khchiimbila. ‘The soldiers had already given up hope of winning, they were ready to flee.’

maapa n. [morphologically complex form?] [Sw. *kwapa* SSED 235] underarms
mashungi ya maapa ‘underarm hair’

mapeema adv. [Sw. *mapema* SSED 260] early (This adverbial does not display the behavior characteristic of time adverbials like **yana**. **Mapeema** is not used alone, but with the preposition **na**. **One source indicated ka mapeema might be possible ‘early’ but this needs to be checked.**)

Chondroshela na mapeemá. ‘We got up early.’

Fijiri/ na mapeema/ chishkila ka mutiini/ chishika ndilaye. ‘Early in the morning he climbed down the tree and went on his way.’

Mi/ nenzele sukhuuní/ na mapeemá/ ‘yana. ‘I went to the market early yesterday.’

Mi/ nsulile kendra madrasaani/ na mapeemá. ‘I wanted to go to school early.’ Cf. **Ye/ sulile kendra madrasaai/ na mapeema.** ‘He wanted to go to school early.’ With verb focus: **Mi/**

nsuliilé/ kendra madrasaani/ na mapeema. ‘I wanted to go to school early.’ Cf. **Ye/ suliile/ kendra madrasaani/ na mapeema.** ‘He wanted to go to school early.’

Mi/ sukhuuni/ nenzele na mapeemá/ 'yana. ‘I to the market went early yesterday.’ (The intonation of sentences such as this with a final time adverbial is interesting in that it is clear that normal downstep intonation is not found in the preceding part of the sentence. The final accent on **na mapeemá** is not downstepped, being nearly as high as the preceding accented syllable. In the simple yes-no question, only **yana** undergoes accent shift: **Mi/ sukhuuni/ nenzele na mapeemá/ yaná?** Q-Raising, of course, raises the pitch of **yana**, so there is no radical downstep in this situation. In the exclamatory question, accent-shift affects all phrases, and there is ordinary downstep throughout the sentence: **Mi/ sukhuuni/ nenzele na mapeemá/ yaná!?**)

Ndrazole na mapeemá/ kendra safari. ‘I got up early to go on a trip.’ (Phon. If there is emphasis on **mapeema**, then there will be not final accent in the following phrase, as predicted by the Accentual Law of Focus: [**Ndrazole na mapeemá/ kendra safari.**])

Nondroshele na mapeemá/ 'mi. ‘I left early (that’s why I...).’

Shtakhsafira (na) mapeema. ‘We will leave early.’

Ye/ enzele sukhuuni/ na mapeema/ 'yana. ‘He went to the market early yesterday.’ (The radical downstepping of the time adverbial **yana** is reflected in the simple yes-no question where it undergoes accent-shift like out-of-focus verb phrase elements in general: **Ye/ enzele sukhuuni/ na mapeema/ yaná?** In such a question, the time adverbial is raised in pitch due to Q-Raising. In the exclamatory question, all the phrases undergo accent shift. The radical downstep of **yana** is missing, but the exclamatory questions exhibit ordinary downstep throughout the sentence.)

Ye/ chendra fijiri/ na mapeema/ la piili/ na chendra kiła ilooni. ‘He went early in the morning, in the afternoon, and he went each evening.’ (Observe the final accent triggered here by the conjunction **na.**)

Ye/ takhsafira na mapeema. ‘He will leave early.’

maqala

n. [Sw. *makala* SSED 255; Ar. *maqāla* W 798] (written) essay

want^hu watakhsomo maqala iyí ‘people who read this essay’

maqamu
position

[Sw. *makamu* “substitute, deputy, manager” SSED 166; Ar. *maqām* W 800] rank,

Apo/ zamaani/ waaliko/ taajiri/ mooyi/ mkulu/ mwenye maali/ na maqaamú. ‘Once upon a time there was a rich man, important, having wealth and high position.’

Nayo maqamu makulu/ ka sarkaali. ‘He has a high position in the government.’

Ni mwenye maqaamu. ‘He is of high rank, position.’

ku-maqanaṭa

v. be absent; [pron. **kumaqanaṭa** or **kumakhanaṭa**] (There is no more basic verb from which this is derived; ***kumaqana** does not exist.)

Harusi iyi/ we/ makhanaṭa. ‘Be absent from this wedding (don’t come).’

Mahaḷa/ amá/ muukhaṭa/ amá/ makhanaṭa. ‘At a place either be visible or be absent (i.e. when you go somewhere, be active, take part, be positive or do not go).’ (A translation of a Somali proverb.)

Omari/ humakhanaṭa niingi/ skoḷaani. ‘Omari is absent from school a lot.’

rel.

ku-maqanaṭika v. p/s.

Harusi ya Omari/ ha'imakhanaṭiki. ‘One cannot be absent from Omari’s wedding.’

ku-maqanaṭiloowa v. appl. pass.

Nt^haku/ sababu/ ya kumakhanaṭiloowa/ skoḷa. ‘There is no reason for being absent from school.’

ku-maqanaṭila v. appl.

Nt^haku/ sababu ya Omari/ kumakhanaṭila skoḷaani. ‘There is no reason for Omari being absent from school.’

We/ skoḷaani/ nakumakhanaṭilaní. ‘Why are you absent from school?’

ku-maqanaṭisha v. caus.

Mi/ nakhsuḷa kumakhanatīsha Omarí/ harusīnī. ‘I want to make Omari be absent from the wedding.’

ku-maqanaṭoowa v. pass.

Chiwoni/ ha’imakhanatīki. ‘One cannot be absent from koranic school.’

Harusi iyi/ isimakhanatōowa. ‘This wedding (one) should not be absent from (e.g. it is very important).’

Kumakhanatowa niingi/ skolaani/ huletaa dhibu. ‘To be absent from school a lot brings problems.’

maqani

adj. absent; [pron. **maqani** or **makhani**]

Mbuzi/ uko maqani/ halaali. ‘A goat that is absent does not sleep (i.e. when one is lost or away from home, one does not rest, sleep).’ (A translation of a Somali proverb.)

Osmaani/ uko makhani. ‘Osmaani is absent.’

maqasi

n. 9 [Sw. *makasi* SSED 256; Ar. *miqaṣṣ*, plural of *maqaṣṣ* W 766] scissors

khtinda ka maqasi ‘to cut with scissors’

Maqasi iyi/ haṭiindi/ chiintu. ‘This [pair of] scissors does not cut anything.’

Maqasi iyi/ inayoo maso. ‘This [pair of] scissors is sharp.’

Maqasi iyi/ nkʰali. ‘This [pair of scissors] is sharp.’

Maqasi iyi/ ntʰayná/ maso. ‘This [pair of] scissors is not sharp.’

maqasi yaa nguwo ‘scissors for cutting clothes’

is this word used in the plural?

maqbuuli

adj. (cf. **qubala**) [Ar. *maqbul* W 741] accepted

hija ya maqbuuli ina alaama/ karka ibaada menewe huzaama [st.] ‘the pilgrimage that is accepted (by God) has visible signs/ the pilgrim is completely immersed in worship’

maq dara

n. [?Sw. *makadara* “strength, power, influence” (in reference to God) SSED 225; cf. Ar. *muqaddar* or *maqḍūr* W 746 and *maq dara* “power, ability”] s.t. willed by God, predestined **review definition**

maq sabu

n. [Ar. *muqaṣṣab* W 766] brocade embroidered with gold and silver; [pron. **maq sabu** or **makhsabu**]

janna mawakoye nusu nda ḍaahabu / nusu nda feḍa ni kana makhsabu [st.] the buildings of paradise are half of gold, half of silver, they are like a brocade embroidered with gold and silver.’

maq sada

n.

Ja’da ntʰakhpata maqsada/ mpeelee sumu ntʰakuhada [st.] ‘Ja’da never got her wishes, she gave him poison and did not say’

maq suudi

n. 9/10 [Sw. *makusudi* SSED 231; Ar. *maqṣūd* “aimed at, intentional” W 767] goal, aim, purpose, intention, need, desire; [pron. **maq suudi** or **makhsuudi**]

Isa/ ye/ teena/ makhsuudiye/ ni kumkhada’a/ Sa’iidi/ jisaa ye/ khpata/ kumkharibisha. ‘Now he then, his intention was to cheat Sa’iidi in order to get a chance to destroy him.’

maq suudiye ‘his/her need, intention’ (cf. **maq suudize** ‘his needs, intentions’)

somaani ntʰakhpataa kulla maqsuudi/ taqiro kumzuura mtume Mahmuudi [st.] ‘recite it and you will see every wish fulfilled/ who agrees to visit the prophet Mohamed’

We/ nii muké/ mwovu/ we/ maqsuudiyo/ ni kunuḷaa mi/ khpata sulṭaani/ khuloola. ‘You are a bad wife, your intention is to kill me to get the sultan to marry you.’

maq uudi

[Ar. *mauqūd* :burning” W 1088] only observed so far in the line from a translation of

a poem: **need more examples to determine Chimiini meaning**

Mi/ ndimí/ nfunzilo nafsiyá/ karka hayaatí/ amó/ ndimí/ maquudi. 'Is it me who tied himself up in life or is it me who is tied down?'

mara adv. [Sw. *mara* SSED; Ar. *marra* W 900] time (occasion) (Phon. The expression **mara ya...** is often contracted to **maraa...**, thereby producing a long vowel that is retained even though it is in a position that may not ordinarily permit length to be manifested.)

Harbi/ naank^hó/ ichoondroka/ mara ya taatu/ mara ya isa/ sultaani/ uje/ shinziila maraa mbili/ leesele/ jeeshi/ ya askari/ alfu/ ikumi. 'The war arose again, a third time. This time, that sultan who was defeated twice, brought an army of ten thousand soldiers.'

kuḷa mara 'every time (also may occur as: **kuḷa si mara** with the same meaning; the **si** here has no obvious functional or lexical content) (Phon. Note that the vowel before **mara** in this expression is not lengthened.)

mara (y)a kaandra 'the first time'

mara mooyi '[lit.] one time -- used in addition to **tafaḏali** and **fanya ihsaani**, strengthening the meaning "please" when asking s.o. to do s.t.'

Tafaḏali/ nnink^hila suukari/ mara mooyi. 'Please pass the sugar to me.'

Mi/ simḷati/ na kama chiwajiboowa/ kumḷata/ mi/ laazima/ peesa/ zaa mi/ nt^homeeló/ khpowa ka maraa mbili. 'I will not divorce her; if I am obligated to divorce her, I must be given double the money that I spent.'

Muunt^hu/ hufa mara mooyi. 'A man dies once.' (A proverb.)

Nimweené/ Hasani/ kuna aalkola/ mara niingi. 'I have *seen* Hasani drink alcohol many times.'

Ye/ chibiga/ mara ya isa/ si/ shṭamuza/ ni naani. 'If he knocks (again), this time we will ask him who it is.'

rel.

maramara adv. sometimes

Siri/ maramara/ hufakaṭa. 'Secrets sometime escape (i.e. come out, get revealed).'

marāḏi

n. 6 [Sw. *maradhi* SSED 260; Ar. *marad* W 903] disease, illness, sickness
variant form: **maradi**

Baaba/ chishikowa na maraḏi/ chifa. 'Father was seized by illness and died.'

Baaba/ maraḏi/ yachimziida. 'Father became sicker.'

Filile maraḏi ya khalbi. 'He died of heart disease.'

File ka maraḏi ya khalbi. 'He died of heart disease.'

haysihi aarafa hoola za maradi [st.] 'it is not valid for sick animals to be slaughtered on Aarafa'

khshikowa maraḏi 'to fall sick'

Baaba/ chishikowa maraḏi/ nt^ho. 'Father became very sick.'

Mama yaawo/ naayé/ chishikowa maraḏi. 'Their mother also fell sick.'

Kiḷa/ maraḏi/ inayoo dawa/ shokuwaa kufa. 'Any disease has a remedy except death.' (A proverb.)

ma'ina/ ya maraḏi 'names of diseases'

Maraḏi/ hayaḅli. 'Disease does not kill.' (A proverb.)

Maraḏi yakoo kulé/ hayaletoowi/ khariibu. 'Disease that is far away is not brought closer.' (A proverb.)

maradi yaa nt^hi 'tetanus'

Mi/ siwo/ takhpolo maraḏi ayá. 'I am not one who will recover from this disease.'

not recover.’ **Naayó/ maraḏi/ mi/ hayapoloowi.** ‘I have a disease from which one does

nimo maraḏiini, ni kaako tabiibu [song] ‘I am sick, the cure is with you’

Yampete maraḏi/ file. ‘She fell sick and died.’

Ye/ chiwaa dawa/ zote/ na chiwa maraḏi/ yote. [Lit.] he was all medicine and all sickness – i.e. he was consumed with the world of remedies and illnesses.’ (Observe that the conjunction **na** does not trigger final accent when followed by a finite verbal form.)

marashi n. [Sw. **marashi** “n.pl. scent, liquid, perfume” SSED 397; cf. Ar. verb **rašša** “to sprinkle” W 340] watered perfume that is used to sprinkle on the heads of people when celebrating **takulabisoowa sanda/ na marashi takhtiloowa** [st.] ‘he will be clothed in a shroud and sprinkled with rosewater’

mardaadi beautiful, fancy adj. [Som. **mardaadi** “elegance” DSI 417] decorated, embellished, well-dressed,

Apo/ barzaani/ chivalimoo chiji/ chimardaadi.

Uyu/ ni muuyi/ mkulu/ na mardaadi/ laakini/ una fitna/ naa bala. ‘This is a town, big and beautiful, but it has mischief and trouble.’

marduufu n. [Sw. **mar(a)dufu** “double, twofolded”; “a kind of cloth, double in width” SSED 402; Ar. **radafa** “to become stratified” W 335] cloth of cotton of double thickness

marfuuku adj. [cf. Sw. noun **rufuku (ma-)** “prohibition, refusal, always in the plural” SSED 402] forbidden, prohibited

margi n. [Som. **mergi** “tendons near backbone” DSI 431] sinews, cartilage, tendons rel.

chi-margi n. in the phrase:

khkala chimargi ‘to choke, strangle’

Ijini/ chuuluka/ kumkala Hasani/ chimargi. ‘The djinn jumped and choked Hasani.’

Omari

Mkajilo Omarí/ chimargi/ ni Huseeni. ‘The one who choked is Huseeni.’

Nimkalile chimargi. ‘I choked him.’

Nimkalile maaná/ chimargi. ‘I choked the child.’

is the boy.’

Waa mi/ nimkalilo chimargi/ ni mwaana. ‘The one who I choked

i-margi (mi-) n. aug.

Namaye/ ni mimargi. ‘Its meat has a lot of sinews, cartilage.’ (Such meat would usually be given to cats!)

marhaba interj. [Ar. **marhaba** “to welcome” W 902] very good, with obedience, with pleasure; [pron. **marhabá**]

Mwaana/ chihada/ marhabá/ laakini/ ye mwanaamke/ nayo sharti/ ye/ chishkila Ifuwooni/ we/ ni laazima/ kumtiinda/ waziiri/ chitache. ‘The boy said: with pleasure, but she, the girl, has a condition: if she is to come down onto the shore, it is a must that you cut off the minister’s head.’

Mwaana/ chimjiiba/ marhabá. ‘The boy replied to her: Very good!’

marhamu adj. [Ar. **marhūm** “deceased” W 332] “late” (i.e. recently deceased) **review whether the form marhamu is actually used**

maaridi adj. inv. (cf. **mutamarriidi**) [Ar. **mārid** W 903] defiant of traditions and conventions **munt^hu maaridi** ‘someone who defies traditions etc.’; **want^hu maaridi** ‘people who defy traditions, etc.’; but cf. the derived noun classes: **chijint^hu chimaaridi** ‘(dim.) person who defies traditions, etc.’ and **zijint^hu zimaaridi** ‘(dim.) people who defy traditions, etc.’

mariidi adj. sick, ill, diseased; n.1/2 a sick person

- ijana imariidi** **chijana chimariidi** ‘a sick dim. child’; **ljana lmaridi** ‘a sick aug. child’ (or **maridi awa** ‘these sick people’
munt^hu mariidi ‘a sick person’; **want^hu mariidi** ‘sick people’
Wawa yaawo/ chiwa muunt^hu/ mariidi/ nt^ho. ‘Their father became a very sick man.’
ya kuwa eelo/ leelo/ ni mariidi ‘that the gazelle today is sick’
Ye/ nafsye/ waliko mariidi. ‘He himself was sick.’
Yuuzi/ waant^hu/ wote/ wawaliko mariidi. ‘The day before yesterday everyone was sick.’
- marikhi** n. [Ar. *mirrik* W 902] the planet Mars
- maringa** in the expression:
ma’awizi/ za mariingi ‘ma’awizi of very good quality which are imported (from Singapore?)’
Ma’awizi/ za maringa/ ni zisuura. ‘Ma’awizi of the maringa type are very nice.’
- Maringuwaay** n. The old route from Mogadishu to Brava involved a tarmac road for 100 kms from Mogadishu to Shalaambood (**Shirombooto** in Chimwiini). From this place, one followed a dirt track for another 100 kms through the villages of Merin Gubaayi, which in Chimwiini is **Maringuwaay**, and **Eeriile** (Somali "the place where there are goats") to Mudul (in Chimwiini, **Muduni**), a small village where there was a petrol pump. **Maringuwaay** is some forty-five kilometers north from Brava.
- marjaani** n. 9/10 [Sw. *marjani* SSED 261; Ar. *marjan* W 902] coral (bead)
- Marka** n. the town of Merca in Somalia, located on the coast about nine kilometers east of the village of Shalaambood, which is on the road to Mogadishu.
Marka/ yiko spitaale/ nk^hulu. ‘In Merca there is a large hospital.’
ndila ya Marka ‘the road to Merca’
- markabu** n. 9/10 [Ar. *markab* W 357] ship
Ifungu ya piiji/ ilate/ nda Sulṭaani/ khpata markabuze/ kiineendra. ‘The second portion, leave it, it is the sultan’s, so that his ships get to move about.’
Markabu/ iyi/ ifanyiza ka ḍahabu. ‘This ship is made from gold.’
Markabu nk^huluunk^hulu/ schizaama/ ka ḍarba... ‘If big ships sink in a storm...’
markabu ya kuuluka ‘airplane [lit. ship of flying]’
markabu ya mayiini ‘ship [lit. ship of in water]’
Mwanaamkewa/ nakhsula kulangala markabuyo. ‘My daughter wants to see your ship.’
Sanduukhu/ ipanziizapó/ markabuuni/ mwaana/ chamura inatiḷoowa/ kaake/ mṭanaani. ‘When the box was loaded onto the ship, the boy ordered that it be put in his room.’
- maroone** adj. [Ital. *marrone*] brown
- marqaani** n. euphoria
qaati/ inayo marqaani ‘qaati has an euphoric effect’
- marsha** n. 9/10 [Ital. *marcia*] gear
khṭomola marsha ‘to put into neutral, disengage the gears’
khṭila marsha ‘to engage the gears’
kubadila marsha ‘to change gears’

martaba

n. [Sac. 508 cites *martaba* from northern Swahili dialects as a little used word, but gives its use as being similar to Sw. *tabia*, while the Chimiini usage seems to be more related to the Arabic form, *martaba* "rank, degree, class", cited by Sac. as the source of this word, see W 325] high rank, position

martī

n. [Som. *martī* DSI 420] guest (from out of town), visitor (who comes for a meal)
Ahmadi/ nayo martī. 'Ahmadi has a visitor.' (Cf. **Ahmadi/ nazo martī.** 'Ahmadi has visitors.')
ba'adi ya martī 'some of the guests'
Chiwa'ambila martīze/ kuwa kilaa chiint^hu/ ni tayaari/ numbaani. 'He told his guests that everything was ready at the house.'
Ile martī/ mooyi/ mi/ siisi/ inaye. 'A visitor came, I do not know his name.'
kubiga martī 'to invite for a meal, to provide a meal for a guest'
Khulipa ihsaniyo/ mi/ mukeewa/ na waanawá/ chinakhsulaa we/ kuya kiitu/ shpate khupiga martī. 'In order to repay you for your favor, I, my wife, and my children want for you to come to our place so that we may provide a meal for you.'
Mi/ ni laazima/ khupeleka/ kiitu/ mp^hate khubiga martī/ na apajé/ pata kubaratana/ na ndruuzaza/ wote. 'I must take you to our place so that I can give you a meal, and there (you) can get acquainted with all my relatives.'
Maadamu/ duniyaani/ ni martī. 'A human being is a guest in this world.'

(A proverb.)

Martī/ ni skuu mbili/ tu/ shkalan^ha sku niingi/ hukaha^oowa. 'A guest is just for two days; if he stays longer, he will be hated.' (A proverb.)

Martī/ nnayo numbaani. 'A guest, I have one in the house.' Cf. **Martī/ nnawo numbaani.** 'A guest/ the guest, I have in the house.'

Martī/ ni nk^huku mwelpe. 'A foreigner is like a white hen.' (A proverb.)

Martī/ umo numbaani. 'A guest is in the house.' Cf. **Martī wamo** (or: **zimo**) **numbaani.** 'Guests are in the house.'

Martī wiitu/ ile numbaani. 'Our guest arrived at the house.'

martī/ wont^he 'all the guests'

martī ziitu 'our guests'

Mwaarabu/ chimpa khaadimu/ amri/ kumbiga oyo/ martīye/ ndruti miya/ ziseeló. 'The Arab ordered the servant to beat that one, his guest, the one hundred blows that remained.'

Mwaarabu/ na martīyé/ wamalizopo kosha mikonó/ wachanzaa kuja. 'When the Arab and his guest washed their hands, they began to eat.'

Nnayo martī/ numbaani. 'I have a guest in the house.' Cf. **Nnazo martī/ numbaani.** 'I have guests in the house.' Cf. **Nnawo martī/ numbaani.** 'I have guest/ guests (definite or indefinite) in the house.'

Uko martī. 'There is a guest.'

Uko martī/ ka Ahmadi. 'There is a visitor at Ahmadi's place.'

Wako martī. 'There are guests.'

Wako martī/ ka Ahmadi. 'There are visitors at Ahmadi's place.'

Marwa

n. one of two hills, now located in the Masjid al-Haram in Mecca, between which Muslims go back and forth seven times during the pilgrimages Hajj and Umrah (the other hill is Safa) and Safa'

chiruzuqe khfakata marwa na safu [st.] 'allow us to run (between) Marwa

marwaha

n. [Som. *marwaxad* or *marwaxo* DSI 417, cf. Ar. *mirwaha* "ventilator" W 365] electric fan

- mas'ala* n. [Ar. *mas'ala* W 391] riddle, problem (i.e. something to be understood), issue
khfungula mas'ala 'to solve a riddle'
ndruuza ni waajibu amri ya diini/ khaansa kiwoowa mas'ala sitini [st.] 'O my friends, you must learn what our religion commands, especially with respect to sixty issues'
Nimwađihishilize Jaamá/ mas'alá. 'I explained the problem to Jaama.'
- mas'uuli* adj. [Ar. *mas'ul* W 391] responsible, dependable
chijint^hu chimas'uuli 'a responsible dim. person'
Kuła muunt^hu/ ni mas'uuli/ na waanawe. 'Each person is responsible for his children.'
munt^hu mas'uuli 'a responsible person' (cf. **want^hu mas'uuli** 'responsible people') (Observe that this adjective is invariant, showing no agreement, except when modifying a derived nominal such as the diminutive; see above.)
Nayo mas'uuli. 'He has the responsibility (for something).'
- rel.
mas'uuli(ya) n. 9/10 [Ar. *mas'uliyā* W 391] responsibility
kandika mas'uuliya 'to burden someone with a responsibility'
kandika ruuhuye/ mas'uuliya 'to assume a responsibility'
Bakari/ andishile ruuhuye/ mas'uuliya. 'Bakari assumed responsibility.'
kandikisha mas'uuliya 'to cause someone to take a responsibility'
khukula mas'uuli 'to take on a responsibility'
khtala mas'uuli 'to take on a responsibility'
mas'uli iyi 'this responsibility'; **mas'uli izi** 'these responsibilities'
Mwaana/ chimpa/ kiła/ mooyi/ mas'uuliya/ nk^hulu. 'The boy gave each one an important responsibility.'
- masahaaba* n. [Sw. *masahaba* SSED 261; Ar. *aş-sahāba* "the companions of the Prophet Mohammed" W 504] friends of the Prophet
wazuure masahaaba wont'e waawo/ karka Madina tuundra barka zaawo [st.] 'you should visit all of the companions of the Prophet/ in Medina, and gather their blessings'
- masaajo* n. vapor rub
kumpaka masaajo 'to apply vapor rub'
kununk^ha masaajo 'to inhale vapor rub'
Maana/ namkandrila maalimu/ masaajo. 'The child is massaging the teacher with a vapor rub.'
- masaakiini* n. pl. (cf. *maskiini*) [cf. Sw. *maskini* SSED 262; Ar. *masākīn* pl. of *miskīn* W 909] poor people
kawanyilizowa masaakiini 'to be distributed to poor people'
- masalkheeri* invar. good evening
Leelo/ karkaa ye/ nakhpitó/ muke/ chimwaambila/ masalkheeri/ bwaana/ muđli/ naayé/ ka heshma/ na darajá/ chijiba salaamu. 'Today while he was passing by, the woman said to him: good evening, sir; the man also with respect and dignity answered her greeting.'
- mash'ada* n. martyrdom
Hasani peete mash'ada/ karka Firdowsi maq'ada [st.] 'But Hasani got martyrdom and a seat in Firdous.'

- mashakha** n. [Ar. *mašaqqa* W 480] observed in the phrase:
kuwona mashakha ‘to be in difficulty’
- mashaakili** n. pl. (cf. **mushkila**) [Ar. *mašākil*, plural of *muškila* W 483] different sorts of worries, frustrations
Sababu/ ya safari/ iyi/ iṭaakuwa/ ni kumeera/ kuhila/ ba’aḍi/ ya mashaakili/ yasabibiiló/ makosanyó/ benaa nṯhi/ izii mbili. ‘The reason for this trip will be to seek to solve some of the problems that have caused misunderstandings between these two countries.’
- maashe** invar. adj. [possibly related to Som. *il* ‘eye’ DSI 323, which becomes *isha* with the attachment of the article; see also Tunni *iša* ‘eye’ TOSC o 219] blind in both eyes; ‘blind’ in the sense of not understanding, not seeing the truth
Basi/ basi/ ayo majini/ wachiwa kana maashe/ nṯhawamwona/ ba. ‘So, so those djinns became like blind men, they didn’t see him at all.’
Dawa ije/ imfanyize maashe. ‘That medicine made him blind.’ Cf.
Imfanyizo maashé/ ni dawa ije. ‘What made him blind is that medicine.’
khfanya maashe ‘to make blind’
Lizile masku/ na muunt^hi/ masku/ na muunt^hi/ haṭá/ tozele maṭo/ wele maashe. ‘He cried night and day. night and day, until he lost his eyes (i.e. sight) and became blind.’
mashe uyu ‘this blind person’
Mi/ takeendra/ takhfanya ruuhuya/ maashe. ‘I will go (to her) and pretend to be blind.’ (Observe that the first person subject prefix can be null in the future tense.)
Nṯanakuwona/ kana munt^hu maashe. ‘He is not seeing, like a blind man.’
munt^hu maashe ‘a blind person’ (cf. **want^hu maashe** ‘blind people’, but **chijana chimaashe, ijana imaashe**, etc.)’
- mashghuuli** adj. [cf. Sw. *shughuli* SSED 426; Ar. *mašgūl* W 477] busy
- mashhuri** adj. [Sw. *mashuhuri* SSED 262; Ar. *mašhūr* W 490] famous
munt^hu mashhuuri ‘someone famous’; **want^hu mahhuuri** ‘famous people’; **chijana (chi)mashhuuri** ‘dim. famous child’; **ijana (i)mashhuuri** ‘famous aug. child’
- mashiriqi** n. [Sw. *mashariki* SSED 261; Ar. *mašriq* W 468] east, the direction where the sun rises
- mashruu’i** n. [Ar. *mašrū* ‘ W 466] plan, project
khfanya mashruu’i ‘to make a plan; to set up a business’
Hamadi/ na Omari/ wafanyize mashruu’i/ ya kuwaka mijuumba. ‘Hamadi and Omari made a project for building houses.’ (In the recording of this sentence, **mashruu’i** was not downstepped, while its associative complement was downstepped relative to it.)
- mashṯaayṯa** n. [Sw. *mashtata* ‘the remains of seed after oil has been skimmed off’ SSED 261] sesame seeds
Saalé/ mashṯaayṯa/ mahala zikoo nk^huku. ‘Don’t spread sesame seeds where there are chickens.’
- masiiha** n. [Sw. *masihiya* SSED 262] a Christian
- ku-masiirata** v. [Som. verb *masayr* DSI 423] (**masireete**) be jealous
Wakulu wa muuyi/ wachimasiirata/ washtila muyiini/ ya kuwa mwanaamke/ wa sultaani/ pozele ka nasiibu/ tu/ siwo/ ka khisa kuwaa dawa/ za Abdalla/ mpeeló. ‘The chiefs of the town became jealous and [lit.] put in the town that the daughter of the sultan had gotten well just by chance, not because of the medicine that Abdalla had given her.’
rel.

ku-masiirisha v. caus. (**masirishiize**) make jealous

Ji/ mmasirishizee muke. ‘Ji made his wife jealous.’

ku-masirishana v. caus. rec.

ku-masirishika v. caus. p/s.

ku-masirishiliza v. caus. appl. (**masirishiliize**)

Ji/ mmasirishilize Nureeni/ muke. ‘Ji made Nureeni’s wife jealous.’ (In the causative benefactive applied verb, the “beneficiary” controls the OM on the verb. Recall that the beneficiary may often be understood to mean the person related or connected to the causee. In the present sentence where the causee and the beneficiary belong to the same noun class, the overt beneficiary NP cannot be omitted: ***Ji/ mmasirishilizee muke.** ‘Ji caused someone’s wife to be jealous.’)

ku-masirishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Ji/ na Habiibi/ wamasirishilizenyee wake. ‘Ji and Habiibi made one another’s wives jealous.’

masiiri

n. [Som. *masayr* DSI 423] jealousy

khfanya masiiri ‘to show jealousy’

khshikowa masiiri ‘to be affected (lit. caught) by jealousy’

Haliima/ shishiila masiiri/ muhliwe/ kumnolaa muke/ wa piili.

‘Haliima was caught by jealousy (because of) her husband marrying a second wife.’ (In the recording of this sentence, **muhliwe** was not downstepped.)

khtila masiiri ‘to make jealous’

Hamadi/ uzile gaari/ suura/ haṭá/ int’hile masiiri. ‘Hamadi bought a good car (lit. until) it made me jealous.’ (In the recording of this sentence, **suura** is not downstepped nor **haṭá**.)

kuwanayo masiiri ‘to be jealous’

Omari chihaba/ nayo masiiri/ ya kuzaliilowa mana miingine.

‘Omari the small/junior is jealous because of having been born on another child (i.e. his mother gave birth to another child).’ (In the recording of this sentence, **masiiri** was not downstepped.)

Wanayo masiiri. ‘They are jealous.’

mwenye masiiri ‘jealous -- lit. owner of jealousy’

humasiraṭila. ‘Hamadi is too jealous, to the point that he gets jealous of even small things.’ (In the recording of this sentence, both **miingi** and **chihaba** are not downstepped.)

masiroole

adj. jealous

masirtiri

n. [Som. *masayrtir* DSI 423] a gift presented by husband to wife, to assuage her jealousy when he is marrying another woman

maska

n. [Sw. *masika* "the season of the greater rains, when the hot north monsoon gives way to the cooler south. Corresponding to autumn in northern latitudes." SSED 262] fig. a chaotic situation

bahari maska ‘rough sea (esp. June to August)’ (Etym. Although *maska* obviously is connected to Sw. *masika*, the pattern of rainfall is different in Somalia and East Africa and the southern monsoon is also much stronger in Somalia than farther south. **Maska** refers to rough sea, which corresponds mainly (but not exclusively) to months of June to August (when southern monsoon is at its peak) and not to the (spring) months when the north winds change to south (like *masika*). The reference in SSED to “autumn” is misleading.)

maaskara

n. [Ital. *maschera*] mask

maskaraato

adj. [Ital. *mascherato*] masked

maskiini

n., adj. [Sw. *maskini* SSED 262; Ar. *miskīn* W 909] poor person

Maamaye/ maskiini/ na waawayé. ‘His mother was poor and his father also.’

Mapendo ya maskiini/ hayawonekani. ‘The love of a poor person is not

seen.' (A proverb.)

Maskiini/ basi/ waawaye/ maskiini/ na maamayé/ maskiini/ waako/ waako/ hattá/ leelo/ waawaye/ chiwa hakhaadiri/ chifa. 'So [this] poor [one], his father was poor and his mother was poor; they stayed and stayed until one day his father became sick and died.'

Maskiini/ haataali. 'A poor person does not choose -- i.e. he cannot be choosy, he has to settle for whatever he can get.' (A proverb, equal to the English "beggars can't be choosers".)

Maskiini/ histirika/ kaawo/ dhibuye/ hanza chiwa mgeeni. 'A poor man's problems/ difficulties are not seen in his own country, his difficulties begin when he becomes a stranger (in another country).'

Muke uyu/ mukhtaa ye/ weno kuwa ni maskiini/ ichimwelela ni laazima/ ye/ kumpeleka/ mwaanawe/ madrasaani/ napate kubarata kila chiint^hu. 'When this woman saw that she was poor, it became a must for her to send her son to school that he could get to learn everything.'

Mwaana/ wa maskiini/ chimloola/ mwanaamke/ wa mzele Simsini. 'The boy from a poor [family] married the daughter of old Simsini.'

Waawaye/ maskiini/ na maamayé/ maskiini. 'His father was poor and his mother was poor.'

rel.

masaakiini [Ar. *masākīn* W 909] (pl.) poor

Waaliko/ maana/ wa masaakiini. 'There was a child of poor parents.' (Phon. In the performance of this sentence on tape, **maana** was realized with the H pitch on the penult continuing onto the final vowel, while **masaakiini** was pronounced with an exaggerated long penult vowel, and its H pitch also continued over to the final syllable.)

masku

n. [see *ma-sku*] night

Isa/ ni sa'a nt^hatu za masku. 'Now it is 9 p.m. (lit. third hour at night).'

(An alternative phrasing is: **Isa/ ni sa'aa nt^hatu/ za masku.**)

kharibu ya masku or **khariibu/ ya masku** 'around night time'

Masku/ mp^hisi/ chiya chija kuulu/ iyo/ ciyolokela. 'At night the hyena came and ate that leg and went away.'

Masku/ na muunt^hi/ hawaaji/ hawaani/ hattá/ khariibu/ kufa/ ba. 'Night and day they do not eat, they do not drink, until (they are) near to dying.'

maslaha

n. 9/10 recommendations; s.t. of interest or pertinence or benefit to s.o.

khpendanoowa ni maslaha[song] 'to love each other is a benefit'

maslahaya 'my interest', **maslahaza** 'my interests'

Sho kiwa maslahaye/ ni dokhani. 'One who does not know his interest is

stupid.' (A proverb.)

Wazeele/ huuya/ hufanya maslaha. 'Elderly people came and made recommendations.'

maso

n. [no etymological source known] edge

Inayoo maso/ kana chireeza. 'It has a sharp edge like a razor.'

shoo maso 'blunt -- lit. without an edge'

mastuuri

adj. [Ar. *mastūr* W 397] s.t. covered, concealed, not exposed; s.o. who keeps secrets; s.o. who is getting along (i.e. doing alright economically, and thus his affairs are not known to others)

Haaliye/ mastuuri. 'He is getting along [lit. his condition is hidden].'

Ni muunt^hu/ mastuuri. 'He is a man with means **barely** sufficient for his survival.'

mataalibu

n. 10 goals, purposes, things that are requested

- maṭbaʼa** n. [Ar. *maṭbaʼa* W 552] printing house; printing press
- maṭeli** n. [no etymological source found]
kubiga maṭeli ‘to criticize someone’s behavior indirectly (e.g. by pointing out similar things that were done and did not turn out well); to praise someone ironically (in fact criticizing)’
Nureeni/ mbishile Baana/ maṭeli. ‘Nureeni criticized Baana indirectly.’
- maṭiini** adj. [Ar. *maṭin* W 891] strong, firm
lkambala maṭiini ‘a strong rope’
- maṭlaʼi** n. [Sw. *maṭlai* "sunrise, the east, east wind, morning wind" SSED 263; Ar. *maṭla* ‘daybreak, dawn’ W 565] morning wind
- maṭobooshi** n. [Sw. *maṭoboshi*] a dessert made by mixing flour with a little oil, forming the resulting paste into round lumps and cooking them with coconut milk
- maṭruudi** adj. [Ar. *ṭarada* W 556] banished, driven out
mooja chijiibe / sichiwe maṭruudi [st.] ‘may God answer us, so that we are not banished (from paradise)’
- mataban** n. meter band; [pron. **matabán**]
Iyi/ ni raadiyo/ isho wenewe/ hufafisho khabari/ maraa nṭatu/ kiḷa muunṭi/ ilu ya mataban/ thalathina mooyi/ arbaʼin naa mbili/ na arbaʼin na keendrá. ‘This is Free Radio which broadcasts the news three times each day on meter band 31, 42, and 49.’
- mate** n. 6 [Sw. *mate* SSED 263] spit (It is likely that this noun should be regarded as consisting of a prefix *ma-* and a stem *-te*, but we lack any clear evidence at present for a use of *-te* that is independent of the prefix *ma-*.)
Mate/ hayaʼondroki/ iḷa/ ka ṃtaanga. ‘Spit can not be picked up (from the floor) except with some sand.’ (A proverb, which conveys a meaning something like the English “where there’s smoke, there’s fire”; it is saying that if there are little hints that something is the case, then likely there is really something true behind these hints. The spit is seen as the hints, the sand is what supports these hints.)
- mathalan** for example
- mathali** for example
- mauliidi** n.
khfanya mauliidi ‘to perform, celebrate **mauliidi**’
- maayi** n. 6 [Sw. *maji* SSED 254] water (It is quite possible that this noun should be analyzed as having the morphological structure {m-aayi} or even {maa-yi}, but we have no conclusive evidence bearing on this matter.)
Hugura kharibu yaa wowi/ kuwa kharibu ya maayi. ‘They move near the river to be near water.’
Kamaa we/ nakhsula maayiyá/ yotté/ mi/ nṭakhupa/ laakini/ ka sharṭi mooyi. ‘If you want all my water, I will give it to you, but on one condition.’
kḥindika maayi ‘for water to be cut off’
Leelo/ ikumi/ maayi/ yaṭindishile. ‘Today is ten days since the water was cut off.’
kumuna/ kana maayi ‘to drink him like water – e.g. of a stronger person dominating, overwhelming someone’
mayi melpe ‘[lit. white water] plain water, as opposed to **mayi mahuundru** [lit. red water] tea or soft drinks’
Maayi/ yadirshilee nguwo. ‘The clothes got wet.’

Maayi(ye)/ kooko/ mulo(we)/ kooko. ‘(May) his water be far away, his fire far away.’ (A kind of prayer -- let it, some disaster, be there, far away, and not come here to us.)

mwenye maayi ‘one who sells water’

Wachendra ka maayi/ wachiyavunaanga/ maayi/ yachiwa’uza/ nini/ makosaya/ mbona/ nnakuvunangoowá/ mi. ‘They went to the water and they beat it, and the water asked them, what are my faults, how come I am being beaten?’ (Morph. The [cl.6] classification of **maayi** is indicated in this passage by the *ya* object prefix in **wachiyavunaanga**, by the *ya* subject prefix in **yachiwa’uza**, and the *y* possessive agreement in **makosaya**.)

We/ nayo maayi. ‘Do you have water?’

We/ ni maayi/ huzimizoo muló/ mulo/ hudhayishoo chisú... ‘You are the water that extinguishes fire, the fire that melts the knife...’

ku-mayiza

v. [Ar. *māza, maiz* W 933] (**mayiziize**) distinguish, discern

mayleli

in the expression:

kubiga mayleli ‘to ululate (as during a wedding), jump and clap with joy’

Haliima/ furahiile/ maanawe/ khshiindra/ nakubiga mayleli.

‘Haliima is happy her child won, she is jumping, clapping etc.’

Wake/ wanakubiga mayleli. ‘The women are ululating.’

maymaayi

adj. [reduplicated form of *maayi*] wet

Iwafanyize bardi/ na nt^hawakuwanaayo/ yaawo/ khfinikila ruhu zaawo/ ka khisa buraangeeti/ zaawo/ zotte/ zivaliko maymaayi. ‘They felt cold and they did not have anything to cover themselves with since all their blankets were wet.’ (Syn. Notice the initial clause, **iwafanyize bardi**, which has a [cl.9] subject prefix triggered by **bardi** and a [cl.2] object prefix triggered by the implicit noun **wabjaana** ‘young men’.)

Nt^hi/ ni maymaayi. ‘The ground is wet.’

mayti

n. 1,9/2,10 [Sw. *maiti* SSED 254; Ar. *mayyit* W 930] corpse, dead body (The following set of examples display a complex agreement pattern for this noun. The fact that **mayti** may be either singular or plural in meaning suggests a [cl.9/10] noun. The associative forms below, **mayti ya..** and **mayt za...** reflect this categorization, as does the subject agreement in **yiko apó** in the first example and **ikaghetē...** in a later example. The possessive form **maytiye** also reflects a [cl.9] noun, but **mayti waawo** reflects a [cl.2] noun. The demonstratives **mayti uyu** and **mayti awa** reflect [cl.1/2] agreement, as does **mayti ump^hi** and **mayti waamp^hi**. However, it is not the case that these agreements are all invariable -- e.g. **mayti uyu** and **mayti iyi** are both possible.)

Apo/ tawala/ wene majini/ miingi/ wakumangeene/ kulanga la mayti/ yiko apó/ tawala. ‘There at the sea, he saw many djinns gathered to look at a corpse that was there at the sea.’

Apo/ ye/ chiwawona/ waant^hu/ watatu/ kila/ mooyi/ naloo luti/

mkonooni/ nambigila mayti/ ukoo nt^hi/ apó. ‘There he saw three people, each one with a stick in his hand, beating a corpse that was on the ground there.’

bardi/ kana mayti ‘as cold as a corpse’

Haliima/ mbardi/ kana mayti. ‘Haliima is as cold as a corpse (usu. used to refer to someone very sick whose body is cold).’

-enye mayti ‘the relatives etc. of a dead person’

muunt^hi oyo wemye mayti hiskitika [st.] ‘because on that day the people of the dead person are feeling sad’

Hakooði/ kana mayti. ‘He is as quiet as a corpse (lit. he does not speak like a corpse).’

Haliima/ leele/ kana/ mayti. ‘Haliima slept like a corpse (i.e. soundly, for a long time).’

Ichiwa/ mayti/ ya maana/ waant^hu/ hurasha ka chinume. ‘If it be that the

corpse is a child, people follow behind [the corpse].

If it a child dead, people walk back of the dead. child body is not put/carried in janaaza/bar/wooden box it is carried by one person only in kafani.

kana/ mayti 'like a corpse'

Omari/ ha'infi chiint^hu/ ni kana/ mayti. 'Omari is of no use for anything, he is like a corpse.'

Leeló/ ni mayti. 'One who is asleep is dead.' (A proverb.)

Mayti/ hamziiki/ mayti. 'A corpse cannot bury a corpse.' (A proverb.)

Mayti mooyi/ hamziiki/ mayti/ mweenziwe. 'One corpse cannot bury the corpse of his companion.' (A proverb.)

mayti ump^hi 'which corpse' (cf. **mayti waamp^hi** 'which corpses')

mayti uyu 'this corpse' (cf. **mayti awa** 'these corpses')

Mayti/ ya maana/ ha'itukulowi ka janaazi/ hutukulowa na munt^hu mooyi/ tu/ ka kafani. 'The corpse of a child is not carried on a funeral bier, it is carried by just a single person, in a shroud.'

mayti ya Nuuru 'Nuuru's corpse' (cf. **mayti za waant^hu** 'the corpses of people')

Mayti ya Nuuru/ ikaghe^he ka iwa. 'The corpse of Nuuru was dried up by the sun.'

maytiye 'his corpse' (cf. **mayti waawo** 'their corpses')

Maytiye/ ileele/ ndilaani. 'His corpse lay outside.'

Mwosha mayti/ hoshoo^hwa. 'The washer of corpses will be washed (himself).' (A proverb.)

na mayti ziitu/ zilelo nt^hini ya barafú 'and our dead bodies laying under the snow'

Noloshele numbaani/ ka Haliimá/ kaawó/ wotte/ waleele/ kana/ mayti. I went to Haliima's house; all there were asleep, like corpses.'

Tomele mayti ya eelo/ ka chisimaani. 'He took the corpse of the gazelle from the well.'

Wamzishile mayti. 'They buried the corpse.'

Yamlesele mayti/ yamlonzele sul^htaani/ na^htomole amri/ ku'aqibowa qaatili/ wa mayti/ uyu (although **iyi** is also possible here). 'They [the djinns] brought the corpse and begged the sultan to issue an order that the killer of this dead man be punished.'

maza part. [no etymological source found] how come? so, given what you just said; (as a reply: of course! exactly so! e.g. did you attend the wedding feast? answer: **mazá** [pron. **mazá**] 'of course (I went)')

Basi/ chimala/ teena/ wachimwaambila/ mazá/ maamé/ takhtambulaayi/ maskiini. 'So then after that, they said to her: how, my mother, will he differentiated (the two things), the poor man.'

Maamé/ takhtambulaayi/ mazá. 'My mother, how will he tell the difference (we ask)?'

Mazá/ jilé. 'So, did you eat?'

Mazá/ mi/ khufanyeeyi. 'What shall I do for you?'

Mazá/ mwambileni. 'So, what did you tell him.' (This sentence might be a response to someone else who said: **Osmaani/ ile kumera kaaka/ peesa/ we/ namwiwa kuwa haalipi.** 'Osmaani came looking for money from me. You know that he never repays.')

Mazá/ mwaanawá/ yaa mi/ khurebelo ka masul^htaani/ si iyo/ yaa mi/ khurebelo ka masul^htaani/ nakhtiyó/ huleta jawabu izo. 'How come [i.e. was it not for this?], my child, that I [tried to] stop you from going to the sultan's place; is it not for that [reason] that I [tried to] stop you from going to the sultan's place, fearing, that it would bring these things.'

Mazá/ olokeleleni/ madrasaani/ chiwaa we/ nt^hunakubarata. 'So why did you go to school if you did not learn anything?'

Mi/ nk^hawa mwenyee nguvú/ jisaa ni/ nakuhadó/ mazá/ mi/ sul^ha kumlata/ ngoombé/ kuniná. 'If I [in the story, it is water

speaking] have the power that you say, how come I let the cow drink me?’

Mp^haamp^ha/ chimwaamina/ chimuuzá/ mazá/ isa/ shfanyeyéyí ‘The shark believed him [the monkey] and asked him: well, now, what shall we do?’

Mazá/ waanawe/ wachimwaambila/ mazá/ takhtambulaayi/ naa ye/ ha’isi. ‘We wonder, her children said to her, we wonder how he will differentiate (between the two poles) when he does not know how (to do it).’

Wamwambiile/ mazá/ maamé/ takhtambulaayi. ‘They said to her, how, my mother, will he differentiate (the two girls)?’

maazi n. 6 [presumably derived from a Proto-Bantu word **ma-gadi* ‘blood’ via the deletion of intervocalic *g* and the conversion of *di* to *zi*, phenomena seen elsewhere in Chimiini] blood

Awo/ wazelene ka maazi. ‘Those ones are blood-relatives.’

Hamadi/ ka sahali/ maaziye/ humpaandró. ‘Hamadi’s blood easily rises (i.e. he gets angry, excited, “hot under the collar”).’

Hamadi/ Omari/ nii muné/ wa maazi. ‘(With respect to) Hamadi, Omari is his younger brother by blood.’

Hamadi/ ^fwiizi/ yimo kaaké/ maziini. ‘Hamadi, thievery is in his blood.’

Hamadi/ sahali/ maazi/ humpaandró. ‘Hamadi easily his blood rises (as in the example above).’

kana spaandre/ za maazi ‘[lit.] like pieces of blood -- i.e., reddened, used mostly for eyes’

Maatoye/ yawele mahuundru/ kana spandre za maazi. ‘His eyes became as red as pieces of blood.’

kh_{ta}(w)anyika maazi ‘to bleed’

Yanam_ta(w)anyika maazi. ‘He is bleeding – [lit.] blood is flowing from him.’

khtila maazi ‘to be rejuvenated; to transfer blood; of someone teaching one his evil ways, bad character, etc.’

Omari/ tile maazi. ‘Omari gained weight, became healthier, stronger.’

kingila maazi ‘(lit.) to enter the blood – i.e. harm, do bad to, kill’

Muunt^hu/ siwo/ suura/ kingila maazi/ ya meenziwe. ‘It is not good for someone to harm his friend.’

Siingilé/ mazi ya want^hu. ‘Don’t get into the blood of people (i.e. harm, do bad to people)!’

ku_lawa maazi ‘to bleed’

kondroka maazi ‘for blood to rise—get angry’

Mi/ shkasa jawabu izo/ maaziya/ hunondroka. ‘When I hear those things, my blood goes up (i.e. I get angry).’

kumdegesha maazi ‘to calm someone’

kumonndrola maazi ‘to raise someone’s blood – i.e. make him angry’

Mahmuudi/ mkali/ kumondrola muunt^hu/ maazi. ‘Mahmuudi is good in making people angry.’

kuwanayo maazi ‘lit. to have blood – i.e. react vigorously, get excited, angry, respond immediately to’

Hamádi/ oo/ ni meende/ nt^haná(or: nt^hanaayo)/ maazi. ‘That Hamadi is like a cockroach, he has no (lit.) blood – i.e. he does not act, he is a coward, he does not seek to revenge what has happened to him.’

Hamadi/ ni kana meende/ nt^hanaayo/ maazi. ‘Hamadi is like a cockroach, he does not respond/ react to things.’

Hamadi/ nt^hanaayo/ maazi. ‘Hamadi does not have blood – i.e. he is passive, does not react or respond to s.t.’

Maazi/ ni mazito/ lo_lko maayi. ‘Blood is thicker (lit. heavier) than water.’ (Translation of the English saying.)

Mazi ya muunt^hu/ hayaabahi. ‘One’s blood does not get lost (i.e. you can know someone by his blood).’ (A proverb.)

maaziya ‘my blood’

Mi/ maaziya/ yapaanzile/ niizé/ khadira karka apo/ khkasa jawabu iyo.

‘My blood got up, I could not stay there and listen to that stuff.’

nama/ na maazi ‘flesh and blood’

Omari/ ni namaya/ na maaziya. ‘Omari is my flesh and blood.’

Noka/ mzimawe/ wele maazi/ naa nt^hi/ nzimayé. ‘The snake was bloody all over, and the floor all over [as well].’

Nakhuloombá/ Hamadi/ oloka/ mishkiza Omari/ maazi/ haba mooyi. ‘I beg you, Hamadi, go and calm Omari down a little.’

Nureeni/ hugita maazi. ‘Nureeni (lit. pulls blood) helps his fellow clansmen, attracts them to him.’

Omari/ ni mwenye maazi. ‘Omari has blood (he reacts immediately, gets angry etc.).’

ku-mazika

v. (**mazishile**) weep (Usage: Although this verb might be used alone, it is normally used in conjunction with **kuḷa**, as shown below.)

Isa/ naakuḷa/ nakumazika/ kana maṭaanga. ‘Now he is crying and weeping bitterly as [is done] during the mourning period.’

Mwaana/ chiḷa/ chimazika. ‘The child cried and wept.’

Omari/ ḷizile/ mazishile. ‘Omari cried and wept.’

Omari/ naakuḷa/ nakumazika. ‘Omari is crying and weeping.’

Wachiḷa/ wachimazika. ‘They were crying and weeping.’

rel.

ku-mazikila v. appl. (**mazikiliile**) weep for

Omari/ mliliile/ mazikiliile/ muné. ‘Omari cried and wept for his younger brother.’

mazu

n. 9/10 [Ar/ *mauz* W 931] banana(s)

Ambilee mazu/ ambiiló. ‘He peeled off the skin of the banana, that’s what he did.’

Mazu iyo/ ndaako. ‘That banana is yours.’ (Cf. **Mazu izo/ nzaako.** ‘Those bananas are yours.’)

mazu ya mp^huundra ‘a type of banana that is very large in size’; **mazu mashkilo ya mp^huundra** ‘(lit.) banana ears of a donkey – a type of banana’

mazu ya sukaari ‘a small, very sweet banana’

mazu ya bukeeni ‘a large banana like **mazu ya mp^huundra**; it is not very sweet, and thus cooked rather than eaten raw’

mbalmbali

adv. [Sw. *mbalimbali* SSED 256] separately

Maayi/ naa kujá/ hubḷa ka lamna mbalmbali. ‘Water and food kill in different ways.’

chi-mbalazi

n. the older name for the Chimiini language

zubadi ka chimbalazi ni toomu [st.] ‘zubadi in Chimbalazi is **toomu**’

mbali

adv. [Sw. *mbali* SSED 266] far off; different

Ile kaa mbali. ‘He came from far away.’

ma-mbaazi

n. a kind of wild fruit

mbee

ideo. the sound a goat makes; n. goat (The vowel of this ideophone is nasalized, but since this feature of pronunciation does not seem to be contrastive, we do not indicate it. The nasal onset to the syllable triggers the nasalization.)

Mbuzi/ zinaakuḷa/ mbée mbée/ zinakuhadó. ‘The goats are crying **mbee mbee**, that’s what they are saying.’

mboo

ideo. of the noise cows make

Ngoombe/ zishishilaa ndala/ zinaakuḷa/ mbóo mbóo mbóo. ‘The cows are hungry, they are crying **mboo mboo mboo.**’

mbona particle [Sw. *mbona* SSED 269] I see; why? how come?
variant form: **mboni**

Ali/ mbona/ umo numba ya waziiri. ‘Ali, I see you are in the house of the minister (i.e. how come you are in the minister’s house, you are a slave?).’

Huseeni/ chiwa’uza/ mbona/ nakhsuḷa kumuḅḷá/ mwanamke uyú.
‘Huseen asked them, I see that you want to kill this girl?’

Mboná/ Hamadi/ nt^hakuuya/ so. ‘I am surprised Hamadi didn’t come.’

Mboná/ Hamadi/ ukopi. ‘Where is Hamadi (I am surprised he is not here)?’ Or: **Hamadi/ ukopi/ mboná.** Or: **Ukopi/ Hamadi/ mbo.** Or: **Mboná/ ukopi/ Hamadi.**

Mbona/ hulimi/ teena. ‘I notice that you do not farm anymore.’

Mbona/ mi/ nakuwona ajabú. ‘(Do you see?) I see something amazing!’

Mbona/ naakuḷa/ Muusa. ‘How come Muusa is crying?’ (Syn. In this sentence, the subject is postposed after the verb. This postposed subject cannot be phrased with the verb: ***Mbona/ nakuḷa Muusa.**

Mbona/ rudiilé. ‘How come you came back?’

Mbona/ we/ ile mikono mitupú. ‘How come you have come empty-handed.’

Mboni/ mi/ nakuharfisha harfú/ mbali/ leeló. ‘How come I smell a different smell today?’

Mboni/ we/ ragiilé. ‘How come you are late?’

Muná/ mboni/ we/ naakuḷá. ‘My little sister, why are you crying?’

Nimuuzizopó/ iweleeyí/ nuumbayé/ njibiile... ‘When I asked him how it had become his house, he answered me...’

Nimuuzizopó/ mbona umo numbaani/ ka waant^hú/ Ali/ njibiile/ kuwa iyi/ ni nuumbaye. ‘When I asked him: how come you are in someone else’s house, Ali answered me that this was his house.’

Nizuzile mazuu ^fmbiti/ sukhuuni. ‘I bought the unripe bananas at the market.’ (In this sentence there is focus on the phrase containing the object, hence the final accent of the first person past tense verb does not project past the object to the locative. If the verb is focused, the final accent does not project past the verb: **Nizuuzilé/ mazuu mbiti/ sukhuuni.** ‘I bought the unripe bananas at the market.’)

Nizuzilee mazú/ sukhuuni. ‘I bought the bananas at the market.’ (There is no internal focus in the preceding sentence. If the verb is focused, then the final accent associated with first person past tense does not project beyond the verb: **Nizuuzilé/ mazu/ sukhuuni.** ‘I bought the bananas at the market.’ If **mazu** is the topic, we can have a sentence like **Mazu/ nizuzile sukhuuni.** ‘The bananas, I bought them at the market.’)

Teena/ mooyi/ chimuza mweenziwe/ mbona/ we/ kilasku/ ka mikono miwili/ hujó/ mbona/ leelo/ ka mkono mooyi/ tu. ‘Then one asked his friend: I see you each day with two hands eat, how come today (you are eating) with just one hand?’

mbuja n. [Sw. *umbu* ‘sister if mentioned by a brother, or brother if mentioned by a sister, not used by sister to sister or brother to brother’ SSED 498] sister (used with reference to a boy)

Basi/ bareete/ hattá/ mwanamke wa sultaani/ wele kana mbujé/ na

want^hu waawó/ wont^he/ jis’iyo. ‘So, [the poor boy] learned [=eating with the sultan’s child became his way of life] until the daughter of the sultan became like his younger sister and all her [lit. those] people just the same way [i.e. like relatives].’

Kanaa we/ nayo mbujó/ mneete. ‘If you have a sister, bring her.’

mbujá ‘my younger sister’, **mbujé** ‘his/her younger sister’, **mbujó** ‘your younger sister’; **mbujaza** ‘my younger sisters’, **mbujaze** ‘his/her younger sisters’, **mbujazo** ‘your younger sisters’; **mbuja yaawo** ‘their younger sister’, **mbuja yiinu** ‘your pl. younger sister’, **mbuja yiitu** ‘our younger sister’; **mbuja zaawo** ‘their younger sisters’, **mbuja ziinu** ‘your (pl.) younger sisters’, **mbuja ziitu** ‘our younger sisters’

Mbuja yaawo/ wo/ wachichimbiza/ wamwambiile/ tala msahaafuwo/ lawa ka apa. ‘They evicted their little sister and told her: take your Quran and get away from here.’

Mbujazá/ nakinloombá/ lawa naami/ shiriini. ‘My sisters, please (lit. I

beg you, pray that you) come to the meeting with me.’ (Note the final accent that appears in the vocative use of **mbujaza** ‘my sisters’.)

Moomo/ mbujé/ ile spitaale. ‘Moomo (a male) his sister went to the hospital.’ Or: **Ile spitaale/ Moomo/ mbujé.** ‘She went to the hospital, Moomo (a male) his sister.’

Moomo/ mbujé/ peshela spitaale. ‘Moomo (a male) his sister was taken to the hospital.’

Moomo/ peenzele/ kuwanayo mbujé. ‘Moomo (here used as a male name) wishes that he had a sister.’

mbujazá ‘o, my younger sisters’

Naani/ mbujé/ we/ mweenó/ haflaani. ‘Whose sister did you see at the party?’

Ni mbujawe/ naani/ uyu. ‘Whose sister is this?’ (It is not clear to what extent a form **mbuja-w-e** as opposed to **mbujé** etc. is possible. Gelani Mohamed did not accept the form as possible.)

u-mbukhu

ka qahri na huuri na wana umbukhu/ kaa ndruti tayaari shchitiya bundukhu [nt.] ‘overpowered, sweating, suffocating/ ready with sticks, we were fearing guns’

medalya n. [Ital. *medaglia*] medal

mehena n. [Ar. *mihna* W 895] difficulty, preoccupation
variant form: **mihna**

ondrola mehena mwiisho shpe khatima [song] ‘take away preoccupation and in the end give us a good end’

meeli n. 9/10 [Sw. *maili* SSED 254; Eng. *mile*] mile

meeli mbili ‘two miles’

Edgar Evans/ waliko munt^hu wa kaandra/ kufa/ na wiinginiwé/ wadaðaleete/ wa’ineenzele/ meli miyaa nt^hatu. ‘Edgar Evans was the first man to die and others tried hard and walked three hundred miles.’

melmeli n. [Sw. *melimeli* SSED 275; Hind.] thin, transparent cloth

mi-melo n. 4 [apparently derived from the Bantu verbal root ***mel** which is no longer used in Chimwiini] agricultural produce

meende n. 9/10 [Sw. *mende* SSED 275] cockroach

Hamadi/ oo/ ni meende/ nt^haná(or: nt^hanaayo)/ maazi. ‘That Hamadi is like a cockroach, he has no (lit.) blood – i.e. he does not act, he is a coward, he does not seek to revenge what has happened to him.’

Meende zimo cholooni. ‘There are cockroaches in the toilet.’

Mikooni/ zimo meende. ‘There are cockroaches in the kitchen.’

sumu ya meende ‘the poison of a cockroach’

rel.

chi-meende (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim.

ku-meera v. [Som. *meer* DSI 429] (**mereele**) search for, ask for, seek, look for, trace, go/turn around

Basi/ kheeri/ mi/ mmeree muke. ‘Therefore it is best that I look for a wife.’

Chimera kaa wo/ iðni/ yaa ye/ kumpandriila Harun Rashiidi. ‘He asked them for permission to go to up to see Haruun Rashiidi.’

Chimera nuumba/ ya sulṭaani. ‘He looked for the house of the sultan.’

Ile kumeeraní. ‘You came looking for what?’ (It is only the final accent on

the infinitive that tells us that the subject is 'you' rather than '(s)he'.)

kumeera/ kana duwaara 'to go around like a kite (never staying in one place)'

kumeraa muke 'to ask for a woman's hand in marriage'

kumera waant^hu '[lit.] to look for people -- meaning: to be sociable, to keep close social relations'

We/ hummeeri/ muunt^hu. 'You do not look for anybody, i.e. you do not call on people or ask about their wellbeing (a serious criticism in the Bravanese community).'

Kumeera/ siwo/ khpata. 'To look for is not (the same as) getting.' (A proverb.)

Laakini/ chimeera/ asli yaawo/ wo/ hulawaangana/ lamnaa nt^hatu. 'But if you trace their ancestors, they are divided into three groups.'

Meera. 'Search for it!' Cf. **Meraani.** 'You (pl.) search for it!'

Merani maali. 'Look for money!'

Merele khsaydoowa. 'He sought help (lit. to be helped).'

Mmera chotte/ hukosa chotte. 'The one who seeks all, loses all.' (A proverb.)

Mmereel^e/ nfunguloza/ kilaa maha^la. 'I looked for my keys everywhere.'

Mmerele peesa. 'I searched for money.'

Muke/ oyo/ muzize Sa'iidi/ ile kumeerani. 'That woman asked Sa'iidi: you came looking for what?'

Mwana mwiingine/ mi/ simmeeri/ hingilo kaaká/ illa/ ni mwana u(y)u. 'I will not look for another child who has entered my place [and stolen the missing shoe], except/only this child.'

Nammera mubliwá/ Nureeni. 'I am looking for my husband Nureeni.'

Nammera Nureeni/ mubliwa. 'I am looking for Nureeni my husband.'

Nammera Tuuma. 'I am looking for Tuuma.'

Ndovu/ chimera mazaaydi. 'The elephant asked for more.'

Nile kumeraa muké/ mzeele/ nt^ho. 'I came looking for a very old woman.'

Niwamerele wimbili wont^hé. 'I looked for all the boys.' Or, with the quantifier separated phrasally: **Niwamerele wiimbili/ wont^hé.** and **Niwamerele wiimbili/ wont^he.** Or, with verb focus: **Niwamereel^e/ wiimbili/ wont^he.**

Oloshale kumera peesa/ ka waawaye. 'He went looking for money from his father.'

Oloshale kumera waawaye/ sukhuuni. 'He went for his father in the market.'

Simereeni. 'You (pl.) do not search for it!'

Simereeni/ maali. 'You (pl.) do not search for money!'

Skumeera/ peesa. 'I did not look for money.'

Wachimeera/ nt^hi suura/ washfanya muundra/ na wachaala/ matuundra/ naa mbogá. 'They looked for some good land (and) made a garden, and they planted fruits and vegetables.'

Wo/ wachimera maayi/ ka apa/ na apa. 'They looked for water here and there.'

Zinakumera khabari kuwa... 'The news is getting around that...'

rel.

ku-merameera v. freq.

Hayawaani/ zotte/ karkaa wo/ wanakumeromero maayi/ wachiwona/ chisima/ chiwelo shkavú. 'While all the animals were searching for water, they saw a well which had become dry.'

tu. 'The husband told her: keep looking, the tobacco must be there at that very place.'

ku-meere^la v. appl. (*merelele*)

Basi/ we/ mwene^we/ mmere^laa muke/ mweema. 'Therefore you yourself look for a good wife for me.'

ki'imere^la rizqi 'to look for daily sustenance for oneself'

sultan.’

kumere_laa muke ‘to look for a woman’s hand in marriage for s.o.’

Mamaye mwaana/ chimere_laa mwaanawe/ muke/ chimloza. ‘The boy’s mother looked for a wife for her son and married him [i.e. caused him to marry her].’ (Syn. The construction **mamaye mwaana** is not acceptable to many Chimiini speakers, but was routinely used by MI.)

Mi/ khumere_lee_lee muke/ ka sultaani. ‘I sought a wife for you from the

Nikhumere_lee_lé/ festaani/ laakini/ sikhuwona. ‘I looked for you at the party, but I did not see you.’

ku-mere_loowa v. appl.

Munt^hu nakumere_loowá/ ni uyu. ‘The man who is being looked for is this one.’ Or: **Muunt^hu/ nakumere_loowá/ ni uyu.** Or: **Uyu/ ni munt^hu nakumere_loowá.** Or: **Uje munt^hu nakumere_loowá/ ni uyu.**

ku-meroowa v. pass. (**mere_laa**) be searched for; for a woman to be asked in marriage (not directly, but through her family)

Muunt^hu/ nakumeroowa. ‘The person is being looked for.’

Munt^hu nakumeroowá/ ni uyu. ‘The person being looked for is this one.’

(When comparing this and the preceding example, note that the

segmental make up of the main clause present passive verb and the relative present passive verb is the same. The difference is prosodic: the relative has final accent, while the main clause version has penult accent, at least in the case of a third person subject. Note also that in the main clause version, the subject **muunt^hu** is a separate phrase and as a result its penult syllable surfaces as long, while in the relative clause version the head may phrase with the verb and thus have neither an accent nor a long vowel. It is, however, possible for the head to be phrased separately from the relative verb: **Muunt^hu/ nakumeroowá/ ni uyu.**)

Shtumaa nt^hume/ ka apa/ na apá/ kendroowa/ kumerowa muunt^hu/ takhaadiró/ khta_fsiirá/ ndroto izó. ‘He sent messengers here and there to be gone to be searched for a man who would be able to interpret those dreams.’ (Phon. Observe that in the relative clause, phrasal breaks occur after both verbs, but the Accentual Law of Focus does not come into play to prevent the final accent from propagating throughout the relative clause.)

Uje munt^hu nakumeroowá/ ni uyu. ‘That man being searched for is this

one.’

Uyu/ ni munt^hu nakumeroowá. ‘This one is the man being searched for.’

ku-meersha v. caus. (**mersheze**) turn s.t., take around, advertise, surround

kumersha kahawa (or: **chaayi**) ‘(lit.) to take around coffee (or tea) – i.e. to offer coffee or tea to all the people assembled (at a meeting, ceremony, etc.)’

kumershaa chi_taa ‘to rotate the head’

Meersha. ‘Take around!’ Cf. **Mershaani.** ‘You (pl.) take around!’

Mershani zoombo. ‘You (pl.) take things around!’

Mersheze nuumbaye/ kuuza. ‘He advertised his house (for sale).’

Mmersheze iziwá. ‘I took milk around.’

Simersheeni. ‘You (pl.) don’t take around!’

Simersheeni/ zoombo. ‘You (pl.) don’t take around things!’

Skumeersha/ peesa. **check the meaning**

ku-meershanya v. caus. rec. (**-mersheenyee**) make one another go around

ku-mersheleza v. caus. appl. (**mersheleeze**) take around for; turn with

Hamadi/ mmerseheleze maanawe/ nuumbaye/ tiile/ mbarakha/ seeni.

‘Hamadi has turned over his house to his son, he has signed the papers.’ **check the use of the verb here**

ku-mershoowa v. caus. pass. (**mersheeza**) be surrounded by; be caused to go around

Cheema/ huza ruuhuye/ chiwovu/ humershoowa. ‘Something good sells itself, something bad has to be advertised.’ (A proverb.)

Imersheeza/ kahawa. ‘Coffee was offered (to those assembled).’

Maayi/ ayo/ yamersheza na lkuta. ‘This water is surrounded by a wall.’

Na jazirá/ iyo/ imersheeza/ na maayi. ‘And this island is surrounded by

water.’

Ondroshelopó/ Hasiibu/ chiwona/ kuwaa ye/ mersheza na ma’askari.

‘When he awoke, Hasiibu saw that he was surrounded by soldiers.’

rel. nom.

m-meera (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who seeks

Mmera chiint^hu/ ha’ofati. ‘The seeker of something never gets tired.’ (A proverb that commonly refers to seeking an education and religious knowledge.)

Mmera chotte/ hukosa chotte. ‘The one who seeks all loses all.’ (A proverb that says: be satisfied with what you have.)

Mmera niingi/ hukosa habba. ‘The seeker of much misses a little.’ (A proverb that counsels one to be satisfied with the little that you have, since even the one who seeks a lot, misses a little.)

meetiri

n. [Ital. *metro*, pl. *metri*] meter; measuring stick

ndre/ kamba meetiri ‘as long, tall as a meter’

Taambula/ yiimp^hi/ kaḏá/ ikumi/ ba/ metri kaḏá/ alhaasili/ inakhpuunguló. ‘Distinguish which one is so long, ten meters perhaps, and which is less.’

meeza

n. 9/10 [Sw. *meza* SSED 275; Pers.] table

Lesele ijiwe? ‘Did you bring the stone?’ Possible answers: **Ee/ yiko ilu ya meeza.** ‘Yes, it is on the table.’ Or: **Ee/ yiko mezaani.** ‘Yes, it is on the table.’

Meza iyi/ nzito/ kana chuuma. ‘This table is as heavy as iron.’

Meza iyo/ ndaaka. ‘That table is mine.’ (Cf. **Meza izo/ nzaaka.** ‘Those tables are mine.’)

Nuzile mezaa nk^hulu. ‘I bought the big table.’ Cf. **Nuzile meeza/ nk^hulu.** ‘I bought a big table.’

sa’a ya meeza ‘a clock that you can put on the table’

Uzile mezaa nk^hulu. ‘He bought the big table.’ Cf. **Uzile meeza/ nk^hulu.** ‘He bought a big table.’

Waziiri/ shkalaant^ha/ mezaani/ shtala khalamu/ na lwarakhá/ chandikaa khati/ kuwa mulkuwe/ wotte/ na wataanawé/ wotte/ ye/ mpele Ali. ‘The minister sat at the table and took a pen and a piece of paper and began to write a letter [saying] that all his property and all his servants he gave to Ali.’

Wene meeza/ niingi/ na wenee ziti/ ziweeshe_{la}/ nt^hiini/ yaa miti/ karka hoosi. ‘He saw many tables and he saw chairs placed under trees in the shade.’

rel.

chi-meeza (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim. table

Chimeza icho/ ni shtaka. ‘That (dim.) table is dirty.’

Zimeza izo/ ni staka. ‘Those (dim.) tables are dirty.’

mi

independent pronoun for first person singular

Chibuuku/ nishpetee mi. ‘The book, I got it.’ (Phon. Notice that in this example, the subject pronoun **mi** is put to the post-verbal position and phrases with the verb. The postposed subject pronoun does not, however, phrase with the verb in all cases.)

Chihada/ mi/ nnakhsula khaadimú/ mooyi/ kundraasha. ‘I want one servant to accompany me.’

Mi/ ndimi/ muke oyo. ‘I am that woman (you are looking for).’

Mwaanwá/ nt^haku/ nfurahishizoo mi/ nt^ho/ kol^hkoo we. ‘My son, there is no one who has pleased me more than you.’

Njiile/ ba/ mi. gloss?

Noka ndr^humilee mi. ‘The snake bit me.’

Siimba/ njilee mi. ‘The lion ate me.’

mi-

[cl.4] noun class prefix

miti ‘trees’

mi-

[cl.4] agreement prefix on adjectives

Abunawaasi/ kaleent^he/ maduriini/ kaa muda/ wa meezi/ miwili.

‘Abunawaasi stayed in the country for two months.’

Miti aya/ nii mile. ‘These trees are tall.’ Cf. **Miti aya/ siwo/ mile.** ‘These trees are not tall.’

Miyi aya/ ni milee nt^ho. ‘These trees are very tall.’ Cf. **Miti aya/ siwo/ milee nt^ho.** ‘These trees are not very tall.’

Muundrawa/ unayo miti miṭaano/ tu. ‘My farm has only five trees.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **mkono/ na zaala** ‘a hand and fingers’.)

Nnakhsulaa miti/ yanawee milé. ‘I want that the trees be tall.’

mi’aadi

n. [Ar. *mī’ād* ‘promise, appointment’ W 1081] appointment

Hamadi/ nt^hanaayo/ mi’aadi. ‘Hamadi does not have an appointment.’

khfanya mi’aadi ‘to make an appointment’

Mi/ na Omarí/ shfanyize mi’aadi/ kudirkamana/ numbaani/ ka Nuuru/ muunt^hi/ wa mfumaa jima/ unakuuyó. ‘Me and Omari made an appointment to meet at Nuuru’s houses on the coming Saturday.’

Mi’adi yíitu/ kiilana/ ni keesho. ‘Our appointment to meet, come together, is tomorrow.’

mi’raaji

n. [Ar. *mi’rāj* W 602] the Prophet’s ascension to the heavens on the winged horse Buraq; the celebration of this event

Leelo/ masku/ ka Hamadi/ numbaani/ yiko mi’raaji. ‘Tonight at Hamadi’s house there is *mi’raaji*.’

Mi’raaji/ ni masku/ ya mtume/ pesheḷa kuzimú/ ka moojé. ‘*Mi’raaji* is the night in which Prophet Mohammed was taken to heaven to his God.’

mi’raji ni ngazi nt^hayna mithaali [st.] ‘[the Prophet’s] ascension is a ladder that has no equal’

miidaani

n. [Ar. *maidān, mīdān* W 933] open, flat piece of land (e.g. a playground) (This word is but one of a number of loanwords that have stems with an antepenult long vowel as well as a penult long vowel. When these syllables are put in an environment where neither attracts “abstract stress”, then they both shorten, as in **midani ije** ‘that open piece of land’. When the second long syllable attracts “abstract stress”, then the preceding one remains long, as in **miidaani** and in **miidaaniye** ‘its open piece of land’.)

Ibanya/ iyi/ yaliko miidaani/ ya harbi/ za qabiila. ‘This open space was the space for tribal fighting.’

miḍibu

n. [Som. *midab* DSI ??] complexion, color

Nguwo izi/ miḍibuze/ skupeenda. ‘These clothes, their colors, I did not like.’

mifa’a

n. [cf. Sw. *mfaa* ‘centre-piece of door, fixed to one valve, the other closing against it’ SSED 275] a kind of bookrest – a frame with crossed-legs and a top on which a book rests (This item is unknown to GM.)

mih(i)raabu

n. [Sw. *mhirabu* SSED 270; Ar. *mīhrāb* W 166] the apse of a mosque, which shows the direction to Mecca

Imaamu/ hupandra mihirabuuni/ kubiga k^huṭba/ ya sala yaa jima. ‘The imam climbs the *mihraabu* to give the lecture for Friday prayers.’

miiko

n. [Sw. *jiko* SSED 155] kitchen (This item is related to **ijiiko** ‘cooking stone’, which suggests that it is morphologically complex in origin, perhaps **m-iiko**.)

Baaba/ kumwona mwaanawe/ daa’imu/ umo mikooni/ kharibu yaa wake/ imkirihishiize/ nt^ho. ‘It displeased Father very much to see his son always in the kitchen near the women.’

Ye/ nt^hampeenda/ mwana waa sabba/ ka khisa/ ye/ fanyize miiko/

numbaani/ na nt^hachiḷawa/ ibenyaani/ k^hṭeza na weenziwe. ‘He did not love his seventh son because he [the seventh son] made the

kitchen his home and did not go outside to play with his companions.'

zombo za mikooni 'kitchen utensils'

mila n. [Sw. *mila* SSED 280; Ar. *milla* "religious community, faith, confession" W 918] custom, regulations, tradition, way

iyo ndiyo mila ya mtume Mustafa [st.] 'that is the way of the prophet Mustafa'

ka mila 'by law, tradition'

niingi ni khatari mila za awali/ nama koshoowake shotosheeni sahal [st.] 'many of the old customs imperil the soul, do not think that (the rule for) washing meat is easy'

thalaatha miya na ikumi ka jimla/ na watatu sho kiiwa n'anaayo mila [st.] '(there are) three hundred and ten (prophets) in total, plus three, the one who does not know this does not have religion/ faith (lit. tradition)'

Wantu awo/ n'awanaayo/ mila/ ya kurashoowa. 'Those people do not have a tradition to be followed.'

milhooyi n. [no etymology found] a kind of evil spirit (This word is not known to GM.)

ku-milka v. [Ar. *malaka, milk* "acquire, possess" W 921] (**milkiile**) own

Apo/ zamaani/ waliko sulṭaani/ mooyi/ milkilo nusu ya duniyá. 'Once upon a time there was a sultan who owned half of the world.'

kumilka ruuhu 'to control oneself'

Ichiwa Hasani/ n'anakhaadira/ kumilka ruuhuye. 'It became that Hasani could not control himself.'

Muunt'u/ humilka chaake. 'One owns/possesses his (things), i.e. one does not own that which belongs to other people.'

Waant'u/ wote/ f'wana'iwa/ kuwaa si/ hachimilki/ chiint'u. 'Everyone knows that we do not own anything.'

rel.

ku-milkisha v. caus.

We/ hukhaadiri/ kummilisha muunt'u/ chiint'u/ siwo chaaké. 'You cannot make someone the owner of things that are not his.'

ku-milkishana v. caus. rec.

ku-milkishika v. caus. p/s.

ku-milkishiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-milkishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ku-milkoowa v. pass.

Maadamu/ hamilkoowi. 'A human being is not owned, possessed.'

milki n. wealth, possessions

N'thi iyi/ ni milkiya. 'This piece of land is mine.'

stosheeni naayo haja karka milkiye [st.] 'don't think [God] needs his possessions'

Zombo izi/ ni milkiya. 'These things are mine, my possessions.'

milyooni adj. million

variant form: **milyuuni**

Isa/ n'achinakuwona chiint'u/ chinakambilowa kuwa chinakhpoowá/ doolari/ milyuuni/ miyaa mbili/ walá/ ntazinakhtomolowa/ zotte/ daf'a mooyi. 'Now we do not see anything; we are being told that we are being given two hundred million dollars, but we are not being given all of it immediately.'

Peesa/ stakhtomolowa jis'iyi/ milyooni/ miya mooyi/ stakhtomolowa ka hima/ na ba'ada miyeezii/ habá/ stakhtomolowa milyooni/ miya mo/ ziingine/ ziseeló. 'The money will be given out as follows: one hundred million will be given immediately, and after that another one hundred million will be given that remained (from the

original sum).’

l-milo

n. throat

Chimdurila chisu cha Imilo/ chimduriló. ‘He stabbed her with a knife at the throat (lit. a knife of the throat), that’s what he did.’

kumtinda Imilo [Lit.] to cut the throat -- i.e. make someone miss his daily food, earn his daily wage’

Simtiindé/ Imilo/ meenzawo. [Lit.] Do not cut your friend’s throat -- i.e. do not make him miss his daily food.’

Siwo/ suura/ muunt^hú/ kumtinda meenziwe/ Imilo. ‘It is not good for someone to cut his friend’s throat.’

Shtaala/ chimdurila cha Imilo. ‘He took (a knife) and pricked her with it at the throat (lit. of the throat).’ (Note that **cha Imilo** is an associative phrase in agreement with the missing nominal **chisu** ‘knife’.)

miilu

n. 6 (cf. **kuulu**) legs (This noun is treated as a [cl.65] noun and perhaps should be viewed as deriving from an underlying *ma+ilu*, but the singular form **kuulu** does not provide any evidence in support of such a derivation.)

iriiri/ miilu ‘the legs of trousers to be tight, narrow’

kandikana miilu ‘to put one leg over the other’

katikati ya miilu ‘between the legs’

Habadi/ impisile katiukati ya miilu. ‘A bullet passed between his legs.’

khpisanya miilu ‘to cross the legs’

khinda miilu ‘to cut the legs – i.e. to disappoint, to take s.o. somewhere without meaning, advantage, purpose, etc.’

N^hinzile miilu/ ndresele apa/ bilaa ma’ana. ‘He [lit. cut my legs] – i.e. he disappointed me, e.g. brought me here for no advantage, profit, purpose, etc.’

Simtiindé/ miilu/ ye/ maskiini. ‘Don’t cut his legs, the poor fellow – i.e. don’t send him somewhere where he will not get a profit etc.’

kolola miilu ‘to stretch the legs; rest’

kubiga miilu ‘to walk on foot’

kumbusa miilu ‘lit. to kiss someone’s legs—i.e. to honor, respect someone who had done something great for one’

kumosha miilu ‘lit. to wash one’s legs – i.e. to pay back well for a favor that has been done for one’

kumlalila miilu ‘to sleep on one’s legs’

milu mambaamba ‘thin legs’

milu manasha ‘smooth legs’

milu mapotofu ‘crooked legs’

milu mashuungi ‘hairy legs’

milu ta’abaani ‘very tired legs’

milu ya artifaale ‘artificial legs’

milu yaa baabuuri ‘tires of a truck’

milu yaa chiti ‘legs of a chair’

milu ya faatura ‘tires of a car’

milu ya gaari ‘tires of a lorry’

milu ya mawaazi ‘naked legs’

milu yaa mbu ‘lit. mosquito’s legs – i.e. thin legs’

milu ya meeza ‘legs of a table’

milu yaa muti ‘wooden legs’

milu ya’ofeetó ‘tired’

milu yafuriiló ‘swollen legs’

milu zinama ‘lit. meaty legs; idiomatically used to refer to the legs having walked so long that they have become like meat, not strong enough to walk any more’

Mbishile iteké/ hatá/ miilu/ yambele zinama. ‘I walked on foot until my legs became like dim. meat.’

milu ziint^{hi} ‘fat legs
nafasi/ miilu ‘for the legs (of trousers) to be loose, not tight’
Ndovu/ chiya/ chimshika miilu/ bakayle/ chimwaambila/ sinshiiké/ miilu/ mpumbaavu/ we/ nshika mkila. ‘The elephant came and held him [the hare] by the legs; the hare said to him: don’t hold me by the legs, you fool, hold me by the tail.’
Surwaani/ yaa mi/ nuuziló/ miilu/ iriiri. ‘The trousers that I bought, the legs are narrow/tight.’
Surwaani/ yaa mi/ nuuziló/ miilu/ male. ‘The trousers that I bought, the legs are long.’
Wanaafakhi/ nt^hayná/ miilu. ‘A lie does not have legs (i.e. does not work, cannot exist for long).’ (A saying.)

milu ziinthe (idiom- meaning fat legs like the bastone used for grinding corn/maize)

milu muruqu (stom muscular legs)

saamila (without shoes)

or kubiga iteke (walk on foot)

rel.

zi-gulu n. creeper

zi-j-ulu dim. legs

zijulu zaa mbu ‘lit. dim. mosquito’s legs – i.e. dim. thin legs’

zijulu zambaamba ‘small thin legs’

zijulu ziða’iifu ‘weak dim. legs’

miimba

n. 9/10 [Sw. *mimba* SSED 280] stomach

Huseeni/ chingila kanaani/ kaa nsi/ hattá/ shkoma/ mimbaani/ kaake.
‘Huseeni entered the mouth of the fish until he reached his stomach.’

khfunga miimba ‘to tighten the stomach – i.e., endure, tolerate’

Muunt^hu/ laazimu/ khfunga miimbaye/ wakhti ya ta’abu. ‘A person has to lit. tie his stomach – i.e. endure, put up with – during difficult times.’

khshika miimba ‘to get, become pregnant’

Chishika miimba. ‘She became pregnant.’

Muke/ chiloloowa/ khshika miimba. ‘When a woman is married, she gets pregnant.’

Muke/ shishile miimba. ‘The woman has become pregnant.’

Mukeewe/ nt^hakhshiika/ miimba. ‘His wife did not become pregnant.’

khshika mimbaani ‘to keep in the stomach – i.e. to never forget s.t.’

khtila miimba ‘to get someone pregnant’

Mtilee muke/ miimba. ‘He made the woman pregnant.’

Kuja/ kamba siwo yaakó/ miimba/ ndaakó. ‘If food is not yours, the stomach is yours.’ (A proverb which encourages one to not overdo; just because the food is free, for example, don’t eat until you are sick.)

kulala ka miimba ‘to lie on one’s belly, i.e. prone (on the ground or on a bed)’

kuwa na miimba ‘to be pregnant’

Haliima/ nayo miimba. ‘Haliima is pregnant.’

Muke/ chiwanayo miimba/ haaji/ niingi. ‘If a woman is pregnant, she doesn’t (i.e. should not) eat a lot.’

We/ nayo miimbá. ‘You are pregnant.’

Maana/ miimbaye/ inamlaaza. ‘The child’s stomach is aching him.’

mimba ikulu ‘big stomach, belly’

Miimba/ inakunaaka. ‘The stomach is burning me – i.e. I feel very sad, sick to the stomach.’

miimba/ inamlaazó ‘the stomach that ached him’

miimba/ kaaka/ kana igaaya/ yaa mulo ‘for the stomach to burn like a potshard of fire (e.g. to hear something thatg makes you sick to your stomach)’ (This simile makes reference to the practice in

Brava where if one needs to borrow a fire from a neighbor, one takes a potshard and puts pieces of burning charcoal on it to take home to start a fire.)

Omari/ kufa/ miimba/ inakunaaka/ kana igayaa muḷo. ‘Omari’s death made his stomach hurt.’

miimba yiize khaaka we ni kunuskuma [song] ‘you did not feel remorse (lit. stomach did not burn you), why did you push me aside?’

Muntu hafanyi kaazi/ miimbaye/ waazi. ‘A man who does not work, his stomach is empty (lit. open).’ (A proverb.)

Mwaana/ miimba/ inamlaaza. ‘The child’s stomach is aching.’

Mwaana/ nakulazowa miimba. ‘[Lit.] the child is being ached by stomach -- i.e. the child’s stomach is aching him.’

Omari/ miimba/ imfakeete. ‘Omari’s stomach is expanding [lit. stomach escaped him].’ (Prosody. Despite the somewhat uncanonical look of this sentence, it exhibits downstep intonation and the corresponding simple yes-no question involves no accent-shift. In the exclamatory question, we noted accent shift only in the verb phrase: **Omari/ miimba/ imfakeete!?**)

waleelo ka miimba qalbi mahzuuni [nt.] ‘lying on their bellies with heavy hearts’

rel.

chi-j-iimba (zi-j-) n. dim. 7/8

Haliima/ chijiimbache/ chihabba. ‘Haliima’s stomach is small.’

i-j-iimba (mi-j-) n. aug. 5/4

Ali/ ijiimbaye/ ikuulu. ‘Ali’s stomach is big.’

Ijiimba/ inaakula/ kana/ igoma. ‘My stomach is crying (making noises) like a drum.’

miimbari n. [Sw. *mimbari* SSED 280; Ar. *minbar* W 939] pulpit (of a mosque); platform where speaker stands to give a speech

mabeena qabri ya mtume na miimbari [st.] ‘between the grave of the Prophet and the speaker’s platform’

adj. in the expression: so-and-so the big bellied

Nimene Omari miimbé. ‘I saw Omari the bigbellied.’ Or: **Nimeené/ Omari miimbe.** ‘I saw Omari the bigbellied.’ (Note that one cannot separate the two elements of this kind of expression: ***nimene Omari/ miimbe.**)

Omari miimbe/ fiile. ‘Omari the big bellied passed away.’

Omari miimbe/ ile. ‘Omari the bigbellied came.’

ku-miimina

v. [Sw. *mimina* SSED 280] (**mimiine**) pour (a liquid), pour out, let flow full force

Ingile chooloni/ mimine maayi. ‘He went into the bathroom and let the water run full force (from the shower).’

Mimine mafta shṭupaani. ‘He poured oil into a small bottle.’

rel.

ku-miminika v. p/s. (**miminishile**) pour; go fast

Gaari/ humiminika ndila iyi. ‘A car can go fast on this road.’

Gaari/ inakumiminika. ‘The car is going fast.’

kumiminika maatozi/ kana bomba ‘to pour out like tap water’

Maayi/ yanakumiminika ka bombaani. ‘Water is pouring out of the faucet.’

Nvula/ inakumiminika. ‘The rain is pouring down.’

Sku ya taatu/ fijiri/ yanzize ḍarba/ naa nvulá/ ichimiminika. ‘On the morning of the third day a storm began and rain poured down.’

ku-miminikila v. p/s. appl.

Tuuma/ maayi/ yamminikiliile. ‘Tuuma, the water poured out for her.’

ku-miminila v. appl. pour for

Safiya/ miminiliile Amiina/ maayi/ nt^hupaani. ‘Safiya poured water into the bottle for Amiina.’

ku-miminisha v. caus.

- Osmaani/ mminishize mwaana/ maayi.** ‘Osmaani caused the child to pour water.’
rel. nom.
u-mimino n. 14
u-miminiko n. 14
- mimsaha** 908] eraser n. [cf. Ar. *mimsah* “dust cloth, scraper” W 907 and *mamsūh* “wiped off, cleaned” W 908]
- mingisi** n. [Som. *mingisi* “evil spirit; illness caused by evil spirits” DSI 4378] the beating of drums accompanied by recitations designed to drive away evil spirits (a practice now forbidden by the government)
Jaama Weledi/ ni maalimu/ wa mingisi. ‘Jaama Weledi is the teacher of *mingisi*.’
khfanya mingisi ‘to do *mingisi*’
kubigilowa mingisi ‘to be played, drummed *mingisi* for’
Haliima/ nakubigilowa mingisi. ‘Haliima is being drummed *mingisi* for (i.e. to have evil spirits driven from her).’
Mingisi/ hubigilowa waant^hu/ wanayoo mp^hepó. ‘*Mingisi* is drummed for people who are possessed by evil spirits.’
- l-miingu** n. [Sw. *ulimwengu* SSED 496] world
ilmu ni kanzi ya lmiingu na akhera [st.] ‘knowledge is a treasure of this world and the hereafter’
Muunt^hu/ chiwanazo peesa/ ismu/ ya chiint^hu/ chiko lminguuni/ hupata. ‘When one has money everything in this world one gets (will get).’
Sikhaafishi/ lminguuni/ na akherá. ‘I will not forgive you in this world and in the world hereafter.’
- min al aidiin** [lit.] among the celebrators (Arabic); general wish in Chimiini on the occasion of Eid. Obligatory reply (to reciprocate the wish): **min al fa’iziin** = [lit.] among those who succeeded (in completing the fasting or the pilgrimage) or “among those who have been accepted”, i.e. whose pilgrimage or fasting has been accepted by God. Although both expressions are in Arabic, they are used by all **waant^hu wa Miini** and represent the only form of Eid greetings.
- min al fa’iziin** [lit.] among those who succeeded (in completing the fasting or the pilgrimage) or “among those who have been accepted”, i.e. whose pilgrimage or fasting has been accepted by God -- the obligatory reply to **min al aidiin**.
- minha** n. 9/10 [Ar. *minha* “grant (of scholarship)” W 926] scholarship (GM was not familiar with this word. He uses **boorsa**, an Italian loanword.)
washpata minha za daraasa ‘if they get scholarships’
- minjaniiqi** n. [Ar. *manjanīq* W 926] catapult, mangonel (GM was not familiar with this word.)
- miinza** n. [??Sw. *giza* SSED 116] darkness
Ba’ada ya maamaye/ kufa/ mwaana/ duniya/ imweleele/ miinza. ‘After his mother died, the world became dark for the boy.’
Kuja minzaani/ ni kuja na sheetaani. ‘To eat in the dark is to eat with the devil.’ (A superstition.)
Kuzimu/ ichiwa miinza. ‘The sky became dark.’
minza kana ziinza (variants: **minza ka ziinza**, **minza kamba chiinza**) ‘lit. darkness like a piece (or: pieces) of coal -- said of dark moonless night or dark place’
Miimba/ ni miinza. ‘The stomach/intestine is darkness.’ (A proverb which describes the fact that any food will be acceptable to your stomach, since it does not see it.)

muunt^hu sho kiiwa qabriye ni miinza [st.] ‘the man who does not know [these things], his grave is dark’

na ilu ya maayi masku ya miinza [st.] ‘and over a body of water in the darkness of the night [lit. night of darkness] (stating the conditions where taking care of bodily functions is prohibited)’

Nuumba/ imwelele miinza. ‘The house became dark for him [referring to his mental condition].’

Shkalant^ha karka miinza/ khtuunza/ ya taajiri/ nakfaanyó. ‘He sat in the darkness spying at what the rich man was doing.’

Yanzizopo kuwa miinzá... ‘Around sunset when it began to get dark...’

ku-miira

v. [Som. *miir* DSI 434] (**miriile**) filter, strain (a liquid), squeeze (a fruit)

Chiguwo ichi/ hachimiiri/ mafta. ‘This cloth will not serve as a filter the oil.’

Fardoosa/ mirile mafta. ‘Fardoosa strained the cooking oil.’

Faatma/ mmirile mwaana/ ipu. ‘Faatma squeezed the child’s boil.’

kumira ndrimumu ‘to squeeze a lemon’

rel.

ku-miirika v. p/s.

Mwana uyu/ hamiiriki/ ipu. ‘You cannot squeeze this child’s boil [lit. this child cannot be squeezed his boil].’

ku-mirikila v. p/s. appl.

Mafta/ yammirikilile Salwa. ‘The oil was able to be filtered for Salwa.’

ku-miirila v. appl. (**miriile**)

ku-miirisha v. caus. (**mirishiize**)

Salwa/ mmirishize mwaana/ mafta. ‘Salwa had the child strain the cooking oil.’

ku-mirishiliza v. caus. appl. (**mirishilize**)

Faatma/ mmirishilize Salwa/ mwaana/ mafta. ‘Faatma had Salwa’s child strain the cooking oil.’

ku-mirishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. (**-mirishilizeenye**)

Faatma/ na Salwá/ wamirishilizenye waana/ mafta. ‘Faatma and Salwa had one another’s children strain the cooking oil.’

rel. nom.

m-miira n. 3

u-miira n. 14

miiraathi

n. [Sw. *mirathi* SSED 281; Ar. *mīrāṭ* W 1060] inheritance (however, **dhahali** is the more commonly used word)

mirfa’a

n. 9/10 [Ar. *mirfa’a* ‘hoisting gear’ W 350] a wooden, foldable stand locally made used for supporting large books such as the Quran

mirfa’a iyi ‘this stand’

miiri

n. 10 [Som. *miyir*, variant *miir* ‘ability to distinguish, intelligence, consciousness, mind’ DSI 440] mental ability, mind, intellect, conscience

Ijini/ ina miiraze. ‘Even the **jinn** has intelligence, consciousness.’ (A proverb.)

khpata miiri ‘to regain one’s composure after having lost one’s head’

Mukhtaa mi/ mp^heto miiri/ mbene ruuhuya/ ndrani ya

ipakachá/ na nt^hukila naawó. ‘When I came to my senses, I found myself inside a basket and I was being carried by them.’

khpotela miiri ‘to lose one’s head, go mad, be astonished’

khtowa miiri ‘to lose one’s head’

khtoza miiri ‘to cause to lose one’s head’

Abooke/ mtozeze waawaye/ miiri. ‘Abooke confused, bothered his father [to the point of his losing his head].’

Mi/ miiriza/ tamaamu. ‘As for me, my mind is unimpaired.’

Oyo/ ntʰaná/ miiri. ‘That one is mad (lit. does not have a mind).’

miriri n. [Som. *mirir* DSI 439] rust
Chisu/ chingile miriri. ‘The knife is rusty [lit. knife entered rust].’
Chisu/ chingila na miriri. ‘The knife is rusty [lit. the knife was entered by rust].’

ku-miirisha v. [cf. Som. *miyiri* ‘to bring s.o. to his senses, to calm s.o. down’ DSI 440] punish, subdue s.o. who has been bullying s.o. [review gloss](#)
rel.
ku-mirishiliza v. appl. (**mirishiliize**)

chi-miuro (zi-) n. 78 sieve

ku-miirsata v. [Som. *miyrso*, variant *miirso* DSI 440] (**mirseeṭe**) sober up; come out of the wildness of youth and into the sober maturity, wisdom that comes with age
rel.
ku-mirsatisha v. caus. provide means to sober someone up (e.g. give him alka seltzer)

misqi n. [Sw. *miski* SSED 28; Ar. *misk* ‘musk’ W 909] perfume; [pron. **misqi** or **miskhi**] (It is not clear why Arabic *k* has been borrowed as *q* in Chimiini.)
variant form: **miski**
khpaka misqi ‘to apply perfume’
misqi hadaari saahibuḷ ihraamu [st.] ‘one who is in the state of *ihraamu* does not touch perfume’
Misqi/ zinakunuunkʰó. ‘Good smells/perfumes are being emitted (lit. smelling).’
Omari/ nakunuunkʰa/ misqi. ‘Omari is smelling a good smell (like perfume).’
tumila miskhi hufaanyo islaamu [st.] ‘use perfumes that are made by Muslims’

misra n. [Sw. *misri* SSED 281; Ar. *miṣr* W 911] Egypt
muntʰu wa misra ‘an Egyptian’
Si/ chinakendra karka ntʰi za misra. ‘We are going to the lands of Egypt.’
Wachoondroka/ wachiruda misra. ‘They departed and returned to Egypt.’
Ye/ safirile sku niingi/ hattá/ komele m,Isra. ‘He traveled many days until he reached Egypt.’

miite n. [etymology unknown] the long hairs of the tail of an animal (e.g. a horse) (**Morph. The morphological structure of this item needs to be determined.**)
miite ya farasi ‘the hairs of the tail of a horse’

mithaali n. [Sw. *mithali* SSED 281; Ar. *miṭāl* W 892] proverb, example; equal, comparable thing; adv. for
example
variant form: **mathaali**
Mathaali/ khufunzilee we/ maato/ mi. ‘For example, I bound your eyes.’
Mathaali/ we/ nakhsula kendra Mkhodiishó/ keeshó/ jimaa tatú/ laakini/ ntʰakhaadira/ kulawa. ‘For example, you want to go to Mogadishu tomorrow, Monday, but you cannot travel/leave.’

mi’raji ni ngazi ntʰayna mithaali [st.] ‘[the Prophet’s] ascension is a ladder that has no equal’

si shchiparpatooa mithaali ya ntʰuungu [nt.] ‘we were hunted down everywhere as if we were ants’

rel.

mithli n. [Ar. *miṭl* W 891] comparison
Hamadi wiitu sho mithli =[st.] ‘our incomparable Muhammad’

miiwaani

n. 9/10 [Sw. *miwani* SSED 281; cf. Ar. *uwaināt* “eyeglasses” W 663] eye-glasses
Nakihtaja miiwaani/ khsoomela. ‘He needs glasses to read with.’
Nakiyhtaja miiwaani/ khsoomela. ‘He needs the glasses to read with.’
Siná/ miwani ya khsoomela. ‘I do not have glasses to read to you with.’

miya

n., adj. [Sw. *mia* SSED 279; Ar. *mi’a* W 889] hundred

Chint^hu chimooyi/ huzaloo miyá. ‘One thing which bears a hundred.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **awuuri** ‘seed’.)

Mi/ iwaliko khpata/ ndrutii miya. ‘(For) me, it was (to be the case) to get one hundred blows.’

miyaa miya ‘hundreds and hundreds’

miya keendra ‘nine hundred’

miya/ na ikumí ‘a hundred and ten’

miya/ na keendrá ‘a hundred and nine’

miya/ na mooyí ‘a hundred and one’

miya/ na naané ‘a hundred and eight’

miya/ na nt^haanó ‘a hundred and five’

miya/ naa sabá ‘a hundred and seven’

miya/ na sittá ‘a hundred and six’

miyaa nt^hatu ‘three hundred’

Sku mooyi/ Abunawaasi/ peete/ dinarii miya. ‘One day Abunawaasi found a hundred dinars.’

Sultaani/ naayé/ shfuraha/ nt^ho/ chimpa mwaana/ shilingii miya. ‘The sultan too became very happy and gave the boy one hundred shillings.’

rel.

miyaṭeeni n., adj. two hundred

ku-miza

v. [This seems to be a word of Bantu origin, but it does not appear in SSED; Sw. does, however, have the related item *umio* “throat” SSED 500] (**miziize**) swallow

lnoka/ ichimmiza/ muke/ mwiishowe/ uwaliko jis’iyo. ‘The snake swallowed her, the woman’s end was just like that.’

Muunt^hu/ shpowa chaala/ haamizi/ chont^he. ‘If a person is given a finger, he doesn’t swallow all of it.’ (A proverb.)

Shpowa chaala/ simizé/ chotte. ‘If you are given a finger, don’t swallow all of it (i.e. if s.o. does you a favor, do not rely on that person for everything, develop self-reliance.’ (A variant of the preceding proverb.)

Weenziwe/ walangaḷilopo chinumé/ nt^hawamwona/ teena/ ni kama bahari/ immiziizó. ‘When his companions looked back, they did not see him again, it was like the sea had swallowed him.’

Ye/ mizizee dawa. ‘He swallowed the medicine.’

rel.

ku-miliza v.appl. (**miliize**)

Siná/ mate ya kumiliza. ‘I do not have saliva to swallow with.’

ku-mizisha v. caus. (**mizishiize**) cause s.o. to swallow s.t.

Nmizishizee kuja. ‘He made me swallow food.’

müzaani

n. [Sw. *mizani* SSED 281; Ar. *mīzān* W 1065] scale, balance (instrument)

Huwa’andika mizanaani/ ... mbuzi mbilize/ sawa/ tu. ‘He puts them [the goats] on a scale... Both the goats are just alike.’

khtila mizaniini ‘to weigh (e.g. evaluate someone’s words)’

chi-mizo(zi-)

n. 7/8 throat

Mkhodiisho

n. Mogadishu

Mkhodiisho/ ni muuyi/ mkulu. ‘Mogadisho is a large town.’ Or: **Ni muyi mkulu/ Mkhodiisho.** ‘It is a large town, Mogadisho.’ (In the second example, the pitch on **Mkhodiisho** is

radically lowered, as is the pattern for a right-dislocated subject.)

ndila ya Mkhodiisho ‘the road to Mogadishu’

Oko/ Mkhodiisho/ mawaziiri/ wa khaariji/ wa nt^{hi} za chi’aafrika/ wakunt^hameene/ ili kubahitha/ mashaakili/ ya nt^{hi} zaawo. ‘There in Mogadishu the ministers of foreign affairs of the countries of Africa met in order to look into the problems of their countries.’

ku-mkina

v. [Sw. *yamkini* SSED 533; cf. Ar. *mumkin* ‘possible’ W 918] be possible, perhaps
Humkina. ‘It is possible; perhaps.’

mkula

of a male); [pron. **mkulá**]

n. 9/10 [no etymological source found] (my) elder brother (but restricted to a brother

mkulá ‘my elder brother’ (cf. **mkulaza** ‘my elder brothers’)

mkula mkulu ‘my elder brother’ (cf. **mkulaza wakulu** ‘my elder brothers’, although an archaic form: **wakula wakulu** was also recorded)

mkulé ‘his elder brother’

Baana/ na Saabiri/ ni muunt^hu/ na mkulé. ‘Baana and Saabiri are a person and his elder brother.’ (Cf. **Baana/ na Saabiri/ ni muunt^hu/ na muné.** ‘Baana and Saabiri are a person and his younger brother.’)

Spisile/ sku niingi/ oko/ kaawo/ mkulé/ Huseeni/ichimwingila murugu/ ka chiiza/ kumwona/ muné/ sku izi/ zotte.

‘Many days passed, and there at home his elder brother, Huseeni, became worried at not seeing his younger brother all these days.’

mkuló ‘your elder brother’

mkulaza ‘my elder brothers’

mkulaze ‘his elder brothers’

Mwaana/ chiwmeere^{la}/ mkulaze/ wake/ chiwalooza. ‘The boy looked for women for his elder brothers to marry.’

Mwaana/ na mkulazé/ wachizalilowa waana. ‘The boy and his elder brothers were born to children.’

mkulazo ‘your older brothers’

Mkulazo/ wa’ikalant^hiliile/ ka sabri/ walá/ nt^haku/ mooyi/ kati

kaawo/ nakhsulo xuraashá. ‘Your older brothers stayed at home, patiently, neither does any one of them want to follow you.’

mwaana/ na mkulé ‘a boy and his elder brother’; **mwaana/ na mkulazé** ‘a

boy and his elder brothers’

mkulazo/ kawakhufanya ziwovú. ‘My son, do not tell your older brother the dreams that you have seen, lest your elder brothers do harm to you.’

Muunt^hu/ na mkulé/ wa’enzele sukhuuni. ‘The brothers [lit. someone and his elder brother] went to the market.’ (Note: One cannot say ‘the brothers’ because the word ‘brother’ must always be used in conjunction with a possessive ending (and of course must indicate relative age). Instead of ‘brothers’, one says ‘someone and his elder brother’, as in the present example. Observe also that one would say: **Ali/ na Nuurú/ ni muunt^hu/ na mkulé.** ‘Ali and Nuuru are brothers.’ An alternative to this construction is: **Ali/ ni Nuuru/ mkulé.** ‘Ali is Nuuru’s older brother.’ or **Ali/ ni Nuuru/ muné.** ‘Ali is Nuuru’s younger brother.’)

Mwaanawa/ siwafungulilé/ mkulazo/ ndroto zaa we/ weenó/ seendré/ mkulazo/ kawakhufanya ziwovú. ‘My son, do not tell your older brothers the dreams that you have seen, lest your elder brothers do harm to you.’

Wote/ baaba/ maama/ na mkulazé/ teena/ wachoondroka/ ka nt^{hi} izo/ wacheendra/ khkala na Yuusufu. ‘All -- father, mother, and elder brothers -- then moved from these lands and went to live with Joseph.’ (Phon. The final accent on **mkulaze** in this example is not

due to an inherent final accent on **mklulaze** but rather to the fact that it is preceded by the conjunction *na*.)

Yuusufu. chanza khfaṭiṣha/ mizigo/ ya mkuḷaze/ qabla ya mziḡo/ waa muṇé. ‘Joseph began to inspect the bags of his older brothers before yje bag of his younger brother.’

mloi

said of sea in the days of lunar month when there is not a great difference between high tide and low tide.

-mo

locative root which appears in a great variety of forms: in

chiimo ‘it [cl.7] is in’, **nt^hachiimo** ‘it [cl.7] is not in’

Chibuuku/ shchiwa nt^hachiimo/ sandukhuuni/ chimeera

kabatiini. ‘If the book is not in the box, look for it in the cupboard.’

Chimo numbaani. ‘It’s in the house.’

Chimo sandukhuuni. ‘It’s in the box.’ (Or: **Chimo karka sandukhuuni.** ‘It’s in the box.’)

Chisu/ chimo (karka) sandukhu gani. ‘In which box is the knife?’ (It does not seem possible to say: ***Chisu chimo (karka) sandukhuni gani.**)

hashtakuwaamo

be in the box.’

Chibuuku/ hashtakuwaamo/ sandukhuuni. ‘The book will not

liimo

Luti/ limo numbaani. ‘The stick is in the house.’

niimo

Mi/ nimo madrasaani. ‘I am in the school.’

Mi/ nimo mṭanaani. ‘I am in the room.’

nt^hachiimo

Chibuuku/ shchiwa nt^hachiimo/ sandukhuuni/ chimeera

kabatiini. ‘If the book is not in the box, look for it in the cupboard.’

nt^haamo

Nt^haamo/ muunt^hu/ mṭanaani. ‘The man is not in the room.’

nt^haamu

Nt^hamu muunt^hu/ mṭanaani. ‘There isn’t a man in the room’

sichiwaamo

Suliḡe chibuuku/ sichiwaamo/ sandukhuuni. ‘He wanted that the book not be in the box.’ (Note that the negative morpheme **si-** in this example does not elide its vowel in front of the voiceless obstruent in the SM.) [review this point](#)

umo

snake’

Muunt^hu/ umo mṭanaani. ‘The man is in the room.’

sandukhuuni/ mahaḷaa noka/ umó ‘the box in which there is a

Umo markabuuni. ‘He is on the ship.’

Umo muunt^hu/ mṭanaani. ‘There is a man in the room.’

↑Umo muunt^hu/ mṭanaani. ‘Is there any man in the room?’

[review accent issue](#)

↑Umo/ muunt^hu/ mṭanaani? ‘Is the man in the room?’ Or:

↑Muunt^hu/ umo mṭanaani?

yaamo

Ma’uwa/ yamo shkapuuni. ‘The flowers are in the basket.’

yiimo

Ḷnama/ yiimopi. ‘Where is the meat (in)?’ (A possible answer to

this question: **Nama/ yimo sandukhuuni.** ‘The meat is in the box.’)

Sanduukhu/ yiimoni. ‘What is in the box? What does the box contain?’ (A possible answer to this question:

Sanduukhu/ yimoo nama. ‘The box contains meat.’)

Yiimoni/ sandukhuuni. ‘What is in the box?’ (A possible answer to this question: **Yimoo nama.** ‘Meat is in it.’)

Yiimopi/ nama. ‘Where is the meat (in)?’ (A possible answer to this question: **Yimo sandukhuuni.** ‘It is in the box.’)

ziimo

Ndruti/ zimo numbaani. ‘The sticks are in the house.’

mo/ ka mo

directly

Sa’iidi/ chishkila/ ka mlongotiini/ na mo/ ka mo/ cheenda/ ka ujé/ muke/ chimweleza/ zaa ye/ weenó. ‘Sa’iidi climbed down the mast and directly went to that woman and reported what he had seen.’

Sa’iidi/ ingiile/ n^hi iyo/ na oloshela/ mo/ ka mo/ ingile sukhuuni. ‘Sa’iidi entered that land and went directly and entered the market.’

moo’idi

an appointment

n. [Ar. *mau’id* ‘pledge, engagement, appointment’ W 1081] a place or time to meet,

Nnayo moo’idí/ na Nureení. ‘I have an appointment with Nureeni.’

mo’jeza

n. [Ar. *mu’jiz* W 592] miracle, wonder

variant forms: **mo’jiza, mu’jeza**

cheendra Makka isa takuwona mo’jiza/ ka kuwa niingi fikiri hu’ajiza [st.] ‘when you go to Mecca you will see so many miracles/ that the mind is too weak to grasp them all’

na saant^hize takuwona alaama/ makaaloye mo’jiza karaama [st.] ‘you will see the mark of his footprints/ where he walked, a great miracle’

nawone mo’jeza ya kulla kuzimu [st.] ‘so that he sees the wonders of each of the (seven) heavens (in Islamic cosmology)’

tumiilo kiitu mitume ka mo’jeza [st.] ‘who sent us prophets with miracles’

mooda

n. [Ital. *moda*] fashion

mooði

[Som. *mowd* "death" DSI 442] in:

mana mooði ‘a stillborn child’

Zazile mana mooði. ‘She gave birth to a stillborn child.’

mooðu’u

n. [Ar. *mauðū* W 1078] topic

mooja

n. [this form is not apparently used in Sw., where *mungu* SSED 315 or *mola* SSED 295 is used] God, owner, master

variant form: **mwooja**

rel.

mooje n. his God, his master; [pron. **moojé**]

Ka ye/ na moojé. ‘[Lit.] between him and his God -- meaning: if s.o. has done s.t. wrong, justice is better left to God, he will be accountable to God for it, or: he will have to justify his action before God.’

Kanaa ye/ khuðu/miile/ mlate/ ka ye/ na moojé. ‘If he cheated you, let him be, the matter will be settled between him and God.’

Saalimu/ olosehele ka moojé. ‘Saalimu went to the Lord – i.e. he died.’

Sultaani/ chamura moojé/ khfanyilizowa maayi/ mamulo/ koowela/ na khpikilowa zaakujá. ‘The sultan ordered warm water to be prepared for his master to bathe in and food to be cooked [for him].’

mooji n. [Ar. *mauj* W 930] wave (of the sea)

mojiitu n. God
variant form: **mwajiitu**
kumtiya/ kana mojiitu ‘to fear him as one fears God’

moka

Chishikaa ndila/ moka/ mo/ hattá/ numbaani/ ka sultaani. ‘He followed the road straight to the home of the sultan.’
Mweenza/ haba moka/ kala ka zaaydi. ‘My friend, stay a little while longer.’
Siimba/ moka/ mo/ chilekela numba iyó. ‘The lion headed straight towards that house.’

moolā n. 9/10 [Ital. *molla*] (metal) spring

ku-moola v. [Sw. *nyoa* SSED 346] (**moozele**) shave

Chimmolaa mp^hisi/ ndrevu/ izo/ chistukula/ chendra naazo/ ka chizeele.
‘She shaved off the hyena’s beard [lit. beards – i.e. the hairs constituting the beard] and went with them to the old woman.’
Muke/ mozele chiṭa cha mwaana/ kaa chisu. ‘The woman shaved the head of the child with a knife.’ (Cf. **Muke/ mmozele mwaana/ chiṭa/ kaa chisu.** ‘The woman shaved the child’s head with a knife.’)

Nimmozele muunt^hú. ‘I shaved the man.’

Nimmozele muunt^hú/ ka chireezá. ‘I shaved the man with a razor.’

Tuuma/ mmozele Haaji/ chiṭa. ‘Tuuma shaved Haaji’s head.’ Or: **Tuuma/ mmozele/ Haaji/ chiṭa.** ‘Tuuma shaved Haaji’s head.’ (When the verb is not a final-accent trigger, then the presence of focus is not reflected in terms of accent placement. Thus a sentence like **Tuuma/ mmozele^h Haaji/ chiṭa.** has the same default accent placement as the example sentence **Tuuma/ mmozele Haaji/ chiṭa.** There is, however, a difference in pronunciation, as **Haaji** in the latter case is downstepped but when focused, it is raised in pitch.)

rel.

ku-moolēla v. appl. (**moleele**) shave for, with

chireza chaa mi/ nmolele muunt^hú ‘the razor that I used to shave the man’

Muke/ nmolele waana/ zita/ kaa chisu. ‘The woman shaved the children’s heads for me with a knife.’ **review pronunciation of the 1 sg obj**

Nimmolele muunt^hú/ chireeza. ‘I shaved the *man* with a razor.’ (This pitch pattern, where the final accent triggered by the first person past tense verb does not project beyond the first complement, is the consequence of focus on that complement.)

Tete chireeza/ kumoolēla. ‘He took a razor to shave with.’

Tete chireeza/ kummoolēla. ‘He took a razor to shave him with.’

Tete chireeza/ ku-n-moolēla. ‘He took a razor to shave me with.’

ku-moleloowa v. appl. pass. (**moleela**)

Mmolela waaná/ zítá/ kaa chisú/ naa muké. ‘[Lit.] I was shaved for the children’s heads with a knife by the woman.’

ku-moloowa v. pass. (**moozela**) be shaved

Chiṭache/ chivaliko chimoozela. ‘His head was shaven.’

ka muunt^hi waa saba mwaana moloowa [st.] on the seventh day (after birth) the child is shaved’

Muunt^hu/ mozela ka chireeza. ‘The man was shaved with a razor.’ (This passive construction is preferred to one based on the instrumental applied verb: **?Muunt^hu/ molela chireeza.**

Mwaana/ mozela chiṭa/ kaa chisu/ naa muke. ‘The child(’s head) was shaved with a knife by the woman.’ (Syn. Note that it is ungrammatical to make **chiṭa** the subject of the passive verb:

***Chiṭa/ chimozela mwaana/ kaa chisu/ naa muke.** One can, however, rearrange the word order: **Chiṭa/ mozela mwaana/ kaa chisu/ naa muke.**)

ku-moolana v. rec.

ku-molanila v. rec. appl.

ku-mooleka v. p/s.

ku-moolesha v. caus. (**molesheeze**)

Khaliifa/ molesheze mwaana/ ruuhuye. ‘Khaliifa made the child shave himself.’ (Syn. The reflexive pronoun **ruuhuye** can only be co-referential with the "causee", **mwaana** in the present sentence, and not the subject, **Khaliifa**. This regularity holds for the causative verb. Otherwise, the reflexive must be the primary object and be co-referential with the subject.)

-moole

adj. shaved

chiḍevu chimoole ‘a shaved chin’

chiṭa chimoole ‘a shaved head’

moomo/ umunu

locative emphatic demonstrative, first position

moomo/ umunu/ mṭanaani ‘in this very room, in this room itself’; or:

umunu/ moomu/ mṭanaani ‘ibid.’

moomo/ omo

locative emphatic demonstrative, second position

Chibuuku/ chimo moomo/ omo/ sandukhuuni. ‘The book is there in the box (close to you -- so don’t stop looking, so look carefully for it, etc.).’

moomo/ omo/ mṭanaani ‘right there in the room (close to you)’; or **omo/ mṭanaani/ moomo** ‘ibid.’; or **mṭanaani/ moomo/ omo** ‘ibid.’; but not ***mṭanaani/ omo/ moomo**, which our consultant regarded as “weird”

moomo/ umuje

locative emphatic demonstrative, third position

Chibuuku/ chimo moomo/ umuje. ‘The book is there somewhere inside the box (over there, away from us).’

moomo/ umuje/ mṭanaani ‘in that very room, in that room itself’; or:

umuje/ moomo/ mṭanaani ‘ibid.’

moordi

n. [Som. *moordi*] red sorghum

maṭaza ya moordi ‘porridge made from sorghum’

mooro

n. [Som. *mooro* "enclosure for animals" DSI 442] fenced-in enclosure

Apo/ ndilaani/ uwaaliko/ mooro/ uyeeló/ ngoombé/ za sultaani. ‘There outside there was a fenced-in enclosure full of the cattle of the sultan.’

Chakujaache/ mpelekelowa morooni. ‘She wants her food brought to the backyard.’ **review the verb form... loc subj?**

Chinume cha nuumba/ uwaliko mooro/ uyelo farasí. ‘Behind the house was a yard filled with horses.’

khtilowa morooni ‘to be put under someone’s control’

Khtilowa muunt^hu/ morooni/ siwo/ suura. ‘To be put under someone’s control is not good.’

kuḷawa morooni ‘to get out someone’s control’

Nuuru/ ḷazile/ morooni/ ka Hamadi. ‘Nuuru got out from Hamadi’s control.’

kumtila morooni ‘to have s.o. under your control’

Hamadi/ mtilee mbuzi/ morooni/ kaake. ‘Hamadi put the goats under his custody (lit. in his fence).’

Nuuru/ mtile Omari/ morooni/ kaake. ‘Nuuru put Omari under his control.’ (The recording of this sentence exhibited canonical downstep intonation.)

Morooni/ walimo ngamiila/ mooyi. ‘In the enclosure there was a camel.’

Orii mbili/ hawaakali/ karka moro mooyi. ‘Two roosters cannot live in a single enclosure.’ (A proverb.)

moroodi

n. [Som. *maroodi* DSI 419] elephant

ni kana moroodi ‘he is like an elephant (i.e. a big, stout, strong man)’

- moosimu** of the year n. [cf. Sw. *msimu* SSED 303; Ar. *mausim* “time of the year, season” W 1070] season
- Mosko** n. Moscow
Oko/ Mosko/ wafafisha khabari/ wahadiile/ ya kuwa waruusi/ wa’ulushiize qamari/ sinaa’i. ‘There in Moscow reporters said that the Russians had launched a satellite (artificial moon).’
- mooskolo** n. mussels
Mafakhaani/ hupatikana mooskolo/ na ostriiká/ niingi. ‘At Mafakhaani one can find a lot of mussels and ostrich mussels.’
- mooti** n. 3 [Sw. *mauti* SSED 264; Ar. *maut* W 930] death
variant form: **mowti**
Hasiibu/ ishiize/ karka raaha/ na amaani/ haṭa/ mowti/ umwiliilopo. ‘Hasiibu lived in comfort and peace until death came for him.’
Huyo apa/ huwa nakumera mowti. ‘The one who comes here is looking for death.’
Mooti/ nt^ha’uná/ wakhti. ‘Death has no time – i.e. it can come any time.’ **Is this a proverb?**
Moti wa jamaa’a/ ni haruusi. ‘A death in a group or family is a marriage.’ (A proverb.)
mowti ya Harun Rashiidi ‘the death of Harun Rashiidi’
Moti wa waawaye/ umhuzunishiize. ‘The death of his father saddened him.’
Skhaambila/ mi/ kuwa ndiwé/ takuwo sababu ya mootiwa. ‘Did I not tell you that it is you who will be the cause of my death?’
Takhsabiba mootiwa. ‘You will cause my death.’
- mooto** n. [Ital. *moto*, shortened from *motocicletta*] motorcycle
- motoore** n. 9/10 [Ital. *motore*] motor, engine; steamboat used to unload cargo from ships, tugboat used to pull vessels to the dock
Ali/ patilile gaari/ motoore. ‘Ali got an engine for the car.’
motore ya gaari ‘the engine of the car’
Omari/ ulile gaari/ motoree mp^hiya. ‘Omari bought a new engine for the car.’
- mootulfuja** sudden death [Ar. expression *maut* “death” W 930 + verb *faj’a* “to grieve” W 697] *Arabicism*
- mowla** n. [Ar. *maulan* W 1101] lord, master; the Lord = God
ya rabbi ya muta’ali / mowla peeke sho mithaali [st.] ‘O Lord Most High, the one and only peerless lord’
- mowlana** n. our lord (**mowla** + Ar. poss.), used both as an attribute of God and as honorific for people
Mowlana Muhyidiini ‘Our lord Muhyiddin’ (Note that this is another name of Sheikh Abdulqaadir al-Jilaani)
- mowliidi** n. 6 the birthday of Mohammad
variant form: **mooliidi**
Mowliidi/ ya’anziiza. ‘The celebration of Mohammad’s birthday was begun.’
Mowliidi/ ya’anziize. ‘The celebration of Mohammad’s birthday has begun.’
Mowliidi/ ya’ikhtimiila. ‘The celebration of Mohammad’s birthday was completed.’

- mowti** n. death
Mwaana/ chiwa'ambila/ ya kuwa shtiisho/ hachireebi/ mowti. 'The boy told them that fear does not stop death.'
Mweenziwa/ wa piili/ mowti/ umteete/ naayé/ nakhtekó. 'My second companion, death took him while he was laughing.'
- mowtuljama** only used in the proverb:
Mowtuljama/ ni haruusi. 'Dying in a group is (like) a wedding.' (A proverb roughly equivalent to "misery loves company". If one is not alone in suffering afflictions etc., the situation is not so bad. Hard times are best faced together with others.)
- mo(oyi)** one; the same; some
Haba mooyi/ kala ka zaaydi/ mweenza. 'A little while stay longer, my friend.' (A vocative in final position is radically lowered in pitch.)
Haqi/ ni haqi/ wanaadamu/ wotte/ ni wamooyi/ ondroka/ shfanyeeni/ haruusi/ iyi. 'Right is right; all human beings are the same; stand up, let's make this marriage.'
ijiko imooyi 'one cooking stone'
Ka want^hu wamooyi/ daaba/ ni daaba/ walá/ nt^haziná/ athari/ ilu ya wanaadamu. 'For some people, animals are [just] animals, neither do they have significance for human beings.'
mo(oyi) ka mooyi 'directly'
ndila ya mooyi/ ka mooyi 'a straight, direct road'
Wakomelopo muyiini/ sultaani/ na wamrashiizó/ wote/ mo/ ka mooyi/ wachilekela chisimaani. 'When they reached the town, the sultan and the ones who followed him, all headed straight to the well.'
Muyiini/ apo/ waliko mzeele/ muke/ mooyi/ maskiini/ wanayo mwana mo. 'In town there, there was an old person, a poor woman, who had one child.' (Phon. Observe that the shortened form **mo** does not behave like a monosyllabic word with a short vowel: the preceding vowel does not lengthen. This apparently reflects the fact that **mo** in actuality is **mooyi**, and **mooyi** would not induce lengthening in front of it.)
Shtala chihaba mooyi/ schisaaló. 'She took a little piece that remained.'
Wamooyi/ awaje/ maskiini/ wachingila mpenda sultaani. 'Some, they are poor people, beganto love the sultan.'
- rel.
chimochimooyi adv. one by one
moyimooyi adv. one after the other
Wafanya makosa/ waleeseja/ moyimooyi. 'Those who had done wrong were brought one after the other (in the story: to be judged).'
- mooyo** n. 3 [Sw. *mooyo* SSED 296] heart (Even back in the 1970's, our consultant MI considered this word to be used primarily by elderly people; younger speakers used the word **qalbi**.)
Mooyowe/ uchiyela furaha. 'Her heart filled with joy.'
- rel.
mo n. (a shortened version of **mooyo**) used for the edible heart of animals
- mooyo** in the expression: **kubiga mooyo** 'to yawn'
Hamadi/ nakubiga mooyo/ tanyaaawata. 'Hamadi is yawning too much (lit. you will be amazed at him).'
Omari/ ofeete/ shishiila usiinzizi/ nakubiga mooyo. 'Omari is tired, and sleepy; he is yawning.'
- Mpaayi** n. one of the four main quarters of Brava, characterized by the houses being constructed of stone; [pron. **Mp^haayi**]
chimini cha Mp^haayi 'the Chimini spoken in Mp^haayi'

-mpi

interrogative root: which? [pron. **-mp^hi**]

Chibuku chiimp^hi/ chaako/ chibeeló. ‘Which book of yours is lost?’ (Less common is: **Chibukucho chiimp^hi/ chibeeló.** ‘Your book which is lost?’)

Chibuku chiimp^hi/ karka zaa we/ uziló/ we/ someeló. ‘Which book of those you brought did you read?’

Chibuku chiimp^hi/ we/ suliló. ‘Which book did you want?’ (Note that when **-mp^hi** precedes the verb, the verb must be put into pseudo-relative form. It is ungrammatical to have the verb in its main clause form: ***Chibuku chimp^hi/ we/ sulilé.** The difference between main clause and pseudo-relative form in this case depends entirely on the choice of the final vowel, **-o** in the pseudo-relative and **-e** in the main clause form. Because the verb is past tense affirmative and second person, the accent is final in both the relative and in the main clause form.)

Chint^hu chiimp^hi. ‘Which thing?’ Cf. **Zint^hu ziimp^hi.** ‘Which things?’

Ijiwe yiimp^hi. ‘Which stone?’ Cf. **Majiwe yaamp^hi.** ‘Which stones?’

Luti liimp^hi. ‘Which stick?’ Cf. **Ndruti ziimp^hi.** ‘Which sticks?’

Munt^hu ump^hi. ‘Which person?’ Cf. **Want^hu waamp^hi.** ‘Which people?’

Ngombe ump^hi. ‘Which cow?’ Or: **Ngombe yiimp^hi.** (The first form exhibits ‘human’ ([cl.1]) agreement, while the second form exhibits [cl.9] agreement. The plural form of the noun has the same two options: **Ngombe waamp^hi.** ‘Which cows?’ or **Ngombe ziimp^hi.** However, human agreement is the norm in the case of the singular while [cl.10] agreement is the norm in the case of the plural noun.)

Numba yiimp^hi. ‘Which house?’ Cf. **Numba ziimp^hi.** ‘Which houses?’

Uhuru ump^hi. ‘Which freedom?’

Wana waamp^hi/ wa Nuuru/ wa’olosheló. ‘Which children of Nuuru’s left?’

mpiindri

as; [pron. **mp^hiindri**]

conj. [cf. Sw. *kipindi* ‘portion of time’ and *pindi* ‘when, if’ SSED 378-9] if, so long as;

Mp^hiindri/ yaa we/ chimshiindra/ ye/ takuwa mukeewo. ‘In the event that you defeat her, she will be your wife.’

We/ takuwa muunt^hu/ mu’tarafu/ mp^hiindri/ yo/ kanayo/ ichiwa nfuungufu. ‘You will be someone recognized if your mouth be open (in the context of the text: praising your superiors).’

Weenza/ ni weenza/ mp^hiindri/ yaa we/ chidekheka naawo. ‘Friends are friends so long as you do not depend on them.’

-mu-

[cl.1] object prefix; morphophonemic variants: **mu, m(w), m-**

Ka khisa/ mi/ nnakhsula kumub^hla. ‘Because I want to kill him.’

kamaa ye/ chimub^hli ‘if he kills him, it [cl.1]’

kamaa ye/ chimuja ‘if he eats [cl.1] (e.g. a goat)’

kamaa ye/ chimuuz ‘if he asks him’

kumbiga ‘to beat him/her [cl.1]’

Nk^ha’oloké/ sula (ku)mwona. ‘If I went, I would see him.’ Or: **Sula (ku)mwona/ nk^ha’oloké.** ‘I would see him if I went.’

Simkoodishé. ‘Don’t talk to him!’ or ‘Don’t make him talk!’

Waana/ wambozele mwaalimu/ chibuuku. ‘The children stole a book from the teacher.’

Waana/ wampelelee muke/ nt^hi. ‘The children swept the floor for the woman.’

(We/) ka’oloké/ sula mpata. ‘If you went, you would find him.’

mu-

[cl.1] noun class prefix

mgeeni ‘stranger, guest’

muke ‘woman’

m(w)aalimu ‘teacher’

- mu-** [cl.3] noun class prefix
muti ‘tree’
- mu-** [cl.1] agreement prefix on adjective; allomorphs: *m-*, *m(w)-*
Suyú/ mbuzi mzeelé/ suyú/ mbuzi mwaaná. ‘This is the older goat and this is the younger goat.’ (In this example sentence, the [cl.9] noun **mbuzi** ‘goat’ triggers [cl.1] agreement on the adjective stems **–zeele** ‘old’ and **–aana** ‘young’.)
- mu-** [cl.3] agreement prefix on adjective; *m-* in most pre-consonantal positions, but *mu-* in front of a monosyllabic root; *m(w)* in prevocalic position (the glide appearing in the speech of MI, but elided in the present-day language we have observed)
Muuyi/ mzimawe/ washizaa tala. ‘The whole town was lit with lamps.’
Nnakhsulaa mutí/ unawee mulé. ‘I want that the tree be tall.’
- mu’aahada** n. 9 [Ar. *mu’āhada* ‘agreement, arrangement’ W 652] agreement; a date (between a man and a woman)
Keesho/ masku/ si/ chinayo mu’aahadá. ‘Tomorrow evening we have a date.’
Mu’ahada yiitu/ nt’ah’ikuwaaliko/ si/ kula nuumba. ‘Our agreement wasn’t that we buy a house.’
Mu’ahada yiitu/ yaaliko/ si/ kudirkamana ka Omari/ numbaani. ‘Our agreement was that we meet at Omari’s house.’
- mu’akadi** adj. recommended (we recorded the *d* geminated, but do not have data to determine if this is an invariant property or not)
ziyaara za Mtume sunna mu’akaddi/ takiink’irolate nt’anaayo madadi [st.] ‘(the obligation to) visit the Prophet is a confirmed tradition/ do not heed whoever denies this, he does not have God’s support’
- mu’aamala** n. [Ar. *mu’āmala* ‘treatment, behaviour, business’ W 646] dealings
kamu mu’aamala huwo haraamu [st.] ‘how many dealings can become unlawful?’
- mu’aamara** n. [Ar. *mu’āmara* W 27] plot
mp’ana/ mukhtaa wo/ wa’iwiiló/ kuwa mu’amara waawó/ ufashilishilé... ‘when the rats knew that their plan had failed’
- mu’awaana** n. help
- mu’iini** n. [Ar. *mu’in* W 659] an attribute of God (=the Helper, the Supporter)
- mu’jiza (mi’ujiza)** n. miracle, miraculous thing
Laakini/ chizeele/ icho/ chiwa’onyeze mu’jiza. ‘But that old woman showed them something miraculous.’
Na nnayo mi’ujizá/ niye/ nikhoonyeze. ‘And I have miraculous things that I have come to show you.’ (Syn. It does not appear that the subjunctive verb **niye** ‘that I have come’ has a relative form, hence the absence of relative clause morphology and phonology.)
- mu’tamidi** n. worthiness of being relied on
Hamadi/ nt’aná/ mu’tamidi. ‘Hamadi is not reliable.’
- mu’tarafu** adj.
We/ takuwa muunt’u/ mu’tarafu/ mp’hiindri/ yo/ kanayo/ ichiwa nfuungufu. ‘You will be someone recognized if your mouth be open (in the context of the text: praising your superiors).’
- mubaaha** n. [Ar. *mubāh* W 81] s.t. allowed or permitted, but not required
Ni mubaaha. ‘It is lawful.’

muda n. 3,9 [Sw. *muda* SSED 313; Ar. *mudda* W 897] period of time; when (as a variant of **mukhta**); [pron. **muda** or **mudda**] (Perhaps this item should be regarded as having the morphology **mu-da**, but we are not aware of any evidence of an independent root **-da**. Furthermore, it may be treated either as a [cl.3] or a [cl.9] noun.)

Ka mudda/ wa sku sitta/ wachiwa fijiri/ hendra maduriini/ khinda skunyi. ‘For a period of six days whenever it became morning, they went to the bush to cut firewood.’

Kalenti^he maduriini/ muda/ wa sku niingi/ hatá/ mliweele/ moojé. ‘He stayed in the bush for a period of many days, until he forgot all about his master.’

Meree/ nt^ho/ kaa muda/ wa sku/ niingi/ laakini/ nt^hakhpata. ‘She looked very hard for it for a period of many days, but she could not find it.’

muda (/) wa skuu saba ‘a period of seven days’

muda ya meezi ‘a period of a month’

Linzile muda (y)a meezi. ‘He waited for a period of a month.’ Or:

Liinzile/ muda (y)a meezi. ‘He waited for a period of a month.’ Or: **Liinzile/ muda/ ya meezi.** ‘He waited for a period of a month.’

Muda (y)a meezi/ liinziló. ‘It was for a period of a month that he waited.’

Ndrinzile muda (y)a meezi. ‘I waited for a period of one month.’

Or: **Ndriinzilé/ muda (y)a meezi.** Or: **Ndrinzile mudá/ ya meezi.** Or: **Ndriinzilé/ mudá/ ya meezi.**

mudaa we/ iló ‘when you came’ (= **mukhta we/ iló**)

Ndrinzile mudda waa sa’á. ‘I waited for a period of one hour.’

Siisi/ mudaa ye/ uzizo gaariyé. ‘I do not know when he sold his car.’

mudiiri (ma-) n. [Sw. *mudir* “chief, village headman, used in Zanzibar and Pemba only” SSED 313; Ar. *mudir* W 301] principal, director of a school

Jaama/ mletelele mwaalimu/ khatí/ ka mudiiri. ‘Jaama brought a letter to the teacher from the principal.’

Muduni

n. The old route from Mogadishu to Brava involved a tarmac road for 100 kms from Mogadishu to Shalaambood (**Shirombooto** in Chimwiini). From this place, one followed a dirt track for another 100 kms through the villages of Merin Gubaayi, which in Chimwiini is **Maringuwaay**, and **Eeriile** (Somali "the place where there are goats") to Mudul (in Chimwiini, **Muduni**), a small village where there was a petrol pump. At **Muduni**, one then took a side-road that climbed the coastal hill (**ibuuri** or **mlima** in Chimwiini), from the top of which one could at last see Brava and the Indian Ocean.

Muduni/ hatá/ Miini/ ni kilométerii né. ‘Muduni up to Brava is four kilometers.’

Muduni/ ni mahaḷa/ ndila/ hutindo Chismaa’ilú/ na Miini. ‘Muduni is a place where the roads going to Kisimayu and Brava intersect.’

mudaahara n. [Ar. *muzāhara* “public demonstration, rally” W 585; cf. Som. *muddaaharad* DSI 443] a demonstration to express grievances, a public rally of many people going in procession to support s.t. or to protest against s.t.

khfanya muḍaahara ‘to demonstrate, protest, rally in support of s.t.’

Waanthu/ walazile/ wafanyize muḍaahara/ hawampeendi/ mkulu wa poliisi. ‘People went out and protested that they did not want the chief of police.’

Waanthu/ walazile/ wafanyize muḍaahara/ kuja/ kuwa ghaali. ‘People went out and protested that food was too expensive.’

Waanthu/ hukomó/ khariibu/ ya milyuuni/ ishiriini/ walazile/ ndilaani/ leelo/ khfanya muḍaahara/ ḍiddi/ ya ra’iisi/ Niksoni. ‘People, who reached close to twenty million people, took the streets today to protest against President Nixon.’

muuḍi adj. [Ar. *mu'din* W 12] nuisance, bothersome
variant form: **mu'ḍi**
laakini kubla kulla mu'ḍi haydhibi [st.] 'but to kill something that is a nuisance doesn't matter'
muntʰu muuḍi 'a bothersome person'; **wantʰu muuḍi** 'bothersome people'

mufiito [Ital. *ammuffito*] in the expression:
kuwa mufiito 'to become moldy, musty (idiomatically used to refer to people who are so often at a place that they become unwanted there)
Sigareeti/ ziwale mufiito. 'The cigarettes became moldy.'

mufi (*wa-*) n. 1/2 [Ar. *muftin* W 696] one who can interpret matters, s.o. recognized by all scholars in the discipline (This borrowing from Arabic can be regarded as having the structure *mu-fti*, in which case the plural is *wa-fti*, or as an unanalyzable *mufi*, in which case the plural is *wamufi*.)
ndiye mufi wa aakhiri zamaani [st.] 'he is the *mufi* of the last days'

mazu suukhuuni ya yeele kana mufu (bananas in the market are full like mufu fish).

mufu n. 10 a kind of fish, smaller than sardines, that can be found in huge swarms; anchovies; the fact that they arrive in large swarms has given rise to the idiom **-ingi kanaa mufu** 'as many as mufu, i.e. a great quantity'

Mazu/ suukhuuni/ yayeele/ kanaa mufu. 'The market is full of bananas like mufu.'

mufu izi 'these anchovies'
niingi/ kanaa mufu 'many, like mufu'
Haliima/ nakuzala waana/ wiingi/ kanaa mufu. 'Haliima is giving birth to children as many as mufu.'

Sukhuuni/ zilesele embe/ niingi/ kanaa mufu. 'Mangos were brought to the market in large quantities, like mufu.'

nsi zaa mufu 'anchovies'
Waantʰu/ wayeele/ kanaa mufu. 'People filled (the place) like sardines.'
Ziyaraani/ ka Shekh Nureeni/ waantʰu/ yiila/ kanaa mufu. 'To the celebration of Shekh Nureeni there was coming of people like mufu.'

mufuri n. [said to be from Tunni, but we do not have any printed citation available] maize that has been stored for some time and has become dry and yellowish-brown; good for **zijo** but not for **maandra**

muhadathaati n. conversation
Iwatilo waantʰu/ khoofu/ na shaka/ ni/ ye/ kiiza/ khtomola/ shariita/ za muhadathaati/ spisilo/ benaa ye/ na ba'a/i/ ya waantʰu/ washfanyo naayé/ kaazi. 'It put fear and doubt in people: why has he refused to release the tapes of conversations between him and the people working with him?'

muhaali adj. [Sw. *muhali* SSED 313; Ar. *muhāl* W 219] impossible
Ni mambo/ ya muhaali. 'It is something impossible.'
Ni muhaali/ kumqene' esha Abooke. 'It is impossible to persuade Abooke.'
su'ali muhaali 'an impossible question (i.e. one without an answer)'

muhiibu adj. [Sw. *muheba* SSED 131; *mhibu* SSED 314; cf. Ar. verb *habba* "to love" W 151] beloved
muhiibu niize liini [song] 'beloved, when did I refuse?'

muhimu adj. [Sw. *muhimu* SSED 133; Ar. *muhimm* W 1033] important
Mi/ naayo/ amri/ muhimu/ ntho/ na sina/ wakhti. 'I have one very important matter (to discuss) and I have no time (to waste).'
Ni amri/ muhimu/ indreeseló/ mí/ kaakó/ maskuu katí. 'It is an important matter that brought me to your place in the middle of the night.'

Ni muhimu/ ka mwaalimu/ khsomesha waana. ‘It is important for the teacher to teach the children.’

Ni muhimu/ khsomeshowa waana. ‘Children are important to be taught.’
Or: **Waana/ ni muhimu/ khsomeshoowa.**

Ni muhimu/ waana/ khsomeshowa na mwaalimu. ‘It is important for the children to be taught by the teacher.’

Teena/ ni muhimu/ si/ kiiwa/ kuwa Tunne/ ichilawaangana/ jamaa’a/ nt^haano/ Goygaali/ Dakhtira/ Da’faraadi/ Wiriile/ na Hajuuwá.
‘Again, it is important for us to know that the Tunne were divided into five clans: Goygaali, Dakhtira, Da’faraadi, Wiriile, and Hajuuwa.’

Waana/ khsomesha na mwaalimu/ ni muhimu. ‘For the children to be taught by the teacher is important.’

muhiti

n. [believed to be an Arabic word, but not found in W] *Arabicism* ocean (This would probably wound not be understood by the average **munt^hu wa Miini**, primarily being used only by people knowing Arabic very well.)

Mbele ya zonte/ miini/ hupatikana karka januubi/ ya Soomaalya/ ilu ya I-fuwo la muhiti al Hindi. ‘First of all, Miini is found in the south of Somalia on the shore of the Indian Ocean.’

muhla

space of time

n. [Sw. *muhula* SSED 314; Ar. *muhla* “respite, delay, time limit” W 929] period,

Chimwambila muhli/ peja muhla/ wa skuu saba/ sku yaa saba/ chiza khfungula/ we/ takubloowa. ‘She told her husband: you are given a period of seven days, on the seventh day, if you have not solved (the riddle), you will be killed.’

muhmili

adj. [Ar. *muhmil* W 1035] negligent, careless

muhtamali

adj. [Ar. *muhtamal* W 208] probable

Ni muhtamali. ‘It is probable.’

Siwo/ muhtamali. ‘It is not probable.’

muhtaramu

adj. [Ar. *muhtaram* W 172] respected

munt^hu muhtaramu ‘someone respected’; **want^hu muhtaramu** ‘respected people’

muhuri

n. 9/10 [Sw. *muhuri* SSED 314; Ar. *muhur* W 929] seal, government stamp

Chibuku ichi/ hachibooleki/ ka qisa chibishila muhuri. ‘This book cannot be stolen because it has a stamp/seal on it.’

kubiga muhuri ‘to stamp, put a seal on’

Biga muhuriyo. ‘Put your seal on it.’

mujarrabu

adj. [Ar. *mujarrab* W 118] tested, tried, trustworthy

dawa mujarrabu ‘proven medicine’

munt^hu mujarrabu ‘a trustworthy person’

mujrimu

adj. [Ar. *mujrim* W 121] criminal

mujtama’i

n. [Ar. *mujtama* ‘ W 137] society

Haye/ mpelekele/ laakini/ iwá/ kuwa ka want^hu ni wakulú/ karka mujtama’i/ yiko khatari. ‘Alright, take it to him, but know that people who are important in society, there lies with them some danger.’

Kila/ mujtama’i/ inawe mujtama’i ya islaamu/ ba/ amó/ hurasho dini zinginezé/ wazeele/ wafanyize kuwa ni haqi yaawo/ khpa wana waawo/ ma’ina. ‘Each society, be it a Muslim society or that of

the followers of other religions, the parents made it their right to give their children names.'

Mujtama'i nt^hayina adaalá/ ni kama jahazi/ bilaa ishkilo. 'A society without justice is like a boat without a rudder.'

mujtahidi adj.[Ar. *mujtahid* W 143] industrious, diligent

mukarramu adj. [Ar. *mukarram* W 822] *poetic* respected

laakini Iisa ni hayi mukarramu [st.] 'but Jesus is alive and respected'

mukaaṭaba n. agreement

Wanakhabari/ wamrashizo Niksoni/ wanakuhada/ ya kuwa ra'iisi/ nakhfilaṭilooowa/ khfaanya/ mukaaṭabu/ pamo(oyi)/ na ba'aði/ yaa nt^hi/ zaa ye/ takuzuuró. 'Newsmen accompanying Nixon said that the president was expected to make agreements with some of the countries that he will visit.'

ku-muukhata v. be visible

Ali/ nt^hakumuukhata. 'Ali was not visible (i.e. he did not make his presence felt).'

Mahala/ amá/ muukhata/ amá/ makhanaṭa. 'At a place either be visible or be absent (i.e. when you go somewhere, be positive/active/take part or do not go).' (Translation of a Somali proverb.)

Omari/ mukhete jisa suura/ harusini. 'Omari was visible at the wedding (i.e. he participated fully).'

mukhlisi adj. [Ar. *mukhlis* W 255] sincere, candid, frank, loyal

We/ kanaa we/ ni muunt^hu/ suura/ mukhlisi/ munt^hu islaamu/ munt^hu hupendo zeemá/ mpe/ talaqaaze. 'If you are a good, sincere man, a Muslim man, a man who loves goodness, give her a divorce.'

mukhta adv. [very likely connected to Ar. *waqt* "time" W 1087] when

Ka nasiibuye/ kuwaa mbovu/ mukeewe/ nt^hakhshiika/ miimba/ mukhtaa ye/ waliko mubjaaná. 'His luck being bad, his wife did not become pregnant when he was a young man.'

Mukhta Faatma/ iló/ Omari/ yolokeleele. 'When Faatma came, Omari took [himself] off.' Or, with the subject postposed into Immediately After Verb position: **Mukhta ilo Faatma/ Omari/ yolokeleele.**

mukhta Haliima/ pishiló/ zijo 'when Haliima cooked zijo'; or: **mukhta Haliima/ pishiló/ zijo** 'when Haliima *cooked zijo*'

mukhta Haliima/ shpikó (or: **pishiló**) 'when Haliima cooked'

mukhta Haliima/ wapelo waaná/ peesá 'when Haliima gave the children money'

mukhta lpepo/ lanzizo kuvuma ka wiingí 'when the wind/ began to blow hard'

mukhta maamo/ khuposhelo badiikhí 'when your mother/ took the melon from you'

Mukhta Muusa/ takuuyó/ nt^haakuja. 'When Muusa comes, I will eat.'

Mukhta nuumba/ iwelo tayaari/ lazile/ oloshete/ kumera mushṭari/ kiyuula/ iyo. 'When the house was ready (built), he left and went to look for a buyer to buy it.'

mukhta Omari/ pakilo gaarí 'when Omari loaded the truck'

mukhta Omari/ pakizo majiwé/ gariini 'when Omari loaded stones onto the truck'; or: **mukhta Omari/ pakiizó/ majiwé/ gariini** 'when Omari *loaded* stones onto the truck'

Mukhta wakhṭi/ ukomeeló/ sungura/ chooloka/ ka mp^huundra/ chimpa salaamu/chimwaambila... 'When the time came, Rabbit went to Donkey and greeted him/ and said to him...'

Mukhtaa ye/ Baazi/ takuuyó/ naambila. ‘When Baazi will come, tell me.’
 Or: **Baazi/ mukhtaa ye/ takuuyó/ naambila.** ‘Baazi, when he will come, tell me.’ Or: **Mukhtaa ye/ takuuyó/ Baazi/ naambila.** ‘When he will come, Baazi, tell me.’ Or: **Mukhtaa ye / Baazi/ takuuyó/ naambila.** ‘When he, Baazi, will come, tell me.’ Or: **Mukhta ya Baazi/ takuuyó/ naambila.** ‘The time of Baazi coming, tell me.’
 There are of course also variants where the main verb in the sentence is initial: **Naambila/ Baazi/ mukhtaa ye/ takuuyó.** ‘Tell me Baazi, when he will come.’

Mukhtaa ye/ iló/ Omari/ nt^hawaaliko. ‘When he came, Omari was not there.’ Or: **Mukhta iló/ Omari/ nt^hawaaliko.**

Mukhtaa ye/ komelo dukaani/ mi/ skuwaaliko. ‘When he arrived at the shop, I was not there.’ Or: **Mukhtaa ye/ komeeló/ dukaani/ mi/ skuwaaliko.** (Phon. Observe that in the relative clause formation triggered by **mukhta**, the presence of focus on the relative verb prevents the final accent from extending beyond the verb.)

Mukhtaa ye/ komelo dukaani/ yana/ mi/ skuwaaliko. ‘When he arrived at the shop yesterday, I was not there.’ Or: **Mukhtaa ye/ komeeló/ dukaani/ yana/ mi/ skuwaaliko.** (Phon. Observe that in the relative clause formation triggered by **mukhta**, final accent does not extend onto the time adverbial, in contrast to true relative clauses. Also note that the presence of focus on the relative verb prevents the final accent from extending beyond the verb, again in contrast to true relative clauses.)

Mukhtaa ye/ komeeló/ mi/ skuwaaliko. ‘When he arrived, I was not there.’

mukhtaa ye/ mpeto mp^huundá/ m’ajibiiló ‘when he found a donkey that pleased him’

mukhtaa ye/ ofeetó ‘when he became tired’

Mukhtaa ye/ welo mzeelé/ mukeewe/ shishile miimba. ‘When he became an old man, his wife became pregnant.’

Muusa/ mukhtaa ye/ iló/ mi/ nch^handikaa khati. ‘Muusa, when he came, I was writing a letter.’

Mwaana/ chimwaambila/ mukhtaa we/ takhsuuló. ‘The boy answered him: whenever you want.’

Nt^haakuja/ mukhta Muusa/ takuuyó. ‘I will eat when Muusa comes.’ Or:

Mukhta Muusa/ takuuyó/ nt^haakuja.

Shtamwaambila/ ya kuwa mukhtaa si/ chenzelo khshindramana ka mafakaató/ chimlasile Yuusufu/ mahaḷaa si/ chiweshelo zoombó.
 ‘We shall tell him that when we went to run a race we left Joseph at the place where we put our things.’

We/ chandikani/ mukhtaa mi/ niiló. ‘What were you writing when I came?’

mukhtalifu adj. different

Daaba/ zina ma’ana mukhtalifu/ ka waant^hu/ mbaḷmbali. ‘Animals have different meanings/ significance for different people.’

mukhtaari adj. [Ar. *mukhtār* W 267] chosen -- an attribute of the Prophet, not used as a general term for ‘chosen’; **mṭale** is the ordinary term, although it too may be used as an attribute of the Prophet
 variant form: **mokhtaari**

mukhtasari adj. [Sw. *muhtasari* SSED 314; Ar. *mukhtaṣar* W 242] brief (of a talk. speech)

Fanya kooḍizo/ mukhtasari. ‘Make your speech short.’

ka mukhtasari ‘in brief, in outline, sketchily’

keleza ka mukhtasari ‘to explain in brief’

khabari/ ka mukhtasari ‘the news in brief’

khuṭba mukhtasari ‘a short speech’

koḍi mukhtasari ‘a short talk’

mulhidi adj. [Ar. *mulhid* W 859] unbelieving (of religion)

munt^hu mulhidi ‘an unbeliever’

want^hu mulhidi ‘unbelievers’

mulku

n. 3 [Ar. *mulk* W 922] property, possessions
variant form: **mulki** n. 3 ibid.

Basi/ karka mulkuwe/ chi'iisha/ chizeele/ shtuure/ chimó/ chiwalimo miyaka miya/ amo zaaydí. ‘So in his possession [i.e. the land he owned] there lived an old one-hump-backed woman who was one hundred years old or more.’

Mulku/ ubeele. ‘(Our) possessions are lost.’

Mweenza/ we/ nakuwona/ haali/ yiitu/ peesa/ zoleshele/ na mulkú/ ubeele. ‘My friend, you see our condition; the money is gone and the property lost.’

Ndrasile maaliyá/ na mulkuwá/ na nt^haasá/ skumwona/ mtume uyu. ‘I left my money and my property and yet I haven't seen this prophet.’

Ni/ mwenye maali/ na mulkú. ‘You (pl.) have wealth and property.’

Sultaani/ mukhtaa ye/ kasizo jawabu za kaahini/ oyó/ shkumanganya markabuze/ na manwarizé/ na majahaziyé/ choondroka/ keendra/ kumera Abunawaasi/ karka majaziira/ yotte/ yamo karka mulkuwé. ‘When the sultan heard the words of this soothsayer, he gathered his ships and his warships and his dhows and he moved and went to look for Abunawaasi in all the islands that were in his possessions.’

Uyu/ ni mulku wa sultaani. ‘This is the property of the sultan.’

muḷo

n. 3 [not found in Sw., but seems to be of Bantu origin; cf. Bemba *u-mu-lilo* as well as other Bantu languages with [cl.3] nouns employing a stem comparable to *-lilo*] fire, heat, hell

Abdalla/ iwilopo kuwa siimbá/ nt^haná/ jisaa ye/ kulawá/ shfakata/ chendra ka sultaani/ kumera rukhsa/ khtila nuumba/ iyo/ muḷo. ‘When Abdalla knew that there was no way for lion to get out [from the house], he ran to the sultan and asked permission to set that house on fire.’

Dawa yaa muḷo/ nii muḷo. ‘The remedy for fire is fire.’ (A proverb.)

Fulaani/ maayiye/ kooko/ muḷowe/ kooko. ‘Let so-and-so stay as far as possible [lit. let so-and-so's water stay far away, his fire far away.’ (A proverbial saying.)

Ifuungu/ imooyi/ mi/ ni'itilee muḷó. ‘One share I put in the fire.’

izo khtumila oyo mbwa muḷooni [st.] ‘the one who refuses’

ku-bigaa muḷo ‘to make a fire for heat or as protection against animals’

Omari/ lele maduriini/ bishilee muḷo/ kudhora mahayawaani.

‘Omari slept in the bush and made a fire to protect himself from animals.’

kumpiisha/ kanaa muḷo ‘to burn him like fire’

kudaraa muḷo ‘[lit.] to touch fire – i.e. to touch s.o. who, if touched, is going to make problems, have a bad reaction, etc.’

Chimdaara/ Omari/ kana kudaraa muḷo. ‘If you touch Omari, it is like touching fire – he will cause a lot of problems etc. (so it is best not to touch him).’

Hadaariki/ kanaa muḷo. ‘He cannot be touched just like fire (e.g. one cannot discuss or argue with him because he is too responsive, gets too heated, etc.).’

Nuumba/ hazidaariki/ kanaa muḷo. ‘Houses cannot be touched like fire (i.e. houses are so expensive one cannot buy them).’

Maamaye/ oloshale/ fanyizee muḷo/ habamo ba'iidi/ na ibirka iyo. ‘His mother made a fire a little way away from that tank of water.’ **need**

to review phrasing of this example

mooja duniya unzile na aakhera janna na muḷo weshele [st.] ‘God created the world and in the hereafter laid down paradise and hell’

Muke/ ni kamaa muḷo. ‘A woman is like fire.’ (A proverb.)
Muḷo/ huzalaa muḷo. ‘Fire begets fire.’ (A proverb.)
Skunyi/ zishishilee muḷo. ‘The firewood has retained heat.’
Wachendra kaa muḷo/ wachi’uvunaanga/ muḷo/ uchihada... ‘They went to the fire and beat it, and the fire said...’ (Morph. The [cl.3] classification of **muḷo** is indicated by the **u** object prefix in **wachi’uvunaanga** and the **u** subject prefix in **uchihada**.)
We/ nakhtilaa muḷó/ na maayí/ mahala mooyi. ‘You are putting fire and water in one place (i.e. you are putting two incompatible things together).’ (A proverbial saying.)
We/ nii muḷó/ hudhayishoo chisú/ chisu/ huḷindo lkaambalá... ‘You are the fire that melts the knife, the knife that cuts the rope...’
Zishishiloo muḷó/ ni skunyi. ‘What has retained heat is the firewood.’

-muḷo

adj. hot

hot.’ (A saying.)

Chaayi/ ni chimuḷo. ‘The tea is hot.’
Chuuma/ hubigowa cho chimuḷó. ‘The iron should be struck while it is

imuḷo/ kana aḏaabu ‘as hot as hell’

imuḷo/ kana beebe ‘as hot as a bonfire’

I muḷo/ kanaa muḷo ‘as hot as fire’

Iwa/ ni imuḷo. ‘The sun is hot.’

eat it while it is hot.’

Ja/ kuja/ yo imuḷó. ‘Eat food while it is hot.’ Or: **kuja/ jay o imuḷó.** ‘Food,

Kakanyize mayi mamuḷo/ chunguuni. ‘She poured boiling water into the pot.’

Kuja/ hujowa yo imuḷó. ‘Food should be eaten (lit. is eaten) while hot.’

Ye/ nii muḷo. ‘He is hot.’

Ye/ nt^hangú/ maali/ yamḷasiló/ nt^hakuja chakuja chimuḷo. ‘Since he lost his wealth, he has not eaten hot food.’

mumathili

n. 1/2 [Ar. *mumattil* W 893] representative

Laakini/ ba’aḏi/ ya mumathili/ wa nt^hi za chi’aafrika/ wahadiile/ ya kuwaa si/ leelo/ wa’áfrika/ siwo/ raaḏi/ pamooyi/ na saluuku/ na mweendró/ waa nt^hi/ za ch’arabú. ‘But some of the representatives of the African countries said that today we Africans are not pleased with the behavior and the treatment of the Arab countries.’

Mumathili wa Jarmani/ simeeme. ‘The German representative stood up.’

muumini

adj. [Ar. *mu’min* W 29] believer (esp. of Islam)

variant form: **mu’mini**

munt^hu muumini ‘a believer’

want^hu muumini ‘believers’

mumkini

adj. [Ar. *mumkin* W 918] possible

Iwaliko mumkini. ‘It was possible.’

Ni mumkini. ‘It is possible.’

muumu/ umu

demon. in this same place

Chibuuku/ chimo muumu/ umu. ‘The book is here inside somewhere (close to me).’

Ningile muumú/ umu. ‘I went into this very same place.’ (cf. **Ingile muumu/ umu.** ‘He went into this very same place.’)

muumu/ umuno

demon.

Chibuuku/ chimo muumu/ umunu. ‘The book is here inside somewhere (close to me).’

muumuje/ umuje

demon. in that very same place there

muna n. [cf. Bajuni *mnuna*, see D. Nurse's Bajuni wordlist] (my) younger brother (of a male), my younger sister (of a female); [pron. **muná**]

mi/ munaya 'my younger brother'

Mi/ ni Yuusufú/ na uyú/ nii muná. 'I am Yuusufu and this one is my younger brother.'

muna/ nda mi 'my younger brother'

Muna uyu/ nii mule. 'This younger brother (of mine) is tall.' (cf. **Muna uje/ ni chigobe.** 'That younger brother (of mine) is short.')

munawa 'my younger brother'

munaya/ mi 'my younger brother'

Munaya/ mi/ nt^hakeendra/ Mkhodiisho. 'My younger brother did not go to Mogadishu.'

Munaza/ na bayaazá/ wa'oloshela kulangala matezo. 'My younger sisters and my older sisters went to watch games.'

Naayé/ choondroka/ chendra ka waawaye/ chimwaambila/ waawé/ mi/ nnakhsuulá/ khsaafira/ li'ajli ya kummeraa muná. 'And he arose and went to his father and said to him: father, I want to set off on a journey for the sake of looking for my younger brother.'

rel.

muna=poss.

Ali/ na Nuurú/ ni muunt^hu/ na muné/ ka baaba/ tu. 'Ali and Nuuru are brothers, from father's [side] only.'

Basi/ olokaani/ ndretelaani/ muna yiinu. 'So go and bring to me your (pl.) younger brother!'

muná 'my younger brother/ sister'

Oyo/ nii muná. 'That one is my younger brother/sister.'

muna yaawo 'their younger brother/sister'

muna yiinu 'your (pl.) younger brother/sister'

Baasi/ olokaani/ ndretelaani/ muna yiinu. 'So (pl.) go and bring to me your younger brother.'

muna yiitu 'our younger brother/sister'

Mwiingine/ chihada/ la/ kubloowa/ siwo/ suura/ ni muna yiitu/ nalangaloowa/ jawaabu/ mweepe/ yiingine. 'Another one said no, for him to be killed is not good, he is our younger brother; he should be shown some other answer (i.e. he should be dealt with in some other way).'

muné 'his younger brother, her younger sister'

Aziizi/ muné/ pisile/ imtihaani. 'Aziizi's younger brother passed the examination.' Or: **Aziizi/ muné/ imtihaani/ pisile.**

Aziizi/ muné/ pisile imtihani ya hisaabu/ tu. 'Aziizi's younger brother passed only the mathematics examination.'

Aziizi/ muné/ tu/ pisilo imtihaani. 'Only Aziizi's younger brother passed the examination.'

Ndo/ ni/ nna'iwá/ so/ zaa ni/ nimfanyizo Yuusufú/ naa muné.

'Come! Do you know what you did to Yuusufu and his younger brother?'

Ye/ koðele ka tarafu yaa muné. 'He spoke concerning his younger brother.'

Ye/ waliko cholokapi/ yana/ pamo naa muné. 'Where was he going yesterday together with his younger brother?' (Possible answer: **Ye/ waliko choloka sukhuuni/ yana/ pamo naa muné.** 'He was going to the market yesterday together with his younger brother.')

Yuusufu/ chanza khfañisha/ mizigo/ ya mkulaze/ qabla ya mizigo/ waa muné. 'Joseph began to inspect the bags of his older brothers before the bag of his younger brother.'

munaze 'his younger brothers, her younger sisters'

Aziizi/ munaze/ wotte/ wapisile imtihaani. 'Aziizi's younger brothers all passed the examination.'

Ye/ koðele ka tarafu ya munaze. 'He spoke concerning his younger brothers.'

munó 'your younger brother/ sister'

Munó/ ni garabuyo. ‘Your brother is your shoulder.’ (A proverb.)
Oyo/ nii munó. ‘Is that one your younger brother?’
Oyo/ nii munó/ so. ‘That one is your younger brother, isn’t he?’
Sinvile muná/ mi/ siwo/ munó. ‘Don’t call me ‘my little sister’, I am not your little sister.’

- munaafiqi** adj. [Ar. *munāfiq* W 988] hypocritical; [pron. **munaafiqi** or **munaafikhi**]
munt^hu munaafiqi ‘a hypocritical person’ (cf. **want^hu munaafiqi** ‘hypocritical people’)
- munaaqasha** n. [Ar. *munāqaša* W 991] argument, debate
- munaasaba** n. time, meaning, value
Kilaa chiint^hu/ inayo munasabaye. ‘Everything has its time/ meaning/ value.’ (A proverb.)
- munaasibu** adj. [Ar. *munāsib* W 991] appropriate, suitable
Chiḷawa/ choloka numbaani/ ka Harun Rashiidi/ na waqtí/ nt^hakuwaaliko/ wakhtí munaasibu/ wa muunt^hu/ kendra kumzura Harun Rashiidi. ‘He left and went to the house of Haruun Rashiidi but it was not an appropriate time for a person to visit Haruun Rashiidi.’
- mundule** n. [Som. *mundul* DSI 446] a circular, dome-shaped hut made of wood with mud plastering
- Munishiipiya** n. [Ital. *municipio*] the town-hall in Brava
- muunjo** n. a small weevil that enters cereals (seaweed is used to protect grain from **muunjo**)
- muunju** n.
munju wa ori ‘the cockscomb of an **ori** (cock, rooster)’
- muunkari** adj. stubborn, contradictory, rebellious, insubordinate; [pron. **muunk^hari**]
Haaji/ waliko muunk^hari/ ize kumkasa chizeele/ chiḷawa/ chishikaa ndila. ‘Haaji, who was stubborn, refused to listen to the old woman and left and went on his way.’
rel.
u-muunkari n. 14 disobedience; [pron. **umuunk^hari**]
- munu** n. 3 [Sw. *munyu* SSED 315] salt; [pron. **munu**, but **munu** may also be heard]
khtilaa munu ‘to add salt to’
Tilee nama/ munu. ‘He put salt in the meat.’
munuuwe ‘his salt’
Na teená/ nguwo/ zaa ye/ veetó/ zinazo mayi yaa munu. ‘And also, the clothes that he is wearing have salt water [taste salty].’
- munzukaafiri** n. [the second part of this noun would seem to be **kaafiri** ‘infidel’] lizard
- muqadasi** adj. [Ar. *muqaddas* W 747] sacred
Awa/ kaawo/ ngoombe/ ni daaba/ muqadasi/ walá/ hazijoowi/ kaawo. ‘For these people, cattle are sacred animals, neither are they eaten by them.’
Haruusi/ ni chiint^hu/ muqadasi/ nt^ho/ ka want^hu wa Miini. ‘Marriage is something very sacred for the people of Brava.’
- mura** n. [Sw. *murū* “kind of native medicine used in stomach trouble of children; also mixed with aloe and other ingredients and used for putting on swellings” SSED 315] A black substance that is usually applied on the forehead and face of infants (perhaps as a remedy against the evil eye). It is also given to them to drink, mixed with water,

as a remedy against stomach ache. Apparently, **mura** is not a vegetable substance, but a mixture of different ingredients. Bravanese do not know its composition, because it is sold as lumps in shops, ready for use.

mur'oodi

n. a kind of wild fruit

muriidi

n. [Ar. *murīd* W 366] disciple, follower of Sufi order
masheekhi ya si chinaayo / chiweele muriidi waawo [st.] 'the Sheikhs we have – we have become their disciples'

muuriya
Brava)

n. a gold necklace made of large hollow ball beads (but has not been observed in

murka

n. sprain

murtadi

adj. [Ar. *murtadd* "renegade, apostate" W 334] a Muslim who only pays lip-service to this religion, s.o. who has left his Islamic roots

m̄late oyo ni murtadi ni faasiqi [st.] 'leave that one alone, he is someone who has recanted Islam, he is scandalous'

ku-mur(u)gika

v. [Som. *murguco*, variant *murkuco* DSI 448] sprain (The p/s. extension **ik** has been appended to the Somali root element *murg/k-*)

Mkono/ ummurugishile. 'He sprained his arm -- [lit.] arm sprained with respect to him.'

rel.

ku-murkaṭa v. (**murkeete**) sprain something, be sprained

Mkono/ ummurkeete. 'He sprained his arm.'

Muunt^hu/ kuulu/ immurkeete. 'The person sprained his leg.' Or:

Muunt^hu/ immurkeṭe kuulu. (Phon. Observe that when the subject of the sentence, **kuulu**, is postposed after the verb, it phrases together with the verb.)

ku-mur(u)gisha v. caus.

ku-mur(u)gsaṭa

v. [Som. *murugeysan* DSI 449] (**mur(u)gseete**) be worried

Basi/ sultaani/ nakumurgsaṭa. 'So the sultan is becoming worried.'

rel.

ku-murugisha v. caus. (**murugishiize**) worry someone

ku-mur(u)gsaṭila v. appl. be worried about

Mubiidi/ maamaye/ daa'imu/ hummurugsaṭila. Mubiidi's mother, she always worries about him.'

ku-murugsaṭisha v. caus. (**murugsaṭishiize**) worry someone

Sakiina/ mmurugsaṭishize mwaallimu. 'Sakiina worried the teacher.'

ku-murugsaṭishika v. caus. p/s.

ku-murugsaṭishana v. caus. rec.

ku-murugsaṭishiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-murugsaṭishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

murugu

n. 3 or 9 anxiety, frustration

khtila murugu 'to worry someone'

kingila muruguuni 'to be worried'

Hamadi/ ingile muruguuni. 'Hamadi was worried.'

kumpata murugu 'to be worried'

Ali/ umpete murugu. 'Ali was worried [lit. worry got Ali].'

Hasani/ impete murugu. 'Hasani got worried.'

Ka^fkhisani/ Nuuru/ impeto murugú. 'Why was Nuuru worried?'

(The pre-verbal question words, being focused, trigger pseudo-relativization of the verb.)

^fMurugu/ impeto maaná. '(It is) worry that has gotten the child.'

Or: **^fMurugu/ impeetó/ maana.** Or: **Murugu/ maana/ impeetó.** (Our consultant rejected the sentence where an

initial **murugu** is not focused: ***Murugu/ impete Nuuru.**)

^f**Naani/ impeto murugú.** ‘Who got worried?’

Nuuru/ ka’impatá/ murugú ‘if Nuuru had been worried’ or

Nuuru/ ka’impatá/ murugú (Note that in the case of the *ka*-tense, the Accentual Law of Focus may fail to come into play, as in the present example.)

Nuuru/ ^ftu/ impeto murugú. ‘Only Nuuru was worried.’

Yana/ Nuuru/ impete murugu. ‘Yesterday Nuuru got worried.’

Or: **(Ni) ^fyana/ Nuuru/ impeto murugú.** ‘Yesterday Nuuru got worried.’ Or: **^fYana/ Nuuru/ impeetó/ murugu.** ‘Yesterday Nuuru got worried.’ (In the last example, where besides focus on **yana**, the verb is also emphasized and thus at the end of a phonological phrase, the Accentual Law of Focus comes into play to restrict the extension of final accent to **murugu**. In our data, ALF is much more likely to come into play in the case of pseudo-relativization than in true relativization.)

kumwingila murugu ‘to be worried’

Omari/ umwingile murugu. ‘Omari was worried [lit. worry entered Omari].’

kuwanayo murugu ‘to be sad, have worries’

Waziiri/ chiwa mzimawe/ murugu. ‘The minister’s whole body was sad.’

Ye/ mbenopo mzima/ wa murugu/ na **sinakhaadira/ kuja/ nuziize...** ‘When he saw me totally anxious and (saw) that I was not able to eat, he asked me...’ *review accent*

Ye/ sh^tukulika/ naaye/ mzimawe/ **murugu/ chendra ka waawaye.** ‘He took himself and filled with worries, he went to this father.’ *review*

rel.

mi-murugu n. 4 aug. different sorts of worries, frustrations

murukhu

n. 9/10 muscle

Alí/ bishila sindanu ya murukhu. ‘Ali has gotten an intramuscular injection.’

Alí/ murukhuze/ ni zihabba/ Hamadi/ murukhuze/ nii nk^hulu. ‘Ali’s muscles are small, Hamadi’s are big (i.e. he is well built, athletic).’

Alí/ nakhteza mpiira/ halaweete/ ^tindishile murukhu. ‘Ali was playing football; he hurt himself, he tore a muscle.’

Hamadi/ nayo murukhu. ‘Hamadi has muscles.’

We/ sinyoonyé/ murukhuzo. ‘You, don’t show me your muscles (i.e. flex one’s muscles, pretend to use force to achieve s.t.).’

murwa

n. [Som. *murwo* DSI 450] respect, dignity

Wwaliko wazele/ wasuura/ wenye shuhra/ na murwá. ‘They were good parents, possessing fame and dignity.’

musaa’ada

n. help

mushiiri

n. title given to the Italian governor of the Benadir during days of Italian colonialization

mushkila

n. [Ar. *muškila* ‘issue, unsolved question’ W 483] problem, dilemma

mushkila mkulu ‘a big problem’

N^haku/ mushkila. ‘There is no problem.’

rel.

mashaakili n. pl. [Ar. *mašākil* W 483] different sorts of worries, frustrations

mush^taraki

adj. [Ar. *muštarak* ‘common, joint, collective’ W 469]

Karka Suuqu/ Mush^taraki/ mkulu wa Suqu Mush^taraki/ khu^tubiile. ‘At the [meeting of] the Common Market, the head of the Common Market gave a speech.’

mush^tari

n.[Ar. *al-muštarī* W 470] the planet Jupiter

muusi

one, but **mooyi** is used when the number is a modifier

muskiri adj. [Ar. *muskir* “intoxicating liquor” W 417] anything that makes one lose control of one’s mental faculties

musimu n. season
Chimpa sulṭaani/ salaamu/ chimwiwisha khabari/ za nt^hi za wanyaasa/ na chimwaambila/ ya kuwa oko/ musimu waa nsi/ umaliize. ‘He greeted the sultan and informed him of the news from the lands of the Wanyaasa, telling him that there the season for [catching] fish had ended.’

musmaari n. [Sw. *msumari* SSED 305, from Ar. *mismār* W 429] nail
Musmaari/ unakhkuka ka lkutaani. ‘The nail is coming out of the wall.’
Walá/ nt^hakhtaala/ haṭá/ musmari mooyi/ kuwa mbwaake. ‘Nor did he take even one nail (of the house) to be his.’ **accent needs to be checked**

muso n. 9/10 [cf. Bajuni *muso* “young male chicken”, D. Nurse’s Bajuni wordlist] hen
muso uyu or **muso iyi** ‘this hen’ (cf. **muso izi** ‘these hens’)
Uzilee muso. ‘He bought a hen.’
rel.
chi-muso (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

musta’amali adj. [Ar. *musta’mal* W 646] used
gari musta’amali ‘used car(s)’
mayi musta’amali ‘water that is not appropriate for taking ablutions (lit. used water)’

musta’iddi adj. [Ar. *musta’idd* W 595] ready
Munt^hu uyu/ musta’iddi/ khfanya kila chiint^hu. ‘This man is ready to do anything.’

mustafa adj. chosen; n. a name for the Prophet Mohammad

mustaq(a)wali n. [Ar. *mustaqbal* “future”, adj. and noun, W 742] future tense (in grammar) = **shtendro chinakuuyó** ‘action which is coming’; **perhaps more widely applied, check**

mustaqilli adj. [Ar. *mustaqill* W 783] independent
khfanya mustaqilli ‘to make independent’
munt^hu mustaqilli ‘s.o. independent’
nt^hi mustaqilli ‘an independent country’

mustaqiimu adj. [Ar. *mustaqīm* W 802] straight (physically, morally)
luti mustaqiimu ‘a straight stick’
munt^hu mustaqiimu ‘a morally upright person’

muta’abidi adj. [Ar. *muta’abbid* W 587] devout, pious

mutanta n. 9/10 [Ital. *mutande*] underpants, underwear (Although in native Bantu words, the voiceless prenasalized stops written **mp nt^h nt^h nch** and **nk** are aspirated, various loanwords occur where no aspiration occurs, suggesting perhaps that these sounds represent sequences of a nasal followed by a stop and are not actually prenasalized stops. The sequence **nt^h** in the present word represents an example of the lack of aspiration.)

Mutanta iyi/ nda naani. ‘This pair of underpants is for whom?’ (cf.
Mutanta izi/ nza naani. ‘These underpants (pl.) are for whom?’)
mutanta mooyi ‘a pair of underpants’ (cf. **mutanta niingi** ‘many underpants’)
Mutanta/ za Omari/ nakuuzó/ suura. ‘The underpants that Omari is selling are good.’

rel.
chi-mutanta (zi-) n. 7/8 underpants

<i>muṭamarriḍi</i>	adj. [Ar. <i>mutamarriḍ</i> “recalcitrant, rebellious” W 903] defiant of traditions and conventions
<i>muṭashaa’imu</i>	adj. [Ar. <i>mutaṣā’im</i> W 449] pessimistic
<i>muṭawafu</i>	n. [Ar. <i>muṭawwif</i> W 574] pilgrims’ guide in Mecca
<i>muṭma’ini</i>	adj. [Ar. <i>muṭma’inn</i> “peaceful, safe – of land” W 568] tranquil. quiet, peaceful munt^hu muṭma’ini ‘a tranquil person’ want^hu muṭma’ini/ waṭma’ini ‘tranquil people’
<i>muzdahimu</i>	in the expression: ndila ya muzdahimu ‘a crowded or busy road’
<i>muuzika</i>	n. [Sw. <i>muziki</i> SSED 315; Eng. <i>music</i> ; Ital. <i>musica</i>] music
<i>chi-mviṭa</i>	n. 7 the dialect of Swahili spoken in Mombasa
<i>m(w)aamba</i>	n. [Sw. <i>mwamba</i> SSED 318] a rock under the sea Jahazi/ ipanzile mwaamba. ‘The dhow went aground on an underwater rock.’
<i>m(w)ambarani</i>	n. 1/10 a kind of large shark mwambarani izi ‘these sharks’ mwambarani maṭete ‘a sp. shark, black-spotted (tiger shark?)’ mwambarani uyu ‘this shark’
<i>m(w)aana</i>	a title for a female explore this entry
<i>mwanua</i>	interj. calling s.o.’s attention and giving respect (used by females)
<i>muwaatini</i>	n. nationalist, supporter of the government Mukhtạa we/ takhfanyo zint^hu izi/ apo/ ndipó/ we/ takuviḷowa muwaatini. ‘If you do these things, that is when you will be called a nationalist.’
<i>mwaana</i>	n. [Sw. <i>mwana</i> , recorded under <i>jana</i> SSED 150] a title for a female
<i>m(w)aayo</i>	n. [Sw. <i>mwayo</i> (<i>miayo</i>) “seldom heard except in the plural, yawn”] yawn (Morph. We do not have evidence as to the noun class of this item, though the corresponding Swahili example suggests that this is a class 3 nominal, and that if a class 4 form exists it would be myaayo .) kendra m(w)aayo ‘to yawn’ (cf. Sw. <i>kupiga miayo</i>)’ Hamadi/ hendra maayo/ ka^fwiingi. ‘Hamadi yawns a lot.’ Omari/ kaleent^he/ niingi/ haṭá/ nakendra maayo. ‘Omari sat a lot until he started to yawn.’ kendrela m(w)aayo ‘to have a strong desire for s.t.’ koloka m(w)aayo ‘to yawn, gape’
<i>l-m(w)iingu</i>	n. [Sw. <i>ulimwengu</i> SSED 496] world; experience variant form recorded from MI: l-mweengu Hafundrowi na maamayé/ humfundro l-mweengu. ‘The one who is not taught by his mother is the one whom the world teaches.’ (A proverb.) Moojá/ narude l-miingu/ kana la mbele. ‘May God bring back (i.e. restore) the world as it was before.’ (This is a well-known line from a shṭeenzi , but has acquired a proverbial flavor and is widely used in everyday speech. It is said to comment on a present situation full of

problems, calamities, etc., like the present situation in Somalia, or in general after criticizing “modern” behavior and trends. One would wish to go back to an earlier time of order, peace and plenty that only God could bring back.)

M(w)iini

n. 9 the indigenous name of Brava (Barawa) -- apparently a contraction of the locative noun **muyii=ni** ‘in the town’, itself derived from **muu-yi** ‘town’. Brava is located in southern Somalia and represents the last mainland outpost of the Swahili language group in Somalia. There is historical evidence that some form of Swahili was spoken as far north as Mogadishu at one time, but the only surviving communities in present-day Somalia are the **waant^hu wa Miini** who speak Chimiini and the Bajuni on the offshore islands, who speak a Swahili dialect **Tikuu**. At the time the original research for this lexicon was conducted, Brava was the home to the vast majority of Chimwiini speakers (ten thousand or so, according to the estimate of MI). However, the upheavals in Somalia in the 1990’s have largely dispersed the **want^hu wa Miini**, with many fleeing to Kenya and large numbers subsequently migrating to the United Kingdom and the United States as well as elsewhere.

Apa/ haṭá/ Miini/ ni khariibu. ‘From here to Brava is close.’

Apa/ haṭá/ Miini/ siwo/ kule. ‘From here to Brava is not far.’

Isa/ Mwiini/ inakuvuundika/ na waant^huwé/ wanakhpuunguka. ‘Now Brava is going into ruins and its people are decreasing in number.’

N- [cl.9/10] noun class prefix (When followed by a consonant, this prefix assimilates the point of articulation of the consonant and forms a prenasalized consonant with it. If the consonant is a voiceless stop, this stop becomes aspirated.)

mbiṭa ‘duck/ducks’

mp^haka ‘cat/cats’

mp^haanga ‘swords’ (cf. the [cl.11] singular **lpaanga**)

mp^heelo ‘brooms’ (cf. the [cl.11] singular **lpeelo**)

mp^hisi ‘hyena/hyenas’

ndila ‘road/roads’

nguwo ‘clothes’

nk^huta ‘walls’ (cf. the [cl.11] singular **lkuta**)

nsi ‘fish (both singular and plural)’

nuumba ‘house’ (Although we list this noun in the dictionary as an unanalyzable stem, there are morphologically-related nominals that suggest that it could be viewed as having internal structure, /**n-uumba**/, in which case the [cl.9/10] noun class prefix has the allomorph **n** in this word.)

N- [cl.9/10] agreement prefix (When followed by a consonant, this prefix assimilates the point of articulation of the consonant and forms a prenasalized consonant with it. If the consonant is a voiceless stop, this stop becomes aspirated.)

Karkaa ndila/ chiwawona/ waant^hu/ wawili/ waṭukilo sufuriyaa nk^hulu/ na nguwo nelpe. ‘On the way he saw two people who were carrying a large pot and a white cloth.’ (The adjective **nk^hulu** ‘large’ agrees with the [cl. 9/10] noun **sufuriya** and illustrates the fact that the nasal agreement prefix triggers aspiration of the initial voiceless stop in /kulu/. The adjective **nelpe** illustrates that the prefix appears as **n** when followed by a vowel-initial stem like /elpe/.)

mazuu mbiṭi ‘unripe bananas’ (The adjective stem /wiṭi/ illustrates that an initial **w** will form a prenasalized stop **mb** with the **N-** prefix.)

mp^heelo ndre ‘long brooms’ (Note that the adjective stem /-le/ forms a prenasalized voiced stop with the **N-** prefix: **ndre**.)

Mteendre/ uzaazile/ nt^heendre/ niingi. ‘The date tree bore many dates.’ (The adjective **niingi** shows that the **N-** prefix has the shape **n-** in front of a vowel-initial stem like /-iingi/.)

Nguwo/ ziwelee nk^havu. ‘The clothes became dry.’

Nunguu nk^hulu/ haykosi/ ikooko. ‘A large pot does not fail to have **ikooko**.’ (A proverb.)

na

conj. and

Abunawaasi/ choloka chingila muyiini/ kumera mushtari mwiingine/ na

ka nasiibuyé/ mbovu/ nt^hakhpita. ‘Abunawaasi went and entered town to look for another buyer and his luck being bad, he did not find one.’

Chimpa Abdalla/ maali/ miingi/ nt^ho/ chimpa na nuumbá/ iwaliko

nk^huluu nt^ho. ‘He gave Abdalla very much money and he gave him a house which was very big.’ (Syn. Notice the placement of

the conjunction **na** after the verb and how it triggers final accent on the following nominal.)

Inaya/ ni Bulukhiya/ na waawé/ waliko sultaani. ‘My name is Bulukhiya and my father was king.’

Khati/ ya mkulu/ wa mawaardiya/ shtaaló/ Abunawaasi/ na khati ya Abunawaasi/ shtaaló/ ni mkulu wa mawaardiya. ‘The letter of the head of the guards, the one who took it was Anunawaasi, and Abunawaasi’s letter, the one who took it was the head of the guards.’

Majiraani/ wanne/ wa’uzize uki/ na wa’awanyize peesa/ kati kaawo. ‘The four neighbors sold the honey and divided the money among themselves.’

Mbuzi/ file/ mba na. ‘The goat died, and what about the dog?’ (Observe this rather unexpected construction where the preposition **na** is located post-nominally, phrase-final.)

Mi/ inaya/ ni Janishaahi/ na ina ya waawé/ ni Tayghamuusai. ‘My name is Jamishaahi, and the name of my father is Tayghamuusi.’

na lpaangá/ mkonoóni ‘and a sword in hand’ or: **na lpaangá/ mkonooni,** with no very clear difference in meaning or usage

Na m̄tanaani/ kaaké/ weene. ‘And he saw it in his room [e.g. after seeing it somewhere else first].’

Na m̄tanaani/ weene. ‘And he saw it in the room [e.g. after seeing it somewhere else first].’

na+pronoun ‘too, also’ (commonly found in narrative texts, not necessarily contributing much to the sentence from a meaning point of view)

Attá/ leelo/ naayé/ mwanaa masultaani/ naayé/ husoma naaye/ chiwo/ mahaḷa mooyi. ‘Until one day [lit. today] a son of sultans studied with him (i.e. a previously mentioned boy) in the same school.’ (Phon. The phrase **husoma naaye** represents, of course, a use of the preposition **na** in the sense ‘with’; unlike **na** ‘and’, this preposition does not trigger final accent. Another point about the present example should be made: **mwanaa masultaani** seems to violate the general principle that one cannot have a long vowel located so far from the end of the phrase. However, **mwanaa masultaani** is a contraction from **mwana wa masultaani** and such contracted long vowels are not subject to shortening in Chimwiini.)

Chibuuku/ miizi/ naachó/ boozele. ‘The book, the thief stole it also.’ Or: **Miizi/ chibuuku/ naachó/ boozele.**

Chibuuku/ naachó/ miizi/ boozele. ‘And the book also has been stolen.’

Chibuuku/ nacho miizi/ naayé/ naacho. ‘The book which the thief has, he [someone else] also has it.’

Maama/ naayé/ chishikowa na maraḍi/ chifa. ‘Mother too fell sick and died.’

Maana/ naayé/ bishila. ‘The boy also was hit.’

Maana/ naayé/ uzile. ‘The boy also bought [one].’

Mi/ naami/ noloshelé/ ka mwaarabu/ oyo/ laakini/ mi/ nnele kahawá. ‘And I also went to that Arab’s place, but I drank coffee.’

Mi/ nuzile chibuukú/ naayé/ uzile. ‘I bought a book and he also bought [a book].’

Naayé/ uzile chibuuku. ‘And he also bought a book.’

Waziira/ naayé/ chihada/ naami/ kaḍaalika/ noloshelé/ numba

iy/ na mbishiḷa ndruti miyá. ‘The minister also said: and I likewise went to that house and I was given one hundred blows.’

Nishfungile chisanduukhú/ na ndrani ya chisandukhu ichí/ chiwalimoo chuwo. ‘I opened the little box and inside this little box was a book.’

Omari/ baaburi/ uziize/ nuumba na, ‘Omari sold the car, what about the house?’

Sandukhuuni/ chiwaliko chiwovu/ na chiwovuuni/ chiwalimoo chuwo/ cha siifa/ za mtume. ‘In the box there was a pouch, and in the pouch there was a book of praises of the prophet.’

Ye/ chiwaa dawa/ zote/ na chiwa maraḍi/ yote. ‘He was all medicine and he was all diseases (i.e. he was totally immersed in medicine and diseases).’

na

prep. by (Phon. The preposition *na* ‘by’ forms a prosodic word with a following monosyllabic pronoun.)

Jaama/ faramiḷa naami/ keendra. ‘Jaama was advised by me to go.’

Nfaramiḷa keendrá. ‘I was advised to go.’

Nfaramiḷa keendrá/ na Jaama. ‘I was advised to go by Jaama.’ (Phon. Observe that in this example, the agentive phrase is outside the focus and final accent is not projected to it. It should be noted that the agent phrase contrasts with *na* used as a preposition:

Nfaramiḷa keendrá/ na Nuuru. ‘I was advised to go with Nuuru.’

It is possible for the agentive phrase to be focused by putting it into position immediately after the verb: **Nfaramiḷa na Nuuru/**

keendra. ‘I was advised by Nuuru to go.’ Notice that because the agent phrase is focused, the final accent from the verb does not extend past it to the infinitival complement.)

Nqani’ishize na Nuuru/ kooloka. ‘I was persuaded by Nuuru to go.’

na

prep. with, to

Apo/ mzele/ chimviila/ na mwanaamke/ naayé/ chimuza su’aali/ yiyo/ iyo/ yaayé/ wa’uzizo wabjaaná. ‘Then the old man called his daughter, too, and asked here the very same question that he had asked the boys.’ (Syn. Notice the use of *na* between the verb and the complement to the verb. It is not immediately clear whether this *na* should be understood to be the prepositional *na* or the conjunction *na*. The latter would seem possible since in the example **mwanaamke** is being discussed in conjunction with **wabjaana**. However, this *na* does not trigger a final accent on the following complement, as would be expected if it were the conjunction. In any case, the meaning seems to be that the old man called also the daughter, in addition to calling the sons.)

Karaayle/ shkhiira/ chendra naawo/ kanisaani. ‘Crow agreed to go with them to the church.’

Mwanaamke/ chilawa/ na Hasani/ chendra naaye/ numbaani. ‘The girl left with Hasani and went with him to her home.’

Na ^fNuuru/ nk^hoḍeeló/ yana. ‘With *Nuuru* I spoke yesterday.’ (Time adverbials typically are ‘outside’ the verb phrase. A time adverbial in IAV position would be focused. In the present example, the focus on **Nuuru** seems to preclude focus on **yana**, as can be seen from the fact that GM rejected ***Na ^fNuuru/ nk^hoḍeloo yaná.**)

Na ^fNuuru/ yana/ nk^hoḍeeló. ‘With/to *Nuuru* yesterday I spoke.’ (We can see that **Nuuru** is focused from the pseudo-relative clause form of the verb and the fact that **yana** is lowered in pitch relative to **Nuuru**. If **yana** were the focused element, it would be higher in pitch. The pseudo-relative verb is downstepped, as is the common pattern for such verbs.)

Shkalaant^ha naaye/ kuja naaye/ oyo mwaana. ‘He sat with him to eat with him, that boy.’

Sultaani/ chirashmana/ na ma’askariye/ naayé/ kendra kubigaa zita. ‘The sultan accompanied his soldiers and also went to fight the

war.’

Yana/ nk^hoðele na Nuurú. ‘Yesterday I spoke with Nuuru.’

Yana/ nk^hoðeelé/ na Nuuru. ‘Yesterday I *spoke* with Nuuru.’

^f**Yana/ nk^hoðelo na Nuurú.** ‘*Yesterday* I spoke with Nuuru.’

^f**Yana/ nk^hoðeelé/ na Nuuru.** ‘*Yesterday* I *spoke* with Nuuru.’

-na-

present tense marker

Chinakhtezá. ‘We are playing.’

(N)naakujá. ‘I am eating.’

Sinakuwawona. ‘I do not see them.’

Wanakiimba. ‘They are singing.’

Wanakumera muunt^hu/ aadili/ na faahimú/ kuwawejele sultaani. ‘They are looking for someone just and intelligent to be their sultan.’

We/ nakhfaanyani. ‘What are you doing?’

-na-

a semantically empty formative used with third person subjects in the subjunctive affirmative

Mukhtaaya ye/ takuuyó/ wa’ambile/ want^huwo/ wanampise/ nt^hiini/

nalangale markabu. ‘When she comes, tell your people that they should have her go below in order to see the ship.’

Nnakhsulaa chisú/ chinawe shkalí. ‘I want that the knife be sharp.’ Cf.

Nnakhsulaa zisú/ zinawe skalí. ‘I want that the knives be sharp.’

Nnakhsulaa lutí/ linawee lilé. ‘I want that the stick be long.’ Cf.

Nnakhsulaa ndrú/ zinawee ndre. ‘I want that the sticks be long.’

Nnakhsulaa mutí/ unawe chihabá. ‘I want that the tree be small.’ Cf.

Nnakhsulaa mití/ yanawe zihabá. ‘I want that these trees be small.’

Nnakhsulaa wo/ wanawe wasuurá. ‘I want that they [cl.2] be good.’

(Contrast the second person plural subject case, which does not have the **na** element: **Nnakhsulaa ni/ niwe wasuurá.** ‘I want that you (pl.) be good.’)

Nnakhsulaa ye/ nanambile lillá. ‘I want that he tell me the truth.’ Cf.

Nnakhsulaa ye/ nachambile lillá. ‘I want that he tell us the truth.’

Waan^huwe/ ye mwanaamke/ wana’endre mbali yaawo. ‘The girl’s

people, let them go a different way [so that they are separated from the girl].’

-na

v. have (The bare stem seems to be possible just in the event there is an overt subject prefix. Thus ***We/ na chibuuku.** ‘You have a book.’ and ***Ye/ na chibuuku.** are of doubtful validity.)

Affirmative present tense:

nna ‘I have’

Mi/ nna chibuukú. ‘I have a book.’

Mi/ nnayo kuwaa ye/ nakhkoða wanaafakhí. ‘I think that he is lying [lit. I have it that he is lying].’ (Cf. **Mi/ nnayo kuwaa ye/ koðele wanaafakhí.** ‘I think that he lied.’ And: **Mi/ nnayo kuwaa ye/ shkoða wanaafakhí.** ‘I think that he used to lie.’) (Phon. Observe that the first person main verb **nnayo...** triggers a final accent that is realized at the end of each of the phrases in the verb phrase, even though the third person complement verb would trigger default accent.)

Nnayo keendrá. ‘I should leave.’ **review**

na ‘you have’

Nayooyí/ we. ‘How do you see it? What do you think about it?’

Nazooyí/ kooðize? ‘How do you see/ take what he said?’

***We/ na chibuukú.** ‘You have a book.’ (Appears to be ungrammatical.)

na [cl.1] has

maana/ nacho chibuukú ‘the child who has the book’ or, with verb focus: **maana/ naachó/ chibuukú** (cf. **maana/ nayo chibuukú** ‘the child who has a book’ and, with verb focus: **maana/ naayó/ chibuukú**)

maana/ nayo chibuukú ‘the child who has a book’ and, with verb

focus: **maana/ naayó/ chibuukú**)

Muunt^hu/ nachoo chisu. ‘The man has a knife.’

Munt^hu uyu/ nacho chisu shkali. ‘This man has a sharp knife.’

Muusa/ nacho chibuuku. ‘Muusa has the book.’ Or with verb focus: **Muusa/ naacho/ chibuuku.** (Sem. The use of *cho* conveys a definite noun. If the noun is indefinite, then *yo* is used: **Muusa/ nayo chibuuku.** ‘Muusa has a book.’ Or with verb focus: **Muusa/ naayo/ chibuuku.**)

Muusa/ tu/ nayo chibuukú. ‘Only Muusa has a book.’ Cf. **Muusa/ tu/ nacho chibuukú.** ‘Only Muusa has the book.’

Muusa/ tu/ naachó/ chibuuku. ‘Only Muusa *has* a book.’ Cf. **Muusa/ tu/ naachó/ chibuuku.** ‘Only Muusa *has* the book.’

Ni Muusa/ nayo chibuukú. ‘It is Muusa who has a book.’ Or, with verb focus: **Ni Muusa/ naayo/ chibuuku.** (Cf. **Ni Muusa/ nacho chibuukú.** ‘It is Muusa who has the book.’ Or, with verb focus: **Ni Muusa/ naachó/ chibuuku.**) (Observe that in these cleft sentences, the Accentual Law of Focus is obeyed. This contrasts with the true relative clause, shown above, which does not obey the Accentual Law of Focus.)

***?Ye/ na chibuuku.** ‘He has a book.’ (Appears to be ungrammatical.)

Ye/ nacho chibuuku. ‘He has a/the book.’ Or: **Ye/ naacho/ chibuuku.** ‘He has the book.’

Ye/ nacho ichije chibuuku. ‘He has the book.’

Ye/ nayo chibuuku. ‘He has a book.’

china ‘we have’

Si/ china chibuukú. ‘We have a book.’

Si/ chinacho chibuukú. ‘We have a/the book.’ Or: **Si/ chinaachó/ chibuuku.** ‘We have the book.’

Si/ chinacho ichije chibuukú. ‘We have the book.’

Si/ chinayo chibuukú. ‘We have a book.’

Nna ‘you (pl.) have’

Ni/ nna chibuukú. ‘You (pl.) have a book.’

wana [cl.2] have’

huvuunda milaango wanaayo khiyaari [nt.] ‘they break doors at their will’

Want^hu awa/ wanazoo zisu. ‘These people have knives.’

Want^hu awa/ wanazoo zisu/ niingi. ‘These people have many

knives.’

wenye mabunduqu wanaayo tele [nt.] ‘those who wield the guns have the upper hand’

Wo/ wana chibuuku. ‘They have a book.’

uwana

Muti uyu/ uwanaayo/ matuundra/ miingi. ‘This tree had a lot of fruit.’

Negative present tense:

siná ‘I do not have’

Siná/ peesa. ‘I do not have money.’

Sinaazo/ peesa. ‘I do not have money.’ Or: **Sinaayo/ peesa.**

nt^huná ‘you do not have’

Nt^huná/ peesa. ‘You do not have money.’

Nt^hunaazo/ peesa. ‘You do not have money.’ Or: **Nt^hunaayo/ peesa.**

nt^haná [cl.1] does not have’

Isa/ yaa ye/ khfaanya/ nt^haná. ‘Now, of him to do, he has nothing (i.e. there is nothing that he can do, he does not know how to solve his problem, etc.).’

Mbwa/ nt^haná/ mkila. ‘The dog does not have a tail.’

Mbwa/ nt^hanaayo/ mkila. ‘The dog does not have a tail.’

Muke/ nt^haná/ peesa. ‘The woman does not have money.’
Muke/ nt^hanaazo/ peesa. ‘The woman does not have money.’ Or:
Muke/ nt^hanaayo/ peesa.

Muusa/ nt^hanaayo/ chibuuku. ‘Muusa does not have a book.’

Muusa/ tu/ nt^hanayo chibuukú. ‘Only Muusa does not have a book.’ Or, with verb focus: **Muusa/ tu/ nt^hanaayó/ chibuuku.**

Ni Muusa/ nt^hanayo chibuukú. ‘It is Muusa who does not have a book.’ Or, with verb focus: **Ni Muusa/ nt^haanayó/ chibuuku.** (Phon. Observe that in this construction, the Accentual Law of Focus holds. This contrasts with true relative clauses where the Accentual Law of Focus is not respected.)

Nt^haná/ ifumo. ‘He does not have a spear.’

Nt^haná/ ijiwe. ‘He does not have a stone.’

Nt^haná/ luti. ‘He does not have a stick.’

Nt^haná/ mahala ya khkala(ant^ha). ‘He does not have a place to sit.’

Nt^haná/ majiwe. ‘He does not have stones.’

Nt^haná/ maana. ‘He does not have a child.’

Nt^haná/ mifumo. ‘He does not have spears.’

Nt^haná/ mipiira. ‘He does not have balls.’

Nt^haná/ mpiira. ‘He does not have a ball.’

Nt^haná/ ndruti. ‘He does not have sticks.’

Nt^haná/ peesa. ‘He does not have money.’

Nt^haná/ waana. ‘He does not have children.’

Nt^hanaalo/ luti. ‘He does not have a stick.’ Or: **Nt^hanaayo/ luti.**

Nt^hanaawo/ waana. ‘He does not have children.’ Or: **Nt^hanaayo/ waana.**

Nt^hanaayo/ ifumo. ‘He does not have a spear.’

Nt^hanaayo/ ijiwe. ‘He does not have a stone.’

Nt^hanaayo/ majiwe. ‘He does not have stones.’

Nt^hanaayo/ maana. ‘He does not have a child.’

Nt^hanaayo/ mifumo. ‘He does not have spears.’

Nt^hanaayo/ mipiira. ‘He does not have balls.’

Nt^hanaayo/ mpiira. ‘He does not have a ball.’

Nt^hanaayo/ ta’aliimu. ‘He does not have an education.’

Nt^hanaazo/ ndruti. ‘He does not have sticks.’ Or: **Nt^hanaayo/ ndruti.**

Nt^hanaazo/ peesa. ‘He does not have money.’ Or: **Nt^hanaayo/ peesa.**

nt^hachiná ‘we do not have’

Bwaana/ nt^hachiná/ haaja/ ya kumera maali/ ya kondrokela/ keendra/ khfanya biyaashara. ‘Mister, we do not need to seek wealth with which to go to do business.’

Nt^hachiná/ peesa. ‘We do not have money.’

Nt^hachinaazo/ peesa. ‘We do not have money.’ Or: **Nt^hachinaayo/ peesa.**

nt^hachiná ‘[cl.7] does not have’

Chisima/ nt^hachiná/ maayi. ‘The well does not have water.’

Shkapu/ nt^hachiná/ ikono. ‘The basket does not have a handle.’

Shkapu/ nt^hachinaayo/ ikono. ‘The basket does not have a handle.’

nt^hanná ‘you (pl.) do not have’

nt^hawaná ‘they do not have’

Nt^hawaná/ peesa. ‘They do not have money.’

Nt^hawanaazo/ peesa. ‘They do not have money.’ Or:

Nt^hawanaayo/ peesa.

Wake/ nt^hawaná/ peesa. ‘The women do not have money.’

Wake/ nt^hawanaazo/ peesa. ‘The women do not have money.’ Or:

Wake/ nt^hawanaayo/ peesa.

nt^hawná [cl.3] does not have'

Muti/ n t^hawná/ makharba. 'The tree does not have leaves.'

nt^hayaná [cl.4] do not have'

Miti/ nt^hayaná/ makharba. 'The trees do not have leaves.'

nt^hayaná [cl.6] do not have'

Mashaati/ nt^hayaná/ stezo. 'The shirts do not have buttons.'

Mashaati/ nt^hayanaazo/ stezo. 'The shirts do not have buttons.'

Or: **Mashaati/ nt^hayanaayo/ stezo.**

nt^hayná [cl.5] does not have'

Shaati/ nt^hayná/ stezo. 'The shirt does not have buttons.'

Shaati/ nt^haynaazo/ stezo. 'The shirt does not have buttons.' Or:

Shaati/ nt^hanaayo/ stezo.

nt^hayná [impersonal form]

Apa/ ntayná/ maayi. 'Here there is no water.'

Mahala/ ntayná/ maayi. 'The place does not have water.'

nt^haziná [cl.8] do not have'

Skapu/ nt^haziná/ mikono. 'The baskets do not have handles.'

Skapu/ nt^hazináayo/ mikono. 'The baskets do not have handles.'

nt^haziná [cl.10] does not have'

Mbwa/ nt^haziná/ mikila. 'The dogs do not have tails.'

Mbwa/ nt^hazinaayo/ mikila. 'The dogs do not have tails.'

affirmative past

mbana 'I had'

Mbanayo kuwaa ye/ shkoða wanaafakhí. 'I thought that he was lying [lit. I had it that he was lying].'

wana 'you had'

Wanayooyí/ we? 'How did you see it? What did you think about it?'

wana '(s)he had'

Alí/ wana wakhtí ↑ miingi/ khfanya kazi iyo. 'Ali had a lot of time to do that job.'

Sultaani/ uyu/ wanaayo/ mwanaamke/ mooyi/ msuura/ nt^ho.

'This sultan had a very beautiful daughter.'

Uwana [cl.3] had'

Muti uyu/ uwanaayo/ matuundra/ miingi. 'This tree had a lots of fruit.'

negative past

nt^hawaná [cl.1] did not have'

Muusa/ nt^hawanaayo/ chibuuku. 'Muusa did not have a book.'

Ni Muusa/ nt^hawanaayo/ chibuuku. 'It was Muusa who did not have a book.' Or, with verb focus: **Ni Muusa/ nt^hawanaayo/ chibuuku.** (Phon. Observe that in this construction, the negative verb does not necessarily appear phrase-final, though it is possible for there to be a phrase break after it. But if there is a break, then the Accentual Law of Focus comes into play.)

Ye/ nt^hakuwanaayo/ kaazi/ yo yotte. 'He did have any work, employment.'

Sku mo/ mp^huundra/ ya Abunawaasi/ iwanaayo/ ooni/ naayé/

nt^hakuwanaacho/ choombo/ chaa ye/ kumpelela/ maayi. 'One day Abunawaasi's donkey was thirsty and he did not have anything with which to give him water.' (Morph. This example illustrates the complexity of describing the agreement pattern of an animate noun like **mp^huundra**. In this sentence, it governs [cl.9] subject agreement in **iwanaayo** but [cl.1] object agreement in **kumpelela**.)

Affirmative future:

Miti/ yaṭakunayo makharba/ kahima. 'The trees will have leaves soon.'

Muti/ utakuwanayo makharba/ kahima. ‘The tree will have leaves soon.’ (There is only one possibility for the enclitic here: *yo*. The enclitic can either have [cl.9] default agreement or can agree with the [cl.6] **makharba**, but [cl.9] and [cl.6] both trigger =*yo*.)

Muti/ utakuwanayo nt^hanzi niingi/ kahima. ‘The tree will have many branches soon.’ (It is also possible for the enclitic to be =*zo*, in agreement with the [cl.10] **nt^hanzi** rather than =*yo*, with default [cl.9] agreement.)

Nuuru/ takuwanayoo luti. ‘Nuuru will have a stick.’ (It is also possible for the enclitic to be =*lo*, in agreement with the [cl.11] noun **luti**, rather than =*yo*.)

Nuuru/ takuwanazoo ndruti. ‘Nuuru will have sticks.’ (In the case of [cl.10] nouns, there seems to be a preference for the enclitic =*zo* rather than =*yo*, though the latter does not appear to be unacceptable.)

Nuuru/ takuwanazo numbaa nt^hatu. ‘Nuuru will have three houses.’

Affirmative counterfactual

Mp^hundra uyu/ kawanayo mashkiló/ na khalbí/ suła kuuya/ maraa piilí/ apá? ‘If this donkey had ears and a heart would she have come back here a second time?’

Muusa/ kawanayo chibuukú ‘if Muusa had a book’ (cf. **Muusa/ kawanacho chibuukú** ‘if Muusa had the book?’)

Muusa/ kawanaayó/ chibuuku ‘if Muusa had a book’; **Muusa/ kawanaachó/ chibuuku** ‘if Muusa had the book’ (In both of these examples, there is an intonational rise at the end which obscures somewhat that the complement **chibuuku** has default accent when separated prosodically from the verb.)

chii-na (zii-)

n. **no etymological source known** written letters of the alphabet

Lmooyi/ karka mbarakha/ lwanazo zina izi/ chiwaa we/ ile chisiwa ichi/ jisaa si/ pashpo khsuula/ teena/ we/ siwereerishé/ ruuhuyo.

‘One of the sheets of paper had these words written on it: if you have come to this island as we did, without intending to, then don’t worry.’

Nuuru/ pangile ziina. ‘Nuuru erased the writing.’

zina zisomesheza waaná/ na mwaalimú ‘the passages that were taught to the children by the teacher’

Zinaaze/ zisuura. ‘His letters are nice, i.e. he has a good handwriting.’

(Phon. The form **zinaaze** is a bit surprising. There is lengthening in front of the possessive enclitics =*CV* just in the event as word has the shape *CVCV*, i.e. two light syllables. We recorded the prefix of this word as having a long vowel and thus would not expect the lengthening to occur before =*ze*.)

ku-na

v. [Sw. *nywa* SSED 349] (**neele**) drink; [pronounced **kuna**, but can also be **kuna**]

china chiint^u hukuumbuka [song] ‘when I drink something, I remember’

Hamadi/ nakuna (or: **nakuna**) **maayi.** ‘Hamadi is drinking water.’

Hamadi/ nele (or: **nele**) **maayi.** ‘Hamadi drank water.’

Haťá/ farasi/ shpowa mataaza/ ya mhuundru/ haťaakuna. ‘Not even a horse, if given gruel made out of **mhuundru**, would drink it.’

Huseeni/ hunani. ‘What does Huseeni drink?’ A possible answer: **Huseeni/ huna chaayi.** ‘Huseeni drinks tea.’

kuna maayi/ kana chuula ‘to drink water like a frog – i.e. to drink too much, too often’

laakini/ kuwaa mi/ skukhaadira/ kiyana ‘but that I could not drink it’

(Phon. Notice that the infinitive prefix **ku** is pronounced **ki** in front of the [cl.6] object prefix **ya**. This shift occurs whenever the object prefix contains a palatal element.)

Mbele/ mp^hani maayi/ nine. ‘First, give me some water to drink.’
Nakhsula kuna shkombe cha kahawa. ‘He wants to drink a cup of coffee.’
Nele ka shkoombe. ‘He drank with a cup.’
Nnele iziwá/ na khamrí. ‘I drank the milk and the liquor.’

Shartí ya mara ya isa/ iwaaliko/ kuwa takhshindroowá/ itamlaazima/ kuna maayi/ ya tawala/ yotte. ‘The condition this time was that the one who was defeated, it was obligated for him to drink all the water from the sea.’

Sinaakuja/ walá/ sinaakuna. ‘I am neither eating nor drinking.’

Sini. ‘I do not drink.’ (Cf. the other human subject forms: **Huni.** ‘You do not drink.’, **Haani.** ‘(S)he does not drink.’, **Haachini.** ‘We do not drink.’, **Haanini.** ‘You (pl.) do not drink.’, and **Hawaani.** ‘They do not drink.’)

Wamalizopo kuna maayi/ shpanda farasi/ chanza khsaafira. ‘When they [Fikiriini and his horse] finished drinking water, he mounted the horse and began to travel.’

wanafaanye ibaada karka haramu/ wanaufu Ka’ba wanaane Zamzamu [st.] ‘may they worship in the great mosque (and) walk around the Ka’ba (and) drink from [the well of] Zamzam.’

rel.

ku-naakuna v. freq. (**nelenele**)

ku-neeka v. p/s. be drinkable, be drunk

Chaayi/ chize kuneeka. ‘The tea was not drinkable.’

Maayi/ yanakuneeka. ‘The water is being drunk.’

ku-nee~~le~~la v. appl. (**nelele**)

Nelele shkoombe. ‘He drank with a cup.’

Neleleni. ‘What did he drink with?’

ku-neesha v. caus. (**nesheze**) water (e.g. plants); make drink; serve drinks

Chiloota/ kuwaa ye/ wene ruuhuye/ uko maha~~la~~ suura/ na nakumnesha moojé/ khamri. ‘He dreamed that he was in a lovely place and he was serving his master liquor.’

Haaji/ mnesheze mwaana/ khamri. ‘Haaji caused the child to drink liquor (e.g. by providing it to him, or by tricking him into drinking it, or by physically pouring it into his mouth, or by persuading or verbally compelling him to drink it).’ (A periphrastic causative may be used as an alternative for the persuasion/verbal compulsion senses: **Haaji/ mtile mwaana/ kuna khamri.**)

Nnesheze maayi. ‘He made me drink water.’

Ye/ kaaziye/ ni kunesha muundra/ maayi. ‘His job is to water the cultivated field.’

ku-neshaneesha v. freq.

Haaji/ mneshezenesheze mwaana/ khamri. ‘Haaji caused the child to drink liquor frequently.’

ku-nesheleza v. caus. appl. (**nesheleze**)

Chooloka/ ka jiraaniye/ kazima sufuriya/ kumnesheleza mp^huundrawe/ maayi. ‘He went to his neighbor to borrow a pot with which to give his donkey water.’

ku-nika v. p/s.

Mayi aya/ haniki/ ni (ma)bardi/ kana/ barafu. ‘This water cannot be drunk, it is cold like ice.’

ku-noowa v. pass. be drunk

Amurile uki/ usinoowa. ‘He ordered the honey not to be drunk.’

Chimshika ooni/ maayi/ ya kunoowa/ yammaliile. ‘He became thirsty, water to be drunk was finished for him.’

Maayi/ ha’inoowi/ ka khsimama. ‘Water is not drunk standing.’ (It is believed by the **waant^hu wa Miini** that one should not just take water from the water pot and drink it quickly while standing; one should sit and relax and drink it slowly.)

rel. nom.

ch-aa-ku-na (*z-aa-ku-*) n. 7/8 s.t. to drink, a drink

- mu-na* (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who drinks
wu-no n. 14 the act of drinking
- naa* pron. who? (reduced form of **naani**)
Naa/ naayo/ yo. ‘Who has it?’
Naa/ takinreebó. ‘Who will stop you (pl.)?’
- na mapeema* adv. [Sw. *mapema* SSED 260] early
Na mapeema/ wachilawa. ‘They left early.’
- na’am*part.
na’am (Ar. *na’am*, Wehr p. 980)
- naa’ibu* n. [Sw. *naibu* SSED 329; Ar. *nā’ib* W 1008] deputy, vice-chairman, etc.
Omari/ ni naa’ibu/ ya mkulu/ wa guddi/ ya skoola. ‘Omari is the deputy of the chief of the school committee.’
Ra’iisi/ ya muuyi/ nt^hakhaadira/ kuuya/ shiriini/ mtumile naa’ibuye. ‘The president of the town was not able to come on the twentieth, he sent his deputy.’
rel.
u-naa’ibu n. deputyship
- na’muusi* n.
variant form: **namuusi**
- nabari* n. [Som. *nabar* DSI 457] a muscular pain, especially in the neck or chest, caused mainly by cold, which makes breathing and movement very difficult; [pron. **nabari**]
khpata nabari ‘to get **nabari**’
Shkalaant^hé/ bardiini/ takhpata nabari. ‘Do not sit in the cold, you will get **nabari**.’
khtomola nabari ‘to remove **nabari**’
Kamba/ we/ nakhsula khtomolowa nabari/ endrá/ kandrowa ka mafta. ‘If you want **nabari** to be removed, go have a massage with oil.’
kubiga nabari****
kubigowa nabari ***
- ku-nabihisha* v. [Sw. *nabihisha* "cause to remember" SSED 328; Ar. *nabaha, nabaha* W 940] call someone’s attention to something
- nabiyi* n. [Sw. *nabii* SSED 328; Ar. *nabiy* W 941] prophet
ka Nabiyi Mokhtaari/ kheeri kubashiriloowa [st.] ‘near the Prophet, the Chosen One/ may he receive eternal happiness’
rel.
ambiya (*ma-’ambiya*) n. pl. [Ar. *anbiyā* W 941] poetic
- naada* n. call
naako itakuuya naada/ khalqi inakirimoowa [st.] ‘and then the divine call will be made for the crowd to be rewarded’
- ku-naada* v. [Sw. *nadi* SSED 328; Ar. *nadā* W 952] (**nadiile**) call for the first bid at an auction; make a proclamation; summon
ambila mtume Ibraahimu naada/ wavile waant^hija ni ibaada [st.] ‘the prophet Abraham was told: summon/ all people, the pilgrimage is an act of worship’
Mbiga mnaada/ ilopó/ sultaani/ chimwamura kingila muyiini/ kunaada/ kuwa sultaani/ wele waziiri/ na waziiri/ wele sultaan i. ‘When the proclaimer came, the sultan order him to go into town to

announce that the sultan had become the minister and the minister had become the sultan.'

Mnaadisho/ chinaada/ naani/ nakhsulo kula chiṭa cha ngoombé. 'The auctioneer announced publicly: who wants to buy the head of a cow?'

rel.

ku-nadanaada v. freq.

Kilasku/ nakunadanada choombo/ ka sulṭaani/ hunaadó/ yaa ye/ hupató/ humletela sulṭaani. 'Each day he auctions things for the sultan, that's what he does, and whatever he gets, he brings to the sultan.'

Oyo mubli/ kaaziye/ iwaliko chinadanada zoombo/ ka sulṭaani. 'The man's job was to auction things for the sultan.'

ku-naadisha v. caus. auction off; announce s.t. verbally (e.g. using a microphone in issuing a governmental proclamation)

rel. nom.

m-naada (wa-) n. 1/2 [Sw. *mnadi* SSED 328] auctioneer, one who makes a proclamation

Ye/ chondroka ka chitiini/ chiwa'ambila waant^hu/ wawaliko haadiri/ barzaani/ kumvilila mbiga mnaada. 'He arose from his chair and told the people who were present in the royal hall to summons for him one who makes proclamations.'

m-naada (mi-) n. 3/4 [Sw. *mnada* SSED 328] auction, auctioneering; proclamation

khtila mnadaani 'to put up for sale'

kubiga mnaada 'to auction off; announce (policies, programs, etc.)'

mooja nashfaanya wakasiizo mnaada [st.] 'may God make us be those who have heard the call'

m-naadisha (wa-) n. 1/2 auctioneer

Chimweeleza/ chimwaambila/ mi/ ni mnaadishá. 'He explained to him, saying, I am the one who auctions (things).'

We/ takingila sukhuuni/ na apo sukhuuni/ we/ ta(ku)mwona mnaadisha/ hunadisho apó. 'You will enter the market and there at the market you will see an auctioneer who is auctioneering there.'

m-naado (mi-) n. 3/4 announcement; auction

Cheendra/ chimpeleka mnadooni/ chimuuzá. 'He went and took him (the goat) to the auction and sold him.'

Ibishila mnaado/ muyiini/ ya kuwa mwanaamke/ wa sulṭaani/ nakuloloowa. 'It was announced to the town that the daughter of the sultan was marrying.'

Karkaa wo/ wanakhsulo koondroká/ washkasa mnaado. 'While they were planning to move, they heard an announcement.'

kubiga mnaado 'to auction off; announce (policies, programs, etc.)'

Ye/ takuya sukhuuni/ kubiga mnaado/ kuzaa nama/ ya ngoombe. 'He will come to the market to auction off and sell the meat of cows.'

Ye/ chaamura/ kubigowa mnaado/ ya kuwa tamlooza/

mwanaamkewe/ muunt^hu/ tamletelo hundra ya

Yahuudí. 'He ordered an announcement to be made that he would marry his daughter to the man who will bring the dry measure of the Jews to him.'

kubigowa mnaado 'to be auctioned off; to be announced'

Ichibigowa mnaado/ waant^hu/ wotte/ kuhuḍura ka sulṭaani/ sa'a fulaani/ muunt^hu/ sibaakhaṭe/ waana/ na wazeelé/ shokuwanayo mwaaná/ nalete ijiwe. 'It was announced for all people to be present at the sultan's place at a certain hour, no one should be absent, children and elders, and the one who does not have a child, let him bring a stone.'

Sultaani/ shtomola amri/ kubigowa mnaado. 'The sultan issued an order for a public announcement to be made.'

- u-naḍaafa** n. [Sw. *unadhifu* SSED 328] cleanliness
- naḍari** n. [cf. Ar. verb *naḍira* "to have been warned" W 953] forewarning, announcement
hokomu ya Mooja ishpitapo ntachina naḍari [st.] 'when God's judgement passes [= death comes] we have no forewarning'
- naḍiifa** adj. [Sw. *nadhifu* SSED 328]
Hamadi/ ni mwaana/ naḍiifa/ msuura/ na adiibú. 'Hamadi is a child (who is) clean, handsome, and well-mannered.'
naḍiifa/ kana chilolo 'as clean as glass'
Numba ya Omari/ (ni) naḍiifa. 'Omari's house is clean.' (Cf. the simple yes-no question: ^Q**Numba ya Omari/ naḍiifa?**, and the exclamatory yes-no question: [↓]**Numba ya Omari/ naḍiifâ!?**)
- ku-naḍiifisha** v. [Sw. *nadhifisha* SSED 228; Ar. verb *naḍufa* and *naḍif* "clean" W 977] (**naḍifishiize**) clean s.t.
Chooloka/ choowa/ chinaḍifisha ruuhuye. 'He went and bathed and cleaned himself.'
Haliima/ nakunaḍifisha nuumba. 'Haliima is cleaning the house.'
Munt^hu uyu/ naḍifishize ruuhuye/ ṭawala. 'This man cleaned himself on the beach.' (Cf. the negative version of this sentence and the difference in phrasing attached to it: **Munt^hu uyu/ nt^hakunaḍiifisha/ ruuhuye/ ṭawala.** 'This man did not clean himself on the beach.')
- Tuuma/ hunaḍiifisha/ nuumba.** 'Tuuma (habitually) *cleans* the house.'
We/ ndrasilee mi/ numbaani/ khpata khulangalila waana/ kuwapikila/ kuwanaḍiifisha/ na kuwafanyiliza yaa wo/ wanakihtaajó. 'You left me in the house to look after your children, to cook for them, to clean them, and to do for them whatever they need done.'
- rel.
ku-naḍifishana v. caus. rec.
ku-naḍifishika v. caus. p/s.
ku-naḍifishiliza v. caus. appl.
ku-naḍifishilizana v. caus. appl. rec.
- ku-naḍima** v. [Sw. *nadhimu* cited in N&M with the meaning "compose verses, compose a poem"; Ar. *naḍama* W 977] arrange in order
Mooja namreHEME muunt^hu naḍimiilo [st.] 'may God have mercy on the one who composed [this poem]'
- rel.
ku-naḍimisha v. caus.
- naḍiiri** n. [Sw. *nadhiri* SSED 328; Ar. *naḍr* W 953] promise, pledge, vow (religious)
khfanya naḍiiri 'to make a vow'
kuweka naḍiiri 'to make a vow'
- nadiiri** adv. [cf. Sw. adj. *nadra* "uncommon, rare, scarce" SSED 328; Ar. *nādir* "infrequent, uncommon" W 951]
Hamadi/ sku izi/ huwonekana naadiri. 'Hamadi is rarely seen these days.'
- naf'i** n. [Sw. *nafuu* "profit, advantage, gain, progress, assistance, e.g. in money or food, for a journey; also improvement in health, convalescence" SSED 329; cf. Ar. *nafa* 'a "to be useful, beneficial" W 987] usefulness
rel.

- naafi'i* adj. useful
- nafaqa* n. [Ar. *nafaqa* "cost of living, maintenance, adequate support" W 987] maintenance
- nafasi* n. [Sw. *nafasi* SSED 328; Ar. *nafas* "freedom, convenience" W 985] space, room, chance (time to do s.t.)
- (A saying.)
- Aduwi/ hapoowi/ nafasi.** 'An enemy is not given space, room (to do s.t.).'
- chisuula khtumila shari'a nafasi** [st.] 'if you wish to use (water that has been used to clean s.t. that is ritually unclean, the **shari'a** law is flexible (has space, room to accommodate)'
- chiwa siiko naawe hupata nafasi** [song] 'if I am not with you, will you find relief?'
- khpata nafasi** 'to find the time/chance (to do something)'
- Mp^ha nafasi.** 'Give me enough time.'
- nafasi ya qalbi** '(lit.) space of the heart – i.e. one always finds the space to accommodate a guest, even in a small house, if one's heart is generous and loving'
- Siná/ nafasi.** 'I have no time; I have no room.'
- ku-nafiqā* v. [Ar. *nafaqa* "provide means of support" W 987] (**nafikhiile**) support a family; [pron. **kunafiqā** or **kunafikha**]
- ku^lazima kunafikha** 'to oblige to support' (Lex. This expression is used rather than a morphologically causative form such as ***kunafikhisha**.)
- rel.
- ku-nafiqila* v. appl. (**nafiqiile**)
- nafsi* n. [Sw. *nafsi* SSED 328; Ar. *nafsi* SSED 328; Ar. *nafs* "soul, human being, person" W 985] self, soul, inner world, emotions
- ahli infariqile mi nakhkooda na nafsiya** [nt.] 'my relatives have left me and I talk to my soul'
- Chakujaache/ shpiki^loowa/ na watumishe/ wiingine/ na chegeshoowa/ na mwanaamke/ nafsiye.** 'His food was cooked by other servants and brought to him by the girl herself.'
- Chimuul^o/ ni muunt^hu/ apo/ chimamula^o shu'uni zaa nt^hi/ siwo/ fir'ooni/ nafsiye.** 'The one who bought him (i.e. Joseph) was a man there (in Egypt) who took care of the affairs of the country, it was not Pharaoh himself.'
- Hamadi/ uzile jaaka/ iyo/ nafsiye.** 'Hamadi bought that jacket itself.' (It is striking that in this sentence, downstep intonation is lacking. **Jaaka** is not downstepped relative to Hamadi, but neither is **iyō** nor **nafsiye** downstepped relative to **jaaka**. The intensifier **nafsiye** is apparently focused, and a bit higher in pitch than the preceding phrase.)
- Jaaka/ iyo/ ^fnafsiye/ Omari/ uzil^o.** 'That jacket itself Omari bought.' (The three initial phrases are all roughly at the same pitch level, so it is not immediately obvious on the basis of pitch which should be considered to be focused. We have opted to consider **nafsiye** the focus, as it seems the highest pitch. Note that the subject **Omari** is downstepped, as is the verb, which has been put into the pseudo-relative form to the presence of focus in the pre-verb material.)
- Laakini/ iyo/ hupati/ mi/ nnakeendr^a/ kumwub^la/ sul^taani/ nafsiye/ nt^hasaa ye/ kunub^laa mi.** 'But that, you will not obtain it; I am going to kill the sultan himself before he kills me.'
- mapeendo ya nafsi ni dambi l'akbari** [st.] 'love of self is a great sin'
- na killa maadamu khtiyila nafsiye** [nt.] 'and every one is fearing for his own life'
- Nafsi/ ni aduwi/ si'itiile.** 'The self/soul/emotion is an enemy, do not obey it!' (A proverb.)
- nafsiyo/ ba** (an expression used to show surprise)
- Nafsiyo/ ba/ uzile gaari.** 'So you bought yourself a car!'
- Ni shiliingi/ khamsiini/ zaa ye/ nafsiye/ stomeel^o.** 'It is the fifty shillings that he himself gave to her.'

nt^hana mithaali nt^hana mfaano nafsiye [st.] '[God] has no equal, he has nothing like himself'

Nureeni/ uzile jaaka/ iyo/ nafsiye. 'Nureeni bought that jacket itself.'

Sultaani/ naafsiye/ chingila chisimaani/ chimtomola eelo. 'The sultan himself went down in the well and took the gazelle out.'

Tumila aqliyo/ siraashé/ nafsiyo. 'Use your brains, don't follow (obey) your emotions.'

uhaqi wa nafsi kumeera salaama [nt.] 'it is one's right to seek safety'

We/ nafsiyo/ nayo ijini. 'You yourself are crazy.'

Ye/ nafsiye/ waliko mariiði/ na walikoo...qalbi/ imvundishile. 'He himself was sick and he was discouraged.' (Phon. It is possible for the speaker to hesitate/pause in the middle of a phonological phrase, in which case the final vowel before the pause is lengthened.)

nafta

n. [Ital. *nafta*] diesel oil
gari ya nafta 'a diesel truck'

ku-naha

v. [Som. *nax* DSI 463] be scared, startled, terrified, shocked

Naha! 'Be scared!'

Nahaani! '(Pl.) be scared!'

Sinahé! 'Don't be scared!'

Sinaheení! '(Plural) don't be scared!'

Suufi/ hunaha ka sahali. 'Suufi gets scared easily.'

rel.

ku-nahaanaha v. get scared frequently, easily

Huseeni/ hunahaanaha. 'Huseeni gets frightened often, easily.'

ku-nahila v. appl. lament what has happened

ku-nahisha v. caus. scare, startle someone

Fikiiriini/ mukhtaaya ye/ mweno mwanaamké/ qalbi/ imbishile/ sura za mwanaamke/ zimnahishiize/ nt^ho. 'When Fikiiriini saw the girl, his heart pounded, the girl's beauty frightened him very much.'

Omari/ zinahishizee nk^huku. 'Omari startled the chickens.'

ku-nahishana v. caus. rec. scare one another

ku-nahishika v. caus. p/s.

ku-nahishiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-nahishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ku-nahoowa v. pass. be scared, startled, shocked

Lilla/ ha'inahoowi. 'Truth is not scared.' (A proverb.)

Jawabu yaa kufa/ ni jawabu ya kunahoowa. 'The matter (issue) of dying is a matter of being frightened.'

Kufa/ ni jawabu ya kunahoowa. 'To die is a matter of getting frightened.'

Kunahoowa/ huleta maradi ya khalbi. 'Being frightened causes (lit.) heart disease.'

ku-nahowanahoowa v. freq. pass. be scared, frightened often, easily

Kunahowanahoowa/ huleta maradi ya khalbi. 'Being frightened repeatedly causes (lit. brings) heart (lit. disease).'

chi-naho (zi-)

n. 7/8 a scare

Ulushile ka chinaho. 'He jumped from fright.'

ku-naharisa

v. be generous

ka rahmaza humnaharisa sha'iibu [st.] '(God) in his compassion is generous to the old'

rel.

ku-naharisoowa v. pass.

Aduwi/ hanaharisoowi. 'An enemy is not someone to be generous to.' (A saying; says that one should not be kind to an enemy.)

chilombeeni rahmaye/ Sheekhi kunaharisoowa [st.] 'let us beg for His

grace/ and for the Sheikh to be granted His compassion'

nah(a)risi

n. [Som. *naxariis* DSI 463] kindness, generosity, pity, mercifulness

Amá/ wazele/ wa sku izi/ nt^hawaná/ nahrisi. 'Truly, old people these days have no pity.'

E we/ sho naharisi/ muumuu/ qalbiyo/ inakhfungoowa. 'O you, merciless and rigid, your heart is being locked.'

kudara naharisi

Sultaani/ naharisi/ ichimdaara/ chiwasaameha/ waanawe. 'The sultan was touched by generosity and he forgave his children.'

kuwonela naharisi 'to feel sorry for'

Maskiini/ naharisi/ (i)chimdaara/ chimwaazima/ haanzu. 'Pity touched the poor man and he lent him (in the story, another poor man who did not have any clothes to wear) a **haanzu**.'

mwenye naharisi 'a kind person'

Naharisi/ imdariile. '[Lit.] Pity touched him -- i.e. he felt pity.'

nahrisi nda mwajitu na amaani/ ilu ya mtume mtale wa rahmaani [st.] 'mercifulness belongs to God and peace/ [should be] on the Prophet, the Chosen One of God'

Nt^haná/ naharisi/ qalbiini. 'There is no kindness, generosity in [his] heart.'

Qalbiye/ iyele naharisi. 'His heart was filled with kindness, pity, etc.' Or:

Iyele naharisi/ qalbiye. 'Was filled with kindness, generosity, etc., his heart.'

Qalbiye/ nt^hayná/ naharisi. 'His heart did not have generosity [in it].'

Sultaani/ chishikowa shtanaa nt^ho/ chihada/ uyu/ Abunawaasi/

nofishiize/ nt^ho/ walá/ ba'ada ya isa/ mi/ siwo/ nt^hamonele

naharisi. 'The sultan became very angry and said: this Abunawaasi has made me very tired (of his tricks and boasting), and not after this time will I pity him.'

Uyu muunt^hu/ imdariile naharisi/ shqarira kishtala icho chinoka/

kishkorsha kaake. 'This man felt pity and decided to take that little snake and raise it at his place.'

Uyu/ nii muke/ mwenye naharisi/ na khalbi suura. 'This is a woman who has generosity and a good heart.'

Wanakuhada/ mzele uyu/ nt^haná/ naharisi/ ye/ panzile mp^huundra/

mana chihaba/ nakiineendra. 'They said, this old man doesn't have any pity, he has climbed the donkey and his small son is walking.'

naharisoole

adj. generous

Maskiini/ ye/ naharisoole. 'The poor person, he is generous.'

chi-naho

n.

Ulushile/ ka chinaho/ na fungilopo maatoyé/ wene ruuhuye/ uko

nt^hakaani/ ka shpandre cha maandra/ mkoononi. 'He jumped from fear and when he opened his eyes, he saw himself in a garbage dump with a slice of bread in his hand.'

nahwi

n. [Sw. *nahau* SSED 329; Ar. *nahw* W 948] grammar

Ali/ hukoða nahwi. 'Ali speaks grammatically, correctly.'

Ni mutabahiri/ ka nahwi. 'He is well versed in grammar.'

- najaahi** n. success
Daḍaaḷiyo/ taajiye/ ni najaahi/ na liwaaní. ‘Your effort, its crown is success and success.’
- ku-najihā** v. [Ar. *najaḥa* W 943] (**najihīle**) succeed, pass (an exam)
Mwaana najihile imṭihaani ‘The boy passed the examination.’
 rel.
ku-najihisha v. caus.
Mnajihishize mwaana/ imṭihaani. ‘He passed the child on the examination (e.g. he raised the child’s grade so that he would pass).’
ku-najihishiliza v. caus. appl.
Nuuru/ mnajihishilize Ali/ mwaana. ‘Nuuru passed Ali’s child on the exam.’
- najla** n. [Ar. *najl* W 945] offspring, descendants, progeny
- mu-najimu (wa-)** n. 1/2 [Ar. *munajjim* W 945] astrologer (Phon. The initial syllable of the Arabic source *munajjim* has apparently been reinterpreted as the [cl.1] noun class prefix, as is shown by the fact that the plural is **wajjimu**. However, the retention of the vowel in the initial syllable **mu** is unexpected for the [cl.1] prefix **mu-**. Ordinarily this syllable would elide its vowel in front of a consonant-initial suffix of two or more syllables.)
- nakhayrizo** in the expression:
Nakhayrizó/ na’afiyazó. ‘Are you well and healthy?’ (A greeting at any time of the day.) If addressed to plural people: **Nakhayri ziinu/ na’afiya ziinu.** (The obligatory reply is **Nakhayriza/ na’afiyaza.** or: **Chinakhayri ziiu/ china’afiya ziiu.**) (This greeting is perhaps an historical development from **na + kheeri + possessive** and **na + afiya + possessive.**) **accent**
- naakhuḍa(Ø, ma-)** n. [cf. Sw. *nahodha* SSED 329; Som. *naakhuude* DSI 456; perhaps there is a dialectal Arabic source, but not found in Wehr’s dictionary] captain (esp. of a local sailing boat)
Jhazi/ bilaa naakhuḍa/ nt^ha’iná/ jiha. ‘A dhow without a captain has no direction.’
Naakhuḍa/ wachiwa wiingi/ jahazi/ huzaama. ‘If the captains become many, the dhow sinks.’ (A proverb, like the English “too many cooks spoil the broth”.)
- nakuwonaayi** [a fixed expression] how do you see the situation, my ideas, proposals, etc., in the sense of asking for approval of a suggestion
- nakuwonaayi/ ruuhuyo** [a fixed expression] how are you? (lit. how do you see yourself?)
- nali** n. [Som. *nal* "electric bulb, electric power" DSI 461] light, light bulb, electric power
kudarshaa nali ‘to put on a light’
kuzimizaa nali ‘to put off the light’
- ku-nala** v. (**nazile**) urinate; [pron. **kunala**, but [**kunala**] is also possible]
Amá/ ngamiilaye/ uyu/ nazile katikati yaa ndila. ‘But his camel urinated in the middle of the road.’
Hamadi/ nakunala. ‘Hamadi is urinating.’ (But one can also hear:
Hamadi/ nakunala.)
Huna maayi/ hanali. ‘He drinks water, but he does not urinate.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **nk^huku** ‘hen’.)
Ngamiila/ schiwaamo/ karka safari/ mukhtaā zo/ hunaló/ hufaafisha/ mane yaawo/ ka mkila. ‘Camels, when they are travelling, if they urinate, they spread their urine with their tail.’
Mwaana/ kama nakhsulo kunalá. ‘It seems the child is about to urinate.’

Waankhuló/ hubigaa nk^hele/ chinalapó. ‘Your grandfather shouts when he urinates.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **nvula** ‘rain’.)

rel.

ku-nalila v. appl. (**nalile**) urinate on

Mwaana/ n^halile. ‘The child urinated on me.’

ku-nalisha v. caus. help a child to urinate; take a child to the bathroom; make a noise so that a child may get the idea of what he is to do (in toilet training), toilet train; cause someone to urinate (in a non-agentive fashion); [pron.

kunalisha]

Dakhtari/ m^halishize mariiði. ‘The doctor put a tube in the patient etc. to get him to urinate.’ (Syn. If one wants to convey the idea that the doctor persuaded the patient to urinate, then a periphrastic construction may be used; e.g. **Dakhtari/ m^htile mariiði/ kunala.**)

Dakhtari/ m^halishize mariiði/ sh^htupaani. ‘The doctor persuaded the sick person to urinate into the small bottle.’

Zeena/ m^halishize mwaana. ‘Zeena trained the child to urinate.’

nama
heard]

n. 9/10 [Sw. *nyama* SSED 293] meat, flesh; [pron. **nama**, but **nama** may also be

Chija zijoze/ ka m^htuzi/ naa nama. ‘She ate her **zijo** with gravy and meat.’

Chooloka/ chimpika/ oyoo noka/ mafta/ ya^hlazilo ka namaani/ shtaala/ chiyatila karka zibalasi/ saba. ‘She went and she cooked that snake and the oil that came from its meat, she put it in seven large clay jars.’

fight, deny, reject his clansman .’

Muunt^hu/ ha^htiindi/ namaye. ‘One does not eat his meat – i.e., one does not

nama halaali ‘meat from an animal that has been slaughtered according to Islamic practice – e.g. Lord’s name mentioned at the moment of slaughtering’

Nama/ ijila na waant^hu. ‘The meat was eaten by the people.’ Or: **Nama/ ijiila/ na waant^hu.**

nama mbiti maskiini yotte khpoowa [st.] ‘all the raw meat (of the slaughtered animal) must be given to the poor’

wajaa nama/ za waant^hu ‘cannibals (lit. eaters of the flesh of people)’

We/ hupowaa zijo/ kaa nama. ‘You are given **zijo** with meat.’

nambari

n. [Sw. *namba, nambari* SSED 330; Eng. *number*] number

namiiima

n. [Ar. *namīma* "slander, defamation" W 1000] defamation, slander; adj. slanderer
variant form: **namiiimu**

munt^hu namiiima ‘a slanderer’; **want^hu (ma)namiiima** ‘sladerers’

namiiima ow kuhamata islaamu [st.] ‘a slanderer or to speak slanderously of Muslims’

rel.

u-namiiimu n. backbiting, slandering, gossiping

Huseeni/ unamiimúze/ ni niingi. ‘Huseeni’s backbitings are many.’ (Morph. Despite the apparent [cl.14] prefix {u}, the possessive agreement {z} supports assigning this noun to [cl.10].)

namna

n. [Sw. *namna* SSED 330] way, manner, kind

Hupikowa zaakuja/ za namna niingi/ na husaaló/ hawanyilizowa maskiini. ‘Food of many kinds is cooked and what remains is shared with the poor.’

namna itaakuwó ‘in any way, in any manner’

namna ka namna ‘different kinds’

Ku^hla mwaana/ hutukula chibeeramu/ zaakuja/ za namna ka

namna/ na nt^hupa ya sharbaati. ‘Every child carries a banner, foods of various kinds, and a bottle of kool-aid.’

Munt^hi uyu/ lapiilile/ wakulu/ na zihabá/ huḷawa ibana ya
 muuyi/ hendra kulangala maṭezo za namna ka namna.
 ‘In the afternoon of this day adults and children go to the
 outskirts of town to watch games of different kinds.’

namna yiatingine ‘another, a different way
 zaakuja/ za namna mbaḷbali ‘foods of different kinds’

- namuuna** n. [cf. *namna* above] kind, sort
- naamuusi** n. [Ar. *nāmūs* "rule, honour" W 936] in the expression:
 kuvunda naamuusi ‘to disgrace s.o., cause s.o. to be disgraced’
- chi-nanaande** (zi-) n. 7/8 a kind of hard, folded pastry
 that (looks) like small boats.’
 Haliima/ fanyize zinanaande/ kana zibaṭera. ‘Haliima made zinanaande
 zinanaande/ za aadi ‘the normal zinanaande pastry’
- chi-naandra** (zi-) n. 7/8 [Sw. *kinanda* SSED 199] guitar, phonograph
 Ka shkapuuni/ schilawa zinaandra/ na gambuusá/ naazó/ zinakubigó.
 ‘From the basket she took our banjos and guitars which were
 playing.’
 kubiga chinaandra [cf. Sw. *piga kinanda*] to play a phonograph; to
 copulate (said of humans, esp. during the first week of marriage)
- naane** n. and adj. [Sw. *nane* SSED 330] eight
 ikumi na naane ‘eighteen’
 na mweezi naane wachiḏana keendra [st.] ‘and if they think the ninth day
 of the month is the eighth’
 skapu zinaane ‘eight baskets’
- naanga** n. 9/10 [Sw. *nanga* SSED 330] *swahilicism* anchor
- naani** interrog. pron. [Sw. *nani* SSED 330] who(m)?
 variant form: **naá**
 Abasheikh/ mpatilile naani/ gaari. ‘Who did Abasheikh get a car for?’
 (Observe that in the benefactive construction, **naani** may be used to
 question the identity of the beneficiary.)
 Abdi/ uyu/ ni naani. ‘Abdi, who is this?’
 Ali/ mbigilile naani/ Suufi. ‘Whom did Ali hit to Suufi’s detriment (or who
 is related to Suufi)?’ (The first interpretation in this sentence is that
Suufi is the beneficiary. It is, however, possible to understand the sentence as asking: Whom did Ali hit Suufi
 on?’ This ambiguity is possible only when **naani** is post-verbal. In the following sentence, **Suufi** is
 understandable only as the beneficiary: Ali/ mbigilile Suufi/ naani. ‘Whom did Ali hit for/on Suufi.’)
 Ali/ mbozele naani/ chibuuku. ‘Ali stole a book from whom?’ (Syn. When
 the question word **naani** is the primary object of the verb and post-
 verbal, then the verb is not affected, in contrast to when **naani** is
 preverbal: Naani/ wa Ali/ mbozelo chibuukú. ‘Who was it that
 Ali stole a book from?’)
 Boobo/ mtumilile naani. ‘Whom did you send to Boobo?’ (Syn. This
 sentence cannot mean ‘Whom did you send Boobo to?’ In other
 words, when the two complements to the verb belong to the same
 noun class and thus govern the same object prefix on the verb, one
 can prepose only the logical indirect object and not the logical
 direct object.)
 Bwaana/ mwenye nyunyi izi/ naani. ‘Master, who is the owner of these
 birds?’
 Chibuku cha naani/ chiboozelá. ‘Whose book was stolen?’ Or: Chibuuku/
 cha naani/ chiboozelá.
 Chimuuza/ naani/ namviiól. ‘She asked her who was the one calling her.’

Isa/ naambila/ nda naani/ numba iyi. ‘Now tell me whose house this is.’

Laakini/ ni naani/ takeendrú/ mfungaa mp^haká/ ijarsí. ‘But who will go and tie a bell on the cat?’

Muusa/ mbozele naani/ chibuuku. ‘Muusa/ stole from whom/ the book?’

Mwana wa naani/ iló. ‘Whose child came?’

Mwana wa naani/ Muusa/ mweenó. ‘Whose child did Muusa see?’

Naá/ [↑]liinziló. ‘Who waited?’ (Phon. This pronunciation, where the verb is exaggeratedly raised in pitch, conveys the speaker’s disbelief that a certain person waited. The upward pointing arrow indicates the exaggerated raising of the final syllable of the verb.)

Naa/ veto haanzú. ‘Who wore a haanzu?’

Naa/ veto haanzú/ Tuuma. ‘Who wore a haanzu, Tuuma?’ Or: **Tuuma/ naa/ veto haanzú.** ‘Tuuma, who wore a haanzu?’

Naani/ chiyó. ‘Who was coming?’ (Answer: **Omari/ chiyó.** ‘Omari was coming.’)

Naani/ iló. ‘Who came?’

Naani/ mwekelelo Nuurú/ chibuukú/ nt^hini ya meezá. ‘Who put a book for Nuuru under the table?’

Naani/ mnaango/ fungiló. ‘Who opened the door?’

Naani/ mpelo Jaamá/ chaakujá. ‘Who gave Jaama food?’ (A possible answer: **Ali/ mpelo Jaamá/ chaakujá.** ‘Ali gave Jaama food.’)

Naani/ mpelo maaná/ chibuukú. ‘Who gave the child a book?’ If the verb in the pseudo-relativized clause has emphasis on it, then the final accent is barred from projecting to the complement: **Naani/ mpeeló/ maana/ chibuuku.** Yet another variant: **Naani/ chibuuku/ mpelo waaná.**

Naani/ mtindililo mwaaná/ namá. ‘Who cut meat for the child?’

Naani/ nakubigo hoodí. ‘Who is it that is asking for permission to enter?’

Naani/ nt^hakhpikaa zijó. ‘Who did not cook zijó?’ A possible answer to this question would be: **Tuuma/ nt^hakhpikaa zijó.** ‘Tuuma did not cook zijó.’

Naani/ nt^hamona Omari. ‘Who did not see Omari?’ or: **Naani/ nt^hamoná/ Omari.**

Naani/ Nuuru/ mekelelo chibuukú/ nt^hini ya meezá. ‘Who put for Nuuru a book under the table?’

Naani/ peja chibuukú/ na mwaalimú. ‘Who was given a book by the teacher?’

Naani/ somelo chibuukú. ‘Who read the book?’ Or: **Naani/ someeló/ chibuuku.** (Phon. Note that the Accentual Law of Focus holds in the pseudo-relative construction.)

Naani/ uzilo chibuukú. ‘Who bought the book?’ Or: **Naani/ uziló/ chibuuku.**

Nii muke/ hiiwó/ naani/ jiló/ amó/ naani/ nt^haakujá. ‘It is the wife who knows who ate and who did not.’ [review](#)

Ni chibuku cha naani/ ichi. ‘Whose book is this?’ Or: **Nch^ha naani/ chibuku ichi.** (Syn: It is less likely to say ?**Ni chibuukuche/ naani/ ichi.**, though the example below illustrates that this construction can be comfortably used with a human noun.)

Ni mwana wa naani/ uyu. ‘Whose child is this (e.g. why hasn’t he been brought up better)?’ Or: **Ni mwaanawe/ naani/ uyu.** Or: **Mbwa naani/ mwana uyu.**

Nt^hi iyo/ nda naani. ‘Whom does this earth belong to?’

Omari/ chaakuja/ mpele naani. ‘As for the food, whom did Omari give it to?’ (A possible answer: **Omari/ chaakuja/ mpele Jaama.** ‘As for food, Omari gave it to Jaama.’ (Syn. Observe that topicalization of an object may position the object between the subject and the verb, at least when there is no possible ambiguity as to which is the subject. In the present example, the null subject agreement on the verb **mpele** shows that it agrees with **Omari** and not **chaakuja.**)

Omari/ mpele naani/ chaakuja. ‘Whom did Omari give food?’ (A possible answer: **Omari/ mpele Jaama/ chaakuja.** ‘Omari gave

Jaama food.’)

Pikilila na naani/ chaakuja. ‘You were cooked for food by whom?’ (Cf. **Pikilila na naani/ chaakuja.** ‘He was cooked for food by whom?’) (Syn. These examples illustrate the movement of the agent to the so-called IAV -- immediately after the verb -- position, which is where a focused element is located. In a neutral sentence the agent phrase is at the end: **Pikilila chaakuja/ na naani.** ‘You were cooked for food by whom?’ (Cf. **Pikilila chaakuja/ na naani.** ‘He was cooked for food by whom?’))

Si/ shchimkasa/ kooðize/ schifuungula/ ijuuniya/ naani/ na’iwó/ itakhtulukani. ‘If we listen to his words, if we untie the sack, who knows what will happen.’

We/ mulile naani/ chibuuku. ‘Whom did you buy a book for?’ A possible answer to this question: **[Mí/ [ni]mulile^FHuseeni/ chibúuku].** ‘I bought for Huseeni a book.’

We/ naani. ‘Who are you?’

Ye/ nt^hampa naani/ chibuuku. ‘Whom didn’t he give a book?’ (Syn. Observe that when the question word **naani** is located in post-verbal position, the verb does not shift into its pseudo-relative form.)

naanko

conj. and, again, moreover; [pron. **naank^hó**]

variant form: **naakó**

Apo/ naank^hó/ chijile matuundrá/ na chinele maayí. ‘There, once again, we ate fruit and we drank water.’

Ba’ada/ ya sku nch^haache/ zita/ naank^hó/ schiruuda. ‘After a few days, the fighting returned again.’

Karkaa wo/ wanakiineendró/ naank^hó/ chiwakasa waant^hu/ wachihada/ mzeele/ uyu/ maana/ uyu/ nt^haná/ adabu/ mzeele/ nakiineendra/ ye/ paanzile. ‘While they were continuing on, once again he heard people saying: This old man, this child doesn’t have good manners; the old man is walking while he rides.’

Maama/ naank^hó/ isa/ jaribiile/ kumvunda mwaana/ khalbi. ‘Mother again tried to discourage the boy [from looking for the lion to kill him].’

Mboni/ naank^hó/ mlāsile kingila maduriini. ‘How come then he permitted him to go into the forest?’

Naank^hó/ endrá/ karkaa nt^hi/ ya mayahuudi/ muze sultaani/ langala/ takhambilani. ‘Again, go to the land of the Jews and ask the sultan: look, what should I do?’

Naank^hó/ keesho/ mleete/. ‘Again tomorrow bring him (along).’

Naank^hó/ nt^humiiló/ ni celo. ‘Again, the one who sent me is the gazelle.’

Naank^hó/ shfikira/ chendra kaa mp^haka. ‘And then [the boy] thought and he went to the cat.’

Sultaani/ teena/ naank^hó/ chimtuma waziiri/ keendra/ kumvila Hasani/ laakini/ Hasani/ jisa maraa kandra/ chimzimila waziiri/ chendra mashakaani/ shfanya jisaa ye/ hufaanyó. ‘Then the sultan again sent the minister to go and call Hasani, but Hasani like the first time, hid from the minister and went to the bush as he does.’

Waant^hu/ wachilañila teena/ naank^hó/ mara ya isa/ ndriimu/ zimbishile yeeye/ khaadimu. ‘The people threw [lemons] again, but now this time the lemons struck that same servant.’

Waziiri/ naank^hó/ chimraasha/ ka chinume. ‘The minister once again followed after him from behind.’

- m-naanzi* (*mi-*) n. 3/4 [Sw. *mnazi* SSED 292; Ar. and Pers.] coconut tree
Minanzi yiimp^hi. ‘Which coconut trees?’
Mnanzi ump^hi. ‘Which coconut tree?’
- m-naqasha* n. [Ar. *munāqasa* W 991] discussion **review discrepancy in vowel length from origin**
- naqdi* n. [Sw. *nakidi* SSED 329; Ar. *naqs* "cash, ready money" W 990] cash payment
kh̄tomola naqdi ‘to pay in cash’
- ku-naqida* v. criticize
Winginewe/ wachimnaqida/ ya kuwaa ye/ angamiize/ nuumbaye/ na angamiize/ weenziwe/ ka kumloozā/ muunt^hu/ maskiini/ mwanaamkewe. ‘Others criticized him that he had wronged his house and had wronged his companions by having a poor man marry his daughter.’
- naqisi* adj. [cf. Sw. *nakisi* v. "reduce" and *nakisi* n. "reduction, deficit, blemish" SSED 329; Ar. *nāqis* W 992] lacking, short, less, not complete
ka fakhari shfaanya ibada naqisi [st.] ‘if you do something boastfully, worship is not complete’
Mp^hele peesa/ naqisi. ‘He gave me less than the full amount.’
- ku-naaqisha* v. [Sw. *nakshi* “adorn with carving” SSED 329; Ar. *naqaša* "to argue, dispute" W 991]
Skū mooyi/ mp^hana/ ziweshelee fadhi/ kunaaqisha/ jisaa wo/ watakingilo amaniini/ na mp^haká. ‘One day the rats held a meeting to discuss how they could find safety from the cats.’
- rel.
ku-naqishan(y)a v. rec. (-naqisheene)
kunaqishana na wazele waawo ‘to discuss (things) with their parents’
Nureeni/ na Baana/ wanaqisheene. ‘Nureeni and Baana argued with one another (over a certain point).’ Or: **Nureeni/ naqishene na Baana.** ‘Nureeni argued with Baana (over a certain point).’ (Syn. Observe that a singular noun may be the subject of a reciprocal verb when the second portion of the logical conjoined subject has been postposed after the verb. However, it should be pointed out that in this second version, the *na* behaves like ‘with’ and not ‘and’, as can be seen by the fact that it does not trigger final accent in the way that ‘and’ does.)
ku-naqishiliza v. appl.
ku-naqishoowa v. pass. (naqishiiza)
Chinaqishiiza/ ka luulu/ johaari/ na almaasi. ‘It was decorated with pearls, jewels, and diamonds.’
- naqli* n. 9/10 [Sw. *nakili* SSED 329; Ar. *naql* W 995] copy
- naqshi* n. [Sw. *nakshi* SSED 329; Ar. *naqš* W 991] decoration, engraving
Baduwi/ nt^hachiwa/ chihindi/ na tosheeze/ yandishila ikofiyaani/ ni naqshi. ‘The nomad did not know Hindi and he thought that what was written on the hat was [just] decoration.’
kubiga naqshi ‘to decorate’
Tosheeze/ yandishila ikofiyaani/ ni naqshi. ‘He thought that what was written on the hat was (just) decoration.’
- naqsi* n. [Sw. *nakisi* SSED 329] deficit
- m-naara* (*mi-*) n. 3/4 [Sw. *mnara* (*mi-*) SSED 342; Ar. *manāra*, var. of *manār* W 1009] lighthouse; the glass globe of a paraffin lamp; minaret (Approx. 3 km. south of Brava, one finds the **Mnaara** -- locative **Mnaraani**, which indicate its site. This is an ancient tower, very probably a light-house, built on top of a rock that now is separated from the

shore (one has to wade through shallow water to reach it), but was possibly originally a spur of land jutting into the sea (the area was extensively quarried for stone). This **mnaara** is a round tower built of coral rag and **saaruji**, with a kind of balcony on top, which was reached by a spiral wooden staircase. This staircase was already in ruins in 1867, when German explorer Richard Brenner was the first to describe it, and nobody has climbed to the top in recent times. It is often called “The Portuguese lighthouse” but actually it was built before Portuguese colonial times. During the 19th century the **mnaara** was an important mark for all sea-vessels arriving in Brava, because it marks the southern end of the high reef that shelters the inner waters of Brava.)

lfuwo (/) la mnaraani ‘the beach at Mnaraani’
mnara waa tala ‘lighthouse; globe of a paraffin lamp’

naari only in the Arabicism: **adhabu nnaari** ‘the tortures of hell’ (from Ar. *al-nār*, which becomes *an-nar* by assimilation)

narsi n. [Eng. *nurse*] nurse
Narsi/ ile. ‘The nurse came.’

ku-nasabila v. appl. (cf. *nasabu* below) attribute a lineage or ancestry to s.o., to call after one’s ancestors (but in the **steenzi**, only the passive form has been observed)
rel.

ku-nasibiloowa v. appl. pass.
na maamaye Maana Aminata / hunasabiloowa Bani Zahrata [st.] ‘and his (i.e. the Prophet’s) mother Lady Amina belonged to the tribe Bani Zahra (lit. is given the lineage)’
tuunzilo ilo ltuungu ni Ahmadi / hunasabiloowa Marzuuqu ni jaddi [st.] ‘the one who composed that poem is Ahmed, who is called after (his) grandfather Marzuuq. (this poet is known as Ahmed Al-Marzuuqi)’

nasabu n. [Sw. *nasaba* SSED 330; Ar. *nasab* W 960] lineage; one whose ancestors are known to have descended from a pure family

nasha adj. [cf. Som. *nashnaash* "to refine, smooth down, polish -- work or speech" DSI 462] smooth [pronounced **nasha** or **nasha**] (Although this word has the shape CVCV, it is unlike other words of this structure in that it does not permit the lengthening of a preceding vowel in the same phrase. This may reflect a geminate origin for the medial consonant. It should also be noted that words showing the possibility of either *n* or *n* are ordinarily of Swahili origin.)

khfanya nasha ‘to make smooth’
kuwa nasha ‘to be smooth’
Msala uje/ ni mnasha. ‘That mat is smooth.’
nasha/ kamba hariiri ‘as smooth as silk’
nasha/ kamba toomu ‘as smooth as butter’
nasha/ kana chimento ‘as smooth as cement’
ndila nasha ‘a smooth road’

ku-nashiqa v. long for
Nsi uyu/ waawó/ humpeenda/ naami/ nashiqiilé/ kinleetela. ‘This fish, your father loves it, and I longed to bring it to you (pl.).’

ku-nashira v. [Ar. *našara* W 965] (**nashiriile**) broadcast, spread news, gossip

naashiza [Ar. *nāšiza* "recalcitrant woman", from *nusūz* "violation of marital duties" W 966] a woman who is legally separated from her husband

laakini naashiza huyuuta aakhera [st.] ‘but a separated woman will regret it in the afterlife’
muke mubliwe chifa humpaandra idda/ hant’hi na hurri mutii’i na naashiza [st.] ‘when her husband dies, a woman enters the state of **idda**, whether slave or free-born, obedient to her husband or

disobediant'

onyeza muke naashiza muḷooni [st.] 'he (the Prophet) was shown a woman separated (from her husband) in hell'

naasi

[Ar. *nās* "men, people" W 936]

kheerinnaasi [Ar. *kair al-nās*, where Ar. *al-n* becomes *ann*] 'the best of all mankind'

laakini Mhammadi ni kheeri naasi [st.] 'but Mohammad is better [than all]'

Ni kheeri/ naasi. 'He is a better person (i.e. he will not be concerned just about himself).'

nasibu

n. 9 [Sw. *nasibu* SSED 330; Ar. *naṣīb* W 969] chance, luck

Abunawaasi/ choloka chingila muyiini/ kumera mushṭari mwiingine/ na

ka nasiibuyé/ kuwaa mbovu/ nt^h akhpata. 'Abunawaasi went and entered town to look for another buyer and his luck being bad, he did not find one.'

Ka nasiibuye/ kuwaa mbovu/ mukeewe/ nt^h akhshiika/ miimba. 'His luck being bad, his wife did not become pregnant.'

Langaḷa nasiibuyo. 'Try [lit. see] your luck!'

Maamé/ mi/ nnayo nasiibuyá/ nt^h akhpata mubli/ mi/ nna'iwá. 'Mother, I have my chance, I will get a man, I know it.'

Mi/ nasiibuya/ suura/ leelo. 'My luck is good today.' **review, wrote final accent**

Muunt^hu/ hameeri/ nasiibuye/ nasiibu/ ndiyo/ humeeró/ mwenewe. "One does not search for one's luck, it is luck which seeks."

Nasiibu/ haylanyilizoowi. 'Luck is not competed for (it just comes).' (A proverb.)

Watezeze/ maraa mbili/ laakini/ Sa'iidi/ ka kuwa nasiibuye/ suura/ chishiindra. 'They played [in the context of the story: a game of chance] twice, but Sa'iidi, his luck being good, won.'

We/ nayo nasiibiyó. 'You have your luck.'

nasiiha

n. [Sw. *nasiiha* SSED 330] advice

mtume fafishiize diini ka nasiiha na hikma [song] 'the prophet promulgated religion with advice and wisdom'

ku-nasiiha

v. [Sw. *nasiihi* SSED 330; Ar. *naṣaha* W 969] (**nasiihiile**) advise rel.

ku-nasiihika v. p/s. be capable of getting advice, listening to advice

ku-nasikha

v. [Ar. *naṣaka* W 961] abolish, abrogate

nasiiimu

adj. [Ar. *naṣīm* "fresh air, wind, breeze" W 963] someone who is very generous; used as an epithet of Sheekh Nureeni

Sheekhi Nureeni nasiiimu/ rahma mba kulombeḷoowa '[st.] Sheikh Nureeni, the Gentle Breeze/ mercy is to be implored for him'

nasli

n. [Ar. *nasl* W 962] issue, progeny, offspring

naaso

n. [Som. *naas* 'women's breasts' DSI 458] A congenital illness that is visible as a vibration of the skin and ribs on the left hand side of the chest, just under the left nipple. If a child suffers from this, he becomes pale and skinny. The traditional remedy is **kh-pishoowa** 'to have a skilled practitioner burn the skin of the patient on the focal point of the illness, which is called in Chimiini **ito** 'eye'. This kind of therapeutical burning was widely practised in Brava for a variety of ailments (vomiting, sciatica, headache, etc.) on many parts of the body (belly, wrists, soles of the feet, lower back, etc.). If the ailment was not cured, people said that the healer had not found the "**ito**". [pron. **naasó**]

<i>nasraani</i>	n. [Ar. <i>naṣrānī</i> W 970] Christian
<i>nasri</i>	n. [Ar. <i>naṣr</i> W 970] victory Laakini/ wufo/ nt^hawapatikana/ karka nasri. ‘But death did not achieve a victory (lit. did not obtain in victory).’
<i>naastro</i>	n. [Ital. <i>nastro</i>] reording tape; taperecorder
<i>natijja</i>	n. [Ar. <i>natīja</i> W 942] result Itakuwani/ natijjaye. ‘What will be its result?’ Natija ya imtihaani/ ilazile. ‘The result of the examination is out.’
<i>nawli</i>	n. (cf. <i>nowli, nooli</i>) [Sw. <i>nauli</i> SSED 330] fare (for transportation) khtomola nawli ‘to pay the fare’ kulipa nawli ‘to pay the fare’
<i>naylooni</i>	n. [Eng. <i>nylon</i>] nylon
<i>nazaa’a</i>	n. [cf. Sw. verb <i>nazaa</i> "to quarrel, contend" SSED 331; Ar. <i>naza’a</i> W 954] <i>uncommon</i> argument, difficulty karka qiyaama haawoni nazaa’a [st.] ‘in the hereafter he will not encounter difficulty’
<i>nazaaja</i> law)	n. [etymology unknown] mother-in-law (interestingly, there is no word for father-in-law) Nazaaja/ nakunt^hila ijini. ‘My mother-in-law is driving me crazy.’ Review
final accent issue.	
<i>naazi</i>	n. 9/10 [Sw. <i>nazi</i> SSED 292] coconut Ifuvu ya naazi/ siwo/ naazi. ‘The empty coconut shell is not a coconut.’ (A proverb.) Mtala naazi/ hupata mbaata. ‘The one who chooses a fully-developed coconut gets mbaata (an undesirable stage of coconut ripeness).’ (In Swahili -- see Scheven 1981 -- one says: Mchagua nazi, hupata koroma. ‘He who selects coconuts with great care, gets an unripe one.’ or Amechagua nazi akapata dafu. ‘He has chosen the fully grown coconut and he got the unripe one.’ MI provided a different version of this proverb: Mtala mbaata/ hupata idaafu. This version seems suspect since idaafu was not sold or found in Brava, and mbaata is not a desirable stage of the coconut and thus one would never seek it out.) Naaziya/ hufurahisha duniyaa nzima. ‘My coconut pleases the whole world.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is iwa ‘the sun’.)
	rel. <i>chi-naazi</i> (zi-) n. 7/8 a sweet made from coconut, to which one adds sugar and oil and shaped into round balls to be cooked; coconut Hamadi/ chitaache/ chiviriinge/ kana/ chinaazi. ‘Hamadi’s head is round like a coconut.’
	<i>m-naazi</i> (mi-) n. 3/4 coconut tree mnazi wa nt^heendre ‘a date palm’
nde	adv. outside
<i>ndi</i> +pronoun	cop. it is ndicho it is it [cl.7]; [pron. ndichó] ndilo it is it [cl.11]; [pron. ndiló] ndimi it is me; [pron. ndimí] Mwaðihishizo Jaamá/ mas’alá/ ndimí. ‘The one who explained to Jaama the problem is me.’

accent

died.’

took her clothes.’

Ndimí/ waziri wa sultaaní. ‘I am the minister of the sultan.’ **confirm final**

Ni/ nnaakulá/ kama ndimí/ nfiiló. ‘You (pl.) are crying as if it was me who

Nimwambile kuwa ndimí/ nt^heto nguwozé. ‘I told her that it was me who

Oyo muke/ chimwaambila/ mi/ ndimí/ muke oyó. ‘That woman told him:
I am that woman.’ **confirm final accent**

Sultaani/ chimjiiba/ na’am/ mi/ ndimí/ walá/ nt^haku/ mwinginewa. ‘The
sultan answered her: Yes, it is me [i.e. I am the one you are asking
for], neither is there another other than me.’

ndini it is you pl. [pron. **ndini** or **ndiní**]

ndipo it is then [pron. **ndipó**]

Apo/ ndipó/ we/ takuwo muunt^hú. ‘That’s when you will become someone
(of significance, importance, recognized).’

ndisi it is us [pron. **ndisi**]

ndiwe it is you (sg.); [pron. **ndiwé**]

Waawé/ we/ ndiwé/ sultani Hashiindriki. ‘My father, are you Sultan
Hashiindriki [He Cannot Be Defeated]?’

ndiwo it is them [cl.2]; [pron. **ndiwó**]

ndiwo it is it [cl.3]; [pron. **ndiwó**]

ndiwo it is it [cl.14]; [pron. **ndiwó**]

ndiye it is him, her [cl.1]; [pron. **ndiyé**]

ndiyo it is them [cl.4]; [pron. **ndiyó**]

ndiyo it is it [cl.5]; [pron. **ndiyó**]

ndiyo it is them [cl.6]; [pron. **ndiyó**]

ndiyo it is it [cl.9]; [pron. **ndiyó**]

Ije itakeelukó/ ndiyó/ neenganú. ‘The one that will float, that is the one

that is lighter.’

Ije itakuzamo nt^hiini/ ndiyó/ izitó. ‘That one which sinks down, that is the

one that is heavier.’

Ndiyó/ yaa mi/ nnakhsuuló. ‘It is that which I want.’

ndizo it is them [cl.8]; [pron. **ndizó**]

ndizo it is them [cl.10]; [pron. **ndizó**]

ma-ndina

[cf. **n-dini**] in the expression:

mandina ya maamaye ‘mother-fucker; his mother’s cunt’

Omari/ shiinzile/ mandina ya maamaye. ‘Omari won, the
mother-fucker.’

Shiinzile/ Omari/ mandina ya maamaye? ‘Did Omari win, the
mother-fucker?’ (Phon. This simple yes-no question is
interesting in that the epithet **mandina ya maamaye** fails
to exhibit the shift to final accent that affects post-verbal,
out-of-focus noun phrases – cf. the pitch shift in **Omari**.
This absence of accent shift seems to reflect the epithet
status of **mandina ya maamaye**.)

mandina ya maamo ‘your mother’s cunt’

ma-ndira

in the expression:

mandira ya maamaye ‘mother-fucker’

Omari/ iize/ mandira ya maamaye. ‘Omari refused, the mother-
fucker!’

ndo

irreg. imper. ‘come!’

Chiwaa we/ ni dakhtari/ ndo. ‘If you are a doctor, come.’

Ndo/ leelo/ maduriini/ ni/ nu^hleelení. ‘Come, today, in the bush, what did
you (pl.) kill?’

Ndo/ kasa jawaabuza. ‘Come and listen to my words.’

Ndo/ songa khariibuya/ mp^hate khuwona/ jisa suura. ‘Come, come near me, so that I may see you clearly.’
Ndooni/ kasani jawaabuza. ‘You (pl.) come and you (pl.) listen to my words.’

chi-ndooro (zi-) n. 7/8 [cf. Som. *kintir* DSI 368] clitoris

ndraani n. down in; deep

Chishkila/ chiskila/ ndranaa magome. ‘He climbed down and down inside the sea rocks.’ (Phon. Notice the bimoraic vowel at the end of **ndranaa**. One does not expect a long vowel in phrase-medial position when a trisyllabic word follows. This vowel length represents a contraction from **ndrani ya**. Long vowels resulting from contractions of this sort do not undergo the usual shortening of a vowel in “unstressed” position.)

iboholi/ ndraani ‘deep in the hole’

itundru ya ndraani ‘a deep hole’

Jahazi/ ichoondroka/ icholoka ndraani/ mayiini/ oko/ ba’adaye/ nvula/ ishfuunguka/ ichireeptama/ naa nt^hi/ ichina maayi. ‘The ship (ark) began sailing and went far out in the water there; after that, the rain eased and stopped, and the earth drank the water (i.e. the flood subsided).’

kamu wawaalimo ndraani ya sanduukhu [nt.] ‘how many people hid inside wooden chests?’

Ndrata/ mi/ ningile ndrani ya ijuuniya/ mp^hate kuwa sultaani. ‘Let me get inside the sack so that I become sultan.’

waaliko shfateeme ndraani ya mivuungu [nt.] ‘we hid under beds’

wamo wafakeete ndraani ya tawala [nt.] ‘some fled deep into the sea’

rel.

ndraani m(w)-a ndraani

Chingile maduriini/ ndraani/ ma ndraani. ‘We entered deep into the forest.’

Luulu/ hupatoowa/ bahariini/ ndraani/ ma ndraani/ sharti/ kingiloowa/ khuusi. ‘Pearls are found in the depth of the sea, it is necessary to dive [i.e. to get them].’

chi-ndrimu (zi-) n. 7/8 [Sw. *ndimu* SSED 332; Hind.] lemon

chindrimu chisita ‘a bitter lemon’

ndru n. [cf. Sw. *ndugu* SSED 332] relative (This word is monosyllabic, i.e. consists of a single syllable that is initiated by the prenasalized voiced stop **ndr**. Consequently, when this word is located in phrase-final position, it has accent on its only syllable, the vocalic nucleus of which is **u**.)

Choondroka/ chimshorata mooyi/ karka ndruuzé. ‘He went and consulted one of his relatives.’

ndruuwa ‘my relative’

ndruwa yaawo ‘their relative’

ndruwa yiinu ‘your (pl.) relative’

ndru(wa) yiitu ‘our relative’

ndruuwe ‘his/ her relative’

ndruuwo ‘your relative’ is this correct

ndruuza ‘my relatives’ (but also: **ndruuzaza**)

keendra ka moja yiitu a! rahmaani/ na iyo ni haqi ndruuza

kasaani [st.] ‘he is going to our God, the merciful, and this is something inevitable, my relatives, listen’

ndruuze ‘his relatives’ (but also: **ndruuzaze**)

ndruuzo ‘your relatives’ (but also: **ndruuzazo**)

ndruza zaawo ‘their relatives’ (but also: **ndru zaawo**)

ndruza ziinu ‘your (pl.) relatives’ (but also: **ndru ziinu**)

ndruza ziitu ‘our relatives’ (but also: **ndru ziitu**)

rel.

u-ndru n. 14 the state of being relatives; [pron. **undru**]

kumera undru/ na u’ahli ‘to seek **undru** and kinship’

chi-ne (zi-) n. [cf. **chi-nena** “groin”] bladder
We/ fungaa chine/ cha ngoombe. Mi/ takhuyeleza maazi/ ya ngoombe. Chimaliza/ wabjana awo/ wachiya/ mi/ takhtaala/ takhubiga apo/ mahala yaa chine/ kaa chisu/ takhutuumbula. Maazi/ yatakhtawanyikó. ‘You, tie the bladder of a cow [i.e. into a bag]. I will fill it up for you with the blood of a cow. Then when those young men come, I will take [semantically empty verb] I will strike you there at the place where the bladder is with a knife, I will pierce you. It’s blood that will come pouring out from you.’

rel.
chi-ji-ne (zi-ji-) n. /8 dim.
i-ji-ne (mi-ji-) n. 5/4 aug.

ma-ne n. 6 urine; [pron. **mane**] (We have assumed that this noun has the morphological structure /ma-ne/ even though the noun is used only in [cl.6] and thus we do not see the stem appearing without the prefix *ma-*.)

Fulaani/ ahdiye/ kama maneeyo. ‘So-and-so’s promise is like his urine.’
Hufaafisha/ mane yaawo/ ka mkila. ‘They (referring to camels) spread their urine with the tail.’

khfungaa mane ‘to be unable to urinate’

kurebaa mane ‘to be unable to urinate’

mane ya mwiimbili hufufiwoowa/ iluke maayi yo hu’amimoowa [st.]
‘(anything that has on it) the urine of a boy (should) be sprinkled with water, over it (the unclean thing) water should be spread’

mane yashitindika shpata yaqini/ istanja laakini fadhiini [st.] ‘“when the urine stops (flowing) and you know for sure that it has, then clean up, but not in the same place’

could use additional data... anything related formations? agreement with ma- prefix? etc,

ne’(e)ma n. [Sw. *neema* SSED 333; Ar. *ni’ma* W 980] blessing, comfort, abundance
variant form: **ni’(i)ma**
Deekheka/ ka ne’ema/ zaa we/ peetó. ‘Be satisfied with those blessings that you got.’
ka uliwe wa raaha/ na ne’ma za kujoowa [st.] ‘with a comfortable bed and abundance (of good food) to be eaten’

Masku aya/ ni masku ya yani’ma/ masku ya furaha/ na masku ya uwiingi/ wa arzaakhi. ‘That night (Ashuura) is a night of abundance, of joy, of plentifulness of food.’
Mteleza ni’ma/ nadarbatilee dhibu. ‘Let the one who wastes abundance be prepared for difficulties.’ (A proverb.)
Mwajiitu/ nampe ne’ema. ‘May God give him comfort.’
Mwajiitu/ shpele ne’ema. ‘May God give us comfort.’
Umo karka ni’ma. ‘He is affluent (lit. he is in abundance).’
Umo karka ni’ma za mwajiitu. ‘He is in God’s grace.’

ku-ne’emeka v. [Sw. *neemeka* “live at ease, have plenty, be in comfortable circumstances, possess property, get profits” SSED 335] (**ne’emeshele**) have plenty
rel.
ku-ne’emesha v. caus. [Sw. *neemesha* SSED 335] (**ne’emesheeze**)
ku-ne’emesheleza v. caus. appl.
ku-ne’emeshelezanya v. caus. appl. rec.

neefu n. [Som. *neef* "1. air contained in lungs and expelled, 2. asthma" DSI 464] breathing
khpanza neefu ‘to breathe, pant’
khptomola neefu ‘to breathe’
Nimo mahalá/ iririini/ khptomola neefu/ sinakhadira. ‘I am in such a tight place I cannot even breathe out.’
khtila mpiira/ neefu or khtila neefu/ mpiira ‘to inflate a ball, to put air in

- a ball'
kubiga neefu 'to breathe hard, rapidly, to pant'
Mahabuusi/ bishile neefu/ nt^ho. 'The prisoner breathed out hard.'
qalbiya faza'a na neefu hundūiqa [nt.] 'my heart is scared and I cannot breathe'
- chi-neema* (zi-) n. 7/8 [Sw. *sinema* SSED 432; Ital. *cinema*, where *c* is pronounced as Eng. *ch*; Eng. *cinema*] movie, cinema
Chineema/ chivalikooyi. 'How was the movie?'
Nakhsula kunt^hukula chinemaani. 'He wants to take me to the movies.'
Wa'oloshela zinemaani. 'They went to the movies.'
- chi-nena* (zi-) n. 7/8 [Sw. *kinena* SSED 199] groin of man or woman
- nene* adj. [Sw. *-nene* SSED 334] fat
chiluti chinene 'dim. thick stick'
iluti inene 'thick (aug.) club'
mnene kana iboori 'lit. as fat as a pumpkin-- said in particular of plump girls'
Ye/ loosele/ kuwaa ye/ wene ngoombe/ saba/ wanene/ nakuwajó/ ni ngoombe/ saba/ wembaamba. 'He dreamed that he saw seven fat cows and the ones who were eating them were seven thin cows.'
- u-nene* n. 14 [Sw. *unene* SSED 199] fatness
- nenezi* n. [unknown etymology] condition of being dizzy
variant form: **chi-nenezi**
Nenezi gani/ khutukiiló. 'Which dizziness/ confusion of mind carried you away? (This question is put to s.o. who appears again after a long absence.)'
Tukila na chinenezi. 'He was carried away by **chinenezi** (having lost his power of judgement he walked and walked without knowing where he was going to).'
- ma-neeno* n. 6 [Sw. *nenó* (*ma-*) SSED 333] words, talking, conversation, observations
Aada/ ya mtaana/ maneeno/ ya mlungaana/ shteendro. 'The custom of the **mtaana** is talk, (that of) the **mlungaana** is action.'
Khariibu/ ya muuyi/ mwaana/ chanza kiimba/ kama aada/ na maamá/ chimjiiba/ ka maneeno/ yaayo/ ayo. 'Near town, the boy began to sing as usual and mother answered him with the very same words.'
khshika maneeno 'to always talk, talk too much'
Kulasku/ maneno yaayo/ ka yaayo. 'Every day the very same words!'
Maneeno/ ni makali/ khshindra lpaanga. 'Words are sharper than a sword.' (A proverb.)
maneno ya khpeendeza 'pleasing words'
Mi/ (n)nakhsulaa we/ kump^ha/ ma'ana/ ya maneeno/ yaa we/ kođelo ka sultaani/ na yaa ye/ khujibiiló. 'I want you to tell me the meaning of the words that you spoke to the sultan and what he said back to you.' (Phon. In this example, there is focus on (n)nakhsulaa we. The verb here is a final accent trigger and the final accent appears on the monosyllabic pronoun. Due to the Accentual Law of Focus, the accent does not project past this phrase to the following infinitive khump^ha.)
munt^hu mwenye maneeno 'a man of words (i.e. but not deeds)'
Saydiyá/ mi/ nna'iwá/ ma'ana/ ya maneno aya. 'My lord, I know the meaning of these words.'
Shtafsiriliilá/ maneeno/ yote. 'All the words were explained to us.'
Wamwambile muunt^hu/ maneeno. 'They spoke to the man [lit. they spoke to the man words]. Or: **Muunt^hu/ wamwambile maneeno.**

- neervo** n. nerve(s)
Hamadi/ na Omari/ wanazo neervo. ‘Hamadi and Omari (lit.) have nerves – i.e. they get angry quickly.’
Hamadi/ nazo neervo. ‘Hamadi (lit.) has nerves – i.e. he gets angry quickly.’
Vitami “B”/ hinda maradi ya neervo. ‘Vitamin B is good for nerve disease.’
We/ nayo maradaa neervo. ‘You have nerve disease.’ (There seems to be variation between **maradi** and **maradi**. In the example here, **maradi ya** is contracted to **maradaa**.)
- chi-ngalaawa (zi-)** n. 7/8 [Sw. *ngalawa* SSED 334] an outrigger canoe
- Ngereenza** n. England
wilaya ya Ngereenza ‘the country of England’
rel.
chi-ngereenza n. 7 English
Aziizi/ mune/ somele chingereenza. ‘Aziizi’s younger brother studied English.’
Kalima iyo/ yile ka chingereenza. ‘That word came from English.’
khsooma/ na kubarata chingereenza ‘to read and learn English’
m-ngereenza (wa-) n. 1/2 an Englishman; the English
Mngereenza/ mshinzile talyaani. ‘The English defeated the Italians.’
u-ngereenza n. 14 England
Nnakendra (u)ngereenza. ‘I am going to England.’
- Nguuja** n. Zanzibar
Wantu wa Miini/ nusu yaawo/ asli yaawo/ wa’ile ka Nguuja. ‘Half of the people of Miini originally came from Zanzibar.’
rel.
chi-nguja n. 7 the dialect of Zanzibar; in the manner of the people of Zanzibar
- ni + associative particle**
mbwa [cl.1]
Hamadi/ mba Mkhodiisho. ‘Hamadi comes from Mogadishu (lit. is of Mogadishu).’
nch^{ha} ‘[cl.7]’
Icho/ chisu/ chaa we/ chinaambilo/ nch^{ha} Faatima. ‘That basket that you told me about belongs to Faatima.’
nch^{ha}aká ‘mine’
Cho/ nch^{ha}aká. ‘It is mine.’
nch^{ha}aké ‘his, hers, its’
nch^{ha}akó ‘yours’
nch^{ha}aawó ‘theirs’
Shkapu ichi/ nch^{ha} naani. ‘Whose basket is this?’
ndani ‘it is of why?’
Yiko lila/ wanaafakhi/ ndani. ‘Since there is truth, why lie (lit. lie is for why)?’ (A proverb.)
- ni-** first person singular subject prefix (morphophonemic variants: **n m**)
Mi/ waliko nch^hija mwaangi/ mukhtaa we/ iló. ‘I was eating **mwaangi** when you came.’
mp^hite ‘that I pass’
Niwaloosele. ‘I dreamed about them.’
nk^haaja ‘if I had eaten’
nsoole ‘that I crush grain’
- ni-** second person plural subject prefix (morphophonemic variant: **n**)

Huseeni/ chiiza/ tu/ chihada/ we/ na mwanaamkewó/ nimo kaaká/ shfungooní/ mi/ nnakhsuulá/ kuleteḷowa waant^hu/ wont^he/ waa ni/ niwafuunziló. ‘Huseeni just refused, saying: you and your daughter are in my bonds (in my debt); I want all the men that you (pl.) have arrested brought to me.’

Ndo/ leelo/ maduriini/ ni/ nubḷeeḷeni. ‘Come, today, in the country, what did you (pl.) kill?’

Njile liini. ‘When did you (pl.) eat?’

-ni- first person object prefix (morphophonemic variants: *m n*)

Baaba/ chimwaambila/ basi/ isa/ mp^ha khabari suura. ‘Father said to him: so, now, give me the good news.’

kunija ‘to eat me’

Mbeene. ‘He saw me.’

Mi/ shkalaant^ha/ apa/ laazima/ sulṭaani/ takunubḷa. ‘If I stay here it is certain that the sultan will kill me.’

Nakhsulá kunt^hukula chineema. ‘He wants to take me to a movie.’

Nakumbona. ‘He sees me.’

(Ye/ ka’oloká/ sulá kumbona. ‘If he went, he would see me.’

-ni- second person plural object prefix

Nk^ha’oloké/ sulá kinwona. ‘If I went, I would see you (pl.)’

=ni interrogative enclitic: what?

Ali/ mbozeleni/ mwaalimu. ‘What did Ali steal from the teacher?’

Ali/ patiliileni/ gaari. ‘What did Ali get for the car.’ (Possible answer:

moṭoore ‘an engine’.) (Syn. It should be pointed out that when **=ni** is encliticized to a benefactive verb, the **=ni** does not refer to the beneficiary but rather the logical object. Thus the sentence **Ali/ patiliileni/ moṭore.** can only mean: what was gotten for the engine? and cannot mean: what was the engine gotten for?)

Ambiilani/ we/ peḷa amri gani/ we/ amuriḷa kunfanyilizani/ we. ‘What have you been told, you were given what orders, what were you ordered to do for me?’

Hadiileni/ sulṭaani. ‘What did the sultan say?’

Hiinfani/ shahaada. ‘What use is a degree (when you cannot get a job)?’

Huseeni/ fanyiizeni. ‘What did Huseeni do?’ Or: **Fanyiizeni/ Huseeni.**

‘What did he do, Huseeni?’ A possible answer to this question is **Huseeni/ uzile chibuuku.** ‘Huseeni bought a book.’ Or: **Uzile chibuuku/ Huseeni.** ‘He bought a book, Huseeni.’ Note that it would not be appropriate to respond: **Huseeni/ uzile/ chibuuku.** This would be inappropriate because it focuses on the verb, while the question calls for a response that verb phrase-oriented and not verb-oriented.

Isa/ nakhadira kunfanyilizani/ we. ‘Now, what are you able to do for me?’

Jaama/ hukahaṭani. ‘What does Jaama dislike?’

Jaama/ nakhfaḷilani. ‘What does Jaama prefer?’

Jiliileni/ ikoombe. ‘What did you eat with a spoon?’ (See **=ni** + applied stem listing below for a second meaning: why did you eat with a spoon (if...))

Mazá/ mwanaamke/ chihada/ waawé/ nakhsulá nfaanyeni. ‘So, the girl said: My father, what do you want me to do?’

Mekeḷeleni/ Nuuru/ nt^hini ya meeza. ‘What did you put for Nuuru under the table?’ (Phon. Although the sentence-final **meeza** may be realized with a raised-low pitch, there is also the possibility of some rise on the final syllable. In this example, the enclitic **=ni** has served to put focus on the verb and thus blocked the final accent triggered by the second person subject prefix from extending past the verb.)

Muke oyo/ cheendra/ shkalant^ha kaake/ nakhfikira/ nfaanyeni/ nfaanyeni. ‘The woman went and stayed at her place thinking: what should I do, what is it that I should do?’

Muke/ veeteni/ Tuuma. ‘The woman wore what, Tuuma?’ Or: **Tuuma/ muke/ veeteni.** ‘Tuuma, what did the woman wear?’

Mzele Simsini/ chizida kista’ajaba/ chimuuzá/ pakiileni. ‘Old Simsini was more amazed and asked him: what have you loaded on it [the ship].’

Na’endre/ na mwambileni/ waawaye. ‘What should he go and tell his

father?’

Nakhfaanyani/ mbiga munt^hu filó. ‘What are you doing to hit a man who is dead.?’ Check this example as on the tape the verb seemed to be nakhfanyaani and the accent not clear.

Nakhsuulani. ‘What do you want?’

Naayoni/ manaa we. ‘[Lit.] what do you have -- what’s wrong with you, you child.’

Ndro/ we/ naayoni/ we/ siwo/ mzima/ leelo. ‘Come, you, what is wrong with you [lit. what do you have]; you are not all there [lit. whole] today.’

Nfaanyeni. ‘What shall I do?’

Nuuru/ jiileni. ‘What did Nuuru eat?’ (Phon. We have not done a systematic exploration of the intonation of so-called “wh”-questions in Chimiini. In GM’s pronunciation of this example, there is the default accent on the verb, and its pitch is downstepped relative to the subject phrase. However, there is apparently some variation in the realization of the =*ni* enclitic in this environment. Although =*ni* may be low in pitch, we also recorded some rising on this syllable as well. Indeed, if one were expressing astonishment or seeking confirmation about what was eaten, an extreme rise on the =*ni* enclitic occurred. Presumably this usage is similar to the English question: Nuuru ate what!?)

Nuuru/ weenedi. ‘What did Nuuru see?’ Variant form: **Weenedi/ Nuuru.**

Omari/ vnzile kulu yani. ‘Omari broke the leg of what?’ (A possible answer: **Omari/ vnzile kulu yaa chiti.** ‘Omari broke the leg of a chair.’ Another person might then deny this by saying: **ā’ā/ vnzile kulu yaa chili.** ‘No, he broke the leg of a bed.’)

Shfaanyani. ‘What did he do?’

Suufi/ mpatiliileni/ Nuuru. ‘What did Suufi get for Nuuru?’

Tindiliileni/ chisu. ‘What did you cut with a knife?’ Or: **Chisu/ tindiliileni.**

Tindiliileni/ nama. ‘What did you use to cut the meat?’ Or: **Nama/ tindiliileni.**

Tinzileni/ kaa chisu. ‘What did you cut with a knife?’ Or: **Kaa chisu/ tinzileni.**

We/ tukiileni. ‘What are you carrying?’ (There are variant ways of asking this question with an enclitic: **Tukiileni/ we.** ‘What carried, you?’ **We/ tukiileni/ yo.** ‘You carried what it?’ For variants using **nini**, see under its entry.)

Watalishiizani/ waana. ‘What were they made to take, the children?’

We/ fanyiizeni. ‘What did you do?’ or **Fanyiizeni/ we.** Possible answers to these two questions: **Mi/ nuzile chibuukú.** ‘I bought a book.’ Or **Nuzile chibuukú/ mi.** ‘I bought a book, me.’ Another possible response would be: **Mi/ nimulile Nuurá/ chibuukú.** ‘I bought for Nuura a book.’ Or **Mi/ nimulile chibuukú/ Nuurá.** ‘I bought a book for Nuura.’ What these two answers have in common is that there is no focus internal to the verb phrase. It is ungrammatical to respond to the question with an internal focus: **Nimulile Nuurá/ chibuuku.** And **Nimulile chibuukú/ Nuura.** are both unacceptable responses.

We/ mulileni/ Nuura. ‘What did you buy for Nuura?’ A possible answer to this question would be: [**Mi/ nimulile^F chibuukú/ Núura**]. ‘I bought a book for Nuura.’

Weenedi/ we. ‘What did you see?’ (Possible answers include: **Mbene gari ya Hamadi/ uziló.** ‘I saw the car that Hamadi bought.’ Or: **Mbene gaari/ ya Hamadi/ uziló.** (These answers suggest that the phrasal separation of the head of the associative phrase in the second example has no bearing on whether the associative phrase can be used to answer the question ‘what?’)

Weenziwe/ wachimuuza/ nakhfikirani/ we? ‘His friends asked him: what are you thinking about?’

=*ni*

interrogative clitic attached to the associative particle

Muusa/ mekelele Nuuru/ chibuuku/ nt^hini yani. ‘Under what did Muusa put a book for Nuuru?’ (Phon. We recorded some variation in the intonation of this example; default accent is regularly placed on the penult syllable of **yani**, but the final syllable may be low in pitch or show some rise. If, however, the rise is extreme, then the sentence is conveying surprise or seeking confirmation.)

Nṯ^hini yani/ mekelelo Nuurú/ chibuukú. ‘Under what did you put a book for Nuuru?’ (Phon. The initial phrase in this example clearly realizes **yani** with a raised-low pitch shape.)

We/ mekelele Nuurú/ chibuukú/ nṯ^hini yani. ‘Under what did you put a book for Nuuru?’ (Phon. An exclamatory version of this sentence is possible where the **=ni** enclitic is extremely raised in pitch. It would be equivalent to the English sentence: You put a book for Nuuru under what!?)

=ni interrogative enclitic used to ask a ‘why’ question in conjunction with the applied verb stem

Andikiliilení/ khaṭi. ‘Why did you write the letter?’

Boleelení/ chiwaa we/ nt^hukuwanaayo/ ndala. ‘Why did you steal if you were not hungry?’

Iliilení/ madrasaani/ chiwaa we/ hupeendi/ khsooma. ‘Why did you come to school if you do not wish to study?’

Jiliilení/ mkono/ chiwaa we/ nalo l;koombé. ‘Why did you eat with your hand if you had a spoon?’

Jiliilení/ zijo/ ka farkeeta. ‘Why did you eat **zijo** with a fork (if...)?’

Neleelení/ maṭaaza/ ka sufuriya. ‘Why did you drink the porridge from a pot (if...)?’

Tindiliilení/ nk^huku. ‘Why did you slaughter the chicken?’ (Usage. A less preferred meaning for this sentence is: what did you slaughter the chicken with?)

ni copula

Husoomeshó/ nii wake. ‘The ones who teach are women.’

Mukeewá/ ni liḷa/ khfanya kaazi/ ni suura. ‘My wife, it is true, to do work is good.’

Ni apa/ yako mambo yaa mi/ nnakhsulo kuwa’oneyezá. ‘It is here that there are matters that I want to show them.’

Ni ndrani ya shkapu icho/ yawalimo mi’ujizá. ‘It was inside that basket that there were miraculous things.’

Ni tookayo. ‘It is your turn.’ Cf. **Ni tookayo/ ni.** ‘It’s your turn, that’s what it is.’

Ni waajibu/ iluya. ‘It is my obligation.’

Waawe/ (nii) mule. ‘My father is tall’ Cf. **Waawe/ nii mule/ ni.** ‘My father is tall, that’s what he is.’

ni interrogative particle: why?

Martí/ wachihada/ ni/ kuhada/ si/ shpee nama/ iyo/ chije. ‘The guests said: why would we say anything [about where the meat came from]? give us this meat so that we may eat.’

ni second person plural independent pronoun; [pron. **ni** or **ni**]

Huseeni/ chihada/ ndrataani/ tu/ ni/ mu/ sitakhshindroowa/ mi/ hukhadira khteza matezoo saba/ ka sa’a mooyi/ na teená/ khshiindra. ‘Huseeni said: just leave me be, you (pl.), I can play seven games (of cards) in one hour and then win.’

Nakhsulaa ni/ keendra. ‘He wants you (pl.) to go.’

Ni/ humkahata siimba/ ni/ nakhsulaa mi/ nimublé. ‘You (pl.) hate the lion, you want me to kill him.’

niḍaamu n. [Ar. *niḏām* W 978] rule, regulation

nifaaqi n. [Sw. *unafiki* SSED 292; Ar. *nifāq* W 988] hypocrisy

nijaasa n. [Ar. *najāsa* W 945] impurity

karka aḏaabu habasa / nk^hulu ya wenye nijaasa [st.] ‘in hell there is a big prison for the impure ones’

nijisi adj. [Sw. *najisi* SSED 329; Ar. *najis* W 945]

nikaaha n. [Ar. *nikāḥ* "marriage" W 997] the religious agreement between a man and a woman to marry, engagement to marry
Isa/ leelo/ masku/ yiiko/ nikaaha/ Safiya/ nakuloḷoowa/ na mubli/ wa waawaye/ namsuliiló. ‘Now today at night there is an engagement, Safiya is being married by a man whom her father wants for her.’
Omari/ khubaliile/ nikaaha/ kumnola Aamina. ‘Omari agreed to marry Aamina.’
Skua ya nikaaha/ mwanaamke/ na mwiimbili/ wazazi wa mwanaamke/ na wazazi wa mwiimbili/ huviḷa wenza waawo/ khshuhudila nikaaha. ‘One the day of the wedding, the girl and the boy, the parents of the girl and the parents of the boy, invite their friends to witness the ceremony.’

ku-nikaahisha v. [cf. Ar. *nikāḥ* "marriage" W 997] (**nikahishiize**) marry

Hunikaahishó/ ni khaḏi wa muuyi/ amó/ muunt^hu/ nayo uwakala wa khaaḏi. ‘The one who performs the marriage is the town judge, or someone who has an appointment from the judge.’

rel.

ku-nikahishoowa v. pass. (**nikahishiiza**) be married (of the woman)

Qaaḏi/ chimwaambila/ Safiya/ uyu/ ni mubliwo/ we/ nikahishiizá/ na mukhtaawo/ nikahishiizá/ we/ qiriilé. ‘The judge said to Safiya: this (man) is your husband, you got married, and when you married, you accepted (this man as your husband).’

nima chidhu n. a unit of measure that corresponds to ¼ of a **chidhu** or to ½ of a **i-koopa**; this measure was used by Bravanese who kept cows and sold their milk from home (Etym. The etymology of this item is unknown. There is no equivalent term in Tunni Somali.)

nini interrog. {Sw. *nini* SSED 339] what? why? (**Nini** is generally found in pre-verbal position. One does not ordinarily say, for example, ***Nt^hakuleta nini.**, but rather the enclitic **=ni** is employed.)

Basi/ numa/ mwaana/ wele mkulu/ hattá/ leelo/ chimwaambila/ maamé/ kazi ya waawa/ nini. ‘So then the boy grew up until (one) day he said to her: mother/ the work of father/ was what?’

Chimuza maamaye/ nini/ inaye. ‘He asked his mother what his name was.’

Malizopo khtomola salaamú/ baaba/ chimuza/ nini/ khabari za nt^heendre. ‘After extending greetings, father asked him what is the news of the dates?’

Mazá/ isa/ nini/ jeza/ ya muunt^hu/ itakhpatowa kaaké/ ikopa iyó. ‘So now what is the punishment/compensation (of, for) the man who that cup was found (with) him?’

Nch^hiwa nnazo peesá/ nini/ itakundreb o kula gaari. ‘If I have the money, what is it that will prevent me from buying a car?’

Nini/ hiisi/ so/ we/ kama alama yaa nvula/ ni mawiingú. ‘Why, don’t you know that the sign of rain is clouds?’

Nini/ hiisi/ so/ we/ kuwa uyu/ waliko mp^huundra/ wa doobí. ‘What, did you not know that this one was the donkey of a washerman?’

Nini/ ikhupeetó/ we. ‘What happened to you?’

Nini/ impeetó/ Omari. ‘What befell Omari?’ Or: **Nini/ impeto Omari.**

(Syn. Interestingly, it is not possible to preface the question word **nini** with the copular: ***Ni nini/ impeto Omari.**)

Nini/ ipoteeló. ‘What fell?’ (Cf. **Ipoteeleni.** ‘What fell?’)

Nini/ ivundishiló. ‘What broke?’

Nini/ khabarizó. ‘What is your news?’

Nini/ kulaala. ‘Why did you lay down?’

money?’

Nini/ kundura ka baakoora. ‘Why did you poke me with a cane?’

Nini/ ma’anayé. ‘What is the meaning (of what you said)?’

Nini/ naayóní. ‘Why? What’s the matter [lit. what does he have]?’

Nini/ naayóní/ we/ manaa we. ‘What’s wrong, you child?’

nini/ sababu ya ‘why?’ (There is an implication of disapproval on the speaker’s part when he uses this expression to ask a “why” question.)

Nini/ sababu yaa mi/ chiza khpowa peesa. ‘Why wasn’t I given

Nini/ sababu yaa we/ holokelelo madrasaani/ ka kuraagá. ‘Why do you always go to school late?’

Nini/ sababu yaa we/ jililo chakuja ichí. ‘Why do you eat this food?’ (Notice that the verb here is used in its applied form. One cannot say *Nini/ sababu yaa we/ jilo chakuja ichí.)

Nini/ sababu yaa we/ kendra madrasaani/ ka nguwoo nt^haka. ‘Why did you go to school with dirty clothes?’ (With a directional verb such as **keendra**, one can put the infinitive into the applied form: **Nini/ sababu yaa we/ kendra madrasaani/ ka nguwoo nt^haka.** with the same meaning.)

Nini/ sababu yaa we/ khfakaṭa. ‘Why did you run?’ (Syn. Although when the verb is finite, it is put into the applied form, the same does not generally hold true for infinitives like this. One does not say *Nini/ sababu yaa we/ khfakaṭila.)

Nini/ sababu yaa we/ khtukuza chibuuku. ‘Why did you send a book?’

Nini/ sababu yaa we/ kuja chaakuja. ‘Why did you eat food?’

Nini/ sababu yaa we/ kulaala/ apa. ‘Why did you lie down here?’

Nini/ sababu yaa we/ kuleta chibuuku. ‘Why did you bring a book?’

Nini/ sababu yaa we/ kumtukuliza Omari/ chibuuku. ‘Why did you send Omari a book?’

Nini/ sababu yaa we/ kuraga kendra madrasaani. ‘Why are you late going to school?’

Nini/ sababu yaa we/ kuya madrasaani. ‘Why did you come to school?’ (Syn. With the directional verb **kuuya**, one can put the verb into the applied form in the infinitive: **Nini/ sababu yaa we/ kilila madrasaani.** ‘Why did you come to school?’)

Nini/ sababu yaa we/ olokelelo madrasaani. ‘Why did you go to school?’ (Syn. Notice that when the verb is finite, a compared to the examples above where an infinitive verb was used, the verb must be put into a relative clause form. Moreover, the verb is put into the applied form.)

Nini/ sulṭaani/ khufanyiizeni. ‘Why? What did the sultan do to you?’

Nini/ tu/ ikhuleselo apá. ‘What (on earth) brought you here?’

Nini/ we/ kendra madrasaani. ‘Why did you go to school?’

Nini/ ya Ali/ mbozelo mwaalimú. ‘What is it that Ali stole from the teacher?’

Nini/ ya sababu/ yaa we/ kendra madrasaani. ‘Why did you go to school?’

Nini/ yaa we/ tukiiló. ‘What are you carrying?’ (There are a multitude of ways of asking this question with **nini**. All of these are possible:

Nini/ iyo/ yaa we/ tukiiló. ‘What is that thing that you carried?’

Nini/ we/ tukiiló. ‘What you carried?’ **We/ tukile nini.** ‘You carried what?’ **We/ nini/ tukiiló.** ‘You what carried?’ **Nini/ tukiiló/ we.** ‘What carried, you?’ For additional ways using the enclitic =*ni*, look under the entry for =*ni*.)

Nini/ yaa ye/ mpelo Omari. ‘What did he give Omari?’

Nt^hakuleetani. ‘What didn’t he bring?’

rel.

nii [a contracted form of **nini** with limited distribution]

Nii/ kendra/ we. ‘Why did you go?’ But not ***Nii/ sababu/ yaa we/ kendra madrasaani.** And not ***Nii/ we/ kendra madrasaani.**

nini

a “filler” word with no syntactic or semantic function

Ba’adaa ye/ kuzaala/ mwanaamke/ oyo/ hupendoowa/ nini. ‘After she gave birth, that girl (i.e. the girl who she gave birth to) was loved, what.’

ku-niinka

kuniink^ha]

v. [etymology unknown] *not in general use* give, hand over to someone; [pron.

Mgarwa/ shtomola/ iyo/ khati/ yaa ye/ andishiló/ chimnink^ha sultaani.

‘The fisherman took out that letter that he had written and gave it to the sultan.’

Mniink^he. ‘Give it to him! Let him have it! (said as an encouragement to a person in a fight).’

rel.

ku-niinkila v. appl. pass; [pron. **kuniink^hila]**

Ali/ chimnink^hila sultaani/ khati/ ksooma. ‘Ali handed the letter to the sultan to read.’

Chiwaniink^hila. ‘He handed it to them.’

Nimwambile kunnink^hilila mwaaná/ suukari. ‘I told him to pass the sugar to my child for me.’

ku-nink^hiloowa v. appl. pass. be handed

Mi/ nnink^hililaa munuú/ na Hamadi. ‘I was passed salt by Hamadi.’

ku-niink^hila v. appl. (**nink^hiliile**) pass s.t. to s.o.

Eelo/ shtalaa nguwo/ zaa ye/ leeseló/ chimnink^hila maskiini. ‘The gazelle took the clothes that he had bought and handed them over to the poor man.’

Hamadi/ nnink^hililee munu. ‘Hamadi passed me the salt.’

Mniink^hile. ‘Pass it to him!’

Myaana/ chimnink^hila eelo/ zint^hu zaa ye/ tukiiza. ‘The servant handed over to the gazelle the things that she had bought.’

Check into **ku-nink^hoowa** verb form.

rel. nom.

m-niinkilo (*mi-*) n. 3/4 the act of passing; [pron. **mniink^hilo]**

nishaati

n. [Ar. *našāṭ* W 966] energy (as opposed to laziness)

Ni muun^hu/ mwenye nishaati. ‘He is an active, energetic person.’

Nt^haná/ nishaati. ‘He has no energy.’

niya

n. [Sw. *nia* SSED 338; Ar. *nīya* W 1013] intention, intention to perform an activity (such as prayer or fasting), will, will power

Ichiwakoo niyá/ yikoo ndilá. ‘If there is a will, there is a way.’ (A proverb.)

khtila niyaani ‘to have the intention to do s.t.’

Nt^hile niyaani/ leeló/ kendra kuwona meenzawá. ‘Today I intend to go and see my friend.’

kuletaa niya ‘to make the statement of intention’

kuguursha mataanga niya leete awali [st.] ‘(before) taking the sand (from its place to use to clean with) state the intention first’

kuvundaa niya ‘to discourage s.o., break his heart (e.g. by promising over and over to do s.t. but then not doing it, to the point that now he no longer wishes to do it)’

kuvundikaa niya ‘to have one’s heart broken, to give up on s.t. (e.g. after

someone has promised and promised to do s.t., but always fails to carry through with the promise)’

Nvundishilee niyá. ‘I have given up (you always say we will do s.t., but then we never do).’

kuvundikowaa niya ‘to have the heart broken (as above)’

Omari/ jawaabuze/ huvundikowaa niya. ‘Omari’s words always discourages people (e.g. he always talks about what bad things may happen if people do what they wish to do).’

kuwanayoo niya ‘to have the intention’

Nnayoo niyá/ keendrá. ‘I intend to go.’

Nnayo niya ya keendrá. ‘I have the intention of going.’

Muke/ niyaani/ kaake/ iwaalimo/ kuzimila. ‘In the wife’s intentions was to run away.’

Munt^hu uyu/ nt^haná/ niya saafi. ‘This man does not have good intentions.’

na niya saafi khutila janaani [st.] ‘and good intentions put you in paradise’
niya ni sharti kuwanaayo awali [st.] ‘[the statement of one’s] intention [to pray] is obligatory to have at the beginning’

Niya njeema/ hutabiiba/ niyaa mbovu/ hukhariba. ‘A good intention cures, a bad intention spoils.’ (A proverb.)

Nnayoo niyá/ keendrá. ‘I intend to go.’

Nnayo niya ya keendra. ‘I have the intention of going.’

Nt^haná/ niya. ‘He has no will power.’

niyaaba

[Ar. *niyābatan* “in place/ instead of” and *niyāba* “replacement, proxy” W 1007] in the expression: **ka niyaaba/ ya** ‘on behalf of, in place of’

ma-niyi

n. 6 [Sw. *manii* SSED 259; Ar.] semen (Note that body fluids are regularly in [cl.6]: cf. **ma-ne, ma-pula, ma-sila, m-aazi.**)

maniyi shṭomola baṭaala soomu [st.] ‘if semen is emitted, fasting is invalid’
maniyi yachiḷawapo kowoowa/ ni waajibu na taakufo koshooowa [st.]
‘when semen comes out, to be washed up is obligatory, and he who dies must be washed’

nizaa’a

n. [Ar. *nizā* ‘ W 955] argument

nḷa

[cl.11] agreement form of *ni + a*: is of, belonging to

Luti ili/ nḷa naani. ‘Whose stick is this?’

rel.

nḷaaká (or **ndaaká**)

Lo/ Iwaliko nḷaaká. ‘It [cl.11] was mine.’ (However, **ndaaká** seems to be

preferred.)

nḷaaké his/hers [cl.11]

nḷaakó ‘yours [cl.11]’

nḷaawó ‘theirs [cl.11]’

nḷiínú ‘yours (pl.) [cl.11]’

nḷiítu ‘ours [cl.11]’

-nne

presence of gemination.)

adj. four; [pron. **nne** or **nne**] (Phon. Sometimes it is a bit difficult to be certain of the

Isa/ we/ mp^ha ma’ana/ ya mafungu manne. ‘Now you give me the meaning of the four parts [in reference to the four parts of a character’s explanation of what happened to his wealth].’

Ka muda/ waa sa’a/ mooyi/ Huseeni/ chishindra maṭezo/ ishiriini/ naa ne. ‘In a period of one hour, Huseeni won twenty four games (of cards).’

rel.

-aane fourth (Phon. The accent, in the default case, falls on the *aa*, indicating that **ne** does not act as a prosodic word.)

Ifuungu/ ya kaandra/ ilaṭila bahariini/ ya piili/ itilaa muḷo/ ya taatu/

ipasiza waant^hu/ walá/ haytakulipoowa/ na ifungu yaané/ ilipilila deeni/ na deenizé/ nt^haaśá/ kumaliza kulipoowa. ‘The first portuib was thrown into the sea, the second was put in fire, the third was lent to people, nor will it be returned, and the fourth part was used to pay debts, and his debts [he] never [will] finish repaying.’

Ifungu yaane/ takhpowa oyo muunt^hu/ naane/ napate khfulisha ahdiye. ‘The fourth part [of the sea] will be given to that man so that he may drink it and thus get to keep his promise.’

Sku yaane/ ichanza ġarba/ na lpepó/ lchivuma/ kaa nguvu/ naa nvulá/ ichaanza/ kunya. ‘On the fourth day a storm began and the wind blew with force and rain began to fall.’

noo’i

n. 9/10 [Som. *nooc* DSI 467] kind, sort

Nt^ha’ukhpita/ wakhti/ mwiingi/ hattá/ wachiwona/ masiniya/ ya kila noo’i/ ya zaakuja. ‘Not much time passed until they saw trays of every kind of food.’

Nuuhu/ shfanya jis’iyo/ chooloka/ shtalaa muke/ na muġi/ karka kuġa/ noo’i/ karka anwaa’i/ za hayawaani. ‘Noah did just that, he went and he took a female and a male from each kind of animal.’

Wahamari/ naawó/ hufaanya/ kaazi/ za noo’i/ niingi. ‘The Wahamari as well do jobs of different kinds.’

nohsi

n. [Ar. *naħisa* "be ominous, disastrous, ill-fated" W 947] disaster, calamity

wenye kurasha ndila ya nohsi ‘those who follow the path to perdition’

noka

n. 9/10 [Sw. *nyoka* SSED 346] snake; [pron. noka, but **n**oka is also possible] (Phon. The dental nasal n is a relatively uncommon phoneme in Chimiini and thus in the practical orthography shown in the headwords it is not differentiated from the alveolar *n*. However, in words like noka and nama and munu which employ the sound, it seems to be consistently used in the speech of our consultants.)

Duġ’eda/ chimuġġaa noka. ‘The fox killed the snake.’

Hutaambala/ kanaa noka. ‘He crawls like a snake.’

khisa ya Hasiibu/ na sultani waa noká ‘the story of Hasiibu and the sultan of snakes’ (Phon. This pronunciation illustrates the possibility of the head of the associative phrase, sultaani, being phrased together with its complement, waa noká.)

khkala chiġa chaa noka ‘to stand on a snake’s head’ (said when one is trying to do s.t.very risky)

Luti/ limo mkonooni/ ndiġó/ huġloo noká. ‘The stick which is in your hand is the very thing that kills the snake.’ (A proverb.)

Mwana waa noka/ haatowi/ kuluma. ‘A snake’s child does not miss to bite.’ Or: **Mwana waa noka/ nii noka/ haatowi/ kuluma.** ‘The child of a snake is a snake, it never fails to bite.’

Noka/ hubigowaa chiġa. ‘A snake is hit on the head [in order to be killed].’

(A proverb.)

noka iyi (or uyu) ‘this snake’; **noka izi** ‘these snakes’ (not ***noka awa**)

Noka/ koreeġopó/ uyu muunt^hu/ chimġata kumeramera numbaani. ‘When the snake grew up, this man allowed him to roam the house.’

noka za tawala ‘sea snakes’

Ni kanaa noka ‘(S)he is like a snake (not to be trusted, will try to harm you).’

Omari/ ni noka wa nt^hiini. ‘Omari is [lit.] a snake of the underneath – i.e. he bites, does harm to you without your knowing it.’

Potele iboholi/ yaa noka. ‘He fell into a snake’s hole (said of s.o. who puts himself in a bad situation without any real justification).’

rel.

chi-noka (zi-) n. dim. 7/8 small snake; [pron. **chin**oka and **zin**oka]

Chinoka ichi/ ni chisuura/ nt^ho/ mi/ nt^hakishkorsha. ‘This little snake is

very pretty, I will bring it up.’

i-noka (*mi-*) n. aug. [pron. **inoka** and **minoka**]

Cheendra/ chingila maduriini/ chiwona inoka/ ikulu/ nt^ho/ inoka

chimuza/ we/ ni binaadamú/ nakeendrapí. ‘She went into the bush and she saw a very large snake; the snake asked her: you are a human being, where are you going?’

Chiwona inoka ikulu/ ileele/ nt^hi/ ifiile. ‘He saw a large snake lying on the floor dead.’

i-noka (*mi-*)

n. 5/4 eel; [pron. **inoka**]

ku-noolata

v. [Som. *nool* "to live" DSI 467] (**noleete**) recover (from financial distress, ill health, lack of food, etc.); survive, get enough to get along, get the basic needs a person has

Choloka Mkhodiisho/ we/ takunoolata. ‘If you go to Mogadishu, you will find s.t. to live on.’

rel.

ku-noolisha v. caus. restore s.o.’s spirits, health, financial well-being, etc.; provide the means for s.o. to live, survive; provide temporary means of subsistence (for a certain period of time), e.g. to someone traveling)

Sa’iidi/ mnolishize Suufi. ‘Sa’iidi provided Suufi’s sustenance.’

ku-nolishana v. caus. rec. provide sustenance for one another

ku-nolishika v. caus. p/s.

ku-nolishiliza v. caus. appl.

Shaafi/ mnolishilize Nuuru/ mwaana. ‘Shaafi provided for Nuuru’s child.’

ku-nolishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Shaafi/ na Nuuru/ wanolishilizenye waana. ‘Suufi and Nuuru provided for one another’s children’s sustenance.’

chi-noolo (*zi-*)

n. 7/8 [Sw. *kinoo* SSED 340] a stone used for sharpening knives etc., whetstone

chi-noolo (*z-*)

n. (cf. Sw. *kinolo*, a kind of banana bread: *mkate wa ndizi*. An internet site describes it as follows: “Kinolo is a type of bread-like product that is made from ripe, sweet bananas and corn flour. Any local banana variety may be used. The bananas are peeled, placed into a kinu (mortar), mixed with corn flour, and pounded using a mchi (pestle). The paste obtained is rolled into its shape using banana leaves, and arranged in a cooking pot. Hot water is added to cover, and the covered pot is left to cook over a moderate fire. The resulting cooked breads may be purple, brown or pink in color, depending on the corn variety used to obtain the corn flour.”) banana bread

Waana/ wanakuja zinoolo. ‘The children are eating **zinoolo**.’ Or, with verb focus: **Waana/ wanaakuja/ zinoolo.** ‘The children are *eating* **zinoolo**.’ Or, with subject focus: **Waana/ wanakujo zinooló.** ‘*The children* are eating **zinoolo**.’ Or also: **Waana/ wanaakujó/ zinoolo.** ‘The children are eating **zinoolo**.’

Zinoolo/ hufanyowa ka mashtaata. ‘**Zinoolo** are made from from sesame seeds.’

Zinoolo/ waana/ wanaakuja. ‘**Zinoolo**, the children are eating.’ (Syn. If **zinoolo** is being focused, the verb must be put in the pseudo-relative form: **Zinoolo/ waana/ wanaakujó.** ‘**Zinoolo**, the children are eating [them].’)

Zinoolo/ wanaakuja/ waana. ‘**Zinoolo**, they are eating, the children.’ (Syn. This sentence exhibits the left-dislocation of the object **zinoolo** as well as the right-dislocation of the subject **waana**. If, on the other hand, the fronted **zinoolo** is an instance of what we referred to as “clefting” in the introduction, then the verb must be put into the pseudo-relative form: **Zinoolo/ wanaakujó/ waana.** ‘**Zinoolo** they are eating, the children.’)

m-nome

n. a kind of shark

mp^hamp^ha wa mnome ‘a shark of the **mnome** type’

noongo

n. [Sw. *nyongo* SSED 347] bile

haraarisi/ kana noongo ‘as bitter as bile’

- chi-noongo* n. gall bladder
- ku-nongona* v. [Sw. *nong’ona* SSED 340] whisper
- ma-nongono* n. 6 [Sw. *manong’ono* SSED 340] whispering; complaints
Ye/ ni muunt^hu/ mwenye manongono. ‘He is a man full of complaints.’
- noota* n. 9/10 [Sw. *nyota* SSED 348] star; [pron. **noota** or also **noota**]
Alamu ya Somaaliya/ inayo noota/ kati. ‘The flag of Somalia has a star in the center.’
Bandeera/ ya Somaaliya/ inayo nota nt^haano. ‘Somalia’s flag has five stars.’
ni noota yingilo mwiini kaake skuta^hkalama [song] ‘it is a star that entered Brava, and with her I did not speak’
Noota/ inakuwala. ‘The star is shining.’
noota/ ya iwele ‘nipple’
nota za kuzimu ‘stars in the sky’
walangala noota ‘astrologers’
Ye/ weene/ kuwa noota/ ikum na mooyi/ na mwezi wa iwá/ na mwezi wa weelú/ zinamsujudilaa ye. ‘He saw that eleven stars and the sun and the moon of light were prostrating to him.’
rel.
chi-noota (*zi-*) n. 7/8 asterisk; “star” worn on a military uniform to indicate rank
Nazo zinota ziwili. ‘He has two stars (of someone in the military).’
- nowli* n. [Sw. *nauli* SSED 330; Ar. *naul* and *naulūn* “freightage, freight” W 1910] fare (paid for transportation)
khtomola nooli ‘to pay a fare’
- ntaasa* particle [Sw. *tasa* SSED 455] not yet, before, especially (also **khaansá** is used for this meaning); [pron. **nt^haasá**]
Baaba/ mara^hdi/ yachimziida/ chifa/ nt^haasá/ mukeewe/ kuzaala. ‘Father’s illness increased (and) he died before his wife gave birth.’
Huhadaayi/ we/ jis’iyu/ naawe/ nt^haasá/ nt^humjaariba. ‘How can you say that when you haven’t yet tried him out?’
Kula waa mi/ nko^hdelo naayé/ njibiile/ kuwa mtume/ uyu/ nt^haasá/ nt^hakuzaloowa. ‘Everyone that I spoke to answered me that this prophet had not yet been born.’
Malizee kujá? Nt^haasá. ‘Have you finished eating? (Yes), I already have (finished eating).’
Mgeeni/ nt^haasá/ kanzaa kuja. ‘The guest has not yet begun to eat.’
Mgeeni/ nt^haasá/ nt^haakuja. ‘The guest has not eaten yet.’
Mgeeni/ nt^haasá/ nt^hakumaliza/ kuja. ‘The guest has not yet finished eating.’
Mi/ nt^hosheze kuwaa wo/ nt^haasá/ nt^hawaakujá. ‘I thought that they had not yet eaten.’
Mubli/ nt^hasaa ye/ kuya kaake/ shpita ka chizeele/ ichije. ‘The husband, before coming home, passed by that old woman.’
Mukhtaa wo/ wapimiliila/ zoombo/ zaa kuja/ nt^hasaa wo/ khfunga mizigo yaawo... ‘When they were measured for the items of food before they packed their bags...’
Nambiilá/ kuwaa ye/ nt^haasá/ nt^hakuzaloowa. ‘I was told that he had not yet been born.’
Ndrasile maaliyá/ na mulkuwá/ na nt^haasá/ skumwona/ mtume uyu. ‘I

left my wealth and my possessions and I haven't yet seen this prophet.'

Ndrazole numbaani/ nt^haasa/ Nuuru/ kulawa. 'I left the house before Nuuru left.' Cf. **Ndrazole numbaani/ nt^haasa/ Nuuru/ lazile.** 'I left the house before Nuuru left.' **Review since did not mark final accent on complement sentence in my notes.**

Nondroshale nt^hasaa ye/ kuwasila. 'I went away before he arrived.'

Nt^haasá/ eelo/ kumuuzá/ ya sultaani/ hadiiló... 'Before the gazelle asked him what the sultan wanted (lit. said)...'

Nt^haasá/ kanzoowa/ matezo/ ya taatu. The third game had not yet begun.'

Nt^haasá/ nt^hukuja. 'You (pl.) have not yet eaten.'

Nt^haasá/ skaandika/ khati. 'I haven't yet written the letter.'

Nt^haasá/ skuja. 'I haven't eaten yet.'

Nt^haasá/ skumaliza/ kuja. 'I haven't yet finished eating.'

Nt^hasaa we/ khkoma numbaani/ mujo/ utakuwa uzuushile. 'Before you arrive home, the fire will be revived.'

nt^hasaa wo/ khkoma ka sultaani 'before they reached the sultan'

nt^hasaa ye/ kumjiiba 'before he answered him'

Nvete haanzuyá/ mp^hiyá/ nt^hasaa mi/ kendra festaani. 'I put on a new dress before going to the party.'

Omari/ nt^haasá/ nt^hakuuya. 'Omari hasn't yet come.' Or: **Omari/ nt^haasá.**

Or: **Nt^haasá/ Omari/ nt^hakuuya.**

Ondroka/ nt^hasaa ye/ kuuya. 'Leave before he comes!'

Siwalaangé/ wanaank^huku/ nt^hasaa wo/ kuwangu^ooowa. 'Don't count the chicks before they are hatched.'

Teena/ chizeele/ shchimwambila sultaani/ we/ nt^haasá/ nayo kuwaa we/ hushindroowi/ tu. 'Then the old woman said to the sultan: do you still insist [lit. have that] you cannot be defeated?'

Watakuruuda/ apo/ khpumula/ naa kujá/ nt^hasaa wo/ kuruda muyiini. 'They would return there to rest and to eat before they returned to town.'

Ya kaandra/ ni'iweené/ ya piili/ nt^haasá. 'The first [warning that my father gave me on his death bed], I have seen it [come true], the second, not yet.'

rel.

ntaaso [we have a scarcity of data concerning this formation and have cited the only examples we have] [pron. nt^haasó]

Numbaani/ waawaye/ waliko nt^haasó/ koondroka/ chiliindra. 'At the house, his father had not yet gotten up, so he waited.'

muu-nti (mii-)

n. 3/4 [cf. Sw. *mchana* "day as opposed to night (*usiku*), daytime, daylight" SSED 270] day; [pron. muunt^hi] (Note: This word is not used in a locative form.)

Fakefe munt^hi mzimawe. 'He ran the whole day.'

Hasiibu/ munt^hi oyo/ chirashanya na jiraani/ chendra khtinda skunyi. 'Hasiibu that day went with the neighbors to cut firewood.'

kilaa muunt^hi 'every day'

Kilaa muunt^hu/ nayo muunt^hiwe. 'Everyone has his day.' (A proverb.)

Mi/ munt^hi oyo/ na sku ya piiliké/ skukhaadira/ kuja chiint^hu. 'I, on that day and on the day following ([lit.] day its second) was not able to eat anything.'

mint^hi mitatu 'three days'

munt^hi oyo/ mzimawe 'that day its whole (that whole day)'

munt^hi waa we/ hukhaadiri 'on the day that you were sick'

Nt^hezeze mp^hiirá/ munt^hi mzima. 'I played football the whole day.'

Nt^hezeze mp^hiirá/ nt^ho/ munt^hi mzima. 'I played football hard the whole day.'

Teenā/ ichiwa/ ye/ heendra/ hadiqaani/ maraa nt^hatu/ kula muunt^hi.

‘Then it became (the case that) he went into the garden three times each day.’

muu-nti

n. [Sw. *mchi* "pestle" SSED 271] pestle; [pron. muunt^hi]

chinu/ na muunt^hi ‘mortar and pestle’

Haliima/ nakhsolaa gele/ ka muunt^hi/ naa chinú. ‘Haliima is grinding the maize with a pestle and a mortar.’ (The second of two conjoined noun phrases undergoes downdrift intonation just like successive arguments in a post-verbal environment.)

nta-

negative prefix; [pron. nt^ha-] (Morph. The negative prefix precedes the subject prefix in a transparent fashion, except that (a) in the first person singular, the expected nt^ha-*n-* is not found, but rather *si-*; (b) in the second person singular, nt^h-*u-* appears, reflecting an original subject prefix *u-* that is not otherwise found in Chimiini verbal morphology; and (c) in the case of a [cl.1] subject, nt^h-*a-* appears, this form being interpretable as either having a phonological null subject or representing the fusion of nt^ha- with the *a-* subject prefix that originally occurred in an earlier stage of the language.)

Laakini/ mwaana/ nt^hakhaadira/ kulaala. ‘But the child was not able to sleep.’

Nt^humjaariba. ‘You haven’t tested him.’

Nt^hunakuwona/ weenziwo/ wanakhfanyo kaazi? ‘Don’t you see your friends who are working?’

ntaku

there is no; [pron. nt^haku]

Laakini/ khalbi/ nt^haku. ‘But there is no courage.’

Na nt^haku/ mo/ uziló. ‘And there was not anyone who made a purchase.’

Nampeenda/ nt^ho/ Safiya/ walá/ yaa ye/ khfaanya/ kumpata Safiya/ nt^haku. ‘He loves Safiya very much but there is nothing to do to get Safiya.’

Nt^haku/ dhibu/ itampató. ‘There is no harm that will befall him.’

Nt^haku/ iló/ sho kuwa Ali. ‘No one came except Ali.’

Nt^haku/ itakundrudoo numa. ‘There is nothing that will make me change my mind.’

Nt^haku/ karka waant^hu/ awo/ khadiriiló/ khtafsirá/ ndroto izó. ‘There was no one among those people who was able to interpret those dreams.’ (Phon. This example from a story provides a nice illustration of the fact that in relative clauses, the Accentual Law of Focus is over-ridden. The final accent from the relative verb extends to the end of the relative clause regardless of whether non-canonical phrasal separation of a verb from its complement occurs.)

Nt^haku/ mwaana/ (yo yote) / madrasaani. ‘There isn’t any child in the school.’

Nt^haku/ na’iwo/ kuwaa we/ ni maskiini. ‘There is no one who knows that you are a poor man.’

Nt^haku/ nakhiwó. ‘There is no one who knows.’

Nt^haku/ nfuye/ maduriini. ‘There isn’t any monkey/ aren’t any monkeys in the bush.’

Nt^haku/ waana/ (wo woṭe) madrasaani. ‘There aren’t any children in the school.’

ntamu

there is not in; [pron. nt^hamu]

Markabuuni/ nt^hamu/ mwaamubli/ sho kuwaa mi. ‘On the ship there is no man except me.’

Nakuwoná/ chijuumbá/ nt^hamuu nyunyí/ katiiké. ‘Do you see a nest with no birds in it?’

nt^hamu/ shaka/ kuwa... ‘there is no doubt that...’

ntana

there was no; [pron. nt^haná]

Baaba/ chiwa nt^haná/ yaa ye/ kuhada. ‘There was nothing that father had to say (i.e. he did not have an answer).’

Baaba/ chiwona nt^haná/ budi/ kuwapa Yuusufu/ wo/ kendra naaye. ‘Father saw that there was no alternative but to give Joseph to them so that they go with him.’

Maskiini/ uyu/ ichiwa nt^haná/ yaa ye/ khfaanya/ iyi/ ni kaaziye/ ye hufaanya/ kaazi/ iyi/ li’ajli ya kuwapatila/ waana/ arzaakhi. ‘This poor man, it became that he has nothing to do. This is his job [catching fish], he does this work in order to get for his children the means of subsistence.’

Na imweleele/ kuwa nt^haná/ budi/ ye/ kuuza/ chulungu cha kaandra. ‘And it became for him that there was no way out but for him to sell the first storey (of the house, having earlier in the story sold the second storey).’

ntangu

conj. [Sw. *tangu* SSED 452] since; [pron. nt^hangú] (Phon. This conjunction is phonologically marked: it is a phrasal isolate, has final accent, and the vowel is not lengthened in front of an apparently prenasalized consonant.

Nt^hangú/ fijiri/ haṭá/ laakuja/ nimniinziló. ‘From morning until dusk I waited for him.’

Nt^hangú/ Nuuru/ ukó/ ni meezi. ‘It is one month since Nuuru has been here.’

nt^hangú/ Sheekhi/ iló ‘since Sheekhi came’

Nt^hangú/ sku iyo/ teena/ ichiwaa wo/ hawaṭindi teena/ skunyi. ‘After that day it was the case that they never cut firewood again.’

Nt^hangú/ we/ iló/ dhibu/ ziwele niingi. ‘Since you came problems have increased.’

Nt^hangú/ we/ teto maali/ haṭá/ isa/ ni sku nt^haano/ tu/ huwaayi/ kuwa maali/ ayo/ yotte/ yamaliize/ ka sku nt^haanó. ‘Since you took the wealth until now it is five days only, how could all the wealth be exhausted in five days?’

Sa’aya/ nt^haykhsimama/ nt^hangú/ itila lfuunguló. ‘My watch has never stopped since it was wound up.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **qalbi** or **mooyo** ‘heart’.)

Skumwona/ Nuuru/ nt^hangú/ ye/ anzizo khfanya kaazi. ‘I have not seen Nuuru since he began working.’

Skumwona/ Nuuru/ nt^hangú/ yuuzi. ‘I have not seen Nuuru since the day before yesterday.’

Ye/ waliko mweenza/ wa mwaana/ wa sultaani/ nt^hangú/ waawayé/ waliko hayi. ‘He was a friend of the son of the sultan since before

his father (i.e. the sultan) had died.’

nto adv. [no etymological source known] very; [pron. nt^ho] (Nt^ho has not been observed to group with a following word, but it may or may not phrase with a verb or adjective that it modifies. The examples below illustrate this variability.)

Chisu ichi/ ni shkalii nt^ho. ‘This knife is very sharp.’

Chiwafanyiliza/ waanawe/ hadiiqa/ nk^hulu/ nt^ho. ‘He made a very large garden for his children.’

Haruun Rashiidi/ humpendaa nt^ho/ Abunawaasi. ‘Haruun Rashiidi loved Abunawaasi very much.’

Karkaa ndila/ mp^haamp^ha/ chihada/ mweenza/ mukeewa/ sku izi/ haqaadiri/ nt^ho. ‘On the way, Shark said: my friend, my wife these days is very sick.’

Maana/ impete murugu/ nt^ho. ‘The child was very worried.’ (Syn./Phon. Preposing nt^ho causes a shift of the main verb to pseudo-relative form: **Maana/ nt^ho/ impeto murugú.** ‘The child very much was worried.’ Also: **Nt^ho/ maana/ impeto murugú.** ‘Very much the child was worried.’ It is not possible to phrase nt^ho with a preceding noun: ***Maana/ impeto muruguu nt^ho.** nor ***Manaa nt^ho/ impeto murugú.**)

Mbona/ Muusa/ nakulaa nt^ho. ‘Why is Muusa crying so much?’ (Syn. If nt^ho is relocated to pre-verbal position, it triggers pseudo-relativization of the verb: **Mbona/ Muusa/ nt^ho/ naakuló.**

Muntu uyu/ nacho chisu shkali/ nt^ho. ‘This man has a very sharp knife.’

Muusa/ nakulaa nt^ho. ‘Muusa is crying a lot.’ Or: **Muusa/ nt^ho/ naakuló.**

Or: **Nt^ho/ Muusa/ naakuló.** Or, with subject postposing: **Nt^ho/ naakuló/ Muusa.**

Naamí/ nnameendá/ nt^ho. ‘And I love her very much.’

(N)fanize kaazi/ nt^ho. ‘He worked a lot, hard, etc.’

Nimpendelele mwaalimú/ mwaaná/ nt^ho. ‘I loved the teacher’s child very much.’ (Cf. **Nimpendelelee f^hnt^ho/ mwaalimu/ mwaana.** As can be seen from this example, focus on nt^ho precludes the projection of final accent to the following complements: * **Nimpendelelee nt^ho/ mwaalimú/ mwaaná.**)

Nimpenzele Haliimá/ nt^ho. ‘I loved Haliima very much.’ (If nt^ho is placed in immediate post-verbal position, it bears the focus and the final accent does not extend past it: **Nimpenzelee f^hnt^ho/ Haliima.**, not ***Nimpenzelee nt^ho/ Haliimá.** This observation holds, however, for a main clause. In a relative clause construction, the final accent triggered by a relative verb goes to the end of the relative clause regardless: **munt^hu mpenzelo Haliimá/ nt^ho** but also **munt^hu mpenzelo nt^ho/ Haliimá** ‘the person who loved Haliima very much’.)

Nnakhtarajaa nt^ho/ kuwa Jaama/ takuuya. ‘I hope very much that Jaama will come.’

Omari/ humpenda mukeewe/ nt^ho. ‘Omari loves his wife very much.’ Or, with verb focus: **Omari/ humpeenda/ mukeewe/ nt^ho.** Or:

Omari/ humpendaa nt^ho/ mukeewe. Or: **Omari/ humpeenda/**

nt^ho/ mukeewe. Or: **Nt^ho/ Omari/ humpendo mukeewé.** Or:

Omari/ nt^ho/ humpendo mukeewé. (Phon. In pre-verbal position,

nt^ho triggers pseudo-relativization of the verb. Also, note that

while nt^ho may be phrasally joined with a preceding verb, it does

not join with a noun.)

Wote/ washfurahaa nt^ho. ‘All were very happy.’

Ye/ mpenzelee nt^ho/ mwaanawe. ‘He loved his child very much.’

chii-ntu (zii-)

n. 7/8 [Sw. *kitu* SSED 210] thing; (in negative contexts) nothing, not anything; [pron. **chiint^hu**]

Chint^hu chihaba/ humondrolo sultaani/ chitiini. ‘A small thing that makes a king rise from his chair.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **choolo**, the need to defecate or urinate.)

Chint^hu chimooyi/ huzaloo miya. ‘One thing which gives birth to a hundred.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **awuri** ‘seed’.)

Humpo muunt^hu/ chiint^hu/ ni mojiitu. ‘The one who gives a person something is God.’ (A proverb.)

Nthaku/ chint^hu chaa mi/ nakhtiyó/ isa (or: **isá**). ‘There is nothing that I am afraid of now.’

Sfanye chiint^hu. ‘Do not do anything.’

Siwo/ chiint^hu. [Lit.] it is nothing -- meaning: it is of no importance, it doesn’t matter.’ (A synonym of **Haydhibi/ chiint^hu**.) For example, person A says: **Mbelela raadi/ nragiile.** ‘Please excuse me, I am late.’ Person B responds: **Siwo/ chiint^hu** (or: **Haydhibi/ chiint^hu**.) ‘It is all right, it doesn’t matter.’

rel.

chi-jii-ntu (zi-jii-) n. 7/8 dim. [pron. **chijiint^hu**]

muu-ntu (waa-)

n. 1/2 [Sw. *mtu* SSED 311] person; (in negative contexts) nobody, not anyone [pron. **muunt^hu**] (Phon. The class prefixes *mu* and *wa* have a short vowel in their basic form, but this vowel lengthens before a stem-initial pre-nasalized consonant. There are, however, only a couple examples: **muunt^hu**, **muunt^hi**.)

-a waant^hu (lit.) of people – i.e. belonging to someone else’

Sangamizé/ zoombo/ za waant^hu. ‘Don’t damage [these] things belonging to others (i.e. do not damage these things, they are not yours, they belong to someone else)!’

Simbigé/ maana/ wa waant^hu. ‘Don’t beat [this] child of another family (i.e. this is not your child, don’t beat him)!’

Simkooðishé/ muke/ wa waant^hu. ‘Don’t speak to [this] woman who is not related to you.’

Chizeele/ ichije/ choondroka/ chendra madurini/ mahaḷa/ ya muunt^hu/ oyo/ leeló. ‘That old woman left and went to the country to the place where that man was sleeping.’

Fulaani/ ni muunt^hu. ‘So-and-so is a character, an odd guy.’

ito ya waant^hu (lit.) the eye of people – i.e. the evil eye, the eye of envious people that is potentially harmful’

Itó ya waant^hu/ isikhudirké. ‘Do not let the evil eye reach (and therefor effect) you!’

munt^hu bakhili ‘a miserly person’

ni muunt^huwe ‘[lit.] he is his person -- i.e. he is s.o.’s stooge, he knows all his secret deeds and plans, and does his bidding. (to the expression are added the names of the two persons concerned)’

Siwo/ muunt^hu. ‘He is not reliable (lit. he is not a man).’

Skumpata/ muunt^hu. ‘I did not find anybody.’

Wakomelopó/ waant^hu/ wa muuyi/ wont^he/ wachiskila tawala. ‘When they arrived [there], all the people of the town came down to the shore.’

Want^hu awa/ (ni) wawovu. ‘These people are bad.’

Want^hu gani/ awo. ‘What sort of people are these?’

rel.

chi-jii-ntu (zi-jii-) n. 7/8 dim. little person (but this same formation also means ‘little thing’)

chi-muu-ntu (zi-waa-) n. 7/8 dim. little person

- i-jii-ntu* (*mi-jii-*) n. 5/4 aug. (disparaging) [pron. **ijiint^hu**, **mijiint^hu**]
Mijint^hu ayo/ (ni) miwovu. ‘These people are really bad.’
Mijint^hu gani/ ayo. ‘What kind of people are these?’
- l-jii-ntu* n. 11 aug. [pron. **ljiint^hu**]
u-muu-ntu n. 14 manhood
wuu-ntu n. 14 manhood
wunt^hu mzima ‘adulthood’
- chi-nu* (*zi-*) n. 7/8 [Sw. *kinu* SSED 201] mortar
rel.
chi-ji-nu (*zi-ji-*) n. 7/8 dim.
i-ji-nu (*mi-ji-*) n. 5/4 aug.
- nufuuḍi* n. [Ar. *nufūd* W 983] influence
Shtumiḷa nufuuḍi/ zaa ye/ wanaazó. ‘She used all the influence that she had.’
- nuhsi* adj. [Sw. *nuhusi*, *nuksi* SSED 341; Ar. *naḥasa* ‘bring bad luck’ and *naḥs*, pl. *nuḥūs* ‘misfortune, calamity’ WW 947] of being ill-omened
munt^hi nuhsi ‘a day of ill-omen’
- Nuuhu* n. Noah
Iyi/ nii qisa/ ya mtume Nuuhu. ‘This is the story of Prophet Noah.’
Nuuhu/ nt^hakuvuundika/ qalbi. ‘Noah never got disheartened.’
- numa* adv. [Sw. *nyuma* SSED 348] later, then, coming
Hujoo mbelé/ haaji/ numa. ‘The one who eats first does not eat later.’ (A proverb.)
kaamina ka qalbi numa ibaada [st.] ‘to believe with one’s heart and then worship’
Nt^hakuja numake. ‘I will eat later.’
Nuuhu/ chihuzunika/ nt^ho/ numake/ chilekeza usowe/ kuzimu/ chihada/ moojá/ we/ mp^hele ahdí/ kunokolaa mi/ na ahlíyá. ‘Noah became very sad, then he directed his face to the sky and said: O God, you promised me to save me and my relatives.’
numa ma’ādaana yanakubigoowa [nt.] ‘then [you will hear] the calls to prayer’
Numa/ oyo mwaana/ enzele/ ye/ mwenewe/ ba/ nakuloomba/ nakuloomba. ‘Then that boy [the son of sultans] went himself begging and begging [for the boy’s mother to allow her son to eat with him].’
Numa/ wandrasile/ wa’oloshele. ‘Then they left me and went away.’
shari kiitu ilazüle ziko kheeri numa yiitu [nt.] ‘evil has left our place and there are good times to come’
- rel.
numaanuma adv.
Komelopo zitaaní/ naank^hó/ chiwawona ma’askari/ waawo/ watawanyishile/ ka apa/ na apá/ na wanakuruda numaanuma/ khpata jisaa wo/ ki’ichimbilila. ‘When he reached [lit. the war -- i.e. where the fighting was], he saw their soldiers scattered here and there, returning back to get how to escape [for themselves].’
Muti/ ha’upandroowi/ numaanuma/ hupandroowá/ mbeleembele. ‘A tree is not climbed on your back (lit. back back), its being climbed is in front (facing it).’ (A saying.)
- nuumba* n. 9/10 [Sw. *nyumba* SSED 64] house; [pron. **nuumba** usually, but may also be heard as **nuumba**] (Morph. On the basis of the augmentative form below, one can argue that morphologically this item is **n-uumba**, with a nasal prefix and a vowel-initial stem. However, we have opted not to segment this noun

into a prefix and a stem for purposes of alphabetization in this dictionary due to the fact that the class 9/10 prefix would be expected to have the shape *ny* before a vowel-initial stem and not *n*.)

kama nuumba/ ichivundoowa ‘if the house is destroyed’

kama nuumba/ izivundoowa ‘if the houses are destroyed’

karka nuumba ‘in the house’

kharibu ya nuumba ‘near the house’

Martji wiitu/ yele numbaani. ‘Our guest went into the house.’

Mbaliko numbaani. ‘I was at home.’ Or: **Mbaalikó/ numbaani.**

Mbalimo karka numbaa nk^hulú. ‘I was in the big house.’ (Cf. **Mbalimo**

karka nuumbá/ nk^hulu. ‘I was in a big house.’)

mlango wa numba iwashilá ‘the door of the house that was built’

Na’ingile/ nuumba/ ni nuumbaye. ‘Let him enter the house, it is his house.’

Niko numbaani. ‘I am at home.’ Or: **Niikó/ numbaani.**

Nk^halent^he na mukeewá/ numbaani. ‘I stayed with my wife at home.’ Cf.

Nk^halent^he numbaani/ mukeewa. ‘I stayed *at home* with my wife.’ (Note that the locative noun is out of the scope of the final accent when it appears in VP-final position; but when the locative is in IAV position, it is within the scope of the final accent triggered by the first person past tense verb, while **na mukeewa** is now outside the scope of the final accent.)

numba iburbushiizá ‘the house that was destroyed’

Nuumba/ inakhtetema. ‘The house was shaking.’

Nuumba/ ivuunziła. ‘The house was destroyed.’ Cf. **Nuumba/ zivuunziła.**

‘The houses were destroyed.’

Numba iyi/ hump^hendeza. ‘This house pleases me.’ Cf. **Numba iyi/**

imp^hendeeze. ‘This house pleased me.’ Cf. **Numba izi/ zimp^hendeeze.** ‘These houses pleased me.’

Nuumba/ mlaangowe/ ufanyiiza. ‘The house, its door was repaired.’ (Syn:

It is unclear whether **mlaangowe** can be extraposed to the end:

?**Nuumba/ ufanyiza mlaangowe.**)

numba mooyi/ suura ‘one good house’ (Syn: It is not possible to located **suura** next to the noun: ***numba suura/ mooyi.**)

Nuumba/ nt^haykuzoowa. ‘The house was not sold.’ Cf. **Nuumba/ nt^haskuzoowa.** ‘The houses were not sold.’

numba suura/ iburbushiizá ‘the beautiful house that was destroyed’

nuumba/ ya mnango wa chuuma ‘a house with an iron door’

Nuumba/ yuziiza. ‘The house was sold.’ Cf. **Nuumba/ zuziiza.** ‘The houses were sold.’

nuumbani/ katiike ‘the house, in its middle’

Numbaani/ niikó. ‘At home I am.’

nuumbaya ‘my house’ (cf. **nuumbayo** ‘your house’; **nuumbaye** ‘his/her/its house’; **numba yiitu** ‘our house’; **numba yiinu** ‘your (pl.) house’;

numba yaawo ‘their house’); **nuumbaza** ‘my houses’ (cf.

nuumbazo, nuumbaze, numba ziitu, numba ziinu, numba zaawo)

Nuumbayo/ ifanyiza mlaango/ na Hamadi.

Nuuru/ uko numbaani. ‘Nuuru is at home.’ Or: **^fNumbaani/ Nuuru/ ukó.**
Or: **^fNumbaani/ ukó/ Nuuru.** Or: **Nuuru/ ^fnumbaani/ ukó.**

Nuru za nuumba/ ni waana. ‘The light of a house is children.’ (A proverb.)

Nuzile numba ya Omari/ mp^hiyá/ suurá. I bought Omari’s beautiful new house.’ Or: **Nuzile numba ya Omari/ suurá/ mp^hiyá.** ‘I bought Omari’s beautiful new house.’ (Note that the change in the order of the adjectives does not alter the pattern of accent assignment.)

Siná/ numba ya khkalaant^ha. ‘I do not have a house to live in here.’

Wa’ingile nuumba. ‘They entered the house.’

Walimo karka numbaa nk^hulu. ‘He was in the big house.’ (Cf. **Walimo**

karka nuumba/ nk^hulu. ‘He was in a big house.’)

Wapete numba mooyi/ suura. ‘They found one good house.’ Or: **Wapete nuumba/ mooyi/ suura.** (Phon. It is not possible to bring both

modifiers into a single PP with the noun: *Wapete numba moyi suura.)

Weenopó/ chibiga hoodi/ chiingila/ numbaani. ‘When he saw it (the house), he asked for permission to enter, and he entered into the house.’

Ye/ zazila kuwa mwana wa taatu/ na wa miisó/ karka nuumba. ‘He was born the third and last child in the family.’

rel.

chi-j-uumba (zi-j-) n. 7/8 dim.

Chijumba ichije/ ni chelpe. ‘That (dim.) house is white.’

Ori/ walimo karka chijuumba/ chaa nkʰuku/ chilindra fijiri ya kaandra. ‘The rooster was in the chicken coop waiting for dawn.’

Zijumba izije/ ni zelpe. ‘Those (dim.) houses are white.’

i-j-uumba (mi-j-) n. 5/4 aug.

Ijumba iyije/ ni ikulu. ‘That (aug.) house is big.’

Mijumba ayaje/ ni mikulu. ‘Those (aug.) houses are big.’

ma-j-uumba n. 6 houses

Wawashile majuumba/ yaa mawe/ na majuumbá ya uzí. ‘They built houses of stone and of mud.’

chi-nume

n. [Sw. *kinume* SSED 348] back, behind

Chimrashize eelo/ uyu/ ye/ nakhfakata/ naasí/ chinumeché/ haṭá/ shkomele tawalá. ‘We followed this gazelle, him running, and we at his back, until we reached the sea.’

chinume cha ‘behind’

Mbene chibuukú/ chinumechá. ‘I saw a book behind me.’

Mp^hete chibuukú/ chinume cha Nuurú. ‘I found the book behind Nuuru.’ (Cf. **Mp^hete chibuukú/ chinumechá.** ‘I found the book behind me.’)

Nuuru/ weshele masanduukhu/ chinume cha kaabaati. ‘Nuuru put the boxes behind the cupboard.’

Ye/ chinendra chinume cha waant^hu. ‘He walked behind the people.’

ka chinume ‘behind, from behind’

Waziiri/ chimrasha mwaana/ ka chinume/ chimwambila khsimama. ‘The minister followed the boy from behind and told him to stop.’

Ye/ na waaná/ sittá/ wachiḷawa/ kendra maduriini/ baaba/ kaa mbele/ na waaná/ ka chinumé. ‘He and his six children went into the bush, father in front and the children behind.’

Yuusufu/ anzizopo kondroka ka apó/ muke/ chimshika haanzu/ ka chinume/ chimgiita/ haṭá/ haanzu/ ichaatuka/ ka chinume. ‘Joseph. when he began to move away from there, the wife grabbed him by his outer garment from behind and pulled until the garment tore from behind.’

ka chinume cha ‘in the back of’

Ka chinume/ cha nuumbaye/ uwaliko mooro. ‘In the back of his house there was a fenced enclosure.’

Nṭʰale/ ilaziló/ hayruudi/ chinume. ‘An arrow that has left does not come back.’ (A proverb.)

Wanaafakhi/ huruda waant^hu/ chinume. ‘Lies put people back (cause people to regress).’

Ziti za chinume/ siwo/ waasi’i/ kamba zaa mbele. ‘The seats at the back are not as roomy as those at the front.’

rel.

chi-numeenume adv. back, backwards

Wawene ma’askari/ wa sulṭaani/ wawaye mwanaamke/ wanakuruda

	chinumeenume. ‘He saw the soldiers of the sultan, the girl’s returning back [retreating from the fight].’
father,	
nuundru	n. a kind of fish
ku-nuunka	v. smell; [pron. kunuunk^ha] Inakununk^ha l̥yuundró/ nii nama. ‘What is smelling bad is the meat.’ kununk^ha masaajo ‘to inhale vapor rub’ kununk^haa ndala ‘to starve (lit. stink of hunger)’ Siiimba/ uyu/ waliko mwembaamba/ ka khisa/ apo/ tu/ lazilo ka maraḏiini/ mzimawe/ chinunk^haa ndala. ‘This lion was skinny because at that time he had just recovered from illness and his whole body was starved.’ Nama/ inakununk^ha l̥yuundro. ‘The meat is giving off a stench.’
	rel. <i>ku-nuunsha</i> v. cause to smell Chifa/ nakhtalaa dawa/ mnuunsha/ maanzine/ maliize/ fiile. ‘She was dying, he was taking medicine to apply to her nose (lit. to make her smell), (but) she was already finished, she died.’
nuunu	n. [?Som. <i>cunug</i> DSI 109] infant rel. <i>chi-nuunu</i> n. dim.
nuqsaani	n. [Ar. <i>nuqsān</i> W 992] loss, damage, shortage, lack Hawaalipi/ nuqsaani. ‘They do not repay short of what is due from them.’
Nuuraḷeeni	n. a name of the Prophet Mohammad hadiile tamwonapi Nuuraḷeeni [st.] ‘she said, where will I see the Prophet’
ku-nuurisha	v. rel. <i>ku-nurishoowa</i> v. pass. Sheekhi shughuuli maliize/ teena nakunurishoowa [st.] ‘the work on the Sheikh is completed, now is the time to pray for him’
nuuru	n. 9/10 [Sw. <i>nuru</i> SSED 342; Ar. <i>nūr</i> W 1009] light Alí/ husoma qur’aani/ niingi/ usoowe/ unawo nuuru. ‘Ali reads/recites the Quran a lot, his face shines. ’ ilmu ni nuuru jaahili ni booyi [st.] ‘knowledge is light, ignorance is a boy (i.e. servant)’ khupoza imaani/ khupa nuuru za duniyaani [song] ‘(it) strengthens (lit. heals) your faith and lights (lit. gives you lights) your way in the world’ nuuru za Mhamadi [st.] ‘the liught of Muhammad’ Nuru za nuumba/ ni waana. ‘The light of a house is children.’ (A proverb.) nuuruze zuunziḷa nṯaasa malaayka [st.] ‘his light was created before the angels’
nusmani	adj. no etymo found impotent; n. impotence
nusra	n. [cf. <i>-nusura</i> below] act of saving, protecting
nusu	[Sw. <i>nusu</i> SSED 342; Ar. <i>niṣf, nuṣf</i> W 971] half Khaṭi/ ni nusu ya kuwonaana. ‘A letter is half of seeing one another.’ (A proverb.)

- Komelopo nusu yaa ndilá/ shkalaant^ha/ khpumula.** ‘When he reached half the way, he sat down to rest.’
- Walá/ nt^hakhfikira/ kuwaa ye/ chimilka/ nusu/ tu/ ya duniya.** ‘Neither did he think that he owned only half of the world.’
- Ye/ weshele mkono/ wa shpete/ mbeleze/ ka nusu/ sa’a/ Huseeni/ mshiinzile/ mwanaamke/ maṭezoo saba.** ‘He put the hand with the ring in front of her; in a half gour, Huseeni defeated the girl in seven games (of cards).’
- ku-nusuha* v. [Ar. *naṣaḥa* W 969] admonish, give advice
- Baaba/ ofetopo kumnusuhá/ chanza kumvunaanga/ na kumfuungá.** ‘When he got tired of admonishing him (the child), he began to beat him and tie him up.’
- E/ we/ sultaani/ mi/ nakhunusuhá/ we/ chiza khfaanya/ zita/ ilu ya jahazi/ iyi.** ‘Oh, you, sultan, I advise you not to wage war against this ship.’
- Nnakhunusuhá/ mukhtaaw we/ takuwo nakhtezo/ maatooyo/ yanawako/ ilu/ ya karaṭa/ tu/ simlangalé/ mwanaamke/ wa illa/ we/ takshindroowa.** ‘I advise you that when you will be playing (cards), your eyes, let them be on the cards only, don’t look at the girl, if not (i.e. if you look at the girl) you will be defeated.’
- Ye/ ofeete/ kumnusuha/ laakini/ mwaana/ ize khkasa jawaabu/ za waawaye.** ‘He grew tired of admonishing him [his son], but the boy refused to listen to what his father said.’
- nusuhu* n. advice
- Nusuha/ nii du’a.** ‘Advice is a blessing.’ Cf. **Nusuha/ nii du’a/ ni.** ‘Advice is a blessing, that’s what it is.’
- u-nusuka* n. [Ar. *nasaka* "to lead a pious, devout life" and *nusuk* "piety, devotion" W 962] piety, devotion
- ku-nusura* v. [Sw. *nusuru* SSED 342; Ar. *naṣara* W 970] (**nusuriile**) save from danger, protect; save (of God)
- rel.
- ku-nusurika* v. p/s.
- rel. nom.
- m-nusura* (wa-) n. 1/2 one who protects, saves from danger
- ku-nuwa* v. [Ar. *nawā* W 1013] recite (verbally or mentally) the announcement of one’s intention to pray a certain prayer or to fast
- rel.
- ku-nuwisha* v. caus. help someone recite the announcement of a prayer of fasting (e.g. someone who does not know Arabic)
- ku-nuwishoowa* v. caus. pass.
- ku-nuwoowa* v. pass.
- hija na umra mbilize nuwoowa** [st.] ‘the intention to perform both the major and minor pilgrimages must be stated’
- nyaaw* ideo. of cat meowing; n. cat (There is nasalization of the vowel in this ideophone, but this nasalization does not appear to be contrastive and we have not indicated it.)
- Mi/ nakhsula nyaaw.** ‘I want a cat.’ (In this nominal usage, **nyaaw** is subject to down step intonation just like any other accented word.)
- Mp^haka/ nakubigaa nk^he/le/ naakula/ nyáaw nyáaw.** ‘The cat is making a noise, it is crying **nyaaw nyaaw.**’ (The vowel of the ideophone has a level high pitch and is not subject to downstep. Since there does not seem to be a contrast between level and falling pitch in ideophones, we write the vowel with just an acute mark over the first mora of the vowel. We are unaware of any evidence suggesting that a sequence of ideophones should be regarded as a single phonological phrase or a sequence of phonological phrases.)
- ku-nya* v. (**i-nyeele**) rain
- kunyaa nvula** ‘to rain’

Chimalizopo kumfiindá/ ichanza kuvum lpepo/ naa nvula/ kunyá. ‘When we finished slaughtering it, the wind began to fall.’

Ichanza kunyaa nvula. ‘It began to rain.’ Or: **Nvula/ ichanzaa kunya.**

Inyelee/ nvula. ‘It rained.’

Nvula/ inakhsulaa kunya. ‘It’s about to rain (lit. it wants to rain).’

Nvula/ ireptemee kunya. ‘It stopped raining.’

Nvula/ kama inakhsuloo kunyá. ‘It seems that it is about to rain.’

Nvula/ niingi/ inyelo ilu ya magozi ayó. ‘It was much rain that fell on those hides.’

Sku mooyi/ masku/ walikoo nvula/ ichinya. ‘One night it was raining.’

rel.

ku-nyeelela v. appl. rain on

Nvula/ hu’isiifó/ ni munt^hu imnyeleeleó. ‘The one who praises the rain is the person for whom the rain has fallen.’ (A proverb.)

Nvula/ imnyelee Sa’iidi. ‘The rain fell on Sa’iidi.’

ku-nyeesha v. make it rain

Mwajiitu/ nyeshezee nvula. ‘God made it rain.’

ku-nya

v. [Sw. **nya** SSED 342] (**nyeele**) defecate

kunya maazi ‘to bleed (lit. to defecate blood)’

rel.

ku-nyeeka v. p/s.

ku-nyeelela v. appl.

ku-nyeesha v. caus. assist (e.g. a child) to defecate

ku-nyeesheka v. caus. p/s.

ku-nyesheleza v. caus. appl.

ku-nyeshelezanya v. caus. appl. rec.

m-nyakazi (wa-yakazi)

n. 1/2 prostitute

ku-nyakula

v. [Sw. **nyakua** "catch in the hands, snatch up, tweak, pluck with the fingers, twitch -- also filch, pilfer" SSED 343] (**nyakiile**) claw, scratch; snatch, steal stealthily

Mp^haka/ mnyakilee mbwa/ miilu. ‘The cat scratched the dog on the legs.’

Tuuma/ mnyakile Omari/ uso. ‘Tuuma scratched Omari’s face.’

rel.

ku-nyakulila v. appl. (**nyakuliile**)

ku-nyakuloowa v. pass. (**nyakiila**)

Mbwa/ nyakila miilu/ naa mp^haka. ‘The dog was scratched on the legs by the cat.’

ku-nyakulana v. rec. (**-nyakuleene**)

ku-nyakulanila v. rec. appl. (**-nyakulaniliile**)

rel. nom.

m-nyakula (wa-) n. 1/2 one who snatches

m-nyakuzi (wa-)

n. [Sw. **mnyakuzi** "(1) one who snatches, one who is quick at catching in the hands; (2) a filcher, a thief who grabs or snatches a thing and runs away with it, shop-lifter, pickpocket" SSED 343] a thief

rel.

u-nyakuzi n. 14 [Sw, **unyakuzi** SSED 343] snatching, stealing

i-nyala (ma-)

n. 5/6 [Sw. **nyaa** SSED 343] claw, finger- or toe-nail

chaala/ na inyalá ‘a finger and a fingernail’; **zaala/ na manyalá** ‘fingers and fingernails’

chaala/ na inyalayé ‘a finger and its fingernail’; **zaala/ na manyalayé** ‘fingers and their fingernails’

- inyala ihuundru** ‘red fingernail’ (cf. **manyala mahuundru** ‘red fingernails’)
- inyala ya kuulu** (or: **inyalaa kuulu**) ‘toe nail’
- inyala ya mkono** (or: **inyalaa mkono**) ‘finger nail’
- Manyalaye/ kambaa zisu.** ‘His nails are like knives.’
- kḥĩinda inyala ow ishuungi hudhiba** [st.] ‘to cut the nails or hair does harm’
- ku-nyaalaa** v. [etymology unknown] (**nyaaazile**) collapse, fall down (of something animate), come down
- Sinyaleenĩ.** ‘You (pl.) don’t fall down!’
- rel.
- ku-nyaalĩla** v. appl. (**nyaliĩle**)
- ku-nyaaaza** v. caus. (**nyaziize**) bring down (e.g. take someone by the shoulders and bring him down)
- kunyaza dawaara** ‘to bring down a kite’
- Sinyazeenĩ.** ‘You (pl.) don’t bring it down!’
- ku-nyaaliza** v. caus. appl.
- Ji/ mnyalize Ali/ mwaana.** ‘Ji had Ali bring the child down.’
- nyaambo** n. 9/10 octopus
- rel.
- chi-nyaambo** (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.
- i-nyaambo** (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
- ku-nyamula** v. [etymology unknown] (**nyamiile**) scratch (of an animal such as a cat)
- Chinyamula na wa piĩli/ na chinyamula na wa taatu.** ‘(The cat) scratched the second and scratched the third (rat).’
- Mi/ sinakeendra/ teena/ kaake/ ka sababu/ sku ije/ nnyamiile/ mbishile ka makoondre/ na ndumiile/ mi/ mzimawa.** ‘I am not going to his place because that day he scratched me, pounded me, and bit me all over.’
- again
- rel.
- ku-nyamulĩla** v. appl. (**nyamuliĩle**)
- ku-nyamulĩloowa** v. appl. pass.
- ku-nyamuloowa** v. pass. be scratched
- ku-nyamulika** v. ps/.
- ku-nyamulisha** v. caus.
- ku-nyamulishana** v. caus. rec.
- ku-nyamulishika** v. caus. p/s.
- ku-nyamulishiliza** v. caus. appl.
- ku-nyamulishilizanya** v. caus. appl. rec.
- ku-nyamulishoowa** v. caus. pass.
- i-nyangarika** (mi-) n. 5/4 [Sw. **-nyangalika** SSED 343] someone who is a nothing, a nobody
- nyaanya** n. 9/10 [Sw. **nyanya** SSED 344] tomato
- rel.
- chi-nyaanya** (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.
- i-nyaanya** (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
- nyaara** [etymology unknown] in the phrase:
- kendra nyaara** ‘to fly loose, off’
- Duniya/ ni kama duwaara/ ichisuula/ hendra nyaara.** ‘The world is like a kite; if it wishes, it flies off, loose.’ (A proverb.)
- koloka nyaara** ‘to go into a tailspin (of a kite when the string breaks)’
- nyenyeghi** [possibly connected to Sw. **nyenga** and **nyenya** ‘urge, pump with questions’ SSED 345]

- Daḍaleete/ hattá/ nyenyeghi/ imwiliile.** ‘He tried hard until he became bothered.’
kuleta fulaani/ nyenyeghi ‘to bother s.o. greatly’
- chi-ny* (zi-) n. 7/8 [Sw. *kiini* SSED 192] the heart of s.t.
chinyi cha iyaank^huku ‘the yolk of an egg’
- nyiiime* adj. [Sw. *-nyimivu, -nyiminyimi* SSED 346] not completely full
chidhu cha nyiime ‘a **chidhu** that is not completely full’
hunda ya nyiime ‘a **huunda** not completely full’
- nyoki* n. 9/10 [Sw. *nyuki* SSED 348] bee
C hisuḷa uki/ rashaa nyoki. ‘If you want honey, follow bees.’ (A proverb.)
Ka’iwa yaa nyoki/ hujó/ (we)/ ska’onde/ uki. ‘If you knew what bees eat, you wouldn’t taste honey.’ (A proverb.)
kanaa nyoki ‘like bees’
Waant^hu/ waṭubeene/ apo/ kanaa nyoki. ‘People gathered there like bees.’ (Refers to a large number of bees congregating in a place.)
Mrashaa nyoki/ haakosi/ uki. ‘The one who follows a bee never lacks honey.’ (A proverb.)
Nyoki/ huzala uki. ‘Bees produce honey.’ (A proverb.)
Rashaa nyoki/ ja uki. ‘Go with bees and (you will) eat honey.’ (A proverb that implies you will adopt the behavior of the ones you associate with.)
- rel.
chi-nyoki (zi-) n. dim.
i-nyoki (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
- nyongoowa* n. a large, dark blue dolphin/whale (False Killer Whale?)
- chi-nyoozi* n. 7/8 [Sw. *kinyozi* SSED 346] barber (MI observed that the singular form *kinyoozi* could sometimes be heard rather than *chinyoozi*, but this is perhaps a Swahilism. In any case, this noun seems to derive from a verb root **nyoo* that is no longer in use in Chimiini, but occurs in Swahili as *nyoa* SSED 346.)
- chi-nyuunya* (zi-) n. 7/8 [Sw. *kinyunya* SSED 202] a small cake made for children
- nyunyi* n. 9/10 [Sw. *nyuni* SSED 349] bird
Ba’āḍi yaa nyunyi/ hazijoowi/ ka khisa ya kuwa nt^hawaná/ nama suura. ‘Some birds are not eaten because they do not have good meat.’
Ba’āḍi ya nyunyi ziingine/ hazijoowi/ ka khisa kuwaa zo/ hupenda wanaadamu/ na ziná/ kheeri/ kuwonowa kaawo. ‘Some other birds are not eaten because they love human beings and there is blessing for them to be seen. [i.e. if humans see them, they are blessed].’
Karkaa ye/ oloshelo kumrasha nk^haangá/ mundraani/ wa’ilee nyunyi/ wajile nt^heendre/ yote. ‘While he was chasing the guinea fowl, in the garden, birds came, and they ate all the dates.’
Kuḷa/ nyunyi/ huluka ka ḷbawale. ‘Each bird flies with its own wing.’ (A proverb.)
Nimpete nyunyi uyú/ msuura/ nt^ho. ‘I caught this very pretty bird.’
Sababu za islaamu/ kuwa hawaaji/ ba’āḍi yaa nyunyi/ ni niingi. ‘The reasons that muslims do not eat some birds are many.’
Sku mooyi/ enzele maduriini/ kuwindaa nyunyi. ‘One day he went to the country to hunt for birds.’
Sultaani/ mpenzeloo nt^ho/ nyunyi/ oyo. ‘The sultan loved that bird very much.’
Wa piḷi/ chisanifa/ tu/ chihada/ kuwaa ye/ loosele/ ye/ tukiile/ maandra/ chiṭaani/ naa nyunyi/ zinaakuja/ karka maandrá/ iyo. ‘The

second just made up a dream, saying that he dreamed he was carrying bread on his head and birds were eating from that bread.'

Wachiwindaa nyunyi/ haṭá/ ilooni. 'They hunted birds until dusk.'

Wamṭinzilee nyunyi/ chiṭa. 'They cut off the bird's head.' (cf. **Nyunyi/ ṭinzilaa chiṭa/ naawo.** 'The bird had his head cut off by them.') (Morph. The animate noun **nyunyi** may govern human agreement on the verb when it is singular. It is, however, also possible for **nyunyi** to govern [cl.9] agreement on the verb: **Nyunyi/ ṭinzilaa chiṭa/ naawo.** 'The bird's head was cut off by them.')

We/ takuwona/ zijuumba/ zaa nyunyi/ ziingi. 'You will see the nests of many birds.'

Ye/ shtiyaa nyunyi/ kuja nt^heendreze. 'He was afraid of birds eating his dates.'

Zijitoze/ kamba (or: kana) zaa nyunyi. 'Her eyes are like a bird's (i.e. small like a bird's).'

Zilee nyunyi/ nt^hatu/ zidegeele/ kharibu yaa muto. 'There came three birds, they alighted near the river.'

rel.

chi-nyunyi (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

Cho/ chinyunyi/ chileele. 'It, the little bird, slept.'

kuuluka/ kana chinyunyi 'to fly, jump like a little bird'

Wamṭinzile chinyunyi/ chiṭa. 'They cut off the little bird's head.' (cf.

Chinyunyi/ ṭinzilaa chiṭa/ naawo. 'The little bird had his head cut off by them.' (Morph. In these examples **chinyunyi** governs human agreement on the verb: specifically, in the first example, the object prefix *m*, and in the second example, a phonologically null subject prefix. However, **chinyunyi** may also be treated as a [cl.7] noun; e.g. **Chinyunyi/ shtinzilaa chiṭa/ (naawo).**

i-nyunyi (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

Ye/ nambiile/ kuwa inyunyi/ ikulu/ itakhtukulaa ngozi/ ka mlomowe/ itakhpandra naami/ ilu/ ya ijabali. 'He told me that a big bird would carry that animal skin in its beak and would go up with me to the top of the mountain.'

nyute

all of you (pl.)

nz-a

[cl.8] agreement form of copular: *ni + AGR-a*

Ziti/ nza naani. 'Whose chairs are these?'

nzaaká 'they are mine'

nzaaké 'they are his, hers'

nzaakó 'they are yours'

nz-a

[cl.10] agreement form of copular: *ni + AGR-a*

Peezas/ nza naani. 'Whose coins are these?'

nzaaká 'they are mine'

nzaaké 'they are his, hers'

nzaakó 'they are yours'

Taala/ feḏa/ izi/ nzaakó/ zivalimo hundaani. 'Take these coins, they are yours, they were inside the measuring cup.'

-o

pronominal root

ch-o [cl.7]

Chiko na chijaana/ chihabba/ chileele/ naacho hashqaadiri. 'And there is a small child asleep and he is sick too.'

Ndichó. 'It is it [cl.7].'

Nt^hakuwanaacho/ choombo. 'He did not have a vessel.'

Sh̄tukula chakuja chaa ye/ peełá/ choloka naacho/ chinume cha nuumba. ‘She carried the food that she had been given and went with it behind the house.’

Tetemesheze ch̄taachó. ‘You shook your head.’

l-o [cl. 11]

w-o [cl.1]

mweenzawo ‘your friend’

w-o [cl.2]

w-o [cl.3]

w-o [cl.14]

y-o [cl.4]

y-o [cl.5]

y-o [cl.6]

y-o [cl.9]

Endrá/ mbele za sultaani/ na tumila/ akhili za mwajiitu/ khupeeló/ khpata kokola ruuhuyo. ‘Go in front of the sultan and use the wits that God has given you to get to save yourself.’

Mp^hete khatiyó/ na fahamiilé/ zotte/ zaa we/ niwishiizó/ karkaa khatí. ‘I received your letter and I have understood all that you informed me of in the letter.’

Mub̄liwá/ amina nasiibuyo. ‘My husband, trust to your luck.’

z-o [cl.8]

Ndizó. ‘It is them [cl.8].’

zibuku za Nuuru/ naazó ‘the books that Nuuru has’

Zo/ nzaaká. ‘They [cl.8] are mine.’

z-o [cl.10]

kuliindra/ nt^heendre/ hatá/ mukhtāa zo/ stakuvivó ‘to guard the dates until when they become ripe’

Ndizó. ‘It is them [cl.10].’

Ndruti/ Ziikopi/ zo. ‘The sticks, where are they?’

numba za Nuuru/ naazó ‘the houses that Nuuru has’

Zo/ nzaaká. ‘They [cl.10] are mine.’

-o

final vowel of relative (active) verbs in a number of tenses

relative of perfect stem:

mukhtāa ye/ mpeto mp^huundrá/ m’ajibiiló ‘when he found a donkey that pleased him’

We/ tumbile l̄kuṭá/ nt^huundrú/ l̄kuta/ l̄rebelo l̄pepó/ l̄a kuusí/ khpitá/ l̄pepo/ l̄yumiiló/ l̄impoteleze mwałimu Goosó/ iwuyú/ iwuyyu/ imub̄lelo mwaalimú. ‘You made a hole in the wall, the wall that stopped the south wind from passing through it, the wind that blew and caused the baobab to fall on Teacher Gooso, the baobab that killed the teacher.’

relative of the *chi* tense:

L̄iiní/ shkhadiro khtāwalo ruuhuyé. ‘He was not able to control himself.’

relative of the *na* present tense:

Mwajiitu/ ni awa/ waa si/ chinakuwa’abudiló/ walá/ nt^haku/ winginiwe.
‘(The only) god is those that we are worshipping, there is no other.’

relative of the habitual:

Husoomeshó/ nii wake. ‘The ones who teach are women.’

We/ ni mp^haka...hujoo mp^haná/ mp^hana/ hutumbulo l̄kuṭá/ nt^huundrú/ l̄kuta/ hil̄rebo l̄pepo l̄a kuusí/ khpitá/ l̄pepo l̄a kuusí/ hupotezo mawuyú/ mawuyyu/ hupotelele waant^hú/ ch̄taani/ huḅló.

‘You are the cat that eats the rat, the rat that makes a hole in the wall, the wall that blocks the south wind from passing through it, the wind that causes the baobab to fall, the baobab which falls on

the head of people and kills them.’

-o

second person singular possessive enclitic

=*ch-o* [cl.7]

=*l-o* [cl.11]

=*w-o* [cl.1]

Mwaana/ chihada/ khabari suura/ ni kuwaa mi/ mwaanawo/ ndrudile numbaani/ salaama. ‘The child said: the good news is that I, your child, returned home safely.’

=*w-o* [cl.2]

=*w-o* [cl.3]

=*w-o* [cl.14]

=*y-o* [cl.4]

=*y-o* [cl.5]

=*y-o* [cl.6]

=*y-o* [cl.9]

Daḏaaliyo/ taajiye/ ni najaahi/ na liwaani. ‘Your effort, its crown is success and success.’

Iyi/ ni kaaziyo. ‘This is your job.’

nt^humeyo ‘your message’

=*z-o* [cl.8]

=*z-o* [cl.10]

Hufafisho ebuzo/ muunt^hi/ hatajami/ khutilaa muḷo/ masku. ‘The one who reveals your defects in the daytime does not hesitate to burn you at night.’ (A proverb.)

Huweekapi/ peesazo. ‘Where do you keep your money?’

-o

morphological element employed in the demonstrative system

awo ‘those’ [cl.2]

ayo ‘those’ [cl.4]

ayo ‘those’ [cl.6]

icho ‘that’ [cl.7]

ilo ‘that’ [cl.11]

iyo ‘that’ [cl.5]

iyo ‘that’ [cl.9]

izo ‘those’ [cl.8]

izo ‘those’ [cl.10]

oko

omo

owo

oyo

o, ow

conj. or

o’oo

interj.

house?’

O’oo/ Omari/ ndiyé/ vuzilo nuumbá ‘o’o, is it Omari who broke the

oodka

[Som. *oodkac* DSI 473] meat cut into tiny pieces and dried in the sun and then fried

k-oofata

v. [Tunni *oof-* Tosco 229] (**ofeete**) be tired

Fanyize kaazi/ hatá/ ofeete. ‘He worked until he got tired.’

Fanyize kaazi/ hatá/ ofeete nt^ho. ‘He worked until he got very tired.’ Cf.

Fanyize kaazi/ fanyiizó/ hatá/ ofeete nt^ho. ‘He did work, that’s what he did, until he got very tired.’

Maama/ ofeetopó/ chimtokomeza. ‘When mother got tired, she left him.’

Mi/ ni muunt^hú/ nofeetó/ nakhadiraayi/ kujaa kuja. ‘I am a man who is exhausted, how am I able to eat food?’

Mmera chiint^hu/ ha’ofati. ‘The seeker of something never gets tired.’ (A proverb.)

Munt^hu ofeto khfakatá/ nakhpumula. ‘The man who is tired from running is resting now.’

Mwaanawa/ hinendra munt^hi mzima/ walá/ ha’ofati. ‘My child walks all day but does not get tired.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is *iwa* ‘the sun’.)

Na choofata/ khsuuka/ hulaala. ‘And if she gets tired knitting, she sleeps.’

Nofeeté/ noshele numbaaní/ nfungile shaatí/ ndreelé. ‘I was (so) tired (that) I went home (and) took off my shirt (and) slept.’

Ofeete/ so? ‘Are you getting tired?’

Sku mooyi/ eelo/ malizopo kudaakhá/ na ofeetopó... ‘One day when the gazelle was finished grazing and was tired...’

rel.

k-ofatika v. p/s.

k-ofatila v. appl. (**ofatiliile**) make efforts that tire one out

k-ofatisha v. caus. make tired, tire out

k-oofisha v. caus. (**ofishiize**) make tired, tire out (Observe that the causative suffix

ish does not lower to *esh* after a mid vowel in this example, contrary to the usual situation. The failure to get ***koofesha** would seem to be connected to the fact that the stem is /ofat/ and the vowel *a* is not one that would lower a following high vowel.)

Mwana uje/ maamboye/ yanofishiize. ‘That child, his behavior tired me out.’

k-ofishan(y)a v. caus. rec.

k-ofishika v. caus. p/s.

k-oofisha

v. [Som. *oofi* DSI 473] fulfill, carry out

variant form: **ku’ofisha**

kofisha ahdi ‘to fulfill a promise’

Amri/ iyi/ we/ khulaaizima/ khfaanya/ kanaa we/ nakhsula

muunt^hú/ oyó/ kofisha ahdiyé. ‘This order, you must do it, if you want that man to fulfill his promise.’

Mi/ nofishiizé/ balaniye. ‘I fulfilled my promise.’

Mithaali/ iyi/ inakhfarama/ waant^hu/ kudhoora/ na kofisha ahdi ‘This proverb advises people to respect and to fulfill a promise.’

rel.

mw-oofisho n. 3

ofishaali

n. [Ital. *ufficiale*; cf. Sw. *ofisa* SSED 350; Eng. *officer*] officer

variant form: **ufishaali**

ma’ofishaali or **ma’ufishaali** ‘officers’

oofu

n. [Tunni *oof-* "get tired" Tosco 220] (cf. *k-oofata* above) tiredness

ogaari

n. [Som. *ugaar* "prey (of hunting), game" DSI 593] prey, victim; [pron. **ogaari**]

Mi/ ni hurri/ pashpo sfuungó/ amó/ ni ogaari/ wa quyuudi. ‘Am I free without bonds, or am I a prisoner of the bonds of life?’

ogaari

adj. warm; [pron. **ogaari**]

ku-’ogoomata

v. (**ogomeete**) lose a parent, be orphaned

ogoomu

n., adj. [Som. *agoon* DSI 14] orphan; [pron. **ogoomu**]

munt^hu ogoomu ‘orphan’; **want^hu ogoomu** ‘orphans’

wana ogoomu ‘orphaned children’

rel.

chi-’ogoomu (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim. [pron. **chi’ogoomu**]

i-’ogoomu (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug. [pron. **i’ogoomu**]

m-’ooji (*wa-*)

n. 1/2 a kind of servant who assists at marriages, funerals (The term *oji* is used in

Somalia to refer to descendants of slaves brought mostly from Tanzania in the late nineteenth century. The word is said to derive from Italian *oggi* 'today', perhaps representing a stereotypical view that these people's thinking was restricted to the here and now or perhaps classifying these people as newcomers.)

k-ooka

v. [Sw. *oka* SSED 351] (**oshele**) fry (fish, meat) on a fire, grill

Barka/ nakoka sṭata. 'Barka is grilling the fat from meat.'

koka inyi 'fry liver'

kokaa nama 'fry meat'

kokaa nsi 'to grill fish'

Shtaala/ chooka/ chija. 'She took it and grilled it and ate it.'

Sungura/ rudiilopó/ siimba/ chimwaambila/ siyoo nama/ taala/ yote/ endra yooke. 'When Rabbit returned, Lion said to him: Here is the meat, take all of it and go and grill it.'

rel.

k-ookeka v. p/s. (-okeshela)

k-ookela v. appl. (okeleele)

k-ookesha v. caus.

k-okoowa v. pass. (oshela) be fried

Apo/ zinakokowa sṭata. 'There fat is being grilled.'

rel. nom.

w-ooka n.

oko

loc. dem. [cl.17] there, away

Bulo iyi/ yiko oko. 'That village is far away.'

Chi'ivuukila/ chi'ikalanṭhila oko. 'He went away (took himself off) and lived there.'

Kasa/ oko/ maha_laa si/ chinakeendró/ ni... 'Listen, near where we are going is...'

Mbeshele okó. 'I put it far away.'

Na oko maduriini/ ziko hayawaani/ niingi/ na dughaa_ghi/ niingi. 'And there in the bush there are many animals and many beasts.'

Ni munṭhu gani/ takhadiro khpanza zombo izó/ okó. 'Which man is the one who will be able to carry these things up there?'

Ni suura/ kuwaa we/ rudiilé/ ka okó. 'It is good that you have come back from there.'

Oko kiitu/ we/ shfanya kaazi/ ka da_laaali/ chida_laa_lata/ kulawila

wajibuye/ we/ hisaba_ltoowi/ kuwa muunṭhu. 'There in my country, if you work hard, if you try hard to carry out your duties, you are not considered to be anyone (a person of importance).'

Oko/ maha_laa mi/ nolosheló/ ni maha_laa njeema/ nt^ho. 'There where I went is a very good place.'

Wachendra oko/ sku iyo/ washkalaanṭ^ha/ wachija oko. 'They used to go there on that day, and they stayed and they ate there.'

k-ookoka

v. intr. [Sw. *okoka* SSED 351] (**okoshele**) escape (danger), be saved

Okoshele naa mu_lo. 'He escaped from the fire.'

rel.

k-oko_loowa v. tr. pass. (okeela) be saved

Waana/ wa'oke_laa naasi. 'The children were saved by us.'

k-ookola v. tr. [Sw. *okoa* SSED 151] (**okeele**) save someone

Basi/ mzeele/ uyu/ maskiini/ kuwonapó/ kuwa mukeewe/ zazile

mwiimbili/ msuura/ chimwambila mukeewe/ kheeri/ si/

choondroke/ ka apa/ si/ na mwana wiitú/ shpate kumookola/

mwaana/ uyu/ ka khisa askari/ wachimwona/ wa_lamub_lla. 'So

that poor old man, upon seeing that his wife had given birth to a

handsome boy told his wife: it is better that we move from here, we

and our son, in order to save this boy from the soldiers, if they see

him, they will kill him.'

Chiwa'olokele waana/ naa mu_lo. 'We saved the children from the fire.'

Dobla ya Aldo/ Mooro/ inakudaḏaalata/ khfanyiliza/ dawa/ na kiyookolá/ iqtisaadí/ ya muuyí. ‘The government of Aldo Moro is trying its best to cure and to save the economy of the country.’

Endrá/ mbele za sultaani/ na tumila/ akhili za mwajiitu/ khupeeló/ khpata kokola ruuhuyo. ‘Go in front of the sultan and use the wits that God has given you to get to save yourself.’

Jahazi/ iyi/ itakhokolaa we/ na hayawaaní/ zaa we/ pakiiló/ na wanaadamú/ woté/ ahliyó/ wakhaminiiló. ‘This boat will save you and the animals that you put on board and all the human beings, your relatives, who believed in you.’

Mwajiitu/ chimwaambila/ mi/ khupele ahdí/ khokolaa we/ na kuḷa muunt^hú/ takhurashoo we. ‘God said to him: I gave you a promise to save you and every man who will follow you.’

rel. nom.

mw-ookola n. a name of God, the Savior

ooliyo

n. [Ital. *olio*] oil (of a car, e.g.)

Ali/ shpashile chigaari/ ooliyo. ‘Ali applied oil to the cart.’

Laazimu/ kubadila ooliyo/ kila/ mezi sitta. ‘You should change oil every

six months.’

k-oola

v. [etymology unknown] (**ozele**) write (especially on wooden planks, as children do in koranic schools)

Hasiibu/ tiḷa madrasaani/ kubarata koola/ na khsoomá. ‘Hasiibu was put into school to learn to write and to read.’

N^hakóola. ‘He did not write.’

Ya mojiitu/ ozeló/ ha’imgafi/ muunt^hu. ‘What God prescribed does not miss one.’ (A proverb.)

rel.

k-oolēla v. appl. (**oleele**) write with, decree for

...kuwelela raaḏi/ ya mwajiitu/ choleeló ‘to be pleased by what God decreed for us’

Olelo qalamu. ‘He wrote with a pen.’

k-oloowa v. pass.

k-oolēka v. p/s.

k-oolēza v. tr. appl.

k-olezanya v. tr. appl. rec.

k-ooza v. tr. teach writing

koza waana ‘to teach children how to write (in the koranic schools)’

k-oozeka v. tr. p/s.

k-ozoowa v. tr. pass.

ch-oolo (z-)

n. 7/8 [Sw. *choo* SSED 61] bathroom; urine, faeces, dung; the need to urinate, defecate

Chingila chooloni/ choowa. ‘He went into the bathroom and bathed.’

Ingile chooloni/ nakoowa/ oweele/ teena/ mzimawe/ mi’ivu. ‘She went into the bathroom to take a bath; she bathed, then [she covered] her whole body [with] ashes.’

khshikowa choolo ‘to need to urinate/defecate’

Mgeeni/ nt^haasá/ nt^hakulawa/ ka chooloni. ‘The guest has not yet come out of the bathroom.’

Mgeeni/ nt^haasá/ umo chooloni/ nakoowa. ‘The guest is still in the bathroom bathing.’

Mi/ nshishila choooló/ ni laazima/ koondroka/ we/ kalaant^ha/ na muḷjiwo. ‘I need to use the bathroom; I must leave; you stay with your husband.’

Mgeeni/ nt^haasá/ nt^hakulawa/ ka chooloni. ‘The guest still has not come out of the bathroom.’

Miimba/ inakungadisha/ inakunfanya choolo. ‘The stomach is disturbing me (lit. changing me), I feel like defecating (lit. it is making me defecate).’

Mwenza wiitu/ takuruuda/ oloshole chooloni/ tu. ‘Our friend will return; he just went to the bathroom.’

shkalaant^ha chooloni kistaranja laazimu [st.] ‘if you sit to defecate, then cleaning oneself is a necessity’

rel.

chi-j-oolo n. dim. bathroom

Hutaŀoowa/ huwekowa mahala/ kama chijoolo/ ibana nk^haani/ hutilowa maayi/ hupowa sabuni zaawo/ hupowa makopa yaawo/ hambiloowa/ ingilaani/ walwiinu/ owaani. ‘They (the girls) are taken and put in a place like a small bathroom that is in the open (outside the house) and water is put there and they are given their soap and they are given their glasses and they are told to go in, both of them, and take a bath.’

k-ooloka

v. [etymology unknown] (oloshole) go

Chilawe/ chooloke. ‘Let us leave so that we may go.’

Choondroka/ koloka kulangala. ‘He arose to go and look.’

Ha’oloki. ‘He won’t go (a declaration that something will not happen). Or: He doesn’t go (usually, as a habit).’

Jilee kuja/ oloshole. ‘As soon as he ate, he left.’

Juma/ oloshole ka muza mp^huundra/ kula mp^huundra. ‘Juma went to a donkey-seller to buy a donkey.’

Khamiisi/ na mukeewé/ wa’oloshole muyiini. ‘Khamiisi and his wife went to town.’ Or: **Khamiisi/ oloshole muyiini/ na mukeewe.** ‘Khamiisi went to town with his wife.’ If one says: **Wa’oloshole muyiini/ na mukeewe.**, the interpretation is: ‘They went to town with his wife.’
Check to see whether it is possible to say: Khamiisi/ wa’oloshole muyiini/ na mukeewé. ‘Khamiisi and his wife went to town.’

koloka mwaayo ‘to yawn’

Lawa/ walwiitu/ chooloke/ chimolokele. ‘Let us both go, go to him!’

Madrasaani/ ye/ nt^hakooloka. ‘To school he did not go.’ (This left-dislocated sentence exhibits ordinary downstep intonation, with the pronominal subject lowered but not radically so. The negative verb does not have default focus, but rather is downstepped in this position like any other verb. It seems that default focus resides on the negative verb only when it is followed by a complement. The simple yes-no question derived from this sentence exhibits Q-Raising, but no accent shift. The exclamatory questions shifts accent both in the preposed complement and in the negative verb.)

Mana oloshelo Miini/ takuruda keesho. ‘The child who went to Brava will return to Brava.’ (The head noun **maana** is phrased with the relative verb in this example and the relative clause is understood to be a restrictive relative clause. A head that is phrased with the verb necessarily interpreted as a restrictive structure, but a head that is phrasally separated from the relative verb is not necessarily non-restrictive.)

Maana/ wa Omari/ oloshole Miini/ yaná/ takuruda keesho. ‘Omari’s child, who went to Brava yesterday, will return tomorrow.’ (The relative clause in this example would be understood as non-restrictive.)

Maana/ wa Omari/ oloshelo Mkhodiishó/ ndiyé/ mbozelo Hamadí/ peesá. ‘The child of Omari’s who went to Mogadishu, he is the one who stole Hamadi’s money.’

Mi/ madrasaani/ skooloka. ‘I to school did not go.’ (A negative verb, when followed by a complement, is in the default case phrase-final and raised in pitch. However, in the absence of a following complement, the pitch raising is not present. Thus in the present example, where the complement has been left-dislocated, we observe downstep intonation in the sentence. The corresponding simple yes-no question exhibits pitch raising, of course, so the accent on the negative verb is raised, not downstepped. There is no shift of pitch, as the left-dislocated complement is not treated as “out-of-focus”. In the exclamatory question, downstep is present throughout the sentence, and the accent of both the preposed complement and the negative verb is shifted to the final syllable.)

Mi/ noloshole madrasaani. ‘I went to school.’ (This canonical sentence shows the usual downstep intonation, with the subject phrase **mi** substantially higher than the final accent in **madrasaani**. In the corresponding yes-no question, the final accent is raised in comparison to the statement: **Mi/ noloshole madrasaani?** The exclamatory question has downstep intonation like the statement, but in the

speech of MI, the pitch register is lower than in the case of the statement.)

Muunt^hu/ nt^hakeendra/ numbaani. ‘The/a man did not go home.’ Or:

Nt^hakeendra/ muunt^hu/ numbaani. ‘No one went home.’

Muunt^hu/ oloshole numbaani. ‘The/a man went home.’ Or: **Oloshole**

muunt^hu/ numbaani. ‘Someone went home.’

mwana oloshelo sukhuuní ‘the child who went to the market’

Naani/ olosheló. ‘Who went?’

Ndrata/ nooloke. ‘Let me go that I may go [to kill the lion].’

Ndru/ oloshelopó/ muke/ chimwaambila/ kuwaa ye/ ni tayaari. ‘When the relative went (there), the woman told him that she was ready.’

Ndruuwe/ choloka kaa muke. ‘His relative went to the woman.’

Nfaramile Jaamá/ na’oloké. ‘I advised Jaama that he should go.’

Nimwene choloka madrasaani. ‘I saw him going to school.’

Noloshele na gaari. ‘I went by car.’ Or: **Noloshele ka gaari.**

Noloshele numbaani/ kaaké. ‘I went to his house.’ (Foc. With verb focus: **Noloshelé/ numbaani/ kaake.** But it does not seem possible to focus on the locative here: ***Noloshele numbaani/ kaake.**)

Noloshele sukhuuní. ‘I went to the market.’ Or, with focus on the verb: **noloshelé/ sukhuuni.**

Noloshele wowiiní. ‘I went to the river.’ (Syn. The verb **oloka** marks its goal with the locative enclitic, as we see from this example. However, it is possible for the goal to be the head of a relative clause without any enclitic attached: **wowi yaa mi/ nolosheló** ‘the river that I went to’.)

Nt^hakooloka. ‘I will go.’ (Note that if someone utters this sentence, a child for example, someone else may respond: **Hooloki.** ‘You won’t go (I won’t let you).’ The verb form here is the negative habitual, but its use in this situation is not habitual, but declaring that something will not happen in the future.)

Nt^hanakoolóka. ‘He is not going.’

Nuuru/ waanawe/ wa’oloshole. ‘Nuuru’s children went.’ Or: **Wanawe Nuuru/ wa’oloshole.** (Syn: The second option here is characteristic of MI’s speech.)

Oloka. ‘Go!’

Oloki/ naawé. ‘Why don’t you go? -- this is a set expression that expresses surprise and disbelief at what someone has said, sort of like: Be off with you!’

Oloshole Mambasa. ‘He went to Mombasa.’

Olosheló/ (ni) naani. ‘The one who went is who?’

Omari/ maanawe/ oloshelo Miini/ ^hkeesho/ takuruudó. ‘Omari’s child, who went to Brava, *tomorrow* will return.’ (Note that one cannot phrase **maanawe** with the relative verb: ***Omari/ manawe oloshelo Miini/ takuruda keesho.** ‘Omari’s son who went to Brava will return tomorrow.’)

Omari/ maanawe/ oloshelo Mkhodiishó/ ndiyé/ mbozele Hamadí/ peesá. ‘Omari’s son who went to Mogadishu, he is the one who stole Hamadi’s money.’

Peesa/ zoloshole. ‘The money is gone.’

^hSho/ kuwa mubliwa/ Nureeni/ oloshelo Miini. ‘Only my husband Nureeni went to Brava.’

Skoloka madrasaani/ ^hmi. ‘I did not go to school, me.’ (Notice that right-dislocation of the subject seems to eliminate the inherent focus from the negative verb, allowing it to form a prosodic phrase with the following complement. The right-dislocated subject is radically lowered in pitch in the statement, but this downstep disappears in the simple yes-no question due to Q-Raising: **Skoloka madrasaani/ mi?** In the exclamatory question, there is accent shift in the initial phrase, and the downstep of the dislocated subject is the one associated with ordinary downstep intonation rather than the radical lowering observed in the statement: **Skoloka madrasaani/ mi!?**)

Skooloka/ ^hmi/ madrasaani. ‘I did not go, I, to school.’ (The postposed subject pronoun in this example is radically lowered in pitch, indicated by the raised exclamation point in front of it. The following complement is lowered further. In the simple yes-no question, the complement undergoes accent shift. Furthermore, downstepping is eliminated, and – in the speech of MI – the complement is the pitch peak in the sentence: **Skooloka/ mi/ madrasaani?** In the exclamatory yes-no

question, both the negative verb and the complement exhibit accent shift. The pronoun **mi**, being monosyllabic, cannot exhibit the shift, as it is vacuous in this situation. The exclamatory question does, of course, exhibit downstepping, but the radical drop on the pronoun is not present.)

Suufi/ oloshela numbaani. ‘Suufi went to the house.’ (Syn. One cannot make the goal into the subject of the passive version of this sentence: ***Nuumba/ yoloshela na Suufi.**)

Sultaani/ oloshela miskiti waa jima/ khsaja. ‘The sultan went to Friday mosque to pray.’

Sultaani/ oloshelapi. ‘Where did the Sultan go?’

Wa’oloshelo Miini/ ni want^hu wazima. ‘The ones who left Brava are the adults.’

Waana/ wa’oloshela Miini. ‘The children went to Brava.’ Or: [**Mwiini/ wa’oloshela/ waana.**]

Waant^hu/ wa’oloshela Mwiini. ‘People left Brava.’ Or: [**Mwiini/ wa’oloshela/ waant^hu.**] Or: **Mwiini/ waant^hu/ wa’oloshela.** Or: [**Wa’oloshela Mwiini/ waant^hu.**]

We/ waliko cholokapi/ yana/ pamo na munó. ‘Where were you going yesterday with your younger brother?’ (Possible answer: **Mi/ waliko nch^holoka sukhuuni/ yana/ na muná.** ‘I was going to the market yesterday with my younger brother.’)

Ye/ nt^hakooloka/ madrasaani. ‘He did not go to school.’ (In the simple yes-no question, the out-of-focus **madrasaani** undergoes accent shift: **Ye/ nt^hakooloka/ madrasaani?** In addition, the pitch of **madrasaani** is raised by virtue of Q-Raising. In the emphatic question, the negative verb undergoes accent shift as well as the complement: **Ye/ nt^hakooloká/ madrasaani!?** In emphatic questions there is downstep, which affects even the focused elements of the input (in this case, the negative verb). The cited example here comes from MI, who does not pronounce the final syllable with the same clear fall as GM, but does apply register-lowering to the emphatic question.)

Ye/ oloshela madrasaani. ‘He went to school.’ (This canonical statement exhibits downstep intonation. The corresponding yes-no question raises the pitch of **madrasaani**. In the emphatic question, the accent of the second phrase is shifted to the end: **Ye/ oloshela madrasaani!?** ‘Did he really go to school!?’)

Ye/ waliko cholokapi/ yana/ pamo na muné. ‘Where was he going yesterday with his younger brother?’ (Possible answer: **Ye/ waliko choloka sukhuuni/ yana/ pamo na muné.** ‘He was going to the market yesterday with his younger brother.’)

rel.

k-olokeka v. p/s.

Numba iyi/ hayolokeki. ‘This house cannot be gone to.’

k-olokela v. appl. go to, go by means of

Ijiliile/ yolokelele. ‘(After waiting for you and you didn’t come, he ate and took himself off.’)

Mi/ nch^himaliza khaambila/ jawaabuza/ nt^hatu/ nt^hakiyolokela. ‘When I finish telling you the three things (that I mentioned), I will take myself off.’

Muza eelo/ anzizopo kiineendra/ kumolokela uyu maskiini... ‘When the seller of the gazelle started walking towards the poor man...’

Na mukhtaa mi/ nimolokelelo maraa piili/ khiriile kundraasha. ‘And when I went to her a second time, she agreed to follow me.’

Nolokelele gaari. ‘I went by car.’

Nt^haku/ rukhsa/ sa’a izi/ muunt^hu/ kum(w)olokela Harun Rashiidi. ‘There is no permission at this time for anyone to go to see Harunrashiidi.’

Olokeleleni/ Mkhodiisho. ‘Why did you go to Mogadishu? By what means did you go to Mogadishu?’

Simolokelé. ‘Don’t go to him!’

sulani waa si/ chinamolokelo ‘the sultan whom we are going to him’

Ye/ chuuluka/ chiyolokela. ‘It (e.g. the hawk) flew off and went away.’

ku-y-olokela v. reflex. take oneself off

Fikiriini/ chilawa/ chiyolokela. ‘Fikiriini came out and went away.’
Ijiliile/ yolokelele. ‘(After waiting and waiting,) he went ahead and ate on his own and took himself off.’
Mlate mukeewa/ nayolokele kaawo. ‘Just let my wife go to her parents.’
Wayolokelele. ‘They took themselves off.’
Yolokelele/ ijilile kuja. ‘He went and ate food (for himself).’
Yolokelele ki’ijilila kuja. ‘He took himself to eat food (for himself).’
Yolokelele ki’ipikila (ruuhuye)/ chaakuja. ‘He went to cook the food for himself.’ (Our consultant MI judged it ungrammatical to say
***Yolokelele khpikila waana/ chaakuja.** ‘He took himself off to cook for the children food.’ More research on this point needs to be undertaken, however.)

k-olokeleloowa v. appl. pass. (olokelele)

Gaari/ ya’olokelele naami. ‘A car was used to go by me.’

Gaari/ zolokelele madrasaani. ‘Cars were used to go to school.’

k-olokoowa v. pass. (-oloshela)

Icholokoowa/ khtalowa zibalaasi/ sabaze/ za mafta/ na shkooyá/ naachó/ shchitaloowa/ naa talá/ naayó/ ishtaloowa. ‘There went someone to take all seven of the clay jars of oil, and the necklace as well was taken and the lamp also was taken.’

Maayi/ yoloshela kuletoowa. ‘Lit. the water was gone to be brought.’

Sku ya piili/ icholokowa ka khaaði. ‘On the second day they went to the judge [lit. there was going to the judge].’ (Syn. Note the impersonal passive construction in this example.)

Yoloshela numbaani. ‘One cannot go to the house.’

Yoloshelapo ka sulṭaani/ mzele/ uyu/ chihada... ‘When they had gone to the sultan (lit. when there was having gone to the sultan), the old man said...’

ch-oloko (z-)

n. 7/8 [etymology unknown] window (This noun is exceptional in that we would expect the vowel in the first syllable to be long: **ch-ooloko**, given the apparent underlying representation /chi-oloko/.)

Baana/ vuzile numba/ choloko. ‘Baana broke the window of the house (lit. the house the window).’

Cheendra/ ka cholokooni/ tu/ chimvīla mwanamke wa sulṭaani/ chimwaambila/ nintukulile nsi iyí/ mooyí. ‘He went just as far as the window (of the house) and called the daughter of the sultan and said to her: I have carried to you (pl.) this one fish.’

choloko cha chuuma ‘iron, steel window’

choloko chaa mbawo ‘wooden window’

choloko cha numba ‘window of a house’

choloko cha ziloolo ‘a glass window’

Chondrosha maatoye/ ilu/ ye/ chimwona mwanaamke/ wa sulṭaani/ nakhtungila cholokó. ‘He raised his eyes up and he saw the daughter of the sultan peeping from a window.’

Ha’endri/ mahala/ haalawi/ hattá/ choloko/ hatuungili. ‘She does not go places, she does not go out, even she does not peep out of a window.’

hatta waako zolokooni/ barka watakhpoowa [st.] ‘even those watching from the windows will receive this blessing’

Jaani/ vuzile choloko cha numba. ‘John broke the window of the house.’ (Cf. **numba ya Jaani/ vuzilo cholokoche** ‘the house that John broke the window of [lit. its window]’.)

khfunga choloko ‘to close a window’

khfungula choloko ‘to open a window’

khsimama cholokooni ‘to stand in front of a window looking out’

khtungila choloko ‘to peep out from a window’

Maama/ shtuungila/ ka cholokooni. ‘Mother peered out from the window.’

Maana/ vuzile choloko ichije. ‘The boy broke that window.’

Mwanaamke/ oyo/ iwaliko ni aadaye/ khsimama cholokooni/ kulangaḷa/ ka darbiini/ ije inakhpito ndilaani. ‘That girl, as was her custom, was standing at the window looking with binoculars at whatever was happening on the road.’

Mzele/ mwiingine/ chilawa ka cholokooni/ chihada... ‘Another old man

peeped from the window and said...'

Numba/ ivunzila choloko. 'The house was broken the window (i.e. the window of the house was broken).'

numba/ na cholokó 'a house and a window'; **numba/ na zolokó** 'houses and windows'

numba/ na cholokoché 'a house and its window'; **numba/ na zolokoze** 'houses and their windows'

numba/ ya zoloko skulu 'house of big windows'

rel.

chi-j-oloko (*zi-j-*) n. dim. 7/8 little window

Chijoloko ichije/ ni shfuunge. 'That (dim.) window is shut.'

chijoloko shfungushiló 'a (dim.) window that is open'; **zijoloko sfungushiló** '(dim.) windows that are open'

Zijoloko izije/ ni sfuunge. 'Those (dim.) windows are shut.'

i-j-oloko (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug. big window

k-oolola

v. [cf. Sw. *oleza* 'make straight' SSED 351] (**oleele**) stretch out, lengthen

Simooleelé/ mkono. 'Don't stretch your hand out to him (to give him s.t).'

rel.

k-ololela v. appl.

Mololele mkono/ nii ndru. 'Stretch out your hand to him (i.e. to give him s.t.), he is a relative.'

k-ololeka v. p/s. be stretched, be straight; capable of being stretched

-ooloolo

adj. [Sw. *-ororo* SSED 356] soft, tender, pliable; (idiom.) depressed, low, down (in mood); [the [cl.9/10] form may be pronounced **nooloolo** or **noloolo**]

chinama choloolo 'a piece of tender meat'

kuwa m[w]ooloolo 'to be lenient; to be spiritually dead'

Nuuru/ wele m[w]ooloolo. 'Nuuru was lenient; Nuuru became spiritually dead.'

kuwelela mwoloolo 'to be lenient with'

Nuuru/ mwelele Ali/ m[w]ooloolo. 'Nuuru was lenient with Ali.'

mazu noloolo 'over-ripe bananas'

mooloolo/ kanaa nk^huku/ potelo mayiini 'someone soft or weak like a chicken who has fallen into water'

Muke/ chiwelelowa mooloolo/ khupandra chitaani. 'If a woman/wife is shown softness, she will stand on your head.' (A proverb.)

muti m[w]ooloolo 'a tree that can be easily bent'

nama noloolo 'tender meat'

Nimene Hamadi/ maskiini/ [↑]mooloolo. 'I have seen poor Hamadi, he is depressed, down, low.'

nooloolo/ kamba toomu 'soft as curdled milk'

-ooloolo/ kana lbaani 'as soft as frankincense (this expression derives from the use of lumps of frankincense as chewing gum; it can refer to a soft cloth like silk, or to tender meat)'

Wele mooloolo. 'He is (physically) weak.'

rel.

u-woloolo n. softness

Muke/ ha'onyoowi/ uwoloolo/ na naharisi. 'A wife/woman is not shown softness and kindness.' (A proverb.)

k-oolowa

v. [Sw. *lowa* SSED 249] (**olowelee**) get wet, soaked

Nguwo/ zolowelee. 'The clothes were soaked.'

Zoloweeló/ nii nguwo. 'What were soaked are the clothes.'

rel.

k-ololeza v. caus. appl. (**oleeze**) soak for, by means of

k-ooloza v. caus. (**oleeze**) make wet

Nvula ya deeri/ ha'imoolozi/ muunt^hu. 'The fall rain does not make a person completely wet.' (The rain that occurs in the season of **deeri** is a type of rain where it might fall on a

house, but not on a nearby road; i.e., there are pockets of rain here and there.)

k-olozoowa v. tr. pass. (**oleeza**) be made wet

ch-oombo (z-)

- n. 7/8 [Sw. *chombo* SSED 59] thing, goods, utensil(s), container, vessel; sailing boat
chombo chimooyi ‘one thing’; **zombo ziwili** ‘two things’
chombo chivundishiló ‘something broken’; **zombo zivundishiló** ‘things broken’
Chombo ichi/ ni shkulu. ‘This thing is big.’ (Cf. **Zombo izi/ ni skulu.** ‘These things are big.’)
chombo shkulu ‘something large’; **zombo skulu** ‘large things’
chombo shkulu/ cha Haliima ‘Haliima’s big utensil’ (cf. **zombo skulu/ za Haliima** ‘Haliima’s big utensils’)
gaari/ na zoombó ‘a truck and goods’; **gaari/ na zoombozé** ‘a truck and its goods’
Haṭaa we/ nakhkoḍo na Nuurú/ nakendra nṭiini/ kuleta zoombozá. ‘While you are talking to Nuuru, I am going down to bring my things.’
khtumila zoombo za feḍa na ḍahabu [st.] ‘to use utensils made of silver and gold’
kubisha choombo ‘to follow a zigzag course in sailing a boat against the wind (SSED defines as “to work a ship to windward”)
Nanzize kosha zoombó. ‘I began to wash the dishes.’
Ndru/ shṭukula zoombo/ zaa ye/ peelá. ‘The relative carried the things that he had been given.’
Nuuru/ hupenda waant^hu/ zoombo. ‘Nuuru likes to give people things.’
Panzize choombo/ mwaamba. ‘He ran the vessel onto the rock.’ (A proverbial saying.)
Sḥtamwaambila/ ya kuwa mukḥṭaa si/ chenzelo khshindramana ka mafakató/ chimlasile Yuusufu/ mahalaa si/ chiweshelo zoombó. ‘We shall tell him that when we went to run a race, we left Joseph at the place where we put our things.’
Sḥtomola amri/ zoombo/ izi/ zotte/ khpoowa/ Abunawasi. ‘He ordered that all these things be given to Abunawasi.’
Wamalizopo kishkizaa buní/ washpanza markabu/ zoombo. ‘When they finished unloading the coffee beans, they loaded the ship with goods.’
Wanafuunzi/ waṭakuleta zoombozo/ isa. ‘The students will bring your things now.’ Or: **Wanafuunzi/ isa/ waṭakuleta zoombozo.** ‘The students now will bring your things.’ Or: **Waṭakuleto zoombozó/ isá/ ni wanafuunzi.** ‘The ones who will bring your things now are the students.’
Ye/ nṭakuwanaacho/ choombo/ chaa ye/ kumpeleḷa maayi. ‘He did not have anything for him (to use) to give him water.’
Ye/ shkhiira/ chiingila/ chiyeza uki/ zombo zaa ye/ peelá. ‘He agreed to enter (the hole) and fill honey into the container that he was given.’
zombo za hafiisa ‘office furniture’
zombo za mikooni ‘kitchen utensils’
zombo za nuumba ‘household furniture’

rel.

zoombo n. cl.9

Zoombo/ iyo/ ni aadi. ‘That thing is normal.’

omo

[cl.18] locative demonstrative: inside there (close to you)

Chimatala maamaye/ wchiguura/ karka nuumba/ nk^hulu/ nt^ho/

wachi’iisha/ omo/ karka raaha. ‘He took his mother and moved into the very big house and lived in there in comfort.’

Hasani/ nṭakuwanaayo/ khabari/ kuwa omo/ numbaani/ walimo

mwanaamke/ wa sulṭaani. ‘Hasani did not have the information that inside the house was the daughter of the sultan.’

moomo/ omo ‘in that same place where you are’

Omo/ hukaló/ ni muunt^hu/ mooyi/ maskiini/ mwenzawe Ali/ na Alí/ naa ye/ hukalo naa ye. ‘In that place, the one who lives (there) is a poor man, Ali’s friend, and Ali too lives (there) with him.’

Omo/ mṭanaani/ umo munt^hu leele. ‘In there in the room there is someone asleep.’

Omo/ ye/ chimwona mwaarabu/ mooyi/ uje mjibilo hoodí. ‘Inside (e.g. the house) he saw an Arab, the one who had answered his request to enter.’

Siimba/ file omo numbaani. ‘The lion died there in the house.’

oomo

n. 9 washing powder, detergent

khfula ka oomo ‘to wash with detergent’

khfulaa nguwo/ ka oomo ‘to wash clothes with detergent’

kosha ka oomo ‘to wash with detergent’

kosha zijamu/ ka oomo ‘to wash plated with detergent’

omo iyi ‘this washing powder’ (Apparently only used as a [cl.9] noun. A phrase such as **omo izi** was rejected.)

oonda

n. 9/10 [Ital. *onda*] channel, radio band

onda mbili ‘two bands/channels’

onda mooyi ‘one band/channel’

k-oonda

v. [Sw. *onja* SSED 355] (**ondeele**) taste; taste difficulty/adversity

Ka’iwa yaa nyokí/ hujó/ (we)/ ska’onde/ uki. ‘If you knew what bees eat, you wouldn’t taste honey.’ (A proverb.)

Mutiwa/ wa n^heendre/ uchizaala/ mara yíingine/ mi/ nakhsulá konda n^heendrezé. ‘My date tree, if it bears fruit another time, I want to taste its dates.’

Ndovu/ choonda/ chiwona/ kuwa maayi/ ya bakayle/ ni maláda. ‘The elephant tasted it and saw that the water of the hare [which in fact was honey, not water] was sweet.’

Nondele mṭuzi. ‘I tasted the soup.’

Ni laazima/ mi/ na mweenzawá/ siimba/ koonda/ namaye. ‘It is a must that I and my friend, Lion, taste its meat (the meat of a fat donkey that the speaker has seen).’

rel.

k-oondesha v. caus. (**ondesheeze**) make s.o. taste s.t.

Nimsifile mpiishi/ nondesheze chakuja chaa ye/ pishiló. ‘I praised the cook; he allowed me to taste the food that he had cooked.’

k-ondeshoowa v. caus. pass. (**ondesheeza**) be made to taste s.t.

k-ondoowa v. pass. (**ondeela**) be tasted

rel. nom.

m-oonda n. one who tastes

Monda uki/ haakosi/ konda teena. ‘One who tastes honey never fails to taste it again.’ (A proverb.)

k-oondrola

v. tr. (**ondreele**) remove, take away; wake someone; lift

Alawi/ mwondrele Nureeni. ‘Alawi woke Nureeni up.’

Chendra numbaani/ kaako/ wa’ambiile/ watumishi/ wana’ondrole/

godoro/ kama zimo nk^huungunyi/ meepe/ wanazubḷe. ‘When you go to your home, tell the servants that they should move the mattress and if there are some bedbugs in it, that they should kill them.’

Chimaliza/ choondrola/ ichoo chiṭa/ chichiweeka/ mahaḷa/ yíingine/ nakumliindra/ munt^hu uziló. ‘After that he lifted the (cow’s) head and laid it in another place, waiting for the man who bought it.’

Chimwondrola mweenzawe/ maskiini/ chimwaambila/ kuwa uko

muunt^hu/ ndilaani/ nakubiga mlaango. ‘He woke up his friend, the poor man, and told him that there was a man outside knocking on the door.’

Chint^hu chihaba/ humondrolo sultaani/ chitiini. ‘A small thing that makes a king leave his chair.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **choolo** ‘the need to urinate or defecate’.)

Chondroka kuzura nuumba. ‘He went to visit the house.’

Jaama/ mwondrele mwaana. ‘Jaama woke the child.’

kondrola chiina ‘to be able to read [lit. to lift, raise a word]’

kondrolaa chiṭa ‘to raise the head’

kondrolaa chiti ‘to lift a chair’

kondrola ilu ruuhu ‘to give oneself airs [lit. to raise oneself]’

kondrola sheetaani ‘[lit.] to remove the devil -- i.e. to not let anger get the better of one, to be calm’

Mojiitu/ hondrolo saant^hi. ‘Lit. it is God who lifts [one’s] footsteps -- said as justification for not going earlier somewhere (particularly to visit some people).’

Mwondele mwaana/ ka mezaani. ‘He removed the child from the table.’

Ni laazima/ si/ khfaanya/ hiila/ mwewepe/ kumwoondrolo/ Yuusufu/

kharibu ya waawaye. ‘It is necessary for us to make some sort of trick to move Joseph away from his father.’

Nondrele chibuukú/ mezaani. ‘I took the book off the table.’ With emphasis on the verb: **Nondreelé/ chibuuku/ mezaani.** (Note that focus on the verb removes the complements from the scope of the final accent triggered by the verb.) With focus on **chibuuku in situ**: **Nondrele chibuukú/ mezaani.** (Note that focus on **chibuuku** has the effect of removing the following complement from the scope of the final accent.) With **chibuuku** focused by means of fronting: **Chibuuku/ nondrelo mezaani.** (Note that with the fronting of **chibuuku**, the verb is put in pseudo-relative form.) With focus on **mezaani** by means of fronting: **Mezaani/ nondrelo chibuukú.** (Note that once again the verb is put into pseudo-relative form.)

N^hanakoondrolo. ‘He is not taking it away.’

Omari/ mshishile Hamadi/ garabu/ mondreele. ‘Omari took Hamadi by the shoulders and stood him up.’

Ondrolo mifiniko/ chiyuundra/ chinapetee nvula. ‘Take away the coverings (that had been put over the vegetables) so that the garden gets some rainwater.’

Sa’iidi/ yolokelelopó/ uje mnaadisha/ ondrele riyaali/ iyo/ iweshela ilu/ yaa chiṭa/ cha ngoombe. ‘When Sa’iidi left, that auctioneer lifted that **riyaali** and put it on the cow’s head (in the context of the story: the **riyaali** had been used to purchase the cow’s head in the meat market).’

Simwoondrolé/ ifiriti leeló. ‘Don’t wake up a sleeping giant.’ (A proverb.)

Simwoondrolé/ munt^hu leeló/ chiiza/ takulaaló/ ndiwé. ‘Don’t wake up a sleeping man, otherwise the one who will sleep is you.’ (A proverb.)

Wa’ondrolopo ijuuniyá/ iyó/ ki’itukulá/ wachihada/ ewe/ Abunawaasi/ skuuzo/ apa/ duniyaani/ zimaliize. ‘When they lifted that sack and carried it, they said, O you, Abunawaasi, your days here in the world are finished.’

Wachondrolo godoro/ wachimwona noka. ‘They moved the mattress (and) saw a snake.’

rel.

k-oondroka v. intr. [Sw. *ondoka* SED 354] (**ondroshela**) wake up, get up, move from a place; take off on a trip, leave, rise [but this verb is often used in an auxiliary-like fashion, with very little of its core meaning retained]

Apa/ jahazi/ hayoondroki/ mpaka kh^homolowa muḥjaana/ mo/ suura/ kulatiḥlowa bahariini. ‘From here a boat does not take off until a boy, one, handsome, is taken to be thrown into the sea.’

Chiizé/ si/ hachondroki/ ka apa. ‘We refuse, we will not leave from here.’

Choondroka/ choloka khsimama nas mp^huundra/ ziingine. ‘He [the

donkey] up and went to stand with the other donkeys.’

Faðuma/ ondroshela. ‘Fadhuma woke up/ got up/ left.’

Fijiri/ choondroka/ chendra numbaani. ‘In the morning, he woke up and went home.’

Ivuumbi/ bila lpepo/ hayoondroki. ‘Dust without wind does not rise.’ (A proverb which conveys the same idea as the English "there’s no smoke without fire".)

Ivuumbi/ yondroshela. ‘The dust rose up

Jahazi/ ichoondroka. ‘The boat set sail.’

Ka dhibu/ kumwelela niingi/ mwaana/ chi’azima/ kondroka ka apo. ‘Because there were many difficulties weighing on him, the boy decided to move from there.’

Mate/ haya’ondroki/ bila mtaanga. ‘Spit does not get off the ground without having some sand in it.’ (A proverb.)

Munt^hu uyu/ mwanaamkewe/ choondroka/ chimwondrola waawaye/ ka usinziziini. ‘This man’s daughter went and woke up her father from sleep.’

Mwaana/ ondroshela. ‘The child woke up.’

Ngoombe/ choondroka/ mbuzi/ hukalaant^ha. ‘When the cow gets up, the goat sits down.’ (A proverb.)

Nnayo wana watatú/ mooyi/ choondroka/ wawili/ hawa’infi/ chiint^hu. ‘I have three children; if one leaves, two are of no use.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **majiiko** ‘cooking stones’.)

Nt^hakhaadira/ koondroka. ‘He was not able to move.’

Ondroka/ ondroka/ ka apo/ we. ‘Leave, get out of here, you.’

Ondroka ruuda/ ka mahaḷaa we/ ililó. ‘Go back to the place where you came from.’

Ondrokaani/ ka apo. ‘Move (pl.) from here!’

Ondroshelée ndila. ‘He moved out of the way (showing respect).’

Ondroshelopó/ Hasiibu/ chiwona/ kuwaa ye/ mersheza na ma’askari. ‘When Hasiibu woke up, he saw that he was surrounded by soldiers.’

Sarmala mooyi/ ondroshela/ lowelee muke. ‘A carpenter up and took a wife.’

Sku mooyi/ ondroshela bakayle/ mooyi/ ingile maduriini/ kumera chaakuja. ‘One day a rabbit went and entered the bush to look for food.’

Sultaani/ kondrokake/ ka khabriini/ ba/ chiwatuma khaadimu/ keendra/ kumleta muke wa mgarwa. ‘The sultan, upon getting away from the tomb, sent servants to go to bring the wife of the fisherman.’

Sungura/ sku ya piili/ fijiri/ na mapeema/ choondroka/ choloka ka mp^huundra. ‘Rabbit, early in the morning on the next day, awoke and went to the donkey.’

Walá/ mi/ skhaadiri/ koondroka/ kuwaviḷa waant^hu/ kuwa’ambila/ ni/ lataani/ khfanya farqi iyi/ bena maskiini/ na taajiri. ‘Nor can I just get up and summon people to tell them: you stop this discrimination between poor and rich people.’

Wanakhsulo koondroká khsala sala ya fijiri/ ni faayda/ ka kaawo/ na wanakhsulo kulaalá/ kuwika kiitu/ huwadhiba. ‘Those who

want to wake up to go to the morning prayers, it [the cock’s crowing] is a profit for them, and those who want to sleep, our crowing bothers them.’

Yuusufu/ anzizopo kondroka ka apó/ muke/ chimshika haanzu/ ka chinume/ chimgiṭa/ hatá/ haanzu/ ichaatuka/ ka chinume.

‘When Joseph began to move away from there, the woman seized him by the outer garment from behind and pulled him until the garment tore in the back.’

k-ondrokeka v. intr. p/s.

Mukhta wa haaghaayi/ hayondrokeka/ na mapeema. ‘In winter time one cannot get up early.’

k-ondrokeloowa v. intr. appl. pass. lose one’s wits

Sultani ijiniile/ ondrokeleela/ sultani ilizi/ ondrokeleela. ‘The crazy sultan has lost his wits, the crying sultan is the one who has lost his wits.’

k-ondrokela v. intr. appl.

Abdukhaadiri/ mwondrokelele mwaalimu/ chiti. ‘Abdukhaadiri got up from his chair (out of respect for) his teacher.’

Gaari/ yize kumwondrokela. ‘The car wouldn’t start for him.’

Hamadi/ ize kumwondrokela chiti. ‘Hamadi wouldn’t stand up and free the chair for him.’

Mwondrokelele Muhyidiini/ ndila. ‘He moved out of the way for Muhyidiini.’

Nondrokela/ mbeleza. ‘Go out of my sight!’

k-ondrokeleka v. appl. p/s.

Mzele uyu/ ha’ondrokeleki/ chiti. ‘This elder cannot be shown respect by getting up from a chair for him.’

k-ondrokeloowa v. appl. pass. (**ondrokeleela**)

k-ondrokoowa v. pass. (**ondoshela**)

Leelo/ sultaani/ naank^{h6}/ ijiniye/ ondrokeleela. ‘Today the sultan his madness has come to his head again.’ (Syn. The subject of the applied passive verb is **sultaani**, as indicated by the null subject marking on the verb **ondrokeleela**.)

k-ondrolela v. tr. appl. (**ondrolele**) wake s.o. up with, for; take s.t. away for; accuse

Huseeni/ chijiiba/ uyu/ mzele/ nondrolele/ jawaabu/ yaa mi/ siisi. ‘Huseeni answered: this old man accused me of matters that I do not know (anything about).’

Itakunondrolela ta’abu. ‘It will eliminate [lit. lift from me] troubles for me.’

kondrolela heshma ‘to disgrace’

Nondrelele heshma. ‘He disgraced me.’

Kuuyake/ inondrelele huzni. ‘His coming took away my sorrow.’

Ma’askari/ wachimuuza/ khondroleleni. ‘The soldiers asked him: what did he accuse you of?’

Nondrelele mashakha. ‘He relieved me of financial difficulties.’

Nondrelele murugu. ‘He relieved my frustration.’

k-ondroleloowa v. tr. appl. pass.

Mooja nasamehe dambi/ nzito ka’ondroleloowa [st.] ‘may God pardon my sins/ which are heavy to remove’

k-ondroloowa v. pass.

Sultani waa noka/ chamura Hasiibu/ na’ondroloowa/ ka usinziini. ‘The king of snakes ordered that Hasiibu be woken from sleep.’

Ye/ chondroloowa. ‘He was awakened.’

k-ondrolana v. rec.

k-ondroleka v. p/s.

Mubiidi/ ha’ondroleki. ‘Mubiidi cannot be woken up (e.g. he is difficult to wake up, he is in a bad mood when awakened from sleep, etc.).’

Sandukhu iyi/ hayondoleki. ‘This box cannot be lifted, moved (e.g. it is too heavy).’

k-ondrosha v. caus. (**ondrosheze**) wake s.o. up, make s.o. get up; raise up; remove, cause to move

Awuukari/ mwondrosheze mwaana. ‘Awuukari woke the child.’

kondrosha hima ‘to prod’

Mondrosheze mwaana/ ka mezaani. ‘He removed the child from the table; he induced the child to get off the table.’

Mondrosheze mwaana/ ka usinziini. ‘He woke up the child from sleep.’

Mubli/ chiya numbaani/ ondroshazopo maatoyé/ ilú/ chimwona noka. ‘The man came to the house; when he raised his eyes up, he saw a snake.’

Nthanakoondrosha. ‘He is not lifting.’

Ondrosheze chibuuku. ‘He removed the book.’

k-ondroshana v. caus. rec. (**-ondrosheene**) wake one another up

k-ondroshanana v. caus. rec. (-**ondroshaneene**) wake one another up

k-ondroshananoowa v. caus. rec. pass. (-**ondroshaneena**)

k-ondroshanoowa v. caus. rec. pass. (-**ondrosheena**)

k-ondrosheka v. caus. p/s.

Baana/ ha'ondrosheki. 'Baana cannot be woken up.'

Sandukhu iyi/ hayondrosheki. 'This box cannot be lifted, moved away.'

k-ondrosheleza v. caus. appl. lift something at; wake up for, on

Abú/ nondroshelezee luti. 'Abu raised a stick at me (threateningly).'

chiluti chondrosheleza mwaaná 'the stick (dim.) that was used to wake the child'

Jaama/ mwondrosheleze Awiikari/ mwaana/ kaa luti. 'Jaama woke up Awiikari's child with a stick.'

k-ondroshelezanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Wa'ondroshelezenye waana/ ka usiziini. 'They woke one another's children from sleep.'

k-ondroshelezoowa v. caus. appl. pass.

Chiikopi/ chiluti chondrosheleza mwaaná. 'Where is the little stick that was used to wake up the child?'

Mi/ nondroshelezaa luti. '[Lit.] I was raised at a stick -- i.e. I was threatened with a stick.'

k-ondroshoowa v. caus. pass. (**ondrosheeza**) be woken up, be taken away

Mtomola amri/ chihada/ naondroshoowa/ ka apo/ nawekoowa/ mahala yingine. 'The leader [lit. one who issues orders] said that he should be removed from there and placed in some other place.'

rel. nom.

ma-'ondrokelo n. 6 rising (from a chair, e.g.) out of respect for s.o.

ma-'ondroko n. 6

Ma'ondroko/ ni liini. 'When is the departure?'

w-ondroko n. 14

Wondrokowe/ na mapeema/ (w)umlazishizee chiṭa. 'His waking up early caused him to have a headache.' (A nominal form based on the infinitive, **kondrokowe**, can be used instead of **wondrokowe**.)

ma-'ondrolo n. 6 act of waking s.o. up

ongo

n. 9/10 [Sw. *bongo* SSED 486] brain

Amá/ we/ takulawa/ ka apa/ laakini/ takubloowa/ takhutundrikowa wa mutiini/ naa nyunyú/ štaakuja/ karka ongoyo. 'As for you, you will leave from here (prison), but you will be killed and you will be hung from a tree and birds will eat from your brains.'

kumbadila muunt^hu/ ongo 'to change someone's mind'

Alí/ mkali/ hubadila waant^hu/ ongo. 'Ali is very good at changing

people's minds.'

khtumisha ongo 'to use the brain – i.e. think well'

khtumikila ongo 'to use the brain, think'

Muunt^hu/ jawaabu/ suḷa khtumikila ongo. 'Someone for this matter must use his brains, think.'

Mi/ ka chihaba/ shpeenda/ kuja ongo. 'I, when a child, used to like to eat brains.'

Nthaná/ ongo. 'He does not remember things, he is stupid, he has no intelligence, etc. (lit. he has no brains).'

Omari/ mambile Hamadi/ we/ nt^huná/ ba/ ongo. 'Omari told Hamadi: you do not have brains (i.e. you do not think, you are not intelligent, etc).'

Ongo/ inakundraaza. 'The brains are aching me (I have a headache).'

Ongoyo/ nt^ha'inakhfanya kaazi. 'You are not thinking well (lit. your brains are not working).'

Ongoyo/ suura. 'You think well, you are sharp (lit. your brains are good).'

Want^hu wa Miini/ huja/ ongo. 'The people of Brava eats brains (of animals).'

Ye/ ongoye/ siwo/ ongo ya celo. 'His brain is not the brain of a gazelle.'

rel.

i-'ongo (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

m-oongo (mi-)

n. 3/4 [Sw. *mgongo* SSED 278] back; [pron. **miyoongo** 'backs']
variant form: **muungo**

**Chizeele/ choondroka/ chuuluka/ chooloka/ ilu/ nt^ho/ naachó/
chimtukilo mwaaná/ mongooní.** 'The old woman got up and flew
and went very high, carrying the boy on her back.'

Haliima/ namkuna maamaye/ moongo. 'Haliima is scratching her
mother's back.'

khkuna moongo 'to scratch the back'

khfuwa moongo 'to rub the back, esp. during bathing'

khfukula ka moongo 'to carry on the back'

khfukulana mongooní 'to carry one another on the back'

kulala ka moongo 'to sleep on the back'

kumpa moongo 'to leave, abandon s.o. (lit. give s.o. the back)'

Hamadi/ mpele mukeewe/ moongo. 'Hamadi left his wife.' Or:

Hamadi/ mpele moongo/ mukeewe.

Omari/ mara mooyi/ chikhupa moongo/ humoni teená. 'Once
Omari leaves you, you will never see him again.' why final high here?

We/ simp^hé/ moongo/ mi. 'You, do not show me your back (e.g.
stay with me, I want to talk to you).'

kuskuma ka moongo 'to push with the back'

Leelo/ muungowo/ keesho/ usowo. 'Today your back, tomorrow your face
– said to a departing person and meaning that, if today he is going away (turning his back to us), in a near future
he will return (and we will see his face again); e.g. today you do not need me, but tomorrow you will.'

Moongo/ inakunjaaja. 'My back is itching me.'

Moongowe/ mpaana. 'He is very patient (lit. his back is wide).'

Mp^huundra/ waliko tukiile/ zaakuja/ za ajnasi niingi/ ilu ya moongowe.

'The donkey was carrying many different kinds of food on his
back.'

m(w)ishpa wa moongo 'back bone'

Omari/ mishpa (w)a moongo/ umpaanzile. 'Omari's backbone
has over-ridden him (i.e. he has become so thin).'

mishpa ya moongo 'spine'

Ali/ mishpaa moongowe/ inamlaaza. 'Ali's spine is paining him.'

Omari/ mishpaa moongowe/ ni mpotofu. 'Omari's spine is
curved, crooked.'

Omari/ vundishile mishpaa moongo. 'Omari broke his spine.'

m(w)-oongofu

n.1/2 [Sw. *mwongofu* SSED 355] a morally upright person; [pron. **wa'ongofu** (pl.)]
rel.

m-loongofu n. ibid.

ku-'ongola

v. [cf. Sw. *ongoa* "guide, lead" SSED 355, but see also *londea* SSED 249, where the
meaning seems to match Chimiini] do things to attract one of the opposite sex (esp.
of women providing food for a man) **review this gloss, too specific?**

rel.

ku-'ongolela v. appl.

Pishile zaakuja/ zisurasuura/ ku'ongolela mu^bliwe. 'She cooked many
varieties of nice food to use to attract her man.'

ooni

n. [Som. *oon* DSI 474] thirst

Diini/ iwiile/ ya kuwa want^hu awa/ wafile ka ooni/ naa ndalá. 'Diini
knew that these people had died from thirst and hunger.'

khshikowa ooni 'to be thirsty – [lit.] to be seized by thirst'

Apo/ zamaani/ hayawaani/ za maduuri/ washishi^la ooni. 'Once
upon a time, the animals of the bush country became
thirsty.'

Nshishi^la ooní. 'I was thirsty.' (Cf. **Shishi^la ooni.** 'He was

thirsty.)

kh̄inda ooni 'to cut the thirst -- i.e. quench the thirst'

Mayi malada/ hayāindi/ ooni. 'Sweet water (e.g. juice) does not quench the thirst.'

Maayi/ tu/ hūindo ooni. 'Only water quenches thirst.'

kuwanayo ooni 'to be thirsty'

Mp^huundra/ ya Abunawaasi/ iwanayo ooni. 'Abunawaasi's donkey was thirsty.'

Nnayo ooni. 'I am thirsty.'

kuwona ooni 'to be thirsty -- [lit.] to see thirst'

waana wasibeete ka ooni na ndala [nt.] 'children suffered thirst and hunger'

ndalaye niingi ooniye siwo haba [st.] 'his hunger is great, his thirst is not

small'

Sht̄inda kendraa mbele/ kaa ndala/ na ooni. 'He decided to go forward, with hunger and thirst.'

oono

n. UN (United Nations)

Dow̄la ya Somaalya/ nt^haasá/ nt^ha'iku'aqonsatoowa/ na Oono/ na duniyá. 'The government of Somalia is still not recognized by the United Nations and the world.'

-onte

[Sw. *-ote* SSED 357] see **-ote**

k-oonya

v. [Sw. *onya* SSED 353] (**onyeeze**) show something; allow to see

Chimwonya nuumba. 'He showed her the house.'

Chizeele/ chimwonya eelo/ nuumba/ ilu/ na nt^hiini. 'The old woman showed the gazelle the house from top to bottom.'

Endrá/ mvīle mwaana/ shpate kumonya nt^huunziye. 'Go and call the daughter so that we may show her her dowry.'

hiskāt̄ilo diini Mooja hamoonyi yaa dhara [nt.] 'if one relies on God, he will not let him come to harm'

Isa/ mi/ nakhuloombá/ we/ noonya/ mzele oyo. 'Now, I beg you, show me that old woman.'

Mbele/ lawa khonye nuumba/ iyi. 'First let me show you this house.'

Onyá. 'Show it!'

ukali wa sakarāti/ Sheekhi ka chiza konyoowa [st.] 'from the torturous agonies of dying/ may the Sheikh be spared'

Watumishi/ wash̄ta'ajaba/ wachimvīla sultaani/ kumwooneza. 'The servants were astonished, they called the sultan to come [for them] to show him [the pieces of gold].'

rel.

k-onyeleza v. appl.

Hamadi/ nonyeleze mwaana/ noka. 'Hamadi showed my child a snake.'

k-onyelezana v. appl. rec.

Waant^hu/ wa'onyelezenye waana/ piicha. 'People showed to one another's children pictures.'

k-onyelezeka v. appl. p/s.

Baana/ ha'onyelezeki/ mwaana/ noka. 'Baana can't have his child shown a snake.'

k-onyesha v. caus. (**onyesheeze**) show; seem

Abubakari/ nakonyesha kuwa t̄ambile mas'ala. 'Abubakari is showing/indicating that he understands the question.' (Syn. Note that an infinitival complement is not permitted: ***Abubakari/ nakonyesha kh̄t̄ambula mas'ala.**)

Bakari/ ha'onyeshi/ kuwaa ye/ nayo maali. 'Bakari does not appear to have money.' Or: **Hayoneshi/ kuwa Bakari/ nayo maali.**

Hamadi/ ha'onyeshi/ kuwa maatozi/ yanamvuuya. 'Hamadi does not

seem to be crying.’

Honyesha (or: **inakonyesha**) **kuwa Abubakari/ t̄ambile mas’ala**. ‘It seems that Abubakari understood the question.’

Hupenda konyesha. ‘He likes showing off.’

Inakonyesha kuwa miyunda aya/ nt̄ayakhpata/ nvula. ‘It seems that these farms did not get rain.’

Nonyesha huruma. ‘Show me pity!’

Nt̄anakoonyesha. ‘He is not showing it.’

Nt̄aynakoonyesha. ‘It is unlikely (lit. it does not show).’

Nt̄aynakoonyesha/ kuwaa we/ takhpita im̄tihaani. ‘It does not appear likely that you will pass the examination.’

k-oonyeza v. caus. (**onyeeze**) show, have s.o. see, let see

Abunawaasi/ chimwambila ndo/ noonyeza. ‘Abunawaasi told her: come on, show me how.’

Chimonyeza mukeewe. ‘He went to show his wife.’

Chiwa’onyeza/ ndila/ suura/ na ndilaa mbovu. ‘He showed them the good path and the bad path.’

Chiya naaye/ muyiini/ ye/ chim(w)onyeza maamaye. ‘He came with it (e.g. the bird) to town and he showed it to his mother.’

konyeza chilolo [lit.] to show a mirror -- i.e. entice by showing only the good, beautiful side of something’

Nonyeze chilolo. ‘He enticed me.’

konyezaa ndila ‘to show the way’

konyeza ta’abu ‘to give s.o. difficulty’

konyeza ulaazo ‘to give pain’

mahaba ni dawa/ yo khoonyeza raaha [song] ‘love is a medicine, it shows

you rest/comfort’

na ushujaa’a/ waweenziwa/ wa’onyesheezó ‘and the courage which my companions showed’

Nonyezaa nguwo/ zaa we/ uziló. ‘Let me see the clothes that you have bought.’

Nt̄akhoonyeza. ‘I’ll show you (a threat).’

Nuuru/ mwonyeze mwaana/ chibuuku. ‘Nuuru showed the child the book.’

k-onyezan(y)a v. caus. rec. (**wa’onyezeene**) show one another something

Osmaani/ na Nuurú/ wa’onyezene piicha. ‘Osmaani and Nuuru showed one another pictures.’ (MI did not accept “reciprocal shift” in this structure: ***Osmaani/ onyezene na Nuuru/ piicha**. ‘Osmaani showed pictures with Nuuru.’)

k-onyezan(y)oowa v. caus. rec. pass.

Piicha/ zonyezenya na waant^hu. ‘Pictures were shown to one another by people.’

k-onyezeka v. caus. p/s. be capable of being shown

Maashe/ ha’onyezeki/ ndila. ‘A blind man cannot be shown the way.’

k-onyezoowa v. caus. pass. (**onyeeza**) be shown

Chija/ chilaala/ na fijiri/ chonyezowaa ndila/ chiyolokela. ‘He ate and slept and in the morning was show the way and went away.’

Waant^hu/ wa’onyeza piicha. ‘The people were shown pictures.’ (A verb ordinarily only has a single ‘primary’ object and this primary object is the one that can be the subject of a passive version of the sentence. But in the case of the verb *onyeza*, in addition to the sentence where **waant^hu** is the passive subject, we also record a sentence where **piicha** is the passive subject: **Piicha/ zonyeza waant^hu**. ‘Pictures were shown to people.’ [review](#)

Zonyeza waant^hu/ ni piicha. ‘What were shown to people were pictures.’

k-onyoowa v. pass. (**onyeeza**) be shown something

Hamadi/ onyeza chibuuku/ na Nuuru. ‘Hamadi was shown a book by Nuuru.’ (One cannot make **chibuuku** the subject of the passive verb: ***Chibuuku/ chonyeza Hamadi/ na Nuuru**.)

Mi/ huwa msuura/ nch^honyowa zeema. ‘I am generally nice if I am shown kindness etc.’

- Muunt^hu/ ha'ambiloowi/ oloka/ honyowa yaake/ kolokela.** 'A man is not told, Go away!, he is shown how he should go.' (A proverb.)
- Muunt^hu/ nayo maató/ ha'onyoowi/ ndila.** 'The man who has eyes is not shown the road.' (A proverb.)
- N^hakonyoowa/ kuja zaawo.** 'They were not shown their food (i.e. they were deprived of their food).'
- Sho kuwona ka yeeye/ hattá/ chonyoowa/ haawoni.** 'The one who does not see by himself, even if he is shown, he won't see.' (A proverb.)
- rel. nom.
ch-oonya (z-) n. 7/8 indicator (that which shows s.t.)
chonya daqiiqa 'minute hand of a clock'
ch-oonyo n. the act of showing
ma-'onyo n. 6
m(w)-oonyo n. 3
m(w)-oonyezo n. 3
w-oonyezo n. 14
- ch-oonza* (z-) n. a knot of a rope
khtila choonza 'to block, create an obstacle'
- operasiyoone* n. 9/10 [Ital. *operazione*] operation
- oora* n. [Ar. 'aura W 656; Som *cawro* DSI 96] genital organs, private parts, with reference to both male and female
- orgi* n. [Som.] billygoat
variant form: *orji*
- ori* n. 9/10 [Tunni dialect of Somali *ór* Tosco 230] rooster, cock
kuwiika/ kana ori 'to crow like a rooster'
Ori/ chiwiika/ ni sala ya fjiri. 'When the cock crows, it is morning prayer.' (A proverb.)
Orii mbili/ hawaakali/ karka moro mooyi. 'Two roosters cannot live inside the same fenced enclosure.' (A proverb.)
Ori wa mundraani/ hawiiki/ muyiini. 'A farm rooster does not crow in town.' Or: **Ori/ wa mundraani/ hawiiki/ muyiini.** (A proverb.)
oriwa 'my rooster'
oriza 'my roosters'
- ooro* n.[Som. *ooro* DSI 474] pus from the ear
- ku-'ororata* v. (**ororeete**) gather together, concentrate things in one place
hadiithi/ i'ororeetó/ ka Abu Hureerá 'the sayings [of the Prophet] which have been collected together by Abu Hureera'
Hadithi iyi/ i'orerete ka Abu Hureera. 'These sayings [of the Prophet] were collected by Abu Hureera.'
- Orupa* n. Europe
Khutubiile/ hadiile/ ya kuwaa si/ want^hu wa Orupa/ dobla/ za chi'orupa/ na sha'abuyé/ wotte/ laazima/ si/ khsimama kuunganya/ maali/ kumpeleka dobla/ ya talyaani/ ku'isaaydila. 'He gave a speaking saying that we the people of Europe, the governments of Europe and their people, all, we must stand (together) to collect money to send to the government of Italy to help it.'
- k-oosha* v. [Sw. *osha* SSED 356] (**osheeze**) wash, wash the body
Aamina/ nakosha zijamu/ ka oomo. 'Aamina is washing the plates with detergent.'
Bahari/ nakoshaa nguwo. 'Bahari is doing the laundry.'
Chala chimooyi/ hachooshi/ uso. 'One finger does not wash the face .' (A proverb.)

Chosha m̄tele/ chanza khpika. ‘She washed some rice and began to cook.’
Ee/ faṭuura/ nosheezé. ‘Yes, the car, I did wash (it).’
Isa/ nnakosha usowá. ‘Now I am washing my face.’
ka maayi ow ka majiwe hutōsha/ laakini maayi ndiyo zaaydi koosha [st.]
 ‘(to clean oneself after defecating) with water or with stones
 suffices, but water is better to wash with’

kosha m̄tuungi ‘to wash a water pot’
Maana/ osheze faṭura ya Omari. ‘The child washed Omari’s car.’ Or, with
 focus on **faṭuura**: **Maana/ osheze faṭuura/ ya Omari.** Or, with focus on the verb: **Maana/ osheze/ faṭura ya Omari.**

Muke/ mwosheze mwaana/ mkono. ‘The woman washed the child’s arm.’
Muke/ mwosheze mwaana/ ka saabuni. ‘The woman washed the child
 with soap.’

Mukhtaa wo/ wa’oshezo mikonó/ khaadimu/ naayó/ chiya/ chija/ makombo yaseeeló/ haṭá/ chiikuta. ‘When they washed their hands, the servant (lit. and he) came and ate the leftovers until he was satiated.’

Mwosheze mwaana/ uso (/ka sabuuni). ‘She washed the child’s face (with soap).’

Nanzize kosha zoombó. ‘I began to wash dishes.’

Nnakosha mikonó. ‘I am washing my hands.’ Or: **Nnakosha mikonoyá.**

Nnakosha usó. ‘I am washing my face.’ Or: **Nnakosha usowá.**

Nnakosha usowá/ kahimá. ‘I am washing my face quickly.’ Or: **Nnakosha usowá/ kahimaahimá.**

Nosheze faṭurá. ‘I washed the car.’ Or with verb emphasis: **Nosheezé/ faṭuura.** Or with complement preposing: **Faṭuura/ nosheezé.** Or with focus on preposed complement: **Faṭuura/ nosheezó.**

Nosheze faṭura ya Omari. ‘I washed Omari’s car.’ Cf. **Nosheze faṭura ya Omari/ nosheezó.** ‘I washed Omari’s car, that’s what I did.’ But cannot say: **Nosheezé/ faṭura ya Omari/ nosheezó.** ‘I washed Omari’s car, that’s what I did.’ What this means is that the Verb Copy strategy of focusing on the verb is not combined with locating a PP break after the verb. It is important to point out that there is no internal focus in the sentence **Nosheze faṭura ya Omari.** As a consequence, one does not continue this sentence with **siwo** ‘not’ plus a contrasted element in the sentence: ***Nosheze faṭura ya Omari/ siwo/ ya Hamadi.** Rather one continues the sentence with, for instance, **Skosha ya Hamadi.** ‘I did not wash (the car) of Hamadi.’)

Nosheze faṭurá/ ya Omari. ‘I washed the car of Omari.’ (Observe that in this example there is focus on ‘car’, as indicated by the fact that the final accent does not project onto the AP-phrase following. In this sentence where there is focus on ‘car’, one can continue the sentence: **Siwo/ baaskiili.** ‘Not (Omari’s) bicycle.’ One cannot also locate a Verb Copy after ‘car’: **Nosheze faṭurá/ nosheezó/ ya Omari.** ‘He washed car, that’s what he did, of Omari.’)

Nosheze mzimawe. ‘He washed me all over.’

Nt^hanakoosha. ‘He is not washing it.’

Omari/ osheze Hamadi/ faṭuraye. ‘Omari washed Hamadi’s car.’

Oshá. ‘Wash!’

Tuuma/ mosheze maana/ uso. ‘Tuuma washed the child’s face.’ (Phon. The simple yes-no question exhibits Q-raising but no accent shift. The exclamatory yes-no question shifts the accent in the VP: **Tuuma/ mosheze maaná/ usó!?**)

Tuuma/ mosheze maaná/ usó. ‘Tuuma washed the child’s face.’ Or, with focus on **maana** rather than the subject: [**Tuuma/ mosheze ^fmaana/ uso**]. (Phon. This sentence differs from the simple statement cited in the previous example in that **maana** is not downstepped but rather raised in pitch. The yes-no question version of the sentence with focus on **maana** shifts the accent in the out-of-focus **uso**: **Tuuma/ mosheze maana/ usó?**)

[**Tuuma/ mosheze maana/ ^fuso**]. ‘Tuuma washed the child’s face.’ (Phon. The simple yes-no question does not shift the accent since there is no out-of-focus phrase following the focus.)

Tuuma/ osheze uso wa maana. ‘Tuuma washed the face of the child.’ (Phon. There is no accent shift in the simple yes-no question. The exclamatory yes-no question does shift accent in the VP: **Tuuma/ osheze uso wa maaná!?**)

Uso wa maana/ Tuuma/ osheezó. ‘It’s the child’s face that Tuuma washed.’ Or: **Maana/ usowe/ Tuuma/ osheezó.** ‘It’s the child his face that Tuuma washed.’ Or: **Maana/ usowe/ osheezó/ Tuuma.** ‘It’s the child his face that washed, Tuuma.’

Wamalizopo kosha mikonó/ wachanzaa kuja. ‘When they finished washing their hands, they began to eat.’

rel.

k-oshakosha v. freq. wash and wash

Choondroka/ choshachosa ruuhuye/ chimaliza/ chishikaa ndila/ chendra kaawo. ‘He got up and washed himself off and then followed the road to his home.’

k-oshanya v. rec. (wa’osheenye) wash one another

Nuuru/ na Baaná/ wa’osheenye. ‘Nuuru and Baana washed each other.’

k-oosheka v. p/s.

Mwana uyu/ ha’osheki/ ka sahali. ‘This child cannot be easily washed.’

Zijamu izi ya/ hazoosheki/ na waana. ‘Plates of this type cannot be washed by children.’

k-ooshekela v. p/s. appl.

Baana.’

Mwaana/ mwoshekelele Baana. ‘The child was able to be washed for

k-osheleza v. appl.

Baana/ mwosheleze Nuuru/ shkoombe. ‘Baana washed the cup for Nuuru.’

Maana/ mosheleze Omari/ fatuura. ‘The child washed the car for Omari.’

Or, with focus on the subject: **Maana/ mosheleze Omari/ fatuurá.**

Maana/ wa Aasha/ mosheezo sabuuni/ fakeete. ‘The child whom Aasha washed with soap ran away.’ (Although MI was uncomfortable

with the relative head functioning as the direct object in an instrumental applied verb construction, other consultants accepted a sentence such as the present one.)

Muke/ mwosheleze mwaana/ saabuni. ‘The woman used soap to wash the child.’ (Phon. In the instrumental applied construction, the instrument, here **saabuni**, cannot be focused. In the pronunciation of this sentence, there is a radical drop in the pitch of **saabuni** relative to the preceding focused item.)

Sabuuni/ muke/ mwosheleze mwaana/ mkono. ‘Soap, the woman used it to wash the child’s arm.’

k-oshelezanya v. appl. rec.

k-oshelezeka v. appl. p/s.

Mayi aya/ haya’oshelezeki/ mwaana. ‘This water cannot be used to wash the child.’

Mubiidi/ ha’oshelezeki/ chiint’u. ‘Mubiidi cannot be washed for anything (he is so demanding, one can never do it the right way etc.).’

k-oshelezoowa v. appl. pass.

Saabuni/ mwosheleze mwaana/ uso. ‘With soap, she washed the child’s face.’

Saabuni/ yosheleza mwaana/ uso. ‘Soap was used to wash the child’s face.’ (Syn: Observe that the instrument is the passive subject when the verb is an instrumental applied verb. Promotion of the other complement to passive subject is not permitted if **saabuni** remains post-verbal: ***Mwaana/ osheleza sabuuni.** ‘The child was washed using soap.’ The simple form of the verb would be used in this situation: **Mwaana/ osheza uso/ ka sabuuni.** [Lit.] the child was washed the face with soap.’)

Yiikopi/ sabuni ya mwaana/ osheleza usó. ‘Where is the soap that the child was washed the face with?’ Or: **Yiikopi/ sabuni osheleza mwaaná/ usó.** (same meaning) (Syn. Note that in both of these sentences, **mwaana** is the subject of the instrumental applied verb, a situation that is not possible when the instrument is post-verbal. These two sentences are preferred to **Yiikopi/ sabuni yoshele mwaaná/ usó.** ‘Where is the soap that was used to wash the child’s face?’ This latter sentence, where the instrument is the subject of the passive verb, is a grammatical sentence however.)

k-oshoowa v. pass. (osheeza) be washed

maniyi yachilawapo kowoowa/ ni waajibu na takufo koshoowa [st.] ‘when semen comes out, to be washed up is obligatory, and he who dies must be washed’

Mwaana/ osheza mkono. ‘The child was washed the arm.’ (The body part may not be the subject of the passive verb: ***Mkono/ wosheza mwaana.**)

Mwaana/ osheza naa muke. ‘The child was washed by the woman.’

Mwosha mayti/ hoshooowa. ‘The washer of a corpse is washed.’ (A

proverb.)

nama koshwake stoshe ni sahali [st.] ‘meat, its proper washing, do not think that it is easy’

Nguwo/ zosheeza. ‘The clothes were washed.’

rel. nom.

m(w)-oosha n. one who washes

Ebu ya mayti/ hiiwó/ mosha mayti. ‘The one who knows the defect of a corpse is the washer of the corpse.’ (A proverb.)

Mwosha mayti/ hoshoowa. ‘The washer of the corpse will be washed.’ (A

proverb.)

m(w)-oosho n. 3 washing

w-oosho n. 14 washing

m-ooshi, ma-yooshi n. 3,6 [Sw. *moshi* SSED 295] smoke

chimiza mwooshi mwiingine hujuzá [st.] ‘if you ihale (lit. swallow) a scent (lit. smoke) other (than tobacco) it is permitted (during fasting)’

markabu ya mayooshi ‘steamship’

mayoshi haba ‘a little smoke’ (or **mayooshi/ haba**)

mayoshi malusi ‘black smoke’ (or **mayooshi/ malusi**)

mayoshi melpe ‘white smoke’ (or **mayooshi/ melpe**)

mayoshi miingi ‘a lot of smoke’ (or **mayooshi/ miingi**)

Mooshi/ ha’upiki/ chuungu. ‘Smoke does not cook the pot (i.e. the food in the pot).’ (A proverb.)

moshi waa muḷo ‘the fire’s smoke’

ostriika

n. ostrich mussels (like **mooskolo**, but larger)

Mafakhaani/ hupatikana mooskolo/ na ostriiká/ niingi. ‘At Mafakhaani one can find a lot of mussels and **ostriika**.’

-ote

[Sw. *-ote* SSED 357] all (with plural nouns); whole (with singular nouns); [pron.

-ote or **-otte**] (We have not observed a locative form such as **mote* or **ka mote* or **mo mote* parallel to *kote*, *ka kote*, *ko kote*. Also, we have only observed *po pote*, and not **pote* or **ka pote*.)

variant form: **-onte** [pron. **-ont^he**]

cho chote

Wawalimo karka ðiiqi/ nt^ho/ ka sababu/ wo/

nt^hawakuwanaayo/ hattá/ /peesa/ mooyi/ yaa

wo/ kulila chaakuja/ cho chote. ‘They were in great difficulty because they did not have even one coin for them to buy any food with.’

chote [cl.7]

Muusa/ somelee chiwo/ chont^he. ‘Muusa read the whole book.’

(Phon. Notice that in this example, **chont^he** is not included in the same phrase as the noun it modifies. This seems to indicate that it is out of focus, as can be seen from the data from a final-accent triggering verb: **Mi/ (n)somelee chiwó/ chont^he.** ‘I read the whole book.’

ka kote

Nichimereje chibuukuchá/ ka kote/ skishpata. ‘I looked everywhere for my book, (but) I didn’t find it.’

ko kote

Ko kote/ we/ takeendró/ takhpata kaazi. ‘Wherever you go, you will get a job.’ **review whether kote is PP-final here**
always or whether final vowel could lengthen in front of /we/

kote/ kont^he

Humero zont^hé/ huṭowa kont^he. ‘The one who searches for (or: demands) all misses all ([lit.] everywhere).’ (A proverb.)

Kote/ mahaḷaa ye/ olosheló/ nt^hakhpandoowa. ‘Every place that

he went, he was not loved.’ Or: **Mahaḷaa ye/ olosheló/ kote/ nt^hakhpendoowa.**

Kote/ ni bahari/ tu. ‘Everywhere it is just the sea.’

Nmereelé/ kote/ skishpata. ‘I looked for it all over, (but) I did not find it.’

Omari/ merele zibuuku/ kont^he. ‘He looked for the books

everywhere.’

po pote

Ziweke po pote. ‘Put them anywhere!’ Or: **Ziweeke/ po pote.**

wo wote

Sultaani/ amri iyi/ nii nk^hulu/ naami/ nt^haku muunt^hu/ wo

wotte/ takhaadiró/ kawanya tawalá/ jis’iyó. ‘Sultan, this order is too big for me, there is no one whatsoever who would be able to divide the sea in this way.’

wote [cl.2]

kashṭanda wotté/ wiitú ‘ifhe insulted all of us’; but also:

kashṭaandá/ wotte/ wiitu (where **wotte/ wiitu** is a kind of afterthought) or **kashṭanda wotté/ wiitu** (where **wiitu** is a kind of afterthought)

Mwaarabu/ wote/ wamalizopoo kuja/ chimpa khaadimu/ amri/ shikaa luti/ ili/ kumbiga/ ndruttii miya/ na khamsiini/ mwanaamke. ‘The Arab, when they had all finished eating, ordered the servant: take this stick and strike the girl one hundred and fifty blows.’

Niwachimbize waaná/ wotte. ‘I expelled all the children.’ Or: **Niwachimbize waaná/ wotté.** Or: **Niwachimbize wotté/ waana.** But not: ***Niwachimbize wotté/ waaná.**)

Si/ wote/ chisimeeme. ‘We all stood up.’ Or: **Si/ chisimeeme/**

wote. ‘We stood up, all (of us).’ Or: **Si/ chisimeeme wote.**

‘We stood up all.’ (Phon. Notice that in the last example, **-ote** phrases with the verb. Note also that **-ote** does not trigger the lengthening of the preceding word-final vowel. **Another point that needs mentioning is that we did not note final accent being triggered by the first person plural subject prefix.**)

Waana/ wotte/ wa’ile. ‘All the children came.’ (Phon. It is not acceptable to join **waana** into a phrase with **wotte**: ***Wana wotte/ wa’ile.**) (Syn. It is possible for **wotte** to be postposed after the verb, in which case it forms a phrase with the verb: **Waana/ wa’ile wotte.** It is possible for **wotte** to precede **waana**: **Wotte/ waana/ wa’ile.** If **waana** is postposed to sentence-final position, it seems to be an afterthought: **Wotte/ wa’ile/ waana.** ‘All came, (it’s the children I am speaking of).’

Waant^hu/ wotte/ wa’ile. ‘All the people came.’

Wo/ washtaanzile/ wotte/ wiitu. ‘They insulted all of us.’ Or: **Wo/ washtaanzile wotte/ wiitu.** (Phon. The latter example illustrates that it is possible for pre-nominal **-otte** to be phrased with an immediately preceding verb.)

wotte/ wawili ‘both’

wotte/ waawo ‘all of them’ (This construction is only used for [cl.2]; one cannot say ***zotte/ zaawo** ‘all of them’, referring for example to a [cl.10] noun.)

wotte/ wiinu ‘all of you’

Wotte/ wiitu/ choloshelé. ‘We all went.’ Or: **Choloshelé/ wotte/ wiitu.** (It is not acceptable for **wiitu** to precede **wotte**:

***Wiitu/ wotte/ choloshelé.** Postposing **wotte** is also unacceptable: ***Wiitu/ choloshele wotté.**)

wote [cl. 14]

Bakayle/ chiingila/ chimpa ngombe waa gisi/ uki habbamó/ chimwambila ngoombe/ uyu/ kamaa we/ nakhsulá uki wote/ mbele/ nikhufuunge/ miilu/ na mikonó/ chimaliza/ nikhupe. ‘Hare entered and gave Buffalo a little bit of honey and told this buffalo: if you want all the honey, first, let me tie your legs and arms, then I will give it to you.’

Nifunzile milaangó/ yotté. ‘I closed all the doors.’

yote [cl.4]

miti/ yotte ‘all the trees’

yote [cl.6]

Ahdi/ ya maraa piili/ iwaaliko/ ya kuwa takshindroowá/ takuna maayi/ ya tawala yotte. ‘The promise of the second time was that the one who was defeated would drink all of the water in the sea.’ (Phon. Although **-otte** is often isolated from a preceding word, in this example we did not observe a phrasal break in front of **yotte**.)

Chimwaambila/ ya kuwa magozi/ yotte/ yawozele. ‘He told him that all the skins got rotten.’

Kamaa we/ hukhaadiri/ kawanya tawala/ jis’iyo/ lete maaliyo/ yotte/ mpe uyu islaamu/ shpate kumaliza/ amri iyi. ‘If you cannot divide the sea in this way, bring all your wealth and give it to this Muslim so that we get to finalize this matter.’

majiwe/ yotte ‘all the stones’

yote [cl.9]

Mahala iyi/ yote/ ndaaká. ‘This whole place is mine.’

Nt^hakhusaameha/ laakini/ ka sharti/ mooyi/ we/ ni laazima/ kundripila khasaara/ imp^hee^{tó}/ yotte. ‘I will forgive you but on one condition: you must repay me the loss that befell me, all.’

Numba iyi/ yote/ ndaaká. ‘This whole house is mine.’ Or: **Numba iyi/ ndaaká/ yote.** ‘This house is mine, all of it.’

numba/ yotte ‘the whole house, all of the house’

zote [cl.8]

Ali/ boozele/ so/ zibuuku/ zotte. ‘Has Ali stolen all the books?’ Or: **Ali/ boozele/ zibuuku/ zotte/ so.** Or: **Ali/ bozele zibuuku/ zotte/ so.** Or: **Ali/ zibuuku/ bozele zotte/ so.** (But it does not appear to be acceptable to locate **so** between **zibuuku** and **zotte**: ***Ali/ bozele zibuuku/ so/ zotte**.)

Chimwambila waawaye/ kuwaa ye/ chiwona/ schitulukó/ zotte/ ka darbiniyé. ‘She told her father that she had seen all the things that happened with her binoculars.’ **did not hear final accent on zotte, need to check into this further**

mbele ya zont^he ‘first of all [lit. before all (things), where the noun **ziint^hu** is implicit]’

Mi/ (n-)somelee ziwó/ zont^he. ‘I read all the books.’

Muusa/ someele/ zibuuku/ zont^he. ‘Muusa read all the books.’

Mwanaamke/ huwono zotté/ zinakhtulukó/ weene/ zimpeto Hasani. ‘The girl sees all [the things] that have happened, [the things] that have befallen Hasani.’

Nimpele Nafiisá/ zibuuku/ zotte. ‘I gave Nafiisa all the books.’ (Phon. Observe that the final accent cannot extend past the first complement to the verb in this example: ***Nimpele Nafiisá/ zibuukú/ zotté**, and ***Nimpele Nafiisá/ zibuukú/ zotte**, are both unacceptable.

Nuzilee zisú/ zont^he. ‘I bought the books, all of them.’ Or: **Nuzilee**

zisú/ zont^he. ‘I bought all the books.’ Or: **Nuuzilé/ zisu/ zont^he.** ‘I bought all the books.’

Nuzilee zítí/ zotté. ‘I bought all the chairs.’

Nuuzilé/ zont^he. ‘I bought all of them.’ Or: **Nuzile zont^he.** ‘I bought all of them.’

Shtungulu chimooyi/ huwoza zont^he. ‘One onion can spoil all (the others).’ (A proverb.)

Zibuuku/ zotte/ spiile. ‘All the books burned.’ (Phon. It is not grammatical for **zibuuku** to be joined into the same phrase as **zotte**: ***Zibuku zotte/ spisile.**)

Zibuuku/ zotte/ ziboozele. ‘All the books were stolen.’

Zont^he/ uziló. ‘All of them, he bought.’ (Cf. **Zont^he/ nuuziló.** ‘All of them, I bought.’) (Syn. Fronting of **zont^he** seems generally to involve focusing on **zont^he**, hence the use of the pseudo-relative verb form. Left-dislocation of **zont^he**, without pseudo-relativization, is acceptable: **Zont^he/ uzile.**, but our consultant was not so happy with its use in such a bare-bones sentence as this.)

zote [cl.10]

munt^hu bozelo peesá/ zotté ‘the man who stole all the money’
(In the case of a relative clause, it is normal for **-otte** to be

in the scope of the final accent associative with such clauses. The following are unacceptable: ***munt^hu bozelo peesá/ zotte** or ***munt^hu boozeló/ peesa/ zotte.**)

ngoombe/ zotte ‘all the cows’

Nizijile ndrímú/ zotté. ‘I ate all the lemons.’

piicha/ zotte ‘all the pictures’

Wajile nt^heendre/ zotte/ wajiiló. ‘They had eaten all the dates, that’s what they had done.’ Or: **Wajile nt^heendre/ wajiiló/ zotte.** ‘They had eaten the dates, that’s what they had done, all.’

Ye/ chiwaa dawa/ zotte/ na chiwa maraði/ yotte. ‘He was all medicine and sickness (i.e. he was concerned with nothing but medicine and sickness).’

ye/ kampa Aweesú/ peesá/ zotté ‘if he gave Aweesu all the money’, but also: **ye/ kampa Aweesú/ peesá/ zotte** and **ye/ kumpa Aweesú/ peesa/ zotte.**

Zijile ndrímú/ zotté. ‘You ate all the lemons.’ Cf. **Zijile ndrímú/ zotte.** ‘He ate all the lemons.’

Zote/ wanaafakhi. ‘All lies!’ (An answer, for example, to the question: **Nazooyi/ kooðize?** ‘How do you see/ take what he said?’)

k-ootela

v. (**oteele**) cover oneself with a cloth in the application of **bukhuuri** (a vapor made from burning certain herbs and used for medicinal purposes or as a scent); fumigate, smoke (e.g. **mtuungi** ‘a large pot for carrying and storing water’) rel.

k-otelela v. appl. (**otelelele**)

k-oteleloowa v. appl. pass.

k-oteleloowa v. pass.

k-oooteza v. caus. make breathe in the fumes from the **cheetezo**, a small clay receptacle in which a fire is put and aromatic leaves are burnt (the **cheetezo** is passed around at a wedding or funeral, as part of the traditional customs of the Bravanese); fumigate s.t.

koteza mtuungi/ ka lbaani ‘to fumigate a large water pot with **lbaani**, a kind of incense’

koteza nuumba/ ka lbaani/ ka cheetezo ‘to fumigate, smoke the house

with **ibaani** using a **cheetezo** – this is done early in the morning traditionally in the belief that this will deny entrance to the devil, while opening the house for angels and blessings to enter; the smoke from the **cheetezo** is said to rise up to the sky’

k-otezoowa v. caus. pass.

Muke/ naayé/ huveshoowa/ nguwo/ nelpe/ nađiifa/ hotezoowa/ jisa suura. ‘The woman also will be dressed with new clothes, white, clean, [and] will be fumigated with incense thoroughly.’

k-oova

v. [cf. Sw. *lowa* "get wet, be soaked (drenched, saturated), be damp" SSED 249] roll out dough; mix (e.g. cement)

Abdalla/ shtomola makharba/ haba mooyi/ shpoondra/ chova ka maayi/ chimpa mwanamke hakhaadirí. ‘Abdalla took out a few leaves and crushed them and mixed them with water and gave them to the girl who was sick.’

kova matuzi ‘to join in and participate in a corrupt situation; to “do as the Romans do”, but with a connotation of doing something corrupt, evil’

Nakova naawó/ matuzi. ‘I am doing as they do.’

k-oova

v. slander **check, sandra had not heard**
rel.

k-oovana v. slander one another

-oow-

passive suffix

Hukahatoowa. ‘x is hated.’

Hupelekoowa/ chiwooni. ‘He is sent to koranic school.’

k-oowa

v. [Sw. *oga* SSED 350] (*owelee*) bathe

Chimwamura Sa’iidi/ koowa/ muda/ wa skuu saba. ‘She ordered Sa’iidi to bathe for a period of seven days.’

Hambiloowa/ ndooni/ endraani/ wanawake awo/ wawiliwe/ wanakoowó. ‘They (the children) are told: come, go (where) those girls, the two of them, are bathing.’

Karka sa’aa ne/ za masku/ wake/ na wabli/ waana/ na wazeelé/ wote/ hendra tawala/ koowa. ‘At the [lit.] fourth hour of the evening, women and men, children and adults, all, go to the beach to bathe.’

malizopo koowá ‘when he finished bathing’

Mgeeni/ nt^haasá/ nakoowa. ‘The guest is still bathing.’

Mgeeni/ nt^haasá/ nt^hakumaliza/ koowa. ‘The guest has not finished bathing.’

Mgeeni/ nt^haasá/ umu chooloni/ nakoowa. ‘The guest is still in the bathroom bathing.’

Nakhsulaa ni/ (n)soowe. ‘He wants that you (pl.) not bathe.’ (Note that it is not possible for the second person plural subject marker to follow the negative subjunctive element in this active verb: ***Nakhsulaa ni/ sinoowe.** The passive verb is different. One may have either **Nakhsulaa ni/ (n)soshoowa.** or **Nakhsulaa ni/ sinoshoowa.** ‘He wants that you (pl.) not be washed.’ We have no explanation for this variation in the passive.)

Nch^howa wowiini. ‘I was bathing in the river.’ Or (with the location outside the focus): **Nch^hoowa/ wowiini.**

Nt^hanakoowa. ‘He is not bathing.’

Nimene choowá/ wowiini. ‘I saw him bathing in the river.’ Or: **Nimene chowa wowiini.** Or, emphasizing the location: **Nimene wowiini/ choowa.**

a bath now.’

Nnakoowá/ isa. ‘I am taking a bath now.’ Cf. **Nnakoowa/ isa.** ‘He is taking

taking a bath today.’

Nnakoowá/ leelo. ‘I am taking a bath today.’ Cf. **Nakoowa/ leelo.** ‘He is

Nowele wowiini. ‘I bathed in the river.’ Or (with the location outside the

focus): **Noweelé/ wowiini.**

Oloshela tawala/ koowa. ‘He went to the beach to bathe’

Owá. ‘Take a bath!’

Owá/ isa. ‘Take a bath now!’ (Cf. **Owa isa.** ‘It’s now that you should take a bath!’)

Owá/ leelo. ‘Take a bath today!’ (Cf. **Owa leelo.** ‘It’s today that you should take a bath!’)

Wake awa/ wa’ingile mutooni/ koowa. ‘These women entered the river to bathe.’

Waana/ wa’owelee. ‘The children washed themselves.’

rel.

k-oosha v. caus. (**osheeze**) bathe s.o.

Nosheze kaa nguvu. ‘He washed me by force.’

Nosheze mzimawa. ‘He washed me all over.’

k-ooowela v. appl. [Sw. *ogea* SSED 350] (**oweleele**) bathe in, with

Munt^hu uyu/ oweleele tawala. ‘This man bathed in the sea.’ Or: **Munt^hu uyu/ oweleele/ tawala.**

Sultaani/ chamura moojé/ khfanyilizowa mayi mamulo/ koowela. ‘The sultan ordered for his master to be prepared hot water to bathe with.’

k-ooowesha v. caus. [Sw. *ogesha* SSED 350] cause to bathe

Nowesheze kaa nguvu. ‘Forcefully he made me wash up.’

Nowesheze mzimawa. ‘He made me wash all over (thoroughly).’

k-owoowa v. pass.

Kowowa tawala/ masku aya/ inayo ma’ana ma’aluumu/ laakini/ mi/ isa/ skuumbuki. ‘For bathing to be done at the beach this evening (Ashuura) has a specific meaning, but I do not remember now what it is.’

k-ooowela

v. [Sw. *ogelea* SSED 350] (**oweleele**) swim (with the arms coming out of the water)

E/ we/ mweenza/ mi/ khurasheeyi/ mi/ ni/ hayawani wa maduuri/ siisi/ koowela. ‘O, you, friend, how am I to go with you, I am an animal of the bush, I do not know how to swim.’

koowela/ kana mp^haamp^ha ‘to swim like a shark’

koowela/ kanaa nsi ‘to swim like a fish’

kowelake ‘his/ her/ its swimming’

Mi/ siisi/ koowela. ‘I do not know how to swim.’

Mp^haamp^ha/ na nfuye/ ilu ya moongó/ chanza koowela. ‘The shark, with the monkey on its back, began to swim.’

Nch^howela chisarwani chigobe. ‘I used to swim in short pants.’ (Note that

the stem *-owela* is used here as an applied verb, although it lacks the applied morphology. There *is* an applied verb form *k-oweleele*, see below. Interestingly, the applied verb forms its perfect in an identical way to the perfect of the simple verb. This has perhaps led to some falling together of the simple and the applied verb.)

Noloshele Duudé/ ka koowela. ‘I swam to Duude (lit. I went to Duude by swimming).’

Noweelele wowiini. ‘I swam in the river.’ (Cf. **wowi yaa mi/ noweelele** ‘the river that I swam in’.)

Oweleele kanaa nt^hupu. ‘He swam naked.’

Oweleele munt^hi mzima. ‘He swam the whole day.’

Wachoowela/ ka himaahima/ kudirka jaziira. ‘They swam quickly to reach the island.’

rel.

k-oweleka v. p/s. [Sw. *ogeleka* SSED 350] (**owelekeshela**, a form based on a doubling of the p/s. extension) be swimmable

k-oweleele v. appl. (**oweleele** – a form that is indistinguishable from the perfect of the simple verb stem)

Nakoweleele kamardaariyo. ‘He is swimming with an inner tube.’

k-oweeloowa v. pass. (**-oweleele**)

rel. nom.

- ma-'owelo* n. 6 the act of swimming
ma'owelowe masuura 'his good swimming'
- owla* [Sw. *aula* SSED 21; Ar. *ūlā* W 35] better
hujuzā laakini owla ni khkamila [st.] 'it is permitted (to not perform acts of worship) but better to complete them'
owla kula ka qalbiya/ kuwa kaliili sabriya [st.] '[but] it is better to cry with my heart, for my patience has diminished'
- owo* dem. [cl.3] that one near you
Uvundishiló/ (ni) muti owo. 'What broke is that tree.'
Uvundishiló/ muti owo/ Omari. 'What broke is Omari's tree.'
woowo/ owo 'that same one near you'
muti woowo/ owo 'that very same tree'
- owtamaatika* adj. automatic
khori owtamaatika 'an automatical gun'
- ox* ideol. [cf. *qux* "to cough" cited in Dhoorre & Tosco, p. 150] of coughing
Hamadi/ nakhkolola/ ox ox. 'Hamadi was coughing **oxox.**'
- oyo* [cl.1] demonstrative pronoun; this pronoun may be realized as {oo} as well as {oyo}
Ba'adaa ye/ kingila ndraani/ chiwa teena/ nakhkoðakoða na oyo mwaarabu. 'After he went inside, he began then talking with that Arab.'
Basi/ hattá/ leelo/ oyo mubli/ chiwa hakhaadiri/ chifa. 'So, until one day the man became sick and died.'
Basi/ oyo mwiimbili/ naankhó/ shfakata/ cheendra/ shtukula oyoo nsi/ naankhó/ shpeleka/ chimwambila oyo mwanaamke/ oyo mwanaamke/ chimwambila waawaye/ izo jawaabu. 'So that boy, again, he ran and went and carried that fish, again, and took it and told that girl, and that girl told her father about those matters.'
Chibigoowa/ ndrutize khamsiini/ oyo mkulu wa mawaardiya. 'He was struck his fifty blows, that head of the guards.'
Hasiibu/ munt^hi oyo/ chirashmanya na jiraani/ chendra khtinda skunyi. 'Hasiibu that day followed his neighbors and went to cut firewood.'
Mphuundra/ si oyo naakulá/ naawé/ nakuhada kuwaa ye/ nt^haakó. 'That donkey, isn't he the one who is braying, and you are telling me that he is not here?'
Munt^hu oyo waa we/ meenó/ ni Nuuru. 'That man that you saw is Nuuru.'
Muti oyo/ ni chigobe/ kolko muti uyu. 'That tree is shorter than this tree.'
Muti oyo/ nii mule. 'That tree is tall.'
Mwaana/ shtukulaa nyunyi/ oyo/ chimpelekela sultaani. 'The boy took that bird and took it to the sultan.'
Mwanamke oyo/ ni msuura. 'That girl is beautiful.'
Mwaarabu/ oyo/ chimweegsha/ chimwaambila/ nakalaant^he. 'That Arab welcomed him and told him that he should sit down.'
Namfanyaayí/ maskini o(y)o. 'What do you want from that poor fellow (i.e. quit harrasing him).'
Namfanyaayí/ oyo. 'What do you want from him?'
Oo/ ngoombe/ mbaakó. 'That one, the goat, is yours.' (Note the use of [cl.1] demonstrative for a singular animal.)
Oyo (or: **oo**) **maskiini/ fiile.** 'That poor fellow has passed away.' Or, with focus on the subject: **Oo maskiini/ fiiló.**
oyo muunt^hu 'that man'
Oyo/ nakhuviiló/ ni muunt^hu/ nt^haná/ hattá/ yaa ye/ kuja. 'That man who is calling you has nothing even to eat.'
Oyo/ nii muná. 'That one is my younger brother/sister.'
Uje muunt^hu/ chihada/ mp^huundra/ si oyo/ naakuló/ naawé/ nakuhada

kuwaa ye/ nt^haako. ‘That man said, is the donkey not this one who is braying, and you are saying that he is not here?’

Waziiri/ oyo/ naayé/ oloshéle naaye. ‘That minister also went with him.’
(Phon. Notice how the conjunction **na** triggers final accent when it forms a prosodic word with the pronoun, while **na** ‘with’ does not.)

oyo

[cl.3] demonstrative pronoun

Mkono oyo/ ni mpotofu. ‘That arm is bent, crooked.’

mṭana oyo ‘that room (near you)’

Mtungi oyo/ ni mwelpe. ‘That large pot is white.’

Muti oyo/ ni chigobe/ kolko muti uyu. ‘That tree is shorter than this tree.’

Shfunga safari/ chilawa/ karka muuyi/ oyo. ‘He set out on a journey and left from that town.’

oyo

[cl.14] dem.

Mubjaana/ ni maskiini/ nt^hana maali/ na apó/ karka wakhtī oyo/

nt^haykuwaaliko/ sahali/ munt^hu maskiini/ kumlola munt^hu taajiri. ‘The young man was poor, he did not have money, and there at that time it was not easy for a poor person to marry a rich person.’

pa-

locative element (Many Bantu languages retain robustly the three locative elements **pa* **ku* **mu* from Proto-Bantu. Apart from the demonstratives **apa**, **apo**, and **apaje** and their strengthened forms, Chimiini does not utilize **pa* to any great extent. It appears in the phrase **pamo(oyi)** ‘together’. We recorded it in one example **poloshelepí** ‘where did you take it to?’, but this seems to be rare and marginal at best. Similarly rare, marginal is the form: **Panaa nfuye/ maduriini.** ‘There are monkeys in the bush.’

kh-pa

v. [Sw. *pa* SED 358] (**pee**le) give (Phon. The infinitive prefix *ku* regularly changes to *kh* in front of verb stems that begin with a voiceless obstruent consonant (*p t s ch sh k*); however, it retains its vowel in front of a verb stem with just one syllable -- cf. **kufa** ‘to die’. The stem *-pa* is irregular in that it induces the loss of the vowel in the infinitive and other prefixes.)

Abunawaasi/ shṭomolaa khaṭi/ chimpa Harun Rashiidi. ‘Abunawaasi took out the letter and gave it to Harun Rashiidi.’ (Syn. A sequence of verbs in the *chi*-narrative past tense often can be translated by introducing the conjunction ‘and’ between them.)

Hamadi/ hupeenda/ khpa waant^hu/ peesa. ‘Hamadi likes to give people money.’

Hamadi/ kampa Omari/ peesá/ (Omari) sula kuwa oloshéle. ‘If Hamadi had given Omari money, (Omari) would have gone.’ It is possible to reverse the order of the clauses: **Omari/ sula kuwa oloshéle/ Hamadi/ kampa peesá.** ‘Omari would have gone if Hamadi had given him money.’)

Hamadi/ mpele mwaana/ chibuku cha Nuuru. ‘Hamadi gave the child Nuuru’s book.’ Or (at least in the speech of MI): **Hamadi/ mpele mwaana/ chibukuche Nuuru.** Or: **Chibukuche Nuuru/ Hamadi/ mpele mwaana.** Or: **Nuuru/ chibuukuche/ Hamadi/ mpele mwaana.** (Syn: But for some reason, MI did not accept: **Hamadi/ mpele mwaana/ Nuuru/ chibuukuche.* This point needs further research.)

Keesho/ nt^hakhupaa nguwo/ na riiwú/ kumpeleka. ‘Tomorrow I will give you clothes and gifts to take to her.’

khpa ndila ‘to continue to act as though one is right, even though one knows he is wrong’

khpa ruuhuye/ ndila ‘to justify oneself (lit. to give oneself the way, path)’

Khpa sadakha/ ni suura. ‘To give charity is good.’

kumpa bakhsha huundru ‘to fire s.o. (lit. to give someone a red envelope)’ – this expression is derived from the Italian practice of “bustagialla”, where written notification of dismissal is required and this notification would typically come in a yellow envelope; the term was particularly in use about 1964 when new Somali Prime Minister Abdirizak dismissed many civil servants, but is now obsolete and not recognized by younger speakers)

Maajimu/ mpele maana/ chibuuku. ‘The teacher gave the child a book.’

(Cf. It is possible for the subject of this sentence, **maalimu**, to be the head of a corresponding relative clause: **maalimu mpelo maaná/ chibuukú...** ‘the teacher who gave the child a book...’ It is also possible for **mwaana** to be the head of a corresponding relative clause: **mana wa maalimu/ mpelo chibuukú...** ‘the child whom the teacher gave a book...’ And it is also possible for **chibuuku** to be the head of a corresponding relative clause: **chibuku cha maalimu/ mpelo maaná** ‘the book that the teacher gave the child...’)

Maana/ chiiza/ kumpa. ‘The boy refused to give it to him.’

Mana gani/ mpelo chibuukú. ‘Which child did you give a book?’

given.’

Maana/ pela peesa/ peelá. ‘The child was given money, that’s what he was

Mi/ siná/ ^fchiint^hu/ khpa. ‘I do not have anything to give.’

Mp^hele balani/ keendra. ‘He gave me a promise (that he would) go.’ (cf.

Nimpele balani/ keendrá. ‘I promised him (that I would) go.’)

Mp^hele zibuukú/ madrasá. ‘I gave books to the school.’

Mpeelé/ Tuumá/ peesá? ‘Did you give Tuuma money?’ (A possible answer: **Ee/ nimpeelé/ Tuuma/ peesa.** ‘Yes, I gave Tuuma money.’)

Mpeelení/ maana. ‘What have you given the child?’ Or: **Maana/ mpeelení.**

Mpeete/ munt^hu (oyo) mpelo Omari/ peesá. ‘He *found* the man who gave Omari money.’ Or without focus on higher verb: **Mpete munt^hu (oyo) mpelo Omari/ peesá.**

Muké/ chimpá/ maaná/ peesá/ teená. ‘If the woman gives the child money, what then?’ Or: **Teená/ muké/ chimpá/ maaná/ peesá.**

Munt^hu mpelo Jaamá/ peesá/ ni Nuuru. ‘The man who gave Jaama money is Nuuru.’ (Phon. Examples like this show that a phonological phrase cannot be identified with a syntactic phrase, since the first PP in this example: **munt^hu mpelo Jaamá** ‘man (who) gave Jaama’ is obviously not a syntactic unit. It is also possible to have the phrasing: **Muunt^hu/ mpelo Omari/ peesá/ ni Nuuru.**)

Munt^hu oyo mpelo Omari/ peesá/ ni Nuuru. ‘That man who gave Omari money is Nuuru.’ Or: **Muunt^hu/ oyo/ mpelo Omari/ peesá/ ni Nuuru.**

Munt^hu wa Jaani/ mpelo chibuukú/ ile. ‘The man whom John gave a book came.’

munt^hu wapelo waant^hú/ woté/ peesá ‘the man who gave all the people money’

Muusa/ mpele maana/ chibuuku. ‘Muusa has given the child a book.’ Or: **Muusa/ mpele ^fmaana/ chibuuku.** (Both of these sentences have a variant where the post-verbal noun is focused: **Muusa/ mpele ^fmaana/ chibuuku.** And: **Muusa/ mpele ^fchibuuku/ maana.** The presence of focus on the post-verbal noun is revealed by the corresponding simple yes-no questions where the out-of-focus complement undergoes accent shift: **Muusa/ mpele ^fmaana/ chibuukú?** and **Muusa/ mpele ^fchibuuku/ maaná?** It is possible to focus a complement even if it is not in post-verbal position: **Muusa/ mpele maana/ ^fchibuuku.**)

Muusa/ mpeele/ maana/ chibuuku. ‘Muusa has *given* the child a book.’ (This sentence involves verb focus. Both complements are out-of-focus. In the corresponding simple yes-no question, both complements undergo accent shift: **Muusa/ mpeele/ maaná/ chibuukú?**)

Muusa/ nt^hakuwapa/ waana/ maandra. ‘Muusa did not give the children bread.’ Or, putting focus on the subject: **Muusa/ nt^hakuwapa waaná/ maandrá.** ‘*Muusa* did not give the children bread.’ (Phon. In main clauses, a negative verb is ordinarily phrase-final, as in the first example. However, in relative clauses – even pseudo-relative clauses – this phrasing is not operative. The first complement to the negative relative verb joins it in a phonological phrase. In the second sentence, it is only the final accent that reveals the pseudo-

relative structure in the verb phrase; while affirmative active verbs end in the vowel –o in relative clauses, the negative verbs retain their final vowel.)

Muusa/ wapele waana/ maandra. ‘Muusa gave the children bread.’ Or, with topicalization of the indirect object: **Waana/ Muusa/ wapele maandra.** ‘Bread, Muusa gave the children.’ Or, with a preposed focused indirect object: **Waana/ Muusa/ wapelo maandra.** ‘Children, Muusa gave them bread.’ Observe that when the preposed object is focused and not topicalized, then the verb is put into the pseudo-relative form. It is possible to make the focus very explicit by locating the copular *ni* in front of the focused element: **Ni waana/ Muusa/ wapelo maandra.** ‘It is the children whom Muusa gave bread.’

Muusa/ wapelo waaná/ maandra. ‘Muusa gave the children bread.’ (Syn. Focus may be put on the subject by converting the verb to a pseudo-relative form. The focus may be made more explicit by preceding the subject with the copula *ni*: **Ni Muusa/ wapelo waaná/ maandra.**)

Na mp^ha majiibu/ kahima. ‘And give me the answer quickly.’

Nama/ jaani/ mishpa/ mp^haani. ‘Meat, you (pl.) eat! Bones, you (pl.) give to me!’ (A proverb.)

Naani/ mpelo Jaamá/ chibuukú. ‘Who gave Jaama a book?’ (Syn. The relative form of the verb is required. It is ungrammatical to say: *Naani/ mpele Jaama/ chibuuku.)

Naani/ nt^hampa Omari/ peesá. ‘Who did not give Omari money?’ (Observe that in the question, the immediately following complement may phrase with the negative verb. The answer to this question has the same phrasing, with the verb in what we refer to as the ‘pseudo-relative’ form: **Nuuru/ nt^hampa Omari/ peesá.** ‘It is Nuuru who gave Omari money.’)

Naani/ nt^hampá/ Omari/ peesa. ‘Who *didn't* give Omari money?’

Naani/ mi/ simpe peesá. ‘Who shouldn't I give money?’ (There is declination between the pre-verbal elements, but clear downstepping of the verb phrase.) Or: **Naani/ mi/ peesa/ simpé.** ‘Who I money should not give him?’ (Again, declination in the preverbal elements, but the verb is downstepped.)

Nimeené/ oo muunt^hu/ mpelo Hamadí/ peesá. ‘I saw the man who gave Hamadi money.’ (The relative clause in this example has no internal focus, and is downstepped relative to **muunt^hu**, which itself does not exhibit radical downstepping.)

Nimeené/ (oo) muunt^hu/ mpeeló/ Hamadi/ peesá. ‘I saw the man who gave Hamadi money.’ (The prosody of this example sentence is somewhat complex. The main verb is focused, hence the phrasal separation of the main verb from its complement **muunt^hu**. This focus also explains why the final accent from the main verb does not extend to the complement. However, it is also the case that the complement is not radically downstepped. This contrasts with a sentence like **Nimeené/ Omari.** ‘I saw Omari.’, where the complement is radically downstepped. Furthermore, notice that the relative verb **mpeeló** is also focused, as indicated by its phrasal separation from its complements. The effect of this focus seems to be that while the first complement may fail to exhibit the final accent triggered by the relative verb, the second complement nevertheless exhibits this final accent. Further research is required as to whether this pattern is

Nimeené/ muunt^hu/ mpelo ^fHamadí/ peesá. ‘I saw the man who gave Hamadi money.’ (The failure of **Hamadi** to undergo radical downstepping indicates that it bears focus. The next complement nevertheless did exhibit the final accent associated with the relative verb.

Nimpele bałani/ kuwaa mi/ nt^hakeendra. ‘I gave him a promise that I would go.’ (Phon. In this example, there is emphasis on **bałani**, which accounts for the fact that the final accent triggered by the main verb does not extend to the end of the complement clause.)

Nimpele Jaamá/ kujá. ‘I gave Jaama food.’

Nimpele maaná/ chibuukú. ‘I gave the child a book.’ (The verb **-pa** takes two objects: the indirect object functions as “primary” object and governs agreement on the verb, while the logical direct object functions as a “secondary” object. We should note that a reflexive pronoun must function as the primary object, thus one cannot say:

***Nimpele maaná/ ruuhuyá.** ‘I gave myself to the child.’ The word order of the complements may be inverted without affecting the prosody: **Nimpele chibuukú/ maaná.** ‘I gave a book to the child.’)

Nimpele fmaaná/ chibuuku. ‘I gave the *child* money.’ Cf. **Nimpele fchibuukú/ maana.** ‘I gave a *book* to the child.’ (In these two examples, the first complement after the verb is focused; as a result, the final accent triggered by the verb may not project to the second complement.)

Nimpeelé/ maana/ chibuuku. ‘I have *given* the child a book.’ (This example differs from the one immediately above in that the verb is focused and thus has a phrase break after it. Note that the final accent triggered by the first person singular past tense verb does not project past the verb onto the complement(s). We refer to this as the Accentual Law of Focus.)

Nimpele maaná/ chibuukú/ skołaaní. ‘I gave the child a book at school.’

But it is perhaps more common to put the locative outside the scope of the final accent: **Nimpele maaná/ chibuukú/ skołaani.**

With focus on **maana**: **Nimpele maaná/ chibuuku/ skołaani.** It is possible to put the locative into the IAV position, in which case the final accent does not extend past it: **Nimpele skołaaní/ maana/ chibuuku.** Or: **Nimpele skołaani/ chibuuku/ maana.**

Nimpele maaná/ peesá. ‘I gave the child money.’

Nimpele maaná/ fpeesá. ‘I gave the child *money*.’ (In this sentence, the noun **peesá** is focused *in situ*. Its pitch is raised and thus contrasts with a sentence such as: **Nimpele fmaaná/ peesá.** ‘I gave the *child* money.’ In this latter sentence, **peesá** is downstepped while **maana** bears the higher pitch associated with focus.)

Nimpele maaná/ fpeesá/ yana. ‘I gave the child *money* yesterday.’ (In this example **peesá** is focused *in situ* by being raised in pitch. But notice that despite the final-accent triggering verb, **peesá** is not in the scope of this final accent. The time adverb **yana**, as usual, is downstepped in pitch. However, our consultant also gave: **Nimpele maaná/ fpeesá/ yana.** It needs to be explored whether this is also a valid option.)

Nimpele muunt^hú/ deení. ‘I paid the man the debt.’ Or: [**Deeni/ nimpeelé/**
↓
muunt^hu.]

Nimpele muunt^hú/ zawaadí. ‘I gave someone a gift.’ Or: **Muunt^hu/**
nimpele zawaadí. Or: **Zawaadí/ nimpeelé/ muunt^hu.**

Nnakhsulá khupa peesá. ‘I want to give you money.’

Npeelení. ‘What did you pl. give?’ (A possible answer: **Shepele peesá.** ‘We gave money.’)

Nt^hakhupaa dawa. ‘I will give you medicine (for that).’

Nt^hampa mwanaamke/ chibuuku. ‘I will give the girl a book.’ Or:
Nt^hampa chibuuku/ mwanaamke.

Nt^hawampa. or **Want^hampa.** ‘They did not give him it.’

Nuuru/ mp^hele balani/ kuwaa ye/ takeendra. ‘Nuuru promised me that he would not go.’

Nuuru/ mpele maana/ fpeesá. ‘Nuuru gave the child *money*.’ (Note that this example, where **peesá** is focused *in situ* by means of pitch raising, contrasts with **Nuuru/ mpele fmaana/ peesá.** In this latter sentence, where **maana** is focused, **peesá** is downstepped.)

Nuuru/ mpele maana/ peesá/ mpeeló. ‘Nuuru gave the child money, that’s what he did’

Nuuru/ mpele maana/ fpeesá/ niingi. ‘Nuuru gave the child a lot of *money*.’ (This example illustrates focus, in the form of high pitch, on **peesá** in an *in situ* position. It should be noted that **niingi**, which is phrasally separated from **peesá**, is not downstepped, but rather itself somewhat raised in pitch.)

Nuuru/ mpele maana/ fpeesá/ yana. ‘Nuuru gave the child *money* yesterday.’ (The noun **peesá** is focused *in situ* by raising its pitch. The following time adverbial is downstepped.)

Nuuru/ mpele Omari/ peesá. ‘Nuuru gave Omari money.’ (This sentence has canonical downstep intonation. In the simple yes-no question, there is no accent shift. In the exclamatory question, we find shift in the two phonological phrases that constitute the VP: **Nuuru/ mpele Omari/ peesá!?**)

fNuuru/ mpelo Omari/ peesá. ‘It’s Nuuru who gave Omari money.’

Nuuru/ nt^h ampa/ Omari/ peesa. ‘Nuuru did not give Omari money.’ (Both of the complements to the negative verb are out-of-focus. This is verified by the corresponding yes-no question: **Nuuru/ nt^h ampa/ Omari/ peesá.** Out-of-focus complements in yes-no questions undergo a shift of the accent to the final syllable. In the exclamatory question, the verb also undergoes accent-shift: **Nuuru/ nt^h ampa/ Omari/ peesâ!?**)

Nuuru/ (waliko) shpa waana/ zibuuku. ‘Nuuru/ was giving children books.’

Oloka maamo/ nakhubaanishe/ nakhupe chakuja chisuura. ‘Go to your mother (and) let her nourish you and give you good food.’

Peesa/ mi/ ^fmwaana/ simpé. ‘Money I the *child* don’t give (i.e. I shouldn’t give money to the *child*.’ (The raised pitch on ‘child’ indicates that it is the focus. The verb is downstepped. The focused pre-verbal element typically triggers pseudo-relativization of the verb, but the form **simpé** is ambiguous as to whether it is pseudo-relative or not. A (pseudo-)relative verb always has final accent, but the negative imperative also has final accent. A (pseudo-)relative verb changes the final vowel to *o* in certain tenses, but since the negative imperative verb cannot be used as a true relative, we have no independent evidence that the negative imperative would be susceptible to the change to *o*.) Or: **^fMwaana/ mi/ peesa/ simpé.** ‘The *child* I money I should not give him.’ (The verb is downstepped. The pre-verbal elements show some declination.) Or: **^fMwaana/ simpe peesá/ mi.** ‘The *child* I shouldn’t give him money, me.’ (It is clear that the initial preposed complement is focused, since it is this focus that draws focus away from the verb and allows the verb to be in the same phrase as **peesá**.)

Peesa/ mi/ simpe naaní. ‘Money, me, whom should I not give?’ (The focus on **naani** explains why the negative imperative verb is not phrase-final: the default focus of a negative verb gives way to the focus on the complement. It should be observed that the final accent on **naani** does not have a falling quality and thus is not as easily perceived as most final H syllables. **This lack of a fall seems to be a feature of questions.**)

Peesa/ nimpéle Tuumá. ‘Money, I gave to Tuuma.’ Or: **^fPeesa/ Tuumá/ nimpeeló.** ‘Money to Tuuma I gave.’ Or: **Tuumá/ nimpeeló/ peesa.** ‘Tuuma I gave money.’

^fPeesa/ simpe Tuumá. ‘Money don’t give to Tuuma!’
^fPeesa/ simpe Tuumá/ mpee kuja. ‘Money don’t give to Tuuma, give food!’

pesa zaa mi/ nnakhsulo khupá ‘the money that I want to give you’ (Phon. Notice that although a word-final vowel typically lengthens inside a phrase in front of a CVCV, this does not happen in front of **khupa**. There is some evidence that this lengthening never occurs before a verb word, rather only before the other word classes.)

Omari/ chaakuja/ mpele Jaama. ‘As for the food, Omari gave it to Jaama.’ (Syn. Observe that the topicalized object **chaakuja** may be located between the subject and verb.)

Omari/ mpele Nureeni/ peesa. ‘Omari gave Nureeni money.’ Or, with verb-focus: **Omari/ mpee/ Nureeni/ peesa.** (Phon. Phrasing alone does not reveal all prosodic contrasts. For instance, the transcription: **Omari/ mpele Nureeni/ peesa.** fails to capture the difference between two prosodic realizations of this sentence. Specifically, there is one pronunciation where there is no narrow focus; in this pronunciation, there is simply downstep intonation across the sentence. The second pronunciation is somewhat different. There is focus on **Nureeni**. This noun is followed by a slight pause, and the following word **peesá** is somewhat more radically lowered than in the downstep intonation case. It should be noted that **Nureeni** does not necessarily receive raised pitch and thus the drop in pitch after it is not so clear as when there is raised pitch associated with the **Nureeni**.)

Omari/ waant^hu/ wampele chaakuja. ‘As for Omari, the people gave him food.’ (Syn. The verb agreement establishes that **Omari** is a topicalized object, since it controls the object prefix *m* on the verb, on the verb.)

Omari/wapele waant^hu/ chaakuja. ‘Omari gave people food.’ (Syn. In this sentence, the object **waant^hu** can be topicalized to a position between the subject and the verb: **Omari/ waant^hu/ wapele chaakuja.** This topicalization position is allowed since the object prefix *wa* on the verb clearly identifies **waant^hu** as the object. The subject **Omari** governs a phonologically null subject prefix on the verb. The object **chaakuja** could be topicalized rather than

waant^hu: Omari/ chaakuja/ wapele waant^hu.

Shpe/ chendra naaye. ‘Give it to us so that we may go.’

Si/ shpeelé/ peesa. ‘We gave money.’

Sikhupi/ peesa. ‘I won’t give you the money.’

Simpé/ mwaana/ peesa. ‘Don’t give the child money!’ Or: **Simpé/ peesa/ mwaana.** (There is a pattern of downstep across these sentences. The difference in word order of the complements has no effect on the pattern.) Or: **Mwaana/ simpé/ peesa.** ‘The child, do not give him money!’ (There is no downstep between the preposed complement and the verb, although there is some lowering of the verb. There is downstep between the verb and the following complement.) Or: **Mwaana/ peesa/ simpé.** ‘The child, money, don’t give him!’ (There is declination between the preposed complements, but the verb is downstepped.)

Simpé/ mukeewo. ‘Don’t give it to your wife.’ (In the default case, a negative imperative verb is phrase-final and thus phrasally separated from its complement. The negative imperative verb triggers final accent, but due to the default phrasing, this final accent normally appears on the verb form itself. However, it is possible for the complement to be phrased with the negative imperative verb and thus for the final accent to have wider scope. An example is: **Simpe mukeewó/ haṭá.** ‘Don’t give it to even your wife!’ In this example, default phrasing is not permitted: ***Simpé/ mukeewo/ haṭá.** Another example where there is wide phrasing is in the exclamatory yes-no question: **Simpe mukeewó!?** ‘Don’t give it to your wife!?’)

Simpé/ Tuuma/ peesa. ‘Don’t give Tuuma money!’ Or: **Peesa/ simpé/ Tuuma.** ‘Money don’t give Tuuma!’ Or: **Tuuma/ simpé/ peesa.** ‘Tuuma, don’t give her money!’

Simpé/ Tuuma/ peesa/ mpe Nuura. ‘Don’t give Tuuma money, give Nuura.’ Or: **Peesa/ simpé/ Tuuma/ mpe Haliima.** ‘Money don’t give Tuuma, give Haliima!’

Simpé/ ye. ‘Don’t give it to her!’

Taahá/ mpelee muke/ maandra. ‘Taaha gave the woman bread.’ (Cf.

mandra ya Taahá/ mpeloo muké ‘the bread that Taaha gave the woman’ and **muke wa Taahá/ mpelo maandra** ‘the woman whom Taaha gave bread’.)

^fTuuma/ simpe peesá/ ^fnguwo/ mpe. ‘*Tuuma*, don’t give her money,

clothes gjeve her!’

Wake/ waant^hu/ wawapele chaakuja. ‘As for the women, the people gave them food.’ (Syn. In this example, the verb agreement is not sufficient to identify whether **wake** or **waant^hu** is subject. In this situation, the first interpretation (perhaps the only interpretation) is that the first noun is the topicalized object. Similar to this example is: **Omari/ Jaama/ mpele chaakuja.** ‘As for Omari, Jaama gave him food.’)

Wapeele/ ^fwo. ‘They gave (something) to them.’

Waspeele. ‘They gave [cl.8] to someone.’ (It is apparently possible for the verb to agree with a logical object if the recipient is not present in the sentence.)

Waspeele/ ^fwo. ‘They gave [cl.8].’ (GM considered it possible for the right-dislocated **wo** in this example to be either the subject of the sentence or an unspecified recipient. More research is required to verify this ambiguity.)

Waspeele/ ^fzo. ‘They gave (someone) them [cl.8].’

Wawapeele. ‘They gave (something) to them.’

We/ kampa Omari/ peesá/ (Omari) skafaanye/ jawabu izo. ‘If you had given Omari money, he wouldn’t have done those things.’ (This is a sentence where there is no internal focus in the *ka*-clause, thus the final accent associated with the verb appears both on **Omari** and **peesá**.)

We/ kampa/ Omari/ peesá/ skafaanye/ jawabu izo. ‘If you had given money to Omari, he would not have done those things.’ (Note that in this example with focus on the *ka*-tense verb, there is no final accent on the complements, due to the effect of the Accentual Law of Focus. However, an alternative pronunciation exists: **We/ kampa/ Omari/ peesá/ skafaanye/ jawabu izo.** In this pronunciation, whereas the first complement displays default accent, the second displays final accent. This same pattern has been observed in relative clauses. We have never observed it in the case of the final accent associated with

first/second person in the present and past tenses. Perhaps the difference is that in the *ka*-tense and in the relative clause, the final accent is associated with all forms and is not making a contrast between first/second and third person.)

We/ kampa peesá/ ^fOmari/ su_{la} khusaayda. ‘If you had given money to *Omari*, he would have helped you.’ (The focus on **Omari** in this sentence is conveyed by its failure to be downstepped relative to **peesá**.)

We/ kampa ^fpeesá/ Omari/ su_{la} kuwa oloshela. ‘If you had given *money* to *Omari*, he would have gone.’ (Observe that in this example, there is focus on **peesá**, which accounts for the absence of final accent on **Omari** due to the effect of the Accentual Law of Focus.)

rel.

kh-panana v. rec. (-**paneene**) give one another

Walwaawo/ washpanana salaamu. ‘Both gave one another greetings.’

Waana/ wapanene zawaadi. ‘The children gave one another gifts.’

kh-pananika v. rec. p/s.

Zibuku izi/ haspananiki. ‘These books cannot be given to each other.’

(Syn. One cannot say: ***Wana awa/ hawapananiki/ zibuuku.** [Lit.] these children cannot be given each other books.)

kh-pananoowa v. rec. pass.

Ipanena zawaadi. ‘There was giving of gifts to one another.’ (The passive verb may have an impersonal subject; when it does so, the logical object follows the verb. **is it possible to say Zawaadi/ ipaneena.** One can have the logical object promoted to passive subject and govern the subject marker on the verb: **Zawaadi/ spanena na waana.** ‘Gifts were given to one another by the children.’)

Kuwavila waant^hu/ kudirkamanoowa/ kuwonanoowa/ khpanana

salaamu/ na kubadilana ra’yi. ‘To call people to meet and to see one another and greet one another and exchange ideas.’

Spanena zoombo. ‘Things were given to one another.’ (Syn. The subject of this sentence is **zoombo**, but the subject is postposed after the verb.)

Zawaadi/ spanena na waana. ‘Gifts were given to one another by children.’ (The possibility of the logical object, i.e. the thing given, to be subject of a passive verb seems to be confined to the reciprocal. It is not possible to say ***Zawaadi/ spe_{la} waana.** ‘Gifts were given to the children.’)

Zibuuku/ spaneena. ‘Books were given to one another.’

kh-paapa v. freq.

Mp^helepele peesa. ‘He gave and gave me money.’ Or: **Mp^helemp^hele peesa.** (The second form, where the object marker is repeated in both parts of the reduplication of the verb, is more emotive than the first form, which seems to be flat, neutral. The possibility of repeating the object marker is not restricted to the first person: **Xupele(khu)pele peesa.** ‘He gave and gave you money.’ **Mpele(m)pele peesa.** ‘He gave and gave him money.’ **Shpele(sh)pele peesa.** ‘He gave and gave us money.’ **Npele(n)pele peesa.** ‘He gave and gave you (pl.) money.’ **Wapele(wa)pele peesa.** ‘He gave and gave them money.’)

kh-pee_{le}le v. appl.

Ye/ nt^hakuwanaacho/ chombo cha ye/ kumpe_{le}le maayi. ‘He did not have a vessel with which to give him water.’

kh-pee_{le}ka v. p/s.

Nuuru/ hupee_{le}ka. ‘Nuuru can be given things (i.e. he does not refuse to accept things when offered).’

kh-poowa v. pass. (**pe_{le}**) be given

Ali/ pe_{le} bakhsha huundru. ‘Ali was fired (lit. was given a red letter).’

Chibuuku/ pe_{le} maana/ na maalimu. ‘The book, the child was given it by the teacher.’ (Syn. This is a rearrangement of the basic sentence:

Maana/ pe_{le} chibuuku/ na maalimu. ‘The child was given a book by the teacher.’ The subject of the passive verb is **maana** and not **chibuuku**.)

chibuku pe_{le} maana/ na maalimu ‘the book that the child was given by the teacher’

Fardoosa/ nt^hakhpoowa/ peesa. ‘Fardoosa was not given money.’ (Phon.

The simple yes-no question shifts the accent in the out-of-focus complement: **Fardoosa/ nt^hakhpoowa/ peesá?** The emphatic version also shifts the accent of the negative verb: **Fardoosa/**

nt^hakhpoowá/ peesâ!?)

Fardoosa/ nt^hakhpowa peesá. ‘It was) Fardoosa (who) was not given money.’

Fardoosa/ pe_la peesa. ‘Fardoosa was given money.’ Or: **Fardoosa/ pee_la/ peesa.** (Phon. The simple yes-no questions: **Fardoosa/ pe_la peesa?** and **Fardoosa/ pee_la/ peesá?** The only natural exclamatory version: **Fardoosa/ pe_la peesâ!?)**

^fFardoosa/ pe_la peesá. ‘Fardoosa was given money.’ Or: **^fFardoosa/ pee_lá/ peesa.** ‘Fardoosa was given money.’

Fardoosa/ pee_lani. ‘What was Fardoosa given?’ Possible answers: **Fardoosa/ pe_la peesa.** ‘Fardoosa was given money.’

^fFardoosa/ peesa/ pee_lá. ‘Fardoosa, money, was given.’

Hamadi/ pe_la peesa? ‘Was Hamadi given money.’ (This is a simple yes-no question, hence there is no downstepping of the accented syllable in the second phrase and it seems that the pitch of the sentence may be raised in comparison to the corresponding statement. A possible answer to this question would be: **Ee/ Hamadi/ pe_la peesa.** ‘Yes, Hamadi was given money.’ In this response, the pitch is a bit lowered and there is downstepping of the accented syllable in the second phrase.)

^fHamadi/ pe_la peesá? ‘Was it Hamadi who was given money?’ (The corresponding statement, where focus is on Hamadi, is: **^fHamadi/ pe_la peesá.** ‘Hamadi was given money.’ The difference in pronunciation is that the statement involves a downstepping of the accented syllable in the second phrase.)

Hamadi/ pee_la/ peesá? ‘Was Hamadi given money?’ (In this simple yes-no question, the verb is focused and thus phrasally separated from its complement. The complement, being out of focus, undergoes shift of accent to the final syllable. A possible answer to this question would be: **Ee/ Hamadi/ pee_la/ peesa.** ‘Yes, Hamadi was given the money.’ Notice that in the statement, the out of focus complement does not undergo accent shift; accent shift affects only the question.)

^fHamadi/ peesa/ pee_la. ‘Hamadi money was given.’

Hamadi/ (ni) ^fpeesá/ pee_lá. ‘Hamadi, money he was given.’

Hamadi/ (ni) ^fpeesá/ pee_lá/ khfanya jawabu iyo. ‘Hamadi, money he was given to do that thing.’

Jaama/ pe_laa kuja/ naami. ‘Jaama was given food by me.’ Or: **Kuja/ pe_la Jaama/ naami.** ‘Food, Jaama was given by me.’ (But it is not grammatical for **kuja** to be the passive subject: ***Kuja/ ipela Jaama/ naami.** ‘Food was given to Jaama by me.’)

Khamsiiniza/ mp^hee_té/ isa/ mi/ nakhsuulá/ ye/ ku_viloowa/ khpoowa/ ndrutize khamsiini. ‘My fifty blows, I have received; now I was him to be called and to be given his fifty blows.’

Madrasa/ ipela zibuuku. ‘The school was given books.’
maskiini wa Maka nama hupoowa [st.] ‘the poor people of Mecca are given meat’

Maana/ pe_la chibuuku/ na maalimu. ‘The child was given a book by the teacher.’

mana pe_la chibuukú/ na maalimú ‘the child who was given a book by the teacher’

Mi/ spoowi/ chaakuja/ chisuura. ‘I am not given good food.’

Mp^hela balani/ na Nuurú/ kuwaa ye/ takeendra. ‘I was given a promise by Nuuru that he would go.’ (Phon. The position of the agent phrase in this example requires that emphasis be put on it, which explains why the final accent triggered by the main verb does not extend past it into the complement sentence. Note also that the agent phrase does not come between the verb and **balani**.)

Muda waa ye/ pee_lá/ kuwaka numba iyo/ ni skuu nt^hatu. ‘The period of time that he was given to built the house was three days.’

Muunt^hu/ pe_la deeni/ naami. ‘The man was paid the debt by me.’

Muunt^hu/ pe_la peesa. ‘The man was given money.’ Or: **Peesa/ pe_la muunt^hu.**

Muunt^hu/ pe_la zawaadi/ naami. ‘The man was given a gift by me.’ Or:

Zawaadi/ *pe*la muunt^hu/ naami.

Mwaana/ *pe*la chibuku cha Nuuru. 'The child was given Nuuru's book.'
Or: Mwaana/ *pe*la chibukuche Nuuru/ na Hamadi. But MI did not like: *Mwaana/ *pe*la Nuuru/ chibuukuche/ na Hamadi. It is possible to prepose the possessive phrase: Chibuku cha Nuuru/ *pe*la mwaana/ na Hamadi. 'Nuuru's book, the child was given it by Hamadi.' Observe that the subject of the passive verb is mwaana. The subject cannot be chibuuku: *Chibuku cha Nuuru/ sh*pe*la mwaana/ na Hamadi. Also, it is best to prepose the simple possessive phrase chibuku cha Nuuru. It is possible to have the restructured possessive preposed: Nuuru/ chibuukuche/ *pe*la mwaana/ na Hamadi. Our consultant MI was less inclined to accept: ?Chibukuche Nuuru/ *pe*la mwaana/ na Hamadi. Notice that these preferences are opposite to the case where the restructured possessive is post-verbal.)

Mwaana/ leelo/ nakhpowa ina. 'Today the child is being given a name.'

Mwaana/ *pe*la chibukuche Nuuru/ na Hamadi. 'The child was given Nuuru's book by Hamadi.' (Syn. The "restructured" possessive phrase chibukuche Nuuru '[lit.] his book Nuuru = Nuuru's book' is one that our consultant MI employed.)

Mwanaamke/ *t*akhpowa chibuuku/ naami. 'The girl will be given a book by me.' Or: Chibuuku/ *t*akhpowa mwanaamke/ naami. (Note that in the alternative version of the sentence, the subject of the passive verb is postposed into IAV position, but continues to control the SM on the verb.)

nama mbiti maskiini yote khpoowa [st.] 'all the raw meat (of the slaughtered animal) is to be given to the poor'

Naani/ *pe*la chibuukú/ na mwaalimú. 'Who was given a book by the teacher?'

Ndru/ sh*t*ukula zoombo/ zaa ye/ *pe*elá. 'The relative took the things that he had been given.'

*Pe*la peesa/ Fardoosa. 'She was given money, Fardoosa.'

*Pe*la peesa/ Hamadi. 'He was given money, Hamadi.' (The postposed subject is radically lowered, indicating its out of focus nature. Such a sentence might be a response to a question like: Hamadi/ *pe*elani. 'What was Hamadi given?' In a simple yes-no question, the postposed subject would undergo accent shift: *Pe*la peesa/ Hamadí?

*Pe*la peesá/ (ni) Hamadi. 'The one who was given money is Hamadi.'

*Pe*la peesá/ ni muunt^hu. 'The one who was given money is the man.'

^fPeesa/ Fardoosa/ *pe*elá. 'Money, Fardoosa was given.'

Peesa/ Hamadi/ *pe*ela. 'Money, Hamadi has been given it.' Or: Hamadi/ peesa/ *pe*ela. 'Hamadi, he has been given the money.' (In these two examples, the verb is not put in pseudo-relative form, thus it is not the case that there is focus on either pre-verbal noun phrases. GM labelled both sentences as confirmations that Hamadi had been given money. In the first sentence, it seemed that Hamadi is the pitch peak, albeit not raised as when focused. Perhaps the gloss should be 'as for the money, Hamadi was given it'.)

^fPeesa/ Hamadi/ *pe*elá. 'Money Hamadi was given.' Or: Ni ^fpeesa/ Hamadi/ *pe*ela.

Peesa/ naani/ *pe*elá. 'Who was given money?' Possible answer: Peesa/ *pe*la Fardoosa. 'Money was given to Fardoosa.' Or: Peesa/ Fardoosa/ *pe*elá/ 'Fardoosa was given money.'

Peesa/ (ni) ^fHamadi/ *pe*elá. 'Money, Hamadi was given.'

Peesa/ (ni) ^fHamadi/ *pe*elá/ kumsayda mana oyo. 'Money, Hamadi was given to assist that boy.'

^fPeesa/ Hamadi/ *pe*elá/ kh*t*umba khabri. 'Money Hamadi was given to dig the grave.'

^fPeesa/ Hamadi/ *pe*elá/ kumlipa Omari. 'Money Hamadi was given to pay Omari.'

^fPeesa/ Hamadi/ *pe*elá/ kumsayda mana oyo. 'Money Hamadi was given to assist that boy.'

^fPeesa/ peḷa Fardoosá. ‘Money Fardoosa was given.’

^fPeesa/ peeḷá/ Fardoosa. ‘(It was) money (that) was given to Fardoosa.’

Peesa/ peḷa Hamadi. ‘Money was given to Hamadi.’ (This sentence, where the subject is postposed and phrased with the passive verb, answers the question: **Peesa/ peḷa naani.** ‘Money was given to whom?’) (The simple yes-no question version of this sentence has no accent shift: **Peesa/ peḷa Hamadi?** The emphatic question, as usual, does shift the accent of the verb phrase: **Peesa/ peḷa Hamadi!?** It is possible to focus the initial NP in this sentence: **^fPeesa/ peḷa Hamadi.** ‘Money was given Hamadi.’)

^fPeesa/ peeḷá/ Hamadi. ‘Money he was given, Hamadi.’ (In this example, there is focus on **peesa**, but also on the verb, with the subject **Hamadi** postposed and radically lowered.)

Peesa/ peḷa naani. ‘Money was given to whom?’ A possible answer: **Peesa/ peḷa Fardoosa.** ‘Money was given to Fardoosa.’ (Phon. The simple yes-no question version of this answer is: **Peesa/ peḷa Fardoosa?** while the exclamatory version is **Peesa/ peḷa Fardoosá!?**)

Shkoma skuu nt^hatu/ wanapowa izo/ uje/ takhfakató/ takhtiindó/ ka himahimá/ takendroo kujá/ ndiyé/ hihabba. ‘When three days have passed, let them (the goats) be given those (the husks and the hay); the one who will run, who will break (his restraining ropes) quickly, who will go and eat, that is the one who is the younger one.’

Waana/ waṭakhpowa zibuuku/ naami. ‘The children will be given books by me.’ Or: **Zibuuku/ waṭakhpowa waana/ naami.** (Syn. Notice that although **zibuuku** has been fronted in the second sentence and **waana** placed in post-verbal position, it is **waana** that is the subject of the passive verb and not **zibuuku**, as is seen from the subject agreement prefix **wa**.)

Wé/ hupowaa zijo/ kaa nama/ naamí/ hupowa makooko/ makavu/ bilaa shtoowelo. ‘You are given **zijo** with meat, and I am give the crust of rice, dry, without relish.’

Ye/ nt^hakhpowa chiint^hu. ‘She was not given anything.’

rel. nom.

m-pa (*wa-*) n. one who gives (Phon. This word is exceptional in that the [cl.1] prefix **mu** generally retains its vowel when followed by a monosyllabic root. In this example, the vowel unexpectedly elides, and we get **mpa** rather than ***mupa**.)

mpaa kuja ‘one who gives food’

mpaa tele ‘one who gives advice’

wu-po n. 14 the act of giving

m-poowa n. ½ one who is given

mpowaa kuja/ na waant^hu ‘one who is given food by people’

pa na pu

fixed expression: of great magnitude

Fanyiliza haruusi/ ya pa/ na pu. ‘For her was made a great wedding.’

kh-paga

v. [Ital. *paga*] (**pagiile**) pay

kh-paka

v. [Sw. *paka* SSED 360] (**pashile**) coat with paint, apply, smear, rub on; pass on a communicable disease

-a khpaka ‘[lit.] of coating -- meaning: 1. used for a relative by marriage; 2. said when a person shows a quality (friendship, religious devotion, etc.) that is just a veneer, while it is not felt deeply inside.’

amiyá/ wa khpaka ‘the man married to my aunt from father’s side (lit. uncle of coating)’

islamu wa khpaka ‘a superficial Muslim’

khpakaa dawa ‘to apply medicine externally’

Hamadi/ mpashile Ali/ ijarah/ dawa. ‘Hamadi rubbed medicine on Ali’s wound.’

Hamadi/ mpashile ijarah/ dawa. ‘Hamadi applied medicine to the wound.’

Haliima/ mpashile mwaana/ dawa. ‘Haliima rubbed medicine on the child.’

Hamadi/ pashile ijarah/ dawa. ‘Hamadi applied medicine to the wound.’

khpaka mafta ‘to apply oil’

mashuungiye khpaka mafta haraamu [st.] ‘to apply oil to his hair is forbidden’

Mpashile Nuuru/ mafta/ ka chiguwo. ‘He rubbed oil on Nuuru with a rag.’

khpaka maraḏi etc. ‘to pass on, communicate a disease etc.’

Mp^hashile hargabu. ‘He passed on the cold to me.’

Mp^hashile maraḏi. ‘He passed on the disease to me.’

khpaka miskhi ‘to apply perfume’ (Note that Eastern perfumes have oil as base (not alcohol) and are not applied as a spray.)

khpaka ranji ‘to paint’

Mp^hashile ^franji/ faṭuura. ‘I painted the car. (There is focus on **ranji**, which accounts for the default accent on **faṭuura**.) Or with emphasis on the verb: **Mp^hashilé/ ranji/ faṭuura.** ‘I *painted* the car.’ (The emphasis on the verb accounts for the failure of the accent to project onto the following complements. A sentence like this answers the question: **Pashilé/ ranji/ faṭuurá?**) Or with preposing of **faṭuura**: **Faṭuura/ mp^hashile ranji.** Or with preposing and focusing of **ranji**: **^fRanji/ mp^hashiló/ faṭuura.**

Nuuru/ pashile lkuta/ ranji. ‘Nuuru painted the wall.’

Pashile nuumba/ ranji/ ka burashii nk^hulu. ‘He painted the house with a big brush.’

Pashile nuumbaye/ ranji/ nelpe. ‘He painted his house (the color) white.’

Shaghaale/ pashile nuumba/ ranji. ‘The workman painted the house.’ (Cf. **ranji ya shaghaale/ pashilo nuumbá** ‘the paint that the workman applied to the house’.)

khpaka saabuni ‘to butter someone up -- [lit.] put soap on’

khpaka zilaatu/ ranji ‘to polish shoes’

Khupashilo waandá/ simpaké/ pilpili. ‘One who applies eye-makeup to you, don’t apply pepper to him.’ (A proverb.)

Mp^hashile hargabu. ‘He passed on the cold to me.’

Mpashile Nuuru/ mafta/ ka chiguwo. ‘He smeared oil over Nuuru with a cloth.’

ye/ kampaká mwaaná/ dawá ‘if he rubbed medicine on the child’

ye/ kampaká mwaaná/ dawá/ mkonoóní ‘if he rubbed medicine on the child’s arm’

ye/ kampaká mwaaná/ dawá/ mkonoóní/ ka chiguwó ‘if he rubbed medicine on the child’s arm with a rag’

rel.

kh-pakana v. rec. apply to one another (-pakeene)

khpakana maraḏi ‘to communicate a disease to one another’

Waana/ wapakenee dawa. ‘The children rubbed medicine on one another.’

kh-pakanika v. rec. p/s.

kh-pakanoowa v. rec. pass.

Ipakena dawa. ‘There was rubbing on of medicine to one another.’

maráḏi/ hupakanoowá ‘a contagious disease (lit. a disease which is passed from one to another)’

kh-pakaapaka v. freq.

Basi/ ye/ shfakata/ teena/ chiya numbaani/ shpakapaka ruuhuye/ mi’ivu. ‘So she [“Cinderella”] ran, then she came to the house, and she rubbed ashes all over herself.’

Mp^hashilepashilee dawa. ‘He rubbed and rubbed me with the medicine.’ Or: **Mp^hashilemp^hashilee dawa.** (The second form, with a repeated object marker, has a similar meaning, but is more emotive than the first formation, which is flat, neutral in its usage. All object markers may

exhibit the same behavior as the first person singular: **Khupashile(khu)pashilee dawa.** ‘He rubbed and rubbed you with the medicine.’ **Mpashile(m)pashilee dawa.** ‘He rubbed and rubbed him with the medicine.’

(body).’
Shpakapaka ruuhuye/ mi’ivu. ‘She rubbed ashes all over her

kh-pakika v. p/s. (-pakishile)

Dawa iyi/ haypikiki/ ka mkono. ‘This medicine cannot be applied by hand.’

Dawa izi/ haspakiki/ waana. ‘These medicines cannot be rubbed on the children (e.g. they smell too bad).’

Dawa/ spakishile waana. ‘Medicines were able to be rubbed on the children.’ (Syn. Note that both the direct and the indirect objects in the simple sentence are able to function as the subject of the passive/stative verb. This contrasts with the passive form where only the indirect object may function as the subject.)

Mwaana/ pakishilee dawa. ‘The child was able to be applied to the medicine.’

Mwana uyū/ hapakiki/ dawa. ‘This child cannot have medicine rubbed on him (e.g. he won’t stay still so that one can apply the medicine).’

kh-pakikila v. p/s. appl. (-pakikiliile)

Mwaana/ mpakikiliile maamaye/ dawa. ‘The child was able to be applied medicine to for his mother.’

kh-pakiloowa v. appl. pass. (pakiliila)

Burashii nk^hulu/ ipakiliila nuumba/ ranji. ‘A large brush was used to paint the house.’ (Syn: Notice that the instrument is the subject of this applied passive verb. One can also have the instrument be the subject of the passive relative verb: **Yiikopi/ burashi ipakiliila nuumbá/ ranji/ na Nuuru.** ‘Where is the brush that was used to paint the house by Nuuru?’

Chiguwo/ shpakiliila Nuuru/ mafta. ‘A rag was used to rub oil on Nuuru.’ (Syn: Our consultant MI rejected having **Nuuru** as the subject of the passive applied verb in this sentence: ***Nuuru/ pakiliila chiguwo/ mafta.** or ***Nuuru/ pakiliila mafta/ chiguwo.** However, he did accept this construction in the relative clause form: **Chiikopi/ chiguwo cha Nuuru/ pakiliila mafta.** ‘Where is the cloth that Nuuru was rubbed on oil with?’ Though one can also say **Chiikopi/ chiguwo shpakiliila Nuuru/ mafta.** ‘Where is the cloth that was used to rub oil on Nuuru?’

kh-pakila v. appl. (pakiliile) apply with, for

Burashii nk^hulu/ pakiliile nuumba/ ranji. ‘A large brush, he used it to paint the house.’

Chiguwo/ mpakiliile Nuuru/ mafta. ‘He used a rag to rub oil on Nuuru.’ (Syn: It is preferred for the instrument to be preposed when the verb is in the applied instrumental form. If it is not preposed, then its appearance in the verb phrase is similar to what in English is called an afterthought: **Mpakiliile Nuuru/ mafta/ chiguwo.** ‘He used it to rub oil on Nuuru, a cloth.’

Chiikopi/ chiguwo chaa ye/ mpakiliilo Nuuru/ maftá. ‘Where is the cloth that he used to rub oil on Nuuru?’ (Syn: One would not use in this sentence the basic verb: ***Chiikopi/ chiguwo chaa ye/ pashilo Nuuru/ maftá/ kaa cho.** The simple verb and a *ka*-phrase is used to introduce new information.)

Na shpakila/ kuja/ niingi/ nt^ho/ kuja/ husuloowá/ khtoshá/ waant^hú/ na hayawaani/ stakuwaamó/ karka jahazí. ‘And he loaded a lot of food (on the ark), food that should be sufficient for the people and animals that will be

aboard the ship.’

Yiikopi/ burashi ya Nuuru/ pakililo nuumbá/ ranji. ‘Where is the brush that Nuuru used to paint the house?’ (Syn: In this construction one does not use the simple verb plus *ka*-phrase in the relative clause: ***Yiikopi/ burashi ya Nuuru/ pashilo nuumbá/ ranji/ kaa yo.**)

kh-pakisha v. caus. (**pakishiize**)

Boora/ mpakishize mwaana/ lkuta/ ranji. ‘Boora had the child paint the wall.’

Suufi/ mpakishize mwaalimu/ mwaana/ dawa. ‘Suufi had the teacher rub medicine on the child.’

kh-pakishanya v. caus. rec. (**pakisheenyee**)

Suufi/ wapakishenye waana/ dawa. ‘Suufi had the children apply medicine to one another.’ (In many instances, the presence of a reciprocal extension precludes the appearance of an object marker on the verb. In this example, however, the OM and the reciprocal co-occur.)

Waalimu/ wapakishenye dawa. ‘The teachers had one another apply medicine (first interpretation: on one another).’

Waalimu/ wapakishenye mwaana/ dawa. ‘The teachers had one another rub medicine on the child.’ (Note that this sentence does not carry the interpretation ‘the teachers had the children rub medicine on one another’.)

Waalimu/ wapakishenye waana/ dawa. ‘The teachers had one another rub medicine on the children.’ (This sentence cannot mean that the teachers had the students rub medicine on the teachers. Nor can it mean that the teachers had the children rub medicine on one another.)

kh-pakishiliza v. caus. appl. (**pakishiliize**)

Boora/ mpakishilize Suufi/ mwaana/ ranji. ‘Boora caused Suufi’s child to apply paint.’

kh-pakishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Nuuru/ na Boorá/ wapakishilizenye waana/ lkuta/ ranji. ‘Nuuru and Boora had one another’s children paint the wall.’

kh-pakoowa v. pass. (**pashila**) (Ordinarily, double object verbs do not allow both objects to be promoted to be the passive subject; it is only the primary object, the indirect object, that is the passive subject. The verb *-paka* seems to be different, as the examples below attest.)

Chigaari/ shpashila ooliyo/ na Ali. ‘The car was oiled to by Ali.’

Dawa/ spashila waana. ‘The medicine [cl.10] was applied to the children.’ (Cf. the relative clause: **dawa spashila mwaaná** ‘the medicine that was applied to the child’.) (It is also possible for **dawa** to be initial, but for the verb to have agreement with the indirect object: **Dawa/ pashila mwaana.** ‘The medicine, the child had it applied to him.’ The relative clause form: **dawa ya mwaana/ pashilá...** ‘the medicine that the child had applied to him’.)

Ijarah/ ipashilaa dawa/ na Hamadi. ‘The wound was applied medicine to by Hamadi.’

khpakowa ranji ‘to be painted’

Ipashilá/ ni ranji. ‘What was applied is paint.’

Lkuta ili/ ipashila ranji. ‘This wall was painted.’ (A right-dislocated version is possible: **Lpashila ranji/ lkuta ili.** ‘Was painted, this wall.’ The dislocated subject is radically lowered in pitch. This radical lowering is obvious when the sentence above is compared with, say: **Lpashila ranji/ ni lkuta ili.** ‘What was painted is this wall.’ In this sentence, the usual downstep intonation applies, but the lowering **ni lkuta ili** is not nearly as radical as in the dislocation case.)

Lpashila ranji/ ni lkuta. ‘What was painted is the wall.’

Numba/ ipashila ranji/ nelpe. ‘The house was painted white.’

Ranji/ ipashila. ‘Paint was applied to the wall.’

Mwaana/ pashilaa dawa/ na Haliima. ‘The child had medicine rubbed on him by Haliima.’

Waana/ wapashilaa dawa. ‘The children had medicine applied to them.’

m-paka

n. 9/10 [Sw. *paka* SSED 360] cat; [pron: mp^haka]

Chilaweeni/ chimmerenii mp^haka. ‘Let us go out and look for a cat.’

Kamaa mp^haka/ naa mp^haná. ‘Like a cat and a rat.’ (A proverb.)

...kiiwa/ mukhtaa mp^haka/ nakhtolezó ‘to know when the cat is

approaching’

Laakini/ ye/ chimwona mp^haka/ hufakaṭa/ -- kuulu/ nt^homoza--/ humera salaama/ na amaani. ‘But when he (e.g. a rat) sees a cat, he runs away -- (my) leg, take me to a safe place! -- he seeks security and peace.’

Mp^haka/ haani/ maayi/ chishikowa shkosi. ‘The cat does not drink water if grasped by the throat.’ (A proverb. The action described is that of grabbing a cat by the neck and forcing its mouth to the water. Similar to ‘One can lead a horse to water, but not make him drink.’)

Nini/ mp^haka/ khufanyiizeni. ‘What did the cat do to you?’

rel.

i-paka (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

ipaka iyi ‘this aug. cat’

mipaka aya ‘these aug. cats’

Wa’ineenzele/ masaafa/ makulu/ hattá/ wachidirkamana/ na ipaka/ ya maduriini/ ya lamna yingine/ mwaana/ chimubla/ na wataana/ wachi’ikookota/ hatá/ muyiini. ‘They walked a long distance

until they encountered a wild bush cat of a different kind. The boy killed it and the servants dragged it up to the town.’ (Morph. The object agreement in this passage is interesting. When the **ipaka** is considered as a live, animate thing, it controls a [cl.1] object prefix in **chimubla**, but when the carcass is being dragged back to town, the agreement is [cl.9], **wachi’ikookota**.)

l-paka (mi-) n. 11/4 aug.

lpaka ili ‘this aug. cat’

m(w)-aampaka n. kitten; [pron. **m(w)aamp^haka**]

ch-anaampaka n. kitten; [pron. **chanaamp^haka**]

Cho/ chanaamp^haka/ chileele. ‘It, the kitten, slept.’

sh-paka (s-) n. 7/8 dim.

m-paka (mi-)

n. 3/4 [Sw. *mpaka* SSED 362] boundary, limit

Kilaa chiint^hu/ chinayo mpaka. ‘Everything has its limit.’ (A proverb.)

review

mipaka yaa nt^hi ‘borders of the country’

Mp^hendo za waawaye/ spisilo mpaká/ nt^haskumwiinfa/ Suufi/ na zimpoṭeeze. ‘The love of his father which passed beyond any boundary, was not useful to Suufi, and it lead him astray.’

m-paka

prep. [Sw. *mpaka* SSED 362] until (There is no morphophonemic evidence that this preposition should be analyzed as /m-paka/; nevertheless such an analysis seems likely. First, there is the obvious semantic connection with **m-paka** ‘boundary, limit’. Second, the pronunciation **mp** and not **mp^h** shows that /mp/ in this word is not a prenasalized stop, but rather a sequence of *m* and *p*. Such sequences in Chimiini are generally the result of combining a prefix *mu* with a stem-initial *p*.)

Abdalla/ kama oyo/ shṭukulaa nt^hupa/ iyo/ chendra naayo/ mpaka numbaani/ ka sulṭaani/ kumfanyiliza mwanaamke/ dawa.

‘Abdalla, like that, carried that bottle and went with it up to the house of the sultan’s to administer medicine to the girl.’

kumlindra mpakaa ye/ na Sulṭani Daraayi/ wachiruda ka muyiini ‘to wait for him until he and Sultan Daraayi returned from town’

mpaka keesho ‘until tomorrow’

Mzeele/ chanza khfanyaa nk^he/le/ mpaka/ wachiya/ askari/ wa sulṭaani.

‘The old man began shouting until the sultan’s soldiers came.’

Wachilaala/ mpaka fijiri. ‘They slept until morning.’

Waant^hu/ awo/ wachi’itukula/ sanduukhu/ iyo/ mpaka/ lfuwooni. ‘Those people carried that box up to the shore.’ (Phon. This example illustrates that although in most of our data, we recorded the preposition **mpaka** phased with its complement, it is possible to put some emphasis on **mpaka** and phrase it separately from the

complement.’)

We/ nakhsula waaná/ wanakale kaa ndalá/ mpaka mukhtaa we/ takuuyó. ‘Do you want the children to stay hungry until you come?’

i-pakacha n. [Sw. *pakacha* ‘a light basket – used for carrying fish or fruit, etc., made by plaiting part of a coco-nut leaf’ SSED 362] basket (As in the Swahili definition, it is a basket made of coconut-palm leaves that is used (only once) to carry fruit and vegetables to the market; it is different from *shkapu*, which is a basket made of plaited *milala* and used repeatedly.)

Karkaa ndila/ Alfaani/ chimwambila Buluukhiya/ kumsaayda/ khfanya ipakacha. ‘On the road, Alfaani asked Buluukhiya to help him make a basket.’

Mi/ mbeenopó/ ningile ipakachaani. ‘When I saw it, I entered into the basket.’

kh-pakata v. [Sw. *pakata* SSED 361] (**pakeete**) hold a child or anything on the knees

kh-pakila v. [Sw. *pakia* SSED 361] (**pakiile**) load (e.g. a truck)

Ali/ mpakile hamaali/ ijuuniya. ‘Ali loaded a sack onto the porter.’

Ali/ mpakile mwaana/ gariini. ‘Ali loaded the child onto a truck.’

Ali/ pakile gaari/ majiwe. ‘Ali loaded the truck with stones’

Ali/ pakile gari ya Nuuru. ‘Ali loaded Nuuru’s truck (i.e. a truck that Nuuru owns or drives).’

Gaari/ inakhpakila chimento. ‘The truck is carrying cement.’

Gaari/ ipakile chimento. ‘The truck is loaded with/ carrying cement.’

Ipakile gaari/ majiwe. ‘He loaded the truck with stones.’ (Syn. The object prefix *i* is governed by **gaari**. It is not possible for **majiwe** to govern the object prefix, regardless of word order: ***Yapakile gaari/ majiwe**. Nor: ***Yapakile majiwe/ gaari**. It is possible to have **majiwe** govern the object prefix if **gaari** is put into a locative form: **Yapakile majiwe/ gariini**. ‘He loaded the stones into the truck.’)

Jahazi/ iyi/ itakhokolaa we/ na hayawaaní/ zaa we/ pakiiló/ na wanaadamu/ woté/ ahliyó/ wakhaminiiló. ‘This boat will save you and the animals that you put on board and the human beings, all, your family who believed in you.’ (Phon. We have not worked out the explanation for the accentual pattern of **na wanaadamu/ woté/ ahliyó**.)

Mp^hakilee buní. ‘I have loaded it (e.g. the ship) with coffee.’

Mwaana/ nimpakile gaari. ‘The child, I sent him in the truck.’ Or:

Mwaana/ nimpakile gariini.

Mwaana/ uyu/ shpakila/ ngoombe/ na mbuzi ya matakó/ jahaziini. ‘This boy loaded a cow and a sheep on the dhow.’

Pakile gaari/ majuuniya. ‘He loaded sacks onto the truck.’

Pakile gaari/ waant^hu. ‘He loaded the truck with people.’ (Syn: Although the verb **-pakila** takes a ‘location’ as its primary object, the strong preference in Chimwiini for the verb to agree with a human renders the following sentence well-formed as well: **Nakuwapakila gaari/ waant^hu.** ‘He is loading people into the truck.’ This preference for human agreement also seems to exclude marking the verb with an object prefix agreeing with **gaari**: ***Naki’ipakila gaari/ waant^hu.** ‘I am loading people onto the truck.’)

Pakiilení. ‘What have you loaded it (e.g. the ship) with?’

rel.

kh-pakilila v. appl. (**pakiliile**)

kh-pakililoowa v. appl. pass. (**pakiliila**)

kh-pakiloowa v. pass. (**pakiila**)

Gaari/ ipakīla mwaana. ‘The truck had a child loaded (on it).’

Gaari/ spakīlaa mazu. ‘Trucks were loaded with bananas.’

Hamaali/ pakīla ijuuniya. ‘(On) the porter was put a sack.’ (Cf. the unacceptability of ***Ijuuniya/ ipakīla hamaali.** ‘The sack was loaded on the porter.’)

Mazu/ yapakīla gariini. ‘Bananas were loaded onto the truck.’ (Syn: It is not possible for **mazu** to be the passive subject if **gaari** is unmarked: ***Mazu/ yapakīla gaari.** ‘Bananas were loaded onto the truck.’ But it is possible for a human NP to be the passive subject:

Waant^hu/ wapakīla gaari. ‘People were loaded onto/ sent in trucks.’ **It is not so certain whether gaari can be the passive subject if it is humans being loaded onto the truck: ?Gaari/ spakīla**

waant^hu. ‘Trucks were loaded with people; trucks people were sent in.’)

Mwaana/ pakīla gariini. ‘The child was loaded onto the truck.’

ngamiila/ schiwa spakiila/ mizigo ‘when camels are loaded with things’

Ngamiilayo/ nt^hayikhpikiloowa/ mizigo/ yo yote? ‘Is your camel not carrying anything?’

Waant^hu/ wapakīla gariini. ‘Children were put on trucks.’

kh-pakilisha v. caus. cause s.o. to load s.t. on

gari ya Suufi/ mpakilishizo hamaali/ mizigó... ‘the lorry that Suufi had the porter put the luggage in...’

Gari ya Suufi/ mpakilishizo hamaali/ waaná/ ivundishile. ‘The lorry that Suufi had the porter put the children in has broken down.’

gari ya Suufi/ pakilishizo mizigó... ‘the lorry that Suufi had the luggage put in...’

Munt^hu wa Suufi/ mpakilishizo Nuurú/ gariini/ oloshole. ‘The man whom Suufi had Nuuru put on the lorry left.’ **Is this sentence in fact ambiguous between who is the causee and who has been loaded onto the lorry?**

Mwana wa Suufi/ mpakilishizo hamaali/ gariini/ oloshole. ‘The boy whom Suufi made the porter put on the lorry left.’ (The OM on the verb shows human singular agreement and thus fails to make clear whether it is **mwaana** or **hamaali**, both of which govern human singular agreement, who is the causee. The pragmatics of the sentence, however, makes it clear that is the porter who is the causee and the boy who is the logical object.)

Suufi/ mpakilishize hamaali/ mwaana/ gariini. ‘Suufi caused the porter to put the child on the lorry.’

Suufi/ mpakilishize naani/ mwaana/ gariini. ‘Suufi made who put the child in the lorry?’

Suufi/ mpakilishize naani/ Nuuru/ gariini. ‘Suufi made who put Nuuru in the lorry?’ Cf. **Suufi/ mpakilishize Nuuru/ naani/ gariini.** ‘Suufi made Nuuru put who in the lorry?’

Want^hu wa Suufi/ mpakilishizo Nuurú/ gariini/ wa’oloshole. ‘The people whom Suufi made Nuuru put them on the lorry left.’ (The object marker on the relative causative verb identifies **Nuuru** as the causee, leaving **waant^hu** to be understood as the logical object.)

Want^hu wa Suufi/ wapakilishizo Nuurú/ gariini/ wa’oloshole. ‘The people whom Suufi made them put Nuuru on the lorry left.’ (The object marker on the relative causative verb identifies **waant^hu** as the causees, leaving **Nuuru** to function as the direct object.)

kh-pakiza v. (pakiize) load

Huseeni/ pakize gaari/ gele. ‘Huseeni loaded the truck with maize.’ Or: **Huseeni/ pakiize/ gaari/ gele.** (The corresponding yes-no questions for these two sentences: **Huseeni/ pakize gaari/ gele?** and **Huseeni/ pakiize/ gaari/ gele?**)

Majuuniya/ mawiliye/ mp^hakize gaari. ‘Both bags I loaded onto the truck.’ (In the construction **majuuniya/ mawiliye** ‘bags their both’, there is no downstep between the two phrases, although the second may be a bit lower in pitch.)

Mp^hakize ^fgaari/ majuuniya/ mawiliye. ‘I loaded both bags onto the truck.’ Or: **Mp^hakiizé/ majuuniya/ mawiliye/ gaari.** ‘I loaded both bags onto the truck.’ (The construction **majuuniya/ mawiliye** seems to not be subject to the strong downstep that ordinarily follows a focused verb. The noun **gaari**, on the other hand, is strongly downstepped.)

Nuuru/ pakize gaari/ majiwe. ‘Nuuru loaded the truck with stones.’

Nureeni/ pakize gaari/ suukari. ‘Nureeni loaded the truck with sugar.’ Or: **Nureeni/ pakize suukari/ gaari.** (Each of these two sentences have two distinct prosodic structures; namely,

one where neither NP is focused, and a second where the first NP is focused. Four different simple yes-no questions are the result: **Nureeni/ pakize gaari/ suukari?** ‘Did Nureeni load the truck with sugar?’ and **Nureeni/ pakize suukari/ gaari?** ‘Did Nureeni load sugar onto the truck?’ lack focus. **Nureeni/ pakize gaari/ suukari?** ‘Did Nureen load the truck with sugar?’ and **Nureeni/ pakize suukari/ gaari?** ‘Did Nureeni load sugar onto the truck?’ have focus on the first argument, causing the second argument to undergo accent shift. Emphatic yes-no questions have no means for showing a contrast between focus and its absence since in all cases, there is a shift in accent in the VP: **Nureeni/ pakize gaari/ suukari!?** and **Nureeni/ pakize suukari/ gaari!?** are the only options.)

Mp^hakize gaari/ suukari. ‘I loaded onto the truck sugar.’

Mp^hakize suukari/ gaari. ‘I loaded sugar onto the truck.’

Pakize gaari/ gele/ Huseeni. ‘He loaded the truck with maize, Huseeni.’

kh-pakizika v. tr. p/s.

Majiwe aya/ hayapakiziki/ gaari/ na waana. ‘These stones cannot be loaded on the truck by the children.’

kh-pakizisha v. tr. caus. (**pakizishiize**)

Suufi/ mpakizishize mwaana/ gaari. ‘Suufi had the child load the truck.’

kh-pakizishiliza v. tr. caus. appl. (**pakizishiliize**)

Suufi/ mpakizishilize Nuuru/ mwaana/ gaari. ‘Suufi had Nuuru’s child load the truck.’

kh-pakizishilizanya v. tr. caus. appl. rec. (**-pakizishilizeenye**)

Nuuru/ na Suufi/ wapakizishilizenye waana/ gaari. ‘Nuuru and Suufi had one another’s children load the truck(s).’

kh-pakizoowa v.tr. pass. (**-pakiiza**)

Gaari/ ipakiza majiwe. ‘The truck was loaded with stones (by someone).’

Gaari/ spakiiza. ‘The trucks have been loaded.’ Cf. **Chigaari/ shpakiiza.** ‘The cart has been loaded.’ Cf. **Shpakiza chigaari.** ‘A cart has been loaded.’

Ipakiiza/ gaari. ‘There has been a truck loaded.’ (It is likely that in this word order, the verb is understood as an impersonal passive rather than a personal passive agreeing with **gaari**. The unclarity on this matter is due to the fact that **gaari** ‘truck’ [cl.9] requires the same agreement as an impersonal passive. But notice that when we change the noun to **magaari**, a [cl.6] noun that has **ya** as its subject agreement, we get a clear indication that the structure is an impersonal passive: **Ipakiiza/ magaari/ majiwe.** ‘There has been stones loaded onto trucks.’)

Majiwe/ yapakiza gariini. ‘Stones were loaded into the truck.’

Spakiza gaari/ majiwe. ‘The trucks have been loaded with stones.’

rel. nom.

m-pakila (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who loads

m-paakistaani (*ma-*)

n. a Pakistani

paaku

n. packet, parcel

rel.

sh-paaku (*s-*) n. 7/8 dim.

kh-pakula

v. [Sw. *pakua* SSED 361] (**pakiile**) dish out food from a pot to a plate

Ali/ pakilee zijo. ‘Ali dished out zijo.’

Haliima/ nakhpakulaa zijo. ‘Haliima is dishing out zijo.’

Muke/ shpakula chaakuja/ chileeta. ‘The woman dished out the food and brought it.’

Shpakula/ chaakuja/ chaa ye/ pishiló/ chooloka/ shkalaant^ha/ naacho/ barzaani/ kaake. ‘She dished out the food that she had cooked and went and sat down with it in her hall.’

rel.

kh-pakulila v. appl. (**pakuliile**) dish out for, with

Ali/ mpakulile maana/ zijo. ‘Ali dished out zijo for the child.’

Ali/ pakulilee zijo/ lkoombe. ‘Ali dished out zijo with a lkoombe.’

Muke/ chimpakulilaa zijo. ‘The woman dished out zijo for him.’

Muke/ shpikaa zijo/ zivililó/ chiwapakulila waana. ‘The woman cooked zijo and when it was done, she dished it out for the children.’

Omari/ mtile Nuuru/ kumpakulila mwaana. ‘Omari made Nuuru dish out

- food for the child.’
- kh-pakulilana* v. appl. rec. dish out for one another
Nuuru/ watile khpakulilanaa zijo. ‘Nuuru had them dish out *zijo* for one another.’
- kh-pakulilika* v. appl. p/s.
Mwana uyu/ hapakuliliki/ zijo. ‘This child cannot have *zijo* dished out for him.’
- kh-pakuḷoowa* v. pass. be dished out
Zijo/ zinakhpakuḷoowa. ‘*Zijo* is being dished out.’
- kh-pakulika* v. p/s. able to be dished out
Zijo izi/ haspakuliki. ‘This *zijo* cannot be dished out (e.g. it is too sticky or the pot has too small an opening to get it out).’
- kh-pakulikila* v. p/s. appl.
Zijo/ zimpakulikilile Ali. ‘The *zijo* has been able to be dished out for Ali.’
- kh-pakulisha* v. caus. (*pakulishiize*) cause to dish out
Mpakulishize Haliima/ zijo/ ka lkoombe. ‘He caused Haliima to dish out *zijo* with a spoon.’
- kh-pakulishanya* v. caus. rec. cause one another to dish out
kh-pakulishika v. caus. p/s. able to be dished out
Mwana uyu/ hapakulishiki/ chiint^u/ (na Ali). ‘This child cannot be made to dish out anything (bY Ali).’
- kh-pakulishikila* v. caus. p/s. appl.
kh-pakulishiliza v. caus. appl. cause to dish out ‘on’ (The primary object of this verb cannot be a true beneficiary. To express a true beneficiary, a periphrastic causative is employed. See above under **ku-pakulila**.)
- Hereedho/ mpakulishilize Haliima/ mwaana/ chaakuja/ ka lkoombe.** ‘Hereedho caused Haliima’s child to dish out food with a spoon.’
- kh-pakulishilizanya* v. caus. appl. rec. cause to dish out on one another (Note that one would not use this verb in the true beneficiary sense of the verb; instead, a periphrastic verb construction would be employed: **Nuuru/ watile khpakulilanaa zijo.** ‘Nuuru caused them to dish out *zijo* for one another.’)
- kh-pakulishilizika* v. caus. appl. p/s.
Boora/ hapakulishiliziki/ mwaana/ chaakuja. ‘Boora’s child cannot be made to dish out food for/on Boora.’
- kh-pakuliza* v. tr. appl. (*pakuliize*)
Nuuru/ mpakulize Suufi/ maana/ zijo. ‘Nuuru had Suufi’s child dish out *zijo*.’
- kh-pakulizanya* v. tr. appl. rec. (*-pakulizeenye*)
Nuuru/ na Suufi/ wapakulizenye waana/ zijo. ‘Nuuru and Suufi had one another’s children dish out *zijo*.’
- kh-pakuza* v. caus. (*pakiize*) make dish out
Nuuru/ mpakize mwaana/ zijo. ‘Nuuru had the child dish out *zijo*.’
- kh-pakuzanya* v. caus. rec.
kh-pakuzika v. caus. p/s.
rel. nom.
m-pakulo n.3 act of dishing out food
u-pakulo n.14 act of dishing out food
- palastika** n. plastic
chijamu cha palastika ‘plastic plate’
- i-pala** n. thatch, reed, grass stick
Ipala/ ha’imubli/ noka. ‘A reed does not kill a snake.’ (A proverb.)
Mayi mamulo/ hayapiishi/ ipala. ‘Hot water does not burn thatch.’ (A proverb.)
- l-pala (m-p^hala)** n. 9/10 [Sw. *paa* SSED 359] one side of a roof; the re-enforcing rods (**mp^hoondro**) on a roof; forehead
- m-palaa mulo** n. 1/2 one who goes to get fire in order to start a fire

- kh-pala* v. [Sw. *paa* SSED 359] (**pazile**) scrape, scratch, claw the earth
khpalaa muḷo ‘to ask for, get fire for making a fire’
Haliima/ pazilee muḷo/ ka Aamina/ kaawo. ‘Haliima got a small fire (to use to start a fire) at Aamina’s house.’
khpalaa nsi ‘to scale a fish’
Mi/ shpalaa nsi. ‘I was scraping the scales off the fish.’
Washpala nsi izo/ washṭinda makaapaye. ‘They scaled those fish and cut off the fins.’
Mwaank^huku/ habarshoowi/ khpalaa nt^hi. ‘A chick is not taught to scratch the ground.’ (A proverb.)
Nk^huku/ nakhpalaa nt^hi. ‘The chicken is scratching the ground.’
rel.
- kh-paḷoowa* v. pass.
Masku/ ha’ipaḷoowi/ muḷo. ‘One does not get fire for starting a fire at night.’ (A superstition.)
- rel. nom.
m-pala (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who gets fire to start a fire
mpalaa muḷo ‘a person who goes to get fire in order to start a fire’
- i-palapala* (*ma-*) n. 5/6 skull; **forehead??**
rel.
sh-palapala (*s-*) n. dim.
- kh-palaza* v. [Sw. *paaza* SSED 359] (**paleeze**) crush dry, unhusked maize with two round stones, where stone on the top has a hole in the middle and a handle which is moved in a circular fashion to crush the maize inside the hole
Hupalaza/ hufanya unga. ‘She crushes (maize), she makes flour.’
Ijiwe iyi/ haypalazi/ geḷe. ‘This stone will not grind the maize.’
Nuuru/ paleeze geḷe. ‘Nuuru crushed grain.’
rel.
kh-palaliza v. appl. (**palaliize**) grind for, with
kh-palalizika v. appl. p/s. able to be ground for
Omari/ hapalaliziki/ geḷe. ‘Omari cannot be ground maize for.’ (Syn: In this construction, **Omari** can be the subject of the verb but not **geḷe**, thus the ungrammaticality of ***Geḷe iyi/ haypalaliziki/ Omari.**)
kh-palazika v. p/s.
Geḷe iyi/ haypalaziki. ‘This maize cannot be ground.’
Geḷe iyi/ ipalazishile. ‘This maize was able to be ground.’
kh-palazikila v. p/s/ appl.
kh-palazisha v. caus.
Nuuru/ mpalazishize mwaana/ geḷe. ‘Nuuru had the child grind the maize.’
kh-palazishiliza v. caus. appl.
Nuuru/ mpalazishilize Suufi/ mwaana/ geḷe. ‘Nuuru had Suufi’s child grind the maize.’
kh-palazishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
Nuuru/ na Suufi/ wapalazishilizenye waana/ geḷe. ‘Nuuru and Suufi had each other’s children grind the maize.’
kh-palazoowa v. (**paleeza**)
- paale* n. coral rag; **paale** is burned into a powder called **nt^huwaakala**
- paamba* n. [Sw. *pamba* SSED 362] cotton
muti wa paamba ‘cotton plant’
noloolo/ kana paamba ‘as soft as cotton’

Tila mashkiloyo/ paamba/ ka kuḷa ya eelo/ takhaambiló. ‘Put cotton in your ears (i.e. don’t listen) to each (thing) that the gazelle will tell you.’

rel.

sh-paamba (s-) n. 7/8 dim. a bit of cotton

kh-paamba

v. [Sw. *pamba* SSED 362] (**pambiile**) decorate, arrange, put in order; thatch (a house)

Wawashi/ wanakhpamba nuumba/ ka nt^huwaakala. ‘The builders are painting limestone on the house.’

rel.

kh-paambila v. appl. (**pambiliile**)

kh-pamboowa v. pass.

Nuumba/ inakhpambowa ka nt^huwaakala. ‘The house is being painted with limestone.’

kh-paambula v. rev. (**pambiile**) remove adornment

rel. nom.

ma-paambo n. 6 adornments; the act of thatching a house

mapambo yaa chike ‘female adornments’

u-paambo n. 14 the act of adorning, decorating

ma-paambulo n. 6 the act of removing adornments

u-paambulo n. 14 the act of removing adornments

kh-pamba’uka

v. [cf. Sw. *pambazuka* SSED 363] (**-pamba’ushile**) dawn

kh-paambana

v. [Sw. *pambana* SSED 363] (**-pambeene**) meet

pamo na

together with **review whether should be pamó/ na throughout**

Chingile ka mukeewe/ pamo na mwanaamke. ‘He went to his wife together with her daughter.’

Eelo/ ishize sku niingi/ pamo na Sultani Daraayi. ‘The gazelle stayed many days together with Sultan Daraayi.’

the working donkeys.’

Iize/ kuuwa pamo na mp^hundra za kaazi. ‘He refused to be together with

him and put him with the working

donkeys.’

Mi/ nile apa/ pamo na sultaani/ wiitu. ‘I came here together with our sultan.’

mloombe jana pamo na mtume Haadi [st.] ‘pray to God for paradise together with the prophet Haadi’

Muda oyo/ wotte/ upisiló/ hattá/ sku mooyi/ Safiya/ nt^hakeendra/ chiliini/ pamo na muḷiwe. ‘All that time which passed, not even one day did Safiya go to bed with her husband.’

Oloshale koowa/ pamo na want^hu wiingine. ‘He went to bathe together with other people.’

Sarmala/ chiingila/ ka mukeewe/ pamo na mwanaamkewe. ‘The carpenter entered into the (place of) his wife together with her daughter.’

Ushfaanya/ biyaashara/ pamó/ na nt^hi za wa’arabu/ na pamó/ na nt^hi za Afrika ya mashariqi. ‘It (Brava) used to do business with the Arab countries and the countries of East Africa.’
look into the matter of conjoining this entry with below entry

pamooyi

adv. [Sw. *pamoja* SSED 364] together

Chisafireni Mkhodiisho/ pamooyi. ‘Let us travel to Mogadishu together.’
Or, with emphasis on the verb: **Chisafireni/ Mkhodiisho/ pamooyi.**

Fanyiize/ jahazi/ pamooyi/ na msaa’ada/ wa want^hu/ wamwaminiloo ye/ na mwajiituwé. ‘He made a boat together with the help of people who believed in him and his God.’

Nuuru/ na Hasani/ wa'ile pamooyi. 'Nuuru and Hasani came together.'

Pamooyi/ wajiiló/ waana. 'Together the children ate.'

Sku mooyi/ mp^huundra/ naa mbwa/ wachisaafira/ pamooyi. 'One day a donkey and a dog were traveling together.'

Walate wanateze numbaani/ pamooyi. 'Let them play at home together.'

Waana/ wawena pamooyi. 'The children were seen together.'

Ye/ yuñiile/ kuwaa ye/ fanyize mkaatāba/ kama uyu/ pamooyi/ na Abunawaasi. 'He regretted that he had made a contract like this together with Abunawaasi.'

m-paampa

n. 9/10 [Sw. *papa* SSED 366] shark; [pron. **mp^haamp^ha**]

sharks at that place.'

Apo/ ichiwa ziko mp^haamp^ha/ niingi. 'It was the case that there were many

Kila muunt^hi/ chiya mp^haamp^ha/ mooyi/ kuja matuundra/ yashpoteló/

ka nt^hanziini. 'Each day a shark came to eat the fruit that fell from its branches.'

mp^haamp^ha aswadi '[lit.] black shark, a small shark (one to two meters in length) with white on the belly, exact type unknown'

mp^haamp^ha huundru 'a type of shark, with red meat'

mp^haamp^ha lpaanga 'a swordfish'

mp^haamp^ha mapeembe '[lit.] horned shark, a large hammerhead shark'

mp^haamp^ha matete 'tiger shark'

Siimba/ kaa hima/ dirka ruuhuyo/ mp^haamp^ha maṭete/ nakuuya/ ka chinumecho/ chihadó/ Diini. 'Siimba, quickly, save yourself! a tiger shark is coming from behind you, the one who spoke was Diini.'

mp^haamp^ha melpe '[lit.] white shark – small shark, white in color'

mp^haamp^ha mgoomba 'a type of smaller shark [the name refers to a plant called *igoomba*, which has a color similar to the fish]'

mp^haamp^ha mlome (or: **mnome**) 'a kind of shark, not dangerous to man, with a small mouth and without teeth, crunches what it eats'

mp^haamp^ha mnoka '[lit.] snake shark – a very long, but small shark'

mp^haamp^ha wowiini '[lit.] river shark – a kind of small shark, exact type unknown, fished during June-August when the river flows into the sea; like a small reef shark, but no black tips, dark in color'

mp^haamp^ha wa fantu 'a type of shark, much preferred in Brava for eating'

mp^haamp^ha ya maazi '[lit.] blood shark, a kind of hammerhead shark with reddish meat, brownish in color (perhaps a bonnethead shark?)'

mp^haamp^ha yaa nt^hi '[lit.] shark of the sea floor, a greyish colored shark with white flesh that lives on the sea floor; exact type is unknown, could be any number of small sharks'

Mwana wa waziiri/ jila na mp^haamp^ha/ na mooyi/ karka watumawé/ teta na maayi. 'The son of the minister was eaten by a shark and one of his servants was drowned.'

Wo/ washpeleka Afrika ya mashariqi/ ngoonda/ mp^haamp^haa nk^havu/... 'They sent to East Africa dried fish, dried sharks...'

pana

existential verbal form

Maduriini/

Panaa nfuye/ maduriini. 'There is a monkey/are monkeys in the bush.' Or: **panaa nfuye.**

-paana

adj. [Sw. *-pana* SSED 364] wide
chibatera shaana 'a wide boat'

idila ipaana ‘a wide (aug.) road’
khfanya paana ‘to widen’
lkuta lpaana ‘a wide wall’
midila mipaana ‘wide (aug.) roads’
numba mphaana ‘a wide house’

rel.

ma-paana n. 6 width

u-paana n. 14 width

m-pana

n. 9/10 [Sw. *panya* SSED 366] rat; [pron. **mp^hana**] (Phon. Observe that the dental **n** in Chimiini corresponds to **ny** in Standard Swahili.)

chambo chaa mp^hana ‘bait for catching rats’

Chilaweeni/ kaa mp^hana. ‘Let’s go to the rats.’

Chiṭaache/ kana chaa mp^hana. ‘His head is like that of a rat (i.e. small).’

Iize/ mujaa mp^hana. ‘He [the cat] refused to eat the rat.’

Kamaa mp^haka/ naa mp^hana. ‘Like a cat and a rat.’ (A proverb.)

kana/ mp^hana ‘like a rat/mouse’

Haliima/ nakuzala waana/ wiingi/ kanaa mp^hana. ‘Haliima is giving birth to children as many as mice.’

Hamadi/ chiṭaache/ chihaba/ kana/ chaa mp^hana. ‘Hamadi’s head is small like that of a rat/mouse.’

kola yaa mp^hana ‘sticky substance used to catch rats’

Mahala uko mp^haká/ mp^hana/ hawaako. ‘Where there are cats, there are no rats there.’

matuzi yaa mp^hana ‘rat droppings’

Mi/ nk^hawa ni hukhadiro khfanya yaa mi/ nnakhsuuló/ mazá/ mp^hana/ sula khaadira/ so/ kunt^humbula nt^huundrú/ kanmake/ kingila numbaani/ khfanya zaa wo/ wanakhsuuló. ‘If I am able to do whatever I want [a mud wall is the speaker in the story from which this comes], how come a rat is able to make a hole in me and enter the house to do whatever they want.’

Mp^haka/ naa mp^hana/ hawoonani. ‘Cats and rats do not see one another – i.e. they do not dwell together amicably.’ (Phon. The verb form **hawoonani** would seem to be a contraction from the expected **hawawonani**.)

Mp^haka/ na’ondroke/ nakhfakata/ nakhsula kendra kumujaa mp^hana. ‘The cat left and ran and wanted to go to eat the rat.’

Mp^hana/ haalawi/ ndilaani/ muunt^hi. ‘A rat does not go outside during the day.’

Mp^hana/ khufanyizeni. ‘What did the rat do to you?’

Mp^hana/ uyu/ jawaabuze/ nza lila. ‘This rat, his words are truthful.’

Omari/ na Ali/ nii mp^haka/ naa mp^hana. ‘Omari and Ali are [like] cats and rats (i.e. they fight with one, don’t get along).’

Shishilee mp^hana. ‘He caught a rat.’

Sku mooyi/ mp^hana/ ziweshlee fadhi. ‘One day the rats held a meeting.’

sumu yaa mp^hana ‘rat poison’

Ublelee mp^hana. ‘He killed a rat.’

Wacheendra/ kummeraa mp^hana/ wamweenopó/ wachingila

kumvunaanga. ‘They went and searched for a rat; when they saw one, they began to beat him.’

Wasakha/ huletoo mp^hana. ‘It is dirt that brings rats [to a place].’

Wenee mp^hana. ‘He saw a rat.’ (Cf. **Mwenee mp^hana.** ‘He saw the rat.’)

rel.

i-pana (mi-) n. 5/4 aug. a large rat; [pron. **ipana**]

sh-pana (s-) n. dim. 7/8 a little rat; [pron. **shpana**]

sh-pana (s-)

n. [Sw. *panya* SSED 366 cites the example *panya ya mkono* ‘lit. rat of arm’ and comments: “children stretch out their arm and strike quickly the muscle of the upper arm, and a movement is seen, this is called *panya ya mkono*”] muscle; [pron. **shpana**]

kh-paandra

v. [Sw. *panda* SSED 364] (**paanzile**) mount, climb, go up, ascend, get on or in any kind of vehicle (car, airplane, etc.), ride, embark; increase (as of prices)

Abunawaasi/ shpaandra/ hatá/ chendra ka Haruun/ Rashiidi.

‘Abunawaasi climbed up the stairs until he went to Harun Rashiidi.’

Ba’ada ya kula mp^hundra ikumi/ mo/ paanzile. ‘After buying ten donkeys, one he rode.’

Bakayle/ hakhaadiri/ spandraa miti/ khukhada’iile/ khambila jis’iyo. ‘A rabbit cannot climb trees; it deceived you by telling you that (i.e. it would climb up the tree and kill you).’

Cheendra/ shpandra ilu ya magome. ‘He went and climbed up the rocks.’

Chimaliza/ washpandra chibaṭeera. ‘Then they got on a boat.’

Chimpaandra/ choloka naaye/ numbaani. ‘He climbed up on (e.g. the donkey) and went with it to his home.’

Chimviila/ waziiriwe/ chimwaambila/ mi/ nnakhsuḷa khtumaa nt^humé/

kumera rukhsa/ si/ khpaandra/ jahaziini. ‘He called his minister and told him: I want to send a message to seek permission for us to embark on the boat.’ (Note the NP+infinitive complement sentence following **kumera rukhsa** ‘to seek permission’.)

Gaari/ uzilo Haají/ spaandri. ‘The truck that Haaji bought, I will not ride in it.’

Hamadi/ panzilee muti. ‘Hamadi climbed a tree.’

Hupandra mooyi. ‘He rides one (of the donkeys).’

Jahazi/ ipanzile mwaamba. ‘The dhow went aground on the rock.’

khpaandra baaro ‘to be, get moldy’

Maandra/ ipanzile baaro. ‘The bread got moldy.’

khpaandra chiliini ‘to confine oneself to bed (as of a sick person)’

Mama yaawo/ naayé/ chishikowa maraḍi/ shpandra chiliini.

‘Their mother also fell sick and confined herself to bed.’

khpaandra chitaani ‘lit. to climb on the head -- to take advantage of someone’

Watakhupandra chitaani. ‘They will take advantage of you.’

khpaandra farasi ‘to mount a horse’

Pandra farasi/ chilawe. ‘Mount a horse and let us go.’

khpaandra gaari ‘to take a car’

khpaandra ibuuri/ iburiini ‘to climb a hill’

khpaandra jahazi ‘to go on board a boat’

Nuuhu/ shpandra jahazi. ‘Noah went on the boat.’

khpaandra kishkila ‘to go up and down (e.g. stairs, hill)’

khpaandra miriri ‘to be rusty’

Chisu/ shpanzile miriri. ‘The knife got rusty.’

khpaandraa muti ‘to climb a tree’

Bakayle/ hakhaadiri/ khpaandraa miti/ khukhada’iile/ khambila jis’iyo. ‘A rabbit cannot climb trees; he deceived you telling you that (i.e. that he would climb the tree and kill you).’

Suufi/ panzilee muti. ‘Suufi climbed a tree.’

Maka uyu/ chaakuja/ shpaanzile/ nt^ho. ‘This year [the prices of] foodstuffs increased very much. Or: foodstuffs became much more expensive.’

Mbona/ panzile chulunguuni/ leeló. ‘I see that you came upstairs today.’

Mi/ nnakhpandra/ so/ amó/ nnakishkilá. ‘Am I climbing up or coming

down?’

Mooshi/ upaanzile. ‘The smoke rose.’

Mukhtạa wo/ wałazilo chibulooni/ mzeele/ chimpandra mp^huundra. ‘When they left the village, the old man rode the donkey.’

Mwaanawe/ chimwaambila/ la/ waawé/ mi/ siná/ haaja/ ya khpaandra/ jahaziyo. ‘His son said to him: no, my father, I have no need to board your ship.’

Mpandraa ngazi/ mwiishowe/ hishkila. ‘The one who climbs a ladder, his end is he comes down.’ (A proverb.)

Mp^hanzilee mutí/ yuuzi. ‘I climbed the tree the day before yesterday.’
(Phon. Note that in the default case, a time adverb is out of focus and the final accent triggered by the verb does not extend to it. It is possible however to put the focus on the time adverbial:

Mp^hanzilee mutí/ yuuzí. ‘It is the day before yesterday that I climbed the tree.’)j

Mukhtạa wo/ wałazilo chibulooní/ mzeele/ chimpandra mp^huundra. ‘When they left the village, the old man rode the donkey.’

Nofete khpandra kishkilá/ munt^hi mzimá. ‘I am tired of going up and down all day long.’

Nuuhu/ chimwona/ mwaanawe/ karka maayi/ chimviila/ chimwaambila/ ndo/ pandra naasi. ‘Nuuhu saw his son in the water and he called to him saying to him: come, climb aboard with us.’

Omari/ mishpa (w)a moongo/ umpaanzile. ‘Omari’s backbone has over-ridden him (i.e. he has become so thin).’

Paandra/ mloongoti/ uyu. ‘Climb this mast!’

Sku mooyi/ muke/ shpata marađi/ shpandra chiliini. ‘One day the woman fell sick and was confined to bed.’

Uzilopo mp^huundra/ chimpaandra/ choloka naa ye/ kaake. ‘When he had bought the donkey, he climbed on it, and went with it to his place.’

rel.

kh-paandrana v. rec. (-pandreene) carry each other on the shoulder

kh-pandranisha v. pile things on one another

kh-pandrappaandra v. freq.

Takhpandrapandra mishaka. ‘I will walk over shrubs.’

kh-paandrika v. p/s.

kh-pandriloowa v. appl. pass. (pandriliila)

kh-paandrila v. appl. (pandriliile) go up for, with, using; climb on

Chimera kaa wo/ iđni/ yaa ye/ kumpandriila Harun Rashiidi. ‘He asked from them permission to go up to see Harun Rashiidi.’

Mleete/ mwaana/ mooyi/ na chiza kump^ha/ nt^hakhupaandrila/ khuja. ‘Bring to me one chick (the speaker in this text is talking to a pigeon) and if you refuse to give me what I ask for, I’ll climb up for you to eat you.’

Mwaana/ nakhupandrila muti. ‘The child is climbing up the tree on you (putting himself in danger and thus to your detriment).’

Takump^haandrila/ apa/ mahałaa mi/ niikó. ‘It will come up here to the place where I am.’

Wakomeelopó/ nfuye/ chuuluka/ chi’ipandrila mutiini/ kaake/ chimpa mp^haamp^ha/ waraadi. ‘When they reached [the tree], the monkey jumped [off Shark] and climbed up his tree/ and said goodbye to Shark.’

kh-pandrisha v. caus. (pandrishiize) cause someone to go up (by persuasion, instruction, etc., not by physically taking him up)

Mpandrishize mwaana/ muti(ini). ‘He caused (persuaded, instructed, etc.) the child to climb (onto) the tree.’

Mpandrishize Zahara/ chaakuja/ chulunguuni. ‘He caused (persuaded, instructed, etc.) Zahara to take food upstairs.’

muti wa Suufi/ mpandrishizo mwaaná... ‘the tree that Suufi made the boy climb...’

kh-pandrishan(y)a v. caus. rec. (**-pandrisheen(y)e**) cause one another to ride

Wapandrishenye gaari. ‘They caused one another to take a car.’

kh-pandrishika v. caus. p/s.

kh-pandrishiliza v. caus. appl. (The only use that we have observed for this applied verb is a ‘benefactive’ one, as seen in the example below.)

Muusa/ mpandrishilize mwaalimu/ mwaana/ chaakuja/ chulunguuni.

‘Muusa caused the teacher’s child to take the food upstairs.’ (In a sentence such as this, **mwaalimu** is a benefactive noun, in the broad sense of that term discussed in the introductory material. This sentence *cannot* mean: ‘Muusa caused the child to take the food up to the teacher.’)

Suufi/ mpandrishilize Nuuru/ mwaana/ chulunguuni. ‘Suufi persuaded Nuuru’s child to go upstairs.’

kh-pandrishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-pandrishilizoowa v. caus. appl. pass.

Mwaalimu/ pandrishiliza mwaana/ chulunguuni. ‘The teacher’s child was caused to go upstairs.’

kh-pandrishoowa v. caus. pass. (**pandrishiiza**) be caused to go up

kh-pandroowa v. pass. (**paanzila**) be boarded, gotten on (of any kind of vehicle), be ridden, ascended

kh-paanza v. tr. [Sw. *panza* SSED 364] (**panziize**) raise, cause to ascend, take up, **make climb/ride;** run (a vessel) to ground

Ali/ mpanzize mwaana/ muti. ‘Ali took the child up the tree.’

Ali/ mpanzize mwaana/ mutiini. ‘Ali lifted the child onto the tree.’

Chishkila ka ilu ya mp^huundra/ chimpanza mwaana. ‘He climbed down from on the donkey and made the child ride.’

khpanza itaanga ‘to hoist a sail’

Khpanzizee we. ‘I made you ride.’

khpanza mahkama ‘to try in court’

khpanza maayi ‘to pump water’

kumpanza mwanaamke/ chiliini [lit.] to put a girl on the bed -- this is the first ceremony of the wedding of **want^hu wa Miini**: the bride is ceremonially put on a bed before the celebration of the marriage contract’

Panzize choombo/ mwaamba. ‘He ran a vessel onto the rocks.’ (A saying meaning: he ruined the plan, scheme.)

rel.

kh-panziliza v. appl. run aground on

Simwaaminé/ oyo/ takhupanziliza choombo/ mwaamba. ‘Don’t trust that one (near you), he will ruin the plan for you (lit. run the vessel aground for you).’

kumpanza muunt^hu/ noongo ‘lit. to cause s.o.’s bile rise -- meaning: to make fun of s.o. with ironic repartees’ (but very often used in the passive reciprocal form, see below)

Nimpanzize noongó/ attá/ lizile. ‘I made ironic remarks to him until he wept.’

Muusa/ panzize chaakuja/ chulunguuni. ‘Muusa took the food upstairs.’

Nimwambilopo kuwa nakhsula kujaaribá/ Ali/ mpanzize farasiye.

‘When I told him that I want to try, Ali permitted me to ride his horse.’

Panzize choombo/ mwaamba. ‘He ran the vessel onto the rock.’ (A proverbial saying.)

Washpanza sanduukhu/ naawó/ washpaandra/ wachendra

markubuuni. ‘They carried the box and they went on (e.g. the boat) and went to the ship.’

kh-paanzanya v. tr. rec. (**panzeenye** or **panzanyiiize**) stack

khpanzanya miilu ‘to cross the legs’

kh-panzanyanoowa v. tr. rec. pass.

khpanzanyanoowa noongo ‘said of friends who make (ironical, verbal) jokes at each other’s expenses’

kh-paanzika v. tr. p/s.

kh-panziliza v. tr. appl. (**panziliize**) raise for, on

Somo/ mp^hanzilizee be’i. ‘Somo raised the price on me.’

Muusa/ mpanzilize Zahara/ chaakuja/ chulunguuni. ‘Muusa took the food upstairs to Zahara.’

child upstairs.’

Suufi/ mpanzilize Nuuru/ mwaana/ chulunguuni. ‘Suufi took Nuuru’s

kh-panzilizanya v. tr. appl. rec.

kh-panzilizoowa v. caus. appl. pass. (**panziliiza**)

kh-paanzisha v. tr. caus. cause s.t. to go up

to take water upstairs’

Suufi/ mpanzishize mwaana/ maayi/ chulunguuni. ‘Suufi caused the child

kh-panzishiliza v. tr. caus. appl.

kh-panzishilizanya v. tr. caus. appl. rec.

kh-panzoowa v. tr. pass. (**panziiza**)

Keesho/ manaamke/ takhpanzowa chiliini. ‘Tomorrow the girl will be put on the bed -- i.e. be wed (see under **khpaanza**)’

Sanduukhu/ ipanziizapó/ markabuuni/ mwaana/ chamura inatiloowa/ kaake/ mtanaani. ‘When the box was loaded on the ship, the boy ordered it to be put in his room.’

rel. nom.

m-paandra (wa-) n. 1/2 one who rides

Mpandra farasii mbili/ hatuka tuusi. ‘One who rides two horses splits his ass.’ (A proverb that counsels against being too ambitious, trying to do too many things at once.)

end, he comes down.’ (A proverb.)

Mpandraa ngazi/ mwiishowe/ hishkiġa. ‘The one who climbs a ladder, his

m-pandrampaandra n. 9/10 [Sw. *panda* SSED 364] a kind of horn used in a local dance and also used in formal announcements of government decisions; [pron. **mp^handremphaandre**]

l-paandre (m-) n. 11/10 [Sw. *upande* SSED 202] side, direction, region, portion; [pron. pl. **mp^haandre**]

Chiwona/ naambila/ chiiko/ lpandre gani/ mi/ nt^hakhpita/ lpandre ilo/ na shpitá/ we/ chidafkule/ chijumba icho. ‘When you see it, tell me on which side it is, and I will pass by that side, and when I pass, snatch that nest!’

Karkaa ndila/ mukhta wo/ wanakiineendró/ lpaandre/ mbilize/ zaa ndila/ waliko waant^hu. ‘On the street when they were walking, on both sides of the road there were people.’

lpandre la maandra ‘a half loaf of bread’

lpandra la mlima ‘the side of a hill’

Mi/ na makhaadimú/ saba/ choloshele ka lpandre liinginé/ la mdauriini. ‘I and my seven servants went to the other side of the bush country.’

Mwanaamke/ jüile/ ka lpaandre/ laa ye/ nt^hakhtilaa dawá. ‘The girl ate from the side that she did not put the drugs.’ (Phon. Observe that in the negative relative clause, the verb is not phrasally isolated from its complement, as it would ordinarily be in a main clause.)

Sultaani/ uyu/ naa ye/ kiġa shpisa/ hukumu/ hulangala/ ka kubġlike/ chimaliza huteka/ kanmake/ hulangala/ lpaandre/ la kusooto/ hula. ‘This king [lit. and he] whenever he passes judgement, he looks to his right and then laughs, then he looks to his left, and he cries.’

tilted on one side’

...ya kuwa muuyi/ uyu/ wiiko/ ka lpaandre/ wineeme ‘that this town was

rel.

u-paandre 14 direction

Oloshela upandre uyu. ‘He went in this direction.’

upandre wa kubli ‘the right side, direction’

upandre wa kusoto ‘the left side, direction’

sh-paandre (*s-*)
some time ago

n. 7/8 [Sw. *kipande* SSED 202] slice, piece, some amount of time; adv. for a while,

Chimwaambila/ kumulilaa luzi/ na shpaandré/ chaa nguwo. ‘He told him to buy for him thread and a piece of cloth.’ [review accent here](#)

kumera spandre za maandra ‘to look for pieces of bread’

Mbele/ mizize shpandre cha nt’hiini/ kaa numa/ rudiile/ mizize shpandre cha ilu. ‘First it [the shark] swallowe the lower piece, then it returned and swallowed the upper part.’

Nimliinzilé/ shpaandre. ‘I waited for him for a while.’

Omari/ nt’hangú/ olosheló/ ni shpaandre. ‘Since Omari has been gone, it is

quite some time.’

Shpaandre/ skumona. ‘I have not seen him for some time.’

Siimba/ owelele ka himaahima/ hattá/ dirshile igome/ laakini/ mukhtaa ye/ anzizo khpandra igomé/ mp^haamp^ha/ mdirshile/ mbishile spandre ziwili. ‘Siimba swam quickly until he reached the rock, but when e started to climb up the rock, the shark reached him and tore him into two pieces.’

Siimba/ owelele ka himaahima/ hattá/ dirshile igome/ laakini/ mukhtaa ye/ anzizo khpandra igomé/ mp^haamp^ha/ mdirshile/ mbishile spandre ziwili. ‘Siimba swam quickly until he reached the rock, but when e started to climb up the rock, the shark reached him and tore him into two pieces.’

Siimba/ owelele ka himaahima/ hattá/ dirshile igome/ laakini/ mukhtaa ye/ anzizo khpandra igomé/ mp^haamp^ha/ mdirshile/ mbishile spandre ziwili. ‘Siimba swam quickly until he reached the rock, but when e started to climb up the rock, the shark reached him and tore him into two pieces.’

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shpandre cha maandra ‘a slice of bread’

rel.

s-pandre spaandre n. pieces

Malizopo khtinda ngoombé/ tete iyoo nama/ tinzile spandrespaandre. ‘When he finished slaughtering the cow, he took that meat and cut it into pieces.’

m-paandru

n. 9/10 [Sw. *panju* SSED 366] a kind of fish; [pron. mp^haandru]

kh-paanga

v. [Sw. *panga* SSED 365] *obsolete* put in order, arrange; rent (Morph: The past tense form of this verb is uncertain. If it is **pangiile**, then it would be the same as the past tense of **khpaangula**; if the past tense form is **paanzile**, then it would be the same as the past of **khpaanda** ‘to go up’. Thus there is no available form that would keep this verb distinct from all other verbs. We have not, however, observed which available form is actually used due to the fact that the verb seems to be obsolete.)

rel. nom.

m-paango n. 3 [Sw. *mpango* ‘act of arranging’ SSED 366] *obsolete* plan of (future)

action, program; arrangement, arranging, putting in order; meeting, appointment

khfanya mpaango ‘to make a plan (to go somewhere, to do something in the future, esp. of two or more persons together)’

ma-paango n. 6 act of leasing or renting something from someone

l-paanga (m-)

n. 11/10 [Sw. *panga* SSED 365] sword; [pron. **mp^haanga** ‘swords’]

...**ka mp^hanga zaawo/ na gashani zaawó** ‘...with their swords and their shields’

kubiga lpaanga ‘to cut ([lit.] hit) with a sword’

Ile mwiimbili/ mooyi/ mbishile ka lpaanga/ nt^hinzile kuulu/ nt^hiinziló. ‘There came a young man and he struck me with a sword, he cut off (my) leg, that’s what he did.’

Muke/ zimiile/ mtanaani/ kaake/ na lpaangá/ mkonooni/ namlindaa mp^hisi. ‘The woman hid in her bedroom with a sword in her hand, she was waiting for the hyena.’

Na khadimuyá/ naayé/ chiya/ ka lpaangale/ la maso mawili/ chimtinda chitaache. ‘And my servant, also, came with his two-edged sword and cut off (e.g. the assailant’s) head.’

Ndo/ noka uyu/ naayo/ so/ lpaangá. ‘Come, does this snake have a sword?’ (The final accent on **lpaanga** is triggered by this being a yes-no question.)

Sulhu/ hayiyyi/ ila ka nt^ha ya lpaanga. ‘Peace does not come except at the point of a sword.’ (A proverb.)

Wamaanga/ wankubigana ka mp^haanga. ‘Arabs are striking one another with swords.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **daank^hu** ‘popcorn’.)

Ye/ mtosheze kuwa ni siimba/ waa ye/ nammeeró/ chimbiga/ ka lpaanga/ chimubla. ‘He thought that it was the lion that he was searching for, [so] he struck him with a sword and killed him.’

Ye/ mtete farasiye [or: farasiwe]/ mpaanzile/ lpaangale/ tukile mkonooni/ na ijambiyayé/ funzile mimbaani. ‘He took his horse and mounted him, his sword he carried in his hand, and his dagger he tied to his stomach.’

rel.

i-paanga (mi-) n. 5/4 aug. machete

sh-paanga (s-) n. 7/8 dim.

m-paangu (mi-)

n. 3/4 plan

kh-paanguka

v. intr. (-**pangushile**) fade (of colors); be erased, be erasable

Alama izi/ zinakhpaanguka. ‘These marks can be erased.’

Chiguwo ichi/ haspaanguki. ‘This cloth won’t fade.’

Ranji iyi/ haypaanguki. ‘This pain won’t scratch off.’

Sabuura/ ipangushile. ‘This blackboard has been erased.’

Sabura iyi/ hupanguka ka sahali. ‘This blackboard erases easily.’

rel.

kh-pangukila v. appl.

Sabuura/ impangukiliile. ‘The blackboard erased for him.’

kh-pangulila v. tr. appl. (**panguliile**)

Ali/ pangulile sabuura/ chiguwo. ‘Ali erased the blackboard with a piece of cloth.’ Or: **Chiguwo/ Ali/ pangulile sabuura.** ‘A piece of cloth, Ali used it to wipe the blackboard clean.’ (An instrument, in an instrumental use of the applied verb, is commonly fronted. The instrument does not appear to be naturally focused in the applied construction, and thus does not so easily appear in the position immediately after the verb, which is typically a position where focused elements may be placed. **We have recorded examples like Pangulile chiguwo/ sabuura.** ‘He wiped the blackboard with a piece of cloth.’, but they do not seem to be favored. The instrumental applied verb does not have an object prefix agreeing either with the

- instrument or the logical object: ***Ipangulile sabuura/ chiguwo.** nor ***Shpangulile sabuura/ chiguwo.**)
Tete fasaleta/ khpangulila mwaana/ mapula. ‘He took a handkerchief to wipe the child’s nose with.’
- kh-panguliloowa* v. tr. appl. pass.
Chiguwo/ shpangulila sabuura. ‘A piece of cloth was used to wipe the blackboard.’
- Fasaleta/ ipangulila mapula.** ‘A handkerchief was used to wipe (someone’s) nose.’ (Syn. Our data is unclear with regard to the instrument can be the passive subject in a sentence like **?Fasaleta/ ipangulila mwaana/ mapula.** ‘A handkerchief was used to wipe the child’s nose.’)
- whether
Muke/ pangulila mwaana/ mapula. ‘The woman had the child’s nose wiped for her.’
- kh-panguloowa* v. tr. pass.
Mwaana/ pangila mapula/ ka fasaleta. ‘The child had his nose wiped with a handkerchief.’ (Syn. It should be noted that **mapula** cannot be the subject of the passive verb: ***Mapula/ yapangila mwaana.** ‘The nose was wiped the child.’)
- kh-paangula* v.tr. (**pangiile**) erase, wipe clean
Ali/ pangile sabuura/ ka chiguwo. ‘Ali wiped the blackboard clean with a piece of cloth.’
- blackboard,’
Chiguwo ichi/ hashpaanguli/ sabuura. ‘This rag doesn’t erase the blackboard.’
- Haliima/ nakhpangula zilolo.** ‘Haliima is wiping clean the mirrors.’
khpangula mapula ‘to wipe the nose’ **is this used for one’s own nose**
- Maamé/ pangula maatoyo/ jisa suura/ ndranga.** ‘My mother, wipe your eyes nicely and look at me.’
- Mpangile mwaana/ mapula/ ka fasaleta.** ‘He wiped the child’s nose with a handkerchief.’
- Nuuru/ pangile ziina.** ‘Nuuru erased the (lit.) letters (of the alphabet).’
Omari/ pangiile/ ziinaze. ‘Omari erased his (lit.) letters (of the alphabet).’
- kh-pangulika* v. tr. p/s.
Sabura iyi/ haypanguliki. ‘This blackboard cannot be erased.’
Sabura iyi/ hupangulika ka sahali/ (na mwaana). ‘This blackboard can be easily erased (by the child).’
- kh-pangulisha* v. tr. caus. (**pangulishiize**)
Ali/ mpangulishize Sa’iidi/ ruuhuye/ ivuumbi. ‘Ali caused Saiidi to dust himself off.’
- kh-paanguza* v. caus. (**-pangiize**)
Nuuru/ mpangize mwaana/ sabuura. ‘Nuuru had the child wipe the blackboard.’
- paapa* locative strong demonstrative
hachilati muuyi wiitu shtiloowa papa kafani [nɛ.] ‘we won’t leave our town, we will die here -- lit. let us be put in a shroud here’
- paapa/ apa* locative emphatic demonstrative, first position [Sw. *papa hapa* SSED 366] just here, at this very place (used by MI as well as present-day speakers)
Chibuuku/ chiko paapa/ apa/ numbaani. ‘The book is right here somewhere in the house.’
Mi/ nakhsuulá/ chiruuda/ khudirikila paapa/ apa. ‘I want, when I return, to find you right here.’
paapa/ apa/ numbaani ‘at this very house’; or: **paapa/ numbaani/ apa** ‘ibid.’; or: **apa/ paapa/ numbaani** ‘ibid.’
- kh-papa* v. [Sw. *papa* SSED 336] (**papiile**) have a strong desire for s.t., accumulate things to the point of being greedy
Nakhpapa. ‘He is being greedy.’
- paapa* [cl.16] strong demonstrative, first position

paapa/ apa [Sw. *papa hapa* SSED 366] ‘just here, this very place’
Chibuuku/ chiko paapa apa/ numbaani. ‘The book is here
somewhere in the house.’

Mi/ nakhsuulá/ chiruuda/ khudirikila paapa/ apa. ‘I want, when
I come back, to find you right here.’

paapaje [cl.16] strong demonstrative, third position (used by MI but not the present-day
speakers we consulted)
paapaje/ apaje ‘that very place over there’

kh-papaant^ha v. (**papeent^he**) mold, shape dough into a round shape to make bread
khpapant^ha maandra ‘to shape **maandra** into a round mass’
rel.
kh-papaant^hila v. appl. (**papant^hiliile**)

kh-papasa v. [Sw. *papasa* SSED 367] caress

m-p^hapaasi n. 9/10 [Sw. *papasi* ‘the Spirillum tick, *Ornithodoros moubata*, which infects with
tick fever’ SSED 367] tick; [pron. **mp^haapasi**]

**Mi/ nk^hawa hukhadira khfanya kila/ yaa mi/ nnakhsuuló/ mazá/ mi
sula...kumjata/ mp^haapasi/ kunaambaṭa.** ‘If I [in the story, a cow
is speaking] were able to do everything that I want, how come I let
a tick stick to me?’

**Mp^haapasi/ chihada/ mi/ nk^hawanazoo nguvú/ khfanyiliza yaa mi/
nnakhsuuló/ mi/ sula kujoowa/ so/ na eeló.** ‘The tick said: if I
have the power to do whatever I want, would I be eaten by a
gazelle?’

Nt^hakhaambaṭa kama mp^hapaasi. ‘I will stick to you like a cow tick (i.e.
like glue).’

**We/ ni mp^haapasí/ humwambaṭo ngoombé/ huno maazí/ ngoombe/
huno maayí...** ;You are the tick that sticks to the cow [and who]
drinks his blood, the cow that drinks the water...’

m-papaayu (mi-) n. 3/4 (=muti wa mapaapayu) [Sw. *mpapai* SSED 296, *mpapayu* SSED 297; Hind.]
papaya tree
rel.
i-papaayu (ma-) n. 5/6 [Sw. *papai (ma-)* SSED 296] papaya

m-paapi n. a type of snapper, perhaps the Yellow Tail Snapper; it is baked in a clay oven
(**nt^hanu**); [pron. **mp^haapi**]

kh-papisha v. [?Sw. *papa* SSED 366] read or talk fast
khpapisha kooḏi ‘to talk fast’
khpapishaa sala ‘to pray quickly, perfunctorily’
Spapishé. ‘Don’t talk fast!’

paapo [cl.16] strong demonstrative second position [Sw. *papo* SSED 367] right there, right
then (Although originally a second position form, among present-day speakers it can
be used in conjunction with the third position weak demonstratives.)

Basi/ ichiwa/ nfuye uyu/ hukalaant^ha/ mutiini/ apo/ na hulala paapo.
‘Well, (the fact) was this monkey used to sit in that tree there and
sleep right there.’

ka paapo ‘at the same place or time, instantly’

Isa/ mp^huundra/ ka paapo/ chiwa nakubigaa nk^heje. ‘Now the

donkey at the very same time was braying [lit. hitting noise].’

Ka paapo/ sultaani/ shtuma ma’askari/ kendra kumvila mbiga mnaado. ‘Instantly, the sultan sent policemen to go to call the one who makes public announcements.’

Ma’askari wa Simsini/ wachiya ka paapo/ washpandra markabu/ wachimtukula mwanaamke/ na mwaana/ naayé/ chishkila/ chendra lfuwooni. ‘The soldiers of Simsini came immediately and boarded the ship and took the girl away and the boy also disembarked and went to the shore.’

Nama/ nusu/ hupikoowa/ hujowa ka paapo. ‘Half of the meat is cooked and eaten right there.’

ka paapo apo ‘at that very place, right then and there’

Mi/ nt^hakhupaandrila/ khuja/ ka paapo/ apo. ‘I will come up for you and eat you at that very place.’

Nfuye uyu/ hukalaant^ha/ mutiini/ apo/ na hulala paapo. ‘This monkey used to stay in the tree there and sleep right there.’

paapo/ apaje ‘right there (away from us)’ (cf. the possibly older form used by MI: **paapaje/ apaje**)

Chibuuku/ chiko paapo/ apaje. ‘The book is still there (away from us).’

paapo/ apaje/ numbaani ‘at that very house’; or: **apaje/ paapo/ numbaani** ‘ibid.’; or: **paapo/ numbaani/ apaje** ‘ibid.’

paapo/ apo [Sw. *papo hapo* SED 367] at that very place, there, at that very moment, then

Chibuuku/ chiko (or: **chipo**) **paapo/ apo/ maha^halaa we/ chiweesheló.** ‘The book is still there where you put it.’

Chibuuku/ chiweshela paapo/ apo/ maha^halaa we/ sulii^hló. ‘The book was put there at the place where you wanted (it to be put).’

Laazimu/ tubaaku/ yiko paapo/ apo/ tu. ‘The tobacco must be

just there at that very place.’

Muunt^hu/ uje/ chilaala/ paapo/ apo/ maduriini. ‘That man slept at that very place in the bush.’

Niko paapó/ apo. ‘I am still at the very same place.’ (cf. **Uko paapo/ apo.** ‘He is still at the very same place.’) (The final accent triggered by the first person form **niko** lands on the final syllable of **paapo**, indicating that there is a phrasal break between **paapo** and **apo** and that **paapo** is focused.)

Nt^hakhsimama/ paapo/ apo. ‘He did not stand right there.’ Or:

Paapo/ apo/ nt^hakhsimama. Or: **Paapo/ apo/ nt^hasimamó.**

Nt^hakuweeka/ zibuuku/ paapo/ apo. ‘He did not put the books in that very place.’ Or: **Paapo/ apo/ nt^hakuweeka/ zibuuku.**

Or: **Paapo/ apo/ nt^hakuweka zibuukú.**

paapo/ apo/ numbaani ‘right at this house’; or: **numbaani/ paapo/ apo** ‘ibid.’; or: **numbaani/ apo/ paapo** ‘ibid.’

Paapo/ apo/ wotte/ wachiletoowa. ‘Immediately all were brought.’

Simeeme/ paapo/ apo. ‘He stood right there.’ Or: **Paapo/ apo/ simeemó.** Or: **Paapo/ apo/ simeeme.**

Uko paapo/ apo/ maha^halaa we/ mlasiló. ‘She is still there at the same place where you left her.’ (Note that while this demonstrative form would ordinarily be taken as indicating a place near the addressee, it is clear from this example that this is not necessarily the case;

rather it seems to involve the person addressed in some way, e.g. the person addressed has been at the place earlier.)

Uzize chiṭa mooyi/ cha ngoombe/ na tomele riyaali/ mooyi/ laakini/ chiṭa/ icho/ ye/ chilasile paapo/ apo. ‘He bought one cow’s head and paid one riyaali/ but/ that head/ he/ left it right there.’

Weshele zibuuku/ paapo/ apo. ‘He put the books right there at that very place.’ Or: **Paapo/ apo/ weshelo zibuukú.** (In the speech of GM, the preposing of **paapo/ apo** preferably triggers pseudo-relativization of the verb; he found ?**Paapo/ apo/ weshelo zibuuku.** to be questionable.)

Paapo/ ichimweeleḷa/ ya kuwa taajiri/ huusha/ maaliye/ nt^hini yaa muti. ‘Right then it became clear to him that the rich man was hiding his money under the tree.’

paapo ka paapo it is the same thing as before, there is no change in the situation, there is no difference; we are at the same point as before; at the same spot; immediately after

Chiiko/ paapo/ ka paapo. ‘We are at the same point as before.’

Paapo/ waant^hu/ washkumaangana/ mbele/ ya chizeele. ‘At once people gathered together in front of the old woman.’

We/ øø olosheló/ Hamadi/ ka paapo/ ile. ‘When you went, Hamadi immediately came.’ (The optional **øø** is the [cl.14] demonstrative

referring to [cl. 14] **wakhtí** ‘time’.)

kh-papuka
gotten from

v. intr. (-**papushile**) be detached from, peel off (of paint), splinter off (of wood); be

Chidaank^hu/ shpapushile. ‘A piece of the roof has broken off.’

Lkuta/ Inakhpapuka. ‘The wall has pieces detaching from it.’

Omari/ hapapuki. ‘One cannot get anything out of/ from Omari.’

Omari/ shiliingi/ hayimpapuki. ‘One cannot get even one shilling from Omari.’

rel.

kh-papukika v. p/s. (-**papukishile**) able to be gotten from

Omari/ leelo/ papukishile/ ba. ‘Today something has been able to be gotten from Omari.’

kh-papukila v. intr. appl. break off on, for someone

kh-papukoowa v. pass.

Apo/ ha’papukoowi/ chiint^hu/ ba. ‘There (at that place) nothing can be gotten (from the people there).’

Chiza khpapukowa chiint^hu/ siwo/ suura. ‘If nothing can be gotten, it is not good.’

Leelo/ laazimu/ khpapukoowa. ‘Today it is a must that something be gotten.’

kh-papulila v. tr. appl. (**papuliile**) break something off for, with

kh-papulilana v. tr. appl. rec. break off for one another

kh-papulilika v. tr. appl. p/s. able to be broken off for

kh-papuloowa v. tr. pass.

Ziski/ zinakhpapuloowa. ‘Ears of maize are being broken off.’

kh-papula v. tr. (**papiile**) break a piece of something off

Ariplaano/ idameṭe chidaank^hu/ ishpapiile. ‘The airplane struck the roof slightly and broke off a piece of it.’

Omari/ nakhpapula ziski. ‘Omari broke the ears of maize off.’

kh-papulisha v. tr. caus/ have someone break off a piece of something

kh-papuza v. caus. (**papiize**)

Papize chidaank^hu. ‘He broke off a piece of the roof.’

paramendo

n. peppermint

[st.] ‘my brothers, and candies of peppermint are not allowed, it is certain (lit. certain news) that there is (a drop of) liquor inside them’

parfuuma n. (=barafuumo) perfume (of Western type)

kh-parpata v. (**parpeete**) rummage through things looking for s.t. rel.

kh-parpatoowa v. pass.

si shchiparpatoowa mithaali ya nt^huungu [nt.] ‘we were hunted down everywhere as if we were ants’

partiita n. a political party

kh-pasa v. (**pasiize**) borrow, lend (perishable goods – sugar, money – not things)

Ali/ pasize peesa/ ka Muusa. ‘Ali borrowed money from Muusa.’

Ifuungu/ imooyi/ m i/ mp^hasize waant^hu/ na sinakuliindra/ kulipoowa.

‘One share I lent to people and I did not expect to be repaid.’

Hamadi/ kampaasa Omari/ peesa/ suḷa kuwa oloshela. ‘If Hamadi had lent Omari money, he (i.e. Omari) would have gone.’ Or: **Omari/ suḷa kuwa oloshela/ Hamadi/ kampaasa peesa.** ‘Omari would have gone if Hamadi had lent him money.’

Hamadi/ kampaasa peesa/ Omari/ suḷa kuwa oloshela. ‘If Hamadi had lent money to Omari, he (Omari) would have gone.’

Khpasa/ haruusi/ kulipa/ mataanga. ‘To borrow something is a wedding; to repay is days of mourning.’ (A proverb.)

Khpasake/ peesa/ ka Ali/ imkirihishize waawaye. ‘His borrowing money from Ali displeased his father.’

Khusudiliileni/ we/ ka kuhada/ kuwa ifuungu/ ya taatu/ we/ pasize waant^hu/ na huḷakulipoowa. ‘What did you mean by saying that the third portion [of the wealth you squandered] you lent to people and it you will not be paid back?’

Kumpasake/ Ali/ peesa/ imkirihishize waawaye. ‘His lending money to Ali displeased his father.’

Mpasize naani/ peesa. ‘Whom did you lend money?’ (Possible answers:

Nimpasize Tuuma. ‘I lent to Tuuma.’ Or: **Nimpasize Tuuma/**

peesa. ‘I lent money to Tuuma.’)

Mp^hasiizé. ‘I borrowed something.’

Mpasiizeni/ Tuuma. ‘What did you lend Tuuma?’ (Possible answer:

Nimpasize peesa. ‘I lent money.’ Or: **Nimpasize peesa/ Tuuma.**

‘I lent money to Tuuma.’

Nakhsuulá/ khpasa peesa. ‘I want to borrow money.’ (In this example, the final accent from the main verb projects past the emphasized verb in violation of the Accentual Law of Focus. Although ALF seems to regularly apply in the case of an emphasized verb, there is no doubt that pronunciations such as the present one are possible. We have not identified a meaning difference associated with the variation between whether ALF is respected or not.)

Nakhsula khpaasa/ peesa (or: **peesa**). ‘I want to borrow money.’ (This example involves the emphasis of an infinitive in a complement clause. Our consultant accepted the Accentual Law of Focus either being respected or violated: the complement to the infinitive shows default accent in the former case and final accent in the latter case.)

Nnakhtosha Fardoosa/ haapasí/ peesa. ‘I think Fardoosa is not borrowing money.’ (The negative complement verb in this example seems to show the effect of the Accentual Law of Focus, with the final accent not projecting past the negative verb.) **do more research on this point**

Nimpasiizé. ‘I lent him something.’

Nimpasize Tuuma/ peesa. ‘I lent money to Tuuma.’ Or: **Nimpasize peesa/ Tuuma.**

Omari/ suḷa kuwa oloshela/ Hamadi/ kampaasa/ peesa (or: **peesa**). ‘Omari

would have gone if Hamadi had *lent* him money.’ (Notice that when the *ka*-tense verb is focused, the following complement may or may not exhibit final accent. We are unsure whether any difference in meaning is involved.)

**Uyu maskiini/ kiġa choloka ka ʔajiri bakhili/ khpasa peesa/ amó/
kumera kaazi/ shchimbizoowa/ ka maʔaando.** ‘This poor man,
every time he went to the miserly rich man to borrow money or to
look for work, he was sent away with insults.’

rel.

kh-pasan(y)a v. loan one another something

Jirani izi/ hupasanya kuġa chiint^hu. ‘These neighbors borrowed
everything from one another.’

Wapasene peesa. ‘They loaned each other money.’

kh-pasanyana v. rec. (-**pasanyeene**)

Jirani izi/ hupasanyana kuġa chiint^hu. ‘These neighbors borrow
everything from one another.’

kh-pasanyika v. rec. p/s.

Zint^hu izi/ haspanyiki. ‘These things can’t (or shouldn’t) be borrowed from
one another’

kh-pasiliza v. appl. (**pasiliize**) borrow for; hold against someone

Ali/ mpasilize Muusa/ peesa/ (ka Nuuru). ‘Ali borrowed money for
Muusa (from Nuuru).’

Simpasilizé/ oyo/ ni ijiniile. ‘Don’t hold it against that one, he is crazy.’

kh-pasika, kh-pasikika v. p/s. (-**pasishile, -pasikishile**)

Ali/ hapasiki/ chiint^hu. ‘One cannot lend anything to Ali (e.g. he does not
pay it back).’

Ali/ haypasiki/ chiint^hu/ kaake. ‘One cannot borrow anything from Ali
(he’s always reclaiming it right away, etc.).’

Haspasiki/ peesa/ ka Ali. ‘One cannot borrow money from Ali (e.g. he
won’t do it or he charges too much interest).’

kh-pasilizika v. appl. p/s.

Hapasiliziki/ chiint^hu. ‘You cannot borrow things for him (he’ll let you
down and not pay you back).’

kh-pasisha v. caus. cause someone to lend or borrow

Nuuru/ mpasishize mwaana/ peesa. ‘Nuuru caused the child to borrow
money.’

kh-pasishana v. caus. rec.

kh-pasishika v. caus. p/s.

kh-pasishiliza v. caus. appl. (-**pasishiliize**)

Nuuru/ mpasishilize Suufi/ mwaana/ peesa. ‘Nuuru caused Suufi’s child
to borrow money.’

kh-pasishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Nuuru/ na Suufi/ wapasishilizenye waana/ peesa. Nuuru and Suufi caused
one another’s children to borrow money.’

kh-pasoowa v. pass.

Awa/ wapasiza maandra. ‘These ones were lent bread.’ Or: **Maandra/
wapasize awa.**

Peesa/ ipasiiza/ aduwi/ ifanyiiza. ‘Money has been lent, an enemy has been
made.’ (A proverb.)

Tuuma/ pasiza peesa. ‘Tuuma was lent money.’ Or: **Peesa/ pasiza Tuuma.**

Wapasiza maandra/ ni awa. ‘The ones who were lent bread were these
ones.’

rel. nom.

m-p^haso n. borrowing **review this and following**

Ni munt^hu waa mp^haso. ‘He is a man who borrows (repeatedly).’

m-paso n. 3 borrowing

Jiraani/ wamkirihile ka mpasoye. ‘Neighbors are disgusted with him
because of his borrowing (all the time).’

ma-paso n. 6

Jiraani/ wamkirihile ka mapasoye. ‘The neighbors are disgusted with him because of his repeatedly borrowing things.’

pasapoortā

n. 9/10 [Eng. *passport*] passport
pasapoortāani ‘in the passport’
pasapoortāye ‘his passport’

pash

ideo. of striking with the hand

Haliima/ mbishile maanawe/ ipi ya tuusi/ pash. ‘Haliima struck her child with a blow of the buttocks.’

pashpo

prep. [Sw. *pasipo* SSED 368] without

Ali/ nandikishizee khatī/ pashpo ye/ kiiwa. ‘Ali made me write a letter without him knowing/realizing (it).’

Chiloho/ pashpo chaambo/ hashpati/ nsi. ‘A hook without bait does not get a fish.’ (A proverb.)

Hasani/ nsafirishize pashpo sehe. ‘Hasani made me travel without provisions.’

Hula/ pashpo kubigoowa. ‘He cries without being beaten.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is: **munt^hu nayo maṭo mṭuzi** ‘a man who has ‘soup eyes’, a disease of the eyes where the sufferer continually has tears in the eyes).’

Nandishilee khatī/ pashpo Mubiidi/ kiiwa. ‘I wrote a letter without Mubiidi knowing.’

pashpo kumwona Abunawaasi ‘without seeing Abunawaasi’

Siimba/ chanza khfakata/ pashpo/ kiiwa/ mahala ye/ nakeendrō. ‘The lion began to run without knowing where he was going to.’

We/ pata kendra kaziini/ pashpo fikiri. ‘You get to go to work without worrying.’

paasi

n. [Sw. *pasi* SSED 368] iron (instrument for ironing clothes); passport

kubiga paasi ‘to iron’

Bishilee nguwo/ paasi. ‘He ironed the clothes.’ Or: **Bishile paasi/ nguwo.** (Cf. **Mbishile nguwo/ paasi.** ‘I ironed the clothes.’ Or: **Mbishile paasi/ nguwo.** Note that the change in word order does not alter the projection of the final accent from the verb.)

Mi/ mbishile paasi/ jisa suura. ‘I ironed well’ (Phon. The word **paasi** in this idiom is non-referential and one cannot put focus on it, hence the ill-formedness of ***Mi/ mbishile paasi/ jisa suura.** In this ill-formed sentence, the accent stops at **paasi** and does not pass on to the unfocused phrase following.)

Mi/ mbishile paasi/ leelo. ‘I ironed today.’ (Phon. In the default case, a time adverb is out-of-focus and the scope of the final accent does not extend to it. It is possible to put emphasis on the preceding phrase, but the pitch level is significantly raised then: [**Mi/ mbishile** ↑**paasi/ leelo.**] It is possible to put the time adverb into focus and then the final accent will extend to it: **Mi/ mbishile paasi/ leelō.** ‘It is today that I ironed.’ One can also focus on the time adverbial by putting it in post-verbal position: **Mi/ mbishile leelō/ paasi.** ‘It is today that I ironed.’ Notice that in this case the final accent triggered by the verb cannot extend past the focused element to **paasi**. In this sentence, **leelo** is raised in pitch, but a more exaggerated raising: [**Mi/ bishile** ↑**leelō/ paasi.**] would lead to an interpretation like ‘It is today (not any other time) that I ironed.’)

Mi/ nakubiga paasi. ‘I am ironing.’ Or: **Mi/ paasi/ nakubigō.** ‘It’s ironing that I am doing.’

nakubiga paasí/ nguwó. **Mi/ nakubigaa nguwó/ paasí.** ‘I am ironing clothes.’ Or: **Mi/**

kubiga paasi. ‘I am going to iron.’

Nakendra kubiga paasí. ‘I am going to iron.’ Or: **Nakeendrá/**

Naani/ nakubigo paasí. ‘Who is ironing?’

Naani/ nakubigo paasí/ nguwó. ‘Who is ironing clothes?’

Ni mkali/ kubiga paasi. ‘He is good (lit. sharp) at ironing.’ Or: **Ni**

hodaari/ kubiga paasi.

Ye/ bishilee nguwo/ paasi/ jisa suura. ‘He ironed the clothes well.’ Cf. **Mi/ mbishilee nguwó/ paasí/ jisa suurá.** ‘I ironed the clothes well.’ (Phon. One can locate **paasi** immediately after the verb, but by doing so one does not put focus on it since **basi** is non-referential and cannot be focused. Final accent will extend throughout the verb phrase even in that word order: **Mi/ mbishile paasí/ nguwó/ jisa suurá.** If, on the other hand, one puts the adverbial position, this order focuses on the adverb, and final accent may not extend past it: **Mi/ mbishile jusa suurá/ nguwo/ paasi.** ‘I ironed *well* the clothes.’)

Ye/ bishilee nt^ho/ paasi. ‘She ironed a lot (or for a long time).’
(Phon. Compare with a final-accent triggering verb: **Mi/**

bishilee nt^ho/ paasi. ‘I ironed a lot.’ There is no

difference in the accent due to the fact that **nt^ho** is monosyllabic and cannot reveal any difference between default and final accent. Furthermore, since **nt^ho** is the focus in this sentence, final accent from the verb may not extend past it to **paasi**.)

Ye/ bishile paasi/ leelo ‘She ironed today.’ Or: **Leelo/ ye/ bishile paasi.** ‘Today she ironed.’)

kubigila paasi ‘to iron for’

Mbigilile Hamadi/ nguwo/ paasi. ‘He ironed clothes for Hamadi.’

Mi/ mbigilile Nuurú/ nguwó/ paasí. ‘I ironed clothes for Nuuru.’

Mukeewe/ mbigilile paasi/ nguwoze/ za kulaalila. ‘His wife ironed for him his pajamas.’ Or: **Mukeewe/ mbigilile nguwoze/ za kulaalila/ paasi.**

kubigowa paasi ‘to be ironed’

Nguwoze/ za kulaalila/ zibishila paasi/ na mukeewe. ‘His pajamas were ironed by his wife.’ Or: **Zibiishila paasí/ na mukeewé/ ni nguwoze/ za kulaalila.** ‘What was ironed by his wife were his pajamas.’

paasta

n. pasta

khpika paasta ‘to cook pasta’

kuja paasta ‘to eat pasta’

suugo/ ya paasta ‘pasta tomato sauce’

kh-pasula

v. [Sw. *pasua* SSED 368] (**pasiile**) skin (an animal)

Mtinda hoola/ hatajami/ khpasula. ‘One who slaughter animals does not hesitate/ to skin (them).’ (A proverb.)

Nuuru/ pasilee mbuzi. ‘Nuuru skinned a goat.’

Omari/ nampasulaa mbuzi/ igozi. ‘Omari is skinning the goat.’

Ye/ mtete ngamiila/ mtinzile/ na maliizopó/ kumpasulá/ chinaambila/ kuwaa ye/... ‘He took the camel and slaughtered it and when he finished skinning it, he told me that he...’

rel.

kh-pasulila v. appl. skin for, with

Uzilee chisu/ khpasulilaa mbuzi. ‘He bought a knife to skin the goats with.’ (Syn. The applied verb in the lower clause may not have an object prefix in agreement with the logical object **mbuzi**: ***Uzilee chisu/ kispasulilaa mbuzi**.)

Uzilee chisu/ kumpasulilaa mbuzi. ‘He bought a knife to skin the goats for him with.’ (Syn. Notice that the applied verb stem permits the instrument to appear without a preposition even though at the same

time it is expressing a beneficiary, which appears as the object prefix *m*.)

kh-pasuliloowa v. appl. pass.

kh-pasuloowa v. (*pasiila*) be skinned

Mbuzi/ nakhpasulowa igozi. ‘The goat is being skinned (the skin).’

kh-pasulika v. p/s.

kh-pasulisha v. caus. (*pasulishiize*)

Mpasulishize mwaana/ mbuzi. ‘He had the child skin the goat.’ (It is possible for the “causee” to be omitted from this sentence, though of course the OM still indicates that the causee is a [cl.1] noun: **Mpasulishizee mbuzi.** ‘He had him skin the goat.’ Notice that while a [cl.9] like **mbuzi** ordinarily triggers [cl.1] agreement on a verb when it is the primary object, here it is clear that **mbuzi** does not control the OM since **mbuzi** is not a semantically appropriate causee. The logical object of the verb ‘skin’ may be omitted: **Mpasulishize mwaana.** ‘He had the child skin s.t.’ It is possible to omit the causee entirely, so that there is neither an OM nor an overt noun identifying it: **Pasulishizee mbuzi.** ‘He had a goat skinned.’ It is not possible for **mbuzi** to govern an OM, even in the absence of the causee: ***Ipasulishizee mbuzi.** ‘He had the goat skinned.’)

kh-pasulishana v. caus. rec.

kh-pasulishika v. caus. p/s.

kh-pasulishiliza v. caus. appl.

Nuuru/ mpashulishilize Suufi/ mwaana/ mbuzi. ‘Nuuru had Suufi’s child skin as goat.’

kh-pasulishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Suufi/ na Nuuru/ wapasulishilizenye waana/ mbuzi. ‘Suufi and Nuuru had one another’s children skin goats.’

kh-pasulishoowa v. caus. pass.

m-pata

n., adj. [Sw. *pacha* SSED 360] twin; [pron. **mp^hata**]

Hufaanana/ kanaa mp^hata. ‘They look like one another as though they were twins.’

mwanaa mp^hata ‘twin’ (cf. **wanaa mp^hata** ‘twins’)

mwana mp^hata uyu ‘this twin’ (cf. **wana mp^hata awa** ‘these twins’)

mwana mp^hata uyu ‘this twin’ (cf. **wana mp^hata awa** ‘these twins’)

Zazilee mp^hata. ‘She gave birth to twins.’

rel.

m-p^hataamp^hata n. sets of twins

mp^hataamp^hata ka miimba ishiriini [st.] ‘sets of twins from twenty pregnancies’

Zazile mp^hataamp^hata. ‘She gave birth to (several) sets of twins.’

patente

n. [Ital. *patente*] driver’s license

kh-patika

v. [Sw. *pachika* SSED 360] (**patishile**) put on a hook, hang; put on without buttoning (e.g. a shirt); insert a knife in a sheath

Ali/ patishile shaati. ‘Ali put on a shirt without buttoning it.’ (Syn. A passive version of this sentence is not permitted.)

khpatikaa chisu/ ijaliini ‘to insert a knife in a sheath’

khpatika kooti ‘to put on a coat without buttoning it’

Patika shaatiyo/ ineendra. ‘Throw [lit. hang] on your shirt and go for a walk!’

Patika/ tu. ‘Just put it on (don’t worry about putting it on properly)!’

Patishile shaati/ musmaari. ‘He hung the shirt on a nail.’

rel.

kh-patikika v. p/s.

kh-patikila v. appl. hook for, with

Mpatikilile shaati/ musmaari. ‘He hung the shirt for me on a nail.’

Tete shaatiya/ kump^hatikila musmariini. ‘He took my shirt to hang it on a

nail for me.'

kh-paṭikilika v. appl. p/s.

Hapaṭikiliki. '(For) him it is not possible to hang s.t. on a hook.'

kh-paṭikisha v. caus.

kh-paṭikoowa v.

Shaati/ ipaṭishila na Ali/ musmariini. 'The shirt was put on the nail by Ali.'

rel. nom.

m-paṭiko n. 3

ma-paṭiko n. 6

u-paṭiko n. 14

m-paatu

n. 9/10 kind of fruit which grows in bunches on a shrub; this shrub grows (spontaneously, in the wild) in the outskirts of Brava [pron. **mp^haatu**]

muti wa mp^haatu 'the shrub on which **mp^haatu** grow'

kh-pata

v. [Sw. *pata* SSED 368] (**petee**) get, obtain, find; catch an animal by trapping

Ali/ hupata shilingi ikumi/ muunt^hi. 'Ali earns ten shillings a day.'

Ali/ impete iwa. 'The sun really affected Ali.' Or: **Iwa/ impete Ali.**

Ali/ petee nsi. 'Ali caught some fish.'

Baana/ pete chibuku cha naani. 'Baana found whose book?' Or: **Baana/ pete naani/ chibuukuche.** A possible answer to the second sentence is: **Baana/ pete Omari/ chibuukuche.** 'Baana found Omari's book.'

Chishpeeté. 'We have found/gotten it [cl.7].'

Gari iyi/ hupata shilingi alfu. 'This car is worth a thousand shillings.'

Fulaani/ impete ito iwovu. 'The evil eye has gotten so-and-so.'

Hamadi/ nt^hakhpata/ khsaafira/ hattá/ maramó. 'Hamadi never had a chance to travel, not even one time.'

Hapati/ senti mooyi. 'He isn't worth a penny.'

Hasani/ oloshela khpataa nyunyi. 'Hasani went to trap birds.'

Hata/ sku mooyi/ skupata/ kuwona muunt^hu/ dokhaani/ kama uyu.

'Never [lit. even one day] have I had a chance to see a person as stupid as this one.'

Isa/ pete mukeewe. 'Now he's gotten himself a wife!'

Isa/ pete usiinzi. 'Now he's (finally) gotten some sleep!'

Iwaliko imp^heeteni/ tu/ mi/ koondroka/ kumlataa muke/ naayé/

nakump^heendo jis'iyí. 'What just possessed me to up and divorce [this] woman while she is loving me this way?'

Kadio/ impete jisa suura. 'Fever really laid him low.'

Kamaa we/ chiwona chiint^hu/ chiza kuhada chiint^hu/ haykhupati/

chiint^hu. 'If you see something but do not say anything, nothing will happen to you.' (A proverb.)

khpata faayda 'to profit'

khpata khasaara 'to suffer a financial loss'

Hamadi/ impete khasaara. 'Hamadi suffered a financial loss (lit. a financial loss got Hamadi).'

khpata mato 'to close the eyes of a dying person'

Mwaana/ mpete waawaye/ mato. 'The child closed his father's eyes (upon his death).'

khpata miimba 'to get pregnant'

khpataa nsi 'to go fishing' (does not necessarily mean one caught any fish)

Hasani/ nakhpataa nsi. 'Hasani is fishing.' (Cf. **Mi/ nakhpataa nsi.** 'I am fishing.' Notice that the usual accentual contrast between a third person present tense subject and a first person present tense subject is absent in this example. The reason is that although third person requires a penult accent while first person requires a final accent, this

contrast cannot be realized when the last word in the phrase is monosyllabic. The accent falls on the only syllable there is in the final word **nsi**.)

khpata ruuhu ‘to attend a dying person, closing his eyes for him when he died’

khpatawaa nt^hi [lit.] to be gotten on the ground -- i.e. to be a nobody, someone who cannot trace his ancestry’

Nakhtoshaa mi/ mp^hetaa nt^hi. ‘Do you think I am “a nobody”?’

Koōi izi/ skupata/ mwaanzowe. ‘This talk, I did not get its beginning -- i.e. I did not hear what was said at the beginning.’

Limiile/ hupata waant^hu. ‘His tongue (speech) affects people.’

Lpandre ili/ nt^halkupata/ ranji. ‘This part did not get painted.’

Luzi ili/ hupata yardii nne. ‘This string is about four yards.’

Leelo/ nimpeeté/ Ali. ‘Today I really put one over on Ali, beat Ali badly.’

Leelo/ petee khati. ‘Today he got a letter.’

Maali/ hupatoowa/ ruuhu/ haypatoowi. ‘Wealth is acquired, the soul is not acquired.’ (A proverb.)

Maambo/ yampeetó. ‘What happened to him is amazing!’

Mi/ nakendra khpatapi/ inyi yaa nfuye. ‘Where am I going to get a monkey’s liver from?’

Mp^hete Baaná/ chibuukuché. ‘I found Baana’s book.’ (Note that it is ill-formed to say: ***Mp^hete Baaná/ chibuukuche**. But one can say: **Mp^hete chibuukuché/ Baana**. This would answer the question: **Peetení/ ya Baana**. ‘What did you find of Baana’s?’)

Mp^heeeté/ chibuku cha Baana. ‘I got Baana’s book.’ Or: **Mp^heeeté/ chibuuku/ cha Baana**. Or: **Mp^hete chibuku cha Baaná**. Or: **Mp^hete chibuukú/ cha Baaná**. Or: **Mp^hete chibuukú/ cha Baana**. (In the last example, the emphasis is on *chibuuku* and conveys the idea that the book was finally found, perhaps after people had given up looking for it, etc.) (It is ungrammatical to have possessor raising: ***Mp^hete Baaná/ chibuukú**. Or ***Nimpete Baaná chibuukú**. ‘I found Nuuru the book.’)

Mp^hete chibuku cha Muusá. ‘I found Muusa’s book.’ (Also: **Chibuku cha Muusa/ mp^heeeté**. ‘I found Muusa’s book.’)

Mp^hetee chisú/ chaa muké. ‘I found the woman’s knife.’

Mp^heeeté/ cho. ‘I got it.’

Mp^heeeté/ cho/ chibuuku. ‘I got it, the book.’

Mp^hetee cho/ chibuuku. ‘I got it, the book.’

Mp^hetee muké/ chisuuché. ‘I found the woman’s knife.’ (Notice that the noun **muke** in this sentence cannot link to an object marker on the verb: ***Nimpetee muké/ chisuuché**. In the possessive expression **muke/ chisuuche** ‘woman her knife’, is it **chisu** ‘knife’ that may occupy a thematic role, not **muke** ‘woman’.)

Mukeewe/ waliko maanzine/ pete khabari/ kuwa... ‘His wife had already received the news that...’ [review](#)

Mukhta wazuungu/ wa’iló/ wa’anzize khfanya miyuundra/ na wanaa nt^hi/ wapete kubarata kulima. ‘When the Europeans came, they began to farm, and the natives had an opportunity to learn to cultivate.’

mukhta ya/ mpete mp^huundra/ m’ajibiiló ‘when he found a donkey that pleased him’

Mwana uyu/ pete ka waawaye/ mp^hula iyi. ‘This boy got his nose from his father.’

Naayé/ nakhpenda khpataa nsi. ‘He likes to catch fish.’

Nishpeeté. ‘I got it [cl.7].’

Nishpeeté/ cho/ chinyunyi. ‘I got it, the bird.’ Or: **Nishpetee cho/ chinyunyi**.

Nt^hayimpata/ chiint^hu. ‘Nothing happened to him.’

Pete Baana/ chibuukuche. ‘He found Baana’s book.’ (Phon. In the yes-no question version of this sentence, there is no accent shift, only pitch raising: **Pete Baana/ chibuukuche?** This

indicates that *chibuukuche* is not out of focus.)

Peete/ Baana/ chibuukuche. ‘Baana found his (i.e. someone else’s) book.’
(Phon. In this sentence, the subject *Baana* is postposed after the verb and is not part of a syntactic unit that includes *chibuukuche*, hence the lack of co-reference between the two. In this situation, *chibuukuche* is out-of-focus and thus undergoes accent shift in the corresponding yes-no question: **Peete/ Baaná/ chibuukuché?**)

Pete chibuuku/ chinume cha mlaango. ‘He found the book behind the door.’

Peeteni/ Hamadi. ‘What did he get, Hamadi?’ A possible answer: **Pete chibuuku/ Hamadi.** ‘He got a book, Hamadi.’

Teena/ chendra khpataa nsi/ cheendró/ chendra khpataa nsi. ‘Then he went to catch fish, that’s where he went, he went to catch fish.’

Yaa mi/ chisuuló/ mp^heeeté/ basi/ nakendra muyiini. ‘That which I wanted, I have gotten, so I am going to town.’

rel.

kh-pataapata v. freq.

Cheendra/ nakhpatapataa nsi/ nakhpató/ chileeta/ chuuza. ‘He went and made it his habit to fish, that’s what he was doing, and he brought [the fish] and sold [them].’

Heendra/ hupatapataa nsi. ‘They go to catch fish.’

Kazi ya waawo/ ni khpatapata skunyi. ‘The work of your father was to collect firewood.’

Shpatapata skunyi/ shpató. ‘He collected firewood, that’s what he did.’

kh-patika v. p/s. be obtainable, catchable

Khpatika peesa/ siwo/ sahali. ‘Getting money is not easy.’ Or: **Peesa/ khpatika/ siwo/ sahali.** ‘Money to be gotten is not easy.’

Nsi/ haspatiki/ ka mkono. ‘Fish cannot be caught by hand.’

Nsi/ hupatika ka sahali. ‘Fish are easily caught.’

kh-patikana v. be discoverable, obtainable; happen

Chilazila lfuwooní/ hupatikana bahariini. ‘That which is left on the shore is found in the ocean.’ (A proverb.)

Chula zoombo/ hupatikano nt^hi izó/ chondroka naazo/ chendra nt^hi mooyi/ nk^hulu huhokomó/ ni sultaani. ‘He bought things that are found in those lands and took off with them and went to a large country that is ruled by a sultan.’

Hasiibu/ mukhta aḏaabu/ imwelelo niingi/ shkhiira/ kuwapeleka/ mahala ya sultani waa noka/ hupatikano. ‘When the pain became great for Hasiibu, he agreed to send them to a place where the king of snakes could be found.’

Ipatikene ya kuwa... ‘It happened that...’

Karkaa nt^hi/ iyi/ buni/ ni ghaali/ nt^ho/ na ka wiingi/ buni/ haspatikani/ na schipatikani/ huzowa ka almaasi. ‘In this country coffee beans are expensive and most of the time cannot be found, and if they are found, they are sold in diamonds.’

Kila chiint^hu/ hupatikana ka sabri. ‘Everything is achievable with patience.’ (A proverb.)

Na muyiini/ khpatikana deeni/ siwo/ sahali. ‘And in the town, to obtain a loan is not easy.’

Nama/ ipatikeene. ‘The meat was obtained, was obtainable.’

Nsi/ hupatikana sukhuuni? ‘Fish, can they be obtained in the market?’

Peesa/ sku izi/ haspatikani. ‘Money these days is not able to be gotten.’

Siriye/ haypatikani. ‘His secret cannot be discovered.’

Sku mooyi/ wawayee muke/ shpatikana na maraḏi. ‘One day the woman’s father fell ill.’

Ye/ nambile kuwa mzele oyo/ takunoonyeza/ nt^hi/ hapatikano mayahuudí. ‘She told me that that old woman would show me the land where one can find Jews.’

Zijumba/ zaa nyunyi/ za lamna iyo/ haspatikani/ ila/ karkaa nt^hi/ mooyi/ tu. ‘The nests of birds of that type cannot be found except

in just one country.’

kh-patiloowa v. appl. pass.

Zombo izi/ hupatilowa peesa. ‘Those things you can get money from them.’

kh-patila v. appl. get for

Baana/ mpatilileni/ Nuura. ‘What did Baana get for Nuura?’ A possible answer to this question: **Baana/ mpatilile chibuuku/ Nuura.**

‘Baana got a book for Nuura.’

Maamé/ leelo/ shpatilileni/ kishpaa kuja. ‘Mother, today, what did you get for us to give us to eat.’

Nuuru/ patilile gaari/ shufeeri. ‘Nuuru got a driver for the car. (Observe that the logical object is a human being but cannot control an object marker on the verb since the object marker can only agree with the indirect object.) Cf. **Nuuru/ mpatilile shufeeri/ gaari.** ‘Nuuru got a car for the driver.’

Wa/ leelo/ ninpatilile kujá/ nt^haziná/ ba/ adadi. ‘Wa! Today I got for you (pl.) food that cannot be counted.’

We/ chiza kump^h atila/ mi/ nt^h akhutinda chitacho. ‘If you do not get her for me, I will cut off your head.’

kh-patilapatila v. appl. freq.

Basi/ oyo mwiimbili/ abadiye/ hutukula chijisu/ chaa ye/ keendra/ khpatilapatilaa nsi. ‘So that boy always carries a knife with which he goes to get fish.’

kh-patisha v. caus.

kh-patishiliza v. caus. appl. cause to get for

Baana/ patishilize gaari/ shufeeri. ‘Baana had someone get a chauffeur for the car.’ (Observe that an overt causee may not appear in this sentence, where both of the arguments of the benefactive applied are retained in the verb phrase: cf. **Omari/ patilile gaari/ shufeeri.** ‘Omari got a chauffeur for the car.’)

Omari/ patishilize gaari/ mootoore. ‘Omari caused someone to get a motor for the car.’ (When the causative verb has both the beneficiary and logical object expressed in post-verbal position, it is not grammatical to express the causee: ***Omari/ patishilize gaari/ Nuuru/ mootoore.** ‘Omari caused Nuuru to get a motor for the car.’ Repositioning the causee in the VP does not improve the sentence. There is also no possibility of adding an object prefix to the verb that agrees with the causee. Only the beneficiary can govern an object prefix.)

Omari/ patishilizeni/ mootoore. ‘What did Omari cause someone to get a motor for?’

Omari/ patishilizeni/ Nuuru/ mootoore. ‘What did Omari cause Nuuru to get a motor for?’ (Note that in this example the causee is allowed to appear in the verb phrase since there is no beneficiary argument present.)

kh-patoowa v. pass.

Chibuuku/ shpeta chinume cha mlaango. ‘The book was found behind the door.’

Chimvila khadimuye/ Juuma/ chimuuzá/ mahała ya Ali/ hupatoowá. ‘He called his servant Juuma and asked him where Ali could be found.’

chisu chaa muke/ shpeta na Nuuru ‘the knife of the woman that was found by Nuuru’ (The subject marker on the relative verb makes it clear that it is the knife, **chisu**, that was found and not the woman, **muke**. Cf. the main clause: **Chisu chaa muke/ shpeta na Nuuru.** ‘The knife of the woman was found by Nuuru.’ Cf. also: **Muke/ chisuuche/ shpeta na Nuuru.** ‘The woman, her knife was found by Nuuru.’)

Fulaani/ peta na ito iwovu. ‘So-and-so was gotten by the evil eye.’

Gaari/ ipatilila shufeeri. ‘The car was gotten (for it) a driver.’

Shufeeri/ patilila gaari. ‘The driver was gotten a car (for him).’

zote hupatoowa naazo siwo chiint^hu [nt.] ‘all this can be recovered and does not matter’

nom. rel.

ma-patano n. 6 agreement

Ni mapatano bena yaa muke/ na muḅlǐ/ wanakhsulo ku'isha pamooyi/ ka muda ya hayaṭi yaawo. 'It [i.e. marriage] is an agreement between a man and a woman who want to live together for the period of their life.'

kh-pata v. aux. (When **pata** is followed by a verb in the same clause, the meaning of 'get' is considerably diluted. We refer to this as the auxiliary use of the verb, but admit that there is probably no definite point at which the lexical verb turns into an auxiliary verb.)

Chidaḍalateeni/ shpate khshiindra. 'Let us try hard so that we may win.'

Chisu ichi/ hupata kḥṭiinda. 'This knife is sharp [lit. can cut].'

Daḍalaṭaani/ shpate khshiindra. 'Try hard so that we may win.'

Fanya bidi'i/ khfahama/ upate kuwa'eleza waanawo. 'Make an effort to understand so that you can explain (it) to your children.'

Fungula mlaango/ mwaana/ napate kiingila. 'Open the door so that the child can enter.'

Ifiile/ klhpata skuu nt^hatu. 'He died three days ago.'

Kheeri/ mi/ mmeree muke/ nimloole/ napate kumlangala mwaana. 'It is best that I look for a woman so that I marry her so that she can look after the child.'

Khuletelele chibuukú/ we/ pata khsooma. 'I brought you the book so that you could read it.'

Kooḍa/ bila steendro/ nt^haskupata/ kuwaka nt^hi. 'Words without actions can never build a country.'

Leelo/ spati/ kuuya. 'Today I won't be able to come.' Or: **Leelo/ siṭakhpata/ kuuya.** 'Today I won't be able to come.'

Oloshale Mkhodiisho/ khpata kula gaari. 'He went to Mogadishu in order to get a car (e.g. there are no car dealers where he lives).' (Cf. **Oloshale Mkhodiisho/ kula gaari.** 'He went to Mogadishu to buy a car (it has all been arranged, the car is there and he just needs to go and get it).')

Pete kuwona chineemá? 'Did you get to see the movie?'

Sooloké/ sukhuuni/ wee/ peeke/ seendre/ wa'uzaa nsi/ kawapata khukhada'a. 'Don't go to the market alone lest the fish-sellers cheat you.'

Spati/ khkooḍa/ mbele za waant^hu. 'I cannot speak in front of people.'

We/ ndrasilee mi/ numbaani/ khpata khulangajila waana. 'You left me in the house to look after your children.'

We/ wana fahamu/ upate kuwa'eleza waanawo. 'You be with understanding so that you can explain (it) to your children.'

kh-patana v. {Sw. *patana* SSED 369] (**pateene**) agree, be reconciled

Jiraanize/ washpatana kumlaṭa paapo/ apo/ chimaani. 'His neighbors agreed among themselves to leave him right there in the well.'

khpatana na 'to be reconciled with'

Nuuru/ patene na Suufi. 'Nuuru reconciled with Suufi.'

Makaraayle/ washpatana/ masku yahaani/ huzimila/ ka apo/ kendra mahala ba'iidi. 'The crows agreed during the night to flee from there to go to another place far away.'

Omari/ na Alí/ wanakhpata/ ba'adi yaa wo/ kulaana. 'Omari and Ali are reconciling after they fought.'

Sku mooyi/ washpatana/ keendra/ khfanya muundra. 'One day they agreed to go and make a garden.'

Uko mweenzawa/ naayé/ mooyi/ shpateené/ mi/ naaye/ kuwa yaa mi/ nt^hakhpató/ yotte/ kaawanya/ naaye/ sawasawa. 'There is my friend and he is the one who we agreed, me with him, that (whatever) I will get, all to divide with him equally.'

Waana/ wapateene keendra. 'The children agreed to go.'

Waanawa/ wawili/ hulaana/ muunt^hi/ ishkoma masku/ hupatana. 'My children quarrel during the day, when night comes, they agree.' (A riddle, the answer to which is **mlaango** 'door', the two parts of which are closed together at night.)

rel.

kh-patanika v. p/s.

keeps preventing it).’
Haypataniki/ apa. ‘There cannot be harmony, reconciliation here (s.o.

kh-pataniloowa v. appl. pass.

ambó/ jisa hupataniloowá ‘or whatever is agreed upon’

kh-patanila v. appl. (**pataniliila**) agree to, on; reconcile for

Ba’ada/ ya khshindroowa/ Sa’iidi/ choondroka/ shfanya kama muunt^hu/ nakendro kiyana maayi/ tawalá/ yotté/ jisa ipataniliilá. ‘After he lost/was defeated, Sa’iidi got up and acted as though he was a man who was going to drink all the water in the sea as had been agreed upon.’

Sishpatanila kḥomola naqdi. ‘We agreed upon paying in cash.’

Waana/ wampataniliile. ‘The children reconciled for him.’

kh-patanisha v. caus. reconcile s.o.

Huseeni/ wapatanishize waana. ‘Huseeni brought about a reconciliation among the children.’

Nuuru/ mpatanishize mwaana/ na Suufi. ‘Nuuru brought about the child’s reconciliation with Suufi.’

kh-patanishana v. caus. rec.

kh-patanishika v. caus. p/s.

Wana awa/ hawapatanishiki. ‘These children cannot be reconciled (i.e. they keep on fighting).’

kh-patanishiliza v. caus. appl.

Nuuru/ mpatanishilize Suufi/ mwaana/ na Muusa. ‘Nuuru brought about reconciliation of Suufi’s child with Muusa.’

kh-patanishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Nuuru/ na Suufi/ wapatanishilizenye waana. ‘Nuuru and Suufi brought about one another’s children with someone.’

kh-patanishilizika v. caus. appl. p/s.

Hapataniliziki/ waana. ‘For him, one cannot reconcile the children.’

kh-patanoowa v. pass. (**pateena**)

Teena/ ichiwa iṃlazimiile/ oyo ijini/ kḥomola maaliye/ yotte/ kumpa Sa’iidi/ jisa ipateená. ‘Then it became bound to him that the djinn give all his wealth to Sa’iidi as was agreed.’

rel. nom.

m-patanisha (*wa-*) n. 1/2 peacemaker

kh-pataana

v. (**-pateene**) coagulate

Iziwa/ ipateene. ‘The milk coagulated.’

is it correct that this verb exists with a long penult vowel kh-pataana... in the perfect, it is identical to the perfect stem of kh-patana....

i-pataane

n. yoghurt

kh-patika

v. put on a hook

rel. nom.

m-patiko (*mi-*) n. 3/4 the act of putting on a hook

ma-pato

n. profit

Mapato/ yako Mqodiisho/ leelo. ‘There is profit (to be made) in Mogadishu today.’

sh-pavuungu (*s-*) n. 7/8 our consultant MI originally identified this word as referring to a small container used for keeping eye make-up that consists of burnt incense, saying that sometimes this container may be made from gold or silver. More recently, several Bravanese women agreed that **shpavuungu** is not the container, but a small padded pouch used to preserve the container (which could be precious or fragile, being made sometimes of glass. SA, on the other hand, observed the use of **shpavuungu** in the sense of the “metal stick” that was usually inserted in the container and with which the black substance (**waanda**) was applied to the eyes. This seems also to be the use in the **shteenzi** cited below, since the stick would touch the woman’s body and thus pollute. The use of the term to refer to a pouch seems to be at the root of the extensions of the word’s use cited below.

Chili/ chinacho shpavuungu. ‘The bed has a box/pocket (in which things may be placed).’

hata shpavuungu chaa muke ni khatari [st.] ‘even a woman’s **shpavuungu** is dangerous (with respect to ritual cleanliness)’

shpavungu cha meeza ‘a small space in a table where something may be put’

shpavungu cha tuusi ‘anus’

l-pawa

n. [Sw. **upawa** SSED 504] wooden implement, similar to a small paddle, used to stir food (rice, meat) in very large cauldrons, for example, for wedding feasts

variant form: **pawu**

lpawa la mataaza ‘a stirrer for porridge’

lpawa laa zijo ‘a stirrer for **zijo**’

rel.

sh-pawa (s-) n. 7/8 dim. wooden spoon, smaller than **lpawa**

variant form: **sh-pawu**

pazila

n. 9/10 [Sw. **pazia** SSED 370] screen or curtain (dividing a room into parts, e.g. separating a bed from the rest of the room)

kubiga pazila ‘to divide a room with a screen’

Maato/ nt^h ayná/ pazila. ‘Eyes have no screen.’

pedaalya

n. 9/10 pedal

peeke

[Sw. **peke** ‘condition of being single, singular, alone, lonely, isolated, unique, different from every thing else. Used only with a possessive adjective following, and attaching to an object, state of action, the attribute of singleness, loneliness, uniqueness, e.g. **mimi peke yangu** I alone, I only, I myself’ SSED 371] alone, only (Syn. Notice that Chimiini contrasts with Swahili in that **peeke** does not require a possessive element to follow.)

Msoma peeke/ haagafi. ‘One who reads alone does not make a mistake.’

(A proverb. This proverb conveys the idea that it is better to hear both sides of a story rather than just the version of one of the participants.)

Peeke/ ni mojiitu. ‘God is alone.’ (A proverb.)

Taha/ peeke/ impeto murugú. ‘Only Taha got worried.’

rel.

choo peeke [cl.7] only, all by itself, on its own’

Chibuuku/ choo peeke/ shpoteeló. ‘The book, on its own, fell down.’

loo peeke ‘[cl.11] only, all by itself, on its own’

Luti/ loo peeke/ lpooteeló. ‘The stick, on its own, fell down.’

mii peeke ‘only me, all by myself, on my own’

Mii peeke/ nolosheló. ‘By myself, I went.’ (Note that one cannot say in Chimiini ***nolosheló** **peeké**.)

sii peeke ‘only us, all by ourselves, on our own’

wee peeke only you, all by yourself, on your own

Kamaa ye/ chihada/ kuwaa we/ nt^hukeendra/ kaake/ kumera majiibu/ we/ koðele lilá/ naasi/ apa/ shtakiwa/ kuwaa we/ tambiiélé/ maneno yiitu/ ka wee peeke. ‘If he says that you did not go to his place seeking answers, then you spoke the truth and we here will know that you understood the meaning of our words all by yourself.’

woo peeke ‘[cl.2] only them, them alone, all by themselves’

kawa’oloka woo peeké ‘if they had gone alone’

woo peeke ‘[cl.3] only them, etc.’

Muti/ woo peeke/ upoteeló. ‘The tree, on its own, fell down.’

woo peeke ‘[cl.14] only, etc.’

Tumikila uki/ woo peeke. ‘Use only honey.’

yee peeke [cl.1] only, alone, all by himself, on his own

Ka yee peeke/ chibigaa zita/ chub^hla/ ma’aduwiye/ wotte/ sho kuwa mooyi. ‘All alone, he fought the battle, killing all his enemies except one.’

Sultaani/ mooyi/ karkaa nt^hi/ za wahiindi/ zalila mwiimbili/ mooyi/ yee

peeke. ‘A sultan in India had only one child.’

Taha/ yee peeke/ impeto murugú. ‘Only Taha got worried.’

Ye/ hataakufa/ yee peeke. ‘It will not die alone.’

yoo peeke [cl.4] only them, etc.’

Miti/ yoo peeke/ yapoteeló. ‘The trees, on their own, fell down.’

yoo peeke [cl.5] only it, etc.’

Ijiwe/ yoo peeke/ ipoteeló. ‘The stone, on its own, fell down.’

yoo peeke [cl.6] only them, etc.’

Majiwe/ yoo peeke/ yapoteeló. ‘The stones, on their own, fell down.’

yoo peeke [cl.9]

Apo/ isele mp^huundra/ tu/ yoo peeke. ‘There remained just an ass only.’

Numba/ yoo peeke/ ipoteeló. ‘The house, on its own, fell down.’

zoo peeke [cl.8]

Mi/ mukhta mi/ mbaliko mwaaná/ sh-kasa wazele/ wachihada/ kamaa we/ nakhsula amaani/ ka mwaadamu/ simfaanyé/ zeema/ zoo peeke/ mfanye na ziwovú ‘and when I was a child, I heard elders say: if you want peace from a human being, don’t do only goos, do bad also.’

Sfaanyé/ zeema/ zoo peeke. ‘Don’t do good deeds only.’

Zibuuku/ zoo peeke/ s-poteeló. ‘The books, on their own, fell down.’

zoo/ peeke [cl.10]

Hulo chiint^hú/ siwo/ peesa/ zoo peeke. ‘That which buys things is not money alone.’ **is this a proverb?**

Ndruti/ zoo peeke/ spoteeló. ‘The sticks, on their own, fell down.’

Numba/ zoo peeke/ spoteeló. ‘The houses, on their own, fell down.’

m-peke (mi-)

n. 3/4 clitoris

rel.

sh-peke (s-) n. 7/8 dim.

kh-peela

v. [Sw. *pea* SSED 371; the more common Sw. verb *fagia* is not used in Chimiini] (*peezele*) sweep

Ali/ pezelee nt^hi/ ka lpeelo. ‘Ali swept the floor with a broom.’

Kama mahala/ mweepe/ ivundishile/ kama yako mataandru/ wa’ambile watumishi/ wanapeele. ‘If there is some place that is broken, if there are cobwebs, tell the servants that they should sweep there.’

Khadiija/ nakhpelaa nt^hi. ‘Khadiija is sweeping the floor.’

rel.

kh-peelega v. appl. (*peelega*) sweep with

Ali/ peelega nt^hi/ lpeelo. ‘Ali swept the floor with a broom.’

kh-peelega v. appl. pass. be swept with; run aground (of a boat)

Liikopi/ lpelo lpelega nt^hi. ‘Where is the broom that was used to sweep the floor?’

Lpeelo/ lpelega nt^h/ naami. ‘The broom was used to sweep the floor.’ (MI rejected the direct object as the subject of the passive verb: ***Nt^hi/ ipelaa lpeelo/ naami.** If one wishes to make the object the subject of the passive verb, then the prepositional instrumental phrase is used: **Nt^hi/ ipela ka lpeelo/ naami.** ‘The floor was swept with a broom by me.’)

kh-peelega v. pass. (*peelega*)

Masku/ ha-’i-pelewi. ‘At night there is no sweeping.’ (A superstition.)

Muke/ pelaa nt^hi/ na Nuuru. The woman was swept for the floor by Nuuru.’ (A passive form with **nt^hi** being subject is not possible: ***Nt^hi/ ipelaa muke/ na Nuuru.**)

Nt^hi/ inakhpelaa. ‘The floor is being swept.’

Shpata mahala/ suura/ wukoo muti/ suura/ nt^hiiniye/ muti/ uyu/

nañifa/ kama apo/ tu/ ipelega. ‘She found a nice place, there was a nice tree, and it was clean under this tree, like [a place that] had just been swept.’

kh-peelega v. (*pelekehele*) capable of being swept

Nt^hi/ haypeekeki. ‘The floor cannot be swept.’ (Syn. One cannot say:

***Lpeelo/ halpekeki/ nt^hi.** ‘The broom cannot sweep the floor.’ In order to have **lpeelo** the subject, one would have to use the simple verb: **Lpeelo/ halpeeli.** ‘The broom doesn’t sweep.’)

kh-peelesha v. caus. (*pelesheze*) cause to sweep

kh-peelesheza v. caus. appl. (*pelesheleeze*) make sweep on

Mpelesheze mwaana/ nt^hi. ‘He made my child sweep the floor.’

kh-peleka

v. [Sw. *peleka* SSED 372] (*peleshele*) send (a letter, e.g.), take, take or lead to (It should be noted that *-peleka* cannot elide the *l* and become **-peeka*, but the past tense verb *-peleshele* may elide the *l* and become *-peeshele*; this long *ee* vowel shortens when in an environment that requires shortening.)

Ahmadi/ peleshele gaari/ madrasaani. Ahmadi drove [lit. took] the car to school.’

Ahmaduna/ mpeleshele mwaana/ madrasaani. ‘Ahmaduna sent the child to school.’

Basi/ mgarwa/ shtala icho shpete/ chilawa/ chiraasha/ ndila/ hupeleko nt^hi ya wanyaasa. ‘So the fisherman took that ring and left and followed the road that leads to the land of the Wanyaasa.’

Chaamura/ watumishi/ kumkookota/ kumpeleka muyiini. ‘He ordered the servants to drag him to take him to the town.’

Cheendra/ chiwapeleka. ‘He went and sent them.’

Chimuuliza/ shtaala/ shpeleka numbaani. ‘(Someone) sold it to him and he took it and he sent it to his house.’ (Note that this example is from a story and it is a donkey that has been bought and sent to the house, but there is no object marking on the verb ‘take’ or ‘send’ referring to the donkey and of course no overt mention of the donkey in the entire sentence. This illustrates the common omission of arguments in Chimiini clauses.)

Chiraasha/ hatá/ ichimpeleka karka numba mooyi. ‘He followed (the road) until it led him to a house.’

Hasani/ mukhtaaya/ onyezaa ndilá/ humpeleko ka sultani aduwi/ chishikaa ndila/ iyo/ kendra ka sultaani/ oyo. ‘When Hasani was shown the way that takes him to the enemy sultan, he followed that way and went to that sultan.’ (In texts, it is very common to find a noun separated into a different phrase from a demonstrative that refers to this noun. In elicitation, demonstratives normally form a phrase with the noun they modify.)

Hima/ lawa/ mp^heleka/ ka muḅliwa. ‘Hurry, let us go, take me to my husband!’

khpeleka mkono ‘to stretch the hand (reach for)’

Peleshelelo mkonó/ khteka maayí/ mzele igobeegobe/ chimshiika/ chimreba paapo/ hatá/ mukta hayawani ziinginé/ zirudiiló. ‘When he stretched out his hand to fetch the water, the old tortoise grabbed him and kept him right there until the time when the other animals returned.’

Uje/ shpeleka mkono/ naayé/ hupeleka mkono. ‘If that one reaches for [food], [the other one] also reaches for [food].’

Maliizopó/ Hasiibu/ maamaye/ mpeleshele charkhaniini/ kubarata khshomaa nguwo. ‘When he finished, Hasiibu’s mother sent him to a tailor to learn to sew clothes.’ (Syn. All Chimiini speakers seem to accept the construction: **Hasiibu/ maamaye** ‘Hasiibu’s mother’, with the possessor in a separate phrase and preceding the possessed noun phrase. Our consultant MI, however, has a variant **mamaye Hasiibu**, where the possessed noun precedes the possessor and is in the same phonological phrase with it.)

Mi/ nakhsulaa we/ kump^heleka/ mahaḷaa ye/ ukó. ‘I want you to take me to the place where he is.’

Mp^heelé/ mali miingi/ nt^ho/ niyatukiilé/ niyapeleshele kiitú. ‘I got very much wealth and I took it and I sent it home.’

Na oyó/ takhoonyeza/ ndila/ itakhupeleko ka mayahuudí. ‘And that one will show you the road to take you to the Jews.’

Nsi mo/ shpeleka ka sultaani/ chimwaambila/ nsi iyi/ ndimí/ ndeeseló. ‘One fish he takes to the sultan and tells him: this fish, it is me who brought it.’

Peleshelee khati/ ka Aasha. ‘He sent/ took a letter to Aasha.’

Poliisi/ hu’aḍiba wiizi/ nt^hasaa wo/ kuwapeleka mahkamaani. ‘Police torture thieves before they take them to trial.’

Shpeleka icho chilaatu/ ka sultaani. ‘He took that shoe to the sultan.’

Suufi/ mpeleshele mwaana/ kaawo. ‘Suufi sent the child home.’

Suufi/ peleshelee khati. ‘Suufi sent a letter.’

Sultani waa dafa/ chimpelekela/ khati/ ya piili. ‘The king of the kites sent a second letter.’

Uje/ shkooḍa/ hukoḍakoḍa naaye/ uje/ shpeleka mkono/ naayé/ hupeleka mkono/ uje/ chidaara/ naayé/ hudara jis’iyo/ tu/ jis’iyo/ hattá/ wachimalizaa kuja. ‘If that one [the sultan’s son] speaks, he [the poor man’s son] speaks with him; if that one stretches his hand out [for food], he does as well; if that one touches [the food], he also touches it like that, just; like that, until they finished eating.’

rel.

kh-pelekela v. appl. send to

Abunawaasi/ chimpelekela sulṭaani/ khabari. ‘Abunawaasi sent a message to the sultan.’

Jeelaani/ chooloka/ chimera peesa/ izo/ chimpelekela Safiya/ maamaye. ‘Jeelaani went to look for the money and took it to Safiya’s mother.’ Phon. This example illustrates how phonological phrasing is from syntactic phrasing. **Safiya/ maamaye** is a syntactic unit meaning ‘Safiya’s mother’, but it is phonologically separated, with **Safiya** being in a different phrase from **maamaye**. Furthermore, **Safiya** is incorporated into the same phonological phrase as the verb **chimpelekela**, while **maamaye** remains in a separate phrase.)

Mpelekelele Aasha/ khaṭi. ‘He sent a letter to Aasha.’

Mpelekelele Aasha/ khaṭi postaani (or: **ka posta**). ‘He took a letter for Aasha to the post office; he sent a letter to Aasha by mail.’

Nayo majiibú/ kump^ha/ mp^hate nimpelekelé. ‘Do you have an answer to give me so that I can take it to him?’

Nimpete nyunyi uyú/ msuura/ nt^ho/ nt^hampelekela sulṭaani. ‘I caught this very beautiful bird. I will take it to the sultan.’

kh-pelekoowa v. pass. (**peleshela**) be sent (Note that the passive perfect behaves like the active perfect and allows the elision of *l*; thus one can have *-peeshela*. This long vowel will shorten when in an appropriate environment.)

Chimaliza/ peleshela chiwandraani/ kubarata khfula ḍahabu/ na feḍá/ kaḍalika/ iize/ kubarata/ hirfa iyi. ‘Then he was sent to a smithy to learn to forge gold and silver; similarly he did not learn this skill.’

Hupelekoowa/ chiwooni/ kubarata qur’aani/ na maambó/ ya diini. ‘He is sent to school to study the Quran and religious matters.’ **review phrasing and accent**

Moomo/ mbujé/ peshela spitaale. ‘Moomo’s sister was taken to the hospital.’ (In this sentence, Moomo must be the name of a boy, since a different word is used for the sister of a girl.) Or: **Peshela spitaale/ Moomo/ mbujé.** Or: **Spitaale/ peeshela/ Moomo/ mbujé.** And with focus on **spitaale**: **Spitaale/ peeshelá/ Moomo/ mbujé.**

Nakhsula chakujaache/ mpelekelowa morooni/ mahalaa ye/ ukó. ‘She wants her food to be brought to the backyard where she is.’

Nṭhawakhaadira/ kiiwa/ mahalaa ye/ peleshela. ‘They did not know the place where he was sent.’

Nusu/ hupelekowa muyiini/ kawanyilizowa masaakiini. ‘Half is sent to the town to be distributed to the poor.’

Peleshela madrasaani. ‘You were sent to school.’

Shpelekowa ka sulṭaani. ‘She was taken to the sultan.’

Shtaḷoowa/ ye/ na mzeelé/ washpelekoowa/ ka sulṭaani. ‘He was taken, he and the old man, they were sent to the sultan.’

Washpelekowa kaawo. ‘They were taken to their homes.’

rel. nom.

m-peleka (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who sends

l-peelo (*m-*)

n. 11/10 broom; [pron. mp^heelo]

kubiga lpeelo ‘to sweep clean (lit. hit the broom)’

Khadiija/ nakubiga lpeelo/ nt^hi. ‘Khadiija is sweeping the floor.’

lpelo lkulu ‘a big broom’ (cf. mp^heelo nk^hulu ‘big brooms’)

lpelo lpiya ‘a new broom’ (cf. mp^heelo mp^hiya ‘new brooms’)

Lpeelo/ mp^heleelele nt^hi. ‘A/the broom, I swept the floor with.’ (MI rejected marking a definite instrument with an object marker, hence the unacceptability of ***Lpeelo/ nilpeleelele nt^hi.**)

Lpeelo/ ni-l-vuunzilé. ‘The broom, I broke it.’

l-peembe (*m-*)

n. 11/10 [Sw. *pembe* SSED 372] angle, side, edge; horn; [pron. pl. mp^heembe]

ka lpembe ili ‘on this side’

mp^hembee nt^hatu ‘a triangle [lit. three sides]’

Simeme lpeembeeni. ‘He stood at the edge.’

rel.

i-peembe (*ma-*) n. 5/6 horn of an animal, tusk of an elephant

kumdufila ka lpeembe ‘to push hard with a horn’

mapembe yaa ndovu ‘tusks of an elephant’

mp^hamp^ha wa mapeembe ‘a kind of shark, which looks like it has two horns’

We/ nayo mapeembé/ kudurila waant^hú. ‘You have horns with which to pierce people (said of someone who is arrogant).’

i-peembe (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.

sh-peembe (*s-*) n. 7/8 dim.

kh-peenda

v. [Sw. *penda* SSED 373] (**peenzele**) like, love, want (This verb is widely used in the negative for “not to want”. In fact, **speendi** is much more common than **sisuuli** to express “I do not want”.)

Aduwi/ mpeende. ‘Love (your) enemy.’ (A proverb.)

Baazi/ mpenzele mana uyu. ‘Baazi loves this boy.’ (This simple sentence can be used to illustrate some aspects of Chimiini phrasing. The phrasing shown is no doubt the canonical one. It is possible also to put emphasis on the verb: **Baazi/ mpeenzele/ mana uyu.** Both of these sentences exhibit the dault phrasing whereby the demonstrative and the noun if modifies are grouped together. It is quite possible, however, to phrasally separate the demonstrative from the noun. This can occur whether or not the verb is emphasized: **Baazi/ mpenzele maana/ uyu.** Or: **Baazi/ mpeenzele/ maana/ uyu.** In both cases, **uyu** is downstepped relative to **maana**. A first person subject clarifies to some extent the nature of the phrasing. The canonical sentence is **Nimpenzele mana uyú.** There is a single phrase and the final accent triggered by the first person subject verb form is heard at the very end of the sentence. If the verb is emphasized, the final accent appears at the end of the verb. Default accent is heard to the right of the verb. **Nimpeenzelé/ mana uyu.** Or even: **Nimpeenzelé/ maana/ uyu.** But now consider the case where a phrasally separated **maana** is grouped with the verb: **Nimpenzele maaná/ uyú.** What we notice here is that the final accent extends not just to **maana** but also **uyu**. This suggests strongly that **maana** is not focused, with **uyu** being outside this focus and not receiving the final accent because of this. Our consultant did not reject a pronunciation like ?**Nimpenzele maaná/ uyu.** However, its status remains unclear.)

Hamadi/ kawa munt^hu msuurá/ waant^hu/ wont^he/ sula kumpeenda. ‘If Hamadi had been a good person, everyone would have loved him.’ (In this example, **waant^hu** is not downstepped and neither is the quantifier **wont^he**.)

Hapendi kuyuutíla/ nashike mlaango(we)/ mfuunge. ‘The one who does not want to regret anything, let him keep (his) door closed.’ (Phon. Ordinarily, a negative verb such as **hapeendi** ‘he does not want’ would stand at the end of a phonological phrase, since a negative verb seems to have inherent focus. However, when the negative is a relative verb, it is not at the end of a phonological phrase, as in the present example. That it is not at the end of a phrase is shown by the shortening of the root vowel of **hapeendi** and the absence of accent on this word.)

khpenda waant^hu ‘[lit.] to love people -- meaning: to be sociable, to keep close social relations’

Mi/ hupeenda/ jaka iyo. ‘I like that jacket.’ (In a sentence like this, where the verb is phrasally separated from its complement, the verb is focused and thus is raised in pitch (i.e. not downstepped relative to the preceding accented syllable). There is a strong downstep on the following complement. However, this downstepping seems variable when there is separation of the noun from the demonstrative: **Mi/ hupeenda/ jaaka/ iyo.** The prosody associated with phrasings like **jaaka/ iyo** needs extensive research.)

Mi/ mp^henzelé/ shati iyo. ‘I liked that shirt.’ Cf. **Mi/ mp^henzele shati iyó.** ‘I liked that shirt.’

Mi/ Safiya/ nampeendá/ nimpeenzelé/ nnampeendá/ na nt^hampeendá.
‘Safiya, I love her, I loved her, I love her, I will love her.’ **review the final accent in the future tense example**

Mi/ simpendi teena/ mubli uyu. ‘I do not love this man anymore.’
Mi/ spendi/ we/ kulana na mukeewo. ‘I do not want you to fight with your wife.’
Mi/ spendi/ yo yote/ ka kaake. ‘I do not want anything from him.’
Mp^henzele jaka iyó. ‘I like(d) that jacket.’
Mp^henzele jaaká/ iyo iwaliko cholokooni. ‘I liked (that) jacket, the one

that was on the window.’

Mp^heenzelé/ jaka iyo. ‘I like(d) that jacket.’ Or: **Mp^heenzelé/ jaaka/ iyo.** (In the first example, the focus on the verb is indicated by its phrasal separation from the following complement. The complement is strongly downstepped in this configuration. We observed downstepping in the second version as well, but our impression is that there may be variability in pronunciation when the noun is phrased separately from the demonstrative.)

Mp^heenzelé/ mi/ jaakayo. ‘I like your jacket.’ (The postposed subject **mi** is strongly downstepped following the focused verb.)

Mp^heenzelé/ jaka ya Charles. ‘I like Charles’ jacket.’ Or: **Mp^heenzelé/ jaaka/ ya Charles.** (A loanword like *Charles*, which our consultant pronounced with two syllables, must exhibit default accent in the present example. This accent appears on the first syllable. In the first example cited, a strong downstep of the first complement following the focused verb is usually found. In the second example, we did not observe this downstep. There may be some variability on this matter.)

Mukhtaa mi/ mbaliko chihabá/ shpeenda/ chineema. ‘When I was a child, I used to like to go to the cinema.’

munt^hu mpenzelo Haliimá/ nt^ho ‘the person who loved Haliima very much’ or: **munt^hu mpenzelo nt^ho/ Haliima**

Muunt^hu/ shpenda chiint^hu/ tala/ hashá kaa mate. ‘When one loves/likes something, he lights the lamp with spit (i.e. he can do/tolerate every thing).’ (A proverb.)

Muunt^hu/ waa we/ nampeendó/ ndiyé/ khuleteloo dhibu. ‘The one that you love is the one who brings you problems.’ (A saying.)
na mtume Mhammadi peenzelo soomuye [st.] ‘and the Prophet Mohammad is the one who loved its fasting [i.e. fasting on that day]’

Nama/ hupeenda/ Omari. ‘Meat, likes Omari.’ (Prosody. There is no focus on the preposed **nama** in this example; if there were, the verb would have to shift into pseudo-relative clause form. In the simple yes-no question, **Omari** undergoes accent shift: **Nama/ hupeenda/ Omari?** In the exclamatory question, both verb and postposed subject undergo accent shift: **Nama/ hupeendá/ Omari!?**)

Nama/ Omari/ hupeenda. ‘Meat, Omari likes.’ (Prosody. In this example, there is no focus on either of the pre-verbal nouns. The simple yes-no question keeps the accents in tact, while the exclamatory question exhibits accent shift in the subject and in the verb: **Nama/ Omari/ hupeendá!?** The accent shift, however, in the subject does not seem to be obligatory, whereas it is obligatory in the verb phrase.)

Omari/ hupeenda/ nama. ‘Omari likes meat.’

Omari/ nama/ hupeendó. ‘Omari meat likes.’ (Prosody. In this example, **nama** is focused and thus the verb is shifted into pseudo-relative clause form.)

Speendi. ‘I do not want it.’

Sultaani/ mpeenzele/ mwaana/ uyu/ kolko waanawe/ wawili. ‘The king loved this boy more than his own two children.’

Sultaani/ mpenzelo nt^ho/ nyunyi/ oyo. ‘The sultan loved this bird very much.’

Wana awa/ hupenda zinoolo. ‘These children like **zinoolo**.’ Or, with verb emphasis: **Wana awa/ hupeenda/ zinoolo.** ‘These children like **zinoolo**.’ (Phon. The corresponding simple yes-no questions in the first example Q-raises **zinoolo**: **Wana awa/ hupenda zinoolo?** while in the second example, the out-of-focus **zinoolo** undergoes accent shift: **Wana awa/ hupeenda/ zinooló?**)

Watakhpenda Hasiibu/ kendra naawo. ‘They want Hasiibu to go with them.’

Waawe/ shpendraa nt^ho/ kuwiinda/ shpeendó. ‘My father loved very much to hunt, that’s what he loved.’

Ya khalbi inakhpeendó/ ni dawaye. ‘What the heart likes is its medicine.’
(A proverb.)

Ye/ mpenzelee nt^ho/ mwaanawe. ‘He loved his son very much.’

Zijo/ pishiloo muké/ mi/ speendi. ‘The food cooked by the woman, I do not like it.’

rel.

kh-peendana v. rec. (-pendeene) love, like one another

Si/ ni weenza/ hupeendana. ‘We are friends, we like one another.’

Ye/ na mukeewé/ wapendeene/ nt^ho. ‘He and his wife loved one another very much.’

kh-peendeka v. p/s. able to be loved

kh-peendela v. appl. love for

kh-peendesha v. caus. (pendesheeze)

Nuuru/ mpendesheze mwaana/ mwanaamke. ‘Nuuru (somehow) brought it about that the boy loved the girl.’

kh-pendesheleza v. caus. appl. (pendesheleeze)

Nuuru/ mpendesheleze Suufi/ mwaana/ mwanaamke. ‘Nuuru (somehow) brought it about that Suufi’s child loved the girl.’

kh-pendeshelezanya v. caus. appl. rec. (-pendesheleezenye)

Nuuru/ na Suufi/ wapendesheleezenye waana/ wanaashke. ‘Nuuru and Suufi somehow brought it about that (their) sons loved the girls.’

kh-peendeza v. tr. please someone

Jawaabu/ izi/ nt^haskumpeendeza/ mubli. ‘These words did not please the man.’

kh-pendezana v. tr. rec. please one another

kh-pendoowa v. pass. (peenzela) be loved

Abunawaasi/ waliko shpendoowa/ nt^ho/ na Harun Rashiidi.

‘Abunawaasi was liked very much by Haruun Rashiidi.’

Mukeewe/ shpendoowa. ‘His wife was loved.’

Siwo/ ipeenzela. ‘It is not that it is liked (or wanted, desired).’

Suufi/ penzela nt^ho/ na wazeelewe/ ka khisaa ye/ kuwa mwana wa

miiso/ na teená/ kuwa mwiimbili. ‘Suufi was loved very much by his parents. because he was the last child and moreover he was a boy.’

kh-peenza v. ? [only recorded in the extended form below]

kh-penzeleza v. appl. (penzeleeze) like for; mean by

Penzeleezeni/ we/ kuhada kuwa ifungu imooyi/ we/ lañile bahariini.

‘What did you mean by [lit. like for] saying that one part [of your squandered wealth] you threw into the sea?’

Welele raaði/ ka ije ya waawaye/ mpenzeleezó. ‘She agreed to whatever her father liked for her.’

rel. nom.

m-peenda (wa-) n. 1/2 one who loves

ma-peendano n. 6

ma-peendelo n. 6

ma-peendezo n. 6

m-peendo n. 10 love, liking; [pron. mp^heendo]

Mp^heendo/ haaziyi/ ka kambilowa peenda. ‘Love [cl.10] does not come by being told: love!’ (A proverb.)

ma-peendo n. 6 love

Mapendo ya maskiini/ hayawonekani (or: **haya’onyeshi**). ‘The love of a poor man cannot be seen (i.e. is not visible).’ (A proverb.)

mapeendo ya nafsi ni ðambi l’akbari [st.] ‘love of self is a major sin’

Wa'ishiize/ pamooyi/ ka mapeendo/ na mahabá/ pashpo ikraahi/ hatá/ sku mooyi. 'They lived together in love and affection without discord, not even one day.'

sh-peendo (s-) n. lover, loved one **review**

Mgeeni/ uyu/ wele shpeendoche. 'This foreigner became her lover.'

Ni shpeendocho/ nt^humiiló/ nakhsulá khuwona. 'It is your lover who sent me, he wants to see you.'

m-pendoowa (wa-) n. the one who is loved

m-peenzi (wa-) n. 1/2 lover (The Chijini form [nzímp^é] establishes that *nzi* is a prenasalized consonant.)

Maṭo ya mpeenzi/ hayaawoni/ ebu (za shpeendo). 'The eyes of the lover do not see the defects of the loved one.' (A proverb.)

mpenzi mooyi 'one lover'

wapenzi wawili 'two lovers'

ma-peenzi n. 6 love

Mapeenzi/ hayuloowi/ ka peesa. 'Love is not bought with money.' (A proverb.)

Mapeenzi/ ni mapenzi ya khalbi/ siwo/ ya maali. 'Love is love from the heart not from wealth.' (A proverb.)

Mapeenzi/ nt^hayaná/ dawa. 'Love does not have medicine (for it).' (A proverb.)

sh-penene n. chance

khpata shpenene 'to have a chance to do s.t.'

Karkaa wo/ wanakuharbishanó/ siimba/ shtuluka/ na mp^huundrá/ shpata shpenene/ khfakaṭa. 'While they were fighting one another, Lion fell down and Donkey had a chance to run away.'

Siná/ khpata/ shpenene. 'I am not getting a chance.'

l-peengele (m-) n. 11/10 [Sw. *kipengee, kipengele* SSED 203] outside (of the house); [pron. mp^heengele (pl.)]

hummoni muunt^hu karka lpeengele [nt.] 'you don't see anybody in the streets'

huhuzuniko mp^heengele/ kuttá schinendroowa [st.] 'the pathways along which he walked daily will feel sad'

kulangala lpeengele 'to look outside'

Mp^hete lpeengeleeni. 'I got it outside.'

Uko lpeengeleeni. 'He is outside.'

l-peengo (m-) adj. 11/10 [Sw. *pengo* SSED 373] broken, chipped part of the edge, rim, mouth, etc., of a pot or cup

mino mp^heengo 'partly broken teeth'

yino lpeengo 'a partly broken tooth'

sh-penyenyo (s-) n. 7/8 [likely connected to Sw. verb *penya* SSED 373-4 and related nouns] very narrow space; opportunity

peepe

mp^hamp^ha wa peepe 'a type of shark'

l-pepe (m-) n. 11/10 lightning; [pron. mp^hepe]

ka hima/ kana lpepe 'as quick as lightning'

kubigaa mp^hepe 'to lightning'

Zinakubigaa mp^hepe. 'It is lightning.'

Mp^hepe/ hutala waant^hu/ maṭo. 'Lightning blinds people.'

Pisile kana lpepe. 'He passed like lightning (i.e. quickly).'

m-pepe

n. 10 eyelashes **review whether there is a singular form in use**

Haliima/ mp^hepeze/ ndre. ‘Haliima’s eyelashes are long.’

Haliima/ nakubigisha mp^hepeze. ‘Haliima made up her eyelashes.’

Haliima/ pashile mp^hepeze/ ranji. ‘Haliima painted her eyelashes.’

kh-pepela

v. [Sw. *pepea* SSED 374] (**pepele**) fan, wave (e.g. a flag); cool s.t.

khpepela maandra ‘to cool bread (by fanning) -- in contrast with **khpoza**

maandra ‘to cool bread by letting it sit, opening a window, etc.’

khpepelaa muḷo ‘to make a current of air using a fan or anything else to revive a fire’

Nakuliindra/ nini/ nakhpepela/ nakudhaksha. ‘She was waiting, what, she was fanning (the fire), she was making it (tea) in a hurry.’

Nuuru/ mpepele mwaana. ‘Nuuru fanned, cooled the child.’

rel.

kh-pepelela v. appl. (**pepelele**)

Hamadi/ bandeeraye/ inakhpepelelō. ‘Hamadi’s flag is waving (i.e. he is getting everything that he wants, e.g. he is getting help from many places so that he gets whatever he wants).’ (The use of the pseudo-relative form of the verb in this sentence indicates that there is focus on the possessive subject **Hamadi/ bandeeraye** ‘Hamadi his flag’; the pitch on the penult of both parts appear to be raised, although the initial pitch is higher. It is interesting to note that the applied form of the verb is used here in what is essentially an intransitive meaning.)

kh-pepelelana v. appl. rec. fan for one another

kh-pepeleloowa v. pass.

kh-pepelana v. rec.

kh-pepelesha v. caus. (**pepelesheeze**)

Biibi/ mpepelesheze Suriya/ ruuhuye. ‘Biibi caused Suriya to fan herself.’

kh-pepeleshana v. caus. rec.

kh-pepelesheka v. caus. p/s.

kh-pepelesheleza v. caus. appl.

Manaasha/ mpepelesheleze Maasiti/ mwaana/ ruuhuye. ‘Manaasha had Maasiti’s child fan himself.’

kh-pepeleshelezanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Manaasha/ na Maasiti/ wapepeleshezenye waana/ ruhu zaawo.

‘Manaasha and Maasiti had one another’s children fan each other.’

kh-pepeenta

v. [Sw. *pepeta* SSED 374] (**pepeensele, pepeent^he**) separate husk from crushed grain

(by quickly raising and lowering a winnowing tray, **l-telo**); [pron. **khpepeent^ha**]

rel.

kh-pepentela v. appl. (**pepent^heleele**) [pron. **khpepeent^hela**]

kh-pepentoowa v. (**pepent^ha**) [pron. **khpepent^hoowa**]

peepepe

in the expression:

kendra peepepe ‘to sway from side to side (of a boat)’

kh-pepeza

v. [Sw. *pepeza* "blink" SSED 374] blink **check meaning with GM**

khpepeza maato ‘to blink’

Sitiina/ pepeze maato. ‘Sitiina blinked.’

rel.

kh-pepezsha v. caus.

kh-pepezsheleza v. caus. appl.

kh-pepezshelezanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-pepezoowa v. pass.

khpepezoowa/ maato ‘to be blinked’

Iseelō/ khpepezowa maato. ‘What remains is to blink (i.e. nothing remains to be done but blink).’ Or: **Iseelō/**

khpepezoowa/ maato.

l-pepo (m-pepo)

n. 11 [Sw. *upepo* SSED 375] wind; [in plural] a kind of partial facial or motor

paralysis; [pron. pl. m^hepo]

Ivuumbi/ hayoondroki/ bila lpepo. ‘Dust does not go up without wind.’ (A proverb that indicates that if there is a rumor, then there is likely some truth to it, equal to the English "where there's smoke, there's fire".)

Jhazi/ hurasha lpepo. ‘The dhow follows the wind.’ (A proverb which is used to convey the idea that those who are wealthy control the fate of others. For example, if a poor man marries a rich woman, he will be under her control and rule.)

ka h́ima/ kana lpepo ‘as quick as the wind’

khchimbila kana lpepo ‘to run like the wind’

Wachimbila kana lpepo/ wachiimbiló. ‘They ran like the wind, that's what they did.’

kuuluka/ kana lpepo ‘to fly, jump like the wind’

maradi yaa mp^hepo ‘partial facial or muscular paralysis’

lpepo la matanga mawili [lit.] the wind of two sails -- i.e. the time of year when sailing boats can go in either direction with the wind’

lpepo/ linakuvuma. ‘The wind is blowing hard.’

Muti/ bila lpepo/ ha'tetemi. ‘A tree without wind does not shake.’ (A proverb.)

mukhta lpepo lanzizo kuvuma ka wiingí ‘when the wind began to blow with force’

Mwaana/ impete lpepo. ‘The child is afflicted by rheumatism.’

rel.

i-pepo n. aug.

Chimalizopo kumtiindá/ ichanza kuvuma ipepo/ naa nvulá/ kunyá.

‘When we finished slaughtering it, the wind began to blow and rain to fall.’

Ye/ ineenzele/ karka ipepo ya bardi/ keendra/ khkumaangana/ na mowtiwe/ ka khisa chiza kuwaraagisha/ jamaa'aye. ‘He walked in a blizzard to go to meet his death in order not to delay his companions.’

Ye/ shfikira/ kumwambila waawaye/ kuwa masku/ ivumile ipepo/ kaa nguvu/ na nt^hendré/ spoteele/ mutiini. ‘He thought about telling his father that during the night a big wind blew with force and the dates fell from the tree.’

m-pepo

n. 9/10 spirit; [pron. mp^hepo]

khpataa mp^hepo ‘to be possessed by spirits’

maradi yaa mp^hepo [lit.] disease of spirits -- a kind of disease’

mwenyee mp^hepo ‘crazy’

sh-pepo (s-)

n. 7/8 [cf. Sw. *kipepeo* SSED 374] fan; a kind of fish

shpepo cha majini ‘butterfly (lit. the spirits’/ jinns’ fan)’

peera

n. a solid sweet made by boiling water and sugar, then forming small round balls of it, similar to fudge; **MI described as adding sugar and spice to milk, then cooking to point of solidifying; a sweet given especially to children**

peesa

n. 9/10 [Sw. *pesa, mapesa* SSED 375] coin; (pl.) money

Abunawaasi/ sku mooyi/ sulile kula mp^huundra/ na nt^hakuwanaazo/ peesa. ‘One day Abunawaasi wanted to buy a donkey, but he did not have money.’

attá/ peesa/ mo [lit.] not even one cent) -- said to dismiss s.o.'s fears and doubts about a future event that the latter sees as difficult or dangerous (e.g. an examination, a journey, giving birth, etc.)’

awaje wanazo peesá ‘those who have money’

Chiwanapo peesá/ taala/ ka kaake. ‘If he has money, take it from him!’
Cf. **Chiwanazopo peesá/ taala/ ka kaake.** ‘If he has the money, take it from him!’

Hasani/ furahile khpata peesa. ‘Hasani was pleased to get money.’ But if one wished to emphasize the main verb: **Hasani/ furahiile/ khpata peesa.** If one wished to emphasize the subject of the main verb: **Hasani/ furahilo khpata peesá.**

Huseeni/ nt^hampa/ maana/ peesa. ‘Huseeni did not give the child money.’ (Phon. In this negative sentence, both complements to the verb are out-of-focus and thus show accent-shift in the simple yes-no question: **Huseeni/ nt^hampa/ maaná/ peesá?** In the exclamatory question, the negative verb also shows accent-shift: **Huseeni/ nt^hampá/ maaná/ peesá!?**)

khkakanya peesa ‘to change money (coins, bills) into different denominations’

kuvunda peesa ‘to change money (into smaller denominations)’

Mpeeleni. ‘What did he give him?’ Possible answers: **Peesa.** ‘Money.’ Or: **Mpele peesa.** ‘He gave him money.’ Or even: **Peesa/ mpeeló.** ‘Money (is what) he gave him.’

Muunt^hu/ hufanya kaazi/ chisula kuwanazo peesa. ‘A man should work if he wants to have money.’

Munt^hu mpele Jaamá/ peesá/ ni Nuuru. ‘The man who gave Jaama money is Nuuru.’

Muunt^hu/ mpelo Omari/ peesá/ ni Nuuru. ‘The person who gave Omari money is Nuuru.’

Muunt^hu/ pela peesa. ‘The man was given money.’ Or: **Peesa/ pela**

muunt^hu. (Syn. Notice that even though **muun^hu** and **peesa** have exchanged positions in the word order, the former remains the subject of the sentence. However, observe that it phrases with the preceding verb, just like any post-verbal complement.)

Mwaana/ shtala peesaze/ choloka naazo. ‘The boy took his money and went away with it.’

Nacho chiint^hú/ hula ka peesaze/ na sho kuwanaachó/ haatowi/ munt^hu wa kumpa. ‘Someone who has the means buys (e.g. new clothes) with his money; and the one who does not have anything does not fail to find a person to give him (something).’

Nink^hirile kuwaa mi/ mbozele peesá. ‘I denied that I stole the money.’

Nimpele chibuukú/ khalamu/ skumpa. ‘I gave him a book, a pen, I did not give him.’ Or: **Chibuuku/ nimpeelé/ khalamu/ laakini/ skumpa.** ‘A book I gave him, a pen however I did not give him.’

Nt^hakuwanaazo/ peesa. ‘(S)he did not have money.’

Nt^haná/ pesa zaa ye/ kunulilaa nguwo. ‘He does not have money to buy me clothes.’

Nuzile gaarí/ ka peesá. ‘I bought a car with the money.’ It is also possible to focus on the direct object, in which case the final accent does not project past the focused noun: **Nuzile gaarí/ ka peesa.** It is also possible to bring the prepositional phrase to IAV position, in which case it is focused: **Nuzile ka peesá/ gaari.** If the prepositional phrase is left-dislocated, GM preferred to treat it as focused and therefore with the verb in pseudo-relative form: **Ka peesa/ nuzilo gaarí.**

Omari/ fanyiizeni. ‘What did Omari do?’ A possible answer to this question: **Mpele peesa.** ‘He gave him money.’ Note that it would not be appropriate to reply: **#Peesa/ mpeeló.** ‘Money (is what) he gave him.’

Pela peesá/ ni muunt^hu. ‘The one who was given money is the man.’

Peesa/ hazuuli/ ruuhu. ‘Money does not buy life, the soul.’ (A proverb.)

Peesa/ ibeele. ‘The coin is lost.’ Cf. **Ibele peesa.** ‘A coin is lost.’

Peesa/ ipasiiza/ aduwi/ ifanyiiza. ‘Money has been lent, an enemy has been made.’ (A proverb.)

Peesa/ nulile gaari. ‘Money, with it I bought a car.’ Or: **Peesa/ nulile/ gaari.** (Syn. In these examples, the instrument has been topicalized/ left-dislocated to initial position. If the left-dislocated instrument is focused, as is permitted by our recent consultants, then the verb must shift into pseudo-relative form: **Peesa/ nulilo gaari.** The verb may be phrasally separated at the same time: **Peesa/ nuliló/ peesa.**)

Peesa/ nza Omari/ zaa mi/ mpheetó. ‘The money belongs to Omari that I found.’ Or: **Nza Omari/ pesa zaa mi/ mpheetó/.** ‘It belongs to Omari, the money that I found.’

Peesa/ Omari/ peetó/ nzaaká. ‘The money Omari found is mine.’ (Note that the relative particle has been omitted, but the sentence is still well-formed; cf. **Pesa za Omari/ peetó/ nzaaká.** ‘The money that Omari found is mine.’)

Peesa/ shtakaawanya. ‘The money, we will divide it up.’

Peesa/ stubeeme. ‘Money is abundant, i.e. there is a lot of money.’

Peesa/ muunt^hu/ hazikiloowi. ‘One is not buried with money.’ (A proverb.)

Pesa za duniya/ hulatoowa/ tu. ‘Money in this world is only left behind.’
(A proverb, commenting that money is left behind when one dies.)

Pesa za duniya/ hupatoowa/ hubashoowa. ‘Money in this world is made and is lost.’

Pesa zaa mi/ mpheetó/ nza Omari. ‘The money that I found belongs to Omari.’ Or: **Peesa/ zaa mi/ mpheetó/ nza Omari.**

rel.

ma-peesa n. 6 money

Abaaǎe/ lazile (ka) karka ahli/ nt^hawana mapeesá/ miingí. ‘Abaaǎe comes from among people who do not have much money.’

sh-peesa (s-) n. 7/8 dim.

Wachendra sukhuuni/ wachimuza/ ka speesa/ habamó. ‘They went to the market and sold him for a little money.’

-peesi

adj. [Sw. *-epesi* SSED 86] quick, swift, agile, hasty

mpeesi/ kana lpepo ‘someone quick (in doing s.t.) as the wind’

mpeesi/ kana makiina ‘someone quick (in doing s.t.) as a machine’

Ni munt^hu mpeesi. ‘He is a man who acts hastily.’

want^hu wapeesi ‘quick people’

rel.

u-peesi n. 14 [Sw. *upesi* SSED 86] speed, quickness

Fanya upeesi. ‘Hurry up!’

ka upeesi ‘quickly, at once’

Chimbila ka upeesi. ‘Run away quickly!’

Nchimpata/ ndretelaani/ ka upeesi. ‘If you (pl.) get him, bring him to me at once.’

Ndro ka upeesi. ‘Come quickly!’

Nt^hume/ chimwambilaa muke/ kumvīla mubliwe/ ka upeesi.
‘The messenger told the woman to call her husband quickly.’

u-peesi upesi adv. quickly, in a hurry

Apo/ ye/ chigedika/ na ka upesi upesi/ chendra zitaani. ‘Then he changed [transformed] and quickly went into the war.’

Nfanyize upesi upeesi. ‘I did it in a hurry.’

Pesiina

n. A new tarmac road was built in the 1980’s connecting Mogadishu to the southern port of Kisimayu. This road bypassed Mudun (**Muduni**), which was the place where previously one turned off in order to get to Brava. The new side road to Brava (which was also paved) started at a location called **Pesiina** or **Pasiina** (from the name of the Italian road contractor Pessina) and ended near the market-place in Brava.

kh-peteka

v. (**peteshele**) tickle someone; rummage through things

variant form: **kh-poteka**

rel.

kh-petekana v. rec. tickle one another

Wanaashke/ wanakhpotekana. ‘The ladies are tickling one another.’

kh-petekesha v. caus. (**petekesheeze**)

Suufi/ mpetekesheze mwaana/ ruuhuye. ‘Suufi made the child tickle himself (implies physical manipulation).’

kh-petekoowa v. pass.

Haliima/ nakhtekaateka/ kana nakhpotekoowa. ‘Haliima is laughing and laughing as if she is being tickled.’

rel. nom.

m-peteko n. 3

ma-peteko n. 6

petrooliyo

n. [Sw. *petroli* SSED 376; Eng.] gasoline, petrol

chisima cha petrooliyo ‘an oil well’

Gaari/ hinendra ka petrooliyo. ‘Trucks run on petrol.’

Somaaliya/ ipeta petrooliyo/ niingi. ‘A lot of petrol is found in Somalia.’

sh-pete (s-)

n. 7/8 [Sw. *kipete* SSED 375] ring

chala cha shpete ‘ring finger (finger next to the little finger)’

Hasani/ na shpeteche cha ajabú ‘Hasani and his ring of wonders’

kama chaala/ na shpeté ‘like a finger and a ring (used to describe fast, inseparable friends)’

kama shpete/ shchipatoowa ‘if the ring is found’

kama spete/ schipatoowa ‘if the rings are found’

khkula shpete ‘to take off a ring’

kh̄tomola shpete ‘to take off a ring’

kh̄tila shpete ‘to put on a ring’

kuvala shpete ‘to wear a ring, to have a ring on’

Mp^hete shpete cha Nuurú. ‘I found Nuuru’s ring.’

Mwanaamke/ chihada/ ichiwa/ sharti/ ndiwé/ takeendró/ basi/ taala/ shpete/ ichi chivaale/ mukhtaa we/ taakuwó/ nakhteza naayé. ‘The girl said: if it is necessary for you to go, then take this ring and wear it when you are playing (cards) with her.’

Omari/ mulile Tuuma/ shpete cha ðahabu. ‘Omari bought for Tuuma a gold ring.’

shpete cha chuuma ‘an iron, steel ring’

shpete cha ðahabu ‘a ring of gold’

shpete cha feða ‘a silver ring’

shpete cha hakhikha ‘a ring with a valuable gem, usu. worn after having made the pilgrimage to Mecca’

shpete cha haruusi ‘a wedding ring’

shpete cha luulu ‘a pearl ring’

shpete cha waana ‘a ring for a child’

shpete chelpe ‘a white ring’

shpete chihuundru ‘a red ring’

shpete chilusi ‘a black ring’

shpete/ kuleela ‘a ring to be loose’

shpete/ kuwalana ‘a ring to be tight’

Si/ shchipata/ kumwona/ mtume Suleemaani/ sh̄takhtala shpeteche. ‘If we get to see the prophet Suleemeeni, we will take his ring.’

Ye/ naawé/ kuwa nakulangaḷa/ shpete/ tu. ‘Her, let her be looking at the

ring only.

=*pi*

encl. where?

Basi/ ndo/ we/ waliko zimiilepi. ‘So, come, (tell me) where you were hidden.’

Chuuza/ sul̄taani/ oloshlepi. ‘He asked: where did the sultan go?’

Huweekapi/ peesazo/ we. ‘Where do you keep your money?’ Or: **Peesazo/**

we/ huweekapi. Or: **Huweekapi/ we/ peesazo.** Or: **We/ peesazo/ huweekapi.** Or: **Peesazo/ huweekapi/ we.** (This example illustrates the flexibility of word order in Chimiini.)

Jeeli/ huwanaazopi/ peesa. ‘Where does Jeeli have (his) money?’ (MI did not accept a verb form like ***huwanaapi.**)

Lazile ka numbaani/ pashpo kiiwa/ nakeendrapi. ‘He left the house without knowing where he was going.’

Mbona/ lazilepi/ maskiini. ‘Say, where did he come from, the poor man?’ (Phon. In this book, we do not usually indicate intonational raisings and lowerings, some of which are predictable, others of which are not. The postposed subject in this example is radically lowered in pitch and it is difficult to say whether there is a true accentual contrast in this case. In narrow transcription, we write [**Mbona/ lazilepi/ maskiini.**])

Meenepi. ‘Where did you see him?’ (An appropriate answer: **Nimene wowiini.** ‘I saw him in the river.’)

Mi/ nakendra khpatapi/ inyi yaa nfuye. ‘Where am I going to get a monkey’s liver from?’

Muusa/ mekelelepi/ Nuuru/ chibuuku. ‘Where did Muusa put the book for Nuuru?’ (Phon. We have not done a systematic study of the intonation of so-called “wh”-questions like this. In eliciting the present example, we did note an intonational rise on the final syllable of the sentence. If the rise is extreme, then the sentence seems to convey surprise or seeks confirmation about where the book was put.)

Nakeendrapi. ‘Where are you going?’

Ndo/ nimlatiilepi. ‘Come, where have you thrown him?’

Nfaanyepi. ‘Where shall I do it?’

Nfaanyepi/ kaazi. ‘Where shall I work?’

Nt^hampatapi/ nyunyi/ mwiingine/ kama uyu. ‘Where will I get another bird like this one?’

Nt^hakhpatapi. ‘Where will I get it?’

Omari/ andishilepi/ zoombo. ‘Where did Omari put things?’ (A possible answer: **Omari/ andishile zoombo/ gariini.** ‘Omari put the things in the lorry.’)

Walikopi/ we/ si/ pamó/ na waant^hu/ wotte/ wa muuyi/ chenzele kubiga harbí/ we/ izimiliilé. ‘Where were you? We, together with all the people of the town, went to fight the war; you hid yourself.’

Sultaani/ malizopo khsoomá/ chimuza baduwi/ peetepi/ ikofiya iyi.

‘When the sultan finished reading [the words on the hat], he asked the nomad where he obtained this hat?’

Takuwanaayopi/ nuumba/ Mkhodiisho. ‘Where will you have a home in Mogadishu (i.e. where will you buy a house, where will you live, etc.)?’ (MI did not accept the verb form: ***takuwanaapi.**)

Tuuma/ muke/ olosholepi. ‘Tuuma, where did the woman go?’ Or: **Muke/ olosholepi/ Tuuma.** ‘The woman went where, Tuuma?’

Uzilepi/ Nureeni/ jaka iyo. ‘Where did Nureeni buy that jacket?’

Wanaayopi/ nuumba/ Mkhodiisho. ‘Whereabouts in Mogadishu did you have a house?’ (MI did not accept a verb form ***wanaapi.**)

Wesholepi/ zibuuku. ‘Where did you put the books?’ (Phon. cf. the accent in **Wesholepi/ zibuuku.** ‘Where did (s)he put the books?’)

piicha

n. 9/10 [Sw. *picha* SSED 376; Eng.] picture, photograph

khtala piicha ‘to take a photograph’

kubiga piicha ‘to take a photograph’

Piicha/ ilawiliile. ‘The picture has come out good.’

piicha/ ya teesara ‘identity picture’

Waant^hu/ wa’onyeza piicha. ‘The people were shown pictures.’

pichoori

n. a type of aromatic long grain white rice (called *pishori* in Kenya)

mpunga wa pichoori ‘a kind of rice (aromatic long grain white rice)’

Chaakuja/ mp^hishilé. ‘Food, I cooked.’ (In order to make the preposed noun phrase clearly definite, one would put an object marker agreeing with it on the verb: **Chaakuja/ nishpishilé.** ‘The food, I cooked it.’)

Chooloka/ chimpika/ oyoo noka. ‘She went and she cooked that snake.’

Faatma/ nakhpikó/ kilaa muunt^hi. ‘It is Faatma who is cooking every day.’ (The subject of the sentence is focused in this example, which

induces the pseudo-relativization of the verb. Observe that the relative verb is focused here as well, and the final accent associated with the relative verb does not extend to the complement in pseudo-relativization. In ordinary relativization, even if the verb is phrasally separated from a complement, final accent does extend to the end of the relative clause.)

Faatma/ pishilee nama/ laakini/ Haliima/ pishilee nsi. ‘Faatma cooked meat, but Haliima cooked fish.’ (In this example, **Haliima** is focused in the sense of being raised in pitch, but does not trigger pseudo-relativization of its verb.)

Faatma/ pishile/ nama. ‘Faatma cooked meat.’ (The speaker of a sentence such as this, with focus on the verb, might continue: ...**laakini/ mi/ skuja.** ‘But I didn’t eat any.’ Or: ...**laakini/ tawanyiize.** ‘But she threw it away.’ Or: ...**laakini/ nt^haku/ jiióló.** ‘But there’s no one who ate.’ It would not be felicitous, however, for the speaker to continue: #**na Haliimá/ pishilee nsi.** ‘And Haliima cooked fish.’ This addition is infelicitous since it is unrelated to the assertion that Faatma did cook meat. A different speaker might say: **ā’ā/ nt^hakhpika.** ‘No, she did not cook (fish).’ Or: **ā’ā/ pishilee nsi.** ‘No, she cooked fish.’)

Haliima/ pishilee zijo. ‘Haliima cooked **zijo.**’ (The simple y/n question displays Q-Raising but no other alteration of the prosody. The exclamatory question shifts accent in the verb phrase: **Haliima/ pishilee zijô!?** If the subject is right-dislocated: **Pishilee zijo/ ^hHaliima.** ‘She cooked **zijo,** Haliima.’ In the simple y/n question, one would expect the right-dislocated subject to undergo accent shift; it is apparently possible for accent shift to not occur, as we recorded: **Pishilee zijo/ Haliima?** The emphatic question however requires accent shift in both phrases: **Pishilee zijó/ Haliimá!?** The right-dislocated subject may come between the verb and the complement: **Pishile/ ^hHaliima/ zijo.** In the simple y/n question version of this sentence, accent shift affects both the subject and the complement: **Pishile/ Haliimá/ zijó?** In the emphatic question, the verb also undergoes accent shift: **Pishilé/ Haliimá/ zijô!?**)

Haliima/ pishileni. ‘What did Haliima cook?’ (The =*ni* enclitic does not trigger any shift of the verb to the pseudo-relative form; consequently, in this example default accent occurs on the third-person past tense verb form. There does seem to be some intonational raising of the final syllable, but this intonational feature has not been explored in detail.)

Haliima/ pishilee zijo. ‘Haliima cooked **zijo.**’

Haliima/ pishilee zijo/ so. ‘Haliima cooked **zijo,** didn’t she?’

Haliima/ pishiló. ‘It is Haliima who cooked.’

Haliima/ takhpika ma^haaza/ takhpikó. ‘Haliima will cook porridge, that’s what she will do.’

Hamadi/ mpishile Ali/ ka sarkaali. ‘Hamadi betrayed Ali to the government.’

Jaama/ pishilee nama/ ka sufuriya. ‘Jaama cooked meat with a pan.’ (Cf.

Mi/ mp^hishilee namá/ ka sufuriyá. ‘I cooked meat with a pan.’)

Ji/ spishile/ zaakuja. ‘Ji cooked the food.’

Kaaziya/ ni khpika. ‘My work is to cook.’

Kuja/ pishilo Haliimá/ mi/ sidaari. ‘Food that has been cooked by

Haliima, I will not touch [i.e. eat] it.’ (Syn. Observe the possibility of locating the subject of the relative verb in IAV position in this example.)

Kuja/ pishilo Haliimá/ simeeré/ kuwa ladda. ‘Food that has been cooked by Haliima, don’t [try] to search out [whether] it is sweet – i.e. don’t even dream that it might be sweet.’

L^hiini/ Haliima/ pishiló. ‘When did Haliima cook?’ A possible answer **Haliima/ pishile fijiri iyi.** ‘Haliima cooked this morning.’ (Phon. When a time adverb is out-of-focus and follows the verb, it would be phrased separately from the verb. But in this answer, obviously the time adverb is being focused and thus phrases with the verb.)

L^hiini/ Haliima/ pishiloo zijó. ‘When did Haliima cook **zijo?**’ A possible answer to this question: **Haliima/ pishilee zijo/ fijiri iyi.** ‘Haliima cooked **zijo** this morning.’ (Phon. In this answer, the time adverbial is obviously not “out-of-focus” and thus when one forms a yes-no

question version of this sentence, there is no accent-shift, as occurs with out-of-focus phrases: **Haliima/ pishilee zijo/ fijiri iyi?**)

Mp^hishilé. ‘I cooked.’

Mpishile chakuja cha Nuuru. ‘I cooked food for Nuuru (to eat); I cooked food that Nuuru was supposed to cook.’

Mpishilee namá/ ka sufuriyá. ‘I cooked meat with a pan.’

Mubli/ oloshelopo kaziini/ shpikaa zijo. ‘When the husband went to work, she cooked zijo.’

Muke/ nakhpiko kilaa muunthi/ ni Faatma. ‘The woman who is cooking every day is Faatma.’

Muke/ pishile. ‘The woman cooked.’ Or, with subject postposing: **Pishile/ muke.** (Phon. The corresponding simple yes-no questions: **Muke/ pishile?**, with no accent shift, and: **Pishile/ muké?**, with accent shift in the out-of-focus complement. The emphatic yes-no questions: **Muke/ pishilé!?** and **Pishile/ muké!?**) (Syn. Shifting the subject to IAV position is not possible: ***Pishilee muke.**, unless the clause is elaborated upon, as in: **Pishilee muke/ kuja/ ladda/ hattá/ takuluma zaalazo.** ‘The woman cooked food so sweet until [the point is reached that] you will bite your fingers.’ The elaboration necessary for putting the subject in IAV position is *not* provided by elements internal to the verb phrase: ***Pishilee muke/ kuja.** ‘Cooked the woman food.’ is unacceptable.)

Muke oyo/ pishilee zijo. ‘The woman cooked zijo.’ Or, with focus on the verb: **Muke oyo/ pishile/ zijo.** (Phon. When the verb is focused, it is raised in pitch rather than exhibiting the default downstep intonation. The lack of focus on **zijo** is reflected in the yes-no question, where **zijo** undergoes accent shift: **Muke oyo/ pishile/ zijó?** In this yes-no question, the verb undergoes Q-raising, discussed in the introduction, while the out-of-focus **zijo** is much lower in pitch.)

Muke pishiló/ ni Faatma. ‘The woman who cooked was Faatma.’ (Syn. One cannot say: **Pishiloo muke/ ni Faatma.**)

muke oyo/ shpika ‘if that woman cooks’

muke oyo/ shpikaa zijo ‘if that woman/ cooks zijo’

hapiki maandra. ‘Muusa doesn’t/won’t cook bread.’ Or: **Muusa/ maandra/ haapiki.** ‘*Muusa* doesn’t cook bread.’

Nakhpika maataaza/ Haliima/ nakhpikó. ‘She is cooking porridge, Haliima, that’s what she is doing.’

Naani/ pishiló. ‘Who cooked?’ A possible answer to this question: **Haliima/ pishiló.** ‘Haliima cooked.’ (Observe that in both the question and the answer, the verb is put into a pseudo-clause form.)

Naani/ pishiloo kujá. ‘Who cooked food?’

Pika. ‘Cook!’ (cf. **Pikaa zijo.** ‘Cook zijo!’ **Pikaani.** ‘You (pl.) cook!’

Pikani nsí. ‘You (pl.) cook fish!’ **Spiké.** ‘Don’t cook!’ **Spiké/**

zijo. ‘Don’t cook zijo!’ **Spikeení.** ‘You (pl.) don’t cook!’

Spikeení/ zijo. ‘You (pl.) don’t cook zijo!’)

Pishile maataaza/ pishiló. ‘She cooked porridge, that’s what she did.’ (The repetition of the main verb in a relative form, as seen in the present example, is a common strategy in spoken Chimiini. The repetition is always the verb only, never the subject or the complement as well. Thus one does not say ***Haliima/ pishile maataaza/ Haliima/ pishiló.** (where the subject is repeated) nor ***Haliima/ pishile maataaza/ pishilo maataazá.** (where the object is repeated as well as the verb).)

Pishiló/ ni Faatma. ‘The one who cooked is Faatma.’

Zijo/ pishile/ Faatma. ‘[Lit.] zijo cooked Faatma.’ (Phon. In this example, the object is preposed and the subject postposed. The postposed subject does not, however, phrase with the verb. The preposing of **zijo** could trigger pseudo-relativization of the verb, but pseudo-relativization is not obligatory. Indeed, in the speech of MI, it was not observed except in overt cleft structures and in the

case of pre-verbal question words.)

Zijo/ pishilo Haliimá/ haaziwi/ zilada. ‘Zijo Haliima cooked is not sweet/good.’

Zijo/ pishilo Haliimá/ nt^haskujoowa. ‘The zijo Haliima cooked was not eaten.’

Zijo/ pishiló/ muke. ‘[Lit.] zijo cooked the woman.’ (Phon. This example illustrates how the preposing of **zijo** may trigger pseudo-relativization.)

Zijo/ pishiloo muké/ mi/ siji. ‘The food that the woman cooked, I won’t eat it.’ (Phon. Notice that this example involves a true relative clause with a head, **zijo**, that is followed immediately by the relative verb, with the subject of the relative verb postposed after it. Observe that the subject is included in the same phrase as the verb and is in the scope of the relative verb’s final accent.)

rel.

kh-pikana v. rec. (lit.) cook one another – i.e. betray or tell on one another

kh-pikaapika v. freq.

Chiwonoowa/ Haliima/ nakhpikaapika/ tu. ‘Whenever Haliima is seen, she is just cooking and cooking [not necessarily well]’

kh-pikika v. p/s. (-pikishile) be cooked; able to be cooked

Chaakuja/ chinakhpikika. ‘The food is beginning to cook (now).’

Chaakuja/ shpikishile. ‘The food is cooked.’

Mpunga uyu/ ha’upikiki/ ka sufuriya iyi. ‘This rice cannot be cooked

with this pot.’

We/ mabori ayo/ andika muḷooni/ isa/ yaṭakhpikika. ‘You, those pumpkins, (if you) put them in the fire, they will cook immediately.’

kh-pikikila v. p/s. appl.

Chaakuja/ chimpikikiliile. ‘Food was able to be cooked for him (after

some effort on his part).’

kh-pikiloowa v. appl. pass. (pikiliila) be cooked for, be cooked with

Baana/ ni sahali/ khpikilowa chaakuja. ‘Baana is easy to be cooked food for.’

Chuungu/ shpikililaa nama. ‘The pot was used to cook the meat.’

Fija iyi/ ipikilila waana/ chaakuja/ (naa muke). ‘This stove was used to cook food for the children (by the woman).’

Hamadi/ pikilila chaakuja. ‘Hamadi was cooked food for.’ (Syn. It is not possible for **chaakuja** to be the subject of the passive verb:

***Chaakuja/ shpikilila Hamadi.** ‘Food was cooked for Hamadi.’)

Khpikilowa Hamadi/ ha’it^hasawari. ‘Hamadi to be cooked for is impossible.’

Khpikilowa Hamadi/ siwo/ sahali. ‘To cook for Hamadi is not easy (lit. Hamadi to be cooked for is not easy).’

Kuja/ yaliko sahali/ khpikilowa Hamadi. ‘Food is easy to cook for Hamadi.’

Mp^hikilila chaakujá/ na Hamadií ‘[Lit.] I was cooked for food by Hamadi.’ (Cf. It is possible to prepose the noun **chaakuja**:

Chaakuja/ mp^hikilila na Hamadií. ‘[Lit.] food, I was cooked for by Hamadi.’ But is it not possible for food to be the passive subject: ***Chaakuja/ chimp^hikilila na Hamadi.** ‘Food was cooked for him by Hamadi.’)

Mubli/ pikilila chaakuja/ na mukeewe. ‘The man was cooked for food by his wife.’

mwana pikilila chaakujá/ naa muké ‘the child who was cooked for food by the woman’

Naani/ pikililaa kujá. ‘Who was cooked for food?’ Or: **Kuja/ pikilila naani.** (This latter question could be answered by: **Kuja/ pikilila mwana.** ‘(Lit.) food, (he) was cooked for the child.’)

Ni misufuriya/ hupikilowaa noka zaakujá. ‘It is the aug. pans that are

to be used to cook food for the snake.’ (Note that in this example two bare nouns are licensed by the applied

extension: the instrument **mi-sufuriya** and the beneficiary **noka**.)

Pikilila naani/ kuja iyi. ‘Who was this food cooked for?’ (Syn: One cannot put **naani** last: ***Pikilila kuja iyi/ naani**. One can say: **Pikilila kuja iyi/ ni naani**. ‘The one who was cooked for this food is whom?’)

Shpikilowa chaakuja/ shpowa mahala/ chilaala/ hatá/ fijiri. ‘He was cooked food for, he was given a place [to sleep], and he slept until morning.’ *review*

Sufuriya/ ipikililaa nama/ naami. ‘A pan was used to cook the meat by me.’ (Note that the instrument may be the subject of the passive of an instrumental applied verb, but the logical object cannot be: ***Nama/ ipikilila sufuriya/ naami**. ‘The meat was cooked using a pan by me.’)

Sufuriya/ ipikilila waana/ zijo. ‘A pan was used to cooked **zijo** for the children.’ (Note that the applicative verb in this example permits three unmarked nouns, **sufuriya**, **w-aana**, and and **zi-jo** to appear in the sentence.)

Sufuriya/ ipikililaa zijo. ‘A pan was used to cook **zijo**.’

Zakuja izi/ schisulowa kuwa pikilila Hamadi/ shpiindri. ‘These foods were supposed to have been cooked for Hamadi at noon (and now it is after noon).’

kh-pikila v. appl. (**pikilile**) cook for, with

Ali/ pikilile nama/ skunyi. ‘Ali cooked the meat using firewood.’ (Our consultant MI preferred for the instrument in an instrumental applied construction to be out of focus, as in the present sentence. He rejected ?***Ali/ pikilile skunyi/ nama**. We have not determined to what extent other speakers display this preference.)

Ali/ pikilileni/ skunyi. ‘What did Ali cook using firewood?’ (The sentence **Ali/ pikilile nama/ skunyi** is an appropriate answer to this question.)

Boyesawo/ takhupikila. ‘Your maid will cook for you.’

Faatma/ mpikilile Khaje/ zijo/ chimaliza mpakuliile. ‘Faatma cooked **zijo** for Khaje and then served it to him.’ (Note that the conjoined sentences can be relativized: **zijo za Faatma/ mpikililo Khaje/ chimaliza mpakuliilo**... ‘the **zijo** that Faatma cooked for Khaje and served him...’)

Haliima/ mpikilile naani/ zijo. ‘Haliima cooked **zijo** for whom?’ (Phon.

The post-verbal question word **naani** does not trigger a shift of the verb to pseudo-relative for; however, **naani** is focused and thus the following complement undergoes pitch lowering. A possible answer to this question is: **Haliima/ mpikilile maana/ zijo**.

‘Haliima cooked for the child **zijo**.’ The same pitch drop occurs on **zijo** in this situation. Of course, a sentence with the same word order and phrasing but no “narrow” focus on **maana** is pronounced with the canonical downstep intonation.)

Haliima/ wapikilile waanawe/ zijo. ‘Haliima cooked **zijo** for her children.’ (The simple y/n question exhibits Q-Raising but no accent shift. The exclamatory question shifts accent in the verb phrase: **Haliima/ wapikilile waanawé/ zijó!?** The subject may be right-dislocated: **Wapikilile waanawe/ zijo/ Haliima**. In the corresponding simply y/n question, the subject undergoes accent shift: **Wapikilile waanawe/ zijo/ Haliimá?** The exclamatory question has accent shift throughout: **Wapikilile waanawé/ zijó/ Haliimá!?** The subject may be dislocated between the two complements of the verb: **Wapikilile waanawe/ Haliima/ zijo**. In the simple y/n question both the subject and the complement undergo accent shift: **Wapikilile waanawe/ Haliimá/ zijó?** In the exclamatory question, the entire verb phrase undergoes accent shift: **Wapikilile waanawé/ Haliimá/ zijó!?**)

Hamadi/ ipikilile ruhuye/ chaakuja. ‘And so Hamadi cooked food for himself.’ (It may be possible to omit the reflexive pronoun **ruhuye**, but in any case the verb form can only mean the cooking was done for oneself and not for anyone else. One cannot say ***Hamadi/ ipikilile waana/ chaakuja**. ‘And finally Hamadi cooked food for the children.’)

Hamadi/ mp^hikilile chaakuja. ‘Hamadi cooked food for me.’

Ipikilile chaakuja/ ijilile. ‘He cooked the food and ate it.’

Ipikilile chaakuja/ yolokeleele. ‘He cooked the food and went.

Jaama/ pikilile nama/ sufuriya. ‘Jaama cooked meat with a pan.’

Liini/ Haliima/ wapikililo zijó/ waaná. ‘When did Haliima cook **zijo** for the children?’ A possible answer to this question: **Haliima/ wapikilile zijo/ waana/ fijiri iyi**. ‘Haliima cooked **zijo** for the children this morning.’ (Phon. Since **fijiri iyi** is not out-of-focus in this response, a yes-no question version does not undergo accent

shift: **Haliima/ wapikilīlee zijo/ waaa/ fijiri iyi?**)

Mp^hikilīle sufuriyá/ namá. ‘I cooked meat with a pan.’ (Although this example derives from work with MI, he usually expressed skepticism about the grammaticality of having the instrument in an instrumental applied verb construction appear in post-verbal position. GM, on the other hand, did not reject sentences with the instrument in post-verbal position.)

Mwaambile/ nakhupikile chaakuja. ‘Tell him to cook food for you.’

Mwana mpikilīlo mwaalimú/ chaakujá/ leele. ‘The child who cooked food for the teacher is sleeping.’

Ni sahali/ kumpikila Mubiidi/ chaakuja. ‘It is easy to cook food for Mubiidi.’

Nimpikilīle mubliwá/ Nureení/ zijó. ‘I cooked **zijo** for my husband Nureeni.’

Nimpikilīle ^fNureení/ mubliwa/ zijo. ‘I cooked **zijo** for *Nureeni* my husband.’

Nt^haná/ nt^hanu ya kump^hikilaa kuja. ‘He does not have a stove to cook food for me with.’ (Syn. The applied verb in this example permits an unmarked instrument and beneficiary at the same time due to the fact that the instrument is not overtly present post-verbally.)

Omari/ Jaama/ mpikilīleni. ‘As for Omari, what did Jaama cook for him?’ (Syn: Observe that both **Omari** and **Jaama** would govern the same subject agreement on the verb. In this case, the noun immediately preceding the verb is understood to be the subject of the sentence, while the noun occurs initially is understood to be the topic of the sentence. This contrasts with a sentence like **Omari/ chaakuja/ mpikilīle Jaama.** ‘Omari, the food he cooked for Jaama.’ Here the pre-verbal noun cannot be interpreted as the subject of the verb, thus allowing **Omari** to be assigned this role.)

Skunyi/ mp^hikilīlee kujá. ‘Firewood, I cooked food with it.’ (Syn. MI preferred not to topicalize the logical object in the instrumental applied verb construction: **?*Kuja/ mp^hikilīle skunyi.**)

Skunyi/ spikilīlani. ‘Firewood, what was cooked with it?’ (A possible answer: **Skunyi/ spikilīlaa kuja.** ‘Firewood was used to cook food.’)

Uzile mafta/ khpikilaa kuja. ‘He bought oil to cook food with.’ (An instrument does not control an object marker on an applied verb stem. Thus it is ill-formed to say: ***Uzile mafta/ kiyapikilaa kuja.** ‘He bought oil to use it to cook food.’ MI also did not like having the verb agree with the logical object: ***Uzile mafta/ ki^hipikilaa kuja.**)

Uzile mafta/ kumpikilaa kuja. ‘He bought oil to cook food for him.’

Wo/ humpikilaa kuja. ‘They cook food for her.’

^fZijo/ Haliima/ (wa)pikilīlo waanawé. ‘**Zijo**, Haliima cooked it for her children.’ (In our recording of this example, GM omitted the object marker **wa**, although it is not clear to us how common this omission is. In our work with MI, we cannot recall the absence of the OM in such a sentence, where the object is definite. Turning to the y/n question versions of this sentence, the simple question involves only Q-raising. In the exclamatory question, GM did not shift accent in either of the initial two phrases, and shift in the last phrase is vacuous: **Zijo/ Haliima/ (wa)pikilīlo waanawé!?**)

kh-pikilana v. appl. rec. (-**pikileene**) cook for one another

Nt^hawana chakuja chaa wo/khpikilana. ‘They do not have food to cook for one another.’

Waana/ wapikilene chaakuja. ‘The children cooked food for one another.’

Waana/ wapikilene chaakuja/ ka sufuriya. ‘The children cooked food for one another with a pan.’ (Syn. It seems to be marginally possible to use the instrument without a preposition, allowing the applied verb to do double duty so-to-speak. But this usage seems to be restricted to environments where an instrument is “old” or “given” information. For example, MI accepted as possible the sentences: **Waana/ wapikilene ^fchaakuja/ sufuriya.** and **Sufuriya/ waana/ wapikilene chaakuja.** In the former sentence, the focus (indicated here, for purposes of clarity, by the superscript ^f) on ‘food’ serves to identify ‘food’ as the new information and the subsequent noun ‘pan’ as old information. In the second sentence, left-dislocation in MI’s speech is associated with old information, thus it is possible to find the instrument appearing in initial position.)

kh-pikilika v. appl. p/s.

Hamadi/ hapikiliki/ chaakuja. ‘Hamadi cannot be cooked food for.’ (The

subject of the p/s. verb here must be **Hamadi** and cannot be **chaakuja**: ***Chaakuja/ hashpikiliki/ Hamadi**. ‘Food cannot be cooked for Hamadi.’ This same asymmetry holds with respect to the passive verb *-pikiloowa*.)

kh-pikisha v. caus. (**pikishiize**) make/have cook

Ali/ mpikishize Haliima/ chaakuja. ‘Ali had Haliima cook food.’

Ni sahali/ kumpikisha Suufi/ chaakuja. ‘It is easy to make Suufi cook food.’

Shpikishize waana. ‘We made the children cook.’

Suufi/ mpakishize Haliima/ nama/ ka skunyi. ‘Suufi had Haliima cook meat with firewood.’ (In the case of a true causative verb, i.e.

one where there is a "causee" who performs some action, a *ka*-instrumental phrase can refer either to the act of causation or to the action performed by the causee. In the present sentence, the instrumental phrase indicates how the cooking was done. Similarly: **Haliima/ mpikishize muné/ chaakuja/ ka sufuriya**. ‘Haliima caused her little sister to cook with a pan.’ On the other hand, in **Haliima/ mpikishize muné/ chaakuja/ kaa nk^hele** (or: **ka kumloomba** or **kaa dhibu** or **ka kumpa peesa**). ‘Haliima caused her younger sister to cook by shouting/ by begging her/ with difficulty/ by giving her money.’, the instrumental phrases refer to the act of causation.)

kh-pikishanya v. caus. rec. (*-pikisheenyé*)

Shpikisheenyé. ‘We made each other cook.’

Wapikisheenyé. ‘They made each other cook.’

kh-pikishika v. caus. p/s.

Safiya/ hapikishiki/ chiint^hu. ‘Safiya cannot be made to cook anything.’

(Note that it is not possible for the logical object of ‘cook’ to be the subject of this verb: ***Chaakuja/ hashpikishiki**. ‘Food cannot be made to be cooked.’)

kh-pikishikila v. caus. p/s. appl.

kh-pikishiliza v. caus. appl. make cook for, on, with

Ali/ mpikisihilize mwaalimu/ muke/ nama/ ka skunyi. ‘Ali made the teacher’s wife cook meat with firewood.’ (In this sentence, where

the applied verb functions to permit the appearance of a beneficiary NP, the preposition *ka* cannot be deleted, leaving a bare instrumental NP.)

Ali/ pikishiliizeni/ skunyi. ‘What did Ali cause to be cooked with firewood?’ (A proper answer to this question is: **Ali/ pikishilizee**

nama/ skunyi. ‘Ali caused meat to be cooked with firewood.’ This example illustrates that in the absence of a beneficiary NP, it is possible for the instrumental noun to appear without a preposition. In MI’s speech, however, the instrument must be out of focus.)

Boora/ wapikishilize waant^hu/ mwanaamke. ‘Boora had the girl cook for the people.’

Boora/ wapikishilize wazeele/ mwanaamke/ chaakuja. ‘Boora had the girl cook food for (her) parents.’

Mp^hikishilize mwaana. ‘He made the child cook on me.’

Osmaani/ mpikishilize mub^hli/ muke/ chaakuja. ‘Osmaani made the husband’s wife cook food.’ (The causative applied verb in this example is understood as establishing a possessive relationship between the man and his wife; it is not interpreted as having a benefactive reading: ‘Osmaani made the wife cook food for the husband.’ In order to obtain this benefactive reading, a periphrastic construction would be used: **Osmaani/ mtile muke/ kumpikila mub^hli/ chaakuja**. ‘Osmaani put in (caused) the woman to cook food for her husband.’)

Skunyi/ Osmaani/ mpikishilizee muke/ nama. ‘Firewood, Osmaani had the woman cook meat using it.’ Or: **Osmaani/ skunyi/ mpikishilizee muke/ nama**. (Our consultant MI preferred the instrument in an instrumental applied verb construction to not appear inside the VP. As a consequence, preposing the instrument yields an acceptable sentence. The instrument is particularly

banned from being immediately after the verb; thus the ungrammaticality of the sentence where the causee is preposed:
***Muke/ Osmaani/ mpikishilize skunyi/ nama.** ‘The woman, Osmaani made her cook meat with firewood.’ The ungrammaticality of this sentence is not due to any constraint against preposing the causee,

but rather resides in the location of the instrument after the verb.

The data on an instrument inside the VP, but not immediately after the verb, is less clearcut. MI rejected ***Nama/ Osmaani/ mpikishilizee muke/ skunyi.** ‘Meat, Ali had the child cook it using firewood.’ but accepted **Muke/ Osmaani/ mpikishilizee nama/ skunyi.** ‘The woman, Osmaani had her cook meat using firewood.’

skunyi za Osmaani/ mpikishilizoo muké/ namá... ‘the firwood that Osmaani had the woman cook the meat with...’ (Relativizing the instrument yields an excellent sentence, but relativizing the causee or the logical object yields an ungrammatical sentence for MI, since it leaves the instrument in post-verbal position: ***muke wa Osmaani mpikishilizoo namá/ skunyi...** ‘the woman whom Osmaani had cook the meat with firewood’ and ***nama ya Osmaani/ mpikishilizoo muké/ skunyi...** ‘the meat that Osmaani had the woman cook using firewood’.)

kh-pikishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Shpikishilizenye waaná. ‘We made the children cook for one another.’

kh-pikishilizika v. caus. appl. p/s.

Nuuru/ hapikishiliziki/ muke/ chaakuja. ‘One cannot make Nuuru’s wife cook food (but **Nuuru** is the subject of the verb).’

kh-pikishilizoowa v. caus. appl. pass.

Nuuru/ pikishiliza mwaana/ nama. ‘Nuuru’s child was made to cook meat.’

Skunyi/ spikishiliza mwaana. ‘Firewood was made the child to cook with it.’ (The structure here invites the interpretation of **skunyi** as a beneficiary, but since this is not possible, it is assigned an instrumental interpretation.)

kh-pikishoowa v. caus. pass. (-pikishiiza)

Aasha/ pikishizaa nama. ‘Aasha was made to cook meat.’ (Note that one cannot say ***Nama/ ipikishiza Aasha.** ‘Meat was made to be cooked Aasha.’)

Mwaana/ pikishizaa nama/ ka skunyi. ‘The child was made to cook meat with firewood.’

Suufi/ ni sahali/ khpikishowa chaakuja. ‘It is easy for Suufi to be made to cook food.’

kh-pikoowa v. pass.

Apo/ zinakhpikowa stata. ‘There fat is being cooked.’

Chaakuja/ shpishila na Hamadi. ‘Food was cooked by Hamadi.’

Ipishila maangi/ ka Nuuru/ numbaani. ‘*Maangi* has been cooked at Nuuru’s house.’

Ipishila numbaani. ‘There was cooking at the house.’

Ipishila mpuunga. ‘There was rice cooked.’ (An impersonal passive.)

Ipishilaa zijo. ‘There was cooking of **zijo**.’ (It is no doubt grammatical to include an agent in a *na*-phrase, but probably not common at least in the case of an identified, specific agent, e.g. **Ipishilaa zijo/ na wake awaje.** ‘There was **zijo** cooked by those women.’)

Nama/ ipishila ka sufuriya/ na Jaama. ‘Meat was cooked with a pan by Jaama.’ Or: **Nama/ ipishila na Jaama/ ka sufuriya.** ‘Meat was cooked by Jaama with a pan.’)

Shchiwasila/ muiyini/ mi/ nt^hakhtindoowa/ na namayá/ itakhpikoowa. ‘When we arrive in town, I will be slaughtered and my meat will be cooked.’

kh-pikowapikoowa v. freq. pass.

Inakhpikowapikowa mikuja. ‘There is a lot of **mikuja** being cooked and cooked [where **mikuja** is a disparaging augmentative form].’

rel. nom

m-pika (wa-) n. 1/2 one who cooks

m-piko (mi-) n. 3/4 act, way of cooking

Mpiko/ waa we/ hupikoo zijó/ ni ghalta. ‘The way that you cook **zijo** is wrong.’

Mpikowe/ nt^ha’ukuwaliko msuura. ‘His cooking was not good.’ *review phrasing; would verb here be at the end of a phrase ordinarily?*

ma-piko n. 6

u-piko n. 14

m-pishi (*wa-*) n. 1/2 professional cook

Ajirile mpishi. ‘He hired a cook.’

Mchimbize mpishi. ‘He fired, sent away the cook.’

Mpete mpishi. ‘He found the cook.’

Walwaawo/ wawaaliko/ wapishi/ wa mmamula^{ta}aa nt^hi. ‘Both of them were cooks for the caretaker of the land.’

Wapishi wiingi/ hangamiza mtuzi. ‘Many cooks spoil the broth.’ (A proverb.)

pilaawu

n. [Sw. *pilao* SSED 378] pilaf – rice with meat and vegetables mixed together

piili

[Sw. *pili* SSED 378] second

Cheendra/ naank^hó/ chimleta mwana wa piili/ wa wanziiri. ‘He went and again he brought a second child, [a son] of a minister.’

Chimnyamula na wa piili. ‘He snatched also the second one.’

ka piili ‘next time’

Haye/ ka piili/ sisoongé. ‘OK, next time I will not go near [the sultan’s house].’

mara piili ‘the second time’

Nnaxhsoma mara^f piili/ chibuku ichi. ‘I read *a second time* this book.’ Or: **Nnaxhsoma chibuku^f ichi/ mara piili.** ‘I read *this book* a second time.’ Or: **Nnaxhsoma chibuku ichi/ mara piili.** ‘I read this book a second time.’

munt^hu wa piili/ chihada... ‘the second man said...’

Shtezeze maraa piili/ mara ya isa/ chi’ahideené/ ya kuwa

takhshindroowá/ itamlaazima/ kuna maayi/ ya tawala/ yotte.

‘We played (gambled) a second time, this time we promised one another that the one who will be defeated must drink all the water from the sea.’

sku ya piili ‘the next day’

sku ya piili/ fijiri/ na mapeema ‘early on the morning of the next day’

Wachisaafira/ sku ya kaandra/ sku ya piili/ sku ya taatu/ sku yaane/ hatá/ sku ya ikumi. ‘They travelled the first day, the second day, the third day, the fourth day, until the tenth day.’

pilipili

n. hot pepper

variant form: **pilipili**

Khupashilo waandá/ simpaké/ pilipili. ‘One who applies eye-makeup to you, don’t apply pepper to him.’ (A proverb.)

kaaka/ kana/ pilipili ‘to burn like peppers’

Masku/ mawili/ skulaala/ isa/ maato/ yanakunaaka/ kana/

pilipili. ‘For two nights I have not slept, now my eyes are burning me like chili peppers.’

Maato/ yanakunaaka/ kana/ pilipili. ‘My eyes are burning me like chili peppers.’

Maato/ yanakunaaka/ kana/ pilipili/ usiinzi/ la’aani. ‘My eyes are burning me because of lack of sleep.’

mkali/ kana/ pilipili ‘hot, sharp as hot peppers’

Wana awo/ wo/ wakali/ kana/ pilipili. ‘Those children, they are hot like chili peppers (i.e. they are quick to anger, impatient, etc.).’

piima

n. [Sw. *pima*]

kh-piima

v. [Sw. *pima* SSED 378] (**pimile**) weigh, measure, evaluate, judge

Abunawaasi/ shfaanya/ jis'iyu/ mara thalaathiini/ kama muunt^hu/ nakhpimo peesá. 'Abunawaasi did that way thirty times, like a man who was weighing coins.'

Ali/ pimile suukari. 'Ali measured sugar.'

Baana/ nakhpimaa gele. 'Baana is weighing maize.'

Chimaliza/ shtalaa chisu/ chimwambila mzeele/ kalaant^ha/ mi/ khuṭinde/ kuulu/ iyi/ ya piili/ mp^hate khpiima/ kulu iyi/ na yaa mi/ nakhulipiló. 'After that he took a knife and told the old man: sit so that I may cut off this second leg so that I can measure this leg against the one that I am going to repay you.'

Saarto/ mpimile mwaana/ nguwo. 'The tailor measured the child for clothes.'

Spimeeni. 'You (pl.) don't weigh it!'

rel.

kh-pimiloowa v. appl. pass. (**pimiliila**)

mukhtaawo/ wapimiliilá/ zoombá/ zaa kujá/ nt^hasaa wo/ khfunga mizigo yaawo 'when they had the items of food weighed for them before they packed up their bags' **need to review for accent**

kh-piimila v. appl. (**pimiliile**)

kh-piimisha v. caus.

Sudo/ mpimishize mwaana/ suukari. 'Sudo had the child measure the sugar.'

kh-pimishiliza v. caus. appl.

Sudi mpimishilize Bay/ mwaana/ suukari. 'Ali had Bay's child measure the sugar.'

kh-pimishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Bay/ na Sudó/ wapimishilizenye waana/ suukari. 'Bay and Sudo had one another's children measure sugar.'

kh-pimoowa v. pass. (**pimiila**)

Inakhpimoowa/ na masarmala/ inakulangaloowa/ inakandikowa apa/ nt^haku/ nt^hanakhtaambula. 'There was measuring by carpenters (of the poles, trying to see if there was any difference between the two poles), there was being carefully observed, there was being put here, but no result, he (the sultan) could not see any difference.'

ka ḍahabu mashuungiye khpimoowa [st.] 'with gold its hair is weighed (i.e. gold is used as the weight against which the hair is balanced)'

Omari/ nakhpimowa surwaani. 'Omari is being measured for trousers.'

Sultaani/ shkuumbuka/ kuwaa ye/ masku/ yapisiló/ kasize peesa/ niingi/ zinakhpimoowa. 'The sultan remembered that during the night that had passed he heard many coins being measured.'

rel. nom.

m-piimo n.3 act of measuring

m-piima

n. (cf. **kh-piima**) a unit of measure for length, taken across a person's body with arms outstretched, and equivalent to the distance between his right middle finger and his left middle finger; sub-measures of **mpiima** are: **taaka**, the distance from tip of middle finger across extended hand to tip of thumb; and **manda**, width of one finger; these measures were used esp. by women in connection with the sizes of **makooftiya** (skullcaps), but **mpiima** was also a nautical measure **review is this mp^hiima**

sh-piimo

n. a unit of measurement; the act of weighing, measuring; measurement, estimation; s.t. used to measure with

Kaazi/ isho shpiimo/ mwiishowe/ hulanya waant^hu. 'Work without measure its end is people fighting.' (A proverb.)

Pela maali/ pashpo shpiimo. 'He was given wealth without measure.'

kh-piindra

v. [Sw. *pinza* SSED 380; *pinga* SSED 378] (**piinzile**) oppose, contradict

hamraashi ḍaalimu illa humpiindra [st.] 'he does not follow a wrongdoer but opposes him'

Omari/ mkali/ khpiindra. 'Omari is an expert (lit. sharp) in opposing, denying, etc.'

Simp^hiindré. ‘Don’t oppose me!’

Suufi/ mpinzile Abooke/ kooḍi. ‘Suufi contradicted what Abooke said.’

rel.

kh-piindrana v. rec. (-**pindreene**) contradict one another

kh-piindrika v. p/s. be contradictable

Hapiindriki. ‘He cannot be contradicted (e.g. without getting angry).’

kh-piindrila v. appl.

Nt^haná/ ushuja’a waa ye/ khpindrilo waant^hú. ‘He does not have the courage for him to contradict people.’

kh-piindrisha v. caus.

kh-pindrishana v. caus. rec.

kh-pindrishika v. caus. p/s.

kh-pindrishiliza v. caus. appl.

kh-pindrishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-pindroowa v. pass. (**piinzila**)

Mtume Mhamadi/ piinzila/ na Abu Jahali. ‘Prophet Mohammad was opposed by Abu Jahali.’

rel. nom.

m-piindra (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who contradicts

mpindra waant^hu ‘one who contradicts people’

ma-pindrano n. 6 act of contradicting one another

u-piindrano n. 14 act of contradicting one another

ma-piindro n. 6 act of contradicting someone

u-piindro n. 14 act of contradicting someone

m-pindraani (*wa-*)

adj. (of human beings) contradictory

want^hu wapindraani ‘contradictory people’

m-piindri

n. [pron. **mp^hiindri**]

Mi/ mp^hiindri yaa mi/ nch^hifa/ usultaani/ natawalishowa mwaana/ uyu. ‘At the time when I die, this boy should be installed as sultan.’

Weenza/ ni weenza/ mp^hiindri/ yaa we/ chidekheka naawo. ‘Friends are friends as long as you are not dependent on them.’

sh-piindri

n. [Sw. *kipindi* SSED 378] mid-day, noon

Kharibu ya shpiindri/ chiwona alaama/ za muuyi. ‘Around noon he saw signs of a town.’

khsala shpiindri ‘to say the noon prayers’

Mi/ hubadilika luumbo/ kuḷa shpindri cha wakhṭi/ shchipita. ‘I change shape when each noon passes.’

sala ya shpiindri ‘prayer at mid-day’

Shpiindri/ muḷi/ ile ka kaziini. ‘At noon the man came home from work.’

l-piindro (*m-*)

n. 9/10 [Sw. *pindo* SSED 379] edge; hem (of a cloth); side; [pron. **mp^hiindro** ‘edges’]

ka lpiindro ‘sideways’

kendra ka lpiindro ‘to go sideways’

lpindro la kuḷi ‘right side’

lpindro la kusooto ‘left side’

lpindro laa nguwo ‘edge of a piece of cloth’

lpindro la nuumba ‘corner of the house’

lpindro laa wowi ‘river bank’

Lpiindrooni/ yandishiḷa/ ina/ ya waawaye. ‘At the edge (of the cloth) there was written the name of her father.’

Simeme mp^hiindrooni. ‘He stood at the corner, edge of something.’

rel.

i-piindro (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
sh-piindro (s-) n. 7/8 dim.

- m-piindro* adj.,n. cross-eyed, contradictory; [pron. **mp^hiindro**]
chijana shpiindro ‘a cross-eyed child’
kulanga_{la} ka mp^hindrooni ‘to look out of the corners of one’s eyes’
mp^hiindro uyu ‘this cross-eyed one’
mwana mp^hiindro ‘a cross-eyed child’
Ni munt^hu mwenye mp^hiindro. ‘He is a man who contradicts people too much.’
- kh-piindraka* v. intr. [Sw. *pinduka* SSED 378] (-**pindrushile**) overturn, turn over
Gaari/ ipindrushile. ‘The truck overturned.’
rel.
kh-pindrulila v. tr. appl. overturn s.t. for, with
kh-piindrula v. tr. overturn s.t.
kh-piindrusha v. caus. (**pindrushiize**) turn s.t. over
- kh-piinga* v. [Sw. *pinga* SSED 379] contradict, oppose, say no to
Muunt^hu/ hampiingi/ waawaye. ‘A person should not contradict his father.’
Omari/ hupeenda/ khpinga waant^hu. ‘Omari likes to contradict people.’
rel.
kh-piingika v. p/s.
Omari/ hapiingiki. ‘Omari cannot be contradicted (i.e. he cannot easily be contradicted).’
kh-piingila v. appl.
Hamadi/ nt^haná/ sababu ya kumpingila Omari. ‘Hamadi does not have a reason to contradict Omari.’
kh-pingoowa v. pass. be contradicted
Maalimu/ siwo/ suura/ khpingoowa. ‘It is not good for a teacher to be contradicted.’
Mzeele/ siwo/ suura/ khpingoowa. ‘It is not good to contradict an old man.’
- [-piingo (m-piingo)* n. 11/10 rim; [pron. **mp^hiingo**] (Not a word known to GM.)
rel.
i-piingo (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
sh-piingo (s-) n. 7/8 dim.
- m-piingo* (mi-) n. 3/4 [Sw. *mpingo* SSED 297] ebony tree (Not a word known to GM.)
mlusi/ kama mpiingo ‘someone as black as ebony’
nyulusi/ kana mpiingo ‘something as black as ebony’
- m-piingu* n. 9/10 [Sw. *pingu* SSED 380] a steel chain, particularly with reference to a chain used to arrest or imprison someone (in reference to former practice of chaining people up); [pron. **mp^hiingu**]
Chimwambila kumletela mp^hiingu/ na khpalá. ‘He told him to bring to him chains and a padlock.’
khfungula mp^hiingu ‘to unchain’
khtinda mp^hiingu ‘to cut the chain (i.e. unchain)’
khtilowa mp^hiingu ‘to be put in chains’
We/ husuloowa/ khtilowa mp^hiingu. ‘You ought to be chained up.’
khtila mp^hiingu ‘to put in chains’

kubiga mp^hiingu ‘to chain up’
kumbiga mp^hiingu ‘to chain him’
kumbigila mp^hiingu/ ya mkono ‘to chain his hand’
kumfunga ka mp^hiingu ‘to lock him with a chain’
kumfunga mp^hiingu/ ya kuulu ‘to chain his leg’
kumtila mp^hiingu ‘to put him in chains’
mp^hiingu chigobe ‘a short chain’
mp^hiingu iyi ‘this chain’; **mp^hiingu izi** ‘these chains’
mp^hinguu ndre ‘a long chain’
mp^hiingu ya chuuma ‘iron chain’
Teena/ chiwa mwaana/ uyu/ nakineenza/ amri/ za dowla/ naayé/ umo
mp^hinguuni. ‘Then it became that this boy was conducting the
 affairs of government while he was in chains.’

Waziiri/ leselopo mp^hiingú/ mwaana/ chimwaambila/ nfunga mikono/
na miilú/ ka mp^hiingu izi. ‘When the minister brought the chain,
 the boy told him: tie my arms and legs with these chains.’

rel.

i-piingu (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
ipingu ikulu ‘a big chain’

sh-piingu (s-) n. handcuff
kubiga shpiingu ‘to handcuff’

Sultaani/ shkumanganya askarii miya/ chiwa’ambila/ kendra
ka baduwi/ kumshiika/ kumbiga spiinguze/ na kuya naayé/ ye/ na waant^h ú/ wotte/ wamo kaaké. ‘The
 sultan gathered one hundred soldiers and told them to go to the nomad to arrest him and handcuff him and to
 come with him and all the people at his place.’
shpingu chihaba ‘a small chain’

piinsa n. 9/10 pincer, pliers

Piinsa/ mp^hotolele musmaari. ‘Pliers, I used them to bend the nail.’ (MI
 disfavored topicalizing the logical object in the instrumental applied construction: ?**Musmaari/ mp^hotelele**
piinsa. In order to topicalize the logical object, he preferred to use the basic verb: **Musmaari/ mp^hotele ka**
piinsa. ‘The nail, I bent it with the pliers.’)

rel.

i-piinsa (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
sh-piinsa (s-) n. 7/8 dim.

m-pinyi (mi-) n. 3/4 [Sw. *pini* SSED 380] handle (of a knife or tool)

Chisu/ chivundishile mpinyi. ‘[Lit.] the knife is broken handle.’
Chisu/ mpinyiwe/ uvundishile. ‘The knife, its handle broke.’ (It is
 dubious whether one could say ***Chisu/ uvundishile mpinyiwe.** It
 is also not possible to say: ***Mpinyiwe/ uvundishile chisu.**)
Mpinyi waa chisu/ uvundishile. ‘The handle of the knife broke.’
Shishile mpinyi. ‘He grasped the handle.’

rel.

i-pinyi (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
sh-pinyi (s-) n. 7/8 dim.

sh-piipa (s-) n. 7/8 [Sw. *pipa* SSED 380] tin container used for storing paraffin, oil

Bigileene/ kana shpiipa. ‘He is as compact (short, strong, solid) as a tin
 storage drum.’
Chiruuda/ ba/ khtala shpipa cha mafta/ oyo maashe/ nt^haako/ na
shpiipaché/ cha maftá. ‘When she returned to take the tin of oil,
 that blind person was not there, and the tin of oil as well (was not
 there).’
Miimbaye/ kana shpiipa. ‘His stomach is large like a tin storage
 container.’
shpipa cha mafta ‘storage container for oil’

shpipa cha maayi ‘storage container for water’
shpipa chihaba ‘a small container tin’

rel.

i-piipa (*mi-*) n. aug.

ipipa ikulu ‘a big storage tin’

m-piira (*mi-*) n. 3/4 [Sw. *mpira* SSED 297] rubber, rubber ball (and other objects made of rubber), soccer ball, soccer (the game)

Bishile mpiira. ‘He kicked the soccer ball.’

khshika mpiira ‘to catch a ball’

kheteza mpiira ‘to play soccer’

ye/ nakhetezo mpiira. ‘while he was playing soccer...’

khtila mpiira/ neefu ‘to put air in a ball, inflate a ball’

kubiga mpiira ‘to kick a ball’

kulaṭila mpiira ‘to throw a ball’

kumbiga/ kana mpiira ‘to kick, hit him like a football – i.e. hard’

Mi/ nimbishile Hamadi/ ka mateké/ kana mpiira. ‘I kicked Hamadi like a ball.’ (Notice that **kana mpiira** is treated as outside the scope of the final accent triggered by the verb.) Or with focus on the verb: **Mi/ nimbishilé/ Hamadi/ ka mateke/ kana mpiira.** And with focus on **Hamadi: Mi/ nimbishile Hamadi/ ka mateke/ kana mpiira.** If focus is on **kana mpiira**, the pitch is raised on **mpiira**, but there is no shift of accent to the final vowel.

Omari/ mbishile Hamadi/ ka mateke/ kana mpiira. ‘Omari kicked Hamadi hard (like a ball).’ (In the simple yes-no question version of this sentence there is no accent shift in the verb phrase. In the exclamatory version, there is accent shift across the VP: **Omari/ mbishile Hamadi/ ka mateké/ kana mpiira!?** Interestingly, when we elicited a version of this sentence with focus on the verb, **Omari/ mbishile/ Hamadi/ ka mateke/ kana mpiira.**, the corresponding simple yes-no question still did not involve accent shift.)

mpira chihaba ‘a small ball’

mpira mkulu ‘a big ball’

mpira uyu ‘this ball’; **mipira aya** ‘these balls’

mpira (w)a aaga ‘a rubber ball’

mpira (w)a gooma ‘rubber ball’

mpira (w)a kamardaariyo ‘an inflatable, leather ball’

mpira (w)a kuulu ‘foot ball’

mpiira/ wa mayi mamulo ‘a hot water bottle’

mpira (w)a mkono ‘hand ball (a ball used with the hands)’

mpira (w)a plaastika ‘a plastic ball’

Mpiira/ utumbushile. ‘The ball is punctured.’

Mpiira/ yimo nt^huundru. ‘The ball has a hole in it.’

mpiraani ‘football stadium’

mpiirawa ‘my ball’

mpiiraya ‘my balls’

rel.

i-piira n. balloon

Bur’i/ nakuvuzila ipiira. ‘Omari is blowing up the balloon.’

i-piira (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.

sh-piira (*s-*) n. 7/8 dim.

m-piisha

adj. 9/10 a person who brings calamities all around him, a person who whatever he does goes wrong; s.o. evil, s.o. believed to be a bad omen; s.o. cursed; [pron.

mp^hiisha]

Ambaani/ uje mp^hiisha/ mwishkizize baayé/ nt^hi. ‘Probably that cursed [girl] caused her older sister to come down.’

ambiila mtume oyo muke mp^hiisha [st.] ‘the Prophet was told that this woman was evil’

munt^hu mp^hiisha ‘an evil person’ (cf. **want^hu mp^hiisha** ‘evil people’)

m-pishi

n. cook

Chisu cha mpishi/ chibeele. ‘The cook’s knife is lost.’
mpishi/ na chisuuché ‘a cook and his knife’; **mpishi/ na zisuuzé** ‘a cook

and his knives’

m-pisi

n. 9/10 [Sw. *fisi* SSED 97] hyena; [pron. **mp^hisi**]

Apo/ zamaani/ siimba/ mooyi/ naa mp^hisi/ na sungurá/ wawaliko weenza. ‘Once upon a time, a lion and a hyena and a rabbit were friends.’

Awa/ hawapatani/ kamaa mp^hisi. ‘These ones do not reconcile, like hyenas.’ (The hyena is characterized by the fact that members of the clan frequently fight one another.)

Huja/ kamaa mp^hisi. ‘He eats like a hyena.’

Ilee mp^hisi/ mjiile/ naa si/ nt^hachiikó. ‘A hyena came and ate him while we were not there.’

Mahala ziko ngoombé/ nt^haku/ mp^hisi. ‘Where there are cows there is no hyena.’ (A proverb.)

mp^hisi chigulu ‘a limping hyena (referring to the fact that the hyena’s back legs are short)’

Omari/ nakendra kana mp^hisi chigulu. ‘Omari is walking like a limping hyena.’

Mp^hisi/ haawi/ wahali. ‘A hyena does not become a companion.’ (A proverb.)

Mp^hisi/ hujaa mbuzi/ na ngoombé. ‘Hyenas eat goats and cows.’

Mp^hisi/ mjiile. ‘The hyena ate him.’

nakhkasa mp^hisi kubiga inaye [nt.] ‘I [just] hear the hyenas mentioning them [in the context of the poem, **doolari**]’ (Note: Here, the Somali looters and rapists are referred to as **mp^hisi**. In this same poem, the Somali word for hyena is also used: **hiingila weeraro huuya ka magaari** [nt.] ‘the hyenas enter [the city], arriving with their [armored] cars’-- cf. **weraar** ‘hyenas’ **DSI xxx**. This word however has not actually entered Chimiini.)

Nakhtiyá/ mi/ seendré/ mp^hisi mweepe/ kamujá. ‘I am afraid lest some hyena eat him.’

Ndo/ mwaanawá/ peteeyí/ ndrevu zaa mp^hisi. ‘Come, my daughter, how did you [manage to] get the hyena’s beard?’

Nvula/ ka iwa/ mp^hisi/ huzaaló. ‘Rain with sunshine, a hyena is giving birth.’ (A saying used to refer to a situation where it is raining, but there is also sunshine. This phenomenon is rather rare, but our consultant did not know exactly why the proverb references hyenas giving birth. Perhaps it has to do with the fact that a female hyena has a large “pseudopenis” through which she urinates, copulates, and gives birth.)

Wanakujanana/ kanaa mp^hisi. ‘They are fighting one another like hyenas.’

sh-piso (s-)

n. 7/8 s.t. done, s.t. done as a surprise

kh-pita

v. [Sw. *pita* SSED 380] (**pisile**) pass by, pass (an examination), get through a period of time (Notice that stem-final *t* is mutated to *s* in the perfective, with the perfective extension *iil* then losing a mora of vowel length.)

Apo/ siimba/ chanza kubla/ kila/ hupito khariibuzé. ‘There the lion began to kill everyone who passed by him.’

Chufkulila nt^huundru/ hatá/ ichiwa kuwaa ye/ hukhaadira/ khpita. ‘He dug a hole until he was able to pass through it (and get out).’

Hamadi/ kachiza khpita apó/ skaafe. ‘If Hamadi had not passed there, he would not have died.’

kapitá/ imtihaani/ Muusa ‘if he had passed the exam, Muusa...’ (The tonal shape of this example is obscured by the apparent insertion of an intonational H tone on the postposed subject.)

kapita imtihaani/ Muusá ‘if he had passed the exam, Muusa’ (It appears possible for the final accent of the verb to extend to the postposed subject. More research on this point is

required.)

kapitá/ im̄tihaani/ Muusa ‘if he had passed the exam, Muusa’ (The tone pattern of this example is rendered a bit unclear due to the presence of an intonational final H pitch on the postposed subject’

kapita Muusá/ im̄tihaaní ‘if Muusa had passed the exam’

khpita hukumu ‘to sentence, pass judgement’

Sultaani/ uyu/ naayé/ kila shpisa/ hukumu/ hulangaḷa/ ka

kublike/ chimaliza huṭeka/ kanmake/ hulangaḷa/

lpaandre/ ḷa kusooṭo/ huḷa. ‘This king [lit. and he]

whenever he passes judgement, he looks to his right and

then laughs, then he looks to his left, and he cries.’

Sultaani/ walimo barzaani/ nakhpisa hukumu. ‘The king was in the audience hall passing judgement.’

khpita mbele ‘to precede, go in front’

Mubli/ nakhpita/ kendra miskitiini. ‘The man was passing by [the woman’s house] going to the mosque.’

Muusa/ kaapitá ‘if Muusa had passed...’ Or: **kaapitá/ Muusa** (The postposed subject in this latter example is not included in a phrase with the verb. But we did record as possible: **kapita Muusá** ‘if Muusa had passed...’)

Muusa/ kaapita im̄tihaaní ‘if Muusa had passed the exam...’ (No matter what the subject prefix is, this verb tense triggers final accent.) Or: **Muusa/ kaapitá/ im̄tihaaní** (This pronunciation suggests that the Accentual Law of Focus is not necessarily applicable in this tense.

Nnaayó/ ndala/ laakini/ chaakuja/ hachimp^hiti. ‘I am hungry but food does not pass through me.’ **review**

Nt^ha’ukhpita/ waqti. ‘Not much time passed.’

Nt^hamu/ shaka/ amri ya mojiitu/ khpita. ‘There is no doubt that whatever God has ordained will come to pass.’

Pisileeyí. ‘How did you manage to get through (some situation)?’

Shiingo/ haypiti/ chiṭa. ‘The neck does not go above the head.’ (A proverb.)

Siimba/ pisile/ mbele/ ya nuumba/ ya sulṭaani. ‘The lion passed in front of the house of the sultan.’

Sku mooyi/ Hasani/ pisile khariibu/ ya nuumba/ ya sulṭaani. ‘One day, Hasani passed near the house of the sultan.’

Sku niingi/ spisile jis’iyi. ‘Many days passed in this way.’

Sku nt^haano/ spisile jis’iyi. ‘Five days passed this way.’

Spisile skuu nt^hatu. ‘Three days have passed.’

Spisiló/ haziruudi/ darbatila/ ziko mbeleyó. ‘The things that went by never come back, be prepared for the things that are ahead of you.’ (A proverb.)

Suufi/ pisile im̄tihaani. ‘Suufi passed the examination.’

Sultaani/ walimo barzaani/ nakhpisa hukumu. ‘The king was in the audience hall passing judgement.’

Upisile mwezi wa kaandra/ wa piili/ wa taatu/ mubjaana/ ujé/ ofeete. ‘The first month passed, the second, the third, (and) that young man got tired.’ **review whether final accent here valid**

Yapisile miyaaka/ miingi/ jis’iyi. ‘Many years passed this way.’

rel.

kh-pisa v. caus. [Sw. *pisha* SSED 381] (**pisiize**) let someone pass (through); let someone pass an examination; make s.t. come out or pass successfully; get through a period of time; attain s.t., have s.t. implemented

khpisaa mbele ‘to cause to pass first -- i.e. to do s.t. the first thing; to have someone precede’

khpisa haruusi ‘to make a wedding feast pass successfully (e.g. said of organizers)’

Moojá/ we/ yaako/ hupisa. ‘O God, you make pass/you attain your aims (what is in God’s mind will come to pass).’

Shpisa kulla jawaabu/ kana aqiida/ na waali. ‘I managed to attain

everything I wanted like a military commander and a governor do.'

ka nt^heendre khpisa mbele ndruuza afðali [st.] 'it is better for dates to be the first thing eaten (to break fast), my brothers'

pisa mbele kusooto karka kiingila [st.] 'first (put forward) the left (leg when) entering (a bathroom)'

Laakini/ sultaani/ oyo/ umo karka khpisa hukumu/ tu. 'But that king was in the process of passing sentences only.'

Mwenyee nguvu/ mpise. 'Let a strong man pass.' (A proverb.)

Suufi/ mpisize mwaana/ imtihaani. 'Suufi let the child pass the examination.'

kh-pisanya v. caus. rec.

kh-pisanyoowa or *kh-pasanyanoowa* v. caus. rec. pass. *archaic* be caused by each other to pass

kh-pisika v. caus. p/s.

kh-pisiliza v. caus. appl. (**pisiliize**) let pass for

Mahmuudi/ mpisilize Nureeni/ mwaana/ mlangooni. 'Mahmuudi let Nureeni's child pass through the door.'

Nureeni/ mpisilize Suufi/ mwaana/ imtihaani. 'Nureeni allowed Suufi's child to pass the examination.'

kh-pisilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Nuuru/ na Suufi/ wapisilizenye waana/ imtihaani. 'Nuuru and Suufi allowed one another's children to pass the examination.'

kh-pisoowa v. caus. pass. to be passed, to be completed successfully

Haruusi/ ipisiiza. 'The wedding was gone through successfully.'

Ye/ shpisowa ndraani/ shpowa mahala/ khkalaant^ha. 'He was allowed to enter inside and he was given a place to sit down.'

kh-pitanana v. rec. (**-pitaneene**) pass one another

kh-pitanoowa v. rec. pass. (**-pitaneena**)

Ndilaani/ ipitaneena. 'On the road there was passing of one another, i.e. unspecified people passed one another on the road.'

kh-pitikila v. (**-pitishile**) befall

kh-pitila v appl. (**pitilile**) pass for; pass by someone's place for a visit

Muunt^hu/ chi'ipitila ka zaake. 'The man went on his way.' (Note the combination of the archaic reflexive prefix and the applied stem.)

Munt^hi oyo/ mzimawe/ uwapitilile jis'iyoy. 'The whole day passed in that way for them.'

kh-pitisha v. caus. =**khpisa**

kh-pitishana v. caus. rec.

kh-pitishika v. caus. p/s.

kh-pitishiliza v. caus. appl.

kh-pitishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

inakhpitoowa v. pass. (**pisila**) be passed; (in the impersonal passive, e.g. **inakhpitoowa**) going on as well as one can (despite difficulties)

Ipsila. 'We managed to get through some situation (lit. there was passing through).'

Ipsila jisa suura. 'It has been gotten through very well.'

Ipsilaayi. 'How was it (some situation) gotten through.'

Ndila hupitowa kila sku/ laakini/ nt^hayna alaama. 'A road that is passed over each day, but had no sign (that it has been passed over).' (A riddle, the answer to which is **tawala** 'sea'.)

Ndila iyi/ inakhpitoowa/ kilasku/ laakini/ nt^hayna alaama. 'This road is being passed every day, but it has no tracks [lit. signs].' (A riddle, the answer to which is **ndila ya mweezi** 'the course of the sun or moon'.)

Wapisila ndilaani. 'They were passed on the road.' Or: **wapisila karkaa ndila.**

-piya

adj. [Sw. *-pya* SSED 392] new

Apo/ jaziraani/ waant^hu/ kumwona/ ni muunt^hu/ mpiya/ wachingila kumrasha ka chinume. ‘There, on the island, the people seeing that it was someone new (i.e. a stranger to the island) began to follow him from behind.’

Chendra ka oyo muke mpiya/ muke chihaba/ chimaambila/

nakhsuulani. ‘Then he went to the new wife, the younger wife,

and said to her, what do you want?’ (Phon. It is important to note

that in **mpiya** ‘[cl.1] new’, the *m* and *p* are separate consonants, and the vowel at the end of the preceding word in the phrase cannot lengthen because it is followed by a consonant cluster. Compare the example below, **mp^hiya** ‘[cl.9/10] car’, where **mp^h** is a single prenasalized aspirated consonant, and the vowel that precedes it appears in a lengthened form.)

chisu shpiya ‘a new knife’; **zisu spiya** ‘new knives’

fatuura=y-a/ mp^hiya ‘my new car’

Hasani/ uzile faturaa mp^hiya. ‘Hasani bought the new car.’ Or: **Hasani/**

uzile fatuura/ mp^hiya. ‘Hasani bought a new car’ **confirm contrast**

Kula muunt^hu/ huvala nguwoo mp^hiya. ‘Everyone wears new clothes.’

Phon. Although putting a noun and adjective into the same phrase is often used to convey definiteness, it does not seem to be the case that such a phrasing is always a mark of definiteness. This example sentence is in the habitual tense and the noun **nguwoo**, which is in the same phrase with the adjective **mp^hiya**, is obviously not definite.)

Mi/ ni mpiya/ amó/ ni qadiimú/ karka wujuudi. ‘Am I new or am I old in existence?’

Miizi/ bozele faturaa Omari/ mp^hiya. ‘The thief stole Omari’s new car.’

(Observe that **fatura ya Omari** may contract to **faturaa Omari**.) Or: **Miizi/ bozele faturaa mp^hiya/ ya Omari.** ‘The thief stole the new car of Omari’s.’ (The simple yes-no question suggests that when the adjective is phrased with the head, nothing is out-of-focus in the verb phrase: **Miizi/ bozele faturaa mp^hiya/ ya Omari?** When the adjective modifies the associative phrase, however, the associative phrase seems to be out of focus: **Miizi/ bozele faturaa Omari/ mp^hiya?** The emphatic questions, of course, show accent shift: **Miizi/ bozele faturaa mp^hiyá/ ya Omari!?** and **Miizi/ bozele faturaa Omari/ mp^hiyá!?**)

Miizi/ bozele fatura ya mukeewa/ Barka/ mp^hiya. ‘The thief stole my wife Barka’s new car.’ (Notice that the initial element in this structure forms an associative phrase with the possessed noun **fatuura: fatura (y-)a mu-kee=w-a**. The noun **Barka** does not, of course, phrase with the following adjectival modifier since the adjective does not modify **Barka** but rather **fatuura**.) (The simple yes-no question version of this sentence does not involve any shift in accent, indicating that the structure **mukeewa/ Barka** ‘my wife Barka’ does not have any out-of-focus element. The exclamatory question has the usual shift of accent throughout the verb phrase: **Miizi/ bozele faturaa mukeewá/ Barká/ mp^hiyá!?**)

Nimulile Nuuru/ gaari/ mp^hiya. ‘I bought a new car for Nuuru.’ (Phon.

This example is instructive with regard to accent and phrasing. The verb is a final-accent trigger and it is followed by two syntactic phrases. The second of these syntactic phrases is indefinite, and the noun is phrasally separated from the adjective in order to indicate this indefiniteness. What we see is that the final accent triggered by the verb stops at the first complement **Nuuru** and does not continue to the next phrase. The separation of the indefinite noun from the adjective means that it cannot be brought into the scope of the final accent. It is ill-formed to say ***Nimulile Nuuru/ gaari/ mp^hiya**. However, in the noun-modifier structure immediately follows the verb, the accent does extend to the noun: **Nuzile gaari/ mp^hiya**. ‘I bought a new car.’)

Numba iyi/ (nii) mp^hiya. ‘This house is new.’ Or: **Numba iyi/ mp^hiyá.**

‘It’s this house that is new.’ Or: **Ni numba iyi/ mp^hiyá.**

numbaa mp^hiya ‘new house’

shtoka shpiya ‘the new axe’

Uyu/ na Alí/ wachendra barzaani/ ka sultani mpiya. ‘This one [the former sultan] and Ali went to the parlor of the new sultan.’

Wamó/ humletela mwaalimu/ nguwoo mp^hiya. ‘Some bring to the teacher a new piece of clothing.’ (Syn. It is clear in this sentence that **nguwo** is indefinite. Notice that the adjective is phrased with **nguwo**. Even though there are environments where phrasing the adjective with the noun seems to indicate definiteness, while separation indicated indefiniteness, this example shows that this pattern is by no means true for all contexts.)

Zisu/ ni spiya. ‘The knives are new.’

rel.

u-piya n. 14 newness

upiyawe ‘its newness’

-piya -piya adj. new pl.

zisu spiyaspiya ‘new knives’ (alternative to **zisu spiya** ‘new knives’)

kh-piya

v. [cf. Proto-Sabaki **pi-* (*py-*) “=be burnt” N&H 604] (**-piile**) burn up, be on fire (Because in Swahili intervocalic glides are not written in words like *pia* and *fua*, one might ask why we write the glides in Chijiini. The answer to this question is that these glides behave like organic elements rather than merely transitional sounds triggered by successive vowels. The language game Chijiini supports this point of view. A word like **piya** ‘burn up’ has the Chijiini form [yá^hp^h], where the *y* onset in the final syllable is transposed to initial position like another onset consonant. If the *y* were not an actual constituent of the word, we would expect a Chijiini form like [á^hp^h] since the *y* would no longer be needed since there is not a sequence of two vowels.)

Haaji/ mkono/ umpiile. ‘Haaji’s hand got burned.’

Haaji/ pile mkono. ‘Haaji burned his hand.’

Nt^hile mandra gani/ kapiya mkonó. ‘What bread did I put in fire that I burn my hand?’ (A proverb.)

Nuumba/ ipiile. ‘The house burned up.’

Piya. ‘Burn!’ **Piyaani.** ‘(Pl.) burn!’

Spiyé. ‘Don’t burn!’ **Spiyeení.** ‘(Pl.) don’t burn!’

rel.

kh-piisha .v. caus. (**pishiize**) burn s.t. (This verb cannot be used to convey the idea “cause someone to burn something”; a periphrastic construction must be used to convey this meaning.)

Abdalla/ shpowa rukhsa/ khpisha nuumba/ iyó. ‘Abdalla was given permission to burn that house.’

Bay/ pishize lwarakha. ‘Bay burned a piece of paper.’

Haaji/ mpishize Nuuru/ mkono. ‘Haaji burned Nuuru’s hand.’

Hamadi/ pishiize/ zo/ zibuuku. ‘Hamadi burned them, the books.’ (A less preferred option would be to have the pronoun after the noun to which it refers: **Hamadi/ pishiize/ zibuuku/ zo.**

khpisha kanaa muḷo ‘to burn like fire (said when someone is feeling hurt over another person’s bad words or talk about him)’

Omari/ humpiisha/ jawabu ya Hamadi/ kanaa muḷo. ‘Hamadi’s words, issues etc. are burning Omari like fire – i.e. Omari is feeling the sting of these words’

Lila/ hupiisha/ laakini/ ni lila. ‘Truth burns, but it is truth.’ (A proverb.)

Mayi mamuḷo/ hayapiishi/ ipala. ‘Hot water does not burn thatch.’ (A proverb.)

muḷo wa mahabayo unakump^hiisha [song] ‘the fire of my love for you is burning me up’

Muunt^hu/ impishizoo muḷó/ haṭa/ ivuye/ hutiya. ‘A person who is burned by fire, he is afraid even of its ashes.’ (A proverb.)

Na kila peesa/ isurufiilá/ karkaa kujá/ naa nguwo/ ni kama peesa/ ipishiizá/ hayruudi/ ka mwenewe. ‘And each coin that has been spent on food and clothes is like money that has been burned, it does not come back to its owner.’

Naani/ hupisho ruuhuyé/ kuwaza waant^hu. ‘Who is the one who burns himself in order to light others?’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **l-taambi** ‘a wick’.)

Spisheení. ‘You (pl.) don’t burn it.’

Suufi/ pishize waant^hu. ‘Suufi burned people (i.e. caused great hardship for

people).’

kh-piishana v. caus. rec.

kh-piishika v. caus. p/s.

kh-pishiliza v. caus. appl.

Nuuru/ mpishilize Suufi/ mwaana/ chaala. ‘Nuuru burned Suufi’s child’s finger.’

kh-pishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Nuuru/ na Suufi/ wapishilizenye waana/ zaala. ‘Nuuru and Suufi burned one another’s children’s fingers.’

kh-pishoowa v. caus. pass. (**pishiiza**) be burnt by s.o. (This verb is, in addition to its general usage, may refer to a traditional medical remedy where a skilled practitioner burns the skin of the patient on the focal point of the illness, which is called in Chimiini **ito** ‘eye’. This kind of therapeutical burning was widely practised in Brava for a variety of ailments (vomiting, sciatica, headache, etc.) on many parts of the body (belly, wrists, soles of the feet, lower back, etc.). If the ailment was not cured, people said that the healer had not found the “**ito**”.)

Mafta/ yachilatilowa tawala/ na zibalaasi/ naa talá/ na shkooyá/ chivunziló/ yatomeela/ mishpa/ yashpishoowa. ‘The oil was spilled on the beach, and the jars, and lamp, and necklace [e.g. containing the snake’s bones] were broken open, and the bones were taken from it, and they were burned.’

Mayti/ haypishoowi. ‘The corpse is not cremated (burned).’ (Cremation is not practiced in Miini.)

Numba/ ipishiiza. ‘The house was burned down (by someone).’

Yashpishoowa. ‘It (cl.6) was burned.’

kh-piyoowa v. pass. (**piila**)

Ipila kaa mulo. ‘There was burning by fire (i.e. burning took place).’

rel.

m-piisha (*wa-*) n./adj. one who burns s.t.; a person who brings calamities all around him; a person who is accompanied by things going wrong

munt^hu mpiisha ‘a person who burns things’

m-piya (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who burns

plaaatika

n. [Eng. *plastic*] plastic

=po enclitic [Sw. SSED 381, which cites its use (a) “as a relative, with verb-forms generally, referring to *mahala* understood, (b) of place, time, or circumstances, where, when, as, if, supposing, in case”] if, when (The **=po** enclitic triggers relativization of the verb and the final accent associated with relativization when encliticized to the perfect stem. However, **=po** may be encliticized to the infinitive without triggering relativization/final accent. See examples below. It does not seem to be common to use this enclitic with a present or future or habitual verb form. One example in our text collection showed the final vowel of the present not changing to *o*, but with final accent. We are uncertain as to the status of this example, since our present consultant does not use the **=po** enclitic at all. This enclitic occurs quite often in examples constructed by MI, but is seldom heard in present-day Chimiini and is even rare in the **steenzi** composed at the turn of the twentieth century.)

Ali/ malizopoo kujá/ oloshela. ‘When Ali finished eating, he left.’

Chiwanapo kaazi/ simviilé. ‘If he is busy, don’t call him.’

Chiwanapo peesa/ taala/ ka kaake. ‘If he has money, take it from him.’

handikapó ‘when you write’

Bakayle/ kasizopo zaa dafá/ hadiiló/ chanza khetemesha mkilawe.

‘When the hare heard what the *dafa* had said, it began to shake its tail.’

Ilopo Faatmá/ Omari/ chimbiile. ‘When Faatma came, Omari ran away.’

Ilopo Muusá/ mi/ nch^handikaa khati. ‘When Muusa came, I was writing a letter.’

Ilopo Muusá/ we/ shfaanyani. ‘When Muusa came, what were you doing?’

Ingilopo numbaani/ sultani ðaalimu/ chimwaambila/ muñjiwo/ ndeteleele/ khabari suura/ zilazilo ka nt^hi za wanyaasa/ na isa/ nimumiile/ ka waawé. ‘When she entered the house, the unjust sultan said to her: your husband has brought me good news from the land of the Wanyaasa, and now I have sent him to my father.’

kila mooyi/ nimwambilopo khima ya eeló... ‘each time I told him the price of the gazelle...’

Komeelopó/ waziiri/ sh̄tomola salaamu/ na sultaani/ chimjiiba/ chimweegsha. ‘When he arrived [at the sultan’s royal parlor], he extended greetings and the sultan answered him and welcomed him.’

Malizopo kht̄inda ngoombé/ tete iyoo nama/ t̄inzile spandre spaandre.
‘When he finished slaughtering the cow, he took that meat and cut it into pieces.’

Malizopo kulangalá/ ishkīiile/ ka mlongōt̄ini. ‘When he finished looking, he climbed down from the mast.’

Mbeenopó/ negesheeze/ chimaliza/ mp^hele chaakuja/ na maayí. ‘When he saw me, he welcomed me, and then he gave me food and water.’
mub̄jiwe/ muzizopo waakopí/ waaná.. ‘when her husband asked where were the children...’

Muusa/ ilopó/ mi/ nch^handikaa khati. ‘When Muusa came, I was writing a letter.’ (MI expressed some hesitation about the following sentence: **?Mi/ nch^handikaa khati/ ilopo Muusá.** ‘I was writing a letter when Muusa came.’ but considered it clearly better than **??Mi/ nch^handikaa khati/ Muusa/ ilopó.** More research is required with respect to =po clauses, but our current consultant, GM, does not use this construction.)

Sultaani/ kasizopo qisa za Abunawaasi/ chimwaambila/ kuwaa ye/ msameheele. ‘When the sultan heard Abunawaasi’s stories, he told him that he forgave him.’

Sultaani/ kumwonapo mwanaamkewe/ khadirilee kuja/ na kulawa ndilaani/ shfuraha/ nt^ho. ‘The sultan, on seeing that his daughter was able to eat and to go outside was very happy.’

uzilopo mp^huundrá/ chimpaandra/ choloka naa kaake. ‘When he had bought the donkey, he mounted him and went home with him.’

Wakomelopo muyiini/ Hasiibu/ shfaanya/ jisa mweenzawe/ sultani waa noka/ ambiiló. ‘When they arrived in the town, Hasiibu did just as his friend, the sultan of snakes, told him (to do).’

Wanakhkokoapó/ ifanyizee nk^hele/ niingi. ‘While they were pulling it, it made a lot of noise.’

In the preceding examples, =po has the shape of a relative clause, in cluding final accent. The examples below do not. All these examples involve the *chi* conditional tense.

Chiwapo nakaandika/ mliindre/ hatá/ chimaliza. ‘If he is writing, wait for him until he finishes.’

cholokapo ‘if he goes’

ichiwapo Nuuru/ takaandika... ‘it is be the case that Nuuru writes...’

Muusa/ chiyapo/ mpe peesa. ‘If Muusa comes, give him money.’ (But the suggestion is that you do not think he will come.)

Nuuru/ chizapo/ kandikaa khati ‘if Nuuru refuses to write a letter...’

-po copular verb, but not extensively used now

Ali/ uko numbaani? La/ nt^hapo. ‘Is Ali in the house? No, he is not there.’

Apo/ndipó/ mukhta mi/ nanzizo kht̄uhumá. ‘That’s when I started to suspect.’

Chipo ilu ya meeza. ‘It’s on the table.’

Chisu/ nt^hachiipo/ mezaani. ‘The knife is not on the table.’

chiwanapo kaazi ‘if he has work/ a job, if he is busy’

Chiwanapoo luti/ simsoonge. ‘If he has (his) stick, don’t go close to him.’

Or: **Chiwanalopoo luti/ simsoonge.**

chiwanapo peesa ‘if he has money’

Chiwanayopo kaazi/ simdhibé. ‘If he is busy, don’t bother him.’ (The inclusion of *yo* seems to indicate less doubt that he is busy than **Chiwanapo kaazi/ simdhibé.**)

Chiwanayopo kaazi/ simviilé. ‘If he is busy, don’t call him.’

Chiwanazopo peesa/ taala/ ka kaake. ‘If he has money, take it from him.’ (The inclusion of *zo* indicates less doubt that he has money than **Chiwanapo peesa/ taala/ ka kaake.**)

Hamadi/ upo. ‘Hamadi, how are you?’

mahaḷaa mi/ niipó ‘the place where I am’
Mwaana/ upopi. ‘Where is the child?’ Possible answer: **Mwaana/ upo sukhuuni.** ‘The child is at the market.’ (It should be noted, however, that while these forms were accepted by MI, he preferred *-ko* to *-po*: **Mwaana/ ukopi.** ‘Where is the child?’ **Mwaana/ uko sukhuuni.** ‘The child is at the market.’)

Ndipó/ apa. ‘It is here.’ **Ndipó/ apo.** ‘It is there (near you).’ **Ndipó/ apaje.** ‘It is over there.’

Nipo numbaani. ‘I am in the house.’
Upopi/ mwaana. ‘Where is the child?’ A possible answer: **Upo sukhuuni.** ‘He is at the market.’ Better: **Ukopi/ mwaana.** ‘Where is the child?’ **Uko sukhuuni.** ‘He is at the market.’

pooda

- n. 9/10 [Eng. *powder*] talcum powder
- poda huundru** ‘red powder (=rouge)’
- poda iyi** ‘this powder’; **poda izi** ‘these powders’
- poda nelpe** ‘white powder’
- poda ya maluungo** ‘powder for the body’
- poodaya** ‘my powder’
- poodaza** ‘my powder (pl.)’
- khpaka pooda** ‘to put talcum powder on’

Haliima/ nakhpaka pooda/ uso. ‘Haliima is putting powder on her face.’ (The simple yes-no question involves no accent shift, whereas the exclamatory yes-no question shifts the accent in both phonological phrases within the VP: **Haliima/ nakhpaka poodá/ usó!?**)

Haliima/ nakhpaka/ pooda/ uso. ‘Haliima put powder on the face.’ (In the simple yes-no question the accent shifts on the out-of-focus complements: **Haliima/ nakhpaka/ poodá/ usó?** No exclamatory version of this sentence was offered, as is usual when the verb is focused.)

Mi/ nakhpaka poodá/ usó. ‘I am putting powder on (my) face.’
 Or, with verb focus: **Mi/ nakhpaká/ pooda/ uso.**

Nimpashile Haliimá/ poodá/ usó. ‘I applied powder to Haliima’s face.’ Or: **Nimpashile Haliimá/ usó/ poodá.** (Notice that the variation in word order in these two examples does not signal a difference in focus: in both examples, the final accent from the verb projects to the end of the verb phrase.)

Tuuma/ mpashile Haliima/ uso/ pooda. ‘Tuuma applied powder to Haliima’s face.’

poda ya uso ‘powder for the face’
pooda/ ya waana or **poda ya waana** ‘children’s powder’
Tuuma/ mpashile Haliima/ uso/ pooda. ‘Tuuma applied powder to Haliima’s face.’

kh-poka

v. [Sw. *poka* ‘take by violence, steal away, rob (of), abduct’ SSED 383] (**poshele**) take away from someone by force, snatch (Note that the indirect object is necessarily human, although the logical direct object is not selectionally restricted.)

Ba’ada ya shpoka/ zote/ zaa si/ sḥtukiiló... ‘After they took from us everything that we were carrying...’

Laakini/ kamaa we/ chiza/ khtaambula/ ma’ana/ ya kooḍi/ za Ali/ ka aqilizo/ mi/ nṭhakhupoka kuḷa yaa we/ humilkó. ‘But if you do not decipher the meaning of the words of Ali with your own wits, I will take from you all that you own.’

Mposhelee muke/ mwaana. ‘He took the children from the woman.’

Mposhele mwaana/ chiloozi. ‘He snatched candy from the child.’

Muke uyu/ skakhaadire/ mp^hoka badiikhiya. ‘This woman would not be able to take my melon from me.’

Mwanafuunzi/ mposhele mwaalimu/ chibuuku. ‘The student grabbed from the teacher the book.’

Nimposhelé. ‘I took it from her.’ (The verb stem *poka* does not allow the thing taken to be the only expressed object: ***Mwanafuunzi/ poshele chibuuku.** ‘The student grabbed the book.’)

Shaafi/ mposhele mwaana/ chibuuku. ‘Shaafi snatched a book from the child.’ (Note that either of the objects in this sentence may be relativized: **mwana wa Shaafi/ mposhelo chibuukú** ‘the child whom Shaafi snatched a book from’ and **chibuku cha Shaafi/ mposhelo mwaaná** ‘the book that Shaafi snatched from the child’.)

rel.

kh-pokana v. rec. [Sw. *pokana* SSED 383] (-*pokeene*) steal, snatch from one another

Hamadi/ na Osmaani/ wapokene zilozi. ‘Hamadi and Osmaani snatched sweets from one another.’ (MI did not accept “reciprocal shift” with this verb: ***Hamadi/ pokene na Osmaani/ zilozi.** ‘Hamadi snatched with Osmaani sweets.’)

kh-pokanoowa v. rec. pass.

Ni zilozi izi/ spokena na waana. ‘It is these candies which were snatched from one another by children.’

kh-pokeka v. p/s. able to be snatched

Chilozi ichi/ hashpokeki/ mwaana. ‘This candy cannot be snatched from the child.’

Ji/ hapokeki/ chiint^hu. ‘Nothing can be stolen from Ji (lit. Ji cannot be stolen from anything).’

Mwana uyu/ hapokeki/ chilozi. ‘The child cannot have candy snatched from him (e.g. he guards it too closely).’

***kh-pokela* v. appl. [This form is not in use in Chimwiini; the same holds true for Swahili, as SSED 383 notes: "Prep. not in use, as the direct form has a prepositional meaning, also, there is a verb *pokea*, derived from another root, *poka*, receive." Chimwiini also has the form *pokela*, see below.]

*kh-pokesh*a v. caus. (*pokesh*eeze)

Muumini/ mpokesheze **mwaalimu/ wanaashke/ waana.** ‘Muumini made the teacher take the children away from the girls.’ (Syn. It is word order alone that makes it clear that the children are being taken away from the girls rather than that the girls are being taken away from the children. For this reason, it is not possible to omit **wanaashke** in this sentence. The resulting sentence: **Muumini/ mpokesh**eze **mwaalimu/ waana.** can only be understood as meaning that Muumini made the teacher snatch something from the children; it cannot mean that Muumini made the teacher snatch the children from someone.)

Muumini/ mpokesheze **mwaalimu/ wanaashke/ zibuuku.** ‘Muumini made a teacher snatch some books from the girls.’ (Syn. In his Ph.D. thesis on Chimiini, MI discusses the issue of which of the verb complements in this sentence can be omitted either because they are identified by the context or are not necessarily specified. The noun **zibuuku** can be omitted, and **wanaashke** also; indeed both can be omitted at the same time: **Muumini/ mpokesh**eze **mwaalimu.** Because of the presence of the object prefix on the verb, **mwaalimu** is also omissible. If there is no object marking on the verb, then the “causee” is understood as indefinite. We can have, for instance, a sentence **Muumini/ pokesh**eeze. ‘Muumini made someone snatch something from someone.’, though this sentence would only be used in a context that identifies what was snatched (since there are no selectional restrictions on what was snatched and thus the nature of what was snatched requires context for it to be established). One can also have **Muumini/ pokesh**eze **zibuuku.** ‘Muumini made someone snatch books from someone.’ One can have **Muumini/ pokesh**eze **mwaalimu/ (zibuuku).** ‘Muumini made a teacher snatch (books) from someone.’ However, a sentence like **Muumini/ pokesh**eze **wanaashke.** cannot be understood as meaning that Muumini made someone snatch something from the girls; it can only mean that Muumini made some girls snatch something from someone. In other words, when the verb is unmarked with an object prefix, then a single human noun after it must be interpreted as the causee, though a non-human noun is interpreted as being the thing snatched.)

kh-pokeshoowa v. caus. pass. (*pokesh*eeza)

kh-pokoowa v. pass. [Sw. *pokwa* SSED 383]

mubli waa ye/ mposhelo muké.. ‘the man whom he took from the woman’ (The OM on the verb agrees with the indirect object and not the direct object. But in the present example, this agreement does not clarify whether the man or the woman is the indirect object since both of these nouns belong to [cl.1] and require the same OM. The most natural reading of this relative clause is one where the head is understood to be the direct object and the NP after the verb is understood to be the indirect object. Thus a sentence like **muke waa ye/ mposhelo mubli...** would be understood to mean ‘the woman whom he took from the man...’.

Muke/ poshela waana. ‘The woman had the children snatched from her.’

Or: **Waana/ poshela muke.** (In the second sentence, the null SM on the passive verb makes it clear that **muke** is the subject and not **waana**, even though **waana** appears in a position usually associated with a subject. One cannot make the logical object the subject of the passive. **Waana/ waposhela muke.** can only mean that the woman was taken from the children, not that the children were taken from the woman.)

muke waa ye/ mposhelo waana... ‘the woman whom he took the children from...’; **wana waa ye/ mposhelo waana...** ‘the children whom he took from the woman...’

muke waa ye/ waposshelo waaná... ‘the woman whom he took from the children...’; **wana waa ye/ wapossheloo muké...** ‘the children from whom he took the woman...’

Mwaalimu/ poshela chibuuku/ na mwanafuunzi. ‘The teacher had a book snatched from him by the student.’

Mwaana/ poshela chiloozi. ‘The child had candy snatched from him.’ (Syn. Note that only the person snatched from can be the passive subject, not the thing snatched: ***Chiloozi/ shposhela mwaana.** ‘Candy was snatched from the child.’)

Na killa chishindroowá/ hupokowa mwana mo. ‘And each time he was defeated, one child was taken from him.’

rel. nom.

m-poka (wa-) n. 1/2 one who snatches

kh-pokela

v. [Sw. **pokea** ‘(i) receive, accept, take in the hand; (ii) take in, welcome, entertain, receive as a guest; (iii) fig. accept, assent to, agree with’ SSED 383] (**pokeele**) (i) receive, get; (ii) **take a child as it is being born (of a midwife)**

khpokela rashwa ‘to receive a bribe’

khpokela salaamu ‘to return a greeting’

Mp^huundra/ shpokela salaamu/ na chimweegesha. ‘Donkey returned the greeting and welcomed him.’

Kila/ mara/ mwanaamke/ chimletela chaakuja/ Hasani/ humpokela/ na mwanaamké/ chondroka ka apó/ Hasani/ hutumba iboholi/ hichiziika/ icho chaakuja. ‘Each time the girl brings him food, Hasani takes it from her and when the girl leaves from there, Hasani digs a hole and buries that food.’

Mp^hokelee khatí. ‘I received a letter (originally this meant by hand).’

Mp^hokele mshahará. ‘I drew a salary.’

Mp^hokele mwaalimu/ chibuuku. ‘He received the book from the teacher.’

Mp^hokele sanduukhú. ‘I took the box (which was handed to me).’

Muke/ shpokele riwu/ naa nguwó. ‘The woman received the gifts and the clothes.’

mwaalimu wa mwanafuunzi/ pokelo chibuukú/ kaaké ‘the teacher whom the student received a book from him’

Mwanafuunzi/ pokele chibuuku/ ka mwaalimu. ‘The student received the book from the teacher.’

Mwanafuunzi/ mpokele mwaalimu/ chibuuku. ‘The student received, took from the teacher a book.’

mwanafunzi mpokelo mwaalimú/ chibuukú ‘the student who received, took from the teacher a book’

Nuuhu/ pokeele/ risaala/ ya moojé/ oloshele/ kubaligisha. ‘Noah received the message of his Lord and went to convey the Lord’s message to the people.’

Pokele chibuuku ka mwaalimu. ‘He received a/the book from the teacher.’

Shpokele mizigo wa wageení. ‘We received the luggage of the guests.’ Or: **Shpokele wageení/ mizigo yaawó.** ‘We received the guests their luggage.’

Tafaðali/ bwana sultaani/ mp^hokela feða izi/ ni zawaadi/ mi/

khuletejelee we. ‘Please, Mr. Sultan, accept these coins, they are a gift, I have given them to you.’

rel.

kh-pokelele v. appl. (**pokelele**)

kh-pokeleloowa v. pass. [Sw. **pokewa** SSED 383] (**pokeela**)

Chibuuku/ shpokela mwaalimu/ na mwanafuunzi. ‘The book was received from the teacher by the student.’

chibuku shpokela mwaalimú/ na mwanafuunzi ‘the book that was received from the teacher by the student’

Mwaalimu/ pokela chibuuku/ na mwanafuunzi. ‘(From) the teacher was received a/the book by the student.’ (This passive is derived from the active **Mwanafuunzi/ mpokele mwaalimu/ chibuuku.** Note that one cannot say ***Mwaalimu/ pokela chibuuku/ kaaye/ na mwanafuunzi.** In

the active sentence that would correspond to this: **Mwanafuunzi/ pokele chibuuku/ ka mwaalimu.**, the noun **mwaalimu** is not an argument, but rather part of a prepositional phrase. It cannot be made into the subject of a passive sentence.)

mwalimu pokela chibuuku/ na mwanafuunzi ‘the teacher from whom the book was received by the student’

Mwaalimu/ shpokele chibuuku/ kaake/ na mwanafuunzi. ‘The teacher, a/the book was received from him by the student.’ (Note that the subject in this sentence, **chibuuku**, has been put in IAV position. The noun in **ka mwaalimu** ‘from the teacher’, is preposed to initial position, but a resumptive pronoun is left behind in **kaake**.)

kh-pokeleloowa v. appl. pass. [Sw. *pokelelea* SSED 383]

kh-pokeleka v. p/s.

kh-pokeleza v. caus. app. [Sw. *pokeleza* SSED 383] (**pokeleeze**) (i) cause to receive for; (ii) help to deliver baby for

(iii) **Haliima/ mp^hokeleze mukeewa.** ‘Haliima helped my wife deliver the baby.’

kh-pokelezanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-pokeza v. caus. [Sw. *pokeza*] (**pokeeze**) (i) cause to receive, give to, put in the hands of; (ii) help deliver a baby, act as a midwife

(i) **Wampokeze mgeeni/ mizigoye.** ‘They gave the guest his luggage.’

Wawapokeze wageeni/ mizigo yaawo. ‘They handed the guests their luggage.’

kh-pokezanya v. caus. rec. [Sw. *pokezanya* SSED 383] (**pokezeenye**) take turns variant form: **kh-pokezanyana (-pokezanyeene)**

Wote/ washpokezanya kuvula maayi/ laakini/ maayi/ yazidiile/ kiingila/

ka ilu/ na nt^hiini. ‘All took turns bailing water but the water increased, entering from above and below.’

kh-pokezanyoowa v. caus. rec. pass. (**i-pokezeenya**)

variant form: **kh-pokezanyanoowa (i-pokezanyaneena)**

kh-pokezeka v. caus. p/s.

kh-pokezoowa v. caus. pass. (**pokeeza**) be caused to receive something

Mizigo/ yapokeeza. ‘The luggage was handed over.’

Wageeni/ wapokeza mizigo. ‘The guests were handed the luggage.’

rel. nom.

ma-pokelo n. 6

u-pokelo n. 14

sh-pokelo (s-) n. 7/8 that which is received

m-pokezi (wa-) n. 1/2 a midwife

mpokezi khpoowa kuulu nzima afðali [st.] ‘for the midwife to be given a whole leg (of the slaughtered animal) is best’

ma-pokezo n. 6

u-pokezo n. 14

kh-pokonya

v. [Sw. *pokonya* SSED 383] (**pokeenye**) *obs.* take something by force

polpolo

n. [Sw. *poopoo* SSED 385] areca nut

Polpoloo mbili/ huguðbaṭoo wowi. ‘Two areca nuts which cross a river.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **maato** ‘eyes’.)

kh-pola

v. [Sw. *poa* SSED 381] (**pozele**) get well, be cured, recover from sickness, heal; get cool, cold

Ali/ chiṭa/ chimpozele. ‘Ali’s head hurt him.’

Ali/ ijarah/ impozele. ‘Ali’s wound healed.’ (But one can also say: **Ali/**

pozele ijarah. ‘[Lit.] Ali healed the wound.’)

Ali/ miimba/ impozele. ‘Ali’s stomach hurt him.’

Apo/ Aamina/ chimshika muḅliwe/ mkono/ chendra naaye/ ba’iidi/ na

waant^hu/ chimwaambila/ wa’ambile/ awa waant^hu/ kuwaa mi/

nt^hakujaariba/ kumfanyiliza mwanaamke/ wa sultaani/ dawa/

heendra/ ye/ kaapolá. ‘There Aamina held her husband’s hand

and went with him far from people and told him: tell these people

that I will try to administer medicine to the sultan's daughter;
maybe she will get well.'

Chaayi/ chinakhpola. 'The tea is getting cold.'

Chilaala/ takhpola. 'If you sleep, you will get better.'

khpolā miimba, etc. 'to heal, get better, become cured etc.'

Ali/ chīta/ chimpozele. 'Ali's headache got better.'

Ali/ miimba/ ipozele. 'Ali's stomachache got better.'

Ali/ pozelee chīta. 'Ali's headache got better.'

Ali/ pozele miimba. 'Ali's stomachache got better.'

Kuja/ ipozele/ ^hbardi/ kana/ barafu. 'The food became as cold as ice.'

Laakini/ mwaana/ chiza khpolā/ muunt^hu/ uyu/ fanyizoo dawā/

takhtindowa chītaache. 'But if the child does not recover, this
man who gave him the medicine, his head will be cut off.'

Maayi/ yapozele. 'The water got cold.'

Nnakhtaraja napole kahimá. 'I hope that he gets well soon.' Cf.

Nnakhtaraja khpolā kahimá. 'I hope to get well soon.' Cf. **Nnakhtaraja Baaná/ khpolā kahimá.** 'I hope for
Baana to get well soon.'

Sultani wa muuyi/ pozelopó/ mpeenzele/ Hasiibu/ na mfanyiize/

dakhtari/ wa muuyi. 'When the sultan of the town recovered, he
loved Hasiibu and made him the doctor of the town.'

Waanawá/ mi/ skhaadiri/ walá/ sitakhpola/ maraḍi aya. 'My children, I

am sick, nor will I recover from this sickness.'

Ye/ pozele maraḍi. 'He recovered from his illness.'

Zijo/ spozele. 'The zijo has cooled.'

rel.

kh-polela v. appl. (**poleele**)

Maambo/ yampoleele. 'Matters have improved for him; he has a deep
understanding of things.'

Mp^helele dawa/ khpolela. 'He gave me medicine to help me recover.'

kh-poloowa v. pass.

Kaḍiḍo izi/ haspoloowi. 'These fevers cannot be recovered from.'

Maraḍi ya sarataani/ hayapoloowi. 'Cancer is incurable.'

Naayo/ maraḍi/ mi/ hayapoloowi. 'I have a disease that one does not
recover from.'

kh-poleza v. tr. appl. (**poleeze**) heal, cool with

Mp^holeze chaayi/ ka chijamu. 'He cooled the tea for me with a saucer.' (In

Brava, a saucer is used to cool tea quickly for children.)

Mwajiitu/ namp^holeza mwaana. 'May God heal my child for me!'

(Although MI used **mwajiitu**, present-day speakers use **mojiitu**.)

kh-polezanya v. tr. rec. (**-poleezenye**)

Nuuru/ na Boorá/ wapolezenye waana/ ziṭa. 'Nuuru and Boora cooled
down one another's children's fighting.'

kh-polezoowa v. tr. pass.

Chijamu/ shpoleza chaayi. 'A saucer was used to cool the tea.'

kh-poza v. [Sw. *poza* SSED 382] (**poseeze**) heal, cool, make s.t. cold

Dawa/ impozeze Ali/ ijarahā. 'The medicine healed Ali's wound.'

Dawa yaa we/ mpeeló/ impozeeze. 'The medicine that you gave him cured
him.'

Hamadi/ ile/ mp^hozeeze. 'Hamadi came and calmed me down.'

Ikopa ya maayi/ yaa we/ mp^heeló/ imp^hozeeze. 'The glass of water that
you gave me cooled me off.'

khpoza maandra 'to cool bread (by opening a window, by letting it sit)'

khpoza qalbi 'to comfort'

Ile/ mp^hozeze khalbi. 'He came and comforted me.'

Mwanaamke/ oyo/ fanyilizaa dawa/ na madakhtari wiingi/ na

**nt^hakhpola/ na wont^hé/ wabishiḷa mp^hanga zaawo/ ka chiza
khaadira/ kumpoza mwanaamke.** 'That girl was administered
medicine by many doctors and she did get well, and all were beaten
[lit. their swords] for not being able to cure the girl.'

wound in my heart'

Pozeze maayi. 'He made the water cold.'

Waṭampoza mgeeni/ mkonowe. 'They will heal the guest's arm.'

we karka khalbi ijaraha kump^hoza ize [song] 'you refused to heal the

kh-pozanya v. tr. rec.

kh-pozeke v. tr. p/s.

kh-pozoowa v. tr. pass. (**pozeeza**) be made to recover; be made cold

Chaayi/ shpozeza ka chijamu. 'The tea was cooled down using a saucer.'

Maayi/ yapozeza. 'The water was cooled down.'

Mgeeni/ takhpozowa mkonowe/ naawo. 'The guest will have his arm healed by them.'

Nama/ ipozeza. 'The meat has been made cold.'

rel. nom.

m-poza (wa-) n. 1/2 one who calms, heals

poliisi (Ø,ma-)

n. 9/10,6 [Sw. *polisi* SSED 383; Eng.]

variant form: **piliisi, bulisiya**

askari poliisi 'policeman'

Liini/ mapoliisi/ wamshishilo miizi. 'When did the police catch the thief?'

(When the question word **liini** 'when' precedes the verb, the verb must be put into a relative clause shape.)

Mapoliisi/ wamshishile miizi/ yana. 'The police caught the thief yesterday.' (Phon. There are aspects of the pronunciation that we do not indicate. For example, a time adverb such as **yana** is, in the neutral case, outside the focus and the pitch pattern reflects this fact. But we make no attempt to specify pitch relationships in sentences. We attempt only to specify phrasing and the features that are dependent on it, i.e. vowel length and accent. Interestingly, in the yes-no question corresponding to **Mapoliisi/ wamshishile miizi/ yana.**, the accent on the out-of-focus **yana** is shifted to the final vowel: **Mapoliisi/ wamshishile miizi/ yaná?** 'Did the police catch the thief yesterday?')

Mapoliisi/ wamshishile naani/ yana. 'Whom did the police catch yesterday?'

Muunt^hu/ oo fakeetó/ ^hbulisiya/ wamshiishiló. 'The man who ran away, (it is) the police who caught him.' (The focus on **bulisiya** is indicated by the pseudo-relativization of the verb. The subject may be similarly raised in pitch but not focused: **Muunt^hu/ oo fakeetó/ bulisiya/ wamshiishile.**

Muunt^hu/ oo fakeetó/ shishila na mapoliisi. 'The who ran away was caught by the police.'

mwalimu wa poliisi/ mshishilo mwaanawé 'the teacher whom the police arrested his son'

Poliisi/ hu'aḍiba wiizi/ nt^hasaa wo/ kuwapeleka mahkamaani. 'Police torture thieves before they take them to trial.'

Poliisi/ mshishile mwana wa mwaalimu. 'The police arrested the son of the teacher.'

Skotland/ Yaad/ na piliisi/ ba/ waamo/ karka kumeera/ muunt^hu/ amó/ waant^hu/ wa...sabibiiló/ dhibu iyi. 'Scotland Yard and the police as well are in the process of searching for the person or persons who caused this mishap.'

kh-polomoka

v. intr. (**-polomoshele**) break up, break down, collapse

rel.

kh-polomola v. tr. (**polomeele**) break s.t. up, down

m-poombono

n. 9/10 dolphin; [pron. mp^hoombono]

kh-pomoka

v. intr. [Sw. *bomoka, pomoka* SSED 38] (**-pomoshele**) break to pieces, come to harm

Maana/ we/ tahađara/ nt^hasaa we/ khpomoka. ‘You, child, take care, before you come to harm.’

Shkoombe/ shpomoshele. ‘The cup broke.’

rel.

kh-pomokela v. appl. (-pomokeleele) break on, for

Chimp^homokeleele. ‘It broke on me.’

kh-pomokoowa v. pass.

Maŕezo mawovu/ hupomokoowa. One gets hurt from bad games.’

kh-pomolela v. appl. (pomoleele) break s.t. on (i.e. to someone’s detriment)

Ali/ mp^homolele shkoombe. ‘Ali broke my cup.’

kh-pomoloowa v. tr. pass. (-pomeela) be destroyed, demolished

Nk^huta za numba iyi/ spomeela. ‘The walls of this house were demolished.’ (The fact that **nk^huta** controls the plural subject marker on the verb establishes that the head of the associative construction controls verb agreement.)

Numba iyi/ ipomeela nk^huta. ‘This house was demolished the walls.’ (Cf. the ungrammaticality of ***Nk^huta izi/ spomeela nuumba**. Also note the ungrammaticality of ***Numba iyi/ ipomeela nk^hutaze**. In this sentence, **nk^huta** and **numba iyi** do not constitute a phrasal unit. Notice that it is the singular noun **nuumba** which controls the subject marker on the passive verb. One does not say ***Nk^huta izi/ spomeela nuumba**. ‘These walls were demolished the house.’)

Numba iyi/ nk^hutaze/ spomeela. ‘This house its walls are destroyed.’ (Observe that the possessed NP in this construction controls the subject marking on the passive verb. It is ungrammatical to say ***Numba iyi/ nk^hutaze/ ipomeela**. The possessor may not be the subject in a *NP-possessed* construction. The same agreement facts hold in the *NP-possessed NP* construction that MI accepts: **Nk^hutaze numba iyi/ spomeela**. Not ***Nk^hutaze numba iyi/ ipomeela**.)

Numba iyi/ spomeela nk^hutaze. ‘This house they were destroyed its walls.’

review this sentence

kh-pomola v. tr. (pomeele) break off a piece of s.t., destroy, break

Pomele nuumba. ‘He destroyed the house.’

Ye/ pomele nk^huta za numba iyi. ‘He demolished (the) walls of this house.’ Or, with object marker on the verb: **Ye/ spomele nk^huta iyi.** ‘He demolished the walls of this house.’ (The fact that **nk^huta** may control a [cl.10] object marker on the verb establishes that in the associative construction, it is the head of the associative that controls agreement on the verb.)

Ye/ pomele numba iyi/ nk^hutaze. ‘He destroyed this house its walls.’ (MI allows an alternative construction: **Ye/ pomele nk^hutaze numba iyi.** ‘He destroyed its walls this house.’ In this construction, the possessed noun precedes the possessor and is in the same phrase with it. Our present-day consultants do not seem to be familiar with this construction. Note that in the sentence with the structure *NP NP-possessive*, the possessor cannot control an OM on the verb: ***Ye/ ipomele numba iyi/ nk^hutaze.** ‘He destroyed it this house the walls.’ MI was uncertain whether the possessed could control an OM: ?**Ye/ spomele numba iyi/ nk^hutaze.** ‘He destroyed them this house the walls.’ He was more accepting of agreement when the structure *NP-possessive NP* was utilized: **Ye/ spomele nk^hutaze numba iyi.**)

kh-pomoleka v. tr. p/s. in the negative: to be indestructible, not able to be destroyed

**kh-pomolesha* v. tr. caus. [this causative form does not seem to be in use, a periphrastic construction being preferred]

rel. nom.

m-pomolo n. 3

ma-pomolo n. 6
u-pomolo n. 14

pompeelmo n. 9/10 [Ital. *pompelmo*] grapefruit

kh-poondra v. [Sw. *ponda* SSED 384] (**poonzele**) pulverize (esp. coffee beans), pound (with mortar and pestle)
Abdalla/ sḥtomola makharba/ haba mooyi/ shpoondra/ chova ka maayi/ chimpa mwanamke hakhaadiri. ‘Abdalla took out a few leaves and crushed them and mixed them with water and gave them to the girl who was sick.’
Muke/ poonzele. ‘The woman pounded it.’
Zeena/ ponzeele gele. ‘Zeena pounded the maize.’

rel.

kh-pondreka v. p/s. [Sw. *pondeka* “(1) be crushed, beaten down, pulverized; (2) capable of being broken into pieces” SSED 384] (**pondreshele**)

kh-pondreloowa v. appl. pass.

kh-pondrela v. appl. [Sw. *ponde* SSED 384] (**pondreleele**)

kh-pondresha v. caus. (**pondresheeze**)

Huseeni/ mpondresheze Zeena/ mwaana/ gele. ‘Huseeni had Zeena’s child pound the maize.’

kh-pondreshana v. caus. rec.

kh-pondresheka v. caus. p/s.

kh-pondresheleza v. caus. appl. (**pondresheleeze**)

Muusa/ mpondresheleze Nuuru/ mwaana/ gele. ‘Muusa caused Nuuru’s child to pound maize.’

kh-pondreshelezanya v. caus. appl. rec. (**-pondesheleezenye**)

Muusa/ na Huseeni/ wapondresheleezenye waana/ gele. ‘Muusa and Huseeni caused one another’s children to pound maize.’

kh-pondroowa v. pass. [Sw. *pondwa* SSED 384] (**poonzelela**)

rel.nom.

m-poondro n. 3 act of pounding

ma-poondro n. 6 act of pounding

m-poondro n. 9/10 [Sw. *pondo* “a punting pole, for pushing a boat or canoe along shallow water” SSED 384] a long pole, thin and strong, used to move a **jahazi** in shallow water; mangrove pole (traditionally used as beams in buildings; [pron. **mp^hoondro** pl.] *wagunya wa’ile waleesele mp^hoondro* (a traditional rhyme) ‘the Bajunis came and brought mangrove poles’

rel.

i-poondro (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.

l-poondro (*m-*) n. 11/10 pole (for moving the **jahazi** but also a pole used in building);

[pron. **mp^hoondro** (pl.)]

sh-poondro (*s-*) n. 7/8 dim.

kh-ponola v. [Sw. *ponoa* SSED 384] (**poneele**) rub s.o.’s body with special herbs (e.g. when one marries, the married couple remains indoors for a week and invite friends to the house in the evening; at these times, one invites masseurs to come in and rub the backs of the visitors)

rel.

kh-ponolela v. appl.

rel. nom.

m-ponolo n. 3

u-ponolo n. 14

m-ponompono n. a kind of fish; [pron. **mp^honomp^hono**]

l-poororo (*m-*) n. 11/10 a procession, line, group, herd, flock; adv. in succession, one after the other; [pron. in pl. **mp^hoororo** ‘lines, groups, etc.’]

lpororo la waant^hu ‘a procession of people’

<i>portageezi (ma-)</i>	n. a Portuguese person
<i>portakoranta</i>	n. 9/10 electric plug, outlet
<i>posta</i>	n. [Sw. <i>posta</i> SSED 386; Eng.] post hafisa ya posta ‘post office’ khpelekaa khati/ ka posta ‘to send a letter by post’ Mpelekelele Aasha/ khati/ postaani. ‘She took a letter for Asha to the post office.’ Nt^h akhpata/ chiint^hu/ postaani. ‘He did not get anything at the post office.’
<i>kh-potela</i>	v. [Sw. <i>potea</i> SSED 386] (poteele) fall; be corrupted, go astray; interfere Chibuuku/ chikhupoteele. ‘The book fell from you – i.e. you dropped the book (but accidentally, not on purpose).’ chijiwe shpoteeló ‘the pebble that fell’ Chisu/ chimpoteele. ‘He dropped the knife (lit. the knife fell from him).’ Chiti/ shpoteele. ‘The chair fell.’ Ijiwe/ hupotela khariibu/ kooði/ hukomaa kule. ‘A stone falls nearby, talking reaches far away.’ (A saying.) iwa ishpotela ndrúza ni maghribi [st.] ‘when the sun sets, my brothers, it is [the time of] maghribi (i.e. when one can perform the maghribi prayers)’ Karkaa ye/ nakingilo numbaani/ Abdalla/ shpotelaa nt^{hi}/ chuuluka/ shkomela mlaango/ ka ndilaani. ‘While he [the lion] was entering the house, Abdalla fell on the ground and jumped up and locked the door from the outside.’ Khalamu/ ikhupoteele. ‘You dropped the pen (lit. the pen dropped from you).’ Khpotela iboholiini/ ni sahali/ kulawa/ nii dhibu. ‘To fall into a hole is easy, to get out is difficult.’ (A saying.) khpotela kilaa mahala/ kanaa nzi ‘to intrude everywhere like a fly (of someone who gets involved in every issue, matter)’ khpotelaa ndila ‘to lose one’s way’ maazi ya uðhiya shete shchipotela [st.] ‘if a drop of the blood of the uðhiya sac rifice falls’ Munt^hu humtumbilo ibholi/ meenziwé/ ndiyé/ hupoteló. ‘One who digs a hole for his friend it is he who falls in.’ (A proverb.) review pronunciation Na kula mubli/ shpoteloo ndilá/ chiyo chisiwa cha Waqwaaqi/ shfanyowa mtaana. ‘And each man who lost his way and who came to the island of Waqwaaqi was made a slave [by the women who inhabited this imaginary island].’ Sa’iidi/ ishpotela/ kaake/ qalbiini/ yaa kuwa/ wake/ awa/ watatuwe/ si/ wanaadamu/ wo/ ni majini. ‘Sa’iidi’s heart dropped (from realizing) that all these three women were not humans, they were jinns.’ Suufi/ akhili/ zimpoteele. ‘Suufi lost his head (lit. the wits fell from Suufi).’ Wakhti/ ukhupoteele. ‘Time was lost to you – i.e. you wasted time.’ Ye/ shfikira/ kumwambila waawaye/ kuwa masku/ ivumile lpepo/ kaa nguvu/ na nt^h eendré/ spoteele/ mutiini. ‘He thought about telling his father that during the night the wind blew hard and the dates fell from the tree.’
	rel. <i>kh-potelela</i> v. appl. (potelele) fall on Chimpotelela nge/ mkulu. ‘A large scorpion fell on him.’

‘that the stones fall on them’ **ijiwe/ inawapotelele** ‘that the stone fall on them’; **majiwe/ yanawapotelele**

Ituundra/ imp^hotelele chitaani. ‘A fruit fell on my head.’

Kalaant^ha/ chizingitiini/ ilu ya mlaango/ mubliwa/ chiya/ khpita/ kingila numbaani/ mpotelele/ mlume shkosi. ‘Sit at the threshold, above the door, and when my husband comes to pass through to enter the house, drop down on him, stinging him on the neck.’

Muti/ upotelele nuumba. ‘A tree fell on the house.’

Sku mooyi/ mwanaamke/ naa ye/ kaleent^hó/ nt^hi/ nakhsuko msalá/ chimpotelele chinoka/ iluke. ‘One day while the girl was sitting on the ground plaiting a mat, a little snake fell on her.’

kh-poteleloowa v. pass.

ya baatili ilateeni/ ndilaye hupoteleloowa [st.] ‘reject deception and lies, which lead to eternal damnation’

kh-poteleza v. caus. appl.

Ali/ mpoteleze Huseeni/ muti. ‘Ali felled the tree for Huseeni.’

Baana/ mpoteleze Hamadi/ mwaana. ‘Baana corrupted Hamadi’s child.’

Eelo/ chimpoteleza mwaalimu/ iwuuyu/ ichimbigaa chita/ na mwaalimú/ chifa/ ka paapo/ apo. ‘The gazelle dropped a baobab on the teacher and it hit him on the head and the teacher died right then and there.’

Mp^hoteleze mwaana. ‘He corrupted my child (on me).’

Shpoteleze nuumba/ muti. ‘We caused the tree to fall on the house.’

kh-potelezanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-potelezoowa v. caus. appl. pass.

kh-poteza v. caus. drop s.t., abort, corrupt, spoil (This causative form cannot be used to form a causative of **khpotela aqili** ‘to lose one’s head’ – cf. ***Harameni/ mpoteze Suufi/ aqili.** ‘Harameni caused Suufi to lose his head.’, which is ungrammatical.)

khpoteza miimba ‘to have an abortion’

Dakhtari/ mwambile Haliima/ mimba iyi/ we/ takhpoteza. ‘The doctor told Haliima: this pregnancy, you will abort it.’

Haliima/ poteeze/ miimba(ye). ‘Haliima had an abortion.’

khpoteza mwaana ‘to miscarry, abort a child’

khpoteza peesa ‘to lose, squander money’

khpoteza ruuhu ‘to jump, throw oneself’

Mp^hoteze ruuhuyá/ ibirkaaní. ‘I threw myself into the water tank.’ (Note that an unmarked form of **ibirkaani** can serve as the head of a relative clause: **ibirka yaa mi/ mp^hotezo ruuhuyá** ‘the water tank that I threw myself into’.)

Mp^hoteze ruuhuyá/ iboholiini. ‘I jumped into the hole; I exposed myself to troubles, difficulties (e.g. I got myself into a jam).’

Mp^hoteze ruuhuyá/ ka chidank^haaní. ‘I jumped from the roof.’ (An unmarked form of **chidank^haani** cannot be the head of a relative clause based on this sentence: ***chidank^ha chaa mi/ mp^hotezo ruuhuyá/ (kaa cho).**)

khpoteza wakhtí ‘to waste time’

Mwaanawá/ awa/ wanakhsula khpoteza/ laakini/ haydhibi. ‘My son, these ones want to bring forth your destruction, but it does not matter.’

Ni Chimwiini/ tu/ sh-poteezá/ khpata waant^hu/ hawa’iisi/ noo’i/ ya koði izi/ wastaambule/ inakhkoḍoowa. ‘It is just Chimwiini that has been twisted to get people not to know the meaning of these words so that they do not understand what is being said (a sentence describing Chijini, the “talking backwards” language based on Chimiini).’

Poteze chibuukú. ‘You dropped a/the book (it could either be accidentally or on purpose).’

Poteze wakhtí. ‘You wasted time.’

Uhuriya/ mwiingi/ hupoteza waant^hu. ‘Too much freedom spoils people.’

Ujahli/ umpoteeze. ‘Ignorance led him astray.’

Uyu/ ndiyé/ **potezo iwuuyú/ ije impotelele mwalimu Goosó/ chitaani/ imubleeló.** ‘This is he who caused the baobab to fall, [the baobab] which fell on Teacher Gooso’s head and killed him.’

kh-potezanya v. caus. rec.

kh-potezeka v. caus. p/s.

kh-potezoowa v. caus. pass.

Yuusufu karka chisima poteza [st.] ‘Joseph was thrown in the well’

-potevu

adj. spoiled, corrupted, a wrong-doer

mpotevu ‘someone corrupted, spoiled’; **wapotevu** ‘pl. corrupted, spoiled’

Nnamsomesha mwana mpotevú. ‘I am teaching a spoiled child.’ (Cf.

Nnamsomesha mwaaná/ mpotevu. ‘I am teaching a spoiled child.’)

u-potevu

n. wrong-doing

-potofu

adj. bent, crooked

itundru ipotofu ‘a ragged, rough, uneven hole’

luti lpotofu ‘a crooked stick’

munt^hu mpotofu ‘a crooked or spoiled person’

proverb.)

Munt^hu mpotofu/ harashoowi. ‘A crooked man is not followed.’ (A

mzele mpotofu ‘a bent old man’

Muti/ ukorelopo ipotofú/ ha’ikhadiroowi/ khtosishoowa. ‘A tree that grows up crooked is not able to be straightened.’ (A proverb.)

ndila potofu ‘a windy road’

Yaaquubu/ wawaye Yuusufu/ ni mooyi/ karka mitume/ watumila na

mwajiitu/ keendra/ konyeza waant^hu/ ndila toosani/ wanapate

ki’iraasha/ na kuwa’onyeza ndila mp^hotofu/ wanapate

kiyeepuka. ‘Jacob, Joseph’s father, was one among the prophets who were sent by God to go and show people the straight path so that they might follow it and to show them the wrong path so that they might avoid it.’

kh-potoka

v. intr. (**-potoshele**) be bent, twisted

Muti/ upotosheló/ ha’utosishiki. ‘A tree that is bent cannot be straightened.’ (A proverb.)

rel.

kh-potolela v. tr. appl. (**potolele**)

kh-potoloowa v. tr. pass. be bent, twisted

Ni chimwiini/ tu/ shpoteelá. ‘It is just Chimwiini twisted.’

kh-potola v.tr. [Sw. *potoa* SED 386] (**potele**) bend, twist s.t.

Ali/ mpotele mkono. ‘Ali twisted his (someone else’s) hand.’

Potele ruuhuye/ mkono. ‘He twisted his (own) hand.’

Shaafi/ mpotele mwaana. ‘Shaafi twisted the child.’

Shaafi/ potele chuuma. ‘Shaafi bent the piece of iron.’

kh-potosha v. caus. (**potosheeze**) bend, twist s.t. (This verb is not actually a causative verb as such, but an equivalent of the transitive verb *-potola*.)

Baazi/ mpotosheze mwaana. ‘Baazi twisted the child.’ (Naturally, the periphrastic causative cannot be used here: ***Baazi/ mtile mwaana/ khpotoka.** ‘Baazi instilled in the child to be twisted.’)

khpotoshaa kana ‘to twist the mouth (indicating opposition, dislike, etc.)’

Nimpotosheze Nuurú/ mkonó. ‘I twisted Nuuru’s arm.’

Potosheze ruuhuye/ mkono. ‘He twisted his own hand.’

kh-potoshana v. caus. rec.

kh-potesheka v. caus. p/s.

kh-potosheleza v. caus. appl. (**potosheleeze**)

Baazi/ mpotosheleze Shaafi/ mwaana. ‘Baazi twisted Shaafi’s child.’

(Again, a periphrastic causative construction cannot be used here: ***Baazi/ mtilile Shaafi/ mwaana**. ‘Baazi instilled in Shaafi’s child to be bent.’)

kh-potoshelezanya v. caus. appl. rec. (-**potoshelezenye**)

Baazi/ na Shaafi/ wapotoshelezenye waana. ‘Baazi and Shaafi twisted one another’s children.’ (Once again, the periphrastic causative is not available since it is used only for indirect causation: ***Baazi/ na Shaafi/ watililene waana/ khpotoka**. ‘Baazi and Shaafi instilled in one another’s children to be bent.’)

profesoore n. professor

Nimene Osmari profesooré. ‘I saw Omari the professor (where the reference to “professor” contrasts him with some other Omari).’

Nimene Osmaani/ profesooré. ‘I saw Osmaani the professor.’ Or: **Nimene Osmaani/ profesore**. ‘I saw *Osmaani* the professor.’

Nimene profesore Osmaani. ‘I saw Professor Osmaani.’

Osmaani/ profesore/ ingile mtanaani. ‘Osmaani the professor entered the room.’ Or: **Profesore Osmaani/ ingile mtanaani**. ‘Professor Osmaani entered the room.’

Tuuma/ waawaye/ ni profesore. ‘Tuuma’s father is a professor.’

pu labial sound.) ideo. (This ideophone involves sticking the tongue out while articulating the initial labial sound.)

Masheekhi/ wanakhtufila maayi/ pu pu. ‘The religious people are “spitting” in the water (while reading the Quran) **pu pu**.’

i-pu (ma-) n. 5/6 boil; infected wound

variant form: **ipu (ma-’ipu)**

Ipu/ itumbushile. ‘The boil broke open.’

shtuumbula ipuya wo watakununsha [song] ‘if my boil breaks open, they will smell it’

Ni dhee’ aani/ niingi/ Hamadi/ yanamlawó/ iupuuni. ‘A lot of secretion is coming out from Hamadi’s infected wound.’

p(u)loovari n. [Eng. *pullover*] sweater

m-pula n. 9/10 [Sw. *pua* SSED 387] nose; [**mp^hula**]

khfinikaa mp^hula ‘to cover the nose (so as to not smell s.t. or not inhale smoke)’

khfungaa mp^hula ‘[lit.] to close the nose -- i.e. to hold the nose (so that it does not smell a bad smell)’

khkoða kaa mp^hula ‘(lit.) to speak from the nose – i.e. to speak haughtily, to be puffed up with self-importance’

Omari/ hukóða kaa mp^hula. ‘Omari speaks arrogantly.’

khshumula kaa mp^hula ‘to sneeze with the nose’

khtagaa mp^hula ‘to widen the nose to smell better’

khtumbulaa mp^hula ‘to pierce the nose’

kubufishaa mp^hula ‘to spray s.t. in the nose’

kufkulaa mp^hula ‘to pick the nose’

kuḷawa maazi/ mp^hula ‘to bleed from the nose’

kunaðifishaa mp^hula ‘to clean the nose’

kununk^ha kaa mp^hula ‘to sniff, smell with the nose’

ka lyuundo/ haṭá/ nfunzilee mp^hulá ‘with a bad smell, until I held my nose’

Mp^hula/ indremelee kana. ‘(My) nose is on (my) mouth.’ (A proverb; this is said when you are not able to tell the truth about what a person has done or said wrong, though you know the truth, because the person involved is a relative or someone you fear.)

mp^hula kana lpaanga ‘lit. a nose like a sword -- said of a thin and straight, “Arab” nose’

mp^hula/ kuḷawa mapula ‘for the nose to have mucous come out’

Omari/ inamḷawa mapula/ mp^hula. ‘Mucous is coming from Omari’s nose.’

mp^hulaa ndre ‘a long nose’

rel.

i-pula (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug. noses

ipula ikulu ‘a big nose (of the Bantu type, not the Arab type, which is referred to as “long”); **mipula mikulu** ‘big noses’

ipula itawa ‘a big nose (referring to the Bantu type of nose, as opposed to the Arab ‘long’ nose) (lit. a pot nose)’

sh-pula (*s-*) n. 7/8 dim. nose

shpula chihaba ‘a small nose (wher of the Bantu or Arab type)’

shpula shṭawa ‘a small (lit. pot) nose (referring to a Bantu type of nose, not the “long” Arabic nose)’

chi-m-pule (*zi-m-*) n. 7/8 nasality in speaking

Omari/ ni chimpule. ‘Omari talks with nasality.’

Wo/ hukoḏa chimpule. ‘They speak with nasality.’

Wo/ ni zimpule. ‘They speak with nasality.’

i-pule n. someone with a big nose

Omari ipule ‘that Omari with a big nose’

sh-pule n.

khkoḏa shpule ‘to talk with a nasal voice’

ma-pula

n. 6 mucous from the nose

khṭomola mapula ‘to blow out mucous from the nose’

kuvuta mapula ‘to sniffle’

kh pangula mapula ‘to wipe or blow the nose’

kh-pulula

v. (**puliile**) shell corn, remove kernels from the ear of corn

rel.

kh-puluḷila v. appl. (**puluḷiile**)

kh-puluḷilana v. appl. rec. shell for one another

kh-puluḷoowa v. pass.

kh-pululeka v. able to be shelled

rel. nom.

m-pululo n. 3 the act of shelling

sh-pululu (*s-*)

n. 7/8 [related to ?Sw. *pululu* (*ma-*) "wilderness, uninhabited country, forest" SSED 383] (i) alley; (ii) **corridor, passage in a house**

(i) **shpululu cha Mp^haayi** ‘A famous alleyway in Brava which has a bridge above it connecting houses on the two sides of the alley. This alley ends on the west side at the Mosques of Abubakari and Omari, and on the east side it leads to the square in front of the Mosques of Abdurahman and Atiq. The houses linked by the bridge probably belongḏaed to the same family of Mashariifu of **Mp^haayi.**’

kh-puluza

v. [related to ?Sw. *puliza* "blow with the mouth, puff -- and with an object, blow up, fill with air" SSED 388 -- cf. Eng. "be full of hot air"] talk a lot but say nothing, ramble; tell lies

Nuuru/ nakhpuluza waant^hu. ‘Nuuru tells people about his adventures etc. adding a lot of lies, embellishing on the truth.’

rel.

kh-puluzana v. tell one another stories etc.

kh-puluzoowa v. pass. (**puliiza**) talk in one’s sleep, be delirious

Nuuru/ nakhpuluzoowa. ‘Nuuru is talking in his sleep.’

Nuuru/ puliiza. ‘Nuuru talked in his sleep.’

Nuuru/ shpuluzowa na Haawa. ‘Nuuru spoke in his sleep about Haawa.’

rel. nom.

m-puluza (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who speaks a lot, saying nothing

ma-puluzo n. 6.

m-puluzi (wa-)

adj. 1/2 talkative

Hamadi/ ni mpuluzi. ‘Hamadi is talkative.’

Wake/ wana’iwoowa/ kuwa ni wapuluzi. ‘Women are known to be talkative.’

u-puluzi

n. 14 foolish words or actions

Kalaant^ha/ mwaanawá/ lata/ upuluzi. ‘Stay, my son, give up this foolishness.’

Maama/ chimwambila mwaana/ ku^lata upuluziwe. ‘Mother told the boy to stop his foolish actions.’

Mubliwá/ yaa we/ nakuhadó/ nt^hayná/ ma’ana/ mi/ simpeendi/ muunt^hu/ sho kuwaa we/ ndratila upuluziwo. ‘My husband, what you are saying has no meaning, I do not love anyone except you, leave for me your nonsensical words.’

Sultaani/ mukhtaa ye/ kasizo koði za Abunawaasi/ mtete ngoombe/ oyo/ mtiinzile/ ka khisa koonyesha/ ya kuwa kooði/ za Abunawaasi/ nza upuluzi. ‘The sultan, when he heard the words of Abunawaasi, he took that cow and slaughtered it in order to show that the words of Abunawaasi were nonsensical.’

pumaata

n. [Ital. *pomata*] ointment

-pumbaavu

adj. foolish

mpumbaavu ‘a foolish person’

We/ ni mpumbaavú/ nt^ho. ‘You are a great fool.’

m-pumu

n. asthma; [pron. mp^humu]

variant form: **m-p^huume**

maraði ya mp^huume ‘asthma’

kh-pumula

v. [Sw. *pumua* SSED 388] (**pumiile**) rest

Apo/ wajiile/ chimaliza/ wala^tiize/ khpumula. ‘There they ate and then they lay down to rest.’

Ba’adaa ye/ khpumula/ habamó/ chilawa/ ka kaake/ chendra kumpa sultaani/ wa muuyi/ salaamu. ‘After he rested a little while, he left his place and went to greet the sultan of the town.’

Ba’adaa ye/ khpumula/ kaake/ shtukulaa khati/ choloka naayo/ ka sultaani. ‘After he rested at his place, he carried the letter and went with it to the sultan.’

Chiwona/ kuwa ni kheeri/ ye/ na farasiyé/ khpumula/ apo/ muyiini. ‘He saw that it was better for him and his horse to rest there in town.’

Kalaant^ha/ pumula/ sidhibé/ ruuhuyo/ mi/ keesho/ na mapeema/ nt^hakhuleetela/ nama/ matuuri/ mi/ naa we/ shtakisterehela. ‘Sit down, rest, don’t bother yourself, early tomorrow I will bring you fat meat and you and I will enjoy it.’

Kaa muda/ wa skuu nt^hatu/ iwele muunt^hi/ hiineendra/ na maskú/ hupumula. ‘For a period of three days it became that in the day, he walked, and at night, he rested.’

Kalent^hopo khpumulá/ kaa kule/ chiwona ziint^hu/ zelpé. ‘When he sat down to rest, in the distance he saw white things.’

Mi/ sinakhfanya chiint^hu/ maamé/ sinakhfanya yo yotte/ nk^haleent^hé/ nnakhpumulá. ‘I am not doing anything, mother, I am not doing anything at all; I have just sat down to rest.’

Nk^halent^he hosiini/ khpumula. ‘I sat in the shade to rest.’

Nt^hangú/ chuunzila/ chinakhfakata/ nt^hashkupata/ khpumula/ hatá/ sku

mooyi. ‘Since it was created, it is running and never gets to rest, (not) even one day.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **iwa** ‘sun’.)

Peteeyí/ we/ khkalanṯha khpumula. ‘How can you sit down to rest?’

Pumilopó/ shfunga safari/ kuruuda/ ka moojé. ‘After he rested, he prepared for a journey to return to his master.’

Waqti uyu/ waant^hu/ hupumula. ‘At this time people rest.’

rel.

kh-pumulila v. appl. (**pumulile**)

kh-pumuza v. caus. allow, permit to rest

Nt^hashkuwanaayo/ wakhti/ wa khpoteza/ laakini/ chiwenopo kuwa chofeeté/ mwaalimu/ shpumuze. ‘We did not have time to waste, but when he saw that we were tired, the teacher permitted us to rest.’

kh-pum(u)zika v. (**pumuzishile**) breathe, pant, rest

Nakhpumuziká. ‘I am resting.’

m-pum(u)zi

n. breath, breathing, panting; [pron. **mp^humuzi**]

khṯomola mp^humzi ‘to exhale’

kuvuta mp^humzi ‘to inhale’

Tozele mp^humzi. ‘He was out of breath.’

i-pumziko

n. rapid or difficult breathing

i-pundra ya magome

n. [lit. big donkey of the rocks] a kind of striped fish

m-puundra

n. 9/10 [Sw. *punda* SSED 398] donkey; [pron. **mp^huundra**]

Ba’ada ya kula mp^huundra ikumi/ mo/ paanzile. ‘After buying ten donkeys, one he rode.’

Bareṯo mp^huundrá/ hapaandri/ farasi. ‘A person accustomed to riding a donkey does not ride a horse.’ (A proverb.)

Juha/ oloshela sukhuuni/ kula mp^huundra. ‘Juha went to the market to buy a donkey.’

khfanya kaazi/ kana mp^huundra ‘to work like a donkey -- said of person who works very hard and diligently when performing material tasks (e.g. cleaning, carrying stones, etc.)’

kubiga mp^huundra ‘to drive donkeys’

Chimwona muunt^hu/ nakubiga mp^huundra/ mbili. ‘He saw a man driving two donkeys.’

mp^huundra mliya [cf. Sw. *punda milia* SSED 389] ‘zebra’

Ye/ na wamrashiizó/ wa’ineenzele/ masaafa/ hattá/

wachidirkamana/ na mp^huundra mliya. ‘He and those who followed him walked some distance until they encountered a zebra.’

mp^huundra muḅli ‘a he-donkey’

mp^huundraa muke ‘a she-donkey’

Mp^huundra uyu/ siwo/ takunfanyilizo kaazí. ‘This donkey is not one who will work for me.’

mp^huundraya ‘my donkey’ (cf. **mp^huundrayo** ‘your donkey’,

mp^huundraye ‘his or her donkey’, **mp^huundra yiitu** ‘our

donkey’, **mp^huundra yiinu** ‘your (pl.) donkey’, **mp^huundra yaawo** ‘their donkey’; **mp^huundraya** ‘my donkeys’,

mp^huundrayo ‘your donkeys’, **mp^huundraye** ‘his or her donkeys’, **mp^huundra ziitu** ‘our donkeys’, **mp^huundra**

ziinu ‘your (pl.) donkeys’, **mp^huundra zaawo** ‘their donkeys’) **but can have c11 agreement as well, correct?**

Mukhta wo/ **walazilo chibulooní/ mzeele/ chimpan**dra mp^huundra.

‘When they left the village, the old man rode the donkey.’

Uzile mp^huundra ikumi/ uziló. ‘He bought ten donkeys, that’s what he did.’

We/ ni mp^huundrá. ‘You are a donkey (i.e. you are an ingrate).’

rel.

i-puundra (*ma-*) n. 5/4 aug. large donkey

ipuundra/ ya magome ‘a type of striped fish’

m(w)aa-mphuundra or *m(w)-anamphuundra* n. a small donkey

sh-puundra (*s-*) n. 7/8 dim.

Chimaliza/ shpandra shpuundrache/ chishikaa ndila/ kendra ka

sultaani. ‘Then he mounted his little donkey and took the way to go to the sultan.’

Hasani/ naayé/ shpaandra/ shpuundrache/ chiicho/ icho/ chaa ye/

panzilo maraa kaandrá. ‘Hasani also rode his little donkey, the very same one that he had ridden the first time.’

spuundra/ za magome [lit.] zebras of the rocks – a reef fish that is green with black stripes’

s-pundra za magome

n. [lit.] zebra of the rocks, a reef fish that is green with black stripes

m-puunga(mi-

n. 3/4 [Sw. *mpunga* SSED 298] rice

Halo nt^holokó/ haavuni/ mpuunga. ‘The one who sows beans does not harvest rice.’ (A proverb.)

ijuniya ya mpuunga ‘a sack of rice’

khpika mpuunga ‘to cook rice’

kuja mpuunga/ kaa nama ‘to eat rice with meat’

mataza ya mpuunga ‘a thin porridge made of ground rice, with sugar and cardamon added’

mkate wa mpuunga ‘a rice cake’

mpunga hufuuro ‘rice that swells (increases in size) when cooked’

Mpuunga/ ni chakuja cha masultaani/ siwo/ chakuja cha hoola. ‘Rice is food for sultans, not food for animals.’

Mpuunga/ uviviile. ‘The rice is cooked.’

mpunga wa aluraayi a kind of (bad-smelling) rice’

mpunga wa baazara ‘a kind of rice’

mpunga wa pichoori ‘a kind of rice (aromatic long grain white rice)’

mtele wa mpuunga ‘uncooked rice’

Muunt^hu/ lesele mpuungá/ ni Nuuru/ muné. ‘The person who brought rice is Nuuru’s younger brother.’ (Phon. It is not very usual to put emphasis on the relative verb, separating it from the complement, but it seems possible. The final accent goes to the end of the

relative verb phrase: **Muunt^hu/ leeseló/ mpuungá/ ni Nuuru/ muné.**)

Naamí/ neenzelé/ njiilé/ mipuunga. ‘And I went and I ate large quantities

of rice.’

Omari/ huja mpuunga. ‘Omari eats rice.’

Omari/ lesele mpuunga/ numbaani. ‘Omari brought rice to the house.’

(Phon. The simple yes-no question involves no change in accent location, just Q-raising: **Omari/ lesele mpuunga/ numbaani?** The exclamatory yes-no question has downstep intonation and accent shift in the final two phrases: ↓**Omari/ lesele mpuungá/ numbaani!?**)

zijo za mpuunga ‘cooked rice’

-puungufua

adj. short of something, incomplete

miyezi mipuungufu ‘incomplete months, i.e. months of twenty-nine days’ (cf. **mwezi mpuungufu** ‘incomplete month’)

mpungufu wa aqli ‘someone short of intelligence’

munt^hu mpungufu wa maali ‘a person short of money’

kh-puunguka

v. [Sw. *puunguka* SSED 390] (**puungushile**) decrease, diminish, become less

Bardi/ itakhpuunguka. ‘The cold will diminish.’

Maayi/ yanakhpuunguka. ‘The water is getting less.’

Waant^huwe/ wanakhpuunguka. ‘Its people (referring in this case to Brava) are decreasing in number.’

rel.

kh-pungukiloowa v. appl. pass.

Pungukilila na peesa. ‘He became short of money (lit. he was decreased on money).’

kh-pungukila v. appl. [Sw. *puungukia* SSED 390]

Ajabu/ nt^haykuwapungukila/ kumwona eelo/ khkooða/ ka fasaaha.

‘They were amazed (lit. wonder was not decreased to them) to see a gazelle speak so eloquently.’

Leelo/ mi/ furaha/ hazimp^hungukili. ‘Today happiness is not missing for me.’

Mwaana/ waliko hodaari/ na akhili/ liini/ shchimpungukila. ‘The boy was clever and wits never were less with him.’

Peesa/ zinamp^hungukila. ‘I haven’t enough money (lit. money is less to me).’

kh-pungulila v. appl.

Nakhtiya/ jisaayi/ ye/ kendra numbaani/ nt^haná/ nt^holoko/ mooyi/

nampunguliló. ‘He was afraid, there was no way that he could go home without the one bean that was missing from him.’

kh-puungula v. [Sw. *pingua* SSED 390] (**puungiile**) lessen, decrease, be less than required

Amá/ ni/ wanaadamu/ hanpuunguli/ kuwa mijiinga. ‘O, you humans, you are stupid [lit. you do not decrease to be stupid].’

Aqili/ zimpungiile. ‘He had a mental lapse (at that time).’

Chilangala/ hadiiqa/ chiwona/ kuwaa miti/ ya nt^heendre/

yanakhpuungula. ‘He surveyed his garden and saw that date trees were missing.’

Chiletelowa wanaashke/ wawili/ sawasawa/ nt^haku/ ba/ nampungulo mweenziwé. ‘He was brought two girls, alike one another, no one at all has something (more or) less than the other.’

Iwa/ ipungiile. ‘The sun has decreased (i.e. it is less bright).’

Lpepo/ lpungiile. ‘The wind has let up some.’

Nnayo wana watatu/ mooyi/ shpuungula/ kaazi/ hayfaanyiki. ‘I have three children, (if) one is missing, the work is not able to be done.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **majiiko** ‘cooking stones’.)

Peesa/ spungiile. ‘The money is not as much (as needed).’

Ulaazo/ upungiile. ‘The pain has decreased.’

kh-punguliza v. caus. appl. (**punguliize**) lower, reduce for

Ali/ mp^hungulizee be’i. ‘Ali lowered the price for me.’

kh-pungulizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-pungulizoowa v. caus. appl. pass.

Ali/ punguliza mshahara. ‘Ali had his salary reduced (on him).’

kh-puunguza v. caus. [Sw. *puunguza* SSED 390] (**puungiize**) take s.t. from s.t., reduce, decrease s.t.

khpunguzaa be’i ‘to reduce the price’

Puunguza. ‘Decrease it!’ (cf. **Punguzaani.** ‘(Pl.) decrease it!’)

Punguzani peesa. ‘(Pl.) decrease the money!’

Spunguzeení. ‘(Pl.) don’t decrease it!’

Spunguzeení/ chaakuja. ‘(Pl.) don’t reduce the food!’

kh-punguzany(an)a v. caus. rec. (**-punguzeenye, -punguzanyeene**)

kh-punguzanyoowa v. caus. rec. pass. (**-punguzeenya, -punguzanyeena**)

kh-puunguzika v. caus. p/s.
kh-punguzoowa v. caus. pass. (-**pungiiza**)
 rel. nom.
sh-puunguko n. deficit
sh-puungulo n. reduction
sh-puunguzo n. s.t. that reduces
shpunguzo cha koranta ‘transformer (lit. reducer of electricity)’

kh-punuka v. intr. (**punushile**) capsize (of a boat)
 rel.
kh-punuloowa v. tr. pass.
kh-punula v. tr. (**puniile**) turn (a boat) over
 rel. nom.
m-punuko (*mi-*) n. capsizing (of a boat)

m-puunzi n. [cf. Sw. *pumzi* SSED 388] [pron. **mp^huunzi**] breath
 variant of **m-p^hum(u)zi**
kubiga mp^huunzi ‘to breathe, pant’
Nthaná/ mp^huunzi. ‘He has no rest.’

i-pupa n. [Sw. *pupa* SSED 390] strong desire, overeagerness
khfanya ipupa [Sw. *fanya pupa* SSED] ‘to be eager to do s.t.’
khtila ipupa ‘to urge, instill in someone a strong desire to do s.t.’
Nayo ipupa yaa kuja. ‘He has a very strong desire to eat.’
 rel.
l-pupa n. hastiness
kuwanayo lpupa ‘to be hasty’
Mwenye lpupa/ hadiriki/ kuja lada. ‘A hasty person does not succeed in eating sweet things.’ (A proverb.)

m-pupu (*mi*) n. 3/4 a fragrant ointment of ground herbs to which water is added; when one gets married, one invites friends to dinner and special people are hired to come and apply **mpupu** to the guests before dinner; after the guests shower, dinner is served

kh-puzila v. [Sw. *puzia* SSED 391] be silly, foolish, talk about s.o. in a silly way

pweeke n. and adj. [see **peeke**] [Sw. *pweke* SSED 392]

Q

qa’idan. [Sw. *kaida*, *kawaida* SSED 180; Ar. *qā’ida* W 780] a regulative principle
kurasha qa’ida ‘to follow the recognized custom, the usual practice’

m-qaabala in the phrase:
mkuhabala ya (or: **wa**)... ‘in front of, opposite to’

qabaa’ili (*ma-*)n. [Sw. *kabaila* (*ma-*) SSED 163; Ar. *qabā’il*, plural of *qabila* "tribe" W 741] a man of high birth, an important man
 rel.
u-qabaa’ili n. 14 high position, importance

qabihi adj. [Ar. *qabih* W 737] repulsive, foul, mean

qabila v. [Sw. *kabili* SSED 164; Ar. *qabila* W 739-40] (**qabiliile**) approach someone; be near, close to (of death); confront, oppose, defy, be contradictory
Khaadimu/ chimwaambila/ keendra/ kumkhabila waawaye/ na kumwambila lilá. ‘The servant told him to go and approach his

father and tell him the truth.’
Nimkhabiliilé. ‘I approached him.’
Khabilílee kufa. ‘He was close to death.’
Kumkhaabila ‘to embrace someone’

rel.

qabilíla v. appl. (**qabilíliile**)

qabiloowa v. pass.

Khasaara/ humpato mooyí/ huqabíloowa/ na qabiila/ nzimaye/ na iyí/ huleta waant^hu/ pamooyi/ na huleta khpendanoowa. ‘The losses that befall one [member of the tribe] are faced, dealt with by the whole tribe, and this brings people together and brings about the loving of one another.’

qabilana v. rec. (**qabileene**)

qabilika v. p/s. be approachable

qabilisha v. caus. (**qabilshiize**) make someone face something else

m-qabila (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who faces, confronts

Naani/ nakendro mqabila baabá. ‘Who is going to face the father (and tell him that his daughter wants to marry a poor man)?’

qabiila (*Ø, ma-*)

n. [Sw. *kabila* SSED 164; Ar. *qabila* W 741] clan, tribe; [pron. **qabiila** or **khabiila**]

Mfaano/ wa want^hu awa/ ni ba’ađi ya maqabiila/ hukalo nt^hi ya wahiindi. ‘An example of such people is some of the tribes who live in the land of the **wahiindi**.’

Want^hu wa qabila mooyi/ hutałowa kuwa ni waant^hu/ aslı yaawo/ mooyi/ na wałazilo ka chizazi chimooyí. ‘People who belong to a single clan/ tribe, they are taken to be people with a single origin and who come from one ancestry.’

We/ hiisi/ so/ we/ kuwaa si/ khabiila/ yaa nfuye/ hashtukuli/ khalbi ziitu/ mukhtaa si/ huwo chinakhsaafirá. ‘Don’t you know that we, the tribe of monkeys, do not carry our hearts when we are traveling?’

rel.

u-qabiila n. 14

Karka faayda/ za uqabiila/ ni kuwa want^hu wa qabila mooyi/ hiiwana/ ka kiła amri/ wo/ husaaydana/ dhibu ya munt^hu mooyi/ wa qabiila/ ni dhibu ya wote/ na raahayé/ nda wote. ‘Some of the advantages of tribalism are that people of one tribe know one another in all matters; they help one another, the difficulty of one person in the tribe is the difficulty of all, and his happiness belongs to all.’

Uqabiila/ unaawe/ ulazile ka wanaadamu/ wo/ wene/ amó/ ka mahała yingineye/ ba/ unayo faayda/ na khasaará. ‘Tribalism, whether it comes from human beings themselves or from some other place, has advantages and disadvantages.’

qabla
or **khabla**]

prep. [Sw. *kabla* (*ya*) SSED 164; Ar. *qablan* W 740] before (in time); [pron. **qabla**

khabla ya isa ‘before now’

khabla ya kulla chiint^hu ‘before everything else’

khabla (y)a leelo ‘before today’

Ndrzile (ka) numbaani/ qabla ya Nuuruú. ‘I left the house before Nuuru.’ (Phon. This example illustrates a final-accent trigger in the verb. Cf. the default accent in: **Lazile (ka) numbaani/ qabla ya Nuuru.** ‘He left before Nuuru.’)

Nvete haanzuyá/ mp^hiyá/ qabla kendra festaani. ‘I put on my new dress before going to the party.’

Huseeni/ jile khabla ya Omari. ‘Huseeni ate before Omari [did].’ Or: **Huseeni/ jiile/ khabla ya Omari.** (Phon. The first sentence has

both a simple yes-no question version, where there is only Q-raising, and an emphatic form: **Huseeni/ jile khabla ya Omarî!?**
The second example only has a simple yes-no question version:
Huseeni/ jile/ khabla ya Omarî?)

Nile qabla ya Ali. ‘I came before Ali.’

Nile qablayé. ‘I came before him.’

Ondroka qabla yaa ye/ kuuya. ‘Leave before he comes.’

Yuusufu/ chanza khfatisha/ mizigo/ ya mkułaze/ qabla ya mzigu/ waa muné. ‘Joseph began to inspect the bags of his older brothers before the bag of his younger brother.’

qabri (ma-)

n. 5/6 [Sw. *kaburi* SSED 164; Ar. *qabr* W 738] grave, tomb; [pron. **qabri** or **khabri**]

Apo/ itunzila khabri/ nk^hulu/ nt^ho. ‘There a very large tomb was dug.’

Ba’ada/ ya skuu mbili/ sulṭaani/ chirashmana/ ye/ na mukeewé/ na waanawé/ na ahlizé/ wotte/ wachendra makhabriini. ‘After two days the sultan went together, he and his wife, and his children, and his relatives, all, they went to the graveyard.’

Basi/ mukhta mayti/ huletowa makhabriini/ huṭomolowa janazaani/ ka kafani/ yoo peeke/ kutilowa khabriini. ‘So, when the dead person is taken to the graveyard and taken out of the funeral bier [wrapped] only in a shroud, he is put into the grave.’

hatta mtumba qabri ye lasila liini [nt.] ‘not even the grave digger was spared -- lit. when was even the grave digger spared?’

ilmu humsaayda saahibe qabriini [st.] ‘knowledge helps the one who possesses it, (even) in the grave’

kamu mi nk^haleent^ho na wenye fakhari/ na wotte waweelo karka maqabri [st.] ‘how many important people I sat with, and all finished in the grave’

khṭumba qabri ‘to dig a grave’

kumzika qabriini ‘to bury him in a grave’

Mtumba khabri/ mwiishowe/ huṭumbilowaa ye. ‘The gravedigger’s end is that somebody will dig [his graver] for him.’ (A proverb.)

Sku yaa saba/ mtaana/ oyo/ chufkula khabri. ‘On the seventh day the servant dug up the grave.’

Sulṭaani/ na winginiwé/ wamrashiizó/ wachingila khabriini/ wachizumbizowa mṭaanga. ‘The sultan and the others who followed him entered the tomb and they were covered with sand.’

Uko lpindro la qabri. ‘He is near death [lit. he is at the edge of the grave].’

Wamalizopo kuzumbiza khabri/ sulṭaani/ na khadimuzé/ wachiyolokela. ‘When they finished covering the grave, the sultan and his servants went away.’

rel.

ma-qabri=ni n. graveyard

makhabriini/ ka Dada Maasiti ‘the graveyard of Dada Maasiti’

Makhabriini/ ka Dada Maasiti/ huzikowa mashariifu/ tu.

‘Only **mashariifu** are buried in the graveyard of Dada Maasiti.’

Makhabriini/ ka Dada Maasiti/ ni kharibu muskiti wa Atiikhi/ Abdurahmaani. ‘The graveyard of Dada Masiiti is near the mosque of Atiikhi Abdurahmaani.’

makhabriini/ ka Shekh Abdulkhadiri ‘Sheikh Abdulkhadir’s graveyard’
(This is the largest graveyard in Brava and is located in **Mp^haayi**. It is not restricted to any particular clan.)

Makhabriini/ ka Shekh Abdukhaadiri/ huzikowa waant^hu/ wont^he. ‘All people are buried in the graveyard of Shekh Abdukhaadiri (i.e. it is not restricted to people of a certain clan, like **makhabriini/ ka Dada Masiiti**).’

Makhabriini/ ka Shekh Abdukhaadiri/ khariibuye/ yiko muskit’ aa Shekh Khaasimu. ‘The graveyard of Shekh Abdukhaadiri is near the mosque of Shekh Khaasimu.’
(Note the contraction of **muskiti wa** to **muskit’ aa**. This contraction of the associative particle only occurs, of course, when the associative particle is phrased with the head of the associative construction.)

makhabriini/ ka Shekh Mahmuudi ‘Shekh Mahmuudi’s graveyard’ (A small graveyard in Brava.)

Makhabriini/ ka Shekh Mahmuudi/ huzikowa waant^hu/ haba/

tu. ‘Only a few people are buried in Shekh Mahmuudi’s graveyard.’

Makhabriini/ ka Shekh Mahmuudi/ ni kharibu ya Spartiwooni.
‘Shekh Mahmuudi’s graveyard is near the sports stadium.’

qabuuli

n. [Ar. *qabūl* W 740] acceptance, approval, welcome

qaada

adj. [cf. Ar. *qadā* "to decide, impose as a duty" W 771] obligatory, unavoidable; of a prayer whose prescribed time has passed

mowti ni qaada ni amri ya haakimu [st.] ‘death is obligatory, it is an order of God)

sala hayjuuzi shfarama kundripila/ wala qaada mayti chifa kumsalila [st.]
‘it is not allowed to ask someone to pray for you at a later time, neither (is it allowed) to pray a prayer (whose time has passed) if a person (lit. a corpse) dies’

sala qaada ‘a prayer the time for which is already past’

qaadi (ma-)

n. [Sw. *kadhi* SSED 165; Ar. *qāḍin* W 772] judge; [pron. **qaaḍi** or **khaaḍi**]

Cheendra/ chimleta mwaana/ chimleetó/ wa khaaḍi. ‘He went and brought a boy, that’s who he brought, (the son) of a judge.’

Choloka ka khaaḍi/ chimwishṭaka. ‘He went to a judge to sue her.’

Khaaḍi/ chimwaambila/ Safiya... ‘The judge said to Safiya...’

Makhaaḍi/ na ma’akhyaari/ wa muuyi/ wote/ sulṭaani/ wapele khabari/ wa mowti wa eelo/ na wambiile/ khfunga safari/ ka himaa hima/ kendra naaye/ ka mwanaamkewe. ‘The judges and the chieftains of the town, all, the sultan gave them the news of the death of the gazelle and told them to prepare for a journey to go quickly with him to his daughter.’

Mwaanawá/ kanaa we nakhsula kuloolá/ waako/ waana/ wa mawaziiri/ na wa maqaaḍi/ waako/ wanaashke/ wa want^hu wa maṭaaḡiri/ nini/ kumlola mwanamke uyu. ‘My son, if you want to get married, there are daughters of ministers, and of judges, there are daughters of rich men, why do you want to marry this girl?’

Sulṭaani/ cheendra/ kumvīla qaaḍi/ kuuya/ kumloza mwanaamke. ‘The sultan went and invited the judge to come and marry him to the girl.’

Wote/ wachiwafikhana kumtumila qaaḍi/ nt^hume/ naayé/ nawalooze.

‘All agreed to send a messenger [to bring] a judge to marry them.’

qadima

v. [Ar. *qadama* "give an advance" W 747-8] (**qadimiile**) give an advance rel.

qadimisha v. caus. (**qadimishiize**) [in usage, this verb is the same as the simple form **qadima**]

qadiimu

adj. [Ar. *qadīm* W 749] old (in terms of time), ancient; [pron. **qadiimu** or **khadiimu**]
Mi/ ni mpiyá/ amó/ ni qadiimú/ karka wujuudi. ‘Am I new or am I old in existence?’

Mwiini/ ni muuyi/ chihabba/ laakini/ qadiimu/ nt^ho. ‘Brava is a small town, but a very old one.’

Qabiila/ ni kalima/ qadimu/ nt^ho. ‘Tribe is a very old word.’

l-qadiimu

n. in the expression: **qowli lqadiimu** ‘in the previous, earlier sayings’

laakini soomu ka qowli lqadiimu/ mfuungile mayti mloombele kariimu [st.] ‘but the fasting, according to the old sayings of the Prophet, fast for the dead person and pray for him to God’

qadira

v. [Ar. *qadara* W 745] (of God) to destine someone

Mwajitu/ mkhadirile Nuuru/ khshiindra. ‘God destined Nuuru to win.’

rel.

qadirila v. appl. (**qadiriliile**) (of God) to destine someone

Mwaajitu/ mkhaduruliile Nuuru/ khshiindra. ‘God destined Nuuru to win.’

Mwaajitu/ mkhadiriliile khpata maali. ‘God destined him to acquire wealth.’

Mwaajitu/ khukhadiriliile we/ khtowa maato. ‘God destined you to lose your sight.’

qadiriloowa v. appl. pass. (**khadiriliila**)

Khshiindrake/ ikhadiriliila na mwaajitu. ‘His winning was destined by God.’

qadiroowa v. pass.

Khshiindrake/ ikhadirila na mwaajitu. ‘His winning was destined by God.’

qadira

v. [Ar. *qadara* W 745] [pron. **qaadira** or **khaadira**] be able to, manage

Mzele uyu/ khadirileeyi/ kumpandra mp^huundra/ na kum_lata mwaana/ chihaba uyu/ kiineendrá.

Qadiriya

n. a Sufi order that follows **Shekh Abdul Qadiri**

alamu ya Khadiriya ‘the flag of the Qadiriya, a Sufi order’

qadri

n. [Sw. *kadiri* SSED 165; Ar. *qadr* W 745] estimation, measure, value, amount, extent; [pron. **qadri** or **khadri**]

variant form: **qadari** or **khadari**

Baaba/ ka kumtiyila khpata ijini/ shkhubala/ na chimpa peesa/ khadari yaa ye/ tulubiilo. ‘Father, because he was afraid for him to go crazy, agreed and gave him the amount of money that he had asked for.’

Bakayle/ chimfunga miilu/ na mikonó/ chimaliza/ shtaala/ ukiwe/ chiwuje/ ye/ mwenewe/ naa ndovú/ nakulanga_ló/ chimaliza/ bakayle/ shteka maayi/ qadri/ yaa ye/ sulii_ló. ‘Hare tied the legs and arms of the elephant, and then took his [own] honey and ate it himself, and while Elephant was looking, then Hare fetched the amount of water that he wanted.’

khadri gani ‘what amount?’

khadri ya ‘about, around, up to’

Khadri ya want^hu wa_ltaano/ wa’ile. ‘As many as five people have come.’ Or: **Khadri ya want^hu wa_ltaano/ wa’iló.** ‘(There are) as many as five people who have come.’

khfanya qadri ‘to make an estimate’

Mpeende/ muunt^hu/ ka khadri yaa ye/ takhupeendó. ‘Love him to the same extent as he loves you.’

Sultaani/ chimwambila Huseeni/ nt^hakhupa peesa/ khadri/ yaa we/ nakhsuuló. ‘The sultan told Huseeni: I will give you money in the amount that you want.’

qafasi

n. 9/10 cage

rel.

sh-qafasi (s-) n. 7/8

Shpeleshelopo numbaani/ shfanyilize shqafasi/ na tetee dhibu/ ya kichiliisha/ ka waqti. ‘When he took it [the little snake] home, he made for it a little cage, and he took the trouble to feed it on time.’

qahira

v. [Ar. *qahara* W 794] (**qahiriile**) force someone to do something

Nqahirile khtomola peesa. ‘He compelled me to pay money.’

qahri

n. [Ar. *qahr* W 794] coercion, compulsion (Ar. *qahr*, Wehr p. 794)

ka qahri na huuri na wana umbukhu/ kaa ndruti tayaari shchitiya bundukhu [nt.] ‘overpowered, sweating, suffocating/ ready with

sticks, we were fearing guns’

qakhooti

n. [Som. **qaxooti** "refugees" (collective noun) DSI 495] refugee

qalbi

n. [Ar. *qalb* W784] heart; [pron. **qalbi** or **khalbi**]

Baaba/ chiskiṭika ka khalbiini. ‘Father felt sad.’

dawa ya khalbi ‘medicine for the heart’

Qur’aani/ ni dawa ya khalbi. ‘The Quran is medicine for the heart.’

Uki/ ni dawa ya khalbi. ‘Honey is medicine for the heart.’

dhibu ya khalbi ‘a heart problem’

Omari/ nayo dhibu ya khalbi. ‘Omari has a heart problem.’

hali ya khalbi ‘condition of the heart’

Hasani/ nayo maraḍi ya khalbi. ‘Hasani has heart disease.’

Hasani/ khalbi/ inambiga. ‘Hasani’s heart is beating hard.’ (Syn. This is a common sort of construction in Chimiini. The word order given here is the default word order and has the default intonational pattern. There are two alternative word orders that should be mentioned: **Hasani/ inambiga/ khalbi.** and **Khalbi/ inambiga Hasani.** In both of these constructions, the verb is somewhat raised in pitch and the following element is strongly lowered.)

Hasani/ khalbi/ imsimeeme. ‘Hasani’s heart has stopped -- i.e. he has had cardiac arrest, a heart attack.’

hinzizi ya qalbi ‘vessel or nerve of the heart’

Huṭomoló/ ni khalbi/ siwo/ uṭaajiri. ‘That which gives is the heart, not wealth.’ (A proverb.)

kangamila qalbi ‘to suffer, get hurt (inside one)’

katuḷowa khalbi ‘a heart operation (lit. cutting of the heart)’

Omari/ nakatuḷowa khalbi. ‘Omari is having a heart operation.’

khalbi/ khfakaṭa ‘heart to run’

Khalbiye/ nakhfakaṭa. ‘His heart is racing.’

khalbi/ khsimama ‘heart to stop’

Khalbi/ imsimeeme. ‘His heart stopped.’

khalbi noloolo ‘a soft heart (e.g. easily affected)’

khalbi nyulusi ‘a black heart (said of someone whose heart is not good, someone who wishes to do bad etc.)’

Khalbiye/ ḍa’iifu. ‘His heart is weak’

Khalbiye/ miinza. ‘His heart is dark (i.e. he is gloomy, depressed).’

Khalbiye/ ni furhaani. ‘His heart is happy.’

Khalbiye/ ni mahazuuni. ‘His heart is sad.’

Khalbiye/ nuumu. ‘His heart is hard (i.e. he is not kind).’

Kheeri/ kufa maṭo/ kama kufa khalbi. ‘Better to lose one’s eyes than to die in the heart.’ (A proverb.)

khfunga khalbi ‘to tighten the heart – i.e. **to check one’s emotions**’

Maamo/ fiile/ Haliima/ funga khalbiyo. ‘Your mother has died, Haliima, **tighten your heart (do not cry etc.)**’

khkoḍa na khalbi ‘to speak to oneself’

khsimika khalbi ‘to not be afraid, lift up one’s courage’

Omari/ mambile Hamadi/ simika khalbi/ stiyé/ buisness iyo/ ingila/ faanya. ‘Omari told Hamadi: don’t be afraid, don’t be scared, that business/work/ job, go in and do it!’

Simika khalbiyo/ ondroka/ faanya/ kazi iyo. ‘Take courage, stand up and do that job.’

khṭufa khalbi ‘lit. to spit the heart – i.e. dare, have the courage to do s.t.’

Omari/ tufile khalbi/ uzile/ nuumba/ iyo/ ya Hamadi. ‘Omari has dared, he has bought that house of Hamadi’s.’

khtila qalbiini (lit.) to put into the heart, i.e. to have the intention to do s.t.’

Nṭile qalbiini/ kendra hijjá/ maka uyú. ‘I have the intention of going to the pilgrimage this year.’

kulla mo waswaasi khkooḍa na qalbiye [nt.] ‘every one is prey to fear and talks to his heart’

kubiga qalbi ‘to race (of the heart)’

Khalbi(ya)/ inakumbiga. ‘My heart is beating me – i.e. is racing.’

Khalbi(ye)/ ina(ku)mbiga. ‘His heart is beating him – i.e. is racing.’ (Phon. Notice that the infinitive prefix *ku* usually elides in front of the [cl.1] object prefix, but does not elide in front of the first person singular object prefix. Actually, the orthography that we employ does not capture the fact that *m-b* is a consonant sequence when the *m* is the [cl.1] object prefix, but a prenasalized stop when it is the first person object prefix. The phonetic contrast was noted by our consultant GM, though he noted that it is a somewhat subtle difference.)

Mwaana/ qalbi/ imbishile. ‘The child’s heart beat (from fear or excitement or expectation).’

Omari/ khalbi/ inambiga zaaydi. ‘Omari’s heart is beating quicker.’

kufa khalbi ‘[lit.] to die heart – i.e. to be unhappy, in despair’

kuhada qalbiini ‘to talk to oneself (lit. to speak in the heart)’

Chihada/ ka qalbiini/ kaake/ kuwa nt^haku/ shaka/ uyu/ ndiyé/ mbozelo mwanaamkewé. ‘He said to himself that there was no doubt that this is the one who stole his daughter.’

kuḷawa qalbiini ‘[lit.] to go out of the heart -- said of s.t. that was formerly liked, but now has become unpleasant, either because the situation has changed or (especially) because one has tired of it through habit and repetition’

Nama/ indrazile qalbiini. ‘I am tired of [eating always] meat.’

kumsimika qalbi ‘to encourage someone’

Muunt^hu/ ¹suura/ kumsimika walaaliwe/ khalbi. ‘It is good for one to encourage his brother.’

kumtila qalbi ‘to encourage someone (to do s.t.)’

Hamadi/ mtile Alí/ khalbi/ ye/ kuwaka nuumba. ‘Hamadi encouraged Ali to build a house.’

kurasha qalbi ‘to follow one’s desires’

kuvunda qalbi ‘to discourage’

kuvundika qalbi ‘to be discouraged, give up hope, have one’s heart broken’

Mfanya kaazi/ vundishile qalbi. ‘The worker was discouraged.’

Waliko qalbi/ imvundishile. ‘He was discouraged.’

kuvundowa qalbi ‘heart to be broken’

Siwo suura/ kuvundowa muunt^hu/ khalbi. ‘It is not good to break s.o.’s heart.’ Or: **Siwo suura/ kuvundoowa/ muunt^hu/ khalbi.**

kuwanayo qalbi ‘lit. to have the heart, meaning: to have courage’

Hamadi/ nt^haná/ khalbi/ ya koowela. ‘Hamadi does not have the courage to swim.’

Nt^haná/ qalbi. ‘He does not have courage, he is not brave.’

Lawa/ khurude mutiini/ pata khtala khalbiyo. ‘Let’s leave and take you back to the tree to get your heart (in the story that this example comes from, the shark believes that the monkey has left his heart in the tree where he lives).’

mapenzi ya khalbiini ‘love from the heart, true love’

maraḍi ya khalbi ‘heart disease’

mi nikhaminiile khupeete qalbiya [song] ‘I trusted you and gave my heart to you’

mbigo wa khalbi ‘heart beat’; **mabigo ya khalbi** ‘heart beats’

=mo khalbiini ‘be interested in, have an interest in (lit. s.t. be in the heart)’

Mi/ jawabu iyo/ ¹hayimo/ khalbiini/ kaaka. ‘That thing (lit.) is not in my heart – i.e. I am not interested in that thing.’

Na madakhtari/ wote/ wamwaambile/ ya kuwa nt^haku/ itamweleloo dawa/ shokuwa/ khalbi/ yaa nfuye. ‘And the doctors all told him that there was no medicine for him except the heart of a monkey.’

nafasi ya qalbi ‘[Lit.] space of the heart -- meaning: one always find the

space to accommodate a guest, even in a small house, if one's heart is generous and loving'

Omari/ khalbiye/ ha'inahi. 'Omari's heart does not get scared.'

qalbi/ noloolo 'soft heart – i.e. faint-hearted, lacks courage'

Hamadi/ khalbiye/ noloolo/ hakhaadiri/ khfanya chiint^hu. 'Hamadi, his heart is soft – i.e. he is faint-hearted, lacks courage – to do anything.'

Qalbiye/ nuumu/ kana chuuma. 'His heart is as hard as iron (i.e. he is unkind, merciless).'

Qalbi/ imbishile/ mwaana. 'The child's heart raced.' Or: **Qalbi/ mwaana/ imbishile.** (In this construction, **mwaana** cannot be the subject of the sentence: ***Mwaana/ bishile qalbi.**)

qalbiya faza'a na neefu hundiiqa [nt.] 'my heart is scared and I cannot breathe'

Qalbiyo/ iskirih. 'May your heart not resent it -- this phrase is used to apologize in advance for (future) behaviour or request that might displease.'

ubigo wa khalbi 'heart beat'

waleelo ka miimba qalbi mahzuuni [nt.] 'lying on their bellies with heavy hearts'

Wana zihaba/ khupa maraōi yaa chiṭa/ wana wazima/ maraōi ya khalbi. 'Small children give you a headache, big children heartbreak.' (A saying.)

welu wa khalbi 'light of heart (i.e. someone open, happy as oppose to dark and gloomy)'

Ya khalbi inakhpendó/ ni dawaye. 'What the heart likes is its medicine.' (A proverb.)

qalamu

n. 9/10 [Sw. *kalamu* SSED 168; Ar. *qalam* W 788] pen, pencil; [**qalamu** or **khalamu**]

Chiwaa we/ nakandikaa khaṭi/ ka khalamu ya rasaasi/ mp^haa mi/ khalamu yaa dawa. 'If you are writing the letter with the lead pencil, (why not) give me the fountain pen.'

khalamu iyi 'this pen' (cf. **khalamu izi** 'these pens')

Khalamu/ ivunziḷa na Omari. 'The pen was broken by Omari.'

Khalamu/ niyushiizé. 'The pen, I hid it.'

Khalamu ya Aziizi/ ivundishile. 'Aziizi's pen broke.'

Muke/ kasiizopó/ tete lwarakha/ na qalamú/ kumwandikila waawaye/ khaṭi. 'When the woman heard (this), she took a piece of paper and a pen to write her father a letter.'

Nakhaadirá/ khtumikila khalamuyo? 'Can I use your pen?'

Nimpatilile Haliimá/ khalamuyé. 'I got for Haliima her pen.' (Syn. In the possessive construction **Haliima/ khalamuye** 'Haliima, her pen', the third person singular enclitic =y-e must refer to **Haliima**, it cannot refer to some other individual.) [review this point](#)

Nvunzile khalamu ya Aziizi. 'I broke Aziizi's pen.'

Omari/ andishilee khaṭi/ ka khalamu. 'Omari wrote a letter with a pen.'

qalamu ya biiro 'ballpoint pen'

qalamu yaa dawa 'fountain pen'

qalamu ya maṭiṭa 'pencil'

qalamu yaa mate '[lit.] pen of saliva -- meaning: pencil' (This is the most common name for pencil. Less common is **qalamu ya rasaasi**, which is the translation of Arabic *qalam ar-raṣāṣ* W 788.)

qalamu za kaloora 'crayons'

qalamuya 'my pen' (cf. **qalamuza** 'my pens')

Vunzile khalamu. 'He broke the pen.'

rel.

i-qalamu (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug. (disparaging)

Ikhalamu gani/ iyi. ‘What kind of a pen is this?’ (cf. **Mikhalamu gani/ aya.** ‘What kind of pens are these?’)

sh-qalamu (*s-*) n. 7/8 dim. (disparaging)

Shkalamu gani/ ichi. ‘What kind of a pen is this thing?’ (cf. **Skhalamu gani/ izi.** ‘What kind of pens are these things?’)

Shkalamu ichije/ ni chigobe. ‘That (dim.) pen is small.’

Skhalamu izije/ ni zigobe. ‘Those (dim.) pens are small.’

qaliili

adj. [Ar. *qalīl* W 783] little, few

wafarama haqi na wo qaliili [st.] ‘those who counsel righteousness, and they are few’

qamari

n. a name for the Prophet; [not commonly used in Chimwiini] moon

huwoni noota na shamsi na qamari [st.] ‘you do not see stars nor the sun nor the moon’

khaansa Abubakari khaansa Omari/ awo waziishila na Mtume qamari [st.] ‘(visit) especially Abubakar and Omar/ who were buried next to the Prophet’

good Prophet *qamari*’

rebeelo mtume wiitu mweema qamari [st.] ‘the one who prohibited it is our

Waruusi/ wa’ulushiize qamari sinaa’i. ‘The Russians launched a satellite [lit. an artificial moon].’

qamaari

n. [Sw. *kamari* SSED 170; Ar. verb *qamara* "to gamble" and noun *qimār* "gambling" W 789] gambling; [pron. *qamaari* or *khamaari*]

variant form: *qumaari*

haraamu maali khpata ka qamaari [st.] ‘it is unlawful to get money through gambling’

kheteza qamaari ‘to gamble’

Masku ayo/ chilawa/ chendra mahaļa/ ya majini/ wanakhtezo khamaari. ‘That night he left and went to the place where the djinns were gambling.’

Ye/ chiwona majini/ miingi/ yakumangeene/ khteza khamaari. ‘He saw many djinns gathered together to gamble.’

ma-qaamu

n. 6 [cf. Sw. *makamu* SSED 166, but not with the same meaning as in Chimwiini; Ar. *maqām* W 800] high position, rank; great dignity

Apo/ zamaani/ waaliko/ taajiri/ mooyi/ mkulu/ mwenye maali/ na maqaamú. ‘Once upon a time there was an important businessman having wealth and high social position.’

[st.] ‘the sacred place of Abraham is in Mecca (and) the pilgrims (lit. the one who will go on pilgrimage) will obtain many blessings’

Maqaamu ya Ibraahiimu yiiko Makka/ takuhijo takhpata niingi Baraka

Nayo maqamu makulu/ ka sarkaali. ‘He has a high position in the government.’

Ni mwenye maqaamu. ‘He is a person of high rank.’

We/ zaa we/ namfaanyó/ siwo/ maqaamuyo/ walá/ eelo/ hastaahili. ‘What you are doing to him is not becoming to you nor does the gazelle deserve it.’

qaamuusi

n. 9/10 [Sw. *kamusi* SSED 171; Ar. *qāmūs* W 736] dictionary

qamusi ya chingereenza ‘an English dictionary’ (Phon. Observe that while at the lexical level the antepenult syllable of **qaamuusi** retains its length even though the general principles of the language would lead to its being short, at the phrasal level the length is missing in both the antepenult and the penult syllables of **qaamuusi**.)

qamusi ya chingereenza/ ka chaarabu ‘an English-to-Arabic dictionary’
qamusiini ‘in the dictionary’

qani'a

v. [Ar. *qani'a* W 793] (**qani'iile**) persuade; [pron. **qani'a** or **khani'a**]
rel.

qani'isha v. caus. (**qani'ishiize**) persuade; [pron. **qani'isha** or **khani'isha**]
variant form: **qana'isha**

Nimqani'ishize Nuurú/ kooloká. 'I persuaded Nuuru to go.' (Cf. default accent: **Boora/ mqani'ishize Nuuru/ kooloka.** 'Boora persuaded Nuuru to go.')

Nimqani'ishize Nuurú/ kuwaa ye/ takhpita imtihaani. 'I persuaded Nuuru that he will pass the examination.' (The cited pronunciation is one where there is focus on **Nuuru**. If there were no internal focus, then the sentence would be pronounced with the final accent extending to the complement: **Nimqani'ishize Nuurú/ kuwaa ye/ takhpita imtihaani.**)

Waalimu/ wamkhana'ishize Muusa/ leelo/ mi/ kingila skoolá. 'The teachers persuaded Muusa today (to allow) me to enter school.'

Wazelewe/ wamkhana'ishize Muusa/ leelo/ kingila skoolá. 'His parents persuaded Muusa today to enter school.' (It is possible for a pronoun co-referential to **Muusa** to precede the infinitival complement: **Wazelewe/ wamkhana'ishize Muusa/ leelo/ ye/ kingila skoolá.** 'His parents persuaded Muusa today for him to enter school.')

qani'ishoowa v. caus. pass.

Nqani'ishiza kooloká. 'I was persuaded to go.'

Nqani'ishiza kuja naayé. 'I was persuaded to eat with him.' (cf.

Nqani'ishizaa kujá/ naaye. 'I was persuaded to eat by him.')

Nqani'ishiza na Nuurú/ kooloka. 'I was persuaded by Nuuru to go.'

Nqani'ishiza naayé/ kuja. 'I was persuaded by him to eat.'

qaanso

n. 9/10 [Som. *qaanso* DSI 478] bow (to shoot arrows with)

Nt^hale/ ilazilo qaansó/ hayruudi/ chinume. 'An arrow that has left the bow does not come back.' (A proverb.)

qaanuuni

n. 9/10 [Sw. *kanuni* SSED 173; Ar. *qānūn* W 737] custom, rule, law, regulation of a civil nature as opposed to religious; [**qaanuuni** or **khaanuuni**] (Phon. This is one of a number of loanwords that have a long vowel in both the antepenult and the penult syllable of the word in the isolation form of the word. Of course, in phrase-medial position, these long vowels will shorten.)

Mi/ hukahata/ khanuni iyi. 'I hate this custom.' Or: **Khanuni iyi/ mi/ hi'ikahata.** 'This custom, I hate it.' (Phon. Notice that the habitual prefix *hu* is altered to *hi* in front of the object prefix *i*. This parallels the behavior of the infinitive prefix *ku*.)

Ni chiint^hu hukhusano na diini/ na akhlaakhi/ sharii'á/ na qaanuuni. 'It [i.e. marriage] is something that is concerned with religion, and morals, laws, and customs.'

qanuni yaa nt^hi 'the laws of the land'

qap

ideo. [Som. *qab* "to slam shut (door)" cited in Dhoorre & Tosco, p. 148] of slamming door shut (In word-final position, Somali *b* is pronounced *p*. This realization is the same in Chimiini.)

Hamadi/ lazile numbaani/ ka shtana/ bishile mnaango/ qáp. 'Hamade went out of the house angrily, he slammed the door shut **qap!**'

qaraaba

n. [Ar. *qarāba* "relation, kinship" W 754] family; a more distant relative than that covered by the term **ahli**

Ahli/ na kharaabá/ wote/ wako haaðiri. 'Relatives, close and distant, were all there.'

rel.

u-qaraaba n. 14

qarði

n. [Sw. *karadha* SSED 174; Ar. *qardo* "loan of money or food" DSI 490] loan of money

khtomola qarði 'to give a loan'

khtala qarði 'to take a loan'

qaribila

- v. (**qaribiliile**) go near to, go close to; be almost; [pron. **qaribila** or **kharibila**]
Kamaa we/ shishilaa ndalá/ amó/ nakuwamerela waanawó/ chaakujá/ ruda mukhtaa mi/ nt^hakharibilaa kufá. ‘If you are hungry or are looking for food for your children, come back when I will be about to die.’
Qaribiliile kufa. ‘He was almost dead.’
Si/ shchipata kumwona/ sultani waa noka/ shtakuwa shkharibiliile/ mradi wiitu. ‘If we get to see the king of snakes we will have neared our goal.’
Uki/ ukharibiliile kumala. ‘The honey was almost finished.’

rel.

qaribisha v. caus. welcome; [pron. **qaribisha** or **kharibisha**]

- Chilawa ndilaani/ chimkharibisha muunt^hu.** ‘He went outside and welcomed the man.’
Chimqaribisha Yuusufu. ‘He welcome Joseph; he brought Joseph close.’
Qaribisha. ‘Welcome!’
Sultaani/ chilawa kumqaribisha Sultani Daraayi. ‘The sultan went out to welcome Sultan Daraayi.’

review whether second vowel of stem is long

qariibu

qariibu or **khariibu**]

n. 9/10 [Sw. *karibu* SSED 175; Ar. *qarīb* W 754] near, close; just recently; [pron.

- Awa/ ni khariibuza.** ‘These are my (close) relatives.’ (While this construction is possible in Chimwiini, the more widely used form is **akharaba** rather than **khariibu**.)
Chichiweeka/ khariibuye. ‘She put it near her (e.g. friend).’
Chimleze mwaaná/ khariibú. ‘We put the child to sleep just recently (or close by).’
Chimleze kharibu ya maamayé. ‘We put him to sleep near his mother.’
Chiya kharibu yaa wo. ‘She came near them.’
Gaari/ isimeme kharibu ya nuumba. ‘The lorry stood near the house.’
(The simple yes-no question involves no accent shift, while the exclamatory question has the usual shift in the verb phrase: **Gaari/ isememe kharibu ya nuumbâ!?**)
Gaari/ isemeeme/ kharibu ya nuumba. ‘The lorry *stood* near the house.’
(The simple yes-no question shows the expected shift of accent in the complement: **Gaari/ isemeeme/ kharibu ya nuumbá?**)
ichiwa ka qariibu hiingila khfakata [nt.] ‘if they are close I start running’
ka maamaye khariibuye/ na Abbasa jiraaniye [st.] ‘near his mother’s grave and with Abbas as his neighbor’
Kalenti^he kharibu ya nuumba ‘He sat near a/the house.’ Or, with verb focus: **Kalenti^he/ kharibu ya nuumba.**
khariibu/ kanaa mp^hula/ na mnomó ‘as close as the nose and the lip’
khariibu na [Sw. *karibu na* “near” SSED 175]
khariibu naami ‘near me’; **khariibu naasi** ‘near us’
khariibu/ naa duka ‘near the shop’
khariibu/ na nuumba ‘near the house’
khariibu/ na skoola ‘near the school’
khariibu ya [Sw. *karibu ya* “near” SSED 175]
Apo/ khariibu/ ya muuyi/ ziwaaliko/ zisima/ ziingi/ nt^ho/ za maayi. ‘Near the town there were very many wells of water.’
khariibu/ yaa duka ‘near the shop’
Kharibu ya ^fmasku/ Omari/ laziló. ‘Near night-time, Omari left.’
Or: **Kharibu ya ^fmasku/ laziló/ Omari.**
Kharibu ya ^fmasku/ lazilo Mkhodiishó/ Omari. ‘Near night-time, Omari left for Mogadishu.’ Or: **Kharibu ya ^fmasku/ laziló/ Mkhodiisho/ Omari.**

Khariibu/ ya muuyi/ mwaana/ chanza kiimba/ jisa aada. ‘Near the town, the boy started to sing, as usual.’ (The variability in the phrasing of **khariibu** as head of an associative phrase can be seen from the following example: **Kharibu ya muuyi/ mwaana/ chanza kiimba**. Notice also that in these examples, the preposed phrase is not focused, hence there is no pseudo-relativization of the verb.)

kharibu ya nuumba or **khariibu/ ya nuumba** ‘near the house’
Kharibu ya nuumba/ isimeemó/ gaari. ‘Near the house stood the lorry.’ Or: **Kharibu ya nuumba/ gaari/ isimeemó.**

khariibu/ ya skoola ‘near the school’

Sultaani/ liinzile/ haṭá/ ya n^heendre/ kuviva. ‘The sultan waited until about the time of the ripening of the dates.’

khariibuya ‘near, close to me’; **khariibuyo** ‘near you’; **khariibuye** ‘near him’; **kharibu yiitu** ‘near, close to us’; **kharibu yiinu** ‘near you pl.’; **kharibu yaawo** ‘near them’

Komelo khariibuyé/ sh_tomola salaamu. ‘When he reached near (the donkey), he extended his greetings.

Mbaliko Keenyá/ khariibu. ‘I have been to Kenya recently.’

Mi/ n^hakhpata chibuuku/ khariibuya. ‘I will find a book near me.’ (Cf.

We/ takhpata chibuuku/ khariibuyo. ‘You will find a book near you.’ **Ye/ takhpata chibuuku/ khariibuye.** ‘(S)he will find a book near her/him. **Si/ sh_takhpata chibuuku/ kharibu yiitu.** ‘We will find a book near us.’ **Ni/ n_takhpata chibuuku/ kharibu yiinu.** ‘You (pl.) will find a book near you.’ **Wo/ w_takhpata chibuuku/ kharibu yaawo.** ‘They will find a book near them.’)

Mp^hete chibuukú/ kharibu ya Nuurú. ‘I found a book near Nuuru.’ (Cf.

Mp^hete chiboukú/ khariibuyá. ‘I found a book near me.’)

Muti/ uwaliko khariibu/ naa wowi. ‘The tree was close to the river.’

muti uwaliko kharibu naa wowi ‘a tree that was near the river’

Nakhtarajá/ kum(w)ona maame/ khariibu. ‘I am looking forward to seeing my mother soon.’

ndila ya khariibu ‘a nearby road’

Nii ndruwa/ ka qariibu. ‘He is my close relative.’

ndru wa qariibu ‘near relative’

Ni khariibu/ Omari/ kuuya. ‘It is soon Omari will come.’ Or: **Omari/ ni**

khariibu/ kuuya. (Prosody. It is striking that even though **khariibu** is preceded by the copular verb, the following verb is not put into a pseudo-relative form. This contrasts with the example below where **khariibu** is used to form a locative expression rather than a time expression.) (Prosody. In the simple yes-no question we observed accent shift only in the verb: **Ni khariibu/ Omari/ kuuyá?**)

(Ni) kharibu ya ^fnuumba/ kaleent^hó. ‘(It is) near the house he sat.’

Nk^halent^he kharibu ya nuumbá. ‘I sat near a/the house.’ Or, with verb

focus: **Nk^halent^hé/ kharibu ya nuumba.** Or with focus on

kharibu: Nk^halent^he kharibú/ ya nuumba. Or it is even possible

to focus on both the verb and **kharibu: Nk^halent^hé/ ¹kharibu/ ya**

nuumba. (Phon. Observe the effects of the Accentual Law of

Focus in these examples.)

Nondroshelopó/ nimwene Alí/ (uko) khariibuyá. ‘When I woke up, I found Ali near me.’

Nuumba/ ni khariibu/ ya kumaliza. ‘The house is nearly finished being built.’

Omari/ khariibu/ kuuya. ‘Omari is going to come shortly.’ Or: **khariibu/**

Omari/ kuuya. (Prosody. It is interesting that although **khariibu**

in these sentences is raised in pitch, nevertheless the infinitive verb is not put in a pseudo-relative form, as usually happens when a pre-verbal element is focused. We noted accent shift in the simple yes-no question: **Khariibú/ Omari/ kuuyá?** The exclamatory question shows the same shifts: **Khariibú/ Omari/ kuuyâ!?**

Omari/ komeele/ khariibu/ sa'a ya sala ya fijri. 'Omari arrived about the time of the morning prayers.'

Omari/ komele khariibu ya muskiti. 'Omari arrived near the mosque.' Or:

Omari/ komele khariibu/ ya muskiti. 'Omari arrived *near* the mosque.' Or, with verb focus: **Omari/ komeele/ khariibu ya muskiti.** or **Omari/ komeele/ khariibu/ ya muskiti.** (Phon. The first person forms of these phrasings are instructive: **Nk^homele**

khariibu ya muskití. Or: **Nk^homele khariibú/ ya muskiti.** Or:

Nk^homeelé/ khariibu ya muskiti. Or: **Nk^homeelé/ khariibu/ ya**

muskití. These examples show that it is possible to focus the head

of the associative phrase: **khariibu ya muskiti**, and when it is

focused, what follows is outside of the scope of final accent. The

verb may be focused as well, and when it is, the verb is phrase-final

and final accent from the verb does not go past that verb. It should

be noted that if the verb is focused, and **khariibu** is also focused,

there is special raising on **khariibu**, though this is not revealed by

our transcription.)

Omari/ kuuya/ khariibu. 'Omari is coming soon.' (Prosody: the pitch on **khariibu** is raised.)

Omari/ lazile khariibu ya masku. 'Omari left near night time.' (Prosody.

The simple yes-no question involves no accent shift, while the

exclamatory question shifts the accent of the verb phrase: **Omari/**

lazile khariibu ya maskú!?)

Omari/ lazile/ khariibu ya masku. 'Omari left around night-time.'

(Prosody: Despite the focus on the verb in this example, the simple

yes-no question seems to vary as to whether the adverb phrase

shifts its accent: **Omari/ lazile/ khariibu ya masku** (or: **maskú?**)

Omari/ lazile Mkhodiisho/ khariibu ya masku. 'Omari left for Mogadishu

around night-time.' (Prosody: In the simple yes-no question version

of this sentence, there is no accent shift. The exclamatory question

exhibits the expected shifts: **Omari/ lazile Mkhodiishó/ khariibu**

ya maskú!?)

Omari/ lazile/ Mkhodiisho/ khariibu ya masku. 'Omari *left* for Mogadishu

about night-time.' (Prosody. Ordinarily, when the verb is focused,

as in this example, the subsequent phrases are out-of-focus and are

subject to accent shift in the simple yes-no question. But this accent

shift does not occur here: **Omari/ lazile/ Mkhodiisho/ khariibu ya**

masku?)

qaribu izi 'these environs'

qaribu ya muuyi 'near the city'

Sisoongé/ khariibu ya nuumbaya. 'Don't come near my house.'

Suufi/ ondrosheze chaakuja/ khariibu ya siimba. 'Suufi took the food

away from near the lion.'

Wabjaana/ hufanyo kaazi/ Mkhodiishó/ amó/ mahala ziinginé/ khariibu

khariibú/ kiła arkhamiisi/ huya Mwiini/ kuzuura/ wazele

waawo/ ndruza zaawo/ na wenza waawó. 'Young people who

work in Mogadishu or other places nearby go each Thursday to

Brava to visit their parents, their relatives, and their friends.'

waant^hu/ watatu/ wawaliko khariibuyé 'three people who were near

them'

wowi yaa mi/ ninenzelo khariibuyé 'the river that I walked near (it)' (cf.

Ninenzele khariibu yaa wowí. 'I walked near the river.')

wowi yaa muti/ wiko khariibuyé 'the river that the tree is near' (cf. **Muti/**

wiko khariibu yaa wowí. 'The tree is near the river.')

<i>qariha</i> <i>qariha</i> or <i>khariha</i>	v. tr. or intr. [Som. <i>qarxi</i> "to make s.t. explode" DSI 492] (qarihiile) explode; [pron.
<i>qarira</i>	v. [?Sw. <i>kariri</i> SSED 175; Ar. <i>qarra</i> W 751] decide on; [pron. <i>qarira</i> or <i>kharira</i>] Apa/ wazeele/ na wazaazi/ hukharira sku ya nikaaha/ ya haruusi/ na pesa za mwiimbili/ humlazimo khptomola khfanyilizowa haruusi. 'Here, the clan elders and the parents decide on the day of the marriage ceremony, of the wedding celebration, and the money that the boy must pay for the wedding.' Shkharira koondroka/ ka apo/ koloka ba'iidi/ na wazeelewe/ na ndruuzazé/ woté. 'He decided to move from there to go far away from his parents and all his relatives.'
<i>qarni</i>	n. [Sw. <i>karini</i> SSED 175; Ar. <i>qarn</i> W 760] century
<i>qartaasi</i>	n. [Sw. <i>karatasi</i> SSED 175; Ar. <i>qartas</i> W 757] a piece of paper
<i>qashabu</i>	n. 9/10 [cf. Sw. verb <i>kashabi</i> "press sugar cane" SSED 175, with a suggested origin in Persian; Ar. <i>qaṣab</i> "sugar cane" W 766 would not explain the Chimwiini <i>sh</i>] sugar cane
<i>qarni</i>	one hundred years
<i>qasiida</i>	[Ar. <i>qaṣīda</i> W 767] a long poem qasiidaya itimiile/ faataha inasomoowa [st.] 'my poem is completed, let us recite the <i>faataha</i> '
<i>qasimu</i>	n. [Sw. <i>kasimu</i> SSED 176; Ar. <i>qāsim</i> W 763] divider
<i>qasiri</i>	[cf. Ar. <i>qaṣura</i> "to be short" W 767 and <i>qaṣr</i> "shortening, diminution" W 768; note that Ar. <i>qāṣir</i> has a different meaning] minus, less, short by; [pron. qaasiri or khaasiri] variant form: qaasi sa'aa mbili/ khaasi/ robo '7:45 a.m. (lit. a quarter before the second hour of the day)' sa'a moo(yi) / qaasi/ robo 'a quarter to one (i.e. seven o'clock)' sa'aa nt^hatu/ khaasiri/ thuluthi '8:40 a.m. (lit. the third hour of the day minus a third)'
<i>qasri</i>	n. [Ar. <i>qaṣr</i> W 768] palace Apo wachendra karka qasri/ ya sulṭaani. 'There they went to the palace of the king.'
<i>qaati</i>	n. [Sw. <i>katu</i> SSED 179; Ar. <i>qāt</i> "Catha edulis Forskal" W 795] the leaves of a certain plant that are used as a narcotic; also called jaati kuja khaati 'to chew [lit. eat] qaati ' qaati/ inayo marqaani 'qaati has an euphoric effect'
<i>qati'utariiqi</i>	n. [Ar. <i>qaṭ ʿal-tariq</i> "highway robbery", see under <i>qaṭ</i> 'W 776] brigand Si/ shkumangeené/ na qati'utariiqi/ wiingi. 'We met with many brigands.'
<i>qaatila</i>	v. [Sw. <i>katili</i> SSED 179; Ar. <i>qatala</i> W 742] kill, murder rel. qaatila v. appl. qaatiloowa v. appl. pass. qaatiloowa v. pass.

qatlika v. p/s.

qaatili

n., adj. killer

Isa/ majini/ ayaje/ ya tawala/ yasulilo kumshika Sa'iidi/ naayó/ ya'ile mbele ya sultaani/ yamlesele mayti/ yamlonzele sultaani/ natomole amri/ ku'aqibowa qaatili. 'Now those djinns at the sea who wanted to catch Sa'iidi also came in front of the sultan and brought the dead man and begged the sultan to give an order for the killer to be punished.'

na muunt^hu qaatili tomeelo maazi [st.] 'and a murderer who has shed blood'

Wanamwaambila/ simama/ we/ qaatili/ simama/ we/ qaatili/ laakini/ Sa'iidi/ chizida mafakafo. 'They were telling him: stop, you stop, you killer, but Sa'iidi ran faster.'

killer,

qawaawa

n. 9/10 skillet, frying pan; [pron. **khawaawa** or **qawaawa**]

khawaawa/ ya maandra 'bread pan'

khfula khawaawa 'to meld a frying pan'

rel.

mi-khawaawa n. 4

qazamu

n. [Ar. **qazam** W 761] dwarf

rel.

i-qazamu (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

sh-qazamu (s-) n. 7/8 dim. dwarf

qazdi

n. [cf. Sw. **kusudi** SSED 231; Ar. **qasḍ** W 767] intention

variant form: **qasḍi**

ka qazdi [cf. Sw. **kwa kusudi** SSED 231] 'intentionally, deliberately'

Fanyize ka qazdi. 'He did it deliberately.'

Vunzile ka qazdi. 'He broke it on purpose.'

Qazdiye/ ni khpata maali. 'His intention is to get money.'

gene'a

v. [Sw. **kinai** SSED 198; Ar. **qani'á** W 793] (**gene'eele**) be satisfied, esp. with food

rel.

gene'eka v. p/s. be convinced

Mubli/ shkhene'eka. 'The husband was convinced.'

gene'esha v. caus. [Sw. **kinaisha** SSED 198] (**gene'esheeze**) persuade

Ni muhaali/ kumqene'esha Abooke. 'It is impossible to persuade

Abooke.'

Or: **Kumqene'esha Abooke/ ni muhaali.**

gene'esheka v. caus. p/s.

gene'esheleza v. caus. appl.

gene'eshoowa v. caus. pass.

Abooke/ gene'eshoowa/ ni muhaali. 'For Abooke to be persuaded is impossible.' Or: **Qene'eshowa Abooke/ ni muhaali.** Or: **Abooke/ ni muhaali/ gene'eshoowa.**

Abooke/ gene'eshoowake/ ni muhaali. 'Abooke's being persuaded is impossible.'

qi'aasi

n. [Sw. **kiasi** SSED 184; Ar. **qiyās** W 804] amount, quantity

variant form: **qiyaasi**, perhaps more common

qi'asi gani 'how much?'

qibla

n. [Sw. **kibla** SSED 186; Ar. **qibla** W 740] the direction to which Muslims turn in praying (towards the Ka'aba in Mecca)

uso kulekeza qibla haraamu [st.] 'for the face to be directed towards **qibla** is unlawful (while taking care of bodily needs)'

- qiða** v. [Sw. *kidhi* SEED 188; Ar. *qadʿā* W 771] satisfy, fill, accomplish a goal
Nile [ku]khiða wakhtí/ naawé. ‘I came in order to spend time with you.’
 Or: **Niie [ku]khiðá/ wakhtí/ naawe.** (Morph. The infinitive prefix *ku* is obligatorily elided in front of a stem-initial *q* or *kh* in the speech of ML, and apparently other speakers as well. However, GM permitted its retention.)
qiða deeni ‘to repay a debt’
qiða haaja ‘to satisfy a need, accomplish a goal’
Nile [ku]khiða haajá. ‘I came to accomplish a goal.’
qiða sala ‘to perform an obligatory prayer after the appointed time’
qiða soomu ‘to fast after the end of Ramadhan, in order to complete the required days of fasting (e.g. if you missed fasting in Ramadhan because of illness)’
- qiila** n. a statement (or religious tradition) not supported by strong evidence or reference
laakini qabri ya Ali i’ushüza/ qiila huhada kuzimu panziiza [st.] ‘but Ali’s grave was hidden; an unsupported tradition says that he was taken up to heaven’
- qima** v. [Sw. *kimu* SSED 198; Ar. *qāma* "perform ritual prayer" W 798-9] (**qimiile**)
announce the beginning of prayer in the mosque
aðina ka lkele qima ka hasili [st.] ‘call to prayer loudly but announce the approaching of the time to pray in a low voice’
qimaa sala ‘to announce the beginning of prayers’
 rel. nom.
m-qima (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who announces the beginning of prayer
mqimaa sala ‘one who announces the beginning of prayer’
- qiima** v. [Sw. *kima* SSED 196; Ar. *qīma* W 800] value, price
Eelo/ uyu/ qimaaye/ nch^haache. ‘The price of this gazelle was small.’
khpa qiima ‘to value s.t., hold s.t. dear’
khtila qiima ‘to put value in’
Kiila mooyi/ nimwambilopo khima ya eeloó... ‘Every time I told one the price of a gazelle..’
Martí/ ile/ uzilee chiṭa/ ka kaako/ na qimayé/ weshele/ ilu / ya chiṭaacho/ naawé/ ka apo/ khiriilé/ na isá/ nakuneelezá/ izí.
 ‘The guest came and bought a (cow’s) head from you and its price, he place on your (cow’s) head, and you at that moment agreed, and now you are explaining these things to me.’
- qiimisha** v. caus. value s.t.
- qisa** n. 9/10 [Sw. *kisa* SSED 205; Ar. *qiṣṣa* W 765] story, tale, matter; [pron. **qisa** or **khisa**; on occasion we observed gemination of the *s* as in the Arabic original, but this gemination is not a necessary aspect of the pronunciation of this item]
Chimwambila sulṭaani/ waa noka/ kumfungulila khisaze. ‘He asked the king of snakes to tell him his story.’
Chimwaambila/ khisa/ impeetó. ‘She told him what happened to her.’
Iyi/ nii qisa/ ya mtume Nuuhu. ‘This is the story of the prophet Noah.’
 (Phon. The lengthening of the vowel in front of **qisa** supports the proposition that gemination is not a lexical property of the *s* in this word. If **qisa** were in fact ***qissa** lexically, we would not expect lengthening to occur in front of it.)
khisa ya Hasiibu/ na sulṭani waa noká ‘the story of Hasiibu and the king of snakes’
khisa/ ya Yuusufu. ‘the story of Joseph’
khisa/ za Abunawaasi ‘stories of Abunawaasi’
Khisa/ zineenzele/ jis’yi/ muda/ wa sku niingi/ hattá/ teena/ mubli/

- chaanza/ khfikira.** ‘The matter went on this way for a period of many days until then the man began to think.’
- Khisaze/ kana za Banawaasi.** ‘His stories are like those of Banawaasi (i.e. he tells stories that are strange or make you laugh).’
- Mwanaamke/ chimweleza waawaye/ khisa za mwaana.** ‘The girl explained to her father the story of the boy.’
- mwaarabu/ na mwanaamkewé/ na qisa ziinginé** ‘the Arab and his daughter and other tales’
- Neeleza/ khisa/ za mwana uyu.** ‘Explain to me the story of this boy.’
- Nini/ khisa ya mp^hundra wa doobi.** ‘What is the story of the washerman’s donkey?’
- Sint^hindé/ muze mwanamkewe/ khisaza.** ‘Don’t slaughter me! ask your daughter my stories [i.e. what is going on with respect to me].’
- Sultani waa noka/ chimwaambila/ kuwa khisaze/ nii ndre/ nt^ho.** ‘The king of snakes told him that his story was very long.’
- qisaasi**
revenge
- n. [Sw. *kisasi* SSED 206; Ar. *qishāṣ* "settlement of account, punishment" W 766]
- kulapa kulipa qisaasi** ‘to swear revenge’
Lasile kulipa qisaasi. ‘He swore to get revenge.’
kulipa qisaasi ‘to revenge’
Lisile qisasi yaa ndruwe. ‘He revenged his brother’
Ndrisile qisasi yaa ndruwá. ‘I revenged my brother.’
- qisma**
- n. [cf. Ar. *qisma* W 763] division (in arithmetic)
- qiyaama**
- n. [Sw. *kiyama* "the general resurrection of the dead, as conceived by Muhammadans" SSED 213; Ar. *qiyama* W 800] the hereafter (Note that this noun is not used in a locative form.)
karka qiyaama hawoni nazaa’a [st.] ‘in the hereafter he will not encounter difficulty’
ya taano amri ya qiyaama sadiqa [st.] ‘the fifth (pillar of faith) is believing the fact of the life hereafter’
wacheendra khkuumbuka qyaama afḍali [st.] ‘it is better if they go to remember (remind themselves) of the life hereafter’
- qiyaasi**
- n. [Sw. *kiasi* SSED 184; Ar. *qiyās* "measurement" W 804] measurement, estimation;
[pron. **qiyaasi** or **khiyaasi**]
variant form: **qi’aasi**
khiyasi gani ‘how many?’
qi’asi gani ‘how much?’
- qiyaasisha**
- v. caus. [Ar. *qāsa* "to measure, weigh" W 804] measure, estimate, give the value of
qiyasisha na... ‘to measure against, compare’
rel.
qiyasishiliza v. caus. appl.
- qoodi**
- n. [Sw. *kodi* SSED 215; Hindi. or Pers. origin] personal (head) tax
- qoomu**
- n. [Ar. *qaum* "fellow tribesmen, kinfolk, race, nation" W 800] **kinfolk, race, nation**
Anshuura fuunzilo Muusa na qoomuye [st.] ‘the one who fasted on Anshura was Muusa and his people’
- qoowli**
- n. [Ar. *qawl* W 797; Som. *qawl* "one’s word" DSI 494] word, a verbal expression, a version of what happened, promise or one’s word; [pron. **qoowli** or **khoowli**]
Chirasheni khoowli/ ya mwaalimu. ‘Let’s follow the words of the teacher.’
khowlii nt^hatu ‘three versions of something’

khpa khoowli ‘to promise, give one’s word’

Nimpele khoowli. ‘I gave him my word.’

word, I cannot break it.’

Nt^haná/ qoowli. ‘He does not keep his word.’

qowli lqadiimu ‘previous, earlier sayings’

sadiqa qoowli ya mtume amiini [st.] ‘believe the sayings of the Prophet’

Siwo/ wa qoowli. ‘He is not a man of his word.’

ma-qsadi n. [Ar. *qasd* W 767] aspiration, aim, intention

mu-qtafa adj. [Ar. verb *qatafa* W 778] the chosen one (said of the Prophet)

quba n. [Sw. *kuba* SSED 224; Ar. *qubba* W 737] dome

qubala v. [Sw. *kubali* SSED 225; Ar. *qabila* W 739] (**qubaliile**) accept, approve, agree; [pron. **qubala** or **khubala**] (The examples below illustrate this this verb allows an infinitival complement. It does not permit a subjunctive complement: ***Qubaliile na’oloke numbaani**. ‘He agreed that he should go home.’ Nor: ***Qubaliile Hamadi/ na’oloke numbaani**. ‘He agreed that Hamadi should go home.’)

Bwaana/ shkhubala/ chiingila/ chija chakujaache/ maliizopó/ chilawa/ kendra mwiskiitiini. ‘Bwaana agreed and went inside and ate his food, and when he finished, he left to go to the mosque.’

Ichiwaa we/ hukhubali/ mi/ naawé/ shṭakulaana. ‘If you do not consent, I and you will fight one another.’

Majini/ kama awo/ washqubala. ‘The jinns, like them, agreed.’

Mi/ skukhaadira/ khubala. ‘I was not able to accept it.’

Mweenzawe/ shqubala. ‘His friend agreed (to his proposal).’

Niskhubaliile zibuukú/ kuuzá. ‘I agreed the books to sell.’ **confirm**

Nk^hasiizé/ na nqubaliile. ‘I heard and I accept.’

Nkhubaliile/ kula numba. ‘I agreed to buy the house.’ Or: **Nkhubaliile/ nuumba/ kuula**. Or: **Nuuma/ kuula/ nkhubaliile**. Or: **Nuumba/ nkhubaliile/ kuula**. (We did not hear the first person nasal prefix in front of *kh* in GM’s speech. The examples of various word orders are just ones volunteered by GM, and do not constitute all the word orders/phrasings possible. They are given only to illustrate the extreme flexibility of word order in Chimiini.)

Nkhubaliile kumlola Tuuma. ‘I agreed to marry Tuuma.’

Nkhubaliile kuza zibuukú. ‘I agreed to sell the books.’

Nkhubaliile Nuurú/ kumlola Tuuma. ‘I agreed for Nuuru to marry

Tuuma.’ Or with verb emphasis: **Nkhubaliile/ kumlola Tuuma**.

But also with object agreement on the main verb: **Nimkhubaliile Nuurú/ kumlola Tuuma**. ‘I agreed for him Nuuru to marry Tuuma.’ Or with verb emphasis: **Nimkhubaliile/ Nuueu/ kumlola Tuuma**.

Nkhubaliile zibuukú/ kuuzá. ‘I agreed the books to sell.’

Omari/ qubaliile Hamadi/ kooloka. ‘Omari agreed to Hamadi going.’ (This would be a possible answer to the question: **Omari/ qubaliileni**. ‘What did Omari accept/ agree to?’)

Qubaliile koloka numbaani. ‘He agreed to go home.’ (The limitations on where a long vowel may occur in the phrase explains the multiple examples of vowel shortening in a sentence such as this; cf. **qubaliile** ‘he agreed’, **kooloka** ‘to go’, and **numba** ‘house’.)

Qubaliile kula chibuuku. ‘He agreed to buy a book.’

Qubaliile kumwosha mwaana. ‘He agreed to wash the child.’

Sa’iidi/ shkhubala/ sharti iyi. ‘Sa’iidi accepted this condition.’

Sitaqubala/ khpowa amri/ na eelo/ waa mi/ nimuzilo ka thumaani. ‘I will not accept being given orders by a gazelle that I purchased for an eighth of a riyal.’

Siwo/ mbovu/ nqubaliile. ‘That’s not bad, I accept (your offer).’

Sultaani/ shqubala. ‘The sultan agreed.’

rel.

qubaliika v. p/s.

	<p>Uđuri uyu/ hawqubaliki. ‘This excuse is not acceptable.’</p> <p>qubalila v. appl. (qubaliliile)</p> <p>qubalisha v. caus. (qubalishiize)</p> <p>qubalishana v. caus. rec.</p> <p>qubalishika v. caus. p/s.</p> <p>qubalishiliza v. caus. appl.</p> <p>qubalishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.</p> <p>qubaloowa v. pass. (qubaliila) be agreed to</p> <p>Mwaana/ qubalila koshooa. ‘The child was agreed to/ accepted to be washed (by someone).’ (MI accepted the cited sentence, but expressed some hesitancy with respect to others: e.g., Magaari/ yaqubalila kulowa na Ali. ‘The cars were agreed to be bought by Ali.’ Chibuuku/ shqubalila kua kulooa. ‘The book was agreed to be bought.’ On the other hand, our consultant GM was not hesitant about accepting such sentences: Zibuuku/ skhubalila/ khpishooa. ‘Books were agreed to be burned.’)</p> <p>Nuuru/ khubalila kumlola Tuuma. ‘Nuuru was accepted to marry Tuuma.’</p> <p>Tuuma/ khubalila kulolowa na Nuuru. ‘Tuuma was accepted to be married by Nuuru.’</p> <p>Tuuma/ khubalila Nuuru/ kumlola. ‘Tuuma was accepted for Nuuru to marry her.’</p> <p>Uđuriwe/ nt^hawqubaloowa. ‘His excuse was not accepted.’</p> <p>Waqubalila na sultaani. ‘They were accepted by the sultan.’</p> <p>Zibuuku/ skhubalila kuzooa. ‘The books were agreed to be sold.’</p> <p>Zibuuku/ skhubalila/ mi/ kuuza. ‘The books were agreed for me to sell.’</p> <p>rel. nom.</p> <p>ma-qubalo n. 6 approval</p>
qubalo	n. act of accepting
qudra	<p>n. [Sw. <i>kudura</i> "strength, power, might -- but only in reference to God" SSED 225; Ar. <i>qudra</i> W 746] destiny, fate, divine will; willpower; [pron. qudra or khudra]</p> <p>Ijtihaadi/ hayoondroli/ khudra. ‘Effort cannot undo fate.’ (A proverb.)</p> <p>Ijtihaadi/ hayreebi/ khudra. ‘Effort cannot stop fate.’ (A proverb.)</p> <p>Iyi/ ni khudra ya mwajitu. ‘This is God’s will.’</p> <p>ni mooyi qudra ya mwajitu ndruuza [st.] ‘God’s divine will is unique, my brothers’</p> <p>Nt^haná/ khudra. ‘He has no will power.’</p>
qufuli	<p>n. 9/10 [Sw. <i>kufuli</i> SSED 225; Ar. <i>qufl</i> W 782] padlock; [pron. qufuli or khufuli]</p> <p>khfunga qufuli ‘to lock’</p> <p>khfungula qufuli ‘to open a lock’</p> <p>kubiga qufuli ‘to lock with a padlock’</p> <p>kubigila qufuli ‘to lock’</p> <p>kuvunda qufuli ‘to break a lock’</p> <p>lfungulo la qufuli ‘lock key’</p> <p>Qufuli/ iwaliko ikomelela mlaangó/ iwaliko nda ðahabu. ‘The padlock that was used to lock the door was of gold.’</p> <p>qufuli ya mnaango ‘door lock’</p> <p>Qufuliini/ lwalimo lfuungulo/ la luulu. ‘In the lock there was a pearl key.’</p>
qumani	<p>adj. [cf. Som. verb qumman "to be upright, honest, correct; to be sensible, reasonable" DSI 505] straight, upright (of character); sensible, reasonable</p> <p>munt^hu qumani ‘an upright man, a man of good character’</p>
quuni	n.
qunuuti	<p>n. [Ar. <i>qunūt</i> W 792] obedience and humility towards God</p> <p>chiskaṭile diini na khsooma qunuuti [nt.] ‘le us rely on our faith and pray</p>

with humility’

- qur’aani** n. [Sw. *korani, kurani* SSED 222; Ar. *al-qur’ān* W 753] Quran
kuhafīda/ kana qur’aani ‘to memorize as (one does) the Quran’
Mwaalimu/ msomesheleze Saahibu/ mwaana/ qur’aani. ‘The teacher taught the child the Quran for Nuuru.’
qur’aniini ‘in the Quran’
- qural’eyni** n. the ladies of heaven
msuura/ kana qural’eyni ‘as beautiful as the ladies of heaven’
- qusudila** v. [Sw. *kusudi(a)* SSED 231; Ar. *qaṣada* W 766] (**qusudiliile** or **qusudiile**) intend, aim to do s.t.
Khusudiliileni/ we/ kuhada kuwa ifuungu/ imooyi/ we/ itile muḷooni.
‘What did you mean by saying that you put one part [of your squandered wealth] in the fire?’
(N)naqusudila keendrá. ‘I am intending to go.’
Qusudiliile keendra. ‘He intended to go.’ Cf. **Nqusudiliile keendrá.** ‘I intended to go.’
Skukhusudila/ imbejele raaḏi. ‘I did not mean it, forgive me!’
- qusuuru** n. [Ar. *qusūr*, pl. of *qasr* "castle, palace" W 768] [not in common use in Chimiini] building
- qutbi** n. [Ar. *qutb* W 773] pole (astronomical, geographical)
qutbi ya kusiini ‘South Pole’
- qutbu** n. [Ar. *qutb* W 773] leading (religious) personality [used particularly in **steenzi**]
- quyuudi** n. [Ar. *quyūd*, pl. of *qaid* W 804] bond, tie
Mi/ ni hurí/ pashpo sfuungó/ amó/ ni oghaari/ ya quyuudi. ‘Am I free, without bonds, or am I am prisoner of the bonds (of life)?’

R

- Raa Mashaanga** n. one of the sub-clans of the **Biida**, whose origin is said to be in Kenya
- Raa Waali** n. **one of the clans that form the Biida; the second major clan is the Wako Haatimu chimini cha Raa Waali** ‘the **Chimiini** spoken by the **Raa Waali**’
Mi/ ni Raa Waali. ‘I am a member of the **Raa Waali** clan.’
- ku-raa’a** v.
Mi/ fijiri/ huraa’a/ huja inyi. ‘In the morning for breakfast I eat liver.’
- review this word**
- ra’adi** n. [Sw. *radi* SSED 393; Ar. *ra’id* "thunder" W 345] *uncommon* peal of thunder
- ra’afaani** n. an appeal (in a court case)
khinda ra’afaani ‘to make an appeal at court’
Omari/ hokomeela/ laakini/ tinzile ra’afaani. ‘Omari has been sentenced, but he has made an appeal.’
- ra’asulmaali** n. capital
chita cha diini ni sala timaamu/ sala ni ra’asulmaali ya islaamu [st.] ‘the fundamental point (lit. head) of religion is complete prayer, prayers are the capital of Islamic religion’ (The metrical treatment of **a’a** in **steenzi** is interesting; a *V’V* structure can be treated as a single long syllable if the syllabic count of the line requires it. For example, the paired lines in the present example are each eleven

syllables, with the even-numbered syllables being lengthened in the recitation. The structure *ra'a* counts as the second syllable of its line and is pronounced as a long *aa*.)

- ku-ra'isa* v. [Sw. *rai* SSED 394; Ar. *ra'asa* W 317] (**ra'isiize**) preside, be the head of
- ra'iisi* n. [Ar. *ra'is* W 318] president
Leelo/ ra'isi Nikson/ ba'adaa ye/ kuwona kuwa ni njeema... 'Today, President Nixon, after realizing that it was better...'
Ra'iisi/ pela zawaadi/ barzaani. 'The president was given a gift in the meeting hall.'
Wanakahabari/ wanakuhada/ ya kuwa ra'iisi/ nakhfilatiloowa/ khfaanya/ mukaataba/ pamó/ na ba'aði/ yaa nt^{hi}/ zaa ye/ takuzuuró. 'The newsmen say that the president is expected to make an agreement with some of the countries that he will visit.'
...ya kuwa ra'iisi/ nakhfilatiloowa/ khfaanya/ mukaataba 'that the president is being expected to make an agreement'
- ra'iya* n. [Sw. *raia* SSED 395; Ar. *ra'ya* W 346] citizen
Sultaani/ hisabaṭo waant^{hu}/ wotté/ ra'iyawé/ sawasawá. 'A sultan who considers all people, his subjects, to be equal.'
Ye/ sulile mkuḷaze/ kumwingla garabuuni/ kumsaayda/ kawanya naa wo/ mas'uliya/ ya muuyi/ na ra'iyaye. 'He wanted his elder brothers to come to his side and to help him divide with them the responsibility for the town and its citizens.'
- ra'si* n. 91/0 [Sw. *rasi* SSED 397; Ar. *ra's* W 317] cape, head (geographical term)
- ra'yi* n. [Ar. *ra'y* W 319] idea, opinion, view, suggestion
variant form: **ra'ayi**
khpa ra'yi 'to give an opinion'
Chimpa ra'yi/ chimbarsha/ jisa ku'amilaṭana/ na waant^{hu}. 'She expressed her opinions to him and taught him how to deal with people.'
khṭomola ra'yi 'to give an opinion'
kuleta ra'yi 'to make a suggestion (lit. bring a suggestion)'
Kiḷa/ mooyi/ chileta ra'yi. 'Each one brought a suggestion.'
Mazá/ nayo ra'yi gani/ we. 'Now, what idea do you have?'
Ra'ayi izi/ sta'aluqeene. 'These ideas are interrelated.'
Ra'yi suura/ iyi. 'This is a good idea.'
- m-raba (mi-)* n. 3/4 [Sw. *mraba (mi-)* SSED 298; Ar. *murabba* ' "quadrangular, square" W 323] rectangle, square
-a miraba mine 'rectangular, four-sided, square'
meza ya miraba mine 'a square table' **lengthening before mine**
miraba mineeye khsaloowa ni mila [st.] 'to pray from its (the *ka'ba*'s) four corners is allowed'
- rabi* n. [Sw. *rabi* SSED 393; Ar. *rabb* "lord, master" W 320] God as Lord; [pron. **rabi** or often **rabbi**]
rabi chiruzuqe keendra ziyaara [st.] 'O God, make it possible for us to go visiting'
ya rabi 'O God'
- rabsha* n. [Sw. *rabsha* SSED 393 (which gives a conjectural etymo not found in Wehr's dictionary); Som. *rabash*, variant *rabshad* DSI 512] quarreling, trouble, confusion; [pron. **rabsha**]

Ba'adi ya ayaamu/ mbili/ nt^hatu/ raḅsha/ schoondroka/ beena/ Safiya/ na mubliwe. 'After two, three days, quarreling started between Safiya and her husband.'

khfanya raḅsha 'to cause confusion, quarreling, trouble'

Isa/ nini/ raḅsha izi/ zaa we/ nakhfaanyó. 'Now why this quarreling that you are causing?'

mwenye raḅsha 'troublemaker'

rabshoole adj. troublesome; [pron. *rabshoole*]

Omari/ ni rabshoole/ tamhimila/ tu. 'Omari is troublesome; I will just tolerate/put up with him.'

raadi in: **wa raadi** [possibly from Ar. *arādiya kairan* "to wish s.o. well" W 366] goodbye

m-raadi n. 3/4 [Sw. *mradi* SSED 299; Ar. *murād* W 366] purpose, goal, thing desired, need
Mraadiwe/ uwaliko kumkhada'aa dafa. 'Its purpose was to deceive the kite.'

Muunt^hu/ humamino mojiitú/ haatowi/ mraadiwe. 'The one who believes in God does not miss his objective.' (A proverb.)

Mwusha siriye/ hupata mraadiwe. 'The one who hides his secrets achieves his goal.' (A proverb.)

Kakhtarajá/ kuwa Omari/ pete mraadiwe. 'I hope that Omari got his objective/ what he wanted.'

Nayo mraadi. 'He has a need.'

Si/ shchipata kumwona/ sultani waa noka/ shtakuwa shkharibiliilé/ mradi wiitu. 'If we get to see the king of snakes, we will have neared our goal.'

Siná/ mraadi. 'I do not have a need.'

Teena/ apo/ we/ takhpata mraadiwo. 'Then at that time you will get your wish.'

Walwaawo/ wachirashmana/ Alfaani/ mraadiwe/ khpata shpete/ cha mtume Suleemaani/ khpata kuhokoma majini/ na Buluukhiyá/ mraadiwe/ kumwona mtume Suleemaani. 'The two of them left together, Alfaani's goal to get the ring of the prophet Suleemaani so that he (would get to) rule the jinns, and Buluukhiya's goal to see the prophet Suleemaani.'

ku-raadika v.

Omari/ haraadiki. 'Omari cannot be pleased.'

ku-radikiḷoowa v. appl. pass.

Jawabu iyo/ ha'iradikiḷoowi. 'That thing cannot be pleased with.'

Koḏa jawaabu/ yakuradikiḷoowa. 'Say something that could be pleased with.'

radiyaṭoore n. 9/10 [Ital. *radiatore*] radiator (of a car)

raadiyo n. 9 [Eng. and Ital. *radio*] radio

Ibozela raadiyo/ ka Hamadi/ numbaani. 'A radio has been stolen from Hamadi's house.' Or: **Ka Hamadi/ numbaani/ ibozela raadiyo.** (These sentences are actually ambiguous between a personal passive construction, where **raadiyo** triggers a [cl.9] agreement on the verb, and an impersonal passive, where there is also [cl.9] agreement on the verb.)

Iyi/ ni raadiyo/ isho wenewe. 'This is free radio (i.e. radio that has no owners).'

kubulbulika/ kana raadiyo 'to talk like the radio – i.e. to talk non-stop, like the radio'

kudaldalamaṭa/ kana raadiyo 'to talk like the radio – i.e. to talk non-stop, like the radio'

maneeno/ kana raadiyo 'too much talking, like the radio'

Raadiyo/ miizi/ boozeló. '[It was] the radio [that] the thief stole.'

Raadiyo/ ya miizi/ boozeló/ ipeeta. 'The radio that the thief stole was

found.'

raaḍi

n. 9 [Sw. *radhi* SSED 39; cf. Ar. *raḍiya* "to satisfy, conciliate, appease" W 344] approval, satisfaction, and blessings of a parent (extended to obedient children); apology, forgiveness, pardon

variant form:

raaḍi n. [Som. *raalli* "satisfaction (noun); satisfied (adj.) DSI 510] (but not considered as good as *raaḍi*)

Apo/ wo/ wachilomba Yuusufu/ raaḍi. 'Then, they asked Joseph for forgiveness.'

Baaba/ chilomba raaḍi. 'Father begged forgiveness.'

chiwa nkhada 'iile nt^hunaayo raaḍiya [song] 'if you have deceived me [then know that] you do not have my blessing'

Chiwelele raaḍi. 'Forgive us!'

Ka raaḍiya/ oloka mwaambile/ mubli/ naaye/ munt^hi wa arabiya.

'With my blessing, go and tell the man that he should come on Wednesday.'

khtila raaḍi 'to forgive'

Omari/ namtile Ali/ raaḍi. 'Omari is seeking forgiveness from Ali.'

Khuwelele raaḍi. 'I forgive you; I am pleased with you (I bless you).'

Kulomba raaḍi 'to ask for forgiveness, to apologize'

Kumraaḍi. 'Forgive me!'

kuwa raaḍi 'to acquiesce'

Mi/ siwelele/ raaḍi/ hatá/ haba mo/ zaa we/ nakhfanyoowá. 'I cannot approve even a little of what is being done to you.'

Mubliwe/ chimlomba mukeewe/ raaḍi. 'The man begged his wife forgiveness.'

Mumathili mwiingine/ hadiile/ ya kuwaa si/ hachiwelele/ raaḍi/ dobla za ch'arbu/ ka sababu ya steendro/ zaa wo/ washfanyoozó. 'Another representative said that we are not pleased with the Arab governments because of the actions that they have taken against us.'

Mwaanawá/ mbelele raaḍi/ ka yaa mi/ khuteenzeló. 'My child, forgive me for what I did to you.'

naamí/ shpata/ raaḍi/ ya mwajiitu 'and if I obtain the approval of God'

Nayo raḍi ya waawaye. 'He has the blessing of his father.'

Raaḍi/ nii nk^hulu/ kolko maali. 'Blessings are better than wealth.' (A proverb.)

raḍi ya mwajiitu 'the blessing of God'

Raaḍiya/ mi/ nikhupeelé/ nt^hangú/ leelo/ hattá/ keesho/ qiyaama. 'My blessings, I have given them to you from today until tomorrow, the resurrection day.'

Si/ chinakhsula maalí/ raaḍi/ ni chint^hu gani. 'We want wealth; what sort of thing is *raaḍi* [implying it is something of no value at all]?'

Wa raaḍi. 'Be forgiving!'

Wa raaḍi/ mi/ ndrilelee tu. 'Forgive me, I just forgot.'

Waanawá/ mi/ skhaadiri/ walá/ sitakhpola/ maraḍi aya/ basi/ ni/ nnakhsula raaḍi/ amó/ nnakhsula maalí. 'My children, I am sick, not will I recover from this sickness, so, do you want [my] blessing or do you want wealth?'

Waawé/ mi/ ni raaḍi/ ka yaa we/ nfanyoozó/ yotte. 'Father, I forgive you for what you did to me, all of it.'

Waawé/ mi/ nnakhsula raaḍi. 'Father, I want [your] blessings, approval etc.'

Welele raaḍi/ ka ije ya waawaye/ mpenzelezó. 'She agreed with whatever her father wanted for her.'

raf'aani

n. [Sw. *rufani* "legal appeal" SSED 402; Ar. *fafa'a* "to make an appeal to a court"

- W 349-50] appeal to a court
khtala raf'aani 'to make an appeal to the court'
- rafaadi** n. hardship, suffering, troubles, miseries; chaos, confusion
Numba ya Omari/ rafaadi. 'Omar's house is chaotic (messy, disorganized).'
- ku-rafaadika** v. [Som. *rafaad* "to experience difficulties for a long time" DSI 513] (**rafadishile**) be poorly off (financially), be in difficulty, hardship; be in shambles; be spoiled
Mwaana/ rafadishile. 'The child was in bad shape [lived so miserably that his physical shape deteriorated].'
Waana/ wanakurafaadika/ apo. 'Children are suffering there.'
rel.
ku-rafadikoowa v. pass. be in shambles, spoiled, damaged
Apo/ itakurafadikoowa. 'There [everything] will be in shambles.'
ku-rafaadisha v. caus. [Som. *rafaadi* DSI 513] (**rafadishiize**) cause mental pain (e.g. by failing to care for one's family); make a mess, chaotic etc.; cause damage, destruction, hardship, problems; spoil s.t.'
Mp^hana/ na'endre ka sultaani/ na'endré/ nakhsula kurafadishaa dali.
'The rat went to the sultan, that's what he did, and wanted to make a mess of the place.'
Omari/ nakurafaadisha/ zoombo. 'Omari is damaging, spoiling things.'
ku-rafadishoowa v. caus. pass.
Siwo/ suura/ kurafadishoowa/ kuja. 'It is not good for food to be spoiled.'
- ku-rafata** v. [Som. *rafo* "to have spasms & contractions" DSI 513] (**rafeete**) toss around in bed
rel.
ku-rafatisha v. caus.
- ku-rafi'ila** v. [Ar. *rafa'ila* W 349] lift, remove, relieve
- rafrafu** n. [Ar. *rafraf* W 349] cushion
- rafu** n. 9/10 [Sw. *rafu* SSED 394; Ar. *raff* W 348] shelf
- raafu** n. 9 [Som. *raaf* DSI 510] forcible draft into the army
liimbo la raafu lmaliize ka apa [nt.] 'the Raafu's song ends here'
Solokeeni/ Mwiini/ yiko raafu/ leelo. 'Don't go to Brava, there is forcible drafting (going on) today.'
- ku-raaga** v. [Som. *raag* DSI 510] (**ragiile**) be late, delay
Ali/ ragile kuuya. 'Ali was late coming.' (Cf. **Ali/ nt^hakuraaga/ kuuya.** 'Ali was not late coming.')
- Chimuza mukeewe/ mboni/ ragiile/ leelo.** 'He asked his wife, how come you are so late today?'
- Gaari/ iragiile.** 'The car is late (in arriving).'
- Huyo ka wakhti/ hupataa nama/ huraagó/ hupata mishpa.** 'The one who comes on time gets meat; the one who is late, gets bones.' (A proverb.)
- ka kuraaga** 'with lateness'
Nini/ sababu/ yaa we/ holokelelo madrasaani/ ka kuraaga.
'Why do you always go to school late?'
- Kheeri/ kuraaga/ kama chiza khkoma.** 'Better to be late than to not arrive at all.' (A proverb.)
- Kilaa jawaabu/ ichiraaga/ ni kheeri/ tu.** 'If a matter is delayed, (that) is just a blessing.' (A proverb that conveys the idea that perhaps God intended the delay so that the person

may in fact experience something better.)

Nt^hakuraaga/ kuuya. ‘He did not delay coming.’

Nt^humila m(w)aana/ kanaa mi/ nch^hiraaga. ‘Send the child for me if I am late.’

the meeting.’

Omari/ ta’akhariile/ kuraga kaa shiri. ‘Omari delayed (lit.) to be late to

Raaga. ‘Delay!’ **Ragaani.** ‘(pl.) delay!’ **Ragani keendra.** ‘(Pl.) delay going!’ **Sirageení,** ‘(Pl.) don’t be late!’ **Sirageení/ keendra.** ‘(Pl.) don’t delay going!’

Ragiilopó/ mp^haamp^ha/ chimviila/ mweenza/ mweenza/ mboni/ we/ ragiilé. ‘When he (the monkey) delayed (returning), the shark called out to him: my friend, my friend, why have you delayed (coming back)?’

Siraagé. ‘Don’t be late!’ **Sirageení.** ‘You (pl.) don’t be late!’

Wanthu/ waragiile/ kuya numbaani. ‘People are late coming home.’
(Phon. The yes-no question corresponding to this sentence is:
Wanthu/ waragiile/ kuya numbaani?)

rel.

ku-raagika v. p/s.

Hayraagiki. ‘One cannot be late. There is no being late.’

ku-raagila v. appl.

M(w)aana/ ndragiile. ‘My child is late.’

ku-raagisha v. caus. (**ragishiize**) delay s.o.; delay in responding

Ali/ mragishize mwaana/ kendra madrasaani. ‘Ali delayed the child’s going to school.’

Raagisha. ‘Cause a delay!’ **Ragishaani.** ‘(Pl.) cause a delay!’

Ragishanii kuja. ‘(Pl.) cause a delay in eating!’ **Siragisheení.** ‘You (pl.) don’t delay in responding!’ **Siragisheení/ kuja.** ‘(Pl.) don’t cause a delay in eating!’

ku-ragishan(y)a v. caus. rec. delay one another

ku-ragishika v. caus. p/s.

Mwana uyu/ haragishiki/ koloka kaawo. ‘This child cannot be made late in going home.’

ku-ragishiliza v. caus. appl. delay someone on or for

Taahiri/ mragishilize Iisa/ mwaana/ kuuya. ‘Taahiri delayed Iisa’s child coming.’

ku-ragishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Taahiri/ na Iisá/ waragishilizenye waana/ kuuya. ‘Taahiri and Iisa caused one another’s children to be late coming.’

ku-ragishilizika v. caus. appl. p/s.

Waawaye/ haragishiliziki/ mwaana. ‘His father cannot have his child delayed (e.g. he goes into such a rage that no one would cause the child to be late).’

ku-ragishoowa v. caus. pass. (**ragishiiza**)

Siwaraagiishé/ waana/ chiwooni. ‘Do not delay the children from going to school.’

Waana/ waragishiiza/ chiwooni. ‘The children have been delayed going to school.’ (Phon. In the yes-no question version of this sentence, the final phrase undergoes accent-shift: **Waana/ waragishiiza/ chiwooni?** ‘Did the children get delayed going to school?’)

ku-ragoowa v. pass. (**ragiila**)

Inakuragoowa/ chiwooni. ‘It is getting late for school.’ (Phon. The yes-no question version of this sentence is: **Inakuragoowa/ chiwooni?**)

Inakuragoowa/ kolokowa skulaani. ‘There is being late going to school (going on).’

Iragiila/ chiwooni/ kabasá. ‘It is too late to go to school.’

Siwo/ suura/ kuragoowa/ skolaani. ‘It is not good to be late for school.’

rel. nom.

u-raago n. 14

Urago miingi/ siwo/ suura. ‘Frequent delays are not good.’

raghba

n. [Ar. *rag̃ba* W 347] desire
kuwanayo raghba ‘to have a desire’

raaha

n. [Sw. *raha* SSED 394; Ar. *rāḥa* W 365] rest, comfort, ease
Hasiibu/ ishiize/ karka raaha/ na amaani/ haṭá/ mowṭi. ‘Hasiibu lived in comfort and peace until (his) death.’
Husuḷo raahá/ laazima/ kuwona ṭa’abu. ‘The one who wants comfort must see difficulties (first).’ (A proverb.)
Itakunzidila raaha. ‘It will increase my comfort.’
Janaani/ ni mahala ya raaha. ‘Paradise is a place of rest.’
ka raaha/ mustarehe ‘in comfort and peace, joy’
Alí/ naakuja/ ka ṽraaha/ mustarehe. ‘Ali is sleeping with pleasure and joy.’
Hamadi/ leele/ ka ṽraaha/ mustarehe. ‘Hamadi slept with pleasure and comfort.’
khkala raaha/ mustarehe ‘to live in comfort and ease’
kuwona raaha ‘to see (i.e. experience) rest, comfort, ease, happiness’
Hamadi/ numba iyo/ huwona ṽraaha. ‘Hamadi in that house feels happy/ contented/ comfortable.’
Hamadi/ numba iyo/ nakuwona ṽraaha. ‘Hamadi in that house feels happy/ contented/ comfortable.’ (This and the above example illustrates the variation between the habitual and the present tense verb to convey a present state.)
Mi/ sina kuwona/ raaha/ na wana awa. ‘I do not feel at ease with these children.’
Mi/ sinaayo/ raaha/ na wana awa. ‘I do not feel at ease with these children.’
ndila ya raaha ‘an easy road – i.e. one that one can travel on comfortably’
Nfungulila mlaango/ mi/ niingile/ numbaani/ nṽakhulombela ma’abuudu/ nakhutile rahaani. ‘Open the door for me so that I may enter the house, I will pray to the one who is worshipped to put you in comfort.’
raaha sinaayo [song] ‘I have no comfort’
Tile ruuhuye/ karka khatari/ khutilaa we/ karka raaha. ‘He put himself in danger in order to put you in comfort.’
Wa’ishiize/ karka barwaakhi/ na raahá. ‘They lived in prosperity and comfort.’
Wotte/ wa’ishiize/ karka raaha. ‘All lived in comfort.’

rahani

n. [Ar. *rahn* W 363] pawn
duka ya rahani ‘pawnshop’
khshika rahani ‘to hold as a security’
khtila rahani ‘to pawn s.t.’
kuweka rahani ‘to pawn s.t.’

ku-rahiba

v. [Ar. *raḥiba* W 330] (*raḥibiile*) welcome
Mumathili/ wa nṽhi za ch’arabu/ ba’adi yaa ye/ kurahiba/ na kuwapa salaamú/ mumathili/ wa nṽhi za chi’aafriká/ hadiile/ karka khutbaye/ ya kuwa nṽhi za ch’arabu/ ziko ṭayaari/ khpaa nṽhi/ za chi’áfrika/ dolari/ milyooni/ miyaa mbili. ‘The representative of the Arab countries, after he had welcomed and greeted the representative of the African countries said in his speech that the Arab countries are ready to give the African countries two hundred million dollars.’
Waant^hu/ walazile kumrahiba ra’iisi. ‘People went out to welcome the president.’

rel.

ku-rahibana v. rec. (*-rahibeene*) welcome one another (Syn. This verb does not seem to permit the “reciprocal shift” noted as possible for many other reciprocal verbs.)

Waant^hu/ hupeendanó/ hurahibana jisa suura. ‘People who love one

another welcome one another nicely.’

ku-rahibanoowa v. rec. pass.

Kurahibanoowa/ ni waajibu. ‘To welcome one another is an obligation.’

ku-rahibisha v. welcome

Ni waajibu/ muunt^hu/ kumrahibisha walaaliwe. ‘It is an obligation for a person to welcome *walaaliwe*.’

ku-rahiboowa v. pass. (**rahibiila**) be welcomed

Omari/ furahiile/ kurahiboowa. ‘Omari was pleased to be welcomed.’

rahiimu

adj. [Sw. *rahimu* SSED 394; Ar. *rahīm* W 332] generous, merciful

hayi hupeendawaayawe rahiimu [st.] ‘[God is] alive, he loves his creatures, he is merciful’

munt^hu rahiimu ‘a generous person’

Rabbi Rahmaani Rahiimu/ rahmaye hulomboowa [st.] ‘our Lord is the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful/ and for his mercies we implore’

rahma

n. 9/10 [Sw. *rehema* SSED 398; Ar. *rahma* W 332] mercy

variant form: **rahama**

ka rahmaze humnaharisa shaa’ibu [st.] ‘(God) in his compassion is generous to the old’

malaayka za rahma apo hazishkili/ sharri heepuka kheeri ha’ishkili [st.]

‘the angels who bring (God’s) mercy do not descend there, (as) this evil keeps them afar and no blessing is bestowed from on high’

Rabbi Rahmaani Rahiimu/ rahmaye hulomboowa [st.] ‘our Lord is the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful/ and for his mercies we implore’

rahmaani

n. [cf. Sw. *rahimu* SSED 394; Ar. *al-rahmān* W 332] a name of God - the Merciful One

mwaanzo wa waajibu ndruuza kasaani/ kumwiiwa moojo khuunzilo rahmaani [st.] ‘the beginning of one’s religious obligations, my brothers, listen/ (is) to know your God who created you, the merciful one’

na mtume mpeenzelo mooja rahmaani [st.] ‘and the Prophet, the one who loved him, my merciful Lord’

nahrisi nda mwajiitu na amaani/ ilu ya mtume mtale wa rahmaani [st.] ‘mercifulness belongs to God and peace/ [should be] on the Prophet, the Chosen One of God’

Rabbi Rahmaani Rahiimu/ rahmaye hulomboowa [st.] ‘our Lord is the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful/ and for his mercies we implore’

raja

n. 9 [Ar. *rajā*’W 330] hope

Chinayoo rajá. ‘We have hope.’

Chinaayó/ raja/ suura. ‘We have good hope (that we will get something).’

khtindaa raja ‘to give up hope’

khtozaa raja ‘to cause someone to lack hope, to give up’

Nayoo raja. ‘He has hope.’

Nt^haná/ raja. ‘He has no hope.’

nt^haasa nimo karka raja [song] ‘I aqm still living with hope’

Raja/ ka mojiitu. ‘Hope is from God.’ (A proverb.)

raja la’aani ‘without hope’

Mojiitu/ sichiweeke/ raja la’aani. ‘May God not let us be in a hopeless condition.’ (A kind of prayer.)

rajabu

n. [Sw. *rajabu* "the seventh month of the Muhamadan year, regarded as especially sacred account of being the month of the Prophet’s journey to Jerusalem and thence to heaven. The 27th day of *Rajabu* is Miraj, which is observed as the anniversary day of the journey" SSED 395; Ar. *rajab* "the 7th month of the Muslim year" W 326] the tenth month of the Bravanese calander (**wa ikumu** ‘the tenth month’)

masku ya mi'raaji mweezi wa rajabu [st.] 'the Night of the Ascension is in the month **rajabu**'

- ku-rajima*
Islamic law) v. [Ar. *rajama* W 329] (**rajimiile**) throw stones at (for punishment of violation of Islamic law)
- variant form:
kurujuma [Sw. *rujumu* SSED 403]
- rajistratoore* n. 9/10 [Ital. *registratore*] tape-recorder
- raka'a* n. 9/10 [Sw. *rakaa* SSED 395; Ar. *rak'ā* W 358] the act of bowing with the hands on the knees in Muslim prayer
- mu-rakabu* adj. [cf. Ar. verb *rakiba* W 356, which among other meanings has "to commit foolish mistakes, to commit a folly"] very ignorant and foolish
m_late humpiindro jaahili murakabu [st.] 'leave alone (do not bother with) the one who contradicts [this], he is very ignorant and foolish'
- rakhi* n. [Ar. *riqq* "quality or condition of being a slave, bondage" W 352] slave
- rakhiisi* adj. [Sw. *rahisi* SSED 394; Ar. *rakīṣ* W 332] cheap
Chaakuja/ siwo/ rakhiisi/ apa. 'Food is not cheap here.'
khfanya rakhiisi 'to make s.t. cheaply'
kuwa rakhiisi 'to be cheap'
nguwo rakhiisi 'cheap clothes'
Uza ghaali/ suuzé/ rakhiisi. 'Sell at a high price! Don't sell cheap!'
- ku-rakiba* v. [Ar. *rakiba* W 356] (**rakibiile**) assemble, install (machine, car, etc.), fix
Omari/ nakurakibaa chili. 'Omari is assembling the bed.'
rel.
ku-rakibisha v. caus. [Sw. *rakibisha* SSED 395; Ar.] (**rakibishiize**) assemble, fix
ku-rakibishoowa v. caus. pass. (**rakibishiiza**) be assembled, fixed
Chili/ chirakibishiiza. 'The bed was assembled.'
Nii dhibu/ kurakibishoowa/ chili ichi. 'It is difficult for this bed to be assembled.'
ku-rakiboowa v. pass. (**rakibiila**) be assembled, fixed
Chili/ chinakurakiboowa. 'The bed is being assembled.'
Chili/ chirakibiila. 'The bed was assembled.'
Nii dhibu/ kurakiboowa/ chili ichi. 'It is difficult for this bed to be assembled.'
- raakibu (ma-)* n. [Sw. *rakibu* SSED 395; Ar. *rākīb* W 357] *uncommon* passenger
- raaliya* adj. a woman who (a) is obedient (to husband) and therefore quiet, not troublesome or (b) accepting whatever God sends her with goodwill and resignation
variant forms: **raadiya, raadiya**
Maasiiti meema raaliya/ shfaanya ibaaḍa ka niya [st.] 'Masiiti, good and resigned to God's will, performed her worship with intention'
muke ka mubliwe mutii'i raadiya [st.] 'a woman (=Fatima) obedient and acquiescent to her husband'
muke raaliya 'a good, polite, respectful woman'
muke raaliya muke afiifa/ shpeendo cha mtume binti khaliifa [st.] '(Aisha) a woman obedient and loyal [to her husband], the Prophet's beloved, the daughter of the Caliph'
wahafiḍe kamu awo maraadiya [st.] 'memorize how many are those obedient and loyal wives [of the Prophet]'
wake hupeendo raadiya/ awo mba kuziyaratoowa [st.] 'the women who choose a proper behavior are those worthy to be visited'

watakeendro ni raadiya/ weema wanakhsifoowa [st.] ‘those who will go there [to paradise] are the women who are praised for their quiet and good behavior’

- ramaḏaani** n.[Sw. *ramadhani* SSED 395; Ar. *ramadhān* "9th month of the Muslim year" W 360] the month of Ramadhan (the last month of the calendar year in the Bravanese calendar, the month of fasting)
huwaajiba soomu ya ramaḏaani [st.] fasting during Ramadhan is obligatory’
Ramaḏaani/ ni mwezi wa soomu. ‘Ramadhan is the month of fasting.’
ramaḏani wa muusi ‘the first month after Ramadhan’ (similarly: **ramaḏani wa piili**, **ramaḏani wa taatu**, **ramaḏani waa nne**, **ramaḏani wa taano**, **ramaḏani wa sitta**, **ramaḏani waa saba**, **ramaḏani wa naane**, **ramaḏani wa keendra**, **ramaḏani wa ikumi**)
- ku-raamba** v. [more restricted in usage than **khkoomba**] [Sw. *ramba*, variant of *lamba* SSED 240] (?**rambiile**) lick some food left over (e.g. of a cat)
- ramli** n. [Sw. *ramli* SSED 396; Ar. *raml* "divination by means of figures or lines in the sand" W 360] divination
kubiga ramli [Sw. *piga ramli* SSED 396] ‘to divine by means of figures drawn in the sand, on paper, etc.’
mbiga ramli [Sw. *mpiga ramli* SSED 396] ‘one who divines by means of figures drawn in the sand, on paper, etc.’
- raandra** n. [Sw. *randa* SSED 396; Pers.] carpenter’s plane
kubiga raandra [Sw. *piga randa* SSED 396] ‘to plane’
- raani** n. [Som. *raani*; Hind. *raanee*] queen (with reference to playing card); [pron. **raani**]
- ranji** n. 9/10 [Sw. *rangi* SSED 396; from Hindiand Persian] color; paint
khpaka ranji ‘to paint, apply paint’
khpaka nuumba/ ranji ‘to paint a house’
khpaka nuumba/ ranji/ nelpe ‘to paint a house white’
Pashile nuumba/ ranji/ ka burashii nk^hulu. ‘He painted the house with a big brush.’
khpakowa ranji ‘to be painted’
Nuumba/ ipashila ranji/ nelpe. ‘The house was painted white.’
Ranji/ ipashila. ‘Paint was applied.’
kubiga ranji ‘to paint’
lkuta/ ranjiye ‘the wall, its color’
nk^huta/ ranjize ‘the walls, their color’
ranji ya chuuma ‘paint for iron’
ranji ya lkuta ‘the color of the wall’ (cf. **ranji yaa nk^huta** ‘the color of the walls’)
ranji yaa mbawo ‘paint for wood’
ranji ya zilaatu ‘shoe polish’
Ranjiye/ siwo/ huundru. ‘It is not red.’ Or **Siwo/ huundru/ ranjiye.**
- raqamu** n. [Ar. *raqm* W 355] number
khsoma raqamu ‘to read the numbers’
raqamu suura ‘a good number’
raqamu/ kamu ‘how many numbers’
- ku-rara** v. [Som. *rara* DSI 515] (**rariile**) load (Usage. This form of the verb is apparently not as acceptable as the form below where the extension **at** is appended to the stem.)
Rara mp^huundra/ mtaanga. ‘Load the donkey with sand.’
rel.

ku-rarata v. (*rareete*) load (e.g. a truck), carry (of a truck)

Gaari/ inakuraraṭa suukari. 'The truck is loaded with/ carrying sugar.'

Hamaali/ wanakuraraṭa gaari. 'The porters are loading the truck.'

ku-raratoowa v. pass.

Gaari/ inakuraraṭoowa. 'The truck is being loaded.'

ku-rariḷa v. appl.

Omari/ nakurariḷa Hamadi/ mp^huundra/ mṭaanga. 'Omari is loading sand on the donkey for Hamadi.'

ku-raroowa v. pass.

Mp^huundra/ nakuraroowa. 'The donkey is being loaded.'

rasaasi

n. [Ar. *raṣāṣ* "bullets" W 342] lead, graphite, bullet, cartridge

chiwaa we/ ṭakandikaa khaṭi/ ka khalamu ya rasaasi 'if you will write a letter with a pencil'

Ka nasibu yaawo/ kuwaa mbovu/ rasaasi/ zotte/ nt^haskumsiiba/ ndovu.

'Because their luck was bad, all the bullets missed the elephant.'

ka ndruti tayaari shchitiya rasaasi [nt.] 'ready with sticks, we feared bullets'

kubiga rasaasi 'to shoot a gun'

Mwaana/ shṭomola amri/ na rasaasi/ schiḷawa/ zote/ ka mara mooyi.

'The boy gave the order and the bullets all left [the rifles] at the same time.'

qalamu ya rasaasi 'lead pencil'

Wote/ wachiḷaṭila rasaasi/ ka mara mooyi. 'All fired their bullets at one time.'

Zinakubigaa nk^huwa/ kana rasaasi. 'It is thundering like bullets.'

rasdente

n. commissioner

Ma'ajnabi/ wako muyiini/ wonṭ^he/ waviliḷa/ hafisaani/ ka rasdente. 'All strangers in the city are called to the commissioner's office.'

kh-raasha money)

v. [Som. *raac* DSI 509] (*rashiize*) follow s.o., chase s.o., accompany; be owed (e.g.

Chiḷaweeni/ chimraashe/ chiwoneeni. 'Let us go and follow him so that we may see (what happens.)'

Chiraasha/ chiraasha/ haṭá/ chiwona/ ruuhuye/ uko karka ibenya/ ikulu. 'She followed (the opening), she followed until she found herself in a large open space.'

Chiraasha/ haṭá/ ichimpeleka karka nuumba/ mooyi. 'He followed [the street] until it led him to a large house.'

Karkaa wo/ wanakurudo kaawó/ wachirasha ndila yaa wo/ wa'iliḷó. 'While they were returning to their home, they took the road that they had come from.'

kurasha alaama 'to follow signs'

kurasha chiṭaawo/ shṭaawo 'to take the bus'

kurasha deeni 'to have someone be in debt to one'

Ali/ humrasha Omari/ deeni. 'Ali has Omari in debt to him.'

kurasha ḷpindooni 'to walk along the edge, on the edge'

kurasha kooḍi/ zaa wake 'to follow women's talk'

kurasha ndilaa mbovu 'to follow a bad course'

kurasha saant^hi 'to follow tracks, trail; follow steps, i.e. follow an issue'

ma'askari/ na makhaadimú/ wamrashizoo muké 'the soldiers and the servants who escorted the women'

Mahaḷaa mi/ heendró/ hundraasha. 'Wherever I go, it follows me.' (A riddle, the answer to which is **chibḷi** 'shadow'.)

Mapoliisi/ wamrashize miizi/ yana. 'The police followed the thief yesterday.'

Mara (y)a kaandra/ nt^haku/ mrashiizó. 'The first time there was no one who followed him.'

Mrashaa lufa/ hufa. ‘The one who follows a crack dies.’ (A proverb indicating that one who takes risks, does s.t. dangerous, dies as a consequence.)

Mraashe/ maduriini/ muble. ‘Follow him into the bush and kill him!’

Mtiyaa kufa/ kufa/ humraasha. ‘One who is afraid to die, death follows him.’ (A proverb.)

Muunt^hu/ huraasha/ ndila/ ipisila mbeleké. ‘A man follows the path that has passed before him.’ (A proverb.) **need to get data on pronunciation**

Mwaana/ chirasha jawaabuze/ chilaala. ‘The child followed his advice and slept.’

Mwaana/ mrashize Ali. ‘The child followed Ali.’

Ndraasha. ‘Follow me!’

Nimrashize Nuurú. ‘I followed Nuuru.’

Rashaa nyoki/ ja uki. ‘Follow bees and you will eat honey.’ (A proverb.)

Sirasheení/ Ifuwo. ‘You (pl.) don’t follow the shore!’

Suufi/ namrasha Ali/ peesa. ‘Suufi is owed money (by) Ali.’

Wana khabari/ wamrashizo Niksoni/ wanakuhada/ ya kuwa... ‘The newsmen who are accompanying Nixon are saying that...’

Waanth^hu/ wiingi/ wachiraashó/ markabu izó. ‘(It was) many people who boarded these ships [following the ones who had gone first].’

Waraashe/ wabaashe. ‘Go with them and make them get lost.’ (A proverb. This proverb instructs one to pretend to go along, agree with someone, but then undercut them by ignoring what they want you to do.)

Wo/ huraasha/ kulla ya sarkaali/ nakhsuu^ló/ inawe suura/ inawee mbovu. ‘They follow (agree to, accept, go with) what the government wants, be it good, be it bad.’

rel.

ku-raashan(y)a v. rec. owe one another, be indebted to one another (Notice that this causative form is restricted to one meaning of the base form **kuraasha**. The verb **kuraashman(y)a** is used for the meaning ‘follow one another’.)

kurashanya deeni ‘to owe one another, to be indebted to one another’

ku-raashika v. p/s.

Ali/ haraashiki ‘Ali cannot be followed.’

Omari/ haraashiki/ deeni. ‘Omari cannot be lent money.’

ku-rashiliza v. appl. escort, accompany, go with, follow after; cause to accompany

Baana/ ndrashilize mwaana/ khtala chibuuku. ‘Baana had the child follow me (so as) to get/take a book (from me).’

Khurashilize mwaaná. ‘Shall I have the child follow you?’

Mbwa/ ndrashilize mwaana. ‘The dog chased my child (on me).’

Ndrashiliza mwaana. ‘Have the child follow me (so that he can bring back s.t. that I will give him).’

someelo ilmu rashiliizo amali [st.] ‘the one who studied (lit. read knowledge) and followed up with deeds’

Sultaani chimrashiliza muunt^hu/ wacheendra/ wachiya naa mbuzi. ‘The sultan had someone follow him and they went and came with the lamb.’

Sultaani/ shkhiira/ chimrashiliza askari. ‘The sultan agreed and he had the soldiers accompany him.’

sultaani/ sulilopo kumrashiliza ma’askari ‘when the sultan wanted soldiers to follow him’

ku-rashilizika v. appl. p/s.

Tayiibu/ harshiliziki/ mwaana. ‘One cannot follow for/on Tayiibu his child (i.e. to get s.t. from the child).’

ku-rashmanika v. (used only in the impersonal construction)

Hayrashmaniki/ ba. ‘One cannot leave together.’

ku-raashman(y)a v. (-rashmeene, -rashmeenye) leave, go together

Abinawaasi/ nakiineendra/ rashmene na weenzawe. ‘Abinawaasi was walking together with his friends.’

Baaba/ na maamá/ wachirashmanya/ wacholokela ka Jeelaani/ chibiga mlaango. ‘Father and mother went together to Jeelaani’s (place) and knocked on the door.’

Baana/ rashmenye Hamadi. ‘Baana left with Hamadi.’

Chirashmeene/ choloshele mgahawaani. ‘Together we went to a coffee shop.’

Hasiibu/ munt^{hi} oyo/ chirashmanya na jiraani/ chendra khtinda skunyi. ‘On that day Hasiibu followed the neighbors and went to cut firewood.’

kurashmanya deeni ‘to owe one another’

Wachiraashmana/ wachingila maduriini. ‘They followed one another and went into the forest.’

Walwaawo/ wachirashmana koloka kaa muke. ‘The two of them left together to go to the woman.’

Walwiitu/ chirashmeenyé/ choloshele kaaké. ‘The two of us left together and we went to his place.’

Waana/ warashmeenye. ‘The children left together.’

Wotte/ wachiraashmana/ wachendra ka sultaani. ‘All of them followed and went to the sultan.’

Wotte/ wachirashmanya kendra ka waziiri. ‘All of them followed one another to go to the minister’s place.’

Wotte/ wachirashmana lpoororo. ‘All followed in succession (one after the other).’

Wotte/ warashmeenye/ kendra maduriini. ‘All went together into the bush country.’

ku-rashoowa v. pass.

Huseeni/ nakurashowa deeni/ na Omari. ‘Huseeni is in debt to Omari.’

Kilaa muunt^{hu}/ hurashowa na maayiye. ‘Everyone is followed with his water; i.e. everyone is dealt as he is.’

rel. nom.

m-raasha n. 1/2 one who follows, goes with

Maðhubu ya Shaafi’i/ hayreebi/ warasha maðhabu iyi/ kudhakhalaṭaa mbwa/ ka jis’iyo/ want^{hu} walima miyuundra/ hukorshaa mbwa/ na hisaabata/ mbwa/ kuwa ni karka daaba/ haminikó/ na hukhadorpwa kaminiḷowa nuumba. ‘The sect of Shaafi’I does not forbid its followers from raising dogs, for this reason, people who cultivate farms raise dogs and consider dogs to be among the animals that are trustworthy and the house can be trusted to them.’

Mrasha nt^hoongo/ huwa nt^hoongo. ‘One who goes with a one-eyed person becomes one-eyed.’ (A proverb.)

m-raashmany n. 3

Mrashmany gani/ owo/ waa ni/ nnakuraashmanyó. ‘What type of going together is this going together that you (pl.) are doing?’

u-raasho n. 14

Mrashiize/ kana uraasho wa siimba. ‘He chased him like the chase of a lion.’

Takurashoowa/ uraasho/ wa harusiini. ‘You will be followed (like) the following of a wedding.’ (This example is from a poem by Sheikh Mohamad, who was the first director of the elementary school in Brava in the 1960’s.)

ma-raashi

n. [Sw. *marashi* ‘scent, liquid perfume’ SSED 396] rose water

wala mashuungiye mafta hadaarshi/ uudi na ambari hatta maraashi [st.]
‘neither may she rub her hair with oil, (nor perfume it with) sandalwood, ambergris, or rose water’

ku-rashiha

v. [Ar. *raṣaḥa* W 340] (**rashihiile**) nominate a candidate, approve the candidacy of a member of one’s party

raashini

n. 9 [Eng. *ration*] ration

rashiiniye ‘his ration’

rashwa

n. 9/10 [Sw. *rashwa* SSED 403; Ar. *raṣwa* W 342] bribe

rasiidi n. 9/10 [Som. *rasiid* DSI 516, from Eng. *receipt*] receipt

ku-rasimu v. [Sw. *rasimu* SSED 397; Ar. *rasama* "to mark, indicate" W 339] (**rasimiile**) make the first bid at an auction, used mainly for auctions of mangrove poles brought by Bajunis to Brava (the auctioneer asked, in Arabic: *kam yarsim?* 'how much do you indicate/ would pay?') (Phon. Notice that this item is rather exceptional in that it has a final **u** vowel, whereas almost all other verbs derived from Arabic end in the usual **a** vowel in the infinitive.)

Raasiini n. name of an island off the coast of Kenya, where our consultant MI's mother was born; the language of the island is **Tikuu**, which is also spoken further north in the Bajuni islands off the Somali coast

Mi/ hukumbuka (kuwa) nch^hinendra koloka Raasiini/ ku^la fijiri. 'I remember that I used to walk going to Raasiini every morning.'

rasmi adj. [Sw. *rasmi* SSED 397; Ar. *rasmi* W 339] official
-a **rasmi** 'official'

nguwo ya rasmi [Sw. *nguwo za rasmi* SSED] 'official dress, uniform'

khabari rasmi 'official news'

nguwo rasmi 'official dress, uniform'

Nureeni/ uzile jaaka/ rasmi. 'Nureeni bought an official uniform.' (Notice the prosodic separation of **jaaka** and **rasmi** in this sentence. This separation gives some emphasis to **rasmi**. The intonational pattern of the sentence is that **jaaka** is downstepped relative to **Nureeni**, but **rasmi** and **jaaka** are at a similar pitch level. The corresponding simple yes-no question establishes that neither **jaaka** nor **rasmi** are out-of-focus since neither undergoes the accent shift associated with out-of-focus complements in these questions: **Nureeni/ uzile jaaka/ rasmi?**)

rasmu [Ar. *rasm* "drawing, sketch, illustration" W 339]
khfanya rasmu 'to draw'

rasuuli

ityo ni qowli ya Rasuuli Mhamadi/ na Ahmadi inna iwiilo Samadi [st.]
'these are the words of Prophet Muhammad or (lit. and) Ahmad – verily, it is God, the Eternal, who knows'

rasu^lmaali n. [Ar. *ra's māl* W 318] capital (money)
variant form: **ra'asu^lmaali**

Waqtⁱ oyo/ Sa'iidi/ rasu^lmaaliye/ yote/ iwaliko ni riyali/ nt^hatu/ tu. 'At that time, Saiidi's entire capital was just three riyalis.'

rasuulaLLaahi n. [Ar. *rasūl Allāh*, W 338] the Prophet Mohammad
RasuulaL Laahi/ ndirka. 'Reach me, O Prophet of the Lord.'

rat^lali n. 9/10 [Sw. *ratli, ratili* SSED 307; Ar. *raṭl* W 345] pound (unit of weight)

raatⁱ ?

ku-ratⁱba v. [Sw. *ratibu* SSED 397; Ar. *ratiba* W 324] (**ratⁱbiile**) put in order, arrange
kura^ti^ba zibuuku 'to arrange books'

rel.

ku-ratⁱbisha v. caus. (**ratⁱbishiize**)

Omari/ mkali/ kura^ti^b isha. 'Omari is good in arranging things.'

ku-ratⁱboowa v. pass.

kura^ti^boowa/ jisa suura 'to arrange well'

rel. nom.

u-ratⁱbisho n. 14

u-ratⁱbo n. 14

ku-raatiba

v. [cf. Ar. noiun *rawātib*, plural of *rātib* W 325] perform repeatedly certain devotions
kudaa`ima kuraatiba mauūidi / ayaamu ya jima khshabiha iidi [st.] ‘if you are constant in reading always the *Mawlid*, the days of Friday are like a great holy day’ (Note that in this example, the verbs are all in the infinitive.)

raatibu (ma-)

n. [Ar. *rātib* “supererogatory exercise of devotion” W 325] doing s.t. (religious) on a regular basis, therefore also worship regularly at a particular mosque; devotion beyond what is required
khsoma raatibu ‘to go beyond what is required in exercise of devotion’

ku-raawusa

v. [Ar. *raṣṣa* “fit tightly together, join together” W 342] (**rawusiize**) arrange in order; sew the pieces of the Bravanese hats together (Phon. MI gave this verb as **kuraawisa**, but our present consultants consider **kuraawusa** as more correct.)
variant forms: **kurusa**

Rawusize makoofiya. ‘He sewed hats together.’

ku-reeba

v. [Som. *reeb* DSI 516] (**rebeele**) stop, forbid, refuse, keep in place, block
Ijiko mooyi/ ha`ireebi/ chuungu. ‘One cooking stone does not support a pot.’ (A proverb.)
Ikoofiya/ imrebele iwa. ‘The hat protected him from the sun.’
kumreba kiingila ‘to prevent him from entering’
kureba choolo ‘to be constipated’
kureba ruuhu ‘to restrain oneself’

Chizeele/ ka furaha/ nt^hakhaadira/ kureba ruuhuye. ‘The old woman, out of joy, could not restrain herself.’

Mzeele/ lazilopó/ mi/ skukhaadira/ kureba ruuhuya. ‘The old man, when he left, I was not able to restrain myself.’

kureba saant^hi ‘lit. to stop [one’s] footsteps (note that **saant^hi** is used as a singular noun in this idiom) -- this expression is used with different meanings: to stay in a place, delaying leaving it; to stay away from somewhere/someone; to stop while walking in a certain direction)

Nize kuwatambulatambula want^hu awó/ niyrebelele saant^hiyá. ‘I cannot understand those people, I stopped seeing them.’

Noloshela ta`azyaaní/ ndrebele saant^hiyá/ attá/ mayti/ sh^homoloowa. ‘I went to present my condolences (where there had been a death), I delayed leaving until the corpse was taken out.’

Reba saant^hi/ apa/ ni khatari/ dali/ nzimaye/ minoka. ‘Stop, here it is dangerous, the place is full of snakes.’

Maamaye/ chimreeba/ laakini/ iize/ mkasa/ mnoweele. ‘Her mother forbid it (i.e. forbid him to marry a woman), but he refused to listen to her, and he married her.’

Mtumba chisima/ hareboowi/ maayi. ‘The digger of a well is not denied water.’ (A proverb.)

Mwaana/ chiiza/ chihada/ kuwaa ye/ nt^haku/ itamreebó. ‘The boy refused saying that there was nothing that would stop him [from looking for the lion].’

Nch^hiwa nnazo peesá/ nini/ itakundrebo kula gaarí. ‘If I have the money, what (is it that) will prevent me from buying a car (i.e. it is only money and nothing else that can prevent me from buying a car).’

ndimi khurebeelo [song] ‘it was me who stopped you’

Nimrebeelé/ Hamadi/ kula gari iyo. ‘I prevented Hamadi from buying that car.’

Nimrebele kuwabigá. ‘I stopped him from hitting them.’

Nimrebele khupa peesá. ‘I forbade him to give you money.’

Nondroshelé/ nfungile mtaaná/ wa mzeele/ ndebelo khfungulá. ‘I arose and unlocked the room that the old man had forbidden me to unlock.’

Rebaani! ‘You (pl.) stop!’

Rebele gaari. ‘He stopped the car (e.g. the driver brought the car to a stop).’

Sirebeení. ‘You (pl.) don’t stop!’

Siri/ iyo/ irebeele/ kaake/ mimbaani. ‘That secret he kept in his stomach.’

Sku mooyi/ muke/ sheetaani/ mshiinzile/ nt^hakhaadira/ kureba ruuhuye/ chimwambila Yuusufu/ ni laazima/ we/ kulala naami. ‘One day satan overcame the wife and she was not able to stop herself and she told Yuusufu: it is necessary that you sleep with me.’

Skukhaadira/ kumreba maatozi. ‘I could not hold back the tears.’

Wareebe/ waana/ seendré/ kawaalawá/ ndilaaní. ‘Stop the children, otherwise they might go outside.’

Wareebe/ waana/ wasilawe/ ndilaani. ‘Stop the children from going outside.’

Yuusufu/ chiiza/ chihada/ iyi/ ni ma’asiya/ mwajiitu/ rebeele/ khfanyoowa. ‘Joseph refused, saying, this is a sin, God prohibited it from being done.’

rel.

ku-reebata v. (**rebeete**) stop

ku-reebeka v. p.s,

ku-rebeeloowa v. appl. pass.

Mtumba chisima/ harebeeloowi/ maayi. ‘The digger of a well is never denied water.’ (A proverb.)

Wawa yiitu/ si/ chinakurebeeloowá/ zombo zaa kuja/ si/ shchiza keendra/ na muna yiitu. ‘Our father, we are not going to be given any more containers of food if we do not go their with our younger brother.’

ku-reebela v. appl. (**rebelele**) stop for

Ikoofiya/ imrebele iwa. ‘The hat protected him from the sun.’

Isa/ mi/ nikhurebelelé/ maayi. ‘Now I won’t give you water.’ (Phon.

Observe that the first person singular subject prefi *ni* retains its vowel when it stands in front of an object prefix, whereas in most other cases the vowel is elided.)

Sa’iidi/ vete ikoofiya/ kumrebela iwa. ‘Saiidi put on a hat to protect himself from the sun.’

ku-rebelana v. appl. rec. (**-rebeleene**) stop for one another

ku-reebesh v. caus. make stop

Rebesheze gaari. ‘He caused the car to stop (e.g. by signalling to the driver of the car).’

ku-reboowa v. pass. (**rebeela**)

painted.’

Gaari/ irebeela/ khpakowa ranji. ‘The car was prevented from being

prevented from being taken to Hamadi’s house.’

Hamadi/ rebeela/ koloka numbaani. ‘Hamadi was prevented from going home.’

Hamadi/ rebeela/ koloka skolaani. ‘Hamadi was prevented from going to school.’

mwenye ihraamu rebeela ziint^hu saba [st.] ‘someone in the state of *ihraamu* is forbidden seven things’

Peesa/ zirebeela/ khomoloowa. ‘Money was prevented from being released.’

ku-reeptama v. (**repteeme**) abstain from, stop

Repteeme/ kula. ‘He stopped crying.’

Sichireptameeni/ ndilaani/ na takureeptamó/ najoowa. ‘Let us not stop along the way, and the person who stops, let him be eaten.’

Sireptameeni. ‘You (pl.) don’t stop!’

Sultaani/ chimwambila/ reeptama/ lafa/ kumbiga jis’iyo/ ni ebu/ kumbiga mwanaamke/ namna iyo. ‘The king said to him: stop, let off beating her this way, it is a shame to beat a girl in that way.’

ku-rehema

v. [Sw. *rehemu* SSED 398; Ar. *rahima* ‘love and respect one another’ W 331]

(**rehemele**) have mercy on, compassion for; be generous

Ali/ mrehelele Iisa. ‘Ali had compassion for Iisa.’

mtume chirehema kulla maskiini [st.] ‘the Prophet used to be generous to each poor man’

rel.

ku-rehemesha v. caus. (**rehemesheeze**)

Ali/ mrehemesheze Iisa/ mwaana. ‘Ali caused Iisa to have compassion for the child.’

ku-rehemesheleza v. caus. appl. (**-rehemesheleeze**)

ku-rehemeshelezanya v. caus. appl. rec. (**-rehemesheleezenye**)

rehemu

n. in the phrase:

khtinda rehemu ‘to sever relationship with one’s relatives’

m-rehemu(la) (*wa-*)

adj. [Ar. *marhūm* W 332] the late so-and-so (lit. the one who has found mercy)

Wana wawili/ wa mrehemuḷa sultaani/ wachimpeenda/ nt^ho/ mwana

uyu/ tawalilo usultaani. ‘The two children of the late sultan loved very much this boy who had taken over the sultanship.’

Ye/ waliko muke wa mrehemuḷa Saalehe. ‘She was the wife of the late

Saalehe.’

rehma

n. [Sw. *rehema* ‘mercy, pity, compassion, fellow feeling’ SSED 398] mercy

Amma/ waana/ wa sku izi/ nt^hawaná/ nahrisi/ walá/ adabú/ walá/

rehmá. ‘Truly. children these days do not have pity nor manners nor generosity.’

reeli

n. 9/10 [Sw. *reli* SSED 398; Eng. *rail*] train

ndila ya reeli ‘train track’

chi-reenza (*zi-*)

n. [Eng. *razor*] razor

Atile ka chireenza/ shaati. ‘He used a razor to cut the shirt.’ (Phon. In this example, the instrumental prepositional phrase **ka chireenza** has been moved from its canonical position following the logical object and placed immediately after the verb. In this structure, the focus is on **chireenza**, which is pronounced with a pitch that is raised above the normal. **Shaati** has a pitch which may be lowered more radically than in the usual downstep intonation of neutral statements, but we had not actually done any detailed phonetic study of this matter. In any event, **shaati** is clearly accented. In the corresponding simple yes-no question, the out-of-focus **shaati** undergoes accent-shift: **Atile ka chireenza/ shaati?** In the emphatic yes-no question, both phrases undergo accent-shift: **Atile ka chireenza/ shaati!?** We found it difficult in GM’s pronunciation to determine whether there is actually any substantial difference between the simple and the exclamatory question in terms of the presence or absence of downstep intonation. This may be due to the fact that word order in the statement itself leads to an absence of downstep-intonation as such, even though as indicated there is lowering of the out-of-focus **shaati**.)

Atile shaati/ ka chireenza. ‘He cut the shirt with a razor.’ (Phon. The pitch of the accented syllable *ree* is downstepped with respect to the accented syllable *shaa* in this statement. The downstep is not present in the yes-no question: **Atile shaati/ ka chireenza?** In the exclamatory yes-no question (in GM’s speech), the downstep intonation is preserved, but there there is accent shift in both phrases. The pitch is clearly falling in sentence-final position: **Atile shaati/ ka chireenza!?**)

Atile shaati/ ka chireenza. ‘He cut the *shirt* with a razor.’ (Phon. Notice that our transcription does not distinguish the present sentence from the sentence above. Our transcription only indicates phrasing and the location of accents (since accent on the last word in the phrase is overtly marked, while the default penult accent can be inferred from the absence of a mark on the final vowel); it does not indicate precise pitch levels. In the present example, where there is focus on **shaati**, the pitch level on **shaati** is raised. Although in some cases, we have noted a radical lowering of a phrase following the focused phrase, we did not perceive the lowering to be radical here, though there is clearly lowering. In any case, the corresponding yes-no question to this sentence is clearly different from the sentence earlier: **Atile shaati/ ka chireenza?** ‘Did he cut the *shirt* with a razor?’ The accent-shift in the last phrase shows that it is out-of-focus.)

Atiile/ shaati/ ka chireenza. ‘He *cut* the shirt with a razor.’ (Phon. This is a version of the preceding example where focus is on the verb. In a situation like this, where it is the initial phrase in the sentence that bears the focus, it is not clear to us how exactly how to characterize the prosody. There certainly is lowering of each of the two following phrases, but the overall prosody does not seem to us to be the

same as a simple statement with downstep intonation. Furthermore, while often a phrase following a focused phrase seems radically lowered, this was not observed in the present example. More research is required on these prosodic matters. In the simple yes-no question, there seems to be accent-shift in both of the post-verb phrases: **Atiliile/ shaatí/ ka chireenzá?**)

Ka chireenza/ atilo shaatí. ‘It is with a razor that he cut the shirt.’ Or, with the addition of verb focus: **Ka chireenza/ atilól/ shaatí.** ‘It is with a razor that he *cut* the shirt.’ (Phon. It seems doubtful whether the preposed instrumental phrase can be used without pseudo-relativization of the verb: ??**Ka chireenza/ atile shaatí.**)

mkali/ kana chireenza ‘as sharp as a razor’

Natile ka chireenzá/ shaatí. ‘I cut with a razor the shirt.’ (Phon. The final accent triggered by the first person past tense verb does not extend past **ka chireenza** due to the fact that this phrase has been focused by being placed in Immediately After the Verb position. It is incorrect to pronounce this sentence ***Natile ka chireenzá/ shaatí.** It is possible to focus on the verb, in which the case the final accent does not extend beyond the verb: **Natiilé/ ka chireenza/ shaatí.**)

reeri

n. 9/10 [Som. *reer* DSI 517] family, lineage

chibashirile kheeri/ chiweeke karka reeri [st.] ‘bring us news of happiness, keep us in the bosom of the family’

File Muusa/ reeri/ ivundishile. ‘As soon as Muusa died, the family broke up.’

Mahala yaa we/ beelól/ reeri/ nt^haku. ‘The place where you became lost, there is no family there.’ (A proverb, used to indicate that a person is just doing things that are fruitless, flailing about getting nowhere in his efforts.)’

Muke/ nt^haná/ reeri. ‘A wife does not have a lineage/tribe.’ (A proverb.)

Naayé/ weele/ teena/ ni mooyi/ karka wa reeri. ‘And he became then one of the family.’

Ni habba/ want^hu wa mwini/ huloolól/ ka reerí/ ziinginé. ‘It is small [the number of] people of Brava who marry into another family.’

reeri inúze [song] ‘the family rejected me’

reeri chihaba ‘a small family’

reerii mbovu ‘a bad family’

Omari/ ile ka reerii mbovu. ‘Omari came from a bad family.’

reerii nk^hulu ‘a large family’

reeri suura ‘a good family’

Hamadi/ ile ka reeri suura. ‘Hamadi came from a good family.’

Safiya/ lazile karka reeri/ inayo maalí. ‘Safiya comes from a family that has money.’

Wabjaana/ wa leelo/ hawapeendi/ kuloola/ karka reeri/ zaawo. ‘Youth today do not like to marry inside their own clan.’

Want^hu wa reeri mooyi/ huloola/ ka reeri yiiyo/ iyo. ‘The people of one clan marry from this very same clan.’

resiti

n. [Eng. *receipt*] receipt

chi-reeza

n. 7/8 (cf. **chi-reenza**) [Eng. *razor*] razor blade

Chireza ichije/ ni shkali. ‘That razor is sharp.’ (Cf. **Zireza izije/ ni skali.** ‘Those razors are sharp.’)

chireza shkali/ cha Jee^laani ‘Jeelaani’s sharp razor’ (cf. **zireza skali/ za Jee^laani** ‘Jeelaani’s sharp razors’)

Inayoo maso/ kama chireeza. ‘It has sharpness like a razor.’

Uzile chireeza/ kuwamwole^la waana. ‘He bought a razor to shave the children(‘ heads) with.’

riba

n. [Sw. *riba* SSED 399; Ar. *riban* W 324] usury, high interest

hujo riba mwene karka a^labu [st.] ‘he saw in hell s.o. who charged excessive interest’

kh^hpaa riba ‘to lend money at a high interest rate’

kh^htomolaa riba ‘to lend money at a high interest rate’

khtalaa riba ‘to borrow money at a high interest rate’

Komelopo ka ujee muké/ Sa’iidi/ chambiloowa/ chimwaambiló/ nii muke/ we/ tetee ribá/ umriwo/ hutakiikuta. ‘When he reached that woman, Sa’iidi was told, the one who told him was the you have taken usury, in all your life you will not be satisfied.’

woman,

ku-ri?ika (Ar. ra?iya, Wehr p. 344)

NOTE: Sw. does not have *ridhika* (given as etymo in CLE), but only the forms *ridhi*, *ridhia*, *ridhisha*, see SSED p. 393.

ribhi

n. [Ar. ribh W 321] gain, profit, benefit

shpe ribhi ya tijaara/ cheepushe na khasaara [st.] ‘grant us profit from trade, keep us away from losses’

riða

n.[Sw. *radhi* SSED 393; Ar.] blessing, act of blessing or approving

riðwaani

n. [Ar. *riðwān* W 344] pleasure, delight (esp. in heaven)

ku-riðika

v. [cf. Sw. *ridhika* SSED 393; Ar.] (**riðishile**) be content, pleased; agree to, with; be approved

Abdurahiimu/ riðishile. ‘Abdurahiimu was pleased.’

Riðika. ‘Agree!’ Cf. **Riðikaani.** ‘(Pl.) agree!’ **Siriðiké.** ‘Don’t agree!’

Siriðikeeni. ‘(Pl.) don’t agree!’

rel.

ku-riðikila v. appl. (**riðikiliile**) approve, be content with

Maamaye/ nt^hakuridhikila/ jisa Suufi/ shkorshowa na waawaye/ na

kilasku/ chihada/ mwaana/ mpende chilaala/ choondroka/ mlumile chaala. ‘His mother was never content with the way that Suufi was being raised by his father, and every day she used to say: love a child if he is sleeping, if he is awake, bite your finger for him.’

ku-riðisha v. tr. (**riðishiize**) cause to be content, win the approval of

Abdelaziizi/ mriðishize maana. ‘Abdelaziizi pleased the child.’

Daðalete kumriðisha waawaye. ‘He tried hard to win his father’s approval.’

Harusi iyi/ kama chiza kuwariðisha/ waant^hu/ wanaadamu/

itamriðisha muunt^hu/ mooyi/ tu/ na munt^hu oyó/ ndiyé/ mwajiitu. ‘This marriage, if it does not please people, human beings, it will please just one person and that person is God.’

Siwo/ mana huriðishó. ‘He is not a child who would please.’

ku-riðishana v. tr. rec.

ku-riðishika v. tr. p/s.

ku-riðishiliza v. tr. appl.

Nt^haku/ yaa we/ takhfanyo kuwariðishilizá. ‘There is nothing that you can do to please them.’ [review use of applied verb here](#)

Omari/ mriðishilize Abdulwahaabi/ maana. ‘Omari pleased Abdulwahaabi’s child.’

ku-riðishilizanya v. tr. appl. rec.

Abdinuur/ na Ahmadi/ wariðishilizenye waana. ‘Abdinuur and Ahmadi pleased one another’s children.’

rel. nom.

u-riðikilo n. act of approving

riiha

n. [Sw. *riha* SSED 399; Ar. *riha* W 365] smell

- riihi** n. [Som. *riix* "rheumatism" DSI 519] rheumatism
- riihi** n. [Ar. *rīḥ* "wind" W 364] flatulence, burping, and generally gas in the stomach
- rijaali** adj. [Sw. *rijali* SSED 399; cf. Ar. verb *rajila* "to behave like a man" W 329] manly, brave, intelligent, clever
- ku-rima** v. [Som. *rimi* "to make [a female animal] pregnant" and *rimman* "to be pregnant (animal)" DSI 519] (**rimiile**) conceive, get pregnant (esp. of animals)
Haliima/ rimiile. 'Haliima got pregnant.'
Ngoombe/ rimiile. 'The cow got pregnant.'
Ngoombe/ zinakurima. 'Cows are being conceived.'
Rima. 'Get pregnant!' **Rimaani**. 'You (pl.) get pregnant!'
Sirimé. 'Don't get pregnant!' **Sirimeeni**. 'You (pl.) don't get pregnant!'
- rel.
ku-rimana v. copulate (esp. of animals)
ku-rimisha v. tr. (**rimishiize**) impregnate
Diwi/ na(ku)mrimisha ngoombe. 'The bull copulated with the cow.'
Nuuru/ mrimishize Haliima. 'Nuuru made Haliima pregnant.'
- ku-rimishana* v. copulate (esp. of animals)
ku-rimishika v. tr. p/s.
ku-rimishiliza v. tr. appl. (**rimishiliize**) make pregnant for, on
Nuuru/ mrimishilize Suufi/ mwanaamke. 'Nuuru got Suufi's daughter pregnant.'
- ku-rimishilizanya* v. tr. appl. rec.
Nuuru/ na Omari/ warimishilizenyee wake. 'Nuuru and Omari impregnated one another's wives.'
- ku-rimishoowa* v. tr. pass.
Isa/ ni wakhti/ ya ngoombewa/ kurimishoowa. 'Now is the time for my cows to be impregnated.'
Ngoombe/ nakurimisha. 'The cow is being impregnated.'
- ku-rimoowa* v. pass.
Isa/ ni wakhti/ ya ngoombe/ kurimoowa. 'Now is the time for cows to get pregnant.'
- rel. nom.
m-rimo n. 3
u-rimo n. 14
u-rimisho n. 14
- rimi** n. pregnancy
- rimoorkyo** n. 9/10 [Ital. *rimorchio*] a truck with trailer for carrying goods
- ripooti** n. [Sw. *ripoti* SSED 400; Eng. *report*] report
khtomola ripooti 'to issue, give a report'
kubiga ripooti 'to make a report'
- i-riiri** in the expression:
ndila iriiri 'a narrow or congested road'
- risaala** n. 9/10 [Sw. *risala* SSED 397; Ar. *risāla* W 338] message
chileeta risaala ndraṭila daghaali [song] 'when you send a letter, complaining stops for me'
Mtume Nuuhu/ waliko tumiila/ na mwajiitu/ keendra/ khkomeza/ risaala/ ka makhluuqu/ wa nṭhi izo/ karka waqti/ oyo. 'Prophet Noah was sent by God to go to take a message to the people of those countries at that time.'
nsomeelo risaala mbele mahuzuni [song] 'when I read the letter I became

sad'

- risqi** n. resources; [pron. **risqi** or **riskhi**]
Riskhi/ naazó/ mojiitu. 'Food or other resources, it is God who has them.'
(A proverb.)
- ku-ritha** cf. **ku-waritha** [Sw. **rithi** SSED 400; Ar. **warīta** W 1060] inherit
- ku-riiwaṭa** v. [possibly connected to Som. **reeb** "to stop s.o. from doing s.t., to prevent s.o. from doing s.t." DSI 516] (**riweete**) give a gift (i.e. **riiwu**, see below)
rel.
ku-riwaṭoowa v. pass. (**riweeta**) (of a woman) to be given a gift (i.e. **riiwu**, see below)
- riiwu** n. a gift a man gives to a widowed or divorced woman during the **idda** period (when she cannot remarry), as a token of his intention to marry her as soon as it becomes possible
Keesho/ nt^hakhupaa nguwo/ na riwú/ kumpelekela. 'Tomorrow I will give you clothes and gifts to take to her.'
- riyaahi** the stomach) n. [Sw. **riyahi** SSED 399; Ar. **riyāḥ**, plural of **rīḥ** "wind, fart, smell" W 364] gas (in
- riyaali** found in stories) n. 9/10 [Sw. **riyali** SSED 399; Ar. **riyāl** W 370] riyal, a unit money (but now only
Nuzilee chittá/ ka riyaali/ mooyi/ na riyaaliyé/ ni'iweshelé/ ilu/ ya chilembache/ chiṭaani. 'I bought a [cow's] head for one **riyaali** and his **riyaali** I put it on top of his turban on his head.'
Sa'iidi/ chimpa chizeele/ riyali mooyi. 'Sa'iidi gave the old woman one riyal.'
Shpata thumuni ya riyaali. 'He found an eighth of a riyal.'
- Siwo/ mbovu/ mp^ha riyaali/ mooyi/ nt^hakhupikila chaakuja/ na nt^hakhupa/ mahaḷa/ yaa we/ kulaala/ haṭa/ fijiri.** 'Not bad! give me one riyal, and I will cook food for you and give you a place to sleep until morning.'
- rizqi** [Ar. **rizq** W 336] sustenance, food, edible things, anything that can be obtained
Ye/ ondroshele/ oloshale nt^hakaani/ ki'imerela rizqi. 'He got up and went to the garbage pile to look for his daily sustenance for himself.'
rel.
arzaaqi n. [Ar. **arzāq** W 336] sustenance (note that this Arabic plural form is used with the same general meaning as **rizqi**)
- robo** n. [Sw. **robo** SSED 400] one-fourth, a quarter
robokiilo 'a fourth of a kilogram'
Zinakuzoowa/ mbili/ ka robo riyaali. 'They are sold two for a quarter of a riyal.'
- robo**[Ar. **rub?** W 322]
- rooḏa** n. 9/10 [Ar. **rauḏa** W 367] *Arabacism* garden
variant form: **rowḏa**
ma beina qabri ya Mtume na minb ari/ ni rowḏa ya janna janna kasaani khabari [st.] 'between the Prophet 's tomb and the minbar/ there is the garden of paradise, listen ye to the story'
- roohaani** n. sandalwood
miskhi/ kana roohaani 'as good smelling as **roohaani**'
- romatismo** n. [Eng. **rheumatism**] rheumatism

- u-roongo* n. [Sw. *urongo* SSED 506, sometimes heard for *uwongo* "falseness, falsehood, a lie, lies, untruth, deception, sham, fraud, delusion, pretence" SSED 532]
Lila/ ichiya/ uroongo/ huteenga. 'If truth comes, lies stay away.' (A proverb.)
- rooti* n. 9/10 [Hind.] wheat bread
Chiwa'ulila rooti. 'He bought bread for them.'
kuja rooti 'to eat bread'
unga wa rooti 'flour for bread'
- mu-rsali (mi-)* n./adj.? 1/2 [Ar. *mursal* W 339] "messenger" prophet (It is not clear whether **mursali** is an appositive noun in the expression **mtume mirsali** or an adjective.)
Mitume mirsali/ ni ikum na nt^haano. 'The messenger prophets are fifteen (in number).'
Mooja ka jaaha ya mitume mirsali/ hija ya mwaaka uyu faanya sahali [st.]
'God, for the sake of your messengers, make the pilgrimage easy this year'
mtume mursali 'a messenger prophet', **mitume mirsali** 'messenger prophets' (references a prophet chosen by God and given instructions in religion to communicate to the people; a prophet sent by God)
ya piili amina mitume mirsali [st.] 'the second (pillar of Islam) is believe in the sent prophets'
- ru'ya* n. [Sw. *ruya* SSED 403] dream
- rubta* n. [Ar. *rabta* "bundle" and *rubt* "binding" W 322] bundle (of cloth)
variant form: **rupta**
- ku-ruuda* v. [Sw. *ruda* SSED 402; Ar. *radda* W 333] (**rudiile**) return, come back; shrink
Baaba/ rudiile. 'Father returned.'
Baana/ rudile chibuuku. 'Baana returned the book.'
Baana/ mrudile mwaana/ kaawo. 'Baana returned the child home (lit. to theirs – i.e. his parents).'
Chamura shpeteche/ kumruuda/ jisaa ye/ waaliko/ mukhtaa ye/ ilo nt^hi iyí. 'He ordered his [magical] ring to return him to the way he was when he came to this land.'
Chiguwo/ chirudiile. 'The cloth shrunk.'
Chikhutukulapó/ hakhuruudi. 'When it takes you, it does not bring you back.' (A riddle, the answer to which is: **qabri** 'the grave'.)
Chilawopo numbaani/ kuruudake/ ni masku/ tu. 'When he left home, his return was late in the evening.'
Chimtukula/ chimruda ka mwenewe. 'He took him and returned him to his owner.'
Chiwona kuwaa nfuye/ ndiyé/ namrebo mubliwé/ kuruda numbaani.
'She saw that this monkey was the one keeping her husband from returning home.'
Chizeele/ na mwaaná/ wachiruuda/ muiyini/ ka mamaye mwaana. 'The old woman and the boy returned to the town of the boy's mother.'
Dhibu ikhupisiló/ mojiitu/ sikhuruudile. 'A difficulty that has passed you, may God not bring it back to you.' (A saying.)
Endra kuzimu/ ruuda/ hupati/ jawabu iyo. 'Go to the sky and come back, you won't get anything.'
Haruudi. 'He doesn't come back (usually, as a rule). He wouldn't come back. He won't come back.'
Kheeri/ keendra/ kolko ikumi/ endrá/ ruuda. 'Better nine than ten (if it means) go and come back (to get the tenth).' (A proverb.)
kuruda (chi)nume 'to go backwards; to turn back'

Baaba/ rudile chinume. ‘Father changed his mind (lit. turned back).’

kurudaa numa ‘to put back, delay’

kurudowaa numa ‘to be put back, delayed’

been delayed.’

Fadhi/ ya wazeele/ irudiḷaa numa. ‘The meeting of the elders has

kuruda ka kaziini ‘to get back from work’

Mi/ ndrudile kiitú. ‘I returned home (lit. to ours).’

Mp^hana/ schifakaṭa/ schiruuda/ ka winginewe. ‘The rats ran away and returned to the others.’

Muke/ kumwona/ muḷiwe/ rudiile/ chihuzunika. ‘The woman, seeing that her husband had returned, grew sad.’

Mwiingine/ chihada/ la/ sichimubḷe/ walá/ sichimrude chisimaani.

‘Another one said, No! let us not kill him, neither let us return back into the well.’

Ndru/ chiruda ka sarmaḷa. ‘The relative returned to the carpenter.’

‘When his relative returned, he found the carpenter there at the door waiting for him.’

Ndruwé/ rudiilopó/ chimwona sarmaḷa/ uko mlangooni/ namliindra.

Nguwo/ irudiile. ‘The cloth has shrunk.’

Nt^hale/ ilaziló/ hayruudi/ chinume. ‘An arrow that has left does not come back.’ (A proverb.)

back to your place!’ **Sirudeení.** ‘(Pl.) don’t to gabk!’ **Sirudeení/ kiinu.** ‘(Pl.) don’t go back to your place!’

Rudani aqili ziinu/ ni/ waana. ‘Regain your senses, you children.’

Rudile peesa. ‘He returned the money.’ (Cf. Nt^hakuruuda/ peesa. ‘He did not return the money.’)

Sa’iidi/ chishkila/ ka mlongotiini/ chiruda kaa muke/ nuumbaani.

‘Sa’iidi climbed down the mast and went back to the woman’s house.’

Sirudeení. ‘You (pl.) don’t come back!’

Spisiló/ haziruudi/ darbaṭila/ ziko mbeleyó. ‘The things that went by never come back, be prepared for the things that are ahead of you.’ (A proverb.)

Wachiruda na skunyi ziingi. ‘They returned with much firewood.’

Wachiruda waant^hu/ wotte/ wanakhfuraha. ‘People all came back pleased.’

rel.

ku-ruudika v. p/s.

Safariya/ mi/ irudishilee numa. ‘Me, my journey has been delayed.’

Zibuku izi/ haziruudiki. ‘These books cannot be returned.’

ku-rudiḷoowa v. appl. pass.

not returned the tongue).’

Munt^hu mzima/ harudiḷoowi/ limi. ‘An elder is not talked back to (lit. is

returned to his job.’

Mweenzawe wa kaandra/ chirudiḷoowa/ kaaziye. ‘His first friend was

Naank^hó/ ichirudiḷowa jisiwo/ hattá/ ichendroowa/ mahala/ huviḷowa

Iboholi yaa Waké. ‘Then it (a song) was repeated like this until they reached a place which is called the Pool of the Women.’ (Syn: Observe the two impersonal passive verbs in this sentence:

ichirudiḷoowa ‘there was repeating’ and **ichendroowa** ‘there was going’.)

something that can be repeated.’

ku-ruudila v. appl. return to, bring to, come back, repeat

Basi/ chizeele/ choondroka/ chi’irudila kaake. ‘Then the old woman got up and took herself back to her place.’

Chimruudila/ wachi’iisha/ karka raaha. ‘He remarried her [lit. returned to her] and they lived in comfort.’

Hadiileni/ ruudiḷá. ‘What did you see, say it again!’ Compare: **Hadiileni/**

ruudilá. ‘What did he say, say it again!’ (Phon. Observe the final accent in the imperative verb in these sentences; we have not explored this phenomenon.)

Hamadi/ ^tmruudile/ salamu iyo/ mbujó. ‘Hamadi, return that toy/doll to your sister.’

Jeelaani/ chi’irudila kaake. ‘Jeelaani returned [himself] home.’

kurudilaa limi ‘to talk back’

Waana/ lini/ wachirudilo want^hu wazimá/ limi. ‘Children did not talk back to old people.’

Mub^li/ chi’irudila kaziini. ‘The man went back to work (lit. returned himself to work).’

Mwaana/ chi’irudila kaawo/ naa nyunyi. ‘The boy returned [himself] to his home with the bird.’

Nakhaadirá/ khtumikila khalamuyo? N^hakhuruudila/ ba’ada ya im^tihaani. ‘Can I borrow your pen? I will return it to you after the examination.’

Ndudilile chibuuku. ‘He brought the book back to me.’

Nimrudilile ziiná. ‘I repeated the reading for him.’

Niwarudilile wene^we. ‘I returned it to its owners.’

Sh^tiinda/ kumruudila/ na kum^lata muke uje mwiinginé. ‘He decided to remarry her [lit. return to her] and divorce that other wife.’

Sindruudilé/ ka numba iyi. ‘Don’t come back to me at this house!’

Sul^taani/ chimrudile Sa’iidi/ maaliye/ yotte. ‘The sultan returned to Sa’iidi all his wealth.’

Wachi’iruudila. ‘They came back.’

Waawé/ mi/ niilé/ khurudila mwanaamkewo/ naawé/ nrudila maaliya/ yotte/ yaa mi/ khupelo kuwa ni maharí. ‘My father, I have come to return to you your daughter, and you. give me all my wealth that I gave to you as dowry.’

We/ n^furahishizee n^ho/ kaa we/ kunduudila. ‘You have pleased me very much by your returning to me.’

ku-ruudisha v. caus.

ku-rudoowa v. pass.

amali pashpo ilmu hurudoowa [st.] ‘deeds (done) without knowledge are rejected (returned)’

Hadiya/ ha’irudoowi. ‘A gift is not returned.’

Isa/ ni waq^ti wa kurudoowa. ‘Now is the time to return.’ (Phon. It is possible to put focus on the adverb without shifting the verb to pseudo-relative form: [^hissa/ ni waq^ti wa kurudoowa]. It is also possible to convey the focus on the adverb by putting the verb into pseudo-relative form: **Isa/ ni waq^ti wa kurudoowá.** ‘Now is the time to return.’ However, when the pseudo-relative form is used, there is no extreme emphasis on the adverb.)

Kolokowa mahala/ ni sahali/ kurudoowa/ ni ta’abu. ‘To go somewhere is easy, but to come back is difficult.’

Mwaana/ chamura wote/ kurudoowa/ ilu ya mlima. ‘The boy ordered everyone to return up the hill.’

safari isho kurudoowa ‘a trip from which there is no returning’

rel. nom.

ma-ruudo n. return, the act of returning

safari isho maruudo ‘a trip from which there is no return’

ma-ruudilo n. repeating, bringing back up

ruuhaani (ma-)

n. [Ar. *ruhānī* "spiritual, immaterial" W 365; Som. *rooxan* "beneficial spirit at the service of pious or holy persons" DSI 521] invisible angelic creature

ruuhu

n. 9/10 [Sw. *roho* SSED 400; Ar. *rūh* W 365] self, soul, spirit; oneself

Cheema/ huza ruuhuye/ chiovu/ humershoowa. ‘Something good sells itself, something bad has to be advertised.’ (A proverb.)

Humpeenda/ kannu ruuhu. ‘He loves her like (his) soul.’

Husulo khsaydoowá/ husimika ruuhuye. ‘He who wants to be helped should put himself on his feet.’ (A proverb.)

ka ruuhu/ na maalí ‘with soul and money’

Mi/ tākhusaayda/ ka ruuhu/ na maalí. ‘I will help you with soul and money – i.e. I will help you with everything I have, even my life.’

khfanyiliza ruuhu ‘to pretend’

Bakayle/ ondroshele/ oloshele/ leele/ iwaani/ fanyilize ruuhuye/ kuwaa ye/ file. ‘The rabbit left and went and slept in the sun, pretending that it was dead.’

khfilila ruuhu ‘to die for something’

khtilila ruuhu ‘to revive someone’s spirit for’

Mtilile Umurow/ mwaana/ ruuhu. ‘He revived the child’s spirits for Umurow.’ (Syn. It is not possible to reorder **ruuhu**.)

khtinda ruuhu ‘to die [lit. to cut the soul]’

khtindika ruuhu ‘to die [lit. the soul be cut]’

Omari/ ruuhu/ imtindishile/ sa’a ikumi/ (za) masku/ ya arabiya. ‘Omari died on Wednesday night at ten o’clock.’

khtowa ruhu zaawo/ apa ‘to lose their lives here’

khtila ruuhu ‘to revive someone’s spirits’

Mtile Umurow/ ruuhu. ‘He revived Umurow’s spirits.’

khutaala ruhuuyo bila ya sababu [nt.] ‘they take your life without any reason’

kingila ruuhu ‘to revive in spirits’

Imwingile ruuhu. ‘He revived in spirits.’

kufa ka ruuhu ‘to die for something’

Liini/ shkhadiro khtawala ruuhuyé. ‘He was not able to control himself.’

Maali/ hupatoowa/ ruuhu/ haypatoowi. ‘Wealth is acquired, the soul is not acquired.’ (A proverb.)

mfanyiliize fidiya ruuhu na maaliye [st.] ‘[Abubakar] sacrificed for him [the Prophet] his self and his wealth.’

Mp^haka/ chooloka/ chiłaaza/ ruuhuye/ mahała yiyo/ iyo. ‘The cat went and pretended to be asleep in the very same place (where he had before).’

Mp^haka/ fanyize ruuhuye/ leele. ‘The cat pretended to be asleep.’

Muunt^hu/ chimera chiint^hu/ humereła ruuhuye. ‘When one searches for something, he searches for himself.’ (A proverb.)

Muunt^hu/ hubła ruuhuye/ ka kanaye. ‘A man kills himself by his mouth.’ (A proverb.)

Mwaana/ chiwa’ambila waant^huwe/ kistawisha ruhuzaawo/ kuwala nguwo suura. ‘The boy told his people to make themselves look nice, to put on nice clothes.’

Naawé/ leze ruuhuyó/ salaama/ chiliini. ‘And you put yourself to sleep peacefully on the bed.’

ndimi niiko naa we ka ruuhu na maali [song] ‘I am with you totally (with my self and my wealth)’

Omari/ mambile Hamadi/ chiza kułata jawabu izo/ takhtukula ruuhuyo. ‘Omari told Hamadi don’t keave those things (or) I will take your soul out (i.e. kill you).’

ruuhu ichilawa nt^haku badiliye [nt.] ‘if you lose your life there isn’t another one’

Ruhuu mbovu/ niyubleełó/ dughaaghi/ muja waant^hu/ khuleteleełé. ‘The evil spirit, I killed it, the beast, the eater of people, I brought it to you.’

ruuhu/ na maalí ‘soul/self and wealth’ These are paired in expressions like **kumsa’ida muunt^hu/ ka ruuhu/ na maalí** ‘to help s.o. with all one has, i.e. with personal efforts and with one’s money’

ruuhu na maali mooja m’iptiliile [st.] ‘God afflicted him [Job] in spirit and in wealth’

Ruuhuya/ iyele huz(u)ni. ‘My soul is filled with grief.’

Ruuhuye/ kamba yaa nk^huku. ‘His soul, spirit is like that of a chicken (i.e. weak, timid, soft).’

Ruuhuye/ nuumu/ kana yaa mp^haka. ‘His soul, spirit is hard like that of a cat (i.e. he does not die easily, like the proverbial cat with nine lives in English).’

Si/ shtamhafiða/ na shtamdhoora/ jisa muunt^hu/ humdhoru ruuhuyé/ na zaaydí. ‘We will protect him and we will guard him just as a person does to protect himself and more [than that].’

Skuwona/ ruuhu. ‘I haven’t seen a soul.’

Wake/ watuziza ruuhu. ‘The women were comforted in spirit.’

wanarude ruuhu ‘so that they get their strength back’

Wo/ hufanya kaazi/ khpata khsaayda/ wabli waawo/ na ruhu zaawó. ‘They (e.g. women) do jobs so as to get to help their husbands and themselves.’

Yaako/ ichikhushiika/ tomoza ruuhuyo. ‘When yours catches hold of you, get yourself out!’ (A proverb.)

ruhumu

n. mercy

raaði hulomboowa waana/ ruhuma ya kuzaloowa [st.] ‘they beg the children’s forgiveness and mercy for having brought them to life’

ku-rujuma

v. [Sw. *rujumu* SSED 402; Ar. *rajama* W 329] (**rujumiile**) stone someone, especially for adultery; damn, revile, curse

variant form: **ku-rajima**

kumrujuma miizi ‘to stone the thief’

Ma’siyoole/ kurujumoowa/ ni diini/ haandikó. ‘The one who commits adultery is to be stoned, it is religion that prescribes (this).’

rel.

ku-rujumoowa v. pass.

chirujumoowa ye chilapizoowa [st.] ‘he was reviled (and) he was cursed’

rukhsa

n. [Sw. *ruhusa* SSED 402; Ar. *rukṣa* W 332] permission, authorization, permit, leave of absence

Apo/ zamaani/ sulṭaani/ Harun Rashiidi/ tomele/ amri/ kuwa nt^haku/ rukhsa/ karka muuyiwé/ kashoowa/ mibeebe/ yaa mujo/ walá/ kulatowaa talá/ kaaká/ maskú. ‘Once upon a time king Harun Rashiidi issued an order that there was no permission in the town for *mibeebe* of fire to be lit nor for lamps to be permitted to be lighted at night.’

khpa rukhsa [cf. Sw. *pa ruhusa*] ‘to authorize, give permission’

Chiwapa rukhsa. ‘He gave them permission.’

Mwanaamke/ chimpa rukhsa. ‘The girl gave him permission.’

Nakhsuulá/ we/ kump^ha rukhsa/ mi/ kugura kaaka/ mi/ na mukeewá. ‘I want you to give me permission to move to my own place, me and my wife.’

Sulṭaani/ chimpa rukhsa/ mwaana/ khkooḥa. ‘The sultan gave permission to the boy to talk.’

khpata rukhsa ‘to get authorization’

khtomola rukhsa [cf. Sw. *toa ruhusa*] ‘to give permission’

kumera rukhsa ‘to seek permission’

Chimlataa ndrúwé/ kiingila/ kaa muke/ kumera rukhsa. ‘He sent his relative in to the woman to seek permission (to enter the house).’

Chisimama/ chimera rukhsa/ khkooḥa. ‘He stood up and sought permission to speak.’

Wachimera rukhsa/ ka sulṭaani/ khfunga safari. ‘They asked

permission from the sultan to prepare for a journey.’
Nayo rukhsa/ kuvuta sigareeti. ‘He has permission to smoke.’
Nt^haná/ rukhsa/ kuvuta sigareeti. ‘He does not have permission to smoke.’
Nt^haku/ rukhsa/ sa’a iyi/ muunt^hu/ kumwolokela Harun Rashiidi.
 ‘There was no permission at this time for a person to go to Haruun Rashiidi.’
Shchipoowa/ rukhsa. ‘She [**chizeele** ‘old woman’] was given permission.’
Shpoowa/ rukhsa. ‘He was given permission.’ (Phon. The narrative past tense prefix *chi* is reduced to *sh* in front of a voiceless obstruent. This example contrasts with the preceding example, which derives from /chi-chi-poowa/, where the first *chi* is the subject prefix agreeing with a noun like **chizeele** ‘old woman’ and the second *chi* is the narrative past tense prefix. In this construction, the subject prefix reduces to *sh* in front of a voiceless obstruent, but the past marker cannot reduce since it is both preceded and followed by a consonant once the subject prefix has lost its vowel.)

- rukni** n. [Ar. *rukn* "support" W 359] pillar
rukni ya taatu zaka tomolaani / na rukni yaa nne khfuunga Ramaḏaani [st.] ‘the third pillar [of the faith] : pay the *zaka*, and the fourth pillar is to fast during Ramadan’
Note: for difference between **rukni** = pillar and **rukuni** = customer, see my Etymos R
- ku-ruku’a** v. [Sw. *rukuu* SSED 395; Ar. *raka’a*, *rukū’* W 358] (**ruku’iile**) (cf. *raka’a*)
 stoop in prayer with hands on the knees
 rel.
ku-ruku’isha v. caus. (**ruku’ishiize**)
- rukuu’u** n. [Sw. *rakaa* SSED ***] the act of stooping in prayer with hands on the knees
kendra rukuu’u ‘to stoop in prayer’
- rukuni** n. [cf. Ar. *rukūn* "reliance, trust, confidence" W 359; Som. *rukun* "1. habitual supplier; 2. habitual customer" DSI 522, which relates to Ar. *rukūn* "trust"]
 customer, client (synonym of **maamili**)
- rumaani** n. 9/10 [Sw. *ramani* SSED 395; Ar. *rummān* W 360] map
- rumaani** n. pomegranate
- rumaani** n. a kind of donut (**buru**), which may be either square-shaped or triangular-shaped
- chi-rumbiizi** (zi-) n. 7/8 [Sw. *kirumbizi* SSED 205] a kind of game in which dancers ‘fight’ with sticks; this word is nowadays replaced by **chibangu**
- rupiya** n. [Sw. *rupia* SSED 403; Hind.] rupee
- ku-ruruma** v. make a loud noise
Gari ya Omari/ chibuumbuche/ hururuma. ‘Omari’s car, its horn makes a loud noise.’
Gari ya Omari/ chibuumbuche/ hachirurumi. ‘Omari’s car, its horn does not make a loud noise.’
- rurumu** n. 9/10 [cf. Som. *duddun*, plural *duddumo*, with the variant *duddumo* ‘termite nest’ DSI 196] termite
 variant form: **ndrundrumu**
rurumu uyu/ iyi ‘this termite’ (cf. **rurumu izi** ‘these termites’)
Ziwo/ zote/ zivaliko zijijila/ na rurumu. ‘All of the books had been eaten by termites.’

- ku-rusa* v. [Ar. *raṣṣa* W 342] (**rusiize**) pile in order, place in order, stack up one on top of the other; crowd s.t. into
variant form: **ku-rasa**
kurusa majuuniya ‘to pile sacks on top of one another in an orderly fashion’
Muusa/ rusize majuuniya. ‘Muusa stacked up the sacks.’
kurusa mipaaku ‘to stack packages’
Rusize waana/ mṭanaani. ‘He crowded the children into the room.’
rel.
ku-rusika v. p/s.
Majiwe/ hayarusiki. ‘The stones cannot be stacked.’
Mipaaku/ hurisika jisa suura. ‘Packages can be stacked well.’
ku-rusiliza v. appl. (**rusiliize**)
ku-rusisha v. caus. (**-rusishiize**)
Muusa/ mrusishize mwaana/ majuuniya. ‘Muusa had the child stack up the sacks.’
ku-rusishana v. caus. rec.
ku-rusishika v. caus. p/s.
ku-rusishiliza v. caus. appl. (**-rusishiliize**)
Muusa/ mrusishilize Nuuru/ mwaana/ majuuniya. ‘Muusa had Nuuru’s child stack up the sacks.’
ku-rusishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. (**-rusishilizeenye**)
Muusa/ na Omari/ warusishilizenye waana/ majuuniya. ‘Muusa and Omari had one another’s children stack up the sacks.’
ku-rusoowa v. pass.
Mipaaku/ yanakurusoowa. ‘Packages are being stacked.’
- rushaani* (*ma-*) n. [Sw. *roshani* SSED 401; Pers.] balcony, veranda
variant form: **roshaani**
- wa-ruusi*, (*ma-*) n. Russians
rel.
chi-ruusi n. manner, way of the Russians
Laakini/ jisa aada/ ya chiruusi/ sababu/ walá/ gharḍi/ ya waruusi/ kulusha qamari sinaa’i/ iyi nt^h aykiwishoowa. ‘But as is the custom of the Russians, neither the reason nor the goal in launching this satellite [lit. artificial moon] was made known.’
- Ruusya* n. Russia
Breshnev/ leelo/ karka khuṭbaye/ wa’ambiile/ maruusi/ ya kuwa...ba’ada/ ya miyaaka/ miwili/ ruusya/ ṭakhshiindra/ naṭakhpita/ ameerika/ ka killa chiint^hu. ‘Brezhnev today in his speech told the Russians that after two years Russian will surpass and overtake America in all things.’
- ruṭuuba* n. [Sw. *rutuba* SSED 403; Ar. *ruṭūba* W 345] dampness, moisture, fertility; adj. fertile, moist
nt^hi ruṭuuba ‘fertile, wet land, good for farming’
- ku-ruṭubika* v. be damp, moist, fertile
rel.
ku-ruṭubisha v. caus. (**ruṭubishiize**) make damp
- ruuya* n. [Ar. *ru yā* "vision, dream" W 320] dream
variant form: **ru’ya**
kuwona ruuya ‘to dream’

- ku-ruzuqa* v. [Sw. *ruzuku* SSED 400; Ar. *razaqa* W 336] (**ruzuqiile**) supply with food, means of subsistence, a child, etc. (of God); grant as a favor (of God)
chiruzuqe khfakata marwa na safu [st.] ‘allow us to run (between) Marwa and Safa’
mooja chiruzuqe sabri [st.] ‘may God grant us patience’
mooja chiruzuqe ziyaara zaawo [st.] ‘may God grant us [to celebrate] their anniversary days’
mooja ka jaaha ya mtume na Faaṭima/ chiruzuqe shahaada karka khaaṭima [st.] ‘may God, for the sake of the Prophet and Fatima, grant us [the opportunity to recite] the confession of faith at the time of death’
Mwajiitu/ mruzukhiile/ mtume Ya’aquuba/ waana/ ikum na mooyi. ‘God provided the prophet Jacob with eleven children.’
Mwajiitu/ nakhuruzuqa mwaana. ‘May God give you a child.’
- mu-rzaamu (mi-)* n. 3/4 [Sw. *mlizamū* SSED 291; Ar. *mizrāb* "spout" W 375] drainpipe
murzamu mule ‘a long drainpipe’
murzamu uyu ‘this drainpipe’
rel.
chi-mu-rzamu (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.
i-mu-rzaamu (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
- sa’a* n. 9/10 [Sw. *saa* SSED 404; Ar. *sā’ā* W 441] hour, clock, watch, time (In Chimwiini, a day (*sku*), when considered as a period of 24 hours, starts at 6:00 p.m. Therefore **sa’a mooyi** ‘one o’clock’ is equivalent to 7:00, either a.m. or p.m.)
Huwaakopi/ sa’a izi. ‘Where are they usually at this time?’
Ipisile sa’a mooyi/ sa’aa mbili/ sa’aa nt^hatu. ‘One hour passed, two hours, three hours.’
Isa/ ni sa’a nt^hatu za masku. ‘Now it is nine (lit. three) at night.’ Or: **Isa/ ni sa’aa nt^hatu/ za masku.**
Isa/ ni sa’aa nt^hatu/ za masku/ ni. ‘Now it is nine (lit. three at night), that’s what it is.’ Or: **Isa/ ni/ sa’aa nt^hatu/ ni/ za masku.** ‘Now it is three, that’s what it is, at night.’
kubigaa sa’a ‘to strike the hour’
Isa/ chinakuliindrá/ sa’a/ ya stūdiyo yiitu/ kubiga sa’aa nt^hatu/ za masku. ‘Now we are waiting for the clock of our studio to strike nine (lit. three) at night.’
kubiga/ kanaa sa’a ‘to tick, strike, throb like clock’
Chita/ chinakumbiga/ kanaa sa’a. ‘My head is throbbing like a clock.’
kulla mo qalbiye yiiko kamba sa’a [nt.] ‘everybody’s heart beats like a clock’
Langaḷaa sa’a/ stakuraaga. ‘Look at the time, we will be late.’
maatoya mawaazi sa’a na daqiqa [nt.] ‘my eyes stay open for hours and minutes’
Nch^hifanya kaazi/ sa’a/ ikum na naane/ kulla muunt^hi. ‘I used to work fourteen hours every day.’
Ndrinzile sa’aa nzimá. ‘I waited for a whole hour.’
Nimlinzile Jeelí/ muḍa waa sa’á. ‘I waited for Jeeli for an hour.’
ruuhu huliindra (ka) sa’aye na waqti [st.] ‘the soul awaits its hour and time (i.e. its appointed time for dying)’
Sa’aa kamu. ‘What time is it?’
sa’a sita ‘noon (lit. sixth hour)’
sa’a sita za masku ‘midnight (lit. sixth hour of night)’
sa’a ya chiwovu pocket watch’
sa’a ya lkuta wall clock’
sa’a ya meeza ‘alarm clock’
sa’a ya mkono ‘wristwatch’

Sa'aya/ nt^haykhsimama/ nt^hangú/ itila Ifuunguló. 'My watch never stopped since it was wound up.' (A riddle, the answer to which is **qalbi** or **mooyo** 'heart'.)

kh-saa'ada v. (cf. the more common Chimiini fom: **khsaayda**) help

m-saa'ada (mi-) n. 3/4 [Ar. *musā'ada* W 411] help

Hupata msaa'ada/ ka wana waawo/ wako ndilaani/ khfanya kaazí.
'They obtain help from their children who are away working.'

Msa'ada waa mi/ mp^hetó/ uwaliko mkulu/ kolko waa mi/ shfilaṭiló.
'The help that I got was greater than I expected.'

sa'ari n. price

Nt^hangú/ izidiila/ sa'ari/ ya nafta/ si/ shpeete/ khasara niingi/ na iwaaliko/ ahdi/ ilu yaa nt^hi/ za ch'arabu/ khsaaydila/ nt^hi za chi'aafrika/ ka ruuhu/ na maali. 'Since the price of oil was increased, we have suffered a great loss, and it was a (binding) promise on the Arab countries to help the countries of Africa with soul and money.'

sa'iidi adj. good, nice, kind

Ali/ ni sa'iidi. 'Ali is good.'

rel.

-sa'iidi n. goodness

Omari/ pete usa'iidi. 'Omari is a good man, has the best characteristics.'

sa'ari n. 9/10 [Sw. *saari* SSED 404; Ar. *si'ir* W 411] price

variant (apparently preferable) form:

si'iri n. 9/10

Baabu/ mtile musaaji/ khpunguza sa'ari. 'Baabu made the seller reduce the price.'

Chimuza/ sa'ari ya eelo. 'He asked him the price of the gazelle.'

Chuula/ ka Abunawaasi/ ka sa'ari/ yaa ye/ Abunawaasi/ suliló. 'He bought it from Abunawaasi at the price that he,

Abunawaasi, wanted.'

khpa sa'ari 'to set a price'

khtila sa'ari 'to set a price'

kuzida sa'ari 'to raise the price'

Mgarwa/ wa'uziize/ watumishi/ nsi/ ka sa'ari/ yaa ye/ peenzeló. 'The fisherman sold the fish to the servants at the price that he liked.'

ma-saa'iba n. [Ar. *maṣā'ib* W 529] calamities

duniya nuumba ya masaa'iba na dhibu [st.] 'the world is the abode of calamities and hardships'

sa'iidi adj. [Ar. *sa'id* "happy, blissful, lucky" W 410] **blessed**

Na skuu nt^hatu/ ni ayamu sa'iidi. 'And three days are blessed days.'

sa'iiri n. [Ar. *sa'ir* "blazing flame, hell" W 411] 'the fourth of the seven hells of Islam'

sa'uudi n. Saudi Arabia

amiri ya sa'uudi 'the emir of Saudi Arabia'

mamlaka ya sa'uudi 'the kingdom of Saudi Arabia'

sab'iini adj. [Sw. *sabini* SSED 404; Ar. *sab'ūni* W 394] seventy

sab'ina keendra or **sab'iini/ na keendrá** 'seventy nine'

sab'ina naane or **sab'iini/ na naané** 'seventy eight'

sab'ina nṭhaano or **sab'iini/ na nṭhaanó** 'seventy five'
sab'inaa saba or **sab'iini/ naa sabá** 'seventy seven'
sab'ina sitta or **sab'iini/ na sittä** 'seventy six'

sab'iini

n. a substance used traditionally used to treat **hijaabu** (rheumatism)

saba

adj., n. [Sw. *saba* SSED 404; Ar. *sab á* W 394] seven, seventh

Apo/ zamaani/ waliko sultaani/ mooyi/ na sultaani/ oyo/ waaliko/ zaliila/ waana/ sabba. 'Once upon a time there was a sultan, and this sultan [lit.] was born to seven children.' (Phon. In this example, there was clear gemination of the **b**. However, this item does not behave like a CVCCV word: it regularly induces lengthening of the final vowel of a preceding word when it occurs phrase-final. CVCCV words do not induce such lengthening. This indicates that the gemination in the present example does not represent an inherent attribute of this lexical item.)

askarii saba 'seven soldiers'

ikumi naa saba 'seventeen'

muda wa skuu saba 'a period of seven days'

skuu saba/ kulla ayaamu 'seven days every week'

skuu saba/ stimiilopó 'when seven days passed'

Sku yaa saba/ chiza kuðihira/ mi/ ni uje nṭhakhiliiló/ tu. 'On the seventh day, if he does not appear, I am the one who will just come to you.'

sku yaa saba/ karka wo/ wanakhṭindo skunyi 'on the seventh day while they were cutting firewood'

Sultaani/ wapeenzele/ waanawe/ wote/ shokuwa waa saba. 'The sultan loved all his children except the seventh.'

Wawaye mwanaamke/ wanaawo/ waana/ sabba/ wana sitta/ wateeta/ na sultaani/ oyo/ humkahaṭó. 'The girl's father had seven children; six [of these] children had been taken away by that sultan who hated him.'

Ye/ loosele/ kuwaa ye/ wene ngoombe/ saba/ wanene/ nakuwajó/ ni ngoombe/ saba/ wembaamba. 'He dreamed that he saw seven fat cows and it was seven thin cows who were eating them.'

rel.

sabataashara n., adj. seventeen

saba

n. **review meaning**

khfanyaa saba 'to perform, celebrate **saba**'

sababu

n. 9/10 [Sw. *sababu* SSED 404; Ar. *sabab* W 392] reason, cause

bila sababu 'without reason'

Chimaliza/ rudaani/ mphate kinaambila/ sababu yaa mi/ nfungililo ruuhuyá. 'Then you (plural) come back so that I can tell you the reason that I have tied myself up.'

Chimindra Safiya/ sababu/ ye/ tamaniile/ na suliile/ nṭhó/ Safiya/ kuwa mukeewe. 'He waited for Safiya because he desired and wanted very much for Safiya to become his wife.'

Isa/ si/ chinaayo/ kuwa sababu/ ya mwaalimu/ kufa/ ndiwé. 'Now we believe [lit. have it] that the reason that the teacher died is you.'

ka sababu 'because, for the reason'

ka sababu mweepe 'for some reason'

Siimba/ chighaḍibika/ nṭhó/ ka sababu imkalile kuwa... 'Lion became very angry because it seemed to him that...'

ka sababu ya 'because of'

ka sababu ya mwanaamkewa 'because of my daughter'

Nakuḷa ka sababu ya uje nyunyi. 'I am crying because of that bird.'

khutaala ruhuuyo bila ya sababu [nṭ.] 'they take your life without any

reason?

Mukhta mwaana/ komelo Ifuwooni/ sultani Simsini/ sulile kumtinda chitache/ ka sababu zaa ye/ fanyiizo. 'When the boy reached the shore, sultan Simsini wanted to cut off his head because of what he had done.'

Nakuḷa ka sababu ya uje nyunyi. 'I am crying because of that bird.'

Nt^hashkuwanaayo/ sababu yaa si/ ku'awaaḍila. 'We did not have reason to complain.'

and perforated me this eye.'

Pashpo/ sababu/ mbishile/ nt^humbile iḡo iyi. 'Without a reason, he hit me

sababu gani 'why?'

Sababu/ ni mayti/ ya muunt^hu/ hurudoowa/ ka mojiitu/ jisaa yo/ yiiko.

'The reason [why the dead are not cremated] is that the corpse of someone should be returned to God just as it is [no alterations are to be made].'

Sababu yaa mi/ khfuraha/ kila/ nch^hilangala/ ka kubli/ ni ka khisa/ mi/ huwona/ kuwaa dhibu/ ije/ inepushile. 'The reason that I rejoice each time I look to the right is because I see that those troubles (e.g. caused by the wife who had lived there) have avoided me.'

Sababuye/ nini. 'What is the reason?'

Siisi/ sababu gani/ uzizo gaariye. 'I do not know for what reason he sold his car.'

Ziwovu izi/ zotte/ stulushilo/ sababu ndimi. 'All this evil that has happened is because of me.'

rel.

asbaabu n. [Ar. *asbāb*, W 392, the Ar. plural of *sabab*] pretext, justification, false reason

kh-sabiba

v. [Ar. *sabba* W 392] cause

Sababu/ ya safari/ iyi/ itaakuwa/ ni kumeera/ kuhila/ ba'aḍi/ ya mashaakili/ yasabibiilo/ makosanyo/ benaa nt^hi/ izii mbili. 'The reason for this trip will be to seek to solve some of the problems that have caused misunderstandings between these two countries.'

Takhsabiba mootiwa. 'You will cause my death.'

rel.

kh-sabibila v. appl.

Chimaliza/ ba'ada ya maraḍi/ kumfanya ḍa'iifu/ na bardí/ kumsabibila maraḍi miinginé/ kaptani/ Ortes/ nt^hakuvuundika/ qalbi. 'Then after sickness made him weak and cold caused him (to suffer) other diseases, Captain Ortes [still] did not become discouraged.'

Majini/ wamwenopo Sa'iidi/ wafurahiile/ nt^ho/ wafurahiile/ ka khisa/ wo/ wapeete/ fursa/ kumwangamiza/ na kumsabibila kharaabu. 'When the djinns saw Sa'iidi, they were very happy, they were happy because they had gotten an opportunity to harm him and to cause him destruction.'

rel. nom.

m-sabibisha (wa-) n. 1/2

u-sabibisho n. 14

kh-sabiqā

v. [Ar. *sabaqa* W 394]

saabiri

adj. patient

sabri

n. 9/10 [Sw. *saburi* SSED 405; Ar. *ṣabr* W 501] patience

alternative form: **sawari** (but this form from MI has not been confirmed)

chiza sabri lawa nt^hiini ya kuzimu [st.] 'if you do not (want to be) patient, get out from under the sky (i.e. this world)'

Isa/ siná/ sawari/ yo yote. 'Now I have no patience whatsoever.'

Iyi/ ndiyó/ yaa ni/ nsuliiilo/ tu/ laakini/ sabri/ ni suura. 'This is just what

- you (pl.) wanted, but patience is good.’
Jeelaani/ waliko mwenye sabri. ‘Jeelaani was patient.’
ka sabri numa fanyiiza sultaani [st.] ‘due to patience, later he was made king’
laazima sabri daa’imu/ amri ya Mooja Haakimu [st.] ‘to always have patience is a must/ for it is the will of the Almighty’
Matuundra/ humvivila mwenye sabri. ‘Fruits ripen for the one who has patience.’ (A proverb.)
Nazo sabri za mtume Ayuubu. ‘He has the prophet Job’s patience.’
Sabri/ huzala suukari. ‘Patience produces sugar.’ (A proverb.)
Sabri/ ni ifungulo la faraji. ‘Patience is the key to (lit. of) relief.’ (A proverb.)
- Sabri/ ni sibiri.** ‘Patience is as bitter as **sibiri**.’ (A proverb.)
- kh-sabrisha* v. caus. (cf. **sabri**)
Nafsi sabrisha. ‘Cause the soul to be patient!’
- saabuuni* n. [Ar. *ṣābūn* W 502] soap
Saabuuni/ hufanyowa ka maftaatala. ‘Soap is made from fat.’
- sabuura* n. [Ar. *sabbūra* W 394] blackboard
Omari/ nakhpangula sabuura. ‘Omari is erasing the blackboard.’
Sabuura/ ipangushile. ‘This blackboard has been erased.’
sabura yaa ye/ andishiló ‘the blackboard that he wrote on’
- sabuuri* adj. most patient
iyoni ni tabii’a ya muunt’u sabuuri [st.] ‘that is the behaviour of a most patient person’
- sadaqa* n. [Sw. *sadaka* SSED 405; Ar. *ṣadaqa* W 509] alms, charity
Chilomba sadakha/ chiloombó. ‘She begged for alms, that’s what she did.’
Chingila kuloomba/ sadakha. ‘He started to beg for alms.’
Hupikaa zijo/ za sadakha. ‘They cook **zijo** as **sadaqa** for the poor.’
Huṭomola sadakha/ waant’u/ wotte. ‘He gave alms to all the people.’
khhkomeza sadakha ‘to give alms to the poor so that they may have the Quran read for their dead relatives’
Mi/ ni muunt’u/ nakulombo sadakhá. ‘I am a person begging for alms.’
Mwaana/ chikhṭima qur’aani/ hufaanya/ sadakha. ‘When a child completes the Quran (at school) he prepares food as **sadakha**.’
Waana/ wachiruda kawo ziwooni/ naa mbuzi/ oyó/ ishfanyowa sadakha. ‘The children went back to their schools and that goat was given as charity.’
- u-sadaqa* n. 14 [Ar. *ṣadāqa* W 509] friendship; [pron. **usaadaqa** or **usadakhā**]
- sadaati (ma-)* (cf. **sadiyi**) [from Ar. plural form *sādāt* W 440] a synonym for **mashariifu** (= descendants of the Prophet)
- kh-sadifa* v. [Sw. *sadifu* SSED 405; Ar. *ṣadafa* W 508] (**sadifiile**) coincide
Haruusiye/ isadifile haruusiya. ‘His wedding coincided with mine.’
- kh-sadiqa* v. [Sw. *sadiki* SSED 405; Ar. *ṣadaqa* W 508] (**sadiqiile**) believe; [pron. **khsadiqa** or **khsadikha**]
Abubakari msadiqiile Qumari [st.] ‘Abubakari believed the Prophet’
makhluuqu kuwa haadithi we khsadiqa [st.] [that] creatures are not eternal, believe [that]’
sadiqa qowli ya mtume Amiini [st.] ‘believe the sayings of Prophet
- Mohammad’

life hereafter' *ya taano amri ya qiyaama sadiqa* [st.] 'the fifth point, believe the fact of the

saadiqi adj. [pron. **saadiqi** or **saadikhi**]

munt^hu saadiqi 'one who tells the truth'

Ye/ waliko saadiqi/ ka yaa ye/ hadiiló. 'He was truthful in what he said.'

Safa n. one of two hills, now located in the Masjid al-Haram in Mecca, between which Muslims go back and forth seven times during the pilgrimages Hajj and Umrah (the other hill is Marwa)

chiruzuqe khfakata marwa na safa [st.] 'allow us to run (between) Marwa

l-safa (safa)

n. [Ar. *ṣaff* "aligning or arranging in a line or row" W 516] line, row

kingilaa safa or **kingila safaani** 'to get in line'

kubiga lsafo 'to form a row, line'

kubigaa safa 'to form rows, lines'

kulawaa safa or **kulawa safaani** 'to come out in lines'

Ma'askari/ wamoo safa (or: **wamo safaani**). 'The soldiers are in rows.'

Safa/ ni chiogobe. 'The lines are short.'

Safa/ nii ndre. 'The lines are long.'

ma-saafa

n. [Ar. *masāfa* "distance" W 442] distance

Apa/ haṭá/ Miini/ ni masafa chihaba. 'From here to Brava is a short distance'

Apa/ haṭá/ Miini/ nt^hamu/ masaafa. 'From here to Brava there is no distance – i.e. it is just a short distance from here to Brava.'

Apa/ haṭá/ Miini/ yimo masaafa. 'From here to Brava there is a distance – i.e. it is a long distance to Brava.'

Ba'ada yaa si/ kiineendra/ masaafa/ chimwene eeló/ mkulu/ msuura. 'After we walked some distance, we saw a gazelle, large and beautiful.'

Bila khfikira/ Haaji/ chirasha chidila cha hoola/ na ba'ada ya kinendra masaafá/ malé/ ofeetopó/ shpandra ilu yaa muti/ khpumula. 'Without thinking, Haaji followed the path for animals and after walking a long distance, when he got tired, he climbed a tree to rest.'

khṭinda masaafa 'to run, walk for a long time'

Ba'ada ya khṭinda masaafa/ sungura/ chireptama teena. 'After walking for a long time, Rabbit stopped again.'

Muunt^h/ oyo/ waṭiinzle/ masaafa/ makulu/ hattá/ wakomeele/ mahala/ iwaalikó/ mlima/ mkulu/ na wachiwona ndila/ inakeendró/ ndani mwandaani. 'That day, they walked a long distance until they reached a place where there was a large hill and they saw the road that was going in and in.'

Omari/ tinzile masaafa/ miingi. 'Omari walked for a long distance.'

masafa miingi 'a long distance'

Ndovu/ ba'ada ya khṭinda masaafa/ tulushile/ fiile. 'The elephant, after running for a long time, fell down and died.'

Masaafa/ benaa Mkhodiisho/ na Mwiini/ ni kilometri 200. 'The distance between Mogadishu and Brava is 200 kilometers.'

masafa chihaba or **masaafa/ chihaba** 'a short distance'

Masaafa/ hinendroowa. 'It is some distance that is required to be walked.'

masafaa male or **masaafa/ male** 'a long distance'

masafa miingi or **masaafa/ miingi** 'a long, great distance'

masaafa/ yiimo 'there is a distance in between'

Mp^haamp^ha/ chanza koowela/ oweleele/ naa nfuye/ mungooni/ kaake/ muda wa masaafa. 'The shark began to swim; he swam with the

monkey on his back for some distance.’

Niineenzelé/ masaafa/ haṭá/ nk^homeelé/ mahaḷa/ iwaliko nuumba/ mooyi/ tu. ‘I continued walking some distance until I reached a place, there was just one house there.’

Nṭamu masaafa. ‘There is not much distance.’

Wachiineendra/ jis’iyo/ muda/ wa masaafa. ‘They walked that way for quite a distance.’

safaara

n. [Ar. *sifāra* W 413; cf. Som. *safaarad* DSI 530] embassy

safari

n. 9/10 [Sw. *safari* SSED 406; Ar. *safar* W 413] trip, journey, traveling

Ba’adi yaa ye/ kumnoola/ uko/ uko/ ichimshika safari/ kendra mahaḷa.

‘Some time after marrying her, he had to take a trip to go somewhere.’

Endrá/ mwaambile/ kuwaa we/ rudilo ka safariini. ‘Go and tell him that you have returned from the trip.’

kendra safari ‘to go on a trip’

Mgeeni/ takendra safari. ‘The stranger/guest will go on a trip.’

kendrowa safari ‘(for) a trip, journey to be gone on’

Safari/ itakendrowa na mgeeni. ‘A trip will be gone on by the stranger/ guest.’

khfanya safari ‘to go on a trip’

khfunga safari ‘to set out on a journey’

Huseeni/ na mwanaamké/ washfunga safari/ wachisaafira.

‘Huseeni and the girl set out on a journey, they took off.’

Shfunga safari/ chilawa/ karka muuyi/ oyo. ‘He set out on a journey and got out of that town.’

kuwamo safariini ‘to be ready to travel, to be traveling shortly’

Mp^ha peesa/ ningilile safari. ‘Give me money so that I can get provisions for the trip.’

Muun^hu/ mooyi/ funzile safari/ kooloka/ muyi mwiingine. ‘A man got ready to travel to another town.’

Na khfanyilizoowa/ zaakuja/ zaa wo/ kingilila safari. ‘And to be prepared for them food to use as provisions on the journey.’

Oyo/ sirize/ [↑]niingi. ‘That one, his secrets are too many! (He does not share what is inside him.)’

safari iyi ‘this trip’

Safari/ sku izo/ iwaliko suura/ ghaaya/ naawó/ wotte/ wa’istereheele. ‘Traveling those days was very good and they all enjoyed themselves.’

Safari/ ya kuraaga/ nda tijaara. ‘A delay in traveling (may be) a blessing (lit. a profitable commercial transaction).’ (A proverb that takes the point of view that perhaps when one is delayed in undertaking some action, God meant that delay to happen, and something good will arise from it.)

Safari ya Makka inaayo faa’ida/ kulangaḷoowa Ka’ba ni ibaada [st.] ‘the journey to Mecca is beneficial, just looking at the Ka’ba is an act of worship’

safari yiingine ‘another trip, another time’

Safariya/ mi/ irudishilee numa. ‘My journey, me, has been

delayed.’

Safari yiitu/ ituykile sku niingi. ‘Our trip took many days.’

safariyo ‘your trip’; **safarizo** ‘your trips’

Safarizo/ [↑]niingi/ we. ‘Your travels are too many, you.’ (The superscript upwards pointing arrow in this example indicates that the predicate adjective **niingi** is radically raised in pitch, such that its pitch is clearly higher than the initial accented syllable, which is usually the pitch peak. The pronominal element **we** is radically lowered in pitch, which we do not specifically mark, as it would seem to be predictable from the extreme raising on the preceding phrase.)

Sku yaa tatu/ mzeele/ rudiile/ ka safariini. ‘On the third day, the old man returned from his trip.’

safha

n. page of a book

saafi

adj. [Sw. *safi* SSED 405] clean, pure, clear, good

kumkhuduma mwaana/ na ikhlaasi/ na niya saafi ‘to obey the boy with loyalty and pure intention’

mafta saafi ‘pure oil’

mayi saafi ‘clean water’

Maayiye/ masaafi/ na maladá. ‘Its water (of a river) was clean and fresh.’

na niya saafi khutila janaani [st.] ‘and good (pure, clean) intentions put you in paradise’

saafi/ kamba uki ‘as pure as honey’

saafi/ kana chilolo ‘as clean, clear as glass’

saafi/ kana chisiinga ‘as clean, clear as a **chisiinga** (a type of plate, bowl)’

rel.

u-saafi n. 14 cleanliness, purity

safihi

adj. [Sw. *safihi* "impudent, bold, shameless" SSED 405; Ar. *safih* “foolish, silly, incompetent” W 414] s.o. who has a loose tongue; a squanderer; s.o. abusive, disrespectful, insulting, insolent (Note that while Sw. has a verb *safihi* related to this adjective, there is no such verb used in Chimiini.)

kuwa safihi ‘to be a squanderer’

Mi/ kila/ cheendra/ numba/ iwaliko lpandre la kubli/ nch^hiwonaa

dhibu/ ka khisa mukeewa/ walimo numba uyó/ waliko muke m(w)ovu/ safihi/ limiile/ lwovu. ‘Every time I went to the house that was on the right side, I used to see difficulties, because my wife who was in that house was an evil woman, insolent, her tongue was bad.’

munt^hu safihi ‘a loose-tongued person’; **want^hu (ma)safihi** ‘loose-tongued people’

Simpé/ maaliyo/ munt^hu safihi. ‘Don’t give your wealth to a squanderer.’

u-safihi

n. 14

khfanya usafihi ‘to have a loose tongue, to insult people shamelessly’

khfanyiliza usafihi ‘to insult someone shamelessly’

kh-saafira

v. [Sw. *safiri* SSED 406; Ar. *safara* W 412] (**safiriile**) travel (Phon. This verb is one of many which illustrates a major difference between Swahili and Chimiini; whereas a verb borrowed from Arabic in Swahili routinely ends in a vowel other than *a*, in Chimiini the final vowel is regularly *a*, just as in native words.)

Haaji/ meenzawe/ Abdi/ husafira ka wiingi. ‘Haaji’s friend Abdi travels a lot.’ Or: **Haaji/ meenzawe/ Abdi/ husafira niingi.** Or: **Haaji/ meenzawe/ Abdi/ husafiraa nt^ho.**

Husaafira. ‘They travel.’

takeendró/ kummera mkulé. ‘I will not disembark (from the ship), I will travel with Huseeni to go with him where he will go to look for his older brother.’

Mubli/ chimwambila mukeewe/ basi/ chisaafire/ cheendre/ nt^hi iyo. ‘The husband said to his wife: so, let us travel and go to that land.’

Mukhtaa ye/ leeselá/ sultani daalimu/ chimwaambila/ mubliwo/ safiriile/ na hachiisi/ ye/ takuruda liini/ laakini/ we/ leelo/ takisterha naami/ apa/ numbaani. ‘When she was brought, the unjust sultan said to her: your husband has travelled and we do not know when he will return, but you today will rest here with me in my house.’

nchisula khsaafira ‘if you (pl.) want to travel’

N(n)akhsaafirá/ leelo. ‘I am leaving on a trip today.’ (Cf. **Nakhsaafira/ leelo.** ‘He is leaving on a trip today.’)

Sho khsaafira/ ni Shekhabugaawo. ‘The one who never travelled is Sheikh Abu Gaawo.’ (A proverbial saying.)

Sultaani/ mukhtaa ye/ iwiló/ kuwa mgarwá/ safiriile/ shtuma/

watumishiwe/ keendra/ kumtukulaa muke/ wa mgarwa/ kumleta kaake. ‘When the sultan knew that the fisherman had travelled, he sent his servants to go to carry the wife of the fisherman and bring her to his place.’

Wachisaafira/ nt^{ho}/ nt^{hi} ziingine. ‘They used to travel a lot to other countries.’

Waana/ wasafirile na wawa yaawo. ‘The boys travelled with their father.’

Ye/ safirile sku niingi. ‘He travelled many days.’

rel.

kh-safirila v. appl.

ki[’]isafirila ‘to take oneself off on a journey’ (Phon. Observe that the infinitive prefix *ku* is altered to *ki* in front of the reflexive prefix.)

kulundra jahazi/ khsafirila ‘to build a boat to travel with’

kh-safirisha v. caus. (**safirishiize**) make someone depart, travel; help, provide the means for someone take a trip; send, provide a load for a vehicle to take someplace; drive a car or truck (as a job)

Burhaani/ msafirishize Ali. ‘Burhaani provided the means for Ali to travel, or persuaded/ coerced etc. Ali to travel.’ (A periphrastic causative may be used as an alternative, but only in the sense of persuade/ coerce: **Burhaani/ mtile Ali khsaafira.**)

Fulaani/ humsafirishó/ ni Huudi. ‘The so-and-so who made him travel (and trade so that they might get a profit) was Huudi.’

Fulaani/ husafirisha gaari. ‘So-and-so drives acar (as his job).’

Ji/ msafirishize mwaana/ maduriini. ‘Ji sent the child to the country.’

kumsafirisha Hindo ‘to cause Hindo to travel (e.g. by providing assistance of some sort to her)’

Msafirishize na waanawe. ‘He made him depart with his children.’

Safirishize gaari. ‘He drove a truck (i.e. that was his job).’ or ‘He provided a load for the truck.’

kh-safirishana v. caus. rec.

kh-safirishiliza v. caus. appl.

Hinda/ msafirishilize Abdallah/ mwaana. ‘Hinda help Abdallah’s child to take a trip.’

kh-safirishoowa v. caus. pass. (**safirishiiza**)

kh-safiroowa v. pass. (**safiriila**) be travelled

Isafirila na mapeema. (There is no English sentence that corresponds well with this type of sentence, which we can refer to as an impersonal passive, lit. ‘It was travelled early.’)

Masku/ mazimaye/ washfanya kaazi/ jisa fijiri/ khsafiroowa. ‘The whole night they worked so that in the morning they could travel [lit. to be traveled].’

rel. nom.

u-saafiro n. 14 [Sw. *usafiri* xxx] journeying, traveling

safiri

n. [Ar. *safir* W 413; cf. Som. *safir* DSI 530] ambassador

m-saafiri (wa-)

n. 1/2 [Sw. *msafiri* SSED 406] traveler

Ishondre ikulu/ nda msaafiri. ‘The large lump of faeces is from the traveler.’ (A proverb.)

Msaafiri/ ni maskiini/ haṭá/ chiwa sulṭaani. ‘A traveler is a poor person even if he is a king.’ (A proverb.)

Mwenye ngamiila/ chimuza msaafiri. ‘The owner of the camel asked the traveler.’

Na waant^{hú}/ wasaafiri/ daa’ima/ chiwa wanakhpita/ hukalaant^{ha}/ apo/ khtala maayi/ na kunesha hola zaawó/ maayí. ‘And people, travelers, every time when passing, they stay there to fetch water and to give their animals water to drink.’

Ni mzeelé/ msaafiri/ ḏa’iifu/ nt^{ho}/ maskiini. ‘I am an old man, a traveler, very weak, poor.’

Sa’iidi/ mfuṭurishize msaafiri. ‘Sa’iidi provided food for the traveler to break fast.’

- u-saafiro* n. 14 [Sw. *usafiri* SSED 406] journeying, traveling
- kh-saafisha* v. [Sw. *safisha* SSED 405; Ar. *ṣafa* W 519] (**safishiize**) clean, purify
Chisu cha Hasani/ nakhsaafishó. ‘It’s Hasani’s knife that I am cleaning.’ (Answers the question: what are you doing?)
Ñnakhsafisha chisu cha Hasaní. ‘I am cleaning Hasani’s knife.’ (Answers the question: what are you doing?)
Ñnakhsafisha chisú/ cha Hasani. ‘I am cleaning Hasani’s knife.’ (Answers the question: what thing of Hasani’s are you cleaning?)
Ñnakhsaafishá/ chisu cha Hasani. ‘I am *cleaning* Hasani’s knife.’
Ñnakhsafisha chisu=ch-é/ Hasaní. ‘I am cleaning Hasani’s knife.’ (Our consultant GM accepted the order NP-possessive NP, with the two NP’s being in separate phonological phrases. He did not accept ***Ñnakhsafisha chibukuche Hasaní.** This construction, where the possessive NP precedes the possessor in the same phonological phrase is one that Mohammad Imam used. It was also observed in texts that he collected, probably from relatives.)
Ñnakhsaafisha Hasaní/ chisuuché. ‘I am cleaning Hasani’s knife.’ Or: **Ñnakhsaafishá/ Hasani/ chisuuche.**
- Nthakhsaafisha/ nuumba.** ‘She did not clean the house.’
Saafisha. ‘Clean!’ **Safishaani.** ‘(Pl.) clean!’ **Sisafisheení.** ‘(Pl.) don’t clean!’
Safishani qalbi. ‘(Pl.) purify the heart!’ **Sisafisheení/ qalbi.** ‘(Pl.) don’t purify the heart!’
Safishize nuumba. ‘She cleaned the house.’
Wa’ingile kaziini/ khsafisha nuumba. ‘They began to clean the house.’
- rel.
kh-safishoowa v. pass.
nuumba/ imalizopo khsafishoowá ‘when the house was finished being cleaned’
- safiito* n. [Ital. *soffitto*; cf. Som. *safiito* "sheet of plywood used to line ceilings" DSI 530] plywood sheets to line ceilings
variant form: **sofiito**
- saghaare* n. [Som. *sagaaro* "small antelope, dik-dik" DSI 530] a type of gazelle **check whether gh is velar fricative**
- kh-saghiirata* v. [Som. *saqiir* "to die in infancy" DSI 536] (**saghireete**) die at an early age (of a child)
variant form: **khsakhiirata**
rel. nom.
u-saghiirato n. the death of a child
- saghiiri* n. [cf. Sw. *saghiri* "small, little, youngest" SSED 406; cf. Ar. *ṣagīr* "little" W 516] an infant who has died in childbirth
saghiiri mzelewe sho khtinda wakhlaali [st.] ‘the parents of a dead child who do not perform the **wakhlaali** ceremony’
taala sabri chifa mwaana saghiiri [st.] ‘be patient if you have a child who dies in childbirth’
- kh-sagula* v. [??Sw. *sugua* "scrub, clean by rubbing" SSED 438] (**sagiile**) steal or come and eat someone’s share of s.t.; (e.g. a visitor coming and eating s.t. that was set aside for another)
kumsagula Nuuru ‘to eat Nuuru’s share’
rel.
kh-sagulika v. p/s. able to have one’s share taken from one
Nuuru/ hasaguliki. ‘Nuuru cannot be robbed of his share.’
- saha* adj. [Sw. *sahihi* SSED 407; Ar. *ṣahḥa* "to be correct, true" W 503] correct, exact

koði ya saha ‘exact words’
Omari/ jawaabuye/ ni saha. ‘Omari’s answer is correct.’
Omari/ kooðiye/ ni saha. ‘Omari’s words are correct.’
majibu siwo sahá ‘an answer that is not correct’
tarikhi ya saha ‘exact date’

kh-saha v. [Sw. *sahihi* SSED 407; Ar. *ṣaḥḥa* "to be correct, true" W 503] (**sahiile**) correct an assignment, an exercise in school
Sahile insha za wanafuunzi. ‘He corrected the students’ compositions.’
rel.
kh-sahika v. p/s.
kh-sahila v. appl.
nom. rel.
u-saho n. act of correcting

sahaaba n. pl. [Sw. *sahaba* M&N 2078; *sahibu* SSED 438; Ar. *ṣaḥḥb* has several possible plurals: *aṣḥāb*, *ṣaḥḥb*, *ṣaḥāba*, *ṣuḥba* W 504 as well as *aṣ-ṣaḥāba* "the companions of the Prophet" W 504] followers, companions of the Prophet
variant forms: **sahaabu, suhuuba, masahaaba**
Ahmada loonzelo ka ndila njeema/ pamo na nduuzo na sahaaba weema [st.] ‘Ahmad who begged for the right path/ together with his and followers’
pamo na ndruiuzo na sahaaba weema [st.] ‘together with his relatives and good followers’
Sheekhi na sahaabuze/ watakujiwanishoowa [st.] ‘the Sheikh and his companions/ will be granted eternal bliss’
zita spisilo karka masahaaba/ maamala chiza takhkosha ijaaba [st.] ‘the fighting among the Prophet’s followers, be quiet about, otherwise you will fail to achieve success’

m-sahaafu (mi-) n. 3/4 [Sw. *msahaafi* SSED 300; Ar. *maṣḥaf* “copy of the Koran” W 505] the text of the Quran
Maali/ mi/ speendi/ haṭá/ habamó/ sho kuwa msahaafuwa/ mp^ha raaði/ maamé/ speendi/ chiint^hu/ chiingine. ‘[Your] wealth, I do not want it, not even a little of it, except my Quran; give me [your] blessings, I don’t want anything else.’
Takubiga msahaafu/ ka chilapo. ‘I will swear on the Holy Quran (lit. hit the Quran for my swearing).’

sahali n. [?Ar. *sāḥil* "seashore" W 400] a kind of shore bird that lives off fish and can dive deep into the water to catch them
Sahali/ huzala ikodho. ‘A *sahali* gives birth to an *ikodho* (a kind of shore bird that survives on the left-overs of the *sahali*).’ (A proverb, which warns one not to take something too lightly; taking something that is really difficult and considering it easy will lead to a bad result. The proverb refers to the belief that while it is possible for a **sahali** to give birth to an **ikodho**, an **ikodho** cannot give birth to a **sahali**.)

sahali adj. [Sw. *sahala* SSED 406; Ar. *sahl* W 437] easy
chibuku chiwaliko sahalí/ khsomoowá ‘that book which was easy to be read’
Chibuku icho/ ni sahalí/ khsomoowa. ‘That book is easy to be read.’
Chibuku icho/ ni sahalí/ khsomoowake. ‘That book its being read is easy.’
chibuku khsomoowake/ iwaliko sahalí ‘this book which its reading was easy’
chibuku ni sahalí/ khsomoowá ‘the book that is easy to be read’
chibuku ni sahalí/ khsomoowaké ‘the book that is easily read’
Khfanya Jaani/ mabsuuti/ ni sahalí. ‘For John to be pleased is easy.’ Or:
Khfanyowa mabsuuti/ Jaani/ ni sahalí. Or: **Jaani/ khfanyowa mabsuuti/ ni sahalí.** Or: **Jaani/ ni sahalí/ khfanyowa mabsuuti.**

khfanya sahali 'to make easy'

Mi/ ni sahali/ ka kaaka/ kuruuda/ kiitu. 'For me it is easy to go back home.'

Ni sahali. 'That's not a problem. That's easy.'

Ni sahali/ khfungula mlango wa numba iyi. 'It is easy to open the door of this house.'

Ni sahali/ khsomowake chibuuku. 'It is easy its being read the book.' Or:

Ni sahali/ chibuuku/ khsomoowake. 'It is easy the book its being read.' (While MI accepted both of these sentences, he rejected ***Ni sahali/ khsoma chibuuku.** He also doubted *?**Ni sahali/ kichisoma chibuuku.** 'It is easy to read the book.'

Ni sahali/ kumfanya Jaani/ mabsuuti. 'It is easy to please John.' Or: **Ni sahali/ kumfanya mabsuuti/ Jaani.** Or: **Kumfanya Jaani/ mabsuuti/ ni sahali.** Or: **Kumfanya mabsuuti/ Jaani/ ni sahali.**

Nthosheze ni sahali/ khfanyoowa/ gaariya. 'I thought that it would be easy for my car to be fixed.' Or: **Nthosheze ni sahali/ gaariya/ khfanyoowa.**

Sadiiqi/ iwaliko sahali/ khpikishowa chaakuja. 'Sadiiqi was easy to be made to cook food.' Or: **Iwaliko sahali/ Sadiiqi/ khpikishowa chaakuja.**

Sultani waa noka/ takishpaa dawa/ itakishfanyiliza sahali/ khkoma mahala mtume Suleemaani/ ukó. 'The king of snakes will give us medicine that will make it easy for us to reach the place where the prophet Suleemaani is.'

Tahaðari/ wabjaana/ wa leelo/ siwo/ sahali. 'Be careful! The young men of today are not easy (to deal with).'

Ye/ takiwaayi/ mwambiile/ (ni) jawaabu/ sahali/ tu. 'How will he know?

She told him: it is something that's just easy.'

sahamu

n. [Sw. *sehemu* SSED 412; Ar. *sahm* "portion, share" W 438] share of an inheritance
Ye/ tete sahamuye. 'He took his share.'

sahani

n. 9/10 [Sw. *sahani* SSED 406; Ar. *ṣaḥn* W 505] plate

Kamaa we/ chimp^hikila sahani mooyi/ ya mpuunga/ kila muunt^hi/ itamfanya Sultani Daraayi/ faqiiri. 'If you cook for me one plate of rice each day will it make Sultan Daraayi poor?' (Phon. The shift of accent in the final phrase is due to the yes-no question nature of this example.)

Sahani yiinu/ na ya mwaanawe/ ye/ tilee zijo. 'On your (pl.) plate and on that of her child she put zijo.'

Sahaara

n. the Sahara desert

sahari

n. difficulty

Umo karka sahari. 'He is in (e.g. financial) difficulty.'

rel.

sahariiri n. [Som. *saxariir* "suffering, torment" DSI 539, but in the Tunni dialect it is used in the sense of "having a difficult time"] difficulties, suffering

iluhuma/ ka sahariiri 'hardship and suffering'

kuwona sahariiri 'to see, experience difficulties'

Abdulrahmaani/ wene sahariiri/ ka iluhuma/ safari iyi.

'Abdulrahmaani experienced hardship and suffering on the journey.'

Umo karka sahariiri. 'He is in difficulty (e.g. financial, but could be any sort).'

sahbi

n. [Ar. *ṣaḥb*, one of the possible plurals of *ṣāḥib* W 504] (variant of **sahaaba, ma-sahaaba**) = companions

na ndruiuze na sahbi wenye sidqi [st.] 'and his (=the Prophet's) relatives and the sincere companions'

- saahera** n. [Ar. *sāhira* W 400] witch
variant form: *saahiri* (*ma-*)
Jirani wiitu/ ni saahera. ‘Our neighbor is a witch.’
Saheera/ watishize waant^hu. ‘The witch frightened people.’ (cf. **Waant^hu/ watishiza na saahera.** ‘People were frightened by the witch.’ Also cf. **Watishizo waant^hú/ ni saahera.** ‘Who frightened people was the witch.’)
- kh-saahiba** v. [Ar. *ṣāhibā* W 503] (**sahibiile**) befriend someone
Mwana uyu/ wasahibile want^hu wawovu. ‘The child befriended bad people.’
rel.
kh-sahibana v. rec. [Sw. *suhubiana* SSED 438] (**-sahibeene**) be friends
- saahibu** (*Ø, ma-*) n. [Sw. *sahibu* SSED 438; Ar. *ṣāhib* W 504] friend; possessor
Mooja chiloongole chiraashe diini/ ilmu humsaayda saahibe qabriini [st.] ‘may God guide us and make us follow the [percepts of the] faith; knowledge helps those who possess it when they are in the grave’ (Note that **sahibuye**, from /saahibu=ye/, has a variant form **saahibe**.)
rel.
as.habu pl. *poetic*
sahaaba (*ma-*) pl.
sahbi pl. *poetic*
sahbu n. **comrades**
na ilu ya mtume sala na salaamu/ na ndruzaze wotte na sahbū dawaamu [st.] ‘and on the Prophet may be prayers and greetings, and on all his relatives and comrades, for ever’
- saahibuḷmaali** n. owner of the property
Saahibuḷmaali/ gadimishize da’wa. ‘The owner filed a suit.’
- Saahibuḷmi’raaji** n. the man of the ascension, i.e. Mohammad
- sahūifa** (*ma-*) n. [Sw. *sahifa* SSED 407; Ar. *ṣāḥifa* W 505] newspaper; page of a book
- sahūiha** n. 9/10 [Sw. *sahīha* SSED 407; we did not find an Arabic noun meaning "signature"
from this root] signature
khtila sahiha ‘to sign, put one’s signature on’
Basi/ isa/ nandikilaa khaṭī/ ka mkonowo/ kuwa ziint^hu/ zaa we/ humilkó/ zotte/ ni mulkuwa/ na chimalizá/ tila sahiha/ na biga muhuriwo. ‘So now write a letter for me by hand [saying] that everything that you own is my property and then put your signature on it and put your seal on it.’
- sahūiha** adj. certain, true, correct
Ni sahiha/ kuwa waawo/ ilé. ‘Is it true, certain that your father came?’
review pronunciation of this yes-no question... shift
- kh-sahūiha** v. [Ar. *ṣāḥḥa* "to attest, to sign" and *ṣāḥīḥ* "authentic, valid" W 503]
to final accent in the last phrase is the only case of accent shift?
- kh-sahūiha** v. [Sw. *sahīhi* SSED 407; Ar.] sign; [rarely] correct
rel.
kh-sahūihila v. appl. sign with, for; transfer
khsahihila mulki ‘to transfer one’s possessions to’
kh-sahūihisha v. caus. (**sahihishiize**) verify
kh-sahihishiliza v. caus. appl.
kh-sahihishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

- rel. nom.
u-sahiiho n. 14
- kh-sahila* v. [Ar. *sahula* "to provide" W 437] (**sahiliile**) bless with
Mwajitu/ nakhusahila mwaana. 'May God bless you with a child.'
- saahibu ihraamu* =**mwenye ihraamu**
miskhi hadaari saahibu ihraamu [st.] 'one does not touch perfume when
in the state of **ihraamu**'
- saahiri (ma-)* n. [Ar. *sāḥir* W 400] witch
rel.
u-saahiri n. **meaning and example**
- m-saaji (mi-)* n. 3/4 [Sw. *msaji (mi-)* SSED 399; Ar. *sāj* W 391] teak tree; in Brava, any hard wood
of reddish color (also called **muti mhuundru**)
- kh-sajila* v. [Ar. *sajila* W 398] (**sajiliile**) record
rel.
kh-sajilila v. appl. (**sajililiile**)
nom. rel.
u-sajilo n. **meaning and example**
- saajima* n. 9/10 [Sw. *shemeji* SSED 419] brother- or sister-in-law
saajimá 'my brother- or sister-in-law' (cf. **sajimaza** 'my brother/sister-in-laws')
- sakaraati* n. [Ar. *sakarāt [al-maut]* "agony of death" W 417] death throes; time, moment of
death
dying!'
Hamadi/ hadile/ sakaraati/ sakaraati. 'Hamadi said: (I am) dying! (I am)
Qur'aani hiinfa karka sakaraati [st.] 'the Quran is useful at the moment of
death'
ukali wa sakaraati/ Sheekhi ka chiza konyoowa [st.] 'from the torturous
agonies of dying/ may the Sheikh be spared'
- sakharaani* adj. drunk
Khamri/ khufanya sakharaani. 'Liquor makes you drunk.' (Observe that
the habitual prefix {hu} elides before the second person object prefix {khu}. This elision does not take place
before a [cl.1] object prefix, for example: **Khamri/ humfanya sakharaani.** 'Liquor makes him drunk.' or
Khamri/ humfaanya/ sakharaani.
**Humkina/ kuwa...ni muunt'u/ mweepe/ sahkraani/ laakini/ ni kheeri/
chiliindre/ ye/ nabige teena/ mlaango.** 'It is possible that there is some drunkard (there), but it is best that we
wait so that he knock again at the door.'
- sakhaawa* adj. [Ar. noun *sakāwa* "generosity" W 402] liberal, generous (Phon. Since this word
derives from the fricative in Arabic, in Chimiini it is always pronounced as **kh** and
may never have the variant **q**.)
amiyé miingine sakhaawa gaasi/ na inaye Sayyidina Abbaasi [st.] 'his [the
Prophet's] other uncle was liberal [and] brave, and his name is
Sayyidina Abbas.'
rel.
u-sakhaawa n. 14 [Ar. *sakāwa* W 402] generosity
wakopi wenyé khalāawa / na zeema na usakhaawa [st.] 'where are those
who practised retirement from the world, good deeds, and
generosity?'
- sakhiyi (Ø, ma-)* adj. [Ar. *sakīy* W 402] generous, indifferent to the material things of the world (but
can also be used in the opposite sense of a miser); [pron. **sakhiyi** or **sakhiyyi**]

Ijint^hu iyi/ ni isakhiyi. ‘This big fellow is generous.’ (Morph. This adjective is used with reference to human beings. If the noun is non-derived, then we have the agreement pattern: **munt^hu sakhiyi** and **want^hu (ma)sakhiyi**. Augmentative and diminutive nouns require agreement, as seen in the example above and also: **mijint^hu misakhiyi**.)

rel.

u-sakhiyi n. 14 generosity; lack of interest in the material things of the world

saakiṭi

adj. [cf. Sw. *sukutu* "be silent" SSED 439; Ar. *sākit* W 417] silent

kh-sala

v. [Sw. *sala* SSED 408; Ar. *ṣala* W 524] (**salīile**) say prayers (at the prescribed times)

aṭa chisala p(w)eeki pashpo wahali [st.] ‘even if one prays alone without companions’

Hasani/ salīile/ ka himaahima/ maliize/ mbele ya waant^hu/ wotte/ oloshela/ tete chibaṭera/ bishile/ makasiya/ mpaka jahaziini. ‘Hasani prayed quickly; he finished before all the people and went and took a small boat and rowed to the ship.’

Huseeni/ malizopo khsalá/ chiwona/ kuwa jahazi/ mbilize/ yaake/ ba/ na ya mkuḷé/ zondroshele. ‘When Huseeni finished praying, he saw that both of the ships, his as well as that of his older brother, had moved.’

khsala fijiri ‘to pray the morning, dawn prayer’

khsala laakuja ‘to pray the prayer of sunset’

khsala lapiili ‘to pray the afternoon prayer, between 3 p.m. and 5 p.m.’

khsala laatulo ‘to pray the evening prayer’

khsala shpiindri ‘to pray the noon prayer’

Sho khsala/ ni mkaafiri. ‘One who does not pray is an infidel.’

Wamalizopo khsalá/ wachilawa/ wachendra ka sulṭaani. ‘When they finished praying, they went out and went to the sultan.’

Watile ngiisha// bahariini/ wachishkila/ ka chibaṭera/ wachendra funguuni/ khsala. ‘They put the anchor in the sea and they disembarked on a small boat and they went to the shore to pray.’

rel.

kh-salika v. p/s.

kh-salila v. appl. (**salīile**) pray with, for

khsalila mayti ‘to pray for the corpse -- after someone has died, he is ritually washed and enshrouded in a **kafani** and taken to the mosque; there the body is placed in front of people and the **imaamu** leads prayer asking God to forgive the deceased’

tamsalilo Mtume nayo shifaa’a [st.] ‘the one who prays for the Prophet has [the Prophet’s] intercession [on his behalf]’

kh-salisha v. caus. lead in prayers

Muskitiini/ ka Maftaaho/ husalishó/ ye/ menewe/ Sharif Muftaaho. ‘In the mosque of Maftaaho, the one who leads the prayers is Sharif Muftaaho himself.’

kh-salishana v. caus. rec.

kh-salishiliza v. caus. appl.

kh-salishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-saloowa v. pass. be prayed

masku nt^haasa fijiri yo khsaloowa [st.] ‘in the evening before morning prayers are said’

ndruuza khsaloowa wakhti nt^haano laazimu/ za faró hu’ink’iro ni

mzuungu ḍaalimu [st.] ‘our brothers must pray five times, the one who denies the obligatory prayers is an infidel, a wrongdoer’

(These two lines contain each twelve syllables. In the second line, **u’i** is counted as one syllable.)

Shtaanga/ ni sala husalowa fijiri ya sku ya iidi. ‘Shtaanga is a prayer that is prayed on the morning of **iidi** (ya wamuusi).’

m-sala (*mi-*)

n. 3/4 [Sw. *msala* SSED 408] mat made of **milala** leaves (To make a **msala**, the vegetable fibers (**milala**) are cut longitudinally into thin strips and plaited, no loom or other implement is required; these plaits, 2 to 3 cm. wide, are then sewn together.)

Abunawaasi/ chala msala/ nt^hi. ‘Abunawaasi spread the mat on the floor.’

- Husuka msala.** ‘She plaits a mat.’
msala mtaka ‘a dirty mat’; **misala mitaka** ‘dirty mats’
Msala uje/ ni mnasha. ‘That mat is smooth.’
mwaalimu/ na msalá ‘a teacher and a mat’; **mwaalimu/ na misalá** ‘a teacher and mats’
mwaalimu/ na msalawé ‘a teacher and his mat’; **mwaalimu/ na misalayé** ‘a teacher and his mats’
- Sku mooyi/ mwanaamke/ naayé/ kaleent^{hó}/ nt^{hi}/ nakhsuko msalá/ chimpotelela/ chinoka/ iluke.** ‘One day while the girl was sitting on the ground plaiting a mat a small snake fell down on her.’
- rel.
chi-sala (zi-) n. 7/8 [cf. Sw. *msala* "prayer rug" SSED 408] prayer rug
i-sala (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
isala ipaana/ ya mwiskiti ‘the wide mat of the mosque’; **misala mipaana/ ya mwiskiti** ‘the wide mats of the mosque’
- kh-salima* v. [Sw. *salimu* SSED 409; Ar. *salima* "to surrender, resign oneself" W 424]
khsalima amri ‘to give oneself up (e.g. to the police); to recognize a failure’
khsalima amri/ ka mwaajitu ‘to commit one’s cause to God, resign oneself to the will of God’
- kh-salimila* v. [Sw. *salimia* SSED 409; cf. Ar. *salām* "Islamic greeting" W 425] say hello to someone for; give one’s regards to
Chandikaa khati/ nsalimila Muusa. ‘If you write a letter, say hello for me to Muusa.’
- kh-salisha* v. [etymology unknown] (**salishiize**) lose one’s money (which he has given for the purpose of getting a profit through trading)
Ali/ msalishize Hamadi. ‘Ali lost Hamadi’s money (e.g. he did not invest it wisely, or he spent the money instead of using it for the purpose of engaging in trading activities).’
Ali/ salishize ruuhuye. ‘Ali lost his (own) money (e.g. by giving it to someone whom he should not have depended on to engage successfully in trading activities).’
- saliita* adj. slippery
ndila ya saliita ‘a slippery road’
- kh-salita* and *saliṭi* ‘viciue” W 422] v. (**salitiile**) [Sw. *saliti* SSED 409; cf. Ar. *salāṭa* “lack of restraint in one’s language” report, incite, turn someone against someone, cause friction between people
Ali msalitiile Nuuru/ ka askari. ‘Ali reported Nuuru to the police.’
- rel.
kh-salitiila v. appl. talk someone into doing harm to another
kh-salitiiloowa v. appl. pass.
sho khsala husalitiiloowa minoka/ chifa hupondroowa ka ndruundo na stoka [st.] ‘one who does not pray is sent snakes (to do harm to him); when he dies, he is beaten with hammers and axes’
kh-salitoowa v. pass.
- kh-salitika* v. be crazy for, fall in love
rel.
kh-salitoowa v. pass. (**salitiila**) be hung up on (e.g. in love with)
Ali/ salitiila na Haliima. ‘Ali is hung up on Haliima.’
- salwa na manna* [Ar. *salwa* “comfort” W 427 and *mann* “boon” W 925] a fixed expression: ‘high on the hog’; [pron. **salwa/ na manná**]
keesho takulishoowa salwa na manna [st.] ‘tomorrow he will be fed sumptuously’

Ni munt^hu hujo saḷwa/ na manná. 'He is a person who eats high on the hog.'

saḷitinaari

n. [Som. *saliid naar* "iodine [lit. oil of fire]", Italian-Somali Dictionary, p. 687, probably from Arabic verb *šaly* "to burn" W 524 + *nār* "fire" W 1009] iodine

saḷuuṭi

n. salute
kubiga saḷuuṭi 'to salute'

sala

n. 9/10 [Sw. *sala* SSED 408; Ar. *ṣalāh* "Islamic official prayer ritual" W 524] prayer
Ba'adi yaa sala/ kuḷa mooyi/ humḷazima kendra kuzura wazaaziwe/ ahḷiye/ na weenzawé. 'After the prayer (on the **idi ya wamuusi**) everyone is obliged to go to visit his parents, his relatives, and his friends.'

khfungaa sala 'lit. to close a prayer -- meaning: to *start* a prayer (one of the five fixed daily Islamic prayers)'

khfungula sala 'lit. to open a prayer -- meaning: to *end* a prayer, or to interrupt it (usually only for emergency reasons)'

khsala shtaanga 'to pray **shtaanga**'

Fijiri ya sku iyi/ waant^hu/ wote/ hendra miskitiini/ khsala shtaanga. 'On the morning of this day all people go to the mosque to pray **shtaanga**.'

Shtaanga/ ni sala husalowa fijiri ya sku ya iidí. 'Shtaanga is a prayer that is prayed on the morning of **iidí (ya wamuusi)**.'

Mwaana/ chimwambila waawaye/ mi/ ndrriinzilé/ nt^heendre/ haṭá/ kharibu yaa sala/ ya fijiri. 'The boy told his father, I watched over the dates until near the time of the morning prayers.'

Sala/ husalowa ka wakhtíwe. 'Prayer is done/prayed at its time.' (A proverb.)

Sala/ ni nt^haano. 'There are five prayers (prayed each day).'

Sala/ ni waajibu. 'Prayers are a must.'

sala salaamu [used only in **steenzi**] prayer for peace for the Prophet
sala na soomu ilmuye ni farḏi [st.] 'prayer and fasting, their knowledge, is obligatory'

sala ya fijiri 'morning prayers'

sala ya mayṭi 'the prayer for the dead'

Ba'adi ya khsaliḷoowa/ sala ya mayṭi/ hurudowa janazaani/ hutukuloowa/ khpelekowa makhabriini. 'After being prayed for the prayer of the dead, [the corpse] is returned to the funeral bier and it is carried and taken to the cemetery.'

wakhtí waa sala 'time for prayer'

ya piḷi ni sala ya tatu soomu [st.] 'the second (pillar of faith) is prayer, the third is fasting'

rel.

salawaati [Ar. *ṣalawāt* W 524] in expression:

munt^hu khamisa salawaati 'lit. a person of five prayers, i.e. who prays regularly five times a day'

kh-saala

v. [Sw. *saa* SSED 404] (**seele**) remain, stay

Basi/ mzele igobeegobe/ chisaaló/ ni yee peeke/ tu. 'So the old tortoise was the one who remained, just him alone.'

Chiṭa cha ngoombe/ chiseele. 'The head of a cow remained.'

Hasani/ chisaala/ na mwanaamke/ wa sultaani/ uje mkhada'ilo karka

matezó. 'Hasani remained with the daughter of the sultan, the one who had cheated him in the (card) games.'

Hasiibu/ sele iboholiini/ sku ya kaandra/ ya piḷi/ na sku ya taatú.

'Hasiibu remained in the hole the first day, the second, and the

third day.'

Ichiwa/ Hasani/ sele chinume/ cha waant^hu/ wotte. 'It became that Hasani remained behind all the people.'

Isa/ sala paapo/ we/ mi/ humphati. 'Now stay there, you cannot get me.'

Karaayle/ weene/ kuwaa dafa/ zote/ hendra kanisaani/ na nt^haku/ mooyi/ husalo muyiini. 'Crow saw that all the kites went to church and there was not one who remained behind in town.'

maadamu nt^hakhsaala ye muuyi wa Miini [nt.] 'no one remained in the town of Brava'

Mukhta wo/ wa'oshezo mikonó/ khaadimu/ naayé/ chiya/ chija/ makombo yaseeló/ haṭá/ chiikuta. 'When they washed their hands, the servant (lit. and he) came and ate the leftovers until he was satiated.'

muyiini waseelo ni wake na waana [nt.] 'in the town remained women and children' -- lit. in the town, those who remained were women and children'

Nseeló/ ndimi/ peeke. 'The one who remained was me alone.'

Nt^hakhsaala/ muunt^hu. 'Not one person remained [alive].'

Nt^heende/ zijiila/ naa nyunyi/ nt^hayikhsaala/ haṭá/ nt^hende mooyi/ mutiini. 'The dates were eaten by a bird, not even one date remained in the tree.'

Sa'iidi/ tomele riyaliye/ mooyi/ imsaaliló/ chimpa oyoo muke. 'Sa'iidi paid the one riyal that he had remaining and gave it to that woman.'

Saala. 'Remain!' **Salaani.** '(pl.) remain!' **Salani numbaani.** 'Remain in the house!' **Sisaleeni.** '(Pl.) don't remain!' **Sisaleeni/ numbaani.** 'Don't remain in the house!'

Shalaayi/ husalaa numa. 'Regrets remain to the end.' (A proverb.)

Sisaleeni/ numbaani. '(Pl.) don't remain in the house!'

Wachimwaambila/ kingila khtomola uki/ useeló. 'They told him to enter [the hole] and bring out the honey that remained.'

Wachisala maskiini. 'They became [lit. remained] poor.'

Waant^hu/ wapanziloo miti/ nt^hawakishkila/ muunt^hi/ oyo/ mzimawe/ na maskuyé/ waseele/ ilu yaa miti/ kaa ndala/ na ooni. 'The ones who had climbed trees [in fear] did not come down, that whole day and its night they remained in the trees, hungry and thirsty.'

zaakuja/ za kiikusa/ na za khsaalá 'food which satisfies and is sufficiently much to have some left over'

rel.

kh-saalila v. appl. remain to, for

Ikhusaliló/ ni sabri/ na khsawaraṭá. 'What remains to you is patience and to be patient.'

Peesa/ schimaliza kujoowa/ mwene/ humsaaliló/ ni kubiga magoonjo/ ki'ililila. 'Once the money is gone (lit. eaten by someone) what remains for the owner is to sit on his knees and cry for himself.'

Zinsalile dolarii mbili. 'Two dollars remained to me.'

kh-saaliza v. caus. appl. (saliize) leave behind for

kh-saaza v. (seeze) leave s.t. behind; save, store up

Isa/ teena/ Yuusufu/ peete/ jisaa ye/ kumsaaza/ Bin.yaameeni/ khkalant^ha naaye. 'So then Joseph found the way to kee Benjamin to stay with him.'

Karkaa ye/ walimo usenziini/ ilee nyunyi/ jile nt^heende/ yotte/ nt^hakhsaaza/ haṭá/ haba mooyi. 'While he was sleeping, a bird came and ate all the dates and did not leave behind even a single one.'

Makoombo/ yaa ye/ seezó/ chimpaa mbwa. 'The leftovers that he did not eat he gave to the dog.'

Naayé/ chija/ chiikuta/ chisaaza. 'And he (e.g. the dog) ate and got satiated and left some of the food behind.'

Nt^hakhsaaza/ chiint^hu. 'He did not leave anything (i.e. he spent everything he had).'

Saaza. ‘Leave some behind!’ **Sazaani.** ‘(Pl.) leave some behind!’ **Sazani maandra.** ‘(Pl.) leave some bread.’ **Sisazeeni.** ‘Don’t leave behind!’ **Sisazeeni/ maandra.** ‘Don’t leave bread behind!’

kh-sazoowa v. pass. be left behind

Nt^hakhsazoowa. ‘Lit. he was not left, i.e. he was thoroughly beaten or completely robbed.’

rel. nom.

m-saala (*wa-*) n. the one who remains, stays behind

Msalaa numa/ huwona iluhuma. ‘He who remains last sees hardships.’ (A proverb.)

m-salaba (*mi-*) n. 3/4 [Sw. *msalaba*] cross

salabu n. [not as commonly used as **msalaba**. above] cross

u-salaaha n. goodness, rightness

salafu n. [Sw. *siafu* "a small reddish-brown ant which bites fiercely. They travel in large swarms and attack all living creatures alike." SSED 428] red ant

salaama adv. [Sw. *salama* SSED 408; Ar. *salāma* W 425] safely, peacefully; n. safety

Baaba/ zimkomelopo khabari/ kuwa mwaana/ rudiile/ salaama/ na ile/ na bakh^ti/ ya dughaa^ghi/ shfuraha/ nt^ho. ‘Father, when the news reached him that the boy had returned safely and had come with the corpse of the beast, was very pleased.’

khpata salaama ‘to get salvation, escape’

Nfuye/ iwiilopó/ yaa ye/ nakhpelekelowa numbaani/ shfikira jisa khpata salaamaye. ‘The monkey, when he realized why he was being taken to [the shark’s] home, thought how to escape.’

Sultaani/ shfurahika/ nt^ho/ kuwaa ye/ pete salaama. ‘The sultan was very pleased that he had escaped death [lit. gotten salvation, safety].’

ku^lawa salaama ‘to be unharmed (after an accident) – lit. to come out unharmed’

Mwana wa sultaani/ lazile salaama/ ye/ na mtumawé/ mooyi. ‘The son of the sultan emerged safely [from the storm], he and his servant.’

Mojiitu/ khupele salaama. ‘Did God grant you safety?’ (Said to a woman who has just given birth to a child, after a safe delivery. Obligatory reply: **alhamdulillah** ‘praise be to God’.)

Mwaana/ chihada/ khabari suura/ ni kuwaa mi/ mwaanawo/ ndrudile numbaani/ salaama. ‘The child said: the good news is that I, your child, returned home safely.’

Naawé/ leze ruuhuyó/ salaama/ chiliini. ‘And you put yourself to sleep peacefully on the bed.’

shpe kheeri na salaama/ duniyaani na qiyaama [st.] ‘give us happiness and safety, in this world and in the hereafter’

uhaqi wa nafsi kumeera salaama [nt.] ‘it is one’s right to seek safety’

ya Rasuul Allahi ... mpa iziwa ya suruuri na salaama [st.] ‘O Prophet of God, give me the milk of happiness and safety.’

salamaki n. [Sw. *sanamaki* "senna, a laxative" SSED 410; Ar. *sanāmak^k* W 436] (=senna) a plant used as a laxative; leaves are crushed and boiled in water and the concoction is drunk as tea

salaamu n. 9/10 [Sw. *salamu* SSED 408; Ar. *salām* W 425] greeting (The greetings referred to by this term are **assalaamu aleekum** (the greeting extended) and **wa aleekum salam** (the greeting returned).)

Ba’ada ya salaamu/ chimwaambila/ sultaani/ mi/ nnakhsula khteza

karatá/ na mwanaamkewó. ‘After the greeting, he said to the sultan: I want to play cards with your daughter.’
khpa salaamu ‘to greet’

Mukhtạa ye/ komeloo mbelé/ za Harun Rashiidi/ nt^hampa/ salaamu/ Harun Rashiidi. ‘When he arrived in front of Haruun Rashiidi, he did not greet Haruun Rashiidi.’

nch^himwona/ ndilaani ‘if I see him on the road’; or, **mukhtạa mi/ nt^hamwona/ ndilaani** ‘when/if I will see him on the road’; or, **kanaa mi/ nch^himwona/ ndilaani** ‘if I see him on the road’

Nch^himwona/ ndilaani/ nt^hampa salaamu. ‘If I see him on the road, I will greet him.’ Or: **Nt^hampa salaamu/ nch^himwona/ ndilaani.** Or: **Ndilaani/ nch^himwona/ nt^hampa salaamu.**

khpanana salaamu ‘to exchange greetings’

Ba’adaa wo/ khpanana salaamu/ baaba/ chimwaambila/ we/ ndreteleelé/ khabari/ mbovu/ za mwaanawa/ na isá/ naami/ nt^hakhupa khabari suura/ zaa nduwó. ‘After they exchanged greetings, father said to him: you brought me bad news about my son, but now I will give you good news about your relative.’

khpokela salaamu ‘to return a greeting’

khṭomola salaamu ‘to extend greetings’

ba’ada ya khṭomola salaamu ‘after extending greetings’

Dul’eda/ ðihiriilopó/ shṭomola salaamu/chihada/ salaamu/ ya mwajiitu/ inaawe/ iluko/ we/ ori. ‘When the fox appeared, he extended greetings, saying, greetings of God be on you, rooster.’

Malizopo khṭomola salaamú/ baaba/ chimwuuza/ nini/ khabari za nt^heendre. ‘After he extended greetings, father asked him what the news was concerning the dates.’

kumpa salaamu ‘to greet someone’

kendra kumpa mkewe salaamu ‘to go and greet his in-law’

kuruda salaamu ‘to return a greeting’

salawaati

(cf. **sala**) [Ar. *ṣalawāt* W 524] in expression:

munt^hu khamṣa salawaati ‘lit. a person of five prayers, i.e. who prays regularly five times a day’

kh-saliba

v. [Sw, *sulibi* SSED 440; Ar. *ṣalaba* W 521] crucify
rel.

u-salibo n. 14 crucifixion

variant form: **usalibu**

saalihi

adj. [Sw. *salihi* SSED 409; Ar. *ṣāliḥ* W 523] correct, well-behaved, well-mannered, virtuous, pious

mana saalihi ‘a well-mannered child’

Salihya

n. a Sufi order

alamu ya Salihya ‘the Salihya flag’

saliimu

adj. [Sw. *salamu* SSED 408; Ar. *ṣalīm* W 426] healthy and without defect (of an animal)

tiinda saliimu wakhlaali na aarafa [st.] ‘slaughter a healthy animal for **wakhlaali** and **aarafa** [two celebrations]’

saluuku

n. behavior

Si/ leelo/ wa’aafrika/ siwo/ raaḍi/ pamooyi/ na saluuku/ na mweendró/ waa nt^hi/ za ch’arabú. ‘Today we Africans are not pleased with

the behavior and the treatment of the Arab countries.’

- sam'an waṭaa'an** a fixed expression from Arabic meaning 'I hear and I obey'
- samadi** n. [Ar. *ṣamad* W 525] an attribute of God (Lord eternal, everlasting)
- samadi** n. [Sw. *samadi* SSED 409; Ar. *samad* W 428] fertilizer, manure
xtila samadi 'to spread manure' **check vowel length**
- saamaani** n. 10 [Sw. *samani* SSED 410; Hindi and Pers.] household furniture, utensils
samani izi 'this furniture'
samanii mp^hiya 'new furniture'
saamaanize 'his furniture'
samanii=ni 'among the furniture'
- saambavu** n. 9/10 [Som. *Sambab* DSI 534] lung
kumpaa mba/ saambuvu 'to give lungs to the dog(s)'
kuvuta neefu/ ka saambavu 'to breathe in air with the lungs'
maraḍi ya saambavu 'lung disease'
Omari/ nayo maraḍi ya saambavu. 'Omari has lung disease.'
Mp^haka/ hujo saambavú. '(It's) cats who eat lungs.'
Omari/ nayo sambavu mooyi/ tu. 'Omari has only one lung.'
Saambavu/ ha'ijoowi. 'The lung (of an animal) is not eaten.'
Want^hu wa Miini/ hawaaji/ saambavu. 'The people of Brava do not eat lungs.'
- sambuusa** n. 9/10 [Sw. *sambusa* SSED 410; Pers.] samoosa= a small triangular shaped pie filled with minced meat or minced fish (usually shark or tuna), with spices, onions and other vegetables added, and fried in oil
sambusa ya khudaari 'a vegetable samoosa'
sambusa yaa nama 'a samoosa with meat filling'
sambusa yaa nsi 'a samoosa with fish filling'
- kh-saameha** v. [Sw. *samehe* SSED 410; Ar. *samuḥa* W 428] (**sameheele**) forgive
Ba'adiye/ Abunawaasi/ pete khabari/ ya kuwa sultaani/ msameheele. 'After that, Abunawaasi got the news that the sultan had forgiven him.'
kumsaameha 'to forgive someone'
Mbaliko nshishilaa nt^ho/ shṭana/ na Abunawaasi/ laakini/ isa/ shṭana/ chinondroshela/ na isá/ Abunawaasi/ chiruuda/ chiwonekana/ mi/ nt^hamsaameha. 'I was taken by anger very much with Abunawaasi, but now anger left me and now, if Abunawaasi comes back, if he is seen, I will forgive him.'
Mooja nasamehe ḍambi/ nzito ka'ondroleloowa [st.] 'may God pardon my sins/ which are heavy to remove'
Mwajiitu/ takinsaameha. 'God will forgive you (pl.)'
Namnomba mojiitú/ kumsaameha/ ḍambiza. 'I am begging God to forgive my sins.'
Nt^hakhsaameha/ wenye ḍambi. 'He did not forgive sinners.'
Nt^hakhsaameha/ laakini/ ka shartí/ mooyi/ we/ ni laazima/ kundripila khasaara/ imp^heeṭó/ yotte. 'I will forgive you but on one condition: you must repay me the loss that befell me, all.'
Peesa/ zimtile mwaalimu/ kumsameha mwaana. 'Money induced the teacher to forgive the child.'
Saameha. 'Forgive!' **Samehaani.** '(Pl.) forgive!' **Samehani waant^hu.** 'You (pl.) forgive people!'
Samehele wenye ḍambi. 'He forgave sinners.'
Sisameheeni. 'You (pl.) don't forgive!' **Sisameheeni/ waant^hu.** 'You (pl.) don't forgive people!'

- Sulṭaani/ chimsaameha/ mwaana/ chendra numbaani/ ba'ada ya apo/ ye/ nt^hamwaminila teena/ mukeewe/ siri.** 'The sultan forgave him, and the boy went home, and after that instant, he never again entrusted a secret to his wife.'
- rel.
kh-samehana v. rec. forgive one another
Khsamehana/ ni suura. 'To forgive one another is good.'
Nt^hawana raghba/ yaa wo/ khsamehana. 'They do not have the desire to forgive one another.' **Review phrasing**
- kh-samehananoowa* v. rec. pass.
Khsamehananoowa/ ni suura. 'To be forgiven by each other is good.'
kh-samehela v. appl.
kh-samehoowa v. pass.
Mi/ nakhsuulá/ khsamehoowa/ na ḏambi/ zaa mi/ nfanyiizó. 'I want to be forgiven for the sins that I have committed.' Or: **Mi/ nakhsuḷa khsamehoowá/ ni ḏambi/ zaa mi/ nfanyiizó.**
- m-saameha* (wa-) n., adj. 1/2 one who forgives
- samiini* adj. [Ar. *samīn* W 431] corpulent, stout
Izra'iili [...] *humḷata daharishiilo chiliini / humtala muunt^hu jadiidi samiini* [st.] Izra'il [the angel of death] leaves the one who is sick in bed [and] takes a young, stout person'
- sampuuli* n. [Eng. *sample*] sample, kind, type **no aspiration? noun class: 9-10?**
- san(a)'a* n. [Sw. *sanaa* SSED 410; Ar. *sānā* W 526] art, handicraft
Oyo/ sana'aye/ nini. 'This one, what's his work?'
- sanamu* n. [Sw. *sanamu* SSED 410; Ar. *ṣanam* "idol, image" W 527] idol, doll
Hamadi/ mruudile/ sanamu iyo/ mbujó. 'Hamadi, return that doll to your sister.'
mtumila sanamu siwo islaamu [st.] 'one who uses idols is not a Muslim'
Want^hu awa/ hu'abuda sanamu. 'These people worship idols.'
- rel.
i-sanamu (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
enzele mtume Ibrahiimu kaawo/ vuunzile miingi misanamu yaawo [st.] 'the prophet Abraham went to their place/ [and] destroyed many of their great idols'
- sanda* n. [Sw. *sanda* SSED 410; Ar. may be the source of this item, but we did not locate it in Wehr's dictionary] shroud
chimala koowa na kuuma/ sanda takuḷabisoowa '[st.] after he has been washed and wiped, he will be clothed in a shroud'
- saandali* n. 9/10 [Sw. *sandali* SSED 410; Ar. *ṣandal* W 526] sandal; the sandalwood tree
chilatu cha saandali 'a sandal'
sandali iyi 'this sandal' (cf. **sandali izi** 'these sandals')
Sandali izo/ goomaye/ (ni) suura. 'Those sandals, their rubber is good.'
sandali ya khpaṭika 'thong sandal, flip-flop' (cf. **sandali za khpaṭika** 'thong sandals, flip-flops')
- sanduuqu* n. 9/10 [Ar. *ṣandūq* W 526] box; [pron: **sanduuqu** or **sandukhu**]
Hamadi/ tile maandra/ sandukhuuni. 'Hamadi put the bread in a box.'
Jaama/ andishile gaari/ sandukhu. 'Jama loaded the box into the truck.'
Or: **Jaama/ andishile sandukhu/ gariini.**
kumtila muunt^hu/ sanduquuni 'lit. to put s.o. in the box -- i.e. to outwit s.o. (by being smarter than him and possibly by cheating)'

Lesele ijiwé? ‘Did you bring the stone?’ (Possible answers to this question: **Ee/ yimo sandukhuuni.** ‘Yes, it is in the box.’ Or: **Ee/ yimo sandukhuuni.** ‘Yes, it is in the box.’ Or: **ee/ nnayo sandukhuuní** ‘Yes, I have it in the box.’)

Lesele majiwé? ‘Did you bring the stones?’ (Possible answers: **Ee/ nnayo sandukhuuní.** ‘Yes, I have them in the box.’ Or: **Ee/ nnaayó/ yamo sandukhuuní.** ‘Yes, I have them; they are in the box.’)

Lesele zibuukú? ‘Did you bring books?’ (Possible answers to this question: **Ee/ zimo sandukhuuni.** ‘Yes, they are in the box.’ Or **Ee/ nnacho sandukhuuní.** ‘Yes, I have them in the box.’ These sentences are acceptable because the noun **zibuuku** is provided by the context of the question. If the context does not identify the noun, one would say **Nnazo zibuukú/ sandukhuuní.** ‘I have books in the box.’)

Maandra/ itila sandukhuuni. ‘Bread was put into the box.’ (Cf. It is not possible to use the bare noun here: ***Maandra/ itila sandukhu.**) **masandukhu aya** ‘these boxes’

Mzele uzilo sandukhuu nk^hulú/ mpele mwaanawe. ‘The old man who bought a big box gave it to his child.’ (cf. **Mzele/ uzile sandukhuu nk^hulu/ mpele mwaanawe.** ‘The old man bought a box and gave it to his child.’)

Nnakhsuulá/ we/ kunfanyiliza/ sandukhu. ‘I want you to make a box for me.’ (Phon. The focus on the main verb blocks the final accent from extending beyond that verb, due to the Accentual Law of Focus.)

Numbaani/ iwaliko sandukhu/ naamí/ ni’ifungiilé. ‘In the house there was a box and I opened it.’

Peesa/ stila sandukhu. ‘Money was put in the box.’ (Cf. **Sandukhu iyi/ itila peesa.** ‘This box, there was money put (in it).’ Besides this impersonal passive, one can also have: **Sandukhu iyi/ stila peesa.** ‘This box, money was put (in it).’ The passive verb in this latter sentence agrees with **peesa**. It needs to be reviewed again whether a sentence like: **Sandukhu izi/ stila majiwe.** ‘These boxes had stones put in them.’)

Sandukhu/ imo nthuundru. ‘The box has a hole in it; there is a hole in the box.’

Sandukhu/ itila maandra. ‘The box had bread put into it.’ (Cf.

Sandukhu/ stila maandra. ‘The boxes had bread put into them.’)

sandukhu iyi ‘this box’

sandukhuuni ‘in the box’

sanduukhuya ‘my box’

rel.

chi-sanduugu (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

Ndrani ya sandukhu/ chiwalimo chiwovu/ na ndrani ya chiwovú/ chiwalimo chisandukhu/ chihaba/ cha shaba. ‘Inside the box was a bag, and inside the bag was a small copper box.’

kh-sanifa

v. [Sw. *sanifu* SSED 411; Ar. *sanifa* W 527] (**sanifiile**) invent, compose

Naani/ sanifilo markabú. ‘Who invented this ship?’

Sanifile wanaafakhi. ‘He fabricated lies.’

Wa piili/ chisanifa/ tu/ chihada/ kuwaa ye/ losele/ ye/ tukiile/ maandra/ chitaani/ naa nyunyí/ zinaakuja/ karka maandra/ iyo. ‘The second just made up (a dream), he said that he dreamed he was carrying bread on his head and birds were eating from that bread.’
review

rel.

kh-sanifoowa v. pass. (**sanifiila**) be invented

Ni zint^hu zisanifiila yuziyuuzi. ‘These are things which were recently invented.’

sanjaari

n. [Sw. *sanjari* SSED 411; Pers.] column of vehicles or ships

Jahazi/ zisafirile sanjaari. ‘The dhows travelled in a column.’

saant̥i

n. 9/10 [Som. *saan* DSI 526, Tunni *sáan* Tosco 234, apparently added to **n-t̥i** 'ground'; but also cf. Bajuni *sati* in Nurse's Bajuni wordlist] footprint, footstep, foot; [pron. **saant̥i**]

khtila saant̥i 'lit. to put [one's] footsteps in -- i.e. to attend briefly a ceremony (but usually on sad occasions, like mourning) to show that one has been present'

kubadila saant̥i 'lit. to change [one's] footsteps -- i.e. to marry a new wife (while keeping the first one, or the previous ones' (less common than **kubadila chizingiiti/ cha mnaango**)

kurasha saant̥i 'to track'

Nakhkasa sant̥i za muunt̥ú. 'I can hear someone's footsteps.'

Ngamiila/ schiwa spakiila/ mizigo/ saant̥ize/ hingila mtangaani. 'When camels are carrying loads, their footprints are deep in the sand.'

Saan̥i/ hoondrolo/ mojiitu. 'It is God who moves our footsteps, i.e. who decided when we go to some place.' (Used as a justification for not going somewhere earlier.)

sant̥i ya mbuuni 'a bad omen [lit. footprints of an ostrich]'

Uyu/ ni sant̥i ya mbuuni. 'He is a bad omen.'

Sí/ ka kaako/ chinakhsulaa dawá/ yaa si/ khpaka saant̥i/ ziitu/ khpata kinendra ilu ya tawala/ kendra mahaala/ si/ chinakhsuuló. 'We want medicine from you (so that) we rub it on our feet (so that we get to walk on the sea to go to whatever place we want.'

Sultaani/ wawaye mwanaamke/ naayé/ chilawa/ na askarizé/ kendra kubiga harbi/ laakini/ Hasani/ maraa isa/ nt̥akoondrola/ saant̥i/ kaleent̥e/ kumlindra mwanaamke. 'The sultan, the girl's father, also went out, and his soldiers, to go to fight the war, but Hasani this time did not move foot [leave footprint], he stayed to look after the girl.'

santuuri

n. [Sw. *santuri* SSED 411] gramophone, phonograph
kubiga santuuri 'to play a phonograph'

sapaatu

n. [Sw. *sapatu* SSED 411; Port.] kind of leather shoe, locally made, worn by women (but now no longer used); they were shaped like slippers, closed in front and open on side of the heel
zilatu za sapaatu 'shoes of the *sapaatu* type'

saqafu

n. 9/10 [Sw. *sakafu* SSED 407; Ar. *saqf* "roof, ceiling" W 415] concrete floor; [pron. **saqafu** or **sakhafu**]

saqara

n. [Ar. *saqar* W 414] hell; [pron. **saqara** or **sakhara**]

kh-sara

(with the point of s.t.)

v. [Som. *sar* DSI 536] (**sariile**) vaccinate, scratch, make a small incision, scrape off

Mzeele/ shkalaant̥a/ Huseeni/ shtomolaa chisu/ chimsara/ mzeele/ igonjooi. 'The old man sat down and Huseeni took out a knife to cut the old man at the knee.'

Nimsariile kaa chisú. 'I scratched him with a knife.'

Nsariile ka chireeza. 'He scratched me with a razor blade.'

rel.

kh-sarana v. rec. (-sareene)

kh-sarika v. p/s.

Mkonowa/ usarishile. 'My arm is scratched.'

kh-sarila v. appl. (**sariile**)

Nimsariile/ chisu. 'I scratched him with a knife.' (Phon. This phrasing is used in response to a question such as **Fanyiliizeni/ chisu.** 'What did you do with the knife?')

kh-sariloowa v. app. pass/ (**sariila**)

Chisu/ chisariliila. ‘A knife was used to scratch someone with.’

kh-sarisha v. caus. (**sarishiize**)

Haliima/ msarishize Ali/ ruuhuye/ mkono. ‘Haliima caused Ali to scratch himself on the hand.’ (Observe that while the reflexive pronoun **ruuhu**+pronoun ordinarily must be the primary object of the verb, in the causative it may refer to the "causee", which functions as the primary object of the causative verb.)

Suufi/ msarishize dakhtari/ mwaana/ kaa chisu. ‘Suufi caused the doctor to cut the child with a knife.’

kh-sarishiliza v. caus. appl. (**sarishiliize**) (The applied form of the causative would

not generally be used to incorporate an instrument into the argument structure of the verb, as witnessed by the unacceptability of ***Suufi/ msarishilize dakhtari/ mwaana/ chisu.** ‘Suufi caused the doctor to cut the child with a knife.’ It is possible, however, to use a bare instrumental noun when it is not overt in the verb phrase; for example, **chisu cha Suufi/ msarishilizo dakhtari/ mwaaná...** ‘the knife that Suufi made the doctor use to cut the child’. Perhaps even ?**Suufi/ chisu/ msarishilize dakhtari/ mwaana.** ‘Suufi, the knife, he caused the doctor to cut the child with it.’)

Jeeli/ msarishilize Ali/ mwaana/ mwaalimu/ mkono. ‘Jeeli caused Ali’s

child to cut the teacher on the arm.’ (The verb form requires a

beneficiary, a causee, and an individual who receives the action of the causee. Although all three of the nouns in this sentence trigger the same [cl.1] agreement, the OM on the verb necessarily refers to the beneficiary, here **Ali**. One cannot omit the beneficiary noun; a sentence of the shape ***Jeeli/ msarishilize mwaana/ mwaalimu/ mkono.** cannot be understood as ‘Jeeli caused his child to cut the teacher’; if the noun following the verb is of the same class as indicated by the OM, then it must in fact be interpreted as a beneficiary. Compare the acceptable **Jeeli/ msarishilize waana/ mwaalimu/ mkono.** ‘Jeeli caused his children to cut the teacher’s arm.’ Here **waana** ‘children’ is a [cl.2] noun and thus cannot be the [cl.1] beneficiary indicated by the OM *m*.)

kh-sarishilizoowa v. caus. appl.

Chisu/ chisarishiliza dakhtari. ‘A knife was caused to be used by the doctor.’ **Mohammad Imam accepted this sentence, though noted that the structure invites an interpretation where chisu is a beneficiary, but this does not seem possible understanding.**

kh-saroowa v. pass. (**sariila**)

do some work on the syntax of the extended verbs here

rel. nom.

m-sara (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who vaccinates

m-saro n. a scratch; a vaccination mark

sarafa

n.

skutila mkonooni kiiwa sarafaye [nt.] ‘I have not had them in my hand to know their value [lit. their exchange rate]’

sarafu

n. [Ar. *ṣarf* "money changing" W 513] small, loose change (money)

Siná/ sarafu/ isa/ ruda kaa numa. ‘I do not have any change now, come back later.’

saraara

n. [Som. *sarar* "sirloin" DSI 527] sirloin

alternative form: **saraana ?**

saraṭaani

n. [Ar. *saraṭān* W 407] cancer

Maraḏi ya saraṭaani/ hayapoḷoowi. ‘The disease of cancer is incurable.’

sarbi

n. [Som. *serbi* DSI 542] a thin pliable cane

Shtala sarbi/ chimvunaanga. ‘He took the stick and beat her.’

sarfu

n.[Sw. *sarufu* "grammar" SSED 411; Ar. *sarḫ* W 513] morphology (in grammar)

l-saari

n. [Som. *saar* DSI 527] crawler (bot.)

l-saari lchitaambala ndilo hufiito [st.] ‘when a plant crawls it will blossom’

sariigi

n. 9 respect, deference

Maadamu/ laazimu/ kuwamo sariigi. ‘A human being must be respectful, deferential.’

Omari/ nt^haná/ sariigi. ‘Omari does not show respect, deference.’
Omari/ sariigiye/ haba. ‘Omari his respectfulness/ deference is little.’
Soddo/ nayo sariigi. ‘A brother-in-law deserves respect.’ (A proverb.)

sarjente

n. sergeant (Note that the *nt* in this example is not aspirated, indicating that it counts as a nasal-consonant sequence rather than a pre-nasalized *t*.)

sarkaali

n. [Sw. *serikali* "government, public authority" SSED 414; Persian] government variant form: **sarkaari**

Basi/ ichiwa/ nt^hi/ nda sarkaali/ naa muti/ mbwa sarkaali. ‘So, if the earth belongs to the government and (then also) the tree belongs to the government.’

Bonta/ zivunzila ka sarkaali/ sfanyiiza. ‘The bridges that were destroyed by the government were repaired.’

dali ni dibiði nt^hako sarkaali [nt.] ‘the country is bereft, there is no government’

Nuuru/ andishilee khati/ ka sarkaali. ‘Nuuru wrote a letter to the government.’

sarkali iyi ‘this government’; **sarkali izi** ‘these governments’

Sarkaali/ mkonowe/ nii mule. ‘The government, its arm is long.’ (A proverb. Cf. the English “the long arm of the law”.)

sarkali suura ‘a good government, good governments’

that we did not record a [cl.9] subject marker on the verb. It seems to control [cl.1] agreement on the verb.)

governments?’

sarkali yiimp^hi ‘which government?’; **sarkali ziimp^hi** ‘which

Waant^hu/ wa qabiilaye/ hupata kiḷa yaa wo/ wanakhsuuḷó/ ka sarkaali/ hupat kaazi/ suura/ za sarkaali/ wachisuḷa deeni/ ka bangiini/ wo/ hupata pashpoo dhibu/ walá/ endrá/ ruuda. ‘People from his tribe [i.e. the one ruling the government] get everything that they want from the government, they get good jobs from the government, if they want to take a loan from the bank, they get it without difficulty, nor do they [waste time] coming and going.’

Wotte/ wana’iwe/ kuwaa we/ ni munt^hu wa sarkaali/ ni muunt^hu/ hupeendó/ sarkaali. ‘All know that you are a man of the government, a man who loves the government.’ (Note the use of the subjunctive as a main verb in this example.)

sarmadi

adj. [Ar. *sarmadi* "eternal, without beginning or end" W 408] *poetic* eternal
haayati daa’imu nda mooja sarmadi [st.] ‘everlasting life belongs to the eternal God’

sarmala (ma-)

n. [Sw. *seremal* SSED 414; Persian] carpenter

Inakhpimoowa/ na masarmala/ inakulangaloowa/ inakandikowa apa/ nt^haku/ nt^hanakhtaambula. ‘(In order to find some difference between two pieces of wood) there is measuring done by carpenters, there is careful inspection, there is putting (the wood) here, (but) there is nothing, he cannot distinguish (between the two pieces of wood).’

Iize/ keendra/ mbaramisha sarmala. ‘He refused to go and talk to the carpenter.’

Muti/ sarmala/ nakhsuḷa khtindaa muti/ khtomola shtolokocha. ‘Tree, carpenter, I want [him] to cut down the tree to get my little bean.’

Sarmala mooyi/ ondroshele/ lowelee muke/ na ishiize/ naaye/ miyaaka/ miingi. ‘A carpenter went and took a wife and lived with her for many years.’

Sarmala/ mi/ nakhsuḷa khtindilowaa muti/ khtomola shtolokocha. ‘As for the carpenter, I want to have the tree cut down in order to get out from it my little bean.’

- sarsaaro** n. **no etymology found** a large stinging fly that builds a clay nest
variant forms: **sarsoore, sansoora**
- saarto** (*ma-*) n. [Ital. *sarto*] tailor
- saaruji** n. [Sw. *saruji* SSED 411; the Ar. etymo given in SSED (*s□ārūj*) was not found in Wehr's dictionary] a kind of lime mixed with red clay and sand used in construction of buildings
- kh-sasa** v. **no etymological source found** (**sasiile**) get, grow thin (Phon. The perfect stem for this verb is irregular. One would have expected ***sasiize**.)
khsasa/ kanaa luti 'to become as thin as a stick'
Mbona/ sasilé/ we. 'How come you have lost weight?'
Mwana wa sulṭaani/ ka murugu/ chisasa/ nt^ho. 'The sultan's son grew very thin from worrying.'
Nakuwoná/ jisaa mi/ nsasiló. 'Do you see how I have grown thin?'
Yaayi/ mboni/ we/ nakhsasá. 'How come you are losing weight?'
- m-saasa** (*mi-*) n. 3/4 [Sw. *msasa* SSED 301] sandpaper
kubiga msaasa 'to sandpaper s.t.'
Mbishile msaasa/ l-wawo. 'He sandpapered a plank of wood.' Or:
Mbishile lwawo/ msaasa.
- saatiri** n. [cf. Ar. verb *satara* "to hide" and *as-sattār* "God as the Veiler" W 397] a name for God (one who keeps all things hidden)
- sawa** [cl.2] there they are; [pron. **sawá**]
Sawá/ waaná. 'Here are the children.'
- sawa** [Sw. *sawa* SSED 412; Ar. *sawā* "equal, equality, sameness" W 444] level, even, same
Ka kaake/ waant^hu/ wotte/ ni sawa. 'For him, all people are the same.'
khfanya sawa 'to straighten things, put in order; level, flatten'
Ifanyize sawa. 'It was flattened.'
Mana mwovu/ chimbiga/ ba/ na chimkooḍisha/ ni sawa/ tu. 'A bad child, whether you strike him or you talk to him, he is just the same.' (A saying.)
Nakuza waant^hu/ nakulangala apa/ mbuzi mbilize/ sawa. 'He was asking people, he was looking here [at the goats, trying to see how they were different, but] the goats were both the same.'
- rel.
sawa/ sawa ok, alright **review whether other uses have the same phrasing as observed**
in this usage
- sawasawa** adj. [Sw. *sawasawa* SSED 412] equal, the same
Chibiga mafungu matatu sawasawa. 'He divided it up into three equal share.'
Ka mwajiitu/ munt^hu faqiiri/ na munt^hu ṭajjiri/ mwaana/ chihaba/ na munt^hu mzimá/ ni sawasawa/ nt^hamú/ farqi. 'For God, a poor man and a rich man, a small child and an adult, are the same; there is no difference.'
Ka shartí/ mooyi/ ya kuwa yaa we/ takhpató/ yotte/ takaawanya/ naami/ sawasawa. 'On one condition, that whatever you will get, you will divide it all with me equally.'
Kaaka/ ni sawasawa. 'It is all the same to me.'
kuwa sawasawa/ jisaa we/ taku'amilaṭano/ na faqiiri/ ku'amilaṭana/ na munt^hu ṭajjiri 'to be the same in the way that you deal with the poor as in dealing with a rich man'

Letelelaa mbuzi/ mbili/ sawasawa. ‘He was brought to two goats both alike.’

sawa/ sawa/ kana maandra/ lpaandre ‘as similar as a loaf of bread made into two halves’ **review the pronunciation sawa/ sawa**

Sultani mwiingine/ mkulu/ chimleleteló/ chimletelaa mbuzi/ mbili/ sawasawa. ‘Another, more powerful sultan, that’s what he did, he brought to him two goats (that) look alike.’

Wanaadamu/ ni watana wa mwajitu/ wotte/ ni sawasawa. ‘Human beings are the servants of God, all are equal.’

sawasawa n. the level of s.t.

sawasawa ya tawala ‘the level of the sea’

u-sawa

n. 14 level of s.t.; equality, likeness

usawa wa tawala ‘the level of the sea’

sawaje

[cl.2] dem. there they are (over there); [pron. **sawajé**]

Sawajé/ waaná. ‘There are the children (far from us).’

kh-sawala

v. [Ar. *sawala* "entice, seduce" W 444] (**saweele**) reflect light on someone; possess, enchant, charm, persuade, convince

variant form: **khsawa (saweele)**

Ali/ ijini/ msaweele. ‘A jinn has possessed Ali (made him crazy).’

Ali/ nsawele ka chilolo. ‘Ali reflected the light (of the sun) on me with a mirror.’

Haliima/ msaweele. ‘Haliima has enchanted him.’

khsawala kana sheetaani ‘to persuade like satan’

khsawala waant^hu ‘to mislead, confuse, entice, enchant people’

kumsawa ‘to persuade him’

na Iblisi la’iini nakuwasawo [st.] ‘and Iblis (= the devil), the accursed, charms them into temptation’

Naani/ msawilo Omari/ kula nuumbá. ‘Who persuaded Omari to buy a house?’ Or with verb emphasis: **Naani/ msawiiló/ Omari/ kula**

nuumba. Also: **Naani/ msawiiló/ Omari/ kuula/ nuumba.** (Although final accent on the last phrase was accepted as well: **Naani/ msawiiló/ Omari/ kula nuumbá.** Also: **Naani/ msawiiló/ Omari/ kuula/ nuumbá.**

Omari/ ijini/ msaweele. ‘A jinn has possessed Omari (made him crazy).’

rel.

kh-sawaloowa v. pass.

Ali/ saweela. ‘Ali was possessed, enchanted, etc.’

kh-sawalika v. p/s.

Suufi/ hasawaliki. ‘Suufi cannot be misled, etc.’

kh-sawalisha v. caus.

Sa’iidi/ msawalishize Suufi/ mwaana/ ka chilolo. ‘Saiidi caused Suufi to reflect light on the child with a mirror.’

kh-sawaliza v. tr. appl.

kh-sawalizanya v. tr. appl. rec.

kh-sawaza v. tr. make lose wits and perceptions

Simsawazé/ mweenziwo. ‘Don’t make your friend lose his wits etc. (e.g. with deceitful words)!’

kh-sawazanya v. tr. rec.

kh-sawazika v. tr. p/s.

Hasawaziki. ‘He’s not easy to make lose his wits, etc.’

kh-sawarata

v. [Som. *sabar* DSI 528; Ar. *ṣabr* W 501] (**sawareete**) be patient, exercise patience (The extension **at** in Chimiini is ordinarily attached to words of Somali origin rather than Arabic origin. This fact suggests that Somali and not Arabic is the source of the present verb. It should be pointed out that an intervocalic **b** in Somali is pronounced as a continuant and not a stop; in Chimiini this sound is sometimes retained, in which case we write **b**, but sometimes is altered to **w**, as in the present example.)

Husawarató/ huljiwaanó. ‘The one who exercises patience is the one who succeeds.’ (A proverb.)

- Nsawareeté/ maamé/ niingi.** ‘I was patient, mother, for a long time.’ (Or: **Nsawarete niingi/ maamé.** ‘I was patient for a long time, mother.’)
- sawaraṭaani tulaani/ Sheekhi siwo wa kupatoowa** [st.] ‘calm down and be consoled, the Sheik is out of reach’
- We/ laazima/ khsawaraṭa.** ‘You must be patient.’
- rel.
- kh-sawaraṭika** v. p/s.
- kh-sawaraṭila** v. appl. (**sawaraṭiliile**) bear, tolerate s.o.
- Msawaraṭiile mwaana.** ‘He tolerated the child.’
- kh-sawar(at)isha** v. caus. console, induce patience
- kh-sawar(at)ishiliza** v. caus. appl.
- kh-sawarishana** v. caus. rec. console one another
- kh-sawarishika** v. caus. p/s.
- kh-sawar(at)ishilizanya** v. caus. appl. rec. (**-sawar(at)ishilizeenye**)
- Ji/ na Ali/ wasaraṭishilizenye waana.** ‘Ji and Ali consoled one another’s children.’ (It is apparently possible to leave unexpressed who was consoled: **Ji/ na Ali/ wasawaraṭishilizeenye.** ‘Ji and Ali consoled for one another.’)
- rel. nom.
- m-sawaraṭa** (wa-) n. 1/2
- m-sawasrisha** (wa-) n. 1/2
- m-sawarisho** n. 3
- kh-sawira** v. [Sw. *sawiri* SSED 412; Ar. *ṣawara* W 529] draw/ make a picture
variant form: **kh-sawiraṭa**
khsawir(at)a nuumba ‘to draw a house; to take a picture of a house’
- rel.
- kh-sawirika, kh-sawiraṭika** v. p/s.
- Nuumba/ ha’isawiraṭiki.** ‘The house cannot be drawn, pictured.’
- Nuumba/ husawaraṭika.** ‘The house can be drawn, pictured.’
- kh-sawiroowa** v. pass.
- Isawiriḷa nuumba.** ‘A house has been drawn, pictured.’
- Nuumba/ inakhsawiroowa.** ‘A house is being drawn, pictured.’
- Nuumba/ isawiriḷa.** ‘A house has been drawn, pictured.’
- kh-sawira** v. [cf. Ar. noun *ṣaut*, pl. *aṣwāt* and *ṣuwāt* "crying, loud sound" W 529] (sawiriṭiile) cry, shout, clamor (This verb was not known to GM.)
- sawo** there are ([cl.2] close to you); [pron. **sawó**]
Sawó/ waana. ‘There are the children (close to you).’
- say’aatī** n. pl. [Ar. *sayy āt* W 439] sins, offences, misdeeds
- saya** here are ([cl.4] close to me); [pron. **sayá**]
Mikate/ sayá. ‘Here are the cakes.’
- saya** here are ([cl.6] close to me); [pro. **sayá**]
Makoopa/ sayá. ‘Here are the glasses.’
- sayaje** there are ([cl.4] away from us); [pron. **sayajé**]
Mikate/ sayajé. ‘There are the cakes over there.’
Sayajé/ mikaté. ‘There are the cakes over there.’
- sayaje** there are ([cl.6] away from us); [pron. **sayajé**]
Sayajé/ makoopa. ‘There are the glasses over there.’
- kh-saayda** v. [Sw. *saidia* SSED 407; Ar. *sa ida* W 410] (**saydiile**) help
Isa/ nnakhsuulá/ mi/ teena/ kumsaayda. ‘Now I want again (you) to help me.’
- Karkaa ndila/ Alfaani/ chimwambila Buluukhiya/ kumsaayda/ khfanya**

ipakacha. ‘On the road, Alfaani asked Buluukhiya to help him make a basket.’

Khaliifa/ msaydiile. ‘Khaliifa helped him.’

khsayda wazelewe ‘to help his parents’

Mana wa Khaliifa/ msaydiile. ‘Khaliifa’s son helped him.’ (Simple yes-no question: **Mana wa Khaliifa/ msaydiile?** Exclamatory yes-no question: **Mana wa Khaliifá/ msaydiilé!?** Notice the possibility of shifting the accent in the initial phrase in the emphatic yes-no question.)

Mpa riyaali/ mooyi/ naami/ nt^hakhusaayda/ ka khupikila chaakuja.

‘Give me one riyal and I will help you by cooking food for you.’

Muunt^hu/ husaydo ruuhuyé/ na miingine/ humsaaydó. ‘He who helps himself is the one who helps another.’ (A proverb.)

Muusa/ msaydile Hamadi/ khfunga mlaango. ‘Muusa helped Hamadi to shut the door.’

Ni laazimu/ we/ kunsayda. ‘You must help me.’

Tafaðali/ isa/ nsayda/ jisa khpata/ mubliwa/ kundruudila. ‘Please now help me to get my husband to remarry [lit. return to] me.’

Uqabiila/ ha’usaaydi/ kulesanya want^hu wa nt^hi mooyi. ‘Tribalism does not help bring together the people of one country.’

Waliko chiwasayda khtukula skunyi. ‘He was helping them to carry firewood.’

Wazele/ wamsaydiile. ‘The elders helped him.’

Wo/ hufanya kaazi/ khpata khsayda/ wabli waawo/ na ruhu zaawó.

‘They (e.g. women) do jobs so as to get to help their husbands and themselves.’

Ye/ takhusaayda. ‘She will help you.’

rel.

kh-saaydana v. rec. help one another

Chimaliza/ waant^hu/ wotte/ husaaydana/ kuyeza/ khabri/ mtaanga. ‘Then all [the other] people help [lit. one another] to fill the grave with sand.’

Wasaydeene. ‘They helped one another.’

Wawanayo fursa/ yaa wo/ khsaaydana. ‘They had the chance for them to help one another.’

kh-saaydika v. p.s. able to be helped

kh-saaydila v. appl. help with, for

Nthaná/ aqli/ za kichisaaydila. ‘He does not have the wits to help us with.’

kh-saydilana v. appl. rec.

Nthawaná/ nguvu/ zaa wo/ khsaydilana. ‘They do not have the strength for them to help one another with.’

**kh-saaydisha* v. (This verbal form does not seem to be used.)

kh-saydoowa v. pass.

Hamadi/ saydila khfunga mlaango. ‘Hamadi was helped to shut the door.’

Husulo khsaydoowá/ husimika ruuhuye. ‘He who wants to be helped should put himself on his feet.’ (A proverb.)

rel. nom.

m-saa’ada n. help

Fanyiize/ jahazi/ pamooyi/ na msaa’ada/ wa waant^hu/ wamwaniloo ye/ na mwajiituwé. ‘He made a boat together with the help of people who believed in him and his God.’

m-saayda (wa-) n. 1/2 one who helps

sayidi

Bin^ti sultaani/ mukewe mgarwa/ chimjiiba/ nkhubaliilé/ sayidiyá/ laakini/ chiliindre/ muda wa sku sitta. ‘The sultan’s daughter, the

- wife of this fisherman, replied to him: I agree [to this proposal], my master, but let us wait for a period of six days.’
- rel.
sadaati (*ma-*) [Ar. *sādāt* W 440] a synonym for **mashariifu** (= descendants of the Prophet)
- sayi'aati** n. [Ar. *sayyi'āt*, pl. of *sayyi'a* “offence, misdeed” W 439] those things that are bad from a religious point of view
- saydi** n. [Ar. *sayyid* W 440] master, owner
Khaadimu/ chishikaa luti/ ilo/ chimbiga sulṭaani/ jisaa ye/ amuriilá/ na saydiyé. ‘The servant took the stick and struck the king just as he was ordered to by his master.’
saydiyá or **saydiwá** ‘my master’
- sayo** there are ([cl.4] close to you); [pron. **sayó**]
Mikate/ sayó. ‘There are the cakes close to you.’
- sayo** there are ([cl.6] close to you); [pron. **sayó**]
Makoopa/ sayó. ‘There are the glasses close to you.’
- kh-sawa** v. (**sawiile**) persuade, convince
Haliima/ msawile maanawe/ yana. ‘Haliima persuaded her child yesterday.’ Or: **Haliima/ msawiile/ maanawe/ yana.** ‘Haliima persuaded her child yesterday.’
Maana/ maamaye/ msawiiló. ‘The child’s mother persuaded him.’
- kh-sayira** v. [Ar. *sāra, sair* W 446] (**sayiriile**) talk s.o. into doing s.t.
Nṯamsayira/ haṯá/ ye/ shkhiira. ‘I will talk to him until he agrees.’
rel.
kh-sayirasayira v. freq. make several attempts to talk s.o. into doing s.t.
- seega** n. [Som. *seego* “male masturbation” DSI 540] masturbation
kubiga seega ‘to masturbate’
- sehe** n. 9/10 [Som., Tunni dialect, *sehó* “provisions, supplies” Tosco 235] provisions
Naawó/ wachishindroowa/ na ichiwaḷaazima khfakaṭa/ zombo zaawo/ na sehe zaawó/ ṯakuwa ziiko/ mahaḷaa wo/ hukhadiro khkomá. ‘And if they were defeated and must flee, their supplies and their rations would be there where they could reach them.’
Sehe/ huṯuluḷowaa mbele. ‘Something done in preparation for doing some activity is prepared first.’ (A proverb.)
seheye kuwa haraamu siwo suura [ṯ.] ‘it is unseemly for him (a pilgrim) to have unlawful provisions’
Wachunganyaa sehe/ niingi/ washpakila jahaziini. ‘They collected a large amount of provisions and loaded them on the dhow.’
Washkalaantḥa/ wachija/ sehe zaa wo/ waṯukiiló. ‘They sat down and ate the provisions that they had carried.’
- sehemu** [Sw. *shahamu* “animal fat”, SSED 415; Ar. *saḥm* W 457] animal fat
variant form: **sehemio**
mafta ya sehemu ‘ghee’
- u-seeja** n. a silver or golden necklace with small beads in the shape of cardamon seeds
- sekertariyo** (*ma-*) n. [Ital. *segretario*] secretary or minister in the government
- seendre** [see **s-eendre**] lest, otherwise, so that not; [pron. **seendré**]

Ushaa kuja/ seendré/ waana/ kawaaja. ‘Hide the food so that the children do not eat it.’

Usha peesa/ seendré/ miizi/ kaboola. ‘Hide the money so that the thieves do not steal it.’

- seneeki** n. 9/10 a small kingfish (**ngulu**), exact species unknown, long and thin and edible
ngulu wa seneeki ‘a kingfish of the **seneeki** type’
- chi-seengene** (zi-) n. 7/8 palm
- seeni** n. [Eng. *sign*] sign
kh-tila seeni ‘to sign’
Hamadi/ mmerseheleze maanawe/ nuumbaye/ tiile/ mbarakha/ seeni. ‘Hamadi has turned over his house to his son, he has signed the papers.’ Or: **Hamadi/ mmersheleze nuumbaye/ maanawe/ seeni/ mbarakha.**
- seenyo** n. signal
(I)ṭala ya Manaweera/ hupa markabu/ zinakhpita ṭawala/ seenyo. ‘Tala ya Manaweera gives signals to ships which are passing in the sea.’
- sentī** n. [Sw. *senti* SSED 414; Eng. *cent*]
Wamó/ huleta sentī ikumi. ‘Some bring ten cents.’
- kh-seseegata** v. [cf. Som. *seegseeg* "lazy person, never-do-well" DSI 540] (**sesegeete**) go, wander about jobless, be a vagabond; [pron. **khseesegata**] confirm Somali velar fricative g
Nakhseegata bilaa kaazi. ‘He is wandering about jobless.’
rel.
kh-seseegisha v. caus. [pron. **khseesegisha**]
rel. nom.
u-seseegato n. 14 [pron. **useseegato**]
m-seseegisha (wa-) n. 1/2 vagabond; [pron. **mseseegisha**]
- seseegi** adj. [Som. *seegseeg* "lazy person, never-do-well" DSI 540] vagabond, one who wanders around jobless (or refuses to do any work); [pron. **seseegi**]
- kh-seeta** v. [Sw. *seta* SSED 414] (**seteele**) run over something, stamp on someone
Gaari/ imsetele Haaji. ‘The car ran over Haaji.’
Haaji/ msetele mwaana/ ka gaari. ‘Haaji ran over the child with a car.’
khseta maank^hale ‘to reduce sesame seeds to paste with the hands’
Nsetele kuulu. ‘He stamped me on the leg.’
rel.
kh-seetsha v. caus. (-seteshiize)
Ali/ msetesheze Nuuru/ mwaana/ ka gaari. ‘Ali caused Nuuru to run over the child with a car.’
kh-setoowa v. pass. (-seteeḷa) be run over
Mwaana/ seteḷa ka gaari/ na Haaji. ‘The child was run over with a car by Haaji.’
Mwaana/ seteḷa na gaari. ‘The child was run over by a car.’
- sfanji** n. [Ar. *safanj* W 414] sponge
- sh** interj. keep quiet!
- sha’abaani** n. [Ar. *sa’bān* W 473] lunar month before Ramadan, the eighth month of the Islamic calendar (but the eleventh month of the Bravanese calendar)
- sha’abu** n. [Ar. *ša’b* W 472] people
sha’abuye ‘its people’

sha'ani n. 9 [Ar. *ša' n* "matter, affair, concern" W 449] (i) affair, event; (ii) high position, standing, consequence, worth

variant form: **shaani**

(i) **Leelo/ ra'isi Niksoni/ ba'adaa ye/ kuwona/ kuwa ni njeema/ kuliwala/ sha'ani/ za Watergate/ na faðiihazé...** 'Today, President Nixon, after realizing that it was best to forget about the events of Watergate and its scandals...'

Ndraṭaani/ mi/ na sha'anizá. '(Pl.) leave me alone, me and my affairs!'

Si/ sha'ani yiitu/ nii mbali/ si/ shfile ka ooni/ naa ndalá. 'We, our case was different, we died from thirst and hunger.'

(ii) **Sheekhi shaaniye ađiimu** [st.] 'the Sheikh's position is an exalted one'
iwiilo ya Sheekhi [st.] 'whoever knew the Sheikh's worth'

shaa'ibu n. [Sw. *shaibu* SSED 415; Ar. *sā'ib* W 496] *not used in ordinary speech* a very old person

ka rahmaze humnaharisa shaa'ibu '[God] in his compassion is generous to the old'

shaa'iri (ma-) n. [cf. Sw. *shairi (ma-)* "a song, a line of poetry" and *mshairi (wa-)* "a poet, a writer or composer, of songs" SSED 415; cf. Ar. verb *sa'ara, si'r* "compose poetry" W 473] composer, poet, reciter

sha'iiri n. 9 [Ar. *sa'ir* W 474] barley

shaba n. 9 [Sw. *shaba* SSED 414; Ar. *sabah* W 454] copper

Lurma laa shaba/ nla naani/ laa mi/ mbekelele kaayí. 'That copper bracelet belongs to whom, the one that for me has been put away safely?' (A proverb.)

Ndrani ya sanduukhu/ chivalimo chiovov/ na ndrani ya chiovov/ chivalimo chisanduukhu/ chihaba/ cha shaba. 'Inside the box was a bag and inside the bag was a small box of copper.'

shabaabu (ma-) n., adj. [Sw. *shababi* SSED 414; Ar. *sabāb* W 451] youth, young
variant form: **shaabu**

Shabaabu n. a terrorist group operating in Somalia that occupied Brava for a considerable period of time before finally being driven out at the end of 2014

Ma'askari/ wa Shabaabu/ wamaliiza/ dakan dakan. 'The Shabaab soldiers have been annihilated.'

kh-shabiha v.
kudaa'ima kuraatiba mauliidi / ayaamu ya jima khshabiha iidi [st.] 'if you are constant in reading always the *Mawlid*, the days of Friday are like a great holy day'

rel.

kh-shabihanav. [cf. Sw. *shabihiana* SSED 414; Ar. *šabiha* W 453] look alike, resemble

shaddan. [Ar. *sadda* W 460] the mark of gemination in the Arabic script

*shadiidi (O, ma-)*adj. [Sw. *shadiidi* SSED 415; Ar. *sadīd* W 460] strong, strict, rude, hot, fierce

munt^hu shadiidi 'a tough man' (with a negative connotation)

nakeepushe ađabuye shadiidi [st.] 'so that he keep you away from his hot hell'

m-shaađara (mi-) n. 3/4 the white, headband part of the skullcap that is made and worn in Brava

kh-shafa

v. [Som. *shaf* DSI 544] harvest, reap, gather crops⁹⁹⁹⁹⁹

Alaani/ miyaaka/ saba/ fululizaani/ na yaa ni/ nt^hakhshafó/ laṭaani/

karka ziskize/ shokuwa habamó/ yaa ni/ nt^haakujó. ‘Plant for seven years successively and what you (pl.) will plant, let it remain in its cobs, except for a little that you will eat.’

Kiḷa chimaliza kuza yaa ye/ shafiiló/ peesa/ chizizika nt^hini yaa muti/ uwaliko mbele ya mlaangowé. ‘Whenever he finishized selling that which he harvested, the money, he buried it under a tree that was in front of his door.’

Kuḷa muunt^hu/ hushafa yaa ye/ aziló. ‘Every man harvests what he sows.’
(A proverb.) Or: **Kiḷaa muunt^hu/ yaa ye/ aziló/ hushafó.**
‘Everyone, what he plants is what he reaps.’

rel.

kh-shafoowa v. pass.

Inakhshafowa muundra. ‘The farm is being harvested.’

Uyu/ ni meezi/ wa khshafoowa. ‘This is the month of harvesting.’

shafa'a

n. intercession

nt^hana shafa'a ḍaalimu/ mbele ya Mooja Haakimu [st.] ‘there is no intercession, or mercy, for a tyrant, or treacherous, person before God, the Ruler’

kh-shafi'a

v. [Ar. *šafa'a* W 478] heal, cure, but usually used with a religious reference:

forgive, give relief

variant form: **khshafiya**

Mtume Mhamadi/ takhshafiya umatyiye/ kesho akhera. ‘Prophet Mhamadi will forgive his people in the other world, the afterlife.’

washafi'e ma'aalimu na menyé shṭeenzi Maalimu [st.] ‘intercede for the religious scholars and for the author of the poem, Maalimu [Nuuri]’

rel.

kh-shafi'ila v. intercede for, give mercy to

Takhshafi'ilo waant^hu/ ni mtume Mhamadi. ‘The one who will intercede for/ give mercy to people is Prophet Mhamadi.’

tamshafi'ila kuḷa muunt^hu mpeenzero [st.] ‘he (Mohammad) will intercede for any one who has loved him’

shaafi'i

n. one of the schools of Islam

Ibnu Hajari ilmuye ni waasi'i/ maḍhabuye ni kamba yiitu shaafi'i [st.]
‘Ibnu Hajari’s knowledge was broad, his sect was like ours,
Shaafi'i.’

shafu (ma-)

n. chest

shaghaale (ma-)

n. [Ar. *šagḡāl* W 476, but the usual pronunciation of this word, *shakhaale*, comes from the Som. word *shaqo* ‘work’ and *shaqaale* ‘workers, laborers’ DSI 545] worker, workman, laborer

variant form: **shakhaale**

Choloka muyiini/ chiwameera/ mashaghaale/ wiingi/ chiya/ naawo/ numbaani. ‘He went to town and searched for many workers and he came with them to (his) house.’

Mashakhaale/ leelo/ wapela mishahara. ‘Workers today are paid salaries.’

Mashakhaale/ leelo/ waragiile/ kaziini. ‘Today the workers were late for work.’

Mashakhaale/ wanakhpunguzoowa/ kaziini. ‘Workers are being laid off from their jobs.’

Mashakhaale/ wanakhtuluba mshahara miingi. ‘The workers are demanding higher salaries.’

Shaghaale/ tomeela/ kaziini. ‘The worker was fired from his job.’ Or:

Kaziini/ tomeela/ shaghaale. (Phon. A postposed subject, like **shaghaale**. in the second example, is lowered in pitch, indicative of being out-of-focus.)

Shaghaale/ vundishile qalbi. ‘The worker was discouraged.’

Tomela kaziini/ ni shaghaale. ‘The one who was fired was the worker.’

shahaada n. [Sw. *shahada* ‘the Muhammadan creed, confession of faith’ SSED 415; Ar. *shāhāda* W 489] the first pillar of Islam: the acceptance of the oneness of God; diploma, school certification. certification; testimony

Hiinfani/ shahaada. ‘What is the use of a degree (if one cannot get a job)?’
imaani khsihake sharti shahaada [st.] ‘for (your) faith to be valid, lawful, it is a must to say the **shahaada**’

kubiga shahaada ‘to witness, certify, testify to the truth of something; recite the **shahaada**’

Mi/ nayo shahaada/ ya jaami’a. ‘I have a university degree ([lit.] certification of university).’

Nayo shahaada. ‘He has a degree.’

kh-shahaada v. recite the **shahaada**

shahamu n. fat, grease

munt^hu mwenye shahamu ‘a fat man (implies prosperity etc.)’

m-shahara (mi-) n. 3/4 [Sw. *mshahara* SSED 301; Ar. *mušāhara* W 490] salary, wages, pay

Hu’insha ka mshahara. ‘He lives on a salary.’

khtala mshahara ‘to take a salary’

khtinda mshahara ‘to get a salary’

Nt^hindilile mshaharā/ kilaa meezi. ‘I get salary each month.’

(Phon. The accentual pattern shown here – with the final accent from the verb not extending to the sentence-final phrase **kilaa meezi** – seems to be the preferred pronunciation. Our consultant was doubtful of

?*Nt^hindilile mshaharā/ kilaa meezi.)

Omari/ tindilile mshahara/ kilaa meezi. ‘Omari is getting a salary every month.’

khtomola mshahara ‘to pay wages’

Tomele mshahara. ‘He paid the wages.’

kumpa shahara ‘to pay him a salary’

mshahara mkulu ‘a large salary’

mshahara wa meezi ‘a monthly salary’

mshahara wa nuumba ‘rent (to be paid)’ **check Sandra wrote ya nuumba**

shahaari n. womanizer

shahawa n. 9 semen

shahawaati n. desires

shaahidi (ma-) n. [Sw. *shahidi* SSED 415; Ar. *shāhid* W 489] one who testifies, certifies (like a witness in court); a witness; martyr (but this usage primarily from **steezi**)

Mi/ ni shaahidi/ kuwa Nuuru/ vunzile mnaango. ‘I can testify that Nuuru broke the door.’

na Mhamadi ni mtumewe ni shaahidi [st.] ‘and Mohammad is his prophet,

you are a witness (to that)’

Shahidi mzuuri/ ni munt^hu wa muḷooni. ‘A person who gives false testimony is a person of hellfire.’ (A saying.)

shaahidi wa harbi ni oyo hawoli [st.] ‘a martyr of war is the one who does not decay (upon dying)’

shahiiri

adj. famous

Shuhra/ ha'íduumi/ walá/ shahiiri. 'Fame does not last nor does the famous person.' (A proverb.)

shaahiri

adj. true

kh'u'ink'iro ni kaafiri/ nt^hana imaani shaahiri [poem] 'whoever rejects you is an unbeliever who lacks true faith'

kh-shahirika

v. (*shahirishile*) be(come) famous

Hasani/ shahirishile/ ka zeemaze. 'Hasani became famous for his good deeds.'

Omari/ shahirishile/ ka fanya zeema. 'Omari became famous for doing good deeds.'

shaka

n. 9 [Sw. *shaka* SSED 425; Ar. *šakk* W 481] doubt (Examination of the examples below show that this word allows the lengthening of the preceding vowel in the phrase, a phenomenon associated with *CVCV* and *CV* words. In this respect, the gemination observed in the Arabic source has no role to play in Chimiini phonology. However, we also recorded the word with gemination, **shakka**, and in this case there was not lengthening in front of it.)

bilaa shaka 'without doubt, certainly'

khtilowa shakka 'to be doubted'

Hamadi/ nakhtilowa shakka/ kuwaa—yé) Ø-ṭa-kh-shiindra.

Hamadi is doubted that he will win.'

khtilaa shaka 'to doubt -- lit. put doubt in'

Mi/ nakhtilaa shaká/ kuwa Nuurú/ takhtezá. 'I doubt that Nuuru will play.' (In the event that there is no narrow focus in the sentence, the final accent triggered by the main verb extends through the end of the embedded complement clause, as seen here. Narrow focus prevents the accent from extending beyond the focus. For example, in the following sentence **shaka** is focused: [**Mi/ nakhtilaa shaká/ kuwa Nuuru/ takhteza.**] The final accent does not affect either of the phrases following **shaka**. The focused element has a higher pitch than ordinary. It does not, for example, undergo the usual default downstepping. In this book, we do not typically show the heightening of the pitch of the focused element.)

Nnakhtila shakká/ kuwa Hamadi/ takhshiindra. 'I doubt that Hamadi will win.' Also: **Nnakhtila shakká/ Hamadi/ kuwa takhshiindra.** 'I doubt (him) Hamadi that he will win.' Also: **Nnakumtila shakká/ Hamadi/ kuwa takhshiindra.** 'I doubt *Hamadi* that he will win.'

Omari/ kilaa chiint^hu/ hutilaa shaka. 'Omari doubts everything (lit. Omari puts in doubt to everything).'

kingilaa shaka 'to doubt'

Ali/ imwingilee shaka/ kuwa mwaana/ bozele peesa. 'Ali doubted that the child stole money.'

Nuuru/ imingilee shaka. 'Nuuru doubted it.'

Nuuru/ maanawe/ imingilee shaka. 'Nuuru's son doubted it.'

kuwanayoo shaka 'to have doubt'

Chiboodo/ chihada/ kuwaa ye/ nt^haná/ shaka/ kuwa uje/ ndiyé/ dughaaghi/ waa wo/ wanammeeró. 'Flea said that he had no doubt that that one was the wild animal that they were looking for.'

Mi/ (n-)na-yoo shaká/ kuwa Hamadi/ takhfaanya/ jawabu izo. 'I doubt that Hamadi will do that thing.'

Mi/ nayoo shaká/ kuwa Omari/ takuuya/ keesho. 'I doubt Omari will come tomorrow.'

Mi/ nayoo shaká/ na Hasaní. 'I have doubts about Hasaní.'

Nt^hamu/ shaka/ amri ya mojiitu/ khfulata. 'There is no doubt that whatever God has ordained will happen.'

Nt^haku/ shaka/ ye/ naacho/ chijuumba/ chaa nyunyi. 'There is no doubt that he has a nest of (these) birds.'

Sa'iidi/ kooðize/ nt^haziná/ shaka. '[lit.] Saiidi's words do not have doubt -- i.e. one does not have to doubt Ali's words, they are true.'

i-shaka (*ma-*) n. 5/6 [there is a locality at the border between Kenya and Somalia which is called **Ishakaani**; the word **ishaka** has been recorded in the Tikuu and Siu dialects of Swahili, and reconstructed as ***ishaka** “thicket, brush” for Proto-Sabaki in N&H 623] tree, bush, plant

rel.

chi-shaka (*zi-*) n. 7/8 bush

Hasani/ chilawa/ cheendra/ chishakaani/ maha_laa ye/ husho zoombozé. ‘Hasani left and went to the bush to the place where he hides his things.’

m-shaka (*mi-*) n. 3/4 tree, bush

Itanzi la mshaka or **Itaanzi la mshaka** ‘the branch of a tree’ (cf. **nt^hanzi za mshaka** or **nt^haanzi/ za mshaka** ‘the branches of a tree’)

mishaka/ nt^haanzize ‘the trees, their branches’

mshaka/ ltaanzile ‘the tree, its branch’ (cf. **mshaka/ nt^haanzize** ‘the tree, its branches’)

mshaka wa embe ‘mango tree’

mshaka wa ndrimumu ‘lemon tree’

ma-shakaani n. loc. in the bush, jungle, trees

Hasani/ chiineendra/ chiineendra/ hattá/ shkoma apo/ mashakaani/ maha_laa ye/ zishile zoombozé. ‘Hasani travelled and travelled until he reached there in the bush the place where he had buried his things.’

Omari/ oloshole mashakaani/ kumeraa mbuzi. ‘Omari went to the bush to look for the goat.’

Siimba/ apa/ wakali/ wazimile mashakaani. ‘Lions here are fierce, hiding in the bushes.’

kh-shakaba evidence)

v. [no etymology known] (**shakabiile**) accuse someone of something (without direct

Mzeele/ uyu/ nakunshakaba/ tu/ ka khisa waawe/ hayiisi/ nt^hi iyi/ walá/ mzeele/ uyu/ hamwiisi/ waawe. ‘This old man is falsely accusing me because my father does not know this land nor does this old man know my father.’

Omari/ mshakabile Hamadi/ kuwa bozele chibuukuche. ‘Omari accused Hamadi of stealing his book [lit. accused Hamadi that he stole his book].’ (Syn. The verb requires the subject of the complement sentence to be its object. It is ungrammatical to say: ***Omari/ shakabile kuwa Hamadi/ bozele chibuukuche.** Also it should be noted that the complement clause is always a **kuwa**-clause and not an infinitive or gerund or subjunctive.)

rel.

kh-shakaboowa v. pass.

Hamadi/ shakabila na Omari/ kuwa bozele chibuuku. ‘Hamadi was accused by Omari of stealing a book.’ (Syn. The preferred word order is the one shown, where the agent phrase immediately follows the main verb. It is possible, however, for the agentive phrase to be at the end.)

Nshakabila na Omari/ kuwa mbozele chibuuku. ‘I was accused by Omari of stealing a book.’

rel. nom.

m-shakabo n. the act of charging someone with wrongdoing

m-shakabano n. the act of charging one another with wrongdoing

ma-shakha

n. 6 [Ar. *šiqqa* W 480] difficulties, hardships, problems

duniya nuumba ya bala na mashakha [st.] ‘the world is the abode of troubles and hardships’

shakhiyi

adj. of bad character, not good

Hamadi/ ni shakhiyi. ‘Hamadi is of bad character.’

rel.

u-shakhiyi n. bad character

kh-shakisha

v. tr. [Ar. *šakka* “to doubt, have misgivings” W 481] (**shakishiize**) doubt s.t.

Hasani/ nakhshakisha/ kuwa Nuuru/ takhsaafira. ‘Hasani doubts that Nuuru will travel.’ Or without focus on the higher verb: **Hasani/ nakhshakisha kuwa Nuuru/ takhsaafira.** (Syn. The verb *shakisha* allows the subject of the embedded finite clause to be ‘raised’ to be its object: **Hasani/ namshakisha Nuuru/ kuwa takhsaafira.** ‘[lit.] Hasani doubts Nuuru that he will go.’)

Shaafi’i/ shakishize kuwa Huseeni/ fungile mlaango/ ka yee peeke. ‘Shaafi’i doubted that Huseeni closed the door by himself.’

Zubeeri/ shakishize kooḏi. ‘Zubeeri doubted the news.’

rel.

kh-shakishika v. tr. p/s.

Sa’iidi/ kooḏize/ hazishakishiki. ‘Sa’iidi’s news cannot be doubted (e.g. because he is so truthful, or because he cannot take criticism).’

kh-shakishiliza v. tr. appl.

kh-shakishilizanya v. tr. appl. rec.

kh-shalaayata

v. [Som. verb *shallaa* and noun *shallay* DSI 544-5] (**shalayeete**) regret (esp. a lost opportunity)

Chimdara mana oyo/ takhshalayata maamo/ khuzaala. ‘If you touch that boy, you will regret that your mother has given birth to you!’

Mi/ nshalayeete/ chiza kenda skoḷaani. ‘I regretted not going to school.’

Nshalayeete kingila shirká/ na Omari/ kula gaari. ‘I regretted entering into a partnership with Omari to buy a car.’ (Observe that when there is no internal focus, the final accent triggered by the main verb extends all the way to the end of the sentence. The final accent stops, however, when there is an internal focus. For example, in the following pronunciation there is focus on **Omari**: **Nshalayeete kingila shirká/ na Omari/ kula gaari.**)

Shalayete keendra. ‘He regretted going.’ Or: **Shalayete/ keendra.**

Shalayete/ kingila heshiisi/ na Omari/ kula gaari. ‘He regretted entering into an agreement with Omari to buy a car.’

We/ shkala karka nt^hi iyi/ takhshalaayata/ na umriwó/ huzni/

haytakhula. ‘If you stay in this land, you will have regret, and during your whole life, sadness will never leave you.’

rel.

kh-shalayata v. appl. regret for

Omari/ nakhshalayata chiza kumpa maana/ peesa. ‘Omari is regretting not giving the child money.’

kh-shalayatiwoowa v. appl. pass.

Chint^hu shpisiló/ hachishalayatiwoowi. ‘Things that have passed are not regretted.’

Nasiibu/ ha’ishalayatiwoowi. ‘Luck is not regretted (for).’ (A proverb.)

Umri/ upisiló/ hushalayatiwoowi. ‘Life that has passed is not regretted (it

has passed, it is gone).’

kh-shalayaowoowa v. pass. be regretted

Ishalayeeta/ chiza kujowaa zijo. ‘Not eating was regretted.’

kh-shalaayata

v. leap

Fikira/ nt^hasaa we/ khshalaayata. ‘Think before you leap.’ (A proverb.)

shalaayi

n. 9/10 [Som. *shallay* DSI 545] regret

Shalaayi/ husalaa numa. ‘Regrets remain to the end.’ (A proverb.)

Shalaayi/ ni mwanaharaamu. ‘Regret is a bastard (i.e. the result of a mistake).’ (A proverb.)

shalayi iyi ‘this regret’

shalayi niingi ‘many regrets’

ziiko shalaayi niingi na maayi [st.] ‘(in hell) there are plenty of regrets,

more than water'

- shalabeela** adj. haphazard, disorganized; adv. haphazardly, disorderly
munt^hu shalabeela 'a disorganized person'
Ziweshela shalabeela. 'He put the things in a haphazard fashion.'
- shaali** n. [uncertain noun class] locally-woven cloth used as a shawl
haanzu mpeeni qamiisi/ na shaali ya khtandrikoowa [st.] 'give him a tunic and a shawl to wrap him in'
kumzuba shaali 'to wrap someone with a shawl'
Tandrishile shaali. 'He put on a shawl.'
- kh-shaama** v. (**shamiile**) have sexual intercourse, fuck
Omari/ hupeenda/ khshaama. 'Omari likes to have intercourse.'
rel.
kh-shamoowa v. pass.
Haliima/ nakhshamoowa. 'Haliima is being fucked.' (Syn. Observe that this verb is a transitive verb where it is the male mating with the woman in the active sentence, and in the passive sentence, it is the woman being fucked.)
rel. nom.
m-shaamo n. 3 sexual intercourse
- shamali** n. [?Ar. *šaml* "gathering" W 487] musical instruments, in the form of wooden boat-shaped clappers, approx. 30 cm. long; played by men to accompany large drum in musical contests (two orchestras playing)
kubiga shamali 'to jump and sing loudly'
kubiga shamali stoshe hujuuza [st.] 'do not think that it is permitted to jump and sing loudly'
- i-shambara (mi-)** n. 5/4 a kind of grouper, light blue in color, lives in rocky places in the high sea
- i-shambaati (mi-)** n. 5/4 sp. fish (Red Grouper)
- i-shaambi (ma-)** n. 5/6 a piece of cloth used for mopping, dusting; a wornout cloth ready to be discarded, in worse shape than **i-shepe**
ishambi imooyi 'one wornout rag'
mashambi mawili 'two wornout rags'
rel.
chi-shaambi (zi-) n. 7/8
Shtomola shpeteche/ chichiloomba/ chihada/ mi/ nakhsula kuwa ðaliili/ na loonila/ linabadilike/ na nguwoza/ zinawe zishaambi. 'He took out his ring and implored it saying: I want to be poor, and my complexion, let it be changed, and my clothes, let them be rags.'
- kh-shamira** v. (**shamiriile**) tie, lock firmly; join a group of people and make them laugh and enjoy themselves (i.e. "be the life of the party")
- shamsi** n. sun
huwoni noota na shamsi na qamari [st.] 'you do not see stars nor the sun nor the moon'
shamsi na zuhura mariikhi mushtari/ ujaaridi na zuhali na qamari [st.] 'the sun and Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Mercury, Saturn and the moon'
- shaamu** n.
nt^hi ya shaamu 'Syria'
- i-shaana** n. a sp. fish, white, but of uncertain species; however, one consultant identifies it

with the what in Italian is referred to as **rombo** (scientific name Rhombus, with several sub-species, with the English names brill and turbot) **check vowel length**

- kh-shangaala** v. (**shangeele**) be astonished; hesitate
rel.
kh-shangaa'ika v. (**shanga'ishile**) be perplexed, confused; remain agape, with one's mouth wide open
kh-shangaalika v. hesitate
kh-shangaalisha v. cause to hesitate
kh-shangaaza v. (**shangaziize, shangeeze**) confuse someone
rel. nom.
ma-shangaalo n. 6 hesitation
- Shangamaas** n. an alternative name for the five Somali clans known collectively as the **Tunni**
- shaani** n. [Ar. *ša'n* W 449-50] character, quality; standing, prestige, consequence; coupled with **jalla** (= great, exalted, see Ar. *jalla*, W 128) it is an attribute of God (= the Sublime)
jalla ađimu shaani [st.] 'Exalted and Sublime'
sheekhi shaaniye ađimu [st.] 'the sheikh's standing is very high'
- Shanlo** n. an individual who is referred to in proverbial sayings – a rich man known as a miser
Omari/ ni Shanlo. 'Omari is (like) Shanlo, i.e. he will not give away anything.'
Sho kuja chaake/ ni Shanlo. 'The one who does not eat his is Shanlo.' (A proverbial saying.)
- shaqa** n. [Sw. *shake* "grief"] grief
wachigadika kuruuda/ (shaqa) watakingiloowa [st.] 'and when they turn back, they will be pierced by grief'
- ma-shaqa** n. 6 worries, troubles, hardships, difficulties
kuwanayo mashakha 'to be in trouble'
kuwona mashakha 'to be in trouble'
Mashakhaye/ niingi. 'His troubles are many.'
- shaqiyi** adj. [Ar. *šaqīy* "wretched, damned, rogue" W 481] ?*Arabicism* s.o. cursed, wretched
- shar'a** n. [cf. Ar. *šara* 'and related forms, W 465] rules, regulations
chiraasha shar'a yitu ya islaamu [st.] 'follow our Muslim laws, regulations'
ibaada pashpo shar'a zote baatili [st.] 'acts of worship without (following) the rules and regulations are all invalid, nullified'
sowti ya ngoma nk'ulu shar'a hiiza [st.] 'the loud sound of a drum,...
- i-shaara** n.a signal, a sign (e.g. a sign or revelation as to what God wants done)
kh-pa ishaara 'to signal'
- sharabu** n. flank (referring to part of an animal)
- sharafa** in the expression:
ndevu sharafa 'a long flowing beard'
- i-sharafa (ma-)** n. 5/6 round mat made of a certain kind of grass used to put food on (when eating all together)
rel.
chi-sharafa (zi-) n. 7/8
- sharafu** n. 9 respect, dignity, honor

kuvunda sharafu ‘to embarrass, disgrace’

Hamadi/ vunziḷa sharafuye. ‘Hamadi was disgraced.’

Mp^huundra/ shfuraha/ shṭosha kuwa iyi/ ni sharafu/ nk^hulu/ kuwaa muke/ wa sultaani/ ya maduuri. ‘Donkey was very happy, thinking that it was a great honor to be the wife of the king of the forest.’

sharaara n. [probably from Ar. *šar’a* W 466] musical instrument, similar to a guitar, which was played during the **tumbura** dances

sharbaati n. [Sw. *sharabeti* SSED 417; Ar. *šarba* "drink", plural *šarbāt* W 462] a sweet, colored drink (like kool-aid) drunk mostly in Ramadhan when the fast is broken around sunset

Ichendrowa apo/ ishtukulowa sharbaati/ mazu/ embe. ‘They used to go there bringing *sharbaati*, bananas, mangoes.’

Kuḷa mwaana/ huṭukula chibeeramu/ zaakuja/ za namna ka namna/ na nt^hupa ya sharbaati. ‘Every child carries a banner, foods of various kinds, and a bottle of kool-aid.’

sharhi n. 9/10 explanation, comment; decoration

shari n. [Ar. *šarr* W 461] an evil, wicked, or bad thing; mischief, maliciousness; [pron. **sharri** or **shari**] (Phon. There are a number of words deriving from Arabic words containing a geminate consonant which, in Chimwiini, may be pronounced with or without gemination. These words, on the basis of this gemination, ordinarily prevent the lengthening of a preceding word-final vowel in the same phrase. The examples below show, however, that **shari** allows lengthening in front of it.)

...khuṭaanda/ khuletelaa shari ‘to insult you, bring evil to you’

Moojá/ chihafiōe/ naa shari/ zaa sheetaani. ‘Oh God, protect us from the evils of Satan.’

with their evil doing.’

Mojiitu/ nashkifila awo/ na shari yaawo. ‘May God protect us from those

ndila yaa shari ‘the road to evil, bad deeds’

Omari/ tukilee shari. ‘(Lit.) Omari is carrying evil – i.e. Omari is harboring evil intentions inside him and is someone who wants to make problems.’

shari kiitu ilaziile ziko kheeri numa yiitu [nt.] ‘evil has left our place and there are good times to come’

Shari/ na kheerí/ hulawa na mojiitu. ‘Evil and good come from God.’ (A proverb.)

shari/ walá/ kheerí ‘neither evil nor good – anything at all’

Laakini/ nt^hangú/ si/ chiwasiliiló/ ye/ nt^hakunuzaa shari/ walá/ kheerí. ‘But since we have arrived here, he has not asked me anything at all (lit. neither evil nor good).’

Sheetaani/ sharize/ ni niingi. ‘Satan’s evil deeds are many.’

Shiri yaa wake/ ichiwa niingi/ nii shari. ‘Women’s meetings, if they become many, are a problem.’

Sho kuyaa shari/ shifa/ hayiyi. ‘Unless something bad happens, a good thing does not come.’ (A proverb.)

u-shari n. 14

wenye mabunduqu huuya ka ushari [nt.] ‘men armed with guns come with evil intentions’

sharii’a n. [Sw. *sheria, sharia* SSED 419, 417; Ar. *šarī’a* W 466] law, rule, regulation (tends to be used for religious law, but can be used more widely)

variant forms: **shari’a, shariya, shar’a**

Ada ya muuyi/ ni sharii’a. ‘The tradition of the town is **sharii’a** law.’

chisuula khtumila sharii’a nafasi [st.] ‘if you wish to use (water that has been used to clean something (**nijisi**), **sharii’a** law is flexible (has space, room to accommodate)’

ka sharii'a legally

Waant^hu/ hukalo Mwiini/ wote/ ni wasoomaali/ ka sharii'a/ laakini/ chimeera/ asli yaawo/ wo/ hulawaangana/

lamnaa nt^hatu. 'All the people who live in Mwiini are Somalis legally, but if one traces their ancestry they are divided into three groups.'

kendra shari'aani 'to litigate, to go to law'

khfulisha shariya 'to carry out the law'

Shariya/ hufuulishó/ ni mahkama. 'Law, who implements it is the court.'

khpeleka shari'aani 'to prosecute'

kuweka shariya 'to enact laws'

Dobla/ husulowa kuweka shariya/ ya kinendrelowa. 'The government is required to enact laws to be abided by, followed.'

mooja ondrosheeze shar'a na shuruuti [nt.] 'God has taken away law and order'

mwenye sharii'a 'lawyer'

Nt^hi/ ichiza kuwako shari'a/ guraani. 'On earth if there is no law, move away!' (A proverbial saying.)

shar'a yaa chuwo 'written laws'

shari'a yaa nt^hi 'the law of the land'

shari'aani 'at a law court'

Somaaliya/ nt^haku/ shari'a. 'Somalia has no law.'

shaaribu

n. 5/6 [Sw. *sharubu* SSED 417; Ar. *šārib* W 463] moustache

Nayo shaaribu (or: **mashaaribu**). 'He has a moustache.'

sharibu shiiri 'a dirty moustache'

shaaribu

n. one who drinks, esp. alcoholic beverages

Nayo shaaribu. 'He drinks (esp. alcoholic beverages).'

shaaribu khamri

n. one who drinks a lot of alcohol

Omari/ (ni) shaaribu khamri. 'Omari drinks a lot of alcohol.'

Omari/ tu/ ni shaaribu khamri. 'Only Omari drinks a lot of alcohol.'

kh-sharifa

v. [Sw. *sharifu* SSED 417; Ar. *šarufa* W 466] (**sharifiile**) respect, honor

Hamsharifi/ waawaye. 'He does not respect his father.'

ku'ajiza kuwakuza/ na kuwasharifa 'to fail to honor and respect them'

kumsharifa/ kana mzeelewa 'to respect someone like one's parent'

rel.

ku-sharifila v. appl. (**sharifiliile**)

shariifu (Ø, ma-)

n. adj., n. [Sw. *-sharifu* SSED 417; Ar. *šarīf* W 467] someone who respects others and himself; a member of a clan claiming to be descended from the Prophet

Mashariifu/ ni waant^hu/ wotte/ waa wo/ wa'iló/ kulawa nt^hi za

charaabú.

'The **mashariifu** are people who came from Arab countries.'

Mooja ka jaha ya Mtume Shariifu [st.] 'God, because of the Prophet Shariifu'

away.' (A proverb.)

Sheekhi/ chiya/ shariifu/ hooloka. 'If a **sheekhi** comes, a **shariifu** goes

rel.

shurafa pl. [Ar. *šurafā* W 467]

shariita

n. tape

Iwatilo waant^hu/ khoofú/ na shaká/ ni/ ye/ kiiza/ khtomola/ shariita/ za muhadathaati/ spisiló/ benaa ye/ na ba'abi/ ya waant^hu/ washfanyo naayé/ kaazi. 'It put fear and doubt in

people: why has he refused to release the tapes of conversations between him and the people working with him?’

i-sharka (ma-) n. 5/6[no etymological source found] jaw, cheek; gill (of a fish)
isharka yaa nsi ‘gill of a fish’
rel.
ma-sharka n. 6 mumps (which involves swelling of the jaw area)

sharmuuta (ma-) n. [Ar. *šarmūta* W 469] prostitute
Chiwaa ye/ nakhsulaa muke/ mi/ nii muké/ laakini/ chiwaa ye/ nakhsulaa muke wa masku na mooyi/ masharamuuta/ wayeele/ telle/ muyiini. ‘If he wants a wife, I am a woman, but if he wants a woman for one evening, prostitutes fill in abundance the town.’
Iyo/ ni ifuungu/ yaa mi/ nsurufiiló/ ilu ya masharmuuta. ‘That is the portion [of my squandered wealth] that I spent on prostitutes.’

sharqi n. 9 [cf. Sw. *mashariki* SSED 26; Ar. *šarq* W467] east
Safiriile/ ka ariplaano/ khaasá/ kooloka/ ka kuzuura/ ntʰi za sharqi/ yaa kati. ‘He travelled by his special airplane to go to visit the countries of the Middle East.’

kh-sharta v. [Sw. *shuruti* SSED 427; Ar. *šaraṭa* W 464] (**shartiile**) impose a condition
Basi/ naayé/ mubjaana/ uyu/ huviḷowa Fikiriini/ chiwona/ kuwa ni afḷali/ naayé/ kulangala/ nasiibuye/ keendra/ kummeera/ mwanaamke/ uyu/ nakhsharṭo waantʰú. ‘So this young man named Fikiriini saw that it was better to also try his luck: to go to seek this daughter who was putting men under conditions.’
Humsharta/ ye/ chiza khsoma lkele. ‘He must not read loudly.’ The subjunctive verb may not be used here: ***Humsharta/ ye/ sisome ka lkele.** ‘He must not that he read loudly.’
Humsharta/ ye/ keendra. ‘He must go.’ A subjunctive verb is not used:
***Humsharta/ ye/ naʼendre.** ‘He must that he not go.’
Mi/ namsharta/ ye/ khtokosa maayi. ‘I require of him to boil the water.’ Instead of an infinitive, a subjunctive may be used: **Mi/ namsharta/ ye/ natokose maayi.** ‘I require of him that he boil water.’ Negative verbs in the sentential complement: **Mi/ namsharta/ ye/ chiza khtokosa maayi.** ‘I require him to not boil water.’ And: **Mi/ namsharta/ ye/ stokose maayi.** ‘I require of him that he not boil water.’

rel.
kh-shartana v. rec.
kh-shartisha v. caus. (same in usage as the simple verb)
kh-shartishana v. caus. rec.
kh-shartishika v. caus. p/s.
kh-shartishiliza v. caus. appl.
kh-shartishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
kh-shartika??
kh-shartila??
kh-shartoowa??

kh-shartana v. (**sharteene**) bet, wager

sharti (Ø, ma-) n.[Sw.*sharti* SSED 427; Ar. *sarṭ* W 465] obligation, requirement, condition
Hasani/ naayé/ shkhubala/ sharti iyó. ‘Hasani agreed to that condition.’
Huseeni/ chuuza/ masharti gani. ‘Huseeni asked: what conditions?’
Imaani/ haaʼiwi/ kaamili/ sharti/ ka shahaada. ‘Faith is not complete unless it has **shahaada** (i.e. acceptance of the oneness of God).’
ka sharti ‘on the condition’
Abunawaasi/ ntʰakhupa rukhsa/ kumwolokela Harun Rashiidi/ laakini/ ka sharti/ ya kuwa yaa we/ takhpató/ yote/ takaawanya/ naami/ sawasawa. ‘Abunawaasi, I will give you permission to go to Haruun Rashiidi, but on

one condition: that you, whatever you get (from him), you will share all of it with me equally.'

Kamaa we/ nakhsula maayiyá/ yotté/ mi/ nt^hakhupa/ laakini/ ka shart_i mooyi/ we/ ndrata/ mi/ khufunge miilu/ na mikonó. 'If you want all my water, I will give it to you, but on one condition: you let me tie you legs and arms.'

kuweka mashart_i 'to put conditions on'

Laakini/ Sa'iidi/ iize/ mashart_i ayo. 'But Sa'iidi refused (to accept) these conditions.'

Na kila muunt^hu/ husulo kumlolá/ ha'ilizoowi/ laakini/ hupoowa/ mashart_i. 'And every man who wants to marry her is not refused, but he is given conditions (that must be met).' (We recorded **hupoowa** with a final accent, but do not at present understand whether this pitch pattern is correct.)

ngoombe na mbuzi ya be shart_i miwili [st.] 'a cow and a goat must be two years of age (to be slaughtered)'

Ni shart_i/ ye/ chiza khsoma ka lkele. 'It is necessary for him not to read loudly.' Or with a subjunctive verb: **Ni shart_i/ ye/ sisome ka lkele.** 'It is necessary that he not read loudly.'

Ni shart_i/ ye/ keendra. 'He must go.' Or, with a subjunctive verb instead:

Ni shart_i/ ye/ na'endre.

Ni shart_i/ ye/ kuuya. 'It is necessary that he come.'

shart_i + verb (this expresses the necessity of doing s.t., the fact that there is no other way but to do so)

Waaliko/ wererseete/ shart_i/ fanyiliza tumbura. 'He was in serious trouble, it became necessary to make **tumbura** for him.'

Shart_i ya mara ya isa/ iwaaliko/ kuwa takhshindroowá/ itamlaazima/ kuna maayi/ ya tawala/ yotte. 'The condition this time was that **shart_i za koowa we chisuula kiiwa** [st.] 'the conditions, requirements of washing (ritual cleaning), if you want to know them

rel.

shuruuti n. [from Ar. plural form *šurūt* W 465]

<i>kh-sharuba</i>	v. [Ar. <i>šariba</i> W 462] (sharubiile) absorb water (of a crack or hole, e.g. in a roof)
<i>shaashi</i>	n. reef shark
<i>i-shata</i> (ma-)	n. 5/6 [Sw. <i>shata</i> SSED 417] a sweet made from coconut, sesame, sugar, etc., in the shape of a cookie
<i>i-shaatara</i> (ma-)	n. umbrella
<i>ma-shaatara</i>	in the expression: dank^hu za mashaatara 'popped corn'
<i>u-shataara</i>	n. [Ar. <i>saṭāra</i> W 471] cleverness khfanya ushataara 'to be clever'
<i>shaatiri</i> (ma-)	adj. clever, skillful, smart, cunning
<i>shatranji</i>	n. 9/10 [Sw. <i>sataranji</i> SSED 411; Ar. <i>sat[□]ranj</i> W 471] the game of chess; a chess piece (Phon. Although in words of Bantu origin, vowels are regularly lengthened in front of a prenasalized consonant inside a stem, no such lengthening occurs in borrowed words. This suggests that the lengthening may no longer be an active rule of Chimiini phonology and that long vowels in front of prenasalized consonants should be regarded as underlying. There is, of course, a different approach possible. Perhaps the <i>nj</i> in the present word should be analyzed as a sequence of two consonants and not a prenasalized consonant.) explore the chijini evidence
<i>shaati</i> (Ø, ma-)	n. 9/10, 6 [Sw. <i>shati</i> SSED 417; Eng. <i>shirt</i>] shirt

kubadila/ kana shaati ‘to change [as often] as a shirt’

Omari/ hubadilaa wake/ kana shaati. ‘Omari changes wives [as often] as a shirt.’

mashaati (exaggerated plural)

Nk^huzile shaatiyá. ‘I took my shirt off.’

Omari/ tundrishile shaatiye/ musmariini. ‘Omari hung his shirt on a nail.’

Shaati/ atile ka chireenza. ‘The shirt, he cut it with a razor. (Phon. Or, with focus on the preposed **shaati**: **Shaati/ atilo ka chireenza.** ‘It is the shirt that he cut with a razor.’ One can also simultaneously put focus on the verb: **Shaati/ atilóló/ ka chireenza.** Notice that when the verb is focused, the relative final accent does not extend beyond the verb. This is characteristic of the pseudo-relative construction as opposed to true relatives.)

Shaati/ atulile chireenza. ‘The shirt he cut with a razor.’ (Syn. In GM’s speech, one can prepose the logical object in the instrumental applied construction, or the instrument: **Chireenza/ atulile shaati.** ‘With a razor he cut the shirt.’ Furthermore, either of these preposed elements will allow pseudo-relativization: **Shaati/ atulilo chireenza.** ‘It is the shirt that he cut with a razor.’ Or **Chireenza/ atulilo shaati.** ‘It is a razor that he used to cut the shirt.’)

Shaati/ chireenza/ atulilóló. ‘The shirt, a razor he used to cut.’ Or: **Chireenza/ shaati/ atulilóló.** ‘With a razor, the shirt he cut.’ (Phon. It does not seem possible to fail to pseudo-relativize the verb if both object and instrument are preposed.)

Shaati/ ka chireenza/ atilóló. ‘A shirt, with a razor, he cut.’ (Syn. Observe that in this sentence, both the logical object and the prepositional instrumental phrase can be preposed in front of the verb. But in such a case, the verb must be put into the pseudo-relative form. One cannot say***Shaati/ ka chireenza/ atiile.**)

shaati/ ya laasi ‘wool shirt’

shaati/ ya mikonoo mile ‘a long-sleeved shirt’

shaati/ ya mikono zigobe ‘a short-sleeved shirt’

i-shawakha (ma-)

n. 5/6 [Som.] fishing net

Ishawakha/ yaliko ndani ya maayi. ‘The fishing net was in the water.’ Or: **Ishawakha/ yaaliko/ ndani ya maayi.** Or: **Ishawakha/ iwaliko ndani ya maayi.** Or: **Ishawakha/ iwaaliko/ ndani ya maayi.**

Kingilowa shawakhaani/ ni sahali/ kulawoowa/ ni ta’abu. ‘To get into a net is easy, to get out is difficult.’ (A proverb.)

Kingila ishawakhaani/ ni sahali/ fikira jisaa we/ kulawa. ‘To get into the net is easy, think of how to come out.’ (A proverb.)

Mashawakha/ yawaliko ndani ya maayi. ‘The fishing nets were in the water.’ Or: **Mashawakha/ yawaaliko/ ndani ya maayi.**

shawakha ya gooli ‘the goal net in soccer’

shawakha ya mpiira ‘net for ball (e.g. volleyball net)’

shawakha yaa nsi ‘net for fish’

shawaala

n. [dialectal Arabic source?] worker (Lex: According to a current consultant, this word means "porter", but is seldom heard. MI glossed the word more generally as "worker".)

Shawaala/ tomeela/ kaziini. ‘The worker was fired from his job.’

kh-shawisha

v. [?Ar. *šawiha* "to distort, deface, defame" W 495] worry someone; interfere with a radio signal by broadcasting over it **review both the etymology and the Chimwiini gloss**

shawri

n. 9 [cf. **shoori**] advice; business

Iyo/ siwo/ shawri yiinu. ‘That is not your (pl.) business.’

Shawriyo/ ni suura/ nt^ho. ‘Your advice is very good.’

shaawuri

n. 9/10 advice, consultation, suggestion, plan; idea, opinion

khtinda shaawuri ‘to decide’

kuleta shaawuri ‘to make a suggestion’

Nayo shaawuri? ‘Do you have a suggestion?’

Wamaliizopó/ mwaana/ chiwa’uza/ nini/ shaawuri/ isa. ‘When they finished [eating], the boy asked them: what is your advice now?’

- Wamrashiizó/ wachimjiiba/ kuwa shaawuri/ yiko kaake.** ‘Those who followed him answered him that the advice is with him [i.e. it is up to him].’
- rel.
ma-shaawuri n. 6 consultations, plans
Kiila/ mooyi/ nayo mashaawuri/ mbaḷmbali. ‘Everyone has different ideas, opinions.’
Madimaamu/ na Sa’iidi/ mashawuriyaawo/ mamooyi. ‘Madimaamu and Sa’iidi, their plans were one (i.e. everything they do, they do together).’
- m-shaawuri* n. [Sw. *mashauri* SSED 418; Ar. *mušāwar* W 493] advisor
Apo/ stendro izi/ zinakhṭulukó/ mshaawuri/ wa mmamulaṭa muuyi/ waliko nakhpita/ ka apo/ chiwona. ‘There where these happenings were taking place, the advisor of the caretaker of the town was passing by that place and saw (everything that happened).’
- shaawushi* n. a military title: a petty officer of the Zanzibari garrison, commanding ten soldiers
- shehena* n. [Sw. *shehena* SSED 418; Ar. *sah* □ *na* W 458] cargo
khpakila shehena ‘to load a cargo’
Markabu/ itukile shehena ya suukari. ‘The ship is carrying a cargo of sugar.’
Na shehena/ inawe/ buni/ ipoonzeḷa. ‘And the cargo should be coffee that has been ground.’
- Shekh Abu Gaawo* n. an individual who appears in a proverbial saying
Sho khsafira/ ni Shekh Abu Gaawo. ‘The one who does not travel is Shekh Abu Gaawo.’
- Shekh Abdul Qadiri* n. the founder of the Qadiriya, a Sufi order
- Shekh Aaweeso* n. one of the three main religious leaders in Brava
Skekhe Aaweeso/ zishile Biyoole. ‘Sheikh Aaweeso is buried in Biyoole.’
- Shekh Khaasimu* n. one of the three main religious leaders in Brava
- Shekh Mohamuud* n.
Makhabriini/ ka Shekh Mohamuud / ni kharibu ya Spartiwooni. ‘Sheikh Mohamuud’s graveyard is near the stadium.’
Makhabriini/ ka Shekh Mohamuud Waesle/ ni kharibu ya Ka Mabaadiri. ‘The graveyard of Sheikh Mohamuud Waesle is near Ka Mabaadiri.’
- Shekh Nureeni* n. one of the three main religious leaders in Brava
 check whether this is Shekh Nuraani or whether both may be used
- kh-sheekhaṭa* v. [Som. n. *sheegato* "person who denies belonging to a certain tribe" DSI 548] (**shekheete**) repudiate one’s tribe, team, etc., and join another
- sheekhasho* n. the act of repudiating one’s affiliation
- sheekhi (ma-)* religion, a saint n. 1/2, 9/6 [Sw. *sheik(i)* SSED 418; Ar. *šaik* W 496] a learned person, esp. in
Karamuuni/ wa’azimiila/ masheekhi/ walangala noota/ na ma’akhyari wa muuyi. ‘To the feast were invited learned men, astrologers, and gentlemen of the town.’
Masheekhi/ hudirkamana muskitiini. ‘Religious people meet in the

- mosque.’ (A saying.)
mashekhi matatu or **mashekhi watatu** ‘three learned people’ ([cl.6] and [cl.2] agreement)
mashekhi wa Miini or **mashekhi ya Miini** ‘learned people of Brava’ ([cl.2] or [cl.6] agreement)
Masheekhi/ wa’ile. ‘Learned people came.’ ([cl.2] agreement)
na wiingine masheekhi yote aadili [st.] ‘and all other learned men who are just’
Sheekhi/ ni muunt^hu. ‘A religious scholar is a man.’ (A proverb.)
shekhi yiitu or **shekhi wiitu** ‘our sheekhi’ ([cl.9] or [cl.1] agreement)
sheekhiya ‘my learned man’ ([cl.9] agreement)
Tuuma/ waawaye/ ni sheekhi. ‘Tuuma’s father is a religious scholar.’
Waa we/ namtoshu sheekhi/ ndiyé/ huwo sheetaaní. ‘The one you think is a saint is the one who becomes satan.’ (A proverb.)
Watakendra ka sheekhi/ kulātana. ‘We will go to a learned man to divorce.’
rel.
u-sheekhi n. 14 learnedness
- chi-sheenzi* n. [Sw. *kishenzi* SSED 419; Pers.] in a barbarous, uncivilized manner
rel.
m-sheenzi (*wa-*) n/adj. 1/2 a barbarous, uncivilized, uncouth, stupid person
u-sheenzi n. 14 [Sw. *ushenz* SSED 419] stupidity; the condition of being barbarous, uncivilized
- m-sheenzi* n. a kind of grouper
variant form: **isheenzi**
- shepe* adj. worn-out
Nguwo/ iwelee nshepe. ‘The clothes became worn out.’
shtoka chishepe ‘worn-out axe’
rel.
chi-shepe (*zi-*) n. 7/8 [Sw. *kichepe* "worn out, threadbare cloth" SSED 187] a piece of old, worn-out cloth
i-shepe (*ma-*) n. 5/6 worn-out cloth
Ishepeya/ sii mp^hiya/ ya waant^hu. ‘My worn-out cloth is not a new one of (other) people. (i.e. it is better).’ (A proverb that counsels preferring what is your own, not what belongs to others.) (Morph. The adjective **-piya** agrees apparently with the omitted noun **nguwo** ‘cloth/es’.)
- kh-sheera* v. [no etymological source found] (**shereele**) slide, slip (e.g. on a wet spot); slide down something
Ali/ shereele. ‘Ali slipped.’
Gaari/ ishereele. ‘The car rolled down (the hill, e.g.).’
Huuri/ zimsherele usooni. ‘Sweat slid down his face.’
Huuri/ zinamsheera. ‘Sweat is coming down his face.’ (The prefix **ku** in the present tense is commonly elided in front of the [cl.1] object prefix, as in this example. Compare **Huuri/ zinakunsheera.** ‘Sweat is coming down my face.’)
Kaa kule/ mi/ chikhuwona/ itozi/ hunsheera. ‘When I see you from a distance, I shed a tear – [lit.] a tear flows from me.’
ndila ya khsheera ‘a slippery road’
Nguwo/imshereele. ‘The cloth slid down him.’
rel.
kh-sheerasha v. caus. (**sheresheeze**)
Ali/ sheresheze chigaari/ ndilaani. ‘Ali rolled the car along the road.’
kh-sheroowa v. pass.
Husheroowa/ kana chimento. ‘It is slippery like cement.’
- shere* [Sw. *shere* SSED 419] in the expression:

khtelezaa shere 'to make fun of someone' ([cf. Sw. *kucheza shere*])

kh-shereha

v. [cf. Sw. noun *sherehe* "show, pomp, display" SSED 419 (but the Ar. etymology given in SSED has the meaning "to be happy" and is not applicable to Chimwiini; Som. *sharrax* "to decorate" DSI 547 and *sharax* "to explain" DSI 546) (**shereheele**) decorate, adorn; explain with more detail and more elaborately than in the case of *keeleza*, embellish

khshereha darsi 'to explain the lesson'

khshereha jawaabu 'to explain the issue'

khsherehaa lugha 'to explain the language'

khshereha nuumba 'to decorate a house'

rel.

kh-sherehela v. appl.

kumsherehela chiint^hu 'to explain something to him'

kh-sherehesha v. caus.

rel. nom.

m-shereho n. 3 act of decorating, adorning

sherhe (Ø, ma-)

n. 9/10,6 [Som. *sharax* DSI 546] explanation

variant form: **sherehe**

Qur'aani/ inayo sherehe (or: **masherehe**) **niingi** (or: **miingi**). 'The Quran has many explanations.'

Sheetaani

n. [Ar. *saiṭān* W 497] devil, satan, fallen angel who attempts to lead humans astray

Chizeele/ icho/ ni sheetaani. 'That old woman is a devil.'

Heendra/ kuwa sheetaani/ ingile kati kiinu. 'It is possible that the devil has gotten between you (e.g. causing you to quarrel).'

Mwoondrole sheetaani/ ndaṭa nk^hooḍe. 'Remove the devil (i.e. be calm, don't let anger get the better of you), allow me to speak.'

Nahishiize/ kana sheetaani. 'He terrified him as if he were the devil.'

Sheetaani/ humpata moomini. 'The devil gets the faithful man.' (A proverb.)

Sheetaani/ hupowaa male. 'The devil is given a longer time.' (A proverb.)

Sheetaani/ khuṭomola nuumbayo/ khulaṭa ibanyaani. 'The devil takes you out of your house and leaves you outside (i.e. nowhere).' (A proverb that conveys the idea that bad people will mislead you, they will tell you good things that do not in fact exist.)

Shpandra muunt^hu/ kulangaḷa/ chimwona mwanaamke/ msuura/ ye/ chimuuzā/ ndo/ we/ naani/ sheetaani. 'A man climbed up [the tree] to take a look; he saw the pretty girl; he asked her: come, who are you? a devil?'

Sku mo/ muke/ sheetaani/ mshiinzile/ nt^hakhaadira/ kureba ruuhuye/ chimwambila Yuusufu/ ni laazima/ we/ kulala naami. 'One day satan overcame the wife, she was not able to stop herself, she told Joseph: it is necessary that you sleep with me.'

i-sheetara (ma-)

n. 5/6 [etymology unknown] umbrella

i-shevu (ma-)

n. [Sw. *shavu* SSED 418] the gill of a fish

Nsi/ huvuta neefu/ ka ishevuuni. 'A fish respire by means of the gills.'

ma-shghuli

n. 6 [Sw. *shughuli* SSED 426; Ar. *ṣuḡl* W 476] state of being busy; adj. busy

Ka khisa Tuuma/ waliko mashghuli. 'Because Tuuma was busy working.' (A possible answer to the question: **Ka khisani/ Tuuma/ nt^hakhpikā**. 'Why did Tuuma not cook?')

Makhaadimu/ wake/ na waḷi/ wachiwa mashghuli/ wanakudarbisha zaakuja/ za namna mbaḷmbali. 'Servants, male and female, became busy preparing foods of different kinds.'

munt^hu mashghuli 'a busy person'; **want^h mashghuli** 'busy people'; **chijint^hu chimashghuli** 'busy dim. person'

- kh-shi'ira** v. compose a poem
yaaka nikhshi'ira ichinsiba chiint'u [song] 'mine (i.e. my role, what I am able to do) is to express in poetry the thing(=s) that happen to me'
- shi'iri** n. [Ar. *šīr* W473] verse, poem
Ikofiyaani/ andishile shi'iri/ ka chihindi. 'On the hat, he wrote a poem in Hindi.'
kḥtunga shi'iri 'to compose poetry'
Shi'iri iyi/ yandishila na Iliya Abumaaḍi/ na itafsiriila na Madimaamu.
 'This poem was written by Iliya Abumaadhi and was translated by Madimaamu.'
- shibhi** n. (cf. verb **kh**-shibiha) resemblance
ni msuura nt'ako mithliye / ni nuuru naani shibhiye [st.] '(the Prophet) is beautiful, there is not his equal, he is a light: who resembles him?'
- kh-shibiha** v. [Ar. *šabiha* W 453, and *šibh* "resemblance, similarity, ibidem"] be alike, look alike, impersonate
 variant form: **khshabiha**
hushibiha mwaaka mzima hadiile [st.] 'it (fasting those six days) is equal to a whole year of fasting, he (i.e. the Prophet) said'
mubli kumshibiha muke haraamu/ karka mavaaloye haṭa kalaamu [st.]
 'for a man to impersonate a woman is forbidden, in his garb, even in speech' (MI rejected **kalaamu** as a word used ordinarily used in Chimiini)
muke kumshabiha mubli tahaḍari/ haṭa karka mineendro ḍambi l'akbari [st.]
 'for a woman to impersonate a man, beware; even in gesture or movement (lit. walking) is a big sin'
- rel.
kh-shibihana na v. resemble, look like
- shibiri** n. 9/10 [Sw. *shibiri* SSED 420; Ar. *šibr* W 451] a span, the distance from the thumb to the little finger if the hand is opened
- shūbu** n. beauty
chuuma cha miriiri china shūbu liini [song] 'when did a rusty piece of iron ever have beauty?'
- shida** n. 9/10 [Sw. *shida* SSED 420; Ar. *šidda* W 460] hardship, difficulty (Observe that although this item is of the structure **CVCV**, it does not allow the lengthening of the final vowel of the preceding word in the phrase, as is usual for **CVCV** words. This behavior is presumably a reflection of the geminate in the Arabic source. We have observed this item with gemination even in Chimiini.)
khpatikana na shida 'to be in difficulty – lit. to be found in difficulty'
kingila shidaani 'to enter into difficulty'
kingiza shidaani 'to expose to difficulty'
Nimwingize shidaani. 'I exposed him to difficulty.'
Lada ya haruusi/ ni saba ayaamu/ na shidayé/ ni dawaamu. 'The sweetness of marriage is seven days and its hardship is everlasting.'
 (A proverb.)
Nayo shidda. 'He has difficulty.'
Shida/ ikathiriile/ zamani izi. 'Hardship has increased these days.'
Siná/ shida. 'I am fine (i.e. I have no difficulty).'
Umo karka shidá. 'You are in difficulty.'
Umo karka shida ya peesá. 'You are in financial difficulty.'
- shifa**
inaye ni dawa shifa/ ka uhayaati na kufa [st.] 'his (i.e. Muhammad's) name has healing powers during your life and at the time of death'

Sho kuyaa shari/ shifa/ hayiyi. ‘Unless something bad happens, a good thing does not come.’ (A proverb.)

shifaa’a

n. 9 [Ar. *šafā’a* W 478] healing, curing, helpfulness, intercession (on the part of the Prophet for someone who has died, e.g. a **saghiiri** -- a child who has died near birth), peace, ease, rest, etc.

Dawa/ na shifaa’i/ ni ka mojiitu. ‘Medicine and healing are from God.’

Dawa/ na shifaa’i/ hulombowa mojiitu. ‘Medicine and healing are begged from God.’

munt^hu mwenye shifaa’a ‘someone helpful’

munt^hu nt^hana shifaa’a ‘a man who will offer no help’

shifaa’a ndaako aakhera/ neesha miito ya Kowthara [st.] ‘mercy is yours in the hereafter, water the plants of Kowthara’

Sho kuya shari/ shifaa’a/ hayiyi. ‘Unless evil comes, peace/ease does not come.’ (A proverb.)

yiiko shifaa’aye lata waswasi [st.] ‘there is his [the Prophet’s] intercession [available], abandon doubts!’

shifa’ul walideeni

a set expression borrowed from Arabic used to express condolences to a parent whose minor child has died; these words, "mercy for the parents", are spoken when one goes to the home of the parent after the child’s death

Nuru/ mokojele Hasani/ shifa’ulwalideeni. ‘Nuru went to Hasani’s place to give condolences.’ (Phon. It is interesting that Chimiini prosodic principles hold even when the sentence contains obvious Arabicisms. This is seen in the first person form of the present sentence, where the accent is final: **Nimokolele Hasani/ shifa’ulwalideeni.** ‘I went to Hasani’s place to give my condolences.’)

Omari/ nt^hamookeja/ Nuru/ shifa’ulwalideeni. ‘Omari did not go to Nuru’s place to express condolences.’

shiihi

n. 9 [Som. *sheex* DSI 548] shame, shyness

munt^hu mwenye shiihi ‘a shy person, a shamed person’

shiihiye ‘his shyness’

shiihoole

adj. [Som. *sheex* + poss. *leh*] timid, easily embarrassed

kh-shiika

v. [Sw. *shika* SSED 420] (**shiishile**) grasp, seize, catch, grab, hold, have a grip on; keep; arrest, capture; trap an animal; maintain, insist; regard as, accuse, hold to be

Ali/ nshishile mwiizi. ‘Ali accused me of being a thief [lit. Ali held me to be a thief.]’

Askari/ mshishile mwiizi. ‘The policeman arrested the thief.’

Askari/ wachimera maana/ kumshiika. ‘The soldiers searched for the boy to arrest him.’

Baaba/ chimshika mwaana/ mkono. ‘Father held the child by the hand.’

Chizeele/ chimwaambila/ mshiike. ‘The old woman told him: catch it!’

Fijiri/ muke oyo/ chimshika Sa’iidi/ mkono/ chilawa naaye. ‘In the morning that woman grasped Sa’iidi’s hand and left with him.’

Hamadi/ shishile ruuhuye/ kuulu. ‘Hamadi grasped his (own) leg.’

Hamadi/ mshishile mkono. ‘Hamadi held him by the hand.’ (Review the interpretation of **Hamadi/ mshishile mkonowe**. MI suggested it would indicate one’s own hand.)

Hasani/ nakhshika zanaa nk^huku. ‘Hasani caught the small hens.’

Hawashiiki/ mbwa/ numbaani. ‘They do not keep dogs in the house.’

khshiika ‘to hold, keep, care for, look after’

Ko/ nshikila maaná. ‘Here, keep my child for me.’

Nshikila maaná/ mara mooyi. ‘Keep my child for me for a little

while.'

Nshikila pesa izi/ mara mooyi. 'Keep the money for me for a little while.'

khshikaa be'i 'to name a price, make a bid' (but **khtilaa be'i** is more common)

khshikaa chiṭa idiom?

khshika deeni 'to ask someone to repay a loan'

Taha/ nshishile deeniye. 'Taha asked me to repay the money I borrowed from him [lit. his loan].'

khshika gaari/ ka chinume 'to jump onto the tailgate of a car'

khshika hapti 'to mind one's own business, affairs'

Oloka/ shika habtizo. 'Go and mind your own business!'

khshika maneeno/ ka waant^{hu} 'to listen to, heed the words of others'

Sishiiké/ maneno ya waant^{hu}. 'Don't pay attention to what people say!'

khshika miilu 'to beg, go down on one's knees to someone [lit. hold someone's legs]'

Nakhsula khushika miilú. 'Do you want me to beg you?'

khshika miimba 'to conceive, become pregnant (lit. catch stomach)'

Mukeewe/ shishile miimba. 'His wife became pregnant.' Cf.

Mukeewe/ nt^hakhshiika/ miimba. 'His wife did not become pregnant.')

Uko/ uko/ chishika miimba/ chizaala/ mwaana/ mwanaamke/

inaye/ Sittjanna. 'She stayed, she stayed, (and) she became pregnant; she gave birth to a child, a girl; her name was Sittjanna ("lady of paradise").'

khshika mkono 'to catch red-handed', to catch s.o. with his hand in the bag

Hamadi/ mshishile Baana/ naa ye/ nakubooló. 'Hamadi caught Baana red-handed while he was stealing.'

khshika mwaana 'to babysit, care for a child'

khshikaa ndala 'to be hungry'

Imshishilee ndala/ mubli. 'The man felt hungry.' (Phon. It is our impression that in a sentence of this type, the noun **mubli** is more radically lowered in pitch than in the usual downstep intonation pattern, or at least the contrast between it and the preceding **ndala** is more marked than usual. We take this intonation to indicate that **mubli** is out-of-focus. The corresponding yes-no question reflects this fact in that the out-of-focus element undergoes accent shift: **Imshishilee ndala/ mubli?**)

Mubli/ ndala/ imshishile. 'The man felt hungry.' (Phon. The yes-no question corresponding to this sentence involves no accent shifts, just Q-raising: **Mubli/ ndala/ imshishile?** Comparison, then, of the present example with the immediately preceding one, supports the proposition that the movement of **mubli** to the end of the sentence is a means of putting it out-of-focus. Its neutral position is sentence-initial.)

khshikaa ndila 'to leave; to follow the road, keep to a course of action, a path; to follow one's own way, not listening to others, but holding to one's own beliefs etc.'

Baana/ shishile ndilaze. 'Baana left, went on his way.'

Chimaliza khsooma/ khati/ iyi/ shikaa ndila/ ndo. 'When you read this letter, follow the road and come!'

Muunt^{hu}/ uyu/ chishika ndilaye/ chiyolokela. 'This man left and took himself off.'

Shika ndila iyi/ mooyi/ ka mooyi. 'Keep straight ahead on this road.'

Shika ndilazo. 'Follow your own path!'

Wachishikaa ndila/ kendra mundraani. 'They departed and went to the garden.'

khshika safari 'to intend to take a trip'

Sku mooyi/ mzeele/ nambiile/ kuwaa ye/ imshishile safari. ‘One day the old man told me that he intended to take a trip.’

khshika uuðu ‘to maintain the validity of one’s ablutions (by avoiding the various prohibited things – e.g. in **Shaafi**’i school one cannot touch the bare skin of a sexually available woman; one cannot touch one’s genitals; one cannot urinate, defecate, or fart)’

khshika uṭuungu ‘to go into labor’

Muke/ wakhṭi ukomeelopó/ chishika uṭuungu/ chizaala. ‘When the time came, the woman went into labor and gave birth.’

khshika wakhṭi ‘to set, fix a time’

khshikaa zilo ‘to cry’

Waana/ wa Omari/ hawadaariki/ ka paapo/ hushikaa zilo. ‘Omari’s children cannot be touched, immediately they start crying.’

khshika ziwovu ‘to hold a grudge, have rancour’

Liini/ mapoliisi/ wamshishilo miizi. ‘When did the police arrest the thief?’

Langala ikhushiishiló. ‘Mind your own affairs [lit. look after that which holds you]!’

mapoliisi/ kawamshika miizi/ yaná ‘if the police had arrested the thief yesterday’ (Phon. The *ka* counterfactual conditional tense triggers final accent whatever the nature of its subject. In this example, the time adverbial is included in the scope of this final accent. This does not seem to be an invariable property of the *ka* tense and may indicate that in this example *yana* is not out of focus.)

Mapoliisi/ wamshishile miizi/ yana. ‘The police arrested the thief yesterday.’ (Phon. The noun *miizi* bears the default penult accent by virtue of being the final word in a phrase. There are aspects of pronunciation, however, that are not revealed by our system of transcription. We refer to these features as *intonational*. For instance, time adverbials like *yana*, when final in the verb phrase, typically show a kind of pitch lowering that is characteristic of *out-of-focus* elements. This is not revealed by the above transcription. The out-of-focus nature of the time adverbial is shown by the simple yes-no question, where out-of-focus phrases are subject to a shift of the accent to final position: **Mapoliisi/ wamshishile miizi/ yaná?** ‘Did the police arrest the thief yesterday?’ Furthermore, sentences with “canonical” word order and phrasing typically exhibit a “downstep” intonation whereby the initial accented syllable is highest in pitch and subsequent accented syllables are progressively lowered. Thus in the present example, *miizi* would be lower in pitch than *mapoliisi*. However, it is possible to put focus/emphasis on *miizi*, which raises its pitch. The extent of this raising is variable. The following *yana* in this case is radically lower in pitch.)

Mapoliisi/wamshishile naani/ yana. ‘The police arrested whom yesterday?’ (Phon. Once again, our transcription does not reveal significant intonational facts about this sentence. A question word such as *naani* ‘who(m)?’ is focused and therefore raised in pitch. Interestingly, we did not observe a pitch drop on *yana*. This lack of a pitch drop is presumably connected to the intonation of so-called “*wh*-questions”, but we have not explored this intonation in any detail.)

Mapoliisi/ yana/ wamshishile miizi/ so. ‘The police yesterday arrested the thief, didn’t they?’ (Phon. We have not studied the intonation of the *so* “tag-question” construction, but from this example it is clear that there is no down-step intonation and the sentence-final *so* is raised in pitch.)

Mi/ nimshishile miizi/ yana. ‘I arrested the thief yesterday.’ (Phon. Time adverbials are typically out-of-focus, as can be seen from the fact that the final accent triggered by the verb does not pass onto *yana*. The simple yes-no question shifts the accent to the final syllable on an out-of-focus phrase: **Mi/ nimshishile miizi/ yaná?** The same shift occurs in the emphatic yes-no question, but here it is not linked to being out-of-focus: **Mi/ nimshishile miizi/ yaná!?**)

Mp^haka/ chuuluka/ chimshika mooyi/ kaa kana. ‘The cat jumped and caught one [of the rats] in his mouth.’

Mshishile Hamadi/ mkono. ‘He held Hamadi’s hand.’ (Syn: One does not say ***Mshishile mkono Hamadi**. One also does not say ***Mshishile mkonowe Hamadi**. nor ***Shishile Hamadi/ mkonowe.**, i.e. with a possessive enclitic on **mkono**. It is also odd to say: ??**Shishile mkono wa Hamadi**. ‘He held the hand of Hamadi.’ One prefers to have a human object prefix, which is not possible with the associative phrase **mkono wa Hamadi**, since **mkono** is the head of this phrase and would have to control object agreement.)

Muusa/ mshishilo miizi/ yaná. ‘(It is) Muusa who caught the thief yesterday.’ (Syn. It is possible to put emphasis on the preverbal subject of a sentence by recasting the verb into a relative shape. This recasting of the verb is particularly common in present-day Chimiini. We did not record it in the speech of MI.)

Naani/ mshishilo miizi/ yaná. ‘Who arrested the thief yesterday?’ A possible answer to this question: **Muusa/ mshishilo miizi/ yaná.** ‘Muusa arrested the thief yesterday.’ (Phon. The question word **naani**, when pre-verbal, triggers pseudo-relativization of the verb. It is interesting that in this case, the final accent projected to the end of the pseudo-relative clause. The answer to the question involves focusing on the subject, and this also triggers pseudo-relativization and the accent again extends onto the time adverbial.)

Nshishile shaati. ‘He grabbed ahold of my shirt.’

Nvula/ ishiishile. ‘It has started to rain heavily.’

Oo muunt^hu/ shiishilá/ waliko Nureeni. ‘That man who was caught was Nureeni.’ Or: **Muunt^hu oo/ shiishilá/ waliko Nureeni.**

Omari/ shishile chinyunyi. ‘Omar caught a bird.’ Or: **Omari/ shiishile/ chinyunyi.** ‘Omari caught a bird.’ Or: **Omari/ shishilee cho/ chinyunyi.** ‘Omari caught it, the bird.’ Or: **Omari/ shiishile/ cho/ chinyunyi.** ‘Omari caught it, the bird.’ (Phon. The yes-no question version of the first example exhibits no accent shift, just pitch raising: **Omari/ shishile chinyunyi?** The yes-no question versions of all the other examples cited involve shift of accent to the final syllable of **chinyunyi** as well as pitch raising: **Omari/ shiishile/ chinyunyi?**, **Omari/ shishilee cho/ chinyunyi?**, and **Omari/ shiishile/ cho/ chinyunyi?** Notice that in the last example, **cho** is monosyllabic and thus there is no possibility for it to exhibit accent shift, even though it is out-of-focus and would thus be a candidate for accent shift in the yes-no question.)

Shika ka mikono miwili/ yaa mi/ kaambiló. ‘Believe what I say to you; depend on what I say to you [lit. hold with both hands what I say to you].’

Shishile eelo. ‘He caught a gazelle.’

Shishile kuulu yaa mbwa. ‘He held the leg of the dog.’ Or: **Mshishilee mbwa/ kuulu.** (Syn: It is not grammatical to say: ***Mshishile kuulu/ mbwa.** where **kuulu** is immediately post-verbal. It is also ungrammatical to say: ***Mshishile kulu yaa mbwa.** In other words, when the object is an associative phrase like **kulu yaa mbwa**, agreeent must be with the head of the phrase and not the complement.)

Shshile kuwaa mi/ skhaadiri/ khfanya kazi iyi. ‘He maintained that I am not able to do this job.’

Shishilee mi/ illa/ kumaliza kazi iyi. ‘He insisted that I must finish this job.’

Shishile mlaango. ‘He held onto the door.’

Shishile mpiira. ‘He caught the ball.’

Sishikeeni. ‘You (pl.) don’t hold it!’

Sultaani/ chishikowa shtana/ nt^ho/ chiwavila askarize/ kendra kumshiika. ‘The sultan became very angry and called his soldiers to go to arrest him.’

rel.

kh-shikamana v. (**shikameene**) stick together (e.g. wet papers sticking together); be united; hold together, be firm, be solid

Awo/ ni waant^hu/ washikameene. ‘Those are people who are really united.’

khshikamana mkono ‘to hold one another’s hand’

Washikamene mkono/ wa’oloshela. ‘They joined hands and left.’

Mbarakha/ nt^haskushikamana. ‘The papers did not stick together.’

Mbarakha/ zishikameene. ‘The papers stuck together.’

Numba iyi/ ishikamani. ‘This house is holding together (not falling apart).’

Shikamanaani. ‘(Pl.) unite!’

Ulongo uyu/ hawshikamani. ‘This clay won’t hold together.’

kh-shikamanisha v. unite

Endrá/ shikamanisha chizaazi. ‘Go and unite the family!’

kh-shiikila v. appl.

Chimaliza/ chi’ishikila ndilaye [or: **ndilaze**]/ **chiyolokela.** ‘Then he kept himself on his way and went away.’

khshikila shtana ‘to be mad, angry at someone’

Mshikilile Omari/ shtana. ‘He was angry at Omari.’

mwana mshikililo ye/ shtaná ‘the child who was mad at him’

khshikila wakhti ‘to set, fix a time for’

Hamadi/ mambile Omari/ nshikila wakhti/ nakhsuulá/ peesaza.

‘Hamadi told Omari: fix/set a time for me, I want my money back.’

Hamadi/ mi/ nimpele deeni/ skumshiikila/ wakhti. ‘Hamadi, I gave him a loan, but I did not set a date for him (to repay the loan).’

ku’ishikila hapti ‘to take oneself on one’s own business’

Sheekhi/ chilawa/ ka apo/ chi’ishikila haptize. ‘Sheekhi left from there and went about his own business.’

Nuuma/ oyoo muke/ sultaani/ chimshikila peesa/ chimshiikiló. ‘Then that woman took money for the sultan, that’s what she took.’

Nshikila pesa izi. ‘Keep this money for me.’

kh-shiikisha v. caus.

Mshikishize mwaana/ noka. ‘He made the child hold a snake.’

kh-shikishana v. caus. rec.

kh-shikishika v. caus. p/s.

kh-shikishiliza v. caus. appl.

kh-shikishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-shikoowa v. pass. (**shiishila**)

Baaba/ chishikowa na maraḍi/ chifa. ‘Father was seized by illness and died.’

khshikowaa chita ‘to have a headache’

Shishilaa chita. ‘He has a headache.’

khshikowa choolo ‘to have to go to the bathroom’

khshikowa hargabu ‘to have a cold’

khshikowa iwa ‘to have a solar eclipse’ (This expression derives from the traditional belief that something is snatching/catching the sun or moon and that the eclipse shows that God is angry. When this phenomenon occurred, all the children of the koranic schools and their teachers went round town imploring God for deliverance and special prayers were said.)

meezi ikumi ajabu / khshikoowa iwa sababu / kubloowa qutbu arabu/ Mooja shkiziize ghaḍabu [st.] ‘on the tenth of the month there was a wonder / the sun was eclipsed because / of the killing of the leader of the Arabs / God sent down his wrath’

khshikowa kaḍiiḍo ‘to have a fever’

Shishila kaḍiiḍo. ‘He had a fever.’

khshikowaa kunya ‘to feel the need to defecate’

khshikowaa mane ‘to feel the need to urinate’

khshikowa meezi ‘to have a lunar eclipse’

khshikowa miimba ‘to have a stomach ache’

Shishila miimba. ‘He has a stomach ache.’

khshikowa mkono ‘to be caught red-handed’

Suufi/ shishila mkono/ naa ye/ nakubooló. ‘Suufi was caught red-handed stealing.’

khshikowa mkono ‘to be held (by) the arm’

Mkono wa mwaana/ ushiishila. ‘The child’s arm was held.’
Mwaana/ mkonowe/ ushiishila. ‘The child, his arm was held.’
Mwaana/ shishila mkono. ‘The child was held by the arm.’
Shishila mkono/ ni mwaana. ‘The one who was held by the arm is the child.’

Ushiishila/ ni mkono wa mwaana. ‘What was held was the child’s arm.’

khshikowaa ndala [lit.] to be held by hunger -- i.e. to be hungry’
...**chshikowaa ndala/ khpata keendra/ khtinda** ‘... (so that) if I should become hungry, I might go and pick them’

Mi/ nt^hakuja mukhtaa mi/ nt^hakhshikowaa ndala. ‘I will eat when I am hungry.’

Shishilaa ndala. ‘You are hungry.’ (Phon. The corresponding yes-no question just involves Q-raising: **Shishilaa ndilá?** The exclamatory yes-no question does not have Q-raising, but does make the final accent clearly falling in nature: **Shishilaa ndala!?**)

washishilapoo ndala ‘when they become hungry’

khshikowa ooni ‘to be thirsty’

khshikowa shšana ‘to be angry’

Muke/ chshikowa shšana/ nt^ho. ‘His wife was very angry.’

Nuuru/ shishila shšana. ‘Nuuru was angry.’

khshikowa usiinzi ‘to be sleepy’

Sooloké/ chinemaani/ masku/ takshikowa usiinzi. ‘Don’t go to the cinema at night, you will get sleepy.’

Hamadi/ shishila kuulu/ na Ali. ‘Hamadi was held by the leg by Ali.’

(Syn: It is less common to say **Hamadi/ shishila kuuluye/ na Ali.**

And it is ungrammatical to say: ***Kuulu/ ishishila Hamadi/ na Ali.**

Mbwa/ shishila kuulu/ na Ali. ‘The dog was held by the leg by Ali.’

Mwanaamke/ chshikowa/ chiletowa mbele/ za sultaani. ‘The young woman was caught and brought in front of the sultan.’

miizi/ oyo shishilaa yaná ‘the thief who was arrested yesterday’ or **miizi/**

shishilaa yaná ‘the thief who was arrested yesterday’

rel.

m-shiika (*wa-*) n. one who holds

mshika waana ‘babysitter’

u-shikamano n. 14 unity

m-shiiko n. 3 way of keeping, holding, etc.

Fulaani/ nt^haná/ mashiiko. ‘So-and-so is not dependable.’

Mshiiko/ waa we/ hushiko waaná/ ni khatara. ‘The way [of keeping, of caring for, tending] that you keep children is dangerous [this might be said, for example, to someone who is operating a daycare facility for children and the speaker thinks that the owner’s practices put the children in harm’s way].’

shilingi

n. 9/10 [Sw. *shilingi* SSED 421; Eng. *shilling*] shilling

Chooloka/ chimwambila mubliwe/ mp^ha shilingi khamisiini. ‘She went and told her husband: give me fifty shillings.’

Mp^ha shilingii miya. ‘Give me one hundred shillings!’

Mubli/ shtomola/shilingi/ khamisiini/ ka chiwovuuni/ chimpa. ‘The husband/ took out fifty shillings from (his) pocket and gave it to her.’

Sultaani/ mpenzelee nt^ho/ nyunyi/ oyo/ chimpa mwaana/ shilingi thalaathiini. ‘The sultan loved that bird very much and gave the boy thirty shillings.’

shiima

n. 9 [Sw. cf. *shime* SSED 421] vigor, enthusiasm, inspired effort

ka shiima ‘with enthusiasm, vigor’

khfanya shiima ‘to make an enthusiastic effort’

khtila shiima ‘to inspire’
Nthaná/ shiima. ‘He has no enthusiasm, vigor.’

shimaali [Ar. *shimāl* W 487] *Arabicism* north (This item, used in opposition to **januubi** ‘south’, is an Arabicism which is understood in Brava because it is used in some specific contexts (e.g. when indicating in a document the boundaries or measurements of a plot of land or of a building. The Chimiini terms for ‘south’ and ‘north’ are **kuusi** and **kaskaazi** respectively.)

i-shimo n. [Sw.*shimo* SSED 421] hole
khtila ishimooni ‘to put in a hole – i.e. to do s.t. to get someone in trouble’
Mtile ishimooni. ‘He put him in a hole (i.e. got him in trouble).’

i-shina (ma-) n. 5/6 [Sw. *shina* SSED 421] root of a tree; base of s.t.; origin of s.t.
ishina yaa muti ‘tree’s root’
khkula ishina ‘to extract, take out the root’

i-shinaamo n. essence
Ishinaamo/ ink^huushiló/ ntha’ikunruuda. ‘The essence/core (of my being) that had come out (of my body, due to fright) did not return to me (i.e. I got so scared that I am still not over it).’ (A proverbial saying.)
Zeena/ nahiile/ haṭá/ ishinaamo/ imkuushile. ‘Zeena got so scared/ terrified to the point that the essence (of him) was extracted (from him).’

kh-shiindra v. [Sw. *shinda* SSED 421] (**shiinzile**) (i) defeat, win, surpass; (ii) spend the day at someone’s place

- (i) **Ajabu/ washiinzile.** ‘They were amazed [lit. surprise defeated them].’
Iwashiinziló/ ni kazi iyi. ‘What defeated them is this job -- i.e. they could not do the job.’
Kazi iyi/ iwashiinzile. ‘This job defeated them -- i.e. they could not do the job.’
Mi/ nshiinzilé/ mara mbilize/ laakini/ ijini/ iize/ khubala/ kuwaa mi/ nshiinzilé. ‘I won two times, but the djinn refused to accept that I had won.’
Nnakhtamanaa wo/ wanashiindré. ‘I wish for them to win.’
Shinzile kharbiini. ‘He won a victory in the war.’
Sku mo/ muke/ sheetaani/ mshiinzile/ ntkureba ruuhuye/ chimwambila Yuusufu/ ni laazima/ we/ kulala naami. ‘One day Satan overcame the wife, she was not able to stop herself, she told Joseph: it is necessary for you to sleep with me.’
Taahiri/ hunshindra kaa nguvu. ‘Taahiri is stronger than me.’
Turki/ iwaliko khshiindra/ laakini/ nt^hakhshiindra. ‘Turkey was winning (the game), but they did not win.’
Uyu/ khushiinzile. ‘This one defeated you.’
We/ chinshiindra/ mi/ nt^hakhuṭii’a/ naami/ nch^hikhushiindra/ we/ itakhuṭaazima/ kunt^hii’a. ‘If you defeat me, I will obey you, and if I defeat you, it is a must that you obey me.’
We/ nshiindri/ ka khada’á. ‘You do not surpass me in tricks.’ (The final accent in **ka khjada’á** derives from an intonational use of final accent that we have not studied in detail.)
We/ khshindra matezo/ iwaliko suura. ‘For you to win the game was good.’ (Note that the sentential subject, **we/ khshindra matezo**, governs the [cl.9] SM *i*. Changing the subject of the sentential complement does not affect the SM on the verb: **Mi/ khshindra matezo/ iwaliko suura.** ‘For me to win the game was good.’ And: **Muusa/ khshindra matezo/ iwaliko suura.** ‘For Muusa to win the game was good.’)
- (ii) **Haṭá/ ichiwa teena/ Harun Rashiidi/ hakhaadiri/ khshiiindra/ sku mooyi/ pashpo kumwona Abunawaasi.** ‘It came to the point that Haruun Rashiidi was not able to pass even one day without seeing Abunawaasi.’

Takhshindra muunt^{hi}/ kiitu/ keesho. ‘He will spend the day at our place tomorrow.’

rel.

kh-shindramana (*na*) v. compete (with)

Markabu za sultaani/ Simisini/ nt^haskukhaadira/ khshindramana/ na markabu ya mwaana. ‘The ships of the sultan, Simisini, could not compete with the ship of the boy.’

Shtamwaambila/ ya kuwa mukhtaa si/ chenzelo khshindramana ka mfaka^o/ chimlasile Yuusufu/ maha^laa si/ chiweshelo zoombo. ‘We shall tell him that when we went to run a race, we left Joseph at the place where we set down our things.’

Waana/ wanakhshindramana. ‘The children are competing with one another.’

kh-shindramanila v. appl.

kh-shindramanisha v. caus. cause to compete

kh-shiindrana v. rec. (**shindreene**)

Washindreene/ tu. ‘[Lit. they beat each other only] they each beat the other some of the time, no one wins all the time.’

kh-shindranila v. rec. appl.

Wanakhshindranila peesa. ‘They are competing for money.’

Wanakhshindranilani. ‘What are they competing for?’

kh-shindranisha v. rec. caus. match against one another

khshindranisha ori ‘to match cocks in a cock fight’

khshindranisha waana ‘to match children (e.g. in a foot race)’

kh-shiindrika v. p/s. (**shindrishile, shindrikishile**) able to be defeated

Chivila ruuhuye/ Hashiindriki. ‘He called himself He Can’t Be Defeated.’

Ji/ hashiindriki. ‘Ji cannot be defeated.’

Shindrishile. ‘He was beaten (e.g. finally, after having boasted that he could not be defeated).’

kh-shiindrila v. appl. (**shindriliile**)

Nshindriliile matezo. ‘He won the game for me (i.e. he played in my place and won).’

Nthana/ aqili zaa ye/ khshiindrila. ‘He has no intelligence with which to win.’

kh-shiindrisha v. caus. (i) make, help win; (ii) make s.o. spend the day

(i) **Nimshindrishize Baana/ karata.** ‘I helped Baana to win at cards.’

kh-shindrishan(y)a v. caus. rec. help one another win in turns

kh-shindrishika v. caus. p/s.

kh-shindrishiliza v. caus. appl.

kh-shindrishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-shindroowa v. pass. (**shiinzila**) be defeated

Chishindroowa/ we/ takubasha kila yaa we/ peeto. ‘If you are defeated, you will lose everything that you got.’

khshindrowa matezo ‘to lose [lit. be defeated] a game’

Mwanaamke/ chishindroow/ mara ya kaandra/ na mara ya piili. ‘The girl was defeated the first and the second time.’

Sho khira khshindroowa/ si mshindraani. ‘The one who does not accept being beaten is not a fighter.’ (A proverb.)

Shtezeze maraa taatu/ mara iyi/ mi/ nshiinzila. ‘We played a third time and this time I was defeated.’

Sultani wa karaayle/ chishindroowa. ‘The king of the crows was defeated.’

Washinzila kaazi/ ni awa. ‘The ones who could not do the job are these.’

Wo/ washiinzila/ na kazi iyi. ‘They were unable to do the job [lit. they were defeated by the job].’

Wo/ washiinzile/ na chimaliza washiinzila. ‘They conquered and then they were conquered.’

rel. nom.

m-shiindra (*wa-*) n. 1/2 a winner

m-shindramana (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who engages in competition

- ma-shindramano* n. 6 competition
mashindramano ya mfakato ‘a foot race’
m-shiindrana (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who competes with
i-shiindrani (*ma-*) n., adj. one who contradicts, argues incessantly, pointlessly
m-shindraani (*wa-*) n. 1/2 a fighter
Sho khira khshindroowa/ si mshindraani. ‘One who does not accept being beaten is not a fighter.’ (A proverb.)
m-shindranisha (*wa-*) n. 1/2 ‘one who promotes competition, races’
m-shiindro n. 3 winning
ma-shiindro n. 6 the act of winning, winning
m-shindroowa (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who is defeated
- m-shindraaji* (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who wins
- m-shindraani* n. fighter
- chi-shiindro* (*zi-*) n. 7/8 [Sw. *kishindo* SSED 422] (i) a physical shock, a noise; (ii) the name of a kind of dance where people stomp on the ground with their feet
(i) **kubiga chishiindro** ‘to beat hard (e.g. on the ground with the feet)’
kubiga zishiindro ‘to jump up and down, clapping, ululating, etc.’
Haliima/ furahiile/ maanawe/ khshiindra/ nakubiga zishiindro.
‘Haliima is happy her child won, she is jumping up and down clapping etc.’
Numba ya uloongo/ hayhimili/ zishiindro. ‘A house of mud cannot withstand shocks.’ (A proverb.)
(ii) **Nakhteza chishiindro.** ‘He is dancing the **chishiindro** dance.’
- m-shiindro* (*mi-*) n. 3/4 [Sw. *mshindo* “used to describe any any act (process, effect) characterized by suddenness, force, violence, etc., and so translated variously by ‘shock, blow, stroke, explosion, noise, bang, sensation, burst, thump, crash, outbreak, tumult, roar, etc.’” SSED 423] noise etc.
Dhibu/ huya ka mshiindro/ naharisi/ itako ya siindanu. ‘Hardship comes with a bang, relief, slowly, little by little (lit. the bottom of a needle).’ (A proverb.)
ka mshiindro
Ali/ ile ka mshiindro. ‘Ali came all excited.’
Hamadi/ nakendra ka mshiindro. ‘Hamadi is walking quickly, heavily, angrily.’
Maayi/ ya’ile ka mshiindro. ‘The water came in a torrent.’
Nvula/ yile ka mshiindro. ‘It rained in torrents.’
Mshindro uyu/ ulazilepi. ‘What is the source of this noise?’
mshindro wa bundukhu ‘the sound of a gun discharging’
Nnakhkasa mshindro waa ngomá/ kaa kule. ‘I hear the sound of drums from far off.’
- ma-shiindro* n. 6
kubiga mashiindro ‘to stamp, hit the ground with the legs hard’
Hamadi/ ile apa/ shishiila shtana/ nakubiga mashiindro.
‘Hamadi came here, he was angry, he is stamping the ground.’
- shiingo* n. 9/10 [Sw. *shingo* SSED 423] neck
khfunga shiingo ‘to accuse (lit. tie the neck);
khfunguza shiingo ‘to clear one’s name of a false accusation’
kuwamo shingooni ‘[lit.] to be on the neck -- meaning that an obligation is still existing and it is s.o.’s responsibility; if the subject is a woman, the meaning is: to be dependent on s.o., to be still married to s.o.’
Deenizo/ zimo shingooni/ kaaka. ‘Your debts are on my neck, i.e. I have the obligation to pay them, I am burdened with paying them.’
Umo kaake/ shingooni. ‘She is still married to him.’

Ltakila/ nii lile/ laakini/ haivaaliki/ shingooni. ‘My necklace is long but it cannot be worn around the neck.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **siyaafu** ‘safari ants’.)

Mojiitu/ khufungile shiingo/ ka kheeri. ‘Has God freed your neck with blessings (or: happiness)?’ (Said to a woman who has just given birth to a child, after a safe delivery. The obligatory reply is: **alhamdulillah** ‘praise be to God’.)

Mzeele/ chimzuba celo/ shiingo. ‘The old woman embraced the gazelle’s neck.’

na shiingo zaawo nt^hiiniya/ ata qiyaama ahdiya [poem] ‘and their bent heads are under me until the end of time’

Shiingo/ haypiti (or: **ha’ipiti**) / **chita.** ‘The neck does not go above the head.’ (A proverb.)

Si/ laazima/ kumfuunga/ mp^haka/ chijarsi/ shingooni. ‘It is necessary for us to tie a bell on the cat’s neck.’

shiingya n. 9/10 [Ital. *cinghia*] fan-belt on a car

shin(y)eeri n. zipper

hanzu ya shinyeeri ‘a haanzu with a zipper (as opposed to buttons)’
Nakhfunga shinyeeri/ surwaaní. ‘I am zipping up my trousers.’ Or:
Nakhfunga surwaaní/ shinyeeri.

m-shipa n. [Sw. *mshipa* SSED 302] elephantiasis of the scrotum

NOTE: Never heard in Chim., but names of various illnesses not yet checked.

shiqaaqi n., adj. [Ar. *shiqāq* “disunity, dissension” W 480] contentiousness, argumentativeness; s.o. who is a troublemaker

maluungo huwola laṭa shiqaaqi [st.] ‘the body rots (after death), abandon being argumentative’

munt^hu shiqaaqi ‘a troublemaker’

kh-shiirata v. [Som. *shiir* “to have bad smell of dirt or sweat” DSI 549] (**shireete**) smell, stink (of a person, of meat, etc.)

shiri n. 9/10 meeting

Leelo/ yikoo shiri. ‘Today there is a meeting.’

Mbujá/ Moomo/ ile naami/ shiriini. ‘My sister Moomo came with me to the meeting.’ (The name Moomo may refer to either a man or a woman; here it refers to a girl, but the use of the term **mbujá** shows that it is a male who is speaking.) Or: **Moomo/ mbujá/ ile naami/ shiriini.** ‘Moomo my sister came with me to the meeting.’ Or: **Moomo/ mbujá/ shiriini/ ile naami.** ‘Moomo my sister to the meeting came with me.’ (Note that fronting **shiriini** does not necessarily trigger pseudo-relativization of the verb.) Or: **Ile naami/ shiriini/ Moomo/ mbujá.** ‘She came with me to the meeting, my sister.’ (This sentence involves the right dislocation of the subject **Moomo/ mbujá** ‘Moomo my sister’; a right-dislocated subject is radically downstepped in the examples we have observed.)

shiri iyi ‘this meeting’ (cf. **shiri izi** ‘these meetings’)

Shiri yaa wake/ ichiwa niingi/ nii shari. ‘Women’s meetings, if they become many, are a problem.’ (A proverb.)

shiiri n. [Som. *shiir* “bad smell due to dirt or sweat” DSI 549] dirt; smell; adj. dirty (of clothes but also animates)

chijana chishiiri ‘dirty little child’ (cf. **zijana zishiiri** ‘dirty dim. children’)

ijana ishiiri ‘dirty aug. child’ (cf. **mijana mishiiri** ‘dirty aug. children’)

mṭawo shiiri ‘dirty pillow’ (cf. **mṭawo shiiri** or **mishiiri** ‘dirty pillows’)

munt^hu shiiri ‘dirty person (physically)’ (cf. **want^hu shiiri** ‘dirty people’)

ngombe shiiri ‘dirty cow(s)’

nguwo shiiri ‘dirty clothes’

Shiri ya mwaana/ imdhibiile. ‘The boy’s smell bothered me.’

mu-shiriki (wa-)

n. one who claims divine qualities

- shirka** partner n. 9/10 [Sw. *shirika* SSED 424; Ar. *širka* W 468] company, business, enterprise;
- kingila shirka na** ‘to enter into partnership with’
ndiwo wamfanyilizo mooja shirka[st.] ‘it is them (i.e. white men, unbelievers) who make for God a partner (i.e. by treating Jesus as a partner in the holy trinity of Christianity)’
Nureeni/ shalayeete/ kingila shirka/ na Abdurahiimu/ kula gaari. ‘Nureeni regretted entering into a partnership with Abdurahiimu to buy a car.’
Siwé/ shirka/ na jaahili. ‘Do not become a partner with an ignorant person.’ (A proverb.)
- rel.
m-shirka (*wa-*) n. 1/2 [Sw. *mshirika* SSED] partner
- kh-shirka** claim divine qualities v. [Sw. *shiriki* SSED; Ar. *šarika* "attribute associates to God" W 468] (**shirkiile**)
Chim meaning to be changed.
- rel.
kh-shirkana v. rec. (**shirkeene**) share; associate (with)
ka waant^hu/ waa ye/ hushirkana naawó ‘by people whom he associates with’ **does habitual not take the final vowel -o in the relative**
kh-shirkisha v. caus. give a share to
- Shirombooto** n. Until the mid-1980’s, when a new tarmac road was built linking Mogadishu to the southern port of Kisimayu, the route from Mogadishu to Brava consisted of an old tarmac road for the first 100 kms. running from Mogadishu to Shalaambood, near Merka. In Chimiini, Shalaambood is **Shirombooto**, although a consultant GM used the pronunciation **Shalaamboot**.
- ma-shizi** n. 6 [Sw. *masizi* SSED 262] the black soot on the outside of a cooking pot
kumpaka uso/ mashizi ‘to embarrass someone by not doing what the person asks one to do or has said one would do [lit. smear s.o.’s face with soot]’
We/ takump^haka uso/ mashizi. ‘You will [lit.] smear my face with soot -- i.e. embarrass me.’
mashizi ya mooshi ‘the soot from smoke’
nyulusi/ kana mashizi ‘as black as soot’
- u-shizi** (*mi-*) n. 14/4 [Sw. *ufizi* SSED 489] gum (of tooth)
mishiziya ‘my gums’
Ushizi/ umfuriile. ‘His gum is swollen.’ Or: **Ushizi/imfuriile.**
Ushizi/ unam^lawa. ‘His gum is bleeding.’ Or: **Ushiza/ inam^lawa.**
Ushizi/ unam^laaza. ‘His gum is paining.’ Or: **Ushizi/ inam^laaza.**
ushiziwa ‘my gum’
- mu-shkila** n. (see under **mushkila**) problem
Chimaliza/ oyo mnaadisha/ naayé/ choloka ka sultaani/ na mushkilawe. ‘After that, that auctioneer went to the sultan with his problem.’
- i-shkilo** (*ma-*) n. 5/6 [Sw. *shikio* "a thing to hold by, handle, (in a ship) rudder" SSED 421] ear, source of information; cloth or rope handle (of a basket); tiller, rudder (of a boat)
Awa/ wachimshiika/ wanamgita mashkilo/ hattá/ Hasani/ chiwona ulaazo/ nt^ho. ‘These (people) grabbed him and were pulling him by the ears until Hasani felt a lot of pain.’
Baaba/ nt^hashtila/ ishkilooni/ maneno ya maama/ ba/ chizida kumpeenda. ‘Father did not pay heed to the words of mother, on the contrary, he loved [the child] even more.’

ishkilo ya jahazi ‘tiller of a **jahazi**’
khfungula mashkilo ‘to open the ears – i.e. to listen well to s.o.’
mashkilo mazito [lit.] heavy ears = deaf’
Mashkiloye/ kana nkh^haanga. ‘His ears are like a guinea fowl.’
Mi/ speendi/ chiint^hu/ karka nama iyi/ shokuwa mashkilo/ na khalbí. ‘I do not want anything from this meat except the ears and the heart.’
Ndo/ nt^huná/ so/ mashkiló. ‘Come, don’t you have ears?’
shkapu/ na ishkiló ‘a basket and a handle’; **skapu/ na mashkiló** ‘baskets and handles’
shkapu/ na ishkiloyé ‘a basket and its handle’; **skapu/ na mashkiloyé** ‘baskets and their handles’
Stilé/ ishkilooni/ ije ya chizeele/ takuhadó. ‘Don’t listen to what the old woman says.’
Ye/ nayo maluungo/ ya eelo/ milu ya eelo/ maṭo ya eelo/ mashkilo ya eelo/ laakini/ ye/ khalbiye/ siwo/ khalbi ya eelo. ‘He has the body of a gazeele, the legs of a gazelle, the eyes of a gazelle, the ears of a gazelle, but his heart is not the heart of a gazelle.’

sho

prep. [unknown etymology] without (**At present the use of this item is restricted in everyday speech**, while it is found extensively in poetry, where it is used as opposite to **jo** ‘having, with’.)

chiso shoo masu ‘a knife without an edge -- i.e. a blunt knife’
ka mudda ya miyaaka/ miingi/ nt^ho/ ya sho kiwoowa/ adadiye ‘for a period of very many years of which the number is not known’
ku’isha karkaa dhibu/ na ta’abú/ sho mwiisho ‘to live in difficulty and hardship without end’
ngamiila uḏhiya miṭaano sho khkoma [st.] ‘a camel [to be slaughtered as] uḏhiya must not have reached the age of five’
sho khsala ‘s.o. who does not pray’
sho kuwa ‘except’

Masku ayo/ nt^hakuja/ chiint^hu/ sho kuwa ikopa ya maayi. ‘That evening he did not eat anything except a glass of water.’

na kuwa dakhtari/ ya kuwaa we/ dawayo/ siwo/ chint^hu chiingine/ sho kuwa inyi yaa nfuye ‘and that the doctor told you that your medicine is nothing except the liver of a monkey’

Nt^hakuwanaayo/ kaazi/ yiingine/ sho kuwa khpataa nsi. ‘He did not have any other work except to catch fish.’

Nt^hakuwanaayo/ majiibu/ miingine/ sho kuwa aya. ‘He did not have any other answer than this.’

Nt^hakuwanaayo/ sho kuwaa zuwo/ zaa dawa. ‘He did not have anything except medical books.’

Sultaani/ wapeenzele/ waanawe/ wotte/ sho kuwa waa saba. ‘The sultan loved all his children except the seventh one.’

Ziwo/ zotte/ zivaliko zijjiila/ na rurumu/ sho kuwa lwarakha/ mooyi. ‘All the books were eaten by termites except for a single page.’

rel.

-sho without

chint^hu chisho ma’ana ‘something without meaning’; **zint^hu zisho ma’ana** ‘things without meaning’

iberamu isho lkaambala ‘flag without a rope’; **maberamu yasho nk^haambala** ‘flags without ropes’

Iyi/ ni raadiyo/ isho weneuwe. ‘This is Free Radio [lit. radio without owners].’

lkuta lisho jidari suura ‘a wall without a good foundation, base’; **nk^huta zisho jidari suura** ‘walls without a good foundation, base’

munt^hu sho ma’ana ‘a man without importance’; **want^hu washo ma’ana** ‘men without importance’ (Notice the null agreement in the case of a [cl.1] nominal.)

muti usho nt^haanzi ‘a tree without branches’; **miti yasho nt^haanzi** ‘trees without branches’
Nt^haku msiiba/ usho mwenewé. ‘There is no misfortune without its companions.’ (A proverb.)

numba isho zoloko ‘a house without windows’; **numba zisho zoloko** ‘houses without windows’ (Notice the singular agreement form **isho** where one might have expected **yisho** on the basis of the monosyllabic nature of the root.)

washo hadali na sowti [st.] ‘those who have no voice (i.e. are silent = the dead)’

shokuwana+pronoun who does not have

Na shokuwanaachó/ cho chotté/ hulazimoowi/ khtala deeni. ‘And he who does not have anything at all is not obliged to go into debt.’

shoobu

n. 9/10 [Som. *shoob* DSI 551] (cf. **–showaata**) ornament

Haliima/ hupeenda/ shoobu. ‘Haliima likes ornaments.’

Shoobu/ hazijoowi. ‘Ornaments are not eaten.’ (A proverb.)

i-shoga (ma-)

n. 5/6 [Som. *shuko* DSI 552] black outer garment worn by Bravanese women when going out of doors

Haliima/ vete ishoga. ‘Haliima wore *ishoga*.’

ishoga ilusi ‘a black *ishoga*’; **mashogi malusi** ‘black *mishoga*’

Ishoga/ ka wiingi/ ni ilusi. ‘The *ishoga* is mostly black.’

wabli ka mashoga watomeele tele/ wamereele ruuhu ki’ipelekaa mbele/ Mooja wa’ilize hiidi na mawele [nt.] ‘men decided to wear women’s black wraps trying to save themselves, [but] God did not give them a woman’s shape [lit. menstruation and breasts]’

Wake wa Miini/ huvala mashoga malusi. ‘Brava women wear black *mashoga*.’

shogamaano (Ø, ma-)

n. 9/10 [Ital. *asciugamano*] towel

khfinika shogamaano ‘to cover with a towel’

kh pangula maayi/ ka shogamaano ‘to wipe water with a towel’

shookhi

n. passion

ka shokhi hutuluka [song] ‘with passion I fall down’

Nt^haná/ shookhi. ‘He has no passion.’

Shookhi/ imteete. ‘Passion has taken him.’

shokhi ya mtume ‘the passion, love of the Prophet’

kh-shoma

v. [Sw. *shoma* SSED 424] (**shomeele**) sew

Abunawaasi/ chishomaa kana/ ya ijuuniya/ iyó/ ka himaahima/ na chi’ilata/ paapo/ apo/ lfuwooni/ chiyolokela. ‘Abunawaasi sewed the opening of that sack quickly and left it right there at the seashore and went away.’ (Phon: The final accent on **iyó** is at present unaccounted for.)

kubaraṭa khshomaa nguwo ‘to learn how to sew clothes’

rel.

kh-shomeka v. p/s. (**shomeshele**)

kh-shomekeka v. p/s. (**shomekeshe**)

kh-shomeḷoowa v. appl. pass. (**shomeḷeḷeḷa**)

charkhani chishomeḷeḷa shaati... ‘the sewing machine that was used to

sew the shirt...’

Mwaana/ shomeḷeḷa shaati/ ka charkhaani. ‘The child was sewed for a shirt with a sewing machine.’ But also: **Charkhaani/ chishomeḷeḷa mwaana/ shaati.** ‘A sewing machine was used to sew a shirt for the child.’

kh-shomela v. appl. (**shomeḷeḷeḷe**) sew with, for

Aasha/ mshomeḷeḷe mwaana/ shaati/ ka charkhaani. ‘Aasha sewed a shirt for the child with a sewing machine.’ (The **ka** in front of **charkhaani** is obligatory in this example. However, if the instrument is topicalized, then it may occur without a preposition: **Aasha/ charkhaani/ mshomeḷeḷe mwaana/ shaati.** And also: **Charkhaani/ Aasha/ mshomeḷeḷe mwaana/ shaati.** The topicalized bare instrument is possible, however, only with an applied verb; in the present example the applied verb is present so

as to allow a benefactive NP.)

Chimshomelaa nguwo/ za waant^hu/ maṭaajiri. ‘He tailored for him clothes of rich people.’

Hula zarkhaani/ khshomela waant^hu/ nguwo/ ka peesa. ‘They buy sewing machines to use to make clothes for people for money.’

sindano ya khshomela ‘a sewing needle’

kh-shomesha v. caus. make sew

khshomeshaa nguwo ‘to make s.o. sew clothes’

kh-shomoowa v. pass. (**shomeela**) be sewn

Majuuniya/ ayo/ yotte/ yachishomowaa kana/ na askari. ‘All those sacks had their openings sewed shut by the soldiers.’

rel. nom.

m-shoma (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who sews

mshoma charkhaani ‘a tailor’

mshomaa nguwo ‘a tailor’

m-shomaaji (*wa-*) n. *Swahilism* weaver

ma-shomo n. 6

i-shoondre (*ma-*)

n. 5/6 [Sw. *shonde* (*ma-*) SSED 424] a ball of excrement; s.t. useless

Ishondre ikulu/ nda msaafiri. ‘A big ball of excrement belongs to the traveler (i.e. it is easy to put blame on the traveler).’ (A proverb.)

ishondre ya ngoombe ‘cow’s dung’

Ni shoondre. ‘He is useless.’

Ondrele ishoondre. ‘He removed the excrement (from someplace).’

Weshele ishoondre. ‘He put the excrement somewhere.’ (Note that in

Chimiini, the verb *-weka* ‘put’ does not require one to express where something was put. Thus this example is just as grammatical as, say, **Weshele ishoondre/ chiliini.** ‘He put the excrement on the bed.’)

shooqi

n. 9/10 [Ar. *šauq* W 494] eagerness, yearning; [pron. **shooqi** or **shookhi**]

Apa/ muyiini/ kiḷa/munt^hu kasizo qisa za jasira ya Waqwaaqi/

imwingile shooqi/ na ṭamanile kendra kuzura jasira iyi/ laakini/

nt^haku/ jasiriiló/ kiḷa/ mooyi/ shtiya keendra/ shfanyowa

mtaana. ‘Here in town, each person who heard the stories about

the island of Waqwaaqi yearned and longed to go and visit this island, but there was no one who dared, each one was afraid to go there and be made a slave.’

ka shooqi ‘eagerly, with enthusiasm’

kingila shooqi ‘to become enthusiastic, eager, fervent’

Mi/ nsomelopo sifa za mtume uyu/ iningile shookhi/ na nt^hinzile

amri/ kuḷawa/ kummeera/ mtume uyu/ mahaḷaa ye/

ṭakuwaakó. ‘When I read about the praises of this

prophet, I became enthusiastic and I decided to leave to

search for this prophet wherever he might be.’

Mi/ nsomelopo sifa za mtume uyú/ ingile shookhi/ na nt^hinzile amrí/

kuḷawa/ kummeera/ mtume uyu/ mahaḷaa ye/ ṭakuwaakó.

‘When I read about the character of this prophet I became

enthusiastic and I decided to leave to search for this prophet

wherever he might be.’

Nayo shooqi. ‘He is eager.’

kh-shoorata

v. [Som. *shawr* “to consult secretly” DSI 547, cf. Sw. *shauri* SSED 418; Ar. *šūra* “take counsel, deliberate” W 492] (**shoreete**) consult, confer secretly

Apo/ mwaana/ shkalaant^ha/ kuwashorata askarize/ na wiinginé. ‘There the boy sat down to consult with his soldiers and others.’

Choondroka/ cheendra/ kumshorata mukeewe. ‘He arose and went to consult his wife.’

Choondroka/ chimshorata mooyi/ karka ndruezé. ‘He went and consulted one of his relatives.’

Karaayle/ wachishoorata/ keendra/ khtila/ muḷo. ‘The crows decided to

go and burn the church down.’

Mataanga/ ya ondrosheezapó/ mwaana/ chiwaviila/ mkułaze/ kuwashoorata. ‘When the wake ended, the boy called his elder brothers to consult with them.’

Mi/ shfilařila/ ye/ kunviila/ kunshoorata/ amó/ kunuza haaliya. ‘I expected him to call me to consult with me or to ask me my condition (i.e. how I am).’

Nfuye/ washoreete/ kunfanyaa mi/ sultani waawo. ‘The monkeys conferred to make me their king.’

rel.

kh-shorata v. rec. consult one another

Wotte/ wachisimama khshorata. ‘All stopped to consult with one another.’

kh-shorata v. appl. (**shoratiile**) conspire, plot against

kh-shoorisha or *kh-shorata* v. caus.

kh-shorata v. caus. rec.

kh-shorata v. caus. p/s.

kh-shorata v. caus. appl.

kh-shorata v. caus. appl. rec.

nom. rel.

m-shoori (*wa-*) n. 1/2 confidant, one you can resort to for consultation and advice

shoori

n. 9 consultation; private, secret talks

Inaawe/ jis’iyo/ shooriyo/ ni suura/ nt^ho. ‘Let it be that way; your suggestion is very good.’

khřinda shoori ‘to ignore advice’

ni shoori/ mooyi ‘[lit.] are one counsel -- meaning: two people have been secretly discussing or plotting s.t. (good or bad) and are in agreement.’ (Usually said when one does not openly acknowledge his own involvement.)

Muunt^hu/ na muné/ ni shoori/ mooyi/ karka mambo ya

haruusi. ‘The two brothers (lit. person and his younger brother) have decided together and are in full agreement about the matter of the wedding.’

Shoori/ ndaakó/ tu/ mubliwá/ chizimile/ ka apa. ‘The decision is only yours, my husband; let us escape from here. (as you have suggested).’

m-shoori (*wa-*)

n. 1/2 consultant

Na chimfanya mshooriwe/ chiwa humshoorata/ ka killa/ yaa ye/ azimilo khfaanya. ‘And he made him his consultant, and it became that he consulted him for everything that he planned to do.’

kh-shoowata

v. [Som. *shoob* "to be elegant" DSI 551] (**showeete**) put on new or fancy clothes
rel.

kh-showata v. appl. dress elegantly for s.o.

fulaani ni mubliwa mi humshowata kuta [st.] ‘so-and-so is my husband [and] I dress elegantly for him always’

kh-showatiloowa v. appl. pass.

janna hushowatiloowa [st.] ‘for paradise one dresses elegantly, people make themselves elegant’

kh-shoowisha or *kh-showata* v. caus. cause s.o. to put on nice clothes, help s.o. put on nice clothes, put nice clothes on s.o.

m-shpi (*mi-*)

n. 3/4 [Sw. *mshipi* SSED 302] fishing line

khtila mishpi/ kaasi ‘to twist a fishing line’

kubiga mishpi ‘to make a fishing line’

Tayiibu/ mishpi aya/ patililee nsi. ‘Tayiibu used these lines to catch fish.’

shsh

ideo. of blood flowing, sliding

- Hamadi's hand **shsh**.' **Hamadi/ maazi/ yanamshera mkonooni/ shsh**. 'The blood is flowing from Hamadi's hand **shsh**.'
- Maayi/ yanakhsheera/ Ikutaani/ shsh**. 'Water is sliding along the wall **shsh**.'
- ma-shtako** n. 6 [Sw. *mashtaka* SSED 262; Ar. *šakā* "to complain" W 483] complaints
mashtaka aya 'these complaints'
muunt^{hi} wa mashtaka mwaana na mzelewe [st.] '[hereafter] is the day for complaints between a child and his parents'
- ma-shtaayta** n. [cf. Sw. *mashata* SSED 26] sesame
Huyala mashtaayta. 'They grow sesame.'
mafta ya mashtaayta 'sesame seeds'
Saalé/ mashtaayta/ mahaḷa/ zikoo nk^hukú. 'Don't spread sesame seeds where there are chickens.'
- mu-shtari (wa-)** n. [cf. Ar. *šarā* "to buy" W 470] buyer
Meera/ washtari/ mahaḷa yingine. 'Look for buyers elsewhere.'
Mukhta nuumba/ iwelo tayaari/ lazile/ oloshole/ kumera mushtari/ kiyuula/ iyo. 'When the house was ready (i.e. finished being built), he left and went to look for a buyer to buy it, that (house).'
- mu-shtari** n. [Ar. *m ištara* W 410] a ruler to measure with
kubiga mushtari 'to make a line'
rel.
chi-mu-shtari (zi-mu-) n. 7/8 dim. ruler
- i-shu** adj. fresh (camel's milk')
iziwa ishu 'fresh milk'
melpe/ kana iziwa ishu 'someone as white as fresh milk'
- shu'uuni** n. [Ar. *šu'ūn*, pl. of *ša'n* "affair, matter" W 449] affairs, matters
Chimuuló/ ni muunt^hu/ apo/ chimamulaṭo shu'uni zaa nt^hi/ siwo/ fir'ooni/ nafsiye. 'The one who bought him (speaking of Joseph in the biblical story) was a man there (in Egypt) who took care of the affairs of the country, it was not Pharaoh himself.'
Hadiile/ kuwa iyi/ ni shu'uuni/ daakhiliya/ za muuyi/ mooyi/ walá/ hayshkhusi/ si/ keendra/ kumera peesa/ kuwapelekela/. 'He said that this is an internal affair of one country and not one that concerns us to go and seek money to send to them.'
Iyi/ ni shu'uuni/ daakhiliya. 'This is an internal matter.'
- shu'uuri** n. 9/10 [Ar. *ša'ara, šu'ūr* "to feel" W 473] emotion
Nt^haná/ shu'uuri. 'He is indifferent, he has no emotions.'
- shubini** n. diarrhoea; [pron. **shubini**]
- shufeeri (Ø, ma-)** n. chauffeur
gaari/ na shufeerí 'a car and a chauffeur'
gaari/ na shufeeríwe 'a car and its chauffeur' (Note that in this example, **shufeeri** governs [cl.1] agreement on the possessive enclitic.)
Jaama/ nakumereḷa gaari/ shufeeri. 'Jaama is looking for a driver for the car.'
Nimpatilile shufeerí/ gaarí. 'I got a car for the driver.' Cf. **Mp^hatilile gaarí/ shufeerí**. 'I got a driver for the car.' (In the first example, we have a driver, but no car for him to drive. In the second example, we have a car, but no one to drive it.)
shufeeri/ na gaarí 'a chauffeur and a car; chauffeurs and cars'
shufeeri/ na gaariyé 'a chauffeur and his car'; **shufeeri/ na gaarizé** 'chauffeurs and their cars' (The behavior of **shufeeri** in the second example here is interesting. Note the form

gaarizé and not **gari zaawó** to convey the meaning ‘their cars’. The possessive root **–aawo** is used only for third person plural nouns triggering [cl.2] agreement. All other plural nouns use the enclitic **–e**, which is identical to the third person singular nouns of all classes. **Shufeeri**, in its plural use, does not govern a [cl.2] possessive root.)

- shufta** (*ma-*) n. [Som. *shufto* ‘gang of robbers’ DSI 552] bandit
Karkaa ndila/ wachimlawila waant^hu/ wawili/ wawaliko shufta. ‘On the way two men appeared to him, they were bandits.’
- shughuli** (\emptyset , *ma-*) n. 9/10 [Sw. *shughuli* SSED 426; Ar. *šugl* W 476] work
Makhaadimu/ wote/ wachingila mashughuliini. ‘All the servants began doing jobs, working.’
Shughulize/ niingi. ‘He has much work.’
- kh-shughulika** v. [Sw. *shughulika* SSED 426] (**shughulishile** or **shughulikishile**) be busy with
Shughulikishile ka kaaziye. ‘He was busy with his work.’
rel.
kh-shughulisha v. caus. [Sw. *shughulisha* SSED 426] keep someone busy, preoccupy someone, worry someone
Koði za waant^hu/ hazinshughulishi. ‘What people say doesn’t worry me.’
Njaribile khshughulisha ruhuyá. ‘I tried to (seem to) be busy.’
kh-shughulishika v. caus. p/s.
kh-shughulishiliza v. caus. appl.
kh-shughulishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
- shuhra** n. 9 [Ar. *šuhra* W 490] fame
Shuhra/ hayduumi/ walá/ shahiiri. ‘Fame does not endure, neither do the famous.’
Wawaliko wazeele/ wasuura/ wenye shuhra/ na murwá. ‘They were good parents, possessing fame and dignity.’
- kh-shuhudila** witness v. [Sw. *shuhudia* SSED 415; Ar. *šahida, šuhūd* W 488] witness something, be a witness
mtume mwambiile Faatima shuhudila [st.] ‘the Prophet told Faatima, be a witness!’
rel.
kh-shuhudiłoowa v. pass.
kh-shuhudisha v. caus.
kh-shuhudishoowa v. caus. pass.
kh-shuhudishana v. caus. rec.
kh-shuhudishika v. caus. p/s.
kh-shuhudishiliza v. caus. appl.
kh-shuhudishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
- kh-shuhurika** famous, well-known v. [Ar. *šuhira* “to become famous”, passive of *šahara* W 490] (**shuhurishile**) be
- shujaa’a** (\emptyset , *ma-*) adj. courageous, brave; n. courage
Habba/ nhadile habbá/ ka sababu habba/ tu/ wanayo ushujaa’á/ khambila lila. ‘Few, I said few because it is just a few who have the courage to tell you the truth.’
Hamadi/ imwingile shujaa’a. ‘Hamadi became brave [lit. courage entered Hamadi].’
khfanya shujaa’a ‘to make courageous’
Nuuru/ mfanyize mwaana/ shujaa’a. ‘Nuuru made the child feel courageous.’
khtila shujaa’a ‘to instill courage’
Ali/ mtile mwaana/ kuwa shujaa’a. ‘Ali instilled the child with courage.’

kh-shujaa'ata v. [Ar. *šaju'a* W 456] be courageous (Morph: The *at* verbal extension ordinarily suggests a Somali origin for a verb, but we have not found a Somali item which could have give rise to the present example.)

Hamadi/ shuja'ete nt^h angú/ mi/ nk^h oðelo naayé. 'Hamadi was emboldened after I talked with him.'

rel.

kh-shuja'ika v. p/s.

Ali/ mtile mwaana/ khshuja'ika. 'Ali instilled in the child to be courageous.'

kh-shuja'isha v. caus.

Hamadi/ mshuja'ishize mwaana/ khtala imtihaani. 'Hamadi encouraged the child to take the examination.'

kh-shuja'ishoowa v. caus. pass.

kh-shuja'ishika v. caus. p/s.

kh-shuja'ishiliza v. caus. appl.

Ali/ mshuja'ishilize Iisa/ mwaana. 'Ali instilled courage in Iisa's child.'

kh-shuja'ishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

u-shujaa'a
courage

n. 14 [Sw. *ushujaa* SSED 426; Ar. *šujā* ' "bold, courageous" W 456]

Hamadi/ umwingile ushujaa'a. 'Hamadi became courageous.'

Mwanaamke/ mwenye ushujaa'a/ na ma'rifá. 'The girl possessed courage and knowledge.'

Nt^haná/ ushujaa'a waa ye/ khkooðela. 'He does not have the courage to speak.'

kh-shukaamisha
seduce

v. [Som. *shukaami* "to court s.o., to trap or ensnare" DSI 552] talk into,

Chimshukaamisha/ haṭá/ Sa'iidi/ shkhiira/ chi'upaandra/ oyo mloongoti. 'She talked him into it until Sa'iidi agreed and climbed that mast.'

kumshukamishaa muke 'to talk to a woman (regarding love, marriage)'

rel.

kh-shukamishoowa v. pass.

Haliima/ shukamishiiza. 'Haliima has been spoken with (e.g. a suitor has spoken with her).'

shukaani

n. 9/10 [Som. *shukaan* DSI 552] steering wheel, wheel (of a car or a *jahazi*)

shukri

n. 9 thanks

shuku

adj. quiet

shukkuj/ kana khabri 'as silent, quiet as a grave'

shukku/ kana khabriini 'as silent, quiet as a grave (loc.)'

shukku/ kana mahaḷas ifiilá 'as silent, quiet as a place where someone has died'

shuukulu

only in the expression:

ka shuukulu 'before daybreak, between dawn and sunrise'

Du]eda chihada/ mi/ ni mooyi/ karka want^hu hondroko ka shuukulú/ khsala jamaa'á. 'The fox said: I am one of the people who get up before daybreak to go to community prayers.'

ka shuukulu arabiya zishiḷa kheeri lanbiya [st.] 'before daybreak, on Wednesday, the best of Prophets was buried'

ka shukuluuni 'at shuukulu'

i-shukuni (mi-)

n. a large group of something

ishukuni ya nt^heendre ‘a big bundle of dates’

kh-shukura

v. [Sw. *shukuru* SSED 426; Ar. *šakara*, *šukr* W 482] (**shukuriile**) thank, give thanks

ahsanta khushukura we nsharifiile [song] ‘thanks, I thank you; you have honored me’

Chimshukura maama/ chirashmana naaye/ atá/ muyiini. ‘He thanked the mother and he walked with her up to the town.’ (Phon. We assume that (**h**)atá is a phrasal isolate with final accent, as this is its usual pronunciation; but in this example the pitch of the following word was raised under emphasis and the pronunciation of (**h**)atá obscured.)

Chimshukura mwajiitu. ‘He thanked God.’

Fikiriini/ chimshukura/ waawaye/ nt^ho. ‘Fikiriini thanked his father very much.’

jima ni zaydi takhpato ni khshukura [st.] ‘Friday is even better [for performing the pilgrimage], he who gets [i.e. succeeds in doing this] should give thanks’

Komelepo kaawó/ Sa’iidi/ ka furaha/ chimshukura mwajiitu. ‘When he reached home, Sa’iidi happily thanked God.’

Shukura ka chaa we/ naachó. ‘Give thanks for what you have.’

Waziiri/ chimshukura Ali. ‘The minister thanked Ali.’

Ye/ chimshukura mwajiitu. ‘She thanked God.’

rel.

kh-shukurika v. p/s.

kh-shukurisha v. caus.

kh-shukurishana v. caus. rec.

kh-shukurishika v. caus. p/s.

kh-shukurishiliza v. caus. appl.

kh-shukurishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-shukurishoowa v. caus. pass.

kh-shukuroowa v. pass.

Mwajiitu/ nashukuroowa. ‘God be thanked.’

rel. nom.

m-shukura (wa-) n. 1/2 one who thanks

shukuru

n. 9 thanks

shuma’a

n. [Ar. *šama* ‘W 486] (=nt^ha) candle

kh-shumula

v. [Sw. *chemua* SSED 54] (**shumiile**) sneeze

Khshumula/ hufungulaa mbavu. ‘Sneezing opens the sides/chest.’

Omari/ hushumua zaaydi. ‘Omari sneezes a lot.’

rel.

kh-shumuḷoowa v. pass. (**shumiila**)

Hargabu/ hushumuḷoowa. ‘A cold causes sneezing.’

Mayoshi miingi/ apo/ haḷá/ hushumuḷoowa. ‘There is so much smoke there that people will sneeze.’

kh-shumuza v. caus. (**shumiize**)

Dawa iyi/ inshumiize. ‘This medicine made me sneeze.’ (While this appears to be a possible sentence, apparently the periphrastic

version is preferred: **Dawa iyi/ int^hile khsumula.** ‘This medicine caused me to sneeze.’)

Mayooshi/ humshimuza muunt^hu. ‘Smoke causes one to sneeze.’

kh-shumuzoowa v. caus. pass.

dawa ya khshumuzoowa ‘medicine for sneezing’

i-shuungi (ma-)

n. 5/6 [Sw. *shungi* SSED 426] a strand of hair, hair (of the head)

Abdalla/ ka shtiisho/ shpotela ilu ya siimba/ chimshika mashuungi/ ichiwa/ teena/ kama muunt^hu/ panzilo farasi. ‘Abdalla, from fear, fell on the lion, grabbing him by the hair; it became then like a man riding a horse.’

Akhili/ ni kama mashuungi/ kila mooyi/ nayo yaake. ‘Brains are like hair, everyone has his own.’ (A proverb.)

Basi/ shtaala/ ayaje/ mashuungi/ ya chizeelé/ mpeeló. ‘So he took those strands of hair that the old woman had given him.’ (Note that the subject of the relative clause in this example has accent on the final syllable, this is not an invariant property of the subject.)

khteza ka mashuungi ‘[lit.] to dance with hair -- a type of dance by women, during which they let down their long hair and move the head rhythmically; this dance originates from Arabia and was performed in Brava during weddings of the **waarabu/ wa Miini**’

khtiinda inyala ow ishuungi hudhiba [st.] ‘to cut finger/toe-nail or hair is harmful’

kiska mashuungi ‘to wash or shampoo the hair’

komeza maayi mashuungi ni farði [st.] ‘to make water reach the hair (in doing ablutions) is an obligation’

kumola mashuungi ‘to shave the hair’

mashuungi makavu ‘dry hair’

mashuungi malaasi ‘long, soft, silk hair’

mashuungi yaa chita ‘hair of the head’

mashuungi ya maapa ‘underarm hair’

mashuungi ya maato (or if contracted: **mashungaa maato**) ‘eyelashes’

Haliima/ nakubigisha mashuungiye/ ya maato. ‘Haliima made up her eyelashes.’

mashuungi ya mkono ‘hair on the arm’

mashuungiye khpaka mafta haraamu [st.] ‘his hair, to apply oil to it, is unlawful’

Nimtinzile Hamadi/ mashuungi. ‘I cut Hamadi’s hair.’ (Observe that it is not necessary to mark morphologically the possessive relationship between **Hamadi** and **mashuungi**.)

Tuuma/ mtinzile Hamadi/ mashuungi. ‘Tuuma cut Hamadi’s hair.’ (The simple yes-no question version of this sentence only involves pitch raising and no accent shift; the exclamatory question, however, involves accent shift in the VP: **Tuuma/ mtinzile Hamadi/ mashuungi!?**) Or: **Tuuma/ mtinzile mashuungi/ Hamadi.** ‘Tuuma cut the hair [of] Hamadi.’) (Note that **mashuungi** may be put in post-verbal position, but the verb still agrees with the possessor.)

Tuuma/ mtinzile/ Hamadi/ mashuungi. ‘Tuuma cut Hamadi’s hair.’ (In this example, where there is focus on the verb, the simple yes-no question shifts the accent on the two complements: **Tuuma/ mtinzile/ Hamadi/ mashuungi.** Our consultant, MG, was not comfortable trying to make this into an exclamatory question.)

Tuuma/ mtinzile Hamadi/ mashuungi/ ka makhasi. ‘Tuuma cut Hamadi’s hair with scissors.’ (Phon: The yes-no question version of this sentence does not involve any accent shifting, while the exclamatory question shifts the accent throughout the VP: **Tuuma/ mtinzile Hamadi/ mashuungi/ ka makhasi!?**) Or with the applied verb being used to absorb the preposition: **Tuuma/ mtindilile makhasi/ Hamadi/ mashuungi.** ‘Tuuma cut Hamadi’s hair with scissors.’ (Syn: Observe that even though the applied form of the verb makes it possible to omit the preposition *ka*, the verb still agrees with **Hamadi**.) Or, with preposing of the instrument: **Tuuma/ makhasi/ mtindililo Hamadi/ mashuungi.** (Syn. Note that the preposing of **makhasi** puts focus on it, triggering the pseudo-relativization of the verb.) Or: **Tuuma/ ka makhasi/ mashuungi/ mtinzilo Hamadi.** ‘Tuuma, with scissors, hair cut Hamadi.’ Or: **Ka makhasi/ Tuuma/ mtinzilo Hamadi/ mashuungi.** ‘With scissors Tuuma cut Hamadi the hair.’

Tuuma/ mtinzilo Hamadi/ mashuungi. ‘It is Tuuma who cut Hamadi’s hair.’ (If **Hamadi** is focused but remains in post-verbal position, there is no shift to a pseudo-relative: [**Tuuma/ mtinzile** ^f**Hamadi/ mashuungi**].)

Tuuma/ tinzile mashuungi ya Hamadi. ‘Tuuma cut Hamadi’s hair.’ (Note that when **mashuungi** is made the head of a possessive phrase, the verb no longer is marked with an object prefix in agreement with the possessor. It is ungrammatical to say ***Tuuma/ mtinzile mashuungi ya Hamadi**.) Or: **Tuuma/ tinzile Hamadi/ mashuungiye.** ‘Tuuma cut Hamadi his hair.’

Taala/ mashuungiya/ yolokele/ chinihtaja/ ka jawaabu/ mweepe/ tila

mashuungiya/ karkaa muḷo/ ka paapo/ mi/ ntʰakhiilila. ‘Take my hair and take yourself off; if you need me for some matter, put my hair in fire and at once I will come to you.’

Wasuura/ mashungi yaawo/ malaasi/ lamna mmooyi/ welpe/ sura zaawo/ mooyi. ‘(The two were both) beautiful, their hair was silken, (just) one kind, white, their appearance, the same.’

shuuni n. [Som. *shuun* "pubic hair" DSI 553] pubic hair, body hair (on arms and legs) (Usage: This word is not commonly used now, **mbulu** being more common.)

shuunsa n. [? Chinese *zhu sha* “cinnabar”] a type of incense
mooshi wa lbani haydhibi no shuunsa [st.] the smoke of incense does not matter and also **shuunsa** (for these things to be smelled is not forbidden)’

shup ideo. of silence (The final consonant is devoiced, though in Somali would be written with a *b*.)

variant form: *ship*
Omari ile/ kaleentʰe/ shup!/ ntʰakhkooḍa/ ba. ‘Omari came and sat down and **shup!** He did not say anything.’

Waanthʰu/ wonthʰe/ imameeja/ shup! ‘There was stopping of talking by everyone; silence!’ (It should be noted that the pitch on **shup** is higher than the pitch of the accented elements in the sentence proper.)

chi-shupa (zi-) n. 7/8 umbilicus (navel, “belly button”)
Muke/ vete lkaandra/ chishupaani. ‘The woman wore a belt on her waist.’

shurafa pl. (cf. **shariifu**) [Ar. *šurafā* W 467]

shurba n. 9 [Ar. *šorba* "soup" W 463] a thick soup made from special grains cooked with meat until soft, then flour added and meat, served during Ramadhan
kuna shurba/ ramaḍaani ‘to drink **shurba** during Ramadhan’
shurba yaa nama ‘**shurba** with meat’
shurba yaa nkʰuku ‘chicken soup’

shuruuti n. 10 [Sw. n. *sharti* and v. *shuruti* SSED 427; Ar. *surūt*, pl. of *sart* "condition" W 465] conditions

Husuḷoowa/ muuntʰu/ na’iwó/ shuruutiizé/ na nayo khibrá. ‘It is wanted [for a washer of corpses for burial] a man who knows its rules/regulations and who has experience.’

kafaara sfaanye shuruuti [song] ‘don’t resort to offerings’

Mooja ondrosheeze shar’a na shuruuti [nt.] ‘God has taken away law and order’

shuruuti sfaanye falaki [song] ‘don’t resort to astrology’

shuruwa n. 10 [Sw. *shurua* SSED 427, *surua* SSED 441; Pers.] measles

Nayo shuruwa. ‘He has measles.’

Shuruwa/ hubla waana. ‘Measles kills children.’

Waana/ hupata shuruwa. ‘Children get measles.’

kh-shutuma v. [Sw. *shutumu* SSED 427; Ar. *šatama* W 455] (**shutumile**) *uncommon* insult

shuwaari adj. [Sw. *shwari* SSED 427] calm, without wind, quiet (of the sea)

Bahari/ iwaliko shuwaari. ‘The sea was calm.’

Fijiri ya sku mooyi/ iwaliko shuwaari/ wa’ondroshale. ‘On the morning of one day when it was calm, they set out [on their journey].’

Leelo/ yiko shuwaari. ‘Today it is calm.’

Skuu ntʰatu/ za kaandra/ bahari/ iwaaliko/ shuwaari/ na lpepó/ lsuura. ‘The first three days, the sea was calm and the wind favorable.’

Tawala/ shuwaari. ‘The sea is calm.’

- kh-shuwata* v. [Som. noun and verb *shuban* DSI 551] (**shuweete**) to have diarrhoea like water from a pipe)
like water from a pipe)
pipe.’
khshuwata/ kana bomba ‘to have diarrhoea like a water pipe (gushing out pipe.’
Nakhshuwata/ kana bomba. ‘He is having diarrhoea like a water pipe.’
khshuwata maayi ‘to have watery diarrhoea’
khshuwata maazi ‘to have bloody diarrhoea’
Omari/ nakhshuwata. ‘Omari is having diarrhea.’
rel.
kh-shuwatoowa v. pass.
Inakhshuwatoowa/ kana bomba. ‘People are having diarrhoea like a water pipe.’
kh-shuwisha v. cause diarrhea
dawa ya khshuwisha ‘purgative’
- shuwu* n. [Som. *shub* DSI 551] concrete (cement conglomerate)
and steel.’
Jasi yaa shuwu/ hukalaant^ha/ qaali/ kolko yaa mbawo. ‘A concrete roof costs more than a wooden roof.’
Shuwu/ hufanyowa ka chimento/ na zuumá. ‘Concrete is made of cement and steel.’
- i-shuzi (ma-)* n. 5/6 [Sw. *shuzi* SSED 427] fart
is farts.’ (The phrase **jeza ya mp^huundra** may contract to **jezaa mp^huundra**, thereby creating an otherwise unpermitted sequence of long vowels.)
Jezaa mp^huundra/ mashuzi. ‘The compensation (you get) from a donkey is farts.’
- si-* negative element in the negative subjunctive
choloko/ sichiwabige ‘that the window not hit [cl.2]’; **zoloko/ siziwabige** ‘that the windows not hit [cl.2]’
ijiwe/ isiwapotelele ‘that the rock not fall on [cl.2]’; **majiwe/ yasiwapotelele** ‘that the rocks not fall on [cl.2]’
lpaanga/ lsiwatiinde ‘that the sword not cut [cl.2]’; **mp^haanga/ siziwatiinde** ‘that the swords not cut [cl.2]’
muti/ usiwaburbukile ‘that the tree not fall on [cl.2]’; **miti/ yasiwaburbukile** ‘that the trees not fall on [cl.2]’
Nakhsula chijaana/ sichibigoowa. ‘He wants that the (dim.) child be beaten.’ Cf. **Nakhsula zijaana/ sizibigoowa.** ‘He wants that the (dim.) children be beaten.’ (Note that [cl.7/8] nouns, including diminutives, govern a subject marker in the negative subjunctive which is located after the negative element, in contrast to most noun classes.)
Nakhsulaa chisu/ sichivundoowa. ‘He wants that the knife not be broken.’ Cf. **Nakhsulaa zisu/ sizivundoowa.** ‘He wants that the knives not be broken.’ (Observe that in the case of [cl.7/8] subjects, the agreement morpheme follows the negative element, in contrast with several other classes.)
Nakhsula ijaana/ isibigoowa. ‘He wants that the (aug.) child be beaten.’ Cf. **Nakhsula mijaana/ yasibigoowa.** ‘He wants that the (aug.) children be beaten.’
Nakhsula ijiwe/ isilatiloowa. ‘He wants that the stone not be thrown.’ Cf. **Nakhsula majiwe/ yasilatiloowa.** ‘He wants that the stones not be thrown.’
Nakhsulaa luti/ lsivundoowa (but also possible: **silvundoowa**). ‘He wants that the stick not be broken.’ Cf. **Nakhsulaa ndruti/ sizivundoowa.** ‘He wants that the sticks not be broken.’
Nakhsula muunt^hu/ sambiloowa. ‘He wants that the man not be told.’ Cf. **Nakhsula waant^hu/ wasambiloowa.** ‘He wants that the men not be told.’
Nakhsulaa muti/ usiburbushoowa. ‘He wants that the tree not be cut

down.’ Cf. **Nakhsulaa miti/ yasiburbushoowa**. ‘He wants that the trees not be cut down.’

Nakhsulaa ni/ (n)sambiloowa. ‘He wants that you (pl.) not be told.’ (In the case of a passive verb, it is possible for the second person subject marker in this tense to follow the negative: **Nakhsulaa ni/ sinambiloowa**. This variation does not seem to be possible in the active: **Nakhsulaa ni/ (n)sooloke**. ‘He wants that you not go.’ Not: ***Nakhsulaa ni/ sinooloke**. **We need to double check whether it is the passive of all verbs or just vowel-initial verbs that allow this variation.**

Nakhsulaa ni/ (n)seendre. ‘He wants that you (pl.) not go.’ (Cf. the unacceptability of ***Nakhsulaa ni/ sineendre**. The subject marker agreeing with a second person plural subject may not follow the negative in the negative subjunctive of an active verb.)

Nakhsula nuumba/ isuzoowa. ‘He wants that the house not be sold.’ Cf. **Nakhsula nuumba/ sizuzoowa**. ‘He wants that the houses not be sold.’ (Observe that while the [cl.9] subject marker precedes the negative element in the negative subjunctive, the [cl.10] subject marker follows it.)

naazi/ isiwapotelele ‘that the coconut not fall on [cl.2]’; **naazi/ siziwapotelele** ‘that the coconuts not fall on [cl.2]’

nsisooome ‘that I, you (pl.) not read’

nsiwabige ‘that I not hit them [cl.2]’ (Cf. other human subject markers:

siwabige ‘that you not hit [cl.2]’ or ‘that (s)he not hit [cl.2]’;

sichiwabige ‘that we not hit [cl.2]’; **nsiwabige** ‘that you (pl.) not

hit [cl.2]’; **wasiwabige** ‘that [cl.2] not hit [cl.2]’.)

sichisooome ‘that we not read’

sisooome ‘that you, [cl.1] not read’

uki/ usiwatawanyikile ‘that the honey not spill on [cl.2]’

wasisooome ‘that they not read’

si- first person subject prefix in the negative present and past

Laakini/ wake/ awo/ skuwaweeka/ numba mooyi. ‘But those wives I did not put in a single house.’

Sinakhfanya chiint^hu. ‘I am not doing anything.’

Sinakhtaambula/ chint^hu icho. ‘I cannot figure this thing out.’

si interrogative particle added at end of a sentence which asks for (and expects) confirmation of what has been stated (like in English: isn’t it? haven’t you? etc.)

Chibuku chaa we/ nakichimeeró/ si icho. ‘The book that you are looking for, isn’t it that one?’ (According to one consultant, this sentence implies that the speaker is quite sure it is the book. If he is less certain, he would say: **Chibuku chaa we/ nakichimeeró/ siwo icho**.)

Leelo/ takenda kaziini/ si. ‘Today you will go to work, won’t you?’

Uzile gaari/ si. ‘You did buy the car, didn’t you?’

review intonation

si negative copula particle

Mp^huundra/ si oyo/ naakujó/ naa we/ nakuhada kuwaa ye/ n^haakó. ‘The donkey, isn’t he the one who is braying, and you are saying that he is not here.’

Si/ ndiwé. ‘Is it not you?’

Si/ wanaadamu/ wo/ ni majini. ‘They are not human beings, they are jinns.’

si first person plural independent pronoun

Mukhta^haa si/ chilazilo ka chinemaani ‘when we came from the cinema...’

Mwiizi/ bishi^hla naasi. ‘The thief was beaten by us.’ (Observe that we write the independent pronoun *si* together with the preposition *na*. The preposition is lengthened in front of *si*, a fact lead us to write the two elements separately, since Chimiini has a phenomenon of word-final lengthening that affects a word-final vowel when the following word is phrase-final and has the structure *CVCV* or *CV*. However, **naasi** has penult accent, which would not at all be expected if *si* were an independent word. Phrase-

final monosyllabic words always bear accent, regardless whether the accent predicted in penult or final. Thus

naasi behaves as though it is one word.)

Nakhsulaa si/ keendra. ‘He wants us to go.’

Naasi/ bishiila mwiizi. ‘By us the thief was beaten.’

sababu yaa si/ ku’awaaðila ‘reason for us to complain’

Si/ chimbishile mwiizi. ‘We beat the thief.’ Or: **Mwiizi/ chimbishilé/ si.**

(The reader is reminded that this lexicon does not in general provide transcriptions that detail significant facts about intonation. For instance, in the first sentence here, the (accented) pronoun **si** is pronounced at the highest pitch level and the noun **mwiizi**, which has penult accent, is clearly downstepped. In the second sentence, the verb is focused and is not downstepped relative to **mwiizi**. On the other hand, the sentence-final pronoun **si** is radically lowered in pitch.)

Si/ chinakhsula maalí. ‘We want wealth.’

Si/ ni weenzá. ‘We are friends.’

Si/ shtile ruhu ziitu/ karka khatari. ‘We put ourselves in danger.’

si+dem.

here is, there are

sawá ‘here are [cl.2]’ from /si+awa/

Sawá/ waaná. ‘Here are the children.’

sawó ‘there are [cl.2]’ from /si+awo/

Sawó/ waaná. ‘There are the children (near you).’

there they [cl.2] are – need the form

sayá ‘here are [cl.4]’ from /si+aya/

Mikate/ sayá. ‘Here are the cakes.’

sayá ‘here are [cl.6]’ from /si+aya/

Makoopa/ sayá. ‘Here are the glasses.’

sayajé ‘there are [cl.4], far from us’ from /si+ayaje/

Mikate/ sayajé. ‘There are the cakes.’

sayajé ‘there are [cl.6], far from us’ from /si+ayaje/

Makoopa/ sayajé. ‘There are the glasses (far from us).’

sayó ‘there are [cl.4] (near you)’ from /si+ayo/

Mikate/ sayo. ‘There are the cakes (near you).’

sayó ‘there are [cl.6] (near you)’ from /si+ayo/

Makoopa/ sayó. ‘There are the glasses (near you).’

sichí ‘here [cl.7] is’

Chibuuku/ sichí. ‘Here’s the book.’ (It is possible to raise the pitch on

chibuuku, but this has no consequences for the location of accent: [↑]**Chibuuku/ sichí.**)

Sichí/ chibuukú. ‘Here’s the book.’ (There is a variant of sentences of this

type where there is emphasis on **sichí** and the nominal has default penult accent: [↑]**Sichí/ chibuuku.**

sichijé ‘there [cl.7] is (far from us)’

Sichijé/ chibuukú. ‘There the book is.’

sichó ‘there [cl.7] is (near you)’

Sichó/ chibuukú. ‘There the book is.’

silí ‘here [cl.11] is’

Silí/ lutí. ‘Here the stick is.’

silijé ‘there [cl.11] is (far from us)’

Silijé/ lutí. ‘There the stick is.’

siló ‘there [cl.11] is (near you)’

Siló/ lutí. ‘There the stick is.’

siyí ‘here is [cl.5]’

Ikoopa/ siyí. ‘Here is the glass.’

siyí ‘here is [cl.9]’

Numba/ siyí. ‘Here is the house.’

Siyí/ haanzuyé. ‘Here is his **haanzu.**’

Siyí/ nawanyiizé. ‘Here it is, I have divided it up.’

siyijé ‘there is [cl.5] (far from us)’

Ikoopa/ siyijé. ‘There is the glass.’

siyijé or **sijé** ‘there is [cl.9] (far from us)’

Numba/ siyijé. ‘There is the house.’

siyó ‘there is [cl.5] (near you)’

Ikoopa/ siyó. ‘There is the glass.’

siyó ‘there is [cl.9] (near you)’

Nuumba/ siyó. ‘There is the house.’
sizí ‘here are [cl.8]’
Sizí/ zibuukú. ‘Here are the books.’
Sizí/ zoombó. ‘Here are the things’
sizí ‘here are [cl.10]’
Nuumba/ sizí. ‘Here are the houses.’
Sizí/ ndruti. ‘Here are the sticks.’
sizijé ‘there are [cl.8] (far from us)’
Sizijé/ zibuukú. ‘There are the books.’
sizijé ‘there are [cl.10] (far from us)’
Nuumba/ sizijé. ‘There are the houses.’
Sizijé/ ndruti. ‘There are the sticks.’
sizó ‘there are [cl.8] (near you).’
Sizó/ zibuukú. ‘There are the books (near you).’
sizó ‘there are [cl.10] (near you)’
Nuumba/ sizó. ‘There are the houses (near you).’
Sizó/ nk^hele z-a m-p^huundrá. ‘Here are the brays of a donkey.’
Sizó/ ndruti. ‘There are the sticks (near you).’
soyó ‘there is [cl.1] (near you)’
Soyó/ mwaaná. ‘There is the child (near you).’
soyó ‘there is [cl.3] (near you)’
Mkate/ soyó. ‘There is the cake (near you).’
soyó ‘there is [cl.14] (near you)’
sujé ‘there is [cl.1] (far from us)’

Hamadi/ sujé. ‘There’s Hamadi (e.g. people have been looking for Hamadi and the speaker sees him and says this).’

Sujé/ nakuuya. ‘There he is coming.’ (Note that a verb after **suyú** etc. does not undergo final accent shift; cf. **Sujé/ Hamadi.** ‘Here comes Hamadi.’)

suyú ‘here is [cl.1]’

Nuuru/ suyú. ‘Here’s Nuuru.’

Suyú/ mwaaná. ‘Here is the child (e.g. perhaps Nuuru was late in coming and the speaker observes that he is finally coming and says this in relief that he has arrived).’

Suyú/ Nuuru. ‘Here’s Nuuru (e.g. speaker has been sent to get Nuuru and he comes back with Nuuru and says this, suggesting that “see, he wasn’t difficult to find”).’

suyú ‘here is [cl.3]’

Mkate/ suyú. ‘Here is the cake.’

suyú ‘here is [cl.14]’

suyujé or **sujé** ‘there is [cl.1] (far from us)’

Suyujé/ mwaaná. ‘There is the child.’

suyujé ‘there is [cl.3] (far from us)’

Mkate/ suyujé. ‘There is the cake.’

suyujé ‘there is [cl.14] (far from us)’

chi-si (zi-)

n. 7/8 [Som. *kisi* DSI 369] odd number
nambari zaa zisi ‘odd numbers’

n-si

n. 9/10 [Sw. *nswi* SSED 341, noted as being an older word for ‘fish’] fish

Akhili izo/ endrá/ mbarshee nsi/ mayiini. ‘That intelligence, go and teach the fish in the water.’

Basi/ wawa yaawo/ hupatapataa nsi/ ni muunt^hu/ maskiini/ ma’anaye.

‘So, their father used to catch fish, he was a poor man, that means.’

-nsi kingila chilohhoni (fish to get into hook)

boroodo/ yaa nsi ‘fish broth’

chambo chaa nsi ‘fish bait’

chiguma chaa nsi ‘a big club for hitting a fish’

chilaavi/ chaa nsi ‘fish trap, bait’ **chilaave?**

chiloho chaa nsi ‘fish hook’

Chiloho/ pashpo chaambo/ hashpati/ nsi. ‘A hook without bait does not catch a fish.’ (A proverb.) Or: **Chiloho/ bilaa chaambo/ hashpati/**

nsi.

chita chaa nsi 'fish head'

igozi yaa nsi 'skin of fish'

ijarfa yaa nsi 'fish net'

khfurshaa nsi/ ka maayi 'lit. to swell the fish with water, to cook in water

but not well cooked'

khkalangaa nsi 'to fry fish'

khpasulaa nsi/ mbawa 'to take the scales (lit. feathers) off a fish'

khpataa nsi 'to catch fish'

khpikaa nsi/ ka maayi 'to cook fish with water'

khtindaa nsi 'to cut fish'

kokaa nsi 'to fry fish'

koshaa nsi 'to wash fish'

kugazaa nsi 'to attempt to catch fish'

kumgita nsi 'lit. to pull fish – reel in, land a fish'

kumpa saawi/ nsi 'lit. to give cheat a fish, i.e. to pull a fish in and then let it

back out'

mafta yaa nsi 'fish oil'

makaapa/ yaa nsi 'fins (lit. wings) of a fish'

maandra/ kaa nsi 'bread with fish'

matumbo/ yaa nsi 'fish intestines'

mayaank^huku/ yaa nsi 'fish eggs'

mbawa zaa nsi 'lit. feathers of fish' **what does this mean??**

Mbeleye/ chiwona/ nsi/ mbili/ nk^hulu/ nt^ho/ zinakuuya/ khariibuye. 'In front of him he saw that two very large fish were coming near him.'

miiwa/ yaa nsi 'fish thorn (bone)'

mkila waa nsi 'caudal fin (lit. tail) of a fish'

mtuzi waa nsi 'fish soup'

mwishpa yaa nsi 'fish bone'

Na chijamu cha taatu/ tile makooko/ na chita chaa nsi/ kumpa mwana wa mub^hliwe. 'And on the third place she put the crust of rice and a fishhead to be given to her husband's child.' **check accent**

Nsi/ chiloho/ chimkuushile. 'The fish has been hooked.'

causes diarrhoea.'

Nsi/ ha'ijowi ka iziwa/ hushowa^htoowa. 'Fish is not eaten with milk, it

nsi inakunuunk^ho 'fish which smell bad'

fresh)'

nsi/ isa/ tu/ s-tumela mayiiní 'fish just not taken out of water, i.e. very

nsi iwozeló 'rotten fish'

is soft.' (A saying.)

nsi iwozeló/ muunt^hu/ shkala/ ni noloolo. 'A rotten fish, if you press it, it

Nsi iyi/ ndimí/ ndreeseló. 'This fish, it is me who brought it.'

nsi/ kingila chilothoni 'for a fish to get hold of the hook'

Nsi/ nt^haná/ khshiika/ chiloho. 'The fish are not biting on the hook.'

Nsi/ nt^hazinakiingila/ chambooni. 'The fish are not taking the bait.'

nsi ya waarabu '[lit.] Arab fish – sp. fish (Sergeant Fish)'

nsi za magome 'lit. fish of undersea rocks'

nsi za mbaawa ('feathered fish') any fish with scales (as opposed to sharks); cf. **Ibaawa** 'feather'

nsi zaa mufu 'lit. fish of mufu'

nsi zaa munu 'salted fish'

nsi zaa muto 'river fish'

nsi zaa wowi 'river fish'

of shark)'

nt^huumbulu/ yaa nsi/ ya mp^haamp^ha 'shark granules (lit. granules of fish

Omari/ nayo ulaazo/ nakhtapa/ kana nsi tumela mayiiní. 'Omari has pain, he is moving like a fish taken out of water.'

sambusa zaa nsi 'fish samoosa'

zijana zaa nsi 'baby fish'

zijo/ kaa nsi 'zijo with fish'

rel.

chi-n-si (*zi-*) n. dim. small fish; [pron. **chinsí** and **zinsí**]

Hukalan^ha apo/ hubashalaṭabashaalaṭa/ hupatapata zinsí. 'He sits there, entertaining himself, and catches small fish.'

Ndrani ya itiki/ yawalimo maayi/ na katiiké/ zivalimo zinsí/ ziwili/ schitezootezó. 'In the watermelon there was water and in this there were two small fish playing.'

kh-siiba

v. [Sw. *sibu* "(1) afflict, bring misfortune (ruin, damage) upon; (2) sometimes used for happen (to), take place, come to pass" SSED 428; Ar. *uṣība* "to be stricken, afflicted" W 528 and *waṣab* "hardship, suffering" W 1072] (**sibiile**) (i) do correctly, right; (ii) be afflicted, befall, happen to

(i) **We/ sibiile/ na yaa we/ hadiiló/ ni ka kalīla.** 'You are correct and what you have said is true.'

(ii) **Afðali/ inamp^hate/ ije itakump^ható/ kama keendra/ kunsiba ghaḏabu za mwajiitú.** Better that it befalls me, whatever is going to befall me, than to go and the anger of God strike me.'

Ka nasibu yaawo/ kuwaa mbovu/ rasaasi/ zote/ nt^haskumsiiba/ ndovu. 'Because their luck was bad, none of the bullets hit the elephant.'

Nini/ imsibiiló. 'What misfortune befell him?'

Rasaasi/ zote/ zimsibiile/ na shfaarú/ chi'ifilīla ka paapo/ apo. 'All the bullets hit th rhino and it died insantly.'

yaaka nikhshi'ira ichinsiba chiint^hu [song] 'mine (i.e. my role, what I am able to do) is to express in poetry the thing(=s) that happen to me'

rel.

kh-sibaṭa v. (**sibeete**)

waana wasibeete ka ooni na ndala [nt.] 'children suffered thirst and hunger'

**kh-siibisha* v. caus. (A causative form is not used, as the verb does not express a meaning that human beings are viewed as being able to cause.)'

kh-siboowa v. pass. (**sibiila**) be befallen

Ali/ sibiila na ni. 'What misfortune befell Ali?'

m-siiba (*mi-*)

n. 3/4 [Sw. *msiba* SSED 428; Ar. Ar. *uṣība* "to be stricken, afflicted" W 528 and *waṣab* "hardship, suffering" W 1072] calamity, difficulty, misfortune, problem
chiwona msiiba kuumbuka/ kubloowa weenye Baraka [st.] 'if you see calamity, remember the killing of the people of *baraka*'

Msiba wa munt^hu mooyi/ ni haruusi/ ya mwiingine. 'The misfortune of one man is the marriage of another.' (A proverb.)

Nt^haku/ msiiba/ usho mwenewé. 'There is no misfortune without its companion.' (A proverb.)

Waan^hu/ muyiini/ wawanayo msiiba/ laakini/ mukhta^haa wo/ waweno markabú/ wote/ washfurahaa nt^ho. 'People in the town had suffered a calamity, but when they saw the ship, they all were very happy.'

sibiri

n. [Sw. *subili* SSED 438; Ar. *ṣabir* W 501] aloe; a very bitter resin soluble in water, used as (1) a laxative, to drink in infusion with water, and (2) a resin to be applied hot on boils and wounds

haraarisi/ kana sibiri 'as bitter as *sibiri*'

sibyaani

adj. [Ar. *ṣibyānī* "boyish, childish" W 503] stupid, intellectually weak, childish (in behavior)

nīko kama sibyaani na su'aalize nofeete [song] 'I am here like a child and I am tired of her questions'

sichi

[cl.7] here it is; [pron. **sichí**]

<i>sichije</i>	[cl.7] there it is; [pron. sichijé]
<i>sicho</i>	[cl.7] there it is; [pron. sichó]
<i>sidiiqi</i>	adj. [Ar. <i>ṣiddīq</i> W 509] one who tells the truth <i>ka sabri Yuusufu sidiiqi peeḷa</i> [st.] ‘because of patience, Joseph the truth-teller was given’
<i>sidiriya</i>	n. [Sw. <i>sidiria</i> SSED 428; Ar. Ar. <i>s□udra</i> and <i>s□udairī</i> "bodice" W 507] brassiere
<i>sidqi</i>	n. [Ar. <i>ṣidq</i> W 509] truth, sincerity
<i>sifa</i>	n. [Ar. <i>ṣifa</i> W 1072] praise; attribute, characteristic, good characteristics; description; modifier (in grammar) Kibri/ siwo/ sifa za mluungana. ‘Arrogance is not an attribute of a person good breeding.’ kuḍukura sifaze ‘to mention his praises (i.e. his good qualities)’ Maama/ wa waana/ waliko nii muke/ mwenye sifa njeema. ‘The mother of the children was a woman having good attributes.’ Mazá/ iwileeyi/ we/ sifa za ngamiila/ uyu. ‘Well, how did you come to know the description of this camel?’ Mi/ nsomeelopó/ sifa za mtume uyú/ yaningile mahabba/ ya mtume uyu. ‘When I read the praises of this prophet, love of this prophet entered me.’ (Phon. Observe that in the = <i>po</i> adverbial relative clause, even though the verb is focused, the final accent that it triggers extend to the complement. This is the general pattern in true relative clauses, in contrast to pseudo-relative clauses.) Mi/ skuuya/ apa/ kumeraa sifa. ‘I did not come here looking for praise.’ munt^hu mwenye sifa suura ‘a man with good qualities’ Mweendro/ na sifa za muunt^hú/ hukhadiroowa/ kiwoowa. ‘The behavior and character of a man can be known.’ Nazoo sifa/ za khpendeḷoowa. ‘He has characteristics which one can love him for.’ sifaa mbovu ‘a bad reputation, notoriety’ sifa suura ‘a good reputation’ Waant^hu/ wammereele/ muunt^hu/ oyo/ nazo sifa izó/ karka nt^hi ya sultaani/ nzimaye/ laakini/ nt^hawampata. ‘The people looked for that man who has that [lit.those] description in the entire land of the sultan but they did not find him.’
<i>siifa</i>	n. act of praising variant form: siifu
<i>kh-siifa</i>	v. [Sw. <i>sifu</i> SSED 429; Ar. <i>waṣafa</i> W 1072] (<i>sifiile</i>) praise, describe Fungula maatoyo/ wona ziwovu/ laakini/ kanayo/ isisiife/ zint^hu izo/ kuwa ni ziwovu/ inazisiife/ kuwa ni ziint^hu/ zisuura. ‘Open your eyes, see evil things, but [if you want to be considered to be "somebody"] do not describe these thing as evil deeds, describe them as good things.’ muunt^hu/ humsifo hayawaani/ jis’iyí ‘a man who praises an animal in this way’ (Phon. This example illustrates the possibility of the head of a relative clause being phrasally separated from the relative verb. The indefinite nature of the head noun in this example may facilitate phrasal separation, but further research on this aspect of phrasing is required.) Nvula/ hu’isiifó/ ni munt^hu imnyeḷeeḷó. ‘Rain, the one who praises it, is

the man for whom the rain has fallen.’ (A proverb.) (This example contains two headless relative clause structures. The first, **hu’isiifó** ‘the one who praises’, has its complement preposed. This complement is not phrased with the verb since it is not the head of a relative clause. In the case of **imyeleeleó**, on the other hand, we are dealing with a case of object relativization, and we see that the head noun **muunt^hu** (the beneficiary of the rain falling) is phrased with the relative verb. Observe also that in this example, there is no overt subject noun between the head and the relative clause. If there were an overt subject, then the head would have to be joined to the subject by means of the **-a** link.)

Sisifeení. ‘You (pl.) don’t praise!’

soomu za sku sitta Mtume sifiile [st.] ‘the Prophet praised the fasting of [those] six days’

We/ husuloowa/ khsiifa/ waant^hu/ wako ilukó/ hatá/ ichiwa ni waant^hu wawovu. ‘You are required to praise people who are your superiors, even if they are bad people.’

We/ jisaa we/ msifilo ngamiilayá/ nt^hamu/ shakka/ kuwaa we/ mweené. ‘You, from the way that you have described my camel, there is no doubt that you have seen him.’

rel.

kh-siifika v. p/s.

kh-sifiloowa v. appl. pass. (**sifiliila**)

Ni lila/ kooði/ zaa we/ ambiilá/ laakini/ mi/ ndimí/ mzeele/ waa we/ sifiliilá/ naamí/ ni mzeelé/ kolko mzele uje/ waa we/ waliko naayé/ fijiri iyi. ‘They are true the words that you were told, but I am the old woman that was described to you [lit. that you were described to]; I am older than the old woman you were with (her) this morning.’

kh-siifila v. appl. (**sifiliile**) describe to

Waziiri/ chimsiifila. ‘The minister described him (in the story, a person whose identity was in question) to him (i.e. the person asking for an identification).’

kh-siifisha v. caus. (**sifishiize**)

Choloka khsimama na mp^huunda/ ziingine/ wasifishilo ka ukaslaaní. ‘He went to stand with the other donkeys known for their laziness.’

kh-sifishana v. caus. rec.

kh-sifishika v. caus. p/s.

kh-sifishiliza v. caus. appl.

kh-sifishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-sifoowa v. pass. (**sifiila**)

sifilúto

n. syphilis

sigareeti

n. 9/10 [Sw. **sigareti** SSED 429; Eng. **cigarette**] cigarette

kasha sigareeti ‘to light a cigarette’

kuvuta sigareeti ‘to smoke a cigarette’

siha

n. [Sw. **siha** SSED 429; Ar. **ṣiḥḥa** W 503] health (This noun is not as commonly used as **afiya**.)

Muunt^hu/ humlomba Mojiitu/ kumpa siha suura. ‘One begs God to give good health.’

Nt^haná/ siha. ‘He has no health, i.e. he is sick.’

Omari/ sku mbili izi/ nt^haná/ siha suura. ‘Omari these days does not have good health (i.e. he is not feeling well).’

siha suura ‘good health’

kh-siha

v. [Sw. **sihi** SSED 429; Ar. **ṣaḥḥa** W 503] (**-sihiile**) be valid, correct, befitting

Haysihi. ‘It is not valid.’

husiha we sin’aaqibe/ ndo mp^haangula iṭoziya [song] ‘it befits you that you don’t punish me, come and wipe away my tear drop’

- imaani khsihake sharti shahaada* [st.] ‘for (one’s) faith to be lawful, (one) must say the **shahaada**’
khtayamuma husiha waqti chiingila ‘it is permitted to take ablutions using sand when the time [for prayers] approaches’
- kh-sihira* v. [Sw. *sihiri* SSED 429; Ar. *sahara*, *sihr* W 400] (**sihiriile**) charm, bewitch, practice witchcraft
 rel.
kh-sirika v. p/s.
kh-sirila v. appl.
kh-sihirisha v. caus.
- sihiri* n. [Sw. *sihiri* SSED 429; Ar.] witchcraft, black magic
hashkasi sihiri na mila ya diini [song] ‘we are not affected by black magic, (we) have the traditions of religion’
khfanya sihiri ‘to practice witchcraft’
Tahaḍari/ Ji/ ni munthu mfanya sihiri. ‘Be careful! Ji is a man who practices witchcraft.’
munt^hu mwenye sihiri ‘a man of witchcraft (i.e. one who practices witchcraft or is involved in it)’
- sihiroole (ma-)* n. [Som. *sixiroole*, *sixirrow* DSI 558] witch
- ku-sijila* v. [Ital. *sigillare*] (**sijiliile**) seal with a stamp
- sika* [apparently a contraction of **sika khisa**] is it not because of?
Sika kuwaa we/ dokhaani. ‘Isn’t it because you are stupid?’
Sikaa we/ kuwa dokhaani/ tu/ bashizo peesá. ‘Isn’t it just because you are stupid that you lost [your] money?’
Sikaa we/ kuwa dokhaani/ we/ mlasilo eeló. ‘Is it not because of your stupidity that you let the gazelle go?’
- siiki* n. 9 [Sw. *siki* SSED 429; Pers.] vinegar
mkali/ kana siiki ‘as sour as vinegar’
- sikiini* n. [Som. *sakiini* or *sikiin* "razor blade" DSI 532] razor blade
khṭinda sikiini ‘to shave the back of the neck with a razor (formerly, this phrase may have been used to refer to cutting the hair in the style of a European, but this meaning has now been taken over by **khṭinda jeega**)’
- kh-sikitika* v. (cf. *k-iskitika*) [Sw. *sikitika* SSED 430] regret, feel sorry for what one has done
- silí* [cl.11] here it is; [pron. **silí**]
Lutiilo/ silí. ‘Here’s your stick.’
Silí/ lutí. ‘Here’s the stick.’
- silije* [cl.11] there it is; [pron. **silijé**]
Silijé/ lutí. ‘There’s the stick (far from us).’
- siló* [cl.11] there it is; [pron. **siló**]
Siló/ lutí. ‘There’s the stick (close to you).’
- silisila* n. [Sw. *silsila* SSED 430; Ar. *silsila* W 421] chain
sultaani/ funzilo ruuhuyé/ mikonó/ ka silsilá ‘the sultan who tied his hands with a chain’
- ma-sila* n. 6 **no etymological source found** pus
kuḷawa masila ‘to suppurate’

ni mu'afu maazi ya mapu na masila [st.] 'it is forgiven, the blood from boils and pus (i.e. those do not invalidate prayers)'

silaaaha

n. [Sw. *silaha* SSED 430; Ar. *silāh* W 420] weapon

Chiint^hu/ ni chimo chiwovuuni/ silaaaha/ ni yimo mkonooni. 'Possessions, money, etc. [lit. thing] is in the pocket, a weapon is in the hand.' (A proverb.)

kuweka silaaaha/ nt^hiini 'to lay weapons down'

Mukhtaā ye/ komelo mashakaani/ sh^tuumba/ sh^tomola silaahaze/ kanmake/ chichilomba shpeteche/ kumbadila kumfaanya/ mwaarabu/ ka nguwo suura/ uso msuura/ mwelpe/ ka lpaangale/ na ijamiyayé. 'When he reached the bush, he dug and took out his weapons, and then he begged his ring to change him and make him into an Arab with nice clothes, a nice face, white, with his sword and his dagger.'

kh-silima

v. [Sw. *silimu* SSED 430; Ar. *salima* W 424] (**silimiile**) become a Muslim rel.

kh-silimisha v. caus.

kh-silimishana v. caus. rec.

kh-silimishika v. caus. p/s.

kh-simishiliza v. caus. appl.

kh-simishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

siima

n. sp. fish, a sort of snapper, fished seasonly

chi-sima

n. 7/8 [Sw. *kisima* SSED 207] water well

Chiko chisima chimó. 'There is a well (at a place).'

Chiko chisima chimó/ chiikó. 'There is a well (at a place), that's what there is.'

chisima cha Abuudi 'Abuudi's well (one of the wells in Brava), which was much used for watering animals'

chisima cha Atiikhi/ Abdurahaani 'the well of Atiikhi Abdurahaani' (There seems to be a contraction of *khí/ a* to *aa*)

Chisima cha Atiikhi/ Abdurahaani/ ni ndraani. 'The Atiikhi Abdurahaani well is deep.'

Wake ^fwiingi/ hupato maayi/ masku/ chisima cha atiikhi/ Abdurahaani. 'Many women fetch water at night from Atiikhi Abdurahaani's well.' (Same contraction of *khí+A*.)

chisima cha El Hiindi 'the El Hiindi well (one of the wells in Brava), which is much used for human consumption due to its soft water'

chisima/ cha mayi maharaarisi 'a well that yields sour, bitter, salty water'

chisima/ cha mayi malada 'a well which yields sweet, fresh water'

chisima cha ndraani 'a deep well'

chisima cha khariibu 'a shallow well (lit. a well of close, i.e. the bottom of the well is close)'

Chisima/ ichi/ nt^hashkuwaaliko/ ndranii nt^ho. 'This well was not very deep.'

Chisimacha/ hashtiindiki/ maayi. 'My well never stops (yielding) water.' (A riddle.)

Uki/ umaliizopó/ Hasiibu/ chiwa'ambila weenziwe/ wawaliko ilú/ kumlatiila lkaambala/ ye/ khpata kulawa/ ka chisimaani. 'When the honey was finished, Hasiibu asked his friends who were up above to throw him a rope so that he could get out of the well.'

Wake/ huteka maayi/ chisimaani. 'Women fetch water from the well.' Or:

Wake/ huteka chisimaani/ maayi. 'Women fetch from the well water.'

Waṭunzilopó/ wachiwona/ iboholi/ kama chisima/ na iyele uki. 'When they dug, they found a hole like a well and it was filled with honey.'

We/ amurile nalaṭilowa chisimaani. ‘You ordered that he be thrown into the well.’

kh-simama

v. [Sw. *simama* SSED 430] stand, be standing; stop

Chimwambila khsimama. ‘He told him to stop.’

Chimwona eelowe/ simeme chizingitiini. ‘He saw his gazelle standing on the steps.’

Chisimama ndilaani/ nakubigaa nk^hele/ namvīla ṭaajiri. ‘He stood outside shouting, calling to the rich man.’

Chisimama/ nt^hini yaa muti/ chivaala/ icho shpete/ chiruda numbaani/ ka mweenzawe/ mahaḷa uko mukeewé. ‘He stopped under a tree and put on that ring and returned to the house of his friend, the place where his wife was.’

Chiwaa we/ ni dakhtari/ simama. ‘If you are a doctor, stand up.’

Choloka khsimama na mp^huundra/ ziingine. ‘He went to stand with the other donkeys.’

ka simama ‘in a hurry, without even sitting down’

khsimama kaa chiṭa ‘to stand on the head’

khsimama ka mikono ‘to stand on the hands’

Manaskoolā/ simeeme. ‘A/the student stood up.’ Or, with right-dislocation:

Simeeme/ manaskoolā. (The simple yes-no question of the first sentence involves only Q-raising, while in the case of the second sentence there is accent-shift on the dislocated subject: **Simeeme/ manaskoolā?** The exclamatory questions are quite different as well: **Manaskoolā/ simeemê!?** and **Simeemé/ manaskoolā!?**)

Mkulu/ wa mawaardiya/ chisimama. ‘The head of the guards stood up.’

Muke/ chihada/ chisimame apa. ‘The woman said: let’s stop here.’

Mukḥṭaa muke/ iló/ Jeelaani/ chisimama/ chimpa salaamu. ‘When the woman came, Jeelaani stood up and greeted her.’

Mwaana/ simeeme. ‘The child stood up.’

Mwaana/ simeemopó/ waziiri/ chimwambila... ‘When the boy stopped, the minister told him...’

mwana wa mwaalimu/ simeemó/ mshishiló... ‘the child who the teacher stood up and siezed...’

Naani/ nt^hakhsimamá. ‘Who didn’t stand up?’ (Syn: One cannot fail to use the pseudo-relative form of the verb here: ***Naani/ nt^hakhsimama.**)

Naani/ simeemó. ‘Who stood up?’ (Syn: One cannot fail to use the pseudo-relative verb in this structure: ***Naani/ simeeme.**)

Simama. ‘Stand up!’ **Simamaani.** ‘(Pl.) stand up!’ **Sisimamé.** ‘Don’t stand up!’ **Sisimameení.** ‘(Pl.) don’t stand up!’

Simeemopó/ waziiri/ chimwaambila/ leete/ mp^ha shilingi ikum(i) na nt^haano. ‘When he stopped, the minister told him: bring and give me fifteen shillings.’

Sungura/ chihada/ mi/ nsimeemé/ khfikira/ ṭu. Rabbit said: I stopped (walking) just to think.’

Washishilapoo ndalá/ wachisimama. ‘When they became hungry, they stopped.’

Weenziwe/ wamweenopó/ simeemé/ wachihada/ sungura/ reptee/ basi/ najoowa. ‘When his friends saw that he (Rabbit) stopped, they said: Rabbit has stopped, so he should be eaten.’

rel.

kh-simamika v. p/s. (**simamishile**)

Apa/ haysimamiki/ ka iwa. ‘One cannot stand here because of the sun.’

kh-simamiloowa v. appl. pass. (**simamiliila**)

Muunt^hu/ kaleent^hó/ hasimamiloowi. ‘He who is sitting, one should not stand up for him.’ (A proverb.)

kh-simamila v. appl. (**simamiliile**) supervise; stand up (in respect of s.o.); stand on; give support, do things for someone

Mukḥṭa sultaani/ ingiiló/ wotte/ wamsimamiliile. ‘When the sultan

entered, all stood up for him.’

na mtume Ibraahimu ka’ba washile/ ijiwe khsimamila apo weshele [st.]
‘also the prophet Abraham built the **ka’ba/** and erected the stones
that stand there’

Simamila kaazi. ‘Supervise the work!’

Siná/ nguvu za khsimamila. ‘I do not have the strength to stand with.’

Ye/ simamililee chiti. ‘He stood on the chair.’

kh-simamisha v. caus. (**simamishiize**) make stand; stop s.t. in motion

Msimamishize mwaana/ mezaaani. ‘He stood the child up on the table.’

Msimamishize Taha/ ndilaani. ‘He made Taha stand in the road.’

Omari/ msimamishize mwaana. ‘Omari caused the child to stand up.’

Simamishize gaari. ‘He caused the car to stop.’

kh-simamishan(y)a v. caus. rec.

Waana/ wasimamishilizenye ilu ya barmiili. ‘The children made one
another stand on a barrel.’

kh-simamishika v. caus. p/s.

kh-simamishiliza v. caus. appl.

Boobo/ msimamishilize Nureeni/ mwaana. ‘Boobo made Nureeni’s child
stand.’

kh-simamishoowa v. caus. pass. (**simamishiiza**)

kh-simamoowa v. pass. (**simeema**)

Mukhta ya/ ofeetó/ shomola amri/ khsimamoowa. ‘When he became
tired, he ordered that they stop (lit. there be stopping).’

rel. nom.

u-simamilo n. supervision

m-simamisha (wa-) n. 1/2 one who makes stand

m-simamo n. 3

Chisimeme msimamó. ‘We stood standing.’

m-simamishi (wa-) n. 1/2 supervisor

m-simamizi (wa-) n. 1/2 supervisor (of a job)

n. 9/10 [Sw. *samba* SSED 431] lion (Despite being a [cl.9/10] noun, **siimba** may
govern human agreement, as is typical for animate nouns in Chimwiini, particularly in its singular form.)

kubiga ikele/ kana la siimba ‘to shout like a lion’s shout’

**Laakini/ Hasani/ chuuluka/ kama siimba/ chiingila/ katikati ya
majeeshi/ ya aduwi/ ka lpaangale/ chiwa’ubla/ ma’askari/ wa
aduwi/ wiingi/ nt^ho/ pashpo adadi.** ‘But Hasani jumped like a lion
and entered in the middle of the armies of the enemy with his
sword and killed very many soldiers of the enemy, without
number.’

Ikele la siimba ‘the roar of a lion’

Maama/ chimjiiba/ ka ndriimbo/ kuwaa ye/ nt^hakuuya/ na siimba.

‘Mother answered him singing [lit. with song] that he had not come
with the lion [that he was seeking].’

Mchimbile siimba. ‘He ran away from the lion.’

Mi/ nshishila na siimba/ ndilaani. ‘I was siezed by a lion on the road.’ Cf.

Mwenzi wiitu/ shishila na siimba/ ndilaani. ‘Our friend was siezed by a lion in the road.’

Mi/ nshishila na simba waliko ndilaani. ‘I was siezed by the lion who was
in the road.’

Mwana wa siimba/ ni siimba. ‘The child of a lion is a lion.’ (A proverb.)

Omari/ nazoo nguvu/ kana za siimba. ‘Omari has strength [cl. 10] like
that of a lion.’

Nazoo nguvu/ kana siimba. ‘He is as strong as a lion.’

Shfakata/ cheendra/ kumkhubura siimba. ‘He ran and went to inform
Lion.’

Siimba/ apa/ wakali/ wazimile mashakaani. ‘The lions here are fierce,
hiding in the bush.’

simba fiiló ‘a dead lion’ (Notice that **siimba** triggers a phonologically null
subject prefix on the verb, which is indicative of a [cl.1] subject.)

Siimba/ haaji/ bakhti. ‘A lion does not eat dead animals/carrion.’ (A proverb.)
Siimba/ hatezoowi/ naaye. ‘A lion is not played with.’ (A proverb.)
simba mkulu ‘a large lion’ (Morph. Notice that **siimba** triggers the [cl.1] adjective agreement prefix **m** on the stem **-kulu** ‘large’.)
Siimba/ muḅlele. ‘A lion killed him.’ (The verb has a null subject prefix, indicating that **siimba** is treated as a [cl.1] human subject.)
simba uḅleelá ‘a lion that was killed’
Sku mooyi/ siimba/ mp^huundra/ na bakaylé/ walazile kuwiinda. ‘One day Lion, Donkey, and Hare left to go hunting.’
Waanth^hu/ wachimletelela sultaani/ khabari/ wanakhsuula/ siimba/ na’uḅloowa. ‘The people brought the news to the sultan, they wanted the lion to be killed.’
Wazeelewe/ wachimwaambila/ kumtokomeza siimba. ‘His parents told him to forget about the lion [that he was looking for].’

kh-simika

v. [Sw. *simika* SSED 431] (**simishile**) erect, raise or lift up, make someone or something stand up; stop something in motion
Husulo khsaydoowá/ husimika ruuhuye. ‘The one who wants to be helped should put himself on his feet.’ (A proverb.)
Juma/ chimtaala/ chimsimika pamo na mp^huundra/ za kaazi. ‘Juma took him and put him among the working donkeys.’
khsimika qalbi ‘to not be discouraged [lit. to lift the heart]’
Chisimika khalbiye/ chiineendra/ chiineendra/ ka ooni/ hattá/ shkoma/ mahaḷa/ chiikó/ chisima/ chihabba. ‘He held up his heart (i.e. was not discouraged) and went and went with thirst until he reached a place where there was a small well.’
Hasani/ naayé/ chisimika qalbiye/ chimbiga/ ijini/ oyo/ lpaanga/ lmooyi/ chimuḅla. ‘Hasani lifted his heart and and hit that djinn with one stroke of his sword and killed him.’
Na simika/ khalbiyo/ ka khisa nt^hi/ iyi/ ni nt^hi ya majini. ‘And hold up your heart (i.e. do not be discouraged) because this land is the land of jinns.’
Sa’iidi/ ka kalila/ simishile/ khalbiye/ paanzile/ mloongoti/ na weene/ nt^hi/ ya majini. ‘Sa’iidi truly lifted his heart [i.e. did not get discouraged] and climbed up the mast and saw the land of the jinns.’
Msimishile Ali/ ndilaani. ‘He made Ali stand outside.’
Msimishile mwaana. ‘He raised/lifted the child (causing him to stand).’
Simishile gaari. ‘He stopped the car.’
Ye/ merele kuwasimika qalbi/ wiinginewe. ‘He sought to lift the spirits of others.’

rel.

kh-simikika v. p/s.

Muti/ usimikishile. ‘The tree was able to be made erect.’

kh-simikisha v. caus.

Msimikishize shufeeri/ gaari. ‘He made the driver stop the truck.’

kh-simikoowa v. pass.

Gaari/ apa/ haysimikoowi. ‘A truck cannot be stopped here (it is prohibited, e.g.).’

Isimishila pashpoo nguzo. ‘It is raised without a pillar.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **iwiingu** ‘a cloud’.)

rel. nom.

chi-simiko (zi-) n. 9/10 a base, s.t. that another thing stands on

m-simika (wa-) n. 1/2 a base, s.t. that another thing stands on

simista

n. [Eng. *semester*] semester

- siimo** n. 9/10 [Sw. *simu* SSED 432; Pers.] cable, telegram
kubiga siimo ‘to cable, telegraph, telephone’
simo iyi ‘this cable’ (cf. **simo izi** ‘these cables’)
- sina** I do not have, have no, there is nothing; [pron. **siná**]
Mi/ siná/ haaja/ na mp^hundra uyu. ‘I have no need for this donkey.’
Mi/ siná/ shaka/ itamletelaa dhibu. ‘I have no doubt that it will cause him trouble (lit. bring trouble to him).’
Siná/ chiint^hu. ‘Nothing’s the matter.’
Siná/ kuwaa mi/ khfaanya/ laazima/ kuvunda chuluungucha.
Siná/ shaka/ itamletelaa dhibu. ‘I have no doubt that it will bring him trouble.’
- sinaa’i** [Ar.] only recorded in the following sentence:
Waruusi/ wa’ulushiize/ qamari sinaa’i. ‘The Russians launched an artificial moon (i.e. satellite).’
- sinaa’i** (Ar. ?ina?i, Wehr p. 526)
- sindako** n. [Ital. *sindaco*] mayor
- siindanu** n. [Sw. *sindano* SSED 432] needle, syringe, injection
 an injection.’
Ali/ tete siindanu/ kumdurila Hamadi. ‘Ali took a needle to give Hamadi an injection.’
kubiga siindanu ‘to give an injection, a shot’
sindanu ya khshomela ‘a sewing needle’
- kh-siindrika** v. [Sw. *sindika* "apply force to, but mostly with special sense, e.g. *sindika mafuta*, extract oil by pressing, *sindika miwa*, crush sugar cane, *sindika mlango*, partly close the door, but not fasten, set ajar" SSED 421] (**sindrishile**) squeeze, extract oil from seeds; leave a door ajar
Ali/ nakhsindrikaa chinu. ‘Ali is operating the oil press (e.g. making sure that the sesame seeds are properly distributed).’
khsindrika mafta ‘to extract oil’
khsindrika mlaango ‘to leave the door ajar’
Ali/indrishile mlaango. ‘Ali left the door ajar.’
- rel.
kh-siindrikika v. p/s.
kh-sindrikila v. appl. extract with, for
kh-sindrikisha v. caus. (**sindrishize**)
kh-sindrikishana v. caus. rec.
kh-sindrikishika v. caus. p/s.
kh-sindrikishiliza v. caus. appl.
kh-sindrikishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
kh-sindrikoowa v. pass. (**sindrishila**)
Mlaango/ usindrishila na Ali. ‘The door was left ajar by Ali.’
- kh-siindrikiza** v. [Sw. *sindikiza* SSED 432] (**sindrikiize**) see a visitor off (by accompanying him part of the way on the journey home)
Ali/ namsindrikizaa muke. ‘Ali is seeing the woman off.’
- rel.
kh-sindrikizisha v. caus.
kh-sindrikizishiliza v. caus. appl.
kh-sindrikizishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
kh-sindrikizoowa v. appl.
 rel. nom.
m-sindrikizo (*mi-*) n. 3/4
u-sindrikizo n. 14
- m-siindriko** adj. ajar

Mlaango/ (ni) msiindriko. ‘The door is ajar.’
Mlaango/ uwaliko msiindriko. ‘The door was ajar.’

chi-siindru (zi-) n. 7/8 heel
chisindru cha kuulu ‘the heel of a foot’

chi-siindu NOTE: Sw. has kisigino, SSED p. 207. Is it possible to relate this Chim. word to Sw. *sindika* = to apply force in pressing s.t., SSED p. 421?

siinfa n. [Sw. *sifa* SSED 429; Port.] grease made from the fat of a shark’s liver, kept for a month or two and used to caulk ships

Maana/ haṭá/ chiwa mwaana/ muke mweema/ huwa siinfa. ‘Until a child becomes (fully a child), a good woman is (like) the caulking (that holds the child together).’ (A proverb which conveys the idea that raising a child is a difficult task, that the mother is the glue that holds everything together.)

chi-siinga (zi-) n. 7/8 [unknown etymology] basin, bowl

Lesele mtuzi? ‘Did you bring soup?’ (Possible answers: **Ee/ wumo chisingaani.** ‘Yes, it is in the bowl.’ Or **Ee/ nnayo** (or: **nnawo**) **mtuzi/ chisingaani.** ‘Yes, I have some soup in the bowl.’
Mtuzi/ nnawo chisingaani. ‘The soup, I have it in a bowl.’

na mtuzi/ ka chisiinga ‘and soup in a bowl’

siniini/ na miniini [a set phrase from Arabic] years and years
siniini (Ar. *sinun*, plural of *sana* = year, Wehr p. 433)

siniya n. 9/10 [Sw. *sinia* SSED 432] tray
rel.
chi-siniya (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.
ma-siniya n. 6 trays

Waana/ wotte/ wachiyaa kuja/ laakini/ wamalizopoo kujá/ nt^hawakhaadira/ kuwawona/ khaadimu/ waleselo zaakujá/ walá/ awaje/ wa’ondrolo masiniyá. ‘All the children ate food but when they finished eating, they were not able to see the servants who had brought the food nor those who had removed the trays.’

siiniya n.
mkate wa siiniya ‘a kind of cake made from flour and very little oil’

kh-siinziila v. [Sw. *sinzia* SSED 432] (**sinziile**) feel sleepy
na keesho aakhera ziiko su’aali/ Mooja hasiinziili Mooja halaali [st.] ‘and tomorrow, in the afterlife, you will be questioned; God never feels sleepy nor does he sleep’

rel.
kh-sinziilila v. appl. (**sinziilile**)
Ondroka/ sinsinziilile. ‘Get up! Don’t fall asleep on me!’

u-siinziizi n. 14 [Sw. *usinziigi* SSED 507] sleepiness, drowsiness, sleep
Chilangala t.v./ niingi/ hushikowa usiinziizi. ‘If I watch a lot of t.v., I get sleepy.’

Karkaa ye/ walimo usinziiziini/ ilee nyunyi/ jile nt^heendre/ yote/ nt^hakhsaaza/ haṭá/ haba mooyi. ‘While he was sleeping, a bird came and ate all the dates and did not leave behind even a single one.’

khtila ruuhu/ usinziziini ‘to pretend to sleep’

Mp^haka/ shtila ruuhuye/ usinziziini. ‘The cat pretended to be asleep.’

khtila usinziziini ‘to induce sleep’

kondrola ka usinziziini ‘to awake from sleep’

Chimondrola waawaye/ ka usinziziini. ‘She woke her father up from sleep.’

Sultaani/ ondroshelelo ka usinziziini/ chunganya ma’askariwe/ wotte/ chiwapa amri/ chiwa’ambila/ olokaani/ safiraani/ kila muuyi/ wimo karka nt^hiyá/ na kila mwaamubli/ takuzaloowá/ mubleni/ ka paapo/ apo. ‘When the sultan got up from sleep, he gathered all his soldiers, and he issued an order, telling them: go and travel to every town that is in my land, and each boy that is born, kill him right then and there.’

usinzizi habba ‘a little sleep’

usiinzizi/ kubaha ‘of sleep to be lost—i.e. not be able to sleep’

Mi/ waliko nshishila usiinzizi/ Hamadi/ jisaa ye/ shtilo maneno miingi/ haṭá/ usiinzizi/ umbeele. ‘I was feeling sleepy, (but) Hamadi was speaking too much (to me) to the point that sleep was lost (I was unable to sleep).’

usinzizi la’aani ‘insomnia’

usinzizi miingi ‘a lot of sleep’

Usiinzizi/ umbeele. ‘Sleep was lost to him -- i.e. he was not able to sleep.’

Or with the same meaning: **Umbele usiinzizi.** Or: **Umbeloo ye/ (ni) usiinzizi.** ‘What was lost to him was sleep.’

Usiinzizi/ umbeele/ Hasani. ‘Hasani could not sleep.’ (Prosody. There is a clear drop in pitch between the verb and **Hasaani**, a drop that differs from canonical downstep intonation in our judgment. This is confirmed by the simple yes-no question, where **Hasani** undergoes accent-shift: **Usiinzizi/ umbeele/ Hisani?** In the exclamatory question, the verb also undergoes accent-shift: **Usiinzizi/ umbeelé/ Hasani!?**)

Wachiimba/ washteza/ haṭá/ sa’a ikumi/asku/ ba’ada ya apo/ dhokhookhi/ yaawo/ itozela/ wote/ usiinzizi/ uwaleete/ walaṭize/ nt^hini ya mteendre. ‘They sang, they danced, until the hour of ten at night [i.e. 4 a.m.], after that no sound was heard from them, sleep took them all, so that they lay under the date tree.’

siraaji

n. [Ar. *sirāj* "light, lamp" W 406] a name of the Prophet

here’

apa wanamzuure mtume siraaji [st.] ‘so that they visit the Prophet Siraaji

Siraaji’

Qaasimu waawaye mtume siraaji [st.] ‘Qaasimu’s father is the Prophet

zotte ni qissa za mtume siraaji [st.] ‘aa are stories of the Prophet Siraaji’

siraati

n. [Sw. *sirati* SSED 433; Ar. *sirāṭ* "way, path" W 405] the narrow path leading to heaven or to hell

siri

n. 9/10 [Sw. *siri* SSED 433; Ar. *sirr* W 404] secret; [pron. **siri** or **sirri**] (The noun **siri** fails to condition the lengthening of a preceding word-final vowel in the same phrase; this failure reflects the geminate origin of the medial consonant in this word.)

Chint^hu cha piili/ siriyo/ simwambile mukeewó. ‘The second thing [that I wish to advise you]: don’t tell your secret[s] to your wife.’

ka siri ‘secretly’

Baduwi/ lazilopó/ sulṭaani/ chamura askari/ kumraasha/ ka siri/ haṭá/ mahaḷaa ye/ takiingiló/ chimaliza/ kuya kumkhubura. ‘When the nomad left, the sultan ordered his soldiers to follow him secretly up to the place where he went in, then to come and inform him.’

Muke/ ka siri/ chamura makhaadimu/ watatu/ khtukulaa

khati/ kumpelekela waawaye/ pashpo/ muunt^hu/ wowote/ kiiwa. ‘The woman secretly ordered three servants to carry the letter and take it to her father without anyone at all knowing.’

Oloshale ka siri. ‘She went secretly.’

khfanya siri ‘to consider, make s.t. a secret’

Khupeendó/ khupo siriyé. ‘Who loves you gives you his secret.’ (A proverb.)

Kila/ muunt^hu/ siriyé/ na’iwó/ mojiitu. ‘Everyone’s secret is known by God.’ (A saying.)

...**kuwaa ye/ nayoo nt^hume/ na ni siri** ‘that he had a message and it was a secret’

Mgarwa/ na’iwa/ kuwa sulṭaani/ uyu/ ni ḍaalimu/ nt^ho/ laakini/ ye/

nt^hakhaadira/ kiiwa/ siri/ ya safari/ iyi/ yaa ye/ tumiilá. ‘The fisherman knows that this sultan is very unjust, but he could not know the secret [purpose] of this trip that he was being sent on [by the sultan].’

M[w]usha sirriye/ hupata mraadiwe. ‘The one who hides his secrets achieves his goal.’ (A proverb.)

Oyo/ sirize/ niingi. ‘That one, his secrets are many (i.e. he keeps things hidden inside).’

Sho kiwa siriyó/ khubishile safariyo. ‘The one who does not know your secrets hits you [on] your journey.’ (A proverb which conveys the idea that someone who does not know your real condition, situation may harm you out of his ignorance. For example, a manager who has a position to offer does not offer it to someone because he does not know that person needs the work.)

Siri/ hiiwó/ mojiitu. ‘The one who knows a secret is God.’ (A proverb.)

Siri/ ishpita wawili/ siwo/ siri. ‘A secret that passes beyond two (people) is not a secret.’ (A proverb.) Or: **Siri/ ichilata wawili/ siwo/ siri.**

Siri yaa wake/ ha’ipatikani. ‘A secret of women cannot be discovered.’ (A proverb.)

Siri za mojiitu/ zimo karka makhjuuquye. ‘The secrets of God are in his creatures.’ (From an Arabic proverb. God works through his servants. Only God knows a person’s real heart.)

siriyó ‘your secret’; **sirizo** ‘your secrets’

Sulṭaani/ chamura askari/ kumraasha/ ka siri. ‘The sultan ordered the soldiers to follow him secretly.’

waziiri/ chimwaambila/ kuwaa ye/ takhpeenda/ wo/ keendra/ kaake/ ka sababu ya ye/ iliióló/ ni amri ya siri ‘the minister told him that he would like for them to go to his place because the reason he had come for was a secret matter’

siisi irregular verb form: I do not know

Baana/ yaa ye/ uziló/ mi/ siisi. ‘Baana, what he bought, I do not know.’

Mi/ niilé/ siisi/ ka mahaḷaa mp^hi/ laakini/ niilé. ‘I came, I do not know where from, but I came.’

Siisi/ liini/ uzizo gaariyé. ‘I do not know when he sold his car.’

sita adj., n. [Sw. *sita* SSED 433 ; Ar. *sitta* W 397] six; [pron. **sita** or **sitta**] (This item, although apparently CVCV in shape, does not trigger lengthening of a preceding word when it is phrase-final. This suggests that the gemination of the Arabic source is reflected in Chimiini. There is a variant pronunciation in Chimiini with gemination, but this may be associated with focus on it.)

askari sita ‘six policemen’

ikumi na sita ‘sixteen’

Ka muda wa sku sita/ wachiwa fijiri/ hendra maduriini/ khtinda skunyi. ‘For a period of six days, whenever it became morning, they went to the bush to cut firewood.’

Mgarwa/ kaleent^he/ numbaani/ sku sitta. ‘The fisherman stayed home six days.’

Mkulazo/ sittawe/ nt^hawakinfa chiint^hu. ‘Your older brothers, the six of them, were of no use.’ (Phon. Although a negative verb is typically phrase-final, a semantically empty noun like **chiint^hu** is commonly

drawn into the same phrase as the negative verb.)

ni sita mwaanzo mwaamine rahmaani [st.] ‘(the pillars of faith) are six, the first is that you should believe in God’

Nile kaakó/ nnakhsulaa we/ kump^ha waana/ sittawe/ wa sultaani/ waa we/ bigeno naa ye/ harbí. ‘I have come to you; I want you to give me the children, the six of them, of the sultan with whom you have been warring with.’

Sku ya sita/ mgarwa/ chilawa/ ka numbaani/ naayé/ veto shpeté. ‘On the sixth day, the fisherman left the house wearing the ring.’

wana sita ‘six children’

Ye/ chiwavila wanawabli sittawe/ chiwa’ambila... ‘He called the boys, the six of them, to come and said to them...’

rel.

sitaaashara n., adj. sixteen

-siita

adj. sour, bitter

chindrimu chisiita ‘a sour lemon’

iziwa isiita ‘sour camel’s milk’

Iziwa/ iwele isiita. ‘The milk turned sour.’

...laakini/ manyi/ maleemale/ yotte/ apo/ yawaliko masiita ‘but all the grass there was tall and bitter’

siita/ kana chindriimu ‘as sour as a lemon/lime’

siita/ kamba ukwaayu ‘as sour as tamarind’

sitaara

n. [Ar. *sitara* “veil, screen, cover” W 397 and verb *satara* “to hide, conceal” W 397] hiding place, a place of concealment

Mahala iyi/ nt^hayna/ sitaara. ‘This place is exposed (it has no place for hiding things).’

sitaashara

adj. sixteen

Jeelaani/ waliko mubjaana/ wa miyaka sitaashara. ‘Jeelaani was a boy of sixteen years.’

sitaashara

n. a game played involving throw sea shells up in the air

Nakhteza sitaashara. ‘He is playing sitaashara.’

siti

n.

Sultaani/ chiwa’ambile wayaana/ endraani/ mwambilee siti/ chihaba/ kuwa ile/ mubjaana/ marti/ nakhsulo kuwonana naawé. ‘The sultan told the maids: go, tell the little girl that a young man, a guest has come who wants to see you.’

sitiini

n., adj. [Sw. *sitini* SSED 433 ; Ar. *sittun* W 397] sixty

ndruuza ni waajibu amri ya diini/ khaansa kiwoowa mas’ala sitiini [st.] ‘O my brothers, it is obligatory (to know) the matters of religion, especially for sixty questions to be known’

sitina keendra or **sitiini/ na keendrá** ‘sixty nine’

sitina naane or **sitiini/ na naané** ‘sixty eight’

sitina nt^haano or **sitiini/ na nt^haanó** ‘sixty five’

sitinaa saba or **sitiini/ naa sabá** ‘sixty seven’

sitina sita or **sitiini/ na sittá** ‘sixty six’

chi-siwa (zi-)

n. 7/8 [Sw. *kisiwa* SSED 207] island

variant: **chiziwa**

Chisiwa ichi/ nt^hashkuwaaliko/ chisiwa/ chaa wo/ walazilo kendrá. ‘This island was not the island that they had left to go to.’

Chiswaahili/ ni lugha la kaandra/ la want^hu wakalo zisiwa za wabaajuuni/ na zisiwa za Tanzaniyá. ‘Swahili is the first language of the people who live on the Baajuuni islands and the islands of Tanzania.’

Karka chisiwa ichi/ nt^haku/ chi’iishó. ‘On this island there was no one who was living.’

Wabjaana/ wane/ washoreete/ khsaafira/ koloka chisiwa cha Waqwaaqi. ‘Four young men decided to take a trip and go to the island of Waqwaaqi [an imaginary island].’

siwo

invariable negative copular verb

variant form: **suwo**

genetlemen.’

Aya// siwo/ mambo ya waant^hu/ akhyaari. ‘This is not the behavior of

mother, not her father.’

Humlazima kendra ka maama/ siwo/ ka baaba. ‘She must go to her

La/ kubloowa/ siwo/ suura. ‘No, to be killed is not good.’

Mi/ siwo/ mule. ‘I am not tall.’ But not: ***Mi/ siwoo mule.**

Mi/ siwo/ mwaana. ‘I am not a child.’

Mi/ siwo/ nna’iwó. ‘I am not the one who knows.’

miimbili/ siwoo mulé ‘the boy who is not tall’

one.’

Munt^hu waa mi/ nimbishiló/ siwo/ uyu. ‘The man whom I hit is not this

Muusa/ nii mule/ siwo. ‘Muusa is tall, isn’t he?’ (Phon. In this sentence, *siwo* is raised in pitch.)

Muusa/ siwo/ mule. ‘Muusa is not tall.’

Muusa/ tu/ siwoo mule. ‘Only Muusa is not tall.’ Or: **Muusa/ tu/ siwó/ mulé. but not sure about the tone on mule**

Mwaanawá/ uyu/ siwo/ ye/ siwo/ mubla/ muja waant^hu/ uyu/ siwo/ uje

siimba/ ubleeló/ malizo waant^hú. ‘My son, this one is not him, he is not the killer, the eater of people, this one is not the lion that killed and finished people off.’

Ni Ali/ iló/ siwo/ Iisa. ‘It is Ali who came, not Iisa.’

Ni Muusa/ siwoo mulé. ‘It is Muusa who is not tall.’

Siwo/ ichi/ chibuuku. ‘This is not a book.’ Cf. **Siwo ichi chibuukú?** ‘Isn’t this the book?’

Siwo ichi chibuku cha Nuurú/ uziló? ‘Isn’t this the book that Nuuru stole?’

Siwo/ icho. ‘It is not that one.’ (Cf. **Siwo ichó?** ‘Isn’t it that one?’ Notice the shift of the accent on **icho** in the yes-no question, as well as the lack of a phrase break after **siwo**.)

Siwo/ mi. ‘It’s not me.’ (One doesn’t say ***Si/ mi**. All the independent pronouns are parallel: **Siwo/ we.** ‘It’s not you.’ **Siwo/ ye.** ‘It’s not him/her.’ **Siwo/ si.** ‘It’s not us.’ **Siwo/ ni.** ‘It’s not you (pl.)’ **Siwo/ wo.** ‘It’s not them.’ **Siwo/ cho.** ‘It’s not it [cl.7].’ **Siwo/ zo.** ‘It’s not them [cl.8].’

Siwo/ mooyi/ karkaa wo. ‘He is not one of them.’

Siwo uyu mwaaná? ‘Isn’t this the child (that was previously discussed)?’

Sultaani/ shkasa khabari izo/ ye/ suliiile/ kiiwa/ kama khabari/ izi/ ni lila/ amó/ siwo. ‘The sultan heard those reports and he wanted to know if these reports were true or not.’

Ye/ siwo/ mule. ‘He is not tall.’

Zisu izi/ suwo/ skali. ‘These knives are not sharp.’

siyaafu

n. 9/10 [Sw. *siafu* SSED 428] safari ant

Siyaama

n. a coastal location north of Brava

waana wafakeete Daawu na Siyaama [nt.] ‘young people fled to Daawu and Siyaama’

<i>siyaasa</i>	n. [Sw. <i>siasa</i> SSED 428; Ar. <i>siyāsa</i> W 441] politics
<i>siyi</i>	[cl.5] here it is; [pron. siyí]
<i>siyi</i>	[cl.9] here it is; [pron. siyí] Kana/ siyí/ inajililowani. ‘Here is the mouth, what to be eaten with it?’ (A proverb which conveys the idea that talking is easy, but action is not.) Siyí/ mi/ maliizé/ khfanya jahazi/ nini/ teena. ‘Here it is, I have finished building the dhow. What next?’ (Note that the first person SM is elided in maliizé , which is underlyingly /ni-maliizé/). Na siyí/ khatí/ yaa ye/ andishiló/ ka mkonowé. ‘And here is the letter that he wrote with his own hand.’ Nuumba/ siyí. ‘Here’s the house.’
<i>siyije</i>	[cl.5] there it is; [pron. siyijé] variant form: sijé Nuumba/ siyijé (or: sijé). ‘There’s the house (far from us).’
<i>si(y)üije</i>	[cl.9] there it is; [pron. siijé]
<i>siyo</i>	[cl.5] there it is; here it is; therefore; [pron. siyó] siyó/ numayó ‘lit. here it is, there it is, therefore, next you’ Siyó/ numayó/ xiriile. ‘Therefore, after you, he accepted (suggests that you somehow played a role in his accepting, perhaps persuaded him to do so.’ Siyó/ numayó/ chiruuda. ‘Therefore, after you, he returned (suggests that you somehow played a role in his returning).’ Siyó/ numayó/ mi/ nfulishiize/ ahdiya. ‘Here it is, now it is up to you, I have kept my promise.’ (Pron. Our source for this example, MI, actually pronounced and wrote the phrase as siyó/ namayó , but this may be an aberration.)
<i>siyo</i>	[cl.9] there it is; here it is; [pron. siyó] Nuumba/ siyó. ‘There’s the house (near you).’
<i>sizi</i>	[cl.8] here they are; [pron. sizí] Chibiga hoodi/ shfungulilowa mlaango/ chihada/ daadá/ sizi/ ndrevu zaa mp^hisi. ‘She asked permission to enter and was opened for the door; she said: my grandmother, here they are, the [hairs of the] beard of the hyena.’
<i>sizi</i>	[cl.10] here they are; [pron. sizí] Ndrutizo/ sizi. ‘Here are your sticks.’ Ngoombe/ sizi. ‘Here are the cows.’ (Or: Ngoombe/ sawó .) Nuumba/ sizi. ‘Here are the houses.’ Sizi/ ndruti. ‘Here are the sticks.’
<i>sizije</i>	[cl.8] there they are; [pron. sizijé]
<i>sizije</i>	[cl.10] there they are; [pron. sizijé] Ngoombe/ sizijé. ‘There are the cows (far from us).’ Or: Ngoombe/ sawajé. Nuumba/ sizijé. ‘There are the houses (far from us).’ Sizijé/ ndruti. ‘There are the sticks (far from us).’
<i>sizo</i>	[cl.8] there they are; [pron. sizó]
<i>sizo</i>	[cl.10] there they are; [pron. sizó] Ngoombe/ sizó. ‘There are the cows (close to you).’ Or: Ngoombe/ sawó.

Nuumba/ sizó. ‘There are the houses (close to you).’
Sizó/ ndruti. ‘There are the sticks (close to you).’

- skaarpa** n. [Ital. *scarpa*] shoe of the western type
- chi-ski (zi-)** n. 7/8 [etymology unknown] ear (of maize)
Na weene/ ziski/ saba/ akhōari/ zoloolo/ na ziskí/ sabá/ skavú. ‘And he saw seven green tender ears of corn and seven dry ears of corn.’
Omari/ nakhpapula ziski. ‘Omari is detaching the ears of corn.’
- skiifari** n. 9/10
lkaandra/ na skiifari
lkaandra/ na skifariyé
nkhaandra/ na siifari
nkhaandra/ na skifarizé
- chi-skita (zi-)** n. [etymology unknown] stripe; the plural form **ziskita** is commonly used for thin strips of fish or meat that are put under the sun to dry – **ziskita** of meat can then be used to make **odka**
Fanyize nguwoye/ ziskita. ‘He tore up (lit. made) his cloth in stripes.’
ziskita zaa muto ‘thin stripes of fresh-water fish’
- ma-skitiiko** n. 6 [cf. Sw. *sikitika* "to feel sorrow, regret" SSED 430] sorrow
- mu-skiti** n. see under *mw-iskiti*
- skoolā** n. school
khariibu/ na skoolā ‘near, close to the school’
khariibu/ ya skoolā ‘near, close to the school’
Skoolā/ itakhfanya koncheerto/ khpata peesa. ‘The school will put on (lit. make) a concert in order to raise (lit. get) money.’
rel.
m-anaskoolā (w-) n. 1/2 student
- Skoolā/ za Misra** n, the Egyptians’ schools; Egyptian teachers ran schools in Brava (and other Somali towns); they taught all subjects in Arabic; these schools were located near the market
- sku** n. 9/10 [Sw. *siku* SSED 430] day(s), as in a twenty-four hour period, as opposed to **muunt^hi** ‘daytime’
Abdurahmaani/ sku mbili izi/ skumona/ ba. ‘Abdurahmaani, these days I never see him.’ (The word order in this sentence is quite free. Notice the following variants, none of which involve focus and the shift of the verb to pseudo-relative form: **Sku mbili izi/ skumona/ ba/ Abdurahmaani.** Or: **Sku mbili izi/ Abdurahmaani/ skumona/ ba.** Or: **Skumona/ ba/ Abdurahmaani/ sku mbili izi.** Or: **Skumona/ ba/ sku mbili izi/ Abdurahmaani.**)
hatá/ sku mooyi ‘not even one day’
Ishpita sku ya kaandra/ sku ya piili/ sku ya taatu. ‘The first day passed, the second day, the third day.’
Kaleent^he/ sku/ Hamadi/ numbaani/ ka Omari. ‘Hamadi stayed days in Omari’s house.’ Or: **Kalent^he sku) Hamadi) numbaani) ka Omari.**
Masku/ ya sku ya piili/ waziiri/ naayé/ lazile/ oloshale
kinendra’ineendra/ muyiini. ‘The night of the second day, the minister [lit. and he] left and went to take a stroll in town.’
Maṭezo/ ya sku iyo/ nakhkuumbuká/ we? ‘The game of that day, do you remember it?’
Maṭezo/ ya sku/ yaa we/ chihadó/ yawaliko masuura. ‘The game of that day that you spoke of was a good game.’
maṭezo/ ya sku za Ramaḏaani ‘games of the days of Ramadhan’
Ni skú/ Hamadi/ kalent^ho numbaani/ ka Omari. ‘It is *days* that Hamadi

has stayed in Omari's house.'

Nthaskupita/ sku niingi/ maali/ yachimlata. 'Not many days passed before the money was gone (lit. money left him).'

skizi 'these days, nowadays' (contracted from **sku izi**)

Sku izi/ haypatikani/ kaazi/ ka sahali. 'These days it is not easy to get a job.'

Sku izi/ nama/ hupatikanana ka shidda. 'These days meat is found with difficulty.'

Sku mo/ chiya muunt^hu/ kazima mp^huundra. 'One day a man came to borrow the donkey.'

sku mooyi 'one day'

Sku [^]niingi/ Hamadi/ nt^hakuuya/ numbaani/ ka Omari. '(It is so) many days that Hamadi has not come to Omari's house.' (In this example, **niingi** was extremely raised in pitch and the syllable *nii* exaggeratedly lengthened.)

Sku niingi/ spisile jis'iyi. 'Many days passed this way.'

Sku niingi/ spisile jis'iyo/ hatá/ sku mooyi/ mp^haamp^ha/

chimwambilaa nfuye... 'Many days passed that way until one day the shark said to the monkey...'

[^]Sku/ skujaa nama. 'Days I haven't eaten meat.' (Note that the focus on **sku** triggers pseudo-relativization of the verb, which is revealed in the final accent. The focus on **sku** also allows the negative verb to be phrased with the complement **nama**.)

sku ya iddi 'the day of Eid'

sku za Hamidi (or: **Hamadí/ waliko kiinú** 'the days that Hamadi was at your house'; or: **Hamadi/ sku zaa ye/ waliko kiinú** 'Hamadi, the days that he was at our house')

sku za kuwalaanga 'days to be counted (for example, when one has a fixed number of days for a journey, a holiday, etc.)'

sku za zamaani 'the days of old'

Skuja/ sku izi/ nama. 'These days I haven't eaten meat.'

Skuja/ [^]sku/ nama. 'I haven't eaten meat for *days*.'

Skumona/ sku izi/ Hamadi. 'I haven't seen Omari these days.'

ya sku gani 'of which days?'

matezo ya sku gani 'games of which days?'

ziyara ya sku gani 'visit of which days?'

ma-sku

n. 6 (in the) night, evening (Note: this word is not used in the locative: ***maskuuni**.)

chiwaa ye/ nakhsulaa muke/ wa masku mamooyi 'if he wants a woman for one evening'

Chilawopo numbaani/ kuruudake/ masku/ tu. 'Whenever he left home, his return was at night only.'

Isa/ ni sa'a nt^hatu za masku. 'Now the time is nine o'clock.'

Khaadimu/ washfunga safari/ washfakata masku/ na muunt^hi/ hatá/ washkoma muuyi/ wa wawayee muke. 'The servants set off on the journey and they ran night and day until they reached the town of the wife's father.'

masku aya 'this night'

Masku ayo/ nt^hakuja/ chiint^hu. 'That evening he did not eat anything.'

Masku ayo/ wote/ wachilaala/ ka amaani. 'That evening everybody slept peacefully.'

masku/ khfanya muunt^hi 'lit. to make night daytime, i.e. to stay up during the night without sleeping'

maskuu kati 'midnight'

Maskuu kati/ waziiri/ chivalaa nguwo/ chilawa/ ye/ na mooyi/ karka makhadimuyé/ keendra/ ka Ali. 'At midnight the minister got dressed and went, he and one of his servants, to go to Ali.'

- Wakomele nt^{hi} iyo/ maskuu kati.** ‘They arrived in that land at midnight.’
- masku/ mukta yakomeeló** ‘when night arrived’
- masku/ na muunt^{hi}** ‘night and day’ (preferred to saying “day and night”)
- Masku/ shpanzile ilu yaa mutí/ kulaala.** ‘At night we climbed up a tree to sleep.’
- Masku/ wa’ingile wiizi.** ‘Thieves entered during the night.’
- Masku/ simpeendi/ muunt^{hi}/ simpeendi.** ‘I do not want him either by night or by day (i.e. absolutely never) -- e.g. said by woman who refuses to continue living with husband’
- masku/ tu** ‘only at night’
- Mi/ husoma masku/ tu.** ‘I study only at night.’
- Mwaalimu/ handikisha waana/ khatí/ masku/ tu.** ‘The teacher makes the children write letters only at night.’
- masku ya** + day of the week = night before the day in question, e.g.
- masku ya arabiya** ‘lit. night of Wednesday, i.e. Tuesday night in Western characterization of time; in Brava, the day – as in a twenty-four hour period – begins at 6p.m.’
- masku ya miinza** ‘[lit.] night of darkness, i.e. the moonless night(s) near the beginning and the end of a lunar month’
- masku ya weelu** ‘[lit.] night of light, i.e. the night(s) when the moon is full or nearly full’
- Munt^{hi} oyo/ na maskuyé/ washkalaant^ha/ apo.** ‘That day and its night, they remained there.’
- Mwanaamke/ shkalaant^ha/ hatá/ masku.** ‘The girl stayed until night.’
- Nakhsuulání/ masku kati aya.** ‘What do you want in the middle of the night?’
- skuuli** n. [Sw. *skuli* SSED 434; Eng. *school*] *Swahilism* school
- Skuiliini/ waana/ husomeshowa darsi za ajnaasi.** ‘At school children are taught a variety of lessons.’
- Waana/ wachimbiza ka skuiliini.** ‘Children were sent away from the school.’
- Waana/ washkoma miyaaka/ siṭa/ ya umri/ hupelekoowa/ skuiliini.** ‘When children reach six years of age, they are sent to school.’
- skuola** n. [Ital. *scuola*] *st.* school
- skurubu** n. 9/10 [Sw. *skrubu* "screw" 434; Eng.] screw-driver
- mu-smaari (mi-)** n. 3/4 [Sw. *msumari* SSED 305; Ar. *mismar* W 429] nail
- kubiga musmaari** ‘to make biting, stinging remarks’
- Omari/ ile numbaani/ nimbishile musmaariyé/ nt^hukoona** ‘Omari has come home; did you not see that I have given biting, stinging words?’
- Omari/ mbishile Hamadi/ musmaari (or: musmaariye)/ ka ajabu iyo need gloss**
- Omari/ mkali/ kubiga waant^hu/ musmaari.** ‘Omari is good at making stinging, biting remarks about people.’
- mu-smiino (mi-)** n. 3/4 [Sw. *msumeno* SSED 305] a saw (for cutting)
- khtiinda/ kana musmiino** ‘to cut as a saw cuts’
- i-smu (ma-)** n. 5/6 name
- miya mbili na waahidi masmu ya mtume** [*st.*] ‘two hundred and one are the names of the Prophet’
- wa piili ni Abdalla naayo masmu Taa’ib na Taahir** [*st.*] ‘the second [son of the Prophet] is Abdallah who has [also] the names Ta’ib and Tahir’

so

part. [Som. *soo* as in *soo ku ma dhehin* ‘didn’t I tell you?’] interrogative element that is used similarly to the English tag question, i.e. to confirm the truth of the proposition or, in the case of a negative verb, to deny the negation

Ali/ leele/ so. ‘Is Ali asleep?’ (Usage: The speaker expects him to be asleep and is trying to confirm this, or the speaker has been led to think he is asleep, and wants to be sure.)

Baana/ jiile/ so. ‘Baana ate, didn’t he?’

Basi/ ye/ kawa nayo khalbi/ na mashkiló/ suła kuruuda/ so. ‘So, if she had a heart and ears, would she have come back?’

Fiile/ so/ ye. ‘He died, didn’t he?’ Or: **Fiile/ ye/ so.** (Phon. In the second example, all three accented syllables are raised in pitch, i.e. there is no downstepping.)

Hamadi/ boozele/ so/ chibuuku. ‘Has Hamadi stolen the book (that he was expected to steal)?’ Or: **Hamadi/ boozele/ chibuuku/ so.** (Syn. But it is not possible for *so* to be preverbal: ***So/ Hamadi/ boozele/ chibuuku.** Also: ***Hamadi/ so/ boozele/ chibuuku.**

Hiisi/ so/ we. ‘Don’t you know?’

Hiisi/ so/ we/ kama mzeele/ msaafiri/ ndilaani/ nakubloowa. ‘Don’t you know, you, that an old man, a traveler on the road, is being killed?’

Hukhaadiri/ so/ we. ‘Are you tired (unable), you?’

Ile/ so/ Hamadí. ‘Hamadi came, didn’t he?’

Jiilé/ so. ‘Did you eat?’ (Cf. **Jiile/ so.** ‘Did he eat?’)

Leelé/ so. ‘Are you sleeping?’ (Cf. **Leele/ so.** ‘Is he sleeping?’)

Mi/ nnakhpaandrá/ so/ amó/ nnakishkilá. ‘Am I climbing up or coming down?’ (Usage: But in this example *so* is not being used to confirm the truth of a proposition, suggesting that *so* has a wider scope of applicability.)

Mi/ skooloka/ so. ‘Didn’t I go (e.g. you omitted mentioning me as one of the people who went, but I did go, so why didn’t you mention me)?’

Mi/ skufanya kaazi/ so. ‘Didn’t I work (e.g. I worked, so why didn’t you pay me)?’ (Phon. Observe that the negative verb is not separated from its complement in this example.)

Ndimí/ so/ nnakiineendró/ ilu yaa nthi. ‘Is it me who is walking on the

ground?’

Ndro/ we/ pete wazimú/ so. ‘Come, have you gone crazy?’

Nini/ hiisi/ so/ we/ kama alama yaa nvula/ ni mawiingú. ‘Why do you not know, you, that the sign of rain is clouds (referring to a Chimiini proverb)?’

Noka uyu/ naayo/ so/ lpaangá. ‘This snake, does he have a sword?’ (Phon.

The final accent on **lpaanga** is apparently an aspect of the yes-no question, but we need to study further the accentual properties of sentences with *so*.)

Nt^hakhfaanya/ so/ ye/ kaazi. ‘Didn’t he do the work (e.g. so why are you not paying him)?’ Or: **Ye/ nt^hakhfaanya/ so/ kaazi.** Or:

Nt^hakhfaanya/ ye/ kaazi/ so. (Syn: But not ***Nt^hafaanya/ ye/ so/ kaazi.**, suggesting that *so* appears either immediately post-verbal or clause -final.)

Nt^huukuja/ so. ‘(After all) didn’t he eat (presupposes he indeed did eat)?’

Ofeete/ so/ we. ‘Are you tired?’

Oloshelé/ so ‘Did you go?’ (Cf. **Oloshela/ so.** ‘Did he go?’)

Omari/ gaari/ so/ pakiiló. ‘The truck, Omari loaded it, didn’t he?’

(Prosody. The noun which *so* follows is focused; since in this example, this noun is pre-verbal, the verb must be put into pseudo-relative form.)

Omari/ gaari/ so/ pakiloo gelé. ‘Omari *the truck* loaded maize onto it, didn’t he?’

Omari/ gele/ so/ pakilo gaarí. ‘Omari *maize* loaded on the truck, didn’t

he?’

Omari/ huwakahāta wana wa Nuuru/ so. ‘Does Omari hate Nuuru’s children?’ (Phon. The accent on the penult syllable of **Nuuru** is raised and not downstepped as in the declarative default intonation. However, the pitch on **so** is raised even higher. The last syllable of **Nuuru** continues the high pitch from the penult.)

Omari/ ile/ so/ ka Mkhodiishó. ‘Omari came from Mogadishu, didn’t he?’ (Phon. Observe that the phrase to the right of *so* undergoes accent shift. When *so* is final, accent shift does not occur: **Omari/ ile ka Mkhodiisho/ so.** ‘Omari came from Mogadishu, didn’t he?’)

Omari/ jiile/ so/ nama. ‘Omari ate the meat, didn’t he?’ Compare: **Omari/ jilee nama/ so.** ‘Omari ate the meat, didn’t he?’

Omari/ pakile gaari/ gele/ so. ‘Omari loaded the truck with *maize*, didn’t he?’

Omari/ pakile gaari/ so. ‘Omari loaded the truck, didn’t he?’ (Prosody. A sentence with **so** does not have ordinary downstep intonation. The word which **so** follows is raised in pitch, and the **so** itself is perhaps lower in pitch, but not significantly downstepped.)

Omari/ pakilee gele/ so/ gaari. ‘Omari loaded *maize* onto the truck, didn’t he?’ (Prosody. Notice that the noun which **so** follows is the focus, the subsequent noun undergoes accent shift.)

Omari/ pakiile/ so/ gaari/ gele. ‘Omari loaded *maize* onto the truck, didn’t he?’ (Prosody. The verb is focused in this example, and both of the subsequent phrases undergo accent shift.)

Omari/ so/ pakilo gaari/ gele. ‘*Omari* loaded *maize* onto the truck, didn’t he?’

Sikhaambila/ so. ‘Didn’t I tell you? (Now you will have to pay the consequences of not listening to me.)’

Sultaani/ chimuza Ali/ mbele za waant^hu/ wotte/ ndo/ Ali/ ni lila/ so/ za waant^hu/ wanakuhadó. ‘The sultan asked Ali in front of all the people: come, Ali, is it true what people are saying (about you)?’

Waawe/ jiile/ so. ‘Father already ate, I suppose? (This sentence indicates the speaker’s regret that he did not arrive in time to eat with his father.)’

We/ mbishile maaná/ so. ‘You hit the child, didn’t you? did you hit the child (what I saw makes me think you hit the child)?’

We/ nayo ijini/ nakunt^hoshaa mi/ ni mphundra wa doobi/ so? ‘You are crazy, do you think that I am a washerman’s donkey?’

Yaayi/ we/ huchaminili/ so/ we/ muna yitú. ‘How come you do not trust us (with him), you, our younger brother?’

n-so

n. 9/10 [Sw. *nso* SSED 34] kidney

Hamadi/ nayo maraōi yaa nso. ‘Hamadi has kidney disease.’

Hamadi/ nayo nso mooyi/ tu. ‘Hamadi has only one kidney.’

khtilowaa nso ‘(for) a kidney to be put in’

khtomolowaa nso ‘(for) a kidney to be taken out’

maraōi yaa nso ‘kidney disease’

Nso/ hujoowa. ‘Kidneys can be eaten, are edible.’

u-so

n. 14 [Sw. *uso* SSED 507] face

her face’

chimwona mubliwe usowe chuusha [st.] ‘if she saw her husband, she hid

konyesha waant^hu/ uso ‘lit. to show people [one’s] face -- i.e. to make a brief appearance at a ceremony (usually a happy gathering, like a wedding), so that people know that you have attended’

kumkuṭila uso ‘to fold one’s face – i.e. to show anger or dissatisfaction’

Mwaana/ uso/ uchimwala. ‘The child’s face was shining.’

Mwaana/ uso/ umwele mhuundru. ‘The child’s face reddened.’ (It is not grammatical to omit the object prefix agreeing with **maana**:

***Mwaana/ uso/ uwele mhuundru.**)

Mwaana/ usowe/ u(m)wele mhuundru. ‘The child, his face, became red.’

(Syn. Observe that the presence of an object prefix in this case is optional.)

Omari/ nt^haná/ uso/ kaaka. ‘(Lit.) Omari does not have face with me, i.e. we are not on good terms, he has wronged me.’

Siná/ uso/ ka Hamadi/ nimangamize miingi. ‘(Lit.) I do not have face with Hamadi, I have done a lot of bad things to him (i.e. I am not on good terms with Hamadi as I have done bad things to him).’

uso kamba chilaatu ‘lit. a face like a shoe -- said of person with gloomy or displeased mien’

Uso/ umwele mhuundru. ‘(His) face became red (to him).’ (Syn. **Maana** could appear in sentence-final position, but it would then be an afterthought added to the sentence: **Uso/ umwele mhuundru/ mwaana.** It would not be possible to have **maana** immediately post-verbal: ***Uso/ umwele mwaana/ mhuundru.**)

uso wa furaha ‘a happy face’

Uso wa maana/ uwele mhuundru. ‘The face of the child became red.’ (It is not grammatical to say: ***Uso wa maana/ umwele mhuundru.**, where there is object agreement on the verb -- lit. the face of the child became red to him.)

Uso wa mwaana/ uchiwala. ‘The child’s face was shining.’

Usoole/ wele mhuundru. ‘His face became red.’ (Observe that in this example, the subject of the verb is not **uso**, which would trigger a **u-** subject prefix on the stem **wele**, but rather a human [cl.1] subject, which triggers a null subject prefix.)

sodaawi

adj. [Sw. *sodawi* “proud, supercilious, arrogant” SSED 508; Ar. *saudawi* “melancholic, depressed” W 440] *Swahilism?* hot-tempered

rel.

u-sodaawi n. [Sw. *usodawi*] hot-temperedness

soddo

n. 1/2 brother-in-law (One does not always observe clear gemination in this item, but the intervocalic **d** is always heard as a very strong stop consonant. In Somali, a single **d** in intervocalic position would be realized as a fricative, while a geminate **dd** would be heard as a stop.)

Muunt^hu/ ha’ebishi/ ruuhuye/ ka soddowe. ‘One does not disgrace himself in front of his brother-in-law.’ (A proverb.)

Omari/ ^hsoddowe/ iló. ‘Omari’s brother-in-law came.’

Soddo/ hujeroowa. ‘A brother-in-law is respected.’ (A proverb.)

Soddo/ nayo sariigi. ‘A brother-in-law deserves respect.’ (A proverb.)

soddowa ‘my brother-in-law’; **soddoza** ‘my brothers-in-law’

soghooti

n. the act of seeing off

kh-soghootisha

v. [Som. *saagooti* “to accompany s.o. who is leaving to say goodbye” DSI 526] (**soghootishiize**) see off

Fikiriini/ shpowa khaadimu/ wiingi/ kumsoghootisha/ hattá/ nusu yaa ndila. ‘Fikiriini was given many servants to escort him half way.’

kumsoghootisha Sultani Daraayi/ na mukeewé ‘to see Sultan Daraayi and his wife off’

rel.

kh-soghootishiliza v. caus. appl. (**soghootishiliize**)

kh-soghootishoowa v. pass. (**soghootishiiza**) be seen off by

kh-sookota

v. [Sw. *sokota* SSED 434] (**sokeete** or **sokosele**) twist

khsokotaa luzi ‘to make thread from combed cotton’

Harameni/ soketeé luzi. ‘Harameni twisted it into thread.’

khsokota mkono ‘to twist the hand or arm’

khsokota shiingo ‘to twist the neck’

Moomini/ msoketeé mwaana/ mkono. ‘Moomini twisted the boy’s arm.’

rel.

kh-sokoteka v. p/s.

kh-sokotela v. appl. (**sokoteleele**)

kh-sokotesha v. caus. (**sokotesheeze**)

Awuukari/ msokotesheze mwaana/ luzi. ‘Awuukari had the child twist the cotton into thread.’

Baana/ msokotesheze mwaana/ mweenzawe/ mkono. ‘Baana made the child twist his friend’s arm.’

kh-sokoteshana v. caus. rec.

kh-sokotesheka v. caus. p/s.

kh-sokotesheleza v. caus. p/s.

kh-sokoteshelezanya v. caus. appl. rec.

rel. nom.

m-sookota (wa-) n. ½

m-sookoto n. 3

soksi n. 9/10 [Sw. *soksi* SSED 434; Eng. *socks*] *swahilism* socks (Although this item was used by our primary consultant, MI, other speakers consider it a Swahilism and not typically used in Chimiini.)

jogi ya soksi ‘pair of socks’

soola n. the bottom or sole of a shoe

kh-soola v. [unknown etymology] (**soozele**) pound, crush (usu. with a pestle and mortar) in order to separate grains from husks

Chisula mtele/ wiiko/ nganu/ yiiko/ maftaa sehemu/ yaako/ ka khisani/ we/ nakhsulo khsoolá/ mtamá/ kama shkhaadimú. ‘If you want crushed maize, it is there; wheat is there; ghee is there; why do you want to grind corn like a servant?’

Husolaa gele. ‘She crushes maize.’

Mamaye muḅli/ chimuuzá/ ka khisani/ we/ nakhsulo khsoolá/ nini/ nt^hawaako/ makhaadimú. ‘The husband’s mother asked her: why do you want to pound, why are there no servants?’

Manaamina/ soozele/ gele. (The simple yes-no question for these two inputs: **Manaamina/ soozele géle?** and **Manaamina/ soozele/ géle?** GM has an exclamatory version of the sentence without verb focus: **Manaamina/ soozele géle!** but is hesitant to offer an exclamatory version of the sentence with verb focus. Data from MI suggests that the expected pronunciation is **Manaamina/ soozelé/ géle!**?)

Sozelee gele/ ka muunt^hi. ‘She ground the maize with a pestle.’

rel.

kh-soolela v. appl. (**soleele**) pound with

Solelee gele/ muunt^hi. ‘She pounded maize with a pestle.’ Or: **Muunt^hi/ soleloo géle.** ‘It’s with a pestle that she pounded maize.’

kh-soloowa v. pass. (**soozela**)

soololi n. [cf. Som. verb salool ‘to roast s.t., esp. maize’ DSI 533] any kind of meat that is dried, then roasted

kh-sooma v. [Sw. *soma* SSED 434] (**someele**) read, read aloud, study

Attá/ leelo/ naayé/ mwanaa masultaani/ naayé/ husoma naaye/ chiwo/ mahala mooyi. ‘Until one day [and he] the son of a sultan [and he] studies with him at the same school.’ (Syn. This sentence, from a tale recorded by an unidentified female speaker, illustrates the pervasive use of the phrase **naayé** ‘and (s)he’.)

Chibuku icho/ maana/ nakhsooma. ‘That book, the boy is reading (it).’ (Syn. This example illustrates the left-dislocation of an object. The focus of this sentence is on the verb. If the focus is on an object that has been located in initial position, then the verb must be put into a pseudo-relative form: **Chibuku icho/ maana/ nakhsoomó.** ‘That book, the boy is reading (it).’ If focus is on the subject, the

verb is again in the pseudo-relative form: **Chibuku ichi/ [↑]maana/ nakhsoomó.** ‘That book, *the boy* is reading (it).’

khsoma sh̄teenzi ‘to read a **sh̄teenzi**’

Maana/ somele chibuuku/ someeló. ‘The child read a book, that’s what he did.’ Cf. **Maana/ chisomele chibuuku/ chisomeeló.** ‘The child read the book, that’s what he did.’

Mi/ waliko nch^hisoma chingereenza/ mukṭaa we/ iló. ‘I was studying English when you came.’

Nakhsooma. ‘(S)he is reading (it).’ (Note that one can put this stand-alone verb in the pseudo-relative form: ***Nakhsoomó.** However, if an object prefix is included, as in **Nakichisooma.** ‘(S)he is reading it.’ then pseudo-relativization is possible: **Nakichisoomó.**)

Nakhsoma chibuukú. ‘I am reading a book.’ Or: **Nakhsoma chibuukú/ nakhsoomó.** ‘She’s reading a book, that’s what she is doing.’ But not: ***Nakhsoomá/ chibuuku/ nakhsoomó.** ‘She’s *reading* a book, that’s what she is doing.’ (The infelicity of this last sentence derives from the fact that the phrasal separation of the main verb puts focus on it, and as a consequence supplants Verb Copy, which is also a device for focusing on the verb.)

Naani/ someeló/ chibuuku. ‘Who read the book?’ (Observe that in a pseudo-relative, the final accent does not extend beyond the focus, which in this case is the pseudo-relative verb.)

Naank^hó/ nakhsooma/ nakhsooma/ nakhsooma/ naank^hó/ uje ikodho/ chiya/ chiingila. ‘Again, he was reading and reading and reading, and again that seagull came and entered in (where he was in the rocks in the sea).’

nk^hachisomá ‘if I had read it’ (cf. **nk^hachisoma chibuukú** ‘if I had read the book’)

Nakhsoma zibuuku. ‘He is reading books.’

Naani/ somelo chibuukú. ‘Who read a book?’

Nt^hakhsooma/ zibuuku. ‘He didn’t read books.’

Nt^hawakhsooma/ buuku. ‘They did not read a book.’

Nt^hawakhsooma/ chiwo. ‘They did not read a (religious) book.’

Nuuru/ somelee khaṭi. ‘Nuuru read the letter.’

Shfungulaa chiwo/ chisooma. ‘He opened the book and read it.’

Sooma. ‘Read it!’ **Somaani.** ‘(Pl.) read it!’ **Somani qur’aani.** ‘Read the Quran!’ **Sisoomé.** ‘Don’t read it!’ **Sisomeení.** ‘(Pl.) Don’t read it!’ **Sisomeení/ qur’aani.** ‘(Pl.) don’t read the Quran.’

sultaani/ malizopo khsomaa khaṭi... ‘when the sultan read the letter’

Sultaani/ shpokela/ khaṭi/ iyo/ chi’isooma. ‘The sultan received that letter and read it.’

We/ waliko chisoomani/ mukṭaa mi/ niiló. ‘What were you studying when I came?’ (Possible answer: **Mi/ waliko nch^hisoma chingereenza/ mukṭaa we/ iló.** ‘I was studying English when you came.’)

Ye/ waliko chisoomani/ mukṭa waana/ wa’iló. ‘What was he studying when the children came?’ (Cf. **Ye/ waliko chisoma chingereenza/ mukṭa waana/ wa’iló.** ‘He was studying English when the children came.’)

rel.

kh-somasooma v. freq.

Hukalaant^ha/ husomasoma chijuwoche. ‘He sits, he reads his book.’

Nakhsomasooma/ apo. ‘He went on reading there.’

kh-soomeka v. p/s. be readable

kh-somekela v. p/s. appl. able to be read for

Khaṭi/ imsomekelele ka sahali. ‘The letter read easily for him.’

kh-someleloowa v. appl. pass. be read to

kana isomelelela ‘lit. as if prayers had been said over it -- said (esp. by women) when water is late in boiling or food is late in getting cooked’

(Mi/) nsomelelela chibuukú/ na Nuurú. ‘I was read a book by Nuuru.’

(Mi/) nsomelelelaa chuwó/ na Nuurú. ‘I was read a religious book by Nuuru.’

(Mi/) nsomelelelaa chuwó/ naayé. ‘I was read a religious book by him.’

kh-soomela v. appl. (**somelelele**) read to, for, with

chibuku chaa mi/ nimsomelele mwaaná ‘the book that I read to/for the child’

kumsomela ‘to read to/for him’

miwani ya khsomela ‘reading glasses (lit. glasses of/for reading)’

mwana waa mi/ nimsomelele chibuukú ‘the child to/for whom I read a book’

Nimsomelele mwaaná/ chibuukú. ‘I read a book to or for the child.’

Nimsomelele Nuurú/ chibuku cha Alí. ‘I read Ali’s book to Nuuru.’

Nuuru/ nsomelele chibuuku. ‘Nuuru read a/the book to me.’

Siná/ miwani ya khsomela. ‘I do not have glasses to read with.’

Skusomeleloowa. ‘I was not read to.’

kh-someleka v. appl. p/s.

Hasomeleki/ khati. ‘He cannot be read to a letter (e.g. he will keep stopping you, asking questions, etc., making it difficult to get through the letter).’

kh-soomesha v. caus. (**somesheze**) teach (Although causative in form, the meaning of this verb is “teach” not “cause to learn”. In order to express the latter concept, a periphrastic causative construction would be used: **Nuuru/ mtilé mwaana/ khsoma chingereenza.** ‘Nuuru persuaded etc. the child to learn English’.)

Chimsomesha/ oyo mwaana/ numa/ teena/ maamaye/ chimsomesha/ chibaraṭa qur’aani/ chibaraṭó/ attá/ chiwa mkulu. ‘She taught that child and then after his mother taught him, he began to learn the Quran, that’s what he learned, until he grew up.’

Chingereenza/ mwaalimu/ wasomesheze waana/ ka chibuuku. ‘English, the teacher taught the children with a book.’ Or: **Waana/ mwaalimu/ wasomesheze chingereenza/ ka chibuuku.** ‘The children, the teacher taught them English with a book.’ (Syn. Topicalization of either **chingereenza** or **waana** precludes the use of the instrumental applied verb: ***Chingereenza/ mwaalimu/ wasomesheze waana/ chibuuku.** And also not: ***Waana/ mwaalimu/ wasomesheze chibuuku/ chingereenza.**)

Lugha la mwaalimu/ somesheze mwaaná/ ka chibuukú/ ni chingereenza. ‘The language that the teacher taught the child with a book is English.’ (Syn. Note that it would not be possible to use the instrumental applied verb in this construction: ***Lugha la mwaalimu/ somesheze mwaaná/ chibuukú/ ni chingereenza.**)

Mwalimu Gooso/ chisomesha waana/ nt’hini yaa muti/ wa mawuuyu. ‘Teacher Gooso used to teach children under a baobab tree.’

Niwasomesheze chingereenzá/ waaná. Cf. **Niwasomesheze fwaaná/ chingereenza.** ‘I taught the children English.’ Or: **Niwasomesheze fchingereenzá/ waana.** Or: **Niwasomesheze chingereenzá/ waana.** ‘I taught English to the children.’ (These data establish that the order of the objects is not necessarily connected to focus, since final accent can project to the end of the verb phrase regardless of word order. However, it is also possible to put focus on either object complement when it follows the verb immediately. In this case, final accent does not cross over the focused object.)

Nt’akhsomesha/ waana. ‘(S)he did not teach children.’

Nuuru/ wasomesheze waana/ chingereenza. ‘Nuuru taught the children English.’

Sisomesheeni. ‘(Pl.) don’t teach!’

Sisomesheeni/ waana. ‘(Pl.) don’t teach children!’

Somesha. ‘Teach!’ Cf. **Someshaani.** ‘(Pl.) teach!’

Someshani waana. ‘(Pl.) teach children!’

kh-someshan(y)a v. caus. rec. teach one another

kh-someshan(y)ika v. caus. rec. p/s. able to teach each other

Mbele ya wana awa/ haysomeshaniyiki. ‘In front of these children, there is no teaching one another (e.g. the children make too much noise, are disruptive).’ (Syn. Observe the impersonal form of the verb, so much used in the passive construction in Chimiini, is used here in the potential/stative form.)

kh-someshan(y)oowa v. caus. rec. pass. (-somesheenyá)

Apa/ isomeshenya wanaafakhi. ‘Here there was teaching one another lies.’
kh-somesheka v. caus. p/s.

Somo/ hasomesheki. ‘Somo cannot be taught.’

kh-somesheleza v. caus. appl. teach for, with

Ali/ msomesheleze mwaalimu/ mwaana. ‘Ali taught the teacher’s child.’
Or: ‘Ali taught the child for the teacher.’

Ali/ msomesheleze naani/ mwaana. ‘Who did Ali teach the child for?’

whose child did Ali teach?’ (Syn. It is doubtful whether one can

use **naani** in post-verbal position to ask who was taught: *?Ali/ msomesheleze mwaalimu/ naani. ‘Whom did Ali teach for the teacher?’ One would rather say: Ni naani/ wa Ali/ msomeshelezo mwaalimu. ‘It is whom that Ali taught for the teacher.’ **But look into an example where the beneficiary and the logical object**

Chibuku cha mwaalimu/ msomeshelezo mwaaná/ chingereenzá/

ndaaká. ‘The book that the teacher used to teach the child English is mine.’

Chibuuku/ mwaalimu/ wasomesheleze waana/ chingereenza. ‘The book, the teacher used it to teach the children English.’

Chikoopi/ chibuku cha mwaalimu/ wasomeshelezo waaná/

chingereenzá. ‘Where is the book that the teacher used to teach the children English?’ (Notice that it is not possible to say *Waakopi/

wana wa mwaalimu/ wasomeshelezo chibuukú/ chingereenzá.

‘Where are the children whom the teacher taught English with a book?’ Rather, one would use the non-applied verb: **Waakopi/**

wana wa mwaalimu/ wasomeshelezo chingereenzá/ ka chibuukú.

‘Where are the children whom the teacher taught English with a book?’

^f**Chingereenza/ nimsomeshelezo Nuurú/ waaná.** ‘English I am teaching the children for Nuuru.’ Or: ^f**Chingereenza/ nimsomeshelezo waaná/ Nuurú.** Or, with two complements preposed: ^f**Chingereenza/ waana/ nimsomeshelezo Nuurú.** ‘English the children I taught for Nuuru.’ And: ^f**Chingereenza/ Nuuru/ nimsomeshelezo waaná.** ‘English (for) Nuuru I taught the children.’

Mwaalimu/ msomesheleze Nuuru/ waana/ chingereenza. ‘The teacher taught Nuuru’s children English.’

Mwaalimu/ nakhsomesheleza chibuuku. ‘The teacher is teaching using a book.’

Mwaalimu/ nakuwasomesheleza wanafuunzi/ chibuuku. ‘The teacher is teaching the students using a book.’ (Compare the alternative formation with the simple causative verb and a prepositional phrase: **Mwaalimu/ nakuwasomesheleza wanafuunzi/ ka chibuuku.** ‘The teacher is teaching the students with a book.’)

Mwaalimu/ namsomesheleza ra’iisi/ mwaana. ‘The teacher is teaching the child for the president, the president’s child.’

Mwana wa mwaalimu/ msomeshelezo ka chibuukú/ ni Mzamiilu. ‘The child whom the teacher taught with a book is Mzamiilu.’ (Syn. Note that one cannot use the instrumental applied verb in this construction: **Mwana wa mwaalimu/ msomeshelezo chibuukú/ ni Mzamiilu.**)

Mwana wa mwaalimu/ namsomeshelezo ra’iisi/ ni mweenzawa. ‘The child whom the teacher is teaching for the president is my friend.’ Cf. also: **Ra’isi wa mwaalimu/ namsomeshelezo mwaaná/ ni mweenzawa.** ‘The president for whom the teacher is teaching the child is my friend.’ (The interpretation of these two sentences is determined by pragmatics: a child is taught for a president and a president is not taught for a child. Grammatically, either the beneficiary or the logical object position can be relativised into, and if the two NPs govern the same agreement, the grammar does not tell us whether the head of the relative is the beneficiary or the logical object.)

Naani/ msomeshelezo mwaalimu/ mwaaná. ‘Who taught the teacher’s child [lit. who taught for the teacher the child].’

Nimsomesheleze ^fchingereenzá/ Nuuru/ waana. ‘I taught English to the children for Nuuru.’ (We did not record a pronunciation with this word order where there is not focus on **chingereenza**. **When there are just two complements to the verb, we did record both word orders with normal downstep intonation. It needs to be reviewed whether the same holds for verbs that take three complements.**)

Nimsomesheleze Nuurú/ waaná/ chingereenzá. ‘I taught the children English for Nuuru.’ (Note that in this structure there is no internal focus and the final accent from the verb projects to the end of each phrase in the verb phrase.)

Nimsomesheleze waaná/ chingereenzá/ Nuuru. ‘I taught for him the children English, Nuuru.’ (In this example, the beneficiary **Nuuru**, which controls the object marker on the verb, is right dislocated to the end of the verb phrase. This right dislocated noun phrase is out of the scope of the final accent triggered by the verb.)

Uzile chibuuku/ khsomesheleza mwaana. ‘He bought a book to use to teach a child.’ (The noun **mwaana** is interpreted here as indefinite due to the absence of an object marker in agreement with it on the verb. Cf. **Uzile chibuuku/ kumsomesheleza mwaana.** ‘He bought a book to use to teach the child.’)

Uzile chibuuku/ kumsomesheleza muunt^hu/ mwaana. ‘He used a book to teach a/the child for the man.’

kh-someshelezeka v. caus. appl. p/s.

Somo/ hasomeshelezeki/ waana. ‘Somo cannot have children taught for him (i.e. there is something about his behavior that makes it difficult to teach his children, e.g. he interferes too much, he cannot be satisfied, etc.)’

kh-someshelezoowa v. caus. appl. pass.

Chiikopi/ chibuku cha mwaana/ somesheleza chingereenzá. ‘Where is the book that the child was taught English with?’

Chiikopi/ chibuku chisomesheleza mwaaná/ chingereenzá. ‘Where is the book that was used to teach the child English?’

Chiikopi/ chibuku somesheleza mwaaná/ chingereenzá. ‘Where is the book that the child was taught English with?’ (Syn. In this sentence, the head of the relative clause immediately precedes the relative verb; the subject of the relative verb has been postposed immediately after that verb. The head, the relative verb, and the postposed subject are all joined together into a single phonological phrase: **chibuku somesheleza mwaaná.**)

Hamadi/ somesheleza waana/ na mwaalimu. ‘Hamadi’s children were taught by the teacher.’ (Note that only the “beneficiary” may be the subject of the passive of the causative applied verb. **Waana** cannot control a subject marker: ***Waana/ wasomesheleza Hamadi/ na mwaalimu.** Of course, because of the inversion found extensively in passive sentences, it is possible for **waana** to be sentence-initial and **Hamadi** in post-verbal position, but **Hamadi** still controls the subject marking: **Waana/ somesheleza Hamadi/ na mwaalimu.**)

munt^hu somesheleza mwaaná/ qur’aaní/ na mwaalimú ‘the man for whom the child was taught the Quran by the teacher’

Ra’iisi/ nakhsomeshelezowa mwaana/ na mwaalimu. ‘The president is being taught for the child by the teacher.’ (The subject of the passive of an applied benefactive verb must be the beneficiary. A sentence like **Waana/ wanakhsomeshelezowa ra’iisi/ na mwaalimu.** cannot mean that the children are being taught for the president, but only that the president is being taught for the children.)

Ukopi/ munt^hu somesheleza waaná. ‘Where is the man who had his children taught [for him]?’

Waakopi/ want^hu wasomesheleza waaná/ chingereenzá. ‘Where are the people whose children were taught English?’

kh-someshoowa v. caus. pass. (**somesheeza**) be taught by; be called after another person, i.e. be given that person’s name

Ali/ somesheza waank^hule. ‘Ali was called after his grandfather, i.e. he was given his grandfather’s name.’

Mwaana/ oo somesheza darsi/ ni Nuuru. ‘That child who was taught the lesson is Nuuru.’ But also: **Darsi/ iyo isomesheza mwaaná/ ni sahali.** ‘That lesson was taught to the child is easy.’

Mwaana/ somesheza darsi. ‘The child was taught the lesson.’ But also: **Darsi/ isomesheza mwaana.** ‘The lesson was taught to the child.’

zina zisomesheza waaná/ na mwaalimú ‘Passages that were taught the children by the teacher’

Add verb *x-someshoowa* (**somesheeza**) meaning: to be called after some other person. Example: **Ali somesheeza waankule** = Ali was called after his grandfather (he was given his grandfather’s name).

kh-somoowa v. pass.

Chiwo/ mahaḷa hachisomoowí/ hashfunguloowi. ‘A book where it is not

read should not be open.’ (A proverb.)

Isomela qur’aani. ‘The quran has been read.’ (An impersonal passive. Cf. other impersonal passives where the thing read belongs to various noun classes: **Isomelaa du’a.** ‘Supplication has been read.’ **Isomela zibuuku.** ‘Books have been read.’ **Isomelaa ziwo.** ‘Religious books have been read.’ These answer the question: **Isomelani.** ‘What has been read?’)

Khati/ haysomoowa. ‘The letter has not been read.’

qasiidaya itimiile/ faataha inasomoowa [st.] ‘my poem is completed, let us recite the **faataha**’

rel. nom.

m-sooma (wa-) n. 1/2 one who reads

ma-soomo n. 6 studies, reading

Haadi/ timishize masoomoye. ‘Haadi completed his studies.’

Malizopo masoomoyé/ ize kurasha kooði/ za maamaye/ khkalant^ha

numbaani/ khfanya kaazi. ‘When he finished his studies, he refused to follow the words of his mother to stay home and work.’

Masoomoye/ (ni) masuura. ‘His reading is good.’ (Cf. **masomoye masuura** ‘his good reading’.)

Somaalya

n. Somalia

Bandeera/ ya Somaalya/ ni bulú. ‘The flag of Somalia is blue.’

Ma’askari/ wa Somaalya/ ba’adi yaa wo/ khshiindra/ chiwa’amura ma’aduwi/ kuweka silaha zaawo/ nt^hiini. ‘The Somali military, after winning (the war), ordered the enemies to lay down their weapons.’

^fSomaalya/ inqilaabu/ ituushiló. ‘Revolution happened in Somalia.’

Somaalya/ nt^haku/ adaala. ‘In Somalia there is no justice.’

rel.

chi-soomaali n.7 the Somali language

m-soomaali (wa-) n. 1/2 a Somali person

Wotte/ ni wasoomaali/ ka sharii’a. ‘They are all legally Somalis.’

somo

n. [Sw. *somo* SSED 435] s.o. named after s.o., namesake

soma ‘someone named after me’

somó ‘someone named after you’

some ‘someone named after him, her’

somo waawo ‘someone named after them’

somo wiinu ‘someone named after you (pl.)’

somo wiitu ‘someone named after us’

soomu

n. [Sw. *saumu* SSED 411; Ar.] fasting

muunt^hu hukhadiro soomu waajibu [st.] ‘for a person who is able fasting is obligatory’

na Mtume Mhammadi peenzelo soomuye [st.] ‘and the Prophet Mohammad is the one who loved its fasting (i.e. fasting on that day).’

ni niingi soomu za sunna [st.] ‘the non-obligatory fasts are many’

soomu za sku sitta Mtume sifiile [st.] ‘the Prophet praised the fasting of (those) six days’

kh-soonda

v. [etymology unknown] (**soonzele**) suck

khsonda miino ‘to suck the teeth (i.e. be so stingy that he sucks his tongue)’

Oyo/ husonda miinoye. ‘That one is so stingy that he sucks his tongue.’

rel. nom.

m-soonda ‘one who sucks’

m-soondo n. act of sucking

u-soondo n. act of sucking

chi-soondo (zi-)

n. 7/8 [etymology unknown] paw of an animal

m-soondro (mi-)

n. 3/4 a kind of large, long drum
rel.
chi-soondro (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.
i-soondro (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

kh-soonga

v. [cf. Sw. *sogea* SSED 434] (**songeele**) approach, come close, go away from
Basi/ oyo mwiimbili/ hasoongi/ ka apo. ‘So that young man does not come close to that place.’
Bateera/ isongeele. ‘The boat approached.’
Bateera/ isongele khariibuye. ‘The boat came near him.’
Chimsonga muza mp^huundra. ‘He approached the donkey-seller.’
Eelo/ mwenopo sultaani/ chimsoonga/ kumpa salaamu. ‘When the gazelle saw the king, he approached him and greeted him.’
khsonga ba’iidi ‘to go far away’
khsonga khariibu ‘to come near’
Ma’askari was sultaani/ wawaye mwanaamke/ mukhtaa wo/ wamweno Hasani/ jisaa ye/ nakuharbishó/ na waweno ma’askari wa aduwi/ jisaa wo/ wanaakufá/ wachisimika qalbi/ naawó/ wachanza/ khsongaa mbele/ kuwachimbiza ma’askariwe aduwi. ‘When the soldiers of the sultan, the girl’s father, saw how Hasani was fighting, and saw how the soldiers of the enemy were dying, their resolve grew and they began to move forwards to shaze the soldiers of the enemy [i.e. the neighboring sultan].’
Msoonge! ‘Go closer to him!’
Mwaana/ chiwasoonga/ kuwa’uza khabari. ‘The child approached them to ask them the news.’
Mwaana/ msongele Nuuru. ‘The child approached Nuuru.’
Mwaana/ songele khariibuye. ‘The child came near to him.’
Naank^hó/ chimwaambila/ sinsoongé/ lawa ka muyi uyu. ‘Again he said to him: don’t come near to me, get out of this town.’
Nchiza/ kundreetela/ muna yiinu/ ni/ hanpowi teena/ zombo zaa kuja/ na sinsongeení. ‘If you (pl.) do not bring to me your younger brother, you will not be given any more containers of food and do not come near to me!’
Siimba/ msongele mwaana. ‘The lion neared the child.’ (This construction is appropriate for a human/animate subject, but if the subject is inanimate, one would prefer to say: **Mpiira/ usongele ka mwaana.** ‘The ball came near to the child.’ Or: **Mpiira/ usongele kharibu ya mwaana.** ‘The ball came near the child.’ Or: **Mpiira/ usongele kharibuye.** ‘The ball came near him.’ On the other hand, one could say **Mpiira/ woloshele mwaana.** ‘The ball went towards the child.’

Sisoongé/ kharibu ya nuumbaya! ‘Don’t come near my house!’

Sisongeení. ‘You (pl.) do not come near!’

Soonga. ‘Approach!’ (Cf. **Songaani.** ‘You (pl.) approach!’)

songeelopó ‘when he went nearer’

Waanth^hu/ wont^he/ wanasoonge/ khariibuya. ‘May all the people come near me.’

rel.

kh-soongana v. rec. come closer to one another

Mi/ naayé/ hachisoongani. ‘Me and him, we do not go close to one another (i.e. there is no relationship between us).’

kh-soongeka v. p/s.

Hola uyu/ hasoongeki. ‘This animal cannot be approached.’

Mulo uyu/ hasoongeki. ‘This fire cannot be approached.’

kh-songekela v. p/s. appl.

Chiti/ chimsongekeleele/ cholokooni. ‘The chair was able to be brought (after some effort) closer to the window for him (usually implying that he was the one making the effort).’

Chiti ichi/ chimsongekeleele. ‘This chair was able to be moved for/on

- him.’
- kh-soongela* v. appl. (**songelele**)
Msoongele/ nakalaant^he. ‘Come closer (to make room) so that he may sit down.’
- kh-songelana* v. appl. rec. (**songeleene**) move closer to one another for (e.g. group of people moving closer together to make room for new arrivals)
- kh-soongesha* v. caus. (**songesheeze**) physically move s.t. closer or further away; cause to move
- Ali/ msongesheze mwaana/ ka Suufi**. ‘Ali caused the child to move closer to Suufi (either he physically brought the child nearer or he persuaded the child to move nearer).’
- Ali/ songesheze chibateera/ bontaani**. ‘Ali moved the boat closer to the bridge.’
- Ali/ songesheze chibateera/ kharibu ya mwaana**. ‘Ali brought the boat near to the child.’
- Mubiidi/ songesheze chiti/ cholokooni**. ‘Mubiidi brought the chair to the window.’
- Nt^ho/ soongeshá**. ‘Move it more!’ (Note that pre-verbal **nt^ho** is focused and thus causes pseudo-relativization in this example.)
- Nt^ho/ songesha meeza**. ‘Move the table more!’ Or: **Nt^ho/ soongeshá/ meeza**. ‘Move the table more!’
- Songesha meeza/ nt^ho**. ‘Move the table much closer!’ Or: **Soongesha/ meeza/ nt^ho**. ‘Move the table much closer!’ (The adverbial intensifier **nt^ho** cannot phrase with a noun: ***Songesha mezaa nt^ho**. But the following sentence is good: **Songeshaa nt^ho/ meeza**. ‘Bring it much closer, the table.’)
- kh-songeshan(y)a* v. caus. rec. bring one another closer
- kh-soongesheka* v. caus. p/s.
- Chiti ichi/ hachisongesheki/ cholokooni**. ‘This chair cannot be brought to the window.’
- Chiti ichi/ husongesheka**. ‘This chair is able to be moved.’
- kh-songeshekela* v. caus. p/s. appl.
- Chiti/ chimsongeshekelelele**. ‘The chair was able to be brought closer to him (by someone else) or for him (due to his own efforts).’
- kh-songesheleza* v. caus. appl. (**songesheleeze**)
- Nsongesheleza chibateera**. ‘Push the boat towards me!’
- Nuuru/ msongesheleze Suufi/ mwaana**. ‘Nuuru caused Suufi’s child to move closer.’
- kh-songeshelezanya* v. caus. appl. rec.
- Nuuru/ na Suufi/ wasongeshelezenye waana**. ‘Nuuru and Suufi caused each other’s children to move closer.’
- chi-soongo* (zi-)
- n. 7/8 [Sw. *kisongo* "act (mode, means, &.) of twisting, esp. an instrument for twisting, tourniquet, &." SSED 435] hangman’s noose
- khshika chisoongo** ‘to hold by the neck’
- Mshishile mwaana/ chisoongo**. ‘He put his hands around the child’s neck.’
- khtila chisoongo** ‘to hang s.o., put a noose around the neck’
- Mtile mwaana/ chisoongo**. ‘He put a rope around the child’s neck.’
- songolo*
- n. 9/10 [Sw. *songoro* "queen fish" M&N] sp. fish, greenish, can be large, like a catfish; tastes like marlin, but fattier
- sonkaali*
- n. [said to be from Tunni dialect of Somali] reason, justification; [pron. **sonk^haali**]
- Khasareeté/ chimaliza/ nakunfaanyá/ mi/ sonkaali**. ‘You had a (financial) loss, then you blame me (for this) without a justifiable reason.’
- mowji huya ka ghafuula / sho sababu na sonk^haali** [st.] ‘death comes suddenly, without any reason whatsoever’
- Muunt^hu/ chimeraa zita/ hufanya sonk^haali**. ‘When one wants to fight, one looks for a rationale (false reason).’
- Muunt^hu/ chisula khfanya chiint^hu/ haatowi/ sonk^haali**. ‘If someone wants to do something, he won’t lack the motive or reason to do it.’

(A proverb.)

Omari/ haatowi/ sonk^haali. ‘Omari does not lack justifications for what he does.’

Omari/ sonk^haalize/ niingi. ‘Omari always has a lot of justifications for what he does.’

m-soonyo (*mi-*) n. 3/4 [Sw. *mson(y)o* SSED 436] hissing sound, with ingoing airstream -- a sign of disapproval, esp. of the behavior of children

kubiga msoonyo ‘to make a hissing sound of disapproval’

‘When

Waawe/ chibiga msoonyo/ iwa ku chiint^hu/ mweepe/ changamiile. my father makes **msoonyo**, know that something has gone wrong.’

review ku

[-sooso] n. [etymology known] front part of the head, just above the forehead; partition of the hair; part of the scalp seen where hair is parted

iwa l^sosooni na harri ni zaaydi [st.] ‘(on the day of judgement) the sun on the head and the heat is great’

l^soso lpaandre ‘hair parted on the side of the head’

sooti

n. 9/10 [Sw. *sauti* SSED 412; Ar. *ṣaut* W 529] sound, voice

variant forms: **sowti, sauti**

Hasani/ chisimama/ chidhuukhisha/ sooti/ iyo/ inamvilaa ye. ‘Hasani stopped and listened carefully, that voice was calling him.’

Humkina/ si/ khtambula sootiye/ kamaa ye/ chichijiiba. ‘It is possible that we will recognize his voice if he answers us.’

Huseeni/ ka khkoḏa niingi/ sooti/ imbeele. ‘Huseen lost his voice from speaking too much [lit. Huseeni from speaking too much voice was lost to him].’ Or: **Huseeni/ sooti/ imbele ka khkoḏa niingi.**

kalamuze siwo za sowti na harfu [st.] ‘his [i.e. God’s] words are not made of sounds and letters’

Mi/ nch^hikhutaambula/ ka sootiyo/ nt^hakulawa ndilaani. ‘If I recognize you from your voice, I will come outside.’

Muunt^hu / oyo/ chirasha sowti/ hatá/ chiya kharibu ya ijuuniya/ iyo. ‘That man followed the voice [that he heard] until he came near that sack.’

Mukhtaa ye/ incezeló/ mudda/ wa sa’a naane/ jis’iyo/ na komeloo dali/ kotté/ maduuri/ kasize sooti. ‘When he had travelled for a period of about eight hours and reached a place which was all bush, he heard a voice.’

Pete sooti/ (ya) aghlabiya. ‘He got the ‘voice’ (i.e. votes) of the majority.’

Shkasa sooti/ yaa muke/ mzeele. ‘He heard the voice of an old woman.’

sowti ya ngoma nk^hulu shar’a hiiiza [st.] ‘the loud sound of a drum, regulations do not allow’

sottomariina

n. submarine

kh-soota

v. pound to get the husks off **sandra has not heard this word**

Sovyeeti

n. Soviet Union

soyo

[cl.1] demon. [pron. **soyó**]

Basi/ soyó/ burishiiza/ uko/ uko/ jis’iyo. ‘So, there he was, banished; he stayed and stayed that way.’

Ngoombe/ soyó. ‘There’s the cow (close to you).’

soyo

there [cl.3] is; [pron. **soyó**]

Mkate/ soyó. ‘There’s the cake (close to you).’

soyo

[cl.14] demon. [pron. **soyó**]

- Soyó.** 'There it is near you.'
Soyó/ ukí. 'There's the honey.'
- spartiiwo** n. [Ital. *sportivo*] sports field
Miini/ nthaku/ spartiiwo. 'There is no sports field in Brava (where we can play football etc.).'
- Spartiiwooni** n. (Ital. *campo sportivo* "sport field" plus Chimwiini locative enclitic =*ni*) n unbuilt area bordering **Biruuni** that was used as a soccer field
Makhabriini/ ka Shekh Mahmuudi/ ni kharibu ya Spartiiwooni. 'Shekh Mahmuudi's graveyard is near the sports stadium.'
Mpiira/ hutezowa Spartiiwooni. '(Foot) ball is played at the stadium.'
Nakendra Spartiiwooni/ kulangala mpiira. 'I am going to the stadium to watch (foot)ball.'
- spitaale** n. hospital
variant of **hospiitaale**
Marka/ yiko spitaale/ nk^hulu. 'In Merca there is a large hospital.'
nguwu za spitaale 'hospital gown'
Spitaleeni/ ha'ibigoowi/ chibuumbu. 'Around the hospital horns are not sounded.'
Spitale ya Miini/ yiko Albaamba. 'Barawa's hospital is located in the **Albaamba** section of Barawa.'
- spitoore** n. inspector
- mu-srifu (wa-)** adj. 1/2 (cf. **israafu**) [Ar. *musrif* "wasteful, prodigal, extravagant" W 408] spendthrift, s.o. who squanders money
munt^hu musrifu 'a spendthrift' (cf. **want^hu wasrifu** 'spendthrifts')
- kh-sta'ajaba** v.
Na kila yaa we/ takuwonó/ sista'ajabé. 'And anything that you will see, don't be amazed.'
- mu-sta'amari** n. [Ar. *musta mara* "colony" W 644] colony, that which has been colonized
rel.
mu-sta'amari (wa-) n. 1/2 colonizer, colonialist, tyrant
- mu-sta'amila (wa-)** n. one who uses something
- mu-sta'arabu (wa-)** adj.[cf. Ar. *araba* "to Arabicize" W 601] sophisticated, civilized (Morph: Observe that this adjective is variable when modifying a noun referring to human beings, but is invariant in other cases.)
munt^hu musta'arabu 'civilized person' (cf. **want^hu wasta'arabu** 'civilized people')
nt^hi musta'arabu 'civilized country'
- staahili (wa-)** adj. [cf. **kistahila** 'to merit, deserve'] [Sw. *stahili* SSED 437; Ar.] deserving, worthy
We/ ni munt^hu mzimá/ nt^huná/ akhili/ nt^huná/ adabu/ we/ hukhaadiri/ khfikira/ we/ huwoni/ we/ hukasi/ chambiloowa/ we/ stahiliyo/ ni khtindoowa/ tu. 'You are an old man, you do not have intelligence, you do not have good manners, you are not able to think [properly], you do not see, you do not hear, he was told, what you deserve is just to be slaughtered.'
rel.
(w)u-staahilo n. worth

<i>stantiivo</i>	n. [Ital. <i>distintivo</i>] badge
<i>mu-staqiri</i> (wa-)	adj. 1/2 [Ar. <i>mustaqirr</i> W 753] stable (of human beings)
<i>mu-stareehe</i>	adj. [Sw. adj. <i>-starehefu</i> , n. <i>mustarehe</i> SSED 394; Ar. <i>istirāha</i> "rest, recreation" W 366] comfortable (of human beings) mustareehe 'singular or plural human in comfort' (cf. wastareehe 'plural humans in comfort') Wakalent^he mustareehe. 'They are sitting comfortably.'
<i>steha</i>	n. [Sw. <i>staha</i> SSED 436; Persian.] respect variant form: isteha Nt^haná/ (i)steha/ na muunt^hu. 'He has no respect for anyone. He is not ashamed of anyone. '
<i>steeshini</i>	n. [Eng. <i>station</i>] police station Muskiti wa Fakhṭaani/ wiko kharibu ya steeshini. 'Fakhtaani mosque is near the police station.' steshiniini 'in, at, to the police station' Mwiizi/ peleshela steshiniini. 'The thief was taken to the police station.'
<i>stira</i>	n. [Ital. <i>ferro da stiro</i>] iron
<i>stiraasha</i>	n. [Ital. <i>straccio</i> "rag, duster"; cf. Som. <i>istaraasho</i> in Italian-Somali Dictionary 658] any piece of (old) cloth that can be put to a variety of uses (cleaning, wiping spilled water, etc.)
<i>stuidiyo</i>	n. [Eng. <i>studio</i>] studio Isa/ chinakuliindrá/ sa'a/ ya stuidiyo yīitu/ kubiga sa'aa nt^hatu/ za masku. 'Now/ we are waiting for the clock of our studio to strike nine (lit. three) at night.'
<i>stuwaana</i>	n. [Ar. <i>ustuwāna</i> W 26] column
<i>chi-su</i> (zi-)	n. 7/8 [Sw. <i>kisu</i> SSED 207] knife Abdi/ chisuche 'Abdi's knife' Chisu ichi/ nch^ha Abdi. 'This knife belongs to Abdi.' Chisu ichi/ ni shkali. 'This knife is sharp.' chisuucha 'my knife' Mp^hetee chisú/ chaa muké. 'I found the knife of the woman.' Or: Mp^hetee muké/ chisuuché. '[Lit.] I found the woman her knife.' (In both of the constructions illustrated, chisu is the primary object of the verb. Thus one cannot agree with muke : * Nimpetee muké/ chisuuché.) Muke/ tinzilee nama/ kaa chisu. 'The woman cut the meat with a knife.' nama ya mwaana/ tindiḷiḷa kaa chisú '[lit.] the meat that the child was cut for meat with a knife' (Syn. Observe that the verb here is a benefactive applied and when an instrument occurs overtly in the verb phrase, it must be marked with the preposition ka . It is ungrammatical to say: * nama ya mwaana/ tindiḷiḷaa chisú 'the meat that the child was cut for with a knife'. However, if chisu is the head of the relative clause, there is no occurrence of ka in the relative clause: chisu cha mwaana/ tindiḷiḷaa namá 'the knife that the child was cut for meat'.) Nii chisu/ cha mwanaamke/ tindiḷiḷoo namá. 'It is a knife that the girl used to cut meat.' Nii chisu/ tindiḷiḷa mwaaná/ namá. '[Lit.] what a knife the child was cut

for meat with!' (Phon. Observe that the subject of the relative verb has been postposed after the verb and forms a phonological phrase with it.)

Ni kaa chisu/ ye/ m̄t̄indilile mwaaná/ namá. 'It is with a knife that he cut for the child meat.'

Shtaala/ chisu chaa ye/ wanaachó. 'He took the knife that he had.'

Omari/ uzilee zisu/ zont^he. 'Omari bought all the knives.' Or: **Omari/ uzile/ zisu/ zont^he.** (Phon. The former example permits the yes-no question: **Omari/ uzilee zisu/ zont^he?**, where the quantifier, being out of focus, undergoes accent shift to the final syllable.)

Uzilee chisu/ khfungulila sanduukhu. 'He bought a knife to open the box with.' (The instrument cannot control an OM on the infinitive verb: ***Uzilee chisu/ ki-sh-fungulila sanduukhu.** 'He bought a knife to use to open the box.' The logical object also does not govern an OM: ***Uzilee chisu/ ki'ifungulila (sanduukhu).** 'He bought a knife to use to open it (the box).')

Zisu izi/ ni skali. 'These knives are sharp.'

Zisu izi/ ni skalii nt^ho. 'These knives are very sharp.'

rel.

chi-ji-su (zi-ji-su) n. 7/8 dim.

i-ji-su (mi-ji-su) n. 5/4 aug.

l-ji-su (mi-ji-su) n. 11/4 aug.

kh-su'aalata

v. [Som. *su ?aal* "to ask" DSI 561; cf. Ar. *su ?al* "question" W 391; cf. Sw. *saili* SSED 407] ask, question

Nuuhu/ chihada/ moojá/ mbelele raaði/ su'aali/ iyi/ yaa mi/ khusu'aleetó/ indreteleeló/ ni ujahli. 'Noah said: my God, forgive me this question which I asked of you, it is my ignorance which brought it to me.'

Sisu'aaleté. 'Don't ask!'

Wo/ kula/ mara/ humsu'alaata/ ka khisa ni/ khaaja/ we/ khfunga ruuhuyo/ mikono/ na miilú. 'Every time they ask him: why, my (maternal) uncle, do you tie yourself up, arms and legs?'

Ye/ namsu'alaata oyo mwanaamke/ namsu'aalató. 'He was asking that girl, that's what he was doing.'

rel.

kh-su'alaatila v. appl.

su'aali (ma-)

n. 9/10 [Sw. *swali* SSED 407; Ar. *su 'al* "question" W 391] question

Isa/ kila/ muḅli/ huyo kummera kumloolá/ hambiloowa/ natomole/ su'aali. 'Now every male who comes seeking to marry (her) is told to come up with a question (to pose to her).'

Laakini/ su'aali/ iyo/ ichinshiindra/ we/ takundroola. 'But if this question stumps [lit. defeats] me, you will marry me.'

mukhta su'aali/ ziwelo niingí... 'when the questions become many'

Muunt^hu/ chiwa'uza waant^hu/ masu'aali/ hutama'a/ khpata majiibu/ ka kaawo. 'If a person asks people questions, he wants to get answers from them.'

Mwanaamke/ wa sulṭaani/ chimjiiba/ chimwaambila/ mi/ ni tayaari/ kuloḷowa naawe/ laakini/ mp^ha/ su'aali. 'The daughter of the sultan answered him, saying, I am ready to be married by you, but [you must] pose a question for me.'

na keesho aakhera ziko su'aali [st.] 'and tomorrow (on) the day of judgement there will be questions'

Nimjibilile mwaaná/ su'aaliyé. 'I answered the student's question for him.'

Nimjibile mwaaná/ su'aaliyé. 'I answered the student's question.'

Nt^hukunjiiba/ su'aaliya. 'You have not answered my question.'

Su'aali/ iyo/ mwanaamke/ wa sulṭaani/ chiza khaadira/ kujiiba/ teena/ munt^hu oyo/ ndiyé/ takuwo muḅliwé. 'That question, if the

daughter of the sultan is not able to answer it, then it is that man who will become her husband.'

We/ nayo maṭezó/ nt^hukunjiiba/ su'aaliya. 'You are joking, you have not answered my question.'

suu'i

n. [Ar. *sū* W 437] evil, bad behavior, inequity

ni sunna muunt^hu khtawaḍa ka sababu/ ya kibri iyo ni suu'i siwo adabu
[st.] 'it is recommended to perform the ritual ablution for pride is an offence, not proper conduct'

subaahiya

n. 9/10 [cf. Sw. *subahiya* "outside covering of a bier, used in the better class of funerals" SSED 437; but this meaning does not correspond to the Chimwiini usage and the Ar. source given in SSED is very doubtful] a length of striped cloth, usually silk, used especially during wedding ceremony to wrap the bride-to-be; a kind of heavier cloth that is locally weaved in Brava

subahiya iyi 'this cloth' (cf. **subahiya izi** 'these cloths')

rel.

chi-subaahiya (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim. (disparaging use)

Chisubahiya gani/ icho. 'What kind of a **chisubaahiya** is that (suggesting that it is not a good piece of cloth)?'

subira

n. patience, endurance, acceptance of things without complaints

kh-subuṭa

v. [Sw. *thubutu* SSED 465; Ar. *ṭabata* "resist, defy" W 101] (**subuṭiile**) dare (Phon. Ordinarily a stem-final **ṭ** mutates to *s* in forming the perfect stem. The present verb is an exception.)

Hasubuṭi/ khkooḍa/ amó/ kuza jawaabú. 'He does not dare to speak or to ask anything.' (Phon. In this example, we see that **amó** can trigger final accent on the following infinitive phrase even though **amó** is in a separate phonological phrase; cf. the conjunction **na**, which triggers final accent but is in the same phrase with the target of that final accent.)

Na madakhtari waseeló/ nt^haku/ mo/ nakhsubuṭó/ keendra/ kuhada nakhsuḷa kumfanyiliza dawá/ mwanamke wa sulṭaaní. 'And the doctors that remained, not one dared to go saying he wants to administer medicine to the daughter of the sultan.'

why no final accent on keendra?

rel. nom.

m-subuṭa (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who dares

Sudaani

n. Sudan

sudusi

[Sw. *sudusu* SSED 438; Ar. *suds* or *sudus* W 403] a sixth

suufi

adj. invar. [cf. Sw. *suufi* "(1) a hermit, dervish; (2) saint, holy person" SSED 438; Ar.] easygoing, affable, nice, lovable, pious, someone who is a little stupid or careless

askari suufi 'nice policeman/ policemen'

chijana chisuufi 'dim. nice child' (cf. **zijana zisuufi** 'dim. nice children')

ijana isuufi 'aug. nice child' (cf. **mijana misuufi** 'aug. nice children')

ma'askari masuufi 'nice policemen'

munt^hu suufi 'nice person' (cf. **want^hu suufi** 'nice people')

shahabu suufi 'a nice youth' (cf. **mashahabu masuufi** 'nice youths')

suufi NOTE: never heard with meaning given in CLE, which is not supported by either Swahili or Arabic. [Will check](#)

rel.

u-suufi n. 14 the state of being nice, affable, lovable

- suufi* n. [Sw. *sufu* SSED 438; Ar. *ṣūf* W 531] wool
koti ya suufi ‘a woolen coat’
- sufuri* n. [Sw. *sifuri* ; Ar. *ṣifr* W 518] zero, nothing, nought
Ingile khfanya biyaashara/ ba’adi ya haba mo/ lazile sufuri. ‘He went into business, after awhile he came out (of this endeavor) with nothing.’
- sufuriya* (Ø, ma-) n. 9/10,6 [Sw. *sufuria* SSED 438; Ar. *ṣufr* W 517] a metal pan, pot for cooking
Fijiri/ chiwona/ waant^hu/ wa’ile na masufuriya/ na mitelé/ mbuzi/ maftaa sehemu/ na naazi. ‘In the morning she saw that people had come with pots and big quantities of ground corn, goats, ghee, and coconuts.’
Nelele mataaza/ sufuriya. ‘He drank porridge with a pot.’
Sufuriya/ ipikililaa nama. ‘The pan was used to cook meat.’
Sufuriya/ spikililaa nama. ‘The pans were used to cook meat.’
- suugo* n.
suugo/ ya paasta ‘pasta tomato sauce’
- kh-suuhaṭa* v. [Som. *suux* "to faint" DSI 565] faint, lose consciousness
We/ suuhaṭa/ we/ fa/ ba/ chimaliza/ mi/ takhtala miskhi/ takhupaka/ we/ ondroka. ‘You fall down [acting like] you are dead and then I will take some musk and will rub it on you and [then] you get up.’
- suhuuba* n. (another plural of *saahibu*) companions
si scholoka beeti sho suhuuba [st.] ‘when we go to the house (Ar. *beit* = *numba*) where there are no companions (i.e. the grave)’
- sujuuda* n. [Ar. *sujūd* W 397] the act of bowing and touching the forehead to the ground in prayer
mweepuke muunt^hu sho keendra sujuuda/ khiyaama takhfanyoowa kana mp^huundra [st.] ‘avoid the man who does not pray by putting his forehead to the floor, in the life hereafter he will be considered (lit. made) a donkey’
- kh-sujuda* v. [Sw. *sujudu* SSED 438; Ar. *sajada, sujūd* W 397] (*sujudiile*) pray touching the ground with the head
Nakhtiya nuumbá/ khsujudá/ naami/ nimo katiké/ inasujude/ ni nimo katiké/ tu. ‘I am afraid that the house will prostrate itself while I am inside it; let it prostrate itself while only you (pl.) are inside it.’
nt^haku mahala yaa ye sho khsujuda [st.] ‘in every place he prostrated himself (lit. there was no place that he did not prostrate himself)’
- rel.
kh-sujudila v. appl. (*sujudiliile*)
Wote/ wamwenopo Yuusufú/ wachimsujudila/ Yuusufu. ‘All of them, when they saw Yuusufu, they prostrated (themselves) to Yuusufu.’
Ye/ weene/ kuwa noota/ ikum na mooyi/ na mwezi wa iwá/ na mwezi wa weelú/ zinamsujudilaa ye. ‘He saw that eleven stars and the sun and the moon were prostrating to him.’
kh-sujudisha v. caus. (*sujudishiize*)
- kh-suuka* v. [Sw. *suka* SSED 438] plait
Chimalizaa kuja/ hukalaant^ha/ husuka msala/ na choofaṭa/ hulaala. ‘After eating, she sits and plaits a mat, and when she gets tired, she sleeps.’
Chinenza kaaziye/ ya khsuuka. ‘She continued with her work of plaiting.’
khsuka mashuungi ‘to braid, plait the hair’
khsuka milala ‘to plait *milala*’

Sisukeení. ‘You (pl.) don’t plait!’

Sku mooyi/ mwanaamke/ naayé/ kaleent^hó/ n̄hi/ nakhsuko msalá/ chimpotelela/ chinoka/ iluke. ‘One day while the girl was sitting on the floor plaiting a mat, a small snake fell on her.’

rel.

kh-sukaasuka v. freq.

kh-suukika v. p/s.

kh-suukila v. appl. (**sukiliile**)

kh-suukisha v. caus. (**sukishiize**)

rel. nom.

m-suuka (*wa-*) n. ½ on e who plaits

m-suuko n. 3 act of plaiting

u-suuko n. 14

suukari

n. 9 [Sw. *sukari* SSED 439; Ar. *sukkar* W 417] sugar

ladda/ kamba (or **kana**)/ **suukari** ‘sweet as sugar’

Nnakula suukarí/ dukaaní. ‘I am buying sugar at the shop.’

pika ka suukari nama ya wakhlaali [st.] ‘cook with sugar the meat for the religious celebration of circumcision’

Sabri/ huzala suukari. ‘Patience produces sugar.’ (A proverb.)

Suukari/ itozele. ‘Sugar is hard or impossible to find.’

Suukari/ itubeeme. ‘Sugar is abundant.’

sukari iyi ‘this sugar’

sukari ya gooro ‘brown sugar; a hard, brown sugar eaten as a kind of candy by children’

sukari yaa mawe ‘sugar cube(s), rock candy’

Suukari/ yingile nt^huungu. ‘Ants got into the sugar.’

sukraani

adj. drunk

Wambenopo kuwaa mi/ mbele sukraaní/ wafunzile chilango cha ipakacha/ wan̄thukiile. ‘When they saw that I was drunk, they tied the door of the basket and carried me (away).’

sukuma

n. barracuda (note: a barracuda may also be called **milomo miwili** ‘[lit.] two lips’)

kh-sukurika

v. [Ar. *sakira*, *sukr* W 417] (**sukurishile**) get drunk, intoxicated

Munt^hu sukurishiló/ tulushile. ‘The man who got drunk fell down.’

Mwanaamke/ chimraasha/ hattá/ chiliini/ chimaliza/ mwenopo uyú/ kuwa sukurishilé/ chimuuzá/ bwaana/ tafaðali/ neeleza/ majiibu/ ya su’aaliyo. ‘The girl followed him until his bed, when she saw that this one was intoxicated, she asked him: Mister, please explain to me your question.’

Ye/ chija/ takhsukurika/ hatakiwa/ yaa ye/ takuhadó. ‘If he eats [the food that has been tampered with] he will become intoxicated, he will not know what he is saying.’

rel.

kh-sukurisha v. caus. (**sukurishiize**) make drunk; spoil

Fikiriini/ shtaambula/ kuwa mwanaamke/ mtiliiee dawa/ ya

khsukurisha/ chakujaani/ jisaa ye/ khpata kumtomoza/ kooði/ kiiwa/ majiibu/ ya su’aaliye. ‘Fikiriini understood that the girl had put medicine to make him intoxicated in the food in order to solicit from him words to learn the answer to his question.’

Khamri/ insukurishiize. ‘The liquor made me drunk.’

kh-sukurishiliza v. caus. appl.

Sinsukurishilizé/ mwaana. ‘Don’t spoil (on me my) child!’

sukuuti

n. [cf. Sw. where a verb *sukutu* SSED 439 is cited, but we have not yet encountered a verbal form in Chimwiini; Ar. *sukūt* W 417] silence

mbwaaliko naami sukuuti [song] ‘and I too was silent’

sula

invariable auxiliary verb

Kawa ile ka himá/ sula kuwa mweene. ‘If he had come quickly, he would have seen him.’ Or: **Sula kuwa mweene/ kawa ile ka himá.** ‘He would have seen him if he had come quickly.’

Nk^hawa nile ka himá/ sula kuwa nimweené. ‘If I had come quickly, I would have seen him. Or: **Sula kuwa nimweené/ nk^hawa nile ka himá.** ‘I would have seen him if I had come quickly.’

Nk^haya ka himá/ sula mwona. ‘If I come quickly, I would see him.’ Or: **Sula mwona/ nk^haya kahimá.** ‘I would see him if I come quickly.’

kh-suula

v. [etymology unknown] (**suliile**) want, need

Ali/ chisula Muusa/ khpikilowa chaakuja/ na Iisa. ‘Ali wanted Muusa to be cooked food for by Iisa.’ (In this sentence, Ali wants Iisa to cook food for Muusa.)

Ali/ msulile Muusa/ khpikiloowa. ‘Ali wanted Muusa to be cooked for.’

Ali/ msulile Muusa/ kumpikila chaakuja. ‘Ali wanted Muusa to cook food for him.’

Ali/ sulile kumpikila Muusa. ‘Ali wanted to cook for Muusa.’

Ali/ sulile mazu/ yanajoowa. ‘Ali wanted that the bananas be eaten.’

Ali/ sulile Muusa/ khpikiloowa. ‘Ali wanted Muusa to be cooked for.’

Ali/ sulile Muusa/ nampikile mwaana/ chaakuja. ‘Ali wanted that Muusa cook food for the child.’

Chisula kuwa taajiri/ kaza lkaandra. ‘If you want to be rich, tighten your belt.’ (A proverb.)

Hamadi/ nakhsula naani/ kooloka. ‘Hamadi wants who to go?’ Or: **Naani/ Hamadi/ nakhsulo kooloká.** ‘Who wants Hamadi to go?’ But also: ‘Hamadi wants who to go?’

Isa/ leelo/ masku/ yiiko/ nikaaha/ Safiya/ nakuloolowa/ na mubli/ wa waawaye/ namsuliló. ‘Now today at night there is an engagement, Safiya is being married by a man whom her father wants for her.’

khsula kamba ruuhu ‘to want (desire) s.t. like life (soul) -- i.e. to desire something very passionately’

Laakini/ mwaana/ iize/ kumlola mwanamke wa waawaye/ suliló. ‘But the boy refused to marry the girl that his father wanted (him to marry).’

Mi/ nakhsula kendra harusini. ‘I want to go to the wedding.’

Muunt^hu/ chisula khfanya chiint^hu/ hufaanya/ jisa suura/ ambó/ hulata. ‘When one wants to do something, one does it well or leaves it.’ (A proverb.)

Muusa/ sulile mwaana/ napikilowa chaakuja. ‘Muusa wanted that the child be cooked for food (by someone else).’

Mwaanawe/ ni chihaba/ husula muunt^hu/ kumlanga. ‘His child is small and she needs someone to look after her.’

Nakhsulaa mi/ khshindra matezo. ‘He wants me to win the game.’

Nakhsulaa we/ kuya apá. ‘I want you to come here.’

Nakhsuulani. ‘What do you want?’

Namsula mwenye nyunyi izi. ‘I want the owner of these birds.’

Naani/ nakhsulo Hamadi/ keendrá. ‘Who wants Hamadi to go?’ Or:

Naani/ nakhsuuló/ Hamadi/ keendrá.

Naani/ nakhsulo Hamadi/ khpakiza gaari. ‘Who wants Hamadi to load the truck?’ Or: **Naani/ nakhsuuló/ Hamadi/ khpakiza gaari.**

Naani/ nakhsulo Hamadi/ khpakiza gaari/ majiwé. ‘Who wants Hamadi to load the truck with stones?’ Or: **Naani/ nakhsulo Hamadi/ khpakiza majiwé/ gaari.**

Naani/ nakhsulo keendrá. ‘Who wants to go?’ Or: **Naani/ nakhsuuló/ keendra.**

Nnakhsula keendrá. ‘I want to go.’ (In GM’s speech, the first person singular SM is ordinary null in front of the TAM marker *na*. In MI’s speech, the prefix in question is more consistently maintained, although we did sometimes note its absence. Our transcription varies between the full and the reduced form, and we have made no attempt to be consistent. The accent pattern clearly differentiates the first person form of the *na* tense from the [cl.1] form.)

Nnakhsula kichijá. ‘I want to eat it.’

Nnakhsulaa kujá. ‘I want to eat.’
Nnakhsulá kujaa namá. ‘I want to eat meat.’
Nnakhsulá kula mo/ najee namá. ‘I want that each one eat meat.’
Nnakhsulá (ku)mbigá. ‘I want to hit him.’
Nnakhsulá mwaaná/ khpita imtihaaní. ‘I want the child to pass the examination.’

Nnakhsuulá/ mi/ khshindra matezo. ‘I want for me to win the game.’ (The presence of focus on the main verb guarantees that the final accent associated with this verb does not extend past the verb. Note that it is unacceptable for the pronoun co-referential with the subject to be phrased with the verb: ***Nnakhsulaa mi/ khshindra matezo.** ‘I want for me to win the game.’)

Nnakhsulá Muusá/ khshindra matezó. ‘I want Muusa to win the game.’ (It is also possible to put focus on Muusa: **Nnakhsulá ^fMuusá/ khshindra matezo.** Or with verb focus: **Nnakhsuulá/ Muusa/ khshindra matezo.** There may also be focus on the complement verb: **Nnakhsuulá/ Muusa/ khshindra/ matezo.**

Nnakhsuulá/ Muusa/ ye/ khshindra matezo. ‘I want Muusa, he, to win the game.’ (In this example, focus is on the main verb, and as a consequence the final accent triggered by this verb cannot extend beyond the verb itself. Note the presence of a pronominal element which is co-referential with Muusa. The pronoun may also precede Muusa, but in that case we observed it being phrased with the main verb: **Nnakhsulaa ye/ Muusa/ khshindra matezo.**)

Nnakhsulaa ye/ najee namá. ‘I want that he eat meat.’
Nnakhsulaa ye/ sijee namá. ‘I want that he not eat meat.’
Nnamsulá Muusá/ ye/ khshindra matezó. ‘I want Muusa to win the game.’ (In this example, the subject of the complement clause has been “raised” to be the object of the main verb and thus to govern the OM on that verb.)

Nuuru/ sulile kula gaari. ‘Nuuru wanted to buy a car.’
Nuuru/ sulile kumpikila Ra’iisi/ nama. ‘Nuuru wanted to cook meat for Ra’iisi.’
Osmaani/ nakhsulá kendra kuwiinda/ nakhsuuló. ‘Osmaani wants to go hunting, that’s what he wants.’
Osmaani/ sulile keendra. ‘Osmaani wanted to go.’
Siimba/ nakhsulaa we/ kuwa mukeewe. ‘Lion wants you to be his wife.’
Sisuleení. ‘You (pl.) don’t want!’
Sulile chaakuja. ‘He wanted food.’
Sulile kuuya. ‘He wanted to come.’ (Cf. **Nt^haxsuula/ kuuya.** ‘He did not want to come.’)
Tuuma/ sulile kandikaa khati. ‘Tuuma wanted to write a letter.’
We/ nakhsuulaní. ‘What do you want?’
Ye/ nakhsuula/ kumjaariba. ‘He wants to test him.’

rel.

kh-suulana v. rec.

Hakhaadiri/ khiilila/ apa/ ka sababu waawaye/ peete/ khabari/ ka kuwaa we/ na Safiyá/ nnakhsuulaná. ‘She is not able to come to you here because her father got news that you and Safiya want [to marry] each other.’ (Phon. Observe that the conjunction **we/ na Safiyá** triggers a second person plural subject form with final accent: **nnakhsuulaná.**)

kh-suulika v. ps/. (-sulishile)

husuuliko ‘that which is desired’

kh-suulila v. appl. (**suliliile**) want for

kh-suliloowa v. appl. pass.

Ra’iisi/ sulila khpikilowaa nama. ‘[Lit.] Ra’iisi was wanted to be cooked meat for.’ (Syn: In this example, both the main verb and the complement verb have been passivized, with the beneficiary NP in the lower clause being promoted to subject of the main verb. There is an impersonal passive available as well: **Isulila khpikilowa Ra’iisi/ nama.** [Lit.] There was wanted Ra’iisi to be cooked meat for.’ Note that in this impersonal passive, again both verbs are in a passive form. Presumably **Ra’iisi**, even though post-verbal, was promoted to be the subject of the lower passive verb.)

kh-suulisha v. caus. (**sulishiize**)

Sisulisheení. ‘You (pl.) don’t make want!’

kh-suloowa v. pass. (**suliila**) be wanted

Chaakuja/ shchisulowa khpikilowa Muusa. ‘Food ought to be cooked for Muusa; food is wanted to be cooked for Muusa by someone.’

Chaakuja/ chisulila khpikilowa mwaana/ na Muusa. ‘Food was wanted to be cooked for the child by Muusa.’

Chaakuja/ chisulila na Muusa/ napikilowa mwaana. ‘The food was wanted by Muusa that the child be cooked it.’

Chaakuja/ chisulila napikilowa mwaana/ na Muusa. ‘Food was wanted that the child be cooked it by Muusa.’ Cf. **Chaakuja/ chisulila wanapikilowa waana/ na Muusa.** ‘Food was wanted that the children be cooked it by Muusa.’ (Note that the passive subject in the lower clause must be the beneficiary. It is not possible to say: ***Chaakuja/ chisulila chinapikilowa mwaana/ na Muusa.** ‘Food was wanted that it be cooked for the child by Muusa.’ Note also that the beneficiary appears in post-verbal position in the complement. MI rejected sentences with the beneficiary preceding the complement verb: ***Chaakuja/ chisulila mwaana/ napikilowa.** Or with a plural beneficiary: ***Chaakuja/ chisulila waana/ wanapikilowa.**)

Chaakuja/ isulila napikilowa mwaana/ na Muusa. ‘Food, there was wanting that the child be cooked it by Muusa.’ (This impersonal passive does not specify who wanted the food to be cooked for the child by Muusa. Note that the subject of the subjunctive clause must be the beneficiary, it cannot be the food: ***Chaakuja/ isulila chinapikilowa mwaana/ na Muusa.**)

Gaari/ isulila kuloowa. ‘A car was wanted to be bought.’

Haysuloowi/ we/ kumlipa ziwovu. ‘It ought not be that you repay him with evil.’

Ichisulowa khpikilowa Muusa/ chaakuja. ‘It is wanted for Muusa to be cooked food for (i.e. someone wanted to cook food for Muusa or someone ought to cook food for Muusa).’ Or: **Chaakuja/ ichisulowa khpikilowa Muusa.** ‘Food, it was wanted for it to be cooked for Muusa.’

Husulowa muunt^hu/ kuwanayo qalbi. ‘A man ought to have courage.’

Kamaa ye/ chindrata/ iyo/ ndiyó/ inakhsuloowa. ‘If he lets me go, this it is that is desired.’

kumkorsha za mwanaamke/ husulowa kiiwá ‘to teach her what a young lady is required to know’ *review final accent which i did not originally write in CLE*

Mazu/ yasulila kujoowa/ mwaana. ‘Bananas were wanted to be eaten by the child (i.e. the child wanted to eat the bananas).’ Cf. **Mazu/ yasulila yanajowa na mwaana.** ‘Bananas were wanted (by someone) to be eaten by the child.’

Muunt^hu/ nakhsuloowá/ ni uyu. or **Munt^hu nakhsuloowá/ ni uyu.** ‘The person who is wanted is this one.’

Muusa/ chisulowa khpikilowa chaakuja/ na Hamadi. ‘Muusa was wanted to be cooked food for by Hamadi (i.e. Hamadi wanted to cook food for Muusa).’

Muusa/ chisulowa na Ali/ khpikilowa chaakuja. ‘Muusa is wanted by Ali to be cooked food for.’ *check whether another na-Np phrase is possible here*

Muusa/ ichisulowa khpikilowa chaakuja. ‘Muusa was wanted to be cooked food for.’ (This is an impersonal passive, thus one cannot specify a certain individual as the one doing the wanting: ***Muusa/ ichisulowa khpikilowa chaakuja/ na Hamadi.** ‘Muusa was wanted to be cooked food for by Hamadi.’)

Muusa/ sulila khpikilowa na Ali. ‘Muusa was wanted to be cooked for by Ali.’ Cf. **Muusa/ sulila na Ali/ khpikilowa.** ‘Muusa was wanted by Ali to be cooked for.’ *review whether there is a meaning difference here, with the former indicating that Ali is to do the cooking and the latter ambiguous*

Muusa/ sulila kumpikila Hamadi/ chaakuja/ na Ali. ‘Muusa was wanted to cook food for Hamadi by Ali.’ (In this sentence, Ali wanted Muusa to cook food for Hamadi.)

Mwaana/ sulila na Muusa/ napikilowa chaakuja. ‘The child was wanted by Muusa that he be cooked for food.’ (In this sentence, the child is both the subject of the higher verb and of the subjunctive verb in the complement. Muusa is the one who wants the child to be cooked for, but then sentence does not specify who is to do the cooking.)

Mwaana/ sulila khpikilowa chaakuja/ na Muusa. ‘The child was wanted to be cooked food for by Muusa.’ (In a sentence such as this, with an infinitive in the complement clause, Muusa is both the one doing the wanting and the one doing the cooking.)

Mwaana/ sulila napikilowa chaakuja/ na Muusa. ‘The child was wanted

that he be cooked food for by Muusa.’ **Need to review whether muusa did the wanting**

Mwaana/ isulila napikilowa chaakuja/ na Muusa. ‘The child, there was wanting that he be cooked for food by Muusa.’ (This is an impersonal passive, where Muusa is wanted to do the cooking for the child, but without any specification as who wanted this.)

Naasi/ chiko hayyi/ husuloowa/ chiza ku’ajiza kuwakuza/ na

kuwasharifa awó/ wafilo ka khisaa si/ na khisa nt^{hi} yiitú. ‘And we who are alive must not fail to honor and respect those who died because of us and for our country.’ **should there be a final accent on na kuwasharifa awo**

We/ isuloowa/ kulila ruuhuyo/ chaakuja/ chisuura/ kumbanishiliza

ruuhuyo. ‘You ought to have bought for yourself good food to restore your health with.’

Zawaadi/ isulila napowa mwaana/ na Muusa. ‘Gifts, there was wanting that the child be given by Muusa.’

kh-suula

v. used as an auxiliary verb

Khalamu/ isulile kunbaha. ‘I was about to lose the pen [lit. the pen wanted to be lost to me].’

Pesa/ zisulile kunbaha. ‘I was about to lose the money [lit. the money wanted to be lost to me].’

We/ kheeri/ nakhsula kuja ka himá. ‘It is best for you to eat early, quickly.’

rel.

kh-suulika v. p/s. (-sulishile)

kh-suulila v. appl. (-suliliile)

kh-suloowa v. pass. used as an auxiliary verb

Pesa izi/ schisulowa kulilowa gaari. ‘This money was earmarked for a car to be bought (with it).’

Pesa izi/ schisulowa kuwa zulila gaari. ‘This money was to have been used such] that cars be bought (with it).’

Pesa izi/ schisulowa kuwakilowa. ‘This money was earmarked for building a house (with it).’

Mayaank^huku/ yachisulowa khpikowa Muusa. ‘Eggs were supposed to be cooked by Muusa.’

Mayaank^huku/ yachisulowa kuwa yapishila. ‘Eggs were supposed [lit. that they] be cooked.’

you shouldn’t take (it).’

We/ nthaykhsuloowa/ khtaala. ‘It was not wished that you take (it); i.e.

shouldn’t buy (it).’

We/ nthaykhsuloowa/ kuula. ‘It was not wished that you buy (it); i.e. you

Zakuja izi/ schisulowa kuwa pikilila Hamadi/ shpiindri. ‘These foods were supposed to have been cooked for Hamadi at noon (and now it is after noon).’

rel. nom.

m-suula (wa-) n. 1/2 one who wants

suulbisi

n.

qabila suulbisi ‘to add something extra to s.t. purchased’

Shekhamanaana/ dukaye/ waant^hu/ qabilowa suulbisi. ‘In Shekhamanaana’s shop people are given extra (when they purchase s.t.)’

sulhu

n. [Sw. **suluhu** “n. (1) peace, agreement to leave off a quarrel, or to come to terms without quarreling, an armistice; (2) a draw in a game of football, etc.” SSED 440; Ar. **sulh** W 522] peace, reconciliation

variant form: **sulhi** [cf. Sw. verb **suluhu** or **suluhi** SSED 440]

khfanya sulhu ‘to reconcile’

Sulhu/ hayiyyi/ ila ka nt^ha ya lpaanga. ‘Peace does not come except at the point of a sword.’ (A proverb.)
sulhi ndiyo ihtiraamu [song] ‘reconciliation is respect’

sultaani (ma-)

n. [Sw. *sultani* SSED 440; Ar. *sulṭān* W 422] sultan, king
variant form: **surtaani**

Apo/ zamaani/ waliko sulṭaani/ na mwaanawé. ‘Once upon a time there was a sultan and his son.’

Basi/ chendra ka sulṭaani/ cheendró. ‘So he went to the sultan, that’s what he did.’

Basi/ oyo mwiimbili/ wa masulṭaani/ nakuyaawata. ‘Then the son [lit. young men] of the king [lit. kings] was surprised.’

Eelo/ chiineendra/ hatá/ numbaani/ ka sulṭaani. ‘The gazelle walked to the house of the sultan.’

Iize/ keendra/ ka sulṭaani/ numbaani/ kuja nguwoze. ‘He [the rat] refused to go to the sultan’s house to eat his clothes.’

Khisa ya Hasiibu/ na sultani waa noká. ‘The story of Hasiibu and the king of snakes.’

Laakini/ mwanaamke/ wa sulṭaani/ apo/ jahaziini/ chimwambila
Huseeni... ‘But the daughter of the sultan there in the ship told Huseeni...’

Mshinzilopo aduwi/ ye/ sulá khaadira/ khfanya ruuhuye/ sulṭaani/ wa muyi uyu/ laakini/ nt^hakuda’a usulṭaani/ walá/ nt^hakhtaala/ hatá/ musmaari/ mooyi/ kuwa mbwaaké. ‘When he defeated the enemy, he could have made himself sultan of this town, but he did not claim the sultanhip, nor did he take even one nail to be his.’

Mweenza/ siimba/ ni sulṭaani/ na masulṭaani/ hukoða jis’iyo. ‘My friend, Lion is a king and kings speak that way.’

Nini/ sulṭaani/ khufanyiizeni. ‘Why? What has the sultan done to you?’

Siwo/ mbovu/ sulṭaaniwá. ‘That’s not bad, my sultan.’

Sultani uyu/ sulile mloza mwaanawe/ muke. ‘This sultan wanted to marry his son to a woman.’

Surtaani/ yaa ye/ nakhsuuló/ hufaanya. ‘A king does what he wants.’ (A proverb.)

Uyu/ mulku wa masulṭaani. ‘This is property that is fit for sultans.’

rel.

chi-sultaani adv. in the manner of a king

Mkulu siimba/ mi/ khupatilile chaakujá/ cha chisulṭaani. ‘Master Lion, I will bring for you food fit for a king.’

mwendo wa chisulṭaani ‘walking in the manner of a king’

nguwu niingi/ za chisulṭaani ‘many clothes fit for a king’

Sulṭaani/ wakorsheze waanawe/ chisulṭaani. ‘The king raised his children in a royal manner.’

u-sultaani n. 14 kingdom

Chandikaa mi/ chittiche/ cha usulṭaani. ‘He put me on his throne (lit. his chair of sultanhip).’

Khadimu sulṭaani/ chimfungulila moojé/ jisaa ye/ welo sulṭaani/ chimaliza/ chimwaambila/ ya kuwaa ye/ nakishkiza ruuhuye/ na namtawalisha/ usulṭaani. ‘The sultan’s servant told his master how he had become a sultan, then he told him that he was resigning (dethroning himself) and crowning him with the sultanhip.’

Mi/ mp^hindri yaa mi/ nch^hifa/ usulṭaani/ natawalishowa mwaana/ uyu. ‘At the time when I die, as for the kingship, this boy should be installed as king.’

Sulṭaani/ usulṭaaniwe/ chimp^haa mi/ chimp^hbó. ‘The sultan gave his kingdom to me, that’s what he did.’

sulu

n. [cf. Sw. *sulika* "to feel dizzy" SSED 440] dizziness, giddiness, loss of sense of balance

khfanyaa sulu ‘to be dizzy’
khshikaa sulu ‘to be dizzy’
khshikowaa sulu ‘to feel fizzy (lit. to be held by dizziness)’
Omari/ shishiḷaa sulu. ‘Omari was dizzy or giddy.’

- kh-suluha** v. [Sw. *suluhu* SSED 440; Ar. *ṣalaḥa, ṣulūḥ* W 521] (**suluhiile**) be good, right, proper (of human beings)
Mwaana/ suluhiile. ‘The child grew up to be good.’
rel.
kh-suluhika v. [=simple verb in usage] (**suluhishile**) be well-behaved, well-mannered, act correctly
Mwaana/ suluhishile. ‘The child grew up to be good.’
kh-suluhila v. appl. (**suluhiliile**)
Mwaana/ nsuluhiliile. ‘The child grew up for me to be morally upright.’
kh-suluhisha v. caus. make right, good, straight; reconcile people
Mwajiitu/ msuluhishize. ‘God made him morally upright.’
kh-suluhishiliza v. caus. appl.
Haadi/ msuhulishilize Baana/ mwaana. ‘Haadi caused Baana’s child to grow up to be good.’
kh-suluhishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
Haadi/ na Baaná/ wasuluhishilizenye waana. ‘Haadi and Baana caused one another’s children to grow up to be good, upright.’
- m-suluhifu (wa-)** adj. [Sw. *suluhifu* SSED 440; Ar. *ṣulḥ* "peace, conciliation" W 522] correct, well-mannered, well-behaved
- suluuki** n. [Ar. *sulūk* W 424] behavior
- kh-suluza** v. cause to be thin
Ito/ ya maadamu/ kana ha’ikhubḷi/ khsuluza. ‘The eye of a human being (i.e. the evil eye) if it does not kill you, (still) it wears you down (makes you thin, weak, suffer).’
Omari/ maraḏi/ yanamsuluza. ‘Omari, the disease is making him weak.’
rel.
kh-suluzika v. become thin, weak
Omari/ sku mbili izi/ nakhsuluzika/ tu/ hachiisi/ yaa ye/ naayó. ‘Omari, these past two days he has just gotten weaker, I do not know what he has (i.e. what is causing this).’
- kh-suluzika** v. [no etymological source found] ask for s.t. earnestly, anxiously desire s.t.; ask about or after someone (especially when not seen for some time); [pron. **khsuluzika** or **khsuuzika**]
naa mi husuuzika khuwona ka suura [song] ‘and I anxiously desire to see you in niceness’
Yaayó/ nakhsuuzika. ‘Your aunt is asjubg about you (i.e. what happened to you? why have you not visited her?).’
- kh-suumbuka** v. [Sw. *sumbuka* SSED 440] be annoyed, worried; grow weary; waste one’s efforts
chiiza husuumbuka qalbiya hundura [song] ‘otherwise/ if not I grow weary and my heart hurts (lit. pricks) me’
khsumbuka buure ‘to waste one’s efforts’
rel.
kh-sumbukila v. app.
Mwaana/ nsumbukiliile/ karka safari. ‘My child suffered a great deal on the trip.’ (Syn. Observe how the applied stem is used here to express a possessive relationship between the reference of the object prefix, here the first person, and the subject of the sentence, here **mwaana**.)
kh-sumbulila v. tr. appl. (**sumbuliile**)
kh-sumbuloowa v. tr. pass. (**sumbiila**)
kh-suumbula v. tr. (**sumbiile**) annoy, worry, trouble s.o.
Mubliwe/ shpeenda/ khkalaant^ha/ kuja/ kistereha/ pashpo/ khsumbula

ruuhuye. ‘Her husband used to like sitting, eating, enjoying [life], without troubling himself.’

Sultaani/ kasizopo za mzeelé/ hadiiló/ sh̄tomola amri/ ye/ khfungoowa/ ka sababu/ ye/ shakabile waant^hu/ na sumbile waant^hu/ buure. ‘When the sultan heard what the old man said, he ordered that he be imprisoned because he falsely accused people and annoyed people without reason.’

kh-sumbulana v. tr. rec. annoy one another

kh-sumbulika v. tr. p/s.

Hasumbuliki. ‘He cannot be annoyed.’

kh-sumbuliza v. caus. appl.

kh-sumbulizanya v. caus. rec. appl.

kh-suumbuza v. caus.

kh-sumbuzanya v. caus. rec.

kh-sumbuzika v. caus. p/s.

rel. nom.

ma-suumbuko n. 6

ma-suumbulo n. 6

sumu

n. [Sw. *sumu* SSED 442; Ar. *samm* W 427] poison

Hasani fiile ka sumu/ mpeelo mukeewe ðaalimu [st.] ‘Hasani was killed by poison/ given to him by his wife, the deceiver’

khpaá sumu ‘to give poison’

Nuuru/ mub̄lele Haaji/ kaa sumu. ‘Nuuru killed Haaji with poison.’

Sumu/ imub̄lele Haaji. ‘Poison killed Haaji.’

sumu yaa mp^hana ‘rat poison’

Sumu yaa noka/ kana ya waawayo. ‘The poison of a snake is like waawayo.’

suná

n. [Sw. *suná, suni* ‘used of what is good, commendable, meritorious, but not absolutely binding or necessary’ SSED 441; Ar. *sunna* W 433]

aðáana na igaama sunna akmalí [st.] ‘the call to prayer and the announcement that it is time to pray are preferred but non-obligatory acts’

kh-suundula

v. [etymology unknown] (perfect form is not known since this verb is usually used in the negative) gratify, satisfy

Nt^haku/ chint^hu humsuunduló/ oyo. ‘There is nothing that satisfies that one.’

Ratáli yaa nama/ haymsuunduli Baana. ‘A pound of meat does not satisfy Baana.’

sungura

n. [Sw. *sungura* SSED 441] *swah.* hare, rabbit (Lex. The common word in Chimiini for this animal is **bakayle**, borrowed from Somali. The Arabic word **arnabu** is also sometimes used. The Swahili word **sungura** is found in stories that MI translated from Swahili.)

Sku mooyi/ fijiri/ na mapeema/ sungura/ mooyi/ karkaa ye/

nadaxodaaxó/ m(w)ene mphuundra/ mkulu/ maluungo/

yanam(w)ala/ ka maṭuuri/ na unené. ‘One day early in the

morning a rabbit, while he was grazing, saw the large donkey, his body shining from fatness and fatness.’

Sungura/ sh̄tomola salaamu. ‘The rabbit issued greetings.’

kh-sunula

v. [etymology unknown] (**suníile**) (Morph. The apparent reversive suffix **-ul-** and meaning of this verb suggests the existence of ***khsuna**, with the opposite meaning, but no such verb has been observed.)

khsunula chibolo ‘to turn back the foreskin, uncovering the glans of the penis’

khsunula miino ‘to show the teeth (i.e. to smile) in gratification’

rel.

kh-sunulíla v. appl. (**sunulíile**)

kh-sunulísha v. caus.

suuqu

n. [Sw. *soko* SSED 434; Ar. *sūq* W 443] market; [pron. *suuqu* or *suukhu*]

Chiḷawa/ choloka sukhuuni/ kula mp^huundra. ‘He left and went to the market to buy donkeys.’

Enzele sukhuuni/ uzile/ nt^holoko/ ye/ nakiineendró/ nakiineendró/ nakiineendró/ komele mahala/ mo/ yikoo muti/ yiikó. ‘He went to the market and bought the beans, he; walking and walking and walking, he reached a place where there was a tree, there was.’

Juha/ oloshole sukhuuni/ kula mp^huundra. ‘Juha went to the market to buy a donkey.’

Karka Suuqu/ Mushtaraki/ mkulu wa Suuqu/ Mushtaraki/ khuṭubiile. ‘At the Common Market, the head of the Common Market gave a speech.’

Maama/ choloka sukhuuni/ chulaa mbuzi. ‘(His) mother went to the market and bought a goat.’

mwana oloshelo sukhuuní ‘the child who went to the market’

mwana ṭezezo sukhuuní ‘the child who played in the market’

Niwawene waant^hú/ wiingi/ suxuuni. ‘I saw (or found) many people at the market.’

Noloshelé/ sukhuuni. ‘I *did go* to the market.’

Noloshole sukhuuní/ pamo na Nuuru. ‘I went to the market with Saliimu.’

Nt^hezeze na Saalimú/ sukhuuní. ‘I played with Saalimu in the market.’

(It is possible for focus to be placed on Saliimu, in which case the

final accent does not project to the locative: **Nt^hezeze na Saalimú/ sukhuuní.** If the locative is moved to post-verbal position, then it is being focused and the final accent does not go past it: **Nt^hezeze sukhuuní/ na Saalimu.** This pattern, however, does not hold for the final accent triggered by a relative verb. Regardless of the word order, the final accent goes to the end of the relative clause: **mwana ṭezezo na Saalimú/ sukhuuní** and also **mwana ṭezezo sukhuuní/ na Saalimú** ‘the child who played with Saalimu in the market’.)

Nuuru/ na Jaamá/ wa’oloshole sukhuuni. ‘Nuuru and Jaama went to the market.’ Cf. **Mi/ na Nuurú/ choloshole sukhuuní.** ‘Me and Nuuru went to the market.’ (In the first example, two [cl.1] conjoined subjects require the [cl.2] subject marker *wa* on the verb. In the second example, a first person singular noun and a conjoined [cl.1] noun require the subject marker *chi*, first person plural, on the verb.)

Nuuru/ oloshole sukhuuni/ pamo na Saalimu. ‘Nuuru went to the market together with Saalimu.’

Sukhuuni/ baaba/ chimpataa muke/ khiriḷo khkala na mwaanawé. ‘At the market father found a woman who agreed to stay with his child.’

Sukhuuni/ chimwona mp^huundra/ msuura/ chimuula. ‘At the market he saw a nice donkey and bought it.’

Wawashile suukhu/ kati ya muuyi. ‘They built a market in the middle of town.’

suura

n. [Sw. *sura* SSED 441] a chapter of the Quran

Mwaana/ shkoma suura/ hufaanya/ zaakuja/ huleeta/ chiwooni/ khpowa weenziwe. ‘When a child completes a chapter of the Quran, he prepares food and brings it to school to be given to his classmates.’
mwisho wa suura ‘at the end of the section, chapter’

-suura

adj. [Sw. *sura* ‘form, appearance, look, expression, face exterior, likeness, general view, prospect’ SSED 441; Ar. *sūra* W 441] beautiful, pretty, good; n. beauty, appearance

chakuja chisuura ‘good food’

Chimpa mwaanawe/ chakuja chisuura/ na mwana wa muḷḷiwé/ chimpa makooko. ‘She gave her child good food and she gave her husband’s child the crust of the rice.’

Chineema/ chiwaaliko/ chisuura/ nt^ho. ‘The movie was very good.’

Hamadi/ ni mwaana/ naḷiifa/ msuura/ na adibú. ‘Hamadi is a boy clean,

handsome, and well-mannered.’ (Phon. Observe that *na* triggers final accent when it conjoins adjectives.)

Hutaambula/ mbovu/ na suurá. ‘I understand evil and good.’

ina isuura ‘a good name’

Inawe suura/ amó/ mbovu/ nuumbayo/ ni nuumbayo/ ya mwinginewo/ siwo/ yaako. ‘Whether it is good or bad, your house is your house, that of another is not yours.’ (A proverb.)

jisa suura ‘in a beautiful manner, but also a sort of intensifier’

Ijiwe/ impete jisa suura. ‘The stone struck him [lit. got him] really hard.’

kazi suura ‘good work’

Maama/ chihada/ siwo/ mbovu/ Jeelaani/ ni muunt^hu/ msuura. ‘Mother said: It is not bad. Jeelaani is a nice man.’

mama msuura ‘a good mother’

Mayank^huku aya/ (ni) masuura. ‘These eggs are nice.’

Mayank^huku aya/ (ni) masuraa nt^ho. ‘These eggs are very nice.’

Mi/ kapata pesa niingí/ sulá kula fatuura/ suura. ‘If I had gotten a lot of money, I would have bought a nice car.’ (The prosody of **fatuura/ suura** is interesting; the nominal is apparently focused, as indicated by its failure to undergo downstepping, and the adjective **suura** is roughly at the same pitch level.)

msuura ‘good one, nice one, pretty one’ (This is the usual way of addressing a child when one does not know his/her name. Also used jokingly to address grown-up, in this case when you know them very well. Note: children ran many errands and were routinely sent to neighbouring households to fetch and carry things. When they entered a house (doors were usually left open), they would not speak first, but waited to be spoken to.)

Haye/ msuura/ nakhsuulani. ‘Yes, pretty one, what do you want?’

Mwanaamke/ ni msuura/ ka suura/ laakini/ nt^haná/ amali. ‘The girl is beautiful, physically, but she has no manners.’

Mwenye/ waliko ni muɓjaana/ someeló/ na wanayo mahaɓa suura/ ka sarkaali. ‘Mwenye was a young man who had studied and had a good position with the government.’

Nasiibuya/ iwaliko suura/ mi/ nshiinzilé. ‘My luck was good, I won.’

Nazo suura/ za waawaye (or: **maamaye**). ‘[Lit.] he/she has the beauty (pl.) of his/her father or mother -- i.e., (s)he resembles her/his father or mother in her/his handsome looks.’ Note: this expression can also be used to make comparison with other relatives (e.g. grandfather, elder brother, etc.).

Nii mule/ msuura. ‘He is tall and handsome.’ Or: **Nii mule/ na ni msuura.** (Although *na* triggers final accent in a structure of conjoined nouns, it does not in the case here of conjoined copular expressions, not even when the *ni* is omitted: ***Nii mule/ na msuurá.**)

Ni suura/ ye/ kooloka. ‘It is good for him to go.’ (One does not use the subjunctive in this context: ***Ni suura/ ye/ na’oloke.**) Similarly: **Itakuwa suura/ ye/ kooloka.** ‘It will be better for him to go.’ (Not with the subjunctive: **Itakuwa suura/ ye/ na’oloke.**) Also in the negative: **Siwo/ suura/ ye/ kooloka.** ‘It is not good for him to go.’ (Not: ***Siwo suura/ ye/ na’oloke.**)

Nuzile fatuura (y)a mana (w)a Omari/ mp^hiyá. ‘I bought Omari’s son’s new car.’ Cf. **Uzile fatuurs (y)a mana (w)a Omari/ mp^hiya.** ‘He bought Omari’s son’s new car.’

Nuzile nuumbá/ mp^hiyá/ ^fsuura. ‘I bought a beautiful new house.’ (The pitch on **suura** was raised in this example sentence, indicating focus. This focus seems to prevent the extension of the final accent triggered by the verb onto the focused adjective. It is not the case that final accent never projects onto a focused element, so the appropriate generalization needs to be discovered. The simple yes-no question version of this sentence involves no accent shift.)

Nuzile nuumbá/ ^fsuura/ mp^hiya. ‘I bought a beautiful new house.’ (Again, the pitch on **suura** is raised in this example, indicating some sort of focus, and the final accent from the verb cannot project onto **suura**. Naturally, this accent cannot project beyond **suura** onto the adjective. There is some reason to question whether it is really true focus on the adjective in this example, since the simple yes-no question version of the sentence does not undergo any accent shift. If **mp^hiya** were out of focus, it should exhibit final accent in the simple yes-no question. It is possible, of course, that our consultant gave a yes-no question based on a sentence lacking focus on **suura**, either mistakenly or because one does not ask questions that reflect this focus.)

Nuzile nuumbá/ ^fsuurá/ mp^hiyá. ‘I bought a beautiful new house.’ Or: **Nuzile nuumbá/ ^fsuurá/ mp^hiya.** (The first example suggests that **suura** is not truly focused, even though it is in fact raised in pitch, since the final accent from the verb extends past it onto the adjective. **Suura** does,

however, exhibit focus-like behavior in the alternative sentence, where the adjective is outside the scope of the final accent. It is not clear what the difference is between these sentences and the preceding example where the final accent does not penetrate **suura**.)

Nuzile numba ya Omari/ mp^hiyá/ suurá. ‘I bought Omari’s beautiful new house.’ Or: **Nuzile numba ya Omari/ suurá/ mp^hiyá.**

Omari/ uzile numbaa mp^hiya/ suura. ‘Omari bought a beautiful new house.’ Or: **Omari/ uzile nuumba/ mp^hiya/ suura.** Or: **Omari/ uzile nuumba/ suura/ mp^hiya.** ‘Omari bought a beautiful new house.’ (Our yes-no question data pertains only to the last two examples, but in neither of these is there evidence of accent-shift in the simple yes-no question.)

Shkalaant^ha/ kuja zakujaaze/ zisurazisuura. ‘He sat down to eat his good food.’

...**suraaze ni zaaydi** [st.] ‘...his beauty is greater’

Uzile faṭura (y)a Omari/ maanawe/ mp^hiya. ‘He bought Omari’s son’s new car.’

Waant^hu/ wako apá/ (ni) wasuura. ‘The people who are here are nice.’

Waant^hu/ wako apá/ (ni) wasuraa nt^ho. ‘The people who are here are very nice.’

Wasuura/ mashungi yaawo/ malaasi/ lamna mooyi/ welpe/ sura zaawo/ mooyi. ‘(They, the two girls were) beautiful, their hair smooth, (they were) of one kind, white, their appearance was the same (lit. one).’

Ye/ chambiloowa/ kuwa sulṭaani/ uyu/ nayo mwanaamke/ msuura/ nt^ho. ‘He was told that the sultan has a very beautiful daughter.’

Ye/ chimpataa nyunyi/ mooyi/ msuura/ nt^ho. ‘He found a bird, a very beautiful one.’

rel.

u-suura n. beauty, goodness

Maluungoye/ yawaaliko/ layini/ na chiwala/ ka usuura. ‘Her body was soft and was shining with beauty.’

Usura waa muke/ ni usura wa ṭabi’a/ siwo/ usura wa uso. ‘The beauty of a woman is beauty of character, it is not facial beauty.’ (A proverb.)

usura wa khalbi ‘spiritually beautiful (lit. beautiful of heart)’

usura wa uso ‘physically beautiful (lit. beautiful of face)’

waant^hu/ wenyee nguvu/ ma’arifa/ na usuurá ‘people having power, knowledge, and goodness’

-surasuura adj.

numba surasuura/ keendra ‘nine beautiful houses’ (cf. **numba suura/ mooyi** ‘one beautiful house’)

suriya (ma-)

n. 5/6 [Sw. *suria* SSED 441; Ar. *surrīya* W 405] concubine, mistress

...**kuwa mubliwe/ mtete suriya** ‘that her husband had taken a concubine’

rel.

chi-suriya (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

i-suriya (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

surṭaani

n. [cf. **sulṭaani**] sultan

Siimba/ ni surṭaani/ wa maduuri. ‘The lion is the king of the jungle.’

kh-surufa
in marriage

v. [Ar. *ṣarafa* W 512] (**surufiile**) spend money, change money; give one’s daughter

Baaba/ msurufile mwanaamkewe. ‘Father gave the hand of his daughter in marriage.’

Baaba/ waliko maskiini/ na pesa zaa ye/ teto ka mubjana oyó/ mlowelo Safiyá/ baaba/ pesa izo/ surufiile/ khfanyiza haruusi/ uzile zoombo/ za haruusi/ na nt^hayimsaalila chiint^hu. ‘Father was poor, and the money that he took from that young man who

married Safiya, father spent this money making the marriage; he bought things for the marriage and no money remained for him.'

Chimweleza haaliye/ yotte/ na jisaa ye/ surufilo maaliyé. 'He explained to her his state, all, and how he had lost his wealth.'

Maali/ yasurufilá/ ilu yaa waké/ siwo/ huruudó. 'Money which has been spent on women does not come back'

Nsurufiilé/ peesa. 'I spent the money.' Or: **Peesa/ mi/ nsurufiile.** 'Money I spent.'

Ye/ ingiile/ khtelega maali/ na khsurufá/ ilu ya waant^{hu}/ wawovu/ waa ye/ wafanyizo weenzawé. 'He began to squander money and to spend it on bad people whom he had made his friends.'

rel.

kh-sufurisha v. cause to spend money

kh-surufuowa v. pass. (**surufiila**)

Ali/ surufiile/ ifungu iyi/ ilu ya zaakuja/ naa nguwo/ na maali/ yasurufilá/ ilu yaa kujá/ naa nguwo siwo/ maali/ huruudó. 'Ali spent this portion [of the wealth he squandered] on food and clothes, and money that has been spent on food and clothes is not money that comes back.'

Karka jama'a ya want^{hu} wa Mwiini/ pesa za mwiimbili/ humlazimo khtomolá/ ni peesa/ nch^haache/ na husufurowa ka kulilowa maharuusi/ zili/ magodoro/ mitaawo/ na ma'una ya nuumbá.

'In the community of the people of Brava, the money that the boy [groom] must pay is little money, and it is used to buy for the newlyweds' beds, mattresses, pillows, and household utensils.'

Manaamke/ surufiila. 'The girl was "exchanged", i.e. was promised in marriage to s.o.'

ma-suruufu n. 6 [Ar. *maṣrūf* "expenditures" W 513] family maintenance; [pron. **masuruufu** or more commonly **masruufu**]

suruuru n. [Ar. *surūr* W 405] joy, happiness
variant form: **suruuri**
ya Rasuul Allaahi [...] *mpa iziwa ya suruuri na salaama* [st.] 'O Prophet of God, give me the milk of happiness and safety'

surwaani n. 9/10 [Sw. *suruali* SSED 441; Ar. *sirwāl* W 408; cf. also Som. *surwaal* DSI 563] trousers, pants
Hamadi/ havaali/ surwaani/ huvala ma'wizi/ tu. 'Hamadi does not wear pants, he only wears **ma'wizi**.'
Maskiini/ chivala surwaani. 'The poor man put on trousers.'
Sinakuvala shaati/ walá/ surwaani. 'I am not wearing a shirt nor trousers.'
surwani chigobe 'short pants'
surwani iyi 'this pair of pants'; **sarwani izi** 'these pairs of pants'
surwanii ndre 'long pants'

Surya n. Syria
Ye/ takuzuura/ Misra/ Surya/ Isra'iili/ na mamlaka ya Sa'uudí. 'He will visit Egypt, Syria, Israel, and the kingdom of Saudi Arabia.'

kh-suusata v. [Som. *suusuc* DSI 565] (**i-suseete**) become sour (of milk)
rel.
kh-suusisha v. caus. (**susishiize**)

i-suusu adj. [Som. *suusuc* DSI 565] the third stage of the development of camel's milk, when it is almost at the point of coagulation (from fresh to sour: **ishu, imanya, isuusu, isiita**)
iziwa isuusu 'camel's milk at the stage before going sour'

kh-susumuka v. [cf. Sw. *tetemeka* SSED 464] (**susumushile**) shake, tremble; shudder (e.g. from revulsion); wake up (from sleep, but more common in figurative sense of waking up)

	to s.t.)	Chisusumuka. ‘He woke up.’
		Malungo/ yamsusumushile Nureeni. ‘Nureeni shuddered – [lit.] body shuddered to Nureeni (similar to English “for one’s hair to stand on end”).’
		Sheekhi/ susumushile. ‘Sheekhi woke up.’
	rel.	
		<i>kh-susumusha</i> v. caus. (susumushiize)
		Suufi/ msusumushize mwaana. ‘Suufi woke the child up.’ (Syn. The periphrastic version: Suufi/ mtile mwaana/ khsusumuka.)
		<i>kh-susumushana</i> v. caus. rec. (-susumusheene)
		<i>kh-susumushika</i> v. caus. p/s.
		<i>kh-susumushiliza</i> v. caus. appl. (-susumushiliize)
		Suufi/ msusumushilize Jeeli/ mwaana. ‘Suufi woke up Jeeli’s child.’ (Syn. The periphrastic version: Suufi/ mtilile Jeeli/ mwaana/ khsusumuka.)
		<i>kh-susumushilizanya</i> v. caus. appl. rec. (-susumushilizeenye)
		Suufi/ na Jeeli/ wasusumushilizenye waana. ‘Suufi and Jeeli woke up one another’s children. (The periphrastic version: Suufi/ na Jeeli/ watililene waana/ khsusumuka.) (It is apparently possible to omit the noun identifying who was woken up: Suufi/ na Jeeli/ wasusumushilizeenye. ‘Suufi and Jeeli woke (people) up for one another.’)
	rel. nom.	
		<i>m-susumusha</i> (<i>wa-</i>) n. 1/2
sute		all of us
suuti		n. 9/10 [Eng. <i>Suit</i>] suit of clothes suti iyi ‘this suit’; suti izi ‘these suits’
	rel.	
		<i>ma-suuti</i> n. 6 a large quantity of suits
		Mzimawe/ masuuti. ‘He is all dressed up (lit. his all is suits), said of someone who doesn’t ordinarily dress up, but now is wearing his best clothes.’
<i>chi-suuto</i> (<i>zi-</i>)		n. 7/8 [cf. <i>kisutu</i> ‘a kind of <i>kanga</i> (cloth)... used very much for weddings, also a screen partition in a native house to hide the bed” SSED 208] a gift, usu. of gold (e.e. necklace, bracelet) given to one’s wife on the first night of marriage
<i>m-suwaahili</i> (<i>wa-</i>)		n. 1/2 [Sw. <i>mswahili</i> SSED 306; Ar. <i>sāḥilī</i> , pl. <i>sawāḥila</i> W 400] a Swahili person
	rel.	
		<i>chi-suwaahili</i> n. 7 [Sw. <i>kiswahili</i>] the Kiswahili language
		Chisuwaahili/ ni lugha hukoḍowa karka nṯ^hi ya Keenyá/ Ugaandá/ Tanzaniyá. ‘Kiswahili is a language spoken in the country of Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania.’ review accent, this from written source
<i>m-suwaani</i> (<i>mi-</i>)		n. 3/4 [cf. Sw. <i>msuani</i> “a shroud or grave-cloth used for burying a woman” SSED 304] a special headscarf of printed silk, imported from India, that only married women are allowed to wear
		kumwandikaa muke/ msuwaani [lit.] to place a msuwaani on a woman’s head, i.e. to be the first husband of a girl; since only married women are allowed to wear this headscarf, to put it on marks the change from girlhood to married status’
		Ni Nuuru/ mwandishilo Haliimá/ msuwaani. ‘It is Nuru who was Halima’s first husband.’
Suweesi		n. Suez Qanali ya Suweesi ‘Suez Canal’
suwo		[cl.3] there it is; [pron. suwó]

<i>suwu</i>	[cl.3] here it is; [pron. suwú]
<i>suwuje</i>	[cl.3] there it is; [pron. suujé]
<i>suye</i>	[cl.1] there he is; [pron. suyé]
<i>suyu</i>	this is the one [cl.1] [pron. suyú] Ngoombe/ suyú. ‘Here’s the cow.’ Omari/ suyú. ‘Here is Omari.’ Or: Suyú/ Omari. Suyú/ myaaná/ waa mi/ khupelo balani/ khuleetelá. ‘Here is the servant whom I promised to bring to you.’ Suyú/ mbuzi mzeelé/ suyú/ mbuzi mwaaná. ‘Here is the older goat, here is the younger goat.’ Suyú/ mwaaná. ‘Here’s the child.’ Suyú/ sultaaní/ chisułowá. ‘This is the sultan who is wanted (i.e. this is the kind of sultan who we desire).’
<i>suyu</i>	here it [cl.3] is; [pron suyú] Mkate/ suyú. ‘Here’s the cake.’
<i>suyu</i>	this is the one [cl.14] [pron. suyú] suyú/ ukí ‘here’s the honey’
<i>suyuje</i>	there it [cl.1] is; [pron. suyujé] variant form: sujé Ngoombe/ suyujé (or: sujé). ‘There’s the cow (far from us).’ Suyujé/ mwaaná. ‘There’s the child (far from us).’
<i>suyuje</i>	there it [cl.3] is; [pron. suyujé] Mkate/ suyujé. ‘There’s the cake (far from us).’
<i>suyuje</i>	this is the one [cl.14] away from us; [pron. suyujé] suyujé/ ukí ‘there’s the honey over there’
-ta-	future tense [Sw. -ta- A 36] Mwaana/ chimwaambila/ mukhta we/ takhsuuló. ‘The boy told him: whenever you [will] want.’ Nt^hakhupa rukhsa. ‘I will give you permission.’ Stakuwakoo ngoma. ‘There will be drumming tomorrow.’ Yaa we/ nakhsuuló/ shatakupa. ‘Whatever you want, we will give you.’
<i>chi-ta</i> (zi-)	n. 7/8 [Sw. <i>kichwa</i> SSED 188] head Afiya/ ni taaji/ ilu ua zita za wenye afiya/ nt^haku/ nayiiwó/ shokuwa wenye maraði. ‘Health is a crown on the heads of the healthy; there is no one who knows this except the sick.’ Bishile chitaacha. ‘He hit my head.’ Or: Mbishilee chita. ‘He hit me on the head.’ chita chaa mp^hana ‘the head of a rat – i.e. a small head’ Hamadi/ chitaache/ kana chaa mp^hana. ‘Hamadi has a head like that of a rat – i.e. a small head.’ chita chaa nsi ‘fish-head’ chita chuumu ‘[lit.] hard head -- said of a stubborn person, who cannot be easily convinced to change his mind’ Nuuru/ ni chita chuumu/ hakasi/ jawaabu. ‘Nuuru is stubborn and does not heed any advice.’ chita/ nt^hiini/ miilu/ ilu ‘[lit.] head down feet up, i.e. upside down, in a mess (said of things, not people)’ Chingila nuumbaye/ takuwona yikoo chita/ nt^hiini/ miilu/ ilu.

‘If you enter his house you will see it is in a mess.’

Kooðize/ nize khtaambulá/ leselee chiṭa/ nṭ^hiini/ miilu/ ilu. ‘I could not understand what he said, his reasoning/speech was confused (lit. he brought them head down feet up)

chiṭa shkulu ‘[lit.] big head -- similar in usage to **chiṭa chuumu** above
chiṭa ‘per person’

Shṭinzile tikiti/ chiṭa/ shiliingi/ miya. ‘We bought (lit. cut) tickets at one hundred shillings per person.’

Chiṭaache/ kana chaa mp^hana. ‘His head is like that of a rat (i.e. small).’

Chiṭaache/ nch^haakó/ na kuḷa chiint^hu/ nch^haaká/ shokuwa mukeewa/ na waanawá. ‘My head is yours and everything that I have, except my wife and my children.’

chiṭaani ‘on, around the head’

Chiza kuleeta/ we/ takḥṭindowaa chiṭa. ‘If you do not bring it, you will be beheaded.’

kumeraa chiṭa ‘to be spinning (of head, **chiṭa** is subject)

Chiṭa/ chinakunmeera. ‘My head is spinning -- i.e. I am confused, amazed.’

Chiṭaacha/ chinmereele. ‘[Lit.] my head was spinning -- i.e. I was amazed, confused.’

Chiṭa/ shṭakhumeera. ‘Your head will be spinning -- i.e. you will be amazed.’

Chiza kuleeta/ we/ takḥṭindowaa chiṭa. ‘If you do not bring it, you will be beheaded.’

kumbadila muunt^hu/ chiṭaache ‘to change someone’s mind’

Alí/ mkali/ hubadila waant^hu/ chiṭa. ‘Ali is very good at

changing people’s minds.’

kumvundaa chiṭa ‘[lit. to break the head] -- i.e. to disgrace, dishonor, disrespect someone’

Omari/ nvunzilee mi/ chiṭaacha. ‘Omari disgraced me.’

Shtaambula/ mi/ chiṭaacha/ halaaliyo/ na chiza khtaambula/ chiṭaacho/ ni halaaliya. ‘If you solve (this riddle), my head is lawfully yours, and if you do not solve it, your head is lawfully mine.’

rel.

chi-ta (zi-ta) n. 7/8 head; [pron. **chitá** in the singular and **zitá** in the plural] (Phon. This form is not the diminutive form of ‘head’, but the accentual pattern is reminiscent of a form like, say, **chigé**, the diminutive of **nge**. On the other hand, the retention of the vowel in the prefix contrasts with the formative **shke** in **wanaashke** ‘girls’, cf. **chike** ‘feminine’ and **muke** ‘woman’.)

Habibi Chitá ‘Habibi Head, the name of a well-known shopkeeper who sold beverages’

chi-ji-ta (zi-ji-) n. 7/8 dim.

i-ji-ta (mi-ji-) n. 5/4 aug. a big head

n-ta

n. 9/10 [Sw. *ncha* SSED 331] end, point; [pron. **nṭ^ha**]

Nṭ^ha yaa chisu/ imdurile mwaana. ‘The point of the knife pierced the child.’ Or: **Chisu/ nṭ^haaye/ imdurile mwaana.** ‘[Lit.] The knife, its point pierced the child.’ Or: **Nṭ^hayee chisu/ imdurile mwaana.** ‘[Lit.] Its point the knife pierced the child.’ (Syn: It should be noted that in the alternative **Chisu/ nṭ^haaye/ imdurile mwaana.**, the noun **chisu** and the possessed noun **nṭ^haaye** are in separate phonological phrases, but nevertheless they apparently constitute a syntactic unit. This is reflected by the fact that they remain adjacent in the word order. If there is separation, as in **Chisu/ imdurile mwaana/ nṭ^haaye.**, the sentence-final **nṭ^haaye** is like an afterthought. As such, its position in the sentence is final. It would

be ungrammatical, for instance, to put it post-verbal: *Chisu/

imdurile nt^haaye/ mwaana.)

nt^ha ya lkaambala ‘the end of a rope’

Sulhu/ hayiyyi/ ila/ ka nt^ha ya lpaanga. ‘Peace does not come except at the point of a sword.’ (A proverb.)

rel.

chi-n-ta (*zi-n-*) n. dim. [pron. **chint^há, zint^há**]

khinda chint^há ‘to cut a point’

i-n-ta (*mi-n-*) n. 5/4 aug. [pron. **int^há** (sg.) and **mint^há** (pl.)]

sh-ta (*s-*) n. dim. (Phon. Although the high vowel of a prefix does not ordinarily delete in the environment before a CV root, deletion does occur in the case of the diminutive prefix *chi*.)

khinda sh-ta ‘to cut a point’

taa’a

n. [Sw. *taa* SSED 466; Ar. *tā’ū* "obedience, compliance, submissiveness" W 573] obedience, loyalty

khila ta’aani ‘to subdue’

kuja haraamu taa’a haytasawari [st.] ‘to eat unlawful things [means that] obedience [to the tenets of Islam] is not possible’

ta’aani ‘in obedience’

waana waamo ta’aani [st.] ‘the children who are in obedience, i.e. submissive’

ta’abaani

n. loc. in exhaustion

Nakhsoola/ nakhsoola/ hattá/ nakuwa ta’abaani. ‘She pounds and pounds (the maize) until she becomes exhausted.’

Wako ta’abaani. ‘They are all in bad shape, exhausted.’

kh-ta’abata

v. [Som. *tacab* "to earn s.t. by one’s own work" DSI 570] (**ta’abeete**) earn, make money

Huta’abato zeemá/ huminfa yeeye. ‘The one who works hard so that he accumulates good deeds gets his benefits/rewards.’ (A proverb.)

Nt^ha’abeete maali. ‘I have earned wealth (with difficulty).’

rel.

kh-ta’abatisha v. caus.

kh-ta’abatishana v. caus. rec.

kh-ta’abatishiliza v. caus. appl.

kh-ta’abatishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-ta’abatoowa v. pass.

Maali/ huta’abatoowa. ‘Wealth is worked for.’ (A proverb.)

kh-ta’abika

v. [Sw. *taabika* SSED 443; Ar. *ta’iba* W 94] be in a difficulty, encounter physical difficulties, get tired as a consequence of physical difficulties

Nt^ha’abishilé. ‘I encountered physical difficulties.’

Suufi/ ta’abishile safariini. ‘Suufi encountered physical difficulties on his trip.’

We/ chishindroowa/ takhpelekoowa/ khfanya kazi ya miyuundra/ ukuje/ we/ takhta’abikaa nt^ho/ kheeri/ reeptama. ‘If you are defeated, you will be sent to work on the farms, there you will be in great distress, it is better for you to stop yourself (from playing cards with this girl).’

rel.

kh-ta’abisha v. caus. [Sw. *taabisha* SSED 443] put s.o. in physical difficulties; tire s.o. out (by giving him physically taxing things to do)

Baana/ mta’abishize mwaana. ‘Baana tired the child out (with the jobs he gave him to do).’

Nt^ha’abishizee nt^ho. ‘He caused me to get tired (by giving me a lot to do), etc.’

kh-ta’abishiliza v. caus. appl.

kh-ta’abishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Baana/ na Omari/ wata’abishilizenye waana. ‘Baana and Omari tired

each other's children out (by giving them a lot to do).'

ta'abu

n. 9 [Sw. *taabu* SSED 443; Ar. *ta'ab* W 94] difficulty, hardship

Ba'ada ya ta'abu/ chimshishile eelo/ chimtünzilé. 'After difficulty, we caught the gazelle and slaughtered it.'

Hattá/ sku mooyi/ nt^hawakuwona/ dhibu/ walá/ ta'abú. 'Not even once did they meet difficulty or hardship.'

Husulo raahá/ laazima/ kuwona ta'abu. 'He who wants rest must see difficulties first.' (A proverb.)

Impete ta'abu/ safariini. 'He was faced with difficulty on his trip.'

Kuja/ ni raaha/ kulima/ ni ta'abu. 'To eat is enjoyable, to farm is hard.'

(A proverb.)

Ndilaani/ ta'abu/ kani/ we nayo khusuumá. 'Outside it is difficult, why do you have enemy (towards me)?'

Nuuru/ ta'abuye/ niingi. 'Nuuru has many problems (lit. Nuuru, his problems are many).'

Wene ta'abu/ karka safari. 'He had a difficult trip (lit. he saw difficulty in trip).'

kh-ta'adimisha

v. respect, bestow honor on

ta'adiimu

n. 9 [Sw. *taadhima* SSED 3; Ar. *ta'zim* "glorification, exaltation" W 624] respect

variant form: **ta'adima verify pronunciation**

yezeeze waant^hu qalbiini ka heshma na ta'adima [song] 'he filled people's hearts with respect and exaltation'

ta'adi

n. [Sw. *tadi* SSED 443] provocation

Iyi/ ni ta'adi. 'This is a provocation.'

khfanya ta'adi 'to violate a law or custom, aggravate'

Stendrozo/ ni ta'adi. 'Your actions are a provocation.'

kh-ta'adisha
someone

v. [Sw. *taadi, tadi* SSED 443; Ar.] violate a law or custom; aggravate or wrong

Ma'askari/ wachilawa/ keendra/ kummeera/ mgeeni/ oyo/ mta'adishizo sultaani. 'The soldiers left and went to search for that stranger who had wronged the sultan.'

Nambilaani mi/ nt^ha'adishiizeni. 'Tell me what wrong I have done.'

Waana/ hawasuloowi/ khta'adisha wazeele. 'Children should not aggravate parents.'

kh-ta'ajaba

v. [Sw. (s)*taajabu* SSED 6; Ar. verb *ajiba, ajab* "be astonished" and noun

ta'ajjub "astonishment" W 591] (**ta'ajabiile**) marvel at, be astounded, be surprised

variant form: **-sta'ajaba**

Eelo/ sh^ha'ajaba ka kuwona muuyi/ karka hali iyi. 'The gazelle was surprised to see the town in this condition.'

Kuwa Hamadi/ pisile imtihaani/ nta'ajibiile. 'I was surprised that Hamadi passed the examination.' (The first person singular subject prefix is generally deleted in the future tense in GM's pronunciation. MI would retain the nasal and aspirated the following voiceless dental stop.)

Laakini/ Abdalla/ mukhta'aa ye/ kasizo kooóí/ za mukeewé/ qalbiye/

imbishilee nt^ho/ na ista'ajabiile. 'But when Abdalla heard the words of his wife, his heart beat very much and he was amazed.'

Mabawaabu/ washta'ajaba/ kichiwona/ chizeele/ ndrani/ ya ikholi/ naachó/ chinamsulo kumwona sultaani. 'The door-keepers were amazed to see the old woman inside a mat-bag who wants to see the sultan.'

Waant^hu/ wawenopo markabu ya dhabú/ washta'ajaba/ nt^ho. 'When the people saw the ship made of gold, they marvelled very much.'

Wasimeeme/ wanakhṭa'ajaba celo/ kinendra muyiini. 'They stood there. amazed to see a gazelle walking in town.'

Wotte/ washta'ajaba. 'All were amazed.'

rel.

kh-ta'ajabisha v. (**ta'ajabishiize**) surprise s.o.

variant form: **-sta'ajabisha**

Jaama/ kizake kenda madrasaani/ imṭa'ajabishize Nuuru. 'Jama's not going to school surprised Nuuru.'

Khabari/ zimṭa'ajabishize Nuuru. 'The news surprised Nuuru.'

Mambo aya/ yawasta'ajabishiize/ nt^ho/ wana awo/ laakini/

nt^hawakhaadira/ khṭemuka/ kiḷa mooyi/ rebele kaake/ qalbiini/ tu. 'These matters amazed them very much, but they could not utter a word, everyone just kept [his thoughts] in his heart.'

kh-ta'akhara

v. [Ar. *akara* W 8 and *ta'akkur* " W 9] (**ta'akhariile**) delay (intr.)

Ariplaano/ yulushile/ ba'adi ya khṭa'akhara/ sa'a mooyi. 'The airplane took off after a delay of one hour.'

'Hamadi said to Omari: I beg you, don't be late to our meeting.'

Omari/ ta'akhariile/ karkaa shiri. 'Omari arrived late to the meeting.'

Ta'akhariile/ jawaabu/ maape/ ikhurebee. 'You got delayed, something stopped you (from doing what you intended).'

rel.

kh-ta'akharika v. (**ta'akharishile**) be delayed

Ta'akharishile. 'You got delayed.'

kh-ta'akharisha v. delay

Muunthu/ chisulo khfanya chiint^hu/ siwo/ suura/ khṭa'akharisha. 'If a person wants to do something, it is not good to delay.'

ta'(a)khiiri

n. a delay

Kuḷa/ ta'akhiiri/ ni kheeri. 'Every delay is blessed.' (A proverb that suggests that a delay may be ordained by God and something good will result from it.)

ta'(a)kiidi

n. 9 [Ar. *ta kīd* "assurance, confirmation" W 21] affirmation, assurance

khfanya ta'kiidi 'to assure'

khpa ta'kiidi 'to give assurance'

ta'(a)liimu

n. [Ar. *ta fīm* W 636] education

Nthanaayo/ ta'aliimu. 'He does not have an education.'

ta'(a)liiqi

n. [Ar. *ta fiq* W 634] comment, commentary

khfanya ta'liiqi 'to comment'

Siná/ ta'liiqi/ ilu ya kooḏize. 'I have no comment on his talk.'

kh-ta'al(u)qana na

v. [Ar. *aliqa* "to be attached, connected, related" W 634] concern, deal with, have a relationship with (In Chimiini, the sound *l* is realized as **ḷ** when adjacent to a consonant, thus in this example there is an alternation between *luq* and *lq*.)

Hashta'alugani/ teena. 'We do not deal with each other any more.'

Mwaana/ shkalaantha/ chimaliza chihada/ khabrii mbovu/ sta'alqeene/ na mteendre, 'The child sat down and then reported the bad news concerning the date tree.'

kh-ta'amula

v. [Ar. *amala* and *ta'ammul* W 28] (**ta'amuliile**) ponder

Ta'amula kooḏize. 'Ponder his words.'

ta'amuli

n. 9 [Sw. *taamuli* SSED 443] the act of pondering

ta'anisi

n. 9 [Sw. *taanasa* SSED 14; Ar. *anisa* "to be companionable" W 30] entertainment

- kh-ta'aradila* v. [Sw. *taaradhia* SSED 443; Ar. *'aruda* W 603] interfere, meddle
- ta'(a)riifu* n. [Sw. *taarifu* “a report, either written or spoken” SSED 18; Ar. *ta'rif* “notification, specification” W 606] informing, report; list of prices with the price for each item
- kh-ta'arzukha* v. [Ar. *razaqa* W 336] (*ta'arzukiile*) *uncommon* go looking for one's daily bread
Fijiri/ lazilopo khta'arzukha kama aada... ‘In the morning when he went to go looking for his daily bread as usual...’
Teena/ ichiwa kulla muunt'i/ hendra khta'arzukha pamo na eeloye. ‘Since then it became that each day he would go out looking for his daily sustenance with his gazelle.’
- ta'(a)siisi* n. 9 [Ar. *ta'sis* W 15] foundation
- ta'asuwa* n. [from Ar. *tis'a* “nine” W 94] the ninth day of the Islamic month of Muharram (the fourth month of the Bravanese calendar)
takhfuunga ta'asuwa shkoma makaani [st.] ‘I will fast *ta'asuwa* if I reach next year’
ta'asuwa khfuunga pamo na ashuura [st.] ‘fast the ninth day and Ashuura both together’
- kh-ta'(a)tharika* v. [Ar. *atara* “to affect” W 3] (*ta'(a)tharishile*) be affected
Ta'tharishilee ntho/ ka kufa waawaye. ‘He was very much affected by his father's death.’
- ta'(a)wiili* n. [Ar. *ta'wil* W 35] interpretation
- kh-ta'(a)ziya* v. (*ta'aziyiile*) give condolences
- ta'(a)ziya* n. [Ar. *ta'ziya* W 612, from verb *'azā* W 611] condolence, sympathy, disconsolation
kuwanayo ta'aziya ‘to be disconsolate’
kuweka ta'aziya (also: **khfanya ta'aziya**) ‘to stay home for a specific period of time after the death of a relative so that people can come and give their condolences’
Numbaani/ mahala ifiila/ itakhkalanthowa ta'aziya/ skuu nthatu. ‘At the house where (lit.) there is being died on, (lit.) there is sat *ta'aziya* for three days.’
- taa'ifa* n. 9/10,6 [Sw. *taifa* SSED 445; Ar. *ta'ifa* “band, group, people” W 574] nation, group of people
- ta'khiiri* n. delay
Kila/ ta'khiiri/ ni kheeri. ‘Each delay in a blessing.’ (A proverb.)
- ta'uuni* n. [Ar. *ta'un* W 560] epidemic, plague
maradi ya ta'uuni ‘an epidemic disease’
- ta'ziiri* n. (cf. **ku-'azira**) [Ar. *ta'zir* “censure, chastisement” W610] punishment etc. (as described in detail under the entry for the verb **ku-'azira**)
kandikowa ta'ziiri ‘to be punished, humiliated, etc. (in the sense described)’
- tab'i* n. in the expression:
kubiga tab'i ‘to print (a book)’
Ye/ bishilee chuwo/ tab'i. ‘He printed a book.’
- mu-tabahiri*
tabahiri (pl.) adj. [Ar. *mutabahhir* W 43] very learned, having vast knowledge; **tabahiri** or **wa-**
Ni mutabahiri/ ka nahwi. ‘He is well-versed in grammar.’

- kh-tabaru'a* v. [Ar. *tabarru* "donation, contribution" W 53] (**tabaru'iile**) make a contribution
dollars.
rel.
kh-tabaru'ila v. appl. (**tabaru'iliile**) contribute to
Ali/ **tabaru'iliile** madrasa/ **dolarii miya**. 'Ali contributed a hundred dollars
to the school.'
- tabaru'i** n. 9/10 contribution
- kh-tabasama* v. [Sw. *tabasamu* SSED 443; Ar. *basama* W 59] smile
- tabasamu** n. 9 smiling
- tabaashiri** n. 9/10 [Ar. *tabāshīr* W 551] chalk
- kh-tabawula* v. [Sw. *tabawali* "urinate" SSED 444; Ar. *baul* "urine" and *bāla, baul* "urinate" W 83] (**tabawuliile**) clean oneself after urinating
- tabi'a** n. 9/10 [Sw. *tabia* SSED 444; Ar. *ṭabī'a* W 552] nature, character. temperament, manner, habit, custom, behavior
lada ya tabi'ayo [song] 'the sweetness of your nature'
Ori/ kuwiika/ ni tabi'a yaawo/ walá/ wo/ hawawiiki/ kumfanyiliza muunt^hu/ ihsaani. 'For cocks to crow is their nature, neither do they not crow in order to do a man a favor.'
tabi'a mbovu nt^huwanaayo kumbe na waant^hu barshiiza [song] 'bad behavior you did not have, rather you were taught this by people' (Morph: The form **nt^huwanaayo** is a shortening from **nt^hukuwanaayo**.)
Usura waa muke/ ni usura wa tabi'a/ siwo/ usura wa uso. 'The beauty of a woman is beauty of character, it is not facial beauty.' (A proverb.)
- kh-tabi'a* v. [Ar. *ṭaba'a* W 551] (**tabi'iile**) print something
Ye/ tabi'ilee chuwo. 'He printed a book.'
- kh-tabiiba* v. [Sw. *tabibia* SSED 444; Ar. *ṭabba, ṭibb* W 550] (**tabibiile**) cure, heal, treat (as a patient); solve a problem
Niya njeema/ hutabiiba/ niyaa mbovu/ hukhariba. 'A good intention cures, a bad intention spoils.' (A proverb.)
- tabiibu** n. [Sw. *tabibu* SSED 444; Ar. *ṭabīb* W 550] doctor; adj. someone who can solve, handle people's problems effectively
Tozelee dawa/ na tabiibu. 'He did not find treatment and healer (someone who could cure him).'
rel.
u-tabiibu n. 14 [Sw. *utabibu* SSED 444] the profession of being a doctor; the act of treating a patient'
- kh-tabiqa* v. (**tabikhiile**) apply s.t. to s.t.; [pron. **khtabiqa** or **khtabikha**]
- taabuuti** n. 9/10 [Ar. *tābūt* W 88] structure in stone or wood, usually covered with cloth, situated over the grave of a saint or religious teacher (Arabic words with successive long vowels retain this sequence in their Chimwiini incarnations, despite the fact that this runs contrary to Chimwiini prosody. Of course, this retention of length only occurs when the word is phrase-final.)
- kh-tadakhula* v. [Ar. *tadākul* "interference"] (**tadakhuliile**) interfere
- tadakhuli** n. 9 interference
khfanya tadakhuli 'to interfere'

kh-tadaruka v. [?cf. Sw. *tadaraki* or *tadariki* SSED 70; Ar. *daraka* "to supplement or supply that which is missing", "to set right, put in order", "to face, meet (a need)" W 279] (**tadarukiile**) take care of someone (e.g. guest in one's happy)

variant form: **kh-tadaraka**

tadbiiri n. [Ar. *tadbīr* "planning, economization" W 270] the act of going out and obtaining what is needed, esp. if this means going outside the usual channels

khfanya tadbiiri 'to go out and get what one needs'

mwenye tadbiiri 'one who knows how to get around an obstacle and get what he needs'

tadriibu n. 9 [Ar. *tadrīb* W 276] training

Waana/ wanakhpowa tadriibu ya chi'askari. 'The children are given military training.'

tafađali invar. [Sw. *tafadhali* SSED 89; Ar. *fadʔl* "grace, favour, benefit" W 718] please

Ali/ tafađali/ naambila/ nini/ ma'anaye. 'Ali, please, tell me what is its meaning?'

Chimwambila mgarwa/ tafađali/ nnakhsuulá/ khutuma/ mweenza/ endrá/ tawala/ ya wanyaasa/ nnakhkasa ya kuwa tawalá/ ije/ zimoo nsi/ niingi. 'He said to the fisherman: please, I want to dispatch you, friend; go to the sea of the Wanyaasa; I hear that there are many fish in that sea.'

Maame/ tafađali/ nonyeza mahala/ wako mayahuudi. 'Mother, please show me a place where there are Jews.'

Mi/ nakihtaja peesa/ tafađali/ ula/ chulungu cha kaandra/ nuumba/ nzimaye/ inawe yaako. 'I need money; please buy the first storey of the whole house so that it may be yours.'

Oloka/ mpelekela/ na tafađali/ ndretela majiibu/ na mapeema. 'Go and take [them] to him and please bring me the answer quickly.'

Tafađali/ Ali/ nfungulila mlaango/ amó/ we/ lawa/ ndilaani/ nikhaambile/ yaa mi/ niliiló. 'Please, Ali, open the door for me, or you come outside so that I tell you what I have come for.'

Tafađali/ bwana sultaani/ mp^hokela feđa izi/ ni zawaadi/ mi/

khuletelelee we. 'Please, Mr. Sultan, accept these coins, they are a gift, I have given them to you.'

Tafađali/ mp^ha. 'Please, give it to me!'

Tafađali/ stoshe/ kuwaa si/ chinakhuchiimbila. 'Please do not think that we are running away from you.'

kh-tafakara v. [Ar. *fakara* W 724] think about something with hesitation

hada tahara we bila khtafakara [st.] '(then you can) say it is clean without hesitation'

kh-tafaruja v. [Sw. *tafaraji, tafaruji* SSED 444; Ar. *faraja* "take pleasure, relax" W 702]

(**tafarujiile**) take a stroll for pleasure in the evening

Sku mooyi/ mi/ nlazile/ khtafaruja/ ka mii/ peeke. 'One day I went out for a stroll alone.'

Sku yiingine/ masku/ Abunawaasi/ uje waliko waziri chihabba/ wa Harun Rashidi/ wakhti oyo/ oloshela/ khtafaruja/ ndilaani/ ye/ naaye/ nakinendro'ineendro/ ndilaani/ wene nuumba/ yiyo/ iyo/ naa tala/ iwaliko ichaaka. 'On another day at night, Abunawaasi, who was a sub-minister of Harun Rashidi at that time, went to take a stroll outside and while he was strolling outside, he saw that very same house and the light was on.'

Ye/ chishkila/ ka jahaziini/ chendra muyiini/ khtafaruja. 'He disembarked from the dhow and went to the town to relax/ seek comfort.'

rel.

kh-tafarujatafaruja v. freq.

Haťa/ sku mooyi/ karkaa si/ chi-na-kh-tafarujatafarujó/ chi-wene numba yaa mawe/ nk^hulu/ nt^ho. 'Until one day while we were taking a stroll we saw a very large house of stone.'

Mi/ nnakhsula khsaafirá/ khtafarujatafaruja/ kulangała duniya/ jisa ikeeló. 'I want to travel, to go around seeking pleasure, to see the

way the world looks.’

kh-tafarujika v. p/s.

kh-tafarujisha v. caus.

kh-tafarujishanav. caus. rec.

kh-tafarujishiliza v. caus. appl.

Ji/ mtafarujishilize baaba/ mwaana. ‘Ji took father’s child for a stroll.’

kh-tafarujishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Ji/ na Ali/ watafarujishilizenye waana. ‘Ji and Ali took one another’s children for a stroll.’

tafaruji

n. 9 [Sw. *tafrija* SSED 444] stroll

tafaawuti

n. 9 [Sw. *tafauti* SSED 471; Ar. *tafawut* "difference, contrast" W 731] difference; adj. different

Ma’ana ya haruusi/ karka nt^hi ya Mbalazi/ si tafaawuti/ na ma’anaye/ hada/ karka nt^hi ya wa’ameerika. ‘The significance of marriage in the land of Brava is not different from its significance, say, in the land of the Americans.’

Tafaawuti/ yimo karka namna/ jisa uma mbalmbali/ hufanyo haruusi. ‘The difference is in the way how different nations conduct a marriage.’

tafkiiri

n. 9 [Sw. *tafakiri* SSED 96; Ar. *tafkir* W 724] thought, thinking, faculty or power of thinking

Nt^haná/ tafkiiri. ‘He has no ability to think.’

tafraani(Ø, ma-)

adj. [Som. *dafraan*, variant of *dafshaan* DSI 125] destitute (of people)

tafsiili

ka **tafsiili** ‘in detail’

Diini/ somelopo lwarakha/ pete ra’ayi/ ye/ fikirile kaandika/ ka tafsii/ ije wapeetó/ yotte. ‘When Diini read that piece of paper, he had a thought and he decided to write in detail all that had befallen them.’

kh-tafsiira

v. [Sw. *tafsiri* SSED 93; Ar. *fasira* W 713] (**tafsiriile**) translate, explain, interpret
variant form: **khfasira** (see above)

kh^htafsira darsi ‘to explain a lesson’

Nt^haku/ karka waant^hu/ awo/ khadiriiló/ kh^htafsiirá/ ndroto izó. ‘There was no one among those people who was able to interpret those dreams.’ (Phon. What we called in the introduction ‘The Accentual Law of Focus’ does not apply to the relative clause construction. Specifically, in this example, the relative verb is phrasally separated from its following complement, indicating that there is focus on this verb, but nevertheless the final accent triggered by the relative verb extends all the way to the end of the relative clause.)

Wachihada/ kh^htafsira ndrooto/ si/ siwo/ china’iwó. ‘They said: to interpret dreams, we are not the ones who know how.’

rel.

kh-tafsiirila v. appl. [Sw. *tafsiria* SSED 93] (**tafsiriile**)

Isa/ nt^hafsiirila/ Ali/ penzeleezeni/ kuhada/ kuwaa ye/ ifungu imooyi/ ilatile bahariini. ‘Now explain to me what Ali intended by saying that he threw the first portion into the sea.’

kum^htafsirila darsi ‘to explain a lesson to someone’

Nim^htafsiriile mwaaná/ darsi. ‘I explained the lesson to the child.’
(Syn. While in this sentence only **mwaana** could be the subject of the corresponding passive sentence, either **mwaana** or **darsi** can be the head of a relative version of

this sentence: **darsi yaa mi/ nimtafsirili mwaaná** ‘the lesson that I explained to the child’ or **mwana waa mi/ nimtafsirili darsi** ‘the child to whom I explained the lesson’.)

Maliizopó/ Ali/ shkalant^ha/ kumtafsirila/ waziiri/ yaa ye/ mwambilo sultaani/ na ya sultaani/ mwaambiló. ‘When he finished [praying], Ali sat down and explained to the minister what he had said to the sultan and what the sultan had said to him.’

Shtuluba/ ka Yuusufu/ kumtafsiriila/ ndrootoze. ‘He asked Yuusufu to explain to him his dreams.’

kh-tafsiriloowa v. appl. pass.

Mwaana/ tafsirila darsi/ naami. ‘The child had the lesson explained to him by me.’

Shta^hfsiriilá/ maneeno/ yote. ‘[Lit.] We were explained all the words -- i.e. all the words were explained to us.’ (Phon. Focus on the verb requires that the final accent triggered by the verb be limited to the verb and not include the complements to the verb.)

kh-tafsiroowa v. pass.

Darsi/ itafsirila naami. ‘The lesson was explained by me.’

tafsiri

n. 9 [Sw. *tafsiri* SSED 93; Ar. *tafsīr* W 713]] translating, translation, explanation

Basi/ mubli/ fijiri/ chilawa/ kendra kumera tafsiri/ ya lughzi/ ilo. ‘So, the husband in the morning left and went to look for an explanation of that riddle.’

Iyi/ ndiyó/ tafsiri/ ya ndrootoza. ‘This it is, the explanation of my dreams.’

kh-taaga

v. [etymology unknown] (**taazile, tagiile**) (i) open something wide, stretch something taut; (ii) insist that someone do something

(i) **khtagaa kana** or **khtaga ikana** ‘to open the mouth wide’
Tazilee kana. ‘He opened his mouth wide.’

khtagaa luzi ‘to stretch a string taut’

khtaga maato ‘to open the eyes wide’

khtaga mikono ‘to give up, surrender (lit. to widen the hands)’

khtaga mlaango ‘to open a door wide’

Maana/ oyo/ shtaga ikanaye/ hamamaziki. ‘That child, when he opens his mouth wide (crying), he cannot be silenced.’

Naani/ tazilo igozi iyí. ‘Who stretched this skin (e.g. I am asking because it is not fully taut)?’

Skutaaga/ lkaambala. ‘I did not stretch the rope taut.’

(ii) **Ali/ nt^haazile.** ‘Ali insisted that I do it.’

Stageeni. ‘You (pl.) don’t insist!’

rel.

kh-tagamana v. (**tagameene**) be stretched taut

Igozi/ iktagameene. ‘The skin is stretched taut (e.g. after having been in the sun, pegged down for some time).’

kh-tagamanika v. p/s.

Igozi/ itagamanishile. ‘The skin has become stretched taut (as a direct consequence of human action).’

kh-tagamanikila v. p/s. appl.

Igozi/ int^hagamanikiliile. ‘The skin became taut for me (e.g. I was trying to get it to be taut and I succeeded).’

kh-tagamanisha v. caus. stretch something taut

Naani/ tagamanishiizó. ‘Who stretched it (e.g. he did a good job, it is fully taut).’

Tagamanishize igozi. ‘He stretched the hide taut.’

kh-tagamela v. (**tagameele**) be extended

Miimbaya/ itagameele/ kanaa ngoma. ‘My stomach is extended like a drum.’

kh-taagana v. rec. open one another's mouth; insist that one another do something
kh-taagika v. p/s.

Luzi la chuma ili/ haltaagiki. 'This wire cannot be stretched taut.'

kh-tagikila v. p/s. appl.

Lint^h agikilile. 'It was able to be made taut for me (the first impression that one gets from this sentence is that I was trying to make something taut and I succeeded).'

kh-taagila v. appl. stretch for, with

khtagila mikono 'to surrender, give up to'

Oyo/ mi/ nimtagilile mikonó. 'That one, I have surrendered to him.'

Siná/ nguvu za tagila luzi ili. 'I have no strength with which to stretch this string tight.'

kh-tagilika v. appl. p/s.

Baana/ hatagiliki/ luzi ili. 'One cannot stretch this string for Baana'

kh-taagisha v. caus.

Mtagishize mwaana/ kana. 'He made the child open his mouth (but he did not actually open the child's mouth directly).'

rel. nom.

m-taago n. 3

ma-taago n. 6

u-taago n. 14

kh-taghayara

v. [Sw. *taghayari* M&N 2277-2278, where examples are cited for this verb being used in the sense 'be changed' and equated with Sw. *badilika*; Ar. *gāra*, *gaira* W (*taghayariile*) turn, change (e.g. milk becoming sour)

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rel.

kh-taghayarika v. p/s.

Hawapeendi/ ba/ ziint^hu/ kubadilika/ walá/ ziint^hu/ khtaghayariká.

'They do not want things to change nor to alter.' **review accent and phrasing, esp ziinthu after wala**

kh-tagharisha v. caus.

Kanaa ni/ nnakhaadiró/ khtagharisha ziint^hú... 'If you (pl.) are to change things...'

taghayuri

n. 9 a change in a situation or state of affairs

kh-tahaðara

v. [Sw. *tahadhari* SSED 122; Ar. *haðira* W 163; see also *tahðir* "warning" W 164] (*tahaðariile*) be careful, pay attention, be aware, stay off/away from, watch out

Osmaani/ tahaðara/ meza iyo. 'Osmaani, watch out for/take care of that table.'

rel.

kh-tahaðarisha v. caus. warn, make alert

kh-tahaðarishiliza v. caus. appl. warn for

kh-tahaðaroowa v. pass.

Khtahaðaroowa/ ni suura. 'To be careful is good.'

tahaðari

n. attention, carefulness; interj. beware, take care

ka tahaðari 'with caution, cautiously, carefully'

Haliima/ mpikishize muné/ chaakuja/ ka tahaðari. 'Haliima cautiously got her younger sister to cook the food.' (Syn. Observe that in this causative verb construction, the adverbial **ka tahaðari** is most naturally understood to be modifying the the act of causation rather than the act of cooking. To convey the idea that the cooking was done carefully, one uses the periphrastic causative, illustrated immediately below.)

Haliima/ mtile muné/ khpika chaakuja/ ka tahaðari. 'Haliima

had her younger sister cook the food carefully.’

khfanya tahaðari ‘to be careful’

na nt^hiini ya muti na nt^huundru khatari/ majini hukalo ndruruwa

tahaðari [st.] ‘and under a tree or in a hole in the ground it is dangerous [to take care of bodily functions in these places], **majini** dwell there, O my brother, take care!’

soomu za sunna kiwisha tahaðari [st.] ‘beware of making [your] non-obligatory fasting known [this may just become bragging]’

Tahaðari/ khabla aļ athari. ‘Be careful before the damage comes (lit. before the effect).’ (A proverb.)

m-tahaðari (wa-) adj. someone careful

tahaliili n. [cf. Som. *tahlil* ‘blessing of water, performed by reading chapters of the Koran. This water is afterwards drunk or spread on body in order to acquire blessings and health’ DSI 573; cf. Ar. *hall* ‘solution of problem, dissolution, liberation’ W 199] (i) the meaning of the Somali source word is maintained in Chimiini, where the custom of using blessed water remains very much alive, particularly to help sick people; (ii) ceremony that marks the anniversary of someone’s death

variant form: **tahlili**

Moomini/ nakhfaanya/ tahliili/ ya waawaye. ‘Moomini is performing the **tahlili** of his father (i.e. a ceremony on the anniversary of his father’s death).’

tahaluka n. [Ar. *tahluka* ‘ruin, perilous situation’ W 1031] disaster, great danger that causes *masheekhi ni tahaluka / hudaraawo hutuluka / hughuiba ruuhu na maali* [st.] ‘holy men are very dangerous, those who despise them fall, their souls and their wealth perish’

kh-tahamaka notice v. [Sw. *tahamaki* SSED 445; Ar. *hamaka* ‘to be engrossed, dedicated’ W 1034] take

tahaara n. [Sw. *tohara* SSED 445; Ar. *tahāra* W 570] (ritual) cleanliness (of body, clothes) *hada taahara we bila khtafakara* [st.] ‘[then you can] say it is clean without hesitation’

Tahaara/ ya jima/ nda arkhamiisi. ‘The ritual cleanliness for Friday (prayer) is from Thursday.’ (A proverb which counsels preparing oneself in advance.)

kh-taharaka v. [Sw. *taharaki* SSED 128; Ar. *haraka* ‘to move, to excite’ W 170] move, be in a hurry, be eager, be worried

Dughaaghi/ nt^hakuðakhaakha/ walá/ nt^hakhtaharaka. ‘The beast did not move [his whole body] nor did he move [part of his body].’

ndiyo nk^hulu bila shaka/ suura qalbi khtaharaka [st.] ‘this is the gravest without a doubt and it better move your heart’

rel.

ku-taharaka taharaka v. freq.

Mwanaamke/ nelopo dawa iyó/ chanza khtaharaka taharaka. ‘When the girl drank that medicine, she began to move a little.’

kh-taharakisha v. caus. move s.t.; urge

Lpepo/ la kuusi/ Ivumiile/ ltaharakishiize/ nt^haanzi/ na iwuyú/ impotelele mwaalimui/ imublelele. ‘The wind from the south blow and shook the branches and the baobab fell down on the teacher and killed him.’

Taha/ mtaharakishize mwaana. ‘Taha moved (or urged) the child.’

kh-taharakishana v. caus. rec.

kh-taharakishika v. caus. p/s.

kh-taharakishiliza v. caus. appl.

Taha/ mtaharakishilize Omari/ mwaana. ‘Taha moved (or urged) Omari’s child.’

kh-taharakishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Taha/ na Omari/ wataharakishilizenye waana. ‘Taha and Omari moved (or urged) one another’s children.’

kh-tahaarika

v. [Sw. *tahirika* SSED 445; Ar. *tahara* W 570] (**taharishile**) be ritually clean
variant form: **kh-tahirika**
rel.

kh-tahaarisha v. caus. clean

variant form: **kh-tahirisha**

Tahirishize nguwoze. ‘He cleaned his clothes (for prayer).’

taharuki

n. 9/10 [Sw. *taharuki* SSED 128; Ar. *taharruk* W 171] restlessness, unrest, continuous movement

bilá/ taharuki ‘firm and stable’

nujumu unzile bilá taharuki [st.] ‘He (God) created the stars firm and stable’ (This translates a line from the Quran.)

kh-tahayara

v. [Sw. *tahayari* “become ashamed, be abashed, be shy, be humiliated” SSED 131; Ar. *tahayyar* “confusion, perplexity” W 222] be perplexed

tahdiidi

n. 9/10 [Ar. *tahdīd* “threat” W 1021] threat

khfanya tahdiidi ‘to threaten’

khfanya tahdidi ya wakhti ‘to fix the time’ (cf. **kuhadida wakhti** ‘to fix the time for’)

tahdidi ya wakhti ‘the fixing of a time’ (Etym. The Arabic source for **tahdiidi** does not seem to have a connection to this expression, thus the history of **tahdidi ya wakhti** is unclear.)

kh-tahida

v. [Ar. *hadā* “to incite, stimulate” W 163] (**tahidiile**) make an effort, do one’s best

Sultani ḍaalimu/ tahidiile/ kumbola mwanaamke/ wa sultaani/ laakini/ tozele/ hila zaa ye/ kumboojeja. ‘The unjust sultan did his best to steal the daughter of the [other] sultan, but he failed to find a strategem with which to steal her.’

kh-tahira

v. [Sw. *tahiri* SSED 445; Ar. *tahara* W 570] (**tahiriile**) clean

maayi yash-tahira mahala nijisi [st.] ‘when water has cleaned an unclean place’

taahiri

cleanliness

adj. [cf. Sw. verb *tahiri* SSED 445; Ar. *tāhir* “clean, pure” W 571] clean; n.

Ni muunt^hu/ taahiri/ ka ndraani/ na ḍaahirí. ‘He is a clean person, both inside and out.’

tahqiiri

n. 9 (cf. *ku-haqira*) [Ar. *tahqīr* W 194] humiliation

kh-taaja

v. [Sw. *taja* SSED 445] (**tajiile**) uncommon mention

Staa-jé/ ebu za waant^hu. ‘Don’t mention people’s vices!’

taaji

n. 9/10 [Sw. *taji* SSED 446; Ar. *tāj* W 99] crown

Daḍaaliyo/ taajiye/ ni najaahi/ na liwaaní. ‘Your effort, its crown is success and success.’

Zubeedi anzize khfanya taaji. ‘Zubeedi began to make a crown.’

taajiri (ma-)

adj., n. [Sw *tajiri* SSED 446; Ar. *tājir* W 91] rich, rich man

Apo/ zamaani/ waaliko/ taajiri/ mooyi/ mkulu/ mwenye maali/ na maqaamú. ‘Once upon a time, there was a rich man, important and

having money and high position.’

Chisula kuwa taajiri/ kaza lkaandra. ‘If you want to be rich, tighten your belt.’ (A proverb.)

ka muunt^hu taajiri uđhiya khatari/ khpoowa nama mbiti iyo tahađari

[st.] ‘for a rich man uđhiya is dangerous, be careful/ pay attention that he should not be given uncooked meat (i.e. the rich man should not be given uncooked meat from the slaughtered animal as uđhiya, uncooked meat should only be given to the poor)’

Ka nasiibuye/ kuwa suura/ mpete taajiri/ mooyi/ khiriiló/ kiyuula/ nuumba. ‘His luck being good, he found a rich man who agreed to buy the house.’

mataajiri walaziile maskiini naayo Mojiitu [nt.] ‘the rich ones have left, the poor man has [only] God’

Mubjaana/ ni maskiini/ nt^hana maali/ na apó/ karka wakhti oyo/

nt^haykuwaaliko/ sahali/ munt^hu maskiini/ kumlola munt^hu taajiri. ‘The young man was poor, he did not have money, and there at that time it was not easy for a poor person to marry a rich person.’

Namwiwa munt^hu taajiri. ‘I know the rich man.’

Namwiwa muunt^hu/ taajiri. ‘I know a rich man.’ (Phon. There is some parallelism between the use of phrasing to make a definite/indefinite distinction and focus, as manifested in the Accentual Law of Focus. Specifically, in the present example, where a noun is separated phrasally from its modifier to convey an indefinite interpretation, the final accent triggered by the verb is manifested on the noun and not on the modifier. This is just what we see in the Accentual Law of Focus, where final accent does not cross a focused element.)

taajiri/ na maali ‘a rich man and wealth’; **mataajiri/ na maali** ‘rich men and wealth’

taajiri/ na maaliyé ‘a rich man and his wealth’; **mataajiri/ na mali yaawó** ‘rich men and their wealth’

Taajiri/ na maaliyé/ maskiini/ na mwaanawé. ‘A rich man and his money, a poor man and his son.’ (A proverb.)

Taajiri/ nayo maaliye/ maskiini/ nayo mwaanawe. ‘A rich man has his money, a poor man has his son.’ (A proverb.)

Tuuma/ waawaye/ ni taajiri. ‘Tuuma’s father is rich.’

want^hu wa muuyi/ mataajiri/ na maskiini ‘people of the town, rich and poor’

Uje taajiri/ chiiza. ‘That business man refused.’

Uyu/ ni taajiri/ takuula. ‘He is rich, he will buy something.’

Ziwovu nza maskiini/ huwonekanó/ za taajiri/ haziwonekani. ‘It is the poor man’s wrongs that are seen, those of a rich man are not seen.’ (A proverb.)

rel.

u-taajiri n. [Sw. *utajiri* SSED 446] wealth; the state of being rich, well-to-do

Huťomoló/ ni khalbi/ siwo/ uťajiri. ‘That which gives is the heart, not wealth.’ (A proverb.)

kh-tajirika

v. [Sw. *tajirika* SSED 446] (**tarijishile**) become or be rich

rel.

kh-tajirisha v. caus. [Sw. *tajirisha* SSED 446] make rich

tajwiidi

n. [Sw. *tajuwidi* M&N 2285; Ar. *tajwīd* W146] the phonology of the Quran, the art of reciting the Quran, each word and sentence according to the phonological principles

hifōi/ na tajwiidi ‘the memorization and accurate recitation of the Quran’

Qur’aani/ soma ka tajwiidi. ‘If you recite the Quran, recite it correctly.’

tak tak

kubigaa sa'a/ tak tak 'to tick (of a clock)'

taaka

n. 9/10 [Ital. *tacco* "heel of shoe"] heel of a shoe; s.t. that is put under s.t. to keep it from moving, e.g. a block of wood or a stone put under the wheel of a car to keep it from rolling; a unit of measurement -- one foot, a pace

taaka

n. the distance from the tip of the middle finger across the extended hand to the tip of the thumb; this unit of measure was used esp. by women in connection with the sizes of **makooŷiya** (skullcaps)

na wakhṭi uchiya sina haṭa taaka/ huwaako hukuulo ruuhu malaayka [st.]

'but when this time comes, there is not space (left): the ones who are there and who take away the soul are the angels'

takabaana

n. [Ital. *attaccapanni*] **confirm**

mu-takabiri

adj. arrogant

Safiya/ haba mooyi/ ni muṭakabiri. 'Safiya is a little arrogant.'

kh-takabura

v. [Sw. *takabari* SSED 187; Ar. *takabbur* "pride, arrogance" W 810] (**takaburiile**) be arrogant, give oneself airs; be corrupt

rel.

kh-takaburila v. appl.

Takaburilile peesa. 'He became arrogant because of money.'

kh-takaburisha v. caus.

Mtakaburishiize/ nt^ho/ mwanaamke. 'She made her daughter very arrogant.'

Peesa/ zimṭakaburishiize. 'Money made him arrogant.'

Simṭakaburishé/ mwaana. 'Don't cause the child to react violently.'

takaburi

n. [Sw. SSED cites only *kiburi* as a nominal form, but M&N cite *takaburi* on page 2288] arrogance

Ye/ teete/ amali ya maamaye/ takaburi/ na kooneshá/ na fakharí. 'She took the manners of her mother -- arrogance, being a show off, a braggart.'

m-takaburi (wa-)

n. 1/2 one who is arrogant and gives himself airs

kh-takalama

v. [Sw. *takalamu* M&N 2289; Ar. *tiklām* "eloquent, good talker" W 838] (**takalamiile**) talk well

Ye/ huṭakalama. 'He has a way with words.'

kh-takata

v. [cf. Sw. *chakacha* "rustle, as of grass when one goes through a forest" SSED 47; cf. Som. *tag*, past *tagay, tagtay* "to go" DSI 572] (**takeete**) squeak

ma-takato

n. 6 sound of steps (heard, without seeing the person who is walking or running)

takaazi

n. [Sw. *chakaazi* "a succulent tree with small yellow flowers, used medicinally" SSED 47] A large nut with a hard shell. Bravanese do not know from which plant it comes because it is found on the beach, especially during the Southern Monsoon (summer months). As a remedy against fever, it is mixed with boiling water and fumes inhaled, or alternatively burnt in **cheetezo** and fumes inhaled. (Phon. The dental **ʃ** in Chimiini corresponds to Standard Swahili **ch**.)

takbiiri

n. 9 [cf. Sw. verb *takbira* SSED 447; Ar. *takbīr* W 819] a formula said in praise of God by Muslims (**aLLaahu akbar** 'God is great')

kubiga takbiiri 'to say the **takbiiri**'

Waant^hu/ karka muskitiini/ wanakulombaa du'a/ wanakubiga

takbiiri. ‘People in the mosque are praying, they are saying the **takbiiri.**’

- taakha** n. 9/10 [Ar. *tauq* W 574] ability, material possibility
konyeza taakha ‘to show s.o. one’s ability – a kind of verbal threat (as in the English expression: “I’ll show him”)’
Mwambiile/ sultaani/ mi/ nii muké/ tu/ siná/ taakhaye/ mp^ha peesa/ nt^humikile. ‘She told the sultan: I am just a woman, I do not have the ability [to get a job], give me money for me to use.’
taakha indrebeele mi nimo daḍaali [song] ‘I am doing all that I can, it is a matter of possibility that stopped me’
- kh-takhalusa** v. [cf. Ar. *takalluṣ* "liberation, release" W 255, from verb *kalaṣa* "be or become free" W 254] (**takhalusiile**) get rid of s.t., s.o.
- takhriiban** adv. [Ar. *taqrīban* W 755] approximately, almost, nearly
- taaki** n. heel of a shoe
taki ya chilaatu ‘heel of a shoe’; **taki za zilaatu** ‘heels of shoes’
- l-taki (n-)** n. 11/10 [cf. Ar. *tauq*, pl. *aṭwāq* "necklace" W 574] necklace (generic term); [pron. nt^haki ‘necklaces’]
kama ltaki/ lbeele ‘if the necklace is lost’
kama nt^haki/ zibeele ‘if the necklaces are lost’
Kuḷa mwaana/ ka ltakile. ‘Each child has his own necklace.’ (A proverb.)
Ltaki ilo/ nlaake. ‘That necklace is hers.’ (Cf. **Nt^haki izo/ nzaake.** ‘Those necklaces are hers.’)
ltaki lembaamba ‘a thin necklace’; **nt^haki nembaamba** ‘thin necklaces’
ltakila ‘my necklace’; **nt^hakiza** ‘my necklaces’
Mbene ltaki/ ndilaani/ laakini/ skukhaadira/ killokota. ‘I saw a necklace outside, but I could not pick it up.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **siyaafu** ‘safari ants’.)
Nimekelele maanawá/ kaayi/ ltaki. ‘I have put away safely a bracelet for my child.’ **accent?**
rel.
i-taki (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
sh-taki (s-) n. 7/8 dim.
- l-takiya (n-)** n. [Sw. *takia (ma-)* SSED 447; the Arabic source cited in SSED for this item was not found in Wehr’s dictionary, but perhaps it is a dialectal form] a kind of large pillow used to recline on; [pron. nt^hakiya (pl.)] pillows
variant form: **itakiya (ma-)**
- takliifu** n. 9 [Ar. *taklīf* "burdening, charging, trouble, expenditure" W 837] s.t. beyond one’s ability, means, power; a burden or task or duty imposed on one
Iyi/ ni takliifu/ iluya. ‘This is beyond my ability, more than I can do.’
lata takliifu kugharima maali [st.] ‘don’t spend beyond your means, squandering money’
Ni takliifu/ iluka. ‘It is too much for me.’
- takrimu** n. [Ar. *takrīm* "honoring" W 822] hospitality
Ye/ weele/ mapsuuti/ kabisá/ ka takrimu/ yaa ye/ weenó/ ka kaakó. ‘He was very pleased by the hospitality that he saw from you.’
- taksi** n. 9/10 [Eng. *taxi*] taxi cab
- kh-tala** v. [cf. Sw. *chagua* SSED 47] (**taliile**) choose
Maskiini/ haatali. ‘A poor man does not choose.’ (A proverb.)

- Mwenyee ndala/ haataji.** ‘A hungry man does not choose.’ (A proverb.)
rel.
kh-talila v. appl.
chizaliloowa mwaana ismu mtalile [st.] ‘when you have a child born to you, choose a name for him’
kh-taliloowa v. appl. pass. be chosen for
wake wa hur al-‘aini / Sheekhi takhtaliloowa [st.] ‘wives who are celestial virgins, chosen especially for the Sheikh’
kh-taloowa v. pass.
rel. nom.
m-tala (wa-) n. one who chooses
m-tale (wa-) adj. (of human beings) chosen
nahrishi nda mwajitu na amaani/ ilu ya mtume mtale wa rahmaani [st.] ‘mercifulness belongs to God, and peace/ [should be] on the Prophet, the chosen of God’
ma-talo n. 6 choice
Mataloye/ yatulushile ilu ya Nuuru. ‘[Lit.] His choice fell on Nuuru -- i.e. he chose Nuuru.’
u-talo n. 14 choice
- talaaji** n. 9 [Som. *tallaal* DSI 574] vaccination
- kh-talama* v. [Som. *tallan*, past *tallamay* "to be hesitant, perplexed" DSI 575] hesitate, fear
chiza khtalama kumera yaa ye/ takihtaajo ‘not to hesitate to look for whatever he needed’
Haaji/ mwana mkulu/ wanazo ba’adi zaa sifa/ za waawaye/ laakini/ ye/ liini/ shatalamo kumkirihisha maamayé/ ka khisa/ ye/ shosha ya kuwa maama/ chimpendaa muné/ ntho/ kolkoo ye. ‘Haaji, the oldest child, had some of the traits of his father, but he never hesitated to displease his mother since he thought that his mother loved his younger brother more than him.’
Hufafisho ebuzó/ muunt^{hi}/ haalam/ khutilaa mulo/ masku. ‘The one who reveals your defects in the daytime does not hesitate to burn you at night.’ (A proverb.)
Mtinda hoola/ haalam/ khpasula. ‘The one who slaughters an animal does not hesitate to skin [him].’ (A proverb.)
Munt^hu nayo uuó/ haalam/ khsala. ‘The person who has ritual cleanliness does not fear prayer.’ (A proverb that says that if you are well-prepared, do not fear the challenges, tribulations that await you.)
- i-tale* (ma-) n. 5/6 [Sw. *tale* SSED 447 and *kitale* SSED 208] nut of the coconut at the stage where it is still watery, but the meat is forming
rel.
sh-tale (s-) n. 7/8 dim.
- m-tale* (wa-) adj. (of humans only) chosen
nahrishi nda mwajitu na amaani/ ilu ya mtume mtale wa rahmaani [st.] mercifulness belongs to God and peace/ [should be] on the Prophet, the Chosen One of God’
- n-tale* n. 9/10 [cf. Sw. *mshale* SSED 301] arrow; [pron. nt^hale]
Chiint^hu/ siwo/ chaako/ naa nt^halé/ khufakata. ‘Something not yours and an arrow runs from you.’ (A proverb.)
Markabu za sulaaani/ Simsini/ zote/ schondroloowa/ kumrasha mwaana/ laakini/ markabu ya mwaana/ hufakata/ kamaa nt^hale. ‘All the ships of the sultan, Simsini, were put in motion chasing the boy, but the boy’s ship ran fast like an arrow.’
Nt^hale/ ichikhiingila/ ha’ikhulawi. ‘An arrow, when it enters you, it does not come out.’ (A saying.)
Nt^hale/ ichilawa/ ha’iruudi. ‘An arrow that has gone does not return.’ (A proverb.)
Nt^hale/ ilatila ilu/ humsiba kilaa muunt^hu. ‘An arrow that has been shot up in the air can hit anyone.’ (A saying.)

Nt^hale/ ilaziló/ hayruudi/ chinume. ‘An arrow that has left does not come back.’ (A proverb.) (Observe that in this example the head of the relative clause is also the indefinite subject of the relative verb and is phonologically separated from that verb.)

nt^hale iyi ‘this arrow’; **nt^hale izi** ‘these arrows’

Nt^haleya/ nch^hi’ilaṭila masku/ hayooloki/ kule/ laakini/ nch^hi’ilaṭila

muunt^hi/ hendra mwendro wa mwaaka. ‘My arrow, if I shoot it during the night, it does not go far, but if I shoot it during the daytime, it goes on a walk of a year.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **ito** ‘the eye’.)

kh-taali’a

v. [Sw. **talii** "inquire into, look into, examine" SSED 447; Ar. **tala ā** W 564] study rel.

kh-tali’oowa v. pass.

huhuzuniko ni darsi/ fadhi ishtali’oowa [st.] ‘as will his daily circle of students/ and the lessons he used to teach’

talqiini

n. 9 [Sw. **talakim** SSED 447; Ar. **talqin** "instruction, direction" **W??**] (in reference to a funeral) the last instructions given to the dead person on how to answer the angels’ questions in the grave

Ba’ada ya mayti/ kuzikoowa/ sheekhi/ humsomela mayti/ talkhiini/ iyi/ nii du’a/ sheekhi/ humsoomó/ mambila mayti/ kuwa isa/ tamiililó/ ni malaayka/ stakumuuzaa/ su’aali/ izi/ naani/ moojó/ naani/ mtumewo/ niini/ diiniyo/ niini/ khiblayo. ‘After the dead person is buried, a **sheekhi** reads the **talkhiini** to the dead person. He tells the dead person that now angels will come to him and they will ask him these questions: who is your God? who is your Prophet? what is your religion? what is your direction for praying?’

Ba’adi/ ya mayti/ khsomelowa talkhiini/ waant^hu/ watakuruuda. ‘After the dead person has been read for **talkhiini**, people go back [leave the cemetery and return to the home of the dead person].’

kh-taltala

v. [Sw. **taataa** SSED 443] (**talteele**) writhe, toss around in pain, crawling about

Chilawa/ muke/ nakhtaltala ka kuuluye. ‘Soon the woman came out, jumping about in pain from her leg (that had been cut off).’

Zinalkaltala. ‘They are crawling around.’

sh-taltala (s-)

n. 7/8 [etymology unknown, unless it is related to the preceding verb] bat (mammal)

Numba iyo/ yimo staltala. ‘That house has bats [in it].’

Staltala/ huluka masku. ‘Bats fly at night.’

Staltala/ masku/ huwona. ‘Bats see at night.’

(m-)talyaani (Ø, ma-)

n. an Italian

matalyani wa Miini ‘Italians of Brava’ ([cl.2] agreement); less common is

matalyani ya Miini ‘Italians of Brava’ ([cl.6] agreement)

Matalyaani/ wa’ile. ‘The Italians came.’ ([cl.2] agreement)

matalyani watatu ‘three Italians’ ([cl.2] agreement); less common is:

matalyani matatu ‘three Italians’ ([cl. 6] agreement)

mtalyani wiitu ‘our Italian person’ ([cl.1] agreement)

talyaaniwa ‘my Italian person’ ([cl.1] agreement, which seems to be the only form used)

rel.

sh-talyaani n. 7 the Italian language

tala

n. 9/10 [Sw. **taa** SSED 442] lamp, light fixture

kashaa tala ‘to turn on a light’

Muuyi/ mzimawe/ washizaa tala. ‘The town, its entirety, was lit up.’

kuzimizaa tala ‘to turn off a light’

Mafta/ yalazilo ka namaani/ chashilizaa tala. ‘The oil that came from the meat, she used it to light a lamp.’ (Note that when the head of the relative clause is also the subject of the

relative clause, as is the case in **mafta/ yalazilo ka namaani**, then there is no *-a* link between the head and the relative verb. In the present example, the head is phrased separately from the relative verb, but this is not an obligatory aspect of phrasing.) (The main verb in the present example is an instrumental applied verb, where the instrument **mafta/ yalazilo ka namaani** has been preposed to initial position. It is usual in the instrumental applied for the instrument to be preposed.)

Muunt^hu/ tala/ hasha kaake. 'One lights a lamp in his home.' (A proverb.)

Nuumbaya/ nk^hulu/ nt^haynaa tala. 'My house is large, it has no light.' (A riddle, the answer to which is **qabri** 'a grave'.)

Tala haakó/ masku mazimá/ bila maftá/ na ltaambi. 'A lamp which burns all night without paraffin and a wick.' (A riddle, the answer to which is **mwezi wa weelu** 'the moon'.) **review phrasing, accent**

tala/ na ltaambi 'lamp and wick', **tala/ na nt^haambi** 'lamps and wicks'

tala/ na ltaambijé 'lamp and its wick', **tala/ na nt^haambize** 'lamps and their wicks'

rel.

ma-tala n. (exaggerated number of) lamps

Nt^hi/ nzimaye/ ma-tala. 'The world, its whole, is lamps (said when there are lamps lit everywhere in an area).'

sh-tala (z-) n. 7/8 dim. lamp

Sh-tala icho/ ni chihuundru. 'That (dim.) lamp is red.'

Stala izo/ ni zihuundru. 'Those (dim.) lamps are red.'

Tala ya Manaweera n. The name of a square-based light-house built by the Italians on **Chilaani**, a little island offshore, facing the **Mp^haayi** quarter of Brava. **Manaweera** is probably a Chimiini rendering of Emanuele, from Vittorio Emanuele III, King of Italy. The Chimiini name therefore means "Emanuele's light/lamp". The Italians, prior to the First World War, had planned the construction of port facilities in Brava and one of the projects was a 900 meters long causeway-bridge connecting **Mp^haayi** and **Chilaani** island. However, the bridge was broken at several points by the British during the Second World War, and the lighthouse has not been in use for many decades.

(I)tala ya Manaweera/ chaashó/ ni Sharif Siimba. 'Tala ya Manaweera, the one who lit is is Sharif Siimba.'

(I)tala ya Manaweera/ hupa markabu/ zinakhpita tawala/ seenyo. 'Tala ya Manaweera gives signals to ships which are passing in the sea.'

kh-talaalata v. [Som. *tallaal* "to vaccinate; to graft or transplant" DSI 575] (**talaleete**) vaccinate; cultivate (esp. by replanting, removing crowded plants to be replanted elsewhere)

talaaqa n. 10? [Sw. *talaka* SSED 447; Ar. *ṭalāq* W 567] divorce (by husband only), repudiation

Want^hu awa/ hawafurahili/ talaaqa/ ila ichiwa iweele/ waajibu/ ka sababu mweepe. 'These people do not like a divorce unless it becomes obligatory for some reason.'

we/ ni muunt^hu/ suura/ mukhlisi/ munt^hu islaamu/ munt^hu hupendo zeemá/ mpe/ talaaqaze. 'If you are a good, sincere man, a Muslim man, a man who loves goodness, give her a divorce.'
accent?

talaasimu (Ø, ma-) n. 9/10,6 [Sw. *talasimu* (ma-) SSED 447; Ar. *ṭalāsim*, plural of *ṭilasm* W 564] a charm

kubiga talaasimu 'to prophesy (using cards, etc.)'

talataashara n., adj. thirteen

kh-taalaza v. [cf. Sw. *tandaza* SS 450, used esp. for spreading grains, and *tangaza* "make known (news), publish abroad" SSED 452] (**talazeze**) spread something (news, seed)

Stalazeení. 'You (pl.) don't spread it!'

Talazeze khabari. 'Spread the news!'

Nt^hi/ nzimaye/ sh^halazaa zitta/ za ma'aduwi. 'The whole of the ground he scattered it with the heads of the enemy.'

tama'a

n. 9/10 [Sw. *tama* SSED 448; Ar. *tma* 'W 569] hope, longing, craving, ambition

khtila tama'a 'to instill hope'

Nt^hile tama'a. 'He caused me to live with hope.'

khtinda tama'a 'to give up hope, lose hope, despair'

Sku mooyi/ naayé/ tinzile tama'a/ walá/

nt^hanakhfilatiliá...'One

day when he had given up hope and was not expecting anyone to come...'

Ye/ sh^htinda tama'a/ chiruda mundraani. 'He gave up and returned to the garden.'

kudara tama'a 'to experience longing, craving for s.t.'

Uje mubjaana/ tama'a/ ichimdaara. '[Lit.] craving touched the young man -- i.e. he experienced a craving for s.t.'

Lata/ tama'a/ izo/ tumila/ akhili za mwajitu/ khupeeló. 'Leave (i.e. forget about) those ambitions (in the context of the story: to win money by gambling) and make use of the wits that God gave to you.'

ndiwe nt^hilo tama'aani naambilo tuuza khalbiyo [song] 'it is you who instilled hope in me, who told me: make quiet your heart'

Tama'aye/ iwalikoo nk^hulu/ na imaaníyé/ ka mwajitú/ iwaliko thaabití. 'His hope was great and his faith in God was firm.'

Tama'aze/ niingi. 'His ambitions are many.'

kh-tama'a

v. [Sw. uses a verbal form *tumai* SSED 448; Ar.] hope; have a strong desire for
x-tama'a (Ar. ?ami?a, ?ama?, Wehr p. 569)

Ye/ tama'iile/ khpata tafsiiri/ ya kooði/ za Ali/ karkaa ziwo/ laakini/ nt^hakhaadira/ khpata majiibu. 'He hoped to get the significance of the words of Ali from the books but he was not able to get an answer.'

rel.

kh-tama'isha v. caus. (but the preferred method for expressing causation is the periphrastic construction, **khtila tama'a**)

tamaamu

adj. [Sw. *timaamu* SSED 467; Ar. *tamām* W 97] complete, perfect
variant form: **timaamu**

Kulaa muunt^hu/ islaamu/ baalighi/ na aqilizé/ ni tamaamu/ humwajiba ziint^hu/ staano. 'Every Muslim, having reached puberty with perfect faculties, is obliged (to do) five things.'

kh-tamana

v. [Sw. *tamani* SSED 448] (**tamaniile**) long for, crave, wish for strongly (though not necessarily with the expectation of getting)

Mi/ nnakhtamana kuja nt^heendré/ walá/ sinakhpata. 'I want to eat dates, but I cannot get any.'

Muke/ wa mmamula^haa nt^hi/ ba'ada/ ya Yuusufi/ khkula/ kuwa mubjaana/ chimtamana. 'The wife of the caretaker of the land, after Joseph grew up to become a young man, desired him (sexually).'

Nt^hakuja yaa mi/ nt^hakhsuuló/ na nt^hakhtamanó. 'I will eat whatever I want and wish for.'

Nuuru/ mtamanile Haliima. 'Nuuru longed for Haliima.'

Nuuru/ tamanile kula gaari. 'Nuuru longed to buy a car.' (This example illustrates that the verb *tamana* permits an infinitival complement. The infinitive may, of course, agree with a definite

object: **Nuuru/ tamanile kiyula gari iyi.** ‘Nuuru longed to buy this car.’ It would apparently be possible for the main verb to bear the object marker as well: **Nuuru/ itamanile kiyula gari iyi.** was accepted by MI. However, this is possible only in the absence of a subject of the infinitive verb: **Nuuru/ tamanile Muusa/ kiyula gari iyi.** ‘Nuuru longed for Muusa to buy this car.’ and not ***Nuuru/ itamanile Muusa/ kiyula gari iyi.**)

Nuuru/ tamanile kula gaari/ haṭá/ fiile. ‘Nuuru longed to buy a car until he died.’

Nuuru/ tamanile mwaanawe/ khpita imṭihaani. ‘Nuuru desired for his son to pass the examination.’ Or, with a subjunctive complement: **Nuuru/ tamanile mwaanawe/ napite imṭihaani.** Or, with overt complementizer: **Nuuru/ tamanile kuwa mwaanawe/ pishile imṭihaani.** ‘Nuuru hoped that his son passed the examination.’

Nuuru/ tamanilee nama. ‘Nuuru craved meat.’ (This example illustrates that the verb may take a simple NP as complement.)

Omari/ tamanile mwaanawe/ khpita imṭihaani. ‘Omari wished for his son to pass the examination.’ (As shown by this example, the verb *tamana* takes a (NP+)infinitive complement. It does not however permit a subjunctive in place of the infinitive: ***Nuuru/ tamanile mwaanawe/ napite imṭihaani.** This verb does not, however, permit the subject of the infinitive to be "raised" into object position, thereby triggering object agreement on the verb: ***Nuuru/ mṭamanile mwaanawe/ khpita imṭihaani.**)

Wana wa want^hu/ wafanyiliza wazele waawo/ yaa wo/ wanakhṭamanó.
‘The children of other people do for their parents that which they want done.’

yaa ye takihṭaajó/ na takhṭamanó ‘whatever he will need and long for’
Zileseḷa zaakuja/ za maato/ hupeendó/ na khalbí/ huṭamanó. ‘They were brought foods that the eyes enjoy and that the heart craves for.’

rel.

kh-tamaniloowa v. appl. pass.

Mwaana/ tamanilila khpita imṭihaani. ‘The child was wished for to pass the examination.’

kh-tamanila v. appl.

Khuṭamanilile chakuja ichi. ‘He wished for the food for you -- i.e. he wished that you might have the food; for example, you were not there at the party to have any of the food.’

Nuuru/ mṭamanilile Muusa/ gari iyi. ‘Nuuru wanted this car for Muusa.’

Nuuru/ mṭamanilile mwaanawe/ khpita imṭihaani. ‘Nuuru wished passing the examination for his son.’ (Syn: The applied verb means "wish s.t. for someone" and not "wish someone to do s.t.", thus one cannot say ***Nuuru/ mṭamanilile Muusa/ kula gaari.** ‘Nuuru wished for Muusa to buy a car.’)

kh-tamanisha v. caus.

kh-tamanishana v. caus. rec.

kh-tamanishika v. caus. p/s.

kh-tamanishiliza v. caus. appl.

kh-tamanishiliza(y)a v. caus. appl. rec.

Waṭamanishilizene waana/ ziloozi. ‘They made on, for one another’s children long for candies.’

kh-tamanoowa v. pass.

Gari iyi/ itamanila kuḷoowa. ‘This car was desired to be bought.’

Gari iyi/ itamanila kuḷowa na Nuuru. ‘This car was desired to be bought by Nuuru.’ (This sentence would be interpreted to mean that

Nuuru desired to buy the car. In the sentence **Gari iyi/ itamanila na Nuuru/ kuḷoowa.** ‘This car is desired by Nuuru to be bought.’, it is ambiguous as to whether Nuuru is himself buying the car.)

Gari iyi/ itamanila na Nuuru/ kuḷowa haṭa/ fiile. ‘This car was longed to be bought by Nuuru until he died.’

rel. nom.

- m-tamana* (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who wants, longs for
- kh-tamasha* v. take a stroll
Sku mooyi/ sultaani/ chiwa'ambila waanawe/ kuwaa ye/ nakhsuula/ keendra/ maduriini/ khtamasha. 'One day the sultan told his sons that he wanted to go into the bush to take a stroll.'
- l-taambi* (*n-*) n. 11/10 [Sw. *utambi* "wick" SSED 508] wick; [pron. **nt^haambi** 'wicks']
Ltambi laa tala 'wick of a lamp'
Ltambi la thawaafa 'wick of a lantern'
Ltambii lile 'a long wick'; **nt^hambii ndre** 'long wicks'
Itaambila 'my wick'; **nt^haambiza** 'my wicks'
- l-taambi* (*n-*) n. 11/10 edge, tip; [pron. **nt^haambi**]
Ltambi ilo/ nlaake. 'That edge is its.' (Cf. **Nt^hambi izo/ nzaake.** 'Those edges are its.')
- nt^haambi za maboori** 'strips of a special kind of pumpkin cooked with oil and sugar'
nt^haambi za pataata 'strips of sweet potato cooked with oil and sugar'
Shfungula ltaambi/ laa nguwo. 'He opened (out) the edge of the cloth.'
- sh-taambi* (*s-*) n. tassel (of a cap, curtains, etc.)
shṭambi cha haanzu 'tassel of haanzu'
shṭambi cha ikoofiya 'tassel of a hat'
shṭambi chaa nguwo 'tassel of cloth'
shṭambi cha teendra 'tassel of a curtain'
- tambu* n. 9/10 [Sw. *tambuu* SSED 449; Hind. & Pers.] leaf of the betel plant; a mixture for chewing made from this leaf plus **katu** and **maghaadi**; [pron. **tambú**]
Washtafuna tambú. 'They were chewing tambú.'
- kh-taambula* v. [Sw. *chapua* SSED 5] (**tambiile**) beat, hit with s.t. (esp. a stick)
rel.
kh-taambuza v. caus.
- kh-taamila* v. [no etymological source found] (**tamiliile**) lean on, rest on
Mpe mṭaawo/ nataamile. 'Give him a pillow so that he may rest.'
Tamiliile mṭaawo. 'He rested on a pillow.'
Tamiliile mlaango. 'He leaned against the door.'
rel.
kh-tamiliila v. appl.
Mpe mṭaawo/ natamiliile. 'Give him a pillow so that he may rest on it.'
- tamkiini* n. [Ar. *tamkīn* "consolidation, deepening, establishment" W 918] **tranquility**
ka tamkiini 'peacefully, with no worries'
Lala ka tamkiini/ mwana oyo/ siwo/ hondrosho ka usinziziini.
'Sleep peacefully, this child is not one who wakes (people) up from sleep (with crying, etc.).'
- tammaa'i* adj. [Ar. *tammā'* "avid, covetous, grasping" W 569] ambitious (but with negative connotations)
- tamriini* n. [Ar. *tamrīn* W 905] exercise, homework, assignment
- taamu* adj. [Sw. *-tamu* SSED 450] tasty (used with reference to salty or spicy, not sweet)
kuja taamu 'tasty food'
Kuja ya Haliima/ hupikó/ ni taamu. 'The food that Haliima cooks is

tasty.’

kh-tana

v. [Sw. *chana* SSED 49] (**taniile**) comb

Baana/ nakhtana mashuungi. ‘Baana is combing (his) hair.’

Nimtanile Haliimá/ manaamkewá/ mashuungi. ‘I combed Haliima my daughter’s hair.’ Or: **Nimtanile manaamkewá/ Haliimá/ mashuungi.** ‘I combed my daughter Haliima’s hair.’

Tuuma/ mtanile Haliima/ mashuungi. ‘Tuuma combed Haliima’s hair.’
Or: **Tuuma/ mtanile mashuungi/ Haliima.**

Tuuma/ mtanile manashkewe/ Haliima/ mashuungi. ‘Tuuma combed her daughter Haliima’s hair.’

Tuuma/ na(ku)mtana maana/ mashuungi. ‘Tuuma is combing the child’s hair.’ (Phon. The simple yes-no question version of this sentence involves Q-raising but no accent shift. The exclamatory yes-no question shifts the accent in the VP: **Tuuma/ namtana maaná/ mashuungi!?**)

Tuuma/ namtana mashuungi/ maana. ‘Tuuma is combing the child’s hair.’

Tuuma/ tanile mashuungi/ ya maana. ‘Tuuma combed the hair of the child.’ (While this is an acceptable sentence, it is more preferred to say: **Tuuma/ mtanile maana/ mashuungi.**)
rel.

kh-tanila v. appl. comb for, with

shtana cha khtanila ‘a comb for combing with’

Tuuma/ mtanilile Haliima/ maana/ mashuungi. ‘Tuuma combed for Haliima the child’s hair.’ (Syn. Word order is quite variable in this sentence. **Maana** may precede **Haliima** without altering the fact that the natural interpretation would be that **Haliima** is the beneficiary. It is also possible for **mashuungi** to be post-verbal: **Tuuma/ mtanilile mashuungi/ maana/ Haliima.** This latter word order was volunteered by GM first, before he observed that the more normal word order would be for the beneficiary to follow the verb immediately.)

Tuuma/ mtanilile Haliima/ maana/ mashuungi/ ka shtana. ‘Tuuma combed the child’s hair for Haliima with a comb.’ (Syn. In this example, the applied verb allows the benefactive NP to appear in an unmarked form, but the instrument **shtana** is marked by the preposition **ka**. However, it is possible for the applied verb to allow both the beneficiary and the instrument to appear in an unmarked form: **Tuuma/ mtanilile Haliima/ maana/ mashuungi/ shtana.** It should be noted that **maana** may precede **Haliima** in the word order without altering the meaning. The pragmatic unlikelihood that **maana** would be the beneficiary rather than **Haliima** is perhaps the reason for the flexibility in word order here, despite the fact that **Haliima** and **maana** govern the same agreement and thus the object prefix, which is controlled by the beneficiary, does not unambiguously identify **Haliima** as the beneficiary.)

Tuuma/ shtana/ mtanililo Haliimá/ maaná/ mashuungi. ‘Tuuma, a comb, combed the child’s hair for Haliima.’ Or: **Tuuma/ shtana/ mtanililo maaná/ Haliimá/ mashuungi.** Or: **Shtana/ Tuuma/ mtanililo maaná/ Haliimá/ mashuungi.**

kh-tanoowa v. pass.

Waana/ wanakhtanowa mashuungi. ‘The children are having their hair combed.’

m-taana (mi-)

n. 3/4 [cf. Ki-Amu *msana*] room

Baaba/ lazilopo ka mtanaani... ‘When father came from the room...’

Chimwonya mtaana/ na zombo za zivalimo mtanaani. ‘She showed him the room and the things that were in the room.’

Chingila ndraani/ kaake/ mtanaani. ‘He entered his room.’

Jaama/ ingile mtanaani. ‘Jaama entered the room.’ (Cf. the case where there is a final accent trigger: **Ningile mtanaani.** ‘I entered the room.’)

Mtaana/ uyele waant^hu. ‘The room was filled with people.’

mtana waa kuja ‘dining room’

Mtanaani/ wamo waana. ‘There are some children in the room.’ Cf.

Waana/ wako mtanaani. ‘The children are in the room.’

mtaanawe ‘his room’; **mtana waawo** ‘their room’; cf. **mtaanaye** ‘his rooms’; **mitana yaawo** ‘their rooms’

Mwaana/ chingila mtanaani/ kaake/ shfuunga/ mlaangowe. ‘The boy

entered his room and shut the door.'

Mwanaamke/ chimera rukhsa/ kingila kaake/ mṭanaani. 'The girl asked permission to enter her bedroom.'

Naambile/ khfuungula/ miṭaana/ yote/ sho kuwa mṭana mooyi. 'He told me to unlock all the doors except one room.'

Ningile mṭanaani/ ka waawayé. 'I entered the room of his father.'

Waant^hu/ wayeele/ mṭanaani. 'People filled the room.' Or: **Mṭanaani/ wayele waant^hu.** Or: **Wayelo mṭanaani/ ni waant^hu.** 'The ones who filled the room are the people.'

sh-tana (s-)

n. 7/8 [Sw. *kitana (vi-)* SSED 49] comb

variant form: **ṭana**

haṭa mashuungi ya ṭana ni khatari [st.] 'even the hair that remains behind in the comb is dangerous [i.e. not permitted]'

shṭana cha aaga 'a plastic or rubber comb'

shṭana cha chuuma 'a steel comb'

shṭana chaa muti 'a wooden comb'

sh-tana

n. [unknown etymology] anger

Chinayo shṭaná. 'We are angry.'

ka shṭana 'angrily'

Ka shṭana/ koḏeeló/ Omari. 'Angrily spoke Omari.'

Ka shṭana/ Omari/ koḏeeló. 'Angrily Omari spoke.' (Prosody. In

the simple yes-no question, **Omari** may undergo accent shift: **Ka shṭana/ Omari/ koḏeeló?** In the exclamatory question, even the initial adverb may undergo accent shift: **Ka shṭaná/ Omari/ koḏeeló!?**)

Omari/ koḏele ka shṭana. 'Omari spoke angrily.' Or: **Omari/**

koḏeele/ ka shṭana. 'Omari spoke angrily.' (Prosody: The simple yes-no question version of the first sentence has no accent shift, whereas in the second sentence the adverbial phrase shows accent shift:

Omari/ koḏeele/ ka shṭaná? Only the first sentence permits an exclamatory question (in GM's speech): **Omari/ koḏele ka shṭaná!?**)

khfanya shṭana 'to make angry'

Jawaabuze/ zinfanyize shṭana. 'His words etc. made me angry.'

khshikilowa shṭana 'to be gotten angry at'

Omari/ mambile Hamadi/ jawaabu/ iyo/ siwo/ ya khshikilowa shṭana. 'Omari told Hamadi that that thing is not

something to be gotten angry at (i.e. it is a small matter).'

khshikila shṭana 'to be angry at'

khshikilana shṭana 'to be angry at one another'

Nuuru/ na Hamadi/ washikileene. 'Nuuru and Hamadi were angry at each other.'

Nuuru/ shikilene shṭana/ na Hamadi. 'Nuuru was angry at each other with Hamadi.'

khshikowa shṭana 'to be taken, held by anger -- i.e. to become angry'

Apo/ teena/ ijini/ chishikowa shṭanaa nt^ho. 'There then the djinn became very angry.'

Baaba/ chishikowa shṭana. 'Father became angry.'

Muke/ chishikowa shṭana/ nt^ho. 'The woman became very angry.'

Omari/ hushikowa kahima. 'Omari gets angry quickly.'

Omari/ hushikowa ka sahali. 'Omari gets angry easily.'

Omari/ shishiḷa shṭana. 'Omari got angry.'

Shishiḷa shṭana naami. 'He was angry at me.'

Sulṭaani/ mwenopo mgarwá/ shishiḷa/ nt^ho/ laakini/

nt^hakonyesha/ shṭanache. 'When the sultan saw the fisherman, he became very angry, but he did not show his anger.'

Want^hu wiingine/ washishiḷa shṭana. 'The other people got angry.'

kh̄tila sh̄tana ‘to make angry, irritate’

Faanya/ ihsaani/ sintilé/ sh̄tana. ‘Do a favor, don’t make me angry.’

Hamadi/ ^hhupeenda/ tile waant^hu/ sh̄tana. ‘Hamadi likes to make people angry.’

Hamadi/ namtila Omari/ sh̄tana. ‘Hamadi is making Omari angry.’

Nuuru/ mambile Hamadi/ sint^hilé/ sh̄tana. ‘Nuuru told Hamadi: do not make me angry!’

kuwanacho sh̄tana ‘to be mad, angry’

Nacho sh̄tana/ naami. ‘He is angry at me.’

Siná/ sh̄tana/ naawe. ‘I am not angry at you.’

mwana waa ye/ nacho sh̄tana naa ye ‘the child who he is angry at’

kuwanayo sh̄tana ‘to be angry’

kuwona sh̄tana ‘to experience, feel anger’

Sh̄tana/ chaa mi/ shishila sku iyó/ umriwa/ skuwona/ sh̄tana/ kana icho. ‘The anger that grabbed me that day, I had never in my life seen anger like that.’

mwenye sh̄tana ‘hot-tempered (lit. possessor of anger), short-tempered’

Baaba/ waliko ni muunt^hu/ mwenye sh̄tana. ‘Father was a short-tempered man.’

Nayo sh̄tana. ‘He is angry.’

Omari/ wanayo sh̄tana. ‘Omari was angry.’

Sh̄tana/ huleta khasaara. ‘Anger brings a loss.’ (A proverb.) Or: **Sh̄tana**

niingi/ hulet khasaara. ‘Too much anger brings a loss.’ Or: **Sh̄tana niingi/ ni khasaara.** ‘Too much anger is a loss.’ Or: **Sh̄tana niingi/ huletaa dhibu.** ‘Too much anger brings trouble, harm.’

x-tanabahav. [Sw. *tanabahi* SSED 328; Ar. *nabaha* W 940] (**tanabahiile**) be attentive; realize, reawaken to something (Phon. This, and many other examples, illustrated that whereas borrowed Arabic verbs end in a variety of vowels in Swahili, in Chimwiini they are regularly realized with the final vowel *a*.)

Hamadi/ tanabahile kuwa ziwovu/ haziduumi. ‘Hamadi reawakened to the fact that evil never lasts.’

tanafusin.⁹ [cf. Sw. verb form *tanafusi* SSED 328; Ar. *tanaffus* "respiration" W 986] breathing

kh-tanazula

v. [Ar. verb *nazala* W 956 and noun *tanāzul* "renunciation" W 958] (**tanazuliile**) renounce, forsake, give up, not continue, leave it rel.

kh-tanazuliila v. appl.

Baaba/ chimtanazuliila/ usultaani. ‘Father abdicated the sultanhip to him.’

Baaba/ hattá/ khiriile/ kumtanazuliila/ usultaani. ‘Father even agreed to resign his sultanhip for him.’

Khutanzuliile/ kuja yaa ye/ peeto/ ka nguvuze/ na aqilize. ‘He gave up to you everything that he got from his power and his wits.’

Mi/ nt^hakhupa yaa mí/ humilkó/ na nt^hakhutanzuliila/ usultaani. ‘I will give you all my possessions and I will install you in my sultanhip.’

kh-tanazuloowa v. pass.

Omari/ hakhiiri/ ba/ khtanzula/ ka sahali. ‘Omari never accepts to give up easily.’

kh-taanda

v. [etymological source unknown] (**taanzile**) insult someone

Ali/ sh̄tanzile wote/ wiitu. ‘Ali insulted all of us.’

kumtaanda ‘to insult someone’

kish̄taanda ‘to insult us’

Omari/ mtanzile muke wa Hamadi. ‘Omari insulted Hamadi’s wife.’ Or:

Omari/ mtanzile Hamadi/ mukeewe.

Skhutaanda. ‘I did not insult you.’

Wa’izo kumraasho/ wa’anziize/ kumteleza/ na mahalaā ye/ shpito/ waant^hu/ wachibigaa nk^he/e/ wachimtaanda. ‘The ones who refused to follow him, they began to laugh at him, and wherever he

passed, people shouted and insulted him.’

Wachaanza/ kumtaanda/ wachimwaambila/ waant^hu/ wacheendra/ zitaani/ we/ husalaa numa/ huzimilaa zita. ‘They began to insult him, telling him: people go to the war, [but] you remain behind, hiding from the war.’

Want^haanzile/ bilaa sababu. ‘They insulted me without a reason.’ Or: **Want^haanzile/ pashpo sababu.** ‘Ibid.’

rel.

kh-taandana v. rec. insult one another

Omari/ na Suufi/ wanakhtaandana. ‘Omari and Suufi are insulting one another.’ Or: **Omari/ nakhtandanana na Suufi.** ‘Omari is insulting reciprocally with Suufi.’

kh-tandanoowa v. rec. pass.

Siwo/ suura/ khtandanoowa. ‘It is not good to insult one another.’

kh-tandila v. appl. (**m-tandiliile**)

Omari/ mtandiliile Hamadi/ muke. ‘Omari insulted Hamadi’s wife.’

(Usage: The applied verb in this case is principally indicating the relationship between the insulted person and Hamadi. It is not ordinarily being used to imply that the insulting was for the benefit of Omari.)

kh-tandoowa v. pass.

Qaliifa/ nakhtandoowa. ‘Qaliifa is being insulted.’

rel. nom.

i-taando (*ma-*)

n. 5/6 insult

Wanch^himbiize/ ka ma^htaando. ‘They sent me away/ with insults.’

m-taandanu

adj. [cf. Sw. *kimanjano* "yellow", not found in SSED but found in the English-Swahili version, p. 633] yellow (Morph: This item displays an unusual behavior. When modifying a [cl. 3/4] noun, it behaves as though it is a variable adjective -- i.e. it shows straightforward agreement with the noun: e.g. **muti mtaandanu** ‘yellow tree’ but **miti mitaandanu** ‘yellow trees’. When modifying nouns from other classes (setting aside diminutives and augmentatives), it has an invariable *m-* prefix: **numba mtaandanu** ‘yellow house/s’, **chibuku mtaandanu** ‘yellow book’, **zibuku mtaandanu** ‘yellow books’. When modifying a diminutive or augmentative noun, it retains its *m-* prefix but also agrees with the noun by having an agreement prefix in front of the *-m*: **chihanzu chimtaandanu** ‘a little yellow *haanzu*.’)

zilatu staandanu ‘yellow shoes’

m-taandanu

n. (cf. **mtaandanu** above) turmeric, used in cooking as a component of **hawaaji** -- a yellow powder that is an astringent and is applied to skin on swellings, boils and lumps, as well as for cosmetic purposes

kh-taanga

v. [Sw. *changa* SSED 49] (**tangiile**) collect things for a common use (esp. money) contribute to something (Phon. Commonly a verb stem ending in **ng** would mutate to **nz** in front of the perfect extension, but this verb preserves **ng** and simply adds the **iil** extension. In this case, the long vowel in the stem must shorten.)

m-taanga (*mi-*)

n. 3/4 [Sw. *mchanga* SSED 271] a speck of sand, sand

Chimzumbiza mitaanga. ‘He covered him with sand.’

Inenzele jaziira/ nzimaye/ na nt^hakuwona/ sho kuwa majiwe/ na mtaanga. ‘He walked around the whole island and he did not see anything except stones and sand.’

kugursha mitaanga niya leete awali [st.] ‘(before) taking the sand (from its place to use it to clean) state the intention first’

(-ingi) **kana mtaanga** ‘as many as sand (meaning: extremely numerous)’ (Note that it is possible to omit **-iingi** from the expression.)

Mazu/ yayelee/ sukhuuni/ kana mtaanga. ‘Bananas were abundant at the market.’

Nuuru/ nayo peesa/ kana mtaanga. ‘Nuuru has a lot of money.’

Sukhuuni/ wako waant^hu/ kana m̄taanga. ‘In the market there are lots of people.’

m̄tanga mkavu ‘dry earth, sand’

Ngamiila/ schiwa spakiila/ / mizigo/ saant^hi/ hingila m̄tangaani. ‘When a camel is carrying a load, (their) footprints are deep in the sand.’

Saant^hize/ nt^haskiingila/ m̄tangaani. ‘His feet did not go deep into the sand.’

ma-taanga n. 6 [Sw. *tanga (ma-)* ‘a formal mourning—usually in the plur. *matanga*, lasting from three or four to ten days, during which friends sleep in the mourner’s house” SSED 452] mourning period
kuweka mātaanga ‘to conduct the formal mourning period’

Tanganyika n. Tanzania

tangawiizi n. 9 [Sw. *tangawizi* SSED 452] ginger (Medicinal use: Dry powdered ginger is mixed with boiling water and sugar and drunk as tea: it is a remedy against colds, cough, bronchitis, stomach-ache, indigestion. The dry powder is also applied to infants’ heads when they are teething.)

kh-taangaza v. [Sw. *tangaza* SSED 452] (**tangeeze**) spread news, information

n-taangazo n. announcement; [pron. nt^haangazo]

kh-taangila v. [perhaps connected in origin to Sw. *tangaa* ‘to be spread, to become generally known” SSED 452 and *tangaza* SSED 452] (**tangiliile**) recite (a poem), esp. of women at a wedding or festival, praising or insulting someone

Aasha/ m̄tangiliile mwaana. ‘Aasha recited a poem about the child.’

Aasha/ tangiliile. ‘Aasha recited the poem.’

Taangila. ‘Recite!’ Cf. **Tangilaani.** ‘(Pl.) recite!’

Tangilani nt^haangilo. ‘(Pl.) recite a poem!’

Staangilé. ‘Don’t recite!’ Cf. **Stangileení.** ‘(Pl.) don’t recite!’

Stangileení/ nt^haangilo. ‘(Pl.) don’t recite the poem!’

rel.

kh-tangilila v. appl. (**tangiliile**) recite for

Aasha/ m̄tangiliile Haliima/ mwaanawe. ‘Aasha recited for Haliima a praise poem about her son.’

kh-tangiloowa v. pass. (**tangiliila**)

Mwaana/ tangilila na Aasha. ‘The child had a poem about him recited by Aasha.’

l-taangilo (n-) n. 11/10 a poem praising or insulting someone, e.g. at a wedding, a poem in praise of the bride or bridegroom; an oral recitation (usu. by women) of poems composed spontaneously; [pron. nt^haangilo (pl.)]

loud singing’

ni suna khfarama kureeba nt^haangilo [st.] ‘it is preferred to suggest to stop

sh-taango (s-) n. 7/8 a collection; a co-operative effort in raising funds

kh-taangula v. tr. [Sw. *tangua* SSED 452] (**tangiile**) nullify, revoke
khtangula (w)uuđu ‘to nullify one’s ablutions’

rel.

kh-taanguka v. intr.

khkuunt^hana na muke soomu hūtaanguka [st.] ‘to lie with a woman [renders] fasting invalid’

kh-tangulisha v. tr. caus.

Biint^ho/ m̄tangulishize Sarmadi/ ruuhuye/ wuuđu. ‘Biinto caused Sarmadi to lose his ritual purity.’

kh-taanguza v. tr. caus. (**tangiize**)

Luulu/ nt^hangize wuuðu. ‘Luulu made me lose **wuuðu** (by touching my uncovered skin with her bare hands).’

sh-taangulo

n. 7 nullification, revocation

-taano

adj. [Sw. *tano* SSED 453] five

khfanya wataano/ ðidi ya mooyi ‘to masturbate [lit. to make five (fingers) against one (penis)]’

Muundrawa/ unayo miti mitaano/ tu. ‘My farm has only five trees.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **mkono/ ma zaala** ‘a hand/ and fingers’.)

ni nt^haano/ nguzo ziitu/ za islaamu [st.] ‘they are five, our pillars of Islam’

Numbaani/ mdirshile waawaye/ bariziile/ na waanawe/ wa taano. ‘In the house he found his father sitting with his five children.’

skapu taano ‘five baskets’

Sku nt^haano/ spisile jis’iyo. ‘Five days passed that way.’

sku ya taano ‘the fifth day’

Vaala/ shpete ichi/ muda wa sku nt^haano. ‘Wear this ring for a period of five days.’

wanafunzi wataano ‘five students’

taano

n. food given to poor people on the fifth day after someone has died

l-taanta (n-)

n. 11/10 [no etymological source known] edge; [pron. **ltaant^ha** ‘edge’ and **nt^haant^ha** ‘edges’] **defintiion to be checked**

ltant^ha laa chili ‘the edge of the bed’

n-tanu

n. 9/10 [cf. Sw. verb *chana* "to slit" and *kichane* "a small splinter" SSED 49] splinter; [pron. **nt^hanu**]

rel.

i-tanu (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

sh-tanu (s-) n. 7/8 dim.

kh-tanula

v. [cf. the Sw. verb *chanua* "(1) tease, comb out; (2) put out leaves (of plants generally)" SSED 49, which is perhaps a cognate] (**taniile**) **review the gloss of this item**

rel.

kh-tanulatanula v. freq.

khulanulatanula kooði ‘to squeeze words and then deduce different senses’

kh-taanyika

v. [variant form of *-tawanyika*]

khṭanyika maazi ‘to bleed’

kumṭanyika maṭozi/ kamaa nvula ‘for tears to pour from him like rain’

Zinamṭanyika huuri/ kana muunt^hu/ naakufó. ‘He is sweating like someone dying.’

Tanzaanya

n. Tanzania

Ra’iisi/ wa Tanzaanya/ mwaalimu/ Nyerere/ wa’ambiile/ wanaa nt^hi/ wa Tanzaanya/ ya kuwa...taqaddumu/ yaa nt^hi/ na mawakoyé/ ni amri/ mbili/ hulazimo wanaa nt^hi/ wote. ‘The president of Tanzania, Mwaalimu Nyerere, told the people of Tanzania that the progress of the country and its development are two matters that all the people are obligated (to undertake).’

l-taanzi (n-)

n. 11/10 [Sw. *utanzu* SSED 509] branch; [pl. pron. **nt^haanzi**]

Khariibu/ ya ṭawala/ uwaliko muti/ mooyi/ nt^haanzize/ schilelo ilu ya maayí. ‘Near the sea there was a tree whose branches hung over

the water.’ (Ordinarily, the final vowel of a word like **uwaliko** would be lengthened in front of a phrase-final word with two short syllables like **muti**. But in this example no such lengthening occurs. The absence of lengthening is due to the fact that emphasis has been put on **muti**. The emphasis on **muti** can be inferred from the fact that it is separated phrasally from the following modifier **mooyi**, but in actual speech it is clearly shown by the raised pitch on **muti**. In this book it is not our practice to show the relative pitch levels of the accented words.)

Ltanzi ilije/ nii lile. ‘That branch is long.’ (Cf. **Nt^hanzi izije/nii ndre.** ‘Those branches are long.’)

Ltanzi ilije/ nlaake. ‘That branch is its.’ (Cf. **Nt^hanzi izije/ nzaake.** ‘Those branches are its.’)

ltanzi lmooyi ‘one branch’

nt^hanzi mbili ‘two branches’

rel.

i-taanzi (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

sh-taanzi (s-) n. 7/8 dim.

kh-tapa v. [cf. Sw. **tapa** "(1) shiver, tremble, shudder, jump about convulsively, because of cold, fear, also as a man does struggling in the water in danger of being drowned; (2) be startled; (3) prevaricate, change one's story, etc., because of fear or because of being confused, etc." SSED 454] (**tapiile**) toss around; move about out of nervousness or pain; go around looking for favor and trying to exploit connections one has

khtapa/ kana maank^huku ‘to move like a chick’

Nakhtapa/ kana maank^huku. ‘He s moving around like a chick (e.g. of someone who is unable to stay in one place, moving around either from pain or nervousness etc.)’

khtapa/ kanaa mbuzi/ tiinzilá ‘to writhe like a goat that has been slaughtered’

khtapa/ kanaa noka ‘to writhe in pain – lit. to move about like a snake’

khtapa/ kana ruhu/ inamkuukó ‘to writhe like the soul is coming out of one – i.e. like one is dying’

Nakhtapa/ kana ruhu/ inamkuukó. ‘He is writhing in pain like he is dying.’

Omari/ nakhtapa/ kana bañera/ yimo mayiiní. ‘Omari is moving about like a boat in the water.’

rel.

kh-tapaatapa v. freq. (**tapiletapiile**)

kh-tapila v. appl.

khtapila ruuhu ‘to struggle to live, stay alive’

kh-tapisha v. caus. move (e.g. of an animal moving its tail)

khtapisha milomo ‘to move the lips, as of a child opening and closing his lips rapidly to indicate he wants food’

Mbwa/ nakhtapisha. ‘The dog is wagging its tail.’

kh-taqabaðav. [Sw. **takabadhi** SSED 163; Ar. **qabad?a** "to grasp, receive, collect" W 738] (**taqabaðiile**) receive something by hand; [pron. -**taqabaða** or -**takhabaða**]

Nt^haqabaðilee peesa/ ka Hamadi. ‘I received the money from Hamadi (by hand).’

rel.

kh-taqabaðila v. appl. receive something for someone

kh-taqabaðishav. caus. (**taqabaðishiize**) give something to someone directly by hand

Hamadi/ nt^haqabaðishize peesa. ‘Hamadi handed over the money to me.’

Nuuru/ taqabaðishize madrasa/ peesa. ‘Nuuru gave the school money.’

Uyu/ malizopo kumtakhabaðisha maskiini/ eeloye... ‘When this one handed over to the poor man his gazelle...’

kh-taqabaðishan(y)a v. caus. rec. give one another something

Ali/ na Nuuru/ wañtaqabaðishenye peesa. ‘Ali and Nuuru handed over money to one another.’ (Syn: Note that this reciprocal verb does not permit what we refer to as "reciprocal shift": ***Ali/ taqabaðishenye na Nuuru/ peesa.**)

kh-taqabađishika v. caus. p/s.

kh-taqabađishiliza v. caus. appl. hand over something to someone for someone

Nt^haqabađisilize mwaana/ peesa. ‘He handed money over to the child for me.’

kh-taqabađishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-taqabađishoowa v. caus. pass.

Madrasa/ itaqabađishiza peesa/ na Nuuru. ‘The school was given money by Nuuru.’

Sarkaali/ itaqabađishiza peesa/ na Nuuru. ‘The government was given money by Nuuru.’ (Syn. The recipient can be the subject of the passive verb, not the logical object: ***Peesa/ staqabadhishiza sarkaali/ na Nuuru.** ‘Money was given to the government by Nuuru.’)

rel. nom.

m-taqabadhi n. 1/2 one who receives

m-taqabadho n. 3

u-taqabadhisho n. 14

u-taqabadho n. 14

kh-taqadama
ahead, progress

v. [Sw. *takadmu* SSED 164; Ar. *qadama* W 747] (**taqadamiile**) precede, be or go

variant form: **kh_htaqaduma (taqadumiile)**

rel.

kh-taq(a)damishiliza v. caus. appl. set aside for the future

Ba’adi/ ya miyaaka/ ayo/ yatakuuya/ miyaaka/ yaa dhibu/ yatakuja zaa ni/ ntaqdishiliizó/ miyaka ayó/ sho kuwa habamó/ yaa ni/ ntakistiró. ‘After these years will come years of difficulty; they will eat (i.e. during these years will be eaten) what you (pl.) have kept aside for those years except for a little that you (pl.) will save.’

kh-taqadumisha v. caus. send someone ahead, in advance

u-taqadamu

n. 14 progress

variant form: **u-tawadumu**

taqaaliidi
takhaaliidi

n. 10 [Ar. *taqālīd*, plural of *taqalīd* W786] traditions; [pron. **taqaaliidi** or

taqdiimu

n. 9 an advance, something given in advance; [pron. **taqdiimu** or **takhdiimu**]

Tomele peesa/ taqdiimu. ‘He paid the money in advance.’

taqiyyi (Ø, ma-)

adj. pious, devout; [pron. **taqiyyi** or **takhiiyi**]

rel.

atqiya adj. pl. *poetic* [Ar. *atqiyā*, from *taqīy* W 95] God-fearing, pious

taqliidi

n. 9 [Ar. *taqlīd* ‘imitation, uncritical faith’ W786 (W says that only the plural form in Arabic means ‘traditions’)] tradition; [pron. **taqliidi** or **takhlīidi**]

taqsiiri

n. 9 [Sw. *taksiri* ‘fault, defect, offence, deficit, crime’ SSED 447; Ar. *taqṣīr* ‘inadequacy, slackness, fault’ W 768] improper or unbecoming behavior; [pron. **taqsiiri** or **takhsiiri**]

khfanya taqsiiri ‘to behavior improperly’

taqwa

n. [Ar. *taqwā* ‘piety’ and verb *taqā* ‘to fear God’ W 95] piety; fear of God; [pron.

taqwa or **takhwa**]

khfanya taqwa ‘to devote oneself to prayers and other religious activities’

mwenye taqwa ‘someone pious, devout’

na qabri ni miinza dađalataani/ ka taqwa ya mooja ndiyo liwaani [st.] ‘and the grave is darkness, do your best by obeying the prescriptions of God, it is he who brings success’

taqwiimu

n. 9/10 [Ar. *taqwīm* W 801] calendar; [pron. **taqwiimu** or **takhwiimu**]

tarafu

n. 9/10 [Sw. *tarafu* ‘a district, parish; part, business, duty, work, task’ SSED 454 M&N cite *tarafi* ‘side, part’ 2319; Ar. *taraf* W 558] edge, side; (**tarafu ya** or **tarafu za**) about, concerning

Basi/ naayo/ humaliza ka apo/ tarafu ya Astaghafiru. ‘So, now this discussion about Astaghafiru is finished.’

chijana chaa ye/ koḏele ka tarafuyé ‘the dim. child that he spoke about him’; **zijana zaa ye/ koḏele ka tarafu yaawó** ‘the dim. children that he spoke about them’ (Notice that because **zijaana** is a noun with human reference, one says **ka tarafu yaawo** rather than **ka tarafuye**, as one would do with a noun human – see a number of the examples below.)

chilavi chaa ye/ koḏele ka tarafuyé ‘the fish trap that he spoke about it’; **zilavi zaa ye/ koḏele ka tarafuyé** ‘the fish traps that he spoke about them’

Haṭá/ khkoḏa tarafu ya mwajiitu/ nthaku/ mwajiitu. ‘Even to speak of God, that there is no God.’

izuliya yaa ye/ koḏele ka tarafuyé ‘the rug that he spoke about it’;

mazuliya yaa ye/ koḏele ka tarafuyé ‘the rugs that he spoke about them’

khaasá/ tarafu yaa wake ‘especially concerning women’

Itaki laa ye/ koḏele ka tarafuyé ‘the bracelet that he spoke about it’; **ntḥaki zaa ye/ koḏele ka tarafuyé** ‘the bracelets that he spoke about them’

mṭana waa ye/ koḏele ka tarafuyé ‘the room which he spoke about it’;

miṭana waa ye/ koḏele ka tarafuyé ‘the rooms that he spoke about them’

mune waa ye/ koḏele ka tarafuyé ‘the younger brother whom he spoke

about him’; **munaaze waa ye/ koḏele ka tarafu yaawó** ‘the younger brothers whom he spoke about them’

Na’iwani/ we/ hattá/ khkoḏa tarafu ya mwajiitu. ‘What do you know about talking concerning God?’

Nakhkoḏa na Nuuru/ tarafu ya kaazi. ‘I am speaking with Nuuru about work.’ Or with verb emphasis: **Nakhkoḏá/ na Nuuru/ tarafu ya kaazi.** (In this example, the emphasis on the verb bars the projection of final accent past the verb.) Or with focus on **Nuuru**: **Nakhkoḏa na Nuuru/ tarafu ya kaazi.** (In this example, focus on **Nuuru** prevents the projection of final accent past **Nuuru**.)

Nnakhkoḏa tarafu ya kaazi. ‘I am speaking about work.’ Or: **Nakhkoḏá/ tarafu ya kaazi.** ‘I am speaking about work.’ Cf. the third person subject forms with default accent: **Nakhkoḏa tarafu ya kaazi.** ‘He is speaking about work.’ Or with verb emphasis: **Nakhkoḏa/ tarafu ys kaazi.** (The preposition **tarafu** apparently cannot be

focused: ***Nnakhkoḏa tarafu/ ya kaazi.** ‘I am speaking about work.’ Phrasal separation of **tarafu** does seem possible when it is not being focused: **Nnakhkoḏá/ tarafu/ ya kaazi.** ‘I am speaking about work.’)

Nnakhkoḏa tarafu ya kaazi/ na Nuuru. ‘I am speaking about work with Nuuru.’ (It is not clear whether it is possible to have this word order without focus on the IAV phrase.)

Nile ka tarafu ya Alí. ‘I came on behalf of Ali.’

numba yaa ye/ koḏele ka tarafuyé ‘the house that he spoke about it’;

numba zaa ye/ koḏele ka tarafuyé ‘the houses that he spoke about them’

Shkoḏeelé/ mi/ na Alí/ tarafu ya Safiya. ‘We spoke, me and Ali, about Safiya.’

Tarafu ya kaazi/ nakhkoḏó. ‘About work I am speaking.’

tarafu ya peesa/ zaa mi/ khupeeló ‘about the money that I gave to you’

Ye/ ha’isi chiint^hu/ tarafu ya numba iyi/ walá/ ya muyi uyú. ‘He does not know anything about this house nor this town.’

Ye/ koḏele ka tarafu za jaama’a. ‘He spoke about the university.’

i-taraja (ma-) stairs

n. 5/6 [Sw. *daraja* SSED 70; Ar. *daraja* "step, stairs" W 277] a step of a ladder; pl.

Mwaambile/ kuwaa we/ hukhaadiri/ khpandra maṭaraja. ‘Tell him that you cannot climb the stairs.’

Laakini/ Abunawaasi/ muliize/ chulungu cha piili/ na maṭarajayé/ mfanyilize ka ndilaani. ‘But Abunawaasi sold to him (only) the second story (of the house) and he made for him stairs (that go up to the second story only) from the outside.’

rel.

l-taraja (mi-) n. aug. 11/4

kh-taraja

v. [Sw. *taraji* SSED 454; Ar. *rajā* W 330] (**tarajiile**) hope, look forward to

Imṭihani ya Mawlaana/ tarajilo mwaaná/ khpitá/ iwalikoo dibu. ‘The examination that Mawlaana hoped for the child to pass was difficult.’

Kuwa Jaama/ takuuya/ ñnakhtarajá. ‘That Jaama will come I hope.’

Ñnakhtaraja keendrá. ‘I hope to go.’ (The first person subject prefix is usually absent in the speech of GM in front of the present tense TAM *na*; it was optional in this position for MI.)

Ñnakhtaraja kendra ka himá. ‘I hope to go quickly.’

Ñnakhtaraja kendra keeshó. ‘I hope to go tomorrow.’ Or: **Keesho/ ñnakhtaraja keendrá.** ‘Tomorrow I hope to go.’

Ñnakhtarajá/ kuwa Jaama/ takuuya. ‘I hope that Jaama will come.’ (In this example there is focus on the main verb, hence the final accent that the verb triggers does not go past the verb due to what we call the Accentual Law of Focus.)

***Nimtarajile Nuurú/ kuleta chaakujá.** ‘I hoped for Nuuru to bring food.’ (This sentence, where the subject of the lower complement clause is raised to become the object of the main verb, is ungrammatical.)

Ñnakhtaraja Jaamá/ kuuyá. ‘I hope Jaama comes.’

Ñnakhtaraja khpola kahimá. ‘I hope to get well soon.’

Ñnakhtaraja kuwa Nureeni/ tamwandikila Hasani/ khaṭi. ‘I hope that Nureeni will write a letter to Hasani.’ (Phon. Observe that the final accent triggered by the verb **ñnakhtaraja** extends to the end of the complement clause. The verb **tamwandikila** is, like all future tense verbal forms, a trigger of default accent, but the final accent triggered by the main verb over-rides the default accent. If, however, focus is placed on the main verb, then the Accentual Law of Focus bars the extension of the final accent to the complement and the default accent in the complement re-emerges:

Ñnakhtarajá/ kuwa Nureeni/ tamwandikila Hasani/ khaṭi.

When the main verb is a default-accent trigger, then default accent obtains in the complement regardless of whether the main verb is focused or not: **Wo/ wanakhtaraja kuwa Nureeni/ tamwandikila Hasani/ khaṭi.** ‘They hoped that Nureeni will write a letter to Hasani.’ And with focus on the main verb: **Wo/ wanakhtaraja/ kuwa Nureeni/ tamwandikila Hasani/ khaṭi.** The only difference between the preceding two sentences is intonational; the default accent pattern in all the phrases remains the same.)

Ñnakhtaraja kuwa Jaamá/ nṭakeendrá. ‘I hope that Jaama did not go.’

Ñnakhtaraja kuwa Jaamá/ oloshelé. ‘I hope that Jaama went.’

Ñnakhtaraja kuwa Jaamá/ uko apá. ‘I hope that Jaama is here.’

Ñnakhtaraja kuwaa ye/ hatakeendrá. ‘I hope that he will not go.’

Ñnakhtaraja kuwaa ye/ takeendrá. ‘I hope that he will go.’ (Phon. Note that the first person main verb requires final accent. This final accent appears at the end of each of the phonological phrases that make up the verb phrase that it heads. The complement verb, **takeendra**, would be pronounced with default penult accent were it used as a verb in isolation. But here it has final accent due to falling with the scope of the main verb’s final accent.)

Ñnakhtaraja kuwaa ye/ takeendrá. ‘I hope that he will go.’ (Phon. Notice that although **takeendra** in isolation would have the default accent on the second syllable from the end, since all future tense verb forms have this accentual shape, here there is final accent. This is because the complement is within the accentual scope of the main verb, which is one that requires final accent.)

Ñnakhtaraja maaná/ khpita imṭihaaní. ‘I hope that the child passes the examination.’

Ñnakhtaraja napole kahimá. ‘I hope that he gets well soon.’

Ñnakhtarajaa nṭo/ kuwa Jaama/ takuuya. ‘I hope very much that Jaama will come.’

Ñnakhtaraja Nuurú/ khpola kahimá. ‘I hope Nuuru gets well soon.’

- Si/ sh̄tarajile kendra Mkhodiishó.** ‘We hoped to go to Mogadishu.’ (Cf. **Wo/ wātarajile kendra Mkhodiisho.** ‘We hoped to go to Mkhodiisho.’)
- Si/ sh̄tarajile (kuwa) Nuurú/ takendra Mkhodiishó.** ‘We hoped that Nuuru would go to Mogadishu.’ (Syn. It is possible for the subject of the complement clause to precede the complementizer **kuwa**: **Sht̄arajile Nuurú/ kuwa takendra Mkhodiishó.** ‘We hoped that Nuuru would go to Mogadishu.’)
- Si/ sh̄tarajile Nuurú/ kendra Mkhodiishó.** ‘We hoped for Nuuru to go to Mogadishu.’ (Syn. It is not possible for the complementizer **kuwa** to be used to introduce the complement: ***Sht̄arajile kuwa Nuurú/ kendra Mkhodiisho.** It is also not possible for the subject of the infinitive, **Nuuru**, to be represented by an object prefix on the main verb: ***Chim̄tarajile Nuurú/ kendra Mkhodiishó.**)
- Si/ sh̄tarajile Nureeni/ chiza keendrá.** ‘We hoped that Nureeni would not go.’ Cf. **Wo/ wātarajile Nureeni/ chiza keendra.** ‘They hoped that Nureeni would not go.’ (Phon. If the final-accent triggering main verb is focused, then final accent is not extended to the complement: **Si/ sh̄tarajiilé/ Nureeni/ chiza keendra.**)
- Si/ sh̄tarajilee nvulá/ itakunya na mapeemá.** ‘We hope that the rain will fall early.’ (Phon. Notice how the final accent triggered by the second person main verb extends across the verb phrase. If the main verb is third person, then this final accent does not appear: **Wo/ wātarajilee nvula/ itakunya na mapeema.** ‘They hope that the rain will fall early.’)
- Si/ sh̄tarajilee nvulá/ kunya na mapeemá.** ‘We hope(d) for the rain to fall early.’ (Cf. the shift to penult accent when the main verb is third person: **Wo/ wātarajilee nvula/ kunya na mapeema.** ‘They hope(d) for the rain to fall early.’)
- uwe maambo nakht̄araja** [song] ‘that you be living with hope for things to happen’

rel.

kh-tarajoowa v. pass.

Itarajilaa nvula/ kunya na mapeema. ‘It was hope for the rain to fall early.’

Nakht̄arajowa kuuya. ‘[Lit.] he is hoped to come -- i.e. it is hoped that he will come.’

Nureeni/ keendrake/ Mkhodiisho/ itarajiila. ‘For Nureeni to go to Mogadishu was hoped for.’ (Syn. MI rejected the raising of the subject of the complement clause to become the subject of the passive verb: ***Nureeni/ tarajila keendrake/ Mkhodiisho.** ‘Nureeni was hoped to be going to Mogadishu.’)

kh-taraka'a v. pray stooping

tarawehe n. 9 [Sw. “a long prayer said at *Isha*, the Muhammadan hour of prayer after sunset, during the month of Ramadhan” SSED 455; Ar. *ṣalāt at-tarāwīḥ* "prayer performed during the nights of Ramadhan" W 365] non-obligatory (but recommended) evening prayers during Ramadhan
chakuja cha tarawhe ‘food eaten before dawn during the fasting period’

tarbaale n. [Eng. *tarpaulin*; Sw. *turubali* SSED 482] canvas, tarpaulin

tarbuushi (Ø, ma-) n. 9/10,6 [Ar. *ṭarbūs* W 555] tarboosh, fez (Morroccan type of hat)
 rel.
i-tarbuushi (mi-) n. 5/4

tarfaanyo n. no etymological source known in the expression:
xkhtila tarfaanyo ‘to trip someone’

targeeta (Ø, ma-) n. 9/10,6 [Ital. *traghetto*] ferry

- taari** n. a plate-like instrument held in the hand, used originally as an accompaniment to recitations in the mosque
kubiga taari 'to play the taari; to have sexual intercourse'
- taarifa** n. manifest, list, description, declaration (of contents), explanation
Zombo izi/ yiikoyi/ taariifaye. 'Where is the manifest for these goods?' Or: **Yiikoyi/ taariifaye/ zombo izi.** Or instead of **yiikoyi**, it may be **yiikopi**.
- taariikhi** n. 9/10 [Sw. *tarehe* SSED 455; Ar. *ta'rik* W 12] history; date
iyi ni taariikhi sho kuliwaloowa [nt.] 'this is a [piece of] history that will not be forgotten'
karka taariikhi 'in history'
kulata taariikhi '[lit.] to leave behind history -- i.e. to set a record'
kuweka taariikhi 'to make history, set a record'
Muuyi/ wa Miini/ unaayo/ taariikhi/ nk^hulu. 'The city of Miini has a long [lit. large, great] history.'
Omari/ tarikhi gani/ nakuuyó. 'When [lit. which date] is Omari coming?'
tarikhi ya kahima or **taariikhi/ (ya) kahima** 'early, earliest [lit. quick] date'
Omari/ ile taariikhi/ kahima. 'Omari came at an earlier date.'
taariikhi/ khiyaasi 'estimated, approximate date'
Omari/ takuuya/ taariikhi/ khiyaasi/ meezi/ ishiriini. 'Omari will come on approximately the twentieth of the month.'
tarikhi yaa mbele 'earlier, earliest date'
Omari/ ile tarikhi yaa mbele. 'Omari came at an earlier date.'
taariikhi/ (ya) miisho 'the last, latest date'
taariikhi/ ya muuyi/ wa miini 'the history of the city of M(w)iini – i.e. Brava'
taariikhi/ (ya) rasmi 'official, correct date'
tarikhi yaa saha 'the exact date'
tarikhi yaa wo/ wawasililo Mwiini 'the date of their arrival in Brava'
taariikhiye 'its date'
We/ nakhsulaayi/ waant^hu/ keesho/ mukhtaa wo/ watakhsoomó/ taariikhiyo/ nakhsula inaweeyi/ we/ taariikhiyo/ kuwa ni muunt^hu/ waliko mwenye adli/ liini/ chilawanganyo bena taajiri/ na maskiini/ ow/ lamna yiingine. 'How do you want people tomorrow, when they read about your history, how do you want it to be, that you were a person who was just, who never differentiated between rich and poor, or something else.'
- taariku/ salaati** [fixed expression from Ar., based on the verb *taraka* "omit, leave, neglect" W 93] one who does not say prayers, =**sho khsala**
mtume hadiilo taariku salaati/ adaabuye haanza karka wafaati [st.] 'the prophet said that the one who does not pray, his punishment starts during the time of death'
- tariiqa (Ø, ma-)** n. 9/10,6 [Ar. *ṭarīqa* "religious brotherhood" W 559] religious sect; [pron. **tariiqa** or **tariikha**]
muunt^hu rashiizo ka lila/ tariiqa yitu na mila [st.] 'whoever follows with a true (heart) our brotherhood and (its) traditions'
- tariiqi** n. 9/10 [Ar. *ṭarīq* W 559] road; [pron. **tariiqi** or **tariikhi**]
variant form: **tariiqa**
- taarishi (ma-)** n. [Sw. *tarishi* SSED 455; cf. Som. *taarash* DSI 569] a messenger who goes on foot, carrying a message from one place to another distant place (in earlier days)

- kh-tarjuma* v. [Ar. *tarjama* W 93] (**tarjumiile**) interpret, translate
Mi/ nt^harjumile khuṭba ya Hamadí/ ka chingereenza. ‘I translated Hamadi’s speech into English.’ (Phon. If there is focus on **Hamadí**, then the final accent does not extend to **ka chingereenza**: **Mi/ nt^harjumile khuṭba ya Hamadí/ ka chingereenza**. If there is focus on **chingereenza**, then the final accent does extend to **chingereenza**, but there is no downstepping of the final phrase. **But need to check whether there is also the possibility of lack of accent shift on the focused ka-phrase.**)
(Ni) Omari/ tarjumilo khuṭba ya Hamadí/ ka chingereenza. ‘(It is) Omari (who) translated Hamadi’s speech into English.’
Omari/ tarjumile khuṭba ya Hamadi. ‘Omari interpreted Hamadi’s speech (from one language into another).’
Omari/ tarjumile khuṭba ya Hamadi/ ka chingereenza. ‘Omari translated Hamadi’s speech into English.’ (Phon. In the simple yes-no question version, there is only Q-raising, no accent shift. The exclamatory yes-no question has accent shift in the VP: **Omari/ tarjumile khuṭba ya Hamadí/ ka chingereenza!?**)
- rel.
kh-tarjumila v. appl. (**tarjumiliile**)
Omari/ mtarjumiliile Hamadi/ chingereenza. ‘Omari has translated something in English for Hamadi (i.e. translated it from English into some other language that Hamadi knows).’ (Phon. In the simple yes-no question version, there is no accent shift, just Q-raising. In the exclamatory yes-no question there is accent shift in the VP: **Omari/ mtarjumiliile Hamadí/ chingereenza!?**)
- rel. nom.
u-tarjumo n. 14 the act of interpreting (from one language to another)
- i-tarma* (*ma-*) n. the curved planks of which the boat is built, that are set up vertically
- tarmuusi* n. 9/10 [Eng. *thermos*] thermos, flask
ikono ya tarmuusi ‘handle of a thermos’
- tarniiki* n. [Som. *tarniig* DSI 577] sheet of eternit (fibre cement), used to cover roofs
- kh-tartara* v. [etymology unknown] (**tartariile**) ‘to proceed by fits and starts because of engine problems (subject: motor vehicle)’
- n-tartaawu* n. a kind of fish; [pron. nt^hartaawu]
- tartiibu* quiet, slow, easygoing
 adj. [Sw. *taratibu* SSED 397; Ar. *tartīb* "order, arrangement, organization" W 325]
Hinendro tartiibú/ halazoowi/ na miilu. ‘The one who walks slowly is not given pain by his legs.’ (A proverb.)
ka tartiibu [Sw. *kwa tartibu* “orderly, carefully” cited in M&N 2324] slowly, carefully; with a low voice
Fanya ka tartiibu. ‘Do it slowly!’
Inendra ka tartiibu. ‘Go slowly!’
Ja ka tartiibu. ‘Eat slowly!’
ka tartiibu/ kana igombegoombe ‘slow like a tortoise’
Ka tartiibu/ kilaa chiint^hu/ hupatikana. ‘Slowly everything is achievable.’
Ka tartiibu/ ye/ chiineendra/ chiineendra/ haṭá/ shkoma muyi wa sulṭaani. ‘Slowly he walked and walked until he reached the sultan’s town.’
kendra ka tartiibu ‘to go, walk slowly’
munt^hu tartiibu ‘a very quiet and composed person’
Mwaana/ chiwa’ambila/ waant^hu/ awo/ khṭukula sanduukhu/ ka tartiibu. ‘The boy told those people to carry the box carefully.’
Nakhsooma/ nakhsooma/ ka tartiibu/ basi/ basi/ ayo majini/ wachiwa kanna maashe/ nt^hawamwona/ ba. ‘He was

reading and reading in a low voice so, so those jinns became like blind people, they did not see him at all.'

Wachiwona/ kuwa ni afōali/ wo/ mbele/ kutuma mooyi/ kati kaawo/ keendra/ kaṭarṭiibu/ khariibu/ ya siimba/ kumlangala/ kamaa ye/ nakasha maato. 'They saw that it was better for them to send ahead one among them to go slowly near the lion to see if he was awake.'

Wakomeelopó/ waziiri/ chibiga mlaango/ ka ṭarṭiibu. 'When they reached (the place), the minister knocked on the door slowly.'

ṭarṭiibu/ kana igarnyuungu 'as slow as a tortoise'

ṭarṭiibu/ kana ijunguungu 'as slow as a tortoise'

rel.

ṭarṭibuṭarṭiibu adv. slowly, gently

Basi/ isa/ mwaanawá/ mi/ nṭʰakuuluka/ naawé/ ilu/ nṭʰo/ chimaliza/

nṭʰakishkila/ ṭarṭibuṭarṭiibu/ haṭá/ we/ chi'uwona/ oyo/ muuyi.

'Now, my son, I will fly with you very high and then I will descend slowly until you see that town.'

ka ṭarṭibuṭarṭiibu 'very slowly, gently'

Chimbiga Abunawaasi/ laakini/ ka ṭarṭibuṭarṭiibu. 'He beat Abunawaasi, but very gently.'

Fanya kazi iyi/ ka ṭarṭibuṭarṭiibu. 'Do this work very slowly.'

u-ṭarṭiibu n. the act of doing something slowly

i-taasa (mi-)

n. 5/4 [Sw. *kitasa* SSED 209] a kind of door lock

rel.

sh-taasa (s-) n. 7/8 dim.

sh-taasa (s-)

n. 7/8 [cf. Sw. *tasa* "a small metal vessel, cup, jug, mug, basin, saucer, i.e. spittoon, vessel for washing hands before and after meals" SSED 455] a small copper tray; pl. form, **staasa**, is used to refer to a large, round, copper musical instrument, somehow similar to cymbals, that is used at weddings

kubiga staasa 'to play the **staasa**'

kh-tasaahula

v. [cf. Ar. *tasāhul* "indulgence, leniency" W 437] (**tasahuliile**) be lenient

tasaahuli

n. 9 [Ar. *tasāhul* "indulgence, leniency" W 437] leniency

khfanya tasaahuli 'to be lenient'

kh-tasarufa

v. [cf. Ar. *taṣarruf* "disposal, administration" W 513, from verb *ṣarafa* W 512] discharge duties, make decisions

Naminilaa mi/ makhazina/ zaa nṭʰi/ iyi/ mi/ ni muuntʰú/ na'iwo

kudhoorá/ na na'iwo khṭasarufá. 'Trust to me, the treasurer of this land, I am a man who knows how to protect and how to make the right decisions.'

Yuusufu/ shfanyoowa/ waziiri/ wa maali/ na chiwa/ ndiyé/

nakṭasarufó/ maali/ yaa nṭʰi. 'Joseph was made minister of finances and it became that he was the one who discharged the affairs of finance of this country.'

kh-tasawara

v. [Sw. *tasawari* "to be fully able to, be competent" SSED 455; Ar. *ṣuwwira* W 529] (**-tasawariile**) be possible, probable; seem; assume

Huṭasawara kuwa Abasome/ ṭakhsafira ka ariplaano. 'It is possible that Abasome will travel by airplane.' Or: **Huṭasawara Abasome/**

kuwa ṭakhsafira ka ariplaano.

Huṭasawara/ kuwa Hamadi/ uzile gaari. 'It is possible/ seems that Hamadi bought a car.' Or: **Hamadi/ huṭasawara/ kuwa uzile gaari.** Or: **Gaari/ huṭasawara/ kuwa Hamadi/ uzile.**

Huṭasawara/ kuwa Hamadi/ wapele waana/ peesa. 'It is possible/ seems

that Hamadi gave the children money.’ Or: **Huṭasawara/ Hamadi/ kuwa wapele waana/ peesa.** Or: **Hamadi/ huṭasawara/ kuwa wapele peesa/ waana.** Or: **Huṭasawara/ kuwa waana/ Hamadi/ wapele peesa.** Or: **Huṭasawara/ waana/ kuwa Hamadi/ wapele peesa.** Or: **Waana/ huṭasawara/ kuwa Hamadi/ wapele peesa.** Or: **Peesa/ huṭasawara/ kuwa Hamadi/ wapele waana.**

Huṭasawara/ si/ kumwendrela bilaa peesa. ‘Is it possible (and nice) for us to go to him without any money (to be given to him)?’

Ka isa/ huṭasawara/ si/ jawabu iyo/ khadara khfaanya. ‘As of now, it is possible that we can make that thing’

Khpikilowa Hamadi/ ha’iṭasawari. ‘Hamadi to be cooked for is not possible.’

kuja haraamu taa’a hayṭasawari [st.] ‘to eat unlawful things [means that] obedience [to the tenets of Islam] is not possible’

Kuwa Abasome/ takhsafira ka ariplaano/ huṭasawara. ‘That Abasome will travel by airplane is possible.’ Or: **Abasome/ kuwa takhsafira ka ariplaano/ huṭasawara.**

Ye/ ṭasawarile kuwa kaazi/ ni sahani. ‘He assumed that the work was easy.’

ṭasbihin. 9/10 [Sw. *ṭasbihi* SSED 45; Ar. *ṭasbīh*? "glorification of God" W 393; this same word is listed with the meaning "rosary" in the Oxford English-Arabic Dictionary, p. 339] rosary

kh-ṭasha v. (variant of kh-**ṭosha**, but only in the sense: to think, believe)

ṭas.hili adv. [Sw. *ṭasihili* = *tas-hili* M&N 2327; cf. Ar. *sahl* "easy, convenient, light" and *ṭashīl* "facilitation" W 437] with speed, quickly, easily

Mfanyilize ṭas.hili/ napate kumaliza kaa hima. ‘Make it easy for him so that he can finish quickly.’

ṭashbiihin. [Sw. *tashbiha*, *tashbihi* M&N 2326; Ar. *ṭasbīh* W 454] comparison

n-ṭasin. 9/10 [Sw. *tasi* SSED 456] a kind of fish; [pron. nṭ^hasi]

ṭasliimun. [Sw. *ṭaslimu* SSED409; Ar. *ṭaslim* "handing over, delivery" W 426]

kḥtomola ṭasliimu ‘to pay in cash’

ṭashwiishi n. 9/10 [Sw. *tashwishi* SSED 418; Ar. *ṭaswīṣ* "confusion, disturbance" W 493] worries; radio interference

ṭaswiiri n. [Sw. *ṭaswira* “a picture, likeness, painting, portrait” SSED 412] painting
ṭaswiiri ya chiint^hu hayi haraamu [st.] ‘the painting of something alive is forbidden’

i-ṭata (ma-) n. 5/6 [no etymological source found] water blister
iṭata yaa mulo ‘a blister caused by fire’
na maṭata na fimbalbari khsalila [st.] ‘and blisters and chickenpox, to pray with these (on your body is forbidden)’

l-ṭata (n-) n. 11/10 (cf. **lṭaan^ha**) the part of the leg of a bed that extends up above the bed; a side of a wooden rectangular frame; [pron. **lṭata** and pl. **nṭ^hata**]

sh-ṭata (s-) n. 7/8 [no etymological source found] fried fat (which is crunchy and eaten)
Haliima/ nakhpika ṭata. ‘Haliima is cooking **ṭata**.’
Huseeni/ nakuja ṭata. ‘Huseeni is eating **ṭata**.’

ṭaw interj. right now, immediately
Isa/ Hamadi/ ṭaw/ iyi/ na’endre skoḷaani. ‘Now Hamadi, right now, must

go to school.'

Isa/ mi/ nakhsuloo we/ kump^ha peesá/ [↑]taw/ iyi. 'Now I want you to give me money right now.'

sh-tawa (s-)

n. 7/8 a clay frying pan
rel.

i-tawa (mi-) n. 5/4 aug. large pan

x-**tawa?**a (cf. Ar. tawa??u' = ritual ablution, Wehr p. 1076)

tawaabu

n. [Ar. *tawwab* "forgiving, said of God" W 99] a name of God: one who accepts repentance and forgives

sho khsala dambize bila hisaabu/ ya nafsi tooba mloombe ya tawaabu [st.]
'the one who does not pray, his sins are countless; oh mortals, repent, pray to God (the one who accepts repentance and forgives)'

kh-tawaða

v. [Sw. *tawada* SSED 457; Ar.] take ritual ablutions before praying

Ali/ shtalaa khati/ ka waziiri/ chimaliza cheendra/ shtawaða/ khsala/ sala ya fijiri. 'Ali took the letter from the minister and then went to take ritual ablutions to pray the morning prayer.'

Qabla yaa sala/ laazimu/ muunt^hu/ khtawaða. 'Before prayer, it is a must that a person take ablutions.'

tawaafa

n. paraffin lamp (In Brava, electricity was provided from 18.00 hours (sunset) until about 23.00 hours; however, in the last years before the civil war, even this reduced service was discontinued. People bought electric generators or used paraffin lamps.)

kh-tawakala

v. [Sw. *tawakali* "put trust in, have confidence in, rely on; take courage, hope" SSED 523; Ar. *wakala* W 1096] (**tawakaliile**) take a chance in doing something, risk, chance something, dare

Omari/ tawakaliile/ uzile gaari. 'Omari took a chance and bought the car.'

Shtiinda/ khtawakala kingila muyiini. 'He decided to venture into town.'

Si/ shtinzile amri/ khtawakala. 'We decided to take a chance.'

Tawakala/ ulá/ gari iyi. 'Take a chance, buy this car.' Or: **Tawakala/ gari iyi/ ulá.**

tawala

n. [no etymological source found] sea, beach

Ifuungu/ imooyi/ mi/ ni'ilatile tawala. 'One share I threw into the sea.'

Jahazi/ yanzize kuyela maayi/ mayi yaa nvula/ na mayi ya tawala. 'The dhow began to fill up with water, rainwater and water from the sea.'

kuzama tawala 'to drown, sink in the sea'

Ifuwo la awala 'shore of the sea'

Wiiko/ ilu ya lfuwo la tawala ya Hiindri. 'It is located on the shore of the Indian Ocean.'

Mafta/ yachilañilowa tawala. 'The oil was thrown into the sea.'

mñanga wa tawala 'sand along the shore of the sea'

nsi za tawala 'sea fish (as opposed to river fish)'

tawala/ kana msala 'lit. a sea like a mat, i.e. a sea without any waves, a

perfectly calm sea'

tawala/ khfuma for the sea to ebb, be at low tide'

Tawala/ ichiyela/ hufuma. 'If the sea is at high tide, it ebbs.' (A proverb.)

Tawala/ ifumiile. 'The sea is at low tide.'

tawala/ kuyela 'for the sea to fill up, i.e. be at high tide'

Tawala/ iyeele. 'The sea is at high tide.'

Tawale/ iyele maayi. 'The sea is filled with water, i.e. is at high

tide.’

Tawala/ ni kamba msala ‘Lit. the sea is like a prayer-mat -- said of perfectly calm sea on windless days’

tawalaa nk^hulu ‘a large sea’

wamo wafakeete ndraani ya tawala [nt.] ‘some fled deep into the sea’

kh-tawala

v. [Sw. *tawala* SSED 457; Ar. *waliya* W 1099] (**tawaliile**) take control, take over, be in power, govern, rule

Chiwaa mi/ nfiilé/ usultaani/ ndiwé/ takhtawaló. ‘If I die, the sultanhip, it is you who will take it over.’

Hutawala nuumba/ na humeramera karka nuumba/ pashpo shtiisho. ‘[Rats, at night when humans are sleeping] rule the house, and go here and there in the house, without fear.’

khtawala amri ‘to be the giver of orders’

Waawe/ fiilopó/ mi/ nt^hawalile amri. ‘When father died, I became the ruler.’

Liini/ shkhadiro khtawala ruuhuyé. ‘He was not able to control himself’

Mgarwa/ shtawala/ chiti/ cha sultaani. ‘The fisherman took over the throne of the sultan.’

Mp^haka/ choondroka/ mp^hana/ hutawala. ‘If the cat leaves, the rat takes control.’ (A proverb.)

mwana wa sultaani/ tawaliilopó ‘when the child of the sultan became ruler’

Wana wawili/ wa rehemula sultaani/ wachimpeenda/ nt^ho/ mwaana/ uyu/ tawalilo usultaani. ‘The two children of the late sultan loved very much this child who had taken over the sultanhip.’

Shtawala/ chiwa ndiyé/ mwenye muuyi/ uyu. ‘He took over the throne and it became that he was the one who owned this town.’

Sultaani/ wakeewe/ waanawe/ na ahliyé/ wotte/ wachifa/ na Abunawaasi/ shtawala chiti cha sultaani. ‘The sultan, his wives, his children, and his relatives, all died, and Abunawaasi took over the sultan’s throne.’

Ye/ chiwa’ambila/ ya kuwa usultaani/ takhtawaló/ ni mgarwa/ hattaaye/ chiruda ka safariini. ‘He told them that the sultanhip, the one who would take it over was the fisherman, until he returned from the trip.’

rel.

kh-tawalisha v. caus. make someone the ruler, put someone in power

kumtawalisha muuyi ‘to make him the ruler of the town’

Oloshela/ ile naawé/ khtawalishiize/ pashpo khuza ajiri/ amó/ ijaará. ‘He came with you and enthroned you without asking for reward or recompense.’ (Phon. We have not established the reason for a final accent on **ajiri** in this example. The final accent on **ijaara** is governed by the conjunction **amo**, which itself is a phrasal isolate with final accent.)

Sultaani/ chimtawalisha waziiri/ chiti/ cha usultaani. ‘The sultan installed the minister in the chair of the sultanhip.’

Waawe/ fiile/ na want^hu awá/ wanakhsula kunt^hawalisha/ wanakhsulaa mi/ niwe sultani waawo. ‘My father died and these people want to install me (as sultan), they want that I become their sultan.’

kh-tawalishoowa v. caus. pass.

Mi/ mp^hindri yaa mi/ nch^hifa/ usultaani/ natawalishoowa/ mwaana/ uyu. ‘At the time when I die, as for the sultanhip, this boy should be installed as ruler.’

We/ takhtawalishoowa/ chiti cha sultaani. ‘You will be given the throne of the sultan.’

rel. nom.

m-tawala (*wa-*) n. 1/2 ruler

kh-taawanya

v. [Sw. *tawanya* SSED 457] (**tawanyiize**) scatter, spill, dispose of, discard, throw away, neglect

are chickens.’ (A proverb.)

Gele/ staawanyé/ mahala zikoo n-k^hukú. ‘Don’t spill grain where there

khtawanya maayi ‘to eject water (from the mouth)’

khtawanyaa nt^haka ‘to get rid of garbage’

mahala ya waant^hu/ hutawanyoo nt^haká ‘a place where people dump their garbage’

Mwaana/ tawanyize maatozi. ‘The child shed tears.’

nt^hiinda maaziya taawanya [song] ‘slaughter me, spill my blood’

Shtala peesa/ izo/ zimo hundaani/ chistawanya/ ilu ya msala. ‘He took those coins from the measuring tin and spread them out on the mat.’

Tawanyize mayi ya Nuuru. ‘He spilled Nuuru’s water.’ (Syn: There are two alternative constructions, at least in MI’s speech, to the associative phrase in this sentence: **Tawanyize Nuuru/ maayiye.** or **Tawanyize mayiye Nuuru.** In these two constructions, the associative particle is deleted and a possessive enclitic is located at the end of what was the head of the associative phrase. In the first example, **Nuuru** precedes the possessed noun and is phrasally separated from it. In the second example, the possessed noun precedes **Nuuru** and is in the same phrase with it. This variant is common in the speech of MI, but does not seem to be found in the speech of our recent consultants. If one separates the possessed noun phrasally from **Nuuru**, then **Nuuru** becomes a kind of afterthought: **Tawanyize maayiye/ Nuuru.** ‘He spilled his water, Nuuru’s.’)

Yatawanyize mayi ya Nuuru. ‘He spilled Nuuru’s water.’ (Syn: The verb here is marked with an object prefix *ya* agreeing with **maayi** ‘water’, the head of the associative phrase. MI did not, however, accept using the object prefix in the alternative constructions cited above: ***Yatawanyize Nuuru/ maayiye.** or ***Yatawanyize mayiye Nuuru.** This restriction, however, is limited to cases where the possessed noun is inanimate. Further research is required to determine the explanation for the lack of object agreement in these cases. Perhaps it has to do with the fact that object agreement, in the case of inanimate nouns, is used to convey definiteness.)

rel.

kh-ta(w)anyika v. p/s. [Sw. *tawanyika* SSED 457] (**tawanyishile**)

Chisiinga/ shatawanyishile mtuzi. ‘From the bowl, soup spilled out.’ (Syn.

Note that one cannot say: ***Mtuzi/ utawanyishile chisiinga.** ‘Soup spilled out from the bowl.’

gathered up.’

Maayi/ yashataanyika/ hayazooleki. ‘If water is spilled, it cannot be

Mayi yatawanyishiló/ hayazooleki. ‘Water that has been spilt cannot be gathered up.’ (A proverb.)

Maayi/ yanakhtawanyika ka lufaani/ kaa nguvu. ‘Water is dripping down through a crack with force.’

Maayi/ yatawanyishile ka ikopaani. ‘Water spilled from the cup.’ (Syn.

But it is also possible to say: **Ikopa/ itawanyishile maayi.** ‘(From) the cup spilled water.’)

maazi/ khta(w)anyika ‘for blood to be shed’

Hamadi/ bishile Omari/ iluuma/ maazi/ ^fmiingi/ yamta(w)anyishiló. ‘Hamadi struck Omari a blow on the head and a lot of blood came out.’

Maazi/ yanamtawanyikó. ‘It is blood that is spilling from her.’ (This example comes from a recording that MI collected in the 1980’s, from a female relative. This example is notable for its use of focus being put on the subject, with the verb being put into pseudo-relative form. This construction is extremely common among present-day speakers, but in our elicitation sessions with MI, we did not record its use.)

Maaziyo/ yanatawanyike moomo/ omo/ iboholiini. ‘Your blood should

be spilled in that very same hole.’

Mwaana/ yamṭawanyishile maatozi. ‘The child shed tears (lit. tears fell from the child).’

Mwenopo siimbá/ Abdalla/ tiyiile/ nt^ho/ hattá/ maayi/ yaa ye/ tukiiló/ yachimṭawanyika. ‘When Abdalla saw the lion, he was very afraid until the water that he was carrying spilled on him.’

Tulushile/ nt^holoko/ zotte/ zimṭawanyishile. ‘He fell down and all the beans spilled [lit. from him].’

kh-tawanyikila v. p/s. appl. (**tawanyikiliile**)

Maayi/ yamṭawanyikiliile. ‘Water spilled on him.’

uki/ unawatawanyikile ‘...that honey spill on them’

kh-tawanyiliza v. appl.

Mṭawanyilize Nuuru/ maayi. ‘He spilled water on Nuuru.’

kh-tawanyilizoowa v. appl. pass.

Suufi/ ṭawanyiliza maayi. ‘Suufi was spilled on or for water.’ (Only the beneficiary or indirect object can be the subject of the passive applied verb, hence the ungrammaticality of ***Maayi/ yaṭawanyiliza Suufi.** ‘Water was spilled on or for Suufi.’ It is possible to have **maayi** in pre-verb position, but only if **Suufi** controls the subject marking on the verb: **Maayi/ ṭawanyiliza Suufi.** It is also possible to have both **maayi** and **Suufi** precede the verb, again with **Suufi** controlling the subject marking on the verb: **Suufi/ maayi/ ṭawanyiliiza.** Or: **Maayi/ Suufi/ ṭawanyiliiza.**)

kh-tawanyisha v. caus. [Sw. *tawanyisha*]

kh-tawanyoowa v. pass. [Sw. *tawanyywa*] be scattered

Gele/ ha’itawanyoowi/ mahaḷaa nk^huku/ ziikó. ‘Grains of maize are not scattered where there are hens.’ (A proverb, which can be used, for example, to tell someone not to backbite in front of people since those people may turn around and inform the target of your backbiting.)

...na zakuja ziingine/ huṭawaynoowá ‘and other food that is discarded’

rel. nom.

m-taawanya (*wa-*) n. 1/2 [Sw. *mtawanya*] one who scatters, spills

mṭawanyaa nt^haka ‘one who disposes of garbage each day’

m-tawanyiko n. 3

u-tawanyiko n. 14

m-taawanyo n. 3 act of scattering

mṭawanyowe ‘his act of throwing away’

u-taawanyo n. 14 act of throwing away

ṭawari

n. 9/10 [cf. Som. *tabar* ‘strength, power, energy’ DSI 570] stamina; financial possibilities

mi nshiinzila ka ṭawari skuwana maali [song] ‘I was defeated because of [as the result of the issue of] financial possibilities, I did not have wealth’

kh-tawasula

v. [Ar. *tawassul* “entreaty, fervent plea” W 1069 (**tawasuliile**) pray through a saint or a prophet; do someone’s bidding in order to get help from him; resort to someone for help

Chimwamura maraa piili/ kḥtomola chiṭaache/ laakini/ mnaadisha/ chizidaa kuḷa/ na kumṭawasula sulṭaaní. ‘He ordered a second time (the auctioneer) to cut off his head but the auctioneer cried more and pleaded with the sultan.’

leelo shkumangeene mṭawasula mtume [song] ‘today we have gathered to pray to the prophet’

mtawasuleeni sahibu ḷmiraji [st.] ‘resort to him, the man of the Ascension’

ṭawasuti

n. 9 [Ar. *tawassuṭ* “mediation, intervention” W 1067] moderation, reconciliation

Ingile ṭawasuti/ kati kaawo. ‘He reconciled them [lit. he entered reconciliation among them].’

l-tawi (*n-*)

n. 11/10 [Sw. *tawi* (*ma-*), *utawi* SED 457] branch; [pron. nt^hawi ‘branches’]

Itawi laa muti ‘the branch of a tree’

tawiili

adj. [Sw. *tawili* "long, tall" SSED 457; Ar. *tawīl* W 576] in the expression:
Mooja/ nampa umri tawiili. 'May God give him a long life.'

m-taawo (mi-)

n. 3/4 [cf. Sw. *mta* SSED 309] pillow

Makhaadimu/ awo/ wa'ishkiziize/ chiṭa/ icho/ ka heshma/ nk^hulu/ wachiweshela ilu/ ya mṭaawo/ na mṭaawo/ oyo/ wa'uweeshela/ ilu/ ya meeza. 'Those servants took that head (in the story, the head of a jinn sultan) with great respect and placed it on a pillow, and that pillow they placed on the table.'

Mubli/ shkuumbuka/ ya kuwaa ye/ tile tubaaku/ nt^hiini ya mṭaawo. 'The man remembered that he had put tobacco under the pillow.'

Sku ya taano/ shtalaa chiṭa/ chaa mbuzi/ chichiweeka/ nt^hiini/ ya mṭaawowe. 'On the fifth day, she took the head of the goat and put it under her pillow.'

chi-taawo (zi-)

n. 7/8 [an acronym based on the name of the Italian bus system whose buses ran between Brava and other towns in Somalia; cf. Som. *shitaawe*, Diz. Italiano-somalo, p. 59 under "autobus"] bus (This item represents a rare exception to the principle that the prefix *chi* is realized as *sh* in front of voiceless obstruents like *t*. There is a variant pronunciation, however, where the prefix elides its vowel as usual: **sh-taawo**.)

Chiṭaawo/ cha Mwenye Abuuyi/ huya ka wakhti. 'The bus of Menye Abuuyi comes on time.'

Chiṭaawo/ cha Saydi Aamaró/ hachiya/ ka wakhti. 'The bus of Saydi Aamaro does not come on time.' (There were two buses that ran daily between Brava and Mogadishu; one was owned by Saydi Aamaro, the other by Menye Abuuyi.)

Chiṭaawo/ isa/ ni sa'aze/ za kuwasila. 'The bus, now is its time of arrival.'

Mwana panzilo chiṭaawó/ kendra Mkhodiishó/ rudiile. 'The child who boarded the bus to go to Mogadishu came back.' (cf. **Mwaana/ panzile chiṭaawo/ kendra Mkhodiisho.** 'The child boarded the bus to go to Mogadisho.')

Naani/ rashizo shtaawó/ Mkhodiishó. 'Who took the bus to Mogadishu?' (With verb emphasis, the usual pronunciation is: **Naani/ rashiizó/ shtaawo/ Mkhodiisho.** This pronunciation shows the effect of the Accentual Law of Focus. When asked whether other pronunciations were feasible, GM accepted various ones: **Naani/ rashiizó/ shtaawó/ Mkhodiishó.** This pronunciation reflects the failure of ALF to restrict the projection of final accent to the end of the verb phrase. Another pronunciation accepted was **Naani/ rashiizó/ shtaawo/ Mkhodiishó.** A simple account of this variant is not easily given. But until some actual context where these pronunciations might occur can be found, we are hesitant to hazard an explanation.)

shtulo cha chiṭaawo 'a bus stop'

Takhulindra mahala ya shtaawo/ hudegó. 'I will wait for you at the bus (i.e. bus stop).' Cf. **Takhulindra mahala ya shtaawo/ hudegó.** 'I will wait for you at the place where the bus stops.'

Ye/ kasafira ka chiṭaawó/ sula kumbona ndilaani. 'If he had traveled by bus, he would have seen me on the road.'

Ye/ kasafira Mkhodiishó/ ka chiṭaawó/ sula kumbona ndilaani. 'If he had traveled to Mogadishu by bus he would have seen me on the road.'

taawuusi

n. [Sw. *tausi* SSED 457; Ar. *tā'ūs* W 550] peacock (Phon. Although there is evidence that in Chimiini a long vowel must shorten when a long vowel follows, there are a fair number of loanwords such as this one where a long vowel occurs in both the antepenult and the penult syllables.)

i-taaya (ma-)

n. 5/6 [Sw. *taya (ma-)* "jaw, jaw-bone" SSED 458] cheek

itayaani 'on the cheek'

raaha nt^hinikiiza mkono itayaani [song] 'I was deprived of comfort, [and I have my] hand on [my] cheek'

kh-tayamama

v. [etymology unknown] take ablutions using sand
variant form: **khṭayamuma**

khṭayamuma husiha waqṭi chiingila [st.] 'it is permitted to take ablutions using sand when the time [for prayers] approaches'

tayaari

inv. adj. [Sw. *tayari* SSED 458; Pers. and Hind.] ready

Baṭaata/ ni tayaari. ‘The potatoes are ready.’

Chaakuja/ shchiwa tayaari/ naayé/ nt^hanakhuwoná/ tila/ dawa iyí/

karka chaakuja. ‘When the food is ready and he does not see you, put this medicine in the food.’ (Phon. The use of final accent on **dawa iyí** appears to be an intonational phenomenon that we have not explored.)

Chaakuja/ ni tayaari. ‘The food is ready.’

Chiwa’ambila martize/ ya kuwa kila chiint^hu/ ni tayaari/ numbaani.

‘He told his guests that everything was ready at the house.’ (Observe that the noun **marti** ‘guest(s)’ has a possessive enclitic enclitic =z-e that indicates a [cl.10] noun, while the object prefix -wa- indicates a [cl.2] noun. Observe also that **tayaari** is an invariable adjective: one says **ni tayaari** and not ***ni shtayaari**. However, invariable adjectives do show agreement with derived diminutive and augmentative nouns: **chijana shtayaari**, **zijana stayaari**, **ijint^hu itayaari**, **mijint^hu mitayaari**.)

Eelo/ waliko tayaari/ na lpaanga/ mkonooni. ‘The gazelle was ready with a sword in his hand.’

khfanya tayaari [Sw. *fanya tayari* SSED 458] ‘to prepare, make ready’

khfanyiliza tayaari ‘to prepare for’

Nfanyilize numba/ tayaari. ‘He made the house ready for me.’

khfanyilizowa tayaari ‘to be made ready for’

Mi/ nfanyiliza nuumbá/ tayaari. ‘[Lit.] I was made ready for the house -- i.e. the house was made ready for me.’

khfanyowa tayaari ‘to be made ready’

Maskuu kati/ kuḷa mooyi/ huruda kaake/ apo/ zaakuja/ za namna/ ka namna/ huwa ziweeshela/ tayaari/ numbaani. ‘At midnight each one returns to his place, there foods of different kinds are placed ready in the house (to be eaten).’

Mi/ ni(ko) tayaari. ‘I am ready.’

Mukhta majuniya/ yawelo tayaari/ sulṭaani/ na mukeewé/ waanawe/ na ahliyé/ wotte/ wachingila majuniyaani. ‘When the sacks were ready, the sultan and his wife, his children, and his relatives, all went into the sacks.’

Mukhta numba/ iwelo tayaari/ lazile/ oloshela/ kumera mushṭari/ kiyuula/ iyo. ‘When the house was ready (i.e. finished being built), he left and went to look for a buyer to buy that (house).’

Mwanaa/ takuzaloowá/ nawe mwaamubli/ ba/ amó/ mwanaamke/ huwa inaye/ yiko tayaari. ‘The child who will be born, be it a boy or a girl, its name is ready [since the parents have put in store both a female and a male name to be used for the child].’

Ni njeema/ isa/ endrá/ wa’ambile/ want^huwo/ wote/ wanawe tayaari/

khpanza ngiisha/ wana’ondroshe/ muṭore/ inawe tayaari.

‘That’s good; now go and tell all your people that they should be ready to pull up the anchor and start the engine so that it is ready.’

Si/ ni tayaari. ‘We are ready.’

Sulṭaani/ malizopo khsomaa khatí/ chamura farasi/ khfanyowa tayaari.

‘When the sultan read the letter, he order a horse to be gotten ready.’

rel. nom.

u-tayaari n. 14 readiness

kh-tayaarisha

v. prepare, make ready

rel.

kh-tayarishiliza v. appl. (*tayarishiliize*) appl. make ready for

Nt^hayarishilize numba. ‘He made the house ready for me.’

kh-tayarishilizoowa v. appl. pass.

Mi/ nt^hayarishiliza nuumbá. ‘I was prepared for the house -- i.e. the house was made ready for me.’

tayibu

[Ar. *tayyib* W 578]

variant form: *tayyibu*

ma-taaza

n. 6 [unknown etymology] a thin gruel made by boiling flour in water with sugar or salt added

Haliima/ pishile maṭaaza. ‘Haliima cooked porridge’

Hasani/ nele maṭaaza yaa nganu. ‘He drank the wheat porridge.’ Cf. with focus on **Hasani: (Ni) Hasani/ nelo maṭaaza yaa nganú.** ‘It is Hasani who drank the wheat porridge.’

Maṭaaza/ nelo Omari/ masuura. ‘The porridge that Omari drank is good.’

Or: **Maṭaaza nelo Omari/ masuura.** (These two examples differ in terms of whether the head of the relative clause is phrased with the relative verb or not, but we did not detect any meaning difference associated with this phrasing difference.)

maṭaaza yaa gele ‘crushed corn porridge’

maṭaaza/ ya Haliimá/ pishiló ‘the porridge that Haliima cooked’ (If one puts emphasis on **Haliima**, which is accompanied by a small pause after it, then the accent falls on the penult syllable. The shift to the final syllable is a characteristic of the lack of emphasis on **Haliima**.)

maṭaaza ya khamadi ‘wheat porridge’

maṭaaza ya mhuundru ‘gruel made out of **mhuundru** (sorghum)’

maṭaaza ya moordi ‘porridge made from sorghum’

maṭaaza ya mpuunga ‘rice porridge’

maṭaaza yaa nganu ‘wheat porridge’

Maṭaaza/ yaa nganu/ (ya) Hasani/ neeló/ maḷada. ‘The wheat porridge that Hasani drank is sweet/delicious.’

Maṭaaza/ ya Omari/ neeló/ yawaliko masuura. ‘The porridge that Omari drank was good.’ Or: **Maṭaaza/ ya Omari/ neeló/ masuura/ yawaalikó.**

maṭaaza ya unga ‘flour porridge’

Omari/ nele maṭaaza. ‘Omari drank porridge.’ (It is possible to focus on the subject: **Omari/ nelo maṭaazá.** Or: **Omari/ neeló/ maṭaaza.** Or: **Maṭaaza/ Omari/ neeló.** Or: **Maṭaaza/ neeló/ Omari.** Focus on the subject **Omari** involves some raising of its pitch level and a shift of the verb to pseudo-relative clause form.

We/ pishile mataazá. ‘You cooked porridge’

n-taaza

n. 9/10 a kind of long fish, used to catch other fish which stick to it when they come in contact with a certain section of their body; [pron. n^haaza]

kh-tegemela

v. [Sw. *tegemea* "lean upon, rest upon, rely" SSED 459] rely on

kh-teka

v. [Sw. *cheka* SSED 53] (**teshele**) laugh (at)

Ali/ mteshele Sa'iidi. ‘Ali laughed at Sa'iidi.’

Ali/ n^heshele. ‘Ali laughed at me.’

Ali/ teshele. ‘Ali laughed.’

Huteko niingi/ hula niingi. ‘The one who laughs a lot, cries a lot.’ (A proverb that counsels moderation in all things.)

Na mwaaná/ uko nakhteka. ‘And the children were laughing.’

Shiteka/ chiwa'ambila awaje waant^hu... ‘He laughed and said to those people...’

Steké. ‘Don't laugh!’ (cf. **Steekeeni.** ‘(Pl.) don't laugh!’)

Teka. ‘Laugh!’ (cf. **Tekaani.** ‘(Pl.) laugh!’)

Wamteshele mzele/ kooḏize. ‘They laughed at the words of the elder.’

Weenziwe/ warudilopo ka miyundraani/ wachimwona ngombee gisi/ funzila miilu/ na mikonó/ wote/ wachimteka. ‘When his friends returned from the farms, they saw the buffalo tied legs and hands and all laughed at him.’

Wote/ wa'ingiile/ kumteka. ‘All began to laugh at him [lit. entered to laugh at him].’

rel.

kh-tekaateka v. freq. laugh and laugh

Basi/ waant^hu/ awo/ watesheleteshel/ kuwona mi'ujiza/ ayo/ hattá/

sultaani/ naayé/ walimo karka haali/ yiiyo/ kama waant^hu. 'So these people laughed and laughed to see these miraculous things, even the sultan as well as in the very same condition as the people.'

kh-tekeka v. p/s.

Apa/ haytekeki. 'Here one cannot laugh.'

Wana awa/ hawatekeki. 'These children cannot be laughed at (e.g. without their getting mad).'

kh-tekela v. appl. (**tekelele**) smile at; laugh at "on" someone

Ali/ mtekelele Sa'iidi. 'Ali smiled at, laughed for (i.e. showing friendliness

etc. to) Sa'iidi.'

Ali/ nt^hekelele mwaana. 'Ali laughed at my child on me.'

Nt^hekelele. 'He smiled at me.'

Simtekelé/ mwaana. 'Don't smile at the child (thereby showing approval of his actions)!'

kh-teksha v. caus. (**tekeshenze**) make laugh (This causative form is built on the intransitive use of **-teka** 'laugh' and not the transitive use 'laugh at'. To express a causative of the transitive verb, one must use the periphrastic construction: **Mtile Sa'iidi/ kumteka Hamadi.** 'He caused Sa'iidi to laugh at Hamadi.' One cannot say: ***Mtekeshenze Sa'iidi/ Hamadi.**)

Mtekeshenze mwaana/ ka matezoye. 'He made the child laugh with his jokes.'

Sa'iidi/ nt^hekeshenze. 'Sa'iidi made me laugh.'

kh-tekshan(y)a v. caus. rec. cause one another to laugh

kh-tekshanyika v. caus. rec. p/s. able for one another to be made to laugh

Haytekshanyiki. 'There is no making one another laugh.'

kh-tekshenze v. caus. appl. (**tekeshenze**)

Matezoye/ mtekeshenze naani. 'With his jokes, whom did he cause to laugh?' (A possible answer: **Matezoye/ mtekeshenze mwaana.** 'With his jokes, he made the child laugh.'

Tekeshenze naani/ matezoye. 'Who did he make laugh with his jokes?' (A possible answer would be: **Tekeshenze mwaana/ matezoye.** 'He made the child laugh with his jokes.'

kh-tekshenzeoowa v. caus. appl. pass. (**tekshenze**)

Muunt^hu/ tekshenze mwaana. 'To the man's benefit/detriment the child was made to laugh.'

kh-tekshoowa v. caus. pass.

Mwaana/ tekshenze ka matezo. 'The child was made to laugh with jokes.'

kh-tekoowa v. pass. (**teshela**)

Kooði/ za mzele/ tshela (naawo). 'The words of the elder were laughed at (by them).'

Mzele/ tshela/ ka khisa kooðize. 'The elder was laughed at because of his words.'

Mzele/ tshela ka kooðize. 'The elder was laughed at (from) his words.'

Mzele/ tshela kooðize. 'The elder was laughed at [with respect to] his words.'

Mzele/ tshela/ naawo/ ka khisa kooðize. 'The elder was laughed at by them because of his words.' Or: **Mzele/ tshela naawo/ ka khisa kooðize.**

Waant^hu/ inakhtekoowa. 'As for the people, there is laughing being done.'

rel. nom.

m-teka (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who laughs

Mteka chilema/ hutekowaa ye/ amo waaké. 'The one who laughs at a cripple is laughed at or one of his (children, relatives) is.'

i-teke (*ma-*)

n. 5/6 [Sw. *teke* (*ma-*) SSED 459] foot (but restricted to certain contexts)

Kana mpiira/ Hamadi/ mbishilo Omari/ mateké. 'Like a ball (i.e. hard) Hamadi kicked Omari.' Or: **Kana mpiira/ Hamadi/ mbishilo mateké/ Omari.**

khkala ka iteke 'to stamp with the foot'

kubiga iteke ‘to go on foot; to kick’
kubiga ka iteke ‘to give a kick’
kubiga mateke ‘to kick’

Mp^huundra/ mbishile siimba/ mateke/ naa ye/ nyakiila/ na lumiila/ na siimba. ‘The donkey kicked the lion, but he was scratched and bitten by the lion.’

Mi/ nimbishile Hamadi/ mateké. ‘I kicked Hamadi.’ Cf. **Omari/ mbishile Hamadi/ mateke.** ‘Omari kicked Hamadi.’ (Phon: The simple yes-no question version of the preceding sentence does not involve any accent shift, while the exclamatory version shifts the accent inside the VP: **Omari/ mbishile Hamadi/ mateké!?** Even if one puts focus on **Hamadi**, as in [**Omari/ mbishile Hamadi/ mateke**], the simple yes-no question does not involve any accent shift. In other words, it appears that **mateke** cannot be regarded as an out-of-focus element that undergoes accent shift in yes-no question formation. When focus is put on the verb: **Omari/ mbishile/ Hamadi/ mateke.**, the corresponding yes-no question does not necessarily exhibit accent shift. However, our consultant also offered **Omari/ mbishile Hamadi/ mateké?.**)

Mi/ nimbishile mateké/ kana mpiira. ‘I kicked him hard (lit. like a ball).’ (Phon: Our consultant did not readily put a phrase break after the verb, appearing to indicate that **-biga mateke** is a phrasal unit.)

Omari/ mbishile mateke/ kana mpiira. ‘Omari kicked him hard (lit. like a ball).’ (Phon: The simple yes-no question version of this does not involve accent, but the exclamatory question shifts the accent in both phrases in the VP: **Omari/ mbishile mateké/ kana mpiirâ!?**)

kh-tekeza

v. [etymology unknown] (**tekeeze**) lean s.t. inanimate on s.t.

Tekezee muti/ lkuta. ‘He leaned a piece of wood against the wall.’

rel.

kh-tekeleza v. appl.

kh-tekelezeka v. appl. p/s.

kh-tekezeka v. p/s.

against

Lkuta ili/ haltekezeki/ ngazi. ‘This wall cannot have a ladder leaned it (e.g. because it has just been painted).’

Ngazi iyi/ haytekezeki/ lkutaani. ‘This ladder cannot be leaned against the wall.’

kh-tekezoowa v. pass. (**tekeeza**)

Muti/ utekeza lkutaani. ‘The piece of wood was leaning against the wall.’

rel. nom.

m-tekezo n. 3

ma-tekezo n. 6

sh-tekezo (s-) n. 7/8 anything used to lean s.t against

u-tekezo n. 14

sh-teko (s-)

n. 7/8 laugh, laughter

Ni shteko/ shtekesheza waant^hú. ‘What laughter it is that people were caused to laugh.’

Shteko chiingi/ ni chilo chiingi. ‘Too much laughter is too much crying.’

(A proverb.)

Shteko/ ni furaha. ‘Laughter is joy.’ (A proverb.)

tele

n., adj. [Sw. *tele* SSED 460; we did not find the Arabic etymological source cited in SSED in the W dictionary] in abundance; abundance

Chiwaa ye/ nakhsulaa muke/ mi/ nii muké/ laakini/ chiwaa ye/ nakhsula muke wa masku mamooyi/ masharmuuta/ wayeele/ telle/ muyiini. ‘If he wants a wife, I am a woman; but if he wants a woman for one evening, prostitutes are in abundance in town.’

Hasani/ chihuurishoowa/ mbele za sultaani/ na waant^hú/ telle/ apo. ‘Hasani was made to be present in front of the sultan and the numerous people there.’

received.’ (A proverb.)

Ishpatowa khabari/ hupatowaa tele. ‘If information is given, advice is

Sho mzeele/ tele/ imbeele. ‘(One who has) no elder, advice is lost to him.’

Shtukula ibirikhi iyo/ shtila maayi/ tele. ‘She carried that water-jug and

she put water in abundance in it.'

tele

n. 9 [Som. *talo* "opinion, suggestion, proposal" DSI 575] advice, decision; way, means (of solving a problem)

Ishpatowa khabari/ hupatowaa tele. 'If information is received, advice is gotten.' (A proverb.)

khpaat tele 'to advise', **kumpaa tele** 'to advise someone'

Isa/ mi/ niilé/ nakump^ha tele gani/ we. 'Now I have come, what suggestion do you give me, you.'

Mi/ nimpelee telé/ Haliimá/ mwaanawe/ khtinoowa. 'I gave advice to Haliima for her child to be circumcised.'

khtomolaa tele 'to advise'

Mi/ nt^homelee telé/ mwaana/ khtinoowa. 'I advised that the child be circumcised.'

kuletaa tele 'to advise (lit. bring advice)'

Mi/ ndreselee telé/ mwaana/ khtinoowa. 'I advised that the child be circumcised.'

Omari/ muzize mukeewe/ Haliima/ kuletaa tele/ mwaana/ khfanyowaayi. 'Omari asked his wife Haliima to bring a suggestion what (lit. how) to do regarding the child.'

Mi/ teleya/ ni mwaana/ khtinoowa. 'Me, my suggestion is that the child be circumcised.'

(A proverb.)

Miizi/ chishikoowa/ nt^haná/ tele. 'If a thief is caught, he has no way out.'

sabri nk^hoseeze na teleya ikomeele [song] 'I lacked patience and my means (of solving the problem) reached a deadend'

Sho khkasa ya mzele/ tele/ impoteele. 'The one who does not listen to an elder, advice is lost to him.' (A proverb.)

Sho mzele/ tele/ imbeele. 'The one who has no elder, advice is lost to him.' (A proverb.)

sina tele kuya khumeera [song] 'I have no way to come to look for you'

tele mi sinayo fahama ayuuni [song] 'O my eyes, understand, have no way (of solving the problem)'

teleye 'his advice'

wabli ka mashoga watomeele tele/ wamereele ruuhu ki'ipelekaa mbele/ Mooja wa'ilize hiidi na mawele [nt.] 'men decided to wear women's black wraps trying to save themselves, [but] God did not give them a woman's shape [lit. menstruation and breasts]'

wenye mabunduqu wanaayo tele [nt.] 'those who wield the guns have the upper hand'

m-tele

n. [Sw. *mchele* SSED 271] ground corn

Cha unga/ nch^h mtele/ cha maana/ nch^ha mzele. 'That [which comes] from the flour, is from the ground maize; that [which comes] from the child, is from the father.' (A proverb used positively to say that the child's behavior, achievements, etc., ultimately derive from his father.)

Chishika mtaanga/ utakhuwelela mtele. 'If you hold sand, it will become for you ground corn.'

khtunga mtele 'to sift corn'

mtele waa gele 'ground gele'

rel.

mi-tele n. 4 large quantities of ground corn

Washindaa mbuzi/ izo/ wachosha mitele aya/ washpika paapo/ apo.

'They slaughtered those goats, they washed the quantities of ground corn, they cooked right then and there.'

telefono

n. [Eng.] telephone

khshika telefoono 'to pick up the telephone (to use it)'

Haliima/ chibigila telefofono/ hashiiki/ ba. 'If one calls Haliima on the telephone, she never picks up.' (It should be noted that the negative verb here is not subject to downstep)

intonation, but the particle **ba** that follows is downstepped.)

kubiga teleefono ‘to make a telephone call’

kuweka teleefono ‘to hang up the telephone’

Omari/ weeshele/ teleefono. ‘Omari hung up the telephone.’ Or:

Omari/ teleefono/ weeshele.

kuwekela teleefono ‘to hang up the telephone on’

Omari/ huwekela waant^hu/ teleefono. ‘Omari hangs the telephone up on people (whenever they call, he just answers and hangs up).’

n-teleewa

n. 9/10 a kind of fish that is very large and lives under the rocks in the sea; [pron. **nt^heleewa**]

ikana/ kana nt^heleewa ‘a mouth like a sp. fish – i.e. a big mouth, of talking too much’

Kanaye/ kana nt^heleewa. ‘His mouth is as as large as that of the **nt^heleewa.**’

rel.

i-teleewa (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

Ikanaye/ kana iteleewa. ‘His large mouth is like that of a large sp. fish.’

ma-teeli

n. [etymology unknown] in the expression:

kubiga mateeli ‘to criticize the behavior of someone indirectly (e.g. by pointing out similar things that others have done and how they were not the right thing to do, etc.); praise someone ironically (in fact criticizing him)’ **check vowel length**

l-telo (n-)

n. 11/10 [Sw. *uteo* SSED 509] a winnowing tray of the local type

ltelo laa gele ‘sifting tray for maize’

ltelo lhuundru ‘a red winnowing tray’; **nt^helo huundru** ‘red winnowing trays’

ltelo lpaana ‘a wide sifting tray’

tray.’

Nakhpepent^haa gele/ ka ltelo. ‘She is cleaning the maize with a sifting

sifting tray.’

Nakhpepent^ha mashtaata/ ka ltelo. ‘She is cleaning th sesame with a

kh-teluka

v. [cf. Sw. *chukia* "detest, have ill feelings towards s.o." SSED 63] (**telushile**) go away (of someone whose presence is not welcomed by the speaker -- i.e. this verb reflects hostility on the part of the speaker towards the person)

Jeeli/ telushile ka apa. ‘Jeeli went far from here.’

rel.

kh-telukila v. appl.

Mwaana/ nt^helukiliile. ‘My child went away on me.’

kh-telusha v. caus. exile s.o.; persuade or coax to leave

Nimtelushize mwaaná. ‘I persuaded the child (who was being obnoxious) to leave.’

kh-telushanya v. caus. rec.

kh-telushika v. caus. p/s.

Mwaana/ ize khtelushika. ‘The child refused to be persuaded to leave.’

kh-telushiliza v. caus. appl.

kh-telushilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-telushoowa v. caus. pass.

Hasani/ telushiza na sarkaali. ‘Hasani was exiled by the government.’

kh-temela

v. [cf. Sw. *tegemea* SSED 459] (**temeele**) lean on or against s.t.

rel.

kh-temeza v. caus. (**temeeze**) lean s.t. against s.t.

kh-temuka

v. [Sw. *tamka* SSED 450] (**temushile**) pronounce, utter words

Killa nch^hitemuka zeema/ za celo/ uyu/ we/ hukiriha. ‘Whenever I speak

well of this gazelle, you are disgusted.’

Ni ajabu gani/ nk^hulu/ hushindro iyí/ we/ kh^temuka. ‘What great wonder surpasses this one -- for you [a gazelle] to speak?’
Stemuké/ kooði/ lamna izi. ‘Don’t utter words like these!’

rel. nom.

ma-temuko n. 6 pronunciation

sh-temuko (s-) n. 7/8 accent (in speaking)

teena

adv. [Sw. *tena* SSED 462] again, still, then, anymore, any longer (in negative contexts)

Bakayle/ shkoða teena/ chihada... ‘The hare spoke again, saying...’

Chiizá/ teená. ‘If I/he etc. refuse(s), then what?’ Or: **Teená/ chiizá.**

Chiiza/ teena. ‘He refused then (at that time).’

Haji teená. ‘He will never eat again.’

Hakoði teená. ‘He will never speak again. (Cf. **Hakoði.** ‘He doesn’t speak, talk.’)

Halali teená. ‘He will never sleep again.’

Haliima/ shpiká/ teená. ‘If Haliima cooks, what then?’ Or: **Haliima/ teená/ shpiká.** Or: **Teená/ Haliimá/ shpiká.**

Haliima/ shpikaa zijó/ teená. ‘If Haliima cooks zijó, what then?’ Or: **Teená/ Haliimá/ shpikaa zijó.**

Haliima/ zijo/ nt^hakhpika teená. ‘Haliima never cooked zijo again after

that.’

Haṭá/ ichiwa/ teena/ Harun Rashiidi/ hakhaadiri/ khshiindra/ sku

mooyi/ pashpo kumwona Abunawaasi. ‘Until it got be that Haruun Rashiidi was not able to pass even one day without seeing Abunawaasi.’

Ichiwa teena/ jis’iyo/ wo/ hudirkamana/ kuḷa masku/ haṭá/ ichiwa teena/ mwanaamke/ m’ashiqile muḃjaana/ na nampeenda/ nakhsuḷa kuloḷowa naaye. ‘It was then in this way that they met each night until it was then that the girl longed for the boy and loved him and wanted to be married by him.’

Ichiwa teena/ uje muḃli/ kuḷasku/ nabiga Safiya. ‘It was then that the husband every day beat Safiya.’

Isa/ teena/ ichiwa kuwaa ye/ namkorsha mwana wa dul’eda uyu. ‘From that time he started to raise the baby fox.’

Isa teena/ yiko dhibu mooyi. ‘Now then there is (just) one problem.’

Ka khisaa ye/ kuwa mwana wa miiso/ na teená/ kuwa mwiimbili... ‘Because he was the last child and also because he was a boy...’

Ka khisani/ iizó/ teena. ‘Why did he refuse then?’

Leelo/ haṭá/ peesa/ yaa si/ kuja/ nt^hachiná/ na waant^hú/ muyiini/

hawashpendi teena. ‘Today we do not even have money with which to eat and the people of the town do not love us anymore.’

Maraa isa/ mwanaamke/ chimwambila waawaye/ chiza mpeleka/ teena/ Hasani/ zitaani. ‘This time the girl told her father not to send anymore Hasani to the war.’

Mi/ mp^hakile gaarí/ teena. ‘I loaded the truck then.’ Variant sentences: **Mi/ teena/ mp^hakile gaarí.** Or: **Mi/ teena/ mp^hakiilé/ gaari.** Or: **Mi/ mp^hakiilé/ teena/ gaari.** Or: **Mi/ mp^hakile teená/ gaarí.** (The last example reveals that **teena** can be put in IAV position *without* necessarily being focused. See elsewhere in this entry for an example where IAV-positioned **teena** is focused.)

Mi/ sinakhadira teena/ khkala naa we. ‘I cannot live with you any longer.’

Monda uki/ haakosi/ konda teena. ‘The one who tastes honey never fails to taste it again.’ (A proverb.)

Mshinzile aduwí/ ka hiila/ na basará. ‘He defeated the enemy with tricks and astuteness.’

Muḃli/ ba’ada ya mukeewe/ kufa/ nt^hakuwa teena/ muunt^hu. ‘The man, after his wife died, was never again a human being.’

Mukeewá/ mi/ sinakhadira teena/ ku'iisha/ ka nasiibu. 'My wife, I cannot any longer live on luck.'

Na ichiwa/ hapati teena/ hattá/ sadakhá. 'And it became that he could not get anything, even alms, any longer.'

Na teená/ nguwo/ zaa ye/ veetó/ zinazo mayi yaa munu. 'And also, the clothes that he is wearing have salt water [taste salty].'

Naku'insha okó/ maaka/ teena. 'I have been living there for (since) a year.'

Nt^hakuwonowa teena. 'He was never seen again.'

Nt^hangú/ sku iyo/ mi/ skumwona teena/ waawaye. 'Since that day, I have not seen his father again.'

Nt^hangú/ sku iyo/ nt^hakendra teena. 'Since that day he has not gone home again.'

Omari/ nt^hakhteza teena. 'Omari new played a game again after that.'

Omari/ nt^hakuja teena. 'Omari has never eaten again (after something bad happened).'

Omari/ nt^hakuya teena. 'Omari has never come again (after something bad happened).' (Observe that **teena** is phrased with the verb. Also note the final accent on the verb phrase.)

Omari/ nt^hamona teena. 'Omari never saw him again.'

Omari/ pakile gaari/ teena. 'Omari loaded the truck then.' (The simple yes-no question reveals **teena** to be out-of-focus, as evidenced by its undergoing accent-shift: **Omari/ pakile gaari/ teená?** In the emphatic yes-no question, the phrase containing the verb also undergoes accent shift: **Omari/ pakile gaari/ teená!?**)

Omari/ pakile teena/ gaari. 'Omari loaded *then* the truck.' (The simple yes-no question establishes the out-of-focus nature of **gaari** in this sentence: **Omari/ pakile teena/ gaari?** The preceding phrase also shifts its accent in the emphatic yes-no question: **Omari/ pakile teená/ gaari!?**)

Omari/ shpakiza gaari/ teena. 'If Omari loads the truck, what then?' Or: **Omari/ teená/ shpakiza gaari.** Or: **Teena/ Omari/ shpakiza gaari.** (Prosody. In this example, we recorded the possibility of the sentence-initial subject noun undergoing accent shift in this type of question. In other examples, we observed the sentence-initial subject retaining its default penult accent.)

Omari/ skoḷaani/ nt^hakendra teena. 'Omari has never gone to school after that.'

Shfaanyeni/ teena. 'What should we do then?' Or: **Teena/ shfaanyeni.** (Phon. Notice that the preposing of **teena** induces the pseudo-relativization of the subjunctive verb, which in this example has the =*ni* 'what?' interrogative enclitic appended. Since there is no relative verb version of the subjunctive, the final accent is the only indication of pseudo-relativization.)

Teena/ ichiwa/ ye/ heendra/ hadiqaani/ maraa nt^hatu/ kuḷa muunt^hi. 'Then it became (the case that) he went into the garden three times each day.'

Teena/ Omari/ fiile. 'Then Omari died.' Or: **Teena/ fiile/ Omari.** Or: **Fiile/ teena/ Omari.** Or: **Teena/ fiiló/ Omari.** (Note that only in the last example is their evidence that preposed **teena** can be focused. Also note that although the subject can be postposed, it is not phrased with the verb when it is. Thus the following is ill-formed: ***Teena/ filo Omari.** 'After that died Omari.')

Teena/ Omari/ pakile gaari. 'Then Omari loaded the truck.' (Since there is no out-of-focus element in the verb phrase, there is no accent-shift in the simple yes-no question: **Teena/ Omari/ pakile gaari?** The emphatic yes-no question shifts accent in the verb phrase: **Teena/ Omari/ pakile gaari!?**)

Teena/ washfaanya. 'Then they did it.' (Syn. It is grammatical for **teena** to be post-verbal, but the pre-verbal position is preferred: **Washfaanya/ teena.**)

Teena/ washkhira. 'Then they agreed.' Or: **Washkhiira/ teena.**

Wachisaafira/ teena/ mweezi/ mzimá/ walá/ nt^hawakuwona/ nt^hi. 'They travelled once more a whole month but they did not see land.'

We/ shfaanya/ uyu/ waliko khubeeló/ hutamwona teena. 'If you do (wage war, in the context of the story), this one who has been lost to you, you will not see her anymore.'

Ye/ ha'endri/ teena/ numbaani. 'He does not go home anymore.'

kh-teenga

v. [Sw. *tenga* SSED 462] (**tengeele, teenzele**) move away, keep at a distance, be far from, avoid, stay away

Abaasa/ mtengele mwaana. ‘Abaasa moved away from the child.’
Lilla/ ichiðira/ wanaafakhi/ huṭeenga. ‘If truth appears, a lie stays away.’
(A proverb.)

Mṭenge Hamza/ mṭeengé. ‘Stay away from Hamza, that’s what you should do.’

Mṭenge Hamza/ ni mṭovuvu. ‘Stay away from Hamza, he is evil.’

rel.

kh-ṭeengana v. rec. [Sw. *tengana* SSED 462] (**ṭengeene**) avoid one another, stay away from one another, move away from one another, be far from one another

kh-ṭeengeka v. p/s. [Sw. *tengeka* SSED 462]

Khaasimu / haṭeengeki. ‘Khaasimu cannot be avoided.’

kh-ṭeengela v. appl. [Sw. *tengea* SSED 462]

Nṭ^hengela mwaanawa. ‘Leave my child alone (stay away from my child for me)!’

kh-ṭengeleka v. appl. p/s.

Haṭengeleki/ mwaanawe. ‘One cannot avoid his child (on him).’

kh-ṭengesha v. caus. [Sw. *tengsha* SSED 462] (**ṭengesheeze**) cause someone to move away

Ibraahiimu/ ṭengeshezee chiti/ naa muḷo. ‘Ibraahiimu moved the chair away from the fire.’

Mwaalimu/ mṭengesheze mwaana/ na mweenzawe. ‘The teacher had the child move away from his friend.’

kh-ṭengeshana v. caus. rec.

kh-ṭengesheka v. caus. p/s.

kh-ṭengesheleza v. caus. appl.

kh-ṭengeshelezanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-ṭeengeza v. tr. (**ṭengeeze**) move something away from something

kh-ṭengoowa v. pass.

Mṭovuvu/ huṭengoowa. ‘A bad person is avoided.’

rel. nom.

m-ṭeenga (wa-) n. 1/2 one who avoids

mṭenga waant^hu ‘one who avoids people’

ma-ṭeengano n. 6

ma-ṭeengo n. 6

m-ṭengoowa (wa-) n. 1/2 one who is avoided

n-ṭeenga

n. [Sw. *chenga* "a kind of fish" SSED 54; **ṭ^henga** "cephaloptere" [=manta ray] Sac. 883] manta ray; [pron. **nṭ^heenga**]

ma-ṭeenge

n. 6 large, bow-shaped golden ear-rings, usually worn together with the smaller **ambali** ear-rings (in the past)

ṭeenka

n. **no etymology known** (with reference to Somali history) the act of forcing the native people to work on European plantations, where the people were paid with food but not wages -- each tribe was forced to provide workers at certain times (though one tribe might pay another tribe to go to work for them, as the **Haṭimi** paid the

Ṭunni to work for them); [pron. **ṭeenk^ha**]

khpeleka ṭeenk^ha ‘to send forced laborers’

sh-ṭeenzi (s-)

n. 7/8 [Sw. *utenzi* (*tenzi*) SSED 509] poem (The Chijini form [**nziṣṭ^ḗ**] establishes that **nzi** has a prenasalized consonant as onset.)

kuleta shṭeenzi ‘to recite a poem’

na shṭeenzi cha hija ṭeena kḥiṭaamu/ somaani kulla kheeri ni ṭimaamu

[st.] ‘now the poem of the pilgrimage is at an end/ recite it: its blessing is all-encompassing’

na sh̄tenzi cha sabri tala t̄imaamu [st.] ‘and the poem of patience, take it, it is completed’

sh̄tenzi chimooyi ‘one poem’

st̄enzi za deeni ‘religious poems’

st̄enzi statu ‘three poems’

st̄enzi ziwili ‘two poems’

l̄-tepe (n-)

n. 11/10 [Sw. *utepe* and *tepe* SSED 463, 509; possibly from Eng. *tape*] a piece of cloth used as a bandage, a strip of cloth, a (military) stripe; [pron. nt̄^hepe]

L̄tepe ili/ n̄laako. ‘This bandage is yours.’ (Cf. Nt̄^hepe izi/ nzaako. ‘These bandages are yours.’)

l̄tepe l̄mooyi ‘one stripe (as of a military officer)’

Ma’iisha/ mzubile mwaana/ l̄tepe/ chittaani. ‘Ma’iisha wrapped a strip of cloth around the child’s head.’

nt̄^hepee mbili ‘two stripes’

rel.

sh-tepe (s-) n. 7/8 piece of cloth

Chiza khuraasha/ m̄tinde chaala/ chimó/ mpe na sh̄tepe ichi/ kuzuba mkonowe. ‘If he refuses to follow you, cut off his finger and give him this piece of cloth to wrap around his hand.’

Ilu ya sh̄tepe/ icho/ yandishiḷa ina ya sul̄taani. ‘On that piece of cloth was written the name of the sultan.’

kh-tereega

v. [unknown etymology] (**teregeele**) be foolhardy, expose oneself to danger, take a risk, walk on the brink, edge of s.t.

rel.

kh-tereegela v. appl.

Mwaana/ nakhutereegela. ‘The child is taking a risk on you.’

nom. rel.

m-tereega (wa-) n. 1/2 one who is foolhardy

m-teremko (mi-)

n. [Sw. *mtelemko* SSED 460] slope

variant form: **m̄teremuko**

rel.

ma-teremko n. **check**

tereena

n. train

kh-tersata

v. [unknown etymology] take care of oneself; go away

kh-tersatila

v. [unknown etymology] conspire, plot against

kh-tersha

v. [unknown etymology] (**tersheeze**) rule, govern

Sarkaali/ hut̄ersho bilaa u’adaalá/ hayduumi. ‘The government that rules with justice does not last long.’

rel.

kh-tershanya v. rec.

Waant̄^hu/ wat̄ershenye ka mahabba. ‘People govern themselves [lit. one another] with love.’

kh-tersheka v. p/s.

Hawat̄ersheki. ‘They cannot be governed (said, for example, of a group of rebellious people).’

kh-tersheleza v. appl.

Nt̄^haná/ chitta cha kh̄tersheleza. ‘He has no brains [lit. head] to govern with.’

Sh̄tersheleze muuyi/ ka u’adaala/ na haqqí. ‘He governed the town with justice and righteousness.’

kh-tershelezanya v. appl. rec.

- kḥtershelezanya waana** ‘to look after children for one another’
kh-tershoowa v. pass.
Mi/ speendi/ kḥtershoowa. ‘I do not like being ruled (i.e. I do not want any rule to stop me from doing what I want to do).’
rel. nom.
m-tersha (wa-) n. 1/2 ruler
m-tersho n. 3
u-tersho n. 14
- sh-terteegi* n. [no etymological source known] wart
- teesara** n.
piicha/ ya teesara ‘identity picture’
- i-tete* (ma-) water n. 5/6 [Sw. *cheche* "a small piece of anything" SSED 52] drop; a blister filled with water
itete ya maayi ‘a drop of water’
matete ya maazi ‘drops of blood’
matete yaa nvula ‘drops of rain’
mp^hamp^ha wa matete (or: **mambarani wa matete**) ‘sp. of (spotted) shark’
Wowi/ asliye/ ni matete yaa nvula. ‘A river, its origin is drops of rain.’ (A proverb.)
rel.
l-tete (mi-) n. 11/4 aug.
sh-tete (s-) n. 7/8 dim.
maazi ya ụdhiya sḥtete sḥchipotela [st.] ‘if a drop of blood of a slaughtered animal falls’
- l-tete* (n-) n. 11/10 [Sw. *cheche la moto* "a spark" SSED 52] spark; [pron. **nt^hete** (pl.)]
- n-tete* n. 9/10 [Sw. *cheche* "a small black and white animal, rather like a mongoose, said to be able to emit a very disagreeable odour, so strong that if it enters a beehive, all the bees die. It is said that if its skin is burned in a village, it causes all the people to quarrel among themselves" SSED 52] the exact species of this animal has not been identified, was described by MA as a member of the fox family that is very fast and attacks chickens; this animal was found mainly in the area between Brava and Mudun; it often has a sitting position (like squirrels)
- kh-tewa* v. [?Som. *taabo* "to touch" DSI 567] (**teweete**) fondle, caress (with sexual connotations)
rel.
kh-tewana v. rec. (**teweene**)
- kh-teza* v. [Sw. *cheza* SSED 55] (**tezeze**) play, joke
kḥteza ka uta ‘to take risks, be foolhardy’
Makhaadimu/ watezezee ngoma/ haṭá/ maskuu kati. ‘The servants drummed until midnight.’
Mbene majiní/ miingi/ yakumangeene/ kḥteza khamaari/ basi/ naamí/ nakhsuulá/ keendra/ kḥteza naawo. ‘I saw many djinns gathered together playing games of chance, so I also want to go and play with them.’
Mi/ n-ṭ^hezeze. ‘I played.’ (This statement has downstep intonation. The corresponding simple y/n question undergoes Q-raising, as a result of which the verb is not downstepped. By saying that the verb is not downstepped, we do not mean that it is as high or higher than the initial accented syllable. In the speech of GM, it is lower than the initial accented syllable, but does not display the marked lowering characteristic of downstep intonation. In the speech of MI, on the other hand, the final accented syllable in a simple yes-no question does become the pitch peak. The exclamatory question does exhibit downstep, and in addition the final syllable of the verb is lengthened and the high pitch clearly falls: **mi/**

nt^hezeezê:!? ‘Did I really play?’ The final accent in the statement masks the fact that exclamatory questions exhibit accent shift. The data from a third person subject form reveals the accent shift: **Ye/ tezeze.** ‘He played.’ **Ye/ tezeze?** ‘Did he play?’ **Ye/ tezeezê:!**? ‘Did he really play?’ We should note that the emphatic yes-no question in the speech of MI shows the same downstep pattern as in GM’s speech, but in addition the entire pitch register is lower in the question than in the statement. The lengthening and falling pitch on the final syllable is not as apparent in MI’s speech as in GM’s.)

Mi/ skuteza. ‘I did not play.’ (In the statement, the sentence-final negative verb is lowered in pitch relative to the subject, thus contrasting with the simple y/n question, where it is not downstepped: **Mi/ skuteza?** ‘Didn’t I play?’ And the exclamatory question, where there is accent shift: **Mi/ skutezâ:!**? ‘Did I really not play?’)

mwana tezezo na Saalimú/ sukhuuní ‘the child who played with Saalimu in the market’

mwana tezezo sukhuuní/ na Saalimú ‘the child who played in the market with Saalimu’

Mwaanawe/ siwo/ tezezo ndilaaní. ‘Her child is not the one who played in the road.’

Mwaanawe/ tezeze ndilaani. ‘Her child played in the road.’ (Cf. the corresponding negative form for the usual difference in phrasing:

Mwaanawe/ nt^hakh^hteza/ ndilaani. ‘Her child did not play in the road.’ Of course, even in the affirmative, the verb may be

phrasally separated from the complement if emphasis is placed on it: **Mwaanawe/ tezeze/ ndilaani.** ‘Her child *played* in the road.’ Furthermore, the negative verb is not separated from the complement in a relative clause construction: **mwana nt^hakh^hteza ndilaaní** ‘the child who did not play in the road’.)

Nt^hezeze na Saalimú/ sukhuuní. ‘I played with Saalimu in the market.’ (Phon. In this sentence there is no contrastive focus and the final accent triggered by the verb extends to the end of the verb phrase. It is possible to put contrastive emphasis on **Saalimu: Nt^hezeze na Saalimú/ sukhuuní.** ‘I played with Saalimu (not any one else) in the market.’ In this case, the final accent does not extend past the emphasized phrase. One can locate the locative immediately after the verb, in which case it has contrastive emphasis: **Nt^hezeze sukuuní/ na Saalimu.** ‘I played in the market (and nowhere else) with Saalimu.’ Notice that the final accent only extends as far as the locative in this case.)

Nt^hezeze sukhuuní. ‘I played in/at the market.’

Nt^hawakh^hteza. or **Want^hakh^hteza.** ‘They did not play.’

Nuuru/ tezeze. ‘Nuuru played.’ (The simple yes/no question undergoes Q-raising but has no other differences from the statement, while the exclamatory question shifts the accent to the final syllable of the verb obligatorily, and also on the subject, although this is a variable phenomenon in our data: **Nuurú/ tezeezê:.**)

Tezeze/ Nuuru. ‘He played, Nuuru.’ (In this statement, **Nuuru** is radically downstepped. The simple yes/no question is **Tezezê/ Nuurú?** ‘Did he play, Nuuru?’ Note the shift of the accent to the final syllable of **Nuuru**. The postposed subject in the question is not downstepped as in the statement, but is not as raised as in ordinary Q-raising, at least in the speech of GM.)

Walatte wana^hteze numbaani/ pamooyi. ‘Let them play in the house together.’
rel.

kh-teleza v. appl. play with, joke with

Akhili/ hatelezi/ chaake. ‘A wise man does not waste [lit. play with] his things.’ (A proverb.)

Chaake/ muunt^hu/ hatelezi. ‘His things, a person does not play with.’ (A proverb.)

Sint^hezezé/ nambila lila. ‘Don’t joke, play with me; tell me the truth.’

kh-tezesh v. caus. instruct in how to play a game

Nakh^htezesh waana/ mpiira. ‘He is training the children to play football (soccer).’

kh-tezaateza v. freq.

Basi sh^htezashteza. ‘So she danced and danced.’

Ndrani ya itiki/ yawalimo maayi/ na katiiké/ zivalimo zinsí/ ziwili/ schitezootezó. ‘In the watermelon there was water and in this there

were two small fish playing.’

Uje/ nakhtezaateza/ nakizaa kuja. ‘That one was playing, refusing to eat.’

rel. nom.

m-tezo n. 3

Kuna mtezo. ‘(There will) be fun, surprises.’

ma-tezo n. 6 game(s), play, jokes

Kazii mbovu/ si matezo meema. ‘Bad work is better than good play.’ (A proverb.)

^fMatezo masuura/ nakhfilatú/ kuwa Omari/ takhteza. ‘A good game, I expect that Omari will play.’

Matezo miingi/ huletaa dhibu. ‘Too many jokes brings problems.’ (A proverb.)

Matezo/ yawaliko masuura. ‘The game was good!’ Or: **Matezo/ masuura/ yawaalikó.**

Munt^hi uyu/ lapiilile/ wakulu/ na zihabá/ hulawa ibana ya muuyi/

hendra kulangala matezo za namna ka namna. ‘In the afternoon of this day adults and children go to the outskirts of town to watch games of different kinds.’

Takhshindro matezo ya taatú/ tu/ ndiyé/ takuwo shiinziló. ‘The one who just wins the third game, it is he who will be the one who won.’

sh-tezo (s-)

n. 7/8 [unknown etymology] button

hanzu ya stezo ‘a haanzu with buttons (rather than a zipper)’

khtila shetezo ‘to put on a button’

Namtila maaná/ shaatí/ stezó. ‘I am buttoning the child’s shirt.’

(Phon. If there is focus on **shaati**, the Accentual Law of Focus may block the propagation of final accent past the focused element: [namtila maaná/ ^fshaatí/ stezo]. However, we also recorded the possibility of accent shift on **stezo** even with focus on **shaati**. Similarly, while focus on **maana** would be expected to block further propagation of final accent: [namtila ^fmaaná/ shaati/ stezo], we did record the possibility of final accent propagating to the following two phrases.)

Tuuma/ mtile maana/ shaati/ stezo. ‘Tuuma buttoned the child’s shirt.’ (Phon. The simple yes-no question exhibits Q-raising but no accent shift. The exclamatory yes-no question shifts the accent in all phrases in the VP: **Tuuma/ mtile maaná/ shaatí/ stezó!?**)

shetezoché ‘its button’; **stezozé** ‘its buttons’

stezo za haanzu ‘the buttons on a haanzu’

n-ti

n. 9/10 [Sw. *nchi* SSED 331] land, country, place, ground, earth; [pron. nt^hi]

Chimwambilaa muke/ ya kuwaa ye/ waliko... nakumeera/ nt^hi/ wako mayahuudí. ‘He told the woman that he was looking for a land where there were Jews.’

Chimuuló/ ni muunt^hu/ apo/ chimamulaṭo shu’uni zaa nt^hi/ siwo/ fir’ooni/ nafiye. ‘The one who bought him [Joseph] was a man there [in Egypt] who took care of the affairs of the country; it was not Pharaoh himself.’

Chiineendra/ muda/ wa sku niingi/ nt^ho/ hatá/ aakhiri/ shkoma nt^hi mooyi. ‘He walked for a period of many days until at last he reached a land.’

Isa/ khariibu/ ya nt^hi iyi/ mahaḷa/ ya Hasani/ ukó/ yikoo nt^hi/ yiingine/ sultaaniye/ humkahata/ wawaye mwanaamke. ‘Now, near this country where Hasani is, there is another country whose sultan hates the girl’s father.’ (Syn. The construction **wawaye mwanaamke** is common in MI’s speech, but rejected by other speakers.)

Miti/ hukula karkaa nt^hi. ‘Trees grow in the earth.’

mwana waa nt^hi (or: **mwanaa nt^hi**) ‘citizen’ (cf. **wana waa nt^hi** ‘citizens’)

Wanaa nt^hi/ wabarete kulima. ‘The natives learned to cultivate.’

Mwaank^huku/ habarshoowi/ khpalaa nt^hi. ‘A chick is not taught how to scratch the ground.’ (A proverb.)

Na ichiwa apo/ nt^hi/ nzimaye/ maazi. ‘And there was blood everywhere on the ground.’

nt^haasa wafaati Mooja shpeleke Makka/ numa Madiina nt^hi zinaayo baraka [st.] ‘before our death, may God take us to Mecca/ then to Medina, both blessed places’

nt^hii nk^havu ‘dry land’

Nt^hi/ (nii) nk^havu. ‘The land is dry.’

Shkalaant^ha/ nt^hi/ chila. ‘She sat on the ground and cried.’

Wachimeera/ nt^hi suura/ washfanya muundra/ na wachaala/ matuundra/ naa mbogá. ‘They searched for some good land and they made a garden and planted fruits and vegetables.’

Wachiineendra/ wachiineendra/ hatá/ washkoma nt^hi yiingine. ‘They walked and walked until they reached another land.’

Wahamari/ ni waant^hu/ wa’iló/ ka nt^hi ziingine. ‘The Wahamari are people who came [to Brava] from other countries.’

Wana waa nt^hi/ wampele ra’iisi/ zawaadi. ‘The citizens gave the president presents.’

Want^hu wa nt^hi yiitu/ husuloowa/ wo/ kiiwa/ kuwaa si/ shfile ka khisa yaawó. ‘People of our country must know that we died for their sake.’

Ye/ tete ijiwe/ nakubigabigaa nt^hi. ‘He took a stone and pounded it against the ground.’

rel.

chi-nti (zi-) n. 7/8 dim. [pron. **chint^hi** and **zint^hi**] (Phon. These diminutive forms are notable for the occurrence of final accent rather than the default penult accent, and also for the occurrence of a short vowel in the prefix. Compare, for example, **muunt^hu** and **waant^hu**, where the prefix is lengthened before a stem with a prenasalized consonant in syllable onset position.)

i-nti (mi-) n. 5/4 aug. [pron. **int^hi** and **mint^hi**]

sh-ti (s-) n. 7/8 dim. (Morph. It should be noted that while this diminutive form, without the nasal prefix element, is possible, the corresponding augmentative ***iti** and ***miti** are not used in the language.)

kh-tii’a

v. [Ar. **tā’a** W572] obey

kumtii’a/ na kumkhuduma mwaaná ‘to obey and serve the child’

Mgarwa/ shtii’a/ amri/ chiingila. ‘The fisherman obeyed the order and got into [the grave].’

Wahuḍuriilopó/ chiwa’uza/ sultani wiinu/ chinaamura/ jawaabu/ ntamtii’a/ amó/ hanimtii’i. ‘When they were there, he told them: if your (pl.) sultan gives you an order, would you obey him or would you not obey him?’

Waana/ na wiikulú/ washtii’a/ amri/ ya chizeele. ‘The children and grandchildren obeyed the order of the old woman.’

Waant^hu/ wachimjiiba/ kuwa waṭamtii’a. ‘The people answered that they would obey him.’

We/ chinshiindra/ mi/ nt^hakhutii’a/ naamí/ nch^hikhushiindra/ we/

itakhuḷaazima/ kunt^hii’a. ‘If you defeat me, I will obey you, and if I defeat you, it is a must that you obey me.’

tibaaku

n. [Sw. **tumbako** SSED 478, said to be derived from Hindi] tobacco

variant form: **tubaaku**

kuja tibaaku ‘to eat, chew tobacco’

collect the **ukuundri** fruit.’

nama ya Baana/ t̄ilanzilo kaa chisú ‘the meat that Baana sliced with a knife’

rel.

kh-t̄ilangiloowa v. appl. pass.

Chisu/ sh̄t̄ilangil̄ilaa nama/ naami. ‘The knife was used to slice the meat by me.’ (The logical object cannot be the subject of the passive instrumental applied verb: ***Nama/ it̄ilangil̄ilaa chisu/ naami.** ‘The meat was cut with a knife by me.’ If one wants to have the logical object be the subject of the passive verb, the simple verb plus a prepositional instrumental phrase must be employed: **Nama/ it̄ilanzil̄a kaa chisu/ naami.** ‘Meat was sliced with a knife by me.’)

Mwaana/ tilangil̄ilaa nama/ naami. ‘The child was sliced for meat by me.’ (**Nama** cannot be the subject of the passive applied verb: ***Nama/ it̄ilangil̄il̄a mwaana/ naami.**)

kh-t̄ilaangila v. appl. (**tilangil̄il̄e**) slice for, with

kh-t̄ilangoowa v. pass.

kh-t̄ima

v. [Ar. *tamma* W 97] (**t̄imiile**) be or become complete

Ba’ada ya miyaaka/ mitatu/ ya t̄imiil̄ó/ Abunawaasi/ chandikaa khat̄i/ kumpelekela sultaani. ‘After three years were completed, Abunawaasi wrote a letter and sent it to the sultan.’

khsoma kht̄ima ‘to recite the Quran in its entirety’

Mukhta st̄imiil̄ó/ ndruti khamsiin̄i/ waziiri/ chimwaambila/ mwaarabu/ ni ebu/ kumbiga mwanaamke/ mlungaana/ lamna iyo. ‘When fifty blows were completed, the minister told the Arab: it is a shame to hit a girl of high social class in this manner.’

qasiidaya it̄imiile/ faataha inasomoowa [st.] ‘my poem is completed, let us recite the *faataha*’

rel.

kh-t̄imisha v. (**t̄imishiize**) complete s.t.

kh-t̄imishika v. p/s. capable of being completed

kh-t̄imishiliza v. appl.

Basi/ hunt̄^h osha/ aya/ yaa we/ nt̄^h imishiliizó. ‘It’s enough, it suffices for me these (things) that you have done for me.’

kh-t̄imiza v. caus. (**t̄imiize**) cause s.o. to complete s.t.

t̄imaamu

adj. complete, perfect, right

variant: **kht̄aamu**

Mi/ miiriza/ t̄imaamu. ‘My reasoning is unimpaired.’

munt̄^h u t̄imaamu ‘an accomplished person’

ra’yi t̄imaamu ‘a good idea’

wa’enzelo wanahije t̄imaamu/ numa wanamzuure Mtume imaamu [st.] ‘allow those who set out to the pilgrimage, to perform it properly/ then allow them to visit the Prophet, our Imam’

sh-t̄iimbi (s-)

n. 7/8 a golden or silver necklace made of several strings of small beads

l-t̄iimbo (n-)

n. 11/10 rod used to break up stones (pointed at one end and of fairly thick diameter); penis (colloq.); [pron. **nt̄^h iimbo**]

It̄imbo Inene ‘a thick rod’; **nt̄^h imbo nnene** ‘thick rods’

It̄iimboḷa ‘my rod’; **nt̄^h iimboza** ‘my rods’

rel.

i-t̄iimbo n.

kuvunda majiwe/ ka it̄iimbo ‘to break stones with rod’

kuvunda skunyi/ ka it̄iimbo ‘to break firesticks with rod’

sh-t̄imiri

n. 7 [Sw. *kitimira* "name of an evil spirit" SSED 210; Sac 412 cites *kitimiri* as also referring to the dance to exorcise this spirit] a kind of group dancing with drumming

and singing

kh-tiinda

knock fruit from a tree; decide

v. [cf. Sw. *chinza* SSED 56] (**tiinzile**) cut, break off, quit; slaughter (an animal);

Apo/ muiyini/ waliko baduwi/ mooyi/ kaaziye/ sh_{ti}inda hoola/ chuzaa nama. ‘In the town there was a nomad, his work was slaughtering animals and selling the meat.’

Boobo/ tiinzilee nama. ‘Boobo cut the meat.’ Or, with verb focus: **Boobo/ tiinzile/ nama.** (Phon. In the corresponding yes-no questions, the first example has no accent-shift whereas the second one does: **Boobo/ tiinzilee nama?** And **Boobo/ tiinzile/ nama?**)

Chint^hu cha mwanaamke/ tiinzilo kaa chisú/ nii nama. ‘What [lit. the thing] the girl cut with a knife is meat.’

Chisu chaa ye/ tindililoo nama/ chiweshela mezaani. ‘The knife that he used to cut the meat, he put it on the table.’ (This example illustrates that the instrument in the instrumental applied construction may be a target of relativization. The following sentence shows that instead the logical object may be the target: **nama yaa ye/ tindililoo chisú/ jiiló...** ‘the meat that he cut with the knife and ate’)

Chisu ichi/ hastiindi/ nama. ‘This knife won’t cut meat.’

Chita/ wamtiinziló/ nyunyi. ‘Head they cut off the chicken.’ Or: **Chita/ nyunyi/ wamtiinziló.**

Endrá/ mmeere/ mahala/ itaakuwó/ chiza kundeetela/ nyunyi/ kama uyu/ nt^hakhu_{ti}inda. ‘Go and look for one (a bird) any place that it might be. If you do not find a bird like this one, I will kill you.’

Haliima/ tiinzile mkate/ kaa chisu. ‘Haliima cut the bread with a knife.’

Jaani/ tiinzilee nama. ‘Jaani cut the meat.’ Or, with verb focus: **Jaani/ tiinzile/ nama.** (Cf. the pronunciation when there is a final accent-trigger: **Mi/ nt^hinzilee nama.** ‘I cut the meat.’ Or, with verb focus: **Mi/ nt^hiinzilé/ nama.**)

Kanaa we/ nt^hunakunaamina/ chilawe kaako/ we/ nt^hiinda/ pata kuwona ka maatoyo. ‘If you do not believe me, let’s go to your place and you slaughter me and get to see with your own eyes [that I do not have a liver].’

khtinda amri ‘to decide a matter’

Si/ sh_{ti}inzile amri/ khtawakalá. ‘We decided to take a chance.’

Washtinda amri/ khtuumba. ‘They decided to dig.’

khtinda chibarwa ‘to take out a summons’

khtinda chaakuja ‘to stop supplies, food’

khtindaa chita ‘to disgrace someone [lit. cut the head]’

Fulaani/ nt^hinzilee chita. ‘So-and-so disgraced me.’

khtinda feða ‘to reduce or withhold a sum of money (e.g. fine, tax)’

khtinda hukumu ‘to decide a suit, sentence, pronounce judgement’

khtinda ito ‘to blink’

khtinda kafaara ‘to slaughter an animal as an offering’

khtinda kooði ‘to decide, conclude something; to interrupt someone’

khtinda kuulu ‘to not repay a loan to someone even though one is able to do so [lit. to cut the leg]’

Fulaani/ nt^hinzile kuulu. ‘So-and-so did not repay the loan I made to him.’

khtinda imilo ‘to eat one’s share [lit. to cut the throat]’

Fulaani/ nt^hinzile imilo. ‘So-and-so ate my share.’

khtinda masaafa ‘to run for a long distance’

Ndovu/ ba’ada ya khtinda masaafa/ tulushile/ fiile. ‘The elephant, after running for a long time, fell down and died.’

khtinda matuundra ‘to collect fruit from a tree’

kh̄tinda mshahara ‘to reduce or withhold money (as a tax, fine)’

kh̄tinda nakhshi ‘to carve wood or stone’

kh̄tindaa nama ‘to annoy [lit. to cut the flesh]’

Fanya ihsaani/ sint̄h̄indé/ nama/ ka su’aali. ‘Please don’t annoy me with questions.’

Nakunt̄h̄indaa nama. ‘He is annoying me.’

kh̄tindaa ndila ‘to take a short cut’

kh̄tindaa nguwo ‘to buy cloth, order a new dress or suit’

kh̄tinda ooni ‘to quench the thirst’

kh̄tinda ruuhu ‘to annoy someone by repeatedly asking him to do something; be dying’

Nakhtinda ruuhu. ‘He is dying.’

kh̄tinda ruuhu/ nama ‘to worry oneself to death, be deeply troubled’

St̄iindé/ ruuhuyo/ nama. ‘Don’t worry yourself!’

kh̄tinda showri/ shoori ‘to decide a matter’

kh̄tinda tama’a ‘to give up hope, despair’

sku mooyi/ naayé/ t̄inzile tama’á/ walá/ nt̄h̄anakhfilat̄ililá ‘one day when he had given up hope and was not expecting (someone to come)...’

kh̄tinda ruuhuye/ nama ‘to worry oneself to death, to be deeply troubled’

St̄iindé/ ruuhuyo/ nama. ‘Don’t worry yourself!’

kulindra haṭaa nvula/ isht̄iinda ‘to wait until the rain stopped’

kum̄tinda muunt̄h̄u/ kuulu ‘[lit.] to cut someone’s leg -- i.e. to give someone wrong or false guidance’

Kuusi/ iṭ̄indishile. ‘The south wind has ended.’

Mi/ nt̄h̄inzilee namá/ kaa chisú. ‘I cut the meat with a knife.’

M̄t̄inzile naani/ kaa chisu. ‘Whom did he slash with the knife?’

mtume ka nafs̄iye t̄inzile uḏhiya [st̄.] ‘the Prophet slaughtered *uḏhiya* for himself’

muke chisalo iidi sh̄t̄iindo uḏhiya [st̄.] ‘a woman who prayed [the prayer of *iidi* and who slaughtered *uḏhiya*’

Muke mwenye miimba/ ham̄taandi/ mweka uzeele. ‘A pregnant woman does not insult the one who attends her (i.e. the midwife).’ (A proverb.)

muke/ (oyo) t̄inziloo namá/ kaa chisú ‘the woman who cut the meat with a knife’ (Phon. It is not common for the relative verb to be focused, but it is possible; however, the final accent of the relative verb projects all the way to the end of the relative clause even if the verb is focused: **muke/ (oyo) t̄inziló/ namá/ kaa chisú.**)

Muke/ sh̄t̄iinda/ ya kuwa... ‘The woman decided that...’

muke/ t̄inziloo namá/ kaa chisú/ yaná ‘the woman who cut the meat with a knife yesterday’ (Phon. A time adverbial in a relative clause falls within the scope of the final accent obligatorily, although in the corresponding statement it would typically be out-of-focus and not fall within the scope of final accent triggered by the verb.)

Muke uyu/ sh̄fikira/ sh̄fikira/ sh̄t̄iinda/ kulaa mbuzi/ kum̄tinda. ‘This woman thought and thought and decided to buy a goat to slaughter it.’

Muunt̄h̄u/ hut̄indo ngamiilá/ mbuzi/ hadaayaṭi. ‘One who slaughters a camel does not hesitate to slaughter a goat.’ (A proverb.)

Muusa/ nt̄h̄akht̄iinda/ nama. ‘Muusa did not cut the meat.’

Muusa/ t̄inzilee nama. ‘Muusa cut the meat.’ Or with emphasis on the verb: **Muusa/ t̄inzile/ nama.**

Naa(ni)/ m̄t̄inziloo nyunyi/ chit̄á. ‘Who cut off the bird’s head?’ Or with verb focus: **Naa(ni)/ m̄t̄inziló/ nyunyi/ chit̄a.** (Note that in the case of pseudo-relative clauses, the Accentual Law of Focus constrains the projection of final accent from the verb.)

Nfuye/ ichiwa hut̄inda matuundra/ hul̄at̄ila mayiini. ‘The monkey used to pick off the fruit and throw them into the water.’

Nimtinzile mkonó/ mzeelé. ‘I cut off the hand the old man.’

Nimtinzile mkonowé/ mzeelé. ‘I cut off his hand the old man.’

Nimtinzile mzeelé/ mkonó. ‘I cut off the old man’s hand.’ Or: **Nimtinzile mzeelé/ mkonowé.**

Nimtinzile Tuumá/ chaalá. ‘I cut Tuuma’s finger.’ Or: **Nimtinzile^f chaalá/ Tuuma.** ‘I cut the *finger* (of) Tuuma.’

Nimtinzile Tuumá/ mashuungí. ‘I cut Tuuma’s hair.’ Or: **Nimtinzile mashuungí/ Tuumá.** (The second example illustrates that a change in the order of the complements does not require any difference in focus. But one can also have focus, as in **Nimtinzile^f mashuungí/ Tuuma.** ‘I cut the *hair* (of) Tuuma.’ Or: **Nimtinzile Tuumá/ mashuungí.** ‘I cut *Tuuma’s* hair.’ There is an additional possibility where both verbal complements are focused: **Nimtinzile^f Tuumá/^f mashuungí.** This sentence does clearly from **Nimtinzile Tuumá/ mashuungí.** The latter sentence has downstep intonation, whereas in the former sentence **mashuungí** is not downstepped.)

Nnakhtinda^f namá kaa chisú. ‘I am cutting the meat with a knife.’ Or, with focus on **kaa chisú**: **Nnakhtinda^f kaa chisú/ nama.** (Phon. If **kaa chisú** is put into the “immediately after verb position”, then the final accent triggered by the verb may not cross it into the next phrase: ***Nnakhtinda^f kaa chisú/ namá.** This is a reflection of the focused nature of **kaa chisú** in this position.)

Nt^hinzile mkonó/ wa mzeelé. ‘I cut off the hand of the old man.’ Or:

Nt^hinzile^f mkonó/ wa mzeele. (While these two sentences are grammatical, they are not as common as, say, **Nimtinzile mzeelé/ mkonó.** or **Nimtinzile^f mzeelé/ mkonó.** It seems that the associative construction is not preferred in cases of inalienable possession. One prefers a structure involving possessor raising.)

Nt^hinzile ngombe ya mzeelé. ‘I slaughtered the old man’s cow.’ (This sentence answers either a question like: **Tinzile ngombe ya naani.** ‘You slaughtered the cow of who?’ or: **Tinzile ngombe ganí.** ‘Which/whose cow did you slaughter?’) (It should be observed that “possessor raising” is not allowed in this case of alienable possession: ***Nimtinzile mzeelé/ ngoombé.** ‘I slaughtered the old man the cow.’)

Nt^hinzile^f ngoombé/ ya mzeele. ‘I slaughtered the *cow* of the old man.’ (This sentence is a response to the question: **Tinzilení/ ya mzeele.** ‘What did you slaughter of the old man’s?’)

Nt^hinzile ruuhuyá/ kaa chisú. ‘I cut myself with a knife (accidentally, not on purpose).’

Nyunyi/ chíta/ wamtinziló. ‘The *bird’s* head they cut.’ (The focus on the preposed **nyunyi** requires the verb to shift into pseudo-relative form. The focus may be on **chíta** instead: **Nyunyi/^f chíta/ wamtinziló.** Preposing does not require focus: **Nyunyi/ wamtinzilee chíta.**)

^fOuari/ mtinziilo nyunyi/ chítá. ‘*Ouari* cut off the bird’s head.’ Or, with focus on the verb as well: **^fOuari/ mtinziiló/ nyunyi/ chíta.** (Observe that in the case of a pseudo-relative clause, focus on the verb brings the Accentual Law of Focus into play, and final accent does not project past the verb. This contrasts with canonical relative clauses.)

Ouari/ nt^hakhtinda/ nama. ‘*Ouari* did not cut the meat.’ (Cf. the ill-formed phrasing: **Ouari/ nt^hakhtinda^f nama.**) Or, with subject focus: **Ouari/ nt^hakhtinda^f namá.** Or: **Ouari/ nt^hakhtindá/ nama.**)

Ouari/ tinzile nama yaa ye/ uziló/ kaa chisu. ‘*Ouari* cut the meat that he bought with a knife.’ (Phon. This example illustrates clearly that the final accent triggered by a relative verb, here **uziló**, extends only to the end of the relative clause. Specifically, we see that **kaa chisu** is not within the scope of the final accent since it is not part of the relative clause but rather a complement to the verb ‘cut.’)

Shinda khpumula apo/ sku/ nt^hatu/ chimooyi. ‘She decided to rest there for three days or so.’

Sku yaa saba/ karkaa wo/ wanakhtindo skunyi... ‘On the seventh day while they were cutting firewood...’

Tinzile kuya numbaani. ‘He quit going home.’

Tinzilee nama/ kaa chisu/ chimaliza/ weshelee chisu/ mezaani. ‘He cut the meat with a knife and then he put the knife on the table.’ Or: **Tinzilee nama/ kaa chisu/ chimaliza/ chisu/ chiweshela mezaani.** ‘He cut the meat with a knife and then the knife, he put it on the table.’

Tinzilee nama/ kaa chisu/ jiile. ‘He cut the meat with a knife and ate it.’ (MI considered it to be unacceptable to use the applied instrumental verb in this context: ***Tindilile nama/ chisu/ jiile.**)

Tinzilee nama/ kaa chisu/ maliizopó/ weshelee chisu/ mezaani. ‘He cut the meat with a knife and when he finished, he put the knife on the table.’ Or: **Tinzilee nama/ kaa chisu/ maliizopó/ chisu/ chiweshela mezaani.** ‘He cut the meat with a knife and when he finished, the knife, he put it on the table.’

Tinzile shpandre cha maandra. ‘He broke off a piece of the bread.’

Tinzilení/ kaa chisu. ‘What did you cut with a knife?’ Or, with left-dislocation: **Kaa chisu/ tinzilení.** ‘With a knife, what did you cut?’ (Phon. The =*ni* interrogative enclitic puts focus on the verb, thus barring the final accent triggered by the second person past tense verb from projecting past it. It is ungrammatical to say: ***Tinzilení/ kaa chisú.**)

Tinzileni/ kaa chisu. ‘What did he cut with a knife?’ (Possible answers: **Tinzile lkaambala.** ‘He cut a rope.’ **Tinzilee nk^huku.** ‘He slaughtered a chicken.’)

Tinziloo namá/ kaa chisú/ ni mwanaamke. ‘The one who cut the meat with a knife is the girl.’

Uje/ takhtiindó/ mwaambile/ ndiyé/ chihaba. ‘That one (goat) who will break (the rope restraining him), tell him (the sultan), it is he who is the younger (goat).’

Wamtinzilee nyunyi/ chita. ‘They cut off the bird’s head.’ (The simple yes-no question involves no accent shift: **Wamtinzilee nyunyi/ chita?** The exclamatory question, of course, does: **Wamtinzilee nyunyi/ chitá!?**) Or: **Wamtinzilee chita/ nyunyi.** ‘They cut off the bird’s head.’ (This example involves mere change in word order, with no alteration of focus structure. Thus the yes-no question versions of this parallel precisely the sentence with **nyunyi** preceding **chita**. However, it is possible to focus on a post-verbal **chita**: **Wamtinzilee^f chita/ nyunyi.** In this case, there is a simple yes-no question with accent shift: **Wamtinzilee chita/ nyunyi?**)

Ye/ itinzile karka mundra wa waant^hu. ‘He picked it (e.g. a melon) from the garden of some people.’

rel.

kh-tiindana v. rec. cut one another

kh-tinda^{ti}inda v. freq. cut frequently

Endrá/ ruuda/ ka moojó/ muuze/ watakuwaayi/ wake/ awaje/ wa^{ti}nziloz^{ti}nzilo ruhu zaawó/ mikono. ‘Go and return to your master and ask him what about those women who cut their hands.’

kh-tiindika v. be broken, cut; be breakable, able to be cut; fall short

Chaakuja/ sh^{ti}ndishile. ‘The food was insufficient.’

Chisimacha/ hash^{ti}ndiki/ maayi. ‘My well never stops yielding water.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **kana** ‘mouth’.)

Chi’u^{ti}inda/ haw^{ti}ndiki/ na chi’ushiká/ hawshikiki. ‘If you (try to) cut it, you cannot cut it, and if you (try to) seize it, you cannot seize it.’

kh^{ti}ndika ruuhu ‘to breathe the last, die’

Kuulu/ it^{ti}ndishile. ‘The leg is broken.’

Kuusi/ it^{ti}ndishile. ‘The south wind died down.’

Lkaambala/ hu^{ti}ndika mahala nambaamba. ‘A rope breaks where it is thin.’ (A proverb.)

Muunt^hu/ im^{ti}ndishile/ kuulu. ‘The man broke his leg -- [lit.] the leg was broken with respect to the man.’

Muunt^hu/ t^{ti}ndishile kuulu. ‘The man broke his leg.’ Cf. **Tindishilo kuulú/ ni muunt^hu.** ‘The one who broke his leg was the man.’

Shfanya jis’iyo/ hattá/ ooni/ im^{ti}ndishile. ‘He did that way until thirst [lit.] was cut off to him -- i.e. his thirst was quenched.’

Sooti/ imtindishile. ‘He is hoarse (lit. voice is broken with respect to him).’
kh-tindikana v. p/s. rec. (**wa-tindikeene**) break off a friendly relationship; be cut off from one another’

Watindikeene. ‘They were not on good terms with one another.’

kh-tindikanya v. p/s. rec. caus. (**-tindikanyiize**) create friction between people

kh-tindikanyoowa v. p/s. rec. caus. pass. (**-tindikanyiiza**)

Waana/ watindikanyiiza. ‘The children were stirred up against one another.’

kh-tindikila v. p/s. appl. run short of, not be sufficient for (with mass nouns as subject); able to be cut for; break for, on

Chaakuja/ chintindikiliile. ‘Food was short for me.’

Chaakuja/ chishtindikiliile. ‘Food was short for us.’

Ka chimusmino icho/ muti uyu/ ha’utindikila/ ha’á/ keesho. ‘With this little saw, this tree will not be able to be cut for you, not even by tomorrow.’

Lkaambala/ limtindikiliile. ‘The rope finally cut in two for him.’

Muti/ ukhutindikiliile? ‘Were you able to cut the tree (lit. was the tree able to be cut for you)?’

Peesa/ zikhutindikiliile? ‘Are you short of money?’

Peesa/ zintindikiliile. ‘I ran short of money (lit. money ran short to me).’

kh-tindikiloowa v. p/s. appl. pass. (**tindikiliila**)

Ntindikiliila na peesá. ‘I was short of money.’

kh-tindiloowa v. appl. pass. be cut for, with

Chisu cha Nuuru/ shtindililaa nama. ‘Nuuru’s knife was used to cut the meat.’ Or: **Chisuche Nuuru/ shtindililaa nama.** Or: **Nuuru/ chisuche/ shtindililaa nama.**

Muke/ tindililaa nama/ na muunt^hu. ‘The woman had the meat cut for her by the man.’ (Phon. There is an alternative word order where the subject is postposed: **Nama/ tindililaa muke/ na waant^hu.** What is especially interesting here is that the postposed subject phrases with the verb.)

muke tindililaa namá/ na muunt^hú ‘the woman who had the meat cut for her by the man’

Nama/ ilesele khtindilowa mwaana. ‘Meat was brought to be cut for the child.’

nama tindililaa muké/ na muunt^hú ‘the meat that the woman had cut for her by the man’ **confirm that the predicate would be predicated of nama**

Shtindililaa namá/ na mwanaamké/ nii chisu. ‘What was used to cut the meat by the girl was a knife.’

Uzile chisu chaa ye/ khtindilaa nama. ‘He bought a knife (for him) to cut meat with.’ (Cf. **Uzilee chisu/ khtindilaa nama.** ‘He bought a knife to use to cut meat.’)

kh-tiindila v. appl. (**tindiliile**) cut for, with; to avoid an opponent in ball games, dodge an opponent

Chint^hu cha mwanaamke/ mtindililo mwaaná/ iwalikoo nama. ‘What [lit. the thing] that the girl cut for the child was meat.’

Chint^hu cha mwanaamke/ tindililoo namá/ chiwalikoo chisu. ‘What [lit. the thing] the girl used to cut the meat was a knife.’

Chisu chaa mi/ nt^hindililee nk^hukú/ chibeele. ‘The knife that I used to slaughter the chickens is lost.’

Chisu/ nt^hindililee namá. ‘The knife, I cut the meat with it.’ (Syn. In this example of the instrumental applied verb, the instrument is very comfortably left-dislocated. Left-dislocation of the logical object is also permitted by GM: **Nama/ nt^hindililee chisú.** MI preferred to avoid the instrument in IAV position, and thus would rather use the prepositional form of the instrument: **Nama/ nt^hinzile kaa chisú.**

‘The meat, I cut it with a knife.’)

Chisu/ t̥indil̥il̥eni. ‘The knife was used to cut what?’ (cf. A possible answer to this question: **Chisu, nt̥^hindil̥il̥ee nama.** ‘The knife, I used it to cut meat.’)

Chisu/ nt̥^hindil̥il̥oo nama. ‘It’s a knife that I used to cut the meat.’ Or, with verb emphasis: **Chisu/ nt̥^hindil̥il̥ó/ nama.**

Daawuudi/ t̥indil̥il̥ee/ chisu/ nama. ‘Daawuudi cut the meat with the knife’

(It is interesting that MI accepted this sentence, where the verb is focused, but at the same time tended to reject a sentence like ***Daawuudi/ t̥indil̥il̥ee chisu/ nama.** The explanation seems to be this: MI tended to reject sentences where there is focus on the instrument in the instrumental applied. In the rejected sentence, **chisu** is included in the focus, while in the case of verb focus, it is not.)

Haliima/ t̥indil̥il̥ee^f chisu/ mkate. ‘Haliima used a *knife* to cut the bread.’

(This example is from GM, who accepts the possibility of the instrument in the instrumental applied to be focused. This example answers the question: What did Haliima use to cut the bread?)

Haliima/ t̥indil̥il̥ee^f mkate/ chisu. ‘Haliima cut the bread with a knife.’ (This example, where **mkate** is focused, answers the question: What did Haliima cut with a knife?)

Haliima/ t̥indil̥il̥eni/ mkate. ‘What did Haliima use to cut the bread?’ Or:

Haliima/ mkate/ t̥indil̥il̥eni. ‘Haliima the bread what did she use to cut?’ (A possible answer: **Haliima/ mkate/ t̥indil̥il̥ee chisu.** ‘Haliima the bread cut with a knife.’)

Haliima/ t̥indil̥il̥ee mkate/ chisu. ‘Haliima cut the bread with the knife.’

(This example, provided by GM, was judged to be an answer to the question: ‘What did Haliima do with the knife?’)

Hamadi/ t̥indil̥il̥ee nama/ chisu cha Nuuru. ‘Hamadi cut the meat with Nuuru’s knife.’ Or: **Hamadi/ t̥indil̥il̥ee nama/ chisu** **Nuuru.**

But our consultant MI rejected: ***Hamadi/ t̥indil̥il̥ee nama/ Nuuru/ chisu** **uche.**

The ill-formedness of this example suggests that perhaps there is focus present on **chisu** in the expression

Nuuru/ chisu **uche** (recall that MI prefers the instrument to be a topic in the instrumental applied construction. It should be noted

that it is possible to prepose the possessive phrase: **Chisu cha**

Nuuru/ Hamadi/ t̥indil̥il̥ee nama. This possessive phrase may be

restructured; best is: **Chisu** **uche Nuuru/ Hamadi/ t̥indil̥il̥ee nama.**

But also: **Nuuru/ chisu** **uche/ Hamadi/ t̥indil̥il̥ee nama.**)

Ibraahimu/ khadir̥il̥ee k̥t̥indil̥il̥aa chisu/ nama. ‘Ibraahimu was able to cut the meat with the knife.’ (It is interesting that this is a sentence that MI accepted as well-formed, though in general he rejected sentences where the instrument in an instrumental applied was included in the focus. We do not have an account of why MI found this sentence well-formed.)

I̥t̥indil̥il̥ee ruuhuy̥e/ chinofu chaa nama. ‘And so he cut himself a piece of meat.’

I̥t̥indil̥il̥ee ruuhuy̥e/ nama/ kaa chisu. ‘(And finally) he cut the meat with a knife.’ (Note that in order to express the instrument, it must be preceded by the preposition *ka*. The applied verb here is being used with a reflexive object marker. It is ungrammatical for the applied extension to both license the reflexive object marker and also a bare instrument: ***I̥t̥indil̥il̥ee ruuhuy̥e/ nama/ chisu.** It should be pointed out that in some cases an applied verb may license both a beneficiary and a bare instrument if the instrument is not actually located in the verb phrase. But this is not possible in the present case according to MI, who rejects ***Chisu/ i̥t̥indil̥il̥ee ruuhuy̥e/ nama.** ‘The knife, he finally cut the meat with it.’ and ***Chisu chaa ye/ i̥t̥indil̥il̥ee ruuhuy̥e/ nama/ chibeele.** ‘The knife that he finally cut the meat with it is lost.’)

Jaama/ m̥t̥indil̥il̥ee naani/ nama. ‘For whom did Jaama cut meat?’

Muunt^hu/ m̥t̥indil̥il̥ee muke/ nama. ‘The man cut the meat for the woman.’

munt^hu m̥t̥indil̥il̥oo muké/ nama ‘the man who cut the meat for the woman’

Mwaana/ t̥indil̥il̥ee nama/ chisu. ‘The boy cut the meat with a knife.’ (Syn. The instrumental position in this sentence can be relativized ‘into’:

Chisu cha mwaana/ t̥indil̥il̥oo nama/ chivundishile. ‘The knife that the boy used to cut the meat is broken.’)

Nim̥t̥indil̥il̥ee maaná/ nama. ‘I cut meat for the child.’ (Syn. Either one of the complements in this sentence may be preposed: **Maana/**

nimtindililee nama. or **Nama/ nimtindilile maana.** The logical object may be ordered after the verb, while still retaining canonical downstep intonation: **Nimtindililee nama/ maana.**)

Nk^huku zaa mi/ nt^hindililoo chisu/ spishila naa muke. ‘The chickens that I slaughtered with a knife were cooked by the woman.’ (Syn. In this example, we see the head of a relative clause having the role of direct object in the instrumental applied verb phrase. Our consultant MI was not willing to allow the head to refer to the instrument. However, other speakers do accept a sentence such as:

Nt^hana/ chisu chaa ye/ kunt^hindilaa mi/ nama. ‘He does not have a knife to cut meat for me.

Nt^hindilile ruuhuya/ chisu. ‘I cut myself (on purpose) with a knife.’ Or:

Chisu/ nt^hindilile ruuhuya.

Tuuma/ mtindilile maana/ nama. ‘Tuuma cut meat for the child.’ (This sentence represents the canonical word order: beneficiary before logical direct object, and exhibits canonical downstep intonation. The simple yes-no question versions retains the same accent locations as the statement. The emphatic yes-no question shifts accent in VP phonological phrases: **Tuuma/ mtindilile maana/ nama!?**)

Tuuma/ mtindililee nama/ maana. ‘Tuuma cut meat for the child.’ (Phon. Despite the fact that the logical direct object has been placed immediately after the verb, there is no necessary focus on the direct object. As a result of an absence of focus, the sentence is pronounced with ordinary downstep intonation. And the simple yes-no question version has no accent-shifting: **Tuuma/ mtindililee nama/ maana?** In the emphatic yes-no question, accent shift does occur since the shifting is not connected in any way with a phrase being out-of-focus: **Tuuma/ mtindililee nama/ maana!?**)

kh-tindilana v. appl. rec. settle accounts together, with one another

kh-tindilika v. appl. p/s.

Saahibu/ hatindiliki/ hoola. ‘Saahibu cannot be slaughtered for animals (e.g. he will not pay the fee).’

kh-tindisha v. caus. (**tindishiize**)

Abu/ mtindishize Ali/ ruuhuye/ mkono/ kaa chisu. ‘Abu caused Ali to cut himself on the hand with a knife.’ (Syn. Observe that in the causative the reflexive may be co-referential to the "causee", which is the primary object of the verb. Ordinarily, the reflexive itself must be the primary object of the verb.)

Banaali/ mtindishize Boobo/ nama/ kaa chisu. ‘Banaali caused Boobo to cut the meat with a knife.’

kh-tindishana v. caus. rec.

kh-tindishika v. caus. p/s.

kh-tindishiliza v. caus. appl. (**tindishiliize**)

chisu cha Saalimu/ mtindishilizo Waali/ nama ‘the knife that Saalimu caused Waali to cut the meat with’

Huseeni/ mtindishilize Hamadi/ mwaana/ mwaalimu/ mkono. ‘Huseeni caused Hamadi’s child to cut the teacher’s hand.’ (This causative applied verb form is used to establish a relationship between the two nouns, Hamadi and **mwaana**, which would ordinarily be one of possession: Hamadi’s child. The word order is critical here to establishing the thematic roles of the verbal complements due to the fact that **Hamadi**, **mwaana**, and **mwaalimu** are all [cl.1] nouns and would govern the object marker *m(u)*. Deleting the overt beneficiary/possessor **Hamadi** does not appear to yield a viable sentence: ***Huseeni/ mtindishilize mwaana/ mwaalimu/ mkono.** Perhaps the unacceptability of this sentence is due to a kind of “garden path” effect stemming from the natural assumption that the post-verb NP **mwaana** is controlling the OM on the verb and is the beneficiary/possessor. It is acceptable to have a sentence like **Huseeni/ mtindishilize waana/ mwaalimu/ mkono.** ‘Huseeni caused his children to cut the teacher’s hand.’ Here the third person singular possessor is not overt in the sentence except by virtue of the OM that agrees with it; however, the fact that **waana** cannot be the noun governing the OM, since it would require [cl.2] agreement *wa*, serves to render the the identification of thematic roles clear.)

Osmaani/ mtindishilize Nureeni/ mwaana/ muti. ‘Osmaani caused Nureeni’s child to cut the tree.’

Suufi/ chisu/ mtindishilize Waali/ nama. ‘Suufi, a knife, caused Waali to

cut meat with.’ Or: **Chisu/ Suufi/ mṭindishilize Waali/ nama.** (These two sentences illustrate that the instrument can be preposed to the front of the sentence, located either before or after the subject. This preposing is more felicitous than leaving the instrument in the verb phrase.)

Suufi/ ṭindishilizeni/ chisu. ‘What did Suufi cause to be cut with a knife?’ (A possible answer to this question: **Suufi/ ṭindishilizee nama/ chisu.** ‘Suufi caused meat to be cut with a knife.’)

kh-ṭindishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-ṭindishilizoowa v. caus. appl. pass. (**ṭindishiliiza**)

Chisu/ sḥṭindishiliza Nuuru. ‘The knife Nuuru was made to cut with.’ (The interpretation here is one where Nuuru is doing the cutting and the knife is being used to do the cutting. The structure invites an interpretation where **chisu** is a beneficiary, but no such sense is actually available. Note that it is unacceptable to say ***Chisu/ sḥṭindishilizaa nama.** The agent of the cutting cannot be omitted.)

kh-ṭindoowa v. pass. (**ṭiinziila**) be cut, slaughtered

Apa/ sḥṭindoowa/ mbuzi iyo. ‘Here that goat was slaughtered.’ (In this example, the subject of the passive verb is **mbuzi iyo**. Notice that **mbuzi** triggers [cl.9] agreement on the demonstrative, but [cl.1] agree on the verb. The verb here is in the **chi** narrative past tense; **chi** appears as **sh** in front of a voiceless stop.)

Chinyunyi/ ṭinziilaa chiṭá. ‘The (dim.) *bird* was cut off the head.’ (In this example, the subject noun **chinyunyi** is focused, hence the verb is put into pseudo-relative form. The pseudo-relative nature of the verb is visible only from the final accent since a passive perfect verb retains the final vowel **a** in relative clause forms.)

Chinyunyi/ ṭinziilapi. ‘Where did they cut the bird?’ Or: **Ṭinziilapo/ chinyunyi.** (Possible answer: **Chinyunyi/ ṭinziilaa chiṭá.** ‘The bird was cut off the head.’)

Chiṭa/ ṭinziilaa nyunyi. ‘The head, the bird has had it cut off.’ (In this example, **chiṭa** is preposed but not focused, thus the verb is not put into pseudo-relative form. The subject of the passive verb is **nyunyi**, which is located after the verb and phrased with it.)

Iṭinziila kaa chisú/ na mwanaamké/ nii nama. ‘What was cut with a knife by the girl is meat.’

Karka muunṭ^{hi}/ kati/ huṭindowaa mbuzi/ niingi. ‘Around mid-day many goats are slaughtered.’

Nambiilá/ kumeera/ nyunyi/ ṃwiingine/ kama oyo/ na chiza kumpatá/ nṭ^hakhṭindoowa. ‘I am told to look for another bird like that one and if I do not find one, I will be slaughtered.’

Shchiwasila/ muyiini/ mi/ nṭ^hakhṭindóowa/ na namayá/ iṭakhpikoowa. ‘When we arrive in town, I will be slaughtered and my meat will be cooked.’

Ṭinziila naani/ chiṭa. ‘Whose head was cut off?’ (Note that because the *wh*-question word **naani** is post-verbal, the verb is not put into a pseudo-relative form. **Naani** is functioning as subject of the passive relative verb, but it postposed to the right of the verb and forms a phonological phrase with it.)

Menye/ nakhṭindowa khuuni. ‘Menye is having a tonsilectomy (lit. cutting the tonsils).’

Na chiza kumpatá/ nṭ^hakhṭindoowa. ‘And if I do not get it, I will be killed.’

Ndiwó/ kuḷa maaka/ wachileetó/ mbuzi iyó/ ishṭindoowá/ okó/ ishṭindoowá/ ka Iboholi yaa Wake/ apa/ sḥṭindoowa/ mbuzi iyo. ‘It was they who every year brought the goat which was slaughtered there, which was slaughtered; here at the Women’s Pool the goat was slaughtered.’

Omari/ chiṭaache/ ṭiinziilá. ‘Omari, his head was cut off.’

Omari/ ṭinziilaa chiṭá. ‘*Omari*’s head was cut off.’

Sultaani/ choondroka/ sḥtomola amri/ ngoombeze/ zotte/ khṭindoowa. ‘The sultan arose and gave an order that all his cattle be slaughtered.’

Ye/ sḥṭindowa chiṭaache. ‘He got his head cut off.’

rel. nom.

m-tiinda (wa-) n. 1/2 one who cuts, slaughters

mtiinda hoola (or: **ngoombe**) ‘a professional butcher (when one buys an animal at the animal market, one brings the animal home and hires a butcher to slaughter it; this person is generally paid by being given the head and intestines of the animal)’

Mtiinda hoola/ haṭalami/ khpasula. ‘One who slaughter animals does not hesitate/ to skin (them).’ (A proverb.)

m-tiindo (mi-) n. 3/4 cutting, butchering; style (in clothes, etc.)

sh-tiindo (s-) n. dim. 7/8 cutting, butchering

n-tiindo

n. chisel; [pron. **nt^hiindo**]

tiini

n. 9/10 [cf. Sw. *tini* SSED 468; Ar. *ṭn* W 100] fig

muti wa tiini ‘fig tree’

rel.

m-tiini (mi-) n. [cf. Sw. *mtini* SSED 309] fig tree

n-tiini

n. 9 [cf. Sw. *chini* SSED 56] under, below, downstairs, down; [pron. **nt^hiini**]

Ali/ ishkizize chibuuku/ nt^hiini. ‘Ali brought the book downstairs.’

Chendra khpumula/ nt^hiini yaa muti/ mooyi/ mkulu. ‘He went to rest under a big tree.’

Chibuuku/ chiko nt^hiini/ ya meeza. ‘The book is under the table.’

Chishkila nt^hiini. ‘She went downstairs.’

Chooloka/ nt^hiini yaa muti. ‘He went under a tree.’

Haṭaa we/ nakhkoḏo na Nuurú/ nakendra nt^hiini/ kuleta zoombozá. ‘While you are talking to Nuuru, I am going down to bring my things.’

ilu/ na nt^hiini ‘top and bottom, from top to bottom’

ka nt^hiini ‘secretly’

Yuusufu/ chimpa/ mtumishi/ mooyi/ amri/ ka nt^hiini/ khtila

ikoopaye/ karka izigo/ ya Bin.yaameeni. ‘Yuusufu gave the servant an order secretly to put the cup in the bag of Binyaameeni.’

ka nt^hiini/ ka nt^hiini ‘under and under’

Lele nt^hiini yaa chiti. ‘He slept under the chair. ‘ Or, with emphasis on the verb: **Leele/ nt^hiini yaa chiti.** Or, with preposing of the prepositional phrase and a shifting of the verb to its pseudo-relative form: **Nt^hiini yaa ^fchiti/ leeló.**

Meeza/ ipeta chibuuku/ nt^hiiniye. ‘The table, there was found a book under it.’ (This is an impersonal passive. **It is not clear to us whether it is possible for there to be agreement with chibuuku: ?Meeza/ shpeta chibuuku/ nt^hiiniye.**)

Meza izi/ ipeta majiwe/ nt^hiiniye. ‘These tables, there were stones gotten under them.’ (This sentence is an impersonal passive, hence the *i* subject marker on the verb and not *ya* in agreement with **majiwe** or **zi** in agreement with **meeza**. Note that **nt^hiini** is a [cl.9] noun and thus the possessive enclitic has *y* in agreement. Note further that the possessive root =e is used for any third person non-human noun, whether singular or plural. In this case =e is referring to the [cl.10] plural noun **meeza**. **It is possible for the passive verb to agree with majiwe: Meza izi/ yapeta majiwe/ nt^hiiniye. Meeza,** on the other hand, cannot control subject agreement: ***Meza izi speta majiwe/ nt^hiiniye.**)

Meza yaa mbwa/ uko nt^hiiniyé/ ndaaká. ‘The table that the dog is under is

mine.’ (cf. Mbwa/ uko nt^hiini ya meeza. ‘The dog is under the table.’)

Mukhtaa ye/ langajilo nt^hiini/ chimwona/ uje siimba/ leele/ nt^hiini yaa muti. ‘When he look down, he saw that lion sleeping under the tree.’

Nnakendra nt^hiini/ kuleta zoombozá. ‘I am going down to bring my stuff.’
Or with verb emphasis: Nnakeendrá/ nt^hiini/ kuleta zoomboza. ‘I am going down to bring my things.’

Ndrele nt^hiini. ‘I slept down/ under.’

Ndrele nt^hiini yaa chiti. ‘I slept under the chair.’ Or, with focus on the verb:

Ndreelé/ nt^hiini yaa chiti., but also possible: Ndreelé/ nt^hiini/ yaa chiti. Or with focus on the preposition: Ndrele nt^hiini/ yaa chiti.

Or: Ndreelé/ nt^hiini/ yaa chiti.

nt^hiini/ ka nt^hiini ‘under and under’

Nt^hiini ya meza gani/ weshelo zibuukú. ‘Under which table did you put the books?’

Oloshela nt^hiini. ‘He went down.’

Pete chibuuku/ nt^hiini ya meeza. ‘He found a book under the table.’ (Cf. meza yaa ye/ pete chibuuku/ nt^hiiniye... ‘the table that he found a book under it’.)

Shkalant^ha nt^hiini yaa muti/ nakula kaa nk^hele. ‘He sat under the tree crying loudly.’

Tile sanduukhu/ nt^hiini ya meeza. ‘He put the box under the table.’

Tile tubaaku/ nt^hiini ya mtaawo. ‘He put tobacco under the pillow.’

Wachishkila/ hattá/ nt^hiini. ‘They went down to the bottom.’

Yachimawanyikila siimba/ lelo nt^hiiniké. ‘It [the water] spilled on the lion that was sleeping under it [the tree].’

Ye/ chilangala/ teena/ nt^hiini. ‘He looked again down, below.’

n-tiini

n. [pron. nt^hiini] in the expression:

mtondro wa nt^hiini ‘the second day after tomorrow’

tiira
power

n. [Som. *tiiri* “exceptional strength” DSI 583; ?Ital. *tirare* “to pull”] force, strength,

Gari iyi/ nt^haná/ tiira. ‘This car has no power.’

kh^towa tiira ‘to lose force, strength’

Gaari/ itozele/ tiira. ‘The truck lost force (e.g. couldn’t go further up the hill).’

kubiga mpiira/ tiira ‘to kick a soccer ball with great force’

Omari/ bishile mpiira/ tiira. ‘Omari kicked the ball with great force.’

kumpa tiira ‘to give him strength’

kuwanayo tiira ‘to have strength, force’

Nt^haná/ tiira. ‘He has no strength, force.’

tira^toore

n. [Ital. *tiratore*] slingshot, catapult

tireeta

n. 9/10 [Ital. *tiretto*] drawer (in a cabinet)

Mismaari/ yamo tireetaani. ‘The nails are in the drawer.’

tiriiki

n. 9/10 [Som. *tirig* “kerosene lamp” DSI 584] petrol max, electric light

tis’iini

n., adj. [Ar. *tis’ūn* W94] ninety

tis’ina keendra or tis’iini/ na keendrá ‘ninety nine’

tis'ina naane or **tis'iini/ na naané** 'ninety eight'
tis'inaa saba or **tis'iini/ naa sabá** 'ninety seven'
tis'ina sitta or **tis'iini/ na sittä** 'ninety six'

- i-tishaali** (*ma-*) n. 5/6 [Sw. *tishari*, variant *tishali* SSED 468] barge (pulled by motorboat) that is used to take goods etc. from shore to ship or from ship to shore
- (mu)-tma'ini** adj. tranquil, quiet, peaceful
munt^hu mu^htma'ini 'a tranquil person'; **want^hu mu^htma'ini** or **want^hu wat^hma'ini** 'tranquil people'
- chi-to** (*zi-*) n. [Sw. *kito* SSED 210] gem (used in rings)
chitoocha 'my gem'
- i-to** (*maa-*) n. 5/6 [cf. *jicho* (*macho*) SSED 154] eye
Fulaani/ impete ito iwovu. 'The evil-eye has gotten so-and-so.'
fungilopo maatoyé 'when she opened her eyes...'
Funzile maatoye. 'She closed her eyes.'
Humpeenda/ kana maatoya, 'I love her like my eyes (i.e. too much).'
Huseeni/ chimtila chaala/ itooni/ shfanya kama nakhsuuló/ kumtomola itó. 'Huseeni put his finger in his eye and acted like he wanted to take out his eye from him.' (This example illustrates that in the true relative clause, prosodic separation of the relative verb from its complement does not invoke the Accentual Law of Focus: **kama nakhsuuló/ kumtomola itó**, not ***kama nakhsuuló/ kumtomola ito.**)
ito iwovu 'the evil eye'
Itó/ ya mwaadamu/ ha^htá/ muti/ ivuunzile. 'The evil eye of a person, even a tree it breaks down.' (A proverb.)
Itó/ ya mwaadamu/ kana ha'ikhubli/ khsuluza. 'The eye of a human being (i.e. the evil eye), if it does not kill you weakens you.' (A proverb.)
Itó/ ya mwaadamu/ ni khatari/ zaaydi/ ya mara^hdi. 'The evil eye of a person is more dangerous than disease.' (A proverb.)
ito ya maayi 'a spring of water'
ito ya waant^hu 'the (evil) eye of people'
Itó ya waant^hu/ ni khatari/ zaaydi/ ya mara^hdi. 'The evil eye is more dangerous than disease.' (A proverb, which counsels that the jealousy and envious looks of others are damaging to you, and therefore you should be humble.)
Itó yimphi. 'Which eye?'
itooye 'his eye [=injustice]'
kasha maato 'to be awake, lie in bed with the eyes open'
kendra ka tartiibu/ kharibu ya siimba/ kumlangala kamaa ye/ nakasha maato 'to go slowly near the lion to see if he was sleeping'
Kheeri/ kufa maato/ kama kufa khalbi. 'Better to lose one's eyes than to die in the heart.' (A proverb.)
khfunga maato 'to close the eyes but not sleep'
khfungula maato 'to gain understanding of the world, insight into the ways of the world'
khfunguza maato 'to help have insight into the world'
Abadiine/ mfungize mwaana/ maato. 'Abadiine helped the child to have a better understanding of the world.'
khkesha maato 'to lie in bed with one's eyes open'
Kesheze maato/ masku/ mazimaye. 'He lay awake the whole night (i.e. he could not sleep).'
khtinda ito 'to wink'
khtindila ito 'to wink at'
kubiga ito 'to wink'
kubigila ito 'to wink at s.o.'
Omari/ mbigilile Ali/ ito. 'Omari winked at Ali.' Or: **Omari/ mbigilile ito/ Ali.** (Phon. The final accent on **Ali** is a characteristic of the pronunciation of this name by one of

our consultants; MIA did not have the final accent for this noun in default environments.)

kumdhoora/ kama itooye ‘to protect him as (you would your) eye’ (a proverbial saying)
Maama/ watile waanawe/ waandra/ maṭooni. ‘Mother applied eyeshadow to her daughters’ eyes.

maṭo makavu ‘dry eyes’

maṭo mtuzi ‘conjunctivitis -- lit. soup eyes’

Maṭo ya mapeenzi/ hayaawoni/ ebu/ (za shpeendo). ‘The eyes of the lover do not see the defects (of the loved one).’ (A proverb.)

Maṭo yaamp^hi. ‘Which eyes?’

Maṭoya/ yawele miinza/ ka zaa mi/ nakhkasó. ‘My eyes have become dim from what I have seen (experienced).’

Maṭoye/ makali/ kana iwa. ‘His eyes are bright like the sun (i.e. he sees very well).’

Maṭoye/ (makali)/ kana ya wiizi. ‘His eyes are sharp like those of thieves.’

Maṭoyo/ ni shaahidi. ‘Your eyes are witnesses.’ (A proverb.)

Mkorshe/ heendra/ kachiwelela shtuzo cha maṭó. ‘Raise him (e.g. this child) so that he becomes for us the joy of our eyes.’

Mubli/ chiya numbaani/ ondroshozopo maṭoyé/ ilú/ chimwona noka. ‘The husband came into the house, and when he raised his eyes up, he saw a snake.’

Muunt^hu/ nayo maṭó/ ha’onyoowi/ ndila. ‘The man who has eyes is not shown the road.’ (A proverb.)

Mwaana/ fungile maṭo. ‘The child came to understand things (lit. opened eyes).’

Na khariibuye/ iwaaliko/ ito ya maayi/ mabardi/ na maḷadá. ‘And near it was a spring of water, cool and fresh.’

Nakhsula nimtile kaaká/ maṭooni. ‘Do you want me to put her in my eye?’

Nakuhada/ kuwa waawe/ mtumbile ito. ‘He is saying that my father perforated his eye (lit. him the eye).’ (This example illustrates the phenomenon of “possessor raising”, which is common in Chimiini.)

Shfungile maṭó. ‘We opened [our] eyes.’

Shfungula maṭo. ‘He opened his eyes.’

Shfunzile maṭo yitú. ‘We closed our eyes.’ Or: **Maṭo yiitu/ shfunzilé.**

Shondrola maṭoye/ ilu/ chiwona/ kuwa nt^heendre/ nt^hayiiko/ na

mwaaná/ leele/ nt^hini yaa muti. ‘When he lifted his eyes up, he saw that the dates were not there and the child was asleep under the tree.’

Wakomele mahala/ iwaliko ito ya maayi. ‘They reached a place where there was a spring of water.’

Zita/ nt^haziná/ maṭo. ‘War does not have eyes.’ (A proverb.)

rel.

chi-’i-to (zi-) n. dim. 7/8

zi-ji-to n. 8 eyes

Zijitoze/ kana zaa nyunyi. ‘Her eyes are [small] like those of a bird.’

maa-tozi n. 6 tears

kureba maṭoozi ‘to hold back tears’

Maṭozi/ yachimṭawanyika kamaa nvula. ‘Tears spilled from her like rain.’

tooba

n. 9 [Sw. *toba* SSED 475; Ar. *tauba* W98] penitence, remorse, self-reproach

kuleta tooba ‘to repent’

abdi ni waajibu kuleeta tooba/ shfaanya ḍambi nk^hulu mooje

kumloomba [st.] ‘a slave of God obliged to repent if he

does a great sin and to pray to his God'

Chanzaa kuḷa/ na kuleta ṭoobá. 'He began to cry and to repent.'
duniya ni nuumba ya mwenye sho nuumba/ mtiyeeni mwajiitu ka kuleeta ṭooba [st.] 'the world is the house of of the one without a house, fear God and repent'
ya nafsi leete ṭooba mloombe ya rabi/ ṭooba ni waajibu kila shfaanya ḍambi [st.] 'oh mortals, repent, pray to God, repentance is aduty whenever you sin'

ṭoofikhi

n. [Sw. **taufiki** "guidance and grace of God, fulfillment of one's wishes, success, prosperity" SSED 457; Ar.] God's guidance, grace
pamo na ṭoofikhi ja(n)na ni sahali/ someelo ilmu rashiliizo amali [st.] 'together with God's guidance, [getting to] heaven is easy/ for the one who studies knowledge and follows up with actions'

ṭoohiidi

n. theology
variant form: **ṭoowhiidi**
Husomeshowa diini/ akhḷaakhi/ ṭoohiidi. 'They are taught religions, civics, theology.'

ṭooka

n. 9/10 [Som. **toogo** DSI 587] turn
ṭookaye 'his turn'
khfanya ṭooka 'to arrange turns (e.g. of a manager establishing the taking of turns)'
khtala ṭooka 'to take turns'
Wabjaana/ wawili wawili/ watete ṭooka/ kudara maayi. 'The young men in twos took turns bailing out the water.'
Ni toka ya naani/ kuumisha. 'It is whose turn to dry (e.g. the dishes)?'

kh-ṭooka

v. get away
get away from here.'

Bur'i/ hadiile/ Omari/ naṭooke/ ka apa. 'Bur'i told Omari that he should get away from here.'

Haliima/ mambile Faatima/ tooka/ ka apa/ spendi/ kuwona. 'Haliima told Faatima: go away from here, I do not want to see you.'

Ṭooka/ ka apa. 'Get away from here!'
rel.
kh-ṭookesha v. cause.
Mṭookesehe. 'Send him away!'
kh-ṭokoowa v. pass.
Somo/ hadiile/ apa/ nikhtokoowa/ tu/ sababu/ siwo/ mahala/ suura. 'Somo said: here it should be left because it is not a good place.'

kh-ṭokeza

v. [Sw. **tokeza** "cause to come out" SSED 470] (**ṭokeeze**) appear
bullet at it.'
Mp'isi/ shṭokeza/ tamḷatilila rasaasi. 'If a hyena appears, I will shoot a bullet at it.'
Nimene Omari/ nakhtokeza ka shpululuuni. 'I saw Omari appearing from the alley.'

Ṭoldobaṭol

n. the seven clans of Brava: the five **Tunni** clans and the **Bida**, consisting of the **Wakohaatiimu** and the **Raa Waali**

kh-ṭoleza

v. appear, come from
Apo/ shṭolezaa nyunyi/ mkulu/ chija nt^heendre/ zote/ na maliizopó/ chiyulukila. 'At that time a large bird appeared and ate all the dates and when he was finished, he flew away.'
Ba'adiye/ chimwona muunt^hu/ nakhtoleza/ kaa kule/ walá/ ye/ nt^hakhaadira/ kiiwa/ ka kuwa waliko Safiya/ amó/ waliko muḷli/ mwinginewe. 'After that, he saw someone appear from afar, but he was not able to know whether it was Safiya or someone

else [lit. another man].’

Kaa kule/ sh̄toleza/ mzele igobeegobe. ‘In the distance, out popped Old Tortoise.’

Mara niingi/ hachiiwi/ mahalaa ye/ hūtolezó. ‘Often we do not know the place where he comes from.’

rel.

kh-tolezoowa v. pass. be come from

Kaa kule/ sh̄toleza mbwa wa maduuri. ‘A wild dog approached from afar.’

Kaa kule/ sh̄toleza muunt^hu. ‘A man approached from afar.’

n-toloko

n. 9/10 bean(s); [pron. nt^holoko]

Halo nt^holokó/ haavuni/ mpuunga. ‘The one who sows beans does not harvest rice.’ (A proverb.)

Nt^holoko mooyi/ humpunguliló/ m(o) ingile mutiini/ ingiiló/ sh̄toloko chimooyi. ‘One bean is missing from him, one went into the tree, it did, one little bean.’

nt^holoko za lamna niingi ‘beans of many kinds’

rel.

sh-toloko (s-) n. 7/8 dim.

Nnafunguloowá/ isa/ laano/ la sh̄toloko. ‘Now I will tell the story of the little bean.’ (Phon. There are details of the pronunciation of default accent words that we do not transcribe. For example, in the recording of this sentence, there penult H pitch on **laano** continues over to the final syllable; such a continuation H pitch is not observed in **sh̄toloko**, where the pitch goes down on the final syllable, presumably reflecting its position at the end of the intonational phrase.)

kh-tomola

v. [Sw. *chomoa* SSED 59] (**tomeele**) pay, give out, offer, take something or someone out of, send out; disburse, distribute

Awa/ hawātomoli/ chaayi. ‘These ones did not give out tea.’

Basi/ muunt^hu/ oyo/ ka himaahima/ shfuungula/ ijuuniya/ chim̄tomola Abunawaasi/ chingilo ijuniyaani/ ndiyé. ‘So that man quickly opened the sack and took out Abunawaasi and it was he who got into the sack.’

Dakhtari/ m̄tomele mwaana/ igoyi. ‘The doctor extracted the child’s molar tooth.’

Enzele/ t̄inzile/ muti uje/ maana/ tomele sh̄tolokoche. ‘He went and cut down the tree; the boy took out his little bean [from it].’

Hasiibu/ sh̄tomolaa ziwo/ za waawaye/ ka mivunguuni. ‘Hasiibu took the books of his father out from the space under the bed.’

Hūtomolo ni khalbí/ siwo/ ūtaajiri. ‘That which gives is the heart, not wealth.’ (A proverb.)

Ijini/ munt^hu tiiló/ ndiyé/ hūtomoló. ‘The djinn, the one who brought him in, is the one who can take him out.’ (A proverb.)

Isa/ tomola ch̄taacho/ mpe. ‘Now, take your head and give it to him.’

kh̄tomola fitiri ‘to distribute alms at the end of Ramadhan’

kh̄tomola hukumu ‘to pass judgement’

Apo/ sultaani/ wa muuyi/ sh̄tomola hukumu. ‘There the king of the town passed judgement.’

kh̄tomola khabari ‘to issue news’

kh̄tomola sadaqa ‘to distribute alms’

kh̄tomola waajibu ‘to fulfill an obligation (also, in particular, a *social* obligation, like going to present condolences, or to attend a ceremony)

kh̄tomolaa zaka ‘to distribute *zaka*’

Mahālaa we/ tamtiló/ hatá/ nt^hupaani/ mwaachisi/ takhtomola chaala. ‘Even though the place where you put him is in a bottle, a bastard will stick out his finger (showing he is there).’ (A proverb.)

Mubli/ shtomola/ shiliingi/ khamsiini/ ka chiwovuuni/ chimpa. ‘The husband took out fifty shillings from the pocket and gave it to her.’

Mukhtaa ye/ maliizó/ Abunawaasi/ shtomolaa khati/ chimpa Harun Rashiidi. ‘When he [Abunawaasi] was finished, Abunawaasi took out the letter and gave it to Harun Rashiidi.’

Ni eelo/ iló/ shtomelo ka khatariini. ‘It was the gazelle who came and who got you out of danger.’

Oyo mwiimbili/ chilawa/ shtala icho chilaatu/ shtomola/ cheendra. ‘That young man went out, taking that shoe, taking (it from the leg that he had cut off the woman) and went away.’

Tomelee chiti/ ndilaani. ‘He took the chair out.’

tomola sadaqa sku ya ziyaara [st.] ‘distribute alms (or food) on the day of the ziyaara’

Washtomola peesa. ‘They paid the money.’

rel.

kh-tomoka v. [cf. the Sw. transitive verbs *tomoa* “break through” and *tomea* “bring to the surface” SSED 472, though an intransitive or p/s. form is not cited] (-**tomoshele**) come out; be extractable

Musmaari/ nt^ha’ unakhtomoka/ ka lkutaani. ‘The nail cannot be extracted from the wall.’

kh-tomoloowa v. pass. (**tomeela**) be paid; be taken out of

Chaayi/ hashtomolowi/ na awa. ‘Tea was not given out by these ones.’

Hashtomolowi na awá/ ni chaayi. ‘What was not given out by these ones is tea.’

Shawaala/ tomeela/ kaziini. ‘The worker was fired from his job.’ Or:

Kaziini/ tomeela/ shawaala.

Shtomolowa ndilaani/ hufa. ‘When he is taken out, he dies.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is *nsi* ‘fish’.)

teena somaani faataha/ Sheekhi nakhtomoloowa [st.] ‘then recite the *faataha*, the Sheikh is being taken out’

Tomela kaziini/ ni shawaala. ‘The one who was fired from his job is the worker.’

kh-tomoleka v. pass.

Pesa izi/ hastomoleki/ ka nt^hupaani. ‘These coins cannot be taken from the bottle.’

kh-tomoza v. caus. (**tomeeze**) make s.o. pay or give s.t.; cause to get out

kh-tomoza kooði ‘to make s.o. say s.t. unconsciously’

Nt^homeze peesa. ‘He made me pay the money.’

Sa’iidi/ shfakata/ kuulu/ nt^homoza. ‘Sa’iidi ran away [saying] my legs, save me!’

Yaako/ ichikhushiika/ tomoza ruuhuyo. ‘When yours catches hold of you, get yourself out!’ (A proverb.)

kh-tomozanya v. caus. rec. (-**tomozeenye**) make one another pay or give

kh-tomozanyana v. caus. double rec. (-**tomozanyeene**) make one another pay or give

kh-tomozanyoowa v. caus. rec. pass. (-**tomozeenya**) be made to pay or give one another

kh-tomozanyanoowa v. caus. double rec. pass. (-**tomozanyeena**) be made to pay or give one another

kh-tomozoowa v. caus. pass. (**tomeeza**) be made to pay or give s.t.

rel. nom.

m-tomola (wa-) n. 1/2 one who gives out

m-tomola amri (wa-) n. leader [lit. the one who issues orders]

toomu

n. [Tunni *toon* "butter" Tosco 239] cream, butter

nasha/ kamba toomu ‘as smooth as butter’

noloolo/ kana toomu ‘as soft as cream’

zubadi ka chimbalazi ni toomu [st.] ‘cream in Chimbalazi is **toomu**’

sh-toomu (s-) n. small, plain, gold, round ear-ring; a number of these were fixed all along the edge of a woman's auricle (that was pierced at intervals), while longer ear-rings were worn on the ear-lobes

kh-toonga v. [cf. Sw. *chonjo* "incitement to quarrel" SSED 60] (**toonzele**) provoke

Stoongé/ want^h u wazima. 'Don't provoke adults!'

rel.

kh-toongana v. rec. (**-tongeene**) provoke one another

Omari wa Nuurú/ waṭongeene. 'Omari and Nuuru provoked one another.'

kh-toongeka v. p/s. able to be provoked

Haṭoongeki/ ka sahali. 'He is not easily provoked.'

kh-toongela v. appl. provoke for

Ndiwa/ chimwaambila/ sint^hoongelé/ zita zaa mi/ sikhaadiri. 'The pigeon told him: Don't provoke for me wars that I cannot afford!'

Nyunyi uje/ nt^hongelelee bala. 'That bird did cause me a mishap.'

kh-tongoowa v. pass. (**toonzela**)

Khṭongowa muunt^hu/ ikalanṭhiiló/ siwo/ suura. 'To provoke someone who is sitting is not good.'

n-toongo inv. adj. [Sw. *chongo* SSED 60] blind in one eye; [pron. **nt^hoongo**]

Apo/ sukhuuni/ waliko mzeele/ mooyi/ nt^hoongo. 'There at the market there was an old blind (in one eye) man.'

mbwa nt^hoongo 'a dog blind in one eye'

mibwa miṭoongo 'blind (aug.) dogs'

Muunt^hu/ humrasho nt^hoongó/ huwa nt^hoongo. 'The one who follows a blind-in-one-eye person becomes blind.' Or: **Mrasha nt^hoongo/ huwa nt^hoongo.** (A proverb.)

munt^hu nt^hoongo 'a blind man'

Ngamiilayo/ we/ ni nt^hoongo/ so. 'Your camel, you, is he one-eyed?'

rel

i-toongo (mi-) adj. 5/4 in agreement with augmentative nouns

ibwa iṭoongo 'a large blind-in-one-eye dog'

sh-toongo (s-) adj. in agreement with diminutive nouns

chibwa shṭoongo 'a blind-in-one-eye little dog'

i-toongo (ma-) n. secretion from the eye, thivk, like paste

khṭangula maṭoongo 'to clean, wipe away secretion from the eye'

Maato/ yanamlawa maṭoongo. 'His eyes are secreting maṭoongo.'

kh-toonsa v. **no etymological source found** be capable of having an erection and having sex, be potent, be capable of defending oneself in a fight, of satisfying one's needs

Haṭoonsi. 'He is not able to take care of himself; he is impotent.'

Wako mifuga/ huṭoonsó. 'There are "bottoms" (passive male homosexuals) who are sexually potent (said, for example, of males who while married and sexually potent still like to engage in homosexual intercourse).'

We/ huṭoonsa. 'You are potent.'

ma-toonso n. 6

kh-toontela v. [Sw. *chochea* SSED 57] (**tont^helele** or **tont^heele**) poke (a fire in order to revive it), push wood into a fire to revive it; keep friction, war, enmity going; [pron. **khṭont^hela**]

khṭont^helaa muḷo 'to revive a fire'

rel.

kh-tontelela v. appl. (**tont^helele**) [pron. **khṭont^helela**]

- sh-toontelo* (s-) n. 7/8 an instrument used to stir up a fire to revive it; [pron. **shtoont^helo**]
- u-toontelo* n. 14 act of poking; [pron. **utoont^helo**]
- i-toonzi* (mi-) n. someone who is always ready to provoke others; s.o. who fucks frequently
Mlate/ itonzi oyo. ‘Leave him, that big fucker!’
Oyo/ ni itoonzi. ‘That one is a big fucker.’
- i-topsi* (ma-) n. [possibly related to Som. *dub* "to roast, fry" DSI 195] a blister (e.g. from a burn or from carrying s.t.)
- kh-toorata* v. [Som. *tar* "to be useful" DSI 576; also Tunni *tar-* idem. Tosco 238] (**toorete**) be useful
Haṭoorati/ chiint^hu. ‘He is good for nothing.’ Or, less commonly: **Haṭorati chiint^hu.**
Huṭorātani/ Hasani. ‘What is Hasani able to do?’ Or: **Hasani/ huṭorātani.** (These questions imply that Hasani isn’t able to do anything.)
khṭorataa buni ‘to add popcorn and sugar to a dish of deep-fried coffee beans (this concoction is served to people who have gathered for the reading of the Quran, e.g. at someone’s death)’
khṭorata daank^hu ‘to mix **daank^hu** with oil, sugar, resins, etc.’
Mkono mtupu/ ha’uṭoorati/ chiint^hu. ‘An empty hand cannot do anything.’ (A proverb.)
Mubli/ haṭorati chiint^hu/ siwo/ mubli. ‘A man who is not capable of anything is not a man.’ (A proverb.)
Naani/ haṭorati chiint^hu. ‘Who is not able to do anything?’ The answer to this question might be: **Omari/ haṭorati chiint^hu.** ‘Omari is not able to do anything.’
- rel.
kh-toratika v. p/s.
Buni/ haṭorati/ bilaa daank^hu. ‘Coffee beans cannot be added to (making the concoction described above) without **daank^hu.**’
Haytorati/ chiint^hu/ bilaa ma’arifa. ‘You cannot be useful without knowledge.’
- kh-toratila* v. appl. able to do for
M(w)ana uyu/ hant^horati/ chiint^hu. ‘This child is not able to do anything for me.’
- kh-toratilana* v. appl. rec. be able to do for one another, be of help to one another
kh-toratisha v. caus.
Mtoratishize Haliima/ buni. ‘He had Haliima add the ingredients to the coffee beans (to make the concoction described above).’
- rel. nom.
m-toorato n. 3
u-toorato n. 14
- tooraati* n. [Sw. *torati* SSED 473; Ar. *taurāh* W 99] Torah
toratiini ‘in the Torah’
- m-tooro* (wa-) n. 1/2 [cf. Sw. *mtoro* “a runaway, a truant” SSED 473] thief
- kh-toroka* v. [Sw. *toroka* SSED 473] (**toroshele**) run off, run out, escape, go away
Chiwonoowa/ nakhtoroka. ‘Whenever he is seen, he is running away.’
Nakhtorokapi. ‘Where are you running to?’
Omari/ nakhtoroka. ‘Omari is going away.’
- toosani* adj. straight (morally or physically)
Iuti toosani ‘a straight stick’

munt^hu toosani ‘an upright man’

Mtume Ya’aquuba/ ni mooyi/ karka mitume/ watumiilá/ na mwajiitu/ keendra/ konyeza/ waant^hu/ ndila toosani/ na ndila mp^hotofú. ‘The prophet Jacob was one of the prophets who was sent by God to go and show people the straight road and the crooked road.’ (It is unclear to us why, in this example, the final accent associated with **watumiilá** does not project to the complement of this relative verb. Ordinarily, a relative clause does not show such a failure to project final accent even when the relative verb is put in Phonological Phrase-final position, as in this example.)

kh-toosata

v. [Som. *toos* "to become straight, honest" DSI 587] (**toseete**) be morally or physically straight; become correct in behavior

Laakini/ mwaana/ wele karwaayi/ ize khtoosata. ‘But the boy became stubborn and refused to be corrected.’

Sho khkoðowa lila/ jawaabu/ ha’itoosati. ‘Without telling the truth, things do not get right.’ (A proverb.)

rel.

kh-tosatila v. appl.

Mwaana/ nt^hakunt^hosatiila. ‘My son did not turn out morally upright for me.’

kh-toosisha v. caus. [Som. *toosi* "to make s.t. straight; to make s.o. honest" DSI 587]

(**toshishiize**) make straight

Mwaana/ nt^hakhaadira/ khtosisha yaa ye/ (ku)mwambila waawaye. ‘The boy was not able to think of anything (plausible) to tell his father.’

Nt^hakhaadira/ khtosisha chiint^hu/ munt^hi oyo/ mzimawe. ‘He was not able to think straight that whole day.’

kh-tosishika v. caus. p/s.

Muti upotosheló/ ha’utosishiki. ‘A tree that is bent cannot be straightened.’

(A proverb.)

kh-tosishiliza v. caus. appl.

Mi/ khuletelele mwaaná/ kunt^hosishilizá. ‘I brought my child to you for you to make him morally upright for me.’

kh-tosishoowa v. caus. pass.

Muti/ ukorelopo ipotofú/ ha’ikhadiroowi/ khtosishoowa. ‘A tree that grows up crooked is not able to be straightened.’ (A proverb.)

kh-tosha

v. [Sw. *tosha* SSED 473] (**tosheeze**) think, believe; be sufficient, suffice

Abastiide/ tosheze kuwa mlaango/ uwaliko mwaazi. ‘Abastiide thought that the door was open.’ Also: **Abastiide/ tosheze mlaango/ kuwa uwaliko mwaazi.**

Adabu/ inakhtoshe. ‘Behave [lit. let good manners suffice you]!’

Amiini/ mtosheze Mustafa/ dokhaani. ‘Amiini thought Mustafa to be a fool.’

Basi/ hunt^hosha/ aya/ yaa we/ nt^himishilizó. ‘It’s enough, it suffices for me these (things) that you have done for me.’

chaakuja/ cha kuwatosha/ skuu mbili/ tu ‘food sufficient for them for only two days’

chakuja cha khtosha ‘sufficient food’

Chaakuja/ shtosheeze. ‘The food was sufficient.’

Chibuku cha Ali/ toshezo kuwa Nuuru/ chiboozelé/ shpeeta. ‘The book that Ali thought that Nuuru stole (it) has been found.’ (Syn. In this example, the object position in the complement clause has been relativized into. Observe that only the verb ‘think’ is put into the relative form; the verb in the complement is not put into the relative form. However, the final-accent triggered by the relative verb ‘think’ extends to the end of the complement clause.)

chibuuku/ cha Muusa (or: Muusá)/ nakhtosha kuwa maaná/ takhsoomó

‘the book that Muusa thinks that the child will read’ (Notice the possibility of the subject of the relative clause being assigned final accent in the object relativization structure.) [review this example](#)

Chibuku ichi/ hutosha/ mi/ we/ ni laazimu/ khsooma. ‘This book, I think that you should read it [lit. it is a must for you to read].’ (Syn. This sentence is an instance of Left-Dislocation from a sentential complement clause to the beginning of the sentence. There is a “cleft” structure available as well: **Chibuku ichi/ hutoshó/ mi/ we/ ni laazimu/ khsooma.** ‘This book, I think you should read it.’)

Faqi/ tosheze kuwa Imaamu/ mpele m(w)aana/ chibuuku. ‘Faqi thought that Imaamu gave the child the book.’ (Cf. It is possible for **m(w)aana** to be the head of a relative version of this sentence: **M(w)ana waa Faqi/ toshezo kuwa Imaamu/ mpele chibuuku/ ni Ali.** ‘The boy who Faqi thought that Imaamu gave (him) the book is Ali.’)

Hamadi/ mtosheze Baazi/ kuwa file. ‘Hamadi thought Baazi that he died.’ (Note that one can also have: **Hamadi/ mtosheze Baazi/ kuwaa ye/ file.** ‘Hamadi thought Baazi that he died.’)

Hutosha/ mi/ we/ ni laazimu/ khsoma chibuku ichi. ‘I think that you should read this book.’ (Phon. Note that **ni laazimu** has an impersonal subject and **we** is *not* the subject, hence there is no final accent on **ni laazimu**. In other words, the structure is not “you must” but rather “it is a must for you”.)

Imtihaani/ Muusa/ nakhtosha/ maana/ takhpita. ‘The examination, Muusa thinks that the child will pass.’ (This example illustrates that an object noun in an embedded complement clause may be preposed to sentence initial position. Notice that this preposing does not imply that the noun is focused since the main verb is not shifted to a pseudo-relative form.)

kama ikoofiya/ ichint^hosha ‘if the hat fits me’

kama makoofiya/ yachint^hosha ‘if the hats fit me’

Kuwa maana/ takhpita imtihaani/ Muusa/ nakhtoshó. ‘That the child will pass the examination, Muusa thinks.’ Or: **Kuwa maana/ takhpita/ imtihaani/ Muusa/ nakhtoshó.** (Note that in these two examples, the main verb is in pseudo-relative form. This indicates that some element in the preceding material is focused, but it is not very clear from the prosody of the sentence which phrase should be regarded as the trigger. In a sense, perhaps the preposed complement clause itself is the trigger. Our consultant offered some possible reorderings of elements in the preposed complement clause: **Imtihaani/ maana/ takhpita/ Muusa/ nakhtoshó.** And: **Imtihaani/ takhpita/ maana/ Muusa/ nakhtoshó.**)

maana/ wa Hasani/ nakhtosho (kuwaa ye/) **takhsomá** ‘the child whom Hasani thinks (that he) will read the book’

Mi/ nakhtoshá/ (kuwa) Nuuru/ takhpita imtihaani. ‘I think that Nuuru will pass the examination.’ (Note that in this example there is focus on the main verb **nakhtoshá**. This focus entails a strong pitch drop on the following phrase. It also entails that the final accent triggered by the first person main verb does not project past the verb. Without this focus, we have: **Mi/ nakhtosha kuwa maaná/ takhpita imtihaaní.** ‘I think that the child will pass the examination. Here the final accent projects to the end of both phrases. Remember, were it not for the final accent trigger in the main verb, the complement sentence would have default penult accent: **Maana/ takhpita imtihaani.** ‘The child will pass the examination.’)

Mi/ nt^hosheze kuwaa wo/ nt^haasá/ nt^hawaakujá. ‘I thought that they had not yet eaten.’ (Phon. The final accent in the negative verb **nt^hawaakujá** derives from the final accent projected from the first person past tense verb in the main clause.)

Mi/ sinakhtosha/ kuwaa we/ takhpata kum(w)ona/ mtume uyu. ‘I do not think that you will get to see this prophet.’

Milyuuni/ miyaa mbili/ hastoshi chiint^hu/ na husuloowa/ zo/ khtomoloowa/ ka hima/ ka sababu ba’aði yaa nt^hi/ zimo karkaa dhibu/ nt^ho/ ya iqtisaadi. ‘Two hundred million (dollars) is not enough for anything and it is desired that they (the dollars) be paid immediately. because some of the countries are in a lot of economic difficulty.’

Mukhtaari/ nakhtosha kuwa ya ra’iisi/ hadiiló/ ni wanaafakhi. ‘Mukhtaari thinks that what the president said is a lie.’ (Syn: The complementizer **kuwa** cannot be elided in this example.)

Muusa/ nakhtosha/ (kuwa) maana/ takhpita (/) imtihaani. ‘Muusa thinks that the child will pass the examination.’

Muusa/ nakhtosha kuwa maana/ tu/ takhpito imtihaaní. ‘Muusa thinks

that only the child will pass the examination.’ (In this example, the particle **tu** is raised in pitch above **maana**, which is downstepped relative to the initial accented **Muusa**. The **tu** triggers pseudo-relativization of the complement verb.)

Muusa/ nakhtōsha/ ^fNuuru/ takhpitó/ im̄tihaani. ‘Muusa thinks that it is Nuuru who will pass the examination.’ (The focus on the complement subject triggers pseudo-relative clause formation on the complement verb. Because the verb is prosodically separated from its complement, the final accent on the pseudo-relative verb is unable to project to the complement.)

Muusa/ nakhtōsha ^fNuuru/ takhpito im̄tihaani. ‘Muusa thinks that it is Nuuru who will pass the examination.’ (This sentence is parallel to the preceding in having focus on the subject of the complement clause, but differs in that neither the main nor the complement verb are phrasally separated from their complement.)

Muusa/ tu/ nakhtōsha maaná/ takhpita im̄tihaani. ‘Only Muusa thinks that the child will pass the examination.’ (When **tu** ‘only’ is used after the pre-verbal subject, the verb must be put into pseudo-relative form. The prosody of sentences of this type should be noted: the pitch peak is the initial element **Muusa**, while **tu** is somewhat lower in pitch, and the next accented syllables are similarly downstepped.)

Mwaalimu/ waṭosheze mwanaamke/ na mwiimbilí/ madokhani. ‘The teacher thought that the girl and the boy were fools.’ Or:

Mwaalimu/ mṭosheze mwanaamke/ na mwiimbilí/ madokhani.
(Syn: Notice the variation between whether agreement on the main verb is with the conjoined NP or with the first member of the conjunction.)

Mwana wa Baana/ ṭoshezo kuwa Jaamá/ mpelo chibuukú/ ni Nureeni.
‘The child whom Baana thought that Jaama gave him a book is Nureeni.’

mwanaamke/ na mwimbili wa Banafuunzi/ mṭoshezo (kuwa) madokhani ‘the girl and the boy whom Banafuunzi thought were fools’ (Syn: It is possible for the head of the relative to be just the second member of the conjunct: **mwanaamke wa Banafuunzi/ waṭoshezo mwiimbilí/ naayé/ madokhani** ‘the girl who Banafuunzi thought the boy and her were fools’. The head cannot be the first member of the conjunction: ***mwanaamke wa Banafuunzi/ mṭoshezo na mwiimbilí/ madokhani** ‘the girl who Banafuunzi thought she and the boy were fools’.)

nafasi ya khtōsha ‘enough room’

Nakhtōsha kuwa Hamadí/ chimbele chibuukú. ‘I think that Hamadi lost a book.’ Cf. **Nakhtōsha kuwa Hamadí/ chibuukú/ chimbeelé.**
‘I think that Hamadi lost the book.’ **confirm accent in definite form and the distinction between indefinite and definite**

Nakhtōsha kuwa maaná/ takhpita im̄tihaani/ keeshó. ‘I think that the child will pass the examination tomorrow.’ (The first person main verb triggers final accent, which in this case extends all the way through the complement clause, including the time adverbial **keesho**. Time adverbials ordinarily fall outside the domain of final accent

Nakhtōsha kuwa maaná/ takhpita/ im̄tihaani/ keesho. ‘I think that the child will pass the examination tomorrow.’ (This example is of considerable interest with respect to the issue of the domain of final accent. Observe that the verb in the complement clause has been prosodically separated from its complement. We treat this separation of the verb as a case of “focus”, though it is perhaps better understood as a kind of stylistic emphasis. Nevertheless, this focus/emphasis on the verb appears to prevent the verb from being within the scope of the final accent triggered by the main verb. Note that the first person singular subject marker, which normally appears as *n-* in the speech of MI, generally elides in front of *na* in the speech of GM.)

Nakhtōshá/ kuwa maana/ takhpita/ im̄tihaani/ keesho. ‘I think that the child will pass the examination tomorrow.’ (The prosodic separation of the main verb from its complement clause means that the final accent triggered by that verb is unable to project past it.)

Nakhtōshá/ kuwa Nureeni/ nakhsuḷaa kuja. ‘I think that Nureeni wants food.’ Or: **Nakhtōshá/ kuwa kuja/ Nureeni/ nakhsuḷaa.** ‘I think that food Nureeni wants.’ (Notice that although **kuja** has been preposed, it is not structurally focused, since it does not trigger pseudo-relativization of the verb in this pronunciation. **Kuja** may even be preposed to sentence initial position without being structurally focused: **Kuja/ nakhtōshá/ kuwa Nureeni/ nakhsuḷaa.** ‘Food I think that Nureeni wants.’ It is apparently possible to even prepose the complement sentence, at the same time preposing the object within that sentence: **Kuja/ kuwa Nureeni/ nakhsuḷaa/ nakhtōshá.** ‘Food, that Nureeni wants, I think.’)

Nakhtosha kuwa Nuurú/ jilee kujá. ‘I think that Nuuru ate the food.’ Or: **Nakhtosha kuwa Nuurú/ jiile/ kuja.** ‘I think that Nuuru ate the food.’ (Notice that in the first example, the final accent triggered by the main verb projects throughout the complement clause. This reflects a situation where there is no focus internal to the sentence. In the second example, there appears to be some emphasis on the verb of the complement clause, but notice that the final accent from the main verb does not project into the complement verb, but stops at the subject of the complement clause. One might have expected instead the pronunciation: **Nakhtosha kuwa Nuurú/ jiilé/ kuja.** Such a pronunciation was not offered by our consultant and we suspect that its absence may be systematic, but doubtless further work on the topic is merited.)

Nakhtosha kuwa Nuurú/ jiloo kujá. ‘I think that Nuuru ate the food.’ Or: **Nakhtosha kuwa Nuurú/ jiiló/ kuja.** (In these two sentences, the final accent in the complement verb phrase is not due to the main verb, but rather to the focus on Nuuru; this focus requires that the complement verb be put into pseudo-relative form. If the verb is phrased with its complement, the final accent appears on the complement. If the verb is separated from its complement, then the final accent does not cross past the verb, due to the Accentual Law of Focus.)

Nakhtoshá/ kuwa Omari/ mbozele Nureeni/ peesa/ yana. ‘I think that Omari stole money from Nureeni yesterday.’ Or: **Nakhtoshá/ kuwa Omari/ mbozele peesa/ Nureeni/ yana.** Or with focus on subject of complement verb: **Nakhtoshá/ kuwa Omari/ mbozele Nureeni/ peesá/ yaná** (or: **yána**). Or: **Nakhtoshá/ kuwa Omari/ mbozele Nureeni/ peesa/ yana.**

Nakhtosha kuwa Omari/ mbozele Nureeni/ peesá/ yaná (or: **yána**). ‘I think that Omari stole money from Nureeni yesterday.’ Or: **Nakhtosha kuwa Omari/ mbozele Nureeni/ peesa/ yana.** **Nakhtosha kuwa Omari/ mbozele Nureeni/ peesá/ yaná** (or: **yána**).

Nakhtosha kuwa Nureeni/ nakhsulaa kujá. ‘I think that Nureeni wants food.’ (This sentence lacks internal focus; as a consequence, the final accent triggered by the first person present tense verb projects to the end of the sentential complement.)

Nakhtosha Nureeni/ kuwa nakhsulaa kuja. ‘I think that Nureeni wants food.’ Or: **Nakhtosha Nureeni/ kuja/ nakhsulaa.** (There are a couple notable points about these examples. It is necessary to consider Nureeni to be focused, since the final accent triggered by the first person present tense main verb does not project past Nureeni. On the other hand, the focus on Nureeni does not trigger pseudo-relativization of the complement verb. Perhaps this is a consequence of Nureeni phrasing with the main verb. More research is required on this matter.)

Naani/ Muusa/ nakhtosho takhpita imtihaani. ‘Who does Muusa think will pass the examination?’ (The pre-verbal position of naani requires that the main verb be put into pseudo-relative clause form. If naani is post-verbal, no such morphological shift occurs on the main verb: **Muusa/ nakhtosha naani/ takhpito imtihaani.** ‘Muusa thinks that who will pass the examination?’ Of course, the verb following naani must be put into pseudo-relative form.)

Naani/ nakhtoshó/ kuwa maana/ takhpita imtihaani. ‘Who thinks that the child will pass the examination?’ (This example illustrates one of the most notable aspects of the difference between true relative clauses and pseudo-relative clauses such as the one triggered by the question word naani. In pseudo-relative clauses, the final accent associated with the pseudo-relative verb does not project past the verb if the verb is focused. In true relative clauses, however, a phrasal break after the verb does not bar the extension of final accent to the end of the relative clause. If there is no focus on the verb, then the final accent does extend to the end of the pseudo-relative clause: **Naani/ nakhtosho kuwa maaná/ takhpita imtihaani.**)

Ndruti izo/ hastoshi/ uyu/ nabigoowa/ miyaa mbili/ na khamsiini. ‘These blows are not enough; this one should be given two hundred and fifty (blows).’

ni sunna stoshe waajibu wala farði [st.] ‘it is not obligatory [to fast then], don’t think [in terms of] obligatory and compulsory’

Nimtosheze kuwa ni dokhaani. ‘I thought him to be a fool.’

Nishtosheze chibuukú/ kuwa chiboozelá. ‘I thought the book that it had been stolen.’ (But not ***Nishtosheze kuwa chibuukú/ chiboozelá.**)

Nishtosheze kuwa chiboozelá. ‘I thought it to have been stolen.’

Nt^hosheze chibuukú/ kuwa chiboozelá. ‘I thought the book to have been stolen.’ Also: **Nt^hosheze kuwa chibuukú/ chiboozelá.** ‘I thought that the book was stolen.’

Nt^hosheze ni sahalí/ khfanyoowa/ gaariya. ‘I thought that it would be easy for my car to be fixed.’

Omari/ nakhtosha/ kuwa Nureeni/ nakhsulaa kuja. ‘Omari thinks that Nureeni wants food.’ Or: **Omari/ nakhtosha/ kuwa Nureeni/ nakhsulá.** ‘Omari thinks that it is food that Nureeni wants.’ Or: **Omari/ nakhtosha/ kuwa Nureeni/ kuja/ nakhsulá.** ‘Omari thinks that Nureeni

food wants.’

is rich.’

Omari/ nakhtosha kuwa Sheekhe/ ni taajiri. ‘Omari thinks that Sheekhe

Sa’uuda/ tosheze kuwa Jeeli/ bozele chibuuku. ‘Sa’uuda thought that Jeeli stole a book.’

Shaafi/ tosheze kuwa Nureeni/ chimbiile. ‘Shaafi thought that Nureeni ran away.’ Or: **Shaafi/ tosheze Nureeni/ kuwa chimbiile.** Or: **Shaafi**

mtosheze Nureeni/ kuwa chimbiile.

Skutosha/ haḡá/ mara mooyi/ kuwaa we/ tamkhaadira/ noka uyu. ‘I did not think, even one time, that you would be able (to fight, do battle with) this snake.’

Taahiri/ tosheze (kuwa) Fatú/ fiile. ‘Taahiri thought that Fatu died.’ Or: **Taahiri/ tosheze Fatú/ kuwa fiile.** Or: **Taahiri/ mtosheze Fatú/ (kuwa) fiile.**

Ukuje/ washpata mawiindo/ ya khtosha. ‘There they found sufficient prey.’

Watosheze kuwa nii mp^haka/ nakuuyó. ‘They thought that it was the cat who was coming.’

We/ nakhtosha (kuwa) Nuurú/ bozelení. ‘You think that Nuuru stole what?’ Or: **We/ nakhtoshani/ kuwa Nuuru/ boozele.** ‘What do you think that Nuuru stole?’

Ye/ bakayle/ fikiriiile/ shfanya jis’iyo/ dafa/ takhtosha kuwaa ye/ fiile. ‘It, the rabbit, thought that if he acted that way, the hawk would believe that he was dead.’

Ye/ fikiriiile/ shfanya jis’iyo/ dafa/ takhtosha kuwaa ye/ fiile. ‘He thought that if he acted this way the kite would think that he was dead.’

rel.

kh-tosheleza v. appl. (**tosheleeze**) suffice for; go in someone’s place

Nt^hosheleza. ‘You go in my place!’

kh-toshesha v. caus (**toshesheeze**)

kh-toshoowa v. pass. (**tosheeza**)

one can also say: **Baazi/ tosheza kuwaa ye/ fiile.** ‘Baazi was thought that he died.’ But note that

been stolen.’ **Chibuuku/ shtosheza kuwa chiboozela.** ‘The book was thought that it had

Hamadi/ tosheza dokhaani/ na Suufi. ‘Hamadi was thought a fool by Suufi.’

Kuwa Hamadi/ ni dokhaani/ itosheza na Suufi. ‘That Hamadi is a fool was thought by Suufi.’

will pass the examination is believed by me.’ **Kuwa Nuuru/ takhpita imtihaani/ inakhtoshoowa/ naami.** ‘That Nuuru

Mwanaamke/ na mwiimbili/ watosheza madokhani/ na mwaajimu. ‘The girl and the boy were thought to be fools by the teacher.’ (Syn: It is not possible for one member of the conjunct to be the passive subject: ***Mwanaamke/ tosheza na mwiimbili/ madokhani.** ‘The girl was thought and the boy to be fools.’)

Nureeni/ tosheza kuwa chimbiile. ‘Nureeni was thought that he ran away.’ (This is a personal passive sentence, where the subject of the *kuwa*-complement clause has become the subject of the passive main verb. There are impersonal passive variants: **Itosheza kuwa Nureeni/ chimbiile.** Also: **Nureeni/ itosheza kuwa chimbiile.** ‘It was thought that Nureeni ran away.’)

rel. nom.

m-tosha (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who thinks

kh-tova

v. [Sw. *chovya* SSED 61] (**toveele**) dip (in a liquid)

khtova rooti/ chayiini ‘to dip bread in tea’

mandra yaa mi/ nt^hovelo mtuziini ‘the bread that I dipped into the sauce’

mtuzi waa mi/ nt^hovelo maandra/ katiiké ‘the sauce that I dipped the

bread into (it)’

Nt^hovele maandra/ mtuziini. ‘I dipped the bread into the sauce.’

rel.

kh-tovela v. appl. [Sw. *chovyea* SSED 61] (-**toveleele**) dip for, with

Nimtoveelele mwaaná/ maandrá/ mtuziini. 'I dipped bread in the sauce for the child.'

kh-tovoowa v. pass. [Sw. *chovywa* SSED 61] (-**toveela**) be dipped

kh-towa

v. [Sw. *toa* "lack, not have, be lacking, not used in the Dir. Form except as an auxiliary of negation when combined with other verbs" SSED 470] (**tozele**) miss, not find, fail

Biibi/ tozele chibuuku. 'Biibi could not find the book.'

Humero zont^hé/ hutowa kont^he. 'The one who searches for (or: demands) all misses all ([lit.] everywhere).' (A proverb.) Also: **Humero**

zont^hé/ hutowa zont^he. 'The one who searches for (or: demands) all misses all.'

khtowa maato 'to lose one's sight (but with the eye not being damaged or lost'

Zubeeri/ tozele maato. 'Zubeeri lost his sight.' (Syn. In contrast to the expression **khtumbuka maato**, it is not possible in the case of **khtowa maato** for **maato** to be the subject of the verb: ***Zubeeri/ maato/ yamtozele.**)

khtowa ruhu zaawo 'to lose their lives'

khtowa uso 'to lose face'

khtowaa ziya 'to lose strength, stamina'

Kilasku/ ya Hamadi/ nakuyo numbaani/ haatowi/ kuja. 'Whenever Hamadi comes home, he never misses food.'

Mana waa noka/ haatowi/ kuluma. 'The child of a snake does not fail to bite.' (A proverb.)

Mbuziwe/ tozele/ shpiipache/ tozele. 'Her goat, she lost; her tin (of oil), she lost.'

Mubjaana/ uyu/ jisaa ye/ kumwona mwanaamke/ tozele. 'This young man, he could not find a way to see the girl (he was infatuated with).'

Muunt^hu/ chisula khfanya chiint^hu/ haatowi/ sonk^haali. 'If someone wants to do something, he will not fail to find a reason or justification for doing it.' (A proverb.)

Mwanamke chihaba/ tozele/ nguwoze. 'The youngest girl could not find her clothes.'

ngamila shtowa miti ha'imshiiki [st.] 'if a camel does not find plants [to feed on], he does not get fat [lit. meat does not stick to him]'

Nini/ nt^hozeleni. 'What are you missing?'

Si/ shtozele ikopa ya sultaani. 'We are missing the cup of the sultan.'

Sultaani/ shtowa/ yaa ye/ kuhada. 'The sultan could not find what to say.'

Tozele/ ba/ nsi. 'He could not find any fish at all.'

Waanth^hu/ waotozele/ jisaa wo/ kendra maduriini. 'People could not go into the bush country.'

Wash^htowa. 'They did not find any.' (This example, from a text, illustrates

that there are a significant number of transitive verbs in Chimiini that may be used with no overt reference to the object.

Wele maskiini/ nt^ho/ hattá/ yaa ye/ kuja/ tozele. 'He became very poor until he could not get anything to eat.'

rel.

kh-towana v. rec. (-**toweene**)

Muunt^hu/ na mukeewé/ hawatowani. 'A man and his wife do not miss each other.' (A proverb.)

kh-toweka v. p/s. (-**toweshela**) be unobtainable, unavailable

kh-toweloowa v. appl. pass.

Towelela taakha. 'He cannot be restrained (from a certain behavior) or

made to change his mind (despite warnings, punishments, etc.)’

kh-towela v. appl.

kh-towoowa v. pass. (-tozela)

Apo/ sukhuuni/ washkasa/ waant^hu/ wanakuhada/ mwana wa sulṭaani/ wa muuyi/ uyu/ hakhaadiri/ nt^ho/ na hattá/ isa/ tozela muunt^hu/ wa kumfanyiliza dawa. ‘There at the market they heard people saying that the child of the sultan of this town was very sick and even to now a man could not be found to treat him medically.’

Birimbirize/ stozela. ‘No signs of him were seen.’

Chimó/ shchitowoowa/ tu/ kontt^he/ shtozela. ‘One [of the shoes] was not to be seen anywhere, it was missing.’

Chiint^hu/ itozela muunt^hi/ masku/ ha’ipatoowi. ‘Something not found during the day is not found at night.’ (A proverb.)

maayi ni numa na zote shtowoowa futurilaani ka kila hujoowa [st.] ‘water is later, and if there is nothing available, break your fast with anything edible’

Mbona/ tozela. ‘[Lit.] how come you have got lost -- meaning: you have not been seen for a long time.’ (This is said to a visitor, after greetings, as a polite comment to the fact that he has not been recently a frequent visitor as one would have wished. Cf. with **Birimbirize/ stozela** above, which is a comment not made directly to the person concerned.)

Munt^hu wa khupa kooḍi/ haṭowoowi/ munt^hu wa khufanyiliza chiint^hu/ hapatikani. ‘You will not miss getting someone who will give you words, (but) someone to do something for you is not found.’ (A proverb.)

Tozela/ muunt^hu/ khtafsiira. ‘There was no one found to interpret (the dream).’

Wachiimba/ washteza/ haṭá/ sa’a ikumi/ za masku/ ba’ada ya apo/ dhokhookhi/ yaawo/ itozela/ wote/ usiinzizi/ uwaleete/ walaṭize/ nt^hini ya mteendre. ‘They sang, they danced until ten at night (i.e. four a.m.), after that their sound was missing (i.e. no sound was heard from them), sleep took them all so that they lay under the date tree.’

kh-toza v. caus.

Abooke/ mtozeze waawaye/ miiri. ‘Abooke drove his father to his wits’ end.’

Mtozeze mwaana/ chaakuja. ‘He caused the child to miss getting food.’

khtoza uso ‘to cause to lose face’

Nt^hozeze uso/ ka weenzawa. ‘He caused me to lose face (in the eyes of) my friends.’

khtozaa ziya ‘to cause to lose strength, stamina’

kh-tozeleza v. caus. appl. cause to miss on (one’s)

Sheekhi/ mtozeleze Nureeni/ mwaana/ chaakuja. ‘Sheekhi caused Nureeni’s child to miss getting food.’

kh-tozelezanya v. caus. appl. rec. (-tozelezenye)

Nuuru/ na Suufi/ waṭozelezenye waana/ chaakuja. ‘Nuuru and Suufi caused one another’s children to miss getting food.’

rel. nom.

m-towa (wa-) n. 1/2 one who misses

Mtowaa luti/ hushika ikuti. ‘One who lacks a stick grabs a reed.’ (A proverb.)

n-towa

n. 9/10 (cf. **kh-towa**) drought, lack of food; [pron. nt^howa]

na mehena na nt^howa iyi tomola [st.] ‘and difficulties and this drought, take them away’

rel.

mi-towa n. 4 famines

Somaaliya/ ni nt^hi ya mitowa. ‘Somalia is a country of famines.’

kh-towesha

v.

Mooja (or: Mojiitu)/ namtoweshe. ‘Let him be, do not oppose him or interfere with his wrong doing.’

Ichiwaa ye/ ize khkasa jawaabu/ za wazeleewe/ mojiitu/ namtoweshe/ ye/ ba/ takuwona yaake. ‘If he refuses to listen to his parents’ advice, leave him alone, he will see the consequence for himself.’

towfiqi

n. [Ar. *taufiq* W 1085] success and prosperity (granted by God)

Mwajiitu/ nakhupa towfiqi. ‘May God crown your efforts with success.’

toowhiidi

n. [Ar. *tawhid* W 1055] theology; the oneness of God

i-tozi (maa-)

n. 5/6 [Sw. *chozi* SSED 61] tear

Asadi/ hutasawara kuwa maatozi/ yachimvuyya. ‘Asadi, it is possible that he was crying.’ Or: **Maatozi/ hutasawara kuwa yachimvuyya Asadi.** ‘Tears, it is possible that they were flowing from Asadi.’

Hutasawara kuwa Asadi/ yachimvuyya maatozi. ‘It is possible that Asadi was crying.’

kumiminika maatozi/ kana bomba ‘for tears to pour out like tap water’

Kuwa Asadi/ yachimvuyya maatozi/ hutasawara. ‘That Asadi was crying is possible.’ Or: **Asadi/ kuwa yachimvuyya maatozi/ hutasawara.**

Kuwa maatozi/ yachimvuyya Asadi/ hutasawara. ‘That tears were flowing (from Asadi) is possible.’ Or: **Maatozi/ kuwa yachimvuyya Asadi/ hutasawara.**

Mwaana/ yamlazile maatozi. ‘Tears flowed from the child.’

Mwanaamke/ uko ilu yaa muti/ chila/ matoziye/yachimpotelela/

mwaana/ wa sultaani/ leeló/ nt^hini yaa mutí. ‘The girl, she was in the tree, cried, and her tears fell on the son of the sultan who was asleep under the tree.’

tu

adv. [Sw. *tu* SSED 474] only, just

Arabiya/ ni keesho/ tu. ‘Wednesday is just tomorrow.’

Baaba/ chihada/ la/ skhaadiri/ kimpa Yuusufu/ ye/ ni mwaana/ chihaba/ tu. ‘Father said: no, I cannot give Joseph, he is just a small child.’

Baana/ huwabarsha adabu/ tu/ waana. ‘Baana only disciplines the children [i.e. he does not do anything but discipline them].’

Baana/ huwabarsha waana/ tu/ adabu. ‘Baana punishes only children.’

Baana/ huwabiga/ tu/ waana. ‘Baana only beats the children [i.e. he never praises them or anything other than beating them].’ (Note that **tu** in post-verbal position does not trigger pseudo-relativization of the verb. **Tu** receives H pitch and is raised above the verb that it is associated to. The following complement is radically lowered in pitch.)

Basi/ uko/ tu/ numbaani. ‘So she is always at the house.’

Baazi/ tu/ nt^haakuja. ‘Only Baazi has not eaten.’ (In this example, while there is declination in pitch height between **Baazi** and **tu**, there is no downstepping of the sort that occurs in canonical sentences between a subject phrase and a verb phrase. Also notice that this example indicates that **tu** does not necessarily trigger pseudo-relativization of the following verb.)

Ichiwa/ teena/ ku^la mara/ humvii^la/ pashpo/ sababu/ basi/ kumwona/ tu. ‘It became then that every time she called him without any reason just to see him.’

Laakini/ mi/ ni mwaaná/ chihaba/ tu/ spendi/ kuwa sultaani. ‘But I am just a child, I do not want to be sultan.’

Laazima/ tubaaku/ yiko paapo/ apo/ tu. ‘The tobacco must be there just at that very place.’

Menye/ tu/ nakhfilato kooloká. ‘Only Menye expects to go.’

Menye/ tu/ nakhfilato maaná/ kooloká. ‘Only Menye expects the child to go.’

Mi/ husoma masku/ tu. ‘I study just at night.’

Mi/ nakhtiya/ tu. ‘I am just afraid.’

Mi/ namsula uyú/ tu. ‘I want [to marry] just this one.’

Mi/ ndrwelee tu. ‘I just forgot.’

Mp^hele shilingii mbili/ tu. ‘He gave me only two shillings’

Muusa/ tu/ koðeeló/ ka lkelé. ‘It is only Muusa who spoke loudly.’

Muusa/ tu/ nakhtosho maaná/ takhpita imtihaani. ‘Only Muusa thinks that the child will pass the examination.’

Muusa/ tu/ nayo chibuukú. ‘Only Muusa has a book.’ Or with verb focus:

Muusa/ tu/ naayó/ chibuuku. ‘Only Muusa has a book.’ (Cf.

Muusa/ tu/ nacho chibuukú. ‘Only Muusa has the book.’ Or with verb focus: **Muusa/ tu/ naachó/ chibuuku.**)

Muusa/ tu/ nt^hakhkoða ka lkelé. ‘It is only Muusa who did not speak loudly.’ (The **tu** in this example triggers the pseudo-relativization of the negative verb. Recall that while a negative verb typically is followed by a phrase-boundary, this is not the case when it is in the relative form. The relative verbal form in the present example is indicated by the final accent rather than a change in the final vowel to *o*. The final *o* does not occur in negative forms.)

Muusa/ tu/ somelo zibuukú/ zont^hé. ‘Only Muusa read all the books.’

Nakhsula chibuuku/ tu. ‘He wants just a book.’

Nakhsula sabuni/ tu. ‘He wants soap only.’

Ndiyé/ tu/ uko numbaani. ‘She is the only one who is (always) at home.’

Ni njeema/ tu. ‘It’s [just] nice, fine, etc.’

Ni sahali/ tu. ‘It’s easy, simple.’

Ni yaa we/ takuhadó/ tu. ‘It will be just as you say (i.e. it will be done just as you say it should be).’

Nimpele Nureeni/ tu/ peesa. ‘I gave only Nureeni money.’ (Phon. The particle **tu** bears the raised pitch associated with focus, and there is a radical drop on the pitch of the complement **peesa**. It is interesting that in the sentence: **Nimpele Nureeni/ peesa/ tu.** ‘I gave only money to Nureeni.’, the final accent triggered by the verb does not extend to **peesa**. The generalization that is at work here is not clear to us. Note also that the following sentence is ill-formed: ***Nimpeelé/ Nureeni/ tu/ peesa.**)

Omari/ ile/ tū. ‘Omari just came [i.e. he did not come for any particular reason, he just came to be there, “hang out”, etc.].’ (Phon. The grave mark over the vowel of **tu** in this example is meant to make explicit that the **tu** here is radically low in pitch and possibly best treated as unaccented. The ‘just’ usage contrasts strongly with the ‘only’ usage since in the latter case the **tu** is raised in pitch and represents the pitch peak of the sentence.)

Omari/ tu/ iló. ‘Only Omari came.’ Or: **Iló/ Omari/ tu.** ‘Who came is only Omari.’ (Phon. In the first example, **tu** is focused and not downstepped relative to the preceding subject. In the second example, **iló** is the pitch peak of the sentence, and **Omari** is downstepped relative to it; **tu**, on the other hand, is not downstepped, but realized at approximately the same level as **Omari** or a bit higher.)(Syn. It is not possible for **tu** to be initial in the sentence, nor may it be located after the verb: ***Tu/ Omari/ iló.** and ***Iló/ tu/ Omari.**)

Omari/ tu/ mpelo Nureeni/ peesa. ‘[It is] Omari only [who] gave money to Nureeni.’ Or: **Omari/ tu/ mpeeló/ Nureeni/ peesa.** ‘[It is] Omari only [who] gave money to Nureeni.’ Or: **Omari/ tu/ mpelo Nureeni/ peesa.** ‘[It is] Omari only [who] gave money to Nureeni.’ (Phon. In all these variants, **tu** is the pitch peak in the sentence. Its presence in pre-verbal position associated with the subject triggers pseudo-relativization, at least in the speech of GM. We do not have relevant data from MI.)

Omari/ mpele Nureeni/ tu/ peesa. ‘Omari gave only Nureeni money.’

Omari/ mpele Nureeni/ peesa/ tu. ‘Omari gave Nureeni only money.’

(Syn. Note that one cannot say ***Omari/ mpeele/ tu/ Nureeni/ peesa.** ‘Omari only gave money to Nureeni.’)

Oyo/ siwo/ mwaanawa/ mi/ khuzazilee we/ tu. ‘That one is not my child, I bore only you.’

Patika/ tu. ‘Just put it on (any old way, don’t worry about putting it on properly)!’ (Phon. The accent on **tu** is clearly present, though the raised pitch on **tu** is not higher than the raised pitch on the penult)

of **patika**.)

Sule fatura iyó/ tu. ‘Just don’t buy that car (i.e. buy anything else, just do not buy that car).’ (Recall that the negative imperative is a final accent-trigger, but in the default case a negative verb is phrase-final. Thus we find sentences like **Suulé/ fatura iyo.** ‘Don’t buy that car.’ In the present example, the particle **tu** draws the focus to the complement **fatura iyo** ‘that car’ and thus allows the verb to escape phrase-final position. The final accent of the verb now appears on the complement.)

zintu zibardi/ tu ‘cold things only’

kh-tuuba v. [Sw. *tubu* SSED 475; Ar. *tāba, taub* W 98] (**tubiile**) repent, ask for forgiveness
Mzeele/ chanza kubigaa nk^he/e/ nt^hubiilé/ nt^hubiilé/ basi/ ndrata/ mi/ nk^hoodele wanaafakhi. ‘The old man began to shout: I repent, I repent, so let me go, I told lies.’
ya nafsi tuuba mbeleyo ni miinza/ karka qabriini pweeke nt^huna mweenza
[st.] ‘oh mortals, repent, what is before you is darkness; in the grave, all alone, you do have no friend’

tubaaku n. [Sw. *tumbako* SSED 478; Hindi] tobacco
Mubi/ chimwambila mukeewe/ kumletela tubaaku/ ka kabatiini. ‘The husband told his wife to bring him tobacco from the cupboard.’
Talaa tala/ mereja tubaaku. ‘Take the lamp and loo for the tobacco.’

kh-tubata v. pile up
khtubata mtaanga ‘to pile up sand’
rel.
kh-tubama v. (**tubeeme**) be abundant (to be piled up)
Gele/ itubeeme. ‘Maize is abundant.’
Mtaanga/ utubeeme. ‘Sand is abundant.’
Sukhuuni/ mazu/ yatubeeme. ‘In the market bananas are abundant (i.e. there are piles of bananas).’
kh-tubana v. (**tubeene**) gather, collect
Waant^hu/ watubeene/ apo/ kanaa nyoki. ‘People gathered there like bees.’
kh-tubisha v. pile s.t. up
khtubishaa kuja ‘to pile up food’
khtubisha mtaanga ‘to pile up sand’

tuubo n. 9/10 [Ital. *tubo*] water pipe, hose
Tubo ziitu/ za maayi/ stumbushilé/ ka bardi niingi. ‘Our water pipes burst from the severe cold.’

tuubu n. [cf. Som. verb *tub* "to heap" DSI 588; also Tunni *tub-* "to stock up" Tosco 239]
pile, heap
tubu ya mtaanga ‘sandpile’
rel.
i-tuubu n. pile
itubu ya mtaanga ‘sandpile’

tuf ideo. of spitting
Makiina/ inakhta(w)anya maayi/ tuf tuf tuf. ‘The machne is spitting out water tuf tuf tuf.’
Makiina/ inakhtufa maayi/ tuf tuf tuf. ‘The machne is spitting out water tuf tuf tuf.’

kh-tufa v. [Som. *tuf* "to spit" DSI 588; entered other Sw. dialects as well – e.g. *tufa* is cited in Sac. 906, where it is said to be found in the Kigunya (or Kitikuu) dialect, the northern Swahili spoken on the island of Rasini] spit
Komelopo lfuwooni/ chimtufa. ‘When (the fish) reached the shore, he spit him (Huseeni) out.’

kumtufa ‘to spit on s.o. – i.e. to give up on that person, reject him’
Khaasimu/ hadile kuwaa ye/ takunsaayda/ laakini/ nt^hakuuya/ nimtufiilé/ tamuza munt^hu miingine/ badiliye. ‘Qaasimu said that he would help me, but he did not come, I

have given up on him, I will ask someone else instead.’

stoshe khutufile umo karka niya [song] ‘don’t think that I have quit on you, you are in my mind’

khufaa mate ‘to spit’

Stufé/ mate/ nt^hi. ‘Don’t spit on the floor!’

khufa maazi ‘to spit blood’

Mara maape/ mi/ hutufa maazi/ ka khisa miinoya/ hulawa maazi/ masku. ‘Sometimes I spit up blood because my teeth bleed at night.’

Omari/ fanyize kaazi/ karka warshada iyo/ hatá/ tufile maazi. ‘Omari worked (long and hard) in that industry until he spit blood.’

rel.

kh-tufaataufa v. freq.

khufatufaa mate ‘to spit over and over’

kh-tufila v. appl. (**tufiliile**) spit on

khufila qur’aani/ maayi ‘to spit water (while reading) the Quran – refers to the custom in Brava, now practiced mostly by the elderly, where a sick person will have someone known to be very religious read the Quran aloud for him, with a glass of water placed nearby, into which the person reading feigns spitting after each verse is read; when the reading is finished, the sick person will either drink the glass of water or sprinkle the water over himself’

Masheekhi/ wanakhufila maayi/ pu pu. ‘The religious people are “spitting” in the water (while reading the Quran) **pu pu.**’

Shekh Nureeni/ mayi aya/ tufilile quraani/ pu pu. ‘Sheikh Nureeni has spit in this water (while reading the Quran).’

kh-tufisha v. caus. (**tufishiize**) cause s.o. to spit

Mtufishiize. ‘He caused him to spit.’

kh-tufishoowa v. caus. pass. (**tufishiiza**) be made to spit

Nuuru/ tufishiza maazi. ‘Nuuru was made to spit blood (i.e. he was beaten to the point that he started spitting blood).’

kh-tuufa

go around the **Ka’ba**

v. [Ar. *tāfa, tauf* "perform the circumambulation of the Kaaba" W 573-574] (**tufiile**)

khufa ka’ba ‘to go around the Kaaba seven rounds’

wanatuufe ka’ba wa naane zamzamu [st.] ‘let them go around the Kaaba and drink from *zamzamu* (a well in the Grand Mosque)’

rel.

kh-tufoowa v. pass.

Ka’ba mara saba sharti khutufoowa [st.] ‘it is obligatory to go around the **Ka’ba** seven times’

tufaaha

n. 9/10 [Sw. *tufaha* M&N 2413; Ar. *tuffah* W 95] apple

Azile tufaaha. ‘He grew apples.’

Chisulilopo khtinda tufaaha/ kujá/ shkasize muunt^hu/ nakuhada/

stindeeni/ tufaha izi/ Muti uyu/ mbwa sulaaani. ‘When we wanted to pick apples to eat, we heard a man say: Don’t pick these apples! This tree belongs to the king.’

tufaha akthari ‘a green apple’

tufaha huundru ‘a red apple’

Tufaaha/ ni matuundra/ ya jannaani. ‘Apples are the fruit of paradise.’

Tufaaha/ zont^he/ uzile. ‘All the apples, he bought.’ (Syn. This example of simple Left-Dislocation of the object is acceptable, but it is better when the leftward shift triggers pseudo-relativization: **Tufaaha/ zont^he/ uziló.** ‘(It is) all the apples (that) he bought.’)

rel.

m-tufaaha (*mi-*) n. 3/4 apple tree

Ilu ya jaziira/ iyi/ chiweené/ mtufaaha/ mkulu. ‘On this island we saw a large apple tree.’

ma-tufaaha n. 6 an exaggerated number of apples

Nt^hi/ nzimaye/ matufaaha. ‘The land is all apples.’

tuufaani n. 9/10 [Sw. *tufani* “storm, gale, tempest, hurricane, e.g. of rain, wind, and thunder together” SSED 475; Ar. *tūfān* “flood, deluge” W 574] flood

Muyi wa Miini/ kharibu/ khpanguḷowa na tuufaani. ‘The town of Brava was nearly wiped out by flooding.’

kh-tuhuma v. [Sw. *tuhumu* SSED 475; Ar. *wahama* W 1103; cf. also *tuhma* “accusation, suspicion” W 1103] (**tuhumiile**) suspect s.o., suspect that

Hasani/ nakhtuhuma zibuuku/ kuwa ziboozeḷa. ‘Hasani suspects that the books were stolen.’

Hasani/ nakhtuhumaa zijo/ kuwa zijiiḷa. ‘Hasani suspects that the zijo was eaten.’

Hasani/ nakhtuhuma Nuuru/ kuwa jilee kuja. ‘Hasani suspects that Nuuru ate the food.’ (This sentence displays canonical downstep intonation. The simple yes-no question does not shift accent, while the exclamatory question does: **Hasani/ nakhtuhuma Nuurú/ kuwa jilee kujá!?**)

Hasani/ namtuhuma kuwaa zijo/ jiile. ‘Hasanu suspects that he ate the zijo.’ Or, with focus on zijo: **Hasani namtuhuma kuwaa zijo/ jiiló.**

Hasani/ namtuhuma Nuuru. ‘Hasani suspects Nuuru.’

Hasani/ namtuhuma Nuuru/ kuwa jilee kuja. ‘Hasani suspects him, Nuuru, that he ate the food.’ (The simple yes-no question has no accent shift, whereas the exclamatory question shifts accent in the final two phrases: **Hasani/ namtuhuma Nuurú/ kuwa jilee/ kujá!?**)

Hasani/ namtuhuma Nuuru/ kuwa jiloo kujá. ‘Hasani suspects that Nuuru ate the food.’ Or: **Hasani/ namtuhuma Nuuru/ jiiló/ kuja.** (In this sentence, focus is on the subject of the complement, which requires the complement verb to be put into pseudo-relative form.)

haṭa khkala kaaka waant^uu khṭuhuma [song] ‘even your staying at my place, people suspect you’

Mukeewe/ ba/ mtuhumiile. ‘Even his wife suspected him.’

Omari/ tūhumile kuwa mwaana/ ni mwiizi. ‘Omari suspected that the child was a thief.’ (It is possible to raise the subject of the lower clause to be the object of the main clause: **Omari/ mtuhumile mwaana/ kuwa ni mwiizi.**)

Suufi/ tūhumile kuwa mwaana/ bozele peesa. ‘Suufi suspected that the child stole some money.’ (It is possible to raise the subject of the lower clause to become the object of the higher verb, in which case it appears to the left of **kuwa**: **Suufi/ mtuhumile mwaana/ kuwa bozele peesa.** [Lit.] Suufi expected the child that he stole some money.’ It is ungrammatical for the higher verb to have object agreement with **mwaana** when **mwaana** remains in situ: ***Suufi/ mtuhumile kuwa mwaana/ bozele peesa.**)

Tuhumile kuwa Ali/ mfiṭinile ka sarkaali. ‘He suspected that Ali reported him to the government.’

rel.

kh-tuhumana v. rec. suspect one another

kh-tuhumika v. p/s. [Sw. *tuhumika* SSED 475]

Ali/ haṭuhumiki/ ka khisaa ye/ waliko apa/ mukhtaḷa duka/ iboozeḷa. ‘Ali cannot be suspected (of the crime) because he was here at the time when the shop was robbed.’

kh-tuhumiloowa v. appl. pass. (**tuhumiliḷa**)

kh-tuhumila v. appl. [Sw. *tuhumia* SSED 475] (**tuhumiliḷe**) suspect on (i.e. suspect someone related to one)

Nt^huhumiliḷe muná. ‘He suspected my brother.’ (The applied form of the verb is often used to express possession/relatedness/connection between the complement noun and the object of

the verb; the object is not the “beneficiary” of the action, rather often the “anti-beneficiary” which in English is expressed by “on” rather than “for”. In other words, the present example might be translated as “he suspect my brother on me”, i.e. his suspecting my brother is not a good thing from my point of view.)

kh-tuhumoowa v. pass. [Sw. *tuhumiwa* SSED 475] (**tuhumiila**) be suspected by

Mwaana/ tuhumiila kuwa bozele peesa. ‘The child was suspected to have stolen some money.’ (Syn: Interestingly, MI accepted having an infinitive in the lower clause: **Mwaana/ tuhumiila kubola peesa.** ‘[Lit.]The child was suspected to steal money.’ He did not, however, accept an infinitive in the active version of the sentence: ***Suufi/ mtuhumile mwaana/ kubola peesa.** ‘[Lit.] Suufi suspected the child to steal money.’)

Zibuuku/ zinakhuhumoowa/ kuwa ziboozela. ‘The books were suspected to have been stolen.’ Or: **Zibuuku/ zinakhuhuma kuwa ziboozela.**

rel. nom.

m-tuhumo n. 3

u-tuhumo n. 14

tuhumu

n. [Sw. *tuhuma* SSED 475; Ar. *tuhma* "accusation, suspicion" W 1103] suspicion

alternant forms: **tuhuma, tuhmu**

Ichimingila tuhumu/ mukeewe. ‘His wife got suspicious.’ (Prosody.

Despite the non-canonical looking word order, the sentence displays downstep intonation. The simple yes-no question raises pitch but do not shift the accent. The exclamatory question shifts accent in both phrases: **Ichimingila tuhumu/ mukeewê!?**)

Mi/ nayo tuhumu/ na Hasaní. ‘I have suspicions about Nuuru.’

Mukeewe/ ba/ imingile tuhumu. ‘Even his wife got suspicious.’

Mukeewe/ ichimwingila tuhumu. ‘His wife became suspicious.’ (Prosody.

Despite the non-canonical looking nature of this sentence, it displays downstep intonation. As a consequence, the simple yes-no question involves no accent-shift: **Mukeewe/ ichimwingila tuhumu?** The emphatic question of course shifts the accent in the VP: **Mukeewe/ ichimwingila tuhumu!?**)

Tuhumu/ ichimiingila/ mukeewe. ‘His wife got suspicious.’ (Prosody. In

some ways, this sentence looks more canonical than the two variants of this sentence already cited. After all, **tuhumu** is the grammatical subject and **mukeewe** controls the object agreement on the verb. Nevertheless, it is apparently the case that this is a non-canonical location for **mukeewe**. As a result, the simple yes-no question shifts the accent on **mukeewe**: **Tuhumu/ ichimiingila/ mukeewé?** The emphatic question also shifts the accent in the verb: **Tuhumu/ ichimiingilá/ mukeewê!?**)

Tuhumu/ ichimiingiló/ mukeewe. ‘Suspicion entered his wife.’ (Prosody.

This sentence is actually preferred over the preceding example. Focus is placed here on the subject and the verb is put into pseudo-relative clause form. In the simple yes-no question, accent-shift still occurs: **Tuhumu/ ichimiingiló/ mukeewé?** The emphatic question also has this shift: **Tuhumu/ ichimiingiló/ mukeewê!?** Of course, since the preceding verb already has a final accent, shift there is vacuous.)

Tuhumu niingi/ siwo/ suura. ‘Too many suspicions are not good.’ (A proverb.)

rel.

u-tuhumu n. 14 suspicion

m-tukufu (wa-)

adj. [Sw. *mtukufu* (wa-) SSED 476] exalted, respected

munt^h u mtukufu ‘someone exalted’

want^h u watukufu ‘exalted people’

kh-tukula

v. [Sw. *chukua* SSED 63] (**tukiile**) carry, bear, take; take time

Ali/ tukile sandukhu ya Nuuru. ‘Ali carried Nuuru’s box (i.e. either the box Nuuru owns or the box Nuuru was supposed to carry).’ (Cf. also: **Ali/ tukile Nuuru/ sanduukhuye.** ‘[Lit.] Ali carried Nuuru his box.’ It should be noted that in this construction, the verb may not have an object prefix agreeing with **sanduukhuye**, even though this is the primary object in the sentence: ***Ali/ itukile Nuuru/sanduukhuye.** The verb may also not have an object prefix agreeing with **Nuuru** since **Nuuru** is not the primary object in the sentence: ***Ali/ mtukile Nuuru/ sanduukhuye.**)

Baana/ tukile masanduukhu/ numbaani. ‘Bana carried the boxes into the house.’

Baana/ tukile masanduukhu/ numbaani/ ka tartiibu. ‘Baana carried boxes into the house slowly.’ (The locative before the adverb seems to be the canonical word order. A pronunciation with an inverted word order seemed to have some emphasis on the adverb., but this point has not been explored in any detail.)

Basi/ askari/ wa sultaani/ watukile ijuuniya/ wa’oloshele/ naayo/ ka Abunawaasi/ numbaani. ‘So the sultan’s soldiers carried a sack and went with it to Abunawaasi’s house.’

Chikhutukulapó/ hakhuruudi. ‘When it takes you, it does not bring you back.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **qabri** ‘the grave’.)

Chimtukula/ chimruda ka mwenewe. ‘He took him and returned him to his owner.’

Chimwaambila/ e/ we/ muun^hu/ tukiloo mbuzi/ leete/ nuuliza/ mbuzi. ‘He (Bwanawaasi) said to him: O, you, man who is taking goats (somewhere), bring (them), sell me a goat.’

Dafa/ mwenopo karaaylé/ wamtukiile/ wampeleshele/ ka sultani waawo. ‘When the kites saw the crow, they carried him, and took him to their king.’

Eelo/ sh^htukula a^hmaasi/ iyo/ kanaani/ kaake. ‘The gazelle carried this diamond in his mouth.’

humtukulo ni malaayka/ makaaniye takonyoowa [st.] ‘the angels are to take him away to show him his place (in heaven)’

Jidari iyi/ itakhaadira/ khtukula zulungu statu. ‘This foundation will be able to support three stories.’

Karkaa ndila/ chiwawona/ waant^hu/ wawili/ watukilo sufuriyaa nk^hulú/ na nguwo nelpé. ‘On the way, he saw two people who were carrying a large pot and a white cloth.’

khtukulaa dhibu ‘to endure, bear difficulties’

Fulaani/ ni munt^hu hutukuloo dhibú. ‘So-and-so is a man who can endure hardships.’

khtukula ðambi ‘to sin [lit. to carry a sin]’

Simkooðé/ mweenziwo/ takhtukula ðambi. ‘Don’t speak ill of your companion [in his absence], you will be committing a sin.’

khtukula ðuli ‘to endure being scorned and reviled’

Fulaani/ ni munt^hu hutukulo ðulí. ‘So-and-so is a man who can endure scorn.’

khtukula fulaani ‘to endure, put up with, tolerate someone’

Ni laazima/ ilu ya mwaana/ kuwatukula wazelewe. ‘It is an obligation for a child to tolerate his parents.’

khtukula khasaara ‘to suffer a loss’

khtukula kooði ‘to gossip, tell others everything that one is told’

Skooðé/ kharibu ya Jeeli/ hutukula kooði. ‘Don’t talk in front of Jeeli, he will broadcast what is said everywhere.’

khtukula miimba ‘to be pregnant’

khtukula m^htuungi ‘to carry a large pot’

khtukulaa muda ‘to take time, use up time’

Itukilee muda/ kumaliza numba iyi. ‘It took a long time to finish this house.’

khtukula mzigo ‘to bear a load’

khtukulaa nt^hume ‘to carry a message’

khtukula waqti ‘to take time, use up time’

kumtukula ‘to carry him; to endure, tolerate, put up with him’

Omari/ ni rabshoole/ nimtukulilé/ tu, ‘Omari is troublesome; I just put up with him.’

Mwene muun^hu/ tukilee mbuzi/ niingi/ nakinendra naazo/ nakiineendró. ‘He saw a man taking many goats (somewhere), he was walking with them, that’s what he was doing.’

Na washtukula/ ma’askari. ‘And they took some soldiers (with them).’

Nakhsula kunt^hukula chinemaan. ‘He wants to take me to a movie.’

Naani/ tukulo masanduukhú/ numbaani. ‘Who carried the boxes into the house?’ Or with verb emphasis: **Naani/ tukiiló/ masanduukhu/ numbaani.** ‘Who *carried* the boxes into the house?’ Note that in the default case the Accentual Law of Focus constrains the projection of the final accent from the verb. However, GM accepted as possible some variations: **Naani/ tukiiló/ masanduukhú/ numbaani.** And even: **Naani/ tukiiló/ masanduukhú/ numbaani.** It is unclear what context might be involved in inducing violation of ALF. For the most part, we record in this dictionary just the default pronunciation, where ALF is obeyed in pseudo-relative clauses.)

Ndru/ shtukula majiibu/ yaa muke/ chimpelekela sarmala. ‘The relative took the answer of the woman and carried it to the carpenter.’

Nt^hukula/ sindaaré. ‘[Lit.] carry me – do not touch me!’ (An idiom used when s.o. wants two opposite things that are mutually incompatible. Also used with reference to someone who will argue or want to discuss every matter, someone who cannot be gotten along with, etc.)

Ntukileeyí. ‘How did you (pl.) carry it?’

Nuuru/ nakhtuluka meeza. ‘Nuuru is carrying a table.’

Omari/ hahtukuli/ ðulli. ‘Omari does not bear, tolerate humiliation.’

Safari/ itukile sku nt^haano. ‘The trip took five days.’

Safari yiitu/ itukile sku niingi. ‘Our trip took many days.’

Shkapu ichi/ hutukula suukari/ kiloo ne. ‘This basket holds four kilos of sugar.’

Shpowa mwanaamke/ chimtukula/ chendra naaye/ jahaziini. ‘He was given the girl and he took her and he went with her to the dhow.’

Takhpita mbeleye/ takhtukula iluti/ takhtukuló. ‘I will pass in front of him and I will carry a big stick, that’s what I will do.’

Tukilo masanduukhú/ numbaani/ naani. ‘The one who carried boxes into the house is who?’ Or with verb emphasis: **Tukiiló/ masanduukhu/ numbaani/ naani.**

Uko chizeele/ chimooyi/ nakiineendra/ nakiineendra/ tukile shpipa cha mafta/ naa mbuzi. ‘There was an old woman, she was walking and walking, she was carrying a tin of oil and a goat.’

rel.

kh-tukulila v. appl. (**tukuliile**) carry for, with, in

Alfaani/ fikiriiile/ kuwa ipakacha/ itakihtajoowa/ kumtukulila sultani waa noká/ mukhtaawo/ waŋamshiikó. ‘Alfaani thought that a basket was needed to carry the king of snakes in when they seized him.’

...kuwaa ye/ tamulila mp^huundra/ napate khtukulila skunyi. ‘...so that she would be able to buy for him a donkey so that he could use it to carry firewood.’

Nt^hukulile mwaana. ‘He carried the child for me.’

Tete chigaari/ khtukulila bataata. ‘He took a cart to carry the potatoes with.’

kh-tukulilana v. appl. rec. carry for one another

kh-tukuliloowa v. appl. pass. (**tukuliila**) be carried for

kh-tukuloowa v. pass. (**tukiila**) be carried

Chaamura/ nguwo niingi/ za chisultaani/ khtukuloowa. ‘He ordered many clothes fit for a sultan to be carried.’

Ichendrowa apo/ ishtukuloowa sharbaati/ mazu/ embe. ‘They used to go there bringing *sharbaati*, bananas, mangoes.’ (Syn: Observe the use of impersonal passives in this sentence.)

Mooyi/ chihada/ natukuloowa/ na’endroowa/ na’ubuloowa. ‘One person said let him be taken and be gone away with and be killed.’

Nuuru/ sanduukhuye/ itukila na Ali. ‘[Lit.] Nuuru his box was carried by Ali.’ (Observe that in this construction, **sanduukhuye** governs the *i-* subject prefix on the passive verb. **Nuuru** cannot govern subject agreement, which of course would be phonologically null: *Nuuru/ sanduukhuye/ tukila na Ali.)

Sanduukhuye Nuuru/ itukila na Ali. ‘Nuuru’s box was carried by Ali.’ (Syn: The phrase **sanduukhuye Nuuru** ‘Nuuru’s box’ is a phonological phrase and apparently a syntactic one as well. If **Nuuru** is separated from the possessed noun, then the unity of the phrase is destroyed and **Nuuru** becomes like an afterthought: **Sanduukhuye/ itukila na Ali/ Nuuru.** ‘His box was carried by Ali, Nuuru’s (I mean).’)

thought).’
Tukila na fikiri. ‘His mind was somewhere else (lit. he was carried off by

Wakaleent^he kumniindra/ chiza takhtukuloowa [st.] ‘they stand guard over him lest he be taken away’

kh-tukulowatukuloowa v. freq. pass.

Washtukulowatukuloowa/ washpakizowa markabuuni/ washpakizowa mijahaziini. ‘They were carried and were put on ships and (others) were put on dhows.’

kh-tukulana v. rec. carry one another; fig. bear, tolerate

Nthukulene na Osmaani/ ka mudaa mulé/ hattá/ ilopo Nuuru. ‘I put up with Osmaani for a long time until Nuuru showed up.’

kh-tukulatukula v. freq.

kh-tukulika v. p/s. (-tukulishile) able to be carried; take off; tolerate, put up with s.o.

Izi/ siwo/ zamani hutukuliko khasará. ‘These are not times when one can afford to suffer a loss.’

Laakini/ zaa mi/ nakuwonó/ hastukuliki. ‘But what I see is unbearable.’

Majiwe aya/ haya^htukuliki. ‘These stones cannot be carried (e.g. they are too heavy).’

Mubji/ na ahliyé/ wash^htukulika/ wachooloka/ waawaye/ mwanaamke.

‘The man and his relatives carried (themselves) and went to her father, the girl’s.’

Mwana uyu/ ha^htukuliki. ‘This child is not bearable.’

Nthumeye/ ha^htukuliki. ‘His message cannot be carried.’

Omari/ ha^htukuliki. ‘Omari cannot be tolerated/put up with etc.’

Sanduukhu/ ha^htukuliki/ ka khisa nii nzito. ‘This box cannot be carried because it is too heavy.’

Wash^htukulika/ kendra kummeraa mp^haka/ wamweenopó/ wachanza kumvunaanga. ‘They took off and went to look for a cat, and when they saw one, they began to beat him.’

Ye/ sh^htukulika/ naayé/ mzimawe/ murugu/ chendra ka waawaye. ‘He took himself and also his whole, worries (i.e. filled with worries), and went to his father.’

kh-tukuliza v. send/mail to

Ali/ mwandikilile Nuuru/ khati/ mtukuliize. ‘Ali wrote a letter to Nuuru and mailed it to him.’

Dede/ andishilee khati/ chimaliza/ mtukulize waawaye. ‘Dede wrote a letter and then mailed it to her father.’

M^htukulize mwaanawe/ peesa. ‘He sent money to his child.’

Nim^htukulize mwaaná/ khatí. ‘I sent a letter to/for the boy.’

Nthaná/ tikti zaa ye/ k^htukulizaa khati. ‘He has no stamp to send the letter with.’

Nthukulize mwaana/ sandukhuu nzito. ‘He made my child carry a heavy box.’

Zisu za Baana/ nthukuliizó/ nthaskwasila. ‘The knives that Baana sent to me did not arrive.’

kh-tukulizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-tukulizoowa v. pass. (tukuliiza)

Mwaana/ tukulizaa khati. ‘The child was sent a letter.’ (Note that **khati** cannot be the passive subject: ***Khati/ itukuliza mwaana**. That word is possible, but **mwaana** must still control the subject agreement: **Khati/ tukuliza mwaana**.)

Nthukuliza peesá/ na waawé. ‘I was sent money by my father.’

kh-tukuza v. caus. (tukiize) have take or carry, send (via s.o.); entrust s.t. to s.o.

Aawó/ m^htukize mwaana/ majiwe. Aawo made the child carry stones.’

Baana/ m^htukize mwaana/ Mkhodiisho. ‘Baana sent the child (with someone) to Mogadishu.’

Baazi/ tukizee khati. ‘Baazi sent a letter.’

k^htukuza ðambi ‘to cause to sin (e.g. by exposing someone to sinful things)’

k^htukuza khasara ‘to cause s.o. to suffer a loss’

M^htukize Hamadi/ sanduukhu. ‘He sent the box with Hamadi (he entrusted the box to Hamadi, who may or may not have actually done the carrying, e.g. Hamadi may have taken it on the

bus).’

kh-tukuzanya v. caus. rec.

Wanakhtukuzanya mizigo. ‘They are loading one another with loads.’

Watukuzenye zoombo. ‘They took, carried things for one another.’

kh-tukuzika v. caus. p/s.

Majiwe aya/ hayatukuziki. ‘These stones cannot be sent.’

Wana awa/ hawatuzukiki. ‘These children cannot be made to carry

(things).’

kh-tukuzoowa v. caus. pass. (**tukiiza**)

Mi/ ntukiza zombo izi/ khuleetela. ‘I am loaded with these things to bring

to you’

Myaana/ chinninkhila celo/ zintu zaa ye/ tukiiza. ‘The servant handed over to the gazelle the things that she had brought.’

rel. nom.

m-tukula (wa-) n. 1/2 one who carries

m-tukulo n. 3

u-tukulo n. 14

m-tukuzi (wa-) n. 1/2 one who sends; a porter (but **hamaali** is more commonly used

for this sense)

m-tukuzo n. 3

sh-tukuzo (s-) n. 7/8 that which is sent

u-tukuzo n. 14

tuulo

n. village

Buulo/ ni tuulo/ nkhulu. ‘Buulo is a large village.’

rel.

sh-tuulo (s-) n. small village

Eeriile/ ni shituulo/ chihabba. ‘Eeriile is a small village.’

kh-tuluba

v. [Sw. *tulubu* M&N 2420; Ar. *talaba* W 563] (**tulubiile**) ask for, request, want (This verb takes a NP+infinitive phrase a complement. It does not allow a *kuwa*-complement clause. Our consultant GM regarded a subjunctive complement as dubious, being incompatible with the request-like nature of this verb.)

Baaba/ uyu/ shtaala/ shpete/ icho/ chimtila Hasani/ chalaani/ chimwaambila/ kuja/ yaa we/ takhsuuló/ chambile shpete/ ichi/ na takhpoowa/ ije/ yaa we/ takhtulubó. ‘This father took that ring and put it on Hasani’s finger and said to him: everything that you want, tell this ring, and you will be given that which you request.’

Chiza khfaanya/ yaa mi/ nnakhtulubo kaakó/ ntakhufitina/ ka mubliwa. ‘If you refuse to do what I ask from you, I will report you to my husband.’

Huseeni/ chimpa mwanaamke/ chiguwo/ chaa ye/ tulubiiló. ‘Huseeni gave the girl the piece of cloth that she requested.’

Jaama/ tulubilee mi/ keendra. ‘Jaama wanted me to go.’

Jaama/ tulubile Nuuru/ kooloka. ‘Jaama asked (directly or indirectly) Nuuru to go.’ (The subjunctive verb may perhaps be used instead of the infinitive in the complement: **na’oloke**, but it is not preferred.)

Mubjaana/ mooyi/ hufahamó/ khabari za duniyá/ tulubile...khkooða. ‘One young man who understood world news asked permission to speak.’

Mwaana/ chimjiiba/ marhabá/ choondroka/ chileta chaakuja/ za chizeelé/ tulubiiló. ‘The boy answered her: very good, and he got up and went and brought the foods that the old woman asked for.’ (Note the possibility of the subject of the relative verb being assigned final accent. The conditions under which this is possible have not been adequately explored.)

Nimtulubile Nuuru/ kujá. ‘I requested Nuuru eat.’ Or: **Nimtulubile Nuuru/ kujá.** ‘I requested Nuuru eat.’

Ntulubiilé/ kujá/ Nuuru. ‘I requested Nuuru eat.’ (This example requires further exploration. Specifically, is it a case of the infinitive being preposed with respect to the subject noun **Nuuru**, or is it the right-dislocation of **Nuuru**?)

Ntulubiilé/ Nuuru/ kujá. ‘I requested (that) Nuuru eat.’ Cf. **Ntulubile**

Nuurú/ kujá. ‘I requested Nuuru eat.’ Cf. **N̄t̄ulubile ^fNuurú) kuja.** ‘I requested *Nuuru* eat.’

N̄t̄ulubile Nuurú/ kuja maandra. ‘I requested Nuuru to eat bread.’ Cf. **N̄t̄ulubile ^fNuurú/ kuja maandra.** ‘I requested *Nuuru* eat bread.’ Also: **N̄t̄ulubile ^fNuurú/ kuja/ maandra.** ‘I requested *Nuuru* eat bread.’ (Our consultant did not accept: ***N̄t̄ulubile Nuurú/ ^fkujá/ maandra.** ‘I requested Nuuru eat bread.’) **This point needs further exploration.**

N̄t̄ulubile ^fNuurú/ maandra/ kuja. ‘I requested *Nuuru* bread eat.’ (It is not immediately evident whether the final accent from the main verb does not project past **Nuuru** because **Nuuru** is focused or because the preposed object **maandra** is not a possible target. However, we did record **N̄t̄ulubile Nuurú/ maandra/ kujá.** ‘I requested Nuuru food eat.’ This sentence suggests that a preposed object may be within the scope of final accent and, if not focused, allow final accent to propagate further to the right. We also recorded **N̄t̄ulubile Nuurú/ ^fmaandra/ kuja.** ‘I requested Nuuru *bread* eat.’ We interpret this pronunciation to reflect focus on the preposed object.) **study the issue of preposing of an object in a complement and scope of final accent**

N̄t̄ulubile peesá. ‘I requested money.’

N̄t̄ulubile peesá/ kaakó. ‘I requested money from you.’ (The pitch pattern observed here is the one associated with the absence of internal focus. If **peesá** is focused, we get **N̄t̄ulubile ^fpeesá/ kaako.** If the verb is emphasized, we get **N̄t̄ulubiiélé/ peesa/ kaako.** If one wishes to focus on **kaako**, it is put in position immediately after the verb: **N̄t̄ulubile ^fkaakó/ peesa.**

N̄t̄ulubile Jaamá/ keendra. ‘I wanted Jaama to go.’ (Note that this verb does not allow a *kuwa*-complement clause: ***Mi/ n̄t̄ulubile kuwa Nuuru/ oloshele.** ‘I wanted that Nuuru went.’)

Numbaani/ shfanya yaa ye/ chisuuló/ na yaa ye/ sh̄t̄ulubó/ shpata ka wazelewe. ‘In the house he did whatever he wanted to do and whatever he asked for, he got from his parents.’

Omari/ ^fpeesá/ ^ft̄ulubiiló. ‘Omari *money* requested.’

Omari/ ^ft̄ulubile Nuuru/ kuja. ‘Omari asked Nuuru to eat.’ (Our consultant noted that it would not be normal to use the subjunctive in place of the infinitive: **?Omari/ ^ft̄ulubile Nuuru/ naaje.** His explanation was that **naaje** conveys the idea ‘he must eat’ and that this is in conflict with the request-like nature of the main verb.)

Omari/ ^ft̄ulubile peesa. ‘Omari asked for money.’

Omari/ ^ft̄ulubile ^fpeesá/ kaako. ‘Omari requested money from you.’ (In this example, the absence of downstep on **peesá** indicates that it is focused. This is corroborated by the corresponding simple yes-no question: **Omari/ ^ft̄ulubile ^fpeesá/ kaakó?** A simple yes-no question without Accent-Shift is possible: **Omari/ ^ft̄ulubile peesa/ kaako?** But this corresponds to a statement where there is no focus on **peesá**.)

^fOmari/ ^ft̄ulubilo peesá. ‘(It’s) Omari (who) requested money.’ Or:

^fOmari/ ^ft̄ulubiiló/ peesa.

^fPeesa/ kaako/ n̄t̄ulubiiló. ‘*Money* from you I requested.’

^fPeesa/ n̄t̄ulubilo kaakó. ‘*Money* I requested from you.’ Or: **^fPeesa/ n̄t̄ulubiiló/ kaako.**

Sh̄t̄uluba ka Yuusufu/ kumt̄afsirila ndrootoze. ‘He asked Joseph to explain to him his dreams.’

Sult̄aani/ chimpa zaakuja/ zaa ye/ ^ft̄ulubiiló. ‘The sultan gave him the different kinds of foods that he requested.’

T̄uluba/ ka kaaka/ yaa we/ nakhsuulo/ mi/ n̄t̄^hakhupa/ laakini/

sint̄^hiindé/ chitta. ‘Ask for whatever you want from me, I will give it to you, but do not cut off my head.’

T̄ulubile chisima/ ka sarkali. ‘He requested a well from the government.’

T̄ulubiile/ ka mwanaamke/ kunubla/ mi/ waawaye. ‘He asked (my) daughter to kill me, me, her father.’

T̄ulubile peesa/ Omari. ‘He requested money, Omari.’ (In the corresponding simple yes-no question, the right-dislocated subject undergoes Accent-Shift: **T̄ulubile peesa/ Omari?**)

Ye/ nakhaambila/ kht̄uluba yaa we/ takhsuuló. ‘He is telling you to ask for whatever you want.’

Zijo/ n̄t̄ulubiilé/ Nuuru/ kuja. ‘*Zijo* I requested Nuuru eat.’ Or with focus on the preposed complement: **Zijo/ n̄t̄ulubiiló/ Nuuru/ kuja.**

rel.

kh-t̄ulubana v. rec. (-*t̄ulubeene*)

Wāt̄ulubene chiza khfafishilizanya sirri. ‘They asked one another to not

reveal secrets on one another.’

kh-tulubika v. p/s. (-*tulubishile*)

Ka sarkali iyi/ haytulubiki/ chiintu. ‘From this government one cannot ask for anything.’

kh-tulubila v. appl. (-*tulubiliile*) make a request for someone

kh-tulubilana v. appl. .rec. (-*tulubileene*)

kh-tulubisha v. caus. (*tulubishiize*) persuade, convince someone to make a request

kh-tulubishika v. caus. p/s. (-*tulubishishile*)

kh-tulubishiliza v. caus. appl. (-*tulubishiliize*)

kh-tulubishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. (-*tulubishilizeenye*)

kh-tuluboowa v. pass. (-*tulubiila*) be asked

Ali/ tulubiila chiza kuzaa nama/ ibenyaani. ‘Ali was requested not to sell meat outside.’

Jaama/ tulubiila keendra. ‘Jaama was asked to go.’

Leelo/ fijiri/ ntulubiila na Jaama/ keendra. ‘Today this morning I was asked by Jaama to go.’ Or: **Ntulubiila na Jaama/ leelo/ fijiri/ keendra.**

Mi/ keendra/ itulubiila na Jaama. ‘[Lit. me to go] was requested by

Jaama.’ (It seems to be possible for the subject of the infinitive verb to be the passive subject, with the infinitive remaining in the VP: **Mi/ ntulubiila na Jaama/ keendra.** ‘I was asked by Jaama to go.’) *Perhaps the possibility of this structure is due to the possibility for the NP to be the object of the verb. For example, perhaps one can say: ni-m-tulubile keendra ‘I asked him to go’ or : ni-m-tulubile Nuuru/ keendra.*

Mi/ ntulubiila na Jaama/ keendra. ‘I was asked by Jaama to go.’

(Locating the agentive phrase in position immediately after the view, the agent is focused, and as a consequence the final accent triggered by the verb does not extend to the infinitive **keendra**.)

Nuuru/ tulubiila kuja. ‘Nuuru was requested to eat.’

Nuuru/ tulubiila kuja/ zijo. ‘Nuuru was requested to eat **zijo**.’ Cf. with focus on the subject: **Nuuru/ tulubiila kujaa zijo.** ‘Nuuru was requested to eat **zijo**.’

Nuuru/ tulubiila naami/ kooloka. ‘Nuuru was asked by me to go.’

rel. nom.

m-tulubo n. 3

sh-tulubo (s-) n. 7/8 dim.

u-tulubo n. act of demanding, a demand

Utulubo wa mashakhaale/ yiiza. ‘The demand(s) of the workers was/were denied.’

kh-tuma v. [Sw. *chuma* “(1) pluck, gather—of fruit, flowers, etc.; (2) make a profit, esp. in trade or business, gain in trade, prosper, be well paid” SSED 64] make money

khuma naali ‘to make money’

Fulaani/ oloshole Mkhodiisho/ khuma. ‘So-and-so went to Mogadishu to make money.’

tumaaya n. [Ital.] the top part of the shoe

kh-tumba v. [Sw. *tumbua* “make a hole” SSED 78] (*tuunzile* or *tumbiile*) puncture, pierce, perforate, make a hole, dig

Abu/ tumbile lkuta. ‘Abu made a hole in the wall.’ Or, with focus on the verb: **Abu/ tumbiile/ lkuta.** Or, with focus on the subject: **Abu/ tumbilo lkuta.**

Apo/ ye/ shumba iboholi/ chi’itila igozi/ chizumbiza mtaanga. ‘There he dug a hole and put the skin in it and covered the hole with sand.’

Baana/ tunzile iboholi. ‘Baana dug a hole.’

Basi/ ndovu/ chiwa’ambila/ endraani/ mvileni bakayle/ naayé/ shumba chisima. ‘So Elephant told them: go and call hare so that he dig a well.’ (The final accent on **naayé** indicates that this is the conjunction *naa#yé* rather than the subjunctive form *naa-ye*. That being said, MI did translate the form as “so that he come and dig a well”.)

Huseeni/ chimwaambila/ itakuwaayi/ kuwa ni waawe/ khutumbiilo/... ito/ naayé/ hakhiisi/ wala/ ntakhkoma/ nti iyi/ hattá/ skumo. ‘Huseeni said to him: how could it be that it was my father who perforated you in the eye, while he does not know you nor did he ever reach this land even

one day?’

Isa/ nt^hi yaa ni/ ntakhtuumbó/ takhtumbo maayi/ yatakulawa maayi/ tu. ‘Now, whatever land you (plural) will dig in search of water, water will just come out.’

kh_tumba chisima ‘to dig a well’

kh_tumba iboholi ‘to dig a hole’

Kila/ muunt^hu/ kaaké/ numbaani/ sh_tumba chisima/ sh_tuumbó. ‘Every person at his house dug a well, that’s what he did.’

Mi/ nt^hunzile iboholi/ nzishile nguwozé. ‘I dug a hole and buried her clothes.’

Mukhtaa ye/ maskiini/ qaribililoo mutí/ chiwona ya kuwa munt^hu

nakhtumbo iboholi/ ni jiraaniye. ‘When the poor man got close to the tree, he saw that the man who was digging the hole was his neighbor.’

Mzeele/ uyu/ chimwambila Huseeni/ ito/ iyi/ mi/ nt^humbiiló/ ni waawo/ mukhtaa ye/ pisilo apá. ‘This old man said to Huseeni: this eye, me, the one who pierced me was your father when he passed here.’

Sh_tuumba/ sh_tomola lpaangale/ na ijambiyayé. ‘He dug and he took out his sword and his dagger [from the hole in which he had hidden them].’

Stumbeeni. ‘(Pl.) don’t dig!’

Tumbaani. ‘(pl.) dig!’

Watuunzile/ zisima/ mbele ya kila miskiti. ‘They dug wells in front of each mosque.’

watunzilopó ‘when they had dug’

Wotte/ washtuumba/ laakini/ nt^hawakhpata/ maayi. ‘All went digging, but they did not find ([lit.] get) water.’

rel.

kh-tuumbika v. p/s. able to be dug

Haytuumbiki/ apa. ‘One cannot dig a hole here (e.g. the ground is too hard).’

Iboholi/ itumbishile ka sahali. ‘The hole was easily dug.’

kh-tumbikila v. p/s. appl.

Iboholi/ int^humbikilile ka sahali. ‘The hole dug easily for me.’

kh-tumbiloowa v. appl. pass.

Khtumba khabri/ mwiishowe/ hutumbilowaa ye. ‘The gravedigger’s end is [for a grave] to be dug for him.’ (A proverb.)

kh-tuumbila v. appl. (i) dig for, with; (ii) *idiom* put s.o. in a hole, i.e. set s.o. up so that he will be trapped, caught, etc.

(i) **Mtumbilile mwaalimu/ iboholi/ ka iyeembe.** ‘He dug a hole for the teacher with a hoe.’

Simtuumbilé/ muunt^hu/ iboholi/ na sh_tuumbá/ si’ifaanya/ ndraani/ heendra/ kapotelaa we/ mw-enewé.

Simtuumbilé/ walaaliwo/ iboholi/ na chintuumbila/ sfanye ndraani/ yiko keendra/ khpotelaa we. ‘Do not dig a hole for your brother, and if you do, do not make it deep, as you might be the one who will fall in.’ (A proverb.)

Tete iyeembe/ khtumbila iboholi. ‘He took a hoe to dig a hole with.’

(ii) **Mtumbilile mweenziwe/ iboholi.** ‘He set his mate up (so that he would be caught etc.)’

Nt^humbilile iboholi. ‘He got me in trouble.’

kh-tumbilana v. appl. rec. (i) dig for one another; (ii) *idiom* set one another up

kh-tumbilika v. appl. p/s.

Haadi/ hatumbiliki/ iboholi. ‘Haadi cannot be dug a hole for (e.g. he is too critical and won’t accept any mistakes by the diggers).’

kh-tuumbisha v. caus.

Haadi/ mtumbishize mwaana/ iboholi. ‘Haadi made the child dig a hole.’

kh-tumbishanya v. caus. rec.

kh-tumbishiliza v. caus. appl.

kh-tumbishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-tuumbuka v. be perforated, punctured, have a hole

Basi/ ndratiḽa iṽooya/ tu/ iyi/ mi/ iṽo ya kaandra/ siwo/ waawo/ nṽumbiiló/ inṽumbushile ka maraḽi/ mwajūitu/ ndreteleeló. ‘Well, just let go of this my eye; the first eye, it was not your father who put a hole in it; it became perforated from illness that God brought to me.’

Mpiira/ utumbishile. ‘The ball has a puncture in it.’

kh-tumbulila v. app. make a hole with, for

Nṽumbulile musmaari/ nṽundru yiinginé/ lkaandraḽa. ‘I used a nail to make another hole in my belt.’ (This example was provided by GM, establishing that contrary to MI, the instrument in an instrumental applied verbal construction may occupy the position immediately after the verb. There is no focus on *musmaari* in this example, as can be seen by the fact that the final accent of the verb extends to the end of the verb phrase. The word order seems to vary freely, as GM gave two other versions: **Nṽumbulile lkaandraḽa/ musmaari/ nṽundru yiinginé.** And also: **Nṽumbulile musmaari/ lkaandraḽa/ nṽundu yiinginé.** In all these variants, the final accent projected to the end of the verb phrase, indicating a lack of focus associated with these word orders.

kh-tumbuloowa v. pass.

kh-tuumbula v. pierce, perforate, make a hole

khtumbula nṽuundru ‘to make a hole’

Nakhtumbula nṽuundru/ mashkilooni. ‘She is piercing the ears.’

Nakhtumbula nṽuundru/ mpḽulaani. ‘She is piercing the nose.’

kh-tumboowa v. pass. (**tuunzila**)

Iboholi/ iṽuunzila. ‘A hole was dug.’

rel. nom.

m-tumba (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who digs

Mṽumba chisima/ harebeḽoowi/ maayi. ‘The digger of a well is not denied water.’ (A proverb which conveys the idea that conspiring against others will come back on you.)

Mṽumba iboholi/ hiingiló/ ye/ mweneḽe. ‘The digger of a hole, the one who enters it, is he himself.’ (A proverb.)

Mṽumba khabri/ mwiishowe/ huṽumbilowaa ye. ‘The gravedigger’s end is dug for him.’

Sḽtakingilo mimbaani/ kaakó/ ndicho chaako/ sḽtakhsaaló/ nch^ha mṽumba khabri. ‘That which enters your stomach is what is yours, that which is left behind, belongs to the one who will dig (your) grave.’

m-tumbo n. 3

Makini iyi/ mṽumbowe... ‘This drill, its making a hole...’

ma-tumbo n. 6 way of digging; act of digging

maṽumbo yaawo ‘their ways of digging’

u-tumbo n. 14 act of digging

sh-tuumbula (*z-*) n. 7/8 s.t. that perforates, makes a hole

kh-tuumbana v. [cf. Som. *tuban*, past *tubnaa* “to be gathered, of people or animals” DSI 588] (**tumbeene**) crowd together, gather (by chance)

Waant^hu/ waṽumbene nṽini yaa muti. ‘People were gathered under a tree.’

i-tumbi (*ma-*)

n. 5/6 [Sw. *tumbi* “much, many” M&N 2422] heap, pile of s.t.

iṽumbi ya mṽaanga ‘a pile of sand’

rel.

l-tumbi (*mi-*) n. 11/4 aug.

l-tumbi (*n-*) n. 11/10 a pile of s.t.; [pron. pl. **nṽuumbi**]

lṽumba la mṽaanga ‘a pile of sand’

nṽuumbi za waant^hu ‘groups of people’

m-tumbi

adj. full to the brim

huundra/ mṽumbi/ yaa geḽe ‘a full measure of maize’

n-tuumbulu
[pron. n^htuumbulu]

n.9/10 [Sw. *tumbuu* SSED 479; ?Pers.] a sliding long rod that locks a door;

n-tuumbulu

n. granule

of shark)

n^htuumbulu/ yaa nsi/ ya mp^haamp^ha ‘shark granules (lit. granules of fish

tumbura

n. [perhaps somehow connected to the *tumbura* spirit possession cult in the Sudan] a kind of dance accompanied by a guitar-like instrument and singing

kh-tuunga
e.g.);

v. [Sw. *chungu* SSED 65] (**tuunzile**) tend, graze animals; strain, sift (crushed grain, string together (fish, meat); compose poetry; string (beads, rosary, necklace) (Chimiini dental *t* often corresponds to *ch* in Swahili.)

Abdow/ tunzilee mbuzi. ‘Abdow herded goats.’

Hutunga unga. ‘He sifts flour.’

khtungaa limi ‘to watch one’s tongue, be careful what one says’

Tunga limiilo/ mwaana/ we. ‘Watch your tongue, you child.’

khtunga shteenzi ‘to compose a *shteenzi*’

khtunga unga ‘to sift flour’

Amina/ tunzile unga. ‘Amina sifted flour.’

Tunzile ngoombe. ‘He herded, grazed cattle.’

rel.

kh-tuungika v. p/s. **is this verb used?**

kh-tungikila v. p/s/ appl. **is this verb in use?**

kh-tuungila v. appl. (**tungiliile**) graze for; sift for, with

Tuuma/ tete skhukuunt^ho/ khtungila unga. ‘Tuuma took a sieve to sift flour with.’

kh-tuungisha v. caus. have s.o. herd animals.

Osmaani/ mtungishize mwaana/ mbuzi. ‘Osmaani had the boy herd goats.’

kh-tungishana v. caus. rec.

kh-tungishika v. caus. p/s.

kh-tungishiliza v. caus. appl.

Zubeeri/ mtungishilize Sayyidina/ mwaana/ mbuzi. ‘Zubeeri had Sayyidina’s child herd goats.’

kh-tungishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Zubeeri/ na Sayyidiná/ watungishilizenye waana/ mbuzi. ‘Zubeeri and Sayyidina had one another’s children herd goats.’

rel. nom.

m-tuunga (wa-) n. 1/2 [Sw. *mchungu* SSED xxx] one who tends animals, shepherd

mtungaa mbuzi ‘a shepherd of goats’

mtunga ngoombe ‘a shepherd of cattle’

m-tuungo n. 3

ma-tuungo n. 6

u-tuungo n. 14

m-tuungi (mi-)

n. 3/4 [Sw. *mtungi* (mi-) SSED 512] a big pot made of clay (Note that while the Chimiini dental *t* often corresponds to *ch* in Swahili, there are also items such as the present one where *t* corresponds to Swahili *t*.)

khtukula mtuungi ‘to carry a water pot’

khteka maayi/ ka mtuungi ‘to fetch water with a large pot’

kosha mtuungi ‘to clean a pot’

koteza mtuungi ‘to fumigate, smoke a pot’

kuvunda mtuungi ‘to break a pot’

Maayi/ ha’inoowi/ mtungiini. ‘Water is not drunk at, near, in the water pot.’ (It is believed by the **want^hu wa Miini** that one should not drink water from or at the water pot. One should put the water in a cup and take it somewhere to sit down and drink it slowly in a relaxed environment.)

mayi ya mtuungi ‘water for the pot’

Miimbaye/ kana mtuungi. ‘His stomach is large like that of a clay pot.’

Mitungi ayo/ ni melpe. ‘Those pots are white.’
m̄tungi chihaba ‘small pot’
m̄tuungi/ kuvuundika ‘for a pot to break’
m̄tungi mkulu ‘large pot’
M̄tuungi/ nt^ha’ukuyela/ maayi. ‘The clay pot was not filled with honey.’
M̄tuungi/ uyele uki. ‘The pot was filled with honey.’
m̄tungi wa maayi or **m̄tuungi/ wa maayi** ‘water pot’
M̄tungiini/ kaaka/ kata/ hayiingili. ‘In my water jar a ladle cannot enter.’
 (A riddle, the answer to which is **nt^hupa** ‘bottle’.)
Nt^hamu/ maayi/ m̄tungiini. ‘There is no water in the clay pot.’
Uki/ uyele m̄tuungi. ‘Honey filled the pot.’
Uyelo m̄tuungi/ ni uki. ‘What filled the pot is honey.’

rel.

i-tuungi n. aug.

kh-tuungila

v. [Sw. *chungulia* SSED p. 65] (**tungiliile**) look at s.t. stealthily (e.g. through a hole, a window)

Chiya/ sh̄tuungila. ‘He came and looked (but did not see them).’

Ha’endri/ mahaḷa/ haḷawi/ hattá/ choloko/ hātuungili. ‘She does not go places, she does not go out, not even from the window does she look out.’

Maama/ sh̄tuungila/ ka cholokooni/ chiwona/ kuwaa ye/ ub̄leeḷó/ siwo/ siimba. ‘Mother peered out from the window and saw that what he had killed was not the lion.’

Mwanaamke/ kasizopoo nk^helé/ sh̄tuungila/ ka cholokooni/ chimwona Abunawaasi/ na muḃjaaná. ‘When the girl heard the shouting, she looked out from the window and she saw Abunawaasi and the young man.’

l-tuungo

n. 11 [Sw. *utungo* SSED 481] poem, poetry, the art of composing poetry
huraasho l̄tuungo l̄itu nt^hana loomu [st.] ‘the one who follows our poem is blameless’

L̄tungulo/ nt^haliná/ ma’ana. ‘Your composition has no meaning.’

rel.

sh-tuungo (s-) n. dim.

n-tuungu

n. 9/10 [Sw. *chungu* SSED 66] ant; [pron. nt^huungu]

kana nt^huungu ‘(as many) as ants, i.e. a large number’

children like ants.’

Haliima/ nakuzala waana/ kana/ nt^huungu. ‘Haliima is having

children like ants.’

Haliima/ zazile waana/ kana/ nt^huungu. ‘Haliima gave birth to

Harusiini/ wa’ile waant^hu/ kana nt^huungu. ‘A lot of people came to the wedding.’

Waant^hu/ kana nt^huungu/ wa’iló. ‘People came like ants (i.e. a lot of people came).’

Nt^huungu/ huluma. ‘Ants bite.’

Nayo waana/ kana nt^huungu. ‘(S)he has many children.’

nt^huungu mwelpe ‘white ant’ (Morph. Note that while this noun is formally [cl.9/10], in the singular it behaves as animate nouns usually do and triggers [cl.1] agreement on the adjective.)

Nt^huungu/ zimnumiiló. ‘Ants bit him.’

Nt^huungu/ zingiiló/ sukaari. ‘Ants entered the sugar.’

si shchiparpatóowa mithaali ya nt^huungu [nt̄.] ‘we were hunted down everywhere as if we were ants’

Ulumo wa nt^huungu/ ha’ilaazi/ nt^ho. ‘The bite of an ant is not very painful.’

rel.

i-tuungu (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.

Ibanya iyi/ hukaló/ ni mitungu/ mikulumikulu/ ka miino/ mikulu/ kama mino yaa mbwa. ‘In that open space, the ones who live there are huge ants with big teeth like the teeth of a dog.’

mitungu mikulu ‘big ants’

sh-tuungu (*s-*) n. dim. 7/8 small ant

stungu za suukari ‘sugar ants (ants that are attracted to sugar)’

stungu zihaba ‘small ants’

u-tuungu

n. 14 [Sw. *utungu* SSED 510] labor pains

khshika utungo ‘to go into labor’

Muke/ wakhti ukomeelopó/ chishika utungu/ chizaala. ‘When the time arrived, the woman went into labor and gave birth.’

mbanaayo ulaazo zaa’idi ya utungu [nt.] ‘we felt a pain more severe than labor-pains’

Tunne

n. the Tunnis, a collective term for a southern Somali clan, formed by five sub-clans, called Shan Gamas; they are part of Brava’s urban population and form the majority of the people living around Brava; the Tunnis that live in the town often are quite fluent in Chimiini)

variant form: **Tunni**

Tunne/ ni waant^hu/ akthari yaawo/ wakaziló/ baadiya/ ya Mwiini. ‘The Tunnis are people, the majority of whom live in the countryside around Brava.’

rel.

m-tunne (*wa-*) n. 1/2 member of one of the Tunne clans

Yo/ huhadoowa/ kuwa Aw’ali/ nafsiye/ waaliko/ mtunne. ‘It is said that Aw’ali himself was a Tunne.’

tuuni

n. [Som. *toon* “garlic” DSI 587] garlic (though **thuuma** directly from Arabic is also used)

Hamadi/ shtumikila tuuni/ miingi/ ka chihaba. ‘Hamadi used to eat a lot of garlic when he was a child.’

kh-tuunza

v. [Sw. *tunza* SSED 481] (**tunziize**) look at s.t. stealthily, peep at, keep an eye on

Ni laazima/ kumtuunza/ mp^haka. ‘You (pl.) must watch the cat.’

Shteze mara yiingine/ na isá/ tuunza/ kamaa we/ chiwona/ kuwaa mi/ nakhukhada’á. ‘Let us play another game [of chance] and now, look carefully if you see me cheating you.’

rel.

kh-tunziliza v. appl. (**tunziliize**)

kh-tuunzisha v. caus.

kh-tunzishana v. caus. rec.

kh-tunzishika v. caus. p/s.

kh-tunzishiliza v. caus. appl.

kh-tunzishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

tuupa

n. 9/10 [Sw. *tupa* SSED 481] file (instrument for sharpening)

kubiga tuupa ‘to file s.t.’

n-t^hupa

n. 9/10 [Sw. *chupa* SSED 66] bottle; glass

chijamu chaa nt^hupa ‘glass plate’

Miimbaya/ nii nk^hulu/ kanaya/ ni chihaba. ‘My stomach is big, but my mouth is small.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **nt^hupa** ‘bottle’.)

Nakuwala/ kambaa nt^hupa. ‘He is shining like a bottle – i.e. he looks good, fresh.’

Nt^hupa izi/ hastiliki/ maayi. ‘[Lit.] these bottles cannot be put water into (e.g. their mouths are too small).’

nt^hupa ya mafta ‘a bottle of oil’

nt^hupa ya sharbaati ‘a bottle of kool-aid’

rel.

i-tupa (*mi-*) n. can be used as an augmentative noun referring to a large bottle, but commonly used to refer to a piece of a broken bottle used in fighting
Omari/ m̄tinzile Nuuru/ ka itupa. ‘Omari cut Nuuru with a piece of broken bottle.’

sh-tupa (*s-*) n. small bottle, but also a small piece of a broken bottle

shtupa chilusi ‘the contents of a bottle of 330 cc. (the usual beer bottle with a long neck); it corresponds to three **kaba**’ (The word for this expression in Tunni Somali is **qoorey**.)

Shtupa/ chim̄tinzile. ‘A small piece of broken bottle cut him.’

sh-tupa (*s-*)

n. [=Sw.**kikaimati**] a kind of doughnut fried in oil

turba

n. [Ar. **turba** W 92 means “cemetery” and thus it is unclear how the Chimiini usage developed] dome (a synonym of **quba**); tower or minaret -- there is in Brava a particular mosque that was called **miskiti wa turba** (the old mosques of Brava did not have a minaret)

rel.

i-turba (*mi-*) n. aug.

sh-turba (*s-*) n. dim.

tuuri

n. 9/10 [Som. **tuur** DSI 591] hump; back of the neck (e.g. of a cow)

rel.

tuure n., adj. hump-backed, round-shouldered, deformed

variant form: **sh̄tuure** (**st̄uure**)

Muunthu/ chim̄teka sh̄tuure/ naayé/ huzala maana/ sh̄tuure. ‘If someone laughs at a deformed person, he will have a deformed child.’ (A belief among the **wantthu wa Miini**.)

munt^hu tuure ‘a humpbacked person’

Tuure (or: **st̄uure**)/ **ndiyé/ na’iwo malaaloyé.** ‘It is the humpback who knows how (to position himself) to get his sleep.’ (A proverb which communicates the idea that everyone is different, each person knows his own way to make himself comfortable etc.)

-tuure adj hump-backed

Basi/ karka mul̄kuwe/ chi’iisha/ chizeele/ sh̄tuure/ chimó/ chiwalimo miyaka miya/ amo zaaydí. ‘So in his possession [i.e. the land he owned] there lived an old one-hump-backed woman who was one hundred years old or more.’

i-tuure (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug. hump

ma-tuuri

n. 6 [cf. Som. **tuur** DSI 591; the hump of an animal consists of fat] fatness, animal fat
Chiwa’ambila/ awo marti/ yikoo nama/ suura/ ma^{tuuri}/ numbaani. ‘She told these guests: there is good, fatty meat in the house.’

Mi/ huja zint^hu ma^{tuuri}/ zote/ laakini/ mi/ siwaandri. ‘I eat all fat things but I do not get fat.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is: **chuungu** ‘a cooking pot’.)

ngombe ma^{tuuri} ‘a fat cow’

Ngombe uyu/ ni ma^{tuuri}. ‘This cow is fat.’

(*m-*)**turjumaani** (*ma-*)

n. interpreter, translator

m-turki (*wa-, ma-*)

n. 1/2,6 [Sw. **mturki** SSED 482] a Turk

Turkiya

n. Turkey

turufu

n. [Sw. **turufu** SSED 482; Eng. or Port.] a card game

tush

ideo. [Som. **tush** “to prick”, cited in Dhoorre & Tosco, p. 152]

Farmiyeeri/ mbishile maana/ sindaanu/ tush! ‘The nurse injected the

child with a needle **tush!**'

kh-tuusha

v. [Sw. *tusha* SSED 482] (**tushiize**) annoy, put in a bad temper; refer indirectly to someone's mistakes in his company

kudhiba ruuhuya maato yachint^huusha [song] 'to bother myself, (my) eyes ridicule me (exposing my disgrace)'

Muyiini/ waant^hu/ wamkaheete/ na kila chimwonó/ chimtuusha/ na chimteleza/ kama muunt^hu/ mwa nda wazimu. 'In the town, people hated him and everyone who saw him derided him and teased him as being a crazy person.'

Nakunt^huusha/ oyo. 'He is annoying me, that one.'

Sint^huushé. 'Don't annoy me!'

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x-tuusha. In example 1, *chimtuusha na kumteleza* seems ungrammatical: either it is *chimtuusha na chimteleza*, or *chimtuusha ka kumteleza* (annoyed him by laughing at him/making jokes on him)

rel. nom.

ma-tuusho n. 6 words meant to annoy

tuusi

n. 9/10 [Tunni *tùus* "bottom" Tosco 239] rectum, ass

Mpandra farasii mbili/ hatuka tuusi. 'The one who rides two horses splits his ass.' (A proverb.)

Nfuye/ halangali/ tuusiye/ hulangali ya waant^hu. 'A monkey does not look at his own ass, he looks at (the asses) of (other) people.' (A proverb.)

Nfuye/ haawoni/ tuusiye/ huwona tusi ya mweenziwe. 'A monkey does not see his own ass, he sees the ass of his companion.' (A proverb.)

Nfuye/ haawoni/ tuusiye/ huwona tusi ya wiingine. 'A monkey does not see his own ass, he sees the ass of others.' (A proverb.)

nyulusi/ kana tuusi 'as black as the ass'

Waana/ wanakhfungana tuusi. 'They boys are having anal intercourse.'

tusu'i

[Ar. *tus* 'W94] one-ninth

u-tuvu

n. 14 [Sw. *utuvu* SSED 475] gentleness, tranquillity, quietness

kh-tuwa

v. [Sw. *chua* SSED 62] (**tuwiile**) rub

kh^htuwa ka maayi 'to rub with water'

kh^htuwa kaa nguvu 'to rub with force'

kh^htuwa ka sabuuni 'to rub with soap'

kh^htuwa ka tartiibu 'to rub gently'

kh^htuwa maluungo 'to rub the body'

kh^htuwa moongo 'to rub the back'

kh^htuwa uso 'to rub the face'

tuwa maluungo anza karka kubli [st.] 'rub the body, begin on the right side' **review, syllable count does not seem right**

rel.

kh-tuwana, kh-tuwanana v. rec. (**-tuweene, -tuwaneene**)

kh-tuwanoowa, kh-tuwananoowa v. rec. pass.

kh-tuwaatuwa v. freq.

Namtuwaatuwa. 'She is caressing him.'

kh-tuwika, kh-tuwikika v. p/s. (**tuwishile, tuwikishile**)

kh-tuwila v. appl. (**tuwiliile**)

kh-tuwiloowa v. appl. pass.

kh-tuwisha v. caus. (**tuwishiize**) cause to rub
Baaba/ mtuwishize Ali/ ruuhuye/ chiṭa. ‘Father had Ali rub his (Ali’s) head.’

kh-tuwishoowa v. caus. pass. (**tuwishiiza**) be made to rub

kh-tuwoowa v. pass. (**tuwiila**) be rubbed

n-tuwaakala n. 9 [Sw. *chokaa* SSED 58] the lime powder that results from burning any kind of stone (e.g. **paale**), used to whiten wallsx

n-tuwi n. 9/10 [Sw. *chui* SSED 62] leopard; canine tooth [pron. **nt^huwi**]
rel.

sh-tuwi (s-) n. 7/8 dim.

i-tuwi (mi-) n. 5/4 aug. (Note that plural augmentive forms may sometimes be used as plurals without any augmentative significance. For example, **mituwi** was used by one consultant to refer to canine teeth without any suggestion of largeness.)

chi-n-tuwi (zi-) n. 7/8 dim. [pron. **chint^huwi**]]

m-tuzi n. 3 [Sw. *mchuzi* SSED 272] gravy, sauce, soup

Chija zijooze/ ka mtuzi/ naa namá. ‘She ate her **zijo** with gravy and meat.’

Lesele mtuzi. ‘You brought soup.’ Or: **Leeselé/ mtuzi.** ‘You brought soup.’

(The corresponding yes-no questions: **Lesele mtuzi?** And **Leeselé/ mtuzi?** Notice that in the case of verb focus, in the statement **mtuzi** is outside the scope of final accent due to the Accentual Law of Focus; in the question, the out-of-focus **mtuzi** is subject to accent shift.)

mtuzi wa nyaanya ‘tomato soup’

Mukeewo/ humpa mwaanawe/ zaakuja/ zisuura/ ka mtuzi/ na shṭoweló.
‘Your wife gave her child good things with gravy and relish.’

Nakuja maandra/ ka mtuzi. ‘He is eating bread with soup.’

Nakujaa zijo/ ka mtuzi. ‘He is eating **zijo** with soup.’

Nakuna mtuzi. ‘He is drinking (=eating) soup.’

Nt^hovele maandrá/ mtuziini. ‘I dipped the bread into the sauce.’

Wapishi wiingi/ hangamiza mtuzi. ‘Many cooks spoil the soup.’ (A proverb.)

Ye/ takhtala mtuzi uyu/ taakuna. ‘He will take this soup and drink it.’

rel.

mi-tuzi n. 4 aug. large quantities of soup etc.

ma-tuzi n. excrement

Maṭuzi yaa ndovu/ nii dawa. ‘The excrement of an elephant is used as medicine.’

ku-ta v. [cf. Sw. *twa(a)* M&N 2441-2, where it is identified as from the Ki-Amu dialect of Swahili] (**teele**) take grain that has already been pounded and placed in water to soften and use a stone (called **miinawe**) to roll it out on a large smooth stone (called **ijiwe yaa kuta**) into a paste-like consistency

rel.

kh-teeka v. p/s. able to be pounded

kh-teelela v. appl. (**teelele**)

ijiwe ya khteelēla ‘the stone used to grind he maize = **ijiwe yaa kuta**’

kh-teleloowa v. appl. pass.

kh-toowa v. pass. (**teela**) (Phon. We also observed **ku-toowa**. This is apparently based on analogy to the active verb **ku-ta**, where the vowel of the prefix does not elide because it is followed by a monosyllabic stem.)

rel. nom.

mu-ta (wa-) n. 1/2

- n-ta* n. 9/10 [cf. Sw. *nta* "wax" SSED 341] candle [pron. **nt^ha**]
kudarshaa nt^ha 'to light a candle'
kuzimizaa nt^ha 'to put out a candle'
Nt^ha/ inakaaka. 'The candle is burning'
Nt^ha/ inakuzima. 'The candle is going out.'
rel.
chi-n-ta (*zi-n*) n. dim. [pron. **chint^há, zint^há**]
k-asha chint^ha 'to light a candle'
- tafaðali* inv. [Sw. *tafadhali* SSED 89] please
Tafaðali/ mwaanawá/ naambila/ yaa we/ nakhsuuló. 'Please, my son, tell me what you want.'
- kh-tafuna* v. [Sw. *tafuna* SSED 444] chew; backbite
Miimba/ inakunt^hafuna. 'I have stomach cramps.'
Miimba/ inamtafuna/ kanaa noka. 'His stomach is cramping him like a snake (i.e. he has bad stomach cramps).'
Ni chiint^hu/ shkhafiifu/ laakini/ hukhaadiri/ kishdafuna. 'It is a thin thing but one cannot chew it.' (A riddle, the answer to which is **maayi** 'water'.)
Nuuru/ tafinee nama. 'Nuuru chewed the meat.'
Washtafuna t^hambú. 'They were chewing t^hambú.'
rel.
kh-tafunana v. rec. (**tafuneene**)
kh-tafunika v. p/s. (**-tafunishile**)
kh-tafunila v. appl. [Sw. *tafunia*] (**tafuniliile**)
kh-tafunisha v. caus. [Sw. *tafunisha*]
Nuuru/ mtafunishize mwaana/ nama. 'Nuuru made the child chew the meat.'
kh-tafunishika v. caus. p/s.
kh-tafunishiliza v. caus. appl.
Nuuru/ mtafunishilize Suufi/ mwaana/ nama. 'Nuuru made Suufi's child chew the meat.'
kh-tafunishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
Nuuru/ na Suufi/ watafunishilizenye waana/ nama. 'Nuuru and Suufi made one another's children chew meat.'
kh-tafunoowa v. pass. [Sw. *tafunwa*]
- taka* adj. dirty
chungu shtaka 'dirty cooking pot'
Ijambi ije/ ni itaka. 'That mat is dirty.'
ijambi itaka 'a dirty mat'; **majambi mataka** 'dirty mats'
nguwoo nt^haka 'dirty clothes'
- n-taka* n. [Sw. *taka* SSED 446] garbage, rubbish, dirt; [pron. **nt^haka**]
Chizoola/ kanaa nt^haka. 'She collected (the beaten, cut up body of the girl) like garbage.'
Kaa kule/ waana/ wamwene maskiini/ kaleent^he/ ilu yaa nt^haka. 'From afar, children saw the poor man sitting on the garbage.'
maha^hla ya waant^hu/ hu^htawanyoo nt^haká 'a place where people dump garbage'
sku mooyi/ naayé/ nakhfatishofatishoo nt^haka 'one day while he was rummaging through garbage'
Ye/ hisabatowa kamaa nt^haka. 'He is considered like garbage.'
Ye/ hu'iisha/ ka zaakuja/ zaa ye/ hupato nt^hakaani. 'He lives on food that he gets from the garbage dump.'

rel.

sh-taka n. dim.

mi-takaataka n. 4 odds and ends

n-takaantaka n. [Sw. *takataka* SSED 446] garbage; [pron. **nt^hakaant^haka**]

Kujaako/ ni nt^hakant^haka za waant^hu/ hu^hla^htiló. ‘Your food is the garbage that people throw away.’

Wé/ chi^hiisha/ ka nt^hakant^haka za waant^hu/ hu^htawanyó. ‘You live on the garbage that people throw away.’

kh-takasa

v. [cf. Sw. *takasa* "clean, make clean, cleanse, purify, sanctify. Includes all kinds of cleaning." SSED 446] fill in, smooth over holes in a wall with lime

Nimtakasize ipi ya usó. ‘I plastered him with a slap on the face.’

rel.

kh-takasiliza v. appl. (**takasiliize**)

kh-takasilizan(y)a v. appl. rec.

i-tako (ma-)

n. 5/6 [Sw. *tako (ma-)* SSED 447] buttock; keel of a boat

Abunawaasi/ shtala lkaambala/ shfuunga/ mbuzi ya matakó/ ka chinume/ chimfunga itakooni. ‘Abunawaasi took the rope and tied up the sheep from behind, he tied him around the backside.’

itako ikooko ‘lit. crusty butt – i.e. a very thin butt’

itako ikulu ‘a big butt’

itako ya siindanu ‘the bottom of a needle’

Dhibu/ huya ka mshiindro/ naharisi/ itako ya siindanu.

‘Hardship comes with a bang, relief, slowly, little by little (lit. the bottom of a needle).’ (A proverb.)

khkalan^ha ka itako ‘to sit on the butt’

kumersha itako ‘to rotate the butt – i.e. dance’

mbuzi ya matakó ‘sheep’

Mbuzi uyu/ wa matakó/ mbwa sultaani/ mi/ mboozelé/ we/

chimkhubura/ muunt^hu/ jawaabu/ iyi/ si/

shtakub^hoowa. ‘This sheep belongs to the sultan, I stole it; if you inform anyone of this matter, we will be killed.’

Muunt^hu/ hendra madrasaani/ huwoza matakoye/ chimaliza chilawa/ nt^haku/ kaazi. ‘A person goes to school, rots his buttocks, then when he finishes, there is no job.’

sindanu ya itako ‘an injection in the buttock’

rel.

l-tako (mi-) n. 11/4 aug.

sh-tako (s-) n. 7/8

khkalan^ha shtako [Sw. *kaa kitako*] ‘to sit (on the buttock)’

Shkalan^ha shtako/ khfikira yaa ye/ khfaanya. ‘He sat down and thought about what he should do.’

kubiga shtako ‘to sit on the ground [lit. to sit on the buttock]’

Chiya/ chibiga shtako/ shtala ukiiwe/ chija. ‘He came and sat on the ground and took his honey and ate it.’

Maskiini/ chibiga shtako/ khkasa. ‘The poor man sat down to listen.’

kuweka shtako ‘[lit.] to put a buttock [down] – i.e. to sit’

Chiingila/ chiweka shtako/ chija chaakuja/ icho/ chaa ye/ darbishiizá. ‘He went in and sat down and ate that food that [lit.] he had been prepared for [i.e. had been prepared for him].’

kh-taala

v. [Sw. *twa* SSED 483] (**teete**) take

Chibuku cha mwaalimu/ oloshelo numbaani/ khtaalá/ nt^hashkuwaliko. ‘The book that the teacher went home to get wasn’t there.’

Chibuku gani/ teto nt^hini ya meezá. ‘Which book did you (or he) take

from under the table?’ Or: **Chibuku gani/ teetó/ nt^hini ya meeza.**
 (In the second example, the Accentual Law of Focus blocks the extension of the final accent of the pseudo-relative verb from extending beyond the verb. This undoubtedly reflects the norm. Further research is necessary to determine whether there is a possible circumstance for the Accentual Law of Focus to be violated: **?Chibuku gani/ teetó/ nt^hini ya meezá.**)

Chimtaala. ‘He took him.’

Hutala ziint^hu/ ka waant^hu/ huuzá/ hupata peesa. ‘He takes things from people, sells them, and gets money.’ (This sentence is from a text where the speaker is reporting what a man, now dead, used to do.)

Isa/ mi nile khtala maaliyé/ yotte/ naamí/ nt^hakoofisha/ ahdi yaa mi/ nt^heeetó. ‘Now I have come to take all his wealth and I also will fulfill the promise that I have taken.’

Ka khisani/ we/ nakunt^haaló. ‘For what reason are you taking [kidnapping] me?’

Kharibu ya ilooni/ ofeetopó/ chilemela mteendre/ khpumula/ na usiinzi/ uchimtaala. ‘About dusk, when he grew tired, he leaned against the date tree to rest and sleep overtook him.’

khtala maayi ‘to drown’

khurashiize ka tama’a ahdiyo nt^hete mi skiiza [song] ‘I followed you with hope, I took your promise, I did not refuse’

khutaala ruhuuyo bila ya sababu [nt.] ‘they take your life without any reason’

Maskiini/ shtala eeloye/ chishika ndilaze/ kendra kaake. ‘The poor man took his gazelle and went on his way to his place.’

Mi/ khuteeté/ we/ kumwelela mwaanawá/ khaadimu. ‘I took you (in order for) you to be a servant to my daughter.’

Mi/ nt^hete chijamuchá/ noloshele nacho/ ndilaani. ‘I took my plate and went with it outside.’

Mi/ nt^hete pesa za Omarí. ‘I took Omari’s money.’ Or: **Mi/ nt^hete Omarí/ peesazé.**

Mi/ siisi/ walá/ skhaadiri/ khtaala/ peesa/ izi. ‘I don’t know nor am I able to take this money.’

Miizi/ tete Omarí/ peesaze. ‘The thief took Omari’s money.’ Cf. **Miizi/ tete Omarí/ peesazé?** and **Miizi/ tete Omarí/ peesazé!?**

Miizi/ tete peesa/ ka Omarí. ‘The thief took money from Omari.’

Miizi/ tete pesa za Omarí. ‘The thief took Omari’s money.’ Cf. **Miizi/ tete pesa za Omarí?** and **Miizi/ tete pesa za Omarí!?**

Mtaale. ‘Take him!’

muke waa ye/ tete peesá/ ka kaaké ‘the woman whom he took money from (her)’

muke waa ye/ tete peesá/ ka kaaké/ numbaaní ‘the woman whom he took money from her house’

Mwaana/ shtala lwarakha ili/ chisooma. ‘The child took this paper and read it.’

Naayé/ nakishtaaló/ icho chijuumbá/ majini/ wachimwona. ‘While he was taking that bird’s nest, the djinns saw him.’

Nimwambile kuwa ndimí/ nt^heto nguwozé. ‘I told her that it is me who took the clothes.’

Nt^hakishtaala. ‘He did not take it [cl.7].’ (Phon. Observe how the prefix *ku*, which precedes the macrostem in the negative past tense, is converted to *ki* in front of the [cl.7] object prefix *chi*, which here is realized as *sh* in position before a voiceless consonant.)

Nt^heeeté/ chuwo/ nichisomeelé. ‘I took this book and read it.’

Nuuru/ tete chint^hu cha Suufi. ‘Nuuru took Suufi’s stuff (lit. something of Suufi).’ Or: **Nuuru/ tete Suufi/ chiint^huche.** ‘Nuuru took Suufi his stuff.’ (Syn. Notice that in these two sentences, **Suufi** cannot control an object prefix on the verb; e.g. ***Nuuru/ mtete Suufi/ chiint^huche.**)

Peesa/ za miizi/ tete ka Omarí/ speeta. ‘the money that the thief took from

Omari was found.’

Peesa/ za miizi/ teetó/ speeta. ‘The money that the thief took was found.’

(Phon. Notice the variability in the pre-relative medial phrase **za miizi** between whether there is final accent, as in this example, or not, as in the preceding example. In both cases we recorded the initial phrase **peesa** as having default penult accent.)

Shtalaa luti/ chimbiga Abunawaasi. ‘He took a stick and beat Abunawaasi.’

Shtala na mishpa yaa noka/ oyo/ chiya’usha. ‘She took as well the bones of that snake and hid them.’

Shtala na peesa/ zaa ye/ tukiiló. ‘She took as well the money that he was carrying.’

Taala. ‘Take it!’ **Talaani.** ‘(Pl.) take it!’ **Talani skunyi.** ‘Take the firewood!’ **Staleení.** ‘Don’t take it!’ **Staleení/ skunyi.** ‘Don’t take the firewood!’

Taala/ dawa iyi/ endrá/ tumba iboholi. ‘Take this medicine and go and dig a hole.’

Talaa tala/ meereḷa. ‘Take a lamp and look for it.’

Talaa zijo/ ja. ‘Take some **zijo** and eat!’

Tetee mazu/ sandukhuuni. ‘He took bananas from the box.’

Teetení/ ntʰini ya meeza. ‘What did you take from under the table?’

Udokhani/ ukhuteete. ‘Stupidity prevailed over you (i.e. you were stupid).’

rel.

kh-taalila v. appl. [Sw. *twalia*] (**talilile**) take for, take someone’s

Mi/ nimalile Omari/ peesá. ‘I took Omari’s money.’ Or: ‘I took the money for Omari.’

Miizi/ mtalile Omari/ peesa (or: **peesaze**). ‘The thief took Omari’s money.’

Or: ‘The thief took money for Omari.’ Or, with the same two interpretations: **Miizi/ mtalile peesa/ Omari.** (Syn. Observe that the applied verb may be used to convey the idea that the action was done for someone’s benefit, but it may also be used to “raise” the possessor to be the primary object of the verb, i.e. the object that controls object agreement on the verb. This sentence type represents a canonical sentence, as revealed by the yes-no questions: **Miizi/ mtalile Omari/ peesa?** and **Miizi/ mtalile Omari/ peesá!?** One can of course put focus on **peesa**, for example, by preposing it and putting the verb in pseudo-relative form: **Miizi/ peesa/ mtalilo Omari.** ‘The thief *money* took from Omari.’)

Mwaana/ ntʰalile chibuuku/ ka Huseeni. ‘The child took the book from Huseeni for me.’ (The preposition *ka* is obligatory with a human noun. It can be omitted if the following noun is a locative; humans do not allow the locative suffix to be attached to them.)

Mwanafuunzi/ tete chaakuja/ ka mikooni. ‘The student took food from (in) the kitchen.’

Mwanafuunzi/ tete chibuuku/ cha mwaalimu. ‘The student took the book from the teacher.’

Mwanafuunzi/ tete chibuuku/ ka mezaani. ‘The student took the book from (on) the table.’ (Note that **ka meeza** is ungrammatical.)

Peesa/ za miizi/ mtalilo Omari/ speeta. ‘The money that the thief took from Omari was found.’

We/ chita/ takitaalila/ ka faayda/ takichaja/ kama marti/ uyu/ chiza kuuya/ kuda’a chita chaa ye/ uziló/ kaakó. ‘You, the (cow’s) head, you will take for yourself as profit and you will eat it if this visitor does not come to claim the (cow’s) head that he bought from you.’

kh-taliloowa v. appl. pass. [Sw. *twawa*] be taken for

Chibuuku/ shteta ka mwaalimu. ‘The book was taken from the teacher.’ (One cannot passivize **mwaalimu**, even if a resumptive pronoun is left behind with *ka*: ***mwaalimu/ teta chibuuku/ kaake/ na mwanafuunzi.** ‘The teacher was taken a book from him by a student.’ One can prepose **mwaalimu**, but the verb must have **chibuuku** as its subject: **mwaalimu/ shteta chibuuku/ kaake/ na mwanafuunzi.** ‘The teacher, the book was taken from him by a student.’)

Shtililowa ntʰeendre/ ka chiguni/ shtililowá. ‘Dates were put for him in a bag, that was what was done.’

kh-taloowa v. (**teeta**) be taken

Chisu chaa mi/ nuuziló/ shteeta. ‘The knife that I bought has been taken.’

Hutaloowa izoo mbuzi/ huwekowa skuu ntʰatu/ amó/ skuu saba/ kaa

ndala. ‘They were taken, those goats, and made to stay three days or seven days in hunger.’

Icholokoowa/ khta_lowa zibalaasi/ sabaze/ za mafta/ na shkooyá/ naachó/ shchita_loowa/ naa talá/ naayó/ ishta_loowa. ‘There went someone to take all seven clay jars of oil, and the necklace as well was taken, and the lamp as well was taken.’

Mazu/ steta sandukhuuni. ‘Bananas were taken from the box.’ (Syn. One cannot say ***Sanduukhu/ itetaa mazu.** ‘The box was taken bananas.’ Nor, with a resumptive pronoun: ***Sanduukhu/ itetaa mazu/ katiike** (or: **ka kaake**). ‘The box was taken from it bananas.’

Na shkooyá/ naachó/ shchita_loowa. ‘And the necklace as well was taken.’
Naa talá/ naayó/ ishta_loowa. ‘And the lamp as well was taken.’

numa takishila ruuhu khta_loowa [st.] ‘later he will descend and his soul be taken’

Schita_loowa mbuzi/ schifungoowa/ skuu kamu. ‘The goats were taken and tied up for some days.’

Sku yaa saba/ huta_loowa. ‘On the seventh day they are set free.’

Teena/ mukhta ijini/ weenó/ kuwa maaliyé/ yotté/ yateetá/ chimwambila Sa’iidi/ ndro/ shteze maraa piili. ‘Then, when the djinn saw that all his goods had been taken, he said to Sa’iidi: come, let us play (gamble) a second time.’

Tete na maayi. ‘He drowned.’

kh-taalana v. rec. [Sw. *twaana*]

kh-talataala v. freq.

Basi/ hattá/ leelo/ oyo mwaana/ wene waant^hu/ hutalataala/... ‘So, until one day that boy saw people always carrying...’

kh-taalika v. p/s.

Nuru/ hashtaaliki/ chiint^huche. ‘As for Nuru, his stuff cannot be taken away from him.’ (In this example, ‘his stuff’ is the subject of the verb –**taalika**. The subject may also be impersonal: **Nuru/ haytaaliki/ chiint^huche**. But it is not possible for **Nuru** to be the subject: ***Nuru/ hataaliki/ chiint^huche**.)

kh-talisha v. caus. (**talishiize**) cause to take

N^halishize zibuuku. ‘He made me take books.’

kh-talishana v. caus. rec.

kh-talishiliza v. caus. appl. make take for/on

N^halishilize waana/ zibuuku. ‘He made the children take the books for/on me.’

Nuru/ mtalishilize Ali/ waana/ zibuuku. ‘Nuru made the children take the books for/on Ali.’ (The meanings conveyed by the sentence include: the children took the books for Ali’s benefit, or the children took the books to Ali’s detriment, or just that it was Ali’s children who were made to take the books.)

kh-talishoowa v. caus. pass. (**-talishiiza**) be made to take

Talishiza naani/ zibuuku. ‘Who was made to take books?’ (Syn. When the question word **naani** is post-verbal, it does not trigger the pseudo-relative form of the verb: ***Talishiza naani/ zibuukú.**)

Watalishiizani/ waana. ‘What were they made to take, the children?’

rel. nom.

m-taala (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who takes

i-tama (*ma-*)

n. 5/6 mouthful of s.t.

kubiga itama ‘to take a mouthful of s.t.’

rel.

l-tama (*mi-*) n.aug. 11/4 big mouthful

i-tama

n. [Sw. *tama* ‘cheek – now used in the expression *shika tama*, rest the cheek on the hand, sit in a dejected or brooding attitude or in deep thought’ SSED 448] cheek

khshika itama ‘to wonder about s.t., be puzzled by s.t.’

m-tama(mi-) n. 3/4 [Sw. *mtama (mi-)* "millet, kaffircorn, sorghum" SSED 307] millet (pl. is used for different kinds or containers or piles of maize)

Mahala (ziko) nk^huku niingi/ saaniké/ mtama. 'Don't spread millet where there are many hens.' (A proverb.)

mtama mwovu 'bad millet'; **mitama miwovu** 'bad millet (pl.)'

kh-tamaayula v. **no etymological source found** move back and forth

kh-taambala v. [Sw. *tambaa* SSED 448] (**tambee**) creep, crawl, spread (of vines); drag on the ground (e.g. of a dress)

Chiboodo/ tambee/ ka miimba/ hattá/ komeele/ kharibu yaa ndovu. 'Flea crawled on his stomach until he reached near the elephant.'

Huzaala/ naachó/ chinakhtaambaló. 'It gives birth while it is creeping.' (A riddle, the answer to which is **ibori hiindi** 'a pumpkin'.)

Ka apo/ wachanza/ khtaambala/ ka magoonjo/ hattá/ washkoma/ khariibu/ ya dughaaghi. 'From there, they began to crawl on their knees until they reached near the beast.'

khtaambala/ kanaa noka 'to crawl like a snake'

rel.

kh-tambalila v. appl. crawl with; crawl for, on someone; (but not used in the sense of 'crawl to')

kh-tambalika v. p/s.

kh-tambaliza v. caus. appl.

kh-taambaza v. caus. help crawl; drag something on the ground

khtambaza mwaana 'to help a child crawl'

khtambazaa nguwo 'to drag a cloth on the ground'

m-taambo (mi-) n. 3/4 [Sw. *mtambo (mi-)* SSED 307] a kind of net for trapping animals; a scale for weighing things

sh-taambo (s-) n. 7/8 [Sw. *kitambo* SSED 208] awhile, a period of time, some portion of time

Nimlinzile shtaambó. 'I waited for him for awhile.'

Nt^hakiineedra/ shtaambo/ chaa muda/ mule/ hattá/ chi'iwona/ ibwa/ ikulu. 'He did not go for a long period of time before he saw a large wild dog.'

kh-taambula v. [Sw. *tambua* SSED 449] (**tambiile**) understand, recognize; solve a puzzle, riddle

Ali/ kuḷa muzizo fanyizeeyí/ maaliyó/ mjibiile/ ha'isi/ ma'anayé/ ha'ambiḷoowi/ ma'ana/ ka khisa/ wo/ kawa'ambiḷoowá/ ma'anaye/ wo/ skawataambule. 'Ali, each one who asked him what he did with his wealth, he answered: the one who does not know its meaning is not told the meaning because if they were told its meaning, they would not understand.'

Basi/ shtaambula. 'So he (was able to) distinguish (between them).'

Isa/ chaambile/ jisaa ye/ takhtaambuló. 'Now tell us how he will tell the difference.'

Kanaa we/ nakhsuḷa amaani/ mbuzi izi/ mbilize/ taambula/ ump^hi/ mzele/ ump^hi/ mwaana. 'If you want peace, these two goats, determine which is the older and which is the younger.'

Kooḍi/ kiḷa mo/ jisaa ye/ hutaambuló. 'Talk is how everyone understands it.' (A proverb.)

Maamé/ mi/ siwo/ mwaana/ hutaambula/ mbovu/ na suurá. 'Mother, I am not a child, I understand (the difference between) evil and good.'

Mi/ nhadiilé/ sho kiwa ma'anaye/ ha'ambiḷoowi/ ma'anaye/ ka khisa/ chimweeleza/ muunt^hu/ nt^hana aqili/ kooḍi/ hataambuli. 'I said that the one who does not know its meaning is not told its meaning because if one explains the words to a person without wits, he will not understand.'

Mi/ sinakhtaambula. ‘I do not understand.’

Mmereelé/ nfunguloza/ kila/ mahala/ skutaambula/ mbeshleepi. ‘I looked for my keys everywhere, I could not figure out where I had put them.’

Mubjaana/ chimwaambila/ we/ ni mwenye aqli/ tambilé. ‘The young man said to him, you possess intelligence, you understood.’

Ndisi/ tu/ nt^hachinakhtaambuló. ‘Is it just us who do not understand?’

Nt^haku/ ba/ nakhtaambuló. ‘There was no one who could understand/differentiate (the two things).’

Nuuru/ tambile darsi. ‘Nuuru understood the lesson.’

Shtaambula/ mi/ chitaacha/ halaaliyo/ na chiiza/ khtambula/ chitaacho/ ni halaaliya. ‘If you solve [e.g. the riddle], my head is lawfully yours, and if you do not solve it, your head is lawfully mine.’

Sinakhtaambula/ chint^hu icho. ‘I cannot figure out, understand this thing.’

Sultaani/ chiwona/ chileemba/ chishtaambula. ‘The sultan saw the turban and recognized it.’

Sultaani/ na waant^hú/ wotte/ wachimtaambula. ‘The sultan and all the people recognized him.’

Sultaani/ paapo/ shtaambula/ ya kuwa ikoofiya/ iyi/ ifanyiizó/ ni moojé. ‘The sultan immediately understood that the one who made this hat was his master.’

Sultaani/ shtaambula/ kuwa waziiriwe/ mkoðishize wanaafakhi/ na kuwaa ye/ oloshela/ ka Ali/ kumera tafsiri/ ya kooðize. ‘The sultan understood that his minister had lied to him and that he had gone to Ali seeking a translation of his words.’

Taambula/ nini/ imp^hetó. ‘Understand what befell me!’

Wa’ingilopo nt^hi iyi/ kumeraa kujá/ Yusuufu/ chiwataambula. ‘When they entered this land to look for food, Yusuufu recognized them.’

Ye/ tambile/ ma’ana/ ya ndrooto/ izi. ‘He recognized the meaning of these dreams.’

rel.

kh-tambu^loowa v. pass. be recognized, differentiated

Nt^haynakhtambu^loowa/ ba. ‘There was no way [for the difference between the two goats] to be recognized.’

kh-tambulana v. rec. understand one another

Wadoreete/ we/ chimaliza/ watambuleene. ‘They argued, you know, and then, they agreed (understood one another).’

wenye muuyi na wageeni/ nt^haku khtambulanoowa [st.] ‘local people and visitors will be indistinguishable (in this crowd)’

kh-tambulika v. p/s.

kh-tambuliza v. caus. appl.

Nuuru/ mtambulize Suufi/ mwaana/ darsi. ‘Nuuru helped Suufi’s child understand the lesson.’

kh-tambulizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Nuuru/ na Suufi/ watambulizenye waana/ darsi. ‘Nuuru and Suufi helped one another’s children understand the lesson.’

kh-tambuza v. caus. (tambüize)

Nuuru/ mtambize mwaana/ darsi. ‘Nuuru helped the child understand the lesson.’

shtambüizo si haraamu na halaali [st.] ‘who made us differentiate between the unlawful and the lawful’

kh-tambuzanya v. caus. rec.

kh-tambuzika v. caus. p/s.

rel. nom.

m-taambula (wa-) n. 1/2

ma-taambulo n. 6

u-taambulo n. 14

m-tambuza (wa-) n. 1/2

u-tambuza n. 14

-taambuzi

adj. intelligent, clever

munt^hu mtaambuzi ‘a clever person’

m-taana (wa-)

n. 1/2 [Sw. *mtwana* SSED 313] originally referred to a male slave, particularly a prisoner of war, but now used to refer to someone who cannot trace his ancestry (equivalent to the Somali word *addon*); servant

Aada/ ya mtaana/ maneeno/ ya mlungaana/ shteendro. ‘The custom of the slave is to talk, that of the free man is action.’ (A proverb.)

Apo/ ye/ chimvila mooyi/ karka wataanawe/ chimwaambila/ zaa ye/ nakhsuḷa khfaanyá. ‘There he called one of his servants and told him what he wanted.’

Ka kaake/ nt^haku/ mtaana/ walá/ mluunganá. ‘For him there is neither slave nor free man (i.e. he does not care about a person’s social status).’

Mooyi/ karka wataana/ ondroshele/ kinendrakiineendra. ‘One of the servants got up and took a stroll.’

Mtaana/ shfaanya/ zaa ye/ amuriilá. ‘The servant did what he was ordered to do.’

Mwaana/ chiwa’amura wataana/ kumkokotaa ndovu/ haṭá/ muiyini. ‘The son ordered the servants to drag the elephant up to the town.’

Sku yaa saba mtaana/ oyo/ chufkula khabri. ‘On the seventh day that servant dug up the tomb.’

Tala majuumbaya/ miyuundraya/ na wataanawá/ wotte. ‘Take my houses, my gardens, and all my servants.’

Wataana/ washkhiira/ kumraasha. ‘The servants agreed to follow him.’

We/ chimshiindra/ ṭakulozoowa/ mwanaamke/ amá/ ye/ chikhushiindra/ we/ ṭakhfanyowa mtaana/ kumtumika sultaani. ‘If you defeat her, you will be married to the girl, but if she defeats you, you will be made a slave to serve the sultan.’

rel.

sh-taana (s-) n. slave, s.o. who cannot trace his ancestry

Hasani/ chivaala/ nguwoze/ za shtaana/ shpandra shpuundrache/ keendra/ ka sultaani. ‘Hasani put on his clothes for a slave and mounted his little donkey and went to the sultan.’

u-taana n. 14 the state of being a **mtaana**

kuḷawa utaana ‘to become free (lit. come out of slavery)’

Mtume Mhamadi/ mukhtaay ye/ iló/ Bilaali/ lazile ka utaana.

‘When Prophet Mohammad emerged, Bilaal became a free man.’ (Bilaal was a slave of African descent who converted to Islam and who was beaten unmercifully until his freedom was purchased by a fellow Muslim.)

kh-taandra

v. [Sw. *tanda* SSED 450] spread out; spin a web (of a spider)

khtandraa chili ‘to make a bed; to weave with a rope a kind of ‘springs’ upon which the mattress if a bed is placed

khtandra ijaambi ‘to spread out a mat’

rel.

kh-tandraliza v. appl. lay out, spread out for

kh-taandraza v. [Sw. *tandaza* SSED 450] spread s.t. out

khtandraza ijaambi ‘to spread a mat out’

khtandrazaa nguwo ‘to spread clothes out’

kh-tandrazisha v. caus.

kh-taandrika v. [Sw. *tandika* SSED 450] spread a cover over the body (e.g. of Muslim women); make a bed

Ali/ mtandishile mwaana/ khashiida. ‘Ali spread the *khashiida* over the child.’

Haliima/ tandrishilee chili. ‘Haliima made the bed.’

khtandrika farasi ‘to put a saddle on a horse’

Shtandrika farasiye/ chimpanza. ‘He put a saddle on his horse’

and helped her to mount [the horse].’

kibri ni garbasaari ya Mojiitu/ hutaandriko kuzaamake si chiint’u [st.]
‘pride is the mantle of God/ whoever (else) wraps himself in it will founder’ (**kuzaamake** means literally ‘its/his/her drowning’)

Nuuru/ tandrishile khashiida. ‘Nuuru draped the shawl over himself.’

kh-tandrikana v. rec.

kh-tandrikila v. appl.

kh-tandrikisha v. caus. make someone spread something over someone

Nuuru/ mtandrikishize mwaana/ khashiida. ‘Nuuru made the child spread a shawl over himself.’

kh-tandrikishana v. caus. rec.

kh-tandrikishika v. caus. p./s.

kh-tandrikishiliza v. caus. appl.

Nuuru/ mtandrikishilize Suufi/ mwaana/ khashiida. ‘Nuuru made Suufi’s child spread a shawl over himself.’

kh-tandrikishilizanya v. caus. applk. rec.

Nuuru/ na Suufi/ watandrikishilizenye waana/ khashiida. ‘Nuuru and Suufi made one another’s children drape shawls over themselves.’

kh-tandrikoowa v. pass.

Chili/ shtandrishila. ‘The bed was made.’

kh-taandriila v. appl.

kh-taandrisha v. caus.

rel. nom.

m-taandriko n. 3

ma-taandriko n. 6

sh-tandrawili (s-)

n. [Sw. *kitandawili* SSED 451] riddle

Bwaana/ takhaadira/ we/ khfungula shtandrawili ichi. ‘Master, will you be able to solve this riddle?’

sh-taandriko (s-)

n. 7/8 a cloth spread over the the head. shoulders by Muslim women; veil

Ka paapo/ apo/ Fikiriini/ shtomola/ ichije shtaandriko/ cha mwanaamke/ lasiló/ chimonyeza sulṭaani. ‘At that very moment Fikiriini took out that veil which the daughter [of the sultan] had left behind and showed it to the sultan.’

Sulṭaani/ wenopo shtaandrikó/ tambiiile/ kuwa nch^ha mwanaamkewe/ na tambiiile/ kuwa khada’a/ ya mwanaamkewe/ fanyiizó/ yiwija. ‘When the sultan saw the veil, he understood that it belonged to his daughter and he understood that the deception that his daughter had done was known.’

Waspee/ staandriko/ ’wo. ‘They gave head coverings, them.’ (Our consultant, GM, accepted that while **wo** in this sentence might be accepted as a right-dislocated subject, it was also possible to take it to refer to some unspecified recipients. This latter interpretation runs counter to our hypothesis that an object marker on the verb can be linked to the logical object just in the event there is no recipient mentioned in the sentence. He also considered this ambiguity to be present with other word orders as well: **Staanriko/ waspee/ ’wo.** Also: **Waspee/ ’wo/ staandriko.** More extensive research on this point is required.)

unspecified).’

(Wo/ waspee/ staandriko. ‘They gave head coverings (to someone

i-taandru (ma-)

n. 5/6 [Sw. *tandu* SSED 452 "centipede", but suggesting a Persian origin with the meaning "spider"] cobweb, spider’s web; the hard thick layer that forms on liquids (e.g. milk) when cooked (cf. **ikooko**, which refers to the hard crust that forms on solids, esp. rice; (pl.) the greenish scum at the top of standing water

itandru ya iziwa ‘the layer at the top of milk that has boiled and been left standing’

Kama mahala/ mweepe/ ivundishile/ kama yako mataandru/ wa’ambile watumishi/ wanapeele. ‘If some place is broken, if there are cobwebs there, tell the servants that they should sweep (there).’

Kama yako mataandru/ wa’ambile watumishi/ wanapeele. ‘If there are

cobwebs, tell the servants to sweep (the place) clean.’

rel.

[-taandru (mi-) n. 11/4 aug.

kh-taandrula v. [Sw. *tandua* SSED 450: "take off (fold up, remove) what is laid on (spread out, etc.), and so of unfurnishing a bed or room, unharnessing an animal"] clean away, remove (cobwebs)
khtandrula mataandru ‘to remove cobwebs’

i-taanga (ma-) n. 5/6 [Sw. *tanga* SSED 452] sail

kandika itaanga ‘to put up the sail’

Huseeni/ shtomola ngiisha/ wachandika itaanga/ wachisaafira. ‘Huseeni raised the anchor and put the sail up and they set off.’

Ye/ chandika itaanga/ kendra kuza nsiize/ karka muyi mwiingine. ‘He put up the sail [of his boat] to go to sell his fish in another town.’

khpanza itaanga ‘to hoist the sail’

Washpanza itaanga/ wachoondroka/ ka apo/ wachisaafira/ wachisaafira/ hattá/ washkoma/ jaziira/ yiingine. ‘They hoisted the sail and left from there and traveled and traveled until they reached another island.’

khsimika itaanga ‘to hoist the sail’

kishkiza itaanga ‘to get the sail down’

markabu ya itaanga ‘a sail boat’

rel.

mi-taanga n. 4 sails

Mitaanga/ yadarile matotoope. ‘The sails were soaked with mud.’ Or:
Yadarilo matotoopé/ ni mitaanga. ‘What were soaked with mud is the sails.’

Nnakhsula markabú/ ya ðahabú/ milongotiye/ ya feða/ mitaangaye/ ya hariiri. ‘I want a ship of gold, its masts of silver, its sails of silk.’

ma-taanga

n. 6 [Sw. *matanga* SSED 263] six days of mourning, wake

khfanya mataanga ‘to hold a mourning gathering’

Baaba/ chifa/ waana/ washfanya mataanga/ wamaliizopó/

washkalaant^ha/ wachawanya maali/ ya mzele waawo/

lasiló. ‘Father died; the children held a wake, and when they finished, they sat down and divided up the wealth that their father had left.’

khkalan^ha mataanga ‘to mourn’

Khpassa/ haruusi/ kulipa/ mataanga. ‘To take a loan is a wedding, to repay is, is days of mourning.’ (A proverb.)

Sultaani/ fiilopó/ ba’ada ya mataanga/ kondroloowa/ mwaana/

shfanyowa sultaani/ na chidhahalishoowa/ maali/ na mulkú/ na

kulla ya sultaani/ chimilkó. ‘When the sultan died, and the wake was held, the boy was made sultan and was given the wealth and property and all that the sultan owned.’

Weshele matanga makulu. ‘He held a large wake.’

sh-taanga (s-)

n. 7/8 [Sw. *kitanga* SSED 209] a round mat used to lay food on

shtanga cha mizaani ‘the pan of a scale’

shtanga cha mkono ‘the palm of the hand’

sh-taanga

n. a prayer that is prayed on the morning of **idi ya wamuusi**

khsala shtaanga ‘to pray shtaanga’

Shtaanga/ ni sala husalowa fijiri ya sku ya iidí. ‘Shtaanga is a prayer that is prayed on the morning of iidí (ya wamuusi).’

Fijiri ya sku iyi/ waant^hu/ wote/ hendra miskitiini/ khsala shtaanga. ‘On the morning of this day all people go to the mosque to pray shtaanga.’

<i>m-taange</i> (<i>mi-</i>)	n. 3/4 [Sw. <i>mtange</i> SSED 307: "the beam of a pair of scales for weighing with"] scale
<i>kh-tanguliza</i>	v. [Sw. <i>tangulia</i> "precede" and <i>tanguliza</i> "give precedence" SSED 453] precede rel. nom. <i>u-tangulizo</i> n. 14
<i>n-tanu</i>	n. [Sw. <i>tanu</i> SSED 453; Ar. <i>tannūr</i> "baking oven, usually clay-lined, for baking bread" W 98] local stove, oven; [pron . nt ^h anu] Siná/ nt^hanu ya khpikila. 'I do not have a stove to cook on.' rel. <i>i-tanu</i> (<i>mi-</i>) n. 5/4 aug. <i>sh-tanu</i> (<i>s-</i>) n. 7/8 dim.
<i>i-tapika</i> (<i>ma-</i>)	n. 5/6 vomit
<i>i-tapika ya tawala</i>	n. [lit. vomit of the sea] jellyfish
<i>kh-tapika</i>	v. [Sw. <i>tapika</i> SSED 454] (tapishile) vomit Chimdirka eelo/ nakhtapika. 'She found the gazelle vomiting.' Muunt^hu/ yaa ye/ hujó/ hatapikó. 'What a person eats is what he vomits.' (A proverb.) Nele maayi/ tapishile. '(As soon as) he drank water, he vomited.' rel. <i>kh-tapikila</i> v. appl. (tapikiliile) vomit on, with Mwaana/ mtapikiliile maamaye. 'The child threw up on his mother.' <i>kh-tapisha</i> v. caus. make vomit; fig. make talk ka khas̄i shtapisha soomu huvuundika [st.] 'if you vomit on purpose, fasting is invalidated' rel. nom. <i>ma-tapiko</i> n. 6 vomiting
<i>ma-tata</i>	n. 6 [Sw. <i>matata</i> "tangle, mess, difficulty" SSED 456] troubles Fanyize matata yaayo/ ka yaayo. 'He created the same problems over and over.' mwenye matata 'a troublemaker' St̄a'aluqana/ naaye/ ni mwenye matata. 'Don't associate with him, he is a troublemaker.' review accent and phrasing here rel. <i>sh-tata</i> (<i>s-</i>) n. 7/8 trouble, confusion, quarreling Chiko stata/ apo. 'There is trouble here.'
<i>kh-tatanya</i>	v. [cf. Sw. <i>tata</i> "tangle, complicate, confuse" SSED 456] (tateenye or tatanyiize) create confusion, discord rel. <i>kh-tatanyisha</i> v. caus. [=kh-tatanya] Ali/ mtatanyishize Jaama/ na Hamadí. 'Ali caused friction between Jaama and Hamadi.' <i>kh-tatiliza</i> v. appl. (formed from <i>kh-tatiza</i> below) <i>kh-tatiza</i> v. [Sw. <i>tatiza</i> SSED 456] (tatiize) confuse, cause worry rel. nom. <i>ma-tatizo</i> n. 6 confusion
<i>-tatu</i>	adj. [Sw. <i>tatu</i> SSED 457] three Amurile ma'askari watatu/ kulindra wardiya. 'He ordered three soldiers to stand guard.' Chisele watatú. 'We remained three (i.e. there were just three of us left).' ikumi naa nt^hatu 'thirteen'

Isa/ ni sa'aa nt^hatu/ za masku. 'Now it is nine o'clock at night [lit. three of the evening].'

Mi/ niwapele wana zihaba watatú/ mazú. 'I gave the three small children bananas.'

Mp^hana izi/ nt^hatuze/ nt^haskukhaadira/ khtukula ijarsi. 'These rats, all three of them, were not able to carry the bell.' *review whether there is lengthening here*

muda wa miyezi mitatu 'a period of three months'

Nazo jawaabú/ nt^hatu/ nakhsula khaambilá. 'I have three things that I want to tell you.'

Nazo jawaabú/ nt^hatu/ nakhsula khaambilá. 'I have three things that I want to tell you.'
skapu statu 'three baskets'

sku nt^hatu zimooyi 'three days or more' *review*

Waant^hu/ hukalo Mwiini/ wote/ ni wasoomaali/ ka sharii'a/ laakini/ chimeera/ asli yaawo/ wo/ hulawaangana/ lamnaa nt^hatu. 'All the people who live in Mwiini are Somalis legally, but if one traces their ancestry they are divided into three groups.'

waant^hu/ watatu/ wawaliko kharibuyé 'three people who were near him'

Watatuwe/ ka paapo/ mp^haka/ chiwabla. All three of them, the cats killed at the same time.'

Ye/ wapele wana zihaba watatu/ mazu. 'She fed the three small children bananas.' Or: **Ye/ wapelee mazu/ wana zihaba watatu.** 'She fed bananas to the three small children.' (The shift in word order between these two sentences does not alter the fact that object agreement is with **waana** 'children'.)

taatu third

Isa/ awa/ wawili/ niwaweené/ mlete mwana wa taatu. 'Now these two, I have seen them; bring (home) a third child.'

Munt^hu wa taatu/ ile. 'The third man came.'

Na chimnyamula na wa taatu. 'And he scratched the third one.'

Sku ya taatu/ mzele/ rudiile/ ka safariini. 'On the third day, the old man returned from his trip.'

Wachisaafira/ sku ya kaandra/ sku ya piili/ sku ya taatu/ sku yaane/ haṭá/ sku ya ikumi. 'They travelled the first day, the second day, the third day, the fourth day, until the tenth day.'

Ya taatu/ mi/ nakhsuulá/ we/ kishpa rukhsa/ si/ kugura leelo. 'Thirdly, I want you to give us permission to move today.'

Ye/ zazila kuwa mwana wa taatu. 'He was born the third child.'

kh-tatula v. [Sw. *tatua* SSED 456] (**tatiile**) [used primarily in negative contexts or non-perfective contexts. thus the past tense form **tatiile** is not absolutely certain] unravel or comprehend s.t. unclear

Hatatuli/ chiint^hu. 'He does not understand anything.'

Nt^hakhtatula/ kooḏiza. 'He did not get the idea of what I said.'

Ye/ takhtatula kooḏiza. 'He will grasp the meaning of my words.'

rel.

kh-tatuzi v. (**tatiize** or **tatuziize**) let someone be quiet and think about something

sh-tatuzi (s-) n. 7/8 clue, sign

ku-tawa v.

kumtawaa nt^hawa 'to pick out lice from s.o.'

- n-tawa* n. 9/10 [Sw. *chawa* SSED 52] louse; [pron. **nt^hawa**]
Chala chimooyi/ hachubli/ nt^hawa. ‘One finger does not kill a louse.’ (A proverb.)
kub^hlaa nt^hawa ‘to kill a louse/lice’
Nt^hawa/ zimingiló. ‘Lice has entered him, he is infested with lice.’
check lengthening in front of noun
- sh-tawa* (s-) n. 7/8 a kind of fish
- i-taza* n. a kind of small fish, Remora; they swim along with and attach themselves to sharks, feeding off them *confirm pronunciation*
- sh-taazi* (s-) n. 7/8 [cf. Sw. verb *twaa* "carry away" SSED 483] a stretcher, with a cover on it, for carrying corpses
- kh-teka* v. [Sw. *teka* SSED 459] (**teshele**) draw, get water from a well or out of a bigger container, fetch
Ichiwa kuwaa wo/ huteka uki/ ka iboholiini/ hendra kuuza/ muyiini. ‘It became the case that they fetched honey from the hole and went to sell it in town.’
iyi ni bishaara na kullu iwaani/ ya meema khteka apa duniyaani [st.] ‘this is the good news, and each (of you) be aware that the good man is departing from this world’
khteka maayi ‘to fetch water from the well’
khteka maayi/ ka m^huungi ‘to fetch water with a large water pot’
(Traditionally in Brava, women would make repeated trips to a nearby well to fetch water using a large water pot called **m^huungi**. There is a well at each of the many mosques.)
khteka skunyi ‘to fetch firewood’
maayi ya bahari shdeka hayamali / na siifa za mtume ndruwa hazimali [st.] ‘if you fetch water from the sea it does not finish (i.e. you are unable to take all water out of the sea, it is an endless task), and [likewise] the praises of the Prophet , my friend, are endless’
sandra wrote nruwa
Nt^hakhtekaayi/ mi/ maayi. ‘How can I fetch water?’
We/ iizé/ kh^htumba chisima/ na isá/ ile khteka maayi. ‘You refused to dig the well and now you have come to fetch water?’
rel.
kh-tekeka v. p/s. able to be fetched
kh-tekela v. appl. fetch for, with
Ye/ nt^hakuwanaayo/ wadaamu/ yaa ye/ khtekela maayi. ‘He did not have a bucket with which to fetch water.’
kh-tekoowa v. pass. (**teshele**) be drawn (of water)
Maayi/ yanakhtekoowa. ‘Water is being fetched.’
- kh-teeka* v. [Sw. *tweka* "hoist up, raise up" SSED 483 and *twika* "to lift loads" SSED 484] load an animal
khteka itaanga ‘to hoist a sail’
khteka mp^huundra ‘to load a donkey’
Mp^huundra/ zinakhtekoowa. ‘Donkeys are being loaded.’
rel.
kh-tekateeka v. freq. load again and again
kh-teekeka v. p/s. able to be loaded
- n-teeka* n. a burden animal; [pron. **nt^heeka**]
karka siraati ni nt^heeka khpandroowa [st.] ‘it is a burden animal to be ridden on the highway to heaven’

kh-teketela v. [Sw. *teketea* SSED 459] (*teketele*) burn until charred (of food, meat); have a strong desire
rel.
kh-teketelela v. appl.

Nama/ int^heketelele. ‘The meat burned up on me.’

kh-teketeleza v. caus. appl.

kh-teketelezanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-teketeza v. caus. burn something until it is charred

kh-teketezeka v. caus. p/s.

kh-teketezekela v. appl. p/s.

Nama/ int^heketezekelele. ‘The meat is able to be charred for me.’

rel. nom.

m-teketelo n. 3

m-teketezo n. 3

teembo n. 9/10 [Sw. *tembo* SSED 461] coconut palm wine made from the sap of the coconut tree

khamrisha teembo ‘to brew coconut palm wine’

kuna teembo ‘to drink coconut palm wine’

kh-teendra

v. [Sw. *tenda* SSED 461] (*teenzele*) act, do

Mbelela raaði/ ka yaa mi/ khuteenzeló. ‘Forgive me for what I have done to you.’

Siná/ ya khfaanya/ walá/ ya khteendrá. ‘I don’t have anything to do nor anything to make – i.e. I am totally idle.’ (A saying.)

Sulílee muke/ wa maaziye/ na muke wa maaziyé/ ndiyé/ mtenzelo jis’iyó. ‘He wanted a woman of his blood (i.e. from his clan) and the woman of his blood, it is her who acted this way to him (i.e. badly).’

Tenzele ziwovu. ‘He did evil things.’

rel.

kh-teendrana v. rec.

kh-teendreka v. p/s.

kh-tendreloowa v. appl. pass.

kh-teendrela v. appl.

Mooja shteendrele biða’a raksiisi [st.] ‘O God, make affordable [lit. not expensive] to us all merchandise’

kh-tendroowa v. pass.

Nt^haku/ ya khfanyoowa/ walá/ ya khtendroowá. ‘There’s nothing to be done or to be made (to make something less problematic, get some relief, lessen damage).’

Zombo izi/ zinakhtendrowaayi. ‘These things, what do we do with them?’

rel. nom.

m-teendra (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who acts, does

n-teendre n. 9 [Sw. *tende* SSED 462] date (fruit); [pron. **nt^heendre**] (Although this is a [cl.9/10] noun, the agreement observed in the examples below show that the noun is generally used as a mass noun that governs [cl.9] agreement.)

busuri ya nt^heendre ‘one piece of date’

Furahiile/ nt^ho/ kuwona nt^heendre/ yiko mutiini/ kharibu ya kuviva. ‘He was very pleased to see the dates there in the tree about to ripen.’ (The copular verb *yiko...* exhibits [cl.9] agreement with **nt^heendre**, but it is clear that the meaning is ‘dates’ and not ‘a date’.)

ka nt^heendre khpisa mbele ndruiiza afðali [st.] ‘it is best to break the fast first with dates, my brothers’

Karkaa ye/ oloshelo kumrasha nk^haanga/ mundraani/ wa’ilee nyunyi/ wajile nt^heendre/ yote. ‘While he was chasing the guinea fowl, in the garden, birds came, and they ate all the dates.’

khfufurila nt^heendre ‘to break the fast with (the eating of) dates’

Mukhtaa muti/ wa nt^heendre/ wanzizo khtomola fiiti/ wafakeete/ ka wawa yaawo/ wachimpa/ khabari. ‘When the date tree began to blossom, the children ran to their father and gave him the news.’

Mwaana/ chiwavila makhaadimu/ washtinda nt^heendre. ‘The boy called the servants and they cut off the dates.’

Nt^heendre/ iwaliko paapo/ mutiini. ‘The dates were right there on the tree.’

nt^heendre iyi ‘this date, these dates’

nt^heendre ya farōi ‘a kind of soft, sweet date that people like to eat to break the fast during Ramadhan’

nt^heendre ya gosra ‘a kind of date, harder than **nt^heendre ya farōi**’

nt^heendre yaa maka ‘a type of date – lit. date of Mecca’

Nt^heendre iyi/ ndaa maka. ‘These dates are from Mecca.’

nt^heendre yaa suna ‘dates which are eaten ordinarily, unlike **nt^heendre ya farōi** which are expensive and usually eaten during Ramadhan’

Nt^heendre/ yanzizopo kuvivá/ chimtuma mwaana/ mwiingine/ keendra/

kulindra nt^heendre. ‘When the dates began to ripen, he sent another son to go and protect the dates.’ (Morph: The verb form **yanzizopo...** has a subject prefix **y-** that is a [cl.9] agreement, indicating that **nt^heendre** may, in its [cl.9] form, carry plural significance.)

Sultaani/ sulile mooyi/ karka kaawo/ kulindra mteendre/ ka khisaa ye/

shtiyaa nyunyi/ kuja nt^heendreze. ‘The sultan wanted one of them to protect the date tree because he was afraid that birds would eat his dates.’ (Morph: The possessed form **nt^heendreze** uses the [cl.10] form here to express plurality.)

rel.

m-teendre (mi-) n. 3/4 a date tree [=muti wa nt^heendre]

Mtendreeni/ nt^hayikhsaala/ haṭá/ nt^heendre mooyi. ‘In the date tree not even one date remained.’

Mwaana/ chiruda mtendreeni. ‘The boy returned to the date tree.’

kh-teendreka

v. do well on one’s own

Nakhteendreka. ‘He is doing well on his own.’

kh-teendreza

v. (**tendreeze**) stir, mix up food

rel.

kh-tendreleza v. appl.

rel. nom.

u-teendrezo n. act of stirring, mixing

sh-teendro (s-)

n. 7/8 [Sw. *kitendo* SSED 462] action, happening; [in grammar] verb

Apo/ stendro izi/ zinakhṭulukó/ mshaawuri/ wa mmamulata muuyi/ waliko nakhpita/ ka apo/ chiwona. ‘There, where these happenings were taking place, the advisor of the caretaker of the town was passing by that place, and saw (everything that happened).’

shtendro cha amri ‘[in grammar] imperative verb’

shtendro chiimó ‘[in grammar] present tense

shtendro chinakuuyó ‘[in grammar] future tense’

shtendro shpisiló ‘[in grammar] past tense’

Stendro za Jaani/ honyesha kuwaa ye/ ni dokhaani. ‘The actions of John show that he is stupid.’

Wachilawa/ ziizo/ steendro/ zinakurudiloowa. ‘When they are gone, the same actions are repeated.’

Wana awa/ shtendro zaawo/ (ni) ziwovu. ‘These children, their actions are bad.’

Wiingine/ wa’aminiile/ kuwaa ye/ ni ijini/ ka khisa/ stendro zaa ye/ fanyiizó. ‘Others believed that he was a djinn because of the actions that he performed.’

sh-teenge (s-) n. 7/8 [perhaps related to the Sw. verb *tenga* SSED 462: "separate, set (put, move, take) apart (aside), remove, withdraw, divide off"] a tuft of hair left at the front of the head after the rest of the head has been shaved (formerly a style of cutting the hair of children)

i-tetela n. stuttering
Muunt^hu/ chiwanayo maali/ amó/ muunt^hu/ chiwa mkulu/ haṭá/ itetela/ huwa fasiha. ‘If a man has money or if a man is important, (then) even if he is one who stutters, he (is considered) eloquent.’ (A proverb.)

Omari/ ni itetela. ‘Omari is a person who stutters.’

kh-tetela v. [Sw. *tetea* "cackle--of a hen" SSED 464] (**tetele**) stammer, stutter; cackle
Nk^huku/ zinakhtetela. ‘The hens are cackling.’
rel.
kh-tetelesha v. caus.

kh-tetema v. [Sw. *tetema* SSED 464] (**tetemele**) shiver, shake, tremble
Ba’adi ya nuumba/ khtetema/ u[yu]/ chiwa’uza/ mbona/ nuumba/ inakhtetema. ‘After the house shook, he asked them how come the house is shaking.’
Huseeni/ nakhtetema/ ka kaḏiḏo. ‘Huseeni is shaking from fever.’
Jeelaani/ mkono/ umtetemele. ‘Jeelaani’s hand trembled.’
Mnaadisha/ ondroshele ka apo/ naayé/ nakhtetemó/ karkaa ndila/ naayé/ nakendo kaaké/ qalbi/ ichanza mbiga/ ka ije impeetó. ‘The auctioneer moved from that place; while he was trembling on his way, while he was going home, his heart began to pound [lit. beat him] because of what had happened to him.’

Muti/ bilaa lpepo/ ha’tetemi. ‘A tree without wind does not shake.’ (A proverb.)

Skumó/ muunt^hu/ mooyi/ shpete chinoka chihabba/ nt^hini yaa muti/ naachó/ chinakhtetemo ka bardí. ‘One day a man found a small snake under a tree and it was shivering from the cold.’

Tetemele ka bardí. ‘He shivered from the cold.’

rel.

kh-tetemeka v. p/s. (-**tetemeshele**)

Chanza khtetemeka shiisho. ‘He started to tremble from fear.’

kh-tetemesh v. caus. (**tetemesheze**) shake something

Ali/ tetemesheze mkono. ‘Ali shook his (own) hand.’

Jaama/ mtetemesheze Jeelaani/ mkono. ‘Jaama shook Jeelaani’s hand (i.e. took hold of Jeelaani’s hand and shook it).’

khtetemeshaa chiṭa ‘to shake the head’

Nt^hetemesheze chiṭaachá. ‘I shook my head.’

Tetemesheze chiṭaache. ‘He shook his head.’

Wazele wiitu/ huhada/ bakayle/ chifa/ hutetemesha mkilawe. ‘Our ancestors say that when a rabbit dies, it shakes its tail.’

We/ tetemesheze muti/ na iwuuyú/ impotelele mwaalimu/ chiṭaani/ imubleele. ‘You shook the tree and the baobab fell on the teacher’s head and killed him.’

kh-tetemeshana v. caus. rec.

kh-tetemesheka v. caus. p/s.

kh-tetemesheleza v. caus. appl.

kh-tetemeshelezanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-tetemeshoowa v. caus. pass. (**tetemesheze**)

Hamadi/ nakhtetemeshowa/ na (or: **ka**) **kaḏiḏo.** ‘Hamadi is shaking from,

	because of fever.’
	<i>kh-tetemoowa</i> v. pass. (tetemeela)
	Yiko bardi/ zaaydi/ haḡá/ hutetemoowa. ‘There is so much cold to the point that there is trembling.’
	rel. nom.
	<i>m-tetemeko</i> n. shaking, trembling
	wa miino ‘chattering of teeth’
	<i>m-tetemesha</i> (<i>wa-</i>) n. 1/2 one who shakes
<i>sh-tetemeko</i>	n. trembling
<i>sh-tetemo</i>	n. trembling
	shtetemo chaa nt^hi ‘earthquake’
<i>sh-tewelo</i>	n. 7/8 [Sw. <i>kitoweo</i> SSED 474] whatever is eaten along with bread, rice, starches (e.g. meat, fish, sauce, gravy)
	variant form:
	sh-towelo n. ibid. (This variant form was used by MI, whose speech is perhaps influenced by his Swahili origins on his mother’s side.)
	Mi/ hupowa makooko/ makavu/ bila shtowelo. ‘I am given the hard crust of dry rice without relish.’
	Sulaa kuja/ zijo/ ka shtowelo chisuura. ‘I would eat zijo with a good relish.’
<i>i-tezi</i> (<i>mi-</i>)	n. 5/4 cyst
	rel.
	<i>sh-tezi</i> (<i>s-</i>) n. 7/8 no etymological source found cyst; lump on the body that has no function
<i>thaabiṭi</i>	adj. firm
	khsimama thaabiṭi ‘to stand firm’
	Tama’aye/ iwalikoo nk^hulu/ na imaaníyé/ ka mwaajitú/ iwaliko thaabiṭi. ‘His hope was great and his faith in God was firm.’
<i>thaqaleeni</i>	n. [Ar. <i>at-ṭaqalān</i> , W 104] the humans and the jinns
	suliile mtume Muusa kuwa ummaṭiyo sayyidi ya thaqaleeni [st.] ‘the prophet Moses wanted to belong to your people, o lord of humans and jinns’
<i>thalaatha</i> ‘three’]	n., adj. [Ar. <i>ṭalāṭa</i> W 105] three [but not in general use in Chimwiini for the number
	thalaatha miya na ikumi ka jimla/ na watatu sho kiiwa nt^haanayo miḡa [st.] ‘(there are) three hundred and ten (prophets) in total, plus three, the one who does not know this does not have religion (faith)’
<i>thalaathiini</i>	n., adj. [Sw. <i>thelathini</i> SSED 465; Ar. <i>ṭalāṭūn</i> W 105] thirty
	Chimpa mwaana/ shilingi thalaathiini. ‘He gave the boy thirty shillings.’
	Jeelaani/ waliko muḡjaana/ wa miyaka siṭaashara/ laakini/ akhilize/
	schipita/ aqli za munt^hu wa miyaka thalaathiini. ‘Jeelaani was a youth of sixteen but his intelligence surpassed the intelligence of a man of thirty years.’
	thalathina keendra or thalaathiini/ na keendrá ‘thirty nine’
	thalathina mooyi or thalaathiini/ na mooyí ‘thirty one’
	thalathina naane or thalaathiini/ na naané ‘thirty eight’
	thalathinaa saba or thalaathiini/ naa sabá ‘thirty seven’
	thalathina siṭta or thalaathiini/ na siṭṭá ‘thirt six’

- thamantaashara** n., adj. eighteen
- thaamani** n. [Sw. *thamani*] value, cost
chint^hu chenye thaamani ‘something having value’
khamri tahaðari walo thamaniye/ ni ðambi hatta khtukuloowa nt^hupaye [st.] ‘beware of liquor, even of the value (that is gotten from its sale); it is a sin even to be carried in its bottle’
khpa thaamani ‘to give a price, bid, value’
khtila thaamani ‘to put value on’
Omari/ tile zoombo/ thaamini. ‘Omari valued things.’
Kila muunt^hu/ huyo kulaa namá/ huweeka/ thaamani/ ya shpaandre/ chaa nama/ chaa ye/ nakichisuuló/ hishtaala/ hendra naacho. ‘Each person who comes to buy meat puts down the cost of the piece of meat that he wants, and he takes it and leaves with it.’
- thamaaniini** n., adj. [Sw. *thamani* SSED 465; Ar. *tamānān* W 107] eighty
thamanina keendra or thamaaniini/ na keendra ‘eighty nine’
- kh-thamina** v. [Sw. *thamani* SSED 465; Ar. *tamina* W 107] value something or someone rel.
kh-thamanisha v. tr. (**thamanishiize**) [=kh-thamina] value something or someone
variant form: **khthaminisha (thaminishiize)**
Ali/ thamanishize zoombo. ‘Ali values things.’
Nt^hamthamanishi/ muunt^hu. ‘He did not put value on a person (i.e. was inconsiderate).’
Omari/ hamthamanishi/ muunt^hu. ‘Omari does not value people, i.e. does not respect or esteem them.’
Omari/ mthamanishize waawaye. ‘Omari values his father.’
Sho khiiwa/ hakhuthamanishi. ‘The one who does not know you does not value you.’ (A proverb.)
kh-thamanishana v. tr. rec.
variant form: **khthaminishana**
kh-thamanishiliza v. tr. appl.
kh-thamanishilizanya v. tr. appl. rec.
kh-thamanishoowa v. be valued, respected
Chimthamanisha muunt^hu/ naawé/ takhthamanishoowa. ‘If you value, respect s.o., you also will be valued, respected.’
Maadamu/ ni suura/ khthamanishoowa. ‘It is good to value, respect people.’
- thaaniya** n. second (of time), second (as opposed to first)
Ba’ada/ ya thaaniya/ ishiriini/ sa’a yiitu/ karka stuudyo/ itakubiga mooyi. ‘After twenty seconds, our clock in the studio will strike seven (lit. one) (o’clock).’
Muunt^hu/ awali/ humshukura mojiitu/ thaaniya/ maadamu. ‘One first thanks God and second human beings.’
- thaqili** adj. [Sw. *thakili* M&N 2358; Ar. *taqīl* ‘burdensome, dull, disagreeable (person) W 104] plodding (of human beings)
- tharthaari** adj. [Ar. *tartār* ‘prattler’ W 102] talkative
- thawaabu** n. 9/10 [Sw. *thawabu* SSED 465; Ar. *tawāb* W 108] something that one does and it goes on one’s record as a good act for which one will be rewarded in the afterlife
heendro husaalo hupoowa thawaabu/ na hasanaati nt^hazina hisaabu [st.] ‘those who pray there receive rewards/ and benefits without number’
sadaqa afðali khpoowa agrabu/ na jiraai thawaabuze siwo haba [st.] ‘it is preferable to give alms to blood relatives/ and to neighbors: the rewards for this are great (lit. are not few)’

- thawaafa** n. 9/10 [Sw. *tawafa* SSED 457; no source identified] lantern, paraffin lamp
mnara wa thawaafa ‘the glass globe of a lantern’
Yiikopi/ thawaafa, ‘Where is the lantern?’
Ziikopi/ thawaafa. ‘Where are the lanterns?’
- kh-thibita** v. [Ar. *tabata* W 101] (**thibitiile**) be certain, confirmed
Ka haqiiqa/ nt^haasá/ nt^haykhthibita/ ya kuwaa ye/ ingiile/ ðambi izo. ‘In fact, it has not yet been confirmed that he committed those crimes.’
rel.
kh-thibitisha v. caus. [Sw. *thibitisha* ‘make firm, secure, establish, prove’ SSED 464] (**thibitishiize**) make certain, affirm, maintain that
- thimaari** n. fruit
mwenye thimaari ‘productive, fruitful’
munt^hu mwenye thimaari ‘a productive person’
- thiqa** n. trust; [pron. **thiqa** or **thikha**]
kubasha thiqa ‘to lose trust’
Mi/ na Omari/ mbashiizé/ thiqa. ‘Me, I have lost trust with Omari.’
Muunt^hu/ mara mooyi/ chibarsha thiqa/ bas/ teena/ hakhaamini. ‘Once a person loses trust he will never again believe in you.’
Mi/ siná/ thiqa/ na Hamadi. ‘I do not have trust in Hamadi.’
Nt^haná/ thikha/ na waant^hu. ‘He does not trust people.’
Omari/ nt^haná/ thiqa/ na ismu ya muunt^hu. ‘Omari does not have trust in anyone.’
- thoora** n. revolution
variant form: **thowra**
khfanya thoora gloss?
- i-thbaati** n. proof
- thuluthi** n., adj. [Ar. *tult* W 105] one third
mayti shfarama thuluthi ya maali/ waarithi kuja stoshe ni halaali [st.] ‘if the dead person instructs (how to spend) a third of his wealth, the inheritors should not think it lawful to eat (i.e. spend that third how they want, rather than according to the instructions)’
- thuumu** n. [Sw. *thumu* SSED 465; Ar. *tūm* W 109] garlic
Thuumu/ nii dawa. ‘Garlic is a remedy, a medicine’
khtila thuumu/ kujaani ‘to put garlic in food’
- thumuni** adj. [Sw. *thumuni* SSED 465; Ar. *tumn* W 107] one-eighth
Kamaa ye/ fiile/ ni thumuni/ tu/ ibeeló/ siwo/ maali/ yote. ‘If he is dead, it is only one-eighth (of a riyal) that is lost, not all (my) wealth.’
Shpata thumuni ya riyaaali. ‘He found an eighth of a riyal.’
- chi-ti (zi-)** n. 7/8 [Sw. *kiti* SSED 210] chair, seat
chiti cha chuuma ‘a metal chair’
chiti cha ezi ‘throne’
chiti cha kuskuma ‘a chair that can be pushed, wheelchair’
chiti chaa mi/ nandishilo kuulú ‘the chair that I put my leg on’
chiti cha miilu ‘wheelchair’
chiti chaa muti ‘a wooden chair’
chiti cha piiji ‘the second chair’
chiti chaa saba ‘the seventh chair’
Chiti chimooyi/ chiwaliko shkulu/ kolko zingineze. ‘One chair was larger

than the others.’

chitiicha ‘my chair’
chitiini ‘on the chair’
Mi/ nachoo chiti. ‘I have a chair.’
ziti za chuuma ‘metal chairs’
ziti zaa muti ‘wooden chairs’
ziti ziingi ‘many chairs’

rel.

chi-ji-ti (*zi-ji-*) n. 7/8 dim.

chi-mu-ti (*zi-mu-*) n. dim.

i-ji-ti (*mi-ji-*) n. 5/4 aug.

i-mu-ti (*mi-mu-*) n. 5/4 aug.

mu-ti (*mi-*)

n. 3/4 [Sw. *mti* SSED 308] tree

Amá/ we/ takulawa/ ka apa/ laakini/ takubloowa/ takhutundikowa wa mutiini/ naa nyunyú/ staakuja/ karka ongoyo. ‘As for you, you will leave from here (prison), but you will be killed and you will be hung from a tree and birds will eat from your brains.’

ikharba yaa muti ‘leaf of a tree’

ilu ya muti mkulu ‘on a large tree’ (Syn: Notice that one cannot have an adjective agreeing with a locative noun: ***mutiini/ mkulu** or ***mutini mkulu.**)

kamaa miti/ yashtuluka ‘if the trees fall’

kamaa muti/ ushtuluka ‘if the tree falls’

kharibu yaa muti ‘near the tree’; **kharibu yaa miti** ‘near the trees’

khfanyaa miti (lit.) to make trees, i.e. to harm s.o. by sorcery, piercing a selected tree and thus indirectly causing the targeted person unbearable pains’

Omari/ hufanyaa miti. ‘Omari practices tree sorcery.’ (Note that it is possible for the verb to be omitted and **miti** to be understood as being used in this fashion: **Muunt^hu/ haminoo miti/ hukufura.** ‘One who believes in trees (magic) becomes an infidel.’ Similarly, **Miti/ haya’ aminoowi.** ‘Trees (magic) is not believed in.’)

khfanyowaa miti ‘to suffer the effects of tree sorcery’

Nuuru/ fanyiza kaa miti. ‘Nuuru has been affected by tree sorcery (lit. was done, worked with trees).’

Langala/ mahala/ yakoo miti. ‘Look at the place where there are trees.’

Maduriini/ ye/ wenee muti/ wa mawuuyu/ mkulu. ‘In the bush he saw a large baobab tree.’

Miti aya/ nii mile. ‘These trees are tall.’

Miti aya/ nii mile/ nt^ho. ‘These trees are very tall.’

Miti aya/ nii mile/ nt^ho/ kuzida miti ayaje. ‘These trees are very tall, surpassing those trees.’

Miti aya/ siwo/ mile. ‘These trees are not tall.’

Miti aya/ siwo/ milee nt^ho. ‘These trees are not very tall.’

Miti ayo/ siwo/ zigobe/ kolko/ miti aya. ‘Those trees are not shorter than these trees.’

Miti/ membaamba. ‘The trees are thin.’

miti membaamba ‘thin trees’

Miti ayo/ ni zigobe/ kuzida miti aya. ‘Those trees are shorter than these trees.’

Muti/ bila lpepo/ ha’tetemi. ‘A tree without wind does not shake.’ (A proverb.)

muti/ unawaburbukile ‘that the tree fell on them’; **miti/ yanawaburbukile**

‘that the trees fell on him’

mutii mule ‘tall tree’; **mitii mile** ‘tall trees’

Muti oyo/ nii mule. ‘That tree is tall.’ (cf. **Muti uje/ ni chigobe.** ‘That tree is short.’)

Muti/ upotelele nuumba. ‘A tree fell on the house.’
muti usimeemo wo hutuluka [song] ‘the tree that is standing high, it is doomed to fall down’
muti uwaalikó/ kharibu naa wowí ‘a tree which was near the river’
Muti uyu/ nii mule/ kuzida muti oyo. ‘This tree is taller than that tree.’
Muti uyu/ nt^hawuná/ mwenewe. ‘This tree has no owner.’
Muti uyu/ uwanaayo/ matuundra/ miingi. ‘This tree had a lot of fruit on it.’
mutiwa ‘my tree’
Nii mile/ miti aya. ‘Are tall, these trees.’
Ni milee nt^ho/ miti aya. ‘Are very tall, these trees.’

Nuumba/ naa mití/ yapeeta. ‘The house and the trees were found.’ (Notice that the verb agrees with the closest conjunct in this example, **miti**. In the conjuncts are interchanged, we find a different agreement on the verb: **Miti/ na nuumbá/ ipeeta.** ‘The trees and the house (singular) were found.’ If **nuumba** is understood as a plural noun, we get: **Miti/ na nuumbá/ s-peeta.** ‘The trees and the houses were found.’)

Sanduukhu/ ileselapó/ Huseeni/ shfuungula/ shtomola miilu/ yaa miti.
‘When the box was brought, Huseeni opened it and took out legs of wood.’
Shkalaant^ha/ ilu yaa muti. ‘He stayed at the top of the tree.’
Siwo/ zigobe/ miti aya. ‘Are not short, these trees.’
Siwo/ zigobee nt^ho/ miti aya. ‘Are not very short, these trees.’
Wachin^hukula/ ha^há/ shchikoma jaziira/ mooyi/ yenyee miti/ miingi.
‘They carried me until we reached an island, one having many trees.’
Ye/ ishkilliile/ ka mutiini/ na ingiile/ kubigaa nk^he^he/ kuwavila weenziwe.
‘He climbed down from the tree and began to shout to call his companions.’

rel.

i-mu-ti (*mi-mu-ti*) n. 5/4 aug.

i-tiki (*ma-*)

n. 5/6 [Sw. *tikiti* SSED 466] watermelon

Ka shkapuuni/ ichilawa na itiki ikulu. ‘From the basket also a large watermelon came out.’

Ndrani ya itiki/ yawalimo maayi/ na katiiké/ ziwilimo zinsí/ ziwili/ schitezootezó. ‘In the watermelon there was water and in this there were two small fish playing.’

i-tik(i)ti

n. 9/10 [Sw. *tikiti* SSED 466; Eng. *ticket*] postage stamp; ticket

kh-tikiza

v. [cf. Sw. *tikiza* ‘endure, bear (pain, trouble, etc.’ SSED 466] pay heed to, listen

Nt^hamtikiza/ waawaye. ‘He did not pay heed to his father.’

Skutikiza/ wano waa mi/ mp^hee^há. ‘I did not heed the advice that I was

given.’

rel.

kh-tikiliza v. appl. (*tikiliize*) listen to (to someone’s detriment)

Nt^hikilize koo^hiza. ‘He eavesdropped on me (lit. listened to my words on me).’

kh-tikizoowa v. pass.

Ni laazimu/ khtikizoowa/ maalimu. ‘Teachers must be paid heed to.’

rel. nom.

ma-tikizo n.6 act of paying heed

kh-tila

v. [Sw. *tia* SSED 465] (*tiile*) put, put in, put on; throw at

Askari/ wachimshika Abunawaasi/ wachimtila ijuniyaani/ washtila naa mawe/ karka ijuuniya. ‘The soldiers captured Abunawaasi and put him in the sack, and they put in stones as well in the sack.’

Basi/ numa/ izo zita ziingine/ shtilaa nt^hi/ shtiló/ chimó/ ka apa/ chimó/ ka apa/ mahalaa nt^hatu. ‘So then those other heads he put on the ground, that’s what he did, one in one place, one in another place,

at three places.’

Chinaambila/ kuwaa ye/ nakun^hhila/ karka igozi/ ya ngamiila. ‘He told me that he was going to put me inside the skin of the camel.’

Hamadi/ tile maandra/ sandukhuuni. ‘Hamadi put the bread in a box.’
(Syn: One uses the locative form **sandukhuuni** rather than the bare noun **sanduukhu** in this construction.)

Ijini/ munt^hu tiiló/ ndiyé/ hutomoló. ‘The djinn, the one who brought him in, is the one who can take him out.’ (A proverb.)

khtilowa miimba ‘to be made pregnant’

Muke/ tila miimba. ‘The woman was made pregnant.’

khtila baakoora ‘to hit with a cane’

khtilaa be’i ‘to make a bid, name a price’

khtila chaayi ‘to pour tea’

khtilaa dawa ‘to apply medicine externally’

khtila eebu ‘to find fault with, disgrace’

khtila iboholiini ‘to put into trouble (lit. put in a hole)’

N^haku/ mtíló/ tile ruuhuye/ iboholiini. ‘No one put him in, he put himself in a hole (trouble).’

khtila illa ‘to find fault’

khtila ishkilooni ‘to pay heed’

Maskiini/ n^hakhtila/ ishkilooni/ yaa wo/ wamwambiiló. ‘The poor man did not pay heed to what they told him.’

khtila ka apa/ x-tómola ka apa ‘lit. to put in here, to take out here (usually used in the imperative), indicating at the same time one’s own ears, one after the other -- meaning: listen to (put in), but do not heed (take out) s.o.’s criticism, bad words, or unwanted advice’

khtila kahawa ‘to pour coffee’

khtilaa kati ‘to surround’

Wanafuunzi/ wamtile mwaalimu/ kati. ‘The students surrounded the teacher.’

khtila khasara ‘to cause to incur losses (financial, e.g.)’

khtila khoofu ‘to frighten’

Saahera/ watile waant^hu/ khoofu. ‘The witch instilled in the people fear (i.e. frightened them).’

khtila lfuungulo ‘to wind up (a clock)’

khtila makali ‘to sharpen’

khtila maraõi ‘to cause illness, disease’

Kufake/ waawaye/ umtile maraõi. ‘His father’s death caused him to become ill.’

khtila masiiri ‘to make jealous’

khtila matata ‘to cause doubts’

khtila miimba ‘to make pregnant’

Mtilee muke/ miimba. ‘He made the woman pregnant.’ Or: **Mtile miimba/ muke.**

khtila mkono ‘to greet with a handshake’

khtilaa muło ‘to burn s.t.’

khtila mułooni ‘to put s.t. in fire’

khtilaa ndruti ‘to hit with a stick’

khtila ngiisha ‘to anchor, stay permanently in a place’

khtilaa nguvu ‘to strengthen’

khtila niyaani ‘to have the intention to do something’

N^hile niyaani/ leelo/ kendra kuwona meenzawa. ‘Today I intend to go and see my friend.’ **review accent**

khtila qalbi ‘to encourage someone’

khtila qalbiini ‘(lit.) to put in the heart, i.e. to have the intention to do s.t.’

N^hile qalbiini/ kendra hijjá/ maka uyú. ‘I have the intention of going to the pilgrimage this year.’ **check accent**

khtila ranji ‘to dye s.t.’

khtila ruuhu ‘to revive someone’s spirits; pretend’

Mp^haka/ shtila ruuhuye/ usinziziini. ‘The cat pretended to sleep.’

Mtile Hamadi/ ruuhu. ‘He revived Hamadi’s spirits.’
khtila ruuhu/ karka khatari ‘to expose oneself to danger, jeopardize oneself’
Tile ruuhuye/ khatari/ khutilaa we/ karka raaha. ‘He put himself in danger (in order to) put you in comfort.’

khutilaa shaka ‘to doubt (lit. put in doubt)’; **kh-tila ma-shaka** ‘ibid.’

Omari/ kila chiint^hu/ hutilaa shaka. ‘Omari doubts everything (lit. Omari puts in doubt to everything).’

khtila ulaazo ‘to inflict pain’

khtila usiinzizi ‘to induce sleepiness’

Limi/ ndiló/ humtilo muunt^hú/ mulooni. ‘It is the tongue that puts one in hell.’ (A proverb.)

Mojiitu/ xatilo kaná/ haatowi/ ya khutila. ‘God, who is the one that opened your mouth, does not fail to put something in your mouth.’ (A proverb.)

mzele sho mtla mwaanawe chiwoni [st.] ‘a parent who does not put his child in koranic school’

Noka tilopo chitaaché/ mlangooni/ eelo/ chimbiga ka lpaanga/ chimtiinda. ‘When the snake put his head in the door, the gazelle struck him with the sword and cut his head off.’

Nuuru/ tile chibuuku/ mezaani/ tiiló. ‘Nuuru put a book on the table, that’s what he did.’ Or: **Nuuru/ tile chibuuku/ tiiló/ mezaani.** ‘Nuuru put a book, that’s what he did, on the table.’

Shtila chaakuja/ karka zijamu statu. ‘She put food on three plates.’

Tilee khati/ chumbaani. ‘He put the letter in the drawer.’

Tile kooti. ‘He put on a coat.’

Tile peesa/ chiwovuuni. ‘The child put money in his pocket.’

Tile peesa/ sandukhuuni. ‘He put money in the box.’ Or: **Tile peesa/ karka sanduukhu.**

Tile tubaaku/ nt^hini ya mtaawo. ‘He put tobacco under the pillow.’

Zeena/ (i)tile wadaamu/ maayi. Zeena poured water into the bucket. Or: **Zeena/ tile maayi/ wadamuuni.**

Zeena/ mtile mwaalimu/ maayi. ‘Zeena threw water at the teacher.’

rel.

kh-tilila v. appl. (**tiliile**) put for

Basi/ nt^hililani nt^heendre/ nt^hililaani/ ka chiguni. ‘So, (you pl.) put for me dates, that’s what you should do, in a bag.’

Hamadi/ mtilile Nuuru/ maandra/ sandukhuuni. ‘Hamadi put the bread in the box for Nuuru.’

khtilowa lfuungulo ‘to be wound up (of a clock)’

Sa’aya/ nt^haykhsimama/ nt^hangú/ itila lfuunguló. ‘My watch has never stopped since it was wound up.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **qalbi** ‘heart’ or **mooyo** ‘heart’.)

khtilowa mwaako ‘to be parched; burn from (e.g. greed)

Ali/ tila mwaako. ‘Ali was parched (with thirst).’

Tila mwaako/ wa maali. ‘He burned with greed for wealth.’

Mtilile Hamadi/ muke/ miimba. ‘He made the woman pregnant on Hamadi.’ (Syn. Although in the case of the simple verb, **miimba** can appear immediately after the verb, this is not possible in the case of the applied verb: ***Mtilile miimba/ Hamadi/ muke.**

Neither can **miimba** be located immediately after the beneficiary:

***Mtilile Hamadi/ miimba/ muke.**

skiiza we kunt^hilila [song] ‘I did not refuse your pouring for me’

Sku mooyi/ waant^hu/ wachimtilila fitina/ ka Harun Rashiidi. ‘One day people created discord between him and Harun Rashiidi.’

Taahiri/ mtililee mbwa/ maayi. ‘Taahiri poured the dog water.’

Taahiri/ mtililee mbwa/ maayi/ wadamuuni. ‘Taahiri poured water for the

dog into the bucket.’

Taahiri/ mtilile mwaalimu/ mbwa/ maayi. ‘Taahiri threw water at the teacher’s dog.’

Taahiri/ mtilile mwaalimu/ wadaamu/ maayi. ‘Taahiri poured for the teacher water into the bucket.’ Or: **Taahiri/ mtilile mwaalimu/ maayi/ wadamuuni.** ‘Ibid.’ (Although MI accepted the use of a bare **wadaamu** in the first example, the word order seemed pertinent, as he rejected ***Taahiri/ mtilile mwaalimu/ maayi/ wadaamu.**)

Taahiri/ mtilile mwaana/ maayi/ wadamuuni. ‘Taahiri poured water into the bucket for the child.’

Ye/ nt^hilile makooko/ na chita chaa nsi. ‘She put for me (on the plate) the hard crust of the rice and a fish head.’

kh-tililoowa v. appl. pass. (**tiliila**) be put in for

Mwaalimu/ tililaa mbwa/ maayi. ‘The teacher’s dog was thrown water at.’ (Notice that it is ungrammatical to say ***Mbwa/ tilila mwaalimu/ maayi.** Also ***Maayi/ yatilila mwaalimu/ mbwa.** Only the beneficiary can be the subject of the passive applied structure here.)

Shtililowa nt^heendre/ ka chiguni/ shtililowá. ‘There was put dates in the bag, that’s what was done.’

kh-tiloowa v. pass. (**tilila**) be put

Hasiibu/ tila madrasaani. ‘Hasiibu was put in school.’

Ikoopa/ ishtiloowa/ pashpo/ wo/ kiiwa. ‘The cup was put (somewhere) without them knowing.’

Mwaalimu/ tila maayi/ na Zeena. ‘The teacher was put into water by Zeena.’ (Note that it is ungrammatical to say ***Maayi/yatila mwaalimu/ na Zeena.** ‘(In) the water was put the teacher by Zeena’.)

Mwaana/ chamura inatiloowa/ kaake/ mtanaani. ‘The boy ordered that it be put in his room.’

nda weema wapeenzela nt^ho/ ruuhu zaawo hutiloowa [st.] ‘it is for the pious ones who are very much loved/ and whose souls have been specifically selected’

Peesa/ stila sandukhuuni. ‘Money was put in the box.’

sandukhu itila peesá ‘the box in which money was put’

Sanduukhu/ itila peesa/ na Ali. ‘The box had money put in it by Ali.’ (Syn. Notice that the non-locative noun **sanduukhu** governs the subject prefix on the verb in this example, in contrast to the earlier sentence where the locative form **sandukhuuni** is used and **peesa** is the subject of the verb.)

wake na wabli watiila faza’a [nt.] ‘women and men [alike] are afraid’

Wanthu/ watila khoofu/ na saahera. ‘People were frightened by the witch.’

Yuusufu/ shtililowa habasaani. ‘Joseph was put in prison.’

kh-tilika v. p/s.

Nt^hupa iyi/ haytiliki/ maayi. ‘This bottle cannot have water put in it (e.g. it has too small an opening).’

Nt^hupa izi/ hastiliki/ maayi. ‘These bottles cannot have water put in them.’

kh-tilisha v. caus. (**tilishiize**)

Jeelaani/ mtilishize mwaana/ maayi/ wadamuuni. ‘Jeelaani caused the child to pour water into the bucket.’ (The use of the locative noun here seems preferable to a bare noun, though the following sentence is apparently acceptable: **Jeelani/ mtilishize mwaana/ wadaamu/ maayi.** ‘Ibid.’)

Jeelaani/ mtilishize mwaana/ mbwa/ maayi. ‘Jeelaani caused the child to throw water at the dog.’

Ji/ mtilishize mwaana/ peesa/ chiwovuuni. ‘Ji made the child put the money in his pocket.’ (Syn. Object agreement is necessarily with the ‘causee’, **mwaana**, and not the logical object, **peesa**, hence the ungrammaticality of ***Ji/ stilishize mwaana/ peesa/ chiwovuuni.**, regardless of the word order. This holds true, however, just when the causee is present in the sentence. It is grammatical to say: **Ji/ (s)tilishize peesa/ chiwovuuni.** ‘Ji caused money to be put in the pocket.’)

kh-tilishika v. caus. p/s.

Mwana uyū/ hatilishiki/ peesa/ chiwovuuni. ‘This child cannot be made to put money in his pocket.’

Pesa izi/ hastilishiki/ chiwovuuni. ‘This money cannot be made to be put (by someone) in the pocket.’ (Syn. If the causee is expressed, it must be the subject, hence the unacceptability of ***Pesa izi/ hastilishiki/ mwaana/ chiwovuuni.**

kh-tilishiliza v. caus. appl.

Jeelaani/ mtilishilize mwaalimu/ mwaana/ maayi/ wadamuuni. ‘Jeelaani caused the teacher’s child to pour water into the bucket.’

Jeelaani/ mtilishilize mwaalimu/ mwaana/ mbwa/ maayi. ‘Jeelaani caused the teacher’s child to throw water at the dog.’ (MI judged this sentence to be grammatically correct, but not preferred from a stylistic point of view. He judged a sentence like **Jeelaani/ mtilishilize mwaana/ mbwa/ maayi.** to be better, saying that the [cl.1] object marker *m* on the verb refers not to **mwaana** but to an omitted beneficiary (i.e. possessor of the child). Thus the meaning is ‘Jeelaani made someone’s child throw water at the dog.’ This point merits more research, as in other situations the NP controlling an object marker could not be deleted if on the surface there was another complement present that would control the same object marker on the verb, as in the present example where **mwaana** would control the same *m* object marker as the individual possessing the child. Perhaps what is at issue here is that the applied verb here identifies a relationship between one individual and another individual, and one cannot omit either of these individuals from the sentence without destroying this relationship. As a result, in **Jeelaani/ mtilishilize mwaana/ mbwa/ maayi.** the child cannot be understood as the beneficiary since there would be no noun identifying who threw the water at the dog. The only interpretation possible is that the object marker on the verb refers to the beneficiary/possessor and the child is the causee.)

kh-tilishoowa v. caus. pass.

Mwaana/ tilishiza maayi/ wadamuuni. ‘The child was made to pour water into the bucket.’ (Note that it is ungrammatical to say: ***Maayi/ yatilishiza mwaana/ wadamuuni.** The “causee” must be the subject of the passive of the causative verb. If the causee is not identified in the sentence, then passivizing **maayi** is perhaps acceptable: ?**Maayi/ yatilishiza wadamuuni**. ‘Water was caused to be put in the bucket.’ Notice the use of the locative **wadamuuni**. MI rejected making a bare **wadamu** the passive subject even with the causee not identified: ***Wadamu/ itilishiza maayi.**)

Mwaana/ tilishiza peesa/ chiwovuuni. ‘The child was made to put money in his pocket.’ (Syn. The logical object cannot be the passive subject if the “causee” is present in the sentence: ***Peesa/ stilishiza mwaana/ chiwovuuni.** The ungrammaticality still holds when the causee is deleted syntactically: ***mwana wa peesa/ stilishiza chiwovuuni** ‘the child whom money was caused to be put in his pocket’. If the causee is simply not mentioned in the sentence, then it seems acceptable to say: **Peesa/ stilishiza chiwovuuni.** ‘Money was made to be put in the pocket.’)

kh-tila

v. used to form a periphrastic causative verb

Nuuru mtila mwaana/ kendra sukhuuni. ‘Nuuru caused the child to go to the market.’

m-timiino (mi-)
n. 3/4 [cf. *muti* ‘tree’ and *miino* ‘teeth’] a tooth-stick (made out of the wood of a special tree)

n. 3/4 [cf. *muti* ‘tree’ and *miino* ‘teeth’] a tooth-stick (made out of the wood of a special tree)

kubiga mtimiino ‘to clean the teeth’

Hubiga/ mtimiinó/ nt^hasaa we/ kulaalá? ‘Do you clean your teeth before sleeping?’ (This is a yes-no question where the verb **hubiga** is focused; as a consequence, the following phrases shift their accent to the final syllable.)

kh-tina

v. circumcize

rel. nom.

m-tina (wa-) n. 1/2 one who circumcises

m-tino (mi-) n. 3/4 act of circumcising

u-tino n. 14 act of circumcising

m-tinoowa (wa-) n. 1/2 one to be circumcised

kh-tinikiza

v. (**tinikiize**) spoil s.t. for s.o.

aduwi mkulu sheetaani Iblisi/ watinikiize jannatu ifirdowsi [st.] ‘the great enemy, the devil Iblis, spoiled for them (i.e. Adam and Eve) paradise’

Nvula/ int^hinikiize/ safari. ‘The rain spoiled my trip.’

tis'aataashara

n., adj. nineteen

kh-tiisha

v. (usually used in the past tense) be still-born (but with the mother being an 'object', so-to-speak)

ismu mtomelele hatta wa khtiisha [t.] 'give a name even to a child who is still-born'

Maana/ mtishize maamaye. 'The child was still-born [lit. still-borned his mother].'

mana wa khtiisha 'a child who dies in childbirth'

rel.

kh-tishoowa v. pass. give birth to a still-born child

Muke wa fulaani/ tishiiza. 'The wife of so-and-so gave birth to a still-born child.'

sh-tiisho

n. fear

Chimwingile shtiisho/ tiyiile/ nt^ho. 'Fear entered him; he was very afraid.'

Lata/ shtisho chaa we/ naachó/ paandra/ mloongoti/ uyu/ na shkoma ilu/ simama/ bila/ khoofu/ hutakhtuluka/ we. 'Let go of the fear that you have, climb this mast, and when you reach the top, stand up, without fear, you will not fall.'

Oyo munt^hu umo ijuniyaani/ kasizopo koði za askari/ chimwingile shtiisho/ shkulu. 'That man who was inside the sack, when he heard the words of the soldiers, great fear entered him.'

Uyu/ wenopo ma'askari/ qalbiye/ yanzize mbiga/ na mwingile shtiisho. 'This one, when he saw the policemen, his heart began to pound and he became afraid.'

Waanth^hu/ chiwa'ingile shtiisho/ shkulu. 'The people were affected [lit. entered] by great fear.'

sh-tita (s-)

n. 7/8 [Sw. *kitita* "1. ready money; 2. In a large quantity" SSED 210; cf. also Sw. *tita* "to make a bundle or carry a heavy load" SSED 468] a small pile of s.t.

Hamadi/ weshele shtiita chaa nguwo/ ilu ya meeza. 'Hamadi put a small pile of clothes on the table.'

shtita cha peesa 'a pile of (dollar) bills'

rel.

i-titu n. [cf. Sw. *tuta* "to pile up" SSED 482] pile

ititu ya peesa 'a pile of (dollar) bills'

kh-tiya

v. [Sw. *cha* SSED 44] (*tiyiile*) be afraid, fear something

Ali/ mtiyile waawaye. 'Ali feared his father.'

Ali/ tiyile keendra. 'Ali was afraid to go.'

Ali/ tiyiile/ khfungula mlaango. 'Ali was afraid to open the door.'

Chibuku cha Baana/ tiyilo kuwa mwaaná/ takichibashá/ nch^haaká. 'The book that Baana feared that the child would lose is mine.'

Daadá/ stiyé. 'Grandmother, don't be afraid!'

Haliima/ tiyilee kufa. 'Haliima was afraid to die.' Or with emphasis on the verb: **Haliima/ tiyiile/ kufa.**

Hamadi/ nayo¹ khalbi/ ismu/ ya chiint^hu/ hatiyi. 'Hamadi is brave, he is not afraid of anything.'

Hutiyo mwaaná/ kulá/ ndiyé/ huló. 'The one who is afraid for his child to cry, it is he who cries.' (A proverb.)

ka qahri na huuri na wana umbukhu/ kaa ndruti tayaari shchitiya bundukhu [nt.] 'overpowered, sweating, suffocating/ ready with sticks, we were fearing guns'

Karkaa ndila/ wawili/ karka wataana/ wachihada/ kuwaa wo/ wanakhtiya. 'One the way, two of the slaves said that they were afraid.'

kuuya khuwona fahama nt^hiyiile [song] 'understand, I was afraid to come

to see you'

Lumila naa noká/ hutiya ikuti. 'One who has been bitten by a snake is afraid of a coconut palm leaf.' (A proverb.)

Mi/ nch^hiza kumpa/ nakhtiya kunijaa mi. 'If I refuse to give it (e.g. the chick), I am afraid that it (e.g. the rabbit) might eat me.'

Mi/ nnakhtiya mwana uyú/ kichilanya na waant^hú. 'I am afraid that this child will cause us to fight with people.'

Mtiye aduwiyo/ mara mooyi/ mweenzawo/ mara ikumi na mooyi. 'Be fearful of your enemies once, of your friends, eleven times.' (A proverb.)

Mwaana/ chingila khtiya. 'The child began to be afraid.'

Mwaana/ tiyiile/ ye/ cheendra/ kulaala/ munt^hu mweepe/ kuuya/ kubola nt^heendre. 'The child feared that if he went to sleep, some person would come to steal the dates.'

Naani/ tiyiloo kufá. 'Who was afraid to die?'

Nakhtiyani. 'What are you afraid of?'

Ndiwa/ chanza khtiya. 'The pigeon began to be afraid.'

Nnakhtiya kujaa nsi. 'I am afraid to eat fish.' Cf. with verb emphasis:

Nnakhtiyá/ kujaa nsi.

Nnakhtiyá. 'I am afraid of you.'

Nsi wa piili/ shfungula kanaye/ chimwambila Huseeni/ ingila/ kanaani/ kaaka/ stiyé. 'The second fish opened its mouth and said to Huseeni: enter my mouth, do not be afraid.'

Nt^haku/ waa mi/ namtiyó/ isa. 'There is nothing that I fear now.' (Notice that our consultant offered this example, where the time adverb stands outside the scope of the final accent of the relative clause, as his first choice. He did accept also: **Nt^haku/ waa mi/ namtiyó/ isá.**)

Nuuru/ tiyile kuwa mwaana/ takichibasha chibuuku. 'Nuuru was afraid that the child would lose the book.' (Cf. It is possible to make **chibuuku** the head of a relative version of this sentence: **Chibuku cha Nuuru/ tiyilo kuwa mwaaná/ takichibashá/ nch^haaká.** 'The book that Nuuru was afraid that the boy would lose is mine.')

Sinakhtiya/ chiint^hu/ nnakhiwá/ jisaa mi/ nna'owo wazeelewá. 'I am not afraid of anything, I know you just the way I know my own parents.'

Stiyé/ mi/ skooði. 'Do not be afraid, I will not talk [and reveal this secret].'

Sultaani/ sulile mooyi/ kati kaawo/ kulindra mteendre/ ka khisaa ye/ shtiyaa nyunyi/ kuja nt^heendreze. 'The sultan wanted one among them to protect the date tree because he was afraid that birds would eat his dates.'

Uyu/ chiwa'ambila weenziwe/ stiyeení/ mi/ nt^hampata/ bakayle/ ye/ hanshiindri. 'This one said to his friends: don't fear, I will catch Hare, he cannot defeat me.'

Wanakunt^hiya/ mi/ ni mkulu waawó. 'They are afraid of me, I am their chief.'

Watishizo waant^hú/ ni saahera. 'The one who frightened people is the witch.'

Wo/ ka khtiyaa si/ khfakaṭa/ wachivundavunda baṭera yiitu. 'They broke our boat out of fear of us running away.'

Ye/ nakhtiya/ naayé/ seendré/ ka'ublowa na siimbá. 'She was afraid lest he be killed by the lion.'

rel.

kh-tiyila v. appl. (**tiyiliile**) be afraid for

chibuku cha Nuuru/ mtiyililo mwaaná/ kubashá 'the book that Nuuru was afraid the child would lose'

mwana wa Mawlaana/ mtiyililo kubasha chibuukú 'the child whom Mawlaana was afraid would lose the book'

na killa maadamu khtiyila nafsiyé [nt.] 'and every one is fearing for his own life'

Nuuru/ mtiyilile mwaana/ kubasha chibuuku. ‘Nuuru was afraid of the child losing the book.’ (Cf. It is possible for **mwaana** to be the head of a relative version of this sentence: **Mwana wa Nuuru/ mtiyililo kubasha chibuukú...** ‘the boy who Nuuru was afraid of his losing the book...’ It is also possible for **chibuuku** to be the head of a relative version of this sentence: **chibuku cha Nuuru/ mtiyililo mwaaná/ kubashá...** ‘the book that Nuuru is afraid of the child losing...’)

kh-tiisha v. [Sw. *tisha* SSED 468] (**tishiize**) frighten, threaten (This verb is not equivalent to the notion “cause to fear”, hence one cannot say ***Nuuru/ mtishize mwaana/ waawaye**. ‘Nuuru caused the child to fear his father.’ To convey such a notion, a periphrastic causative structure is used: **Nuuru/ mtile mwaana/ kumtiya waawaye**. ‘Nuuru (lit. instilled in the child) caused the child to fear his father.’)

Maduuri/ yanakhtishaa nt^ho. ‘The bush country is very frightening.’

Miizi/ mtishize muke wa Omari. ‘The thief threatened Omari’s wife.’ Or: **Miizi/ mtishize Omari/ mukeewe.** (Note that one cannot say ***Miizi/ mtishize Omari/ muke**. Possession must be overtly marked.)

Nuuru/ mtishize mwaana. ‘Nuuru frightened the boy.’

kh-tiishika v. caus. p/s.

kh-tiishan(y)a v. caus. rec.

kh-tishiliza v. caus. appl.

Miizi/ mtishilize Omari/ muke. ‘Omari used the woman to threaten Omari.’ Or: **Miizi/ mtishilizee muke/ Omari.** (Syn. This instrumental use of the applied is parallel to **Miizi/ mtishilizee chisu/ Omari.** ‘The thief used a knife to threaten Omari.’ Notice that a possessive interpretation did not come to the forefront for our consultant: ‘Omari threatened Omari’s wife.’ The applied is used to convey benefactive/ possessive/ instrumental/ directional meanings, but each verb must be examined to determine which interpretations are most accessible.)

Nuuru/ mtishilize Suufi/ mwaana. ‘Nuuru frightened Suufi’s child.’

kh-tishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Nuuru/ na Suufi/ watishilizenye waana. ‘Nuuru and Suufi frightened one another’s children.’

kh-tishoowa v. pass. be frightened by

Waant^hu/ watishiza na saahera. ‘People were frightened by the witch.’

kh-tiyila v. appl. (**tiyilile**)

Mi/ khutyiililé/ nt^ho. ‘I was very afraid of you.’

kh-tiyoowa v. pass. be afraid of

Inakhtiyowa kuwa mwaana/ haṭakhpata/ imṭihaani. ‘It is feared that the child will not pass the examination.’

Siimba/ mba khtiyooowa. ‘A lion is something to be afraid of.’

rel. nom.

i-tiishi (*mi-*) n. 5/4 coward

sh-tiisho (*s-*) n. 7/8 act of frightening, intimidating someone

u-tiisho n. 14

hula ka qalbiini ka utiisho hutalama [song] ‘I cry from my heart and for fear I hesitate’

m-tiya (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who fears

Mtiyaa kufa/ kufa/ humraasha. ‘One who is afraid to die, death follows him.’ (A proverb.)

sh-tiyo (*s-*) n. 7/8 fear

mu-to (*mi-*)

n. 3/4 [Sw. *mto* SSED 309], lake, pool, sea, puddle of water left behind on shore when high tide recedes; river [archaic in this sense, as **wowi** is preferred]

Hamadi/ [↑]khariibu/ kuzama mutooni. ‘Hamadi almost drowned in a river.’ (The raised upward-pointing arrow indicates that the pitch is extremely raised, indeed the pitch peak of the sentence. However, there is no indication that this raising is connected to focus, as the following infinitive phrase does not get put into a pseudo-relative form as is required by focus on a pre-verbal element.)

khariibu yaa muto ‘near the river’

mtii’e mojiitu khuunzilo/ menye bahari na mito [st.] ‘obey God, your Creator, the Lord of the seas and the rivers’

ndalaye niingi ooniye siwo haba/ hata chimneesha bahari mito saba [st.] ‘his (the one who does not pray) is great, his thirst is not small, even if he is made to drink the ocean, the seven seas’

Ningilopo mtanaani/ mbene hadiiqá/ nk'bulu/ na muto mooyi.
 'When I entered the room I found a large garden with a river.'
nsi zaa muto 'fish found in pond, pool'
Wachiineendra/ wachiineendra/ haṭá/ washkoma mutooni.
 'They walked and walked until they reached a lake.'
Wake awa/ wa'ingile mutooni/ koowa. 'These women entered the
 river to bathe.'

sh-toka (s-)

n. 7/8 [Sw. *shoka* SSED 427] axe

kubiga ka shtoka 'to cut, strike etc. with an axe'

kumbiga ka shtoka 'to cut, strike etc. him with an axe'

kuvunda ka shtoka 'to break with an axe'

We/ vuzile mnaangó/ ka shtoká. 'You broke the door with an
 axe.' (Phon. Cf. a sentence where the subject controls

default accent: **Nuuru/ vuzile mnaango/ ka shtoka.**

'Nuuru broke the door with an axe.'

Mwenye shtoka/ haatowi/ skunyi. 'The one who has an axe does not lack
 firewood.' (A proverb.)

Tinzile ishaka/ ka shtoka. 'He cut down a tree with an axe.'

n-tokolo

n. whore ([pron. nt'okolo]:

farasi yaa nt'aka/ na nt'okoló 'a prostitute (lit. horse of garbage) and a
 whore, i.e. a woman who gives herself to men of the lowest sort'

**Iisha/ waliko mwanaamke/ mwenye jamaala/ laakini/ farasi yaa nt'aka/
 naa nt'okoló/ kuhada ã'ã/ Iisha/ nt'achiiwa.** 'Iisha was a

beautiful girl, but she was a woman who gives herself to men of the
 lowest sort [lit. a horse of garbage and nt'okolo]; to say "no", Iisha
 did not know how.'

rel.

wa-tokolo n. 2 whores

Wake/ wa shtulo ichi/ wont'e/ ni watokolo. 'The women of this town are
 all whores.'

kh-tokomela

v. [Sw. *tokomea* SSED 471] (**tokomeele**) leave forever, disappear, vanish

Mwaambile/ khtokomelaa mbele/ kaa mbele. 'Tell her to go far, far
 away!'

Nuuru/ tokomeele. 'Nuuru vanished.'

Tokomela/ mbele/ kaa mbele. 'Go far away!'

rel.

kh-tokomeleza v. caus. appl. (**tokomeleeze**) abandon someone's

Suufi/ mtokomeleze Nuuru/ mwaana. 'Suufi abandoned Nuuru's child.'

kh-tokomelezanya v. caus. appl. rec. abandon one another's

Nuuru/ na Suufi/ watokomelezenye waana. 'Nuuru and Suufi abandoned
 one another's children.'

kh-tokomeza v. caus. [Sw. *tokomeza*] (**tokomeeze**) abandon, leave s.o.

Basi/ baaba/ chintokomeza/ na chilawa/ karka hawaze. 'So Father let
 him be and forsook him.'

Maama/ ofeetopó/ chintokomeza. 'When mother got tired (e.g. of all this),
 she left him.'

Mbwa/ chintokomeza mp^huundra/ kubloowa/ na mbwa wa maduuri.

'The dog left the donkey to be killed by the wild dog.'

Mtokomeze. 'Let her alone!'

Mtokomeze mwaana/ apa. 'He left the child here.'

Natokomeze yaa ye/ naayó/ yote/ kooko. 'Let him leave all that he has
 here!'

Suufi/ mtokomeze mwaana. 'Suufi abandoned the child.'

kh-tokomezanya v. caus. rec. leave one another

kh-tokota

v. [Sw. *tokota* SSED 471] (**tokosele**) boil

Chaayi/ chinakhtokota. ‘The tea is boiling.’
Diini/ mkono/ unamtokota. ‘Diini’s arm has a boil ready to burst (referring to the inflamed nature of the boil).’
Iziwa/ inakhtokota. ‘Milk is boiling.’
Mafta yanakhtokotó/ kuuluka. ‘Oil that is boiling jumps (i.e. splatters).’
Maayi/ yanakhtokota ibirikhiini. ‘Water is boiling in the kettle.’ Or:
Maayi/ yatokosele. ‘The water boiled.’
Yanakhtokota/ maayi/ chibirikhiini. ‘Is boiling water in the kettle.’
Yanakhtokota/ mayi ya chibirikhiini. ‘Is boiling, the water of [in] the kettle.’
Yanakhtokota/ mayi yamo chibirikhiini. ‘Is boiling, the water that is in the kettle.’

rel.

kh-tokosa v. caus. [Sw. *tokosa* SSED 471] (**tokoseeze**) boil s.t.; scold, nag

Baana/ mtokoseze mwaana. ‘Baana scolded the child.’

Baana/ yatokoseze maayi. ‘Baana boiled water.’

khtokosa halwa ‘to boil (i.e. cook) **halwa**’

khtokosa iziwa ‘to boil milk’

Nthaná/ budi/ ye/ khtokosa maayi. ‘He has no choice but to boil water.’

(Syn. In contrast to Swahili, Chimiini does not use the subjunctive in this structure: ***Nthaná/ budi/ ye/ natokose maayi.**)

Nthuná/ budi/ we/ khtokosa maayi. ‘You have no choice but to boil the water.’

kh-tokosanya v. caus. rec. (**-tokoseenye**) scold one another

kh-tokoseka v. caus. p/s.

kh-tokoseleza v. caus. appl.

Omari/ mtokoseleze Baana/ mwaana. ‘Omari scolded Baana’s child (on him).’

kh-tokoselezanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Omari/ na Baaná/ watokoselezenye waana. ‘Omari and Baana scolded one another’s children.’

rel. nom.

m-tokosa (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who boils

ma-tokoso n. 6

n-tokoso

n. ranting, raving, scolding (finding fault); [pron. **nt^hokoso**]

Ni munt^hu wa nt^hokoso. ‘He is a man who is always scolding, rebuking.’

kh-toomba
man)

v. [Sw. *tomba* SSED 472] (**toonzele**) fuck, have sexual intercourse, copulate (of the

Mtombe maamo. ‘Fuck your mother!’ (A curse.)

rel.

kh-toombana v. rec.

Omari/ na mukeewé/ watombeene. ‘Omari and his wife fucked.’

kh-toonza v. caus. (**tonzeeze**) fuck

questions: **Omari/ mtonzele mukeewe?** and **Omari/ mtonzele mukeewê!?**

no question: **Omari/ mtoonzele/ mukeewe.** ‘Omari *fucked* his wife.’ (Cf. the simple yes-

m-toondro

n. 3 [Sw. *mtondo* ‘the third day following’ SSED 310] day after tomorrow

mtondro wa nt^hiini ‘the second day after tomorrow (the day after the day after tomorrow)’

i-toonge (*ma-*)

n. 5/6 [Sw. *tonge* SSED 472] lump, small round mass of s.t. (e.g. food)

rel.

l-toonge (*mi-*) n.aug. 11/4 big lump

kh-tonoka

v. [Sw. *tonoka* SSED 472] (**tonoshele**) hurt a sore by knocking against it

Hamadi/ tonoshele ijarah ya Muusa. ‘Hamadi hurt Muusa’s wound by

knocking against it.’

Nureeni/ tonoshele ijaraha. ‘Nureeni aggravated, reopened a wound by

knocking against it.’

rel.

kh-tonola v. (**toneele**) reinjure s.o.

Tonele igoonjoye/ skuu mbili/ ba’adi ya katuloowa. ‘He reinjured his

knee two days after surgery.’

kh-tonosha v. caus. (**tonosheeze**) hurt s.o.’s sore, wound by knocking against it

Nureeni/ mtonosheze mwaana/ ijaraha. ‘Nureeni knocked against the child’s wound.’ (Syn. Contrast the periphrastic causative: **Nureeni/ mtile mwaana/ khtonoka ijaraha.** ‘Nuuru (somehow) caused the child to aggravate his wound (by the child bumping against s.t.).’

kh-tonosheleza v. caus. appl.

Nureeni/ mtonosheleze Suufi/ mwaana/ ijaraha. ‘Nureeni bumped against Suufi’s child’s wound, reopening it.’ (Syn. Compare the periphrastic version: **Nureeni/ mtile Suufi/ mwaana/ khtonoka ijaraha.** ‘Nureeni somehow caused Suufi’s child to aggravate a wound by bumping against s.t.’

kh-tonoshelezanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Nureeni/ na Suufi/ watililene waana/ khtonoka majaraha. ‘Nureeni and Suufi caused one another’s children to aggravate their wounds by bumping against s.t.’

kh-tosa

v. [perhaps related to Sw. *tosa* ‘plunge in water, throw into the sea, cause to sink’ SSED 473] lead someone into doing s.t. to his detriment (e.g. by giving him false information, offering false reassurance, misleading)

Muusa/ mtoseze waawaye. ‘Muusa misled his father.’

Zeena/ mtoseze mwaana. ‘Zeena talked the child into doing s.t. to his own detriment.’

rel.

kh-toseka v. p/s.

Hatoseki. ‘He cannot be misled.’

Umari/ hatoseki/ ka sahali. ‘Umari cannot be misled easily.’

kh-toseleza v. appl. (**toseleeze**)

Zeena nt^hoseleze mwaana. ‘Zeena misled my child.’

rel. nom.

ma-toso n. 6

u-toso n. 14

ma-totoope

n. 6 [Sw. *tope* SSED 263, *matope* SSED 472] mud

Fungula zilaatu/ nakhpaka matotoopé/ ijambiini. ‘Take off (your) shoes, you are getting (lit. applying) mud on the floor mat.’

Mitaanga/ yadarile matotoope. ‘The sails were soaked in mud.’

Mteza na matotoope/ haatowi/ kangamuza nguwoze. ‘One who plays with mud never fails to dirty his clothes.’ (A proverb that comments that when you associate with people of low reputation, you yourself are susceptible to losing your reputation.)

Nuuru/ nt^hakuzama/ matotoopeeni. ‘Nuuru did not sink in the mud.’

Nuuru/ zamile matotoopeeni. ‘Nuuru sank in the mud.’

Yadarilo matotoopé/ ni mitaanga. ‘What is soaked in mud is the sails.’

kh-towela

v. [Sw. *towe* SSED 474] (**toweleele**) use something as a relish

nama koshoowa kuwa saafi laazimu/ chiiza ni nijisi khtowela daa’imu

[st.] ‘it is necessary to wash meat to purify it, or else it is always an impure thing to eat’

Nuuru/ toweleele zijo/ mtuzi. ‘Nuuru used the gravy as a sauce for the zijo.’ Or: **Nuuru/ towelele mtuzi/ zijo.**

rel.

kh-toweuloowa v. pass.

relish for the bread.’

Nt^haku/ chiint^hu/ khtoweuloowa maandra. ‘There is nothing to be used as a

sh-towelo

n. 7 [Sw. *kitowe* SSED 474] whatever is eaten along with bread, rice, starches (e.g. meat, fish, sauce, gravy)

Mi/ hupowa makooko/ makavu/ bila shtowelo. ‘I am given the hard crust of dry rice without relish.’

Sulaa kuja/ zijo/ ka shtowelo chisuura. ‘I would eat rice with a good relish.’

tuuba

n. [Ar. *tūbā* W 571]] blessedness, beatitude

tuuba na howdi na mito ya Kowthari / zont^he izo nza mtume wiitu =[st.]
‘beatitude, water basins and the springs of *Kauthar* : all those belong to our Prophet’

kh-tuula

v. [Sw. *tua* SSED 474] (**tuuzile**) settle, calm down; get better, recover (health); come down, land, rest

Chimwaambila/ maamaye/ kuwaa ye/ siwo/ takhtuuló/ mpaka kumubla siimba. ‘He told his mother that he would not rest until he killed the lion.’

waits for it to cool down.’

Kuja/ ha’ijoowi/ imulo/ hulindrowa khtuula. ‘Food is not eaten hot, one

Muunt^hu/ tuzile ruuhu. ‘The man was calm, settled.’

Nt^huuzilé. ‘I felt better.’

Ruuhu/ imtuuzile/ muunt^hu. ‘The man was calm, settled.’ Or: **Imtuzilo**

muunt^hú/ ni ruuhu. ‘What became calm for the man was (his) spirit.’ (Syn. In this construction **ruuhu** controls the subject agreement on the verb, while **muunt^hu** controls an object prefix. As shown above, there is an alternative construction where **muunt^hu** controls the subject agreement.)

rel.

kh-tuulila v. appl. (**tuliile**) calm down for

Mwaana/ nt^huliile. ‘The child calmed down for me (e.g. after I soothed the child).’

kh-tuuliza v. caus. appl. (**tuliize**)

kh-tulizana v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-tulizika v. caus. appl. p/s.

Ye/ hatuliziki/ mwaana. ‘The child cannot be calmed down for him.’

kh-tuuzza v. caus. (**tuziize**) quieten s.o.; relieve s.o. (of medicine, e.g.); calm s.o.

down, comfort

Muunt^hu/ tuzize ruuhuye. ‘The man calmed himself.’

Omari/ mambile Hamadi/ oloka/ mtuze Alí/ shishiḷa shṭana. ‘Omari told Hamadi: go and calm Ali down, he is angry.’

kh-tuuzanya v. caus. rec. (**-tuzeenye**) calm one another down

x-tuzatuuzza v. caus. freq.

Chimtuzatuuzza/ haṭá/ mwanaamke/ chimaamala. ‘He comforted the girl until she stopped crying.’

kh-tuuzika v. caus. p/s.

kh-tuzikila v. caus. p/s. appl.

Mwaana/ nt^huzikiliile. ‘The child was able to be calmed down for me.’

kh-tuzoowa v. caus. pass. (**tuziiza**)

Ituziza na muunt^hú/ ni ruuhu. ‘What was calmed by the man was the spirit.’

Tuziza qalbi. ‘His mind was put at ease.’

Wake/ watuziza ruuhu. ‘The women were comforted.’

Watuziza ruuhú/ nii wake. ‘The ones who were comforted were the women.’

rel. nom.

u-tuulilo n. 14

m-tuulo n. 3 act of quieting down; improvement in health

u-tuulo n. 14 act of calming s.o. down

m-tuuza (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who calms, quietens

sh-tuuzo (*s-*) n. 7/8 that which calms; a traditional gift of jewelry given by the husband to the bride at their first meeting after the wedding ceremony (note: the woman is not present at the wedding ceremony)

variant form: **shtuuza**

Mkorshe/ heendra/ kachiwelela shtuzo cha maató. 'Raise him (this child), he goes, he might become for us the joy of our eyes.'

u-tuuzo n. 14 the act of calming s.o. down

sh-tuulo (*s-*) n. 7/8 stopping place, resting place; town

shtulo cha chitawo 'bus-stop'

Wake/ wa shtulo ichi/ wont^he/ ni watokolo. 'The women of this town are all whores.'

kh-tuluka

v. [Sw. *tukia* "happen, occur" SSED 476] (**tulushile, tuushile**) fall; fail (an examination); happen, befall

Ali/ tulushile. 'Ali fell down.'

Amaani/ naa zitá/ ba/ hutuluka. 'Peace and war both happen.'

Chiboodo/ weene/ maha^hla yaa ndovú/ tulushiló... 'Flea saw the place where the elephant had fallen...'

Itulushile harbi/ kati kaawo. 'A war took place between them.'

Itulushile kuwa Sa'iidi/ lazile mbele ya waant^hu/ wotte. 'It happened that Saiidi left before all the other people (e.g. that's why nothing happened to him).'

Itulushileni. 'What happened?'

khtulukake 'his falling'

khtulukake/ imtihaani 'his failing the examination'

Kalaant^ha/ khupe khabari/ suura/ stulushiló. 'Sit so that I can give you the good news of what has happened.'

Kuwa Ali/ nt^hakhtuluka/ imtihaani/ inakonyesha kuwaa ye/ someele. 'That Ali did not fail the examination shows that he studied.'

Maana/ ha'ineendri/ sho khtuluka. 'A child does not walk without falling down.' (A proverb.)

Maana/ tulushile/ bun. 'The child fell *bun!*'

Maana/ tulushiló/ ni Omari. 'The child who fell is Omari.'

Munt^hu oyo/ tulushile. 'That man fell.' Or: **Tulushile/ munt^hu oyo.** (Phon.

But the phrasing **Tulushile munt^hu oyo.** seems incomplete. It seems to be acceptable however in a sentence such as: **Tulushile munt^hu oyo/ takhuyaawa^hta.** '(The way) that man fell will shock, surprise you.'

Muunt^hu/ shfakata/ hutuluka. 'When one runs, one falls.' (A proverb.)

muti/ ushtuluka 'if the tree falls'

Ndra^hta/ mbele/ khaambile/ stulushiló. 'Let me first tell you what happened.'

Omari/ tuushile. 'Omari fell.' Or: **Tuushile/ Omari.**

Si/ chinaayo/ ya kuwa...ka chiza kuwaa we/ izi/ zote/ skastuluke. 'We believe [lit. have it] that if not for you, all these [things] would not have happened.'

Waliko tulushile/ kihumi^hla. 'He has fallen down and fainted.'

rel.

kh-tulukiloowa v. appl. pass. (**tulukili^hla**)

kh-tulukila v. appl. (**tulukili^hle**) fall down on, befall someone

Maskiini/ nafsiye/ nt^hakhaadira/ kiiwa/ impeetó/ walá/ imtulukili^hló.

'The poor man himself did not know what had happened to him nor what had befallen him.'

Muti/ ka'unt^hulukilá/ mi/ sulaa kufa. 'If the tree fell on me, I would die.'

Or: **Sulaa kufa/ mi/ muti/ ka'unt^hulukilá.** 'I would die if the tree fell on me.' Or: **Sulaa kufa/ muti/ ka'unt^hulukilá.**

Muti/ kawa unt^hulukililé/ sula kuwa nfilé. 'If the tree had fallen on me, I would have died.' Or: **Sula kuwa nfilé/ kawaa muti/ unt^hulukilile.** 'I would have died if the tree had fallen on me.'

Mwaana/ mtulukilile Hamadi. 'The child fell on Hamadi.'

Sku ya piilike/ chilawa/ ka numbaani/ chendra ka sulaaani/ oyo/ chintulukila miluuni/ kaake. 'On the second day [of it -- i.e., in the context of the story, his staying at the woman's place] he left from the house and went to that sultan and threw himself at his knees.'

kh-tulukoowa v. pass. (**tulushila**)

kh-tulusha v. caus. (**tulushiize**) cause to fall, fell, cause to happen

Hamadi/ mtulushize mwaana. 'Hamadi caused the child to fall.'

Mi/ nk^hawa hukhadira khtulusha izi/ zoté/ mazá/ mi/ sula kulata/ chisú/ kunt^hiindá. 'If I were able to make all these things happen, how come I let a knife cut me?' **review accent**

kh-tulushiliza v. caus. appl. (**tulushiliize**)

Hamadi/ mtulushilize Nuuru/ mwaana. 'Hamadi caused Nuuru's child to fall.'

Wamaliizopó/ moyi waawo/ chihada/ si/ ni laazima/ keendra/ kummeera/ uje/ mtulushilizo mwaalimú/ iwuuyú/ imubleejó. 'When they finished, one of them said that it is necessary for us to go to search for the one who caused the baobab to fall on the teacher and kill him.'

kh-tulushoowa v. caus. pass. (**tulushiiza**)

kh-tuma

v. [Sw. *tuma* SSED 476] (**tumiile**) send

Ali/ mtumile mwaana/ sukhuuni. 'Ali sent the child to the market.'

Ali/ tumilee khati. 'Ali sent a letter.'

chikhutuma/ teena/ kaaka 'if he sends you again to me'

Chintuma mwaana/ mwiingine/ keendra/ kulindra nt^heendre. 'He sent another son to look over the dates.'

Khaadimu/ chimjiiba/ ya kuwa mtumiiló/ ni mukeewe/ Zubeeda. 'The servant answered him (in the story, Harun Rashiidi) that the one who sent him was Zubeeda, his (Harun Rashiidi's) wife.'

Mtume. 'Send him!'

Muunt^hu/ shfakata kendra ka munt^hu mtumiiló. 'The man ran back to the man who had sent him.'

Munt^hu tumiilá/ hawbloowi. 'A messenger is not killed.' (A proverb.)

Mwajiitu/ mtumile mtume. 'God sent the Prophet.'

Nimtumile Jaamá/ ka Nuuru. 'I sent Jaama to Nuuru (e.g. to have him report s.t. to Nuuru).'

Safiya/ maamaye/ chimwambila Jeelaani/ nt^humiiló/ ni Safiya. 'Safiya's mother told Jeelaani: the one who sent me is Safiya.'

Shtuma waant^hu/ keendra/ kumubla Abunawaasi. 'He sent people to go and kill Abunawaasi.'

Sulaaani/ chintuma muunt^hu/ keendra/ kumvila oyo ijini. 'The sultan sent a man to go and call that djinn.'

Sulaaani/ shtuma waant^huwe/ keendra/ jahaziini/ kuleta sanduukhu/ iyo. 'The sultan sent his men to go to the dhow to bring that box.'

Wachintuma mooyi/ karka wataana/ chivilowa Chiboodó. 'They sent one of the servants who was called Flea.'

ya kuwa Sultani Daraayi/ mtumiile/ kendra muyiini/ kaake/ kudarbisha nuumba 'that Sultan Daraayi had sent him to go to his town to make the house ready'

rel.

kh-tumika v. p/s.

kh-tumiloowa v. appl. pass.

Ukopi/ munt^hu tumiḷiḷa waaná. ‘Where is the man to whom the children were sent?’

kh-tumila v. appl. (**tumiḷiḷe**) send to, send for

Ali/ mtumiḷiḷe Jaama/ nt^hume. ‘Ali sent Jaama a message.’

Nimtumiḷiḷe Nuurú/ Jaamá. ‘I sent Jaama (to call) Nuuru.’ Or: **Nuuru/ nimtumiḷiḷe Jaamá.** ‘As for Nuuru, I sent Jaama to (call) Jaama.’ (Syn. It should be noted this applied verb represents an example where the applied verb is not equivalent to the simple verb plus preposition *ka*. The sentence: **Nimtumile Jaamá/ ka Nuuruú.** means ‘I sent Jaama to Nuuru (e.g. to report s.t.).’ The same meaning holds when **Jaama** is preposed: **Jaama/ nimtumile ka Nuurú.** ‘As for Jaama, I sent him to Nuuru’)

Nimtumiḷiḷe Nuurú/ khatí. ‘I sent a letter to Nuuru.’ (One can prepose either complement in a case like this where the logical direct object is non-human: **Nuuru/ nimtumiḷiḷee khatí.** or **Khatí/ nimtumiḷiḷe Nuurú.**)

sultaani/ chintumila mwaanawe/ nt^hume/ kumwaambila/ kuwaa ye... ‘the sultan sent his son a message telling him that he...’

Wawaye mukeewa/ chint^humilaa nt^hume/ kendra kundroza mwanaamkewe/ mwiingine. ‘My (former) wife’s father sent to me a message to go and marry another daughter of his.’

kh-tumilika v. appl. p/s.

Jaama/ hatumiliki/ nt^hume. ‘Jaama cannot be sent a message (e.g. he is an inaccessible place).’ (Syn. One cannot say: ***Nt^hume/ haytumiliki/ Jaama.** ‘A message cannot be sent to Jaama.’)

kh-tumisha v. caus.

Nuuru/ mtumishize mwaana/ mweenzawe. ‘Nuuru had the child send his friend.’

kh-tumishana v. caus. rec.

kh-tumishika v. caus. p/s.

kh-tumishiliza v. caus. appl.

Nuuru/ mtumishilize Suufi/ mwaana/ mweenzawe. ‘Nuuru had Suufi’s child send his friend.’

kh-tumishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-tumoowa v. pass. (**tumiḷa**) be sent

Basi/ sku mooyi/ mwaana/ oyo/ tumiḷa sukhuuni/ keendra/ kula nt^holoko. ‘So, one day the child was sent to the market to go and buy beans.’

Ma’askari/ watumiḷa khfitiḷa nuumba. ‘Police were sent to search the house.’ With emphasis on the verb: **Ma’askari/ watumiḷa/ khfitiḷa nuumba.** (The emphasized verb does not undergo the strong downstepping associated with canonical downstep intonation, although the subsequent infinitive phrase **khfitiḷa nuumba** is downstepped. A simple yes-no question based on the sentence with an emphasized verb undergoes Accent-Shift in the complement: **Ma’askari/ wa-tumiḷa/ khfitiḷa nuumbá?** As usual, GM did not offer an emphatic yes-no question version of such a sentence.)

Mi/ nt^humiḷa kaako/ na munt^hu mweema/ na akhyaari. ‘I have been sent to you by a good and kind man.’

Naani/ tumiḷa Mkhodiishó. ‘Who was sent to Mogadishu.’ Or: **Naani/ tumiḷá/ Mkhodiisho.** Or: **Tumiḷa naani/ Mkhodiisho.**

Nt^humiḷa khfitiḷa nuumbá. ‘I was sent to search the house.’ Or with verb emphasis: **Nt^humiḷá/ khfitiḷa nuumba.** ‘I was *sent* to search the house.’ (The infinitive verb can also be emphasized: **Nt^humiḷá/ khfitiḷa/ nuumba.** In this rendition, there is some declination of pitch on the infinitive verb, but it is only its complement that is strongly downstepped.)

Watumiḷa ma’askari/ khfitiḷa nuumba. ‘Policemen were sent to search the house.’ (This sentence illustrates the subject postposing that is common in passive sentences in Chimiini, where the postposed subject is put into Immediately After the Verb position, forming a phonological phrase with the verb. There is the canonical downstep intonation where the accented syllable in the second phrase is lowered with respect to the accented syllable of the first phrase. The simple yes-no question based on this sentence eliminates the downstepping. In the emphatic yes-no question, the accent shifts to the final syllable in both phrases, with the second phrase being downstepped and the final syllable lengthened and displaying a clearly

falling pitch in GM's pronunciation: **Watumila ma'askari/ khfitisha numbâ!?**)

rel. nom.

m-tuma (wa-) n. 1/2 one who sends someone to do something

m-tumisha (wa-) n. 1/2

m-tuuma (wa-)

n. 1/2 [Sw. *mtumwa* (wa-) SSED 477] servant

Mooyi/ karka watumawe/ teta na maayi. 'One of his servants drowned.'

m-tuumbi (mi-)

n. 3/4 [Sw. *mtumbwi* "a native canoe, made all in one piece of a dug-out tree trunk, often a hollowed log of the mango tree, without outriggers, but sometimes with a small mast and sail" SSED 312] canoe

Iyiimbi/ ikulu/ igambishize mtuumbiwe. 'A big wave capsized his canoe.'

ma-tuumbo

n. 6 [Sw. *matumbo* SSED 264, 478] stomach, intestines

Haliima/ mkali/ khpika matuumbo. 'Haliima is very good at cooking intestines.'

Haliima/ nakhpika matuumbo. 'Haliima is cooking intestines.'

Haliima/ nakosha matuumbo. 'Haliima is washing the intestines.'

Matuumbo/ suura/ khkhalangoowa. 'It is good for intestines to be fried.'

Matuumbo/ yaa mbuzi/ malada/ zayda ya ngoombe. 'A goat's intestines taste more delicious than the intestines of a cow.' Or: **Matumbo yaa mbuzi/ maladda/ kolko ya ngoombe.**

Omari/ huja matuumno. 'Omari eats intestines.'

Wantu wa Miini/ hupeenda/ kuja matuumbo. 'People of Brava like to eat intestines.'

rel.

i-tuumbo n. 5 belly, stomach, a piece of intestines

Itumbo izaazilo/ ndiyó/ huló. 'The stomach that gives birth is the one that cries.' (A proverb which says that if something bad happens, the one who cries is the one who owns/created whatever it is that was affected.)

Omari/ ituumbo 'Omari the big belly'

kh-tuumbuka

v. intr. (-tumbushile)

x-tuumbuka NOTE: Beginning of this entry is missing from CLE

Ipu/ imtumbushile. 'His boil burst open.'

Ipu/ itumbushile. 'The boil broke open.'

khtumbuka maato 'to lose one's eyesight completely due to injury'

Siimba/ tumbushile maato. 'Siimba lost his sight (from an injury).' (Syn. Observe that in this example, **Siimba** is the subject of the verb. There is, however, a variation where it is **maato** that is the subject: **Siimba/ maato/ yamtumbushile.**

Kulu ya gaari/ itumbushile nt^huundru. 'The tire of the car is punctured.'

Mpiira/ utumbushile nt^huundru. 'The ball has been punctured.'

Numba (y)a Hamadi/ itumbushile/ dakan dakan. 'Hamadi's house broke

down completely.'

Osmaani/ ipu/ imtumbushile. 'Osmani's boil burst.' Or: **Osmaani/ imtumbushile ipu.** (MI suggested that in this position, **ipu** represents new information.) (Syn. Observe that in this sentence, **ipu** controls the subject prefix on the verb, not **Osmaani**. MI suggested that it is acceptable for **Osmaani** to control the subject agreement: **Osmaani/ tumbushile ipu.** However, this usage somehow belittles **Osmaani**. We did not have an opportunity to pursue this matter further.)

rel.

kh-tumbukila v. intr. appl. break open to

khtumbukila mahala 'to go to a place frequently'

Sku izi/ tumbukilile kiitu. ‘These days he is always at our place.’
khtumbukila maato ‘to lose eyesight to someone’s detriment’

Nt^humbukilile maato. ‘My child lost his sight.’

kh-tumbulila v. tr. appl. make a hole for, with

kh-tumbulilana v. tr. appl. rec. make a hole for one another

kh-tumbuloowa v. tr. pass. be pierced by

kh-tuumbula v. tr. (**tumbiile**) make a hole, pierce (but not with reference to the ground, rather in cloth or the ear e.g.), perforate

Fuunzi/ nakhtumbula ikuta. ‘The craftsman made a hole in the wall.’

khtumbula mashkilo ‘to pierce the ears’

Mwaana/ tumbile ipu. ‘The child broke open the boil.’

Stumbuleeni/ ikopa. ‘You (pl.) don’t make a hole in the cup!’

Tumbulaani. ‘You (pl.) break open!’

Tumbulani chigaango. ‘You (pl.) make a hole in the tin can!’

kh-tumbulana v. tr. rec. pierce one another

kh-tumbulatuumbula v. freq. make holes in a cloth

kh-tumbulika v. tr. p/s.

Lwawo/ hatumbuliki/ ka sahali. ‘The piece of wood cannot be pierced easily.’

rel. nom.

m-tuumbuko n. 3

u-tuumbuko n. 14

m-tuumbulo n. 3

n-tuumbulo n. perforating; [pron. **nt^huumbulo**]

u-tuumbulo n. 14

i-tuumbulu (*mi-*) n. 5/4 thorny needle fish

tumbulukhu n. whorehouse, brothel, cathouse

Muusa/ hendra tumbulukhuuni/ kulla/ masku ya arabiya. ‘Muusa goes to a whorehouse every Wednesday night.’

sh-tuumbuwa (*s-*) n. 7/8 [Sw. *kitumbua* SSED "a small round fritter made of rice flour, fried in fat" SSED 211] a small round, ball-shaped pancake, donut made of flour and fried in lots of oil

m-tume (*mi-*) n. 3/4 [Sw. *mtume* SSED 477] prophet

Anshuura fuunzilo Muusa na qoomuye/ na mtume Mhammadi peenzelo soomuye [st.] ‘Anshuura, the one who fasted (on this day) was Muusa and his people, and the prophet Mohammad loved its fasting’

Iyi/ nii qisa/ ya mtume Nuuhu. ‘This is the story of the prophet Nuuhu (Noah).’

mtume mweema ‘a good prophet’

Yaaqubi/ wawaye Yuusufu/ ni mooyi/ karka mitume/ watumila na mwajiitu. ‘Jacob, Joseph’s father, is one of the prophets sent by God.’

n-tume n. 9/10 [Sw. *tume* SSED 477] message; messenger [pron. **nt^hume**]

Chihada/ nimwambileni/ waawe/ ye/ takhtumaa nt^hume/ kuuya/ khtala nt^heendre/ na nt^heendré/ nt^hayiiko. ‘He said: what should I tell my father? he will send a messenger to come and take the dates and there will be none.’

Mweenza/ mi/ nthukiile/ nt^hume/ yaako/ ilazilo/ ka sultaani/ wa hayawaani. ‘My friend, I am carrying a message to you that comes from the king of the animals (Lion).’

Nimkomeze nt^humeyo. ‘I conveyed to her your message.’

Nt^hume/ hawbloowi. ‘A messenger is not killed.’ (A proverb that says that the messenger must be respected, whatever the message may be.)

Shtumaa nt^hume/ ka apa/ na apa/ kendroowa/ kumerowa muunt^hu/

takhaadiró/ khtafsiirá/ ndroto izó. ‘He sent messengers here and there to be gone for a man to be searched for who would be able to interpret these dreams.’ (This example, from a text, is of some significance since it reveals phrase breaks after **takhaadiró** and **khtafsiirá** which in main clauses would indicate the presence of focus and thus the imposition of a barrier to a final accent being extended past the focused item. However, in the relative clause, the final accent associated with the relative verb extends to the end of the relative clause, despite the phrasal separation of the verb from its complement. We take this to mean that there is not true focus involved in the case of the relative clause.)

Sulṭaani/ chimtumila mwaanawe/ nt^hume/ kumwaambila/ kuwaa ye/ ile/ pamo na ma’akhyaari/ tomele mayṭi/ ya eelo/ ka chisimaani/ oloshole naayo. ‘The sultan sent to his child a messenger telling her that he had come together with the rulers and had taken the corpse of the gazelle from the well and had departed with it.’
Washpelekaa nt^hume. ‘They sent a message.’

m-tumi (wa-)

n. 1/2 one who is sent to do something

kh-tumika

v. intr. [Sw. *tumika* SSED 476] serve (work); be negotiable (of money), circulate (of money)

Ali/ peesaze/ hastumiki. ‘Ali’s money is not negotiable (e.g. it is counterfeit).’

Khaadimu/ ka jis’iyo/ chi’iweleḷa sulṭaani/ ka makhaadimu/ khtumika. ‘The servant in that way became a sultan himself with servants [of his own] to serve him.’

Mphundra oyo/ kulla/ mukhtaḷa ye/ chisulo kendra mahaḷá/ amo fanyiza kaazi/ chimtumikila mp^hundra/ oyo. ‘That donkey, every time he wanted to go somewhere or work, he used that donkey.’

Peleshela nuumba/ maape/ ya maṭajiri/ khtumika. ‘He was sent to the home of some rich people to work as a servant.’

Pesa iyi/ haytumiki. ‘This money is not valid, negotiable.’

Pesa/ zinakhtumikaa nt^ho. ‘The money is circulating widely.’

Pesa ziitu/ hastumiki/ apa. ‘Our coins are not negotiable here.’

rel.

kh-tumikiloowa v. intr. appl. pass.

Mawele/ hutumikiloowa chiloho. ‘Mawele [a sp. fish] is used for bait.’

Ndrebeelé/ pesa izo/ khtumikiloowa. ‘I prevented that money from being used.’ Or: **Peza izo/ khtumikiloowa/ ndrebeelé.** ‘That money being used I prevented.’

kh-tumikila v. intr. appl. use something; use, serve for

Muunt^hu/ umriwe/ chiza khtumikila jisa suura/ nt^hayná/ faayda. ‘For a person to not use his life well has no profit.’

Nakhaadirá/ khtumikila khalamuyo? ‘Can I use your pen?’

kh-tumiloowa v. pass.

hutumiloowa ya haqi/ ya baatili hulatoowa [st.] ‘we must serve truth and reject falsehood’

kh-tumila v. tr. (tumiliile) use

Basi/ isa/ mwaanawá/ we/ jisaa we/ tumiliḷo hiilá/ khpataa ndrevú/ zaa mp^hisi/ naank^hó/ tumila hiilazo/ jisaa we/ khpata mubliwo/ khuruudila. ‘So now, my daughter, you, the way that you used tricks to get the beards of hyenas, use your tricks again in order to get your husband to remarry [lit. return to] you.’

Isa/ mp^ha/ peesa/ yaa mi/ khtumilá. ‘Now give me money for me to use.’

izo khtumila oyo mbwa muḷooni [st.] ‘the one who refuses to use [knowledge of Islam], that one belongs in hell’

Nṭ^hi/ za chi’aafrika/ nt^haziná/ haja ya kooḷi/ zinaayo/ haaja/ ya peesa/ khtumila. ‘The countries of Africa do not have need for talk, they have a need for money to use.’

kh-tumilika v. tr. p/s.

Ali/ peesaze/ hastumiliki. ‘Ali’s money cannot be used (e.g. he will gain revenge on you if you use it; or it isn’t valid money).’

Pesa iyi/ haytumiliki. ‘This money cannot be used.’

kh-tumisha v. caus. cause to serve

khtumisha aqili ‘to thin, use intelligence, act wisely’

khtumishaa nguvu ‘to use force’

khtumisha peesa ‘to use money to get s.t. done’

khtumisha waant^u ‘to use people’

kh-tumishiliza v. caus. appl.

kh-tumishoowa v. caus. pass.

watakuuyo ni malaayka/ wiingi wa khtumishoowa [st.] ‘angels will descend to perform this service’

rel. nom.

m-tumila (wa-) n. 1/2 one who serves

mtumila sanamu siwo islaamu [st.] ‘one who uses idols is not a Muslim’

m-tumishi (wa-)

n. 1/2 servant

Basi/ ye/ mwanaamke/ choondroka/ chendra ka sultaani/ chiloomba/ kaake/ khpowa Hasani/ kumwelela mtumishi. ‘So she, the girl, arose and went to the sultan and implored from him that Hasani be given to her as a servant.’

Chiwaviila/ watumishi/ chiwa’uza... ‘She called the servants and asked them...’

Kama mahala/ mweepe/ ivundishile/ kama yako mataandu/ wa’ambile watumishi/ wanapeele. ‘If some place is broken, if there are cobwebs there, tell the servants that they should sweep (there).’

Kama yako matuundru/ wa’ambile watumishi/ wanapeele. ‘If there are cobwebs, tell the servants to sweep the place clean.’

Sultaani/ chimkabila/ karka watumishiwe. ‘The king included him in with his servants.’

kh-tuundra

v. [Sw. *tunda* SSED 479, where the use of this verb is said to be especially characteristic of northern dialects] pick off (fruit); gather (firewood)

Muunt^u/ yaa ye/ aziló/ hutuundra. ‘A man harvests, collects what he has cultivated.’ [review](#)

Nakhtundraa mazu. ‘He is collecting bananas.’

rel.

kh-tuundrila v. appl. gather for

Namtuundrila/ mbuzi/ manyi. ‘He is gathering hay for the goat.’

kh-tuundrisha v. caus. (-tundrishiize) have someone gather

Mtundrishiize mwaana/ skunyi. ‘He had the child gather firewood.’

Tundrishiize skunyi. ‘He had firewood gathered.’ (Syn. Observe that it is possible to omit any reference to the causee in a causative verb construction when the causee is indefinite or not relevant.)

i-tuundra (ma-)

n. 5/6 [Sw. *tunda* SSED 479] fruit

Ituunda/ imphotelele chiitaani. ‘A piece of fruit fell on my head.’

Jaziraani/ shpete matuundrá/ chijiilé/ na maayí/ chineelé. ‘On the island we found fruit we ate and water we drank.’

kuja matuundra ‘to eat fruits’

matundra ya jannaani ‘the fruits in paradise’

muundra/ wa matuundra ‘a fruit farm’

Ndraaniye/ chaala/ miti/ ya matuundra/ ya lamna/ ka lamna. ‘Inside it [the garden], he grew fruit trees of different kinds.’

Omari/ nakhtinda matuundra. ‘Omari is harvesting (lit. cutting) fruits.’

Sultaani/ chamura ma’askariwe/ kendra kuleta matuundra/ na zaakujá. ‘The king ordered his soldiers to go and bring fruits and food.’

rel.

l-tuundra (mi-) n. 11/4 aug.

kh-tuundrika

v. [Sw. *tundika* SSED 479] (**tundrishiile**) (i) hang s.t.; (ii) worry someone

(i) **khtundrika alamu** ‘to hang a flag’

Tundrishiile ikooti/ musmariini. ‘He hung the coat on a nail.’

- (ii) **Haliima/ nt^hundrishile.** ‘Haliima worried me [e.g. when she did not show up when expected].’

rel.

kh-tundrikana v. rec. worry one another

kh-tundrikika v. p/s. (i) able to be hung; (ii) be worried about s.t.

kh-tundrikila v. appl. (i) hang for, with; (ii) worry s.o. on s.o.

Nt^hundrikilile mwaana. ‘He worried my child on me.’

kh-tundrikisha v. caus.

kh-tundrikoowa v. pass. (**tundrishila**) be hung; be hung up on (i.e. in love with)

Ali/ tundrishila na Haliima. ‘Ali is in love with Haliima [lit. hung up on Haliima].’

Amá/ we/ takulawa/ ka apa/ laakini/ takubloowa/ takhtundrikowa wa mutiini/ naa nyunyi/ staakuja/ karka ongoyo. ‘As for you, you will leave from here [prison], but you will be killed, you will be hung from a tree, and birds will eat from your brains.’

Bandeera/ itundrishila. ‘The flag has been hung (put up).’

Ikooti/ itundrishila musmariini. ‘The coat was hung up on a nail.’

Nt^hilile mwaana/ khtundrikoowa/ naaye. ‘She caused my child to be “hung up” on her, i.e. fall in love with her.’ (Syn. The benefactive applied verb construction often is used merely to indicate a relationship between the beneficiary, which here is first person singular, and the logical direct object, here **mwaana**. However, it also may convey that the action was to the “beneficiary’s” benefit or detriment. In the present example, it is understood to be to the speaker’s detriment – i.e. the speaker is not happy with what has happened to his son.)

Suufi/ chibaraṭana na Iisha/ na shtundrikowa naaye. ‘Suufi became acquainted with Iisha and he fell in love with her.’

rel. nom.

m-tuundriko n. 3 act of hanging s.t.

ma-tuundriko n. 6

u-tuundriko n. 14

n-tuundru
nt^huundru]

n. 9/10 [Sw. *tundu* SSED 479] hole (in the ground), hole (e.g. in a shirt); [pron.

Choloko/ chimo nt^huundru. ‘There’s a hole in the window.’

Hiingila/ kaake/ nt^huundruuni. ‘He (the rat) enters into his hole.’

khṭumbula nt^huundru ‘to punch, make a hole (e.g. in a shirt)’

Lkuta/ limo nt^huundru. ‘The wall has a hole in it.’

mashkilo na mp^hula zotte ni nt^huundru [st.] ‘the ears and the nose are all holes (through which nothing may enter during fasting)’

Mnaango/ wimo nt^huundru. ‘There is a hole in the door.’

Mpiira/ yimo nt^huundru. ‘The ball has a hole in it.’ (Comparing this example to the immediately preceding example shows that there is variation between whether **-mo** has a class agreement triggered by the subject noun or whether it has a [cl.9] agreement.)

Nguwo/ yimo nt^huundru. ‘The cloth has a hole in it.’

nt^huundru ya ishikilo ‘ear hole’

nt^huundru ya mp^hula [Sw. *tundy ya pua*] ‘nostril’

nt^huundru yaa ndini ‘orifice of the vagina’

nt^huundru yaa mp^hana ‘a mouse hole (a hole by which a mouse enters or

leaves a house)’

nt^huundru ya rasaasi ‘bullet hole’

nt^huundru ya siindanu ‘the eye of a needle’

Sanduukhu/ yimo nt^huundru. ‘The box has a hole in it.’

Yiko nt^huundru. ‘There is a hole.’

rel.

i-tundru (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug. large hole

- itundru ikulu** ‘a large hole’
itundru ya ndraani ‘a deep hole’
itundru yaa noka ‘a snake hole’
Wotte/ washfakata/ wachingila mitundruuni. ‘All of them ran and entered into aug. holes.’
- ma-tuundru** n. 6
Mp^hana/ haalawi/ ndilaani/ muunt^hi/ huzimila matunduuni. ‘A rat does not go outside during the daytime, he hides in holes.’
Muunt^hi/ huzimila matundruuni. ‘During the day it (e.g. a rat) hides in holes.’
- sh-tuundru** (s-) n. 7/8 dim. [Sw. *kitundu*] small hole
kofiya ya stuundru ‘a white skullcap with a design of small holes that is hand-made, also referred to as **kofiya ya Chimwiini**, a skullcap in the Chimwiini style’
- kh-tuunga** v. [Sw. *tunga* SSED 480] (**tuunzile**) compose; string beads of a rosary or necklace
- l-tuungo** n. [Sw. *utungo* SSED 481] composition
Ltuungo/ nt^haliná/ ma’ana. ‘Your composition has no meaning.’
rel.
sh-tuungo (s-) n. 7/8 [Sw. *kitungo* SSED] composition
- n-tuungu** n. elephantiasis of the scrotum, testicles; [pron. **nt^huungu**]
- sh-tuungulu** (s-) n. 7/8 [Sw. *kitunguu* SSED 211] onion
Shtungulu chimooyi/ huwoza zont^he. ‘One onion makes all rotten.’
Shtungulu chiwozeló/ huwoza ijuniya izima. ‘A rotten onion spoils the whole bag.’ (A proverb.)
stungulu zaa mboga ‘spring onions’
- tuuni** n. [cf. Som. *toon* "garlic" DSI 587] garlic (cf. **thuumu** with the same meaning, borrowed directly from Arabic; the Somali pronunciation reflects the fact that there is no "th" sound in Somali and words may not end in *m*)
- tupu** adj. [Sw. *-tupu* SSED 482] empty, naked, bare; only
chiwovu shtupu ‘an empty pocket’
Ichihadoowa/ ya kuwa chisiwa ichi/ shkalo ni wake watupú. ‘It was said that this island was inhabited only by women.’
kanaa nt^hupu/ kana maamaye/ mzaaziló ‘as naked as his mother gave birth to him’
Wamlasile kanaa nt^hupu/ jisa maamaye/ mzaaziló. ‘They left him naked, just as his mother gave birth to him.’
Mbona/ we/ ile mikono mitupú. ‘How come you have come empty-handed?’
Mkono mtupu/ hawkomboowi. ‘An empty hand is never licked.’ (A proverb.)
Na kila/ waa mi/ nimpeleshelo kuliindrá/ rudile mikono mitupu. ‘And each [boy] that I sent to guard [the dates] returned empty-handed.’ (Although the conjunction **na** ordinarily requires final accent on its complement, this is not possible with **kila**: ***Na kila**/....)
nt^hupaa nt^hupu ‘empty bottle(s)’
Sa’iidi/ ba’adaa ye/ khtomola maaliye/ yotte/ kumpa sultaani/ chisala mtupú/ nt^haykumsaalila/ chiint^hu. ‘Sa’iidi, after he took all his wealth and gave it to the sultan, he remained penniless, nothing remained with him.’
Wamposhele maali/ yaa ye/ tukiiló/ yote/ na wachimlata mtupu/ kanaa nt^hupu. ‘They robbed him of all the wealth that he was carrying’

- and left him empty-handed and naked.’
ziwovu stupu ‘empty pockets’
rel.
u-tupu n. 14 emptiness
- i-tuuvi* n. 5 [Sw. *tui* SSED 475] the juice of s.t.
ituvi ya naazi ‘the essence of the coconut, obtained by taking crushed coconut meat, adding hot water, and then straining it, yielding the **ituuvi**’
- tuuvu* adj. [cf. Sw. *utuvu* "gentleness, good manners, quietness of mien" SSED 475] sober, quiet, calm, gentleness
mtuuvu ‘s.o. quiet’
rel.
ma-tuuvu n. 6 calmness
tawala ya matuuvu ‘a calm sea’
u-tuuvu n. 14 gentleness, calmness
kubasha utuuvu ‘to lose (one’s) cool, calmness’
Omari/ ni munt^hu udeggani/ hatá/ shfanyaayi/ habaashi/ utuuvu. ‘Omari is a very calm person, he never (lit. even if how he does) loses his cool.’
Suufi/ waliko mu^hjaana/ mwenyee nguvu/ na utuuvú/ haali/ na maalí/ laakini/ ye/ wanayo dhibu mooyi/ liini/ shkhadiro khtawala ruuhuyé/ khaasá/ ka tarafu yaa wake. ‘Suufi was a young man having strength and gentleness, good health and wealth, but he had one problem, here was not able to control himself, especially in regard to women.’
- i-tuzi (ma-)* n. 5/6 [cf. Bajuni *ch-udhi* "excrement" (from Nurse’s Bajuni wordlist)] excrement, dung, shit
ishondre ya matuzi ‘a lump of excrement’
khkalan^hila matuzi ‘[lit. to sit on shit] to have real problems that one has brought on oneself’
Omari/ kalan^hilile matuziye. ‘Omari brought problems on himself.’
khpaka matuzi ‘to find fault [lit. to apply excrement]’
matuzi yaa mp^hana ‘rat droppings’
Muunt^hu/ matuziye/ ndiyé/ hooshó. ‘A person, his shit, it is he who cleans (himself).’ (A proverb conveying the idea that one must take responsibility for one’s own mistakes.)
rel.
i-tuzi (mi-) n. 5/4 aug. someone who is good for nothing, ‘a piece of shit’
l-tuzi (mi-) n. 11/4 aug.
n-tuzi n. a large quantity of faeces; [pron. **nt^huzi**]
- u-* second person singular subject prefix in negative tenses
We/ hupeendi/ keendra/ kubigaa zita. ‘You do not like to go to fight the war.’
- u-* [cl.3] subject prefix; *u* in preconsonantal position and *w* in prevocalic position
Muundrawa/ unayo miti mi^htaano/ tu. ‘My farm has only five trees.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **mkono/ na zaalá** ‘a hand and fingers’.)
Muti/ uburbushile. ‘The tree fell down.’
Muuyi/ mzimawe/ washizaa tala. ‘The whole town was lit with lamps.’
- u-* [cl.14] subject prefix
Uhuru/ umfurahishiize. ‘Freedom pleased him.’
Usiinzi/ umbeele. ‘Sleep was lost to him (i.e. he could not sleep).’

-u-

[cl.3] object prefix

Iyo huunda/ shtila/ ndraani/ ya msala/ chi'utukula/ chooloka/ naawo/ ka sultaani. 'That measuring cup he put inside the mat and carried it (the mat) and went with it to the sultan.'

Nuuru/ uletelele muundra/ makiina. 'Nuuru brought a piece of machinery for (use in) the field.'

Ski'ukuumbuki. 'I did not remember it [cl.3].'

Skuwuuzi. 'I did not sell it [cl.3].'

Uvunzile mlaango. 'He closed the door.'

(Ye/ ka'oloká/ suła ku'uwonaa muti. 'If he went, he would see the tree.'

ku-ubla

v. [Sw. *ua* SSED 484] (**ubleele**) kill; [pron. **kubla**]

Baaba/ chihada/ ni laazimu/ uyu/ kubloowa/ laakini/ Huseeni/ chihada/ simublé/ waawé/ mlate kaa mbele. 'Father said: it is a must that this one be killed, but Huseeni said: don't kill him, father, let him go (ignoring him).'

Hasani/ choondroka/ chubla ngoombe/ mbili. 'Hasani went and killed two cows.'

Hasiibu/ chimubla. 'Hasiibu killed him.'

Kamaa ye/ chinubla/ nanuble. 'If he kills me, let him kill me.'

Khambile muble mubliwá. 'I told you that you should kill my husband.'

Kheeri/ oloka/ chizaa mi/ takufa/ watakunublaa mi/ watakunubló. 'Better (to) go, otherwise I will die, they will kill me, that's what they will do.'

kubla ruuhu 'to kill oneself; to go all out, do all that one can do for someone'

Chublele ruhu zítú/ ka khisaa we. 'We went all out for you (lit. killed ourselves because of you).'

Nublele ruuhuyá/ ka khisaa we. 'I went all out for you (lit. killed myself because of you).'

Wa'ubleele ruhu zaawo/ ka khisaa we. 'They went all out for you (lit. killed themselves for you).'

Luti/ limo mkonoóni/ ndiló/ hubloo noká. 'The stick which is in your hand is the thing that kills a snake.' (A proverb.)

malizopo kumubla mp'huundrá 'when he killed the donkey'

Meenzawo/ ndiyé/ khubló. 'It is your friend who kills you.' (A proverb.)

Mi/ sitamubla/ siimba/ ye/ mbwaaká/ na kila chiint'ú/ chiko apá/

nch'aaká. 'I will not kill the lion; he is mine, and everything that is here is mine.'

mp'hate kumwubla noka uyu 'so that I can kill this snake'

Muunt^hu/ hubla ruuhuye/ ka kanaye. 'A man kills himself by his mouth.' (A proverb.)

Muti/ ka'utuluká/ suła kumubla. 'If the tree fell, it would kill him.'

Muti/ kawa unt'ulukilililé/ suła kuwa unubleele. 'If the tree had fallen on me, it would have killed me.'

Muti/ kawa utulushilé/ suła kuwa umubleele. 'If the tree had fallen, it would have killed him.' Or: **Muti/ suła kuwa umubleele/ kawa utulushilé.** 'The tree would have killed me if it had fallen.'

Mwiingine/ chihada/ la/ sichimuble/ walá/ sichimrude chisimaani.

'Another one said: no, let us not kill him, neither let us return back into the well.'

Nakubla. 'He is killing (someone, something).' (The Chijini form of this word demonstrates that **h** is not part of the onset to the final syllable, since it fails to participate in the fronting of the final syllable of the word: **lanákub**.)

Nimwubleezi. 'How should I kill him?'

Nk'uku/ hamubli/ mwank'ukuwe. 'A hen does not kill its chick.' (A proverb.)

Noka/ chimwaambila/ nimubleezi/ ye/ sulile kunublaa mi/ leelo. 'The snake said to her: how should I kill him? Today he wanted (tried) to kill me.'

Nubleele noká/ kaa lutí. 'I killed a snake with a stick.' (Phon. This

example represents the most neutral pronunciation of the sentence, indicating a lack of any internal focus/emphasis. Note that the final accent triggered by the verb extends all the way to the end of the verb phrase. One can, of course, put contrastive emphasis on the post-verbal element, in which case the final accent does not extend past it: **Nub̥lelee noká/ kaa luti**. ‘It was a snake (not anything else) that I killed with a stick.’ The instrument can also be put in post-verbal position, with the final accent similarly stopping at that point: **Nub̥lelee kaa lutí/ noka**. ‘It was a snake (not anything else) that I killed with a stick.’)

Sultaani/ chimwamura Abdalla/ keendra/ kumwub̥la siimba/ oyo. ‘The sultan ordered Abdalla to go and kill that lion.’

Takinub̥la. ‘He will kill you (pl.)’

Waanth̥u/ watumub̥la. ‘People will kill him.’

Watuwe/ ka paapo/ mp̥haka/ chiwab̥la. ‘At the same time, the cat killed all three of them (rats).’

meenawo ndiye khublo (it is your friend who kills you)

rel.

k-ublana v. rec. [Sw. *uana* SSED 484] kill one another; [pron. **kublana**]

k-ubleka v. p/s. able to be killed; [pron. **kubleka**]

k-ublela v. appl. [Sw. *ulia* SSED 484] kill with, for; [pron. **kublela**]

Hamadi/ mwub̥lele mwaana/ mp̥haka. ‘Hamadi killed the child’s cat.’

(Usage. In this example, we see a common use of the benefactive applied verb – it expresses a relationship between the logical direct object and the “benefactive” object, the child in this case. In the present instance, the action is actually to the child’s detriment. This use of the construction would not be appropriate if there were no relationship between the child and the cat. However, there is another meaning available; namely, Hamadi killed the cat “for” the child – e.g., the child was supposed to kill the cat and Hamadi did the killing for him, or the child wanted the cat dead and Hamadi did the deed.)

Jisaa ye/ ub̥lelo mbuziyá/ naayé/ na’ub̥loowa. ‘The way that he killed my lamb, he too should be killed.’

k-ub̥leloowa v. appl. pass. (**ub̥lelela**) [pron. **kub̥leloowa**]

Luti ili/ lub̥lelelaa noka. ‘By means of this stick the snake was killed.’ (The subject marker on the verb shows clearly that this is a personal passive where

k-ub̥loowa v. pass. [Sw. *uawa* SSED 484] be killed; [pron. **kub̥loowa**]

Amá/ we/ takulawa/ ka apa/ laakini/ takub̥loowa/ takhutundrikowa wa mutiini/ naa nyunyú/ štaakuja/ karka ongoyo. ‘As for you, you will leave from here (prison), but you will be killed and you will be hung from a tree and birds will eat from your brains.’

Basi/ mbwa/ chimtokomeza mp̥uundra/ kub̥loowa/ na mbwa wa maduuri. ‘So the dog left the donkey to be killed by the wild dog.’

Basi/ muke/ chilawa/ masku/ chendra wowiini/ kumtalaa noka/ ub̥lelela. ‘So the woman went out at night to go to the reiver to pick up the snake that had been killed.’

karka we/ nakub̥loowá ‘while you are being killed’

Mooyi/ chihada/ natukuloowa/ na’endroowa/ na’ub̥loowa. ‘One (person) said: let him be taken and be gone away with and be killed.’

Munt̥h̥u uyu/ naayé/ ub̥lelaayi/ ub̥lela lamna gani. ‘This man, how was he killed? He was killed in what manner?’

Mzele Simsini/ chamura sul̥taani/ uyu/ kub̥loowa. ‘Old Simsini ordered this sultan to be killed.’

Nt̥h̥ume/ haw̥b̥loowi. ‘A messenger is not killed.’ (A proverb.)

We/ takub̥loowa. ‘You will be killed.’

Yub̥lelaa noka/ kaa luti. ‘There was killing of the snake with a stick.’ (A passive form such as this is ambiguous as to whether the [cl.9] subject marker *i* (which here appears in its pre-vocalic form as *y*) is agreeing with the [cl.9] **noka**, in which case we are dealing with a personal passive form, or whether the subject marker is indicative of an impersonal passive, which employs [cl.9] agreement as well. Examples like the following more clearly establish the structure as being that of an impersonal passive: **Yub̥lela minoka/ miingi/ kaa luti**. ‘There was killing of many (aug.) snakes with a stick.’ A [cl.4] noun such as **minoka** would have *ya* as an agreeing subject marker.)

rel. nom.

m-ub̥la n. [Sw. *mwua* SSED 484] killer; [pron. **mub̥la**]

- m-ublo* n. 3 the act of killing; [pron. **mublo**]
w-ublo n. 14 the act of killing; [pron. **wublo**]
- udda* n. a burden **review gemination**
- uudi* n. 14 [Sw. *udi* “aromatic aloe wood – used for fumigation” SSED 468] a kind of incense
uudi/ wa suukari ‘a concoction of sugar, perfume, and resins used to fumigate clothes and rooms’
- k-uuda* v. [Sw. *udhi* SSED 487] make suffer, give a hard time, disturb, annoy, molest
Mbuzi wa Hamadi/ masku mazima/ nakuwa’uða waant^hu/ nakubigaa nk^heje/ mbée mbée mbée. ‘Hamadi’s goat is disturbing people the whole night, it is making noise **mbee mbee mbee.**’
- rel.
k-uudika v. p/s. (**uðishile**) be disturbed, troubled, annoyed, uneasy
k-uðikila v. p/s. appl. be worried about, for
k-uudisha v. caus. bother, trouble, annoy someone
mambo ya mwana uje/ yanuðishiizó ‘the behavior of that child that annoyed me’ – cf. the subject prefix on the relative verb is in agreement with **maambo** and not **mwaana**
Mwana uje/ maamboye/ yanuðishiize. ‘That child’s behavior annoyed me.’
Nambila inakhuuðishó. ‘Tell me what is troubling you.’
Ni mambo ya mwana uje/ yanuðishiizó. ‘It is the behavior of that child that annoyed me.’
k-uðishiliza v. caus. appl.
rel. nom.
ma-’uðiko n. 6
ma-’uðisho n. 6
- m-uuði (w-)* adj. 1/2 bothersome, troublesome, annoying
- uðiya* n. trouble, annoyance, nuisance
Mp^hana/ ni chihayawaani/ chihaba/ huchileteloo dhibu/ na uðiyá. ‘A rat is a small animal who brings to us harm and nuisance.’
Nini/ we/ khtala uðiya/ uyu/ wote/ ka wee peeke. ‘Why do you take all this trouble alone?’
sinoonye uðiya we ndiwe nuuruza [song] ‘don’t show me annoyance/ nuisance, you are my light’
- uðiya* n. slaughtering an animal during the performance of the pilgrimage and the meat given to the poor when this is done
uðiya wakhtⁱwe chisala iid [st.] ‘the time of slaughtering is when one says the prayers of *iid*.’
- uðri*
kudara uðri ‘to excuse oneself, create an excuse for oneself’
Dafa/ wamuzizopo ka khisaní/ yè/ nt^hanakendra kanisaaní/ ye/ darile uðri/ hadiile/ kuwa miimba/ inamlaaza. ‘When the kites asked him why he was not going to church, he gave an excuse and said that his stomach was aching him.’
Sungura/ chidara uðri/ chiwalaṭa wawili waawo/ apo. ‘Rabbit excused himself and left both of them there.’
- uudū* n. ablution
Munt^hu nayo uuðú/ haṭalam/ khsala. ‘The person who has ritual

cleanliness does not fear prayer.’ (A proverb.)

k-uđulika

v. be humiliated
rel.
k-uđulisha v. caus. humiliate someone

uđ(u)ri

n. 14, 9/10 (i) excuse; (ii) sickness, disease
(i) **kudara uđuri** ‘to give, make, have an excuse’
Hamadi/ nt^haakuya/ karkaa shiri/ darile uđuri ‘Hamadi did not come to the meeting, he sent an excuse.’
uđuri izi ‘these excuses’ (In this example **uđuri** is treated as a [cl.10] nominal, as shown by the *izi* form of the demonstrative.)
uđuri niingi ‘many excuses’ (In this example **uđuri** is treated as a [cl.10] nominal, as shown by the initial *n-* agreement on *-iingi*.)
Uđuriwe/ nt^hawqubaloowa. ‘His excuse is not accepted.’ (In this example, **uđuri** is treated as a [cl.14] nominal, as show by the *w* agreement in the possessive enclitic and in the subject marking on the verb.)
(ii) **Peetepi/ uđuri uyu**. ‘Where did you get this disease?’
Uđuriye/ nini. ‘His sickness (or his excuse) is what?’ (In this example, **uđuri** is treated as a [cl.9] nominal, as shown by the *y* agreement in the possessive enclitic.)

uf

ideo. [Som. *uf* ‘to emit a bad odour, to stink’, cited in Dhoorre & Tosco, p. 156, with the example *uf buu yiri* ‘he farted (without noise)’] of a bad smell
Uf/ ishuziyo/ inakunnunk^ha. ‘Uf! Your fart smells bad.’

ufishaale

n. officer
Dakhtari/ Wilson/ na ufishaale/ Bowers/ kaa dhibu/ na ta’abú/ wa’ineenzele/ sku nne ziingine. ‘Dr. Wilson and Officer Bowers with difficulty and hardship walked for another four days.’ **accent**

k-ufkula

v. dig up
variant form: **khfukula**
Sultani đaalimu/ chiwatuma/ khadimuze/ chiwapa miyeembe/ chiwa’ambila/ keendra/ kufkula khabri/ ya waawaye. ‘The unjust sultan sent his servants and gave them hoes and told them to go to dig up the grave of his father.’
Kula ba’ada ya sku habamó/ ye/ hufkula iboholi/ histomola peesa/ hiziwalaanga/ na chimalizapó/ hiziruda peesa/ iboholiini/ na hu’izumbiza iboholi. ‘Always after a few days, he would dig up the hole and take out the money and count it, and when he had finished, he would return the money to the hole and cover up the hole [with sand].’
Maskumó/ maskiini/ mwene muunt^hu/ nakufkula iboholi/ nt^hini yaa muti/ walá/ ye/ nt^hakumtaambula/ waliko naani. ‘One night the poor man saw a man digging up a hole under a tree and neither did he recognize who it was.’
rel.
kh-fukulafukula ‘to scratch the earth (action of chicken that unearths food by scratching soil)’
kh-fukuloowa v. pass.
Mukhta khabri/ imalizo kufkuloowá/ sultaani/ chimwambila mgarwa/ haye/ ingila. ‘When the grave was finished being dug up, the sultan said to the fisherman: well, then, get in.’

k-ufta

v. (**uftiile**) invent lies; give an interpretation of the Quran or to the sayings of Mohammad
Nt^hakufta. ‘He did not invent lies.’ (Evidence that the *f* in this example is a coda consonant is provided by the secret language Chijini, where the final syllable of a word is transposed to the beginning of the word. The Chijini version of the present example is [**tant^hákuf**].)

rel.

k-ufuowa v. pass.

hadiilo ni mtume siwo kufuowa [st.] ‘the one who said this is the Prophet and it is not lies [created by people other than the Prophet]’

Ugaandra

n. Uganda

Ra’iisi/ wa Ugaandra/ Iidi/ Amiini/ wa’ambiile/ wanakhabari/ ya kuwa Ugaandra/ takuwachiimbiza/ wangereenza/ wotte/ wamo karka muuyi/ mp’indri/ raadiyo/ ya BBC/ ichiza kulaṭa/ khfaafisha/ ishaa’aatī/ ḍiddi/ yaa nṯi/ ya Ugaandra. ‘The president of Uganda, Iidi Amiini, told reporters that Uganda would evict all Englishmen who are in the country if the radio of the BBC refuses to stop broadcasting lies against the country of Uganda.’

rel.

m-gaandra n. 1/2 an Ugandan

Iidi/ Amiini/ ra’iisi/ ya Ugaandra/ tomeele/ amri/ ya kuwa killa/ mgaandra/ ni laazima/ kubarata/ khtumila bundukhu. ‘Iidi Amiin, president of Uganda, issued an order that every Ugandan must learn to use a rifle.’

(*)*ujbu*

n. [Ar. ‘*ujb* W 591] pride, vanity

kibri na aariya na ‘ujbu [st.] ‘arrogance, wordly (lit. temporary) things and vanity’

review whether the glottal element is observed in word-initial position when the word is medial

uje

[cl.1] demonstrative (cf. Sw. *yule*) someone away from speaker and addressee

Chimwambila ujee noka. ‘She told that snake.’ (Note that in this example, the noun *noka* governs [cl.1] agreement both in terms of the OM on the verb and the choice of the demonstrative.)

Humlazima kumwolokela/ uje tamviiḷo. ‘It is a must for him to go to whomever calls him.’

Isa/ mpishi/ uje walimo habasaani/ na Yuusufu/ na isa/ rudiiḷa kaaziye/ shkuumbuka/ chimkumbuka Yuusufu. ‘Now the cook who was in prison with Joseph and now he had been returned to his job, he remembered, he remembered Joseph.’

leelo/ uje takhuwonó ‘today anyone who sees you’

Muná/ uje hu’isho Mkhodiishó/ ni mwaalimu. ‘My younger same-sex sibling, the one who lives in Mogadishu, is a teacher.’

Munṯu uje/ chilaala/ paapo/ apo/ maduriini. ‘That man slept in the very same place in the country/bush.’

than you.’

Munṯu uje/ si/ chinamwiiwá/ kolḷoo we. ‘That man we know him better

Mwana uje/ ile. ‘That boy (over there) came.’ (cf. *Uje mwaana/ ile.* ‘The boy (we were discussing) came.’)

Mwana uje/ ni chigobe. ‘That boy is short.’

mwaana/ uje oloshelo numbaani ‘the child, the one who went home’ (Syn. The relative clause construction illustrated here – namely, a full NP phrasally separated from a co-referential demonstrative -- has a non-restrictive character to it.)

mwaana/ uje wa mwaalimu/ mbishiló ‘the child, that one whom the teacher hit’ or *mwana uje/ wa mwaalimu/ mbishiló* ‘that child, the one whom the teacher hit’

(N)*namwiiwá/ uje muntṯu iló.* ‘I know the man who has come.’

Sa’iidi/ chiruuda/ numbaani/ ka ujee muke. ‘Sa’iidi returned home to the woman.’

Uje mukeewe/ chimwaambila/ muḷliwá/ we/ leelo/ we/ takuḷloowa.

‘That wife of his told him: my husband, you will be killed today.’

Uje mwaana/ naakuja/ naakuja/ tu/ attá/ chimaliza/ chilawa. ‘The boy just ate and ate until he finished and then left.’

Uje taajiri/ chiiza. ‘That rich man refused.’

Uje taakuwó/ na’oloke. ‘Whoever it be, let him go.’

Uje yaweete/ sultani uje/ kuwa uyu/ tambiile. ‘That one was astonished,

that sultan, that this one (in the story, another sultan) could differentiate (between the two goats).’

- uje** [cl.3] demonstrative [cf. Sw. *ule*]
Msala uje/ ni mnasha. ‘That mat is smooth.’
m̄tana uje ‘that room’
Muti uje/ ni chigobe. ‘That tree is short.’
- ujo** [cl.1] demonstrative
Hasani/ shpandra mp^huundra/ ujo. ‘Hasani rode that donkey.’
- w-ujuudi** n. 14 existence
- ukhuba** n. hardship, curse
Ukhuba/ numbáani/ ajiri/ ibanyaani. ‘At home, bad [behavior], outside, good [behavior].’ (A proverb, commenting on someone who is very poorly behaved at home, but outside the home everyone thinks he is wonderful etc.)
- uki** n. honey
Basi/ bakayle/ chiya/ naayé/ tukilo ukí. ‘Well, Hare came carrying honey.’
lada/ kana uki ‘as sweet as honey’
M̄tuungi/ uyele uki. ‘The clay pot was filled with honey.’
Shtaala/ bakyle/ chimpaa ndovu/ uki habamó. ‘The hare took and gave the elephant a little honey.’
Uki/ huzaaló/ nyoki. ‘Honey is produced by bees [lit. honey, who produces it (is) bees].’ (In a sentence such as this, **nyoki** is a predicate noun, as shown by the fact that it may be preceded by the copular **ni**:
Uki/ huzaaló/ nii nyoki.)
Uki/ nii dawa. ‘Honey is a remedy.’
Uki/ uwaliko mlada. ‘The honey was sweet.’
Uki/ uyele m̄tuungi. ‘The honey filled the clay pot.’
- ukuje** [cl. 16] demon. [Sw. *kule*] over there
Chendra ka ukuje/ chiwonaa mbuzi/ mooyi/ file. ‘He went there (to some unspecified place) and he saw a dead goat (lit. goat one he died).’
Chibuuku/ chiko ukuje. ‘The book is over there somewhere.’
maskiini/ ukuje ‘the poor man over there’
Mbeshele ukujé. ‘I put it there away from us.’ (One can also use **apaje** in this example.)
Mi/ ndrasilé/ badiikhi/ ukuje/ khabriini. ‘I left the melons there at the grave.’
Olokani ka ukuje/ tezaani. ‘Go somewhere there and play!’
Ukuje/ washpata mawiindo/ ya khtosha. ‘There they found sufficient prey.’
- ukunu** [cl.17] demon. [cf. Sw. *huku*] here (close to the speaker)
Chibuuku/ chiko ukunu. ‘The book is here somewhere.’
Chiko ukunu/ mahala/ mweepe. ‘It’s here somewhere.’
- ulillaahi** in the phrase:
ka ulillaahi
- ch-uula (z-)** n. 7/8 [Sw. *chura (vyura)* SSED 66] frog
Chuula/ chimo mayiini. ‘The frog is in the water.’
Chuula/ hukhadira kumuḅḷaa ndrovu/ humingila mp^hulaani. ‘The frog can kill an elephant (by) entering into the elephant’s nose.’
Chuula/ masku/ hubigaa nk^heje. ‘A frog makes noises at night.’
Huna maayi/ kana chuula. ‘He drinks water like a frog (i.e. he drinks a lot of water).’

v. [cf. *gula* in the Mijikenda languages, but the cognate for this verb does not seem to be used in Swahili, which employs the verb *nunua* for “buy”] (**uzile**) buy

Abunuwaasi/ sku mooyi/ sulile kula mp^huundra. ‘One day Abunuwaasi wanted to buy a donkey.’

Ali/ uzile gari ya Nuuru. ‘Ali bought Nuuru’s truck.’

Faatma/ yuuzile. ‘Faatma bought it (e.g. a dress).’ (Syn. A right-dislocated variant is possible: **Yuuzile/ Faatma**. The prosody of this sentence indicates the dislocated nature of **Faatma**. Specifically, there is a slight pause separating it from the verb, and the pitch seems to be more radically dropped than is the case when we are not dealing with right dislocation. The corresponding yes-no question indicates that the right-dislocated subject is out-of-focus: **Yuuzile/ Faatmá?** The shift of the accent to the final syllable of **Faatma** is characteristic of out-of-focus phrases in yes-no questions. Returning to the statement version, it should be noted that the right-dislocated subject cannot be wrapped into the same phrase as the verb: ***Yuzile Faatma**.)

Faatma/ yuzile haanzu. ‘Faatma bought the dress.’ (Cf. **Faatma/ uzile haanzu.** ‘Faatma bought a dress.’ (Moph. The presence of an object prefix in agreement with **haanzu** indicates a definite object.) (Syn. As above, right-dislocation of the subject is possible, with the dislocated subject being located clause-finally: **Yuzile haanzu/ Faatma.** ‘(She) bought the dress, Faatma.’ Again, the prosody – slight pause in front of **Faatma** and the radical pitch lowering – indicate the dislocated status of the subject, and the yes-no question confirms its out-of-focus status: **Yuzile haanzu/ Faatmá?** ‘Did she buy the dress, Faatma?’)

Fatuura/ uziló/ Omari/ maanawe. ‘The *car* he bought it, Omari’s son.’

Cf. the simple yes-no question: **Fatuura/ uziló/ Omari/ maanawé?**

gari yaa mi/ nuzilo ka doṭooré... ‘the car that I bought from a doctor...’

(Cf. **doṭore waa mi/ nuzilo gaarí/ (ka) kaaké...** ‘the doctor whom I bought a car from him...’ Note that resumptive pronoun **kaake** is obligatory in this construction: ***doṭore waa mi/ nuzilo gaarí/ (ká)...**)

Haaji/ uzile fatuura. ‘Haaji bought a car’ (Phon. The corresponding yes-no question involves just Q-Raising: **Haaji/ uzile fatuura?** The exclamatory yes-no question shifts the accent of the final phrase: **Haaji/ uzile fatuurá!?**)

Haliima/ uzile chibuuku. ‘Haliima bought the book.’ Or: **Haliima/ uzilo chibuukú.** ‘(It is) Haliima (who) bought the book.’

Haliima/ tu/ uzilo chibuukú. ‘Only Haliima/ bought a book.’ Cf. **Haliima/ uzile zibuuku/ tu.** ‘Haliima bought only books.’ Cf. **Zibuuku/ tu/ Haliima/ uziló.** ‘(It is) only books (that) Haliima bought.’

kachula gaarí ‘if we (had) bought a car’ (Note that one cannot put focus on the verb in such a sentence by making it phrase-final: ***kachuulá/ gaarí.** Using an overt subject pronoun apparently would give emphasis: **si/ kachula gaarí** ‘if we (had) bought the car’.

Maama/ choloka sukhuuni/ chulaa mbuzi/ shṭindaa mbuzi/ shfanya karamu/ nk^hulu. ‘Mother went to the market (and) bought a goat (and) slaughtered the goat (and) made a large feast.’

simple yes-no question: **Maanawe/ uzile fatuura/ Omari?**

Mi/ nuzile nama yaa mbuzi. ‘I bought goat meat.’ (Phon./Syn. It is interesting that MI rejected putting focus on the head of the associative phrase in this case: ***Mi/ nuzilee namá/ yaa mbuzi.** ‘I bought the *meat* of a goat.’ Perhaps his rejection of this pronunciation is the absence of a context which makes it appropriate to focus on meat in the expression **nama yaa mbuzi**.)

Naani/ uzilo chibuukú. ‘Who bought a book?’ (Phon. But if the verb is also focused: **Naani/ uziló/ chibuuku**.)

Nt^hanakuula. ‘He is not buying.’

Nuumba/ nii nk^hulu/ ya Omari/ uziló. ‘The house is large that Omari bought.’ Possible, but less preferred, with the omission of the **ya** relative particle: **Nuumba/ nii nk^hulu/ Omari/ uziló.**

^fNuumba/ nk^hulu/ mi/ nuuziló. ‘A large house I bought.’ Or: **Nuumba/ nk^hulu/ ^fmí/ uziló.** ‘A large house I bought.’

^fNuumba/ nk^hulu/ Omari/ uziló. ‘A large house Omari bought.’ Or: **Ni nuumba/ nk^hulu/ Omari/ uziló.** ‘It is a large house that Omari bought.’

Nuumba/ nk^hulu/ ^fOmari/ uziló. ‘A large house, Omari bought.’

Nuumba/ nk^hulu/ Omari/ uziló. ‘A large house Omari bought.’

Nuumba/ nk^hulu/ uziló/ Omari. ‘A large house, the one who bought it is Omari.’

Nureeni/ uzile jaka iyo. ‘Nureeni bought that jacket.’ (This is a canonical sentence with downstep intonation. It is also possible to say: **Nureeni/ uzile jaaka/ iyo.** In this sentence, there seems to be some emphasis on **iyó** ‘that’. In this version of the sentence, **jaaka** is somewhat downstepped relative to the initial phrase **Nureeni**, but **iyó** is roughly at the same pitch level as **jaaka**.)

Nureeni/ uzile/ jaka iyó? ‘Did Nureeni buy that jacket?’ Or: **Nureeni/ uzile/ jaaká/ iyó?** ‘ibid.’

Nureeni/ uzile jaaka/ ya ghaali. ‘Nureeni bought an expensive jacket.’ (In this sentence, **jaaka** is somewhat downstepped relative to **Nureeni**, but **jaaka** and **ya ghaali** are at a similar pitch level.)

Nuzile chibuukú. ‘I bought a book.’ Cf. **Nichuzile chibuukú.** ‘I bought the book.’ Or: **Nichuuzilé/ chibuuku.** ‘I bought the book.’

Nuuzilé/ chibuuku. ‘I bought a book.’

Nuzile gaarí/ ka doṭooré. ‘I bought a car from a doctor.’

Omari/ chuuzile. ‘Omari bought it.’

Omari/ maanawe/ uzile faṭuura. ‘Omari’s son bought a car.’ Or with verb focus: **Omari/ maanawe/ uzile/ faṭuura.** The two simple yes-no questions corresponding to these are **Omari/ maanawe/ uzile faṭuura?** and **Omari/ maanawe/ uzile/ faṭuurá?**

Omari/ uzile faṭuura/ 'maanawe. ‘Omari he bought a car, his son’ Cf. the simple yes-no question: **Omari/ uzile faṭuura/ maanawé?**

Omari/ uzile nuumba/ nk^hulu. ‘Omari bought a large house.’

^fOmari/ uzilo numbaa nk^hulú. ‘Omari bought the large house.’

Omari/ uzile shati gani. ‘Which shirt did Omari buy?’ (A possible answer: **Omari/ uzile shati iyo.** ‘Omari bought that shirt.’ (Even though **shati iyo** is replacing the focused phrase **shati gani**, it is not the case that there is pitch raising on **shati iyo**, just as there is no pitch raising on **shati gani**.)

Omari/ uzile/ shati iyó? ‘Did Omari buy that shirt?’ (A possible answer:

Ee/ uzile/ shati iyo. ‘Yes, he bought that shirt.’

Osmaani/ uzile faṭuura/ yana/ uziló. ‘Osmaani bought a car yesterday, he did.’

Suulé/ faṭura iyo. ‘Don’t buy that car!’

Suulení/ mi. ‘What shouldn’t I buy?’ (The verb form in this example is the negative imperative with the enclitic =*ni* ‘what?’ attached to it. The final accent on the verb indicates that it is the negative imperative verb, since that form is a final accent-trigger. The negative subjunctive verb, on the other hand, has a subject marker and default accent, e.g. **n-si-sóome** ‘I should read’, **n-s-úule** ‘I should buy’, etc.) (Possible answers to the question: **Sule gaarí/ mi.** ‘Don’t buy a car, me.’ Or: **Mi/ sule gaarí.** Or: **Mi/ gaari/ suulé.** These are all variants of the same response.)

Ulá. ‘Buy!’

Uzile jaaká. ‘You bought a jacket.’

Uzilé/ jaaká? ‘Did you buy a jacket?’ (A possible answer: **Ǻ’Ǻ/ skuula/ jaaka/ nuzile shaatí.** ‘No, I did not buy a jacket, I bought a shirt.’ Another possible answer: **Ee/ nuzile jaaká/ (na) nuzile shaatí.** ‘Yes, I bought a jacket, and I also bought a shirt.’)

Uzile/ jaka iyó? ‘Did he buy that jacket?’ (A possible answer: **Ǻ’Ǻ/ nt^hakuula.** ‘No, he didn’t buy it.’ Or: **Ee/ uzile.** ‘Yes, he did buy it.’)

Uzile shpaandre chaa nguwo/ uziló. ‘He bought a piece of cloth, that’s what he did.’ Or: **Uzile shpaandre/ uziló/ chaa nguwo.** ‘He bought a piece, that’s what he did, of cloth.’

Uzilopo mp^huundrá/ chimpaandra/ choloka naaye/ kaake. ‘When he bought the donkey, he mounted it and went with it to his place.’

We/ uzile faṭuurá. ‘You bought a car.’

Ye/ hakhaadiri/ kuláwaanganya/ want^hu watakuuló/ na want^hu

hawatakuuló. ‘He cannot distinguish people who will buy from people who will not buy.’

Ye/ waliko oloshela kuulani/ sukhuuni/ yana. ‘He had gone to buy what at the market yesterday?’ (A possible answer: **Ye/ waliko oloshela kulaa nama/ sukhuuni/ yana.** ‘He had gone to buy meat at the market yesterday.’)

rel.

k-uulila v. appl. (**uliile**) buy for, with

Ali/ mulile naani/ gaari. ‘Ali bought a car for whom?’

Baana/ ulile gaari/ motoree mp^hiya. ‘Baana bought a new engine for the car.’

Chisu cha Baana/ nuliiló/ ni shkalii nt^ho. ‘The knife that Baana bought or me is very sharp.’

Fatuura/ nimulilo maanawá. ‘A car I bought for my son.’ Or with verb focus as well: **Fatuura/ nimuliiló/ maanawa.**

Huseeni/ muliile=ni/ Nuura. ‘What did Huseeni buy for Nuura?’ A possible response to this question would be: **Huseeni/ mulile chibuuku/ Nuura.** ‘Huseeni bought a book for Nuura.’

Maama/ shkhiira/ chiwa’ambila/ kuwaa ye/ tamulila mp^huundra/ napate khukulila skunyi. ‘Mother agreed and told them that she would buy for him (her son) a donkey so that he might carry firewood.’

Maanawa/ nimulilo fatuurá. ‘My son I bought a car for him.’ Or with verb focus as well: **Maanawa/ nimuliiló/ fatuura.**

Mi/ nimulilo mwaanawá/ fatuurá. Or even better: **Ndimi/ nimulilo mwaanawá/ fatuurá.** ‘It is me who bought my son a car.’

Mulile luzi/ na shpandre chaa nguwo/ muliiló. ‘He bought for him thread and a piece of cloth, that’s what he did.’ Or: **Mulile luzi/ muliiló/ na shpandre chaa nguwo.** ‘He bought for him thread, that’s what he did, and a piece of cloth.’ Or: **Mulile luzi/ na shpaandré/ muliiló/ chaa nguwo.** ‘He bought for him thread and a piece, that’s what he did, of thread.’

Mzele mulilo Hasani/ sanduukhú/ oloshela. ‘The old man who bought a box for Hasani left.’ (cf. **Mzele/ mulile Hasani/ sanduukhu.** ‘The old man bought a box for Hasani.’)

Nimulile fatuurá/ maanawa. ‘I bought a car for my son.’ Cf. without focus: **Nimulile fatuurá/ maanawá.**

Nimulile mwaaná/ gaari/ ka dotooré. ‘I bought for the child a car from the doctor.’

Nimulile mwaaná/ gaari/ ka dotooré/ ka pesa zaa mi/ nt^heto (ka) bangiini. ‘I bought a car for the child with money that I took from the bank.’

Nimulile mwaanawá/ fatuurá. ‘I bought a car for my son.’ Or, with verb focus: **Nimuliiló/ mwaanawa/ fatuura.** ‘I bought for my son a car.’ (When there is focus on the verb, the final accent cannot cross into the complements, the effect of the Accentual Law of Focus.)

Nimulile mwaanawá/ fatuura. ‘I bought for my son a car.’ Or with emphasis on **fatuura in situ**: **Nimulile mwaanawá/ fatuurá.**

Nt^haná/ pesa zaa ye/ kulilaa nguwo. ‘He does not have money to buy clothes with.’

Nuuru/ ulile mlaango/ khufuli. ‘Nuuru bought for the door a lock’ (It is not common to have the verb agree with the inanimate beneficiary, but it is possible: **Nuuru/ wulile mlaango/ khufuli.**, but agreement with the logical direct object is ungrammatical, whatever the word order: ***Nuuru/ yulile mlaango/ khufuli.** or ***Nuuru/ yulile khufuli/ mlaango.**)

Omari/ mulile fatuura/ maanawe. ‘Omari bought a car for his son.’ (In the simple-yes no question version of this sentence, there is accent shift on **maanawe**, which can be attributed to the out-of-focus nature of this NP: **Omari/ mulile fatuura/ maanawé?** In the exclamatory yes-no question, both of the last two phrases in this sentence undergo accent shift: **Omari/ mulile fatuurá/ maanawé!?**)

Omari/ muliile/ maanawe/ fatuura. ‘Omari bought for his son a car.’

(The separation of a verb from its complement indicates emphasis/focus on the verb. In such cases, the verb is always somewhat raised in pitch, not showing the typical downstep intonation found in Chimiini sentences. The pitch drop on the complement following a focused verb is clear. We do not provide any special annotation as in general, when the verb is phrase-final and separated

prosodically from its complement, one can assume that the verb is raised in pitch and the complement significantly lowered.)

Omari/ mul̩ile^f maanawe/ faɬuura. ‘Omari bought a car for his *son*.’ (In the preceding example, there was focus on the verb, which is accompanied by a raised pitch. There is no real necessity for marking this raised pitch in our transcriptions because the fact that the verb is at the end of a phrase is itself an indication that it is focused. But in the present example, **maanawe** is at the end of a phrase regardless of whether it is focused or not. We use the symbol ^f to indicate that **maanawe** is focused and thus has raised pitch. It is also possible to put special emphasis on **faɬuura**, as well: **Omari/ mul̩ile maanawe/ ^ffaɬuura.**)

Omari/ mul̩ile maanawe/ faɬuura. ‘Omari bought a car for his *son*.’
(This example represents what we refer to as a “canonical sentence”, which exhibits downstep intonation. The simple yes-no question involves no changes in the accentual pattern: **Omari/ mul̩ile maanawe/ faɬuura?** There is, however, in GM’s speech somewhat subtle raising of pitch, effectively cancelling out the downstep intonation of the statement. In MI’s speech, Q-Raising generally involves this same raising, but with the final accented syllable being especially raised and forming the pitch peak of the sentence. The result is that for the non-native speaker, MI’s simple yes-no questions are much more obvious than GM’s. Of course, native speakers presumably do not have any difficulty separating the statements from the questions! The exclamatory yes-no question involves a shift of accent in the final two phrases, i.e. the subject is unaffected: **Omari/ mul̩ile maanawé/ faɬuura!?** There is evidence from GM’s speech that the subject may undergo the accent shift, but it is unclear what conditions favor shift versus its absence. We lack data from MI on this point, as in the material that he collected, he used only monosyllabic pronominal subjects; these subjects of course do not allow us to examine their susceptibility to accent-shift. However, our data from MI does contain examples of sentence-initial non-subjects that do undergo accent-shift in the emphatic yes-no questions.)

^fOmari/ mul̩ilo maanawé/ faɬuurá. ‘Omari (is the one who) bought a car for his *son*.’ (The focus in this example is the subject **Omari**; the verb is put into the pseudo-relative clause shape.)

Peeza/ izi/ wazeele/ wa mwanaamke/ hul̩ilaa chili. ‘This money, the parents of the girl used to buy a bed.’

Peesa/ nul̩ile gaarí. ‘With money, I bought a car.’ (Syn. This example from MI illustrates the fact that in his speech, left-dislocation does not trigger pseudo-relativization of the verb.)

Peesa/ nul̩ile gaarí/ ka doɬooré. ‘Money, I bought a car from the doctor with it.’ (In the speech of MI, it is not favored for the instrument in the instrumental applied active verb to be located in post-verbal position. Thus for him a sentence like **?*nul̩ilile gaarí/ ka doɬooré/ peesá.** is of questionable validity.)

Peesa/ ul̩ilení. ‘Using money, what did you buy?’

pesa zaa mi/ nul̩ilo gaarí/ ka doɬooré... ‘the money that I used to buy a car from the doctor...’ (In MI’s speech, the instrument in the instrumental applied active verb is disfavored in post-verbal position; the present sentence shows, however, that when the instrument is absent from post-verbal position due to its co-reference with the head of the relative clause, the sentence is grammatical.) (We should note that when the head is not the subject of the relative clause, and if the subject is not postposed, then the *-a* relative particle and an overt subject must be used. Thus it is not well formed to say **peesaa/ nul̩ilo gaarí/ ka doɬooré...** or ***pesa nul̩ilo gaarí/ ka doɬooré...**)

Tuuma/ mul̩ilee khori/ Omari. ‘Tuuma bought a gun for Omari.’ (Usage: The benefactive meaning in this example is stronger than a possessive interpretation: ‘Tuuma bought Omari’s gun.’ One cannot, however, exclude the possibility of the possessive interpretation.)

Uyu/ ni maskiini/ nt^haná/ yaa ye/ kul̩ila chiint^hu. ‘This is a poor man, he has nothing with which to buy anything.’

Yul̩ile ruuhuye/ zilatu. ‘And so he bought the shoes.’ (In this construction, involving the reflexive prefix *i* and the applied verb stem, there appears to be some variability as to whether the reflexive pronoun may be used in addition to the reflexive prefix. Our consultant MI preferred to include **ruuhuye** in this example, saying that it sounded odd to omit it. But at the same time he accepted **Yul̩ile zilatu/ yolokeleele.** ‘And so he bought the shoes and went.’)

k-ul̩ilana v. appl. rec. (**-ul̩ileene**) buy for one another

Wa’ul̩ilene zibuuku/ ka pesa zaa mi/ niwapeeló. ‘They bought books for one another with money that I gave them.’

Wa’ul̩ilene^f zibuuku/ peesa. ‘They bought *books* for one another with money.’ (Syn. The acceptability of the present sentence, where the applied reciprocal verb allows both a beneficiary argument *and* an instrumental argument, depends on there being focus on the logical object of ‘buy’. We indicate this focus by the superscript ^f in this example, although we have not usually encoded focus in our

phonological representations. It is also possible to topicalize the instrument: **Peesa/wa'ulilene zibuuku.** 'Money, they used it to buy books for one another.'

Waana/ wa'ulilene majuulu/ ya gaari. 'The children bought for one another tires for the car.'

k-uliloowa v. appl. pass. (-**ulila**) be bought for, with

Faatma/ ulila haanzu. '[Lit.] Faatma was bought for a dress.' (In the corresponding simple yes-no question, there is simply Q-raising, i.e. **haanzu** is not subject to downstep intonation: **Faatma/ ulila haanzu?** 'Was Faatma bought for a dress?') (Emphasis can be placed on **Faatma** causing the verb to be in pseudo-relative form: **Faatma/ ulila haanzú.** '(It was) Faatma (who) was bought for a dress.' This subject-focus is also possible when there is also emphasis on the verb: **Faatma/ ulilá/ haanzu.** '(It was) Faatma (who) was bought for a dress.'

Fatuura/ ulila Omari/ ivundishile. 'The car that was bought for Omari broke down.' (Notice in this relative clause that the head, **fatuura**, is not separated from the relative clause by the relative particle *-a* since the subject of the relative clause has been postposed after the relative verb. It is important to note that the head is *not* the subject of the relative clause, as it is ungrammatical for the relative verb to have a subject marker in agreement with **fatuura**: ***Fatuura/ yulila Omari/ ivundishile.**)

Gaari/ yulila motoree mp^hiya. 'A new engine was bought for the car [lit. the car was bought for a new engine].' (One does not say ***motoree mp^hiya/ yulila gaari.** 'A new engine was bought for the car.'

Nuura/ nakulilowa chibuuku. 'Nuura is being bought for a book [i.e. someone is buying a book for Nuura].' Or, with verb focus: **Nuura/ nakuliloowa/ chibuuku.** 'Nuura is *being bought for* a book.'

Omari/ ulila fatuura. 'Omari was bought a car.' Or: **Omari/ ulila/ fatuura.** Or, with right-dislocation of the subject: **Ulila fatuura/**

Omari. Or: **Fatuura/ ulila Omari.** (This word order and prosody, where the subject is postposed and phrased with the verb while the complement is left-dislocated, is a characteristic of passive verbs. It is possible in this type of structure to focus the preposed complement: **Fatuura/ ulila Omari.** The verb is put into pseudo-relative form when there is focus on the preposed complement.)

Pesa izi/ schisulowa kulilowa gaari. 'This money was earmarked for a car to be bought (with it).'

k-uloowa v. (**uzila**) be bought

k-uulisha v. caus. (**ulishiize**) cause to buy

Baana/ mwulushize mwaana/ nama. 'Baana caused the child to buy meat.' (Syn. This verb is quite distinct from the verb *-uza* 'sell'; it is used to refer to someone inducing the child to buy meat rather than selling him meat. There is, of course, a periphrastic version also: **Baana/ mtile mwaana/ kulaa nama.**)

k-ulishiliza v. caus. appl. (**ulishilize**) cause to buy for, etc.

Baana/ mwulishilize Nureeni/ mwaana/ nama. 'Baana caused Nureeni's child to buy meat.' (Syn. The periphrastic version of this: **Baana/ mtile Nureeni/ mwaana/ kulaa nama.**)

k-ulishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. (-**ulishilizeenye**)

Baana/ na Nureeni/ wa'ulishilizenye waana/ nama. 'Baana and Nureeni caused one another's children to buy meat.' (Syn. The periphrastic version of this sentence: **Baana/ na Nureeni/ watililene waana/ kulaa nama.**)

k-uuliza v. tr. appl. (**uliize**) sell to

chimata naank^ho ka peesa takhuuliza [nt.] 'then he will sell it back to you for money' (Note: This line from a poem is referring to the fact that when young men were captured and forced to join the army during the Said Barre era, their parents might be able to purchase their release -- which, of course, did not prevent them from being taken again later.)

Chiwa'uliza waant^hu/wa muuyi. 'He sold [e.g. meat] to the people of the town.'

Nuuru/ nulize gari ya Omaari. 'Nuuru sold Omari's car to me.' (Usage: It

should be emphasized that **kuuza** ‘to sell’ and its derivatives is a transitive verb and is not used as a true causative. Thus the present example does not mean ‘Nuuru made me buy Omaari’s car.’)

Oyo muunt^{hu}/ chimuuliza. ‘That person sold it to him.’

Sinuulizi/ kaa nguvu. ‘I will not sell it to you (pl.) by force (i.e. if you try to force me).’

Takunuuliza. ‘You will sell it to me.’ Or: **Takunulizaa mi.** ‘You will sell it to me.’

We/ takichulizaa si. ‘You will sell it to us.’ (Note the shift of the infinitive prefix *ku* to *ki* in front of the first person plural object marker *ch-*, from underlying *chi-*.)

k-ulizany(an)a v.caus. rec. (**-ulizeenye, -ulizanyeene**) sell to each other

k-ulizany(an)oowa v. caus. rec. pass. (**-ulizeenya, -ulizanyeena**)

k-ulizoowa v. caus. appl. pass. (**uliiza**) be sold for, to

Mmamulaṭaa nt^{hi}/ tomele amri/ uje takuuyó/ kulizoowa/ chaakuja. ‘The caretaker of the land issued orders that anyone who comes should be sold for food.’

k-uuza v. caus. (**uziize**) sell

Majirani wanne/ wa’ilo ka mamaye Hasiibú/ kazi yaawo/ iwaliko

khtinda skunyi/ kuuza. ‘The four neighbors who came to Hasiibu’s mother, their work was to cut firewood (and) sell it’

Nt^hanakuuza. ‘He is not selling it.’

Nuuru/ uzize gari ya Omari. ‘Nuuru sold Omari’s car (would ordinarily be understood as selling Omari’s car for him).’

Suuzé. ‘Don’t sell!’ (cf. **Suweení.** ‘You (pl.) don’t sell!’)

Suuzé/ chibuuku. ‘Don’t sell the book!’

Uzá. ‘Sell!’ (cf. **Uzaani.** ‘You (pl.) sell!’)

Uza ghaali/ suuzé/ rakhiisi. ‘Sell at a high price, don’t sell cheap!’

Ye/ waliko oloshela kuzaa nsi/ sukhuuni/ yana. ‘He had gone to sell fish at the market yesterday.’ (A possible answer to the question: **Ye/ waliko oloshela kuuzani/ sukhuuni/ yana.** ‘What had he gone to the market yesterday to sell?’)

k-uuzanya v. caus. rec. sell each other

k-uza’uza v. freq. sell and sell

Apo/ muyiini/ chuzachuza khabari/ laakini/ nt^hakhpata/ khabari za mkulé. ‘There in the town he asked and asked for news but he did not get news of his older brother.’

k-uuzika v. caus. p/s. (**-uzishile, -uzikishile**)

Nsi/ zinakuuzika. ‘The fish are being, getting sold (now).’

k-uzikila v. caus. p/s. appl. (**-uzikiliile**)

Nsi/ zinakunuzikila. ‘The fish are selling for me.’

Zoombo/ zinuzikiliile. ‘The things were sold to/for/on me.’

k-uzoowa v. caus. pass. (**uziiza**)

Almasi izi/ zinakuzoowa. ‘These diamonds are being sold.’

numa ka mali machaache uziiza [st.] ‘later he was sold for a small amount of money (referring to Joseph)’

si/ wa’uza ziint^{hu} ‘we sellers of things’

We/ na’iwá/ kuwa eelo/ zinakuzoowa/ mbili/ ka robo riyaali. ‘You know that gazelles are sold two for a quarter of a riyal.’

rel. nom.

m(w)-uula (wa’-*ula*) n. 1/2 buyer

m(w)-uuza (wa’-*uza*) n. 1/2 seller

Juma/ oloshela ka muza mp^huundra/ kula mp^huundra. ‘Juma went to a seller of donkeys to buy a donkey.’

m(w)-uzaaji (wa’-) n. 1/2 sellers

Baabu/ mtile muzaaji/ khpunguza sa’ari. ‘Baabu made the seller lower the price.’

k-uuluka

v. (**ulushile**) jump, fly, skip

Baazi/ ulushile. ‘Baazi jumped.’ Or: **Ulushile/ Baazi.** ‘Jumped, Baazi.’ (Phon. A right-dislocated subject is, in sentence-final position, ordinarily phrased separately from the verb and is radically

downstepped. In the present example, it is unacceptable to join the postposed subject into a phrase with the verb: ***Ulushile Baazi.**)

Baazi/ ulushile mayiini. ‘Baazi jumped into the water.’ Or, with verb focus: **Baazi/ ulushile/ mayiini.** (Phon. The simple yes-no question corresponding to the first sentence exhibits only Q-raising, while in the case of the second example, there is accent-shift: **Baazi/ ulushile/ mayiini?**)

Chizeele/ ulushile/ degeele/ ka furaha. ‘The old woman jumped up and down with joy.’

Duwaara/ yulushile. ‘The kite was flying.’

Inyunyi/ imbeenopó/ ifaza’ishile/ na yulushile. ‘When the bird saw me, it was frightened and flew away.’

Jeelaani/ fungilopo mlaangó/ weno kuwa ni baabá/ na mama wa Safiyá/ chuuluka/ chiwabusa mikono/ chiwa’ingiza numbaani. ‘When Jeelaani opened the door and saw that it was the father and mother of Safiya, he jumped and kiss, and he let them into the house.’ (Observe the conjoined relative clauses in this sentence.)

Kulu huulukó/ mwiishowe/ hishkila. ‘Whatever flies, its end is to come down.’ (A proverb.)

kuuluka/ kana chinyunyi or **kuuluka/ kanaa nyunyi** ‘to fly like a bird – of s.o. who walks or runs very fast’

kuuluka/ kana lpepo ‘to fly like the wind – of s.o. who walks or runs very fast’

Laakini/ maaziyo/ yasuluke/ kendra mahaḷa yiingine. ‘But your blood should not spurt out/ and go somewhere else.’

Mi/ hukhadira kuluka ka muti mooyi/ keendra/ muti mwiingine. ‘I am able to jump from one tree to go to another tree.’

Ndo/ ka sababu gani/ waana/ nt^hawakhkoma/ wakhtí/ waa wo/ kuuluká. ‘Come, for what reason have the chicks (in the story, this sentence is being addressed to a bird) not reached the time for them to fly?’

Nfuye/ chuuluka/ chimpantra mp^haamp^ha/ mungooni. ‘The monkey jumped down (from the tree) and climbed on the back of the shark.’

Uluka. ‘Jump!’

Ulushile maayini/ Baazi. ‘He jumped into the water, Baazi.’ (Phon. The right-dislocated subject is radically lowered in pitch, and in the corresponding yes-no question undergoes accent-shift: **Ulushile mayiini/ Baazí?**)

Ulushiló/ Baazi/mayiini. ‘Jumped *Baazi* into the water.’

Wakomeelopó/ nfuye/ chuuluka/ shpandra mutiini. ‘When they reached (the tree), the monkey jumped off (the shark) and climbed the tree.’

Wamalizopo koowá/ wavete nguwo zaawo/ wa’ulushile. ‘When they finished bathing, they put on their clothes and flew away.’

rel.

k-uluka’uluka v. freq.

Muunt^hu/ chulukachuuluka/ akhiriye/ hudega. ‘If a man jumps (freq.) his end is that (at last) he settles.’ (A proverb.)

k-ulukila v. appl.

Nt^hanaa nguvu/ kulukila. ‘He has no strength to jump with.’

k-uulusha v. caus. fly something; cause to fly, jump; lie to (The verb **-ulusha** is clearly a causative form of **-uluka**. As such, like all causative verbs, it does not undergo a second round of causation to become ***-ulushisha** ‘to cause to fly, to cause to cause to fly, jump’. But in the meaning ‘lie to’, there is no transparent relationship between **-ulusha** and a base verb. Thus one might propose that **-ulusha** ‘to lie to’ is an independent verb and not itself a causative verb. But if this were so, there would be nothing preventing this verb from undergoing causative formation to yield ***-ulushisha** ‘to cause s.o. to tell a lie to’. But this is impossible, suggesting that speakers in fact do regard the verb as a causative.)

Ali/ ulushize ariplaano. ‘Ali flew the plane.’

Ali/ ulushize duwaara. ‘Ali flew the kite.’

Chuluka iduwaara. ‘He made the kite fly.’

kulusha waant^hu ‘to tell people lies (lit. make people jump)’

Laakini/ jisa aada/ ya chiruusi/ sababu/ walá/ ghardi ya waruusi/ kulusha qamari sinaa'i/ iyi/ nt^haykiwishoowa. 'But as is the Russian custom, neither reason nor the goal of the Russians launching this satellite (artificial moon) was given.'

mi qalbiya yulushiiza na skhaadiri kuja rizkhi [song] 'my heart is made to fly and I cannot eat food'

k-ulushana v. caus. rec. tell lies to one another

Wanakulushana. 'They are telling one another lies.'

k-ulushanya v. caus. rec. make one another jump

Wanakulushanya. 'They are making one another jump.'

k-ulushiliza v. caus. appl. fly for

Ali/ mwulushilize mwaana/ duwaara. 'Ali flew the kite for the child.'

k-ulushilizoowa v. caus. appl. pass.

Mwaana/ ulushiliza duwaara/ na Ali. 'The child was flown for a kite by Ali.' (Syn. The word order of the passive is quite flexible. Our consultant accepted many variations: **Mwaana/ duwaara/ ulushiliza na Ali.** Or: **Duwaara/ mwaana/ ulushiliza na Ali.** Or: **Duwaara/ ulushiliza mwaana/ na Ali.** Or: **Duwaara/ ulushiliza na Ali/ mwaana.** One word order that was rejected is" ***Na Ali/ mwaana/ ulushiliza duwaara.**

ku-y-ulukila v. reflex. appl. fly oneself off

Apo/ shtolezaa nyunyi/ mkulu/ chija nt^heendre/ zotte/ na maliizopó/ chiyulukila. 'At that time there appeared a large bird and it ate all the dates and when it finished, it flew away.'

Mukeewa/ tunzile iboholi/ tete nguwoze/ veete/ chimaliza/ yulukiliile/ kendra kaawo. 'My wife dug a hole and took out all her clothes and then flew herself off to go to her home.'

k-uulukila

v. (**ulukiliile**) attack, scold, shout at

Ka jis'iyo/ chimulukila mp^huundra/ chimuḅla. 'Therefore he attacked the donkey and killed him.'

Kamba mbwa wa maduuri/ chinulukila... 'If the wild dog attacks me...'

kunulukila kamaa mp^haka/ pashpo kunuuzá 'to attack (scold) me like a cat without asking me (any questions first)'

M(w)ulukilile m(w)aana. 'He scolded the child.'

Nuuru/ mwulukilile mwaalimu/ mwaana. 'Nuuru scolded the child on the teacher.' (Syn. The verb /ulukila/, while it looks like an applied

verb stem, is actually just a transitive verb stem taking a single object. However, in this example we see that it is possible to use the stem as though it were a benefactive stem taking two objects.)

Songeelopó/ siimba/ chimwulukila/ nakhsula kumuḅla. 'When she came near, Lion attacked her and wanted to kill her.'

Sungura/ lazilopó/ siimba/ chimulukila mp^huundra/ chimuḅla. 'When Rabbit left, Lion attacked Donkey and killed him.'

ch-uluungu (z-)

n. 7/8 floor of a building

variant form: **chi-luungu** (zi-) is used by present-day speakers

Abunawaasi/ washile nuumba/ ya zulungu ziwili. 'Abunawaasi built a house of two storeys.' need to check the accent in last phrase; i wrote final accent

Ali/ ishkizize chibuuku/ chulungu cha kaandra. 'Ali brought a book down to the first floor.'

chilungu chaa ne 'fourth floor'

chilungu cha piili 'the second floor'

chilungu cha taatu 'the third floor'

Nuura/ ishkizize chibuuku/ ka chulunguuni. 'Nuura brought a book down from upstairs.'

Suufi/ mpanzize mwaana/ chulunguuni. 'Suufi took the child upstairs.'

rel.

ch-uluunguuni n.loc. upstairs

Muusa/ ishkizize chibuuku/ ka chulunguuni. 'Muusa brought a book down from upstairs.'

Nenzele chulunguuni/ ka sulṭaani. ‘I went upstairs to the king.’
Suufi/ mpanzize mwaana/ chulunguuni. ‘Suufi took the child upstairs.’

-ulusi

adj. (see under **-lusi**) black
nyulusi/ kana wiino ‘as black as ink’

uma

n. nation
Haruusi/ ni chiint^hu/ shkulu/ ka kiḷa uma/ na jamaa’á. ‘Marriage is something important for every nation and community.’
uma ya Islaamu ‘the Islamic nation, people’

ch-uuma (z-)
money

n. 7/8 [Sw. **chuma** SSED 64] (i) iron, metal, steel; (ii) capital (for use in business),

- (i) **Biga chuuma/ ka chuuma.** ‘Strike iron with iron.’ (A proverb which counsels, for example, that if you want something from someone, get another person who is like that one to approach him and get what you want. Compare the English: Fight fire with fire.)
chiti cha chuuma ‘metal chair’; **ziti za chuuma** ‘metal chairs’
chuma cha nk^halaambi ‘[lit.] iron from lightning’
Chuuma/ hubigowa chimulo. ‘Iron is hit (shaped) when hot.’ (A proverb.)
kumbiga ka chuuma ‘to hit s.o. with a piece of iron’
nuumu/ kana chuuma ‘as hard as iron’
Omari/ ikoondreye/ kana chuuma. ‘Omari’s punch, blow is like steel.’
Wachimera chuuma. ‘They looked for metal, iron.’
-zito/ kana chuuma ‘as heavy as iron’
Mana uyu/ mzito/ kana chuuma. ‘This child is as heavy as iron.’
- (ii) **Nacho chuuma.** ‘He has money.’

k-uuma

v. (**umiile**) be dry
Shaati/ yumiile. ‘The shirt is dry.’
rel.
k-uumisha v. tr. (**umishiize**) dry s.t.
Nguwo/ yumishiiza. ‘The cloth was dried.’
Nguwo/ zumishiiza. ‘The clothes were dried.’
k-umishoowa v. tr. pass. (**umishiiza**)
k-umoowa v. pass.

umaṭi

n. 9 [Sw. **umati** SSED 498; Ar.] followers, people of the faith, a community (We have recorded both agreement appropriate for a [cl.9] noun, with a collective meaning, but also human plural agreement.)

afḏali ya umaṭi ni Abubakar [st.] ‘the best of the followers is Abubakar’
umaṭi ya Iisa ‘followers of Jesus’
umaṭi ya Mhamadi ‘the people (=community, followers) of Mohammad’
umaṭi ya Muusa ‘followers of Moses’
umaṭiyo ni aajizi ḏa’iifu [st.] ‘your people are lazy [and] weak’
umaṭi wa Mtume Mhamadi ‘Prophet Mohammad’s people, nation’
ummaṭi wa Mohamadi/ ka diini huzalanoowa [st.] ‘(we) Mohammad’s community/ all are related (brothers) in the faith’

ummaṭi or umaṭi or both? agreement: y or w or both?

ch-uumba (z-)

n. 7/8 [Sw. **chumba** ‘room, chamber, apartment, i.e. part of a **nyumba**’ SSED 64]
room, chamber, box, drawer

Chiingila/ chumbaani/ kaake/ chimwambila chizeele/ uje/ mwanaamke/ wa sulṭaani/ nakuya kulangaḷa markabu. ‘He entered his room and said to the old woman: that daughter of the sultan is coming to look at the ship.’
chumba cha chivundooni ‘a place to put s.t. located at the angle’
chumba chaa kati ‘central chamber’
chumba cha meeza ‘drawer’
chumba cha peesa ‘a box to put money in’

Jahaziini/ chimfanyiliza chuumba/ mwanaamke/ napate khkala yee peeke. ‘In the dhow he made a room for the girl so that he would get to live by herself.’

Waant^hu/ wayeele/ chumbaani. ‘People filled the room.’

k-uumba v. [Sw. *umba* ‘give form to, shape, fashion, create, make – but in most places used only of God’ SSED 498] (unzile) create (of God), invent

Aadamu/ ni munt^hu wa kaandra/ wa mwajiitu/ mwuunziló. ‘Adam was the first man that God created.’

Kuumba/ na waanó/ kuumba/ mbele. ‘Creation and advice, creation was first.’ (Translation of a Somali proverb.)

Muke/ chumba wanaafakhi/ chimwaambila/ nk^humbushile nt^hi yitú/ tu/ majiwe yitú/ ya ðahabu/ nt^hi hattá/ nda ðahabu/

nk^humbushile zint^hu izó. ‘The woman invented lies and said to him: I just remember our land, our stones of gold, even the earth is of gold; I remember those things.’

mwaanzo wa waajibu ndrúza kasani/ kumwiiwa moja khuunzilo rahmaani [st.] ‘the beginning of one’s religious obligations, my brothers, listen/ (is) to know your God who created you, the merciful one’

wa’unzilo mwajiitu ka khtiyariye [st.] ‘it is God who created them, of his own will’

rel.

k-umboowa v. pass. (**unzila**) be created

Nt^hangú/ chuunzila/ chinakhfakata/ nt^hashkupata/ khpumula/ hatá/ sku mooyi. ‘Since it was created, it has been running and never gets to rest even one day.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is *iwa* ‘the sun’.)

rel. nom.

m(w)-uumba n. 1 [Sw.] the creator

ch-uumbe (z-) n. 7/8 [Sw. *kiumbe* ‘a created thing, a creature, but usually limited to the rational, or at least animate, creation’ SSED 498] creature, mortal, human being

l-uumbo n. 11 [Sw. *umbo* SSED 498] the figure, shape of a person

luumbole ‘his/her figure, shape’

Mi/ hubadilika luumbo/ kuja shpindri cha wakhtí/ shchipita. ‘I change shapes when each noon passes.’

m-uumbo n. 3 creation

w-uumbo n. 14 creation

k-umbukhsata v. (**umbukhseeṭe**) hold anger inside, trying not to show it

umbukhu n. the act of holding anger inside one; breathing problem when the chest is congested

umburiyaako adj. [Ital.] drunk; n. drunkard

Khamri/ humfanya umburiyaako. ‘Liquor makes him drunk.’

Mi/ mbishila na gaari/ nakinzeno umburiyaakó. ‘I was hit by a car that a drunkard was driving.’ Or: **Mi/mbishila na gaari/ umburiyaako/ nakiineenzó.** ‘I was hit by a car, it was a drunk who was driving.’

Omari/ ni umburiyaako. ‘Omari is drunk.’

umra n. the lesser (in comparison to hajj) pilgrimage to Mecca, which can be performed at any time of the year and which has fewer requirements

hija na umra mbilize laazimu/ nt^hamu shaka amri ya Mooja Haakimu [st.] ‘Hajj and Umra are both obligatory/ they were definitely commanded by God’

Maaka/ mzimawe/ umra/ ukhadiroowa/ kolokoowa/ sho/ kuwa wakhtí yaa hija. ‘It is possible for *umra* to be gone on the whole year, except for the period of *hija*.’

Nakhtarajá/ kendra umra/ make unakuuyó. ‘I hope to go on *umra* nest

year (lit. the year which is coming).’

umri n. 14 [Sw. *umri* SSED 500; Ar.] age; life; ever (It is quite possible that this item should be analyzed as consisting of the [cl.14] prefix *u* plus a stem *-mri*, but we have no example where the stem *-mri* is used independently of the *u*.)

Jawabu iyo/ mi/ sfaanyi/ umriwa. ‘That thing I will never do (lit. for my life).’

Komelopo ka ujee muké/ Sa’iidi/ chambiloowa/ chimwaambiló/ nii muke/ we/ tetee ribá/ umriwo/ hutakiikuta. ‘When he reached that woman, Sa’iidi was told, the one who told him was the woman, you have taken usury, in all your life you will not be satisfied.’

kubasha umri ‘to waste (one’s) life’

Muun^hu/ hubasha umriwe/ bilaa ma’ana/ nthayná/ faayda. ‘There is no profit for someone to waste his life without meaning.’

muke umriwe sho mfuta fa ila [st.] ‘a woman [namely, Fatima] who never failed to do good deeds’

mwaana/ shkoma miyaaka/ mitatu/ ya umri ‘when a child reaches the age of three’

Mweené/ ^fumriwo/ Hasani/ huno aalkóla? ‘Have you ever seen Hasani drink alcohol?’ (The pseudo-relativization of the complement verb, indicated by the final vowel *o* and the final accent, indicate that a pre-verbal element is focused. This focused element appears to be **umriwo**. A possible answer: **ã’ã/ umriwa/ skumwona/ Hasani/ kuna aalkola.** ‘No, I have never seen Hasani drink alcohol.’ Or: **Umriwa/ skumona/ Hasani/ kuna aalkola.** ‘In my life I have never seen Hasani drink alcohol.’ The preposing of **umriwa** in this example does not count as focus, as indicated by the lack of pseudo-relativization of the following verb, **skumona**.)

Na itakhupató/ we/ le answerwo/ hutakuliwala. ‘And what will happen to you in your life you will not forget.’

Skeendra/ Mambasa/ umriwa. ‘I have never gone to Mambasa.’

Skuwaaliko/ Mambasa/ umriwa. ‘I have never been to Mambasa.’ Or: **^fUmriwa/ skuwaalikó/ Mambasa.** ‘I have never been to Mombasa.’

Shšana/ chaa mi/ shishiḷa sku iyó/ umriwa/ skuwona/ shšana/ kana icho. ‘The anger that grabbed me that day, I had never in my life seen anger like that.’

Umri/ ni mchaache. ‘Life is short.’

Umriwa/ skukooḷa/ wanaafakhi. ‘I have never told a lie in my life.’ (We have noted that often the negative verb is separated from its complement and not subject to downstep intonation. But it seems that this cannot be taken as a categorical truth. In the present example, the accented syllable in the negative verb is clearly lower in pitch than the accented syllable of the initial **umriwa** ‘in my life’ and the accented syllable of **wanaafakhi** is clearly downstepped relative to the verb. Perhaps this is a matter of the emphasis on ‘in my life’.)

Umriwa/ skuwoona. ‘I never saw in my life.’

Umriwe/ nii kamu. ‘Hold old is (s)he?’

Ye/ hamwiisi/ waawe/ walá/ waawe/ umriwe/ nthakuuya/ nthi iyi. ‘He doesn’t know my father nor did my father his whole life ever come to this land.’

umu [cl.18] loc. dem. [Sw. *humu* Moh 174]

muumu/ umu ‘in this same place’

-uumu adj. hard, rigid; [the class 9/10 form may be pronounced **nuumu** or **nuumu**]

chiṭa chuumu ‘hard-headed, head-strong, stubborn, stern’

Chiṭa chuumu/ hapiti/ mbele. ‘A stubborn person (hard-headed one) does not progress.’ (A saying.)

munt^hu chiṭa chuumu ‘a stubborn person’

Omari/ chiṭaache/ chuumu. ‘Omari is stubborn.’

mwenye chiṭa chuumu ‘one who is stubborn, headstrong’

want^hu ziṭa zuumu ‘stubborn people’

E/ we/ sho naharisi/ muumu/ qalbiyo/ inakhfungoowa. ‘O you merciless and rigid one, your heart is being locked.’

Ijili/ yuumu. ‘The big bed is hard.’

ijiwe yuumu ‘hard stone’

kazi nuumu ‘hard work’

majiwe muumu ‘hard stones’

Mbona/ qalbiyo/ nuumu/ nt^ho. ‘Why is your heart so hard?’

Mimaandra/ muumu. ‘The big loaves of bread are hard.’

muumu/ kana chuuma ‘s.o. as tough as iron’, **nuumu/ kana chuuma** ‘s.t. as hard as iron, steel’

Omari/ ^fmuumu/ kana chuuma. ‘Omari is strong, hard, tough like iron.’

muumu/ kana shkunyi ‘as hard as a piece of firewood’

munt^hu m(w)uumu ‘tough person’; **want^hu wuumu** ‘tough people’

muti m(w)uumu ‘hard wood tree’; **miti muumu** ‘hard wood trees’

nuumu/ kana chuuma ‘as hard as steel’

nuumu/ kana ijiwe ‘s.t. as hard as stone’

nuuma/ kana lkuta ‘as hard as a wall’

nuumu/ kanaa ngome ‘s.t. as hard as a sea-rock’

Omari/ muumu. ‘Omari is tough, hard.’

umuje

[cl.18] loc. dem. [cf. *Sw. mle* Moh 174] in there

muumuje/ umuje ‘in that same place there’

numbaani/ umuje ‘in that house’

umuje numbaani ‘in that house’

Umuje mtanaani/ umo munt^hu leele. ‘In there there is a man sleeping.’
review

Umuje/ we/ na’iwoowá/ kuwa ni sultaani/ wa muuyi. ‘In there you are known as the sultan of the town.’

umunu

[cl.18] loc. dem. in here

Chibuuku/ chimo umunu. ‘The book is inside here somewhere.’

Chimo umunu mahala mweepe. ‘It is in here somewhere.’ phrasing

Nt^haamo/ umunu. ‘He is not in here.’

Umunu/ wamo waant^hu/ hawaasali. ‘In here there are people who do not pray.’ review whether there is final accent

k-uundra

v. [Sw. *unda* SSED 500] construct, build

rel.

k-uundrila v. appl.

k-undroowa v. appl.

m-uundra (mi-)

n. 3/4 [Sw. *mgunda* SSED 278] garden, field, farm; [pron. **miyuundra** (pl.)]

Ali/ tala miyuundraya/ yotte. ‘Ali, take all my gardens.’

Ba’adi ya waant^hu/ awa/ hala miyuundra. ‘Some of these people plant gardens.’

Basi/ hendra mundraani/ hukalaant^ha/ hubashaalata/ hufikira jawaabu/ meepe/ mbele/ alhaasili/ yaa ye/ khtomola/ ma’anaye/ khpata chakujaake (=chakujaache). ‘So he goes to the farm and stays there and passes the time thinking about something, first, in short, how to take out (from it), which means, to earn his food.’

Basi/ nayo muundra/ nayoo muke. ‘So he has a farm, he has a wife.’

Chimwaambila/ mi/ nnakhtosha ya kuwa mkulá/ tezeze/ na mwanaamke/ uyu/ na shiinziḷa/ na isá/ nakfaanya/ kaazi/ miyundraani. ‘He told her: I think that my older brother played cards with this girl and was defeated and now he is working in the fields.’

Fijiri/ mkulu/ wa makhaadimu/ kama aadaye/ choondroka/ kulangaḷa muundra. ‘In the morning, the head of the servants, as was his custom, came and surveyed the garden.’

Fijiri/ naank^hó/ hayawaani/ zotte/ scheendra miyundaani/ kulima. ‘In the morning, again all the animals went to the garden to cultivate.’

Muundrawe/ ni mkulu/ laakini/ mavuynoye/ hayayezi/ lkusi. ‘My farm is large, but its harvest doesn’t fill a hand.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **mashuungi** ‘hair’.)

Nesheze muundra. ‘He watered the farm.’

Nile naayó/ ka mundraani. ‘I [lit.came with it -- i.e. took it] from the garden.’

Nuuru/ letelele muundra/ makiina. ‘Nuuru brought a machine for (to cultivate) the field.’

nt^hangú/ kaaka/ mundraani/ hattá/ apa ‘starting from my field up to here’

Ori wa muundrani/ hawiiki/ muyiini. ‘A farm rooster does not crow in town.’ (A proverb.)

Sku mooyi/ muke uyu/ muḅliwe/ oloshale miyundraani. ‘One day this woman’s husband went to the farms.’

Waant^hu/ wiingi/ walima miyuundra. ‘Many people are farmers.’

Waant^hu/ wote/ ni walima miyuundra. ‘All the people are farmers.’

Wene maali/ miingi/ wene miyuundra/ na ndraaniyé/ wenee gele/ na wenee miti/ ya matuundra/ anwaa’i/ niingi. ‘He saw great wealth, he saw farms and in them, he saw maize and he saw fruit trees of many different kinds.’ **check, i added accent**

Wote/ wachanza kiineendra/ kendra mundraani/ kaawo. ‘They all began to walk to go to their garden.’

Ye/ itinzile karka mundra wa waant^hu. ‘She picked it [a melon] from the garden of some people.’

Ye/ shṭinda tamáa/ chiruda mundraani. ‘He grew up and returned to the garden.’

unga

n. 14 [Sw. *unga* SSED 501] flour (Morp. It is quite possible that this item should be analyzed as consisting of the [cl.14] prefix *u-* and a stem *-nga*. However, we have no example establishing that *-nga* is a stem independent of *u*.)

mandra za unga ‘bread made from flour’

Numbaani/ kaaka/ unga/ hawkosekani. ‘In my house flour is never lacking.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **ivu** ‘ashes’.)

Si/ kiitu/ hi’ijilila...ije/ tu/ mandra za unga tu/ ka kahawa. ‘We at our house eat just bread made from maize flour with coffee.’

unga waa gele ‘corn flour’

unga waa mbawo [Sw. *unga wa mbao*] sawdust

unga wa mpuunga ‘rice flour’

unga waa muti [Sw. *unga wa mti*] sawdust

unga waa nganu ‘wheat flour’

ungawa ‘my flour’

k-unganya

v. (**unganyiize**) collect, gather

Chimaliza/ naank^hó/ shfanya jis’iyo/ hattá/ chunganya maayi/ miingi/ ya kumtoshá farasiye. ‘Then again he did it that way until he had ancollected much water so as to satisfy his horse.’

kuunganya/ maali/ kumpelekela doḅla ya talyaani ‘to collect money to send to the government of Italy’

Wachunganya peesa/ zaa wo/ wakhadirilo khpata. ‘They collected as much money as they could get.’

Wachunganyaa sehe/ niingi/ washpakila jahaziini. ‘They collected a lot of provisions and loaded them on the boat.’

rel.

k-ungamanya v. collect, gather together

Ungamanya/ kuḷa/ hayawaani/ ḁakari/ na uunthá/ muke/ na muḅlí. ‘Gather together every animal, male and female, female and male.’

k-ungamanyisha v. caus. gather people, things together

k-unganya’unganya v. freq.

Choondroka/ chunganychunganya ziint^huze/ chishikaa ndila/ kendra

kaawo. ‘He got up and gathered his things and took to the road to go home.’

Muné/ wanazo peesa/ habamó/ zaa ye/ unganyizo’unganyizó/ mkulé/ ilopó/ chimpa/ chimwaambila/ kulilaa nguwo. ‘His younger brother had a little money that he had collected here and there, and when his older brother came, he gave it to him, telling him to buy clothes with it.’

k-unganyoowa v. pass. (-unganyiiza) be collected by

wont^he watakunganyoowa [st.] ‘they will all be assembled’

Zunganyiiza. ‘(The stories, e.g.) were collected.’

ch-uungu (z-)

n. 7/8 [Sw. *chungu* SSED 65] earthen cooking pot

chuungu/ chaa zijo ‘a pot pf **zijo**’

Chuungu/ chiko muḷooni. ‘The pot is on the fire.’

Chuungu/ chivundishile. ‘The pot is broken.’

Ijiko mooyi/ háireebi/ chuungu. ‘One cooking stone does not support a pot.’ (A proverb.)

Kooḍi/ haspiki/ chuungu. ‘Words do not cook food [lit. the cooking pot].’ (A proverb.)

rel.

chi-j-uungu (zi-j-) n. dim. small cooking pot

i-j-uungu (mi-j-) n. aug. large cooking pot

n-uungu

n. 9/10 clay cooking pot

Lekele nunguuni/ kuja. ‘He went to the clay pot to eat from it.’

Nunguu nk^hulu/ haykosi/ ikooko. ‘A large pot never fails to have **ikooko**.’ (A proverb.)

Unguuja

n. [Sw. *unguja* SSED 502] Zanzibar

ch-unguḷiya

n. [Sw. *kiungulia* SSED 502] heartburn

ku-’uunsata

v. [Som. *uunsan-* Ab 242] cover oneself with a cloth in the application of **bukhuuri**

(a vapor made from burning certain herbs and used for medicinal purposes or as a scent)

rel.

ku-’uunsisha v. caus. (**unsishiize**)

unsuri

n. [Som. *cunsur* DSI 108] mishap, trouble, disaster

m-uuntǎ

n. [no etymological source found] day; [pron. **muunt^hi**]

Fijiri/ ya sku ya piili/ maama/ chimuḷila mp^huundra/ na Hasiibú/

muunt^hi oyo/ chirashmanya na jiraani/ chendra khtinda skunyi]

‘On the morning of the second day, mother bought a donkey for him and Hasiibu, on that day, followed the neighbors (and) went to cut firewood.’

Ineenzele/ muunt^hi/ mzimawe. ‘He walked the entire day.’

Masku/ ya muunt^hi/ oyo/ wa’ile waant^hu/ numbaani. ‘On the night of that day, people came to the house.’

Omari/ holoka dukaani/ kilaa muunt^hi. ‘Omari goes to the shop every day.’ Or, with verb emphasis: **Omari/ hooloka/ dukaani/ kilaa**

muunt^hi. (Phon. The simple yes-no question for the first example,

where verb and complement phrase together, is: **Omari/ holoka**

dukaani/ kilaa muunt^hi? This sentence exhibits Q-raising but not

accent shift. The simple yes-no question for the second version is:

Omari/ hooloka/ dukaani/ kilaa muunt^hi? In this case, there is

accent shift in the last two phrases. With respect to the emphatic

yes-no question, GM was comfortable only with the case where verb and complement are put into the same phrase: **Omari/ holoka dukaaní/ kilaa muunt^hi!?**)

Sa'iidi/ chishkila/ ka mlongotiini/ choloka kaa muke/ numbaani/ shkalaant^ha/ naaye/ muunt^hi/ mzimawe. 'Sa'iidi climbed down the mast and went to the woman's house and stayed with her the whole day.'

- uuntha** n. a female
Ungamanya/ ku_la/ hayawaani/ ðakari/ na uunthá/ muke/ na mu_hl_í. 'Gather together every creature, a male and a female, a woman and a man.'
- uqda** n. [Som. *cuqda* DSI 109; Ar. *uqda* W 628] **complex**
- ku-'urata** v. [Som. *ur-* Ab 244] (**ureete**) stink, smell (of the body); lose one's social or economic position
rel.
ku-'ursata v. caus. (**ursee**)
- uure** n. **someone dirty; slave, someone low in status**
Menye maali/ ni mkulu/ ha_tá/ uuri/ pete jaaha. 'One who is wealthy is important, respected, even someone of low caste is esteemed (if he is wealthy).' (A proverb.)
- urri** n. [Som. *curre* DSI 109] male cat
- urugu** n. [Som. *urug*] tuberculosis
Pete urugu. 'He got tuberculosis.'
- k-uusata** v. (**useete**) wait cautiously
Baaba/ ilopó/ na fungilopo mlaangó/ chimwonaa noka/ mzimawe/ maazi/ na nt^hakuliinda/ kuusata/ shtala shtoka/ chimu_hle_la noka. 'When father came and opened the door, he saw the snake bloody all over, and he did not wait to find out what really happened, he took a sword and killed the snake with it.'
kachuusata 'if we waited'
kamaa ye/ chimuusata 'if he gives him time (to think, make a decision)'
Nt^hasaa we/ kujiibá/ dhukhsata/ na usata. 'Before you reply, listen carefully and wait cautiously.'
rel.
k-usatisha v. caus. (**usatishiize**)
- k-uusha** v. (**ushiize**) hide s.t.
Chingila ka waawaye/ chimwaambila/ mi/ ndrudiilé/ ka amaani/ laakini/ siwakhuburé/ waant^hu/ kuwaa mi/ ndrudiilé/ waawaye/ shkhubala/ chimwusha mwaanawe. 'He entered his father's place and said to him: I have returned in peace, but do not inform people that I have returned; his father agreed and hid his son.'
Choondroka/ chiboola/ mbuzi/ oyo/ wa sul_taani/ chimuusha. 'He went and stole that sheep [mbuzi ya matako] of the sultan and hid it.'
Hasani/ chilawa/ ka numbaani/ chooloka/ apaje/ mashakaani/ maha_laa ye/ husho silaahazé. 'Hasani departed from the house and went to that place in the bush where he hides his weapons.'
Ibreeni/ mbozele Sarmadi/ chibuuku/ (ch)uziiza. 'Ibreeni stole the book from Sarmadi and hid it.' (The presence of the object marker on the conjoined verb is preferred.)
Khalamu/ nushiizé. 'A pen, I hid one.' (In order to make the preposed noun phrase definite, one would put an object marker in agreement with it on the verb: **Khalamu/ niyushiizé.** 'The pen, I hid it.')
Mbigaa nk^he_le/ ha'ushi/ ziwovu/ mimbaani. 'The one who shouts does not

hide evil inside him (lit. in the stomach).’ (A proverb.)

Omari/ ushize nguwo za maana. ‘Omari hid the child’s clothes.’ (Note that the speaker might continue this sentence with: **siwo/ za meenzawe** ‘not those of his friend’.)

Omari/ ushizee nguwo/ za maana/ siwo/ peesa. ‘Omari hid the *clothes* of the child, not the money.’

Paapo/ ichimweelela/ ya kuwa taajiri/ huusha/ maaliye/ nt^hini yaa muti. ‘Right then it became clear to him that the rich man was hiding his money under the tree.’

Shtala na mishpa yaa noka/ oyo/ chiya’usha. ‘She took the bones of that snake and hid them.’

Sungura/ shtalaa nama/ cheendra/ chiyuusha/ mahala ya siimba/ sho kuwona/ na shkalaanga/ mashkilo/ na khalbi/ chisterehela. ‘Rabbit took the meat and went and hid himself in a place where Lion could not see and he grilled the ears and the heart and enjoyed them.’

Takuusha. ‘He will hide it.’

Talaa nguwo/ za mwanaamke/ waa we/ m’ashiqiló/ ushá. ‘Take the clothes of the girl that you are smitten with and hide.’

Tuuma/ ushize chibuku cha maana. ‘Tuuma hid the child’s book.’ Or.

Tuuma/ ushize maana/ chibuukuche.

Usha maandra/ seendré/ mp^hana/ kaaja. ‘Hide the bread, otherwise the rats might eat it.’

Usha peesa/ seendré/ miizi/ kaboolá. ‘Hide the money otherwise a thief might steal it.’

Ushize peesa. ‘He hid money.’

Ye/ chushiize. ‘She hid it (referring to a noun like **chi-noka**).’

rel.

k-uushika v. p/s.

Mapeenzi/ ni kama shkololo/ haya’ushiki. ‘Love is like coughing, it cannot be hidden.’ (A proverb.)

Miimba/ hayuushiki. ‘A pregnancy cannot be hidden.’ (A proverb.)

k-ushiliza v. appl. hide for, from

Tuuma/ mushilize maana/ chibuuku. ‘Tuuma hid the book for the child.’

Or: ‘Tuuma hid the book from the child (i.e. hid the child’s book).’

k-ushoowa v. pass. (**ushiiza**) be hidden

Chisu chaa mi/ nuuziló/ chushiiza. ‘The knife that I bought has been hidden.’

Khalamu/ yushiza na Hamadi. ‘The pen was hidden by Hamadi.’

rel. nom.

mw-uusha n. 1 one who hides **form of the plural?**

Mwusha siriye/ hupata mraadiwe. ‘The one who hides his secrets achieves his goal.’

ushuuru

n. [Sw. *ushuru* SSED 507] tax(es), revenue

kulipa ushuuru [cf. Sw. *lipa ushuru*] ‘to pay taxes’

khtomola ushuuru [cf. Sw. *toa ushuru*] ‘to pay taxes’

khtala ushuuru ‘to collect taxes’

k-uskuma

v. [Sw. *sukuma* SSED 439] (**uskumiile**) push

Muskumile mwaana/ lkutaani. ‘He pushed the child against the wall.’

Nimwuskumile Jaamá/ mayiiní. ‘I pushed Jaama into the water.’

Uskumile ijiwe/ lkutaani. ‘He pushed the stone towards the wall.’

rel.

k-uskuma’uskuma v. freq.

Haba mo/ shpataa nguvu/ chuskuma’uskuma majiwe/ ayo/ ruuhuya/ chiya’ondrola/ mzimawa. ‘In a little while, I gained strength, and pushed and pushed those stones off of me, and I lifted them off from my whole body [the stones had been placed over his whole

body].’

k-uskumana v. rec. (-uskumeene)

k-uskumila v. appl. (uskumiliile) push for, with, towards

gari yaa mi/ mwuskumiliilo mwaalimú ‘the car that I pushed for the teacher’

iteke yaa mi/ nimwuskumiliilo Jaamá ‘the foot that I pushed Jaama with’

Muskumiliile Ali/ gaari. ‘He pushed the car for Ali.’

Muskumiliile Ali/ lwawo. ‘He used a stick to push Ali.’

Muskumiliile Ali/ mwaana. ‘He pushed the child towards Ali.’ or ‘He pushed Ali’s child.’

Mwuskumiliile ka ní/ Jaama. ‘With what did you push Jaama?’

Mwuskumiliileni/ Jaama. ‘What did you push for Jaama? What did you

push Jaama with?’

Nimwuskumiliile iteké/ Jaama. ‘I pushed with my foot Jaama.’

Nimwuskumiliile mwaalimú/ gaarí. ‘I pushed the car for the teacher.’

Uskumiliile lkuta/ ijiwe. ‘He pushed the stone up against the wall.’

k-uskumilana v. appl. rec.

k-uskumoowa v. pass.

Jaama/ usukumila mayiini/ naa mi. ‘Jaama was pushed into the water by me.’ The relative order of the locative phrase and the agentive phrase seems free: **Jaama/ usukumila naa mi/ mayiini.**

rel. nom.

m-uskuma (wa-) n. one who pushes; [pron. **wa’uskuma** (pl.)]

w-uskumo n. 14 the act of pushing

k-uskutiza

v. [cf. Sw. *sukutua* SSED 439] rinse (e.g. the mouth, clothes that have been washed with detergent, dishes that are already clean)

Booyi/ nakuskutiza zoombo. ‘The waiter is rinsing the things.’

rel.

k-uskutilila v. appl. (uskutiliile)

Uskutiliile maayi. ‘He gargled with water.’

k-uskutila v. (uskutiile) gargle

kuskutilaa kana ‘to rinse the mouth’

k-uskutiliza v. appl. (uskutiiize)

Ji/ mwuskutimize mwaana/ kana. ‘Ji rinsed the child’s mouth.’

k-uskutisha v. caus.

k-uskutishana v. caus. rec.

k-uskutishiliza v. caus. appl.

k-uskutishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

usluubu

n. method or way of doing s.t.

uso

n. 14/10 [Sw. *uso* (*nyuso*) SSED 507] face (Morph: It is possible that this item should be analyzed morphologically as consisting of a prefix *u-* and a stem *-so*. However, we have not found any evidence that the stem *-so* exists independently of the prefix *u-* and consequently write the item without showing internal morphological structure. Also, the [cl.10] form **nyuso** seems to have the prevocalic form of the nasal prefix of [CL.9/10].)

Chambiloowa/ kuwa sultaani/ uyu/ nayo mwanaamke/ mwenye akhili/ na usura wa usó. ‘He was told that this sultan had a daughter possessing intelligence and a beautiful face.’

kangamila uso ‘to lose face’

khkuta uso ‘to grimace [lit. fold face]’

khpaka uso/ mashizi ‘to disgrace by not doing what was asked or expected [lit. smear the face with soot]’

kuwa mhuundru uso ‘to redden the face’

Nyuso/ ziwawele huundru. ‘Their faces reddened.’ is *nyuso*

possible? in *chimiini*

Mpowaa kuja/ na waant^h/ nt^haná/ uso. ‘The one who is given food by people has no face.’ (A proverb; the idea being conveyed here is

that if one is given food etc., then one is indebted to the giver and cannot refuse him in other matters.)

muke sku za hija uso hafiniki [st.] ‘a woman should not cover her face during the pilgrimage’

Speendi/ kooḏizo/ walá/ kuwona usoowó. ‘I do not want [to hear] your words nor to see your face.’

uso mhuundru ‘red face’

uso/ ka uso ‘face to face’

uso waa nt^hi ‘the surface of the earth’

uso wa nuumba ‘the front of the house’

uzo zaawo ‘their faces’ note use as pl.

usoowa ‘my face’

Usura waa muke/ ni usura wa ṭabi’a/ siwo/ usura wa uso. ‘The beauty of a woman is beauty of character, it is not facial beauty.’ (A proverb.)

Yuusufu/ chiwapa haanzuye/ chiwa’ambila/ talaani/ hanzu iyi/ endraani/ mwandikeni waawe/ usooni. ‘Joseph gave them his robe and told them: take this robe and go and put it over my father’s face.’

usri n. [Ar. *usr* W 612] predicament, difficult situation, distress

usri faanya yasiiri/ oondrola ufaqiiri [st.] ‘ease [our] distress, remove poverty’

uss interj. [Sw. *usu* SSED 508] be quiet! shut up! (normally one accompanies this word with the gesture of putting the finger in a vertical position in the middle of the mouth)

Muunt^hu/ siwo/ suura/ kumambila mzeelewe/ uss. ‘It is not good for a person to tell his elder: shut up.’

Sinaambilé/ us. ‘Don’t tell me to shut up.’

Sinaambilé/ mi/ us. ‘Don’t tell me to shup up!’

uṣṭaadi (ma-’) n. professor, teacher
variant form: **uṣṭaaḏi**

Baana/ uṣṭaadi/ waliko apa/ yana. ‘Baana the teacher was here yesterday.’

Nimené/ Baana/ uṣṭaadi/ yana masku. ‘I saw Baana the teacher last night.’

Nimene Omari/ uṣṭaadi. ‘I saw Omari the teacher.’

Nimene Uṣṭadi Baaná. ‘I saw Teacher Baana.’

uṭaaridi n. [Ar. *uṭārid* W 620] the planet Mercury

uṭla n. holiday, vacation
koloka uṭla ‘to go on holiday’

uta in the phrase: **-teza ka uta**
Mteza ka uta/ huṭa. ‘The one takes risks cries.’

uwa interj. of surprise; [pron. **uwá**]
Uwá/ Omari/ naank^hó/ iize. ‘What! Omari refused again.’

m-uuwa (miy-) n. 3/4 [Sw. *muwa (miwa)* SSED 315] sugar cane
muundra/ wa muuwa ‘a sugar cane farm’
muwa mlada ‘sweet sugar cane’; **miyumba mlada** ‘sweet sugar canes’
Suukari/ hufanyowa ka muuwa. ‘Sugar is made from sugar cane.’

ch-uwo (z-) n. 7/8 [Sw. *chuo* SSED 66] (especially a) religious book; religious schooling, school
variant form: **chiwo (ziwo)**
Basi/ maamaye/ chimtila chiwooni. ‘So his mother put him in school.’
Hasiibu/ chimuza maamaye/ ziikopi/ ziwo za waawaye. ‘Hasiibu asked

his mother where the books of his father were.’
kharibu yaa chuwo or **khariibu/ yaa chuwo** ‘near the school’
khtila chiwooni ‘to “school” someone; to put in school’

Baba Hamadi/ watile waanawe/ chiwooni. ‘Father Hamadi has put his children in school.’

[**Maama/ chimjiiba/ ya kuwa** [↑]**ziwo/ za waawaye/ zimo nt^hini ya mivuungu.**] ‘(His) mother answered him that the books of his father were under the bed.’ (Phon. We have located this example in brackets to indicate that it contains a special symbol, the upraised arrow, indicating that the pitch on the following word is raised beyond normal. This raising of the pitch on **ziwo** seems to be critical to explaining why the preceding word does not end in a lengthened vowel. Specifically, a CVCV word like **ziwo** would ordinarily cause a preceding final vowel to be lengthened, but this lengthening does not occur here when **ziwo** is specially emphasized. Why not? The answer appears to revolve around how stress is assigned in this phrase. Ordinarily, phrasal stress is not sensitive to word boundaries in the phrase. But apparently here the stress most fall on the word being emphasized, i.e. the last word in the phrase. Thus the vowel preceding **ziwo** is not stressed and thus cannot be long.)

Nt^hakuwanaayo/ sho kuwaa zuwo/ zaa dawa. ‘He did not have anything except books of medicine.’

Nuuru/ somelee chiwo. ‘Nuuru read/studied a book.’ Or: **Nuuru/ someele/ chiwo.** ‘Nuuru read a book.’ Or: **Nuuru/ someloo chiwó.** ‘Nuuru read a book.’ (Phon. The yes-no question version of the first example has no shift in accent, simply Q-raising: **Nuuru/ somelee chiwo?** The yes-no question version of the second sentence induces accent-shift in the out-of-focus complement: **Nuuru/ someele/ chiwó?** The yes-no question version of the third sentence again shows no accentual difference, just Q-raising: **Nuuru/ someloo chiwó?**)

Shfungulaa chuwo/ chisooma/ chimaliza/ chimwambila mukeewe... ‘He opened the book and read it and then said to his wife...’

Sku mooyi/ chimvīla mukeewe/ chimwaambila/ kumletela chiwo cha udakhtari. ‘One day he called his wife (and) told her to bring to him a book of doctoring.’

ziwo za qur’aani or **ziwo/ za qur’aani** ‘koranic schools’

rel.

chi-j-uwo (*zi-*) n. 7/8

Hukalaant^ha/ husomasoma chijuwoche. ‘He sits and reads his little book.’

Hutukula chijuwo/ cha qur’aani/ chijuwo/ mwaape/ cha ilmu/ husomasooma. ‘He carries a book of the Quran, some little book of knowledge, and reads it.’

ch-uwooni

n. koranic school

variant form: **chiwooni**

Basi/ maamaye/ chimtila chiwooni. ‘So his mother put him in school.’

Chuwooni/ hukalant^hoowa/ nt^hi. ‘In koranic school one sits of the ground.’

Hupelekoowa/ chiwooni. ‘He is sent to koranic school.’

wana wa ziwooni ‘children in koranic schools’

Waana/ wa ziwooni/ washtukula ziwawo/ zandishiḷa. ‘The children of the koranic schools carried wooden boards on which the Quran was written.’

wana ziwooni ‘[lit.] children in the koranic school, but the actual meaning is:] religious scholars

Wana ziwooni/ masheekhi/ wachihadó/ mbuzí/ yaa ye/ ichinshaarató. ‘It was the religious scholars, the sheikhs,

who said what the goat had forecast.’ **accent phrasing see text**

- uwu** [cl.3] demonstrative
Muti uyu (or: **uwu**)/ (**laazímu**)/ **ustíndoowa**. ‘This tree must not be cut.’
- uwuje** [cl.3] demonstrative
Muti uwuje/ nii mule. ‘That tree is tall.’
wuuwuje uwuje ‘that same one’
- uyu** [cl.1] demonstrative
Koođizo/ ni lila/ laakini/ uyu/ ni mwaanawa. ‘Your words are true, but this is my daughter.’
munt^hu uyu ‘this person’
Mwana uyu/ nii mule. ‘This child is tall.’
Ngombe uyu/ ni mkulu. ‘This cow is big.’ (Observe that in the singular an animal like **ngombe** usually controls [cl.1] “human” agreement.)
Sultaani/ uyu/ chaamura/ waana/ khpowa Hasani. ‘This sultan ordered the children to be given to Hasani.’ (Syn. The verb **-poowa** ‘be given’ ordinarily has the indirect object (here **Hasani**) as its subject and not the direct object (here **waana**). In the present sentence, it is not clear which noun phrase is the subject. It is not uncommon in Chimiini passive structures for the subject to be postposed after the verb. Thus it is entirely possible that **Hasani** is indeed the subject. Since the verb **khpowa** does not have subject marking, it is impossible to use that criterion to determine which noun phrase is the syntactic subject of the passive.)
Uu/ mbaakó. ‘This one (e.g. a cow) is yours.’
Uu/ ngoombe/ mbaakó. ‘This the cow is yours.’ Or: **Ngombe uu/ mbaakó**.
‘This cow is yours.’
Uyu/ ni munt^hu nakumeroowá. ‘This one is the person who is being looked for.’
Uyu/ waliko leele. ‘This one [referring to a beast] was asleep.’
- uyu** [cl.3] demonstrative
mšana uyu ‘this room’
Mkate/ suyú. ‘The cake is here.’ Or: **Suyú/ mkate**.
Muti uyu/ nii mule/ kuziđa muti oyo. ‘This tree is taller than that tree.’
Uyu/ ni mulku/ wa masultaani. ‘This is property fit for sultans.’
Uyu/ ni muunt^hi/ hударбаџiloowa/ na hulindroowa. ‘This is a day prepared for and waited for.’
- uyu** [cl.14] demonstrative
Uyu/ ni wakhtí/ waa ye/ hujoo kujá. ‘This is the time that he comes to eat.’
- (^o)**uyuubi** n. [Ar. ‘**uyūb**, plural of ‘**aib** W 660] flaws, shortcomings
na mzimaawo ni ‘uyuubi / ka đaaħiri na ka gheebe [st.] ‘and you are full of flaws, evident and hidden’
review whether the glottal element is heard in position after ni
- k-uuz** v. [Sw. **uza** SSED 511] (**uziize**) ask
Apo/ teena/ we/ m̄wuuze/ majiibu/ ya su’aaliye. ‘There then you ask him the answer to his question.’
Chimvila mzele/ chimwuuz. ‘He called the old woman and asked her.’
Hunuuzi/ chiint^hu. ‘You don’t ask me anything.’
Kiła chuuz/ ka khisani/ ye/ hapoowí/ peesazé/ ma’askari/ humjiiba/ si/ chamurila na sultaani/ khtalaa nsi/ kiineendrá. ‘Every time he asks for what reason he is not given his money, the soldiers answer: we were ordered by the sultan to take the fish to walk away.’

(Phon. Observe the final accent triggered by the pre-verbal **ka khisani** ‘why?’.)

muunt^hu sho kiiwa namuuze jo aadili [st.] ‘a man who does not know [the regulations] should ask one who is knowledgeable’

Nimwuzize Fariidá/ kendra dukaani. ‘I asked Fariida to go to the shop.’

(In this example, we observe that the final accent triggered by **nimwuzize...** appears at the end of both PP’s in the VP. It is possible to put focus on the first complement, in which case the final accent stops there: **Nimwuzize Fariidá/ kendra dukaani.** If the main verb is focused, then the final accent does not extend beyond it: **Nimwuziizé/ Fariida/ keendra/ dukaani.** **review** It is also possible to focus on the complement verb: **Nimwuzize Fariidá/ keendrá/ dukaani.** Once again, we see that the final accent does not extend past the focused element.)

Nimwuzize Hamadí/ kooloká. ‘I asked Hamadi to go’

Nimwuzize Hamadí/ kump^{ha} peesá/ mi. ‘I asked Hamadi to give me money.’

Nimwuzize peesá/ Hamadí. ‘I asked for money from Hamadi.’

Nimwuzizopo inamlizó ‘when I asked her what made her cry’

Nizuzize peesá/ khpoowá. ‘I asked for the money to be given.’

Nizuzize peesázá. ‘I asked for it my money.’ Or: **Nizuzize peesá.** ‘I asked for it the money.’ Or: **Nizuziizé/ peesa(za).** ‘I asked for it my money.’ (It is possible for the verb to have an OM in agreement with **peesá** just in case one does not mention from whom the money is being asked. Thus it is ungrammatical to say ***Nizuzize peesá/ Hamadí.** ‘I asked for the money from Hamadi.’ In contrast, the verb may agree with **Hamadí** and still mention **peesá**: **Nimwuziizé/ Hamadí/ peesa.** Or: **Nimwuziizé/ peesa/ Hamadí.**

Nuuzá/ mi/ yaa we/ nakhsulo kiiwá. ‘Ask me whatever you want to know.’

Nuuzá/ teena/ naa wé/ nakhsuuló/ nuuzá. ‘Ask me, then, what you want [to ask me], ask me.’

Sku mooyi/ mwaana/ mwuzize waawaye/ waawé/ chimwiini/ chilazilepi? ‘One day a child asked his father, Father, where did Chimwiini come from?’

Sultaani/ chiwa’uza ma’askari wiingine/ ndooni/ uyu/ ndiyé/ so/ wa’ublelo ngoombezá. ‘The sultan asked the other soldiers: come you, is this the one who killed my cattle?’

Uza! ‘Ask!’

Uziizopó/ chambiloowa/ kuwa sultaani/ wa muuyi/ fiile/ na kuwa

waant^hú/ wanakumeera/ muunt^hu/ aadili/ na faahimú/

kuwawejelela sultaani. ‘When he asked [what the news was from this town], he was told that the sultan of the town had died and that people were searching for someone just and intelligent to be the sultan.’

rel.

k-uuliza v. appl. (**uliize**)

k-ulizanya or *k-ulizanyana* v. appl. rec. (**ulizeenye** or **ulizanyeene**)

k-ulizoowa v. appl. pass. (**uliiza**)

k-uuzan(y)a v. rec. ask one another

kuzanya su’aali ‘to ask one another questions’

Wachuzanya khabari. ‘They asked each other the news.’

Wamó/ wachuuzanya/ mbona/ futushile ka mahalaamp^hí. ‘Some were asking one another: say, where did he pop out from?’

k-uuzika or *k-uzikika* v. p/s. (**uzishile** or **uzikishile**)

Nsi/ zinakuuzika. ‘The fish are getting sold.’

k-uzikila v. caus. p/s. appl.

Zaakuja/ zikhuzikiliile? ‘Were you able to sell the food (lit. was the food able to be sold for you)?’

k-uzoowa v. pass. (**-uziiza**) be asked

Muunt^hu/ huzowa veetení/ ha’uzoowi/ jileení. ‘A man is asked: what are you dressed in, he is not asked: what have you eaten.’ (A proverb.)

Mwaana/ chuzoowa/ ka khisani/ we/ chiza khfuungula/ shtandrawili.

‘The boy was asked: for what reason did you refuse to solve the riddle?’

rel. nom.
mw-uuza (*wa-'uza*) n. 1/2 one who asks

uzi in the expression:
majumba ya uzi 'houses of mud'

vaalyola n. [Ital. *valvola*] valve

ku-vaala v. [Sw.*vaa* SSED 512] (**veete**) dress, wear clothes, put on clothes
Ali/ chivaala/ haanzu/ cheendra/ ka sulṭaani. 'Ali wore the **haanzu** and went to the king.'
Ali/ vetee nguwo. 'Ali put on clothes.'
Chimaliza/ chivala nguwoze/ za shtaajiri/ shpandra farasiye/ msuura/ choloka ka sulṭaani. 'Then he put on his clothes of a rich man, and mounted his beautiful horse and went to the sultan.'
Chimaambila/ kuvaala. 'He told him to get dressed.'
Chivalaa nguwo. 'She got dressed.'
Haliima/ liweele/ kuvala chiint^hu. 'Haliima forgot to put on something.'
Haanzu/ ^fmuke/ veetó. 'A dress, the *woman* wore.' Or: **^fHaanzu/ muke/ veetó.** 'A dress the woman wore.'

Huseeni/ chivala nguwoze/ shtaala/ na chiguwó/ cha mwanaamke/ mpeeló/ chibiga chileemba. 'Huseeni put on his clothes, he took (also) the cloth which the girl had given him and used it as a turban.'

Kula muunt^hu/ huvala nguwo mp^hiya. 'Everyone wears new clothes.'

Kuvala chilemba chepe/ sikumtiya/ mwajiitu. 'To wear a white turban is not to fear God.' (A proverb.)

Maskiini/ chivala sarwaani. 'The poor man put on trousers.'

Mukeewa/ tunzile iboholi/ tete nguwoze/ veete/ chimaliza/ yulukiliile/ kendra kaawo. 'My wife dug a hole and took out her clothes and then she flew herself off to go to her home.'

Nakuvaala. 'He is getting dressed.'

Nguwo/ fuzilo Faatimá/ sivaali 'The clothes that Faatima washed, I won't put (them) on.'

nguwo zaa ye/ veetó 'the clothes that she wore'

Nureeni/ vete jaaka. 'Nureeni wore a jacket.'

Nureeni/ vete jaka ya naani. 'Nureeni wore whose jacket?'

Nveeté. 'I got dressed.'

Nvete haanzuyá/ mp^hiyá. 'I put on my new dress.'

Nvetee nguwo. 'I put on clothes.'

Omari/ nt^hakuvaala/ shaati. 'Omari did not wear a shirt.' (Phon. The unmarked case for a negative verb is that is focused and the following complement is out-of-focus. The focus on the negative verb is conveyed by raising of pitch and the placement of a phrase-edge at the end of the verb. The out-of-focus nature of the complement is revealed by the simple yes-no question: **Omari/ nt^hakuvaala/ shaati?** 'did Omari not wear a shirt?')

Uzilee nguwo/ kuvaala. 'He bought clothes to wear.'

Valani mikandra yiinu/ ariplaano/ inakuuluka. 'Fasten your seatbelts, the airplane is taking off.' Or: **Valani mikandra yiinu, valaani/ ariplaano/ inakuuluka.** 'Fasten your seat belts, that's what you should do, the airplane is taking off.'

Vete lkandra la aaga/ veetó. 'He wore a rubber belt, that's what he did.'

Or: **Vete lkaandra/ veetó/ la aaga.** 'He wore a belt, that's what he wore, of rubber.'

Vete shati nyulusi. 'He has a black shirt on.'

Wamalizopo koowá/ wavete nguwo zaawo/ wa'ulushile. 'When they finished bathing, they put on their clothes and they flew away.'

Waana/ wavete nguwo suura. 'The children wore beautiful clothes.' Or: **Wavete nguwo suura/ waana.**

Waveto nguwo suurá/ ni waana. 'The ones who have worn beautiful clothes are the children.'

We/ veeté/ jaaka/ suura. 'You wore a nice jacket.' (In a sentence such as

this, the phrasal separation of the verb from its complement requires that the verb not be downstepped. The phrasal separation of **jaaka** and **suura** appears to prevent the downstepping that ordinarily follows a focused verb. A parallel example is: **We/ veeté/ jaaka/ mp^hiya.** ‘You bought a new jacket.’)

We/ veeté/ jaka ya Hamadi. ‘You wore Hamadi’s jacket.’ (It is important to note, however, that one cannot say: **We/ veeté/ jaka ya naani.** ‘Whose jacket did you wear? It seems that **naani** must be the sole focus in a sentence and that focusing in addition on the verb renders the sentence unacceptable.)

We/ vete jaka ya naani. ‘Whose jacket did you wear?’ **We/ vete jaaká/ ya naani.** ‘You wore whose jacket?’ (Observe that in the second version, where **jaaka** is phrasally separated from **ya naani**, the final accent triggered by the second person past tense verb form does not project to the focused word **naani**. This failure requires explanation since in other cases where the head of an associative phrase is separated prosodically from its complement, final accent *does* project to the complement.)

Ye/ chivala chimó/ naamí/ takuvala chimooyi. ‘If she puts on one (shoe), I will put on one (shoe).’ (Phon. The stem **-mooyi**, with default penult accent, may contract to **-mo**, in which case the final vowel is short and accented. Notice that although **chimó** has the apparent shape CVCV, it does not trigger lengthening of a preceding vowel in the phrase, as is the usual case for words of the structure CVCV. This failure to induce lengthening is apparently a reflection of the fact that **chi-mooyi** does not have the right structure to induce lengthening.)

rel.

ku-vaalila v. appl. (**valiile**)

Ivaliile zilaatu. ‘And so he put on the shoes.’ (Note the use of the reflexive prefix in conjunction with the applied verb stem.)

ku-valoowa v. pass. (**veeta**) be worn by

Chimwambila mubli/ khamsiini/ kuḷawa/ nama/ kasha/ na shkooyá/ kuvaloowá/ ma’anaye nini. ‘She said to her husband: fifty to go out, meat to light; and a necklace to be worn -- what is its meaning (i.e. what is the meaning of this riddle)?’

Nguwo/ iveta naami. ‘The clothes were put on by me.’

Nguwo suura/ ziveta na waana. ‘Nice clothes were worn by the children.’

ku-vaalika v. p/s. able to be worn

Ltakila/ nii liile/ laakini/ halvaaliki/ shingooni. ‘My necklace is long, but it cannot be worn around the neck.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **siyaafu** ‘safari ants’.)

ku-vaalisha v. caus. put clothes on (This verbal form was accepted by MI, but not recognized by GM.)

Nuuru/ mvalishize mwaana/ nguwo. ‘Nuuru put clothes on the child.’

ku-valishiliza v. caus. appl.

Nuuru/ mvalishilize Suufi/ mwaana/ nguwo. ‘Nuuru put clothes on Suufi’s child.’

ku-valishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Nuuru/ na Suufi/ wavalishilizenye waana/ nguwo. ‘Nuuru and Suufi put clothes on one another’s children.’

ku-veesha v. caus. (**vesheeze**) dress someone, put clothes on s.o., help someone dress

Ali/ mvesheze mwaana/ nguwo. ‘Ali dressed the child.’ (If one wished to convey the idea that one induced the child to get dressed, the periphrastic construction would be used: **Ali/ mtile mwaana/ kuvalaa nguwo.**)

kumveesha ‘to dress him’

Mveshe mwaana/ nguwo. ‘Put clothes on the child.’

Naani/ humvesho maaná ‘who dresses the child?’ (A possible answer:

Tuuma/ humvesho maaná. ‘Tuuma dresses the child.’ The fact that Tuuma is focused in this answer is indicated by the fact that the verb has been put into pseudo-relative clause form.)

Nimvesheze Hamadí/ chileembá. ‘I helped Hamadi put on a turban.’

Nimvesheze mwaaná/ nguwo. ‘I dressed the child.’ (This sentence is not understood as ‘I made the child put on clothes’; to convey this idea, one would say: **Nimghasibile Hamadi/ kuvalaa nguwo.** ‘I made Hamadi wear clothes.’)

Nuuru/ vesheze nguwo huundru. ‘Nuuru had [some indefinite people] put on red clothes.’ (Syn. The simple verb **-vaala** is used when one is dressing himself; if **-veesha** is employed, then the subject is

somehow causing someone else to wear clothes. If there an object prefix, then a direct causation is understood – i.e. the subject dressed the object. In the absence of an object prefix, however, as in the present example, all that is conveyed is that the subject somehow caused indefinite people to be wearing clothes.)

Tuuma/ mkali/ kuveesha. ‘Tuuma is very good at dressing (people).’ (Cf. **Tuuma/ mkali/ kuveeshá?** and **Tuuma/ mkali/ kuveeshâ!?**)

Tuuma/ mkali/ kuveshaa nguwo. ‘Tuuma is very good in dressing (people), lit. putting clothes on s.o.’

Tuuma/ namvesha maana/ shaati. ‘Tuuma is putting a shirt on the child.’ (Cf. **Tuuma/ namvesha maana/ shaati?** and **Tuuma/ namvesha maaná/ shaatí!?**) Or with focus on the verb: **Tuuma/ namveesha/ maana/ shaati.** ‘Tuuma *dressed* the child with a shirt.’ (Cf. **Tuuma/ namveesha/ maaná/ shaatí?**) Or: **Tuuma/ namvesha maana/ shaati.** ‘Tuuma dressed the *child* with a shirt.’ (Cf. **Tuuma/ namvesha maana/ shaatí?**)

ku-veeshana v. caus. rec.

ku-veeshaka v. p/s.

ku-veshoowa v. caus. pass. (**vesheeza**)

Hamadi/ vesheza chileembe/ naami. ‘Hamadi was helped by me to put on a turban.’

Maana/ vesheeza/ shati ya ghaali. ‘The child was garbed (by someone) with an expensive shirt.’

Naani/ nt^hakuveshoowá. ‘Who was not dressed (by someone)? (A possible answer: **Maana/ nt^hakuveshoowá.** ‘The child was not dressed (by someone)?’)

Nguwo/ vesheza mwaana/ naami. ‘Clothes were put on the child by me.’

rel. nom.

i-vaalo n. **review use of this item**

ma-vaalo n. 6 clothes, garments

ma-vaazi n. 6 clothing, garments; style or way of dressing

Mavaaziye/ kama ya want^hu wa zamaani. ‘His way of dressing is like that of the people of olden times.’

vandilatoore

n. 9/10 [Ital. *ventilatore*] fan (of a car)

ma-vaazi

n.

Endrá/ vala mavaazi/ masuura/ chimaliza/ ndo/ mlole mwanaamkewa. ‘Go, put on nice clothes, then come and marry my daughter.’

Mwanaamke/ chigedisha mavaazi/ shtukula ruuhuye/ chendra ka Fikiriini. ‘The girl changed her clothes and took herself and went to Fikiriini.’

ku-viila

s.o., summon; name

v. [uncertain etymology; cf. Sw. *lia* ‘utter a sound, cry out’ SSED 244] (**viliile**) call

Ali/ mviile mwaana. ‘Ali called the child.’

Apo/ ye/ chimvila mooyi/ karka wataanawe/ chimwambila/ zaa ye/ nakhsulo khfaanyá. ‘Then he called one of his slaves and told him what he wanted to do.’

Chimuza/ naani/ namviió. ‘She asked her who was the one calling her.’

Endraani/ mviileni bakayle/ naayé/ shtumbe chisima. ‘You all go and call the rabbit (so that) he come and we can dig a well.’

Jaama/ nviile. ‘Jaama called me.’

Mi/ niwaviliilé/ waana/ wote. ‘I called all the children.’

Mubli/ chimwambila mukeewe/ kuwavila waana/ wanaje naaye. ‘The man told his wife to call the children so that they could eat with him.’

Muusa/ mviile mwaanawe. ‘Muusa called his son.’

Mwaana/ chimvila maamaye/ chimuza/ mfanyiizeni/ muné. ‘The child called her mother and asked her what she had done to her little

sister.’

Nimvīlile Haaji/ mweenzwé. ‘I called Haaji’s friend.’

Nimvīlile mukeewá/ Barká/ yana. ‘I called my wife Barka yesterday.’

Nt^hakuwaviila/ waana. ‘She did not call the children.’

Sinvīlé/ maamé. ‘Don’t call me mother!’

Sku yaane/ qaaði/ chimvīla. ‘On the fourth day the judge summoned her.’

Wachimvīla mubli/ wachimwaambila/ bwaana/ apa/ ukoo noka. ‘They called the husband and said to him: master, there is a snake there.’

rel.

ku-viilila v. appl.

ku-viiloowa v. appl. pass. (**viilila**)

Nvilila na Jaamá. ‘I was called by Jaama.’

Sultaani/ chaamura/ kuvililoowa/ Ali. ‘The king ordered that Ali be called (to come to him).’

Ye/ chamura kuvililoowa/ oyo mgarwa. ‘He ordered that fisherman to be summoned.’

ku-viloowa v. pass. (**viilila**) be called

Apo/ zamaani/ waliko muunt^hu/ mooyi/ chivilowa Khamiisi. ‘Once upon a time there was a man called Khamiisi.’

Chimaliza/ khaadimu/ chimvilaa mbwa/ naa mbwa/ ikusilopó/ chivilowa mwanaamke/ wa mwaarabu/ oyo/ naa ye/ chija.

‘Then the servant called the dog (to eat), and when the dog was satiated, the daughter of that Arab was called, and she also ate.’

Chimwaambila/ kuwa nakuviloowa. ‘She told her that she was being called.’

Chiviloowa. ‘He was called.’

Inaye chiviloowa Hawla [st.] ‘by name [lit. her name] she was called Hawla’

Khamsiiniza/ mp^heté/ isa/ nakhsuulá/ ye/ kuviloowa/ xpoowa/ ndrutize khamsiini. ‘My fifty (blows) I got, now I want him to be called to be given his fifty blows.’

Kooðizo/ lila/ naviloowa/ mwana maskiini/ naaye. ‘Your words are true; let the poor boy be called so that he come.’

Mooyi/ karka waanawe/ zihaba/ chiviloowa/ Yuusufu/ na mwiinginé/ chiviloowa/ Binyameeni. ‘One among his small children was named Joseph and the other was named Benjamin.’

Muke oyo/ wanayo mwaana/ mooyi/ chivilowa Sa’iidi. ‘That woman had a child called Sa’iidi.’

Mwaana/ choondroka/ chendra markabuuni/ chimwambila sultaani/ bwana/ we/ nakuviloowá/ tawala. ‘The boy got up and went to the ship and said to the sultan: master, you are being called at the shore.’

Sultaani/ shtumaa nt^hume/ kuviloowa mwaana. ‘The sultan sent a message calling the boy (to come to him).’ (Phon. Observe the postposing of the subject after the passive verb. This postposed passive subject phrases with the verb.)

ku-viisha v. (**vishiize**) answer a call; pay attention to what someone is saying

Zakariya/ mvishize Diine. ‘Zakariya answered Diine’s call.’

-viriinge

adj. [Sw. *viringa* ‘become round’ SSED 514] round

baskuti nviriinge ‘round cookie(s)’

chiti chiviriinge ‘a round chair’; **ziti ziviriinge** ‘round chairs’

ibanya iviriinge ‘a round space’; **mabanya maviriinge** ‘round spaces’;

mibanya miviriinge ‘round spaces’

imoro iviriinge ‘round fence’; **mimori miviriinge** ‘round fences’

ito iviriinge ‘round eye’; **mato maviriinge** ‘round eyes’

meza nviriinge ‘a round table; round tables’

- numba nviriinge** ‘a round house’
uso mviriinge ‘a round face’
Baana/ usowe/ mviriinge. ‘Baana’s face is round.’
- rel.
m-viriingo (mi-) n. 3/4 circle
u-viriingo n. 14 circle, rim, circumference
uviringo wa shkoombe ‘the rim of a cup’
- ku-viriingika* v. go or walk around
- vitamiini** n. vitamins
Baghali/ inayo vitamiina. ‘*Baghali* has vitamins.’
Mayaank^huku/ ni afiya/ zimo vitamiini. ‘Eggs are healthy, they have vitamins.’
Vitamiini “B”/ hinfa maradi ya neervo. ‘Vitamin B is good for nerve disease.’
- ku-viva* v. [Sw. *iva* SSED 145] (viviile) be ripe, cooked
Chaakuja/ chiviviilopó/ Fikiirini/ shpakula/ chiweeka/ chaakuja/ icho/ ilu ya meeza. ‘When the food was cooked, Fikiirini dished it out and placed that food on the table.’
Ha’ivivi. ‘It won’t ripen.’
Khariibu/ ya kuviva/ mwaana/ chilawa/ cheendra/ kuliindra. ‘[When the dates were] close to ripening, the boy left and went to look after [them].’
...kuliinda/ nt^heendre/ hattá/ mukhtaa zo/ stakuvivó ‘...to guard the dates until they become ripe’
Mayank^huku aya/ nt^hayakuviva. ‘These eggs are not cooked.’
Mayank^huku aya/ yaviviile. ‘These eggs are cooked.’
Mazu iviviiló ‘a banana that is ripe’
Mubli/ oloshelopo kaziini/ muke/ shpikaa zijo/ ziviviilopó/ chwapakulila waana/ mbalibali. ‘When the husband left for work, the woman cooked **zijo** and when it was done, she dished it out for the children (on separate plates).’
Muke/ shpikaa zijo/ ziviviilopó/ chiwapakulila waana. ‘The woman prepared **zijo** and when it was cooked, she dished it out to the children.’
Mukhta nt^heendre/ zilaziló/ baaba/ chiwaviila waanawe/ sitta/ chiwa’ambila/ kuwaa ye/ namsula mooyi/ kati kaawo/ kuliindra/ nt^heendre/ hattá/ mukhtaa zo/ stakuvivó. ‘When the dates came out, Father called his his six children and told them that he wanted one among them to protect the dates until they became ripe.’
Nama/ iviviile. ‘The meat is cooked.’
Washkoðakooða/ walwaawo/ hattá/ chaakuja/ shchiviva. ‘They chatted, both of them, until the food was cooked [lit. ripe].’
- rel.
ku-vivila v. appl. [Sw. *ivia* SSED 145] become ripe for
Matuundra/ humvivila mwenye sabri. ‘Fruits ripen for the one with patience.’ (A proverb.)
Nama/ inviviliile. ‘The meat became cooked for him.’
- ku-vivisha* v. caus. ripen, cook
Nvivishizee namá. ‘I cooked the meat.’
- ku-vivishiliza* v. caus. appl.
rel. nom.
u-vivo n. 14 ripeness
- vivo* or *-vivu* adj. [Sw. *-bivu* SSED 37] ripe
Ipapayu ivivo ‘a ripe papaya’
Mweka chiwiti/ huja chivivu. ‘The person who puts aside s.t. unripe’

(now), eats s.t. ripe (later).’

i-vu

n. 9 [cf. Sw. *majivu* SSED 255] ashes

Ivu/ ha’ipiishi. ‘Ash does not burn.’ (A proverb.)

ivu niingi ‘a lot of ashes’

khpakana ivu/ usooni ‘to put ash on one another’s face’

Mulo/ uwele ivu. ‘Fire becomes ash.’

Muunt^hu/ impishizoo mulo/ hatá/ ivuye/ hutiya. ‘A person who has been burned by fire, he is afraid of even its ashes.’ (A proverb.)

Muunt^hu/ mulo/ chimpiisha/ hatá/ ivu/ hutiya. ‘If fire has burned a person, he is afraid even of ashes.’ (A proverb.)

rel.

mi’-ivu n. 4 a large quantity of ashes

zi’-ivu n. 8 a small quantity of ashes

ku-vuuka

v. [Sw. *vuka* SSED 515] (**vuushile**) go away

Basi/ uje mwiimbili/ naank^hó/ chivuka bahariini/ kaake/ naank^hó/ cheendra/ kooko/ okó/ igomeeni. ‘So that boy once again went to his place in the sea, again he went to that very same place in the rocks.’ (In our recording of the text from which this example comes, we could not clearly hear the final accent on **okó**, but Mohammad Imam in transcribing the text wrote a final accent. We are not sure of the principle according to which it would be assigned.)

Basi/ ye/ chiḷa/ awaje/ wotte/ wachivuka harusini. ‘So she [the step-daughter] cried and those ones [the sisters, the father and stepmother] all went to the wedding.’

Chivuka naaye. ‘He went with him.’

Isa/ basi/ vushile ka sultaani/ sku iyo/ bozele chilaatu/ chimooyi/ cha ḍahabu/ boozeló. ‘So now he went to the sultan that day and stole one shoe of gold, that’s what he did.’

Mubliwa/ vushile safari. ‘My husband has gone away on a trip.’

Mogadiiṣho is Tuuma.’

Muke/ (uje) vushilo Mkhodiishó/ ni Tuuma. ‘The woman who went to

Naank^hó/ sku ya piili/ wavushile chiwooni/ wasomeele/ nini/ naank^hó/ illa/ chimwambila oyo mwaana/ chilawe. ‘Again, the next day [lit. the second day] they went to school, they studied, what, and again [it was a] must, he told that child, let’s go!’

Nayo kuvuuká. ‘I should leave, go away.’ **review**

Numa/ wavuushile. ‘Then they went away.’

Nvushile Mkhodiishó/ fijiri ya jimaa tatu. ‘I went to Mogadishu on Monday morning’

Sho/ kuwa mubliwa/ Nureeni/ vushilo Miini. ‘Only my husband Nureeni went to Brava.’

Sho/ kuwa Tuumá/ vushilo Mkhodiishó. ‘Only Tuuma went to Mogadishu.’ Or: **Sho/ kuwa Tuumá/ ndiyé/ vushilo Mkhodiishó.**

Sivukeeni. ‘You (pl.) don’t go away!’

Sivukeeni/ kiinu. ‘You (pl.) don’t go to your place.’

Tuuma/ vushile Mkhodiisho/ jimaa tatu/ fijiri. ‘Tuuma went to Mogadishu on Monday morning.’ Cf. **Fijiri ya jimaa tatu/ Tuuma/ vushile Mkhodiisho.** ‘On Monday morning, Tuuma went to Mogadishu.’

Tuuma/ vushile liini/ Mkhodiisho. ‘When did Tuuma go to Mogadishu?’ Or: **Liini/ Tuuma/ vushilo Mkhodiishó.**

Tuuma/ ndiyé/ vushilo Mkhodiishó/ fijiri ya jimaa tatu. ‘Tuuma is the one who went to Mogadishu on Monday morning.’

Tuuma/ vushile Mkhodiisho/ jimaa tatu/ fijiri? ‘Did Tuuma go to Mogadishu on Monday morning?’ Cf. emphatic yes-no question: **Tuumá/ vushile Mkhodiishó/ jimaa tatu/ fijiri!?**

Vuuka. ‘Go away!’ (cf. **Vukaani.** ‘You (pl.) go away!’)

Vushile ka mweenzawe. ‘He went to his friend.’

Vushilo Mkhodiishó/ jimaa tatu/ fijiri/ ni Tuuma. ‘The only who went to Mogadishu on Monday morning is Tuuma.’

rel.

ku-vuukila v. appl. go to (apparently not used in a beneficiary sense of 'going for')

Mvukilile mweenzawe. 'He went to his friend.'

ku-vukoowa v. pass.

Anshuura/ ma'anaye/ ni maaka/ wa anshuura/ huvukowa tawala.

'Anshuura, its meaning, is the year(ly festival) of **anshuura**, (all people) go to the sea.'

ku-vuula

v. [Sw. *vua* SSED 515] (perfect form uncertain) fish, esp. by means of a fish trap consisting of a number of compartments into which the fish swim and are trapped; get fish out of nets; get fishing nets out of water; dive under water to get **pale**; pick up **paale** that has been deposited on the shore by the tide

kuvula maayi 'to bail water'

Wotte/ washpokezanya/ kuvula maayi/ laakini/ maayi/

yazidiile/ kiingila/ ka ilu/ na nt^hiini. 'All took turns

bailing water, but the water increased, entering from above and below.'

kuvuulila v. appl. (**vuliile**)

n-vula

n. 9 [Sw. *mvua* SSED 316] rain

Alamu yaa nvula/ ni mawiingu. 'The sign of rain is clouds.' (A proverb.)

Astaghafiru/ ni sku/ waant^hu/ wa Mwiini/ hulawa kenda ifuwooni/

kulombaa nvula. 'Astaghafiru is the day the people of Mwiini leave to go to the beach to pray for rain.'

Chiletele nvula ya aarani. 'Bring us the rain of plenty.'

Chiiza/ magozi/ yatakuwola/ nvulaani. 'Otherwise the hides will rot in the rain.'

hataa nvula/ ishtiinda 'until the rain stopped'

Ichanza kunyaa nvula. 'It began to rain.'

Iwingu ya khpita/ ha'ileeti/ nvula. 'A passing cloud does not bring rain.'

(A proverb that communicates the idea that something that comes and goes has no lasting impact; stable and persistent things or people have an impact.)

khfungaa nvula 'to show signs of rain'

Nuuhu/ shpandra jahazi/ nt^ha'ukhpita/ wakhti/ ishfungaa

nvula/ na ichanza/ kunya. 'Noah went on the boat and not much time passed before there were signs of rain and (soon) it began to rain.'

kubigaa nvula 'to be rained on'

Nvula/ imbishile. 'He was rained on.'

kumiminika/ kanaa nvula 'to pour like rain'

mayi yaa nvula 'rainwater'

Nvula/ hu'isiifó/ ni munt^hu imnyeleejó. 'The one who praises the rain is the person who has been rained on.' (A proverb.)

Mwaana/ choondroka/ ka usinziziini/ chihada/ yiikoni/ oko/ ilu/ nt^hakuu

nvula/ paandra/ kulangala. 'The boy awoke from sleep [when the girl's tears fell on him] and said: what is there up [in the tree], there is no rain, climb up and take a look.'

ku-vuma

v. [Sw. *vuma* SSED 517] (**vumiile**) blow (of wind), beat loudly (of drums); spread widely (of a reputation)

Inaye/ inakuvuma 'He is famous -- [lit.] his name is blowing in the wind.'

Lpepo/ lchanza kuvuma. 'The wind began to blow.'

Lpepo/ l(i)nakuvuma. 'The wind is blowing.'

Lpepo/ lyumiile. 'The wind blew.'

mukhta lpepo/ lanzizo kuvuma ka wiingi 'when the wind began to blow hard'

Ngoma huvumó/ hayduumi. 'A drum that beats loudly does not last.' (A proverb that suggests that nothing is eternal.)

Ngoma huvumó/ hayraagi/ kaatuka. 'A drum that beats loudly does not delay breaking.' (A proverb.)

Ye/ shfikira/ kumwambila waawaye/ kuwa masku/ ivumile ipepo/ kaa nguvu/ na ntheendré/ spoteele/ mutiini. ‘He thought about telling his father that during the night a big wind blew with force and the dates fell from the tree.’

rel.

ku-vumila v. appl. (-vumiliile) blow on

Lpepo/ lichivumiliile. ‘The wind blew on us.’

ku-vumisha v. caus.

ku-vumishiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-vumishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ku-vuumba
from going out

v. [Sw. *vumbika* SSED 517] (**vumbiile**) bury a fire with ashes so as to keep the coals

rel.

ku-vuumbika v. p/s. [Sw. *vumbika* SSED 317]

Mulo/ unakuvuumbika. ‘The fire is able to be buried.’

Mulo/ uvumbishile. ‘The fire is buried.’

ku-vuumbiza v. caus. cover, bury

kuvumbizaa mulo ‘to bury a fire’

Mpishi/ nakuvumbizaa mulo. ‘The cook is covering the fire.’

ku-vuumbula v. rev. [Sw. *vumbua* SSED 518] (**vumbiile**) revive a fire by removing ashes that have been put over the coals to keep the fire alive

ku-vumbulika v. rev. p/s.

ku-vumbuliza v. caus. appl.

ku-vumbulizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ku-vuumbuza v. rev. caus.

i-vuumbi (mi-)

n. 5/4 [Sw. *vumbi* SSED 517] dust

Ivuumbi/ hayoondroki/ bila lpepo. ‘Dust does not go up without wind.’ (A proverb, equivalent to “if there is smoke, then there is fire”.)

Ivuumbi/ huleta hargabu. ‘Dust causes flu.’

kh pangula ivuumbi ‘to dust off’

Mzimawe/ ivuumbi. ‘He has dust all over.’

Nthi za dhowooyi/ zinayo ivuumbi. ‘Areas with clay soil have dust.’

Nthakuwona/ sho kuwa ivuumbi. ‘He could not see anything except dust.’

ku-vuna

v. [Sw. *vuna* SSED 518] (**vuniile**) harvest; n. harvesting

Halo nth'olokó/ haavuni/ mpuunga. ‘The one who sows beans does not harvest rice.’ (A proverb.)

Kula mooyi/ huvuna yaa ye/ yaaziló. ‘Each one harvests what he has sown.’ (A proverb.)

rel. nom.

m-vuno n. 3 harvest

ma-vuno n. 6 harvest

Muundrawa/ ni mkulu/ laakini/ mavunoye/ hayayezi/ lkusi. ‘My farm is large, but its harvest does not fill a hand.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **mashuungi** ‘hair’.)

ku-vunaanga

v. [no etymological source identified] (**vunaanzile**) hit, beat someone

Baaba/ ofetopo kumnusuhá/ chanza kumvunaanga/ na kumfuungá. ‘When father got tired of admonishing him (e.g. the child), he began to beat him and to tie him up.’

Mi/ ni lpepo la kuusi/ mbona/ ni nakunvunaangá. ‘I am the south wind, how come you are beating me?’

drum.’

Omari/ mvunanzile maana/ kana/ ngoma. ‘Omari beat the boy like a

Shtala sarbi/ chimvunaanga. ‘He took the sticks and beat her.’

Wachanza/ kumvunaanga/ nth'angú/ apo/ hattá/ numbaani/ ka sultaani. ‘They began to beat him from there up to to the sultan’s house.’

Wachi’ishika kuusi/ wachi’ivunaanga. ‘They seized the south wind and

beat it.'

Wamvunaanzile. 'They beat him.'

Zinavunaanziló/ ni karayle weenziwa/ ka sababu/ mi/ niwa'ambiilé/

kuwa ni kheeri/ sì/ kuruda muyiini/ kiitu/ kumt̥i'a/ sultani waa dafa/ na khfaanya/ yaa ye/ takichaamuró. 'The ones who have beaten me are my fellow crows because I told them that it was better for us to return home and obey the king of the kites and do whatever he ordered us to do.'

rel.

ku-vunangavunaanga v. freq. beat repeatedly

We/ lata/ kuvunangavunanga waana. 'You, quit beating and beating children.'

ku-vunaangila v. appl. beat with

Luti/ lo/ laa we/ mvunaangilo maaná/ lpeetá. 'The stick itself that you beat the child with is the (very) one that has been found.'

ku-vunangoowa v. pass.

Waana/ wafanyiizeni/ kawavunangoowá. 'What did the children do that they have been beaten'

rel. nom.

ma-vunaango n. beatings

Kullasku/ teena/ inakuwani/ mashtako/ na mavunaangó. 'Every day then there are complaints and beatings.'

ku-vuunda

v. [Sw. *vuunda* SSED 519] (**vuunzile**) break, destroy; contradict

Ali/ vunzile chibaburi cha mwaana. 'Ali broke the child's toy car.'

Ali/ vunzile ikoopa. 'Ali broke the glass.'

Ali/ vunzile nuumba/ choloko. 'Ali broke the window of the house.'

Chimvunzile aduwí. 'We broke (contradicted, defeated) the hostile one.'

Or with verb emphasis: **Chimvuunzilé/ aduwi.**

Chiti/ Omari/ vunzile kuulu. 'The chair, Omari broke the leg (of the chair).' (In this example of a preposed complement, there is no focus on the preposed element. It is possible for both complements to be preposed: ^f**Chiti/ kuulu/ Omari/ vuunziló.** 'The *chair*'s leg Omari broke.' In this example, our consultant focused the initial phrase.)

Gari ya Nuuru/ ivundishile. 'Nuuru's car is broken.' Or: **Nuuru/ gaariye/ ivundishile.** 'Nuuru, his car is broken.' (One cannot say: ***Nuuru/ vundishile gaari.** This contrasts with the acceptability of **Nuuru/ vundishile mkono.** 'Nuuru is broken, the hand.')

Hamadi/ mkono/ uvundishile. 'Hamadi's hand/arm is broken.'

Hamadi/ vundishile mkono. 'Hamadi is broken, the hand/arm.'

huvuunda milaango hiingila ka mbele [nt.] 'they break doors and go into the houses straight away'

Idiriisha/ vuunziló/ ni mwana uje. 'The window, the one who broke it is that child.' (Syn: This sentence is a better way to put emphasis on **idiriisha** than: **Idiriisha/ vunzile mwana uje.**)

Ijiwe/ imvunzile muunt^hu/ kuuluye. 'A stone broke the man's leg.'

Iyiimbi/ inakuvuunda. 'The wave broke (on the shore).'

kuvunda aduwi 'lit. break the enemy -- defeat the enemy'

Mojiitu/ nawavuunda ma'aduwi wiitu. 'God defeats our enemies.'

kuvunda ah(a)di 'to break a promise'

kuvunda balani 'to break a promise'

kuvunda baraza [Sw. *baraza* SSED 519] dismiss, break up a meeting'

Kuvunda chiint^hu/ ni sahali. 'To break something is easy.'

kuvundaa chita 'to disgrace [lit. break the head]'

kuvundaa chizaazi '[lit.] to break the genealogy, heritage link'

kuvundaa fad(h)i 'to break up a meeting'

kuvunda kaðiiðo 'to reduce, lower, break a fever'

Lwato/ ka chindriimu/ na ukí/ huvunda kaðiiðo. 'Fennugreek

with lemon and honey reduces fever.'

kuvundaa mbavu ‘[lit.] break the ribs’

Nakhsula kuvundaa mbavú / kḥukula mijombo ayo. ‘Do you want to break my ribs by having me carrying those big things?’

kuvunda heshma ‘[lit.] to break respect -- i.e. to not show respect’

kuvunda hima ‘to cause someone to lose enthusiasm’

kuvunda maduuri ‘to go through a forest, bush’

kuvunda maayi ‘to break (of a woman’s water in the course of delivering a child)’

kuvunda mkono ‘[lit.] to break the arm -- to harm’

Munt^hu/ hamvuundi/ waake/ mkono. ‘[Lit.] One does not break his relative’s arm -- i.e. one does not harm/his brother’s effort.’

kuvunda muuyi ‘lit. to destroy a town – of a woman’s water breaking (in the course of giving birth to a child)’

Vunzile muuyi. ‘Her water broke.’

kuvunda muuyi ‘lit. to destroy a town’s economy, cause it to lose its population and business activity etc.’

kuvundaa niya ‘to break the will, heart’

Omari/ huvunda waant^hu/ niya. ‘Omari breaks down the will, heart, commitment of people.’

kuvundaa nt^hupa/ mitupa ‘to break a bottle/ bottles’ **idiomatic meaning?**

kuvunda nuumba ‘[lit.] to break the house -- i.e. break up a family, husband and wife’

Siwo/ suura/ kuvunda nuumba. ‘It is not good to break up a husband and wife, etc.’

kuvunda nuungu ‘[lit.] to break the pot’

Simvuundilé/ walaaliwo/ nuunguye. ‘Do not break your brother’s pot-- i.e., do not spoil your brother’s daily food earning.’
review

kuvunda peesa ‘to make change’

kuvunda qaanuuni ‘to break the law’

kuvunda qalbi [cf. Sw. *vunja moyo* SSED 519] ‘[lit.] to break the heart, will -- i.e. be discouraged, demoralized’

Imvunzilo shaghaalé/ qalbí/ ni pesa haba. ‘What discouraged the worker was the small amount of money (he was paid).’

Nvunzile qalbi. ‘He discouraged me.’

kuvunda ruuhuye ‘to humble oneself, humiliate oneself’

kuvunda shariya ‘to break the rules/laws’

Wiizi/ wavunzile shariya. ‘The thieves broke the law.’

kuvunda thamani [Sw. *vunja thamani* SSED 519] reduce the price as a result of competition developing ([lit.] to break the price)’

Ḷiini/ miizi/ vunzilo mnaangó. ‘When did the thief break down the door?’

Mamaðo/ mvunzile Suufi/ mkono. ‘Mamaðo broke Suufi’s hand.’

Mi/ nvunzile idiriishá. ‘I broke the window.’ Or: **Nvunzile idiriishá/ mi.**

Miizi/ vunzile mnaango. ‘The thief broke down door.’ Or: **Miizi/**

vuunzile/ mnaango. ‘The thief broke down the door.’

Muke/ chingila mikooni/ chivundaa nazi. ‘The woman went into the kitchen and broke up some coconut.’

Mvunzile Hamadi/ mkono. ‘He broke Hamadi(s) arm.’ (Note that the

[cl.1] noun **Hamadi** governs the [cl.1] OM *m-* on the verb.

Mwana uje/ vunzile cholokó. ‘That child broke a window.’ (cf. **Ni mwana uje/ vunzile cholokó.** ‘It is that child who broke the window.’ And: **Ndiyé/ mwana uje/ vunzile cholokó.** ‘It is that child who broke the window.’

Mwana uyu/ vunzile chaaa(che). ‘The child broke his finger.’ (Note that in this example, the noun **chaala** may appear either bare or with a possessive enclitic. However, in the corresponding passive sentence, **chaala** may not appear in its bare form: ***Mwana uyu/ chivunzila chaala.** One can only say: **Mwana uyu/ chivunzila chaalache.** ‘This child, his finger was broken.’ The noun **chaalache** is

the subject of this passive sentence.)

Mwaana/ vuzile choloko ichije. ‘The child broke that window.’ (cf.

Nvuzile choloko ichijé. ‘I broke that window.’)

Naani/ vuzilo mnaangó. ‘Who broke down the door?’

Nuuru/ vuzilee chiti. ‘Nuuru broke a chair.’

Nvuzile kuuluyá. ‘I broke my leg (intentionally).’

Nvuzile qalbi. ‘He discouraged me.’

Omari/ vuzilee chiti/ kuulu. ‘Omari broke the chair’s leg.’ (Another speaker may deny this sentence by saying: **ā’ā/ vuzile ikono.** ‘No, he broke the arm.’ It would not be appropriate to say: ***ā’ā/ vuzile kuulu/ chiji.**) (The simple yes-no question involves just Q-raising: **Omari/ vuzilee chiti/ kuulu?** The emphatic yes-no question involves the usual lowering/downstep intonation together with accent shift: **Omari/ vuzilee chití/ kuulú!?**)

Omari/ vuzile ^hkuulu/ chiti. ‘Omari broke the leg of the bread.’ (In the yes-no question version of this sentence with focus on **kuulu**, there is accent shift in the second complement: **Omari/ vuzile ^hkuulu/ chití?** The emphatic yes-no question does not in any way reflect focus on **kuulu**: **Omari/ vuzile kuulú/ chití!?**)

Omari/ vuzile kulu yaa chiti. ‘Omari broke the leg of the chair.’ (Another person might deny this sentence by saying: **ā’ā/ vuzile kulu yaa chiji.** ‘No, he broke the leg of the bed.’ But it is also possible to deny this sentence by saying: **ā’ā/ vuzile ikono.** ‘No, he broke the arm.’)

Omari/ vuzile kulu yani. ‘What did he break the leg of?’

Simvuundé/ mweenziwo. ‘Don’t contradict, belie your friend (e.g. if your friend has put on airs, made false claims, etc.)!’

Tuuma/ mvuzile Haliima/ chaala. ‘Tuuma broke Haliima’s finger.’ Or:

Tuuma/ vuzile chala cha Haliima. ‘Tuuma broke the finger of Haliima.’

Vuzile chilolo. ‘He broke the mirror.’

Vuzile idiriisha/ mwana uje. ‘That child broke the window.’ **Vuzilo choloko ichijé/ ndimí.** ‘The one who broke that window is me.’

(cf. **Ndimí/ nvuzilo choloko ichijé.** ‘It is me who broke that window.’)

Vuzile khalamu. ‘He broke a pencil.’

Vuzile maandra. ‘He broke bread into pieces.’

Vuzilo choloko ichijé/ ni mwaana. ‘The one who broke that window is the child.’

Vuzile shkoombe. ‘He broke a cup.’

We/ chivunda chuluungucho/ cha kaandra/ cha piili/ hastakhkalaant^{ha}. ‘If you break your first storey, the second will not stand.’

Ye/ vuzile lkuta la nuumba. ‘He broke the wall of the house.’

Ye/ vuzile nuumba/ lkuta. ‘He broke the house the wall.’ (The noun

nuumba may not control an OM on the verb: ***Ye/ ivuzile nuumba/ lkuta.** ‘He broke it the house the wall.’ MI did not accept the word order ***Ye/ vuzile lkuta/ nuumba.**)

rel.

ku-vundana v. rec. [Sw. *vunjana* SSED 519] break one another, contradict one another

Hawavuundani. ‘They do not contradict one another.’

Wavundene mikono. ‘They broke one another’s arms.’

ku-vundavuunda v. freq. (**vuzilevuuzile**) crumble up, break up

Mi/ kawanazoo nguvú/ su^la mvundavunda Hamadi. ‘If I had the strength, I would have (broken Hamadi (cf. English: broken him in two).’

Vuzilevuzile maandra/ tile m^huziini. ‘She crumbled up the bread and put it in the soup.’

Wo/ ka khtiyaa si/ khfakata/ wachivundavunda ba^htera yiitu. ‘Running away from us from fear, they broke our boat.’

ku-vundavundoowa v. freq. pass.

Fijiri/ choloshelopo Ifuwooní/ khtala ba^htera yiitú/ chiwene kuwa ba^hteerá/ ivuzilavuuzila. ‘In the morning when we went to the shore to get our boat, we found that the boat has been broken into pieces.’]

ku-vuundika v. p/s. [Sw. *vunjika*] (**vundishile**) break (intr.), be broken, be breakable; fall down

Chala cha Tuuma/ chivundishile. ‘Tuuma’s finger is broken.’ Or: **Tuuma/ chaalache/ chivundishile.** Or: **Tuuma/ vundishile chaala/ (siwo/ kuulu).** ‘Tuuma broke (her) finger (not (her) leg).’ But one does not say: ***Tuuma/ vundishile chaalache.** ‘Tuuma broke her finger.’ One can emphasize

the body part: **Tuuma/ chaala/ chivundishiló.** ‘Tuuma’s *finger* is broken.’ Or: **Tuuma/ chaalache/ chivundishiló/ siwo/ kuulu.** ‘Tuuma’s *finger* is broken, not (her) leg.’

Chala cha Tuuma/ chivundishiló/ siwo/ cha Haliima. ‘Tuuma’s finger is broken, not Haliima’s.’

Chiti ichi/ chivundishile. ‘This chair is broken.’

Gaari/ ivundishile ndilaani. ‘The car broke down on the road.’

Hamadi/ vundishile kuulu. ‘Hamadi broke his leg.’ Or: **Kuulu/ invundishile Hamadi.**

Isa/ Mwiini/ inakuvuundika/ na waant^huwé/ wanakhpuunguka. ‘Now Brava is going into ruin and its people are decreasing in number.’

Ivundishileni. ‘What broke?’

Kuulu/ invundishile. ‘My leg broke.’ Cf. **Nvundishile kuulú.** ‘I have a broken leg.’

Kuulu/ ivundishile. ‘The leg is broken.’

Kuuluye/ ivundishile. ‘His leg is broken.’

kuvundika qalbi ‘to be discouraged’

Hamadi/ havuundiki/ qalbi. ‘Hamadi does not get disheartened.’

Hamadi/ vundishile qalbi. ‘Hamadi got disheartened.’

Sivuundiká/ qalbi. ‘Don’t be discouraged, disheartened!’

Vundishilo qalbi/ ni mfanya kaazi. ‘The one who is discouraged is the worker.’

kuvundika qaanuuni ‘(of law) breaking down’

Bilaa dowla/ qaanuuni/ huvuundika. ‘Without the government the law breaks down.’

Mamaðo/ mkono/ umvundishile. ‘Mamadho broke his arm -- [lit.] the arm broke with respect to Mamadho.’ Or, with a less preferred word order: **Mamaðo/ umvundishile mkono.**

Luti/ likoo n^hi/ halvuundiki. ‘A stick that is on the ground does not break.’ (A proverb.)

Muunt^hu/ vundishile kuulu. ‘The man broke his leg.’

Muuyi/ uvundishile. ‘The town has become ruined (e.g. is in economic decline, people are moving away, etc.).’

Mwaana/ kuulu/ invundishile. ‘The child’s leg is broken.’

Naani/ vundishilo chaalá. ‘Who broke (his or her) finger?’ Answer:

Tuuma/ vundishilo chaalá/ siwo/ Haliima. ‘Tuuma broke her finger, not Haliima.’

Numba izi/ milaangoye/ yavundishile. ‘These houses, their doors are broken.’ Or: **Numba izi/ zivundishishile milaango.** ‘These houses are broken, the doors.’

Siwo/ Haliima/ chivundishilo chaalá/ ni Tuuma. ‘It is not Haliima who broke her finger, it is Tuuma.’

Tuuma/ chaalache/ chivundishile/ n^hashkuñindika. ‘Tuuma’s finger is broken, it has not been cut off.’

Tuuma/ vundishileni. ‘What (body part) did she break?’ Answer: **Tuuma/ vundishile chaala/ siwo/ kuulu.** ‘Tuuma broke the finger, not the leg.’

Ye/ nafsiye/ waliko mariiði/ na waliko qalbi/ invundishile. ‘He himself was sick and he was discouraged (lit. his heart broke).’

Zijamu izi/ huvundika ka sahali. ‘These plates break easily.’

ku-vundikila v. p/s. appl.

Numba/ invundikiliile. ‘The house fell down on him.’

ku-vundikoowa v. p/s. pass.

Matezo ayo/ huvundikowa ka sahali. ‘If one plays these types of games, one will get injured easily.’ Or: **Matezo ayo/ huvundikoowa/ ka sahali.**

Kibri/ huvundikoowa. ‘Arrogance makes one break.’ (A proverb.)
ku-vuundila v. appl. [Sw. *vunjia*]

Mvundilile mwaalimu/ khalamu. ‘He broke the teacher’s pencil.’

Sarkali uyu/ chivundilile muuyi. ‘The government destroys the town’s economy on us.’

Tete sh^htoka/ kuvundila naazi. ‘He took an axe to break the coconut with.’

ku-vundilana v. appl. rec.

ku-vuundisha v. caus. [Sw. *vunjisha*] (**vundishiize**) cause someone to break

something
Baana/ mvundishize Hamadi/ mwaana/ ikoopa. ‘Baana made Hamadi’s
child break the glass.’

Mamađo/ mvundishize Suufi/ mkono wa mwaana. ‘Mamadho caused
Suufi to break the child’s arm.’ (Syn. But this verb cannot be used
to say: ***Mamađo/ mvundishize Suufi/ mkono.** ‘Mamadho caused
Suufi to break (his own) hand.’)
Nimvundishize Nuuru/ chiti. ‘I made Nuuru break the chair.’
Nvundishizee chiti. ‘I had the chair broken.’

ku-vundishana v. caus. rec.
ku-vundishiliza v. caus. appl.
Baana/ mvundishilize Nuuru/ mwaana/ ikoopa. ‘Baana made Nuuru’s
child break the glass.’
ku-vundishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
Wavundishilizenye waana/ ikoopa. ‘They caused one another’s children to
break a glass.’

ku-vundoowa v. pass. [Sw. *vunjwa*] (-**vuunzila**)
Choloko ichije/ chivunzila na mwaana. ‘That window was broken by the
child.’
Hamadi/ vunzila mkono. ‘Hamadi(’s) arm was broken (b y s.o.).’ (One
cannot make **mkono** the subject of the passive verb: ***Mkono/ uvunzila Hamadi.**)
Khalamu/ ivunzila na Hamadi. ‘The pen was broken by Hamadi.’
Kuuluye/ ivuunzila. ‘His leg was broken (by someone).’
kuvundowa ah(a)di ‘(of a promise) to be broken
Ah(a)di/ ha’ivundoowi. ‘A promise is not broken.’
kuvundowa chizaazi ‘(of heritage link) to be broken’
Chizaazi/ hachuvundoowi. ‘The link to one’s heritage is not
broken.’
kuvundowa heshma ‘(of respect) not to be shown’
Heshma/ ivundoowi. ‘Respect is not broken -- i.e. respect should
be shown.’
kuvundowa qalbi
Muunt^hu/ havundoowi/ qalbi. ‘One is not discouraged/
demoralised.’
Kuvundowa chiint^hu/ ni sahali. ‘For something to be broken is easy.’
Muunt^hu/ kuuluye/ vuunzila. ‘The man broke his leg.’ (Morph. One would
expect the verb to agree with the ‘possessed’ noun rather than the
‘possessor’, but we recorded this sentence with agreement to
muunt^hu. Cf. **Kuuluye/ ivuunzila.** ‘His leg was broken.’
Muunt^hu/ vunzila kuulu/ naami. ‘The man’s leg was broken by me.’
Nuumba/ ivunzila choloko. ‘The house was broken the window.’
Nuumba/ ivunzila lkuta. ‘The house was broken the wall.’ (Not ***Lkuta/**
ivunzila nuumba.)
Nuumba/ kuvundoowa/ siwo/ sahali. ‘For a house to be destroyed is not
easy.’
Shkoombe/ chivunzila na Omari. ‘The cup was broken by Omari.’

rel. nom.
chi-vuunda (zi-) n. 7/8 s.t that breaks s.t.
-vuundifu adj. destructive (character); broke
Mlate mvundifu oyo. ‘Let that destructive one alone.’
m-vuundo n. 3 [Sw. *mvunjo*]
ma-vuundo n. 6 the act of breaking s.t.
ma-vuundo n.6 the act of breaking
u-vuundo n. 14 [Sw. *uvunjo*]

chi-vuundo (zi-) n. 7/8 7/8 [no etymological source identified] corner, angle; hiding place, secret place
Chivuundoche/ chiwiila. ‘His secret hiding place is known, discovered.’
Nimlinzile Jeeli/ chivundooni. ‘I waited for Jeeli at the corner.’

[*-vuundo*

- n. 11 [Sw. *uvundo* SSED 518] bad smell **need to check nd or ndr**
ikana *vuundo* ‘bad-smelling mouth’
Kuja/ ichiwola/ hununk^ha *vuundo*. ‘If food gets spoiled, it smells bad.’
Nama/ inakununk^ha *vuundo*. ‘The meat smells bad.’ Or: ***Inakununk^ho *vuundró/ nii nama****. ‘What smells bad is the meat.’
Nama i(y)i/ inakununk^ha *vuundo*. ‘This meat smells bad.’
Omari/ kanaye/ hununk^ha *vuundo*. ‘Omari’s mouth smells bad.’
Omari/ ikanaye/ *vuundo*. ‘Omari’s mouth is bad-smelling.’

m-vuungu (mi-)

- n. 3/4 [Sw. *mvungu* SSED 317] space under the bed used for storage
Hasiibu/ shtomolaa ziwo/ za waawaye/ ka mivunguuni. ‘Hasiibu took out the books of his father from the spaces under the bed.’
Husulo chimo mvunguuni/ hayimhuri/ kiinama. ‘The one who wants what is under the bed cannot help stooping.’ (A proverb.)
Maama/ chimjiiba/ ya kuwa/ ziwo/ za waawaye/ zimo nt^hini ya mivuungu. ‘His mother answered him that the books of his father were in the storage space under the bed.’
waaliko shfateeme ndraani ya mivuungu [nt.] ‘we hid under beds’

ma-vuno

- n. 6 harvest
Muundrawa/ ni mkulu/ laakini/ mavunoye/ hayayezi/ lkusi. ‘My farm is large but its harvest does not fill a hand.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is: **mashuungi** ‘hair’.)
Mukhta wakhti/ wa mavunó/ ukomeeló/ washfunga safari/ kendra kuvuna. ‘When the time for harvesting arrived, they prepared to take a journey to go to harvest (the garden).’

n-vuno

- n. worms (that hatch from rotten foods)
Ayuubu jismuye nvuno zingiile [st.] ‘worms entered Job’s body’
Kuja/ iwozele/ hata/ ilazilee nvuno. ‘The food rotted until worms came out of it.’

ku-vurumisha

v. caus. [Sw. *vurumisha* ‘cause a thing to be stirred up, to buzz round and round’ SSED 519] (**vurumishiize**) (i) throw away something unwanted, with anger and hate; (ii) leave s.o. without due care (implying that they are unwanted) (When said with anger and hate, the *r* in this stem is geminated.)

- (i) **Ali/ vurumishize chibuuku**. ‘Ali threw the book away.’
Mwaana/ iwilopo kuwa dughaaghi/ yaa ye/ ubleelo/ siwo/ siimba/ chimvurumisha. ‘When the boy learned that the animal that he had killed was not the lion, he threw it down.’
Sultaani/ shtomola amri/ chiwa’ambila want^hu wa muuyi/ wotte/ keendra/ kumshiika/ Abunawaasi/ kumtila ndrani ya ijuuniya/ kuyeza ijuuniya/ majiwe/ khfungaa kana/ kanmake/ kuvurumisha ijuuniya/ iyo/ bahariini. ‘The sultan issued an order and told all the people of the town to go and arrest Abunawaasi and to put him inside a sack and to fill the sack with stones and to tie up the opening and then to throw that sack into the sea.’

Vurumisha sigareeti/ yimó/ mkoono/ kaakó. ‘Throw away the cigarette you have in your hand.’

- Wa’itukiile/ iyo ijuuniya/ wa’ivurumishize bahariini**. ‘They carried that sack and they threw it into the sea.’

- (ii) **Watete waana/ wavurumishiize**. ‘They took the children and left them without proper care

rel.

ku-vurumishiliza v. caus. appl. throw at

Salimu/ mvurumishilize Sa’iidi/ zibuuku. ‘Salimu threw books at Sa’iidi.’

ku-vurumishilizoowa v. caus. appl. pass. be thrown at

Mwaana/ vurumishiliza majiwe. ‘At the child was thrown stones.’
ku-vurumishoowa v. caus. pass. (**vurumishiiza**)
Sultaani/ kasizopo za ma’askari/ wahadiiló/ chizida khshikowa shtana/ chamura Hasani/ kuvurumishoowa/ habasaani. ‘When the sultan heard what the soldiers said, he grew more angry, and he ordered Hasani to be thrown into prison.’
Majiwe/ yavurumishiiza. ‘Stones were thrown. Or: **Yavurumishiiza/ ni majiwe.** ‘What were thrown are stones.’
Waakuvurumishoowa/ mujooni/ keesho/ aakhera. ‘They will be thrown into the fire in the Afterlife.’

ku-vuusha v. caus. [Sw. *vusha* SSED 516] (**vushiize**) make someone cross a body of water (Morph. This verb appears to be in origin a causative form of the verb **kuvuuka**, which in the Kitikuu dialect of Swahili means "to cross a river, or from one island to another"; however, in Chimwiini we have only recorded for **kuvuuka** the meaning "to go away" and not a meaning that is specific to crossing a body of water.)
Ali/ mvushize mwaana/ wowi. ‘Ali made the child cross the river.’

ku-vuuta v. [Sw. *vuta* SSED 520] (**vuusile**) pull, drag
kuvuta gaari ‘to tow a car’
kuvuta neefu/ kaa kana ‘to inhale with the mouth’
kuvuta neefu/ kaa mp^hula ‘to inhale with the nose’
kuvuta ngoroonzi (ma-) ‘to snore’
Hamadi/ chilaala/ huvuta ngoroonzi/ kurr kurr. ‘When Hamadi sleeps, he snores.’
Nakuvuta magoroonzi. ‘He is snoring.’
kuvuta sigareeti ‘to smoke a cigarette, to take a drag’
Sivuuté. ‘Don’t pull!’
Vusile sanduukhu. ‘He dragged the box.’

rel.

ku-vuutana v. rec. pull one another

ku-vuutika v. p/s. able to be pulled

ku-vuutila v. appl. pull for or with

Ivutilile sigareeti. ‘And so he smoked a cigarette.’

Kheeri/ vutila kiinu. ‘As for blessing, pull it towards one’s own (i.e. if there is something to be gained or gotten, let it go to one’s relatives, one’s own family and not to others).’ (A proverb.)

ku-vuutisha v. caus. cause to pull, smoke a cigarette

Mvutishize mwaana/ sigareeti. ‘He caused the child to smoke cigarettes.’

ku-vuuya v. [Sw. *vuya* SSED 516] (**-vuyiile**) leak, trickle, drip; fall (of rain)
Baazi/ wena maatozi/ yachimvuuya. ‘Baazi was seen crying.’
hatá/ khalamu/ imvuyile ka zalaani ‘until the pen slipped from his fingers’
Hamadi/ maatozi/ yanamvuuya. ‘Tears are trickling slowly down Hamadi’s face.’ Or: **Maatozi/ yanamvuya Hamadi.** or **Maatozi/ yanamvuuya/ Hamadi.** or **Hamadi/ yanamvuya maatozi.** or **Hamadi/ yanamvuuya/ Hamadi.** (Syn: One would not say ***Hamadi/ nakuvuya maatozi.**)
Jasi/ ivuyiile. ‘The roof leaked.’
Maayi/ yanakuvuya (ka) wadamuuni. ‘Water is leaking from the bucket.’ (Syn: It is ungrammatical to not use the locative enclitic in this example: ***Maayi/ yanakuvuya (ka) wadaamu.**)
Maayi/ yavuyiile. ‘Water dripped down.’
Maayi/ yavuyile (ka) birikhii=ni. ‘Water leaked from the kettle.’
Mbene maatozi/ yachimvuya Baazi. ‘I saw tears trickling down Baazi’s face.’
Mp^hete mahaḷa inakuvuuyó. ‘I found the place where it is leaking.’
Nimwene Baazi/ maatozi/ yachimvuuyá. ‘I saw tears trickling down Baazi’s face.’

	Wadaamu/ inakuvuuya. ‘The bucket is leaking.’
	Wadaamu/ inakuvuya maayi. ‘The bucket is leaking water.’
	rel.
	<i>ku-vuuyila</i> v. appl. fall down on
	Nvula/ imvuyilile mwaana. ‘The rain fell on the child.’
	<i>ku-vuuyisha</i> v. caus.
	<i>ku-vuyishiliza</i> v. caus. appl.
	<i>ku-vuyishilizanya</i> v. caus. appl. rec.
	<i>ku-vuyoowa</i> v. pass.
	Hamadi/ nakuvuyowa na maatozi. ‘[Lit.] Hamadi was trickled by tears.’ (Syn. MI considered this sentence to be acceptable, but not the sort of sentence that would be frequently used.)
	rel. nom.
	<i>m-vuuyo</i> n. 3 leaking
<i>n-vuuye</i>	n. [cf. Sw. <i>mvuje</i> "a tree, the gum of which is evil-smelling" (<i>Asafoetida</i>) SSED 316] a resin or gum with a bad smell. Small pieces are mixed with water and drunk as a remedy against intestinal worms/parasites. Also used in smoking out snakes.
	Nvuuye/ huburishaa noka. ‘Nvuuye expels [smokes out] snakes.’
<i>i-vuuyu (mi-)</i>	n. 5/4 [cf. Sw. <i>buibui</i> SSED 40] spider
	Ivuuyu/ imtufiliile/ mate. ‘The spider spit on him.’
	Mate ya ivuuyu/ ni khatari. ‘A spider’s sputum is dangerous.’
<i>ku-vuzila</i>	v. [Sw. <i>vuvia</i> SSED 520] (vuziile) blow with the mouth
	Baabu/ nakuvuzila firiimbi. ‘Baabu is blowing the whistle.’
	Bur’i/ nakuvuzila ipiira. ‘Omari is blowing up the baloon.’
	Lpepo/ inakuvuzila. ‘The wind is blowing.’
=w-	[cl.3] possessive agreement
whole) was lit with lamps.’	Muuyi/ mzimawe/ washizaa tala. ‘The whole town (lit. town its
<i>wa-</i>	[cl.2] subject prefix; [morphophonemic variants: wa- , waa- , wa’-]
	Ma’askari/ wachiluma zaala/ killa mooyi/ nakhsuula/ kuwa ndiyé/ takshhiindó. ‘The soldiers bit their fingers, each one wants to be the one who wins [and thus marries the sultan’s daughter].’ (Morph. Although ma’askari is formally a [cl.6] noun taking the prefix ma- , it governs human [cl.2] agreement on the subject prefix.)
	Wajile liini. ‘When did they eat?’
	Waant^hu/ wa’ingile numbaani. ‘People entered the house.’
	ngoombe/ kawaafá ‘if cows/ the cows were to die’
	Wabjaana/ na wiimbili/ wotte/ wachiruuda. ‘Young boys and boys all came back.’
	Wake/ wapapent^he maandra. ‘The women shaped the dough into bread.’
	Waant^hu/ wa muuyi/ wawenopo markabú/ wotte/ wa’ile
	Ifuwooni. ‘When the people of the town saw the ship, they all came to the shore.’
<i>-wa-</i>	[cl.2] object prefix
	Abdalla/ chiwaraasha/ askari/ cheendra/ mbele za sulaaani. ‘Abdalla followed the soldiers to go in front of the sultan.’ (Morph. Note that while askari ‘soldier(s)’ is formally a [cl.9/10] noun lacking a prefix, it triggers human [cl.1/2] agreement on the verb.)
	Chiwapa kuja yaawo/ wachija. ‘She gave them their food (and

they ate.'

Chiwa'ambila/ haye/ isa/ kalan^haani/ ninfungulile laano. 'She told them: well, now, sit down so that I may recount to you a story.'

kuwabiga 'to hit them [cl.2]'

Hasani/ chiwalangala/ tu. 'Hasani just looked at them.'

Niwaloosele. 'I dreamed about them.'

Siwakooðishé. 'Don't talk to them!' or 'Don't make them talk!'

Sultaani/ shtomola amri/ chiwapa/ askarize/ khkumaanganya/ majuuniya/ miingi/ kiyaweka tayaari. 'The sultan issued an order to his soldiers to collect many sacks and to keep them ready.'

(Ye/) ka'oloká/ su^la kuwawona. 'If he went, he would see them.'

wa-

[cl.2] noun class prefix

This prefix is **wa-** before consonant-initial stems:

wabjaana 'young boys'

wake 'women'

wazele 'parents'

This prefix has the shape **w-** before vowel-initial stems not derived from verbs:

waalimu 'teachers'

waana 'children'

wanafuunzi 'students'

weenza 'friends'

wiimbili 'boys'

wiipa 'sister's children'

wiizi 'thieves'

Before deverbial vowel-initial stems, **wa-** is retained but is separated from the following vowel by a glottal stop.

wa'endresha 'supervisors'

wa'imbaaji 'singers'

wa'iski^ttika 'ones who feel sorrowful'

wa'osha 'ones who wash'

wa-

[cl.2] agreement prefix

w-otte 'all [cl.2]'

w-a

[cl.2] associative particle; see also under **-a**

Wana wa Nuuru/ wa'oloshéle. 'The children of Nuuru left.'

wa

interjection expressing amazement

Chimwambila oyo mzele/ wa/ mi/ chilaatu/ chimp^hotela/ isa/ mi/ jisa/ khfaanya/ siná. 'She ["Cinderella"] told the old woman, **Wa** !, a shoe fell off [my foot], now I do not know [lit. have] what to do.'

Wa/ leelo/ ninpatililee kujá/ nt^haziná/ ba/ adadi. 'Wa! Today I have gotten for you food that has no count.'

Wa/ Omari/ oloshéle. 'What! Omari went?'

i-wa

n. sun (In the first published article on Chimiini, Whiteley (196x) observed that tone might be contrastive in the language, citing the difference between [iwa] 'sun' which has a penult H tone and [iwa] 'get to know s.t.!' The final accent in the second example is the consequence of the fact that in imperative verbs of the shape VCV, the initial vowel is ignored for purposes of accent placement. We know that these verbs are not true "final-accent triggers" since when they are put together into a phrase with another word, the phrase is not assigned final accent. See the discussion of final-accent triggers in the introductory materials.)

Ka iwa/ tu/ chiikó/ hattá/ sku mo/ haayinyi/ ba/ n^hi iyi/ nvula. 'With the sun only have we lived; until this day it has not rained in this land.'

kubiga iwa 'to be struck by the sun'

Ingila numbaani/ iwa/ isikhubige. 'Enter the house so that the sun won't hit you.'

kudara iwa

Iwa/ indariile/ haba mo/ shpataa nguvu.

Iwa/ ni imulo. ‘The sun is hot.’

Masku ayo/ mazimaye/ wachoowela/ fijiri/ iwa/ ilazilopó/ kaa kule/ wachiwona chisiwa. ‘The whole night they swam, and in the morning when the sun came out, in the distance they saw an island.’

Melpe/ kana iwa. ‘He is as white as the sun.’

Wakomeele/ mahaḷaa wo/ waḷasilo zombo zaawó/ khariibu/ ya iwa/ kiingila. ‘They reached the place where they left their supplies near sunset [i.e. near of the sun entering].’

ku-wa

v. [Sw. *wa* SSED 521] (*weele*) be, become

Ali/ hawi/ mzeele. ‘Ali does not become old (i.e. he always looks young).’

Chibuku ichi/ kachiwa chiwaliko nch^aaaká/ mi/ suḷa kiiwa. ‘If this book was mine, I would know it.’

Chibuku ichi/ kachiwa nch^aaaká... ‘If this book were mine (but it is not)...’

Chiint^hu/ haachiwi/ ka chiicho. ‘A thing does not come into being by itself.’ (A proverb.)

Chizuḷa kuwa taajiri/ sibaōizé/ maaliyo. ‘If you want to be rich, don’t

squander your money.’

chiwa Ali/ wele mwaalimu ‘if Ali has become a teacher’

Chiwa belee ndilá/ maduriini/ mera mahaḷa ya iwa huḷawó/ amó/ hiingiló. ‘If you lose your way in the forest, look for the place where the sun rises or the sun sets.’

Chiwaa mi/ nnayo ijini/ naawé/ nayo ijini. ‘If I am crazy, then as well you are crazy.’

chiwaa we/ nakandikaa khatí ‘if you are writing a letter’

Chiwaa we/ ni dakhtari/ ingila. ‘If you are a doctor, come in.’

chiwaa ye/ nakhsulaa muke/ wa masku mooyi ‘if he wants a woman for one evening’

Eelo/ chimpa sulṭaani/ wa raadi/ chilawa. ‘The gazelle said goodbye to the king and left.’

Endrá/ mmeere/ mahaḷa/ itaakuwó. ‘Go and look for it in any place where it might be!’

Huwa/ huwó/ nda mwajiitu. ‘It occurs, that which occurs comes from God.’ (A proverb.)

Itaakuwó/ inaawe. ‘What will be, let it be.’

Iwele kuwa Sa’iidi/ ni mwenye sabri. ‘It happened (was fortunate) that Sa’iidi was a patient man.’

ka nasiibuye/ kuwa suura ‘because his luck was good’

Kaachiwá/ suḷa khaambila. ‘If we were (e.g. police agents), we would tell you.’ (Observe the lengthening of the conditional prefix *ka* in this example. It is interesting to notice that this lengthening is present when the subject prefix is *chi* ‘us’ but not when it is *chi* ‘[cl.7]’, e.g. **kachiwá** ‘if it [cl.7] had been’.)

Keesho/ nt^hakuwako Mambasa. ‘Tomorrow I shall be in Mombasa.’ (This example contains the first person singular form of the future tense of the verb ‘be’ with the locative enclitic =*ko*.)

kuwa mnene ‘to be fat’

kuwa mzeele ‘to be, become old’

kuwa siita ‘to turn sour’

Laakini/ siimba/ nt^hakuwaaliko/ ba’iidi. ‘But a/the lion was not far away.’ (The verb here is the [cl.1] subject form of the negative past tense of ‘be’, where the element *li* occurs between ‘be’ and the locative enclitic =*ko*.)

maame/ kawa hayi ‘if my mother were alive’

Maandra/ iwelee nk^havu. ‘The bread has gotten dry.’

Mi/ nk^hawaa munó/ mi/ suḷa khpoowa/ makooko/ naawé/ zijó. ‘If I were you little sister, would I be given rice crust and you **zijo**?’

Nk^hawa nolohselé/ suḷa kuwa niwaweené. ‘If I had gone, I would have seen them.’

Nt^hakuwa mzele. ‘I will be an old man.’

Nt^hashkuwaalimo/ karka mashaawuri/ ayo. ‘We were not involved in those affairs.’ (The verb here is the first person plural form of the negative past tense form of ‘be’ in conjunction with the locative enclitic =*mo*. The element *li* follows ‘be’ in the past tense.)

nuumba/ nzimaye/ inawe yaako ‘so that the whole house be yours’

Oyo muunt^hu/ chimuza/ iweleeyi/ nuumbayo/ iyi/ ni numba ya waziiri. ‘That man asked him: how did it become your house? This is the house of the minister.’

Sku mooyi/ nt^hafsililile ndrootoza/ na zaa ye/ nambiló/ zote/ stulushile/ ziwele lila. ‘One day he explained to me my dreams and everything that he told me happened and came true.’

Teena/ ichiwaa ye/ naku’iisha/ na mwanaamke. ‘Then it was that he lived with his daughter.’

Teena/ wachiwa/ wanakooḏa. ‘Then they started talking [lit. they became they were talking].’

Uu/ hadiile/ uu/ hadiile/ haayiwi/ kooḏi. ‘This one said, this one said does not become talk.’ (A proverb.)

Wana awa/ kawa mbwaaká... ‘If these children were mine...’ Cf. **Mwana uyū/ kawa mbwaaká...** ‘If this child were mine...’

Wowi/ iwelee nk^havu. ‘The river dried up.’

Zibuku izi/ chiwa nzaaká... ‘If these books are mine...’ (Cf. **Zibuku izi/ schiwa zaaká...** ‘If these books become mine...’ Cf. also: **Chibuku ichi chiwa nch^haaká...** ‘If this book is mine...’ and **Chibuku ichi/ shchiwa chaaká...** ‘If this book becomes mine...’)

rel.

ku-weelele v. appl.

Duniya/ imweelele/ miinza. ‘The world became darkness for him.’
huwaweelele ‘it becomes/ gets for them’

Ikooti/ imbelele chihaba. ‘The coat became small, short for me.’

Ka dhibu/ kumwelele niingi/ mwaana/ chi’azima/ kondoka ka apo.
‘Because there were many difficulties weighing on him, the boy decided to move from there.’

ka sababu kumwelele/ mwaanawe/ wahali ‘in order to be company for her son’

kuwelele raadi ‘to forgive’

Mi/ khirilile/ we/ kumbelele moojá. ‘I agreed for you to be my master.’

Mwaana/ mbelele mwovu. ‘The child turned out bad on me.’

Na imweelele/ kuwa nt^haná/ budi/ ye/ kuuza/ chulungu cha kaandra.
‘And it became for him that there was no way out but for him to sell the first storey of the house (having earlier sold the second storey only).’

Takhurashiliza myaana/ takhuwelele maama/ takhuwelele yaa we/ nakhsuuló. ‘She will be a servant to you, she will be a mother to you, she will be whatever you want.’

ku-woowa v. pass. (-weela)

Iwela waalimu. ‘Some people became teachers [lit. there was becoming teachers].’

Mule/ na chigobé/ muunt^hu/ huzaliloowa/ laakini/ mambaamba/ na mnené/ huwonoowa. ‘Tall and short a person is born with, but skinny and fat one becomes.’ (A proverb.)

ku-wa

v. aux. be

Walwaawo/ wachirashmanya/ wachiwa wanakendra ka siimba. ‘Both together followed one another and they went to Lion.’

ku-waa-li-ko

v. past tense copular verb

m-baa-li-ko first person singular

Mbaliko numbaani. ‘I was at home.’ Or: **Mbaalikó/ numbaani.**

waa-li-ko second person singular

Waliko (karka) numba ganí. ‘Which house were you at?’

ku-wa’adisha

v. (**wa’adishiize**) preach to a group, giving advice

wa’adi

n. advice, counsel, sermon

variant form: **wa’adi**

Laakini/ Sa’iidi/ iize/ khtila ishkilooni/ waano/ na wa’ađi. ‘But Sa’iidi refused to heed the warnings and advice.’

mooja chiloongole chiraashe wa’adi [st.] ‘O God show us the right way so that we may follow good advice’

ya nafsi raasha wa’adi na waano/ ni qowli ya mtume stoshe ni laano [st.] ‘oh mortals, follow the advice and warnings, they are the words of the Prophet, do not think it is a story’

wadaamu

n. 9/10 [Som. *wadaan* DSI 603; that the *n* at the end of the stem here is underlyingly a *m* in Somali is shown by the plural form *wadaamo*] any receptacle for fetching water from a well (but in Somali the word refers to a leather bucket that is used to fetch water from a well)

variant form: **wadaamu**

Maayi/ karka wadaamu/ yanakuvuuya. ‘The water in the bucket is leaking.’

Maayi/ yatila wadamuuni. ‘Water was poured into the bucket.’

Maayi/ yavuyiile/ ka wadamuuni. ‘Water leaked from the bucket.’

Mwanaamke/ yezeze wadaamo/ maayi. ‘The girl filled the bucket with water.’ Or: **Mwanaamke/ yezeze maayi/ wadaamo.**

Uzile wadaamu/ kumtekela maamaye/ maayi. ‘He bought a bucket to fetch water for his mother with.’ (Syn. Observe in this sentence how the applied verb *-tekela* permits both a beneficiary (*maamaye*) and an instrumental (*wadaamu*) to appear without a preposition.)

Uzile wadaamu/ khtekela maayi. ‘He bought a bucket to fetch water with.’

Wadaamu/ itila maayi. ‘The bucket had water poured into it.’ (Syn.

Interestingly, one cannot say: ***Maayi/ yatila wadaamu.** ‘Water was poured into the bucket.’ If the logical direct object is to be the subject of the passive verb, then the recipient must be in its locative form.

Wadaamu/ inakuvuya maayi. ‘The bucket is leaking water.’

Wadaamu/ ivuyile maayi. ‘The bucket leaked water.’

Wo/ watilopo wadammu yaawó/ chisimaani/ Yuusufu/ chishika wadaamu/ awa/ wachigita wadaamu. ‘When they put their bucket in the well, Yuusufu clung to the bucket and they pulled up the bucket.’

Ye/ nt^hakuwanaayo/ wadaamu/ yaa ye/ khtekela maayi. ‘He did not have a bucket with which to fetch water.’

Zeena/ tile maayi/ wadamuuni. ‘Zeena poured water into the bucket.’

i-waadi

n. valley

Shkoma mahaḷa/ yiko iwaadi/ ikulu. ‘He reached a place, at that place there was a large valley.’

waduudi

adj. [Ar. *wadūd* W 1058] favorably disposed

chimnoombe ma’abudi / rabbi rahiimu waduudi [st.] ‘let us beg the one to be adored, the Lord, [who is] compassionate and favourably disposed’

waađihi

adj. clear

ka waađihi ‘clearly’

ku-wađihika

v. p/s. [cf. Ar. *wađaha* W 1076] (-**wađihishile**) (be able to be) understood, explained
Ije su'aali/ iwađihishile. 'The question was explained.'

rel.

ku-wađihisha v. caus. (**wađihishiize**) make clear, explain

ku-wađihishiliza v. caus. appl. explain to

Nimwađihishilize Jaamá/ mas'ala. 'I explained the problem to Jaama.'

(Syn. It appears to be possible to locate **mas'ala** immediately after the verb without making it the focus, in which case the final accent triggered by the verb extends to the end of the verb phrase:

Nimwađihishilize mas'ala/ Jaamá. If **mas'ala** is the focus, of course, then the final accent does not extend past it:

Nimwađihishilize mas'ala/ Jaama.)

ku-wađihishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. explain to one another

ku-wađihishilizoowa v. caus. appl. pass.

Chiwađihishilizá/ koođi/ zođe. 'All the words were explained to us [lit. we were explained all the words].'

Jaama/ wađihishiliza mas'ala/ naami. 'Jaama was made to understand the problem by me.' (Syn. Only **Jaama** and not **mas'ala** can be the subject of the passive verb here. It is possible, however, to switch the order of the words, without changing the grammatical relationships: **Mas'ala/ wađihishiliza Jaama.** 'Jaama was made to understand the problem.' Observe that the postposed subject **Jaama** is phrased together with the verb.)

ku-wađihishoowa v. caus. (-**wađihishiiza**) be explained, made clear

Mas'ala/ iwađihishiiza. 'The problem was explained.'

mu-waafaqa

n. 3 agreement; [pron. **muwaafaqa** or **muwaafakha**]

Omari/ na Hamadı/ wakomele muwaafakha/ khsaaydana. 'Omari and Hamadi reached an agreement to help each other.'

rel.

u-waafaqa n. 14 togetherness; [pron. **uwaafaqa** or **uwaafakha**]

uwaafakha una kheeri [song] 'togetherness has blessing'

wafaati

n. the time of death, death

somaani ya niya karka wafaati [st.] 'read [the Quran] with the intention to do so [stated] at the time of death'

wafdi

n. [Som. *wafdi* DSI 604] delegation (this is part of the "official vocabulary" that entered Chimiini after independence of Somalia)

waafi

n. **the net weight of something; the excess over the desired amount of something weighed**

ku-waafiqa

v. [Sw. *afiki* SSED 4; Ar.] (**wafiqiile**) agree (with, to), approve, affirm; be fitting, appropriate, useful; [pron. **kuwaafiqa** or **kuwaafikha**]

Ali/ wafiqile keendra. 'Ali agreed to go.'

Ali/ wafiqile kumwulila Nuuru/ gaari. 'Ali agreed to buy a car for Nuuru.'

Ali/ wafiqilee mi/ keendra. 'Ali approved my going.'

Omari/ wafiqile kula gaari. 'Omari agreed to buy a car.'

Wafiqile khtomola peesa. 'He agreed to pay money.'

rel.

ku-wafiqana v. rec. [Sw. *afik(i)ana* SSED 4] (-**wafiqeene**) agree with one another;

[pron. **kuwafiqana** or **kuwafikhana**]

Ali/ na Nuuru/ wawafikheene. 'Ali and Nuuru reconciled.' (Our consultant GM pronounces the name **Ali** with final accent, while MI employed default accent.)

Ali/ na Nuuru/ wawafikhene keendra. 'Ali and Nuuru agreed to go.' Or, with verb focus: **Ali/ na Nuuru/ wawafikheene/ keendra.**

Ali/ na Nuuru/ wawafikheene/ wo/ keendra. 'Ali and Nuuru agreed for them to go.' (Notice the possibility for a resumptive pronoun in position of subject of the

infinitive.)

Ali/ na Nuurú/ wawafiqene kula gaari. ‘Ali and Nuuru agreed with one another to buy a car.’ (Syn: One can also say: **Ali/ wafiqene na Nuuru/ kula gaari.** ‘Ali agreed together with Nuuru to buy a car.’ Observe that in this example, subject agreement is with **Ali**, thus the null third person singular subject prefix is used rather than the [cl.2] plural subject prefix *wa-*.)

Baabu/ na Nuurú/ wawafikheene. ‘Baabu and Nuuru reconciled.’

Baabu/ na Nuurú/ wawafikheene keendra. ‘Baabu and Nuuru agreed to go.’ Or. with verb focus: **Baabu/ na Nuurú/ wawafikheene/ keendra.**

Baabu/ na Nuurú/ wawafikheene/ wo/ keendra. ‘Baabu and Nuuru agreed they to go.’

Nuuru/ wafiqene na Ali/ kooloka. ‘Nuuru agreed with Ali to go.’

Wachiwafiqana/ kumpelekela/ mamaye Hasiibu/ peesa. ‘They agreed to send Hasiibu’s mother money.’ (Syn. In MI’s speech, the construction **mamaye Hasiibu** is an alternative to **Hasiibu/ maamaye**. Research is required to see whether this construction is common with other speakers, but preliminary research suggests that it is not found generally.)

Wawafiqene kooloka. ‘They agreed to go.’

Wote/ wachiwafikhana kumtumila qaaði/ nt^hume. ‘All agreed to send a messenger to the judge.’

ku-wafiqanoowa v. rec. pass. (-wafiqeena)

Isa/ ráyi/ iwafiqeená/ iwaaliko/ ya kuwaa wo/ ni laazima/ keendra/ khfula/ khfaanya/ chijarsi chihaba/ hukhadiroowa/

kh^hutulukoowa/ nma mp^hana mooyi. ‘Now, the agreed upon idea was that they must go and forge a small bell able to be carried by one rat.’ **need to review phrasing/vowel length**

ku-wafiqoowa v. pass.

Gari iyi/ iwafiqiḷa kuḷoowa. ‘This car was agreed to be purchased.’ (Syn: The singular noun *gaari* controls subject agreement on the passive main verb. Notice that both the main verb and the lower verb are passives. *gaari*, of course, is the logical object of the active form of the lower verb. Cf. the plural forms: **Gari izi/ ziwafiqiḷa kuḷoowa.** or **Magari aya/ yawafiqiḷa kuḷoowa.** ‘These cars were agreed to be purchased.’ There is an impersonal form as well: **Iwaqila kuḷowa magari aya.** ‘There was agreement for these cars to be purchased.’

Nuuru/ iwafiqiḷa kuḷiḷowa gaari. ‘There was agreement for Nuuru to have cars bought for him.’

ku-wafiqilav. guide, crown one’s efforts with success (of God)

wah

interj. a word expressing surprise or astonishment

Chimwambila oyo mzeele/ wah/ mi/ chilaatu/ chimp^hotela/ isa/ mi/ jisa/ khfaanya/ siná. ‘She [“Cinderella”] told the old woman, **Wah!**, a shoe fell off [my foot], now I do not know [lit. have] what to do’

Wah/ khalamu. ‘Here’s a pen! Of all places to find a pen!’

Wah/ leelo/ ninpatililee kujá/ nt^haziná/ ba/ adadi ‘What! today I have gotten for you food that has no count.’

Wah/ nakulectani/ naank^hó/ we. ‘What are you coming with (i.e. saying, doing) now?’

Wah/ Omari/ mbishile maaná. ‘what! Omari hit the boy?’

Wah/ Omari/ oloshéle. ‘What! Omari went?’

Wah/ Omari/ we/ naank^hó/ leselení. ‘What! Omari, what are you bringing (i.e. saying, doing, etc.) again/now?’

wahali (ma-)

n. 1/2 [Som. *wehel* “1. company, 2. companion” DSI 612] companion, company
aṭa chisala p(w)eeke pashpo wahali [st.] ‘even if you pray alone without a companion’

- Bilaa wahali/ ni dahari.** ‘Without a companion is suffering.’ (A proverb.)
Kođi njeema/ wahali/ kođii mbovu/ dahari. ‘Good words are a companion, bad words are hardship/ suffering.’ (A proverb.)
Mi/ siná/ wahali. ‘I do not have any companion (e.g. on a journey), I live alone (in a house).’
Mojiitu/ sichiweeke/ bilaa wahali. ‘May God not leave us without a companion.’ (A proverb.)
- Mp^hisi/ haawi/ wahali.** ‘A hyena does not become a companion, friend.’ (A proverb.)
Namsulá wahali. ‘I want a companion (someone to accompany me somewhere).’
nuumba zisho wahali [st.] ‘houses without companions (i.e. the graves, where the dead are alone)’
Omari/ ni wahali. ‘Omar is a (good) companion.’
wahaliwa ‘my companion’; **mawahaliwa** ‘my companions’
Wahaliwe/ chimbahiliile. ‘The other one is lost to me (i.e. I have lost the other one).’
wanakuwelele wahali/ ndilaani ‘that they be companions to you on the road’
ya nafsi tuuba mbeleyo su’aali/ apo nt^huna wahali nt^huna haali [st.] ‘oh mortals, repent, before you there is interrogation (at the time of your death), there you have no company, you have no strength’
- waahidi** n., adj. [Sw. *wahedi* SSED 523; Ar. *wāhid* W 1055] *Arabicism* one; an attribute of God (the One)
miya mbili na waahidi masmu ya mtume [st.] ‘two hundred and one are the names of the Prophet’
qiraani mooja wiitu kuwa waahidi [st.] ‘accept that our God is [the only] one’
- wahshi** adj. wild, animal-like, cruel
munt^hu wahshi ‘a cruel person’ (cf. **want^hu wahshi** ‘cruel people’)
- wahyi** n. [Ar. *wahy* W 1057] revelation -- in particular, God’s revelation to the Prophet, carried by **Jibriili** (Gabriel)
- wajhi** n. face; status (in society)
munt^hu mwenye wajhi ‘a man of status, position in society’
Nt^haná/ wajhi. ‘He has no status; he is not respected.’
- ku-waajibá** v. [Sw. *wajibu* SSED 523; Ar.] (**wajibiile**) compel, oblige
humwaajibó/ na hazimwaajibi ‘what she is required to do and those things that she should not do’
Hunwaajiba/ keendra. ‘I am obliged to go.’
huwaajibu somu ya ramađaani [st.] ‘it is obligatory to fast during Ramadhan’
huwawaajiba ‘it becomes a must for them’
Iwaliko ichiwajibiile/ kuwelela raađi/ ya mwajiitu/ chooleló. ‘It was compelled for us to be pleased with what God decreed for us.’
Kulá muunt^hu/ islaamu/ baalighi/ na aqilizé/ ni tamaamu/ humwajiba ziint^hu/ staano. ‘Every Muslim who has reached puberty and his faculties are unimpaired is obliged five things.’
Mi/ soloki naaye/ chijiini/ simpikili/ walá/ sfaanyi/ yoyote/ humwaajibó/ muke/ kumfanyiliza mubliwe. ‘I will not go with him to bed, I will not cook for him, nor will I do anything that a wife is obligated to do for her husband.’
Mwaalimu/ mwajibile mwaana/ keendra. ‘The teacher compelled the

child to go.’

rel.

ku-wajibisha v. caus. (**wajibishiize**) compel

Mwaalimu/ mwajibishize mwaana/ keendra. ‘The teacher compelled the child to go.’ (The causative form of this verb has the same usage as the simple form: both simply mean ‘compel’. One does not use the causative to mean ‘cause to compel’.)

waajibu

n. [Sw. *wajibu* SSED 523] duty, an obligatory thing, a necessity

obligatory.’

Ka kaaka/ kufa/ ni waajibu. ‘For me, dying is something necessary,

Kiila muunt^hu/ wa Mwiini/ ni waajibu/ iluye/ khsaayda/ wazeelewe/ na nduuzazé/ wote/ nt^hawana kaazi. ‘It is the duty of each man of Brava to help his parents and all his relatives who do not have jobs.’

Kufa/ ka Nuuru/ ni waajibu. ‘To die for Nuuru is a necessity.’

necessity, s.t. obligatory.’

Nuuru/ hisabaṭaa kufa/ kuwa ni waajibu. ‘Nuuru considers dying a

sho kiiwa waajibu hu’adiboowa [st.] ‘one who does not know his religious obligations is punished’

Oko kiitu/ we/ shfanya kaazi/ ka daḍaali/ chidaḍaalaṭa/ kulawila

wajibuye/ we/ hisabaṭoowi/ kuwa muunt^hu. ‘There in my country, if you work hard, if you try hard to carry out your duties, you are not considered to be anyone (a person of importance).’

waaka

n. underground silo for storing grains

rel.

mi-waaka pl.

miwaka miingi ‘many underground silos’

ku-waka

v. [Sw. *aka* SSED 7] (**washile**) build; build s.o. up

Abú/ ka’iza kuwaka nuumbá ‘if Abu had not built a house’; or: **Abú/ ka’iza kuwaká/ nuumba** (Need to review whether in second example there is a possibility of final accent, or whether we are dealing with an intonational raising of the final syllable.)

Abú/ kachiza kuwaka nuumbá ‘if Abu had not built a house’; or: **Abú/ kachiza kuwaká/ nuumba...** (Our transcription of the second example needs reviewing; we would expect default accent on **nuumba** due to the Accentual Law of Focus, but we heard a final pitch rise which, however, may have been intonational.)

Abú/ kawaka nuumbá ‘if Abu had built a house’; or **Abú/ kaawaká/ nuumba** (More research is required on whether the *ka*-tense necessarily respects the Accentual Law of Focus; our transcriptions of examples such as the second one here indicated a final H tone, but this may well have been the intonational H tone associated with the *ka*-tense.)

Abunawaasi/ washile nuumba/ ya zulungu ziwili. ‘Abunawaasi built a house of two storeys.’

Baazi/ washile nuumbá. ‘Baazi (really) built (some) house!’ (The final accent in this example seems to be intonational, given that the verb governs default accent, emphasizing that Baazi built a really wonderful, high-quality house.)

Funga miimba/ waka nuumba. ‘Close your belly, build a house.’ (A proverb.)

Huwakoo nt^hi/ ni mwana waa nt^hi. ‘The one who builds the country is the child of the country.’ (A proverb.)

kama kuwaka nuumba karka bahari [st.] ‘like building a house in the sea’

Maneeno/ hayawaaki/ muuyi. ‘Words do not build a city.’

Mbashile nuumbá. ‘I built a house.’ Or, with verb focus: **Mbashilé/ nuumba.** ‘I built a house.’ (There is no doubt but that the default case is for the final accent to not extend beyond the verb. However, there seems to be some context where it is acceptable to say: **Mbashilé/ nuumbá.** It must be emphasized in this case, there is clear downstep on the complement. This contrasts with the simple yes-no question based on **Mbashilé/ nuumba.** In the question, the complement undergoes accent shift to the final syllable, but the complement is not downstepped: **Mbashilé/ nuumbá?** If it is true that there are contexts where

one might say **Mbashilé/ nuumbá.**, then it seems clear that the final accent on the noun is a reflection of the verb being a final-accent trigger. GM did not accept a sentence like ***Washile/ nuumbá.** ‘He *built* a house.’ The verb in this example has default penult accent, and it is out of the realm of possibility that **nuumba** could have final accent in a statement. Of course, in a simple yes-no question it is expected.)

Mi/ nsuljile kuwaka madrasá. ‘I wanted to build the school.’ Or: **Mi/ nsuljilé/ kuwaka madrasa.** I *wanted* to build the school.’ Or: **Mi/ nsuljile kuwaká/ madrasa.** ‘I wanted to *build* the school.’

Mwenye/ washile nuumba. ‘Mwenye has built a house.’ Or: **Mwenye/ washile/ nuumba.**

Naani/ washilo nuumbá. ‘Who built a house?’ Or: **Naani/ washiló/ nuumba.** ‘Who *built* a house?’ (This sentence, where emphasis on the verb brings the Accentual Law of Focus into play, is the default pronunciation. However, when we asked whether it was possible to say **Naani/ washiló/ nuumbá.**, this pronunciation was accepted as possible. We have not identified a context for its use.)

Nuumba/ washiló/ náani. ‘The house, the one who built it is who?’ (Putting final accent on **naani** was dismissed out of hand. The post-verbal position for **naani** is clearly tied to the relative clause preceding it; cf. the ungrammaticality of ***Nuumba/ washile/ naani.** Nor ***Washile nuumba/ naani.** Nor: ***Washile/ nuumba/ naani.** The problem with all of these sentences is clear: they would require **naani** to be understood as a right-dislocated subject. But right-dislocated subjects are out-of-focus, whereas **naani** is inherently focused. Therefore it cannot be right-dislocated.)

Nuumba/ washilo Nuurú/ ha’iwaari. ‘The house that Nuuru built won’t last long.’ (Note the postposing of the subject in the relative clause structure.)

Omari/ washile/ nuumba. ‘Omari *built* a house.’ (Yes-no question: **Omari/ washile/ nuumbá?** ‘Did Omari build a house?’)

Omari/ washilo nuumbá. ‘*Omari* built a house.’ (This construction, where the main verb of the sentence is put into a “pseudo-relative clause” shape, is employed when there is a focused preverbal element. This sentence type is common in present-day speech, though we did not observe it in the speech of Mohammad Imam unless the focused element is preceded by the copula **ni** or when an element is inherently focused, like the question word **naani**.)

Wa’anziize/ kuwaka muuyi. ‘They began to build a town.’

Waka nuumba/ ilu ya mlima. ‘Build a house on a hill.’

Washile nuumba/ Omari. ‘He built a house, Omari.’ (In this sentence, the right-dislocated subject **Omari** is downstepped, apparently to an even greater extent than ordinary. In the corresponding simple yes-no question, the right-dislocated subject undergoes accent shift: **Washile nuumba/ Omari?** ‘Did he build a house, Omari?’ Although there is no doubt that there is declination of the pitch level on the postposed subject in comparison to the verb phrase, but still it is not the radical downstepping of the statement.)

Washile/ nuumba/ Omari. ‘He *built* a house, Omari.’ (In the simple yes-no question, both **nuumba** and the right-dislocated subject undergo accent shift: **Washile/ nuumbá/ Omari.** ‘Did he *build* a house, Omari?’)

Wawashile majuumba/ yaa mawe. ‘They built houses of stones.’

Wawashile miskiti miingi. ‘They built many mosques.’

wawashilo ka’ba mbele malaayka/ numa ni Adamu ba’da miyaaka [st.]
‘the first to build the **ka’ba** were the angels/ then Adam, years later’

rel.

ku-wakika v. p/s. able to be built

ku-wakikila v. p/s. appl. able to be built for

Nuumba/ imwakiliile. ‘The house was able to be built for him.’

ku-wakiloowa v. appl. pass.

Mwaalimu/ wakiliila nuumba/ na muunt^hu. ‘The teacher was built for a house by the man.’ Or, with the same meaning and the same grammatical relationships, just a different word order: **Nuumba/ wakiliila mwaalimu/ na muunt^hu.**

mwalimu wakiliila nuumbá/ na muunt^hú ‘the teacher who was built for a house by the man’

Omari/ wakiliila nuumba. ‘Omari was built for a house.’ Or with verb focus: **Omari/ wakiliila/ nuumba.**

Pesa izi/ schisulowa kuwakiloowa. ‘This money was earmarked for

building a house (with it).’

Wakilila Omari/ nuumba. ‘He was built for Omari a house.’ (The simple yes-no question reveals the out-of-focus nature of the complement: **Wakilila Omari/ nuumbá?** The exclamatory question shifts accent in both phrases: **Wakilila Omari/ nuumbâ!?**)

ku-wakila v. appl.

Nt^hakhuloza mwanaamkewa/ na nt^hakhuwakila/ nuumba/ nk^hulu/ nt^ho/ yaa we/ khkala/ we/ na mukeewó. ‘I will marry you to my daughter and I will build for you a very big house for you to live in, you and your wife.’

ku-wakisha v. caus. [Sw. *akisha*] make build

Nuuru/ mwakishize mwashi/ nuumba. ‘Nuuru had the mason build a house.’

ku-wakishana v. caus. rec.

ku-wakishika v. caus. p/s.

ku-wakishiliza v. caus. appl. make build for

ku-wakishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. make build for one another

ku-wakoowa v. pass. [Sw. *akwa*] be built

Khaadimu/ izo/ schifakata/ kuwaka zibaandra/ laakini/ nvula/ yanzizee kunya/ na nt^haasá/ zibaandra/ kumaliza kuwakoowa. ‘Those servants ran and built shelters but the rain began to fall before the shelters were finished being built.’

rel. nom.

m-waka (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who builds

Mwaka nt^hi/ ni mwana waa nt^hi. ‘The builder of the country is the child of the country.’ (A proverb.)

ma-wako n. 6 the way s.t. is built; buildings

janna mawakoye nusu nda dahabu / nusu nda feđa ni kana makhsabu [st.] the buildings of paradise are [made] half of gold, half of silver, they are like a brocade embroidered with gold and silver.’

m-wako n. 3 way of building

Mwako oyo/ ni khatari. ‘That way of building is dangerous.’

Mwako waa we/ huwako nuumbá/ ni khatari. ‘The way that you built the house is dangerous.’

wakaala n. [Sw. *wakala* SSED 523] agency

u-wakaala n. power of attorney; appointment

Hunikaahishó/ ni khađi wa muuyi/ amó/ muunt^hu/ nayo uwakala wa khaađi. ‘The one who performs the marriage is the town judge, or someone who has an appointment from the judge.’

waakh ideo. of the sound of ducks

Mibița/ yanaakula/ waakh waakh waakh. ‘The ducks are crying **waakh waakh waakh.**’

wakiili (*ma-*) n. [Sw. *wakili* SSED 523] lawyer, representative of s.o., s.o. with power of attorney

ku-wakilisha v. tr.

rel.

ku-wakilishiliza v. tr. appl.

ku-wakilishilizanya v. tr. appl. rec.

Wakohaatiimu n.

Forđaani/ yiko kharibu ya Wakohaatiimu. ‘Port stores are near Wakohaatiimu.’

Makoofiya/ masuura/ hushomowa ka Wakohaatiimu. ‘Good (traditional Bravanese) hats are knitted at Wakohaatiimu.’

- wal-** prep. [a contraction of **wa-wili**] between, both, together
walwaawo ‘both of them’
Walwaawo/ wachirashmana koloka kaa muke. ‘The two went together to the woman.’
Walwaawo/ washpandra mp^huundra/ wanakiineendra/ wanakiineendra. ‘Both of them climbed up on the donkey and continued on.’
walwiitu ‘both of us’
Basi Juha/ chiwakasa/ chimwambila maanawe/ sh^takhpandra walwiitu/ mp^huundra. ‘So Juha heard them (e.g. the people who were taunting them) and told his son: We will both of us ride on the donkey.’
Choloshelé/ teena/ walwiitu/ chimpanzile mp^huundrá. ‘We went, then we both rode the donkey.’
Oloka/ chiwanyilize walwiitu. ‘Go and divide it between us two.’
Walwiitu/ chirashmeenyé/ choloshele kaaké. ‘The two of us together left and we went to his place.’
walwiinu ‘between you (pl.)’
- wal’asri** n. the name of a sura in the Quran
- ku-walana** v. (-**waleene**) be tight; be firmly stuck together; refuse categorically to do s.t.
Mlaango/ uwaleene. ‘The door is stuck together.’
Musmaari/ uwaleene. ‘The nail is firmly stuck in.’
Mzele uyu/ ziluungoze/ ziwawaleene. ‘This old man is in good physical shape [lit. his limbs are stuck firmly together].’
Tuuma/ waleene. ‘Tuuma refused to do it.’
rel.
ku-walanisha v. caus. (**walanishiize**) make firm, tight
Mwalanishize Zahara. ‘He caused Zahara to refuse to do it.’
Walanishize musmaari. ‘He caused the nail to be firmly in (though this usage has the effect of personifying the nail).’
ku-waliliza v. tr. appl. tighten with, for
ku-waliza v. tr. (**waliize**) tighten, close firmly, screw tightly; demand immediate repayment or return of s.t.
Nureeni/ mwalize Adamu. ‘Nureeni demanded that Adamu repay it immediately.’
Walize musmaari. ‘He made the nail firmly in place.’
ku-walizanya v. tr. rec. demand immediate repayment from one another
ku-walizika v. tr. p/s. be capable of being tightened
ku-walizisha v. tr. caus. make s.o. tighten s.t.
rel. nom.
ma-walizo n. 6
u-walizo n. 14
- waldaraani** n. something bad
Wiikuto/ waldaraani. ‘To be over-full is a bad thing.’
- waliija** n. [Ital. *valigia*] luggage, suitcase, valise **make certain that the l is correct here**
- ku-walika** v. (-**walishile**) pop, squeak
Daank^hu/ zinakuwalika. ‘The popcorn is popping.’
rel.
ku-walisha v. caus. (**walishiize**) cause to pop or crack (e.g. the knuckles of the hand)
kuwalisha sh^teko ‘to crack up laughing’
Hamadi/ walishize sh^teko/ dhakh dhakh dhakh. ‘Hamadi laughed **dhakh dhakh dhakh.**’
kuwalisha zaala ‘to crack the fingers (i.e. knuckles)’

walīma

n. food served at the wedding feast (**haruusi**)
khfanya walīma ‘to prepare the food for the wedding feast’
Pesa husaaló/ hupikilowa walīma wa haruusi. ‘The money that remains is used to cook the food for the wedding feast.’
walīma wa haruusi ‘the food served at the wedding feast’

waliyi (ma-)

n. [Sw. *walii* SSED 524; Ar. *waliy* W 1100] a man close to God, an Islamic saint
na mawaliyi wont^he ni wenye haqi na lilla [st.] ‘and all men close to God are just and true’
Sku mooyi/ dul’eda/ mōihirilile ori/ ka nguwo za waliyi. ‘One day a fox appeared to a cock in the clothes of a pious man dedicated to God.’
rel.
awliya n. pl. [Ar. *awliyā* W 1100]

ku-walkhalata

v.
kumwalkhalata ‘to slaughter a goat for him’
Omari/ nakumwalkhalata/ maanawe. ‘Omari is slaughtering a goat for [the purification of] his child.’
rel.
ku-walkhalatoowa v. pass. be slaughtered a goat for

walkhali

n. a celebration purifying a child, male or female, where a goat is slaughtered and eaten

walwaawo

both of them
Ma’askari/ wachiwona/ kuwa ni afðali/ kuwatukula walwaawo/ kendra naawo/ ka sulṭaani. ‘The soldiers saw that it was better to take both of them to go to the sultan.’

waLLaahi

by God
WaLLaahi/ maana/ we/ pitikiliilá/ ambo/ ni mzimá/ shtoloko chimó/ endrá/ endrá/ endrá. ‘By God, boy, are you **befallen** or are you insane? One little bean! Go, get away, be gone!’

wala

conj. [Sw. *wala* SSED 524] nor, neither [pron: **walá**]
variant form: **waló**
Jeelaani/ nt^h akiwa yaa ye/ khfaanya/ walá/ yaa ye/ kuhadá. ‘Jeelaani did not know what to do nor what to say.’
Ka khisa/ mi/ skumkoseleza/ mukewo/ walá/ skukhukoseleza. ‘Because I did not wrong your wife nor did I wrong you.’
Kaleent^he/ liinzile/ walá/ nt^hakoofata. ‘He sat, he waited, and he never got tired.’
kuja/ walá/ kuná ‘to eat or to drink’
kuja/ walá/ kuna maayí ‘to eat or to drink water’
Leelo/ hattá/ peesa/ yaa si/ kuja/ nt^hachiná/ na waant^hu/ muiiini/ hawashpendi teena/ walá/ nt^hawanakhfurahila/ kichiwona. ‘Today we do not even have money with which to eat and the people of the town do not love us anymore nor are they pleased to see us.’
Mi/ siisi/ mahaḷaa mi/ niliiló/ walá/ mahaḷaa mi/ nnakeendró. ‘I do not know where I came from nor where I am going.’
Mwiingine/ chihada/ la/ sichimub^he/ walá/ sichimrude chisimaani. ‘Another one said no, let us not kill him, neither let us return back into the well.’
Nthamona Omari/ walá/ Hamadí/ walá/ Nuurú. ‘I did not see Omari nor Hamadi nor Nuuru.’
Nthaná/ asli/ walá/ faðli. ‘He does not have either ancestry (i.e. noble

birth) nor manners.’ (A proverb.)

Sinakhsuḷa keendra/ walá/ sinakhsuḷa khkalaant^ha. ‘I do not want to go nor do I want to stay.’ Or: **Sinakhsuḷa keendra/ walá/ khkalaant^ha.**

Skhaadiri/ khkooḷa/ walá/ kudawata. ‘I cannot speak, nor complain.’

Skhaadiri/ khkooḷa/ walá/ kuhada zaa mi/ nakhfanyoowá. ‘I cannot talk nor say what is being done to me [lit. I am being done to].’

Siná/ wakhtⁱ/ walá/ sinakuwona/ kuwa ni suura/ kinkhubura kaa khatⁱ/ stulushilo apá. ‘I do not have the time, neither do I think that it is good to inform you by letter what has happened here.’

Sinakhsuḷa keendra/ walá/ khkalaant^ha. ‘I do not want either to go or to stay.’

Siwreerishé/ ruuhuyo/ walá/ siwanaayó/ faza’a. ‘Do not disturb yourself, neither be afraid.’

Spendii mazu/ walá/ spendi ndriimu. ‘I do not like bananas nor do I like lemons.’

Spendii mazu/ walá/ ndriimú. ‘I do not like bananas or lemons.’

Standrawili/ mfuunzile/ walá/ siwo/ jawabuu nk^hulu. ‘The riddle, she asked him to solve it, neither is it a big thing.’

Wachisimama/ sukhuuni/ pashpo kiiwa/ yaa wo/ wanakhsuḷó/ walá/ yaa wo/ wanakhfaanyó. ‘They stopped in the market without knowing what they wanted, neither what they were doing.’

walá/ eelo or **wala eeló** ‘nor the gazelle’

walá/ khsoma chibuukú ‘or to read a book’

walá/ kumsomela maaná/ chibuukú ‘or to read a book to the child’

walá/ mana wa Nuurú ‘or Nuuru’s son’

walá/ Nureení ‘or Nureeni’

Walá/ nt^haku/ chiiwó. ‘Neither was there anyone who knew about it.’

Walá/ nt^hawanakhfurahila/ kichiwona. ‘Nor are they pleased to see us.’

walá/ Nuurú/ maanawé ‘nor Nuuru’s son’

walá/ we ‘nor you’

walo mashuungiye mafta hadaarshi [st.] ‘not even her hair should she apply oil to it’

chi-wala (zi-)
mark

n. 7/8 [Sw. *waa* "spot, patch of colour (light or dark), mark, speck" SSED 522] scar,

Chiwala/ chimlazole itooni. ‘A mark has emerged in his eye.’

Nayo chiwala/ usooni. ‘He has a mark, scar on his face.’

ku-wala

v. [Sw. *iwaa* SSED 522] (i-wazile) shine, twinkle, sparkle, be bright

Chiwona almasi nk^hulu inakuwaloo nt^ho. ‘He saw a large diamond which was shining very much.’

Huwala/ hupeendeza/ laakini/ hashkomeki. ‘It shines, it pleases, but it cannot be reached.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is *iwa* ‘the sun’.)

Ka khisani/ markabuyo/ inakuwaloo nt^ho. ‘Why is your ship shining so much?’

kuwala kamba nt^hupa ‘lit. to shine like a bottle -- said of person who is dressed in all his/her finery and has a satisfied, happy countenance expressing well-being’

kuwala/ kana chilolo ‘to shine like glass’

Nakuwala/ kana chilolo. ‘He is shining like glass.’

kuwala/ kana (or: **kamba**) **iwa** ‘to shine like the sun (e.g. of someone just

after showering)’

Maluungoye/ yawaaliko/ layini/ na chiwala/ ka usuura. ‘Her body was soft and was shining with beauty.’

Naani/ hupisho ruuhuyé/ kuwaza waant^hu. ‘Who is the one who burns himself up in order to light others?’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **ltaambi** ‘a wick’.)

rel.

ku-walaawala v. freq. glow

ku-walisha v. caus. make bright

ku-waliza v. tr. appl. light with

ku-waza v. tr. (**waziize**) make something bright, brighten

Ina isuura/ huwaza nuumba. ‘A good name brightens a house.’ (A proverb.)

ku-wazoowa v. tr. pass.

Zilaatu/ zinakuwazoowa. ‘The shoes are being shined (by someone).’

waladu

in the expressions:

waladu **firaashi** ‘(lit. sleeping material child) a child born unlawfully, as the mother and father did not marry according to the religion’

waladu **kalbu** ‘(lit.) a dog’s child – i.e. disparaging description of s.o. (equivalent to the Chimiini expression **mana waa mba** ‘dog’s child’)’

Omari/ ni waladu **kalbu.** ‘Omari is a dog’s child!’

walaala

n. a measure (for grains, milk) that corresponds to **zi-dhu** (see the entry for this measure) (Ety. The origin of this word is not known. The local Tunni dialect uses **qar** for this measure.)

walaali

n. brother, family member, s.o. from the community, neighbor

Ink'aari/ nṭ'aziná/ walaali. ‘Curses do not have brotherhood.’ (A proverb.)

Ni waajibu/ muuntḥu/ kumrahibisha walaaliwe. ‘It is an obligation for a person to welcome his brother etc.’

rel.

u-walaali n. brotherhood

Nṭ'aku/ chiintḥu/ suura/ kana uwalaali. ‘There is nothing as good as brotherhood.’ (A proverb.)

ku-walaanga

v. (**walaanzile**) count

Siwalaangé/ wanaankḥuku/ nṭḥ'asaa wo/ kuwanguloowa. ‘Don’t count the chicks before they are hatched.’ (A proverb.)

rel.

ku-walaangika v. p/s.

ku-walaangila v. appl. (**walangiliile**)

rel. nom.

m-walaanga (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who counts’

m-walaango n. 3 act of counting

ku-waalata

v. (**waleete**) go mad, go crazy for s.t.

rel.

ku-walaṭila v. appl.

ku-waalisha v. caus. make mad for s.t.

waali

n. [Sw. *liwali* or *wali* SSED 248; Ar. *wālin* W 1101] title given to the governor of a coastal town, appointed by the Zanzibari sultanate

shpisa kulla jawaabu/ kana aqiida na waali [st.] ‘I got my way in every matter (lit. I made pass), like a military commander and a governor’

waali

n. [Sw. *wali* SSED 524] (this word is not used in ordinary Chimiini, as the word **zijo** is commonly used instead; however we did record the word in a non-sense song cited below)

nakhsuula waali wa mpuunga [song] ‘I want cooked rice’

waalidi

n. parent(s)

Walidiwo (or: **walidizo/ wakopi.** ‘Where are your parents?’

- waaliko** loc. cop.
Mbaliko nch^hendra madrasaani. ‘I was going to school.’
Mbaliko nenzele madrasaani. ‘I had gone to school.’
Mbaliko numbaani. ‘I was at home.’ Or, with focus on the verb:
mbaalikó/ numbaani.
Munt^hu waliko simemo kharibu yaa ndilá/ ni mwanafunzi wa jaama’a.
‘The man who was standing near the road was a student of the university.’
Waliko enzelepi/ leelo/ fijiri. ‘Where had you gone today this morning?’
- waliima** n. food served at the wedding feast
khfanya waliima ‘to prepare food for a wedding’
walima wa haruusi ‘food served at the wedding’
- waalimo** loc. cop.
Barzaani/ ziwalmoo ziti/ ziingi. ‘In the room were many chairs.’
Numbaani/ waalimó/ nii muke/ mzele/ siwo/ kama uje wa kaandra.
‘The one who was in the house was an old woman, not the same [age] as the first [old woman he had met].’
Wawalimo karkaa ndila/ sku niingi. ‘They were on the road for many days.’
- waalishe** adj. clear
waalishe/ kana muunt^hi ‘as clear as daytime’
- waliyi (ma-)** n. [Sw. *walii* SSED 524; Ar.] a saint; someone who is totally dedicated to God, religion; a pious person
Sku mooyi/ dul’eda/ mðirilile ori/ ka nguwo za waliyi. ‘One day fox appeared to rooster in the clothing of a pious person.’
wake huzuura mawaliyi laakini/ bila khpaka miskhi nakhpata idini [st.] ‘a woman (is permitted) to visit saints but without using perfumes or getting permission (from husband)’
- walla**
takhkooðo walla sijeeri [song] ‘whoever shall talk (i.e. about me), I am not ashamed’
- wallaahi** fixed expression from Arabic: by Allah
Wachihada/ wallaahi/ ni/ nna’iwá/ kuwaa si/ nt^hashkuuya/ khfidishaa dali/ walá/ si/ siwo/ want^hu hubooló. ‘They said: by Allah, you (pl.) know that we did not come to spread corruption in the country nor are we people who rob.’
- waambari** n. [Som. *jiinbaar* DSI 344] A piece of furniture with a long narrow shape, used as a bed or divan. It has four wooden legs and its top is covered with leather or hide. These used to be brought from the area of the Juba river.
- wamuusi** n. the first month following Ramadhan
idi ya wamuusi ‘the major feast following the end of Ramadhan’
Iidi/ ya wamuusi/ hutuluka sku ya kaandra/ ya mfungulo wamuusi.
‘The **idi ya wamuusi** falls on the first day of the month following Ramadhan.’
- waanda** n. [Sw. *wanja* [wa manga] “= antimony” SSED 526] kohl, antimony – a very smooth charcoal made from burned incense, used by women to blacken their eyebrows
Khupashilo waandá/ simpaké/ pilpili. ‘One who applies eye-makeup to you, don’t apply pepper to him.’ (A proverb.)
Maama/ watile waamawe/ waanda/ maṭooni. ‘Mother applied eyeshadow to her daughters.’
- chi-waandiko (zi-)** n. 7/8 [cf. *k-aandika* ‘to put s.t. on s.t. else’] patch of cloth, or leather, or plastic,

when used to mend a hole or bridge a gap in a bag or leather bucket (**wadaamu**)
variant form: **chiwaandriko**

chi-waandra (zi-)

n. 7/8 [Sw. *kiwanda* SSED 213] (i) plot of land, soccer field; (ii) smithy
(ii) **Chimaliza/ peleshela chiwandraani/ kubaraja khfula dhahabu/ na fedá.** ‘Then he was sent to a blacksmith shop to learn to forge gold and silver.’

ku-waandra

v. [Sw. *wanda* SSED 525] (**waan zile**) be, get fat, put on weight

Mi/ huja zint^hu matuuri/ zote/ laakini/ mi/ siwaandri. ‘I eat all fatty things, but I do not get fat.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is: **chuungu** ‘a cooking pot’.)

Mp^huundra/ maduriini/ waanzile/ nt^ho/ ka khisa/ nt^hashfaanya/ yo yote/ shokuwaa kuja/ kulaala/ kulaala/ naa kujá. ‘The donkey, in the bush, grew very fat because he did nothing except eat, sleep, sleep, and eat.’

Tuuma/ waanzile. ‘Tuuma has put on weight, gotten fatter.’

recognize her.’

Tuuma/ waanzile/ niizé/ mtaambula. ‘Tuuma put on weight, I did not

weight I could not recognize her.’

Tuuma/ waanzile/ (nt^ho)/ hatá/ niizé/ mtaambula. ‘Tuuma put on so much

Uko kharibu ya miikó/ haakosi/ kuwaandra. ‘The one who is near the kitchen never fails to get fat.’ (A proverb.)

rel.

ku-waandrisha v. caus. (**wandrishiize**) fatten

Mató ya mwenewe/ humwandrisha ngoombe. ‘The eyes of the owner fattens the cow (i.e., other people never take care of one’s affairs as well as oneself).’ (A proverb.)

l-wango

n.plank where sailor/rower sits in boat **review vowel length, sg/pl**

ku-waangula

v. (**wangiile**) break open the shell so that a chick may emerge

ku-waanisha

v. (**wanishiize**) advise

kumwaanisha ‘to advise someone’

Mi/ nimwanishiizé/ Haliima/ mwaanawe/ kumtina. ‘I advised Haliima to circumcise her child.’ (In repeating this sentence a few times, GM each time failed to delete the *w* in the verb but deleted the *w* in **mwaana**. It is not the case, however, the GM never deletes a stem initial *w* after *m*, as examples listed under **-wona** and **-weeka**, for example, show.)

waankulá

n. (my) grandfather; [pron. **waank^hulá**]

Hamadi/ hadiile/ waank^hulá/ ile ka Nguuja. ‘Hamadi said: my grandfather came from Zanzibar.’

wank^hulá wiitu ‘our grandfather’

wank^hulázó ‘your grandfathers’

Waankhuló/ mub^hlaa mp^hana/ hamdaayati/ madamu hayi. ‘Your grandfather, rat-killer, will not hesitate (take long) to kill a living human being.’ (Translation of a Somali proverb.)

waano

n. advice

Diini/ ni waano. ‘Religion is advice.’

Kuumba/ na waanó/ kuumba/ mbele. ‘Creation and advice, creation was first.’ (Translation of a Somali proverb.)

Laakini/ Sa’iidi/ iize/ khtila ishikilooni/ waano/ na wa’aadí. ‘But Sa’iidi refused to heed the warnings and advice.’

Mwaana/ iize/ khkasa waano/ wa maamaye. ‘The boy refused to listen to the advice of his mother.’

advice is completed’
given.’

sh̄teenzi sh̄t̄imiile cha hija ma waano [st.] ‘the poem of pilgrimage and

Skutikiza/ wano waa mi/ mp^heejá. ‘I did not heed the advice that I was

wapiili

n. the second month after Ramadhan

waqfu

n. an endowment fund established either for religious and charitable purposes, or as a family endowment in favor of the owner’s descendants; [pronounced either **waqfu** or **wakhfu**]

khfanya waqfu ‘to give a charitable bequest’

kułata waqful ‘to leave as a bequest; leave s.t. free for all’

Mzele Hamadi/ lasile nuumbaye/ waqfu. ‘Old Hamadi has left his house (free to everybody).’

kułatila waqfu ‘to leave s.t. as a bequest’

Latilile miskiti/ nuumba/ wakhfu. ‘He left the house as a bequest to the mosque.’

kuweka waqfu ‘to bequeath’

Mzele Hamadi/ weshele nuumbaye/ waqfu. ‘Old Hamadi has left his house (free to everybody).’

Muunthu/ suura/ kuweka waqfu/ misahaafu/ miskitiini. ‘It is good for one to bequeath copies of the Quran to the mosque (lit. put copies of the Quran in the mosque as **wáqfu**).’

Misahafu aya/ ni wakhfu. ‘These copies of the Quran are free of charge.’

waqiya

n. ounce; pronounced either as **waqiya** or **wakhiya**

waqti

n. [Sw. *wakati* SSED 523; Ar.] time; [pron. **waqti** or **wakhti**]

Alí/ ile numbaani/ ba’adi ya wakhti ya waanthu/ wonthe/ kuuya. ‘Ali came home after the time when all the people came.’

Ba’ada ya wakhti/ sho kuwaa mule/ sungura/ chimsonga siimba/ chimkoðisha ka ishkiilooni. ‘After a short period of time, Rabbit approached Lion and spoke into his ear.’

Ba’adi/ ya wakhti/ mchaache/ chiyaa mp^hisi/ chija kuulu/ iyo/ yaa mbuzi. ‘After a little while, a hyena came and ate that leg of the goat.’

Chiinthu/ husulowa wakhti. ‘Everything requires, needs time.’

endraani Arafati waqti ukomeelo [st.] ‘go to Arafat in good time (i.e. do not be late)’

Hamadi/ mambile Omari/ nshikila wakhti/ nakhsuulá/ peesaza. ‘Hamadi told Omari: fix/set a time for me, I want my money back.’

Hamadi/ mambile Omari/ [↑]wakhti/ unakhfakata/ [↑]kheeri/ chilawe/ chimaliza jawabu iyi/ kahima. ‘Hamadi told Omari: time is running, we had better go and finish this thing.’

Hamadi/ mi/ nimpele deeni/ skumshiikila/ wakhti. ‘Hamadi, I gave him a loan, but I did not set a time for him (to repay it).’

Hamadi/ wakhtiwe/ ingiile/ fiile. ‘Hamadi his time (of dying) came in, he died.’

Ile mbele ya wakhti waa mi/ chimfilatiló. ‘He came before the time that I expected him.’

Jisaa mi/ namnindra Omarí/ [↑]wakhti/ ugítishile. ‘As I was waiting for Omari, time dragged.’

ka wakhti ‘on time’

Chitaawo/ cha Saydi Aamaró/ hachiya/ ka wakhti. ‘The bus of Saydi Aamaro does not come on time.’ (There were two buses that ran daily between Brava and Mogadishu; one was owned by Saydi Aamaro, the other by Menye Abuuyi.)

karka wakhti uyu ‘at this time’

khshika wakhti ‘to set, fix a time’

khinda wakhti ‘to set a time, make an appointment’

Tiinda/ wakhti yaa si/ kuwonana. ‘Set a time when we can see one another.’

Kilaa chiint^hu/ china wakhti/ humaliza/ tu. ‘Everything has time (i.e. lasts for a period of time) and just finishes/ends.’

Kilaa chiint^hu/ hubadilika/ ka wakhti. ‘Everything changes in time.’

Kilaa chiint^hu/ husulowa wakhti/ tu/ huliwaloowa. ‘Everything just needs time (i.e. lasts for a period of time) and is forgotten.’ **Confirm gloss.**

Kilaa chiint^hu/ inayo wakhtiwe. ‘Everything has its time.’ (A saying.)

Kilaa chiint^hu/ wakhtiwe/ humala. ‘Everything, its time finishes.’

Kilaa muunt^hu/ wakhtiwe/ chiingila/ hufa (or: **taakufa**). ‘Everybody, when his time enters (i.e. comes), he dies.’ (A saying.)

kuweka wakhti ‘to set, fix a time’

Langala wakhti/ stakuraaga. ‘Look at the time, we will be late.’

Muke/ wakhti ukomeelopó/ chishika utuungu/ chizaala. ‘The woman, when the time came, went into labor and gave birth.’

mukhta wakhti ukomeeló ‘when the time came’

Muunt^hu/ hatelezi/ wakhtiwe. ‘A person should not play with (waste) his time.’

Muunt^hu/ wakhtiwe/ chiya/ nt^haku/ su’aali. ‘When someone’s time (for death) comes, there is no question (i.e. he is going to die).’ (A saying.) Or: **Muunt^hu/ wakhtiwe/ chiingila/ nt^haku/ su’aali.**

‘When someone’s time (for death) comes in, there is no question (he is going to die).’

Mwaanawa/ bareete/ wakhti. ‘My child has learned (to tell) time.’

Mwaanawe/ siwo/ bashizo wakhti/ ndilaani. ‘Her child is not the one wasted time (playing) in the street.’

Ndriinzilé/ wakhti miingi. ‘I waited for a long time.’

Nimlinzile Omari/ wakhti miingi. ‘I waited for Omari for a long time.’

drink alcohol many times.’

Nimweené/ Hasani/ kuna khamri/ wakhti mwiingi. ‘I have seen Hasani

Nt^ha’ukhpita/ wakhti/ mule/ khaadimu/ chileta chaakuja/ na waziiri/ na Alí/ washkalaant^ha/ wachija. ‘Not much time passed and the servant brought food and the minister and Ali sat down and ate.’

ruuhu huliindra (ka) sa’aye na waqti [st.] ‘the soul awaits its hour and time (i.e. its appointed time for dying)’

Omari/ lisile/ deeni/ laakini/ ba’adi ya wakhti. ‘Omari paid back the loan but after the time (that it was due to be paid).’

Osmaani/ hawanaayo/ wakhti/ ya khteza mpiira. ‘Osmaani does not have time to play football.’ (It is apparently grammatical to use the short form: **Osmaani/ hawana’/ wakhti.** ‘Osmaani does not have time.’ However, it seems to be less common than **hawana’ayo**.)

qabla ya wakhti ‘ahead of time, before time’

Hamadi/ mlipiliile/ Omari/ deeniye/ khabla ya wakhti. ‘Hamadi repayed to Omari his debt before the (agreed upon) time.’

Sa’aya/ hushika wakhti. ‘My watch keeps correct time.’

Siná/ wakhti. ‘I do not have time.’

Siwo/ suura/ kubashowa wakhti/ bilaa ma’ana. ‘It is not good for time to be wasted without purpose.’

Uyu/ ni wakhti/ waa ye/ huyoo kujá. ‘This is the time that he comes to eat.’

wakhti gani ‘what time?’

Wakhti gani/ wa mwaaka. ‘What time of year?’ (A possible answer: **Wakhti yaa nvula.** ‘The rainy season.’)

Wakhti gani/ wa mwakaa yana/ Hamadi/ waliko safiriiló. ‘At what time last year did Hamadi travel?’

Wakhti gani/ wa mweezi. ‘What time of the month?’

Wakhti/ ha’ubashoowi. ‘Time is not (i.e. should not be) wasted.’

Wakhti/ ha’utelezoowi. ‘Time should not be played with (wasted).’

wakhti haba ‘little time’

Hamadi/ mpele Omari/ wakhti[↑]haba/ kulipa deeni. ‘Hamadi gave Omari a short time to repay the debt.’

Wakhṭi/ hugiitika. ‘Time stretches, pulls, drags (i.e. becomes long).’

Wakhṭi/ humala. ‘Time finishes (i.e. time flies).’

wakhṭi/ kamba uyu ‘time like this (i.e. same time as this)’

Hamadi/ mambile Omari/ mi/ nakhulindrá/ keeshó/ kuya

numbaani/ we/ wakhṭi/ kamba uyu. ‘Hamadi told

Omari: I will wait for you tomorrow to come to the house, you, at this time.’

wakhṭi miingi ‘a lot of time’

Alí/ wana wakhṭi[↑] miingi/ khfanya kazi iyo. ‘Ali had a lot of time to do that job.’

wakhṭi mmovu ‘a bad time (for something)

wakhṭi msuura ‘a good time (for something)’

Hamadi/ ile numbaani/ wakhṭi msuura/ mukhta waant^{hu}/

wont^he/ waalikó. ‘Hamadi came home at a good time, when everyone was there.’

Wakhṭi/ ni mwaalimu. ‘Time is the teacher.’

wakhṭi oyo ‘at that time’

wakhṭi uje ‘at that time’

Wakhṭi/ unakhfakata. ‘Time is running (i.e. time goes by quickly).’ Or:

Wakhṭi/ hufakata. ‘Ibid.’

Wakhṭi/ unakhpita. ‘Time passes.’ Or: **Wakhṭi/ hupita.** ‘Ibid.’

Wakhṭi/[↑] unakhpita/ naami/ nt^haasá/ sinakhaadira/ kumaliza jawabu

iyo. ‘Time is passing and I am still not able to finish that thing.’

Wakhṭi uyu/ waant^{hu}/ hupumula. ‘At this time people rest.’

wakhṭi wa awari ‘a time of drought’

wakhṭi waa chiwo ‘school period’

wakhṭi wa izdihaamu ‘a time of crowdedness, much activity, etc.’

Sa’a idaashara/ za lapili/ Columbus/ ni wakhṭi wa izdihaamu.

‘Five o’clock [lit. eleven] is a crowded, busy time in Columbus.’

wakhṭi wa khfuunga ‘time of closing’

wakhṭi wa khfungoowa ‘time of being closed’

Isa/ ni wakhṭi wa maduka/ khfungoowa/ ni wakhṭi waa sala.

‘Now is the time for shops to be closed, it is the time for prayer.’

wakhṭi wa khfunguloowa ‘time for being opened’

Isa/ ni wakhṭi wa maduka/ khfunguloowa masku/ sababu ya iidi/

ni khariibu. ‘Now is the time for shops to be opened this evening since iidi is near.’

wakhṭi wa khsaafira ‘time to travel’

Sa’a za ariplaano/ khsaafira/ ni khariibu. ‘The time for the

airplane to depart (travel) is near.’

wakhṭi wa khshafa ‘the time for harvesting’

wakhṭi waa kuja ‘a time for eating’

wakhṭi wa kulawa ‘time to leave, travel’

wakhṭi wa kulima ‘the time for plowing’

wakhṭi wa kuwasila ‘time of arrival’

wakhṭi wa matezo ‘a time for playing’

Wakhṭi wa Obama/ khtersha/ ni miyaka minne (or **minne**). ‘The time for

Obama to rule is four years.’

wakhṭi waa nvula ‘the time of rain’

wakhṭi waa sala ‘a time for prayer’

wakhṭi wa skoola ‘school period’

wakhṭi/ waa ye/ tersheezó ‘the time during which he ruled’

ku-waara

v. (**wariile**) be long-lasting, eternal

Dhibu/ haywaari/ na ichiwaará/ husulowa imaani. ‘Hardship does not last forever, and if it does, what is needed is faith.’

dhibu stoshe yo huwaara [song] ‘don’t think that difficulties last forever’

Mojiitu/ uko/ dhibu/ ha’iwaari/ dhibu/ ichiwaará/ husulowa imaani.

‘There is a God, hardship does not last forever; if hardship is never-

ending, what is needed is faith.’ (A proverb.)

rel.

ku-waarisha v. perpetuate, make long-lasting

waraadi

goodbye, farewell, good night (before going to bed) -- pl. **waradiini**; the response is also **waraadi/waradiini**; excuse me

Chimaliza/ baaba/ na mwaaná/ washpanana waraadi. ‘After that, father and son bid one another farewell.’

khpa waraadi ‘to bid farewell’

Mp^hele waraadi. ‘He bid me farewell.’

Mwaana/ chiwapa waant^h u/ waraadi. ‘The boy bid farewell to the people.’

Waraadi/ nakhadira kunsaydá/ nammera Tuumá. ‘Excuse me, can you help me? I am looking for Tuuma.’

Waraadi/ nnakiyolokelá. ‘Goodbye! I am going.’

l-warakha (m-barakha)

n. 11/10 [Sw. *waraka (nyaraka)* ‘a written communication, a letter (of correspondence), certificate, deed, title-deed, document’ SSED 526; Ar.] sheet of paper

Chula mbarakha. ‘He bought paper.’

Lwarakha ilije/ nlaaka. ‘That piece of paper is mine.’ (Cf. **Mbarakha izije/ nzaaka.** ‘Those pieces of paper are mine.’)

lwarakha lusi/ la mwiizi ‘the black piece of paper of the thief’; **mbarakha nyulusi/ za mwiizi** ‘the black pieces of paper of the thief’

lwarakha laa ye/ andishiló ‘the paper that he wrote on’

Lwarakha/ nakhsoomó. ‘The *paper*, he is reading it.’ (A pre-verbal

lwarakha prefers to have the verb in a pseudo-relative form. An example such as ??**Lwarakha/ nakhsooma.** is of doubtful acceptability in our present consultant’s opinion.)

Mwaana/ shtala lwarakha ili/ chisooma. ‘The child took this piece of paper and read it.’

nangaangu/ kana lwarakha ‘as thin, light as paper’

Nakhsoma lwarakha. ‘He is reading a piece of paper.’ Or: **Nakhsooma/**

lwarakha. ‘He is *reading* a piece of paper.’ (One cannot put the verb into a pseudo-relative form in the absence of a preverbal focus: ***Nakhsomo lwarakhá.** nor: ***Nakhsoomó/ lwarakha.**)

Omari/ nakhsoma lwarakha. ‘Omari is reading a piece of paper.’ Or, with focus on the verb: **Omari/ nakhsooma/ lwarakha.**

Omari/ nakhsomo lwaraká. ‘*Omari* is reading a piece of paper.’ Or:

Omari/ nakhsoomó/ lwarakha. ‘*Omari* is *reading* a piece of paper.’ (Syn. We refer to the verb in this type of structure to be an instance of pseudo-relativization. Pseudo-relativization can be distinguished from a true relative clause construction by virtue of the behavior of the final accent triggered by all relative clauses. In pseudo-relativization, the final action does not cross past a focused constituent. In true relativization, final accent always extends to the end of the relative clause.)

Pishize lwarakha. ‘He burned a piece of paper.’

shokuwa lwarakha mooyi ‘except one page’

Sku yaa saba/ shtala mbarakha/ na khalamú/ kandikaa khatí. ‘On the seventh day, he took sheets of paper and a pen to write a letter.’

Tete lwarakha/ na qalamú/ kumwandikila waawaye/ khatí. ‘He took a piece of paper and a pen to write a letter to his father.’

wardi

n. 9/10 [Sw. *waridi* SSED 526; Ar.] rose

Mpele shpeendoche/ wardi. ‘He gave his lover a rose.’

wardi ya jannaan ‘rose of paradise’

wardiya (ma-)

n. guard

Apo/ mlangooni/ chidirkamana/ na mawaardiya. ‘There at the door he encountered guards.’

	khfanya waardiya ‘to keep guard’ kulindra waardiya ‘to keep guard’
<i>ku-wareegaṭa</i>	v. [Som.] circumvent, go around, avoid Omari/ nakuwareegaṭa/ kuhada za liḷa. ‘Omari is avoiding telling the truth.’ Or: Omari/ nakuwareegaṭa kuhada za liḷa.
<i>wareento</i>	n. [Som. <i>wareento</i> "(rheumatic) pains caused by being exposed to cold air" DSI 608] chest infection; [pron. wareento]
<i>wari</i>	in the expression: khfilila wari ‘to act energetically to accomplish or do s.t. for fame’
<i>ku-waritha</i>	v. (warithiile) inherit kumwaritha ‘to inherit from him’
<i>warshada</i>	n. [Som. <i>warshad</i>] industry Omari/ fanyize kaazi/ karka warshada iyo/ haṭá/ tufile maazi. ‘Omari worked (long and hard) in that industry until he spit blood.’
<i>warthi</i>	n. inheritance
<i>ku-wasa</i>	v. (wasiize) make a will, leaving special instructions concerning burial, care of children or other matters; warn Isa/ mi/ nakhuwasá/ zint^hu ziwilí. ‘Now I warn you of two things.’ Mwaana/ jisa sulṭaani/ wasiizó/ shṭawalishoowa/ usulṭaani. ‘The boy, just as the sultan had directed in his will, was installed to the kingship.’ Sulṭaani/ chiwasa. ‘The king made a will.’ rel. nom. <i>m-wasa</i> (<i>wa-</i>) n. 1/2 one who makes a will
<i>wasakha</i>	n. dirt khfanya wasakha ‘to make dirty’ Stilé/ kanaani/ kaako/ iyo/ ni wasakha. ‘Don’t put that in your mouth, it is dirty.’ Wasakha/ huletoo mp^haná. ‘Dirt brings rats [to a place].’
<i>ku-wasakhisha</i>	v. make dirty
<i>m-washi</i> (<i>wa-</i>)	n. 1/2 [Sw. <i>mwashi</i>] mason mwashi/ na ndruundró ‘a mason and a hammer’; mwashi/ na ndruundroyé ‘a mason and his hammer’; mwashi/ na ndruundrozé ‘a mason and his hammers’
<i>ku-waasi’a</i>	v. (wasi’iile) expand; give more of s.t. (e.g. food to one’s family) rel. <i>ku-wasi’isha</i> v. caus. <i>ku-wasi’ishiliza</i> v. caus. appl. rel. nom. <i>u-waasi’o</i> n. 14 <i>u-wasi’isho</i> n. 14 <i>u-wasi’ishilizo</i> n. 14
<i>wasi’i</i> (<i>ma-</i>)	n. [Sw. <i>wasii</i> SSED 507; Ar.] trustee, guardian
<i>waasi’i</i>	adj. roomy, spacious, wide, abundant ashuura ni sunna nakhfanyoowa waasi’i/ khuuti ḷhalaali tayibu jo naafi’i [st.] ‘on Ashuura is is best for food to be prepared in abundance, food that is in accordance with the laws, good, useful’ Ziti zaa numa/ siwo/ waasi’i/ kamba zaa mbele. ‘The seats at the back are

not as roomy as those at the front.’

ku-wasila

v. [Sw. *wasili* SSED 527; Ar.] (**wasiliile**) arrive

Chimaliza/ chiwasila khaadimu. ‘After that a servant arrived.’

Hasani/ naayé/ ba’ada ya sku/ chiwasila/ choloka ka waawaye/ naayé/ naakuóló/ muná/ muná. ‘Hasani after (some) days arrived and went to his father’s place, crying: my little brother! my little brother!’

Khati/ iwasiile. ‘The letter arrived.’ Cf. **Iwasilee khati.** ‘A letter arrived.’

kumkhubura sulṭaani/ kuwa celo/ wasiile ‘to inform the sultan that the gazelle had arrived’

kuwasila kaake ‘to arrive at his place’

kuwasilake/ bila kudighila ‘his arrival without warning’

kuwasilake/ bila kiiwisha ‘his arrival without making (it) known’

Kuwasilake/ kahima/ nt^haykumpeendeza/ Nuuru. ‘His early arrival did not please Nuuru.’

muḅli/ wasiilopó ‘when the man arrived’

Mukewa/ Barka/ takuwasila keesho. ‘My wife Barka will arrive tomorrow.’

Mukhtaṭa ye/ wasiilóló/ sulṭaani/ chimwaambila/ islaamu/ uyu/ ile apa/ khtala maaliyo. ‘When he arrived, the sultan said to him: this Muslim has come here to take your wealth.’

Muunt^hu/ wasiile. ‘The man arrived.’ Cf. **Wasiile muunt^hu.** ‘A man arrived.’

Ni Barka/ mukewa/ ndiyé/ takuwasilo keeshó. ‘It is Barka my wife who will arrive tomorrow.’

Nondroshele nt^hasaa ye/ kuwasila. ‘I went away before he arrived.’

nt^hangú/ si/ chiwasiilóló ‘since we arrived’

Sa’a za Hamadi/ kuwasila/ ni sa’a nt^haano/ za masku. ‘The time of Hamadi’s arrival is eleven (lit. five) at night.’

Shchiwasila/ muyiini/ mi/ nt^hakhtindoowa/ na namayá/ itakhpikoowa. ‘When I arrive in town, I will be slaughtered and my meat will be cooked.’

taariikhi/ yaa wo/ wawasiilóló/ Mwiini/ na jisaa wo/ wawasiilóló ‘the date when they arrived in Brav and how they got there’

Wachisaafira/ kharibu ya fijiri/ wachiwasila kaawo/ muyiini. ‘They traveled and about dawn they arrived in their home town.’

Wachiwasila/ zimila/ wasikhuwone. ‘When they arrive, hide so that they do not see you.’

Wasiile masku. ‘He arrived at night.’

Wawasiile/ wo? ‘Have they arrived?’ (The postposed subject pronoun **wo** is not downstepped in a simple yes-no question such as this.)

Zisu za Jaama/ nt^hukulizó/ nt^haskuwasila. ‘The knives that Jaama sent did not arrive.’

rel.

ku-wasila v. appl. (**wasiliile**) arrive by means of; arrive for

Gaari/ imwasiliile. ‘The car arrived for him (i.e. his car has arrived).’

ku-wasilisha v. caus. (**wasilishiize**) convey s.t.; cause s.t. to arrive; hand s.t. to s.o.

Jaama/ wasilishize peesa/ ka Nuuru. ‘Jaama handed the money over to Nuuru.’ (A double object construction like **?Jaama/ mwasilishize Bur’i/ peesa.** appears to be very awkward. The example below illustrates that it can be used in a causative meaning.)

Jaama/ mwasilishize Bur’i/ peesa/ ka Nuuru. ‘Jaama caused Bur’i to hand over the money to Nuuru.’

Mbasilishize nt^humeyó. ‘I conveyed your message.’

Mbasilishize peesá. ‘I took the money to someone.’

Mzeele/ mwasilishize mwaana/ numbaani. ‘The parent took/accompanied the child to the house.’

ku-wasilishiliza v. caus. appl.
ku-wasiloowa v. pass.

wasiya n. 9/10 [Sw. *usia* SSED 507] will; short story; warning (Morph. Notice the fluctuation in the examples between *ya* and *wa* as the associative marker.)

Isa/ mi/ mbeené/ kuwa wasiya za waawe/ ni lila. ‘Now I have seen that the warnings of my father were true.’

Iyi/ ni wasiya/ siwo/ laano. ‘This is a story, not a tale.’

Nch^hiwona/ kuwa ni lila/ wasiya wa kaandra. ‘I realized [lit. saw] that it was true, the first warning.’

Wasiya/ ya kaandra/ iwaaliko/ silaalé/ karka logaani. ‘The first warning was: don’t sleep in a valley.’

Wasiya ya piili/ iwaaliko/ siriyo/ simpe mukeewó. ‘The second warning was: your secret, don’t give it to your wife.’

Ye/ shkuumbuka/ wasiya/ wa waawaye. ‘He remembered the warning of his father.’

waskhaani adj. dirty, crooked, immoral

munt^hu waskhaani ‘an immoral person’

want^hu wakhsaani ‘immoral people’

wastaani n. [Sw. *wastani* SSED 527] middle, average

Kila chiint^hu/ suura/ wastaani. ‘Moderation is best in all things.’

waswaasi n. [Sw. *wasiwasi* SSED 527] doubt, hesitation, perplexity, neurosis, extreme worry (approaching madness), paranoia

apo kulla muunt^hu tiila waswaasi [nt.] ‘at this point everybody was shaken with fear’

kulla mo waswaasi khkooða na qalbiye [nt.] ‘every one is prey to fear and talks to his heart’

kuwanayo waswaasi ‘to doubt, have concerns’

Hamadi/ hadiile/ mi/ koði za Alí/ nayo waswaasi. ‘Hamadi said: me, Ali’s words, I have concerns, doubts (about them).’

lawa chiwonane mi ndrāte waswaasi [st.] ‘come out, let us see each other, so that I can stop worrying’

Muunt^hu/ siwo/ suura/ kuwona waswaasi/ na jawaabu. ‘It is not good for someone to have concerns about things.’

mwenye waswaasi ‘neurotic’

yiiko shifaa’aye lata was waasi [st.] ‘there is his (the Prophet’s) intercession (available), abandon fears’

koondrola/ maatoye/ ka shpeteeni/ akhilizo/ stampotela/ ka jis’iyo/ we/ tamshiindra. ‘If she sees that ring, perplexity will enter her, until she will not want to move her eyes from the ring, her wits will be lost on her, therefore you will win (the card game).’

rel.

waswasoole adj.

munt^hu waswasoole ‘a person who has doubts’

waṭani n. nation

bandera ya waṭani ‘national flag’

Ka sababu iyo/ kulla mgaandra/ mubli/ naa muké/ mwaana/ na munt^hu mzimá/ ni laazima/ kubarāṭa khtumila bundukhu/ ili/ kudaafi’a/ waṭaniye. ‘For that reason, each Ugandan, man and woman, child and adult, must learn to use a rifle in order to defend his country.’

Mi/ waṭaniya/ ni Somaaliya. ‘Me, my nation is Somalia.’

want^hu wa’enzele Keenya walasiile waṭani [nt.] ‘[some] people have gone

to Kenya, have left the country’

- wataatu** n. the third month after Ramadhan, also called **mwezi wa aarafa**
- ku-watila** v. hatch, brood (of poultry)
Sisaabaté/ nk’hukuzo/ nt’hasaa zo/ kuwatila. ‘Don’t count your chickens before they are hatched.’
rel.
ku-watiza v. caus. prepare things for a hen to brood
- chi-watilo (zi-)** n. 7/8 brooding place
Ndiwa/ ba’ada ya kuwaangula/ na nt’hasaa/ kulata chiwatiló/ bakayle/ chimwaambila... ‘The pigeon, after it hatched (the chicks) and before it left the hatching place, the hare told it...’
- l-wato** n. 11 (cl.10 form **mbato** is not used)[Sw. **uwato**] substance used as incense or as a medicine, fenugreek
l-wato/ ka chindriimu/ na ukí/ hupunguza kaðiiðo. ‘Fennugreek with lemon and honey reduces fever.’
l-watoja ‘my incense’
- l-wavu (m-bavu)** n. 11/10 side of the body; side (e.g. of a boat)
Bishiġaa mbavu. ‘He was hit on the sides.’
ka l-wavu ‘sideways’
l-wavu/ la kubli/ hufunguloowa/ kafani/ jisa l-wavu/ kudirka/ amá/ kudaara/ nt’hi (or: **maġaanga**). ‘The right side of the **kafani** is opened so that the side [of the body] is let to touch the ground.’
l-wavu/ linamġaaza. ‘His side is aching.’
l-wavula ‘my side’; **mbavuza** ‘my sides’
l-wavuuni ‘at the side, alongside’
l-wavuuni/ kaaka ‘at my side’
l-wavuuni/ ka Nuuru ‘at Nuuru’s side’
Leele/ ka l-wavu. ‘He slept on his side.’
Mbavu/ zinamġaaza. ‘His sides are aching.’
- waaw** ideo. of crying
Maana/ oyo chihaba/ chowonoowa/ naakuġa/ tu/ waaw waaw/ hamaali/ ba. ‘That little child is always seen crying **waaw waaw**, he is never quiet.’
- waawa** [cl.2] strong demonstrative
waawa/ awa ‘these very same ones’
- waawaje** [cl.2] strong demonstrative
waawaje/ awaje ‘those very same ones’
- waawa=y-poss.** n. x’s father
Abdalla/ waawaye/ waliko taajiri/ nt’ho. ‘Abdalla’s father was very rich.’
Choondroka/ cheendra/ ka wawaye mwanaamke. ‘He got up and went to the girl’s father.’
Iló/ (ni) Nuuru/ waawaye. ‘The one who came is Nuuru’s father.’
(Ni) Nuuru/ waawaye/ iló. ‘It’s Nuuru’s father who came.’
Nuuru/ ile/ waawaye. ‘[Lit.] Nuuru came his father -- i.e. Nuuru’s father came.’
Nuuru/ (ni) waawaye/ iló. ‘It’s the father of Nuuru who came.’ Or: **Ni waawaye/ Nuuru/ iló.** ‘It’s his father, Nuuru’s, who came.’ Or: **Ni waawaye/ iló/ Nuuru.** Or: **Waawaye/ iló/ Nuuru.**
Waawaye/ ile/ Nuuru. ‘His father came, Nuuru’s.’
wawaye Yuusufu ‘Joseph’s father – lit. his father Joseph’ (Syn. This

construction was employed by MI, but other consultants do not seem to use it.)

rel.

wawa y-poss. pl. x's father

wawa yaawo 'their father'

Hasani/ chiwataala/ waana/ sittawe/ kula mooyi/ chimpa/

farasiye/ chendra naawo/ ka wawa yaawo. 'Hasani took the children, the six of them, and each one he gave him his horse, and he went with them to their father.'

wawa yiinu 'your (pl.) father'

wawa yiitu 'our father'

waawe my father

Inaya/ ni Bulukhiya/ na waawé/ waliko sulṭaani. 'My name is Bulukhiya and my father was king.'

Malizopo khsomaa khatí/ sulṭaani/ chihada/ mi/ ni laazima/ neendre/ nimzure waawe. 'When he finished reading the letter, the sultan said: I must go and visit my father.'

Maame/ ni chigobe/ kolko waawe. 'Mother is shorter than father.'

Waawe/ ni msoomaali. 'My father is a Somali.'

Waawe/ (nii) mule. 'My father is tall.' (cf. **Waawe/ ni mulee nt^ho.** 'My father is very tall.')

Waawe/ nii mule/ kolko maame. 'Father is taller than mother.'

Waawe/ siwo/ msuwaahili. 'My father is not a person of Swahili origin.'

waawo 'your father'

Kazi ya waawo/ mwaanawá/ hendra hufanya biyaashara. 'Your father's work, my son, was to go and do business.'

Mi/ leelo/ nch^hiza keendra/ zitaani/ waawo/ takhshindroowa/ mi/ leelo/ nch^hendra zitaani/ waawo/ takhshiindra/ na ba'ada zita izi/

hastakuwako teena/ zita. 'If I do not go today to the war, your father will be defeated; if today I do go to the war, your father will be victorious, and after these wars, there will again be war.'

waawayo

n. an extremely toxic poison that is put on an arrow or spear

Sumu yaa noka/ kana ya waawayo. 'The poison of a snake is like waawayo.'

sumu ya waawayo 'a poison derived from snake venom that is put on an arrow or spear; if eaten, this poison poses no problem, but does when it enters the blood'

chi-wawo (zi-)

n. 7/8 in the idiom:

kumtila ziwawo 'to defeat someone (lit. to put defeats in someone)

Maliizopó/ chimwambila mwanaamke/ shchiteza/ teena/ mi/ nt^hakhutila/ ziwawo/ ishiriini/ kaa sa'a/ mooyi. 'When he finished, he told the girl: if we play again, I will defeat you twenty times in one hour.'

l-wawo (m-bawo)

n. 11/10 [Sw. *ubao (mbao)* SSED 28] plank of wood

Bur'i/ uzile sandukhu yaa mbawo. 'Bur'i bought a wooden box.' (Phon.

The yes/no question version of this exhibits pitch raising, but no accent shift.)

Bur'i/ uzile sanduukhu/ yaa mbawo. 'Bur'i bought a box made of wood.'

(Phon. In this example, where the head of the associative phrase is phrased separately from its complement, the yes-no question does not involve accent-shift, just pitch raising.)

Bur'i/ uzile/ sandukhu yaa mbawo. 'Bur'i bought a wooden box.' (Phon.

In the case of this example, where the verb is focused, the yes-no question shifts the accent in the complement: **Bur'i/ uzile/ sandukhu yaa mbawó?** 'Did Bur'i buy a wooden box?'

Nuzile sandukhu yaa mbawó. 'I bought a wooden box.' Or: **Nuzile sanduukhú/ yaa mbawo.** Or: **Nuuzilé/ sandukhu yaa mbawo.** (Phon. The accentual facts are interesting here. When the associative phrase is prosodically phrased in its entirety with the verb, the final accent triggered by the verb extends to the end of the prosodic phrase. However, when only the head of the associative phrase is joined to the verb prosodically, the final accent does not extend beyond it. If the verb is phrased separately from

the associative, then the final accent does not go beyond the verb itself. There is a bit of incongruity between the behavior of **sanduukhu/ yaa mbawo** in terms of the accent-shift in yes-no questions and its behavior here with respect to the distribution of the person accent triggered by the first person verb.)

lwawo la qur'aani 'a board used to write on in koranic school'

rel.

chi-wawo (zi-) n. 7/8 wooden board used in koranic school which student writes on using charcoal

Waana/ wa ziwooni/ washtukula/ ziwawo/ zi'andishila Qur'aani/ na malimu waawo/ shpitaa mbele. 'The children of the Quranic schools carried wooden boards on which the Koran was written and their teacher walked [lit. passed] in front.' (Phon. We have translated **zi'andishila Qur'aani** '(on them) were written the Quran' as a relative clause, but if that were the structure, there would have to be a final accent: **zi'andishila Qur'aani**. In our recording of the text from which this example is extracted there is no such accent present.)

-waazi

adj. [Sw. **wazi** SSED 528] open

Bakayle/ lasile/ kanaye/ waazi/ teena/ nzi/ zinamwingilila/ kanaani. 'The hare had left its mouth open [while feigning to be dead] and then flies were getting in and out of its mouth.'

Chilata mlaango/ mkulu/ mwaazi. 'She left the main door [of the house] open.'

chita chiwaazi 'bare-headed'

ka kula nt'uundru waazi soomu khatari [st.] 'for anything [to enter the body through] open holes [e.g. nose, mouth] is dangerous for the fasting [i.e. is forbidden during fasting]'

mato mawaazi '(with) open eyes'

maatoya mawaazi sa'a na daqiqa [nt.] 'my eyes stay open for hours and minutes'

Mlaango/ uwaliko mwaazi. 'The door was open.'

Munt'u hafanyi kaazi/ miimbaye/ waazi. 'The man who does not work, his stomach is open [i.e. empty].' (A proverb.)

Numa/ shtala ibiriikhi/ imo ikulu/ kanaye/ iwaazi/ ikulu. 'Then she took one big water jug, its mouth open, large.'

numba waazi 'lit. open house -- refers to the Bravanese custom to leave the house door open all day long, if the occupants are present'

nt'aku nuumba waazi Miini sho ku'loowa [nt.] 'in all Brava's houses people are weeping -- lit. there is not in Brava an inhabited house where there is no weeping'

Shkombe cha sultaani chiwaazi. 'The cup of the sultan is open.' (A riddle, the answer to which is **chisima** 'well'.)

Sho kaazi/ miimbaye/ ni waazi. 'The one who has no work, his stomach is open.' (A proverb.) Or: **Sho/ khfanya kaazi/ miimbaye/ ni waazi.**

waziiri (ma-)

n. [Sw. **waziri** SSED 528; Ar.] minister (in the government)

variant form: **wanziiri**

Ali/ shfanyowa waziiri/ na waziri fanyizo khada'a/ chingila muyiini/ naaye/ maskiini. 'Ali was made minister, and the minister who had cheated, he entered town a poor man.'

Apo/ zamaani/ waliko sultaani/ mooyi/ na waziiriwe. 'Once upon a time there was a sultan and his minister.'

Cheendra/ naank'ó/ chimleta mwana wa piili/ wa wanziiri. 'He went again and brought a second child, [the son] of a minister.'

Hasiibu/ waziiri/ na ma'askari/ wachirashmany/ wachendra ka sultani waa noka. 'Hasiibu, the minister, and the soldiers followed and went with the king of the snakes.'

Ka upeesi/ waziiri/ cheendra/ kumvila Hasani. 'Quickly the minister went to call Hasani.'

- Mkulu wa mawaziiri/ wanayo mwaamubli/ mooyi.** ‘The prime minister has one son.’
- Mooyi/ karka mawaziiri/ chisimama/ mbele/ ya sultaani/ apo barzaani/ chihada...** ‘One of the ministers stood up in front of the sultan there in the royal hall and said...’
- Nxiriile/ naami/ nt^hakhutanzulila/ usultaani/ na nt^hakhtumika/ kama waziiriwo.** ‘I agree and I will relinquish to you the sultanship and I will serve as your minister.’
- Ye/ waliko ni waziiri/ wa sultaani/ wa muuyi.** ‘He was a minister of the sultan of the town.’
- =w-e** [cl.3] possessive enclitic, third person singular
Muuyi/ mzimawe/ uchiyela waant^hu/ kana zamaani. ‘The whole town became full of people just as before.’
- we** pron. you (singular)
Ikhudariileni/ we. ‘What’s wrong with you [lit. what touched you]?’
Haṭaa we/ shkoma numbaani/ muḷo/ uṭakuwa uzuushile. ‘By the time you reach home, the fire will be revived.’
Mi/ siná/ chaakuja/ cha khupaa we. ‘Me, I do not have any food to give you.’
Mi/ siná/ dhibu/ yo yotte/ sho kuwa khutiyilaa we. ‘I have no difficulty whatsoever except to be afraid for you.’
Mwaana/ kamaa we/ siná/ haaja/ naaye. ‘A child like you, I have no need of him.’
Mwanaamke/ naayé/ chiviḷoowa/ chuzoowa/ mwaanawá/ we/ nakhsulá maali/ amó/ raaḍi. ‘The daughter also was invited to come and was asked: my child, do you want wealth or [my] blessings?’
Nakhsulaa we/ keendra. ‘I want you to go.’
Naayoni/ manaa we. ‘[Lit.] what do you have -- what’s wrong with you, you child.’
Ndi wé. ‘It’s you.’
Numa/ cheendra/ teena/ chimwaambila/ kalant^haa we/ ja. ‘Then again he went and told him: sit down, you, and eat.’
Pilpili/ zaa we/ nt^hukujá/ hazikhaashi/ kana. ‘Peppers that you have not eaten do not burn your mouth.’
We/ isa/ ndiwé/ sultaani/ wa muuyi. ‘You, now, it is you, who is sultan of the town.’ (Phon. Observe the lack of final accent on **sultaani**.)
We/ mub^hleelé/ na chiguwó/ chaa we/ fanyizo chileembá/ mkuzile mwanaamkewá. ‘You killed her and the cloth that you made into a turban you took it away by force from my daughter.’
We/ nakhfaanyani. ‘What are you doing?’
We/ ndiwé/ mbozelo mwanaamkewá. ‘You, it is you who stole my daughter.’
- we** you know
Aḷhaasili/ we/ washkhiira (or: **wakhiriile**). ‘Finally, you know, they agreed.’
- ma-we** n. 6 (cf. **i-jiwe** ‘stone’) stones
Chiwonaa ndila/ chiraasha/ haṭá/ shkoma/ mahaḷa/ iwaliko nuumba/ yaa mawe/ mlaangowe/ uwaliko wa ḍahabu. ‘He saw a road (and) he followed it until he reached a place where there was a house of stone, its door was of gold.’
numba yaa mawe ‘stone house’
- wegeli** n. [Som. *wiyil* DSI 616] (probably) a rhinoceros
Nama iyi/ kamba ya wegeli. ‘This meat is tough like the meat of **wegeli**.’ (This idiomatic expression is used despite the fact that nobody has ever seen a **wegeli** in Brava or surrounding areas. It is also strange in that the meat of a rhinoceros should be considered to be impure!)

ku-weeka

- v. [Sw. *weka* SSED 528] (*weeshele*) put, put aside, put down, lay s.t. down
Chibuuku/ chiweshela ilu ya meeza. ‘The book was put on the table.’
Chichiwekaa nt^hi. ‘She put it [cl.7] on the ground.’
Chichiweeka/ khariibuye. ‘She put it [cl.7] near her.’
Chisu chaa ye/ tindililo namá/ chiweshela mezaani. ‘The knife that he used to cut the meat, he put it on the table.’
Chimaliza/ chichiweka shkooya/ icho/ nt^hini yaa chiji. ‘Then she put that necklace under the bed.’
Chimweeka/ kharibu yaa mujo. ‘He placed him near the fire.’
Chiweeka/ sufuriya/ kaake/ ka muda wa skuu nt^hatu. ‘He kept the pot at his place for a period of three days.’
Huweekapi/ peesazo/ we. ‘Where do you keep your money?’ (The word order here is very free. We also recorded: **Peesazo/ we/ huweekapi.** and **Huweekapi/ we/ peesazo.** and **We/ peesazo/ huweekapi.** and **Peesazo/ huweekapi/ we.**)

Jaama/ weshele peesa/ ilu ya sanduukhu. ‘Jaama put money on top of the box.’ (It is possible to relativize into the prepositional phrase: **ya Jaama/ weshelo peesá/ iluyé** ‘the box that Jaama put money on top of it [lit. its top].’) **Jaama/ weshele peesa/ sandukhuuni.** ‘Jaama deposited money in the box.’ (The locative noun *sandukhuuni* cannot be stripped of its enclitic and used as the head of a relative clause: ***sandukhu ya Jaama/ weshelo peesá** ‘the box that Jaama deposited money in’.)

Karkaa we/ nakubloowá/ dawa iyi/ weka nt^hini ya miiluyo. ‘While you are being killed, put this medicine under your legs.’

Kila/ askari/ amuriila/ khtaala/ bundukhuu mbili/ mooyi/ khshika mkonooni/ na mooyi/ kuweka khariibuye. ‘Each soldier was ordered to take two rifles, one to hold in his hand and one to keep nearby.’

Kila/ muunt^hi/ nch^himweka muunt^hu/ kulindra chisima/ bakayle/ nakulatoowa/ khteka maayi/ keesho/ ndimi/ mwenewe/ nt^hakhkalan^ho zaamú. ‘Every day, when I leave someone to look after the well, the hare is left to fetch water; tomorrow, it is I myself who will stay to guard [the well].’

kuwa muqliwe/ mtete suriya/ mweshele numbaani/ ka mrehemu la mukeewe ‘that her husband had taken a mistress and placed her in the house of his late wife’

kuweka gariini ‘to put in the lorry’

kuweka zoombo/ gariini ‘to put things in the lorry’ (Note that the verb does not allow an unmarked indirect object: ***kuweka zoombo/ gaari** nor ***kuweka gaari/ zoombo.**)

Nureeni/ weshele zoombo/ gariini. ‘Nureeni put things in the lorry.’

Laakini/ ba’aði ya want^hu wiingine/ hawaweeki/ ma’ina/ wo/ hulindra hattá/ mukhta mwaana/ takuzaloowá. ‘But some other people do not keep in store names [for a baby], they wait until the time the child will be born.’

Laakini/ wake/ awo/ skuwaweeka/ numba mooyi. ‘But these wives I did not put in one house.’

Marti/ oyo/ feða/ weshele ilu ya chitaacha. ‘That guest, the money, he placed on top of my head (i.e. on top of the cow’s head he was buying from me).’

Mbeeshelé/ chibuuku/ ilu ya meeza. ‘I put the book on the table.’ Or, without focus on the verb: **Mbeshele chibuukú/ ilu ya meezá.**

Mbeshele chibuukú/ mezaani. ‘I put the book on the table.’

Mbeshele ikoofiyá/ igonjooni. ‘I put the hat on my knee.’ (One cannot strip the locative noun of its enclitic and make it the head of a relative clause: ***igonjo yaa mi/ mbeshelo ikoofiyá** ‘the knee that I put the hat on’.)

Mbeshela zibuukú/ nt̥hini ya meeza. ‘I put the books under the table.’ O with focus on the first complement: **Mbeshela zibuukú/ nt̥hini ya meeza.** Or with focus on the verb: **Mbeeshelé zibuuku/ nt̥hini ya meeza.**

Meeza/ iweshela chibuuku/ iluke. ‘The table there was putting a book on it.’

Mkono/ wa shpete/ uweeke/ mbele/ ya mwanaamke/ oyo/ we/ simlangalé/ ye/ hatá/ mara mo. ‘The hand with the ring on it, put it in front of that girl, (you) don’t look at her, not even once.’

Mmereelé/ nfunguloza/ kilaa mahaḷa/ skutaambula/ mbeshelēpí. ‘I looked for my keys everywhere, I could not figure out where I had put them.’

Naani/ weshelo zibuukú/ nt̥hini ya meeza. ‘Who put the books under the table?’

Ndrangaliilé/ nfunguloza/ kilaa mahaḷa/ skutaambúla/ mbeshelēpí. ‘I looked for my keys everywhere, I could not figure out where I put them.’

Nt̥hini ya meza gani/ weshelo zibuukú. ‘Under which table did you put the books?’

Nt̥hini yani/ weshelo zibuukú. ‘Under what did you put the books?’

Nuuru/ weshele masanduukhu/ chinume cha kaabaati. ‘Nuuru put the boxes behind the cupboard.’

Sku ya taatu/ wekaa kule/ mahaḷa/ numa/ weka wiisha/ na maanyí/ mahaḷa/ kule/ wafunge skaambala/ zihaba. ‘On the third day, put (the goats) somewhere far away, and then put husks and hay at a place far away, and tie them (the goats) with small ropes.’

Taala/ weka skuu nt̥hatu/ siwape/ kuja. ‘Take (them) and keep (them) for three days, don’t give them food.’

Wa’ilopó/ waweshele ipakacha. ‘When they came, they put (down) the basket.’

Weshele peesa/ sandukhuuni. ‘He kept money in the box.’

Weshele sanduukhu/ mezaani. ‘They put the box on the table.’

Weshelení/ gariini. ‘What did you put in the lorry?’ (A possible answer to this question: **Mbeshela zombó/ gariini.** ‘I put things in the lorry.’ This sentence contrasts with **Mbeshela zombó/ gariini.** ‘I put things in the lorry.’ When the final accent from the verb extends to the locative noun, there is no focus on ‘things’.)

Weshelení/ nt̥hini ya meeza. ‘What did you put under the table?’

Weshelēpí/ zibuuku. ‘Where did you put the books?’ (Cf. **Weshelēpí/ zibuuku.** ‘Where did he put the books?’)

Wo/ wachimtaala/ wachimweka chitiini. ‘They took him (and) put him on the bed.’

rel.

ku-weekeka v. p/s.

Mahaḷa ya lpepo/ haziweekeki/ mbarakha. ‘Sheets of paper cannot be kept (lit. placed) where there is wind.’

Meza izi/ haziweekeki/ apa. ‘These tables cannot be put here.’ (Note that it does not appear to be possible to say ***Meza izi/ haziweekeki/ majiwe/ iluke.** ‘These tables cannot be put stones on them.’)

Sandukhu izi/ haziweekeki/ zinume za makaabaati. ‘These boxes cannot be put behind the cupboard.’ Or: **Makabati aya/ haziweekeki/ sanduukhu/ zinumeze.** ‘These cupboards, the boxes cannot be put behind them.’ Or: **Sandukhu izi/ haziweekeki/ zinume za makabati aya.** ‘These boxes cannot be put behind the cupboards.’

ku-wekeloowa v. appl. pass. (*wekeleela*)

Naankhó/ yaaya/ tu/ mp̥hisi/ chiharfishaa nama/ iyo/ chiingila/ numbaani/ chija garabu/ yaa ye/ wekeleelá. ‘Again, just the same way, the hyena smelled that meat and went into the house ate the shoulder portion that had been laid there.’

Numa/ sku ya taatu/ schiwekelowa wiisha/ na manyí. ‘Then on the third day there was put for them (the goats) husk and hay (lit. grass).’

ku-weekela v. appl. (*wekelele*)

Haliima/ wekelelee kuja/ mub̥jiwe. ‘Haliima has put food (on the table) for

her husband.’

Naani/ mekejele Nuurú/ chibuukú/ nt^hini ya meezá. ‘Who put the book under the table for Nuuru?’

Nimekejele Nuurú/ zibuukú/ nt^hini ya meezá. ‘I have put books under the table for Nuuru.’ Or with switch in the order of the complements: **Nimekejele zibuukú/ Nuurú/ nt^hini ya meezá.** Or with focus on first complement: **Nimekejele ^fNuurú/ zibuuku/ nt^hini ya meeza.** Or: **Nimekejele ^fzibuukú/ Nuuru/ nt^hini ya meeza.** Or with verb focus: **Nimekejele/ Nuuru/ zibuuku/ nt^hini ya meeza.** Or with verb focus but a switch in the order of complements: **Nimekejele/ zibuuku/ Nuuru/ nt^hini ya meeza.** (These data provide strong evidence for the role of the Accentual Law of Focus, which prevents a final accent trigger from projecting final accent past the focused element. These data also show, however, that changes in the order of complements do not necessarily reflect focus.)

Numa/ nawawekele wiisha/ maha^laa kule/ na manyí. ‘Afterwards, let him put husks for them (the goats) in a place far away and hay.’

ku-wekoowa v. pass.

Boortⁱ/ mbilize/ huwekoowa. ‘Both of the poles were put in (the water).’

Chibuuku/ chiweshela mezaani. ‘The book was put or kept on the table.’

Chiint^hu/ chiweshela numbaani. ‘Something was put in the house.’ Or:

Numbaani/ chiweshela chiint^hu. Or: **Chiint^hu/ chiweshela karka numba.**

chiti chiweshela zibuukú/ iluké ‘the chair that books were put on it’

Chizeele/ chiweshela nt^hi. ‘The old woman was placed on the floor.’

hoosi ya Maana Fa^tima/ ndrombelaani kuwekoowa [st.] ‘in the shade of Lady Fatima/ implore God (o brothers) that I may find a place’

ka’ba ni numba awali iweshela/ ka khisa waant^hu kuhija iwashila [st.] ‘the Ka’ba is a house that was set up in olden times/ and was built for people to perform the pilgrimage’

masandukhu yaweshela ziint^hu katiiké ‘the boxes in which things were put’ (with **masanduukhu** governing subject marking on the relative verb) or **masandukhu ziweshela ziint^hu/ katiiké** (where **ziint^hu** governs the subject marking on the relative verb and has been postposed to the position after the verb) (Although

masanduukhu can function as the head of the relative clause, and even control subject agreement as an option, with a resumptive pronoun – **katiike** -- left behind in the relative clause, the same strategy cannot be used in a main clause: ***Masandukhu aya/ yaweshela ziint^hu/ katiike.** ‘These boxes were put things in them.’)

qariibuye huwekoowa [st.] ‘(they) will all stay by his side

Wakomelopo lfuwooní/ waziiri/ chiwekoowa/ lfunguuni/ mukhta mwanaamke/ ishkiiló/ ka bateraaní/ waziiri/ shindowa chitaache. ‘When they reached the shore, the minister was put on the beach, and when the girl stepped out of the boat, the minister’s

head was cut off.’

rel. nom.

m-weeka (wa-) n. 1/2 one who puts aside

m(w)eka uzeele ‘the woman who looks after a mother and child during **uzeele** (the period of about one month after the birth when mother and child remain inside)

Muke mwenye miimba/ hamtaandi/ mweka uzeele. ‘A pregnant woman does not insult the one who attends her during **uzeele.**’ (A proverb.)

m-weeko n. the act of putting aside

i-wele (ma-)

n. 5/6 breast

Haliima/ maweleye/ ni zihaba. ‘Haliima’s breasts are small.’

Iwele ya kaama/ na ya khshiiká/ siwo/ sawa. ‘The breast for feeding and that for catching hold of are not the same.’ (A proverbial saying. A mother might say this to a son who has become enamoured of a girlfriend and has forgotten his mother.)

Iwele ya khshiika/ na iwele ya kaamá/ siwo/ sawa. ‘The breast for catching hold of (i.e. enjoying) and the breast for feeding are not the same.’ (A variation of the preceding proverbial saying.)

Maama/ nampa maanawe/ iwele. ‘The mother is breast-feeding her child.’
Maana/ nakama iwele. ‘The child is breast-feeding.’
Mawe/ hutumikiḷowa chiloho. ‘**Mawe** [sp. fish] is used as bait.’
Maweleye/ yapoteele. ‘Her breasts are hanging (loose).’
Maweleye/ yasimeeme. ‘Her breasts are standing firm.’
Shkosa iwele ya maamo/ amá/ haṭa yaa mbwa. ‘If you lack your mother’s breast, suckle even a dog’s.’ (A proverb.)
Tuuma/ maweleye/ makulu. ‘Tuuma’s breasts are big.’

rel.

chi-wele (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

ḷ-wele (mi-) n. 11/4 aug.

i-weele

n. sp. fish (Ballyhoo), like a mini marlin, used as a bait fish

chi-welo (zi-)

n. 7/8 [Sw. *kiweo* SSED 213] thigh, hip

Chimtaala/ chimweeka/ kaake/ ziwelooni. ‘She took him and she put him on her lap.’

Imlazile ipu/ chiwelooni. ‘He has a blister on the thigh.’

Maama/ mpakete maanawe/ ziwelooni. ‘Mother held her son on her thighs.’

Maana/ ziweloze/ zihaba. ‘The child’s thighs are little.’

sindanu ya chiwelo ‘an injection in the thigh’

Ziwelo/ zinakundraaza. ‘My thighs are aching me.’

rel.

i-welo n. 5 aug. big thigh

Omari/ iweloye/ ikulu. ‘Omari’s thigh is big.’

wereeri

n. 9/10 trouble, disturbance, s.t. annoying

mbwaalimo karka wereeri [song] ‘and I was in trouble’

ku-wereersata

v. [Som.] worry, become worried, be perplexed

variant form: **ku-wersata**

mahabaya fahamaani yambaliize mi mberseete [song] ‘understand my love, it has a tight hold of me, I am perplexed’

shkasapo bunduqu mi huwereersata [nt.] ‘when I hear guns I become troubled and confused’

rel.

ku-wereerisha v. caus. make trouble, annoy

Chilawe/ ineendra/ mererishe sultaani/ ja nguwoze/ numbaani/ mereerishe. ‘Let us leave, go and make trouble for the sultan, eat his clothes at his house, cause him trouble.’

Iize/ keendra/ kumereerisha/ sultaani/ kuja nguwoze. ‘He [the rat] refused to go make trouble for the sultan and eat his clothes.’

Izi/ zote/ nt^haskumwereerisha/ walá/ kumtiisha/ Haaji. ‘All these [events] did not bother Haaji nor frighten him.’

kumbereerisha ‘to disturb me’

Mwaambile/ sichiwereerishé. ‘Tell him: don’t bother us!’

Simwereerishé/ maamo/ mudaa ye/ nampo maaná/ iwelé. ‘Don’t annoy your mother when she is breast feeding the baby.’

Siwereerishé/ ruuhuyo/ walá/ siwanaayó/ faza’a. ‘Do not disturb yourself, neither be afraid [lit. have fear].’

ku-werersatoowa v. pass.

Su’ali iyi/ huwerersatoowa. ‘This question is perplexing.’

weewe

second person independent pronoun

Ni mwaadamú/ kana weewé. ‘I am a human being like you.’

ku-wiika

v. [Sw. *wika* SSED 530] (**wiishile**) crow (of a cock)

kuwiika/ kana ori ‘to crow like a cock – i.e. to make a lot of noise’

Kuwika kiitu/ ni faayda/ ka want^hu wamó/ na ni khasaara/ ka want^hu

wiingine. ‘Our crowing is a profit for some people and a loss for other people.’

Kuwiikako/ ina kheeri/ ka khisa hichiviila/ kuḷata usiinzizi/ kendra kum’abudila mwajiitu. ‘Your crowing is a blessing because it calls to leave off sleeping and go to pray to God.’

Nk^huku/ zanzizopo kuwiiká/ mi/ nondroshelé/ kendra kuḷatiza/ haba mooyi. ‘When the cocks began to crow, I arose and went to lay down for a little while.’

Ori/ nakuwiika. ‘The cock is crowing.’

Ori wa mundraani/ hawiiki/ muiyini. ‘The rooster of the farm does not crow in town.’ (A proverb which is making the point that everyone has importance in his own place.)

Si/ huwiika/ ka khisaa si/ hupeenda/ kiimba/ kisterehesha ruhu ziitu. ‘We crow because we love to sing to amuse ourselves.’

rel.

ku-wikiḷoowa v. appl. pass.

ku-wiikila v. appl.

Ka muda wa miyaaka/ miingi/ sala ya jamaa’a/ nt^haykungafa/ na iyí/ ni ka sababu yaa ni/ ori/ kichiwiikila. ‘For a period of many years, I did not miss a community prayer, and this is because you (pl.) cocks crowing for me.’

ku-wikoowa v. pass.

Kuḷá/ kuwikoowa/ siwo/ suura. ‘It is not good to shout, talk too much every day.’

ku-wila

v. [no perfect form known] be owed to [by] someone

Ali/ mlipilile Nuuru/ deni zaa ye/ chimwiló. ‘Ali paid to Nuuru the debts that he (Ali) owed to him (Nuuru).’

Ali/ nakumbila peesa. ‘Ali has money coming from me [lit. Ali is owed money (by) me].’

Ali/ nakumwila Nuuru/ peesa. ‘Ali is owed money (by) Nuuru.’

Chiwila waant^hu. ‘He is owed (by) people.’

Hamadi money, I hope I do not run into him.’

Huseeni/ chiwa’ambila/ ndo/ ni/ namwilaa kamú. ‘Huseeni said to them: come, you (pl.), how much are you owed (by) him?’

Nakumwila Jaama/ peesa. ‘Nuuru is owed money by Jaama.’

Nakuwila waant^hu/ deeni. ‘He is owed (by) people a debt.’

Nuuru/ chimbila. ‘Nuuru is owed money by me.’

Nuuru/ nakumbila peesa. ‘Nuuru is owed money by me.’

na khamsiiní. ‘They answered him and said to him: each man is owed by him one hundred and fifty riyals.’

rel.

ku-wiḷoowa v. pass. owe

Ali/ mlipilile Nuuru/ deni zaa ye chiwiḷoowá. ‘Ali paid for Nuuru the debts (he owed to people).’

Chiwiḷowa na waant^hu. ‘He owed people.’

Chiwiḷowa peesa/ na waant^hu. ‘He owed people money.’

Nsi wa piili/ chihada/ mi/ ni uje munt^hu waa we/ mweno kuwa ni mayṭi/ nakubigowa kaa ndutí/ ka khisa chiwiḷowa deeni/ mi/ isa/ niilé/ khulipa/ ihsaniyo. ‘The second fish said: I am that man who you saw that he was being beaten with sticks because I owed a debt; I have come now to pay you back your favor.’

Shfungula sanduukhu/ shtomola/ peesa/ za mayṭi/ nakuwiḷoowá. ‘He opened the box and took out the money that the dead man owed.’

wilaaya

n. [Sw. *ulaya* SED 495; Ar.] a foreign (European) country

mafta ya wilaayi ‘paraffin for lamps, kerosine’

Nakendra kula mafta ya wilaayá/ kabaa mbili. ‘I am going to

buy two half-liter containers of kerosine.'

wilaya ya faransa 'France'
wilaya ya jarmani 'Germany'
wilaya ya ngereenza 'England'
wilaya ya talyaani 'Italy'

-wili

adj. (see **m-bili**) two

Basi/ wachisaafira/ mudda/ wa myeezi/ miwili/ pashpo kuwona nṯi.
'So they sailed for a period of two months without seeing land.'

Karka habaasa/ Yuusufu/ chibaratana na wantu wawili. 'In prison Joseph became acquainted with two people.'

Mbene^f wiingi/ wenye milu miwili/ khtowa ruhu zaawo/ apa. 'I have seen many two-legged (creatures, i.e. human beings) lose their lives here.' (The focus on **wiingi** accounts for the fact that the final accent triggered by the main verb does not extend further to the right.)

Muja ka miwili/ nṯana/ mwisho mweema. 'One who eats with his two (hands) has no good end.' (A proverb.)

Siri/ ichilata wawili/ siwo/ siri. 'If a secret goes beyond two (people) it is not a secret (any longer).' (A proverb.)

skapu zili 'two baskets'

Sultaani/ mpeenzele/ mwaana/ uyu/ kolko waanawe/ wawili. 'The sultan loved this boy more than his two children.'

Wachimwona wizi wawili/ wachimwonó. 'Two thieves saw her, that's what they did.'

Wawili/ karka makhadimuze/ wafiile. 'Two of my servants died.'

rel.

wa-wili adj. insane, crazy (A crazy person is regarded as someone possessed by a demon, thus there are two beings dwelling inside him.)

Hamadi/ wawili. 'Hamadi is crazy.'

wa-wili waawo n. both of them

wa-wili=w-e n. both of them, the two of them

Apo/ zamaani/ ishiize/ mwaana/ mooyi/ waliko filila na wazeelé/ wawiliwé. 'Once upon a time there lived a boy who was orphaned by his two parents (lit. was died on).'

Ni'ipakiizé/ majuniya/ mawiliye. 'I loaded both bags on it [cl.9].' Or: **Ni'ipakiizé/ mawiliye/ majuniya.** 'I loaded both the bags on it [cl.9].'

Omari/ wawiliile/ waana/ wawiliwe. 'Omari called both children.'

Wachilaana/ hattá/ wawiliwe/ wachublana. 'They fought until the two of them killed one another.'

Waana/ wawiliwe/ wa'ile. 'Both children came.'

wa-wili wiinu n. both of you (pl.)

wa-wili wiitu n. both of us

zi-wili=z-e n. both of them [cl.8]

ziti/ ziwilize 'both of the chairs'

ku-wiinda

v. [Sw. **winda** SSED 531] (**wiinzile**) hunt with a tool (spear, arrow, gun)

kuwinda bundukhu 'to aim a gun'

kuwinda chinyunyi 'to hunt a bird'

Miimbili/ ile kuwindaa nyunyi/ iló. 'The boy came to hunt birds, that's what he did.' (Observe that it is only the higher verb that may undergo verb copy, not the lower verb: ***Miimbili/ ile kuwindaa nyunyi/ kuwiindá.**)

Mwimbili wa sultaani/ ile kuwindaa nyunyi. 'A boy of the sultan came to hunt birds.'

Nnakendra kuwiindá. 'I am going hunting.'

Nnakhsula kendra kuwiindá. 'I want to go hunting.'

Omari/ mkali/ kuwiinda. 'Omari is skilled in hunting.'

Sku mooyi/ enzele maduriini/ kuwindaa nyunyi. 'One day he went to the bush to hunt birds.'

Sku mooyi/ nimwambile waawé/ kuwaa mi/ nnakhsula kendra naa ye/ kuwiinda. ‘One day I told my father that I wanted to go with him to hunt.’

Sku mooyi/ siimba/ mp^huundra/ na bakaylé/ walazile kuwiinda. ‘One day, lion, donkey, and rabbit went out to go hunting.’

Speendi/ kendra kuwiinda. ‘I do not like to go hunting.’

Wachiwindaa nyunyi/ hatá/ ilooni. ‘They hunted birds until dusk.’

Walazile kuwiinda. ‘They left to go hunting.’

Waawe/ shpendaa nt^ho/ kuwiinda. ‘My father loved very much to hunt.’

rel.

ku-windawiinda v. freq.

Ye/chiwindawiinda/ hattá/ mukhta ikomelo shpiindri. ‘He hunted here and there until the time became mid-day.’

ku-wiindana v. rec.

ku-wiindika v. p/s.

ku-wiindila v. appl. (**windiliile**) hunt for, with

ku-wiindisha v. caus.

ku-windoowa v.

Yoshela kuwindoowa. ‘(Some people) have gone hunting.’

Zinakuwindoowa/ zinyunyi. ‘Birds are being hunted.’

rel. nom.

ma-wiindo n. 6 [Sw. *windo* (*ma-*)] booty, prey

Awanyize mawiindo/ mafungu mawili. ‘He divided the booty into two parts.’

Karkaa ndila/ siimba/ chiwa’uza weenziwe/ ndo/ ni/ nna’iwá/ so/ mahalaa si/ hashtakugafa mawiindó. ‘Do you know of any place where we will be certain to find prey?’

mukhta ukomelopo wakhú/ wa kawanya mawiindó ‘when the time came to divide the loot’

Ni/ nna’iwá/ so/ mahalaa si/ hashtakugafa mawiindó. ‘Do you know of any place where we will be certain to find prey?’

m-windaaji (*wa-*)

n. 1/2 [Sw. *mwindaji*] hunter

i-wiingu (*ma-*)

n. 5/6 [Sw. *wingu* (*ma*) SED 531] cloud

Alama yaa nvula/ ni mawiingu. ‘The sign of rain is clouds.’ (A proverb.)

Chiwona mawiingu/ yaa nvula. ‘He saw rain clouds’

Iwingu ya khpita/ ha’ileeti/ nvula. ‘A passing cloud does not bring rain.’

(A proverb which says that something that comes and goes has no effect, only something stable and consistent has impact.)

rel.

m-biingu n. 10 [Sw. *bingu*] heavens

l-m-inguu=ni n. loc.

chookole sharri yaawo/ shfaanye ba’iidi naa wo/ aakhera na lminguuni [st.] ‘save us from their evil deeds, keep us away from them, in the hereafter and in this world’

l-wiingu (*mi-*) n. 11/4 aug.

l-wiingu (*m-*)

n. 11/10 spleen; [pron. **mbiingu** ‘spleens’]

Alí/ shishiila maraõi ya lwiingu. ‘Ali has (lit. is caught by) spleen disease.’

Haliima/ mkali/ khpika lwiingu. ‘Haliima is very good at cooking spleen.’

Hamadi/ hupeenda/ kuja lwiingu. ‘Hamadi likes to eat the spleen.’

lwiingula ‘my spleen’

wiino

n. ink (a type that is not easy to erase)

nyulusi/ kama wiino ‘as black as ink’

wiraatha

n. inheritance

<i>Wiriile</i>	n. one of the five clans comprising the Tunni
<i>wisaamu</i>	n. medal
<i>wiisha</i>	n. 14 (probably to be analyzed as <i>w-iisha</i> , with the [cl.14] prefix <i>u</i> realized as a glide in front of a vowel-initial stem; however, we have not found clear evidence that the suggested stem ever appears with a different prefix) [Sw. <i>wishwa</i> , <i>wiswa</i> ‘chaff, bran, husk’ SSED 531] husk, cover of grain Hutala wiisha/ huuza/ hula iziwa. ‘He takes the husks and sells them and buys milk.’ Numa/ sku ya taatu/ schiwekeḷowa wiisha/ na manyí. ‘Then on the third day there was put for them (the goats) husk and hay (lit. grass).’ Shfakaṭa mbuzi mooyi/ shfakaṭa/ shtiinda/ cheendra/ chija wisha oyo/ na maaniyé/ ka himaahima. ‘One goat ran, he ran, he broke (the rope restraining him), he went, and he ate the husk and his grass quickly.’ Wiisha/ hufungowa mahala/ kule/ wo/ hufungowa ka skaambila/ zihabazihaba/ wawiliwe/ huleteleḷowa wiisha/ na manyí. ‘Husks (in a container) are tied to a place far away, and they (the goats) are tied with small ropes, both of them, and brought to the husks and hay.’
<i>wiishka</i>	[Som. <i>wiish</i> DSI 616 + Som. masculine article <i>ka</i>] (mechanical) crane, elevator; siren (acoustic equipment of ambulance, police car, factory, etc.)’
<i>-witi</i>	adj. [Sw. <i>-bichi</i> SSED 34] raw, unripe, uncooked embee mbiti ‘uncooked mango’ mazuu mbiti ‘uncooked banana(s)’ Mwaana/ chihada/ kuwa mtendreeni/ nt^haku/ nt^heendre/ iviviiló/ walaa mbiti. ‘The boy said that in the date tree there were no dates, neither ripe ones nor unripe ones.’ (Although the item walá typically forms a phrasal isolate, this example provides an instance where it is phrased with the following word.) Mweka chiwiti/ huja chivivu. ‘The one who puts aside something unripe eats something ripe.’ (A proverb.) Nama iyi/ nii mbiti. ‘This meat is raw.’ (Some evidence that the copular ni might best be analyzed as a proclitic is provided by the “talking backwards” language game Chijini, where this sentence is pronounced: Man^a yiⁱ/ tinimbⁱ. The game shifts the final syllable of a word to the beginning of the word. The final syllable of mbiti , however, does not move in front of mbi , but rather in front of the copular, suggesting that the copula forms part of the word, i.e. is a proclitic to mbiti .) namaa mbiti ‘raw meat’ shitungulu chiwiti ‘raw onion’ rel. <i>m-bitimbiti</i> adj. raw kufa mbitimbiti [lit.] to die raw raw – i.e. die without having been sick, as in an accident’ <i>u-witi</i> n. [Sw. <i>ubichi</i>] unripeness, freshness
<i>witri</i>	n. [Ar. <i>witr</i> “odd number” W 1046] last prayer said at night before sleeping -- it is always formed by an odd number of raka’a (from one to maximum five) khsala witri <i>ikum na saba Aisha fiile/ meezi wa soomu na witri saliiḷe</i> [st.] ‘Aisha died on the 17 th day in the month of fasting and (i.e. after) she had performed the witri prayer’
<i>ku-wiya</i>	v. (wiyiile) sew the border of a cloth rel. <i>ku-wiyoowa</i> v. pass.
<i>wo</i>	[cl.2] independent pronoun Askari/ wacholoka ka baduwi/ washfaanya/ jisaa wo/ wa’amuriḷa na sulṭaani. ‘The soldiers went to the nomad(’s place) and did what they were ordered by the sultan.’ (Morph. Notice that the noun

askari is formally a [cl.9/10] noun, but triggers the independent pronoun **wo** which is generally triggered by [cl.2] human nouns.)

many gifts.’
 associated with them’
 (e.g. the door) to be opened.’
 not yet eaten.’

Chaamura/ wo/ khpoowa/ zawaadi/ niingi. ‘He ordered them to be given
ka waant^hu/ waa ye/ hushirkana naawo ‘from the people that he
Mboni/ unakuraaga/ wo/ khfunguloowa. ‘How come it is being delayed
Mi/ nt^hosheze kuwaa wo/ nt^haasá/ nt^hawaakujá. ‘I thought that they had
mpishi wa Nuuru/ naawó ‘the cook that Nuuru has’ (but can also say:
mpishi wa Nuuru/ naayó)

Nakhsulaa wo/ keendra. ‘I want them to go.’
Ndiwó/ hupendo zinooló. ‘It is them who like **zinoolo.**’ Or, with verb emphasis in addition: **Ndiwó/ hupeendó/ zinoolo.** Or, with covert rather than overt clefting: **Wo/ hupendo zinooló.** ‘They like **zinoolo.**’ Or: **Wo/ hupeendó/ zinoolo.**
Nt^hawaná/ chakuja chaa wo/ khpaanana. ‘They do not have food to give one another.’

Wa’ambilaa wo. ‘It was said, told to them.’
Wa’oloshela woo peeke. ‘They went alone.’
Wo/ mbwaaká. ‘They are mine.’
Wo/ wachizaama. ‘They drowned.’
Wo/ wachimera maayi/ ka apa/ na apá. ‘They [referring to **hayawaani** ‘animals’] looked for water here and there.’
Sultaani/ we/ kapata chijuumbá/ chaa nyunyí/ wo/ sula kiimba. ‘Sultan, if you get a nest of the birds, they would sing.’

zibuku zaa wo/ waana/ wa’uziló ‘the books that they, the children, bought’ (Usage: Although **wo** and **waana** may co-occur in a relative clause like this, it does not seem that such a construction is possible with non-human noun classes: **munt^hu waa muti/ umtulukiliiló** ‘the man whom the tree fell on him’, not ***munt^hu waa wo/ muti/ umtulukiliiló**; **munt^hu waa chisu/ chimtjinziló** ‘the man whom the knife cut’, not ***munt^hu waa cho/ chisu/ chimtjinziló**. In this construction, the pronoun must refer to the immediately following subject, it cannot refer to an object: ***zibuku zaa wo/ Nuuru/ wapele waaná** ‘the books that Nuuru gave to the children’.)

wo [cl.3] independent pronoun
Iyo huunda/ shtila/ ndraani/ ya msala/ chi’utukula/ chooloka/ naawo/ ka sultaani. ‘That measuring cup he put inside the mat and carried it (the mat) and went with it to the sultan.’
Muti/ upoteele/ wo. ‘The tree fell, it.’
muti wa Nuuru/ naawó ‘the tree that Nuuru has’ (apparently not to say **naayó** here)
Nnaku’ubiishá/ mboni/ unakuraaga/ wo/ khfunguloowa. ‘I am knocking, hoe come it is being delayed (for) it [cl.3] to be opened?’
Wo/ muti/ uvundishile. ‘It, the tree, broke.’ Or: **Muti/ wo/ uvundishile.**
Wo/ uvundishile. ‘It [cl.3] broke.’

wo [cl.14] independent pronoun
unga wa Nuuru/ naawó ‘the flour that Nuuru has’ (or alternatively: **naayó**)
Uki/ mladda/ wo. ‘The honey is sweet, it.’
Wo/ mladda. ‘It is sweet.’
Wo/ uki/ mladda. ‘It, the honey, is sweet.’ Or: **Uki/ wo/ mladda.**

ku-wola
rotten, rot, go bad, spoil

v. [cf. Sw. *oza* SSED 357; cf. Proto-Sabaki **wol* = “rot” N&H 614] (**wozele**) be

Chiwozeló/ nt^hachiná/ lbaani. ‘That which is rotten has no incense.’ (A proverb.)

Chiiza/ magozi/ yatakuwola/ nvulaani. ‘Otherwise the hides will rot in the rain.’

kuja/ kuwola ‘for food to decay, rot, become spoiled’

Kuja/ (ya) Alí/ jiló/ iwozele. ‘The food that Ali ate was rotten.’

Mayank^huku aya/ nt^hayakuwola. ‘These eggs have not gone bad.’

Mayank^huku aya/ yawozele. ‘These eggs have gone bad.’

Mayaank^huku/ yawozeló/ ndaaká. ‘The eggs that went bad are mine.’

Mazu/ iwozele. ‘The banana is rotten.’ Cf. **Mazu/ ziwozele.** ‘The bananas are rotten.’

Mi/ naa mi/ nk^halent^he numbaani/ kuwolá. ‘Me and me stayed home to rot.’

Nama/ iwozele. ‘The meat became spoiled.’

Ndaaká/ mayank^huku yawozeló. ‘Are mine the eggs that went bad.’

shaahidi wa harbiiini oyo haawoli [st.] ‘a martyr of a water is the one who does not rot, decay (upon dying)’

Takhkalaant^ha/ jis’iyo/ kuwola. ‘Will you just stay this way rotting?’

Zeema/ haziwoli. ‘Kindness never goes bad.’ (A proverb.)

rel.

ku-wolela v. appl. (-woleele) get rotten on

Mayaank^huku/ yamboleele. ‘The eggs got rotten on me.’

ku-woloowa v. pass.

Apo/ itakuwoowa. ‘(Lit.) at that place there will just be going bad, rotting – i.e. at that place we will just waste our time, getting nothing from any efforts we make, just tiring ourselves etc.’

ku-woleza v. caus. appl.

ku-wolezanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ku-woza v. caus. (**wozeeze**) make rotten

Ali/ wozeeze nama. ‘Ali caused the meat to rot.’

Muunt^hu/ hendra madrasaani/ huwoza matakoye/ chimaliza chilawa/

nt^haku/ kaazi. ‘A person goes to school, rots his buttocks, then when he finishes, there is no job.’

Nsi mooyi/ huwoza tawala/ nzimaye. ‘One fish contaminates the whole sea.’ (A proverb.)

ku-wozanya v. caus. rec.

ku-wozeka v. caus. p/s.

ku-wona
s.t.), think

v. [Sw. *ona* SSED 352] (**weene**) see (but not in the sense of intentionally looking at

Apo/ nch^hwona mbadiikhi. ‘There I saw a melon plant.’

Chiiko/ laakini/ hichiwoni. ‘It is there, but you do not see it.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is: *Ikosi* ‘nape of the neck’.)

Chiraasha/ chiraasha/ hatá/ chiwona/ ruuhuye/ uko karka ibenya/ ikulu. ‘She followed (the opening) and followed until she found herself in a large open space.’

hummoni muunt^hu karka lpeengele [nt.] ‘you don’t see anybody in the streets’

Kamaa we/ chiwona chiint^hu/ chiza kuhada chiint^hu/ haykhupati/ chiint^hu. ‘If you see something and do not say anything, nothing will happen to you.’ (A proverb.)

Khkasa/ siwo/ kama huwona. ‘To hear is not like seeing.’ (A proverb.)

kuwona ajabu ‘to see something amazing’

kuwona dhibu ‘to experience difficulties’

kuwona haya ‘to be embarrassed, ashamed’

kuwona ma'aluuli 'to experience difficulties'
kuwona mashakha 'to be in difficulty, experience difficulties'
kuwona ndala 'to be hungry'
kuwona ooni 'to be thirsty'
kuwona raaha 'to experience comfort, pleasure'
kuwona sahariiri 'to see difficulties'
kuwona ulaazo 'to experience pain'
kuwona yaabu 'to see a wondrous thing'

Laakini/ ye/ chimwona mp^haka/ hufakata. 'But if he sees a cat, he runs away.'

Liinda/ wpma ka mataayo. 'Wait and see with your own eyes.'

Maana/ mene Huseeni/ yana. 'The child saw Huseeni yesterday.' If one wishes to emphasize that it is the child who saw Huseeni yesterday, one says: **Maana/ meno Huseeni/ yana.**

mana wa Nuuru/ meenó 'the boy who Nuuru saw' (This example illustrates the possibility of the structure **mana wa Nuuru** being assigned final accent.)

Mbene kuwa muke uyú/ ni mweema/ na nazo jamaala. 'I see, realize that this woman is good and has beauty.'

Mbene maluwa ya Haliimá. 'I saw Haliima's flowers.'

Mbene mi/ na Jaamá. 'He saw me and Jaama.' (Syn. Observe that the object agreement is first person singular, even though the object is conjoined.)

Mbene mi/ na Jaamá/ shchowa tawala. 'He saw me and Jaama bathing in the sea.' (Syn. Observe that while the main verb agrees only with the first member of the conjunction **mi/ na Jaama**, the subject of the embedded verb is first person plural.)

Mbene ndilá/ mbeleya/ niineenzelé. 'I saw the road ahead of me and I walked.'

Mene maana/ meenó. 'He saw a child, that's what he saw.'

Mi/ nakuwoná/ kuwa leeló/ ni sku ya kheerí. 'I feel that today is a day of blessing.'

Mi/ skumwona/ ngamiilayo. 'I didn't see your camel.'

Mukeewo/ mbeenopó... 'When your wife saw me...'

Muunt^hu/ mene miizi. 'The man saw the thief.' Or, with subject focus:

Muunt^hu/ meno miizi. 'The *man* saw the thief.'

munt^hu meno miizi 'the man who saw the thief' or **muunt^hu/ meno miizi** or **muunt^hu/ oyo(/) meno miizi** (Phon. Although the relative verb is not ordinarily focused, we have elicited such forms, and in true relative clauses the final accent extends to the end of the relative clause: **muunt^hu/ meenó/ miizi** 'the man who *saw* the thief'.)

Mwene Jaama/ na Nuuru. 'He saw Jaama and Nuuru.' (Syn. Observe that the object of the verb here is a conjoined NP, but the agreement is third person singular *m*. One does not say: ***Wawene Jaama/ na Nuuru.**)

Nakuwoná/ jisaa mi/ nsasiló. 'Do you see how I have grown thin?'

Nakuwonaayi/ ruhuuyo. 'How do you see yourself?' (meaning: are you in good health?) This greeting is esp. used to people who have been sick.

Nakuwonaayi/ takhaadira. 'Are you up to doing it, are you still able to do it (lit. how do you see it, will you be able)?'

Naani/ meno maaná 'Who saw the child?'

Naani/ nt^hamona Omari. 'Who did not see Omari?' (Because **naani** bears focus, the verb may cease to be the focus, allowing it to phrase with the complement. The verb, however, must be put into pseudo-relative form, hence the final accent on the phrase containing the verb. It is possible, however, to keep some focus on the verb, leading to its phrasal separation from the complement: **Naani/ nt^hamoná/ Omari.** Notice that in this case, the Accentual Law of Focus comes into play, and the final accent triggered by the relative verb cannot project to the complement. The pseudo-relative is thus strikingly different from a true relative clause, where the Accentual Law of Focus never comes into play to bar the final accent from reaching the end of the relative clause.)

camel or did you not?' **Ndo/ we/ mweené/ ngamiilaya/ amó/ nt^humwona.** 'Come, did you see my

Nimene Huseení/ skumona/ Hasani. 'I saw Huseeni, I did not see Hasani.'
Or: **Nimene Huseení/ Hasani/ skumona.** 'I saw Huseeni; Hasani,
I did not see.'

Nimene Huseení/ yana. 'I saw Huseeni yesterday'. (Phon. In the default case, the final accent triggered by the first person past tense verb does not extend to the time adverb *yana*. If one wishes to emphasize *yana*, then it is brought into the scope of the final accent: **Nimene Huseení/ yaná.**)

Nimweené/ munt^hu oyo mpelo Omari/ peesá. 'I saw the man who gave Omari money.' Or: **Nimweené/ muunt^hu/ mpelo Omari/ peesá.** Or: **Nimwene munt^hu oyo mpelo Omari/ peesá.** (The following phrasing was rejected by GM: ***Nimwene muunt^hu/ (oyo) mpelo Omari/ peesá.** If this judgment is correct, then it would indicate that a phrasally isolated head in subject relativization does not phrase with its verb. More research is required on this point.)

Nimwene Omari/ nakhkoða na Nuuru. 'I saw Omari speaking with Nuuru.'

Nuuru/ nt^hamona/ Omari. 'Nuuru did not see Omari.' (In the default phrasing, a negative verb is separated from its following complement in main clauses. This indicates that the verb is the focus and the complement is out of focus. The corresponding yes-no question supports this analysis, since the complement undergoes accent shift to the final syllable, a phenomenon associated with a phrase being out of focus: **Nuuru/ nt^hamona/ Omari?** The exclamatory question is: **Nuuru/ nt^hamoná/ Omari!?** However, an alternative exclamatory question is available where there is no phrasal break between the negative verb and the complement: **Nuuru/ nt^hamona Omari!?** These both follow the usual generalization about exclamatory sentences: namely, all phrases in the VP obligatorily undergo accent-shift.)

Nuuru/ nt^hamona Omari. 'Nuuru did not see Omari.' (In this sentence, where the subject is focused, the verb is put into the pseudo-relative form. Furthermore, since the verb is no longer the focus, there is no phrasal break between the verb and its complement.)

Nuuru/ wene muunt^hu. 'Nuuru saw a man.'

Nuuru/ wene waana/ so. 'Nuuru saw the children, didn't he? Did Nuuru see the children (I have some reason to think he did)?'

Omari/ meene/ mubliwá/ Nureení? 'Did omari see my husband Nureeni?'

Omari/ wene waana. 'Omari saw some children.' (Cf. **Omari/ wawene waana.** 'Omari saw (the) children.' When the primary object is human but fails to trigger an object prefix on the verb, the object is understood as indefinite. The presence of an object prefix, on the other hand, ordinarily indicates definiteness. This is always the case when the primary object is non-human, but in the case of humans agreement may also occur even when the noun is indefinite. To make the noun clearly definite, a pre-nominal demonstrative may be used: **Omari/ wawene awaje waana.** 'Omari saw the children.')

Osmaani/ mencee muke. 'Osmaani saw a woman.' Cf. **Osmaani/ meene/ ujee muke.** 'Osmaani saw the woman.'

Osmaani/ wawene waana/ na mama yaawó. 'Osmaani saw the children and their mother.' (Observe that the verb agrees with the nearest of the conjoined NPs. This can be seen clearly from the following example, where the NPs are in a different order: **Osmaani/ mencee muke/ na waanawé.** 'Osmaani saw the woman and her children.')

Sho khkasa ya waake/ huwona yaake. 'The one who does not listen to his (i.e. the people close to him, family and friends) will see his (i.e. the unfortunate consequences of ignoring these people).' (A proverb.)

Sultaani/ kumwonake/ ba/ chaanza/ kumpeenda. 'The king, upon seeing him, began to like him.'

Wachiwonaa nt^hi/ kaa kule. 'They saw a land from afar.'

Wana gani/ we/ waweenó. 'Which children did you see?' Or: **We/ wawene wana gani.** (Possible answers include: **Wa Omari.** 'Omari's.' **Niwawene wana (w)a Omari.** 'I saw Omari's children.' **Wana (w)a Omari/ niwaweenó.** '(It is) Omari's children whom I saw.'

Wana wa naani/ we/ waweenó. ‘Whose children did you see?’ Or: **We/ wawene wana (w)a naaní.** (Possible answers include: **Wa Omari.** ‘Omari’s.’ **Niwawene wana (w)a Omari.** ‘I saw Omari’s children.’)

Waziiri/ chimwambila mwaana/ takuwona. ‘The minister told the boy, You will see! (a threat in response to the boy’s refusal to give the minister money).’

answers to this question include: **Wana (w)a Omari.** ‘Omari’s children.’ **Niwawene wana (w)a Omari.** ‘I saw Omari’s children.’

We/ takichiwona mukhtaa we/ takhsuuló. ‘You will see us whenever you want.’

Weené/ buukuyá. ‘Did you see my book? (e.g. I have lost it, did you see it?)’

Wene naaní. ‘Whom did you see?’ (Cf. **Wene naani.** ‘Whom did he see?’)

rel.

ku-wonana v. rec. [Sw. *onana*] (-woneene) see one another, meet with one another

Apo/ ye/ chiwonana/ na wawaye mwanaamke. ‘There he met the girl’s father.’

Ba’ada/ ya wakhti/ sultaani/ lazile ndilaani/ kuwonana na mgeeni/ oyo. ‘After awhile, the sultan came out in the open to meet with that visitor.’

Basi/ khati/ iyi/ ichikhukoma/ ka paapo/ funga safari/ ndo/ chiwonane. ‘So if this letter reaches you, immediately set off on a journey, come so that we may see one another.’

Dhibu/ yaa mi/ nnaayó/ ni kuwaa mi/ sinakuwonana/ naawe. ‘The difficulty that I experience is that I do not see you [lit. I do not see one another with you].’

Khati/ ni nusu ya kuwonana. ‘A letter is half of seeing one another.’ (A proverb.)

kula muunt^hu/ peetó/ kuwonana/ na kubaraṭana na elo uyú ‘everyone who got to know about and to learn about this gazelle’

Mi/ nakendra kuwonana naayé. ‘I am going to meet with him.’

Mkulu/ wa mabawaabu/ cheendra/ kumpa sultaani/ khabari/ kuwa chile chizeele/ chimooyi/ chinakhsulo kuwonana naayé. ‘The head of the door-keepers went and gave the sultan the news that an old woman had come who wanted to meet with him.’

Sku ¹niingi/ skuwonana/ na Hamadi. ‘Many days I have not seen Hamadi (lit. meet with).’

We/ khulaazima/ khtinda shawuuri/ na kendra kuwonana naayé. ‘You are obliged to make a decision and go to meet with him.’

Ye/ nakhsula kuwonana naawe/ munt^hi wa arabiya. ‘He wants to meet with you on Wednesday.’

ku-wonanoowa v. rec. pass.

Kuwavila waant^hu/ kudirkamanoowa/ kuwonanoowa/ khpanana

salaamu/ na kubadilana ra’yi. ‘To call people to meet and to see one another and greet one another and exchange ideas.’

ku-woneka v. [Sw. *oneka*] be visible

ku-wonekana v. [Sw. *onekana*] be seen

Ka paapo/ nyunyi/ zighedishile/ ziweele/ wake/ wa wanaadamu/ wenye jamaala/ sho kuwonekana/ karka duniya. ‘Then the birds changed, they became women of human beings, beautiful, not seen in the world.’

Mapeendo/ ya maskiini/ hayawonekanai. ‘The love of a poor man is not seen.’ (A proverb.)

N^haynakuwonekana. ‘It isn’t likely, it is unlikely.’

Ziwovu nza maskiini/ huwonekanó/ za taajiri/ haziwonekani. ‘It is the poor man’s wrongs that are seen, those of a rich man are not seen.’ (A proverb.)

ku-wonela v. appl. [Sw. *onea*] see with, for

Mi/ na’iwá/ kuwaa we/ hutakhaadiri/ kunaamina/ basi lawa/ chooloke/

kiinu/ we/ nt^hiinda/ iwonele/ ka maatoyo/ kuwa siná/ khalbi. ‘I know that you will not be able to believe me, so let’s leave and go to your place so that you can slaughter me and see with your own eyes that I do not have a heart.’

Ndo/ iwonele ka maatoye. ‘Come and see with your own eyes.’

ku-wonoowa v. pass. [Sw. *onwa*] (*weena*)

Chiwa teena/ hawonoowi/ chi’ilawila/ chiyolokela ka mukeewe/ pashpo/ kuwonoowa. ‘It became then that he was not visible and he took himself [out of the grave] and went to his wife without being seen.’

Huwona/ hawawonoowi/ hukooða/ hakasoowi. ‘He sees, he is not seen, he speaks, he is not heard.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is *mwajiitu/ mojiitu* ‘God’.)

Mp^huundra/ iweenapi/ khadira kh^hukula want^hu wawili. ‘For a donkey, where is it seen to be able to carry two people?’

na karaama ziitu ziweena bayaana [nt.] ‘and our miraculous delivery became clear’

We/ wena na Nuurú. ‘You were seen with Nuuru.’

ku-wonela
etc.

v. [Sw. *onea* SSED 353] (*-wonelele*) mistreat, abuse s.o. younger, weaker, poorer,

Ni/ nakumbonelá/ ka khisa/ mi/ ni ða’iifú. ‘You are bullying me because I am weak.’

We/ waawé/ nfunzile ka kumbonela tú. ‘You, father, tied me up without justification (lit. just to abuse me).’

rel.

ku-wonde^loowa v. pass.

Hayawaani/ haziwone^loowa/ naharisi/ leelo. ‘Animals are not shown pity these days (i.e. they are mistreated).’

-wovu

adj. [Sw. *-bovu* SSED 39] bad, evil

Chiwawene wana wawovú. ‘We saw the bad children.’ (Cf. **Chiwawene waaná/ wawovu.** ‘We saw some bad children.’)

Inawe suura/ amó/ mbovu/ nuumbayo/ ni nuumbayo/ ya mwinginewo/ siwo/ yaako. ‘Whether it is good or bad, your house is your house, that of another is not yours.’ (A proverb.)

ito iwovu ‘evil eye’

Ka nasiibuye/ kuwaa mbovu/ mukeewe/ nt^hakhshiika/ miimba/ mukhtaa ye/ waliko mu^hjaaná. ‘His fortune being bad, his wife did not get pregnant while he was a young man.’

Koði njeema/ wahali/ koði mbovu/ dahari. ‘Good words are a companion, bad words are hardship/ suffering.’ (A proverb.)

Laakini/ ka nasiibuya/ kuwaa mbovu/ skukhaadira/ khpata kaazi/ yoyote. ‘But my luck being bad, I was not able to get any job.’

Mtenge Hamza/ ni movu/ ni. ‘Stay away from Hamza, he is bad, that’s what he is.’ (Observe that although *ni* generally lengthens when followed by a *CVCV* word in PP-final position, this lengthening does not occur here; *movu* is a phonological reduction of /m-wovu/, which is trisyllabic.)

Mwaana/ chimjiiba/ ya kuwa ziko khabari suura/ na khabarii mbovú. ‘The child answered him that there was good news and bad news.’

Ndru mwovu/ khinfa skuu mbovu. ‘A bad relative is of use on a bad day.’ (A proverb.)

Niya njeema/ hu^habiiba/ niyaa mbovu/ hukhariba. ‘A good intention cures, a bad intention spoils.’ (A proverb.)

Omari/ ile ka rerii mbovu. ‘Omari came from a bad family.’

Sa’iidi/ nasiibuye/ iwalikoo mbovu/ ye/ shiinzi^la. ‘Sa’iidi’s luck being bad, he lost/ was defeated.’

Siwo/ mbovu. ‘That’s not a bad idea [lit. it is not bad].’

want^hu wawovu ‘evil people’

Ziwovu nza maskiini/ huwonekanó/ za taajiri/ haziwonekani. ‘It is the poor man’s wrongs that are seen, those of a rich man are not seen.’ (A proverb.)

rel.

u-wovu n. 14 [Sw. *ubovu* SSED 39] badness

zi-wovu n. 8 evil (deeds)

kandika ziwovu 'to accuse someone of evil deeds'

khfanya ziwovu 'to do evil'

Mwaanawá/ siwafungulilé/ mkulazo/ ndroto zaa we/ weenó/ seendré/ mkulazo/ kawakhufanya ziwovú. 'My son, do not tell your older brothers the dreams that you have seen, lest your older brothers do evil to you.'

khtendra ma ziwovu 'to do evil'

kuwanayo ziwovu 'to hold a grudge against s.o., to have evil intentions (as a result of having been wronged) -- [lit.] to have evil'

kuweka ziwovu 'to hold a grudge'

Nimfanyize zeemá/ ndrisile ziwovu. 'I did good to him, he repaid me with evil.' (A proverb.)

Ziwovuzo/ nii we/ kuwa nii chisu/ huṭindo lkaambalá/ lkaambala/

humfungoo mp^haká... 'Your evil deeds are you are the knife that cuts the rope, the rope that ties the cat...'

chi-wovu (*zi-*)

n.7/8 pocket, pouch, tobacco pouch

Apo/ ye/ shfungula shpete/ chishtila chiwovuuni. 'There he took off the ring and put it in his pocket.'

Chiint^hu/ ni chimo chiwovuuni/ silaaha/ ni yimo mkonooni. 'A thing is what is in your pocket, a weapon is what is in your hand.' (A proverb.)

chiwovu cha kuboala 'fob pocket (lit. pocket of stealing)'

chiwovu cha mtaawo 'pillowcase'

Chiwovu/ cha peesa/ cha taajiri/ chidafkila na mwiizi. 'A pouch of money of a rich man was snatched by a thief.'

chiwovu chaa sa'a 'watch pocket'

chiwovu cha peesa 'money pocket'

chiwovu cha shaati 'shirt pocket'

chiwovu cha surwaani 'pocket of trousers'

Chiwovu/ chatushile. 'The pocket is torn.'

Chiwovu/ chinayo nthuundru. 'The pocket has a hole.'

Lesele chibuukú? 'Did you bring a book?', a question which has possible answers like: **Ee/ chimo chiwovuuni.** 'Yes, it is in (my) pocket.'

Or **Ee/ nnacho chiwovuuni.** 'Yes, I have it in (my) pocket.'

Mwiizi/ mdafkile taajiri/ chiwovu/ cha peesa. 'The thief snatched from the rich man a pouch of money.'

Na ndani ya chiwovu/ chivalimo chisanduukhu/ chihaba/ chishaba. 'And inside the bag was a small box of copper.'

Sandukhuuni/ chivaliko chiwovu/ na chiwovuuni/ chivalimoo chuwo/ cha sifa/ za mtume. 'In the box there was a pouch and in the pouch was a book of praises of the prophet.'

Tukiileni/ kaako/ chiwovuuni. 'What are you carrying in your pocket?'

i-wovu (*mi-*)

n. 5/4 bag

wowi

n. [Som. *webi*] river; [**wowi** or **wobi**]

Chiḷaweni wowiini. 'Let us go to the river.'

Chimḷaṭile wowiini. 'We have thrown him into the river.'

Hugura kharibu yaa wowi. 'They move near the river.'

kharibu yaa wowi 'near the river'

khfulaa nguwo/ wowiini 'to wash clothes in the river'

kowa wowiini 'to wash in the river'

Ipindro laa wowi 'river bank'

mayi yaa wowi 'river water'

Maayi/ yagudhiile/ wowiini. 'Water has dried up in the river.' Or:

Yagudhilo wowiini/ ni maayi. 'What has dried up in the river is water.'

Maayi/ yayelee/ wowiini. 'Water rose (lit. filled up) in the river.'

Nch^hoowa/ wowiini. ‘I was *bathing* in the river.’ Cf. **Nch^howa wowiini.** ‘I was bathing in the river.’ Cf. **Noweelé/ wowiini.** ‘I *bathed* in the river.’ Cf. **Nowele wowiini.** ‘I bathed in the river.’

Noloshelé wowiini. ‘I went to the river.’ (Cf. **wowi yaa mi/ nolosheló** ‘the river that I went to’, where it is possible for **wowi** to be in a bare form when functioning as the head of a relative clause.)

nsi zaa wowi ‘river fish’

Polpoloo mbili/ huguðbaṭaa wowi. ‘Two areca nuts cross the river.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **maato** ‘eyes’.)

Teta naa wowi. ‘He was taken by the river.’

Wowi/ asliye/ ni maṭete yaa nvula. ‘A river, its origin is drops of rain.’ (A proverb.)

Wowi/ iwelee nk^havu. ‘The river has dried up.’ Or: **Iwello nk^havú/ nii wowi.** ‘What has dried up is the river.’

Wowi/ iyele maayi. ‘The river has filled up with water.’ Or: **Iyelo maayi/ nii wowi.** ‘What the water has filled is the river.’

woowo

[cl.2] strong demonstrative

wana woowo/ awa ‘these very same children’

wana woowo/ awo ‘those very same children’

wana woowo/ awaje ‘those very same children’

wanaafakhi/ woowo/ ka woowo ‘the same kinds of lies, over and over’

woowo/ ka woowo ‘the same ones, over and over’

Woowo/ omo baṭera mooyi. ‘They are in one boat (i.e. they are in the same situation, or share the same beliefs, etc.)’

Woowo/ wahadiiló. ‘Those very ones spoke; they themselves spoke.’ Or:

Wahadiiló/ woowo. (Prosody: Interestingly, in the simple yes-no question of the first example, there is no accent shift, but in the exclamatory question the demonstrative shifts its accent: **Woowó/ wahadiiló!?** In the case of the second example, again there is no shift in the simple question, but is in the exclamatory question: **Wahadiiló/ woowô!?** The significant point here is that while exclamatory questions always shift the accent of post-verbal elements, they commonly have no effect on sentence-initial pre-verb phrases.)

woowo

[cl.3] second position strong demonstrative

Muunt^{hi}/ woowo/ khabari/ schikoma/ sultaani. ‘On that very same day the news reached the sultan.’

woowo

[cl.14] strong demonstrative (In the speech of GM, **woowo** may combine with all the weak demonstratives, as shown below. **Woowo** seems to be a strengthening of the [cl.14] independent pronoun **wo**.)

Hamadi/ woowo/ uki/ teetó. ‘Hamadi took it the same honey.’ (Note that the strong demonstrative **woowo** seems to trigger the pseudo-relativization of the following verb.)

uki oyo/ woowo ‘that very honey near you’

uki woowo/ uyu ‘this very honey’; **uki woowo/ oyo** ‘that very honey near you’; **uki woowo/ uje** ‘that very honey far from us’

woowo/ uki ‘the same honey’

woowo/ awa

[cl.2] first position emphatic demonstrative

woowo/ awo

[cl.2] second position emphatic demonstrative

woowo/ awaje

[cl.2] third position emphatic demonstrative

woowo/ owo

[cl.3] second position emphatic demonstrative

Muti owo/ woowo/ uvundishiló. ‘That tree itself broke.’ Or: **Woowo/ muti**

owo/ uvundishiló. Or: **Woowo/ owo/ uvundishiló.** (Prosody: In these sentences, **woowo** is focused and raised in pitch. In the simple yes-no question version of the second sentence, there is no

accent shift, but in the exclamatory question we find: **Woowo/ muti oyó/ uvundishiló!?** We did not record the yes-no question versions of the other sentences cited here.)

- woowo/ oyo** [cl.3] second position emphatic demonstrative (=woowo/ owo)
- woowo/ uje** [cl.3] third position emphatic demonstrative
- woowo/ uyu** [cl.3] first position emphatic demonstrative
- wu-** a morphophonemic variant of the [cl.3] subject marker **u**
- wu-** a morphophonemic variant of the [cl.14] subject marker **Wuukopi/ ujahaliwa**. ‘Where is my ignorance?’
- wuh** ideo. of dog barking
Ibá/ inakubiga mikele/ wúh wúh wúh. ‘The (aug.) dog is barking **wuh wuh wuh**.’ (Each repetition of the ideophone is pronounced on a high pitch; these high pitches are not downstepped relative to the preceding accented syllable.)
- wujuudi** n. existence
mi ni mpiya amo ni qadiimu karka wajuudi [song] ‘am I new or am I old in existence?’
- wuquufu** n. the action of standing at a certain place in Mecca during the pilgrimage
wuquufu wakhtíwe chigafa khatari [st.] ‘the time of **wuquufu** is dangerous if missed (since the pilgrimage will not be complete)’
- wurr** interj. a word used to challenge s.o.
Aamina/ mambile maanawe/ wurr/ endra numbaani/ ka Haliima. ‘Aamina told her child: just dare to go to Haliima’s house (i.e. don’t you dare go there, just try!).’
Wurr/ oloka. ‘Don’t go (because if you do...!)’
Wurr/ sooloké. ‘Go (lit. don’t not go), because if you don’t go...’
wuru silawe we nambiilo faanya daḍali [song] get out – it was you who told me, make an effort’
- wuuwu/ uwu** [cl.3] this same one
- wuyaawuya** n. sting ray; it has a tail that may hit people, and it is not eaten
mkila wa wuyaawuya ‘the tail of a sting ray’
- i-wuuyu (ma-)** n. 5/6 [Sw. *buyu* SSED 43] fruit of the baobab tree
Eelo/ chimpoṭeleza mwaalimu/ iwuuyu. ‘The gazelle dropped a baobab fruit on the teacher.’
muti wa mawuuyu ‘a baobab tree’
Maduriini/ ye/ wenee muti/ wa mawuuyu/ mkulu. ‘In the bush he saw a large baobab tree.’
Mwaalimu Gooso/ chisomesha waana/ ntʰini ya muti wa mawuuyu. ‘Teacher Gooso used to teach children under a baobab tree.’
We/ tetemeshezee muti/ na iwuuyú/ impoṭelele mwaalimu/ chiṭaani/ imubḷeele. ‘You shook the tree and the baobab fell on the teacher’s head and killed him.’
- rel.
m-buuyu (mi-) n. 3/4 [Sw. *mbuyu* SSED 270] baobab tree
- xaf** ideo. [Som. *xaf* ‘to cut neatly and sharply’, cited in Dhoorre & Tosco, p. 154] of cutting (The sound **x**, a voiceless pharyngeal fricative, is a phoneme in Somali, but not usually retained in words borrowed into Chimiini. However, this ideophone retains this sound.)

ya kuwa

that

Chimwaambila/ kuwa yaa mi/ nnampeendá/ mwanaamke/ wa sultaani.
'He told him that, I love the daughter of the king.' (Syn. Observe that **kuwa ya** may introduce direct speech.)

Jeelaani/ shkasa/ ya kuwa Safiya/ zimpete amri izi/ na ya kuwa muḅli/ hadile/ mi/ simlāṭi/ illa/ khpowa peesa/ izo zaa mi/ nt^homeeló/ ka maraa mbili. 'Jeelani heard the things that befell Safiya and that (her) husband said: I will not divorce her unless given twice the money that I paid (as dowry).'

Laakini/ Abunawaasi/ shpata khabari/ ya kuwa sultaani/ tumile waant^hu/ kuya kumuḅla. 'But Abunawaasi got the news that the sultan had sent people to come to kill him'

kuu-ya

v. (ile) come

Apo/ ichiwa/ ziko mp^haamp^ha/ niingi/ huuya/ naazó/ kuja matuundra/ yaa muti/ oyo. 'At that place there were many sharks, they came (and them) to eat the fruit of that tree.'

Bay/ filatīlīla kuuya. 'Bay was expected to come.'

Hamadi/ nakuya ka Mkhodiisho. 'Hamadi is coming [here] from Mkhodiisho.'

Ile/ mwaana. 'A boy came.' (Cf. the simple yes-no question: **Ile/ mwaaná?** 'Did a boy come?' The shift to final accent on the subject **mwaana** indicates that this NP is out-of-focus, since only out-of-focus elements undergo accent shift in the simple yes-no question.)

Ile/ mwana wa Haliima. 'He came, Haliima's son.' (In the statement, the right-dislocated subject is radically lowered in pitch. In the simple y/n question, the postposed subject undergoes accent shift: **Ile/ mwana wa Haliimá?** The right-dislocated subject is raised in pitch compared to the statement, but the raising in GM's speech is not nearly as high as the initial accented syllable. The exclamatory question shifts the accent in the verb as well as the postposed subject: **Ilé/ mwana wa Haliimâ!?** There is ordinary downstep in this question.)

Ile naani/ numbaani. 'Who came home?'

Iló/ (ni) naani. 'The one who came is who?'

Iló/ Nureeni/ mwaanawe. 'The one who has come is Nureeni's child/son.'

Ilopo Muusó/ we/ shfaanyani. 'When Muusa came, what were you doing?'

Ka khisani/ nt^hawanakuuyá. 'Why aren't they coming?'

Karaayle/ ziile/ stile kaniisa/ muḷo. 'The crows came and burned down the church.'

Kuuyake/ nt^haykumpeendeza/ Nuuru. 'His coming did not please Nuuru.'

Mwana wa Haliima/ ile. 'Haliima's child came.' (The simple yes-no question simply undergoes Q-Raising: **Mwana wa Haliima/ ile?**

The exclamatory question shifts the accent of both phrases: **Mwana wa Haliimá/ ilé!?** The shift of accent in the subject phrase does not appear to be obligatory, given other data.)

Mwana wa Haliima/ nt^hakuuya. 'Haliima's child did not come.' (When a negative verb is phrasally separated from its complement, it is typically raised in pitch and not downstepped. In the case of a clause-final negative, such as here, downstep does seem to obtain. The corresponding y/n question confirms this, since in such a question the negative verb undergoes what we refer to as Q-raising, but there is no other change: **Mwana wa Haliima/ nt^hakuuya?** The exclamatory question has both downstep and accent shift: **Mwana wa Haliimá/ nt^hakuuyá!?**)

Martī wiitu/ ile numbaani. 'Our guest came home.' Cf. **Martī wiitu/ nt^hakuuya/ numbaani.** 'Our guest did not come home.'

Mi/ na Nuurú/ shṭakuuya. 'Me and Nuuru will come.' (The conjunction of a first person singular and a third person singular subject requires the use of *chi* as subject marker. In this example, *chi* appears as *sh* due to its position in front of a voiceless obstruent.)

Mi/ na Nuurú/ shṭakuuyó. 'It's me and Nuuru who will come.' (A possible answer to the question: **Naani/ ṭakuuyó.** 'Who will come?')

Mukewa/ Barka/ ṭakuya keesho. 'My wife Barka will come tomorrow.'

Muunt^hu/ iló/ ni Omari. 'The man who came is Omari.' Or: **Munt^hu iló/ ni Omari.** (We did not detect a meaning difference associated with the difference in phrasing of the head of the relative clause.)

Muunthu/ iló/ waliko ni waawe. ‘The man who came was my father.’ Or:
Munthu iló/ waliko ni waawe.

Munthuu mule/ iló/ waliko ni waawe. ‘The tall man who came was my father.’ (It is not “sweet” to phrase the adjective with the relative verb: ***Munthu mule iló/ waliko ni waawe.** Nor: **Muunthu/ mule iló/ waliko ni waawe.** There is, however, a way to join the entire head noun phrase with the relative verb via the use of the demonstrative o(y): **Munthu mule oo iló/ waliko ni waawe.** ‘The tall man who came was my father.’ The demonstrative may also be located between the noun and the adjective: **Munthu oo mule iló/ waliko ni waawe.**)

Muunthu/ mzeele/ iló/ waliko ni waawe. ‘The old man who came was my father.’ Or: **Munthu mzeele/ iló/ waliko ni waawe.** (But it does not appear to be “sweet” to have a phrasing ***Munthu mzele iló/ waliko ni waawe.** Nor is it possible to phrase the adjective with the relative verb but separate from the noun it modifies: ***Muunthu/ mzele iló/ waliko ni waawe.**)

Munthu oo iló/ waliko ni waawe. ‘The man who came was my father.’ Or:
Muunthu/ oo iló/ waliko ni waawe.

M^waalimu/ ile. ‘The teacher came.’ Cf. **Ile m^waalimu.** ‘A teacher came.’

M^wana gani/ wa Nureeni/ iló. ‘Which child of Nureeni’s has come?’

M^wana wa naani/ iló. ‘Whose child has come?’ (A possible answer:
M^wana wa Nureeni/ iló. ‘(It is) Nureeni’s child (who) has come.’)

M^wana wa Nureeni/ ile. ‘Nureeni’s son has come.’ Or with phrasal separation of the head of the associative phrase: **M^wana/ wa Nureeni/ ile.** Or with focus on subject: **M^wana wa ^fNureeni/ iló.**

Mzeele/ iló/ waliko ni waawe. ‘The old man who came is my father.’ Or:
Mzele iló/ waliko ni waawe.

Nakhukhuburá/ kuwaa mi/ sinakuuya/ numbaani. ‘I am informing you that I am not coming home.’

Ni mukewa/ Barka/ ^takuyo keeshó. ‘It is my wife Barka who will come tomorrow.’ Or: **Ni mukewa/ Barká/ ndiyé/ ^takuyo keeshó.**

Ni naani/ iló. ‘Who is it that came?’ Or: **Naani/ iló.** (The verb must be in the relative form. It is ungrammatical to say: ***Naani/ ile.**)

N^takuuyó/ ndimi/ ambó/ Nuuru. ‘It’s me who will come or Nuuru.’

Nureeni/ m^waanawe/ ile. ‘Nureeni’s child has come.’ (In the simple yes-no question, the downstepping of the verb is missing, but there is no Accent Shift since there are no post-verbal out-of-focus phrases. The emphatic yes-no question does exhibit Generalized Accent Shift on the final two phrases: **Nureeni/ m^waanawé/ ilé!?**)

^fNureeni/ m^waanawe/ iló. ‘(It’s) Nureeni his child (who) has come.’ (The verb is in a pseudo-relative form, which indicates that there is a focused pre-verbal phrase. Since **m^waanawe** is downstepped relative to **Nureeni**, we take the latter to be the focused element. **But the question is whether it is really Nureeni that is focused or the entire construction..... study**

Oo iló/ waliko ni waawe. ‘The one who came was my father.’

Omari/ haayi. ‘Omari will not come.’ Or, with subject focus: **Omari/ haayí.** ‘Omari will not come; it is Omari who will not come.’

Omari/ hayi ^teená. ‘Omari will never come again.’

Omari/ ile. ‘Omari came.’ (Prosody. This simple example illustrates a sentence with canonical word order and canonical downstep intonation. The simple yes-no question involves just Q-raising and no accent-shift: **Omari/ ile?** The exclamatory question repeated several times the form: **Omari/ ilé!?** This pronunciation shows that the subject in the exclamatory question may undergo accent-shift. But there are many similar examples where the subject retains default accent. We suspect that the variation may have to do with whether or not there is some emphasis on the subject. If emphasized, the subject does not undergo accent-shift. In any case, accent-shift in the VP is obligatory in emphatic questions.)

Omari/ ile/ so. ‘Omari came, didn’t he? Did Omari come (I have received some indication that he did)?’

Omari/ iló. ‘Is it Omari who came?’

Omari/ so/ iló. ‘Omari came, didn’t he?’ Or: **Omari/ iló/ so.**

Safiya/ nt^hakuuya. ‘Safiya did not come.’

Siyé/ leelo/ ndo keesho. ‘Don’t come today, come tomorrow.’ Or: **^fLeelo/ siyé/ ^tkeesho/ ndo.** ‘Today, don’t come; tomorrow come.’

Siyé/ M^wiini/ leelo. ‘Don’t come to Brava today.’ Or: **Leelo/ siyé/ M^wiini.**

Siyé/ M^wiini/ leelo/ ndo keesho. ‘Don’t come to Brava today, come tomorrow.’ Or: **Siyé/ M^wiini/ leelo/ keesho/ ndo.** Or: **Leelo/ siye M^wiini/ keesho/ ndo.** ‘Today don’t come to

Brava, tomorrow, come.?’

Mwiini/ siye leeló/ ndo keesho. ‘Brava, don’t come today, come tomorrow!’ Or: **Mwiini/ siyé/ leelo/ ndo keesho.** Or: **Mwiini/ leelo/ siyé/ ndo keesho/ ndo.**

Takuuyó/ (ni) Nuuru/ ambó/ mi. ‘The one who will come is Nuuru or me.’
Tuuma/ mukeewa/ ile. ‘My wife Tuuma came.’ Or: **Mukeewa/ Tuuma/ ile.** ‘My wife Tuuma came.’

Wa’ile/ wo? ‘Have they arrived?’ (As is regularly the case, the postposed subject **wo** is not downstepped in a simple yes-no question such as this.) (A possible answer to this question: **Ee/ ^fisa/ tu/ wa’iló.** ‘Yes, they have just arrived.’ In this answer, the pitch peak is on **isa** and the pseudo-relative verb **wa’iló** is downstepped.)

Waliko ni celo/ uyu/ ilo ka waawé/ kunmeerá. ‘It was this gazelle who came to my father seeking me (in the context of the story, asking for her hand in marriage to Sultan Daraayi).’

[†]**Wanakuuya.** ‘They are coming.’ (The superscript upward-point arrow is used to indicate an exaggerated raising of the pitch of the accented syllable.)

Wanaaye/ wanakase jawaabuza. ‘Let them come so that they can listen to my words.’

watakuuyo ni malaayka/ wiingi wa khtumishoowa [st.] ‘angels will descend to perform this service’

Ye/ kachiza kuuyá/ skaapate/ peesa. ‘If he had not come, he would not have gotten money.’

Ye/ kachiza kuya dukaani/ skaapate/ peesa. ‘If he had not come to the shop, he would not have gotten money.’ Or, with verb emphasis: **Ye/ kachiza kuuyá/ dukaani/ skaapate/ peesa.**

Ye/ kachiza kuya dukaani/ yana/ skaapate/ peesa. ‘If he had not come to the shop yesterday, he would not have gotten money.’ Or, with verb emphasis: **Ye/ kachiza kuuyá/ dukaani/ yana/ skaapate/ peesa.**

Ye/ kaayá/ suła khpata/ peesa. ‘If he had come, he would have gotten money.’

Ye/ kaya dukaani/ suła khpata/ peesa. ‘If he had come to the shop, he would have gotten money.’ Or, with focus on the verb: **Ye/ kaayá/ dukaani/ suła khpata/ peesa.**

Ye/ kaya dukaani/ yana/ suła khpata/ peesa. ‘If he had come to the shop yesterday, he would have gotten money.’ Or, with focus on the verb: **Ye/ kaayá/ dukaani/ yana/ suła khpata/ peesa.**

rel.

k-iilila v. appl. (**iliile**) come towards, come to, for

Bandera huundru/ iniliile. ‘My (lit. red flag) menstrual period has come.’

Hasiibu/ ishiize/ karka raaha/ na amaani/ haṭá/ mowṭi/ umwiliilopó. ‘Hasiibu lived in comfort and peace until death came for him.’

na ichiwa nakuwa’iila ‘and if it was coming towards them’

Sku mooyi/ fijiri/ nilile muunt^hu/ mooyi/ nuziize/ kamaa mi/ nnakhsuła kaazí. ‘One day in the morning a man approached me and he asked me if I wanted a job.’

k-iילוowa v. appl. pass.

Shtiinda/ ki’ifakatiila/ ka apo/ n^hasaa ye/ kililoowa. ‘He decided to run from there before he was come for.’

k-iilana v. rec.

Mi’adi yiitu/ kiilana/ ni keesho. ‘Our appointment to meet, come together, is tomorrow.’

ku-yoowa v. pass. (**iila**)

ishkasoowa yiila yo hufakatoowa [nt.] ‘when people hear “they have come”, they run’

rel. nom.

muu-ya (*waa-*) n. one who comes (Phon. Notice that the root **-ya** induces lengthening in a preceding noun class prefix, just as it does in the infinitive.)

muu-yo n. 3 the act of coming

kuu-ya

v. aux. [semantically bleached]

rel.

ku-yoowa v. pass.

Gaari/ zinakuyowa khpakowa ranji. ‘The trucks [lit. are coming] to be painted -- i.e. are going to be painted.’

muu-ya (waa-)

n. [not found in SSED, but present in Swahili poetry as *waja*, translated by Knappert as “mortals” and also “[God’s] servants”; cf. *muja* “newcomer, slave” in N&H 616] creature; mankind, human beings

hayi hupeenda waayawe rahiimu [st.] ‘[God is] alive, he loves his creatures, he is merciful’

Mpa waaya/ ni mwajiitu/ simwiskaṭilé/ mwaadamu. ‘The one who gives to mankind is God, do not rely on a human being.’ (A proverb.)

yaa rabbi mooja kulla muuya msaamehe [st.] ‘O Lord God, forgive every creature’

ya’

interj. watch out! don’t do it!

↑**Ya’/ jawaabu/ kana izo/ skooḏé.** ‘Stop, don’t say things like those.’

↑**Ya’/ sfaanyé/ jawabu iyo.** ‘Stop, don’t do that.’

↑**Ya’/ sidaaré/ apo/ ni wasaakha.** ‘Stop, don’t touch there, it is dirty.’

↑**Ya’/ skusuula/ mi/ Hamadi/ koloka apo.** ‘Ya’ I did not want Hamadi to

go there.’

↑**Ya’/ wa kheeri/ mi/ chiza khfanya jawabu izo.** ‘Ya’ it was better for me

not to do those things.’

yaa

interj. oh!

yaa qalbi/ ‘oh my heart, oh my soul’

yaa’alla

ka yaa’alla ‘barely (lit. because of God’s wish)’

brother barely passed the examination.’

Aziizi/ muné/ pisile imṭihaani/ ka yaa’alla. ‘Aziizi’s younger

review II

ya’ani

[Ar. *ya ḥī*, from the verb *ḥanā* W 650] that is to say, I mean, you see

Mi/ nhadiilé/ kuwa ngoombeya/ inaye/ Haafi/ yee peeke/ na isá/ ni/

nweené/ ye/ nt^hakufa/ yee peeke/ ya’ani/ ngombe za sultaani/ zotte/ sfile naaye. ‘I said that my cow’s name was Does Not Die Alone and now, you have seen, it did not die alone, that’s to say, all the cows of he sultan died with it.’

Ya’ani/ yiwoo dhibú/ ni muunt^hu/ umo karkaa dhibú/ na shidá. ‘That’s to say, the one who understands difficulty is the person who is in difficulty and hardship.’

Ya’aquuba

n. Jacob

yaabisi

n. [Ar. *yabs, yabis* "dry" W 1105] constipation

bardi yaabisi ‘rheumatism; acute cold’

Huja mandra yaabisi. ‘He eats dry bread.’

khfanya yaabisi ‘to be constipated’

khpa yaabisi ‘to make constipated’

Imp^hele yaabisi. ‘It made me constipated.’

khpata yaabisi ‘to be constipated’

mun^hu yaabisi ‘a stingy person’

nt^hi yaabisi ‘dry land’

- yaabu** n. [Som. *yaab* DSI 643] surprise
Yaabu/ Hamadi/ kiza khsaafira. ‘It is a surprise that Hamadi refused to travel.’
Yaabu/ kuwa Omari/ nt^hakuuya/ harusi ya Hamadi. ‘It is a surprise that Omari did not come to Hamadi’s wedding.’
- yahu’** interj. of surprise; [pron. **yahú’**]
Yahú’/ naank^hó/ mpele Omari/ peesá/ mara yíinginé. ‘Yahú’, again you gave Omari money another (i.e. a second) time.’
- yahuudi (ma-)** n. Jew
Iyi/ yè/ nt^hakhaadira/ khpata/ ka khisa/ nt^hawakuwaaliko/ mayahuudi/ karka nt^híye. ‘This (**mhunda ya yahuudi**) he could not get because there were no Jews in his country.’
Maame/ tafaðali/ nonyeza mahala/ wako mayahuudi. ‘Mother, please show me a place where there are Jews.’
- m-yakazi (wa-)** n. 1/2 [Sw. *mjakazi* “female slave” SSED 146] prostitute
Muke myakazi/ humfanya jiraaniwe (or: jiranniye)/ dokhani. ‘A prostitute fools her neighbor (by saying all her clients are her relatives or friends).’ (A proverb.)
rel.
m-a-wa-yakazi n. son of a prostitute, “son of a bitch”
We/ ni mawayakazi. ‘You are a son of a prostitute.’
- yaake** his, hers, its
Fiiló/ yaake/ imaliize. ‘The one who has died, his (affairs, concerns, worries, etc.) are finished.’ (A proverb.)
- yakh** ideo. [The preponderance of ideophones in Chimiini are borrowed from Somali, but we did not find this one listed in our best source, Dhoorre & Tosco. However, on a Somali forum, someone wrote: “somali songs suck...too friggin romantic for me...yakh.”; this would seem to attest to the existence of **yakh** in Somali.] of something dirty, e.g. faeces, garbage etc.; similar to English **yuck**
Haliima/ mambile maanawe/ sidaaré/ matuzi/ yákh. ‘Haliima told her child: don’t touch the faeces, **yakh!**’
- ku-yaala** v. [Bajuni *-yaa*] (**yaazile**) plant, sow
variant form: **kaala** (see separate entry)
Siyaalé. ‘Don’t sow!’ (cf. **Siyaleeni.** ‘You (pl.) don’t sow!’)
Wayazile muundra. ‘They planted a garden.’ (Cf. **Nt^hawakuyaala/ muundra.** ‘They did not plant a garden.’)
Yaala. ‘Sow!’ (cf. **Yalaani.** ‘You (pl.) sow!’)
Ye/ wanayo muundra/ mkulu/ na kuwa nasiibuye/ suura/ kila yaa ye/ chiyaaló/ ichimlawila jisa suura. ‘He had a large farm, and his luck being good, everything that he sowed came up well for him.’
rel.
ku-yaalila v. appl.
ku-yaloowa v. pass. be planted, sown
ku-yaalikea v. p/s.
ku-yaalisha v. caus.
ku-yalishana v. caus. rec.
ku-yalishika v. caus. p/s.
ku-yalishiliza v. caus. appl.
ku-yalishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
- yalla** interj. an expression used to urge s.o. to act – lit. “O God”; soon, in a hurry (In the Chimiini sound system, the consonant *l* does not appear adjacent to another consonant; instead, one finds **l̥**. Thus **ll** is not a phonetically occurring sequence. However, we adopt the symbol **ll** to represent the Arabic [lʰ] sound

found only in the word “Allah”. Its use in Chimiini is restricted to a few expressions borrowed from Arabic.)

Ba’adaa ye/ khtinda chiṭa chimooyi/ yalla/ shtalaa chiṭa/ shtila chiwovuuni. ‘After he cut off one head, he took the head and put it in (his) pocket.’

Chizimila/ ye/ na mukeewé/ yalla/ wachilawaa dali. ‘He fled, he and his wife, in a hurry, they left the country.’

Mp^ha peesaza/ yalla/ kahima. ‘Give me my money, hurry up, quickly.’

Yalla/ chilawa/ muke/ nakhtaltala ka kuuluye. ‘Soon the woman came out, jumping about in pain from her leg (that had been cut off).’

Yalla/ mwanaamke/ oyo/ shpokelaa nsi/ shfakata/ waawé/ ndo/ khaambile/ kuwaa mbuzi/ mi/ mbeené/ kuwaa we/ takhfanya jis’iyi/ jis’iyi. ‘Soon that girl accepted the fish and ran (saying): my father, come, let me tell you, that the goats, I have seen that you will do this way and this way (to figure out which of the two goats is the younger one).’

Yalla/ oyo mwimbili/ shtukulaa nsi/ mooyi/ shfakata/ chendra apo. ‘Soon that young boy took one fish and ran and went there.’

Yalla/ waant^hu/ wotte/ naank^hó/ wachiruuda. ‘Soon all the people again came back/ returned.’

yama

n. 9/10 whale

keeluka/ kanaa yama ‘to swim like a whale – i.e. to swim well’

Yama/ ipeeta. ‘A whale has been found.’

yama iyi ‘this whale’ (cf. **yama izi** ‘these whales’)

rel.

i-yama (mi-) n. aug. 5 large whale (Usage: the augmentative here refers to size and does not have a disparaging connotation; a diminutive form is not used, given the characteristic size of the whale.)

ikulu kana iyama ‘as big as a whale’

iyama iyi ‘this aug. whale’ (cf. **miyama aya** ‘these aug. whales’)

ku-yaamba

v. [Sw. **jamba** SSED 148] fart

Nakuyaamba. ‘He is farting.’

Siyambeeni/ mbele za waant^hu. ‘(Pl.) don’t fart in front of people.’

rel.

ku-yaambisha v. caus.

ku-yambishiliza v. caus. appl.

yamiini

n. [Sw. **yamini** SSED 533; Ar. **yamin** "oath" W 1109] oath

Apo/ teena/ mi/ chilapa (alternatively: **ndrasile/ yamiini/ kuwaa mi/**

nch^hija/ nch^hiikuta/ chakuja shtakhsaaló/ mbele/ taakujó/ ni khadimuya/ na ya khaadimu/ takhsaazó/ taakujó/ nii mbwa/ na ba’ada yaa mbwa/ kuja/ kiikuta/ tu/ mwanaamke/ taakujó. ‘There and then I swore an oath that if I ate and was full, the food left behind, first, the one who will eat it is my servant, and what my servant leaves behind, the one who will eat it is my dog, and after my dog has eaten and become satiated, only then my daughter will be the one who eats.’

kulapa yamiini ‘to swear an oath’

yana

adv. yesterday (Time adverbials such as **yana** have phrasing properties different from other adverbs and from arguments, hence we have included considerable exemplification here in order to document this behavioral pattern.)

chakuja chaa yana ‘yesterday’s food’

Iwalikoo ^fyana/ nimpelo Barká/ mukeewá/ peesá. ‘It was yesterday that I gave Barka my wife money.’ Also: **Iwaliko nii ^fyana/ nimpelo Barká/ mukeewá/ peesá.**

Jaama/ mwene Nuuru/ na Hamadí/ ^fyana. ‘Jaama saw Nuuru and Hamadi yesterday.’

m(w)akaa yana ‘last year’

Maana/ tulushiloo yaná/ ni Omari. ‘The child who fell yesterday is Omari.’ (Observe that inside a relative clause, **yana** must fall

within the scope of the final-accent triggered by the relative verb:

***Maana/ tulushiló/ yana/ni Omari.** is ungrammatical. Even if the

verb is emphasized, final accent must appear on the adverb:

Maana/ tulushiló/ yaná/ ni Omari.

Nandishilee khatí/ 'yana. 'I wrote a letter yesterday.' (Cf. **Nandishilee khatí/ yaná.** 'It was yesterday that I wrote a letter.') (In the neutral case, represented by the first example, the final accent triggered by the first person past tense verb does not extend onto the time adverbial. However, by extending the accent to the time adverbial, focus is put on this word.)

Nandishilee yaná/ khatí. 'I wrote yesterday a letter.' (This word would be used in response to a question: **Andishile liini/ khatí.** 'When did you write a letter?')

Naani/ tulushiloo yaná. 'Who fell yesterday?' (In this question, various people fell on different days and the speaker is asking who fell yesterday. It is also possible to have **Naani/ tulushiló/ yana.** In this example, there is no focus on **yana**. The fact that this latter question is possible illustrates that pseudo-relatives, like those triggered by **naani**, are different from true relative clauses, where it is obligatory that the scope of the final accent extend to the end of the relative clause.)

Ndrazole yaná. 'I left yesterday.' (There are three clear pieces of evidence that this sentence constitutes a single phrase: (1) the verb is unaccented, which means that it cannot be phrase-final; (2) the final vowel of the verb is lengthened, which means also that the verb cannot be phrase-final, since lengthening of final vowels occurs only when they are phrase-medial; (3) the final accent triggered by the first person singular past tense verb is heard on the adverb rather than on the verb.)

Nii 'yana/ ndiyó/ nimpelo Barká mukeewá/ peesá. 'It is yesterday that I gave Barka my wife money.'

Nimpele mukeewá/ Barká/ peesá/ 'yana. 'I gave my wife Barka money.'

Omari/ jilee zijo/ 'yana. 'Omari ate **zijo** yesterday.' Or with verb emphasis:

Omari/ jilee/ zijo/ yana. 'Omari ate **zijo** yesterday.' (Cf. the corresponding sentences with a final-accent trigger: **Njilee zijó/ 'yana.** and **Njiilé/ zijo/ yana.** VP-final **yana** is not included in the scope of the final-accent: ***Njilee zijó/ yaná.** Locating **yana** after the verb puts it in focus position: **Njilee yaná/ zijo.** 'I ate yesterday **zijo**.' The out-of-focus nature of VP-final **yana** is revealed by the yes-no question forms. For example: **Omari/ jilee zijo/ yaná?** 'Did Omari eat **zijo** yesterday?' The shift of accent to the end of **yana** in this example is a reflection of its out-of-focus nature. Incidentally, when **yana** is in Immediately After Verb position, it is **zijo** that is out of focus, as is reflected in the yes-no question: **Omari/ jilee yana/ zijó?** 'Did Omari yesterday eat **zijo**?')

Omari/ lazilee yána. 'Omari left yesterday.' (Although it is quite common for a time adverbial to be phrased separately from an immediately preceding verb, a sentence like this one is well-formed. It has the effect of including the time adverbial into the focus. When the verb is emphasized, then of course the time adverb is out-of-focus: **Omari/ lazile/ yana.** 'Omari left yesterday.')

Omari/ tulushile/ 'yana. 'Omari fell yesterday.' Cf. **Nt^hulushilé/ 'yana.** 'I fell yesterday.' (Syn./Phon. These examples illustrate that a time adverbial typical is out-of-focus and thus does not form a phrase with the verb. When the time adverbial is directly located after the verb, however, it may be focus

sed and phrased with the verb:

Omari/ tulushilee yana. and **Nt^hulushilee yaná.**)

Sku ya piili/ muke/ kama oyo/ naankh^hó/ shfaanya/ chaakuja/ chisuura/ kolko chaa yana. 'The next [lit. second] day, the woman like that, again, made food better than that of the day before.'

Yana/ eelo/ uyu/ ile muyiini/ apa. 'Yesterday this gazelle came to town here.'

Yana/ ndraziló. 'Yesterday I left.' (This sentence illustrates that a preposed time adverbial may be focused. We can see that **yana** is focused because the verb has been put into pseudo-

relative form, as indicated by the final vowel *o*.)

Yana/ Omari/ jilee zijo. ‘Yesterday Omari ate zijo.’ Or: **Yana/ Omari/ jiile/ zijo.** ‘Yesterday Omari ate zijo.’ Or, with postposing of the subject: **Yana/ jiile/ Omari/ zijo.** (Syn. Our consultant freely accepted these cases of Left-Dislocation of the time adverbial. Fronting of **yana** may also trigger pseudo-relativization: **Yana/ jiloo zijó/ Omari.** Also: **Yana/ jiiló/ zijo/ Omari.** Also: **Yana/ jiiló/ Omari/ zijo.** It should be noted that in a sentence like **Yana/ jiile/ Omari/ zijo.**, where both the subject and object are post-verbal and phrasally separated from the verb, then both are out-of-focus, as the yes-no question shows: **Yana/ jiile/ Omari/ zijó?** ‘Did yesterday eat Omari zijo?’)

yana masku ‘last night’

Waawe/ mi/ mbene ndrootó/ yana masku. ‘My father, I had a dream last night.’

Yana/ munt^hi mzima/ mi/ nfanyize kaazí. ‘Yesterday I worked the whole day.’

Yana/ ndiyó/ nimpelo mukeewá/ Barká/ peesá. ‘Yesterday it is that I gave my wife Barka money.’

Yana/ nk^hoðele na Nuurú. ‘Yesterday I spoke with Nuuru.’

Yana/ nk^hoðeeló/ na Nuuru. ‘Yesterday I spoke with Nuuru.’ (It is important to note that the pseudo-relative verb is downstepped in contrast to a sentence like **Yana/ nk^hoðeeló/ na Nuuru.**, where the phrasally separate non-relative verb is not downstepped.)

Yana/ nk^hoðele na Nuurú. ‘(Yes) yesterday I spoke with Nuuru.’

Yé/ enzelee yana/ na mapeema/ sukhuuni. ‘He went yesterday early to the market.’ (The focus on IAV **yana** has the consequence that the following phrases are out-of-focus, as seen in the accent shift on them in the simple yes-no question: **Yé/ enzelee yana/ na mapeemá/ sukhuuní?** In the emphatic question, accent shift also affects the focus phrase: **Ye/ enzelee yaná/ na mapeemá/ sukhuuní!?**)

m-yaana (wa-)

n. 1/2 [etymology unknown] a female slave; female servant, maid

Mtukize myaana/ kumpelekela celo. ‘She sent a servant to take it to the gazelle.’

Mubli/ khkomake/ numbaani/ chiwaviḷa wayaana/ chiwa’ambila/ kondrola godoro. ‘The husband, on his arrival home, called the female servants and told them to move the mattress.’

Myaana/ chimnink^hila celo/ zint^hu zaa ye/ tukiizá. ‘The servant handed over to the gazelle the things that she had brought.’

Suyú/ myaana/ waa mi/ khupeto balani/ khuleetelá. ‘Here is the servant that I gave a promise to you to bring to you.’

Uje myaana/ takhsimama/ naayé/ kanaa nt^hupu/ takhtaanda/ takhtaanda/ isa/ itakiwoowa/ ni uyu/ ndiyé/ myaaná/ ni uyu/ mlangaaná. ‘The lowborn girl will stand up while naked and insult and insult (the boys who were taunting the two girls bathing), and now it will be known that she is the lowborn one and the (other one) is the free-born one.’

Wayaana/ wachimpa mwanaamke/ khabari. ‘The maids gave the daughter the news.’

Wayaaná/ wataaná/ wotte/ hulindro muundrá/ wotte/ wajasile/ naamí/ neenzelé/ njiilé/ mipuunga/ kiḷa chiint^hu. ‘Female servants, male servants, all, who guarded the farm, departed, and I went and ate large quantities of rice, everything.’ (This example is drawn from a text. We do not know why the first two nouns are pronounced with final accent, as none of our usual predictors for the occurrence of final accent come into play here. Putting focus on **njiilé** explains the failure of the final accent triggered by the first person verb to affect the complements. This is the effect of the Accentual Law of Focus.)

ma-yangaamba

n. [cf. Sw. *nyang’amba* "a kind of sweetmeat made of arrowroot" SSED 344] (as usual, in Brava the ingredients were different from the Swahili item) a type of food made of flour mixed with coconut oil and spices, rolled into small balls; Chimiini speakers apparently consider this noun to have a composite origin: **mayi ya ngaamba**

i-yaankuku (ma-)

n. 5/6 [cf. Sw. *yai (ma-)* SSED 533] egg; [pron. **iyaank^huku**]

chinyi cha iyaank^huku ‘yolk of an egg’ (or: **shtaandanu/ cha iyaank^huku**)

‘yolk, lit. yellow of egg’)

idhereeri/ ya iyaank^huku ‘the white (lit. thick liquid) of an egg
igugu ya iyaank^huku ‘egg shell’
iyaank^huku/ fuunto ‘spoiled, not fresh egg’
iyaank^huku/ ibokheeló ‘a spoiled, rotten egg’
iyaank^huku/ ipiya ‘a fresh (lit. new) egg’
khpika iyaank^huku/ ka mafta ‘to cook an egg with oil’
kumiza iyank^huku iwiti ‘to swallow a raw egg’
kuvunda iyaank^huku ‘to break an egg’
Mayank^huku aya/ ni masuura. ‘These eggs are good.’
mayaank^huku/ mahuundru ‘reddish eggs’
mayaank^huku/ makulu ‘large eggs’
mayaank^huku/ melpe ‘white eggs’
Mayaank^huku/ nt^hayaako/ apa. ‘The eggs are not here.’ Or: **Nt^hayaako/ apa/ mayaank^huku.**
mayaank^hu/ ya ibita ‘duck eggs’
mayaank^hu/ ya ndiwa ‘pigeon eggs’
mayaank^hu/ ya nk^haasa ‘turtle eggs’
Mayaank^huku/ yachisu^lowa khpikil^lowa Muusa. ‘Eggs were supposed to have been cooked for Muusa.’
Mayaank^huku/ yako apa. ‘The eggs are here.’ Or: **Yako apa/ mayaank^huku.**
Mayaank^huku/ yaakopi. ‘Where are the eggs?’ Or: **Yaakopi/ mayaank^huku.**
mayaank^huku/ zihaba ‘small eggs’
Nk^huku/ kalant^hilile mayaank^huku. ‘The hen sat on the eggs.’

rel.

chi-yaank^huku (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

i-yaank^huku (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

-iyaankhuku fuunto (spoiled egg/not fresh)
-iyaankhuku ifurshiiiza/iyaankhuku ipishila ka maayi (boiled/swollen/egg/egg cooked with water)
-mkate wa mayaankhuku (egg cake)
-kubiga iyaankhuku (to beat/mix egg)
-khtumbula iyaankhuku (to puncture the egg).
-khkalanthila myaankhuku (sit on eggs). nk^huku kalanthilile mayaankhuku (hen sat on eggs).
-nkhukuku nakuwangula (means hen is producing/wants to produce eggs).
-nkhuku wekelela mayaankhuku khkalanthila (hen eggs are put for to sit on).
-nkuku bokseeze mayaankhuku (the hen spoiled the eggs/did not produce).
examples; nk^huku zataliyaani huzala maayankhuku makulu (Italian hens deliver big eggs)

i-yaanzi n. [Sw. *ganzi* “deadness, numbness, often used with the verb *fa*, die” SSED 112]
variant form: **i-laanzi**
kufa iyaanzi ‘to be ‘asleep’, with reference to body parts being numb etc.’

yaqiini n., adj. [Ar. *yaqīn* "certainty" W 1108 and *yaqīnī* "indisputable" W 1109] [pron. **yaqiini** or **yakhiini**] certainty; adj. certain, sure
khinda yaqiini ‘to make sure, be sure, confirm’
kumera yaqiini ‘to seek certainty’
Muunt^hu/ chila/ na chiyuut^lila/ chiza kuusata/ kiwa yaqiini. ‘The man cried and regretted not taking the time to know the truth.’
Nakhtoshá/ kuwa Nuuru/ oloshale muskitiini/ laakini/ siisi/ yakhiini. ‘I think that Nuuru went to the mosque but I do not know for sure.’ Or: **Laakini/ sinaayo/ yakhiini.** ‘I am not certain.’

Nt^haku/ na’iwo ka yaqiini. ‘There is no one who knows for sure.’

Omari/ hadhakraakhi/ ba/ kana kalant^hililo mayaank^hukú. ‘Omari does not move, it is like he has sat on eggs (referencing the fact that when a hen lays egg, it does not move around).’

takuhijo jima mpeni yaqiini thawabuze kama hija sab'iini [st.] ‘the one who performs the pilgrimage on Friday, give him assurance that his reward is as though he performed the pilgrimage seventy times’

yakhiini ‘something sure, certain, confirmed’

Nayo yakhiini. ‘I am certain.’

Siná/ yaqiini. ‘I am not certain.’

Sinaayo/ yakhiini. ‘I am not certain.’

yakhiini/ kambaa kufa ‘as sure, certain as dying’

ku-yaqinisha

v. [Sw. *yakinisha* SSED 533; Ar. *yaqina* W 1108] ascertain; be certain

Ye/ chiyaqinisha/ kuwa hayaatiye/ ikomele apo/ ye/ basi/ naakufa. ‘He was certain that his life had come to an end there; he was just going to die.’

rel.

ku-yaqinoowa v. pass.

kufa inayaqinoowa [st.] ‘and death is a certainty’

yaquuti

n. [Sw. *yakuti* "sapphire, ruby" SSED 533; Ar. *yāqūt* W 1105] any red gemstone

yaardi

n. 9/10 yard

me five yards of cloth).’

N^hindilaa nguwo/ yardi nt^haano. ‘Cut for me five yards of cloth (i.e. sell

yaasini
of the Koran)

n. [from Ar. letters ya’, Wehr p. 1104, and sin, Wehr p. 448, which open this chapter

yasiiri

adj. [Ar. *yasīr* W 1107] easy, short

yasmiini

[Ar. *yasmin* W 1108, and *yasamin* W1105]

yaṭiima

n. [Sw. *yatima* SSED 534; Ar. *yatim* “orphan” W 1105] a child who has lost one of his parents in death

Isa/ file/ naamí/ nakuwakorsha waaná/ yaṭiimá. ‘Now he is dead and I am raising the children as orphans.’

ndiye shpeendo yaṭiima na araamila [st.] ‘it is he [Mohammad] who loved orphans and widows’

ku-yaawata

v. [Som. *yaab* DSI 643] (**yaweete**) be surprised, amazed

Hamadi/ nakubiga mooyo/ tamyaawata. ‘Hamadi is yawning too much (lit. you will be amazed at him).’

Omari/ Huseeni/ kuuya/ yaweete. ‘Omari, Huseeni to come, was surprised.’ (Phon. In this example, the complement clause:

NP+infinitive, is preposed to position between the subject **Omari** and the verb **yaweete**. The simple yes-no question version of this involves no accent-shift. The exclamatory one shifts the accent in the final phrase: **Omari/ Huseeni/ kuuya/ yaweete!?**)

Omari/ kuya Huseeni/ yaweete. ‘Omari, Huseeni to come, was surprised.’ (Phon. Notice that the subject of the complement clause can be postposed after the infinitive verb and be joined in a phrase with it. Phrasal separation is also possible: **Omari/ kuuya/ Huseeni/ yaweete**. Our elicitation concentrated, however, on the first example. The simple yes-no question corresponding to it shows no accent-shift. The exclamatory question, on the other hand, shifts the accent in the last two phrases: **Omari/ kuya Huseeni/ yaweete!?**)

Omari/ yawete Huseeni/ kuuya. ‘Omari was surprised that Huseeni came.’ Or, with verb focus: **Omari/ yaweete/ Huseeni/ kuuya.** (Phon. The simple yes-no question version of the first example is not comparable to the case where the verb is wrapped together with the

first of two complements. Rather, one finds accent-shift in the last two phrases: **Omari/ yaweete Huseeni/ kuuyá**. ‘Was Omari surprised that Huseeni came?’ The exclamatory yes-no question shows both accent shifts as well, but this would be true even in a *verb complement/ complement* structure: **Omari/ yaweete Huseeni/ kuuyâ!?** ‘Omari was surprised that Omari came!?’ In the example above where there is verb focus, there is accent-shift in both of the post-verbal phrases: **Omari/ yaweete/ Huseeni/ kuuyá?** Of course, this would also be the case in a *verb complement/ complement* structure.)

Uje mwaarabu/ chiyaawaṭa/ nt^ho/ ka khisani/ uyu/ kuhada/ mwanaamkewe/ nabigowa ndruti khamsiini/ zaydi. ‘That Arab wondered very much why this one (would) say his daughter should be beaten fifty blows more.’

Waana/ awa/ wayaweete. ‘These boys were amazed.’

Wanakuyaawaṭa/ awo. ‘They are amazed, those ones.’

rel.

ku-yawaṭisha v. caus.

ku-yaawisha v. caus. Surprise; [pron. **kuyaawisha** or **kuyaabisha**]

Kuwa Hamadi/ pisile imṭihaani/ iṭyawishiize. ‘That Hamadi passed the examination surprised me.’ (We did not hear the first person singular OM in GM’s pronunciation of this sentence.)

yaaya

n. my aunt; [pron. **yaayá**]

yaayá/ ka baaba ‘my paternal aunt’

yaayá/ ka maama ‘my maternal unt’

rel.

yaayaza n. pl. my aunts

yaaye n. his/ her aunt; [pron. **yaayé**]

Yaayé/ mkorsheezó/ ilopo numbaani/ chimwona mwanaamke/ kalent^he chiliini. ‘When his aunt who had raised him came home, she saw a girl sitting on the bed.’

yaaya

[no etymological source identified] just the same

Bakyle/ chiya/ chibiga hoodi/ majiibu/ nt^hanakhpata/ chibiga teena/

hoodi/ ni yaaya/ tu/ nt^haku/ majiibu. ‘The hare came and asked permission to enter, [but] he got no answer; he asked permission again, it’s just the same, there is no answer.’

Naank^hó/ sku ya piili/ ni yaaya/ ragiilé. ‘Again, the next day (lit. the second day) it is just the same, you delayed.’

Sultaani/ shtuma askari/ wiingine/ naank^hó/ mwaana/ ni yaaya/ tu/

chiwa’egasha/ chiwapa zaakuja/ wachija. ‘The sultan sent other soldiers, but the boy, it’s just the same, welcomed them and gave them food and they ate.’

yaaya/ aya

[cl.4] emphatic demonstrative (This form of the emphatic demonstrative was offered to us by MI. GM accepts this, but also gave *yaayo/ aya*. Yet other speakers use *yooyo/ aya*.)

miti yaaya/aya ‘the trees themselves’

yaaya/ aya

[cl.6] emphatic demonstrative

yaaya/ mafundro aya ‘these knots themselves’

yaaya/ ayo

[cl.6] emphatic demonstrativw

yaaya/ mafundro ayo ‘those knots themselves’

yaayaje

[cl.4] demon.

yaayaje/ ayaje ‘those same ones’

yaayaje

[cl.6] demon.

yaayaje/ ayaje ‘those same ones’

yaaye

n. aunt

Oyo yaayé/ hamkhiirili. ‘That aunt [step-mother, in the story] does not allow her [to go out, talk with friends, etc.]’

Uje yaayé/ chiwa’ambila/ ondrokaani/ ondrokaani. ‘That step-mother [lit. aunt] told them: get away! get away!’

Waawaye/ chileta chiint^hu/ yaayé/ huwapa want^hu wiingine. ‘When her father brings something, her step-mother [lit. aunt] gives it to other people.’

yaayi

interrog. [Perhaps to be derived from the verb root *ya* ‘go’ and the enclitic =*yi* ‘how?’] how come? why not? -- an exclamatory interrogative word used to call attention and introduce a question that is disapproving

Mboni/ yaayi/ lasilé/ we/ kichibarsha/ tarafu ya mwajituwo. ‘So why did you abandon teaching us about your God.’

Uje muja**ana/ chimwaambila/ mboni/ yaayi/ mweenza/ mdura mukeewo/ kaa chisu.** ‘That young man said to him: I see, how come, friend, you pierce your wife with a knife?’

Yaayi/ awaje waja**ana/ humwaambiló ka khisani/ mdura mukeewo/ ka chisu.** ‘How come? is what those young men were saying him. Why did you prick your wife with a knife?’

Yaayi/ we/ chivunda chuluungucho/ cha kaandra/ cha piili/

hasht**akhkalaant^ha.** ‘How come? if you demolish your first storey (of the house), the second one will not stay standing.’

Yaayi/ mbona/ we/ kamura eelo/ khpikil**owa ma**ta**za ya mhuundru.** ‘How come you order that gruel be cooked for the gazelle?’

Yaayi/ mboni/ we/ nakhsasá. ‘How come you are losing weight?’

Yaayi/ we/ huchaminili/ so/ we/ muna **yiitú.** ‘How come you do not trust us (with him) our younger brother?’

yaayo

demon. [cl.4]

yaayo/ ayo ‘the same ones’

miti yaayo/ ayo ‘those very same trees’

yaayo/ ka ayo ‘the very same ones’

mifaano/ yaayo/ ka ayo ‘the very same examples, over and over’

yaayo

[cl.6] strong demonstrative

Masku yaayo/ zaakuja/ schipikil**oowa.** ‘That same night, foods [of different kinds] were cooked.’

yaayo

[cl.9] strong demonstrative

Chiwapa kuja yaayo. ‘She gave them their food.’

Mbene Hamadi/ gari yaayo/ uziló. ‘I saw that car that Hamadi bought.’

yaayo/ aya

[cl.4] emphatic demonstrative (This form was offered by GM, whereas MI gave only *yaaya/ aya*. Other speakers give *yooyo/ aya*.)

yaayo/ ayo

[cl.4] emphatic demonstrative

miti yaayo/ ayo ‘those very same trees’

yaayo/ ayaje

[cl.6] emphatic demonstrative

yaayo/ mafundro ayaje ‘those knots themselves’

yaayo/ ayo

[cl.6] emphatic demonstrative

Mul**eje mwaana/ chimaliza/ mu**l**eje muunt^hu/ mzima/ na sultaani/ majiibuye/ yachiwa ni yaayo/ ayo.** ‘He [i.e. the lion] killed a child

and then he killed an adult and the sultan's answer was always the same one.' (Phon. Observe that the final accent triggered by the conjunction **na** extends only as far as **sultaani** and does not extend onto **majibuye**.)

ye

[cl.1] independent pronoun

Basi/ ye/ chishkila/ chendra muyiini. 'So he disembarked and went into town.'

chibuku chaa ye/ mwaana/ uziló 'the book that he, the boy, bought' (Usage: Note in this relative clause construction that the [cl.1] independent pronoun is followed by the full noun phrase to which it refers. That noun phrase is phrasally separated from the relative verb, apparently because it is functioning as the subject of the relative verb but not the head of the relative clause. This construction also occurs with the [cl.2] pronoun **wo** but not with other pronouns. It must be pointed out that the following subject must be a full noun phrase. It cannot be itself the independent pronoun: ***chibuku chaa ye/ ye/ uziló**, only **chibuku chaa ye/ uziló** 'the book that he bought'. Because of this constraint, pronouns that do not have a full NP to which they can refer, may not appear in this construction: ***chibuku chaa mi/ mi/ nuziló**, only **chibuku chaa mi/ nuziló** 'the book that I bought'. One last point: we did record the possibility of the full NP being right-dislocated: **Chibuku chaa ye/ uziló/ mwaana/ chibeele.** 'The book that he bought, the boy, is lost.' Interestingly, the **mwaana** is outside the scope of the final accent of the relative verb. This example requires further research.)

Ye/ chi'iisha/ karka kheeri/ ye/ na mukeewé. 'He lived in blessing, he and his wife.'

Ye/ chihada/ kuwa washkhaadira/ kumuḅla/ dughaaghi. 'He said that they were able to kill the beast.'

Ye/ shfunga safari/ ye/ na mukeewé. 'He set out on a journey, he and his wife.'

ku-yela

v. [Sw. *yaa* SSED 146] (*yeele*) be full

Ba'adaa ye/ khtomoloowa/ ka ikholaani/ waant^hu/ awo/ wamrashiizó/ wachiwona/ mbele yaawo/ ijuumba/ ikulu/ iyelo waant^hu/ wanaashke/ na wanawabli. 'After she was taken out of the mat-bag, those people who had accompanied her saw in front of them a big house that was full of people, women and men.'

Ikoopa/ iyeele. 'The glass is full.'

Jahazi/ ichanza kuyela maayi/ ka ilu mayi yaa nvula/ na ka nt^hiini/ (mayi) ya tawala. 'The boat began to fill up with water: rainwater from above and seawater from below.'

Maayi/ yan.yelee kana. 'My mouth is filled with water [lit. water fills me the mouth].' (Phon. The example **yan.yelee kana** represents one of the situations where our orthography is problematic if one does not know the morphemic structure of the word. Specifically, we use the sequence *ny* generally to stand for the alveopalatal nasal that appears in a word like *faanya* 'do!'. In the present example, we have a verb whose morphological makeup is as follows: **ya** (indicates the noun class of the subject) followed by **n** (which indicates a first person singular object) followed by the perfect stem **-yeele** (which undergoes some quantity adjustments due to its position in the phonological phrase). The sequence **n+y** here is not pronounced as a single nasal consonant, but rather as a sequence of **n** followed by **y**. We have placed a dot between the **n** and the **y** to make this point clear.)

Maayi/ yayelee/ wowiini. ‘Water filled the river.’
Mooyowe/ uchiyela furaha. ‘Her heart filled with joy.’
Mtaana/ uyele waant^hu. ‘The room was filled with people.’
Muuyi/ uyele waant^hu. ‘The town was filled with people.’
Nuumba/ iyele waant^hu. ‘The house was filled with people.’ Also:
Waant^hu/ wayele nuumba. ‘People filled the house.’
Ruuhuya/ iyele huzuni. ‘My soul is filled with grief.’
Shpiipa/ chiyelee. ‘The tin is full.’
Sultaani/ ruuhuye/ ichiyela furaha. ‘Happiness filled the sultan’s soul.’
Tawala/ ichiyela/ hufuma. ‘If the sea is at high tide, it ebbs.’ (A proverb.)
Uwaliko mooro/ uyelo farasi. ‘There was a yard full of horses.’
Waant^hu/ wayele muuyi. ‘People filled the town.’

Waant^hu/ wayele nuumba. ‘People filled the house.’ Also possible:

Waant^hu/ wayele numbaani. Or: **Wayele waant^hu/ numbaani.**

Or: **Numbaani/ wayele waant^hu.**

Wowi iyi/ iyele maayi/ yana. ‘This river filled up with water yesterday.’

Wowi iyi/ nt^haykuyela/ maayi/ yana. ‘This river did not swell up with water yesterday.’ (Cf. other negative tenses: **Wowi iyi/ haytakuyela/ maayi/ keesho.** ‘Thus river will not swell up with water tomorrow.’ **Wowi iyi/ nt^haynakuyela/ maayi/ isa.** ‘This river is not swelling up with water now.’)

rel.

ku-yeloowa v. pass. [Sw. *jawa*] (**i-yeela**)

Muuyi/ uyela na waant^hu. ‘The town was filled with people (lit. by people).’

Nuumba/ iyela na waant^hu. ‘The house was filled with people.’

ku-yeleza v. caus. appl. fill for, with

Mi/ takhuyeleza maazi/ mi/ takhuyelez6/ ya ngoombe. ‘I will fill it up for you with the blood, that’s what I will fill up for you, of a cow.’

ku-yeza v. caus. [Sw. *jaza* SSED 147] (**yezeeze**) fill

Chiyeza uki/ zombo zaa ye/ peelá. ‘He filled honey into the pot, into the vessel that he was given.’

kujezaa sa’a [cf. Sw. *kujaza saa* SSED 147] ‘to wind a watch’

Mwaana/ shkalaant^ha/ chija zaakuja/ zaa ye/ leesel6/ chiyeza miimba. ‘The boy sat down and ate the food that he had brought and he filled his stomach.’

Njezeze ikoopá. ‘I filled the glass.’

ku-yezany(an)a v. caus. rec. (**-yezeenye, -yezanyeene**)

kuyezany(an)a mtaanga ‘to throw sand at one another’

ku-yezany(an)oowa v. caus. rec. pass. (**i-yezeenya, i-yezanyeena**)

ku-yezeka v. caus. p/s. (**-yezeshela**) be capable of being filled

ku-yezoowa v. caus. pass. (**yezeeza**)

Makoopa/ yayezeza naami. ‘The glasses were filled by me.’

Wadaamo/ ziyezeza maayi/ na mwanaamke. ‘The buckets were filled with water by the girl.’

Ziyezeza maayi/ ni wadaamu. ‘What was filled with water was the bucket.’

-yelo

adj.

mayi mayelo ‘water at high tide’

i-yeembe (ma-)

n. 5/6 [Sw. *jembe* SSED 152] hoe

ijembe ya kulimila ‘a hoe for ploughing’

khtumba ka iyeembe ‘to dig with a hoe’

kulima ka ijeembe ‘to plough with a hoe’

Mtala iyeembe/ si mlima muundra. ‘The one who chooses a hoe is not a

farmer.’ (A proverb.)

Omari/ t̄unzile iboholi/ ka iyeembe. ‘Omari dug a hole with a hoe.’

Shtala iyeembe/ yaa ye/ holokelo khfanyiliza kaazi/ chimbigila duḽ’eda/ chimub̄lela. ‘He took the hoe that he uses to go and work with and used it to hit the fox and killed him with it.’

rel.

chi-yeembe (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

yeeye

[cl.1] strong demonstrative

Ndriimu/ zilaṭiḽapó/ schimbiga yeeye/ khaadimu. ‘The lemons, when they were thrown, struck that very same servant.’

Omari/ yeeye/ iizó. ‘Omari himself refused.’ (Phon. This is an alternative word order to the sentence cited below. Focus is on **yeeye**, which causes its pitch to be raised and the verb to be shift to pseudo-relative form. The simple yes-no question does not involve any accent shift, whereas the exclamatory version does: **Omari/ yeeyé/ iizó!?** The shift in the case of the final phrase is of course vacuous, since the accent is already final due to pseudo-relativization. The strong falling quality of the last vowel and the downstep intonation are a tell-tale reflection of the fact that this is an exclamatory yes-no question.) (Syn. Word order is very free in Chimini, so one may also have **Iizó/ yeeye/ Omari.** and **Iizó/ Omari/ yeeye.** In both cases there is focus on **yeeye** and its pitch is raised. The yes-no question versions of these sentences are interesting. Consider the example where **yeeye** precedes **Omari**. The simple yes-no question reveals that **Omari** is out-of-focus: **Iizó/ yeeye/ Omari?** We see here that **Omari** has shifted its accent to the final syllable. This reflects the fact that in the statement **yeeye** is focused and there is a clear drop in pitch on the following element, which we claim is out-of-focus. In the exclamatory question, accent shift affects phrases in the VP whether focused or out-of-focus: **Iizó/ yeeyé/ Omari!?** Now consider the case where **Omari** precedes **yeeye**. In the simple yes-no question, there is no accent shift anywhere: **Iizó/ Omari/ yeeye?** Apparently a phrase is out-of-focus just when it follows the focused element. The emphatic yes-no question of course affects all VP elements: **Iizó/ Omari/ yeeyé!?**)

Wambishile Omari/ yeeye. ‘They beat Omari himself.’ (Prosody: The pronoun **yeeye** is raised in pitch. In the simple yes-no question, there is no accent shift. The exclamatory question shifts accent in both phrases: **Wambishile Omari/ yeeyé!?**)

Wambishile yeeye/ Omari. ‘They beat Omari himself.’ (Prosody: The pronoun **yeeye** is focused and pronounced with a high pitch, while the out-of-focus **Omari** shows a clear drop in pitch. In the simple yes-no question, **Omari** shifts its accent: **Wambishile yeeye/ Omari?** In the exclamatory question, **yeeye** also shifts its accent: **Wambishile yeeyé/ Omari!?**)

Waanth̄u/ wachilaṭila teena/ naank^hó/ mara ya isa/ ndriimu/ zimbishile yeeye/ khaadimu. ‘The people then began to throw [the lemons], again this time the lemons struck the servant.’

Yeeye/ hadiiló. ‘This one spoke.’ (Usage: If one says **Yeeye/ uyu/ hadiiló.**, the person referred to is present. If one just uses **yeeye**, the person may be present, but is not necessarily so.)

Yeeye/ Omari/ iizó. ‘Omari himself refused.’ (Phon. Notice that **yeeye** is focused in this example, which accounts for the fact that it is raised in pitch and triggers pseudo-relativization of the verb. Our simplified orthography in this book does not usually mark the raising that accompanies focus. In the yes-no question versions of this sentence, there is accent shift on **Omari**; this would seem to be due to the fact that there in the statement there is a pitch drop on **Omari**, indicating its out-of-focus nature, in position after the focused **yeeye**. Both non-initial phrases undergo shift in the exclamatory question, though the shift is vacuous in the final phrase: **Yeeye/ Omari/ iizó!?**)

yeeye/ oyo

[cl.1], second position, emphatic demonstrative

mana yeeye/ oyo ‘that very same boy’

yeeye/ Omari/ oyo ‘that Omari himself’ [review this](#)

Yeeye/ oyo/ Omari/ hadiiló. ‘That Omari himself spoke.’ (Prosody: In the simple yes/no question we did not clearly observe accent shift, but in the exclamatory question, it was clearly present except for the initial word: **Yeeye/ oyó/ Omari/ hadiiló!?**)

yeeye/ uje [cl.1], third position, emphatic demonstrative
Ni mwaalimu/ yeeye/ uje/ takinsoomeshó. ‘It is that same teacher who will teach you (pl.).’
Yeeye/ uje/ maana/ hadiiló. ‘That child himself spoke.’

yeeye/ uyu [cl.1], first position, emphatic demonstrative
mwana yeeye/ uyu ‘this very same boy’
Omari/ yeeye/ uyu/ hadiiló. ‘This Omari himself spoke.’
Wambishile Omari/ yeeye/ uyu. ‘They hit Omari himself.’ (Prosody: Focus is on **yeeye**. In the simple yes-no question, there is no shift in accent. In the exclamatory question, all phrases undergo accent shift: **Wambishile Omari/ yeeyé/ uyû!?**)

Wambishile yeeye/ uyu. ‘They hit that one himself.’ (Prosody: The pronoun **yeeye** is focused and thus raised in pitch. The simple yes-no question offered did not involve accent shift: **Wambishile yeeye/ uyu?** Of course, the exclamatory question shows the usual shifts: **Wambishile yeeyé/ uyû!?**)

Wambishile yeeye/ uyu/ Omari. ‘They hit Omari himself.’ (Prosody: The pronoun **yeeye** is focused. In the simple yes-no question, both **uyu** and **Omari** undergo accent shift: **Wambishile yeeye/ uyú/ Omari?** Of course, in the exclamatory question, **yeeye** also shifts its accent: **Wambishile yeeyé/ uyú/ Omari!?**)

Yeeye/ uyu/ hadiiló. ‘This one right here spoke.’ Or: **Hadiiló/ yeeye/ uyu.**
Phon. Interestingly, in the yes-no questions based on the first sentence, we observed accent shift on **uyu** in both the simple and the exclamatory questions: **Yeeye/ uyú/ hadiiló?** and **Yeeye/ uyú/ hadiiló!?** Accent on the focused element **yeeye** was a bit difficult to determine, but there was no clear accent shift. The shift on **uyu** in the simple yes-no question likely reflects its out-of-focus status compared to the preceding focused **yeeye**. In the case of the second sentence, where **hadiiló** is in initial position, the simple yes-no question shifts the accent on the out-of-focus **uyu**: **Hadiiló/ yeeye/ uyú?** Of course, the exclamatory question shifts accent on all the VP phrases: **Hadiiló/ yeeyé/ uyû!?**)

yeeye/ uyuje [cl.1], third position, emphatic demonstrative (this form used by MI, but we also recorded **yeeye/ uje** from MI)
mwana yeeye/ uyuje ‘that very same bouy (away from us)’

yeeyo/ uje [cl.1] third position, emphatic pronoun (alternative to **yeeye/ uje**)

yi- cl. 9 subject prefix; [morphophonemic variants: **yi-**, **i-**, **y-**]
ngoombe/ kaayifá ‘if the cow were to die’

=*yi* encl. how? (Phon. This enclitic places the verb in phrase-final position. It also lengthens the vowel in front of it.)

Abubakari/ ileeyi/ Miini. ‘How did Abubakari come to Brava?’ A possible answer: **Abubakari/ ile ka faṭuura/ Miini.** ‘Abubakari came by car to Brava.’ This statement differs from the “all new statement: **Abubakari/ ile Miini/ ka faṭuura.** ‘Abubakari came to Brava by car.’

Ali/ kila/ waant^hu/ wachimuuza/ fanyizeeyi/ maaliye/ chiwajiiba/ ha’isi/ ma’anayé/ ha’ambiḷoowi. ‘Ali, whenever people asked him how he lost his money, answered them: the one who does not know its meaning/ reason is not told.’

Andishileeyi. ‘How did he write it?’

Baaba/ chimwaambila/ nfanyeyi. ‘Father asked, how shall I do it?’

Chineema/ chivalikooyi. ‘How was the movie?’

Fanyizeeyi. ‘How did he do it?’ Cf. **Fanyizeeyi.** ‘How did you do it?’

(These two examples illustrate that the enclitic =*yi* does not, on its own, trigger final accent. While =*yi* focuses on the verb and thus requires the verb to be phrase-final, the accent is final only if the verb is a final-accent trigger. Note that **fanyizeeyi** can be used to mean ‘what’ as well as ‘why’. For example, **Fanyizeeyi/ faṭuura.** ‘What did you do to the car?’ is similar in meaning to **Fanyiizeni/ faṭuura.** A possible answer to both these questions: **Mp^hashile ranjii.** ‘I painted (it).’

Isa/ mi/ nfanyeyi/ siná/ uso/ waa mi/ keendra/ kumkomela Jeelaani. ‘Now, what shall I do? I have no ‘face’ with which to go to

Jeelaani.’

Ishkizizeeyi. ‘How did he lower it?’

Iwileeyi/ kuwa sandukhuuni/ yimoo nzi. ‘How did he know that in the box there was a fly?’

Leleeyi. ‘How did he sleep?’

Mi/ takhpataayi/ chakujaaka (=chakujaacha). ‘I, how shall I get my food?’ (Morph. Observe the optional absence of first person subject marking on the future tense verb in this example.)

Nakhfanyaayi/ keendra. ‘What is the good of your going (the speaker is against this idea)?’

Nakuhadaayi. ‘What do you say [lit. how do you say]?’

Nayooyi/ we. ‘How do you see it? What do you think about it?’

Nfanyeyi. ‘How shall I do it?’

Npishileeyi. ‘How did you (pl.) cook?’

Ni mwaana/ isa/ chimfanyeyi. ‘It is a child, now what shall we do with him?’

Oloshleeyi. ‘How did he go?’ Cf. **Oloshleeyi.** ‘How did you go?’

Pakileeyi. ‘How did he load it?’

Panzileeyi. ‘How did you climb up?’

Siisi/ Baana/ oloshleeyi/ Mkhodiisho. ‘I do not know how Baana went to

Mogadishu.’

Takashaayi. ‘How will he light it?’

Takendraayi. ‘How will you go?’

Takulaayi. ‘How will he buy it?’

Tinzileeyi. ‘How did you cut it?’

Tinzileeyi/ nama. ‘How did you cut the meat?’

Tukileeyi/ ijuuniya. ‘How did you carry the bag?’

Teteeyi. ‘How did he take it?’ Cf. **Nteteeyi.** ‘How did you (pl.) take it?’

Uzileeyi/ gaari. ‘How did you buy a car?’

Wajileeyi. ‘How did they eat?’

Wanayooyi/ we. ‘What did you think about it?’

Watukileeyi. ‘How did they carry it?’ Cf. **Tukileeyi.** ‘How did you carry it?’

Waawé/ we/ nakhfanyaayi/ kuna khamri. ‘My father, why are you drinking liquor?’

chi-yi

n. 7/8 post to which an animal is tied, usu. found in the yard behind the house

muu-yi (mii-)

n. 3/4 [Sw. *mji (miji)* SSED 282] town (The stem /yi/ has the property of lengthening the preceding vowel in the prefix. This lengthening precludes the [cl.1] prefix from undergoing vowel deletion, unlike in the Swahili cognate)

Chingila muyiini/ chimera ndilaa nk^hulu/ ya muuyi. ‘He entered the town and looked for the main road of the town.’

kharibu ya miiyi ‘near the towns’

Khariibu/ ya muuyi/ uyu/ uwaliko muuyi/ mwiingine. ‘Near this town was another town.’

khtila muyiini ‘[lit. to put in town] to circulate news, information, etc.’

Wakulu wa muuyi/ wachimasiirata/ washtila muyiini/ ya kuwa mwanaamke/ wa sultaani/ pozele ka nasiibu/ tu/ siwo/ ka khisa kuwaa dawa/ za Abdalla/ mpeeló. ‘The chiefs of the town became jealous and [lit.] put in the town that the daughter of the sultan had gotten well just by chance, not because of the medicine that Abdalla had given her.’

Maama/ oloshle muyiini/ pamo na mwaanawe. ‘Mother went to town with her child.’

Muuyi/ unaku’amirika. ‘The town is growing.’

Muyi wa maama/ oloshelo na mwaanawé/ ni Mkhodiisho. ‘The town that mother went to with her child is Mogadishu.’

Mwiini/ iweele/ ni muuyi/wa wazele/ na waaná/ tu. ‘Brava has become a town of old people and children only.’

Mwiini/ ni muuyi/ chihaba. ‘Brava is a small town.’
Nt^hakuwona/ muuyi/ wo wotfe. ‘He did not see any town’
Ori wa mundraani/ hawiiki/ muyiini. ‘A farm rooster does not crow in town.’ (A proverb.)

Si/ shtakuwona miyi miingine/ miingi. ‘We will see many other towns.’
Sku mooyi/ chilawa/ chingila muyiini. ‘One day he came out [of his house] and went into town.’

Wakomelopo muyiini/ Hasiibu/ shfaanya/ jisa mweenzawe/ sultani waa noka/ mwambiiló. ‘When they reached the town, Hasiibu did just as his friend, the king of snakes, told him to do.’

waant^hu wa’enzele Kenya walasile muuyi waawo [nt.] ‘[some] people went to Kenya and left their town’

Waant^hu/ wa’olosele muyiini. ‘The people went to town.’

Wo/ wachingila khkala muyi wa karaayle. ‘They entered and stayed in the town of the crows.’

Ye/ waliko ni waaziri/ wa sultaani/ wa muuyi. ‘He was a minister of the sultan of the town.’

rel

chi-muu-yi n. the way of the town (cf. **chimaduuri** ‘the way of the country’)

chimuyiini ‘in the way of the town’

yifte n. grey, scaly fish; looks like **shtawa**, but with bigger lips

yija nkala n. yellowish sea bass [lit. eater of crabs]; [pron. **yija nk^hala**] **review: should it not be yijaa nk^hala with vowel lengthening; and is it correct yi-ja as opposed t i-ja**

i-yiimbi (ma-) n. 5/6 [Sw. **wimbi** SSED 531] wave (of water)
kiineendra/ kana mayiimbi ‘to go like waves (e.g. of goods selling fast in the market)’

Paapo/ iyiimbi/ ichimtaala/ mwaana. ‘At once a wave took the boy (and drowned him).’

rel.

diminutive form?

l-yiimbi (mi-) n. 11/4 aug.

yiyyi [cl.5] strong dem.

yiyyi [cl.9] strong dem.

yiyyi/ iyi [cl.5] emphatic demonstrative, first position

yiyyi/ iyi [cl.9] emphatic demonstrative, first position
yiyyi/ numba iyi ‘this very house, this house itself’

yiyyije [cl.5] strong dem. (a form used by MI)

yiyyije [cl.9] strong dem.

yiyyije/ ije [cl.5] emphatic demonstrative, third position (a form used by MI)

yiyyije/ ije [cl.9] emphatic demonstrative, third position (a form used by MI)

yiyyo [cl.5] strong dem.
yiyyo/ iyo ‘that very same one near you’

yiyyo [cl.9] strong dem.
Basi/ waant^hu/ awo/ watesheleteshel/ kuwona mi’ujiza/ ayo/ hattá/

sultaani/ naayé/ walimo karka haali/ yiiyo/ kama waant^hu. ‘So these people laughed and laughed to see these miraculous things, even the sultan as well as in the very same condition as the people.’

Na imaaníyá/ ka mwajiitu/ ni yiiyo/ mwajiitu/ ni oyo/ waa mi/ ninambiiló/ nt^haku/ mwinginiwe. ‘And my faith in God, it is this same God, who is the one that I said (about him): there is no other one.’

yiiyo/ iyi [cl.5] emphatic demonstrative (form used by present-day speakers)
yiiyo/ ifundro iyi ‘this knot itself’

yiiyo/ iyi [cl.9] emphatic demonstrative (form used by present-day speakers)
yiiyo/ numba iyi ‘this very same house, this house itself’

yiiyo/ iyo [cl.5] second position emphatic demonstrative
yiiyo/ ifundro iyo ‘that knot itself’

yiiyo/ iyo [cl.9] second position emphatic demonstrative
Kaaziyo/ ni yiiyo/ iyo/ we/ takhpataa nsi/ tu. ‘Your work is the very same one: you will catch fish only.’

mahala yiiyo/ iyo ‘at that very same place’

yiiyo/ numba iyo ‘that house itself, that very house’

Want^hu wa reri mooyi/ huloola/ ka reri yiiyo/ iyo. ‘Men from one clan marry someone from that very same clan.’

yiiyo/ ije [cl.5] third position emphatic demonstrative
variant: **yiiyo/ iyije**
yiiyo/ ifundro ije ‘that knot itself’

yiiyo/ ije [cl.9] third position emphatic demonstrative
variant: **yiiyo/ iyije**
yiiyo/ numba iyije ‘that house itself, that very house’

yo [cl.4] independent pronoun
miti ya Nuuru/ naayó ‘the trees that Nuuru has’
Miti/ yavundishile/ yo. ‘The trees broke, they.’
ndiyó ‘it is them [cl.4]’
Yo/ miti/ yavundishile. ‘They, the trees, broke.’ Or: **Miti/ yo/ yavundishile.**
Yo/ yawaliko ndaaká. ‘They [cl.4] were mine.’

yo [cl.5] independent pronoun
Ijiwe/ ipoteele/ yo. ‘The stone fell, it.’
ijiwe ya Nuuru/ naayó ‘the stone that Nuuru has’
Ndiyó. ‘It’s it [cl.5].’
Yo/ ijiwe/ ipoteele. ‘It, the stone, fell.’ Or: **Ijiwe/ yo/ ipoteele.**
Yo/ ipoteele. ‘It ([cl.5]) fell.’
Yo/ iwaliko ndaaká. ‘It [cl.5] was mine.’
Yo/ sh^htukula ikoofiya/ chendra naayo/ ka sultaani. ‘It, he took the hat and went with it to the sultan.’

yo [cl.6] independent pronoun
majiwe ya Nuuru/ naayó ‘the stones that Nuuru has’
Majiwe/ yapoteele/ yo. ‘The stones fell, they.’
Yo/ majiwe/ yapoteele. ‘They, the stones, fell.’ Or: **Majiwe/ yo. yapoteele.**
Yo/ yapoteele. ‘They [cl.6] fell.’

yo [cl.9] independent pronoun
Abunawaasi/ sh^htukula kha^hti iyo/ chiya naayo/ kaawo/ muiyini.
‘Abunawaasi carried that letter and came with it to their town.’
Chiwa nayoo ndalá ‘if you are hungry’

Mpele Huseeni/ yo. ‘He gave it to Huseeni.’
Mubjaana/ sḥtukulaa dawa/ chendra naayo/ numbaani. ‘The young man took the medicine and went with it to his house.’

Mwaana/ sḥtukula sanduukhu/ chendra naayo/ kaake. ‘The boy carried the box and went with it to his place.’

Nama iwaliko apá/ ndiyó/ ijilá. ‘The meat that was here, it is that which I ate.’

Ndiyó/ ni kama/ uyu. ‘It is like this one [cl.9].’ (Note the unusual case where **kama** is phrase-final, and note that the vowel of the copula does not lengthen in front of it.)

Ndiyó/ ya Hamadi/uziló. ‘It is that one [cl.9] that Hamadi bought.’

Nnaayó. ‘I have [it].’

Nuumba/ ivundishile/ yo. ‘The house is broken down, it.’

numba ya Nuuru/ naayó ‘the house that Nuuru has’

Omari/ uzilee yo. ‘Omari bought it.’ Cf. **Omari/ uzile/ yo** ‘Omari bought it.’

Tete kuulu/ fakeṭe naayo. ‘He took the leg (he had cut off with the sword) and ran away with it.’

Ee/ nnayo mtanaani. ‘Yes, it is in the room.’

Sḥtukula ikoofiya/ chendra naayo/ ka sulṭaani. ‘He carried the hat and went with it to the sultan.’

Yo/ iburbushile. ‘It ([cl.9]) collapsed.’

Yo/ iwaliko ndaaká. ‘It [cl.9] was mine.’

Yo /nuumba/ iburbushile. ‘It, the house, collapsed.’ Or: **Nuumba/ yo/**

iburbushile.

yo/ na uje umo katiiké/ na zimo katiiké ‘it [cl.9] and that which is in it,

and those things in it’

yoo peeke alone [cl.5]

Mi/ hutumila iziwa/ yoo peeke/ karka kahawa. ‘I use milk alone (i.e. just milk) in my coffee.’

yoo peeke alone [cl.9]

Chiwona nuumba/ yoo peeke. ‘He saw a house (standing) alone.’

yoomu n. [Ar. *yaum* W 1110] day

kuḷa yoomu ‘every day’

chimsalīla mtume ka kuḷa yoomu [st.] ‘if you pray to God for the Prophet every day’

kumera khuuṭi/ yoomu ‘to search for one’s daily food’

rel.

ayaamu [Ar. *ayyām* W 1110] week; days (this meaning is confined to poetry and proverbs and comes directly from the Arabic meaning)

yomuḷmiyaadi [Ar.] day of judgment **check pronunciation for chimiini**

ndruuza iwaani nakinpa waraadi/ kuwonana kiitu ni yomuḷmiyaadi [st.] ‘my relatives, be aware, I say farewell to you, our seeing one another will be on the day of (final) judgment’

yomuḷqiyaama [Ar. expression *yaum al-qiyaama* "day of Resurrection" W 800] the day when everyone will be standing awaiting judgment

Yomuḷqiyaama/ ni munt^hi wa aakhera. ‘Yomuḷqiyaama is the day of the hereafter.’

ma-yoonzi n. 6 [?related to Sw. *majonzi, mayonsi* “sorrow, grief, mourning, sadness” SSED 255] in the expression:

kubiga mayoonzi ‘to snore’

yooyo [cl.1] second position strong dem. (used by MI)

yooyo [cl.4] second position strong dem.

- rel.
yooyo/ ka yooyo those very same ones, over and over
mifaano/ yooyo/ ka yooyo ‘those very same examples, over and over’
- yooyo** [cl.6] second position strong dem.
Maayi/ yaṭawanyishile ka yooyo. ‘The water spilled by itself (i.e. it wasn’t spilled intentionally).’
- rel.
yooyo/ ka yooyo those very same ones, over and over
Fanyize matata/ yooyo/ ka yooyo. ‘He created the same troubles over and over.’
- yooyo** [cl.9] strong second position dem.
- yooyo/ aya** [cl.4] emphatic demonstrative used by some speakers
- yooyo/ aya** [cl.6] emphatic demonstrative used by some speakers
yooyo/ mafundro aya ‘these knots themselves’
- yooyo/ ayaje** [cl.4] emphatic demonstrative used by some speakers
- yooyo/ ayaje** [cl.6] emphatic demonstrative used by some speakers
yooyo/ mafundro ayaje ‘those knots themselves’
- yooyo/ ayo** [cl.4] emphatic demonstrative used by some speakers
- yooyo/ ayo** [cl.6] emphatic demonstrative used by some speakers
yooyo/ mafundro ayo ‘those knots themselves’
- yooyo/ oyo** [cl.1] second position emphatic dem. (used by MI)
yooyo/ oyo ‘that same one near you’
- yooyo/ oyo** [cl.4] second position strong dem.
miti yooyo/ oyo ‘those very same trees’
- yooyo/ oyo** [cl.6] second position emphatic dem.
- yooyo/ oyo** [cl.9] second position emphatic dem.
- Yuunusu** n. Jonas
- yur** ideo. [Som. *yur* ‘to shoo off, chase away a wild animal (or, derogatorily, a person)’ cited in Dhoorre & Tosco, p. 155] fuck off! get away! (Since in Brava, there is little need for chasing away wild animals, this ideophone is confined to the derogatory dismissal of people
Muunt^hu/ chikhambila chiint^hu/ haṭá/ kanaa yo/ hupeendi/ ha’ambiḷoowi/ yur. ‘If a person tells you something, even if you do not like it, he isn’t told *yur*.’ (We do not write *yur* with a high pitch, since unlike various other CVC ideophones, the pitch of *yur* is not raised to the pitch peak.)
- Yuusufu** n. Joseph
- ku-yuuta** v. [Sw. *juta* SED 160; Ar.] (**yuṭile**) regret
Siyuṭeení. ‘You (pl.) don’t regret doing s.t.!’
Yuṭile keendra. ‘He regretted going.’ Or, with verb focus: **Yuṭile/ keendra.**
- rel.
ku-yuutila v. appl. regret s.t., regret for s.t.
Haaji/ chiyuutila/ zaa ye/ fanyiizó/ na chiwashukura wazeelewe/ na muné/ ka zema zaawo/ wamfanyiizó. ‘Haaji regretted what he had done and he thanked his parents and his younger brother for the good they had done him.’

Hapendi kuyuutílá/ nashike mlaango(we)/ mfuunge. ‘The one who does not want to regret anything, let him keep (his) door closed.’ (A proverb.)

Ibreeni/ huyuṭilani. ‘What does Ibreeni regret?’ (A possible answer: **Ibreeni/ huyuṭila Nuuru/ kuwa ṭomeḷa kaziini.** ‘Ibreeni regrets Nuuru’s having been fired.’)

Siyuṭileení. ‘You (pl.) don’t regret it!’

Siyuṭili/ chint^hu chaa mi/ nfanyiizó. ‘I will not regret the things that I have done.’

Ye/ yuṭilile kuwaa ye/ fanyize mkaatāba/ kama uyu/ pamo na Abunawaasi. ‘He regretted that he had made a contract like this with Abunawaasi.’

ku-yuutisha v. caus.

Siyuṭisheení. ‘You (pl.) don’t make regret!’

ku-yuṭishiliza v. caus. appl. (**yuṭishilize**)

rel. nom.

ma-yuuto n. 6

Mayuuto/ ni mwanaharaamu. ‘Regret is a bastard.’ (A proverb that says that the sources of regret are not legitimate, they are not well thought out.)

ma-yuuuṭilo n. 6

yuuyu

[cl.1], first position, strong demon. (used by MI)

yuuyu/uyu

[cl.1], first position, emphatic demon. (used by MI)
yuuyu/ uyu ‘this same one’

yuuzi

n. [Sw. *yuzi* SSED 161] day before yesterday; very recent past

maana/ bashizo chibuukú/ yuuzi ‘the child who lost the book the day before yesterday’ (Note that while a time adverb in a main clause is ordinarily outside the scope of the final accent triggered by certain verb forms, the same is not true in a relative clause, where the final accent triggered by a relative verb extends to the end of the clause.)

mana iyo/ bashiizó/ chibuukú/ yuuzi ‘the child who lost the book the day before yesterday’ (It is not typically the case that the relative verb undergoes phrasal separation from its complement, but when such separation occurs in our data, the final accent triggered by the relative verb still extends to the end of the relative clause: it generally does not show the effect of what we refer to as the Accentual Law of Focus.)

Nimpele maaná/ chibuukú/ yuuzi. ‘I gave the child a book day before yesterday.’ (Note that it is the norm in a statement for a time adverbial to not be included in the scope of a final-accent triggered by the verb.)

Omari/ nt^hakeendra/ Mkhodiisho/ yuuzi. ‘Omari did not go to Mogadishu the day before yesterday.’ (In the simple y/n question, the time adverbial undergoes accent shift: **Omari/ nt^hakeendra/ Mkhodiisho/ yuuzi?** In the exclamatory question, all but the initial phrase undergoes accent shift (although the whole body of data suggests that there is variability with respect to the initial phrase’s susceptibility to shift: **Omari/ nt^hakeendrá/ Mkhodiishó/ yuuzi?**)

Omari/ oloshole Mkhodiisho/ yuuzi. ‘Omari went to Mogadishu the day before yesterday.’ (In the simple yes-no question version of this sentence, we did not note accent shift in the time adverbial, although shift seems the norm: **Omari/ oloshole Mkhodiisho/ yuuzi?** The exclamatory question shows accent in the last two phrases: **Omari/ oloshole Mkhodiishó/ yuuzi!?**)

Yuuzi/ Mkhodiisho/ nt^hakeendra/ ‘Omari. ‘The day before yesterday, Mogadishu, he did not go, Omari.’ (There is a declination in pitch across the first three phrases, but the only clear downstepping is associated with the right-dislocated subject, indicated by the raised exclamation mark. In the simple y/n question, the dislocated subject undergoes accent shift: **Yuuzi/ Mkhodiisho/ nt^hakeendra/ ‘Omari?** In the exclamatory question, the negative verb and the dislocated object shift their accent, but no shift was observed in the initial two phrases: **Yuuzi/ Mkhodiisho/ nt^hakeendrá/ ‘Omari!?**)

Yuuzi/ nt^hakeendra/ Mkhodiisho/ ‘Omari. ‘The day before yesterday he did not go to Mogadishu, Omari.’ (In the simple y/n question, both the complement of the negative verb and the right-dislocated subject undergo accent shift: **Yuuzi/ nt^hakeendra/ Mkhodiishó/ ‘Omari?** In the exclamatory question, the verb also undergoes accent shift: **Yuuzi/ nt^hakeendrá/ Mkhodiishó/ ‘Omari!?**)

Yuuzi/ ‘Omari/ nt^hakeendra/ Mkhodiisho. ‘The day before yesterday, Omari did not go to Mogadishu.’ (There is some declination in pitch across the first three phrases, but the

negative verb is not downstepped; there is a clear downstep on the complement of the negative verb. In the simple y/n question, the complement undergoes accent shift: **Yuuzi/ Omari/ nt^hakeendra/ Mkhodiishó?** In the exclamatory question, the verb also undergoes accent shift: **Yuuzi/ Omari/ nt^hakeendrá/ Mkhodiishó!?**)

^hYuuzi/ oloshelo Mkhodiishó/ ^hOmari. ‘The day before yesterday he went to Mogadisho, Omari.’ (Focus on the initial time adverbial triggers pseudo-relative clause formation. Note that the right-dislocated subject falls outside the scope of the final accent triggered by the verb. There is no doubt that the right-dislocated subject is downstepped relative to the preceding phrase. We often have the impression that its lowering is beyond what might be involved in ordinary downstep, thus the use of the raised exclamation point. Detailed quantificational data is required, however, to confirm this impression. In the simple y/n question, accent shift affects the postposed subject: **^hYuuzi/ oloshelo Mkhodiishó/ ^hOmari?** In the exclamatory question, accent shift is vacuous with respect to the penultimate phrase, but is visible in the case of the right-dislocated subject: **Yuuzi/ oloshelo Mkhodiishó/ ^hOmari?**)

^hYuuzi/ Omari/ oloshelo Mkhodiishó. ‘The day before yesterday Omari went to Mogadisho.’

rel.

yuziyuuzi adv. recently

Ni waana/ wazazila yuziyuuzi. ‘These are children who were recently born.’

Ni ziint^hu/ zisanifila yuziyuuzi. ‘These are things that were recently invented.’

Z

- z-** [cl.8] agreement prefix on possessive roots, presumably derived from **zi-zoomboza** ‘my goods’
- z-** [cl.10] agreement prefix on possessive roots, presumably derived from **zi-Chili chaa we/ nt^hukichilaalilá/ hiiwi/ nk^hungunyize.** ‘A bed that you do not sleep in, you cannot know its bedbugs.’ (A proverb.)
ndrootoza ‘my dreams’
nfunguloza ‘my keys’; **nfungulozo** ‘your keys’; **nfunguloze** ‘his/her/its keys’; **nfungulo ziitu** ‘our keys’; **nfungulo ziinu** ‘your (pl.) keys’; **nfungulo zaawo** ‘their keys’
- z-a-** [cl.8] associative and relative clause particle
- z-a-** [cl.10] associative and relative clause particle
Nguwo za Haliima/ nthakhfulá/ nzaaká. ‘The clothes that Haliima did not wash are mine.’
- za’iidi**
mbanaayo ulaazo zaa’idi ya utuungu [nt.] ‘we felt a pain more severe than labor-pains’
- za’iimu** n. [Ar. *za’im* W 378] leader
khfanya za’iimu ‘to make someone the leader’
khfanyowa za’iimu ‘to be made the leader’
kuwa za’iimu ‘to become a leader’
- za’faraani** n. [Ar. *za’farān* W 377] saffron
jannaani mtaangawe ni za’faraani [st.] ‘in Paradise the sand is saffron’
- za’tari** n. [cf. Sw. *zartari* "a kind of herb put in tea to give it a pleasant flavour and smell" SSED 539; Ar. *za’tar* W377, a variant of *sa’tar* "wild thyme" W 410] an aromatic plant, used as a remedy against cough and kidney troubles (stones); it is prepared and

drunk as tea

- zabarjuudi** n. [Sw. *zabarjudi* "chrysolite" Sac. 1034; Ar. *zabarjad* "chrysolite" W 373] chrysolite
Hunawirisha qalbi/ kana zabarjuudi/ akhðari. 'It illuminates the heart like a green chrysolite.'
- kana ya farasi mkila zabarjuudi** [s.t.] '(with reference to **al-buraaq**) the mouth of a horse, a chrysolite tail" (**al-buraaq** is a composite mythological creature, with partly eagle, partly horse, etc.; it possibly could have a tail made of chrysolite, but the sources we have found say that it has the tail of a peacock; perhaps the reference to chrysolite is an embellishment by the Bravanese poet)
- zabiibu** n. 9/10 [Sw. *zabibu* SSED 537; Ar. *zabīb* W 372] raisin
zabibu iyi 'this raisin'; **zabibu izi** 'these raisins'
rel.
chi-zabiibu (zi-) n. dim. 7/8 little raisin
i-zabiibu (mi-) n. aug. 5/6 big raisin
- zabu** n. food that is provided at a celebration (e.g. of a marriage or a graduation or a gathering to pray for good fortune for someone)
Leelo/ chijilee f zabú/ ka Omari/ numbaani. 'Today we ate **zabu** at Omari's house.'
Leelo/ ka Omari/ numbaani/ yikoo zabu. 'Today at Omari's house that is a celebration with food.' (Of course, celebrations such as those where **zamu** is found, are likely to attract more people.)
Nthaku/ zabu. 'There is no food (at this celebration).'
Yikoo zabu. 'There is food (at this celebration); there *is* food (at this celebration.)
- ku-zabuna** v. [Sw. *zabuni* SSED 537; cf. Ar. *zabūn* "customer" W 373] (**zabuniile**) bid for something, make a higher bid at an auction
rel.
ku-zabunika v. p/s. (-**zabunishile**)
ku-zabunila v. appl. (**zabuniilile**)
ku-zabunisha v. caus. (**zabunishiize**)
ku-zabunishana v. caus. rec.
ku-zabunishika v. caus. p/s.
ku-zabunishiliza v. caus. appl.
ku-zabunishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
ku-zabunoowa v. pass. (**zabuniila**)
rel. nom.
m-zabuna (wa-) n. 1/2 a bidder
m-zabunisho n.
ma-zabuno n. 6 bidding
m-zabunoowa (wa-) n. 1/2
- zabuuri** n. [Sw. *zaburi* SSED 537; Ar. *zabūr* W 372] the book of David ("Psalms")
variant form: **zabuuru**
zaburuuni 'in Psalms'
- m-zaaha** (mi-) n. 3/4 [Sw. *mzaha* SSED 324; Ar. v. *mazaha* "to joke" and n. *muzāha* "joke" W 906] joke, teasing, kidding
Isa/ teena/ Abunawaasi/ kilasku/ kama aadaye/ hufanya mzaaha/ na khteleza waant^hú. 'Now then Abunawaasi, every day, as was his custom, made jokes and kidded people.'
Mzaha mwiingi/ hangamiza uweenza. 'Too much joking spoils a

friendship.' (A proverb.)
Sfaanyé/ mzaaha. 'Don't make a joke!'

Zahara	n. daughter of the prophet Mohammad
ku-zaahida	v. (cf. zaahidi) (zahidiile) be pious
zaahidi	adj. [Ar. <i>zāhid</i> "abstemious, self-denying, ascetic" W 383] pious, devout kuwa zaahidi 'to become pious'
ku-zajira	v. [Ar. <i>zajara</i> W 373] (zajiriile) scold, rebuke rel. <i>ku-zajirana</i> v. rec. (-zajireene) <i>ku-zajirika</i> v. p/s. (zajirishile) <i>ku-zajirila</i> v. appl. (zajiriile) <i>ku-zajirisha</i> v. caus. (zajirishiize)
zaka	n. [Sw. <i>zaka</i> SSED 538; Ar. <i>zakāh</i> "alms tax" W 379] a yearly fixed sum of money taken from one's income and given to the poor khtomolaa zaka 'to pay, give out zaka ' Pesa izi/ zoont^he/ khtomolaa zaka. 'Give all this money as charity to the poor.' yaa ne khtomola zaka kula taajiri [st.] 'the fourth (pillar of Islam) is the giving of alms by everyone who is rich (i.e. can afford to do so)' Zaka/ humwaajiba/ islaamu/ khtomola mwaaka/ mara mooyi/ chiwaa ye/ naayo/ maali. 'It is obligatory for a Muslim to give out zaka once a year if he has the money.' khtomolelaa zaka 'pay, give out zaka for' zaka mtomolele mayti ni laazimu/ shari'a ya mtume hiizo ni daalimu [st.] 'paying alms for the dead is obligatory, the law of the Prophet, the one who denies it is a wrongdoer' Zaka/ ni mooyi/ karka nguzo nt^haan/ za Islaamu. ' Zaka is one of the five pillars of Islam.' Zaka/ ni waajibu/ ka muunt^hu/ naachó. ' Zaka is a must for one who has (the means).' zaka za maaka 'annual charity'
zakhma	n. [Sw. <i>zahama</i> SSED 537; Ar. <i>zahma</i> W 374] state of confusion, overcrowdedness variant form: zahma Suuqu/ leelo/ zahma. 'The market is overcrowded today.'
zalba	n. etymo unknown an unfounded piece of information (that does not reflect on the informant's truthfulness) kubiga zalba 'to give an unfounded piece of information'
zalboole	adj. unfounded
ku-zaala	v. [Sw. <i>zaa</i> SSED 536] (zaazile) give birth, bear, produce; name someone after someone Baaba/ marađi/ yachimziida/ chifa/ nt^haasá/ mukeewe/ kuzaala. 'Father grew sicker and died before his wife gave birth.' Bali/ izazilee gele. 'The maize plant produced maize.' review Chint^hu chimooyi/ huzaloo miyá. 'One thing that gives birth to a hundred.' (A riddle.) Chizaala/ mwaana/ mwanaashke. 'She gave birth to a baby girl.' Chizaala/ wanashkee saba/ chizaaló. 'She gave birth to seven daughters, that's what she did.'

Kuzaala/ siwo/ dhibu/ khkorsha/ ndiyó/ dhibu. ‘To give birth to a child is not hard, to raise a child is hard.’ (A proverb.)

Mi/ skhuzaala. ‘I did not give birth to you.’

Mulo/ hawazaali/ mulo. ‘Fire does not beget fire.’ (A proverb.)

Mulo/ huzala ivu. ‘Fire begets ashes.’

Nk^huku/ zaazile. ‘The hen laid an egg.’

Nyunyi/ uyu/ ni msuura/ laakini/ ye/ haṭaxaadira/ ku’iisha/ yee/ peeke/ walá/ haṭakuzaala. ‘This bird is pretty, but it will not be able to live alone/ nor lay eggs (lit. give birth).’

Sabri/ huzala suukari. ‘Patience produces sugar.’ (A proverb.)

Sinviilé/ maamé/ mi/ skhuzaala/ khuzaaziló/ fiile. ‘Don’t call me mother, I did not bear you, the one who bore you is dead.’

Waako/ waako/ wazazile waana/ ba’adi ya apo/ mubli/ chimpenda muke miingine/ sulile kumnoola. ‘They lived like this for some time and had children; after that, the husband loved another woman and wanted to marry her.’

Wamlasile kanaa nt^hupu/ jisa maamaye/ mzaaziló. ‘They left him naked, just like his mother gave birth to him.’

We/ takuzala mwaana/ mwiimbili. ‘You will bear a male child.’

rel.

ku-zaalila v. appl. (**zaziliile**) bear someone a child; give birth to

Muke/ ba’ada ya kumzaalila/ mwanaamke... ‘After the woman gave birth to a daughter...’

Mukeewe/ mzalile mwaamubli. ‘His wife bore him a son.’

ku-zaliloowa v. appl. pass. have a child born to one

Sultaani/ weele/ mapsuuti/ nt^ho/ kuzaliloowa/ waana/ wote/ wiimbili.

‘The king was very happy to have all male children born to him.’

wakhlali ni suna chizaliloowa [st.] ‘[the slaughtering at the] **wakhlali** celebration is not obligatory [but sanctioned by tradition and therefore better to do it] when a child is born to one’

ku-zaloowa v. pass. (**zaazila**) be born

Isa/ mwaana/ chizaloowa/ wazeele/ wanayo khtala ina mooyi/ karka ma’ina/ hupowa waaná/ sku iyó. ‘Now when a child is born, the parents have to choose a name from among the names that are given children on that day (i.e. certain names are given to children born on a particular day of the week).’

kuzaloowaka ‘my birth’

kuzalowa kaawo ‘their birth’ (but more commonly: **kuzalowa yaawo**)

Muunt^hu/ suura/ kufa mahalaa ye/ zaazilá. ‘It is good for one to die at the place where one was born.’ (A proverb.)

Nambiilá/ kuwaa ye/ nt^haasá/ nt^hakuzaloowa. ‘I was told that he is not yet born.’

Nzazila Miini. ‘I was born in Brava.’

Ye/ zazila kuwa mwana wa taatu/ na wa miis(h)o/ karka nuumba. ‘He was born the third and the last in the family [lit. house].’

ku-zaalana v. rec. (**-zaleene**) be related in lineage

Hujo naawé/ haafi/ naawe/ ila zaleno naawé. ‘The one who eats with you does not die with you, only the one who is related to you (will die with you).’ (A proverb.) **review carefully**

Ifungu ya taatu/ takulatilowaa nsi/ zinapate ku’iisha/ na kuzaalaná. ‘The third portion [of the sea] will be left for the fish so that they get to live and reproduce.’

ku-zalanoowa v. pass.

ummati wa Mohamadi/ ka diini huzalanoowa [st.] ‘(we) Mohammad’s community/ all are related (brothers) in the faith’

ku-zaalisha v. caus. (**zaliishiize**) help give birth, act as a midwife

ku-zalishana v. caus. rec.

ku-zalishiliza v. caus. appl. act as a midwife for

ku-zalishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

rel. nom.

m-zaalisha(wa-) n. 1/2 midwife

variant form: **mzaalishi**

ma-zaalo n.6 production, act of producing

mazalo ya miyuundra ‘agricultural production’

u-zaalo n. birth, the act of giving birth (Usage: Rather than saying **uzaalowe** ‘his birth’ one says **kuzaloowake** ‘his birth [lit. his being born]’.)

i-zaalo

n. uterus, womb

Aamina/ ambila izaaloye/ ipotofu. ‘Aamina was told her uterus was not in the normal position (lit. is crooked).’

Aamina/ izaaloye/ ni chihabba. ‘Aamina has a small uterus.’

Haliima/ shishiḷa maraḷaa izaalo. ‘Halima has a disease of the uterus.’

Haliima/ tomele izaalo. ‘Haliima had an hysterectomy.’

Maana/ hukora ka izaalo. ‘A child forms (lit. grows up) in the uterus.’

zama

zamaa zama ‘in groups’

Ka muyiini/ waanthu/ hulawa zamaa zama/ wote/ naawó/ wanakuleto stenzi za diini. ‘People depart from the town in groups reciting religious songs.’

ku-zaama

v. [Sw. *zama* SSED 538] (**zamiile**) sink, drown

Ali/ zamiile. ‘Ali sank.’

Bateera/ izamiile. ‘The boat sank.’

Chijiwe/ shchizaama/ chigaaya/ shcheeluka/ Imalize ka apo. ‘The little stone sank, the pot fragment floated, it (the tale) ended here.’ (The traditional conclusion to a tale.)

Chint^hu changaangu/ heeluka/ chint^hu chizito/ huzaama. ‘Something light, floats; something heavy, sinks.’ (A saying.)

Ijuuniya/ ichizaama/ na oyo muunt^hú/ chifa. ‘The sack sank and that man died.’

Ilooni/ jahazi/ ichizaama/ na waant^hú/ akthari yaawo/ wachifa. ‘At dusk the dhow sank and the majority of the people died.’

Jahazi/ imalizopo kuzaamá/ wachanza kooweḷa. ‘When the dhow finished sinking, they began to swim.’

karka ibada mwenewe huzaama [st.] ‘(the one whose pilgrimage is accepted) concentrates [lit. sinks] in worship’

kuzama tawala ‘to sink in the sea’

Mabahariya/ wiingi/ wazamiile. ‘Many sailors drowned.’

markabu nk^huluunk^hulu/ schizaama/ ka ḷarba ‘if large ships sink from a storm’

Mwaana/ zamile tawala. ‘The child drowned in the sea.’

Mzamishize waawaye. ‘He brought to financial ruin to his father.’

Naakhuḷa/ wachiwa wiingi/ jahazi/ huzaama. ‘If the captains become many, the dhow sinks.’ (A proverb, like the English “too many cooks spoil the broth”.)

Ni wiingi/ mabahariya wazamiiló. ‘The sailors who drowned are many.’

waant^hu karka khasara wazamiile/ iḷa wafarama sabri jamilli [st.] ‘human beings are drowned in loss unless they counsel patience’

Zaama. ‘Sink!’ **Zamaani.** ‘(Pl.) sink!’ **Sizaamé.** ‘Don’t sink!’ **Sizameeni.** ‘(Pl.) don’t sink!’

rel.

ku-zaamila v. appl. (**zamiile**)

Jahazi/ inzamiile. ‘My boat sank on me.’

ku-zaamisha v. caus. (**zamishiize**) cause to sink, drown

Mzamishize Hasani. ‘He caused Hasani to sink.’

Naakhuḷa/ zamishize jahazi. ‘The captain caused the book to sink.’

ku-zamishan(y)a v. caus. rec.

ku-zamishiliza v. caus. appl.

Naakhuḍa/ nzamishilize jahazi. ‘The captain sank the ship on me.’

ku-zamishoowa v. caus. pass. (**zamishiiza**) be caused to sink, drown

ku-zamoowa v. pass. (**zamiila**)

zamaani n. 8, adv. [Sw. *zamani* SSED 538; Ar. *zamān* W 382] olden times, long ago, old days; time, era, period (Note that although the initial z in this loan word is etymologically derived from the Arabic stem, this z seems to lead to the morphological analysis of this noun as being a [cl.8] noun. However, there is no evidence for a productive stem –amaani.)

Apo/ zamaani/ waliko mwaalimu/ mooyi/ chivilowa Gooso. ‘Once upon a time there was a teacher named Gooso.’

Apo/ zamaani/ waliko sulṭaani/ mooyi/ na mwaanawé. ‘Once upon a time there was a sultan and his son.’

chint^hu cha zamaani ‘something old’

ndiye mufti wa aakhiri zamaani [st.] ‘he is the **mufti** of the last days’

Want^hu wa zamaani/ hawahadi/ wanaafakhi. ‘The people from ancient times do not speak lies.’ (A proverb.)

Zamaani/ nch^himpeenda/ nt^ho/ na kuḷa yaa ye/ chisuuló/ mi/

nch^himfanyiliza. ‘Long ago I used to love her very much and everything that she wanted, I used to fulfill for her.’

zamani za fashista ‘the era of the fascists’

zamani za Mtume ‘(in) the times of the Prophet’

Zamaani/ ziint^hu/ zivaliko rakhiisi. ‘In olden times things were cheap.’

zamani ziitu ‘(in) our times’

Zamani ziitu/ waana/ wawaliko jis’iyi. ‘During our times children were (i.e. behaved) this way.’

zamaazama

adv. [cf. *z-ama*, pl. of *ch-ama*] in groups (Lex. Although our consultant MI provided the form **zamaazama**, another consultant rejected the form as not being used in Chimiini.)

zaamu

n. [Sw. *zamu* SSED 538] guard

khpandra zaamu ‘to start one’s turn in guarding’

khshika zaamu ‘to guard’

Sku iyo/ mukhta ikomeeló/ chizeele/ chooloka/ ka mabawaabu/ waliko wachishiko zaamú/ milangooní. ‘When that day arrived, the old woman went to the door-keepers who were guarding the doors.’

kishkila zaamu ‘to end one’s turn in guarding’

kubiga zaamu ‘to change the guard’

kulindra zaamu ‘to guard’

Chimfuunga/ karka mṭaana/ na chiweeka/ askari/ kumlindra

zaamu. ‘He imprisoned her in a room and placed soldiers to guard her.’

chi-zamu

n. misfortune

aduwi ye takunaha kana chimpeeto chizamu [song] ‘the enemy will get scared just like one who is affected by misfortune’

gelani is unsure about this word

zamuuda

n. [probably from dialectal Arabic; if this word really refers to fennel, then the standard Arabic word is *shamār* W486, Sw. *shamari* SSED 416] fennel? -- used against indigestion, stomach ache, flatulence and belching. It is either ingested or spread on body.

zamzamu

n. [Sw. *zamuzamu* M&aN 2743; Ar. *zamzamu* W 381] sacred well located in Mecca near the **ka’aba**

ambūla Jibriili mwooshe ka zamzamu [st.] ‘Gabriel was told to wash him (i.e. the Prophet) in the well’

mayi ya zamzamu ‘the water of the **zamzamu** well’

- zanambuure** n. a kind of bird
- m-zandiiqi** (wa-) n. 1/2 [Sw. *mzandiki* SSED 538; Ar. *zindīq* "unbeliever, atheist" W 383] liar, hypocrite
kuwa mzandiiqi ‘to behave hypocritically’
nt^haku humbughuḍo ila mzandiiqi [st.] ‘there is no one who hates him except a liar’
rel.
u-zandiiqi n. 14 hypocrisy
khfanya uzandiiqi ‘to behave hypocritically’
review the meaning of this item given difference from Arabic source
- zaani** (ma-) n. [Sw. *zani* SSED 543; Ar. *zānin* W 383] adulterer, fornicator
- Zanzibaari** n. Zanzibar
Si/ asli yiitu/ chile ka Zanzibaari. ‘We originally came from Zanzibar.’
- zaquumu** n. [Sw. *zaqumu* M&N 2745; Ar. *zaqqūm* "an infernal tree with very bitter fruit" W 379] the fruit of a tree in hell
Aadamu/ jilopo zaquumu/ chimbiza ka janaani/ ye/ na mukeewé/ Haawá. ‘Adam, when he ate the the fruit, was driven from paradise, he and his wife, Eve.’
Matuundraye/ muti wa zaquumu/ ni chaakuja/ cha ma’iimu. ‘The fruits of the tree **zaquumu** are food for the evil.’
- zaari** n. golden thread
- zaatari** n. [Sw. *zartari* SSED 539; Ar. *za‘tar* W 377, variant of *sa‘tar* "wild thyme" W 410] a kind of herb used as a medicine for stomach aches
variant form: **zartari**
- zawaadi** n. 9/10 [Sw. *zawadi* SSED 537; Ar. *zawād* "provisions" W 385] gift
Chaamura/ wo/ khpoowa/ zawaadi/ niingi. ‘He ordered them to be given many gifts.’
Martī/ pela zawaadi. ‘The guest has been given a gift.’ (Phon. In the corresponding simple yes-no question, there is only Q-raising, no accentual shift.) With focus on the verb: **Martī/ peela/ zawaadi.** ‘The guest was *given* a gift.’ (Phon. In the case where the verb is focused, the following complement is radically lowered in pitch, indicating its out-of-focus status. In the corresponding yes-no question, this lowered phrase undergoes accent-shift: **Martī/ peela/ zawaadi?**)
Mpele martī/ zawaadi. ‘He gave the guest a gift.’ (Phon. The corresponding yes-no question, **Mpele martī/ zawaadi?**, involves only Q-raising and no accentual shifting. Putting **zawaadi** in the Immediately After Verb position puts focus on it: **Mpele zawaadi/ martī.** The prosody of this sentence differs from the prosody where **martī** is post-verbal. Specifically, the pitch drop between **zawaadi** and **martī** is more radical than between **martī** and **zawaadi**. We propose that this more radical pitch drop is associated with an out-of-focus element. Naturally, when **Mpele zawaadi/ martī.** is put into a yes-no question form, there is accent shift on the out-of-focus **martī**: **Mpele zawaadi/ martī.** ‘Has he given him a gift, the guest?’
Nimpele martī/ zawaadi. ‘I gave the *guest* a gift.’ (Phon. In this example, there is focus on **martī**, which accounts for why the final accent does not extend beyond **martī**. In the corresponding yes-no question, **Nimpele martī/ zawaadi?** ‘Did give the guest a present?’, there is accent shift to the final syllable in the dislocated phrase **zawaadi**. If there is not focus on **martī**, then in the statement, the final accent extends throughout the verb phrase:

Nimpele martí/ zawaadí. ‘I gave the guest a gift.’ If **zawaadi** is put in the Immediately After Verb position, then it is focused and the final accent does not pass it: **Nimpele zawaadí/ martí.** ‘I gave a gift to the guest.’)

Nt^huunzi/ riwu/ na zawaadí/ hupowa wazaazi/ waa muké/ maanzine/ nt^homeele. ‘Wedding presents, dowry, and gifts that are given to the parents of the bride I gave out already.’

Omari/ lesele zawaadi. ‘Omari brought a gift.’

Waant^hu/ wa muuyi/ wakulu/ na zihabá/ walungaana/ na wataaná/ wabli/ naa wake/ wamletelele mwaana/ zawaadi/ ziingi. ‘The people of the town, big and small, gentlemen and servants, men and women, brought many gifts for the boy.’

Zawaadi/ hazirudoowi. ‘Gifts are not given back.’ (A proverb.)

Zawaadi/ ni furaha/ za khalbi. ‘A gift is the happiness of the heart.’ (A proverb.)

Zawaadi/ pela martí. ‘A gift was given the *guest*.’ (Phon. The subject of the passive sentence is located here in the Immediately After Verb position, which is a position of focus in Chimiini as in other Bantu languages. This postposed subject is grouped together into the same phrase as the verb. In the corresponding simple yes-no question, there is no accent shift since there is no out-of-focus post-verbal element: **Zawaadi/ pela martí?** ‘Has a gift been given to the *guest*?’ In the exclamatory yes-no question, however, all phonological phrases inside the verb phrase typically undergo accent shift: **Zawaadi/ pela martí?!)**

Zawaadi/ peela/ martí. ‘A gift was given to the *guest*.’ (Phon. The subject of the passive in this example has been shifted after the verb, but in a separate phrase from the verb and thus does not occupy the Immediately After Verb position; in addition, the verbal complement has been left-dislocated. In this structure, the verb is focused and **martí** is out-of-focus, as its radical lowering indicates. In the corresponding simple yes-no question, **martí** is subject to accent shift: **Zawaadi/ peela/ zawaadí.** ‘Has the gift been *given* to the *guest*?’)

Zawaadi/ pela martí. ‘A gift was given the *guest*.’ (Syn. This is an example of what we have referred to as Clefting. The verbal complement is shifted to initial position while the subject of the passive verb has been located in Immediately After Verb position. The verb phrase is put into a pseudo-relative form, which in the case of a passive verb is obvious only from the triggering of a final accent. It is the fronted **zawaadi** which is being focused in this construction; the IAV position is *not* in this example a focus position. Indeed, it is possible to phrasally separate the verb and the postposed subject: **Zawaadi/ peela/ martí.** ‘A gift was *given* the *guest*.’ Here, the radical lowering of **martí** indicates its out-of-focus nature.)

Zawaadi/ peela/ Omari. ‘[It’s] a gift [that] was *given* to Omari.’ Or:

Zawaadi/ pela Omari. ‘[It’s] a gift [that] was given to Omari.’

Zawaadi/ pela Omari/ zileeseja/ kaa Jidda. ‘The gift that was given to Omat was brought from Jeddah.’

zawaadi/ za Mkhodiisho ‘a gift from Mogadishu’

zawadi zaa Maka ‘a gift from Mecca’

zaaydi

adv. [Sw. *zaidi* SSED 537; Ar. *zā'id* W 389] more, surpassing

Ito/ ya maadamu/ ni khatari/ zaaydi/ ya maraōi. ‘A human’s eyes is more dangerous than disease.’ (A proverb.)

ka maayi ow ka majiwe hutosha/ laakini maayi ndiyo zaaydi koosha [st.] ‘to clean oneself after defecating with water or with stones suffices’

Laakini/ leelo/ akthari ya waant^hu/ hawakalaant^hi/ zaaydi/ ya sku mooyi/ ambo skuu mbili. ‘However, today most men do not stay inside (after the wedding ceremony) for more than one or two days.’

Nama yaa mbuzi/ ni suura/ zaydi ya ngoombe. ‘The meat of a goat is

better than the meat of a cow.’

Naank^hó/ shpowa peesa/ zaydaa izo. ‘Again, he was given money more than that.’ (Note the contraction of **zaydi ya** to **zaydaa**. This common sort of contraction often results in long vowels on the surface that do not accord with the usual distribution of long vowels.)

Omari/ humpenda mukeewe/ zaaydi. ‘Omari loves his wife very much.’
(Phon. The simple yes-no question shows only Q-raising, while the exclamatory question exhibits accent-shift in the two phrases that constitute the verb phrase: **Omari/ humpenda mukeewé/ zaaydí!?**)

Si/ shṭamhafiḏa/ na shṭamdhoora/ jisa muunt^hu/ humdhoru ruuhuyé/ na zaaydí. ‘We will protect him and guard him just as a person does to protect himself, and more than that.’

Uje mwaarabu/ chiyaawaṭa/ nt^ho/ ka khisani/ uyu/ kuhada/ mwanaamkewe/ nabigowa ndruti khamsiini/ zaaydi. ‘That Arab wondered very much why this one (would) say his daughter should be beaten fifty blows more.’

Waan^hu/ akhyaari/ washfanyowa zeema/ hulipa zeema/ na zaaydízé. ‘People, gentlemen, if good is done to them, they repay with good things and more.’

watiḷa ulaazo zaaydi ya utuungu [nt.] ‘they feel a pain worse than labor-pains’

zaaydi/ ya want^hu khamsiini/ wanviliḷó ‘more than fifty people who have called’

ma-zaaydi

n. 6 surplus, a little more

Jis’iyo/ jis’iyo/ hatá/ leelo/ chint^hu mwaape/ cha mazaaydi/ chaa ye/ hupató/ chisuura/ hi’iwekela kaake. ‘Like that, like that, each day a nice profit that he gets, he sets aside for himself at his place.’

Ndovu/ chimera mazaaydi. ‘The elephant asked for more.’

Nnakuwoná/ mi/ ninpeelé/ zaa ni/ nṭulubiḷó/ na mazaaydí. ‘Do you (pl.) see that I gave you what you asked for and a little more?’

chi-zaazi

n. [etymology unknown] a local wild cotton

godoro ya paamba/ siwo/ ya chizaazi ‘a mattress of (real) cotton, not of wild cotton’ (a line from a popular rhyme)

chi-zaazi

n. [Sw. *kizazi* "generations, offsprings" SSED 536] people who are related to one another by blood, of the same clan; ancestry

Endrá/ shikamanisha/ chizaazi. ‘Go and unite the clan!’

khṭinda chizaazi ‘to sever a relationship with one’s relatives’

nt^hana shifaa’a ṭinzilo chizaazi [st.] ‘the one who severs a relationship with close relatives cannot expect [lit. does not have] the intercession [of the Prophet on his behalf]’

kulunga chizaazi ‘to connect, join people of the same clan – usu. with reference to marrying one’s cousin as a means of bringing the clan closer together’

Mi/ anakhsuḷa kulunga chizaazi. ‘I want to bind the clan closer (usu. by marrying one’s cousin).’

Omari/ ile kulunga chizaazi. ‘Omari came to bind family closer (usu. by marrying a cousin).’

Omari/ ile Miini/ kuloola/ kulunga chizaazi. ‘Omari came to Brava to get married to join, put together the lineage (e.g. by marrying his cousin).’

rel.

i-zaazi n. people who are related on one another by blood, of the same clan

kulunga izaazi =kulunga chizaazi (see above)

m-zaazi (*wa-*) n. 1/2 parent

Ba’adi yaa sala/ kuḷa mooyi/ humḷazima kendra kuzura wazaaziwe/ ahḷiye/ na weenzawé. ‘After the prayer (on the *idi* ya wamuusi)

everyone is obliged to go to visit his parents, his relatives, and his friends.’

Mzaazi/ nayo milu miwili/ laakini/ waa ye/ zaaziló/ nt^haná/ miilu. ‘The one who gives birth has two legs, but the one that she gave birth to has none.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **nk^huku/ na iyaank^hukú** ‘a hen and an egg’.)

Ulazo wa mwaana/ hiiwó/ ni mzaazi. ‘The pain of the child, the one who knows it is the parent.’ (A proverb.)

chi-zaazi

n. locally grown cotton

godoro ya paamba/ siwo/ ya chizaazi ‘a mattress of cotton, not the locally grown kind’

u-zaazo

n. 14

variant form: **uzaazi**

=z-e

[cl.8] possessive enclitic, third person singular

ziwo za qur’aani/ ziingineze ‘most of the koranic schools’

zoomboze ‘his/her things’

=z-e

[cl.10] possessive enclitic, third person singular

Mwaana/ chirasha jawaabuze/ chilaala. ‘The child followed his advice and slept.’

Ye/ shtiyaa nyunyi/ kuja nt^heendrece. ‘He was afraid of birds eating his dates.’

m-zeele (wa-)

n. 1/2 [Sw. -zee SSED 324] parent; old person; elder, chief, mister; adj. old

Apo/ zamaani/ ishiize/ mwaana/ mooyi/ waliko filila na wazeelé/ wawiliwé. ‘Once upon a time there lives a boy who had been orphaned by both of his parents.’

Chimaliza/ cheendra/ ka mzele Simsini. ‘Then he went to old Simsini.’

Choondroka/ chiwaviila/ mawaziiriwe/ wazele/ wa muuyi/ na ma’akhyariwé/ chiwa’ambila/ mi/ mp^hetee khatí/ ilazilo ka waawé/ ye/ nt^hulubile keendra/ kumzuura. ‘He got up and summoned his ministers, the chiefs of the town, and his nobles, and told them: I have received a letter from my father and he has requested me to go to visit him.’

Choondroka/ karaayle/ mzele/ wa wote/ chihada... ‘The oldest crow of all arose and said...’

Karaayle/ sfanyiize/ jisa mzele/ wa’ambiiló. ‘The crows did what the elder had told them to do.’

maana/ ka mzele ‘[lit.] child in (his) parent’s house -- this means that the family members (esp. sons) are all working in the father’s business without salaries, but he pays for all their needs from this business. In particular, it indicates the custom whereby a young man would marry and go to live with his wife in his father’s house because he had no independent financial means. All his expenses (food, etc.) would be paid by his father.’

Mi/ mbaliko mwaana/ peeke/ na wazelewá/ wachimp^heenda/ nt^ho. ‘I was a child alone (i.e. an only child) and my parents loved me very much.’

Mukhtaa ye/ welo mzeelé/ mukeewe/ shishile miimba/ laakini/ ye/ apo/ waliko maskiini/ nt^ho/ nt^hakuwanaayo/ sho kuwaa zuwo zaa dawa. ‘When he became old, his wife became pregnant, but he then was very poor and did not have anything except books of medicine.’

munt^hu mzele ‘an old person’; **want^hu wazele** ‘old people’

Mzelee mp^haka/ leele. ‘Mr. Cat slept.’
Mzele mp^haamp^ha/ mukhtaa ye/ laziló/ muke/ chimraasha. ‘When Mr. Shark left, his wife followed him.’
mzele mpotofu ‘a corrupt, evil old man’
Mzele uje/ filee ndala. ‘That old man died of hunger.’
Mzele/ uyu/ mukeewe/ mzaliile/ mwiimbili/ msuura/ nt^ho. ‘This old man, his wife bore him a very handsome boy.’
Mzele wa nuumba/ chifa/ nuumba/ havuundika. ‘If the elder of the house dies, the house breaks.’ (A proverb.)
Mzele wa Nuuru/ ile. ‘Nuuru’s parent came.’ Or, with focus on the subject: **Mzele wa Nuuru/ iló.** Or, with right-dislocation of the subject: **Ile/ mzele wa Nuuru.** ‘Came the parent of Nuuru.’ Or: **Iló/ mzele wa Nuuru.** ‘The one who came is Nuuru’s parent.’
ngombe mzele ‘an old cow’
Ndiyé/ mzele. ‘It is he who is the older one (from a story where the speaker is referring to the older of two goats who look alike).’
Numbaani/ walimo mzele/ mooyi. ‘In the house there was an old man.’
Suufi/ penzelaa nt^ho/ na wazelewe. ‘Suufi was loved very much by his parents.’
Wamfanyize Saalimu/ mzele. ‘They made Saalimu chief.’ (cf. **Saalimu/ fanyiza mzele/ (naawo).** ‘Saalimu was made chief (by us).’)
Waawaye/ na maamayé/ wawaliko wazele wasuura. ‘His father and his mother were good parents.’
Wazele awaje/ wanakufa kaa ndala. ‘Those old people are dying of hunger.’
Wazele/ wawene waana. ‘The elders saw the children.’ Or: **Wazele/ waweene/ waana.**
Wazelewe/ wamkhana’ishize Muusa/ kingila skoola. ‘His parents persuaded Muusa to go to school.’

rel.

chi-zeele n. [Sw. *kizee* SED 324] manner of an old person

kinendra chizeele ‘to walk like an old person’

chi-zeele n. [Sw. *kizee* SED 324] an old woman

Basi/ mwaana/ uyu/ choloka cha chizeele/ chimooyi/ chimweleza khabarize. ‘So this child went to an old woman and explained to her his situation.’

Basi/ oyo/ muḽi/ chendra ka uje chizeele. ‘So that man went to that old woman.’

Chizeele/ chimpaa dawa. ‘The old woman gave him medicine.’

kiineendra/ kana chizeele ‘to walk like an old woman’

i-zeele (*mi-*) n. aug. 5/4

Uje hakhadiri khtjindá/ oyo/ ndiyé/ izeele. ‘The one that is not able to break (his restraining ropes), that one it is he who is the older (goat).’

u-zeele n. 14 [Sw. *uzee* SED 324] old age; laying-in period after giving birth

chilawa karka hiiḽi na uzele/ muke sho koowa nt^hana ndila beele [st.] ‘when menstruation and the laying-in after childbirth are over, a woman who does not wash, she has lost the way’

Karka sku ya uzele/ naawé/ fanyikiḽoowa. ‘In your old age, everything will go well for you.’

Muke/ umo uzeleeni. ‘The woman is still in her recovery period (after giving birth).’

mwenye uzele ‘a woman who is still bleeding after giving birth’
mwenye uzele na hiiḽi haraamu [st.] ‘a woman who is still bleeding is forbidden from fasting’

zeeti

n.

variant form: **zeydi**

mafta (y)a zeeti (or: **zeydi**) ‘olive oil’

zeetuuni

n. [Sw. *zeituni* SW 539; Ar. *zaitūn* W 388] guava fruit (not ‘olive’ as originally)

given in CLE)

- mafta ya zetuuni** ‘olive oil’
rel.
m-zetuuni (*mi-*) n. tree bearing fruit
mzetuuniini ‘in the tree’
- zi-** [cl. 8] subject prefix; [morphophonemic variants: **zi-**, **z-**, **s-**]
Zeema/ haziwoli. ‘Kindness never goes bad.’ (A proverb.)
Zijo/ spozele. ‘The **zijo** has cooled down.’
Zo/ zivaliko nzaaká. ‘They were mine.’
- zi-** [cl.10] subject prefix; [morphophonemic variants: **zi-**, **z-**, **s-**]
kuliindra/ nt^heendre/ hatá/ mukhtaa zo/ stakuvivó ‘to guard the dates until they become ripe’
ngoombe/ kaazifá ‘if cows/ the cows were to die’
Nk^huta/ zimpotelele. ‘The walls fell on him.’
Peesa/ izo/ schila kaa nk^hele/ hatá/ sultaani/ shkasa. ‘Those coins made a lot of noise until the sultan heard.’
Ye/ hakhaadiri/ kumwambila waawaye/ kuwa nt^heendre/ ziboozela/ ambo zijiilá. ‘He could not tell his father that the dates either were stolen or eaten.’
Ziikopi/ ndrootoza/ zivaliko schindraashó/ mahalaaa mi/ nch^hoolokó. ‘Where are my dreams which used to follow me everywhere I went?’
Zita/ nt^haziná/ mato. ‘War has no eyes.’ (A proverb.)
Ziwovu/ nza maskiini/ huwonekanó/ za taajiri/ haziwonekani. ‘It is the evils of the poor that are seen, those of the rich are not seen.’ (A proverb.)
- zi-** [cl.8] object prefix
Laakini/ mwanaamke/ wa sultaani/ zotte/ za Hasani/ fanyiizó/ chiziwona. ‘But the daughter of the sultan, all the things that Hasani had done, she saw them.’ (Syn. The object prefix here refers to the omitted [cl.8] noun **ziint^hu** ‘things’.)
Wanakizija. ‘They are eating [cl.8].’ (Phon. Strikingly, it is possible for this sentence to be pseudo-relativized: **Wanakizijó.**)
(Ye/) ka’oloká/ sula kizula nuumba. ‘If he went, he would buy the houses.’
(Ye/) ka’oloká/ sula kizulaa ziti. ‘If he went, he would buy the chairs.’
- zi-** [cl.10] object prefix; [morphophonemic variants: **zi-**, **z-**, **s-**]
kizibiga ‘to beat [cl.10]’
Shtala peesa/ izo/ zimo hundaani/ chistawanya/ ilu ya msala. ‘He took those coins from the measuring tin and spread them out on the mat.’
Waant^hu/ humkahato Abunawaasí/ washtukula/ koodi/ izo/ wachispeleka/ ka sultaani. ‘The people who hate Abunawaasi took those words and sent them to the sultan.’
(Ye/) ka’oloká/ sula kispataa ndruti. ‘If he went, he would get the sticks.’
- zi-** [cl.8] noun class prefix
skapu ziwili ‘two baskets’
- zi-** [cl.8] adjective agreement
Munt^hu uyu/ nazoo zisu/ skali. ‘This man has sharp knives.’
Munt^hu uyu/ nazoo zisu/ skali/ nt^ho. ‘This man has very sharp knives.’
Munt^hu uyu/ zisuze/ zile. ‘This man, his knives are long.’
Munt^hu uyu/ zisuze/ zilee nt^ho. ‘This man, his knives are very long.’

skapu statu ‘three baskets’

n-zi

n. 9/10 [Sw. *inzi* SSED 143; *nzi* M&N 1840] fly

Abdalla/ chimbiga/ oyoo nzi/ chimwubla/ na chibiga/ lkele/ nzi. ‘Abdalla hit that fly and killed it and shouted: a fly!’

Apo/ mukhta sanduukhu/ iweeshela/ ka nasiibu/ nzi mooyi/ chimkalantila Abdalla/ usooni. ‘Then when the box was placed [there], by chance a fly landed on Abdalla’s face.’

Bakayle/ lasile/ kanaye/ waazi/ teena/ nzi/ zinamwingilila/ kanaani. ‘The hare had left its mouth open (while feigning to be dead), then flies were getting in its mouth.’

Nzi/ karkaa ntaka/ yimo daniye. ‘A fly in the garbage is in his interest.’
(A saying that conveys the idea that you go into wherever there is your interest/ need/ benefit.)

Nzi/ kufa karka maayi/ ya naazi/ siwo/ khasaara. ‘For a fly to die in the water of a coconut is not a (great) loss.’

Nzi/ potele kujaani. ‘A fly fell into the food.’

Teena/ nzi/ zinamwingilila/ kanaani. ‘Then flies were getting in and out of its mouth.’

Ye/ shtalaa nzi/ chimtila ndraani/ yaa ntupa/ na ntupa iyó/ chi’itila karka chiguwo/ chimaliza/ chishtila ndrani ya sanduukhu. ‘He took a fly and he put it inside a bottle, and that bottle, he put it in a piece of cloth, and then he put it [the piece of cloth] inside a box.’

rel.

mi-zi aug.

Wasakha/ huleta mizi. ‘Dirt brings flies.’

ku-ziida

v. [Sw. *zidi* SSED 537; Ar. *zāda* W 388] (**zidiile**) surpass, be greater than, overcome, add to, strengthen

afiya karka jismu izidiile [st.] ‘(his) bodily health flourished’

Ali/ udokhani/ umzidiile. ‘Ali’s stupidity increased.’ Or: **Udokhani wa Ali/ uzidiile.** ‘Ali’s stupidity increased.’ (Subject marking on the verb in both these constructions agrees with **udokhani**, not **Ali**. It is ungrammatical to have agreement with **Ali**: ***Ali/ udokhani/ zidiile.**)

amali njeema huziida imaani [st.] ‘good deeds strengthen (your) faith’

Baaba/ maraōi/ yachimziida. ‘Father became sicker.’

Chizida kishkila. ‘She descended more.’

Miti ayo/ ni zigobe/ kuzida miti aya. ‘Those trees are shorter than (lit. to surpass) these trees.’

Mnaadisha/ chizida khtetema/ ka shtiisho/ chila/ chiloomba. ‘The auctioneer trembled (even more) from fear and cried and begged (in the story: that his head not be cut off).’

Mwanaamke/ chizida khpendoowa/ na mubliwe. ‘The girl was loved even more by her husband.’

Mzele Simsini/ chizida kista’ajaba. ‘Old Simsini was even more amazed at (these things).’

Nazo fahamu/ na basara/ kuzida wanaadamu/ wiingi. ‘He has understanding and talents surpassing many people.’

Nkbele ziinu/ zizidiile/ ntbo. ‘Your (pl.) noise is much too loud.’

ta’abu/ imzidiilopó ‘when hardship overcame him’

Takuzida ki’ikasa. ‘He will hear more of it [cl.9].’

Wana awa/ nii wale/ kuzida wana awo. ‘These children are taller than those children.’

We/ takulala kaaka/ na fijiri/ nt’akhupeleka/ kaa muke/ mooyi/ mzele/ nt’o/ hunzidoo mi/ ye/ takhusaayda. ‘You will sleep at my place and in the morning I will take you to a woman much older than me and she will help you.’

Ye/ nakhsuula/ kuloḷoowa/ na muunt’u/ humzidoo ye/ ka akhili. ‘She wants to be married by a man who surpasses her in intelligence.’

Zisu izo/ suwo/ skali/ kuzida zisu izi. ‘Those knives are not sharper than

these knives.'

rel.

ku-ziidana v. rec. know more than one another in different areas of knowledge

ku-zidiloowa v. appl. pass.

lombaani Sheekhi kuraaga/ umriwe kuzidiloowa [st.] 'pray that the Sheikh may live on and that his life be extended'

nazidiloowa daraja/ nk^hulu ku 'adimoowa [st.] 'may his position be enhanced/ increased and exalted'

ku-ziidila v. appl.

Kula mwenye waana/ humlazima kuwaziidila/ waanawe/ chaakuja/ cha masku ayo. 'Everyone who has children is obliged to increase for his children the food for that evening (Ashuura).'

Kuloloowa/ mi/ nakuwoná/ kuwa itakunondolela ta'abu/ na itakunzidila raaha. 'To get married, I see that it will eliminate difficulties and it will increase my comfort.'

Mzeele/ chila/ chihada/ mi siná/ waana/ waanawa/ ni maraði/ na [ka]wa'infi/ sho/ kuwa kumzidila muunt^hu/ maraði. 'The old man cried and said: I have no children, my children are a sickness and they are of no use except to add to a person's sickness.'

ku-zidilana v. appl. rec. (-zidileene) add for one another

ku-ziidisha v. caus. (zidishiize)

ku-zidoowa v. pass.

nalombeloowa Rahiimu/ darajaye kuzidoowa [st.] 'let us beg the Merciful One to elevate his position'

m-zigo (mi-)

n. 3/4 [Sw. *mzigo* SSED 324] load, piece of luggage, burden, goods

Gaari/ inakishkizoowa/ mzigo. 'The truck is being unloaded (the load).'

Gaari/ itukile mzigo. 'The truck carried a load.'

Inakhpakizowa mzigo. 'A load is bring loaded.'

Maha^laa ye/ heendr^o/ hendra na mzigowe. 'Wherever she goes, she goes with her load.' (A riddle, the answer to which is **muke nayo miimbá** 'a pregnant woman'.)

mzigo waa gele 'a load of maize'

mzigo wa suukari 'a load of sugar'

nzito kana mzigo 'as heavy as a load'

Shtomola ikoopa/ ka mzigooni/ wa muné. 'He took the cup from the bag of his younger brother.'

rel.

i-zigo n. burden, bag

Khkalaant^ha/ khuwelelela izigo/ ilu yo/ skhaadiri. 'To stay and be a burden on you, I cannot [do it].'

Yuusufu/ chimpa/ mtumishi/ mooyi/ amri/ ka nt^hiini/ khtila ikoopaye/ karka izigo/ ya Bin.yaameeni. 'Joseph gave a servant an order secretly to put his cup in the bag of Benjamin.'

zijo

n. 8 [morphological composition: **zi-jo**; cf. **ku-ja** 'to eat'] any meal of cooked cereals (maize, rice, sorghum); this word is never used in the sense of 'food' when this consists of meat or fish

khpikaa zijo 'to cook zijo'

kujaa zijo 'to eat zijo'

Laakini/ zijo/ mpele mwanaamke/ na ikookó/ mpele mwana wa mub^liwe. 'But she gave zijo to her daughter and the hard crust of rice to her husband's child.'

Liindra/ kujaa zijó. 'Wait, I am eating zijo.' (Phon. The present tense form (n)nakujaa zijó is reduced in this example to kujaa zijó.)

Naani/ jiloo zijó. 'Who ate the zijo?' Or: **Naani/ jiiló/ zijo.** 'Who ate the zijo?'

Naani/ nt^hakujaa zijó. 'Who did not eat the zijo?' Or: **Naani/ nt^haakujá/ zijó.** 'Who did not eat the zijo?'

Omari/ nt^haakuja/ zijo. ‘Omari did not eat the **zijo**.’ Or: **Omari/ nt^haakujaa zijó.** ‘It’s *Omari* who did not eat the **zijo**.’

Sku ya kaandra/ ba’adi yaawo/ kingila haruusi/ wajiile/ zijo/ za mpuunga/ ka mtuzi/ wa nama ya ngoombe. ‘On the first day after they entered home married, they ate **zijo** of rice with soup of the meat of a cow.’

Sku ya piili/ wajilee zijo/ zaa gele/ ka mtuzi/ wa nama/ ya mbuzi ya matako. ‘On the second day that ate **zijo** of maize with soup of the meat of mutton.’

Takhaadira/ zijo izi/ kujá? ‘Can you eat these **zijo**?’

Tete iziwa/ na zijo za mpuungá/ mtukize myaana/ kumpelekela eelo. ‘She took milk and rice **zijo** and had a female servant carry it and take it to the gazelle.’

Zijo/ pishilo Haliimá/ nt^haskujoowa. ‘The **zijo** that Haliima cooked was not eaten.’

Zijo/ pishilo Haliimá/ haaziwi/ ziladda. ‘The **zijo** cooked by Haliima will not be sweet.’

Zijo/ pishilo Haliimá/ siji. ‘The **zijo** Haliima cooked I do not eat.’

zijo zaa gele ‘maize **zijo**’

zijo za mhuundru ‘sorghum **zijo**’

zijo za mpuunga ‘cooked rice’

ku-ziika

v. [Sw. *zika* SSED 540] (**ziishile**) bury; cover a fire with ashes to keep the embers alive

Chimaliza/ kuzika chaakuja/ Hasani/ hamura shpeteche/ kumleetela/ chaakuja/ chisuura/ kolko chaakuja/ cha mwanaamke/ humleeteló. ‘When he finishes burying the food, Hasani orders his [magical] ring to bring food for him better than the food that the girl brings to him.’

Chizika silaahaze/ chamura shpeteche/ kumfaanya/ jisaa ye/ na’iwowa ka sul^taaní. ‘He buried his weapons and ordered his [magical] ring to make him as he was known to the sultan.’

Fii^lopó/ mwaana/ chimziika/ kama sul^taaní. ‘When he died, the son buried him in a manner befitting a sultan.’

Hasani/ hutumba iboholi/ hichiziika/ icho chaakuja/ pashpo/ ye/ kiiwa/ kuwa mwanaamke/ nakuwona zaa ye/ nakhfaanyó. ‘Hasani digs a hole and buries that food without knowing that the girl sees what he is doing.’

Maana/ humzika mzele/ mzele/ humzika maana. ‘(It should be that) the child buries the parent, (not) the parent buries the child.’ (A proverb.)

May^ti/ hamziiki/ may^ti. ‘A corpse cannot bury a corpse.’ (A proverb.)

Mi/ nt^hunzile iboholi/ nzishile nguwozé. ‘I dug a hole and buried her clothes.’

Sul^taaní/ tukile waanawe/ enzele muyiini/ kuwaziika. ‘The sultan carried his [dead] children and went to the town to bury them.’

Taajiri/ malizopo kuzika maaliyé/ chiyolokela kaake. ‘When the rich man finished burying his money, he took off to his house.’

Wanafuunzi/ wachimtala mwaalimu/ wachendra kumziika. ‘The students took the teacher[’s body] and went to bury him.’

rel.

ku-ziikana v. rec. (**zikeene**) bury one another

Awo/ hawaziikani. ‘Those ones do not attend the funerals of one another (i.e. they are enemies).’

ku-ziikila v. appl. (**zikiliile**) bury for, with

ku-zikilana v. appl. rec. (**zikileene**) bury for one another

ku-zikoowa v. pass. (**ziishila**) be buried

awo waziishila na mtume Qumari [st.] ‘they were buried by the prophet Qumari’

kalant^haani pumulaani/ hatta Sheekhi chizikoowa [st.] ‘sit down and rest

until the Sheikh's burial is completed'

karka jiraani ya mtume zikoowa [st.] 'near the Prophet he [Jesus] will be buried'

Muunt^hu/ chifa/ husula kuzikoowa/ sa'a arba'a wa ishiriini/ katiike. 'If someone dies, it is wanted (for him) to be buried within twenty-four hours.'

Mzishile eelo/ jisa sultaani/ mo/ huzikoowa. 'He buried the gazelle just as a sultan is buried.'

Shekh Nureeni/ zishila muskitiini/ kaake/ was Shekh Nureeni. 'Shekh Nureeni himself is buried in the mosque of Shekh Nureeni.'

Sultaani/ komelopo kaaké/ muyiini/ mzishile eelo/ jisa sultani mo/ huzikoowá/ chimaliza/ weshele matanga makulu. 'When the sultan reached his town, he buried the gazelle in the way that a sultan is buried and then he held a large wake.'

waziishila Maka karka ijabali [st.] 'they were buried in Mecca under a hill'

zilzaali

n. [Ar. *zilzāl* W 380] earthquake

Zilzaali/ ihalishile/ muyi wa Miini. 'An earthquake destroyed the town of Brava.'

-zima

adj. [Sw. *-zima* SSED 540] (i) whole, entire, all, complete; (ii) adult.

(i) **Abdalla/ chilawa/ ka apo/ naayé/ mzimawe/ shtana/ cheendra/ ka mukeewe.** 'Abdalla left from there and while he was all nothing but anger, he went to his wife.'

Chiza kuziwaa lufa/ itakhushika kilwaka lkuta lzimale. 'Unless you fill in a crack it will be necessary for you to build the whole wall.' (A proverb.)

masku mazima 'all night'

munt^hi mzima 'all day'

munt^hi oyo/ mzimawe 'that whole day'

Muuyi/ mzimawe/ washizaa tala. 'The entirety of the town was lit up.'

Ndrinzile sa'aa nzimá. 'I waited for a whole hour.'

Nsi mooyi/ huwoza tawala/ nzimaye. 'One fish contaminates the whole sea.' (A proverb.)

Numba iyi/ na muyi uyu/ mzimawe/ mbwaa noka/ mooyi/ mkulu/ ka zitaa saba. 'This house and the whole of this town belong to a large snake with seven heads.'

Numba/ nii nzima. 'The house is in good condition (whole, sound).'

Numbaa nzima. 'The whole house (i.e. all the people in the house, the family).'

sa'aa mbili/ nzima 'two whole hours'

Sa'iidi/ nt^hamwona/ sultaani/ mizimawe/ ye/ wene chitaache/ tu. 'Sa'iidi did not see all of the sultan, he saw only his head.'

Talaya/ huwaza duniya nzima. 'My lamp lights the whole world.' (A riddle, the answer to which is **mwezi wa weelu** 'moon'.)

(ii) **munt^hu mzima** 'an adult'

Nt^haná/ adabu/ hujiba want^hu wazima. 'He does not have good manners, he talks back to his elders.'

Siwo/ waajibu/ ilu yiinu/ kudhora want^hu wazima. 'Is it not obligatory on you (plural) to respect adults?' (Phon. The final accent in the last phrase is to be attributed to the yes-no question intonation in this sentence.)

Wa'oloshelo muyiini/ ni want^hu wazima. 'The ones who went into town are the adults.'

waana/ na wazimá 'children and adults (i.e. everyone)'

Want^hu wazima/ waleele. 'Adults are sleeping.'

We/ ni munt^hu mzimá. 'You are an adult.'

rel.

u-zima n. 14 adulthood

ku-zima

v. [Sw. *zima* SSED 540] (**zimiile**) be out (of a light, fire); be calm, patient, not carried away

Muḷo/ uzimiile. 'The fire is out.'

Munt^hu mzima/ huzima. 'An adult is supposed to be calm and patient.'

Tala/ izimiile. 'The light is out.'

rel.

ku-zimiliza v. tr. appl. (**zimiliize**)

Nzimilize muḷo we ndo nfulahisha. [song] 'Put out the fire [of love] for me, you come and make me happy.'

ku-zimiza v. tr. (**zimiize**) turn off (a light), put out (a fire)

Chizimize korantá. 'We turned off the electricity.'

Mi/ nk^hawa mwenyee nguvú/ hukhadiro khfanya yaa ye/ nakhsuuló/ mazá/ mi/ suḷa kiyalaṭa/ maayí/ kunzimizá. 'If I [in the story, fire is speaking] have the power to do whatever I want, how come I let water extinguish me?'

Zita zaawo/ hazizimi. 'Their quarreling never stops.'

ku-zimizoowa v. tr. pass. (**zimiiza**) be turned off

Koranta/ izimiza naasi. 'The electricity was turned off by us.'

zimaamu

Karka nt^hi za chi'aafrika/ ufasaadi/ uzidiile/ na rashwá/ iwele ni aada/ na iyi inakuleetó/ ni kuwa kuḷa nakhtawaḷo zimaamú/ za nt^hi mooyí/ nt^hanakhfikiriḷa/ shokuwa waant^hu/ wa qabiilaye. 'In the countries of Africa, corruption has increased and bribery has become a custom, and what brings this about is that whoever administers the affairs on a country thinks about no one except the people of his tribe.'

ku-zimila

v. (**zimiile**) hide (from), escape

Abunawaasi/ chizimile/ ka nt^hi iyi. 'Abunawaasi escaped from this land.'

Ichiwa teena/ mp^hana/ nt^hawaná/ mahaḷaa wo/ kuzimila. 'It became then that the rats had no place [for them] to hide.'

Laakini/ Hasani/ chimzimila/ waziiri. 'But Hasani hid from the minister.'

Mp^hana/ haalawi/ ndilaani/ muunt^hi/ huzimila matundruuni. 'A rat does not go outside during the daytime, he hides in holes.'

Muunt^hi/ huzimila matundruuni. 'During the day it (e.g. a rat) hides in holes.'

Mukhta sulṭaani/ mweno Abunawaasi/ chimuuzi/ naambila/ waliko zimiilepí. 'When the sultan saw Abunawaasi, he asked him, tell me, where were you hidden?'

Siimba/ apa/ wakali/ wazimile mashakaani. 'Lions here are fierce, hiding in the bush.'

Sku mooyi/ masku yahaani/ chizimila/ chendra ka karaayle/ weenizwe/ chiwapa khabari. 'One day during the night he [Crow] ran away and went to his fellow crows and gave them the news.'

Sulṭaani/ chizida khshikowa shṭana/ mukhtaay ye/ kasizo kuwa Abunawaasi/ zimiilé. 'The sultan became more angry when he heard that Abunawaasi had escaped.'

Wachiwasiḷa/ zimila/ wasikhuwone. 'When they arrive, hide so they do not see you.'

Ye/ chilawa/ ka mahaḷaa ye/ waliko zimiiló/ chendra ka sulṭaani. 'He went out from the place where he was hidden and went to the sultan.'

Ye/ chingila mayiini/ chizimila. 'He went into the water and hid.'

Ye/ shfakata/ cheendra/ chizimila. 'He ran away, and went and hid.'

Zimile askari. ‘He hid from the police.’
Zimile maduriini. ‘He hid in the forest.’

rel.

ku-zimilila v. appl. (**zimiliile**)

Nt^haná/ hila za kuzimilila. ‘He has no wits to hide with.’

ku-zimilana v. rec. (**zimileene**) hide from one another, avoid seeing one another

ku-zimilanisha v. rec. caus. make hide from one another

Ali/ chizimilanishiize. ‘Ali made us hide from one another.’

ku-zimilazimila v. freq.

...napate ku’isha/ na mpeenziwe/ pashpo khtiya/ na kuzimilazimila ‘...so that she get to live with her lover without fear and having to hide (e.g. from her father)’

ku-zimisha v. caus. help escape, make disappear

ku-zimiza v. caus. (**zimiize**) hide s.t. from view; cause to hide (Syn. This verb cannot be used to convey the notion ‘cause s.o. to hide s.t.’, hence the ungrammaticality of ***Zubeeri/ mzimize mwaana/ chibuuku.** ‘Zubeeri caused the child to hide the book.’)

Lkuta/ limzzimiize. ‘The wall hid him from view.’

Zubeeri/ mzimize mwaana. ‘Zubeeri caused the child to run away, run away.’

ku-zimizanya v. tr. rec. (**-zimizeenye**) cause one another to hide

Si/ chizimizeenye. ‘We caused one another to hide.’ (When asked how one would convey the idea that someone caused plural people to hide one another, MI rejected outright **Ali/ chizimizeenye.** ‘Ali caused us to hide one another.’ He was skeptical about suffixing the causative to this reciprocal stem: ???**Ali/ chizimizanyishiize.** ‘Ali caused us to hide each other.’)

i-zimu

n. spirit

ku-zimu

n. 9 [Sw. *kuzimu* "state (place, condition) of departed spirits of the dead, the grave, the lower world" SSED 325] sky, heaven

Amaana/ kuzimu/ naa nt^hi/ yiizó/ maadamu/ teetó. ‘Trust has been refused by the sky and the earth, but has been accepted (lit. taken) by human beings.’ (A proverb that points out that people have accepted the necessity of trusting and thus must be trustful.)

chimoombele Mooja unzilo kuzimu saba [st.] ‘pray for us to God who created the seven heavens’

chiiza sabri lawa nt^hini ya kuzimu [st.] ‘if you do not (want to be) patient, get out from under the sky (i.e. this world)’

Endra kuzimu/ ruuda/ hupati/ chint^hu icho. ‘Go to the sky and come back, you won’t get anything.’

Fikiriini/ chihada/ chimwambila mwanaamke/ mp^hanzile chaa mi/ nsuliiló/ nneelé/ chaa mi/ nsuliiló/ niko karkaa nt^hi/ na

mwajütú/ uko kuzimu. ‘Fikirini said, telling the girl: I rode that which I wanted, I drank that which I wanted, I am on earth and God is in the sky.’

huwoni kuzimu huwonu bahari [st.] ‘you do not see the sky, you do not see the ocean’

Jibriili/ uko kuzimu. ‘The archangel Gabriel is in heaven.’ (Morph. Notice that this noun is not used in the locative: ***ku-zimuu=ni.**)

kana kuzimu/ naa nt^hi ‘like heaven and earth -- said of two persons who are as different as possible’

khpandra kuzimu ‘to ascend to heaven’

Kuļa hendro ilú/ kuzimu/ hashkomi/ hishkiļa. ‘Everything that goes up does not reach the sky, (rather) it comes down.’ (A proverb.)

wa-zimu

n. [Sw. *wazimu* SSED 528] craziness, madness

Muke/ we/ nayo wazimú. ‘Woman, you are mad.’

Muyiini/ waant^hu/ wamkaheete/ na kiļa chimwonó/ chimtuusha/ na

kumtelezá/ kama muunt^hu/ mwa nda wazimu. ‘In the town, people hated him and everyone who saw him derided him and teased him as being a crazy person.’ **review "mwa nda wazimu"**
Nayo wazimú/ we/ endrá/ endrá/ siwo/ mzima/ we. ‘You are crazy, you; go away, go away! you are not all there, you.’
Ndro/ we/ pete wazimú/ so. ‘Come, have you gone crazy?’

- zina** n. [cf. Sw. *zina*, *zinaa* SSED 543; Ar. *zinā*’"adultery, fornication" W 383] adultery [pron. *ziná*]
ya nafsi lata kibri lata fakhari/ lata zina lata riba lata khamri [st.] ‘oh mortal, leave arrogance, leave showing off, leave adultery, leave usury, leave alcohol’
- ziina** n. [Ar. *zīna* W 390] poetic beauty
Mooja nashpeleka muuyi wa ziina [st.] ‘may God take us to the beautiful city’
- ku-zina** v. [cf. Sw. *zini* SSED 543; Ar. *zinā*’"adultery, fornication" W 383] (**ziniile**) commit adultery
 rel.
ku-zinisha v. caus. (**zinishiize**) induce to commit adultery’
- ku-ziinga** v. [Sw. *zinga* SSED 542] (**zingiile**) turn; wander aimlessly
 rel.
ku-zingaziinga v. freq.
- m-ziinga (mi-)** n. 3/4 [Sw. *mzinga* SSED 542] beehive
Ilu yaa muti/ uwaliko mziinga/ waa nyoki. ‘Up in the tree there was a hive of bees.’
- m-ziinga(mi-)** n. 3/4 [Sw. *mzinga* SSED 542] cannon; explosion; boom
kubiga mziinga ‘to explode’
mizingu ya salaamu ‘a salute with guns’
Miziinga/ yanakula/ bon/ bon/ bon/ bon. ‘Explosions are crying *bon bon bon bon!*’
Mukhta wo/ wawelo tayaari/ wachibiga miziinga/ kama wanakhpo waant^hú/ waraadi. ‘When they were ready [to depart], they fired cannons like they were saying farewell to the people.’ (Syn. Observe that **kama** here triggers relativization of its verbal complement.)
Mukhta ye/ ingilo chibateraani/ yachibigooa/ miziinga/ ishiriini/ na mooyi. ‘When she entered the boat, twenty-one cannon shots were fired.’
- ku-zingamana** v. [Sw. *zingamana* SSED 542] (**zingameene**) wrestle
 rel.
ku-zingamanila v. appl. (**zingamaniliile**)
- chi-ziingiti (zi-)** n. 7/8 [Sw. *kizingiti* SSED 214] threshold (into the house)
Chimwona eelowé/ simeme chizingitiini. ‘He saw his gazelle standing at the steps.’
Hukalaant^ha/ chizingitiini/ kaake/ huuza. ‘He sits on the threshold of his home and sells things.’
Kalaant^ha/ chizingitiini/ ilu ya mlaango/ mubliwa/ chiya/ khpita/ kingila numbaani/ mpoeteleele/ mlume shkosi . ‘Sit at the entrance, above

the door and when my husband comes to pass to enter the house, drop down on him and sting him on the neck. (A woman's instructions to a snake on how to kill her husband!)

kubadila chiziingiti/ cha mnaango 'lit. to change the threshold of the door -- i.e. to marry a new wife (while keeping the first one, or the previous ones)'

chi-ziingo (zi-) n. 7/8 [Sw. *kizingo* SSED 542] rim; s.t. curved or round

Zinjibaari n. Zanzibar

Laakini/ ba'adaa yo/ kudangamana/ na jaziira/ ya Zinjibaari/ wakulu/ waa nthi/ wa Tanganyika/ na wajaziira/ wa Zinjibaari/ wadanganyiliize/ ina ya Tanganyika/ na ya Zinjibaari. 'But after it (Tanganyika) merged with the island of Zanzibar, the leaders of Tanganyika and of the island of Zanzibar merged the name of Tanganyika and Zanzibar.'

ku-zira v. (**ziriile**) visit
khuziriile kama ziyaara [song] 'I paid a visit to you like the visiting of a great man who died'

m-ziishi n. [Sw. *mzishi* SSED 540] (deverbal nouns ending in *-i*, such as this one, were occasionally used by our initial consultant, MI, but do not appear to be in general use) undertaker

zita n. 10 [Sw. *vita* SSED 515; *zita* SSED 543] war, fighting, quarreling (Morph. We have not found any evidence that this noun should be considered a [cl.8] noun with the structure **zi-ta**, although this is not beyond the realm of possibility.)

khfanyaa zita 'to sever a relationship; to make war'

kubigaa zita 'to fight, make war'

Muunt^hu/ kaleent^ho/ mkali/ kubigaa zita. 'One who is sitting is very good at fighting.' (A saying.)

Ndiwa/ chimwaambila/ sintoongelé/ zita zaa mi/ siskhaadiri. 'The pigeon told him: don't provoke for me wars that I cannot afford.'

Schondrokaa zita/ kati kaawo. 'Fighting broke out between them.'

Sultaani/ shomola ma'askariwe/ keendra/ kubigaa zita. 'The sultan sent his soldiers to go to fight the war.'

Zita/ nt^haziná/ maato. 'War does not have eyes.' (A proverb.)

zita spisilo karka masahaaba/ maamala chiza takhkosa ijaaba [st.] 'the fighting among the Prophet's followers, be quiet about, otherwise you will fail to achieve success'

Zita zaawo/ hazizimi. 'Their quarreling never ends [lit. goes out].'

-zito adj. [Sw. *-zito* SSED 543] heavy, slow, sluggish, lazy, thick, difficult

Chint^hu changaangu/ heeluka/ chint^hu chizito/ huzama. 'Something light, floats; something heavy, sinks.' (A saying.)

Ijarsi/ iwaliko izito. 'The bell was heavy.'

Ka Mhamadi/ chint^hu chizito. 'For Mhamadi there is nothing difficult.'

Ka mwajiitu/ nt^haku/ chint^hu chizito. 'For God there is nothing difficult

(lit. heavy).'

khukula uzito wa muunt^hu '(lit.) carry s.o.'s weight, load – i.e. taking on the responsibility, load of another'

Nini/ insumbiiló/ khukula uzito wa muunt^hu/ yaaka/ ba/ inshiishile. 'What is it that makes me suffer carrying someone else's weight? Mine is even catching me (i.e. I have my own to carry)?'

Limiila/ lwele izito. 'My tongue became heavy -- i.e. I could not speak.'

Maazi/ ni mazito/ kolko maayi. 'Blood is thicker than water.' (A proverb.)

munt^hu mzito 'a heavy, slow, lazy man (e.g. s.o. who requires a long time to complete a task)'; **want^hu wazito** 'heavy, lazy men'

Omari/ ha'ikhadiroowi/ kurashmanowa naaye/ ni mzito. 'Omari cannot be gone with him (i.e. cannot go with him), he is a burden (slowing him down).'

Omari/ mkali/ khfanya koranta/ laakini/ ni mzito. 'Omari is good at making electricity, but is slow.'

shtoka chizito 'heavy axe'

Waliko mzito/ kujiba su'aali. 'He was slow to answer the question.'

Ye/ ni mzito. 'He is heavy, slow (idiomatically, a burden, slows one down).'

zilatu zizito 'heavy shoes'

zisu zizito 'heavy knives'

rel.

ma-zito n.6

kandika mazito 'to put a heavy load [fig.] on someone'

u-zito n. 14 heaviness; a burden

uzito mp^hakiiza nyezeeze mimbaani [song] 'I was loaded with a burden, I have filled my stomach (with it)'

i-ziwa

n. 5/6 [Sw. *maziwa* SSED 543] milk

iziwa igoroori 'cow's milk that has been shaken and cream etc. extracted – the cheapest kind of milk'

iziwa imanya 'the second stage of fermentation of camel's milk, the milk is becoming tasty'

iziwa ishu 'fresh milk'

iziwa isiita 'the last stage of camel's milk, where the milk is very sour; this is the cheapest camel's milk'

iziwa isuusu 'the third stage of camel's milk, where it has become more tasty, a little sourish – the most expensive form'

iziwa yaa mbuzi 'goat milk'

iziwa yaa muti 'sap of a tree'

iziwa ya ngamiila 'camel's milk'

iziwa ya ngoombe 'cow's milk'

Nnele iziwa/na khamri. 'I drank the milk and the liquor.'

Sultaani/ chamura eelo/ khpowa chaakuja/ na iziwa. 'The sultan ordered the gazelle to be given food and milk.'

ku-ziwa

v. [Sw. *ziba* SSED 540] (**ziwile**) fill a hole or a crack (in a wall, e.g., not the ground), block

Chiza kuziwa lufa/ itakhushika kilwaka lkuta/ lizimale. 'Unless you fill in a crack it will be necessary for you to build the whole wall.' (A proverb.)

Huseeni/ ziwile nt^huundru. 'Huseeni filled in the hole.'

rel.

ku-ziwika v. p/s. (-**ziwishile**)

Nt^huundru/ iziwishile. 'The hole was able to be filled in.'

ku-ziwikila v. p/s. appl. (-**ziwikiliile**)

Nt^huundru/ imziwikiliile. 'The hole was able to get filled in for him.'

ku-ziwila v. appl. (**ziwiliile**) fill with

kuziwila nt^huundru/ ka chimento 'to fill a hole with cement'

kuziwila nt^huundru/ ka mtaanga 'to fill a hole with sand'

ku-ziwilika v. appl. p/s.

khalbi ya mapeendo ha'iziwiliki [song] 'a heart that loves cannot be repaired'

ku-ziwisha v. caus. (**ziwishize**)

Shego/ mziwishize mwaana/ nt^huundru. 'Shego made the child fill in the hole.'

ku-ziwishana v. caus. rec.

ku-ziwishika v. caus. p/s.

ku-ziwishiliza v. caus. appl.

Shego/ mziwishilize Sarmadi/ mwaana/ nt^huundru. 'Shego made

- Sarmadi's child fill in the hole.'
- ku-ziwishilizanya* v. caus. appl. rec.
Shego/ na Sarmadi/ waziwishilizenye waana/ nt^huundru. 'Shego and Sarmadi made one another's children fill in the holes.'
- ziya** n. [Sw. *kia (via)* "joint of the leg or arm" SSED 184] joint(s) of the human body; stamina
khtowaa ziya 'to lack stamina'
uða'iifu/ waa ziya 'lacking stamina'
ziya kulungana zize [st.] '(my) joints have refused to be joined to each other -- meaning, in my old age (so speaks Dada Masiti, who lived to be a hundred) my joints are now weak, they do not stick together'
- ziyaara** n. 8 [Sw. *ziara* SSED 539; Ar. *ziyāra* W 386] the tomb of a saint; the commemoration, celebration of a saint's death; a visit (The initial *zi* of the Arabic source for this word seems to have led to it being categorized as a [cl.8] noun, but there is no evidence that speakers analyze it as consisting of a prefix and a stem, e.g. **zi-yaara* or **z-yaara*, as such a stem is not attested independently of the word *ziyaara*.)
ikum na naane mfungulo wa muusi / fanya ziyaaraze kana haruusi =[st.] '[On] the 18th day of] the first month, celebrate her anniversary day like a wedding.'
Inakurudoowa/ ka ziyaraani. 'People are coming back from the festival.'
rabi chiruzuge keendra ziyaara [st.] 'O God, make it possible for us to visit'
Wanthu/ wa'iló/ ziyaraani/ ka Shekh Nureeni/ kanaa nyoki. 'The people who went on **ziyaara** to Sheikh Nureeni were as many as bees.'
washkoma ziyaraani/ teena inakalant^hoowa [st.] 'and when they reach the burial place, they will sit down'
ziyaara za mtume suna mu'akadi [st.] 'visiting the Prophet's grave is recommended'
Ziyaara/ za Shekh Aweeso/ hufanyowa Biyoole. 'The visiting of Sheikh Aweeso's grave is done in Biyoole.'
- ku-ziyaarata** v. (*ziyareete*) visit, esp. the grave; visit old people who are too infirm to leave their homes
Biyoole/ holokowa kuziyarata Shekh Aweeso. 'One goes to Biyoole to visit the grave of Sheikh Aweeso.'
Mubliwa/ Nureeni/ maamaye/ nakichiziyarata. 'My husband Nureeni's mother is visiting us.'
mziyareeto khitamal mursaliina [st.] 'and the one who visits the Last of the Prophets'
Nimziyarete mubliwá/ Nureení/ maamayé. 'I visited my husband Nureeni's mother.'
Nimziyarete Nureni ^fmubliwá/ maamá=y-e. 'I visited Nureeni my husband's mother.'
Nureni mubliwa/ maamaye/ nakichiziyarata. 'Nureeni my husband's mother is visiting us.' (Observe in this example that **Nureeni** is incorporated into the same phrase as **mubliwa**. This phrasing is required to establish the meaning 'Nuuru's mother'. If one said **Nureeni/ mubliwa/ maamaye/ nakichiziyarata**, the interpretation would be 'Nureeni, my husband's mother, visited us', which would be odd since **Nureeni** is a name reserved for males.)
rel.
ku-ziyaratoowa v. pass.
wake hupeendo radiiya/ awo mba kuziyaratoowa [st.] 'the women who choose a proper behavior are those worthy to be visited'
- ziizi** [cl.8] strong dem.
[Hamadi/ tukile ^fziizi/ izi] 'Hamadi carried these ones themselves.' Or:

[Hamadi/ tukiile/ ^fziizi/ izi]. Or: [Hamadi/ tukile ^fziizi]. (Phon. An emphatic yes-no question: **Hamadi/ tukile ziizi/ izi!**? ‘Did Hamadi really carry these ones themselves!?’)

[Hamadi/ tukiile/ ^fziizi/ ziti]. (Phon. Although prosodically separating the verb from its complement has the consequence that the verb is not downstepped, in an example like this the following focused demonstrative is the only element with a markedly raised pitch.)

[mi/ nt^hukiilé/ ^fziizi/ izi] ‘I carried these ones themselves.’ Or: [mi/ nt^hukile ^fziizi/ izi]. Or: [mi/ nt^hukile ziizi].

[mi/ nt^hukiilé/ ^fziizi/ ziti] ‘I carried these chairs themselves.’ Or: [nt^hukile ^fziizi/ ziti]. (Phon. Notice that the verb may be joined into the same phonological phrase as **ziizi**, in which case the final accent assigned by the verb is realized at the end of **ziizi**.)

ziizi/ izi ‘these very same ones [cl.8]’

[^fziizi/ izi/ Hamadi/ tukiiló]. Or: [^fziizi/ tukiiló/ Hamadi], where the postposed subject is set off with a small pause. (Syn. With **ziizi** preposed to initial position, it is obligatory for the verb to be in the pseudo-relative form: * [^fziizi/ (izi)/ Hamadi/ tukiile] and * [^fziizi/ (izi)/ tukiile/ Hamadi] are ill-formed.)

[^fziizi/ st^hukila na Hamadi] ‘These ones themselves were carried by Hamadi.’ Or: [^fziizi/ st^hukilá/ na Hamadi]. (Syn. Observe that the focused passive subject **ziizi** triggers pseudo-relativization of the verb. Without focus, there is no pseudo-relativization: **Ziizi/ st^hukila na Hamadi.** or **Ziizi/ st^hukila/ na Hamadi.**)

[^fziizi/ ziti] ‘It’s these chairs themselves.’

[^fziizi/ zoombo] ‘It’s these things (this stuff) themselves.’

ziizi [cl.10] strong dem.

ziizi/ izi [cl.8] first position emphatic demonstrative
ziizi/ skapu izi ‘these baskets themselves’

ziizi/ izi [cl.10] first position emphatic demonstrative
ziizi/ numba izi ‘these very houses, these houses themselves’

chi-zizi n. [Sw. *zizi* SSED 543] stable where animals are kept

ziizije [cl.8] strong dem.
ziizije/ izije ‘those same ones’

ziizije [cl.10] strong dem.
ziizije/ izije ‘those same ones’

ziizo [cl.8] strong dem.
ziizo/ izo ‘those same ones near you’

Kharibu ya muuyi/ chaanza/ kiimba/ ndriimbo/ ziizo/ izo/ na maamayé/ chimjüba/ ka ndriimbo/ ziizo. ‘Near town, he began to sing those very same songs [that he had sung before when he was announcing he had killed the lion], and his mother replied to him with the very same songs [that she had used before to tell him that it was not a lion he had killed].’

ziizo/ izije ‘those very ones’

ziizo/ ka ziizo ‘these very same ones, over and over’

ziizo [cl.10] strong dem.
Jawaabu/ ni ziizo/ tu/ kila muunt^hi. ‘The affairs are just the same every day.’

ziizo/ izo ‘those same ones near you’

Jawaabu/ ziizo/ izo/ mi/ muḅli uyu/ simpeendi. ‘Things are exactly the same. I do not love this man.’

Mukeewe/ kila/ mara/ chimrudila jawaabu/ ziizo/ izo. ‘His wife each time used to repeat these very same words.’

ziizo/ izije ‘those very ones’

ziizo/ ka ziizo ‘these very same ones, over and over’

ziizo/ izi

[cl.8] first position emphatic demonstrative
ziizo/ skapu izi ‘these baskets themselves’

ziizo/ izi

[cl.10] first position emphatic demonstrative
ziizo/ numba izi ‘these very houses, these houses themselves’

ziizo/ izije

[cl.8] third position emphatic demonstrative
ziizo/ skapu izije ‘those baskets themselves’

ziizo/ izije

[cl.10] third position emphatic demonstrative
ziizo/ numba izije ‘those very houses, those houses themselves’

ziizo/ izo

[cl.8] second position emphatic demonstrative
skapu izo/ ziizo ‘those baskets themselves’
ziizo/ skapu izo ‘those baskets themselves’

ziizo/ izo

[cl.10] second position emphatic demonstrative
ziizo/ numba izo ‘those very houses, those houses themselves’

zo

[cl.8] independent pronoun

Hamadi/ tukiile/ zo. ‘Hamadi *carried* them.’ Or: **Hamadi/ tukilee zo.** Or with an object prefix as well as the pronoun: **Hamadi/ stukiile/ zo.** and **Hamadi/ stukilee zo.**

Hamadi/ tukiile/ zo/ zoombo. ‘Hamadi carried them, things.’ Or with focus on **zo**: [**Hamadi/ tukiile/ ^fzo/ zoombo**].

Mi/ nistukilee zo. ‘I carried them.’ (Note that given the input /ni-zi-tukilee zo/, the object prefix **zi** elides its vowel in front of a voiceless obstruent and the **z** devoices to **s**. The consonant cluster that is thus created prevents the vowel of the subject prefix **ni** from eliding.)

Mi/ nt^hukilee zo. ‘I carried them.’ Or: **Mi/ nt^hukiilé/ zo.** ‘I *carried* them.’ (It should be noted that in the second pronunciation cited, where the verb is separated from the pronoun, the pronoun is *not* radically lowered in pitch.)

Mi/ nt^hukilee zo/ zoombó. ‘I carried these, things.’ (Notice that the final accent from the verb extends to **zoombo** in this example. There is another pronunciation where the final accent stops at **zo**. We take this to be evidence that **zo** is focused in this case: [**mi/ nt^hukilee ^fzo/ zoombo**].

Wanakizijaa zo. ‘They are eating [cl.8] them.’

Wanakujaa zo. ‘They are eating them [cl.8].’ (Cf. The simple yes-no question corresponding to this sentence differs not in the location of the accent, which is on **zo** in both the statement and the question, but differs rather in the Q-raising intonation. The question retains the contrast in pitch height between the syllables in **wanakujaa** and **zo**, but differs from the statement in that all the syllables are somewhat raised: **Wanakujaa zo?**)

Zibuuku/ zatushile/ zo. ‘The books are torn, they.’

Zo/ zatushile. ‘They [cl.8] are torn.’

Zo/ zibuuku/ zatushile. ‘They, the books, are torn.’ Or: **Zibuuku/ zo/**

zatushile.

zo

[cl.10] pronoun

Apo/ numbaani/ zo/ huja kuḷa/ yaa wo/ hupató. ‘There in the house they [the rats] eat all that they find.’

Choloka naazo/ kaake. ‘He went with them to his house.’

Mp^hana/ hazilawi/ muunt^hi/ zo/ huzimila mitundruuni/ laakini/ masku/ yachiingila/ na ichiwa waant^hu/ waleele/ zo/ hulawa ka maboholiini. ‘Rats do not come out in the daytime, they hide in holes, but if night enters and if it be that people are sleeping, they come out of [their] holes.’

Mukhta ikomelo maskú/ shtukula/ rupiya alfu/ zaa ye/ wanaazó/

numbaani/ shistila ndrani ya huunda. ‘When night came, he carried a thousand rupees that he had with him at home and put them inside the measuring tin.’

Mukhta nt^heendre/ zilaziló/ baaba/ chiwavila waanawe/ sitta/ chiwa’ambila/ kuwaa ye/ namsula mooyi/ kati kaawo/ kuliindra/ nt^heendre/ hattá/ mukhtaa zo/ stakuvivó. ‘When the dates came out, Father called his his six children and told them that he wanted one among them to protect the dates until they became ripe.’

Nuumba/ zivundishile/ zo. ‘The houses are broken down, they.’

Wanakizija. ‘They are eating [cl.8].’ (Phon. Strikingly, it is possible for this sentence to be pseudo-relativized: **Wanakizijó.**)

Wanakizijaa zo. ‘They are eating [cl.10] them.’

Wanakujaa zo. ‘They are eating them [cl.10].’

Watumishi awo/ watukilee nsi/ izo/ wa’oloshihe naazo/ ka sulṭaani. ‘Those servants carried those fish and went with them to the sultan.’

Zo/ nuumba/ ziburushile. ‘They, the houses, collapsed.’ Or: **Nuumba/**

zo/ ziburushile.

Zo/ ziburushile. ‘They collapsed.’

zoojali

n. [Ar. *zawāl* "noon" W 387] a little after mid-day
variant form: **zuhaali**

zoojali hoosi ichiguura [st.] ‘a little after mid-day, when the shade moves west’

zoojara

n.

Sku mooyi/ wakhti/ ya harri/ sa’a za zohaari/ Juha/ na maanawé/ walazile/ wanakendra mahala. ‘One day, when it was hot, at mid-day, Juha and his som left to go someplace.’

zookola

n. high-heel rubber-soled shoes, usu. worn by women but may be worn by men as well

zilatu za zookola ‘high-heeled shoes’

ku-zoola

v. [Sw. *zoa* SSED 544] (**zoozele**) gather up

Laakini/ kuḷa muunt^{hi}/ chimalizá/ kishkiza nsiize/ ka chibateraani/ huya askari/ wa sulṭaani/ oyo/ huzolaa nsi/ zotte/ walá/ hawampi/ peesa. ‘But every day after unloading his fish from the boat, come the soldiers of the sultan to sweep up all the fish and not give him any money.’

kuzolaa nt^haka ‘to remove garbage’

rel.

ku-zoolela v. appl.

ku-zoleloowa v. appl. pass.

ku-zoloowa v. pass. (**zoozela**)

ku-zolazoola v. freq.

Laakini/ ye/ oyo mwanaamke/ ka kumwingila haraka/ naayé/ nakuzolozolo ruuhuyé/ ki’iḷawilá/ chiliwala garbisaariye. ‘But she, that girl, because of her haste [lit. haste entering her], while she was collecting herself to get out, she forgot her veil.’

ku-zooleka v. p/s. (**zoleshele**) be capable of being gathered up

Mayi yatawanyishiló/ hayazooleki. ‘Water that has been spilt cannot be gathered up.’ (A proverb.)

ku-zoolesha v. caus.

ku-zoleshana v. caus. rec.

ku-zolesheka v. caus. p/s.

ku-zolesheleza v. caus. appl.

ku-zoleshelezanya v. caus. appl. rec.

zoozo

[cl.10] strong demonstrative

zoozo/ ka zoozo ‘those same ones, over and over’ (though this phrase does not seem to be freely used, as the following examples were rejected: ***Koođi/ zoozo/ ka zoozo**. ‘Those same words over and over.’ and ***Nt^hokoso/ zoozo/ ka zoozo**. ‘These same scoldings over and over.’)

ndraano/ zoozo/ ka zoozo ‘those same stories, over and over’

ndrooto/ zoozo/ ka zoozo ‘those same dreams, over and over’

ku-zuuba

v. [Som. *duub* DSI 202] (**zubiile**) roll (thread, rope), wrap something around something; beat, hit

Ali/ mzubile mwaana/ ltepe/ chitaani. ‘Ali wrapped a bandage around the child’s head.’

Ali/ zubile chita/ ltepe. ‘Ali wrapped a bandage around his (own) head.’

Ali/ zubile luzi. ‘Ali rolled the thread.’

Ali/ zubile ruuhuye/ ltepe/ chitaani. ‘Ali wrapped a bandage around himself on the head.’

Chimzuba maana/ chiguwo/ shingooni. ‘He wrapped a piece of cloth around the child’s neck [lit. on, at the neck].’ (Syn. Word order in Chimiini is quite free. The three verbal complements in this example may be reordered without the need for the presence of strong focus on the IAV position.)

Eelo/ walikoo ye/ zubile almaasi/ karka ikharba yaa muti. ‘The gazelle had wrapped the diamond in the leaf of the tree.’

kuzuba kaa luti ‘to hit with a stick’

Maana/ lufkuti/ limzubile shingo. ‘The child, the umbilical cord surrounded his neck.’

Zubile chiguwo/ maana/ shingo. ‘He wrapped a piece of cloth around the child’s neck.’ (Syn. Notice the absence of overt possessive marking in this example. Word order is quite free in Chimiini, thus it is grammatical to reorder the three verbal complements in any order. This reordering does not require putting strong focus on the complement in IAV position. In the absence of strong focus, the simple yes-no question version of this sentence does not involve any shift of accent, regardless of the word order. Recall that in simple yes-no questions, a phonological phrase in the VP that is out-of-focus shifts its accent to the end.)

rel.

ku-zubamana v. (**zubameene**) be entangled

ku-zuubana v. rec. hit one another; embrace; wrap one another with something

kuzubana shingo ‘to embrace’

ku-zubazuuba v. freq. hug

Maskiini/ chondroka ka chilini/ chimzubazuba eelo/ chila. ‘The poor man got up from bed and hugged the gazelle and cried.’

Uyu/ mwenopo eeló/ chuuluka/ chimzubazuba ka furaha. ‘When this one saw the gazelle, he jumped up and embraced him with joy.’

ku-zuubika v. p/s.

ku-zubiloowa v. appl. pass. be wrapped with

Na chala ichó/ chizubila shtepe/ na shtepení/ yandishila/ ina ya sultaani. ‘And that finger was wrapped with a rag, and on the rag was written the name of the sultan.’

ku-zuubila v. appl. (**zubiile**) wrap with

ku-zuubisha v. caus.

ku-zubishana v. caus. rec.

ku-zubishika v. caus. p/s.

ku-zubishiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-zubishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ku-zuboowa v. pass. (**-zubiila**) be rolled, wrapped up

Hasani/ chiwonowa kuwa chaalache/ shtinziila/ na chizubila shtepe/ cha sultaani/ mpelo waaziri. ‘Hasani was seen that his finger had been cut and had been wrapped with the rag that the sultan had given the minister.’

Ltepe lzubila mutiini. ‘A strip of cloth was wrapped around the tree.’

- zubadi* n. [Ar. *zubad* "choicest part, cream" pl. of *zubda* "cream or fresh butter" W 372] *lit.* curdled milk
zubadi ka chimbalazi ni toomu [st.] 'zubadi in Chimbalazi is toomu'
- i-zugula* n. type of trevally; very big, with perfectly smooth skin like a king fish
- zuhali* n. [Ar. *zuḥal* W 374] the planet Saturn
- zuhura* n. [Sw. *zuhura* SSED 546; Ar. *az-zuhara* W 384] the planet Venus
- ku-zuuka* v. [Sw. *zuka* SSED 545] (**zuushile**) appear ("from nowhere") appear after a period of absence; rise from the grave; be revived (of fire)
Mulo/ uzuushile. 'The fire has revived.'
Zushile ka qabriini. 'He rose from the grave.'
 rel.
ku-zuukila v. appl. (**zukiliile**) revive for
Ali/ mulo/ umzukiliile. 'The fire was able to be revived for Ali (due to his own efforts or due to someone else's efforts).'
ku-zuusha v. caus. (**zushiize**) revive (a fire, memories, etc.)
Ali/ zushizee mulo. 'Ali revived the fire.'
Sizizuushé/ ziwovu. 'Don't revive memories of past evils.'
ku-zuushika v. p/s.
ku-zushikila v. p/s. appl.
Ali/ mulo/ umzushikiliile. 'The fire was able to be revived for him (by someone).'
ku-zushiliza v. caus. appl. (**zushiliize**)
ku-zushoowa v. pass. (**zushiiza**)
Mulo/ uzushiiza. 'The fire has been revived.'
- m-zuuka (wa-)* n. 1/2 [Sw. *mzuka* SSED 545] a ghost; an unconventional, nonconformist person (pejorative, used to refer to someone whose behavior is unacceptable to the community)
- ku-zuula* v. [Sw. *zulu* SSED 546; Ar. *zūl, zāla* "to go away, abandon, come to an end" W 386; the Ar. source cited in SSED seems to be wrong] lose one's senses, be confused; lose everything
 rel.
ku-zuulata v. (**zuleete**) same meaning as basic form
Aqili/ zimzuleete/ Hiindra. 'Hiindra lost his senses.'
Hiindra/ zulete aqili. 'Hiindra lost his senses.'
ku-zulatoowa v. pass.
ku-zuulisha v. caus. confuse someone; destroy someone
Abdalla/ mzulushize waawaye. 'Abdalla caused his father to go bankrupt.'
Aduwi/ khufuundrisha/ mweenza/ khuzuulisha. 'An enemy teaches you, a friend destroys you.' (A proverb.)
Aalimu/ mzulishize Hiindrá/ aqili. 'Aalimu confused Hiindra.' (Phon. The final accent on **Hindrá** is a lexical property of this name and not triggered by the morphosyntax.)
- i-zuliya (ma-)* rather than locally made) n. 5/6 [Sw. *zulia* SSED 546; Ar. *zūliya* "knotted rug" W 387] rug, carpet (imported rather than locally made)
izuliya isaafi 'a clean carpet'; **mazuliya masaafi** 'clean carpets'
izuliya shiiri 'dirty carpet' (cf. **mazuliya shiiri** 'dirty carpets')
 rel.
chi-zuliya (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.
l-zuliya (mi-) n. 11/4
- ku-zuma* v. [Sw. *zuma* SSED 546] (**zumiile**) accuse falsely or wrongly

zumaari n. [cf. Sw. *zomari*, *zumari* SSED 517; Ar. *zummāra* "a wood instrument with 2 pipes" and *mizmār* "idem., but with a single pipe" W 381] flute, fife (In SSED, the definition of this noun is as follows: "A musical wind instrument, a kind of pipe, flageolet, clarinet--of wood with a harsh piercine tone" (p.544).)

na khkiinga ishkilo khkasa zumaari [st.] 'and to lean forward to listen to zumaari'

ku-zuumbika v. [Sw. *vumbika* SSED 517, though apparently forms with *z* rather than *v* can be found as well, cf. *zumbua* SSED 546] be, get filled in (of a hole, e.g.)

Iboholi/ inakuzuumbika. 'The hole is filling up.'

Iboholi/ izumbushile. 'The hole was, got filled in.'

rel.

ku-zumbiliza v. tr. appl. (**zumbiliize**)

Mtaanga/ Abú/ zumbilize iboholi. 'Sand, Abu filled up the hole with it.'

ku-zuumbiza v. tr. (**zumbiize**) fill a hole in the ground, cover a fire with ashes to keep the coals alive; (of something) covering a hole (This verb is not a true causative, and one cannot form a causative stem from it. To express a true causative meaning, a periphrastic construction is used: **Ali/ mtile mwaana/ kuzumbiza iboholi.** 'Ali made the child fill the hole.')

Chimzumbiza mtaanga. 'He covered him with sand.'

Haanzó/ kuzumbiza mtaanga/ ni ahli/ ya khariibu/ kilaa mooyi/ maraa nt'atu/ ka mkono/ hutilo mtaanga. 'The ones who begin to fill in [the grave] with sand are the closest relatives; each one [of whom] three times with the hand, puts in sand.' (One aspect of this sentence is currently not well understood: A relative verb like **haanzó** 'ones who begin' regularly projects its final accent throughout its verb phrase; it would seem that **kuzumbiza mtaanga** is an infinitival complement to **haanzó**, but the final accent has not been projected onto it. The observed pronunciation could be explained in terms of the Accentual Law of Focus, since **haanzó** stands at the end of a phonological phrase, but this law generally is not observed to hold in true relative clauses.)

Khaadimu/ nakuzumbiza iboholi. 'The servant is filling up the hole.'

Mtaanga/ uzumbize iboholi. 'The sand covered up the hole, ditch.'

Mukhta khaadimu/ wa'anzizo kuzumbiza mtaanga/ mgarwa/ shtomola shpete/ ka chiwovuuni/ chichivaala. 'When the servants began to cover [the grave] with sand, the fisherman took out the ring from his pocket and put it on.'

zumbizaani inendraani/ nt'aku inakhfanyoowa [st.] 'fill it up and go, there is nothing else to do'

Zumbize chibuuku/ mtaanga. 'He covered the book with sand.'

Zumbize iboholi/ ka mtaanga. 'He filled in the hole with sand.'

ku-zumbizika v. tr. p/s. able to be filled in

ku-zumbizoowa v. tr. pass.

Chimaliza/ huzumbizowa mtaanga. 'Then [the corpse] is covered with sand.'

Sheekhi umo harusiini/ qabri inazumbizoowa [st.] 'the Sheikh is at his wedding, let us fill up his grave'

ku-zuumbuza v. (perfect form uncertain; the expected for **zumbiize** is the perfect stem of the verb **kuzuumbiza**) remove ashes from a fire to get the burning coals so that new charcoal can be added to get the fire going again

ku-zuumbuka v. go up and down, back and forth, without purpose
rel.

ku-zumbukoowa v. pass.

Masku/ mazima/ huzumbukoowa/ Ameerika. 'People are wandering about the whole night in America.'

zumra n. [Ar. *zumra* W 381] group of people

m-zuungu (wa-) n. 1/2 [Sw. *mzungu* SSED 326] white man, European or American; an unbeliever
aḍabu ya mzuungu nt'amu shaka [st.] 'the punishment of non-believers, there is no doubt'

Chisu ichi/ hachimtiindi/ haṭá/ mzuungu. ‘This knife (is so blunt) it won’t cut a white man.’ (A saying.)

rel.

chi-zuungu n. in the European or American style; a European language

ku-zungumuza

v. chat

Nnazo kooḍi/ nakhsula kuzungumuza nawé/ mbele za waant^hú. ‘I have words [to say to you], I want to chat with you in front of people.’

ku-zuura

v. [cf. Sw. *zuru* SSED 539; Ar. *zaur*, *zāra*, *ziyāra* W 386] (**zuriile**) visit

Ba’adi yaa sala/ kuḷa mooyi/ humlazima kendra kuzura wazaaziwe/ ahliye/ na weenzawé. ‘After the prayer (on the **idi ya wamuusi**) everyone is obliged to go to visit his parents, his relatives, and his friends.’

Basi/ waana/ awa/ kuḷa mukhta wo/ hendro kumzura sulṭaani/

humwona/ kuwaa ye/ umo mp^hinguuni. ‘So, every time these children go to visit the king, they see him in chains.’

Chondroka kuzura nuumba. ‘He went to visit the house.’

Kama aada/ taajiri/ oloshle mutiini/ kuzura peesaze/ laakini/ mara iyi/ mukhta ye/ ufkilo iboholi/ chiwovu cha peesa/

nt^hashkuwaalimo/ iboholiini. ‘As usual, the rich man went to the tree to visit his money, but thus time when he dug up the hole, the bag of money was not in the hole.’

kuzuura/ ba’aḍi ya ahliye ‘to visit members of his (extended) family’

Ndraṭa/ mi/ neendre/ nimzuure. ‘Allow me to go and visit him.’

Nt^humzuura/ mwaalimu. ‘You did not visit the teacher.’

numa wanamzuure mtume imaamu [st.] ‘then let them visit the Prophet

Imaamu’

Safiriile/ ka ariḷaanoye/ khaasá/ kooloka/ ka kuzuura/ nt^hi za sharkhi/ yaa kati. ‘He travelled by his special airplane to go to visit the countries of the Middle East.’

Sizureeni. ‘You (pl.) don’t visit!’

Sizureeni/ ahli. ‘You (pl.) don’t visit relatives!’

Suufi/ mzurile mwaanawa. ‘Suufi visited my child.’ (Syn. Observe that the

benefactive applied may be used to express the same notion: **Suufi/ nzurilile mwaana.** ‘Suufi visited my child.’ Of course, the context might make it clear that the visiting was for my benefit or to my detriment, but lacking such a context, the benefactive applied here is simply establishing a possessive relationship between me and the child.)

Suufi/ zurile madrasa. ‘Suufi visited school.’

Wamzurile mwaalimu. ‘They visited the teacher.’

Wana khabari/ wanakuhada/ ya kuwa ra’iisi/ nakhfilatiloowa/

khfaanya/ mukaṭaba/ pamó/ na ba’aḍi/ yaa nt^hi/ zaa ye/

ṭakuzuuro. ‘The newsmen say that the president is expected to make an agreement with some of the countries that he will visit.’

Zuura. ‘Visit!’

Zuraani. ‘You (pl.) visit!’ (cf. **Zurani ahli.** ‘You (pl.) visit relatives!’)

rel.

ku-zuurana v. rec.

ku-zuurika v. p/s.

ku-zuurila v. appl.

ku-zuurisha v. make someone pay a visit

ku-zurishan(y)a v. caus. rec.

ku-zurishiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-zurishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

zuraafa

n. [Ar. *zurāfa* W 376] giraffe

Mara ya isa/ wo/ wadirkamene na zuraafa. ‘This time they encountered a

giraffe.’

Mwaana/ chanza kiimba/ na maamá/ wenopo kuwa ni zuraafá/ yaa ye/ ubleeló/ chimjiiba/ kuwa yaa ye/ ubleeló/ ni zuraafa/ siwo/ siimba. ‘The boy began to sing [announcing his success at killing the lion] and mother, when she saw that it was a giraffe that he had killed, replied to him that what he had killed was a giraffe, not a lion.’

- zuuri** n. [Sw. *zuri* SSED 547; in Sw. a verb *zuri* SSED 547 is in use, but we did not record such a verb in Chimiini; Ar. *zūr* "lie, untruth" W 386] perjury, false testimony
kuḷawa shahada zuuri ‘to commit perjury, give false testimony’
Ndrazole shahada zuurí. ‘I committed perjury.’
shahada zuuri ‘false testimony’
- i-zuuzu (mi-)** adj. [Sw. *-zuzu* SSED 548; interestingly, Sw. has a related verb *zuzua* SSED 548, but we have not encountered such a verb in Chimiini] confused, absent-minded
munt^hu izuuzu ‘a confused person’
want^hu mizuuzu or **want^hu wazuuzu** ‘confused people’
rel.
zuuzu (mi-) n. someone who goes round and round doing nothing
- ⊙ ideo. of kissing (This ideophone is a bilabial lingual ingressive click.)
Haliima/ mbusize maanawe/ ⊙ ⊙. ‘Haliima kissed her child ⊙ ⊙.’

Appendix

This book would not exist were it not for the indefatigable efforts of Mohammad Imam Abasheikh, as explained in the introductory materials. In the course of our work together, Mohammad provided a few lexical items that we have been unable to confirm with other speakers. Some of these are pronunciation variations of words that clearly do exist in Chimiini. Others are words that simply are not recognized at all by other speakers and may be Arabicisms or Swahilisms derived from Mohammad’s excellent command of those languages (or even words that once were in use in Chimiini but have now passed out of use).

Mohammad passed away in 2009, and we are unable to obtain his judgement about whether these items are to be identified as Chimiini words. We are loathe to omit entirely from this dictionary any words that Mohammad employed in speaking and writing Chimiini. As a consequence, the words that are pronunciation variants of known Chimiini words are listed in the main body of this work. The others are listed below.

- k-aalika** v. [Sw. *alike* SSED 9] (**alishile**) invite s.o. to a party, wedding, or other ceremony
rel.
k-alikana v. rec. (**-alikeene**)
k-alikila v. appl. (**alikiiliile**)
k-alikoowa v. pass. (**alishiḷa**)
- kh-choma** v. (**chomeele**) burn a part of s.o.’s body for medical purposes (a practice that is now on the decline in Brava and as a consequence, the word is no longer in common use)
- kh-chora** v. (**choreele**) engrave, carve, design, decorate
rel.
kh-choraachora v. freq.
kh-choroowa v. pass. (**-choreela**) be engraved on
rel. nom.
m-chora (wa-) n. 1/2 one who carves etc.
ma-choro n. 6 engraving, design
u-choro n. 14 drawing
- i-chuungwa (ma-)** n. 5/6 orange
rel.

m-chuungwa (*mi-*) n. 3/4 orange tree

jazaari

n. [Ar. *jazzār* W 123] butcher