

Contributions to the Description of Chimiini #1

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I have spent a substantial part of my professional career as a linguist documenting Chimiini, an endangered language closely related to Kiswahili, but radically different in terms of its prosody and in terms of the very significant impact that Somali has had on its lexicon particularly. The active elicitation of data occurred primarily in 1973-1978 and from 2009 until the present (2019). The late Mohammad Imam Abasheikh was my data source in the first period, while he was completing a Ph.D. in linguistics at the University of Illinois. Gelani Mohamed Diini has worked with me constantly during the second period. Whatever I have learned about Chimiini is a result of their knowledge of the language, their sensitivity to its complex prosodic patterns, and to the passion in their determination to help preserve the language and the culture that it embodies.

Although I have published on various topics concerning Chimiini, in recent years I have worked quite extensively on various projects and papers that remain unpublished. At the age of 79, I have to recognize that there is no certainty that I will see all or indeed any of these through to publication, whether in print or on the internet. It is with this truth in mind, that I decided to begin this series: "Contributions to the Description of Chimiini", which consists of (dated) drafts of various projects and papers. The reader must understand that they are drafts, and while sometimes very long, are only that. But they do offer a huge amount of data and analysis.

The first contribution is my rather massive dictionary and chrestomathy. It contains as much lexicon as I have been able to collect (as of 12-25-2019) and a vast body of sentences and phrases, all of which are prosodically analyzed (setting aside poetry and songs which do not display the same prosody as the spoken language).

Chimiini Dictionary and Chrestomathy (Draft dated 12-25-2019)

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**with the special assistance of
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and
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Preface

It seems fair to say that this book is unlike any other book that has ever been written. There are reasons for this; hopefully good reasons, even if not inevitable reasons.

There are a vast number of languages, many still spoken, and for some of them, we have dictionaries. These dictionaries vary considerably in scope and in comprehensiveness, but they have the same general goal: to document the lexical elements out of which words and sentences in a language are fashioned. Some languages have a considerable literature and this literature usually plays a central role in discovering the lexical resources a language possesses. Other languages are unwritten or lack a significant literature, and as a consequence, documenting its lexicon is primarily an elicitation task. Chimiini falls into this second category. There are of course different means by which lexicon may be elicited. A principal means of eliciting lexicon involves asking if the language has words which express ideas similar to a word in some other language. Chimiini is a Bantu language very closely related to Kiswahili that has had the same substantial Arabic impact, but in addition has

been significantly impacted by Somali and Italian. We used all of these languages, as well as English, to elicit the Chimiini lexicon. In any case, when elicitation is the means for assembling the lexicon, there is no way to avoid a certain “hit-or-miss” aspect to the process.

The present book does undertake the essential task of documenting the Chimiini lexicon, not withstanding the difficulty of doing this in a comprehensive manner by mostly relying on elicitation, and relying on an extremely small number of consultants. It just tries to do a whole lot more. What are the additional things that it tries to do and why? Perhaps we should get to the essence of the *why* immediately. This book documents the **Chimiini** (originally pronounced **Chimwiini**) language, a language that originally was almost exclusively associated with the town of Brava or Baarawe (the indigenous name of which is **Miini**, originally **Mwiini**) in southern Somalia, but now is spoken in a diaspora that includes a significant population in the United Kingdom (London and Manchester) and the United States (particularly Atlanta and Columbus). Chimiini is what is commonly referred to as an *endangered* language. There are thousands of speakers at present, but in all of the communities where it is spoken today, its retention among the youth is at risk. This book seeks to preserve as much information about the pronunciation and construction of Chimiini sentences as possible, understanding full well that significant aspects of the language may effectively disappear over time.

It is not just the language that we wish to document, but also to some extent a unique aspect of the language: up until the 1970's, Chimiini was *the* language of Brava and *only* of Brava. Chimiini and Brava were interchangeable, one did not exist without the other. This began to change in the 1970s, when a significant number of Somalis were relocated to Brava by Said Barre. It changed entirely in the 1990s, when competing marauding Somali militias drove the majority of the Chimiini-speaking residents of Brava into exile and the town's population became predominantly Somali. Control of Brava by the terrorist group Al-Shabab, which ended only in 2015, served to isolate the town. The fear of violence on the road to Brava continues even now to discourage visits to the town, let alone reintegration, by those who fled. The memory of what life was like in the past is as much at risk as the language. In an entirely haphazard way, this book attempts to preserve aspects of the culture and social life of **Miini** as it once existed. Example sentences often revolve around people and practices that existed in the olden times (*zamaani*), but may not survive. These example sentences are an inadequate reflection of the past that was **Miini**, but they are there to remind us that language and culture are interwoven.

Let us discuss briefly some of the most significant ways in which this book differs from ordinary dictionaries. One major difference has to do with pronunciation. Most dictionaries record the way that the words listed in the dictionary are pronounced. To be more precise, they do not attempt to represent every detail of the pronunciation of a word, but rather the so-called “phonemic” contrasts, i.e. they try to represent those sound contrasts that distinguish one word from another. Some contrasting features of pronunciation may be omitted, but these are usually matters of “prosodic” contrasts like tone which may present special difficulties in terms of analysis and representation. Dictionaries typically represent the phonemic contrasts that a word exhibits when it is pronounced in isolation. They are not particularly concerned with whether words change their phonemic shape depending on their position in sentences. This is largely due to the fact that (setting aside prosody) words in many languages do not differ phonemically depending on the context in which they occur in a sentence, particularly in more careful speech.

Because dictionaries are focused on words in isolation, the extent to which sample sentences are provided varies. The motivation for providing example sentences may be to illustrate the use of a word or the different meanings it may have. The exemplary sentences in this work do have in part similar motivations. But a very large part of the motivation for the huge quantity of example sentences found here is that we wish to describe the prosody of words in Chimiini. By “prosody”, we mean the distribution of *vowel length* and the presence of *accent*, where accent is marked by high pitch. But in trying to describe the prosody of words in Chimiini, we come face to face with a critical fact: the prosody of a word varies significantly depending on its location in a sentence. Furthermore, a word located in a particular position in a sentence does not always exhibit the same prosody: there may be alternative options available. Thus the multiple exemplifications of a word in this dictionary is in a significant way motivated by the need to document the varying prosodies that the word exhibits. Although we describe, with considerable confidence, at least one *possible* distribution of vowel length and accent for most sentences in this dictionary (and often multiple possible realizations), it is not feasible to try to specify the precise *relative levels* of pitch on the accented syllables (i.e. intonation). There are general principles regulating relative pitch height: for example, accented syllables show a declination in pitch height across a sentence, but emphasis on a syllable may disrupt this declination. We do on occasion make comments about intonation, but in examples from normal speech (as opposed to poetry and songs) we *always* indicate vowel length and accent (though default penult accent is left unmarked and only final accent is actually marked).

Dictionaries are not repositories of *syntactic* structures as a rule. This is particularly true insofar as there are languages where words themselves exhibit little of what we can refer to as *internal syntax*. However, a Bantu language like Chimiini, with its very rich system of verbal morphology and its extensive agreement patterns, presents enormous difficulties for dictionary-making. What do you list in your dictionary? You cannot list all of the words in the language. After all, a single verb root may appear in an extremely large set of distinct word forms

(numbering in the thousands) due to the multiple options available to mark subjects, objects, tenses, etc. In the absence of a detailed study of Chimiini syntax in the decades during which this book was compiled, we have often tried to illustrate aspects of Chimiini sentence structure by means of the exemplification of the words of the language. Our hope has been that this material will serve as a guide to the exploration of Chimiini syntactic structure.

This book is based almost entirely on the speech of two speakers. I worked with the first of these speakers, Mohammad Imam Abasheikh, from 1973 until 1978, during which period he completed a Ph.D. program in Linguistics at the University of Illinois. Mohammad Imam's knowledge of his native language (and of all the languages that are of significance to its development) was without parallel, and I could have had no better collaborator in my study of the language (almost totally undescribed at the point in time when our research began). After completing his Ph.D. degree, Mohammad Imam took a teaching position at King Abdulaziz University in Jeddah in Saudi Arabia, where he remained for a quarter of a century. He made two trips of a month each back to the United States in the 1980s, where we continued our work on Chimiini. Unfortunately, circumstances prevented continued collaboration. Mohammad Imam passed away in 2009, but not without having single-handedly provided a secure basis for linguistic research into Chimiini.

Shortly after Mohammad Imam's passing, I made contact with Gelani Mohamed Diini and began anew my research on Chimiini. Gelani Mohamed is part of the Bravanese diaspora living in Columbus, Ohio. His speech does not differ radically from Mohammad Imam, but there are certain points of difference (all of which are mentioned in the course of this book). In any case, the speech of Gelani Mohamed seems to be more similar to current Chimiini. I do not know whether Mohammad Imam's speech reflects an older generation, or a specific dialect, or a stronger Swahili connection (he was bilingual in Chimiini, his father's language, and Kitikuu, the Swahili dialect spoken in the Bajuni islands that his mother spoke).

I have worked with Gelani Mohamed from 2009 to the present. He has been an indefatigable collaborator, and while not linguistically trained like Mohammad Imam, he has proven to be extraordinarily sensitive to the ins and outs of Chimiini prosody and sentence construction.

Sandra Vianello Abud has provided very substantial assistance to this project in several ways. She checked and provided detailed corrections of an early instantiation of this book, *The Chimwiini Language Exemplified* (2004). She explored the etymologies of many of the Arabic and Somali loanwords in the language. She contributed notes on a variety of topics. Finally, she shared her work on Chimiini poetry, now published as *Stringing Coral Beads: The Religious Poetry of Brava (c.1890-1975)*, edited by Alessandra Vianello, Lidwien Kapteijns and Mohamed Kassim (2018).

Brent Henderson was the key to my being able to renew my research on Chimiini. He informed me in 2009 of the existence of large Chimiini communities in Atlanta and Columbus (each consisting of some two thousand speakers) and asked me to join him as a consultant on his research proposal to study Chimiini as an endangered language. One of his consultants in Atlanta arranged my introduction to Gelani Mohamed in Columbus, resulting in the collaboration that long outlived the time frame of the original grant proposal. While our research was largely independent, Brent shared a variety of materials that were useful in the course of our lexical investigations.

Introduction

1. The representation of Chimiini words and sentences.

From the inception of our work on Chimiini, orthographic representation has been a fraught issue. Although historically there were efforts to use Arabic script to write Chimiini, it remained an essentially unwritten language. Arabic script is a poor vehicle to represent the essential sounds of the language. The Roman script used in writing standard Swahili and Somali are a better fit, but neither exhibit the same set of contrasting sounds. While the Somali script does provide the means to distinguish between long and short vowels (a hugely important element of Chimiini pronunciation), none of the scripts are helpful in capturing the complex accentual facts of the language.

In any case, the problem of writing Chimiini is not just finding the appropriate set of symbols to represent the sounds (whether segmental or prosodic), but also the more difficult problem associated with the fact that the pronunciation of essentially every word in the language varies in systematic ways depending on how that word is embedded in a sentence and how the speaker chooses among the options available to her to realize the sentence. There is usually not just a single way in which a word can be pronounced, nor is there usually a single way in which a sentence can be pronounced.

Our discussion of orthography will focus initially on the word in isolation.

The prosodic representation of example phrases and sentences.

Every example consists of one or more phrases. If the example consists of multiple phrases, a slash occurs at the end of every interal phrase. No slash mark occurs at the end of the last phrase. Therefore if the

- a** verbal inflectional element, occurs at the end of an imperative affirmative
Chimviila/ baduwi/ chimwaambila/ oloka/ uzá/ ikoofiya/ iyi/ ka sulṭaani/ 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
Kila/ 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’
Cho/ siwo/ chaako. ‘It is not yours.’ (**Chaako** is the fusion of **cha** and the second person singular possessive root =**ako**.)
Cho/ nii chiti/ cha naani. ‘Whose chair is it?’
Naani/ nakhsulo kula chita cha ngoombé. ‘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]
lkandra laa ngozi ‘leather belt’
lkuta la nuumba ‘wall of a house’
lṭata laa chili ‘the part of the leg of the bed that extends above the bed’
luti la Ali ‘Ali’s stick’
- copular of the associative
- mbw-a** [cl.1 copular] belongs to, is of, comes from
Hamadi/ mbwa Mkhodiisho. ‘Hamadi comes from Mkhodiisho (i.e. that is where he was born etc.)’
Mbuzi/ uyu/ waa mi/ nt^hiinziló/ mbwa sulṭaani/ muunt^hu/ siiwe/ chiza sulṭaani/ shpata khabari/ ye/ takunubla. ‘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.’
- mbw-a** [cl.3] poss. cop. belongs to, is of, comes from
Muti uyu/ mbwaaká. ‘This tree is mine.’
Numba iyi/ na muyi uyú/ mzimawe/ mbwaa noka/ mooyi/ mkulu/ ka zita 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).’
- mbw-a** [cl. 14]
Omari/ hadiile/ Alí/ unenewe/ ni zaaydi/ mba maraḏi. ‘Omari said that Ali’s fatness is too much, it is of disease.’
- nd-a** [cl.6 copular] belongs to, is of
Ifungu ya kaandra/ kuwa nda mwajiitu/ ya piili/ kuwa nda sulṭaani/ 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.’
- nd-a** [cl.9 copular]
Makhasi/ Omari/ tilangililo nguwo/ iwaaliko/ nda Haliima. ‘The scissors that Omari cut cloth with belonged to Haliima.’ (This example from Aweys allowed the head of the relative clause to be followed by the subject of the relative clause without an intervening **-a** link, which is usually found in the speech of our other consultants.)

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

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

nz-a [copular, cl.10]

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

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

Nfanyize jis’iyó/ kiiwa/ kama kooḏi/ za waawe/ nza liḷa/ 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/
usoowe/ 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.’

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

w-a [cl.1]

Munt^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 mwa^limu 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].’

Wa^linzile 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)

Mukhta^la 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 chi^ltaache. ‘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/ Sul^ltaani/ chimwambila waziiriwe... ‘After seeing the actions that Hasani had performed in the battle/ the sultan/ said to his ministers...’

ziboonk^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 madrasaani ‘the money that he brought to the school’

-a

first person singular possessive enclitic

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

chibuukucha ‘my book’

Chisimacha/ hash^liindiki/ 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 chi^ltaachá. ‘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/ chigha^libika/ 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/ nvilila muḃjaana/ 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/ kuwaḷata 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/ nḷaazima/ we/ leelo/ kundraasha/ koloka naami/ we/ khpata kumwona mukeewa/ kubaratana 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^heendreze. ‘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]

itooya ‘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’ubḷelo ngoombé. ‘The soldiers answered him: no, this one is not him who killed the cattle.’

Uje/ mwambiile/ ā’ā/ we/ ni mwanaa masuḷtaani/ 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/ mḷate Omari/ jawuubuzé. ‘aa! forget all about Omari’s words!’

aa’uuḃu

in the expression **aa’uuḃu billahahi mina sheḷtaani rahiim** derived from Arabic meaning ‘I seek refuge in Allah from the accursed Satan’

Muunt^hu/ chishikowa shḷana/ hawanaazo/ miiri/ husuḷowa kuḷa’ana sheḷtaani/ kuhada aa’uuḃu/ billaahi/ mina sheḷtani rajiim. ‘When one is angry and loses his mind, it is required to expel/curse Satan by saying I seek refuge in God from the accursed Satan.’ (A proverb, derived from the Quran.)

- abadan** adv. [Sw. *abadan* SSED1; Ar. *abadan* "always. for ever; (with neg.) never, not at all" W 1] never; [pronounced [**abadán**]
Hamiisi/ lasile masoomo/ iyo/ ma'anaye/ kuwaa ye/ haruudi/ skolaani/ abadán. 'Hamiisi has dropped out from his studies,, that is, he will not return to school anymore.'
Skukasa/ kaake/ mara yiingine/ abadán. 'I never heard from him again'
- 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/ nusunusu. 'He always does the work half-heartedly.'
Daari/ ya abadi/ ni dari ya jana. 'The house of forever is the house of paradise.'
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 nt^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. '*abd* W 586] subject(s) of God
abdi ni laazimu kuleeta towba/ shfaanya dhambi nkulu Mooje kumnoomba [st.] 'every servant [of God] must repent and beg for God's forgiveness if his sins are great' [SCB 556]
na wo ni abdi hu'insha miyaaka [st.] 'and they (angels) are subjects of God, 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 zi'aabidi** 'little boys who worship devoutly')
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/ ileselapó/ 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. *ʾabara* "to cross, traverse" and *ʾabr* "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 '33ace' 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 kooḍi 'to reflect on someone's words'

Abirseete koḍi za mwaalimu. 'He reflected on the teacher's words.'

Nuuhu/ oloshale 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'abirsatilana waana/ nguwo 'to fit the children for clothes for one another'

ku-'abirsatisha v. caus. aim s.o. towards, face s.o. towards, head s.o. towards

M'abirsatishize 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-'abirsatishan(y)a v. caus. rec. face one another toward; cause one another to aim at

ku-'abirsatishika v. caus. p/s.

Nuuru/ ha'abirsatiki. 'Nuuru cannot be faced.'

ku-'abirsatishiliza v. caus. appl.

Jaama/ n'abirsatishilize mwaana/ mutiini. 'Jaama faced the child towards the tree for me.'

ku-'abirsatishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. face one another towards for

rel. nom.

u-'abirsato n. 14 aiming at s.t.

U'abirsatowe/ nt^ha'uwaaliko/ tamaamu. 'He was not faced perfectly toward something [lit. his facing toward was not

complete].'

u-'abirsatiko n. 14 being able to be aimed at
u-'abirsatilo n. 14 aiming at for, with
u-'abirsatisho n. 14 act of causing someone to aim at s.t.

abitaani

n. cold drink
Tafaðali/ takhaadira/ kuwanayo abitaani. 'Please, may I have a cold drink?'

ableeyi (Ø, ma-)

n. 9/10, 6 [Som. *abley* DSI 7] dagger; [pron. **ableeyi** or **ableeyi**, **ma'ableeyi** or **ma'ableeyi** (pl.)]
Ableyi iyi/ ivundishile. 'This dagger is broken.'
ableyi izi 'these daggers'
ableyi ziinu 'your (pl.) daggers'
Kanaye/ kama ableeyi. '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.

abluusi
in Brava

n. (cf. *fulusi*) Mahi Mahi, found in huge numbers in kaskazi, but not traditionally eaten

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'abudiloowa v. appl. pass. be worshipped

Hu'abudilowa khaalikhi/ ha'abudiloowi/ makhluukhu. 'It is the creator who should be worshipped, it is not worshipped the creation.' (A proverb.)

ku-'abudila v. appl. worship

Ka wamooyi/ daaba/ zina heshma/ na wenewé/ 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^h akhulombela 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...waqinziilo 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 *saif* "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 khtezeza 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 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/ muhji/ chiya ka kaziini/ kumwuzza mukeewe/ kula yaa ye/ nakhsulo kiiwa. '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 sulaaani/ ilu ya meeza/ chinakuhokoma kama aada/ na mweene/ uje ijini/ waa ye/ tezezo naa ye/ khamaari/ nampa sulaaani/ 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. (cf. *dara* 'lacking, without') bad manners, ill-nature, lack of discipline

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

Ni 'aadi/ waana/ kuwa adabdara/ mukhtaa wo/ wa'ofeetó. 'It is common for children to behave badly when they are tired.'

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.'

Waana/ wachiwa adabdara/ hubarshowa adabu. 'When children lack discipline, they should be taught discipline/good manners.'

rel.

u-'adabdara n. 14 misbehavior

Ye/ kamulukila mwaaná/ ye/ sula kulata/ u'adabdara. 'If she had scolded the boy, he would have stopped misbehaving.'

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.'

Mwaalimu/ nt'akuwa'adabisha/ waana. [H'H!!H] 'The teacher has not disciplined the children.' (The simple yes-no question based on this does not appear to be much different intonationally-speaking, but accent is shifted in the complement in the question as opposed to the statement. Furthermore, the statement involves a small pause between the negative verb and the complement; this pause is absent in the question. The emphatic yes-no question involves accent shift in both the negative verb and the complement: **Mwaalimu/ nt'akuwa'adabishá/ waaná!?** [H!H!H].)

Mwaalimu/ nt'akuwa'adabisha waaná. [H!H] 'The *teacher* has not disciplined the children.' (Focus on the subject is formally marked by the switch of the verb to pseudo-relative

form: in the case of the negative verb, it is only the final accent that overtly indicates pseudo-relativization. That pseudo-relativization is present is also signalled by the fact that the negative verb is not phrase-final.)

Mwaalimu/ nt^hakuwa'adabishá/ waana. [H!H!!H] 'The *teacher disciplined* the children.' (The fact that the negative verb in this example is pseudo-relativized is indicated in two ways. First, the final accent is triggered by pseudo-relativization. Second, the emphasized verb is subject downstepped. In its main-clause form, a negative verb typically is declined rather than downstepped.)

Mwaalimu/ nt^hakuwa'adabisha waaná/ ni Omari. [H!H!H] 'The teacher who disciplined the children is Omari.' (The downstep between the head of the relative clause and the relative clause is unambiguous. The lowering in the copular phrase is not as clear cut, since in general we find it difficult to distinguish between downstep and declination after a phrase that itself has been downstepped. We have employed the downstep symbol in such situations. The simple yes-no question based on this sentence seems to involve only the replacement of downstep by declination: [H'H'H]. The emphatic question retains downstep, but shifts accent in the final phrase: **Mwaalimu/ nt^hakuwa'adabisha waaná/ ni Omari?** [H!H!H].)

Mwaalimu/ nt^hakuwa'adabishá/ waaná/ ni Omari. 'The teacher who has not punished the children is Omari.' (Verb emphasis in the relative clause is possible if not preferred. The Accentual Law of Focus tends not to be maintained in true relative clauses (in contrast to pseudo-relative clauses), but GM did seem to allow ALF to be enforced: **Mwaalimu/ nt^hakuwa'adabishá/ waana/ ni Omari.** This matter needs to be explored in ordinary speech rather than the elicitation sessions that we were forced to rely on.)

Mwaalimu/ wa'adabishize waana. [H!H] 'The teacher has disciplined the child.' (The simple yes-no question removes the downstep associated with the statement, replacing it with simple declination in GM's speech. The emphatic yes-no question involves accent shift in the VP: **Mwaalimu/ wa'adabishize waaná!?** [H!H].)

Mwaalimu/ wa'adabishiize/ waana. [H'H!!H] 'The teacher has *disciplined* the children.' (The intonational pattern observed here is clear. The emphasized verb is not downstepped, but rather simply declined in its pitch level. The complement, on the other hand, is radically downstepped. In the corresponding simple yes-no question, accent shift affects the out-of-focus complement: **Mwaalimu/ wa'adabishiize/ waaná?** [H'H!!H] The complement in the question did seem to be still radically downstepped. GM did offer an emphatic question version of this sentence: **Mwaalimu/ wa'adabishiize/ waaná!?** [H!H!H]. Note that accent shift affects not only the complement, but also the emphasized verb, in contrast with the simple question.)

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

rel.

ku-'adabishiliza v. caus. appl.

Mwaalimu/ m'adabishilize muunt^hu/ mwaana. '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

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

Haṭá/ kanaa we/ humpeendí/ we/ nt^haasá/ takhaadira/ kuwanayo adabu/ naaye. 'Even if you don't like him you can still be polite.'

Humwaambila/ we/ skooðé/ 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].'

kumarsha 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.’
Nimbishile ka khisa nabarate adabú. ‘I hit him so that he learn to behave.’
Nt^haná/ 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.’
Ye/ muzizee ye/ bilaa adabu. ‘Her asked him without 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’
As.habu_l kahfi/ wawaaliko/ ni waant^hu/ adadi yaawo/ saha/ hayisoowi. ‘The companions of the cave were people whose whose number is not exactly known.’
Barzaani/ ka sulṭaani/ 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’ (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^hawana/ 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’
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.’
Waant^hu/ hingilo siyaasá/ hawafaanyi/ adaala. Men who enter politics are not just.’
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".)
- m̄w-aadamu** (w-) n. 1/2 [see **m̄w-anaadamu**] human being
- adaawa** n. enemy
Mlata aada/ ni adaawa. 'One who quits tradition is an enemy.' (A proverb.)
Variant: **Muunt̄u/ 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).'
- adeeni** n. evidence
Chiint̄u/ ichiza kuwako adeeni/ hayeendreki/ shari'aani/ sharii'a/ husuḷa adeeni. 'If there is no evidence for something, then one cannot go to court, law needs evidence.'
Mi/ nayo adeeni/ kuwa Hamadi/ bozele bangi. I have evidence that Hamadi robbed the bank.
- adeesi** n. [Som.]
Haliima/ namtilila mubliwe/ chaayi/ adeesi. 'Haliima is pouring for her husband tea with milk.' Also: **Haliima/ namtilila mubliwe/ chayi cha adeesi.**
- aadi** adj. [Som. **caadi** DSI 73] normal, usual, common (This word is much used in ordinary speech.)
Abú/ chiza kuuya/ siwo/ aadi. 'Abu's not coming is not normal.'
Haliima/ kuḷa niingi/ siwo/ aadi. 'Haliima's crying so much is unusual.'
Hasani/ khsurufa peesa/ niingi/ siwo/ aadi. 'Hasani's spending so much money is unusual.'
Kilaa chiint̄u/ (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 'aadi/ Maryamu/ kumamala kabisá. 'It is usual for Maryamu to be very quiet.'
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.'
Siwo/ aadi/ kuwa Faatima/ iize/ khsaayda. 'It is not normal that Faatima refused to help.'
Ye/ ni 'aadi/ kanza fijiri/ ka khuraa'a/ niingi. 'He typically begins the morning by having a big breakfast.' (This item is derived from Somali, where it has an initial glottal stop which is written **q** in Somali. In Chimiini, the glottal stop does not appear when the word lacks a prefix. When a prefix is added, as in the [cl.7] form listed below, the glottal stop emerges. In the present example, we see that the copular **ni** is apparently sufficiently bound to the noun to trigger the appearance of the glottal stop.)
zinanaande/ za aadi 'the normal **zinanaande** pastry'
rel.
chi-'aadi n. 7 traditional way
Lamna/ yaa ye/ himbo limbo ilí/ ni chi'aadi. The way she sings this

song is very traditional.'

- adiibu** adj. inv. [Sw. *adibu* SSED 2; Ar. *adīb* W 10] (a person) of good manners, behavior, cultured, refined; (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. *ʿadala* "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. *ʿādil* "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 namuuzze 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/ kuwawejelela 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. *ʿadala* 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/ humlazima 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] enemy
Hamadi/ nt^haná/ u'aduwi/ na Omari. 'Hamadi does not have enmity with Omari.'
- aduwinimo** 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**.)
- aḍabdara** adj. undisciplined
Hamadi/ ni aḍabdara/ waawaye/ nt^hamtila/ adabu/ ka chihaba. 'Hamadi is undisciplined, his father did not discipline him while he was a child.'
- aḍaabu** n. 9 [Sw. *adhabu* SSED 2; Ar. *ʿaḍāb* "torture, punishment" W 600] hell, fire, pain

Aḍaabu/ nda want^hu aasi. ‘Hell is for disobediant people.’

Aḍabu ya khabri/ hiiwó/ mayti. ‘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 uoka/ hupatikanó. ‘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.’

Limiilo/ aḍabuuni/ khutila/ na janaani/ khtila. ‘Your tongue puts you in hell, and it puts you in paradise.’ (A proverb that conveys the idea that the words you speak may bring you great happiness, but they can also cause you real problems and inflict great damage to you.)

ndila ya aḍaabu ‘the road to hell’

Waant^hu/ hum’aso mwajiitú/ waṭakhtilowa aḍabuuni/ keesho/ aakhera.

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

aḍabu akbar n. great hellfire

Waant^hu/ munaafiqi/ keesho/ akhera/ hu’aḍiboowa/ aḍabu akbar. ‘Hypocrites tomorrow, in the hereafter will be punished with great hellfire.’

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. *aḍān* W 11] the call to prayer (announced through a megaphone, some fifteen or twenty minutes prior to prayer)

Aaḍana/ huhadiiloowa/ nt^hasa yaa sala/... khabla yaa sala/ kharibuu sa’a... ‘The call to prayer is called before the prayer, before the prayer, near the hour...’

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’

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.)

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

ku-’aḍiba v. [Sw. *adhibu* SSED 2; Ar. ‘*aḍaba* 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.

Kila/ 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. <i>m-'ađiba</i> (<i>wa-</i>) n. 1/2 one who tortures <i>ma-'ađibo</i> n. 6 torture
<i>ku-'ađimisha</i> glorify, respect someone	v. [Sw. <i>adhimisha</i> SSED 3; Ar. ' <i>azuma</i> and ' <i>azama</i> W 623] (<i>ađimishiize</i>) exalt, rel. <i>ku-'ađimoowa</i> v. pass. <i>nazidiłoowa daraja/ nk^hulu ku'ađimoowa</i> [st.] 'may his position be enhanced/ increased and exalted'
<i>ađiimu</i> (<i>O, ma-</i>)	adj. [Ar. ' <i>ađim</i> W 623] great, exalted Nuuru/ ni munt^hu ađiimu. 'Nuuru is a great man.' Wo/ ni want^hu (ma')ađiimu. 'They are great men.'
<i>k-aađina</i>	v. [Sw. <i>adhini</i> SSED 3; Ar. <i>ađina</i> W 11] (<i>ađiniile</i>) 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 kaađina awali haraamu [st.] 'for a woman to make the call to prayers, the beginning, is unlawful' review the meaning rel. <i>k-ađiniłoowa</i> v. appl. pass. be called for; upon the birth of a child, immediately a call to prayer is made for the child <i>k-ađinila</i> v. appl.
<i>mwa-ađiini</i> (<i>wa-</i>)	n. 1/2 [Sw. <i>mwadhini</i> SSED 3] the one who calls for prayers; [pron. wa'ađiini (pl.)] sharti ya mwa-ađiini kuwa islaamu [st.] 'it is necessary for the one who calls to prayer to be a Muslim'
<i>aafa</i>	n. 9 [Sw. <i>afa</i> SSED 3; Ar. <i>āfa</i> "defect, disease, undesired consequence" W 34] damage, disaster, defect, disease afa iyi 'this disaster' Andishile chiluuğu/ cha piiłi/ nuumbaye/ chimaliza/ ilesele aafa. 'He built a second storey to his house, [but] afterwards a defect appeared (lit. it brought a defect).' Bali/ mwaka uyu/ spete aafa/ fasali/ itakuwaa 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 / mwana uyu. 'Tell me what is the problem with this child.'
<i>afaari</i>	n. affair Ni fayda dara/ Faađima/ khfanya ruuhuye/ chiza kiiwa/ afaari/ za mułjiwe. 'It is useless for Faatima to pretend not to know about her husband's affairs.'
<i>afashi</i>	n. something without value rel. <i>mi-'afashi</i> 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.'

- afbiḷaawo** n. breakfast; **review 1**
- Ye/ ni 'aadi/ kanza fijiri/ ka afbiḷaawo/ nk^hulu.** 'He typically begins the morning by having a big breakfast.'
- afḍali** adv. [Sw. *afadhali* SSED 3, 89; Ar. *afḍal* W 718] better, rather
- Afḍali/ inamp^hate/ ije itakump^ható/ kama keendrá/ kunsiba ghaḍabu za mwajitú.** 'Better that it befalls me, whatever will befall me, than to go and have the wrath of God strike me.'
- Afḍali/ kuweeka/ maali/ kama khtumila yoṭé.** 'Better to set aside money than to use it all.' (As above, **kama** seems to trigger final accent. If **kama** is replaced by **koḷko**, then the final accent is missing: **Afḍali/ kuweeka/ maali/ koḷko khtumila yoṭe.**) **review phrasing and yoṭe**
- Afḍali/ khkalaanḡ^ha/ kuiliindra/ kama keendra/ kuḷana 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 afḍali/ ye/ chiza/ kuwa'ambila.** 'Ali saw that it was better not to tell them.'
- Basi/ chiweene/ ni afḍali/ si/ kumubḷa.** 'So we saw that it was better for us to kill her.'
- Isa/ mi/ nnakuwoná/ kuwa ni afḍali/ we/ kuruuda/ karka nḡ^hi yinu/ na mruudile/ sultaani/ mwanaamkewe/ naayé/ sultaani/ 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 afḍali/ mi/ kumwambila...lilá.** 'I saw that...it was better that I tell him... the truth.' **accent**
- Mwaana/ chihada/ kuwa ni afḍali/ wo/ kuḷaṭa zombo zaawo/ apo/ na kendra nḡ^hiini/ 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 afḍali/ kuloola.** 'He is better off getting married.'
- Ni afḍali/ ye/ kooloka.** 'It is better for him to go.' Or: **Ni afḍali/ ye/ na'oloke.**
- Nimkasize Omari/ kuwa haali/ Mwiini/ ni suura/ isa.** 'I heard from Omari that conditions are better now in Brava.'
- We/ ni afḍali/ 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. *'afif* 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 woman/women' and **ijike i'afiifa** and **mijike mi'afiifa** woman/ women')
- dim.
'loyal aug.
- ku-'afisha, k-aafisha** v. caus. [Sw. *afu* SSED 4; Ar. *'afw* "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'

Sultaani/ husuloowa/ kuwa ni muunt^hu/ hukhadiro khsamehá/ 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.

raaði 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 unforgiveable.'

k-afishiliza v. caus. appl. (**afishilize**) 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. (**afiila**) be pardoned, forgiven; recover

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

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

Ye/ afila na maraði. '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

afisi

n. apology

Hamadi/ nayoo ndila/ kuhada/ kuwa we/ laazimu/ kumera afisi/ ka Faaṭima.

'Hamadi is right to say that you should apologize to Faaṭima.'

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/ ha'itelezoowi. 'Health is not played with (i.e. you better take care of it).' (A proverb.)

Afiya/ ni maali. 'Health is wealth.' (A proverb.)

afiya suura 'good health'

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

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

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

Maayi/ siwo/ afiya/ kunoowa. 'The water is not safe (lit. healthy) to drink.'

mbuzi mbili ya matako za afiya [st.] 'two healthy sheep' (Notice the agreement pattern in this example. The associative phrase **mbuzi ya matako** means literally 'goat of buttocks', i.e. a sheep, and the **ya** associative particle is due to the fact that **mbuzi** in this construction is a [cl.9] noun. However, the modifier **mbili** 'two' is located immediately after **mbuzi** and serves to make the phrase plural, i.e. two sheep. This now makes the entire phrase plural, which is reflected in the associative particle **za**.)

Mi/ haamina/ kujowa kuja ya afiya. 'I believe in eating healthy.'

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.)

	<p>Mwana uyu/ moojá/ nampa afiya/ hakasi/ jawaabu. ‘This child (may God give it health) does not listen to anything (warning, advice, prohibition).’</p> <p>Muun^hu/ chiwanayo afiya/ tu/ hujó. ‘Only when one is healthy does he eat.’ (A proverb.)</p> <p>mwenye afiya ‘someone healthy’; wenye afiya ‘healthy people’</p> <p>Nt^haná/ afiya suura/ sku izi. ‘He does not have good health these days.’</p> <p>Wanayo afiya. ‘They have good health.’</p>
afkhari	<p>adj. [Ar. <i>afkar</i> “more splendid, more magnificent” W 699] expensive, beautiful</p> <p>afkhari yaa nguwo ‘the best clothes’</p> <p>na nguwo afkhari huundru na akhóari [st.] ‘and clothes, beautiful, red and green’</p> <p>Omari/ nayo afkhari/ ya nuumba. ‘Omari has the best house.’</p>
afo	<p>n. 9/10 [Som. <i>af</i> “mouth” DSI 10] fever blister, lesion, crack in the mouth</p> <p>afo iyi ‘this blister’</p> <p>afoya ‘my blister’</p> <p>Omari/ nayo afo. ‘Omari has lesions in the mouth.’</p> <p>rel.</p> <p><i>i-’afo (mi-)</i> n. 5/4 aug.</p>
Aafrika	<p>n. Africa</p> <p>Mi/ na mukeewá/ shtakhsaafira/ Aafrika/ ayamu iyi. ‘My wife and I will travel to Africa this week.’</p> <p>Mi/ skeendra/ Aafrika/ n^haaasá. ‘I have not gone to Africa yet.’</p>
afahi	<p>v. [? Ar. <i>fataha</i> W 693] vacation given to the pupils of the koranic schools because of some event</p> <p>Sku iyo/ wanafuunzi/ hu^homolowa afahi. ‘On that day the students are set free [do not have to attend classes].’</p> <p>Waana/ leelo/ wanayo afahi. ‘The children have off today from school.’</p>
af^haali	<p>n. 9/10 a dangerous, thorny fish, not eaten</p> <p>m^hwiwa/ wa af^haali ‘thorn of the af^haali’</p> <p>Omari/ imdurile m^hwiwa wa af^haali. ‘Omari has been stung with the thorn of an af^haali fish.’</p>
af^hiini	<p>adj., adv. [Som. <i>iftiin</i> “light, splendour, clear sky” DSI 322] clear, light; variant form: if^hiini, which apparently can be used as a noun as well</p> <p>If^hiini iyi/ hu^hosha khsome^hoowa. ‘This light is sufficient to be used to read with.’</p> <p>khfanya af^hiini ‘to make clear’</p> <p>Fanya ruuhuyo/ af^hiini. ‘Make yourself clear!’</p> <p>Khu^hbaye/ af^hiini. ‘His speech is clear.’</p> <p>Koo^hize/ zivaliko if^hiini. ‘His words were clear.’</p> <p>M^htana uyu/ af^hiini. ‘This room is clean.’</p> <p>Omari/ hadile jawaabu/ af^hiini. ‘Omari spoke the words clearly.’</p> <p>Omari/ koo^hize/ siwo/ af^hiini. ‘Omari’s words are not clear.’</p>
afu	<p>n. 9/10 fever blister</p> <p>afu iyi ‘this blister’</p> <p>afuya ‘y blister’</p> <p>rel.</p> <p><i>chi-’afu (zi-)</i> n. dim.</p>
-’aafu	<p>v. pardon</p> <p>huloomba Mooja kun’ aafu/ óambi kughafiriloowa[st.] ‘I implore God to obliterate my sins/ may God pardon my sins’</p>

- Muunthu/ suura/ kum'afu mweenziwe.** 'It is good for a person to pardon another person.'
- Mwajiitu/ nakhu'aafu.** 'May God relieve you of your ailing.'
- rel.
- ku-'afoowa** v. pass.
- Omari/ nakhsuḷa 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. *ʾafw* 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'
- lkaandra/ la aaga** 'plastic belt'
- shṭana 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/nt^hawakuuya.** '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. *aḡlab* "the majority"; adv. expressions meaning "most likely, probably, in most cases" formed with *aḡlab* 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.'
- Want^hu wa maduriini/ aghlabu/ hujani.** 'What do people from the bush

usually eat?’ (A possible answer: **Hujaa nama.** ‘They eat meat.’)

agosto n. August
Leelo/ karka gazeeti/ yandishi/ kuwa ra’iisi/ wa Keenya/ nakuya Somaaliya/ Agosto/ mwezi/ ikumi. ‘Today in the newspaper it is written that the president of Kenya will come to Somalia on August 10.’

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/ muunt^hu/ laazimu/ khfulisha. ‘A promise, a person must fulfill.’
Ahadi/ ni kana deeni. ‘A promise is like a debt.’ (A proverb.)
Ahdi/ ni deeni/ ka muunt^hu/ 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 yiitu/ iwaaliko/ ya kuwa takhshindroowá/ takhtomola maaliye/ yotte/ kumpa munt^hu 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’
kh^htomola ahdi ‘to give a promise’
khurashiize ka tama’ahdiyo nt^heete mi skiiza [song] ‘I followed you with

hope, I took your promise, I did not refuse’
ku^hlawa 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.’

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

Naayé/ baaba/ mpele ahdi/ mu^hli 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 mu^hjaaná/ ha^htakhaadirá/ 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'akhpa/ 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 kublá/ ije ichimwiliilo 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/ waardiya/ 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).'

siṭa ahaani or **siṭaani** 'sourish'

ahbali (Ø, ma'-) adj., n. [Som. *ahbal* DSI 15; Ar. *ahbal* "dim-witted, weak-minded" W 1017] stupid, irresponsible person

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 ?

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

ahlal beyti n. the people of the house of the Prophet
Mashariifu/ huhadoowa/ kuwa ni ahlal beyti. 'The *mashariifu* are said to be the people of the house of the Prophet.'

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

ahli	<p>n. 9/10 [Sw. <i>ahali</i>; Ar. <i>ahl</i> "relatives, kinsfolk, family" W 33] one's clan, a relative or member of one's clan</p> <p>ahli infariqiile mi nakhkooda na nafsiya [nt.] 'my relatives have left me and I talk to my soul'</p> <p>Ahliza/ wa'oloshela. 'My relatives went.' Or: Ahliza/ zoloshela. (In the former example, the plural noun triggers [cl.2] agreement, while in the latter example it triggers [cl.10] agreement.)</p> <p>Ali/ lazile karka ahli/ nt'awana mapeesa/ miingi. 'Ali comes from a family which does not have much money.'</p> <p>Ba'adi yaa sala/ kuja 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.'</p> <p>hatá/ ichiwa ziwovu izo/ zinakhudirkaa we/ na ahliyó 'even if these evil deeds affect you and your relatives'</p> <p>Isa/ we/ endrá/ sultaani/ 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.'</p> <p>kuzuura/ ba'aði ya ahliye 'to visit some of his clan'</p> <p>Munt'hu uje/ ni ahliye. 'That man is my relative.'</p> <p>Wawaliko waant'hu/ weema/ ka ahli yaawo/ na winginiwe/ ba. 'They were people good to their relatives and others as well.'</p> <p>Ye/ sulije kumloola/ mwanaamke/ lazilo ka ahli. 'He wanted to marry a girl who came from his clan.'</p> <p>Yiko khatari/ yaa zita/ za ahli. 'There is a danger of civil war.'</p> <p>rel.</p> <p><i>u-'ahli</i> n. 14 kinship</p> <p>kumera undrú/ na u'ahli 'to seek relatedness and kinship'</p> <p>Wawaliko waant'hu/ weema/ ka ahli yaawo/ na winginiwé/ ba. 'They were people good to their relatives and others as well.'</p>
ahlul badri	<p>n. [Ar. expression, where <i>ahl</i> + 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</p>
ahlul banadiri	<p>n. [see etymology above] the people of Banadir</p> <p>ahlul banadiri hujuuza hirima/ karka Judá hadiilo Sheekhi'llama [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]'</p>
ahlul fitna	n. people of chaos, discord
ahlul ilmu	n. people of knowledge
ahlul jana	<p>n. [see etymology above] <i>Arabicism</i> the people of paradise</p> <p>weene ahlul jana wotte wasuura [st.] 'he saw the people in paradise, all nice'</p>
ahlul kheeri	<p>n., adj. [see etymology above] someone who does good deeds</p> <p>islaamu ahlul kheeri wenye baraka [st.] 'a Muslim who does good deeds and has blessing'</p>
ahlul naari	<p>n. people of hellfire</p> <p>Makaafiri/ ni ahlul naari/ hingila adabuuni. 'Infidels, those who do not follow God's commandments, are the people of hellfire, they go to hell.'</p>
ahlul sadaqa	n. people of charity, who give charity
ahlul sunna	n. people of <i>sunna</i> , i.e. people who follow the Prophet's path

ahmaqi (Ø, ma-)

adj. [Ar. *aḥmaq* W 206] usu. stupid, foolish; [pron. *ahmakhi*]
Ahmakhi/ hataambuli/ suura/ hataambuli/ mbovu. ‘A stupid or foolish person does not understand good and does not understand bad.’ (A proverbial saying.)
Hamadi/ ni ahmakhi. ‘Hamadi is foolish.’
Mi/ na’iwá/ kuwa iyi/ ni fikra ahmakhi. ‘I am aware that this is a stupid idea.’
Mi/ nakuyaawaṭá/ naani/ ṭakuwo ahmakhi/ nt^ho/ kuweka masharti/ naaye/ khshiindra. ‘I wonder who would be foolish enough to bet against him winning.’
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.
u-’ahmaqi n. 14 stupidity; [usu. pron. *u’ahmakhi*]
Kuvukowavukowa mahaḷa/ nt^ha’ina faaydá/ ni u’ahmakhi. ‘To keep going to a place that is not beneficial, useful is foolishness.’

ahmiya

Hamadi/ nt^hakoonya/ ismu/ ya ahmiya/ ya fikraza. ‘Hamadi did not show any interest in my ideas.’

ahsanṭa
you, thanks
honored me’

interj. [Sw. *a(h)sante* SSED 19; cf. Ar. *aḥsanta* “well done!, bravo!” W 178] thank
ahsanṭa khushukura we nsharifile [song] ‘thanks, I thank you, you have honored me’
Mukewe mgarwa/ chimjiiba/ chimwaambila/ ahsanṭa/ saydiyá/ nkhiriilé/ 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/ ahsanṭa/ mwaanawá. ‘The sultan said: thank you, my son.’

ahwaali

n. (cf. *haali*) [Ar. pl *ahwāl* W 216]

ku-’ajabisha

v. [Sw. *ajabisha* SSED 6, but said to be little used; Ar. ‘*ajab* W 591] surprise

ajabu

n. 9/10 [Sw. *ajabu* SSED 6; Ar. ‘*ajab* 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 eelo/ khkooḍa/ ka fasaander 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 imṭihaani/ 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.'
Dakhtari/ hareebi/ ajala. 'A physician does not stop fate.' (A proverb.)
ghafila/ kana/ ajali 'as unexpected, sudden as death'
Mi/niwiilé/ khabari/ za ajala/ mukhtaa yé/ ilo numbaani. 'I found out
 about the accident when she came home.'
Omari/ ajalaye/ yiile (or: **yiingile**). 'Omari's time of death has come (or lit.
 has entered).'
Tahaðari/ ha'ireebi/ ajala. 'Being careful does not stop one's fate.' (A
 proverb that says if it has been ordained to happen by God, it is
 going to happen, there is nothing you can do, no care that you can
 take to prevent it.)

m-'ajami (wa-)

n. 1/2 [Ar. *'ajam* W 593] someone who is not Arab

ajabu

adj. strange
Jaama/ kooloka/ ni ajabu. 'For Jaama to go is strange.' (It is possible 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: **Jaama/ kuwa**
oloshela/ ni ajabu.

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/ mwene/ mmerejaa muke/ mweema/ takhu'ajibó. 'Therefore you
 yourself should look for a good wife for me who pleases you (i.e. meets
 with your approval).'
mukhtaa ye/ mpeto mp^huundrá/ m'ajibiiló '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.'

ku-'ajibisha

v. surprise **review semantics of this and above**
Itakun'ajibisha/ mi/ kana ni Fardoosa/ tu/ hendro Mwini. 'It would surprise me if
 only Fardoosa is going to Miini'

ajili

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

ajini

n. [Som.] dough (In Chimiini, the word *maandra* is used to refer both to the raw dough and the cooked bread. It has borrowed the Somali word *ajini* to refer specificall to the dough.)

Nk^hanzile ajini/ nt^hile maandra. ‘I kneaded the dough and cooked bread.’

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/ ajiriile 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. (**ajiriile**) rent s.t. for

variant form: **kaajirila**

Ajiriile 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 baskiiji ‘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.’

ku-ajiroowa v. pass.

Peesa/ zote/ stumikilila kajirowa nuumba. ‘All the money has been used to rent the house.’

rel. nom.

m-’ajiro n. 3 the act of renting

ajiri, ajri

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

- khtala ajiri** ‘to take praise, i.e. be praised’
Muunt^hu/ shfanya zeema/ hupata ajiri. ‘If one does good things, one gets praise.’
pashpo kuuza ajiri/ amó/ ijaará ‘without asking you for reward or salary’
soomu zinaayo ajiri 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-ajiitu** 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 Abade 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
nt^hi yúutú ‘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 nt^hi yúutú. ‘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. ‘Work 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
Al’akhalí/ ha^há/ inawe haba/ Hamiisi/ hupeenda/ khsooma/ wana wiingine/ ni ma’aajizi. ‘At least Hamisi likes to read, the other students are very lazy.’
Ni/ hakhiikha/ Omari/ kuwa ni aajizi. ‘It is a fact that Omari is lazy.’
Omari/ ni aajizi. ‘Omari is reluctant, sort of lazy.’
umatiyo ni aajizi da’ifu [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 mwaajimu. ‘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’

lugha za ajnabi ‘foreign languages’

Ma’ajnabi/ wako muyiini/ wont^{be}/ waviliila/ hafisaani/ ka rasdente. ‘All strangers in the city are called to the commissioner’s office.’

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

khkalan^ha naaye/ nt^hakhkalan^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’

ma-’jnabi n. strangers

We/ laazimu/ kumdigilaa ye/ chiza khtaala/ zawaadi/ ka ma’jnabi. ‘You have to warn her about not accepting gifts from strangers.’

ajnaasi

n. [Ar. *ajnās* 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 mahaḷa zikoo ziti/ na meezá/ wachisimama. ‘When these different kinds of people reached the place where there were chairs, they stopped.’

ajjuza (ma-’ajjuza)

n., adj. [Ar. ‘*ajūz* W 592] a very old person (usu. a woman)

muḅli ajuuza ‘an old man’

muke ajuuza ‘an old woman’

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

rel.

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

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

Nakinendra chi’ajjuza. ‘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: [**kuchibu/ kách^a**] versus [**kuchachib^a**].)

Mayaank^huku/ yawozeló/ ndaaká. ‘The eggs that went bad are mine.’

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**].)

Shkapu chaaka/ chibeele. ‘My basket is lost.’ cf. **shkapucha** ‘my basket’

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
Fulaani/ nakaaka. ‘So-and-so is burning up with greed.’
Fulaani/ nakaka kaa ndala. ‘So-and-so is very hungry.’
ka maraāi aya niwile kufaaka/ na kulatta speendo qalbi hunaaka [st.]
‘from this illness I got aware of my death, and my heart burns me
in leaving those whom I love’
kaaka/ kuzima ‘to flash (lit. to burn and to go out)’
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^h u oyo/ haṭá/ miimba/ itakhaaka. ‘That man cried
until [lit.] the stomach will burn you.’
Malungo/ yanakunaaka/ kana pilpili. ‘My body is burning me like hot
chili peppers.’
Mulo/ unakaaka. ‘The fire is burning.’
Mulo/ unakaka kati kaawo. ‘Fire is burning between them – i.e. they hate
one another fiercely.’
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.’
Zibiriti/ zinakaaka. ‘The matches burn, light.’
- rel.
**k-aakana* v. rec. This verbal form does not appear to be in use.
**k-aakika* v. p/s. This verbal form does not appear to be in use.
k-aakila v. intr. appl.
Mulo/ unamwaakila. ‘A fire is burning for him.’
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. (ashiize) light s.t., put a light on, burn s.t.
Ashá. ‘Burn it!’
Ashaani. ‘You (pl.) light it!’
Ashani nt^ha. ‘You (pl.) light a candle!’
kasha maato ‘to be awake’
kashaa mulo ‘to get a fire going, to light a fire (by adding s.t. to it rather
than starting from scratch, which would be **khfanyaa mulo** ‘to
make a fire); to create differences, discord among people’
kasha muunt^hu ‘to do everything possible to get someone arrested’
kashaa nt^ha ‘to light a candle’
kasha sugareeti ‘to light a cigarette’
kashaa tala ‘to put on a lamp’
Takaasha. ‘He will burn it.’
Takashaayi. ‘How will he light it?’
- k-aashanya* v. burn one another (for example, do everything to get one another
arrested)
Hamadi/ na Alí/ wa’ashenye ka sarkaali. ‘Hamadi and Ali lit. burned one
another to the government (tried to get one another arrested by the
government).’
- k-aashika* v. caus. p/s. able to be lit
haashikó ‘that which is flammable’
Mulo/ hawaashiki/ apa/ ka lpepo. ‘A fire cannot be lit here because of the
wind.’

Sandukhuuni/zimo zint^u haashikó (or: **haakó**). ‘Things that are flammable are in this box.’

k-ashikila v. caus. p/s. appl.

Muĵo/ wize kumwashikila. ‘The fire wouldn’t start for him.’

k-ashiliza v. caus. appl. (**ashiliize**) light for, with

k-ashilizika v. caus. appl. p/s.

Ji/ ha’ashiliziki/ muĵo. ‘Ji cannot be started for a fire.’ (Observe that in the potential/stative form, the subject is the beneficiary in a benefactive applied causative verb construction.)

Zibiriti izi/ hazashiliziki/ muĵo. ‘These matches cannot be used to light a fire (perhaps they burn too fast).’ (Observe that it is the instrument that is the subject of the potential/stative form of an instrumental applied causative verb.)

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.

ch-aasha n. something that lights something

chasha sigareeti ‘a cigarette lighter’

mw-aako n. the act of burning

mw-aasho n. burning; (bodily) temperature

Nele maayi/ ka mĵuungi/ ka khisa wanayo mwaasho. ‘He drank a full jar of water because he was hot.’

mwa-aka (*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: **Miyaaka/ 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/ majiibu/ miyaka mitatu. ‘I waited for an answer for three years.’

Ndriinzile/ 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).’

Shaati/ iyi/ chiguwoche/ chuuma/ juk!/ hachihadi/ takuvaala/ miyaaka/ na miyaakayé. ‘This shirt, its cloth is hard/strong, **juk!** it does not say (i.e. it does not get torn or wornout); you will wear it years and years (lit. years and its years).’

We/ yiko kendra kulindra miyaaka/ miwili/ amá/ miyaka mitatu. ‘You may have to wait for two or three years.’

rel.

mwa-akaani n. next year

Sultaani/ liinzile/ hatta/ 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 dambi l’akbari [st.] ‘love of self is a major sin’

rel.

	<i>akaabiri</i> [Ar. <i>akābir</i> W 810] <i>wamiinzilo akaabiri/ ni Bur'i na Buusiri</i> [st.] 'the greatest ones who sang his praises (lit. him) are Bur'i and Buusiri'
<i>-aake</i>	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.) Fiiló/ yaake/ imaliize. 'He who has died, his (affairs, issues, concerns, etc.) are finished.' (A proverb.) Kilaa mooyi/ yaake/ imshishile. 'Everyone's catches him (i.e. everyone has his own problems etc.).' Or: Kilá/ 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.)
<i>aake</i>	n. Kalashnikov assault rifle ("AK-47") khori aake 'AK rifle'
<i>akh</i>	interj. of smelling bad, or a negative reaction to something Akh/ ni kuja gani/ awo/ yanakunuunk^ha. 'Akh! what kind of food is that, it smells bad!' Haliima/ mw-ambile mw-aana=w-e/ akh!/ tufa kuja iyo si-mizé/ i-wozélé. 'Haliima told her child, (it is) akh! , disgusting, spit it out, do not swallow that food, it is rotten' Hasani/ hadiile/ Alí/ mara mara/ hukoða mikooði/ maala yá'ani/ akh!/ haṭá/ itakhufanya matapika. 'Hasani said: Ali sometimes talks and talks without meaning, akh! until it will make you want to vomit.' Umí/ mwambile Haawa/ akh!/ laṭa khkoða mijawabu ayo/ ufiskhi. 'Umi told Haawa: akh! Stop talking those talks of bad things.'
<i>akharaba</i>	n. 9 one's relatives is q possible? Awa/ ni akharabaya. 'These ones are my relatives.'
<i>akhbaari</i>	n. cl. 10 (cf. khbari 'news') news (Examples provided by Meikal Mumin.) akhbari za Baana 'news of/from Baana' Da'iimu/ hulangaḷa akhbaari/ humurugsaṭila. 'Generally I look at the news and worry about it.'
<i>akhðari</i>	adj. [Ar. <i>akdar</i> 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.'
<i>aakhera</i>	[Sw. <i>ahera</i> SED 5; Ar. <i>al-ākira</i> W 8] the hereafter] (Note that a locative form with the enclitic =ni is not possible.) aakhera/ na lminguuní '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/ takeendra/ aakhera. ‘Everybody will die.’
Nt^haku/ husuḷo 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/ takhshafiya umaṭiye/ 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’

Muunt^hu/ shpata peesa/ ha’isuḷoowi/ zont^he/ kuja/ kumala/ husuḷoowa/ habamooyi/ kuweka aakhiba/ ya keesho. ‘When one gets money, one should not eat and finish all, he should put in some aside for tomorrow.’

Mwana uyu/ nt^haná/ aakhiba. ‘This child has no future (nothing good will come to him in the future).’

ku-’akhirira

v. [Sw. *ahiri* SSED 5; Ar. *akira* W 8] (**akhiriiḷe**) delay, postpone

Awuukari/ akhiriiḷee fadhi. ‘Awuukari postponed the meeting.’

Baana/ akhiriiḷee majlisi. ‘Baana postponed the meeting.’

Nuuru/ akhiriiḷee 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’akhirikiḷiiḷe. ‘Huseeni, the meeting was able to be postponed for him.’

ku-’akhirisha v. [Sw. *ahirisha*] (**akhirishiḷe**) 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 childrn 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’akhirishikiḷiiḷe. ‘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^hu 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-’akhirioowa v. pass. [Sw. *ahiriwa*] be delayed

ṭaraawehe sunna ku’akhirioowa [st.] ‘it is better for the Ramadhan prayers to be delayed’

- akhiiran** adv. finally
Akhiiran/ kana mwana wa skoola/ chimaliza khsooma/ ye/ hukhaadira/ kulangala mpiira. ‘Finally, if a student finishes studying, he may watch football.’
- aakhiri** n. [Sw. *aheri* SSED 5; Ar. *ākīr* W 8] end, last
aakhiri ya koođi kuliindra majiibu [song] ‘the end of talk is to wait for an answer’
Chimooyi/ chiseeló/ cha aakhiri/ chingiile/ mahala/ maape/ mutiini. ‘The last remaining one [lit. one which remained of last] entered a place inside the tree.’
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.’
Islaamu/ wote/ hufuunga/ nt^h angú/ awali ya mweezi/ hatá/ akhiriye. ‘All Moslems fast from the first day of the month (of Ramadhan) until its end.’
Mahala/ yaa si/ hupendo keendrá/ akhiri ya ayaamú/ ni kharibu ya tawala. ‘The place where we like to go on weekends is by the sea.’
Mi/ nile aakhiri. ‘I came last.’ (cf. **Ye/ ile aakhiri.** ‘He came last.’)
Mi/ skukashifa/ Abú/ kunkhiyaansaata/ mi/ mpaka/ aakhiri/ ya wakhti. ‘I did not discover Abu’s cheating me until much later.’
Munt^h mwovu/ akhiriye/ mbovu. ‘A bad man, his end is bad.’
Na ifungu ya aakhiri/ 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’
- aakhiri** adv. [see above] at last, in the end
Akhiri iyi/ Hamadi/ akhilize/ zangamiile/ hakoođi/ jawaabu/ suura. ‘In these last times, Hamadi’s mind has worsened, his talk (the things he says) are not good.’
Aakhiri/ kana mwana wa skoola/ chimaliza khsooma/ ye/ hukhaadira/ kulangala mpiira. ‘Finally, if a student finishes studying, he may watch football.’
Aakhiri/ 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.’
aakhiriye ‘at its end’
Chiineendra/ jis’iyo/ pisile/ wakhti/ na ba’adaa wakhti/ miyaaka/ na miyaaká/ aakhiri/ mwajiitu/ 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/ iini/ 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^h aná/ akhlaakhi suura/ waant^h u/ wote/ hum’awaađa. ‘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 akhlaakhi/ kađaalika. ‘That girl was called Safiya and she was a girl beautiful, having good morals as well.’
- akhfiyaari + poss** [Ar. *ikhtiyār* “choice, preference, free will” W 267] a warning expression (lit. it is your

decision)

Akhtiyaariyo/ 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/ khtiiinda/ 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.’

Mi/ ni sahá/ kuwa nt^hachiná/ akhtiyari yüingine. ‘I am right that we have no alternative.’

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.’

akhwanuḥmusḥimiina

n. Muslim Brotherhood

variant form: **akhwaanīḥmusḥimiina**

akhyaari (Ø, ma-)
noble person

adj. [Ar. *akyar* “better, superior” W 267] gentle, kind, docile (of human beings); n.

Mi/ nt^humila kaakó/ na muunt^hu/ mweema/ na akhyaari. ‘I have been sent to you by a good and kind man.’

munt^hu akhyaari ‘a gentle man’ (cf. **want^hu (ma’)axyaari** ‘gentle men’, **chijint^hu chi’akhyaari, zijint^hu zi’akhyaari**)

Sultaani/ chiwaviḷa mawaaziri/ wotte/ na ma’akhyaari/ wa muuyi/ pamó/ na qaḍi/ kumlooza/ 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, emphasize (Verb stems that we 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.’

Mi/ n’akidile khfanyowa kaazi/ ka juhdi. ‘I emphasized working hard.’

Mi/ n’akidiilé/ kuwaa mi/ nakhsuḷa kula nuumbá. ‘I emphasized that I wanted to buy a house.’

Mi/ n’akidiilé/ muhimu/ ya kuwowa tahaḍari. ‘I emphasized the importance of being careful.’

N’akidiilé/ 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'
- ku-'akisa* v. [Ar. *akasa* W 63] (**akisiize**) oppose
Killa/ mi/ shkooða/ 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
aðaana 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.)
kendra zaako 'to follow your (affairs, business, etc., do not pay attention to others)'
khshika zaako 'to follow your (affairs, business, etc., do not pay attention to others)'
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.')
- Shkapu/ chaako/ chibeele.** Your basket is lost.' (Cf. **shkapu chaako** or **shkapu=cho** 'your basket'.)
- akthari* adj. green
zilatu zi'akthari 'green shoes'
- akthari* n. [Ar. *aktar* W 815] majority
Ilooni/ jahazi/ ichizaama/ na waant^hu/ akthari yaawo/ wachifa. 'At dawn the dhow sank and the majority of the people died.'
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.'
Tunne/ 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/ njiiélé.** ‘Food, I ate.’)
- ch-aakuna** n. drink
Tafaðali/ takhaadira/ kuwanayo chaakuna/ bardi. ‘Please, may I have a cold drink?’
- al’akhañi** adv. [Arabic] at least
Al’akhañi/ hañá/ inawe haba/ Hamiisi/ hupeenda/ khsooma/ wana wiingine/ ni ma’aajizi. ‘At least Hamisi likes to read, the other students are very lazy.’
- al-rahmaani** n. the Merciful
keendra ka mooja yiitu al-rahmaani [st.] ‘he is going (lit. to go) to our God the Merciful’
- 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’u/ 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’u/ huja alafuye. ‘Everyone eats (i.e. gets) his luck.’ (A proverb.)
- albakhara** n. a **suura** in the Quran
Suura/ ndre/ kabisá/ karka khur’aani/ ni suura/ albakhara. ‘The longest chapter in the Quran is the **albakhara** chapter.’
- 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 Albaamba. ‘Shekh Nureeni’s mosque is in Albaamba.’
Spitale ya Miini/ yiko Albaamba. ‘Barawa’s hospital is located in the **Albaamba** section of Barawa.’
- albaazi** 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 albaazi/ hufurahika/ na haamina/ ya kuwa watakhkoma mahala wo/ wanakeendró/ ka salaama. ‘For example, if people of Brava are travelling, if they see **albaazi**, they rejoice and they believe that they will reach the place where they are going safely.’

albergo

n. [Ital.] a hotel

Omari/ lele albergooni. ‘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 albergooni?** The exclamatory yes-no question, on the other hand, lacks the pitch raising but involves a shift in accent: **Omari/ lele albergooni!?** 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.)

alfabeeta

n. alphabet

Muunthu/ chisuja kubarataa lugha/ biriima/ hubarata alfabeeta. ‘If one wants to learn a language, first he learns the alphabet.’

alfu

n., adj. [Sw. *alfu* SSED 9; Ar. *alf* W 23] thousand

alfu mara ‘a thousand times’

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.’

maru alfu ‘a thousand times’

na zo ni alfu dirhamu/ kubloowa meema faahimu [st.] ‘it was a thousand dirhams/ to have the virtuous scholar killed’

Ndrafilani/ mi/ mwanaamke/ uyu/ mi/ takinpa/ kila mooyi/ riyali alfu.

‘You (pl.) leave for me this girl and I will give each one (of you) a thousand riyals.’

nt^hakhupa dinaari/ alfu/ kumi. ‘I will give you ten thousand dinaari.’

rel.

alfeeni n.,adj. two thousand

ku-’alhamu

v. [Som. *alxan* DSI 18] (**alhamiile**) weld

rel.

ku-’alhamika v. p/s. (**alhamishile**)

ku-’alhamila v. appl. (**alhamiile**)

ku-’alhamilana v. appl. rec. (**alhamileene**)

ku-’alhamisha v. caus. (**alhamishiize**)

rel. nom.

u-’alhamu n. 14

u-’alhamisho n. 14

u-’alhamilano n. 14

alhamu

n. 9 solder

Alhamu iyi/ siwo/ yaaka. ‘This solder is not mine.’

alhamdulillah

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. More generally it is employed to express satisfaction, for example after eating, or after any enquiry as to your well-being etc.)

Hamadi/ hadile alhamdulillah/ humshukura mojiitu/ ka afiya/ yaa ye/ mp^heeló. ‘Hamadi said thanks to God for the health that he has given me.’ (Note that *alhamdulillah* may be phrased with the preceding verb. It is, as always, also possible to phrasally separate the verb: **Hamadi/ hadiile/ alhamdulillah/...**)

Muunt^hu/ laazimu/ kuhada alhamdulillah/ kaa ndala/ na wiikutó/ kaa dhibu/ na raahá. ‘One must say *alhamdulillah*, in hunger and prosperity, in hardship and in luxury.’

alhaasili

adv. [Ar. *al-hāsil* "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.’

alimentaare

in expression: **duka ya alimentaare** ‘food shop’

Nuuru/ pete garabu/ suura/ ka weenzawe/ fungilee duka/ nk^hulu/ ya alimentaare. ‘Nuuru got great support from his friends, he opened a large food shop.’

mwaalimu (w-)

n. 1/2 [Sw. *mwalimu* SSED 318; Ar. *mu ‘allim* W 637] a teacher in a koranic school; [pron. **mwaalimu** or **maalimu**, the former pronunciation used by MI while currently the latter pronunciation is used]

Apo/ zamaani/ waliko mwaalimu/ mooyi/ chivilowa Gooso. ‘Once upon a time there was a teacher who was called Gooso.’

Huseeni/ na Hamadi/ ndiwó/ waalimu. ‘It’s Huseeni and Hamadi who are teachers.’

Huseeni/ ndiyé/ mwaalimu. ‘It is Huseeni who is a teacher.’

Muunt^hu/ mwaalimu wa mwaanawá/ ni Nuuru. ‘The man who is my son’s teacher is Nuuru.’ (When a null copula verb is the basis of a relative clause, there is a final accent triggered.)

Mwaalimu/ mkulu. ‘The teacher is big.’

mwaalimu 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 mwaalimu mkulu ‘the son of the big teacher’; **wana wa mwaalimu mkulu** ‘the sons of the big teacher’; **wana wa waalimu wakulu** ‘the sons of the big teacher’

Naani/ mwalimu wa mwaanawo. ‘Who is your son’s teacher?’ (Notice that in this question, there is no overt copular verb. The pre-verbal question word **naani** induces the pseudo-relativization of the following verb, but in the absence of a verb there is no pseudo-relativization and thus no final accent arising from pseudo-relativization. An appropriate answer to the question here is: **Nuuru/ ni mwalimu wa mwaanawa.** ‘Nuuru is my son’s teacher.’ In this answer, the copular verb is overt, but again there is no pseudo-relativized form of the copular.)

Ni Fardoosa/ siwo mwaalimú. ‘It is Fardoosa who is not a teacher.’
Ni Nuuru/ mwalimu wa mwaanawa/ siwo/ Ali. ‘It’s Nuuru who is my son’s teacher, not Ali.’ (Note that the null copular verb does not trigger final accent in this sentence where focus on the subject **Nuuru** would be expected to induce pseudo-relativization of the verb.)

Nimweené/ muke/ oo siwo mwaalimú. ‘I saw the woman who is not a teacher.’

Nimweené/ muke/ oo siwo mwaalimú/ nmweenó. ‘I saw the woman who is not a teacher, that’s who I saw.’

Nimwene Osmaani/ mwaalimú. ‘I saw Osmaani the teacher.’ Or:
Nimwene^f Osmaani/ mwaalimu. ‘I saw *Osmaani* the teacher.’

Ni Osmaani/ mwaalimú. ‘It is Osmaani who is a teacher.’

Nimviliilé/ muunt^hu/ oo mwaalimu. ‘I called the man who is a teacher.’

Nimviliilé/ muunt^hu/ oo mwaalimu/ nimviliiló. ‘I called the man who is a teacher, that’s what I did’

Noshele kumzirata Nuuru/ oyo/ mwalimu wa mwaanawa. ‘I went to visit Nuuru, who is my son’s teacher.’ (Observe that even a null copular verb triggers final accent in a true relative clause.)

Oo mwaalimu/ Osmaani. ‘The one who is a teacher is Osmaani.’

Oo siwo mwaalimú/ ni Fardoosa. ‘The one who is not a teacher is Fardoosa.’

Tuuma/ waawaye/ ni mwaalimu. ‘Tuuma’s father is a teacher.’

Wamó/ humletela mwaalimu/ nguwoo mp^hiya. ‘Some bring the teacher a new piece of cloth.’

rel.

aalimu (*Ø, ma-*) adj. learned, scholarly; [pron. **ma’aalimu** (pl.)]

khaansa mubleelo 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

Uwaalimu/ hawkhinfi. ‘The profession of teaching won’t suit you.’

aalkola

n. [Eng. and Ital. *alcohol*] alcohol (not limited to alcoholic drinks)
aalkola iyi ‘this alcohol’

<i>aḷmaasi</i>	<p>n. 9/10 [Sw. <i>almasi</i> SSED 10; Ar. <i>almās</i> W 24] diamond aḷmasi iyi ‘this diamond’; aḷmasi izi ‘these diamonds’ Chiwona aḷmaasi/ nk^hulu. ‘He saw a big diamond.’ (Phon. The separation of the modifier nk^hulu into a separate phonological phrase from aḷmaasi is a device used to convey the indefinite nature of the noun aḷmaasi.) Ilu ya ijabali/ we/ takuwona luulu/ na aḷmaasi. ‘On top of the mountain you will see pearls and diamonds.’</p> <p>rel. <i>i-’aḷmaasi (mi-)</i> n. 5/4 aug.</p>
<i>aḷ-rahmaani</i>	<p>merciful keendra ka moja yītu aḷ-rahmaani [st.] ‘(he is) going to our God, the merciful’</p>
<i>aḷshukruḷillah</i>	<p>an Arabic expression meaning ‘thanks to Allah’, used the same way as aḷhamduḷillah, and may even be used immediately after it Hamadi/ hadiile/ aḷhamduḷillah/ aḷshukruḷillah. ‘Hamadi said praise to God, praise to God.’</p>
<i>altente</i>	<p>n. [Ital. <i>aiutante</i>] assistant to a driver</p>
<i>aḷuraayi</i>	<p>n. a kind of rice mpunga wa aḷuraayi a kind of (bad-smelling) rice’</p>
<i>aḷwandari</i>	<p>n. [Eng. <i>lavender</i>] a kind of perfume that contains much alcohol tahaḍari aḷwandari haraamu [st.] ‘beware of aḷwandari, it is unlawful’</p>
<i>aala</i>	<p>n. [Sw. <i>ala</i> "sheath, scabbard, case of knife, sword, etc.; any sort of instrument, apparatus, tool, utensil. machine" SSED 8; Ar. <i>āla</i> "instrument" W 34] weapons, hunting equipment Chimalizopó/ kuḷaa 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 zītu/ chiineenzelé/ haḷá/ 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/ wachaanza/ kishkila mlima. ‘All, with only their weapons, began to descend the hill.’ Zinakudarbaḷa/ na zuuzile/ aala/ niingi/ zilasilo ka Ameeriká. ‘They are preparing (to fight) and have bought many weapons which have come from America.’</p>
<i>alaa ayi haal</i>	<p>fixed expression: under, in any circumstance; in any case; in any situation; in summary; [pron. alaa áyi haal], where there is a clear raised pitch internal to the expression Alaa áyi haal/ ni muhimu/ khsooma/ jisa khpita imṭihaani. ‘In sum, it is important to study in order to pass an exam.’ Luulu/ nakuya alaa áyi haal. ‘Luulu is coming whatever the circumstances.’ Ye/ humsuuḷa/ Fardoosa/ tu/ ye/ humpenda Haliima/ alaa áyi haal. ‘He just wants Fardoosa; in any case, he loves Haliima.’</p>
<i>ch-aala (z-)</i>	<p>n. 7/8 [Sw. <i>chala</i> Sac 129] finger, toe Aaba/ tinzile ruuhuye/ chaala. ‘Aaba cut her finger.’</p>

Baana/ m̄t̄inzile Haaji/ chaala. ‘Baana cut Haaji’s finger.’ Cf. **Baana/ m̄t̄inzile Haaji/ chaala/ chont̄^he.** ‘Baana cut off Haaji’s finger (lit. cut the finger all).’ Or: **Baana/ m̄t̄inzile chaala/ chont̄^he/ Haaji.** ‘Baana cut off the finger [of] Haaji.’

chala chaa kati ‘middle finger’

chala cha shpete ‘ring finger’

chala cha kuulu ‘toe’

Chala chimooyi/ hachooshi/ uso. [H’H!!H] ‘One finger does not wash the face.’ (A proverb.)

Chala cha mooyi/ hachubli/ nt̄^hawa. ‘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’

hat̄á/ 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”)

Mahala_a we/ tamtiló/ hat̄á/ nt̄^hupaani/ mwaachisi/ takht̄omola chaala. ‘Wherever you put him, even in a bottle, a bastard will stick out a finger.’ (A proverb.)

Mwaana/ 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.’

T̄inzile 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] (**azile**) plant, sow; spread

Abunawaasi/ chala msala/ nt̄^hi. ‘Abunawaasi spread the mat on the floor.’

Alaani/ miyaaka/ saba/ fululizaani/ na yaa ni/ nt̄^hakhshafó/ la_ataani/ karka

ziskize/ shokuwa habamó/ yaa ni/ nt̄^haakujó. ‘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’ (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’

Ku_a muunt̄^hu/ hushafa yaa ye/ aziló. ‘Each man harvests what he sows.’ (A proverb.)

Mi/ kawako numbaani/ isa/ su_a kuwa nakaalá/ muundra. ‘If I were home, I would be cultivating now.’

Muunt̄^hu/ chala ge_e/ haashafi/ mash_aay_a. ‘One who plants maize will not

harvest sesame.’ (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. **Saleení.** ‘(Pl.) don’t sow!’

Wanayo muundra/ wa’aziló. ‘They have a farm which they have farmed (lit. planted).’

rel.

k-aalila v. appl. (**aliile**) sow for

N^hanakaalila. ‘He is not sowing with/for.’

k-aalilana v. appl. rec. sow for one another

k-aaloowa v. pass. be planted

Basi/ chaamura/ khadimuze/ kala mteendre/ uchaloowa. ‘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. (**yaliile**) 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’uyaaaziló. ‘I myself am the one who sowed it (referring to a [cl.3] noun).’

Siyaalé. ‘Don’t sow!’ Cf. **Siyaleenii** ‘(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; evidence, proof

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. mark’; **khfanyiliza alaama**

Ahamadi/ tete ranji/ khfanyiliza alaama/ mahaḷa ya gaariye/ yiiko. ‘Ahamadi took paint to make a mark where his car is.’

Muunt^hu/ chiint^hu/ chuusha/ husuloowa/ khfanya alaama/ apo/ chiizapó/ yiko keendra/ kuliwala/ mahaḷaa ye/ weesheló. ‘When someone hides something, he needs to put a mark (identifying where it is hidden), otherwise he might forget where he put it.’

kubiga alaama ‘to make a sign, mark’
Basi/ t̄ambiga alaamaye/ t̄ampelekela. ‘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/ t̄amtaambuló/ mbige alaama. ‘The one that you will identify, put a mark on him.’
kurasha alaama ‘to trace (follow signs, clues)
Wake/ zamaani/ m̄wiini/ wachishoma makoofiya/ wachirasha alaama/ ilu ya kahfi. ‘Women during olden times in Brava used to sew traditional hats, they used to follow marks put on the **kahfi** (the top part of the hats).’
Mi/ nazo alaamá/ za k̄t̄osha/ koonya/ kuwa Muusa/ ni ðambiile. ‘I have enough proof to show that Muusa is guilty.’
Mi/ sinakuwona/ alaama/ yo yotte/ kaake/ malungooni/ honyesho kuwaa ye/ ub̄leelá. ‘I do not see any sign whatsoever on his body that shows that he has been killed.’
Muusa/ pete alaama/ kuwa Faat̄ima/ koðele wanaafakhi/ t̄arafu ya mahaḷaa ye/ waalikó. Muusa found proof that Faatima lied about where she was.
Nchimwona/ muunt̄u/ 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 (Ø, 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: **Mwa’alamu/ Ali/ yabashiize.**

Alamu/ hatá/ uchandikoowa/ f̄maazi/ yaḷa(w)anyishiló. ‘Until the flag (e.g. of independence) was raised, a lot of blood was shed.’

Why u subject marker?

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 Salihya ‘the flag of the Salihya order’

Alamu ya Soomaaliya/ 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/ nt̄hiini ‘to lower a flag down (to half-mast)’

Want̄u wa Soomaaliya/ f̄wotte/ wamo nt̄hini ya alamu ya Soomaaliya.

‘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

Nama ya aleeso/ nt̄h̄ayná/ ayi/ dhadhamu. ‘Boiled meat does not have taste.’

aliindi

n. a kind of woven cloth popular in Somalia

Wa’ooji/ M̄wiini/ hufumaa nguwo/ aliindi/ ka iliindri. ‘Wa’ooji in Miini weave *aliindi* cloth with *iliindri*.’

Ali

n. cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet; also used as a male proper name

kumpeenda heeðari Ali s̄oshe haba [st.] ‘to love heeðari 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 witu 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. (alikiḷiḷile)

k-alikoowa v. pass. (alishiḷa)

allahu n. Allah

Mayṭi/ ṭakambiḷoowa/ hada/ moojá/ ni Allahu/ mtumewo/ ni Muhammad/ diiniya/ ni islaamu/ 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/ hutasawaraayi/ 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 peope 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**, **ambo**

Amá/ Hamiisi/ ṭakandika zaaydi/ amá/ ṭakhpoṭela imṭihaani. ‘Hamisi will write more, or he will fail his exam.’

Amá/ koowela/ wazeelewa/ nt^hawachiiwa/ walá/ nt^hawakunaambila/ kubarāṭa. ‘But to swim, my parents did not know how to nor did they tell me to learn how to.’

Amá/ ye/ chikhushiindra/ we/ ṭakumbeḷeḷa khadimu wa nuumba. ‘But if she defeats you, you will become a house servant for me.’

Basi/ ichiwaa we/ ile kazima mp^huundrá/ ye/ nt^haako/ amá/ ichiwaa we/ kazima nk^hele za mp^huundrá/ ndrḷilile. ‘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/ nsuliilé 'whether I don't or I do like it'

Jaa we/ amá/ ndimí/ taakujó. 'Eat or it is me who will eat.'

Kiġaa muunt^hi/ Hamiisi/ husooma/ amá/ hulangaġa mpiira. 'Every day Hamiisi reads or watches football.'

Mwishpa/ hureeba/ amá/ mwishpa/ hudura. 'A bone stops or a bone stings, pierces.' (The speaker is explaining the proverb: **Limi/ nt^halíná/ mwishpa.** 'The tongue does not have a bone.' The speaker is saying that the tongue can lie so easily because it has no bone. If it had a bone, that bone would constrain it, prevent it from lying, or cause it pain when it tried to bring forth lies.)

Nakhsuġa chaayí/ amá/ kahawa. 'Do you want tea or coffee?'

Nuuru/ amá/ Muusa/ takuuyó. 'Nuuru or Muusa will come.'

Omari/ huna kahawa/ amá/ chaayí. 'Does Omari drink coffee or tea?'

We/ chendra ka poliisi/ ama chint^hu maapé/ we/ umriwo/ hunk^hasi/ mi/ mara yiingine. 'If you go to the police or something you'll never hear from me again.'

We/ mene Sa'iidi/ ambó (or: **amá/ Saġwa?** '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.

m~~w~~-aama (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who sucks

mu-'aamala

n. [Ar. **mu 'āmala** 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 njeema huziida imaani [st.] 'good deeds increase faith'

amali pashpo iġmu hurudoowa [st.] 'for deeds unsupported by knowledge are rejected'

amali suura 'a good act, deed'

Amali suura/ duniyaani/ na akherá/ ba/ khiinfa. 'Good actions, in this world and thereafter, both help you.' (A proverbial saying.)

Amaliye/ imkirihihize waawaye. 'His behavior displeased his father.'

Amaliye/ mbovu. 'His behavior, deeds are bad.'

amalize 'their deeds, behavior'

chiruuda amali mbovu huġinda [st.] 'when he returns [from the pilgrimage] he ceases doing evil deed'

chiruuda amali njeema huteendra/ hamraashi ðaalimu 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 amali. ‘He is a man who does not have a good temperament, manner.’
someelo ilmu rashiliizo amali [st.] ‘for those who have learned *ilm* and act accordingly’
ye nafsi faanya amali jo khaalisi [st.] ‘O human beings, do deeds which are sincere’
Ye/ tete amali ya maamaye/ -- takaburi/ na koonyeshá/ na fakhari. ‘She took the manners of her mother -- arrogance, showing off, ostentation.’

amaamiso

n. **no etymological source known** night blindness

amaana

n. 9/10 [Sw. *amana* SSED 10; Ar. *amāna* W 29] s.t left with s.o. to be kept, protected
khshika amaana ‘to hold for safe-keeping’
Nt^hi/ na kuzimú/ yiize/ khshika amaana/ ni mwaadamu/ teetó. ‘The earth and the sky refused to protect what was entrusted, it is the human being who accepted (to protect what was entrusted).’ (A proverb.)
khtala amaana ‘to take for safe-keeping’
Tala amaana/ iyi/ yaa mi/ ndreeseló. ‘Take for safe-keeping this that I have brought you.’
kudhora amaana ‘to keep and protect what is left in one’s custody’
Ni diini/ ya islaamu/ ihadiiló/ muunt^hu/ laazimu/ kudhora amaana. ‘It is the Islamic religion that said that one must protect what is trusted to one.’
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.’
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/ kana/ numbaani ‘as safe as in a house’
Baghadaadi/ ni amaani/ kana/ nuumba/ nt^haku/ zita/ kana/ muunt^hu/ uko numbaani. ‘Baghadaadi is peaceful like home, there is no war, it is like one being at home.’
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 muuyi/ karka raaha/ na amaani. ‘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 amaani/ hatá/ mowti/ umwiliṭiṭopó. ‘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 amaani/ ka mwaadamú ‘if you want peace from a human being’
Mahaḷa/ nt^haku amaani/ ha’iishiki. ‘Where there is no peace, one cannot live.’

Mi/ nayo amaani/ kuhada/ kuwa nt^haku/ chiint^hu/ itulushiló. ‘I am safe in saying that nothing bad happened.’
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.’
Mwiini/ siwo/ amaani. ‘Brava is not safe.’
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’
Nt^ha’ikuwaaliko/ amaani/ Abú/ kendra Mwiini. ‘It wasn’t safe for Abu to go to Brava.’
Nt^haku/ muunt^hu/ nayo amaani/ kubasha kaazyié. ‘No one is safe from losing his job.’
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.’
Siwo/ amaani/ muke nayo miimbá/ khtala dawa iyi. ‘It is not safe for a pregnant woman to take this medicine.’
Siwo/ amaani/ si/ khsafira Mwiini. ‘It is not safe for us to travel to Brava.’
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)
-ambaamba/ kanaa luti or **kana chiluti** ‘as thin as a stick’
Ali/ nt^hangú/ nakhfikiro khpata maali/ wele mwambaamba/ kanaa luti. ‘Since Ali started obsessing (lit. thinking) about getting money, wealth, he became as thin as a stick.’
-ambaamba/ kanaa luzi ‘as thin as thread’
-ambaamba/ kana ngoondra ‘as thin as *ngoondra* (sp. fish that is dried)’
kulu nambaamba ‘thin leg’
lkaambala/ hutindika mahaḷa nambaamba. ‘A rope breaks where it is thin.’ (A proverb.)
mikono membaamba ‘thin arms’
mikono mwambaamba ‘thin arm’
Mloongoti/ oyo/ uwaliko mwambaamba/ kama chimuti cha chibiriiti. ‘That mast was thin like a matchstick.’
Muti/ mwambaamba. ‘The tree is thin.’ (Cf. *muti mwambaamba* ‘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/ wambaamba. ‘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 khalbiini/ 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.’

Nguwo ii/ masku/ waana/ walaliiló/ ambaani/ wanaliiile/ inakunuunk^ha/ kanaa mane. ‘This cloth, last night children slept on it, maybe they peed on it, it smells like urine.’

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

ambashaata n. embassy
Tafaðali/ nakhsula kendra ka ambashaata/ wa Amerikanó. ‘Please I need to go to the American Embassy.’

k-aambaata v. [Sw. *ambata* SSED 1] (-*ambeete*) stick to s.t.
kaambaata/ kana koola ‘to stick to s.t. like glue’
Lwarakha/ lambete lkuta. ‘The paper was stuck to the wall.’
Mi/ nk^hawa hukhadira khfanya kila/ yaa mi/ nnakhsuuló/ mazá/ mi
sula...kumlata/ mp^haapasi/ kunaambaata. ‘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?’
Nthakhaambaata/ kama mp^hapaasi. ‘I will stick to you like a cow tick (i.e. like glue).’
Teena/ uje mlungaana/ takoondoka/ takambaata ka chivundooni/ takhfinika ruuhuye/ takumera 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-ambatana v. rec. (-*ambateene*) stick to one another

Mbarakha/ zambateene. ‘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

Ambisa lwarakha/ kaa hawa. ‘Attach the paper with glue.’

Ambisize lwarakha/ lkutaani. ‘He attached the paper to the wall.’

Hawa iyi/ hayaambisi/ lwarakha. ‘This glue would not attach the paper (to s.t.).’

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*)

Hawa/ ambisilize lwarakha. ‘Glue, he attached the paper with it.’

k-ambisilizika v. caus. appl. p/s.

Hawa iyi/ hayambisiliziki/ lwarakha. ‘This glue was not able to attach the paper (to s.t.).’ (MI judged this sentence to be grammatical, but

considered it to be less common than the sentence given above:

Hawa iyi/ hayaambisi/ Iwarakha.

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-aambaŋo 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/ mw-ambile Hamadi/ kooŋi. ‘Baana told Hamadi what had been said (lit. the words, the talking).’

Basi/ cheendra/ teena/ chimwambila jis’iyo/ 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.’

chikhaambila/ kuwaa ye/ nakhsuŋa khuloolá ‘if he says to you that he wants to marry you’

Chimwaambila/ ya kuwaa ye/ nakhsuŋa kumjaariba. ‘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 ŋila. ‘Jaama told you the truth.’

kama nch^himwambila Ali/ kuleta chaayi ‘if I were to/ would tell Ali to bring tea’
(MI rejected a subjunctive complement: ***kama nch^himwambila Ali/ nalete chaayi.**)

Khambile mubŋe mubŋiwá. ‘I told you that you should kill my husband.’

Kuwa faŋuuraya/ yaliko iboozela/ mi/ nimwambile Suufi/ tu. ‘That my car was stolen, I told only Suufi.’

Kuwa Hamadi/ bozele faŋuuraya/ Suufi/ tu/ nimwambiiló. ‘I told only Suufi that Hamadi stole my car (lit. that Hamadi stole my car, it is only Suufi who I told him).’ Or: **Suufi/ tu/ nimwambiiló/ kuwa Hamadi/ bozele faŋuuraya.** ‘I told only Suufi that Hamadi stole my car (lit. only Suufi is the one who I told him that Hamadi stole my car).’ Cf. **Mi/ nimwambile Suufi/ kuwa Hamadi/ bozele faŋuuraya.** ‘I told Suufi that Hamadi stole my car.’

Kuwa Hamadi/ fiile/ Omari/ nambiile. ‘That Hamadi died, Omari told me.’ Or: **Kuwa Hamadi/ fiile/ Omari/ nambiiló.** ‘That Hamadi died Omari told me.’ Or: **Kuwa Hamadi/ tu/ fiiló/ Omari/ nambiiló.** ‘That only Hamadi died Omari told me.’ Or: **Kuwa Hamadi/ tu/ fiiló/ Omari/ nambiile.** ‘That only Hamadi died, Omari told me.’

Muke/ chimwaambila/ ya kuwa waana/ maanzine/ wajjile. ‘The woman told him that the children had already eaten.’

Mukhtá Safiya/ nambiiló/ kuwaa ye/ hampeendí/ mubŋi uyú/ namsuŋa

- 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.’ (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.’ MI did not allow the complementizer to precede the subjunctive: ***Mwambile Ali/ kuwa (a ye) nalete chibuuku.**)
- Mwambile Ali/ silete chaayi.** ‘Tell Ali not to bring tea.’ Or, with verb emphasis in the complement: **Mwambile Ali/ sileete/ chaayi.**)
- Mwambilopoo muke/ muke/ chishikowa shtana.** ‘When he told the woman, the woman became angry.’
- Nambile jila.** ‘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.’ (In this structure, a subjunctive complement is dubious: ?**Nimwambile Ali/ nalete chaayi.**)
- Nimwambile Ali/ lete chaayi.** ‘I told Ali: bring tea.’
- Nimwambile Ali/ (na)silete chaayi.** ‘I told Ali that he should not bring tea.’ (Observe that the use of *na* is variable in the case of the [cl.1] negative subjunctive.)
- Nimwambile Ali/ sileete/ chaayi.** ‘I told Ali: don’t bring tea!’
- Nimwambile Nuuru/ kuwaa-ye/ takuwashindra waana.** ‘I told Nuuru that (he) would defeat the children.’ Or with emphasis on complement verb: **Nimwambile Nuuru/ kuwaa-ye/ takuwashiindra/ waana.** ‘I told Nuuru that (he) would defeat the children.’ (Observe that there is penult accent on phrases following **Nuuru**. To account for this, it is necessary to assume that there is either focus or emphasis at least on **Nuuru**, since such a status is needed to explain the failure of final accent from the main verb to extend to past **Nuuru**.)
- Nimwambile Nuuru/ kuwaa-ye/ takuwashindra waana/ tu.** ‘I told Nuuru that he would defeat only the children.’ (Note that a focused phrase to the right of a verb does not trigger pseudo-relativization of that phrase. Observe that there is penult accent on **waana**. To account for this, it is necessary to assume that there is either focus or emphasis at least on **Nuuru**, since such a status is needed to explain the failure of final accent from the main verb to extend to the phrases following **Nuuru**. Another point: verb emphasis cannot be followed by a focused phrase, thus the following sentence is ill-formed: ***Nimwambile Nuuru/ kuwaa-ye/ takuwashiindra/ waana/ tu.**)
- Nimwambile Nuuru/ kuwaa-ye/ waana/ tu/ takuwashiindró.** ‘I told Nuuru that he would defeat only the children.’ (Note that pseudo-relativization of the complement verb here is obligatory: ***Nimwambile Nuuru/ kuwaa-ye/ waana/ tu/ takuwashiindra.** If **waana** is not focused, then of course there is no pseudo-relativization: **Nimwambile Nuuru/ kuwaa-ye/ waana/ takuwashiindra.** ‘I told Nuuru that he would defeat the children.’ As noted above, the failure of the H tone triggered by the verb to cross **Nuuru** indicates it must be focused or emphasized.)
- Nimwambile waana/ tu/ Nuuru/ kuwaa ye/ takuwashiindró.** ‘I told him only the children Nuuru that he would defeat them.’ (It should be noted that a focused phrase does not follow an emphasized verb: ***Nimwambilélé waana) tu) Nuuru) kuwaa ye/ takuwashiindra** (or: **takuwashiindró**.)
- Niwa’ambile waaná/ wasilete chaayi.** ‘I told the children that they should not bring

tea.’ (Note that in the case of the plural third person negative subjunctive, the *na* element is not employed: **wanasilete chaayi* or **nawasilete chaayi*.)

nk^hawa nimwambile Ali/ kuleta chibuukú/ ‘if I had told Ali to bring the book’

Nk^hamwambila Ali/ kuleta chibuukú/ suḷa kuleeta. ‘If I were to have told Ali to bring tea, he would have brought (it).’ (MI was doubtful that a subjunctive complement could be used: ?*nalete chibuukú/*)

Nt^hamwambila Ali/ naletee khaṭi. ‘I will tell Ali to bring a/the letter.’ (The subjunctive complement is preferred in this sentence, but an infinitive is acceptable as well: **Nt^hamwambila Ali/ kuletaa khaṭi.**)

Simkahaté/ muunt^hu/ chikhambila liḷa. ‘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.**)

Siṭamwambila Ali/ kuleta chaayi. ‘I won’t tell Ali to bring tea.’ (MI rejected a subjunctive complement: ***Siṭamwambila Ali/ nalete chaayi.**)

Skumwaambila/ Ali/ kuletaa khaṭi. ‘I did not tell Ali to bring a/the letter.’ (Once again a negative main verb precludes the use of the subjunctive in the complement: ***Skumwaambila/ Ali/ naletee khaṭi.**)

Wa’ambile waana/ wasilete chaayi. ‘Tell the children they shouldn’t bring tea.’ Or with verb emphasis in the complement clause: **Wa’ambile waana/ wasileete/ chaayi.**

Waliko nimwambile Ali/ chiza kuleta chaayi. ‘I had told Ali not to bring tea.’ (MI was doubtful whether a negative subjunctive complement could be used instead of the negative infinitive: ?**Waliko nimwambile Ali/ nasilete chaayi.**)

Waliko nimwambile Ali/ kuleta chaayi. ‘I had told Ali to bring tea.’ (MI was uncertain whether the subjunctive could be used here instead of the infinitive: ?**Waliko nimwambile 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.’

Nambiliile 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. (**-ambiliileene**) tell for one another

Wa’ambiliilene 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/ huṭakiikuta. ‘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.’

Nambiliá/ 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 mublⁱ/ 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 mublⁱ (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. (ambilisheeny)

k-ambilishiliza v. caus. appl. (ambilishiliize)

k-ambilishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. (wa’ambilishilizeeny)

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]

Fakaṭa/ ambó/ takhshikoowa. ‘Run away, otherwise you will be arrested.’

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.’

Silawe/ ambó/ humwoni/ Muusa. ‘Don’t leave, otherwise you will not see Muusa.’

Talaani/ wafungeeni/ skuu nt^hatu/ ambó/ skuu sabá. ‘Take (the goats) and tie them up for three days or seven days.’

Vete hanzu huundrú/ ambó/ hanzu nyulusi. ‘Did you wear the red dress or the black dress?’

We/ nayo hanzuu ndre/ nyulusi/ ambo/ hanzuu ndre/ huundru? ‘Do you have a long black dress or a long red dress?’

Ye/ hakhaadiri/ kumwambila waawaye/ kuwa nt^heendre/ ziboozela/ ambó/ zijilá.
'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.'
Mukhtaá 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; abrade, bruise
Chilaatucha/ yambushile koola. 'My shoe, the glue has become undone.'
Lwarakha/ lambushile. 'The paper has become detached.'
Omari/ shereeje/ ambushile mkono. Omari slipped and lacerated/abraded (his) hand.'

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 ndriimu/ 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 khuṭbaye/ 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.'

Hu'insha Ameerika/ isa. 'I live in America now.'

Mukhta'a ye/ peḷa rukhsá/ mwambile Breshnev/ tafaḍali/ mukhta'a 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, me, leave me right there in America, you (resp.) take yourself beyond (America).'

rel.
m-'ameerika (wa-) n. 1/2 an American

Amerikaano

American

Dowlá/ ya Amerikaano/ iwaṭindilile ma'askari/ ya Somaaliya/ mu'aawana/ yaa kuja/ ka sababu/ mamulii mbovu. 'The American government cut assistance for food to the soldiers of Somalia because of bad administration.'

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/ wanakhpandaanó/ na waant^hú/ wa muuyi/ wawapeenzele/ nt^ho/ ka khisaa wo/ wa'amilateene/ na ra'iyia/ 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 siḷate 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 iyo hu'amimoowa [st.]
 '[things touched by] the urine of a boy should be sprinkled with water, spreading it thoroughly on them'
- aamin* n. amen; [pron. **aamin**]; var. **aamiin**
Du'a/ ichisomoowa/ huhadowa aamin. 'When praying is read, it is said *aamin*.'
Mi/ ahadile aamin. 'I said *aamin*.' Cf. **Omari/ hadile aamin.** 'Omari said *aamin*.'
 (The word *aamin* has accent on the final syllable *min* both in a phrase where there is final accent and in a phrase where there is default penult accent.)
Sheekhi/ ba'ada ya khsomaa du'a/ hadile aamin/ na waant^hu/ wont^he/ ka chinumeche/ wahadile aamin. 'Sheekhi, after reading prayer, said *aamin*, and all everyone behind him said *aamin*.'
Shekh Omari/ walombejele waana/ du'a/ imtihaani/ khpita/ malaayka/ zaalikó/ zihadile aamin/ waana/ wapisile. 'Shekh Omari begged God for the children to pass the examination; there were angels there, they said *aamin*, and the children passed.' (This example illustrates a belief among the **want^hu wa Miini** that when a person prays to God for something, the angels hear and say *aamin*, and consequently what was wished for happens.)
- amina* n. belief; adj. trustworthy
Haliima/ onyesheze ruuhuye/ kuwa siwo/ amini. 'Haliima revealed herself to be untrustworthy.'
- 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 kulo_lowa na sul_taani. 'Abdalla believed that his wife wanted him to die so that she could be married by the sultan.'
Ahliyo/ ma'anaye/ ni muunt^hu/ khaminiloo we/ na naminiloo mi. 'Your relative, its meaning is someone who believes in you and who believes in me.'
Aminile kuwa Suufi/ ni munt^hu msuura. 'He believed that Suufi is a good man.'
Aminile kuwa Suufi/ takhfanya kaazi/ naaye. 'He believed that Suufi would work with him.'
Aminile kuwa takhpata kaazi/ ka sarkaali. 'He believed that he would get a job from the government.'
Fardoosa/ tu/ tukilo misandukhu mikulú/ mi/ haaminó. 'Only Fardoosa carried the large boxes, I believe.'
Fardoosa/ tukile misandukhu mikulu/ mi/ haaminó. 'Fardoosa carried the large boxes, I believe.'
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.')
Hamadi/ haamini/ mojiitu. 'Hamadi does not have faith in God.'
Humwamino mojiitú/ haakosi/ chiint^hu. '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 qalbiini na ibaada [st.] 'to believe it in your heart and to worship'
kamina ruuhuye 'to be confident (lit. to trust oneself)'

- Maama/ uyu/ waliko aminiile/ ya kuwa mwaanawe/ chibaraṭa/ kila/**
chiint^hu/ 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**.)
- Mi/ bilhakhiiḱha/ naminiilé/ kuwa Omari/ mkoḱishizee ye/ wanaafakhi.** ‘I really believed that Omari had lied to him.’
- Mi/ haamina/ Abú/ inakonyesha kuwa takhkalant^ha Ameerika.** ‘I believe that it is likely Abu will stay in America.’
- Mi/ haamina/ kuwa Fardoosa/ takuruuda/ ka hima.** ‘I believe that Fardoosa will be back soon.’
- Mi/ haamina/ kuwa Faaṭima/ ni mpishi/ mkali.** ‘I believe Faatima to be a good cook.’
- Mi/ haamina/ kuwa Hasani/ kalent^he ka adabu.** ‘I believe Hasani to have behaved well.’
- Mweenza/ mi/ khaamina.** ‘My friend, I believe you.’
- Mi/ haamina/ khkoḱowa liḱa.** ‘I believe in telling the truth.’ (Notice the Chimiini way of using the passive where English would use an active form of the verb.)
- Mi/ hamina kuwa Fardoosa/ tukile misanduukhu/ mikulu.** ‘I believe that Fardoosa carried the large boxes.’
- Mi/ hamina kuwa Fardoosa/ tu/ tukilo misandukhu mikulú.** ‘I believe that only Fardoosa carried the large boxes.’
- Mi/ hamina kuwa misandukhu mikulu/ Fardoosa/ tukiile.** ‘I believe that the large boxes Fardoosa carried.’
- Mi/ hukahaṭa/ kuwaa we/ hunaamini.** ‘I hate that you do not trust me.’
- Mi/ humwaamina/ Omari.** ‘I believe Omari.’
- Mi/ na’iwá/ kuwaa we/ huṭakhaadiri/ 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’.)
- Mi/ ska’amine/ kuwaa yo/ humkina.** ‘I wouldn’t have believed it possible.’
- Mi/ skukhaadira/ kamina jisaa yo/ yalikoo dhibú.** ‘I couldn’t believe how difficult it was.’
- Misandukhu mikulu/ tu/ Fardoosa/ tukiiló/ mi/ haaminó.** ‘Only the large boxes Fardoosa carried, I believe.’
- Mubliwá/ amina nasiibuyo.** ‘My husband, trust to your luck.’
- Muunt^hu/ diiniye/ laazimu/ kaamina.** ‘One, his religion, he must believe.’
- Muunt^hu/ humwaamina/ 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/ hunaamini** ‘and of you do not believe me...’
- Na kila/ mará/ mo mweepe/ karka wantu/ wa’izó/ kumwaamina/ 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/ kooḱiza.** ‘You did not believe my words.’
- Sultani uyu/ ismu/ ya muunt^hu/ chamino diini/ chimubla.** ‘This sultan, any person who believed in religion, he used to kill.’
- Sultani waa dafa/ chamina kooḱize/ chimlata/ ku’iisha/ kati kaawo.** ‘The king of the kites believed his words [referring to Crow] and allowed him to live among them.’

Waant^{bu}/ haamina/ yaa wo/ wanakhsuuló. ‘People believe what they want to.’ Or:
Waant^{bu}/ haamina/ yaa wo/ wanakhsulo kaaminá. ‘People believe what they want to believe.’

Ye/ aminiile/ kuwa Abú/ ha’aminiki. ‘He believed that Abu could not be trusted.’

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

kaaminila ruuhuye ‘to entrust one’s soul to’

Mahaĵa/ zinakinendroo zitá/ muunt^{bu}/ hakhaadiri/ kaminila ruuhuye. ‘Where there is war going on, one cannot entrust his soul there.’

Mi/ nakhaminila mwaanawá. ‘I entrust my child to you./

Noka/ waliko baraĵeene/ mwana wa muunt^{bu}/ na ka jis’iyó/ baaba/ chimwaminila mwaana/ kuĵa/ 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^{bu}kuwa’aminila waana. ‘You entrusted the house to me, you did not entrust it to the children.’

Yaayi/ we/ huchaminili/ so/ we/ muĵa yíitú. ‘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 hiziowa [st.] ‘and (those who knew it) were not believed/ their attestations were denied (lit. refused)’

Nuuru/ kuwa taajiri/ yaminiiĵa. ‘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/ aminiiĵa kuwa taajiri. ‘Nuuru is believed to be rich.’)

Yaa ye/ takuhadó/ haĵakaminoowa/ na waant^{bu}. ‘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.’

kuwa amiini ‘to be honest, trustworthy’

Kuwa Haliima/ nt^{bu}akuwaaliko/ amiini/ ka mubĵiwe/ siwo/ liĵa. ‘That Haliima was unfaithful to her husband is untrue.’

Mi/ nakhsuĵa kuweka amaana/ ka Alí/ sababu/ ye/ ni muunt^{bu}/ amiini. ‘I want to put my money with Ali because he is trustworthy.’

Ni munt^{bu} amiini. ‘He is trustworthy.’

Omari/ ni amiini. ‘Omari is honest, trustworthy.’

Omari/ nt^{bu}aná/ amiini. ‘Omari is not trustworthy, he cannot be believed.’

Omari/ siwo/ amiini. ‘Omari is not honest, trustworthy.’

want^{bu} amiini ‘trustworthy people’

Ye/ ni amiini/ nt^{bu}/ ka jis’iyo/ waant^{bu}/ daa’imu/ humuzaa ye/ kuwasaayda. ‘She is very reliable, so people always ask her to help.’

<i>mw-aminifu</i>	adj. trustworthy
<i>ku-'amira</i> strong, strengthen	v. [Ar. <i>amarr</i> “firmer, stronger” W 901 (amiriile)] make something more active, make rel. <i>ku-'amirika</i> 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.’ <i>ku-'amiriila</i> v. appl. <i>ku-'amiriilana</i> v. appl. rec. <i>ku-'amirisha</i> v. caus. (amirishiize) <i>ku-'amirishiliza</i> v. caus. appl. <i>ku-'amirishilizanya</i> v. caus. appl. rec. <i>ku-'amiroowa</i> v. pass. added, get examples
<i>amiiri (ma-)</i>	n. [Sw. <i>amiri</i> SSED 13; Ar. <i>amīr</i> W 27] commander, leader, authority, ruler; [pron. ma'amiri] Sultaani/ ma'amiri/ maqaadi/ ma'akhyaari/ na makhaadimú/ wachingila safari. ‘The sultan, the authorities, the judges, the chieftains, and the servants started traveling.’
<i>amiya</i>	n. [Sw. <i>ami</i> SSED; Ar. ‘ <i>amm</i> W 640] (my) paternal uncle; [pron. amiyá] Amiyá/ nakambila ruuhuye/ wanaafakhi. ‘My uncle is lying to himself.’ amiyá/ wa khpaka ‘the man married to my aunt from father’s side (lit. uncle of coating)’ Bakari/ oshale Mwiini/ ye/ sulile kuwawona ahliye/ wont^he/ laakini/ ye/ mwene amiyé/ tu. ‘Bakari went to Brava. He wanted to see all his relatives, but he just saw his uncle.’ Waaliko/ mubli mooyi/ nnowelee/ mwanaamke/ wa amiyé. ‘A man married the daughter of his paternal uncle.’
aamma	n. the public Mwalimu Nyerere/ wafaramiile/ waanzaanya/ kudaðaalata/ na khfaanya/ bidi'i/ karka kaazi/ zaawo/ za khaansa/ na za aamma. ‘Mwalimu Nyerere recommended the Tanzanians to do their best and to try hard in their private tasks as well as the public (tasks).’
<i>amni</i>	n. security Mwiini/ iwashiila idaara/ ya amni/ chita/ ni rasdente. ‘In Miini it has been established an office for security, the head is the D.C.’
<i>amo</i>	conj. or, but; [pron. amó] Amó/ chijamuuni/ kaaka/ ye/ nt^hijile makooko/ na chita chaa nsi. ‘But on my plate she put the hard crust of the rice and a fish head.’ Ilopó/ eelo/ weene/ kuwa maambo/ yawaliko mawili/ kufaa ye/ amó/ kufa aduwi/ yitú. ‘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^hamubla/ 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.’
(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; event (which is viewed as something that has been ordained by God)

Ali/ chuuzaa/ 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/ haqiqaye ‘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/ mara mooyi/ ishtuluka/ maneeno/ hayiinfi. ‘Once an event has happened, talk does not serve any purpose.’ (A proverb.)

Amri/ nt^hayindowa na sarkaali. ‘The matter was not decided by the government.’

Or: **Nt^hayindowa 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’

Amri/ ya kheeri/ ha’irudoowi/ numa. ‘A good deed is not (i.e. should not be) delayed; you should do it quickly.’

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 iðni/ ya baaba/ sulṭaani/ 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’

khṭawala amri ‘to rule’

khṭinda amri ‘to decide’

Waṭinzile amri/ Hamadi/ kuṭiloowa. ‘They decided for Hamadi to be called.’ (The verb cannot have an OM in agreement with the subject of the passive sentence when **amri** intervenes: ***Wamṭinzile amri/ Hamadi/ kuṭiloowa.** An OM on the main verb is acceptable, if not highly favored, if the subject of the infinitive immediately follows the main verb: **Wamṭinzile Hamadi/ amri/ kuṭiloowa.** ‘They decided him Hamadi to be called.’ **review whether this sentence is good or not**)

Wasṭinda amri/ khṭuumba. ‘They decided to dig.’

Waṭinzile amri/ kumvīla Hamadi. ‘They decided to call Hamadi.’ Or: **Waṭinzile amri/ Hamadi/ kuviīla.** ‘They decided Hamadi to call.’ Or: **Waṭinzile Hamadi/ amri/ kuviīla.** ‘They decided Hamadi to call.’ **review whether this sentence is good or not** Or, with main verb agreeing with the subject of the infinitive: **Wamṭinzile Hamadi/ amri/ kuviīla.** ‘They decided him Hamadi to call.’ **review whether this is good or bad** (Note that it is not possible to mark the higher verb in agreement with the infinitive subject of that subject is not next to the verb. Note the ungrammatical: ***Wamṭinzile amri/ kumvīla Hamadi.** Also: ***Wamṭinzile amri/ Hamadi/ kumvīla.**)

khṭindowa amri ‘to be decided’
Hamadi/ iṭinzīla amri/ kuvīloowa. ‘Hamadi, it was decided (for him) to be called.’

khṭomola amri ‘to issue an order’
Apo/ zamaani/ sultaani/ Haruun Rashiidi/ tomele amri/ kuwa ntʰaku/ rukhsa/ karka muuyiwe/ kashoowa/ mibeebe/ yaa muḷo. ‘Once upon a time Sultan Haruun Rashiidi issued an order that there was no permission in his town for fires to be lit.’
Surtaani/ leelo/ tomele amri/ ismu/ ya muuntʰu/ chiza kuḷawa/ numbaani/ masku/ ba’ada/ sa’aa ntʰatu. ‘The king gave an order that no one should go out of the house in the night after nine p.m.’

khtala amri ‘to take orders’
kuḷangala amri ya muuyi ‘to look after the affairs of the town’
Lazile bilaa amriya. ‘He left without my permission.’
Mkuḷaze/ wachimjiiba/ ya kuwaa wo/ waamo/ ntʰiini/ ya amriye. ‘His elder brothers answered him that they were in under his orders.’
Mpele amri/ mpeeló/ endrá/ tinda muti uje. ‘He gave an order, that’s what he did: go and cut down that tree!’
muuntʰu hijiilo 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 kuḷa amriye chaanza ka bismiḷa [st.] ‘and each of his actions he began by reciting the name of God’
ndruuza ni waajibu amri ya diini/ khaansa kiwoowa mas’ala siṭṭini [st.] ‘O my brothers, it is obligatory (to know) the matters of religion, especially for sixty questions to be known’
Ni muntʰu mwenye amri. ‘He is a man of authority.’
Si/ chinakhtahaja Abú/ kurasha amri. ‘We need Abu to follow orders.’
Siwo/ amri/ chihaba/ muuntʰu/ kubḷeḷowaa 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.’
Sultaani/ chiwapa askari/ amri/ kummeera/ siimba/ mahaḷaa ye/ ukó/ kumubla. ‘The sultan ordered the soldiers to look for the lion wherever he might be and to kill him.’
Uje wowote/ taakuwó/ mi/ siná/ shaka/ ye/ ile/ na mooyi/ karka amri/ ntʰatu. ‘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-amura

- v. [Sw. *amuaa* SSED 13; Ar. *amara* and *amr* W 26] (**amuriile**) order someone to do something (The verb *amura* governs an infinitival or subjunctive complement.)
- Amurile chibuuku/ sishtaloowa.** ‘He ordered the book not to be taken.’ Cf. **Amurile zibuuku/ sistaloowa.** ‘He ordered the books not to be taken.’
- Amurile ijiwe/ isivundoowa.** ‘He ordered the stone not to be broken.’ Cf. **Amurile majiwe/ yasivundoowa.** ‘He ordered the stones not to be broken.’
- Amurilee khati/ isandikoowa.** ‘He ordered the letter not to be written.’ Cf. **Amurilee khati/ sizandikoowa.** ‘He ordered the letters not to be written.’

Amurīlee luti/ siltaloowa. ‘He ordered the stick not to be taken.’
Amurīlee muti/ usiwekoowa/ apa. ‘He ordered the tree not to be put here.’
Cf. **Amurīlee miti/ yasiwekoowa/ apa.** ‘He ordered the trees not to be put here.’ (Note that it is **yasiwekoowa** and not **siyawekoowa**.)

Amurīle ma’askari watatu/ kulindra waradiya/ amuriiló. ‘He ordered three soldiers to stand guard, that’s what he did.’ Also: **Amurīle ma’askari watatu/ amuriiló/ kulindra waradiya.**

Amurīlee mi/ spoowa/ chaakuja. ‘He ordered me not to eat the food.’
(Note that MI does not employ a first person singular subject marker: **spoowa** (from /si-poowa/), not ***simp^hoowa**.)

Amurīlee si/ sishpoowa/ chaakuja. ‘He ordered that you not be given food.’ Cf. **Amurīlee ni/ spoowa/ chaakuja.** ‘He ordered that you (pl.) not be given food.’ (Note that MI did not say ***nsipoowa**, instead eliding the nasal and thus allowing **si** to elide its vowel: **spoowa**.)

Amurīle uki/ usinoowa. ‘He ordered the honey not to be drunk.’

Amurīlee wo/ waspoowa/ chaakuja. ‘He ordered that they not be given food.’ Cf. **Amurīlee we/ spoowa/ chaakuja.** ‘He ordered that you not be given food.’ Cf. **Amurīlee ye/ spoowa/ chaakuja.** ‘He ordered that he not be given food.’

Huseeni/ chamura khpanzowa itaanga/ wachisaafira. ‘Huseeni ordered the sail to be raised and they traveled.’

Mwaalimu/ amurīle Ali/ chiza khpowa chaakuja. ‘The teacher ordered that Ali not be given food.’

Mwaalimu/ amurīle Ali/ sandikiloowa/ khaṭi. ‘The teacher ordered that Ali not be written a letter to.’

Mwaalimu/ amurīlee mi/ spoowa/ chaakuja. ‘The teacher ordered me not to given food.’

Mwaalimu/ amurīle 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/ amurīle Ali/ spowa chaakuja**.)

Mwaalimu/ (mw)amurīle Ali/ sooloke. ‘The teacher ordered Ali not to go.’

Mwaalimu/ mwamurīle Nuuru/ kuleta zibuuku. ‘The teacher ordered Nuuru to bring the books.’

Mwamurīle 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: ***Amurīle Ali/ kandikaa khaṭi**. In order to have the main verb not object-marked, the lower clause must have a subjunctive shape: **Amurīle Ali/ nandikee khaṭi**. ‘He ordered that Ali write a letter.’ In this case, the order was not necessarily issued directly to Ali.)

Sarkaali/ amurīle 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/ mwamurīle Nuuru/ na’oloke**. ‘The government ordered Nuuru to go.’)

Sarkaali/ amurīle waant^hu/ kulawa ibenyaani. ‘The government ordered people to go to the outskirts of town.’

Sultaani/ chiwa’amura kumwingiza eelo/ numbaani. ‘The sultan ordered them to bring the gazelle into the house.’

Sultani 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^h apí. 'Where did you order him to sit?'

Nim'amurishize khkalaant^h a 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*)

Amuriila khtokosa maayi. 'He was ordered to boil water.'

Amuriila/ ye/ chiza khtokosa maayi. 'He was *ordered* not to boil water.'

(A subjunctive version is also available: **Amuriila/ ye/ stokose maayi.** 'He was *ordered* that he not boil water.')

Amuriila/ ye/ khtokosa maayi. 'He was *ordered* that he boil water.'

(A subjunctive version is also available: **Amuriila/ ye/ natokose maayi.** 'He was *ordered* that he boil water.')

Amuriila ye/ khtokosa maayi. 'He (not someone else) was ordered to boil water.'

Mtaana/ shfaanya/ zaa ye/ amuriila. '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.'

Yamuriila waana/ koloka madrasaani/ mapeema. 'It was ordered that the children go to school early.' (A subjunctive version of this sentence is also possible: **Yamuriila waana/ wana'oloke madrasaani/ mapeema.** 'It was ordered that the children should go to school early.')

k-aamusa

v. [Sw. *amwisha* SSED 13] (*amusiize*) suckle a child; wean a child from suckling
mamusiizo Mwaana Halimata/ hunasabiloowa Sa'di barata [st.] 'and his wet-nurse (lit. the one who suckled him) was Lady Halima, who belonged to the Sa'di people – learn this'

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.)

mwaana (w-)

n. 1/2 child

kuja/ kana mwaana 'to cry like a child'

mwaana petaa nt^hi '[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'

mwanaa nt^hi '(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 nt^hi** is someone whose roots/ancestry are not known.'

Mwaana/ uyu/ chivilowa Hasani. 'This boy was called Hasani.'

mwaana wa khpeenda '(lit.) child of love – i.e. spoiled child'

Hamadi/ ni mwana wa khpeenda/ maamaye/ kilaa chiintbu/ 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] **mwenzawe mwaanawa**

Wana awa/ nii wale. [H!H] ‘These children are tall.’ (cf. **Wana awo/ ni zigobe.** [H!H] ‘Those children are short.’)

Wana awa/ nii wale/ kuzida wana awo. [H'H'H] ‘These children are taller than those children.’ (cf. **Wana awo/ ni zigobe/ kolko wana awa.** [H'H'H] ‘Those children are shorter than these children.’)

Wana awa/ ni walee nt^o. [H!H] ‘These children are very tall.’

Wana awaje/ ni zigobe nt^o. [H!H] ‘Those children are very short.’

wanaa wale ‘tall children’

rel.

chi-j-aana (*zi-j-*) n. 7/8 dim.

chijana cha Nuuru ‘Nuuru’s (dim.) child’; **zijana za Nuuru** ‘Nuuru’s (dim.) children’

Chijaana/ chileele. ‘The (dim.) child is sleeping.’

chijana chiimp^{hi} ‘which (dim.) child?’; **zijana zimp^{hi}** ‘which (dim.) children?’

chijana chisuura ‘a beautiful (dim.) child’; **zijana zisuura** ‘beautiful (dim.) children’

Chijaana/ haachiji. ‘The (dim.) child does not, won’t eat.’ (cf. **Zijaana/ haaziji.** ‘The (dim.) children do not, won’t eat.’)

chijana ichi ‘this (dim.) child’; **zijana izi** ‘these (dim.) children’

Chijana ichi/ ni chembeemba. ‘This (dim.) child is thin.’ (cf. **Zijana izi/ ni zembeemba.** ‘These (dim.) children are thin.’)

chijaanacha ‘my (dim.) child’; **zijaanaza** ‘my (dim.) children’

Jaama/ sh^hilangilile chijaana/ nama. ‘Jaama sliced meat for the (dim.) child.’ (The diminutive noun triggers the object prefix *chi* on the verb, which is realized here as *sh* in front of a voiceless consonant.)

Zijaana/ zileele. ‘The (dim.) children are sleeping.’

chi-w-aana childish **check into**

i-j-aana, l-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 **Ljaana^{lo}/ haaliji.**)

u-w-aana n. childhood

huwa nangaangu khsooma ka uwaana [st.] ‘it is easier to commit [it] to memory when young’ (This line from the *sh^hteenzi* ‘Zubad’ was mistranscribed and thus mistranslated in CLE. Thanks to Alessandra Vianello for pointing this out and providing the correct transcription and translation.)

Mi/ hukuumbuka/ haba/ ka uwaanawa. ‘I remember little from my childhood.’

ma mpeembe n. a rough doll with body made of a maize cob [lit. child of horns]; [pron. **ma mp^heeembe**]

m(w)-anaachivo (*w-*) n. 1/2 student

rel.

m(w)-anachiwooni (*w-*) n. 1/2 student

m^w-anaadamu (*w-*) n. human being

variant form: **m^waadamu**

Choowa/ muda/ wa skuu saba/ harfu/ ya wanaadamu/ itakhulata. ‘If you bathe for a period of seven days, the smell of human beings will leave you.’

Ito/ ya mwaadamu/ ni khatari/ zaaydi/ ya maraḍi. ‘The evil eye (lit. eye of a human being) is more dangerous than disease.’ (A proverb.)

Mwaadamu/ hakhaadiri/ kiwa kilaa chiintu. ‘A human being cannot know everything.’ (A proverbial saying.)

Mwanaamke/ chihada/ mi/ ni mwaadamú. ‘The girl said: I am a human being.’

na killa maadamu khtiyila nafsije [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.’

mwa-anaafaqi (w-)

n. liar; lie; [usu. pron. **mwa-anaafakhi**]

variant form: **mwa-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 sababú/ ya kooḍi/ za wanaafakhi/ zaa mi/ nk^hoḍeeló. ‘I am running away because of the lies [lit. words of lies] that I have spoken.’ I added accents so need

to review this with Gelani.

Miilu/ ya wanaafakhi/ ni zigobe. ‘The legs of lies are short.’ (A proverb.)

Muunt^hu/ wazelewe/ hawa’ambili/ wanaafakhi. ‘One does not tell his parents a lie.’ (A proverb.)

Mwaana/ khiriile/ kuwaa ye/ koḍele wanaafakhi. ‘The boy admitted that he lied.’

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/ mwaafakhi/ mkulu. ‘Omari is a big liar.’

Wana awo/ wanaafakhi. ‘Those children are liars.’

Wanaafakhi/ hajeeri. ‘A liar does not feel shame.’ (A proverbial saying.)

Wanaafakhi/ huliwaloowa. ‘Lies are forgotten.’ (A saying.)

Wanaafakhi/ ni maraḍi/ dawaye/ ni lila. ‘Lies are a disease, its cure is truth.’ (A proverb.)

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”.)

Wanaafakhi/ yaa ye/ nakhsuuló/ huhada. ‘A liar says whatever he wants.’ (A proverbial saying.)

Yiko lilá/ wanaafakhi/ ndani. ‘While there is truth, lie is for what?’ (A proverbial saying.)

mwa-anafuunzi (w-)

n. 1/2 student (The Chijini form of this noun establishes that **nzi** is a syllable with a

prenasalized consonant as onset: [nzimwanáf^u] since it is transposed to the beginning of the word.)

Awa/ ndiwó/ wanafunzi wapisilo imtihaaní. ‘These ones are the students who passed the examination.’

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’

Oyo/ ndiyé/ mwanafunzi pisilo imtihaaní. ‘This one is the student who passed the examination.’

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. **mwanaank^huku**]

rel.

z-anaank^huku n. 8 chicks [pron. **zanaank^huku**]

mṽ-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/ mvilile oyo/ khaadimu/ mpele amri/ khtalaa luti/ kumbiga mwanwamkewe/ ndruti 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/ mwanaamkewá/ mashuungí. ‘I combed my daughter Haliima’s hair.’ Or: **Nimtanile mwanamkewá/ Haliimá/ mashuungí.** (The parts of the construction **Haliima/ mwanamkewa** ‘Haliima my daughter’ can be reversed.)

Ye/ mlowele mwanaamke. ‘He married the girl.’

rel.

mṽ-anaashke n.1 girl, daughter

Hamadi/ mwanaashke/ ni suura. ‘Hamadi’s daughter is beautiful.’

Muunt^hu/ nayo mwanaashké/ nayo ebu. ‘He who has a girl has shame.’ (A proverb.)

Mwanaashke/ wa Omari/ mpelo chibuukú/ ni msuura. The girl to who(m) Omari gave the book is nice.

Tuuma/ mtanile Haliima/ mashuungí. ‘Tuuma combed Haliima’s hair.’ Or: **Tuuma/ mtanile mashuungí/ Haliima.** (Observe that **mashuungí** is not marked as a possessive noun in this construction.)

Tuuma/ mtanile mwanamkewe/ Haliima/ mashuungí. ‘Tuuma combed her daughter Haliima’s hair.’

w-anaashke n. 2 girls, daughters

Basi/ ichiwa wanaashkewe/ heendra/ hukooḍa/ 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/ nakhsuḷa Kendra markabuuni/ basi/ ye/ nakhsuḷa/ 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/ haxhiiri/ khkooða.
'She cooks, she does not go out, even with her girl friends, she does not accept to talk.'

Karka wakh̄ti oyo/ wanaashke/ wa masultaani/ na wanashke winginewé/ ba/ liini/ wachilaṭoowá/ 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/ watziza ruuhu. [H!H] 'The girls were comforted.'

Watziza ruuhú/ ni wanaashke. 'The ones who were comforted were the girls.'

ananaasi (Ø, 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'ananasí aya/ (ni) maḷadda. 'These pineapples are sweet.'

rel.

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

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

ku-'anaanaṭa

v. [Som. *canaano* DSI 87] (*ananeete*) rebuke, reproach

ku-'anaanaṭa (Somali verb *canaano*, DSI p. 87)

rel.

ku-'anaanaṭana v. rec. (*-anaanaṭeene*)

ku-'anaanaṭika v. p/s.

ku-'anaanaṭila v. appl. (*anaanaṭiliile*)

ku-'anaanaṭilana v. appl. rec. (*anaanaṭileene*)

rel. nom.

ma-'anaanaṭo n. 3

m^w-anaaskoola (w-)

n. 1/2 student (The form *m^wanaaskoola* is a contraction of the phrase *m^wana wa skoola*. The head of the associative phrase can be prosodically separated from the associative phrase itself: *m^wana/ wa skoola*. In that phrasing, no contraction is possible: **m^wana/ a skoola*.)

Mwaka yana/ nt^haasá/ chaliko wanaaskoola. 'Last year we were still students.'

Ni Fardoosa/ nt^hana wanaaskoolá/ wiingí. 'It is Fardoosa who does not have many students.' Or: **Ni Fardoosa/ nt^hana wana wa skoolá/ wiingí.** Or: **Ni Fardoosa/ nt^haná/ wanaaskoolá/ wiingí.** Or: **Ni Fardoosa/ nt^hana waaná/ wa skoolá/ wiingí.** (GM did not accept a phrasing where *wana* (*w*)*a* *skoola* and the adjective are joined into a single phrase: ***Ni Fardoosa/ nt^hana wanaaskoolá wiingí.** It is possible, however, for the head of the associative phrase to be joined together with the adjective and the associative phrase to be in a separate phrase: **Ni Fardoosa/ nt^h-a-na w-ana w-iingí) w-a skoolá** 'It is Fardoosa who does not have many students.')

Wanaaskoola/ 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: **Wanaaskoola/ wont^he/ iwapeto murugú.**)

ch-andaruwa (z-)

n. 7/8 [Sw. *chandalua* SSED 49; Hind.] mosquito net, umbrella

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.’
Haaji/ andishilee khatí. ‘Haaji wrote a letter.’ (This sentence could be an answer to the question: **Haaji/ andishileni.** ‘What did Haaji write?’)
Haaji/ andishile/ khatí. ‘Haaji *wrote* a letter.’ (A sentence like this, with the verb separated phrasally from its complement, seems to put some emphasis on the verb, or at least removes the complement from the scope of focus. Note that in the corresponding yes-no question, **Haaji/ andishile/ khatí?** ‘Did Haaji write a letter?’, the shift of accent on **khatí** indicates that it is out-of-focus. A yes-no question like **Haaji/ andishilee khatí?** is asking the question ‘did Haaji write a letter?’ At least for Gelani Mohammad, there seemed to be a single exclamatory yes-no question: **Haaji/ andishilee khatí!?** Mohammad Imam, on the other hand, seemed comfortable with exclamatory yes-no questions where the verb is emphasized.)
Haaji/ andishiloo khatí. ‘It’s Haaji who wrote a letter.’ (This sentence answers the question: **Naani/ andishiloo khatí.** ‘Who wrote a letter?’)
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/ Haaji/ andishile. ‘A letter, Haaji wrote.’ Or: **Khatí/ andishile/ Haaji.**
Or: **Andishile/ Haaji/ khatí.** Or **Andishile/ khatí/ Haaji.** (All of these variants were quite acceptable to both our primary consultants. A simple yes-no question using these word order puts both post-verbal NPs into the category of being out of focus and thus triggering final accent: **Andishile/ khatí/ Haaji?** ‘did he *write* a letter, Haaji?’)
Khatí/ Haaji/ andishiló. ‘It’s a letter that Haaji wrote.’ Or: **Haaji/ khatí/ andishiló.** ‘Haaji, It’s a letter he wrote.’ Or: **Haaji/ khatí/ andishilo.** ‘It’s Haaji who wrote a letter.’ Or: **Khatí/ Haaji/ andishiló.** ‘A letter, it’s Haaji who wrote.’ (If the focused NP is initial, it is the clear pitch peak in the sentence. If the focused NP is not initial, then it is as raised as the initial NP. We should note that these constructions are very common in present day Chimiini, but our first co-worker, MI, never used pseudo-relativization with focused pre-verbal phrases except in the case of question words.)
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 khatí/ ka kaaké** ‘the woman who wrote a letter from her place’ is not valid.)
Mwaalimu/ andishilee khatí. ‘The teacher wrote a letter.’
Mwalimu andishiloo khatí/ oloshela. ‘The teacher who wrote the letter left.’
Mwaana/ andishile ruuhuye/ madrasaani. ‘The child enrolled in school.’
mwaana/ hatakaandika/ khatí/ ka khalamu ya rasaas. ‘The child will not write a letter with a pencil’ (cf. **mwana hatakandikaa khatí/ ka khalamu ya rasaasi** ‘the child who will not write a letter with a pencil’.)
Mwaana/ nt^hakaandika/ khatí/ ka khalamu ya rasaasi. ‘The child did not

write a letter with a pencil.’ (Cf. **m̄wana nt^hakandikaa khaṭi/ ka khalamu ya rasaasi** ‘the child who did not write a letter with a pencil’.)

M̄wana/ nt^hanakaandika/ khaṭi/ khalamu ya rasaasi. ‘The child is not writing a letter with a pencil.’ (Cf. **m̄wana nt^hanakaandikaa 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 khalamú. ‘I wrote a letter with a pen.’

Nandishilee khaṭi/ pashpo Sheekhi/ kiiwa. ‘I wrote a letter without Sheekhi knowing.’

Nimwandishile m̄waaná/ 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.** (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!’

Walawanganye uje mluungana/ na uje myaaná/ m̄waandike. ‘Tell apart the one that is free-born and the one that is a female slave.’

We/ waliko chandikani/ mukhta mi/ niiló. ‘What were you writing when I came?’ (A possible answer: **Mi/ waliko nch^handikaa khaṭi/ mukhta we/ iló.** ‘I was writing a letter when you came.’)

ye/ nakandikoo khaṭi ‘while he was writing a letter’ or, with verb emphasis: **ye/ nakaandikó/ khaṭi**, which shows the effect of the Accentual Law of Focus (GM also accepts: **ye/ nakaandikó/ khaṭi**, but it is unclear how to interpret such an example.)

Ye/ waliko chandikani/ mukhta waana/ wa’iló. ‘What was he writing when the children came?’ (Cf. the possible response: **Ye/ waliko chandikaa khaṭi/ mukhta 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^u 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 sahalí/ kandikilowa Mubiidi/ khaṭi. ‘It is easy for Mubiidi to be written a letter.’ Or: **Ni sahalí/ 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. (**andikiliile**) write to, for

Andikiliileni/ khaṭi. ‘Why did you write a letter (if...)?’ Or: **Khaṭi/ andikiliileni**. ‘The letter, why did you write it (if...)?’

Andikiliileni/ khaṭi/ ka khalimu ya rasaasi. ‘Why did you write a/the letter with a pencil (if...)?’ (It should be noted that the *ka* is obligatory in this sentence.)

preposition

Jaani/ mwandikiliile mwaalimu/ khaṭi. ‘John wrote a letter to the teacher.’
Khaṭi/ mwandikiliileni. ‘The letter, why did you write it to him (if...)?’

Mp^hele khalamu/ kandikila. ‘He gave me a pen to write with.’

muke waa ye/ mwandikililoo 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’ (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 kaaké** ‘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/ kaaké/ numbaani** ‘the woman whom he wrote a letter for the children at her house’.)

mwaalimu wa Jaani/ mwandikililoo khaṭi ‘the teacher to whom John wrote a letter’

Mwandikilile Aasha/ khaṭi. ‘He wrote a letter to (or: for) Aasha.’

Mwandikiliileni/ khaṭi. ‘Why did you write a/the letter to him (if...)?’

Mwandikiliileni/ mwaana/ khaṭi. ‘Why did you write a/the letter to the child (if...)?’

Ni Aasha/ waa mi/ nimwandikililoo khaṭi. ‘It is Aasha who I write a letter to.’

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/ nimwandikililee khaṭi**. Or: **Khaṭi/ nimwandikilile Jaama**.)

Niwa’andikililee 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’andikililee khaṭi/ waana**. This does put emphasis on the immediately post-verbal element, but it is not contrasting **khaṭi** with anything else.)

Niwa’andikilile waana/ khaṭi/ ka khalamu. ‘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/ khaṭi/ khalamú.)

ye/ nandikilo Tuumá/ khaṭi 'while he was writing Tuuma a letter' opr, with verb emphasis: ye/ nandikiló/ Tuuma/ khaṭi (GM accepts as possible: ye/ nandikiló/ Tuuma/ khaṭi, though the precise explanation for this possibility remains unclear.)

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.'

Chimwandikishize Nuurú/ khaṭi/ ka khalamú. 'We made Nuuru write a letter with a pencil.' (A prepositional instrumental phrase can either

be taken to be referencing the means of performing the action or the means of causation. Thus in a sentence like **Ali/ mwandikishize Iisa/ khaṭi/ ka khalamu huundru**. 'Ali caused Iisa to write a letter with a red pen', the pen would in the default case be understood as referring to the instrument used to write the letter. But in a sentence like **Ali/ mwandikishize Iisa/ khaṭi/ kaa ndruti**. 'Ali caused Iisa to write a letter with a stick', in the default case it would be understood that Ali beat Iisa with a stick in order to get him to write the letter. It should perhaps be noted that a preposition like *ka* may have different uses. Thus the phrase **kaa nk^beje** in the sentence: **Ali/ mwandikishize Iisa/ khaṭi/ kaa nk^beje**. is understood as meaning 'with shouts', telling us how Ali managed to make Iisa write the letter. But in a sentence like **Iisa/ andishilee khaṭi/ kaa nk^beje**, the sentence is understood to mean 'Iisa wrote a letter while shouting', i.e. the shouts accompanied the letter writing but were not the means by which the letter was written.)

Dheera/ nandikishizee khaṭi/ pashpoo we/ kiiwa. 'Deera made me write a letter without your knowing.'

Ji/ andikishizee khaṭi. 'Ji caused (someone unspecified) to write a letter.'

Ji/ mwandikishizee khaṭi. 'Ji made him (someone known from the context) write a letter.'

Ji/ mwandikishize mwaalimu/ khaṭi. 'Ji made (i.e. persuaded, compelled) the teacher to write a letter.' (A periphrastic causative construction may be used as an alternative: **Ji/ mtile mwaalimu/ kandikaa khaṭi**.)

khaṭi ya mwaalimu/ mwandikishizo mwaaná 'the letter that the teacher wrote to the child'

khaṭi ya Suufi/ mwandikishizo Nuurú/ numbaani... 'the letter that Suufi had Nuuru write at home...'

Mwaalimu/ mwandikishize mwaana/ khaṭi. 'The teacher wrote the child a letter.'

mwana wa mwaalimu/ mwandikishizoo khaṭi 'the child whom the teacher wrote a letter to' **review the issue of the accent on the subject**

Ni Maajidi/ waa mi/ nimwandikishizoo khaṭi. 'It is Maajidi whom I made put write a letter.'

k-andikishanya v. caus. rec. (-andikisheenyee) make one another write

Si/ chandikishizenyee khaṭi. 'We made one another write a letter.' (One cannot say: *Si/ chiwa'andikishenyee waaná/ khaṭi. 'We made the children write letters to each other.' To convey this notion, a periphrastic construction is required: **Si/ chiwatile waaná/ kandikilanaa khaṭi**. 'We instilled in the children to write one another letters.'

k-andikishiliza v. caus. appl. (andikishiliize) make s.o. write for or on someone (Note that we failed to elicit an instrumental interpretation of the applied as opposed to a benefactive interpretation. For example, MI rejected ***Khalamu/ chimwandikishilize Nuurú/ khaṭi**. 'A pen, we made Nuuru write a letter using one.' MI also rejected a relative clause like ***khalamu yaa si/ chimwandikishilize Nuurú/ khaṭi**... 'the pen that we made Nuuru use to write a letter...' Note that we also failed to elicit a verb with a different ordering of the applied and the causative extensions: **kandikilisha**. More thorough research on variation in the ordering of extensions is of course merited.)

Waana/ chimwandikishilize Nuurú/ khaṭi. 'The children, we made the children write letters on or for Nuuru.' (In this sentence, the beneficiary *Nuuru* controls an object marker on the verb, not the causee *waana*, which has been fronted to initial position.)

k-andikishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Chandikishilizenye waaná/ khatí. ‘We made (our) children write letters for/on one another, i.e. we did it for/on one another’ (Note that this sentence cannot mean ‘we made the children write letters for/on one another, i.e. the children did it for/on one another’. It is also not possible to say ***Chiwa’andikishilizenye waalímú/ waaná/ khatí.** ‘We made them the children write letters to one another for the teacher.’ This ungrammatical sentence has an object marker *wa* referring to the beneficiary *waalímu* and the children are writing to one another. To summarize, the beneficiary must be the reciprocating NP, and the reciprocating NP must be co-referential with the subject.)

k-andikishilizoowa v. caus. appl. pass. (**andikishiliiza**) (Note that the subject of this passive verb is a beneficiary, in the broad sense of this term, i.e. where the NP in question may simply be a parent of the causee. An instrumental subject does not seem acceptable. A sentence like ***Khalamu/ yandikishiliiza.** could not mean have an instrumental interpretation of *khalamu*; as MI commented, the sentence makes it sound like a pen is benefitting from someone being caused to do something’.) **Nuuru/ andikishiliiza/ waana/ khatí.** ‘Nuuru’s children were made to write a letter.’ **need to review this example and its meaning**

k-andikishoowa v. caus. pass.

Mwaana/ andikishizaa khatí/ na mwaalímu. ‘[Lit.] the child was written to a letter by the teacher.’ Or, with NP interchange: **Khatí/ andikishiza mwaana/ na mwaalímu.** (But it is not possible for *khatí* to be the subject of the passive verb: ***khatí/ yandikishiza mwaana.**)

k-andikoowa v. pass. (**andishilá**)

Khatí/ imalize kandikoowa. ‘The letter is written (lit. the letter is finished being written).’

Naank^{bó}/ schandikowa alaama/ schipelekoowa. ‘Again they were marked (which was which) and they were sent (to the sultan).’

Ni na Aasha/ khatí/ yandishilá. ‘It is by Aasha that the letter was written.’

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 ^lzoombo/ 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/ andishile 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/ chigaani. ‘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/ muḷooní!?** 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/ muḷooní!?** 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/ chitaani. '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 mui 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.'

Laazimu/ ma'anaye/ kuwaa we/ nakandikaa nguvú/ kuwaa we/ nakhfanya kaazi/ kuwaa we/ nakhṭa'abatá. 'It is a must, it means, that you try hard, that you work, that you earn it (i.e. if you want to get something).'

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.'

Omari/ andishile zoombo/ ilu ya ngamiila. 'Omari loaded things on the camel.' (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.' (This example illustrates that **ngamiila** may govern an object prefix, **z-**, on the verb.)

Sadiikhi/ andishile ngamiila/ zoombo. 'Sadiikhi loaded things onto the camel.' (This represents the normal word order. Locating **zoombo** after the verb is possible, but puts focus on it: **Sadiikhi/ andishile zoombo/ ngamiila**.)

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**)

Ismu ya jawaabu/ ya mojiitu/ faramiiló/ muunt^hu/ shfaanya/ handikilowa thawaabu. 'Whatever God recommended to be done, if one does it, one gets (lit. is written for) rewards.'

Khalamu iyi/ yandikilila mwaana/ khaṭi (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. (**andikilile**) write for, to, with

Khalamu/ nandikilile khaṭi. ‘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/ niyandikilile khaṭi.**)

khalamu yaa mi/ nimwandikililo Aashá/ khaṭi ‘the pen that I used to write a letter to/for Aasha’ (Note that a single occurrence of the applicative on the verb allows both a bare instrumental noun and a beneficiary/goal to be expressed.)

Wanakunandikila. ‘They are writing to me.’ (Other human object markers: **Wanakhandikila.** ‘They are writing to you.’

Wana(ku)mwandikila. ‘They are writing to her or him.’

Wanakichandikila. ‘They are writing to us.’ **Wanakinandikila.** ‘They are writing to you (pl.).’ **Wanakuwa’andikila.** ‘They are writing to them.’)

Ye/ tamwandikila waawaye/ khaṭi/ napate khufanyilizaa 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 Saahibú/ 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**

Nimwandikishize mazú/ Nuuru/ gariini. ‘It is bananas (not something else) that I had Nuuru load onto the truck.’

Nimwandikishize Nuurú/ mazu/ gariini. ‘It is Nuuru (not anyone else) that I had load bananas onto the truck.’

Nimwandikishize Nuurú/ mzeelé/ 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 Nuurú/ mzeele/ 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/ mzeele/ 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 Sa’iidi 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

v. tr. [Sw. *angamiza* SSED 17] (**angamiize**) damage; spoil; make a mess, a muddle; disrespectfully wrong s.o., betray or cheat someone

Humwangamizo muunt^hú/ naayé/ hangamizoowa. ‘The one who damages someone is also damaged.’ (A proverb.)

Jeelaani/ angamize chibuku cha Huseeni. ‘Jeelani spoiled Huseeni’s book.’

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?’

Mwaadamu/ chimwangamiza mara mooyi/ zeema/ zaa mbele/ zont^he/ huliwala. ‘A human being, when you treat him badly one time, he forgets all the goods you did him before.’ (A proverb.)

Mzaha mwiingi/ hangamiza uweenza. ‘Too much joking spoils a friendship.’

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.’

Wapishi wiingi/ hangamiza mtuzi. ‘Too many cooks spoil the broth.’ (A proverb.)

We/ angamiizé/ 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.’

Yiko daljili/ waadehe/ kuwa Baazi/ changamiize. ‘There is clear evidence that Baazi betrayed us.’

rel.

k-angamikila v.

Muḅliwá/ laazima/ we/ kumwubḷa/ siimba/ oyo/ na chiza kumwubḷá/ haali/ yiitu/ 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* SSED 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 uyu/ 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)

-angaangu/ kamba lbawa ‘as light as a feather’

-angaangu/ kamba lkuti ‘as light as a reed’

Chiti ichi/ changaangu/ kana shkuti/ hatá/ mwaana/

hukhaadira/ kishtukula. ‘This chair is as light as a reed, even a child can carry it.’

-angaangu/ kana lpepo ‘as light as wind, air’

Ali/ shtumowa chiint^hu/ sukhuuni/ ka paapo/ huleeta/

mwangaangu/ kana lpepo. ‘When Ali is sent to the market (to get) something, immediately he brings it, he is as quick, fast as the wind.’

-angaangu/ kamba lwarakha ‘as light as a piece of paper’

Televisiyoone/ iyi/ nangaangu/ kana lwarakha/ ismu/ ya

muunt^hu/ hukhaadira/ khtukula. ‘This television is as light as paper, any one can carry it.’

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 mwangaangu/ Omari/ ni mzito. ‘Hasani is light, quick; Omari is heavy, slow.’

huwa nangaangu khsooma ka uwaana [st.] ‘it is easier to commit [it] to memory when young’ (This line from the *shteenzi* “Zubad” was mistranscribed and thus mistranslated in CLE. Thanks to Alessandra Vianello for pointing this out and providing the correct transcription and translation.)

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’
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. *Zanada* 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.’
Nakhsu_laa 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] (**-anishila**) be spread out to dry in the sun

Nguwo/ zanishila iwaani. 'The clothes were spread out to dry in the sun.'

ku-'anisa v. [Sw. *anisi* SSED 14; Ar. *anisa* "to be sociable" W 30] (**anisiize**) keep company with people, keeping them entertained at the same time

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.)

ankabuuti izi 'these spiders'

ankabuuti 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 tijaaku. 'He put tobacco between his lip and teeth.'

Mwaana/ 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 mwaana/ kuja. 'He put food in my child's mouth.'

k-aankiza v. tr. put food in someone's mouth; [pron. **kaank^hiza**]

Muke/ mwank^hize mwaana/ kuja. 'The woman put food in the child's mouth.'

k-ankizisha v. tr. caus. cause someone to put food in mouth

Muke/ mwank^hizishize mwaana/ 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
batera ya chaano 'a type of boat in which the stern is large and flat'

ansalaata n. [Ital. *insalata*] lettuce, salad
Haliima/ fanyize sambuusa/ Maryamu/ lesele ansalaata/ Fardoosa/tu/tilo mkaté. 'Haliima made samoosas, Maryamu brought a salad, only Fardoosa baked (lit. put in) a cake.'

<i>anshuuru</i>	n. tax, fine, fee; variant forms: ushuuru, ashuuru Dowla/ nakhsulaa si/ kulipa anshuuru. ‘The government requires us to pay a fee.’ Maama/ humpa/ mi/ peesa/ za anshuuru/ za skoolaa. ‘Mother gives me money for school fees.’
<i>anuuna</i>	[Ital. <i>anona</i> or <i>annona</i> , scientific name: <i>Annona muricata</i>] soursop, a common fruit in Somalia; the species is slightly different from the one found in America
<i>anwaa’i</i>	adj. [Ar. <i>anwā</i> ‘pl. of <i>nau</i> ‘“kind, sort, variety” W 1011] different kinds Apo/ spishila 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 mubl/i/ karka kuja/ 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. <i>anwa’i anwaa’i</i> adj. different kinds Yakhugafile maambo/ harusii/ 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.’
<i>k-aanza</i>	v. [Sw. <i>anza</i> SSED 17] (anziize) begin Anza ka wanaadamu/ hayawaani/ na kulla chiint’u. ‘Begin with human beings, wild animals, and every thing (other creatures).’ Baaba/ chanzaa kuja. ‘Father began to cry.’ Or: Baaba/ chaanza/ kuja. Baazi/ anzize kuwaka nuumba. ‘Baazi began building a house.’ Chanza keendra/ mahaja ya waant’u/ hutawanyoo nt’aká/ kumera spandre za maandra/ na zakuja ziinginé/ hutawanyoozá. ‘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 kuja/ kaa nk’ele. ‘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/ khati. ‘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 kulaalá ‘because he had then only just begun to sleep’ kanza khfanya kaazi ‘to begin to work’ Kula 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.’ Nanzize khsoma chibuukú. ‘I began to read a book.’ Or: Nanzize chibuukú/ khisoomá. ‘I began the book to read it.’

Nanzize kichisoomá. ‘I began to read it.’

Nanzize kichisoomá/ chibuuku. ‘I began to *read it* the book.’ Also:
Nichanzize khsoomá/ chibuuku. ‘I began it to *read* the book.’ Or: **Nichanzize kichisoomá/ chibuuku.** ‘I *began it* to read the book.’

Nanzizee kulá. ‘I began to cry.’

Nanzize kulá kaa nk^helé. ‘I began to cry loudly.’

Nichanzize chibuukú/ kichisoomá. (Notice that **chibuuku** cannot be the passive subject of the infinitive: ***Nichanzize chibuukú/ khsomoowá.** This is not allowed because the subject of the infinitive must be co-referential with the subject of the main verb. On the other hand, one can say **Chibuuku/ chanziza khsomoowa.** ‘The book was begun to be read.’ This is possible since the subject of the main verb is co-referential with the subject of the passive infinitive. Note that it is ungrammatical to say ***Chibuuku/ chanziza khsooma.** Also ungrammatical: ***Chibuuku/ chanziza kichisomoowa.** These are ungrammatical because the passive subject of the main verb is not co-referential with the subject of the infinitive; a book cannot read.)

Nuuhu/ chaanza/ khfanya jahazi. ‘Nuuhu began to build a boat.’

Soomu/ itakanza keesho. ‘Fasting begins tomorrow.’

Tawala/ yanzize kuyela. ‘The tide [lit. sea] began to rise.’

Waant^hu/ wa’anzize kumkahata. ‘People began to hate him.’

We/ anzizee kulá. ‘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 mwaafuunzi/ 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 khati. ‘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 khati.** ‘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/ an 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.’)

Nama/ yanziza kujowa na Hamadi. ‘Meat was begun to be eaten by Hamadi.’

rel. nom.

mwaan- **aanzo** n. beginning, start, initiation of s.t.; edge; [pron. **mwaan** or **maan**]

[st.] ‘but if [the impurity] is on the sleeve of a garment, wash it thoroughly, starting from the edge’

mwaan or **wa qisa** ‘the beginning of the stories’

mwaan or **wa waajibu ndruuza kasaani/ kumwiiwa moojo khuunzilo**

rahmaani [st.] ‘listen my friends: the beginning of [all] religious obligations is to know God, the Compassionate, who created you’

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 wiitu [st.] ‘our God created the world without any beginning’

mwaan-

adv. first; n. beginning

Mi/ nile mwaan. ‘I came first.’ (cf. the different accentual pattern when the subject is third person: **Ye/ ile mwaan**. ‘He came first.’)

Neeleza/ khabarizo/ nt^hangú/ mwaan/ hatá/ 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/ walazile ka apa. ‘These, they left from here.’

Ondrokaani/ ka apa. ‘(Pl.) move from here!’

ka apa/ na apá ‘everywhere’

Merele bukuze/ ka apa/ na apá. ‘He searched for his books everywhere.’

Muke/ chimera ka apa/ na apá. ‘The woman looked here and there.’

Ka chihaba/ ye/ waliko mara niingi/ lesele apa/ na maamaye. ‘As a child she had many times been brought here by her mother.’

Kalaant^ha/ apa. ‘Sit here!’

Mahaala yaa mí/ ndirkameno naayé/ ni kharibu ya apa. ‘The place where I met her is close to here.’

Mbujazá/ olokaani/ ka apa. ‘My sisters, go from here!’

Mi/ nzazila apá. ‘I was born here.’

Naani/ leselo zibuku izi/ apá. ‘Who brought these books here?’

Ni apa. ‘It is here.’

Ni apa/ mahaala si. ‘It is here where we are.’

Nt^hi/ hukhadirowa khtumiki lowa kaloowá/ iwele haba/ apa. ‘Land which can be used for cultivating has become scarce in this area (here).’

Tafaðali/ takhaadirra/ kumleta Hamadi/ apá? ‘Would you please bring Hamadi here.’

Uko apa. ‘She is there (close to you).’

want^hu wa apa ‘people of these parts’

Waant^hu/ wako apá/ (ni) wasuura. [H!H!H] ‘The people who are here are good.’

Waant^hu/ wako apá/ (ni) wasuraa nt^ho. [H!H!H] ‘The people who are here are very good.’

- Waant^hu/ wako apá/ (ni) wawovu.** [H!H!H] ‘The people who are here are bad.’
(The downstepping observed in the relative clause *waako apa* is a regular feature of Chimiini intonation. The downstepping of the PredP is also regular. However, to the extent that there is emphasis on *wawovu*, the downstep will be replaced by simple declination.)
- Waant^hu/ wako apá/ (ni) wawovuu nt^ho.** [H!H!H] ‘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. [H!H!H] ‘There trees grow.’
Apaje/ wo/ sulá khpata kulá yaa wo/ wachihtaaǰó. ‘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.’
- 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/ muyiini/ waant^hu/ wiingi/ wafiile. ‘There at the town many people have died.’
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 shtana. ‘There, then, the snake got angry.’
Apo/ yiko kaazi/ suura. ‘Here there is a very nice job.’
Basi/ cheendra/ shkalaant^ha/ apo/ tu/ huja/ apo/ tu/ heendra/ huja/ hulawa/ jis’iyo/ 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.’
Hamadi/ kalent^he apo/ tu/ chiint^hu/ nt^hanakhfaanya. ‘Hamadi just sat there doing nothing.’
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.’
Shkalan^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 sul^htaani/ mooyi/ na mwaanawé. ‘Once upon a time there was a sultan and his son.’
- apo/ zamaani** once upon a time
Apo/ zamaani/ waliko sul^htaani/ 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’

aq ideo. (same as **yaq**)
Haliima/ mwambile mwaanawe/ aq!/ tufa/ kuja iyo/ simizé/ iwozele.
 ‘Haliima told her child, (it is) **aq!**, disgusting, spit it out, do not swallow that food, it is rotten.’

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 aakhiba ‘to keep s.t. for the future, to save money or something for future use’
Muunt^{bu}/ shfanya kaazi/ laazimu/ peesaze/ haba mooyi/ kuweka aakhiba/ ya mustakhbali. ‘When one works one must keep some of one’s money as a savings for the future.’
kuwekela aakhiba ‘to set aside for’
Haliima/ mekelele mwanaashke=w-e/ aakhiba/ dhahabu/ niingi.
 ‘Haliima set aside much gold for her daughter.’
Mwana uyu/ nt^haná/ aakhiba. ‘This child has no future (nothing good will come to him in the future).’
Ye/ waliko tinzile kuwajata ahliye/ chinume/ pashpo khfikirila aakhiba/ 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/ yasulilo kumshika Sa’iidi/ naayo/ ya’ile mbele ya sulṭaani/ yamlesele mayti/ yamlonzele sulṭaani/ 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.’

aqida n. military commander, captain (historically, this word referred to the commander of the Zanzibari garrison in Brava)

aqida n. [Ar. ‘**aqida** “article of faith, dogma, doctrine” W 628] in the expression:
ilmu ya aqida ‘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
akhili] n. 10 [Sw. **akili** SSED 8; Ar. ‘**aqil** W 630] wits, cleverness, intelligence; [pron. **aqili** or
 variant form: **aqli** [pron. **aqli** or **akhli**]
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/ kila mooyi/ nayo yaake. ‘Brains are like hair, everyone has his own.’ (A proverb.)
akhilii mbovu ‘bad judgement, bad thinking’
Akhili/ muunt^{bu}/ huzaliloowa. ‘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 mwaana/ haaziwi/ kana za munt^hu mzima. 'A child's intelligence is not like that of an adult.' (A proverb.)

akhili/ zaydi ya waawaye 'very clever – lit. more clever than his father'

Akhilize/ kamba (or kana) za waana. 'His way of thinking is like a child.'

Akhilize/ kana/ za munt^hu mzima. 'His intellect (said of a child) is like that of an adult.'

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 akhiliini. 'These are reasonable words [lit. words entered in reason].'

Jeelaani/ waliko mubjaana/ 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 gaari. 'According to my view, it seems to me that Hamadi is right.'

kangamila aqli 'to go crazy, lose one's mind'

Akhiri iyi/ Hamadi/ akhilize/ zangamiile/ hakoodi/ jawaabu/ suura. 'In these last times, Hamadi's mind has worsened, his talk (the things he says) are not good.'

kh-fanya akhili 'to use one's brains, wits, intelligence, etc.'

Hamadi/ mbigilile Nuuru/ nk^heje/ laakini/ Nuuru/ fanyize akhili/ nt^hamruudila/ kooði/ yookejeje. 'Hamadi shouted at Nuuru but Nuuru used his brains and did not return reply, he just left.'

Muunt^hu/ suura/ khfanya akhili/ ka kilaa chiint^hu. 'It is good for one to use his brains in every matter.'

khpotela aqli 'to lose one's head, go crazy'

Baana/ akhili/ zimpoteele/ nt^haná/ khtaambula/ yaa ye/ nakhfaanyó. Baana has lost his mind, he is not understanding what he is doing.'

Rabiya/ aqli/ zimpoteele. 'Rabiya lost her head.'

khtila akhili 'lit. to put in intelligence – i.e. to tell someone how to be intelligent does not make him truly intelligent'

Akhili/ za khtila/ haaziwi/ akhili. 'Mind/intelligence that is put/given does not become real wisdom.' (A proverb.)

khtila akhiliini 'to understand'; also: **khtilowa akhiliini** 'to be understood'

Jawaabu/ za Nuuru/ hadiiló/ hashkadiroowi/ khtilowa akhiliini/ siwo/ ma'akhuuli. 'The things that Nuuru said cannot be understood, they do not have comprehensibility.'

kubasha akhili 'to lose one's mind, temper etc.'

Muunt^hu/ wakhtji ya sh^hana/ siwo/ suura/ kubasha akhilize/ huletaa dhibu. 'For one to lose his mind during anger is not good, this can cause problems.'

Mwaadamu/ ha'isuloowi/ 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

waanthu. ‘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 sulṭaani. ‘My intelligence surpasses the intelligence of the sultan.’

Namiiwá/ muuntthu/ msuura/ akhili. ‘I know a wise, good man.’ Or: **Namiiwá/ muuntthu/ msuura/ akhili.** (There is declination of the accented syllables in this sentence, but not downstep.)

Namiiwá/ muuntthu/ 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/ muuntthu/ 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/ muuntthu/ akhilí.** ‘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/ khuziḍa 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 kharibilíile/ akhilize/ kumpotela. ‘His heart pounded very much, and his wits nearly fell [from him] – i.e. he nearly lost his mind.’

Waliko muuntthu/ mwenye aqli/ fikiri/ na maalí. ‘He was a man of intelligence, thought, and wealth.’

aaqili

adj. [Ar. *‘āqil* W 630] intelligent, clever; [pron. **aaqili** or **aakhili**]

Kheeri/ aduwi aakhili/ kama mwenza jaahili. ‘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
recognize

v. [cf. Som. noun *aqoon* and verb *aqoonso* ‘to recognize’ DSI 22] (**aqonseete**)

Oono/ iize/ ku‘aqoonsata/ dowla ya Soomaaliya. ‘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^haasá/ nt^ha’iku’aqonsatoowa/ na Oono/ na duniyá. ‘The government of Somalia is still not recognized by the United Nations and the world.’

aqraba
to blood

n. [Sw. *akraba* SSED 8; Ar. *aqrab* W 755] blood relative (used in Chimiini to refer relative either on mother’s or father’s side); [pron. **aqraba** or **akhraba**]

chilo cha aqraba mayi hisikiika [st.] ‘the crying of his close relative, the dead person is bothered by [this]’

Hamadi/ akhrabaze/ wiingi. ‘Hamadi, his relatives are many.’

Ismu ya muuntthu/ naayo/ akhraba. ‘Anybody has relatives.’

sadaqa afḍali ni khpoowa aqraba [st.] ‘it is preferable to give alms to blood relatives’

Sadaqa/ mbele/ hupowa akhraba. ‘Charity is first given to relatives.’

- aaqulwaalideeni** n. [an Arabicism] someone who has severed relationship with his parents
ajabu aaqulwaalideeni 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 raaḍiya/ oloka/ mwaambile/ mubli/ naaye/ munt^hi wa arabiya. ‘With my blessing go and tell that man that he should come on Wednesday.’
munt^hi wa arabiya ‘Wednesday’
sku ya arabiya/ amó/ ya arkhamiisi ‘Wednesday or Thursday’
- ch-aarabu** n. 7 [Sw. *kiarabu* SSED 319] the Arabic language; in the manner of an Arab
Mwaana/ chimjiiba/ ka khisa karka chimwiini/ zimo jawaabu/ za chisoomaali/ za shṭalyaani/ za chingereenza/ za chaarabu/ za chihiindi/ haṭá/ jawabu za majini/ zimo. ‘The child answered him, Because in Chimiini 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/ hichiilila/ si/ ka kooḍi. ‘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’ubḷelo ngoombé/ waliko ni mwaarabu/ na waliko mweḷpe/ 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 Arafat’
mtume tindiḷile wakeewe aarafa [st.] ‘the Prophet slaughtered for his wives on **aarafa**’
mwezi 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. *aaaran* “prosperity (in pasture and fields), abundance of greenery after rains” DSI 3] plenitude; the opposite of drought -- i.e. plentifulness of rain
Killa/ mwaaka/ 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.’
Mwaka 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’

<i>arba</i>	[Ar. <i>arba</i> 'a W 323] arba alfu 'four thousand'
<i>arba'iini</i>	adj. forty arba'ina keendra or arba'iini/ na keendrá 'forty nine' arba'inaa mbili or arba'iinu/ naa mbili 'forty two' arba'ina naane or arba'iini/ na naané 'forty eight' arba'inaa 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 ðahabú/ arba'iini/ na sandukhu za feðá/ 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.'
<i>arbabi</i>	n. gods
<i>arbaṭaashara</i>	n., adj. fourteen confirm baṭaa and not baṭaa nambari ya arbaṭaashara 'number fourteen' confirm nambari
<i>arbeeni</i>	n. [Ar. <i>arba ūn</i> "ceremony held on the 40 th 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'
<i>aarbitro</i>	n. referee Abú/ mlapilile aarbitro. 'Abu swore at the referee.' Or: Aarbitro/ lapiliila. 'The referee was sworn at.'
<i>arbuuni</i>	[Ar. <i>urbūn, rab'n</i> W 602]
<i>arday</i>	n. student Chimaliza/ mpiira/ siwo/ ðaruura/ ka arday. 'Secondly/then, football is not necessary for a student.'
<i>arði</i>	[Ar. <i>arḍ</i> W 13]
<i>ku-'arfisha</i>	v. [Ar. <i>arf</i> "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'arfishoowa kuja. 'That house is smelling good (from) food.'
<i>arfu</i>	n. smell Mukhtaay yo/ ichinyoo nvulá/ muḷo/ ichasho nuumbá/ habamooyi/ usimeeme/ sho/ kuwa arfu. 'When it was raining, the fire, which was burning the buildings, died down and stopped except for the smell.'
<i>arguðasho</i>	n. [Som. <i>argudasho</i>] revenge, retaliation Inayo arguðasho/ inayo kulipowana aari/ maazi/ maazi/ ni mazito/ siwo/ jawabu ya matezo/ maazi/ muunt^hu/ mṭawanya muunt^hu/ maazi. 'It has revenge, it has retaliation, blood, blood is heavy, it is not joking around, someone, to spill someone's blood.' (This comment appeared as part of a discussion of the

proverb: **Maazi/ ni mazito/ kolko maayi.** ‘Blood is heavier than water.’)

- aari** n. 9 [Sw. *ari* SSED 18: Ar. *‘ār* “shame, disgrace, dishonour” W 661; Som. *aar* “revenge”, noun and verb, DSI 3] revenge; fear of losing one’s position in society and becoming disgraced; disgraced
aari iyi nda dunya/ aakhera halo baaqiya [st.] ‘this vengeance was on earth, but the hereafter still remains’
lata kumdhiba aariya/ we naniwa mi haaliya [song] ‘stop bothering me regarding my disgrace, you know (me) my condition’
Mlungaana/ nt^hana aari/ ni kama ngoombe/ nt^hana mp^heembé. ‘A noble man who has sense of disgrace is like a cow who has no horns.’ (A proverb.)
mwiize mukhtaari ka sababu ya aari [st.] ‘he rejected the prophet because of fearing losing his position’
- ku-’arifa** v. [Ar. *‘arafa* “to know” W 605 and *ta ‘rif* “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.’
- arip^laano** n. [Ital. *aeroplano*] airplane; variant form: *eropl^laano*
Safiriile/ ka arip^laanoye/ khaasá/ kooloka/ ka kuzuura/ nt^hi za sharqi/ yaa kati.
‘He traveled by his special airplane to go to visit the countries of the Middle East.’
rel.
chi-’arip^laano (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.
i-’arip^laano (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
- ariishi** n. 9/10 [Som. *cariish* DSI 91] a house made of wood and mud
Arishi iyi/ iwashi^la 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/ spiiile. ‘My little houses burned.’
i-’ariishi (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
- aariya** n. [Som. *caariyo* “borrowing” DSI 76] something borrowed, given temporarily
- aariya** n. air
Numbaani/ ka Hamadi/ aariya/ hayiingili/ hari. ‘In Hamadi’s house air does not come in, it is hot.’
- arkaani** n. (cf. **rukni** ‘pillar’) [Ar. *arkān*, plural of *rukn* W 359] pillars, the essential elements of the Islamic faith
arkaani za islaamu barataani / naa zo ni nt^haano ni fahamilaani [st.] ‘learn the pillars of Islam and understand that they are five’
kulla ibaada tahidaani uma^ti / khaansa karka sala arkaani na shartⁱ [st.] ‘O [Muslim] community, strive [to perfect] every act of worship –especially [observing] the essential elements and conditions during the prayer’

<i>arkaanel islaami</i>	n. the pillars of Islam Arkaanel islaami/ ni nt^haano/ khira shahaada/ khsimikaa sala/ khtomolaa zaka/ khfunga ramaadaani/ kuhija lbeyti/ ka muunt^hu/ hukhaadiró/ amriwe/ mara mooyi. ‘The pillars of Islam are five: accept the oneness of God, stand pray, give charity (<i>zaka</i>), fast Ramadhan, and go on hajj of the house, if able, once in life time.’
<i>arkhamiisi</i>	n. [Sw. <i>alhamisi</i> from Ar. <i>yaum ak-kamīs</i> W 262] Thursday munthi wa arkhamiisi ‘Thursday (lit. the sixth day) Sku ya arkhamiisi/ nuzizee chitá/ 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 mayahuudi/ 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-ta-ku-ruda Miini/ arkhamiisi ‘Tuuma, who went to Mogadishu Monday morning, will return to Brava on Thursday’
<i>ch-arkhaani (z-)</i>	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.’
<i>armajo</i>	n. [Ital.] cupboard review Omari/ tundrishile shaatiye/ armajooni. ‘Omari hung his shirt in the cupboard.’ zijamu/ za Faatima/ tilo armajooni ‘the plates that Faatima put in the cupboard’ (If the relative verb is separated from its complement, the final accent still extends to the end of the relative clause: zijamu/ za Faatima/ tiiló/ armajooni ‘the plates that Faatima put in the cupboard’.)
<i>armala</i>	adj. [Ar. <i>armala</i> , pl. <i>arāmila</i> 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. <i>arāmil</i> W 360] widows
<i>aarmi</i>	n. [Eng. <i>Army</i>] (fire-)arms (larger than a gun, like a cannon or a tank etc.) aarmi/ na bundukhú ‘arms and guns’
<i>arnabu</i>	n. [Ar. <i>arnab</i> W 14] rabbit
<i>arshanta</i>	n. whorehouse, brothel
<i>arshi</i>	n. [Ar. <i>‘arš</i> "throne" W 602] throne; God’s residence at the highest point in the sky arshi/ rahmaan ‘the place where God sits, resides’ Mojiitu/ keele/karka arshi. God is resided/placed at the highest point in the sky.’
<i>ma-’aruufu</i>	adj. [Ar. <i>ma ‘rūf</i> W 607] renowned, famous
<i>ku-’aruurisha</i>	v. [Som. <i>aruuri</i> "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.’

(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. (-’arurishiliize) 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/ falqa/ 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’arzukhiile/ 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

variant form: **ku’aansa**

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.'

Moojó/ sim'aanse. 'Your God, do not disobey him.' (A proverb.)

Moomini/ ni waant^hu/ humtí'a mojiitú/ ka kilaa chiint^hu/ na kilaa waqtí/ hawam'aansi/ mojiitu/ humaamina/ ka kilaa chiint^hu/ chaa ye/ hadiiló. 'Faithful (people) are people who fear God in every thing and at every time, they do not negate him, they deeply believe in all that he says.'

Naku'aasa. 'He is rebelling, disobeying.'

N^hanaku'aasa. 'He is not disobeying, rebelling.'

ku-'aasika v. p/s.

ku-'aasisha 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'awauuna. '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'

Koodize/ nt^haziná/ aasaasi. 'His words have no foundation.'

kuweka aasaasi 'to lay a foundation'

Muunt^hu/ ismu ya chiint^hu/ faanya/ mbele/ husulowa 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'

Si/ chinayo weenzá/ wanakuyo ziyaará/ aakhiri/ ya asbuu'i. 'We have friends visiting over the weekend so that we won't be able to attend Umi's party.'

asfari

adj. [Sw. *asfari* "yellow"]

feða na ðahabu kuvaala khatari/ na nguwo asfari huundru na akhðari [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 *ṣāhib* W 504] companions

As.haabu/ alkahfi/ wawaalimo/ itundruuni/ miyaaka/ alfu. 'The companions of the cave (in Christian mythology known as the "Seven Sleepers of Ephesus") were in the cave for a thousand years.'

asha

n. dinner

Ā'ā/ Hamadi/ tu/ nakujo ashá. [HHH!!H] No, only Hamadi is eating dinner.'

Haliima/ pishile asha. 'Haliima cooked dinner.'

Waana/ wont^he/ wanakuja asha/ so. 'Are all the children eating dinner?'

k-aasha

v. tr. (*ashiize*) light a fire, put a light on

Ashizee muḷo/ ka chibiriidi. '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.'

Muḷo/ washiza ka chibiriidi. 'A fire was lit with a match.' Or with subject postposing: *Washizaa muḷo/ ka chibiriidi.* Or with an impersonal subject: *Yashizaa muḷo/ ka chibiriidi.*

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

Chibiriidi/ ashilizee muḷo. 'A match, he used one to light a fire.'

Mafta/ yalazilo 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.

Chibiriidi/ chashilizaa muḷo. 'A match was used to light a fire.' (Note that in the case of a simple verb plus prepositional phrase construction,

the object of the preposition cannot be promoted to subject of the passive verb: *Chibiriidi/ chashizaa muḷo/ kaa cho.)

k-ashoowa v. tr. pass.

Apo/ zamaani/ sulṭaani/ Harun Rashiidi/ tomele/ amri/ kuwa nt^haku/ rukhsa/ karka muuyivé/ kashoowa/mibeebe/ yaa muḷo/ walá/ kuḷaṭowaa ṭalá/ 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/ washiiiza. ‘A fire was lit.’ Also impersonal passive: **Muḷo/ yashiiza.** Postposing also possible: **Washiiza/ muḷo.** ‘Was lit, the fire.’ And the impersonal version of that: **Yashiiza/ muḷo.**

Muḷo/ washiza ka chibiriidi. ‘A fire was started/lit with a match.’ (An impersonal passive is also used: **Muḷo/ yashiza ka chibiriidi.**)

Muunt^hu/ mzimawe/ washizaa ṭala. ‘The whole of the town was lit up by lamps.’ Or: **Ṭala/ washiiiza/ muuyi/ mzimawe.**

Muuyi/ mzimawe/ washizaa ṭala. ‘The entire town was lit up with lamps.’ (Syn. But one can also say: **Ṭala/ zashiiza/ muuyi/ mzimawe.** ‘Lamps lit up the entire town.’)

Ṭala/ zashiiza. ‘Lamps were lit.’

Washiza muuyi/ mzimawé/ nii ṭala. ‘What the whole town was lit up by is lamps.’

Yana/ masku/ numbaani/ ka Alí/ yashizaa muḷo. ‘Yesterday night at Alí’s house a fire was lit.’ (The impersonal passive seems favored, but one can also have *muḷo* function as the subject of the passive verb: **Yana/ masku/ numbaani/ ka Alí/ washizaa muḷo.**)

Zashiza muuyi/ mzimawé/ nii ṭala. ‘What lit up the entire town were lamps.’

Zashiizá/ nii ṭala. ‘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. *’ašīqa* W 614] (**ashiqiile**) long for someone, be infatuated with someone, have a desire for someone; [usu. pron. **ku’aašikha**]; variant form: **kaashiqa**

Mi/ nim’ashikhile mooyi/ karka kaawo. ‘I longed for one among them.’

Mubjaana/ mooyi/ m’ashikhiile/ 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’aašikha/ mwanaamke/ na ka paapo/ khalbiye/ 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

ashikhi uyu ‘this lover’

nt^hayiiiko aashikhi nt^hayiiiko manya’a [nt.] ‘there is no [thought of] dalliance or impropriety’

want^hu (ma’)aashikhi ‘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.’

<i>asho</i>	n. dinner Omari/ khiriḽe khpika asho. ‘Omari offered to cook dinner.’ Wo/ wachiya/ shṽaakuja/ asho. ‘When they come, we will eat dinner.’
<i>ashuura</i>	n. [Sw. <i>ashura</i> "ceremony of the tenth day of the month of <i>Muharram</i> 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. ‘ <i>aṣūrā</i> ’ “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 ’
<i>ku-’ashuurata</i>	v. [Som. <i>canshuur</i> , variant <i>cashuur</i> “tax” DSI 88; from Ar. ‘ <i>uṣūr</i> ’ “tithes” W 614] tax
<i>aasi</i>	adj. [cf. Sw. v. <i>asi</i> SSED 19; Ar. ‘ <i>aṣīy</i> ’ “rebel, refractory” W 618] disobedient hukhaadiro sho keendra aasi ḽaalimu [st.] ‘he who is able [to make the pilgrimage to Mecca], if he does not go, he is someone disobedient and a wrongdoer’ mtume onyeeza muunt^hu aasi sho khsala [st.] ‘the Prophet was shown a disobedient man who does not say his prayers’
<i>aasima</i>	n.[Ar. ‘ <i>āṣima</i> ’ 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’
<i>ku-’asiri</i>	v. make hard Mojiitu/ chiyasiri/ sichi’asiré. ‘God, make things easy for us, don’t make things hard for us.’ rel. <i>ku-yasiri</i> v. make easy
<i>ku-’asisa</i>	v. [Ar. <i>as</i> “to found” and <i>asās</i> “foundation: W 15] (asisiile) found (an organization) (Notice that the perfect verb stem is irregular; one would expect * asisiize .) Matezo/ ya mpiira/ wa kuulu/ huhadoowa/ asliye/ asisiiló/ ni italiyaani. ‘The game of soccer (lit. ball of leg), it is said that the ones who originally founded it were the Italians.’
<i>askari</i> (Ø, ma-’)	n. [Sw. <i>askari</i> SSED 20; Ar. ‘ <i>askar</i> ’ “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/ washfakaṽa kumkhubura sulṽaani/ 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 ṽeeshini/ 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 sultaani/ langalaani/ jawaabu/ za zotte/ nza lila. 'He told the soldiers of the sultan: look, all my words are the truth.'

Iló/ ni sultani 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'; also **kandikowa askari** 'to be recruited'

Leelo/ hafisaani/ ka rasdente/ inakandikanowa askari/ waant^hu/ wiingi/ wa'enzelo kaandiká. 'Today at the district commissioner's office recruits are being registered for the police, many people went to sign up.'

Mada Nuuru/ andishile (ruuhuye) askari. 'Mada Nuuru joined the army.'

ma'askari miingi 'many soldiers'

Ma'askari/ wachimtaala/ wachendra naaye/ ka sultaani. 'The policeman 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 maha^laa 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/ waakó/ askari.**

Numbaani/ wako askari. 'At home/ at the house there are police.' Or: **Numbaani/ waakó/ 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 kumwegesha. '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^hu/ chooloka/ chimv^lla 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 tadrību 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

adv. [cf. Sw. *asilani* "never"; Ar. *aslan* "originally, primarily"; (with neg.) "by no means, not at all" W 19] never, ever

Omari/ hadiile/ mi/ mwanaashkewa/ simkabili/ mwana wa Nuuru/ aslan/ ni mwizi. 'Omari said: I will never make my daughter marry Nuuru's son, he is

a thief.’
Sooloki/ aslan. ‘I won’t go. I’ll never go.’

asli n. 9 [Sw. *asili* SSED 20; Ar. *asl* W 19] origin
Chimeera/ asli yaawo/ wo/ hulawaangana/ lamnaa nthatu. ‘If you trace their ancestors, they can be divided into three groups.’
kibri ni asli ya fitina zont’e [st.] ‘pride is the root of all discord’
Munt’u asli mbovú/ 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’aná/ asli/ walá/ faðlí. ‘He does not have (either) ancestry (i.e. noble birth) nor manners.’ (A proverb.)
Want’u awa/ asli yaawo/ wa’ile Keenya. ‘Those men originally came from Kenya.’ Cf. **Munt’u uyu/ asliye/ ile ka Keenya.** ‘This man originally came from Kenya.’
Waant’u/ hukalo Mwiini/ wote/ ni wasoomaali/ ka sharii’a/ laakini/ chimeera/ asli yaawo/ wo/ hulawaangana/ lamnaa nthatu. ‘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.)

asmaa’ullaahilhusnaa Arabic set phrase: the good names of Allah (The “Chimiinization” of this seemed to include shortening of the final vowel, as indicated by the strikethrough.)

aspero n. aspirin; var. *asperiina*
Omari/ maamaye/ miilu/ na magoonji/ humlaaza/ ka wiingi/ oshele ka dakhtari/ ambiila/ nayo riihá/ andikiliila/ aspero/ kilaa muunt’i/ kunaa mbili. ‘Omari’s mother’s legs and knees always ache her, she went to the doctor and was told you have rheumatism and was prescribed two aspirins a day to drink.’

asraari n. [Som. *asraar* “magic” DSI 28, which specifies that it is the plural of Arabic *sirr* “secret”, cf. *asrār* 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
Skiizi/ teleefono/ asriya/ zilaziló/ zimo kila/ chiint’u/ huviloowa/ smaat/ foon. ‘Nowadays modern phones have emerged, they have everything, they are called smart phone.’
rel.
chi-‘asriya n. 7 in the modern manner
Numba/ ya Ali/ iwashiila chi’asriya/ ishishile peesa/ niingi. ‘Ali’s house is being bujilt in a modern manner, it cost a lot of money.’

asriya adj. in an expression meaning “afternoon tea with samoosas”:
Zamaani/ Miini/ waant’u/ ba’adi ya sala ya lapii/ wachendra migahayaani/ kuna chaayi/ asriya/ ka sambuusa. ‘In old times in Miini, people after afternoon praying used to go to the restaurant to drink afternoon tea and samoosas.’

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 (Merca, 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/ wakhtⁱ/ 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
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 karamaale 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] possibly a Swahilism (**atibiile**) blame, reproach (This lexical item was provided by Mohammad Imam, but is not known to Gelani Mohamed.)
- 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, make him suffer’
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’atila meenziwe. ‘It is not good for one to make his friend suffer.’
Siwo/ suura/ muunt^hu/ ku’atila 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-’atilanana v. rec.
ku-’atilananoowa v. rec. pass.
Siwo/ suura/ ku’atilananoowa. ‘It is not good to give one another a hard time.’
ku-’atilisha v. caus. (**atilishiize**)
- Atlasi** n. Atlantic
bahari ya Atlasi ‘Atlantic Ocean’

- atoore** n. actor
kana atoore ‘as an actor’
Hamadi/ vetee nguwo/ mp^hiya/ nakhfakhara/ kana atoore. ‘Hamadi wore new clothes, he is as proud as an actor.’
- athari** n. [Sw. *athari* SSED 20; Ar. *atar* W 4] trace, effect
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 an affect over human beings.’
We/ hu^hasawara/ kuwa hiisi/ athari / yaa we/ naayó/ ilu ya want^hu wiingine. ‘You may not be aware of the effect you have on other people.’

-tahathari qabla al'athari (arabic chimized- be careful before impact/damage)
Tahaðara/ qabla/ a'thari ‘Be careful before the effect, impact, damage (happens).’ (Be careful, don't just let something happen with all the consequences that will have, try to stop it or minimize it.)

have not entered this in proverbs yet because of uncertainty concerning pronunciation - review
rel.
i-'athari (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

- ku-athirisha** v. [Ar. *atara* Wehr 3] affect
Nvula/ ichiwa niingi/ hu'athirisha miyuundra. ‘If it rains a lot, it affects the farms.’
rel.
ku-'athirikav. p/s. be affected
Gele/ ishtilowa ibarmiliini/ ha^há/ miyaaka/ miingi/ ha'athiriki. ‘If maize is kept in a barrel, even after many years it does not go bad.’

- 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 *tí*, 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. *atí*]
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/ naku^hawa kaziini. ‘I heard that you are quitting your job.’
Atí/ we/ nakhsafira Ameeriká. ‘Is it true that you are traveling to America?’
Haliima/ nambilee mi/ atí/ chisoma chibuukucha/ takhpita im^hihaani. ‘Haliima told me that (supposedly) if you read my book, you will pass the examination.’
Hamiisi/ nambiile/ mi/ kuwaa ye/ atí/ hupeenda/ khsooma. ‘Hamiisi said to me that he supposedly likes to reads.’

- 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/ 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 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/ haṭá/ 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.)

Skazeeni/ nguwo/ nt^ho/ borsaa ni/ itaatuka. ‘Don’t squeeze too much the clothes into the bag, it will tear.’

Yuusufu/ anzizopo kondroka ka apó/ muke/ chimshika haanzu/ ka chinume/ chimgiita/ haṭá/ 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-atulila v. tr. appl. (*atulile*) tear, cut with

Atulile chireenza/ shaati. [H!!H] ‘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: **Atulile chireenza/ shaati?** [H’H] 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: **Atulile chireenza/ shaati!?** [H!H] 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.)

Atulile/ chireenza/ shaati. [H!!H!!H] ‘He cut with the razor the shirt.’ (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: **Atulile/ chireenza/ shaati?** [H’H’H] ‘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.)

Atulile shaati/ chireenza. [H!!H] ‘He cut the shirt with a razor.’ (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: **Atulile shaati/ chireenza?** [H’H] In the emphatic version, the sentence-final accent has a decided falling character: **Atulile shaati/ chireenza!?** [H!H])

Mmatulile Nuuru/ shaati. ‘I tore Nuuru’s shirt.’ Or: **Mmatulile shaati/ Nuuru.**

Natulile chireenza/ 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: ***Natulile chireenza/ shaati.**)

Natulile shaati/ 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: ***Natulile shaati/ chireenza.**)

Omari/ matulile Hamadi/ shaatiye. ‘Omari tore Hamadi’s shirt.’ Or: **Omari/ matulile/ Hamadi/ shaatiye.**

Omari/ matulile Nuuru/ shaati. ‘Omari tore Nuuru’s shirt.’ Or: **Omari/ matulile shaati/ 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/ atulile Nuuru/ shaati.**) (Phon. The yes-no questions: **Omari/ matulile Nuuru/ shaati?** and **Omari/ matulile shaati/ Nuuru?** suggest that when **shaati** 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/ matulile shaati/ Nuuru?** The emphatic yes-no question shifts accent in verb phrase elements without regard to focus: **Omari/ matulile Hamadi/ shaati!?** and **Omari/ matulile shaati/ Hamadi!?**)

k-atuliloowa 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/ chaṭuliila shaati.** ‘The razor was used to cut the shirt.’)

k-atuloowa v. pass.

Tonele igoonjeye/ 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 khaṭi yaa ye/ mwandikiliilo Nuuru. ‘Ali destroyed the letter that he wrote to Nuuru.’

Atile shaati/ ka chireenza. [H!H] ‘He cut the shirt with a razor.’ (This sentence has the canonical downstep intonation. The simple yes-no question simply raises the pitch on the second phrase: **Atile shaati ka chireenza?** [H!H] In GM’s speech, there is declination in the pitch level of the second phrase, though there is a very clear contrast between downstep and declination. The exclamatory question, however, shifts the accent in both phrases to the end: **Atile shaati/ ka chireenza!?** [H!H].)

Atiileni/ chibuuku. ‘What did he tear from the book?’ (A possible answer to this question: **Atile ḵaḵaada/ chibuuku.**

Baana/ atile chibuuku/ ḵaḵaada. ‘Baana tore the book the cover.’ Or: **Baana/ atile ḵaḵaada/ chibuuku.**, with the same meaning. (Compare these examples with the one immediately below, where the notion ‘the book’s cover’ is conveyed by the associative construction: **ḵaḵada ya chibuuku** ‘cover of the book’. In the examples here, there is no overt marking of the relationship between **chibuuku** and **ḵaḵaada**. It is possible to put focus on **ḵaḵaada** in IAV position: **Baana/ atile ḵaḵaada/ chibuuku.** The presence of focus is indicated by the absence of radical downstepping on **ḵaḵaada**, but also by the corresponding simple yes-no question: **Baana/ atile ḵaḵaada/ chibuuku?** The shift to final accent on ‘book’ reflects its out-of-focus status. A third piece of evidence that **ḵaḵaada** is focused in this example is the fact that the sentence can be continued as follows: **Baana/ atile ḵaḵaada/ chibuuku/ siwo/ ḵwarakha.** ‘Baana tore off the *cover* of the book, not a page (of the book).’)

Baana/ atile chibuuku/ ḵwarakha. ‘Baana tore off a page from the book.’

Baana/ atile ḵaḵada ya chibuuku. ‘Baana tore the cover of the book.’ Or: **Baana/ atile ḵaḵada/ ya chibuuku.** Or: **Baana/ atiile/ ḵaḵada ya chibuuku.** ‘Baana *tore* the cover of the book.’ (We have not identified a significant discourse difference between examples where the head of the associative phrase groups with the associative particle, and examples where there is phrasal separation.)

Baana/ atile ḵwarakha/ chibuuku/ nt’akaatula/ ḵaḵaada. ‘Baana tore off a page from the book, he did not tear off the cover.’

Baana/ atile ḵwarakha ḵa chibuuku/ siwo/ ḵaḵaada. ‘Baana tore off a page of the book, not the cover.’ But it is also possible to apply Head-R: **Baana/ atile ḵwarakha/ ḵa chibuuku/ siwo/ ḵaḵaada.** (The version with Head-R instantiated cannot be followed by a NP contrasting with **ḵwarakha**: **#Baana atile ḵwarakha/ ḵa chibuuku/ siwo/ ḵaḵaada.** ‘Baana tore off the page of the book, not the cover.’)

Baana/ chibuuku/ atile ḵaḵaada. ‘Baana, the book, her tore off the cover.’

Chibuuku/ atiileni. ‘What did he tear from the book?’ (When the verb is encliticized with =*ni*, it is focused and thus escapes the normal radical downstepping that a phrase initiated by the verb undergoes. The noun **chibuuku** is preposed, showing that out of focus NP’s may be preposed. A possible answer to the question: **Chibuuku/ atile ḵaḵaada.** ‘The book, he tore off the cover.’ Another possible answer is **ḵaḵaadi/ atilo chibuuku.** ‘It’s the cover that he tore off the book.’)

Chibuuku/ ḵaḵaada/ natiilo. ‘The book the *cover* I tore off.’ (The focus on the preposed NP **ḵaḵaada** triggers the pseudo-relativization of the verb.)

Chibuuku/ ḵaḵaada/ Baana/ atiilo. ‘The book the *cover* Baana tore off.’ (It is striking that in this construction with two bare NP’s, **chibuuku** and **ḵaḵaada**, that it is the latter which may be focused. Focus was not observed on **chibuuku**. It is possible for **chibuuku** to be the only complement preposed, but this preposing does not require focus: **Chibuuku/ atile ḵaḵaada.** ‘The book, he tore off the cover.’ We know that the preposed noun is not focused since the verb is not in pseudo-relative form.)

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.)

ḵaḵaada/ Baana/ atilo chibuuku. ‘The cover Baana tore off the book.’

ḵaḵaada/ Baana/ chibuuku/ atiilo. ‘The cover Baana the book tore off.’

one another's children to tear up the pieces of paper.' (A periphrastic version is also possible: **Want^{hu} awa/watiliene 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/ wachimweegasha/ walá/ nt^hawakumðukurila/ 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

Abú/ awaðile kuwa mwaanawe/ umriwe/ hasaaydi. Abu complained that his son never helps.

Abú/ daa'imu/ nam'awaða Haliima. 'Abu is always complaining about Haliima.'

Abú/ n'awaðilile mi/ kuwa waanawa/ waliko washfanyaa nk^heje/ zaaydi. 'Abu complained to me that my children were making too much noise.'

Faaþima/ awaðile kuwa mubliwe/ umriwe/ hawaako/ numbaani. 'Faaþima complained that her husband was never at home.'

Fijiri/ nch^hoondroka/ nnaku'awaaðá/ nnaku'awaaðá. 'In the morning, I got up [and] was lamenting and lamenting [my situation].'

Hamadi/ nam'awaða 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'awaða ka ulaazo 'to groan with pain'

ku'awaaða/ kana naakufó 'to groan in pain as if he is dying'

Mi/ ka wiingi/ hu'awaða kuwaa mi/ nofeeté/ nt^ho/ khfanya ismu/ ya chiint^h. 'I often complain that I am too tired to do anything.'

Mi/n'awaðile kuwaa mi/ skupoowa/ fursa/ ya kudaf'ia ruuhuye. 'I complained that I was not given a chance to defend myself.'

Mi/ nim'awaðile Hasani/ tarafu yaa ye/ nkhinnyasetoo mi. 'I complained to Hasani about his cheating me.'

Mi/ skumkasa/ ye/ naku'awaaðó. 'I didn't hear him complaining'

rel.

ku-'awaaðana v. rec. (-*awaaðeene*) 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/ wanaomole 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 *awwalī* “primary, original, fundamental” W 35] beginning; first
 -a awali ‘of the beginning; eternal (of God)
want^hu wa awali ‘the ancients’
hamdi nda mojiitu wa awali [st.] ‘praise is due to God the Eternal’
Mojiitu/ ndiyé/ wa awali/ na aakhirí. ‘God is the one of first and last.’
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.’
ka awali ‘the first moment after sunset; at, in the beginning’
Karka maskuu kati/ maskiini/ chufkula iboholi/ shṭomola ije iwaalimó/ yoté/ na maliizopó/ chizumbiza iboholi/ kamba awali.
 ‘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.’
kuguursha mataanga niya leete awali [st.] ‘(before) taking the sand (from its intention first’
 place to use to clean with) state the
Mi/ nile awali. ‘I came first.’ (cf. *Ye/ ile awali.* ‘He came first.’)
Muunt^hu/ awali/ humshukura mojiitu/ thaaniya/ maadamu. ‘One first thanks God, second, human beings.’
mwaana Faatima ndiye wa awali [st.] ‘the first one is Lady Faatima’
ni sunna soomu khfutura ka awali [st.] ‘it is best to break fast at the first moment after sunrise’
niingi ni khatari mila awali [st.] ‘many of the old traditions are dangerous (i.e. not religiously lawful)’
niya ni sharti kuwanaayo awali [st.] ‘[the statement of one’s] intention [to pray] is obligatory to have at the beginning’
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**
- awaali** n. [Som. *abaal* "1. gratefulness; 2. reward" DSI 5] gratitude; [pron. **awaali** or **abaali**]
Mi/ hutosha/ kuwaa mi/ hutasawara/ kuda’a awaali/ yaa mi/ nimkha’ishizoo ye/ kichisaydaa si. ‘I think I may claim the credit (lit. gratitude, reward) for having convinced him to help us.’
Nt^haná/ awaali. ‘He is an ingrate.’
Sa’iidi/ ni muunt^hu/ sho awaali. ‘Saiidi is a man without gratitude.’

<i>awaamiiri</i>	n. orders confirm two long vowels Abú/ khkasa awaamiiri/ ka tahaðari/ yaliko suura. ‘Abu’s listening to the instructions so carefully was useful.’ Chize kurasha awaamiiri. ‘We refused to follow orders.’
<i>mu-’awaana</i>	n. 3 help, aid
<i>k-aawanya</i>	v. [Sw. <i>awanya</i> M&N 103] (awanyiize) divide, distribute, give out Ali/ mtile Ji/ kawanyaa nama. ‘Ali persuaded Ji to distribute the meat (e.g. from the sacrificed animal).’ Awanya chakujaacho/ na want^hu wanayoo ndalá. ‘Divide your food with people who are hungry.’ Hamadi/ awanyize peesa. ‘Hamadi divided up the money.’ Mi/ nawanyiizé. ‘I have divided it up.’ Mi/ nawanyize maaliyá/ mafungu manné. ‘I divided my wealth into four shares.’ mukhta ukomelo wakhti/ wa kawanya mawiindó ‘when the time came to divide up the loot’ review accent Wachawanya peesa. ‘They divided up the money.’ wachaawanya wachimala/ teena ina’inedroowa [st.] ‘only after they have been blessed this way will people start to walk back’ Wachoondroka/ wachawanya maali/ ya mama yaawo/ walañiliiló. ‘They arose and divided the wealth that their mother had left to them.’ rel. <i>k-awanyika</i> v. p/s. (-awanyishile) able to be divided up Nama/ bilaa chisu/ hayawanyiki. ‘Meat cannot be divided up without a knife.’ <i>k-awanyiliza</i> 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.’) Chawanyilize mawiindo/ aya/ kati kiitu. ‘Divide the booty for us among us!’ Hamadi/ wa’awanyilize waana/ peesa. ‘Hamadi distributed the money to the children.’ <i>k-awanyilizanya</i> 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.) <i>k-awanyilizoowa</i> 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) <i>k-awanyoowa</i> (awanyiiza) be distributed, shared iidi hufurahoowa, na zawaadi hawanyoowa [song] ‘on <i>iidi</i> there is being

	made joyful, na gifts are shared’
	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.
	<i>mw-aawanya</i> (<i>wa-</i>) n. one who divides; [pron. wa’awanya ‘ones who divide’]
	<i>ma-’awanyo</i> n. dividing
	<i>mw-aawanyo</i> . dividing, act of dividing
awaari	n. [Som. <i>abaar</i> “drought, famine” DSI 5] drought, famine
	Killa/ maaka/ ichinshaarata/ jawaabu/ ştakuuyó/ jawabu ştakupatikanó/ 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.’
	Mwaka ayuu/ Miini/ ni awaari/ miyuundra/ yabakheete. ‘This year there is drought in Miini, the farms have failed to produce (crops).’
	Mwaka oyo/ apo/ ba’adiye/ yile awaari/ na ooni. ‘That year at that place afterwards came drought and thirst.’
awaayle	n. albino
aweeso	n. [Som. <i>abeeso</i> “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.
	<i>chi-’aweeso</i> (<i>zi-</i>) n. dim. 7/8
	<i>i-’aweeso</i> (<i>mi-</i>) n. aug. 5/4
	aweeso (Somali <i>abeeso</i> = family of poisonous snakes, DSI p. 7)
	NOTE: CLE etymo says it is not poisonous. Must be checked.
ku-’awina	v. [Ar. ‘ <i>aun</i> W 659] help
awlaadi	n. [Ar. plural noun <i>awlād</i> from <i>walad</i> W 1097] <i>Arabicism</i> 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 waanthu/ awo. ‘Hasani (lit. and he) was
	Mooyi/ karka awo majini/ mwambiile/ Sa’iidi/ mi/ naawé/ şhtakhteza 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
	chaawo
	shkapu chaawo ‘their basket’
	yaawo
	Wachendra nt^hi yaawo/ mwaana/ oyo. ‘They went to the land of his, that boy [lit. their (i.e. his) land, that boy].’
	zaawo
	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/ ihtiramu/ 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/ haṭá/ 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]

N^hawakhfungúla/ kana zaawo. ‘They did not open their mouths.’

awow awoow

interj. an expression that implies something bad is going to happen as a consequence of some action; [pron. **awow/ awoow**]

Awow/ awoow/ Hamadi/ boozele. ‘Hamadi stole s.t. (and there are going to be serious consequences as a result)!’

Awow/ awoow/ Hamadi/ mbishile Omari. ‘Hamadi hit Omari (and something bad is going to follow from this)!’

Awow/ awoow/ langala Omari/ shati yaa ye/ veetó/ inakuwala/ inakuzima. ‘Wow! look at the shirt Omari is wearing, it is flashing (lit. it shines, it goes out).’

awoo umuri

n. a kind of dance **review**

awoodi

n. power, ability, competence

Mi/ siisi/ kuwaa mi/ nayo awoodi/ ya kujiba su’ali izi. ‘I do not know if I am competent to answer those questions.’

Nii mbovu/ kumwona muunt^hu/ khfanya kila jawabu/ mbovu/ ka khisa/ khsula khpata peesa/ na awoodi. ‘It’s sad to see a man so corrupted by the desire for money and power.’

Omari/ nt^hakuhisa/ kuwa nayo awoodi/ ya khfanya kaazi. ‘Omari did not feel competent to do the job.’

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/ ha^laawuki. ‘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.’

Tete 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**) be peeled

Maandra/ yawila ikooko. ‘The bread had the crust removed from it.’ (Note

that *maandra* must be the subject of the passive verb, it cannot be *ikooko*: ***Ikooko/ yawila maandra.** ‘The crust was removed from the bread.’)

Mazu/ yawila igaandra. ‘The banana had its peel stripped off.’ (Note that

mazu must be the subject of the passive verb, it cannot be *igaandra*: ***Igaandra/ yawilaa mazu.** ‘The peel was stripped from the banana.’)

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.’ (MI rejected omitting the preposition *ka* and using the noun *lkuta* without the locative enclitic. This contrasts with the examples involving detaching a scab from a wound or a peel from a fruit, where a double object construction is used without the preposition+locative alternative. One would guess that the difference is that paper is not inalienably possessed by the wall.)

Awile maandra/ ikooko. ‘He removed the crust from the bread.’ (The crust is an inalienable possession of bread. This seems to be required for the double object construction here. Compare the sentence: **Awile ikooko/ ka chunguuni.** ‘He detached the crust from the pot.’ Here the noun *chuungu* is put into the locative form and marked with a preposition. One cannot say: ***Awile chuungu/ ikooko.** ‘He detached the pot the crust.’)

Awilee mazu/ igaandra. ‘He peeled the skin from the banana.’ (Note that one cannot say: ***Awile igaandra/ kaa mazu.** ‘He detached the peel from the banana.’)

Awile ranji/ ka lkutaani. ‘He detached the paint from the wall.’ (It appears that the case of paint and a wall is not a clear case of alienable versus inalienable possession. Besides the example given here, MI also accepted **Awile lkuta/ ranji.** ‘He detached the wall paint.’)

Mtume mweene muke uso nakaawula [st.] ‘the Prophet saw a woman peeling skin off her face’

Nakaawula. ‘He is detaching it.’

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 RasuulAllaahi Mhamadi* [st.] Khadija helped the Messenger of God, Mohammad

awoodi n. power
Omari/ nayo awoodi/ nawa'iwa/ ziṭa/ wont^he/ hapelekeki/ shari'aani/ haṭá/ shpelekoowa/ hashindroowi. 'Omari has power, he knows all the bosses, even if he is taken to court, he cannot be defeated.'

awuuri n. [Som. *abuur* "seeds" DSI 8] seed
Awuuri/ yaa we/ takaaló/ takshafó. 'The seed that you will plant (is that which) you will harvest.'
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?**
miṭana 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
Aya/ siwo/ mambo ya waant^hu/ akhyaari. 'This (lit. these) is not the behavior of a gentleman.'
Chawanyilize mawiindo/ aya/ kati kiitu. 'Divide for us the booty among us.'
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* SSED 21; Ar. *āya* W 36] a verse in the Quran
aaya/ ya khur'aani 'a verse of the Quran'
aaya/ za khuraani 'verses of the Quran'
Aaya/ za khuraani/ hubayina halaali/ na haraamú. 'The verses of the Quran clarify what is pure and what is impure.'
Omari/ nakhsoma aaya/ za khuraani. 'Omari is reading verses of the Quran.'
Sheekhi/ huleta dalii/ ka aaya/ za khuraani. 'The Sheikh brings evidence (on some religious point) with quranic verses.'

ayaje

[cl.4] demonstrative

Misala ayaje/ ni minasha. ‘Those mats are smooth.’

Misufuriya ayaje/ ya’uzilá/ yabeele. ‘Those pots that were bought got lost.’

mitana ayaje ‘those rooms’

Miti aya/ nii mile/ nt’o/ 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 chizeelé/ 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 Mwiiini/ ka faṭuura/ ayamu ije. ‘Abubakari went to Brava by car last week.’

ayamuu mbili ‘two weeks’

Ba’ada ya ayaamu/ muḅli/ 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’atu ni ayaamu sa’iidi [st.] ‘and three days are blessed’

Sharti/ ka ayaamuye/ kendra khtaḷoowa/ maayi. ‘It is a must that it be the day fixed for water to be taken (from the well).’

ch-aayi (z-)

n. 7/8 tea

Chaayi/ chileseḷa 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.’

Chileseḷa 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/ muḷooni/ 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.’

khtilila chaayi ‘to pour tea for’

Haliima/ namtilila muḅliwe/ chaayi/ adeesi. ‘Haliima is pouring for her husband tea with milk.’ Also: **Haliima/ namtilila muḅliwe/ chayi cha adeesi.**

Haliima/ namtilila muḅliwe/ 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’u/ 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 .’
	rel.
	<i>ch-aahi</i> n. good tea
	Haliima/ mgahawawe/ chaahi/ huuzika/ sababu/ hukabila joozi/ chayiini. ‘Haliimu at her restaurant sells very good tea. because she adds joozi in the tea.’
<i>ku-’ayida</i>	v. [Ar. <i>ayīd</i> W 37] (ayidiile) support, second (an idea)
	Si/ shiwa’ayidiile/ waarabu/ ka haali/ na maali/ na ba’aði ya dobla za chi’aafrika/ wapeleshele/ ma’askari/ yaawo/ khsaayda/ nṭhi 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.’
	Wo/ wam’ayidile Abú/ kuwanayoo ndila/ kudorsata weenzawe. ‘They supported Abu’s right to choose his friends.’
<i>ku-’ayina</i>	v. [Ar. <i>’ayīn</i> W 662] (ayiniile) clarify, indicate; appoint s.o. to be s.t.
	Hamadi/ nṭhaku’ayina/ shaati/ lamna gani/ nakhsuuló. ‘Hamadi did not clarify which color/ type of shirt he wants.’
	rel.
	<i>ku-’ayinoowa</i> v. pass.
	Chiinṭhu/ 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 ramaḍaani laazimu [st.] ‘it is necessary for Ramadhan to be mentioned [when you state your intention to fast the next day during Ramadhan’
<i>ayo</i>	[cl.4] demonstrative
	mitana ayo ‘those rooms’
	Miti ayo/ ni zigobe/ kuzida miti aya. ‘Those trees are shorter/ than these trees.’
<i>ayo</i>	[cl.6] demonstrative
	Cheendra/ masku ayo/ chilala maduriini. ‘He went that night and slept in the bush.’
	Heendra/ Omari/ kuja/ ka maraḍi ayo. ‘It is possible that Omari will die from that disease.’
	Mi/ shkalaanṭha/ ilu/ ya majiwe ayo. ‘I used to sit on those stones.’
<i>Ayuubu</i>	n. the prophet Job
	Nazo sabri/ kana za mtume Ayuubu. ‘He has the patience of the prophet Job.’
<i>ayuuuni</i>	n. [Sw. <i>ayuni</i> M&N 105; Ar. <i>’uyūn</i> , pl. of <i>’ain</i> “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.
	<i>ayuni naasi</i> n. [Ar. <i>’uyūn al-nās</i> "eyes of people", from the plural of <i>’ain</i> "eye, evil eye" W 663 and <i>nās</i> "people" W 936] <i>Arabicism</i> evil eye (cf. the usual Chimiini expression: ito ya waanṭhu ‘(evil) eye of people’)
	Ayuuni/ naasi/ khatari/ humuḅla muunṭhu. ‘The evil eye is dangerous, it kills one.’
<i>ayyi</i>	part. any
	Mayti/ ha’ipishoowi/ ha’ibadiḷoowi/ ha’ifanyoowi/ ayyi/ ya chiinṭhu. ‘The corpse is not burned, it is not altered, nothing is done to it.’ (Excerpted from a discussion of burial practices in Brava.)
	Nama ya aleeso/ nṭhainá/ ayyi/ dhadhamu. ‘Boiled meat does not have taste.’

Sinaayo/ ayyi/ doodi. ‘I don’t have *any* complaint.’
 Skuula/ ayyi/ chiint’u. ‘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’u/ chandishila azali/ nt’hi/ huwa. ‘Something that is destined (was written in the heavens), (on) earth it comes to pass (is, happens).’ (A proverb.)
 Yandishila azali (or: kuzimu)/ Omari/ leelo/ kufa. ‘It is written in the heavens that Omari will die today.’

k-azima

v. [Ar. ‘*azima* W 611] (*azimiile*) borrow (returnable items such as clothes or an umbrella)
 Ali/ azimile chibuuku/ ka Nuuru. ‘Ali borrowed a book from Nuuru.’
 Azima. ‘Borrow it!’
 chisu chaa muke/ chaa Nuuru/ azimiilo ‘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?’
 Mi/ kawanayo baaskiili/ su_{la} khaazima. ‘If I had a bicycle, I would lend it to you.’
 Mooyi/ karka jiraanize/ chiya/ kazima mp^huundra/ ka Abunawaasi. ‘One of his neighbors came to borrow a donkey from Abunawaasi.’
 Mwanaashke/ baaskiiliye/ we/ azimiilo/ uko apa. ‘The girl whose bicycle you borrowed is here.’
 Nguwo ya kaazima/ hayende_{loowi}/ jima. ‘One does not attend Friday prayers in borrowed clothes.’ (A proverb.)
 Ni njeema/ tu/ laakini/ mukhtaa 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.’ (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. (*azimiile*) decide
Abdalla/ mukhta'a ye/ peto khabari/ kuwa sultaani/ namviiá/ 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 khisa za jazira iyí/ wa'azimile khsaafira/ kendra jazira iyí. '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* adj. [Sw. *aziizi* "precious, rare, valuable, and of persons, excellent, highborn" SSED 22]
dear, precious
Sheekhi aziizi ka Mooje/ maghani mba kingiloowa [st.] 'the Sheikh is dear to God, his protection is to be sought'
- ku-'azula* v. [Ar. 'azala "to remove, depose" W 610] (*azuliile*) remove s.o. from office, dismiss s.o., dethrone a king
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^h/ 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'iidí/ wabishiila na mwaalimu. 'Ali (unexpectedly) as well and Saiidi

were beaten by the teacher.’ Or: **Sa’iidi/ na Ali/ ba/ wabishiḷa na mwaalimu.** ‘Saïidi 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 masultaaani/ 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).’

Fardoosa/ na Aashá/ wawiliwe/ ba/ hu’insha kharibu ya skoola/ so. [HHH!HHH] ‘Do both Fardoosa and Aasha live near the school?’ (We have not studied the prosody of *ba* in detail. In this example, *ba* is clearly lowered with respect to the pre-verbal phrases that precede it. There was no notable lowering of the following phrase, but this might be an effect of the particle *so* which generally suppresses downstep.)

Hamadi/ na Nuurú/ 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/ khupeele/ ije yaa mi/ humiḷkó. ‘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.’ **Choloshelé/ 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/ tezeze/ 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/ oloshole/ ba/ numbaani. ‘Sa’iidi hasn’t gone home, has he?’ Or: **Sa’iidi/ oloshole numbaani/ ba.**

Si/ nt^haku/ hichiilóló/ hatá/ muunt^hi/ lata masku/ ba. ‘Us, there is no one who comes to us even during the day, let alone at night.’

Sultaani/ 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’a

n. plastic bag

Mwenye/ tukile nyaanya/ ka ba’a/ yimo nt^huundrú/ ye/ nt^hakiiwa/ nyaanya/ niingi/ sfutushiló/ fud fud fud!/ bila/ yaa ye/ kiiwa. ‘Menye carried tomatoes in a plastic bag with a hole in it, which he did not know, a lot of tomatoes fell out, *fud fud fud!* without him knowing.’

ba’ada

n. 9 [Sw. *baada* SSED 25] after, afterwards; variant form: **ba’adi** (This noun regularly serves as the head of an associative phrase which has a prepositional/ adverbial function.)

Alí/ anzize kubigaa nkhele/ ba’adi yaa ye/ khkasa/ ya Hamadi/ hadiiló. ‘Ali started shouting after he heard what Hamadi said.’

Ba’adi ya apo/ tu/ Faatíma/ anzizo khpiká. ‘Only then did Faatíma begin to cook.’

Ba’adi ya apo/ tu/ Fardoosa/ iwilo ka kuwaa ye/ nt^hakhaadirá/ khkalan^ha hatá/ jimaa ne. ‘Only then did Fardoosa learn that she could not stay until Tuesday.’ Or with emphasis on the main verb: **Ba’adi ya apo/ tu/ Fardoosa/ iwiló/ ka kuwaa yé/ nt^hakhaadira/ khkalan^ha hatá/ jimaa ne.**

Ba’adi ya apo/ tu/ Omari/ tinzilo go’aani/ khsafira Mwiini. ‘Only then did Omari decide to travel to Miini.’

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 wakhtí/ haba mo/ mooyi/ karka weenzawe/ wawili/ chiloota/ kuwaa ye/ wene ruuhuye/ uko mahala 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.'

Ba'ada ya muunthu/ kuuya/ Jeelaani/ chiiwa/ ya kuwa nthakuwaaliko/ Safiya/ walikoo muke/ mwiingine. 'After the person came (closer), Jeelani knew that it was not Safiya, it was some other woman.'

Ba'adi yaa ye/ kumziyara^{ta} maamaye/ ye/ daa'imu/ ni farhaani. 'After visiting her mother, she is always happy.'

Ba'adi ya mwaaka/ oyo/ nt^howa/ na ooni/ yiiló. 'After that year there came drought and hunger...'

Ba'adi yaa sala/ ku^{la} mooyi/ humlazima kendra kuzura wazaaziwe/ ah^{li}ye/ 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'; **ba'adiye** 'after that (lit. its after), then'

Sh^takhsafira ka fa^tuura/ ba'adiye/ ka arip^laano. 'We will travel by car, then by plane.'

Basi/ ba'ada khpita skuu nt^hatu/ ujee muke/ chimwambila Sa'iidi/ pandra teena/ mloongo^{ti}/ langala/ takuwonani. 'So after three days passed, that woman told Sa'iidi: climb up the mast again and look what you will see.'

Jawaabu /izi zont^he/ stakhko^{de}lowa ba'adiye/ nt^ho. 'All these matters will be discussed in depth later.'

Muke/ ba'ada ya kumzalila mwanaamke/ yampete mara^{di}/ fiile. 'The woman, after bearing him a daughter, fell sick and died.'

Muke/ wa mmamulataa nt^hi/ ba'ada ya Yuusufu/ khkula/ kuwa mu^bjaana/ chim^tamana. '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'a^{da}/ ya khtⁱinda/ masaafa/ tulushile/ fiile. 'The elephant, after running for a long distance, fell down and died.'

Ndrazole numbaani/ ba'ada (or: ba'adi) ya Nuuru' (kulawá). 'I left the house before Nuuru (left).' Or: **Ndrazole numbaani/ ba'ada (or: ba'adi) ya Nuuru/ kuwa lazilé.** 'I left before Nuuru left.'

Nile ba'adiyé. 'I came after him.'

Nile ba'adi ya Ali. 'I came after Ali.'

Nt^hakhuruudila/ ba'ada ya im^thaani. 'I will return it to you after the test.'

Si/ hashkoo^{de}eli/ jawabu iyi/ mpaka/ ba'adiye. 'We won't discuss that problem until later.'

Sungura/ ba'ada ya kht^omola/ salaamu/ chimwaambila... 'Rabbit, after extending his greetings, said to him (Lion)...'

Umi/ anzize khpika/ ba'adi ya mu^bliwe/ lazilé. 'Umi started cooking after her husband left.'

Waako/ waako/ wazazile waana/ ba'adi ya apo/ mu^bli/ chimpenda muke mwiingine/ sulile kumnoola. 'They had children and after that, (this) husband then loved another woman, and he wanted to marry her.'

ba'idi

n. other, else, besides

Fardoosa/ hukaha^{ta}/ so/ khsoomá/ ismu ya mada yiinginé/ ba'adi ya hisaabú. 'Does Fardoosa hate studying anything else beside math?'

Mi/ nimwambilee ye/ kuwaa mi/ speendi/ kumkasaa ye/ mara yiingine/ ba'adi ya isa. 'I told him I didn't want to hear from him any more.'

ba'iidi

far from, at a distance from, distant

Aamina/ chimshika mu^bliwe/ 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.

‘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**) move apart, separate from, keep at a distance

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.’

Mfanye mweenza/ munt^hu msuura/ mwovu/ mba’ide. ‘Make a friend of a good person, a bad one, stay away from him.’ (A proverbial saying.)

rel.

ku-ba’idisha v.

Karka ba’adi ya khasaara/ za uqabiila/ huleetó/ ni ya kuwa huba’idisha want^hu wa qabila mba^hmbali. ‘Among the disadvantages that tribalism brings is that it separates people of different tribes.’

ba’adi

n. 9 [Sw. *baadhi* SSED 22] some, a portion of something

ba’adaa (a contraction of **ba’adi ya**)

Ba’adaa waana/ wa’ile. ‘Some of the children came.’

ba’adi ya muunt^hi ‘part of the day(time)’

Ba’adi ya waana/ wa’ile. ‘Some of the children came.’

Ba’adi ya want^hu awa/ hala miyuundra. ‘Some of these people plant gardens.’

Ba’adi yaawo/ wapaanzile/ ilu yaa miti/ na ba’adi yaawo/ wafakeete/ pashpo kiiwa/ mahala wo/ wanakeendró. ‘Some of them climbed up trees and some of them ran away without knowing where they were going.’

ba’adi yiitu ‘some of us’

Ba’adiye/ hupenda kulangala tiivi. ‘Others like to watch TV.’

kuzuura/ ba’adi ya ahliye ‘to visit some of his relatives’

Lakiini/ inakihtajowa ba’adi ya ziint^hu. ‘But some other things are needed.’

Rupiya/ miya/ nt^haano/ izi/ ni ba’adi/ ya peesa/ zaa mi/ mp^hheetó/ ka kuza igozi. ‘These five hundred rupees are part of the money that I got by selling the skin.’ (Phon. Notice that although the verb **mp^hheetó** is separated phrasally from the prepositional phrase **ka kuza igozi** 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’ublele ba’adi/ na ba’adi/ wa’ifakatiile.

‘The lion came from [their] behind and killed some of them and some of them ran away.’

Uko ba’adi ya kaazi hutala wakhti/ miingi. ‘There are some jobs, they take a long time (to complete).’ (It is clear that this sentence does not employ a relative clause structure, since **hutala wakhti/ wiingi** does not possess the characteristics of a relative clause, i.e., a final vowel *o* in the verb and final accent.)

Wa’incezele/ masaafa/ ba’adiye/ sungura/ chisimama. ‘They walked some distance, and then Rabbit stopped.’

Waana/ ba’adi yaawo/ wa’ile. ‘Some of the children came.’

ba’si

n. repulsiveness, hatefulness

Munt^hu uyu/ ba’siye/ haykhadiriki. ‘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/ bishilee nk^heje/ kuwa waana/ wanakubigaa nk^heje/ nt^ho. ‘Father shouted

- that the children were making too much noise.’
- Baaba/ chimwuz**a 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 ilmu/ aqli/ 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’
- Mwaana/ humzika baaba/ baaba/ humzika mwaana**. ‘The child buries the father, the father buries the child.’ (A proverb.)
- Naayé/ maama/ shfaanya/ jisa/ baaba/ fanyiizó/ chiwaviila/ wanawabli/ sittawe/ chiwa’uza/ nnakhsula maali/ 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?’
- Siwo/ mwana wa baabá?** ‘Is he not father’s child?’
- wank^hulá/ ka baaba** ‘paternal grandfather’
- 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. *baabuur*] 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.’
- badiiḷa** n. 9/10 [Ital. *badile*] shovel
badila ya mtaanga ‘sand shovel’
khṭumba ka badiiḷa ‘to dig with a shovel’
- ku-badila** v. [Sw. *badili* SSED 23] (**badiliile**) change, transfer, exchange
Badiiḷe gaari/ majulu. ‘He changed the car’s tires.’
Badiiḷee nguwo. ‘He changed clothes.’
Haliima/ mbadiiḷe 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 muunt^hu/ chiṭaache 'to change someone's mind'

Omari/ mbadilile Hamadi/ chiṭaache. 'Omari changed Hamadi's mind.'

kumbadila muunt^hu/ ongoye 'to change someone's mind'

Omari/ mbadilile Hamadi/ ongoye. 'Omari changed Hamadi's mind.'

Naank^hó/ chimwaambila/ mbadile m^wana uyu. 'Again she told him, change this child (in the context of the story: bring a different child to eat with you).'

Oloshole dukaani/ kubadila shaati. 'He went to the shop to exchange a shirt.'

Suufi/ badilile nguwo. 'Suufi changed his clothes.'

Suufi/ mbadilile m^waana/ nguwo. 'Suufi changed the child's clothes.'

Suufi/ mbadilile Nuuru. 'Suufi transferred Nuuru.'

rel.

ku-badilila v. appl. (**badililile**) change for, with

ku-badiloowa v. pass.

M^waana/ badililaa nguwo. 'The child's clothes were changed.' (Cf. the ungrammaticality of a sentence where clothes is the grammatical subject: ***Nguwo/ zibadilila m^waana.** '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 m^wusi/ 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/ kuḷa shpindri cha wakhṭi shchipita. 'I change my shape when each period of time passes.' (A riddle, the answer to which is **chibḷi** '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/ m^waana.**)

Si/ ka wiingi/ hukasa/ kuwa waant^hu/ bilhakhikha/ umriwaawo/ hawabadiliki. 'We often hear that people never really change.'

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 m^waana/ nguwo. 'Haliima had the boy change his clothes.'

rel. nom.

m-badilo n. 3

ma-badilo n. 6

u-badilo n. 14

badili

n. 9 instead of, in place of, substitute

Abunawaasi/ lazile/ ka ijuniyaani/ ndimi/ ningiiló/ badiliye. 'Abunawaasi got out from the sack, it is me who entered it as his substitute.'

Badili ya khsooma/ Hamiisi/ hulangaḷa t̄iivi/ mpiira. ‘Instead of reading, Hamiisi watches football on TV.’
Hamiisi/ hasoomi/ badiliye/ hulangaḷa t̄iivi/ mpiira. ‘Hamiisi does not read, instead, he watches football on TV.’
Mi/ mp^hishile badili ya Haliimá. ‘I cooked instead of Haliima.’ Impersonal passives:
Ipishiḷa Haliima/ badiliye. ‘There was cooking instead of Haliima (lit. Haliima, instead of her).’ Or: **Ipishiḷa badili ya Haliima.**
Mi/ mp^hishile mpuungá/ badili yaa zijo. ‘I cooked rice instead of zijo.’ Or a passive:
Mpuunga/ upishiḷa badili yaa zijo. ‘Rice was cooked instead of zijo.’
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 ichiḷawa 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.’
Zijo/ spishiḷa badili ya mpuunga. ‘Zijo was cooked instead of it rice.’

- 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.’
- badiroone** n. [Ital. *padrone*] owner, boss
- baado** [Sw. *bado* "not yet" SSED 24]
mwana 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/ sh̄inda hoola/ chuzaa nama. There in the town was a nomad whose work was slaughtering animals and selling the meat.’
Baduwi uyu/ sh̄inda/ 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].’
- baaḍi** in the expression:
kingila baaḍi ‘to go astray’
muunt^hu/ mooyi/ ngamiilaye/ yingilo baaḍi ‘one man whose camel had gone astray’
- baḍiri** adj. [Sw. *-badhiri, -badhirifu* SSED 24] one who squanders
munt^hu mbaḍiri ‘someone who squanders’, **want^hu wabaḍiri** ‘people who squander’, **chijint^hu chibaḍiri** ‘someone dim. who squanders’, **zijint^hu zibaḍiri** ‘dim. people who squander’, **ijint^hu ibaḍiri** ‘someone aug. who squanders’, **mijint^hu mibaḍiri** ‘aug. people who squander’

- ku-baðira* v. [Sw. *badhiri* SSED 24; Ar. *baðara* W 48] () squander (esp. money)
Chizula 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/ mkono/ umvundishile/ baf. ‘Hamadi’s hand broke **baf**!’
Mwenye/ mvunzile mwaana/ mkono/ baf! ‘Hamadi broke the child’s hand.’
- bafta* n. 9 [Sw. *bafta* SSED 24] white cotton cloth (imported, from Japan, e.g.)
bafta iyi ‘this cloth’
melpé/ kana bafta ‘someone white as **bafta**’; **nelpé/ 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/ ishpandra farasi/ yüngine/ ishpandra 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.
chimwini 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. *bah-* Ab 24] (**beele**) be or get lost, spoiled
Ali/ chimbeele chibuuku. ‘Ali, the book was lost to him.’ (This is the most natural word order. Also possible: **Chibuuku/ chimbele Ali**. ‘The book was lost to Ali.’ Or: **Ali/ chibuuku/ chimbeele**. ‘Ali, the book, it was lost to him (i.e. he lost the book).’)
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.’ (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/ chimbeelé!?**)
Chibuku gani/ chaako/ chibeeleó. ‘Which book of yours is lost?’
Chibuuku/ nch^haakó/ chibeeleó. ‘It is your book that is lost.’
chint^hu chibeeleó ‘the thing that is lost’; **zint^hu zibeeleó** ‘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 khkoða 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 khabari. ‘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!’ **Sibaheeni.** ‘(Pl.) don’t go astray!’

Wakhti/ 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/ zibeele/ 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/ bashize peesa. ‘Ali lost the money (i.e. he did something that resulted in the money getting lost).’ (In comparison, responsibility is deflected in: **Peesa/ zimbeele.** ‘Money became lost to him.’)

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/ mtile 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/ (chaa) 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.**)

kubasha hayaatiye ‘(lit.) 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'

Abú/ bashize wakhti/ haba/ kubiga teleefono/ mara ya piili. 'Abu wasted little time making another (lit. a second time) phone call.'

Abú/ bashize wakhtiwe/ kujariba khumfanya Omari/ mabsuuti. 'Abu has wasted his time trying to please Omari.'

Bashize wakhti. 'You wasted time.'

Hamadi/ mwambile Omari/ we/ apo/ nakubasha wakhtiwó/ tu/ nt'aku/ chint'hu chimooyi/ chaa 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'akubaasha/ wakhti/ ndilaani.**)

Mwaana/ bashize chibuuku/ yuuzi. 'The child lost the book the day before yesterday.' Or with verb focus: **Mwaana/ bashiize/ chibuuku/ yuuzi.**

mwaana/ 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.)

mwaana/ 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.**

Mi/ sibaasheni. 'What shouldn't I lose?'

Nichibashize chisu cha mpishi. '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?**)

Peesa/ ikhubeele. 'A coin was lost to you – i.e. you lost a coin.'

Pesa izi/ sibaashé. 'This money, don't lose!' (It should be noted that the verb is clearly downstepped relative to the preposed complement.)

Peesa/ zikhubeele. 'Money was lost to you.'

Si/ wonthe/ chaliko muta'asifu/ Abú/ kubasha kaaziye. 'We were all sad about Abu losing his job.'

Sibaashé/ nguvuzo/ karka ziint'hu/ nt'azina 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?’

We/ bashize mp^handrap^haanrá. ‘You lost the trumpet.’

Ye/ hachilati/ si/ kubasha peesa/ kumtomola Omari/ dhibuuni. ‘He wouldn’t let us waste money getting Omari out of hardships.’

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/ mtillile Muusa/ mwaana/ kubaha.** ‘Shaafi caused Muusa’s child to be spoiled.’ But the sentence is grammatical if the meaning is ‘Shaadi caused Muusa’s child to get lost.’)

ku-bashilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. (-bashilizeenye)

Want^hu 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:

Want^hu awa/ watillilene 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 mkuulé. ‘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^hó/ 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.’

Oloshale 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/ mugó. ‘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 naakhuóá/ ni wanaashke. ‘All the sailors and the captain are girls.’

<i>ku-bahatha</i>	v. [Ar. W 42] (bahathiile) investigate; variant form: kubahitha Muunt^hu/ chiint^hu/ laazimu/ kubahitha/ nt^hasa yaa ye/ khubala (or: khiira). [HHH!H!H!H] ‘One must investigate somethings before accepting it.’ rel. <i>ku-bahathila</i> v. appl. <i>ku-bahathilana</i> v. appl. rec. rel. nom. <i>u-bahatho</i> n. 14
<i>bahaṭi</i>	n. 9/10 [Sw. <i>bahati</i> SSED 25; Pers.] luck, fortune bahaṭi suura ‘good luck’ bahaṭii mbovu ‘bad luck’ Bahaṭi zaawo/ mbovu. ‘Their luck is bad.’ Bahaṭiye/ mbovu. ‘His luck is bad.’ Nt^haná/ bahaṭi. ‘He has no luck.’ Sho kuwana(yo) bahaṭi/ habiimishi. ‘The one who does not have luck does not trust to luck.’ (A proverb.)
<i>ku-bahaṭisha</i>	v. trust to luck, guess Mara maape/ muunt^hu/ laazimu/ kubahaṭisha chiint^hu/ sababu/ ni mojiitu/ tu/ na’iwo yakhiini. ‘Sometimes one must trust luck, because it is only God who knows certainty.’
<i>bahiima</i> (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.’)
<i>ku-bahitha</i>	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.’
<i>baahuunzi</i> (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
<i>bajeela</i>	n. [Ital. <i>pagella</i>] school report card, certificate Hamadi/ pisile/ imṭihaani/ pela bajeela. [H’H!H!H] ‘Hamadi passed the examination (and) he was given a certificate.’ (In Chimiini, in a sequence of two closely connected clauses, the initial accented syllable in the second clause has its pitch level reset to essentially the same level as the last accented syllable in the first clause. The symbol indicates this resetting. We assume that while each clause is at the end of an Intonational Phrase, these IP’s are recursively wrapped into a single IP.)
<i>bajiya</i>	n. 9/10 [Sw. <i>bajia</i> SSED25; Hind.] a small cake made of ground beans and pepper
<i>m-baajuuni</i> (wa-)	n. 1/2 a native of the Bajuni islands rel. <i>chi-baajuuni</i> n. 7 the language of the Bajuni islands, referring to the Swahili dialects of Pate, Siu, Lamu
<i>bakayle</i>	n. 9/10 [Som. <i>bakayle</i> DSI 39] rabbit, hare (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.’ (Note the [cl.10] behavior of the demonstrative izi and the subject prefix, s- derived from zi- .) Bakayle/ ni hayawaani/ chihaba/ na chiḍa’iifú/ laakini/ chijaanja/ na chi’aakhili.

‘The hare is a mammal, small and weak, but clever and intelligent.’ (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

Omari/ ni bakhaamu/ akhilize/ haba. [H!H!H!H] ‘Omari is a fool, his wisdom is small.’ (This example has two successive independent clauses. The symbol indicates that we have two successive Intonational Phrases, where there is pitch resetting in the second IP. Specifically, the initial accented syllable in the second clause is not downstepped, but rather raised to a level roughly similar to the preceding accented syllable or slightly above it.)

rel.

i-bakhaamu (*ma-*) adj. fool

bakhaari (*Ø*, *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’

Mi/ dakhli niingi/ hupata ka bakhaariya/ ya suukari. ‘I get a lot of income from my sugar store.’

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-bakhaṭa

v. (**bakheṭe**) 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), fail to grow (of crops)

Ali/ waanawe/ kilaa fijiri/ huwako haaḍiri/ skolaani/ hawabaakhaṭi. ‘Ali’s children are present at school every morninhg, they are never absent.’

Bali/ zibakheṭe/ ka nvula haba. ‘The corn plants did not bear corn due to the small amount of rain.’

Bakheṭe madrasaani. ‘He skipped school.’

Fasali iyi/ miyuundra/ yabakheṭe. ‘This season farms did not bear crops.’

Maṭezo/ yabakheṭe. ‘The game has been cancelled.’

Mwaana/ bakheṭe. ‘The child did not come; the child amounted to nothing.’

Omari/ bakheṭe/ safari. ‘Omari *cancelled* the trip.’ (The corresponding yes-no question: **Omari/ bakheṭe/ safari?** The emphatic yes-no question:

Omari/ bakheṭé/ safari!?)

Reeli/ ibakheṭe. ‘The train did not come; the train was late.’

rel.

ku-bakhaṭika v. p/s.

ku-bakhaṭiloowa v. appl. pass.

Sababu iyo/ hubakhaṭiloowa skoola. ‘That [type of] reason can be used for being absent from school.’ Or: **Sababu iyo/ hubakhaṭiloowa/ skoola**. (Phon. The simple yes-no question versions of the preceding two sentences: **Sababu iyo/ hubakhaṭiloowa skoolá?**, with no accent shift, and: **Sababu iyo/ hubakhaṭiloowa/ skoolá?**, with accent in the out-of-focus final phrase. The exclamatory yes-no questions that we were able to elicit is: **Sababu iyo/ hubakhaṭiloowa skoolá!?** and **Sababu iyo/ hubakhaṭiloowá/ skoolá!?**)

ku-bakhaṭila v. appl. (**bakhaṭiile**)

- Omari/ bakhātīlīleni/ skoolā** (or: **skolaani**). ‘Why was Omari absent from school?’
ku-bakhatoowa v. pass.
Siwo/ suura/ kubakhatoowa/skoolā (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.
Want^hu awa/ wabakhishilizenye waana/ madrasaani. ‘These people caused one another’s children to not come to school.’
- baakhi** remain forever
Nt^haku/ chiint^hu/ huwo baakhi. ‘There is nothing that will remain forever.’
- bakhiili** adj. Ø, *ma-* [Sw. *bahili* SSED 25; Ar.] stingy, miserly; n. miser
Apo/ zamaani/ waliko muunt^hu/ bakhiili/ nt^ho/ hattá/ kharibilīle kuja manyalaye. ‘Once upon a time there was a man so miserly that he almost ate his fingernails.’
Bakhiili/ lisīla/ deeniye. ‘The miser was paid his debt.’ Or: **Lisīla deeniyé/ 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/ ilisīla 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’
Matālyaani/ huṭomola bakhshiisha/ suura. [H!H!H] ‘Italians give nice gifts.’
Matālyaani/ zamaani/ Miini/ washpa waant^hu/ bakhshiisha. [H!H!H!H] ‘Italians in the olden days in Brava used to give people gifts.’ (The phenomenon we have referred to as a “Continuation High” pitch was observed at the end of the noun *Miini* in this example. The juncture between a pre-verbal PP and a PP initiated by the verb is a favored location for the CH. This CH is not obligatory; for

example, no CH was heard in the immediately preceding example. It should also be noted that the CH is particularly associated with a word-by-word pronunciation of a sentence, where there is a pause between words. For instance, in the elicitation session from which the current example comes, a variant of the sentence was given in such an isolative style: [Matalyaani^{CH}/...Miini^{CH}/ ...zamaani^{CH}/...washpa waant^{bu}^{CH}/...bakhshiisha]. Only the utterance-final phrase escaped a CH.)

bakht̪i n. 9/10 [Som.] carcass
Bakht̪i iyi/ inakunuunk^{ba}. ‘This carcass smells.’
Inakunuunk^{ba} l̪yuundo/ kamba bakht̪i. ‘It is smelling bad like a corpse.’
kufa bakht̪i ‘[lit. to die carcass – i.e. to die like a worthless carcass’
Mfungaa miya/ bakht̪i/ hafungul̪i. ‘The one who fasts a hundred does not break the fast with a carcass.’ (A proverb.)
Muunt^{bu} nayoo ndalá/ haṭá/ bakht̪i/ huja. ‘A man who is hungry even eats dead carcasses.’ (A proverb.)

rel.

i-bakht̪i

Omari/ fiile/ kana ibakht̪i/ imooyi. ‘Omari died like a worthless carcass.’

bakht̪i

in the expression:

bakht̪i ya nasiibu ‘raffle, lottery’

Omari/ nt^{ba}akhshiindra/ bakht̪i ya nasiibu/ chimṭeleza mukeewe/ tu. ‘Omari did not (really) win the lottery, he was only joking (about winning) with his wife.’

ku-bakht̪ika

v. (**bakht̪ishile**) die (worthlessly and valuelessly), to die like an animal

Igoombe/ ibakht̪ishile. ‘The aug. cow died worthlessly.’

rel.

kh-bakht̪ikoowa v. pass.

Apo/ hubakht̪ikoowa. ‘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-bakht̪isha

v. (**bakht̪ishiize**) bet

bakhuuri

n. 9/10 [Sw. *buhuri* SSED 40; Ar. *baḳūr* “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

bakhuri iyi ‘this vapor’

Haliima/ hupaka aṭari ya bakhuuri/ kiḷaa muunt̪i. ‘Every day Haliima puts on the scent of bakhuuri.’

Wake/ wachiḷawa hiiḍi/ hu’uunsaṭa ka bakhuuri/ na uudí. ‘When women finish their period, they fumigate with incense.’

baakoora (∅, 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’ (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’ (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 baakoora. ‘He went back home to pick up his walking stick.’

Chivalaa nguwo/ ka himaahima/ chiḷawa/ ndilaani/ laakini/ liwele baakoora. ‘He dressed quickly and went out on the road but he forgot his walking stick.’

- Kiła 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 **khulaamu**
- bał** conj. [Sw. *bali* SSED 26; Ar. *bal* "nay, rather, but, however, yet" W 71] rather, on the contrary, but rather
- Faatima/ hapeendi/ khsooma/ bał/ haandika.** ‘Fatiima does not like reading but rather writing.’
- bałaq** ideo. of being soft, loose
- Hamadi/ iboloye/ ha’isimami/ ni bałakh bałakh!** ‘Omari’s penis does not get an erection, it is flaccid, *bałakh bałakh!*’
- Omari/ maluungoye/ moloolo/ bałakh bałakh!** ‘Omari’s body is soft (he does not have muscles, he is flabby).’
- ku-balama** v. [Som. *ballan* v. DSI 40] (**bałamiile**) promise
- Jaama/ bałamile keendra.** ‘Jaama promised to go.’
- Mi/ sinakułiłiła/ nt^heendre/ mi/ nakułiłiła zombo za waawé/ bałamiiló/ kump^há.** ‘I am not crying over the dates, I am crying over the things that my father promised to give to me.’
- Waawe/ bałamile 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.’
- bałani** n. [Som. *ballan* n. "promise, appointment" DSI 40] promise, appointment
- Bałani/ laazimu/ khfulishoowa.** ‘A promise should be fulfilled.’ (A proverbial saying.)
- Iwaaliko/ bałani/ mi/ khupa/ usultaani/ kamaa we/ shkhaadira/ khtaambula/ maneenoya/ na maneno ya Ali/ pashpo kumuza muunt^hu.** ‘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].’
- khpa bałani** ‘to promise’ (a phrasal verb) or ‘to give a promise’
- Basi/ we/ mp^ha bałani/ kuwaa we/ chiława/ ka apa/ kunk^huumbuka/ ka moojó.** ‘So, you promise me that when you will leave from here, you will remember me to your master.’
- chibuku chaa mi/ nimpelo Nuurú/ bałani** ‘the book that I promised to Nuuru’ (This example shows that the secondary object **chibuuku** can be relativized on. The word **bałani**, however, is part of the phrasal verb *-pa bałani* and does not constitute a secondary object. Thus one cannot say: ***bałani yaa mi/ nimpelo Nuurú/ chibuukú** ‘the promise that I gave Nuuru a book’. It is worth noting that *-pa bałani* can mean ‘give a promise’ parallel to *-pa peesa* ‘give money’. In this usage, **bałani** could be relativized on: **Bałani yaa mi/ nimpelo Nuurú/ skukhaadira/ kiyoofisha.** ‘The promise that I gave Nuuru I was not able to carry out.’
- Laakini/ mwaana/ pele wazelewe/ bałani/ kuwaa mara/ ya isa/chiruuda/ bila ya dughaaghi/ yaa ye/ ni ki’imeeró/ hałakendra 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 bałani/ kuwaa we/ hutamwaambila/ muunt^hu/ yoyote/ kuwaa mi/ nenzele ka Ali.** ‘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.’ (The final accent on **bałani** 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. However, we have observed other examples involving the conditional *chi* tense. More research on this point is required.)

Mpele Nuuru/ bałani/ kooloka. ‘He gave Nuuru a promise (that he would go.’

Mp^hele bałani. ‘I gave a promise.’ (MI expressed some hesitancy whether to regard **bałani** as being an object to the verb that could be passivized: ?**Bałani/ ipela/ naami.** ‘A promise was given by me.’)

Nakhupa bałani/ kuwaa mi/ nt^h akhuleetela/ namayo/ paapa/ apa. ‘I promise to you that I will bring your meat to you right here.’ (The fact that the final accent in this example did not extend to the complement clause suggests that verb emphasis in a phrasal verb like *-pa bałani* is implemented by putting the phrasal break at the end of the phrase. But this phrasal break is vacuous in terms of phrasing since in any case *bałani* is at the end of a phrase. This demonstrates that it is not phrasing alone that identifies verb emphasis.)

Nimpele bałani/ Nuuru/ kumpa chibuukú. ‘I promised Nuuru to give him a book.’ (In this example, there is no internal focus and the final accent triggered by the main verb extends through the entire verb phrase. Cf. **Nimpele bałani/ Nuuru/ 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 the focused **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 fails to receive a final accent when **Nuuru** is focused: **Nimpele bałani/ Nuuru/ Muusa/ kumpa chibuuku.** ‘I promised *Nuuru* that Muusa would give him a book.)

Nimpele Nuuru/ bałani/ chibuukú. ‘I promised Nuuru a book.’ (Observe that **Nuuru** may be located between *-pa* and *bałani* without being focused. The absence of focus is shown by the final accent extending to the end of the verb phrase.)

Nimpele Nuuru/ bałani/ kooloká. ‘I gave Nuuru a promise to go.’ Or: **Nimpele bałani/ Nuuru/ kooloká.**

Suuyú/ myaana/ waa mi/ khpelo bałani/ khuleetela. ‘Here is the servant that I promised to bring to you.’

khpowa bałani ‘to be promised’

Nuuru/ pela bałani/ chibuuku/ naami. ‘Nuuru was promised a book by me.’ (Only **Nuuru** can be the passive subject. One cannot say: ***Chibuuku/ shpela bałani/ Nuuru.** ‘A book was promised to Nuuru.’ Nor: ***Chibuuku/ shpela bałani/ Nuuru.** Nor can **bałani** be the subject: ***Bałani/ ipela Nuuru/ chibuuku.** ‘A promise was given Nuuru a book.’ What is possible is “passive inversion”, a phenomenon where the subject is put in Immediately After the Verb position and a non-subject preposed: **Chibuuku/ pela Nuuru/ bałani/ naa mi.** ‘A book he was given Nuuru a promise by me.’ In this construction, **Nuuru** remains the subject, as shown by the null subject marking on the verb.)

khtomolaa bałani ‘to extend a promise’

kofisha bałani ‘to fulfill, keep a promise’

kuława bałaniini ‘to break [lit. withdraw] a promise’

kuvunda bałani ‘to break a promise’; also: **kuvundila bałani**

Omari/ lesele sababu/ ya wanaafakhi/ khpata kuvundila bałani. ‘Omari (lit.) brought false reason for breaking his appointment/promise.’

We/ vunzile bałani yitú. ‘You broke your promise.’

Omari/ nayo bałani/ taariikhi/ mweezi/ 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. **ballaṣ** 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-)baaldı** n. 5/6 [Som. **baaldı** DSI 33] metal bucket
ibaldı ya maayi ‘a water bucket’
ifiniko ya baaldı ‘a bucket cover’
ikono ya ibaaldı/ baaldı ‘a bucket handle’
- rel.
chi-baaldı (zi-) n. 7/8 dim. a small bucket
chibaldı cha iziwa ‘a small milk bucket’
ikono ya chibaaldı ‘handle of a small bucket used for carrying milk’
i-baaldı (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
mi-baaldı n. 4 aug.
- baldoosi** n. [Som. **baldoosar** Italian-Somali Dictionary, p. 89] bulldozer
variant form: **baldoozar** **check final vowel**
- i-balghamu (ma-)** n. 5/6 phlegm
- ku-baaligha** v. [Sw. **balehe** SSED 26; Ar.] (**balighiile**) reach the age of puberty
Balighiilopó/ 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
Kuła 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 aqili. ‘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 mułji. ‘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/ oloshela/ 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 Ali/ 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.’)

balikoone

n. balcony

Hamadi/ nuumbaye/ inayo balikoone/ nkbulu. [H!H!H!H] ‘Hamadi’s house has a large balcony.’ (We are at present a bit uncertain as to the proper characterization of the pitch drops in this example. There is a clear lowering of pitch across the sentence, but there is not the particularly radical drop usually seen at the juncture of a PP with the verb. We think this is a function of the nature of the pre-verbal expression **Hanadi/ nuumbaye**. More study is required. We have adopted an analysis where the drops are treated as a downstep pattern.)

Omari/ kalenthe balkoneeni. ‘Omari sat on the balcony.’

baalozi

n. embassy **review the 1**

Tafaðali/ nakhsula kendra ka baalozi/ wa Amerikanó. ‘Please, I need to go to the American Embassy.’

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 wataana. ‘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

hufakata/ 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/ nkbulú. ‘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^h ongelelee 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 variation 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 **mubli mbali**, but we were unable to identify precisely what is involved in the contrast. Our guess at the moment is that **mbali** has a sequence **m+b** when modifying a human noun or an animate noun treated as human, but a prenasalized **mb** otherwise. As a predicate adjective, **mbali** is always treated as a prenasalized stop.)

Chijini/ siwo/ lugha/ mbali. ‘Chijini is not a different language (from Chimiini).’

Haliima/ mkhiyansete mubliwe/ lele na mubli mbali. ‘Haliima cheated on her husband, she slept with another man.’ (Observe the phrase **mubli mbali** and not ***mublii mbali**.)

Ile kaa mbali. ‘He came from far away.’

Kila shpandra chaa nama/ chiweshela mbaliye. ‘Each piece of meat, he put separately.’

Kula mooyi/ hokomela mbaliye/ bishilo waant^hú/ naayé/ bishila/ boozeló/ tinzila mkono/ na ublelo waant^hú/ naayé/ ublela. ‘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’

Mubli 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 mbalmbali/ miilu/ mikono/ sharabu/ saraana/ iture/ shiingo/ naa nsó/ na ma’inyi/ 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. *balid* 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 mbaliidi ‘children who are slow learners’

baamiya n. 9/10 [Sw. *bania* 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.
Hutaloowa/ 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.’

Banaadiri n. [Sw. *banaderi* SSED 27] Benadir
chiguwo cha Banaadiri ‘Benadir cloth’
Waant^hu/ wa Banaadiri/ waleseja Ameerika/ mwaaka/ wa alfu/ na miya keendrá/ na tis’ina sitá. [H!H!HHH!H] ‘*Banaadiri* people were brought to America in 1996.’ (We have transcribed downstep between the head of the Associative Phrase and the AP itself. There is indisputably a

significant lowering of pitch in the recording of this example. One might argue with whether it should be regarded as downstep or declination. But we have usually resorted to the “declination” label when there a less significant drop. On the other hand, in the sequence of phrases constituting “year of 1996”, we observed no real lowering across the phrases until the final *na*-phrase.)

- bandari** n. 9/10 [Sw. *bandari* SSED 27; Pers.] port, harbor
bandari ya Mwiini ‘the port of Brava’
Jahazi/ iwasilile/ bandariini/ yana/ masku. [H’H!H!H!H] ‘The ship arrived at port last night.’ (The emphasis on the verb in this sentence accounts for why there is only declination between the subject and the verb, rather than the usual downstep at this juncture. On a phonetic note, the only Continuation High tone observed was the usual one at the end of the subject *jahazi*.)
ndegsha mi bandariini nt^homola 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; *bandera* 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/ haṭá/ uchisimikoowa/ maazi/ yaṭa(w)anyishiló. ‘Until Somaliya’s flag was raised (indicating independence), a lot of blood was shed.’
Bandeera/ ya Somaaliya/ inayo nota nt^haano. ‘Somalia’s flag has five stars.’
Bandeera/ ya Somaaliya/ ni bulú. ‘The Somai 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 nt^hiini. ‘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/ yaṭakuwola/ 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.’)
Mi/ nayo daliili/ kuwa Hamadi/ bozele bangi. I have evidence that Hamadi robbed the bank.
Nuzile gaari/ ka doṭoore/ ka pesa zaa mi/ nt^heto (ka) bangiini. ‘I bought the car from the doctor with money that I took from the bank.’
Pesa zaa mi/ nt^heto (ka) bangiini/ nulile gaari/ ka doṭooré. ‘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 ḍahabu ‘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/ khṭeza zibangu. ‘All he ever does is play **chibangu** [lit. his work is playing **chibangu**].’
Nakhṭeza chibangu. ‘He is playing **chibangu**.’
- [-baani** n. 11 [Sw. *ubani* SSED 485; Ar.] incense
Chiwozeló/ nt^hachiná/ lbaani. ‘That which is rotten has no incense.’ (A proverb.)
Mi/ nakendra chisimaani/ 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** n. [Som. *baniikol* Italian-Somali Dictionary, p. 431; from Ital. *pellicola*] film negative
confirm
- 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/ nakhubaanishe/ 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), outside; var. *ibana, ibenya* n. *ibid.*
Chiraasha/ chiraasha/ haṭa chiwona/ ruuhuye/ uko karka ibenya/ ikulu. ‘She followed [the opening] and followed until she found herself in a large open space.’
Huseeni/ simeme nuumba/ ibanyaani. ‘Huseeni stood outside the house.’ Or:
Nuumba/ isimema ibanyaani. ‘The house was stood outside it.’
Mi/ nk^hasizee nk^helé/ ibanyaani. ‘I heard shouting outside.’ (In GM’s speech, the first person nasal subject marker is omitted, as is the aspiration it induces, but the nasal class marker on *nk^helé* is retained.)
Mukṭaa we/ takuḷawo 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.’
Munṭ^hi uyu/ lapiilile/ wakulu/ na zihabá/ huḷawa ibana ya muuyi/ hendra kulangaḷa maṭezo 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.’
Mwaana/ fakete nuumba/ ibanyaani. ‘The boy ran out of the house.’ Or the passive:
Nuumba/ ifaketa ibanyaani. ‘The house was run out of it (to the outside).’

	<p>Naakula/ lazile ibanyaani/ ee/ mendrelelee mp^hana. ‘[The boy] cried and went outside, then he went to the rat.’</p> <p>Siwo/ amaani/ kuḷawa ibanyaani/ masku. ‘It is not safe to go out at night.’</p> <p>Sku ya piili/ muke/ kama oyo/ shtukula/ 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.’</p> <p>Ye/ nt^hampeenda/ mwana waa saba/ ka khisa/ ye/ fanyize miiko/ nuumbaye/ na nt^hachilawa/ 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.’</p>
banziina	<p>n. 9 gasoline, petrol</p> <p>Banzina iyi/ inakunuunk^ha. ‘This petrol is smelling.’</p> <p>Mwiini/ haṭá/ Mkhodiisho/ gaari/ huja/ banziina/ leetiri/ siṭiini. ‘From Miini to Mogadishu, a truck consumes sixty liters of petrol.’</p>
baqali	<p>n. 9/10 [Som.] raddish</p>
baaqi	<p>n. [Sw. <i>baki</i> SSED 25; Ar.] what remains, that which has no end</p> <p>baaqi bila khkoma wo pashpo adadi [st.] ‘eternal, without end, it is immeasurable [in terms of minutes, hours] [referring to the hereafter, aakhera]’</p> <p>hutaḷoowa teena baaqi ya waana [st.] ‘now we have to speak [lit. are to be taken] of the remaining children’</p> <p>wa chinume baaqi pashpo zawaali [st.] ‘the Everlasting who will never disappear’ (a description of God)</p>
baqsha	<p>n. 9/10 envelope; [pron. bakhsha or baqsha]</p> <p>Bakhsha iyi/ ipeta ndilaani. ‘This envelope was found on the road.’</p> <p>Bakhsha izi/ speta ndilaani. ‘These envelopes were found on the road.’</p> <p>kambisa bakhsha ‘to glue an envelope shut’</p> <p>khfunga bakhsha ‘to close, seal an envelope’</p> <p>Uzile bakhsha. ‘He bought an envelope.’</p> <p>rel.</p> <p>chi-baqsha (zi-) n. dim. 7/8 small envelope</p> <p>i-baqsha (mi-) n. aug. 5/4 large envelope</p>
baaquli	<p>n. 9/10 [Sw. <i>bakuli</i> SSED 25; Ar.] basin, bowl; [pron. baaquli or baakhuli]</p> <p>baquli ya iziwa ‘a metal milk container’</p> <p>baquli ya maayi ‘a metal water container’</p>
ku-baara	<p>v. (bariile) have no value (in the market, of s.t. that does not sell, e.g. food that is diseased or otherwise cannot attract buyers)</p> <p>Leelo/ sukhuuni/ mazu/ tyanakubiga lpepo/ nt^hakunakuuló/ yabariile. ‘Today at the market bananas are (lit. hitting breeze) not selling, no one is buying, they have no value (cannot attract buyers).’</p>
baraabara	<p>adj. and adv. [Sw. <i>barabara</i> SSED 28; Pers.] just as it should be, exact, quite right, OK</p> <p>Chikhambila lila/ Omari/ siwo/ baraabara/ kazi iyi. ‘If I tell you the truth, Omari is not good, right for this job.’</p> <p>Fanyize kaazi/ baraabara. ‘She did the work just right.’</p> <p>Mi/ chizaa kuja/ siwi/ baraabara. ‘If I do not eat, I get into a bad mood (lit. I am not right, as I should be)’</p> <p>Muunt^hu/ shfanya chiint^hu/ sansa khfikira/ siwo/ baraabara. ‘If someone does something without thinking it is not right/good.’</p> <p>Omari/ hufanya kaazi/ baraabara. ‘Omari does the work well.’</p> <p>Ye/ ni munt^hu baraabara. ‘He is a man just right, just as he should be.’</p>
barafu	<p>n. 9 [Sw. <i>barafu</i> SSED 29 Port.] ice, snow</p>

- 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 ziitú/ zilelo nt^hini ya barafú ‘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’
khtomola 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/ sh^ta’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.’
(The particle **ba** is emphasized and thus it is not lowered in pitch relative to the negative verb that precedes it.)
Sibaaramé. ‘Don’t talk!’
rel.
ku-baramila v. appl. talk for, with
ku-baramisha v. caus. (**baramishiize**) talk to someone; seduce or court a woman
Awaje/ ndiwó/ wana waa mi/ niwabaramishiizó. ‘Those ones are the children whom I talked to.’
Mbaramishiize. ‘He talked to me.’ Cf. **Mbaramishiize.** ‘He talked to him.’ (Our orthography fails to indicate that these two forms are distinct from one another. The first person singular object marker forms a pre-nasalized consonant with the stem, thus effectively becoming a single consonant. The [cl.1] OM does not form a prenasalized stop, counting as a sequence of two consonants.
Mi/ nnakhsuulá/ we/ keendra/ kumbaramisha sarmala/ kendra khtindaa muti/ uje/ khtomola sh^tolokocha/ chimooyi/ chint^haaliló. ‘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.’ (Note the absence of an overt subject prefix on **chint^haaliló**; one would expect *u-* given that **muti** is the subject.)
Uje/ ndiyé/ mwanawaa mi/ nimbaramishiizó. ‘That one is the child whom

I talked to.'

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

chimmona Mooje chibaramishoowa/ Mooje chimwaambila suula

takhpoowa [st.] 'he saw his God, who spoke to him; God told him:
Whatever you want, you will be given'

Rooða/ 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-baraṭa

v. [Som. *baro*] (**bareṭe**) learn, study, get used to

Ali/ bareṭe khur'aani/ ka kaamu. 'Ali learned the Quran by heart.'

Baraṭa aada. 'Learn the customs.'

Chibarṭa khpokela/ baraṭa khtomola. 'If you (wish to) learn to receive, learn to give.' (A proverb.)

Si/ chibareṭe chisuwaahili/ skolaani. 'We studied Swahili at school.'

**Chimsoomesha/ oyo mwaana/ numa/ teena/ maamaye/ chimsoomesha/
chibarṭa qur'aani/ chibarṭo/ 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...kiḷa/ mooyi/ muyiini/ bareṭe/ majibu ya Ali. 'Until it came
to be that each one in the town learned Ali's answer.'

Hupeendi/ kubarṭa. 'You do not want to learn.'

Laakini/ nt^hakubarṭa/ chiint^hu. 'But he did not learn anything.'

Mi/ mbareṭe jisa hukodowa chingereenzá. 'I learned how to speak English.'

Mi/ mbareṭé/ ka khibra/ kuwa Omari/ siwo/ wa kaminoowa. 'I have learned from
experience that Omar is not to be trusted.'

**Mi/ mbareṭé/ ka khkoða na Abú/ kuwaa ye/ nt^hachiiwa/ ismu/ ya chiint^hu/
ṭarafu ya jawabu iyi.** 'I learned from talking with Abu that he knew nothing
about this matter.'

Mi/ mbareṭé/ khkoða wanaafakhi/ ha'ikhukomezi/ mahaḷa. 'I have learned that
lying gets one nowhere.'

Mi/ mbareṭe niingi/ ka Omari. 'I learned a lot from Omari.'

Mi/ nakhsuḷa kubarṭa chingereenzá. 'I want to learn English.'

Mukhtaá we/ iló/ mi/ liini/ nch^hibarṭó. 'When you came I was not studying.'

Muunt^hu/ 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.'

Mwaana/ bareṭe kiineendra. '(My) baby has learned to walk.'

Mwaanawo/ naayé/ takubarṭa ka khulangḷaa we. 'Your child will also learn from
watching you.'

Naayé/ mwaana/ bareṭe/ apo. 'And the boy had gotten used to [being there at] that
place.'

Omari/ nt^haasá/ nakhtaḷaja kubarṭa niingi/ kuwa munt^hu mzima. 'Omari still
has much to learn about being an adult.'

We/ hubarṭa ka kulangḷa na khkasá. 'You learn by watching and listening.'

We/ **laazimu/ kubarata kulanga ruuhuyo.** ‘You must learn to take care of yourself.’

We/ **umriwo/ hubarati.** ‘You’ll never learn.’

Ye/ **tahajile kubarata chingereenza.** ‘She needed to learn English.’
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’iyo/ si/ shakuwona/ miyi miingi/ miingine/ shakubaratana/ na waant^hu/ wiingine/ wiingi. ‘That way we will see many other towns and get to know many other people.’

Karka habaasa/ Yuusufu/ chibaratana/ na waant^hu/ wawili. ‘In prison, Joseph became acquainted with two people.’

kubaratana na waanawa ‘to get acquainted with my children’

Mweenza/ siwo/ mbovu/ naami/ nakhsuulá/ kubaratana/ 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).’

N^haaasá/ skupata/ kubaratana naaye/ jisa suura. ‘I have not yet gotten well acquainted with him.’

ku-baratika v. be learnt

Chimwiini/ hachibaratici. ‘Chimwiini can’t be learned.’

Chimwiini/ siwo/ sahali/ kubaratika. ‘Chimwiini is not easy to learn.’

Jeeli/ habarati/ ka ghaltaze. ‘Jeeli does not learn from his mistakes.’

ku-baratila v. appl. learn for

Ndila/ suura/ nt^ho/ kubarata/ ni kubaratila ruuhuyo. ‘The best way to learn is to learn for yourself.’

ku-barsha v. caus. (**barshiize**) teach, train; become accustomed to, used to; introduce s.o. to s.o.

kachiwa waalimú/ suła 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/ suła khubarsha.**)

kubarsha ruuhu ‘to teach oneself’

kubarsha adabu ‘to punish s.o. (thereby teaching him correct behavior)’

kubarsha za mwanaamke/ husulowa kiiwá ‘to teach her what a girl is required to know’

Mlete muunt^hu/ 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/ naank^ho/ keesho/ mlete. ‘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 Ali/ mweenzawá. ‘I introduced Ali to my friend.’

Omari/ kawabarsha waaná/ chingereenza ‘if Omari had taught the children English’ or, with verb emphasis: **Omari kawabarshá/ waana/ chingereenza**, where the Accentual Law of Focus accounts for the failure of final accent to extend past the verb (GM accepts also: **Omari kawabarshá/ waana/ chingereenza**, but it remains unclear how precisely to account for the final accent in the last phrase but not the preceding phrase.)

Omari/ mbarshize mwaana/ bilaa msaa'ada. 'Omari taught without help.'
waana/ kawabarsha chingereenzá/ Omari 'the children, if he had taught them English, Omari.' (Observe that the postposed subject is not within the scope of the final-accent triggered by the *ka*-tense verb. It should be noted that the verb may also be emphasized: **waana/ kawabarshá/ chingereenza/Omari**, where ALF explains the failure of *chingereenza* to exhibit final accent. Possibly of some importance is the fact that GM accepted a variant form: **waana/ kawabarshá/ chingereenza/ Omari**. What we know with some certainty here is that the final accent on the postposed subject cannot be due to the final accent-trigger *ka*-tense verb. Nevertheless, the final accent on the final phrase of the sentence does recall the example discussed above. If there is indeed a connection, then we could conclude with some certainty that such accent shifts do not simply reflect a failure of ALF to be implemented.)

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^hu 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.'

Baraawa

n. Brava, *Mwiini*

Kana/ baraawa/ ma leh. 'As if it is not available in Brava.' (A Somali saying that is commonly used when speaking Chimiini.)

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.'

Chinemaani/ mi/ shkasa bardi/ skuvaala/ jaaka. 'At the cinema I felt cold, I did not wear a jacket.'

khshikowa bardi 'to feel cold -- (lit.) to be caught by cold'

Hamadi/ nakuhada xáax/ apa/ bardi/ shiishilá. '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/ bishila na bardi. 'Hamadi is cold -- [lit.] hit by the cold.'

kuhisa bardi 'to feel cold'

	<p>kuwona bardi ‘to feel cold’</p> <p>Haliima/ nt^hakuwaveesha/ waanawe/ kooti/ ziyaraani/ wanakuwona bardi. ‘Haliima did not make her children wear coats at the religious ceremony, they are feeling cold.’</p> <p>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.’</p> <p>Ni bardi. ‘It is cold.’</p>
-bardi	<p>adj. cold, slow-moving; (of people) cold -- said of a person who does not show emotion, anger, arrogance</p> <p>-bardi/ kana (/ kama/ kamba) barafu ‘as cold as ice’</p> <p>Mayi aya/ ^fmabardi/ kana/ barafu. ‘This water is as cold as ice.’</p> <p>-bardi/ kana mayti ‘as cold as a corpse’</p> <p>chint^hu chibardi ‘something cold’</p> <p>mayi mabardi ‘cold water’</p> <p>Ni wabardi. ‘They are cold, slow-moving.’</p> <p>Wangereenza/ ni mabardi/ laakini/ matalyaani/ ni wakali. ‘English people are “cold” but Italians are hot tempered.’\</p> <p>zint^hu zibardii nt^o ‘very cold things’</p> <p>rel.</p> <p>u-bardi n. 14 coolness, coldness</p>
ku-bardika	<p>v. be cooled</p> <p>rel.</p> <p>ku-bardisha v. caus. (bardishiize) cool something or someone (e.g. by applying a cooling ointment)</p> <p>rel. nom.</p> <p>ma-bardisho n. 6 refreshment</p>
bareela	<p>n. [Ital. barella “stretcher”] the full load of a cart (driven by a camel) with stones or coral rag</p> <p>variant form: barla</p>
barfango	<p>n. 9/10 [Ital. parafango] mudguard, bumper</p> <p>barfango ya gaari ‘the bumper of a car’</p> <p>barfango yaa mbele ‘front bumper’</p> <p>barfango yaa numa ‘rear bumper’</p> <p>barfango za gaari ‘the bumpers of a car’</p>
barfuuji	<p>in the expression:</p> <p>musmari wa barfuuji ‘screw’</p>
bari	<p>n. 9 [Sw. bara SSED 28; Ar.] land (as opposed to sea)</p> <p>variant form: bara</p> <p>bara ya suwaahili ‘the Swahili coast’</p> <p>ka(a) bari/ na bahari ‘from land and sea’</p>
baari	<p>adj. obedient, nice</p>
barii’u	<p>invar. adj. innocent</p> <p>munt^hu barii’u ‘innocent man’ (cf. want^hu barii’u ‘innocent people’)</p> <p>Ye/ ni barii’u/ na ðambi/ izo. ‘He is innocent of those crimes.’</p>
bariida	<p>[Som. bariidi "to ask if s.o. spent the night peacefully" DSI 46] a morning greeting (plural barideena); see barsamá for the obligatory response</p>
ku-baarika	<p>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.)</p>

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.

liwaani yaawo ni nkʰulu/ janna kubarikiḷoowa [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**

Mwajiitu/ mbarikiḷiile 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 (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 muntʰu 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 mpʰana/ 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 sultaani/ hubarizó/ skomeelopó/ waziiri/ chilawa/ chendra ka sultaani/ 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 tambú. ‘They were settled down comfortably chewing tambu.’

rel.

ku-barizila v. appl. (**bariziile**)

barka

n. [cf. *baraka*] blessings

hatta waako zolokooni/ barka watakhpoowa [st.] ‘even those watching from the windows will receive this blessing’

Maali/ ya kuboala/ ntʰayaná/ barka. ‘Wealth/money that has been stolen does not have blessings.’ (A proverb.)

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

Ramaḏaani/ ni mwezi wa barka ‘Ramadhan is the month of blessings.’

barkhuumbo

n.

barlamaani

n. parliament

Waantʰu/ karka Landrani/ leelo/ washuhudiḷiile/ haadithi/ nkʰulu/ karka sa’aa ne/ za muuntʰi/ 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.’

<i>barmiili</i> (<i>Ø, ma-</i>)	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.’
<i>baaro</i>	n. 9 mold baro iyi ‘this mold’
<i>baruwa</i>	n. 9/10 summons rel. <i>chi-baruwa</i> (<i>zi-</i>) n. 7/8 summons khtinda chibaruwa ‘to appeal’ khtala chibaruwa ‘to appeal’ Hasani/ mahkamaani/ hokomeja habaasa/ miyaka ikumi/ tete chibaruwa. ‘Hasani at the court has been sentenced to ten years in prison, he has appealed (this sentence).’
<i>chi-barwa</i> (<i>zi-</i>)	n. 7/8 a worker who is paid at the end of each day for the work that he has performed that day 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’
<i>barwaakhi</i>	n. [Som. <i>barwaaqo</i>] 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 nṭhi/ inayo barwaakhi. ‘It is a land that has prosperity.’ Nii nṭhi/ yenye barwaakhi. ‘It is a land that is prosperous.’ Wa’ishiize/ ka 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 maghhaniye hayraagi/ hudhakha kubarsishoowa [sṭ.] ‘his protection comes swiftly and is immediately felt’
<i>baruudi</i> that	n. [Sw. <i>baruti</i> "gunpowder" SSED 30; Turkish] bomb, firecracker, anything explodes with a loud noise (in everyday speech, baruudi is used to mean firecracker) baruudi yaawo Mooja fanya maayi [sṭ.] ‘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: unapiishe woowo mulo waawo ‘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 haaḍiri/ apó. ‘When he went to the royal parlor, he gave them the news, the ministers, the nobility, and anyone who was present there.’

	<p>Numbaani/ iwaliko barza/ nk'bulu. 'In the house there was a large reception room.'</p> <p>Sa'iidi/ chilawa/ cheendra/ karkaa nt'hi/ ya mayahuudi/ chendra barzaani/ ka sul'taani/ 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.'</p> <p>Sul'taani/ na waant'ú/ 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.'</p> <p>Wanaa nt'hi/ wampele ra'iisi/ zawaadize/ barzaani. 'The citizens gave the president his gifts at the courthouse.'</p>
<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>	n. good sense; "horse" sense; practical wisdom, commonsense; quickness at solving problems basaraye 'his or her commonsense' basara zaawo 'their commonsense' khfanya basara 'to use one's wits' Fanyize basara/ zaa ye/ kulawila habasaani. 'He used his wits to get out of prison.' khtumila basara 'to use one's common sense' mwenye basara 'someone having commonsense' Nazo fahamu/ na basará. 'He has understanding and talent.' Nt'aná/ basara. 'He does not have common sense.'
<i>basbaasi</i>	n. [Som. <i>basbaas</i> DSI 49] hot pepper mkali/ kana basbaasi 'sharp, hot like hot pepper, chillies'
<i>bash</i>	ideo. of glass object breaking; of slapping Haliima/ chisiinga/ chimpoteele/ chivundishile/ bash! 'Haliima, a plate fell from her (hands) and broke, <i>bash!</i> ' Omari/ mtile m'waanawe/ ma'ipi/ bash bash! kumrudilaa limi. 'Omari slapped his son <i>bash bash!</i> for talking back to him.'
<i>ku-bashaalata</i>	v. [Som. <i>baashaal</i> "to neglect"] (bashaleete) "kill" time, entertain time.' Oloshale ka jiraaniye/ kubashaalata. 'He went to his neighbor's to pass time.'
	rel. <i>ku-bashalatabashaalata</i> v. freq. Hukalan'tha apo/ hubashalatabashaalata. 'He sits there, entertaining himself.'
	<i>ku-bashaalisha</i> v. caus. (bashalishiize) entertain with talk
<i>baashaali</i>	adj. someone who does not do anything; n. fun Mi/ takuwa wanafakhoole/ kanaa mi/ chi'ink'hira/ kuwaa si/ chiwanayo baashaali/ niingi. 'I would be a liar if I denied that we had a lot of fun.' munt'hu baashaali 'a person who does not do anything' munt'hu bashali uyu 'this person who does not do anything'

- bashaashi** (*Ø, ma-*) adj. cheerful, smiling
Ni munt^u bashaashi. ‘He is a cheerful person.’
- 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-bashiriioowa v. appl. pass. **(bashiriiliila)**
ka Nabii’i Mokhtaari/ kheeri kubashiriioowa [st.] ‘near the Prophet, the Chosen One/ may he receive eternal happiness’
khfuraha/ kana bashiriiliila janná ‘to be as happy as if one has been announced for heaven (i.e. as if it has been announced that one is going to heaven)’
- basi** conj. [Sw. *bas(i)* SSED 30] (i) and so (in narration), well, therefore; (ii) just; (iii) enough, stop!
- (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/ wamtiinziló. ‘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^a balani/ kuwaa we/ chilawa/ ka apa/ kunkuumbuka/ ka moojó. ‘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 sikaambili basi** [song] ‘I am looking at you and I will never say” enough!’
- basi** n. bus
Mi/ ndrinzile basi/ kulawá. ‘I waited for the bus to leave.’
Naani/ hendro skolaani/ ka basi. [H!H!H] ‘Who goes to school by bus?’
- baasi** in the expression: **kubiga baasi** ‘to make trouble, to look for trouble’
Ali/ hupeenda/ kilaa jawaabu/ kubiga baasi. ‘Ali likes to make trouble over everything.’
Sheekhi/ mwaanawe/ leelo/ bishile baasi/ iize/ kendra chiwooni. ‘Sheekhi, his child today made trouble, he refused to go to religious school.’
- baaskiili** n. bicycle
Abu/ bareṭe jisa hinezowa baaskiili/ leelo. ‘Abu learned to ride a bicycle today.’
Ba’adi ya Osmaani/ khtomola kulu itumbishiló/ baaskiili/ tilee mp^hiya. ‘After Osmaani took off the flat (lit. punctured) tire, he put on a new one.’
Mi/ nkhashifile kuwa Omarí/ bozele baaskiiliyá. ‘I discovered that Omari had stolen my bicycle.’
Olokelele suhuuni/ baaskiili. ‘He went to the market on a bicycle.’

- Ye/ uzile baaskiili/ tu.** [HH!H] ‘He bought only a bicycle.’
- baskuuti** n. 9/10,6 [Eng. *biscuit*, Ital. *biscotto*] cookie
Siná/ unga wa khfanyiliza baskuuti. ‘I do not have flour to make cookies with.’
- basmentē** n. basement
Omari/ lesele makiina/ kuvutila maayi/ ya’ingilo basmentēni/ ka Haaji/ numbaani. ‘Omari brought a machine to extract the water that had entered the basement of Haaji’s house.’
- bastēena** after that (from **baasi** plus **teena**)
Teena/ bastēena/ oyo (or: **oo**) **mwaana/ shkalaant^ha/ tu.** ‘Then, after that, that boy just sat down.’ (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’
- baṭaata** (Ø, ma-) n. 9/10,6 [Ital. *patata*, Som. *bataato*] sweet potato
baṭata ladda ‘sweet potato’
baṭata mooyi ‘one potato’
baṭata za chizuungu ‘white man’s potatoes’
baṭata za wilaaya ‘white man’s potatoes’
Baayá/ tete baṭaata/ jiile. ‘My older sister took the potato and ate it.’
Cheendra/ shtinda baṭata mooyi. ‘She went and cut off one potato.’
Illa/ mi/ nakhsula baṭaata. ‘I do not wanting anything but potatoes.’
rel.
chi-baṭaata (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.
i-baṭaata (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
- baṭeera** (Ø, ma-) n. 9/10,6 [Sw. *batela* SSED 31; Port. or Hindi] boat
Baṭeera/ izamiile. ‘The boat has sunk.’
baṭera ya chaano ‘a type of boat in which the stern is large and flat (cf. **chaano** ‘a large dish or tray’)’
khfanya baṭeera ‘to repair a boat’
kulunga baṭeera ‘to build a boat’
Makasiya/ ya baṭeera/ yavundishile. ‘The oars of the boat are broken.’
Wagarwa/ hupataa nsi/ ka baṭeera. ‘Fishermen catch fish with boats.’
Woowo/ omo baṭera mooyi. ‘They are in one boat (i.e. they are in the same situation, or share the same beliefs, etc.).’
rel.
chi-baṭeera (zi-) n. 7/8 dim. boat
chibaṭera chibeeló ‘about that was lost’; **zibaṭera zibeeló** ‘boats that were lost’
chibaṭera chihaba ‘a small boat’; **zibaṭera zihaba** ‘small boats’
chibaṭera chimooyi ‘one boat’; **zibaṭera ziwili** ‘two boats’
Haliima/ fanyize zinanaande/ kana zibaṭeera. ‘Haliima made **zinanaande** (that look) like small boats.’
Laakini/ kuḷa muunt^hi/ chimalizá/ kishkiza nsiize/ ka chibaṭeraani/ 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 chibaṭeeraché/ chiyeloo nsi/ noo’i/ ka noo’i. ‘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/ chibaṭeera/ 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.’

Zibaṭeera/ hasfilaṭiloowi/ kuḷawa salaama. ‘Little boats are not expected to escape safely.’

i-baṭeera (mi-) n. 5/4 aug. boat

ibaṭera imooyi ‘one boat’; **mibaṭera miwili** ‘two boats’

ibaṭeraa yile ‘a long boat’

Ijiṭaye/ yile/ kana ibaṭeera. ‘His head is long like a boat.’

mibaṭeraa mile ‘long boats’

baṭi (Ø, ma-)

n. 9/10,6 [Sw. *baṭi* SSED 31; Ar. or Hindi] corrugated, galvanized iron used as roofing for houses

ku-baṭila

v. [Sw. *baṭili* SSED 31; Ar.] (**baṭiliile**) 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 uuḏu ‘to nullify an ablution’

kuḷa ibaada ya suna kubaṭila [st.] ‘every act of worship of a non-obligatory sort can be 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.

Want^hu awa/ wabaṭishilizenyee sala. ‘These men caused each other’s prayers to be invalid.’

u-baaṭili
31] fault

n. 14 [Sw. *ubatili* “nullity, emptiness, vanity, futility, uselessness, falseness” SSED

ka ubaaṭili ‘with no reason’

Ni/ nnakunvunanga ka ubaaṭili/ 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 ubaaṭili. ‘He insulted me for no reason.’

rel.

baaṭili 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

Munt^hu uyu/ salaye/ baaṭili. ‘This man’s prayer is invalid.’

ya baaṭili ilaṭeeni/ ndilaye hupoteḷoowa [st.] ‘reject deception and lies, which lead to eternal damnation’

ya nafsi sooma ilmu chiiza baaṭili/ sala ya jaahili ṣtoṣhe 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'

baatini 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

Baatiniye/ siwo/ suura. 'His inner thoughts are not good.'

Want'u awa/ baatini zaawo/ mbovu. 'These people, their inner thoughts are bad.'

baatiriya n. battery

Gaariya/ leelo/ fijiri/ yiize/ koondroka/ chuquu quuk!/ baatiriya/ da'iifu. 'My car this morning did not start, *chuquu quuk!* the battery is weak.'

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

Mtala 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 maana/ mbavu/ kumtukuza mijombo ayo. 'You are breaking the child's ribs by loading him with those things.'

baw ideo.

Mukhta si/ shkomelo numbaani/ ye/ ofeete/ ilatile ijuuniya/ ya stuungulu/ nti/ baw! 'When we arrived home, he was tired, he threw the sack of onions on the ground *baw!*'

l-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.'

Huuluka/ bilaa mbawa. 'It flies without feathers.' (A riddle, the answer to which is **ariplaano** 'airplane'.)

kubiga lbawa 'to die'

Saalimu/ bishile lbawa. 'Saalimu died [lit. hit the wing].'

lbawala 'my feather'; **mbawaza** 'my feathers'

Nyunyi/ bilaa mbawa/ ha'uluki. 'A bird without feathers does not fly.' (A proverb.)

rel.

chi-bawa (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

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'u/ 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/ milangooni. 'When that day arrived, the old woman went to the door-keepers who were guarding the doors.'

Wamwenopo chizele ichó/ mabawaabu/ wachuuzá/ we/ naani. 'When they saw that old woman, the door-keepers asked: who are you?'

bawaasiri n. 9 [Sw. *bawasiri* SSED 32] piles, hemorrhoids

Ali/ waawaye/atila bawaasiri/ rihi/ nthamjawa/ skuu nthatu/ haṭá/ dakhtari/ chiwejelwelaṭa. ‘Ali’s father was operated on for hemorrhoids, gas did not come out of him for three days, even the doctor got worried.’

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 baṭaṭa/ 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’
Baayazá/ ismu/ ya muunṭhu/ skumwaambila/ yaa ni/ fanyiizó. ‘My elder sisters, I haven’t told anyone what you did.’ Or: **Baayazá/ yaa ni/ fanyiizó/ ismu/ ya muunṭhu/ skumwaambila.**
Baayazá/ ṭafaḏaali/ ḷawa naami/ shiriini. ‘My elder sisters, please come with me to the meeting.’
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.’
Mi/ hupeenda/ we/ kudirkamana baayaza/ watatu. ‘I would like you to meet my three elder sisters.’
Moomo/ peenzele/ kuwanayo baayé. ‘Moomo (a girl) wishes she had an elder sister.’
Munḡaza/ na baayazá/ wa’oloshihe kulangala matezo. ‘My younger and older sisters went to watch games.’
muunṭhu/ na baaye ‘and person and her older sister’
Mwanamke chihabba/ 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 mutooni/ 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 zontḡe/ ni mbovu bayaana ḷaṭaani wontḡe [st.] ‘pride is the root of all discord, it is manifestly wrong: all of you should abandon it’
munṭhu bayaana ‘a clear person’ (cf. **wanṭhu bayaana**, but **chijana chibayaana, zijana zibayaana**, etc.)
na karaama ziitu ziweena bayaana [nt.] ‘and our miraculous delivery became clear’
ni suna we ḷawaanganya 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

	<p>Nuuru/ bayinile kooðize. ‘Nuuru made clear what he said [lit. his words].’</p> <p>rel.</p> <p><i>ku-bayinika</i> v. intr. (-bayinishile) be clear, be manifest, be plainly shown</p> <p>Ibayinishile kuwa Siimba/ nt^hakuboola/ chibuuku. ‘It was evident that Siimba did not steal the book.’</p> <p>Kuwa Siimba/ bozele chibuuku/ ibayinishile. ‘That Siimba stole the book was evident.’</p> <p><i>ku-bayinikila</i> v. intr. appl. (-bayinikiliile) be clear to</p> <p>Mwaalimu/ imbayinikiliile/ kuwa Sa’iidi/ mkhiyanseeete. ‘It became clear to the teacher that Sa’iidi had cheated him.’</p> <p>Siimba/ kboolake/ peesa/ iwabayinikilile waant^hu/ mahkamaani.</p> <p>‘Siimba’s having stolen the money became evident to people in court.’</p> <p><i>ku-bayinila</i> v. appl. (bayiniliile)</p> <p><i>ku-bayinisha</i> v. caus.</p> <p><i>ku-bayinishika</i> v. caus. p/s.</p> <p><i>ku-bayinishiliza</i> v. caus. appl.</p> <p><i>ku-bayinishilizanya</i> v. caus. appl. rec.</p> <p>rel. nom.</p> <p><i>m-bayina</i> (<i>wa-</i>) n. 1/2 one who makes clear</p>
bayini	adj. clear
bayna ya	<p>prep. [Sw. <i>baina ya</i> SSED 25] between, among</p> <p>variant form: benaa</p> <p>Msaafa/ benaa Mkhodiisho/ na Mwiini/ ni kilometri 200. ‘The distance between Mogadishu and Brava is 200 kilometers.’</p>
baazara	<p>n. a kind of rice (presumably <i>bagara</i> rice from India)</p> <p>mpunga wa baazara ‘a kind of rice’</p>
baazi	<p>n. ??</p> <p>Lasile kaazi/ lasile baazi/ kullasku/ nakhsasa. ‘He abandoned working, he abandoned caring about life, every day he grew thinner’</p> <p>Nt^haná/ kaazi/ nt^haná/ baazi. ‘He has no job whatsoever; he has no job and no income.’</p>
m-baazi	<p>n. ambergris (which is eaten in the belief that it will protect one from cold weather)</p> <p>khfuraha/ kana peto mbaazi ‘as happy as one who has found mbaazi (produced by sperm whales and considered valuable)’</p> <p>kumeera/ kana mbaazi ‘to search hard for s.t., as one searches for mbaazi’</p>
be	<p>n. [Sw. <i>beberu</i> SSED 32; Hindi] in the phrase:</p> <p>mbuzi yaa be ‘goat’</p>
be’i	<p>n. 9/10 price, cost, value</p> <p>Be’i gani. ‘What’s the price?’</p> <p>kubigaa be’i ‘to make a bargain’</p> <p>Na kila shpaandré/ chaa namá/ chaa ye/ weesheló/ weshele be’iye. ‘And each piece of meat that he placed, he put its price.’</p>
m-beebe (mi-)	<p>n. 3/4 fire</p> <p>Tomele amri/ kuwa nt^haku/ rukhsa/ karka muuyiwe/ kashoowa/ mibeebe/ yaa muḷo. ‘He issued an order that there was no permission in the town for fires to be lit.’</p> <p>rel.</p> <p>beebe</p> <p>-muḷo/ kana beebe ‘lit. as hot as a bonfire (extremely hot, said of things)</p> <p>Numbaani/ ka Omari/ imuḷo/ kana beebe/ inakuḷawa yifke. ‘At</p>

Omari's hoise, it is hot like a flaming fire, there is heat going out.'

i-beebe (*mi-* or *ma-*) n. a large fire made for warmth or to keep animals away
ibebe yaa muḷo 'a fire'; **mibebe yaa muḷo** '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.'

-beele

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/ wote. 'Baazi came before (in time) any of/ all the children.'

Chilee mbelé. 'We came earlier.'

Chiṭa chuumu/ haapiti/ 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/ nakhsuḷa 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.'

mbele ya zont^he 'first of all'

Mbele ya zont^he/ ni muhimu/ khsooma/ jisa khpita imṭihaani. 'First of all, it is important to study in order to pass an exam.' (**Jisa** may be omitted or replaced by **khpata** and the meaning will remain the same.)

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).'

Mub^hji/ chendra ka chizeele/ mbele. 'The husband went to the old woman first (before doing something else).'

mwana waa mi/ nsimemo mbeleýé '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 Nuurú. ‘I left the house before Nuuru.’
(Cf. **Lazole (ka) numbaani/ mbele ya Nuuru.** ‘He left the house before Nuuru.’)

Ndrazole (ka) numbaani/ mbele ya Nuurú/ kulawá. ‘I left the house before Nuuru left (lit. to leave).’ Or: **Ndrazole (ka) numbaani/ mbele ya Nuurú/ kuwa lazilé.** ‘I left the house before Nuuru left.’

ngombe zaa mi/ nsimemo mbelezé ‘the cattle that I stood in front of’

Ni ‘aadi/ kuzowa khpowa peesa/ mbele. ‘It is common to ask for payment in advance.’

Nile mbele ya Nuurú. ‘I came before Nuuru.’

Nile mbeleýé. ‘I came before him.’

Nimweshelee mbelé. ‘I placed him in front.’

Nnakhsuḷa khsomaa mbelé. ‘I want to be the first to read.’

Nnakhsuḷa 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 mbeleýé** ‘the child that I stood in front of’

Nsimeme mbele ya nuumbá. ‘I stood in front of the house.’ Cf. **numba yaa mi/ nsimemo mbeleýé** ‘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 kiḷa 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/ zondroshelee zita/ bena sultaani/ uyu/ na sultaani/ jiraaniýé. ‘After a little while, war broke out between the sultan and his sultan

neighbor.’

Mukewe mgarwa/ chiruda numbaani/ chimweleza muḷjive/ ijé/ itulushiló/ benaa ye/ na sultaani. ‘The fisherman’s wife returned home and explained to her husband what had happened between her and the sultan.’

Sultaani/ hafaanyi/ farkhí/ bena taajiri/ 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/ rakhiisí. ‘(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!'
Siberbeerate. 'Don't go around aimlessly!' **Siberberateeni.** '(Pl.) don't go around aimlessly!'
- rel.
ku-berberisha v. caus. cause to go around aimlessly
We/ berberishiize/ tu/ fanyiizeni. '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 Gaawo/ waberberishilizenye waana. 'Khaadara and Gaawo caused one another's children to go around aimlessly.'
- berbeeri* (*Ø,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**)
- besmentji* n. basement
Besmentjini/ ka Ali/ numbaani/ nthamu/ chooloko/ kingilaa hawa/ humfanya muunt^hu/ umbukhu. 'In the basement of Ali's house there is no window for air to enter, it makes one feel suffocated.'
- beeji* n. 9/10 verse, stanza
Hafida beji 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 khishkiza. '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 ndriimu/ malada. 'Sweet lemonade was sold at Habiibi Chita's drink shop.'
Hamadi/ dukaye/ huzowa biibita/ suura. 'At Hamadi's shop, good drinks are sold.'
Hamadi/ nayo biibita. 'Hamadi had a drink shop.'
Nele maya (y)a ndriimu/ bibitaani/ ka Habiibi/ (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**
ibibo iwiti ‘unripe cashew’; **mabibo mawiti** ‘unripe cashews’
- Bida** n. the two Bravanese clans: **Wakohaatiimu** and **Raa Waali**, taken together
- bidii** n. 9 effort
Bidi’iye/ nt^haykiinfa/ chiint^hu. ‘His effort was of no use.’
khfanya bidii’i ‘to make an effort’
Nt^haná/ bidii’i. ‘He makes no effort.’
- biāaa’a** place) n. 9/10 goods, merchandise (carried on a vessel or vehicle to take to be sold at another place)
Apo/ ye/ chuuzā/ biāaa’aze/ ka faayda. ‘There he sold his goods for profit.’
Markabu/ zotte/ shchipakiḷoowa/ biāaa’a/ za lamna ka lamna. ‘The ships were loaded with goods of different kinds.’
Ye/ shpowa jahazi/ iyelo biāaa’á/ lamná/ ka lamná. ‘He was given a dhow which was filled with goods of different kinds.’
- biāari** n. baldness
Khkashifowa jisa hufanyilizowa biāari/ dawá/ siwo/ kaazi/ ya sahali.
‘Discovering how to cure baldness is not an easy task.’
- 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’
Mabahariyawe/ mwanamke wa sultaani/ wakomelopo
Ifuwooni/ wachanza kubigaa nk^heje/ mwanamke wa sultaani/ 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’
Ba’adi/ ya masheekhi/ wana’iwa/ kubiga faali/ husiiba. ‘Some scholars know how to foresee the future, (what they predict) happens.’
kubiga firiimbi ‘to whistle (using a whistle)’
kubiga fooji ‘to whistle’
kubiga harbi ‘to wage war’
kubiga hewesi ‘[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’
Sheekhi/ bishile hewesiye/ hadiile/ ndimi/ tamsaydo Nuuru/ kuwaka nuumbayé. ‘Sheekhi hit his chest and said it’s me who will help Nuuru build his house.’
- kubiga hoodi** ‘to ask for permission to enter a house’
- kubiga ifuundro** ‘to tie a knot’
Haliima/ bishilee nguwo/ ifuundro. ‘Haliima tied a knot in the cloth.’
- 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’
Ali/ mwambile Omari/ gari ya Nuuru/ inakuraaga/ kuuya/ kheeri/ chibiga iteke/ chooloke. ‘Ali told Omari: Nuuru’s car is delayed in coming, we better go on foot.’
Chinakubiga iteké/ chinakeendrá/ ziyaraani/ ka Shekh Makhtuubu/ ni kilomeetiri/ nt’haano/ takhriibu. ‘We are going on foot to the religious ceremony for Shekh Makhtuubu, it is (held) about five kilometers (from Miini).’
- kubiga ito** ‘to wink, move the eyebrow’
- kubiga itama** ‘to take a mouthful of something’
Haliima/ mwambile Omari/ mpha maayi/ haba mooyi/ mbige itama/ nuskutile. ‘Haliima told Omari: give me some water so I can take a mouthful so that I may gargle with it.’
- kubiga jarsi** ‘to ring a bell’
- kubiga ka garbaashi** ‘to whip’
Askari/ mbishile mwiizi/ ka garbaashi. ‘The soldier struck the thief with a whip.’
- kubiga kampaneela** ‘to ring a bell’
Manuuri/ zamaani/ Miini/ skolaani/ ndiyé/ chibigo kampaneela. ‘(A man named) Manuuri, during old times in Miini at school it was he who rang the bell.’
- kubiga kheema** ‘to put up a tent’
Chinakendra maduriini/ mandari/ shakubiga kheema/ khkala/ skuu mbili. ‘We are going to the bush for a picnic, we will put up tents and stay two days.’
- kubiga khpala** ‘to lock up’
- kubigaa khura/qura** ‘to ask the cards, flip a coin, draw straws etc.’
- kubiga lbawa** ‘to die [lit. hit the wing]’
Nk’uku wa Haliima/ jilee sumu/ fiile/ bishile lbawa. ‘Haliima’s hen ate poison and died, it “hit the wing”.’
- kubigaa limi** ‘to make innuendos, insinuate, make biting remarks’
Abuuyi/ mbishile Nuuru/ limi/ mwambiile/ we/ nt’una/ ihsaani. ‘Abuuyi spoke sharply to Nuuru and told him you do not repay favors (done for you).’
- kubiga lkele** ‘to shout’
Ali/ mwiizi/ mrashiize/ bishilee nk’ele/ kudirkoowa/ ‘Ali, the thief chased him and he shouted to be saved.’
- kubiga lkope** ‘to wink at, move the eyelid’ (Not known to GM.)
- kubigaa luti** ‘to hit with a stick’ (Not known to GM.)
- kubiga ma’ipi** ‘to slap, spank with the open hand’
Abú/ shishiila sh’ana/ mwaanawe/ kumrudilaa limi/ mbishile ma’ipi. ‘Abu got angry over his son’s talking back to him and slapped him.’
- kubiga mafuungu** ‘to divide up into shares’
- kubiga marti** ‘to invite someone for food’
Haliima/ mbishile mweenzawe/ Faatima/ marti/ jima. ‘Haliima

- has invited her friend Faatima Friday.’
- kubiga mayleli** ‘to ululate’
Wake/ harusiini/ ka Hasani/ wanakubigaa nk^husi/ na mayleli/ ka furaha. ‘Women at Hasani’s wedding are clapping and ululating with happiness.’
- kubigaa mbawa** ‘to flap the wings (of a bird)’
Dul’eda/ mrashizee nk^huku/ kumuja/ nk^huku/ bishilee mbawa/ ulushile/ fakeete. ‘A fox chased the hen to eat it, the hen flapped its wings and flew a little and ran away.’
Zinyunyi/ mukhtaa zo/ ziweno waant^hu/ wanakuuyá/ zibishilee mbawa/ zulushile. ‘When the birds saw people coming, they flapped their wings and flew away.’
- kubiga miilu** ‘to walk, go on foot’
Ali/ mwambile Omari/ gari ya Nuuru/ inakuraaga/ kuuya/ kheeri/ chibiga miilu/ chooloke. ‘Ali told Omari: Nuuru’s car is delayed in coming, we better go on foot.’
Chinakubiga miilú/ chinakeendrá/ ziyaraani/ ka Shekh Makhtuubu/ ni kilomeetiri/ nt^haano/ takhriibu. ‘We are going on foot to the religious ceremony for Shekh Makhtuubu, it is (held) about five kilometers (from Miini).’
- kubiga mishtari** ‘to draw a line’
Waana/ wa skoola/ wanakubiga chibuuku/ mishtari. ‘School children are drawing lines in a book (e.g. with a ruler).’
- kubigaa muḷo** ‘to make a fire for warmth or for scaring off animals, not for cooking’
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.’
- kubiga musumaari** ‘to make a biting, stinging remark’
- kubiga mziinga** ‘to explode, set off a bomb’
- kubiga naasiṭiro** ‘to play a tape-recorder’
Haliima/ kaawo/ numbaani/ yiko feesta/inakubigowa naasiṭiro/ inakhtzezoowa. ‘At Haliima’s house there is a party, a tape recorder is being played and there is dancing.’
- kubiga neefu** ‘to breathe, pant’
Mahabuusi/ bishile neefu/ nt^ho. ‘The prisoner breathed out hard.’
- kubigaa ngoma** ‘to beat a drum, jump up and down with joy’
Ali/ furahiile/ leelo/ mwaanawe/ khpita imtihaani/ nakubigaa ngoma. ‘Ali today got happy for his child to pass the examination, he is lit. hitting a drum – i.e. jumping up and down with joy.’
- kubigaa nk^hele** ‘to bark’
kubigaa nk^hele/ kanaa mbwa ‘to shout like a dog – i.e. to shout nonsensically, for no reason’
Sheekhi/ shishiḷa shṭana/ nakubigaa nk^hele/ kana ibwá. ‘Sheekhi got angry, he is shouting like a dog.’
Mba/ chibigaa nk^hele. ‘The dog was barking.’
Mba chibigoo nk^hele/ ingile numbaani. ‘The dog that was barking entered the house.’
- kubiga maboori** ‘to hit pumpkins – i.e. cry a lot’ (Often used with the verb *kula* ‘to cry’, but even without *kula* still means crying a lot.)
Ali/ maamaye/ kufa/ lizile/ bishile maboori. ‘Ali, his mother’s dying, cried a lot (lit. hit pumpkins).’
- 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’ (Not used by GM.)

kubiga raandra ‘to plane’

Hamadi/ hadiile/ lwawo ili/ lnasha/ kana/ lbishila raandra.

‘Hamadi said this wood is smooth like it was smoothed with a plane.’

kubiga rasaasi ‘to pull the trigger of a gun, shoot, hit with bullets’

Ma’askari/ wamrashize mwiizi/ wambishile rasaasi. ‘Soldiers chased the thief and shot him with bullets.’

kubigaa sa’a/ tak tak ‘to tick (of a clock)’; also: **tik tik**

Omari/ hadiile/ chiṭa/ chinakundraaza/ chinakumbiga/ kana/ sa’a/ tak tak. ‘Omari said my head is aching me, it is hitting me like a clock, tak tak!’

kubigaa safa ‘to form a line’

Waana/ skolaani/ kiḷaa fijiri/ ntʰaasá/ ya kingila fasḷiini/

hubigaa safa. ‘Children of school every morning before getting into class line up.’

kubiga saluuti ‘to salute’

Mwiini/ waliko muuntʰu/ mooyi/ ijiniile/ kiḷaa mara/ chibiga

saluuti/ chiviloowa/ Shekh Saluuti. ‘In Brava there was one man, a madman, all the time he was saluting, he was called Sheikh Saluuti.’

kubiga santuuri ‘to play a phonograph’

Haliima/ kaawo/ numbaani/ yiko feesta/inakubigowa santuuri/

inakhṭeozoowa. ‘At Haliima’s house there is a party, a phonograph is being played and there is dancing.’

kubiga siimo ‘to telegraph, cable’

kubiga telefano ‘to telephone’

Ali/ nambigila waawaye/ telefano/ kumuuzá/ liini/ nakuuyó.

‘Ali is calling his father asking him when he is coming?’

kubiga tuupa ‘to file’

kubiga zaamu ‘to keep guard’

Abuuyi/ hadiile/ masku mazima/ skulaala/ mbishile zaamu/

chimniindra/ mukeewa/ kuuya. ‘Abuuyi said: all night I did not sleep, I kept guard, waiting for my wife to come.’

Leelo/ masku/ ma’askari/ wanakubiga zaamu/ hafisaani/ ka rasdente. ‘Today at night soldiers are keeping guard at the office of the commissioner.’

kubiga zishiindro ‘to stomp on the ground’

Waana/ wa skoola/ wafurahiile/ khshindra mpiira/ wabishile

zishiindro. ‘School children were happy to win the ball game, they were lit. hitting *zishiindro*, stomping on the ground in joy.’

kubigaa zita ‘to wage war; stop talking to someone, show enemy’

kubigilaa nk^hele ‘to shout at’

Mbigililee nk^hele. ‘He shouted at him.’

mwana wa Nuuru/ mbishiló ‘the child whom Nuuru hit’ (but also: **mwana**

wa Nuuru/ mbishiló with the same meaning)

mwaana/ 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 ^m*b* 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/ oloshela. ‘The man who hit me left.’

Munt^hu uyu/ mbishile waawe. ‘This man beat father.’

Mwaaḷimu/ mbishile mwaana/ kaa luti. ‘The teacher beat the child with a stick.’

mwaḷimu mbishilo mwaaná ‘the teacher who beat the child’

mwana wa mwaḷimu/ mbishiló ‘the child whom the teacher beat’

Mwiizi/ chimbishile/ ṣì. ‘The thief, we beat him.’

Nimbishile Jaamá/ kaa luti. ‘I beat Jaama with a stick.’

Nimbishile Omari. ‘I hit Omari.’ Or with verb focus: **Nimbishilé/ Omari.** ‘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/ Omari.** 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/ Omari?** ‘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/ Omari.**)

Nt^hawambiga. or Want^hambiga. ‘They did not hit him.’

Nuuru/ mbishile mwaana. ‘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 mwana 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 mwana wa Haliima?** and **Nuurú/ mbishile mana wa Haliimâ!?**)

Nuuru/ mbishile mwaana/ 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 mwaana/ 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 mwaaná/ wa Haliimâ!?**)

Nuuru/ nt^hambiga/ mwaana. ‘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/ mwaaná** (or: **mwaana**). The emphatic version always displayed accent shift: **Nuuru/ nt^hambigá/ mwaaná.** 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/ mwana 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/ mwana wa Haliima? and **Nuuru/ nt^hambiga/**

mwana wa Haliimá? There is just one emphatic version:

Nuuru/ nt^hamibigá/ Nuurú!?)

Si/ chimbishile mwiizi. ‘We beat the thief.’ (cf. In the following version of this sentence, the postposed subject is deaccented: **Mwiizi/**

chimbishilé/ ṣì. 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 naami** ‘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 naami. ‘Only Waali was beaten by me.’
wana wa mwaalimu/ wabishilo ‘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 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.)

end of

rel.

ku-bigaabiga v. freq.

Hamadi/ hupeenda/ kubigabiga waant^hu. ‘Hamadi likes to beat people repeatedly.’

Hamadi/ hupeenda/ kumbigabigaa mi. ‘Hamadi likes to beat me repeatedly.’

mahaḷaa 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. (-bigeene) collide with one another/s.t., strike one another/fight/hit one another; var. *ku-biganana* (-bigeene)

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/ zibigeene. ‘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/ bige(ne)ne na lkuta. ‘Hamadi ran into/ banged against the wall.’

Ka Omari/ numbaani/ nt^haku/ muunt^hu/ iguriila/ milaango/ yanakubigana. ‘At Omari’s house there is no one there, it has been moved out of, doors are banging (hitting each other).

Mbigene na Omari. ‘I fought with Omari.’

Omari/ bigen(en)e naami. ‘Omari fought with me.’

Omari/ bigen(en)e naaye. ‘Omari fought with him.’

Wamaanga/ wanakubigana ka mp^haanga. ‘Arabs are hitting one another with swords.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **daank^hu** ‘popcorn’.)

ku-biganika v. rec. p/s. (biganishile)

Mwaana/ potele ka chidank^haani/ bom!/ biganishile naa nt^hi/ vundishile kuulu. ‘The child fell from the roof, **bom!** and hit against the earth and broke (his) leg.’

ku-biganoowa v. (-bigeena) be hit/bumped/run into; var. *ku-bigananoowa* (-bigeena)

Lkuta/ lbigena naalo. ‘The wall was bumped into (lit. hit against it).’

Omari/ bigene(ne)na. ‘Omari was run into.’ **I did not understand this... study.**

ku-bigika v. p/s. able to be beaten

Ngoma iyi/ ha'ibigiki/ jisa suura/ ni nuumu. 'This drum cannot be beaten easily, well; it is hard.'

ku-bigikila v. p/s. appl.

Fulaani/ habigikili/ mwaana. 'So-and-so cannot have his child beat on him.'

ku-bigiloowa v. appl. pass.

L̥iikopi/ luti/ l̥bigil̥ila 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.)

L̥iikopi/ luti/ la mwaana/ bigil̥ila mkono. 'Where is the stick that the child was hit on the arm with?' Or: **L̥iikopi/ luti/ bigil̥ila mwaaná/ mkono.** (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: **L̥iikopi/ luti/ l̥bigil̥ila mwaaná/ mkono.** 'Where is the stick that was used to hit the child on the arm?')

Luti/ l̥bigil̥ila Jaama/ naami. 'A stick was used by me to beat Jaama.'

Luti/ l̥bigil̥ila mwaana/ mkono. 'The stick was used to hit the child on the arm.' (Syn. It seems also to be possible to have **Luti/ bigil̥ila 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/ bigil̥ila mkono/ luti.**)

Mi/ nbigil̥ila 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/ bigil̥ila 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/ mbigil̥ila mwaana/ naayé 'the man whom I was hit my child on by him'

mwana waa mi/ mbigil̥ila 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 a guest.'

Hasiibu as

ku-bigila v. appl. (**bigil̥iile**) hit on s.o. [i.e. to someone's detriment, to hit s.o. related to s.o.]; hammer

Ali/ nbigil̥ile mwaanawa. 'Ali hit my child on me.'

Bigil̥ile kani/ musmaari/ lkutaani. 'With what did you hammer the nail into the wall?' (A possible answer: **Mbigil̥ile ka ndrundo/ musmaari/ lkutaani.** 'I hammered with a hammer the nail into the wall.')

Bigil̥ile musmaari/ lkutaani. 'He hammered a nail into the wall.'

Bigil̥ile musmaari/ lkutaani/ ka ndrundo. 'He hammered a nail into the wall with a hammer.' (Cf. **ndrundo yaa ye/ bigil̥ilo 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: ?Bigil̥ile ndrundo/ musmaari/ lkutaani.**)

Bigil̥il̥ileni/ lkutaani. 'What did you hammer into the wall?' (A possible answer to this question: **Mbigil̥il̥ileni 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/ Ikutaani.**)

Bigiliileni/ musmaari/ Ikutaani. ‘What did you use to hammer the nail into the wall?’ (A possible answer: **Mbigilile ndruundró.** ‘I used a hammer.’)

Bigililepi/ musmaari. ‘Where did you hammer a nail (into)?’ (A possible answer: **Mbigilile Ikutaani/ musmaari.** ‘I hammered into the wall the nail.’)

kubigila ito ‘to wink at’

Nuuru/ mbigilile Ali/ ito/ ka n̄iini/ chiza kumrasha Ali. ‘Nuuru winked at Ali (unseen by others), (indicating) his refusal to follow Ali (i.e. agree with him, support him, etc.).’

kubigila khpala ‘to lock s.t. up’

Haliima/ bigilile khpala/ sanduukhuye. ‘Haliima locked her box.’

Huseeni/ fuunzile/ dukaye/ bigilile khpala. ‘Huseeni closed his shop and locked it.’

kubigilaa khura ‘to draw lots for’

Waana/ wanakulanyiliza mpiira/ Nuuru/ wa’ambiile/ takinbigilaa khura/ takhpato nasibuyé/ ndiyé/ takhtaalo. ‘The children are fighting over the ball; Nuuru told them that he will make a fortune chance for them and the one who wins, it is he who will take the ball.’

kubigila lkele ‘to call someone loudly, shout to someone’

kubigilaa nk^hele ‘to scold someone, shout at someone’

kubigila siimo ‘to call, telegraph s.o.’

Nuuru/ oshele hafisaani/ kumbigila mwaanawe/ Ahmadi/ siimo/ kumwiiwisha/ kuwa maamaye/ hakhaadiri. ‘Nuuru went to the office to call his son Ahmadi and inform him that his mother is sick.’

Lükopi/ 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 naani/ 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 naani/ luti?** This is due to what in the introduction we refer to as the Accentual Law of Focus.)

Mbishilee chita. ‘He hit me on the head.’ Cf. **Bishile chitaacha.** ‘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 **chitaacha** ‘my head’ which is the object.)

Mbishile Jaama/ kani. ‘You hit Jaama with what?’ (A possible answer:

Nimbishile Jaama/ kaa luti. ‘I hit Jaama with a stick.’)

Mbishile naani/ ka luuti. ‘Whom did you hit with a stick?’

munt^hu nbigililo mwaanawa/ waliko Ali ‘the man who hit my child on me was Ali’

munt^hu wa Ali/ mbigililo mwaanawe ‘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/ nbigililo ‘the child whom Ali hit on me’

Nimbishile Jaama/ luti. ‘I beat Jaama with a stick.’ (Syn. This would be an appropriate answer to a question like: **Mbigilile naani/ 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 congested; 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.’

Numbaani/ ka Hamadi/ wabigileene/ waant^hu/ mahaḷa/ kingiloowa/ nt^haku. ‘At Hamadi’s house people are congested, there is no place to enter.’

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 Hamadi/ 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. (**bishiḷa**) be hit, beaten

Bishiḷa. ‘He was hit, beaten.’

Chibigoowa/ ndrutize/ khamsiini. ‘He was given his fifty blows.’

Chuuma/ hubigowa cho chimuḷó. ‘Iron is hit when it is hot.’ (A proverb.)

kubigowa jarsi ‘bell being rung’

Skolaani/ sa’a za kingiloowa/ na kulawoowá/ hubigowa jarsi. ‘At school, the time for going in and going out is (indicated by) a bell being rung.’

kubigowa ka garbaashi ‘to be whipped’

Diini/ ya islaamu/ huhada/ muunt^hu/ shfaanya/ ba’aði ya ðambi/ hubigowa ka garbaashi. ‘The Islamic religion says that if a person commits some crimes he should be whipped.’

kubigowa paasi ‘to be ironed’

Nguwo/ zinakubigowa paasi. ‘Clothes are being ironed.’

kubigowaa safa ‘to be arranged in rows’

Waana/ wabishilaa safa/ 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/ bishila 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 mwaalimú ‘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/ wabishilá or **wana wabishilá** ‘the children who were beaten’ (Our consultant rejected ***waaná/ bishilá**, 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/ chimuuzá/

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^he/le/ 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
Mabigano/ mamulo/ yanakiineedra. 'Fierce fighting is continuing.'
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'

ku-bigbiga

v. rush
variant form: *kubigbigata*
Sibigbigaté. 'Don't rush!'

bikeeri

n. 9/10 drinking glass, cup
bikeri iyi 'this drinking glass'; **bikeri izi** 'these drinking glasses'
Bikeeri/ zimo dawaṭini. 'The drinking glasses are in the cupboard.'

biikhi (Ø, ma-)

n., adj. [Som.] coward
Biikhi/ maamaye/ haaji. 'A coward's mother does not cry.' (A proverb.)
Gaasi/ maamaye/ lizile/ biikhi/ maamaye/ teshale. '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
khṭumbula bikra 'to deflower'
Ni mwanaamke/ bikra. 'She is a virgin.'
rel.
i-bikra (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

bilhakhiiikha

adv. basically, certainly, for sure; really
Bilhakhiiikha/ khsooma/ husaayda/ khpita imṭihaani. 'Basically, studying helps to pass an exam.'
Faatima/ oshela sukhuuni/ ye/ bilhakhiiikha/ sulile kula embe/ laakini/ uzilee mazu/ tu. 'Faatima went to the market. She really wanted to buy mangoes, but she only bought bananas.'
Hamadi/ mkali/ khpataa nsi/ mfumaajima/ hawa/ yaliko bilhakhiiikha/ mbovu/ Hamadi/ petee nsi/ nt^hatu/ tu/ mfumaajima. 'Hamadi is a very good fisherman. On Saturday, the weather was really bad. Hamadi just caught three fish on Saturday.'
Meeza/ yaa we/ nakandiko iluké/ bilhakhiiikha/ ni wasakha. The table on which you're writing is really (lit. certainly, for sure) dirty.'

ku-bililikhsata

v. [Som.] (**bililikhseete**) loot, take by force

bililikho

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.)

Ka khisani/ si/ bil̥kuliya/ nt^hachinakhkasa tarafu ya Huseeni/ mara yiatingé.
 ‘Why do we never hear about Huseeni anymore?’
kiiza/ bil̥kuliya ‘to refuse completely’
Mi/ jawabu iyo/ skhiiri/ bil̥kuliya. ‘I will not accept that (e.g. argument) ever.’
Omari/ ile Miini/ khkalaant^ha/ bil̥kuliya. ‘Omari came to Brava to live forever.’
Omari/ iize/ khkasa jawabu iyo/ bil̥kuliya. ‘Omari refused to listen to that thing (argument, etc.) ever.’

bilyeeti

n. 9/10 ticket
bilyeeti iyi ‘this ticket’ (cf. **bilyeeti izi** ‘these tickets’)

bila

prep. [Sw. **bila** SSED 35] without
bilaa khfilatila ‘unexpectedly’ (also: **bilaa khfilatiloowa** ‘without being expected’)
Faatima/ waawaye/ ile ka Mkhodiisho/ masku/ bila/ khfilatiloowa.
 ‘Faatima’s father came from Mogadisho at night without being expected.’
Muunt^hu/ suura/ khpowa hadiya/ bila/ ye/ khfilatila. ‘It is good for a person to be given a gift that he does not expect.’
bilaa khkoma ‘without end’
Bilaa kuliindra/ Hamiisi/ bishile mpiira. ‘Without hesitation, Hamiisi kicked the ball.’
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 mtaanga. ‘Saliva does not move unless there is sand.’ (A proverb.)
Mi/ hupowa makooko/ makavu/ bilaa sh^towelo. ‘I am given the hard crust of the rice, without relish.’
Muti/ bilaa lpepo/ ha’tetemi. ‘A tree without wind does not shake.’ (A proverb.)
Mukhta^a 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.’
Ye/ lazile/ bila/ kuhada waraadi. ‘She left without saying goodbye.’
Ye/ lazile/ bilaa mi/ kiiwa. ‘She left without my knowing it.’

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 **ðikiri** and recalling of the many miracles performed by Sheex Nureeni.

bilaashi

adj. [Sw. **bilashi** SSED 35] without value, no good
Kooði niingi/ ni bilaashi. ‘Too much talking is useless.’ (A proverb.)

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/ nk^hulu. ‘I have two large houses.’ Or: **Mi/ nazo nuumba/**

nk^hulu/ mbili.

Nimpele Iisá/ garii mbilí. ‘I gave Iisa two cars (or the two cars).’ **Nimpele Iisá/ garii mbili.** ‘I gave Iisa two cars.’ The phrasing in the following sense is less used, more like an afterthought: **Nimpele Iisá/ gaari/ mbili.**

Niwapele wana zihaba watatú/ mazu mbiliimbili. ‘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/ nk^hulu. ‘Omari owns two large houses.’ Or: **Omari/ nazo numbaa mbili/ nk^hulu.** Or: **Omari/ nazo nuumba/ nk^hulu/ mbili.** Simple yes-no questions do not show accent shift: **Omari/ nazo numbaa mbili/ nk^hulu?** and **Omari/ nazo numbaa nk^hulu/ mbili?**

orii mbili ‘two roosters’

rel.

i-kumi naa mbili twelve

m-bili=z-e both

Aasha/ uzile mbilize/ so/ mpuunga/ na iziwá. ‘Did Aasha buy both rice and milk?’ Or: **Aasha/ uzile mpuunga/ na iziwá/ mbilize/ so.** Or: **Mbilize / so/ Aasha/ uziló/ mpuunga/ na iziwá.**

Ee/ Aasha/ uzile mbilize/ mpuunga/ na iziwá. [HHH^hH!!H] ‘Yes, Aasha bought both, *rice* and milk.’ (In this example, the pitch of *mpuunga* was markedly raised. It is notable that the following conjoined NP was radically lowered in pitch.)

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-bimisha 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 bahatí/ 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’ikhublí/ 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

- bin̄ti** n. daughter
Bin̄ti sul̄taani/ mukewe mgarwa/ chim̄jiiba/ nkhubal̄il̄é/ 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.’
Laakini/ uje mwanaamke/ bin̄ti/ wa sul̄taani/ hiiwa/ killa/ hutuluko apó. ‘But that girl, the daughter of the sultan, knows all that happened there.’
Mukhtāa ye/ mweno mbwa/ kuwa ikusiló/ chim̄viila/ bin̄ti/ wa mwaarabu/ oyo/ kuyaa kuja/ chaakuja/ chiseeló. ‘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/ chivīloowa/ Yuusufu/ na chihabaché/ chivīlowa Bin.yaamiini. ‘One of his children was called Joseph, and his younger brother was called Benjamin.’
- biira** n. 9 beer
Hamadi/ huna biira/ tu. [HH!!H] ‘Hamadi only drinks beer.’
biira iyi ‘this beer’
- birikh** ideo. of shining, intermittent flashing lights
Haliima/ haanzuye/ inakuwala/ kana/ iwa/ birikh birikh! ‘Haliima’s dress is shining like the sun, *birikh birikh.*’
Noota/ masku aya/ zinakuwala/ birikh birikh! ‘the stars are flashing this night *birikh birikh!*’
- birikhi** n. flashing lights; variant: **birikhibirikhi**
Gaari/ ya Ali/ nakuwoná/ nalize/ kaa kule/ birikhibirikhize. ‘Ali’s truck, I see its lights from afar flashing.’
Gari ya Hasani/ hufakata/ impisile gari ya Nuuru/ birikhize/ nt^haskuwonoowa. Hasani’s car runs fast, it overtook Nuuru’s car, and its lights were not seen (i.e. it went so far ahead that one could not see its lights).’
- biiriima** first
Gaari/ ichineendra/ hubadīloowa maarsha/ kaandra/ hut̄il̄owa biiriima/ chimaliza sekondo/ chimaliza teersa/ chimaliza kuwaarta/ chimaliza kuwinta. ‘When a car runs, you change the gears, first gear one, then gear two, then gear three, then gear four, and then gear five.’
Muunthu/ chisūla kubarataa lugha/ biiriima/ hubarata alfabeeta. ‘If one wants to learn a language, first he learns the alphabet.’
Nuumba/ ichiwakoowa/ biiriima/ huwakowa jidaari. ‘When a house is built, one must first build the foundation.’
Omari/ mwaanawe/ skōlaani/ lazile biiriima. ‘Omari’s child was first at school.’
- m-biriimbiri** n. 9/10 sign, trace, appearance (of someone)
Ali/ nt^haku/ mbirimbirize. ‘There are no signs of Ali.’
Hamadi/ sku mbili izi/ mbirimbiriye/ tozēla. ‘Hamadi these days his appearance is missed.’
Mbirimbirize/ stozela. ‘No signs of him were seen.’
Mi/ nimmereel̄é/ muuyi/ mzimawe/ na skukhaadira/ kuwona/ hattá/ mbirimbiriye/ 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/ tozēla/ mahāla/ 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.’

Yaró/ hufakaṭisha gaari/ mpisile Abdaa Nuurú/ xuf! mbirimbiye/ iize/ kumwona. ‘Yaro drives his truck fast, he passed Abdaa Nuuru, *xuf*, and (then) there could not be seen any trace of him in the distance.’

biringaani (*Ø, ma-*) n. 9/10, 6 [Sw. *bilangani* SSED 35] eggplant
rel.
chi-biringaani (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim.
i-biringaani (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.

i-biriqi (*ma-*) n. 5/6 [Sw. *birika* “a large metal vessel for holding water, water-jug, a kettle” SSED 36] kettle; [pron. **ibiriqi** 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.’

rel.

chi-biriqi (*zi-*) n. 7/8 kettle; [pron. **chibiriqi** or **chibiriikhi**]

Maayi/ karka chibiriikhi/ yanakhtokota. ‘The water in the kettle is boiling.’
Yanakhtokota/ maayi/ chibirikiini. ‘Is boiling the *water* in the kettle.’
Yanakhtokota/ mayi yamo chibirikiini. ‘Is boiling, the water that is in the kettle.’
Yanakhtokota/ mayi ya chibirikiini. ‘Is boiling, the water [lit. of] in the kettle.’

chi-biriidi (*zi-*) n. 7/8 match; a book of matches
Ashizee muḷo/ ka chibiriidi. ‘He lit a fire with a match.’
mkali/ kana chibiriidi ‘as hot as a matchbook’
Hamadi/ nt^haná/ sabri/ kana chibiriidi/ ka paapo/ hushikowa shṭana.
‘Hamadi has no patience, he is like a match, immediately he gets angry.’

biriyaani n. 9 [Sw. *biriani* SSED 36; Pers.] rice cooked with meat and vegetables
Biriyani iyi/ nt^haykuviva. ‘This **biriyaani** is not cooked.’

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.’

büro n. [derived from an Italian brand of ball point pen] pen
khalamu ya büro ‘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.

bismiḷaahi in the name of God

<i>ku-biisha</i>	<p>v. (bishiize) knock; sail a vessel (boat, dhow) against the wind Bishize mlaango. ‘He knocked on the door.’ kubisha iŋo ‘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. <i>ku-biishan(y)a</i> 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).’ <i>ku-biishika</i> v. p/s. <i>ku-bishiliza</i> v. appl. Haŋaa mi/ niko ndilaani/ mbishiliza nuumba/ iŋo. ‘While I am gone out, keep an eye on my home.’ <i>ku-bishilizanya</i> v. appl. rec. rel. nom. <i>ma-biishanyo</i> n. 6 <i>m-biisho</i> n. knock</p>
<i>bishaara</i>	<p>n. 9/10 good news; var. bashaara <i>iyi ni bishaara na kullu iwaani</i> [st.] ‘this is good news, and for all (of you) be aware’ khpa bishaara ‘to give good news’ mwenye bashaara ‘having goodness’ Rabbi chiruzuqe keendra ziyaara/ ka Mtume Mustafa mwenye bishaara [st.] ‘O Lord, grant us that we may visit the Prophet Mustafa who brought us news of eternal happiness’</p>
<i>bisi</i>	<p>in the expression: bardi yaa bisi ‘rheumatism’ yaa bisi ‘constipation’</p>
<i>bismiŋa</i>	<p>[Sw. <i>bismillahi</i> SSED 37; Ar.] in the name of God kuleta bismiŋa ‘to say bismiŋa’ <i>leeta bismiŋa mweenza raasha diini</i> [st.] ‘say bismiŋa, my friend, follow religion’ <i>na kuŋa amriye chaanza ka bismiŋa</i> [st.] ‘and each of his actions begins with bismiŋa’ rel. <i>bismiŋaahi</i> interj. in the name of God</p>
<i>i-biŋa (ma-)</i>	<p>n. 5/6 duck, goose mayaank^buku/ ya ibiŋa ‘duck eggs’ rel. <i>mi-biŋa</i> n. 4 aug. big ducks, geese</p>
<i>biŋirmaakis</i>	<p>n. petromax Naŋi/ yana/ masku/ ziyaraani/ ka Dada Maasiŋi/ zoloshela/ mara mooyi/ tu/ dam!/ chimaliza/ zashiza biŋirmaakis. ‘Lights (electric) last night at the Dada Maasiti ceremony went off at once dam! then petromaxes were lit.’</p>
<i>-bivu</i>	<p>adj. [Sw. <i>bivu</i> SSED 37] ripe ŋamaa mbivu ‘cooked meat (as opposed to ŋamaa mbiŋi ‘uncooked, raw meat’)’</p>
<i>biyaashara</i>	<p>n. 9/10 [Sw. <i>biashara</i> SSED 37; Ar.] trade, commerce; var. biyaanshara Cheendra/ chimwaambila/ biyaashara/ nini. ‘He went and said to her, what business?’ Hamadi/ ka mapeema/ weno fursá/ khfanya biyaanshará/ apá. ‘Hamadi was early to see an opportunity to do business (lit. commerce) here.’ Hufanya biyaashara. ‘They do business.’ khfanya biyaashara ‘to engage in trade’</p>

mfanya biyaashara ‘a businessman, merchant, trader’

Mi/ ni muunt^hu/ nakuzo biyaashará. ‘I am a person who sells merchandise.’

Mi/ nnakhpenda khfanya biyaashará. ‘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 Aweeso. ‘Biyoole is gone to (by people) to visit the grave of Sheikh Aweeso.’

Shekh Aweeso/ zishile Biyoole. ‘Sheikh Aweeso 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. *business*] used by present generation

Omari/ Kenya/ nayo bizines nk^hulu. ‘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/ sh^htukulaa 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.’

mukhtaa 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 jamaalá. ‘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/ hukoða 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 mubliwá. ‘She told the snake, I want you to kill my husband.’

Hamiisi/ mara mara/ ni mubli. ‘Hamiisi is at times (behaves like) a man,’

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 mubli. ‘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 mubliwe/ chaakuja. ‘The woman cooked food for her husband.’

Nureni mubliwa/ maamaye/ nakichiziyaarata. ‘Nureni my husband’s mother is visiting us.’ (Observe in this example that **Nureni** 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/ nakichiziyaarata**, the interpretation would be ‘Nureeni, my husband’s mother, visited us’, which would be odd since **Nureeni** is a name reserved for males.)

Skumwona/ mubli/ walá/ muké/ mwaana/ walá/ mzeelé. I saw neither man nor woman, child nor old person.’

Uyu/ ni mubliwa/ Nureeni. ‘This is my husband Nureeni.’

Uyu/ ni Nureeni/ mubliwa. ‘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.**

Wako wabli/ huwadhakhta jisa suura/ wake. ‘There are men who treat women (their wives) well.’

Waliko muke mooyi/ na mubli 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 mubli/ naa mi/ ni mubli. ‘He is a man and I am a man.’

Ye/ shpata mubli/ chimloola/ itakuwa kheeri. ‘If she finds a man, and if he marries her, it will be a blessing.’

Ye/ siwo/ mubli. ‘He is not a man (i.e. he is sexually impotent).’
rel.

chi-bli n. in a manly way; [pron. **chibli**]

Ba’aði 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, 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^hiye/ 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.

he

- 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).’
- 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’aḍi ya zina/ zibodishiiza. ‘Some of the words were omitted.’
zina zibodishiiza ‘words that were omitted’
- boodo** n. 9/10 [Som. *booddo* 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/ mahaḷaa zo/ zinakuḷawiló/ hattá/ shkoma/ mahaḷa/ 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’
mṭuzi 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/ mṭinzile Ali/ boghoni. ‘The dog bit Ali’s leg (causing a gash).’

- i-boholi* (*ma-*) n. 5/6 [Som. *bohól*] hole (in the ground), pit, cave
Ali/ tunzile iboholi. ‘Ali dug a hole.’
iboholi ikulu ‘a large hole’
iboholi ipaana ‘a wide hole’
iboholi iviringe ‘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/ mwene. ‘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/ huḷilowa 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.’
Nt^hi 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.’
- rel.
ku-bokhsa v. *caus.*
Nk^huku/ bokhseeze/ mayaank^huku. ‘The hen spoiled (did not produce) the eggs.’
- bokhaari* (*Ø-, ma-*) n. 9/10, 6 storehouse
- bokhori* n. [Som.] king
Wo/ wanakulindra kumwona bokhori. ‘They are waiting to see the king.’
- 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 mwaajimu/ 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/ mwaanana. '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/ mwaanana?** '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 Itaki** 'to steal a necklace', **kubolaa nt^haki** 'to steal necklaces', **kubola dhahabu** 'to steal gold', **kubola maayi** 'to steal water', **kubola chiwovu** 'to steal a wallet', **kubolaa luti** 'to steal a stick', **kubolaa ndruti** 'to steal sticks'.)

Kuboolaka/ peesa/ imkirihishiize. 'My stealing money disappointed him.'
Cf. **Kuboolaka/ peesa/ imkirihishiizó.** This would be an answer to the question: **Nini/ imkirihishiizó.** 'What disappointed him?'

Kumboola/ tu/ siwo/ naaye/ wamub^heele. 'To steal from him is not the only thing, also they killed him.'

Kuwaa mi/ mbozele peesá/ imkirihishiize. 'That I stole money disappointed him.' Cf. **Kuwaa mi/ mbozele peesá/ imkirihishiizó.** This would be an answer to the question **Nini/ imkirihishiizó.** 'What disappointed him?'

Malimu bozelo chibuukú/ ni Huseeni. 'The teacher who stole the book is Huseeni.' Cf. **Maajimu/ 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.' (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/ boozele/ 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 Omari/ 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 Omari/ 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 Omari/ 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/ kubola peesa/ imkirihishiize. ‘For me to steal money disappointed him. Cf. **Mi/ kubola peesa/ imkirihishiizó.** This is an answer to the question: **Nini/ imkirihishiizó.** ‘What disappointed him?’

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/ kubola nt^heendre. ‘The child feared that if he went to sleep, some person would come to steal the dates.’

Nakhtóshá/ kuwa Nuuru/ boozele/ faṭuura. ‘I think that Nuuru stole a car.’

Nakhtósha kuwa Nuurú/ bozele faṭuurá. ‘I think that Nuuru stole a car.’ Or: **Nakhtósha kuwa Nuurú/ boozele/ 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/ boozeló/ faṭuura.**

Nakhtósha kuwa Nuurú/ bozelo gaari. ‘I think that Nuuru bought a car.’ Or: **Nakhtósha kuwa Nuurú/ 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 **kaḷiḷa/ 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**.

^f**Omari/ 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. **peesa 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/ nzaaká. ‘The books that the thief stole are mine.’ Or: **Zibuku bozelo miizi/ nzaaká**. (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.’

Skhubooléla/ chaako. ‘I did not steal from yours (i.e. you or your people).’

Or: **Sikhubooléla/ chaako**. **review the reason for possible final accent here**

Sikhubolela chaako/ ka nishtaka. ‘I did not steal yours so that you sue me.’
review this construction

ku-boleloowa v. appl. pass. (**bolela**)

mwaalimu bolela chibuukú/ na mwaaná ‘the teacher who was stolen from a book by the child’

ku-boḷoowa v. (**bozeḷa**) be stolen

Apa/ chibozela 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/ chiboozela. ‘The knife that I bought has been stolen.’

Ibozelani/ ka Hamadi/ numbaani. ‘What has been stolen at Hamadi’s house?’ (An answer to this question might be an impersonal passive: **Ka Hamadi/ numbaani/ ibozela peesa.** ‘At Hamadi’s house there was money stolen.’ Or: **Ibozela peesa/ ka Hamadi/ numbaani.**)

Khalamu/ ibozela 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 –**boloo**. If the person is identified, however, then it must be the subject of the passive verb.)

Mbozela peesa. ‘I had money stolen from me.’

Mi/ Suufi/ tu/ nimwambiiló/ kuwa faṭuuraya/ yaliko iboozela. ‘I told only Suufi that my car was stolen.’ Or: **Suufi/ tu/ mi/ nambiiló/ kuwa faṭuuraya/ yaliko iboozela.** ‘I told only Suufi that my car was stolen.’ (Note that a preposed, focused complement may be placed before or after the subject, at least in a case like this where the marking on the verb clearly shows which NP is the subject and which is the object.)

Munt^hu boozeló/ huboloo. ‘The one who steals is stolen from.’ (A proverb.)

Mwaalimu/ bozela 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/ chibozela mwaalimu (na Ali).** ‘The book was stolen from the teacher (by Ali).’ is ungrammatical. However, it is possible to reverse word order: **Chibuuku/ bozela 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/ zibozela peesa. ‘At Hamadi’s house money was stolen.’ (An impersonal passive may also be used: **Numbaani/ ka Hamadi/ ibozela peesa.** ‘At Hamadi’s house there was money stolen.’)

Peesa/ ziboozela. ‘Money was stolen.’

Zibuuku/ zibozela ka waalimu. ‘Books have been stolen from the teachers (or, from where the teachers live).’ Or: **Zibuuku/ zibozela waalimu.** ‘Books were stolen from the teacher.’

Zibuuku/ zibozela na Boora. ‘The books were stolen by Boora.’

Ye/ hakhaadiri/ kumwambila waawaye/ kuwa nt^heendre/ ziboozela/ ambó/ zijiilá. ‘He could not tell his father that the dates either had been stolen or eaten.’

ku-bolowabooloo v. pass. freq. (**bozelaboozela**)

ku-bolaboola v. freq. (**bozeleboozele**) steal repeatedly

ku-boolana v. rec. (**-boleena**) 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-boleshaka 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’

wa-ku-boola n. ones who steal

Chiboorsacha/ chibooze^la/ na wakubola ziwovu. ‘My purse has been stolen by pickpockets (lit. ones who steal from pockets).’

booli

n. looting, taking by force

kubiga booli ‘to loot, rob, take by force from someone’

Omari/ hupeenda/ kubig booli/ mali ya waant^hu. ‘Omari likes to steal wealth from people.’

We/ nakubiga booli/ mali ya waant^hú. ‘You are looting people’s wealth.’

kubigowa booli ‘to be taken by force’

Haliima/ bishila booli. ‘Haliima has eloped with someone (lit. has been taken by force).’ (This example refers to a practice in Brava where a couple elopes by the man coming at midnight to the woman’s home, where she opens the door to him and they go off to some other place, usually at least twenty-five kilometers away, and get married. They stay at that place for a week or so, and then return to Brava. While the woman is often accepted back by her family, and the marriage approved, at times her family may disown her.)

Want^hu wa Miini/ wabishila booli/ mali yaawo/ yont^he/ wakhtⁱ waa zita. ‘The people of Brava were looted of their wealth during the time of war.’

ngamila za booli ‘camels taken by force from the owners’

l-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’; **mwa 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.
Hamadi/ iboloye/ ha’isimami/ ni balakh balakh! ‘Omari’s penis does not get an erection, it is flaccid, *balakh balakh!*’
- Bolobaazi** n. a newer area in Brava
- bom** ideo.
Hasani/ ingile inchidente/ bishile lkuta/ ka gaari/ bom!/ hatá/ majiraani/ wakasiize. ‘Hasani had an accident, he hit a wall with his car *bom!* Even the neighbors heard.’
Muunt^{hu}/ oyo/ ka ijiimba/kalile ikaandra/ yaa mazu/ sheree/le/ tushilee nt^{hi}/ kana/ ijuuniya/ bom! ‘That old man with a big stomach stepped on a banana, he slipped and fell to the ground like a sack *bom!*’
Mwaana/ potele ka chidank^{ha}aani/ bom!/ biganishile naa nt^{hi}/ vundishile kuulu. ‘The child fell from the roof, *bom!* and hit against the earth and broke (his) leg.’
- 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/ yanakuła/ bon/ bon/ bon/ bon. ‘Explosions are crying *bon bon bon bon!*’
- m-booni** (*wa-*) n. 1/2 a member of an ethnic group, originally nomadic hunters, located in northeastern Kenya; they speak a Cushitic language; they are viewed by the **want^{hu} wa miini** as being lower class, of inferior status
iizo khtumila oyo mbwa mułooni/ nt^haasa wazuungu wote na wabooni [st.] ‘whoever refuses to practice [the legal commandments] is fated to go to Hell, especially all infidels and pagans’
Omari/ ni mbooni. [H!H] ‘Omari is of an inferior class.’
Omari/ ni nasabu/ Ali/ ni mbooni. [H!H][†][H!H] ‘Omari is from a higher (more valued, more prestigious) clan, Ali is from an inferior clan.’ (We are dealing here with a sequence of two contrastive clauses, where the second clause is marked by the raising of the subject even higher than the subject of the initial clause.)
Sho kulipa ihsaani/ ni mbooni. ‘One who does not return a favor is a low caste individual.’ (A saying.)
- rel.
u-booni n. 11 the behavior associated with people of lower class like the Wabooni
Kuda’owada’oowa/ siwo/ unasabu/ ni ubooni. [H!H!H!H] ‘To boast is not behavior associated with the upper class of people, it is the behavior of the lower class.’
- chi-boonk^{ho}** (*zi-*) n. 7/8 whip
- bontá** n. 9/10 [Ital. *ponte*] bridge
bontá iyi ‘this bridge’; **bontá izi** ‘these bridges’
Bontá/ zivuunzila/ sfanyiiza. ‘The bridges that were damaged were repaired.’
- rel.
chi-bontá (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim.

i-bonṭa (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

Bonṭaani n. A 900 meters long causeway-bridge was built by the Italians to connect **Mp^haayi** and **Chiḷaani** island. However, the bridge was broken at several points by the British during the Second World War, and **Chiḷaani** can now be reached only by boat. The name for the whole length of the (broken) bridge and its general area is **Bonṭaani**, the locative form of **bonṭa** above.

boora [Sw. *boora* SSED 38] (not commonly used) better, rather; of highest quality
Boora/ aḫiya. ‘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 (Ø, ma-) n. 9/10, 6 [Ital.] purse, handbag, traveling bag, briefcase; scholarship
Boorsaya/ ibeele. ‘My briefcase is lost.’
Boorsaza/ zibeele. ‘My luggage has been lost.’
Boorsazo/ ṣṭakuya liini. ‘When will your luggage arrive?’
borsa ya mayi mamulo ‘hot water bottle.’
Omari/ kazize zibuuku/ borsaani. ‘Omari stuffed the books into the bag.’ Or with a prepositional phrase instead of the locative: **Omari/ kazize zibuuku/ ka boorsa.**
Omari/ nakhkaza borsaani/ zibuuku. ‘Omari is stuffing books into the bag.’ Also: **Omari/ nakhkaza zibuuku/ borsaani.**
rel.
chi-boorsa (zi-) n. dim. 7/8 small traveling bag, small purse, etc.
Chiboorsacha/ chiboozela/ na wakubola ziwovu. ‘My purse has been stolen by a pickpocket.’
i-boorsa (mi-) n. aug. 5/4 large traveling bag, large purse, etc.

boortji (Ø, ma-) n. 9/10, 6 pole used in the construction of houses (cut from the **mkoko** tree)
Isa/ tambula bortji izi/ mbilize. ‘Now, distinguish between these two poles.’
Leteleḷa bortji mbili. ‘He was brought two poles.’
Naank^h6/ cheendra/ chimleteleḷe boortji/ mbili/ sawa/ sawa. ‘And again, he went and brought to him two poles which look alike.’
Yiimp^hi/ boortji/ yiimp^hi/ ikulu/ yiimp^hi/ chihaba. ‘Which pole, which one is big, which one is small?’
rel.
chi-boortji (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.
i-boortji (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

booshi n. hide-and-peek game
Omari/ nakhṭeza booshi. ‘Omari is playing hide-and-peek.’

bow ideo. (= *bom*)

	Burhaani/ masku mazima/ chibigaa ngoma/ bow bow!/ nt^haykula_{lo}owa. ‘Burhaani all night was beating a drum <i>bow bow!</i> There was no sleeping.’
	Mwaana/ potele ka chidank^haani/ bow!/ biganishile naa nt^hi/ vundishile kuulu. ‘The child fell from roof, hit against the earth and broke his leg.’
boweeta (Ø, ma-)	n. 9/10, 6a small box or chest of drawers boweeta ‘my chest of drawers’ rel. <i>i-boweeta</i> (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
booya (Ø, ma-)	n. buoy boya iyi ‘this buoy’ (cf. maboya aya ‘these buoys’) rel. <i>chi-booya</i> (zi-) n. 7/8 dim. <i>i-booya</i> (mi-) n. 4/5 aug.
boyeesa (ma-)	n. maid, female servant Keesho/ nt^h akajiri_{la} boyeesa. ‘Tomorrow I will hire a maid for you.’
booyi	n. 1/2,10 [Eng. <i>boy</i> , Som. <i>booy</i> Ab 34] male servant, waiter boyi uyu ‘this waiter’ (cf. boyi awa or boyi izi ‘these waiters’)
booyi	adj. stale, vapid (said of chewing tobacco that has lost its effect), worthless ilmu ni nuuru jaahili ni booyi [st.] ‘knowledge is light, ignorance is worthless’ tibaku booyi or tibaaku/ booyi ‘spoiled, tasteless tobacco’
bu	ideo. Bu/ nt^h akuhada. ‘He didn’t say anything at all.’ Hamadi/ ile numbaani/ nt^h akhkooda/ ba/ bu. ‘Hamadi came to the house, he didn’t say anything.’ (The ideophone bu is raised in pitch in this example.)
bu	ideo. of defecating Haliima/ mwambile mwaanawe/ ndo/ nya bu! ‘Haliima told her child: come, defecate <i>bu!</i> ’ (Interestingly, the imperative verb <i>nya</i> is phrased with the ideophone 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^h azina/ malaariya. ‘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.’ Zijuuluze/ kamba zaa mbu. ‘His legs are as thin as those of a mosquito.’
bubiina	n. [Ital. <i>bobina</i>] solenoid
buubu (Ø, ma-)	adj. mute; n. mute person buubu/ mkonowe ‘mute person, his hand’; buubu/ mikonoye ‘mute person, his hands’; buubu/ mikono yaawo ‘mute people, their hands’ (A human noun requires the possessive enclitic <i>-e</i> in the singular and <i>-awo</i> in the plural, whereas non-human nouns trigger <i>-e</i> 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’; bubu awo ‘those 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’

munt^hu buubu ‘a mute person’
Omari/ ni buubu. ‘Omari is a mute person.’

budi

? way out; [pron. **budi** or **buddi**]

Chiwa nayoo ndalá/ nt^huná/ 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/ iḷa 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.’

Nt^hamu/ budi/ kooḍi/ za mzele/ ni lilla/ na ka kuwa jis’iyó/ we/ kḥuḷaazima/ 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^huná/ budi/ we/ khtokosa maayi. ‘You have no choice but to boil water.’

[Waant^hu/ wachihada/ kuwa ↑nt^hamu/ budi/ wo/ kumtala muḅjaana/ uyu/ kuwaweḷeḷa sultaani.] ‘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/ ṭakeendra. ‘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-bughuḍa

v. (**bughuḍiile**) hate someone and speak evil of that person
rel. nom.

m-bughuḍa (wa-) n. 1/2

ukopi waawaye Jahli/ mbughuḍa haqi na adli [st.] ‘where is Abu Jahl who hated right and justice?’

buguḍi

n. 9/10 hatred, abhorrence

variant form: **bughḍi**

Bughḍi/ hayiinfi. ‘Hatred is of no use.’

Bughḍi/ hazimsaaydi/ mwenewe. ‘Hatred does not help one.’

bughḍi na kibri na ḍulmu rebaani [st.] ‘talking ill of people and arrogance and wrongdoing, you (pl.) stop!’

m-buja

n. (my) sister (of a boy); [pron. **mbujá**]

Ali/ mbujaze/ ni waṭaano. ‘Ali has five sisters [lit. Ali, his sisters are five].’

Aziizi/ mbujé/ hukoḍa 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.’

Mbujá/ Moomo/ ile naami/ shiriini. ‘My sister Moomo came with me to the meeting.’ Or: **Moomo/ mbujá/ ile naami/ shiriini.** ‘Moomo my sister came with me to the meeting.’

Mbujá/ Moomo/ ni msuura. ‘My sister Moomo is beautiful.’ (The name Moomo is used here as a female name. A boy is speaking.)

Mbujá/ t̄inzile ruuhuye/ chaala. ‘My sister has cut her finger.’
mbuja ȳiitu ‘our sister’; **mbuja ȳiinu** ‘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.’
m̄waana/ na mbujé ‘a boy and his sister’; **m̄waana/ na mbujazé** ‘a boy and his sisters’
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.’
Yo/ ndaa mbujá. ‘It is my sister’s.’

chi-buji (zi-)

n. 7/8

buk

ideo. of sound coming from the mouth

Omari/ nakuvunangaa nk^heje/ Hamadi/ mameele/ tu/ buk!/ nt^hakuhada. ‘Omari is shouting, Hamadi just kept quiet. *Juuq!* He did not say anything.’

bukeeni

n. in the expression:

mazu ya bukeeni ‘a kind of very large banana, not sweet enough to eat raw, but instead is cooked’

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

Ali/ uzile chibuuku/ laakini/ nt^hakichisooma. ‘Ali bought a book, but he did not read it.’ (The final verb in this example illustrates two significant points about the [cl.7] object marker *chi*. The first point is that the infinitive marker *ku* appears as *ki*. This reflects both the fact that the infinitive does not elide its vowel in front of an object marker and furthermore *ku* shifts to *ki* in front of most object markers that contain a palatal element. The second point is that *chi* does not elide its vowel in front of a stem-initial *s*, even though it elides this vowel in front of most other voiceless stops.)

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^h]. 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/ hupeenda/ khsooma/ na khkooðelá/ zibuuku. ‘I like to read and

discuss books.'

Mi/ waliko chisoma chibuuku/ mukhta we/ iló. 'I was reading a book when you came.'

Mi/ nhadiilé/ kuwa chibuku ichi/ nthaksoomá/ ni Suufi/ tu. 'I said that only Suufi did not read this book (lit. this book, the one who did not read it is only Suufi).'

Mp^hete chibuku cha mana wa Omari. 'I found Omari's child's book.' Or: **Mp^hete chibuukú/ cha mana wa Omari.** Or: **Mp^heté/ 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 Hamadí's.' Or: **Chibuku cha Hamadi/ chuzila naami.** 'A book of Hamadí's was bought by me.'

Nuzile Hamadí/ chibuukuché. 'I bought Hamadí's book.' Or: **Hamadi/ chibuukuche/ chuzila naami.** 'Hamadí's book was bought by me.'

Zo/ ni zubuukuza. They're my books.'

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 **takuhada**

Omari/ mameele/ tu/ búku/ takuhada. 'Omari just kept quiet, he didn't say a word.'

bu!

ideo. of burning

Numba/ ya Haliima/ yaawo/ ipiile/ bu!/ chiint^hu/ nth'a'ikhsaala. 'Haliima, their house burned down, **bu!** nothing remained.'

Sheekhi/ hadiile/ Ali/ chiint^huche/ hufanyoowayi/ bu!/ alaa siiyó/ chikhupa/ chiint^hu/ khukooða/ ka chinume. 'Sheekhi said: Ali's things, how they are done with, **bu!** **alaa siiyó** (i.e. may God burn it!), if he gives you something, he (then) talks behind your back.' (The phrase **alaa siiyó** is taken from the dialect of the *walakata*, who speak a form of Maymaayi.)

bu!aati

n. sand (of the desert), desert

bu!aatiini 'in the desert'

Chiineendra/ ilu ya bu!aati/ 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/ mahala/ yíikó/ bu!aati/ niingi. 'For a period of many days, he traveled and traveled until he reached a place where there was much desert.'

rel.

chi-bu!aati (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^h u bulbuli. 'He talks a lot (and eloquently).'

bulbuli

Ni muunt^h u bulbuli. 'He talks a lot (and eloquently).'

ku-bulbulika

v. talk a lot

kubulbulika/ kana raadiyo 'to talk non-stop, like the radio'

Omari/chishika kooði/ haamali/ hububulika/ kana raadiyo.

‘When Omari he talks, he does not finish, he talks and talks like 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
- bulukeeti** n. 9/10 [Ital. *blocchetti*, Som. *bulukeeti*] brick; variant form provided by MI: **blokeeti**
Omari/ ziwilile chooloko/ cha nuumbaye/ ka bulukeeti. ‘Omari covered the window of his house with bricks.’
- 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.
Uamna/ yaa ye/ himbo limbo ili/ hunkumbushaa mi/ chibuulocha. ‘The way she sings this song reminds me of my home village.’
Mwiini/ iwaaliko/ chibuulo/ chihaba. ‘Brava was a small village.’
Mzee/ 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.’
Wantu wazele/ hu’iisha/ chibulooni. ‘The old people live in 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/ mtaangawe/ 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.’
Ali/ dardarmeete/ ntasa yaa ye/ kufa/ numba ya Bulo Baazi/ khpowa mukeewe. ‘Ali left a will before he died that the house in Bulo Baazi be given to his wife.’
- Bulo Iji** n. the name of a village (**Buulo/ Iji**) on the western side of Baghdaadi, bordering
Buulo/ Baazi
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.
Zamaani/ ramaaani/ Mwiini/ masku ya sfeeli/wachiletowaa wake/ ka Bulo Mareer/ wawaliko wakali/ khtinda makiindri. ‘During old times, in Ramadhan, on the night of competition, women were brought from Bulo Mareer; they were expert in dancing.’ (These women in Bulo Mareer were of Bantu origin, but not affiliated in

any way with the **want^hu wa Mwiini**. They spoke the Maymaayi dialect of Somali.)

- 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/ hukalant^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 mwaanawe/ chibuumbu. 'Omari bought a whistle for his son.'
- bun** ideophone of the sound of s.t. falling
Mwaana/ 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/ nimublejele Nuuru. 'The gun, I used it to kill Nuuru.'
bundukhu ya askari 'soldier's gun'

Bundukhu yaa mi/ nimub^hlelelo Nuurú/ 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/ wachilaṭila bundukhu zaawo/ washfakaṭa. ‘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/ ponzeele 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.’ (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/ zote. ‘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.)

Maatoye/ 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/ nafiye/ hisabaṭowa 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).’

bukh

ideo.

Haliima/ fungile shfiniko/ shṭupa/ kaa nguvu/ bukh! ‘Haliima opened the lid of the bottle with force, *bukh!*’

Itiki/ ya Haliima/ uziló/ ipoteele/ itumbushile/ bukh! ‘The watermelon that Haliima bought fell down and broke open *bukh!*’

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.’ (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.’ (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; [usu. pron. **buraakhi**]
- buraashi*** n. 9/10 [Eng. *brush*] brush
buraashi/ ya miino ‘toothbrush’
kubiga buraashi ‘to paint; to whitewash’
Ḳbishile Ḳkuta/ buraashi. ‘He painted the wall.’
kubiga nuumba/ buraashi ‘to paint the house’
- ku-burbuka*** v. [Som. *burbur* DSI 68] (*burbushile*) fall down, collapse (of a structure); roll down (a hill), roll over, tumble
Kama muti uyu/ uchiburbuka/ naambila. ‘If this tree falls, tell me.’
Muti / uburbushile. ‘The tree fell.’
Muti uyu/ ka’uburbuká/ sulá 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^haasá kuburbuka ruuhuya kuguura [song] ‘I haven’t collapsed, my soul departing’
Nt^ha’ikuwaaliko/ waaðehe/ ka khisani/ ariplaano/ iburbushiló. ‘It is not clear why the airplane crashed.’
Omari/ burbushile. ‘Omari tumbled.’
Wo/ wamo karkaa ndilá/ barza/ ya sulṭaani/ jasiye/ ichiburbuka/ ichiwa’ubḷa/ waant^hu/ wawaliko haaðiri/ apó/ woté. ‘While they 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. (*burbukiliile*) fall on, fall over on, roll over on
Gaari/ imburbukilile Sa’iidi. ‘The car rolled over onto Saiidi. Saiidi’s car rolled over.’
Muti/ uburbukilile nuumba. ‘The tree fell on the house.’
Muti/ umburbukilile. ‘The tree fell on him.’
Muti/ umburbukilile mbuzi. ‘The tree fell on the goat.’
ku-burbusha v. caus. cause to fall down, roll over
Aawo/ mburbushize Sheekhi/ muti/ ka shṭoka. ‘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/ mtilē 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/ mtilile 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 Nuuru/ 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 Nuuru/ 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

Buure/ hukukowa tuure. ‘Free things cause you to develop a hump (become bent).’ (A proverbial saying.)

Buure/ ni mayi ya tawala. ‘The only free thing is sea water.’ (A proverbial saying.)

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/ nakuḷa 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/ sh^tawanya iburiini. ‘She went and discarded (the cut up body) at the garbage dump.’

Gaari/ ipanzile ibuuri. ‘The car climbed the hill.’

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)

ibuuri yaa nt^haka ‘a heap of garbage’

kharibu ya ibuuri ‘near a hill’

Maayi/ hishkila/ hayapaandri/ ibuuri. ‘Water comes down, it does not go up a hill.’ (A proverb.)

Mubjaana/ panzile ilu/ ya ibuuri/ ‘The young man climbed to the top of the mountain.’

Muunthu/ oyo/ hupandro mibuuri/ paanzile/ ilu ya ibuuri/ shereele/ poteele/ merelemereele/ nt^hangú/ iló/ haṭá/ nt^hi/ ba’adiye/ fiile. ‘That mountain climber climbed up the hill, he slipped, twisting and turning until he got to the bottom (lit. earth) and died.’

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/ wanakhtēza 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; fire (from a position)
Skoolā/ imburishiize/ mwaalimu/ nthana wanaskoḷa wiingí. ‘The school fired the teacher who does not have many students.’
Skoolā/ imburishiize/ mwaalimu/ nthana wanaaskoḷa wiingí/ imburishiizó. ‘The school fired the teacher who does not have many students, that’s who it fired.’
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-burkhaṭa* 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-barkhaṭisha v. caus. (**burkhaṭishiize**)
Baana/ mburkaṭishize mwaana. ‘Baana caused the child to become intensely angry.’ (Cf. the periphrastic version: **Baana/ mtile mwaana/ kuburkhaṭa.**)
ku-barkhaṭishana v. caus. rec.
ku-barkhaṭishika v. caus. p/s.
ku-barkhaṭishiliza v. caus. appl. (**burkhaṭishiliize**)
Baana/ mburkaṭishilize Iisa/ mwaana. ‘Baana caused Iisa’s child to become intensely angry.’ (Cf. the periphrastic version: **Baana/ mtile Iisa/ mwaana/ kuburkhaṭa.**)
ku-barkhaṭishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. (**-burkhaṭishilizeenye**)
Baana/ na Iisá/ waburkaṭishilizenye waana. ‘Baana and Iisa caused one another’s children to become intensely angry.’ (Cf. the periphrastic version: **Baana/ na Iisá/ watililene waana/ kuburkhaṭa.**)
- buru* n. a general term for a kind of donut made in Brava; **khamdi** is a triangular-shaped **buru**, while **shṭuumbuwa** 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’
kugīṭa iburuko ‘to pull off a wig’
kuvala iburuko ‘to wear a wig’
- Burundi* n. Burundi
Maḏahweena/ 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)

Mamađo/ burureete/ sh̄t̄miriini/ bigil̄ilaa ngoma/ tezeze/ mirseete. ‘Mamadho fell into a trance during the **sh̄t̄miri** dancing, drums were beaten for him and he (resumed) dancing/playing and got his senses back.’

Omari/ sh̄kasa jawabu iyo/ takuburuur̄a. ‘If Omari hears this, he will go crazy, get mad, get out of control.’

rel.

ku-burur̄atoowa v. pass.

Kuburur̄atoowa/ bilaa ma’ana/ siwo/ suura. ‘To get mad for no reason is not good.’

ku-bur(u)sha

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.’

Mburshize mwaana/ ka khisaa chilaatu. ‘He sent the boy away because of the shoe [that he found].’

Mwambiile/ ni/ hanimp̄heenda/ 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/ mwaana/ 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/ n̄’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’ūt̄ind̄a/ ubuuse. ‘The hand that you cannot cut it, kiss it.’ (A proverb.)

Nimbusize Baab̄a/ Shariif̄u/ mkono. ‘I kissed Baaba Shariifu on the hand.’

Or: **Nimbusize mkono/ Baab̄a/ Shariif̄u.** ‘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.’

Sult̄aani/ chuuluka/ chimbusa oyo mwaana. ‘The sultan jumped and kissed that boy.’

rel.

ku-busabuusa v. redup.

Haliima/ nakuwabusabusa waanawe/ ka furaha. ‘Haliima is kissing her children with happiness.’

ku-buusanya v. rec. (**-buseenye**) kiss one another

Waana/wabuseenye. ‘The children kissed one another.’

Waana/ wabusenye ka khisa wawa yaawo. ‘The children kissed one another for their father.’

ku-busanyiliza v. rec. appl. (**-busanyiliize**)

ku-busilizanya v. appl. rec. (**-busilizeenye**)

Waant̄u/ wabusilizenye waana. ‘People kissed the children for one another.’ (Note that this example cannot mean ‘people kissed one another for the children’; the beneficiaries of the action are not the logical object of the verb **-buusa**.)

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’uṭṭindiki/ hubusoowa. ‘A hand that cannot be cut off is kissed.’
(A proverb which conveys the idea that what is indispensable must be kept.)

ku-busowabusoowa v. pass. redup.

Haliima/ mwene mwanaamkewe/ skolaani/ nakubusowabusoowa.

‘Haliima saw her daughter being kissed at school (e.g. by her boyfriend).’

busaati (Ø, ma-)

n. 9/10, 6 [Sw. *busati* SSED 43; Ar. *bisāṭ* W 58] blanket

Busaati/ iyele nt’uundru. ‘The blanket is filled with holes.’

busati iyi ‘this blanket’ (cf. **mabusati aya** ‘these blankets’)

Busaati/ kufinikowa waṭṭi ya bardi. ‘A blanket is used to cover oneself when one is cold.’

busati 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’eendre ‘one piece of date’

busurii mbili/ ya nt’eendre ‘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.’

Wakhti wa barafu/ Ameerika/ huvalowa milaatu/ ya buuti/ kurebela bardi. ‘During cold times in America big boots are worn to stop the cold with.’

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**]
Hamadi/ nakispaa kuja/ mbwa. 'Hamadi is giving the dogs food.' (Note the

[cl.10] agreement on the verb triggered by **mbwa**.

kubiga mikele/ kanaa mbwa ‘to shout, bark like a dog’
kumfaanya/ kanaa mbwa ‘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/ mnumiiló. ‘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 Hamadi’s dog.’ Or, with **mbwa** controlling human agreement on the verb: **Nimpete mbwa Hamadi**.

wa

Mp^hete Hamadi/ mbwaazé. ‘I found Hamadi’s dogs.’ Or, with the plural **mbwa** controlling [cl.10] agreement on the verb: **Nispete Hamadi/ mbwaazé**.
mwana waa mbwa ‘a puppy; a son-of-a-bitch’
Nnakispaa mbwa/ kujá. ‘I am giving them dogs food.’ Or: **Nnakispaa kujá/ mbwa**.
Omari/ fanyize Alí/ kana mbwa mooyi. ‘Omari treated Ali like a dog.’
Omari/ waanawe/ ni wana waa mbwa. ‘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 mbwa. ‘Sarmadi was bitten by a dog.’
Shkosa iwele ya maamo/ amá/ hata 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. **chibwá**]

chibwaacha ‘my dim. dog’ (cf. **zibwaaza** ‘my dim. dogs’)

i-b(w)a (mi-) n. 5/4 aug. [pron. **ib(w)á**]

Ibwá/ 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.)

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.’

Sheekhi/ shishiila shtana/ nakubigaa nk^he/le/ kana ibwá. ‘Sheekhi got angry, he is shouting like a dog.’

b(w)aana

n. [Sw. *bwana* SSED 43] a term of address, "mister", "master"

Bwana taajiri/ bwana taajiri. ‘Mr. Businessman! Mr. Businessman!’

^Q**Bwaana/ takhaadira/ we/ khfungula shtandrawili ichi?** ‘Master, will you be able to solve this riddle?’ (The final accent in the final phrase is due to the intonational principles of yes-no questions.)

Isa/ mi/ nile kaakó/ bwana mfa^lme/ 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/ kishkiḷa 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-cheeleḷa v. appl. (-chelele) be late

Iwa/ imchelele. ‘He was late (lit. the sun dawned on him).’

kh-cheleloowa v. appl. pass. (chelele) over sleep, be late (i.e. be overtaken by dawn)

Nch^heleḷa 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/ qimaye/ 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 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 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/ wakhadiriḷo 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 (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/ haṭá/ 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/ chil^hiḡfakaṭila. ‘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^hilawilá. ‘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^hilawila**, 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/ shtuluba chaakuja/ shpoowa/ chija. ‘The girl, like that, requested food and was given it and ate.’
Mwiisho/ Abdalla/ chiraasha/ kooḡi/ 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^hineendra. ‘On the second day, the girl arose from the bed and went outside to take a stroll.’
Sulṭaani/ shtomola sanduukhu/ chi^hiweeka/ mbele/ za waant^hu/ wa^hilo 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 **shtomola** and **chi^hiweeka** but the perfect in **wa^hilo**.)
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

Muunt^{bu}/ chisula chiint^{bu}/ masku/ hufanya muunt^{bi}. ‘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.)

Muunt^{bu}/ chiwa naacho/ humambila nt^{be}endra. ‘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?’

Chinakulatá. ‘We are letting go.’

chisoole ‘that we crush grain’

Chivaliko waana. ‘We were children.’

Naasi/ chiko hayyi... ‘And we who are alive...’

Si/ shtile ruhu zitu/ karka khatari/ na shchiiwa... ‘We put ourselves in danger and we knew...’

chi-

[cl.7] subject prefix; morphophonemic variant: **ch, sh**

Chaayi/ chilesela na mgeeni. ‘Tea was brought by the guest.’

Chibuuku/ chibeele. ‘The book is lost.’

Chisimacha/ hashtindiki/ 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/ chilesela/ karka ikholi. ‘The old woman was brought in the mat-bag.’

Chuluungu/ cha pili/ hashtakhkalaant^{ba}. ‘The second storey will not remain standing.’

(Ye/) ka’oloká/ 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!’

Sishkoooishé. ‘Don’t talk to us.’ or ‘Don’t make us talk!’

Wachisharifiile. ‘They honored us.’

Washpeete. ‘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 **Ikosi** ‘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/ chimuuzā/ 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/ kichilangala 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’
- chiikh** ideo.
Chili ichi/ chivundishile/ shchika_lant^hiloowa/ chinaaku_la/ chiikh chiikh! ‘This bed is broken, if it is sat on, it cries: *chiiq chiiq!*’
Chili ichi/ ni chishepe/ khariibu/ kuvuundika/ chinaku_la chiikh chiikh! ‘This bed is old and about to break, it is making the noise *chiikh chiikh!*’
Sheekhuna/ shishile gaari/ fariina/ kaa nguvu/ chiikh!/ khariibu/ kumbiga muunt^hu. ‘Sheekhuna pushed the car’s brakes with force, *chiikh!* he almost hit a man.’
- 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.)
- Chilomo** n. a place far from the shore off the coast from Brava
Omari/ nakoowela/ mpaka Chilomooni. ‘Omari is swimming up to Chilomooni.’
Wako waant^hu/ wakali/ koowela/ hukhadira kowela_n n^hi/ hat^ha/ Chilomo. ‘There are people good at swimming, they can swim from land all the way to Chilomo.’
- chimaliza** conj. then, afterwards
Chimaliza/ chilawa ijini/ mwiingine/ chimwambila Sa’iidi/ sh_takhteza khamaari/ mi/ naawé/ na takshindroowá/ natomole 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/ kana mwana wa skool_a/ chimaliza khsooma/ ye/ hukhaadira kulangala mpiira. ‘Then if a student finishes studying, he may watch football.’
Chimaliza/ ye/ chiruda muiyini/ chendra kaake/ numbaani. ‘After that, he returned to the town and went to his home.’
Dede/ andishilee khati/ chimaliza/ itukiize. ‘Dede wrote a letter and then she sent it.’
Hamadi/ andishilee khati/ chimaliza mtukulize waawaye. ‘Hamadi wrote a letter and then mailed it to his father.’
Hamadi/ pete chibuuku/ chimaliza/ mtukulizee muke. ‘Hamadi got a book and then took it the woman.’ (Note that given a conjoined structure such as this, the object of the second clause cannot be relativized into: ***muke wa Hamadi/ peto chibuukú/ chimaliza/ mtukuliizó** ‘the woman whom Hamadi got a book and took it to her’. One would have to say: **muke wa Hamadi/ mtukulizo chibuukú/ chaa ye/ peetó** ‘the woman whom Hamadi took to her the book that he got’.)
Hamiisi/ somele chibuuku/ chimaliza/ ye/ langalile mpiira. ‘Hamiisi read a book,

then he watched football.’

Maryaamu/ mpikilile Ali/ zijo/ chimaliza/ mpakuliile. ‘Maryaamu cooked **zijo** for Ali and then served him.’

muke waa ye/ mwandikiliilo khati/ chimaliza/ mtukuliizo ‘the woman who he wrote a letter to her and then mailed it to her’ (Note that both of the co-ordinated verbs in this example are marked as relative verbs by means of the final vowel *o*. Note that the conjunction **chimaliza** is not shifted into relative clause form.)

munt’u andishiloo khati/ chimaliza/ itukiizo ‘the man who wrote a letter and then mailed it’ **phrasing of chimaliza -- review**

kh-chiimbila

v. (**chimbile**) 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^himbiile/ khpata kumwona. ‘I ran (in order) to see him. C. **Nch^himbile kumwona.** ‘I ran to see him.’

Nch^himbiile/ simbone. ‘I ran away so that he would not see me.’

Nch^himbiile/ nisimwone. ‘I ran away so that I might not see him.’

Nch^himbile spate kumwona. ‘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^himbiile/ chiza kumwona.** ‘I ran (in order) not to see him.’ Not: ***Nch^himbiile/ chiza kumwona.**)

Nch^himbiile/ spate kumbona. ‘I ran away so that he wouldn’t see me.’ Cf.

Nch^himbiile/ spate kumwona. ‘I ran away so that I would not see him.’

Ni daruuri/ wo/ kiiwa/ kuwa hawaakhaadiri/ khchiimbila. ‘It is essential that they recognize that they cannot escape.’

Omari/ nakhchiimbila. ‘Omari is running away.’

Tafaðali/ stoshé/ kuwaa si/ chinakhuchiimbila. ‘Please do not think that we are running away from you.’

Walá/ mchiimbizi/ nakhchiimbilo. ‘And neither am I a fugitive who is running away.’

Washchiimbila/ wizi wawili. ‘Ran away two thieves.’ Cf. **Washchiimbila/ wizi wawili/ washchiimbilo.** ‘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-chimbiloowa v. be run away from

Apo/ inakhchimbiloowa. ‘People are running away from there.’

kh-chimbilachiimbila v. redup.

Hamadi/ huchimbilachiimbila waant’u/ hutiya kulombowa chiint’u.

[H!H|H]] ‘Hamadi runs away from people, he is afraid to be begged for something (i.e. he runs away from people in order to avoid having them ask him to give them something).’

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 shana/ kumwelele chiingi/ mchimbize mwaana.** ‘Father,

overcome by anger, sent away the boy.'

Chihada/ mi/ skhaadiri/ khkoða wanaafakhi/ na shkoða lila/ waawe/takunchiimbiza. 'He said: I cannot tell a lie, and if I tell the truth, my father will send me away.'

Maama/ chimwambila mubliwe/ waana/ ni waanawo/ siwachiimbizé. 'Mother said to her husband: the children are your children, do not send them away.'

Mchimbiize/ ka mataando. 'He sent him away with insults.'

Wanchiimbizé/ ka mataando. 'They sent me away with insults.'

kh-chimbizachiimbiza v. redup.

Omari/ kaake/ siwo/ mahaJa ya kolokoowa/ huchimbizachimbiza waant^hu. [H'H'H!H!H] 'Omari's place is not that should be gone to, he drives people away.'

kh-chimbizana v. caus. rec.

Askari/ za sultaani/ wawaye mwanaamke/ mukhta wo/ waweno jisa Hasani/ nakuwa'ublo wa'aduwi/ naawo/ 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. (chimbiiza)

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/ heendrapi. '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/ kana/ chimento 'as smooth as cement'

Lkuta ili/ lbishila buraashi/ ltakasiiza/ inasha/ kana/ chimento. 'This wall has been brushed and filled in, it is smooth like cement.'

chimya

adv. [Sw. *kimya* SSED 198] silently, quietly; [pron. **chimya**]

Jisa aadaye/ mwanaamke/ wa sultaani/ waliko cholokooni/ ka darbiniye/ kulangaJa/ zinakhtulukó/ laakini/ yaa ye/ huwonó/ hamwambili muunt^hu/ ye/ hukalaant^ha/ chimya/ imamaJiilé/ 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/ chimya. '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 Ali/ 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 Huseeni. ‘*Zijo* wa prepared at the house of Mahmuud [son] of Sheikh Husein.’ (Syn. The initial verb in this example is an impersonal passive. The noun *zijo* phrases with this verb, as 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 Sheikh 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.**)

wanaawake ni wanne china Mwaana [st.] ‘there were four daughters [born to] Lady [Khadija]’

Want^hu wiingi/ wa’iló/ hatá/ 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*.)

chiino

n.

kudirka chiino ‘to hurry to claim righteousness (i.e. to claim to be in the right in some matter)’

Ndiyé/ hangamizo waant^hú/ naank^hó/ hudirko chiinó. ‘He is the one who does harm to people, but he is the one who goes claiming he is the righteous one (has right on his side).’ (A proverb.)

chiq

ideo.

Muskitiini/ sala yaa jima/ iyeeja/ chiq!/ mahaJa ya khsimamoowa/ itozeJa. ‘At mosque, Friday praying was full *chiq!* There was no place to stand (lit. place of being stood was lacking).’

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.

chiṭa

n. consideration, value (in the eyes of others)

Maskiini/ nt^haná/ chiṭa. ‘A poor man has no value (does not command respect).’

Nayoo chiṭa/ 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^hakhuṭiinda. ‘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 sh̄tana. 'Then I beg you not to get angry at me.'

chiiza

otherwise; [pron. **chiizá**]

chiiza muḷooni wote wiinu n̄hakuuḷo [st.] 'otherwise in the fire (of hell) (it is all of you) who will be crying'

Chiizá/ waawé/ nakuya kubḷoowa/ 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).'

Mi/ siná/ ismu/ ya sababu/ chiza kendra Mwiini. 'I do not have any reason not to go to Brava.'

Nt̄haku/ sababu/ si/ chiza kuḷawa masku. 'There is no reason for us not to leave tonight.'

Simḷat̄é/ yee/ peeke/ chiizá/ takumala chaakuja. 'Do not leave him alone, otherwise he will use up all the food.'

chiizapo

otherwise

Hamiisi/ hiht̄aaja/ kandika zaaydi/ chizapó/ takhpot̄ela im̄tihaani. 'Hamiisi needs to write more, otherwise he will fail the examination.'

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/ chanaamp̄haka/ 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/ t̄indil̄il̄oo n̄amá/ chi-boozeḷa. 'It, the knife that you cut the meat with, has been stolen.'

Cho /chisu chaa we/ uziló/ ubḷiil̄á/ Hamadí. 'It, the knife that you bought, is the (very) one that was used to kill Hamadi.'

Cho/ chisu chaa we/ weenó/ chiboozeḷá. 'It, the knife that you saw, is the (very) one that has been stolen.'

Cho/ shchisoonga/ shchilomba rukhsa/ khkalaant̄h̄a/ kharibu ya sul̄taani. 'She (i.e. the old woman, **chizeele**) moved near and asked for permission to sit near the sultan.'

Cho/ siwo/ kama ḷugha za want̄h̄u wiingine. 'It (i.e. Chimiini) is not like languages of other people.'

Chuuma/ hubigowa hataa cho/ chimuló. 'Iron is hit when it is hot.' (A proverb.)

Ichi/ siwo/ cho/ chibuukucha. 'This is not it, my book.'

Mi/ nakichuuz/ cho. 'I am selling it.'

Mpele Huseeni/ cho. 'He gave it to Huseeni.'

Mpele Huseeni/ cho/ chibuuku. 'He gave it to Huseeni, a book.'

Muunt̄h̄u/ hakhaadiri/ ki'itamida/ chiint̄h̄u/ chaa ye/ n̄h̄anaa cho. 'A person cannot rely on something that he does not have.'

Nacho chiint̄h̄ú/ hula ka peesaze/ na sho kuwanaachó/ haat̄owi/ munt̄h̄u 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.'

Sul̄taani/ chamura khaadimu/ kh̄tukula ichije chit̄á/ 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.,**

chukhuu khuu

ideo.

Gari ya Ali/ leelo/ fijiri/ biṭiriya/ ifiile/ yiize/ kondroka/ ishishile
chukhuu khuu! ‘Ali’s car this morning, the battery died, it could not start, it kept making the noise **chukhuu khuu!**’

Gaariya/ leelo/ fijiri/ yiize/ koondroka/ chukhuu khuu!/ baṭiriya/ ḍa’iifu.
‘My car this morning did not start, **chukhuu khuu!** the battery is weak.’ (The prosodic contrasts found in the ideophone have not been thoroughly studied. In this example, the pitch shape of the ideophonic phrase seems to be [chuquu quúk].)

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

ku-da’a

v. [Sw. *dai* SED 67; Ar. *da’ā* "to claim, to assume unduly or presumptuously" W 282-3] (**da’iile**) claim, boast

Mi/ sida’i/ kiwa jawaabu. ‘I do not claim to know the answer.’

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 sultanhip.’

Nuuru/ da’iile/ kuwa mwaana/ na’iwa/ jawaabu. ‘Nuuru claims that the boy knows the answer.’

Omari/ nakuda’a kuwa nuumba/ndaaké. ‘Omari is claiming that the house is his.’

rel

ku-da’aada’a v. redup.

Hamadi/ huda’ada’a kuwaa ye/ nayo maali. [H!H!H] ‘Hamadi claims that he is wealthy (lit. has wealth).’

ku-da’oowa v. pass. (**da’iila**) be boasted

ku-da’owada’oowa v. pass. redup.

Kuda’owada’oowa/ siwo/ unasabu/ ni ubooni. [H’H!H!H] ‘To boast is not behavior associated with the upper class of people, it is the behavior of the lower class.’ (We are dealing with a clearly biclausal structure here, where the second clause is in contrast to the first clause. The single accented syllable in the second clause seems to range in pitch from being similar in level to the final accented syllable in the first clause to being somewhat declinated. A clear pause separates the two clauses.)

rel. nom.

ma-da’o n. 6 boast(ing), bragging

Wachimfungula/ wachimwaambila/ we/ mzimawo/ mada’o/ tu/ hadile kuwa bakaylé/ hakhushiindri/ mbona/ khadirileeyi/ khufungafunga. ‘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?’

- daa'adi** n. honest, sincere
Ukaso wa Hamadi/ mkasizo Omari/ nt^ha'uwaaliko/ ukaso/ wa daa'adi. 'The listening of Hamadi with which he listened to Omari was not an honest listening.'
Wo/ wasulile konyeesha/ jisaa wo/ wawaliko daa'adi/ tarafu ya kumdafi'a sindakó. 'They wanted to show how serious they were about protecting the mayor.'
- Da'(a)faraadi** n. one of the five clans comprising the **Tunni**
- da'asi** n. 9/10 [Som. *dacas* DSI 123] rubber-soled shoe, thong sandal
Ali/ da'asi/ im^hindiki^hliile. 'Ali's rubber-soled sandals tore on him.'
chilatu cha da'asi 'flip-flop'
da'asi iyi 'this shoe' (cf. **da'asi izi** 'these shoes')
Nuuru/ vete da'asi/ zatushiló. 'Nuuru wore rubber-soled sandals that were torn.'
- ku-da'awaṭa** 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'awaṭa mwaanawo 'after now, if people come to complain about your child'
Skhaadiri/ khkooḏa/ walá/ kuda'awaṭá. 'I cannot speak nor complain.'
Ye/ waliko hayi/ nt^hashkukhaadira/ kumda'awaṭa/ walá/ kumbigá/ naayé/ hayí. '(When) he was alive, we were not able to bring a suit against him nor beat him while he was alive.'
rel.
ku-da'awaṭada'awaṭa v. redup.
Omari/ hupeenda/ kuda'awaṭada'awaṭa waant^hu/ haṭá/ ka jawabu chihaba. [H^hH^hH^hH^h] 'Omari likes to sue people, even if it is for a small thing.'
ku-da'awaṭana v. rec. (-da'awaṭeene)
Laazima/ si/ keendra/ muuyi/ wa qariibu/ kuda'awaṭana. 'It is necessary for us to go to the nearest town to sue one another (i.e. settle our differences).'
ku-da'awaṭika v. p/s.
ku-da'awaṭila v. appl. (**da'awaṭiliile**) sue for, complain for
ku-da'awaṭisha 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/ kiḷasku/ 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'awaṭishiliza v. caus. appl. (**da'awishiliize**) raise grievances for
ku-da'awaṭishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
ku-da'awaṭoowa v. pass.
Ichiwa kuda'awaṭoowa/ da'aṭoowaa we. 'If it is to be sued, let you be the one sued.'
ku-da'awaṭowada'awaṭoowa v. pass. redupl.
Muunt^hu/ huda'awaṭowada'awaṭowa ka wiingi/ siwo/ suura/ akhliye/ hufungoowa. [H^hH^hH^hH^h] 'For someone to be constantly have a lawsuit brought against them is not good, sometimes he can be imprisoned.' (Although the initial pitch of the second clause is not simply reset to the level of the last accented syllable preceding it, it is not as high as the initial pitch of the first clause.)
- daa'ima** adv. [Sw. *daima* SSED 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/ khpatila raaðiyé/ laakini/ dáa'ima/ ye/ haṭakiiwa/ kuwa maamaye/ ni raaði/ naaye/ ye/ takumera kumriðisha ka kumpa maali/ miingine/ na zint^hu ziinginé. 'That [money which was spent on paying debts] is like 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.'

Wa'ishize dáa'ima/ pamooyi. 'They lived together always.'

Wazelewa/ daa'imu/ wachinambila liila. 'My parents always used to tell me the truth.'

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

v. [Ar. *dāma* "to last" and *dā'im* "enduring" W 303] (**da'imile**) continue uninterrupted, forever

fooza nda muuntu husaḷo hudaa'imo/ na ramaðaani soomuye hu^laa^zimo [st.] 'success belongs to the man who prays continuously and fasts on Ramadhan (lit. Ramadhan, its fasting, obliges)'

ntaku kudaa'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 afðali [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, usually

Daa'imu/ Hamiisi/ husooma/ nt^hasa yaa ye/ kendra khṭeza mpiira. 'Usually, Hamiisi studies before going to play football.' (It is possible to replace **daa'imu** in this sentence with **ka wiingi**.)

Daa'imu/ yiko khaṭari/ mukhṭaa we/ nakurasho ndilaa mp^hiyá. 'There is always some danger when you follow a new path.'

Hamadi/ daa'imu/ huna biira/ so. [HHHH] 'Does Hamadi always drink beer?'

hukasa huwona hukooða 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 phrased together.)

Ye/ daa'imu/ humpa salaamu/ kana mweenzawe/ nt^ho. 'She always greets me as if I were her best friend.'

- 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 "I" of this word
- dabeele** n. [Som. *dabayl* "wind"] polio; [pron. **dabeele**]
Maraḍi/ ya daabeele/ mfyanya mwaana/ ziwete. [HH'H!H] 'The sickness of polio makes a child crippled.' (In this example, there was neither declination nor downstep between the first two phrases; in fact, the second phrase was somewhat raised above the first, but not radically so – hence the absence of the upstep symbol [↑].)
Maraḍi ya daabeele/ yanakumeeró/ sku mbili izi. [H!H!H] 'The disease of polio is going around nowadays.'^a
- 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/ nakhsuḷa khkoḍa 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/ waṭakhuyeza 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; nut
- Daada Masiita** n.
Makhabriini/ ka Dada Maasiti/ huzikowa mashariifu/ tu.
'Only **mashariifu** are buried in the graveyard of Dada Maasiti.'
- ku-daḍaalata** v. [Som. *dadaal* DSI 124] (**daḍaleete**) strive to do one's best, struggle
Chooloka/ chidaḍaalata. 'He went and did his best.'

Daðalaṭa khpita imṭihaani. ‘Try hard to pass the examination.’
Dobla ya Aldo/ Moor/ inakudaðalaṭa/ 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.’)
Hudaðalaṭó/ huliwaana. ‘Who works hard succeeds.’ (A proverbial saying.)
Sidaðalaṭeeni. ‘You (pl.) don’t try hard!’
Takudaðalaṭa/ khufanyiliza yaa ye/ takhaaḍiró. ‘She will do her best to do for you whatever she is able to do.’
Ye/ daðaleete/ karka maṭezo. ‘He tried his best in games.’

rel.

ku-daðalaṭika v. p/s.

ku-daðalaṭila v. appl. (**daðalaṭiliile**)

Hi’idaðalaṭila 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-daðalaṭisha v. caus.

ku-daðalaṭishana v. caus. rec.

ku-daðalaṭishiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-daðalaṭishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

daðaaali

n. 9/10 effort

Daðaaali/ 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 daðaaali. ‘He is a diligent man.’

Someele/ ka juhudi/ na daðaaali/ masku/ na muunt^hi. ‘He studied with effort and trying hard night and day.’

daf

ideo. of snatching (Our data on ideophones is not sufficiently extensive to allow an analysis of the pitch pattern. It appears that **daf!** is realized with an extra high pitch.)

Idafa/ imdafkile mwaank^huku/ daf!/ yulushile naaye. ‘The black hawk snatched the chick and flew away with it.’

Mwiizi/ mdafkile iboorsa/ Umi/ daf!/ fakete naayo. ‘A thief snatched Umi’s purse and ran away with it.’

Wiizi/ wamdafkile mwaana/ peesa/ daf!/ wafakete naazo. ‘Thieves snatched money from the child, **daf!**, and ran away with it.’

dafa
of prey

n. [Som. **dafo** "medium-sized bird of prey" DSI 125] kite, hawk, medium-sized bird

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’)

ndiwa/ chimwambilaa dafa... ‘the pigeon told the kite...’

rel.

chi-dafa (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

i-dafa (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

Humeera/ kana/ idafa. ‘He wanders around like a crow (i.e. he just wanders about, going here and there, aimlessly).’

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'ū* "to push away, to defend" W 285] (**dafi'iile**) defend; variant form:

kudifaa'a [cf. Ar. noun *difā'* "protection, defense" W 286; cf. Som. *difaac*, variant of *daafac* "to defend" DSI 115]

Ali/ bishiila rasaasi/ li'ajili/ ya kumdafi'a mkuélé/ Abú. ‘Ali was hit with a bullet for the reason of protecting his brother Abu.’

Basi/ sultaani/ shkhubala/ na shtomola amri/ manwari/ nt'atu/ zinawaraashe/ kuwadaafi'a/ kama aduwi mweepe/ chiwata'araðila. ‘So the sultan agreed 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/ mubli/ naa muké/ mwaana/ na munt'u mzimá/ ni laazima/ kubarata khtumila bundukhu/ ili/ kudaafi'a/ wañaniye. ‘For that reason, each Ugandan, man and woman, child and adult, must learn to use a rifle in order to defend his country.’

Omari/ nayo ilmu/ ya kudafi'a ruuhuye. ‘Omari is quite competent at defending himself.’

rel.

ku-dafi'ana v. rec.

ku-dafi'ila v. appl.

Muunt'u/ chaake/ hudafi'ila ruuhuye. ‘One uses (everything that is his) to defend himself (e.g. his wealth, his friends, whatever he can use as leverage).’ (A proverb.)

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.’

Nakuława keendra/ kumdafkula/ chimbiga ka lpaanga/ chimbigó. ‘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-dafkuoowa* 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/ mtilile 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 idaafu. ‘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.’
khpikaa 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/ chija 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 mwaana/ 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-dagaaloowa v. pass.

Kudagalowa 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
Mwajiitu/ 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 [...] humlata 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/ watakuuyó. ‘We pray God to not let us be/stay/live at the time of the coming of the **dajaali.**’

<i>chi-daka</i> (zi-)	n. 7/8 [Sw. <i>daka</i> or <i>kidaka</i> "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
<i>chi-daka</i> (zi-)	n. 7/8 the young nut of the coconut
<i>dakan</i>	ideo. of being totally destroyed, annihilated Ma⁷askari/ 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.'
<i>dakari</i>	n. penis
<i>dakha</i>	n. minute Kawa mbarakhá/ ziiú/ zaliko niðaaámó/ si/ su₁ kuwa chivuushilé/ ka dakha mooyi. 'If our documents had been in order we would have gone in a minute (i.e. immediately).' Mi/ skuwanaayo/ shaka/ ha⁷á/ dakha mooyi/ kuwaa si/ laazimu/ khpata fa⁷uraa mp^hiya. 'I never doubted for a single minute that we must get a new car.'
<i>ku-daakha</i> (of humans)	v. [Som. <i>daaq</i> DSI 116] (dakhiile) graze, feed on grass (of an animal), look for food Ngamiila/ schiwaamo/ safiriini/ hudaakha/ ka maha₁ 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. <i>ku-dakhadaakha</i> v. freq. Sku mooyi/ fijiri/ na mapeema/ sungura/ mooyi/ karkaa ye/ nadaxodaakhó/ mwene mp^uundra/ mkulu/ maluungo/ yanamwala/ ka ma⁷uuri/ 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.' <i>ku-daakhika</i> v. p/s. <i>ku-daakhisha</i> 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.' <i>ku-dakhishana</i> v. caus. rec. <i>ku-dakhishika</i> v. caus. p/s. <i>ku-dakhishiliza</i> v. caus. appl. <i>ku-dakhishilizanya</i> v. caus. appl. rec. <i>ku-dakhoowa</i> v. pass. Manyi/ yanakudakhoowa. 'Grass is being grazed on.' rel. nom. <i>m-daakhisha</i> (wa-) n. 1/2 (i) shepherd; (ii) one who keeps surveillance on s.o. <i>ma-daakhisho</i> n. 6 <i>u-daakhisho</i> n. 14

ma-daakho n. 6
u-daakho n. 14

ku-dakhilana
with one another

v. rec. [Ar. *dakala* “enter, join, take part” W 273] (**dakhileene**) associate with, deal

Muunt^hu/ siwo/ suura/ kudakhilana na want^hu wawovu. ‘It is not good for one to associate with bad people.’

Nuuru/ hadiile/ mi/ sidakhilani/ na Huseeni/ sababu/ ni khaa’ini. ‘Nuuru said I do not associate with Huseeni because he is a cheater.’

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.’

Mi/ dakhli niingi/ hupata ka bakhaariya/ ya suukari. ‘I get a lot of income from my sugar store.’

Nt^hana/ dakhli. ‘He has no income.’

Omari/ dakhliye/ ni niingi/ kolko/ ya Nuuru. ‘Omari’s income is more than Nuuru’s.’

Sina/ 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)

Fardoosa/ koðele na dakhtari. [H!H] ‘Fardoosa talked to the doctor.’

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/ chimv̄ila 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. *dallal* W289, also Som. *dallaal* DSI 129] auctioneer

dalaali uyu 'this auctioneer' (cf. **madalaali 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-dalbatā

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] prepare, get ready

Haliima/ dalbeete/ harusi ya waanawe/ ka kilaa chiintu. 'Haliima got prepared for her children's wedding in every aspect.'

rel.

ku-dalbatāla v. appl. get ready for

Muunt'u/ chilaliza waant'u/ laazimu/ kuwadalbatāla. 'If a person invites people, he must get ready for them.'

ku-daldalamata

v. talk a lot

kudaldalamata/ kana raadiyo 'to talk non-stop, like the radio'

Omari/ karka shiri/ daldalameete/ hatā/ waant'u/ wadhirifiile/ walazile. 'Omari in the meeting talked too much until people got angry and left.'

rel.

ku-daldalamatoowa v. pass.

Muunt'u/ shkooḍa/ hukoḍa kooḍi/ haba/ za ma'ana/ hadaldalamaṭi/ kudaldalamatoowa/ nt'a'ina/ ma'ana. 'When a person speaks, he should talk little, (but) with meaning, he should not talk too much, talking too much has no sense.'

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**)

Gaari/ zinakudaldalata mtaanga/ tawala. 'Trucks are carrying sand from the sea.'

Suufi/ hupeenda/ kudaldalataa kuja. 'Suufi likes to take a lot of food.'

rel.

ku-daldalatoowa v. pass.

Apa/ nt'aku/ kuja/ ya kudaldalatoowa. 'Here there's no food that can be taken in large quantities.'

Bakhariini/ ka Sheekhi/ inakudaldalatoowa unga/ ka buure. 'At Sheekhi's store, people are carrying away flour without paying for it.'

daaledaale

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 (Note that the long vowel in the first syllable of this word violates the general constraint in Chimiini that disallows a long vowel in a pre-antepenult syllable. Retention of length here seems to be due to the reduplicated nature of the word.)

Ali/ mwaanawe/ potele daledaleeni/ vundishile/ mkono. 'Ali's child fell from the swing and broke his arm.'

Omari/ wa'ulile waanawe/ daaledaale/ khtezeza. 'Omari bought for his children a swing to play with.'

daliili
dental

n. 9 [Sw. *daliti* SSED 69; Ar. *dalil* W 289] proof, evidence **make sure both l's are**

Daliili yaa nvula/ ni mawiingu. 'The proof of rain is clouds.' (A proverb.)

Daliiliye/ nini. 'What is its evidence?'

Mahkama/ ha'ihokomi/ bilaa daliili. 'The court does not rule without evidence.'

Mi/ nayo daliili/ kuwa Omari/ bozele peesa. 'I have proof that Omari stole the money.'

Muusa/ pete daliili/ kuwa Faatima/ koðele wanaafakhi/ tarafu ya mahañaa ye/ waalikó. Muusa found proof that Faatima lied about where she was.

Omari/ hadiile/ Hasani/ we/ kuhada Ali/ ni mwiizi/ ni daliiliye. 'Omari said: Hasani, you are saying Ali is a thief, what is the evidence of that?'

Yiko daliili/ waaðehe/ kuwa Baazi/ shkhiyanseeete. 'There is clear evidence that Baazi betrayed us.'

n-dala

n. [Sw. *njaa* SSED 339] hunger

Huseeni/ file kaa ndala. 'Huseeni died of hunger.' Also: **Kaa ndala/ ifiññá.** 'From hunger there was dying.' **Ndala/ ifiññá.** 'Hunger was died from.'

khshikowaa ndala 'to be hungry – [lit. held by hunger]'

Mi/ kachizaa kujá/ isa/ suña khshikowaa ndala. 'If I had not eaten, I would be hungry now.'

Mwaana/ chihada/ kuwaa ye/ shishiñaa ndala. 'The boy said that he was hungry.'

kufa kaa ndala 'to die from hunger'

kuwonaa ndala 'to experience hunger'

Muunt^hu/ sho kuwonaa n dala/ na ooní/ haawi/ mubñi. 'If one does not experience hunger and thirst one does not become a man.'

Mi/ naa ndalá. 'I am hungry.'

Mubñi/ ndala/ imshiishile. 'The man felt hungry [lit. hunger gripped the man].'

Muunt^hu/ chiwanayoo ndala/ hañá/ bakhti/ huja. 'When one is hungry, he even eats dead bodies.' (A proverb.)

Muunt^hu/ chiwanayoo ndala/ hañá/ kuboole/ huboola. 'When one is hungry, even stealing, he steals (i.e. he will even steal).' (A proverb.)

Mwaana/ nayoo ndala. 'The baby is hungry.'

Mwaana shishiñaa ndala. 'The baby is hungry'

Mzele uje/ filee ndala. 'That man died of hunger.'

Ndala/ imzidiilopó/ Diini/ ondroshele/ oloshole kumera chaakuja. 'When he became hungry, Diini got up and went to look for food.'

Nnayoo ndalá. 'I am hungry [lit. I have hunger].' (The first person singular subject marker *n* is missing in GM's speech, but present in MI's speech.)

Nshishiñaa ndalá. 'I am hungry [lit. I am seized by hunger].' (The first person singular subject marker *n* is missing in GM's speech, but present in MI's speech.)

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'

dalakh

ideo. **review the l**

Ye/ sheteza/ chimaliza/ potele matotopeeni/ dalakh!/ want^hu wont^he/ wamteshele.

'He was playing, and then, he fell into the mud, *dalakh!*, all the people laughed at him.'

dali

n. [Som. *dal* 'country, territory' DSI 127] surroundings, environment (in the abstract sense); the land, country, world

Angamizée dali/ mkoroofi/ ye. ‘She spoiled everything [lit. the world], she is cursed.’
Chinakhsuulá/ we/ kishpa muna yíitu/ 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 dibidí nt^hako sarkaali [nt.] ‘the country is bereft, there is no government’
Hamadi/ lazile ibanyaani/ oloshela kulangalaa dali. ‘Hamadi went outside to look around.’
Haraka/ yaa ye/ fanyiizó/ imwangamilizée dali. ‘The move that he made spoiled his world for him.’
Mukhtaa ye/ ineenzeló/ muda/ wa sa’a naane/ jis’iyo/ na komeloo dali/ kotté/ maduuri/ kasize soofi. ‘When he had travelled for a period of about eight hours and reached a place which was all bush, he heard a voice.’
Nthi/ hukhadirowa khtumiki_lowa kaloowá/ iwele haba/ dali izi. ‘Land which can be used for cultivating has become scarce in this area.’
Shtana/ hangamizaa dali. ‘Anger spoils things.’ (A proverbial saying.)
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.’

dam

ideo. (cf. also *zam*) of light being extinguished
Nali/ yana/ masku/ ziyaraani/ ka Dada Maasiti/ zoloshela/ mara mooyi/ tu/ dam!/ chimaliza/ zashiza bitirmaakis. ‘Lights (electric) last night at the Dada Maasiti ceremony went off at once *dam!* then petromaxes were lit.’
Yana/ masku/ hafaani/ tala/ zizimiile/ dam dam!/ ba’ada sa’a sita/ ziiló. ‘Yesterday night in the quarter the lights went out *dam dam!* After six hours they came back.’

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 (Not known to GM.)
daamaaniye ‘its rope’

ku-damaṭa

(i)

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] 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 khaṣṭi/ nimdameṭe/ tu. ‘I did not hit him on purpose, I just touched him unintentionally.’
 (ii) **Haṭá/ sku mo/ skumdamaṭa/ 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-damaṭika v. p/s.

ku-damaṭisha v. caus. cause someone to accidentally touch, graze someone (This verb does not seem to be used with an inanimate primary object: ***Omari/ damaṭishize sanduukhu/ mwaalimu.** ‘Omari grazed the teacher with the box.’ is not a well-formed sentence.)

Ji/ mdamaṭishize mwaana/ mlaango. ‘Ji caused the child to accidentally touch the door.’

Omari/ mdamaṭishize mwaana/ mwaalimu/ mkonooni. ‘Omari caused the child to unintentionally touch the teacher on the hand.’

ku-damaṭishana v. caus. rec.

ku-damaṭishiliza v. caus. appl.

Ji/ mdamaṭishilize Ali/ waana/ mwaalimu. ‘Ji caused Ali’s children to

unintentionally touch the teacher.’

Ji/ mdamaṭishilize 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/ mdamaṭishilize 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/ mdamaṭishilize mwaalimu.** as well as ***Ji/ damaṭishilize mwaalimu.**)

ku-damaṭishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ku-damaṭishoowa v. caus. pass.

ku-damaṭoowa v. pass.

Muunt^hu/ chisala/ hudamaṭoowa/ 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, colostrum

Huhadoowa/ dambari/ ni suura/ khpowa waana/ sababu/ nii dawa/ hureba maraḍi/ miingi. ‘It is said that colostrum is good to give children, it is medicine, it prevents many diseases.’

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.’

damiini

n. 14 [Som. adj. *damiin* “dull, slow-minded” DSI 131] dullness of mind

Muunt^hu/ chiwa damiini/ habarshiki/ chiint^hu/ ka sahali. ‘When someone is dull-minded, he cannot be taught easily.’

Omari/ mṭanzile Nuuru/ mwambiile/ we/ ni damiini/ hisi/ chiint^hu. ‘Omari insulted Nuuru, he told him: you are dull-minded, you do not know anything.’

danawa

n. [Som. *dannabe* “stolen cattle” DSI 133] booty (This item not known to GM.)

hubiga khafaali hupata danawa [nṭ.] ‘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’

Mamaḍo/ nakumdanganya Hamadi. ‘Mamadho is confusing Hamadi.’

Ndanganyize ka kooḍize. ‘He confused me/you (pl.) with what he said.’

rel.

ku-dangamana v. (-**dangameene**) be, get mixed, entangled, intermingled

Ha’isi/ kudangamana na want^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-dangamanika v. p/s. (-dangamanishile) be mixed up, confused

Ndangamanishilé/ kumtambula Maryamu/ na Aminá. ‘I confused

Maryamu with Amina.’ **Note use of kumtambula here but not**

below

ku-dangamanikoowa v. pass. p/s. **are there other examples of passives of p/s verbs?**

Maryamu/ dangamanashila na Amina. ‘Maryamu was confused with Amina.’

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/ yaṭakiinfani. ‘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 raahá/ 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’

Hamadi/ nt^hakoonya/ ismu/ yaa dani/ ya fikraza. ‘Hamadi did not show any interest in my ideas.’

Huseeni/ koḍeele/ na daniyé/ hadiile. ‘Huseeni talked and clarified his interest, need.’

Huseeni/ nayoo dani. ‘Huseeni needs something (lit. has interest, need).’

Kiila/ 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/ haṭaa 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.)

ku-danisha

v. interest

Huseeni/ na Omari/ wawiliwe/ ba/ hudanisha/ ṭaariikhi/ so. ‘Are both Huseeni and Omari interested in history?’ (Possible answer: **Ā’ā/ Huseeni/ ṭu/**

hudanishó/ ṭaariikhí. ‘No, only Huseeni is interested in history.’)

Naani/ hudanishó/ ṭaariikhí. ‘Who is interested in history?’ (Possible answers:

Huseeni/ hudanisha ṭaariikhi. ‘Huseeni is interested in history.’ Or:

Huseeni/ hudanisho ṭaariikhí. Or: **Huseeni/ hudanishó/ ṭaariikhi.**

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^haani/ watakulatililoowa [st.] ‘and those looking down from the rooftops, it will be thrown to them (lit. they will be thrown to)’

kuluka chidank^haani ‘to jump from the roof’

Nakhpandra chidank^haani. ‘He is going upstairs, climbing upstairs.’

Uko chidank^haani. ‘He is upstairs/ on the roof.’

daanku

n. [Som. *daango* DSI 116] corn; [pron. **daank^hu**]

- dank^hu mashaatara** ‘popcorn’
kh̄torata 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 khteza 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/ hoowela/ nt^hangú/ Maafakha/ haṭá/ nt^hí/ kana/ nsi/ ka dakhikha nt^haano/ hukoma l̄fuwooni. ‘Ali can swim from Maafakha like a fish, he reaches the coast in five minutes.’
Ali/ mi/ skhaadiri/ kuliindra/ haṭṭá/ dakhikha mooyi. ‘Ali, I am not able to wait even one minute.’
ba’ada ya dakhikha/ haba mo ‘after a few minutes’
Dakhikha nt^haano/ nt^haskupita/ waant^hu/ wachiwa wamtilee kati/ kumtezeza. ‘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.
- dara** [Som.] without, less
Furaha dara/ ya Hamadi/ inakoonyesha. ‘Hamadi’s unhappiness shows.’
Haliima/ safari/ ya aakhiri/ yaa ye/ oshelo Mkhodiishú/ wene ma’aluuli/ ka malaalo/ mawovu/ na kuja dará. ‘Haliima, on her last trip to Mogadishu, she saw severe hardship with bad sleeping arrangement and not enough food.’
Ni fayda dara/ Faaṭima/ khfanya ruuhuye/ chiza kiiwa/ kaazi/ za muḷiwe. ‘It is useless for Faatima to pretend not to know about her husband’s affairs.’
Ni fayda dara/ ku’ink^hiroowa/ kuwaa we/ waliko apó. ‘It is useless to deny that you were there.’
Numbaani/ ka Hamadi/ waana/ wako kuja dara. ‘At the house of Hamadi the children have little food.’
Omari/ akhili dara/ zimleteleḷoo dhibú. ‘Omari’s lack of intelligence brought him problems.’
- i-daara** n. 9/10 office, department (in the sense of a division or unit of s.t.); administration
Mwiini/ iwashiḷa idaara/ ya amni/ chiṭa/ ni rasdentē. ‘In Miini it has been established an office for security, the head is the D.C.’
- 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.’ (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.I] 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 **kooḍi** ‘words’, and the object prefix agrees with **baaba**.)
Chiwa’ambila/ chiza kumdaara. ‘He told them not to touch him.’

Dariġe 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.'

Ikhudariġeni/ we. 'What's wrong with you [lit. what touched you]?'
Isidaare/ nt^hi. 'It should not touch the ground.'

kudara chibaateera/ 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 ijaraha 'to provoke (lit. touch the wound)'
Sidaaré/ ijaraha. 'Don't provoke, stir up trouble!'
kudara koođi 'to be convinced'
Koođi/ zimdariġe. 'He was convinced -- lit. the words touched him.'

kudara matotoope 'to be wet with mud'
Mitaanga/ yadariġe 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/ idariġe maayi. 'The clothes got partially wet.' (Notice that one does not say: *Maayi yadariġee 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/ imdariġe. 'He felt pity -- lit. generosity touched him.'

kudara qalbi 'to feel emotion -- lit. to touch the heart'
Qalbi/ imdariġe. '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 muġjaana/ 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'iyó/ 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 bałasi/ 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/ sukhuuni/ ¹ghaali/ kiłaa 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.)

Nakhsula kudaroowa/ tu. ‘He just wants to be touched (i.e. just for the smallest reason, he will explode and over-react).’

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.’)

rel.

m-daaro n. 3

Chisu/ chinakhtahaja mdaaro. ‘This knife needs sharpening.’

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 daaali. ‘These positions are gotten with great effort.’

Ka sultaani/ chibiga hoodi/ shtomola salaamu/ ye/ chegeshoowa/ ka 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.’

nalombe_{lo}owa 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 farði takhpata daraja [st.] ‘carry out the prescribed duty (of ritual cleanliness) and you will be rewarded [lit. get rank]’ **review syllable count issue**

Waant^{hu}/ daraja/ wanapoowa/ ka ilmu. ‘A person should be given rank or position according to (the level of his) knowledge.’

ya taatu kaamina zivo za mooja/ khansa qur’aani afðali 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]’

daaraka

n. promise

Omari/ ndiyé/ teto daaraká/ kuwaka muskití. ‘It is Omari who promised to build a mosque.’

Muunt^{hu}/ shtala daaraka/ laazimu/ khfulisha. ‘When one is making a promise, one must fulfill it.’

We/ tete daaraká/ kunsoomesha. ‘You made a promise to teach me.’

darani

n. that which is important for someone

- khaansa Huseeni darani/ kuumbuka kulla zamaani* [st.] ‘and especially for Husein, remember that always’
Kiġaa muunt^hu/ daraniye/ ndiyé/ na’iwó. ‘What is important for a person, it is he who knows.’
Sheekhi/ hadiile/ mi/ daraniya/ ni kuhija mwaka uyu. ‘Sheekhi said: me, my most important thing this year is to conduct hajj.’
- daraasa** n.
Shekh Wali/ zamaani/ chisomesha daraasa/ za diini/ Mwiini/ numbaani/ ka Daada Maahalima. ‘Sheekh Wali during old time taught religion lessons in Miini at the house of Daada Maahalima.’
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 with a noun that refers to a definite human being. One cannot say: ***Omari/ hudarawa 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/ muḅji. ‘Do not belittle a man!’
- darawu** n. 9/10 unit of land measurement, smaller than an acre
Hasani/ mundraani/ kaake/ azile mashtaata/ darawuu mbili/ naa geḷé/ darawu siṭa. ‘Hasani at his farm grew two acres of sesame and six of maize.’
- darawu** n. ablution
khtala darawu ‘to purify oneself, take ablutions’
Omari/ umo cholooni/ nakhtala darawu. ‘Omari is in the toilet purifying himself.’
- 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] (**darbeṭe**) be ready, prepared
Haliima/ nakudarbaṭa haruusi. ‘Haliima is getting prepared for the wedding.’
Mfanya zeema/ nadarbaṭe kulipowa zeema/ amó/ ziwová. ‘The one who does good should be prepared to be repaid with either good or bad.’
Yaliko suura/ kuwaa si/ chidarbeṭe jisa suurá/ na safari. ‘It was useful that we prepared so well for the trip.’
rel.
ku-darbaṭika v. p/s.
ku-darbaṭiloowa v. appl. pass.
Uyu/ ni muunt^hi/ hudarbaṭiloowá. ‘This is a day which is prepared for.’
- Review pronunciation, added final accent at end in doing revisions.**
ku-darbaṭila v. appl. prepare for
Spisiló/ haziruudi/ darbaṭila/ 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/ darbishiize/ 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 darbini** ‘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/ fanyiizó.** ‘The girl, with her binoculars, saw the actions that Hasani took.’
- Sulṭaani/ wenopo bandeerá/ nelpé/ chamura kuleteḷowa darbini.** ‘When the sultan saw the white flag, he ordered binoculars to be brought.’
- ku-dardaarmaṭa** v. [Som. *dardaaran* "to make a will" DSI 136] (**dardarmeete**) make a will
- Alí/ dardarmeete/ nṯasa yaa ye/ kufa/ numba ya Bulu Baazi/ khpowa mukeewe.** ‘Ali left a will before he died that the house in Bulu Baazi be given to his wife.’
- Diini/ huhada/ muunt^hu/ nṯasa yaa ye/ kufa/ suura/ kudardaramaṭa.** ‘Religion says that it is good for one to leave a message before he dies.’
- Muunt^hu/ suura/ kudardaarmaṭa/ khabla ya wafaati.** ‘It is good to leave a will before the time of death.’
- dareemu** n. feeling
- Alí/ hadiile/ leelo/ mi/ dareemuya/ ni suura/ sababu/ mwaanawa/ pisile imṭihaniini.** Ali said today: my feeling is good because my child passed the exam.’
- Muja namaa mbiti/ nayo dareemu.** ‘One who eats raw meat has a feeling (in his stomach).’ (This means that someone who has done something wrong knows in his heart what he has done.)
- ku-dareensaṭa** v. (**darenseeṭe**) feel
- Muunt^hu/ mahaḷa/ chidarensaṭaa dhibu/ huguura.** ‘If someone in one place feels problems, hardship, he (should) move away.’
- Ndarenseeṭé/ kuwa Maryamu/ ichisuḷowa kuwa darile uḍuri.** ‘I felt that Maryamu should have apologized.’
- Omari/ hadiile/ mṭana uyu/ mi/ nakuderensaṭa bardí/ sinakhaadira/ kulaala.** ‘Omari said: this room, I feel cold I cannot sleep.’
- daari** n. 9/10 [Ar. *dār* W 299] house (usu. of stone)
- Daari/ ya abadi/ ni dari ya jana.** ‘The house of forever is the house of paradise.’
- Daari/ ya duniya/ ni muunt^hu/ bilaa daari/ keesho/ taki’ilaṭa.** ‘The house of the world is like a person without a house, tomorrow you will leave it.’
- rel.
- chi-daari* (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.
- i-daari* (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
- ku-dariba** v. (**daribiile**) train someone
- Muunt^hu/ chiint^hu/ chidariba/ hufanya jisa suura.** ‘If one gets training in something, he does it well.’
- rel.
- ku-daribila* v. appl. (**daribiliile**)
- ku-dariboowa* v. pass. be trained

Ma'askari/ yanakudariboowa/ heraani/ hiila/ za harbi. 'Soldiers are being trained in the camp (about) strategies of war.'

ku-darisa

v. (**darisiize, darisiile**) teach, study, research; variant form: **kudurusa Miini/ waant^hu/ wiingi/ wachidariso/ ka Shekh Wali/ chiwooni.** 'In Brava many people were studying at Sheekh Wali's religious school.'

Shekh Khaasimu/ chidarisa ka Shekh Aweeso. 'Sheekh Khassim used to study from Sheekh Awees.'

Shekh Mada Guðuuðo/ na Shekh Mada Sheekhi/ wachidarisa/ diini/ ya Islaamu/ na wachidarisa waant^hu. 'Sheekh Madaa Gudhuudho and Sheekh Madaa Sheekhi used to learn Islamic religion and teach people.'

ku-darisika v. p/s.

ku-darisoowa v. pass. variant form: **kudurusoowa**

kudurusoowa/ ilmu 'for knowledge to be studied, researched'

rel. nom.

m-darisa (*wa-*) n. 1/2 teacher

n-daaro

n. (cf. **kudaara** 'to touch') (false) justification

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 *pro forma* fashion'

Muñli/ tile ndaaro/ laakini/ muke/ mloonzele/ hattá/ ye/ khiriile. 'The man refused [in a *pro forma* 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.'

darsi

n. 9/10 lesson; **students**

Darsi niingi/ hanza sa'aa nt^hatu/ fijiri. 'Many classes begin at 9 am.'

huhuzuniko ni darsi/ fadhi ishtali'oowa [st.] 'as will his daily circle of students/ and the lessons he used to teach'

Nsomele darsizá/ khpata khpita imtihaani. 'I studied my lessons so as to (get to) pass the examination.' (MI rejected ***Nsomele darsizá/ khpita imtihaani.** 'I studied my lessons to pass the examination'.)

Nsomele darsizá/ mp^hate khpita imtihaani. 'I studied my lessons so that I might (get to) pass the examination.' (It is dubious to omit the verb *pata*: **Nsomele darsizá/ mp^hite imtihaani.** 'I studied my lessons in order to pass the examination'.)

Skuliini/ waana/ husomeshowa darsi za ajnaasi. 'At school children are taught a variety of lessons.'

Tafsirile darsi. 'He explained the lesson.'

darwiishi (*ma-*)

n. [Ar. *darwīs* W 280] a soldier fighting under a leader for something that is right, just, etc.; variant form: **daraawiishi**

darwishi uyu 'this fighter' (cf. **madarwishi awa** 'these fighters')

Harbi/ za Amhaara/ na Wasoomaali/ zamaani/ wachibigó/ ni ma'askari/ wa daraawiishi. 'The war between the Ethiopians and the Somalis in the olden days, the ones who fought were **daraawiishi** soldiers.'

darzani

n. 9/10 [Sw. *dazani* SSED 71; Eng. *dozen*] dozen

darzani iyi ya skoombe 'this dozen cups'

darzani nt^hatu izi za skoombe 'these three dozen cups'

Dukaani/ ka Nuuru/ huzowaa nguwo/ na zilaatú/ darzaani/ tu/ hayizoowi/ chimoyimoyi. 'At Nuuru's shop, clothes and shoes are sold in dozens, not singles.'

daashi

n. 9/10 [Som. *daash* "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.

dasturi

n. custom
Laakini/ uje mwanaamke/ wa sultaani/ uzila ka majini/ chihada/ si/ ka dasturi
yiitu/ mwanaamke/ shpelekoowa/ karkaa nt^{hi}/ za wakeewe/ ni laazimu/
ye/ ka muda wa sku nt^{aano}/ khkalaant^{ha}/ ka wawaye mubli/ khabl^{aa}
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
Chizeele/ chimpaa dawa. ‘The old woman gave him medicine.’
Barete madawa miingi/ karka chibuku icho. ‘He learned a lot of medicine from
 that book.’
dawa yaa chita ‘medicine for a headache [lit. head]’
Mwiingine/ uchihada/ mi/ ni dawa yaa chita. ‘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 khsuwata ‘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 miimba. ‘One (of the trees) said: I am
 medicine for a stomach ache.’
Dawa yaa muo/ nii muo. ‘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/ inakudaalata/ khfanyiliza dawa/ na kiyookola/
ikhfisaadi/ ya muuyi. ‘The government of Aldo Mooro is doing its best to
 cure and save the country.’
Huseeni/ chilomba rukhsa/ ka sultaani/ 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’

	Tafaðali/ takhaadira/ kuwanayo dawa hurebo ulaazó. ‘May I have a painkiller, please?’
	Tafaðali/ takhaadira/ kuwanayo dawa yaa chitá/ kułaazá? ‘May I have some headache medicine please?’ (This example, from GM, shows the elision of the first person subject marker in the main verb. In MI’s speech, the verb would be nt^hakhaadira . The final accents in the last two phrases are not triggered by the verb but rather by the fact that we have a yes-no question with focus on the verb. This requires the out-of-focus complement phrases to have final accent. In the absence of verb focus we have Tafaðali/ takhadira kuwanayo dawa ya chita kułaaza?)
	Tafaðali/ takhaadira/ kuwanayo dawa ya ulaazó. ‘May I have a painkiller, please?’
	Talaa dawa. ‘Take medicine!’
	Ye/ chiwaa dawa/ zotte/ na chiwa maraði/ yotte. ‘He was all medicine and all sickness (i.e. he was consumed by medicine and sickness).’
daawa	n. non-permanent ink Daawa/ inakhpaanguka. ‘The ink is fading.’ dawa iyi ‘this ink’ Dawa iyi/ ni herge. ‘This ink is thick.’ dawa ya makala ‘lit. ink of charcoal; ink made from grinding charcoal into powder and adding water; this type of ink is used in koranic schools’ -ulusi/ kana daawa ‘as black as ink’ Hamadi/ nakunya choolo/ chilusi/ kana/ daawa. ‘Hamadi is defecating feces black as ink.’
dawaamu	adv. [Sw. <i>dawamu</i> SSED 68; Ar. <i>dawām</i> “duration, perpetuity” W 303] everlasting, always Kiłaa chiint^hu/ cha duniya/ humaliza/ dawaamu/ ni mojiitu. ‘Every worldly thing finishes, what lasts forever is God.’
daawaati	n. shelf; cupboard Haliima/ tilee nguwo/ za waana/ dawaatiini. ‘Haliima put the children’s clothes in the cupboard.’
Daawu	n. a coastal location north of Brava Daawu/ na Siyaamá/ ni daawu/ khariibú/ hața/ Mwiini/ Daawu/ ni kilomețiri ikumi/ na nt^haanó/ Siyaama/ ni kilomețiri thalathiini. ‘Daawu and Siyaama, it is Daawu that is nearer to Brava, Daawu is fifteen kilometers and Siyaamu is thirty.’ Majiwe/ zamaani/ ya kuwakila/ Mwiini/ yachiletowa ka Daawu. ‘Stones in old times for building (houses) in Brava were brought from Daawu.’ 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. <i>al-dayyān</i> W 305] an attribute of God (the Judge)
ku-daya’ira	v. repair rel.

ku-daya'tiroowa v. pass.

Mi/ nakhtaja faṭuurá/ kudaya'tiroowá. 'I need the car repaired.'

ku-daayata

v. [?Som. *dayeyasan/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.'

Muun^hu/ 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. *ṭā'ira* "airplane" W 579] airplane

shirka ya dayuura 'air line'

Takhadira kuulapi/ tikiṭi/ 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] cuckold, a man who does not care whether his wife goes around with other men

Hasani/ ni dayuusa/ mukeewe/ masku/ na muun^hí/ hawaamo/ numbaani/ nakumeera/ tu. 'Hasani is a cuckold, his wife, night and day, is out of the house, wandering about.'

Muḅli/ humlaṭo mukeewé/ kumera na wabli/ ni dayuusa. 'A man who permits his wife to wander around with men is a **dayuusa**.'

de

in the expression: **haye de** a warning

Haye de/ akhtari yiinu/ baṭata izi/ muun^hu/ sidaaré/ walá/ sisubuté/ khtiiinda/ 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

down; land, alight (of a bird)

v. [Som. *deg* "to stay in a place, to land – of aircraft" DSI 143] (**degeele**) calm

Chimaliza/ wo/ wadegele na chaakuja/ cha kuwaṭosha 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 waan^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/ ifungiilopó/ ichibele majiira/ na

nt^h ashkukhaadira/ 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.)

Wakhti/ wa jilaali/ tawala/ hudega/ kana msala/ mayiimbi/ huwa naaōira. ‘During summer time, the sea gets calm like a mat, waves become rare.’

rel.

ku-degela v. appl.

Sa’iidi/ chi’idegela/ ka maamaye/ na nt^haymwiingila/ teena/ hamu/ ya kuwalola wanaashke/ 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.’

Mi/ nakhtahaja wakhti/ habamooyi/ kudegesha chitaachā. ‘I need a little time to make up my mind.’

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-degeshadegesha v. freq.

Haliima/ nakudegeshadegesha nuumba. ‘Haliima is putting her house in good order.’

ku-degeshoowa v. caus. pass.

Jisaa yé/ deggesheezā/ fanyiza jisa suurā/ waant^hu/ wotte

wanamyawaṭa. ‘The manner in which she was neatly put [and] done up so well, all the people were amazed at her.’

nuumba/ imalizopo khsafishoowā/ na kudegeshoowā... ‘when the house was finished being cleaned and rearranged’

degani

adj. calm

degani/ 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.)

Sheekhi/ na’iwoowa/ ni muunt^hu/ tartiibu/ degani / kana barafu. ‘Sheekhi is known to be a man, slow and calm, like ice.’

degani/ kana maayi ‘as calm as

Haliima/ ni mtuuvu/ haṭā/ chibigoowa/ haruudili/ mkono/ degani/ kana maayi. ‘Haliima is calm, even if she is hit, she does not return (lit.) return the hand (i.e. hit back), she stays as calm as water.’

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-degdegaṭa

v. (**degdegeete**) do something with urgency

We/ degdegeeté/ 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-degeloowa v. appl. pass.

Kudegeloowani/ apa. ‘Why should here be settled, lived at?’

ku-degesha v. caus.

kudegesha zoombo ‘to put, organize the stuff well’

kumdegsha Omari/ mahaḷa/ maape ‘to put Omari someplace’

ku-degoowa v. pass.

Iyi/ numba ya kudegoowa/ siwo. ‘This is not a house to reside in.’

kudegoowa/ muyiini ‘to be reside, lived in town’

degdegi

adj. urgent; adv. urgently, quickly

khaṭi degdegi ‘urgent letter’

Nakhtaambulá/ kuwa poliisi/ wa’ile / degdegi. ‘I understand that the police came quickly.’

Omari/ naaye/ degdegi. ‘Let Omari come 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.’

Kuja/ ya Haliima/ pishiló/ nṯa’ikudeekha/ waantṯu/ wontṯe. ‘The food that Haliima cooked did not suffice for all the people.’

Kuja/ yaa mi/ mpṯishiló/ idekheele/ waantṯu. ‘The food that I cooked was sufficient for all the people.’

Omari/ ha’imdekhi chiintṯu. ‘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.’

Mojiitu/ ndiyé/ ghani/ dekhesheló/ ka zontṯé. ‘God is the rich one and is self sufficient in every thing.’ (A proverb.)

Omari/ dekheshela. ‘Omari is self-sufficient.’

Weenza/ ni weenza/ mpṯiindri/ yaa we/ chidekheka naawo. ‘Friends are friends as long as you are not dependent on them.’

ku-dhekela v. appl.

Mi/ dekkelelé/ kaalmeya/ karka kuwaka nuumba/ mpṯiya. ‘I offered my help in building a new house.’

ku-deekhesha v. caus.

Mwajiitu/ namdeekhesha. ‘May God cause him to be satisfied (spoken with reference to someone who is never satisfied).’

Omari/ mdekhesheze Nuuru/ ka kooḍi. ‘[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-deksheshana v. caus. rec.

ku-deksheshela v. caus. appl.

ku-deksheshelanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ku-deksheshoowa v. caus. pass.

Nuuru/ dekshesheza ka kooḍi/ na Omari. ‘Nuuru was convinced by Omari.’

Nuuru/ dekshesheza na kooḍi 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/ ilisiḷa. [H!H] ‘The debt was paid.’

Deeni/ ilisiḷa na bakhili. [H!H] ‘the debt was paid by the miser.’

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^hu/ deeni. [H!H] ‘I gave the man back my debt to him.’ Cf.

Deeni/ nimpeelé/ muunt^hu. [H!H!H] ‘The debt I gave the man.’ Cf.

Muunt^hu/ peḷa deeni/ naami. [H!H!H] ‘The man was paid back the debt by me.’

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 mkuḷe/ 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/ ilisiḷa. ‘The debt was paid.’

Deeni/ ilisiḷa 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-dereemaṭa

v. [Som. *dareen* “to suspect” DSI 136] (**deremeṭe**) be cautious, suspect someone; feel, sense

kuderemeṭa chiint^hu ‘to feel, sense s.t.’

Mi/ nimderemeṭe munt^hu oyó. ‘I suspected that person.’

rel.

ku-dereemaṭoowa v. pass.

kuderemaṭoowa/ bardi ‘for cold to be felt’

ku-dereensaṭa v. (**derenseṭe**) have a premonition that something is going to happen; have a preconception; feel, sense

Hinzizi za dereemu/ sc hifa/ muunt^hu/ haderensaṭa chiint^hu. ‘When the nerves die, one does not feel anything.’

kuderensaṭa ulaazo ‘to feel, sense pain’

Simdereensaṭé/ ni munt^hu msuura. ‘Don’t have preconceptions about him; he is a good person.’

Ye/ nderenseṭe/ mi/ nsimemo chinume cha mṭaaná. ‘He noticed me standing in the back of the room.’

ku-dereensaṭisha v. caus.

ku-dereensaṭoowa v. pass.

Ulaazo/ huderensaṭoowa. ‘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 matuumbo. (Or: **Muja namaa mbiti/ nayo deremu ya matuumbo.**) ‘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’u. ‘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 iyi/ hukahaṭowa naami. [H!H] ‘This custom is hated by me.’

Desturi iyi/ mi/ hi’kahata. [H’H’H] ‘This custom I do not like it.’

desturi izi ‘these customs’

desturii mbovu ‘bad traditions’

desturi suura ‘good traditions’

kurasha desturi ‘to follow, obey laws, constitution, customary practices’

Muunt’u/ laazimu/ kurasha desturi/ ya doḅla. ‘One must follow, obey the constitution/laws of the government.’

Muunt’u/ laazimu/ kurasha desturi/ yaa nt’i. ‘One must follow, obey the constitution/laws of the land.’

kuweka desturi ‘to establish customs, laws, constitution’

Desturi/ huweekó/ ni doḅla. ‘Laws/constitution, the one who establishes them, it is the government.’

Mi/ hukahaṭa/ desturi iyi. [HH!H] ‘I hate this custom.’

chi-devu (zi-)

n. [Sw. *kidevu* (vi-) SSED] chin; [pron. **chiḍevu**]

Chiḍevu cha Alí/ ni chihaba. ‘Alí’s chin is small.’

Omari/ mlonzele Sheekhi/ peesa/ mshishile chi ḍevu. ‘Omari begged Sheekhi for money, he grabbed hold of his chin (i.e. he really begged him hard).’

rel.

n-drevu n. beard

kumolaa ndrevu ‘to shave the beard’

Haaji/ mozelee ndevu. ‘Haaji shaved (his) beard. Or: **Haaji/ mozelee ndevu.** ‘Haaji shaved (his) beard.’ Or: **Haaji/ mozelee ndevu.** ‘Haaji shaved (his) beard.’

Nazo ndrevu/ ndre/ nelpe. ‘He has a long white beard.’

onyeeza Haruuni ka ndrevu kamiili [st.] ‘he was shown Haruuni with his full beard’

Wank’bulá/ 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 **mwiiko**, a wooden spoon used for stirring food, especially **zijo**, which is white and usually sticks to the **mwiiko**.)

- 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 ni^hako sarkaali [nt.] ‘the country is bereft, there is no government’
Mukhta^u ye/ weno muyi/ dibiði/ ulushile/ enzele/ wapeele/ weenziwe/ khabari/ kuwaa dafa/ zo^{te}/ 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.’
- ku-difa’a** v. defend
Muunt^hu/ laazimu/ kudifa’a ruuhuye/ na maaliyé. ‘One must defend his soul and his money.’
- difaa’i** n. defense
Diini/ huhada difaa’i/ nafsi/ ni waajibu. ‘Religion says self-defense is a religious duty.’
- digdigi** n. 9/10 a type of gazelle
digdigi uyu or **digdigi iyi** ‘this gazelle’; **digdigi izi** or **digdigi awa** ‘these gazelles’
Mp^hisi/ hupeenda/ kuja digdigi. ‘Hyenas like to eat dikdiks.’
Nama/ ya digdigi/ ni halaali/ hujoowa. ‘The meat of dikdiks is lawful, it can be eaten.’
rel.
chi-digdigi (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.
i-digdigi (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
- digi** n. warning; [pron. **digi**]
khpa^a digi ‘to give a warning’
- ku-digila** v. [Som. *dig-* “warn” Ab 61] (**digilile**) 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**.)
Abú/ chidigilile/ si/ kuwa tahaðari. ‘Abu warned us to be careful.’
Hamadi/ gafiile/ chiza kichidigila/ si/ tarafu ya iyo itakutulukó. ‘Hamadi failed to warn us about what would happen.’
Hutasawara/ kuwa ni laazimu/ we/ kumdigilaa ye/ chiza khkalaant^ha/ Mwiini/ niingi. ‘Perhaps you ought to warn him not to stay too long in Brava.’

Khudigiliiló/ 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.’
Mi/ nimdigiliilé/ Omari/ chiza kumpasa/ peesa/ Huseeni. ‘I warned Omari that he should not lend money to Huseeni.’
Mi/ nimdigiliilé/ Omari/ na khatari. ‘I warned Omari of the danger.’
Mi/ nimdigiliilee yé/ chiza khtosha/ kuwa iyo/ itakuwa sahali/ khfanyoowa. ‘I warned him not to think that it would be easy to do.’
Muunt^hu/ chikhudigila/ haapati/ eeti. ‘When one warns you he does not Get blame.’ (A proverb.)
Muunt^hu/ chikhudigila/ haapati/loomu. ‘When one warns you he does not get blame.’ (A proverb.)
Nimdigiliilé/ Hamadi/ sije/ zijo izo. ‘I warned Hamadi not to eat that food.’
Nimdigiliilé/ Nuuru/ chiza kumpa Hamadi/ chibuuku. ‘I warned Nuuru not to give Hamadi a book.’ Cf. **Nimdigiliilé/ Nuuru/ simpe/ Hamadi/ chibuuku.** ‘I warned Nuuru that he shouldn’t give Nuuru a book.’
Nimdigiliilé/ Nuuru/ sooloke/ numba iyo. ‘I warned Nuuru not to go to that house.’
Nimdigiliilé/ Omari/ chiza kuuya/ kaaka/ numbaani/ mara yingine. ‘I warned Omari not to come to my house again (lit. another time).’
Omari/ mdigiliile Baaná. ‘Omari warned Baana.’
We/ waliko digiliilá/ chiza khfakata. ‘We were warned not to run.’
Ye/ digiliile/ ka chiza khpasooa/ Hasani/ peesa. ‘He warned against lending Hasani money.’
Ye/ digiliile/ kuwa nt^ha’ikuwaaliko/ jawaabu/ sahali/ ya mushkila iyo. ‘He warned that there was no easy answer to this problem.’
Ye/ digiliile/ kuwa stakuwako mushkila/ niingi. ‘He warned that there would be a lot of problems.’
Ye/ digiliile/ tarafu iyo. ‘He warned about that.’
Ye/ jaribilile kumdigilaa ye/ na khatari/ waaðeche. ‘He had tried to warn him of the obvious dangers.’
Ye/ ndigiliile/ mi/ ka chiza kuula/ nuumba/ ikulu/ kana iyi. ‘He warned me against buying such a big house (lit. house a big one like this).’
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.’
Si/ chidigiliilá/ kuwa hutasawara/ si/ chiza kuwasila/ ka wakhti. ‘We were warned of the possibility that we might not arrive on time.’
Wadigiliila/ wo/ tarafu ya khatari. ‘They were warned of the risks.’
Ye/ hadigiloowi. ‘He won’t be warned.’

dighlo

n. 9/10 a laxative of local origin **dikhlo?**
dighlo iyi ‘this laxative’; **dighlo izi** ‘these large quantities of laxatives’
Haliima/ nele dighlo/ nakhsula khshuwisha. ‘Haliima drank a laxative, she wants to have a bowel movement.’

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/ hatá/ 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.’

Iyo/ nii ndila. ‘That’s right.’

Karkaa ndila/ chidirkamana/ na watumishi/ wa sultāani/ 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/ wachimwona 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.

Omari/ nayoo ndila/ kumera kazi yingine. ‘It is right for Omari to look for another job.’

We/ nayoo ndilá/ khsulá kiiwa/ zaaydi/ tarafu ya iyi. ‘You are right to want to know more about this.’

Mi/ nt^hete chijamuchá/ noloshele naa cho/ ndilaani. ‘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 baskiili ‘a bicycle path’

ndila ya bulaaṭi ‘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 m̄taanga ‘dirt, sand road’
ndila ya muzdahimu ‘a crowded, busy road’
ndila ya nafasi ‘an empty road’
ndila ya reeli ‘railroad track’
ndila ya waant^{hu} ‘a footpath for humans’
ndilaze ni mbili muun^{hi} wa aaxera [st.] ‘its roads are two, the day of the hereafter’
Nii ndila/ si/ laazimu/ khtuluba/ pesa ziitu/ kurudiloowa. ‘It is only right that we should demand our money back.’
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.’
Sarmaḷa/ chilindra ndilaani/ chimḷataa ndrúwé/ kingila kumera rukhsa. ‘The carpenter waited outside and sent his relative in to seek permission.’
Shika ndilayo/ yolokele/ kiinu. ‘Get going, take yourself home!’
Siwo/ ndila/ Faatima/ kiza kumziyaraṭa mbujé. ‘It is not right for Faatima to refuse to visit her sister.’
Siwo/ ndila/ Hamadi/ kuḷata kaazi/ isa. ‘It would not be right for Hamadi to quit work now.’
Siwo/ ndila/ we/ kumbigila Hamadi/ nk^{he}le. ‘It would not be right for you to scold Hamadi.’
Wakomeelopó/ sarmaḷa/ chilindra ndilaani. ‘When they arrived, the carpenter waited outside.’
We/ nayoo ndilá/ kuwa n^haku/ sababu/ si/ kooloka. ‘You are right that there is no reason for us to go.’

rel.

chi-dila (zi-) n. dim.

Komelopo ibanya ya muuyi/ chiwona ndila ya gaari/ ka kubli/ 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’

dimokhraadi

n. democracy

N^hi/ za dimokhraadi/ yiko horiya/ ya kooḷi. ‘In democratic nations there is freedom of speech.’

dinaari

n. [Sw. *dinari* SSED 75; Ar. *dīnār* W 306] a coin used by Arabs

Skú mooyi/ Abunawaasi/ peete/ dinaari/ miya. ‘One day Abunawaasi found one hundred dinaris.’ (The pronounced cited in an isolative one; it is also possible to have /pete dinarii miya/.)

i-diindiini

n. [Som. *diin-diin*] tortoise

Huhadoowa/ idiindiini/ ni karka hayawaani/ hu’insho niingí. ‘It is said that the tortoise is among the wild animals that live for a long time.’

Omari/ hinendra ka tartiibu/ kana/ idiindiini/ ha’ikhadiroowi/ kinendrowa naaye. ‘Omari walks slowly like a tortoise, it is not possible for one to walk with him.’

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.)

Omari/ sho khfilatiḷoowa/ tu/ wasiḷiile/ numbaani/ ka Abú/ dingá!/ haṭá inahiḷa. ‘Omari, without being expected, just arrived at Abu’s house **dinga!** even there was shock.’

diini

n. 9/10 [Sw. *dini* SSED 75; Ar. *dīn* W 306] religion

chiskaṭile 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.’
kubaraṭa qur’aani/ na mambo ya diini ‘to study the Quran and subjects related to religion’
leeta bismiḷa mweenza raasha diini [st.] ‘say **bismiḷa**, my friend, and follow religion’
muunt^hu/ mwenye diini ‘a religious person’
Na kubaraṭa diini/ ni waajibu. ‘And to learn religion is an obligation.’
ndruuza ni waajibu amri ya diini/ khansa kiwoowa mas’ala sitini [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-dirisha (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 sultaani/ 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'.)
Vunzile idiriisha/ mwana uje/ vuunziló. 'He broke the window, that boy, that's what he did.'
zilango za idirisha 'the doors of a window'
zuma za idirisha 'the iron/steel of the window'

dirito

adj. direct
Haayiwi/ ma'anaye/ dirito/ haayiwi/ ma'anaye/ sahali. 'It does not become, it means, direct; it does not become, it means, easy.' (The speaker is discussing the proverb **Limi/ nt'halina/ mwishpa.** 'The tongue does not have a bone.' In the absence of a bone, the tongue can say whatever it wishes, it's easy to lie, there is nothing preventing telling lies. But if there were a bone, it would not be possible to directly and easily tell lies.)
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/ mzele/ nt^ho. 'He met a very old woman.'
Chizeele/ chishkila/ chishkila/ haťa/ mwaana/ chichidirka/ icho chijumba/ 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.'

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

Khabari/ zimdirshile Hamadi. 'The news reached Hamadi.'

Kooði/ zimdirshile Hamadi. 'The news reached Hamadi.'

kudirka faanya 'to make anything, do anything'

Hamadi/ na wakhti/ nafasi/ kilaa chiint^hu/ hudirka/ faanya.

'Hamadi has a lot of time, he can do anything.'

Mi/ siná/ kudirka/ khfanya jwabu iyo/ ka sababu wakhtiwa/ iriiri. 'Me, I cannot do that thing because my time is very limited.'

kudirka ruuhu 'to save oneself'

kumdirka ruuhu (lit.) to reach him the soul – i.e. to save s.o.'

Omari/ waliko ta'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/ imvundikilile 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.’

Mi/ wakhtíwa/ iriiri/ siná/ kudirka/ kooloka/ kumlangála Hamadi. ‘Me, my time is very restricted, I cannot (lit. I do not have to reach) go and visit Hamadi.’

Mwaana/ dirshile gaari. ‘The child reached the car (e.g. which was about to take off).’

Mwaana/ oloshelopó/ mdirishile mweenziwe/ ineeme/ naakuła. ‘When she went, she found her friend bent over crying.’

Nakhfakata/ kudirkaa salá. ‘I am running to reach (where) the praying (is taking place).’

Nch^hiza khfakata/ simdirki. ‘If I don’t run, I won’t reach him.’

Ni hodari/ laakini/ hamdirki/ Ali. ‘He is clever, but he cannot equal Ali.’

Nk^hachiza khfakata/ skamdirke. ‘If I had not run, I wouldn’t have reached him.’

Nk^hawa skufakata/ skamdirke. ‘If I had not run, I wouldn’t have reached him.’

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 waqtiwe Makka al-musharrafa [st.] ‘may they reach Mount Arafa 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’

Wakharibiliipó/ 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.’

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.’

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.’

Dhibu niingi/ zidirkameno naami. ‘Many difficulties have been encountered by me.’

Hamadi/ oshale Mwiini/ ye/ sulile kudirkamana na mkulé/ laakini/ kodele naaye/ ka telefono/ tu. ‘Hamadi went to Brava. He wanted to meet with his brother, but he just spoke to him on the telephone.’

Karkaa ndila/ chidirkamana na muunt^hu/ mooyi/ ngamiilaye/ yingilo baađi. ‘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.'
- mahaḷaa wowi/ hudirkamano na ṭawalá** 'a place where the river meets with the sea'
- Mi/ ndirkamene naa dhibu/ niingi.** 'I have encountered many difficulties.'
- Mi/ ndirkameené/ na Haliima/ mara ya kaandra/ mukḥṭaa yé/ mziyareṭo maamé.** 'I met Haliima for the first time when she visited my mother.'
- Mi/ niilé/ nambila naa muké/ mzeele/ mooyi/ waa mi/ ndirkameno naayé/ kuwaa mi/ nt^h akudirkamana/ naa muke/ mooyi/ mzeele/ nt^h o.** '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/ ntho/ 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/ kphanana salaamu/ na kubadilana ra'yi.** 'To call people to meet and to see one another and greet one another and exchange ideas.'
- Mooyi/ karka dhibhu niingi zidirkamena naazó/ ni kuja la'aani.** 'One among the many difficulties met with (them) was lack of food.'
- 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-dirkiloowa* v. appl. pass.
- Dirkilila nakuboola.** 'He was caught red-handed stealing.'
- ku-dirkila* v. appl. (**dirkilile**) 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. (**dirshiize**) make s.t. ready in time; prepare s.t. in a hurry; give news about s.t. to s.o.
- 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 kooḍi** 'to cause someone to get news hastily'
- Mdirshize Hamadi/ kooḍi.** 'He conveyed the news to Hamadi hastily.'
- Mandra za kudirsha/ zilada.** 'Quick bread (a special type of bread made in Brava) is tasty.'
- ku-dirshiliza* v. caus. appl.
- Haliima/ fakeete/ kumdirshiliza waawaye/ kuja/ yaa khaḍa/ ragiile.**
'Haliima ran to prepare food quickly for her father's lunch, she is late.'

kumdirshiliza chaakuja ‘to prepare food hastily for someone’
Mdirshilize Hamadi/ chaakuja. ‘She prepared food hastily for Hamadi.’
Umi/ nakhpikaa kuja/ nakhsula wakudirshiliza waanawe/ nt^hasa keendrá/ chuwooni. ‘Umi is cooking food, she wants to make it ready in a hurry for her children before they go to school.’
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.’

n-diiwa

n. 9/10 [Sw. *njiwa* SSED 339] pigeon

Maatoye/ masuura/ kamba ya ndiwa. ‘Her eyes are beautiful like those of a pigeon.’

mayaank^huku/ ya ndiwa ‘pigeon eggs’

Nama ya ndiwa/ lada. ‘Pigeon meat is delicious.’

Nama ya ndiwa/ ni nama ya janaani. ‘The meat of a pigeon is the meat of heaven.’

Ndiwa/ mbili/ izije/ schanza/ 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 ndiwa ‘pigeon coop (lit. house)’

suura/ kana ndiwa ‘as beautiful as a pigeon’

Ye/ chiwona ilu/ yaa muti/ uko ndiwa. ‘He saw that on the top of the tree there was a pigeon.’

diiwaani

n. 9/10 [Sw. *diwani* SSED 76; Ar.] a book or anthology of poems; a registry

diwani iyi ‘this book of poems’

diwani zaawo ‘their books of poems’

Karka diiwaani/ ya Munishiipiyo/ nt^hi/ yiko kharibu ya muskitini/ ka Madani/ nda Nuuru. ‘In the register of the municipality, the land that is near Madani mosque belongs to Nuuru.’

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/ khtomolaa diya. ‘It is necessary to pay blood compensation.’
Wapejaa diya. ‘They were given blood compensation.’
Wa’iize/ diya. ‘They refused the blood compensation.’
Watomelee diya. ‘They paid blood compensation.’

ku-diyarisha

v. prepare
 rel.

ku-diyarishiliza v. appl.

Ye/ mdiyarishilize mubjiwe/ spageeti. ‘She prepared spaghetti for her husband.’

ku-diyarishilizoowa v. appl. pass.

Muunt^hu/ oyo/ diyarishiliza spageeti/ ni Hamadi. ‘The man who was prepared spaghetti for is Hamadi.’

Spageeti/ diyarishiliza Hamadi. ‘Spaghetti was prepared for Hamadi.’ Or:
Hamadi/ diyarishiliza spageeti. ‘Hamadi was prepared spaghetti for.’

Spageeti/ diyarishiliza Hamadi/ ni tayaari. ‘The spaghetti that was prepared for Hamadi is ready.’

ku-diyarishoowa v. pass.

Haliima/ monyeze mwanaashkewe/ jisa hudiyarishoowa zijó. ‘Haliima showed her daughter how *zijo* is prepared’

diizali

n. [Eng. *diesel*] diesel truck

Gaari/ za diizali/ nii nguvu/ kolko gari za banziina. ‘Diesel trucks are stronger than petrol trucks.’

dizinteriya

n. dysentery

Maraði ya dizenteriya/ hunyowa maazi. [H!H] ‘Dysentery (if one has it) there is blood in the stool.’

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**]

Dobla aadili/ ha’iburbuki. ‘Just government does not collapse.’ (A proverb.)

Dobla ya Aldo/ Mooroo/ inakudaalata khfanyilizaa dawa/ na kiyookola/ ikhtisaadi/ ya muuyi. ‘The government of Aldo Mooroo is trying hard to cure and to save the economy of the country.’

Haata/ skola za dobla/ sfuunzila. ‘Even government schools have been closed.’

Kana dobla la’aani/ kheeri/ dobla mbovu. ‘Instead of being without a government, a bad one is better.’ (A saying.)

Na skola za dobla/ / sfuunzila. ‘Government schools also have been closed.’

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-dodeka v. p/s.

ku-dodeoowa v. appl. pass.

Omari/ nakudodeoowa. 'Omari is being argued for.'

ku-dodeela v. appl. (**dodeelele**)

Sidodeeni. '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/ hudoodata niingi. 'Omari complains, argues a lot.' Or: **Omari/ hudoodata/ niingi.**

Omari/ nakudoodata kuwa hakhiye/ nthakhpooa. 'Omari was complaining that his rights were not given to him.'

Omari/ nakudoodata kuwa nuumba/ ndaaké. 'Omari is arguing that the house is his.'

dooði

n. 9/10 complaint, dispute, argument, controversy

Baazi/ jaribile kuwa waaðehe/ na jawaabu/ za dooði. 'Baazi tried to stay clear of controversial matters.'

Dooðize/ hazimali. 'His complaints have no end.' (A proverbial saying.)

Hakhiikha/ ya kuwaa mi/ nfunzile mnaangó/ ha'itifiloowi/ dooði. 'The fact that I locked the door is not disputed.'

Jisa dooði/ yanziizó/ nt^haasá/ hayisoowi. 'How the dispute began remains unknown.'

Mi/ ha'itahajoowi/ ku'akida/ muhima/ inayo adabú/ na ihtiraamú/ karka dooði/ izi. 'I hardly need stress the importance of discretion in these discussions.'

Mi/ mbaliko waaðehé/ nt^ho/ kuwaa mi/ nakhsuļa khfuungá/ dooði iyi. 'I have been very clear that I want to put an end to this dispute.'

Sinaayo/ ismu/ ya dooði. 'I do not have any complaint.'

dokhani (Ø, ma-)

adj. [Som. **doqon** DSI 195] stupid, moronic

Apa/ nt^hi/ 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/ mink^hariiló. ‘The stupid one, the prophet Moses curses him.’

Dokhani/ nt^haná/ nasiibu. ‘Someone stupid does not have luck, good fortune.’ (A saying.)

Hamadi/ ni dokhani. ‘Hamadi is a moron.’

Haṭá/ 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.’

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.’

Want^hu 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/ miyuuni/ 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?’

domanda

n. [Ital.] application

Mi/ ndrinzile domandayá/ khiroowá. ‘I waited for my application to be approved.’

doroogo

n. [Ital. *droga*] confirm use in Chimiini and pron and meaning and examples

doorasho

n. election

Dorashoo mp^hiya/ nt^haasá/ yiko khtasawara/ nt^ho. ‘A new election remains a stong possibility.’

Ye/ nt^haasá/ takuwa ni ra’iisi/ haṭá/ doorasho/ mp^hiya. ‘He will remain as president until there are new elections.’

ku-doorsata

v. [Som. *door* "to choose" DSI 194] (**dorseete**) choose, select

kudorsataa kuja ‘to choose food’

Ndorseeté/ kumwandikila Omari/ khaṭi. ‘I chose to write a letter to Omari.’ Or: **Ndorseeté/ kumwandikilaa khaṭi/ Omari.** Or: **Ndorseeté/ Omari/ kumwandikilaa khaṭi.** Or: **Ndorseeté/ khaṭi/ kumwandikila Omari.** (This set of examples illustrates some of the variations in word order possible for an infinitival complement to the verb **kudoorsata**. There are of course many more. These are variants where the main verb is emphasized and where there is no fronting of the complement elements to the beginning of the sentence.)

Nimdorseeté/ kumwandikila Omari/ khaṭi. ‘I choose him to write a letter to Omari.’ Or: **Nimdorseeté/ Omari/ kumwandikilaa khaṭi.** (These sentences illustrate that the primary object of the infinitive complement may control an object marker on the main verb. By contrast, the complement **khaṭi** cannot control an object marker on the main verb: ***Ni’idorseeté/ kumwandikila Omari/ khaṭi.** Nor: ***Ni’idorseeté/ khaṭi/ kumwandikila Omari.** Nor: ***Ni’idorseeté/ Omari/ kumwandikilaa khaṭi.** Nor any other

variation in word order.)

Safiya/ mdorseṭe Huseeni/ kuwa muḅliwe. ‘Safiya selected Huseeni to be her husband.’

Waletee wo/ wanadoorsate/ ka woowo. ‘Let them choose for themselves.’

Wamdorseṭe 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 mwanaamke ‘Omari to be chosen for a girl’

ku-dorsatila v. appl.

Namdorsatilani/ Omari. ‘For what are you electing Omari?’

Si/ hihtaja kudorsatila ruhu ziitu. ‘We need to chose for ourselves.’

ku-dorsatisha v. caus.

ku-dorsatoowa v. pass.

Khati/ idorseṭa/ Omari/ kandikiloowa. ‘A letter was chosen for Omari to be written to.’ (This sentence was judged grammatical. It would seem that while **Omari** is the subject of the passive infinitival complement, that the complement of that passive verb, **khati**, can be promoted to be the subject of a passive version of the main verb. This ability of **khati** to be the subject of the main passive verb seems clearly to be linked to the infinitival complement being passive. If the infinitive is not passivized, the sentence was rejected: ***Khati/ idorseṭa/ kumwandikila Omari**. These examples clearly require syntactic study.)

Omari/ dorseṭa/ kandikilowaa khati. ‘Omari was chosen to have a letter written to him.’ (Note that **Omari** can be the subject of the passive version of the main verb just in case it was made the subject of the passive infinitive in the complement. It is ungrammatical to leave the infinitive complement in active form: ***Omari/ dorseṭa/ kumwandikilaa khati**. ‘Omari was chosen for (someone) to write him a letter.’)

Omari/ takudorsatoowa. ‘Omari will be selected, chosen.’

Sheekhi/ dorseṭa kuwa ra’iisi. ‘Sheekhi was elected president.’

rel. nom.

u-doorsato n. 14

doṭoore (ma-)
used as a title

n. [Ital. *dottore*] university graduate; medical doctor (with a university degree); may be

Doṭore oyo/ siwo/ msuura. ‘That doctor is not good.’

doṭore uyu ‘this doctor’; **madōṭore 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-doodaṭa

v. argue

Omari/ mkali/ kudoodaṭa. ‘Omari is sharp in arguing.’

Nṯa’ina/ manfa’a/ kudoodaṭowa na Omari. ‘It is useless arguing with Omari.’

Si/ chidoṭeṭé/ we. ‘We argued, you know.’

Wadoṭeṭe/ we/ alhaasili/ watambuleene. ‘They discussed (argued), you know, [and] finally they agreed (understood one another).’

We/ ni sahá/ kudoōḁaṭa/ kuwa ni laazimu/ khfanyowa zaaydi. ‘You are right to argue that more must be done.’

rel.

ku-dooḁaṭila v. appl.

Omari/ namdoōḁaṭila Hasani. ‘Omari is arguing for Hasani.’

ku-dooḁaṭoowa v. pass.

Apo/ inakudoōḁaṭa. ‘There arguing is going on.’

Kudoōḁaṭoowa/ 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/ file. ‘When Flea saw the dog walking on the elephant, he knew that the elephant was dead.’

Mapembe yaa ndovu/ ni kontorobaanda. ‘The tusks of elephants are contraband.’

Mwaana/ chiwa’amura wataana/ kumkokotaa ndovu/ haṭá/ 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/ ondroshele/ 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).’

Mi/ nkhadiriilé/ kingila ndraani/ bilaa dhibu. ‘I was able to get in without difficulty.’

ndraani/ m^wa ndraani ‘in and in’

ndraani ndiwe takiiwo [song] ‘only you will know what is inside (you)’

ndrani ya maduuri ‘inside the forest’

ndrani ya numba ‘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.’

Wo/ nt^hawakhaadira/ kulindra kuruda ndraani. ‘They couldn’t wait to get back inside.’

- Ye/ harfishiize/ chiint^hu/ ndraani.** ‘He smelled something inside (the house).’
- n-drewuuni** in the phrase:
kingila ndrewuuni ‘to doze off’
Ningile ndrewuuni. ‘I dozed off.’
Nk^halent^he chibarzaani/ l-pepo/ haṭá/ ningile ndrewuuni. ‘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 ndrriimbo. ‘And she answered the boy with a song.’
Waana/ wa’imbile ndrriimbo. ‘The children sang songs.’
- n-driimu** n. 9/10 [Sw. *ndimu* SSED 332] lemon, lime, orange
Ambile ndrriimu/ ambiiló. ‘He peeled off the skin of the lemon, that’s what he did.’
Khaadimu/ chambiloowa/ ya kuwa waant^hu/ watakuḷaṭila/ ndrriimu/ 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 ndrriimu ‘lemon tree’
ndrimu ḷada ‘orange’
ndrimuu nk^hulu ‘grapefruit (lit. big lemon); grapefruit may also be called **pompeelmo**, from Italian’
Ndrriimu/ mara nt^hatuze/ schimbiga/ muunt^hu/ mooyi/ munt^hu oyo/ ndiyé/ ṭakuwo sulṭaani. ‘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)’
Nza naani/ ndrimumu izi. ‘Whose oranges are these?’
- rel.
chi-n-driimu (*zi-n-*) n. 7/8 dim.
chindrimu chilada ‘tangerine’
chindrimu chisiṭa ‘lime’
- n-droola** 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/ chintalaa ndruwe/ 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 ndruugu or **khkalaanga/ ndruugu** ‘to roast groundnuts’
kubashalaṭila ndruugu ‘to pass time with groundnuts, i.e. entertain or enjoy oneself by eating nuts’
kuja ndruugu ‘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

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 proverb.)
Du’a/ muunt^hu/ hutaala/ ka wazelewe. ‘Blessings one takes from his parents.’ Or: **Du’a/ muunt^hu/ hupata/ ka wazelewe.**
Du’a/ suura/ kulombowa wakhtí/ nt^haanoze/ zaa sala. ‘It is good to make supplication during the five praying times.’
iidi du’a hulomboowa, mtume husaḷiloowa [song] ‘on *iidi, du’a* is implored, the Prophet is prayed to’
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’
Isomelaa du’a/ niingi. ‘There was a lot of supplications being read.’ (An impersonal passive.)
Isomelaa du’a/ skolaani. ‘There has been supplications read at school.’ Or: **Isomeela/ du’a/ skolaani.**
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*).

Munaafiqi/ du’aye/ ha’itakhabaloowi. ‘A hypocrite, his supplication is not accepted.’
Nusuha/ nii du’a. ‘Advice is a blessing (i.e. to receive advice is a blessing).’

(A proverb.)

Sababu/ yaa waant^hu/ kurasho mayṭí/ ya maaná/ ka chinumé/ huhadoowa/ kuwa maana/ haṭa haaji/ kulombelowa du’a/ nt^haná/ ismu ya ḍambi/ bal/ ba/ husulowaa ye/ kulombela waant^hu/ du’a/ na maghfirá. ‘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 muḅli/ 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. **dubáy**] (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 Dubay.' (Cf. **Nuzile dira'a za Dubáy.** 'I bought **dira'a** from Dubay.')

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
duudu uyu or **duudu iyi** 'this worm'; **duudu 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-dufatoowa v. pass. be embraced, hugged, gripped
waana hufurahishoowa, jiraani hudufatoowa [song] 'children are made happy, neighbors are embraced'
ku-dufla 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/ dufiliila.** ‘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 fiile. ‘The beast was dead.’
Isllaamu/ warebeja kuja nama ya dughaaghi/ niingi/ ka mfaano/ siimba/ ngeena/ dul’eda/ nfuye/ nt^{hu}wi/ jeeri/ mp^haka/ ghuraabu/ karaayle/ mp^hisi/ 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/ fiile. ‘When he reached them, he gave them the news that the beast had died.’
Maama/ sh^{tu}ungila/ 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 dughaaghi 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 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 nuumbaza/ zotte/ na madukayá/ yotte/ yako muyiiní. 'Ali, take all my houses and all my shops which are in the town.'
Duka/ ivuunziḷa. 'The shop was broken into.'
Duka/ mahalaa wé/ takhadiro kula zibuukú/ na majornaalé/ huuza. 'The shop where you can buy books also sells newspapers.'
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.**
Huseeni/ msimishilee muné/ Abú/ khalbi/ khfungulaa duka/ ya zilaatu/ mpele peesa. 'Huseen encouraged his brother to open a shoe shop, he gave him money.'
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 muunt'hi/ heendró/ Omari/ dukaani. 'Every day, the one who goes to the market is Omari.' (Note that one cannot put **Omari** in IAV position: ***Kilaa muunt'hi/ hendro Omari/ dukaani.**)
Kuja/ huzowa madukaani. 'Food is sold at the shops.'
Omari/ holoka dukani/ kilaa muunt'hi. 'Omari goes to the shop every day.' Or: **Omari/ hooloka/ dukaani/ kilaa muunt'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.
mw-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. **chiduku**] (The sound we write *d* occurs in very few words in Chimiini.; cf. *chi-devu* [pron. *chi-devu*] 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-duldulaḷa* v. [cf. Som. *daldalan* "to speak confusedly" DSI 128] (**dulduleete**) lose one's power of reasoning, go crazy, be confused
Ka kazi niingi/ hattá/ nakulduulaḷá. 'I am going crazy from too much work.'
Leelo/ sulḷaani/ ondrokeleela/ ka khisani/ ka khisa/ mi/ nimalile chilaatú/ mukeewé/ isa/ nakulduulaḷa. 'Today the king was taken by madness – why? Because I took a shoe from his wife. Now he is behaving crazily.'
rel.
ku-duldulaḷoowa v. pass.
Ka kazi niingi/ huduldulaḷoowa. 'There's going crazy/getting confused (going on here) from too much work,'

- ku-duḍuulisha* 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] (**duuzile**) attack, raid (Observe the productivity of the phonological process whereby *l* shifts to *z* in front of the perfect suffix *iil* and in the process shortens the vowel of that suffix. The *l* in the Somali word *duul* undergoes this process in the Chimiini loanword.)
Omari/ ile/ (na)kuduula. ‘Omari came to attack.’
rel.
ku-duḷoowa v. pass. (**duuziḷa**)
Numbaani/ kiitu/ inakuduḷoowa. ‘Our house is being attacked.’
ku-duulisha v. caus. (**dulishiize**) cause to raid
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 wakhadiriile/ kinendra meli ikumi naa nt^hatu/ ziwaliiko ziwasaliló/ 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. *dāma* “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^hawachaminiŋoowa/ 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.'

waan^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/ wafiele.
'He found that there was nothing on earth that remained, all had died.'

Duniya/ ha'irashoowi. 'The world (i.e. the deceitful pleasures the world offers) are not (i.e. should not be) followed.' (A proverb.)

Duniya/ haaliye/ ni jis'iyi/ zeema/ hulipowa ka ziwovu. 'The way of the world is this: good is repaid with evil.'

Duniya/ haraarisi/ khonyeza lada/ chimaliza/ khuḍulisha. 'The world is bitter, it shows you sweetness and then it destroys you.' (A proverb.)

Duniya/ imwangamikiliile/ 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.)

duniya ni nuumba ya mwenye sho nuumba/ mtiyeeni mwajitu ka kuleeta tooba [st.] 'the world is the house of the one without a house; fear God and repent'

Duniyaani/ ha'iwaroowi. 'In the world no one will remain forever.' (A proverbial saying.)

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?'

Hurasho duniyá/ huḡowa akhera. 'One who follows the world loses life hereafter.' (A proverb.)

Isa/ duniya/ imwelele miinza/ ka kajila/ 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/ suḷa 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/ mubjaana/ nt^haku’ink^hira/ teena/ zeema/ ziko duniyaaní. ‘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 mzeele/ msaafiri/ tu/ laṭila 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/ uyuu/ 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. rotation; circle; small fan

chidura chaa jasi ‘a small ceiling fan’

chidura cha khsimama ‘a standing fan’

chidura chaa khsimika ‘a standing fan’

chidura cha koranta ‘a small electric fan’

chidura cha lpepo ‘a small fan (lit. a fan of wind)’

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

(finger, etc.)

v. [Som. *dur* DSI 200] (**duriile**) pierce, stab, prick (with a sharp object, a

Ali/ mdurile Hamadi/ ka siindanu. ‘Ali pricked Hamadi with a needle.’

(Other possibilities: **ka mwiiwa** ‘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/ chimduriilo. ‘The hook snagged him.’

Chisu/ chimduriilo. ‘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].’

Mahaḷa/ chiint^hu shchiwamo mwishpa/ hudura/ ambó/ huḷaaza. ‘A place where something has a bone in it (may) sting or be painful.’ (This sentence was part of a discussion about the tongue, which lacks a bone., and how easily it tells lies.)

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.’

Mwiiwa/ 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. (**durishilize**)

Haadi/ mdurshilize Baazi/ mwaana/ ruuhuye/ ka sindaano. ‘Haadi made Baazi’s child pierce himself with a needle.’ (Syn. The corresponding periphrastic construction: **Haadi/ mtijile 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, 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/ watililene waana/ kudura ruhu zaawo/ ka sindaano.**)

ku-duroowa v. pass.

Nakuduroowa/ ka ulaazo. '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
Basi/ naawó/ hendra maduriini/ hulima muundra. 'So they went to the bush to cultivate a farm.'

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/ khtinda 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/ naakuḷa/ maduriini. 'My child is crying in the bush.' (A riddle, the answer to which is **shṭoka** 'axe'.)

Mwaana/ wa maskiini/ oloshole maduriini/ khtinda 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/ ichisuḷa/ 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.'

Ni duwaara/ ya Ali/ mwulushilize mwaaná. 'It is a kite that Ali flew for the child.'

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-duuwaṭa

v. [Som. *duub* "to roll up a cloth" DSI 202] (**duweṭe**) tie a cloth around the waist in preparation for fighting, prepare to fight

Nuuru/ duweṭee nguwo. 'Nuuru tied the cloth around his waist (preparing to fight).'

rel.

ku-duwaṭika v. p/s.

ku-duwaṭisha v. caus. help tie a cloth around the waist

Mduwaṭishize 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: **Mfile mwaana/ kuduwaṭaa nguwo.** 'He persuaded the child to tie a cloth around his waist.'

ku-duwaṭishana v. caus. rec.

ku-duwaṭishika v. caus. p/s.

ku-duwaṭishiliza v. caus. appl.

Nuuru/ mduwaṭishilize Suufi/ mwaana/ nguwo. 'Nuuru helped Suufi's child tie a cloth around his waist.'

ku-duwaṭishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Nuuru/ na Suufi/ waduwaṭishilizenye 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 (We do not have sufficient material for a thorough analysis of pitch in ideophones, but *dhab!* appears to be pronounced with extra high pitch.)

Hamadi/ shaati/ kihabache/ imambeṭe/ dhab! 'The shirt, its smallness, sticks to Hamadi *dhab!* (i.e. the shirt is too small for Hamadi's size, it fits him tightly).'

Nuuru/ nazoo nguvu/ chikhushika mkono/ dhab!/ hukhaadira/ khṭomoza. 'Nuuru is strong, if he catches you with his hand, *dhab!* you cannot get out.'

dhadhaami

adj. stupid, idiotic

ku-dhadhamisha

v. [Som. *dhadhdhan-* Ab41] (**dhadhamishize**) taste

Muunt^hu/ chidhadhamisha chiint^hu/ chilada/ haalaṭi. 'If a person tastes a sweet thing, he does not quit eating it.' (A proverb.)

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^hayná/ ayi/ dhadhamu. ‘Boiled meat does not have taste.’

ku-dhafaraṭa

v. [Som. verb *dhafar* DSI 153] (**dhafareete**) stay awake all night

Alí/ kílāa ramaḏaani/ hudhafaraṭa/ halaali/ mpaka suhuuri. ‘Ali, every (night of) Ramadhan stays awake all night, he does not sleep until (the time of) *suhuuri*.’

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.’

dhagaala (ma-)

n. [Som. *dhag* "ear" and *dhagla* "a deaf man" Ab54] a partially deaf person (In Somali, intervocalic *g* is realized phonetically as a fricative. Chimiini preserves this phonetic realization: [pron. **dhagaala**], where [g] indicates a voiced velar fricative.)

dhagala uyu ‘this deaf person’; **madhagala awa** ‘these deaf people’

Muunt^hu/ chiint^hu/ ichiwa hapeendi/ hufanya ruuhuye/ dhagaala/ haakasi. ‘If one does not want to listen to something, he (lit.) makes himself deaf -- i.e. pretends to not hear.’

Omari/ mwaanawe/ zazila dhagaala/ nt^haná/ dawa. ‘Omari’s child was born deaf; he has no cure (I.e. he cannot be cured).’

Sa’iidi/ shfanya ruuhuye/ dhagaala. ‘Sa’iidi pretended to be deaf.’

dhagiso

adj. **unknown etym** greedy

ku-dhahalata

v. [Som. *dhaxl-* F&H 173] inherit

kumdhahalaṭa ‘to inherit from him’
Maana/ humdhahalaṭa/ mzeelewe. ‘A son inherits from his parents.’
Omari/ dhahaleete/ kilaa chiint^hu/ cha baaba/ lasiló/ mapeesa/ ḍahabu/ luulu/ majuumba/ na zinginezé. ‘Omari inherited everything that father left: money, gold, pearls, houses, and other things.’

rel.

ku-dhahalaṭika v. p/s.

ku-dhahalaṭisha v. caus.

ku-dhahalaṭishana v. caus. rec.

ku-dhahalaṭishiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-dhahalaṭishilizana 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/ takuḷató/ yote/ na kumṭawalisha 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 muḷkú/ na kuḷla 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-dhahalato n. 14

u-dhahalisho n. 14

dhahali

n. inheritance

Aamina/ maamaye/ ndraṭiḷiḷe iḷabe/ 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.)

dhakap

ideo. of a strong, forceful grip

Askari/ mrashize mwizi/ mshiihile/ dhakáp! ‘The police chased the thief and caught him *dhakap!* (in a strong grip).’

dhakh

ideo. of falling into mud

Muke/ oyo/ shfakhirisho ruuhuyé/ shereeḷe/ potele matotopeeni/ dhakh! ‘That woman, who was making herself proud (i.e. doing something out of pride) slipped and fell into the mud *dhakh!*’

dhakh

ideo. of laughing; of a car not starting

Fatuura/ ya Nuuru/ motoore/ ihalaweete/ inaakuḷa/ dhakh dhakh dakh!/ ichondroloowa. ‘The motor of Nuuru’s car broke, it is making noise *dhakh dhakh dhakh!* when started.’

Hamadi/ walishize shṭeko/ dhakh dhakh dhakh! ‘Hamadi laughed *dhakh dhakh dhakh!*’

ku-dhakha

v. [Som.] (**dhakhiile**) be early, be quick, hurry; move
variant form: **kudhakhsaṭa** (**dhakhseete**)

Jahazi/ haydhakhi/ bilaa lpepo. ‘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.’

magghaniye hayraagi/ hudhakha kubarsishoowa [st.] ‘his protection
comes swiftly and is immediately felt’

**Maamé/ uchiraaga/ amó/ uchidhakha/ ba/ mowṭi/ uṭakuniṭiṭa/ mahala
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/ mwambile mwaanawe/ kalaant^ha/ sidhakhaakhé/ hatá/ chaala/
sidhakhaakhishé.** ‘Hamadi told his child: sit, don’t move! even a
finger don’t move!’

Kanaa si/ ni kiineendrá/ si/ laazimu/ kudhakhaakha/ ka hima. ‘If we are
to proceed, we are to go ahead as quickly as possible.’

Omari/ hadhakhaakhi/ ba/ kana kalanṭ^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).’

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!’

Hatá/ chaala/ sidhakhaakhishé. ‘Don’t move even a finger!’

ku-dhakh(i)sha v. caus. (**dhakhishiize**)

variant forms: **kudhakhsisha**

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/ izito/ 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-dhakhaakha

v. intr. [Som.] (**dhakhakhiile**) move

Dughaaghi/ nt^hakudakhaakha/ walá/ nt^hakhtaharaka. ‘The beast did not move
[his whole body] nor did he move [part of his body].’

Ibateera/ idhakhaakhiile. ‘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-dhakhaakhika v. p/s.

ku-dhakhaakhisha 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 bateera. '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-dhakhaalata

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'iyu/ want^hu walima miyuundra/ hukorshaa mbwa/ na hisaabata/ mbwa/ kuwa ni karka daaba/ haminikó/ na hukhadirowa 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].'

rel.

ku-dhakaalisha v. treat well

Omari/ ni muunt^hu/ msuura/ hudhakhalisha waant^hu. 'Omari is a good person, he treats people well.'

dhakhaali

n. maintenance (of a family)

ku-dhakhamata

v. behave

Mi/ ndrangaaliilé/ jisa Abú/ dhakhameetó. 'I watched how Abu behaved.'

rel.

ku-dhakhamatoowa v. pass.

Mi/ niizé/ kudhakhamatowa kana mwaana. 'I objected to being treated like a child.'

dhakhani

n. [Som. *dhaqan* "culture, traditions, customs" DSI 158] culture, traditions, customs, character, behavior

Khkoða liila/ kumsayda muunt^hu/ ni karka dhakhani suura. 'Telling the truth, helping people, (these traits) are included in (having) a good character/ culture.'

Muunt^hu/ hakhadiroowi/ kudhakhamatowa naaye/ ichiwa dhakhaniye/ nii mbovu. 'One cannot be dealt with if his behavior/character is bad.'

Waana/ laazimu/ kubarata tarafu ya dhakhani yiitu. 'Children must learn about our traditions.'

rel.

chi-dhakhani n. 7 in the traditional manner

Ulamna/ yaa ye/ himbo limbo ili/ ni chidhakhani/ kabisá. The way she sings this song is very traditional.

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/ hamdhakhati/ muke. 'Hamadi does not take full care of his wife.'

Muke/ humdhakato/ ni muunt'u/ humzaalo. 'The one who cannot take care 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'u/ chiza khadira mdhakhataa muke/ humlata. 'If a person cannot take care/ treat well his wife, he should divorce her.'

Omari/ humdhakhatu mukeewe/ jisa suura/ kilaa chiint'u/ humfanyiliza. 'Omari treats his wife very well, he does everything for her.'

rel.

ku-dhakhatoowa v. pass. be treated

Muke/ chiza kudhakhatoowa/ jisa suura/ kheeri/ kulatoowa. 'If a wife is not treated well, it is better (for her) to divorce.'

Muke/ laazimu/ kudhakhatoowa/ jisa suura. 'A wife should be taken care of/ treated well.'

Muke/ ka wanaafakhi/ huloowa/ ka za lila/ (na) hudhakhatoowa. '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.)

raadi hulomboowa wake/ jisa wachidakhatoowa [st.] 'they beg the women's forgiveness for the way they have been treated'

wadakheeta n'awakiwa/ mbovu wachiziwoowa [st.] 'as they did not know where their sustenance came from, they were kept in the dark about any evil'

ku-dhakhmata v. deal with, treat

ku-dhakhmatoowa v. pass.

Muunt'u/ hakhadiroowi/ kudhakhatowa naaye/ ichiwa dhakhaniye/ nii mbovu. 'A person cannot be dealt with if his behavior/ character is bad.'

dhakhaayo

adj. skinny, without fat

ngombe dhakhaayo 'a skinny cow'

Ngombe yuu/ ni dhakhaayo. 'This cow is skinny.'

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 make sour (of milk)'

Haliima/ iziwa/ iweeshele/ sku niingi/ hatá/ ifanyize idhanaana. 'Haliima kept the milk for long time until she made it sour.'

Umi/ nakiska iziwa/ ya ngamiila/ naki'ifanya idhanaana. 'Umi is shaking camel milk to make it sour.'

ku-dhaansaata

v. [Som. *dham-* F&H 172] (**dhanseete**) draw water; take water from a container

Jaama/ dhanseete maayi/ (ka ikoopa). 'Jaama drew water (with a cup).'

rel.

ku-dhansaatika v. p/s.

ku-dhansatiloowa v. app. pass. (**dhansatiliila**)

Ikoopa/ idhansatiliila maayi. 'The cup was used to get water.'

ku-dhansaṭila v. appl. (**dhansaṭiliile**)

Hamadi/ tete ikoopa/ kudhansaṭila maayi. ‘Hamadi took a cup to draw water.’

Ikoopa/ Hamadi/ dhansaṭilile maayi. ‘A cup, Hamadi used one to get water.’

Mdhansaṭilile Baana/ maayi. ‘She drew water for Baana.’

ku-dhansaṭilana v. appl. rec .

ku-dhansaṭoowa v. pass. (**dhanseṭa**)

Maayi/ yadhanseṭa na Jaama. ‘Water was drawn by Jaama.’

dhara

hiskaṭilo diini Mooja hamoonyi yaa dhara [nṭ.] ‘if one relies on God, He will not let him come to harm’

ku-dharara

v. (**dharariile**) be in a hurry, hurry, be eager (Observe that the past tense verb is exceptional in that one would expect the perfect suffix *iil* to be altered to *iil* after a liquid – cf. **dariile** ‘he touched’.)

Abú/ nakudharara/ mweenzwe/ kuuya. ‘Abu is eager for his friend to come.’

Alí/ nakudharara/ haṭá/ ye/ kendra Spartiwooni. ‘Ali is in a hurry until he goes to the stadium.’

Hamadi/ nakudharara/ chiza ku’egoowa/ ka iyo/ ituushiló. ‘Hamadi is eager not to be blamed for what happened.’

kudharara kuḷawa ‘to be in a hurry to leave’

Mi/ nakudharará/ khpowa fursa/ ya piilji. ‘I am eager to be given a second chance.’

Nakudharará/ mi. ‘I am in a hurry.’ Or: **Mi/ nakudharará.**

Omari/ chidharara/ kumwonya Abú/ faṭuura. ‘Omari is eager to show Abu the car.’

Omari/ nakudharara. ‘Omari is in a hurry.’

Osmaani/ nakudharara/ kendra muskitiini. ‘Osmaani is in a hurry to go to the mosque.’

Si/ chinakudharará/ wana wiitu/ khpata masoomo. ‘We are eager for our children to get educated.’

rel.

ku-dhararila v. appl. (**dharariilile**) hurry for (It should be noted that this verb is one where the *l* in the applied suffix does not change to *l* in the presence of a preceding liquid: **kudhararila**. However, the *l* does become *l* when followed by the perfect suffix, which also changes to *l*: **dharariilile**.)

Nini/ yaa we/ nakudarariló. ‘What is it that you are in a hurry for?’

We/ nakudhararilani. ‘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/ nakhsuḷa 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.’

Waant^hu/ 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; adj. hot
M^walim Omari/ nt^haná/ naharisi/ ka dharaari/ huwasimika waana/ ibanyaani.
‘Teacher Omari has no mercy, during the hottest time of day he makes students stand outside.’
Shpiindri/ iwa/ huwa idharaari/ waant^hu/ hupumula/ ba’adi ya kujaa khaða.
‘The noon sun becomes hot, people rest after lunch.’

ku-dhaayika

v. (-*dhayishile*) melt (of ghee, ice)
Jalaata/ inakudhaayika. ‘The ice cream is melting.’
Suukari/ idhayishile. ‘The sugar melted.’
rel.
ku-dhaayisha v. caus. (*dayishiize*) melt s.t.
Mi/ nk^hakhaadira/ khfaanya/ yaa mi/ nnakhsuuló/ yote/ karka duniya/ mazá/ mu_o/ sula khaadira/ kundhaayishá. ‘If I can do whatever I want in the world, how come fire is able to melt me?’ (This example from MI illustrates the retention of the first person singular subject marker *n* in front of the present tense marker *na*. GM regularly reduces the *nn* sequence to *n*.
Nakudhayisha mafta. ‘He is making the oil watery.’
ku-dhayishoowa v. caus. pass.
Inakudhayishoowa/ maftaata. ‘The butter is being melted.’

dhee’aani

n. 10 secretion
dhe’ani haba mooyi ‘a small amount of secretion’
Hamadi/ ijarahaye/ inakulawa dhee’aani/ niingi. ‘Hamadi’s wound is producing a lot of secretion.’
Hamadi ipuuye/ inakhtanyika dhee’aani. ‘Hamadi’s infected wound is secreting a lot.’
Ipu/ inakulawa dhee’aani/ niingi. ‘The infected wound, boil etc. is producing a lot of secretion.’
rel.
mi-dhee’aani n. 4 aug.
Midhee’aani ^fmiingi/ yanamlawó/ Hamadi/ ipuuni. ‘A lot of secretion is coming out from Hamadi’s infected wound.’ Or: **Midhee’aani ^fmiingi/ Hamadi/ yanamlawó/ ipuuni.**

dheefu

n. 9 [Som. *dheef*] 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’

ku-dheelmata

v. [Som.] (*dhelmeete*) get up early in the morning and go somewhere
Walima muundra/ fijiri/ ka mapeema/ hudheelmata/ miyundraani. ‘Farmers early in the morning go to farms.’
rel.
ku-dheelmataowa v. pass.
Keesho/ inakawanyowa raashini/ ka buure/ ka rasente/ laazimu/ kudheelmataowa. ‘Tomorrow food is being distributed for free at the commissioner’s house; one must go early.’
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-dheenke (zi-)

n. 7/8 palm of the hand; [pron: **chidheenke**^he] (This word was given by MI, but is unknown to GM, who uses **chiseenge** for ‘palm of the hand’; the partial similarity between these two forms is of some interest, but we have been unable to explore any significance it might have.)

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 mwaanawe. ‘He likes a lot to see his son.’
Omari/ nakudherekela shaati/ ya Hamadi/ uziló/ haṭá/ madhereeri/ yana/ mvuuya. ‘Omari greatly loves the shir that Hamadi bought, to the point that thick saliva is pouring from his mouth.’

rel.

ku-dherekeḷoowa v. pass.

Omari/ nakudherekeḷoowa/ kana suukari. ‘Omari is being liked like sugar.’

i-dhereeri (ma-)

n. 5/6 [Som.] heavy saliva, spit
Hasani/ penzelee kuja/ haṭá/ 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/ kudaroowake/ laakini/ muunt^hu/ ṭahaḍarishiiza/ 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
maḍeyo 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.’
illa ka haaja haydhibi fanyaani [st.] ‘you may do so only when necessary (lit. except with need [then] it does not matter do)’
Inamdhibo mwaaná/ ni miimba. ‘What is hurting the child is his stomach.’
Majini/ mukhtaá wo/ wamweno Sa’iidi/ 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/ watakhfaanyó/ 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. (**dhibishile**)

Mwaanawa/ dhibishile safari iyi. ‘My child suffered on this trip.’

Omari/ nakudhibika apo. ‘Omari is having problems there.’
Ye/ dhibishile/ khfahama haṭá/ mooyi/ kiḷma/ ya chingereenza.
‘She could barely understand a word of English.’

Ye/ dhibishile/ nt^ho/ khkooḍa. ‘She had a lot of difficulty speaking.’

Ye/ nt^hakudhibika/ kandikaa khaṭi. ‘She had no difficulty writing the letter.’

ku-dhibikoowa v. (**dhibishila**)

Safari iyi/ idhibishiila. ‘This trip was suffered on (it).’

ku-dhibiloowa v. appl. pass.

Muunt^hu/ kudhibilowa jawaabu/ yaa ye/ hapeendi/ 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/ khori. ‘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.)

Dhibu/ humbarsha muunt^hu/ kilaa chiint^hu. ‘Hardship/difficulties teach one everything.’ (A proverb.)

Kaa dhibu/ kumwelela niingi/ mwaana/ chi’azima/ kondroka ka apo. ‘Because of difficulty being on him a lot, the boy decided to move from there.’

Mi/ mbenee dhibú/ niingi. ‘I have seen many difficulties.’

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.’

Muunt^hu/ dhibu/ ndiyé/ hulelo ruuhuyé. ‘For someone, a problem, it is he who brings it on himself.’ (A proverbial saying.)

Muunt^hu/ dhibuye/ ndiyé/ na’iwó. ‘A person, his problems, it is he who knows (them).’ (A proverbial saying.)

We/ chiwamo dhibuuni/ niḷḷaa mi. ‘If you are in trouble, come to me.’ Or: **We/ chiwamo dhibuuni/ niḷḷa/ mi.**

dhibu

adj. difficult

Iyo/ itakuwaa dhibu. ‘That will be 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.**

Yalikoo dhibu/ na Fardoosa/ kuleta ruuhuye/ kunambilaa mi/ tarafu yaa cho. ‘It was difficult for Fardoosa to bring herself to tell me about it.’

dhiq

ideo. of laughing

Hamadi/ nakhteka/ shṭeko/ dhikh dhikh dhikh! ‘Hamadi is laughing a lot, dhikh dhikh dhikh!’

ku-dhirifa

v. (**dhirifiile**) get angry

Omari/ karka shiri/ dalḍalameete/ haṭá/ waant^hu/ wadhirifiile/ waḷazile. ‘Omari in the meeting talked too much until people got angry and left.’

ku-dhisata

v. [Som. *dhis*] build, strengthen, make look good

Haliima/ mkali/ kudhisata. ‘Haliima is very good at making herself up to look good.’

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/ chimduriḷa 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

Kuḷa/ mooyi/ ambete mahala ya/ 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-dhoonko

n. handful; [pron.chidhoonk^ho]

Haliima/ mpele Aamina/ muḅu/ chidhoonk^ho/ chimooyi. ‘Haliima gave Aamina one handful of salt.’

Omari/ mrebeleeḷe/ Haaji/ suukari/ mwambiile/ sikhupi/ haḷá/ nusu ya chidhoonk^ho. ‘Omari refused Haaji sugar, he told him: I will not give you even half a handful.’

chi-dhoonko (zi-)

n. 7/8 [cf. Sw. *kidoko* (vi-) SSED 76] click (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 snapping sound’

Ali/ nt^haná/ adabu/ huvila waant^hu/ ka chidoonk^ho. ‘Ali does not have good manners, he calls people by snapping (his) fingers.’

Wake/ harusu ya Nuuru/ wanakhteza/ wanakubiga zidhoonk^ho. ‘Women at Nuuru’s wedding are playing, snapping (their) fingers (usu. thumb and middle finger).’

ku-dhoora

v. (**dhoreeḷe**) 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)

Dhora ruuhuyo/ naawé/ takudhooreka. ‘Take care of yourself and you will be taken care of.’ (This saying conveys the idea that you cannot rely on others to watch out for your interests; if you want to be sure that you will be taken care of properly, you must do it yourself.)

Harameni/ mdhoreḷe mwaalimu. ‘Harameni stopped talking to the teacher.’

Hudhora waant^hu. ‘He is considerate to people.’
Hudhoro ruuhuyé/ haawoni/ dhibu. ‘He who watches out for himself does not see difficulties.’ (A proverb.)
Hudhoro ruuhuyé/ hupata salaama. ‘Who takes care of himself gets peace.’ (A proverb.)
kudhoro/ kanaa nk^hbuku/ kalant^hililo mayaank^hbukú ‘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’ondrolelá/ 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 kumdhórá. ‘You ought to love him and protect him.’
Ye/ ndhoreele/ nt^hangú/ yuuzi. ‘He stopped talking to me (as of) the day before 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-dhor(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/ mdhoresheleze Suufi/ mwaana/ mwaalimu. ‘Hiindra caused Suufi’s child to stop talking to the teacher.’

ku-dhoroowa v. pass. be protected

Zint^hu za aada/ husuloowa kudhoroowa. ‘Traditional things should be [lit. are wanted to] be protected.’

ku-dhoorsheka v. p/s.

ku-dhorshelzanya v. caus. appl. rec.

dhowani

even number

dhokhookhi

n. sound

	<p>Shkasa dhokhookhi/ ndilaani. ‘He heard a sound outside.’</p> <p>Wachiimba/ washteza/ haṭá/ sa’a ikumi/ za masku/ ba’ada ya apo/ dhokhookhi/ yaawo/ itozela/ wotte/ usiinzi/ uwaleete/ walaṭize/ 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.’</p>
<i>ku-dhokhookhisha</i>	<p>v. caus. rel. <i>ku-dhokhookhishiliza</i> v. caus. appl. <i>ku-dhokhookhishilizanya</i> v. caus. appl. rec.</p>
<i>dhoowooyi</i>	<p>n. Mbu za dhoowooyi/ zinayo maḷaariya. ‘Mud, clay area mosquitoes carry malaria.’</p>
<i>dhu</i>	<p>n. 9 [Som. <i>dhuux</i>] marrow (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.)</p> <p>Mwishpa uyu/ dhuuye/ ni mṭaandano. ‘This bone’s marrow is yellowish.’ (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.)</p> <p>We/ nambilaa mi/ dhu/ ya jawaabu. ‘Tell me the essence of what was said.’</p>
<i>chi-dhu (zi-)</i>	<p>n. 7/8 a unit of measure that corresponds to the quantity of grains/milk which fills an empty tin that koriginally 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 <i>maas</i> 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.)</p> <p><i>tawaaḍila chidhu oweela huunda/ hadiithi ya Mtume siwo kuruuda</i> [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’</p>
<i>dhub</i>	<p>ideo. Si/ chimumile Nuurú/ muyiini/ laakini/ masa’a matatu/ yapisiló/ jisaa ye/ olosheló/ dhub dhub!/ nt^hakuruuda/ haṭá/ isa. ‘We sent Nuuru to town but three hours have passed since she went, <i>dhub dhub!</i>, she has not returned until now.’</p>
<i>ku-dhuda</i>	<p>v. bring Basi/ ndrombelaani/ mwajiitu/ namp^heleke/ ka salaama/ na ndhude ka salaama. ‘So, pray for me that God send me in peace and bring me back in peace.’</p>
<i>dhuuḍuma</i>	<p>in the expression: kingila dhuuḍumu ‘to go in the night to a sleeping woman and rape her’ kingililaa muke/ dhuuḍumu ‘to rape a woman while she is sleeping’</p>
<i>dhuugu</i>	<p>n. [Som. <i>dhug</i> "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 chití/ cha ezi/ ka khisaa we/ nazo ḍuugú/ na fahamú. ‘I have given you the throne [the chair of power] because you have perception and</p>

understanding.’

Nk^heje za waana/ zina kun^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/ kumdhukhisha/ oyo munt^hu umo ijuniyaani. ‘So, the soldiers refused to listen to those [words] of the man who was inside the sack.’

Chibigaa nk^heje/ na kuhada jis^hiyó/ hatá/ shpata muunt^hu/ kaa kule/ kumdhukhisha. ‘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^hambila/ kudhukhisha. ‘He told them to listen carefully.’

Mwaana/ iize/ kudhukhisha kooði 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-dhukhsatika v. p/s.

ku-dhukhsatisha v. caus.

Hamadi/ mdhukhsatishize mwaana/ kooði. ‘Hamadi had the child listen closely to the words.’

ku-dhukhsatishana v. caus. rec.

ku-dhukhsatishiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-dhukhsatishilizanya 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 (We have insufficient data to analyze the pitch shapes in ideophones, but *dhum* is realized with high pitch.)

Omari/ jisaa ye/ ingilo numbaani/ ka Hamadi/ dhum dhum/ iize/ ba/ kulawa. ‘Omari, as he got into Hamadi’s house, he stayed and stayed, he refused to leave.’

Omari/ nakulindroowa/ numbaani/ ka Nuuru/ jisaa ye/ oloshelo dukaani/ ka Huseeni/ dhum dhum! lapiili/ rudiiló. ‘Omari was being waited for at Nuuru’s home as he went to Huseeni’s shop, **dhumdhum!** It was the afternoon (before) he returned.’ (In this example, **lapiili**, is clearly focused, triggering the pseudo-relative form **rudiiló.**)

- ku-dhunksata* v. [Som.] (**dhunkseete**) kiss with a smacking noise
variant form: **kudhunkhsata**
- dhuuni* n. [Som. **dhuunta**] throat
Hamadi/ ni ^fdhuuni. ‘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.
- dhukh* ideo.
Omari/ wanayoo ndala/ zaaydi/ maṭaaza/ neeló/ dhukh dhukh!/ ka paapo/ maliize. ‘Omari had too much hunger, he drank the porridge *dhukh dhukh* and finished it immediately.’
Nuuru/ jisaa ye/ shishiḷa ooní/ iziwa/ ka ikoopa/ dakha mooyi/ dhukh dhukh!/ fanyiizó/ yont^he/ neele. ‘Nuuru, as he was thirsty, milk in a cup in one minute *dhukh dhukh!* he drank it all.’
- dhusi* adj. humid
Skūizi/ 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-ða’ifishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
- ða’iifu (ma-)* adj. [Sw. *dhaifu* SSED 73] weak
Aḷshabaabu/ kana/wanakuwo ḍa’iifú. ‘Al-Shebab seems to be getting weaker.’
Ali/ wele ḍa’iifu. ‘Ali became 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-ða’iifu n. 14 [Sw. *udhaifu* SSED 73] weakness
- m(u)-ḍabḍabu (wa-)* n. hypocrite

- ðahabu** n. 9 [Sw. *dhahabu* SSED 73; Ar.] gold
kana ðahabu ‘like gold’
ha’ipatikani/ kana ðahabu ‘as scarce, hard to get as gold’
Nguwo izi/ ghaali/ kana ðahabu. ‘These clothes are expensive like gold.’
Omari/ dukaye/ huza zoombo/ ghaali/ kana ðahabu. ‘Omari’s shop sells things as expensive as gold.’
Omari/ hufanya ziint^huze/ kana ðahabu. ‘Omari makes his things as gold.’ **review what the meaning of this is**
- khfula ðahabu** ‘to forge, make gold (of a goldsmith)’
Kuḷa/ mooyi/ nakhsuḷa kuwona/ nt^hi ya ðahabu. ‘Everyone wants to see the land of gold.’
- kuvala ðahabu** ‘to wear, put on gold’
shpete cha ðahabu ‘a gold ring’
Waant^hu/ wawenapo markabu ya ðahabú/ washṭa’aaba/ nt^ho. ‘The people who saw the ship of gold were greatly amazed.’
ziikopi ðahabu ziikopi doolari [nt.] ‘where is the gold, where are the dollars?’
- ðaahiri** adj. [Sw. *dhahiri* SSED 73; Ar.] clear, apparent
Kuwa Siimba/ bozele peesa/ siwo/ ðaahiri. ‘That Siimba stole the money is not clear.’
Ni ðaahiri/ kuwa Baana/ haṭakuuya. ‘It is clear that Baana won’t come.’
 Or: **Kuwa Baana/ haṭakuuya/ ni ðaahiri.** ‘That Baana won’t come is clear.’
Ni ðaahiri/ kuwaa we/ nayo ijiini. ‘It is clear that you are crazy.’
Siimba/ kubooleke/ chibuuku/ itakuwa ðaahiri. ‘Siimba’s stealing of the money will become evident in court.’
Siimba/ kubooleke/ chibuuku/ iwele ðaahiri/ mahkamaani. ‘Siimba’s stealing of the money became evident in court.’
- ðakari** n. 9/10 [Sw. *dhakari* SSED 73; Ar.] penis; male
Omari/ mtleee muke/ ðakariye/ karka farji/ dhukh dhukh dhukh. ‘Omari inserted his penis into the woman’s vagina repeatedly **dhukh dhukh dhukh.**’
Ungamanya/ kuḷa/ hayawaani/ ðakari/ na uuunthá/ muke/ na muḃí. ‘Gather together every creature, a male and a female, a female and a male.’
 rel.
i-ðakari (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
chi-ðakari (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.
- ðalaali** n. [Ar. *ḍalāl* W 543] straying from the right path or from truth; (moral) error
we nakuraasha ðalaali [st.] ‘you follow a wrong path, you stray from the right path’
- ðaliili** adj. [Sw. *dhalili* SSED 73; Ar. *ḍalīl* W 311] humiliated; lowly
Shtomola shpeteche/ chichiloomba/ chihada/ mi/ nakhsuḷa kuwa ðaliili/ na looniḷá/ 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.’ (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/ kumtajila 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/ wachihokomel^{owa} 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’

Muunt^hu/ shkhira ðambize/ hafishoowa. ‘If one accepts his sins, errors, he is (i.e. should be) forgiven.’ (A proverb.)

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^{ta} nt^hini yaa muti/ khtezá. ‘Why, is it a crime for people to sit under a tree playing?’ **review accent**

Nt^haná/ ðambi. ‘He is not guilty of a crime.’

Nt^haná/ ðambi/ kana mwaana. ‘He has no sins, like a child.’

Nusu/ sa’a/ ba’adiye/ iwele waaðehe/ ka kuwa ðambi/ hu^{tasawara}/ kuwa ifanyiiza. ‘Half an hour later it was clear that a crime had probably been committed.’

ukhirowa ðambi ‘confession’

rel.

ðunuubi n. pl. [Ar. *dunūb* W 312] *poetic*

ðunuubu zitu niingi nt^{ho} [st.] ‘our sins are too many (extremely numerous)’

muni^obu adj. guilty

Mi/ nazo dalii^{li}/ za kht^osha/ koonya/ kuwa Muusa/ ni mu^onibu. ‘I have enough proof to show that Muusa is guilty.’

ðambiile

adj. [Som.] sinful, guilty (=mwenye ðambi)

Mi/ nazo alaamá/ za kht^osha/ koonya/ kuwa Muusa/ ni ðambiile. I have enough proof to show that Muusa is guilty.’

<i>ku-ḍamina</i>	v. [Sw. ḍamini SSED 73; Ar.] guarantee s.t. rel. <i>ku-ḍaminika</i> v. p/s. <i>ku-ḍaminisha</i> v. caus. <i>ku-ḍaminishika</i> v. caus. p/s. <i>ku-ḍaminishiliza</i> v. caus. appl. <i>ku-ḍaminishilizanya</i> v. caus. appl. rec.
<i>ḍaamini (ma-)</i>	n. [Sw. dhamini SSED 73; Ar.] s.o. who guarantees or vouches for s.o., puts up bail for s.o.
<i>ḍamiiri</i>	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.’
<i>ḍana</i>	n. [Sw. dhana SSED 73] suspicion Ḍanaye/ kuwaa ye/ hapendoowi/ na maamaye/ sawasawa naa muné/ imfanyilize duniya/ ḍīiqi/ haṭá/ weele/ kuwa nt^hanakhaadira/ ku’isha ka wazelewe . ‘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’
<i>ku-ḍana</i>	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 wanaafaqi . ‘Omari suspects that you told a lie.’ rel. <i>ku-ḍanika</i> v. p/s. <i>ku-ḍanisha</i> v. caus. <i>ku-ḍanishika</i> v. caus. p/s. <i>ku-ḍanishiliza</i> v. caus. appl. <i>ku-ḍanishilizanya</i> v. caus. appl. rec. <i>ku-ḍanoowa</i> v. pass. Kuḍanowa jawaabu/ bilaa yaqiini/ siwo/ suura . ‘To think/suspect something without certainty is not good.’
<i>ma-ḍara</i>	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/ chimika nusu ya duniya/ tu/ imletelele maḍara makulu . ‘But that name and his possessing just half of the world brought him great harm.’
<i>ku-ḍaraawa</i>	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/ skutoṣha/ 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. <i>ku-ḍaraawisha</i> 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/ mtilé mwaana/ kumðarawa mweenziwe.** ‘Somo (somehow) induced the child to look down on his friend.’)

ku-ðarawishana v. caus. rec.

ku-ðarawishika v. p/s.

ku-ðarawishiliza v. caus. appl. (**ðarawishilize**)

ku-ðarawishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ku-ðarawoowa v. pass.

Hasani/ naayé/ siwo/ kuðarawoowa. ‘Hasani as well was not to be belittled [when it comes to playing games such as cards].’

rel. nom.

m-ðaraawa (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who despises

ðaarawu

n. 9/10 [Sw. *dharau* SSED 74; Ar.] humiliation, scorn, contempt

Ðarawu izi/ hastukuliki. ‘These humiliations cannot be borne.’

Eelo/ file/ ka ðaarawu/ na u_laaazó/ wa qal_biini. ‘The gazelle died from humiliation and pain in the heart.’

ðarba

n. 9/10,6 storm

Bahari/ inakubiga ðarba. ‘There is a storm at sea [lit. the sea is storming].’

Bahari/ iwele shuwaari/ nvula i_tindishile/ na ðabá/ irept_eeeme. ‘The sea became calm, the rain stopped, and the storm ceased.’

ðarba iyi ‘this storm’; **ðarba izi** ‘these storms’; but also: **maðarba aya** ‘these storms’

ðarbaa mbovu/ kama izi ‘bad storms like these’

markabu nk^huluu nk^hulu/ schizaama/ ka ðarba ‘if large ships sink in a storm’

Sku yaa nne/ chanza ðarba. ‘On the fourth day it began to storm.’

ðarbu

n. [Sw. *dharuba* “stroke, blow, rush – blow of an axe, sudden calamity” SSED 74; Ar.] blow; variant form found in poetry: **ðarba**

mtume hadi_le mub_lo muzukaafiri/ ðarba 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_l Allahi Mhamadi al₋Amiini/ ðarba sab_'iini bish_lila harbiini [st.] ‘the messenger of God, Mohamed the Trustworthy/ was struck by seventy blows during the war’

u_laaazowe kana ðarba za mp^huanga alfu ni haba [st.] ‘it’s [=death’s] pain will be worse than that of one thousand sword strokes’

ðaruufu

n. circumstance

Karka ðaruufu/ izi/ it_lakhaadira/ kuwakoo dhibu/ haba/ kuletowa fikri. ‘Under these circumstances, there could be little difficulty in forming an opinion.’

ðaruura

n. necessity; adj. essential; variant: **ðaruuri**

Haraka/ ni ðaruuri/ ya afiya. ‘Exercise is essential to good health.’

ka ðaruura ‘from necessity’

chil_lawa muunt_li ka ðaruura haydhibi/ laakini shart_li 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’

Kuja/ ni ðaruuri. ‘Food is a necessity.’ (Proverbial saying.)

Ni ðaruuri/ naaye/ kuwa nakiwishoowa/ daa_'imu. ‘It is essential for him to be kept informed.’

Ni ðaruuri/ wo/ kumw_lishaa ye/ daa_'imu. ‘It is essential that they keep him informed.’

Ni ðaruuri/ wo/ kiiwa/ kuwa hawaakhaadiri/ khfak_lata. ‘It is essential that they recognize that they cannot escape.’

Omari/ ni ðaruuri/ kuwako apa. ‘It is essential for Omari to be here.’

<i>ðaruriyaati</i>	n. pl. necessities Ka pesa zaawo/ wawanaazó/ wa'uzile jahazi/ zaakuja/ za khtosja/ na ðaruriyaati ziinginé. 'With the money tha had, they bought a dhow, enough food, and other necessities.'
<i>ðaaṭi</i>	n. [Sw. <i>dhati</i> SSED 74; Ar.] emphatic reflexive pronoun; innermost self, essence mi/ ðaaṭiye 'I myself' Nnayo ðaaṭi/ 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.'
<i>ma-ðeeyo</i>	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
<i>ku-ði'ika</i>	v. (ði'ishile) be afflicted by hardship and difficulties rel. <i>ku-ði'isha</i> v. caus. allow someone to be afflicted by hardships
<i>ðiddi</i>	n. 9 against Ichiwa kanayo/ ni nfuunge/ we/ laazima/ khfungula kanayo/ kendra khfanya "propaganda"/ kuhada/ jawaabu/ zaa we/ haamini/ kooloka/ ðiddi ya mabadi'yo. '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)]' Kiḷa chiint^hu/ chiwaliko ðiddi yūitu. 'Everything was against us.'
<i>ðihaaka</i>	n. ridicule
<i>ku-ðihira</i>	v. (ðihiriḷe) 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. <i>ku-ðihirika</i> v. p/s. <i>ku-ðihirikila</i> v. intr. appl. (ðihirikiliḷe) appear to Inðihirikiliḷe kuwa Sa'iidi/ nt^hakhfanya kaazi. 'It appears to me that Sa'iidi did not work.' Iwaðihirikiliḷe waant^hu/ kuwa Siimba/ bozele peesa. 'It became evident to people that Siimba stole the money.' Na ikhuðihirikiliḷe/ ya kuwa nt^haku/ mwajiitu. 'And it became clear to you that there is no God.' Siimba/ kubooleke/ peesa/ iwaðihirikiliḷe/ waant^hu/ makhamaani. 'Siimba's having stolen the money became evident to people in court.' <i>ku-ðihirila</i> v. appl. (-ðihiriliḷe) appear to Nðihiriliḷe kama shetaani. 'He appeared to me like a djinn.' <i>ku-ðihirisha</i> v. caus. reveal, show, prove, make appear kuðihirisha karaama 'to reveal a miracle' kuðihirishaa nguvu 'to reveal strength' kuðihirisha ziwovu 'to reveal evil' <i>ku-ðihirishana</i> v. caus. rec. <i>ku-ðihirishika</i> v. caus. p/s. <i>ku-ðihirishiliza</i> v. caus. appl. <i>ku-ðihirishilizanya</i> v. caus. appl. rec. <i>ku-ðihiroowa</i> v. pass.

kuðihrowa ziyaraani 'to appear at the religious site'

rel. nom.

u-ðihiro n. 14

ðikiri

n. 9/10 religious songs, chants; 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'

kuleta ðikiri 'to sing (lit. bring) religious songs'

Numbaani/ ka Omari/ yiko maṭaanga/ waant^{hu}/ wanakuleta ðikiri/

wanakubiga madadi. 'At Omari's house there is mourning,

people are singing (lit. bringing) blessing songs and are calling for blessings.'

Waant^{hu}/ waṭakuuya/ kiḷaa fijiri/ waṭakhsomaa 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 haṭa bismiḷa [st.] 'neither carry anything that has God written on it not even *bismiḷa* [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, tje 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

v. [Sw. *dhiki* SSED74; Ar.] (*ðiiqile*) put pressure on, esp. difficulty, put in a tight situation

khalbiya faza'a na neefu hunðiiqha [nt.] 'my heart is scared and I cannot breathe'

Omari/ hupenda kuðikha waant^{hu}. 'Omari likes to put people in tight, difficult situations.'

rel.

ku-ðiiqoowa v. pass.

Kuðikhowa muunt^{hu}/ 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/ kuḷiḷa chaakuja/ cho choṭe. '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-ðuhurisha

v. reveal

Abú/ ðuhurishiize/ kuwaa ye/ mtiiḷe Omari/ vooṭa. 'Abu revealed that he voted for Omari.'

	Haliima/ ðuhurishize ruuhuye/ kuwa siwo/ amini. ‘Haliima revealed herself to be untrustworthy.’
	Mi/ nt^hete balani/ chiza kuðuhurisha/ naani/ nambiiló/ tarafu ya khorsha/ ya Abú. ‘I promised not to reveal who told me about Hamidi’s plan.’
<i>ku-ðukura</i>	v. [Sw. <i>dhukuru</i> SSED 75; Ar.] (ðukuriile) mention, talk ill or well about someone Ni waajibu/ muunt^hu/ kuðukura ikhsaani. ‘It is a must that a person talks about/ remembers a favor (that was done for him).’ rel. <i>ku-ðukurika</i> v. p/s. <i>ku-ðukurila</i> v. appl. (ðukuriliile) mention to, touch upon <i>ku-ðukurisha</i> v. caus. cause to mention <i>ku-ðukurishana</i> v. caus. rec. <i>ku-ðukurishika</i> v. caus. p/s. <i>ku-ðukurishiliza</i> v. caus. appl. <i>ku-ðukurishilizanya</i> v. caus. appl. rec. rel. nom. <i>u-ðukuro</i> n. 14
<i>ðulirhaami</i>	n. relative by blood
<i>ðulli</i>	n. kubiga ðulli ‘to humiliate someone, despise someone Miza jaaha/ ðulli/ humsaaliló. ‘The one who refuses honor/dignity, humiliation is what is left for him.’ Miza jaaha/ hupata ðulli. ‘The one who refuses honor/dignity gets humiliation.’ (A proverb.) mtume onyeeza muḷo nuumba ya ðulli [st.] ‘the Prophet was shown the fires of hell, the house of humiliation’
<i>ku-ðulma</i>	v. [Sw. <i>dhulumu</i> SSED 73; Ar.] (ðulmiile) cheat, oppress Kumðulma muunt^hu/ ni haraamu. ‘It is unholy/impure to cheat/oppress someone.’ ṭozeleni kaaka koondroka kunðulma [song] ‘what did you not get from me that forced you to oppress me?’ rel. <i>ku-ðulmika</i> v. p/s. <i>ku-ðulmisha</i> v. caus. <i>ku-ðulmishana</i> v. caus. rec. <i>ku-ðulmishika</i> v. caus. p/s. <i>ku-ðulmishiliza</i> v. caus. appl. <i>ku-ðulmishilizanya</i> v. caus. appl. rec. <i>ku-ðulmishoowa</i> v. caus. pass. <i>ku-ðulmoowa</i> v. pass. Muunt^hu/ kuðulmoowa/ ni haraamu. ‘For someone to be cheated/ oppressed is unholy.’
<i>ðulmu</i>	n. [Sw. <i>dhulumu</i> SSED 73; Ar.] wrongdoing, injustice ðulmu/ ha’iduumi. ‘Injustice does not last forever.’ (A proverb.)
<i>ku-ðulika</i>	v. intr. be humiliated Sinakhaadira/ teena/ khuwona we/ kuðulika. ‘I cannot any longer bear to see you humiliated.’ rel. <i>ku-ðulisha</i> v. caus. (ðulishiize) humiliate Omari/ hupenda kuðulisha waant^hu. ‘Omari likes to humiliate people.’ <i>ku-ðulishana</i> v. caus. rec. <i>ku-ðulishiliza</i> v. caus. appl. <i>ku-ðulishika</i> v. caus. p/s. <i>ku-ðulishoowa</i> v. pass. (ðulishiiza) be humiliated

<i>ḍunuubi</i>	n. pl. (see <i>ḍambi</i>) [Ar. <i>ḍunūb</i> W 312] <i>poetic</i>
<i>ku-ḍura</i>	v. [Sw. <i>dhuru</i> SSED 74; Ar.] (<i>ḍuriile</i>) 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. <i>ku-ḍurika</i> v. p/s. <i>ku-ḍurisha</i> v. caus. <i>ku-ḍurishana</i> v. caus. rec. <i>ku-ḍurishika</i> v. caus. p/s. <i>ku-ḍurishiliza</i> v. caus. appl. <i>ku-ḍurishilizanya</i> v. caus. appl. rec.
<i>ku-ḍura</i>	v. (<i>ḍuriile</i>) appear Skū mooyi/ ka barzaani/ ka Harun Rashiidi/ huḍuriile khaadimu. ‘One day in the parlor of Haruun Rashiidi there appeared a servant.’
<i>ḍuri</i>	n. (cf. <i>ku-ḍura</i> ‘to harm’)] harm mooja chookole na sharri / ya bahari na ya barri / chondojele kulla ḍuri [st.] ‘O God save us from the evils of sea and of land, avert from us any harm’
<i>ḍuriya</i>	n. 9/10 descendant, offspring, progeny

E

<i>-e</i>	final vowel of the subjunctive chibige ‘that we beat’ chidaare ‘that we touch’ chigiite ‘that we pull’ chilate ‘that we let go’ chimoole ‘that we shave’ Mweenza/ mi/ nakhuloombá/ chilawe 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.’
<i>-e</i>	final vowel of the imperative with [cl.1] object prefix mtaale ‘take him!’
<i>-e</i>	final vowel of the negative imperative simoolé ‘don’t shave!’ sireebé ‘don’t stop!’ siweeké ‘don’t put!’ siyezé ‘don’t fill!’
<i>-e</i>	final vowel of the past tense (perfect stem): ṭimishiize ‘he completed’
<i>=e</i>	third person singular possessive enclitic =che [cl.7] Laakini/ oyo uziloo chiṭá/ nt^hakuuya/ khtala chiṭaache. ‘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

but he

- chileembache/ chiṭaani.** 'I bought a [cow's] head for one **riyaali** and his **riyaali** I put it on top of his turban on his head.'
- Tetemeshenze chiṭaache.** 'He shook his head.' (Phon. The example **chiṭaache** illustrates how a CVCV noun such as **chiṭa** lengthens its final vowel before a monosyllabic possessive enclitic.)
- Ye/ chiraasha/ chiḷooche/ ka muda/ mule/ walaakini/ nt^hakhaadira/ kumwona.** 'He followed its cry for a long period of time could not see it.' (Phon. The example **chiḷooche** illustrates how a CVCV noun such as **chiḷo** lengthens its final vowel in front of the monosyllabic possessive enclitic.)
- =ke [cl.15]
- ku'abirsatake** 'his taking measurements'
- Muḷi/ khkomake/ numbaani/ chiwaviḷa 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 shṭana/ 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 mwajiitu/ ya piḷi/ 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 piḷike/ chiḷawa/ ka numbaani/ chendra ka sultaani/ oyo/ chimtulukila 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/ hulangaḷa/ ka kuḷlike/ chimaliza huṭeka/ kanmake/ hulangaḷa/ ḷpaandre/ ḷa kusooṭo/ huḷa.** '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'ilaṭa/ ijuuniya/ ndraanike/ umo Abunawaasi.** 'They left the bag inside of which was Abunawaasi.'
- =le [cl.11]
- Hasani/ mukhtaṭa ye/ komelo mahala inakubiganowa harbi/ toleme ḷpaangale/ 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 filiḷa 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]

mṭaanawe '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]

miṭaanaye '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/ ṭakhpandra farasi/ masku/ mazimaye/ haṭá/ fijiri. 'He said that he could ride a horse the whole night until morning.'

Mwanaamke/ fungilopo maṭoyé/ 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/ sulṭaani/ mukḥṭaa 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'

Sulṭaani/chamura askarize/ keendra/ kumvīlaAbduḷla. 'The sultan ordered his soldiers to go to summon Abdalla.'

e

interj. oh

E/ muké/ we/ ndo/ we/ nakhsulā kunubḷá/ so. 'O woman, you, come, you do want to kill me, don't you?'

E/ we/ bwaana/ we/ kaahini/ koḏele līla. '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.

Ndraani/ ye/ nt^hakuwanaayo/ shaka/ kuwa Hamadi/ takuhada/ ee. ‘Inwardly he had no doubt that Hamadi would say yes.’
Si/ fahamiilé?/ Ee. ‘You understood? Yes.’

ē’ē

interj. no-no

ē’ē/ Hamadi/ sfaanyé/ jawabu iyó. ‘No-no, Hamadi, don’t do that thing!’

ē’ē/ Omari/ suulé/ gari iyó. ‘No-no, Omari, don’t buy that car.’ (Note the final accent on the complement of the negative imperative verb. It is not the case that the final accent of the negative verb projects past the phrase edge that appears normally after this verb tense. More research is required into the conditions under which final accent may occur.)

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. (**ebaṭiṭiile**)

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 Hamadi/ wa’ebishilizenye waana. ‘Omari and Hamadi revealed 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. *aiibu* 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. being very shameful, but it is often said playfully, to the person who is supposed to have done s.t.’

Jawaabu/ za Umi/ leelo/ fanyizo harusiini/ ni ebu/ ka shkapu/ mtete mwanashke haruusi/ mvunzile mvunzile mashuungi. ‘What Umi did today at the wedding was very shameful, she pulled the hair of the bride.’

Faatima/ hadiile/ leelo/ nt^haano/ nt^hashkeendra/ ta’aziyaani/ ka Umi/ daadaye/ kufa/ ni ebu ka shkapu. ‘Faatima said today is five (days), we did not go to give condolences for the death of Umi’s grandmother, it is very shameful.’

Ebu ya mayti/ hiiwó/ moshá 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/ haṭajami/ 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.)
(Also can be pronounced: **Kana ebú/ kheeri/khasara.**)

kumpatila ebu ‘to shame someone’; also: **khpatata ebu**

Alí/ ni muunt^hu/ naðiifa/ hapatiki/ ebu/ kila/ mo/ namwiiwa/ sharafuye.
‘Ali is a clean person, one cannot find a defect, everyone knows his honesty.’

Haliima/ nakumera kumpatila Zahara/ ebu/ yaa ye/ nt^hanaayó/ kum’ebisha/ ka weenzawe. ‘Haliima is seeking to find something blameworthy on Zahara that she does not have in order to shame her among her friends.’

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.)

Mafo ya mpenzi/ 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 are is not a shame.’ (A saying.)

Muunt^hu/ nayo wazeelé/ nayo ebu. ‘One who has elderly parents has something the troubled, worried by etc. (i.e. elderly parents can cause problems and be very difficult).’ (A proverb.)

shkooða ni ebuya afðali 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’

eeði

[Tunni **eedh reference?**] very well, better (can be used instead of **baraabara**)
khfunga eeði ‘to tighten’
khfungika eeði ‘to tighten very tight’
examples

k-eegeema

v.[Sw. *egama* SSED 80] (**egemeele**) go close, near to s.t.; variant form: **kiigema dhibu na maraði kaawo iseegeme** [st.] ‘may troubles and sickness not reach [lit. go near] them’

Nakeegema. ‘He is going close.’
rel.

k-egemesha v. (**egemesheeze**) welcome, receive s.o.
Chegemesheeze/ ka heshma. ‘He received us with compassion.’

k-eegesha v. caus. [Sw. *egasha* SSED 80] (**egesheeze**) welcome
Basi/ ye/ chiwa’egasha/ 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.’
Chineegasha/ ka heshma. ‘She welcomed me with respect.’
Muke/ chimwegesha. ‘The woman welcomed him.’

Mwaarabu/ oyo/ chimweegsha/ chimwaambila/ nakalaant^he. ‘That Arab welcomed him and told him to sit down.’

Nakeegsha. ‘He is welcoming.’

Uyu/ chimweegsha. ‘This one welcomed her.’

Wakomeelopó/ siimba/ chiwa’egsha chisultaani. ‘When they arrived, Lion welcomed them in a royal fashion.’

k-egeshoowa 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.’ (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.)

eehari 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 malada**). The location is marked by dunes of fine sand (**bulaati**), which filter the rain water.
Chisima cha El Hiindi/ chikoo kule/ kharibu ya Ka Seleemo. ‘El Hiindi’s well is far away, it is near Ka Seleemo.’
May’ aa El Hiindi/ ni maladda. ‘The water of El Hiindi is sweet.’

k-elele v. (-**elele**) be clear to, comprehend, grasp
Kooði/ zimwelele. ‘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-eleloowa v. pass. (-**eleela**)

Elela na kooði. ‘He understood what was said.’

Ha’eleloowi/ na kooði. ‘He does not understand what was said.’

Wenopo kuwaa ye/ cheleelá/ 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.’

elementaare adj. elementary

Shekh Mohamed Suufi/ mojiitu/ namrehemu/ waliko diritoore/ wa kaandra/ ya skoolá/ elementaare/ Miini/ zamaani. ‘Sheikh Mohamed Suufi, God’s mercy be on him, was the first director of elementary school in Miini in old times.’

-elpe adj. [Sw. *eupe* SSED 87] white, clear

Chimwambila Huseeni/ mp^ha ciguwo chepe. ‘She said to Huseeni: give me a piece of white cloth.’

Chiint^hu/ nelpe/ ha’isuuli/ shaahidi. ‘Something clear (easily seen and understood) does not need a witness (to verify it).’ (A proverbial saying.)

-elpe) kana bafta ‘as white as white cotton cloth’

Chiti ichi/ chepe/ kana bafta. ‘This chair is as white as **bafta**.’

Haliima/ mwelpe/ kana bafta. ‘Haliima is as white as **bafta**.’

Omari/ shaatiye/ inakuwala/ nelpe/ kana bafta. ‘Omari’s shirt is shining, it is white, like **bafta**.’

-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’ (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.)

Maayi/ ni melpe/ nt^ho. ‘The water is very clear.’

Ni nelpe/ kuwa Abú/ shkhiyanseete. ‘It is clear that Abu cheated us.’

numba nelpe ‘a white house’

mwelpe ‘someone white’; **w-elpe** ‘pl. white’ (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: [p**emwél**] and [p**éwel**].)

Nayo nuumba/ mooyi/ nk^hulu/ nelpe. ‘He has one big white house.’ (Pitch raising may be used to emphasize or intensify an adjective. An alternative possibility is to insert the intensifier **nt^hó** immediately after the adjective. In this usage **nt^hó** is a phrasal isolate.)

Nimene Omari melpe. ‘I saw Omari the white (as opposed to some other Omari).’

Pashile nuumba/ ranji/ nelpe. ‘He painted the house the color white.’

Sababu ya Omari/ chiza kuya shiriini/ ni nelpe. ‘Omari’s reason for not attending the meeting is clear.’

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 **mwiko** ‘a stirring spoon’.)

Yiko daliiji/ nelpe/ kuwa Baazi/ changamiize. ‘There is clear evidence that Baazi betrayed us.’

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-eleza

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 sulṭaani/ 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-elelela v. [Sw. *elea* SSED 81] (**elelele**) be understood, clear, intelligible

We/ mzeele/ aya/ hayakheleli. ‘You are old, you do not understand these things [lit. these are not intelligible to you].’

k-eleloowa v. pass. (**elelela**) be understood

Elelela na kooḏi. ‘He understood the statement.’

Ha’eleloowi/ na kooḏi. ‘He does not understand the statement.’

Mi/ skeleloowa na kooḏize. ‘I did not understand his statements.’ **review phrasing**

Nakeleloowa 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^hakeleloowa/ na kooði. ‘Omari did not understand the statement.’

Waawé/ mi/ mp^hela su’aalí/ laakini/ skeleloowa/ 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/ fiilopó. ‘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^haapasi/ 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; variant: *w-eelo*

Chimeera/ chimeera/ hattá/ shpata nt^huundru/ na weelú/ ka ndraaní. ‘He looked and looked until he found a hole and light within it.’

khfanya weelu ‘to let in light’

Shamsa/ mwambile mwaanawe/ fungula choloko/ habamooyi/ fanya weelu/ nakhsula khshoma ikoofiyá. ‘Shamsa told her child: open the window a little and let the light come in, I want to sew the cap.’

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.’

Welo wa muuntbi/ na wa maskú/ siwo/ sawa. ‘Daylight and night light are not same.’ (A proverbial saying.)

Welu uyu/ huṭoṣha khso meḷoowa. ‘This light is sufficient to be used to read with.’

welu wa qalbi ‘the light of the heart’

Imaani/ ni welu wa khalbi. [H!H] ‘Faith is the light of the heart.’

Waana/ ni welu wa khalbi. [H!H] ‘Children are the heart’s light.’

m^w-eelu
mweelpe in

n. white sorghum, an important type of grain in Somalia, also called **mhundru**

Chimiini (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=ni.** ‘(Pl.) don’t belch!’)

k-eeluka

v. (*elushile*) swim in the “doggy paddle” style, float

Ali/ mtilé mwaana/ keeluka. ‘Ali (somehow) induced the child to swim.’ (Note that this the periphrastic causative verb construction; it contrasts in meaning with

the causative verb **keelusha** which conveys the idea of someone directly assisting someone in swimming and not the more abstract notion of inducing the swimming.)

Ali/ mtĩlĩle lisa/ mwaana/ keeluka. ‘Ali induced Lisa’s child to swim.’ (As in the immediately preceding sentence, this represents the periphrastic applied causative construction. The interpretation again is one of indirect rather than direct causation.)

Ali/ na Nuurú/ watĩlĩlene waana/ keeluka. ‘Ali and Nuuru induced one another’s children to swim.’ (A third example of the periphrastic causative.)

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.)

Ha’isi keeluká/ ha’ingili/ tawala. ‘One who does not know how to swim does not (i.e. should not) get into the sea.’ (A proverb.)

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/ nla keeluka. ‘The piece of wood is floating.’

Omari/ heluka tawala/ tu/ ha’eluki/ karka ismu/ ya maayi/ ya kooweja/ yakaleent^hó. ‘Omari swims only in the sea, he does not swim in any water for swimming that is sitting (e.g. a lake or a swimming pool, as opposed to the sea).’

Omari/ heluka tawala/ ye/ ha’oweli/ mahala yĩingine. ‘Omari swims in the sea, he does not swim any other place’

Walwaawo/ wa’elushile/ haṭá/ Ifuwo la muuyi/ mooyi/ ghariibu. ‘Both of them swam up to the shore of a foreign town.’

We/ ha’itakhulaazima/ 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

Ali/mwelushize mwaana. ‘Ali helped the child 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. help swim for

Ali/ mwelushilize lisa mwaana. ‘Ali helped Lisa’s child swim.’

k-elushilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Ali/ na Nuurú/ watĩlĩlene waana. ‘Ali and Nuuru helped one another’s children swim.’

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.)

Ize zeema/ tete ziwovu. ‘He refused good deeds, he took bad.’ (A proverbial saying about stupid, foolish people.)

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/ nimfanyiizé/ 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 khpólá/ 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.)
rasuulaLLaahi mtume mweema file [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/ wafanyiizó/ askari/ wachimlata/ wachendra ka sulṭaani/ 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 masulṭaani/ wa nt^hi izo/ na koḏaani/ 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 mbiṭi. ‘These mangos are unripe.’

Faatima/ oshela sukhuuni/ ye/ kaka liḷa/ sulile kula embe/ laakini/ uzilee mazu/ tu. ‘Faatima went to the market. She really wanted to buy mangoes, but she only bought bananas.’

Maryamu/ uzilee ma-zu/ na embé. [H!H!H] ‘Maryamu bought bananas and mangos.’

Nt^haskuwaaliko/ embe/ sukhuuni. [H!H!H] ‘There were no mangoes at the market.’

Si/ chinakhsulá ndrimuu mbili/ na embe siṭá. ‘We want two oranges and six mangoes.’

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/ haṭá/ 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.’ (Notice that an imperative verb may trigger Verb Repetition. The pseudo-relativization that signals Verb Repetition does not involve any change in the final vowel of the imperative verb, but it does require final accent.)

Endrá/ ja. ‘Go and eat!’

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!’ (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.)

Faatima/ na Fardoosá/ wa’enzele Mwiini. ‘Faatima and Fardoosa went to Miini.’

Fijiri/ shtete baŕera yiitú/ chenzele jazirá/ 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).’

Haliima/ na Fardoosá/ wanakendra Mwiini. [HH:H] ‘Haliima and Fardosa are going to Miini.’ (Observe that conjoined NPs in subject position do not exhibit downstep of the second phonological phrase in canonical intonation.)

Hamadi/ enzele khfanya kaazi. ‘Hamadi went to do work.’ Or: **Kaazi/ Hamadi/ enzele khfaanya.** ‘Work, Hamadi went to do.’ Or: **Hamadi/ enzele ki’ifanya kaazi.** ‘Hamadi went to do the work.’ Or: **Kaazi/ Hamadi/ enzele ki’ifaanya.** ‘The work, Hamadi went to do it.’ Or: **Hamadi/ kaazi/ enzele khfaanya.** ‘Hamadi, work, he went to do.’ Or: **Hamadi, kaazi, enzele ki’ifaanya.** ‘Hamadi, the work, he went to do it.’ Or: **Khfanya kaazi/ enzele.** ‘To do work, he went.’ (This data set illustrates that the preposing of an NP is not tied to the definiteness of the NP. It is the object marker on the verb that establishes definiteness.)

Hamadi/ kampa Omari/ peesá/ suŕa kendra Mkhodiisho. ‘If Hamadi had given Omari money, he would have gone to Mogadishu.’ Or with focus on the verb: **Hamadi/ kampa/ peesá/ Omari/ suŕa 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/ suŕa 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/ zisuŕa 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/ haŕa 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.’

kendra hobelahobela ‘to spread rumors’

kendra ka hima ‘to go quickly, fast, early’

Skolaani/ 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.'

Keendrake/ numbaani/ pisile ka tawala. 'Going to his place, he passed by the sea.'
Leelo/ Omari/ na Huseeni/ wawaliko hawakhaadiri/ nt^hawakeendra/ skolaani.
'Today Omari and Huseeni were sick and did not go to school.'

Mi/ nakhsuḷa kendra harusiiṇi. '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/ sinakhsuḷa/ 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.'

Ṇnakendra kumleta mwaaná. 'I am going to bring the child (here).'
Or:

Ṇnakeendrá/ kumleta mwaaná. 'I am going to bring the child (here).'
Or even: **Ṇnakendra kumleeta/ mwaaná.** 'I am going to bring the child (here).'

Or: **Ṇnakeendrá/ kumleeta/ mwaaná.** 'I am going to bring the child (here).'

Ṇnakeendrá/ 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^hakeendra 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!'

Ṡho/ kuwa muḷliwa/ 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.'

Speendi/ kuwa Fardoosa/ tu/ enzelo Mwiini. 'I don't like (it) that only Fardoosa went to Miini.' With emphasis on the verb: **Speendi/ kuwa Fardoosa/ tu/ enzeló/ Mwiini.** 'I don't like (it) that only Fardoosa went to Miini.'

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/ kuḷaṭana. 'They will go to the sheikh to divorce.'

We/ enzelé/ so. 'Did you go?'

Ye/ waliko cheendrapí/ yana/ pamo naa muṅé. 'Where was he going yesterday together with his younger brother?' (Possible answer: **Ye/ waliko chendra sukhuuni/ yana/ pamo naa muṅé.** '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 kaleenṭhe 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/ haṭá/ nguwo/ zaa ye/ kuvaala/ kendrela ka sulṭaani.

‘Ali did not have even clothes for him to wear to go to the sultan.’
Sultaani/ iize/ kumendrela sarmaḷa/ 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/ mtile 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.)

haṭá/ ichendroowa/ mahala/ huvilowa Iboholi yaa Wake ‘until they reached a place that is called the Pool of the Women’

iidi sala husaloowa, ahli kaawo hendroowa [song] ‘on *iidi*, prayers are prayed, relatives their place is gone to’

Mooyi/ chihada/ natukuloowa/ na’endroowa/ na’ubloowa. ‘One (person) said: let him be taken and be gone [away with] and be killed.’

Shtumaa nt^hume/ ka apa/ na apá/ kentroowa/ kumerowa muunt^hu/ takhaadiró/ khtaṣiirá/ 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/ chirashmanyooa/ kaa ngoma/ na ndriimbó/ kendorwa 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 maraḍi ayo. ‘It is possible that Omari might die from that disease.’

-s-eendre

lest; [pron. **seendré**]

Fakaṭa/ seendre/ kacheleloowa. ‘Run lest you be late!’

Ka jis’iyo/ nakuwoná/ ni afḍali/ mi/ chiza kiziḍukura ba’aḍi 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^hafuluka 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/ mmerelaa 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/ zimrudiliile 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 forms: **eyni, aina**

eeni/ ya bulú 'blue kind'

eeni/ ya matete 'spotted kind'

eeni gani 'what kind?'

eeni/ suura 'good kind'

nijisi ya aina ondrosha nafsiiye/ na iingine ineenza maayi iluye [st.] 'you should remove a discernible impurity [and then wash] and [just] pour water over the other [i.e. the indiscernible]'

eeni

n. eye

nijisi ya eeni ondrosha nafsiiye/ na iingine ineenza maayi iluye [st.] 'something unclean that is visible to the eye, remove the thing itself, and another (unclean thing) run water over it' (**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.)

mw-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 uzelee. ‘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’

muunt^hu mwenye aqili ‘a man who has intelligence’

muunt^hu mwenye maali ‘a man with wealth’

muunt^hu mwenye zibuuku ‘a man owning books’

mwenye maayi ‘one who sells water’

Mwenyee ndala/ haatali. ‘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 utuuvi. ‘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.’

enyegi

kuleta enyegi ‘to give a hard time’

Haliima/ waanawe/ rabshoole/ wanamleta mamayaawo/ enyegi.

‘Halima her children are troublesome, they are giving their mother a hard time.’

mweenza (w-)

n. 1/2 [Sw. *mwenzi* SSED 84] friend (The Chijini form of this noun, [nzámw^é] 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** (Nominals with human reference, formed from verbs by the suffix *-i*, are common in Swahili, but their use in Chimiini is less

common and perhaps represents a Swahili influence.)

Abinawaasi/ nakiineendra/ rashmene na weenzawe. ‘Abinawaasi was walking together with (lit. following one another with) his friends.’

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/ süimba/ mooyi/ naa mp^hisi/ na sungurá/ wawaliko weenza. ‘Once upon a time, a lion, hyena, and hare were friends.’

Ba’adi yaa sala/ kuła mooyi/ humlazima kendra kuzura wazaaziwe/ ahjiye/ 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/ ntho/ 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.’

Wako waant^hu/ hupeenda/ khfanya weenza/ wiingi/ na wako waant^hu/ hukahaḡo khfanya ismu ya mweenzá. ‘There are people who like to make many friends, and there are people who don’t like to make any friend.’

Maali/ yamlasile/ na weenza/ na ahji/ wamlasile. ‘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 **ahji** 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 mweenzawé ‘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’

Mwenza/ 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] **mweenzawe mwaanawe**

mweenzawá ‘O my friend’; **weenzawá** ‘O my friends’

Mweenzawo/ ndiyé/ khubló. ‘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 mwenza uyu/ chimaliza oloka ka mwenza uyu. ‘Go from this friend to that friend.’

Omari/ na Ali/ 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.’
wenzawawili ‘two friends’

Weenza/ wotte/ wamfakeete/ na kila/ waa ye/ olosheló/ kumera chiint^hú/ kaaké/ mchimbiiize/ ka ma^htaando. ‘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 ndretele^loo 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’

kh^hinda uweenza ‘to break off a friendship’

N^hinzile na Hamadí/ uweenza. ‘I cut off my relationship with Hamadi.’ Or: **N^hiinzilé/ uweenza/ na Hamadi.** ‘I cut off my relationship with Hamadi.’ Or: **N^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/ waraa^hdi. ‘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/ naaku^há 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/ utakhkooḁa/ na waant^hu/ woṭe/ 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 muḁo. ‘The child moved away from the fire.’

Nuuru/ epushilee muḁo. ‘Nuuru avoided the fire.’

Sababu yaa mi/ khfuraha/ kiḁa/ nch^hilangaḁa/ ka kubḁi/ 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/ watumiḁa na mwajiitú/ keendra/ konyeza waant^hu/ ndila ṭoosani/ 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 **watumiḁa na mwajiitú** would seem to be contained within the relative clause initiated by **watumiḁa...**, 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 muḁo. ‘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 muḁo. ‘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 muḁo.** ‘He moved away from the fire.’)

k-epukoowa v. pass. (**epushila**) be avoided, moved away from

Muḁo/ wepushila na mwaana. ‘The fire was gotten away from by the child.’

Nuuru/ epushila na Ali. ‘Nuuru was stayed away from by Ali.’

k-eeepula v. tr. [Sw. *epua* SSED 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 aḏaabu.** ‘Nuuru caused Suufi’s child to move away from (hell)fire.’
- k-epushilizanya* v. caus. appl. rec.
- Nuuru/ na Suufi/ wa’epushilizenye waana/ na aḏaabu.** ‘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^helé/ 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^hejezo/ hu’eroowa.** ‘Your loud noises, shouting makes one on the verge of crying.’
- eraporto* n. airport
- Mi/ ka’iwa kanaa we/ nakuuya/ suḷa ndirkamene naawe/ eraportooni.** ‘If I had known you were coming, I would have met you at the airport.’
- 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 shtuulo/ chihabba.** ‘Eeriile is a small village.’
- erkole* n. Hercules
- Nazoo nguvu/ kana erkole.** ‘He is as strong as Hercules.’
- eraporta* n. airport
- Mi/ ka’iwa kuwaa we/ nakuuyá/ suḷa kudirkamana naawe/ eraportaani.** ‘If I had known you were coming I would have met you at the airport.’
- eroplaano* n. [Sw. *eroplani* **SSED** 86; Eng. *airplane*] airplane
- w-eeru* adj. [cf. **-eelu**] good [cl.1]
- Mwaana/ haṭaa chiwa mwaana/ muke/ weeru/ huwa siifna.** ‘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. (**etele**) blame someone, accuse

Alí/ anzize kubigaa nkhele/ ba’adi ya Hamadi/ m’eteloo yé/ khkoða wanaafakhí. ‘Ali started shouting after Hamadi accused him of lying.’

Haaruni/ hupenda ku’eta waanthu. ‘Haaruni likes to blame (other) people (for things that happen).’

Na teena/ sin’etété/ 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-’eteloowa v. app. pass.

Omari/ waliko etela kubola fatuura. ‘Omari was accused of stealing a car.’ (Note that the object of the infinitive cannot be promoted to be the subject of the main verb: ***Fatuura/ i’eteela...** ‘The car was accused...’)

ku-’etela v. appl.

Wo/ wam’etele Omari/ kubola gaari. ‘They accused Omari of stealing a car.’

ku-’etisha v. caus.

ku-’etoowa v. pass.

Naku’etoowaní. ‘What am I being blamed for?’

Siwo/ suura/ muanthu/ 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

Chiinthu/ hupita/ eeṭi/ husalaa numa. ‘Something happens, blame remains behind (i.e. after something has happened and is over, blame remains behind).’ (A proverb.)

Eeṭi/ nt’ayná/ faayda. ‘Blame is not useful.’ (A proverb.)

Omari/ eeṭize/ niingi. ‘Omari’s [lit. blames] fault-findings are many.’

ch-eti (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: **chaṭi**

cheṭi chaa duka ‘shop license’

khṭindaa cheṭi ‘[lit. cut] get a license’

Nt’aná/ cheṭi. ‘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**)

mp^hulaye/ kana/ cheetezo ‘his nose is like a **cheetezo** (i.e. big or wide)’

eyni

n. [see under **eeni**] kind, sort

ku-’ezata

v. be respected, glorified; variant form: **ku’eza**

Muanthu/ hakhu’ezi/ naayé/ ha’ezoowi. ‘The person who does not respect you is not respected.’ (A proverb.)

rel.

ku-’ezeka v. (**ezeshela**) be respected, glorified

variant form: **ku’ezika** (**ezishile**)

ku-’ezasha v. (**ezesheeze**) respect

variant form: **ku’ezisha** (**ezishiize**)

ku-'ezooa 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.'

mw-eezi (*mi-*)

n. month; [pron. **mweezi** or **meezi** (sg.), **miyeezi** or **myeezi** or **meezi** (pl.)] (Because the majority of present day Chimini 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 in its variant **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.'

Funzila 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 mweezi/ 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)'

mezi mitaano/ sita/ jis'iyo 'five, six months, something like that'

Muda ya mweezi/ 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^hawukhita. '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 suna khfuunga mweezi keendra aarafa [st.] 'it is sunna to fast on the ninth day of the month of aarafa'

Nt^ha'ukpita/ mweezi/ Iisha/ chibarātana na mwiimbili/ inaye Mwenye.

'Not a month passed [before] Iisha became acquainted with a young man named Mwenye.'

Ramaḍaani/ ni mwezi wa soomu. 'Ramadhan is the month of fasting.'

ku-fa

v. [Sw. *fa* SSED 88] (**file**) die; n. death
File ka maraḍi ya khalbi. 'He died from heart disease.'

Fiile/ ye. ‘Died, he.’ (In the simple yes-no question, the right-dislocated pronoun is raised 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.** (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/ nt^haná/ shalaayi. ‘Someone who is dead does not have regret.’ (A proverb.)

Fiiló/ yaake/ imaliize. ‘He who has died, his (affairs, issues, concerns, etc.) are finished.’ (A proverb.)

Ha’isii kufá/ nalangaje 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 maraäi/ 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/ dawaa. ‘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, to become discouraged [lit. to lose heart]’

Mwaadamu/ mara mooyi/ chifa khalbi/ chiint^hu/ hakhaadiri/

khfaanya. [H^hH^hH^hH^hH^h] ‘Once a human being becomes discouraged (lit. dies in the heart) he is not able to do anything.’

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.’

Mwaana/ hufa/ mzima/ hufa. ‘A child dies, an adult dies (anyone can die).’ **Is this a**

proverb?

Martí/ ilo ka Mkhodiishó/ fiiló/ waliko Nureeni. ‘The guest who came from Mogadishu who died was Nureeni.’ Or: **Martí/ oo ilo ka Mkhodiishó/ fiiló/ waliko Nureeni.**

Martí/ oo fiiló/ waliko (ni) Nureeni. ‘The guest who died was Nureeni.’

Or: **Martí oo fiiló/ waliko (ni) Nureeni.**

Mubli/ 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 chiji/ 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.’

nife ‘that you (pl.) die’ or ‘that I die’ (This form is ambiguous since the subject prefix **ni-** can either be used for first person singular or second person plural. If the vowel of the prefix elides, then a difference develops in terms of the interaction of the nasal with a stem-initial consonant; the first person nasal forms a prenasalized consonant while the second person plural does not assimilate to the following consonant. It is possible of course to use the pronoun to distinguish the two forms **nife**, as in **Nakhsu_laa ni/ nife**. ‘He wants you (pl.) to die.’ but **Nakhsu_laa mi/ nife**. ‘He wants me to die.’ Similarly: **Nakhsu_ula/ ni/ nife**. versus **Nakhsu_ula/ mi/ nife**. In the absence of a pronoun, ambiguity is present; e.g. **Nakhsu_ula/ nife**. ‘He wants that I/you (pl.) die.’ In this example, the main verb has been prosodically separated from the subjunctive verb. It is also ambiguous when the main verb and the subjunctive are phrased together: **Nakhsu_laa nife**. ‘He wants that I/you (pl.) die.’ Notice that even though **nife** is a CVCV word, the preceding word-final vowel is not lengthened, in contrast to the case when the CVCV word is not a verb: **Nakhsu_laa chisu**. ‘I want a knife.’

Nt^hakhu_lata fa/ paapa/ apa. ‘I will let you die right here.’

Nuuru/ fiile. ‘Nuuru has died.’ Or: **Nuuru/ fiiló**. ‘It is Nuuru who has died.’

Omari/ fiile? ‘Did Omari die?’ Or: **Fiile/ Omari?** ‘Did he die, Omari?’

Omari/ file ka aksidente? ‘Did Omari die in the accident?’ Or: **Ka aksidente**.

Omari/ fiiló? ‘In the accident did Omari die?’ Or: **File ka aksidente/ Omari?** ‘Died in the accident did Omari?’ (The last version of the question merits some discussion. When a subject is right-dislocated, being a kind of afterthought, in a yes-no question it would undergo Accent Shift. But in the present example it is not a right-dislocated subject and there is no Accent Shift.)

Omari/ fiile/ yana. [HH!!H] ‘Omari died yesterday.’ (Notice that the time adverbial in the canonical pronunciation of this sentence is phrasally separated from the verb. The verb escapes the usual downstep intonation, while the time adverbial is radically downstepped.)

Omari/ fiile/ yana. [¹H!H!!H] ‘Omari died yesterday.’ (Emphasis can be placed on the subject in this example, in which case the subject is markedly raised in pitch from the norm. Given this marked raising, the verb is clearly lowered in pitch. The time adverbial remains radically downstepped.)

Omari/ tu/ fiiló? ‘Did only Omari die?’ (There is another version of this question: **Fiiló/ Omari/ tu?** Note that post-verbal **tu** does not trigger pseudo-relativization, so the form **filo** cannot be a reaction to the **tu** in this version of the question, unlike the first version of the question cited. It appears that the best translation would be: ‘the one who died is it only Omari?’)

Sifé. ‘Don’t die!’ **Sifeení**. ‘(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/ nakhsu_laa mi/ nifé/ pata kulo_lowa na sultaani. ‘You want that I die so that you get married by the sultan.’

Yampete mara_oi/ fiile. ‘She fell sick and died.’

Yana/ Omari/ fiile. [¹H!H!!H] ‘Yesterday Omari died.’ (Emphasis on **yana** can be achieved by preposing it to initial position and markedly raising its pitch. When **yana** is markedly raised, then the subject is clearly lowered in pitch. The sentence-final verb seems radically lowered.)

Ye/ fiile. ‘He passed away.’ (Cf. **Ye/ fiile?** ‘Has he passed away.’ **Ye/ fiilé!?**)

rel.

kh-fiilila v. appl. [Sw. *filia* SSED 88] (**fiilile**)

Fiilile mara_oi ya khalbi. ‘He died of heart disease.’

kh-fiילוowa v. appl. pass.

Lizile kama munt^hu fiililá. ‘He cried like a man bereaved of

someone.’

Maama/ chiĵa/ apo/ chimwambila mwaana/ sooloké/ mwaanawá/ waana/ watatu/ wanfililá/ mi/ speendi/ na mwiinginé/ kunfiĵila. ‘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 filila 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. (**fiĵila**) (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

ma-kufa n. dying

Kumwona muunt^hu/ makufa/ kaa ndala/ siwo/ jawaabu/ husuulikó. ‘To see a person dying from hunger is not a thing that is desirable.’

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 mahafiisá/ 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 (Our data has not allowed an analysis of the pitch pattern of ideophones, but it is notable that this ideophone did not exhibit the marked high pitch observed in some others.)

Sivaalé/ nguwo iyo/ ni fachakh! ‘Don’t put on that cloth, it is wet!’

Waana/ nguwo zaawo/ zoloweene/ kaa nvula/ ziwela fachakh! ‘The children’s clothes got wet with rain, they became *fachakh!*’

fad fad

ideo. (The pitch on *fad* is raised.)

Haliima/ nakhpika maĵaaza/ yanakhtokota/ fad fad! ‘Haliima is cooking porridge, it is boiling, *fad fad!*’

Ali/ maĵaaza/ ka isiinga/ neeló/ ka dakha mooyi/ fad fad!/ maliize. ‘Ali, porridge, with a big bowl, he drank it; in a minute *fad fad!* he finished.’

fadhi

n. [Som.] couch, sofa

Mi/ nakhtahaja kaalmeyó/ kondrola fadhi iyi. ‘I need your help in moving this

sofa.’

- 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 wazele/ ibakheete. ‘The meeting today of the elders has been cancelled.’
fadhiini in the meeting’
Haṭaa we/ shkoma apo/ fadhi/ itakumala. ‘By the time you get there, the meeting will be finished.’
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’ondroshale 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/ ziweshalee fadhi. ‘One day the rats held a meeting.’
Leelo/ yikoo fadhi. ‘Today there is a meeting.’
mane yashṭiindika shpata yaqiini/ 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. *fadand fadaha* W 717] scandal, disgrace
variant forms: **faḍiiba** [Ar. *fadṭha* 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 faḍiihazze... ‘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’
Raaha/ akhiriye/ faḍaaha. ‘Pleasure, at its end, is shame/misery.’ (A saying.)

- 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-faðila

v. [Sw. *fadhili* SSED 89; Ar. *fadala* and *fadila* W 717] (**faðiliile**) prefer, favor
Jaama/ nakhfaðilani. ‘What does Jaama prefer?’
Mi/ hufaðila khkalaant^ha. ‘I prefer to stay.’
Mi/ humfaðila Nuuru. ‘I prefer Nuuru.’
Mi/ ñnakhfaðila keendrá. ‘I prefer to go.’
mooja mfaðiliile ka kumpa maqaamu/ ya mitume yotte ndiye khitaamu [st.] ‘God preferred him by giving him high prestige, among all the prophets he is the last one’
Ye/ hufaðila ilmu/ siwo/ maali. ‘He prefers knowledge not wealth.’
Ye/ suła khfaðilaa si/ keendra. ‘He would prefer for us to leave.’
rel.
kh-faðiloowa v. pass. [Sw. *fadhiliwa* SSED 89] (**faðiliila**)
Nuuru/ khkalan^hake apa/ ifaðilila na want^hu wiingi. ‘Nuuru’s staying here was preferred by many people.’

faðli

n. [Sw. *fadhili* SSED 89; Ar. *fadl* W 718] favor, kindness, merit, appreciation, good manners
Nt^haná/ asli/ walá/ faðli. ‘He does not have either ancestry (i.e. noble birth) nor good manners.’ (A proverb.)
Nt^huná/ faðli. ‘You do not have appreciation.’
waanawe ni saba wenye faðli/ karka saba awo watatu ni wabli [st.] ‘his children, endowed with virtues, were seven, and of those seven, three were boys’

sh-faafa

n. 7. [Sw. *kifafa* SSED 189] epilepsy
Omari/ file ka shfaafa. ‘Omari died from epilepsy.’
Shfaafa/ ni maraði 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-faafata

v. [Som. *faaf* DSI 209] (**fafeete**) be revealed, be spread over, out
Kooði/ 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^hi/ hata^hami/ khutilaa mu^ho/ 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 khabari/ maraa nt^hatú/ kila muunt^hi. ‘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^hi. ‘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.’

fagah

ideo.

Abú/ fakeete/ fagah!! kana/ fatuura/ nt^hangú/ skolaani/ hata’/ sukhuuni/ ka dakhaa mbili. ‘Abu ran *fagah!* like a car from school to the market in two minutes.’

Omari/ shteza khamari/ mukhtaa ye/ mweno askari/ fakeete/ fagah!/ mahalaa ye/ ingiiló/ tozela. ‘Omari was gambling; when he saw police (coming), he ran away fast, *fagah!* whatever place he went into, he was not seen (i.e. he could not be found).’

fagiiha

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.’

Chiza/ khfahamake/ in.yawishiize. ‘His not understanding surprised me.’

Fahamiilé. ‘Did you understand?’ (The question differs from the statement just in intonation. See discussion of yes-no questions in the introductory materials.)

Fardoosa/ nakhfahama haali. ‘Fardoosa understands the situation.’

Hamiisi/ husoma niingi/ shokuwa(a ye)/ hafahami/ yaa ye/ nakhsoomó. ‘Hamiisi reads a lot, except he does not understand what he is reading.’

khati 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’

Mi/ nakhsula khfahamá. ‘I want to understand.’

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/ chubloowa/ ka khisa lughzi/ la muliwe/ Ifahamiiló. ‘His wife was killed because of the riddle that her husband solved.’

Naambila/ yaa we/ nakhsuuló/ ka waadihi/ mp^hate khfahama. ‘Tell me what you want clearly so that I can understand.’

Nuru/ fahamile darsi. ‘Nuru understood the lesson.’

Si/ nfuye/ shchiwa chinakoondroka/ ka fadhiini/ kiitu/ hastukuli/ ma’inyi yiitu/ hulata kiitu. ‘We monkeys, when we leave our dwellings, we do not carry our livers with us, we leave them home.’

Sinakhfahama/ jisa suura/ tafdali/ koda ka tartiibu. ‘I don’t understand very well. Please speak slowly.’

Siwo/ dhibu/ naami/ kumfahama Hamadi. ‘It is not difficult for me to understand Hamadi.’

Spate/ khfahama kodi 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^hanakhsula/ yiingine/ shokuwa/ kuwona chitaache/ shtiinzila. ‘He made the auctioneer understand that he did want anything other except to see his (the auctioneer’s) head cut off.’

Mwaana/ sh̄tomola majiibu/ ya sh̄tandrawila/ 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 Nuurú/ 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

Leelo/ Omari/ na Huseeni/ wawaliko fahamdara/ nt^hawakeendra/ skolaani.

‘Today Omari and Huseeni were feeling unwell and did not go to school.’

Mubli/ 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)’

kh̄towa 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/ mlate/ waawe/ nt^haná/ fahamu/ mlate/ 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* n. [Sw. *faharasa* SSED 90; Ar. *fahrasa* “to compile an index” W 730] table of contents
- 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 (The ideophone *fak!* is high-pitched.)
Hamadi/ fungile surwaaniye/ fak! ‘Hamadi opened his trousers *fak!*’
Omari/ mwambile mwaanawe/ mara mooyi/ fanya fak! / endra farmachiyaani/ ka Mowlaana/ nuliila aaspero/ chita/ chinakundraazó. ‘Omari told his son: at once, go *fak!* (i.e. run) to the pharmacy of Mowlaana and buy for me aspirin, my head is aching me.’
- kh-fakaṭa* v. [Som. *fako* “to run away” DSI 214] (**fakeete**) run, run away, flee, escape
Abú/ khfakaṭá ‘if Abu had run’; **ka’iza khfakaṭá** ‘if Abu had not run’; **Abú/ kachiza khfakaṭá** ‘if Abu had not run’
Ali/ fakeete ka Jaama. ‘Ali ran towards Jaama/ to Jaama’s place.’
Chimalizaa kuja/ hufakaṭa/ 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/ nakhfakaṭa/ naasi/ chinumeche/ haṭá/ shkomele ṭawalá. ‘We followed this gazelle, he running and we at his back, until we reached the sea.’
Endrá/ fakaṭa. ‘Go and run away!’
fakaṭa/ kana faṭuura ‘quick like a car, run like a car’
Fakeete/ ingile maduriini. ‘He ran away and went into the bush.’
ḥHamadi/ 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 khfakaṭa [nt.] ‘if they are close I start running’
khfakaṭa kamba faṭuura ‘to run like a car [i.e. fast like a car]’
Khfakaṭa/ siwo/ khkoma. ‘To run is not to arrive.’ (A proverb.)
kooḍi /khfakaṭa ‘for words, secrets to slip out unintentionally’
Haaji/ kooḍi/ zimfakeete. ‘Haaji let the words, secret slip out (lit. the words ran out, slipped out from Haaji).’
Kuulu/ iyi/ nt^hayikhṭindoowa/ na waawo/ kuulu/ iyi/ invundishile/ naa mi/ nnakhfakaṭó/ 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).’
mbuzi izo/ schifakaṭa ‘those goats, if they run’
Muunt^hu/ oo fakeetó/ poliisiya/ wamshiishiló. ‘The man who ran away, it is the police who caught him.’ (Cf. the following example where the subject noun is not focused: **Muunt^hu/ oo fakeetó/ poliisiya/ wamshiishile.** ‘The man who ran away, the police caught him.’)
Muunt^hu/ 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.)

- Muunt^hu/ oo fakeetó/ shiishilá/ Mkhodiisho/ yana.** ‘The man who ran away was caught in Mogadishu yesterday.’
- Muunt^hu/ oo fakeetó/ shishilá na mapoliisi.** ‘The man who ran away was caught by the police.’
- Muunt^hu/ oo fakeetó/ shiishilá/ yana.** ‘The man who ran away was caught yesterday.’ (The phrasal separation of the time adverb from the verb is a common pattern)
- Muunt^hu/ 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.)
- Muunt^hu/ oo fakeetó/ waliko Nureeni.** ‘The man who ran away was Nureeni.’
- Mwaalimu/ fakeete.** ‘The teacher ran away.’ Or: **Fakeete/ mwaalimu.** (The corresponding yes-no questions: **Mwaalimu/ fakeete?** and **Fakeete/ mwaalimú?**)
- Mwaalimu/ fakeete/ so.** ‘The teacher ran away, didn’t he?’
- Mwaana/ nakhfakaṭa ka hima.** ‘The boy is running fast.’
- Mwaana/ nakhfakaṭa ndranaa nuumba.** ‘The boy is running inside the house.’
- Mwaana/ nakhfakaṭa sukhuuni.** ‘The boy is running to the market.’
- Na’iwá/ ¹mi/ kuwa ¹Nureeni/ 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/ ¹mi/ kuwa ¹peesa/ 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 **¹Nuuru/ fakeetó.** ‘*Nuuru* ran away.’)
- Nfakeeté/ skumwona.** ‘I ran (after someone), but I couldn’t find him.’
- Noka/ shfakaṭa/ chooloka.** ‘The snake ran away and left.’
- Nt^hangú/ chuunzila/ chinakhfakaṭa/ nt^hashkupata/ 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/ mfakeṭe 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/ mfakeṭe Omari.** ‘N uuru ran away from Omari.’)
- Oo/ muunt^hu/ 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/ ¹siri/ imfakeetó.** ‘Omari blurted out the secret (lit. Omari, the secret escaped from him).’
- Shfakaṭa/ shfakaṭa/ hattá/ shkoma numbaani/ ka ujee muke.** ‘He ran and ran until he reached the home of that woman.’
- Sfakaṭé** ‘Don’t run!’
- Sfakaṭeení** ‘(Pl.) don’t run!’
- Shfakateni kahima/ ka apa.** ‘Let us run quickly from here!’
- Sulilopo kumbigá/ noka/ shfakaṭa.** ‘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.’
- Wafakeete/ wa’ingile itundruuni/ na mbwa waawó.** ‘They escaped and went into

the cave with their dog.’

Walimu wiingi/ wafakeete. ‘Many teachers ran away.’ (While downstep intonation characterizes this simple statement, the pitch on the verb is raised in the yes-no question: **Waalimu/ wafakeete?** ‘Did many teachers run away?’ and in the tag-question: **Walimu wiingi/ wafakeete/ so.** ‘Many teachers ran away, didn’t they?’)

Walimu wont^he/ wafakeete. ‘All the teachers ran away.’ Or: **Wafakeete/ walimu wont^he.** (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^he?**)

wamo wafakeete ndraani ya tawala [nt.] ‘some fled deep into the sea’

Waant^hu/ awo/ wafakeetó/ wont^he/ washiishila. ‘People, those ones, who ran away, all were caught.’

Waant^hu/ wont^he/ awo wafakeetó/ washiishila. ‘All the people, those 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’oloshi/ khkala mui mwiingine. ‘All ran away from there and went to stay in another town.’

Yaliko ka hima/ khfikirila khfakata. ‘It was not too early to think about fleeing.’

Ye/ hufakataa dhibu. ‘He avoids difficulties.’

rel.

kh-fakata v. appl. (**fakatiile**) run to

Abinawaasi/ chifakata. ‘Abinawaasi ran away.’

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^{hi}ingila/ numbaani/ chinfakata. ‘Every time I entered the house, she ran to me.’

Mwanaamke/ chi’ifakata/ kaake/ chisimaani/ chi’iruudilo. ‘The girl ran [herself] to her place in the well, that is where she went back to.’

Sula khaadira/ ki’ifakata. ‘He could have run away.’

Ye/ ifakatiile. ‘He ran away [lit. ran away for himself].’

kh-fakata v. caus.

Omari/ shfakata gaari/ bishile lkuta. ‘Omari was driving the car (too fast) and hit the wall.’

kh-fakata v. caus. rec.

hufakata mithali ya nt^huungu [nt.] ‘all scurry for cover like ants’

kh-fakato v. pass.

ishkasoowa yula yo hufakato [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.’

Muuntbu/ 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 Sa’iidi 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 mwaana ‘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.’

Omari/ jisaa ye/ hufakharó/ ziintú/ hatá/ takhutamanisha. ‘The way that Omari praises things makes you fall in love with them.’

Waanth^u/ wafakhariile/ ruhu zaawo. ‘The men praised themselves.’
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 boasting 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

Wanafakhirilana peesa. ‘They were boasting to one another about their money.’

kh-fakhiriloowa 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

n. 9/10 [Sw. *fahari* SSED 90; Ar. *fakr* W 699] pomposity, showing off, pride; glory; fondness; adj. pompous, proud; variant form: **fakhri**

fakhari/ kana aktoore ‘as proud as an actor’

fakhari/ kamba sulṭaani ‘as proud as a king’

fakhari/ zaaydi ‘too proud’

Haliima/ fakhari/ zaaydi. ‘Haliima is too proud.’

Inakoonya/ kuwaa we/ ni fakhari/ na Faaṭimá. It shows that you are fond of Faaṭima.

ka fakhari ‘pompously, boastingly’

kamu nk^haleent^ho na wenye 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'
	mwenye 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 tafaḍal	fixed expression: welcome, you are cordially invited (usu. in speeches, welcoming someone to the podium)
sh-falfala (s-)	n. 7/8 [Som. <i>falfal</i> "magic, withcraft" DSI 215] "medicine" (e.g. a magical item left on the road to harm someone), same as chigeḍogeeḍo.
falme	n. [lit. king] an unknown species of fish
m-falme (ma-), (wa-)	n. 1/2,6 [Sw. <i>mfalme</i> SSED 275] king Bwana mfalme/ nt^hakhadiraayi/ mi/ khtinda chitaacha. '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 Hukoḍa ufalme. 'He talks like a king.' Ufalme/ umbeele. '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. <i>faluda</i> SSED 91; Ar. <i>fālūdaj</i> "a sweet made of flour and honey" and <i>fālūdajī</i> "soft and flabby" W 692] a sweet dish, like a soft pudding variant form: fa_luzi [cf. Ar. <i>fālūz</i> cited in SSED 91, but not found in Wehr]
falaki	n. [Sw. <i>falaki</i> SSED 90; Ar. <i>falak</i> W 727] astronomy review the 1 khfanya falaki 'to take the omens by observing the stars, etc.' kulangala falaki 'to take the omens by observing the stars, etc.' Shekh Omari/ ize khadira khfungula mas'ala/ ya Hamadi/ muziizó/ tarafu ya ilmu/ ya falaki. 'Shekh Omari could not respond to what Hamadi asked him about the study of astrology.'
faali	n. 9/10 [Sw. <i>fali</i> SSED 90; Ar. <i>fāl</i> "to regard as a good omen" and <i>fa' l</i> "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/ chilangala/ 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.’

kh-faalisha

v. praise

Omari/ jisaa ye/ hufaalishó/ ziint^hú/ hatá/ takhutamanisha. ‘The way that Omari praises things makes you fall in love with them.’

famiilya

n. [Ital. *familia*] family

Killa/ famiilya/ wash^htukula 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.’

Hamadi/ na Ali/ uso waawo/ sawa/ sawa/ hufaanana/ kana maandra/ Ipaandre. ‘Hamadi and Ali, their faces are alike, they resemble one another like a loaf of bread cut in two.’

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

science, craft

n. [cf. Som *fan* “art” DSI 216, but also Ar. *fann* “art, scientific discipline” W 728] art,

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^hashkumfaalisha/ Ali. ‘We didn’t praise Ali.’

Sfalisheeni/ wawovu. ‘Don’t praise bad ones.’

rel.

kh-fanishoowa v. pass. (**fanishiiza**) be praised

kh-faansaṭa v. (**fanseete**) boast
variant form: **khfaanaṭa**

m-faano (mi-)

n. 3/4 [Sw. *mfano* SSED 89] resemblance, likeness
hadiilo Mtume Mustafa Mahmuudi/ sho kuhija ni mfaano wa Yahuudi [st.] ‘the Prophet Muṣṭafā Maḥmūd said/ those who do not perform the pilgrimage will [on Judgment Day] be [considered] on equal footing with the Jews’ [SCB 556]
huwala mfaano wa qammari [song] ‘it shines like the moon’
ni ḍambize ni niingi mfaano wa ntʰaka [song] ‘and his sins are many, just like garbage’
ntʰana mithaali ntʰana 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 nobody 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 muntʰu safihi/ ha’ingili/ chilaviini. ‘Fantu is a stupid guy but he can’t be fished with a net.’ (A proverb.)
mpʰampʰa 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/ ifanyiizo/ 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 **ifanyiizo**, by a null subject, then there is no *a*-link between the head and the relative verb.)

Basi/ naawé/ nakhsula kunfanyaa mi/ kama mpʰundra wa doobi.

‘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 khati/ yana.** I wrote a *letter* yesterday.’ A more neutral sentence, without focus on letter, is: **Nandishilee khati/ yaná.** ‘I wrote a letter yesterday.’

Hasani/ fanyize 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/ fakhiiri. ‘Will it make Sultan Daraayi poor?’

khfanya alaama ‘to make a sign, a mark’

khfanya bateera ‘to repair a boat’ (as opposed to **kulunga bateera** ‘to build a boat’)

khfanya biyaashara/ biyanshara ‘to engage in trade, commercial activities’

Hasani/ na Nuuru/ wako Mambasa/ wanakhfanya biyanshara/ yaa nguwo. ‘Hasani and Nuuru are in Mombasa trading cloth (lit. making business of cloth).’

khfanya chaakuja ‘to prepare food, a meal’

khfanya chiintu ‘to deal with’; also: **khfanyowa chiintu** (passive)

Chiintu/ shfanyiza na msiba uyu. ‘(Lit.) Something was done with this crisis -- i.e. this crisis was handled.’

Fanyize chiintu/ na msiba uyu. ‘He dealt with this crisis.’

Ifanyiza chiintu/ na msiba uyu. ‘There was dealing with this crisis.’ Or: **Chiintu/ ifanyiza na msiba uyu.**

Msiba uyu/ ifanyiza chiintu/ naayo. ‘This crisis, there was dealing with it.’

khfanya da’awa ‘to complain’

khfanyaa dawa ‘to treat a disease, illness (lit. to make medicine)’

khfanya fakhari ‘to show off’

Wako waanthu/ washpata peesa/ hupeenda/ khfanya fakhari. ‘There are people who when they get money they like to show off.’

Waana/ wa Omari/ leelo/wavetee nguwo/ mp’hiya/ wanakhfanya fakhari. ‘Omari’s children today wore new shows, they are showing off.’

khfanya fitna ‘to create differences between people, pit one person versus another’

khfanya gaari ‘to repair a car’

Saalaha/ ni makaanikó/ hufanya magaari/ kaake/ garachaani. ‘Saalaha is a mechanic, he repairs cars in his garage.’

khfanya haraka ‘to be in a hurry, be hasty, make a move’

Mwaadamu/ ha’aa ye/ hayi/ laazimu/ khfanya haraka/ kuda’aalaa. ‘A human being, for as long as he is alive, he must move and work hard.’

khfanyaa hari ‘to make/be hot’

Sheekhi/ hadiile/ numbaani/ ka Nuuru/ imulo/ infanyizee hari/ niize/ khadira khkalaant’a. ‘Sheekhi said: at the house of Nuuru it is very hot, it made me feel hot, I could not stay.’

khfanya hiila ‘to devise a strategy, trick’

khfanya hisaabu ‘to total (numbers, expenditures), update figures’

Leelo/ Huseeni/ nakhfanya hisaabu/ kaake/ dukaani/ inakuhadoowa/ peesa/ niingi/ zibeeló. ‘Today Huseeni is doing the accounts at his shop, it is said that a lot of money has been lost.’

khfanya ibaada ‘to worship’

Sharif Mubiidi/ mojiitu/ namrehemu/ shfanya ibaada/ niingi. ‘Sharif Mubiidi, God bless him, used to make many prayings.’

wanafaanye ibada karka haramu [st.] ‘may they worship at the Grand Mosque (in Mecca)’

khfanya jaasuusi ‘to spy’

Diini/ ya islaamu/ hugarima/ khfanya ujaajuusi. ‘The Islam religion makes it impure/forbidden to spy.’

Omari/ ile ka Ali/ numbaani/ khfanya u-jaajuusi. ‘Omari came to Ali’s house to spy.’

khfanya karamu ‘to provide or cook or serve food on a special occasion’

khfanya kaazi ‘to work’

Sho/ khfanya kaazi/ miimbaye/ ni waazi. ‘He who does not work,

his stomach is empty.’ (A proverb.)

khfanya khiyaana ‘to trick’

Fanyize khiyaana/ karka imtjhaani. ‘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 uđiya ‘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/ nakhsulá 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/ haťá/ 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.’

Mi/ takeendra/ yaa mi/ takhfaanyó/ numa/ we/ sihadé/ ka khisani. ‘I will go (and do) whatever I will do; later, don’t ask why!’ (Notice the absence of the first person subject marker *n(i)*- on these future tense verbs. MI himself tended to preserve the nasal prefix, but this passage is from a text spoken by one of MI’s relatives, who elided the nasal. Present-day speakers we have consulted also omit the nasal prefix.)

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 gaari/ iyi. This point needs exploration, however, since when something follows, this phrasing is acceptable: Nfanyize gaari/ 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 gaari/ iyi/ nofeetó. Another possible phrasing: Nfanyiizé/ gaari/ iyi/ nofeeté. ‘I repaired the car, this, until I got tired.’

Oloka/ yaa we/ nakhsuuló/ faanya. ‘Go (and) whatever you want, do.’

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:

Waanfu/ wa’ifanyize kaazi. Or with verb focus: **Waanth^h/**

wa’ifanyiize/ kaazi. Or with left-dislocation but no focus: **Kaazi/**

wa’ifanyiize.

We/ nakhfaanyani. ‘What are you doing?’

We/ waliko shfaanyani/ mukhtaa mi/ niiló. ‘What were you doing when I came?’ (Possible answer: **Mi/ waliko nch^hija/ mukhtaa 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 mfa^lme/ 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/ fanyikilila. ‘For so-and-so things are going well, have turned out well.’

kh-fanyikila v. p/s. appl. (**fanyikilile**)

Duniya/ infanyikilile. ‘(Lit.) the world can be done for me – i.e. the world is a bed of roses for me.’

Hamadi/ gaari/ imfanyikilile. ‘The car was able to be fixed for Hamadi.’

Kaazi/ ikhufanyikilile? ‘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/ imfanyikilile ka pesa habba. ‘The house was able to be built for him with little money.’

kh-fanyiliza v. appl. (**fanyilize**) 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: **iliz/elez**.)

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/ hadiikha/ nk^hulu/ nt^ho. ‘He made for his children a very large garden.’

Fanyilizeni/ ikoombe. ‘What did you do with the spoon?’ (A possible answer to this question: **Njililee zijó.** ‘I ate zijó (with it).’)

khfanyiliza alaama ‘to make a sign for’

khfanyiliza chaakuja ‘make food for’

Haliima/ nakuwafanyiliza waanawe/ chaakuja/ cha shpiindri.

‘Haliima is making food for her children for lunch.’

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 mku^le/ 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 sahalí/ khfanyilizowa kaazi. ‘Baana is easy to work for.’ Or:

Kaazi/ ni sahalí/ khfanyilizowa Baana. ‘Work, it is easy to do for Baana.’

kazi ni sahalí/ khfanyilizowa Baaná ‘the work that it is easy to do for Baana’

Ni sahalí/ khfanyilizowa Baana/ kaazi. ‘It is easy to work for Baana.’

Peesa/ zont^he/ stumikilila khfanyilizowa nuumba. ‘All the money has been used for repairing the house.’

kh-faanyisha 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-fanyizoowa v. pass.

Miyuuwa/ ishfanyizowa khamri/ johaari. [H!H!H] ‘Sugar cane (pl.) was used to make alcohol in Johari.’

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.’

Faṭuura/ ka wiingi/ huṭahaja khfanyoowa. ‘Cars often need repairing.’

Ifanyizo naawó/ ni kaazi. ‘What was done is the work.’

Ishfanyowa haruusi/ nk^hulu. ‘A big wedding was arranged.’

jisa mi nfanyiiza skoodi duniyaani [song] ‘how I was treated, I do not talk (about it) in the world’

khfanyowa ibaada ‘to be prayed’

Janna/ hupatoowa/ ka khfanyowa ibaada/ ya mojiitu. ‘Paradise is gained by praying to God.’

Markabu/ iyi/ ifanyiza ka ḍahabu. ‘This ship is made of gold.’

Mi/ nakhtaja faṭuurá/ khfanyoowá. ‘I need the car repaired.’

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.’

Surwani iyi/ inakhtahaja khfanyoowa. ‘These trousers need to be mended.’

kh-fanyishoowa v. caus. pass. (**fanyishiiza**) be made to do s.t.

rel. nom.

m-fanya (*wa-*) n. one who does, makes

mfanya kaazi ‘a worker’

Mfanya kaazi/ tomeela/ kaziini. [HH!H] ‘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, fixing or repairing

Fatuura/ ka wiingi/ hutahaja mfaanyo. ‘Cars often need repairing.’

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. **faqi omari** or **fakhi omari**]
Naa ndala Are you hungry?
Enda ja nk?ala Go eat crabs
Ka Faqi Omariat Faqi Omari
Zinaxtalatala they are crawling about

mwa-faqi n. [Sw. *mnaḥiki* SSED 292; Ar. *munāfiq* W 988] liar (Bravanese treat this noun as if the beginning syllable *mwa* 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

faqihi (ma-) n. [Ar. *faqih* 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; [usu. pron. **fakhiiri**]
Kamaa we/ chimp^hkila sahani mooyi/ ya mpuunga/ kila muunt^hi/ itamfanya Sultani Daraayi/ fakhiiri. ‘If you cook for me one plate of rice each day, will it make Sultan Daraayi poor?’

Karka muuyi/ uyu/ munt^hu fakhiiri/ hakhaadiri/ kumlola taajiri/ ka sababuya maali. ‘In this town, a poor person cannot marry a rich person because of money.’

kuwa fakhiiri ‘to become poor’

We/ ni muunt^hu/ fakhiiri. ‘You are a poor person.’

rel.

fuqara adj. pl. [Ar. *fuqarā* W 723] poor (pl.) (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 v. [Sw. *fukarika* SSED 90; Ar. *fuqara* W 722] (**faqirishile**) become poor; [pron. **khfaqirika** or **khfakhirika**]

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/ uwazidilopó ‘when their poverty increased...’

far'a n. [Ar. *far* '“branch, subdivision” W 707] sub-clan, ancestors, descendants
aḍaabuuye nda abadi/ kubla far'a ya Mhamadi [st.] 'she will be in hell forever/ for killing a descendant of Mohamed'
Hamadi/ ni far'a gani. 'Hamadi is from which sub-clan?'
Isaabuuye/ muunt^hu/ haabahi/ mwaadamu/ maazi/ hayaabahi/ muunt^hu/ haabahi/ hisaabuuye/ tamtaambula/ ni naani/ ye/ ni far'a gani/ ye/ ni reri gaani/ waawaye/ naani/ haḥá/ ichiwaa we/ namwiwa maamaye/ tu/ waawaye/ takhaadira/ mshiiika. 'Meaning, one is not lost, a human being, the blood is not lost, one is not lost. Meaning, you will recognize who it is, he is descendant of which (person), he is of which family, his father is who, even. You may know only his mother, (but) his father you will be able to catch/detect.' (Part of the discussion of the proverb: **Maazi/ ya muunt^hu/ hayaabahi.** 'One's blood is not lost.')

Omari/ far'aye/ mbovu. 'Omari's sub-clan is bad.'

farachidera n. refrigerator
Si/ waliko chinakhkooḍá/ kana kula farachidera/ mp^hiya. 'We have been discussing whether to buy a new refrigerator.'

faraji n. [Sw. *faraja* SSED 92; Ar. *faraj* W 702] consolation, relief
Ba'ada ya ḍiikhi/ ni faraji. 'After hardship there is relief.' (A proverb.)
Hamadi/ mojiitu/ mfunḡulile faraji/ kaaziye/ peesa/ niingi/ peete.
 'Hamadi, God opened success for him (with respect to his job), he got money.'
Sabri/ ni ifunḡulo 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 mahaḷa ya faraakha. 'It was a private place.'
Hamadi/ mwambile Omari/ mi/ takhusaayda/ wakht^hi wa faraakhaya. 'Hamadi told Omari: I will help you (when) I have spare time.'
khpata faraagha (or: **faraakha**) 'to find the spare time (to do something)'
Mi/ siná/ ba/ wakht^hi/ wa faraakha/ koloka dukaani/ kuza zoombo. 'Me, I do not have free time to go to the shop to sell things.'
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/ zoḥe/ za chizeelé/ mfarimiiló/ kumera ka sulṭaani. '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 dakht^hari.** 'He recommended Sarmadi's going to the doctor.' Or: **Ye/ faramile kendrowa ka dakht^hari.** 'He recommended going to the doctor.')

Isa/ mi/ nt^hakhfarama/ sanduukhuya/ inaletooa. 'Now I will send for my box to be brought.'

Mithaali/ iyi/ inakhfarama/ waant^hu/ kudhoora/ na kafisha ahdi. '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/ chimleeteja. ‘The nomad entered the market and bought what he had been instructed to buy and returned to him.’

Huseeni/ nt^hakuliwala/ zaa ye/ faramiilá/ na mwanamke wa sultaani/ jahaziini. ‘Huseeni did not forget what he had been advised by the daughter of the sultan on board the boat.’

Ifaramiila mi/ kooloka. ‘It was suggested that I go.’ Cf. **Ifaramiila mi/ nooloke.** ‘It was suggested that I should go.’

Ifaramiila si/ chooloke. ‘It was suggested to us that we should go.’

Keendraka/ ifaramiila naawe. ‘My going was advised by you.’ (Syn: The possessive-complement is preferred here, in subject position, to an infinitive: **Mi/ keendra/ ifaramiila naawe.** ‘I to go was advised by you.’)

Nfaramiila keendrá. ‘I was advised to go.’

Nfaramiila 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.)

Shfaramiila 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 uöwu/ karka Suqu Mushtaraki/ iyi/ ichiwa impeete/ dhibu/ si/ wotte/ khsimama/ kubigana naayo/ dhibu iyo/ hatá/ 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/ hatá/ 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’

farasi 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 farasi 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/ chimpandra 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*’

kh-farata

v. [Som. *far* “to give a message or thing to s.o.” DSI 217] (**fareete**) send

Marhuumo/ Omari/ nt^haasá/ yaa ye/ kufa/ fareete/ nuumbaye/ ya

Baghdaadi/ khpowa mukeewe/ Aasha. ‘Omari, God bless him

(i.e. the deceased), before dying, he left a message that his house in Baghdaadi be given to his wife Aasha.’

rel.

kh-farila v. appl. (**fariliile**) send through someone

waano khufariliile [st.] ‘I have sent you (through someone) a piece of advice’

fardiiði

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/ fardiiði. ‘This water is warm.’

farði

n. 9/10 [Sw. *faradhi* SSED 92; Ar. *farḍ* W 706] obligation, prescribed duty (esp. religious in nature); variant form: **farli**

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)’

hija ni farði 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’

Khfunga ramaḏaani/ ni farḏi. ‘To fast for the month of Ramadhan is a must.’

kulipa farḏi ‘to carry out a religious obligation’

Mooja nashfaanye wakasiizo mnaada/ walisilo farḏi wapeeto faa’ida [st.] ‘may God include us among those who responded to the call (and) benefitted from fulfilling this religious duty’

laazimu/ kana farḏi ‘as necessary as a religious obligation’

nt^hendre ya farḏi ‘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

Mi/ anakhfargata. ‘I refuse.’ (Our consultant MI recognized that the presence of the first person singular subject marker was not obligatory in the present tense. We noted its consistent absence in the speech of GM. In this book, we have generally indicated its optionality, but this is probably misleading with respect to the language as spoken today. In a practical orthography, it is likely that the SM should be omitted.)

Mi/ sinakhfargata. ‘Me, I am not refusing.’

Anakhfargata/ mi. ‘I refuse, me.’

Nt^hanakhfargata/ ye. ‘He is not refusing, him.’

Sinakhfargata/ mi. ‘I am not refusing, me.’

Ye/ nakhfargata. ‘He is refusing.’ (Note that the [cl.1] subject prefix is null in non-negative tenses. In the present tense, the [cl.1] form **nakhfargata** has default penult accent, whereas the first person singular form has final accent. Thus even if the SM of the latter form is omitted, the verb remains distinct from [cl.1]. The second person singular verb also has a null SM in non-negative tenses, and in the present tense, it exhibits final accent. Thus the second person form **nakhfargata** is indistinct from the first person singular form when the latter appears with a null SM. Context or an overt subject is required to distinguish these forms.)

Ye/ nt^hanakhfargata. ‘He, he is not refusing.’

rel.

kh-fargatisha v. caus.

rel. nom.

ma-fargato n. 6

farhaani

adj. [Ar. *farjhān* “merry, gay, cheerful” W 702] merry, gay, cheerful, happy

Abú/ teleze wakhtiwe/ kujariba khumfanya Omari/ farhaani. ‘Abu has wasted his time trying to please Omari.’

Haliima/ nii muke/ daa’imu/ farhaani. ‘Haliima is a woman always happy.’

Hamadi/ ni kana farhaani/ kuwako apo. ‘Hamadi seems happy to be here.’

Mi/ mbaliko farhaani/ mukhta Maryamu/ somelo chibuuku. [H!HH!H] ‘I was happy when Maryamu read the book.’ (Note that in this example, the usual downstep between the subject and the verb is observed in both clauses. The main intonational point to note here is that there is not a downstep between *farhaani* and *Maryamu*. There may sometimes be declination, but the subject of the *mukhta*-clause is not downstepped.)

Mukhta ye/ humziyaraḏo maamayé/ ye/ ni farhaani. ‘Whenever she visits her mother, she is happy.’

Waḵwaawo/ washfunga safari/ wachi’irudila kaawo/ wachi’iisha/ naawó/ farhaani. ‘They both set out on a journey and returned to their place and they lived in happiness.’

kh-fariḏa

v. [Ar. *faraḏa* W 705] prescribe a duty

Diini/ ya Islaamu/ ifariḏiile/ mweezi/ wa ramaḏaani/ khfungoowa. ‘The religion of Islam made it a duty for the month of Ramadhan to be fasted.’

- 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)
Chimnombe mojiitu/ kishfarija. 'Let us pray to God to make us successful.'
Humfarijo muunt^hu/ ni mojiitu. 'He who makes one succeed is God.'
ya Rabi Mooja kulla kheeri farija/ ilu ya muke wa Mtume Khadija [st.]
'Oh God extend all blessings onto the Prophet's wife Khadija' (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
- fariili* n. message
- fariina* n. 9/10 [Ital. *freno*] brakes
Hamadi/ hukooða/ sansa fariina. 'Hamadi talks without brakes (i.e. he just talks and talks).'
Sheekhuna/ shishile gaari/ fariina/ kaa nguvu/ chiiq!/ khariibu/ kumbiga muunt^hu. 'Sheekhuna pushed the car's brakes with force, **chiiq!** he almost hit a man.'
- kh-fariqa* v. [Ar. *faraqa* W 708] differentiate, 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].'
Hamadi/ nakuza zoomboze/ zont^he/ ka jimla/ zihaba/ na skulú/ nt^haku/ khfarikha zihaba/ na skulú. 'Hamadi is selling his things wholesale, small things and big, no separation of small and big.'
rel.
kh-fariqoowa v. pass. be differentiated
Iidi/ waant^hu/ wont^he/ hupowa idimbaarakaa/ sawa sawa/ hafarikhoowi/ waana/ na wazimá. 'During **iidi** all people are given **iidi** gifts equally, no difference between children and adults being made.'
- kh-farisha* v. eagerly plan to do s.t., hurry s.o. to do s.t., be eager (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.)
Abú/ nakhfarisha/ mweenzawe/ kuuya. 'Abu is eager for his friend to come.'
kh-farisha keendra 'to plan to go'
Omari/ nakhfarisha/ waawaye/ kuya ka Mkhodiisho/ kumletela zawaadi. 'Omari is having his father hurry to come from Mogadisho to bring him gifts.'
Omari/ shfarisha/ kumwonya Abú/ fajuura. 'Omari is eager to show Abu the car.'
Si/ chinakhfarishá/ wana wiitu/ khpata ilmu. 'We are eager for our children to get educated.'
- faarisi (ma-)* n. a Persian
Mafaarisi/ huhadoowa/ kuwa ni waant^hu/ magaasi. 'Persians are said to be brave people.'
rel.
i-faarisi (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
sh-faarisi (s-) n. 7/8 dim.

<i>farji</i>	n. [Ar.] vagina Farji/ ni karka mooyi/ owra/ muhimu/ yaa wake. ‘The vagina is one of the important private parts of women.’ Maazi/ ya hiiði/ huḷawa ka farjiini. ‘Menstrual blood comes from the vagina.’ Omari/ mṭilee muke/ ðakariye/ karka farji/ dhukh dhukh dhukh. ‘Omari inserted his penis into the woman’s vagina repeatedly dhukh dhukh dhukh.’
<i>farkeeta</i>	n. fork Chint^hu cha mwanaamke/ tindiḷilo namá/ iwaliko farketa. ‘The thing that the girl used to cut the meat was a fork.’ Skiizi/ waant^hu/ wa Mwiini/ wabaretee kuja/ ka farkeeta/ zamaani/ wachija ka mkono. ‘Nowadays people of Brava learn to eat with forks, in old times they used their hands.’ rel. <i>i-farkeeta</i> (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
<i>farmaajo</i>	n. [Som. <i>farmaajo</i> DSI 221, from Ital. <i>formaggio</i>] cheese Aamina/ waanawe/ fijiri/ khuraa’a/ huwapa rooti/ ka farmaajo. ‘Aamina, her children, in the morning for breakfast, she gives them bread and cheese.’ Farmaajo/ hufanyowa ka iziwa. ‘Cheese is made from milk.’ 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.’
<i>farmani</i>	n. a pole holding the sail, usually made of bamboo (= ikuri)
<i>farmiyeeri</i>	n. [Ital.] nurse Aba Aada/ waliko farmiyeeri/ wa kuzaalisha. ‘Aba Aada was a nurse (lit.) of delivery (i.e. in the delivery room).’ Farmiyeeri/ mbishile mwaana/ sindaanu/ tush! ‘The nurse injected the child with a needle tush!’ Spitaale/ ya Mwiini/ farmiyeeri/ wataano/ hufanyo kaazi. ‘Brava’s hospital, five nurses work (there).’ Ye/ koðele farmiyeeri/ tu. [HH!!H] ‘She only talked to the nurse (not to the doctor, for example).’
<i>kh-fariqa</i>	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.’
<i>farmachiya</i>	n. pharmacy Omari/ mwambile mwaanawe/ mara mooyi/ fanya fak! / endra farmachiyaani/ ka Mowlaana/ nuḷila aaspero/ chita/ chinakundraazó. ‘Omari told his son: at once, go fak! (i.e. run) to the pharmacy of Mowlaana and buy for me aspirin, my head is aching me.’
<i>farmiyeeri</i>	n. nursing Iyo/ yaliko mukhta mi/ nḥinzilo go’aani/ kingila farmiyeeri. ‘That was when I decided to go into nursing.’
<i>farqi</i>	n. difference variant: farqa Chambiloowa/ taambula/ ni ump^hi/ myaaya/ ni ump^hi/ mlungaana/ walawaanganye/ uje mlungaana/ na uje myaana/ 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/ sultaani.** ‘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 faqiri/ 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] furnishings; carpet; variant form: **firaashi**
Nuuru/ mulile mukeewe/ farshi/ suura/ mp^hiya. ‘Nuuru bought good new furniture for his wife.’
- farði* n. a duty, something required to be done
Khfungoowa/ ramaðani/ ni farði/ ka dini ya Islaamu. ‘To fast the month of Ramadhan is required by the religion of Islam.’
Omari/ fanyize farði/ ba/ kuya numbaani/ ka Hamadi/ kilaa fijiri/ kuna kahawa. ‘Omari made it a duty to come to Hamadi’s house every morning to drink coffee.’
- faaru* n. 9/10 [Sw. *faru* SSED 93] rhinoceros
Keenya/ hupatikana ngoombe/ za faaru/ Somaaliya/ nt^haziiko. ‘In Kenya, rhinos (lit. rhino cows) can be found, in Somalia there are none.’
- 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. (**farukhiile**) die; disappear from the world
khfarukha duniya ‘to leave the world – i.e. die’
Duniya/ iyi/ kilaa mooyi/ takhfaarukha/ nt^haku/ takhsaaló. ‘In this world every one will pass away, no one will remain.’ (A proverb.)
Hasani/ mbigilile Sheekhi/ telefono/ mwambiile/ Nuuru/ farukhiile/ duniya. ‘Hasani made a call to Sheekhi and told him that Nuuru passed away.’
Kilaa muunt^hu/ takhfaarukha/ duniya/ nt^haku/ takhsaaló/ shó/ kuwa mojiitu/ ndiyé/ takuwo baakhí. ‘Everyone will leave the world, no one will remain, except God, it is him who will remain forever.’
- 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

variant form: *fasiha*

Hasani/ hadiile/ mwana wa Omari/ ni fasaadi/ nakhsuḷa ku'adabishoowa. 'Hasani said Omari's child is someone who behaves badly and needs to be disciplined'

munt^hu fasaadi 'a scandalous person'

rel.

u-fasaadi n. vice, corruption; act of spoiling, corrupting

variant form: *ufasiha*

Huseeni/ mwambile Nuuru/ we/ jawaabu/ za ufasaadi/ laṭa/ mtiye moojó. 'Huseeni told Nuuru, you, quit doing bad things, fear your God.'

Karka nt^hi za chi'aafrika/ ufasaadi/ uzidiile/ na rashwá/ iwele ni aada/ na iyi inakuleetó/ ni kuwa kuḷa nakhtawalo zimaamú/ za nt^hi mooyi/ nt^hanakhfikirila/ 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. *faṣāha* W 715] eloquence

khkoḍa ka fasaaha 'to speak eloquently'

rel.

u-fasaaha n. 14 eloquence

Muunt^hu/ shkoḍa ka ufasaaha/ kilaa mo/ humtaambula. 'If one speaks clearly, everyone understands him.'

Shekh Madaa Sheekhi/ waliko sheekhi/ fasaaha/ sowṭiye/ shfungula mihiraaji/ Mwiini/ zamaani/ ka ufasaaha. 'Sheekhu Madaa Sheekhi was a very eloquent scholar in his voice, he used to explain *mihiraaji* in the old times in Brava with clearness and eloquency.'

kh-fasaha

v. (fasahiile) permit, allow

Abú/ mfasahile mwaanawe/ kendra Mwiini. 'Abu permitted his son to go to Brava.'

Khaanuuni/ hufasaha wabli/ tu/ kuwaako. 'The rules permit only men to be present.'

Si/ hachiwafasahi/ waana/ khteza ndilaani. 'We won't permit children playing in the street.'

rel.

kh-fasahoowa v. pass.

Si/ nt^hashkufasahoowa/ khkoḍa. 'We were not permitted to speak.'

fasaleeta

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-*)

fasaleeta iyi 'this scarf'; **fasaleeta izi** 'these scarves'

Fasaleeta/ ya Tuuma/ finishiloo chitá/ nii mp^hiya. 'The scarf that Tuuma put over her head is new.'

Mpangile maana/ mapula/ ka fasaleeta. 'He wiped the mucous from the child's nose with a handkerchief.'

Tuuma/ finishile fasaleeta/ chitaani. 'Tuuma covered her head with a scarf.'

rel.

i-fasaleeta (*mi-*) n. aug. or derogatory

Ifasaleeta gani/ iyo. 'What kind of a scarf is that one (i.e. deriding it)?'

Mifasaleeta ayo/ miwovu. 'Those scarves are bad.'

Mifasaleeta gani/ aya. 'What kind of scarves are these (i.e. deriding the scarves for their ugliness or poor quality).'

sh-fasaleeta (*s-*) n. 7/8 dim.

fasali

n. [Som. *fasal* DSI 223] season; harvest

Fasali iyi/ miyuundra/ yabakheete. ‘This season farms did not bear crops.’

Fasali iyi/ ndaa gele/ na moordi. ‘This is the season of maize and sorghum.’

confirm I

fash ideo. [Som. *fash* “to splurt out, sprinkle”, cited in Dhoorre & Tosco, p. 142]
Hamadi/ chisu/ chimtiinzile chaala/ maazi/ yalaziló/ fash. ‘Hamadi’s knife cut his finger, blood came out *fash!*’
Hamadi/ chisu/ chimtiinzile/ yamlazile maazi/ fash! ‘the knife cut Hamadi, blood spurted out from him *fash!*’
Hamadi/ mta(w)anyilize maayi/ Omari/ usooni/ fash! ‘Hamadi spit water into Omari’s face *fash!*’

faasha n. [Ital. *fascia*] bandage
Omari/ mwaanawe/ itupa/ imtiinzile/ peshela spitaleeni/ zubila faasha. ‘A bottle cut Omari’s child, he was taken to the hospital and bandaged.’

rel.
i-faasha n.

faashili adj. [Ar. *faasil* W 714] failure
Huseeni/ hadiile/ mwaka uyu/ kaazi/ faashili/ shkhasareete. ‘Huseeni said that this year work failed, we lost (money).’
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 n.
Sheekhi/ jisaa ye/ namlindro Omari/ masa’a/ na masa’á/ haṭá/ fashini/ imkuushile/ haṭá/ yokelele. ‘Sheekhi, the way he waits for Omari for hours and hours until he got very tired and left.’

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.
Tayiibu/ hafashiriki/ ka waant^hu. ‘Tayiibu 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/ wafashirilile 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’
- fashuuq* ideo. of squeezing
Haliima/ nakumira ndriimu/ maayi/ fashuuq!/ nakhfanya sparamuoto.
‘Haliima is squeezing out the (lit.) water of the citrus fruit, *fashuuq!* she is making grapefruit juice.’ (We have not established the contrastive prosodic patterns in ideophones and thus have omitted omitted pitch markings. In the case of this example, *fashuuq!* was pronounced with a relatively low pitched initial syllable and a level raised pitch on the second syllable: [fashúúq!]. The ideophone is in general raised in pitch and is not in a phonological phrase with either the word following or the word preceding.)
- kh-fasikha* v. [Ar. *fasika* ‘to be revokes, invalidated, dissolved” W 712] (**fasikhiile**) ask for divorce (of a woman from a man)
Muke/ mfasikhile muhjiwe. ‘The woman asked for divorce from her husband.’
- 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/ fasiriile darsi. ‘Ali explained the lesson.’
Baana/ fasiriile hadiithi. ‘Bana translated the sayings of Mohammad.’
Muunt^hu/ mpete mwaalimu/ shfasira darsi. ‘The man found the teacher explaining a lesson.’
Nfasiriililé/ mí/ nt^ho. ‘I explained fully.’
Nuuru/ fasiriile darsi. ‘Nuuru explained, interpreted the lesson.’
Want^hu awa/ zihaba/ wafasiriile ruhu zaawo. ‘These young people have explained themselves.’
- rel.
kh-fasirika v. p/s. be translatable
Khasida iyi/ hayfasiriki. ‘This poem isn’t translatable.’
- kh-fasirikila* v. p/s. appl.
Khasida iyi/ imfasirikilile Ali/ ka sahali. ‘This poem translates easily for Ali.’
Khasida 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’aða ya Hamadi/ kunfasiriilaa mi/ zombo izo. ‘I lost interest after Hamadi explained to me those things.’
Suufi/ mfasiriile Hasani/ qasida iyi. ‘Suufi translated this poem for Hasani.’
- kh-fasiriilika* v. appl. p/s.
Omari/ hafasiriiliki/ khasida iyi. ‘Omari is unable to translate this poem.’
- kh-fasirisha* v. caus.
Nuuru/ mfasirishize 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/ mtılıle Iisa/ mwaana/ khfasira darsi.** ‘Ali had Iisa’s child explain the lesson.)

kh-fasirishlizanya 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/ watılılene 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

m-fasiri (wa-)

n. 1/2 translator

faslı

n. 9/10 [Ar. *fasl* ‘class, grade, season’ W 715] class (in school), season; comma

faslı iyi ‘this class’; **faslı izi** ‘these classes’

Faslı iyi/ nda chingereenza. ‘This class is an English class.’

faslı ya chingereenza ‘an English class’

faslı ya filaali ‘summer season’

Faslı niingi/ h-anza sa’aa n-t^hatu/ fijiri. ‘Many classes begin at 9 am.’

Omari/ umo faslıini. ‘Omari is in class.’

We/ teeté/ faslı ya chingereenza. ‘You took the English class.’ Cf. **We/ teeté/ faslı ya chingereenza?** ‘Did you take the English class?’

fasri

n. (cf. *kh-fasira*) poetic translation, explanation

ni sahali kiiwa aya mishtari / 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/ fát fát fát. ‘The porridge is boiling, (it is saying) **fat fat fat.**’

faṭaaha

n. 9 [Sw. SSED 93; Ar. *faatıha* W 694] the first chapter of the Quran; reward

khsoma faṭaaha ‘to read *faatıha*, the first chapter of the Quran’

ya ne ni khsoma faṭaaha ka bismala ‘the fourth [requirement] is to read the *faatıha* along with its *bismala*, the first verse of the chapter’

khsomowa faṭaaha for *faatıhato* to be read’

Isomela faṭaaha. ‘*Faṭaaha* was read.’

khtala faṭaaha ‘to accept a decision’ (The *faatıha* is read when a decision on some matter is accepted.)

Mi/ nt^heeeté/ faṭahayo. ‘I accepted your decision.’

khtilowa faṭaaha ‘for *faṭaaha* to be read’

khtila faṭaaha ‘to read *faatıha*’

kubiga faṭaaha ‘to read *faṭaaha*, the first chapter of the Quran’

kubigowa faṭaaha ‘for *faatıha* to be read’

Hamadi/ na Omari/ yingile khilaafu/ kati kaawo/ wazeele/ wa’ingiiló/ i-bishila faṭaaha /wapatanishiize. ‘Hamadi and Omari had arguments/disputes, elders got in the middle and read *faatıha* and they were reconciled.’

Ka Hamadi/ numbaani/ isomelaa du’a/ ibishila faṭaaha. ‘At Hamadi’s house *du’a* was read and *faatıha* was read.’

Qur’aani/ hanzowa ka faṭaaha. ‘The Quran begins with *faatıha*.’

We/ chuza zint^hu izi/ ka himaahima/ takhpowa faṭahayo. ‘If you sell these things quickly, you will be given [lit. your] a reward.’

<i>faṭaali</i>	adj. [Som. <i>fataal</i> “procurer, pimp” DSI 224] s.o. who is a rogue, a rascal
<i>kh-faṭama</i>	v. (faṭeeme) hide Chishkila/ cheendra/ shfaṭama ka mahala. ‘He climbed down and went and hid someplace.’ Faṭeme ihandakhiini. ‘He hid in a trench.’ Faatiima/ namfaṭama 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/ namfaṭama Nuurú! ? The shift in the VP is obligatory, but there appears to be variation with respect to whether the initial subject exhibits accent-shift.) Mi/ nfaṭeme chinume cha faṭuurá. ‘I hid behind the car.’ Omari/ faṭeme iboholiini. ‘Omari hid in a hole.’ Omari/ faṭeme mtanaani. ‘Omari hid in the room.’ waaliko shfaṭeeme ndraani ya mivuungu [nt.] ‘we hid under beds’ rel. <i>kh-faṭamoowa</i> v. pass. Faṭuura/ ifaṭema chinumeche. ‘The car was hid behind it.’
<i>faṭaani</i>	adj. s.o. who creates discord (= <i>mwenye fit(i)ni</i>), e.g. by informing someone about what another person said about him etc. variant form: fattaani [Ar. <i>fattān</i> W 696] munt^hu faṭaani, want^hu (ma)faṭaani (cf. agreement in the case of derived diminutive and augmentative nouns: chijint^hu shfaṭaani, zijint^hu sfaṭaani, ijint^hu ifaṭaani, mijint^hu mifaṭaani)
<i>Faatiima</i>	n. the daughter of Mohammad
<i>faṭiini</i>	adj. [Ar. <i>fatīn</i> “clever, smart, bright, intelligent” W 720] smart, intelligent munt^hu faṭiini ‘s.o. smart, with a good clear mind’
	review the meaning of this word
<i>kh-faṭisha</i>	v. [Sw. <i>fatisha</i> SSED 93; Ar. <i>fatasša</i> W 694] (faṭishiize) inspect, investigate variant form: kh-fitisha faṭisha ma’anaye [song] ‘explain its meaning’ lata khfaṭisha chizapo takhkufura [st.] ‘leave off investigating (such things) or else you will lose your faith’ Sultaani/ chishikowa shtanaa nt^ho/ chiwavila askarize/ chizaambila/ olokaani/ faṭishaani/ mp^haandre/ zotte/ za nt^hiya/ mmereeni/ mgeeni/ uyu/ inakuhadowa kuwa nub^hlele ngoombeza. ‘The sultan got very angry and called his soldiers and told them: search thoroughly all sides of my kingdom and look for this stranger who is said to have killed my cattle on me.’ rel. <i>kh-faṭishafaṭisha</i> v. freq. Shfaṭishafaṭisha teena. ‘He rummaged some more.’ Sku mooyi/ naa ye/ nakhfaṭishofaṭishoo nt^haká... ‘One day while he was rummaging through the garbage...’ <i>kh-faṭishana</i> v. rec. <i>kh-faṭishiliza</i> v. appl. (faṭishiliize) rel. nom. <i>m-faṭisha</i> (wa-) n. 1/2 <i>m-faṭisho</i> (mi-) n. 3/4 act of searching, inspecting <i>u-faṭisho</i> n. 14 <i>m-fitisho</i> (mi-) n. 3/4 act of inspecting
<i>faṭuura</i>	n. 9/10 [Ital. <i>vettura</i> “car”] motor car Abubakari/ ile Mwiini/ ka faṭuura. ‘Abubakari came to Brava by car.’

Fatuura/ fanyizeeyi. ‘The car, what did you do to it (lit. how did you do it)? Or: **Fatuura/ fanyiizeni.** ‘The car, what did you do to it?’ A possible answer to both these questions: **Mp^hashile ranji.** ‘I painted (it).’

Fatuura gani/ we/ weenó. ‘Which car did you see?’ (A possible answer to this question would be: **Mbene fatuura ya Omari.** ‘I saw Omari’s car.’ Or another answer: **Mbene Omari/ fatuurayé.** ‘I saw Omari, his car.’)

fatuuraa nk^hulu ‘large car/s’

Fatuura ya waawaye/ ni chihaba/ na ni nyulusi. ‘My father’s car is small and black.’

iyó fatuuraa nk^hulu ‘that large car’

Ka fatuura/ Abubakari/ ilo Miini. ‘By car Abubakari came to Brava.’

Mbene fatuura ya Omari. ‘I saw Omari’s car.’ Or: **Mbeené/ fatuura ya Omari.** ‘I saw Omari’s car.’

Mi/ hupenda fatuura nelpe. ‘I like white cars.’

Mi/ nuzile fatuurá. ‘I bought a car.’

Mi/ speendi/ fatuura nyulusi. ‘I don’t like black cars.’

Mtomele mwaana/ ka fatuuraani. ‘He took the child from the car.’

Nuuru/ uzile fatuura. ‘Nuuru bought a car.’ Cf. **Mi/ nuzile fatuurá.** ‘I bought a car.’

Nuuru/ uzile fatuuraa nk^hulu. ‘Nuuru bought the large car.’ Cf. **Mi/ nuzile fatuuraa nk^hulú.** ‘I bought the large car.’ (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 fatuurá/ nk^hulu. ‘I bought a large car.’ Cf. **Nuzile fatuuraa nk^hulú.** ‘I bought the large car.’ Or: **Nuzile iyo fatuuraa nk^hulú.** ‘I bought that large car.’ (The second example, with definite phrasing, answers a question like: **Fatuura gani/ Nuuru/ uziló.** ‘Which car did Nuuru buy?’)

Nuzile fatuura ya Aziizi. ‘I bought Aziizi’s car.’

Nuzile fatuura (y)a mana (w)a Omari/ mp^hiyá. ‘I bought Omari’s son’s new car.’

Omari/ mulile mwaanawe/ fatuura. ‘Omari bought a car for his son.’

Osmaani/ uzile fatuura ya gani. ‘Which car did Osmaani buy?’

Osmaani/ uzile fatuura ya naani. ‘Whose car did Osmaani buy?’

Uzile fatuura/ nk^hulu. ‘He bought a large car.’ Cf. **Uzile fatuuraa nk^hulu.** ‘He bought the large car.’ (The yes-no question versions of these two sentences contrast. In the first case, the adjective undergoes accent-shift: **Uzile fatuura/ nk^hulú?** No shifting occurs in the second case: **Uzile fatuuraa nk^hulu?**)

rel.

i-fatuura (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

sh-fatuura (s-) n. 7/8 dim.

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.’

Faayda/ ha’ipatoowi/ kilaa muunt^hi. ‘Profit is not gotten every day.’ (A proverbial saying.)

Ma’anaye/ simt^hafsirilé/ 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 chiloongole khfaanya ibaada/ karka amali njeema yiimo faa’ida [st.] ‘O God, guide us onto the path of worship/ there is benefit in observing proper conduct’ [SCB 556]

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’

Muunt^hu/ mara mo/ shkhasaarata/ mara mo/ hupata faayda. ‘If one suffers a loss

once, one benefit's once.' (A proverbial saying.)

Nini/ faayda/ ya muunt^hu/ kuwanayo 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/ khuwelelaa 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. *faayda* W 734]

rel.

kh-faydishiliza v. appl.

Nasiibu/ naayó/ laakini/ hafaydishilizi. 'Good fortune, he has, but he does not benefit from it (i.e. he does not take advantage of his good luck).' (A proverbial saying.)

Wawili/ wachiilaana/ wataatu/ hufaydishilizo. 'If two fight, the third benefits from it.' (A proverbial saying.)

faydaani

n, [Ar. *fayadān* W 735]

fayluzi

n. [Ar. *fālūdaj* "a sweet made of flour and honey" W 692] custard (a synonym of **faaluuta**)

faza'a

n.

qalbiya faza'a na neefu hundüüqa [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'ete/ walá/ nt^hanakiwa/ nini/ impeetó. '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/ nfungulila 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/ kubooleke/ peesa/ ka sarkali/ namfaza'isha waawaye. 'Simba's having stolen money from the government is frightening his father.'

feða

n. 9/10 [Sw. *fedha* SSED 93; Ar. *fidða* "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 **feða**. 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 **feða**, there is no lengthening: **feðaya** 'my money'.)

Hufula ðahabu/ na feða. 'He forges gold and silver.'

Huseeni/ shtomola/ feða/ chiwapa. 'Huseeni took out the money and gave it

to them.'

Khkooða/ ni feða/ kumaamala/ ðahabu. 'To speak is silver, to keep quiet is gold.' (A proverb.)

kuweka feða 'to save money'

Ali/ fanyize kaazi/ miingi/ weshele feða. 'Ali did a lot of work and saved money.'

Itaki la feða 'a silver necklace'

Nazo feða. 'He has money.'

Nnakhsula markabú/ ya ðahabú/ milongoŕiye/ ya feða/ mitaangaye/ ya hariiri. 'I want a ship of gold, its masts of silver, its sails of silk.'

Nt^hakendra ka waawe/ kumwaambila/ namp^he feḏa/ 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. *fadhaha* and noun *fadhā* W 717] (**feḏehēele**) 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-feḏehēka v. p/s. (**feḏeheshēle**) have one’s wrongdoings revealed
variant form: **kufeḏehēkeka (feḏehēkeshēle)**
We/ chiza kuḷaṭa jawabu izo/ takhfeḏehēka. ‘If you do not leave off (doing) those things, you will be shamed.’
kh-feḏehēkoowa v. p/s. pass.
We/ chiza kuḷaṭa jawabu izo/ itakhfeḏehēkoowa. ‘If you do not stop (lit. leave) doing those things, you will be shamed, dishonored.’
kh-feḏehēla v. appl.
Sinfeḏehelé/ mweenzawa. ‘Don’t reveal [on me] the wrongdoings of my friend.’
kh-feḏehēsha 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-feḏeheshēka v. caus. p/s.
kh-feḏeheshēleza v. caus. appl.
kh-feḏeheshēlezanya v. caus. appl. rec.

feḷi

n. 9/10,6 line; file
Chiṭa/ weshelee feḷi/ za zamaani/ mṭanaani. ‘The chief kept old files inside the room.’
Feḷi/ ndre. ‘The line is very long.’
Feḷi iyi/ nda Hamadi. ‘This file belongs to Hamadi.’
Feḷi izi/ nza hafisaani. ‘These files belong to the office, are related to the office.’
Feḷi izi/ nza skolaani. ‘These files belong to the school, are school-related.’
Feḷi izi/ nza wanaaskoola. ‘These files belong to the students, are student files.’
Omari/ simeme feḷiini. ‘Omari stood in line.’ Or: **Omari/ simeme karka feḷi.**
Omari/ tukile feḷi/ nk^hulu. ‘Omari carried a large file.’
Omari/ tukile mafeḷi/ makulu. ‘Omari carried large files.’
Ustaadi/ lesele feḷi/ ya waana. ‘The teacher brought the file of the children.’
rel.
mi-feḷi n. 4 aug.
Omari/ tukile mifeḷi/ mikulu. ‘Omari carried large files.’

s-feḷi

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 sfeḷi. ‘Tonight there is the competition.’
Sfeḷi/ yana masku/ shiinziló/ Albamba. ‘Albamba won the competition last night.’

m-feleji (mi-)

n. 3/4 [Sw. *feleji* “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.’

Hamadi/ nt^hamwona/ mweenzawe/ festaani. ‘Hamadi did not see his friend at the party.’ (The simple yes-no question: **Hamadi/ nt^hamwona/ mweenzawe/ festaani?** Notice that the complement following the negative verb does not undergo Accent Shift, while the locative noun does.)

Hamadi/ nt^hamwona/ Omari/ walá/ Huseeni/ festaani. ‘Hamadi did not see either Omari or Huseeni at the party.’

Hupeenda/ kuwaa mi/ mbaalikó/ festaani. ‘I wish that I had been at the party.’

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.’

Ni yakhiini/ kuwa Hamadi/ waliko festaani. ‘It is certain that Hamadi was at the party.’

Nikumerelelé/ 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.’

Ye/ fanyize ruuhuye/ kuwa waliko festaani. ‘He pretended to have been at the party.’

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.’

fi’ili

n. 9/10 [Sw. *fiili* SSED 95 ; Ar. *fi’l* ‘action, doing, work’ W 721] verb (in grammar); action, deed; variant form: **fi’li**
Fi’ili/ ya kheeri/ ha’irudoowi/ numa. ‘Good deeds are not (i.e. should not be) delayed; you should do them quickly.’
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.’
Walaaliwo/ chiza khadira kumsayda ka fi’li/ msayde kaa kana. ‘If you cannot help your brother with actions, help him with words (lit. the mouth).’ (A proverb.)
Yaliko waaḏehe/ ka kooḏize/ kuwa Fardoosa/ nt^hakhiira/ fi’ili/ za Baazi. ‘It was clear from her comments that Fardoosa did not approve of Baazi’s actions.’

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 huḡindoowa [st.] ‘otherwise a goat is slaughtered as sacrifice’
khṭomola fidya ‘to make a sacrifice’
Muunt^hu/ chilapa/ chiza khfuulisha/ laazimu/ khṭomola 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/ shkoḏa wanaafakhi/ huṭomola fidya. ‘If someone tells a lie, he must make a sacrifice (to appease God).’
kuḷatowa 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.’
kumḷata fidya ‘to let someone be free to do what he wants’
Mzele Omari/ waḷasile 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’
kulata fidya ‘to put at the disposal of everyone; outcast someone’
- kh-fiigata** v. [Som. *fiig* DSI 228] (**figeete**) 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/ wáanthu/ humfiigata. ‘Omari, as his appearance is so ugly, people even flee from him.’
Waana/ wamfigeete/ Omari. ‘The children fled from Omari.’
rel.
kh-figatila v. appl. [pron. -**figatila**]
Mi/ nfigatilile 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/ hatá/ hufigatoowa. ‘Omari, as his appearance 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 waanthu. ‘Omari’s actions cause people to flee.’
- fija** n. [Sw. *figa* SSED 95] a local stove -- a clay bowl-shaped container with three supports
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)
variant: **fijri**
chakuja cha fijiri ‘breakfast’
Njile chakuja cha fijiri. ‘I ate breakfast.’
Chija/ chilaala/ hatá/ fijiri. ‘He ate, he slept until morning.’
Fijiri/ bakayle/ chimwambila ndiiwa/ 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/ mubli/ chimwambila mukeewe/ mi/ nnakendra kaziini. ‘In the

morning, the husband told his wife, I am going to work.’
Fijiri mukhtaaya ye/ ondroshele ka usinziziini/ oloshela ka waawaye. ‘In the morning, when he awoke from sleep, he went to his father.’

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’uku/ chilindra fijiri ya kaandra/ khpata kuwiika/ kondrola waant’u. ‘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 waawaye. ‘Today this morning I entered the room of his father.’

Masku ayo/ kaleent’he/ kaa muke/ fijiriye/ cheendra/ shpandra teena/ uje mloongoti/ 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’u 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/ oloshela fijiri/ tukile chibuuku.** ‘The child left in the morning and carried the books.’)

Ningile mtanaani/ ka waawaye/ 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 mwaana/ 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.’

Sala ya fijiri/ inayo raka’aa mbili. ‘The morning prayer has two raka’a.’

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, choose to do; (idiom.) look depressed

Alfaani/ fikiriile/ kuwa ipakacha/ itakihitajoowa/ kumtukulila sultani waa noka/

mukhta wo/ waṭamshiikó. ‘Alfaani thought that a basket would be needed to carry the king of snakes in when they siezed him.’

Ali/ fikirile koloka kahima. ‘Ali decided to go quickly.’

Ali/ chiwonoowa/ 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/ mukhta mp^h aka/ 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].’

Ndrata/ 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**.)

Nfikiriile/ chibuuku/ kumpa Nuuru. ‘I thought,decided a book to give to Nuuru.’

Nfikiriile/ Nuuru/ khpoowa/ chibuuku. ‘I chose Nuuru to be given a book.’

Nshfikiriile/ chibuuku/ khpoowa/ Nuuru. ‘I chose it the book for Nuuru to be given it.’ Or: **Nshfikiriile/ Nuuru/ khpoowa/ chibuuku.** Or: **Nshfikiriile/ Nuuru/ khpoowa/ chibuuku.** Or: **Nshfikiriile/ khpoowa/ chibuuku/ Nuuru.** Or: **Nshfikiriile/ chibuuku/ Nuuru/ khpoowa.** **Nshfikiriile/ chibuuku/ khpoowa/ Nuuru.** **Nshfikiriile/ Nuuru/ chibuuku/ khpoowa.**

Nimfikirile^f Nuuru/ kumpa chibuuku. ‘I chose Nuuru to give him a book.’ Or: **Nimfikirile kumpa Nuuru/ chibuuku.** ‘I decided him to give him a book.’

Nshfikiriile/ chibuuku/ kumpa Nuuru. ‘I decided, chose it the book to give to Nuuru.’ Or: **Chibuuku/ kumpa Nuuru/ nshfikiriile.** ‘The book to give to Nuuru I chose it.’ Or: **Nshfikiriile/ kumpa Nuuru/ chibuuku.**

Nṭ^hasa yaa we/ khfaanya/ fikira. ‘Think before you do.’ (A proverb.)

Omari/ chiza kujiba telefoono / inamtila khfikira. ‘Omari not to answer the telephone makes Haliima think (worries her).’

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 aḍabu 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.’

Ye/ hakhaadiri/ khfikira/ khsooma/ tu. [HHHH!!H] ‘She was just not able to concentrate enough to read.’

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.’

Mi/ nakhtarajá/ we/ khfikiriḷa jawabu iyi/ mara yīingine. ‘I hope that you will think this matter over (lit. another time).’

Mi/ takhfikiriḷa/ kuya keesho. ‘I will consider coming tomorrow.’

Nt^h akhfikiriḷa/ ruuhuye. ‘He did not think of himself.’

Wo/ hawamfikirili/ muunt^hu. ‘They do not have respect for anyone.’

kh-fikiriloowa v. pass. (**fikiriiḷa**) de decided, chosen

Chibuuku/ shfikiriḷa/ khpowa Nuuru. ‘The book was chosen for Nuuru to be given.’ Or: **shfikiriḷa/ chibuuku/ Nuuru/ khpoowa.**

kh-fikirisha v. caus. (**-fikirishiize**)

Ali/ mfikirishize mwaana. ‘Ali caused the child to think.’ (The periphrastic version of this sentence is: **Ali/ mtile mwaana/ khfikira.** ‘Ali induced (lit. put in) the child to think.’)

Khutbaye/ infikirishiize. ‘His speech made me think.’

kh-fikirishan(y)a v. caus. rec.

kh-fikirishika v. caus. p/s.

kh-fikirishiliza v. caus. appl.

Ali/ mfikirishilize Iisa/ mwaana. ‘Ali caused Iisa’s child to think.’ (The periphrastic version: **Ali/ mtiiḷe Iisa/ mwaana/ khfikira.** ‘Ali induced for Iisa (his) child to think.’)

kh-fikirihilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. (**wa-fikirishilizeenye**)

Ali/ na Nuuru/ wafikirishilizenye waana. ‘Ali and Nuuru caused for one another their children to think.’ (A periphrastic version: **Ali/ na Nuuru/ watiḷene waana/ khfikira.** ‘Ali and Nuuru induced for one another their children to think.’)

fikiri

n. [Ar. *fikr* W 724] thought, worrying; var. **fikri**

Chimwaambila/ si/ chinayo fikiri gani/ ambó/ waawé/ nayo fikiri gani/ zaa ye/ kujiiḷaa 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/ nakhukorshenze 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.’

Sababu yaa ye/ iḷiḷo apá/ inakunt^hila fikiri. ‘The reason she came here worries me.’

Waliko muunt^hu/ wenye akhli/ fikiri/ na maalí. ‘There was a man having intelligence, thoughtfulness, and wealth.’

fikra

n. [Ar. *fikra* W 724] thought, idea, notion, concept

Haliima/ ni muṭa’asifu/ na fikra/ ya kuḷawa Mwiini. ‘Haliima is very sad at the idea of leaving Brava.’

jawaabu/ za fikra ‘matters that encompass concepts, i.e. meaningful matters’

Nayo fikra mwaapé. ‘Do you have any opinion, thought?’

Shpe fikra/ tumbura/ nini. ‘Give us an idea/notion what is **tumbura**.’

fiḷa

n. evil

Liḷa/ naa fiḷá/ hazidangamani. ‘Good and evil do not mix.’ (A proverb.)

fiḷaari

n. [Som. *fallaar* DSI 215] arrow

Fakeṭe kama fiḷaari. ‘He ran like an arrow (i.e. fast).’

fiḷhaali

adv. [Ar. expression *fi’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-filaṭa

v. [Som. verb *fil* and *filid* “to believe, think” DSI 229-30] expect (The form **kh-filaṭila** can be used in the same sense **kh-filaṭa**.)

Menye/ nakhfilaṭa kooloka. ‘Menye/ expects to go’

Menye/ nakhfilaṭa mwaana/ kooloka. ‘Menye/ expects the child to go’

Menye/ nakhfilaṭa mwaana/ tu/ kooloka. ‘Menye expects only the child to go.’ (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/ nakhfilaṭo kooloká. ‘Only Menye expects to go.’

Menye/ tu/ nakhfilaṭo mwaaná/ kooloká. ‘Only Menye expects the child to go.’

Nnakhfilaṭa kula faṭuurá. ‘I expect to buy a car.’ Or: **Nnakhfilaṭa faṭuurá/ kuulá.** ‘I expect a car to buy.’ Or: **Nnaki’ifilaṭa faṭuurá/ kuulá.** ‘I expect it a car to buy.’

Nnakhfilaṭa kuwa Fariidá/ takhpita imṭihaani. ‘I expect that Fariida will pass the examination.’ Or, with emphasis on the main verb: **Nnakhfilaṭá/ Fariida/ kuwa takhpita imṭihaani.** Or, with emphasis on the subject of the embedded sentence: **Nnakhfilaṭa kuwa Fariidá/ takhpita imṭihaani.**

(Notice that we say “emphasis” on the subject, *not* focus. The fact about this pronunciation that must be explained is that the final accent triggered by the main verb does not extend past *Fariida*. This would be explained either by *Fariida* being emphasized or focused. But if *Fariida* were focused, then it would require the following verb to be in pseudo-relative form. The verb is not, however, in such a form and therefore we know that *Fariida* is emphasized and not focused.)

Nnakhfilaṭa Nuurú/ kula faṭuurá. ‘I expect Nuuru to buy a car.’ Or: **Nnakhfilaṭá/ Nuuru/ kula faṭuura.** ‘I expect Nuuru to buy a car.’ Or: **Namfilaṭa Nuurú/ kula faṭuurá.** ‘I expect him Nuuru to buy a car.’ (Note that as long as *Nuuru* follows the main verb, only it can control an OM on the verb, not *faṭuura*. Thus the ungrammaticality of ***Nnaki’ifilaṭa Nuurú/ kula faṭuurá.**, as well as: ***Nnaki’ifilaṭa Nuurú/ faṭuurá/ kuulá.** Only if *faṭuura* is brought into position after the verb can the verb bear an OM agreeing with it: **Nnaki’ifilaṭa faṭuurá/ Nuurú/ kuulá.** ‘I expect it a car for Nuuru to buy.’ If *faṭuura* is promoted by passivization of the lower clause, it also may control an OM on the verb: **Nnaki’ifilaṭa faṭuurá/ kuḷoowá.** ‘I expect a car to be bought.’

rel.

kh-filaṭiloowa v. pass. (**filaṭiḷiila**) to be expected

Ra’iisi/ nakhfilaṭiloowa/ khfaanya/ mukaaṭaba. ‘The president is not expected to make an agreement.’

Zibateera/ hasfilaṭiloowi/ kulawa salaama. ‘Little boats are not expected to escape safely.’

kh-filaṭila v. (**filaṭiḷiile**) expect

Nfilaṭiḷiile keendrá. ‘I expected to go.’

Nfilaṭiḷiile kuwa Hamadí/ mkonó/ umfuriiḷé. ‘I expected that Hamadí’s arm would swell up.’ (Cf. the accent in the main clause sentence:

Hamadi/ mkono/ umfuriile. ‘Hamadi’s arm swelled.’ The final accents in the example sentence are projected from the first person past tense main clause verb.)

Nfilatīlile kuwa Nuuru/ takuleta chaakujá. ‘I expected that Nuuru would bring food.’

Nfilatīlile kuwa Nuuru/ takuuyá. ‘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.)

Nfilatīlile Nuuru/ kuleta chaakujá. ‘I expected Nuuru to bring food.’

Nfilatīlile Nuuru/ kuuyá. ‘I expected Nuuru to come.’ Or: **Nimfilatīlile 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.)

Nnakhfilatīlá/ Fariida/ kuwa takhpita imtihaani. ‘I expect Fariida that she will pass the examination.’ Or: **Nnakhfilatīla Fariidá/ kuwa takhpita imtihaani.** ‘I expect Fariida that she will pass the examination.’ Or: **Nnakhfilatīla Fariidá/ 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: ***Nnakhfilatīla Fariidá/ kuwa takhpitá/ imtihaani.**)

***Nuuru/ (m)filatīlile Hasani/ na’oloke.** ‘Nuuru expected Hasani that he go.’ (Observe that the verb ‘expect’ does not permit a subjunctive sentential complement.)

Omari/ filatīlile kuwa waawaye/ takuraaga. ‘Omari expected that his father would be late.’

Omari/ filatīlile kuwa waawaye/ tamshindra Huseeni/ tu. ‘Omari expected that his father would beat only Huseeni.’

Omari/ filatīlile kuwa waawaye/ tu/ takuraagó. ‘Omari expected that only his father would be late.’

Omari/ filatīlile kuwa waawaye/ tu/ takuuyó/ keesho. ‘Omari expected that only his father would come tomorrow.’

Omari/ filatīlile kuwa waawaye/ tu/ tamshiindró/ Huseeni. ‘Omari expected that only his father would beat Huseeni.’

Omari/ tu/ filatīlilo kuwa poliisi/ takuwashika wiizi. ‘Only Omari expected that the police would arrest the thieves.’

Omari/ tu/ filatīliló/ kuwa poliisi/ takuwashiika/ wiizi. ‘Only Omari expected that the police would arrest the thieves.’

Omari/ tu/ nakhfilatīlo ma’askari/ khkoma Mwiini/ masku ayá. ‘Only Omari expects the soldiers to reach Brava by this evening.’ With emphasis on the main verb: **Omari/ tu/ nakhfilatīliló/ ma’askari/ khkoma Mwiini/ masku aya.**

Pashpo khfilatīla/ Baana/ nandikishizee khati. ‘Unexpectedly, Baana made me write a letter.’ Cf. **Baana/ nandikishizee khati/ pashpoo mi/ khfilatīla.** ‘Baana made me write a letter without my expecting (it).’

Sfilatīlé/ khpita imtihaani. ‘Don’t expect to pass the examination!’

Si/ shfilatīlilé/ Nuuru/ kulawa/ muyiini. ‘We expected Nuuru to leave Town.’

Wafilatīlile Nuuru/ kuuya. ‘They expected Nuuru to come.’ Or:

Wamfilatīlile Nuuru/ kuuya.

Wo/ wanakhfilatīla Fariida/ kuwa takhpita/ imtihaani. ‘They expect Fariida to pass the examination.’

kh-filatīloowa v. appl. pass. (-*filatīlila*) be expected

Bay/ filatīlīla keendra. ‘Bay was expected to go.’
Chaakuja/ shfilatīlīla kuviva kahima. ‘The food was expected to cook quickly.’
Hasani/ kolokake/ ifilatīlīla. ‘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/ mfilatīlīle Hasani/ kolokake. ‘Nuuru expected Hasani’s going.’)
Ifilatīlīla Aboowa/ khshiindra. ‘It is expected that Aboowa will win.’ Or: **Aboowa/ khshiindra/ ifilatīlīla.** ‘For Aboowa to win is expected.’ (These examples illustrate the impersonal passive. The personal passive is also possible: **Aboowa/ filatīlīla khshiindra.** ‘Aboowa is expected to win.’)
Ifilatīlīla kuwa chaakuja/ shṭakuviva kahima. ‘It was expected that the food would be cooked soon.’
Ifilatīlīla Nuuru/ ṭakuleta chaakuja. ‘It was expected that Nuuru would bring food.’ Or: **Ifilatīlīla Nuuru/ kuleta chaakuja.** But not: ***Chaakuja/ shfilatīlīla kuletoowa.** ‘Food was expected to be brought.’ Our consultant found the following sentence to be marginally possible: ?**Nuuru/ filatīlīla kuleta chaakuja.** ‘Nuuru was expected to bring food.’
Kuwa Jaama/ ṭakuuya/ ifilatīlīla. ‘That Jaama would come was expected.’
Maali/ ayo/ siwo/ maali/ hufilatīlowa kuruudá. ‘That money is not money that is expected to come back.’
Nakhfilatīlowa kuuya. ‘He is expected to come.’
Nuuru/ filatīlīla 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.)

‘Nuuru

kh-filisa

v. [Ar. *falasa* W 726] (**filisiize**) be, go bankrupt; bankrupt s.o., cause s.o. to go bankrupt
Ali/ ni mwaana/ wa mrehemuḷa/ Waziri Hasani/ mubjaana/ uje filisiizó/ mali yaa ye/ dhahaleetó/ yoté. ‘Ali is the son of the late Minister Hasani, (he is) the young man who squandered all the wealth that he inherited.’
Daawuudi mfilisize Sarmadi. ‘Daawuudi caused Sarmadi to go bankrupt.’
Ishfilatīloowa/ wo/ khfilisa. ‘It was expected for them to go bankrupt.’
Ni līla/ so/ kuwaa we/ filisiizé/ na kuwa kula/ khuuzó/ fanyizeeyi/ maaliyó/ we/ humjiiba/ kuwa ha’isi/ ma’anayé/ ha’ambiloowí. ‘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-filisiliza v. appl. (-**filisiize**) cause to go bankrupt on
Ali/ mfilisilize Iisa/ mwaana. ‘Ali caused Iisa’s son to go bankrupt.’
kh-filisilizanya v. appl. rec. (-**filisilizeenye**)
Ali/ na Nuurú/ wafilisilizenye waana. ‘Ali and Nuuru caused each other’s children to go bankrupt.’
kh-filisoowa v. pass.
Mineendro/ waa we/ nakiineendró/ itakhfilisoowa. ‘The way that you are behaving will lead to bankruptcy.’
nom. rel.
m-filisa (wa-) n. 1/2 one who goes bankrupt
m-filisi (wa-) n. 1/2 one who goes bankrupt

fimbalbaari

n. [Som. *fin* “pimple” DSI 230 + *barbaar* “young man” DSI 45] pimple, boil
variant form: *finbarbaari*
ni m’aafu maazi ya mapu na masila/ na matata na fimbalbaari khsalīla [st.]
‘you are allowed to pray if you have bleeding and pus from boils, blisters and pimples’

fiini

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
mifini 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. *funika* SSED 106, but also cites *finika* SSED 106 as the Kimvita dialect form] (finishile) cover, put a lid on
Ali/ finishile ruuhuye/ nguwo. ‘Ali covered himself with a cloth’
Ali/ finishile uso/ nguwo. ‘Ali covered his face with a cloth.’
Ali/ mfinishile Hamadi/ nguwo/ usooni. ‘Ali covered Hamadi’s face with a cloth (lit. covered Hamadi with a cloth on the face).’
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 kuzimu/ nzimaye. ‘The clouds covered the whole sky (lit. covered the sky its all).’
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’
Nguwo/ imfinishile mayti/ mzimawe. ‘The cloth covered the corpse all over.’
Nguwo/ nt^a/imfinika/ mayti/ mzimawe. ‘The cloth did not completely cover the corpse.’
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^u/ maburaangeeti. ‘He covered people with blankets.’
rel.
kh-finikana v. rec. (*-finikeene*) cover one another; hide one another’s faults etc.
Nuuru/ na Hamadi/ wafinikene buraangeeti. ‘Nuuru and Hamadi covered one another with blankets.’

kh-finikanika v. rec. p/s. (-finikanishile) able to be used to cover one another
Maburangeti aya/ hayafinikaniki. ‘These blankets shouldn’t be/ can’t be used to cover one another.’

kh-finikika v. p/s. (-finikishile) able to be used to cover
Maburangeti 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.’ (Note that **nguwo** cannot be the subject of the p./s. verb: ***Nguwo/ nt^ha’ikhfinikiki/ mayti.** One could use the simple verb: **Nguwo/ nt^ha’imfinika/ mayti/ mzimawe.** ‘The cloth did not cover the corpse all over.’)

Mwana uyu/ hafinikiki/ nguwo. ‘This child cannot be covered with a piece of cloth.’

Sufuriya/ ifinikishile. ‘The pan was able to be covered’

Wana awa/ hawafinikiki/ maburaangeeti. ‘These children cannot be covered with blankets.’

kh-finikiloowa v. appl. pass. (**finikilila**) be covered with, for

Chijamu shfinikilila sufuriya. ‘A plate was used to cover the pot.’ (Note that if one said **Sufuriya/ ifinikilila chijamu.**, the meaning would be ‘a pot was used to cover the plate’ and would not mean ‘a pot was covered with a plate’. The subject of the passive verb refers to the instrument used to cover something, and not the thing that was covered.)

Maburaangeeti/ yafinikilila mwaana. ‘Blankets were used to cover the child.’

Nguwo/ ifinikilila sanduukhu. ‘A cloth was used to cover the box.’ (Note that if one said **Sanduukhu/ ifinikilila nguwo.**, it would mean that ‘a box was used to cover the cloth’ and not that ‘a box was covered with a cloth’.)

kh-finikila v. appl. (**finikilile**) cover with, for

Finikilile sufuriya/ chijamu. ‘He covered the pot with a plate.’

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.’

Waan^tu/ 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.’

Sa’iidi/ mfinikishize kani/ Suufi/ nama. ‘Sa’iidi made Sufi cover the meat with what?’

Sa’iidi/ mfinikishize naani/ mwaana/ nguwo. ‘Who did Sa’iidi cause to cover the child with a cloth?’ Cf. **Sa’iidi/ mfinikishize Suufi/ naani/ nguwo.** ‘Who did Sa’iidi cause Suufi to cover with a cloth?’ (In the first example, pragmatics favors understanding the *naani* to be referring to the “causee” since it is more normal for an adult to be putting a piece of clothing on a child than vice versa. In the second example, the word order suggests that *naani* is not the causee, but this is apparently not the only interpretation possible. In an example like **Sa’iidi/ mfinikishize naani/ Suufi/ nguwo.**, the first interpretation is that *naani* is the one who was caused to do cover Suufi with a piece of clothing, but it is also possible that Suufi is the one who has been made to do the covering.)

Sa’iidi/ mfinikishize naani/ nama/ lwarakha. ‘Who did Sa’iidi make cover the meat with a piece of paper?’

Sa’iidi/ mfinikishiizeni/ Suufi/ ka lwarakha. ‘What did Sa’iidi make Suufi cover with a piece of paper?’ (MI preferred having the preposition preceding *lwarakha* in this example compared with the preceding example.)

kh-finikishika v. caus. p/s.

kh-finikishiliza v. caus. appl. (**finikishiliize**)

Shaafi/ mfinikishilize Suufi/ mwaana/ sufuriya. ‘Shaafi caused the child to cover the pot for Suufi; Shaafi caused Suufi’s child to cover the pot.’

kh-finikishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-finikoowa v. pass. (**finishila**)

Ali/ finishilaa nguwo/ na Ji. ‘Ali was covered with a cloth by Ji.’ (Note that **nguwo** may not be the passive subject: ***Nguwo/ ifinishila Ali/ na Ji.** ‘A cloth was covered over Ali by Ji.’ On the other hand, it is possible to front **nguwo** and postpose the subject: **Nguwo/ finishila Ali/ na Ji.** ‘The cloth. Ali was covered with it by Ji.’)

Ali/ finishilaa nguwo/ usooni/ na Ji. ‘Ali’s face was covered with a cloth by Ji.’

Ali/ finishila uso/ nguwo/ na Ji. ‘Ali’s face was covered with a cloth by Ji.’

Ali/ usowe/ ufinishilaa nguwo/ na Ji. ‘Ali’s face was covered with a cloth by Ji.’

Mwaana/ finishila buraangeeti. ‘The child was covered with a blanket.’ (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.’)

Mwaana/ finishila ka maburaangeeti. ‘The child was covered with blankets.’

Nguwo/ ifinishila na Ali. ‘A cloth was covered (over himself) by Ali.’

(Note that **nguwo** can be the subject of the passive verb when the verb is referring to someone covering himself with a cloth. It does not seem to be possible, however, to localize the covering to a particular part of the body: ***Nguwo/ ifinishila uso(oni)/ na Ali.**

‘The cloth was covered over his face by Ali.’ A possessed body part

may possibly be the passive subject: **Usoowe/ ufinishilaa nguwo/ na Ali.** ‘His (i.e. Ali’s) face was covered with a cloth by Ali.’ MI did not accept the bare noun: ***Uso/ ufinishilaa nguwo/ na Ali.** ‘The face was covered with a cloth by Ali.’)

Nt^hi/ ifinishila na maayi. ‘The ground was covered by water.’

Sufuriya/ ifinishila ka chijamu. ‘The pot was covered with a plate.’

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/ chivaliko sh^tukiile/ 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 shfiniko ‘a pen and pen cover’; **khalamu/ na sfiniko** ‘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 ifiniko ‘a pot and a lid’; **sufuriya/ na mifiniko** ‘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 nṭhi/ 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 firaashi.** '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 geḷe.** 'He scattered corn.'
- rel. nom.
ma-firgisho n. 6
u-firgisho n. 14
- firiimbi* n. [Som. *firimbi* DSI 232] a whistle (the instrument)
- kubiga firiiimbi** 'to whistle (using the instrument)'
- rel.
i-firiimbi (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
sh-firiimbi (s-) n. 7/8 dim.
- firkha* n. difference
- Firkha/ mabena Hamadi/ na Nuurú/ kana/ nṭhi/ na kuzimú.** 'The difference between Hamadi and Nuuru is like earth and sky.'
- 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'
- Jeeli/ fisidile peesa.** 'Jeeli squandered money.'
- Mwana wa sultaani/ ṭawaḷiḷopó/ chaanza/ ye/ na mweenzawé/ mwana wa waziri mkulu/ khṭeleza 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.' (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-fisidika v. p/s.

- kh-fisidisha* v. caus. (**fisidishiize**) cause to squander
Hasani/ mfidishize mwaana/ peesa. ‘Hasani caused the child to squander money.’
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.’
- kh-fisidishika* v. caus. p/s.
kh-fisidishiliza v. caus. appl. (**-fisidishiliize**) cause s.o. (on/related to s.o.) to squander
Hasani/ mfidishilize Nuuru/ mwaana/ peesa. ‘Hasani caused Nuuru’s child to squander money.’
kh-fisidishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
- u-fisqi* n. 14 corruption, scandal; usu. pron. **ufiskhi**
Umi/ mwambile Haawa/ akh!/ laṭa khkoḍa mijawabu ayo/ ufiskhi. ‘Umi told Haawa: *akh!* Stop talking those talks of bad things.’
- fiṭi* n. 9/10 [Som. *fiid* DSI 227] blossom, flower
fiṭi iyi ‘this blossom’ (cf. **fiṭi izi** ‘these blossoms’)
fiṭi za mṭume ‘[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’
khtomola fiṭi ‘to blossom’
Mukhtaṭaa muti/ wa nt^heendre/ wanzizo khtomola fiṭi/ 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-fiṭi (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.
sh-fiṭi (*s-*) n. 7/8 dim.
- fiṭina* n. [Sw. *fitina* SSED 97; Ar. *fitna* W 696] discord, friction, antagonism; a report designed to produce discord; the source of discord; variant form: **fiṭna**
fiṭina na kiḍbu zotte haraamu [st.] ‘creating discord and lies are all forbidden’
khfanya fiṭna ‘to create discord’
Omari/ hupeenda/ khfanya fiṭina/ kuḷanya waant^hu. ‘Omari likes to sow discord among people, causing people to fight.’
khtila fiṭina ‘to cause strife between people’
Hasani/ tile fiṭna/ lanyize waant^hu/ washpeendanó. ‘Omari sowed discord and made people who love one another fight.’
- rel.
khtilila fiṭna ‘to create discord with s.o.’
Sku mooyi/ waant^hu/ wachimtilila fiṭina/ ka Harun Rashiidi. ‘One day people created discord between him and Harun Rashiidi.’
khtilowa fiṭna ‘for discord to be sowed between people’
Muunt^hu/ siwo/ suura/ khtilowa fiṭina. ‘It is not good for discord to be sowed among people.’
munt^hu mwenye fiṭna ‘a person who creates discord’
- fiṭiri* n. [Sw. *fitiri* SSED 97; Ar. *fiṭr* "fast breaking" and *sadaqat al-fiṭr* "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 Ramadhan for himself and each family member
khtomola fiṭiri ‘to distribute alms at the end of Ramadhan’
- kh-fiṭina* v. [Ar. *fatana* “to inform against s.o.” W 695] (**fiṭiniile**) report s.t. about s.o. with the intention of causing friction, discord; spoil, corrupt

	<p>Chiza khfaanya/ yaa mi/ nnakhtulubo kaakó/ nt^hakhufitina/ ka muhjiwa. ‘If you refuse to do what I ask from you, I will report you to my husband.’</p> <p>Nfitinile ka waawe. ‘He told my father about me (hoping to cause discord between my father and me).’</p> <p>We/ nakhfitina waaná. ‘You are spoiling children.’</p> <p>rel.</p> <p><i>kh-fitinika</i> v. p/s. (fitinishile) be spoiled</p> <p><i>kh-fitinila</i> v. appl. (fitiniliile)</p>
<i>kh-fitisha</i>	<p>v. [Ar. <i>fattaša</i> W 694] (fitishiize) inspect, search someone</p> <p>Watumila ma’askari/ khfitisha nuumba. ‘The police have been sent to search the house.’</p> <p>rel.</p> <p><i>m-fitisha</i> (<i>wa-</i>) n. 1/2 one who searches for</p> <p>Chiboorsacha/ chiboozela/ na wafitisha ziwovu. ‘My purse has been stolen by pickpockets.’</p> <p><i>m-fitisho</i> n. 3</p>
<i>fitnoole</i>	<p>n. someone who causes problems, makes people fight</p> <p>Fitnoole/ ha’ambiloowi/ chiint^hu. ‘One who creates discord among people is not told anything.’ (A proverb.)</p>
<i>fiyeera</i>	<p>n. [Ital.] fair (This Italian borrowing is used more commonly than the Arabic borrowing ma’araði.)</p> <p>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.)</p>
<i>fiyoore</i>	<p>n. [Ital. <i>fiore</i>] flower (nowadays this word is more used in Chimiini than the older word i-luwa)</p>
<i>kh-foofata</i>	<p>v. [Som. <i>foof</i> DSI 233] (-fofeete) go to graze</p> <p>Ngoombe/ sfofeete. ‘The cattle went to graze.’</p> <p>rel.</p> <p><i>kh-foofisha</i> 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.)</p> <p>Mloojiri/ fofishize ngoombe. ‘The cattle-herder took the cattle to graze.’</p>
<i>fooji</i>	<p>n. 9/10 [Som. <i>foori</i> DSI 235, but <i>foodhi</i> in Northern Somali; we do not know whether there is an additional dialectal variant where the consonant j occurs] whistle (using lips)</p> <p>Fooji/ masku/ ha’ibigoowi/ huviła majini. ‘Whistling at night is not done; it calls jinns.’</p> <p>kubiga fooji ‘to whistle’</p> <p>rel.</p> <p><i>i-fooji</i> (<i>mi-</i>) n. 5/4 aug.</p> <p><i>sh-fooji</i> (<i>s-</i>) n. 7/8 dim.</p>
<i>sh-foko</i> (<i>s-</i>)	<p>n. 7/8 [?? connected to Sw. <i>fua</i> “to beat” SSED 98] bruise (of a fruit); a small wound about to heal</p>
<i>fontaana</i>	<p>n. [Ital. <i>fontana</i>] (ornamental) fountain</p> <p>rel.</p> <p><i>i-fontaana</i> (<i>mi-</i>) n. 5/4 aug.</p> <p><i>sh-fontaana</i> (<i>s-</i>) n. 7/8 dim.</p>

<i>foorōa</i>	n. [Sw. <i>forodha</i> SSED 98; Ar. <i>furda</i> “seaport, small port town” W 706] port Baskiili/ Miini/ schajirishowa forōaani. ‘Bicycles were rented in Brava at the port.’ Khamaari/ ishtëzowa forōaani. ‘Gambling was played at the port.’
<i>foore</i>	n. [?Ital. <i>fuori</i> “outside”] term used by fishermen to point the fishing bays outside the town that are scattered to the north and south of Brava
<i>foore</i>	in the expression: khtila foore ‘to win over s.o.’ (cf. Sw. <i>tia fora</i> “to win in a game, or succeed in an undertaking, i.e. a particular task of work” SSED 98; cf. Sw. verb <i>fora</i> “beat, get the better of, succeed, used in games of cards, etc., and work” SSED 98) Omari/ mtile Ali/ foore/ niingi. ‘Omari won against Ali many times in cards, dominos, etc.’
<i>foorno</i>	n. [Ital. <i>forno</i>] oven, bakery fornooni ‘in the oven’ mazu ya foorno ‘bananas that were dried under the sun or in an oven, fried bananas’
<i>kh-foorooraṭa</i>	v. [presumably from a Somali dialect, but not found in Standard Somali] (-fororeṭe) walk in line (as of cattle going along a path to be grazed) Ngoombe/ sforeeṭe. ‘The cattle moved along the path in a line.’
<i>fooza</i>	n. [Ar. <i>fauz</i> 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’
<i>frijideeri</i>	n. 9/10 [cf. Fr. <i>frigidaire</i> , which was formerly used in Ital.; cf. Som. <i>frijideeri</i> DSI 232] refrigerator
<i>mu-fsidi</i>	adj., n. [Ar. <i>fasada</i> W 712] wicked, depraved; corruptor, perverter
<i>mu-fti</i> (wa-)	n. 1/2 [Ar. <i>muftin</i> W 696] someone who is recognized as an authority on a particular subject (e.g. an authority on Islamic studies) (Note that the plural form indicates that the singular form borrowed from Arabic has been reanalyzed into a prefix mu and a stem -fti .)
<i>chi-fu</i> (zi-)	n. 7/8 [Sw. <i>kifu</i> , var. <i>kefu</i> “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. <i>kafū</i> “to be sufficient” W 834] gizzard, stomach?? Ile/ yezeze chifuuche/ oloshale. ‘He came, filled up his stomach, and left.’ Ile/ yezeze chifuuche/oloshale. ‘He came, filled up his stomach, and left.’
<i>fud</i>	ideo. Abú/ ile numbaani/ ka Alí/ ntʰakhkalaantʰa/ ba/ paapo/ ba/ fud!/ hadiiló/ tozeḷaa kati. ‘Abu came to Ali’s house, he never sat down, immediately fud! he said (i.e. he was gone), (lit.) he was lost in the middle (i.e. he couldn’t be found).’ Mwenye/ tukile nyaanya/ ka ba’a/ yimo ntʰuundrú/ ye/ ntʰakiiwa/ nyaanya/ niingi/ sfutushiló/ fud fud fud!/ bila/ yaa ye/ kiiwa. ‘Menye carried tomatoes in a plastic bag with a hole in it, which he did not know, a lot of tomatoes fell out, fud fud fud! without him knowing.’
<i>fuḍuuli</i> (ma-)	adj. [Ar. <i>fudūlī</i> W 718] intruder, busybody, foulmouthed, insulting, insolent (most commonly used to describe someone who meddles in other people’s business)

	<p>Laakini/ Abunawaasi/ waliko muunt^hu/ fuðuuli. ‘But Abunawaasi was an insolent man.’</p> <p>Omari/ na Hamadí/ ni (ma)fuðuuli. ‘Omari and Hamadi are meddlesome people.’</p> <p>Omari/ ni fuðuuli. ‘Omari is a meddlesome man.’</p> <p>Want^hu awa/ ni (ma)fuðuuli. ‘These people are meddlesome people.’</p> <p>rel.</p> <p>u-fuðuuli n. 14 meddling, misbehaving by getting involved in s.t. that is not your business</p> <p>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 meddlesome behavior.’</p>
<i>kh-fuðuulika</i>	<p>v. [cf. Ar. <i>fuḍūl</i> “officiousness. meddling” W 718] (fuḍulishile) speak ill of someone, speak derogatorily</p> <p>Hasani/fuḍulishile. ‘Hasani used derogatory words.’</p> <p>rel.</p> <p><i>kh-fuḍulikila</i> v. appl. (-fuḍulikilīle) speak derogatorily to someone</p> <p>Nuuru/ mfuḍulikilīle Ali. ‘Nuuru spoke derogatorily to Ali.’</p> <p><i>kh-fuḍuulisha</i> v. caus. (-fuḍulishiize) provoke someone into acting by speaking ill of him</p> <p>Nfuḍulishiize. ‘He provoked me by speaking ill of me (insulting me, dishonoring me, etc.)’</p> <p><i>kh-fuḍulishanya</i> v. caus. rec.</p> <p><i>kh-fuḍulishika</i> v. caus. p/s.</p> <p>Omari/ hafuḍulishiki. ‘Omari cannot be provoked (e.g. he is patient, does not react violently to derogatory words spoken to him).’</p> <p><i>kh-fuḍulishiliza</i> v. caus. appl.</p> <p><i>kh-fuḍulishilizanya</i> v. caus. appl. rec.</p>
<i>kh-fuufila</i>	<p>v. [probably connected to Som. <i>faafi</i> “to spread” DSI 209] sprinkle water on something</p> <p>rel.</p> <p><i>kh-fufiḷoowa</i> v. pass.</p> <p>mane ya mwiimbili hufufiḷoowa/ iluke maayi yo hu’ aminoowa [st.]</p> <p>‘(anything that has on it) the urine of a boy (should) be sprinkled with water, over it (i.e. the unclean thing) water should be spread’</p>
<i>kh-fuufula</i>	<p>v. [Sw. <i>fufua</i> SSED 99] (fufiile) raise someone from the dead; ferret out information; variant form: khfufula</p> <p>rel.</p> <p><i>kh-fufuḷoowa</i> v. pass. (fufiila) be resurrected</p> <p>Keesho/ aakhera/ waant^hu/ wote/ watakhfufuḷoowa. ‘Tomorrow in the hereafter all people will be resurrected.’</p> <p><i>kh-fufulika</i> v. p/s.</p> <p><i>kh-fufulisha</i> v. caus.</p> <p><i>kh-fufulishanya</i> v. caus. rec.</p> <p><i>kh-fufulishiliza</i> v. caus. appl.</p> <p><i>kh-fufulishilizanya</i> v. caus. appl. rec.</p> <p><i>kh-fufuza</i> v. caus.</p> <p><i>kh-fufuzika</i> v. caus. p/s.</p>
<i>kh-fufunuka</i>	<p>v. [Probably connected to Sw. <i>funuka</i> “be uncovered” SSED 106] (fufunushile) be uncovered, be clear, intelligent</p> <p>rel.</p> <p><i>kh-fufuunsa</i> v. try to discover a secret, a scandal</p> <p>Ni ḍambi/ khfufunsa ebu za waant^hu. ‘It is a crime to try to discover people’s vices.’</p> <p><i>kh-fufunukila</i> v. appl.</p> <p>Khabari/ zinfunukilīle. ‘The news became clear to me.’</p>

- 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/ sfufuniila 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-fufuinsi (*wa-*) n. 1/2 someone who tries to discover secrets, scandals
u-fufuinsi n. 14 the act of trying to discover secrets
- i-fuga* (*mi-*) n. homosexual (particularly of a male homosexual who is a “bottom” in the homosexual act)
Oyo/ ni ifuga. ‘That one is a “bottom” (in homosexual intercourse).’
- kh-fuga* v. [?cf. Sw. *fuga* “to tame, domesticate” SSED 100] (**fugiile**) have anal sex (of homosexual)
Omari/ mfugile Haadi. ‘Omari fucked Haadi.’
- ma-fujaari* adj. [Ar. *fujār*, plural of *fājir* “profligate, shameless, liar” W p. 697+ plural prefix *ma-*]
simama Ali kuula ḍulfikaari / unazime mulo wa mafujaari [st.] ‘rise, Ali, draw your sword, so that the fire of the profligate be extinguished’ (Note that Ali’s sword was called **ḍulfikaari**.)
- u-fuuju* n. nonsense
Waant^u/ wiingi/ humkahaṭa Omari/ ka khisa/ ṭabi’aye/ khkoḍa ufuuju. ‘Many people hate Omari because of his habit of talking nonsense.’
- fuk* ideo. of spilling out of a liquid
Mafta/ yaṭa(w)anyishile/ nt^uupaani/ fuk! ‘Oil is spilling from the bottle **fuk!**’
- kh-fukhsaṭa* v. [Som. *fuuqso* “to sip noisily” DSI 239] (**fukhseeṭe**) 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)
khila 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 *fī l-kairi*] in the expression:
ka kheeri/ ka fulkheeri ‘with blessings and in blessings’
Waliko mwanamke mooyi/ na mwamubji mooyi/ walozeenyee/ 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.’

kubarata khfula ðahabu/ na feða ‘to learn to forge gold and silver’

Mfuzi/ nakhfula ðahabu. ‘A smith works gold.’

khula feða ‘to work silver’

rel.

kh-fuliila v. appl.

Baana/ nfuliile shpete. ‘Baana forged for me a ring.’

Mfuzi/ nakunfuliila shpete. ‘The blacksmith is forging me a ring.’

Muke/ chooloka/ chimpa mfuzi/ shilingi khamsiini/ izo/ kumfuliila 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)

Fuzilee nguwo/ ka saabuni. ‘He washed clothes with soap.’

Haliima/ nakhfulaa nguwo/ ka oomo. ‘Haliima washed the clothes with detergent.’

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.’

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, result the verb is put into pseudo-relative form.)

and as a

Tuuma/ hufulaa nguwo/ jisa suura. ‘Tuuma (habitually) washes clothes well.’ (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!?**

Tetee nguwo/ kifula. ‘He took clothes to wash them.’

rel.

kh-fuliila v. appl. (**fuliile** or **fuliiliile**) wash for, with

Khaðija/ mfuliile maamaye/ nguwo. ‘Khaðija washed the clothes for her mother.’

kumfuliila nguwo ‘to wash clothes for me’

Muke/ wafuliile 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**.)

Nfuliile (or: **nfuliiliile**) **nguwo.** ‘She washed clothes for me.’

Saabuni/ muke/ wafuliile 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 sfuliila waaná/ nguwo... ‘the soap that was used to wash the children’s clothes for them...’

Uzile saabuni/ khfuliila nguwo. ‘She bought soap to wash clothes with.’

kh-fuliloowa v. appl. pass. (**fuliila**)

Nakhsula khfulilowaa nguwo. ‘He wants clothes to be washed for him.’
Saabuni/ ifulilaa nguwo. ‘Soap was used to wash the clothes.’
Waana/ wafulilaa 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/ sfulila waana/ nguwo.** ‘Soap was used to wash clothes for the children.’)

kh-fuloowa v. pass. (-fuzila)

Ifuzila. ‘It [cl.9] was washed.’

Nguwo/ ha’ifuloowi/ yo/ iveeta. ‘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

n. 9/10 [Sw. *fulani* SSED 101, where a possible source in Eng. *flannel* is suggested] undershirt, tee-shirt, sweater

fulana ya bardi ‘sweater’ (cf. **fulana za bardi** ‘sweaters’)

fulaana/ ya mikono zigobe ‘a short-sleeved sweater’

Ali/ vete fulaana/ ya mikono zigobe. ‘Ali wore a short-sleeved sweater.’

fulaana/ ya mikonoo mile ‘sweater with long sleeves’

Wakhti/ wa bardi/ suura/ kuvalowa fulaana/ ya mikonoo mile/ hureba bardi. ‘During cold times it is good to wear a long-sleeved sweater (because) it stops the cold.’

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’)

fulana zaa wake ‘women’s sweaters’

Ali/ lesele fulana zaa wake/ Mkhodiisho/ kuuza. ‘Ali brought women’s sweaters from Mogadisho to sell.’

rel.

sh-fulaana (*s-*) n. 7/8 dim. (disparaging use)

Shfulana gani/ icho. ‘What kind of **shfulaana** 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/ langala/ ilu. ‘O, you, master, on such-and-such a day, if you go to your home, look up.’

Muntu fulaani/ nakuhada/ duniyaani/ nt’aku/ zeema. ‘So-and-so says on earth there is no goodness.’

Muti oyo/ mbwa muuntu/ fulaani. ‘That tree belongs to so-and-so.’

kh-fuulata

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/ nakudaalaató/ takhfuulata. ‘The way that he is trying, he will succeed.’ [check I](#)

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^heelá/ 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.’

Muuntu/ 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 bałani** ‘to carry out a promise’
Ma’askari/ wachoondroka/ keendra/ khfulisha amri/ yaa wo/ wapeelá. ‘The soldiers left to go and carry out the order that they were given.’
Muunt^hu/ 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/ nt^hakhshafó/ laṭaani/ karka ziskize/ sho kuwa habamó/ yaa ni/ nt^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 **abluusi** 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.
Ali/ mfumilile mweenzawe/ chiguwo. ‘Ali weaved for his friend a **chiguwo.**’
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. (**fumulile**)

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] (*ya-fumiile*) be at low tide (opposite of *ku-yela* 'to be at full or high tide')
Maayi/ tawala/ keesho/ yatakufuma. 'Water at sea tomorrow will be at low tide.'
Maayi/ yachiyela/ fuungu/ iyo/ hayiwonekani/ maayi/ yashfuma fuungu/ iyo/ huõihira. 'When the water is at high tide, that sandbank is not visible; when the water ebbs, that sand bar appears.'
Maayi/ ya tawala/ yafumiile. 'The sea water has become at low tide.'
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-fumaa jima* n. Saturday, the first day of the week
Hamadi/ mkali/ khpataa nsi/ mfumaajima/ hawa/ yaliko bilhakhiikha/ mbovu/ Hamadi/ petee nsi/ nt^hatu/ tu/ mfumaajima. 'Hamadi is a very good fisherman. On Saturday, the weather was really bad. Hamadi just caught three fish on Saturday.'
Keesho/ ni mfumaa jima/ na Haliimá/ ha'endri/ skolaani. 'Tomorrow is Saturday and Haliima will not go to school.'
- 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. (**funile**) (This verb is not known to GM.)
na qabri ni nuumba ya kheeri na shari/ ka ya we funiilo takhata ajri [st.]
‘and the grave is the house of good and evil, you will be rewarded according to what you did’ **is the stem –funa??**
- kh-fuundra* v. [Sw. *funda* SSED 103] advise, warn, teach
Fuundra. ‘Warn! advise!’
Fundraani. ‘You (pl.) warn! advise!’
Sfundreeni. ‘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] (**fundrisha**) wrap part of a cloth garment into a knot to hold money
Sfundrikeni/ peesa. ‘You (pl.) don’t make a knot (in the cloth) for the money!’
- i-fuundo (ma-)* n. 5/6 [Sw. *fundo* SSED 103] knot
khfunga ifuundo ‘to tie a knot’
khfunga lkaambala/ ifuundo ‘to tie a knot in a rope’
khfungula ifuundo ‘to untie a knot’
kubigaa nguwo/ ifuundo ‘to tie a knot in a piece of cloth’
kuleleza ifuundo ‘to loosen a knot’
kuwaliza ifuundo ‘to tie a knot tightly’
luti/ la mafuundo ‘a knotty stick, i.e. one that is not smooth, but has knots in it’
Shfungula ifuundo. ‘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 mikono/ 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/ shfunzilé.** ‘Our eyes, we opened.’)
khfunga bakhsha ‘to close, seal an envelope’
Omari/ funzile bakhsha/ ba’adi yaa yé/ khtilaa khati/ katiike/ yaa yé/ mwandikililo muné/ Sheekhi. ‘Omari closed the envelope after he put the letter in it that he had written to his younger brother, Sheekhi.’
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)’

**Ali/ funzile biyaashara/ ya makala/ nt^haku/ muunt^hu/
m^wiingine/ t^hakhadiro kuulá.** ‘Ali monopolized (lit.
closed) the trading of charcoal, no one else was able to
buy charcoal (to take to sell elsewhere).’

khfunga chiloho ‘to tie a fish-hook to the line’

Wagarwa/ hufunga chaambo/ chilohooni/ khpatilaa nsi.
‘Fishermen tie bait to a hook to catch fish with it.’

khfunga eeði ‘to tighten’

Funzile eeði. ‘He tightened it.’

**Huseeni/ wa’ambile mahamaali/ zoombo/ fungani eeði/ seendré/
kast^haanyiká.** ‘Huseen told the porters: tie the things
tightly so that they will not spill out.’

khfunga habasaani ‘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 ifuundo ‘to tie a knot’

Haliima/ funzilee nguwo/ ifuundo. ‘Haliima tied a knot in the
cloth.’

**Omari/ tile zoombo/ sandukhuuni/ fuunzile/ ka lkaambala/
bishile ifuundo.** ‘Omari put the things in a box and tied
the box with a rope, and tied a knot (in the rope).’

khfunga jawaabu ‘to put a question to someone’

Mi/ t^hakinfunga jawaabu. ‘I will put a question to you (pl.).’ (The
first person singular subject prefix elides in various verb forms. In this example it elides in the future tense. If
present, the pronunciation would have been **mí**) n-^ha-ki-n-funga jawáabu). GM tends to drop the nasal, while
MI preserved it in his speech.)

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)’

**Abuuyi/ surwaani/ ni nk^huluye/ inamleela/ shart^hi/ khfunga
lkaandra.** ‘Abuuyi, the trousers are too big, they are
hanging loose, he must wear a belt.’

Hamadi/ vete surwaani/ nakhfunga lkaandra. ‘Hamadi is
wearing trousers, he is tightening the belt.’

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)’

**Omari/ funzile want^hu/ mas’alá/ nk^huku/ kuna maayi/ kachiza
kunalá.** ‘Omari posed a question to people: (how can it be
possible for) a chicken to drink water and not urinate?’

khfunga maato ‘to bind eyes, blindfold’

T^hakhufunga maato. ‘I will bind/blindfold your eyes.’

We/ t^hakunfunga maato. ‘You will bind my eyes.’ (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 miimba ‘to close the stomach – i.e. endure, put up with’

**Muunt^hu/ miimba/ ichimpataa dhibu/ laazimu/ khfunga
miimbaye/ khsawarata.** ‘When a person encounters

- hardship, he must close his stomach (i.e. endure it) and be patient.'
- 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.)'
Numbaani/ ka Hamadi/ inakunuunk^ha/ kana bakht̃i/ hatá/ takhfunjaa mp^hula. 'At Hamadi's house it was stinking like a corpse until you had to close your nose.'
- khfunga m(w)eenza** 'to establish a friendship with s.o.'
Ka jis'iyó/ ye/ chimfunga mp^haamp^ha/ mooyi/ mweenza. 'In this way, he made one of the sharks his friend.'
Nfuye/ choondroka/ chimfunga mp^haamp^ha/ m(w)eenza/ na ichiwa/ kuwa humt̃iindila/ matuundra/ humlat̃il̃ila 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 to eat.'
- khfunga mzigo** 'to pack a load, tie a load up, finish packing'
Mahamaali/ wanakhfunga mizigo/ khpakizowa gariini. 'The porters are packing up loads to put on the truck.'
- khfungaa ndila** 'to close a road to traffic'
Ma'askari/ wafunzilee ndila/ holoko baghdaadi/ ziko rabsha. 'Soldiers closed the road that goes to Baghdadi, there are disturbances.'
- 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 ramaḏaani/ ni waajibu. 'Fasting the month of Ramadhan is a must (for a Muslim).'
Omari/ ile Mw̃iini/ khfunga ramaḏaani/ na waanawe. 'Omari came to Miini to fast Ramadhan with his children.'
- 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.'
Alí/ hupeenda/ khfunga waant^hu/ su'aali. 'Ali likes to ask people questions.'
Nuuru/ mfunzile Alí/ su'aali/ mwambiile/ we/ nini/ chiza khfanya kaazi. 'Nuuru asked Ali a question, he said to him: why don't you work?'
- 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.'
- Nakhsulá 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!’

Takhufungaa we/ takhufuungó. ‘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.)

Shfunzile milaangó. ‘We closed the doors.’

sultaani/ funzilo ruuhuyé/ mikonó/ ka siṣilá ‘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 **siṣila** ‘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 mkuḷá/ Hasani/ naami/ nt^hakhufunga 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/ takuḷa 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/ chimuḷa/ 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

Hufungika. ‘It can be closed.’ (cf. **Ha’ufuungiki.** ‘It cannot be closed.’)

khfungika eeḍi ‘to be very tight’

Mlango uyu/ hawfuungiki/ na waana. ‘This door cannot be closed by children.’ (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. (-fungishiila)

Ifungishiila. ‘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/ nfungiliile ruuhuyá... ‘Then come back so that I may tell you the reason that I have tied myself up...’

Nfungiliile mlaangó/ khufuli. ‘I closed the door with a lock.’ Or: **Khufuli/ nfungiliile mlaangó.** (For MI it is not possible to include the instrument in the scope of a final-accent trigger: *Nfungiliile mlaangó/ khufuli. In the instrumental applied, the instrument is presupposed and not the focus. Thus our consultant MI considered the following to be ill-formed: *Nfungiliile khufuli/ mlaango. , as well as *Mlaango/ nfungiliile khufuli.)

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).’

Wamfungiliile mlaango. ‘They closed the door for him.’

kh-fungilana v. appl. rec.

kh-fungisha 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)

khfungowa habasaani ‘to be imprisoned’

Funzila miyezi mitatu. ‘He was imprisoned for three months.’

Muunt^hu/ shfungowa habasaani/ hafungoowi/ numbaani. ‘When one is imprisoned, he has not imprisoned in a house.’

Omari/ hokomeja khfungoowa/ habasaani/ miyaka ikumi. ‘Omari has been sentenced to prison for ten years.’

khfungowa hisaabu ‘for the accounts to be closed’

Leelo/ garachaani/inakhfungowa hisaabu/ ya mweezi. ‘Today at the garage the monthly accounts are being closed.’

Leelo/ hafisaani/ ka resdente/ inakhfungowa hisaabu/ ya mwaaka. ‘Today at the office of the district commissioner accounts for the year are being closed.’

khfungowa ibaandra ‘to be wrapped with a bandage’

Ali/ funzila ibaandra/ kuluuni/ hakhaadiri/ kiineendra. ‘Ali has a bandage wrapped around his leg (e.g. he has a wound on his leg), he is not able to walk.’

Ali/ funzila ibaandra/ kuluuni/ ipu/ imlaziilo. ‘Ali had a bandage

wrapped around his leg, he had an infection.’

Khfungoowa/ itakanza keesho. ‘Fasting begins tomorrow.’

khfungowa lkaandra ‘for belts to be fastened’

Ariplanooni/ hufungowa lkaandra (or: **mikaandra**). ‘On an airplane, seatbelts are fastened.’

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.’

Mphana 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/ chimvila/ Abunawaasi/ chimwambila ndo/ mbuzi/

hafungoowi/ jis’iyo. ‘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/ imfuunzilo. ‘It is his mouth that sent him to prison.’

Nnakhsula Jaama/ khfungoowa. ‘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 Jaama/ fuunzila.**)

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/ chila^towa apo/ naayé/ fuunzila/ 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^hawukhfunguka. ‘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 sul^taani/ 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 lfuunguló/ 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 lfuungulól. ‘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/ lfuungulól.**)

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 chiloombapó/ 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.’

khfungulowa ibaandra ‘for a bandage to be removed’

Ali/ mpeshele mwaanawe/ spitaleeni/ khfungulowa ibaandra.
‘Ali took his child to the hospital to get the bandage removed.’

Kula mlaango/ hufungulowa ka lfunguloje. ‘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.’

Nkhaambala/ sfungeene/ sharti/ khfunguloowa. ‘The ropes got closed (tangled) in each other, they must be untied/ opened.’

Nnafunguloowá/ isa/ laano/ la shitoloko. ‘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 lfungulo 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/ hu-**

fungukila ifuungulo 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/ kulangaḷa. ‘He got up and opened the door and took a look.’
Fungile mnaango. ‘He opened the door.’
Fungile sanduukhu. ‘He opened the box.’
Fungileleni/ 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 kuḷawa/ 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 school of religion; to open a religious book; to consult a book of astrology’
Mwiini/ shfungilaa chiwo/ cha kubaratowa qur’aani. ‘In Miini there was opened a school for learning the Quran.’
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’oowá. ‘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 khisa ‘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’
Mojitu/ khfungile shiingo/ ka kheeri. ‘God has freed your neck with a blessing.’
khfungula soomu ‘to break the fast after sunset during Ramadhan’
khfungula zimpeetó ‘to tell what happened to one (usu. s.t. bad)’
kumfungula muunt^hu ‘to free someone who is imprisoned or tied up’
Lfungulo ili/ 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/ khfungula/ miṭaana/ yote/ shokuwa mṭana mooyi. ‘He told me to unlock all the rooms except one room.’
Nfungile mlaangó/ ka lfuunguló. ‘I opened the door with a key.’ Or, with focus on mlaango: **Nfungile mlaangó/ ka lfuungulo.** Or, with emphasis on the verb: **Nfungiilé/ mlaango/ ka lfuungulo.** Or: **Nfungiilé/ ka lfuungulo/ mlaango.** Or, with instrumental phrase moved to IAV position: **Nfungile ka lfuunguló/ mlaango.**
Nfungile shaatiyá. ‘I took my shirt off.’
Sfunguleení. ‘(Pl.) don’t open it!’
Sfunguleení/ choloko. ‘(Pl.) don’t open the window!’
Shfungile maṭo yiitú. ‘We opened our eyes.’ Or: **Maṭo yiitu/ shfungiilé.**
‘Our eyes, we opened.’
Shfungulaa chuwo/ chisooma/ chimaliza mwambile mukeewe... ‘He opened the book and read it and then he said to his wife...’
Sitakhufungula. ‘I will not untie you.’
kh-fungulana v. rev. rec.
Khpala izi/ na nfungulo izi/ hufungulana. ‘These padlocks and these keys each opens the other.’
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^hawukhfunulika. ‘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 khfunulika. ‘The door would not open.’
kh-fungulisha v. rev. caus.
kh-fungusha 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/ mtibile 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 Haadi 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/ mtille mwaana/ khfungula deeni.** ‘Ali caused the child to repay his debt.’)

Fuunguza. ‘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/ hafungulili.**

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 nthupa ‘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 muung^{hi} [nt.]** '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 mafungu 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 wiingi/ yaweshela mba_lmbali.** '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 imprisonment).'
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
(Although a negative verb in medial position in a sentence is not downstepped when final in the phrase, in a sentence-final position such as this downstep does occur.)
Funguuni/ miti/ hayaalawi. [H'H!H] 'At the wet sand trees do not grow.'
Miti/ hayaalawi/ funguuni. [H'H!H] '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.'
Wachoondroka/ 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
ifuungu yaa mazu 'a bunch of bananas'
ifuungu yaa mbuzi 'a herd of goats'
ifuungu yaa nama 'a chunk of meat'
ifuungu 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 mafungu ‘to make shares’

Mp^huundra/ chibiga mafungu matatu/ sawasawa. ‘The donkey made three equal shares.’

Niyabishile mafungu manné. ‘I divided it into four shares.’ (Observe that the first person singular subject marker *ni* retains its vowel in position before the object marker *ya*.)

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^huundra/ 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/fanyizó/ chimfungulila/ jisaa ye/

mkhada’iloo mp^hisi. ‘She told her all that she had done, she told her how she had deceived the hyena.’

Haye/ isa/ kалан^haani/ ninfungulile laano/ kuwa sultaani/ mpanyize 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 Nuurú/ laanó. ‘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
Hasani/ lazilopó/ Huseeni/ chiya/ mwanaamke/ shfurahaa ntʰo/ 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 lfunguloje (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 ntʰupa ‘bottle opener’
lfungulo laa tala ‘a light switch’
Lfungulo lmooyi/ nlaaká. ‘One key is mine.’
Mmereelé/ nfunguloza/ kilaa mahala. ‘I looked for my keys everywhere.’
Mpʰele nfuungulo/ za nuumaye. ‘He gave me the keys of his house.’
Nfungulo mbili/ nza Maryamu. ‘Two keys are Mariam’s.’
Nfunguloza/ zibeele. ‘My keys are lost.’ (In the speech of GM, the nasal prefix in this noun is missing from pronunciation, although it appears in his written version of the sentence.)
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 lfungulojé ‘a box and its key’; **sanduukhu/ na nfungulozé** ‘boxes and their keys’
Shʰukula lfunguloje/ 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* SED 106] (**funiile**) open (but restricted in use)
khfunulaa ntʰanu ‘to open the oven’

funuuni
 n. [Ar. *funuūn*, 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/ nakhtumba iboholi. ‘The mason is digging a hole.’
 rel.
mʰaa-fuunzi or *mʰana-fuunzi* (w-) n. 1/2 trainee, apprentice
Mʰaafuunzi/ humzida fuunzi. ‘An apprentice can become better than the craftsman (who has trained him).’ (A proverb.)

fuuq
 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; [pron. **fuuq** or **fuukh**]
Hamadi/ nakuna mataaza/ fuukh fuukh/ 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 **fuukh** is high-pitched, since it raised in pitch relative to the preceding accented syllable. The pitch seems level rather than falling over the long vowel. In the cited example, the second

occurrence of the ideophone was somewhat lower in pitch than the first occurrence. But due to our limited understanding of the contrasts in the ideophonic system, we omit pitch marking on the ideophones.)

Omari/ nakuna mataaza/ ka himaa hima/ fuuq fuuq!/ paapo/ apo/ chijamu/ shtupu/ fanyiizó. ‘Omari is drinking the porridge fast -- *fuuq fuuq!*, at once the plate he made it empty.’

fuqara adj. pl. (see **faqüiri**) [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.’ (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^heje. ‘Lit. his head swelled from the noise -- i.e. his head was pounding, in a whirl.’ (In this example, **chita** governs subject agreement on the verb, and the 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 shtana. ‘[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 mikonoye.** ‘He swelled his hands.’

inyi/ khfuura ‘for the liver to swell, become enlarged’

Ji/ furiile imilo/ kaa nk^heje. ‘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.)

Imilo/ limfuriile. ‘His throat swelled.’ (Syn. In this example, **imilo** governs subject agreement on the verb, and the experience is marked by the [cl.1] object prefix **-m(u)-** on the verb.)

Imilole/ furiile. ‘His throat swelled.’ (Syn. In this example, the verb agrees with a [cl.1] human subject, not **imilo**.)

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: **Nuuru/ furiile mkono.** ‘Nuuru’s arm swelled.’

Omari/ furiile miimba/ ka shteko. ‘Omari’s stomach swelled with laughter.’

Umfuriile mkono/ mwaana. ‘Swelled [to] him, [his] hand.’ (The second alternative has the prosody associated with right-dislocation, as **mwaana** is radically lowered relative to the initial phrase.)

Ye/ mkono/ umfuriile. [HH’H] ‘His arm swelled.’ Or: **Umfuriilo ye/ ni mkono.** [H’H] ‘What swelled was his arm [lit. what swelled him was the arm].’ Or:

Ye/ furile mkono. [H!H] ‘He became swelled 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 daqiqaa 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/ ufurila**.)

kh-fuursha v. caus. (**furshiize**) swell s.t. up; cook meat until water is gone

Ali/ mfulshize Ji/ Imilo. ‘[Lit.] Ali made Ji’s throat swell – i.e. Ali made Ji shout and argue so much that his throat became swollen.’

Iyaankuku/ ifurshiiza. ‘The egg has been boiled (lit. swelled).’

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.’

khfurshaa mp’hula ‘to swell the nose – i.e. to get angry’

Kila / mo/ shfursha mp’hulaye/ itakhatanowaayi. ‘If everyone gets angry (lit. swells his nose), how will it be negotiated, an agreement come to?’

khfursha muunt’u/ 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)’

Haliima/ mwambile mwanaashkewe/ Nuura: furshaa nama/ jisaapó/ itakangamila/ hatá/ keesho. ‘Haliima told her daughter Nuura: boil the meat, otherwise, it may go bad tomorrow.’

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’

Wafurshenye zita. ‘They bothered one another to the point that their heads were pounding.’

kh-furshanyoowa v. caus. pass.

khfurshanyowaa chikhfurshanyowaa chita (see active verb above for use)

kh-fuurshika v. caus. p/s.

Nama iyi/ haytakhfurshika/ ka khisaa mu’o/ 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**)

Furshizaa chita/ na Hamadi. ‘He was bothered so much by Hamadi that 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**.)

Nama/ ifurshiiza. ‘The meat has been cooked in water.’
Nfurshiza miimbá. ‘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.**

(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 riwu/ naa nguwó/ 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.’

Muunt^hu/ chiwanayo furaha/ tu/ hutékó. ‘Only when one has happiness does one laugh.’ (A proverb.)

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.’

Furahiiló/ khpata peesa/ ni Hasani. ‘The one who was *pleased* to get money is Hasani.’ But also: **Furahiiló/ khpata peesá/ ni Hasani.** (This is a true relative verb and one would have expected that the final accent would extend to the end of the relative clause even though the verb is emphasized, but our consultant was comfortable with both pronunciations shown. The issue of the Accentual Law of Focus being enforced in true relative clauses merits further study.)

Hasani/ furahile khpata peesa. [H!H] ‘Hasani was pleased to get money.’ (This example illustrates canonical downstep intonation. The corresponding simple yes-no question: **Hasani/ furahile khpata peesa?** [H!H] replaces the downstep of the second phrase with simple declination. The emphatic question: **Hasani/ furahile khpata peesâ!?** [H!H] retains downstep, but shifts accent in the second phrase to the final vowel, which is lengthened, with a falling pitch.)

Hasani/ furahiile/ khpata peesa. [H'H!H] ‘Hasani was *pleased* to get money.’ (We have attempted to provide some characterization of the intonation associated with the phrasing of examples in this book. It must be emphasized that these characterizations are to some extent preliminary. In the present example, where the main verb is phrasally separated from its complement, it seems safe to conclude that the verb is not subject to the usual (fairly radical) downstepping that typically occurs between the subject and such an emphasized verb. There is lowering of the verb however, which we indicate with the symbol ', in contrast to the downstep symbol !. Examining a

sequence of phrases in the Verb Phrase, it is difficult to determine whether there is a contrast between declination (') and downstep (!). We consider the lowering across Phonological Phrases in the VP to be instances of downstep. However, there does appear to be a contrast between simple downstep and a radical downstep (indicated by the symbol !!). In the present example, the final phrase is downstepped, but not radically so. A simple yes-no question is available for this sentence: **Hasani/ furahiile/ khpata peesá?** [H'H'H]. Notice the shift in accent in the final out-of-focus phrase. GM typically failed to offer an emphatic yes-no question based on a sentence with verb-emphasis, but in this example he did give **Hasani/ furahiilé/ khpata peesá!?** [H!H!H]. Notice that in the emphatic question, there is clear downstep between the subject and the emphasized verb, as well as the verb and the next phrase. Accent shifts in both the verb and in the complement to the verb. These observations conform to what we have observed in MI's speech, where we have a number of examples of emphatic questions based on inputs with an emphasized verb.)

Hasani/ furahilo khpata peesá. [H!H] 'It's Hasani who was pleased to get money.' (Focus on the subject in this example triggers the pseudo-relativization of the main verb.)

Hasani/ furahiiló/ khpata peesa. [H!H!H] 'It's Hasani who was *pleased* to get money.' (A significant intonational fact is that in this example, where the main verb is pseudo-relativized and also phrasally separated from its complement, there is downstep between the subject and the verb. This contrasts with the simple declination observed above where the phrasally separated verb is not pseudo-relativized. Note that the Accentual Law of Focus comes into play in this sentence and blocks the shift of accent in the complement. Although this pronunciation seems to be the norm, it is apparently possible to shift the accent as well: **Hasani/ furahiiló/ khpata peesá.** [H!HH]. In this pronunciation, the complement did not seem to be downstepped, which is possibly a critical aspect of this sort of example. More research is required on the failure of ALF to hold in cases where a verb is both pseudo-relativized and emphasized.)

Hasani/ isa/ nakhfuraha/ nt^o/ 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 bashirilá 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 zalíilá 'to be as happy as someone who has had a child born to him'

Majini/ wamwenopo Sa'iidi/ wafurahiile/ nt^o. 'The djinns, when they saw Sa'iidi, they were very happy.'

Mbona/ we/ sulṭaani/ chilangaḷa/ lpaandre/ la kubli/ we/ hufuraha/ nachilangaḷa/ lpaandre/ la kusooṭo/ we/ huḷa. '[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?'

Mi/ nfurahiilé/ mukhta Maryamu/ somelo chibuukú. [H!HH!H] 'I was happy when Maryamu read the book.' (There is no downstep of the subject of the *mukhta*-clause. It is not clear whether this should be taken as evidence that the *mukhta*-clause is a separate Intonational Phrase from the preceding clause, but this is certainly a possible analysis.)

Mi/ nfurahiilé/ mukhta Maryamu/ someeló/ chibuuku. [H!HHH!H] 'I was happy when Maryamu *read* the book.' (Although the matter needs further study, it appears that if some emphasis is put on *Maryamu*, the following verb is downstepped.)

Muunt^u/ furahilo khpata peesá/ ni Hasani. [H!H!H] 'The man who was pleased to get money is Hasani.'

Muunt^u/ furahiiló/ khpata peesá/ ni Hasani. [H!H!H!H] 'The man who was *pleased* to get money is Hasani.' (In this example of a true relative clause, the emphasis on the verb yields the phrasal isolation of the verb, but this phrasal separation of the verb from its complement does not lead to implementation of ALF. The final accent triggered by a true relative verb extends to the end of

the relative clause. It is odd to say *Muunt^hu/ furahiiló/ khpata peesa/ ni Hasani.)

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.’

Sarmaḷa/ shfuraha. ‘The carpenter was pleased.’

shṭakhkooḍa si shṭakhfuraha [song] ‘we shall talk and we shall rejoice’

Waant^hu/ wotte/ washfuraha. ‘All the people were happy.’

Zubeeri/ nt^hakhfuraha/ Shaafi/ kooloka. ‘Zubeeri did not like for Shaafi 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 how this verb form could be used**

kh-furahikila v. p/s. appl. (*furahikiḷiile*) be pleased for, with

Hamadi/ mfulahikiḷiile 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.’

Waant^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

Jisaa ye/ husoomó/ suura/ hufurahisha. ‘His way of reading is good, it pleases me.’

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/ oloshale 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.**

Lamna yaa ye/ husoomó/ suura/ hufurahisha. ‘His kind of reading is good, it pleases me.’

Mambo aya/ hayanfurahishi/ mi/ ni/ nnaakulá/ kama ndimí/ 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/ khkooḍa/ 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 maṭezo/ imfurahisize Nuuru. ‘For you to win the game

pleased Nuuru.’

kh-furahishiliza v. tr. appl.

Nuuru/ mfurahishilize Suufi/ mwaana. ‘Nuuru pleased Suufi’s child.’

kh-furahishilizanya v. tr. appl. rec.

Nuuru/ na Omari/ wafurahishilizenye waana. ‘Nuuru and Omari pleased one another’s children.’

kh-furahishoowa v. caus. pass.

waana hufurahishoowa, jiraani hudufaṭoowa [song] ‘children are made happy, neighbors are embraced’

kh-furahoowa v. pass. [Sw. *furahiwa* ‘be pleased (with), be made happy (by), be rejoiced (at)’ SSED 107] be made joyful by

iidi hufurahoowa, na zawaadi hawanyoowa [song] ‘on *iidi* there is being made joyful, na gifts are shared’

Sheekhi chifa huḷowaayi/ ni muunt^hi wa khfurahoowa [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

mfurahisha waant^hu ‘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

furḍa

n. port
furḍaani ‘at the port’

furqaani

n. [Ar. *al-furqān* W 709] the Koran

fursa

n. [Ar. *furṣa* W 705] opportunity, chance

Ameerika/ yiko furṣa/ khpatowa peesa. ‘In America there is opportunity to make money (lit. for money to be made).’

Furṣa/ ha’ibashoowi. ‘An opportunity should never be lost.’ (A proverb.)

khpata furṣa ‘to find the opportunity’

Mi/ skuwanaayo/ furṣa/ ya kumwambila mukeewa/ chiza kuya apa. ‘I had no

chance to warn my wife not to come here.

Omari/ nt^hashtiya/ laakini/ tayaari/ khfanya chiint^hu/ nakulindra fursaye. ‘Omari wasn't afraid, but ready for action, waiting his chance.’

Takuya kumdafkula/ naayé/ uyu/ takuwa peete/ fursa/ kumwub^laa 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**]
- furuuta** n. fruit
Habaa kamu/ furuuta/ we/ nakhsuuló. ‘How many (pieces of) fruit do you want?’
Hamadi/ furuuta/ yaa ye/ hupeendó/ ni embe, ye/ husuula/ mazu/ nt^ho/ laakini/ itika/ habamooyi. ‘Hamadi’s favorite fruit is mango. He likes bananas a lot, but watermelon only a little. He really wanted to eat a mango, but he just ate a banana.’
- fus.ha** n. [Ar. *fusha* W 712] break, leave, vacation; variant form: **fas.ha**
Keesho/ skhaadira/ khfanya kaazi/ nakhtala fas.há/ endra ka dakh^ttari. ‘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, fuuile**) 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/ mtuzi. ‘You (pl.) don’t eat slurpingly the soup!’
- kh-fuuta** v. [Ar. *fāta, faut* W 730] (**fuuile**) miss something
Chaakuja/ chikhufuuile. ‘You missed a lot of food!’
Imfuuile. ‘[Lit.] something missed him -- i.e. he missed something.’
Maambo/ yakhufuuiló. ‘What excitement you missed!’
muke umriwe sho mfuuta fadila [st.] ‘a woman who in her life never failed to do good deeds’
- kh-futuka** v. intr. [Sw. *futuka* SSED 108] (**fu^tushile**) appear, emerge (e.g. plants from the ground); be revealed; stick out, protrude, pop out
Mbona/ fu^tushile ka mahalaamp^hi. ‘Say, where did he pop out from?’
Mwenye/ tukile nyaanya/ ka ba’a/ yimo nt^huundrú/ ye/ nt^hakiwa/ nyaanya/ niingi/ sfu^tushiló/ fud fud fud!/ bila/ yaa ye/ kiiwa. ‘Mwenye carried tomatoes in a plastic bag with a hole in it, which he did not know, a lot of tomatoes fell out, **fud fud fud!** without him knowing.’
rel.
kh-futula 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: **khfuṭuṣha**
- rel.
kh-fuṭulafuṭula v. give birth over and over
variant form: **khfuṭuṣhafuṭuṣha**
- fuṭuluq** ideo. of popping in
Omari/ sho khfilatiloowa/ tu/ fuṭulukh/ ingile mtanaani/ ka Haliima.
'Omari without being expected, perhaps accidentally, entered Haliima's room.'
- 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
Dakhṭari/ 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** meal eaten in the evening after fasting
n. [Sw. noun *fuṭari* and verb *fuṭuru* SSED 208; Ar. *fiṭr* W719 and *faṭūr* W 720] first evening after fasting
Nt^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 file/ ilu ya mafuwaye iskaṭiile [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 lfuwooni/ 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 sulṭaani/ mi/ nnakendra lfuwooni/ kumeramera khabari za mkuḷá. '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.'

Mukhtaa 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.'

Nuuhu/ 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.'

Oloshale Ifuwooni. 'He went to the beach.'

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.'

Or: **Nfuye/ haawoni/ tuusiye/ huwona ya wiingine.** 'A monkey does not see his ass, he sees the ass of others.' (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/ suła kuwa nishkilile na khalbiya/ ka mutiini. 'If I had known needed the heart of a monkey as medicine, I would have down from the tree with my heart.'

that you
come

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 nfuye/ maduriini.**

rel.

i-fuye (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

sh-fuye (s-) n. 7/8 dim.

kh-fuuz

v. [Sw. *fuzu* SED 109; Ar. *fauz* "to be successful" W 732] (**fuziize**) succeed, pass (an examination)

Fuzize imtihaani. 'She passed the examination.'

Kila/ mubjaana/ jaribiiló/ nt^hakhfuuz/ na tinzila chitaache. 'Each young man who tried did not succeed, and he had his head cut off.'

Mukhtaa we/ hudaalato khsomá/ we/ takhfuz. 'When you study hard, you succeed.'

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/ kumfulija shkooya. ‘The woman went and gave a blacksmith those fifty shillings to forge for her a necklace.’

G

ku-gabaṭa

v. [Som. *gabbo* "seek shelter from s.t." DSI 246] (**gabeṭe**) hide (in order to surprise someone), seek shelter (e.g., under something)

kugabaṭa gaari ‘to hold onto the back of a running vehicle’

Gabeṭe gaari. ‘He held onto the vehicle at the back.’

Omari/ gabeṭe nṭ^hini yaa muti. ‘Omari took shelter under a tree.’

rel.

ku-gabaṭika v. p/s.

ku-gabaṭisha v. caus.

Omari/ mgabaṭishize mwaana/ nṭ^hini yaa muti. ‘Omari had the child take shelter under a tree.’

ku-gabaṭishana v. caus. rec.

ku-gabaṭishika v. caus. p/s.

ku-gabaṭishiliza v. caus. appl.

Omari/ mgabaṭishilize Iisa/ mwaana/ nṭ^hini yaa muti. ‘Omari had Iisa’s child take shelter under a tree.’

ku-gabaṭishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Omari/ na Nuuru/ wagabaṭishilizenye waana/ nṭ^hini yaa muti. ‘Omari and Nuuru had one another’s children take shelter under a tree.’

rel. nom.

u-gabaṭo n. 14 act of hiding, seeking shelter

ku-gadika

v. intr. [Som. *geddi* DSI 263] (**gadishile**) turn, turn over, change

variant form: **kugedika** [used by our original consultant, MI] (**gedishile**)

Ka paapo/ nyunyi/ zigidishile/ 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.’

Kuḷa/ chiint^hu/ gedika/ shokuwa chint^hu chimooyi. ‘Everything changes except one thing.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **qabiila** ‘clan’.)

Mi/ ngadishilé. ‘I turned.’ (Cf. **We/ ngadishilé.** ‘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 in pronunciation.)

Mp^haamp^ha/ chigedika/ kuruda kaake/ mutiini. ‘The shark turned and went back to his (the monkey’s) tree.’

rel.

ku-gadikoowa v. pass.

ku-gadisha v. caus. (**gadishiize**) turn something; change (clothes); cause someone to change his ideas etc.

variant form: **kugedisha** (**gedishiize**) used by MI

chiṭa na shkosi gadisha mara mbili [st.] ‘turn the head and neck two times’

kugadisha kooḍi ‘to change one’s story, one’s version of some matter’

kugadisha Iwarakha ‘to turn the page’

kugadisha mwaana ‘to turn a child over (on his side, e.g.)’

kugadishaa nguwo ‘to change clothes’

Miimba/ inakungadisha/ inakunfanya choolo. ‘The stomach is disturbing me (lit. changing me), I feel like defecating (lit. it is making me defecate).’

ku-gadishagadisha v. freq.

ku-gadishoowa v. caus. pass. (**gadishiiza**)

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.**

Haṭá/ sheekhi/ hugafa/ ka moojé. 'Even sheekh makes mistake to his God (i.e. nobody is perfect, pure).' (A proverb.)

Kugafaa ndila/ siwo/ khtowaa ndila/ ni kubaraṭaa ndila. 'To miss the road is not to lack the road but to learn the road.' (A proverb.)

Kugafa/ ni kubaraṭa. 'To make a mistake is to learn.' (A proverb.)

Kugafa/ siwo/ ebu. 'To make a mistake is not shameful.' (A proverb.)

Mi/ ngafiilé. '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.)

Muunt^hu/ yaa ye/ andikiililá/ haagafi. 'One does not miss whatever is destined/prescribed for him.' (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 siṭa 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/ ngafiilé. 'You (pl.) made a mistake.' (Phon. Our orthography does not indicate that there is a difference between **ngafiilé** 'I made a mistake' and **ngafiilé** '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/ mahaḷaa si/ hashtakugafa/ mawiindo. 'Do you know any place where we will be certain to find prey?'

Nt^haku/ 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/ laṭiiló/ 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/ harusiini/ zivaliko zaakuja/ anwa'i anwaa'i. 'The things that you missed at the wedding! There were different kinds of food.'

Ya mojiitu/ khandikiililó/ hugafi. 'What God prescribes you you will not miss it.' (A proverb.)

Ya mojiitu/ ozeló/ 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-gafila v. appl. (**gafilile**) 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/ ngafilile. ‘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; variant form: **magafu**

Magafuye/ yanakoonyesha/ kuwaa ye/ nthana/ khpata/ mphumuzi/ waafi. ‘His mistakes show that he is not getting enough rest.’

Muuntu/ shkhira magafoye/ hafishoowa. ‘When one accepts his mistakes he is forgiven.’ (A proverb.)

We/ daa’imu/ hubarata ka magafuyo. ‘You always learn from your mistakes.’

ku-gafila v. (**gafilile**) 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/ ngafilile. ‘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* SSED 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/ mtĩlĩle Hamadi/ mwaana/ kugaguna ruuhuye. ‘Omari [lit. instilled in] Hamadi’s child to scratch himself.’)

ku-gagunishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. (-gagunishilizeenye)

Omari/ na Nuurú/ wagagunishilizenye waana/ ruhu zaawo. ‘Omari and Nuuru caused one another’s children to scratch themselves.’ (A periphrastic alternative exists:

Omari/ na Nuurú/ watĩlĩlene 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-)

n. 3/4 [Ar. *maqhāya* "coffeehouse" W 795] restaurant, coffee shop

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 *liquor* 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 migahawaani. ‘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 magaaḷa. ‘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 Chimini 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

<i>chi-n-galaawa</i>	n. [Sw. <i>ngalawa</i> SSED 334] a type of boat (according to SSED "a small dug-out canoe with outriggers") not much seen anymore in Brava
<i>ku-galgala</i>	v. [Sw. <i>gaagaa, garagara, galagala</i> SSED 110] (<i>galgeele</i>) 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. <i>ku-galgalika</i> v. p/s. <i>ku-galgaliza</i> v. tr. appl. <i>ku-galgalizanya</i> v. tr. appl. rec. <i>ku-galgaza</i> v. tr. (<i>galgeeze</i>) roll s.t. from side to side, toss around (Morph: Stems ending in <i>l</i> form their 'causative' by transforming the <i>l</i> to <i>z</i> . 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.' <i>ku-galgazanya</i> v. tr. rec. rel. nom. <i>m-galgala</i> (<i>wa-</i>) n. 1/2 one who rolls from side to side <i>u-galgalo</i> n. 14 <i>m-galgaza</i> (<i>wa-</i>) n. 1/2 <i>u-galgazo</i> n. 14
<i>ku-galmata</i>	v. [Som.] (<i>galmeete</i>) to have sex Omari/ galmeete na mukeewe. 'Omari had sexual intercourse with his wife.' (Observe that when <i>na</i> 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 <i>na</i> 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 <i>na</i> -phrase is post-verbal.) Omari/ na mukeewé/ galmeetó. 'Omari and <i>his wife</i> 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.)
<i>galtu</i>	adj. [Som. <i>galti</i> "foreigner; uncivilized, uncouth" DSI 253] uncivilized; ignorant of s.t.
<i>Galwaani</i>	n. the name of a large building in Brava where there is a bus staging area
<i>galadi</i>	n. [Som. <i>gallad</i> DSI 252] favor, help (from God or man) <i>mtume shiilo galadi na faoila</i> [st.] 'the prophet who helped and favored us'
<i>gamasi</i>	n. [Som. <i>gamas</i> "type of battle spears, small spears"] <i>na wiimbili waawo ni gamasi mbili</i> [st.] 'and their sons were two brave men'
<i>n-gaamba</i>	n. [Sw. <i>kamba</i> SSED 170] shrimp
<i>n-gaamba</i>	n. [Sw. <i>ng'amba</i> "a kind of hawk's head turtle, from which tortoise-shell is procured" SSED 334] tortoise with incrustations on its back, not eaten
<i>chi-gaambari</i> (<i>zi-</i>)	n. 7/8 [Som. <i>gambar</i> DSI 253] a locally-made small stool with top made of leather or stretched cow hide (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
- gambaruusi* n. shrimp (In Brava, *gambaruusi* were not traditionally eaten, except by people who had some association with Italians and foreigners generally.)
rel.
i-gambaruusi (*mi-*) n. aug. shrimp
Migambaruusi/ hutawanyoowa/ want^hu wa Miini/ hawaaji/ migambaruusi. ‘Shrimps are discarded, the people of Brava do not eat shrimps.’
Want^hu wa Miini/ hawa’isi/ kuja migambaruusi. ‘People of Brava do not know to eat shrimps.’
- 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’iyo. ‘The (dim.) car won’t overturn for you that way.’
Gaari/ imgambikiile. ‘The car overturned on (or onto) him.’
ku-gambikiiloowa v. intr. appl. pass.
Ali/ gambikiila 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 baaði ‘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/ wont^he/ 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 **wont^he**, 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^hoosata/ kana gamuuni ‘to be straight as an arrow’
N^hakhu^hosisha/ kana gamuuni. ‘I will make you straight as an arrow (i.e. discipline you).’
Omari/ toseete/ 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.
- ganaaha** n. [Som. *ganaax* DSI 254] a fine (that one must pay)
kubiga ganaaha ‘to impose a fine’
Poliisi/ mbishile Ali/ ganaaha/ pisilee ndila/ ya ghal^hta. ‘The police fined Ali, he went the wrong way on the road.’
kubigowa ganaaha ‘to be penalized’
Omari/ bishi^hla ganaaha/ ragiile/ kulipa deeniye. ‘Omaro was fined, he was late repaying his debt.’
- 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 kakal^hila/ ha^hashindroowa/ kiiwa/ ije yimo sandukhuuni. ‘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
Haliima/ fungile chigaango/ chaa nsi. ‘Haliima opened a tin of fish.’
Omari/ lesele zigango ziwili/ za ananaasi. ‘Omari brought two tin cans of

pineapple.’

Suukari/ yimo chigangooni. ‘Sugar is in a tin can.’

rel.

i-gaango n. aug. big tin can

Hamadi/ nakubiga igaango. ‘Hamadi is beating a big tin can (like a drum).’

Omari/ lesele mafta/ ka igaango. ‘Omari brought oil with big 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? (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/ eha 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 mwaaná. ‘Which book have you given to the child?’

Chibuku gani/ mpelo mwaaná/ 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 Hamadi/ uziló.** ‘I saw the car that Hamadi bought.’ Or: **Mbene Hamadi/ gari yaa yó/ 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?’)

Yuuzila gaari/ lamna gani. ‘What kind of car was bought?’

Mahaḷa 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^hulu. ‘What a great wonder!’

Ni koḍi gani/ izi. ‘What kind of words are these?’

Ni munt^hu gani/ takhadiro khpanza zombo izó/ okó. ‘Which man can take those things up there?’

Nk^halent^he mahaḷa 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).’ (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?’ (In this example, **Nuuru** may be followed by a pause or not.) (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^hu gani. ‘He bought what things?’ Or: **Uzile/ zint^hu gani**. ‘He *bought* what things?’ Or: **Ni zint^hu gani/ ye/ uziló**. ‘It is what things that he bought?’
Wakhtj 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 mwaaná/ chibuku gani. ‘You gave the child which book?’
- ganjeela** n. [Ital. *cancello*] (=i-laango, the augmentative form of **m-laango** ‘door’) gate
ganjeelaani ‘at the gate’
- n-gano** n. 9 [Sw. *ngano* SSED 335] wheat
nganoo mbiti ‘uncooked wheat (in grains)’
unga waa ngano ‘wheat flour’
- garabu** n. [Som. *garab* "shoulder; support" DSI 256] shoulder; help, support
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.’
kh-panana garabu ‘to give one another support’
Wazaleeno/ laazimu/ khpanana garabu. ‘Relatives must support each other.’ (A proverb.)
khpata garabu ‘to get support’
Nuuru/ pete garabu/ suura/ ka weenzawe/ fungilee duka/ nk^hulu/ ya alimentaare. ‘Nuuru got great support from his friends, he opened a large food shop.’
khpatisha garabu ‘to help get supporters’
Abdi/ mpatishize Omari/ garabu. ‘Abdi helped Omari acquire support.’
kh^towa garabu ‘to not get support’
Muunt^hu/ sh^towa garabu/ siwo/ sahali/ kolokaa mbele. ‘If one lacks support, it is not easy to move forward.’
kh^toza garabu ‘to lose support’
Abdó/ m^tozeze mweenzawe/ garabu. ‘Abdo caused his friend to lose supporters.’
kingila garabuuni ‘[lit.] to enter in the shoulder -- i.e. to help, assist’
Hasani/ mweenzawe/ Nuuru/ mwingilo garabuuni/ khfungula warshada/ ya zilaatu. ‘It is Hasani’s friend Nuuru who supported him in opening a shoe factory.’
Mojiitu/ nakhingile garabuuni. ‘May God assist you (in what you are planning to do).’
kubasha garabu ‘to lose support’
Omari/ bashize garabu/ mku^lé/ Ali/ kufa. ‘Omari lost support (due to) his brother Ali passing away.’
kumpa garabu ‘to help, give support to s.o.’
Mi/ nakhusulaa we/ Hamadi/ kumpaa garabu/ ka jawabu iyo. ‘Me, I want you, Hamadi, to assist me in that matter.’
kumtila muunt^hu/ garabuuni ‘to take someone as an assistant, to provide someone with help’
Muunt^hu/ walaaliwe/ humtila garabuuni. ‘One must give support to his relative.’
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/ ha^tiindi/ 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.’
Muunt^hu/ suura/ kumpa garabu/ waake. ‘It is good for someone to help, give support to his (friend, relative, etc.).’

Mwajiitu/ mwingile garabuuni. ‘God helped him [lit. entered his shoulder].’
rel.

i-garabu (ma-) n. aug.

nayo magarabu mawili akhdari [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?’)

Hafisaani/ garachaani/ hulindra wakhti wiingi. ‘At the office in the garage one waits for a long time.’

garaada

n. rank

Karka waant^{bu}/ wa Miini/ garaada/ ya jeneraale/ komeeló/ ni Sa'id Mariina. ‘Among the people of Brava, the rank of general, the one who reached it is Said Mariina.’

garambiyoole

n. 9/10 apron

Garambiyoole/ ya dakhtari/ daa'imu/ ni nelpe. ‘The apron of a doctor is always white.’

Kooko/ rasmi/ laazimu/ kuvala garambiyoole/ mukhtaay ye/ nakhpikó. ‘An official cook must wear an apron when he cooks.’

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/ kumbiga 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/ yandishila 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’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.’

Numbaani/ chiwona garbisaari/ nṯhi. ‘In the house, he saw the veil on the floor.’

gardara

n. [Som. *gardarro* DSI 258] fault, wrong or unjust behavior

Gardara/ hayiineendri. ‘Fault, wrongness does not walk/ work.’ (A proverb.)

Mp^hele ruuhuyá/ gardará. ‘I attributed the fault to myself.’

Muunt^hu/ ha’etoowi/ ka gardara. ‘A person is not blamed with faults.’ (A proverbial saying.) *meaning?*

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.’

We/ ni gardará. ‘You are at fault.’

gardi

n.

Gardi/ ipitiḷa muskitiini. ‘Marching passed the mosque.’ Also: **Muskitiini/ ipitiḷa gardi.** ‘The mosque there was marching to.’

ka gardi ‘with marching’

Ma’askari/ wapisile muskitiini/ ka gardi. ‘The soldiers marched past the mosque.’ Also: **Muskitiini/ ipisiḷa ka gardi.** ‘There was passing the mosque with marching.’ **Muskiti/ upisiḷa ka gardi.** ‘The mosque was passed with marching.’

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

Chaayi/ shtilowa garfa/ hununk^ha miskhi/ huwa chisuura. ‘Tea, when cinnamon is added, smells good, it gets better.’

Garfa/ huhadoowa/ kuwa nii dawa. ‘Cinnamon is said to be a remedy (for certain illnesses).’

ku-gargaara

v. [Som. verb *gargaar* DSI 258] (**gargariile**) help

Baana/ mgargariile Hamadi. ‘Baana helped Hamadi.’

ichigargariilo ni kubiga adaana [nṯ.] ‘making the *adaana* 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. The obligatory reply is: **alhamdulillah** ‘praise be to God’.)

mundra wa Mawlaana/ mgargariḷo Hamadí/ kulimá ‘the field that Mawlaana helped Hamadi to cultivate’

rel.

ku-gargaroowa v. pass. (**gargariḷa**) be helped

Hamadi/ gargariḷa kulima muundra/ na Baana. ‘Hamadi was helped to cultivate the field by Baana.’

gargaari

n. 9/10 [Som. noun *gargaar* DSI 258] help, aid

Chiintʰu/ chisuura/ khfanyoowa/ ni kulindra gargaari/ kuwasila. ‘The best thing to do would be to wait for help to arrive.’

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, justice

Gari/ huṭiindó/ ni mojiitu. ‘The right decision, the one who makes it is God.’ (A proverb.)

Gari/ huṭomola mojiitu. ‘Justice comes from God.’ (A proverb.)

Gari/ huwanaayó/ ni muntʰu mooyi/ tu. ‘There is only one person who has the right decision.’ (A saying.)

Gari/ ishtindoowa/ hurashoowa. ‘When a right decision is made, it is followed.’ (A saying.)

Hamadi/ nayoo gari/ kumwiliza mwaanawe/ peesa. ‘Hamadi has the right to refuse his child money.’

Iyo/ ni gari. ‘That’s right.’

khpaar gari ‘to attribute a lack of fault to; tell someone that he is right’

Khpaar gari/ ka wanaafakhi/ siwo/ suura. ‘To give support (in winning an argument) by telling lies is not good.’

khṭomolaa gari ‘to make judgment what is right, just’

khṭowaa gari ‘to not be in the right’

Suufi/ ṭozelee 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 Ali/ 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).’

khṭalaa 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/ mweenzawe. ‘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/ muḷe/ 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/ ntʰaná/ gari. ‘Omari is wrong (he does not have right on his side).’

Siwo/ gari/ Faatima/ kiza kumziyarata mbujé. ‘It is not right for Faatima to refuse to visit her sister.’

We/ nayoo gari/ khsuḷa kiiwa/ zaaydi/ tarafu ya iyi. ‘You are right to want to know more about this.’

We/ nayoo gari/ za chiza khkoḷa naami. ‘You have the right not to talk to me.’

- 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 **fatuuura** 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.**
Kanaa we/ nakhsuḷa khpata gaari/ khṭukulá/ chiint^hu/ suura/ chaa we/ khfaanya/ ni kumvīla Abú. ‘If you want to get a ride the best thing to do is to call Abu.’
khpandra gaari ‘to climb aboard a truck’; also: **khpandrowa gaari** (passive), **khpandrika gaari** (potential-stative)
Gari ya Nuuru/ yiko sukhuuni/ inakhsaafira/ inakhpandroowa. ‘Nuuru’s truck is at the market, it is going on a journey, it is being boarded.’
Gari ya Omari/ nt^hayna/ ngazi/ ha’ipaandriki/ ilu. ‘Omari’s truck cannot be climbed on, it has no ladder.’
khshika gaari/ farina ‘to apply brakes of a car’
Sheekhuna/ shishile gaari/ fariina/ kaa nguvu/ qiiq!/ qariibu/ kumbiga muunt^hu. ‘Sheekhuna pushed the car’s brakes with force, *chiiq!* he almost hit a man.’
magari ya Nuuru ‘Nuuru’s cars’
Mp^hatīlīle gaari/ kuulá. ‘I got a wheel for the car.’
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’
Chigaari/ chileteleḷa chijuulu. ‘This cart was brought a wheel for it.’ Or: ‘This cart was used to bring a wheel.’
- 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/ haṭá/ ngarirseeté. ‘It is thundering to point that I am trembling.’
- rel.
ku-garirsatoowa v. pass.
Mikuwa/ yanakubiga/ haṭá/ 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
Omari/ waliko ni gashaani/ wa Haliima. ‘Omari was Haliima’s paramour.’
rel.
u-gashaani n. the act of taking a paramour
Diini/ ya islaamu/ huhada/ ugashaani/ ni haraamu. ‘Islam says that taking a paramour is forbidden.’
- 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.)
Mafaarisi/ huhadoowa/ kuwa ni waant^hu/ magaasi. ‘Persians are said to be brave people.’
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’ (Sayyidina 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; pl: **magawaadi**
Gawaadi/ ni munt^hu wa muḷooni. ‘A pimp is a man of hellfire.’ (A proverb.)
Zamaani/ Mwiini/ wawaaliko/ magawaadi/ wiingi. ‘During old times there were many pimps in Brava.’
rel.
u-gawaadi n. 14 the profession of being a pimp
Ka diini/ ya Islaamu/ ugawaadi/ ni haraamu. ‘In Islam, pimping is unlawful.’
- 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-gaawisha** v. [Som. *gaaban* “to be short (person, thing, fig.)” DSI 241] (**gawishiize**) shorten; proceed at a slow pace
Hamadi/ leelo/ gawishiize/ sa’a za kaazi/ ka sababu/ chidharara/ kumdirka waawaye/ nakhsaafira/ nakendra Mkhodiisho. ‘Hamadi today reduced hours of work because he was in hurry to reach his dad; he is traveling going to Mogadishu.’

- Muunthu/ koođi/ suura/ kugaawisha/ maneno miingi/ siwo/ suura.** ‘For someone to talk less is good, too much talking is not good.’
watakugaawisha mweendro/ hatta itakofatoowa [st.] ‘the pace is so slow, the people will tire’
rel.
ku-gawishoowa v. to be made short
Koođi/ suura/ kugawishoowa. ‘It is good to keep discussion short.’ (A proverb.)
takbiiri ziiko mbele/ m(w)eendro unagawishoowa [st.] ‘those repeating ‘God is great’ are in front, (proceeding) at a slow pace’
- n-gawo** n. [Sw. *ngao* SSED 335] outer wall of a hut, made of wooden poles and plastered with cow dung
Gari ya Sheekhi/ ibishile ariishi/ ya Faatima/ ivunzilee ngawo. ‘Sheekhi’s car hit the house of Faatima and broke the sidewall.’
- 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/ shtakhuwelela feđa. ‘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.’
- gazeeti (Ø, ma-)** n. 9/10, 6 [Ital. *gazzetta*] newspaper (not commonly used in Brava, where **jornaale** is the preferred form, but is used in Kenya)
Duka/ mahala wé/ takhadiro kula zibuukú/ na magazeeti/ huuza. ‘The shop where you can buy books also sells newspapers.’
gazeeti izi ‘these newspapers’
magazeeti aya ‘these newspapers’
Magazeeti/ yachilawa ka shtalyaani. ‘Newspapers used to come out in Italian.’
Omari/ hupeenda/ khsoma magazeeti. ‘Omari likes to read newspapers.’
Zamaani/ nt^hasa ya istikhlaali/ Mkhodiisho/ schilawa/ gazeeti/ ka shtalyaani. ‘During old times before independence, in Mogadishu newspapers were coming out in Italian.’
- n-gazi** n. 9/10 [Sw. *ngazi* SSED 335] ladder
Hasani/ uzilee ngazi/ khpandrilaa miti. ‘Hasani bought a ladder to climb trees with.’
mi’raji ni ngazi nt^hayna mithaali [st.] ‘[the Prophet’s] ascension is a ladder that has no equal’
Mpandraa ngazi/ mwiishowe/ hishkiila. ‘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.
Igazi iyo/ yile/ haťa/ chilungu cha taano/ hukhadiroowa/ khpandriiloowa. ‘That big ladder is so tall, even five storeys are

able to be climbed up.’

chi-ge (zi-) n. 7/8 [Sw. *kigwe* SSED 191] a small rope; tie, link
khfungaa chige ‘to tie a small rope’
khpaaa chige ‘to divorce (pay a wife divorce money)’; also: **khpowaa chige**,
khpeleloowaa chige
Muke/ chiwa mwovu/ hupowa chigeeche. ‘If a wife is bad, she is given her divorce money.’
Nimpele chigeeché. ‘[Lit.] I gave her her tie -- i.e. I divorced her.’
Omari/ mwanaashkewe/ lasila/ ka ziwovu/ haṭá/ chige/ nt^hakhpoowa. ‘Omari’s daughter has been divorced in a bad way, even the divorce money was not given.’
Umi/ ndiyé/ sulilo kulaṭoowá/ nakhpeleloowani/ chige. ‘Umi is the one who wanted a divorce, for what is she being given divorce money?’

n-ge n. generic term for centipedes, scorpions
Chimpoṭeleṭaa nge/ mkulu. ‘A large scorpion fell on him.’
nge ya magaandro ‘scorpion’
nge ya milu miingi ‘centipede’
Ba’adi ya waant^h/ wachiwona nge ya milu miingi/ kaawo/ numbaani/ hawamuḅli/ 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.)

geddi n. 9/10 [Som. *geddi* "side, part"] side (e.g. of town) **more examples**
rel.
geddigeddi adv. upside down

gedogeeḁo n. [Som. *geed* "tree" and *geedagoo* "to make witchcraft" DSI 264] witchcraft
rel.
chi- gedogeeḁo (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)
gedogeeḁoole (*ma-*) n. [Som.] witch
geḁoole 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 geḁoole. ‘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
khshikowa geefu ‘to have hiccups (lit. to be held by hiccups)’
Chishikowa geefu/ na ikopa ya mayi bardi. ‘If you have hiccups, drink a glass of cold water.’
koloka geefu ‘to hiccup’

geemu n. [Eng. *game*] game

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 maize (to pound).’

Ponzelee gele. ‘She pounded the maize.’

Shkapu cha maame/ chiyelee 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)’

Huja/ kana/ ngeena. ‘He eats like a crocodile.’

Omari/ kuja/ ha’imṭoshi/ huja/ kana/ ngeena. ‘Omari, food does not suffice him, he eats like crocodile.’

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.

generaale

n. general **review the 1**

Ma’askari/ humbigila saluti/ generaale. ‘Soldiers salute the general.’

m-geeni (*wa-*)

n. 1/2 [Sw. *mgeni* (*wa-*) SSED 113] guest, stranger, foreigner (but younger speakers prefer the word *martji*)

Awa/ hawaṭomoli/ chaayi. [HH!H] ‘These ones do not offer tea.’ Cf. **Chaayi/**

hasṭomoli/ na awa. [H!H!H] ‘Tea is not offered by them.’ Cf.

Hasṭomolowi na awá/ ni chaayi. [H!H] ‘That which was offered by them is tea.’

Jaama/ mwene Nuuru/ na mgeení. ‘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 stranger (in another country).’ (A proverb.)

Mgeeni/ lesele chaayi. [H!H] ‘The guest brought tea.’ Cf. **Chaayi/ leeseló/ mgeeni.** [H!H!H] ‘Tea, the one who brought it is the guest.’ Cf. **Chaayi/ chileseja na**

mgeeni. [H!H] ‘Tea was brought by the guest.’ Cf. **Chileseja na mgeeni/ ni**

chaayi. [H!H] ‘What was brought by the guest is 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].’ (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*’
Nimulīlee mbujá/ geresii mbilí. ‘I bought two *gereesi* for my sister.’
 rel.
chi-gereesi (*zi-*) n. dim. 7/8 (disparaging)
Chigeresi gani/ icho/ chaa we/ nulīlō. ‘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/ nulīlō. ‘What sort of *zigeresi* are these that you have bought for me?’
- ghaa* ideo. of the sound of crows
Midafa/ yanaakuḷa/ ghaa ghaa ghaa. ‘The crows are crying *ghaa 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.’
- ghaadiri* 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.’
Simba/ 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 mwaalimú. ‘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-ghaḍibikoowa v. pass. (*ghaḍibishiḷa*)
Kughaḍabikoowa/ bilaa ma’ana/ siwo/ suura. ‘For one to get angry without any reason is not good.’
Kughaḍabikoowa kilaa wakhṭi/ siwo/ suura. ‘For one to get angry every time is not good.’
ku-ghaḍibisha v. caus. (*ghaḍibishiize*)
Mwaana/ mghaḍibishize mwaalimu. ‘The child made the teacher angry.’
ku-ghaḍibishanya v. caus. rec. (*-ghaḍibisheenyē*) make one another angry
Nuuru/ na Alí/ waghāḍibisheenyē. ‘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. (*-ghaḍibishilizeenyē*) make someone angry on one another
Waghāḍibishilizenyē 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.'

- ghaðabu** n. 9/10 [Ar. *ḡaḏab* W 676] anger
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.'
Ghaðabu/ nt^hayná/ adabu. 'Anger has no courtesy.' (A proverb.)
ka ghaðabu 'angrily'
wenye mabunduqu huuya ka ghaðabu [nt.] 'men armed with guns come with anger'
khtila ghaðabu 'to make angry'
Ruuhuya/ iyele ułazozo/ na ghaðabú. 'My soul is full of pain and anger.'
- ghaðbaani** adj. [Ar. *ḡaḏbān* W 676] angry
Majini/ nt^hawakhaadira/ kujiiba/ ka jis'iyó/ wachiyondrokela/ naawó/ ghaðbaaní. 'The djinns could not answer and therefore they left the place angry.'
munt^hu ghaðbaani 'angry person'; **want^hu ghaðbaani** 'angry people'
- ghaffaarú** (gemination to be checked) adj. (cf. **ghafuuru**) [Ar. *ḡaffār* W 678] an attribute of God (much forgiving).
- 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
Mojiitú/ 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)
Mojiitú/ hughafira ðambi. 'God forgives sins.'
Mojiitú/ ni mwenye kughafira ðambi. 'God is the one who forgives sins.' (A proverb.)
rel.
ku-ghafirila v. appl. (**ghafiriliile**) forgive one's sins for one (of God)
kughafirila ðambi 'to forgive someone his sins'
Mwajiitú/ takinsaameha/ kinghafirila. 'God will pardon you and forgive you your sins.'
ku-ghafiriloowa v. appl. pass. (**ghafiriliila**)
huloomba Mooja kun'aafu/ ðambi kughafiriloowa[st.] 'I implore God to obliterate my sins/ may God pardon my sins'
Namnomba mojiitú/ kughafirilowa ðambizá. 'I am begging God to be forgiven my sins.'
ku-ghafiroowa v. pass. be forgiven
Kubla/ siwo/ ðambi ya kughafiroowa. 'Killing is not a sin, crime that can be forgiven.'
rel. nom.
m-ghafira n. 1 a name of God

<i>ghaafiri</i>	n. a name for God (God the forgiver)
<i>ghaf̣la</i>	<p>n. [Sw. <i>ghafula</i> SSED 114; Ar. <i>ḡafla</i> W 678] ghaf̣la/ kana ajali ‘as unexpected, sudden as a death’ ka ghaf̣la [Sw. <i>kwa ghafula</i> SSED 114] ‘suddenly’, unexpectedly’ Ka ghaf̣la/ Omari/ fiile/ jima. [HHH!!H] ‘Unexpectedly Omari died on Friday.’ (A time adverbial may be preposed to initial position without any radical raising in its pitch. There is no downstep in the pre-verbal phrases, but the time adverbial at the end is radically lowered.) Omari/ fiile/ ka ghaf̣la/ jima. ‘Omari died unexpectedly on Friday.’ (In an example like this, the phrasally separated verb escapes downstep intonation, although the following phrases are lowered.) Omari/ file ka ghaf̣la/ jima. Omari/ filee jima/ ka ghaf̣la. ‘Omari died on <i>Friday</i> unexpectedly.’ (Emphasis on <i>jima</i> is obtained here putting it in IAV position and phrasing it with the verb. Another means of emphasis <i>jima</i> is illustrated by the sentence: Omari/ fiile/ jima/ ka ghaf̣la. [HH[^]H!!H]. Here the radical raising of <i>jima</i> induces a radical downstep on the following complement.) Omari/ fiile/ ka ghaf̣la/ jima. [H[^]H!!H!H] ‘Omari <i>died</i> unexpectedly on Friday.’ (In this example, the verb is strongly emphasized by radically raising its pitch, which triggers then a radical downstep of the adverbial complement <i>ka ghaf̣la</i>. The time adverbial following is also lowered in pitch, although it is difficult to say whether it is a radical downstep or not.)</p> <p>rel. <i>u-ghaf̣la</i> n. 14 suddenness</p>
<i>ghafuuru</i>	<p>n. [Ar. <i>ḡafūr</i> 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’</p>
<i>ghaala</i>	<p>n. [Sw. <i>ghala</i> SSED 114; Pers.] storehouse rel. <i>chi-ghaala</i> (<i>zi-</i>) n. dim. 7/8</p>
<i>ghaalibu</i>	<p>adv. [Ar. <i>ḡālib</i> W 680] often; variant: ghaalibu Haruusi/ ghaalibu/ hufanyoowa/ ka wazele/ 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. <i>aghalabu</i> “usually, more often, chiefly, as a rule, mainly” SSED 5] often</p>
<i>ghaliidi</i>	<p>invar. adj. [Ar. <i>ḡalīḏ</i> “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’</p>
<i>ghalta</i>	<p>n. [Sw. <i>ghalati</i> SSED 14; Ar. <i>ḡalta</i> 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 waant^hu/ khtila ghalta. ‘Hamadi likes to show the mistakes in the words of people.’ We/ daa’imu/ hubarata ka ghaltazo. ‘You always learn from your mistakes.’</p>

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/ ðambi. ‘To make a mistake is not a sin, crime.’
Muunt^hu/ mara mo/ maraa mbili/ hughaltika/ laakini/ siwo/ kiḷa/ 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/ ðambi. ‘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 wiingi/ buni/ haspatikani/ na schipatikani/ huzowa ka aḷmaasi. ‘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**.)
Nt^hi/ hukhadirowa khtumikiḷowa kalowaa kujá/ iwele ghaali. ‘Land which can be used for growing food has become expensive.’
numba ghaali ‘an expensive house’
Nureeni/ uzile jaaka/ iyo ghaali. ‘Nureeni bought a jacket, that expensive one.’ (The phrasal separation of **jaaka** and **iyō** 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 **iyō ghaali** at all. The evidence from the yes-no question version indicates that neither **jaaka** nor **iyō 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 shaatí/ za ghaalí/ 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 Hamadí/ chiwaliko ghaali. ‘The cup that was broken by Hamadi was expensive.’

Sho/ kuwa Mubiidi/ uzilo shati za ghaalí. ‘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.)

Shó/ kuwa Mubiidi/ uziló/ shati za ghaalí. ‘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 ghaalí. ‘I wore an expensive shirt.’ (But one can also say: **Nvete shati ghaalí.** with the same meaning.)

Nvete shaatí/ 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 shaatí/ ya ghaali.** ‘He wore an expensive shirt.’ The simple yes-no question version of this is: **Vete shaatí/ ya ghaali?** and not ***Vete shaatí/ 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 **ḡāmm** "distressful, painful" W 683] worry, distress, grief (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 gamu ‘to assuage someone’s grief’

khtilaa gamu ‘to cause to grieve’

kumwingilaa gamu ‘for s.o. to become sad’

Imwingilee hamu/ naa ghamú. ‘He was worried and distressed.’

kuwanayoo gamu ‘to have worries, sorrows’

Omari/ imwingiile/ gamu/ khkasa jawabu iyo. ‘Omari got sad hearing that news.’

ghani

n. a name of God

Mojiitu/ ndiyé/ ghani/ dekhesheló/ ka zont’bé. ‘God is the rich one and is self sufficient in every thing.’ (A proverb.)

ghaniima

n. 9 [Sw. **ghanima** "good luck prosperity" SSED 114; Ar. **ḡanīma** "spoils, booty,

- prey" W 686] (perhaps restricted to Islamic jurisprudence) booty, spoils of war
ghanima iyi 'this booty'
- gharaði** n. 9/10 [Sw. *gharadhi* SSED 114; Ar. *ḡaraḍ* 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 *gharaði*, but others seemed to consider **gharaði** as the only possibility.)
kuwanayo gharaði 'to aim, intend, have a goal'
Laakini/ jisa aada/ ya chiruusi/ sababu/ walá/ gharaði/ ya waruusi/ kulusha khamari 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/ gharaðiye. 'What is the purpose of this? what is the meaning of this?'
- gharaama** n. 9/10 [Sw. *gharama* SSED 114; Ar. noun *ḡarām* "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 *ḡarima* "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/ mwaanawe/ ka masoomu [or: **ka khsooma**]. 'Omari has spent a lot of money on his child for education.' Or: **Omari/ mgharamatilile mwaanawe/ peesa/ niingi/ ka khsooma.**
ku-gharaamisha v. caus. [Sw. *gharimisha* SSED 114] (**gharamishiize**)
ku-gharamikoowa v. pass.
Muunt'u/ chifa/ hugharamikoowa. 'If someone dies, there's a lot of money spent.'
- gharbi** n. [Ar. *ḡarb* W 668] west
- ghardhi** n. goal
Jeelaani/ oloshela chilima/ ghardhiye/ iwaaliko/ kumliindra/ mwananamke/ 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/ khamari/ 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
Wa'ingiile ghariini/ ndiwa/ na kabuufi. 'A pigeon and a spider entered into the cave.' (Note **kabuufi** as variant of **ankabuufi**.)
- ghariibu** adj. [Ar. *ḡarīb* W 668] 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/ kumδulisha 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.’ (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**.)
We/ laazimu/ kumdigilaa ye/ chiza khtaala/ zawaadi/ ka maghariibu. ‘You have to warn her about not accepting gifts from strangers.’

ku-gharima v. [Ar. *gharima* "suffer a loss" W 671] squander **review meaning, get examples**

gharqi n. 9/10 [Sw. *gharika* SSED 114; cf. Ar. adjective *ghariq* and verb *ghariqa* W671, but no nominal form] shipwreck, disaster (usu. a flood)

ku-gharqika v. intr. [Sw. *ghariki* SSED 114; Ar. *ghariqa* W 671] (-**gharqishile**) sink, become shipwrecked; be flooded, inundate
Mboni/ isa/ mwaanawa/ gharqishile. ‘How come now my son has drowned.’
Nvula/ ichinya/ na kaa nt^hi/ maayi/ yachilawa/ ichiwa teena/ zimuyi/ zotte/ zinaku gharqika. ‘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* SSED 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. *ghasaba* 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 raaði.** ‘He forced Nuuru to apologize.’)
Mghasibile Nuuru/ kulomba raaði. ‘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.’
Nimghasibiilé/ Omari/ kendra skolaani. ‘I forced Omari to go to school.’

There are of course many variations possible. A few of the variations where the main verb is emphasized and thus located at the end of a phrase: **Omari/ nimghasibiilé/ kendra skolaani. Skolaani/ keendra/ Omari/ nimghasibiilé. Skolaani/ nimghasibiilé/ Omari/ keendra. Skolaani/ nimghasibiilé/ keendra/ Omari.**
Nimghasibiilé/ Omari/ kuvunda mnaango. ‘I forced Omari to break open the door.’ Some variations: **Nimghasibiilé/ Omari/ mnaango/ kuvuunda. Omari/ nimghasibiilé/ kuvunda mnaango. Kuvunda mnaango/ nimghasibiilé/ Omari. Kuvunda mnaango/ Omari/ nimghasibiilé. Omari/ nimghasibiilé/ mnaango/ kuvuunda. Mnaango/ kuvuunda/ Omari/ nimghasibiilé. Mnaango/ kuvuunda/ nimghasibiilé/ Omari. Mnaango nimghasibiilé/ Omari/ kuvuunda. Mnaango/ kuvuunda/ Omari/ nimghasibiilé.**

Nimghasibiilé/ Omari/ kulaa mazu. ‘I forced Omari to buy bananas.’

rel.
ku-ghasibisha v. caus. (**ghasibishiize**) compel, oblige, make

ku-ghasiboowa v. pass. (**ghasibiila**) be forced, compelled, obliged
Ni muunt^hu/ hughasiboowá. ‘It is a human being who is forced to do s.t.
(i.e. God cannot be compelled to do anything).’

ghasbu

n. [Ar. *ghasb* W 675] s.t. taken or gotten unjustly
c hakuja cha ghasbu ‘food gotten unjustly’
ka ghasbu ‘with force’
Mnaango/ uvunzila ka ghasbu. ‘The door was broken open with force.’ Or: **Mnaango/ uvuunzila/ ka ghasbu.** ‘The door was broken (open) with force.’ Or: **Ka ghasbu/ mnaango/ uvuunzila.** ‘With force the door was broken open.’ Or: **Ka ghasbu/ uvunzila mnaango.** ‘With force was broken open the door.’ Or: **Mnaango/ ka ghasbu/ uvuunzila.** ‘The door with force was broken open.’
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. *ghas* "crowded, jammed" W 675; the verb *ghas* has the meaning "to choke or be overcrowded" W 675] commotion, trouble, noise

Awo ma’askari/ wakasizopoo nk^he/ na ghasiyá/ na sowti/ zaa ngomá/ wa’ondroshele naawó/ keendra/ kisterehesha/ ruhu zaawo/ pamó/ na want^hu/ muiini. ‘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. *ghasim* Wehr 674] uncivilized, stupid

ghasli

n. ritual impurity that must be removed by washing
variant form: **khasli**

Ghasli/ ma’anaye/ ni muunt^hu/ shfanya ijtimaa’i/ naa muke/ na maniyi/ yachimlawá/ laazimu/ koowa/ mzimawe/ kuwa tahaara. ‘*Ghasli* means that when one engages in sexual activity and ejaculates, he must take full bath/shower to be clean/pure.’

kowa ghasli ‘to wash after sexual intercourse, ejaculation, as required by Islamic beliefs’

Mubli/ chijami’ana naa muke/ maniyi/ yachimlawá/ howa ghasli. ‘If a man has sex with a woman and sperm comes from him, he must take a shower.’

Muunt^hu/ chiwanayo ghasli/ ni haraamu/ khsala/ laazimu/ koowa. ‘When one has *ghasli* it is *haraamu* to pray, one must take shower.’

Muunt^hu/ laazimu/ kunuwa/ kuwaa ye/ nakowa ghasli. ‘One must state his intention that he is washing *ghasli*.’

niya ya ghasli ‘statement of the intention to ritually clean oneself after ejaculation’

leete niya ya ghasli karka kistanja [st.] ‘bring forth the statement of intention to clean oneself while doing the cleaning’

ghaaya

adv. [Ar. *ghaya* "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/ taakuḷa. ‘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/ taakuḷo**. Nor does it appear possible to phrase a post-verbal **ghaaya** with the verb: ***Takuḷa ghaaya**. Rather, one says: **Taakuḷa/ ghaaya**. ‘He will cry, at the most.’

Iyi/ imudhishize waawaye/ ghaaya/ laakini/ nt^hakuwanaayo/ ya

khfaanya/ ye/ waliko cheleela/ na teená/ wakhti/ 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

variant form: **khṭaghayirika**

Kuja/ ichilala masku/ huṭasawara/ khṭaghayirika (or: **kughayirika**).

[H!H!H!!H] ‘Food that stays (lit. sleeps) overnight can go bad (lit. change).’

Laakini/ leelo/ haali/ iṭaghayarishile. ‘But today conditions have changed.’

rel.

ku-ghayirikaghayirika v. freq.

variant form: **khṭaghayirikataghayirika**

Omari/ nt^haná/ mahala ya khshikoowa/ huṭaghayirikataghayirika.

[H!H!H!H] ‘Omari does not have a place (lit.) to be caught – i.e. he cannot be relied on, he is always changing.’ (We did not judge the downstep following the negative verb to be radical.)

gheebu

n. [Sw. *ghaibu* ‘a thing not obtainable because it is distant, absent’ 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.’

ghera

without, less, against

Kubigowa waana/ Ameerika/ ni ghera shar’i. ‘Hitting children in America is against the law.’

Muunt^hu/ ghera mas’uuli/ ha’andikoowi/ mas’uuli. ‘An irresponsible person is not

trusted with responsibility for something.’

ma-ghfira

n. [Ar. *maḡfira* W 678] forgiveness, pardon

Maghfira/ hulombowa mojiitu. [H!H] ‘Pardon is begged from God.’ (A saying.)

numa walwaawo wachiloomba maghfira [st.] ‘then both of them (= Adam and Eve) begged for forgiveness’

ummatiyo wanakhtaraja maghfira [st.] ‘your people hope for forgiveness’

ku-ghiiiba

v. [Sw. *ghibu* ‘be lost’ SSED 114; Ar. *ḡaba, ḡaiba* W 689] (**ghibiile**) be absent, lose one’s way, get lost, disappear

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 fadhi. ‘It is not good to be absent from a meeting.’ (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.’ (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!?**)

ghiiira

n. 9 self-respect, sense of honor, self-esteem

Muunt^hu/ chiza kuwanayo ghiiira/ siwo/ maadamu. ‘If one does not have self-esteem one is not a human being.’

Omari/ nt^haná/ ghiiira. ‘Omari does not have self-esteem.’

ku-ghisha

v. [cf. Sw. *ghoshi, ghushi* SSED 115; Ar. *ḡassa* W 674] (**ghishize**) cheat, falsify

Mi/ nkhashifile Baazi/ nakughisho imtihaani. ‘I discovered Baazi cheating on the examination.’

Omari/ pisile imtihaani/ ka kughisha. ‘Omari passed the exam by cheating.’

Osmaani/ nakughisha imtihaani. ‘Osmaani is cheating on the examination.’

rel.

ku-ghishika v. p/s.

Imtihani iyo/ ha’ighishiki. ‘It is not possible to cheat on that examination.’

ku-ghishiliza v. appl.

Omari/ tumikilile chibuku icho/ kugishiliza. ‘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.

Imtihani 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
Ghiyaabuyo/ inhuzunishiize/ ntʰo. ‘Your absence saddened me very much.’
Sku mooyi/ baaba/ imshishile kendra muyiini/ na karka ghiyaabuyé/ du]’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; the one who pardons
Ghufraani/ ni mojiitu. ‘The one who pardons is God.’
Nakulomba ghufraani. ‘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] (**ghuriile**) lead astray (of 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
Ghuraafaati/ ni jawaabu/ ntʰaziikó. ‘Superstitions are things that do not exist.’
Ghuraafaati/ ni jawaabu/ ntʰazinayo ma’aná/ (ntʰazinayo) mahala ya khshikoowá/ ni jawabu siwo lilá. ‘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/ ni ghuraafaati/ tu. 'The things that you are saying are just superstitions (not real).'

Ni kooði/ hukodowakodoozá/ ni chiint'u/ siwo lila/ siwo chiikó/ huviłowa ghuraafaati/ huviłoowá. '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^e/ 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 mzeele. 'This is the old man's room.'

ghurfa izi 'these rooms'; **ghurfa izo** 'those rooms'

ghurfaya 'my room'; **ghurfaza** 'my rooms'

Numbayo/ 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

variant form: **ghuruuru**

Duniya/ ni ghuruuri. 'The world is the allure of deceptive transient pleasures.' (A proverbial saying.)

Ghazaali/ mwenye ghuruuru 'Ghazaali is a man who has been led astray (by transient things like money).'

Ghuruuri/ zisikhutaale. 'Don't be taken in by deception.'

Mwaadamu/ ghuruuri/ ichimtaala/ hubaha. [H'H!H!H] 'If a human being is taken in by deception, he is lost.'

Mwaadamu/ ha'isuloowi/ ghuruuri/ kumtaala (or: kumtukula). [H'H!H!H] 'A human being is not wanted to be taken / carried by deception.'

rel.

u-ghuruuri n. 14 self-deception

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 *giiro* ‘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.
N^haku/ sababu ya kugirsatila. ‘There is no reason for refusing to do it.’
ku-girsatiloowa v. appl. pass.
N^haku/ 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’
khpanza ngiisha ‘to pull up anchor’
Wa’ambile/ waant^huwo/ wote/ wanawe tayaari/ khpanza ngiisha/ wana’ondroshe/ motoore/ inawe tayaari/ mukhtaay 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.’
kugiṭa ngiisha ‘to pull up anchor’
Wachigiṭa ngiisha/ wachoondroka. ‘They pulled up anchor and took off.’
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.’
Hasani/ ile numbaani/ ka Nuuru/ marti/ ahaani/ khkalanṭ^ha sku/ habamooyi/ isa/ ni kamba nakhtilo ngiishá/ nt^haná/ khsuula/ kulawa/ ba. ‘Hasani came to Nuuru’s house as a guest to stay a few days, now it looks like he is putting down an anchor, he does not want to leave ever).’
- gisi** n. 9/10 [Som. *gisi* DSI 269] African buffalo (=ngombe ya maduuri ‘wild ngoombe)
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/ chilatawa ngombe yaa gisi/ kulindra chisima. ‘Today Buffalo was left behind to guard the well.’
Mukhta si/ chisimeemó/ bilaa kooði/ 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. Som. *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 chinumeenumé/ na shpita/ ndila ya sulṭaani/ apo/ mahala numba ya sulṭaani/ 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^hi/ 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.’

Sigiité. ‘Don’t pull!’ (cf. **Sigiiteeni.** ‘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/ chimgiita/ 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.

wakhti/ hugiitika ‘lit. time pulls—i.e. time drags’

jisaa mi/ namlindra Omari/ wakhti/ ugiitishile. ‘As I was waiting for Omari, time dragged.’

Ku-gitiiloowa v. appl. pass.

ku-giitila v. appl.

kugiitila wakhti ‘to extend the time to do s.t.’

Ali/ nakhsula kugiitila wakhti/ kulipa deeniye/ haṭá/ mweezi/ uchimala. ‘Ali wants to extend the time to pay back his debt until the end of the month.’

Nuuru/ hapeendi/ khfanya kaazi/ kumaliza/ nakugiitila wakhti/ haṭá/ sa’a za kaazi/ schimala. ‘Nuuru does not want to do his job through its completion, he is just wasting time until the hours for working are finished.’

Sheekhi/ hapeendi/ khfanya gaariye/ isa/ nakhsula kugiitila wakhti/ haṭaa ye/ shpata peesa. ‘Sheekhi does not want to repair his car now, he wants to wait (lit. pull the time) until he gets money.’

ku-giitisha v. caus.

ku-giṭishana v. caus. rec.
ku-giṭishika v. caus. p/s.
ku-giṭishiliza v. caus. appl.
ku-giṭishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
ku-giṭishoowa v. caus. pass.
ku-giṭoowa v. pass.
 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.'
Huṭasawara/ kuwa Hamiisi/ komele go'aani/ kuḷaṭa masoomo. 'It is possible that Hamiisi has reached a decision to drop out from school (lit. studies).'
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/ [↑]nakhfaanyá/ 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'
Ḳkaambala/ Ḳimwelele 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: **igombegoombe 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/ mlate/ simdhibé/ heendra/ ye/ kapata maayi. ‘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/ wanazubje. ‘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/ maha^haa ye/ nakubigoobigó/ inaku^hla 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 **-bigoobigo** 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.’

- gooful** 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/ gooful/ni chiint^hu/ma’anaye/ waant^hu/ ikumi/ ka ikumi.
‘Goofule gooful 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/ kaland^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’
Magoole/ hupatowa tawala. ‘Shells are found in the sea.’
Omari/ hu’arurisha magoole/ 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/ tiile/ chigooli/ rasmi. ‘Hamadi scored a wonderful goal.’
(The yes-no question version of this sentence shows both **chigooli** and **rasmi** undergoing accent shift: **Hamadi/ tiile/ chigooli/ rasmi?**
Tile chigooli/ 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/ mwaana/ tilo chigoolí. ‘I know the boy who scored a goal.’ With focus on the relative verb: **Nimeené/ mwaana/ tiiló/ chigoolí.** But we also recorded: **Nimeené/ mwaana/ tiiló/ chigooli.**
Nimweené/ mwaana/ tilo chigooli/ matezooní. ‘I saw the boy who scored a goal in the game.’
Nimeené/ mwaana/ 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.

Namwiiwá/ mwaana/ 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/ nakhsulá 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’

Miimbaya/ itagameele/ kanaa ngoma. ‘My stomach is extended like a drum.’

kubigaa ngoma ‘to beat a drum; dance around in joy’

Ali/ mwana wa Hamadi/ khpotela imtihaani/ furahiile/ bishilee ngoma. ‘Ali was happy at Hamadi’s son failing the examination, he (lit. beat a drum) danced around in joy.’

Mbishilee ngomá/ jisa suura. ‘I beat the drum very well.’

kubigilowaa ngoma ‘drums to be beaten for, at’

Haliima/ mwaanawe/ nakuloola/ nakubigilowaa ngoma/ harusiiini/ inakhtezoowa. ‘Haliima’s son is marrying, there are drums being beaten at the wedding, there is dancing/playing.’

kubigilaa ngoma ‘lit. to beat drums with; to give support to’

Burhan Shekh uzile ziluti/ zihaba/ kubigilaa ngoma/ leelo/ masku/ yiko sfeeji. ‘Burhan Shekh bought little sticks to use to beat a drum tonight, there is a competition.’

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/ kulettaa 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 t̄ibaaku ‘a wrapped plug of tobacco’

Oloka/ nul̄ila t̄ibaaku/ 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)’

(A proverb.)

Mujaa mbuzi/ hulipa ngoombe. ‘The one who eats a goat pays back a cow.’

Mwanaamke/ mkamile ngoombe/ iziwa. ‘The girl milked the cow.’

Naani/ nakhsulo kula chīta 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.)

“talking backwards” language Chijini is that the copular should be considered as proclitic to the predicate adjective: **Mbeng^o ziⁱ/ lunink^h.**)

ngoombe/ kaafá ‘if a cow were to die’

ngombe mzeele ‘an old cow’; **ngombe nzeele (or: wazeele)** ‘old cows’

CHECK

Ni ngoombe. ‘She is a cow (big, without brains).’

Sku ya pīli/ 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/ takht̄indoowá/ 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^hu 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/ mub̥lele mwaangoombe/ mjiile. ‘He [the lion] killed a calf and ate it.’
- chi-gombegoombe** n. s.t. with the shape of a **bug**
Hamadi/ shfaṭuurache/ kana/ chigombegoombe. ‘Hamadi, his car is like a **bug**.’
- 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-)** n. 5/6 [Som. *goon* “rocks in the sea” DSI 274, note that Somali only uses plural form]
a sea rock
Chiineendra/ chiineendra/ shpandra ilu ya igome. ‘He walked and walked and climbed up on a rock [looking for fish to catch].’
Diini/ waliko mkali/ 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.’
Mp^hete magomeeni/ sichi. ‘I found it (the shoe) in the rocks; here it is.’
Naank^bó/ chendra kooko/ mahaḷa/ 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
yambeete/ kana/ ngome ‘attached like a sea rock (which is a rock embedded in the sea floor)’
- goona** n. 9/10 woman’s skirt
gona chigobe ‘a short skirt worn by non-Muslim women’ (cf. **gona zigobe** ‘short skirts’)
gonaa 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 (**ṣṭeenzi**) as a synonym of **wa’^aadi**.)
kubiga magoondi ‘to give a stern warning (followed by punishment)’
- n-goondra** n. 9/10 [Sw. *ng’onda* SSED 337] dried fish
m̥wambaamba/ kana ngoondra ‘as thin as **ngoondra**’
Hasani/ laazile/ wele m̥wambaamba/ kana/ ngoondra. ‘Hasani got sick, he became thin like dried fish.’
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. (**-gongeshelezeenye**)
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; wait for a long time’
Mzeele/ chibiga magoonjo/ chila. ‘The old man sat on his knees crying.’
Ye/ bishile magoonjo/ lizile kama munt^hu fililá. ‘He sat on his knees crying like a man bereaved.’
- kubigowa magoonjo**
Hafisaani/ ka siindako/ chisula chiint^hu/ hubigowa magoonjo. ‘At the office of mayor if you want something you wait for long time.’
Numbaani/ ka Charles/ kaawo/ hubiga magoonjo. ‘In the house of Charles you will wait for a long time.’
- Maayi/ yachanza kuyela/ maayi/ yachinkoma magoonjooni/ chimaliza mimbaani/ chimaliza hewesiini.** ‘Water began to fill up; water reached his knees, then his stomach, then his chest.’
- Mbishile igoonjó/ na meezá.** ‘I bumped my knee against the table.’ (Note that one cannot relativize *meeza* in this construction: **meza yaa mi/ mbishilo igoonjó/ (naayé)* ‘the table that I bumped against’.)
- Meeza/ inbishile igoonjo.** ‘(Lit.) the table hit me – i.e. I hit my knee against the table.’ (This construction permits the relativization of *meeza*: *meza i-n-bishilo igoonjó* ‘the table that I hit my knee against (lit. the table that hit my knee)’.) (Note that in our transcription of MI’s speech we often wrote the first person object marker as an unassimilated *n* in front of voiced sounds. We are uncertain whether this is anything more than a method of distinguishing the first person object marker from the [cl.1] object marker *m* in this context.)
- Nandishile igoonjó/ mezaani.** ‘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 n. 3
kubiga mgoonjo ‘[lit. to hit knee] to wait, sit for a long time’

Mbishile mgoonjó/ buuré. 'I have waited for a long time uselessly.'

- ku-goontisha* v. caus. [unknown etymology, but likely from Somali] (**gont^hishiize**) threaten s.o.;
[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* v. [Som. *gorgori* DSI 275] (**gorgorishiize**) v. caus. bargain for lowering of the price of
s.t., haggle
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/ igorombooye/ 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 snored.’

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/ zimlazi^lo. ‘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

goosho 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/ karaay^le/ wawesh^le 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.’ (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 postpose **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/ olosh^le ka sultaani/ chimloomba/ nampe igoyi/ 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 bakhti huwa halaali/ chimaghaadisha ni tahaara maali [st.] 'the hide of a carcass becomes lawful when you tan it; then it becomes pure and is valuable'

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 strip the skin off (e.g. of a slaughtered animal); (fig.) to make fun of someone or of someone's family'

Sultaani/ shkhiira/ chimpa Abunawaasi/ igozi. 'The sultan agreed and gave Abunawaasi the skin.'

rel.

n-gozi n. 9/10 skin, hide, leather

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.'

gramaatika

adv. [Ital. *grammatica*] grammatical, correctly, according to the rules
Abdi/ hukoða gramaatika. '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-guðbaṭa

v. [Som. verbs *gudbi* (trans.) and *gudub* (intr.) DSI 276-7] (**guðbeete**) cross, ford a river (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-ghuḍbaṭika v. p/s.

ku-guḍbaṭila v. appl.

ku-guḍbaṭisha v. caus. make cross; turn in; variant form: **kuguḍbisha**

Ali/ mguḍbishize mwaana/ wowi. ‘Ali made the child cross the river.’

Nṯ^haasá/ nt^hakuguḍbisha. [H!H] ‘He hasn’t turned it in yet (e.g. the examination).’

Omari/ teete/ so/ imṯihaani/ na guḍbishiize. [HHHHH] ‘Has Omari taken the examination and turned it in?’

ku-guḍbaṭishana v. caus. rec.

ku-guḍbaṭishika v. caus. p/s.

ku-guḍbaṭishiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-guḍbaṭishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ku-guḍbaṭoowa 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-guḍbaṭo 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

rel.

n-guuja n. 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. (**gulguliliile**)

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

Guuli/ hupatowa ka uwaafakha. ‘Victory is achieved by being united.’

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 Chimini 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; the hard end/part of fruits or vegetables near the root, supposed to be thrown away

Hamadi/ jile muuwa/ mahaḷa suura/ igumudi/ mp^helee mi. ‘Hamadi ate the sugar cane in the nice places, the end (of the sugar cane) he gave to me.’

Hamadi/ mpele Omari/ chigumudi/ cha segereeti. ‘Hamadi gave Omari a cigarette butt.’

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/ nt^hililani nt^hendre/ nt^hililaani/ ka chiguni. ‘In that case, put dates for me, that’s what you should do, in a bag.’

Leete/ khutifile 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 iguní!?**)

ku-guun^hata

v. [Som. *gunto* DSI 280, which has both the meanings of the Chimiini word]

(*gun^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 **mbaajuuni** and in the plural **wabaajuuni** rel.

chi-gunya n. 7 the language of the **Baajuuni**, also referred to as **chibaajuuni**

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/ mukhta^a 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 yitú/ 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/ nuumbayê!?** ‘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 mukhta^a ye/ takuwo nakuguurá ‘whenever he will be moving about’

maha^a yaa mi/ nguriiló ‘the place where I moved to’ or **maha^aaa 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 sul^htaani/ ðaalimu/ shpata khabari/ ya kuwa mgarwa/ guriile/ oloshela nt^hi zingine/ na mloweele/ mwanaamke/ wa sul^htaani/

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 celo/ guriḷe ka moojé/ leelo. ‘His wife told him that the gazelle died [lit. moved to his maker] today.’

Saalimu/ guriḷe/ duniyaani. ‘Saalimu departed from the world – i.e. he died.’

rel.

ku-guraguura v. freq.

Chiguraguura/ ka magoonjo/ hattá/ kharibu yaa muti. ‘He crawled on his knees close to the tree.’

ku-guraguurata v. freq.

Chiguraguurata/ ka magoonjo/ hatá/ mnangooni. ‘He crawled on his knees to the door.’

ku-guraguratiḷoowa v. freq. appl. pass.

Magoonjo/ yachigurguratiḷoowá/ hatá/ mnangooni. ‘Knees were crawled on to the door.’

ku-guragurajila v. freq. appl.

ku-guurika v. p/s.

ku-guurila v. appl.

ku-guroowa v. pass. (**guriḷa**)

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

Omari/ handika ka chigure. ‘Omari writes with his left (hand).’

ka chigure ‘from/on the left-hand side’

ka kubli/ na ka chiguré ‘on the right and the left-hand side’

gureele

adj. [Som. *gurey* "left handed" DSI 281] left-handed

rel.

chi-gureele n. ibid.

Hamadi/ ni chigureele. ‘Hamadi is left-handed.’

Omari/ handika ka chigureele. ‘Omari writes with his left hand.’

ku-guursata

v. [Som. *guuri* “to copy, transcribe” DSI 283] (**gurseeṭe**) copy

Mi/ ngurseeṭé. ‘I copied it.’

Ni/ ngurseeṭé. ‘You (pl.) copied it.’ (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 (although this meaning was employed by MI, it was not accepted by GM, who knew the word as *igurtumu*, meaning the hard part of a fruit or vegetable near the root, which is thrown away (also known as *igumudi*)
gurtumo ya charkhaani ‘the wheel part of a sewing machine’
gurtumo ya gaari ‘a car wheel’
rel.
i-gurtumu n. hard part, end of fruit, vegetable, which is discarded
Hamadi/ jile muuwa/ mahala suura/ igurtumu/ mp^heele mi. ‘Hamadi ate the sugar cane in the nice places, the end (of the sugar cane) he gave to me.’
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
Gurupoo mbili/ zinakubigana (or: **zinashindramana**)/ **gurupo ya Omari/ na gurupo ya Ali.** ‘Two groups are encountering/competing with each other (in some sort of a game, etc.), Omari’s group and Ali’s group.’
gurupo ya waant^hu ‘a group of people’
Omari/ ile na waant^hu/ wiingi/ ka gurupo. ‘Omari came with many people in a group.’
rel.
gurupo gurupo adv. in groups
Waant^hu/ wasimeme gurupo gurupo. ‘People stood in groups.’
- n-guruuwe* n. [Sw. *nguruwe* SSED 338] wild pig
sho kuwa mbwa na nguruuwe lataani/ ichindirka marra saba oshaani [st.] ‘avoid only those of dogs and warthogs; if you touch them, you should wash yourself seven times’
- 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 lengtheig 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.’
kandikaa nguvu ‘to try hard, to use force to do s.t.’

Nandishile mlaangó/ nguvú/ khfuungula. ‘I tried the door *hard* to open.’
 (In this example the object of the infinitive has been relocated between –**andika** and **nguvu**. There is emphasis on the **nguvu**, which bars the final accent from the main verb crossing into the infinitive. The main verb may also bear an OM agreeing with the object of the infinitive: **Niwandishile mlaangó/ nguvú/ ku’ufuungula.** ‘I tried the door *hard* to open it.’)

Nandishilee nguvú/ khfungula mlaango. ‘I tried *hard* to open the door.’ (In the case of a phrasal verb like –**andikaa nguvu**, what we refer to as verb emphasis puts the entire phrasal verb in a prosodic constituent, preventing a final accent from projecting out of that phrase.)

Nandishilee nguvú/ mlaango/ khfuungula. ‘I tried *hard* the door to open.’
Nandishilee nguvú/ mlaango/ khfunguloowa. ‘I tried *hard* the door to be opened.’

Niwandishilee nguvú/ khfuungula/ mlaango. ‘I tried it *hard* to open the door.’ (This example, where the main verb is marked with an OM controlled by the object of the infinitive verb, was judged as grammatical by our consultant. The infinitive could also bear an OM controlled by its object as well: **ku’ufuungula**. While grammatical, these sentences are improved by fronting the object to position before the infinitive: **Niwandishilee nguvú/ mlaangó/ khfuungulá.** ‘I tried it hard the door to open.’ Once again, the infinitive could also bear an object marker: **ku’ufuungula**. The preceding example was given with a pronunciation where there is no internal emphasis or focus. One could also emphasize the phrasal verb: **Niwandishilee nguvú/ mlaango/khfuungula.** ‘I tried *hard* the door to open.’)

kandikowaa nguvu ‘to be tried hard’
Mlaango/ wandishilaa nguvu/ khfunguloowa. ‘The door was tried hard to be opened.’

khfanyaa nguvu ‘to insist’

khpaan nguvu ‘to strengthen’

khtilaa nguvu ‘to strengthen, apply force, strength (e.g. in pushing a car)’

Fuunzi/ tilee nguvu. ‘The craftsman applied force.’

Muunt^hu/ chiint^hu/ chisulá ka lilaahi/ laazimu/ khtilaa nguvu. ‘When one really wants something, one must try hard.’

khtumilaa nguvu ‘to use force’

Khutanzuliliile/ kula yaa ye/ peetó/ 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/ sulá 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/ ndaaké. ‘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.’

Ni mutá’asifu/ kumwona muunt^hu/ khfanya kilaa jawabu/ mbovu/ ka khisa/ khsulá khpata peesa/ naa nguvú. ‘It’s sad to see a man so corrupted by the desire for money and power.’

Nt^hayná/ haaja/ we/ khshikowa shtana/ kalaant^ha/ pumula/ na ruuda/ nguvuzo. ‘There is no need for you to be angry; sit, rest, regain your strength.’

Siná/ nguvu za kandikilaa khatí. ‘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^hooðelelee 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. 9/10 [Sw. *nguo* SSED 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 *nguo* is pronounced [wong^h]. 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^h] would be expected, assuming that the game reflects the phonemic structure.)

kḥĩndaa nguwo 'to cut cloth'

kḥĩndilaa nguwo 'to cut cloth for; [idiomatically, a request to purchase cloth]'

Nṭ^hĩndilaa nguwo/ yardi nṭ^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].'

kuḷaṭilaa nguwo 'to throw cloth – i.e. over-react, be extremely committed to one's position on some matter'

Abú/ nakulaṭilaa nguwo/ kambilowa jawabu iyo. 'Abu is over-reacting to being told about that matter/ those affairs, words, etc.'

Mi/ nṭ^hũnzile 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. [H!H] 'The children wore nice clothes.' Or: **Wavete nguwo suura/ waana.** [H!H] 'They wore nice clothes, the children.' **Waveto nguwo suurá/ ni waana.** [H!H] 'The ones who wore nice clothes are the children.'

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 nṭ^hiini 'a cloth garment worn by men around the waist [lit. cloth of under] =**ma'wizi**'

Hamadi/ ile/ vete chiguwo cha nṭ^hiini/ tu. 'Hamadi came (here), he just wore a cloth covering his lower body.'

Mi/ siná/ chiguwo cha nṭ^hiini/ cha kulaalila. 'I do not have a lower body garment for sleeping in.'

Muunt^hu/ shkalanṭ^ha numbaani/ hukalanṭ^ha ka chiguwo cha nṭ^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’
Isimishiḷa pashpoo nguzo. ‘It is raised without a pillar.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **iwiingu** ‘cloud’.)
nguzo za islaamu/ nt^haano ‘the five pillars of Islam’
ni nt^haano nguzo ziitu 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.
i-guzo (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
- 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/ hashtiindiki/ maayi. ‘My well never stops (yielding) water. (A riddle, the answer to which is **kana** ‘mouth’.)
Haalawi. ‘She does not go out.’
Maskiini/ haataji. ‘A poor man does not choose.’ (A proverb.)
- haba** n. 9/10 [Ar. *habba* "granule" W 152] a grain of s.t.
- chi-haba** (zi-) adj. [Sw. *haba* SSED 121; cf. Ar. *habba* "granule" W 152] small, little, young; [pron. **chihaba** or **chihabba**]
Apo/ zamaani/ waliko sulṭaani/ mooyi/ ye/ zazile waana/ sabba/ sitṭa/ wanawabli/ 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 youger than me’
Ikooti/ imbelele chihaba. ‘The coat became short, small for me.’
Ka khisa/ we/ ni chihabbá/ hukhaadiri/ kuwa mzeele/ waa mi/ nsifiliḷá/ 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.’
Kiḷamo/ nt^hanakhtaambula/ ujee mbuzi/ iyo/ nini/ mkulu/ na chihabá. ‘Everyone fails to recognize that goat, that one, which is big and (which is) small.’
Mi/ nsomeelé/ wakhti/ chihaba. ‘I have read for a short while.’
Mooyi/ karka waanawe/ chiviḷoowa/ Yuusufu/ na chihabaché/ chiviḷowa Binyaamiini. ‘One of his children was called Joseph amd his younger

sibling was called Benjamin.’

Muke/ nt^haná/ 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/ nt^haku/ chihaba.**

Mwaanawa/ ni chihaba/ nt^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.’

Nakhsula chint^hu chihaba/ tu. ‘He wants just a small thing (i.e. he just wants the smallest reason to explode in anger).’

Nimulile Iisá/ gari chihabá. ‘I gave Lisa the small car.’ Or: **Nimulile Iisá/ gari chihaba.** ‘I gave *Isa* a/the small car.’ Or: **Nimulile Iisá/ gaari/ chihaba.** ‘I gave *Isa* a small car.’ The phrasing of this sentence is less natural, *chihaba* appearing to be an afterthought.

numba chihaba ‘small house’

Nuzile numba chihaba. ‘I bought the 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/ nk^hulu/ na niingi/ zihabá. ‘You will see a melon plant that has seven big and many small ones.’

review accent

We/ uzile numbaa nk^hulu/ ambó/ numba chihaba? ‘Did you buy the large house or the small house?’

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.’

Hamadi/ jibile su’aali/ haba/ tu. ‘Hamadi answered just a few questions.’

Hulimo miyuundrá/ ni waant^hu/ haba. ‘(The ones) who are farmers are few (lit. are a few people).’

Kila muunt^hu/ yaake/ imshiishile/ haba/ na niingi. ‘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?)

Sindako/ koðele dakhikha haba/ tu. [H!HH] ‘The mayor spoke for just a few minutes.’

Yaa ye/ ndreteleeló/ siwo/ habba. ‘What he brought to me is not a little.’

We/ takhtahaaja/ habbaye/ skuu mbili/ kumziyarata kila mo. ‘You will need at least two days to visit everyone.’

haba mooyi adv. a little, a little ways; adj. few, a little number; variant form: **habamó**

Abú/ habamó/ dhibishile/ kujiba su’aali. ‘Abu had little difficulty in answering the question.’

ba’ada ya dakhikha/ habbamó ‘after a few minutes’

Ba’ada ya wakhti/ habamó/ karka weenzawe/ wawili/ chiloota. ‘After a little time, one of his two friends had a dream.’

Haba mooyi/ ghaðabishile. ‘He was a little angry.’

muu habamó ‘a little salt’

Tafaðali/ takhaadira/ kuwanayoo kujá/ habamó? ‘May I have some food, please?’

wa’inenzelopó/ haba mooyi ‘when they had walked a little ways’

Wachiwafiqana kumpelekela mamaye Hasiibu/ peesa/ habamooyi.

‘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. *maḥabba* 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.)

mulo 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.’

habadi

n. gun shots etc.

Masku/ si/ nt^hashkukhaadira/ kulaala/ ka ku^lat^lilowa habadi/ pa pa pa pa! ‘At night we could not sleep because of gun shots **pa pa pa pa!**’

habaasa

n. 9/10 [Ar. verb *ḥabasa* "to detain, imprison" and noun *ḥabs* "arrest, jailing" W 153] prison

Habasa iyi/ wamo mahabuusi/ wiingi. In this prison there are many prisoners.’

Haaji/ mukhtaa ye/ tomela ka habasaani/ chiwona ya kuwa ni afáli/ 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/ su^la khtilowa habaasa. ‘If Hamadi had stolen the car, he would have been put in jail.’ Also: **Hamadi/ kaboolá/ gaari/ su^la 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**.)

Hokomelela habaasa/ miyezi mitatu. [H!H] ‘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.’

kumtila habaasa ‘to put him in prison’

miyaaka miingi tiila habasaani [st.] ‘he was imprisoned for many years’

- Mwana wa Nuuru/ tīla habaasa/ chiwooni.** ‘Nuuru’s child was placed in detention at the school.’
- Omari/ tīla habaasa/ miyaka ikumi.** ‘Omari has been put in prison for ten years.’
- Ye/ iwiile/ kuwa Hasani/ tīla habaasa.** ‘She knew that Hasani had been put in prison.’
- Yuusufu/ shtilowa 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-ṣaudā*’ "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** also sold commercially.
- sooda is**
- habeeniso** n. [Som. *habeeniso* "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] (**habisiize**) imprison someone
rel.
ku-habisoowa v. pass.
Mwana wa Nuuru/ habisiiza/ chiwooni. ‘Nuuru’s son has been put in detention at school.’
Omari/ habisiiza/ miyaka ikumi. ‘Omari was imprisoned for ten years.’
- 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 been married, a

virgin).’

Mwanaamke/ hab̥le/ loweja naaye. ‘The maiden girl was married by him.’

Omari/ nakhsula 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 **hapt̥i**]

khshika hapt̥i ‘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 chimlataa nyunyi/ khshika hapt̥ize. ‘The boy agreed to let the bird go on his way.’

Oloka/ shika hapt̥izo. ‘Go and mind your own business!’

ku’ishikila hapt̥i ‘to take oneself on one’s business’ **Ali/ chilawa/ ka apo/ chi’ishikila hapt̥ize.** ‘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)

Haliima/ ashizee mujo/ ka zihaabu/ haba mooyi. ‘Haliima lit a fire with a

few twigs.’

rel.

chi-habu chi-haabu n. redup.

Nt^haku/ skunyi/ zisuura/ sukhuuni/ ziko zihabu zihaabu/ tu. ‘There are no good firesticks in the market, there are only small small pieces.’

habuusi (ma-)

n. prisoner

Habasa iyi/ wamo mahabuusi/ wiingi. In this prison there are many prisoners.’

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/ sultaani. ‘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/ pishilo. ‘Hasani said that Tuuma cooked **zijo**, that’s what she did.’ Or: **Hasani/ hadile kuwa Tuuma/ pishilee zijo/ hadiilo.** ‘Hasani said that Tuuma cooked **zijo**, that’s what he said.’

Huhadaayi/ we/ jis’iyo. ‘How can you say that?’

Kuwa Nuuru/ tu/ leelo/ nhadiile. ‘That only Nuuru was asleep, I said.’ (Note that focus on **Nuuru** requires the following verb in the **kuwa** clause to be pseudo-relativized. We see that it is not obligatory for the following main verb to be pseudo-relativized. However, such pseudo-relativization is possible: **Kuwa Nuuru/ tu/ leelo/ nhadiilo.**

Na ishtuluka/ jisa/ Yuusufu/ hadiilo. ‘And then it happened just as Joseph said (it would).’

Naa/ hadiilo/ Omari/ ile (or: **ile**). ‘Who said Omari came?’

Nhadile kuwa Nuuru/ leele. ‘I said that Nuuru was asleep.’

Nhadile kuwa Nuuru/ tu/ leelo. ‘I said that only Nuuru was asleep.’

Nhadiile/ Nuuru/ naaje. ‘I said Nuuru should eat.’ (The first person subject marker is null in this example in the speech of GM.)

Nhadile Nuuru/ naaje. ‘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?’ *review*

Omari/ hadiile/ kuwaa nvula/ itaakunya. ‘Omari said that rain will rain.’

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?’ *review* 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.

Jawaabu/ kana iyo/ mbovu/ ha’ihadiki. ‘Bad talk like that cannot be spoken.’

Kooði/ suura/ waaðehe/ huhadika. ‘Good words and clear can be said.’

ku-hadila v. appl.

Siná/ ndila/ yaa mi/ kuhadila/ koði iyo. ‘I do not have reason to say that (word).’

We/ hadiilileni/ koði iyo. ‘You, why did you say that (word).’

sina ndila yaami kuhadila koothi/jawaabu iyo (I do not have reason to say that talk/words). We hadiilileni koothi iyo (You what for did you say that word).

?*ku-hadisha* v. caus. (**hadishiize**) make s.o. say s.t. (GM did not accept this verb form as being use, although MI included it in his list of verb forms related to *-hada*.)

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 bataata. ‘It is called [lit. said] the tale of potatoes.’ *review*

Ihadila (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 [st̩] ‘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)
Naxhaka hadali zaawó. 'I am hearing the sound of their voices.'
Omari/ nt^haná/ hadali. 'Omari has no voice.'
washo hadali na sowtí [st.] 'those who have no voice (i.e. are silent = the dead)'
- ku-hadgudbatá** v. be abusive
rel.
ku-hadgudbatíla v. appl. be abusive to
Faatíma/ da'íle kuwa Omari/ chimhadgudbatíla/ ye. 'Faatima claimed Omari was abusive to her.'
Mi/ sinhadgudbatíle. 'Don't cross my limits/ abuse me.'
- haadi'i** adj. [Ar. *hādi'* W 1021] calm
bahari ya haadi'i 'Pacific Ocean'
Leelo/ tawala/ maayi/ haadi'i/ nt^haku/ mayiimbi/ raaha/ kowoowa. 'Today the sea is calm, there are no waves, it is nice for swimming.'
tawala haadi'i 'calm sea'
want^hu haadi'i 'calm people'
rel.
u-haadi'i n. 14/ calmness
Mahala/ muunt^hu/ hakhaadiri/ husulowa uhaadi'i/ ha'isuloowi/ nk^heje. 'At a place where someone is sick, calmness is needed, loud noises are not needed.'
- ku-hadida** v. [Som. *haddid* "to threaten" DSI 290] (**hadidiile**) threaten (Some speakers may retain the germination found in the Somali source word.)
variant form: **kuhandida, kuhandaḍata**
Omari/ namhadida (or **namhandaḍata**)/ **Hamadi/ nambila takhubla.**
'Omari is threatening Hamadi telling him I will kill you.'
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 wakhtí 'to fix a time'
rel.
ku-hadidiloowa v. appl. pass. (**hadidiliila**)
Hamadi/ hadidiliila wakhtí/ kumala kaazi/ iyo. 'Hamadi was given a limited time to finish the job.'
Omari/ mhadidiliile wakhtí/ Hamadi/ kulipa deeniye. 'Omari gave a limited time to Hamadi to pay back his debt.'
ku-hadidila v. appl.
ku-hadidisha v. caus.
Omari/ mwambile Hamadi/ kuhadidisha/ wakhtí/ ya kaazi. 'Omari told Hamadi to limit the time for the job.'
- hadiiqa** n. [Ar. *ḥadīqa* 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 m̄tanaani/ mbene hadiqa/ 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/ kuḷa muunt^hi. ‘Then it became that he went into the garden three times each day.’

rel.

chi-hadiqa (zi-) n. dim.

i-hadiqa (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

hadiithi

n. 9/10 [Sw. *hadithi* SSED 122; Ar.] story, tale, the Prophet’s saying

Hadiithi/ za mtume/ laazimu/ kurashoowa. ‘The Prophet’s sayings must be followed.’

karka hadiithi za mtume Adnaani [st.] ‘in the sayings of prophet Adnaani’

...khabla/ ya hadiithi/ ya Watergate ‘before the event of Watergate’

rel.

hadathi n. event; variant form: *hadiithi*

Hadathi/ iyo/ mukhta ituushiló/ mi/ skuwaaliko. ‘That event, when it happened, I was not there.’

Hadathi niingi/ stuushiló/ zamani izo. ‘Many events happened during that time.’

haadithi

adj. [Ar. *ḥādīṭ* "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. *hadīya* W 1024] gift

Hadiya/ hayizoowi. ‘A gift is not refused.’

Haliima/ peḷa hadiya/ na mweenzawe. ‘Hadija has been given a gift by her friend.’

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.’

Ni wanaashke/ waa ye/ watumilílo hadiyá. ‘It’s the girls that she sent the presents to.’

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**

ye leteleela mtume hadiya [st.] ‘she was brought to the Prophet as a gift’

Ye/ mpeelee/ ye/ hadiya/ niingi/ haali/ ye/ nt^hakumuuzá/ umriwé/ hatá/ mooyi. ‘He gave her many presents, although she never asked him for one.’

rel.

chi-hadiya (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

i-hadiya (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

haðiri

adj. (cf. *tahaðari*) [Ar. *haðir*] cautious, wary

hufuraha muunt^hu haðiri haawoni fadaaha [st.] ‘the cautious person rejoices and does not face disgrace’

haaðiri

v. [Sw. *hadhiri* SSED 122; Ar. *ḥāðir* W 185] be present; variant form: **haadiri**

Ahḷi/ na kharaabá/ woṭe/ wako haaðiri. ‘Relatives close and distant were there.’

Mukhta ya/ oloshelo barzaani/ chiwapa khabari/ mawaziiri/ ma’akhyaari/ na kiḷa/waliko haadiri/ apó. ‘When he went to the royal parlor, he gave them the news, the ministers, the nobility, and everyone present there.’

Omari/ waliko haaðiri/ mukhta Ali/ chimbigo mwana wa Nuuru. ‘Omari was present when Ali was hitting Nuuru's child.’

haafa

n. 9/10 [Som. *xaafad* DSI 617] quarter (of a town)

Bulo Baazi/ ni karka haafa/ mooyi/ za Mwiini. ‘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'aayi ‘the quarter of Mp'aayi (in Brava)’

Mwiini/ inazo hafa ne. ‘Brava has four quarters.’

Wo/ wa'iwiile/ kuwa wanawaawo/ maanzine/ wanakhkooda/ kugura hafa iyo. ‘They learned that their children had already been discussing moving out of the area.’

ku-hafiða

v. [Ar. *hafiza* W 188] (**hafiðile**) preserve, protect, keep in a safe place; memorize, “learn by heart” (esp. the Quran)

Ali/ mtile mwaana/ kuhafiða darsi. ‘Ali caused the child to memorize the lesson.’ (This is the periphrastic construction that corresponds to the causative verb *-hafiðisha*.)

Hajiya/ hafiðile peesa/ sandukhuuni. ‘Hajiya kept the money in a box.’

Hasani/ hafiðile darsi. ‘Hasani memorized the lesson.’ (Note that the phrase-medial word final vowel of the verb is not lengthened in front of **darsi**. A word-final vowel in medial position lengthens if by so doing it will receive (abstract) stress. The initial heavy syllable **dar** in **darsi** attracts stress, thus preventing the preceding vowel from being assigned stress.)

kuhafiða (al)khur'aani ‘to memorize the Quran’

mooja wahafiðe kula mahaaji [st.] ‘O God, protect all the pilgrims’

Mukeewe/ chimwaambila/ mwajiitu/ takuhafiða. ‘His wife told him: God will protect you.’

Omari/ waanawe/ huwahafiða/ na bardi/ huwaweshaa nguwo/ nzito/ wachilawa ibanyaani. ‘Omari protects his children from the cold, he dresses them in heavy clothes when they go out.’

sandukhu ya Huseeni/ hafiðilo peesa/ katiiké ‘the box that Huseeni kept the money in it’ (Note that one is required to have a resumptive pronoun attached to a preposition if the head of the relative clause is a bare noun identifying a location; one cannot say ***sandukhu ya Huseeni/ hafiðilo peesa** ‘the box that Huseen put money’.)

Si/ shtamhafiða/ na shtamdhora/ 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 waajibu [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.)

Wanakhsooma/ wanakuhafiða/ wanakubaraða tafsiri. ‘They are studying, they are memorizing, they are learning Quranic exegesis.’

rel.

ku-hafiðika v. p/s. able to be memorized

ku-hafiðila v. appl. (**hafiðilile**) keep for someone in a safe place

Huseeni/ mhafiðilile mwaana/ peesa/ karka sandukhuu nk^hulu. ‘Huseeni put the money for the child in a large box.’ (The presence of a modifier of **sandukhu** prevents the use of the locative form **sandukhuuni**. Note the example below, where no modifier is used.)

Huseeni/ mhafiðilile mwaana/ peesa/ sandukhuuni. ‘Huseeni kept the money for the child in a safe place.’

mwana wa Huseeni/ mhafiðililo peesa/ sandukhuuni ‘the child whom Huseeni put money for him in a box’

pesa za Huseeni mhafiðililo Nuuru ‘the money that Huseeni put in a safe place for Nuuru’

ku-hafiðilana v. appl. rec. keep in a safe place for one another

Nuuru/ na Baazi/ 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.

darsi ya mwaalimu/ mhafiðishizo mwaana ‘the lesson that the teacher made the child memorize’

Mwaalimu/ wahafiðishize waana/ darsi. ‘The teacher made the children memorize the lesson.’ (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.

Ali/ mhafiðishilize Iisa/ mwaana/ darsi. ‘Ali made Iisa’a child memorize the lesson.’ (The periphrastic version of this sentence is: **Ali/ mtılıle Iisa/ mwaana/ kuhafiða darsi.**)

Mwaalimu/ mhafiðishilize Hinda/ waana/ darsi. ‘The teacher made Hinda’s children memorize the lesson.’

ku-hafiðishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Ali/ na Nuuru/ wahafiðishilizenye waana/ darsi. ‘Ali and Nuuru made one another’s children memorize the lesson.’ (The periphrastic version of this sentence is: **Ali/ na Nuuru/ watılılene waana/ kuhafiða darsi.**)

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. (**hafiðishiiza**) be made to memorize

Darsi/ hafiðishiza mwaana/ na mwaalimu. ‘The lesson, the child was made to memorize by the teacher.’;

darsi/ hafiðishiza mwaana/ na mwaalimú ‘the lesson that the child was made to memorize by the teacher’

darsi ya mwaana/ hafiðishiza na mwaalimú ‘the lesson that the child was made to memorize by the teacher’

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-hafiðooowa v. pass. (**-hafiðiila**)

Darsi/ ihafiðiila na mwaana. ‘The lesson was memorized by the child.’

rel.

u-hafiðo n. 14

haafiði

n. someone who memorizes

Omari/ ni haafiði/ al khur’aani. ‘Omari is one who memorizes the Quran.’

haafiði

n. a name of God, the Protector, Savior

- Haafiði/ humhafiðo muunt^hu/ ni mojiitu/ ka kilaa dhibu.** ‘The Protector who protects one for every problem is God.’ (A proverb.)
- hafiisa** (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 yiitu/ mp^hiya ‘our new office’
Mkulu wa hafiisa/ chiwa’uza waana. ‘The head of the office asked the children.’
Oloshale 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-hafiisa (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
- hafla** n. 9/10 [Ar. *ḥafḥa* W 190] celebration, ceremony that is public and is attended by a large number of people; party
hafla ya haruusi ‘a wedding celebration’
khfanya hafla ‘to celebrate’
Fanyize hafla ya mowliidi. ‘He celebrated the birthday of Mohammad.’
Haliima/ leelo/ nakhfanya hafla/ waanawe/ wapisile imtihaahni/ skolaani. ‘Today Haalima is making a celebration, her children passed the examination at school.’
kuweka hafla ‘to hold a celebration’; also: **kuwekowa hafla, kuwekela hafla**
Ali/ kaawo/ iwesela hafla/ nk^hulu/ waawaye/ kuuya/ ka Ameerika. ‘Ali at their place a big celebration was held for his father coming back from America.’
Nuuru/ weshele hafla/ ya mukeewe/ kuzaala. ‘Nuuru made a celebration for his wife delivering (child).’
Omari/ uzile makhatiiifa/ kuwekela hafla/ kaake/ numbaani/ ya haruusi/ ya mwaanawe. ‘Omari bought carpets for making celebrations at his house for his son’s wedding.’
Naani/ mbujé/ wé/ mweenó/ haflaani. ‘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 haflaani. ‘He is at the celebration.’
Yiko hafla/ nk^hulu. ‘There is a big celebration.’
- Haafuuni** n. Hafun (in Somali, *Xaafuun*), a region in Puntland in Somalia
Nayoo ndala/ kana lazilo ka Haafuuni. ‘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/ imleeseló. 'After that, he told the sultan the need that brought him to [the sultan].'

Haaja/ hufaanyika/ hooja/ 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'uná/ haaja/ naami/ teena. 'It means he has no need of me anymore.'

Maama/ kasizopo baabá/ hadile kuwa nt'aná/ haajá/ na waanawé/ sittá/ ondroshele/ oloshole/ 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/ ikhulesele kaaká. 'My mother, what need do you have that has brought you to me?'

Mi/ siná/ haaja/ na mp'undra 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'andra mungooni/ mi/ nt'akoowela/ hajá/ kaaka. 'Friend, you do not have a need to swim, you ride on my back, I will swim to my home.'

Na chiwana haajá/ mahaḷa 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'atu/ na chizeelé/ nt'ashkuwaná/ 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 ileseḷa [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", *hājj* "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 wataḡamzuuro 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

	<p>Sheekhi/ nt^hakoowa/ sku ikumi/ hatá/ maluungoye/ yawele hajiimu/ yanamjaaja/ ka wasakha niingi. ‘Sheekhi did not take a shower for ten days until his body became itchy and was itching him from a lot of dirt.’</p> <p>Ziko ba’aði/ yaa kuja/ zinayo hajiimu/ huleta mjaajo. ‘There are some foods that can cause itching.’</p>
<i>ku-haajira</i>	<p>v. emigrate</p> <p>Muunt^hu/ mahaḷa/ chiwona dhibu/ naa zitá/ ziikó/ huhaajira/ hendra mahaḷa/ yiko amaani. ‘If one sees difficulties or fighting going on, he moves away and goes to a place where there is peace.’</p> <p>nt^haasa kuhaajira keendra Madiina/ dhelmishiiza masku Amiina [st.] ‘before his emigration to Medina, the Prophet was taken during the night’</p>
<i>Hajuuwa</i>	<p>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</p> <p>Teena/ ni muhimmu/ 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.’</p>
<i>hakah</i>	<p>interj.</p> <p>Hamadi/ nt^hanaayo/ imaani/ yaa wé/ tampo/ haahadi/ hakah. ‘Hamadi does not get satisfied, content (lit. have faith), whatever you give him, he does not say <i>hakah</i>, i.e. thanks.’</p> <p>Zahara/ hakah/ haahadi/ hatá/ shpoowani. ‘Zahara does not say thanks whatever she is given.’</p>
<i>hakamu</i>	<p>[Ar. <i>hakam</i> W 196] an attribute of God (= the Arbiter);</p> <p>Hakamu/ ni mojiitu/ hutomoloo garí. ‘The arbiter of justice is God, who decides what is right.’</p>
<i>haakimu (ma-)</i>	<p>n. [Ar. <i>hākim</i> W 197] judge, ruler (of a country)</p> <p>hakimu uyu ‘this ruler’</p> <p>Hakimu ya jazira iyi/ waaliko nii muke/ ma’askari/ wawaliko nii wake/ na kiḷa/ kazi muhimú/ iwaliko ishfanyowa naa wake. ‘The ruler of this island was a woman, the soldiers were women, and each important job was done by women.’</p> <p>nt^hana shaka amri ya mooja haakimu [st.] ‘there is no doubt, it is the order of God the Just’</p>
<i>hakiimu (O, ma-)</i>	<p>adj. [Ar. <i>hakīm</i> W 196] wise</p> <p>Hakiimu/ ni karka sifa za mojiitu. ‘Wise is one of the attributes of God.’</p> <p>kuwa hakiimu ‘to be wise’</p> <p>Lukhmaani/ waliko ni hakiimu/ mkulu/ khur’aniini/ dukuriilá. ‘Lukhmani was a very wise man, he is mentioned in the Quran.’</p> <p>munt^hu hakiimu ‘a wise person’ (cf. want^hu (ma)hakiimu ‘wise people’)</p>
<i>Haako</i>	<p>n. an area at the southern edge of the Albaamba quarter of Brava, where people used to burn clay-pots</p>
<i>halahala</i>	<p>interj. beware! try your best! take note, focus on!</p> <p>Nuuru/ mwambile mwēenzawe/ Huseeni/ mi/ nakhsaafirá/ halahala/ niwila waanawe/ hali yaawo. ‘Nuuru told his friend Huseeni: I am traveling, be sure to check on my children’s condition.’</p> <p>Wazaleenó/ hawaḷaani/ halahala/ majiraani. ‘Don’t fight with your family</p>

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

Ichiwaa we/ mhalashize muunt^hu/ ichiwaa we/ mtawanyiz e muunt^hu/ maazi/ ni jawabuu nziito/ ni jawabuu nk^hulu/ hulipanowa aari. ‘If it be that you hurt someone, if it be that you spill someone’s blood, it is a serious (lit. heavy) thing, it’s a big deal, it’s being revenged.’

Mweenzawo/ mtiye/ kolko/ aduwiyo/ ndiyé/ na’iwo siriyó/ hukhadiro khuhalaashá. ‘Beware of your friend more than your enemy, it is he who knows your secret and who is able to injure you.’ (A proverb.)

Nhalashize ruuhuyá. ‘I hurt myself.’

Si/ laazimu/ kubarata kafiha waant^hu/ wa chihalaashiizó. ‘We must learn to forgive those who harmed us.’

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)!’

Yaa ye/ khiinfó/ na yaa ye/ khuhalashilizó/ ha’ileetani. ‘What he does that is useful to you and what he does that is harmful do not offset one another – i.e. he is more damaging to you than useful.’ (A proverbial saying.)

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.’ (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/ umhawalaeete.**)

halí

n. 9 [Ar. *hall* W 199] solution

khpata halí ‘to find a solution’, also: **khpatilowa halí**

Chiint^hu/ ishkoðeloowa/ hupatilowa/ halí. ‘If issues are discussed, a solution can be found.’

Haaja/ hupatilowa/ halí/ hooja/ ha’ipatiloowi/ halí. ‘A dispute (a reasonable question, issue) can be solved, a quarrel (not based on factual issues) cannot be solved.’

kumera halí ‘to look for a solution’; also: **kumerełowaa halí**

Dhibu/ amá/ porobleema/ ishtuluka/ laazimu/ kumerełowaa halí. ‘If a problem happens, a solution ought to be sought.’

Nt^haku/ halí. ‘There is no solution.’

Nt^hayná/ halí. ‘It has no solution.’

ku-halisha

v. solve (A simple verb stem **ku-hala* is not used in Chimiini.)

kuhalishaa dhibu ‘to find a remedy for a difficulty or problem’

khhalisha mas’ala ‘to solve a problem’

kuhalisha mushkila ‘to solve a problem’

Si/ chinakihtaja kaalmé/ ya sarkaari/ kuhalisha mushkila iyi. ‘We need

- the government's help in solving this problem.'
- Wo/ wanakhsuḷa khkasa/ kiitu/ yaa si/ shtakhfaanyó/ kuhalisha mushkila.** 'They want to hear from us what we will do to solve the problem.'
- rel.
ku-halila v. appl.
Mwiini/ ifanyiza lujna/ ya want^huu saba/ kuhalila/ mushkila/ ya anshuuru. 'In Miini a committee of seven people has been created to solve tax problems.'
- ku-halishika* v. p/s. able to be solved
Mushkila iyi/ ha'ihalishiki. 'This problem cannot be solved.'
- ku-halishiliza* v. appl.
Omari/ hutumikila peesa/ kuhalishiliza mushkila. 'Omari uses money to solve a problem.'
- Osmaani/ nt^haná/ ilmu/ ya kuhalishiliza mushkila iyi.** 'Osmaani does not have the knowledge to solve this problem.'
- ku-halishilizoowa* v. appl. pass.
Peesa/ haskhadiroowi/ kuhalishilizoowa/ mushkila iyi. 'Money cannot be used to solve this problem.'
- ku-halishoowa* v. pass.
Mushkila iyi/ inakhsuḷa kuhalishoowa. 'This problem needs to be solved.'
Mushkila iyi/ laazimu/ kuhalishoowa. 'This problem must be solved.'
- haloo-haloo** n. the name by which the police radio connection to Mogadishu was called
- halwa** n. [Sw. *halua* "a common sweetmeat made of flour, eggs, sugar, ghee, etc. Turkish delight" SSED 125]
ladda/ kamba halwa 'as sweet as halwa'
- halaaka** n. 9/10 destruction (by natural phenomena), spiritual destruction, problem/difficulty
Halaaka/ ya mojiitu/ ichiya/ humpata sheetaani/ na moomini. 'When God's disaster happens, it affects the devil (i.e. evil people) and the faithful (ones).' (A proverb.)
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 khutumiló/ 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/ nakhsuḷa 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** although; var. **haalo**
Abdalla/ chilawa/ ka numbaani/ naayé/ haali/ azimilo kuzimilá. 'Abdalla left the house and meanwhile he decided to escape.' (Notice that the word **haali** triggers the relative form of the following verb.)
Faatma/ oloshale/ haaliye/ naakuḷó. 'Faatma has gone although her situation was that she was crying.'
Haali/ Hamiisi/ husomo niingi/ ye/ hapiti/ imṭihaani. 'Even though Hamiisi studies a lot, he will not pass the exam.'

Haali/ naayé/ naakuḷó/ nakulombo raaḍi/ sulṭaani/ nt^haykumwiingila/ naharisi. ‘While he (the auctioneer) was in the state of crying, begging for forgiveness, mercy did not enter the sultan.’

Hamiisi/ hubaraṭa/ niingi/ haali/ hapendi skoolá. ‘Hamiisi studies a lot, even though he does not like school.’

Hamiisi/ husoma niingi/ haali/ jis’iyo/ ye/ hapeendi/ kendra skolaani. ‘Hamiisi reads a lot, despite that, he does not like going to school.’

Laakini/ haali/ naayé/ waliko ni maskiini/ 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.’

Muusa/ peete/kaazi/ haali/ nt^hanayo ilmuyé. ‘Muusa got the job even though he had no qualifications.’

Ye/ hukoḍa chingereenza/ jisa suura/ haalo/ umriwe/ nt^hakeendrá/ skoolá. ‘He speaks excellent English although he has never been to school.’

Ye/ mpeele/ ye/ hadiya/ niingi/ haali/ ye/ nt^hakumuuzá/ umriwé/ haṭá/ mooyi. ‘He gave her many presents, although she never asked him for one.’

Ye/ peete/ kaazi/ haali/ nt^hakuwanaayó/ khibrayé. ‘He got the job although he had no qualifications.’

Ye/ waliko ajiriila/ kaazi/ haali/ chita/ umriwe/ nt^hakumso’aalaṭá. ‘He was hired, although the boss never interviewed him.’

haali

n. 9 [Sw. *hali* SSED 125; Ar. *ḥāl* W 216] state, condition(s), strength, health, manner, circumstance(s)

Dafa/ chiya/ chimwona/ bakayle/ umo karka hali iyo. ‘The kite came and saw the hare in that state of being.’

Fardoos/ nakhtaambula/ haali. ‘Fardoosa understands the situation.’

Hali gani. ‘What condition?’

Hali gani/ yaako. ‘How are you? How is your condition?’

halii mbovu ‘bad condition’

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/ mukḥṭaa 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 kiḷa haali ‘in, under all circumstances’

Humshukura mojiitu/ ka kiḷa haali. ‘I thank God whatever the conditions may be.’

kiḷaa haali ‘any condition’

kumshukura mojiitu/ ka kiḷaa haali ‘to thank God in any condition’

Laakini/ haali/ jisaayo/ mbovu/ si/ hashkaadiri/ illa/ kaamina/ ya kuwa doḅḷa/ ya Aldo/ Mooroo/ hayṭakhaadira/ khfanyilizaa dawa/ ikḥṭisaadi/ ya Taḷyaani/ khaasá/ karka wakḥṭi uyu. ‘But (its) condition being so bad, we can but believe that the government of Aldo Mooroo will not be able to cure the Italian economy, especially at this time.’

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 Omarí/ chimo hali mooyi. ‘Me and Omari are in the same situation.’

Mi/ nakuwona kuwa haaliyó/ mbovu. ‘Now I see that your condition is bad.’

Mi/ shfilaṭila/ 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**

Nimkasize Omari/ kuwa haali/ Mwiini/ ni suura/ isa. ‘I heard from Omari that conditions are better now in Brava.’

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’ (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.’

Yo/ ni kuwaa mi/ tu/ ni laazimu/ mi/ kulangala ruuhuya/ karka hali iyi/ mbovu. ‘It is only that I must look after myself in this predicament (lit. bad situation).’

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/ mui wa Mwiini. ‘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. *ḥalīm* 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’; also: **kuwekela haalo** (applied), **kuwekelanowa haalo** (applied reciprocal passive), etc.
Hamadi/ mwekelele Ali/ haalo/ kumvunanga mwaanawe. ‘Hamadi prepared to take vengeance on Ali for beating his child.’ (GM, who regularly elides the **w** from the **mw** sequence in a prefix, retained

the initial *w* of the verb in this example.)

Kuwekelanowa haalo/ siwo/ suura/ suura/ kafishanoowa. ‘For vengeance to be taken on one another is not good, it is good to forgive one another.’

Sawarata/ siweeké/ haalo. ‘Be patient, don’t be vengeful!’

hamaji (*ma-*)

adj. [Ar. *hamaji* ‘uncivilized, barbarous, rude’ W 1033] stupid, foolish

munt^hu hamaji (cf. **want^hu hamaji**, **chijint^hu chihamaji**, **zijint^hu zihamaji**, **ijint^hu ihamaji**, **mijint^hu mihamaji**)

Omari/ kooðize/ kana/ za hamaji. ‘Omari’s words are like (those) of a foolish/.stupid person.’

rel.

hamajilhamaji adj. redup. (GM prefers **hamajilhamaji** to a simple **hamaji**.)

Ali/ fanyize jawaabu/ za hamajilhamaji. ‘Ali did foolish/ stupid things.’

Omari/ kooðize/ kana/ za hamajilhamaji. ‘Omari’s words are like (those) of a foolish/.stupid person.’

u-hamaji n. stupidity

Hamadi/ mwambile 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.’

Mahamaali/ wanakhfunga mizigo/ khpakizowa gariini. ‘The porters are packing up loads to put on 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/ mubli/ 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 **want^hu 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 want^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. 10 [Som. *xamasho* DSI 623] defamation, slander, gossip

Hamasho/ huletaa dhibu. [H!H] ‘Backbiting brings problems.’

Hamasho/ ni ðambi. [H!H] ‘Gossiping is a sin.’

Hamasho/ siwo/ suura. ‘Gossip is not good.’

Huseenii/ hamashoze/ ni niingi. [H’H’H] ‘Huseeni, his backbitings are many.’ (There is a clear enough lowering of pitch across the phrases in this example, but we have judged these lowerings to be cases of declination rather than downstep. We take declination to characterize the pattern found in an initial subject consisting of a NP) N=possessive) and also between a phrase and a predicate adjective.)

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/ kuhamata waant^hu. [H¹H!H] ‘Hasani, his job is to backbite people – i.e. all that Hasani does is backbite people.’ (The emphasis on **kaaziye** is expressed as a pitch upstepping on this element, as indicated in the intonational annotation of this example.)

kumhamata ‘to gossip about someone’

lata kuhamata [lata namiimu/ tiya Jahannamu tiya Jahiimu [st.] ‘forsake backbiting and slandering/ fear [the hells of] Jahannam and Jahim’ [SCB 556]

rel.

ku-hamaṭana v. rec.

ku-hamaṭika v. p/s.

Fulaani/ hahamaṭiki. ‘So-and-so cannot be spoken ill of.’

ku-hamaṭila v. appl.

Nhamaṭiṭile maame. ‘He spoke ill of my mother on me.’

ku-hamaṭoowa v. pass.

Apo/ nakuhamataoowa/ Omari. ‘Omari is being gossiped about in that place.’

hamdi

n. [Ar. *ḥamd* “commendation, praise” W 204] praise (In Chimiini, the word **mahaṭi** is used most commonly and not **hamdi**.)

Hamadi/ hamdi/ nt^hanaayo/ yaa we/ tamfanyiliizó. ‘Hamadi is not thankful whatever you do for him.’

Hamdi/ nda mojiitu. ‘Praise is due to God.’

hamdi nda mojiitu wa awali [st.] ‘praise is due to God the Eternal’

rel.

Alḥamdulillah. ‘Praise be to God.’ (an Arabic expression used in Chimiini as a formulaic expression, e.g. in condolences)

ku-hamdisha

v. praise

Hamadi/ hamhamdishi/ muunt^hu. ‘Hamadi does not praise/ thank people.’

Muunt^hu/ suura/ kumhamdisha mweenziwe. ‘It is good for one to praise another.’

rel.

?*ku-hamdishika* v. caus. p/s. (This verbal form was rejected by GM.)

ku-hamdishiliza v. appl.

Muunt^hu/ hupowa chiint^hu/ chaa ye/ kuhamdishiliza. ‘One is given something such that one can give praise/ appreciation for it (i.e. one is given something good, not something bad).’

ku-hamdishoowa v. pass.

Mojiitu/ ndiyé/ wa kuhamdishoowa. ‘God is the one to be praised/ thanked.’

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 painning him.’

haamidi

n. [cf. Ar. verb *ḥamida* “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. *ḥamīd* “praiseworthy” W 204] **praiseworthy**

ku-hamila

v. [Sw. *himili* “(1) bear, support; bear, endure, accept, be equal to; (3) be pregnant”

- SSED 126; Ar. *ḥamala* “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. *ḥaml*, pl. *aḥmāl* “foetus, pregnancy” W 207] pregnant
Fardoosa/ kashifile kuwaa ye/ ni haamila. ‘Fardoosa discovered that she was 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**)
Siwo/ suura/ muke nayo haamilá/ khtala dawa iyi. ‘It is not safe for a pregnant woman to take this medicine.’
- 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’o/ na kuwa wazeelewe/ nt’awakutaambula/ walá/ nt’akudaḍalaṭa/ 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/ chondrolelee hammu/ naa ghamú. ‘May God take from us stress and sadness!’ (A saying, prayer.)
Sa’iidi/ chi’idegela/ ka maamaye/ na nt’aymwiingila/ 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. *ḥaml*, pl. *aḥmāl* “cargo” W 207] load, cargo; variant form: **hamuula** (rare)
Gaariya/ ipakiza hamuuli/ zaaydi. ‘My truck has been overloaded with cargo.’
Hamauuli/ itakhsaafira/ ka tawala. ‘The cargo will travel by sea.’
Leelo/ gaariya/ itozele 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. <i>handaki</i> SSED 126] trench; underground shelter variant form: khandaqi rel. <i>chi-handaqi</i> (<i>zi-</i>) n. 7/8 dim. <i>i-handaqi</i> n. trench Faṭeme ihandaqiini. ‘He hid in a trench,’ khṭumba ihandaqi ‘to dig a trench’ Umo ihandaqiini. ‘He is in a trench.’
handasa	n. [Ar. <i>handasa</i> “engineering, architecture, geometry” W 1036] geometry
handaasa	n. [?Som. <i>hadiid</i> “to desire violently” DSI 290] nymphomania Nayo handaasa. ‘She is a nymphomaniac.’
ku-handisa	v. [Ar. noun <i>handasa</i> W 1036] (handisiize) invent variant form: kuhindisa kuhindisa chiint^{bu} ‘to invent s.t.’ kuhindisa jawaabu ‘to invent s.t.’ rel. <i>ku-handisoowa</i> 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. <i>hando</i> SSED 126; Hind.; however, Chimiini speakers connect the word to Som. <i>haan</i> DSI 286, with the same meaning] a kind of wooden container (used for carrying milk bought at the market) rel. <i>chi-haando</i> (<i>zi-</i>) n. 7/8 dim. <i>i-haando</i> (<i>mi-</i>) n. 5/4 aug.
ku-hanga’ika	v. [Sw. <i>hangaika</i> SSED 126] be astonished, be vexed rel. <i>ku-hanga’isha</i> v. caus. (hanga’ishiize) astonish, vex, trouble <i>ku-hanga’ishana</i> v. caus. rec. <i>ku-hanga’ishika</i> v. caus. p/s. <i>ku-hanga’ishiliza</i> v. caus. appl. <i>ku-hanga’ishilizanya</i> v. caus. appl. rec.
hanga’isho	n. astonishment, vexation
ku-hanjamaṭa	v. [Som. <i>hanjan</i> , variant of <i>hanjab</i> DSI 297] (hanjameete) threaten rel. <i>ku-hanjama</i> v. (hanjamiile) threaten Hamadi/ mhanjamile Omari/ mwambile takhuvunaanga. ‘Hamadi threatened Omari, he told him: I will beat you.’ <i>ku-hanjamaṭana</i> v. rec. threaten one another <i>ku-hanjamaṭila</i> v. appl. Nhanjamaṭilile mwaana. ‘He threatened my child on me.’ <i>ku-hanjamoowa</i> v. pass. Wako waant^{bu}/ hawakhiiri/ kuhanjamoowa. ‘There are some people, they do not give in (lit. accept) to threatening.’ rel. <i>u-hanjamaṭo</i> n. 14
hanjamu	n. threatening; attack

Ka hanjamu/ ha'ipatoowi/ chiint'u. 'With threatening nothing is achieved.'
khtila hanjamu 'to threaten'
Omari/ chisula chiint'u/ hutila hanjamu. 'When Omari wants something,
he makes threats.'
Ni ðaruuri/ si/ kumhafiða Baazi/ na hanjamu. 'It is essential that we protect Baazi
from being attacked.'

hannaani

n. [Ar. *ḥannān* W 209] an attribute of God (Loving, Compassionate)

hantī

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 mnungaana [st.] '[and it is] for woman, man, slave and free-born'

ku-hantīsha

v. subjugate, 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

n. 9/10, 6 [Sw. *kanzu* SSED 173; ?Ar. *qamīs* ??] long robe worn as an outer garment by men; dress

Basi/ washtaala/ hayawaani/ mweepe/ wachimtiinda/ washtala haanzu/ ya Yuusufu/ washpaka maazi/ ya hayawaani/ waa wo/ wamtjinziló. '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**.'

Fardoosa/ jaribiile/ haanzu/ laakini/ nt^ha'ikumtasha. 'Fardoosa tried on the dress, but it did not fit her.'

Faatma/ hanzuu mbili/ mulilo mwanaashkewé. 'Faatma, it's two dresses that she bought for her daughter.' (If there is focus on a preposed phrase like **hanzuu mbili**, the verb is put into pseudo-relative clause form. Emphasis, expressed as pitch raising, does not have this effect, as we see below.)

Faatma mulile hanzuu mbili/ mwanaashkewe. 'Faatma bought two dresses for her daughter.'

Faatma/ mulile hanzuu mbili/ mwanaamkewe. [H[↑]H!!H] 'Faatma bought two dresses for her daughter.' (In order to focus on **mbili**, the noun phrase is joined with the verb into a phonological phrase and **mbili** is markedly raised in pitch, resulting in the following phrase being radically lower in pitch.)

Faatma/ mulile haanzu/ mbili/ mwanaashkewe. [H[↑]HH!!H] 'Faatma bought two dresses for her daughter.' (In order to put emphasis on **haanzu**, it is phrased with the verb and separated phrasally from the modifier. **Haanzu** is markedly raised in pitch, but radical lowering does not occur until **mwanaashkewe**.)

Faatma/ mulile hanzuu mbili/ mwanaashkewe. [H[↑]H!!H] 'Faatma bought two dresses for her daughter.' (This example illustrates that emphasis, but not

focus, can be put on the subject by a more radical raising of the pitch than would ordinarily occur. We observed ordinary downstep intonation on the following phrases.)

Faatma/ muliile/ hanzuu mbili/ mwanaashkewe. ‘Faatma bought two dresses for her daughter.’

Faatma/ mwanaashkewe/ muliile hanzuu mbili. [H[↑]H!!H] ‘Faatma her daughter bought two dresses for.’ (Emphasis on *mwanaashkewe* is achieved by preposing it and raising its pitch. The next phrase is radically lowered after this raising.)

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.’

hanzu 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 mikonoo zigobe ‘a **haanzu** with short sleeves’

hanzu ya shingo mviriiinge ‘dress with a round collar’

hanzu ya waana ‘children’s dress’

hanzu za wabli ‘**haanzu** (pl.) for men’

hanzu zaa wake ‘**haanzu** (pl.) for women’

Omari/ kaake/ dukaani/ hazuzoowi/ hanzu za wabli/ huzowa zaa wake/ tu. ‘At Omari’s shop men’s **haanzu** are not sold, only women’s **haanzu**.’

Islaamu/ hawavaali/ surwani zigobe. ‘Muslims don’t wear short pants.’

Mukeewa/ Barka/ haanzuye/ suura. ‘My wife Barka’s dress is beautiful.’

Nvete haanzuyá/ mp’iyá. ‘I put on my new dress.’

Nvete haanzuyé/ ndr’é/ huundrú. ‘I wore her long red dress.’ (This example illustrates the fact that the phrasal separation of an nominal head and a modifier does not necessarily indicate a focus on the head. If it did, propagation of final accent past the head would be blocked. Such a blocking effect is not present in this example.)

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.’

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, the way it should be; what is deserved; [usu. pron. *hakhi*]

Hakhi/ ha’ibahi. ‘What is right, deserved, does not get lost.’ (A proverbial saying.)

ije ya haqi awanya [song] ‘that which is [my] right (i.e. is due me), divide it’

Imkalile kuwa siwo/ hakhi/ ye/ khpowa Ifuungu/ 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.’

Khaasimu/ laazimu/ kawanya hakhi. ‘Khaasimu must divide it justly.’

Maamé/ siwo/ hakhi/ yaa we/ nakuhadó. ‘Mother, it is not right what you are saying.’

Mi/ nayo hakhi/ khtinda go’aaniza. ‘I have the right to make my own decisions.’

Mowti ni farði na kufa ni hakhi [st.] ‘death is a necessity and to die is something right’

na iyo ni hakhi ndrúza kasaani [st.] ‘and that is something inevitable (lit. right, just), listen, my brothers’

naami hakhiya isa kulata kundhiba aariya [song] ‘and my right now is [for you] to stop bothering me about my disgrace’

Nk^halenti^he kuliindrá/ skuu nt^hatu/ laakini/ hattá/ isa/ skupata hakhiya. ‘I stayed waiting for three days but up to now I could not get my right (i.e. what was due to me).’

Siwo/ hakhi/ Hamadi/ kichiwekaa si/ kuliindra. ‘It’s not right for Hamadi to keep us waiting.’

Waawé/ we/ ni sulṭaani/ we/ ka kuwako sulṭaani/ mwajiitu/ khaamura/ khfanya hakhi/ beena/ maskiini/ na taajiri. ‘My father, you are sultan; because of your being the sultan, God ordered you to do justice between poor people and rich people.’

Wo/ wam’ayidile Abú/ kuwanayo hakhi/ kudorsata weenzawe. ‘They supported Abu’s right to choose his friends.’

rel.
u-haqi n. 14
uhaqi wa nafsi kumeera salaama [nt.] ‘it is one’s right to seek safety’

ku-haqira

v. [Sw. *hakiri* SSED 124; Ar. *haqara* W 193] (**haqiriile**) despise, belittle, humiliate
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. *haqīr* 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. *haqīqa* W 192] certainty, truth, essentials, essence;
 adj. certain; [pron. **haqiqa** or **hakhiikha**]
haqiqa/ kanaa kufa ‘as certain as death’
kuleta hakhiikha ‘(lit.) to bring the truth, i.e. report the facts’
Rasdente/ mtumile askari/ kendra Maringuwaayi/ kuleta hakhiikha/ ya zita za khabiiila/ zinakiineendró/ apo.
 ‘The district commissioner sent a soldier to go to Maringuwaay village to report the facts about the clan fighting that was going on there.’
Laakini/ hakhiikha/ iwaliko siwo/ ye/ chisula kahawa/ chisula khkoða 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 haqiqaaye 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?’

ku-haqiqisha

v. ascertain

Sultaani/ sulile kuhaqiqisha/ kama zinakumero muyiini/ ka tarafu ya Ali/ ni lila. ‘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), exercise

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/ ni ḍaruuri/ ya afiya. ‘Exercise is essential to good health.’

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’ilaawilá/ 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’

Kaa ndala/ haraamu/ huwa halaali. ‘With hunger, what is forbidden becomes allowed.’ (A proverb.)

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 mojiitu wiitu m’aali/ shtaambizo si haraamu na halaali [st.] ‘thanks are due to God the Most High, who made us discern the lawful from the unlawful’
mbilize ni haraamu raasha maḍhabu [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 maḷadda**, 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 **mnaada**)
- 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. *ḥarbi* 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/ miingi/ huṭa(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/ shfakaṭa/ 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)’
Sultaani/ chamura kpanzoowa/ bandera/ ya harbi. ‘The sultan ordered a flag of war to be raised.’
Wachiḷawa 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'ifakajila/ laakini/ ye/ ikhtariile/ kingila harbiini. 'When he saw that danger was waiting for him, he could have run away, but he chose to fight.'

Yiko khatari/ ya harbi/ za ahli. 'There is a danger of civil war.'

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/ itakhu^hlaazima/ 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/ wanakuharbishanó/ 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 mwaaná/ chimraasha/ chiharbishana naaye/ hatá/ chimubla. '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/ mukhtaa ye/ komelo maha^hla 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.'

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 lundo laa namá/ 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. *hīrrif* "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/ mukḥṭa 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 sowḡi 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

mwaana/ chiwanayo hargabu ‘if a child has a cold’

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*.)

Hari/ iwaleteḷeḷe waant^hu/ dhibu/ naayó. ‘The heat has brought problems for people, too.’

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/ wakhtī/ ya harri/ sa’a za zohaari/ Juha/ na mwaanawé/ walazile/ wanakendra mahala. ‘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*

ku-hariḍa

v. [Ar. W 168] (**hariḍiile**) incite (This word was unknown to GM. The word was given by MI, but we do not have an example of its use.)

hariifa (Ø, ma-)

adj. clever

Alí/ (ni)hariifa/ kubiga khutba. ‘Ali is skillful at making speeches.’

Omari/ hariifa/ khṭeza mpiira. ‘Omari is skillful in playing ball.’

(Intonation: *Omari* and *hariifa* are pronounced at a similarly high pitch, while *mpiira* is strongly downstepped. The same intonational pattern was observed in the preceding example as well.)

hariifa

n. co-wife (each wife of the same husband is a **hariifa** of the other)

Haliima/ ni hariifa/ wa Aamina. ‘Haliima is a second wife to Aamina.’

Hariifa/ khabri/ taanzile. ‘The tomb even insulted (said bad things) about *hariifa*.’ (A proverb.)

Mwaana/ wa hariifa/ haleeti/ kheeri. ‘A child of a second wife does not bring blessings/ good things (i.e. to the other wife).’

ku-harikisha

v. caus. (cf. *harka* above) [Ar. *ḥaraka* W 170] move (emotionally)

variant form: *ku-harakisha*

Laano/ ili/ suḷa kuharikisha qalbi za kiḷa mgereenza. ‘This story would move the hearts of all Englishmen.’

Omari/ mharakishize Hamadi/ mkonowe. ‘Omari has moved Hamadi’s hand.’

rel.

ku-harikishana v. caus. rec.

ku-harikishiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-harikishoowa v. caus. pass.

Muunt^hu/ chilaala/ haharakishoowi. ‘When one sleeps, one is not shaken, moved (i.e. you do not touch a person when he is sleeping).’

rel. nom.

u-harikisho n. 14

ku-harima

v. [Ar. *ḥarima* 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.

ku-harimisha v. caus. (**harimishiize**) render unlawful, illegitimate

ku-harimoowa v. pass. (**haramiila**)

kaa kuja na kaazi chiharimiila [nt.] ‘food and work are forbidden to us’

ma-hariimu

n. 6 those people whom one is forbidden to marry (for a male: mother, sister, grandmother; for a female, father, brother, grandfather)

hariiri

n. 9 [Sw. *hariri* SSED 128; Ar. *ḥarīr* 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.’

hariri 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’

Miloongoṭi/ nda feḍa/ 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’

harooharo

adv.

Chibaṭeera/ chinakendra harooharo. ‘The boat is swinging.’

Check whether this is harohaaro or harooharo

haruusi

n. [Sw. *arusi* SSED 19; Som. *arōos* DSI 24; Ar. *ʿurs*, *ʿurus* 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^hakulabisoowa/ 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)’

Wakalen^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/ ñnakhsulá kendra harusini. ‘I want to go to the wedding.’

Mi/ isa/ niilé/ na wanaashke/ wawili/ wa masultaani/ ñnakhsuulá/ 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

Daðalata khkasabata hasanaati. ‘Try your best to earn yourself **hasanaati**.’

khkasabata hasanaati ‘to earn credit for good deeds’

Muunt^hu/ shkasabata hasanaati/ kuminfa yeeye. ‘It is useful to someone if he earns credit (from God) for good deeds done.’

Mwaadamu/ duniyaani/ husuloowa/ khkasabata hasanaati/ humwinfa keesho/ akhera. ‘Human being in the world is needed to earn good deeds, they help him tomorrow in life after.’

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^hu/ mukeewe/ chihada/ haashá/ nini/ mi/ mwambila

muunt^hu/ siriyó. ‘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-peelee/ Omari/ peesa. ‘Yes, Hamadi did give Omari money (and I am expressing satisfaction about this).’

- hasharaaṭi** n. 10 [Sw. *hasharati* “dissipation”; Ar. *ḥasarāt* “vermin, insect pests”, pl. of *ḥasara* “insect” W 179] insects; dissipation; adj. a bother, a nuisance
hasharaaṭi/ izi ‘these insects’
Mwana hasharaaṭi/ oloshela. ‘The annoying child left.’
Mwana uyu/ hasharaaṭi. ‘This child is a nuisance.’
rel.
u-hasharaaṭi n. 14
Iyo/ ni ifuungu/ ya maali/ ya Ali/ fanyilizo uhasharaaṭi/ na surufilo ilu yaa waké. ‘That is the part of his wealth that Ali squandered on dissipation and spent on women.’
- hasaashi** 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 hasaashi. ‘Hamadi is/looks elegant.’
- hashiimu** (*Ø, 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-hashiimu 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/ zijó/ kana hasiidá!?**)
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** (*Ø, 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’
adina 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’ó/ 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 wakhtí 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).’
- hata** conj., prep. [SSED *hata* SSED 129; Ar. *ḥatā* W155] even; until; [pron. **hatá**, and with gemination: **hattá**]; variant form: **atá, attá**
Abunawaasi/ shpaandra/ hatá/ chendra ka Harun Rashiidi. ‘Abunawaasi climbed the stairs until he went to Haruun Rashiidi.’
ata chisala p(w)eeke pashpo wahali [st.] ‘even if you pray alone without companion’
Baduwi uyu/ shinda ije humwiililó/ mbeleye -- mp^haka/ mbwa/ na hatá/ wanaadamú. ‘The nomad slaughtered whatever came before him — cats, dogs, and even human beings.’ **review accent on "mbele"**
Basi/ uje sultaani/ hattá/ nakshula mfuunga. ‘So that sultan even wanted to arrest him.’
Chimsoomesha/ oyo mwaana/ teena/ maamaye/ chisoomesha/ chibarata khur’aani/ chibarató/ 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 wanyaasa. ‘He walked until he reached the road that leads to the land of the Wanyaasa.’
Fijiri/ Sa’iidi/ shfunga safari/ chiineendra/ chiineendra/ hatá/ shkoma numba/ mooyi. ‘In the morning Saiidi set out on a journey and walked and walked until he reach a house.’
Ghaðibishilee nt^ho/ hatá/ wele (kuwa) hakhaadiri/ kaandika. ‘He was so angry to the point until it became that he was not able to write.’
Hamiisi/ husooma/ nt^ho/ laakini/ hatá/ jis’iyó/ ye/ hupeenda/ mpira wa kuulu/ nt^ho. ‘Hamisi reads a lot, but even so he likes football a lot.’

Hamiisi nakhsoma chibuuku/ haṭaa ye/ nakulangalo mpiirá. ‘Hamiisi is reading a book while watching football.’

haṭá/ chimpaandra ‘until I found him’

Haṭá/ mukhṭa/ wakhṭi/ suura/ nii dhibu/ kinenza gaari/ koloka Mwiini. ‘Even at the best of times, it is difficult to drive to Brava.’

Hasiibu/ chija/ haṭá/ chiikuta. ‘Hasiibu ate until he was full.’

Haṭá/ ichiwa/ kuwa...kiḷa mooyi/ muiyini/ 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/ simrudili. ‘Even if he gave it to me, I won’t return it to him.’

Haṭá/ kuja/ ni kaazi. ‘Even eating is work.’

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/ mwaalimu/ ooshele. ‘Even the teacher has left.’

haṭá/ Nureeni/ chiya ‘even if/ until Nureeni comes’

Haṭaa ^fwe/ nakhkoḍo na Nuurú/ ^hnakendra kumleta mwaaná. ‘While *you* are talking with Nuuru, I am going to bring the child.’ Or: Haṭaa ^fwe/ nakhkoḍo na Nuurú/ ^hnakeendrá/ kumleta mwaana. ‘While *you* are talking with Nuuru, I am *going* to bring the child.’

Haṭaa ^fwe/ nakhkoḍo na Nuurú/ nakendra nṭ^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/ shṭomola peesa. ‘You won’t be given it, even if you pay money.’

Ishize na mub^hliwe/ 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/ haṭá/ peesa/ yaa si/ kuja/ nṭ^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/ ^htakump^haka uso/ mashizi/ na

^htakun’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.)

Nṭ^hakhkalanṭ^ha apa/ haṭaa we/ chiya. ‘I will stay here until you come.’

nṭ^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/ mpeele/ peesa. ‘Tuuma gave money even to Barka.’
 Or: **Tuuma/ Barka/ haṭá/ mpeele/ 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 had 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/ ishṭiinda.
 ‘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^hakunuuzaa/ haṭá/ jisaa mi/ mp^heto numba iyí. ‘He did not ask even how I got this house.’

haaṭifu

n. 9 [Ar. *hāṭif* ‘shouting, calling loudly’ W 1018] rumors, news, sounds; variant form:
haaṭufu
Nt^haku/ haṭifuye. ‘There’s no word of him.’
Pete haaṭifu. ‘He got wind of something.’
Shkasa haaṭifu/ ndilaani. ‘He heard sounds outside.’

Haatiimi

n. the name of one of the main tribes in Brava; although the Haatiimi 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 **Haatiimi** 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.

rel.
Wakohaatiimu n. pl.

haṭimṭilifu

adj. battered, beaten, half-dead

hawa

n. 9 [Sw. *hawa* SSED 130, *hewa* SSED 133; Ar. *hawā*’ W 1040] weather, air, climate
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 dughaaghi. ‘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/ chimtokomeza/ 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.’
Kubadilaa hawa/ ni suura. ‘To change the air (i.e. go someplace different and get a change of environment and perspective) is good.’
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. 9/10 [Sw. *hawala* SSED 130; Ar. *hawāla* W 218] 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; a company making such money transfers
Ameerika/ ziko hawaala/ niingi/ za khtukuzowa peesa/ Soomáaliya. ‘In America there are many money transfer companies to send money to Somalia.’
khfanya hawaala ‘to obtain a hawaala’; also: **khfanyowa hawaala** (passive)
Alí/ fanyize hawaala/ Mkhodiisho/ peesa/ niingi. ‘Ali transferred a lot of money to Mogadishu.’
Omari/ hadiile/ ziko peesa/ niingi/ apa/ zinakhsuḷa khfanyowa hawaala/ khtukuzowa Miini. ‘Omari said: there is a lot of money here that needs to be sent to Miini.’
Sheekhi/ oshela hawalaani/ kumtukuliza maamaye/ peesa/ Miini. ‘Sheekhi went to a money transfer company to send money to his mother in Miini.’
- ku-hawaalisha** v. (**hawalishiize**) obtain a hawaala
Alí/ mhawalishize waawaye/ ka Dahashiili/ doolari/ miya/ ntḥaano. ‘Ali transferred at Dahashiil company to his father 500 dollars.’
- ku-hawaara** v. [Som. verb *habaar* DSI 287] (**hawariile** or **habariile**) curse; [pron. **kuhawaara** or **kuhabaara**]
Muunt^hu/ kumhawara mweenziwe/ bilaa sababu/ siwo/ suura. ‘For one to curse his friends is not good.’
Ziko/ ba’aḍi ya zizeele/ hupeenda/ kuhawara want^hu. ‘There are some old ladies who like to curse people.’
rel.
ku-hawaarika v. p/s.
Abú/ hahawaariki/ nazoo du’a/ za maamaye. ‘Abu cannot be cursed; he has the blessings of his mother.’
ku-hawariḷa v. appl. (**hawariile**)
Nuuru/mwambile Sheekhi/ namhawariḷani/ Hasani/ ismu ya jawaabu/ mbovu/ ntḥakhfaanya. ‘Nuuru said to Sheekhi: for what are you cursing Hasani? he didn’t do anything bad.’
ku-hawariḷoowa v. appl. pass. (**hawariḷa**)

Omari/ hawarila na waawaye/ hamkasi/ koodi. ‘Omari is being cursed by his father, he does not listen to what his father says.’

- hawaarane** n. someone cursed
Hawaarane/ haliwaani. ‘Someone cursed does not succeed.’
- hawaari** n. 9/10 [Som. noun *habaar* DSI 287] curse
Hawaari/ nt^haziná/ walaali. ‘Curses not have brotherhood.’ (This proverb conveys the idea that a cursed person is not a member of the family/community etc., does not behave in a way that recognizes brotherhood with others.)
- Hawaayi** n. a village near Brava
Hawaayi/ maduuriye/ mishaka/ yabigileene/ jiq!/ gaari/ ha’ikhaadiri/ khpita. ‘Hawaayi, its forest is thick, *jiq!*, a lorry cannot pass.’
- haweesa** n. 9/10 a wooden vessel for carrying and storing milk; [pron. **haweesa** or **habeesa**]
Haweesa/ hotezowa ka lbaani/ hununk^ha miskhi/ na jeermi/ hubla. ‘A wooden vessel is smoked with incense, it smells nice and it kills germs.’
Walakata/ hiska iziwa/ khfanya igoroori/ khtomola toomu/ ka haweesa. ‘Bush people shake milk to thicken it and extract curd using a *haweesa*.’
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 gani. ‘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. *ḥayā*’ 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/ anakuwonaa 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. *ḥayāh* “life” W 220] life
Mi/ ndimi/ nfuzilo nafsiyá/ karka hayaati/ amó/ ndimi/ 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.’

Mukhtaa ye/ 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.’

Ni chiint^hu/ mbovu/ kabisá/ kumtilaa shaka/ muunt^hu/ waa we/ mwaminiló/ hayaatiyó/ yont^hé. ‘It is a terrible thing to doubt someone you have trusted all your life.’

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. *ḥayawān* W 220] animal

Apo/ zamaani/ hayawaani/ za maduuri/ washishiila oni. ‘Once upon a time animals of the bush became thirsty.’

Badala yaa we/ kumtaala/ kumfanya kama mwaanawo/ kumdhoora/ kama maaoyo/ 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/ msifiliilo. ‘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 muo/ 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 udiyá. ‘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]

hayaay

ideo.

Hayaay!/ langaḷa Omari/ shati yaa ye/ veetó/ inakuwala/ inakuzima.
 ‘Wow! look at the shirt Omari is wearing, it is flashing (lit. it shines, it goes).’

hayee 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 mulo/ 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. *hayy* 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’
chĩnama cha chiĩnt^hu hayi haraamu/ hadiilo Sheekhi Shaafi’i imaamu [st.] ‘pieces of flesh of living things are forbidden, as stated by the Imam Shaykh al-Shaafi’i’
chiĩnt^hu hayi khtila mulooni 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’
Ka paapo/ chiiwa/ kuwa mwanamkewe/ ni hayi/ na umo jahaziini. ‘At once he knew that his daughter was alive and in the boat.’
Kana hayi/ hukooḃa/ 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’akuloola [st.] ‘during Khadija’s life (i.e. while Khadija was alive) the Prophet 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...’
shpana chihayi ‘a live dim. mouse’ **spana zihayi** ‘live dim. mice’
want^hu hayi ‘alive, active, energetic people’
Ye/ nakamina kuwa mwaanawe/ nt^haasá/ ni hayi. ‘She believed her son to be still alive.’
Ye/ tiyiile/ kishkiḷa/ 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 his father was alive.’
 rel.
u-hayi n. 14 the condition of being alive, living

- he** interj. an expression of warning
Muunt^hu/ chiza khkasa/ he! he!/ akhiriye/ huwona yaale. ‘If one does not listen to warnings, in the end he gets what he deserves.’
Nuuru/ waanawe/ hawa’ambili/ he!/ nt^hawana/ adabu/ rabshoole. ‘Nuuru does not tell his children he!, they have no discipline, they are troublesome.’
- 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] (**hebelelele**) give s.t. non-perishable freely, not expecting anything in return
Na yaa ye/ peetó/ yote/ mhebelele mooje. ‘And whatever he got, he gave freely to his master.’
- heedari** n. a name used for Ali, cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet; also used as a male proper name
kumpeenda heedari Ali stoshe haba [st.] ‘to love Heedhari Ali, don’t think it insignificant’
- heehata** an expression, repeated, indicating that something is utterly impossible
Hamadi/ wa taajiri/ khpata maali/ ni heehata/ heehata. ‘Hamadi be rich, to get money, no way, it’s not going to happen.’
Jawaabu/ iyo/ khtuluka/ ni heehata/ heehata. ‘For that to happen is absolutely impossible, it can never happen.’
Jawaabu/ iyo/ kuwa/ ni heehata/ heehata. ‘For that thing, matter, whatever was be seing spoken of, to be (what happens) is absolutely impossible, it can never happen.’
- 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**
uncertain) v. [?Sw. *hangaika* “to be troubled, anxious” SSED 126] (**perfect form**) pace back and forth in a perplexed or confused manner; wobble
Hamadi/ nakuhengaheenga. ‘Hamadi is pacing back and forth perplexed.’
- hera** n. [Som.] camp
variant form: **hira**
Ma’askari/ yanakudariboowa/ heraani/ hiila/ za harbi. ‘Soldiers are being trained in the camp (about) strategies of war.’
Waant^hu/ wa Mwiiini/ wapisile qahri/ niingi/ hera ya qahooti/ Mambasa. ‘The people of Brava endured a lot of hardship/ coercion etc. in a refugee camp in Mombasa.’
Zamaani/ waant^hu/ wawanayo juḍaamú/ washfanyilizowaa dawa/ heraani/ Jilibu. ‘During old times people with leprosy used to be treated at a camp in Jilib.’

- herge** adj. thick
Dawa iyi/ ni herge. ‘This ink is thick.’
Iziwa ishu/ iherge/ huzoowa/ sukhuuni/ Miini/ ni ghaali/ kolko/ iziwa maayi. ‘Thick fresh milk is sold at the market in Miini it is more expensive than thin (watery) milk.’
Iziwaye/ iherge. ‘His milk is thick.’
Kahawa iyi/ ni herge. ‘This coffee is thick/strong.’
Ranji iyi/ ya Hamadi/ nakubigilo likutá/ ni herge/ inasula haba mooyi/ khkabilowa maayi. ‘This paint that Hamadi is painting the wall with is thick, it needs a little water to be added.’
- 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
Miini/ waant^{bu}/ shpiindri/ ba’adi ya kujaa khaða/ wachihergelata haba mooyi/ haṭá/ aḏaana/ ya lapili. ‘People in Miini, at noon after lunch used to take a little nap until the calling for the afternoon prayer.’
Omari/ oshale numbaani/ ka mweenzawe/ kuhergelata/ chiṭa/ chinamlaazó/ haba mooyi. ‘Omari went to his friend’s house to have a nap, his head is aching him a little.’
rel.
ku-hergelatoowa v. pass. (**hergeleeta**)
Nṭhi za iwa/ kuhergelatoowa/ haba mooyi/ shpiindri/ haṭá lapili/ ni afiya. ‘In hot countries, to take a nap from noon until afternoon is healthy.’
- 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.**)
- hergeli** n. nap, siesta
Nṭhi za iwa/ hergeli/ haba mooyi/ shpiindri/ haṭá/ lapili/ ni afiya. ‘In hot countries, to take a nap from noon until afternoon is healthy.’
- 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^u 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.’
Humheshmo muunt^hu/ naayé/ huheshmoowa. ‘He who respects people and he is respected.’ (A proverb.)
kufanya heshema ‘to show respect’
Muunt^hu/ husuḷa 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 mzeelewa ‘to respect him like one’s parent’

Liini/ chinheshmó. ‘She never respected me.’

Ye/ huheshma want^hu. ‘He respects people.’

rel.

ku-heshmana v. rec. respect one another

ku-heshmoowa v. pass. (**heshmeeḷa**)

Abdalla/ heshmeeḷa/ nt^ho/ na sulṭaani/ 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).’

Waant^hu/ humpeenda/ munt^hu heshmaale. ‘People like someone who is respectful.’ Or: **Waant^hu/ humpeenda/ muunt^hu/ heshmaale.**

hewesi

n. 9/10 [cf. Som. *xabad* “chest” DSI 619] chest; [pron. **hewesi** or **hebesi**]

kubiga hewesi [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’

Sheekhi/ bishile hewesiye/ hadiile/ ndimi/ ṭamsaydo Nuurú/ kuwaka nuumbayé. ‘Sheekhi hit his chest and said it’s me who will help Nuuru build his house.’

Omari/ mishpaye/ heweesi/ hisabaṭika. ‘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 imaani [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.’

hiiḍi

n. 9 [Sw. *hedhi* SSED 131; SSED refers to the Arabic verb *ḥaḍḍa* and noun *ḥaḍḍ* “incitement, prodding” W 183, but this meaning does not correlate with the meaning in Swahili and Chimiini] menstruation, a woman’s period

chilawa karka hiiḍi 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 hiiḍi ‘to menstruate’

kowa hiiḍi ‘to bathe, as required by Islamic practice, after menstruating’

kuwamo hiiḍiini ‘to be having one’s period’

- kuwanayo hiiði** ‘to be menstruating’
Nayo hiiði. ‘She is having her period.’
kuwona hiiði ‘to begin to menstruate’
mweepuke muke hiiði sho khṭindika/ chimdaara mweenziwe sala huuundika [st.] ‘avoid a woman whose menstrual period has not ended, if her companion touches her, the prayers are broken, invalid’
wabḷi ka mashoga waṭomeele tele/ wamereele ruuhu ki’ipelekaa mbele/ Mooja wa’ilize hiiði 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]’
- hifði** n. memorization
hifði/ 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 hafniki [st.] ‘a woman should not cover her face during the pilgrimage’
muuntu naayo maali chifa bilaa hija [st.] ‘if a person who is wealthy dies without performing the pilgrimage’
safari ya hija faanya khafiifu [st.] ‘make the pilgrimage easy’
waruzuqe hija ije makbuuli [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 muuntu khaadiri [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
muuntu hijiilo amriye siwo haba [st.] ‘the man who performs the pilgrimage, his deed is not a small one’
takuhijo jima mpeeni yakhiino/ 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 ṭimaamu [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. *hijā*’ 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. *hijāb* 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
bila hijaabu ye meene 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
- hikh dheere** n. [Som. *qiix-dheer, kix-dheer*] whooping cough

whooping cough.’
Hamadi/ waanawe/ wapete hikhdeere. [H’H!H] ‘Hamadi’s children got

Maraði/ ya hikhdeere/ yanameeró/ sku mbili izi. [H’H!H!H] ‘Whooping cough is going around these days.’ (The pseudo-relativization of the verb *yanameero* is an indication of the presence of focus in the subject. The subject is separated into two Phonological Phrases, with declination between them. This perhaps could be taken as an indication that it is the PP *maraði* which triggers the focus, but we have not sorted out whether there is a contrast with respect to which of the two phrases is the trigger for pseudo-relativization.)

hikma n. 9/10 [Sw. *hekima* SSED 137; Ar. *ḥikma* 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-hiila v. solve

Sababu/ ya safari/ iyi/ itaakuwa/ ni kumeera/ kuhila/ ba’aði/ ya mashaakili/ yasabibiiló/ makosanyó/ benaa nḥi/ 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.’

hiiki n. [Sw. *hiliki* SSED 133, from Hindi] cardamon. a spice commonly used in Brava to flavor tea, rice dishes, cakes, etc.

hiila n. [Sw. *hila* SSED 133; Ar. *hīla* W 217] trick, means of doing something, tactic, strategy

Chiint^hu/ haypatikani ka hiilá/ kaa nguvu/ ha’ipatoowi. ‘Something that cannot be gotten by strategy cannot be gotten with force.’ (A proverb.)

Dokhani/ hiila/ nt^haná/ maali/ nt^haná. ‘Stupidity has no strategy and has no wealth.’ (A saying.)

ka hiila ‘sneakingly, deviously, cleverly’

khfanya hiila ‘to devise, find ways, means, tricks to get s.t.’

Hila gani/ yaa si/ shṭakhadiro khfaanyá. ‘What tricks are we able to devise?’

Hiila/ yaa si/ shṭakhadiro khfaanyá/ na chiza kumwangamiza wawa yitú/ nt^hayiiko. ‘There is no strategy that we can devise and not disrespectfully wrong our father.’

Shfanya hiila/ yüngine/ teena/ ye. ‘He made another trick again.’

Ma’askari/ yanakudariboowa/ heraani/ hiila/ za harbi. ‘Soldiers are being trained in the camp (about) strategies of war.’

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

mwenye hiila ‘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/ nakhsuḷa kishkhada’a/ ka hiilaze. ‘And now he wants to cheat us with his tricks.’

Naank^hó/ tumila hiilazo/ jisaa we/ khpata muḷiwo/ khuruudila. ‘Again, use your tricks so that you get your husband to remarry[lit. return to] you.’

Wachisuḷa kumuḷa ka hiila. ‘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.**

Ka hima/ Hamiisi/ bishile mpiira. ‘Quickly, Hamiisi kicked the ball.’

Ka ^hhima/ Muusa/ jiló. ‘Quickly Muusa ate.’ Or with the postposing of the subject: **Ka ^hhima/ jiló/ 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/ jiló/ 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/ jiló/ 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.)

Mi/ nakhsulaa we/ kuya apa/ ka hima. ‘I want you to come here early.’

Muunt^hu/ husuloowa/ ba’adi 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/ jile/ ka hima.**

Muusa/ jile maandra/ ka hima. ‘Muusa ate the bread quickly.’ Or, with verb focus: **Muusa/ jile/ maandra/ ka hima.**

Mwaanawa/ nakhkula ka hima. ‘My child is growing up quickly.’

Ni ka hima/ kiwowa naani/ t^hakhshiindró. ‘It is very early to be known who is going to win.’

Nakosha usoowá/ ka himá. ‘I am washing my face quickly.’

Sh^htakhsafira ka hima. ‘We will leave soon.’

Surwani za jiiinis/ hazimali/ ka hima. ‘Jeans [trousers] do not wear out quickly.’

Yaliko ka hima/ khfikiri^hla khchiimbila. ‘It was not too early to think about fleeing.’

Yaliko ka hima/ mi/ kuruda M^wiini. ‘I was early coming back to Brava.’

Kheeri/ hima/ naambila/ nakhsuulani/ ka kaaka/ nimfanyilize 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]’

kondroka hima

Hamadi/ hima/ imwondroshele/ nakhsulaa khfungulaa duka.

‘Hamadi is eager, he wants to open a shop.’

kondrosha hima ‘(lit. to raise, lift enthusiasm) become more keen to do s.t.’

Omari/ ondrosheze hima/ nakhsulaa kuloola. [H^hH!H] ‘Omari is

eager, he wants to get married.'

kuvundika hima 'to lose interest'

Alí/ vundishile hima/ ba/ nakoloka Mkhodiisho. 'Ali lost interest in going to Mogadishu.'

Mi/ nvundishile himá/ ba/ ba'aða ya Hamadi/ kunfasirijaa mi/ zombo izo. 'I lost interest after Hamadi explained to me those things.'

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.'

Muḅliwo/ 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.'

Sarmaḷa/ ka himaa hima/ shfakata/ 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

Nimhimiliilé/ Omari. 'I tolerated Omari.'

Numba ya uloongo/ hayhimili/ zishiindro. 'A house of mud cannot withstand shocks.' (A proverb.)

Omari/ nimhimiliilé. 'Omari, I endured/tolerated him.'

rel.

ku-himilila v. appl.

Siná/ sababu yaa mi/ kumhimilila Omari. 'I have no reason to put up with

Omari.'

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^hachiiwa/ 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 shṭalyaani/ 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.’

hingaaði

n. 9 spelling

Nuuru/ waanawe/ wakali/ hingaaði/ skojaani. ‘Nuuru his children are good in spelling at school.’

Waana/ chiwooni/ ka Dada Hiine/ hingaaði/ jisa suura/ wachibarshoowá. ‘Children at the koranic school of Daada Hiine used to be taught spelling very well.’

ku-hingaaðisha

v. [Som. *higgaadi* DSI 307] (**hingaaðishiize**) spell

Wana wa Sheekhi/ hawabaraṭi/ chiint^hu/ hatá/ harfu chihaba/ hawakhaadiri/ kingaaðisha. ‘The children of Sheekhi don’t learn a thing, even a small word they cannot spell it.’

hingo

n. [Som. *hingo* DSI 309] hiccup (the more common word for ‘hiccup’ is **geefu**)

hinzizi

n. 9/10 [Som. *xidid* “root, vein” DSI 631; Tun. *hindis* “root” Tosco 217] vein, nerve, root (of a plant)’

hinzizi ya maazi ‘blood vessel’

Dawa/ hingila karka hinzizi ya maazi. ‘Medicine goes into the blood vessels.’

Hamadi/ hinzizi ya maazi/ imatushiló. ‘Hamadi’s blood vessel was cut (to him).’

Hamadi/ hinzizi ya maazi/ zifurifuriile. ‘Hamadi has swollen blood vessels.’

hinzizi za dereemu ‘nerves’

Hamadi/ hinzizi 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. *hiqd* “hatred, malice, resentment” W 193] envy, resentment; [pron. **hiqdi** or **hikhdi**]

Alí/ hikhdi/ inamubla/ siwo/ jillaahi. ‘Envy, resentment, etc., is killing Ali, he is never honest/ truthful.’

Hikhdi/ ni maraði/ muunt^hu/ chiwanayo kooði/ na mweenziwe/ suura/ kumwaambila. ‘Envy some bad feeling inside one) is a disease, if someone has some something to say to his friend, it is best to tell it to him.’

hirfa

n. skills, having knowledge or experience of how to do something (especially in work)

Chimaliza/ pelesheja chiwandraani/ kubarata khfula ðahabu/ na feða/ kaðalika/ 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 sherkaani.** ‘I know how to use a sewing machine, i.e. I am a tailor’.)

hirgihirgi

adv. pulled here and there

Alí/ hadiile/ mi/ hirgihirgi/ skhaadiri/ chiint^hu/ husula khfanyowa ka tartiibu. ‘Ali said: pulling here and there, I cannot take it; a thing must be done slowly/ calmly.’

- ku-hirgisha* v. [no etymological source found] (**hirgishiize**) force something, shake something (esp. door), pull here and there
rel.
ku-hirgishana v. rec.
ku-hirgishiliza v. appl.
ku-hirgishilizanya v. appl. rec.
ku-hirgishoowa v. pass.
Muunt^hu/ hakhaadiri/ hahirgishoowi. ‘A sick person is not dragged here and there.’
- ma-hirgisho* n. 6 pulled here and there
Ali/ hadiile/ mi/ mahirgisho/ skhaadiri/ chiint^hu/ husu^la khfanyowa ka tartiibu. ‘Ali said: pulling here and there, I cannot take it; a thing must be done slowly/ calmly.’
- 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.
Omari/ ni mhiri/ wa Shekh Wali. ‘Omari is a religious student of Sheekh Wali.’
Shekh Khaasimu/ na Shekh Aweesó/ wawanayo wahiri/ wiingi. ‘Sheekh Khaasim and Sheekh Aweeso had many religious students.’
- ku-hirima* v. [Sw. *hirimia* SSED 134; Ar. *haruma, harima* 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; [**hirimú**]
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’
Mi/ naa we/ ni hirimú. ‘We are peers, contemporaries.’
Mi/ ni hirimé. ‘I am his contemporary.’
We/ ni hirimá. ‘You are my contemporary.’
- hirzi* n. 9/10 [Sw. *hirzi* SSED 134; Ar. *hirz* “amulet” from *haraza* “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. *hiṣṣa* 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.)

Hamadi/ hadiile/ mi/ apa/ nakuhisa bardi/ lpepo lilingi/ lnakuvuziló/ ka cholokooní. 'Hamadi said: here I feel cold, a lot of wind is blowing from the window.'

kuhisa bardi 'to feel cold'

kuhisa hari 'to feel warm'

Mi/ nakhsula kuhisa amaani. 'I want to feel safe.'

Mi/ nakuhisa muṭa'asifú/ na Faaṭimá. 'I feel very sad for Faaṭima.'

Mi/ nakuhisa muṭa'asifú/ nt^ho/ waawe/ kufa/ mi/ chihabá/ nt^ho. 'I feel very sad that my father died when I was so young.'

Muunt^hu/ chinendra iwaani/ niingi/ laazimu/ huhisa ooni. 'If one walks for long under the sun one must feel thirsty.'

Nhisiizé/ kuwa Maryamu/ ichisuḷowa kuwa lonzele raaḍi. 'I felt that Maryamu should have apologized.'

rel.

ku-hisoowa v. pass. (**hisiiza**)

Mi/ chizaa kuja/ hisiiza/ hangamila. 'If I do not eat, I feel out of sorts.'

Ramaḍaani/ huhisowaa ndala/ na ooní/ khaansá/ mukhtaa hari. 'During Ramadhan, thirst and hunger are felt, especially when hot.'

ku-hisaabaṭa

v. [cf. Sw. *hesabu* SSED 132; *hisabu* SSED 134; Ar. *ḥasaba* W 175] (**hisabeṭe**)
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/ mṭomola amri/ apo/ chiwa'ambila/ waant^hu/ chiza kisaabaṭa/ mara ya kaandra/ na kuwa tayaari/ 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/ wataḱisaabaṭa. '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.

k-isabaṭanoowa v. rec. pass. be counted, held to account

Maazi/ hisabaṭanoowa/ maazi/ hisabaṭanoowa/ inayo isaabu. 'Blood (here with reference to the spilling of blood) is taken into account, blood is taken into account, it has accountability.' (Part of a discussion of the proverb: **Maazi/ ni mazito/ kolko maayi.** 'Blood is heavier than water.')

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. (**hisabeṭa**) be counted, considered

variant form: *k-isabaṭoowa*

Chint^hu siwo chaako/ hachisabaṭoowi. ‘Something that is not yours is not counted.’ (A proverb.)

Jaani/ hisabeṭa kuwa dokhani/ na Ali. ‘John was considered to be a fool by Ali.’

Laakini/ wo/ washpatana/ kuwa maṭezo ya kaandra/ na ya piili/ 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/ hisabeṭa (kuwa) dokhani/ na Ali. ‘You were considered to be a fool by John.’

Ye/ kuraga koloka madrasaani/ ihisabeṭa (or: yisabeṭa) kuwa makosa. ‘For him to delay 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.)’

Kilaa chiint^hu/ hufanyowa ka hisaabu. ‘Everything is done (i.e. should be done) with a plan, calculation.’ (A proverbial saying.)

Mwaalimu wa hisaabu/ fakeete. ‘The math teacher ran away.’

Mwaalimu wa hisaabu/ wa mwaanawa/ fakeete. ‘My son’s math teacher ran away.’ (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: **Mwaalimu wa hisaabu/ wa mwaanawa/ fakeete?**)

Mwaalimu wa hisaabu/ wa mwaanawa/ fakeete/ so. ‘My son’s math teacher ran away, didn’t he?’

Mwaalimu wa mwaanawa/ fakeete. ‘My child’s teacher ran away.’ Or: **Fakeete/ mwaalimu wa mwaanawa.** (In the case where there is a right-dislocated subject, the yes-no question shows accent-shift:

Fakeete/ mwalimu wa mwaanawa?

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 hisaabu?** 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. *hasana* ‘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 (This word is not known to GM.)

muke hisani ‘a married woman’ (cf. **wake hisani** ‘married women’)

hishma n. 9 [see **heshma**] [Sw. *heshima* SSED 132; Ar. *hishma* ‘modesty, decorum’ W 179]

hisi n. 9/ (10) [cf. Sw. verb *hisi* SSED 134; Ar. *hiss* W 179] sense, feeling, perception (We recorded this item sometimes with gemination, as in the Arabic source; however, the status of gemination as a lexical feature of Chimwiini is uncertain at present. It certainly exists stylistically.) **Omari/ daadaye/ ni mzeele/ miyaaka/ miya/ takhriibu/ umó/ laakini/ hisize/ chitaani/ ni tamaamu/ kilaa chiint^hu/ na’iwa.** ‘Omari his grandmaa is old, almost 100 years old, but her brain works to the full extent, she knows every thing.’

hisiye ‘his perceptiveness’

Mzeele/ waliko bishilaa chita/ tuushile/ bashize hisi/ ba’adiye/ boozela/ kilaa chiint^hu/ chaa ye/ wanaayó. ‘The old man was hit in the head, he fell down and lost consciousness, then he was robbed of everything he had had.’

Nt^haná/ hisi. ‘He has no perceptiveness.’

Nuuru/ hadiile/ hisi/ chitaani/ sinaazo/ nt^hangú/ mukeewá/ hakhaadiri. ‘Nuuru said: I do not feel good in the head since my wife got sick.’

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 rakhiisi. ‘What, do you not know that the sultan told me to sell dear, not to sell cheap?’

ku-histarima v. respect

Alí/ nt^hanaayo/ uslubu suura/ hahistarimi/ waant^hu. ‘Ali does not have good character, he does not respect people.’

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 Chimwiini.)

hizbu n. 9/10 [Ar. *hizb* W 173] political party

Wafafisha khabari/ wanakuhada/ ya kuwa...mas’uuli/ ya haadithi/ iyi/ ni ba’adi/ ya waant^hu/ wa hizbu/ ya mu’aaraða. ‘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.'
Oyoo muke/ chiya/ chimwambila sultaani/ sultaani/ sultaani/ ho. 'That woman came and said to the sultan: sultan, sultan, **ho!**'
- 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)'
- hobela hobela** ideo. (Sw. *hobela hobela*)
Nyaanya/ izi/ zihālaweete/ ziseteshele/ ka khisa/ mashakhaale /awo/ waṭukile bilaa tahaḍari/ hobela hobela/ tu. 'These tomatoes were spoilt, were stepped on because those workers carried them carelessly.'
- hodaari** (Ø, ma-) adj. [Sw. *hodari* SSED 135; cf. Ar. *ḥidr* "alertness" W 164 and *ḥādir* "quick witted" W 185] clever, skillful, keen, sharp (of mind), skilled, brave, active
Maama/ chimkhiirila/ na pashpo kumwambila baabá/ chimfanyiliza mwaana/ sehe/ niingi/ na chimalila/ 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 akhili/ 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 kazini/ 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 hoodi. '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)arabu/ 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/ chimwambila mwaanawe/ pandraa we/ ndimi/ ntakhshiko hogaani. ‘Juha heard them. He got down and told his son, you climb up, I will hold the donkey’s leash.’
Juha/ panzile mp^huundra/ mwaana/ 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-hogaansaṭa* v. [Som. **hoggaami** “to lead” and **hoggaansan** “to follow a guide” DSI 311] (**hoganseete**) be on the right path
Abú/ nt^hangú/ Shekh Nureeni/ namwa’adishó/ hoganseete/ lasile/ kuna khamri/ na khfanya ma’asiyá. ‘Abu, since Shekh Nureeni is preaching to him, got straight and he left drinking beer and (lit. doing) adultery.’ (In this example from GM, the stem-initial *w* in **namwa’adisho** was retained, although GM always elides the *w* in a prefix **mw** sequence.)
Muunt^hu/ islaamu/ laazimu/ kuhogaansaṭa/ awaamiri/ za mtume/ na mojiitú. ‘A Muslim should follow commands of the Prophet and of God.’
rel.
ku-hogaamisha v. caus. lead, cause to be on the right path
ku-hogamishoowa v. caus. pass.
Farasi/ shpandroowa/ hushikowa lijaamu/ kuhogamishoowa. ‘If a horse is ridden, it is held by a rope in order to guide it.’
ku-hogansaṭoowa v. pass.
Salkaari/ laazimu/ kuhogansaṭoowa. ‘The government must be followed (one must obey the orders of the government).’
- m-hogo (mi-)* n. 3/4 [Sw. **muhogo** SSED 314] cassava, manioc, yam
Haliima/ kilaa lapii/ kuwapikila waanawe/ mhogo/ asriya. ‘Haliima every afternoon cooks for her children yam for an afternoon snack.’
Haṭá/ mukḥṭaa mi/ nshishilaa ndalá/ siji/ mhogo. ‘Even when I am hungry, I do not eat cassava.’
kala mhogo ‘to plant cassava’
koka mhogo ‘to grill cassava’
kuja mhogo ‘to eat cassava’
Waant^hu/ wa Keenya/ hupeenda/ kuja mhogo/ ka basbaasi. ‘People of Kenya like to eat yam with pepper.’
- hooja* n. 9/10 [Sw. **hoja** SSED 123; Ar. **hujja** “argument, pretext” W 156] argument (in the sense of verbal reasoning), quarrel, excuse
Haaja/ hufaanyika/ hooja/ hayfaanyiki. ‘A dispute can be settled, a quarrel cannot be settled.’ (A proverb.)
Hooja/ hazikhupeleki/ mahala. ‘Arguing will never get you anywhere.’
- ku-hojesha* v. caus. [Sw. **hoji** SSED 123; Ar. **hujja** “to dispute, debate, reason” W 156] (**hojesheeze**) argue (reasoning), cross-examine
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.’
- 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 aqli/ ni muunt^hu/ zazi^la kuhokomá. ‘He is a man of knowledge and intelligence, he is a man born to rule.’

Wa^lwaawo/ wachirashmana/ Alfaani/ mraadiwe/ khpata shpete/ cha mtume Su^leemaani/ 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-hokome^loowa v. appl. pass. (**hokome^lela**) be passed sentence on

Ba’adaa wo/ kingila ðambi/ wachihokome^loowa/ khfungowa habaasa. ‘After they committed a crime, they were sentenced to be imprisoned.’

Hokome^lela habaasa/ miyezi mitatu. [H!H] ‘He was sentenced to three months in prison.’

Hokome^lela miyezi mitatu. ‘He was given a sentence of three months.’

ku-hokome^lela v. appl. (**hokome^lelele**) pass sentence on someone; decree for

Isa/ mi/ siwo/ nt^hakondroka ka apá/ ñla/ waawe/ chimp^ha rukhsa/ amó/ mwajiitu/ chihokomela/ 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-hokomo^oowa v. be judged, be ruled

Chiineendra/ chiineendra/ ha^tá/ shkoma muuyi/ mooyi/ huhokomowa na sul^taani. ‘She walked and walked until she reached a town ruled by a sultan.’

Mbiga mnaado/ uyu/ kumwonake uje mar^ti/ chizida khetema/ na chifa khal^bi/ nt^hasaa ye/ kuhokomo^oowa. ‘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/ wachi^lawa/ ka apo/ wachanza safari yiⁱngine. ‘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**.)

kh^tinda hokomu ‘to judge’

Hokomo/ i^tiinzila. ‘The case has been decided. Judgement has been passed.’ (The *i-* SM indicates a [cl.9] status for **hokomo**.)

Khaa^ḍi/ tⁱnzile hokomu. ‘The judge has made his ruling.’

kh^tindika hokomu

Hokomo/ i^tindishile. ‘A verdict has been given.’

Sul^taani/ walimo barzaani/ nakhpisa hukumu. ‘The king was in the audience hall passing judgement.’

Waant^hu/ wakumangeene/ kulindra hokomo ya sul^taani. ‘People gathered to wait for the judging of the sultan.’

holo^loof

ideo. of being loose, hanging (e.g. of a shirt)

- variant form: **hololoof**
Hamadi/ vete ishaati/ habbalaya/ hololoof! ‘Hamadi wore a very big shirt, it was loose-fitting.’
- holopholobu** adj .very loose **review 1**
Surwaani/ za Pakistaani/ ni holopholopu/ nafasi/ raaha/ kuvaloowa.
‘Pakistani trousers are loose-loose, they are comfortable to wear.’
- hoola** n. 9/10 [Som. *xoolo* ‘cattle’ DSI 637] cattle and animals that are taken to graze (goats, camels, sheep), livestock
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 [st.] ‘sick animals are not acceptable for slaughtering on Aarafa’
Hola uyu/ hasoongeki. ‘This animal cannot be approached.’
Iðihirile 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 zítú/ zote/ na mukhtaa we/ ambüla/ 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 sulṭaani/ siwo/ chakuja cha hoola. ‘Rice is food for a king, not food for livestock.’
Mṭinda hoola/ haṭalami/ 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/ huṭinda 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^heendre ‘date nut’
honde za iboori ‘pumpkin seeds’
honde za itiki ‘watermelon seeds’
khṭomola 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’
- ku-horisha* v. (**horishiize**) set free
Muunt^hu/ laazimu/ khtawanya maaziye/ kuhorisha nt^hiiye. ‘A person must spill his blood to free his land.’
rel.
ku-horishoowa v. pass. (**horishiiza**) be set free
Mtume Mhamadi/ tomele amri/ wataana/ kuhorishoowa. ‘Prophet Mohamed ordered slaves to be freed.’

Zita izi/ wajorishiiza/ mahbuusi/ wiingi. ‘This war has freed many prisoners.’

horiya

n. [Som. *xorriyad* DSI 638; cf. Sw. *huria* SSED 138; Ar. *hurriya* W 165] freedom; variant forms: **uhoriya**

Mi/ leelo/ nt^hakhulata horiya. ‘I today will set you free.’

Nt^hi/ za dimokhraadi/ yiko horiya/ ya kooði. ‘In democratic nations there is freedom of speech.’

Omari/ nayo horiya/ zaaydi. ‘Omari has a lot of freedom (i.e. he can do almost anything he wants).’

Omari/ nt^haná/ horiya/ umo istimariini. ‘Omari does not have freedom, he is in colonialism (i.e. Omari cannot do what he wants, he’s under someone else’s control, command, etc.).’

Somaaliya/ iteete/ horiyaye/ maaka/ wa alfu/ miya/ keendra/ na sitiini. ‘Somalia got (lit. took) its independence in 1960.’

Sultaani/ walasile wataanawe/ horiya. ‘The king freed his slaves.’

Uhoriya/ hupatowa ka khtanyowa maazi. ‘Freedom is gotten by spilling blood (i.e. fighting and dying for it).’

Uhoriya/ muunt^hu/ ndiyé/ humeeró/ yo/ ha’immeeri. ‘Freedom a man seeks it, it does not seek him.’ (A proverb.)

uhoriya/ kama uyu ‘freedom like this’

Uhoriya/ atá/ ushpatoowa/ maazi/ miingi/ huṭa(w)anyikó. ‘Until independence is obtained, a lot of blood is shed.’

Uhoriya mwiingi/ hupoteza waant^hu. ‘Too much freedom spoils people.’

Uhoriya/ ni ghaali/ ha’itelezoowi. ‘Freedom is expensive, it is not something to be played around with.’

hos gunti

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 Fatima/ 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.’

mahala nt^haku hoosi ‘a place where there is not shade’

mahala yiko hoosi ‘a place where there is shade’

Muunt^hu/ haapiti/ 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/ ziweeshela/ 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.

hositaale

n. 9/10 [Sw. *hospitali* SSED 136; Eng. *hospital*] hospital

- hoṭeeli** n. [Eng. *hotel*] hotel
Hoṭeli ije/ shkalaantʰé/ mara miingi/ mi/ na mukeewá. ‘At that hotel, we stayed many times, me and my wife.’
hoṭeliini ‘in a hotel’
Kalenti hoṭeliini/ na mukeewe. ‘He stayed at the hotel with his wife.’ Cf. **Nkʰalenti hoṭeliini/ 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.)
Kaleenti epi/ na mukeewo. ‘Where did you stay with your wife?’
Possible answer: **Nkʰalenti na mukeewá/ hoṭeliini.** (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 mukeewá/ shkalenti hoṭeliini. ‘Me and my wife stayed at the hotel.’
Mwaalimu/ jilo chaakuja/ hoṭeliini/ hakhaadiri. ‘The teacher who ate food at the hotel is sick.’
Tuuma/ ntʰakuliindra/ hoṭeliini. ‘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. *ḥawḍ* 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-hoyatiiloowa v. appl. pass.
Omari/ nakhsula kuhoyatiiloowa. ‘Omari wants forgiveness to be sought from him.’
ku-hoyatila v. appl. go to someone to ask forgiveness etc.
Muuntʰu/ laazimu/ kumhoyatila mzeelewe. ‘A person must seek forgiveness from his parent.’
Ni maana/ humhoyatilo/ mkulu. ‘It is a child who should seek pardon from his elder.’
ku-hoyatisha v. caus. make someone apologize
ku-hooyisha v. caus.
- mu-hṭaaji (wa-)** n., adj. [Ar. *muḥṭāj* W 212] a needy person
Muntʰu hufanyo kaazi/ haawi/ muḥṭaaji. ‘A man who works does not become needy.’ (A proverb.)
Naawó/ wa’iwiile/ kuwa Abunawaasi/ wanayo muḥṭaaji. ‘They knew that Abunawaasi had need/ needed (to see Haruun Rashiidi).’
rel.
wu-hṭaajo n. 14 need
- hu-** [Sw. *hu*] habitual prefix (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'.)

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, it, we, you (pl.), they go.'
Hupika. 'x cook(s).'
Kula mwaana/ hutukula chibeeramu. 'Each child carries a banner.'
Niya njeema/ hutabiiba/ niyaa mbovu/ hukhariba. 'A good intention cures, a bad intention spoils.' (A proverb.)
Ye/ hukoða na chibliche. 'He talks to or with his shadow (said of someone showing abnormal behavior).'
Ye/ huja. 'She cries.'

u-huba
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n. [Sw. **ukuba** "(i) a bad smell; (ii) a bad omen, misfortune, curse, evil fortune" SSED

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 kuwaṭi'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.'

hubini

n.

Chindooro/ ni karka mooyi/ hubini/ zaawake/ huwonelo raahá/ yaa muké. 'The clitoris is one of the female organs from which a woman derives pleasure.'

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/ ihuduthiiló. 'Something (an incident, an occurrence, etc.) has happened.'

Kasiize/ ihuduthiileni. '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.

ku-huðura

v. (cf. **haaðiri**) [Sw. **hudhuria** SSED 122; Ar. **haðara** W 183] (**huðuriile**) be present

Laakini/ paapo/ mwaanaamke/ wa sultaani/ chihuðura/ mbele za waawaye/ chimwaambila/ jisa maambo/ ya'incenzeló. '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/ huḍuriḷe majlisi. ‘Nuuru was present at the meeting.’

Sku ya nikaaha/ zaakuja/ na zaakuná/ huṭomoloowa/ hupowa want^hu wahuḍuriḷó. ‘On the day of the wedding, foods and drinks are taken out and given to the people who are present.’

wahuḍuriḷopó ‘when they were present’

Wahuḍuriḷopó/ chiwa’uza/ sultani wiinu/ chinaamura/ jawaabu/ nṭamtii’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?’

Wanahuḍure waant^hu/ wiingi. ‘There should be many people present.’

rel.

ku-huḍurika v. p/s.

ku-huḍurisha v. caus.

Nuuru/ mhuḍurishize mwaana/ majlisi. ‘Nuuru had the child be present at the meeting.’

ku-huḍurishana v. caus. rec.

ku-huḍurishika v. caus. p/s.

ku-huḍurishiliza v. caus. appl.

Nuuru/ mhuḍurishilize Suufi/ mwaana/ majlisi. ‘Nuuru had Suufi’s child be present at the meeting.’

ku-huḍurishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Nuuru/ na Suufi/ wahuḍurishilizenye waana/ majlisi. ‘Nuuru and Suufi had one another’s children be at the meeting.’

ku-huḍurishoowa v. caus. pass.

Ali/ chihuḍurishoowa/ mbele ya sultaani/ na waziiriwé/ na waant^hu/ wawaliko haaḍiri. ‘Ali was made to appear in front of the sultan and his minister and the people who were present.’

Hasani/ chihuḍurishoowa/ mbele za sultaani/ na waant^hu/ tele/ apo. ‘Hasani was made to be present in front of the sultan and the numerous people there.’

Sultaani/ chaamura/ waant^hu/ wapeleshela khfanya kazi ya miyuundrá/ kuhuḍurishowa apo. ‘The sultan ordered that the people who were sent to work in the fields be brought there.’

huḍuuri n. [Sw. *hudhurio* SSED 122; Ar. *ḥuḍr* ‘presence, attendance’ W 184]
kubiga huḍuuri ‘to call roll, take attendance’

huuhaa ideo.

Omari/ kooḍize/ ni huuhaa!/ nthaziná/ ma’ana/ haziraashiki. ‘Omari his talks are *huu haa!*, they have no meaning, they cannot be trusted (lit. followed).’

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

hujuumu n. 9 attack
Nt^haku/ muunt^hu/ da’ilo mas’uulí/ ya hujuumú. ‘No one has claimed responsibility for the attack.’

ku-hujura v. [Sw. *hujuru* SSED 137, *hajiri* SSED 123; Ar. *hajara* W 1019] (**hujuriile**) move from place to place; die; evacuate
Waant^hu/ wa Mwiini/ wiingi/ wahujuriile/ kaawo/ Mwiini/ wa’enzele Keenya/ wakhti wa harbi/ Somáaliya. ‘Many people of Brava migrated from their place in Miini and went to Kenya during the time of fighting in Somalia.’
rel.

ku-hujuroowa v. pass.

Muyiini/ waant^hu/ wotte/ wafunzile milango yaawo/ sho kuwa nuumba/ mooyi/ iwaliko ihujurija na wene^{wé}/ 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 hukuuma/ iyi/ ni hukuuma/ ya hakhi. ‘Tell people that this government is a just government.’

We/ husuloowa/ khsiifa/ hukuuma/ hattá/ ichiwa hukuuma/ ni jabbarí/ na ðaalimú. ‘You are required to praise the government even if it is a government that is tyrannical and unjust.’

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) (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 sultaani/ kulomba msala 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 itooye/ 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’

Nakuvala haanzu/ suura/ huundru. ‘She is wearing a beautiful red dress.’

Nimulile Iisá/ gari huundru. ‘I gave Iisa the red car.’ Or: **Nimulile Iisá/ gari huundru.** ‘I gave Iisa a/the red car.’ Or possibly: **Nimulile Iisá/ gaari huundru.** But MI considered this phrasing to be less normal, more like an afterthought.

Niwapele waaná/ chibuku chihuundru. ‘I gave the children the red book.’ Or: **Niwapele waaná/ chibuku chihuundru.** ‘I gave the *children* a/the red book.’ Or: **Niwapele waaná/ chibuuku/ chihuundru.** But MI considered this post-focus phrasing to be less normal and more like an afterthought.

Nnakhsulaa nk^hukú/ mhuundru/ mkulu/ na mikaté/ na maayi. ‘I want a large red chicken and cake and water.’

Suufi/ mwandikilile Nuuru/ khati/ ka khalamu huundru. ‘Suufi wrote a letter to Nuuru with a red pen(cil).’

Tuuma/ mashuungiye/ mahuundru. ‘Tuuma’s hair is red.’

- Tuuma/ mukeewa/ mashuungiyē/ 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^hu wahuundru** ‘red men’
zilatu 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
Husulo 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.)
- hural’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.)
Huuri/ zinamsheera. ‘Sweat is sliding down (my body) from me.’
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 shana/ cha 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.’
kuḷawa huuri ‘to perspire, sweat’
Hamadi/ huuri/ zimlazile. ‘Hamadi perspired -- [lit] Hamadi, sweat poured out of him.’ Or: **Hamadi/ zimlazile huuri.** (It is not possible for the experiencer, i.e. the one doing the sweating, to be the subject of the verb: ***Hamadi/**

lazile huuri. It is also not possible to put the verb into the passive and have the experiencer be the subject:

***Hamadi/ lazila huuri.**)

Huuri/ zinamlawā. ((Lit.) sweat is coming out of me.)

Inakundra wa huuri. ‘I am sweating.’

Inamlawā huuri. ‘He is sweating.’

Muunthu/ sho/ kumlawā 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.)

Zindrazile huuri/ zindraziló. ‘I perspired, that’s what I did (lit. sweat came out from me, that’s what it did).’

Muunthu/ 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 muunthu/ 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’

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/ naxsuuḷa/ we/ kundrata hurri. ‘I want you to let me be free.’

Mi/ ni hurri/ pashpo sfuungo/ amo/ ni oghaari/ wa quyuudi? ‘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 kulatoowa [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. **hasada** “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, mahuzuni

Hamadi/ imwingile huzni. ‘Hamadi is sad [lit. sadness entered Hamadi].’

Haṭá/ sku mooyi/ dafa/ nakhpita/ chimwona ndiwa/ 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’

Mwana chihaba/ waliko mahuzuni. ‘The little girl was sad.’

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’

Waawe/ pete khabari/ za huzuni. ‘My father received sad news.’

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.’

Yaliko jawabu ya huzuni/ kuwa Abú/ teleeze/ peesa/ zont^{he}. ‘It was sad that Abu wasted all his money.’

ku-huzunika

v. intr. (*huzunishile*) be or become sad

Ka paapo/ chimviila/ Huseeni/ Huseeni/ ilopó/ Hasani/ huzunishile/ nt^o/ 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 kuḷa/ kaa nk^heḷe. ‘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/ hujililoowa. ‘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 koḍi 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 *marāḍi* ‘sickness’.)

rel.

ku-huzunata v. (*huzuneete*) become sad

Mukhtaā ye/ nt^hakuuyá/ mi/ nhuzuneeté. ‘When he did not come, I became sad.’

Mukhtaā ye/ nt^hakuya dukaani/ mi/ huzuneeté. ‘When he did not come to the shop, I became sad.’

Mukhtaā ye/ 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 moti 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/ kufaa/ 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 Ali/ 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/ mlowee/ mwanaamke/ wa sulṭaani/ 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 sulṭaani/ 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 sulṭaani. ‘His house was near the house of the sultan.’
Ye/ hi’ipeenda. ‘She likes it (e.g. [cl.9] *khalamu*).’
- 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/ sulṭaani/ 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>i-</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...’
<i>'ii'</i>	ideo. sound of straining to excrete Hamadi/ nayo yaabisi/ china/ sharti/ hujira/ kuhada 'ii' 'ii'. ‘Hamadi is constipated, if he defecates it is necessary for him to strain saying 'ii''ii''’ Mwaana/ maskiini/ nakujira/ nt'hanakhadira/ kunya/ 'ii' 'ii'. ‘The poor child is straining, he is not able to defecate, 'ii''ii''’ Omari/ nayo yaabisi/ kunya/ humdhiba/ hujira/ 'ii' 'ii'! hataa ye/ china. ‘Omari has constipation, defecating gives him difficulty, he pushes hard/ strains, 'ii''ii'' until he defecates.’
<i>i'itibaari</i>	n. [Ar. <i>i'tibār</i> W 588] consideration khfanya i'itibaari ‘to consider’ khpa i'itibaari ‘to give consideration to’
<i>i'itiraafu</i>	n. [Ar. <i>i'tirāf</i> W 606] recognition Ye/ nt'haná/ i'itiraafu. ‘He does not have any recognition.’
<i>ku-'i'laana</i>	v. [Ar. verb <i>'alana</i> “to make known” W 637] (<i>i'lanile</i>) announce
<i>i'laani</i>	n. [Ar. <i>i'lān</i> W 637] announcement, proclamation, notice khfanya i'laani ‘to announce’ khtomola 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)
<i>k-i'tamida</i>	v. rely on Muuntu/ hakhadiri/ ki'tamida/ chiintu/ chaa ye/ nt'hanaa cho. ‘A person cannot rely on something that he does not have.’ Muuntu/ humi'tamida muuntu/ amini. ‘One relies on someone honest/trustworthy.’ Muuntu/ kumi'tamida mwaadamu/ siwo/ suura. ‘For one to rely on someone/ people is not good.’ Ni Nuuru/ nimitamidilo khpata peesa. ‘(It is) Nuuru on whom I relied to get money.’ Ni'itamidile Nuuru/ khpata peesa. ‘I relied on Nuuru to get money.’ Or: Ni'itamidile peesa/ khpatoowa. ‘I relied on money being gotten.’ Ni'itamidile peesa/ Nuuru/ khpata. ‘I relied on the money Nuuru to get.’ check accent Nizi'itamidile pesa izo/ khpatoowa. ‘I relied on that money being gotten.’ Nizi'tamidile peesa/ Nuuru/ khpata. ‘I relied on it the money Nuuru to get.’ check accent Nizi'tamidile peesa/ Nuuru/ kispata. ‘I relied on the money Nuuru to get it.’ check accent Nthi yiitu/ hitamida ruuhuuye/ kaa kuja. ‘Our country relies on itself for food.’ Si/ hitamida ruhu ziitu/ ka zoombo/ za skoola. ‘We rely on ourselves for school supplies.’ rel. <i>k-i'itamidika</i> v. p/s. Hi'itamidowa mojiitu. ‘It is God that one relies on.’ Omari/ siwo/ muuntu/ hitamidiko. ‘Omari is not a person one can rely on.’

- k-i'itamidiiloowa* v. appl. pass.
Chiint^hu/ chiko ka muunt^hu/ mbali/ hachi'itamidiiloowi. 'Something that is with another person is not relied on.'
- k-i'itamidila* v. appl.
k-i'itamidoowa v. pass.
Nuuru/ i'itamidila khpata peesa. 'Nuuru was relied on to get money.'
- i'timaadi** n. [Ar. *i'timād* W 642] reliance
munt^hu mwenye i'timaadi 'a reliable person'
- ku-'i'tiqaada** v. [cf. Ar. noun *i'tiqād* "firm belief, conviction" W 628] (**i'tiqadiile**) believe
- i'tiqaadi** n. [Ar. *i'tiqād* "firm belief, conviction" W 628]
- ibaada** n. 9/10 [Sw. *ibada* SSED 1; Ar. *ibāda* W 586] worship
humbughuḍo ibaadaye ni buure [st.] 'the one who hates him, his worshipping is of no avail (useless)'
Ibaada/ niingi/ humtila muunt^hu/ janaani. 'Worshipping a lot puts a person in heaven.'
ibaada pashpo shar'a zote baatili [st.] '[acts of] worship without [following] the regulations are all invalid'
kaamina ka qalbiini na ibaada [st.] 'to believe it in your heart and to worship'
laazimu/ kana ibaada 'as necessary, obligatory as worship'
Mwaadamu/ ibaada/ ya mojiitu/ humingizo janaani. 'For a human being it is worshipping God that takes him to *janna*.'
wanafaanye ibaada karka Haramu [st.] 'let them worship at the Grand mosque in Mecca'
- rel.
ibaadaati n. pl. (an Arabic plural form sometimes used)
Ismu/ amali/ suura/ ni karka ibadaati. 'Any good deed counts as worship.'
- Ibliisi** n. Lucifer, Satan, the devil (The *b* in this item may be realized as **b** and **w** as well as **b**.)
Ibliisi waaliko maḷaayka mkulu/ shfaanya ibaada niingi nṯiini na ilu [st.] 'Ibliisi was a great angel, he used to worship constantly everywhere (lit. down and up)'
- ibra** n. [Sw. *ib(u)ra* "something wonderful, a miracle, a very rare occurrence, etc." SSED 139, but this usage is unconnected to the Chimiini meaning; Ar. *ibra* "admonition, warning" W 587] something to be taken as a warning, a lesson
khtala ibra 'to take, draw a lesson from s.t.'
Muunt^hu/ bilaa ḍamiiri/ haatali/ ibra/ umriwe. 'A person without conscience does not ever learn from experience.'
Muunt^hu/ laazimu/ khtalila ibra/ ismu/ ya chiint^hu/ humwiinfa/ mustakhbali. 'One must draw a lesson from anything, it serves him in the future.'
Tete ibra/ karka ije impeetó. 'He drew a lesson from what had befallen him.'
Ni ibra. 'It is a warning, a lesson.'
- Ibrahiimu** n. Abraham
variant form: **Ibraahimu**
mwene Ibrahiimu kuzimu ya saba [st.] 'he saw Abraham in the seventh heaven'
- ibtila** n. (cf. **ku'iptila**) hardship, complication, dangerous or painful situation
Sitti simama waloombele haamila / karka kuzaaala wasiwoone ibtila [st.]

‘O Lady [Fatima] rise [and] pray for pregnant women, that they might not see (= experience) complications when giving birth’

- ichi** [cf. Sw. *hiki*] this [cl.7] demonstrative pronoun
Chibuku ichi/ nch^ha naani. ‘This book is whose?’
Chibuukucha/ ni ichi. ‘My book is this one.’
Chibuukucha/ siwo/ ichi. ‘My book is not this one.’
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.’)
- ichije** that [cl.7] demonstrative pronoun
chiichije/ ichije ‘that same one’
Muḅli/ 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/ chimuuz/ ichije chiint^hu/ shpeeté. ‘The sultan asked him: that thing, did you find it?’
- ichiwa** verb form: it became that, it was that
Na ichiwa waant^hu/ waleele/ zo/ huḷawa ka maboholiini. ‘And if it is the case that people are sleeping, they (in text from which this example comes: rats) come out from their holes.’
Teena/ ichiwa/ ye/ heendra/ hadiqaani/ maraa nt^hatu/ kuḷa 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/ chiwaliko 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/ ondroshale/ chistukula chinoka/ icho/ chingila nacho/ ndraani/ numbaani. At dusk she got up and took that little snake and went with it inside the house.’
Mpele Huseeni/ icho chibuuku. ‘He gave Huseeni that book (i.e. the one we have been talking about).’
Shpeleka icho chilaatu/ ka sultaani/ chimwaambila/ chilaatu/ ndimi/ mp^heeetó. ‘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/ kuḷata 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 muḅliwe 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'ana 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 lapii/i/ Columbus/ ni wakhti wa izdihaamu. 'Five o'clock [lit. eleven] is a crowded, busy time in Columbus.'

iidi

n. [Sw. *idi* SSED 140; Ar. *ʾid* W 661] a religious festival day; holy day(s) (In spontaneous written Chimiini, an initial glottal stop is often written, using the symbol *c* from Somali. However, in the Chimiinized form of this word, there is no initial glottal stop.)

ayaamu/ za iidi 'days of *iidi*'

furaha/ kamba (or: *kana*) *iidi* 'as happy as *iidi*'

Omari/ leelo/ uzile shaati/ mp'hiya/ nakhfuraha/ kana iidi.

'Omari today bought a new shirt, he is as happy as if it were *iidi*.'

Kilaa muunt'hi/ siwo/ iidi. 'Every day is not *iidi*.' (A proverbial saying.)

Leelo/ iidi/ waant'hu/ hawafaanyi/ kaazi. 'Today is *iidi*, people don't work.'

leelo muunt'hi wa iidi [song] 'today, the day of *iidi*'

muke chisalo iidi shiindo uo'hiya [st.] 'a woman who used to pray the prayers of *iidi* and who used to slaughter *uo'hiya*'

sku ya iidi 'days of *iidi*'

idimbaaraka

[a contraction of Ar. *iid mubaarak* "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 (*kendra idimbaaraka*). If they were late and nothing remained to be given, the household members would reply: *[iidi]/ yoloshele/ 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*.

Iidi/ waant'hu/ wont'he/ hupowa idimbaaraka/ sawa sawa/ hafarikhoowi/ waana/ na wazimá. 'During *iidi* all people are given *iidi* gifts equally, no difference between children and adults being made.'

Idriisi

n. the Islamic name for the prophet Enoch

iduḷ ad.ha

n. the *iidi* associated with the pilgrimage to Mecca

iduḷ fitri

n. the *iidi* associated with Ramadhan

Leelo/ ni dhafari/ ni iduḷ fitri. 'Today there is no sleeping all night (because) it is *iidi* (associated with Ramadhan).'

iḍaa'a

n. broadcast

Iḍaa'a/ ya kaandrá/ haanza/ sa'aa mbili/ za fijiri. 'The first broadcast begins at eight (lit. two) in the mornng.'

Iḍaa'a/ ya piili/ hanza sa'a sitá/ za shpiindri/ na iḍaa'a/ ya taatú/ iḍaa'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] (<i>iðiniile</i>) authorize
<i>iðni, iðini</i>	<p>n. [Sw. <i>idhini</i> “sanction, permission, authorization, leave” SSED 140] approval, authorization, permission</p> <p>khpa iðni ‘to give permission, approval to s.o.’</p> <p>Mpele Omari/ iðini/ kuḷawa. ‘He gave Omari permission to leave.’ Or: Mpele iðni/ Omari/ kuḷawa.</p> <p>Waalimu/ wampele Omari/ iðini/ kuḷawa. ‘The teachers gave Omari permission to leave.’ (The object marker is obligatory in the case of a definite singular object like Omari -- *Waalimu/ wapele Omari/ iðini/ kuḷawa. Putting iðini after the verb does not improve the sentence: *Waalimu/ wapele iðini/ Omari/ kuḷawa. If the object is an indefinite plural noun like w-aana ‘children’ or wazele ‘parents’ or wake ‘women’, the OM may be omitted: Waalimu/wapele waana/ kuḷawa. ‘The teachers gave children permission to leave.’</p> <p>Waalimu/ wapele waana/ iðini/ kuza zibuuku. ‘The teachers gave children permission to sell the books.’ (In this example, it is permissible to omit the OM on the main verb due to the fact that the plural object <i>waana</i> ‘children’ is indefinite. One cannot also omit the noun itself. *Waalimu wapele iðini/ kuza zibuuku. ‘The teachers gave permission to sell books.’ If there is no recipient of the permission identified, then the verb <i>khṭomola iðini</i> would be used.)</p> <p>Waalimu/ wapele waana/ iðini/ zibuuku/ kuuza. ‘The teachers gave children permission books to sell.’ (Again it is unacceptable to omit the object noun altogether: *Waalimu/ wapele iðini/ zibuuku/ kuuza.)</p> <p>Waalimu/ wapele waana/ iðini/ zibuuku/ kuzoowa. ‘The teachers gave children permission for books to be sold.’ (Again it is unacceptable to omit the object noun altogether: *Waalimu/ wapele iðini/ zibuuku/ kuzoowa.)</p> <p>khṭomola iðni ‘to approve, to give out permission’</p> <p>Iðni/ tomeeló/ ni waawe. ‘The approval, the one who gave it was my father.’</p> <p>Nṭhomele iðini/ Omari/kuḷawa. ‘I gave permission for Omari to leave.’ (Just as verbs may routinely be emphasized with an accentual effect similar to focusing, i.e. barring a final accent from extending beyond the emphasized verb, so also may a phrasal verb like <i>khṭomola iðini</i> exhibit parallel behavior, as seen here.)</p> <p>Nṭhomele Omari/ iðini/ kuḷawá. ‘I gave (for) Omari permission to leave.’ (In this example, there is no internal focus or emphasis to bar the projection of the final accent from the main verb to the entire VP. It should be noted that the main verb may not bear an OM agreeing with the subject of the infinitive: *Nimṭomele iðini/ Omari/ kuḷawá. Also not: *Nimṭomele Omari/ iðini/ kuḷawá.)</p> <p>Omari/ nṭhomele iðini kuḷawa. ‘Omari, I gave permission (for him) to leave.’ (We see from this sentence that the subject of the infinitive complement may be preposed to sentence-initial position. Such a preposing does not change the fact that the verb may not be marked with an OM in agreement with this preposed subject: *Omari/ nimṭomele iðini/ kuḷawá.)</p> <p>Ni muḷliwa/ laakini/ mi/ mukḥṭaa 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.’</p> <p>Ye/ ka iðni/ ya mwajiitu/ takhpata maṭoye. ‘He, with the permission of God, will get his eyes back.’</p>
<i>iðraabu</i>	<p>n. [Ar. <i>iḍrāb</i> W 540] strike (i.e. stoppage of work)</p> <p>khfanya iðraabu ‘to strike’</p> <p>Sarkaali/ rebele iðraabu. ‘The government prohibited striking.’</p>
<i>ifiriṭi (ma'-) malicious</i>	<p>n. [Ar. <i>ifriṭ</i> “afreet, demon” W 624] giant, a large and violent jinn; a ghost (usu. malicious)</p> <p>Simoondrolé/ ifiriṭi leeló. ‘Don’t wake up a giant that is sleeping.’ (A proverb.)</p>
<i>-ifko</i>	adj. hollowed

chijamu chifko ‘hollowed plate’ ***
khawawa yifko ‘hollowed frying pan’ ***

- iftaari** n. the meal eaten by Muslims after sunset during Ramadhan
Hamadi/ hadiile/ leelo/ iftaari/ ni numbaani/ ka Omari/ ipishiḷaa kuja/ niingi. ‘Hamadi said: today, fasting breakfast is at Omari’s house, a lot of food is cooked.’
Wakhti wa iftaari/ kilaa muunt^hu/ huwamo numbaani/ kaake/ khfuṭura. ‘At breakfast time (lit. time of *iftaari*) everyone is home breaking fast.’
- iftiini** adj. [Som. *iftiin* ‘light, splendour, clear sky’ DSI 322] clear
mayi iftiini ‘clear water’
- k-iigema** v. [Sw. *egema* ‘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/ chimweegsha/ chimwaambila/ tafaḍali/ 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. *ihrām* 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 rebeḷa zīnt^hu saba [st.] ‘someone in the state of *ihraamu* is forbidden seven things’
miski hadaari saahibuḷ ihraamu [st.] ‘one who is in the state of *ihraamu* does not touch perfume’
- ihsaani** n. [Sw. *hisani* SSED 134, *ihsan* SSED 140; Ar. *ihsān* ‘beneficenc, charity’ W 178] favor
Humfanyilizo muunt^hu/ ihsaani/ naayé/ hufanyizoowa. ‘The one who does a favor for someone, he also is done a favor.’ (A proverb.)
Ihsaani/ haypoṭeli/ ka wenye 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/ yiingine. ‘Now I want you to do another favor for me.’
khtila ihsaani ‘to extend a favor’
Mi/ takhadira khuza ihsaani? ‘Can I ask you a favor?’
Mp^hete ka ihsaaniyó. ‘I got it because of the favors you have done to others.’
Mp^huundra/ nt^haná/ ihsaani. ‘A donkey does not have (i.e. return) a favor.’ (A

proverb, essentially identical to the one immediately below.)

Mwaadamu/ nt^haná/ ihsaani. ‘A human being does not have (i.e. return) a favor.’
(This is a comment on the same theme as in other proverbs saying that no matter how many good things you do for a person, if ever you do something not to his benefit, he forgets all the good things.)

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

v. [Sw. *hitaji* SSED 134; Ar. verb *ahwaja* “to have need” W 211 and noun *ihtiyā* “need, necessity” W 212] (*ihtajiile*) need; var. **kh-tahaaja**

Chinihtaaja/ ka jawaabu/ mweepe/ tila mashungiya/ 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.’

Fatuura/ inakihtaaja khfanyoowa. ‘This car needs to be repaired.’

Iyo/ ni yont^he/ yaa we/ nakihtajo kiiwá. ‘That is all you need to know.’

Jawabu iyi/ inakihtaaja khkoḍelowaa nt^hó. ‘This matter needs to be discussed at length.’

Kooḍiye/ inakihtaaja kulangaḷoowa/ jisa suura. ‘His arguments need to be taken seriously.’

kumfanyiliza yaa ye/ takhsuuló/ na takih^htaajó ‘to do for her whatever she wants and needs’

Mi/ nakihtaaja Hamadí/ kujiba su’ali iyó. ‘I need Hamadi to answer that question.’

Mi/ nakihtaaja kendra Mwiini. ‘I need to go to Brava.’

Mi/ nakihtaaja khkoḍa na Haliimá. ‘I need to talk with Haliima.’

Mi/ nakihtaaja mooyi/ mwaapé/ kunsaydaa mi. ‘I need someone to help me.’

Mi/ nakihtaaja Omari/ kumphasa peesa/ mi. ‘I need Omari to lend me money.’

Mi/ nakihtaaja peesá/ niingi/ kolko zaa mi/ naazó. ‘I need more money than I have.’

Mi/ nakihtaaja peesá/ tafaḍali/ 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/ nakihtaaja surwaaniyá/ khfanyoowá. ‘I need my trousers mended.’

Mi/ nt^hahajile Hamadí/ kunsaydá. ‘I needed Hamadi to help me.’

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)’

Nuumba/ inakihtaaja khpakowa ranji. ‘This house needs to be painted.’

Si/ chinakihtajaa we/ apá. ‘We need you here.’

Sultaani/ shpakila zoomboze/ zaa ye/ takih^htaajó/ 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/ mashungiya/ yolokele/ chinihtaaja/ ka jawaabu/ mweepe/ tila mashungiya/ karkaa muḷo/ 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.)

We/ kana/ sh^htahaja ismu/ ya chiint^hu/ naambila. ‘If you need anything, let me know.’

rel.

k-ihtajoowa v. pass.

Alfaani/ fikiriliile/ kuwa ipackacha/ itakihtaajoowa/ kumtukulila sultani

waa noka/ mukhtaawo/ waṭamshiikó. ‘Alfani thought that a basket was needed to carry the king of snakes in when they siezed him.’

Hayihtajoowi/ we/ keendra. ‘It is not needed that you go.’

Hih̄tajowaa si/ khfanya ṭahaḍari. ‘It is needed that we be careful, cautious.’

Hih̄tajoowa/ Siimba/ kendra na mapeema. ‘It is needed that Siimba go early.’ Or: **Siimba/ hih̄tajoowa/ kendra na mapeema.** Or:

Siimba/ hih̄tajowa kendra na mapeema.

Sulṭaani/ chimpa celo/ zoombo/ hih̄tajoowá. ‘The king gave the gazelle the things that are needed.’

Waana/ hawa’ih̄tajoowi/ 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-ih̄taajo n. 14 [Ar. *ih̄tiyā* W 212] need

ku-’ih̄tarima

v. [cf. Ar. noun *ih̄tirām* “deference, respect” W 172] (**ih̄tarimiile**) respect; var.:

kuhtarima, kihtarima

Ni ḍaruuri/ daa’imu/ muunt^hu/ kihtarima ruuhuye. ‘It’s essential to always respect oneself.’

rel.

ku-’ih̄tarimika v. p/s. (**ih̄tarimishile**) be respected; able to be respected

Muunt^hu/ ih̄tarimishile. ‘The man is respected.’

Munt^hu oyo/ ha’ih̄tarimiki. ‘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-’ih̄tarimila v. appl.

k-ih̄tarimoowa v. pass.

Waant^hu/wazima/ hawapandroowi/ chiṭaani/ hih̄tarimoowa. ‘Elders are not (lit.) to be climbed on their head (=disrespected etc.), they are to be respected.’

ih̄timaamu

n. [Ar. *ih̄timām* W 1033] interest (in something), consideration of s.t.

Mi/ nanzize ka liḷaahí/ khpa ih̄timaamú/ kulṭaṭa/ skoola. ‘I began to seriously consider quitting school.’

Mi/ njaribiilé/ kiiza/ laakini/ ye/ nt^hakumpha/ mi/ ih̄timaamu. ‘I tried to object, but he paid no attention to.’

Mi/ ṭakhpa ih̄timaamu/ kuuya/ keesho. ‘I will consider coming tomorrow.’

Si/ apa/ hashtapata/ ih̄timaamu/ walá/ mahabá/ kaamili/ ya wawa yiitu/ chiwa Yuusufu/ umo karka kiitu. ‘We here will not get the attention nor the full love of our father, if it be that Joseph is among us.’

Ye/ laazimu/ khpa ih̄timaamu/ kubadila ṭabi’a iyo. ‘You should consider changing your behavior.’

rel.

ih̄timaamaati n. pl. (an Arabic plural form sometimes used, for example in religious matters)

ih̄tiraamu

n. respect

Mi/ siná/ ih̄tiraamu/ kaawo. ‘I have no respect in their eyes.’

Shkhabiliile/ bilaa ih̄tiraamu. ‘He received us without compassion.’

Shkhabiliile/ ka ih̄tiraamu. ‘He received us with compassion.’

ih̄tiyaaji

n. [Ar. *ih̄tiyāj* W 21] (cf. **k-ih̄taaja**) need

ku-’ijaara

v. [Ar. verb *ajara* and noun *ijār* “letting, leasing” W 5] (**ijariile**) rent, hire

rel.

ku-’ijaarata v. (**ij areete**) rent, hire

<i>ije</i>	[cl.5] third position 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 sultaani/ chimwaambila/ nakuwoná/ mi/ kachiza kulawa naawé/ ka apá/ we/ naawé/ sula 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 yitú/ si/ khfunga safari/ keendra/ maha^hla ije itakuwó. ‘Therefore I think that is best (lit. our best) for us to pack and go anywhere at all (rather than here).’ Hasani/ chimwambila sultaani/ 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’ Kila/ mwaana/ humleetela/ mwaalimu/ ije yaa ye/ hukhaadiró. ‘Each child brings the teacher whatever he can.’ 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.) 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/ nakhsula keendrá/ kulanga^hla markabú/ ijé. ‘My father, I want to go to look at that ship.’ <i>check the final accents marked here</i> Yana/ mi/ nuzize ije igozi/ ya ngoombewa/ na mp^hetét/ feða niingi/ nt^ho. ‘Yesterday I sold that skin of my cow and I got a lot of money (for it).’
<i>iije</i>	= ipisiló ‘[cl.9] that passed Jima iije/ Hamiisi/ somele chibuuku/ muun^hhi/ woowo/ owo/ ye langalile mpiira. ‘Last Friday, Hamisi read a book. That same day, he watched football.’
<i>ijtihaadi</i>	n. [Ar. <i>ijtihād</i> W 143] effort ka ijtihaadi ‘with effort’ khfanya ijtihaadi ‘to be diligent, try hard’ Kilaa chiint^hu/ ishfanyowa ijtihaadi/ hupatoowa. ‘If a lot of effort is made, everything is achievable.’ Omari/ waanawe/ hufanya ijtihaadi/ skolaani/ khpita imtihaani/ jisa suura. ‘Omari’s children made a lot of effort at school to pass the test.’ mwenye ijtihaadi ‘s.o. diligent’
<i>ku-’ikhaaba</i>	v. (ikhabiile) punish
<i>ikhlaasi</i>	n. [Ar. <i>ikhlaas</i> W 255] loyalty, sincerity ka ikhlaasi/ na niya saafi ‘with loyalty and pure intentions’ khfanya ikhlaasi ‘to be loyal’

Mi/ siná/ sababu/ khtilaa shaka/ tarafu ya Abú/ ikhlaasiye. ‘I have no reason to doubt Abu’s sincerity.’

mu-khlisi adj. loyal

k-ikhlaara v. [Ar. *kāra* W 266] (**ikhlaariile**) choose, select, elect
Wamwikhtariile Nuuru/ kuwa ra’iisi. ‘They elected Nuuru to be president.’
Ye/ ikhtariile kingila harbiini. ‘He chose to fight.’
rel.
k-ikhlaarisha v. caus. (**ihlarishiize**)
rel. nom.
mw-ikhlaara (*wa’-ikhlaara*) n. 1/2 one who chooses
w-ikhlaaro n. 14 the act of choosing

k-ikhlaara v. (**ikhlaariile**) suggest
Hamadi/ ikhtariile Jaama/ kula gaari. ‘Hamadi suggested that Jaama buy a car’
Hamadi/ ikhtariile kuwa Jaama/ tu/ na’oloke kahimá. ‘Hamadi suggested that only

Jaama go quickly.’

Hamadi/ mikhtariile Jaama/ kuwa kendra kahima. ‘Hamadi suggested to him Jaama that to go quickly’

Hamadi/ tu/ ikhtariilo Jaamá/ kula gaari. ‘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/ ikhtariile Jaama/ tu/ kula gaari.** ‘Hamadi suggested that only Jaama buy a car.’ Note that one cannot say **kula gaari**, where there is a final accent due to the hypothetical pseudo-relativization of the infinitive verb.)

Hamadi/ tu/ ikhtariilo Jaamá/ kuwa na’oloke kahimá. ‘Only Hamadi suggested Jaama that he should go quickly.’

Ikhtariile Jaama/ kendra kahima. ‘He suggested that Jaama go quickly.’

Jaama/ kula gaari/ Hamadi/ ikhtariilo. ‘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/ ikhtariile.** However, he regarded the pseudo-relativized form as better.)

Mikhtariile Jaama/ kuwa na’oloke kahima. ‘He suggested to Jaama that he should go quickly.’

Mikhtariile 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-ikhlaaroowa v. pass. (**ikhlaariila**) be suggested

Jaama/ ikhtariila kendra kahima. ‘Jaama was suggested to go quickly.’

Or: **Ikhtariila Jaama/ kendra kahima.**

Jaama/ ikhtariila/ kuwa na’oloke kahima. ‘Jaama was suggested that he go quickly.’

k-ikhlaari’a v. [Ar. *karu’ a* W 235] (**ikhlaari’iile**) invent

k-ikhlaariha v. [?Ar. *iqtirāh* “invention” W 756] (**ikhlaarihiile**) suggest (MI gave this as the form for the verb ‘suggest’; our consultant GM did not recognize this form and used instead **kikhlaara**, which is the same as the verb “choose”).

Ikhtarihiile 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: ***Mwikhtarihiile Jaama/ kooloka.** ‘He suggested Jaama to go.’

Ikhtarihiile Jaama/ kooloka. ‘He suggested Jaama’s going.’ (Note that the complementizer **kuwa** cannot precede the complement clause:

***Ikhtarihiile kuwa Jaama/ kooloka.** One also cannot use a finite complement clause: ***Ikhtarihiile kuwa Jaama/ oloshale.** ‘He suggested that Jaama went.’ One also cannot use a “poss-ing” complement clause: ***Ikhtarihiile Jaama/ kolokake/ kahima.** ‘He

suggested Jaama's going quickly.' But compare the passive verb form below.)

Ikḥṭarihile kuwa Jaama/ na'oloke kahima. 'He suggested that Jaama should go quickly.'

rel.

k-ikḥṭarihoowa v. pass.

Jaama/ kooloka/ yikḥṭarihile 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/ yikḥṭarihila 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/ ikḥṭarihila kooloka/ na Nuuru.** 'Jaama was suggested to go by Nuuru.')

k-ikḥṭima

v. [Sw. *hiimu* SSED 130; Ar. *katama* W 227] (**ikḥṭimiile**) complete, bring to an end (esp. the study of the Quran or certain religious activities such as the **mowliidi** celebration)

Ikḥṭimile masoomoye. 'He completed his course of study.'

Ikḥṭimile qur'aani. 'He completed the study of the Quran.'

Mwaana/ chikḥṭima qur'aani/ hufanya/ sadaqa. 'When a child completes the study of the Quran, he prepares **sadaqa.**'

rel.

k-ikḥṭimisha v. caus. (**ikḥṭimishiize**)

Mwaalimu/ mwikḥṭimishize mwaana/ qur'aani. 'The teacher made the child complete the study of the Quran.'

k-ikḥṭimoowa v. pass. be brought to an end

Ba'adi ya skuu nt^hatu/ itakikḥṭimoowa. 'After three days, it (the burial of someone who has died) will be completed).'

me.'

ikḥṭiraa'i

n. [Ar. *iqtirāh* "invention" W 756] invention

(i)kḥṭiyaari

n. 9 [Sw. *hitiari* SSED 133; Ar. *ikhtiyār* "choice, preference" W 267] (cf. **k-ikḥṭaara**) choice

ka ikḥṭiyaari 'by one's choice, at one's option, etc.'

Fanyize ka ikḥṭiyaariye. 'He did it out of his own will.'

kazi ya ikḥṭiyaari 'voluntary work' **kḥfanya ikḥṭiyaari** 'to act out of free will'

Kḥṭiyaariyo/ 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 ikḥṭiyaari. 'I work when I please (lit. from choice).'

Mi/ sṭahaaji/ ku'akida muhimu/ ya ikḥṭiyaari/ ya muunt^hu. 'I hardly *need* stress the importance of discretion.'

Nnayo ikḥṭiyaari. 'I have a choice, options.'

Siná/ (i)kḥṭiyaari. 'I have no choice, option.'

wa'unzilo mwajiitu ka kḥṭiyaariye [sṭ.] 'the one who created them [people] is God, [out of] his own free will' (The syllabic requirement of this **sṭeenzi** 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 **ikḥṭiyaari** 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. *mwiko* (*miiko*) "a spoon, or instrument resembling it, e.g. a mason's trowel" SSED 321] a wooden spoon used for stirring food, esp. **zijo**

ikraaha

adj. [cf. Ar. verb *karoha* "to detest, abhor" W 823] reprehensible; var. **ikraahi** **muḅli kumoola cḥịtaache mubaaha/ laakini muke na nkope ikraaha** [sṭ.] 'it is proper for a man to shave his head, but it is reprehensible for a woman to shave her eyebrows'

m̄w-iikulu (w-)

n. 1/2 grandchild;

Waana/ na wiikulú/ washtii'a/ amri/ ya chizeele. 'The children and grandchildren obeyed the order of the old woman.'

rel.

chiikulu n. grandchild

We ni chiikulu cha Mtume Mhamadi/ ni amaani ya waantu ihsaani
[SCB112] 'You are a grandchild of Prophet Muhammad, the shield of those who act virtuously.'

mw-iikula n. my grandchild; [pron. **m̄wiikulá**] **review the !!!!**

Daadá/ Umi/ hadiile/ mi/ kuwapakata wiikulá/ ni kaṭabu. 'Grandmother Umi said: for me to hold my grandsons on my lap is something prescribed.'

M̄wiikulá/ ukopi mbuziwa. 'My grandchild, where is my goat?'

m̄w-iikule n. his/her grandchild; [pron. **m̄wiikulé**]

Basi/ chizeele/ ichi/ shkumanganya waanawe/ na wikuluwé/ wotte/ khfunga safari/ keendra/ kummwona sultaani/ uyu. 'So this old woman gathered her children and her grandchildren all and set off to go to see this sultan.'

k-iikuta

v. [cf. Sw. *kuta* "become satisfied with food" SSED 232] (**ikusile**) be satiated, full, satisfied (from eating)

Haṭá/ chimpani/ ha'ikuti. 'Even if you give him (whatever), he is never satisfied.' (A proverbial saying.)

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 *m̄wooti* 'death'.)

Muunt^hu/ chiikuta/ na munt^hu m̄wiinginé/ humwiikusó. 'When one gets satiated, satisfy someone else.' (A proverb.)

Muunt^hu/ hikuta ka chaake. 'One gets satiated with his own things.' (A saying.)

Munt^hu ikusiló/ ham̄wiwi/ m̄wenyee ndala. 'A man who is full does not understand the one who is hungry.' (A proverb.)

M̄waadamu/ ha'ikuti. 'A human being does not get satisfied/satiated.' (A proverb.)

M̄waarabu/ na sultaani/ 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. (-**ikutiliile**) full with

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. (**ikusiize**) satisfy s.o.'s appetite, doubts, etc.

Nimpeleshele numbaani/ nim̄wiikusilé. 'I took him home and gave him his fill.'

rel. nom.

w-iikuto n. 14 satiation, satisfaction

Muunt^hu/ laazimu/ kuhada alhamduḷillah/ kaa ndala/ na wiikutó/ kaa dhibu/ na raahá. 'One must say *alhamduḷillah*, in hunger and prosperity, in hardship and in luxury.'

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/ ṭampkiló/ 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/ mahala yiingine/ illa takuja 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'

Il^la/ mi/ takhtala bataata/ takhtaala. 'I must take a potato, I will take one.'

Khanziiri/ kudaroowake/ ni haraamu/ ka islaamu/ wotte/ na namayé/ islaamu/ hawaaji/ ila ka ðaruura/ 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/ kumera siimba/ mahala 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 dobla/ ya Aldo/ Mooroo/ haytakaadira/ 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/ haxhiiri/ 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/ hayiyi/ 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 lusi. '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.’
Mwaana/ 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 ile. ‘That branch is long.’

liilije/ ilije ‘that very same one’

Luti ilije/ lvyundishile. ‘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-’illa

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

Chambiloowa/ 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/ chimfungu mwana uyu/ naami/
takub^hla ruuhuya.** ‘He, that son of his, (said): You must not arrest
him; if you arrest that boy, I will kill myself.’

illa wa illa

inv. must

khshika illa wa illa ‘to insist’

Ali/ shishile illa wa illa/ Hamadi/ na’endre. ‘Ali insisted that
Hamadi go.’

Ali/ shishile illa wa illa/ kuwaa ye/ takeendra. ‘Ali insisted that he
would go.’ (Ambiguous as to whether Ali would go or some other person identified from the context.)

Ishishila illa wa illa kendroowa. ‘It was insisted that we must go.’

Sulile illa wa illa kooloka. ‘He insisted on going.’

ilmu

n. [Sw. **elimu** SSED; Ar. **ilm** W 635] learning, knowledge, science

**Baaba/ mtume Yaaquubu/ waliko ni muunt^hu/ mwenye ilmu/ aqli/ na
hikmá/ mwajitu/ 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^haynaayo/ 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 iwiile kuḷa chiint^hu [st.] ‘with his (i.e. God’s) knowledge, he knows everything’

Mi/ nayo il^hmú/ kabisá/ khṭinda go’aani/ ni chint^hu gani/ saha/ khfaanya. ‘I am quite competent to decide what is the right thing to do.’

Mi/ siisi/ kuwaa mi/ nayo il^hmú/ ya kujiba su’ali izi. ‘I do not know if I am competent to answer those questions.’

Mzele wa muuyi/ nt^haná/ il^hmu/ ya khfanya chiint^hu/ na msiiba/ uyu. ‘The mayor is not competent to deal with this crisis.’

Nayo ipupa ya il^hmu. ‘He has a very strong desire for knowledge.’

Omari/ nayo il^hmu/ ya kudafi’a ruuhuye. ‘Omari is quite competent at defending himself.’

Shtaala/ ziwo/ za il^hmu/ ziwaalikó/ kaaké/ zoṭe/ chizisooma. ‘He took all the books of learning that he had at his place and read them.’

Sindako/ nt^haná/ il^hmu/ ya khfanya chiint^hu/ na msiiba/ uyu. ‘The mayor is not competent to deal with this crisis.’

Sooma/ il^hmu/ itakhiinfó. ‘Acquire (lit. read, study, learn) knowledge, it is what will serve you.’ (A proverb.)

someelo il^hmu rashiliizo amali [st.] ‘the one who studied (lit. read) knowledge and who followed up with deeds’

We/ takuwa dakhtari/ mkulu/ mwenye ma’arifa/ na il^hmú. ‘You will become a great doctor having wisdom and knowledge.’

Ye/ peete/ kaazi/ haali/ nt^hakuwanaayó/ il^hmuyé. ‘He got the job although he had no qualifications (lit. its knowledge).’

ilo

[cl.11] second position weak demonstrative

Chiwona/ naambila/ chiiko/ lpandre gani/ mi/ nt^hakhpita/ 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 lēpe. ‘That bandage, piece of tape is white.’

Siwo/ ilo. ‘It is not that one.’ (Cf. **Siwo/ iló?** ‘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

khṭinda ilaakha ‘to cut a relationship off’

Nṭ^hinzile ilaakhá/ na Hamadí. ‘I have cut off my relationship with Hamadi.’

ku-’ilaalisha

v. control, keep in check, constrain;

Ye/ bashiize/ miizaani/ haali/ ye/ nt^haku’ilaalishá/ kujá. ‘She lost weight, although she never watched (her weight).’

Ye/ dhibishile/ ku’ilalisha tabi’aye. ‘He had difficulty in containing his temper.’

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-’ilata disgraced

v. [Som. *ciil* “to mistreat, to oppress, to create resentment” DSI 100] (**ileete**) feel

- Ye/ hula/ maskiini/ hu'iilaṭa.** '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-'iṣaṭa v. (*iṣeete*) 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^h angú/ fijiri/ haṭá/ karka ilooni. 'He walked from morning until about dusk.'
Ilooni/ muke/ na muḅiwé/ wachiḷawa/ 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/ ondroshole/ chistukula chingoka/ icho/ chingila naa 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 usiinzizi/ uchimtaala. '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/ lapiiḷi/ na chendra kiḷa ilooni. 'He went [to the garden] early in the morning, in the afternoon, and he went in the evening.' (Phon. The phrase **na chendra kiḷa ilooni** illustrates the possibility that **kiḷa** may be internal to a phrase. In the text recorded by MI, the final accent on **ilooni** is clear. We suspect that it has to do with the conjoined *chi*-clauses. We did not study this issue with MI. GM, 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^h akuuluka/ naawe/ ilu/ nt^h o. '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/ kumḷaṭiḷila ḷkaambala. '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 iyo 'on top of that, in addition to that'
Hamiisi/ husomaa nt^ho/ ilu/ ya iyo/ hupenda mpiira/ nt^ho. 'Hamiisi reads a lot; on top of that, he likes football a lot.'
Ilu ya khabri/ mi/ nḷizilee nt^ho. 'On the grave, I cried very much.'
iluya 'on me – i.e. my responsibility' (also: **iluyo, iluye, ilu yḷitu, ilu yḷinu, ilu yaawo)**
- Ni waajibu/ iluya.** 'It's my obligation.'
ka ilu 'on the surface; implicitly'

Mazá/ khudariliile/ haṭá/ 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 maatoyé/ ilú/ chimwonaa 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 Nuurú/ ilu ya Hamadi. ‘I prefer Nuuru over Hamadi.’

Niko ilú. ‘I am upstairs’

Sa’iidi/ chisimama/ iluke/ laakini/ shtiisho/ nt^hashkumḷaṭa. ‘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/ kiskaṭila ka zoṭe/ 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/ haṭá/ 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.’

Weshela 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* SED 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 mlangooni/ 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 kheezeza/ 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/ haṭá/ 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.’
waant^hu/ na miilú ‘people and legs’
waant^hu/ na milu yaawó ‘people and their legs’
We/ ndrāṭa/ 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
chisuula kīwa nguzo za imaani [st.] ‘if you want to know the pillars of faith’
Hamadi/ nt^hanaayo/ imaani/ yaa wé/ tampo/ haahadi/ hakah. ‘Hamadi does not get satisfied, content (lit. have faith), whatever you give him, he does not say *hakah*, i.e. thanks.’
Imaani/ hupuungula/ bila shahaada. ‘Faith is lacking (i.e. not complete) without *shahaada* (i.e. the acceptance of the oneness of God).’
Imaani/ ni zaaydi/ ya kilaa chiint^hu. ‘Faith (and the contentment that it offers) is better than any other thing.’ (A proverb.)
Imaani/ ni zaaydi/ ya maali. ‘Faith is better, surpasses wealth.’ (A proverb.)
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.’
mooja namwiwo hufa ka imaani [st.] ‘God, the one who knows him, dies (in a state of being) faithful’
Muunt^hu/ chiza kuwanayo imaani/ chiint^hu/ ha’imṭoshi. ‘When one does not have faith, belief (and the contentment that comes with this), nothing will suffice him.’ (A proverb.)
Tama’aye/ iwalikoo nk^hulu/ na imaaniyé/ ka mwajitú/ iwaliko thaabití. ‘His hope was great and his faith in God was firm.’

imaara

gelani does not think this word is used in Chimiini

n. [Sw. *imara* SSED 141; Ar. *imāra* “rank, authority, power” W 27] strength

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/ nimubleele/ dughaaghi/ mubla waant^hu/ nimubleele/ 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 kumsiifa we lata kumwiimba [st.] ‘leave off praising him, you,
 abandon singing about him’
Nakhsula kiimba/ na khteza dansa. ‘He likes to sing to and to dance.’
Noloshelo numbaani/ nimkasizee ye/ chiimba. ‘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’imbiliile waana. ‘Haliima sang to the children.’
Yimbiliile (ruuhuye) ndriimbo. ‘And so he sang a song.’
k-iimbisha v. caus. (**imbishiize**)
Mwaaḷimu/ 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 Ali/ wa’imbishilizenye waana. ‘Suufi and Ali made each other’s
 children sing.’
k-imboowa v. pass. (**inzila** or **imbiila**) be sung
Yimbiila 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
- m̄-iimbili* (w-, wa-) n. boy; [pron. **mwimbili** or **miimbili**; **wimbili** or **wa’imbili**]
Apo/ shpata sultaani/ mwimbiliwe/ shpató. ‘Then the sultan’s boy got it
 [“Cinderella’s” shoe], that’s what he did.’
Basi/ oyo mwimbili/ wa masultaani/ nakuyaawata. ‘Then the son (lit. the
 young man) of the sultan (lit. sultans) was surprised.’
Mwajiitu/ m’arzukiile/ mwimbili/ inaye/ Ali. ‘God bestowed upon him
 a boy, his name, Ali.’ (MI always used the pronunciation **mwajiitu**
 to refer to God. Present-day speakers never use ***majiitu**, the form
 that would occur if one simply elided the glide *w* following *m*.
 Instead, the form **mojiitu** is always used. It is for this reason that
 we do not write ***mwajiitu** parallel to **mwaana**.)
Mwimbili/ 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: **Mwimbili nt^haakujá/ waliko Omari**.
 The consequence of this difference in phrasing is that in the first
 pronunciation, **mwimbili** has a long antepenult vowel and has
 accent on the penult syllable, while in the second pronunciation,
 the antepenult vowel is short and there is no accent on the word.)
**Mwimbili uyu/ taku’iisha/ miyaaka/ miingi/ na kuwaa ye/ sultaani/
 chifa/ ni mwimbili/ 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 mwimbili/ mooyi. ‘The prime minister
 had one son.’
Mukeewá/ we/ nayo miimbá/ we/ takuzala mwaana/ mwimbili. ‘My
 wife, you are pregnant, you will give birth to a baby boy.’

Mzalile mwimbili wa kaandra/ wa piili/ wa taatu/ waane/ wa faano/ wa sitta/ 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 word receives accent in both default and final-accent triggering environments. In the case of **waane**, however, there is final accent only in the presence of a final-accent trigger.)

Nthaku/ chintu cha wiimbili (or: **wiimbili**)/ **wanakhtiyó.** ‘There is nothing that young boys fear.’ Or: **Nthaku/ chiintu/ cha wiimbili** (or: **wiimbili**)/ **wanakhtiyó.**

Sultani mooyi/ karka nthi za wahiindi/ zalila mwimbili/ mooyi/ yee peeke. ‘A sultan in the land of the Hindis had (lit. was born to) just one son.’

Sultaani/ weele/ mapsuuti/ ntho/ kuzajiloowa/ waana/ wote/ wiimbili. ‘The sultan was very happy to have had (lit. been born to) all male children.’

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’

We/ takuzala mwaana/ mwiimbili. ‘You will bear a male child.’

wiimbili/ na wanaawake ‘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/ mtarjumijile Hamadi/ liimbole. ‘Omari has translated for Hamadi his song.’

imkaani

n. [Ar. *imkān* W 918] possibility

-(i)mkini

v. (-imkiniile) be possible

Hayimkini/ kuwanayo aqli. ‘It is impossible that he has any wits.’
Humkina/ kuwa Hamiisi/ komele kharaari/ kulata masoomo. ‘It is possible that Hamiisi has reached a decision to quit (his) studies.’
Humkina/ kuwa Hamiisi/ tinzile kharaari/ kulata masoomo. ‘It is possible that Hamiisi has decided to quit (his) studies.’

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 imṭihaani. ‘Only Aziizi’s younger brother passed the examination.’

Hamadi/ nt^hakhpita/ imṭihaani. ‘Hamadi did not pass the examination.’

(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/ imṭihaani?** In the exclamatory yes-no question, the accent shifts on the negative verb as well as the complement: **Hamadi/ nt^hakhpitá/ imṭihaaní!?**)

Hamadi/ nt^hakhpita/ imṭihaani/ zont^he. ‘Hamadi did not pass all the exams.’ (In the simple yes-no question, the final two phrases shift

their accent to the final syllable: **Hamadi/ nt^hakhpita/ imṭihaaní/ zont^he?** In the exclamatory version, the negative verb also shifts its accent: **Hamadi/ nt^hakhpitá/ imṭihaaní/ zont^he!?**)

Imṭihaani/ zont^he/ Hamadi/ nt^hakhpita. ‘All the exams, Hamadi did not pass.’ Or: **Imṭihaani/ zont^he/ nt^hakhpita/ Hamadi.** (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: [**Imṭihaani/ ↑zont^he/ nt^hakhpitá/ Hamadi.**])

kumtalija imṭihaani

kumtila karka imṭihaani

Choloshele skuijaani/ imṭihaani.

Mi/ takhpita/ imṭihaani/ keesho. ‘I will pass the exam tomorrow.’

Muusa/ takhpita imṭihaani/ keesho. ‘Muusa will pass the exam tomorrow.’

(In this example there is no focus on the subject.) Or: **(Ni) ^hMuusa/ takhpito imṭihaani/ keeshó.** (In this example there is focus on the subject. The copular *ni* is optional.) Or: **Keesho/ Muusa/ takhpita imṭihaani.** (In this example neither pre-verbal phrase is focused.) Or: **Keesho/ ^hMuusa/ takhpito imṭihaaní.** (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 imṭihaani/ 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: **^hKeesho/ takhpito imṭihaaní/ 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 imṭihaaní/ keeshó. ‘Only Muusa will pass the exam.’

We/ pisile imṭihaaní. ‘You passed the examination.’ Or: **We/ pisilé/**

imṭihaani. ‘You *passed* the examination.’ (The simple yes-no question version of the latter sentence involves a shift of accent in the final phrase: **We/ pisilé/ imṭihaaní?**)

Ye/ pisile imṭihaani. ‘He passed the examination.’ Or: **Ye/ pisile/ imṭihaani.**

‘He *passed* the examination.’ (Note the shift of accent in the final phrase in the yes-no question: **Ye/ pisilé/ imṭihaaní?**)

ina (ma-’ina)

n. 5/6 [Sw. *ina (ma-)* SSED 141] name

Abdalla/ mloweele/ mwanaamke/ wa sultaani/ inaye/ iwaliko Aaminá. ‘Abdalla married the daughter of a sultan whose (i.e. the daughter) name was Aamina.’

apo takiiwa kuḷa mo ka inaye [st.] ‘then you will know each one’s name (referring to the prophets sent by God)’

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.’

Inayo/ handikowaayi. ‘How do you write your name?’ Or: **Jisaayi/ handikowa inayó.** ‘How do you write your name?’

Isa/ mwaana/ chizaloowa/ wazele/ 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/ masuura/ ya mojiitu/ ni tis'ina keendra. 'God's good names are 99.'

ma'ina/ ya maraði 'names of diseases'

Ma'ina yaawo/ ni Omari/ Huseeni/ na Haliimá. 'Their names are Omari, Huseeni, and Haliima.'

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.'

Omari/ dhibishile/ khkumbuka ina ya Baazi. 'Omari had difficulty remembering Baazi's name.'

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

Isomeḷa 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

n. 9 [Sw. *inadi* SSED 142; Ar. *inād* "opposition, obstinacy" W 648] a contradiction; the act of contradicting

inadi isho kumala 'a contradiction that never ends'

khfanya inaadi 'to contradict stubbornly'

Omari/ hupeenda/ kilaa chiint^hu/ khfanya inaadi. 'Omari likes to contradict everything.'

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/ hayimburi/ 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.
mwinama (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who bends over; [pron. **wa’inama** ‘ones who bend over’]
mwinamisha (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who causes to stoop or bend over;
[pron. **wa’inamisha**]
mwinamisho n. 3 act of causing to stoop or bend over
mwinamo n. 3 act of stooping or bending over

inchidente

n. accident
kingila inchidente ‘to have an accident’
Hasani/ ingile inchidente/ bishile [kuta/ ka gaari/ bom!/ haṭá/ majiraani/ wakasiize. ‘Hasani had an accident, he hit a wall with his car/ **bom!** Even the neighbors heard.’
Mi/ mpheeté/ khabari/ za inchidente/ mukhtaá yé/ ilo numbaani. ‘I found out about the accident when she came home.’

k-iindama

v. birth of moon, be sighted
kuliindra/ kana mweezi/ kiindama ‘to wait for like the moon being born (i.e. to await s.t. that is certain to happen)’
mweezi/ kiindama ‘the month/moon to be seen/ born/ sighted’
Mweezi/ wa ramaḏaani/ uchiindama/ hufungoowa. ‘If the month of Ramadhan is seen/sighted, it is fasted.’
Mweezi/ wa ramaḏaani/ una kiindama. ‘The month of Ramadhan is being born/ sighted.’
Mweezi/ 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
Abinawaasi/ nakiineendra/ rashmene na weenzawe/ wa’ingile nuumba. ‘Abinawaasi was walking together with his friends, (and) they entered a house.’
Chiineendra/ chiineendra/ hattá/ shkoma/ mui/ mooyi. ‘He walked and walked until he reached one town.’
Chiineendra/ kumsonga mp^huundra. ‘He walked and drew near to the donkey.’
Fatura gani/ we/ inenzeezó. ‘Which car did you drive?’ Or: **We/ inenzeze fatura gani.**
Hinendro tartiibú/ halazoowi/ na miilu. ‘The one who walks slowly is not given pain by (his) legs.’ (A proverb.)
Ichiwa/ ye/ uko ilu ya mp^huundra/ na mwaaná/ nakiineendra. ‘It became that he was on the donkey and the child was walking.’
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 chiṭa ‘lit. to walk on the head -- i.e., to abuse someone’s patience; to assume someone’s responsibility without his permission’
Fulaani/ ninenzele chiṭaani. ‘So-and-so abused my patience.’
kiineendra/ kana mwaana ‘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 **lkutaani** ‘to walk on a wall’ (Syn. One does not say ***kinendra** **lkuta**, 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 ***lkuta 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’ (One cannot say ***kinendraa ndila**.

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.)

Maambo/ aya/ ya’ineenzele/ ka muda/ wa miyaaka/ mitatu. ‘These matters, affairs continued for three years.’

Mi/ niineenzelé/ haṭá/ Daawu. ‘I walked as far as Daawu.’

Mwaana/ ha’ineendri/ sho khtuluka. ‘A child does not walk without falling down.’ (A proverb.)

Mbnee ndilá/ mbeleya/ niineenzelé. ‘I saw the road ahead of me and I walked.’

Muke/ inenzele na waanawe/ skoḷaani. ‘The woman walked with her children to school.’

muza eelo/ 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.’

Nṭ^hakiineendra/ ilu ya ndila iyi. ‘I will be walking along this road.’

Waḷwaawo/ washpandra mp^huundra/ wanakiineendra/ wanakiineendra. ‘Both of them climbed up on the donkey and continued on.’

We/ ineendra/ mi/ nṭ^hakiineendra/ na mp^huundrá/ na’ineendre. ‘You walk, I will walk, and let the donkey walk.’

Ye/ ondrele mkono/ na inenzeze/ ndilaye. ‘He waved and continued on his way.’

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/ sulṭaani/ 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. (**y-ineenzela**) be walked

Yiineenzela/ haṭá/ Daawu. ‘There was walking as far as Daawu.’

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.**

Chimaliza/ wo/ huḷawa/ hendra kumera kaazi/ amó/ kinenza kazi zaawó. ‘Then they leave to go to look for work or to continue with their work.’

Chinzena kaaziye/ ya khsuka. ‘She continued weaving (lit. she continued her job of weaving).’

Inenzeze gaari. ‘He drove the truck.’

Juha/ panzile mp^huundra/ mwaana/ shishile hogaani/ namwiineenza. ‘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 ndrimumbo/ 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.’

Maambo/ ya’ineenzele/ jis’iyi/ kaa muda/ mule
Mi/ namwiineenzá/ mba. ‘I am walking a/the dog.’

Mwinenzeze mwaana. ‘He helped the child walk.’

Ninenzeze faṭuraa mp^hiyá. ‘I drove the new car.’

Nuuru/ inenzeeze/ gaari/ ya Haaji/ uziló. ‘Nuuru drove the truck that Haaji bought.’

Omari/ namwiineenza/ mwaanawe. ‘Omari is walking his child.’

We/ inenzeze faṭuraa mp^hiyá/ ambó/ nshepe? ‘Did you drive the new car or the old car?’

k-inenzeleza v. appl.

Tuuma/ mwinenzeleze 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.

mwiineendo n. 3 a walk, act of walking, a trip

Faatima/ mwiineendrowe/ msuura. ‘Faatima, her way of walking is very nice.’

Muunt^hu/ kuulu/ ichimlaaza/ mwiineendo/ huzidisha/ ulaazo. ‘If someone’s leg aches him, walking makes it more painful.’

Wake awo/ miineendo waawo/ siwo/ msuura. ‘Those women, their way of walking is not nice.’

mwiineenza (wa-) n. 1/2 one who drives

mwinenza gaari ‘driver of the car’

k-iinfa

v. [Sw. *faa* SED 88] (infiile) be useful, of use

Baaba/ chighaõibika/ 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/ nakhsula 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 mayti 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/ Hasani. ‘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’infra. ‘It becomes useful for them.’
Isa/ nimkoseze mweenzá/chiniinfó. ‘Now I have lost the friend who was a help to me.’
Itakiinfa/ ye/ kooloka. ‘It will be useful for him to go.’ (The subjunctive was rejected in this environment: ***Itakiinfa/ ye/ na’oloke.** ‘It will be useful that he go.’)
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.’
Koði niingi/ haziinfi/ chiint^hu. ‘Too much talk does not serve anything.’ (A proverb.)
Mahaḷa/ inakhsuḷa khfanyowa chiint^hú/ kooði/ 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 **inakhsuḷa...** 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/ mwinfiile/ 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.’
Munt^hu 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-iinfa (wa-) n. 1/2 one who is of use; [pron. **wa’infra** (pl.)]
infermiyeere (ma-) n. [Ital.] nurse (male or female); [pron. **ma’infermiyeere** (pl.)]
ingaaði n. [Som. *higgaad* DSI 307] act of spelling
variant form: **hinggaði**
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.’ (In this example, **niingi** is used as an adverb.)

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/ huḷa 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 ^hwiingi/ hendra muskitiini. ‘Omari often goes to the mosque.’

Wana awa/ kuraga ka wiingi. ‘These children are often late.’

Kiḷa 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.)

munt^hu mwenye wana wiingi ‘a person having many children’

Muza biyaashara/ huḷoowa/ na want^hu wiingi. ‘A merchant is called by many people.’

Mwana uyu/ kooḷize/ niingi. ‘This child talks a lot.’

Mzaha niingi/ hangamiza uweenza. ‘Too much joking spoils a friendship.’

Also: **Mzaha mwiingi/ hangamiza uweenza.** (A proverb.)

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/ 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?)

Sku ya piili/ wachendra teena/ wachiruda na skunyi ziingi. ‘The next day they went again and returned with much firewood.’

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’

-ingiḷa adj. diseased (lit. entered); [pron. **-ingiḷá**]
muti wingiḷiḷá ‘a diseased tree’

k-iingiḷa v. [Sw. *ingia* SSED 142] (**ingiḷe**) enter; begin to do
Abinawaasi/ ingiḷe. ‘Abinawaasi entered (the house).’
Chingila kuloomba/ sadakha. ‘He started to beg for alms.’
Chingila naa ye/ ndraani. ‘He went with her inside.’
Chisu/ chingile miriri. [H!H] ‘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**. [H!H] 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^hakingila/ 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: **Liini/ Huseeni/ nt^hakingila/ numbaani**. ‘When did Huseeni enter the house?’ or **Liini/ Huseeni/ nt^hakingila numbaani**.

hiingila makaani nuumba ya Mojitu [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 dhibuuni ‘to get into difficulty’

Iyi/ ma’anaye/ ichiwaa we/ ingile dhibuuni/ ichiwaa we/ nayo

porobleemá/... ‘The meaning of this is that if you get into difficulty, if you have problems...’

kingila dhuuma ‘to go in the night to a sleeping woman and rape her’

[This expression not known to GM.]

kingila haaja ‘to be needy’

Nuuru/ hadiile/ mi/ ininingilile haaja/ ka Hasani/ nakhsula khpasa peesá/ kaaké. ‘Nuuru I need something from Hasani (lit. a need has entered me from Hasana), I want to borrow money from him.’

kingila ilanzi ‘to be asleep (of body parts)’

Kuuluya/ yingile ilanzi. ‘My leg is asleep.’

kingila khalwa ‘to seclude oneself in an isolated place for religious purposes’

Masheekhi/ wakuluwakulu/ hingila khalwa/ ka wiingi/ kulomba mojiitu/ maghfira. ‘Senior (lit. big) scholars enter into seclusion often to pray to God for forgiveness.’

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’ziya/ taaziya ‘lit. to enter a bereavement (with **ta’ziya** as the subject)’

Leelo/ ka Hamadi/ numbaani/ yingile taaziya/ dada yaawo/ fiiló. ‘Today at Hamadi’s house someone died, their grandmother died.’

Leelo/ ka majiraani/ yingile ta’ziya. ‘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 nuumbá/ wachilalaá... ‘But when night comes and the owners of the house are asleep...’

Mi/ niingiló/ Nuuru/ chilawa. ‘When I entered, Nuuru was leaving.’

Mubli/ chiya/ hatamlata/ kingila numbaani. ‘If her husband came, she would not let him enter the house.’

Mukhtaá wo/ wa’ingilo ka Yuusufú/ wamwambiile... ‘When they entered into the presence of Joseph, they told him...’

Muunt^hu/ siingilé/ mtanaani. ‘Let no one enter the room.’

Na’ingile. ‘Let him enter.’

Nt^hanakiingila. ‘He is not entering.’

Nuumba/ ingila na waant^hu. [H!H] ‘The house was entered by people.’

Nuumba/ yaa we/ nt^hukiingilá/ 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).’

Omari/ bozele zibuuku/ haba/ tu/ ha’ingili/ habasaani. ‘Omari just stole a few books, he won’t go to prison.’

Siingilé. ‘Don’t enter!’ (cf. **Singileeni.** ‘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...’

Waant^hu/ wa’ingile numbaani. [H!H] ‘People entered the house.’

Wotte/ wa’ingiile/ kumteka. ‘All started laughing at him.’

Ye/ ingile jawabu iyo/ mara ya piili. ‘He went into that matter again.’

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. (**ingiliile**)

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/ shpatiilileni/ kishpaakuja. '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 tuhumu/ mukeewê!?**)

Chisu/ chingila na miriri. 'The knife became rusty -- lit. the knife was entered by rust.'

Jawabu iyo/ yingila mara ya piili. 'That matter was gone into again.'

kingilowa na shaka 'to doubt -- [lit.] to be entered by doubt'

Miti/ nthayakingiloowá/ hayatakhtindoowa. 'Trees which have not become diseased will not be cut down.'

Mukeewe/ chingiloowa. 'His wife was sick (lit. entered).'

Mukeewe/ chingilowa na tuhumu. 'His wife has gotten suspicious.'

(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 tuhumu!?**)

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'utiinziló/ uwaliko wingilá. 'The tree that we cut down was diseased.'

Numba/ yingila na waant^hu. 'The house was entered by the people.'

Zamaani/ zita/ shchingiloowa/ ka lpaanga/ na gaashaani. 'In olden times wars were fought (lit. entered) with swords and shields.'

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 lvyuandro. 'That room cannot be entered because of the bad smell.' (The expected pronunciation of the verb

in this example is **hawungiliki**. 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/ mṭanaani. ‘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-iingiza 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/ muḅliwe/ 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/ mṭanaani. ‘We took the wooden box into the room.’

Ingize chaakuja/ mṭanaani. ‘He brought food into the room.’

Ingize sanduukhu/ mṭanaani. ‘He put the box in the room.’

kingiza deeni (or: deniini) ‘to cause to go into debt’

Ningize deniniini. ‘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’

Mwingize. ‘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/ mṭanaani. ‘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/ mṭanaani. ‘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 mṭanaani. ‘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’aambala/ zingileene. ‘The ropes got stretched tight.’

-iingine

adj. [Sw. *-ingine* SSED 142] other, another

Ali/ ha’isi/ walá/ haṭakiiwa/ 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 sulṭaani. ‘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 winginivé/ ba ‘to their relatives and to others as well’

kuwa siwo/ hakhi/ ye/ khpowa ifuungu/ 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/ nanzize khfikirilá/ khtalaa ndila/ yiingine/ ya khfanya ziint^hu. ‘I began to consider taking a different course of action (a different way of doing things).’

Mi/ nnakhsulá 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.’

munt^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.’

Sulṭaani/ chimpa baduwi/ riyaali/ khamsiini/ chimwambila/

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/ haṭá/ washkoma nt^hi yiingine. ‘They walked and walked until they reached another land.’

Walikoo muke/ mwiingine. ‘It was another woman.’

Want^hu wiingine/ washishiḷa shṭana. ‘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’

winginewe ‘some of them, others than them’

Zaakuja/ ziingine/ maama/ humwistiriŋa 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 kuḅḅji. ‘Hamadi is tilting toward the right side.’ Or:

Hamadi/ nakinika ka kuḅḅji.

N^hanakiinika. ‘He is not tilting it.’

Omari/ nakiinika/ mbelee mbele/ haṭá/ 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 jiili

n. [Sw. *injili* SSED 143; Ar. *injil* “gospel” W 30] Bible, New Testament

Injiili/ ishkiliza mtume lisa. ‘The Bible has been brought down/ revealed for the Prophet Issa (Jesus).’

Injiili/ na qur’aani/ ba/ ni ziwo za mojiitu. ‘The Bible and the Quran are God’s books.’

Injiili/ 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/ huzoloowa/ 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)’

Muunt^hu/ chiza kuwakasa wazeele/ hutala ink^haari. ‘If one does not listen to his parents he is cursed.’

Muunt^hu/ nazo ink^haari/ haliwaani. ‘One who is cursed does not succeed.’

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’

Mi/ hukahata/ Muusa/ kun’ink^hiraa mi. ‘I hate Muusa’s ignoring me.’

Mi/ n’ink^hiriile/ kumwiwa Hamadi. ‘I denied knowing Hamadi.’

Mi/ n’ink^hiriile/ kuwa namwiwa Hamadi. ‘I denied that I know Hamadi.’

Muusa/ ink^hiriile/ kuwa hadile ismu/ ya chiint^hu/ kana icho. ‘Muusa denied having said anything such as that.’

Mwanaashke/ ink^hiriile/ kudirkamana na Abú. ‘The girl denied having met with

Abu.’
Mwanaashke/ ink^hiriile/ kuwa dirkamene na Abú. ‘The girl denied that she met with Abu.’
Nink^hiriile 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.)
Omari/ ink^hiriile/ kuwaa ye/ bozele fatuura. ‘Omari denied that he stole the car.’
Omari/ ink^hiriile/ nt^ho/ kuwaa ye/ mwene Abú. Omari strongly denied that he had seen Abu.
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’
rel.
ku’inkiroowa v. pass.
Kuwa Omari/ ni akhili/ ha’ikhadiroowi/ ku’ink^hiroowa. ‘That Omari is intelligent cannot be denied.’
Nt^ha’ina/ faayda/ ku’ink^hiroowa/ kuwaa we/ waliko apó. It is useless to deny that you were there.

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^homola miino ‘to teethe’

ku’al^hama 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** n. [Ar. *inqilāb* W 785] overthrow of the government; [pron. **inqilaabu** or **inkhilaabu**] **khfanya inqilaabu** 'to overthrow the government'
Siyad Barre/ shishile hokomu/ ka inqilaabu. 'Siyad Barre took power by revolution.'
Ṡoomaaliya/ inqilaabu/ ituushiló. 'Revolution happened in Somalia.'
- insaafu** n. [Ar. *inṣāf* W 971] justice, equity (This word is perhaps an Arabicism, as it was unknown to GM.)
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. *inṣā'* W 964] essay
Mwaalimu/ wa'uzize waana/ kandika insha. 'The teacher asked the children to write an essay.'
- k-iinsha** v. finish
Mi/ mbaliko waaḍehé/ nt^ho/ kuwaa mi/ nakhsuulá/ kiinsha/ dothi iyi. 'I have been very clear that I want to put an end to this dispute.'
- ma-'iinsha** n. life
Ma'iinsha/ ya fanyizaa dhibu/ nt^ho/ naami. 'Life has been made very difficult for me.'
Ni chiint^hu/ mbovu/ kabisá/ kumtilaa shaka/ muunt^hu/ waa we/ mwaminiiló/ ma'iinshayó/ yont^hé. 'It is a terrible thing to doubt someone you have trusted all your life.'
- insha'alla** interj. [Sw. *inshallah* SSED 143; Ar. *in ṣā'a Allāh* W 495] God-willing, if God wills (MI pronounced this word with the velarized "l" of Arabic, written here *ll*)
- inshaara** n. forecast, sign, indication
khpata inshaara 'to get a sign, indication, direction'
Hamadi/ nakhsuula khpata inshaara/ yaa ye/ kolokela/ numbaani/ ka amiyé. 'Hamadi wants an indication of which way to go to his uncle house (i.e. he wants directions).'
- Mi/ ka inshaara/ Ṡu/ nilo apá.** 'Me, by indication only, I came here.' **What does this meaning exactly?**
Omari/ inshaaraye/ huwa. 'Omari's forecast happens/becomes.'
- k-inshaaraṭa** v. make a forecast, indicate to
Ma'anaye/ teena/ jisa waant^hu/ iyaminiilá/ mbuzi iyo/ ichinshaaraṭa. 'Because then, as the people believed, that goat gave a forecast.'
Mi/ nakinsharaṭaa nvulá. 'I am forecasting rain.'
Nimwinshareṭe Hamadi/ numba ya Omari. 'I indicated to Hamadi Omari's house.'
- rel.
k-insharaṭila v. appl. (**insharaṭiliile**) forecast for
Ndiwé/ insharaṭiliiló/ mi/ khpata kaazi. 'It is you who predicted that I

would get a/the job.’
k(u’)-insharatiḷoowa v. appl. pass.
We/ naku’insharatiḷowa kheeri. ‘You, for you it is being indicated/
 forecasted blessing.’

m(w)-iinsho

n. 3 [Sw. *mwisho* SSED 143] end; adv. finally
 variant form: **mwiisho**,

-a mwiinsho ‘last’

**Mwaana/ wa mwiisho/ wa sulṭaani/ petopo khabari/ kuwa
 mkuḷazé/ watatú/ wa’ubḷeḷa na siimbá/ mwambile
 maamaye/ kuwaa ye/ nakeendra/ maduriini/mahaḷa/ ya
 mkuḷaze/ wa’ubḷeḷá.** ‘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 mwiinshó/ karka
 nuumba.** ‘He was born the third and last child in the
 family.’

Chizeele/ icho/ shchikala/ mwiishowe/ wa nt^hi ya sulṭaani/ oyo. ‘That old
 woman lived at the end of the land of that sultan.’

haṭá/ mwiisho/ mwishooni ‘until the last days of his life’

koḍi ya mwiinsho ‘the last word’

laakini mwiinso mowṭi 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/ hishila. ‘The one who climbs a ladder, his
 end, he comes down.’ (A proverb.)

mwinsho waa ndila ‘the end of the road’

Mwiisho/ sulṭaani/ shkuumbuka/ kuwaa ye/ nt^hamwona/ Hasani. ‘At the
 end, the sultan remembered that he had not seen Hasani.’

Mwiisho/ ye/ khiriḷe kooloka. ‘Finally, he agreed to go.’

Nt^hangú/ mwisho wa muuyi/ haṭá/ 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.)

interneti

n. internet

internetiini ‘on the internet’

=iinu

[Sw. *-enu* SSED 85] second person plural possessive stem

chiinu [cl.7]

chibuku chiinu ‘your (pl.) book’

shkapu chiinu ‘your (pl.) basket’

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/ nfaanyizeni/ 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/ kooði/ tu. ‘You women, all of you just talk.’

Siwo/ waajibu/ ilu yiinu/ kudhora want^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^he^le 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/ kundratāa 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 maaziyé/ 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/ mpbate 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 uōiya 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 maraōi 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 muō ‘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 usō. ‘I plastered him with a slap in the face.’
kubiga ipi ‘to slap’
Nimbishile Aziizi/ ipi/ usō. ‘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-’ip̄ila
ipt̄iliile) afflict

v. [?Ar. *ib̄t̄il* “ruin, destruction” W 63 or *’abita* “impair, injure” W 586] (**ipt̄iile**, variant form: **ku’ib̄t̄ila**)
ruuhu na maali mooja m’ipt̄iliile [st.] ‘in spirit and in wealth God afflicted him (Job)’

ku-’iqāaba

v. [Ar. noun *’uqūba* “punishment, penalty” W 627] (**iqabiile**) punish (e.g. with reference to God punishing evil); [pron. **ku’iqāaba** 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 ðambi/ zozote/ hawa’iqaboowi/ ichiwa iyo sarkali ya wengewe/ yimo mikonooni/ 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 ðambi gani/ ka’ikhaboowá. ‘What crime did I commit that I deserve to be punished?’

iqāabu

n. 9/10 [Ar. *’uqūba* “punishment, penalty” W 627] punishment
bughōi ya aqraba mwiiho iqāabu [st.] ‘hatred of blood relatives, [its] end is

- punishment’
- Đambi iyo/ ikhaabuye/ nii nk^hulu.** ‘This crime, its punishment is big.’
Đambi izo/ ikhaabuze/ ni niingi. ‘Those crimes, their punishments are many.’
Mojiitu/ ni mwenye ikhabu niingi/ naank^hó/ ni mwenye naharisi niingi.
‘God is one of too much punishment, but also one of too much mercy.’
Muunt^hu/ shfanya đambi/ 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
ađaana 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’
Khutba/ iwaliko ka tarafu ya iqtisadi yaa nt^hi. ‘(His) speech concerned the economy of the country.’
- iriiri** 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.)’
mahaḷa iriiri ‘a narrow place’
Mi/ siná/ kudirka/ khfanya jawabu iyo/ ka sababu wakhtīwa/ iriiri. ‘Me, I cannot do that thing because my time is very limited.’
Mi/ wakhtīwa/ iriiri/ siná/ kudirka/ kooloka/ kumlangaḷa Hamadi. ‘Me, my time is very restricted, I cannot go and visit Hamadi.’
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 wakhtī wa kurudoowa. ‘Now is the time for going back.’ (Emphasis/focus may be placed on **isa**, in which case the verb phrase may either be put into pseudo-relative form or not: [^f**isa/ ni wakhtī wa kurudoowá**] or [^f**isa/ ni wakhtī wa kurudoowa**].)
Isa/ nnakhsuḷa kumpá. ‘Now I want to give it to him.’
Isa/ nnakhsuḷa kumpa Nuurú. ‘Now I want to give it to Nuuru.’
isa/ tu ‘just now’
Omari/ isa/ tu/ iló. ‘Omari came just now.’ (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/ nkhiriiġé. ‘As of now, that thing I accept.’

mara ya isa ‘this time’

Mi/ naktoshá/ ye/ umo karkaa ndila/ kuuya/ isa. ‘I believe she is on her way now.’

Mubġi/ suġile kumubġa/ laakini/ mara ya isa/ noka/ khadirile khfakaġa. ‘The husband wanted to kill him, but this time the snake was able to run away.’

Mi/ nakhpika isá. ‘I am cooking now.’ (**Isa** may be fronted and focused, thus triggering pseudo-relativization: **Mi/ isa/ nakhpikó.** Or: **Isa/ mi/ nakhpikó.**)

Nnakhsuġa khupaa we/ isá. ‘I want to give it to you now.’

Nnakhsuġa 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.** (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?’) (**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/ eelo/ 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.’

Iisa

n. Jesus; [pron. **Iisá, Iisa**]

ku-’isaabaġa

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-isaabaġa, ku-hisaabaġa**

Hineendra/ nakihisaabaġa/ ni... ‘He goes on, he counts, they are...’

Hisaabaġa/ one/ two/ three/ four. ‘He counted (them): one, two, three, four.’

Huwasabaġa/ ni ikumi. ‘He counts them, they are ten.’ (Phon. Observe the elision of the initial *i* of the verb stem in this example.)

Isabaġa. ‘Count!’

saant’hi za mapeendo ni sisabateeni [song] ‘do not count the steps of love’

ku-’iisha

v. [Sw. *ishi* SSED 143; Ar. *’āša, ’īša* W 661] live; variant form: **ku’insha**

Chi’ishize (karka) numba mooyí. ‘We lived in one house.’

Chinakhtarajá/ iyi/ kuwa’infá waant’hu/ wote/ watakhsoomó/ khaasá/ waana/ wiitu/ wanaku’inshó/ apa/ khpata kiiwa/ tariikhi/ 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.’ (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’infá 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.'

Fardoosa/ na Aashá/ wawiliwe/ ba/ hu'insha kharibu ya skoolá/ so. 'Do both Fardoosa and Aasha live near the school?' A possible answer to this question: **Ā'ā/ Fardoosa/ tu/ hu'insho kharibu ya skoolá.** [HHH!!H] 'No, only Fardoosa lives near the school.'

Fulaani/ nt'aku'isha/ miyaka miingi. 'So-and-so did not live long.'

Hamadi/ hu'isha Mqodiisho. 'Hamadi lives in Mogadishu.'

Hasiibu/ ishiize/ karka raaha/ na amaani/ haṭá/ mowṭi. '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'iyó/ 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'isha niingi/ ni kuwona miingi. 'To live long is to see much.' (A proverb.)

Mi/ n'inshize Nayroobi/ miyaka miingi. 'I have lived in Nairobi for many years.' (This example illustrates the fact that a time adverbial is ordinarily outside the scope of the final accent triggered by the verb.)

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?'

Mwaka oyo/ mi/ chi'insha na wazeelewa. 'That year, I was living with my parents.'

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'anakhaadira/ ku'iisha/ peeke. 'He cannot live alone (anymore).'

Teena/ ichiwa/ ye/ naku'iisha/ na mwaanamkewe. 'Then he lived with his daughter.'

Wazeelewo/ hu'inshapi. 'Where do your parents live?'

We/ kapata mayi yaa noka/ we/ suḷa 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 Mwini/ 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'idaḍalaṭila ki'ishiliza jisa suura. 'They try to live in a nice way.'

Nt'aná/ pesa zaa ye/ ku'ishiliza. 'He has no money to live on.'

ku-'ishoowa v. pass.

Apa/ ku'ishoowake/ ni rakhisi. 'Living here is cheap (lit. here, it's being lived, is cheap).'

Ye/ nii dhibu/ nt'ho/ ku'inshowa naaye. 'He is very difficult to live with.'

ma-'iisha

n. 6 life; variant form: **ma'iinsha**

Alí/ nt'anaku'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/ hayatooshi. 'The means of living do not suffice.'

Ma'iisha/ sku izi/ yawele ghaali. 'Life these days has become expensive.'
Ma'iishaye/ haya'onYESHI/ kuwaa ye/ nayo maali. 'His way of living does not show that he has money.'
Mi/ nakhtarajá/ ma'iinsha/ kuwa masuura/ nt^ho. 'I hope for life to get better.'
Mp^huundra/ welopo nt^hakuwa raaóí/ ka ma'iishá/ yaa ye/ waalimó/ ifakatiliile/ yingilile maduriini. 'When the donkey became discontented with the life that he was in, he ran away and entered the forest.'

ishaara

n. [Sw. *ishara* SSED 19; cf. Ar. *ašara* "to indicate" W 18] sign, an indication of events to happen in the future; var. **anshaara, inshaara**
Ishaara/ ya maana/ ni utuungu/ 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.'
khpa ishaara 'to indicate'
Nuuru/ nakinzena gaari/ pele ishaara/ ka kubji/ bishile jiira. 'Nuuru is driving a car, he signaled going to the right and then went in that direction.'
khpata inshaara 'to get a sign, indication, direction'
Hamadi/ nakhsuła khpata inshaara/ yaa ye/ kolokela/ numbaani/ ka amiyé. 'Hamadi wants an indication of which way to go to his uncle house (i.e. he wants directions).'

ku-'isharaṭa

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 **inshaara** that one has had
ku'isharaṭa 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!'

ishiriini

n., adj. [Sw. *ishirini* Sac. 307; Ar. *īsrūn* W 614] twenty

Ba'ada/ ya thaaniya/ ishiriini/ sa'a yūtu/ karka študiyo/ 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' (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'
Mwana/ 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 sittá** 'twenty six'
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.'

Mukhtaa ye/ ingilo chibaŕaani/ yachibigoowa/ miziinga/ ishiriini/ na mooyi. ‘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 bałani/ taariikhi/ meezi/ ishiriini. ‘Omari has an appointment on the twentieth of the month.’

k-ishkiła

v. intr. [cf. Sw. *shuka* SSED 425] (*ishkiłiile*) descend; to go down (of prices)

Chimwambila Huseeni/ mi/ ñnakhsuulá/ we/ na mwanaamkewá/ kishkiła/ kendra muyiini. ‘He told Huseeni: I want you and my daughter to disembark and go into town.’

Chimwambila Sulłani Daraayi/ kishkiła ka farasiini. ‘He told Sultan Daraayi to dismount from the horse.’

Chiskila. ‘He dismounted.’

Chizeele/ chiława/ chiskila nt^hiini. ‘The old woman left and went downstairs.’

Chizeele/ ishkiłiile nt^hiini. ‘The old woman went downstairs.’

Ha’ishkiłi/ koloka maduriini. ‘He never used to climb down [from that tree] to go into the bush.’

Ishkiła. ‘Get off!’

Juha/ chimwambila mwaanawe/ ishkiła. ‘Juha told his son: Get down.’

kishkiła hołełiini or **kishkiła 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/ hishkiła ka Nuuru. ‘When/if I go to Mombasa, I (usually) stay at Nuuru’s place.’

Kulla hendro ilú/ kuzimu/ hashkomi/ hishkiła. ‘Everything that goes up does not reach the sky, it comes down.’ (A proverb.)

Laakini/ mwanaamke/ iize/ kishkiła. ‘But (his) daughter refused to disembark.’

Mi/ nikishkiłiile. ‘I got off.’

Mi/ nikishkiłiile usulłani/ ka khisa/ mi/ iwaaliko/ inlazimiile/ koofisha/ bałaniya. ‘I resigned the sultanship because it was necessary for me to keep my promise.’

Muke/ shpata marađi/ shpandra chiliini/ na nt^hashkiła/ ka chiint^hu/ hattá/ ye/ fiilopó. ‘The woman fell sick, and was confined to bed and never got up until she died.’

Mwaana/ chishkiła. ‘The child climbed off.’

Mwanaamke/ chishkiła/ shfungula mlaango. ‘The girl came down and opened the door.’

numa takishkiła ruuhu khtalaowa [st.] ‘he will return (lit. descend back), (his) soul will be taken’

Nuuru/ chishkiła (ka) mutiini. ‘Nuuru climbed down the tree.’

Skizi/ doolari/ ishkiłiile. ‘These days the [exchange rate of] the dollar went down.’

Sulłani/ ishkiłiile/ ka chitiini. ‘The sultan stepped down from his throne (i.e. abdicated his throne).’

rel.

k-ishkiłika v. p/s. (*ishkiłishile*) be descendable

Ka apa/ hayishkiłiki. ‘At this point it is not descendable.’

k-ishkiłiła v. appl. (*ishkiłiile*) go down by means of, go down for

k-ishkiłisha v. caus. order, instruct, persuade, etc., someone to come down

Hamadi/ mwishkiłishize mwaana/ ka mutiini. ‘Hamadi persuaded the child to come down from the tree.’

Osmaani/ mwishkiłishize mwaana/ chibuuku/ ka chulunguuni. ‘Osmaani persuaded the child to bring the book down from upstairs.’

k-ishkiłishiliza v. caus. appl. (*ishkiłishiliize*) instruct, persuade, etc., someone to bring something down for/"on" someone

Ali/ mwishkiłishilize Nuuru/ mwaana/ chibuuku. ‘Ali instructed Nuuru’s child to bring a book down.’ (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-ishkiłiza v. tr. appl. (*ishkiłiize*) lower for, by means of; bring down to, for

Muusa/ mwishkiłize mwaalimu/ chibuuku/ ka chulunguuni. ‘Muusa brought a book down from upstairs for the teacher.’

k-ishkilizoowa v. caus. appl. pass. (*ishkiliiza*) be brought down, lowered for
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-ishkiloowa v. pass. (*ishkiliila*) be descended
Muti/ wishkiliila. ‘The tree was climbed down from.’

k-ishkiza v. tr. (*ishkiziize*) bring/take something down, unload, have disembark, help come down
Ali/ ishkizize chibuuku/ nt’iini. ‘Ali brought the book downstairs.’
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 kaðiiðo. ‘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.’
Muntu uyu/ chimwishkiza/ mwanaamke/ nt’i. ‘This man helped the girl climb down [from the tree].’
Mzeele/ 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’o/ chimuuzo/ 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 kabañiini. ‘Omari took a book down from on top of the cupboard.’
Sultaani/ shfurahikaa nt’o/ chimwaambila/ endrá/ mwishkize. ‘The sultan was very pleased; he told him: go and have her disembark.’
Ye/ ishkiziize/ uzito. ‘She lost weight.’

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/ wachiñ/ 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'ađi. 'But Sa'iidi refused to heed the warnings and advice.'

mw-iisho

adv. finally, in the end

Mwiisho/ shtiinda/ keendra/ kumera majiibu/ ka Ali. 'Finally he decided to go to seek the answer from Ali.'

mw-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^heele mi/ mishpa/ nama/ ndiyé/ teetó. 'Hamadi gave me bones, it is he who took the meat.'

Huyo ka wakhtí/ hupataa nama/ huraagó/ hupata mishpa. 'He who comes on time gets meat, he who delays, gets bones.' **is this a proverb?**

Jawaabu/ ya Hamadi/ nakuhadó/ ina mwishpa. 'What Hamadi is saying has a bone in it (i.e. there is a serious doubt about what he is saying).'

Komelopo mahała 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 'spinal column'

Nama/ jaani/ mishpa/ mphaani. 'Meat you eat; bones, give me.' (A proverb.)

Nama/ ndaaké/ mishpa/ ndaakó. 'Meat belongs to him, bones belong to you.' (A proverb.)

Omari/ mwishpawe/ 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 chispa 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. *ishq* W 614] (cf. *ku-'aashiqa*) love, affection, passion; [pron. **ishqi** or **ishkhi**]

Ishqi/ ni ađaabu. 'Love is hell.'

oyo noota igurshiiža ye n'iilo mi karka ishkhii [song] 'that star has been made to shift place, it is she who has put me in passion'

k-ishtaghayara

v.

chisusumuka na kana ishtaghayara/ khsala bila mtimiino we tahađara [st.]

'when you wake up, if your mouth feels unclean, you should beware of praying without (first) brushing your teeth'

k-ishbaka

v. [Sw. *shtaki* "accuse, charge, complain of, prosecute" SSED 425; from Ar. *šakā* "make a complaint" W 483] (**ishbakiile**) complain, protest, bring a suit, sue

Choloka ka khaađi/ chimwishbaka. 'He went to the judge to sue her.'

Kuła mooyi/ karka want^hu wa Jaama/ wabishiló/ ishbakiile. Each one among the people that Jaama hit complained.'

Mi/ nile kishṭaká/ mbelezo. ‘I came to complain in front of you.’

Muti oyo/ mbwa muunt^hu/ fulaani/ naaye/ ile kishṭaka. ‘That tree belongs to so-and-so and he came to complain.’

Mzeele/ chishṭaka/ ka askari/ chihada/ mwaana/ uyu/ waawaye/ nt^hinzile kuulu. ‘The old man brought a suit to the soldiers, saying, this boy’s father cut off my leg.’

Mzeele/chishṭaka ka ma’askari. ‘The old man brought a complaint to the soldiers.’
rel.

k-ishṭakana v. rec.

k-ishṭakika v. p/s. [Sw. *shtakika* SSED 425] **added**

k-ishṭakila v. appl. [Sw. *shtakia* SSED 425]

Martí/ waa we/ mwishtakiiló/ 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-ishṭakilana v. appl. rec. [Sw. *shtakiana* SSED 425] **added**

k-ishṭakisha v. caus. [Sw. *shtakisha* SSED 425] **added**

k-ishṭakoowa v. pass. [Sw. *shtakiwa* SSED 425]

Ma’askari/ wachishṭakowa kaawo. ‘The soldiers were brought a complaint to them.’ Or **Ichishṭakowa ka ma’askari.** ‘There was a complaint brought to the soldiers.’ **Or: Ma’askari/ ichishṭakowa kaawo.** ‘The soldiers, there was a complaint brought to them.’

rel. nom.

mw-ishṭaka (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who complains; [pron.**wa’ishṭaka** (pl.)]

ma-’shṭako n. 6 complaint, lawsuit

mw-ishṭari (*m-*)

n. 3/4 [Ar. *mīṣṭara* W 410] ruler (for measuring with)

ishṭiraaki

n. sharing; socialism

mi nakhpeenda ishṭiraakiya [song] ‘I like the sharing (of things)’

Tanzaanya/ nii nt^hi/ mooyi/ karka za nt^hi za Iṣṭ Aafrika/ zirashiizó/

mabaadi’i/ ya ishṭiraakiyá. ‘Tanzania is one country among the countries of East Africa that follows the principles of socialism.’

k-iska
something

v. [cf. Sw. *suka* ‘shake. wag, move quickly to and fro’ SSED 438] (**iskiile**) shake

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’

laṭa kumwiska kumuūḍa 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-iskaṭila

v. [Som. *cusko, cuskad* DSI 110] (**iskaṭiile**) lean against something; rely on
chiskaṭile diini na khsooma qunuuti [nt.] ‘le us rely on our faith and pray with humility’

iskaṭila kusooto oora isṭira [st.] ‘lean to the left, cover (your) genitals’

Hamadi/ iskaṭilile lkuta. ‘Hamadi leaned against the wall.’

Hamadi/ mwiskaṭilile waawaye. ‘Hamadi leaned against his father.’

Hamadi depended on his father (e.g. for financial support).’

Humwiskaṭilo 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. (**iskaṭilile**) lean on, against

Mwiskaṭilile waawaye. ‘He relied on his father.’

Osmaani/ iskaṭilile muti. ‘Osmaani leaned against a tree.’

k-iskaṭilana v. rec. rely on one another, lean on one another

k-iskaṭiliza v. caus. appl. (**iskaṭilize**)

k-iskaṭiza v. caus. (**iskaṭize**) 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

v. [Sw. *sikitika* SSED 430] (**iskitishile**) feel sorrow, express sad feelings; regret, feel sorry for what one has done; ask for s.t. nicely

variant form: **kh-sikita**

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 ma’iskitiko/ ndrakilé/ noloshele khabriini/ ka maamé/ nzaaziló. ‘And I from sorrow went out and went to the grave of my mother who gave birth to me.’

m-w-iskitika (*wa-iskitika*) n. 1/2 one who feels sad

w-iskitisho n. 14 the act of saddening someone

m-w-iskiti (*m-*)

n. 3/4 [Sw. *msikiti* SSED 303; ?Pers., Ar. *masjid* W 397] mosque; var. **muskiti**

Ali/ zurile muskiti/ wa mtume/ Madiina. ‘Ali visited the mosque of the Prophet in Medina.’

Cholokeeni/ muskitiini/ kahima/ chidirkeni sala/ yaa jima. ‘Let us go to the mosque quickly, let us reach the Friday praying.’

heendra miskitiini nuumbaya hulata [nt.] ‘I go to the mosque and leave my house’

Husaloowa/ muskitiini. ‘It is prayed in the mosque (i.e. praying is done in the mosque).’

Huseeni/ hinendra muskitiini. ‘Huseeni walks to the mosque.’ Also:

Muskitiini/ hinendroowa. ‘The mosque is walked to.’

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 Biimaalo.’

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 khariibu’ ya muskiti.** Or: **Nk^homele’ kharibu ya muskiti.** Or, with extreme raising of **khariibu**: **Nk^homele’ khariibu/ ya muskiti.**

Nt^haasá/ nt^hakuruuda/ ka miskitiini. ‘He has not yet come back from the mosque.’

Waant^hu/ wachiruudapó/ ka tawala/ wingi waawo/ hendra miskitiini/ kulomba mwajiitu. ‘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 mfa^lme/ 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/ hawavaali/ surwani zigobe. ‘Muslims don’t wear short pants.’

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/ wote/ 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’

Waant^hu/ awa/ wa as.habu^l kahfi/ wawanayo diini/ wawaliko islaamu. ‘Those people of the companions of the cave had religion, they were Muslims.’

rel.

u-’islaamu n. 14 the Islamic faith

ismu

n. deed, action, thing

Hamadi/ somele chibuku ichi/ tu/ laakini/ nt^hakhsooma/ ismu/ ya zibuku ziingine. ‘Hamadi has read only this book, he has not read any other books.’

Muunt^hu/ chibanayo janaabu/ laazimu/ kowa janaaba/ nt^hasa ya khfanya ismu/ ya ibaada. ‘When one has *janaaba* he must take a shower/bathe for *janaaba* before he does any activity related to worship.’

Uko/ ismu/ ya muunt^hu/ mwiinginé/ sho kuwa Fardoosa/ holoko apo/ ka chi-taawo. ‘Does anybody else beside Fardoosa go there by bus?’ (This is a simple yes-no question and in such questions, out of focus VP elements undergo Accent Shift to the final vowel. In the pronunciation of this example, *uko* was separated from *ismu*, but this did not trigger accent shift on *ismu*, although the subsequent phrases in the VP *muunt^hu* and *mwiingine* and *sho kuwa Fardoosa* all shift their accent. The phrases *holoko apo* and *ka chi-taawo* also have final accent, but this is expected in any case since focus on *Fardoosa* triggered pseudo-relativization of the following verb.)

Yana/ masku/ Hamadi/ somele chibuuku/ laakini/ nt^hakhfaanya/ ismu/ ya chint^hu chiingine. ‘Yesterday evening Hamadi read a book, but he did not do anything else.’

isnidhaamis

n. scabies

israa

n. the Prophet Mohamad’s “night journey” from Mecca to Jerusalem, prior to his ascent to heaven

Masku/ ya ley^lat^ul israa/ wal mihraaji/ ni masku ya mtume Mhamadi/ dhemishiiza/ peeshela kuzimu/ ka moojé. ‘The night of the night of *israa* and *mihraaji* is the night Prophet Mohamad was taken to the heaven of his God.’

Mtume Mhamadi/ masku ya israa/ buraakhi/ imtukilee Maka/ impeshele beytu^l makhdas. ‘Prophet Mohamed on *israa* night, *buraakhi* took him from Mecca to the Holy Mosque (in Jerusalem).’

Israa’ili

n. Israel

israafu

n. [Ar. *israf* “intemperance, dissipation, prodigality” W 408] abuse, misuse, overuse, squandering, extravagance

Israafu/ ni amali ya sheetaani. ‘Extravagance is Satan’s habit.’

israafu ni mbovu mayti koshooa [st.] ‘squandering [water] is bad [when] the corpse is being washed’

- Nuuru/ kaawo/ numbaani/ hupikowaa kuja/ israafu/ haṭá/ huṭawanyoowa.**
 ‘Nuuru, at their house, food is cooked extravagantly, even to the point that it is discarded, thrown away (unused).’
- Ist Aafrika** n. East Africa
Tanzaanya/ nii nṭhi/ mooyi/ karka za nṭhi za Ist Aafrika/ zirashiizó/ mabaadi’í/ ya ishtiraakiyá. ‘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.; var. **ku-ṣta’amila**
 rel. nom.
mu-ṣta’amila (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who uses s.t.
- k-ista’amira** v. [Ar. verb ‘amara W 643 and noun *isti’mār* “colonization, colonialism” W 644] (**ista’amiriile**) enslave, colonize; var. **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; var. **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 *ḥamala* W 206] (**istahamiliile**) stand, bear, tolerate, forebear
 variant form: **k-istahamila, k-istahamila, k-istahamila**
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-ṣtahamilo n. 14 forbearance
- k-istaahila** v. [Sw. *stahili* SSED 437; Ar. *ahala* “to be or become suited” W 32] (**istahiliile**) merit, deserve; var. **ku-ṣtaahila**
Eelo/ hastaahili. ‘The gazelle does not deserve [what is being done to him].’
We/ histahila chiint’u/ shkulu/ kolko ichi. ‘You deserve something bigger than this.’
Yaa si/ shtamfanyilizó/ ye/ histaaahila. ‘What we will do for him he deserves.’
 rel.
k-istahiqa v. (**istahiqiile**) deserve s.t. as one’s right; var. **ku-ṣtahiqa**
 rel. nom.
mu-ṣtahiqa (*wa-* ‘**istahiqa**, *wa-* ‘**stahiqa**) n. 1/2 one who rightfully deserves

- k-istalima* v. (**istalimiile**) receive
Istalimile fatura 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/ istamirile 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/ istamirile 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 daalimu [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* v. [Sw. *sitawi* SSED 433; cfr. Ar. verb *sawiya* W 444 and noun *istiwā* ‘straightness, regularity’ W 445] (**istawiile**) thrive, prosper, succeed, be in good condition (but not used with human subjects)
Matezo/ ya’istawiile. ‘The game has gone well.’
Muundra/ wistawiile. ‘The cultivated field is prospering.’
muuyi wiitu 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 koođi. ‘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.] (**isteheele**) respect s.o., be considerate to s.o.
Ye/ khisteheele/ nt^ho. ‘He respected you very much.’
 rel.
k-istehana, k-istehanana v. rec. (**-isteheene, -istehaneene**) (The reduplicated suffix is used commonly in the past tense, while elsewhere the form without reduplication seems to be preferred.)
- k-istereha* v. [Sw. *starehe* SSED 394; Ar. *istirāha* W 366] (**istereheele**) relax, take a rest, enjoy life
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-istereheleowa v. appl. pass. (**istereheleela**) get enjoyment from by
Chiza kisterehela chaako/ shtakistereheleowa na waant^hu. ‘If you do not get enjoyment from yours (i.e. your money, your possessions, whatever you have), it will be enjoyed by others.’
k-isterehela v. appl. (**isterehelele**) get enjoyment from
Kaleent^he/ nakisterehela maaliye. ‘He is just sitting there, enjoying himself with his money.’
Ndro/ pata kisterehela zakuja izi/ zaa mi/ khuleteleeló. ‘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

<i>isti'idaadi</i>	n. [Ar. <i>isti' dād</i> W 595] preparedness khfanya isti'idaadi 'to make preparations' Nakhfanya isti'idaadi/ kumqabila ra'iisi. 'He is making preparations to welcome the president.'
<i>isti'imaali</i>	n. [Ar. <i>isti'māl</i> W 646] use
<i>isti'imaari</i>	n. [Ar. <i>isti'mār</i> W 644] colonialization, enslavement
<i>isti'jaali</i>	n. [Ar. <i>isti'jāl</i> W 593] hurry khfanya isti'jaali 'to hurry up, be in a hurry' Khfanya isti'jaali/ ni amali ya sheetaani. 'To do things in a rush is Satan's character.' (An Arabic proverb translated into Chimiini.) khfanya ka isti'jaali 'to do s.t. in a hurry' Chiint^hu/ shchifanyowa ka isti'jaali/ hashtoosati/ ka wiingi. 'A thing done in haste mostly does not go straight.'
<i>istifaghaara</i>	n. forgiveness huleta istifaghaara 'to seek forgiveness' Ba'adi/ kila yaa sala/ kaandra/ muunt^hu/ huleta istighafaara. 'After each praying, the first thing is to seek forgiveness from God.' Muunt^hu/ chingila ðambi/ huleta istighafaara/ mojiitu/ kumghafirila ðambize. 'If one commits a sin, one must seek forgiveness from God to forgive his sins.'
<i>istihizaayi</i>	n. [Ar. <i>istihzā</i> W 1027] the act of belittling, ridiculing someone who is poor, diseased, deformed, etc. khfanya istihizaayi 'to ridicule'
<i>istimnaa</i>	n. masturbation Istimnaa/ ka mkono/ ni ðambi. 'Masturbation by hand is a sin.' khfanya istimnaa 'to masturbate' Muunt^hu/ shfanya istimnaa/ yachimlawa maðiyi humwajiba koowa. 'If a man masturbates and secretion comes from him, he must take a shower.'
<i>k-istinja</i>	v. clean oneself Muunt^hu/ chinjala/ laazimu/ kistinja/ chizapó/ nguwoze/ hutowa tahaara. 'When one urinates, one must clean himself, otherwise his clothes lose their purity.' rel. <i>k-istinjila</i> v. appl. Muunt^hu/ shṭowa maayi/ kistinjila/ hukhaadira/ khtumikilla zijiwe/ skavu/ zinaðiifa/ kunaðifisha ðakariye/ haṭaa ye/ shpata maayi. 'If one lacks water for cleaning oneself he can use dry clean stones to clean his penis until he gets water.'
<i>istiqamaa</i>	n. living according to principles of islam; [usu. pronounced istikhaama] Muunt^hu/ chimwamina mojiitu/ na shfanya istihaama/ huliwaana/duniyaani/ na aakherá. 'If a person believes in God and practices the Islamic way of life, he succeeds in this world and in the world hereafter.' (Note the final accent in the conjoined <i>chi</i> -clauses.) Waant^hu/ wenye istikhaama/ ni want^hu wa janaani. 'People who follow the Islamic path are of heaven.'
<i>istiqlaali</i>	n. [Ar. <i>istiqlāl</i> W 783] independence Khabla/ ya istikhlaali/ na ba'adaye/ ba/ Tanzaanya/ liini/ ichivilowa Tanzaanya/ ichivilowa Tanganyika. 'Before independence and after as well, Tanzania was not called Tanzania, it was called Tanganyika.'

	khpata istikhlaali ‘to get independence’
<i>k-istira</i>	v. [Sw. <i>stiri</i> SSED 437; Ar. <i>satara</i> W 397] (istiriile) conceal, hide, keep in a safe place Ba’adi/ ya miyaaka/ ayo/ yatakuuya/ miyaaka/ yaa dhibu/ yatakuja zaa ni/ ntaqdishiliizo/ 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 abu ni mwajitu [song] ‘he who conceals <i>abu</i> (a disgrace, blemish on one) is God’ rel. <i>k-istirika</i> v. p/s. [Sw. <i>stirika</i>] 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.’ <i>k-istirila</i> v. appl. [Sw. <i>stiria</i>] (istiriliile) hide for, keep for rel. nom. <i>mw-istira</i> (<i>wa-’istira</i>) n. 1/2 [Sw. <i>msiri</i>] one who conceals
<i>ch-istiro</i> (z-)	n. 7/8 hiding place
<i>k-istiwaata</i>	v. [Som.] (istiweete) surrender Aduwi/ ba’ada ya khshindroowa/ istiweete. ‘After being defeated, the enemy surrendered’ Aduwi/ istiweete. ‘The enemy surrendered.’
<i>isyaani</i>	Sho khupeenda ni muuntu sho diini/ ni majaahili wenye isyaani [SCB:112] ‘Those who do not love you are unbelievers, ignorant and rebellious people.’
<i>itaabu</i>	n.[Ar. <i>itab</i> W 589] the act of blaming, reproaching someone
<i>Itaalya</i>	n. [Ital. <i>Italia</i>] Italy Nk^huku za taalya/ huzala mayaank^hulu/ makulu. ‘Italian hens lay big eggs.’ Tuuma/ waliko Itaalya/ maraa mbili. ‘Tuuma has been to Italy twice.’ rel. <i>taalyaani</i> adj. Italian Inakuhadoowa/ ya kuwa iqtisaadi/ ya talyaani/ yiimo/ karka khatarii nk^hulu. ‘It is reported that the Italian economy is in great danger.’ <i>ma-talyaani</i> n. Italians Mataalyaani/ laazima/ wo/ khfanyilizaa dawa/ iqtisadi yaawo. ‘The Italians must cure their economy.’
<i>ku-’itarifoowa</i> recognized	v. pass. [cf. Ar. nouns <i>ta’rif</i> “determination, identification” and <i>i’tiraf</i> W 606] be Siwo/ muunt^hu/ hu’itarifoowa (or: hitarifoowa). ‘He is not a man who is recognized.’
<i>itifaki</i>	n. [Sw. <i>itifaki</i> SSED 144, from Ar. <i>ittifaq</i> W 1085] agreement, harmony

<i>it̥ila</i>	n. [cf. Ar. verb <i>ʾatila</i> W 621] obstacle, hindrance, damaged state
<i>ku-it̥iqaada</i> religion; believe	v. [Sw. <i>itakadi</i> SSED 144; cf. Ar. noun <i>i'tiqād</i> “firm belief” W 628] believe in God,,
<i>it̥mi'naani</i>	n. [Ar. <i>it̥mi'nān</i> W 568] tranquility Ntʰaná/ it̥mi'naani. ‘He has no tranquility.’
<i>ku-it̥hibiṭa</i> “proof, evidence” W 101]	v. [cf. Sw. <i>thibitisha</i> “establish. prove” from Ar. <i>tabata</i> “be proven” and noun <i>it̥bāt</i> (<i>it̥hibiṭiile</i>) be evidence of or for s.t., prove, substantiate, confirm it̥hibiṭile kuwa... ‘it was evident, proven that...’ ntʰa'ikhthibiṭa/ kuwa... ‘there was no evidence that...’
<i>ithnaashara</i>	n., adj. twelve Iyo/ yaliko idaashara/ iyi/ ithnaashara. ‘That was eleven, this is twelve.’
<i>ithmu</i>	n. [Ar. <i>it̥m</i> W 5] sin khfanya ithmu ‘to sin’
<i>k-itika</i>	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 sh̥teenzi.) Nsi iyi/ jisaayo/ maṭuuri/ inakitika mafta. ‘This fish is so fat that it drips out oil.’ Ntʰendre iyi/ jisaayo/ suura/ inakitika uki. ‘This date is so sweet that it drips honey.’
<i>mw-iito (m-)</i>	n. 3/4 [cf. Sw. <i>icho</i> “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)
<i>Iṭoopiya</i>	n. Ethiopia Jundi/ ya Soomaaliya/ ishiinzile/ zita/ za Iṭoopiya/ mwaaka/ wa sab'inaa saba. ‘Somali soldiers won the fight against Ethiopia in the battle of the year (19)77.’
<i>-iitu</i>	first person plural possessive root; see kiitu chiitu shkapu chiitu ‘our basket’ 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/ sh̥anzile 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. *juvu* (*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-iüwa

v. [Sw. *jua* SSED 139] (*iwiile*) know

Ali/ chiwa kuwa Nuuru/ bozele chibuuku. 'Ali knew that Nuuru stole the book.'

Ali/ nandikishizee khaṭi/ pashpoo we/ kiüwa. 'Ali made me write a letter without
your knowing.'

Ba'ada ya muunt^hu/ kuuya/ Jeelaani/ chiüwa/ ya kuwa nt^hakuwaaliko/ Safiya.

'After the person came (closer), Jeelaani knew that it was not Safiya.'

Basi/ iwá/ ya kuwaa mi/ siwo/ muṅó. 'Therefore know that I am not your little sister.'

(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/ chibashiize/ nech^haaká. 'The book that

Mhamadi learned that Omari lost it is mine.' (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^hukichilaaḷiḷa/ hiiwi/ nk^hungunyize. 'A bed that you do not sleep
on, you cannot know its bedbugs.' (A proverb.)

Hawa'iwí/ chiint^hu/ siwo/ kamaa si. 'They cannot know anything, they are not
[djinn]s like us.'

Hawaṭakiüwa/ almasi iyi/ ilazilepi. 'They won't know where this diamond came
from.'

Iwileeyí/ kuwaa ye/ mweene. 'How do you know that he saw him?'

Jisa itaakuwó/ Hamadi/ siiwe/ yaa mi/ khaambiló. Anyway, Hamadi should not
know what I told you.'

Leelo/ tu/ mi/ niwiiló/ kuwa Omari/ kuulú/ gaari. 'I only learned today that Omari
went to America.'

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/ niwiilé/ khabari/ za inchidente/ mukhtaayé/ ilo numbaani. 'I found out about

- the accident when she came home.’
- Mi/ niwiilé/ kuwa Fardoosa/ nambile wanaafakhí.** ‘I know that Fardoosa lied to me.’
- Mi/ niwiilé/ kuwa Fardoosa/ nt^hanakuuya.** ‘I learned that Fardoosa is not coming.’
- Mi/ anakhiiwá.** ‘I know you.’ (In the speech of GM, the 1 sg. prefix *n(i)-* is usually elided in position before the present tense marker *na.*)
- 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.’
- Namwiiwá/ mwana wa Nuuru/ mukeewe.** ‘I know Nuuru’s son’s wife.’ Or: **Namwiiwá/ muke wa mwana wa Nuuru.** Or: **Namwiwa mwana wa Nuurú/ mukeewé.** Or: **Namiwa mwana wa Nuurú/ mukeewe.**
- Namwiiwá/ muke pishiló.** ‘I know the woman who cooked.’ Or: **Namwiiwaa muké/ pishiló.** Or: **Namwiwa muke pishiló.**
- Namwiwa munt^hu iló.** ‘I know a (or the) man who came.’
- Namwiwa Nuurú/ mwaanawé/ mukeewé.** ‘I know Nuuru’s son’s wife.’ Or, with emphasis on **Nuuru**: **Namwiwa Nuurú/ mwaanawe/ mukeewe.** (It is not possible to put focus on **mwaanawe**: ***Namwiwa Nuurú/ mwaanawé/ mukeewe.**)
- Naawó/ wa’iwiile/ kuwa Abunawaasi/ wanayo muhtaaji.** ‘And they knew that Abunawaasi needed (to see Haruun Rashidi).’
- Mi/ niwiilé/ kuwa waawe/ waliko hakhaadiri/ nt^ho.** ‘I realized that my father was very sick.’
- Nk^ha’iwá/ kuwa waaná/ maanziné/ wajiilé...** ‘If I had known that the children had already eaten...’ [review this for accent and phrasing](#)
- Nna’iwá/ kuwaa mí/ nt^hakhshiindrá.** ‘I know that I will win.’
- Nna’iwá/ kuwaa yé/ takúuya.** ‘I know that he will come.’
- Nna’iwá/ kuwa takunhaláasha** ‘I know that he will wound me.’
- Nuuru/ iwile kuwa Jaama/ chibashize chibuuku.** ‘Nuuru learned that Jaama lost the book.’ (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 knows that Baana is a good teacher.’
- Omari/ isa/ tu/ iwiiló/ kulawaa ye/ laazimú/ kendra Mwiini/ keeshó.** ‘Omari just learned that he had to go to Brava tomorrow.’
- 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 Nureeni/ peesa/ boozeló. ‘Only Omari knows that it is Nureeni who money stole.’

Si/ chinakhsulaa we/ kiiwá/ kuwaa si/ shtakuraagá. ‘We wish you to know that we will be late.’

Si/ chiwiilé/ tarafu ya Omari/ khtomolowa kaziini/ leelo. ‘We learned about Omari being fired today.’

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?’

Yana/ tu/ mi/ niwilo kuwa Omari/ fiilé. ‘I only learned yesterday that Omari had died.’

Ye/ teete/ bilaa kiiwa. ‘He has taken it unknowingly.’

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/ takiiwa. ‘If you do not know what death is, you today will know.’

siisi ‘I do not know’

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 mahaalaa mp’hi/ laakini/ niilé. ‘I came, I do not know

where from, but I came.’

Siisi/ chiint’u. ‘I do not know anything.’

Siisi/ liini/ uzizo gaariyé. ‘I do not know when he sold his car.’

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-iwanoowa v. be gotten acquainted

ni furaha kiwanoowa, haali kuzanoowa [song] ‘it is happiness to be gotten acquainted, health is asked of one another’

k-iwikana v.

Karka masheekhi/ wakulu/ wana’iwikanó/ ni Shekh Awees/ Al Qadiiri/ Shekh Nureeni/ Ahmad/ Saabiri/ Shekh Qaasim/ Al Baraawi/ Shekh Haaji/ Sidiiq/ 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 Sidiiq, Shekh Macallim Nuur, Akhwaan Cabdo Munye, Shekh Muhammad Hiraale, Shekh Muhammad Gadhuudho, Sharif Mubiidi, Sharif Calawi, Dada Maasiti, and others.’

uõri una’iwikanó ‘a well-known excuse’

k-iwiõowa v. appl. pass. (**iwi**)

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. (**iwishize**) make known, make aware, inform

kumwiiwisha/ humwaaajibó/ na hazimwaaajibí ‘to make her know what she is required to do and what she is not to do’

Kuwasilake/ bilaa kiiwisha/ nt^haykumpeendeza/ Nuuru. 'His arriving without making it known did not please Nuuru.'

Ni laazima/ mbele/ kuniiwisha/ 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.'

We/ shtahaja ismu/ ya chiint^hu/ niwisha. 'If you need anything, let me know.'

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^hawakiwishoowa [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^hu/ wotte. 'Baazi is known by everyone.'

Ina'inowa kuwa Hamadi/ bozele chibuuku. 'It is known (by everyone) that Hamadi stole the book.'

Kiwoowa waant^hu/ ni suura/ ka khpata kaazi. 'Getting to know people is useful in finding a job.'

Mweendo/ 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 he associates with.'

sho kuwa Ibraahiimu wazaazila/ ka Mwaana Khadijata wa'wiila/ ni waana sita wakiriila [st.] 'except for Ibraahiimu, they were born of Lady Khadija and they were known as six children endowed with noble traits'

rel. nom.

mw-iiwa (wa-) n. 1/2 one who knows

m(w)-iiwa (m-)

n. 3/4 [Sw. *mwiba* SSED 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**>**miiwa** and /mi-iwa/> **miiwa**. Of course, these forms trigger different agreement, the former being [cl.3] and the latter [cl.4].)

kubiga miiwa 'to make stinging, biting remarks'

Nimbishile miiwawé. '(Lit.) I hit him his thorns – i.e. I made biting remarks about him.'

Miiwa/ 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: **chuwo**

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.'

ya tatu kaamina ziwo za mooja [st.] 'the third (pillar of faith) is to believe in the books of God'

Ziwo za qur'aani/ zingize husoomehó/ nii wake. 'At the koranic schools, most of those who teach are women.'

ziwoozza 'my books'

rel.

mw-a-chi-woo=ni n. an educated person

Mwachiwooni/ nakunashira chiwo chaa ye/ andishiló. 'The educated

person is publishing the book that he wrote.’

- iyi* [cl.5] demon. this
Ishaka iyi/ ni ikulu. ‘This doubt is large.’
Waant^hu/ wafurahiki^llee 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.’
Iyi/ ni raadiyo/ isho mwenewe. ‘this is free radio (lit. radio without owners)’
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 faturaa 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 **iyio** are out-of-focus: **Nureeni/ uzile jaaka/ iyo?** 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/ shtilaanga/ 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^la 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/ shtakhadiro khfaanyá/ 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 faqiri/ na taajiri. ‘For you to begin, first do not discriminate between a poor man and a rich man.’

Ni afðali/ 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/ nsujiilé ‘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^hakhubla/ 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^hakhiililó. ‘If he does not return after six days, it is me who will come to you.’

rel.

ch-izapo inv. otherwise; [pron. **chizapó**]

Fakaṭa/ chizapó/ takhshikoowa. ‘Run away, otherwise you will be arrested.’

Silawe/ chizapó/ humwoni/ Muusa. ‘Don’t leave, otherwise you will not see Muusa.’

k-iiza

v. [Sw. *iza* SSED 145] (**iize**) refuse, not

Ali/ ize kooloka. ‘Ali refused to go.’

Ali/ ize kumpa mwaana/ peesa. ‘Ali refused to give the child money.’

Binṭi Simsini/ chimwambila sulṭaani/ 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 (lit. refused to be) drinkable.’

Chiizá. ‘If I refuse? if he refuses?’ **review matter of accent**

Chiza khfaanya/ yaa mi/ anakhṭulubo kaakó/ nt^hakhufitina/ ka muḅliwa. ‘If you refuse to do what I ask from you, I will report you to my husband.’

Hasani/ uzile surwaani/ izi/ tu/ ziingine/ ziize/ mṭosha. ‘Hasani bought only these trousers, the other trousers did not (lit. refused to) fit him.’

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 koḁi zaa muke. ‘He refused to listen to the words of the woman.’

Khaṭi/ yize khsoomeka. ‘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.’

Mi/ siizi/ teena/ kulowa faṭura yiingine. ‘I no longer object to buying another car.’

Mi/ siizi/ ya Omari/ nakujaribo khfaanyá. ‘I don’t object to what Omari is trying to

do.'

Mp^hundra uyu/ chiiza/ khsimama mp^huundra/ 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/ kooðizé. 'It is for this reason that he refuses to tell people [what] his words [were].'

Niizé/ kuja. 'I refused to eat.'

Nuuru/ ize khpaawake/ kuja. 'Nuuru refused to give women food.'

Safiya/ iize/ kumweleleaa muke. 'Safiya refused to be a wife to him.'

Sultani Daraayi/ iize/ khtukula askarize. 'Sultan Daraayi refused to bring along his soldiers.'

rel.

k-iliza 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.'

Nimwiliizé/ Omari/ peesa. 'I refused Omari money.'

Nimwiliizé/ peesa. 'I refused money to him.'

Nimwiliizé/ peesa/ kumpa Omari. 'I refused him to give money to Omari.'

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]'

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 Japiili/ Columbus/ ni wakhti wa izdihaamu. 'Five o'clock [lit. eleven] is a crowded, busy time in Columbus.'

izi

[cl.8] first position demonstrative: these
Hamadi/ tukile izi/ ziti. 'Hamadi carried these chairs.'
[Hamadi/ tukiiló/ ziti izi] 'It is Hamadi who carried these chairs.' Or: **[Hamadi/ tukiiló/ izi/ ziti]**. (The pseudo-relativization of the main verb reflects the presence of focus on the subject **Hamadi** in these examples.)
Izi/ stukila na Hamadi. 'These were carried by Hamadi.' Or: **Izi/ stukila na Hamadi.** Or, with focus on the demonstrative subject: **[izi/ stukila na Hamadi]** and **[izi/ stukilá/ na Hamadi]**, where the focused subject triggers pseudo-relativization.
Mi/ ntukilé/ izi/ ziti. 'I carried these chairs.' Or: **Mi/ ntukile izi/ ziti.** (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.)

Nza naani/ zintu izi. 'Whose things are these?'

Mi/ ntukilee ziti/ izi. 'I carried these chairs.'

Zibuku izi/ ni zi'akhðari. '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/ skali nt^ho.** 'These knives are not very sharp.')

izi

[cl.10] first position demonstrative: these
Embe izi/ nii mbiti. 'These mangoes are unripe.'
izi ka izi 'this and that' **review phrasing**
Walekeze koodi/ izi ka izi/ ntaku/ mooyi/ kati kaawo/ wanayo ra'ayi suura. '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.'
Nza naani/ khufu izi. 'Whose socks are these?'
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/ skali nt^hi. 'The knives are not very sharp.'

izi

n.dignity, respect, honor, greatness
variant form: **ezi**

mw-iizi (*w*-)

n. 1/2 [Sw. *mwizi* SED 139] thief; [pron. **mwizi** or **miizi** (sg.)]

Azizi mwizi 'Aziizi the thief' (answers the question 'which Aziizi?') vs. **Aziizi/ mwizi** 'Aziizi, the thief' (identifies Aziizi as a thief)

Aziizi/ mwizi/ ile. 'Aziizi, the thief, came.'

E/ we/ ni wasaafiri/ ni wiizi. 'Oh, you travelers are thieves!'

khfakata/ kana mwizi '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 mwiizi ‘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 mwiizi ‘to hide like a thief’ (=khfakata/ kana mwiizi)

Mapoliisi/ wamshishile mwiizi/ yana. ‘The police caught the thief yesterday.’

Mwiizi/ chimbishilé. [H!H] ‘The thief, we beat him.’

Mwiizi/ hafanyoowi/ mweenza. ‘A thief is not made a friend.’ (A proverb.)

Mwiizi/ hakhiiri/ ðambize. ‘A thief does not confess to/admit/accept his crimes.’ (A proverb.)

Mwiizi/ jisaa we/ tamfaanyó/ haaḷaṭi/ kuboola. ‘A thief, whatever you do with him, he does not quit stealing.’ (A proverb.)

Mwiizi/ 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.**

mwiizi (oyo) shishilaa na mapoliisi/ yaná ‘the thief who was arrested by the police yesterday’ or **miizi (oyo) shishilaa yaná/ na mapoliisi**

mwiizi (oyo) shishilaa yaná ‘the thief who was arrested yesterday’

Mwiizi/ chiboola/ sku arba’iini/ hushikoowa. ‘After stealing for forty days, a thief is caught.’ (A thief will always be caught in the end, he cannot get away with continued thievery.’ (A proverb.)

Mwiizi/ 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/ bishilaa naasi. [H!H] ‘The thief was beaten by us.’ Cf. **Naasi/ bishilaa mwiizi.** [H!H] ‘By us the thief was beaten.’

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).’

Polisi/ hu’adiba wiizi/nt^hasaa wo/ kuwapeleka mahkamaani. ‘Police torture thieves before they take them to trial.’

Si/ chimbishile mwiizi. [H!H] ‘We beat the thief.’ Cf. **Mwiizi/ chimbishile/ si.** [H!H!H] ‘The thief, beat him, we.’ (The downstepping of the pronoun *si* in the second example is so radical that one might well be tempted to say that it is unaccented. We have opted against this interpretation due, in part, to the fact that when such a postposed subject pronoun is not in sentence-final position, its status as bearing accent is clear.)

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/ chimfungulila sultaani/ 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.'
Nt^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/ shfakaṭa/ cheendra/ shṭukula 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 masultaani/ wa nt^hi izo/ na koḏaani/ 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'
haṭá/ teena/ weele/ kuwa nt^haná/ yaa ye/ kuja 'to the point that there was not anything for him to eat'
Hujoo mbelé/ haaji/ numa. '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/ jiióló. ‘He ate the food that Hamadi gave him, that’s what he did.’ Also: **Jilechaakuja/ jiióló/ 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?’ (Note that the final vowel of the verb is not lengthened in front of **kani**, even though *CVCV* words generally trigger lengthening of the preceding vowel if in the same phrase as that vowel.)

Jile kani/ zijo. ‘You ate with what rice?’ (A possible answer: **Njile ka lkoombé/ zijo.** ‘I ate with a spoon rice.’ Observe that in MI’s speech, the applied instrumental form of the verb is not used here since that construction does not permit focus on the instrument.

Jiile/ ye. ‘He ate, him.’ (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.’ (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/ namá?** 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/ namá!?** 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.)

Jilee zijó/ kani. ‘You ate rice with what?’ Or: **Kani/ jiloo zijó.** ‘With what did you eat rice.’ (Note that in pre-verbal position, **kani** triggers pseudo-relativization of the verb. Possible answer to these questions: **Njilee zijó/ ka lkoombé.** ‘I ate rice with a spoon.’ It should be noted that given the question, in the answer the final accent must be extended through the verb phrase. If one said: **Njilee zijó/ ka lkoombe.**, the sentence would mean ‘it’s rice that I ate with a spoon’ and this is obviously not an appropriate answer to a question about what instrument was used.)

Jiiló/ mwaana. ‘The one who ate is a child.’ (This sentence is an answer to the simple yes-no question **Jiiló/ mwaana?** ‘Is the one who ate a child?’ or the emphatic yes-no question **Jiiló/ mwaaná!?** ‘Is the one who ate really a child?’)

Kana ijiióló/ 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 namá/ ^fkeesho/ ja. ‘Today don’t eat meat, tomorrow eat (meat)!’

Liindra/ kujaa kujá. ‘Wait, I am eating.’ (Observe that the first person form **nnakujaa kujá** can undergo an elision of the initial **na**, leaving the bare infinitive to appear, but this bare infinitive carries the final accent associated with the first person present tense verb.)

Mwaana/ jiile. ‘The boy ate.’ Or: **Mwaana/ jiióló.** ‘The boy ate.’ (In the second example, focus on ‘boy’ triggers pseudo-relativization of the verb. This sentence answers a question like: **Naani/ jiióló.** ‘Who ate?’)

Mwaana/ 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: **Mwaana/ nt^haakujá/ zijó/ waliko Omari.**

Masku ayo/ nt^haakuja/ chiint^hu. ‘That evening he did not eat anything.’ **Mi/ njiilé.** ‘I ate’ (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/ njiilé?** ‘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 maandrú/ wo/ wajilee zijo. ‘I ate bread, they ate zijo.’ (A conjunction with gapping may also be used: **Mi/ njile maandrú/ 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 maandrú/ naawó/ zijó.**)

Mi/ njilee namá. ‘I ate meat’ (Phon. The corresponding yes-no question undergoes Q-raising: **Mi/ njilee namá?** 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 namá!?**)

Mi/ njiilé/ 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/ skuja!?** 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/ kuwavi^la 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/ ha^tá/ bakhtⁱ/ 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 mku^lá. ‘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.’ (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/ mí?** 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/ mí!?**)

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/ nama?** MI pronounced the emphatic version with register lowering, and the post-verbal elements are lowered: **Njiilé/ mi/ nama!?**)

Njile nama/ 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 nama/ 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 nama/ 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/ nama/ mí?** In MI’s pronunciation, the emphatic version has register-lowering and there is lowering of the complement, but with accent-shift: **Njiilé/ nama/ 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 Hamadi/ jile maandra**. The verb may also be gapped, with or without the overt conjunction: **Nuuru/ jilee zijo/ Hamadi/ maandra**. Also: **Nuuru/ jilee zijo/ na Hamadi/ 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 Hamadi/ 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/ naami/ njile maandra**. The verb may be gapped in the second clause, but apparently only if the conjunction is present: **Nuuru/ jilee zijo/ naami/ 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: **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/ mí?** 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/ mí!?**)

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/ mazuye.**] ‘Tuuma ate Haliima’s *banana*.’ (Phon. In contrast to the preceding example, **mazuye** is focused and thus raised in pitch.)

[**Tuuma/ jilee mazú/ 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 Haliimâ!?**)

[**Tuuma/ jile mazu ya Haliima.**] ‘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/ jiiól/ mazu ya Haliima. ‘It is Tuuma who ate Haliima’s banana.’

Tuuma/ simpe peesá/ nguwo/ 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’ija mwaangi/ mukhtaa we/ iló.** ‘I was eating **mwaangi** when you came.’)

Wo/ wajilee kuja. ‘They ate the food.’ Or: **Wo/ wajiile/ 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/ jiiilé!?**)

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/ jiiilé/ 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/ mukhta 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

Omari/ hadiile/ reri ya Huseeni/ siwo/ wasuura/ wachiwonoowa/ wanakujaanana. ‘Omari said that the family of Huseeni is not good, whenever they are seen, they are saying bad things about each other.’

Peesa/ za haraamu/ hujaanana. ‘Ill-gotten money lit. wears out – i.e. gets used up and does not have lasting benefit.’

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 hujiikó ‘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/ yolokeleele. ‘(After waiting and waiting, e.g.) he went ahead and ate on his own and took himself off.’

Jiilileni/ chaakuja. ‘Why did you eat the food?’

Jiilileni/ lkoombe. ‘You ate what with a spoon?’ (A possible answer to this question: **Njililee zijó/ lkoombe.** ‘I ate *zijo* with a spoon.’ In the instrumental applied verb construction, MI preferred that the instrument not be focused. In this example, focus is on what was eaten rather than what was used to eat it.)

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 mahala wo/ wasimeemó. ‘The donkey began to eat the grass that was there near the place where they stood.’

Mwaana/ jililee 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/ hujiliwoa. ‘The one who does not eat his own is eaten for.’ (A proverb directed at stingy people.)

ku-jiisha v. caus. [Sw. *lisha*] (*jishiize*) 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.’

Pilipi/ 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/ ondroshepo ka usinziziini/ chiwona kuwa nt^heendre/ zijiila/ ye/ shfakata/ 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.’

Ondroshepo/ chiwona/ kuwa nt^heendre/ imalize kujoowa. ‘When he awoke, he saw that the dates had been eaten.’

Siimba/ naa mp^hisi/ wachihada/ sungura/ repteme/ 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/ zote/ zivaliko zijiila/ na rurumu. ‘All the books had been eaten by termites.’

ku-liisha v. caus. [Sw. *lisha*] (*lishiize*) feed

Mwaana/ mlshizee nfuye/ mazu/ ka farkeeta. ‘The child fed bananas to the monkey with a fork.’

ku-lishiliza v. caus. appl.

Farkeeta/ mwaana/ lishilizee nfuye/ mazu. ‘A fork, the child fed the monkey bananas with it.’ (MI preferred to topicalize the instrument in an instrumental applied, rather than having it occupy the IAV position: ***Mwaana/ lishilize farkeeta/ nfuye/ mazu.** Topicalizing either of the other complements does not render the sentence well-formed if the instrument remains in the VP: ***Nfuye/ mwaana/ lishilize farkeeta/ mazu.** Also: ***Mazu/ mwaana/ lishilize farkeeta/ nfuye.** It is not clear the extent to which other speakers share this tendency to want the instrument to be old rather than new information.)

ku-lishoowa v. caus. pass.

Nfuye/ lishizaa mazu/ ka farkeeta/ na mwaana. ‘The monkey was fed bananas with a spoon by the child.’ (It is ungrammatical to make **mazu** the passive subject: ***Mazu/ zilishizaa nfuye/ ka farkeeta/ na mwaana.** ‘Bananas were fed to the monkey with a spoon by the child.’

rel. nom.

mu-ja (wa-) n. 1/2 [Sw. *mila*] 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/ ^hHamadi/ jiiól. ‘The food, (it is) Hamadi (who) ate it.’

Kuja/ ipozele/ ^hbardi/ kana/ barafu. ‘The food became as cold as ice.’

Kuja iyi/ lada. ‘This food is tasty.’

^hKuja/ mi/ njiól. ‘The *food* I ate it.’

Kuja/ ndimi/ njiól. ‘The food, it is me who ate it.’

Kuja/ (yaa) mi/ njiól/ iwozele. ‘The food that I ate was rotten.’

Kujaako/ huława nt^h akaani. ‘Your food [lit. your eating] comes from the garbage pile.’

Marti 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/ njiólé/ 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/ njiólé/ 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/ mimooyi/ ^h(mi)bardi/ kana/ barafu. ‘Haliima gave me some food that was as cold as ice.’

Mikuja gani/ mp^hikiliiól/ we. ‘What kind of food have you cooked for me?’

Nakuletełowa mikuja ya kila lamna. ‘He was brought foods of every type.’

ch-aa-ku-ja (z-)

n. 7/8 food

Chakuja gani/ we/ nakhsuól. ‘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/ mpeeló. ‘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).’

- ja'** ideo. **Hamadi/ hawa'ambili/ waanawe/ ja'/ nt^hawaná/ aḍabu.** hamadi does not tell his children: stop, behave, they don't have dicipline.'
- ku-ja'alā** v. [Ar. *ja'ala* "to create, bring about" W 127] (**ja'alīile**) will s.t. (of God)
Mwajiitu/ ja'alīlee we/ khpata maali. 'God willed for you to get money.'
rel.
ku-ja'(a)līla 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'alīila**) be destined
rel. nom.
ma-ja'(a)liwo n. fate, destiny
- ku-ja'alā** v. [Ar. *ja'ala* "to think, believe" W 127] (**ja'alīile**) 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.'
Wanaaskoolā/ hawamja'ali/ ustaadi. 'The students don't pay attention to the teacher.'
rel.
ku-ja'alana v. rec. (**ja'aleene**)
ku-ja'alīla v. appl. (**ja'alīlīile**)
rel. nom.
m-ja'alā (*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^hu uyu/ nt^haná/ 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/ hayaṭakudirka.
'Me, I am going to climb that big mountain, the water will not reach (me).'
Si/ skaleent^hé/ ijabali Khaafu/ sku niingi. 'We stayed on the mountain Khaafu many days.'
Wote/ wacheendra/ nt^hini ya majabali/ kulindra/ haṭaa nvula/ ishtiinda.
'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. *jabbār* "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. *jabbār* "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 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.)
- 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'akhaadira/ khfanya ayi/ chiint'u/ 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 Naðiri far'aye [st.] 'she (=Dada Masiti) is Mahadali by ancestry, but her mother's grandfather was a descendant of Ali Nadhiri'
tuunzilo ilo ltuungu ni Ahmadi/ hunasabiloowa Marzuuqu ni jaddi [st.] \ 'that poem was composed by Ahmad, who took the *nisba* al-Marzuqi from his grandfather'
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 [...] humlata daharishiilo chilini / humtala muunt'u 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
- jaðba** n. the state of being in a religious frenzy
- ku-jaðbata** v. (cf. *ku-jalbata* below) [Som. *jidboo*, variant *jilbo* "to be in ecstasy, trance" DSI 342] (**jaðbeete**) be in a religious frenzy
Yana/ masku/ ðikiri/ yaalikó/ ka Daada/ Masiiti/ ziyaraani/ want'u wont'e/ jaðbeete. 'Yesterday night there was praying at the Daada Masiita religious ceremony, everyone was in a religious frenzy.'
- rel. nom.
ma-jaðbato n. frenzy
Huseeni/ yana/ masku/ ziyaraani/ ka Shekh Khaasimu/ jaðbeete/ majaðbato/ masku mazima. 'Huseeni yesterday night got into a frenzy at the religious ceremony Sheekhi Khaasimu's all night.'
- 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, joyful'

Omari/ waawaye/ file jaaha/ waanawe/ na wiikuluwé/ wont^he/ wawaliko haaðiri/ mukhtaaya ye/ chifó. 'Omari's dad died a good death, all his children and grandchildren were present when he was dying.'

Mwenye kiza jaaha/ humsaaliló/ ðulli. 'The one who refuses honor, what remains for him is humiliation.' (A proverb, with variants like those below.)

Mwenye kiza jaaha/ huwona ðulli. 'The one who refuses honor will be humiliated.' (A proverb.)

Mwenye maali/ ni mkulu/ haṭá/ ooji (or: **mbooni**, or **mṭaana**, or **jaahili/ 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.)

Mwiza 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/ hurasha lpepo. 'A dhow follows the 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.'

Wachishkiḷa/ 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 worthless’

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**

Omari/ ni jaahili/ iize/ khadira kondrola chiina/ hatá/ chimooyi ‘Omari is ignorant, he is not able to read even one word.’

Wabli/ leelo/ hawapeendi/ wake majaahili. ‘Men today do not like ignorant women.’

rel.

u-jaahali n. 14 ignorance

Iimu/ 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

Waant^hu/ hawamamini mojiitú/ makalo yaawo/ keesho/ ahkera/ ni jahiimu. ‘Those who do not believe in God, their residence tomorrow, in the life hereafter, is *jahiimu*.’

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-jajiile**) itch
Igozi/ ichikhujaaja/ gaguna. 'If (your) skin itches you, scratch it.'
Ipu/ inakunjaaja/ nt'ho. 'The abcess is itching me a lot.'
Maluungo/ yanakunjaaja. '(My) body is itching me.'

rel.

ku-jaajisha v. caus.

Mp^heele 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 Ruusiyá.** '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 jaaka. '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, ^f**Nureeni/ 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.)

^f**Nureeni/ 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 **iyó**. 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 **iyó**, as well as the downstepping of **iyó**.)

Nureeni/ uzile jaaka/ iyo itumbishiila 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 **iyó** ‘that’, our consultant GM prefers for **iyó** 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/ shpeendó. ‘*Nureeni* bought a jacket that I like.’

Nureeni/ vete jaaka. ‘*Nureeni* wore a jacket.’

Omari/ uzile jaaka/ iyo. ‘*Omari* bought *that* jacket.’ (In this pronunciation, there is emphasis on **iyó**. 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 **iyó**. If the focus is on **jaaka** and the **iyó** drops in pitch: ^f**Omari/ uzile jaaka/ iyo.** ‘*Omari* bought that *jacket*.’, the **iyó** 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 **iyó** 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?’)

jalaada

n. 9/10 [Sw. *jalada* SSED 147; cf. Ar. verb *jalada* “to bind a book” W 130] cover (of a book)

Baana/ atile chibuuku/ jalaada. ‘*Baana* tore the book cover (i.e. the cover of the book).’

Baana/ atile jalaada/ chibuuku. ‘*Baana* tore cover the book.’ (The word order in this example is one that naturally involves the presence of focus on **jalaada**. This can be seen from the simple yes-no question, where the out-of-focus possessor undergoes accent-shift: **Baana/ atile jalaada/ chibuukú?**)

Baana/ atile jalada/ ya chibuuku. ‘*Baana* tore the cover of the book.’ Or:

Baana/ atile jalada ya chibuuku.

chibuuku/ na jalaada ‘a book and a cover’; **zibuuku/ na jalaada** ‘books and covers’

chibuuku/ na jalaadayé ‘a book and its cover’; **zibuuku/ na jalaadazé** ‘books and their covers’

khtila jalaada ‘to bind a book’

rel.

i-jalaada (*ma-*) n. 5/6 ibid.

jalaata

n. [Ital. *gelato*] ice cream

Jalaata/ inakudhaayika. ‘The ice cream is melting.’

ku-jalбата

v. (see **kujaḍбата**) [Som. *jilboo*, variant of *jidboo* “to be in ecstasy, in a trance” DSI 342] (**jalbeete**) be in a religious frenzy

ku-jalida

v. [Ar. *jalada* “to whip” W 130] (**jalidille**) whip s.o. for religious sins

variant form: **kujelida** (jelidiile)

- jalla** adj. [Ar. *jalla* W 128] great, exalted; often used in set phrase: **jalla/ jalaaluhu** or **jalla jalaali**
jalla adiiimu shaani [st.] 'Exalted and Sublime'
Mojiitu/ jalla/ jalaaluhu/ kilaa chiintu/ hukhaadira/ khfaanya/chisu la chiintu/ ni kun/ fayakuun. 'God the highest and with majesty can do whatever he wants, if he wants something, it is be and it becomes.'
- 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
Leelo/ ka resdentē/ hafisaani/ yiko jaḷsa/ ya wazeele/ inakhkoḷeḷowa amaani/ ya muuyi. 'Today at the D.C.'s office there is an elder's meeting, the security of the town is being discussed.'
- jalaali** adj. [Sw. *jalali* SSED 147; Ar. verb *jalla* "to be lofty, exalted" W 128] an attribute of God (the Glorious one)
Jalla/ jalaali/ ni mojiitu. 'The highest and most majestic is God.'
- i-jali** n. 5/6 [cf. Som. *gal* "sheath" DSI 250 and Tunni verb *jal* "to enter" Tosco 220] sheath
Mnakata/ tomelee chisu/ ijaliini/ mdurilile mwiizi. 'The bush guy took out a pocket knife and stabbed the thief.'
- jaaliya** n. community, a group of people sharing certain characteristics
Chita/ cha jaaliya/ ya wantu wa Mwiini/ Mombasa/ waliko ni Doktoro Mustafa. 'The head of the Brava community in Mombasa was Doctor Mustafa.'
- jaama'a**(ma-) n. 9/10 [Sw. *jamaa* SSED 148; Ar. *jami'a* W 136] university
variant form: **jaami'a**
Amina/ umo simista/ ya taano/ jaami'a. 'Amine is in the fifth semester at the university.'
jama'a yaa ye/ koḷelo ka tarafuyé 'the university that he spoke about' (cf. **Ye/ koḷele ka tarafu ya jaama'a.** 'He spoke about the university.')
- 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.'
- jamaa'a** n. [Sw. *jamaa* SSED 148; Ar. *jamā'a* 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'a/ 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/ zigedishile/ 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/ kumbejele raaði. ‘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 hushowati loowa [st.] ‘the Sheikh is going to a beautiful place, in heaven everybody is dressed with elegance’

Ye/ wele mujaana/ 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 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 Biimaalo** ‘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 lpaanga. ‘That father bought a horse, a dagger, and a sword for his son.’

Mwanaamke/ uyu/ waliko tilaa kati/ na wajaana/ watatu/ na kila mubjaana/ shishile ijambiya/ mkonooni/ 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 waantbu. '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^hatu/ ra'iisi/ ya jamhuuri/ ondroshela/ ka ariplaano/ khaasa/ 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

Fardoosa/ nkhashifilee mi/ nakujaribo kaa nguvú/ Haliimá/ kujami'ana naami. 'Fardoosa discovered me trying to force Haluwa to have sex with me.'

Muunt^hu/ chijami'ana na mukeewe/ diini/ ya Islaamu/ huhada/ laazima/ kowa janaaba. 'When a man has intercourse with his wife, the religion of Islam says that it is necessary for him to wash *janaaba*, shower from head to toe.'

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 (This lexical item is unknown to Gelani Mohamed.)

rel.

ku-jamilila v. appl.

rel. nom.

u-jamilo n. 14

jamīli [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.)

***Abađe Faṭīma msiife 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/ vuzile zijamu. 'Nuuru broke the plates.' Or: **Nuuru/ vuuzile/ zijamu.**

Nuuru/ vuzile zijamu/ za Faṭīma/ uziló. 'Nuuru broke the plates that Faatima bought.' (Phon. Postposing the subject of the relative clause seems possible, albeit less preferred: **Nuuru/ vuzile**)

- zijamu/ uzilo Faatimá.)**
- Shtila chaakuja/ karka zijamu statu/ chijamu chimooyi/ cha mwaanawe/ chimooyi/ cha mubliwe/ naayé/ na chijamu cha taatú/ tile makooko/ na chita chaa nsi/ kumpa mwana wa mubliwe.** ‘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 adabu 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 tila jannaani [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 jannaani [st.] ‘the man who obeys [God], [God] puts him in heaven’
na niya saafi khutula jannaani [st.] ‘and pure intentions will take you to Paradise’
ndila ya janna ‘the road to heaven’
Wanakaambila/ 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^hasa fjiri kowoowa [st.] ‘before morning, the ritual cleaning should be washed’
Muunt^hu/ chivanayo janaabu/ laazimu/ kowa janaaba/ nt^hasa ya khfanya ismu/ ya ibaada. ‘When one has *janaaba* he must take a shower/bathe for *janaaba* before he does any activity related to worship.’
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
Nguwo/ ichiwa shiiri/ wakhti miingi/ ichiza kufuloowa/ hujaanana/ hatukahaatuka. ‘Cloth, if dirty for a long time and is not washed, gets worn out.’
Skaarpa/ za Hasani/ zalimo makhazinaani/ wakhti miingi/ hatá/ zijaneene. ‘Hasani’s shoes were in the store for a long time, until they got worn out.’
- janaastika** n. exercise

Janaastika/ ni daruuri/ ya afiya. ‘Exercise is essential to good health.’
Ni manfa’a/ khfanya janaastika/ niingi. ‘It is useful to get a lot of exercise.’

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; funeral

khtomola janaaza ‘to take the corpse from the funeral bier’

kurasha janaaza ‘to follow the bier’

Mayti/ chimaliza koshoowa/ huzubowa kafani/ hutukuḷoowa/ 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.’

Mayti/ hutukuḷowa ka janaaza. ‘The dead body is carried on a bier.’

Mi/ nhisize mahazuuni/ kugafa janaaza. ‘I felt sad about missing the funeral.’

sala ya janaaza ‘funeral prayer’

Leelo/ muskitiini/ shpiindri/ yiko sala ya janaaza/ Omari/ maamaye/ fiiló/ takhsaliloowa. ‘Today at the mosque there are funeral prayers; Omari’s mother died, she will 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 sulṭaani. ‘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.’

jannatul firdoosa

n. one of the highest levels of paradise

Jannatul firdoosa/ ni mooyi/ karka janna/ nk^hulu/ hiingiló/ ni mitume/ na waant^hu/ moomini/ wafanyizo zeemá/ duniyaani. ‘*Jannatul firdoosa* is one of highest levels of paradise, it is prophets and those with greatest level of faith and good deeds in this world who enter *jannatul firdoosa*.’

januubi

[Ar. *janūb* W 139] *Arabacism* 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 ‘north’ are **kuusi** and **kaskaazi** respectively.)

terms for ‘south’ and

i-jaanvula

n. rainbow (lit. the thing that eats the rain)

Huhadoowa/ ijaanvula/ chilawa/ nvula/ hureebaṭa. ‘It is said that when a rainbow appears, rain stops.’

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-jaara

n. 5 [Ar. *ijār* W 5] fee, fare, rent, wage (occasional rather than regular)

- ijaraa gari** ‘fare’
ijara ya nuumba ‘house rent’
Ijaara/ ya waana/ hutomoló/ siwo/ chiint^hu/ cha ma’ana. ‘The fee that children pay is next to nothing [lit. has no significance].’
Laazima/ chizide ijara ya nuumba. ‘It is necessary that we increase the rent of the house (apartment, etc.).’
pashpo khuuza/ ajri/ amó/ ijaará ‘without asking you for a reward or a salary’
- jaraadi** n. [Ar. *jarād* W 119] locust
waaya watakuwa kama jaraadi [st.] ‘human beings will be like locusts [in the hereafter]’
- i-jaraha (ma-)** n. 5/6 [Sw. *jeraha* SSED 153; cf. Ar. verb *jaraha* "to wound" and noun *jurh*, pl. *jurāh* W 119] wound
Huteko ijarahá/ ni munt^hu nt^hana ijarahá. ‘The one who laughs at a wound is the one who does not have a wound.’ (A proverb.)
Ingilopo mtanaani/ chimwona mwaanawe/ ilu yaa chili/ na dul^hedá/ 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 ijaraha kump^hoza üze [st.] ‘you refused to heal the wound in my heart’
kudara ijaraha ‘to touch a wound – i.e. to aggravate, annoy, irritate someone by mentioning a matter that he will not like’
Nt^haku fiiló/ laakini/ waant^hu/ huziidó/ ikumi na siṭa/ iwadirshile/ majahara. ‘No one died, but more than sixteen people have been wounded.’
- rel.
chi-jaraha (zi-) n. dim. 7/8
Chint^hu shpiya/ hupeendeza/ haṭá/ shchiwa chijarahá. ‘A new thing pleases even if it is a wound.’ (A proverb.)
l-jaraha (mi-) n. aug. 11/4 a large wound
- i-jarwali (ma-)** n. a mountain
Ijarwali yiimp^hi. ‘Which mountain?’
Majarwali yaamp^hi. ‘Which mountains?’
kharibu ya ijarwali ‘near the mountain’
- jardiina** n. [Ital. *giardino*] garden, park
Ba’adi yaa mi/ khpika/ na jardiiná/ hulangaḷa. ‘Apart from doing the cooking I look after the garden.’
jardina iyi ‘this garden’; **jardina izi** ‘these gardens’
Nuumba/ za jardiina/ zont^he/ zuziiza. ‘All the houses with gardens have been sold.’
 Or: **Nuumba/ zont^he/ za jardiina/ zuziiza.**
- i-jarfa (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
Ijarfa yiimp^hi. ‘Which net?’
Majarfa yaamp^hi. ‘Which nets?’
Nsi izi/ skomelopo kharibu ya Huseeni/ mooyi/ chimwaambila/ Huseeni/ mi/ ni nsi uje waa we/ mpeto ijarfá/ 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-jaariba

v. [Sw. *jaribu* SSED 151; Ar. *jariba* W 118] (**jaribiile**) try, attempt, test, feel out
Chijaribiilé. 'We tried.'

Chijaribiilé/ si. 'We tried.' (The subject pronoun following the verb is radically lowered in pitch.)

Chijaribiilé/ 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 kooweja. '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 gaariya. '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*: *[njaribiilée=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**.)

Sijaribeení. '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 **sijaribeení** 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 **sijaribeení** 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^{bu}/ 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/ kooweja. ‘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/ ijaribiila khfanyoowa. ‘The car was tried to be repaired.’ Or:
Ijaribiila 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
- jarida* (\emptyset , *ma-*) n. [Ar. *jarīda* W 119] (not as commonly used as **jornaale**, but can be used) newspaper
Ali/ kilaa fijiri/ husoma jariida. ‘Every morning Ali reads the newspaper.’
Zamaani/ Mkhodiishu/ schilawa jariida/ ka shṭalyaani. ‘During old times in Mogadhisho, news paper used to come out in Italian.’
- 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
Skoḷaani/ sa’a za kingiloowa/ na kuḷawoowá/ hubigowa jarsi. ‘At school the hour of entering and leaving is rung.’
- 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 nuumba ‘the roof of the house’
jasi yaa shuwu ‘a concrete roof’

Mp^haka/ uko jasiini. ‘A cat is on the roof.’ Also: **Jasiini/ uko mp^haka.** ‘On the roof there is a cat.’
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
Jasirileeyi/ kingila mṭanaani/ kaaka/ bilaa we/ kunuuzā. ‘How dare you go into my room without asking me?’

Karka majlisi ayo/ nt^haku/ jasiriilo khkooḏā. ‘In that meeting there was no one who dared to speak.’

Sijasireenī. ‘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/ zoṭe. ‘All [these] matters were explained to us [lit. we were explained all these matters].’

Hamadi/ kambilowa jawabu iyo/ ulushile/ degeele. ‘Hamadi, to be told that news, he jumped up and down.’

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?’

Jawabu/ 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.’

khṭinda jawaabu ‘to make [lit. cut] a decision’

Jawaabu/ isa/ tinzileni/ 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. [H’H] ‘Each issue has its reason.’ (A

proverb that conveys the idea that people say or do something for a reason.) (We did not observe the strong downstep ordinarily found between a subject and the PP initiated by the verb. This may be a characteristic associated with the verb *na* 'have'.)

Mi/ ndimí/ nímṭamaniiló/ na nsuliloo ye/ khfanya jawabuu mboví. '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.'

Muunt^hu/ ambila jawaabu/ naawo. [H!H!H] 'The man was told things by them.'

Mwiingine/ chihada ja/ kubloowa/ siwo/ suura/ ni muna yíitu/ nalangaloowa/ 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 izi? 'The sultan asked Huseeni: come, my son, are they true, these things (that are being said)?' (The accent shift observed in **jawabu izi** 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. [H!H] 'They spoke to the man about the matter.' Or: **Muunt^hu/ wamwambile jawaabu.** [H!H]

Waawé/ mi/ nakhambila jawabu za lílá. '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* SED 152; Ar. *jazā* W 124] (**jaziize**) reward, compensate; mistreat; provide s.o. with less than he needs

Mjazize mwaana. 'He mistreated the child.'

Mwajiitu/ nakhujaza. '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. ungrateful

Alí/ ni jazaari/ haalipi/ ihsaani. 'Ali is ungrateful; he does not repay favors (done for him).'

jazaari n. butcher, one who slaughters animals as a profession (cf. **mṭinda hoola**)

Sheekhi/ amiyé/ Hasani/ ni jazaari/ huzaa nama/ sukhuuni. 'Sheikh's

uncle Hasani is a butcher, he sells meat at the market.’

- ma-jaazi** n. test, hardship (from God)
Majaazi/ nda mojiitu. ‘Tests are from God.’
Omari/ hadiile/ iyi/ ni majaazi/ mojiitu/ chileteleejó/ mwaanawa/ ba/ chiza khkasa kooði. ‘Omari said this is test/hardship that God brought us, my child not to listen any thing (I say).’
- jaziira** (*Ø, ma-*) n. 9/10,6 [Ar. *jazīra* W 123] island
Fijiri/ shtete baṭera yīitú/ chenzele jaziirá/ yīingine. ‘In the morning we took our boat and we went to another island.’
jaziraa mbili ‘two islands’
jaziraa nkʰulu ‘a big island’
Jaziraani/ shpete matuundrá/ chijiilé/ na maayí/ chineelé. ‘On the island we found fruits; we ate, and water, we drank.’
Laakini/ ye/ ntʰakuwona/ 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 khalbiini/ 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.’
Wachinʰukula/ haṭá/ shchikoma/ jaziira/ mooyi/ yenyee miti/ miingi. ‘They carried me until we reached an island having many trees.’
Washkoma jaziira/ mahala/ ya mkuulé/ 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
muntʰu majðuumu ‘leper’
wantʰu majðuumu ‘lepers’ I demonstrative
- =je**
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] hair cut
Haliima/ peshele waanawe/ jegaani/ nakuwatinda jeega/ mashuungi/ yawayeele.
‘Haliima took her children to a **barbershop** to cut their hair, their hair was lit. filling them, i.e. they had too much hair, it needed to be cut.’
khṭinda jeega ‘to get one’s hair cut’
- jeneraale** n. general
Jeneraale/ koḍeele? [HH] ‘Did the general speak?’
Jeneraale/ ni garaada/ nkʰulu/ ya militaare. ‘General is a high rank in the

military.’

Karka waant^hu/ wa Miini/ garaada/ ya jeneraale/ komeeló/ ni Sa'id Mariina. ‘Among the people of Brava, the rank of general, the one who reached it is Said Mariina.’ (Note that “Mariina” is a nickname for the man who was admiral of the navy during the reign of Said Barre.)

ku-jenjeena

v. [no etymological source yet found] (**jenjeneele**) groan, lament

Mwanaashke/ jenjenele ka ulaazo/ muda dakhtari/ 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/ wajenjeeló. ‘It is too many people who have lamented.’

rel.

ku-jenjeenoowa v. pass. (**jenjeneela**)

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/ jenjeenize/ niingi. ‘Omari is full of too many laments.’

ku-jera

v. [Som. *jar* DSI 338] (**jereele**) cut meat in to long strips to dry for preservation and then to cut these strips into small pieces

rel.

ku-jerela v. appl. (**jereelele**)

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, shy

Hujeera/ zaaydi/ yaa muke. ‘He is more shy than a woman.’

Jaahili/ ha'isi/ kujeera/ na'iwaa nguvu. ‘The ignorant person does not know being timid, he knows force.’ (A proverb.)

Jerele kuwaa ye/ tulushile imtihaani. ‘He was embarrassed that he failed the examination.’

Jereeló/ khatiiile. ‘The one who is ashamed goes without food.’ (A proverb.)

Kana ijiiló/ 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, shy as a woman’

Haaji/ mahaala wako want^hu wiingi/ hujeera/ khkooða/ kanaa muke. ‘Haaji, when at a place where there are many people, is shy to speak, like a woman.’

kujera waant^hu ‘to be timid, afraid of people’

Muhtaaji/ hajeeri. ‘The needy person does not feel shame.’ (A proverb.)

Muunt^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’

Wake/ husulowa kujeera/ Hamadi/ hujeera/ kanaa muke. ‘It is women who should be shy (modest, non-assertive, etc.), Hamadi is timid, like a woman.’

rel.

ku-geranoowa v.

wake na wabli nt'aku 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/ njersheze/ karka waant^hu. ‘Saalimu disgraced me among people.’ Or: **Njershezo karka waant^hu/ 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
- jereere** 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.’
- jeermi** n. germs
Muunt^hu/ chosha zoombo/ suura/ kuvala khufu za mikono/ kuhafiða mikono/ na jeermi. ‘When one is washing things, it is good to wear gloves to keep the hands safe from germs.’
- jeeshi (ma-)** n. 9/10,6 [Sw. *jeshi* SSED 153; Ar. *jaiš* W 150] army
Apo/ zamaani/ Abunawaasi/ waaliko/ ni mkulu/ wa majeeshi/ ya sulṭaani/ 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/ mriðidhiize/ 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.’
Alí/ ni jazaari/ haalipi/ jeza. ‘Ali is ungrateful; he does not repay favors (done for him).’
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/ hutosha/ kuwaa mi/ hutasawara/ kuda’aa jeza/ yaa mi/ nimkha’ishizoo ye/ kichisaydaa si.** ‘I think I may claim the credit (lit. reward) for having convinced him to help us.’
- 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; var. **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)
- Abú/ nt^hakudhibika/ kujiba su’aali.** ‘Abu had no difficulty in answering the question.’
- Chinjiiba/ takhuḷaṭa/ 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.’
- Hamadi/ kujiba su’aali/ nfilatiilé.** ‘Hamadi to answer the question I expected.’
- Hamadi/ tu/ kujiba su’aali/ nfilatiiló.** ‘Only Hamadi to answer the question I expected.’ But also without pseudo-relativization of the main verb: **Hamadi/ tu/ kujiba su’aali/ nfilatiilé.** ‘Only Hamadi to answer the question I expected.’
- Jibilee khati.** ‘He replied to the letter.’
- Laakini/ mwanaamke/ chijiiba/ su’aali/ iyo/ muḅli oyo/ takhtindowa chitaache.**
‘But if the daughter answers that question, that man will have his head cut off.’
- Muunt^hu/ chiviloowa/ hujiiba.** ‘If someone is called, he responds.’ (A proverb.)
- Mwaana/ chimjiiba/ ka khisa karka chimwiini/ zimo jawaabu/ za chisoomaali/ za shṭalyaani/ 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.’
- Mwaana/ 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/ jibiile/ 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: **‘Mwaana/ jibilo su’aali.** ‘The *boy* answered the question.’ It is even possible to also focus on the verb at the same time: **‘Mwaana/ 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.)

Mwaana/ 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: **Mwaana/ jibile su’ali ya naani.** ‘Whose question did the child answer.’ A less preferred answer to this question would be: **Mwaana/ jibile Omari/ su’aaliye.** ‘The child answered Omari, his question.’ The question **Mwaana/ jibiileni.** ‘The child answered what?’ could be answered by either **Mwaana/ jibile su’ali ya Omari.** or **Mwaana/ jibile Omari/ su’aaliye.**)

Mwaana/ 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.’)

Mwaana/ jibiile/ su’ali ya Omari. ‘The boy answered Omari’s question.’ (The simple yes-no question corresponding to this sentence is: **Mwaana/ jibiile/ su’ali ya Omari?** ‘Did the child answer Omari’s question?’)

Mwaana/ jibilo su’aali/ ni Omari/ mweenzawe. ‘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: **Mwaana/ jibiiló/ su’aali/ ni Omari/ mweenzawe.** ‘The boy who answered the question is Omari’s friend.’)

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 mjibiilo takeendra/ khsimama Arafaati 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/ mwaana/ 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 Gaameel.e’ (A proverbial saying.)

Simjibé/ munt^hu mzima. ‘Don’t talk back to adults (i.e. when they have rebuked you).’

Wachimjiiba/ chimlātile 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/ hajiibiki. ‘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-jübila v. appl. (**jibiüile**) answer for

Mjibilile teleefono. ‘He answered the telephone for him.’

Nimjibilile mwaaná/ su’aaliyé. ‘I answered for the child his question.’

Nt^haná/ 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 khati ‘to answer letters for one another’

ku-jübishia 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.

Munt^hu uyu/ hajibishiki. ‘This man cannot be made to answer.’

ku-jibishiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-jibishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ku-jiboowa v. pass. (**jibiüla**) 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.’

Khati ijibila na Aasha. ‘The letter was answered by Aasha.’

Komelopo apo numbaani/ bishile hoodi/ jibiüla/ naayé/ chingila ndraani. ‘When he reached the house, he asked for permission to enter, and he was answered, and he went inside.’

Nt^hakujiboowa. ‘There was no answer.’

rel. nom.

m-jüba (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who replies

chi-jübo (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim. answer

m-jübo n. 3

ma-jübo 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.’

Nt^hakuwanaayo/ majiibu/ miingine/ shokuwa aya. ‘He did not have any other answer than this.’

u-jübo n. 14

jibiso

n. [Som. *jebiso* DSI 340] python, a constrictor which squeezes to death; [**jibiso**] or [**jiwiso**]

fakataani oyo ni noka jiwiso / takichivuunda oyo mbavu zütu [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.)

Ngoombe/ wa Hasani/ jibiso/ immiziizó. ‘Hasani’s cow, the python swallowed it.’

Jibriüli

n. Gabriel

ambila Jibriüli mwoshe ka zamzamu [st.] ‘it was told to Gabriel that he should wash (the Prophet) with zamzam’ [review 1](#)

ma-jübu

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.)

majibu aya ‘this reply, these replies’

majibu masuura ‘a good (i.e. favorable, positive) reply’

majibu 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 chiŋaachó/ 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/ oloshela ka Ali/ kumera majiibú. ‘You went to Ali to seek answers.’

jidaari

n. [Ar. *jīdār* "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

Hamadi/ inenzelee jiha/ ya ndilaa nk^hulu. ‘Hamadi walked towards the main road.’

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’ba ‘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/ mahaŋa ye/ kulekela/ ha’isi. ‘Hamadi became confused/ lost direction, he did not know the direction to go.’

Jiha/ imbeele. ‘I became confused.’

Oloshela jiha iyi. ‘He went in this direction.’

Si/ chiloonzelé/ we/ kishpaa si/ jiha. ‘We begged that you give us guidance.’

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. *jīhad* 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 **steenzi**)

kujihada nafsi ‘to struggle with one’s inner self’

Muunt^hu/ chisuŋa chiint^hu/ laazimu/ kujihaada/ jisaa ye/ khpata. ‘When one wants something one must work hard so as to get it.’

Sijihadeeni. ‘You (pl.) don’t undertake jihaadi!’

jihaadi

n. a sacred war against infidels; spiritual struggling; trying hard, making effort

Diini/ ya Islaamu/ huhada/ jihaadi/ nk^hulu/ ni jihadi nafsi/ ni muunt^hu/ kujihada ruuhuye/ chiza khfaanya/ ismu/ ya chiint^hu/ chiwovu/ cha diini/ hiizó. ‘The religion of Islam says that the big struggle is one’s own’

struggle for a person to struggle not to do a bad action that religion forbids.’

Kilaa chiint^hu/ muunt^hu/ hupata/ ka jihaadi. ‘Everything one gets with trying hard.’

Khfanya kaazi/ ka jihaadi/ ni suura. ‘Working hard is useful.’

Mi/ n’akidile khfanyowa kaazi/ ka jihaadi. ‘I emphasized working hard.’

Mi/ nanzize khsoma ka jihaadi/ ba’adi yaa mi/ khpotela/ imtihani ya kaandra. ‘I began to study hard after I failed the first test.’

na kula muunt^hu enzelo jihaadi [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 skoolā. ‘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/ hatā/ wachija. ‘Children must be forced to eat [lit. until they eat].’

jikjiki

ideo. of being young, strong, fit, etc.

Hamadi/ mzele/ 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 Somai 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.)

Gele/ ya jilaali/ nii dhibu/ khsoloowa/ ka sababu/ ni nuumu. ‘Maize of the dry season (which is kept and used during drought) is difficult to pound because it is hard.’

Jilaali/ zamani izi/ iwele niingi/ kilaa mwaaka/ inakurudaruuda. ‘Drought nowadays becomes more and more, every year it is coming back again and again.’

Mukhta mi/ mbaliko chihabā/ 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.’

Mwaka uyu/ Soomaaliya/ niingiye/ itulushile jilaali/ hoola/ niingi/ sfiiló. ‘This year most of Somalia experienced drought, many animals died.’

Jilibu

n. Jilib

Zamaani/ waant^hu/ wawanayo juḏaamú/ washfanyilizowaa dawa/ heraan/ Jilibu.

‘During old times people with leprosy used to be treated at a camp in Jilib.’

i-jilibu (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/ kulaaza ‘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.’

maraði 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‘u* 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.’

Shṭakulaṭawa jimaa piili. ‘We will leave 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/ oloshale mwiskiti 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.)

How do you say Wednesday?

jime

n. peer, someone equal, someone similar; [jimé]

jimá ‘my peer’

jimó ‘your peer’

(Kila/) muunt^hu/ huteza naa jimé. ‘Every one plays with one like himself.’ (A proverb.)

Kilaa muunt^hu/ nayoo jimé. ‘Every one has his peer.’ (A proverb that conveys the idea that however good, strong, etc., you are, there is always someone just a sgood or strong or even more so.)

Mi naa we/ nii jimú. ‘Me and you are peers.’

Muunt^hu/ hushindramana naa jimé. ‘A person competes with his peer/ agemate/ someone with the same strength etc.’

ku-jimi’sata

v. [Som. *jimico* "stretch limbs" DSI 346] (**jimi’sete**) stretch one’s arms (from being tired, or giving vent to being sexually aroused)

jimla

n. [Ar. *jumla* W 137] wholesale; variant form: **jumla**

ka jimla ‘in total, wholesale’
Huza maali/ ka jimla. ‘He sells goods wholesale.’
thalaatha miya na ikumi ka jimla/ na wataatu sho kiiwa nt’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, etc.’

ku-jimlisha

v. caus. add up; alternative form: **ku-jumlisha**
kujumlisha hisaabu ‘to add up the count’
kujumlisha zoombe/ zont’e ‘to add up all the things’
Zont’e/ jimlisha/ ni muhimu/ khsooma/ jisa khpita imtihaani. ‘In sum, it is
 important to study in order to pass an exam.’
 rel.
ku-jimlিশোowa v. caus. pass.
kujumlিশোowa 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 mijiinga. ‘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. *jinn* DSI 344; Ar. *jinn* W 138] djinn, ghost or spirit;
 an invisible creature, either good or bad
Chilangaḷa/ mahaḷa/ sooti/ inakuḷawiló/ 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/ huṭomoló. ‘The djinn, the one who brought him in, is
 the one who can take him out.’ (A proverb.) Or: **Ijini/ munt^hu tiiló/
 huṭomoló.**
Ijini/ yiko lamna niingi. ‘There are many types of madness.’ (A proverbial saying.)
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’ila 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.’
**Mwenye zijuumba/izo/ ni mzele simsimu/ na mahaḷaa ye/ hukaló/ wako majini/
 wiingi/ nt’o.** ‘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.’
Nt’ana aqili/ 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/ lughā/ 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

Koõdize/ kana ijiniile. 'His words are like (those of) a madman.'

jiinis

n. 9/10 [Eng. *jeans*] blue-jeans; variant form: **jiinsi**

Ali/ mulile mwaanawe/ surwaani/ ya jiinsi/ orijinaale. 'Ali bought for his son the original jeans.'

jiinis iyi 'these jeans'

Jinis izi/ nza Ali. 'These jeans belong to Ali.'

Nuuru/ vete jiinsi/ iriri/ imwaleene. 'Nuuru wore very narrow jeans, they were tight on him.'

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 Ali. '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 different way.'

Nini/ ni jinsi gani/ mp^hundra wa doobi/ chiza kuwa nayo mashkilo/ na khalbi? 'What is the nature of a washerman's donkey that it does not have ears and a heart?'

jiq

ideo.

Hawaayi/ maduuriye/ mishaka/ yabigileene/ jiq!/ gaari/ ha'ikhaadiri/ khpita. 'Hawaayi, its forest is thick, **jiq!**, a lorry cannot pass.'

jiiq

ideo. of squeaking (of s.t. unlubricated)

Milaango/ aya/ ni makavu/ yanaaku^la/ jiiq jiiq/ yanakhsu^la khpakowa garaaso. 'These doors are dry, they are crying **jiiq jiiq**, they need to have oil applied to them.'

Mnaango/ unaaku^la/ jiiq jiiq. 'The door is squeaking.'

jiira

n. in the expression: **kubiga jiira** 'to turn around, make a turn' (although **kh^tinda jiira** is also used)

Ali/ mwambile Hasani/ chilawe chibiga jiira/ sukhuuni/ tawala. 'Ali told Hasani: let us go make a round at the market at the beach.'

Gaari/ ya Hamadi/ karka yaa yo/ inakubigo jiira/ sukhuuni/ imbishile muunt^hu. 'Hamadi's car while it was turning in the market hit someone.'

Mp^haamp^ha/ chibiga jiira/ kuruda mutiini. 'Shark turned around to return to the tree.'

jiraafu

n. giraffe

Mwiini/ maduriini/ zamaani/ wawaliko jiraafu/ laakini/ sku izi/ nt^hazaako/ ziguriile/ huhadoowa/ sababu/ ya nt^howa niingi. 'Brava in the bush in olden times there were giraffes, but these days there are not any, it is said that they moved away because of many droughts.'

rel.

i-jiraafu n. aug.
yile/ kamba ijiraafu ‘as tall as a giraffe’

jiraani (Ø, ma-)

n. [Sw. *jirani* SSED 157; Ar. *jīrān*, pl. of *jār* "neighbour" W 147] neighbor
Choloka ka jiraaniye. ‘He went to his neighbor.’ (This example illustrates that in terms of the agreement on the possessive enclitic, **jiraani** is a [cl.9/10] noun.)

Jiraaniya/ nzuriile. ‘My neighbor visited me.’ (This example shows the singular noun **jiraani** triggering [cl.9] agreement on the possessive enclitic (the *y* in **jiraaniya**) but [cl.1] agreement on the verb (which is phonologically null).)

jiraaniza ‘my neighbors’, but also: **majiraaniya** ‘my neighbors’

Jiraaniza/ zinzuriile. ‘My neighbors visited me.’ Or: **Majiraaniya yanzuriile.** ‘My neighbors visited me.’

jirani izi ‘these neighbors’, but also: **majirani awa** ‘these neighbors’

jirani mbovu ‘bad neighbors’, but also: **majirani mawovu** ‘bad neighbors’

jirani msuura ‘a nice neighbor’

jirani mwovu ‘a bad neighbor’

jirani suura nice neighbors’, but also: **majirani masuura** ‘nice neighbors’

jirani ump^hi ‘which neighbor?’

jirani uyu ‘this neighbor’

jirani yaawo ‘their neighbor’

jirani zaawo ‘their neighbors’

jirani zümp^hi ‘which neighbors?’, but also: **majirani waamp^hi** ‘which neighbors?’

jiraniini ‘in the neighborhood’

karka jiraani ya mtume zikoowa [st.] ‘in the neighborhood of the Prophet he (i.e. Jesus) will be buried’

Majirani waane/ 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.’ (The construction **mamaye Hasiibu**, as opposed to **Hasiibu/ maamayee**, was definitely a construction used by MI. However, our more recent work suggests that it is rejected by many speakers.)

Mooyi/ karka jiraanize/ waliko ni muunt^hu/ maskiini/ ka waana/ wiingi. ‘One among his neighbors was a poor man with many children.’

Ndiwé/ jiraaniyé. ‘It is you who is his neighbor.’

Sfurahilé/ dhibu/ impeto jiraaniwó. ‘Don’t be pleased with the misfortune that befalls your neighbor.’ (A proverb.)

Shpenda jiraani/ naawó/ wachimpendaa nt^ho. ‘She loved her neighbors and they loved her.’

Siwo/ mi/ jiraaniye. ‘I am not his neighbor.’

Sku mooyi/ jiraani/ wa’ile numbaani. ‘One day the neighbors came to his home.’ (Notice that the plural use of **jiraani** triggers [cl.2] subject agreement (**wa**) on the verb.)

Ye/ naayé/ ni waaliko/ ni jiraani/ ya Abunawaasi. ‘He was the neighbor of Abunawaasi.’

ku-jiirata

v. [Som. *jiiro* DSI 344] (*jiirete*) bear down, strain (as a woman in labor, a person defecating)

Mwaanawa/ hujiirata/ mudaa ye/ naakunyó. ‘My baby strains when he poops.’

Omari/ nayo yaabisi/ china/ sharti/ kujjirata. ‘Omari has constipation; when he defecates, he must push hard.’

jiridi

n. [Som. *jirrid* DSI 348] stump of tree, including roots

khkula jiridi ‘to uproot, eradicate’

Muunt^hu/ muti/ shkuula/ husulowa khkulowa na jiridiyé/ chiizapó/ naank^hó/ hukora. ‘If one takes a tree out, it must be taken out with (lit. and) the root, otherwise it grows again.’

rel.
chi-jiridi (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.
i-jiridi (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

jiiro

n. dysentery
mimba ya jiiro ‘dysentery’
Mwana wa Haliima/ nayo mimba ya jiiro/ nakunya maazi. ‘Haliima’s child has dysentery, he is defecating blood.’

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).’
Faatiima/ jisaa ye/ nakuhadó/ Hamiisi/ hupeenda/ khsooma. ‘According (lit. how she says) to Faatima Hamiisi likes to read.’
Fungula mnaango/ jisa mwaana/ khpata kiiingila. ‘Open the door so that the child may enter.’
Hamiisi/ husooma/ niingi/ jisa waalimu/ kumpeenda. ‘Hamiisi reads a lot so that the teachers will like him.’
Hasani/ wenopo ngoombé/ jisaa zó/ niingi/ nt^hakhaadira/ kureba ruuhuye/ shfakata/ chiingila/ katicati 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 itaakuwó/ mi/ nnakhtuhuma kuwa Nuurú/ oloshelé. ‘However, I suspect that Nuuru left.’
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’
Fiitisha jisa suura. ‘Search carefully!’
Ja jisa suura. ‘Eat nicely!’
Kaäiioo/ impete jisa suura. ‘The fever really laid him low.’
Muke/ naayé/ huveshoowa/ nguwo/ nelpe/ naäiifa/ hotezoowa/ jisa suura. ‘The woman also will be dressed with new clothes, white, clean, [and] will be fumigated with incense thoroughly.’
Nfanyize chiint^hú/ jisa suura. ‘He did something verb well.’
Nfanyize kaazi/ jisa suura. ‘He worked very well.’
Siimba/ chiwa’egesha/ 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 suurá/ 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 du’edá/ waa ye/ mrashiizó/ masku mamoooyí. ‘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 mweepe ‘somehow, in one way or the other’
Jisaayi. ‘How?’ Or: **Ka jisaayi.**
Jisaayi/ handikowa inayó. ‘How do you write your name?’
Kooði/ kila mo/ jisaa ye/ hutaambuló. ‘Talk is how everyone understands it.’ (A proverb.)
Nfasiriliilé/ mi/ jisa suura. ‘I explained it well.’
Siisi/ Baazi/ jisaa ye/ takulo gaari. ‘I do not know how Baazi will buy a car.’ Or:
Baazi/ jisaa ye/ takulo gaari/ 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 mweenzawe/ 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’u 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 ufalme/ umbeele. ‘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 mubjaanawe/ ka jis’iyo/ mubjaana/ chidirkamana na mwanaamke. ‘Abunawaasi entered with his sheep and his young man and in that way the young man met the girl.’
Ba’adi/ ya apo/ tu/ mi/ nkhashifiló/ kuwaa ye/ ni taajiri/ jis’iyo. ‘Only then did I discover how rich she was.’
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.’ (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.)
Hamiisi/ hupeenda/ khsooma/ ka jis’iyo/ takhpita imtihaani. ‘Hamiisi likes to read, therefore he will pass the examination.’
Huhadaayi/ jis’iyo. ‘How can you say that?’
Huseeni/ chiwa’uza/ mboni/ ni/ nakhfanya jis’iyó. ‘Huseeni asked them: how come you (pl.) are doing so/ this way?’
Jis’iyo/ si/ shtakuwona/ miyi miingi/ miingine/ shtakubaratana/ 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’iyó. ‘For what reason did you speak that way?’

Mi/ hupeenda/ khkasa tarafu ya waant^hu/ hufanyo ziint^hú/ jis'iyó. 'I love to hear about people who do things like that.'

Mukhtaa ye/ ineenzeló/ mu^hdda/ wa sa'a naane/ jis'iyó/ 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.'

M(w)aana/ chiwa'ambila waant^huwe/ kistawisha ruhuzaawo/ kuvala nguwo suura. Wote/ washfanya jis'iyó. '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 zingile [st.] 'worms entered Job's body'

Jismuye/ yote/ inamlaaza. [H'H!H] 'His whole body ached him.'

wake kuhafiða jismu ni waajibu [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/ nthaykulañilooowa. '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 nthuwaakala 'limestone'

ijiwe yaa tala 'battery for a flashlight'

ijiwe ya khalaza or **ijiwe ya khalalaza** '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'

khalpaka majiwe 'to load stones'

khalpakiza majiwe 'to load stones on (usu. onto a camel or a truck)'

khalpakizowa 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'

Ikuta la majiwe ‘a stone wall’
majiwe malusi ‘black stones’ (cf. **Majiwe/ malusi**. ‘The stones are black.’)
Majiwe/ yakhubishile. ‘Stones struck you.’
Majiwe/ yalese^hla na muunt^hu. [H!H] ‘The stones were brought by a man.’
Majiwe/ yaleesele. [H!H] ‘The stones, he brought them.’
Majiwe/ yaleeseló/ ndiyé. [H!H!H] ‘The stones, the one who brought them is him.’
Mbashile numba yaa mawé. ‘I built a stone house.’ Or: **Mbashile nuumbá/ yaa mawe**. (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 mawé/ 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 ijiwé/ 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. [HH!H] ‘The man brought stones.’ (cf. **Muunt^hu/ yaleesele/ majiwe**. [HH!H] ‘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)’ (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)’ (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.’
Ye/ lesele majiwe. [H!H] ‘He brought stones.’ Cf. **Ye/ yaleesele/ majiwe**. [HH!H] ‘He brought them the stones.’
-zito/ kana ijiwe ‘as heavy as a stone’
Mbawo izi/ mizito/ 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 shpo^hteeló ‘a stone that fell’; **zijiwe spo^hteeló** ‘stones that fell’
l-ji-we (mi-ji-we) n. 11/4 aug.
Wachindremezandremeza mijiwe. ‘They struck me repeatedly with large stones.’

ku-jiwisha v. pay attention
Abú/ nayoo dhibu/ kujiwisha waant^hu. ‘Abu has difficulty paying attention to people.’

jo ? [The analysis of this item is uncertain, as we have only observed it in the following lines of poetry:]
hija ni faródi waajibu jo laazimu/ hukhaadiro sho keendra aasi daalimu [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 maize or millet that is then boiled; food, cooked rice; **noun class?**
Laakini/ zijo/ mpele mwanaamke/ na ikookó/ mpele mwana wa muḅliwe. 'But 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 zijo and had a female servant take it to the gazelle.'
zijooza 'my food'

joodari

n. 9/10, 6 [Sw. *jodari* SSED "a kind of dried fish, like dried shark" SSED 158; *dyodari* "Bonite (Thynnus pelamys)" Sac 191] tuna; **joodari** or **majoodari** (pl.)
Joodari/ ni karkaa nsi/ Mwiini/ hupendoowá/ huzowa ghaali. 'Tuna is among the fish that in Brava are like, it is sold at a high price (lit. expensive).'

joogi

n. 9/10 [Sw. *jozi* SSED 159; Ar. *jauz* W 148] pair
jogi ya zilaatu 'pair of shoes'
Nuuru/ mulile mwaanawe/ zilaatu/ jogii mbili. 'Nuuru bought his child two pairs of shoes.'

jografya

n. [Ital. *geografia*] geography
Mwalimu Rufaa'i/ zamaani/ skolaani. chisomesha jograafiya. 'Teacher Rufaa'i in the old times at school taught geography.'

Johaari

n. a town in Somali
Miyuundra/ ya qasabu (or muuwa)/ miingi/ yachaḷowa Johaari. [H!H!H!H] 'Many sugar cane farms were cultivated in Johaari (a town near Mogadishu).'

joohari

n. [Sw. *johari* SSED 158; Ar. *jauhar* W 150] jewel, gem
Chinakhishiza ka luulu/ joahari/ na almaasi. 'It was decorated with pearls, jewels, and diamonds.'
Ḍahabu/ ni ghaali/ johari na. 'The gold is expensive, what about the gems?'
hata shpavuungu ka muke ni khatari/ ziingine haydhibi walo za joohari [st.] 'even a woman's kohl-stock can imperil the soul, but other items or precious stones are permitted'
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.'
Nt'akhaadira/ 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
Hasani/ waletetelele waanawe/ zoombo/ kokaatoli. 'Hasani brings his children things, toys.'
Saydi/ huteleza waant'u/ kana/ jokaatoli/ lila/ ba/ ha'ambili/ waant'u. 'Saydi

plays with people like toys, truth he never tells people.’

- jornaale** (*Ø, ma-*) n. 9/10, 6 [Ital. *giornale*] newspaper; pl: **jornaale** or **majornaale**
jornale izi ‘these newspapers’
majornaale aya ‘these newspapers’
Majornaale/ yachilawa ka shŕtalyaani. ‘Newspapers used to come out in Italian.’
Omari/ hupeenda/ khsoma majornaale. ‘Omari likes to read newspapers.’
Zamaani/ nt^hasa ya istikhlaali/ Mkhodiisho/ schilawa/ jornaale/ ka shŕtalyaani.
‘During old times before independence, in Mogadishu newspapers were coming out in Italian.’
- jowri** n. or adj. [Sw. *jeuri* SSED 153] arrogant; arrogance; outrage
khfanya jowri ‘to act arrogantly’
Muunt^hu/ 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.
Omari/ jawaabuze/ nza jowri/ husuŕa kujowrisha waant^hu/ jis’iyo/ siwo/ ŕabi’a.
‘Omari his thing (behavior, actions) are (based on) force, he wants to force people to do things, that way of behaving is not good character.’
- joozi** n. [Ar. *jauz* W 148; Som. *jaws*, variant *jows* DSI 340] nutmeg
Haliima/ mgahawawe/ chaahi/ huuzika/ sababu/ hukabila joozi/ chayiini.
‘Haliimu at her restaurant sells very good tea. because she adds **joozi** in the tea.’
- juŕaamu** n. [Sw. *jethamu* SSED 153; Ar. *juŕam* W 117] leprosy
Huhadoowa/ waant^hu/ wanayo juŕaamú/ huja waant^hu/ waant^hu/ huwa fakaŕa. ‘It is said that people who have leprosy eat people, so people used to run from them.’
munt^hu mwenye juŕaamu ‘a leper’
Zamaani/ waant^hu/ wawanayo juŕaamú/ washfanyilizowaa dawa/ heraani/ Jilibu.
‘During old times people with leprosy used to be treated at a camp in Jilib.’
- ku-juŕbata** 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/ namgitaa 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; var. **juhdi**
Mi/ n’akidile khfanyowa kaazi/ ka juhdi. ‘I emphasized working hard.’

- Omari/ tile juhudi/ niingi/ jisaa ye/ kuwaka nuumbaye.** ‘Omari put a lot of effort so that he could build his house.’
- Someele/ ka juhudi/ na daḏaali/ masku/ na muunt^hi.** ‘He studied with effort and trying hard night and day.’
- i-juhudi (ma-)* n. 5/6 a heavy punch (e.g. to the chest that can kill or cause problems to the lungs)
khtila ijuhudi or **majuhudi** ‘to hit hard’
Omari/ shshila shṭana/ na Ali/ mtile ijuhudi. ‘Omari got angry with Ali, he hit him hard.’
Sheekhi/ ha’isi/ kuwa’adabisha waana/ huwatila majuhudi.
‘Sheekhi does not know how to discipline his children, he just hits them hard.’
- juk* ideo.
Shaati/ iyi/ chiguwoche/ chuuma/ juk!/ hachihadi/ takuvaala/ miyaaka/ na miyaakayé. ‘This shirt, its cloth is hard/strong, **juk!** it does not say (i.e. it does not get torn or wornout); you will wear it years and years (lit. years and its years).’
- i-juukhu* n. [Ar. **jūk** "broadcloth" W 146] a coat
Ali/ vete ijuukhu/ ikuluye/ nda waawaye. ‘Ali wore a coat too big for him, it belongs to his father.’
- 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**
- i-juulu* n. tire
Ijulu ya gaari/ itumbishile. ‘The tire of the lorry got punctured.’
- chi-juumba* n. 7/8 dim. of **nuumba** [cf. Sw. **kijumba** SSED 64] small house; nest
We/ kapata chijuumbá/ chaa nyunyi/ wo/ suḷa kiimba. ‘If you could get the nest of (these) birds, they would sing.’
- jumḷa* 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 jumḷa ‘a store where things are sold wholesale’
kula ka jumḷa ‘to buy in whole lots’
kuza ka jumḷa ‘to sell in whole lots’
Omari/ huza zoombo/ jumḷa. ‘Omari sells things at wholesale.’
- ku-jumḷisha* v. [Sw. **jumlisha** “add up, sum up, put all together, in arithm. addition, to add up, tot up” SSED 160] (**jumlishiize**)
variant form:
ku-jimḷisha v. ibid. (**jimlishiize**)
Omari/ jumlishize zoombo/ zotte. ‘Omari has put the things all together in a lot to sell.’ Or, with emphasis on the verb: **Omari/ jumlishiize/ zoombo/ zotte.**
- rel.
ku-jumlishoowa v. pass.
- jundi (O,ma-)* n. [Ar. **jundī** W140] group, army of soldiers
Jundi/ mbili/ zinakubiganoo zita/ ya Soomaaliya/ na Amhaará. ‘Two groups of soldiers are fighting, Somali (soldiers) and Ethiopian (soldiers).’
Jundi/ ya Soomaaliya/ ishiinzile/ zita/ za Itoopiya/ mwaaka/ wa sab’inaa

saba. ‘Somali soldiers won the fight against Ethiopia in the battle of the year (19)77.’

i-jungujuungu

n. tortoise

Omari/ hadiile/ Ali/ hiineendra/ ka tartiibu/ kana/ ijuungujuungu/ ha'ikhadiroowi/ kurashmanowa naaye. ‘Omari said Ali walks slowly like turtle, one cannot walk along with him (lit. follow together with him).’

i-juuniya (ma-)

n. 5/6 [Sw. *gunia* "sack" SSED 120; Hind.] sack used for anything (grain, cement, charcoal, etc.).

Haliima/ (ni) 'mzito/ kana ijuuniya. ‘Haliima is as heavy as a sack.’ Or: **Haliima/ (ni) 'mzito/ 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

Ali/ jawabu zaa ye/ hukoodó/ nza mandalavi/ hatá/ muunt^hu/ hujunuunata. ‘The things that Ali talks are nonsense, one even gets mad.’

rel.

ku-junuunisha v. caus. (**jununishiize**)

juuq

ideo.

Omari/ nakuvunangaa nkhele/ Hamadi/ mameele/ tu/ juuq!/ nt^hakuhada. ‘Omari is shouting, Hamadi just kept quiet. **Juuq!** He did not say anything.’

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 stoshe hujuuza [st.] ‘do not think that it is permitted to jump and sing loudly’

mulo na maayi na muu 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 koshoowa 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’

Omari/ hanahili/ waant^hu/ hupeenda/ kujuza waant^hu/ tu. ‘Omari does not feel empathy for people, he just likes to reproach/find fault/ rub it in.’

Sharafu iyi/ hayimjuuzi. ‘This honor/respect is not fitting for him.’

Sheekhi/ hadiile/ Nuuru/ humjuuza/ gaariye/ kuvuundika/ sababu/

halangali/ gaariye. ‘Sheekhi said that Nuuru deserves for his car to break down, because he does not look after his car.’

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 longer 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^hú/ 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.'

Kawa wa'oloshelé/ suḷa kuwa wawaweené. 'If they had gone, they would have seen them.'

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'

Mi/ nk^hawa mbaliko mwaalimú. 'If I had been a teacher.' Or: **Mi/ kawa mbaliko mwaalimú.**

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 ḷiḷa/ koði za waawe/ nk^halala ndrani ya ḷogaani/ suḷa kuwa nfiilé. 'They were true, the words of my father, if I had slept in the valley, I would have died.'

Nk^ha'endrá/ suḷa mwona. 'If I went, I would see him.'

Nk^ha'endra kaaké/ suḷa mwona. 'If I went to his place, I would see him.'

Nk^ha'endra kaaké/ yaná/ suḷa 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' (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 gaari/ 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/ suḷa 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/ suḷa kuwa nimdirshilé. 'If I had run, I would have reached him.'
Nk^hawa noloshele kaaké/ arabiyá/ suḷa kuwa nimweené. 'If I had gone to his place on Wednesday, I would have seen him.'
Nk^hawa noloshelé/ suḷa 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/ kateza na Saalimú/ sukhuuní 'if Nuuru had played in the market with Saalimu' (Locating **sukhuuni** immediately after the verb does not change the scope of the final accent in the *ka* tense: **Nuuru/ kateza sukhuuní/ na Saalimú.**)
Omari/ kawawona wana awá/ miimba/ suḷa mwaaka. 'If Omari had seen these children, his stomach would have burned – i.e. he would have been filled with pity, sadness etc.' (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..')

(We/) **kawa oloshelé/ suḷa kuwa waweené.** 'If you had gone, you would have seen them.'

(Ye/) **kawa oloshelé/ suḷa kuwa waweene.** 'If he had gone, he would have seen them.'

We/ **kaayá/ festaani/ suḷa kumbona/ mi.** 'If you had come to the party, you would have seen me.'

ka ideo. of breaking
Hamadi/ vnzile chiti cha Omari/ ka ka ka ká. 'Hamadi broke Omari's stick **ka ka ka ká.**'
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/ fakeṭe ka Jaama. 'Ali ran towards Jaama, to Jaama's place.'
Chendra ka sulṭaani/ 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 Faatima. 'He brought a letter to Faatima (or to Faatima's place).' (In order to make it unambiguously the place rather than the person, one can say: **Leselee khatí/ ka Faatima nuumbani.** 'He brought the letter to Faatima's house.')

Mp^hetee khatí/ ka mwaaná. 'I got a letter from the child.' (Cf. the relative clause: **mwana waa mi/ mp^hetee 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')

Mwana/ tinzilee nama/ kaa chisu. 'The child cut the meat with a knife.'

Mwanaamke/ choondroka/ chendra ka waawaye/ sulṭaani/ 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.’
Sulṭaani/ shfurahika/ nt^ho/ ka ushujaa’a/ wa Hasani. ‘The sultan became very happy with the courage of Hasani.’
Waliko chiwasayda ka khtukula skunyi. ‘He was helping them by carrying firewood.’

Ka Booleeti 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 Booleeti** (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 Kamooḷe n. (alternatively, **Ka Komooḷe**) 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 Kamooḷe** (or **Komooḷe**), from the owner’s name, Mr. Camogli

ka khisa because, for the reason
 review phrasing of ka khisa

Baaba/ chiskiṭika 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.’
Hamadi/ lazile/ ka khisa/ Omari/ mṭaanzile. ‘Hamadi left because Omari insulted him.’
Hamadi/ lazile/ ka khisa/ ye/ sulile kumziyarata mweenzawe. ‘Hamadi left because he wanted to visit his friend.’
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 faṭuurá.** ‘Why did Huseeni not buy the car?’ Other possible answers to this question: **Ka khisa/ faṭuura/ 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 mwaana/ olosheló. ‘Muusa *knows* why the child left.’
Mwambiile/ siwo/ ka khisa/ jis’iyo. ‘She told him: it is not because of that (lit. it is not because of that way).’
Ndrzile na ¹mapeemá/ ka khisa/ safari. ‘I got up *early* for the journey.’
Oloshelē sukhuuni/ ka khisa/ kulaa nama. ‘He went to the market in order to buy meat.’
Sulṭani ḍaalimu/ shkhubala/ ka khisa/ na’iwa/ kuwa mgarwa/ hakhaadiri/ 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**
Ali/ ile ka khisani. ‘Why did Ali come?’ (Cf. **We/ ile ka khisaní.** ‘Why did you come?’) (If **ka khsani** is preposed to the beginning of the sentence, it triggers

pseudo-relativization: **Ka khisani/ Ali/ iló.** ‘Why did Ali come?’
Ali/ ka khisani/ nt^hakuuyá. ‘Why didn’t Ali come?’ (In this example, the question word is pre-verbal and triggers pseudo-relativization of the verb. In the case of a negative verb, pseudo-relativization is manifested only by the final accent that the verb triggers.)
Ali/ nt^hakuya ka khisani. ‘Why didn’t Ali come?’ (In the default situation, a negative verb would be focused and thus final in the phonological phrase. However, the question word *ka khisani* is focused, rendering the verb no longer focused. Thus the negative verb phrases with the following question word. In this phrase-medial position **nt^h-a-kúu-ya**) loses both its vowel length and accent.)
Ali/ nt^hakuuya/ ka khisani. ‘Ali didn’t come, why?’ (In this example, we are dealing with a statement ‘Ali didn’t come’ and then a query: ‘why (is that)?’)
Ka khisani/ Ali/ mbishilo mwaaná. ‘Why did Ali hit the child?’
Ka khisani/ Hasani/ uzilo garii mp^hiyá. ‘Why did Hasani buy a new car?’ Or: **Ka khisani/ Hasani/ uziló/ garii mp^hiyá.** (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 numbaani.** Or: **Numbaani/ ka khisani/ nt^hakiingilá.** (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 numbaani/ 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 khisani. ‘I am being beaten for what reason?’
Mub^hjiwe/ chimwaambila/ we/ ni laazima/ kunaambila/ naku^hla ka khisani. ‘Her husband said to her: you must tell me why you are crying.’
Mwanaamke/ chimwaambila/ ka khisani.
Mwaanawá/ naku^hla 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?’ (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/ mbishile ka khisani/ mwaana. ‘Why did you hit the child?’ (In this example, *ka khisani* is located between the verb and its primary object. It phrases with the verb and receives the final accent that the verb triggers. However, *ka khisani* is inherently focused and thus the final accent from the verb cannot extend past it, given the Accentual Law of Focus. By locating *ka khisani* after the primary object, we can get the final accent to extend across the VP: **We/ mbishile mwaaná/ ka khisani.** This word order, however, does not appear to be normal.)
We/ naku^hla ka khisani/ isa. ‘Why are you crying now?’ **review**
Wo/ ku^hla/ mara/ humsu’alaata/ 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 kote

everywhere, anywhere, anyplace

Tuuma/ mereje siindanu/ ka kote/ 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 waant^hu/ dawa/ ka buure. At Ka Mabaadiri people are given medicine for free.'

Ka Mabaadiri/ iwashiya 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 Naji**.

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 **mawliidi** (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 **dikiri** 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 Hamadi/ 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 sharti khtufoowa [st.] ‘it is obligatory for the **Ka’ba** to be gone around seven times’ (In Chimiini, the ordinary pronunciation of the noun **Ka’aba** is for there to be a vowel between the glottal stop and the following consonant. This vowel is not present in the Arabic source. However, in this line from a **shteenzi**, the line must have eleven syllables, hence the use of the shape **Ka’ba** as opposed to **Ka’aba**.)

Ká’aba/ asliye/ iwashila/ na mtume Ibraahimu. ‘the **Ka’aba** originally was built by the prophet Abraham’

Ká’aba/ yikoo Maka. ‘The **Ka’aba** is in Mecca.’

ka’uta

in the phrase: **-teza ka’uta**, someone who does whatever he wants; a spoiled brat, someone who gets whatever he wants

Mteza ka’uta/ hula. ‘The one who takes risks cries.’ (A proverb.)

Muunt’u/ sheteza ka’uta/ shlowelowa taakha/ huwona yaake. ‘If a person takes risks and cannot be managed, he sees his (i.e. he will get what he deserves for being so reckless).’

Numbaani/ ka Hamadi/ yikusila/ inakhtezowa ka’uta/ laakini/ sku mooyi/ itakhshalayatoowa. ‘At Hamadi’s house (lit.) there is being satisfied (i.e. the family there has everything they could want), there is living dangerously (i.e. the members of the family are behaving recklessly, as the children of the rich sometimes do); but one day there will be repentance.’

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 wilaaya/ kabaa mbili. ‘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 haba/ huyeza shkaba. ‘Little and little fills the **shkaba**.’ (A proverb.)

kaaba

n. 9/10 front, opened part of the **haanzu** (This word was not known to GM or those he consulted.)

kabaaba

n. 9/10 kebab

Mgahawaanu/ ka Abu wa Rasuulu/ ichuzowa rooti/ ka kabaaba. ‘At the restaurant of Abu wa Rasuulu bread with kebab was sold.’ (The restaurant referred to was a well-known restaurant in Brava. Remember, references to people and places are generally with regards to pre-war Brava. The present situation in Brava is mostly unreflected in our examples.)

Mgahawaani/ ka Faqi/ fijiri/ khuraa'a/ hujowa maandra/ ka kabaaba/ na maftá. 'At the restaurant of Faqi during morning breakfast it is eaten bread with kebab and oil.'

kabaliyeeri

n. waiter; var. **kamaliyeeri** n. ibid.
kamaliyeri uu 'this waiter'; **kamaliyeri awa** 'these waiters'
Omari/ ni kamaliyeeri. 'Omari is a waiter.'
Sheekhi/ waliko kabaliyeeri/ mgahawaani/ ka Sa'iidi. 'Sheekhi was a waiter at Saiidi's restaurant.'

kaabaari

n. 9/10 wedge of wood used to split logs (This word is not known to GM.)
rel.
i-kaabaari (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.

kaabaati

n. 5/6 [Sw. **kabati** SSED 63; Eng. **cupboard**] cupboard
Haliima/ nakhtilaa nguwo/ za waanawe/ karka kaabaati. 'Haliima is putting the clothes of her children in the cupboard.'
kabati chigobe 'a short cupboard'
kabaati ndre 'a long cupboard'
kabaati ya chuuma or **kaabaati/ ya chuuma** 'an iron cupboard'
kabaati yaa mbawo or **kaabaati/ yaa mbawo** 'a wooden cupboard'
kabaatiini 'in the cupboard'
Mismaari/ yamo kabaatiini. 'The nails are in the cupboard.' Or: **Mismaari/ yamo karka kaabaati.**
Mubaji/ chimwaambila/ mukeewe/ kumletela tubaaku/ ka kabaatiini. 'The man told his wife to bring the tobacco from the cupboard.'
Muusa/ ishkizize chibuuku/ ka kabaatiini. 'Muusa took a book down from the top of the cupboard.'
Nguwo/ zimo kabaatiini. 'The clothes are in the cupboard.'
rel.
i-kaabaati (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.

kabeebe

n. [Som. **kabeebey** "very popular traditional Somali dance" DSI 354] a kind of dance
Leelo/ masku/ yiko kabeebe/ ka Daada/ Masiiti/ ziyaraani. 'Tonight there is a **kabeebe** at the Daada Masiiti religious celebration.'
Maizezo ya kabeebe/ hutezowa makiindri. 'The **kabeebe** game is played by pelvic shaking.'

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!'
Haliima/ mgahawawe/ chaahi/ huuzika/ sababu/ hukabila joozi/ chayiini. 'Haliimu at her restaurant sells very good tea, because she adds **joozi** in the tea.'
khkabilaa munu '(lit.) add salt – spice up, make more appealing'
Omari/ mkali/ khkabilaa munu/ kooði. 'Omari is good at adding salt to (his) talking (adding words that make what he is saying appear, seem more interesting, appealing).'
khkabila 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/ koði izo. 'Haliima is embellishing (the truth) in those words.'
Naank^hó/ chimkabila mali miingi/ miingine. 'Again, he gave him [lit. added 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.’

Muunt^hu/ shkookha/ hukabilowaa muke. ‘If a man becomes sexually active, he should be added/ given a wife.’ (A proverb.)

kabisa

adv. [Sw. *kabisa* SSED 164] at all; [pron. **kabisá**]

Dakhtari/ siwo/ waaðehe/ kabisá/ kaake/ ni ka khisani/ Baazi/ haaliye/ nt^ha’ina kuwa suurá. ‘The doctor is not at all clear as to why Baazi’s condition is not improving.’

Fanyize kaazi/ kabisá. ‘I worked a lot.’ (In this example from GM, the first person singular nasal subject marker is elided in front of a voiceless obstruent, thus it is only the final accent that indicates the subject. Even then, the sentence could also mean ‘you worked a lot’ since the null second person subject marker also triggers final accent. MI, on the other hand, retains the nasal subject marker in a case like this.)

Ize kabisá/ kooloka. ‘He refused to go at all.’

Kabisá/ wo/ hawapeendani. ‘They do not like each other at all.’

Mi/ nda’ile kuwaa mi/ ni munt^hu msuurá/ kabisá/ ya kazi iyó. ‘I claimed to be the best person for the job.’

Mlaango/ ufuunzila/ kabisá. ‘The door is completely closed.’

Naayé/ weele/ mapsuuti/ kabisá. ‘And he was very pleased.’

Nize kabisá/ kuja. ‘I refused to eat anything at all.’ [review](#)

Omari/ ink^hiriile/ kabisá/ kuwaa ye/ mwene Abú. ‘Omari strongly denied that he had seen Abu.’

Simpé/ kabisá/ maamala/ tu. ‘Don’t give him it, just be quiet!’

Simpeendi/ kabisá. ‘I do not like him at all.’

Zoombo/ zaa mi/ nt^heeetó/ ni zizito/ kabisá. ‘The things which I took are very heavy.’ (In GM’s speech, the first person singular subject marker is elided in front of voiceless consonants and thus does not aspirate an initial voiceless stop. The pronunciation in this example is thus [teetó].)

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)

Ma’askari/ huwala kabooti/ masku/ yaa wo/ hingilo waardiyá/ kurebela bardi. ‘Soldiers wear coats in the nights when they are on guard to keep warm (lit. repel the cold).’

kaða wa kaða

adv. [Sw. *kadha wa kadha* SSED 165] a lot; thus and thus; this and that

Kooði/ kaða wa kaða/ haziinfi/ muunt^hu/ suura/ khkoða koði mooyi.

‘Talk [that skips from] this to that is not useful, it is better for one to speak on one thing at a time.’

Tomele peesa/ kaða wa kaða. ‘He paid a lot of money.’

kaðaalika

adv. [Sw. *kadhalika* SSED 164] similarly, in like manner, likewise, also, further, moreover

Chimaliza/ peleshela chiwandraani, kubarata khfula ðahabu/, na fedá;/ kaðaalika/ 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.’

Khkalantha khuwelele izigo/ iluyo/ skhaadiri/ na khchiimbilá/ skhaadiri/ kaðaalika. ‘I cannot stay and be a burden on you nor can I flee from you either.’

kh-kaðiba

v. (cf. *kh-kiðiba*) (*kaðibiile*) deny

Hasani/ mkaðibile Omari/ kooðiye/ hadiile/ Omari/ ni maafakhi. or kaaðibu ‘Hasan has denied what Omari said; he said: Omari is a liar.’

rel.

kh-kaðibisha v. caus. deny

Wazuungu/ wachiwakaðibisha mitume. ‘The infidels used to call the prophets liars (denying the truth of their words).’

kh-kaðiboowa v. pass. be denied, called a liar

Huseeni/ jawaabu/ yaa ye/ hadiiló/ ka tarafu ya Ahmadi/ kuwa ni mwiizi/ kaðibiila/ na waant^hu/ wont^he. ‘Huseeni, the thing that he said concerning Ahmadi, that he was a thief, has been denied by all people.’

Muunt^hu/ khkaðiboowa/ bilaa sababu/ siwo/ suura/ chiint^hu/ husulowa kuyakhinishoowa. ‘For a person to be called a liar without reason is not good, something should be made sure of (before being expressed etc.).’

kaðibo

n. denial

kaaðibu (ma-)

adj. one who lies; n. 5/6 a liar

Mi/ takuwa kaaðibu/ kanaa mi/ chi’ink^hira/ kuwaa si/ chiwanayo baashaali/ niingi. ‘I would be a liar if I denied that we had a lot of fun.’

Omari/ ni kaaðibu. ‘Omari is a liar.’

Omari/ ni kaaðibu/ mkulu/ lila/ hakooði/ ba. ‘Omaari is a big liar, he never speaks truthfully.’

Wo/ ni makaaðibu. ‘They are liars.’

kaðiido

n. 9/10 fever, stroke, malaria

Chijike chizeele/ icho/ shkasizopo kuwa uko sul^htaani/ huvilowa Hashiindriki/ shchishikowa kaðiido/ ya khsula kumwona/ sul^htaani/ 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 kaðiido. ‘He began to have a fever.’

Kaðiido iyi/ imshishilee yana. ‘The fever caught him yesterday.’

khshikowa kaðiido ‘to have a fever’

Yana/ masku/ Haliima/ mwaanawe/ shishiila kaðiido/ shkolola. ‘Last night Haliima’s child had fever, (s)he was coughing.’

mwaana/ chiwanayo kaðiido ‘if a child has a fever’

rel.

mi-kaðiido 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

hachila^{ti} 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 may^{ti}. ‘A shroud is not sought after from a dead man.’ (A proverb, suggesting that one does not go to a poor man for help.)

May^{ti}/ nt^hasa ya kuzikoowa/ hoshoowa/ hutilowa kafani. ‘The corpse before burying is washed and is put in a *kafani*.’

- kafaara** (*ma-*) n. 5/6 [Sw. *kafara* SSED 165] religious sacrifice, offering
kafaara sfaanye shuruuti [song] ‘don’t resort to offerings’
kafaara we takuziwo [song] ‘it is you who will conceal the offering’
kh̄tinda kafaara ‘to slaughter an animal as a sacrifice’
kh̄tomola kafaara ‘to perform a religious sacrifice, make an offering of money’
Is̄laamu/ chiza kh̄fulisha ah̄di/ hum̄lazima kh̄tomola kafaara. ‘A Muslim if he breaks a promise, it becomes a must for him to pay kafaara.’
sina taakha ya kaafara [song] ‘I have no means to make an offering’
- kafe** n. coffee; [pron. **kafé**]
Omari/ haani/ kafé. [HH!!H] ‘Omari does not drink coffee.’
- kafelaate** n. [Fr. *café au lait*] coffee with milk (more milk than coffee)
Mgahawa wa Kafe Naziyonaale/ Mkhodiisho/ zamaani/ ichuzowa kafelaate. ‘At the restaurant Cafe Naziyonaale in Mogadisho in olden times coffee au lait was sold.’
- 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)
kh̄u’ink’iwo ni kaafiri/ nt’ana imaani shaahiri [poem] ‘whoever rejects you is an unbeliever who lacks true faith’
Makaafiri/ ni ah̄lū naari/ hingila aḏabuuni. ‘Infidels, those who do not follow God’s commandments, are the people of hellfire, they go to hell.’
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.)
takuwaara muḷooni kuḷa kaafiri [st.] ‘he will be in hell forever every infidel’
- i-kafiri 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
- kaflehe** interj. expression of disgust, disapproval
- kaflehe** adj. shameless; someone not embarrassed by anything that he does
Munt’u uyu/ ni kaflehe. ‘This man is shameless.’
Ni munt’u kaflehe/ 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.)
Ni want’u kaflehe. ‘They are shameless people.’
- kaftani** n. joking
Kaftani 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-kagata** v. (**kageete**) become hard, dried up, stiff (as a corpse); shrivel, wither (of flowers, e.g.) **Ishaka iyi/ ikageete/ ka sababu/ mayi la’aani.** ‘This tree is withered/dried/hardened because of lack of water.’ **Maandra/ izi/ skalenthe niingi/ haṭá/ skageete.** ‘This (lit. these) bread stayed for too long, it became dry/hard.’ **Mayṭi ya Nuuru/ ikageete ka iwa.** ‘Nuuru’s corpse became dried up by the sun.’ rel. **kh-kagisha** v. caus. make hard, stiff
- kah(a)fi** n. 9/0 cave **As.haabu/ alkahfi/ wawaalimo/ karka kahfi/ miyaaka/ alfu.** ‘The companions of the cave were inside a cave for one thousand years.’ **suura/ ya kahfi** ‘the *suura* of the cave; the *suura* in the Quran that tells the story of the *as.haabu/ alkahfi* ‘the companions of the cave’ **Suura/ ya kahfi/ ni suura/ hukooḍa tarafu/ ya waant^hu/ wa’ingilo itundruuní** (or: **karka ituundrú/ waleeló/ miyaaka/ alfu.** ‘The *suura* of the cave is a *suura* (of the Quran). It speaks concerning the people who entered into a cave (and) slept (there) for a thousand years.’ (This example is of some interest as in Chimiini, a true relative verb triggers a final accent that extends to the end of the verb phrase that the relative verb heads. In the present example, we see that it is possible for a time adverbial like **miyaaka/ alfu** ‘a thousand years’ to fall outside the scope of the final accent of the relative verb, at least in the case where this verb is emphasized and thus at the end of a phonological phrase.) rel. **alkahfi** n. [Ar.] **As.haabu/ alkahfi/ wawaalimo/ itundruuni/ miyaaka/ alfu.** ‘The companions of the cave (in Christian mythology known as the “Seven Sleepers of Ephesus”) were in the cave for a thousand years.’ **as.habu/ kahfi** n. [Ar.] companions of the cave **As.habu/ kahfi/ wawaaliko/ ni waant^hu/ adadi yaawo/ saha/ hayisoowi.** ‘The companions of the cave were people whose whose number is not exactly known.’
- kah(a)fi (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 **mshaaḍara**) **Kofiya iyi/ nakhshi ya kahfi/ suura.** ‘This skullcap, the design of its *kahfi*, is good.’ **Nakhshi/ za kahfi/ Miini/ schifanyoowa/ ka wa kohaṭimu.** ‘The designs of *kahfi* in Miini were made (in the homes) of the Hatimi.’
- kh-kahata** v. (**kaheete**) hate, dislike **Hafsa/ hukahata mwaanawe/ kubigoowa.** ‘Hafsa hates for her child to be beaten (by anyone).’ Cf. **Hafsa/ hukahata kumbiga mwaanawe.** ‘Nuuru hates to beat her child.’ **Hukahata/ kumulila Omari/ chiint^hu.** ‘(I) hate to buy something for Omari.’ **Ibraahimu/ hukahatani.** ‘What does Ibraahimu hate/ dislike? (A possible answer: **Ibraahimu/ hukahata Faatma/ koloka** (or: **kuḷawa) ka hima.** ‘Ibraahimu dislikes Faatma’s leaving early/ quickly.’) **Ibraahimu / kaheete zibuku izi/ khsomoowa.** ‘Ibraahimu hated for these books to be read.’ **Jaama/ hukahatani.** ‘What does Jaama dislike?’ **Jaama/ hukahatani/ nt^ho.** ‘What does Jaama hate most?’ **Jaama/ nakhkahatani/ nt^ho.** ‘What does Jaama hate most?’ **Khadija / hukahatani.** ‘What does Khadija dislike?’ **Mi/ hukahata kinenza masku.** ‘I hate to drive at night.’ **Mi/ hukahata kinenza nvulaani.** ‘I hate driving in the rain.’

Mi/ hukahaṭa/ ku'insha maduriini. 'I hate living in the bush.'

Mi/ hukahaṭa/ kuwaa mi/ nshikamene na muke mo/ tu. 'I hate being tied down to one woman.'

Mi/ hukahaṭa/ Muusa/ kun'ink'hira. 'I hate for Muusa to ignore me.'

Mi/ hukahaṭa/ Nuuru/ kendra skolaani. 'I hate for Nuuru to go to school.'

Mi/ hukahaṭa Nuuru/ kurashmanyana na Hasani. 'I hate for Nuuru to go with Hasani.' Or with focus on the main verb: **Mi/ hukahaṭa/ Nuuru/ kurashmanyana na Hasani.**

Mi/ humkahaṭa Ghazaali. 'I hate Ghazaali.' Or with focus on the verb: **Mi/ humkahaṭa/ Ghazaali.** (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'ahete kooloká. 'I hated going.'

Mi/ simkahaṭi/ ye/ ka chiza kunaamina/ mi. 'I do not hate him for not believing me.'

Muyiini/ want^hu/ wamkaheete/ na kiḷa chimwonó/ chintuusha/ nakumtelezá/ 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.'

Nakhkahaṭaa mi/ neendre. 'He dislikes that I go.'

Nuuru/ hiskahaṭa kizisonga mbwa izi. 'Nuuru hates them to go near these dogs.' (It is interesting to notice that the main verb and the infinitival complement are marked with an object marker in agreement with the plural noun *mbwa*. It is noteworthy that MI did not accept a sentence like ***Nuuru/ hiskahaṭa mbwa izi/ kizisoonga**. He did accept: **Nuuru/ hukahaṭa mbwa izi/ khsongoowa**. 'Nuuru hates for these dogs to be approached.' However, in this sentence he did not accept the main verb to have an object marker agreeing with *mbwa*: **Nuuru/ hiskahaṭa mbwa izi/ khsongoowa**.)

Nuuru/ hukahaṭa kumsonga mbwa uyu. 'Nuuru hates to go near this dog.'

Nuuru/ wakaheetó/ wana wa Omari. 'It is Nuuru who hates Omari's children.'

Omari/ hukahaṭa wanaafakhi. 'Omari hates lies.' Or: **Omari/ hukahaṭa/ wanaafakhi.** 'Omari *hates* lies.'

Omari/ hukahaṭa wanaafakhi/ so. 'Omari hates lies, doesn't he? Does Omari hate lies (I have some reason for thinking he does)?' (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.' (The yes-no question version of this sentence involves just Q-raising: **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)?'

Simkahaṭé/ muunt^hu/ chikhambila liḷa. 'Don't hate someone when he tells you the truth.' (A proverb.)

Sink'ahaṭé/ nt'asa yaa we/ kuniwa. 'Do not hate me before you know me.' (A translation of a Somali proverb.)

Waant^hu/ wa'anzize kumkahaṭa. 'People began to hate him.'

Ye/ hukahaṭa/ koshaa nguwo. She hates washing clothes.

Ye/ hukahaṭa Nuuru/ khfanyaa nk^heḷe. 'He dislikes Nuuru making noise.'

Ye/ nakhkahaṭa kuwa Faatma/ hakhaadiri. 'He hates that Faatma is sick.'

rel.

kh-kahaṭana v. rec. hate each other

kh-kahaṭanoowa v. rec. pass.

kh-kahaṭika v. p/s.

kh-kahaṭila v. appl. (*kahaṭiliile*) hate for s.t. to happen; reason for hating

Mi/ khukahaṭiliile we/ khtuluka imtihaani. 'I hate for you to fail the examination.'

Naambila/ we/ namkahaṭilani. 'Tell me, why do you hate him?'

Nnamkahaṭila kurashmanyana na munt^hu uyu. 'I hate for him to be associated with this man.'

kh-kahaṭisha v. caus. cause to hate

Ji/ mkahaṭishize mwaana/ waant^hu. ‘Ji caused the child to hate people.’ (It is also possible to omit the overt causee: **Ji/ mkahaṭishize 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/ kahaṭishize waant^hu.** Nor is it possible to say: ***Ji/ mkahaṭishize 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.)

Nkahaṭishize waant^hu/ wote. ‘He made me hate everyone.’ (One can also use the periphrastic construction: **Nṭile khkahaṭa waant^hu/ wote.** ‘He made me hate everyone (lit. instilled in me to hate everyone).’ Cf. **Watile waant^hu/ kunk^haṭa.** ‘He made people hate me.’)

kh-kahaṭishika v. caus. p/s.

kh-kahaṭishiliza v. caus. appl.

kh-kahaṭishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-kahaṭoowa v. pass.

Abunawaasi/ shkahaṭoowa/ 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/ hukahaṭoowa/ ndiyé/ tu/ uko numbaani. ‘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/ skahaṭa 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/ skahaṭa na waant^hu/ wote. ‘These fish are hated by everyone.’

Qanuni iyi/ hukahaṭowa naami. ‘This custom is hated by me.’

Wana wa Omari/ wakaheṭa/ na Nuuru. ‘Omari’s children are hated by Nuuru.’

rel. nom.

ma-kahaṭano n. 6

Izi/ zote/ hazileeti/ shokuwa makahaṭano/ na ziwovú/ na mara niingi/ huba’idisha want^hu wa nt^hi mooyi/ na huziida/ ufisqi/ ufasaadi/ 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 haraaris ‘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/ mpheeló ‘the coffee that you gave me’

khtila kahawa ‘to pour coffee’; also: **khtilila kahawa, khntililowa kahawa,**

khtilika kahawa

Haliima/ namtilila waawaye/ kahawa/ ka suukari. ‘Haliima is pouring coffee with sugar for her father.’

Tarmusi iyi/ ha’itiliki/ kahawa/ huvuuya/ yimo nt^huundru. ‘One cannot pour coffee into this thermos, it is leaking, it has a hole in it.’

- Wazeele/ wanakhtililowa kahawa/ ya tangawiizi/ kunelelaa buru. ‘Elders are being poured for “ginger coffee” to drink with donuts.’
- Mi/ naami/ noloshele ka mwaarabu/ oyo/ laakini/ mi/ nnele kahawa.** ‘I too went to that Arab but I drank coffee.’
- Nuuru/ nele kahawa/ na Muusa/ chaayi.** ‘Nuuru drank coffee and Muusa tea.’
- Omari/ haani/ kahawa.** [HH!!H] ‘Omari does not drink coffee.’ (If one wants to put emphasis on the complement *kahawa*, it can be preposed: **Hamadi/ kahawa/ haani.** [HH!!H] ‘Hamadi coffee does not drink.’ Notice that when *kahawa* is in post-verbal position, the negative verb is not downstepped. But when *kahawa* is preposed, the negative verb is radically downstepped. This emphasis on *kahawa* does not constitute focus on the complement. Focus would be expressed as follows: **Omari/ hani kahawa.** [H!H] ‘Hamadi does not drink coffee.’ Here, there is no phrasal break between the negative verb and the complement.)
- Omari/ haani/ kahawa.** [↑H!H!!H] ‘Omari does not drink coffee.’ (Notice that this sentence differs from the initial sentence in the preceding data set just in intonation. Emphasis is placed on the subject by pitch raising; this raising means that the following verb must drop in pitch. The complement to the negative verb still shows radical downstep.)
- Omari/ haani/ kahawa/ masku.** [HH!H!!H] ‘Omari does not drink coffee at night.’ (The simple yes-no question version of this: **Omari/ haani/ kahawa/ maskú?**)
- Omari/ haani/ kahawa/ masku.** [↑H!H!!H!H] ‘Omari does not drink coffee at night.’
- Omari/ kahawa/ haani/ masku.** [HH!H!!H] ‘Omari coffee does not drink at night.’
- Omari/ masku/ haani/ kahawa.** [HH!H!!H] ‘Omari at night does not drink coffee.’
- shkombe cha kahawa** ‘a cup of coffee’
- Sultaani/ mukhtaa ye/ malizo kubigoowa/ oyo/ mwaarabu/ chimuza/ ndo/ nakhsuulá/ kuna kahawa.** ‘The king, when he was finished being beaten, that Arab asked him: come, do you want to drink coffee?’
- Sultaani/ mwenopo mgarwa/ chimweegasha/ chimpa kahawa/ kuna.** ‘When the sultan saw the fisherman, he welcomed him and gave him coffee to drink.’
- Wanele kahawa.** ‘They drank coffee.’

kaahini (ma-)

- n. [Sw. *kahini* SSED 166; Ar.] rabbi, soothsayer, deceiver
- Ka khisa/ mi/ nimvilile kaahini/ kundrangalila/ mahala we/ zimiiló.** ‘Because I called a soothsayer to look for the place where you were hidden.’
- Oyo sulaaani/ chimvii/ kaahini/ mooyi/ chimwaambila/ mi/ nnakhsuulaa we/ kundrangalila/ kuniwila/ maha/ 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’
- 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.’
- Hamadi/ makajiniye/ miingi.** ‘Hamadi, his talking about people in an indirect manner is a lot.’

kaaka

- to my place, at my; for, to 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/ nt^haku/ chint^hu chizito. ‘For me there is nothing difficult.’

Mi/ hutosha/ kuwaa ye/ waliko kaalme/ nk^hulu/ kaaka. ‘I think he was a big help to me.’

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.** (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 naami/ 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 yiitu/ 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.’

Kakamoole

n. the location of the factory where shoes were made in Brava, now no longer active

Warshada/ ya zilaatu/ ya Kakamoole/ want^hu/ washfanya kaazi/ kana/ makiina. ‘(In) the shoe industry, factory of Kakamoole, people worked like a machine.’

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/ wanakhhkakanyika 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/ wanakhhkakanyika 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.’

i-kakasi

n. a metal jar

variant: *mkakasi*

Haliima/ tile makashaṭa/ na zinaazi/ mkakasiini. ‘Halima put *makashaṭa* and *zinaazi* in the metal jar.’

kaake

at or to his/her/its (place), for, to, from him/her

Ali/ simeme lwavuuni/ kaake. ‘Ali stood at his side.’

Baduwi/ chilawa/ koloka kaake. ‘The nomad left to go to his place.’

Chimaliza/ mwaana/ chingila mṭanaani/ kaake/ shfuunga/ mlaangowe. ‘Then the boy went into his room and closed its 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.**

Fakeṭe mṭanaani/ kaake. ‘He ran into his room.’

gari ya Ali/ simemo lwavuuni/ kaaké ‘the car that Ali stood at its side’

muke waa ye/ andishiloo khaṭi/ kaaké ‘the woman whom he wrote a letter to (her)’ (cf. **muke waa ye/ andishiloo khaṭi/ kaaké/ 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 khaṭi/ kaaké ‘the woman to whom he brought a letter’ (cf.

muke waa ye/ leseloo khaṭi/ kaaké/ numbaani ‘the woman whom he brought a letter to her house’.)

Muunt^hu/ chiint^hu/ hulangaḷa ka kaake. ‘A man discovers things from his home.’ (A proverb.)

Mwaalimu/ khaṭi iyi/ ilazile (ka) kaake. ‘The teacher, this letter came from him.’

Mwaalimu/ khaṭi iyi/ ilazilo (ka) kaaké/ ni mweenzawa. ‘The teacher that this letter came from him is my friend.’ (This construction is preferred over **mwajimu wa khaṭi iyi/ ilazilo (ka) kaaké** ‘the teacher who this letter came from him’.)

Noloshelé/ numbaani/ kaake. ‘I went to his house.’ or: **Noloshelé numbaani/ kaaké.** 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
Chiguwo cha kaaki/ ni chuumu/ hachaatuki/ ka sahali. ‘Khaki cloth is tough, it does not get torn easily.’
Hamadi/ veete/ surwaani/ ya kaaki. ‘Hamadi wore khaki trousers.’ Or: **Hamadi/ vete surwaani/ ya kaaki.**
Omari/ uzile shaati/ kalooraye/ nda kaaki. ‘Omari bought a shirt, its color is of 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.)]
Haliima/ mpele Omari/ lkaaki lmooyi/ kuja. ‘Haliima gave Omari one pancake to eat.’
Haliima/ pishile nk^haaki/ za unga/ wa khamadi. ‘Haliima cooked pancakes made of wheat flour.’

kaako

at or to your (place); for you
Ali/ simeme lwavuuni/ kaako. ‘Ali stood at your side.’
Chibigile teleefono/ si/ chinakhsula khukasá/ kaakó. ‘Telephone us, we want to hear from you.’
Kaako/ ni mahalaamp^hi ‘Where is your place?’
Kaako/ yiikopi. ‘Where is your place?’
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.)
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.** ‘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; squeeze, choke; force s.o. to buy at a high cost; go, leave
Humkala. ‘It chokes him.’
khkala chimargi ‘to choke, strangle someone, *abuse someone*’
Ijini chuuluka/ kumkala Hasani/ chimargi. ‘The djinn jumped and choked Hasani.’
Mkalilo Omari/ chimargi/ ni Huseeni. ‘The one who choked Omari is Huseeni.’
Nimkaliile chimargi. ‘I choked him.’
Nimkaliile mwaaná/ chimargi. ‘I choked the child.’
Omari/ mkalile Sheekhi/ chimargi/ khariibu/ kumubla. ‘Omari choked Sheekhi almost to the point of killing him.’
Waa mi/ nimkaliile chimargi/ ni mwaana. ‘The one whom I choked is the child.’
khkala chita chaa noka ‘to press or stand on a snake’s head – i.e. to do dangerous things and then get hurt’

Muunt^hu/ chiza kuwa tahaðari/ kilaa mara/ chingila ghalta/ akhiriye/ hukala chita chaa noka. ‘If a person is not careful and always makes a mistake, his end is that he steps on a snake’s head (i.e. gets into real trouble, danger).’

khkala (ka) iteke ‘to stamp on, trample with the foot’

Ali/ nk^haliile ka iteke. ‘Ali stepped on me with his foot.’

khkala kaa nguvu ‘to press hard’

khkala ka tartiibu ‘to press softly’

Maandra/ imkaliile mwaana/ (imilo). ‘Bread choked the child (in the throat)

– i.e. the child choked on the bread.’

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. (**kaleene**)

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. (Note that this causative form cannot be used to convey the notion ‘cause someone to choke on s.t.’, thus the unacceptability of a sentence like ***Bakari/ mkalishize mwaana/ maandra/ imilo.** ‘Bakari caused the child to choke on bread.’)

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.

Fikhirini/ mkalize Hamadi/ nguwo/ sandukhuuni. ‘Fikhirini squeezed the clothes into the box for Hamadi.’

kh-kaloowa v. pass. (**kaliila**)

Mwaana/ kalila imilo/ na maandra. ‘The child was choked by bread – i.e. the child choked on bread.’

kh-kaza v. [Sw. *kaza* SED 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 sandukhu/ 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’

Nguwo/ nt^ho/ kaza borsaani. ‘The cloth, very, stuff it into the bag.’

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 borsaaani/ nguwo/ nt^ho. ‘Omari stuffed into the bag the cloth very much.’

Omari/ kazize m̄taana/ majuuniya. ‘Omari filled the room with sacks.’

Or: **Omari/ kazize majuuniya/ m̄tanaani.** ‘Omari packed sacks into the room.’

Omari/ nakhkaza/ ruuhuye/ mnangooni. ‘Omari pushed himself through the door, squeezed himself through the door.’

Omari/ nakhkaza zibuuku/ borsaaani. ‘Omari is stuffing the books into the bag.’ Or: **Omari/ nakhkaza borsaaani/ 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’

Waant^hu/ wakalent^he chit̄iini/ 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 m̄tanaani. ‘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

Ali/ mkazishize m̄waana/ nguwo/ sandukhuuni. ‘Ali caused the child to squeeze the clothes into the box.’

Baana/ kazishize m̄taana/ 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 m̄taana.** Also note that **m̄taana** cannot control an object prefix the verb: ***Baana/ ukazishize m̄taana/ majuuniya.**)

Baana/ nk^hazishize m̄taana/ 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 m̄waana/ m̄taana majuuniya.** The sentence improves if the causee is topicalized: **M̄taana/ Baana/ mkazishize m̄taana/ majuuniya.**)

kh-kazishana v. caus. rec.

kh-kazishika v. caus. p/s.

Mwana uyu/ hakazishiki/ nguwo/ sandukhuuni. ‘This child cannot be made to squeeze clothes into the box.’

Nguwo izi/ haskazishiki/ sandukhuuni. ‘These clothes cannot be made to be squeezed into the box.’

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 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 **m̄taana** is in its locative form: ***Majuuniya/ yakazishiza m̄taana.** Also, it should be noted that **m̄taana** cannot be the subject of the passive verb: ***M̄taana/ ukazishiza majuuniya.**)

kh-kazoowa v. be crammed full

M̄taana/ 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 m̄taana.**)

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-kala (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who tramples
m-kalo n. 3
ma-kalo n. 6
u-kalo n. 14
- kalamiita*** n. [Ital. *calamita*] magnet (though the more traditional term is **chuma cha nk^halaambi** ‘[lit.] iron from lightning’)
- kh-kalana*** v. (**ka^hleene**) be stuck in, onto something, be crammed or squeezed into; squeeze through; be tight on someone (This verb could be considered to be an extended form of *-kala* above, but given the lack of a reciprocal element to its meaning, we have chosen to list it separately.)
- Bangiili/ ink^haleene.** ‘The bracelet is tight on me.’
Chibuuku/ shka^hlene sandukhuuni. ‘The book is stuck in the box.’
khka^hlana matotopeeni ‘to be stuck in the mud’
Kuulu/ ink^halene iboholiini. ‘My leg is stuck in the hole.’
Meeza/ ikalene mlangooni. ‘The table is stuck in the doorway.’
Mkono/ unk^haleene. ‘My hand is stuck.’
Muusa/ zilaatu/ zimka^hleene. ‘The shoes are tight on Muusa.’
Mwaana/ ka^hlene sandukhuuni. ‘The child got stuck in the box.’
Ndriweelé/ kuwa fa^htuura/ ikalene matotopeeni. ‘I forgot that the car was stuck in the mud.’ Or: **Ndriweelé/ fa^htuura/ kuwa ikalene matotopeeni.** Or: **Nichiliweelé/ shfa^htuura/ kuwa ska^hlene matotopeeni.** ‘I forgot it the dim. car that it was stuck in the mud.’ Or: **Sfa^htuura/ chiliweela/ kuwa ska^hlene matotopeeni.** ‘The dim. car was forgotten that it was stuck in the mud.’
Shpete/ chink^haleene. ‘The ring is stuck on me.’
Waant^hu/ waka^hlene mtanaani. ‘People squeezed into the room.’
Zilaatu/ zink^haleene. ‘The shoes are tight on me.’
rel.
kh-kalanila v. appl.
Mwaana/ nk^halanilile sandukhuuni. ‘My child got stuck in the box.’
kh-kalanoowa v. pass.
- kalaasi*** n. class **review 1**
Kalasi niingi/ hanza sa’aa nt^hatu/ fijiri. ‘Many classes begin at 9 am.’
- kalfaati*** n. [Sw. *kalafati* SSED 167; Ar.] caulking cotton
kh^htila kalfaati ‘to caulk’
kh^htila mashkilo/ kalfaati ‘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.] (**ka^hlifile**) force, compel, impose s.t. on s.o.
Nk^halifile kumrasha Mkhodiisho. ‘He compelled me to follow him to Mogadishu.’
Siwaka^hlifé/ waana. ‘Don’t force the children (to do s.t.)!’
Skalifé/ ruuhuyo/ khtomola peesa. ‘Don’t trouble yourself to pay the money.’
rel.
kh-kalifila v. appl. cost to
Fatura iyi/ ink^halifilile dolari al^hfuu mbili. ‘This car cost me \$2000.’
kh-kalifisha v. caus.
rel. nom.
u-kalifo n. 14
- kaliiifu*** n. the state of being strained, overburdened

Kaliifu/ siwo/ suura. ‘Being overburdened, strained is not good.’ (A proverbial saying.) **review whether this is correctly identified as a proverbial saying**

kh-kalīla

v. (-kaliile) seem to, think

Hunk^halīla/ Jeeli/ nakuwa mwaalimu. ‘I think that Jeeli is becoming a teacher.’

Hunk^halīla/ mi/ we/ ni laazimu/ khsooma/ chibuku ichi. ‘It seems to me that you should read this book.’

Hunk^halīla Nuuru/ ni mwalimu wa mwaanawa. ‘I think that Nuuru is my son’s teacher.’

Hunk^halīla / Nuuru/ oloshole Mkhodiisho. ‘I think that Nuuru went to Mogadishu.’

Hunk^halīla/ Omari/ peete/ peesa/ zimbeeló. ‘I think Omari found the money that he lost.’

Hunk^halīla/ Omari/ tilanzilee nguwo/ ka makhasi. ‘I think that Omari cut the cloth with scissors.’ (In the implementation of this sentence by our consultant, the accented penult syllable of *makhasi* was markedly raised, revealing the possibility of putting emphasis on a word that is sentence-final but not “immediately after the verb”, the preferred position for focused non-subjects.)

Imkalīle 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^halīle ‘it seemed to me’

mi/ hunk^halīla ‘it seems to me’; **we/ khukalīla** ‘it seems to you’; **ye/ humkalīla** ‘it seems to him’; **si/ hishkalīla** ‘it seems to us’; **ni/ hinkalīla** ‘it seems to you (pl.)’; **wo/ huwawalīla** ‘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/ khukalīla**. Also note that *hu* changes to *hi* before object markers containing a palatal element: cf., for example, **si/ hishkalīla**.)

Mi/ hunk^halīla/ nt^hakendra kuwiinda. ‘It seems likely that I will go hunting.’

(Mí) hunk^halīla/ we/ laazimu/ keendra. ‘It seems to me that you must go.’

mi/ inakunk^halīla ‘it seems to me’; **we/ inakhukalīla** ‘it seems to you’; **ye/ inamkalīla** ‘it seems to him’; **si/ inakishkalīla** ‘it seems to us’; **ni/ inakinkalīla** ‘it seems to you (pl.)’; **wo/ inakuwawalīla** ‘it seems to them’

Omari/ humkalīla kuwa shati iyo/ siwo/ suura. ‘Omari thinks that that shirt is not good.’

Wo/ huwawalīla kuwa Nuuru/ iize/ khiira. ‘They think that Nuuru refused to accept.’

sh-kalkala(s-)

n. 7/8 [Sw. *kaaka* 162] palate, velum; (idiom.) a Somali

kh^htinda 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/ kh^htinda 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.’

kh-kaal^hmaṭa

v. (kalmeete) help

Omari/ hakaal^hmaṭi/ waant^hu. ‘Omari does not help people.’ (Notice that with an indefinite [cl.2] object, object marking is not required. However, it is possible to include the object marker: **Omari/ hawakaal^hmaṭi/ waant^hu**.)

Omari/ mkalmeete/ muné/ Nuurú. ‘Omari helped his brother Nuuru.’

kaal^hme

n. help

Chiint^hu/ chisuura/ khfanyoowa/ ni kulindra kaalme/ kuwasila. ‘The best thing to do would be to wait for help to arrive.’

Kuumbuka/ kuwaa wo/ watakhsula kalme yiitu. ‘Remember that they will need our help.’

Nuuru/ oshele ka mku^le/ Hasani/ kumera kaalme/ kuwaka nuumbaye. ‘Nuuru went to his brother Hasani to look for help to build his house.’

Waant^hu/ wa Mwiini/ wanakuza kaalme/ yiitu. ‘The people of Brava are asking for our help.’

ka^loora

n. 9/10 [Ital. *colore*] color (cf. **ranji** which means ‘colored paint’); colored pencil
Hamadi/ vete shaati/ ka^looraye/ mtaandanu. ‘Hamadi wore a shirt, its color, yellow.’

ka^lora ya lkuta or ka^loora/ ya lkuta ‘the color of the wall’

lkuta/ ka^looraye ‘the wall, its color’

ka^lora yaa nk^huta or ka^loora/ yaa nk^huta ‘the color of the walls’

nk^huta/ ka^looraze ‘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/ ka^lora zaawo.**)

confirm that it is a dental l

ka^loora

n. [Som. *kalloorad* DSU 357] aluminum container with lid, used for milk or other foodstuffs

Haliima/ lesele iziwa/ ka ka^loora. ‘Haliima brought milk in (lit. with) an aluminum container.’

Haliima/ tile iziwa/ ka^loraani. ‘Haliima put milk in the aluminum container.’

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, keele**) 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/ askali/ karka moro mooyi. ‘Two bulls do not dwell in one fenced-in enclosure.’ (A proverb.)

Karka muuyi/ wa Mwiini/ wakazile/ khabiila/ niingi/ laakini/ wa’ileene/ kaa lugha/ lmooyi/ ka diini/ mooyi/ ka aada/ mooyi/ na ziinginé/ na khaasá/ nii lugha/ 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/ muyi uyu/ karka numba/ 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: **muyi uyu** but **numba/ iyi**. We have not been able to establish what the discourse implications are for this phrasing.)

Mwenye zijuumba/ izo/ ni mzele Simsimu/ na mahaḷaa ye/ hukaló/ wako majini/ wiingi/ nt^ho. ‘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/ naami/ fijiri/ na mapeema/ nt^hakhiḷila/ 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/ takhkaló numba iyi/ amoo ndimi/ 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^hiyé/ waaliko/ mzele/ mooyi/ shkalo ṭawalá. ‘In the sultan’s land there was an old man who lived at the sea.’

Tala zaa mi/ khupeeló/ zoṭe/ na numba yaa mi/ hukaló. ‘Take all the things I have given you and the house that I live in.’

Wakhtí/ kamu/ kazilo Mambasá. ‘How long have you been in Mombasa?’

Waant^hu/ hukala numba mooyi. [H!H] ‘The people live in one house.’

We/ nakhsuḷa waaná/ wanakale/ kaa ndala/ mpaka mukhtaá 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.’

Ye/ keele/ karka jazira iyi/ miyaka matatu. ‘He lived on this island for three years.

rel.

**kh-kalila* v. appl. does not appear to be in use

kh-kaloowa v. pass. (**kaziḷa, keeḷa**) be lived on, in

Jazira iyo/ ikeeḷa/ miyaka mitatu. ‘This island was lived on for three years.’ Or: **Miyaka mitatu/ ikeeḷá/jazira iyi.** ‘Three years this island was lived on.’

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/ hukalowa 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

Maraḷi aya/ mawovu/ inakuwatila khoofu/ wakala muuyi. ‘These diseases are bad, there is fear being put in the residents (lit. ones that reside in town).’

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

kh-kala

v. (**keele**) look like

Faṭuura/ ya Omari/ ikeleeyi. ‘What does Omari’s car look like?’

Faṭura ya Hamadi/ ikele kana/ ya Omari. ‘Hamadi’s car looks like Omari’s.’

Ikeleeyi. ‘How does it look like?’

Maazi/ ya muunt^hu/ hayaabahi/ kiḷaa muunt^hu/ mahmaahi/ iyi/ hupenzeleza/ kiḷaa muunt^hu/ ma’anaye/ lamnaye/ shakliye/ jisaa ye/ keeló/ haabahi. ‘The blood of a person is not lost [a Chimiini proverb]... Each person, this proverb intends [to communicate], each person, it means, his type, his

physical form, how he looks, cannot be lost.'

Nuumba/ ya Omari/ [↑]ikeleeyi/ takuyaawata/ we. 'Omari's house, how (good, wonderful) it looks, you will be amazed (by it).' (The extreme raising on the verb **ikeleeyi** adds to the basic meaning 'how it looks' a positive connotation: how good, wonderful it looks.)

Omari/ kele kanaa nfuye. 'Omari looks like a monkey.'

Waant^{bu}/ wako apó/ wachimwaambila/ nakhfanyaayi/ we/ ni mwaaná/ chihabá/ na jisaa we/ keeló/ inakoonyesha/ kuwaa we/ ni mwana wa mataajiri. '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.'

Ye/ keleeyi. 'How does he look like?'

muwaṭiini

n. citizens **study this item further**

Maraḏi aya/ mawovu/ inakuwatila muwaṭiini/ khoofu. 'These diseases are bad, there is fear being put in citizens.'

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 Ifuwo '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. 10 [Ar. *kalām* "talking, speaking, language" W 838] words

kalaamuze sivo za sowṭi na harfu [st.] 'his (i.e. God's) words are not (made) of sounds and letters'

Qur'aani/ ni kalaamu/ za mojiitu. 'The Quran [contains] the words of God.'

rel.

kalima n. 9 word

Kiḷa/ kalima/ mooyi/ ya qur'aani/ inaayo/ thawaabu/ miya. 'Every word of the Quran has one hundred blessings.'

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.’
schikalangoowa ‘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/ sultaani/ 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’

Haapati/ kaleent^ho/ laazimu/ khta’abata/ laazimu/ khfanya kaazi.
‘Someone seated does not get something, one must earn it, one must work for it (one cannot just sit and wait for it to come to you).’

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/ hataa 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.**

Muunt^hu/ kaleent^hó/ haani/ chaayi. 'A person who is seated does not drink tea.' (A proverb.)

Mwana wa sarmala/ shkalaant^ha/ nt^hi/ chila. '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^halent^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.'

Ye/ kalent^he na Omari. 'He stayed with Omari.'

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.'

Mahala/ umoo noká/ ha'ikalaant^hiki. 'A place where there is a snake cannot be inhabited.' (A proverb.)

kh-kalant^hiloowa v. appl. pass. (kalant^hiliila)

kh-kalaantila v. appl. (kalant^hiliile) 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 chaa ye/ kalant^hiliiló 'the chair that he sat on'

Hamadi/ ikalant^hiliile. '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^hiliile ruuhuye.** We are not certain, however, whether this is fixed matter of grammar, or a more stylistic matter.)

Nk^huku/ kalant^hiliile mayaank^huku. 'The hen sat on the eggs.'

Siná/ chiti cha khkalaant^hila. 'I do not have a chair to sit on.'

We/ kalant^hiliile chibuukú. 'You are sitting on a book.'

Ye/ ikalant^hiliile/ apo/ numbaani/ ka mwanaamke/ pashpo khfanya

- house **kaazi.** ‘He just stayed there [lit. for himself] in the girl’s without doing any work.’
- kh-kalant^hilakalaant^hila* v. freq.
Humkalant^hilakalaant^hila/ khariibuye. ‘They stay repeatedly by her side for her.’
- kh-kalaant^hisha* 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. [HH] ‘The cattle were made to stay, sit.’
Ngoombe/ skalant^hishiza na waant^hu. [H!H] ‘The cattle were made to sit, stay by the people.’
Wakalant^hishiza na waant^hu/ ni ngoombe. [HH] ‘Those ones who were made to stay, sit by the people are the cattle.’
Waant^hu/ wakalant^hishiiza. [HH] ‘The people were made to sit, stay.’
Waant^hu/ wakalant^hishiza na ngoombe. [H!H] ‘People were made to live with cattle.’ Or: **Wakalant^hisha na ngoombé/ ni waant^hu.** [HH] ‘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-kalant^hoowa v. pass. (**i-kaleent^ha**) (for one to) sit, live; [pron. **khkalaant^hoowa**]
Jazira iyo/ ikaleent^ha /miyaka mitatu. ‘This is land was lived on for three years.’ Or: **Miyaka mitatu/ ikaleent^ha/ jazira iyi.** ‘Three years thus island was lived on.’
Klasiini/ hukalant^hoowa/ zitiini. ‘In class one sits on chairs.’
Numba mooyi/ hukalant^howa na waant^hu. [H!H] ‘One house was lived in by people.’
Omari/ ikalent^ha naaye. ‘Omari was stayed with him.’
- kalaasha** n. 9/10 [cf. Tunni Somali *kalāaš* “kidney” Tosco 222; Som. *calool* (which becomes *calosha* 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/ inamłaza. ‘His stomach hurts him.’
- kaale** n. [Sw. *kale* SSED 168] old times
ndiye wa kaale nt^hana mithaali [st.] ‘he is the One without beginning and without equal’
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’
-kali/ kanaa chisu ‘as sharp as a knife’
Chigaango/ ichi/ shfinikoche/ shkali/ humtinda muunt^hu/ kanaa chisu. ‘The lid of this can is so sharp it cuts people like a knife.’

khfanya –kali ‘to sharpen’

Haliima/ nakhfanyaa chisu/ shkali/ nakhsuḷa khtindilaa nama.

‘Haliima is sharpening a knife, she wants to use it to cut the meat.’

Ka khisaa ye/ ni mwaalimu/ mkali/ waanawe/ wa skoolḷa/ wonṭhe/ hupita imṭhaani.

‘Because she is a good teacher, all of her students pass the examination.’

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/ maṭezo. ‘The girl was good at games [such as playing cards].’

Naḷoo limi/ lḷkali. ‘He has a sharp tongue.’

Naḷo lpaanga/ lḷkali/ 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’

Nakhsuḷaa 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.’

siwo –kali ‘dull (lit. not sharp)’

Haliima/ tindililee nama/ chisu siwo shkali. ‘Haliima cut the meat with a dull knife.’

We/ tumikile chisu shkali/ ambó/ chisu siwo shkali? ‘Did you use the sharp knife or the dull knife?’

Tumikile chisu shkali. ‘I used the sharp knife.’

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

khtilila makali ‘to sharpen for’

Nimtilile Nuurú/ chisú/ makali. ‘I sharpened the knife for Nuuru.’

(One cannot say: *Nimtilile Nuurú/ makali/ chisú, whatever the accent assignment. One can say: Nimtililee chisú/ makali/ Nuuru. In this sentence there is focus on *chisu*: ‘I sharpened a *knife* for Nuuru.’)

khtila makali ‘to sharpen’

Nṭhilee chisú/ makali. ‘I sharpened a knife.’ (It is ungrammatical to put *makali* after the verb and allow the final accent to extend past it onto *chisu*: *Nṭhile makali/ chisú.)

u-kali n. sharpness, high degree (of pain)

ukali wa sakaraṭi/ 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] (cf. *kalaamu*) word, words
variant form: *kilma*

Aḷaana/ni kalima ikum na keendra. ‘The call to prayer consists of nineteen words.’

ikum na keendra kilma za aḷaana [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 mayṭi ziitú/ zilelo nt^hini ya barafú/ huḡosha kinfungulḷila laano/ ḷi. ‘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/ kiḷa mooyi/ nayo yaake. ‘Brains are like hair, everyone has his own.’ (A proverb.)

Cho/ siwo/ kama luḡha 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/ niyalaṭilo ṭawalá. ‘That money [spent on cavorting with women] is as though I threw it into the sea.’

Mambo aya/ hayanfurahishi/ mĩ/ ni/ naakuḷá/ ndimi/ nfiiló. ‘These matters do not please me; you are crying as though it is me who has died.’

Mapeenzi/ ni kama shkololo/ haya’ushiki. ‘Love is like coughing, it cannot be hidden.’

Mi/ nnakhsuḷa nyunyi mwiinginé/ kama uyú. ‘I want another bird like this one.’

Mukhtaawo/ wawelo ṭayaari/ wachibiga miziinga/ kama wanakhpo waant^hu/ 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.)

Mwaana/ kamaa we/ siná/ haaja/ naaye. ‘A child like you I have no need of him.’

Ndiyó/ ni kama uyu/ nyunyi waa we/ nakummeeró? ‘Is the bird that you are looking for like this one?’

Washtomola salaamu/ naawó/ kama/ want^hu wiingine/ washkalaant^ha. ‘They extended greeting and they, like other people, sat down.’

Ye/ yutiliile/ 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 nakhsuḷa kundroolá/ mi/ ndrola kiitu. ‘If you want to marry me, marry me in my country.’

Kamaa we/ chimpata/ chizeele/ ndraani/ ya mṭaanawo/ 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 sulṭaani/ ndimi/ nakhsuḷo kuwa sulṭaani. ‘If you do not want to become sultan, it is me who wants to be sultan.’

Kamaa we/ shiinziḷa/ taala/ dawa/ iyi/ endrá/ kaake/ oyo mubjaana. ‘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/ chiyá. ‘[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/ shtakhteza mpiira. ‘If Omari comes, we will play football.’
Nambila ka sultaani/ kama nch^hiza/ kuleeta/ zijuumba/ zaa nyunyi/ nt^h akhtindowaa chiṭa. ‘I was told that if I do not bring the nests of (these) birds, I will be beheaded.’
Ni laazima/ we/ kunsaayda/ kamba/ mbwa wa maduuri/ chinulukila. ‘It’s necessary that you help me if a wild dog attacks me.’

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^hasiizé/ kamaa we/ ilé. ‘I heard that you arrived.’

kh-kama

v. [Sw. **kama** SSED 169] (**kamiile**) milk (an animal or, figuratively, someone)

Ali/ mkamile ngoombe. ‘Ali milked the cow.’

Mloojiri/ mkamile ngoombe/ iziwa. ‘The milker squeezed milk from the cow.’

rel.

kh-kamika v. p/s.

kh-kamila v. appl. (**kamiliile**) use to milk; milk for

Makiina/ kamiliile ngoombe/ iziwa. ‘He used a machine to milk the cows.’

Mwanaamke/ mkamile iziwa/ ngoombe. ‘The girl milked the cow.’

(Notice that even though the verb bears an object marker in agreement with **ngoombe**, an animate noun that requires human agreement in its singular usage, it is still possible for the noun **iziwa** to precede **ngoombe** in the word order.)

Uzile makiina/ khkamila ngoombe/ iziwa. ‘He bought a machine to milk the cows with.’

Wakamiliile waant^hu/ ngoombe/ iziwa. ‘He milked the cows for the people.’

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-kamishana v. caus. rec. cause one another to milk

kh-kamishika v. caus. p/s.

kh-kamishiliza v. caus. appl. (**kamishiize**)

Ali/ mkamishilize Iisa/ mwaana/ ngoombe. ‘Ali caused Iisa’s child to milk the cow.’ (Syn. A periphrastic version is also possible: **Ali/ mtiliile Iisa/ mwaana/ ngoombe.** ‘Ali [lit. instilled in] Iisa’s child to milk the cow.’)

kh-kamishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. (**-kamishilizeenye**)

Ali/ na Nuuru/ wakamishilizenye waana/ ngoombe. ‘Ali and Nuuru caused one another’s children to milk the cows.’ (Syn. A periphrastic version is also possible: **Ali/ na Nuuru/ 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-kamoowa v. pass. be milked

Ngoombe/ kamiḷa iziwa/ na mloojiri. ‘The cows were milked by the milker.’ (Note that **iziwa** cannot be the subject of the passive verb here: ***Iziwa/ ikamiḷa ngoombe/ na mloojiri**. It is possible to have the word order: **Iziwa/ kamiḷa ngoombe/ na mloojiri**. But in this example the subject marking on the verb is in agreement with **ngoombe** and not with **iziwa**.)

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-kamuliḷa v. appl. [Sw. *kamulia* SSED 169, where however a meaning of ‘squeeze s.t. over’ is given’] (**kamuliile**)

Nk^h amuliḷee 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.

m-kama (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who milks; fig. a parasite who lives off other people

m-kamo n. 3

u-kamuko n. 14 the act of drying

u-kamulo n. 14 the act of wringing s.t. wet out

kamaakana

Mukhtāa ye/ weno kuwa looniḷé/ lbadishilé/ wele mwelpe/ jisa zamaaní/ 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. [Sw. *kamani* SSED 170] 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 [nt.] 'everybody's heart beats like a lock'

lada/ kamba suukari 'sweet as sugar'

lada/ kamba uki 'sweet as honey'

Nakuwala/ kambaa nt^hupa. 'He is shining like a bottle – i.e. he looks good, fresh.'

kamba if, whether

Hasani/ chimjiiba/ sikhupikili/ na kambaa we/ hukhaadira/ kunubla/ 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/ yiingine/ 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/ chimtomolo. 'He came and untied the rope slowly and set the goat free, that's what he did.'

Haliima/ nakandika l^hkambalaani/ 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 l^hkambalaani/ 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: *Haliima/ nakandika l^hkambalaani/ 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/ l^hkambalaani. 'Haliima is putting clothes on the clothesline.'

khfunga lkaambala 'to tie a rope'

khfungula ifuundo/ lkaambala 'to untie a knot in a rope'

khfungula lkaambala 'to untie a rope'

kh^htinda 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 ifuundo/ lkaambala 'to make a knot in a rope'

kubiga lkaambala 'to tie a rope'

l^hkambala chigobe 'a short rope'

lkaambala/ hutindika mahala nambaamba. 'A rope breaks where it is thin.' (A proverb.)

l^hkambala la naylooni 'a nylon rope'

l^hkambala la milala 'a rope made of *milala* reeds'

Ukaambala/ nii ile/ 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 takhfakató/ takhadiro kendra ka himaahimá/ takhtiiindó/ takhfakató/ ikambala iló/ khtiiindá/ 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.)

Wataamtomola ka ikaambala. ‘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 ikaambala. ‘They took a rope.’

We/ ni ikaambalá/ 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 kambiiini ‘to be quarantined’

n-kaambo n. 9/10 [Sw. *kambi* “encampment, camp” SSED 170] camp, police headquarters; [pron. nk^haambo]; var. **kaampo**
Askari/ hukala nk^hambooni. ‘Police stay at the camp.’
nk^hambo ya ma’askari ‘police headquarters’
Si/chishishile waardiyá/ maskú/ kamponi. ‘We guarded the camp during the night.’ Cf. **Kaampo/ ishishiila waardiya/ masku.** ‘The camp was guarded during the night.’ **Masku/ kaampo/ waardiya/ ishiishiila.** ‘The night the camp there was guarding it.’

n-kaambo n. in the expression **babaa nk^haambo** ‘stepfather’
Babaa nk^haambo/ 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 Ali. ‘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/ sharti/ ka shahaada. ‘Faith is not complete unless it has *shahaada* (i.e. acceptance of the oneness of God).’
Jawaabu/ iyi/ khkoðelowa shkaamili/ ni ðaruuri. ‘Discussing this issue fully is essential.’
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.’
Yaliko fursa/ khkoðowa shkaamili/ jawabu iyo. ‘There was an opportunity to discuss the matter fully.’
 rel.
u-kaamili n. completion, perfection (with reference to God)
- kamilifu** adj. perfect, complete
 rel.
u-kamilifu n. 14 completion, perfection
- kh-kamilisha** v. tr. [Sw. *kamili, kamilisha* SSED 170; Ar. *kamala* or *kamila* W 840] (**kamilishiize**) complete s.t.
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’
kuja 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?
Ali/ mulile mandraa kamu/ Haliima. ‘How many loaves of bread did Ali buy for Haliima.’ Or: **Ali/ mulile Haliima/ mandraa kamu.** ‘Ali bought for Haliima how many loaves of bread?’ It is possible to right dislocate the object: **Ali/ mulile mandraa kamu/ Haliima.** ‘Ali, he bought how much bread for her, Haliima.’
Baazi/ hadile gaari/ iyo/ kaa kamu. ‘Baazi said that car was how much?’ Or: **Kaa kamu/ hadiiló/ Baazi/ gari iyo.** Or: **Gari iyo/ Baazi/ hadile kaa kamu.** Or: **Kaa kamu/ gari iyo/ hadiiló/ Baazi.** (Notice that the position of **kaa kamu** determines whether the main verb is in pseudo-relative 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. Cf. post-verbal **kamu: Wa’ilee kamu.** ‘How many came?’)
Khalamu iyi/ kamu. ‘How much is this pen?’ **Khalamu kamu/ nyulusi/ ye/ nakhsuuló.** ‘How many black pens does he want?’
Mandraa kamu/ Ali/ mulilo Haliimá. ‘How many loaves of bread did Ali buy for Haliima?’
Mandraa kamu/ ye/ jiló. ‘How many loaves of bread did he eat?’
Mi/ siná/ yakhiini/ wantu kamu/ watakuuyó. ‘I am unsure how many people will come.’
Nt^hakhadira kujaa kamu. ‘How much am I able to eat?’
Nt^hangú/ leelo/ kamu/ nt^hachikuja/ nt^hachinaakuna/ chofeté/ ba. ‘Since how many days from today we have not eaten, we have not drunk, we are just exhausted (worrying about our problem).’ **Accidentally erased some words before kamu -- check to see if we can be certain what they were**

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 kamu.**)

Osmaani/ nazo faṭuraa 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.’

Si/ nt^haasá/ siwo/ waaḏehe/ kiitu/ kamu/ nuumba/ itakhkomó/ peesa. ‘We are not yet clear on how much the house is going to cost.’

Skafaanye/ gaari/ kawa na’iwá/ kamu/ itakhaliḥó/ peesá. ‘I wouldn’t have fixed the car if I had known how much it was going to cost.’

Wa’ilee kamu. ‘How many came?’

Wa’ile want^huu kamu/ numbaani. ‘How many people came home?’

Want^huu kamu/ wa’aminilo kuwa Ali/ weshele peesá/ bangiini. ‘How many people believed that Ali deposited money in the bank?’

Want^huu kamu/ wa’iló. ‘How many people came?’

Want^huu kamu/ wamo numbaani. ‘How many people are in the house?’

Or: **Want^hu/ kamu/ wamo numbaani.** ‘As for the people, how many are in the house?’

Want^huu kamu/ ye/ waweenó. ‘How many people did he see?’ (Pseudo-relativization is obligatory when the question word precedes the verb. One cannot say: ***Want^huu kamu/ ye/ waweene.**)

We/ mulile Haliimá/ mandraa kamu. ‘You bought for Haliima how much bread?’ (Cf. with the object right dislocated: **We/ mulile mandraa kamu/ Haliima.** ‘You bought for her how much bread, Haliima.’ Notice that the right-dislocated object is outside the scope of the final accent that the second person verb form triggers.)

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 sandukhuuni. ‘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 kaamu. ‘Can you repeat what Hamadi told you by heart?’

kiiwa kaamu ‘to know by heart’

Ali/ waanawe/ wana’iwa khur’aani/ ka kaamu. ‘Ali’s children know the Quran by heart.’

izo ni laazimu kiwoowa kaamu [st.] ‘these (the five pillars of Islam) must be known by heart’

Shekh Nuuru/ ha’isi/ khsooma/ walá/ kaandika/ kilaa chiint^hu/ hiwa ka kaamu. ‘Shekh Nuuru does not know reading or writing, every thing he gets to know by heart’

kubaraṭa ka kaamu ‘to learn by heart’

Chiwooni/ ka Mwalim Ali/ waana/ hubaraṭa khur’aani/ ka kaamu. ‘At the school of Maalim Ali, children learn the Quran by heart.’

Mi/ hukuumbuka/ kubaraṭa shṭeenzi/ icho/ ka kaamu. ‘I remember learning that poem by heart.’

Muunt^hu/ haṭaa ye/ chihaba/ ni sahali/ kubaraṭa chiint^hu/ ka kaamu. ‘When one is a child, it is easy to memorize things.’

khsoma (ka) kaamu ‘to read by heart (i.e. from memory)’

Hamadi/ husoma qur’aani/ ka kaamu. ‘Hamadi reads the Quran by heart.’

kh-kamula

v. tr. squeeze, wring s.t. wet out

Ichiwa teena/ ye/ huleeleza/ chileemba/ chisimaani/ schidaara/ maayi/

hichigiita/ 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; for rain to stop
nvula/ khkamuka ‘rain to stop’

kh-kamukila v. intrans. appl. (**kamukilijile**)

Nguwo/ zink^hamukilijile. ‘The clothes dried for me.’

kh-kamulila v. tr. appl.

Nk^hamulijile 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] like, as if, better, if

Haṭá/ kanaa we/ humpeendi/ we/ nt^haasá/ takhadira/ kuwanayo adabu/ naaye.
‘Even if you don’t like him you can still be polite.’

Kana khujijila munt^hu mwiinginé/ chaakó/ kheeri/ nakhujijile waako. ‘Instead of someone else eating your (things), it is better that yours (those related to you) eat them.’ (A proverb.)

Kana/ kufa leeló/ kheeri/ kufa keesho. ‘Instead of dying today, it is better to die tomorrow.’ (A proverb.)

Kana kuboolá/ kheeri/ kuloomba. ‘Begging is better than stealing.’ (A saying.)

Kana ni lilá/ ambó/ siwó/ nt^haasá/ ni kiwoowa. ‘Whether it is true or not remains to be learned.’

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’

Mi/ hukuumbuka/ kilaa chiiint^hu/ kana yaliko yaná. ‘I remember everything like it was yesterday.’

Mi/ nt^haasá/ laazimu/ khkasa kana ni amaani/ khsafirowa Miini. ‘I have yet to hear whether it is safe to travel to Brava.’

Na’iwá/ we/ kana Nuurú/ oloshelo Mkhodiishó. ‘Do you know if Nuuru went to Mogadishu?’

Nt^haasá/ ni kiwoowa/ kanaa wo/ watakhadira kulataa zitá. ‘It remains to be seen if they can avoid a big fight.’

Nt^haasá/ siwo/ waaðehe/ kana Fardoosa/ nakuuyá. ‘It is not yet clear whether Fardoosa is coming.’

Omari/ nt^hakuwanaayo/ hakhiikha/ kana Fardoosa/ kalent^he ibanyaani/ ka khaṣṭi. ‘Omari is unsure whether Fardoosa stayed away on purpose.’

Omari/ nt^haná/ yakhiini/ kanaa ye/ laazimu/ kulata kaazyé. ‘Omari is unsure if he should quit his job.’

Omari/ uzize kanaa ye/ takhadira kumziyarata waawayé. ‘Omari asked if he could visit his father.’

Siwo/ waaðehe/ kanaa ye/ waliko waaḷimó/ karka kuboolá. ‘It is not clear if he was involved in the robbery.’

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/ laazimu/ kumuza mukeewa/ kanaa si/ shṭakuwako numbaani/ keeshó. ‘You must ask my wife whether we will be at home tomorrow.’

We/ nampenda naani/ na kanaa we/ nampeendá/ dirkameené/ naayé/ kodeelé.
‘Who do you love, and if you love her, have you met with her, have you spoken (to her)?’

Ye/ fanyize kana/ Ali/ waliko festaani. ‘He pretended (lit. did as if) Ali had been at the party.’ (It is not usual for *kana* to be preceded in a phrase, but this example indicates that it does not trigger lengthening of a preceding word-final vowel.)

Ye/ hufanya ruuhuye/ kana mi/ mweenzawé/ msuurá. ‘She acts as if I were her best friend.’

kana

invar. seems (lit. it is like)

Hamadi/ kana/ pisiló. ‘Hamadi seems to have passed.’ Or: **Kana/ pisiló/ Hamadi.**

Hamadi/ kana/ pisiló/ imtihaani. ‘Hamadi seems to have passed the examination.’

Or: **Imtihaani/ Hamadi/ kana/ pisiló.** Or: **Imtihaana/ kana/ pisiló/ Hamadi.**

Hamadi/ kana/ uziló/ gaari. ‘Hamadi seems to have bought a car.’ Or: **Gaari/ Hamadi/ 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.**

Inakoonyesha/ kana/ itakunyoo nvulá. ‘It seems that it is going to rain.’

Inakoonyesha/ si/ kana/ shtakhshiindró. ‘It looks like we are going to win.’

Omari/ ni kana akhili. ‘Omari seems to be intelligent.’

Omari/ kana/ hapeendí/ kulawa. ‘It seems as if Omari does not want to leave.’

We/ kana/ hupeendí. ‘it seems that you do not want it, it looks like you don’t want it.’

We/ kana/ hupeendí/ kuya ka sukhuuni/ naami. ‘you look like you do not want to go to the market with me.’

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/ zinamwingilila/ 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/ ijiiló/ 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/ nth^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/ yan.yelee 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 khutula. ‘God, who is the one that

opened your mouth, does not fail to put something in your mouth.
(A proverb.)

Muunt^hu/ hub^la 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^hawakhfuungula/ 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 man 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/ hareebaŋi. ‘When Omari opens his
mouth, he does not stop.’

khtaga ikana ‘lit. to widen the mouth -- i.e. shout’

We/ khtaga 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’

Kanada

n. Canada

Nfanyize kaazi/ Kanadá/ mwaka mooyi. ‘I worked in Canada for one year.’ (In
GM’s speech, the first person singular subject marker *n-* is dropped in front
of a voiceless consonant like *f*, although he retains the *n-* in writing
Chimiini.)

kanaale

n. 9/10 [Ital. *canale*] canal

kanama

interj. in fact, my goodness!

Hamiisi/ nambilee mi/ ye/ hupeenda/ khsooma/ kanamá/ ni wanaafakhi/ nt^hupú!
‘Hamiisi told me he likes to read but it was an empty lie!’

Kanamá/ we/ ni mwanaamke. ‘My goodness! You are a woman.’
Shtosha Hamiisi/ hupeenda/ mpiira/ kanamá/nakhsooma/ hupeenda. ‘I thought Hamiisi (only) liked football, in fact reading he likes too!’

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, initially
-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...’
Chiint^hu/ cha kaandra/ khfaanya/ ni khkoða na weenzawo. ‘The first thing to do is speak to all your friends.’
Kaandra/ Hamiisi/ somele chibuukhu/ aakhiri/ langalile mpiira. ‘Initially, Hamiisi read a book. Eventually, he watched football.’
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/ hafá/ sku ya siṭa/ nt^h akhpata/ 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/ kumbelele mooja; ya piili... ‘first, I agree for you to be my master; second...’
Ye/ hufanya ruuhuye/ kana mweenzawé/ wa kaandra. ‘She acts like my besfriend.’

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’
Mwaana/ 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: **Mwaana/ namkandra maalimú/ chítá!?**)

Mwaana/ mkanzile maalimu/ chíta. ‘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: ***?Mwaana/ kanzile chíta cha mwaalimu.** ‘The child massaged the head of the teacher.’ Only somewhat more acceptable is: **?Mwaana/ kanzile mwaalimu/ chítaache.**)

kumkandra ilungo ‘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’

Mwaana/ namkandra mwaalimu/ chíta/ namkaandró. ‘The child is massaging the teacher’s head, that’s what he is doing.’ Or: **Mwaana/ namkandra mwaalimu/ namkaandró/ chíta.** ‘The child is massaging the teacher, that’s what he is doing, (his) head.’

rel.

kh-kaandrika v. p/s.

kh-kaandriila v. appl.

Mwaana/ namkandrila mwaalimu/ 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/ lkaandraani/ 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.’

kumfunga ka lkaandra ‘to tie someone with a belt, strap’

kumvunanga ka lkaandra ‘to beat with a belt’

kuvala lkaandra ‘wear a belt’

lkaandra la aaga ‘rubber belt’

lkaandra/ la chigozi ‘a leather, skin belt’

lkaandra la chiguwo ‘a cloth belt’

lkaandra la ðahabu ‘a golden belt (e.g. something a bride might want for a wedding)’

lkaandra la mpiira ‘rubber belt’

lkaandra/ laa ngozi ‘leather belt’

lkaandra la palaastika ‘plastic belt’

Omari/ namvunanga Hamadi/ ka lkaandra. ‘Omari is beating Hamadi

with a belt.’

rel.

sh-kaandra (s-) n. 7/8 the belt strip at the back of a sandal, etc.

shkandra chaa sa’a ‘wrist watch strap’

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 ate all the dates.’

kuwinda nk^haanga ‘to hunt guinea fowl’

mashkiloye/ kana nk^haanga ‘his ears (are) like a guinea fowl (i.e. he hears well)’

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.’

nk^heje za nk^haanga ‘the noises of a guinea fowl’

rel.

mi-kaanga n. aug. pl. large guinea fowls

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/ tinziloo 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/ oloshela 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/ oloshela 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/ oloshela kani/ Mkhodiisho. ‘He went by what means to Mogadishu?’ Or: **Ye/ oloshela 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
Nakhṭeza kaanjuri. ‘He is playing **kaanjuri.** ‘
- kaankaro** n. cancer
File ka kaankaro. ‘He died of cancer.’
kumwambaṭa 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’
- u-kanme** n. a silver or golden choker
- kansari** n. cancer; var. **kansar**
Hamadi/ nayo kansari ya igorombo. ‘Hamadi has cancer of the throat.’
Hamadi/ nayo kansari ya inyi. ‘Hamadi has cancer of the liver.’
Iyi/ huṭasawara kuleta khkashifowaa dawa/ ya kansar. ‘This may lead to discovering a cure for cancer.’
- kanumake** adv. [**ka numa=ke**, cf. **numa**] afterwards, then (MI shortened to **kanmake**)
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?’
^f**Kanumake/ Omari/ takhpikó.** ‘It’s later that Omari will cook.’ (In principle, either of two pre-verbal phrases might be focused. The focused phrase is not necessarily initial. A focused initial phrase is clearly higher in pitch than the second phrase. A focused second phrase is not lowered relative to the initial phrase.)
Mwanaashke/ wa Abú/ mpelo chibuukú/ takuuya/ kanumake. The girl to who(m) Abu gave the book will come over later.’
Omari/ haapiki/ kanumake. ‘Omari will not cook later.’ (In the absence of external focus, a negative verb is inherently focused and therefore separated phrasally from its complement. The simple yes-no question version of this sentence shows only suspension of downstep, **no shifting of the accent on the post-verbal phrase. This lack of accent shift is significant, because it indicates that the status of the phrase separated from a negative verb is different from a phrase separated by the presence of emphasis on an affirmative verb. In the latter case, the post-verbal phrase undergoes Accent Shift.**)
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/ haapikí!?**)
^f**Omari/ ntʰakhpika kanumaké.** ‘(It’s) Omari (who) did not cook later.’ (That **Omari** is focused in this example is shown by two things. First, a pre-verbal focused phrase triggers pseudo-relativization of the following verb. Pseudo-relativization of a negative verb is indicated only by the fact that the verb becomes a final accent-trigger. The second fact is that a negative verb is inherently focused and phrased separately from its complement, except that focus elsewhere takes priority over the inherent focus on the verb and as a result the verb is no longer phrasally separated from its complement.)
Omari/ takhpika kanumake. ‘Omari will cook later.’ (The simple yes-no question version of this only suspends downstepping; there is no accent shift. The exclamatory yes-no question retains downstep and shifts accent to the final vowel, where it has a falling character.)
Omari/ takhpika/ kanumake. ‘Omari will *cook* later.’ (The simple yes-no question applied to a sentence with verb emphasis shifts the accent of a complement: **Omari/ takhpika/ kanumaké?** ‘will

Omari *cook* later?’

Si/ hashkooḑeli/ jawabu iyi/ mpaka/ kanumake. ‘We won’t discuss that problem until later.’

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.’

Takhpika kanumake/ Omari. [H!!H] ‘He will cook later, Omari.’
(Right-dislocated subjects are radically downstepped, as in this example.)

Wo/ wachanza khṭeza/ washṭeza/ kanmake/ Sa’iidi/ chimshindra oyo ijini. ‘They began to play (gamble), they played until Sa’iidi defeated that djinn.’

kaanza

adv. initially (In origin, this is the infinitive form of the verb *-anza* ‘begin’.)

Kaanza/ Hamiisi/ somele chibuukhu/ aakhiri/ langalile mpiira. ‘Initially Hamiisi read a book, (but) eventually he watched football.’

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/ ha’uluki. ‘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.’

kapiili

adv. again (presumably from *ka + piili*)

Hamadi/ mwambile Hasani/ kahima/ teremeka/ kaaka/ numbaani/ na kapiili/ siye. ‘Hamadi told Hasani: get away from my house quickly and don’t come again.’

Hamiisi/ husoma niingi/ na kapiili/ ya iyó/ hupeenda/ mpiira/ wa kuulu/ nt’o. ‘Hamiisi studies a lot, in addition to that, he likes football a lot.’

Kapiili/ mpiira/ siwo/ muhimu/ ka mwana wa skoolā. ‘Secondly, football is not necessary for a student.’

<i>kapitaale</i>	n. capital Kapitaale/ ya Soomaaliya/ ni Mkhodiisho. ‘The capital of Somalia is Mogadishu.’
<i>kapsola</i>	n. [Ital. <i>capsula</i>] capsule
<i>kaptani (ma-)</i>	n. [Eng. <i>captain</i>] captain Huseeni/ chiwa’amura/ makaptani/ wa manwari/ kuruda kaawo. ‘Huseeni ordered the captains of the warships to return home.’ Mi/ nimdorsete Omari/ kuwa kaptani. ‘I chose Omari to be captain.’ Ye/ ðuhurishize kuwaa ye/ tarajiile/ kudorsatowa kuwa kaptani. ‘He revealed that he had hoped to be chosen to be captain.’
<i>Kaptanlaas</i>	n. a village some ninety kilometers north of Brava on the road to Mogadishu
<i>sh-kapu (s-)</i>	n. 7/8 [Sw. <i>kikapu</i> 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>i-kapu (mi-)</i> 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’ <i>l-kapu (mi-)</i> n. aug. large basket lkapu ili ‘this aug. basket’
<i>kapuchiino</i>	n. [Ital. <i>cappuccino</i>] coffee with milk in it
<i>karaaka</i>	n. [Sw. <i>kiraka</i> SSED 204; Ar. <i>raqa’a</i> ‘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. <i>sh-karaaka (s-)</i> n. 7/8 dim. (tire) patch
<i>karaama</i>	n. [Sw. <i>karama</i> SSED 174; Ar. <i>karāma</i> W 822] miracle, extraordinary things done by saints; honor Masheekhi/ wana karaama. ‘Sheikhs have (the power of performing) miracles.’ na karaama zītu 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 ðaahiri [poem] ‘O Sheikh Abdulqadir, your miraculous powers are evident’
<i>karaamaale</i>	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: **Ifanyiza karamu.**

Karamuuni/ wa'azimiila/ masheekhi/ walangaala 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/ shinda mbuzi/ shfanya karamu/ nkulu. '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^h/u/ karamu. 'They made *karamu* for people.'

Leelo/ ka Mashariifu/ yiko karamu/ ni ziyara za mtume. 'Today at the area of the Mashariifu there is an invitation to an event, it is the celebration of the Prophet.'

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^h/u/ karamu. 'They cooked *karamu* for people.'

karaani (ma-)

n. 1/2 [Sw. *karani* SSED 174; Persian *kārān* "factor, agent" cited in SSED 174] clerk

Awa/ ndiwó/ makarani waa mi/ niwapelo peesá. 'These are the clerks who I gave money to them.'

karani uyu 'this clerk'; **makarani awa** 'these clerks'

Tuuna/ waawaye/ ni karaani. 'Tuuma's father is a clerk.'

Uyu/ ndiyé/ karani waa mi/ nimpelo peesá. 'This is the clerk whom I gave money to him.'

rel.

u-karaani n. clerkship

karata

n. [Sw. *karata* SSED 174; Port.] playing card

Chambiloowa/ nt^hasaa we/ kumloola/ we/ ni laazima/ kh^hteza/ 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'

kh^hteza karata 'to play cards'

Ye/ chiwona majini/ miingi/ yakumangeene/ kh^hteza karata. 'He saw many djinns gathered together to play cards.'

Ye/ nakendra jiraniini/ kh^hteza karata na jiraaniye. 'He is going to his neighbor's [place] to play cards with his neighbor.'

kh^htinda karata 'to cut the cards'

kubiga karata 'to shuffle cards'

kudanganya karata 'to shuffle cards'

Schiletowa karata/ wachanza kh^hteza. 'Cards were brought and they began to play.' (Syn. Observe the postposing of **karata**, the subject of the passive verb **schiletowa**, 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/ 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.’
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
Gaari/ ni kariiko. ‘The truck is loaded with cargo.’ **check**
- 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’
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/ imvundikiliile. ‘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 want^hu/ kaa kule/ wanakuuya. ‘While he was tossing and turning on the bed, he heard people from afar coming.’

karkaa ye/ nakurudo muyiini ‘while he was returning to town’

Kuḷa 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/ karkaa 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 want^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.’ (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 katiiké*.)

Safiya/ lazile karka reeri/ inayo maali. ‘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 sulṭaani/ 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.’

Wana watatu/ karka wana ikumi/ wa’ile. ‘Three students out of ten have come.’

kh-karkarata
agitated way

v. [cf. Som. adj. *karkar* “energetic, lively” DSI 359] (*karkareete*) speak in an angry,

karpaṭoone

n.9/10,6 the outer rubber tire of a wheel; *karpaṭoone* or *makarpaṭoone* ‘rubber tires’

karshe

n. 9/10 black tip reef shark

karwaayi

adj. [cf. Tunni expression: *la kari waa* “impossible to restrain”] stubborn

Laakini/ mwaana/ wele karwaayi/ ize khtoosaṭa. ‘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/ lkasaani. ‘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
Ali/ 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 Nuuru/ da'awazé**. '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'iyoy/ Huseeni/ chiruda jahazini/ 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 dáfá/ hadiiló/ chanza khtetemesha mkilawe. 'The rabbit, when he heard what the kite said, began to shake its tail.'

Basi/ oyo mwiimbili/ shkasa jis'iyoy. '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'.)

Haliima/ nk^hasizee mi/ kiimba. 'Haliima heard me singing.'

Haliima/ nk^hasizee mi/ nakiimbó. 'Haliima heard me singing.'

Hamadi/ khkasa jawabu iyoy/ ulushile/ degeele. 'Hamadi, to hear that news, he jumped up and down.'

Ito/ huwona khariibu/ ishkilo/ hukasaa kule. 'The eye sees near, the ear hears far.' (A proverb.)

jiraanize/ wamkasizopo naakuá 'when his neighbors heard him crying'

Karkaa ye/ nakugalalo chiliini/ shkasa want^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).'

Kasa koði za want^hu wa wazima. 'Listen to the words of elders.'

Kasaani. 'You (pl.) listen!'

Kasize khabari/ radiyooni. 'He listened to the news on the radio.'

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 bardi 'to feel cold'

khkasa keesi 'to hear a lawsuit, a case'

khkasa kooði 'to pay heed to someone's words'

Khkasa/ siwo/ kama huwona. 'To hear is not the same as seeing.'

Khkasa/ siwo/ kama kuwona. 'To hear is not like seeing.' Also: **Khkasa/ na kuwoná/ siwo/ sawa**. 'To listen and to see are not the same thing.' (A proverb.)

Maamaye/ 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 kasaani/ kumwiíwa moojo khuunzilo rahmaani [st.] 'listen my friends: the beginning of [all] religious obligations is to know God, the Compassionate, who created you'

Nakhkasá? 'Do you hear?'

Nimkasiizé/ Nuuru/ da'awaze. 'I heard Nuuru's complaints.'

Nimkasize siimbá/ nakugoroomá. 'I heard a lion roaring.' Or: **Nk^hasize siimbá/ nakugoroomá**.

Nk^hasaani/ waanawá. 'Listen to me, my children!'

Nk^hasiizé/ kama Omari/ ile. 'I heard that Omari arrived.' (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 **sooti** ‘voice’.)

Zilaatu/ zimbakaze 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.’

Kooði za Ali/ hukasika ka sahali. ‘The words of Ali can be heard easily.’

Kooðize/ nt^haskukasika/ ka bayaana. ‘His words were not clearly heard.’

kh-kasiliza v. appl. (**kasiliize**) listen for, on; listen to a wish, an entreaty (and therefore grant it)

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/ wakashizenye 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 khashi. ‘He allowed him to hear what he said intentionally.’

kh-kasishanya v. caus. rec.

Wana awa/ hukasishanya ndriimbo. ‘These children make one another listen to songs.’

kh-kasishika v. caus. p/s.

Hakasishiki/ kooði. ‘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/ hukooða/ 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’

Kooðize/ skasiza mashuriqi/ na maghribi. ‘His words were heard east and west.’

Nuuru/ kasiza da’awaze/ na qaaði. ‘Nuuru was listened to (regarding) his complaints by the judge.’ **review to make sure that this sentence is acceptable**

Siimba/ hujo kula mahalá/ 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

Mkasa waake/ hashalaayaṭi. ‘The one who listens to his relative does not regret it.’

Mkasa waake/ hayuuti. ‘The one who listens to his relative does not regret it.’

Sho mkasa waake/ huwona yaake. ‘The one who does not listen to his relatives sees his own (i.e. regrets it).’ A proverb.

m-kaso n. 3

ma-kaso n. 6 listening

Makaso masuura/ ni makaso ya khkasowa khur’aani. ‘Good listening is listening to the Quran.’

u-kaso n. 14 listening

Ukaso was Hamadi/ mkasizo Omari/ nt’a’uwaaliko/ ukaso/ wa daa’adi. ‘The listening of Hamadi with which he listened to Omari was not an honest listening.’

n-kaasa

n. 9/10 [Sw. *kasa* SSED 175] sea turtle; [pron. **nk’aasa**]

igozi ya nk’aasa ‘the skin of a sea turtle’

ikholofu ya nk’aasa ‘the shell of a sea turtle’

mafta ya nk’aasa ‘the fat, oil of a sea turtle’

mayank’uku ya nk’aasa ‘the eggs of a sea turtle’

nama ya nk’aasa ‘the meat of a sea turtle’

kh-kasabaṭa

v. [Ar. *kasaba* W 825; Som. *kasab* “to obtain s.t. with effort or difficulty” DSI 360] (**kasabeṭe**) gain, acquire s.t. through one’s efforts; variant form:

kh-kasabaṭa (seems to be invariably used in poetry)

Chimwambila kuwa husuloowa/ khfanyowa kaazi/ husuloowa/ muunt’u/

khkasabaṭa/ haṭá/ muḅli/ schimwwingila/ 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.’

khkasabaṭa hasanaaṭi = khkasabaṭa zeema (see below)

khkasabaṭa ilmu ‘to gain knowledge’

khkasabaṭa maali ‘to acquire wealth’

maali/ ya munt’u mooyi/ kasabeṭó/ ka nguvuzé ‘wealth that one person earned through his strength’

khkasabaṭa zeema ‘to acquire rewards for good deeds done’

Abú/ kasbeṭe zeema/ ka wazelewe/ kilaa chiint’u/ chiwafanyiliza. ‘Ali earned good things from his parents, he was doing every thing for them.’

Omari/ kasbeṭe zeema. ‘Omari worked to accomplish good deeds.’ Or: **Omari/ kasbeṭe/ zeema.**

Shkasabaṭa zeema/ stakhinfa weewe/ na shkasabaṭa ziwovú/ stakhudhiba weewe. ‘If you earn blessings for good deeds done, they will serve

- you, and if you earn bad things, they will trouble you.’ (A proverb.)
Kilaa muunt^hu/ hupata yaa ye/ kasabeetó. ‘Every one gets (i.e. should get) what he earns, works for.’ Or: **Kilaa muunt^hu/ hupata/ yaa ye/ kasabeetó.**
Muunt^hu/ huja yaa ye/ kasabeetó. ‘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/ kasbeetení. ‘What did you earn? what did you work for (i.e. what did you get in return for your work)?’
rel.
kh-kasabatika v. p/s.
kh-kasabatila v. appl.
Mpeleshele mwaana/ kumkasabatila maali. ‘He sent his child to make money for him.’
Nt^haná/ bilaa zaa ye/ khkasabatila maali. ‘He has no wits with to acquire money.’
- u-kasaala** n. [cf. Ar. *kasal* W 827] laziness (This word is less common than *ukaslaani*.)
Ukasaala/ ha’impisi/ muunt^hu/ mbele. ‘Laziness does not make one move forward.’
Ukasaala/ humruda muunt^hu/ chinume. ‘Laziness sets one back.’
- 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.)
Nt^hakhpata/ kasbu ya ma’ana. ‘He did not get enough, anything that amounted to something.’
- kaasha (ma-)** n. 5/6 [Sw. *kasha* SSED 175; Port.] wooden box with decoration on top
Chingize kaashá/ mtanaani. ‘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 confectionery consisting of boiled sugar with either grated coconuts or sesame seeds
Makashata/ hufanyowa ka suukari/ unga/ na mashataá. ‘*Makashata* are made of sugar, flour, and sesame.’
Mwiini/ zamaani/ mashariifu/ washfanya makashata/ wachuuza. ‘In Brava during old times, *mashariifu* used to make *makashata* and sell them.’
- kaashi** n. cash
kh^htomola kaashi ‘to pay in cash’
Hamadi/ uzilee nguwo/ ka Sheekhi/ dukaani/ toleme peesa/ kaashi.
‘Hamadi bought cloth from Sheekhi’s shop and paid the money in cash.’
- kh-kashifa** v. [Sw. *kashifu* SSED 176; Ar. *kašafa* W 829] (*kashifiile*) discover and reveal someone’s secrets, faults, sins, uncover something
Kashifile kuwaa mi/ nazo peesá/ bangiiní. ‘He discovered that I had money in the bank.’
khkashifa ebu ‘to reveal a secret’
khkashifa siri ‘to reveal a secret’
Mi/ mbaliko furhaani/ khkashifa kuwaa ye/ ni sahali/ khkoðowa naaye. ‘I was happy to discover him to be easy to talk to.’
Mi/ nkhashfiilé/ kuwa Omari/ waliko chinkhiyaansata/ mi. ‘I discovered that Omari was cheating me.’
Nk^hashifile ka waant^hu. ‘He reported me (i.e. my disgraceful actions) to people.’
rel.
kh-kashifika v. p/s.
Ba’adi ya waant^hu/ awa/ kiwoowa/ khkashifika/ kuwa ni waant^hu/ wa zamaani/ wachifa. ‘After these people became known and were

revealed that they were people of the olden times, they passed away.’

kh-kashifila v. appl. (**kashifilile**)

Nk^hashifilile 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.

m-kashifo n. act of revealing secret vices

Nuuru/ hadiile/ apa/ zinakuya jawabu za mkashifo/ kheeri/ mi/ nakiyolokelá. Nuuru said: Here there are coming acts of revealing secret vices it is better for me to leave (lit. be leaving).’

ma-kashifo n. acts of revealing secret vices

Jawaabu/ za makashifo/ khkashifananoowa/ siwo/ suura/ ni ðambi. ‘Acts of revealing secret vices is not good, it is sinful.’

u-kashifu n. 14 the act of revealing someone’s vices, secrets

Hamadi/ jawaabuze/ nza ukashifu/ hupeenda/ khkashifa waant^hu/ ebu zaawo. ‘Hamadi, his way of acting is that of revealing secrets/vices, he likes to reveal people’s vices.’

kashiindri

n. [etymology unknown] porcupine (large kind, living in the bush)

lbawa 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.’

Lkaambala/ la Nuuru/ nakhsuuló/ mfungila ngoombé/ limo kaasi/ sharti/ khtomoloowa/ khtosishoowa. ‘The rope that Nuuru wants to tie the cow with is twisted, it must be taken and straightened.’

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’

Umi/ oshela harusiini/ ka Ali/ mwaanawe/ bishiila ka sirna/ ambiila/ naani/ khulalizowe/ burishiiza. ‘Umi went to Ali’s child’s wedding, she was humiliated and told: who invited you? and was expelled.’

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/ chinakeendrapi. ‘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.
- kasiyeeri* n. [Ital. *cassiere*] cashier
Nuuru/ ni kasiyeeri/ mgahawaani/ ka Hasani/ ndiyé/ hushiko peesá. ‘Nuuru is a cashier at Hasani’s restaurant, he is the one who keeps money.’
- kaskaazi* n. [Sw. *kaskazi* SSED 176] winds coming from the north
Kaskaazi/ inakuvuma. ‘The north wind is blowing.’
Rasha lpandre 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 (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. This word was provided by Mohammad Imam; Gelani Mohamed offered instead *ikakasi* or *mkakasi* instead with the same meaning.)
rel.
l-kaski (*mi-*) n. 11/4 aug.
sh-kaski (*s-*) n. 7/8 dim.
- kaslaani* (*Ø-, ma-*) adj. [Ar. *kaslān* W 827] lazy
mp^hundra kaslaani ‘a lazy donkey’
ndila ya muunt^hu/ kaslaani/ ya kuwelela taajiri ‘the way for a lazy person to become rich’
rel.
u-kaslaani n. 14 laziness
Nuuru/ fijiri/ ba/ choondroka/ hondroka ka ukaslaani/ hasuuli/ khfanya kaazi. ‘Nuuru at morning wakes up and he is lazy, he does not want to work.’
Ukaslaani/ ha’impisi/ muunt^hu/ mbele. ‘Laziness does not make one move forward.’
Ukaslaani/ humruda muunt^hu/ chinume. ‘Laziness sets one back.’
Ukaslaani/ ni alama ya unuhsi. ‘Laziness is a sign of bad luck.’
- kasraani* (*Ø-, ma-*) adj. [Ar. *kasara* W 826] bitter, morose, glum, etc. (of human beings); person of bad omen
rel.
u-kasraani n. bitterness, glumness, etc.
- kasuuku* n. 9/10 [Sw. *kasuku* SSED 177] parrot
Kasuku uyu/ hakooði. ‘This parrot does not talk.’ (Cf. **Kasuku izi/ haskooði.** ‘These parrots do not talk.’)
- m(u)-kaaṭaba* (*mi-*) n. 3/4 [Sw. *mkataba* (*mi-*) SSED 179; Ar. *mukāṭaba* “exchange of letters” W 813] contract, written agreement between two parties
khfanya mkaaṭaba ‘to make a contract’
Ye/ yufiliile/ kuwaa ye/ fanyize mkaaṭaba/ kama uyu/ pamo na Abunawaasi. ‘He regretted that he had made a contract like this together with Abunawaasi.’
mkaaṭaba uyu ‘this contract’; **mikaaṭaba aya** ‘these contracts’
Ra’iisi/ nakhfilaṭiloowa/ khfaanya/ mkaaṭaba. ‘The president is being expected to make an agreement.’

Wachandikilana mkaat̩aba/ ya kuwaa ye/ takhpató/ yot̩e/ 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 shkabile [st.] ‘O God, we beseech you, grant us that we may perform the pilgrimage/ include us in the [number of the] pilgrims every year’

Mojiitu/ hulomboowa/ kishkaṭabila janna. ‘God is begged/prayed to for us to be destined to enter paradise.’ (A religious proverb.)

rel.

kh-kaṭabilila v. appl. (-kaṭabiliile)

Nuuru/ hadiile/ mojiitu/ nk^haṭabiliiló/ kendraa Maka/ kuhija/ mwaka uyu. ‘Nuuru said that it is God who prescribed me to go to Mecca this year.’

kaṭabu

adj. prescribed

Daadá/ Umí/ hadiile/ mi/ kuwapakata wiikulá/ ni kaṭabu. ‘Grandmother Umi said: for me to hold my grandsons on my lap is a blessing (prescribed by God).’

Kilaa chiint^hu/ ni kaṭabu ka mojiitu. ‘Everything is prescribed by God.’ (A proverb.)

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 ikaṭaara ‘a car that is falling apart’

Gaari/ ikaṭaara. ‘The car is falling apart.’

igari ikaṭaara ‘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

kaṭeetra

n. catheter

Hasani/ mwaanawe/ rebelee mane/ leelo/ taano/ peshele spitaale/ tomelaa mane/ ka kaṭeetra. ‘Hasani’s child was unable to urinate; today, the fifth day/, he was sent to hospital and urine was extracted with a catheter.’

sh-kaṭi (s-)

n. 7/8 [this item could be connected to Sw. *shuka* SSED 426, which further gives Ar. source *šiqqa* ‘a half, a piece’ W 480; if the final *ta* of the Ar. word is pronounced, it becomes *šiqat*, 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.’

kaṭibu (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’).

kaṭu

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 alone since the **tambú** (betel) leaf is no longer easily imported (This word was provided by Mohammad Imam, but not known to Gelani Mohamed.)

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/ hukaṭushaa nguwo. ‘Salt water fades clothes.’

rel. nom.

m-kaṭuko n. 3

kh-kaṭula

v. [Sw. *katua* SSED 179] (**kaṭiile**) polish, burnish

rel.

kh-kaṭulila v. appl. (**kaṭuliile**)

kh-kaṭuloowa v. pass. (**-kaṭiila**)

kh-kaṭulisha v. caus. cause to burnish

rel. nom.

m-kaṭulo n. 3 act of polishing

Mkaṭulo/ wa Aamina/ hukaṭulo ṭawaafá/ ni kana/ ṭala. ‘The polishing of Aamina that she polishes the lantern makes it bright, like a light.’

ma-kaṭulo n. 6 act of polishing

Makaṭulo/ ya zijamu/ izi/ siwo/ suura/ nt^hazina kuwala. ‘The polishing of these plates is not good, they are not shining bright.’ (It is interesting that in this example, we did not record a phrasal break after the negative verb **nt^hazina**. The usual explanation for the failure of a phrasal break after a negative verb is that there is focus elsewhere in the sentence. More research is required on this matter, however.)

u-kaṭulo n. polishing

Ukaṭulo/ wa Umi/ hukaṭulo bikeeri/ siwo/ kana/ wa Aamina/ wa Umi/ bikeeri/ huwala zaaydi. ‘Umi’s way of polishing that she polishes glasses is not like that of Aamina/ Umi’s glasses shine more.’

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 baḷaasi/ 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)

Aasha/ tile mkate/ na jiile. [H!H!H] ‘Aasha baked a cake and ate it.’ (In this example the conjunction **na** is used to conjoin two clauses and in this context does not trigger a final accent on the following phrase. It is also striking that the **na**-phrase is downstepped relative to the preceding phrase, showing that it has been included in the same intonational phrase with the preceding clause.)

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’

Fardoosa/ tile mkate/ tu/ laakini/ ye/ nt^hakiyija. ‘Fardoosa baked (lit. put in)

a cake only, but she did not eat it.'

Mikate/ yako apa? 'Are the cakes here?' or: **Yako apa/ mikaté?** or: **Apa yaakó/ mikaté?** or: **Apa/ mikaté/ yaakó?** (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 poured 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.'

Nthukile mikaté/ na maayi. 'I am carrying cakes and water.'

Waatakuleta 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 mahala niingi/ waant'u/ ka kuḷa/ mahala/ 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 khatari. '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/ hutindowaa mbuzi/ niingi. 'Around mid-day many goats are slaughtered.'

kati ka 'between'

kati naa kati 'the middle of something'

Ismu/ ya chiint'u/ kati naa kati/ suura. 'Everything in the middle is good.' (A proverbial saying.)

Muuyi/ oyo/ kati naa kati/ ina nuumba/ nk^hulu/ nt^ho. 'In the middle of that town there is a very 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 mtaana 'inside the room'

Itezeza kati ya mtaana. 'There was playing inside the room.' Or: **Mtaana/ itezeza katiike.** 'The room, there was playing inside it.'

Kati ya m̄taana/ tezeezó. ‘Inside the room, I played.’ (The preposing of the phrase **kati ya m̄taana** can trigger pseudo-relativization of the verb.)

M̄taana/ ūtezeza katiike. ‘The room was played inside it.’

Tezeze kati ya m̄taana. ‘He played inside the room.’ Or: **Tezeze/ kati ya m̄taana.** (Cf. **N̄tezeze kati ya m̄taaná.** ‘I played inside the room.’

Or: **N̄tezeze/ kati ya m̄taana.** Or: **N̄tezeze/ kati/ ya m̄taana.**)

Waana/ watezeze kati ya m̄taana. ‘The children played inside the room.’ Or: **Waana/ watezeze/ kati ya m̄taana.** Or: **Watezeze/ kati/ ya m̄taana.**

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 kulā/ kaa nk^hele/ na paapo/ waant^{hu}/ wachimtilaa kati/ nakumuuzā/ ije impeetó. ‘The rich man began to cry loudly and right then people surrounded him asking him what had happened to him.’

Mi/ nsimeme kati ya Omari/ na Hamadí. ‘I stood between Omari and Hamadi.’ Cf. **Omari/ na Hamadí/ isimema katikaawo.** ‘Omari and Hamadi were stood between.’

munt^{hu} waa kati ‘the man in the middle’

mwana waa kati ‘the middle child (in location or in terms of order of birth)’

Waana/ watezeze kati ya m̄taana. ‘The children played inside the room.’ Or, with emphasis on the verb: **Waana/ watezeze/ kati ya m̄taana.** Or, with emphasis on the verb, but also separation of **kati** from its complement: **Waana/ watezeze/ kati/ ya m̄taana.** There is raising of **kati** in the case, even above the preceding verb. (When the verb is a final-accent trigger, the last example is interesting: **N̄tezeze/ kati/ ya m̄taana.** ‘I played *inside* the room.’ What we see here is that the final accent cannot 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: ***N̄tezeze kati/ yaa m̄taana.**

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.

kati kaawo

Itulushileni/ kati kaawo. ‘What happened between them?’

Mooyi/ kati kaawo/ chihada/ ni kakajila. ‘One of them said: it is true.’

Mooyi/ kati kaawo/ tumila kulaa kuja/ muyiini. ‘One of them was sent to town to buy bread.’

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 tayaari/ 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 tala/ 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 mtaana 'inside the room'

Nt^hezeze kati ya mtaana. 'I played in the room.' Or: **Nt^hezeze/ kati ya mtaana.** 'I *played* in the room.'

Tezeze kati ya mtaana. 'He played in the room.' Or: **Tezeze/ kati ya mtaana.** 'He *played* inside the room.' Or: **Kati ya mtaana/ tezeze.** 'Inside the *room* (was where) he played.'

kati ya nuumba 'in the middle of the house'

kati yaa ndila 'on the way'

Nfakete kati ya waant^hu. 'I ran between the men.' Cf. **want^hu waa mi/ nfaketo kati yaa wo** 'the men that I ran between (them)' (Syn. In the relative form, the resumptive pronoun is required: *...**nfaketo 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/ makavu? '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/ l^himilo/ l^himwelee nk^havu. [H'H!H] 'The preacher, the tongue became dried to him.'

Haatibu/ l^himilole/ l^hwelee nk^havu. [H'H!H] 'The preacher's throat has become dry (i.e. he has become hoarse).'

-kavu/ kana igozi 'as dry as a skin/hide'

-kavu/ kana ijiwe 'as dry as a stone'

Haliima/ mpele mwaana/ maandra/ ska^hleent^ho/ nk^havu/ kana majiwe. 'Haliima gave the child bread that had stayed for so long, it was dry, like stones.'

-kavu/ kanaa ngome 'as dry as a stone'

khfanyaa nk^havu 'to make dry (empty)

Wana wa Haliima/ kuja/ mikooni/ yont^he/ wajiile/ wamaliize/ miiko/ nk^havu/ wafanyiizó. 'Haliima's children, ate all the food in the kitchen, they made the kitchen empty (lit. 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’itukula/ 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.’
nsii nk^havu ‘dried fish’
Nt^hi/ (nii) nk^havu. ‘The ground is dry.’
nt^hii nk^havu ‘dry land’
Nt^hunakuwona/ maduuri/ jisaa yo/ makavú. ‘Don’t you see how dry the forest is?’
qalbi ichiwa nk^havu ndruuza khatari [st.] ‘if (your) heart is dry, my brothers, [that is] dangerous’
qalbi ichiwa nk^havu ndruuza 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.’

wowi iyi/ iwelee nk^havu/ yana ‘this river was dry yesterday’
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/ takhufanya kaw!/ takhufaanyó. ‘Me, I am going to *kaw!* you (i.e. exterminate you), that’s what I am going to do.’
Mwizi/ mdurile Ali/ chisu/ cha miimba/ mub^hleele/ kaw! ‘The thief knifed Ali in the stomach and killed him, *kaw!*’
Ye/ mtetee mbuzi/ mtiinzile/ kaw!/ bilaa ya khtiya/ wajasile chinume/ awo wanakhtiyó/ kana/ waazi. ‘He took the goat and slaughtered it without fear and left behind those who wear afraid with open mouth.’

kaawo

at or to their (place); for them

Ali/ simeme iwavuuni/ 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.’
Mwaana/ 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.’
Wo/ ni waaðehe/ kaawo/ tarafu yaa wo/ wanakhsuuló. ‘They are clear about what they want.’

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) (This word is from Mohammad Imam. Gelani Mohamed instead uses the verb –*kamuka*, particularly with reference to rain stopping.)

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’

Abú/ ni lilaahiye/ tarafu ya kuweka kaayi/ peesa. ‘Abu is serious about saving money.’

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.)

Ndiwe kanzi ya kaay na mpeendozo/ ni jidaari ya kulla imaani [SCB:112] ‘You are a treasure to be jealously preserved and love for you is the foundation of all faith.’

l-kaaza (n-)

n. 11/10 ceiling; [pron. of pl. **nk^aaaza**]

kaazi

n. 9 [Sw. *kazi* SSED 181] work, job; affair

Chinzena kaaziye/ ya khsuuka. ‘She continued weaving [lit. her work of weaving].’

Chiwanapo kaazi/ simviilé. ‘If he is busy, don’t call him!’

chiwanayo kaazi ‘if he has a job (or is busy)’

Chiwanayopo kaazi/ simdhibé. ‘If he is busy (e.g. as I suspect he might be), don’t bother him!’

Hasiibu/ kaaziye/ iwelee kuja/ na kulaalá/ kulaala/ naa kujá. ‘Hasiibu’s job became to eat and to sleep, to sleep and to eat.’

Ifanyiza naawó/ ni kaazi. [H!H] ‘What was done by them is work.’

Kaazi/ ifanyiza na waant^hu. [H!H] ‘Work was done by people.’

Kaazi/ ifanyiza naawo. [H!H] ‘Work was done by them.’

kazi iyi ‘this work’

Kaazi/ ni kanzi/ maali/ nii ngazi. ‘Work is a treasure, wealth is a ladder.’ (A proverb.)

Kaazi/ wa’ifanyiize. [H!H] ‘Work they did it.’

kaaziya ‘my work’

Kaaziye/ ndiyó/ suurá. ‘It is his work that is good.’

Kaaziye/ siwo/ suura. ‘His work is not good (at all).’

khfanya kaazi ‘to do work’

Ba’ada ya ayaamu/ muḅli/ 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.)’

Kilaa muunt^hu/ laazimu/ khfanya kaazi/ khkasbaṭa ma’iinshaye. ‘Every one must work to earn his living.’

Mwaana/ chanza khfanya kaazi. ‘The boy began to do work.’

mont^hu haṭakhfanya kaazi ‘the man who won’t work’ (Cf. **Muunt^hu/ haṭakhfaanya/ kaazi.** ‘The man will not work.’)

Waant^hu/ wafanyiize kaazi. [H!H] ‘The people worked.’ (cf. **Waant^hu/ wa’ifanyiize/ kaazi.** [HH!H] ‘The people did the work.’) (The emphasized verb in this example was actually raised slightly above the initial PP. In our transcription, we use the sequence HH to refer to the absence of either a clear declination or downstep, where the second H maybe slightly higher in pitch than the first, but lacking

the marker raising associated with the symbol [†].)

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 mwaana. ‘To raise a pregnancy is not work, work is to raise a child.’ (A proverb.)

khptomola kaziini ‘to fire from job’; also: **khptomolowa kaziini**

Omari/ tomela kaziini/ ka khisa/ huragaraaga. ‘Omari was fired from work because he always delays delays.’

khtila waant^hu/ kaziini ‘to make people busy’

Mwiini/ ifungila warshada/ ya zilaatu/ mp^hiya/ waant^hu/ wiingi/ watila kaziini. ‘In Miini a new shoe factory has opened, many people are being put to work.’

koloka kaziini/ ka gaari ‘to go to work by car’

kolokela gaari/ kaziini ‘to use a car to go to work’

Nuzile gaari/ kolokela kaziini. ‘I bought a car to go to work in.’

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.’

Ni fayda dara/ Faatima/ khfanya ruuhuye/ chiza kiiwa/ kaazi/ za muhliwe. ‘It is useless for Faatima to pretend not to know about her husband’s affairs.’

Wa’ifanyize kaazi. ‘They did work.’

Waana/ nt^h awakhpata/ 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

n. food given to the poor at the end of the mourning period, after which people can return to work

khfanya kaazi ‘to celebrate, perform the ceremony that marks the end of the mourning period’

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?’

Chimatala mukeewe/ ka shana/ ndretela maayi. ‘He took his wife and angrily (said) bring me some water.’

Chiwaa ye/ nakhsuulaa 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 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 mwana wa Nuuru/ pishilee nama. ‘The wife of the son of Nuuru cooked meat.’ Or: **Muke/ wa mwana wa Nuuru/ pishilee nama.** Or: **Muke wa mwaana/ wa Nuuru/ pishilee nama.** (Our consultant GM was not

comfortable with a more highly articulated phrasing like ??**Muke/ wa mwaana/ wa Nuuru/ pishilee nama.**)

Muke wa Nuuru/ mwaanawe/ pishilee nama. ‘The wife of Nuuru’s son cooked meat.’

Nuuru/ mwaanawe/ 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’

Naani/ iló. ‘Who came?’ This could be answered by **Tuuma/ mukeewa.** ‘My wife 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 majaanili. ‘Men today do not like ignorant women.’

Wake wa M(w)iini/ hawafurahili/ kiskatila ka zote/ 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’

koói zaa chike ‘female talk’

Hukódaa 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 ngombee 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 dasturi yiitu/ mwanaamke/ shpelekoowa/ karkaa nṭhi/ za wakeewe/ ni laazimu/ ye/ ka muda wa sku nṭhaano/ khkalaanṭha/ ka wawaye mubli/ khablaa 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.’

Mkeewe/ chimpa/ rukhsa/ ye/ kumṭukula mukeewe. ‘His in-law gave him permission for him to take his wife [with him].’

Mwanaamke/ uyu/ shkalanṭha 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](#)

kefu

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/ kefu/ we. ‘If the teacher could not understand, much less could you’

kefu 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/ koðeeló. ‘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.’
Shkalanth^a nt^hini yaa muti/ nakuḷa kaa nk^hele. ‘He sat under the tree crying loudly.’
- khfanya nk^hele** ‘to make noise’
Faatima/ mwambile Nuuru/ sfaanyé/ nk^hele/ waana/ waleeló. ‘Faatima told Nuuru: dont make noise, the children are asleep.’
Hasani/ siwo/ munt^hu msuura/ jawaabu/ chihaba/ hufanyaa nk^hele/ na rabsha. ‘Hasani is not a good person, he shouts and makes disturbances over a small thing.’
Sfaanyeni/ nk^hele. ‘You (pl.) don’t make noise!’
- khtila lkele** ‘to cause problems, difficulties, arguments etc.’
Stilé/ lkele. ‘Don’t cause problems, etc.!’
- kubiga lkele** ‘to shout (e.g. in calling someone)’; also: **kubigila lkele** ‘to shout at, for’
Omari/ mbigilile Haliima/ lkele/ khfungula mnaango. ‘Omari shouted at Haliima to open the door.’
- kubigaa nk^hele** ‘to scold, shout’; also: **kubigilaa nk^hele** ‘to shout at’
Ba’ada/ ya ma’askari/ koondroka/ kiyolokela muyiini/ Abunawaasi/ chanza kubigaa nk^hele. ‘After the soldiers had left to go to town, Abunawaasi began to shout.’
Chibigaa nk^hele/ chimviila. ‘He shouted and called to him.’
Faatima/ mbigilile muḷiwe/ nk^hele/ kuuya. ‘Faatima shouted for her husband to come.’
Faatima/ mbigilile nk^hele/ muḷiwe. ‘Faatima shouted for her husband.’
Faatima/ bishilee nk^hele/ khsaydoowa. ‘Faatima shouted for help.’
Hamadi/ bishilee nk^hele/ Haliima/ kuwa laazimu/ khsimika/ yaa ye/ nakhfaanyó. ‘Hamadi shouted that Haliima should stop what she was doing.’
- kubigaa nk^hele/ kanaa mba** ‘to shout (bark) like a dog’
Mbwa chibigoo nk^helé/ ingile numbaani. ‘The dog that was barking entered the house.’
Mi/ mbishilee nk^helé/ jisa Omari/ kunk^hasa. ‘I shouted so that Omari would hear me.’
Mi/ nimbigilile Omari/ nk^helé/ kuwaa mí/ siná/ wakhti/ kumsaayda. ‘I shouted at Omari that I had no time to help him.’
Mi/ nimbigilile Omari/ nk^helé/ ye/ fakeetó. ‘I shouted at Omari as he ran away.’
Waank^hulo/ hubigaa nk^hele/ chinalapó. ‘Grandfather shouts when he urinates.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **nvula** ‘rain’.)
- lkele lkulu** ‘a big noise’; **nk^hele nk^hulu** ‘big noises’
Maama/ na mwaaná/ wachingilaa kuḷa/ nt^hi/ nzimaye/ nk^hele. ‘The mother and the boy went on crying, the whole place was just wailing.’
munt^hu waa nk^hele ‘a man who habitually makes a lot of noise’
Nk^hele ziinu/ zizidiile/ nt^ho. ‘Your (pl.) noise is very loud.’
Ye/ ni munt^hu mwenyee nk^hele. ‘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'
Mwaana/ bishile shkele. 'The child made a small noise.'
- kh-kemela*
v. [Sw. *kemea* SSED 183] (**kemeleele**) scold, chide, rebuke, punish
Ali/ ha'isi/ khkemela waana/ huwapoteza. 'Ali does not know how to scold children, he spoils them.'
ka kibri maana humkemela mzele [st.] 'with arrogance a child rebukes an old man'
rel.
kh-kemeloowa v. pass.
Waana/ wachigafa/ husula khkemeloowa. 'If children make a mistake, it is needed for them to be scolded.'
kh-kemeleka v. p/s.
Ha'ambiliki/ chiint^hu/ hakemeleki/ wala/ habaramishiki. 'She cannot be told anything, she cannot be rebuked nor talked to.'
Wana wa Ali/ hawakemeleki/ ba/ paapo/ hula. 'Ali's children cannot be scolded, they immediately cry.'
kh-kemelela v. appl. (**kemeleele**)
rel. nom.
ma-kemelo n. 6
- keendra*
adj. [Sw. *kenda* SSED 183] nine
ikumi na keendra 'nineteen'
Kheeri/ keendra/ kolko ikumi/ endra/ 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.'
Waant^hu/ waleele/ ndraani/ ya ituundru/ miyaaka/ miyaa nt^hatu/ na keendra. 'The people slept inside the cave for three hundred and nine years.'
- n-kengele*
n. 9/10 [Sw. *kengele* SSED 183] bell; [pron. **nk^hengele**]
kubiga nk^hengele 'to ring bells'
- Keenya*
n. Kenya
Mi/ mbaliko Keenya/ khariibu. 'I have been to Kenya recently.' Or:
Keenya/ mbaalikó/ khariibu.
waant^hu wa'enzele Keenya walašile 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 kereema/ 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
Keesha. 'Stay up all night!' (Cf. **Keshaani.** '(Pl.) stay up all night.'
Kesha masku. 'Stay up all night!'
Khkesha kaawo/ nt^hayimpeendeza/ wawa yaawo/ haťa/ 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).’

Nk^hesheze naayé. ‘I stayed up all night with him.’ Cf. **Nkesheze naayé.** ‘You stayed up all night with him.’

Skesheeni/ masku. ‘(Pl.) don’t stay up all night!’

Uweesu/ kesheeze. ‘Uweesu stayed up all night.’

rel.

kh-keesheka 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 khaati/ khkeshenzeza. ‘He bought *khaati* 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/ mkeshesheze mwaana. ‘Saalimu kept the child awake all night.’

kh-kesheshan(y)a v. caus. rec.

Waana/ wakeshesheenyé. ‘The children kept one another awake all night.’

kh-kesheshezeza v. caus. appl.

Nureeni/ mkeshenzeze Suufi/ mwaana. ‘Nureeni kept Suufi’s child awake all

night.’

kh-kesheshelezanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Omari/ na Hasani/ wakesheshezenye 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/ m’wanaamke/ oyo/ chim’waambila/ nk^hasiüzé/ 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.’ (Observe how the *ku* prefix found in the future tense is converted to *ki* in front of the [cl.7] object prefix *chi*.)

Keesho/ mi/ takuuya/ ka baçera. ‘I will arrive tomorrow by boat.’ (In GM’s speech, the first person singular subject marker *n-* elides in front of the future tense marker *ta* instead of forming a voiceless prenasalized stop as in MI’s speech. GM regularly fails also to write the *n* in this context.)

Keesho/ si/ shtakuruda Nairobi. ‘Tomorrow, we will return to Nairobi.’

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/ nakhtosha/ kuwa maana/ takhpita/ 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].’ (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/ takhpata mukeewe/ keesho. ‘He will get his wife tomorrow.’

keesi

n. [Sw. *kesi* SSED 184; Eng. *case*] case at law, lawsuit

khkasa keesi

Leelo/ chinakendra mahkamaani/ khkasa kesi ya Nuurú/ nakuda’awaṭoowá. ‘Today we are going to the court to hear the case that Nuuru has brought.’

khṭinda 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’

Muunt^hu/ hingilo siyaasá/ huwa khaa’ini. ‘Men who enter politics become corrupt.’

munt^hu kha’iini ‘a deceitful person’

kha’insata

v. cheat

rel.

kha’insatana v. rec. cheat one another

Waant^hu/ wachiwa amiini/ hushikilana zoombo/ ka lilaahi/

hawakha’insatani. ‘If people are trustworthy they hold for each other things (i.e. they keep things for one another), they don’t cheat each other.’

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? ‘What’s your news?’ (A greeting, the reply to which is **Amaani.** ‘Peace (i.e. everything is fine).’)

Khabari/ izo/ paapo/ apo/ schikoma sul^taani. ‘Those pieces of news at once reached the sultan.’

khabari/ ka mukhtasari ‘the news in brief’

Khabari za mahala w/ iliiló. ‘What is the news from the place that you have come from?’

Khabari/ zichihuzunishiize. [H!H] ‘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.’ (In our data from MI, preposing the verb complement does not trigger a shift of the verb into pseudo-relative form. GM, on the other hand, may prepose complements without pseudo-relativizing the verb (like MI), but he also may shift the verb to pseudo-relative form. The latter is a case where the preposed complement is being focused.)

khpisa khabari ‘to pass news, i.e. report, inform’

Muunt^hu/ chisula kendra mahala/ ka waant^hu/ kana marti/ laazimu/ khpisa khabari/ mbele/ kiiwisha/ mahala yaa ye/ nakeendró. If one wants to go somewhere as guest, he should let that place know before hand.’

kh^tomola khabari ‘to report’

Nuuru/ ile hafisaani/ ka rasdent^e/ nakhtomola khabari/ za safariye/ Mkhodiisho. ‘Nuuru came to the District Commissioner’s office and is reporting about his trip to Mogadishu.’

kh^tomola khabari/ mbele ‘to say before hand’

Muunt^hu/ chisula kendra mahala/ ka waant^hu/ martihaani/ laazimu/ kh^tomola khabari/ mbele/ kiiwisha/ mahala yaa ye/ nakeendró. ‘If one wants to go somewhere as guest, he should let that place know before hand.’

Lete khabari. ‘(Lit.) bring news – how are things? any news?’

Maali/ bila daftari/ hubaha bila khabari. ‘Possessions without an accounting book get lost without information about them being preserved.’ (A proverb.)

Mi/ kanza leelo/ simó/ 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^taani. ‘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.’

Nt^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.’

Si/ chihuzunishiza na khabari. [H!H] ‘We were made to grieve by the news.’

Sku niingi/ skupata/ khabari zaawo. ‘For many days I did not get any

news from them (lit. their news).’

Sultani waa noka/ chimuza Hasiibu/ khabarize. ‘The king of snakes asked Hasiibu his news (i.e. his explanation of the circumstances surrounding him).’

Wachiruda ka sulṭaani/ 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/ wanakuhaḡa/ ya kuwa ra’iisi/ nakhilaṭiloowa/

khfaanya/ mukaṭaba/ pamó/ na ba’adi/ yaa nt^{hi}/ zaa ye/

ṭakuzuuró. ‘The newsmen say that the president is expected to make an agreement with some of the countries that he will visit.’

akhbaari n.pl. news (This plural form from Arabic may be used in Chimiini, but **khabari** is most commonly used; **khabari** may be singular or plural.)

akhbari za Baana ‘news of/from Baana’ (but more common: **khabari za Baana**)

Da’iimu/ hulangaḡa akhbaari/ humurugaṭila ‘I generally watch the news worrying.’ (Example from Mikael Mumin.)

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 disobediant, scandalous, evil; if you want (to know) his attributes, read the **hadiithi**’

khacha

ideo. (cf. Sw. *kacha*)

Laani/ laa muti/ ḡhileeló/ ḡpoṭele ilu yaa jasi/ khacha khacha!/ lweeló. ‘The branch of the tree, which was hanging over, fell on the roof **khacha khacha!** (that’s how) it became.’

Mwaana/ oyo/ poṭeze ṭarmuusi/ ivuunzile/ nzimaye/ khacha khacha! ‘That child dropped a thermos and destroyed it completely.’

Videyoye/ ivundishile/ khacha khacha!/ ba’adi ya ijuuniya/ yaa geḡe/ khpṭela iluke. ‘His video was completely broken after the gunny sack of maize fell onto it.’

khada’a

v. [Sw. *hadaa* SSED 122] (**khada’iile**) cheat someone, deceive someone

Boobo/ mkhada’ile mwaalimu. ‘Boobo cheated the teacher.’

Ichiwa muunt^{hu}/ mwaape/ nakhsula kunkhada’a/ ṭamwambila boliisi. ‘If someone tried to blackmail me I would tell the police.’

kumkhada’a ‘to cheat, deceive someone’

Nakhada’á. ‘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: **Nakukhada’á**.)

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.’

Shṭezeezé/ maṭezo 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/ kiĵa/ 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'

Ali/ chisula chiint^hu/ kaaziye/ khfanya khada'a/ siwo/ muunt^hu/ diriŋo.

'When Ali wants something he cheats (lit. his job is to cheat), he is not straight.'

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 decepts.'

khada'oole

adj. (from verb **khada'a** plus Somali suffix **-leh**) deceitful, treacherous

Duniya/ ni khada'oole. 'The world is deceitful.' (A proverb, which was also observed as a line in *shteenzi*: **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: [khaddaraya])

Omari/ chitaache/ khaddaraya. 'Omari's head is big.'

Omari/ ipulaye/ khaddaraya. 'Omari's nose is big.'

review matter of accent

rel.

i-khaddaraya n. aug. 5 s.t. big [pron. [i-kháddaraa]] (In all of the examples currently available to us, this item was regularly pronounced as a separate phrase and with an unusual accent on **kha** that we did not observe in examples with the diminutive. More research is needed.)

Jawaabu/ shkhaddaraa/ hufanya ikháddaraa. 'A small matter becomes a big matter.' (A proverb.)

Omari/ imĵazile ipu/ ikulu/ ikháddaraa 'Omari has an infected wound (boil, etc.), a big big one'

Omari/ uzile igoombe/ [†]ikháddaraa. 'Omari bought a cow, a big one.'

(This has the same meaning as: **Omari/ uzile igoombe/ [†]ikulu.** In

fact, one can use both adjectives together: **Omari/ uzile igoombe/ ¹ikulu/ ikháddaraa** ‘Omari a cow, a big big one!’

sh-khaddaraya (s-) n. 7/8 dim.

khadaraayi

how long?

Kazile Mambasa/ wakhti/ khadaraayi. ‘How long has he been in Mombasa?’

khadari

n. see *qadri*

khaddirisha

v. estimate (size, weight)

Ijuniya iyi/ uzitowe/ takhaddirisha/ 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. 9/10, 6 [Sw. *hadimu* SED 122] servant (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/ schiwaa 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.’

Mwanaana/ chamura makhaadimu/ kuletaa ngoma/ khteza/ hatá/ fijiri. ‘The child ordered servants to bring a drum to play until morning.’

Mwanaamke/ shpowa Hasani/ kumwelele khaadimu. ‘The girl was given Hasani to be for her a servant.’

Walimo mwanaashke/ msuura/ karka makhaadimu. ‘There was a beautiful girl among the servants.’

we/ kumwelele mwanaana/ 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?’

khadira

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/ hakhaadiri. Nt^hakuuya.** ‘Haliima is sick. She did not come.’ Cf.
Haliima/ hakhaadiri/ nt^hakuuya. ‘Haliima, who is sick, did not come.’
 This relative clause was a bit difficult to elicit, suggesting that non-restrictive relative clauses may not be as natural in Chimiini as in English, for example. Further research on this point needs to be done. The restrictive relative clause came more easily: **Haliima/ oo hakhaadiri/ nt^hakuuya.** ‘The Haliima who was sick did not come.’)
- 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^ha’ikhadiroowa/ 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’
- Mi/ skhaadiri/ nt^ho.** ‘I’m very sick.’
- Ndiwa/ chimwaambila/ sintoongelé/ zita zaa mi/ sikhaadiri.** ‘The pigeon told him: don’t provoke for me wars that I cannot afford.’
- Nt^hanakhaadira/ ku’isha peeke.** ‘He cannot live alone.’
- Nt^hanakhaadira/ kumbiga.** ‘He was not able to beat him.’
- Oko/ kiitu/ sultaani/ wa muuyi/ hakhaadiri/ nt^ho.** ‘There, at home, the king of the town is very sick.’
- Omari/ khadirile khfungula mnaango.** ‘Omari managed to open the door.’ Or: **Omari/ khadirile mnaango/ khfungula.**
- Omari/ khadirile kumulila mwaanawe/ fatuura.** ‘Omari managed to buy a car for his son.’ Or: **Omari/ khadirile fatuura/ kumulila mwaanawe.** Or: **Omari/ khadirile mwaanawe/ kumulila fatuura.** (It should be noted that the main verb cannot be assigned an object marker controlled by either of the complements: ***Omari/ ikhadirile fatuura/ kumulila.** Nor: **Omari/ mkhadirile mwaanawe/ kumulila fatuura.**)
- Omari ukhadirile khfungula mnaango.** ‘Omari managed it [cl.3] to open the door.’ Or: **Omari/ ukhadirile mnaango/ khfungula.**
- Si/ hihtaja kuwa waaðehe/ yaa si/ hukhadiro khfaanya/ na yaa si/ hashkhaadiri.** ‘We need to be clear what we can and what we cannot do.’
- Skhaadiri/ kumlata 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^hakhadiriloowa/ 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. (*khadirila*)

Ali/ hakhadiroowi/ khpikiloowa. ‘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.’)

Fatuura/ ikhadirila kulilowa mwaana. ‘The car was managed to be bought for the child.’

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/ yakhadirila khfukuloowa. ‘The cars were able to be lifted.’

Mnaango/ ukhadirila khfunguloowa. ‘The door was managed to be opened.’ (Note that in order for **mnaango** to be the subject of the passive main verb, the complement infinitive must be passive. One cannot say: ***Mnaango/ ukhadirila khfuungula**. ‘The door was managed (someone) to open it.’)

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^hakhadiroowa/ 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^haskukhadirowa khpowa mwaaná...** ‘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^hú/ 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.)

khaða n. lunch
Haliima/ fakeete/ kumdirshiliza waawaye/ kuja/ yaa khaða/ ragiile. ‘Haliima ran to prepare food quickly for her father’s lunch, she is late.’

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 maṭaaza/ khafiifu. ‘Make the porridge thin!’
khfanya khafiifu ‘to make s.t. easy’
Muunt^hu/ kilaa chiint^hu/ khfanya takliifu/ siwo/ suura/ suura/ khfanya khafiifu/ tu. ‘For one, in every thing, to make it hard is not good, it is good to make things easy.’
kuloomba mwajiitu khfaanya 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/ kishafuna. ‘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.)’

khalkhila n. [Ar. verb *qaliqa* and noun *qalaa* W 787] apprehension, perturbation, anxiety that makes s.o. sleepless
kumtila muunt^hu/ khalkhilaani ‘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?

- khalqi** n. [Ar. *kalq* W 258] people, creatures, mankind, everything that God created; [pron. **khalqi** or **khalghi**]
Mi/ siwo/ moyi/ si/ ni waant^{bu}/ wiingi/ khalghi/ ni wabjaana/ 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 town and girls from the whole town.’
naako itakuuya naada/ khalqi inakirimoowa [st.] ‘and then the divine call will be made for the crowd to be rewarded’
Taha xeeru ya khalqi [st.] ‘Taha (= Muhammad), the best of mankind’
- khalwa** n. religious seclusion; variant form: **khalwa**
kingila khalwa ‘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^hanakulawa/ ba/ kana muunt^{bu}/ ingilo khalwa. ‘Hamadi went into the house and did not come out, like a man who has gone into seclusion.’
Khalwa/ hingilowa muskitiini. ‘One usually goes to the mosque to seclude oneself.’
Shekhi Aweeso/ mwene mtume/ karka khalwa (or **khalwaani**). ‘Sheikh Aweeso saw the Prophet while in meditative seclusion.’
- khalabu** n. equipment
Mi/ kuwa aajizi/ tu/ siwo/ na khalabu/ saha/ sinaayo. ‘It is not just that I am lazy, but also I do not have the right equipment.’
- 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
Nuumba/ 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; cost **get more examples of this use**
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.’
Muunt^{bu}/ mkhalifa waawaye/ siwo/ suura. ‘For one to reject/deny/oppose his father is not good.’ (Observe the common omission of the infinitive prefix in front of a [cl.1] object marker in **mkhalifa waawaye**.)
Si/ nt^haasá/ siwo/ waaðehe/ kiitu/ kamu/ nuumba/ itakhkhalifo/ peesa. ‘We are not yet clear on how much the house is going to cost.’
Skafaanye/ gaari/ kawa na’iwá/ kamu/ itakhkhalifo/ peesa. ‘I wouldn’t have fixed the car if I had known how much it was going to cost.’
rel.
khalifana v. rec. (-**khalifeene**) oppose one another
Nuuru/ na Hamadi/ wakhhalifeene. ‘Nuuru and Hamadi opposed one another.’ (It is also possible to say: **Nuuru/ khalifene na Hamadi.** ‘Nuuru opposed [lit. with] Hamadi.’)
khalifoowa v. pass.
Amiiri/ hakhalifoowi. ‘The chief is not disputed, questioned, not followed.’

- Shar'a/ haykhalifoowi.** 'Sharia law is not disputed, questioned.'
- rel. nom.
- m-khaalifa** n. 1/2 one who rejects, denies
Mkhalifa mtume/ ni munt^hu wa aḏabuuni. 'He who rejects the Prophet is a person of hell.'
- ma-khaalifo** n. 6
Makhaalifo/ hukhadira kuletaa dhibu/ na khasaará. 'Disputing/rejecting can cause difficulty and loss.'
- u-khaalifo** n. 14
Ukhaalifo/ wa Hamadi/ mkhalifilo Nuurú/ ni ghalṭa/ Nuuru/ nayoo ndila/ jawabu yaa ye/ fanyiizó. 'The rejection that Hamadi rejected Nuuru is wrong, Nuuru has right (on his side) in what he did.'
- m-khaalifu (wa-)** adj. disobedient
- khalinkhore** n. [Som.] pencil sharpener
- khaaliqi** n. a name for God; the creator
Hu'abudilowa khaalikhi/ ha'abudiloowi/ makhluukhu. 'It is the creator who should be worshiped, it is not worshiped the creation.' (A proverb.)
- khalisa** v. (**khalisiize**) meet requirements
Gari iyi/ inkhalisiize. 'This car suits my requirements.'
Kama chaakuja/ chaa ye/ takhpoowa/ hachimkhalisi/ namere chaakuja/ mahala yiingine. 'If the food that he is given is not of high enough quality for him, look for food some place else.'
- rel.
khalisana v. rec.
Wakhaliseene. 'They met each other's requirements.'
- khaalisi** adj.,v. [Ar. *kālīs* W 255] original, genuine, pure, sincere, of high character
Kama chaakuja/ chaa ye/ takhpoowá/ hachimkhaalisi/ namere chaakuja/ mahala yiingine. '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.
u-khaalisi n. 14 in expression:
ka ukhaalisi 'with sincerity'
ka ukhaalisi wa ndraani [st.] 'with inner sincerity'
- khamadi** n [Som. *qamadi*] wheat
Haliima/ pishile nk'aaki/ za unga/ wa khamadi. 'Haliima cooked pancakes made of wheat flour.'
maṭaza ya khamadi 'porridge made from wheat'
- khamdi** n. a small leather bag used for carrying documents
- khamdi** n. a triangular-shaped donut (**buru**) made in Brava
- khamiiri** n. yeast
Mandraa mbiti/ yingile khamiiri. 'The dough has risen [lit. entered yeast].'
- khamiirika** v. p/s. rise (of dough)
Mandraa mbiti/ ikhamirishile. 'The dough has risen.'
- rel.

khamiirsha v. caus. leaven bread (by letting it sit, by adding baking powder, etc.)

khamirishiliza v. caus. appl.

Hamadi/ mkhamirishilize Nuuru/ maandra. ‘Hamadi leavened the bread for Nuuru.’

khamri

n. [Ar. *kamr* 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/ nakhfanyaayi/ kuna khamri. ‘My father, why are you drinking alcohol?’

khamrisha

v. brew coconut palm wine

khamrisha teembo ‘to brew coconut palm wine’

khamsiini

adj. [Ar. *kamsīnī* W 262] fifty

Chooloka/ chimwambila mubliwe/ mp^ha shilingi khamsiini. ‘She went and she told her husband: Give me fifty shillings.’

khamkina keendra or khamsiini/ na keendrá ‘fifty nine’

khamkina naane or khamsiini/ na naané ‘fifty eight’

khamkina nt^haano or khamsiini/ na nt^haanó ‘fifty five’

khamkina saba or khamsiini/ naa sabá ‘fifty seven’

khamkina sitta or khamsiini/ na sittá ‘fifty six’

Khamsiiniza/ mp^heeeté/ isa/ nakhsuulá/ ye/ kuviiloowa/ khpoowa/

ndrutize 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

n. [Ar.] male homosexual who assumes a passive role (not as commonly used as **ifuga**)

khaansa

see *khaasa* below

khaanso

n. 9/10 [Som. *qaanso* DSI 478] bow (to shoot arrows with)

Nt^hale/ hayinfi chiint^hu/ bilaa khaanso. ‘An arrow does not serve anything without a bow.’ (A saying.)

Nt^hale/ ilazilo khaansó/ hayruudi/ chinume. ‘An arrow that has left the bow does not come back.’ (A proverb.)

khanziiri

n. 9/10 [Sw. *hanziri* SSED 127; Ar.] pig

Hamadi/ haaji/ khanziiri. [HH!!H] ‘Hamadi does not eat pork.’

Hamadi/ haaji/ khanziiri. [↑H!H!H] ‘Hamadi does not eat pork.’

Hamadi/ khanziiri/ haaji. [H↑H!!H] ‘Hamadi *pork* does not eat.’

Khanziiri/ kudaroowake/ ni haraamu. ‘Touching a pig is forbidden.’

nama ya khanziiri ‘pork’

We/ huji/ khanziiri. [HH!!H] ‘You do not eat pork.’ (The simple yes-no question is:

We/ huji/ khanziiri? Note the Accent Shift on the nominal complement to

the negative verb in the question.)

kharabu

n. [Ar. *karāb* W 231] ruins, destruction (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'iidi/ wafurahiile/ nt^ho/ wafurahiile/ ka khisa/ wo/ wapeete/ fursa/ kumwangamiza/ na kumsabibila kharabú.
'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 kharabu [st.] 'this house is in ruins, is dilapidated'
rel.

u-kharabu n. 14

kh̄inda ukharaaba 'to cut off relations with family'

Kh̄inda ukharaaba/ ni jawaabu/ siwo/ suura. 'To cut oneself off from family is a matter that is not good.'

kharanfuuri

n. 9/10 clove

muti wa kharanfuuri 'clove tree'

rel.

m-kharanfuuri (mi-) n. 3/4 clove tree

kharari

kh̄inda kharari 'to decide'

Ba'adi ya apo/ tu/ Omari/ t̄nzilo kharari/ khsafira Mw̄iini. 'Only then did Omari decide to travel to Miini.'

Mi/ nayo il̄mú/ kabisá/ kh̄indi kharari/ ni chint^hu saha/ khfaanya. 'I am quite competent to decide what is the right thing to do.'

Mi/ nayoo ndilá/ kh̄inda kharariza. 'I have the right to make my own decisions.'

Yiiko/ keendra/ kuwa Hamiisi/ t̄nzile kharari/ kul̄ata masoomo.
'Perhaps Hamiisi has decided to drop out from his studies.'

kharashi

n. [Som. *qarash*] expenses, money spent, fees

Gari iyo ya Hamadi/ uziló/ it̄akhsul̄a kharashi niingi/ khfanyoowa/ ivundishile zaaydi. 'That car that Hamadi bought, it will need a lot of money (lit. expenses) to repair it, it is broken down a lot.'

Hamadi/ hadiile/ safari iyi/ Mkhodiisho/ zindrasile kharashi niingi. 'Hamadi said: this trip to Mogadishu, I spent a lot (lit. Many expenses were got out of me).'

Haruusi/ hul̄awa kharashi niingi. 'Marriage incurs a lot of expenses (i.e. you spend a lot for a marriage).'

Maama/ humpa/ mi/ peesa/ za kharashi/ za skool̄a. 'Mother gives me money for school fees.'

Ni suura/ kuweka diiwaani/ kharashizo. 'It is useful to keep a record of your expenses.'

Si/ laazimu/ kumsaayda/ Hamadi/ impetee dhibu/ m̄waanawe/ hakhaadiri/ st̄akhsul̄owa kharashi. 'We must assist Hamadi, hardship has gotten him, his child is sick, (money for) expenses is needed.'

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).'

kharawu

[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/ itakuwelelaa 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/ kumwelelaa 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/ mubliwá/ endra maduriini/ tiinda/ makharba/ ya kulla muti/ na chimuti/ 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 lengthening of kulla**

makharba ma’akthari ‘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/ haykhariba. ‘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

khaarija

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 ilmu. ‘They travel and go abroad to increase their knowledge.’

khaarimu

adj. descriptive of a female animal that has reached the stage of being able to give birth

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. *karīta* W 234] map

Mi/ kawa nayo khariita/ suła kuwa khupasiizé. ‘If I had a map I would have loaned

it to you.’

kharsha

v. [Som.] hide (In MI’s speech, the infinitive prefix invariably deletes when preceding a stem-initial *kh* or *q*. In GM’s speech, this elision is apparently 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 mwaana/ nguwo. ‘Omari hid the clothes from the child.’

kharshilizoowa v. appl. pass.

kharshoowa v. pass.

Inakharshoowani. ‘What is being hidden?’

Ntaku/ ba/ ya kharshoowa. ‘There is nothing to hide.’

khaasa

adv. especially; adj. special; [pron. **khaasa** or **khaasa**] (The distribution of final versus default penult accent is not entirely clear from the examples.)

variant form: **khaansa**

-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/ khaasa/ ka wana zihabba. ‘It is forbidden to be entered here, especially by small children.’

khaasa/ ka tarafu yaa wake ‘especially concerning women’

Maamo/ khaansa/ nakun’aõiba/ nt’o/ ye/ nakhsula 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 waajibu amri ya diini/ khaansa kiwoowa mas’ala siñini [st.] ‘O my brothers, it is obligatory [to know] the matters of religion, especially for sixty questions to be known’

Safiriile/ ka aripaano/ khaasa/ koloka ka kuzuura/ nt’i/ za sharkhi yaa kati. ‘He travelled by his special airplane to go to visit the countries of the Middle East.’

Waant’u/ hoshu mayti/ ni waant’u/ khaasa/ siwo/ killa/ muunt’u. ‘The people who wash the corpse are special people, not everybody.’

Want’u wa Mwiini/ khaasa/ Wahamari/ wachisaafira/ nt’o/ nt’i 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* SSED 128; Ar.] loss, financial loss, misfortune

faayda/ na khasaara ‘profit and loss’

Itamletelaa dhibu/ na khasaara. ‘It will bring him trouble and misfortune.’

karka khasaara ‘in or at loss’

Khasara ya mooyi/ ni fayda ya mooyi. ‘One’s loss is one’s profit/benefit.’ (A proverbial saying.)

khpatha khasaara ‘to suffer a financial loss’

Baana/ pete khasaara. ‘Baana suffered a financial loss.’

Khpathisha khasaara ‘to cause s.o. to suffer a financial loss’

khtila khasaara ‘to cause s.o. to lose wealth’
Kaazi/ humtilo muunt^hú/ khasaará/ ha’ifanyoowi. ‘Work that causes one to suffer a loss should not be done.’
Omari/ mtilé Alí/ khasaara. ‘Omari caused Ali to have a financial loss.’ (The final accent on **Alí** 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.)
kingilowa na khasaara ‘to suffer a loss (lit. to be entered by a loss)’
Hamadi/ ingila khasaara. ‘Hamadi suffered a loss.’
Kingila 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.’ (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^heeetó/ 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.’

khasaarata

v. (**khasareete**) lose (money, reputation)
Khasaarata. ‘Lose money!’ **Khasarataani.** ‘(Pl.) lose money!’
khasarata uso ‘to lose face’
Khasareetó/ kaafiri. ‘The one who has lost everything is the one who does not believe in God.’
Skhasaaraté. ‘Don’t lose money!’ **Skhasarateeni.** ‘(Pl.) don’t lose money!’
rel.
khasaarisha v. caus. (**khasarishiize**) cause loss
Mkhasarishize waawaye. ‘He caused his father financial loss.’
Skhasarisheeni/ 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.

khasaba

v. [Som. *khasab* DSI 365] (**khasbeete**) force, oblige s.o.
rel.
(ku-)khasba v. force
kumkhasba ‘to force someone’
Simkhasbé/ mwaana/ kuja. ‘Don’t force a child to eat.’
Nkhasbile ruuhuyá/ kumaamalá. ‘I forced myself to be quiet.’ (In the speech of GM, the nasal first person subject marker regularly elides before voiceless sounds like **kh**, although GM regularly retains the nasal in writing Chimiini.)
(ku-)khasboowa v. pass.
Kukhasbowa mwaana/ kuja/ siwo/ suura. ‘For a child to be forced to eat is not good.’ (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**’

- kumwandika 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^u/ 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 jawaabu ‘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)’
- khasṭi** in the expression:
ka khasṭi ‘on purpose’
Hunk^halila/ ye/ mbishilee mi/ ka khasṭi. ‘I think he knocked me down on purpose.’
ka khasṭi 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/ nt^hakhaadira/ 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.’
Jereeḷó/ 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.’
Nakhsuḷa 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.)
Sho/ khkooḍa/ hukhaṭa. ‘One who does not speak (say what he wants) misses out.’ (A proverb.)
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’a** n. mistake, wrong behavior; var. **khaṭa’i**
khfanya khaṭa’a ‘to make a serious mistake in behavior’

Kilaa muunt^hu/ hufaanya/ khaṭa'a/ chihaba/ amá/ nk^hulú/ sho kuwa mojiitu. 'Every one makes an error, small or big, except God.'

khaṭi'i (Ø, 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 **khaṭi'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 **makhaṭi'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 skhaṭi'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 khaṭi'i 'a person who behaves wrongly'

want^hu (ma)khaṭi'i 'people who behave wrongly'

zijint^hu skhaṭi'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 khaṭari.

'After a few days in this country there appeared a dangerous matter.'

chijint^hu shkhaṭari 'a dangerous (dim.) person'

Chimo khaṭariini. 'We are in danger.'

Inakuhadoowa/ ya kuwa ikhtisaadi/ ya talyaani/ yiimo/ karka khaṭari/ nk^hulu. 'It is said that the economy of Italy is in great danger.'

khalbi/ ichiwa nk^havu ndrúza khaṭari [st.] 'if the heart is dry (lacking in goodness), my brothers, that is dangerous'

khtila khaṭariini 'to put in danger'

We/ takunt^hila khaṭariini. 'You will put me in danger.'

Khaṭari/ nii nk^hulu. 'The danger is great.'

Khaṭari/ ni kuwaa si/ nt^hachinakhpa/ ihtimaamu/ haali/ inakiineendró. 'The danger is that we will not be paying attention to what is going on.'

kulumika khtomola maazi khaṭari [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 khaṭari. '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 khaṭari niingí. 'I was in great danger.'

Mbalimo khaṭariini. 'I am in danger.'

munt^hu khaṭari 'a dangerous person'

ndila ya khaṭari 'a dangerous road'

ndruúza iwaani ujahli ni khaṭari [st.] 'my brothers, know that ignorance is dangerous'

Ni eelo/ iló/ shtomelo ka khaṭariini. 'It was the gazelle who came and got us out of danger.'

Nt^haku/ khaṭari/ kanaa si/ shchinendra ka tahaðari. 'There is no danger if we proceed carefully.'

Nt^hako/ khaṭari/ yaa si/ hashkhaadiri/ kulawila. 'There is no danger that we cannot overcome.'

want^hu khaṭari 'dangerous people'

Ye/ haamina/ kuwa yiko khaṭari/ nk^hulu/ si/ kuja/ kichimalila. 'He believes that there is a great danger that we will run out of food.'

zijint^hu shkhaṭari 'dangerous (dim.) people'

Yiko khaṭari/ nk^hulu/ kanaa si/ shchiza khfaanya/ chiint^hu/ ka hima. 'There is great danger if we do not act quickly.'

Ziko khaṭari/ zaa si/ laazimu/ khpitá. 'There are dangers that we must face (lit. pass).'

khaṭi

n. 9/10 [Sw. *hati* SSED 130] letter

Basi/ fijiri/ iyo/ ya sku yaa saba/ mgarwa/ chilawa/ ka numbaani/ naayé/ tukiiló/ khaṭi. 'So on the morning of the seventh day, the

fisherman went out from the house [and he] carrying the letter.’
Iyoo khaṭi/ yanziza jis’iyi. ‘That letter was begun this way.’
kandikaa khaṭi ‘to write a letter’
Khaṭi/ hayandikiki. ‘The letter cannot be written.’ (Cf. **Khaṭi/ hazandikiki.** ‘The letters cannot be written.’)
khaṭii ndre ‘a long letter’
Khaṭi/ 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. **Khaṭi/ nandishilé.** ‘A letter, I wrote.’)
khaṭi ya mahaba ‘love letter’
kfungaa khaṭi ‘to close a letter (i.e. to seal a letter)’
kfungulaa khaṭi ‘to open a letter’
khataa khaṭi ‘to receive a letter’
khsomaa khaṭi ‘to read a letter’
Mi/ nch^himwandikilaa khaṭi. ‘I was writing a letter to him.’
Mi/ sikhaadiri/ kulindra khaṭiyo ya piili. ‘I can’t wait for your next letter.’
[Sultaani/ kama oyo/ shfungula¹ khaṭi/ iyo/ chi’isooma/ nt^hakhtila shakka/ ya¹ khaṭi/ 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, **khaṭi** 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 **khaṭi** 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.)

khaṭi’u tariikhi

n. brigands who stop [lit. cut the road] travelers and rob them
Khaṭi’u tariikhi/ ni want^hu wa muḷooni. ‘**Khaṭi’u tariikhi** are people of hellfire.’

khaaṭibu

n. [Sw. *hatibu* SSED 130; Ar. *kaṭīb* W 246] a pious and learned man who preaches the Friday sermon in the mosque
 variant forms: **haaṭibu, khaṭiibu**
Khaaṭibu/ ḷmilole/ ḷwelee nk^havu. ‘The preacher’s throat has become hoarse.’ Or: **Khaaṭibu/ ḷmilo/ ḷimwelee nk^havu.** ‘[Lit.] The throat became hoarse to the preacher.’

khaṭiifa

n. carpet
Omari/ uzile makhaṭiifa/ kuwékela haḷa/ kaake/ numbaani/ ya haruusi/ ya mwaanawe. ‘Omari bought carpets for making celebrations at his house for his son’s wedding.’

khaaṭima

n. [Sw. *hatima* “end, conclusion” SSED 130] end, conclusion
kufa yiiko mbele yūtu/ khaaṭima 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 *inukulomboowa*.)
ya nafsi shpata maali hijja ka hima/ chiiza ntunayo kheeri ntunā khaaṭima [st.] ‘O human being, if you have the means, hasten to make the pilgrimage/ or you will have neither blesss [in life] nor a blessed death’ [SCB 556]

khaṭwa

n.
Baaba/ na mamaye mwanaamké/ washkhiirā/ khaṭwa 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.’

- khawaafu** (*ma-*) n. tramp, vagabond, loafer
- khawaaja** (*ma-*) n. [Ar.] gentleman, s.o. who gives himself airs
- khawoowu** adj. cool
Fulana ya suufi/ ni khawoowu/ suura/ kuvaloowa/ wakhti waa hari.
‘Cotton sweaters are cool, they are good to be worn during hot times.’
- khayaali** adj. imaginative; n. imagination
chint^hu khayaali ‘s.t. imaginary’
munt^hu mwenye khayaali ‘a man of imagination’
- khazaana** n. 9/10 safe
Skumo/ masku/ waant^hu/ wote/ waleeló/ Haaji/ shfungula khazaana/ ya waawaye/ shtomola 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.’
- khazina** v. [Ar.] (**khaziniile**) keep in a safe place
- khazna** n. [Ar.] a safe
khtila khazna ‘to put in a safe’
- kheebu**
khtala kheebu ‘to get involved’
Fikri/ ni waant^hu/ wont^he/ khtala kheebu. ‘The idea is to get all the people involved.’
- kheema** n. 9/10,6 [Sw. *hema* SSED 132; Ar.] tent
khema iyi ‘this tent’
khema izi or **makhema aya** ‘these tents’
khema nk^hulu ‘a big tent, big tents’
khema nt^hatu ‘three tents’
makhema masuura ‘nice tents’
makhema matatu ‘three tents’
Nimbigilile kheemá/ iwa/ isipate kumbiga. ‘I put up a tent so that the sun might not (get to) hit him (i.e. so that he might not be in the sun).’
Nimbigilile kheemá/ iwa/ isimbige. ‘I put up a tent so that the sun might not hit him (i.e. so that he might not be in the sun).’
- kheeri** 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/ shfungu safari/ ye/ na mwanaamke/ wa sulṭaani/ 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** 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^{bu}/ 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/ anakuwoná/ kuwa ni kheeri/ yiitu/ si/ khfunga/ 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 mubli mooyi/ walozeenye/ ka kheeri/ ka fulkheeri. ‘A woman and a man married one another with blessings and blessings.’

Karkaa khaṭi/ 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/ chiwele 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**.

Si/ / chimpendeleele/ Omari/ kheeri/ ka kaaziye/ mp’hiya. ‘We wish Omari well in his new position/job.’

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. 9 experience

Abunawaasi/ we/ ni muunt’hu/ mwenye akhili/ munt’hu nayo khibrá/ na ma’arifá. ‘Abunawaasi, you are a man possessing intelligence, a man having experience and knowledge.’

Mi/ nayoo khibrá/ kabisá/ khinda go’aani/ ni chint’u gani/ saha/ khfaanya. ‘I am quite competent to decide what is the right thing to do.’

Muusa/ peete/ kaazi/ haali/ nth’anyo khibra=y-é. ‘Muusa got the job even though he had no qualifications.’

Mzele wa muuyi/ nth’aná/ khibra/ ya khfanya chiint’u/ na msiiba/ uyu. ‘The mayor is not competent to deal with this crisis.’

Omari/ nayo kibra/ ya kudafi’a ruuhuye. ‘Omari is quite competent at defending himself.’

Omari/ nth’akuhisa/ kuwa nayo khibra/ ya khfanya kaazi. ‘Omari did not feel competent to do the job.’

Sa’iidi/ pete khibra/ niingi/ na zimzidilile akhili. ‘Sa’iidi gained experience and wits increased to him.’

Wo/ hufanya yaa mi/ huwa’ambilo khfaanya/ ka sababu/ mi/ mbarete ka khibrá. ‘They do what I tell them to do because I’ve learned from experience.’

khilaafana

v. rec. (-khilafeene) disagree with one another

khilaafu

n. difference of opinion, friction, misunderstanding

Hamadi/ na Omari/ yingile khilaafu/ kati kaawo/ wazelee/ wa’ingiló/ i-bishila faataha /wapatanishiize. ‘Hamadi and Omari had arguments/disputes, elders got in the middle and read faataha and they were reconciled.’

Nth’amu khilaafu/ kati kiitu. ‘There is no friction among us.’

Yimo khilaafu/ kati kaawo. ‘There is friction among them.’

khira

v. [Sw. *kiri* SED 205; Som. *qir* (past: *qiray*) ‘to admit, accept as truth’ and *qiro* (past: *qirtay*) ‘to confess’ DSI 498] (**khiriile**) agree, accept, acknowledge, admit, confess, permit

Abubakari/ khiriile kumwulila Nuuru/ gaari. ‘Abubakari has agreed to buy a car for Nuuru.’ Or with verb focus: **Abubakari/ khiriile/ kumwulila Nuuru/ gaari**. Or with pronominal subject in lower clause: **Abubakari/ khiriile/ ye/ kumwulila Nuuru/ gaari**. ‘Abubakari agreed he to buy a car for Nuuru.’ Or with pronominal repetition in main clause subject position: **Abubakari/ ye/ khiriile/ kumwulila Nuuru/ gaari**. Observe the unacceptability of phrasing pronominal with main verb: ***Abubakari/ khiriile ye/ kumwulila Nuuru/ gaari**.

Ali/ khiriile kooloka. ‘Ali agreed to go.’

Ali/ khiriile kuwaa ye/ waliko chinemaani. ‘Ali admitted that he was at the cinema.’

Asadi/ khiriile/ mi/ kumwulila 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/ khiriilee mi/ kumwulila 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 khkalanᵀᵀa numbaani. ‘Father told him that he would give him anything that he wanted if he agreed to remain at home.’

Chikhaambila/ kuwaa ye/ nakhsuula khuloola/ we/ tamkhiira.

Hakhiiri/ ni maali. (A proverb.)

Ka isa/ mi/ jawabu ᵀyo/ (mi/) nkhiriiᵀᵀé. ‘As of now, that matter I accept.’ (Note that GM elides the first person singular subject marker in front of *kh*)

khira ᵀambi ‘to confess a misdeed’

Khiriᵀᵀé ᵀambize. ‘He confessed his sins.’

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 yiitu 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’

Khiriᵀᵀé 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: *Khiriᵀᵀé Muusa/ kula gaari.** ‘He agreed for Muusa to buy a car.’) **recheck this claim**

Khiriᵀᵀé kuwa Muusa/ ni mwalimu msuura. ‘He agreed that Muusa is a good teacher.’

Kumpa Nuuru/ zibuuku/ nkhiriiᵀᵀé. ‘To give Nuuru books, I agreed.’

Kumpa Nuuru/ tu/ zibuuku/ nkhiriiᵀᵀó (or: **nkhiriiᵀᵀé**). ‘To give only Nuuru books, I agreed.’ (Notice that a focused element inside a preposed infinitive phrase optionally triggers pseudo-relativization of the following main verb.)

Kumpa Nuuru/ zibuuku/ tu/ nkhiriiᵀᵀó (or: **nkhiriiᵀᵀé**). ‘To give Nuuru only books I agreed.’ (Notice that a focused element inside a preposed infinitive phrase optionally triggers pseudo-relativization of the following main verb.)

Mi/ nkhiriiᵀᵀé. ‘I accepted.’

Mweenza/ nk^hiriᵀᵀé/ kuwa mukeewe. ‘My friend, I agree to be his wife.’

Mzeele/ shkhiira. ‘The old man agreed (to the proposal).’

Nimkhiriiᵀᵀé/ Nuuru/ kuya numbaani/ kaaka/ kuja naami. ‘I agreed for Nuuru to come to my house to eat with me.’

Nkhiriiᵀᵀé/ kula numba. ‘I agreed to buy the house.’ Or: **Nkhiriiᵀᵀé/ numba/ kuula.** Or: **Numba/ kuula/ nkhiriiᵀᵀé.** Or: **Numba/ nkhiriiᵀᵀé/ kuula.**

Nkhiriiᵀᵀé kumpa Nuuru/ peesá. ‘I agreed to give Nuuru money. Or with word order change, but no internal focus: **Nkhiriiᵀᵀé kumpa peesá/ Nuuru.** ‘I agreed to give money to Nuuru.’ Or with emphasis on the verb: **Nkhiriiᵀᵀé/ kumpa Nuuru/ peesa.** ‘I agreed to give Nuuru money.’ Or: **Nkhiriiᵀᵀé/ kumpa/ Nuuru/ peesa.** ‘I agreed to give Nuuru money.’ Or, with focus on Nuuru: **Nkhiriiᵀᵀé kumpa Nuuru/ peesa.** ‘I agreed to give Nuuru money.’ Or with emphasis on infinitive complement verb: **Nkhiriiᵀᵀé kumpá/ Nuuru/ peesa.** ‘I agreed to give Nuuru money.’ Or with preposing of Nuuru but no focus: **Nkhiriiᵀᵀé Nuuru/ kumpa peesá.** ‘I agreed Nuuru to give money.’

Nkhiriiᵀᵀé kumpa Nuuru/ peesá/ 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: **Nkhiriiᵀᵀé kumpa Nuuru/ peesá/ keeshó.** Cf. the case where the verb is focused: **Nkhiriiᵀᵀé/ kumpa Nuuru/ peesa/ keesho.**)

Nkhiriiᵀᵀé kula numba. ‘I agreed to buy a house.’ Or: **Nkhiriiᵀᵀé/ numba/ kuula.**

Nkhiriiᵀᵀé kumulila Nuuru/ faᵀuura. ‘I agreed to buy a car for Nuuru.’ Or: **Nkhiriiᵀᵀé faᵀuura/ kumulila Nuuru.** Or: **Kumulila Nuuru/ faᵀuura/ nkhiriiᵀᵀé.** (Note that it is not possible for the main verb to have an OM controlled by a complement of the infinitive: ***Ni’ikhiriᵀᵀé/ faᵀuura/ kumulile Nuuru.** Also not: ***Nimkhiriiᵀᵀé/ Nuuru/ kumulile faᵀuura.** ‘I agreed him Nuuru to buy a car for him.’)

Nnakhsuula khiirá. ‘I want to accept.’

Nt^h anakhsuula/ khira ðambize. ‘He does not want to confess his sins.’

Oloka/ mwaabile/ kuwaa mi/ nimkhiriiḷé. ‘Go and tell him that I accept him (in marriage).’

Omari/ khiriḷe/ kumpa Nuuru/ peesa. ‘Omari agreed to give Nuur money.’ Or:
Omari/ khiriḷe/ kumpa Nuuru/ peesa.

Omari/ khiriḷe/ Muusa/ kumwuliḷa Nuuru/ gaari. ‘Omari agreed for Muusa to buy a car for Nuuru.’

Omari/ khiriḷe/ Nuuru/ kumpa Hasani/ peesa. ‘Omari agreed to Nuuru giving Hasani money.’

Shar’a/ hukhira wabli/ tu/ kuhaaḍira. ‘The rules permit only men to be present.’

Shkhirile kuwa shṭakendra 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.)

Si/ hashkhiiri/ waana/ khteza ndilaani. ‘We won’t permit children playing in the street.’

Sukhuuni/ baaba/ chimpataa muke/ khiriḷo 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.

khiiṛika v. p/s.

khiiṛiḷa v. appl. (**khiriḷiḷe**) permit, authorize

Abú/ mkhiriḷiḷe mwaanawe/ kendra Mwiini. ‘Abu permitted his son to go to Brava.’

Muusa/ mkhiriḷiḷe Ali/ kula gaari. ‘Muusa authorized Ali to buy a car.’

Omari/ mkhiriḷiḷe Muusa/ kumwuliḷa Nuuru/ gaari. ‘Omari permitted Muusa to buy a car for Nuuru.’

Omari/ mkhiriḷiḷe Nuuru/ keendra. ‘Omari permitted Nuuru to go.’

Omari/ mkhiriḷiḷe Nuuru/ kumpa Hasani/ peesa. ‘Omari allowed Nuuru to give Hasani money.’

khiriḷoowa v. appl. pass. (**khiriḷiḷa**) be permitted, allowed

Si/ nt^hashkukhiriḷoowa/ khkooḍa. ‘We were not permitted to speak.’

Ye/ haṭá/ chaakuja/ chisuura/ nt^h anakhiriḷoowa. ‘He is not even allowed good food.’

khiiṛisha v. caus. (**khiriḷiḷe**) make someone accept

Nt^ha’ikuwaaliko/ waaḍehe/ ka kilaa lamna/ tarafu ya jisa kumkhirisha Baazi. ‘It was by no means clear how to go about getting Baazi to agree.’

khiriḷishana v. caus. rec.

khiriḷishika v. caus. p/s.

khiriḷishiliza v. caus. appl.

khiriḷishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

khiiṛishisha v. caus. (**khiriḷiḷe**) make someone confess (The *s* element in this example seems to be based on a *s* element in the Somali verbal system. Cf.

qirsan (past: **qirsanaa**) “to have pleaded guilty” DSI 498.)

khiiṛoowa v. pass. (**khiriḷiḷa**) be accepted

Gari izi/ skhiriḷa kulilowa Nuuru. ‘These cars were accepted to be bought for Nuuru.’ (The infinitive verb in the complement clause in this

sentence is a passive version of a benefactive applied verb. In the case of a main clause benefactive applied verb, only the beneficiary can be made the subject of a passive version of that verb. Notice, however, that **gari izi** ‘these cars’ is the passive subject of the main verb –**khiiṛa**. **Gari izi** is actually a non-benefactive argument of the infinitive verb. It does not seem possible to argue that **gari izi** was able to become the subject of the higher passive

verb because it had been made the subject of the lower verb and then been “raised” to object position.)

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’iwá/ 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’
- khiyaalisha** v. (**khiyalishiize**) imagine
Khiyalishize kuwaa ye/ takhfunoowa. ‘He imagined that he would be imprisoned.’
- khiyaama** n. [Sw. **kiyama** “the general resurrection of the dead as conceived by Muhammadans” SSED 213] the hereafter
- khiyaana** n. 9/10 (cf. **khaa’ini**) [Ar. **kiyāna** W 266] trick, deceit, betrayal, treason, cheating, falseness, treachery, deception, breach of faith
khfanya khiyaana ‘to betray, cheat’
Muunt^hu/ shfanya khiyaana/ humdhiba yeeeye. ‘When one cheats, one hurts oneself.’
Ni khiyaana/ nk^hulu. ‘It is a big betrayal.’
rel.
u-khiyaana n. betrayal
- khiyaansata** v. (**khiyanseete**) cheat, betray, deceive’ **Mweenzawo/ simkhiyaansate.** ‘Your friend, do not cheat him.’ (A proverbial saying.)
We/ nkhiyanseete. ‘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
Fardoosa/ pimiile/ haanzu/ laakini/ siwo/ khiyaasiye. ‘Fardoosa tried on the dress, but it did not fit her.’
khiyasi gani ‘how many?’
- khiza** v. [Sw. **hizi** SSED 135; Ar.] (**khiziize**) disgrace, curse
Mojiitu/ nakhukhiza. ‘May God curse you!’
Mojiitu/ nakhukhiza/ ka duniyaani/ na akherá. ‘May God curse you in this world’

- and in the thereafter!’
- Omari/ hukhiza waant^hu.** ‘Omari disgraces people.’
rel.
khizika v. p/s. (-khizishile) be disgraced, cursed
Omari/ khizishile. ‘Omari got disgraced.’
khizoowa v. pass. be disgraced, cursed
Muunt^hu/ siwo/ suura/ hukhizoowa. ‘For a person to be disgraced is not good.’
- 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
khfanya khoofu ‘to frighten’
Omari/ hadiile/ Mwiini/ zikoo zita/ inakunfanya khoofu/ kooloka. ‘Omari said there is fighting in Miini, it scares me to go.’
khshika khoofu ‘to be gripped by fear’; also: **khshikowa khoofu** (passive)
- Huseeni/ hadiile/ maskuu kati/ nk^hasize kooði/ ibanyaani/ nshishila khoofu/ nt^hosheze ni majini/ laakini/ yaliko waant^hu/ washpitó.** ‘Huseeni said: at midnight I heard talking outside, I got afraid, I thought it was demons, but it was people who were passing.’ (It is important to point out that in the speech of Gelani Mohamed, the first person singular subject marker *N-* actually elides in front of voiceless consonants and does not aspirate a following voiceless stop. Thus the three first person forms in this example were actually pronounced *kasize...*, *shishila...*, and *tosheze...* These pronunciations stand in stark contrast to Mohammad Imam, who retained the nasal consonant in such forms and aspirated a voiceless stop. We do not know to what extent Gelani Mohamed’s pronunciation is characteristic of present day speech. In this book we have always transcribed examples from Mohammad Imam with the nasal, but have been inconsistent with respect to Gelani Mohamed’s examples. Writing the nasal does, of course, help identify a form as first person. In the present example, of course, the accent also reliably indicates first person.)
- Laakini/ Sa’iidi/ imfanyize/ khoofu/ chimwaambila/ mi/ skhaadiri/ khpanda mloongoti/ uyu/ ka khisa/ ni mweembaamba/ hawkhaadiri/ 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.’
Nuuru/ hadiile/ mi/ nuumba/ masku/ ichiwa ni miinza/ hushikowa khoofu. ‘Nuuru said: me, if the house is dark at night, it makes me afraid.’
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.’
khokhishana v. caus. rec.

khokhishika v. caus. p/s.
khokhishiliza v. caus. appl.
khokhishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

- khookhi** n. arrogance; adj. arrogant
kuwa khookhi ‘to be arrogant’
Wele khookhi. ‘He is arrogant.’
Ni munt^hu khookhi. ‘He is an arrogant person.’
- khookhisha** v. caus. (**khokhishiize**) make haughty, proud, arrogant
- i-kholi** 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’
khtukula ka ikholi ‘to carry with a palm bag’
- i-kholoofu (mi-)** n. 5/4 the outer covering of s.t. (like the shell of an animal)
ikholofu yaa mazu ‘the cover of a banana’
- kholow** ideo. [Som. *qolow*] 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.**’
- khoomu** 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).’
- khora** v. (**khorele**) scratch
khora khalamu ‘to sharpen a pencil’
Omari/ khorele khalamu. ‘Omari sharpened a pencil.’
khora luti ‘to sharpen a stick’
khora lwawo ‘to whittle a piece of wood’
Omari/ khorele gaari. ‘Omari scratched the car.’
rel.
khorana v. rec. (**-koreene**) scratch one another
Gaari/ skoreene. ‘The cars scratched one another.’
khoreka v. p/s. be scratched
Ha’ikhoreki. ‘It cannot be scratched.’
Mkonowe/ ukhoreshele. ‘My arm is scratched.’
- khoreka** v. lose weight, get, grow thin
Sku izi/ oyo/ nakhoreka/ tu. ‘These days that one is just getting thinner and thinner.’
- khori** n. [Som. *qor* “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 owtomaṭik ‘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.**
- khoori** n. [Som. *khoori* “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.’
khorsha	n. [Som. <i>qorsha</i>] plan, proposal; var. khorsho Abú/ iize/ khorsho iyo. ‘Abu objected to the proposal.’ khfanya khorsha ‘to plan’ Mi/ nfanyize khorshá/ kumnola Haliimá. ‘I planned to marry Haliima.’ Mi/ nfanyize khorshá/ shiri/ kumala khabla ya masku. ‘I planned for the meeting to end before evening.’ Muke/ uzilo muundrá/ nakhfanya khorsha/ kalaa gele. ‘The woman who has bought the farm is planning to cultivate maize.’ Si/ shfanyize khorshá/ kudirkamana shpiindri. ‘We planned to meet each other at noon.’ Wo/ wafanyize khorsha/ kuḷawa fijiri. ‘They planned to leave in the morning.’ Khorsha yiiitu/ ni kuḷawa masku/ Mwiiini. ‘Our plan is to stay overnight in Brava.’ Mi/ nayo khorshá/ kumalizaa zita. ‘I have a plan to end the fighting.’ Mi/ nonyeezé/ kuwa khorsha/ wa Omari/ ha’unajihhi. ‘I showed that Omari’s plan would not be successful.’
khoowamu	n. crowd
khpala	n. padlock, lock khpala ya baskiili ‘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: ikhṭari’iile) invent
khtima	n. a reading of the Quran by a group of people for a specific purpose khfanya khtima ‘to perform khtima ’ khsoma khtima ‘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/ watakhukahata. ‘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/ watakhutukula/ khupeleka muyiini/ khufanya sulṭaani. ‘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 **maradi** ‘sickness’.)

khubura

- v. [Sw. *hubiri* SSED 121; Ar.] (**khuburiile**) inform, tell
- 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/ mereja na mubli.** ‘She informed him that she was being sought for marriage by a man.’
- Chimkhubura mweenzawe/ maskiini/ kuwa uko ndilaani/ ni waziri wa sulṭaani.** ‘He informed his friend the poor man that the one who was outside was the minister of the sultan.’
- Chimwona Haliima/ tamkhubura.** ‘If I see Haliima, I will tell him.’
- Endrá/ mkhubure.** ‘Go and inform him!’
- Hasani/ mkhuburile Omari/ tarafu ya matezo.** ‘Hasani informed Omari about the game.’ (Cf. **Nimkhuburile Omari tarafu ya matezo.** ‘I informed Omari about the game.’)
- Hasani/ nkhuburile jawabuu mbovu.** ‘Hasani informed me of the bad news.’ Or: **Hasani/ nkhuburilee 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/ yaṭamiṭiló/ keeshó.** ‘The woman informed Sa’iidi of all the mishaps that would afflict him tomorrow.’ (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/ takuya numbaani.** ‘I am informing you that Omari will come home.’ (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/ wakhṭi/ 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.’ (Observe that in **kinkhubura**, the speaker uses the plural form of the second person object prefix when addressing her father.)
- We/ kana/ shṭahaja ismu/ ya chiint^hu/ nkhubura.** ‘If you need anything, let me know.’
- Yaasini/ mkhuburile Hamadi/ koḍi ziiitu.** ‘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).’

Kođi 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 kođi. ‘Jaabiri caused the news to spread.’

Jaabiri/ mkhurubishize Yaasini/ kođi. ‘Jaabiri caused Yaasini to spread the news (to people).’

khuburishana v. caus. rec.

khuburishika v. caus. p/s.

khuburishiliza v. caus. appl.

khuburishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

khuburoowa v. pass.

Hamadi/ khurubiła kođi ziitu. ‘Hamadi was informed about what we said [lit. our words].’ (Note that one cannot have **kođi** as the subject of the passive sentence: ***Kođi ziitu/ skhuburila Hamadi.** ‘Our words were reported to Hamadi.’)

khuduma

v. [Sw. *hudumu* SSED 122; Ar.] serve s.o.

kumkhuduma mwaana ‘to serve the child’

Sultaani/ shkumaanganya/ watumawe/ wataanawe/ na ma’askariwé/ na kiła/ chimkhudumó/ ye/ chiwa’ambila/ wo/ kumtji’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. (**khudumiljile**)

khudumisha v. caus. (**khudumishiize**)

khuđaari

n. [Ar. *kud*□*ar* "greens, vegetables" pl. of *kud*□*ra* W 243; also Ar. *kad*□*ār* "greens"] vegetables

Omari/ jile/ khuđaari/ laakini/ nt^haakuja/ ismu/ ya chint^hu chiingine. ‘Omari ate the vegetables, but he did not eat anything else.’

khuđra

n. vegetables

khuđuru

only recorded in the following example:

Mi/ siwo/ aduwi/ nakhumero khuđuru. ‘I am not an enemy who seeks to harm you.’

khuđurunji

n. [Sw. *hudhurungi* SSED 136; Ar.] yellowish brown

khufu

n. 9/10 sock

jogi ya khufu ‘a pair of socks’

Khufu izi/ nza naani. ‘Whose socks are these?’

khufu ya mkono ‘glove [lit. sock of the hand]’

Muunt^hu/ chosha zoombo/ suura/ kuvala khufu za mikono/ kuhafiđa mikono/ na jeermi. ‘When one is washing things, it is good to wear gloves to keep the hands safe from germs.’

Laazimu/ kuumisha/ khufuzo/ nt^hasaa we/ kuvala. ‘You have to dry out your socks before wearing them.’

Skaarpa/ suura/ kuvalilowaa khufu/ hureba huuri. ‘It is good to wear shoes with socks, it stops sweating.’

khułaasa

review the nature of the l

ka **khułaasi** ‘in brief’

Ka khułaasa/ ni đaruura/ ksooma/ khpata khpita imtihaani. ‘In brief, it is important to study in order to pass an exam.’

<i>khula</i>	<p>n. [cf. Som. <i>quluc</i>] calabash (a pumpkin dried in the sun and then emptied) for carrying liquids</p> <p>Kharibu 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.’</p> <p>Maamaye/ chimfanyiliza/ mikate/ saba/ chimpa naa khulá/ ya maayi/ na izijé/ shilingi thalathiini/ za sulṭaani/ 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.’ (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.)</p>
<i>khulaamu</i>	n. [Som. <i>qulaan</i> ; Hindi <i>gulaam</i>] jack (in a deck of cards)
<i>khumoowa</i>	<p>v. pass. [Sw. <i>ghumia</i>, but pass. verb <i>ghumiwa</i> used in same sense SSED 115; Ar.] (khumiila) faint, lose consciousness</p> <p>Diini/ ka chinaho/ na shtiishó/ shkumoowa. ‘Diini, because of fright and fear, fainted.’</p> <p>Naayé/ shtuluka/ shkhumoowa. ‘And he fell down and fainted.’</p> <p>Omari/ khumiila. ‘Omari fainted.’</p> <p>Waliko tulushile/ khumiila. ‘He had fallen down and fainted.’</p>
<i>khumusi</i>	n. [Sw. <i>humusi</i> SSED 137; Ar.] a fifth part
<i>khuungula</i>	<p>v.</p> <p>Na nt^haykhuungula/ ila/ ba’ada ya sku. ‘And it did not stop raining except after some days.’</p>
<i>khuuni</i>	<p>n. [Som. <i>qun</i> DSI 505] tonsils</p> <p>Hamadi/ khuunize/ zimfuriile. ‘Hamadi’s tonsils are swollen.’</p> <p>Hamadi/ nayo maraḍi ya khuuni. ‘Hamadi has tonsillitis (lit. disease of the tonsils).’</p> <p>khtinda khuuni ‘to cut the tonsils – i.e. perform tonsillectomy’</p> <p>khtindowa khuuni ‘to be cut the tonsils – i.e. to undergo tonsillectomy’</p> <p>Omari/ nakhtindowa khuuni (or: mikhuuni). ‘Omari is having a tonsillectomy.’</p> <p>Sheekhi/ nazo khuuni. ‘Sheekhi has tonsils – i.e. his tonsils are swollen, he has tonsillitis.’</p> <p>rel.</p> <p><i>mi-khuuni</i> n. pl.</p> <p>Mikhuuni/ yanakunlaaza. ‘My tonsils are hurting me.’</p> <p>Omari/ nayo mikhuuni. ‘Omari had tonsillitis.’</p>
<i>khunsali (ma-)</i>	<p>n. consul or consulate; var. <i>khunsuli</i></p> <p>khunsali wa Amerikaano ‘American consul’</p> <p>khunsali wa Misra ‘Egyptian consul’</p> <p>khunsali wa Ngereenza ‘the British consul’</p>
<i>khuntha</i>	<p>n. [Sw. <i>huntha</i> SSED 138; Ar.] hermaphrodite</p> <p>Aamina/ ni khuntha. ‘Aamina is a hermaphrodite.’</p> <p>Omari/ ni khuntha. ‘Omari is a hermaphrodite.’</p>
<i>khura</i>	<p>[Sw. <i>kura</i> SSED 231; Ar.] in the phrase:</p> <p>kubigaa khura [Sw. <i>piga kura</i>] ‘to ask the cards; to toss a coin (in order to decide a matter)’</p>

- khuraa'a** n. [Som. *quraac*] breakfast
Ye/ hanza kiġaa muun^{thi}/ ka kuja khuraa'a/ na weenzawe. 'He begins each day by having breakfast with his friends.'
Ye/ ni 'aadi/ kanza fijiri/ ka khuraa'a/ niingi. 'He typically begins the morning by having a big breakfast.'
- khuraafaati** n. 10 [Ar. *kurāfa*, pl. *kurāfāt* "superstition, fable, fairy tale" W 235] myths, lies, statements not based on fact or reason, etc.
Omari/ khuraafaati/ niingi. 'Omari his lies are many.'
- khurasa** v. (**khurseete**) lose all hope
Muun^{thi}/ chiwanayo imaani/ hakhursati/ nahirisi/ ya mojiitu. 'When one has faith he does not give up on God's mercy/kindness.' (A saying.)
Nimkhurseete/ maanawa. 'I lost all hope for my child.' (Our consultant preferred to phrase the verb separately. The phrasing: **Nimkhurseete maanawá.** Was judged to be appropriate as an answer to the question: **Mkhurseete naani/ we.** 'Whom did you give up all hope for?')
Nkhurseete. 'I gave up all hope.'
Osmaani/ mkhurseete/ maanawe. 'Osmaani lost all hope for his child.'
rel.
khurasaowa v. pass.
Ka mojiitu/ ha'ikhurasaowi/ chiint^{thi}. 'For God there is nothing for which there is no hope.'
Naharisi/ ha'ikhurasaowi/ ka mojiitu. 'Mercy from God is never given up on.' (A proverb.)
- khusa** v. [Ar. *xassa* W 240] (**khusiize**) concern, be about
Hayinkhusi. 'It does not concern me/ you.' (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.'
Jawabu izo/ haykhukhusi. 'That matter does not concern you.'
khusa na 'be concerned with'
Taliile/ mooðu'u/ hukhusano na iqtisaadi. 'He chose a topic concerning the economy.'
Koði izi/ hunkhusa. 'These words are about me.'
Mi/ hukhusani/ kazi ya Omari. 'Why does Omari's job concern me?'
Omari/ humkhusa/ jawabu iyo. 'Omari has a concern in that matter.'
Omari/ imkhusiizeni/ jawabu iyo. 'How does that matter concern Omari?'
We/ ikhusiizeni. 'How does it concern you?'
- rel.
khusiliza v. appl. (**khusiliize**)
Jawabu iyo/ Omari/ imkhusiliizeni. 'That matter, how does it concern Omari?'
- khusoowa** v. pass.
Mi/ sababu gani/ khusowa jawabu iyo. 'For what reason am I concerned in that matter.'
- khushuu'ata** v. (**khushu'eeete**) be humble (in a religious context); be immersed in prayers, humble oneself in prayer
Mwambiile/ nuumba/ inakhushuu'ata/ inakusifila mojiitu. 'He told him that the house [was shaking because it] was humbling itself, praising God.' should it be **inakhssifila** or **inakumsifila**?
- 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'
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 **mwiiiko**, a wooden spoon used for stirring food, especially **zijo**, which is white and usually sticks to the **mwiiiko**.)
kubiga khuusi 'to dive'
- khusuuma** n. antagonism, hostility
Kani/ we/ nayo khusuumá. 'Why do you have enemy (towards me)?'
Yimkhusuuma/ kati kaawo. 'There is enemy between them.'
- khuuti** n. food
khu_{ti} ya waana 'food for children'
khu_{ti} ya wazele 'food for old people'
kumera khuuti/ yoomu 'to search for one's daily food'
- khuṭba** n. 9/10 speech
Breshnev/ leelo/ karka khuṭbaye/ 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 Russia will surpass and overtake America in all things.'
khsoma khuṭba 'to read a speech'
kubiga khuṭba 'to make a speech'
Leelo/ spiṭoore/ steeshini/ wabigilile ma'askari/ khuṭba. 'Today the inspector at the station made a speech to the soldiers.'
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.'
- khuṭuba** v. [Sw. *hutuba* "read the Koran publicly, preach, give an address" SSED 130; Ar.]
 give a speech (either religious or political in nature)
Ali/ khuṭubiile. 'Ali gave a speech.'
Karka Suukhu/ Mushtaraki/ mkulu wa Suukhu/ Mushtaraki/ khuṭubiile. 'At the Common Market, the head of the Common Market gave a speech.'
Waziiri/ wa maali/ karka Itaalya/ bishiḷa iluuma/ leelo/ mukhta_{aa} ye/ shkhuṭubó. 'The minister of finance in Italy was hit on the head today when he was giving a speech.'
 rel.
khuṭubika v. p/s.
khuṭubila v. appl.
Chiwakumaanganya/ waant^hu/ chiwakuṭubila. 'He gathered the people together and delivered a speech to them.'
khuṭubisha v. caus. (**khuṭubishiize**)
Baana/ mkuṭubishize maana. 'Baana had the child give a speech.'
khuṭubishika v. caus. p/s.
khuṭubishana v. caus. rec.
khuṭubishiliza v. caus. appl. (**khuṭubishiliize**)
Baana/ mkuṭubishilize Muusa/ maana. 'Baana had Muusa's child give a speech.'
khuṭubishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. (**-khuṭubishilizeenye**)
Baana/ na Muusa/ wakuṭubishilizenye waana. 'Baana and Muusa had one another's children give speeches.'
- ki** ideo. of laughing

Aamina/ nakiimba/ kana/ ijiniile/ Haliima/ shishile shṭeko/ ki ki ki ki!
 ‘Aamina is singing like a crazy person, Haliima is bursting with
 laughter *ki ki ki ki!*’
Wake/ wanakṭeka/ ki ki ki ki. ‘The women are laughing.’

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 mṭuungi/ ni uki. ‘That which filled the clay pot was honey.’
Waṭunzilopó/ wachiwona/ iboholi/ kama chisima/ na iyele uki. ‘When they dug,
 they found a hole like a well and it was filled with honey.’

küiboodi

n. keyboard
Küiboodi/ ichidirka maayi/ hangamila. ‘If water reaches a keyboard, it gets
 spoiled.’

kibri

n. arrogance, pride; adj. arrogant (a very strong condemnation in the society since
 only God has the right to be arrogant); someone who cannot tolerate insults,
 insinuations, criticism, and becomes easily agitated even to the point of
 physical violence; [pron. **kibri** or **kibri**]
akhuaaniza ḷataani niingi kibri [st.] ‘my brothers, abandon excessive pride’
chijana shkibri ‘arrogant dim. person’
khfanya kibri ‘to be arrogant, to show off’
Kibri/ siwo/ sifa za mluungana. ‘Arrogance is not an attribute of an intelligent
 person.’
muntḥu kibri ‘an arrogant person’
mwenye kibri ‘one who has arrogance’
wantḥu kibri ‘arrogant people’
Ye/ ka kibrize/ ṭosheeze/ ruuhuye/ kuwaa ye/ miḷkile duniya/ nzimaye. ‘He, out
 of arrogance, believed that he himself owned the world in its entirety.’
 rel.
kibraani adj.
chijana shkibraani ‘arrogant dim. person’
muntḥu kibraani ‘an arrogant person’
wantḥu kibraani ‘arrogant people’
zijana skibraani ‘arrogant dim. people’
u-kibri n. 14 arrogance
Ka sababu iyo/ ye/ peelee/ ruuhuye/ ina/ ya ukibri. ‘Because of that, he
 gave himself the name Arrogance.’

kiḍbu

n. 10 lies
fiṭina na kiḍbu zotte haraamu [st.] ‘creating discord and lies are all unlawful sins’
Koḍele kiḍbu. ‘He told lies.’
mwenye kiḍbu niingi ‘one who tells many lies’
Omari/ ha’isi/ kiḍbu. ‘Omari does not tell lies (lit. does not know lies).’
Omari/ hukoḍa kiḍbu. ‘Omari tells lies.’
 rel.
u-kiḍbu n. lies
Omari/ hukoḍa ukiḍbu. ‘Omari tells lies.’

kh-kiḍiba

v. (**kiḍibiile**) deny the truth of what someone says
kumkiḍiba ‘to say someone is lying’
Muuntḥu/ siwo/ suura/ kumkiḍiba mweenzawe. ‘It is not good for a person to deny
 the truth of what his friend says.’
Omari/ kiḍibiile/ jawabu iyo. ‘Omari denied the truth of that matter.’
 rel.
kh-kiḍibana v. rec. (**-kiḍibeene**) contradict one another

Fikhiriini/ na Nureeni/ wakiðibeene. ‘Fikhiriini and Nureeni contradicted one another.’ Or: **Fikhiriini/ kiðibene na Nureeni.** ‘Fikhiriini contradicted Nureeni.’

kh-kiðiboowa v. pass. (**kiðibiila**) for one’s truthfulness to be denied

Mtume/ kiðibiila/ na wazuungu. ‘The prophet(’s words, teachings) have been denied by infidels.’

Muunt^hu siwo/ suura/ khkiðiboowa. ‘It is not good for a person to be contradicted (the truth of what he is saying to be denied).’

rel. nom.

m-kiðibo n. 3

u-kiðibo n. 14 lies

sh-kifari (s-)

n. 7/8 a small metal piece linking two things (e.g. clothing, belt)

Lkaandra/ nt^halná/ shkifari. ‘The belt does not have a metal joiner.’

skifari cha lkaandra ‘belt joinings, fasteners, connectors’

kifaaya

enough

Ichiwaa mi/ nazo peesá/ kifaayá/ takula gaari/ nk^hulu. ‘If I have enough money, I will buy a big car.’

Mi/ kawanayo pesa kifaayá/ sula khulilaa we/ fatuura. ‘If I had enough money, I would buy you a car.’

kh-kifila

v. [Ar. *kafala* W 833] (**kifiliile**) stand surety, sponsor, support, protect

Mojiitu/ nashkifila awo/ na shari yaawo. ‘May God protect us from those with their evil doing.’

Mojiitu/ shkifiliile/ awo/ na shari yaawo. ‘God has protected us from those ones with their evil doing.’

rel.

kh-kifiloowa v. pass.

Chinamnomba mojiitú/ khkifilowa 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: **kula, 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 muunt^hi. ‘It is a must for me to go to work every day.’

kilaa chiint^hu ‘everything’

Kilaa muke/ ile. ‘Each, every woman came.’ (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 muunt^hi/ heendra/ Omari/ dukaani. ‘Every day goes Omari to the shop.’ Or: **Kilaa muunt^hi/ heendró/ Omari/ dukaani.** ‘Every day it’s Omari who goes to the shop.’

Kilaa muunt^hi/ Omari/ hendra dukaani. ‘Every day Omari goes to the shop.’ Or, with verb emphasis: **Kilaa muunt^hi/ heendra/ dukaani.** (Phon. Observe that the pre-verbal **kilaa muunt^hi** does not trigger pseudo-relativization of the main verb. If there is pseudo-relativization of the verb, as in **Kilaa muunt^hi/ Omari/ heendró/ dukaani.**, it is because there is focus on the subject: ‘Every day it is Omari who goes to the shop.’)

Kila muunt^hu/ fakete keendra/ kulangala markabu/ iyo. ‘Everyone ran to

go to see that ship.’ (Phon. This example illustrates the possibility of **kīla** being phrased with its complement.)

Kīlaa muunt^hu/ ile. ‘Everyone came.’

Kīla/ munt^hu nayo kooḍi/ nahade. ‘Anyone who has something to say, let him speak.’

Kīla/ munt^hu nayo su’aali/ na’uze. ‘Anybody who has a question, let him ask it.’

Kīla/ muunt^hu/ nimeené. ‘Everyone, I saw.’ Or: **Kīla/ muunt^hu/ nimeenó.**
Or: **Kīlaa muunt^hu/ nimeené.**

Kīla/ munt^hu waa mi/ chimsuuló/ nimweené. ‘Every one whom I wanted [to see], I saw him.’

Kīlaa muunt^hu/ yaake/ imshiishile. ‘Everyone is caught by his own w’s concerns (issues, affairs).’ (A proverb.)

Kīlaa mwaana/ humleetela/ mwaalimu/ ije/ yaa ye/ hukhaadiró. ‘Each child brings his teacher whatever he is able to.’

Kīla/ nch^hitemuka zeema/ za eelo/ we/ hukiriha. ‘Whenever I speak well of the gazelle you are disgusted.’

Kīla/ waliko ilu yaa muti/ chanza kubigaa nk^heje. ‘Each one in the tree began to shout.’

Kūla/ chisūla 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/ kīla mo/ jisaa ye/ hutaambulo. ‘Talk is how everyone understands it.’ (A proverb.)

Kūla/ mo/ nimpele nuumbaye. ‘Each one (e.g. of these two wives) I gave her own house.’

Mi/ hendra dukaani/ kīlaa muunt^hi. ‘I go to the shop every day.’ Or, with verb focus: **Mi/ heendra/ dukaani/ kīlaa muunt^hi.**

Mmerele kīlaa mahalá/ nt^hozelé. ‘I searched for it everywhere, but I could not find it.’

Mmerele kīlaa mahalá/ skupata. ‘I looked everywhere, but I could not find it.’

Mp^hundra oyo/ kulla/ mukhtaaya ye/ chisūlo kendra mahalá/ amo fanyiza kaazi/ chimumikila mp^hundra/ oyo. ‘That donkey, every time that he wanted to go someplace or to work, he used that donkey.’

Na cheendra/ kīla/ ilooni. ‘And he *went* each evening.’

Na cheendra/ kīlaa ilooni? ‘Was he going each evening?’

Na kīlaa muza biyaashara/ humlaazima/ kumwolokela uje tamvijó.
‘And it is necessary for every merchant to go to whoever calls him.’

Nenzele dukaani/ kīlaa 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/ kīlaa muunt^hi.**

(Phon. Observe that **kīlaa 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/ kīlaa 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/ kilāa 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/ kilāa 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.)

Nim kilāa jimapiilī. ‘I came every Sunday.’

Nimweené/ kilāa muunt^hu. ‘I saw everybody.’

Nimwene kilāa muunt^hú/ waa mi/ chimsuuló. ‘I saw everyone whom I wanted to see.’ (Notice the lengthening of the final vowel of **kilā** 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.)

Nimubleeelé/ kilāa muunt^hu. ‘I killed everybody.’

Nimubleeelé/ kilā/ munt^hu koðeeló. ‘I killed everybody who spoke.’

Nsomeelé/ kilāa chibuuku. ‘I read each book.’ Or: **Nsomeelé/ kilā/ chibuuku.** ‘I read each book.’ Or: **Nsomele kilāa 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 kilāa chibuukú/ laakini/ jawabu yaa we/ nambiiló/ skuwona.** ‘I read every book, but I could not find the matter that you told me about.’)

Nsomeelé/ kilā/ chibuuku. ‘I read each book.’

Nsomeelé/ kilā/ chibuuku. ‘I read each book.’

Omari/ kilā chiint^hu/ hutilaa shaka. ‘Omari doubts everything (lit. Omari puts in doubt to everything).’

Wacheendra/ kuḷa muuyi/ mkulu/ na chihabá/ na killa/ mahaḷaa wo/ wamweno mwaamubli/ apó/ tu/ zaazilá/ wachimubla. ‘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/ kilā/ chuza khabarize/ hambiloowa/ kuwa hakhaadiri. ‘Every time his father asked for news of him, he was told that he was sick.’

rel.

kilasku always, everytime, every day (Phon. This item behaves like a prosodic word since accent falls on the penult syllable and not the final syllable: [kilásku] and not *[kilá skú]. The **l** in this word was not ever observed with germination, contrary to **kilā** by itself.)

Kama kilasku/ maama/ chimlomba mwaana/ chiza kendra teena/ maduriini/ laakini/ mwaana/ iize. ‘Like every time, mother begged the boy not to go again to the bush country, but the boy refused.’

Kilasku/ chimona Omari/ nakhfaklaṭa/ tu. ‘Every day when I see Omari, he is running.’

Mi/ nch^{hiya} kilasku. ‘I used to come every day.’

kilī

n. [Som. *kelli*] kidney

Alī/ atiila/ tilaa kilī. ‘Ali has been operated on, he has had a kidney put in.’

Hamadi/ nakhsulā kubigilowaa kilī. ‘Hamadi wants a kidney transplant.’

kh-kīla

v. (**kilīile**) step on, step over; survive

Isa/ hattá/ leelo/ umo chooloni/ nakoowa/ naakuḷa/ kaleent^he/ nakhkiḷa/ nakhsuḷa
kuvuuka. ‘Now, until today, she is in the bathroom, bathing, crying, seated,
crying, she wants to go [to the wedding].’
Fa/ ambó/ kiḷa. ‘Die or survive!’ (A proverbial saying.)
Mi/ nk^biḷiḷe ijabali. ‘I stepped on the rock.’
Nakuḷa nakhkiḷa. ‘She was crying very much.’
rel.
kh-kilḷa v. appl. (**kiḷiḷiḷe**)
Nk^biḷiḷiḷe mwaana. ‘He stepped on my child.’
kh-kilḷisha v. caus. (**kiḷishiize**) make step over
Hamadi/ mkilishize mwaana/ chiziingiti. ‘Hamadi had the child step over
the threshold.’
kh-kilishoowa v. caus. pass. (**kiḷishiiza**) be made to step over
Mwaana/ kilishizaa mbwa. ‘The child was made to step over the dog.’
kh-kiliza v. skip
ajabu muunt^hu naayo maali hiizo/ keendra Makka hu’ajizo hukilizo [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’
kh-kiloowa v. pass. be stepped on
Igome/ ikiḷiḷa khariibuye. ‘The rock was stepped on it.’
Ijabali/ ikiḷiḷa. ‘The rock was stepped on.’

kiḷma

n. word
ikum na keendra kiḷma za aḍaana [st.] ‘nineteen are the words of the *aḍaana*’
Ye/ dhibishile/ khfahama hatá/ kiḷma mooyi/ ya chingereenza. ‘She could barely
understand a word of English.’

m-kila (mi-)

n. 3/4 [Sw. *mkia* SSED 285] tail; (fig.) a follower rather than a leader
khshika mkila ‘to always follow after’
khṭeza 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^baka ‘cats’ tails’
mkila waa mbuzi ‘tail of a goat’
mkila waa mp^baka ‘a cat’s tail’
mkila waa nsi ‘caudal fin’
Ndovu/ chimḷata/ miilu hataa yé/ nakhsuḷo 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^bayná/ mkila. ‘Does your camel have no tail?’
Wawaye mwaana/ wanacho shpete/ chilazilo kaa noká/ mkilaani. ‘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
Waant^hu/ wape^laa nama/ makilokiilo. ‘People were given meat in kilos.’
- kilomeeteri** n. [cf. Sw. *kilometa* SSED 196] kilometer
Chinakubiga iteké/ chinakeendrá/ ziyaraani/ ka Shekh Makhtuubu/ ni kilomeetri/ nt^haano/ takhriibu. ‘We are going on foot to the religious ceremony for Shekh Makhtuubu, it is (held) about five kilometers (from Miini).’
Muduni/ hatá/ Miini/ ni kilomeetrii né. ‘Muduni up to Brava is four kilometers.’
- kh-kimila* v.
hujuzá laakini owla ni khkimila [st.] ‘it is permitted (not to perform a certain religious act), but it is better if (the act) is completed’
- kimistiri** n. chemistry
Ee/ Fardoosa/ na khsoma kimistiri/ hukahata. ‘Yes, Fardoosa also hates studying chemistry.’
- kh-kiinga* v. [Sw. *kinga* SSED 199] (**kingiile**) used in the following phrases:
khkinga ishikilo ‘to put one’s hand to one’s ear and lean forward to listen’
na khkiinga ishikilo khkasa zumaari [st.] ‘and to lean forward to listen to zumaari (a musical instrument)’
khkinga mashikilo ‘to listen to something being said at a distance, to listen carefully’
Skingeené/ mashikilo! ‘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.
- l-kiingo (n-)** n. 11/10 [Sw. *ukingo* SSED 200] precipice, edge, margin, brink; [pron. **nk^hiingo** ‘precipices’]
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-kiinya

v. (kinyiize, kinyiile) deny

Ali/ kinyeze kuwa oloshela. ‘Ali denied that he went.’

Baana/ kinyize kooði. ‘Baana denied what was said.’

Huseeni/ kinyize kuwa oloshela. ‘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-kiinyika 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-kiinyisha v. caus. (kinyishiize)

kh-kiinyishana v. caus. rec.

kh-kinyishika v. caus. p/s.

kh-kiinyishiliza v. caus. appl. (kinyishiliize)

kh-kiinyishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-kinyoowa v. pass.

Khabari/ skinyiiza. ‘The news was denied.’

kir

ideo.

Abú/ mwambile Omari/ kir!/ maamala/ spendi/ khkasa kooði/ kana izo/ za ebu. ‘Abu told Omari stop/back up/be quiet, I do not want to hear disgraceful talk like that.’

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/ hukirihani. ‘What displeases Daawuudi?’ (A possible answer:

Daawuudi/ hukiriha Faatma/ koloka (or: **kujawa**) **ka hima.** ‘Daawuudi is displeased by Faatma’s leaving early/quickly.’)

Jiraani/ wamkirihile ka maposoye. ‘The neighbors were disgusted at his (repeated) borrowing (of things).’

Khalbiyo/ isikirihe. ‘May your heat not resent it.’ (This is used to apologize in advance for a (future) behavior or request that might displease.)

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.’

Suufi/ mkirihile Nuuru. ‘Suufi hated Nuuru.’

Watakukiriha. ‘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/ hatá/ ichiwa

jawaabu/ izo/ stamkirihisha/ mwajiitu. ‘But you must

open your mouth and say whatever will please your

superiors, even if those words (things) will not please

	God.'
	Siimba/ kubooleke/ chibuuku/ imkirihishize waawaye. 'Simba's having stolen the book displeased his father.'
	<i>kh-kirihishana</i> v. caus. rec.
	<i>kh-kirihishika</i> v. caus. p/s.
	<i>kh-kirihishiliza</i> v. caus. appl.
	Nuuru/ mkirihishilize Suufi/ mwaana. 'Nuuru disgusted Suufi's child.'
	<i>kh-kirihishilizanya</i> v. caus. appl. rec.
	Suufi/ na Nuuru/ wakirihishilizenye waana. 'Suufi and Nuuru disgusted one another's children.'
	<i>kh-kirihoowa</i> v. pass.
	Jaama/ kirihila na Nuuru. 'Jaama was hated by Nuuru.'
	<i>kh-kirisha</i> v.
	kumkirisha qalbi 'to hurt s.o.'s feelings'
	rel. nom.
	<i>m-kirihisha</i> (wa-) n. 1/2 one who annoys
	<i>sh-kirihisa</i> (s-) n. 7/8 s.t. that annoys
	<i>u-kiriho</i> n. 14
<i>kh-kirima</i>	v. [Sw. <i>kirimu</i> SSED 174] (kirimiile) extend hospitality, giving something; respect s.o. (by providing food etc. for them); entertain, treat hospitably
	Mkirimilee ntho/ waawe. 'He showed his father much respect (e.g. he provided him with food etc. on his visit).'
	We/ mkirimilee ntho/ Sultani Daraayi. 'You showed great respect to Sultan Daraayi.'
	rel.
	<i>kh-kirimoowa</i> v. pass. (kirimiila) be rewarded, be respected
	naako itakuuya naada/ khalqi inakirimoowa [st.] 'and then the divine call will be made for the crowd to be rewarded'
	sho kuwa Ibraahiimu wazaazila/ ka Mwaana Khadijata wa'iwila/ ni waana sita wakirimiila [st.] 'except for Ibraahiimu, they were born of Lady Khadija and they were known as six children endowed with noble traits'
	rel. nom.
	<i>m-kirima</i> (wa-) n. 1/2 a person who shows respect
	<i>m-kirimo</i> n. 3 hospitality
	<i>u-kirimo</i> n. 14
<i>kirkiri</i>	n. [Tunni <i>kirkirro</i> , <i>kirkirró</i> , <i>kirkirra</i> "warthog" Tosco 222] warthog
<i>Kismaayo</i>	n. Kismayu; variant form: Chismaa'ilu Muduni/ ni mahaḷa/ ndila/ huṭindo Chismaa'ilú/ na Miini. 'Muduni is a place where the roads to Kismaayo and Brava intersect.' ndila ya Kismaayo 'the road to Kismaayo'
<i>kiswa</i>	n. [Ar. <i>kiswa</i> W 828] dress, clothes – used particularly in discussions of Islamic law and found in poetry
<i>kit</i>	ideo. of laughin review t
<i>kiṭaani</i>	n. [Sw. <i>kitani</i> SSED 209] the fibre of the sisal plant (used in ropes, string, sacks) lkambala la kiṭaani 'a rope made of sisal' rel. <i>m-kiṭaani</i> (mi-) n. 3/4 sisal plant
<i>kh-kitika</i>	v. flow rel. <i>kh-kitikila</i> v. appl. yatakitikila maatozi/ nguwo stakolozoowa [st.] 'tears will keep flowing and wet their clothes'

- kh-kitikoowa* v. pass.
wasimeemo kumnuurisha/ maatozi yatakikoowa [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), us
Ali/ simeme lwavuuni/ kiitu. ‘Ali stood at our side.’
Mukhta ukomelo wakhti/ wa kawanya mawiindó/ siimba/ chimvila 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.’
Wo/ wanakhsula khkasa/ kiitu/ yaa si/ sh^takhfaanyó/ khalisha mushkila. ‘They want to hear from us what we will do to solve the problem.’
- rel.
sh-kiitu adv. in our way, manner, language
kiwa siifa za mojiitu/ na za mitume at^a ka shkiitu [st.] ‘to learn the attributes of God and the Prophets, at least in our language’
- 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.
l-kiizi (mi-) n. 11/4 aug.
- klaasi* n. [Eng. **class**] class in school
Adadi ya wana wa klasi 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/ mahala si/ chiikó ‘at the house where we are’
Si/ chiko madrasaani. ‘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^hini** 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/ Imolela 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?’

Chiłuti/ chiikopi. ‘Where is the dim. stick?’

Chiınt^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 Imolela 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/ Imolela 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 madrasaani. ‘I am at school.’

Mi/ niikopi. ‘Where am I?’

Niko numbaani. ‘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 madrasaani. ‘You (pl.) are at school.’

Ni/ niikopi. ‘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.)

Ukopi. ‘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.’

Chimwona sarmala/ uko mlangooni/ namliindra. ‘He found the carpenter

at the door waiting for him.’

kawa maame/ uko naami ‘if my mother were with me’

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?’

Ndruwé/ chimwaambila/ ya kuwa uko kaa muke/ mooyi ‘his relative told him that she is found at a woman’s place’

Nuuru/ uko mweezi. ‘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/ atá/ 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 mweenziwo. ‘Where is your companion?’

Ukopi/ sul^taani/ oyo/ nakhsulo kumlola mwanaamkewa. ‘Where is this sultan who wants to marry my daughter?’

Wachimuza/ 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.’

uko ‘[cl.3] is at’

Muti/ uko kharibu yaa wowi. ‘The tree is near the river.’

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?’

mubliwe/ muzizopo waakopi/ waaná ‘when her husband asked here where the children were’

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/ mahala 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^hakiwa/ 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.’

Muti/ wiko khariibu yaa wowi. ‘The tree is near the river.’

Wiiko/ ilu ya lfuwo la tawala ya Hiindi. ‘It (referring to the town of Brava) is located on the shore of the Indian Ocean.’

wowi yaa muti/ wiko khariibuyé... ‘the river that the tree is near it...’

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: **Yikopi/ isheetara.**

yiiko ‘it [cl.9] as at’

Isa/ leelo/ masku/ yiiko/ nikaaha/ Safiya/ nakulooloowa/ 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.’

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/ yikonni. ‘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.’

yiiko/ keendra ‘perhaps’

Yiiko/ keendra/ kuwa Hamiisi/ tinzile kharaari/ kulata

masoomo. ‘Perhaps Hamiisi has decided to drop out from his studies.’

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/ yikopi/

nt^hiyo. ‘The third month, the husband asked his wife, where is your land?’

Yiikopi/ nama. ‘Where is the meat at?’ (A possible answer: **Yiko mikooni.** ‘It is in the kitchen.’)

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/ hazirudi/ 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!’

Ko/ mshike mbuziwo/ langala/ siyi/ hatá/ numbaani/ skukoma/ naayé/

fiile. ‘Here, take your goat! Look, here it is, I did not reach home even and it died.’

Ko teleefono. ‘Take the telephone!’

Kooni. ‘(Pl.) take it!’

kh-koóda

v. (**koóeele**) talk, speak; to talk speak about someone in his absence

Hasani/ kaaziye/ hukooða waant^hu. [H¹H!H] ‘Hasani, his job is to backbite people – i.e. all that Hasani does is backbite people.’ (The emphasis on **kaaziye** is expressed as a pitch upstepping on this element, as indicated in the intonational annotation of this example.)

Haṭaa we/ nakhkoða na Nuurú/ nakendra nt^hiini/ kuleta zoombozá. ‘While you are talking to Nuuru, I am going down to bring my things.’

Hukoða kaa mp^hula. ‘He is arrogant (lit. he talks through his nose).’

Humkoðo Omarí/ ni Huseeni. [H!H] ‘The one who backbites Omarí is Huseeni.’ (The downstep between the relative clause subject and the copular phrase is clear.)

Humkoóðó/ Omarí/ ni Huseeni. ‘The one who *backbit* Omarí is Huseeni.’ (In true relative clauses like this, it is common for final accent to cross the emphasized verb, in contradiction to the Accentual Law of Focus. However, in this kind of example, our consultant GM regarded the pronunciation where ALF is respected as perhaps better: **Humkoóðó/ Omarí/ ni Huseeni.**)

Huseeni/ humkoðo Omarí. [H!H] ‘*Huseeni* backbites Omarí.’

Huseeni/ humkoóðó/ Omarí. [H!H!H] ‘It is Huseeni who *backbites* Omarí.’ (Focus on the subject triggers the pseudo-relativization of the verb; when the verb is at the same time emphasized, the norm is for the Accentual Law of Focus to be brought into play to block the extension of final accent past the verb. A pronunciation like the following is usually regarded as questionable: **?Huseeni/ humkoóðó/ Omarí.**)

Huseeni/ humkoða Omarí/ ka wiingi. [H!H¹H] ‘Huseeni backbites Omarí frequently.’ (The adverbial **ka wiingi** was emphasized in this example,

indicated by the superscript upwards pointing arrow in the intonational representation.)

- Huseeni/ humkoḍo Omari/ ka wiingi.** ‘It’s Huseeni who backbites Omari frequently.’
- 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** ‘toi whisper (lit. to talk into s.o.’s ear)’
- khkoḍa lila** ‘to say the truth’
- khkoḍa na qalbiye** ‘to talk to oneself’
- Hamadi/ siwo/ mzima/ nakhkoḍa na khalbiye/ naankhó.** ‘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’
- Koḍele naami.** ‘He talked with me.’
- Koḍeele/ naami/ ka wiingi.** ‘He has spoken to me often.’ (An overt pronominal subject is of course possible as well: **Ye/ koḍeele naami/ ka wiingi.** The pronoun is not required of course since the accent indicates a third person subject; cf. **Koḍeelé/ naami/ ka wiingi.** ‘You have spoken to me often.’)
- 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/ koḍeeló.** ‘Who spoke?’
- Naani/ nt^hakhkoḍá.** ‘Who did not speak?’
- Ndrata nk^hooḍe.** ‘Let me speak.’ Or: **Ndrataa mi/ nk^hooḍe.**
- Skhaadiri/ khkoḍa.** ‘I can’t talk.’
- Skoḍé.** ‘Don’t talk!’ (Cf. **Skoḍeení.** ‘You (pl.) don’t talk!’)
- Skoḍé/ naami.** ‘Don’t talk to me!’ (Cf. **Skoḍé/ naaye.** ‘Don’t talk to him!’)
- We/ skoḍe/ na waant^hu.** ‘Don’t talk with people.’
- Ye/ nt^hakhkoḍa/ naami.** ‘He has not spoken to me.’
- Ye/ koḍele ka tarafu ya mwaalimu.** ‘He spoke about the teacher.’ (Cf. **mwaalimu waa ye/ koḍelo ka tarafuye** ‘the teacher whom he talked about him’.)
- rel.
- kh-kooḍakooḍa** v. freq. talk much, frequently
- Ba’adaa ye/ kingila ndraani/ chiwa teena/ nakhkoḍakooḍa na oyo mwaarabu.** ‘After he went inside, he began then talking with that Arab.’
- Khkoḍakooḍa niingi/ nt^hayna ma’ana.** ‘Talking a lot is meaningless.’
- Uje/ shkoḍa/ hukooḍakooḍa naaye.** ‘If that one talks, [the other one] talks as well.’
- Ye/ nakhkoḍakooḍa/ tu/ nakhtezaateza/ jisaa ye/ sho kubarataa kuja.** ‘He was just talking and playing around without learning the way to eat.’
- kh-kooḍeloowa** v. appl. pass. be talked about, be taken seriously
- Cho/ chisu chaa we/ mpheeló/ chinakhkoḍeloowá.** ‘It, the knife that you gave me, is the (very) one that is being talked about.’
- Kooḍiye/ inakihtaja khkoḍeloowa/ nt^ho.** ‘His arguments need to be taken seriously.’
- kh-kooḍela** v. appl. (**koḍelele**) talk about, with, for; discuss
- Shkoḍelele/ khsoma pamooyi.** ‘We discussed studying together.’

kh-koōisha v. caus. (**koōishiize**) cause to talk; talk to, with someone; seduce or court a woman; urge (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^hoōishiize. ‘He talked to me.’

Sink^hoōishé. ‘Don’t make me talk!’ or ‘Don’t talk to me!’

Ye/ mkoōishize Fardoosa/ nt^ho/ kuwa tahaðari. ‘She urged Fardoosa to be careful.’

Ye/ mkoōishize muþjiwe/ nt^ho/ kudhakha. ‘She urged her husband to hurry.’

Zahara/ nawakhkoōisha waanawe/ tarafu ya mgeeni. ‘Zahara is talking to her children about the stranger.’

kh-koōishiliza v. caus. appl. (**-koōishiliize**) seduce with or for

Gawadi uyu/ nk^hoōishilizee muke. ‘This pimp obtained (lit. seduced) a woman for me.’

kh-koōishoowa v. caus. pass. (**koōishiiza**)

Aaba/ koōishiiza. ‘Aaba was made to talk; Aaba was talked to.’

Ye/ chanza khkoōisha ruuhuye. ‘He began to talk to himself.’

kh-koōoowa v. pass. (**i-koōeeġa**) be talked

Chiswaahili/ hukooðowa nt^hi niingi. ‘Swahili is spoken in many countries.’

Ishkoōoowa/ haqqi... ‘If the truth were told...’

Wageeni/ wanakhkoōowa na Zahara/ tarafu yaawo. ‘The guests are being talked about them by Zahara.’

kh-koōowakoōoowa v. freq. pass.

Khkoōowakoōowa niingi/ nt^hayna faayda. ‘Talking a lot has no benefit.’

rel. nom.

m-koōa (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who speaks

Mkoōa 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/ mkoōa ġġa/ shġafsirġle/ ndroto izi. ‘O you Joseph, speaker of truth, explain for us these dreams.’

m-koōisha (*wa-*) n. one who talks to, seduces

koōi

n. 9/10 language, talking, words

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

khġinda koōi ‘to decide, be decisive and to the point, cut off talking’; also: **khġindowa koōi** (passive), **khġindila koōi** (applied)

Hasani/ ingile numbaani/ ġinzile koōi/ waant^hu/ wanakhkoōoð/ tarafu ya Sheekhi/ safariyē. ‘Hasani entered the house and interrupted people talking about Sheekhi’s trip.’ (This example illustrates the fact that in true relative clauses, even if the verb is emphasized and put in phrase-final position, its final accent extends to the end of the relative clause.)

Jeeli/ ġinzile koōi. ‘Jeeli made a decision.’

Koōi/ khfanyowa niingi/ ndre/ siwo/ suura/ koōi/ suura/ kugawishoowa/ khġindoowa. ‘For talk to be made too much and too long is not good, talk is good to be shortened and to be decisive/to the point.’

Nuuru/ mġindiġġe Hasani/ koōi/ mwambiile/ siyē/ kaaka/ dukaani/ mara yiingine. ‘Nuuru cut off talking to Hasani and told him: don’t come to my shop the next time.’

Omari/ ġinzile koōi/ hadiile/ mi/ mwaaanawa/ simloozi/ mwanaashke/ wa Ali. ‘Omari decided, he said: me my child will not marry Ali’s daughter.’

Waant^hu/ wazima/ washkoōa/ hawaġindoowi/ koōi/ siwo/ adabu suura. ‘If adults are speaking, they should not be interrupted, it is not good manners.’

khkasa koōi ‘to listen to advice etc.’

Muunt^hu/ chiza khkasa kooði/ ya waake/ huwona yaake. ‘If one does not listen to the words of his (brother, kin) he sees his (i.e. he will see a bad end).’ (A proverb.)

kh̄tomoza kooði ‘to pull out words, talk, information’

kh̄tomoza kooði/ za minooni ‘to pull out words, talk, information (as one does) teeth’

Majaajuusi/ hūtomoza waant^hu/ koði za minooni. ‘Spies pry out from people words of teeth (i.e. pry out information etc. from people that is like extracting teeth).’

khtila kooði ‘to make an argument, oppose with words’; also: **khtilowa kooði** (passive), **khtilika kooði** (potential-stative)

Chiint^hu/ it̄inzila go’aani/ fadhiini/ muunt^hu/ haatili/ kooði. ‘Something decided in the meeting, one should not dispute/ argue about.’

Kooði/ ish̄indoowa/ na wazele/ ha’it̄iloowi/ kooði. ‘If matters discussed are decided by the elders, there should be no arguing about them.’

Masheekhi/ amri yaawo/ ha’it̄iliki/ kooði. ‘The orders of scholars are not disputed.’

Kooði/ haspiki/ chuungu. ‘Words do not cook food (lit. the cooking pot).’ (A proverb.)

Kooði/ ich̄ilawa kanaani/ ha’iruudi. ‘When talk comes out of the mouth, it does not go back in.’ (A proverb.)

Kooði/ hazimali. ‘Talk has no end.’ (A proverb.)

Kooði iyi/ inayo ma’ana. ‘This word has meaning.’ (A saying, stressing that you mean something by the word you spoke.)

Kooði/ kila mo/ jisaa ye/ hutaambuló. ‘Talk is how everyone understands it.’ (A proverb.)

Kooði/ majibuye/ ni kooði. ‘The answer to words is words.’ (A proverb.)

Kooði niingi/ haziinfi/ chiint^hu. ‘Too much talk does not serve anything.’ (A proverb.)

Kooði njeema/ wahali/ koði mbovu/ dahari. ‘A good word is a companion, a bad word is suffering.’ (A proverb.)

koði ya mw̄ iinsho ‘the last word’

koði za Chimwiini ‘the Chim(w)iini language’

Kooði/ zim̄lazilelazile. ‘He blurted out the words (lit. the words came out and came out from him).’

Kooðize/ kana/ za waana ‘His talk is like that of children (i.e. he talks a lot of nonsense, foolishness).’

kuleta kooði ‘to report what someone is saying in private’

Muunt^hu/ huleto kooði/ kh̄tukulo kooði/ ni muunt^hu/ wa āḁabuuni. ‘One who brings and takes talk (i.e. reveals what people are saying) is a person of hellfire.’

Mi/ nk̄ōdele na Nuurú/ yana. ‘I spoke with Nuuru yesterday.’ Or with verb emphasis: **Mi/ nk̄ōdelelé/ na Nuuru/ yana.**

Mi/ nk̄ōdelee yaná/ na Nuuru. ‘I spoke *yesterday* with Nuuru.’ Or with verb focus: **Mi/ nk̄ōdelelé/ yana/ na Nuuru.**

Mi/ ñnakhkōḁa na Nuurú. ‘I am speaking with Nuuru.’ Or with verb emphasis: **Mi/ ñnakhkōḁá na Nuuru.**

Ni koði gani/ izi. ‘What kind of words are these?’

Omari/ kooðize/ nt̄aziná/ khiima | kana/ za waana. [H̄H̄!H̄!H̄!H̄!H̄] ‘Omari’s words do not have value/ meaning, they are like those of children.’ (We have interpreted the pitch pattern of this example as indicating that *kana za waana* is a separate Intonational Phrase, with pitch re-setting putting the initial pitch at a level similar to the last accented syllable in the first IP. It should be noted that the subject of this clause is superficially null, but the agreement morpheme *z-* in the phrase *za waana* ‘of children’ indicates that the null subject being referred to is *kooði* ‘words’. There is no overt

copula preceding *kana* ‘like’.)

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.’

Wamwambile muunt^hu/ koođi. [H!H] ‘They spoke to the man [lit. they spoke to the man words].’ Or: **Muunt^hu/ wamwambile koođi.** [H!H]

Ye/ nt^hakhsuula/ kinenza koođi. ‘She did not wish to continue the conversation.’

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 Chimini, 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^bó/ chimwona ikodho/ kamba jisaa ye/ huuyó/ naank^bó/ 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’ (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-kofiya (mi-) n.aug. 11/4

sh-kofiya (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 Mkohaatiimu. ‘I am of the Raa Waali clan; Mustafa is a member of the **Kohaatiimu** clan.’

koohi

n. team, squad

Ka paapo/ koohi/ ya Hamiisi/ watile chigooli/ cha kaandra. ‘Suddenly, Hamiisi’s team scored the first goal.’

Nt^haasa/ hutasawara/ koohi/ kunajiha. ‘It remains possible for the team to be successful.’

kooko

n. cook

Kooko/ rasmi/ laazimu/ kuvala garambiyoolo/ mukhtaa ye/ nakhpikó.
‘An official cook must wear an apron when he cooks.’

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 maaiyé/ (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**

Noloshihe 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 **Noloshihe kookó/ oko.** to extend past **kooko** shows that it is focused/emphasized.)

Nsafirile ka kookó/ okó. ‘I departed from that place.’ Or: **Nsafiriile/ 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 mwaana/ kooko/ oko/ ka Hasani. ‘Omari left the child right there at Hasani’s place.’

Omari/ mlasile 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/ mlasile 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 muhliwé/ chimpa makooko. ‘She gave her child good food and her husband’s child *makooko*.’

ikoko yaa muti ‘the bark of a tree’

Laakini/ zijo/ mpele mwanaamke/ na ikookó/ mpele mwana wa muhliwe. ‘But *zijo* she gave to her daughter, and *ikooko* she gave to her husband’s child.’

Mi/ nk^hawaa munó/ mi/ suła 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
Oloshela mkokooni. ‘He went to the mangrove.’

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. (*kokolelele*)

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^hi/ hattá/ muyiini. ‘When they finished eating, they tied up the beast with ropes and dragged him night and day until town.’

Wanakhkokotapó/ ifanyizee nk^heje/ niingi. ‘While they were pulling it, it made a great deal of noise.’

rel.

kh-kokotana v. rec. (*-kokoteene*) pull one another

Wafiiló/ 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. (*kokotelelele*) pull for, with

Ali/ nk^hokotelele (i)bakhji. ‘Ali dragged the carcass for me.’

kh-kokotesha v. caus. (*kokotesheze*)

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/ mkokotesheze.** 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-kokotesheza 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

mu-kookoto (*mi-*)

n. 3/4 cart

Mahamaali/ sukhuuni/ ndiwó/ wa’uskuma mikookoto. ‘Porters at the market are the ones who push carts.’

koleejo

n. college [review 1](#)

Abú/ anzize koloka koleejo. ‘Abu has begun attending college.’

Fardoosa/ anzize khsoma koleejo/ jisaa ye/ khpata kazi suura. ‘Fardoosa began attending college in order to get a better job.’

kolko

[Sw. *kuliko* SSED 226] greater than, more than, rather than

Afóali/ khsaafira/ kolko khkalaant^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.’ (A proverb.)

Laakini/ furahiloo nt^ho/ kolko sultaani/ ni Sultani Daraayi. ‘The one who was pleased more than the sultan was Sultan Daraayi.’

Miti ayo/ ni zigobe/ kolko/ miti aya. ‘Those trees are shorter than these trees.’

Miti ayo/ ni zigobee nt^ho/ kolko miti aya. ‘Those trees are much shorter than these trees.’

Munt^hu uje/ si/ chinamwiiwá/ kolko we. ‘That man, we know him better than you do.’

mwaana/ kawaa mulé/ kolko Muusá ‘if the child had been taller than Muusa’

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/ mulé/ 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/ mulé/ kolko/ Muusa.**

Raaði/ 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-kolkoro** n. trevally, a family of fish of which there are many species [pron. nk^ho_lko^o] variant forms: nk^ho_lko^o review whether both l and r are possible pronunciations
nk^ho_lko^o abu rassi ‘a trevally with a huge head’
nk^ho_lko^o huundru ‘[lit.] red trevally, but actually a bluefin trevally (and not red at all)’
nk^ho_lko^o bahariini ‘[lit.] deep sea trevally, a trevally like nk^ho_lko^o huundru but bigger’ confirm long vowel in bahariini
nk^ho_lko^o joodari ‘[lit.] tuna trevally, its meat looks like tuna (jackfish?)’
nk^ho_lko^o ya matete ‘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** n. 9/10 [Sw. koleo SSED 216] pincer of the native type used e.g. to pick up s.t. hot; a large hook (e.g. on a crane)
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/ kana/ koola. ‘He stuck to him like glue.’
kumshiika/ kana koola ‘to hold him like glue’
- kh-kola** v. [perhaps connected to Som. kulul ‘to be hot’ DSI 373 and Tunni kulal Tosco 223] (kozele) be or get warm, warm up
Chaayi/ chiko muḷooni/ chinakhkola. ‘The tea is on the fire, it is getting warm.’
Kahawa/ ikozele. ‘The coffee has become warmed up.’
Kuja/ yiko muḷooni/ inakhkola. [H!H!H] ‘The food is on the fire, it is getting hot.’
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-kolezakoleza v. caus. appl. redup.
Nimwene Haliimá/ numbaani/ kaaké/ nakuwakolezakoleza waana/ kuja. ‘I saw Haliima in her house warming food for the children.’
kh-koza v. caus. (koseeze) warm, heat s.t. up
Haliima/ nakhkozaa kuja. ‘Haliima is warming up food.’
kh-kozaakoza v. caus. redup.
Omari/ nakhkozakoza kuuluye/ ka chiguwo chimuḷo/ imfuriile. ‘Omari is warming his leg with a warm cloth, it is swollen.’
kh-kozeka v. caus. p/s. able to be warmed up
- i-koli** n. [etymology unknown] nickname
Muunt^hu/ siwo/ suura/ kuvilowa ka ikoli. ‘It is not good for someone to be called by his nickname.’
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-kololela v. appl. (**kololele**)

Ondroka/ sink^hololelé. ‘Move away, don’t cough on me.’

kh-kololoowa v. pass. (**koleela**) be coughed

kh-kololakolola v. freq.

Waana/ hawakhaadiri/ wanakhkololakolola. ‘The children are sick, they are coughing and coughing.’

Waana/ sku mbili izi/ wanakhkololakolola/ hawa/ ibadilishile/ ni bardi.
‘Children these days are coughing and coughing; the air has turned, it is cold.’

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/ kiḷa/ fijiri/ skuu nt^hatu. ‘A cough, its medicine (remedy) is to swallow two raw eggs each morning for three days.’

Alí/ ikololo yiingi/ impanzize chiliini. ‘Too much coughing confined Ali to bed.’

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.)

Umi/ potoshele/ ka shkololo. ‘Umi bent over coughing.’

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/ oloshela 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).’

Chinakhkoma dukaani/ kulaa mazú. ‘We are going to the shop to buy bananas.’

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 sulṭaani. ‘The news reached the sultan (it was not expected and was not wanted).’ (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 sulṭaani!?**)

Khabari/ zimbomele Omari. ‘The news reached Omari.’ (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/ komela na khabari.** ‘Omari was reached by the news.’ This is presumably due to the non-agentive nature of the subject in **Khabari/ zimbomele Omari.** Note also that one can say

Omari/ khabari/ zimkomeele. The grammatical relations remain the same.)

Kheeri/ kuraaga/ kama chiza khkoma. ‘Better to be late than not to come at all.’

Khfakaṭa/ 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 about that matter, 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/ zimkomeele. ‘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/ ṭakuruda 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 uṭuungu/ chizala ‘when the time came the woman went into labor and gave birth.’

mukhta wakhtí/ ukomeelopó ‘when the time came’

Mukhta ya/ 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/ chimuza 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.’

Shfakaṭa/ haṭá/ shkoma muuyi/ mooyi/ mkulu/ nuumbaze/ zote/ zaa 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 sultaani/ 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. [H’H!H] ‘The guests *arrived* at the house.’ Or: **Numbaani/ wakomeele/ wageeni.** [H’H!H] ‘At the house they arrived, the guests.’

Wakomelo numbaani/ ni wageeni. [H’H] ‘The ones who arrived at the house are the guests.’ Or: **Numbaani/ wakomeeló/ ni wageeni.** [H’H’H] ‘The house, the ones who arrived were the guests.’

Wakomeelopó/ sarmala/ chilindra ndilaani. ‘When they arrived, the carpenter waited outside.’

Waana/ wakomele Nuuru. ‘The children approached Nuuru.’

Waant^hu/ hukomó/ khariibu/ ya miyyuuni/ 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.’ (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 miyyuuni/ ishiriini** are not regarded as part of the relative verb phrase.)

Ye/ safarile sku niingi/ haṭá/ 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 want^hu.** ‘Zeena cannot be approached by people.’
- kh-komela* v. appl. (**komelele**) reach for, with
- Mkomelele 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-komeza* 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.’
- Bur’i/ mkomeze Huseeni/ khabari.** ‘Bur’i caused the news to reach Huseeni (this could mean that Bur’i told Huseeni directly or told him through an intermediary.)
- 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/ zimkomele 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/ mahaḷa/ we/ walá/ waant^hú/ wakhurashiizó.
'Your boat will not cause you to reach anyplace nor the people who have followed you.'

Ji/ komezee khaṭi/ 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 kooḍi 'to report what was said'

Ali/ mkomeze mwaalimu/ koḍi ziitu. 'Ali reported our conversation to the teacher.'

khkomeze nt^hume 'to convey a message, cause a message to reach s.o.'

Noloshele kaa muke/ na nimkomeezé/ nt^humeyo. '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/ mahaḷaa 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 tumiḷa/ na mojiitu/ keendra/ khkomeza/ risaala/ ka makhluuqu/ wa nt^hi izo/ karka wakhṭi/ 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.' (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-komezeka v. caus. p.s.

Hamadi/ hakomezeki/ khabara. 'Hamadi cannot be brought news.'

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/ wakhṭi/ wa kulaḷoowa/ mwanaamke/ hingila kaake/ mṭanaani. '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

Nṭ^hamkoma 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/ khkombaa 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/ mtılıle Omari/ mwaana/ khkombaa chaalache. 'Nuuru persuaded/ convinced Omari's child to lick his
finger.')
- kh-konzelezanya* v. caus. appl. rec. (**-konzeleezenye**)
Nuuru/ na Omari/ wakonzeleezenye waana/ zala zaawo. 'Nuuru and
Omari caused one another's children to lick their fingers.' (The
periphrastic version of this sentence: **Nuuru/ na Omari/ watılılene waana/ khkombaa zala zaawo.** 'Nuuru and
Omari persuaded/convinced one another's children to lick their fingers.')
- kh-konzeshana* given by MI but need to be verified
kh-konzeshela
kh-konzeshelanya
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.'
Jılıle l_koombe. 'He ate with a spoon.' (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: ***Chiljılıle l_koombe.** The
instrument may, however, be the subject of the passive verb:
l_koombe/ l_jılıla. '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/ shkombe. 'He drank the porridge with a cup.'
Nelele maayi/ shkombe. 'He drank water with a cup.' Or: **Shkombe/**
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'.)
Shkombe/ chivundishile. 'The cup is broken.'
Shkombe ichi/ nch^haawo. 'This cup is theirs.' (Cf. **Skombe izi/ nzaawo.**
'These cups are theirs.')

i-kombo (ma-)

n. 5/6 [Sw. *kombo* SSED 218] leftovers, scraps on the plate after one has finished eating

kuja ikombo ‘to eat leftovers’

Makombo/ 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/ hatá/ chiikuta. ‘When they washed their hands, the servant also came and ate the leftovers until he was satiated.’

We/ ni muja ikombó. ‘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-kombo (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^hayimdhiza (or: **nt^haykumdhiza**). ‘His locking the door did not bother anyone.’ (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-komelana v. rec. (-*komeleene*)

Waana/ wakomeleene 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-komelekeleloowa v. p/s. appl. pass. (*komelekelelela*)

Mi/ nk^homelekelela na mlaango. ‘I had the door lock on me.’

kh-komelekela v. p/s. appl. (*komelekelelele*)

Mlaango/ unk^homelekelelele. ‘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/ khkomelela 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. (-*komeleleene*)

Waana/ wakomeleleene milaango. ‘The children locked doors for one another.’

kh-komeleloowa v. pass.

Mlaango/ ufuunzila/ kabisá/ unakhkomeloowa. ‘The door was closed firmly, it was locked.’

Mlaango/ wa nuumba/ iyi/ uwaliko nt^hawukhkomeloowa. ‘The door of this house was not locked.’

rel. nom.

- m-komejo* n. 3
mkomejowe wa mlaango ‘his locking of the door’
sh-komejo (s-) n. lock
u-komejo 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
- kompyuutar(i)* n. computer; pl: **makompyuutari**; [pron. **kompyúutari**]
Ba’adi ya wana wa skoola/ wanayo kompiyuutar. ‘Some students have a computer.’
Kiiboodi/ ya kompyúutari/ ápol/ ni bilaa fiilo. ‘The keyboard of an Apple computer is wireless.’
Kilaa mwaana/ wa skoola/ nayo kompyuutar. ‘Every student has a computer.’
Mi/ nenzele skoolá/ kubarata tarafu ya makompyuutari. ‘I went to school to learn about computers.’
- 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.
Skoola/ 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 likutá/ 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.
l-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.
l-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. [H!H||H!H] ‘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.) (We have analyzed the two clauses in this sentence as constituting a sequence of two IP’s, indicated by the symbol ||. In such a sequence, the initial accent in the second IP is raised above the last accented syllable of the first IP, but is noticeably lower than the initial accented syllable of the first IP.)

Endrá/ ruuda/ ka moojó/ muuze/ watakuwaayi/ wake/ awaje/ watinzilotinzilo ruhu zaawó/ mikonó. ‘Go, return to your master and ask him about those women who cut their hands.’

Humpa maayi/ kosha mikonó. ‘She gave him water to wash his hands.’

Ikoofiya/ imchingila sulṭaani/ mkonooni. ‘The hat fell into the king’s hand[s].’

Khati/ ye/ chimwandikila sulṭaani/ mkonooni. ‘The letter he put it in the hand of the sultan.’

Khkooḍa/ tu/ siwo/ na mkonó/ hukabiló. ‘It is not just talk, his hand he also adds (i.e. he gets physical).’

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/ haṭá/ 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/ mikonó. ‘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.’

khtila mkono ‘to give, lend a hand, support’

Ali/ hadiile/ apa/ jawabu iyi/ inakhsulowa Omari/ khtila mkono/

chiizapó/ hayiwi/ chiint^hu/ kuḷaṭowa Nuuru/ yeepeeke.

‘Ali said this thing is needed, for Omari to lend support,

otherwise, nothing will be (done) if left to Nuuru alone.’

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.’

kuḷaṭila mikono ‘lit. to throw the hands – to reject with anger, to dismiss something as impossible to accomplish’

Ali/ jawaabu/ chihaba/ huḷaṭila mikono/ nt^haná/ sabri/ haṭá/

habamooyi. ‘Ali, even over a little matter’ he throws his

hands (getting upset over it), he has no patience, even a

little.’

Omari/ kambilowa tomola dolari miya/ khsaydilowa Nuuru/

ḷaṭile mikono/ hadiile/ mi/ hupatapi/ dolarii miya.

‘Omari to be told to pay one hundred dollars for Nuuru to

be assisted, he threw up his hands and said: me, how can I

get one hundred dollars?’

kuḷaṭilaa nguwo ‘lit. to throw cloth – to reject vehemently, over-react; to be

extremely committed to one's position on some matter'

Ali/ mukhtaa ye/ kasizo mwaanawé/ namsula kumnola mwanashke wa Nuurú/ lafilee nguwo/ hadiile/ awo/ ni far'aa mbovu. 'Ali, when he heard that his son wants to marry Nuuru's daughter, threw lit. cloth and said: those are from a bad clan.'

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/ huḷawa mikonooni. 'In America, children get out of control.'

Omari/ lazile mkonooni. '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'utoorati/ 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/ shiliingi/ ha'impoteli. 'Omari is a miser, a shilling does not fall down from him.'

mkono/ na zaalá 'hand and fingers'; **mkono/ 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'; **mkono/ 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 targetted, 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'utjiindá/ 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 yinu** '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/ pishize 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 **takumneesha/ 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.)

Rudiile/ mkono mtupu. ‘He came back empty-handed (i.e. with nothing).’

Sarkaali/ mkonooowe/ nii mule. ‘The government has a long arm.’ (A proverb.)

Shika ka mikono miwili/ yaa mi takhaambiló. ‘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

kontoroolo n. control

khfanya kontoroolo ‘to control’

Ye/ bashiize/ uzito/ haali/ ye/ nt^hakhfaanya/ kontorooló/ kujá. ‘She lost weight, although she never dieted (lit. controlled her eating).’ (A pronunciation was also given without the separation of the negative verb: **nt^hakhfanya kontorooló.**)

kubasha kontroolo ‘to lose control’

Hamadi/ nakeenza gaari/ bashize kontoroolo/ bishile nuumba. ‘Hamadi was driving a car and he lost control and hit a house.’

Muunt^hu/ chibasha kontoroolo/ 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 (Etym. The Tunni Somali word for this measure is *koob*.)

makopa mawili ‘one chidhu’

rel.

sh-koopa (*s-*) n. 7/8

Hatá/ zijo/ haba mooyi/ karka shkoopa/ hutosha/ kuwa ni akhiba yiiu. ‘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 teacher’; **makopa makulu/ ya waalimu** ‘the large cups of the teachers’
Ikoopa/ ishtiiloowa/ 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

We/ sula kuwa khadirilé/ kundretelaa mi/ shkopa chimooyi/ cha chaayi/ chisuura. ‘You could bring me a nice cup of tea.’

sh-koopa (s-)

n. a drink of alcohol [lit. little cup]

Abú/ shkoopa/ chimgafile. ‘Abu missed the alcoholic drink.’

l-kope (n-)

n. 11/10 [Sw. *ukope* SSED 222] eyebrow; [pron. **n-k^hope** (pl.)]

Faatima/ 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 l^kope ‘to move the eyebrow’

kubigisha nk^hope ‘to make up the eyebrows’

Faatima/ 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 n^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/ inaku^la/ 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’
- mwaana mzaale mkorshe we zote maliza/ takhilila muunt^hu**
takhtaala khuliza [nt.] ‘have a child, raise it, complete 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/ hatá/ chiweele/ shkulu.** ‘She raised the little snake until it became big.’
- kh-korshoowa* v. pass. (*korsheeza*) be raised, be brought up
- Mwaana/ korsheeza/ jisa suura/ hatá chiwa muḃjaana.** ‘The child was brought up in a good way until he became a young man.’
- Nakhkorshoowa/ nakhkorshoowa/ hattá/ 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 maing 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.)
- kormeeri** n. supervision
Mi/ nakhtaambulá/ kuwa Omari/ hihtaja kormeeri/ daa’imu. ‘I understand that Omari needs constant supervision.’
- m-koroofi* (*wa-*) adj. [Sw. *-koroofi* 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.’
Mlaṭe 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/ chiniinfó. ‘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/ amá/ haṭa yaa mbwa. ‘If you lack your mother’s breast, suckle even a dog’s.’ (A proverb.)
Uko kharibu ya miikó/ 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 kooḍi/ 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’

Ali/ 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/ langaḷa/ 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 mbeleeye. ‘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’
kumkalant^hila shkosi ‘to sit on the back of someone’s neck’
kumla^tila 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/ kulaaza ‘for the nape of the neck to ache’

kotoone

n. cotton
Khufu za naylooni/ ni nuumu/ kolko/ za kotoone. ‘Nylon socks are stronger than cotton ones.’

i-kooti (*ma-*)

n. 5/6 [Sw. *koti* SSED 224; Eng.] coat
Aya/ ndiyó/ makoti yaa mi/ niya’uziló (or: **nuuziló**). ‘These are the coats that I bought.’
Ikooti/ imbelele chihaba. ‘The coat became small for me.’
ikoti imooyi ‘one coat’
ikooti/ na sh^tezó ‘a coat and a button’; **ikooti/ na sh^tezó** ‘a coat and buttons’
ikooti/ na sh^tezoché ‘a coat and its button’; **ikooti/ na sh^tezozé** ‘a coat and its buttons’
ikoti yaa nvula ‘rain coat’
Iyi/ ndiyó/ ikoti yaa mi/ niyuuziló (or: **nuuziló**). ‘This is the coat that I bought.’
makoti mawili ‘two coats’
makooti/ na sh^tezó ‘coats and buttons’
makooti/ na sh^tezozé ‘coats and their buttons’
Ni ikooti/ yaa ye/ veetó. ‘What a coat he has on!’

rel.

kooti n. 9/10 coat
Koti iyi/ nda laana. ‘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/ uzile shkooti/ chijiin(i)s. ‘Omari bought a denim jacket.’

Omari/ uzile shkooti/ chisuura. ‘Omari bought a nice coat.’

i-koowa

n. [cf. Sw. *koa* “band of thin metal plate” SSED 214] a ring put around something broken to mend it

choombo schivuundika khfaanya ikoowa/ ya fe^da au ya ^dahabu izoowa [st.] ‘when a vessel breaks, it is forbidden to mend it with a ring made of silver or gold’

kowaani

n.
Mwaadamu/ ilmuye/ ni koowani. ‘A human being, his knowledge is limited.’ (A proverb.)

kh-koowata

v. [Som. *koob* “to comprehend, to be formed of” DSI 371] (**koweete**) reach, obtain, possess; comprehend, encompass

Ka khkowaṭa kooḍi/ ni muhimu/ khsooma/ jisa khpita imṭihaani. ‘In conclusion, it is important to study in order to pass an exam.’

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**

ndi we koweeto jaaha sho khpata mirsaliini [st.] ‘you obtained the glory that the [other] prophets did not get’

siifaṭizo ni niingi naa mi skhaadiri kiskoowaṭa 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-koowaṭa n. the one who reaches, obtains

na mkoowaṭa 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/ kumfuliḷa 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^hiini 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

rel.

kh-koleza v. appl.

kh-kolezakoleza v. appl. redup.

Nimwene Haliimá/ numbaani/ kaaké/ nakuwakolezakoleza waana/

kuja. ‘I saw Haliima in her house warming food for the children.’

kh-kozaakoza v. redup.

Omari/ nakhkozaakoza kuuluye/ ka chiguwo chimuḷo/ imfuriile. ‘Omari is warming his leg with a warm cloth, it is swollen.’

i-kraahi

n. discord

Kilasku/ itakuwa ikraahi/ kati kiitu. ‘Every day it will be discord between us.’

kristiyaano (ma-)

n. Christian

Makristiyaano/ wa Misra/ huviḷowa Khibṭiya. [H!H!H] ‘The Christians of Egypt are called **khibṭiya**.’

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; **Ø** 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’,

∅-variant:

Chimtuma/ waziiri/ mooyi/ kendra kumvīla 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^he/ 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/ ḷpaandre/ 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.’

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**

kuchiina

n. kitchen

Zahara/ nakhkoḷa na waanawe/ kuchinaani. ‘Zahara is talking to her children in the kitchen.’

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

ḷata khfatisha chizapo takkufura [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. sonvert someone

kh-kufurishiliza v. caus. appl. use s.t. to convert someone

Peja 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.)

kh̄inda nk^huku ‘to slaughter a chicken’

Kulu yaa nk^huku/ haymub̄li/ mwaanawe. ‘The leg of the hen does not kill its chick.’ (A proverb.)

lbawa 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’

Marti/ 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/ hamub̄li/ mwank^hukuwe. ‘A chicken never kills its chick.’ (A proverb.)

Nk^huku/ zanzizopo kuwika/ mi/ nondroshelé/ kendra kul̄atiza/ 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^hakhūinda/ kanaa 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.’)

Takht̄inda/ kanaa nk^huku. ‘He will slaughter you like a chicken.’

Waant^hu/ wanaakufa/ kanaa 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-kukuunto

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/ yashatalowa ayo maazi/ oyo mwiimbili/ chi'aruurisha/ shtila karka chiguwo/ shfuunga/ sh̄tuluka/ 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.'
- kūla** [see *kīla*] [Sw. *kula* SSED 226; Ar.] every
- Kūla munt^hu wa Jaama/ mbishiló/ ishtakiile.** 'Each person that Jaama hit complained.'
- Kūla waa mi/ nkođelo 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 *l̄* in pre-consonantal position. Compare, for instance, the verb **kugalgala**.)
- nguwo nk^hul̄kulu** 'old clothes'
- kh-kulmatana** v. (Som. *kulan*) (**kulmateene**) meet
- Mi/ ka'iwa kuwaa we/ nakuuyá/ sul̄a khkulmatana naawe/ eraportani.** 'If I had known you were coming I would have met you at the airport.'
- Mi/ nkhuimateené/ na Haliima/ mara ya kaandra/ mukhtaa yé/ mziyareto maamé.** 'I met Haliima for the first time when she visited my mother.'
- We/ weenzawe/ kamu/ kulmateno naawó.** 'How many of his friends have you met?'
- 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.** [H^hH!H] 'Trees do not grow in the wet sand along the beach.' Or: **Funguuni/ miti/ hayaakuli.**
- Miti/ hukula karkaa nt^hi.** [H!H] 'Trees grow in the ground.' Or: **Karkaa nt^hi/ miti/ hukula.** [H^hH!H] 'In the ground trees grow.'
- Mwaana/ kuzilopó/ chimuza maamaye/ nini/ inaye.** 'When the boy grew up, he asked his mother what his name was.'
- Wakht̄i 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 Mwini/ hukuzaa nt^ho/ Ashuura/ na hudarbatila. ‘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-kuzu 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.’

Ali/ kuzile musmaari/ (ka) Ikutaani. ‘Ali took a nail out of the wall.’ Or:
Ali/ kuzile Ikuta/ musmaari.

Ali/ mkuzile mwaana/ peesa. ‘Ali took the money from the child by force.’ (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/ ndratiilani 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^huuziló/ yaatushile. ‘The shirt that I took off was torn.’

Tuuma/ namkula mwaana/ zilaatu. ‘Tuuma is taking the shoes off the child.’ Or: **Tuuma/ nakhkula zilatu za mwaana.** ‘Tuuma is taking off the child’s shoes.’ Or: **Tuuma/ namkula mwaana/ 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/ hatá/ 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 lkutaani. ‘The nail is coming out of the wall.’

Ye/ malizopo kumkasa myaaná/ laṭize ruuhuye/ chíini/ 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-kukoowa v. pass.

Buure/ hukukowa tuure. ‘Free things cause you to develop a hump (become bent).’ (A proverbial saying.)

kh-kuḷoowa v. pass. (**kuuziḷa**) be extracted

Ali/ kuziḷa igoyi. ‘Ali had his molar extracted.’

Musmaari/ ukuziḷa ka lkutaani. ‘A nail was taken out of the wall.’ (Syn: Contrary to the active version of this sentence, **ka** cannot be omitted: ***Musmaari/ ukuziḷa lkutaani**. Nor can the bare form of **lkuta** be used: ***Musmaari/ ukuziḷa lkuta**. But MI did accept the sentence: **Lkuta/ lkuziḷa musmaari**. ‘The wall had a nail taken out of it.’)

Mwaana/ kuziḷa peesa/ na Ali. ‘The child had money taken from him forcefully by Ali.’ (Syn: One cannot say ***Peesa/ skuziḷa mwaana/ na Ali**. ‘Money was taken forcefully from the child by Ali.’ One can prepose **peesa** while keeping **mwaana** the subject: **Peesa/ kuziḷa mwaana/ na Ali**. ‘The child had money taken from

him by

Waziiri/ shkuḷoowa/ usultaani/ ka khisaa ye/ khtumila khada’a. ‘The minister had the sultanhip taken from him because he used deception (to get his position)

minister had the sultanhip 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 lkutaani. ‘This nail cannot be extracted from the wall.’ (Syn: It is not possible to omit the **ka** nor to use the bare noun **lkuta**: ***Musmari uyu/ hawkuuliki/ lkutaani**. and ***Musmari uyu/ hawkuuliki/ lkuta**. But one can say: **Lkuta ili/ haḷkuuliki/ 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/ hakuuliki/ 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/ haṭa 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 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 farthese 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.)

Jawaabu/ chihaba/ hufanyaa nk^hulu. ‘A small thing develops into (lit. makes something big.’ (A proverb.)

kudhora waant^hu/ wakulu wiinu ‘to respect people older than you (plural)’

lkuta lkulu ‘large wall’; **nk^hutaa nk^hulu** ‘large walls’

lpelo lkulu ‘large broom’

makopa makulu ‘large cups’

Mi/ nuzile fatura nk^hulú. ‘I bought the big car.’

mkono mkulu ‘large hand’; **mikono mikulu** ‘large hands’

mlango mkulu ‘a large door’

Mi/ nuzile numba nk^hulú. ‘I bought the big house.’ Cf. **Mi/ nuzile**

nuumbá/ nk^hulu. ‘I bought a big house.’

mp^heloo nk^hulu ‘large brooms’

Munt^hi uyu/ lapiiile/ 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.’

munt^hu mkulu ‘a large person’; **want^hu wakulu(wakulu)** ‘large people’

muti mkulu ‘big tree’

mwalimu mkulu ‘headmaster’ (**walimu wakulu** ‘headmasters’)

Mwaana/ chiwa muunt^hu/ mkulu/ apo. ‘The boy became a great man there.’

Mwaana/ mkulu. ‘The child is grown-up.’ (**Waana/ wakulu.** ‘The children are grown up.’)

mwana mkulu ‘a grown-up child’ (**wana wakulu** ‘grown-up children’)

Ni wakulu/ takhaadira/ khfaanya. ‘They (your daughters) are big, you will be able to do it (get work).’

numba 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/ chimwublelee 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/ chimitila 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 kuulú ‘the chair that I put my leg on’

Isa/ nsele ka kulu mooyí. ‘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**.)

khekaza kuulu/ miilu ‘to push one’s leg into a tight trouser etc.’

khindowa 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’

kumkawaṭa 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.’

mahaḷa 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/ immurkeete 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/ nṭhinzilo kulu iyí.

‘This man told Huseeni: your father, it is he who cut off this leg.’

Muunt^hu/ vundishile kuulu. [H!H] ‘The man broke (his) leg.’ Cf. **Muunt^hu/ vundishile kuulu.** [H!H] ‘The man was broken the leg – i.e. he broke his leg.’ Cf. **Muunt^hu/ kuuluyé/ vuunzila.** [H!H!H] ‘The man, his leg, was broken.’

vunzila kuulu. [H!H] ‘The man was broken the leg – i.e. he broke his leg.’ Cf. **Muunt^hu/ kuuluyé/ vuunzila.** [H!H!H] ‘The man, his leg, was broken.’

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/ vunzilee chiti/ kuulu. ‘Omari broke the leg of the chair.’ Or: **Omari/ vunzile kuulu/ 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/ vunzile 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/ 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.’

Mi/ skuwona/ haṭá/ sku mo/ mi/ niikó/ tu/ haṭá/ mbele mku 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 mamo**. [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 qati'utariiqi/ 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 sulṭaani. '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
chiruuda/ mahala ya 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.'
- nt^hiye/**
Chiwakumaanganya/ waant^hu/ chiwakuṭbila. 'He gathered together people and delivered a speech to them.'
Fijiri/ ya sku ya piili/ khadimu sulṭaani/ 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.'
Sulṭaani/ 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 be ring 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/ wamkumanganyiliile 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; in fact

Huseeni/ shpandra chibaṭeera/ chishkila jaziraani/ kumbe/ jaziira/ iyi/ ndiyó/ jaziira/ ya sulṭaani/ 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.’

Kumbe/ we/ ni mwanaamke. ‘My goodness! you are a woman.’

Shṭosha Hamiisi/ hupeenda/ mpiira/ kumbe/ nakhsooma/ hupeenda. ‘I thought Hamiisi (just) likes football; in fact, reading he likes (too)!’

Review whether final accent.

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 baḷani/ 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 mi/ 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 ṭawalá/ 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/ kuḷa fijiri. ‘I remember I used to walk to go to Raasiini every morning.’

Mi/ hukumbuka mukhta 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 huṭakendra madrasaani. ‘I remembered that you said that you would not go to school.’

Mi/ nk^humbushile khpika chaakujá. ‘I remembered cooking food.’

Mi/ nk^humbushilé/ kuwa Faatima/ lazile festaani/ ka mapeema/ masku. ‘I remembered that Faatima left the party early in the evening.’

Mi/ nk^humbushilé/ kuwa nfungile mnaangó. ‘I remembered having opened the door.’

Mi/ hukuumbuka/ we/ waliko furhaani/ nt^ho. ‘I remember (a time when) you were very happy.’

Mi/ humkuumbuka/ Haliima/ jisa suura. ‘I remember Haliima well.’

Mi/ skuumbuki/ yo/ yotte/ karka hayaati/ ipisiló. ‘I do not remember anything of the life that has passed.’

Mubji/ 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 chibuuku/ 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.’ (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 sukhuuni. ‘I remember the man that we saw at the market.’

Niyakumbushilé/ mazu/ kiya’ula. I remembered them the bananas to buy them.’ Or: **Kiya’ula/ mazu/ nkumbushilé.** ‘To buy them the bananas I remembered.’ Or: **Niyakumbushilé/ kulaa mazu.** Or: **Niyakumbushilé/ kiya’ula/ mazu.** Or: **Niyakumbushilé/ kuula/ mazu.** Or: **Niyakumbushilee mazú/ kuula.** Or: **Niyakumbushilé/ mazu/ kuula.** Or: **Niyakumbushilee mazú/ kiya’ulá.** Or: **Niyakumbushilee mazú/ kiya’ula.**

Niyakumbushilee mazú/ kuuloowá. ‘I remembered them the bananas to be bought.’ Or: **Niyakumbushilee mazú/ kuuloowa.**

Nkumbushile kula maandra. ‘I remembered to buy bread.’ Or: **Nkumbushilé/ kula maandra.** Or: **Nkumbushilé/ maandra/ kuula.** Or: **Maandra/ kuula/ nkumbushilé.**

Nkumbushilé/ kiya’ula/ mazu. ‘I remembered to buy it the bread.’ Or: **Nkumbushilé/ mazu/ kiya’ula.**

Nkumbushilee mazú/ kuuloowa. ‘I remembered bananas to be bought.

Nkumbushilopo kuwaa we/ hukhaadiri/ nfakete kuya khulangaála. ‘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 Jaama/ mpele chibuuku/ 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 du’edá/ 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 chileemba. ‘He remembered that he had a turban.’

Suufi/ kumbushile darsi. ‘Suufi remembered the lesson.’

Waant^hu/ wakumbushile kuwaa mi/ nuzile chibuuku. ‘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

Nimkumbushiizé/ Omari/ kulaa mazu. ‘I reminded Omari to buy bananas.’

(There are many variations possible. Restricting ourselves to examples where the main verb is emphasized and thus phrase-final, here are some variants our consultant GM offered: **Mazu/ Omari/ nimkumbushiizé/ kuula. Nimkumbushiizé/ mazu/ kuula/ Omari. Kulaa mazu/ Omari/ nimkumbushiizé. Kulaa mazu/ nimkumbushiizé/ Omari. Mazu/ kuula/ nimkumbushiizé/ Omari. Mazu/ kuula/ Omari/ nimkumbushiizé.**

Nimkumbushiizé/ mazu/ kuuloowa. ‘I reminded him (that) bananas (needed) to be bought.’ (Note that the subject of the passive infinitive cannot be promoted to be the subject of a passive version of the main clause: ***Mazu/ yakumbushiiza/ kuuloowa.** ‘Bananas were reminded to be bought.’ One could say: **Mazu/ yakumbushila/ kuuloowa.** ‘Bananas were remembered to be bought.’

Nimkumbushiizé/ Omari/ mazu/ kuuloowa. ‘I reminded Omari (that) bananas (needed) to be bought.’

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/ñe or **ikumnaa ne/ñe** ‘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.)

Kila numba ikumi/ inayoo chiṭa. ‘Every ten houses has a leader.’

Mp^hundra ikumi/ uziló. ‘Ten donkeys is what he bought.’

Mudda/ wa sku ikumi/ wachisaafira/ tu/ sku ya ikumi/ wachiwasila. ‘For a period of ten days they just traveled, and on the tenth day they arrived.’

Omari/ nayo balani/ taariikhi/ mweezi/ ikumi. ‘Omari has an appointment on the tenth day of the month.’

Sku ya ikumi/ wo/ washkoma muuyi/ wa mwanaamke/ wa sultaani/ namsuuló. ‘On the tenth day, they reached the town of the girl that the sultan wanted.’

(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^hundra/ ikumi/ uziló. ‘He bought ten donkeys, that’s what he did.’ Or: **Uzile mp^hundra ikumi/ uziló.**

Zibuku ikumi/ uziló. ‘Ten books is what he bought.’ Or: **Zibuuku/ ikumi/ uziló.** ‘It’s ten books that he bought.’

kumpuni

n. 9/10,6 [Eng. *company*] company

Kumpuni/ ikhubalile utulubo wa mashakhaale. ‘The company accepted the demands of the workers.’

- Kumpuni/ nk^hulu ya hawaala ni Dahashiil.** ‘The biggest money transfer company is Dahashiil.’
- Makumpuni/ husonda waant^hu/ maazi/ huwatumisha/ kana/ mp^huundra.**
‘Companies suck people’s blood, they work them like donkeys.’
- kumraadi** interj. [Sw. *kunradhi* SSED 230] forgive me!
- kun fayaakun** a fixed expression borrowed from Arabic: be and it becomes
Mojiitu/ jalla/ jalaaluhu/ kilaa chiint^hu/ hukhaadira/ khfaanya/chisuḷa chiint^hu/ ni kun/ fayakuun. ‘God the highest and with majesty can do whatever he wants, if he wants something, it is be and it becomes.’
- kh-kuna** v. [Sw. *kuna* SSED 228] (**kuniile**) scratch (one’s body), grate (coconuts)
kakuna ‘if he scratched’
kawa kuniile ‘if he had scratched’
Muunt^hu/ hukuna ruuhuye/ mahaḷaa 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/ wachiḷawa/ 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/ młada. ‘The fruit was sweet.’ Or: **Ukuundri/ uwaliko młada.**

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. (**kundulishiliize**) cause, make s.o. spread or unfold s.t.

Baana/ mkundulishizee muke/ msala. ‘Baana had the woman spread the prayer mat.’

Msalā 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 ***Msalā 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/ wanazub̄le.

‘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 kulaal̄ila. ‘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^hukichilaal̄ila/ 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

Mkunsizize 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^hunsilizize 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/ shchimweegasha/ 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.'

Ḳkaambala/ nii Ḳile/ Ḳaakini/ halkhaadiri/ khfunga skunyi. 'A rope is long, but it cannot tie firewood.' (A riddle, the answer to which is **ndila** 'road'.)

- Mwaana/ wa maskiini/ oloshela maduriini/ kh̄inda skunyi.** ‘The son of the poor man went to the bush to cut firewood.’
mwenye skunyi ‘someone who sells firewood’
Skunyi/ zishishilee mulo. ‘The firewood has retained the heat.’
Zishishiloo muló/ ni skunyi. ‘What has retained the heat is the firewood.’
- rel.
l-kunyi (n-) n. 11/10 [Sw. *ukuni (kuni)* SSED 494] piece of firewood;
[pron. nk^hunyi]
- l-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.] (**kuriile**) sip
Ali/ kuriile 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. (**kurikiile**)
Maame/ hakurikili/ iziwa. ‘Mother cannot be sipped milk on (to her detriment).’
kh-kuurila v. appl. (**kuriliile**)
Shaafi/ mkuriliile mwaana/ iziwaye. ‘Shaafi sipped the child’s milk (to his detriment).’
- kurama** adj. pl. (see *kariimu*) [Ar. *kuramā* W 822] generous
- l-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
Kilaa muunt’u/ nayo kurbaye. ‘Every one has his difficulties/problems.’
(A proverbial saying.)
sh̄teenzi sh̄timiile mooja kurba ondola [st.] ‘the poem is complete, may God take away hardship’
- kh-kurbata** 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 ngorooni/ 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
Miṭaanga/ 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/ iyumiile/ Itaharakishiize/ 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.’
Mooyi/ katikaawo/ chihada/ ya kuwa ni kuusi/ imublele 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-kusi (n-)** n. [unknown etymology] hand, handful; claps (pl.); [pron. **nk^husi** in the plural]
ka lkusi ‘by the handful’
Nazo daank^hu/ ka lkosi. ‘He has popcorn by the handful.’
kubiga lkusi ‘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/ bigililaa 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/ bigililaa naasi/ nk^husi**.)
kubigilaa nk^husi ‘to applaud for someone’
Chimbiligile Ibraahimú/ nk^husi. ‘We applauded Ibraahimu.’
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’.)
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.’
Chilangaḷa ka kuḷji/ 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/ kiḷa shpisa/ hukumu/ hulangaḷa/ ka kuḷlike/ chimaliza huteka/ kanmake/ hulangaḷa/ lpaandre/ la kusooto/

huḷa. ‘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

kuṭ

ideo.

Abú/ mwambile Omari/ kuṭ!/ maamala/ speendi/ khkasa kooḍi/ kana izo/ za ebu. ‘Abu told Omari stop/back up/be quiet, I do not want to hear disgraceful talk like that.’

kuṭa

adv. [etymology unknown] every day, always; [pron. **kuṭá**]

huhuzuniko mp'engele/ kuṭa schinendroowa [st.] ‘the pathways along which he walked daily will feel sad’

Kuṭá/ Tuuma/ nakujaa nsi. ‘Every day Tuuma is eating fish.’

nt'aku kudaa'ima kuṭa ku'insha [st.] ‘there is no living for eternity, living

always’

Tuuma/ kuṭá/ naakuḷa. ‘Tuuma every day is crying.’

Kuṭá/ Tuuma/ nakuuya. ‘Every day Tuuma is coming.’

kh-kuṭa

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’

Alí/ hadiile/ mi/ nakhsuḷa khkuṭaa chiwó/ cha Abú/ sfaanyi/ naaye/ kaazi/ ba'ada isa/ khada'aze/ niingi. ‘Ali said: I want to close page/book of Abu, I will not work with him after now, he is cheating.’

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 iṭaanga ‘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-kuṭaakuta v. freq. (**kusilekusile**) crumple, fold over and over

Malizopo kaandiká/ kusilekusile Iwarakha/ Iṭile karaka nt^hupa/ ifinishile/ iḷaṭile ṭawala. ‘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-kuṭamana v. shrink, curl up, become folded

Kuṭamene chiliini. ‘He was curled up on the bed.’

kh-kuṭamanisha v. caus. cause to be curled up

Bardi/ imkuṭamanishiize. ‘Cold caused him to huddle up.’

kh-kuṭamanishana v. caus. rec.

kh-kuṭamanishika v. caus. ps/s.

kh-kuṭamanishiliza v. caus. appl.

- kh-kuṭamanishilizanya* v. caus. appl. rec.
kh-kuṭana v. rec. pinch one another
Ali/ na Hamadi/ wakuteene. ‘Ali and Hamadi pinched each other.’
kh-kuṭanisha v. rec. caus. make pinch one another
Ali/ shkuṭanishiize. ‘Ali made us pinch each other.’
kh-kuṭisha v. caus. make fold
Nuuru/ mkuṭishize mwaana/ nguwo. ‘Nuuru made the child fold the clothes.’
kh-kuṭishiliza v. caus. appl.
Nuuru/ mkuṭishilize Suufi/ mwaana/ nguwo. ‘Nuuru made Suufi’s child fold the clothes.’
kh-kuṭishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
Nuuru/ na Suufi/ wakuṭishilizenye waana/ nguwo. ‘Nuuru and Suufi made one another’s children fold clothes.’
kh-kuṭoowa v. pass. be pinched, folded
Chiza khkasa jawabu/ takhkuṭoowa. ‘If you do not listen to what you are told, you will be pinched.’
Mzele oyo/ hukuta waana. ‘That old man pinches children.’
kh-kuṭowakutoowa v. freq. pass.
Jawabu izi/ kheeri/ khkuṭowakutoowa. ‘These matters, it is better for them to be wrapped up, concluded, finished.’
rel. nom.
ma-kuṭamano n. 6
u-kuṭamano n. 14
- sh-kuṭa* (s-) n. 7/8 [related to *kh-kuṭa* ‘to pinch’] pinch
Mp^h a shkuṭa cha tangawiizi. ‘Give me a pinch of ginger.’
Omari/ skuṭache/ chimulo. ‘Omari’s pinches are hard, painful (lit. fire).’
- kh-kuṭamana* v. [cf. Sw. *kunjamana* SSED 229]
- kh-kuṭana* v. **need gloss**
rel.
kh-kuṭika v. p/s.
kh-kuṭila v. appl.
kh-kuṭisha v. caus.
kh-kuṭishana v. caus. rec.
kh-kuṭishika v. caus. p/s.
kh-kuṭishiliza v. caus. appl.
kh-kuṭishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
- m-kuṭaano* (mi-) n. 3/4 meeting
- sh-kuṭo* (s-) n. 7/8 a little pleating in a dress (French *pince*)
- 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/ yamersheza 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.**
lkuta lpaana ‘a wide wall’; **nk^huta mp^haana** ‘wide walls’
Lkuta/ lpashila ranji. ‘The wall was painted.’ Cf. **Lpashila ranji/ ni lkuta.** ‘What was painted is the wall.’

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’

Sulé/ gaari/ ipanziloo nk^hutu. ‘Don’t buy a car with rust.’

kuwa

sentential complementizer

Hamiisi/ nambilee mi/ kuwaa ye/ hupeenda/ khsooma. ‘Hamiisi told me that he likes to read.’ Also: **Hamiisi/ nambiile/ kuwa hupeenda/ khsooma.**

Nakhtamaná/ kuwa nna’iwá. ‘I wish that I knew.’

Nakhtoshá/ kuwa Nuuru/ oloshale 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/ watosheze 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.’

kubigaa nk^huwa ‘to thunder’

Nk^huwa/ zinakubiga/ hatá/ stile waant^hu/ khoofu.

‘Thunderstorms are sounding loudly till they put fear to people.’

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.’

kuwaarta

Gaari/ ichineendra/ hubadilowa maarsha/ kaandra/ hutilowa biriima/ chimaliza sekondo/ chimaliza teersa/ chimaliza kuwaarta/ chimaliza kuwinta.
'When a car runs, you change the gears, first gear one, then gear two, then gear three, then gear four, and then gear five.'

kuwinta

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. [H!H] 'This tree is a tamarind tree.' Or: **Ni mkwaayu/ muti uyu.** [H!H] 'It is a tamarind (tree), this tree.'

rel.

u-kwaayu n. 14 [Sw. *ukwaju* SSED 495] tamarind

Muti uyu/ huzala ukwaayu. [H!H] 'This tree bears tamarinds.'
siita/ kamba ukwaayu 'as sour as a tamarind'

need to review the pronunciation of this item with Gelani, as on one recording he gave u-kaawu

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/ wajimo 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/ talkaadiró. 'Neither Omari nor Nureeni are able to do it.'

La/ ye/ walá/ ra'iyawe/ nt^hawakh^hosha/ ba/ kuwa humkina/ khtuluka/ jawaabu/ mweepe/ nt^hawakhtila kaawo/ qalbiini/ 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 ku^la. 'Father began to cry.' Or, with verb emphasis: **Baaba/ chaanza/ ku^la.** (It is also possible to postpose the subject: **Chanza baaba/ ku^la.** '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 ku^la/ baaba.** 'He began to cry, father.'

Baaba/ chingilaa ku^la. 'Father began to cry.'

Chanzaa ku^la/ kaa nk^heje. 'She began to cry loudly.'

Chihada/ nnaku^la/ tu. 'She said: I am just crying.'

Haliima/ lizile. 'Haliima cried.'

Halima liziló 'the Haliima who cried'

Lizile masku/ na muun^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].'(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 mwaana. 'Cried, Omari, like a baby.' (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 mwaana?** The emphatic yes-no question is different in that the **kana mwaana** phrase does undergo accent shift: **Lizile/ Omari/ kana mwaanâ!?**)

Lizile Omari/ kana mwaana. 'Cried Omari like a baby.' (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 mwaana?**, while the emphatic version shifts the final phrase's accent: **Lizile Omari/ kana mwaanâ!?**)

Mamaye Hasiibu/ petopo khabari/ lizile/ nt^ho. 'When Hasiibu's mother got the news, she cried a great deal.'

Maskiini/ chihuzunika/ chanzaa ku^la/ kaa nk^heje. 'The poor man became sad and began to cry loudly.'

Mbona/ we/ naakuḷá. ‘Why are you crying?’ (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/ naakuḷá**. ‘Why is Muusa crying?’ Or: **Muusa/ mboná/ naakuḷá**. Or: **Naakuḷá/ Muusa/ mboná** (or: **mbona**).

Mukhtạa ye/ muukililo mwaaná/ ye/ lizile. ‘When she scolded the boy, he cried.’

Muná/ mboni/ we/ naakuḷá. ‘My little sister, why are you crying?’

Mwana wa sarmaḷa/ shkalaant^ha/ nt^hi/ chiḷa. ‘The child of the carpenter sat on the ground and cried.’

Mwanaa/ wenopo kuwa nt^heendré/ zijilá/ chanzaa kuḷa. ‘When the child saw that the dates were eaten, he began to cry.’ (Our consultant actually used [cl.9] agreement **ijiḷa** rather than [cl.10] agreement, **zijiḷa**. We have observed this usage in other cases as well, but do not know how common it is with other speakers.)

Mwanaamke/ chiḷa/ nt^ho/ apo/ markabuuni. ‘The girl cried a lot there in the ship.’

Naayé/ nakhtiya/ naakuḷa/ naakuḷa/ naakuḷa/ mwaana. ‘An he was afraid and he cried and cried and cried, the child.’ (This example illustrates the right dislocation of a subject.)

Nk^haanga/ waliko chiḷa/ kaa kule/ nt^ho. ‘The guinea fowl was crying from very far off.’ (Observe the absence of lengthening of the final vowel of *waliko* in front of the verb *chiḷa*; 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 *chiḷa* is a verb.)

Omari/ lizile. ‘Omari cried.’ Or, with right-dislocation: **Lizile/ Omari.** (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 mwaana. ‘Omari cried like a baby.’ Or: **Omari/ lizile/ kana mwaana.** (The simple yes-no question versions of these sentences lack accent shift: **Omari/ lizile kana mwaana?** and **Omari/ lizile/ kana mwaana?** What is clear from these questions is that **kana mwaana** out-of-focus phrase. The emphatic yes-no question versions of these sentences are: **Omari/ lizile kana mwaanâ!?** and **Omari/ lizile/ kana mwaanâ!?**)

Paapo/ apo/ mp^huundra/ chiḷa. ‘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 chiḷo chiingí. ‘The one who laughs a lot is the one who cries a lot.’ (A proverb.)

Silé/ chiṭa/ shtakhulaaaza. ‘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.’

is not an
two

rel.

ku-laakuḷa v. freq. cry often and easily (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.

Mwana uyu/ hujaahula. ‘This child cries often, easily.’

ku-lilila v. appl. (**lilile**)

Chimuza/ nakulililani/ we. ‘He asked her: what are you crying for?’

Ichiwaa we/ ile kazima nk^hele za mp^huundra/ ndrata khulilile. ‘If you came to borrow the brays of a donkey, let me bray for you.’

Iyo/ tu/ nakulililo/ 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/ naakuja/ chimsoonga/ kumuza/ khisa yaa ye/ nakulililo. ‘One of the servants heard the boy crying and approached him to ask him what he was crying for.’

Naki’ililila/ tu. ‘I am crying for myself only.’

ku-liza v. caus. (**liziize**) make cry

mwaana mzaale mkorshe we zote maliza/ takhila 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^hana/ 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 **-lizanyene**) 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’ (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 kulooowa [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/ itakuodikirishoowa [st.] ‘when the Sheikh dies, no one should weep, instead people should recite **odikiri**’

Sultani Daraayi/ kasiizopó/ inakuoowa/ chuza/ khabari. ‘When Sultan Daraayi heard the crying, he asked what had happened.’

takhkasa nk^hele naa zilo kulooowa [nt.] ‘you will hear screaming and crying’

ku-lowakuloowa v. freq. pass. be cried frequently and easily (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’

chiloocha ‘mycrying’

Haliima/ chilooche/ chimnesele Omari/ ka mtanaani/ nakhfakató.

‘Haliima’s cry brought Omari running out of the bedroom.’
khshikaa zilo ‘to cry’
Waana/ wa Omari/ hawadaariki/ ka paapo/ hushikaa zilo.
 ‘Omari’s children cannot be touched, immediately they
 start crying.’
Ku’awaaða/ tu/ siwo/ naa chiló/ kabiiló. ‘Not only mourning he
 adds a cry.’
Nii chilo/ chiliziza waant^hú. ‘What weeping it was that people were made
 to cry.’
Nuumbaye/ nzimaye/ ishikamena naa zilo. ‘The entire house is gripped by
 crying.’
takhkasa nk^hele naa zilo kuloowa [nt.] ‘you will hear screaming and
 crying’

la’ala

review this word

Mi/ hutukula kuulu/ ya gaari/ skoorta/ kana la’ala/ kuulu/ ichinthumbukila. ‘I
 carry a spare wheel in case I have a puncture (the tire gets punctured for me).’

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.*laani* SSED 238; Ar.] curse someone

Muunt^hu/ mojiitu/ chimla’ana/ haliwaani. ‘If God curses one, one does not
 succeed.’

Sila’ané/ waant^hu/ ka buure. ‘Don’t curse people with no reason.’

la’aani

?lack of, without

Furaha la’aani/ ya Hamadi/ inakoonyesha. ‘Hamadi’s unhappiness shows.’

proverb.)

Iimu/ la’aani/ ni miinza. ‘Without knowledge there is darkness.’ (A

Kana dobla la’aani/ kheeri/ dobla 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 *ma-* in agreement with a [cl.2] noun. In conjunction with
 the "derived" noun classes, the stem **-la’iimu** 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’, **zijint^hu zila’iimu** ‘dim.

evil people’, **ljana lla’iimu** ‘aug. evil person’, **ijana ila’iimu** ‘aug.
 evil person’)

la’iini

adj. [Ar. *la’ in* W 870] cursed, damned

la’iiki (na)

adj. [Sw. *laiki* SSED 240] suitable for, fit for, deserving of; [pron. **la’iiki** or **la’iikhi**]

Fulaani/ siwo/ la’iikhi/ na mahaala. ‘So-and-so is not fit for the position.’

Fulaani/ siwo/ la’iikhi/ na kazi yaa ye/ aminilijila. ‘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'iqa** v. (la'i*iqi*le) be suited to, fit for, deserving of
Mi/ hula'iqa kazi iyi. 'I am suited for this job.'
- labda** adv. [Sw. *labda* SSED 238; Ar.] *Swahilism* perhaps, maybe
- i-labe** n. a gold choker necklace (an old piece of jewelry)
Aamina/ maamaye/ ndratilile ilabe/ dhahali. 'Aamina's mother her a large gold necklace as an inheritance.'
- labeeka** interj. [Sw. *lebeka* "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 has particular Islamic connotations in addition to its secular usage
 also **Masku mooyi/ eelo/ shkooða/ 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 sultaani ðaalimu. 'The wife got dressed and went out and went to the unjust sultan.'**
- ku-labisoowa** v. pass. (labisiiza)
Hatá/ oyo haruusi/ nt^hakulabisoowa/ 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/ za zilaatu 'shoe laces'
Liindra/ nakhfunga zilaatú/ laachi. 'Wait, I am tying (my) shoe laces.'
Nakhfunga zilaatú/ laachi. 'I am tying (my) shoe laces.' Or:
Nakhfunga 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'
Ka makinaani/ ka Amiini/ maandra/ hutowa nasha/ kana/ chimento/ haaziwi/ lada. 'At Amiini's grinding machine, the dough is ground very smooth, like cement, the bread does not become good.'
Khariibuye/ iwaaliko/ ito ya maayi/ marbadi/ na maladá. 'Near it was a spring of cool and fresh water.'
Kuja jilo Nuuru/ 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/ haraarisi. ‘To eat is sweet, to cultivate is bitter.’
(A proverb.)

ladda/ kamba halwa ‘as sweet as halwa’

ladda/ kamba (or: **kana**)/ **suukari** ‘sweet as sugar’

ladda/ kamba (or: **kana**)/ **uki** ‘sweet as honey’

Bin^{ti}/ pishile mkate/ mlada/ kana uki. ‘Binti cooked cake as 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 malada ‘fresh water’

Mi/ spendi/ mayi yinu/ maayiya/ ni malada. ‘I do not want your water, my water is sweet, fresh.’

Maayiye/ masaafi/ na malada. ‘Its water (referring to a river) was clean and fresh.’

Mkate uyu/ mlada. ‘This cake tastes good.’

Muunt^u/ chibarata lada/ hareebeki. ‘When one learns, gets sweet he cannot be stopped.’ (A proverb.)

Uki/ ladda/ wo. ‘The honey is sweet, it.’

Ukuundri/ uwaliko mlada. ‘The sp. fruit was sweet.’

Wo/ uki/ mladda. ‘It, the honey, is sweet.’ Or: **Uki/ wo/ mladda.**

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.

laföi n. 11 (or 9) [Sw. *lafudhi*] pronunciation, elocution, manner of speaking (Observe how Chimwiini has derived closed syllables, [laf.öi], by eliding the high vowel that occurs in the Swahili form of the word.)

Laföile/ fasihi. ‘His manner of speaking [cl.11] is clear.’

laföila ‘my pronunciation [cl.11]’

laföiye ‘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/ kulakhdawisha waant^u. ‘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/ wanakulakhdawishano... ‘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/ nt^hakiiwa. '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/ nakhkooða/ laakini/ wamtukiiló/ wamameele. 'The corpse is talking, but those who are carrying it are silent.' (A riddle.)

Mbene ltaki/ 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 kula 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. (**lalamete**) same in meaning as *kulalamika*
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)'
Keenya/ ma'askari/ wont^he/ huja laaluushi. 'In Kenya all soldiers accept (lit. eat) bribes.'
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'
Wo/ wamda'awete ye/ khira dolari alfu/ laaluushi. 'They have brought charges against him that he accepted a thousand dollars in bribes.'

ku-laala

v. (**laazile**) be sick for a rather long period of time (much used in the negative (**nt^haku^laala**) when speaking of somebody who dies suddenly, not having shown any symptoms of illness, or after a very short illness)
Hasani/ laazile/ wele mwambaamba/ kana/ ngoondra. 'Hasani got sick, he became thin like dried fish.'
Miimba/ inakunaaka/ Omari/ ku^laala. 'I am very sorry [lit. my stomach burns me] that Omari is sick.'
Waawaye/ chimuuz/ nini/ munó/ impeeteni/ Hasani/ chimjiiba/ chile pamooyi/ laakini/ ye shishila maraði 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.'

lama

in the example:
Kufa/ ni lama huraani. 'To die is a must, it cannot be avoided.' (A proverb.)

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 yiingine ‘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’ (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.’ (Although MI used **lamna ka lamna** in this sentence, apparently **lamna ka lamuuna** is more common.)

Waawé/ kuwaa ye/ letelelea mbuzi/ mbili/ lamna mooyi/ ambiila/ mtomole mwaana/ mtomole 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).’

lampadiina

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.’

Hamadi/ nazoo nguvu/ zaaydi/ chilana na Sheekhi/ takumuna/ kana/ maayi. ‘Hamadi is so strong (lit. has strength surpassing), if he fights with Sheekhi, he will drink him like water (i.e. he will beat him easily).’

Ichiwaa we/ hukhubali/ mi/ naawé/ shtakulaana. ‘If you do not consent, I and you will fight one another.’

Koði niingi/ huleta kułanoowa. ‘Too much talking brings fighting.’ (A proverb.)
Maneno miingi/ huleta kułanoowa. ‘Too much talking brings fighting.’ (A proverb.)
Mi/ na mukeewá/ chinakułana. ‘Me and my wife are quarreling.’
Mi/ spendi/ we/ kułana na mukeewo. ‘I do not want you to quarrel with your wife.’
Mooja ilu yaawo shtila kułana [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/ kułana naa mp^haka. ‘We cannot fight the cat.’

Wachiłana/ kati kaawo. ‘They quarreled among themselves.’

Waana/ walaaniile. ‘The children quarreled (with one another).’

rel.

ku-łanoowa v. pass. (**łaniila**)

Duniyaani/ hułanoowa/ hupatanoowa. ‘In this world people fight and people reconcile.’ (A proverb.)

ku-łanya v. caus. (**łanyiize**) make fight, create a fight

Ndranyize na waawe. ‘He caused me to fight with my father.’

Sheekhi/ młanyize mwaana/ na waant^hu. ‘Sheekhi caused the child to quarrel with people.’ (Syn. One can also use a periphrastic construction: **Sheekhi/ mtile mwaana/ kułana na waant^hu.** ‘Sheekhi [lit. put in] the child to quarrel with people.’)

ku-łanyiliza v. caus. appl. fight for s.t.

Nuuru/ na mkulé/ wanakułanyiliza maali. ‘Nuru and his elder brother are fighting for money.’

Sheekhi/ młanyilize 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/ mtile Habiibi/ mwaana/ kułana na waant^hu.** ‘Sheekhi [lit. put in for] Habiibi’s child to quarrel with people.’)

Si/ chilanyilize peesá. ‘We fought over money.’

ku-łanyilizoowa v. caus. appl. pass. be fought for

Alafu/ ha’iłanyilizoowi. ‘Luck is not something that can be fought for/ over.’ (A proverb.)

Nasiibu/ hayłanyilizoowi. ‘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.)

Peesa/ zilanyiliiza. ‘Money was fought over.’

ku-łanyoowa v. (**łanyiiza**) be induced to fight someone

Landrani

n. London

Waant^hu/ karka Landrani/ leelo/ washuhudiliile/ haadithi/ nk^hulu/ karka sa’aa ne/ za muunt^hi/ boomba/ ibishile mziinga/ karka barłamaani/ ya chingereenza. ‘People in London today witnessed a big event: around ten (lit. four) in the morning, a bomb exploded in the English parliament.’

łano (n-draano)

n. 11/10 story, tale, fairytale

khfungula łano ‘to tell a story’

Łano/ ili/ humaliza ka apo. ‘This story ends there.’

Łano/ ili/ łkomele apa. ‘This story has ended here.’

łano/ la Mwalimu Gooso ‘the story of Teacher Gooso’

łanolá ‘my story’; **ndraanoza** ‘my stories’

Mi/ nanzize kuwafungulila waaná/ łaanó. ‘I began telling the story to the children.’

mitume mirsali ikum na nt^haano, kiwoowa waajibu stoshe ni łano [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**)

Nnafunguloowa/ 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.)

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/ lapiiile/ wakulu/ na zihaba/ hulawa ibana ya muuyi/ hendra kulanga la 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.'

Mwaana/ na askari/ na watumishi/ wa'ineenzele/ kaa muda/ wa sa'a niingi/ hattá/ khariibu/ ya lapiili/ chidirkamana/ 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 batera yitú/ chigisile makasiyá/ hattá/ khariibú/ ya lapiili/ 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!’

Lata kaa 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/ simlati/ na kama chiwajiboowa/ kumlata/ 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.’

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!’

Omari/ peesa/ lasile. ‘Money left Omari – i.e. at one time Omari had money, but now it is all gone.’

Numa/ wandrasile/ wa’oloshale. ‘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.’

We/ nayoo ndilá/ kumlata Huseeni. ‘You are right to avoid Huseeni.’

ya baatili ilateeni/ ndilaye hupoteleowa [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 mahari/ hayaruudi/ ka mubli/ kama mubli/ 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. (**latiliile**) leave for, drop to

Budukhu yaa mi/ nimlatililo Nuuru/ ndaaká. ‘The gun that I left with Nuuru is mine.’ (The past tense form **-latiliile** 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/ sultaani/ Harun Rashiidi/ tomele amri/ kuwa nt^haku/ rukhsa/ karka muuyiwe/ kashoowa/ mibeebe/ yaa mu^o/ wala/ ku^latowaa tala/ kaaka/ masku. ‘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.’

Chilazila lfuwooni/ hupatikana bahariini. ‘That which is left on the shore is found in the ocean.’ (A proverb.)

Haliima/ lasila/ na chigeeché/ peelee. ‘Haliima is divorced and her divorce money is given.’

Karka wakh^ti oyo/ wanaashke/ wa masultaani/ na wanashke winginewé/ ba/ liini/ wachila^toowá/ kumera ndilaani. ‘During those times, daughters of sultans and other daughters as well did not go out to wander the streets.’

Numbaani/ chil^latowa yee peeke/ umo mikooni/ ni kaa ndala/ kaa ndala/ chil^latooa. ‘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 utaku^latooa [st.] ‘all will follow him (in the funeral procession) and the town will be deserted’

lati

v. irregular imperative form of **ku^lata**

Lati. ‘Please leave it; why not leave it? (less strong than **Lata.**)

latifu

n. [Ar. *laḥif* 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/ wataku^latila 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!?**)

ku^latila bunduukhu ‘to shoot a gun’ (idiom) or ‘to throw a gun’ (literal)’

Bunduukhu yaa mi/ ndatiiló/ ndaaká. ‘The gun that I threw away is mine.’

(This literal interpretation of the sentence represents the most immediate one that one would have. MI suggested that an idiomatic interpretation may be possible: ‘The gun that I fired is mine.’

However, he preferred: **Bunduuxu yaa mi/ mbishiló/ ndaaká.** ‘The gun that I fired is mine.’ This uses the phrasal verb **-biga bunduukhu.**)

ku^latila mikono ‘to reject with anger (lit. to throw the hands)’

Omari/ latile mikono/ khkasa jawabu izo. ‘Omari grew angry after listening to those things.’

Latila miziinga/ latilá. ‘Fire the guns, that’s what you should do.’

Ma’askari/ washtukula/ majuuniya/ ayo/ yotte/ wachiyalatila/ bahariini.

‘The soldiers carried all those sacks and threw them into the sea.’

Mi/ nimlatile Hamadí/ kana mpiira. ‘I threw Hamadi like a ball.’ (In the simple yes-no question, our consultant did shift the accent in the **kana mpiira** phrase: **Mi/ nimlatile Hamadí/ kana mpiirá?** The exclamatory question also shifted the accent: **Mi/ nimlatile Hamadí/ kana mpiirá!?**)

Mwaana/ shtomola amri/ na ma’askari/ wachilatila bunduukhu/ wote/ ka mara mooyi. ‘The boy issued the order and all the soldiers fired [their guns at one time].’

Naani/ latilo ijiwé/ cholokooni. ‘Who threw a stone at the window?’

Ndo/ nimlatiilepi. ‘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/ kulaṭila 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).’ (he simple yes-no question does not shift accent, while the exclamatory question does: **Omari/ mlatile Hamadí/ kana mpiirá!?**) Or: **Kana mpiira/ Omari/ mlaṭilo Hamadí.** ‘Like a ball Omari threw Hamadi.’

Poliisi/ nt^hawakhaadira/ kiiwa/ mahaḷa/ ijiwe/ ilaziló/ walá/ munt^hu laṭilól. ‘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.’

Waant^hu/ wachanza kulaṭila ndriimu. ‘People began to throw lemons.’

rel.

ku-latilila 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.’

kulaṭilila bunduukhu ‘to shoot a gun at’, but also the literal use: ‘to throw a gun at’

Bunduukhu yaa mi/ nimlaṭililo Nuuru/ ndaaká. ‘The gun that I threw at Nuuru is mine.’ Or, if the verb is taken to be the applied form of *-lata*: ‘The gun that I left for or with Nuuru is mine.’ Notably MI rejected the idiomatic interpretation: ‘The gun that I fired at Nuuru is mine.’ The issue seems to be whether to take **bunduukhu** in the idiom to be an argument of the verb or not.)

Omari/ mlaṭilile mwiizi/ ijiwe. ‘Omari threw a stone at the thief.’

Omari/ mlaṭilile Nuuru/ buundukhu. ‘Omari shot the gun at Nuuru; Omari threw the gun at Nuuru.’ (Actually, there is a third interpretation of this sentence: ‘Omari left the gun for or with Nuuru’, but this interpretation derives from the applied form of the verb *-lata*; see above.)

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. [H!H] ‘They threw stones at the child.’

ku-latiloowa v. appl. pass.

hatta waako zidank^haani/ watakuṭatiloowa [st.] ‘and those looking down from the rooftops, it will be thrown to them (lit. they will be thrown to)’

Ijiwe/ laṭilila mwiizi. ‘A stone, he was thrown at, the thief.’ Or: **Mwiizi/ laṭilila ijiwe.** ‘The thief was thrown a stone at.’

Mwaana/ laṭilila majiwe/ naawo. [H!H!H] ‘The child was thrown stones at by them.’

Naawé/ kasizopo kuwa eeló/ fiilé/ we/ amurile nalatiloowa chisimaani. ‘And when you heard that the gazelle had died, you ordered that he be thrown into the well.’

ku-latiloowa v. pass. (**laṭiila**)

Amri/ ichilawa/ kulaṭiloowa/ ndriimu. ‘The order was given for the lemons to be thrown.’

Bunduuku/ ilatila na Omari. ‘The gun was thrown away by Omari; the gun was fired by Omari.’

Mafta/ yachilaṭilowa tawala. ‘The oil was thrown into the sea.’

Majiwe/ yalaṭiila. [H!H] ‘Stones were thrown.’ Or: **Yalaṭiilá/ ni majiwe.**

[H'H] 'What were thrown are stones.'

Ndriimu/ zilaṭiṭlapó/ schimbiga yeeye/ khaadimu. 'When the lemons were thrown, they struck the servant.'

Wanakulaṭiṭlowa masku. 'They were going to be left at night.'

ku-ṭatilisha v. caus. cause to throw at

Iisa mṭatilishize Haaji/ ijiwe/ cholokooni. 'Iisa caused Haaji to throw a stone at the window.'

ku-ṭatilishiliza v. caus. appl.

Suufi ndratiṭishize mwaana/ ijiwe/ cholokooni. 'Suufi caused my child to throw a stone at the window.'

ku-ṭatiza v. caus. throw oneself down, lie down (esp. for sleeping)

Apo/ wajiile/ chimaliza/ waṭaṭiize/ khpumula. 'There they ate and then they lay down to rest.'

Hasiibu/ chiṭaṭiza ruuhuye/ ilu ya chili/ ichi. 'Hasiibu threw himself on this bed.'

Nk^huku/ zanzizopo kuwiiká/ mi/ nondroshelé/ kendra kuṭaṭiza/ 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/ usiinzi/ uwateete/ waṭaṭize/ nṭhini 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 (Note that it is impossible to have a locative form *ṭatulooni.)

Aasha/ pishile chakuja cha laatulo. 'Aasha cooked dinner (lit. food of *laatulo*).'

khsala laatulo 'to perform the evening prayer'

Mwana uje/ nk^heshesheeze/ nṭhangú/ laatulo/ haṭá/ fijiri. 'That child kept me awake from evening until morning.'

Omari/ khiriṭe khpika chakuja cha laatulo. 'Omari offered to cook dinner.'

Sṭakuwonana ba'di ya laatulo. 'We will meet after the time of evening prayers.'

chi-laavi (zi-)

n. 7/8 fish trap

khpataa nsi/ ka chi-laavi 'to get fish with a trap'

kuṭaṭila chi-laavi 'to throw out a trap'

ku-lawa

v. [Sw. *lawa* SSED 241] (*ṭazile*) go or come out of, move from, leave, come from

Abunawaasi/ chiṭawa/ na mubjaaná. 'Abunawaasi left and the child [left also].'

Abunawaasi/ chiṭawa na mubjaana. 'Abunawaasi left with the child.'

Abunawaasi/ chiṭawa/ na mubjaana. 'Abunawaasi left with the child.'

Ali/ chihada/ kuwa hayṭa(ku)mṭawa/ kooḍi/ ka kanaani. 'Ali said that no words would come from (his) mouth.'

Amá/ we/ ṭakuṭawa/ ka apa/ laakini/ ṭakubṭoowa/ ṭakhutundrikowa wa mutiini/ naa nyunyú/ ṭaakuja/ 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.'

Chiṭawa/ waant^hu/ wote/ humwona. 'When he comes out, everyone sees him.' (A riddle, the answer to which is *iwa* 'the sun'.)

Chiṭawe kiitu. 'Let's go to our place.' confirm phrasing

Chiṭawe madrasaani. 'Let's go to school.'

Chiṭawe/ mbigee mp^haka. 'Lets go and hit the cat!'

Chiṭawe/ mujee mp^hana. 'Let's go and eat the rat!'

Chiṭawe/ shkase jawaabuze. 'Let us go so that we can listen to his words.'

Haaji/ kooḍi/ zimṭazile. 'Haaji blurted out the words [lit. Haaji the words came out of

him].’

Haaji/ laziló/ mi/ niilé. ‘When Haaji left, I came.’

Hasiibu/ chiwa’uza/ 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 sulṭaani. ‘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 muyiini/ waant^hu/ huḷawa 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’

Khaṭi 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/ mlazile 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.’

Ichindrawa maazi/ ichindrawó. ‘I was bleeding, that’s what I was doing (lit. blood came from me, that’s what it was doing)’

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 mwajiitú/ ni kheeri. ‘But whatever comes from God is a blessing.’

Lazile kana ifriiti. ‘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.)

Liini/ ntakuḷawó. ‘When will you (all) leave?’ (It should be noted that the second person plural subject marker in GM’s speech is retained in front of a voiceless consonant, in contrast to the first person singular subject marker which elides in that environment.)

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 Miini.’ Or with emphasis on the verb: **Mi/ ndrazilé/ Mwiini.**)

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 sulṭaani/ mṭinzile/ laakini/ jawaabu/ iyi/ isinḷawe/ 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 maṭozi.** ‘Tears flowed from the child.’ Or: **Maṭozi/ yamḷazile/ mwaana.** Or: **Yamḷazilo mwaaná/ ni maṭozi.** ‘What flowed from the child was tears.’
- Mzeele/ mwiingine/ chilawa ka cholokooni/ chihada...** Another old man peeped from the window and said...’
- Mzeelewá/ siisi/ mahala mi/ nakeendró/ walá/ mahala 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.’
- Ndrazilee kulé.** ‘I came from a far place.’
- Ndrazilee 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/ hayḷawi/ 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.)
- Omari/ 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. **Yana/ 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 kheerí/ huḷawa na mojiitu.** ‘Evil and good come from God.’ (A proverb.)
- Si/ chilazile shpiindrí.** ‘We left at noon.’
- 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/ huḷawapi/ amó/ heendrapi.** ‘I do not know where it comes from or where it goes.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **ipepo** ‘wind’.)
- Wareebe/ waana/ kuḷawa ndilaani.** ‘Stop the children from going into the street.’
- Wareebe/ waana/ seendré/ kawaḷawá/ ndilaani.** ‘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/ chilazilepi? ‘Father, where did Chimwiini come from?’

Ye/ lazile/ naakuó. ‘She left crying.’

rel.

ku-lawaalawa v. freq. (**lazilelazile**)

Kooði/ humlawaalawa. ‘He blurts out words.’

Kooði/ zimlazilelazile. ‘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.’

Hawaṭakiiwa/ 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’

Huławila kaaziye/ jisa suura. ‘He does his work very well.’

Kila/ kaazi/ yaa ye/ peleshela kubaratá/ Hasiibu/ nt^hakuławila. ‘Every job that he was sent to learn, Hasiibu did not do it well.’

kuławila waajibu ‘to carry out a duty’

Huławila wajibuye. ‘He carries out his duty.’

Maliizopó/ Abunawaasi/ chi’iławila/ 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/ makuławila 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’iławila. ‘When it dawned, the gazelle took himself off.’

Waant^hu/ wamlawilile ra’iisi/ ndilaani. ‘People went out to see the president.’

Ye/ hukhaadira/ kuławila wakhti/ waa dhibu. ‘She is able to make the best of a difficult situation.’ **review translation**

***ku-lawisha** v. caus. (This form does not seem to be used.)

ku-lawoowa v. pass. (**lazila**) be gone out from, be gotten out of, be moved from

Khariibu/ inakuławoowa/ nakhfakkaṭa/ mbele ya waant^hu/ chilatu chimó/ shchimpotela. ‘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 ka muyiini ‘to be gone from town’

kuławowa mikooni ‘to get out of control (of one’s parents) (lit. to get out of the hands)’

Ameerika/ huławowa 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.’

Shpiindri/ ilazila. ‘Noon was left at.’

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, separate

Chimera asli yaawo/ wo/ huławangana/ lamnaa nthatu. ‘If you trace their ancestors, they can be divided into three groups.’

Gaari ilawangeene. ‘The car fell apart.’

Hamadi/ haṭaa ye/ chiya/ ilawangeena. ‘By the time Hamadi had come, lit. it had been separated – i.e. whoever had been there had finished, e.g. eating, and gone away (said to describe someone who arrived very late to a gathering and missed all that had gone on there).’

Mlaango/ ulawangeene. ‘The door fell apart.’

Omari/ na Hamadi/ walawangeene. ‘Omari and Hamadi parted ways, broke off their relationship.’

Walawanganye uje mluungana/ na uje myaana/ mwaandike. ‘Tell apart the one that is free-born and the one that is a female slave.’

Walawangeni/ ka ilmu. ‘Separate people according to education.’

Zint^hu zisuura/ na zint^hu ziwovu/ huławanganyoowa/ hazidanganyoowi. ‘Good things and bad things are to be differentiated/taken apart/separated, they are not put together/mixed up.’

rel.

ku-lawanganila v. appl.

ku-lawanganya v. caus. (**lawanganyiize**) separate s.t.

Hamadi/ lawanganyize mlaango. ‘Hamadi tore the door apart.’

Hamadi/ lawanganyize waant^hu. ‘Hamadi sowed discord among people.’

(Observe that when an indefinite plural object like **waant^hu** is used, the verb does not bear a [cl.2] object marker. Singular human nouns, even if indefinite, are regularly marked with the [cl.1] object prefix.)

Mfanya biyaashara/ halawaanganyi/ taajiri/ walá/ maskiiní. ‘A merchant does not distinguish between rich and poor.’

Mlawanganyize mubli/ na mukeewé. ‘He caused the wife to separate from her husband.’

ni sunna we lawanganya bayana [st.] ‘it is better, preferred for you to enunciate clearly (the call to prayer)’

ku-lawanganyika v. caus. p/s.

Want^hu awa/ hawalanganyiki. ‘These people cannot be separated (i.e. you cannot cause discord between these people).’

Waant^hu/ walawanganyika ilmu. ‘People are separated/differentiated by (the level of their) knowledge.’

ku-lawanganyikila v. caus. p/s. appl.

Mlaango/ unlawanganyikiliile. ‘The door was able to be torn apart for me.’

ku-lawanganyiliza v. caus. appl.

Nlawanganyilize waana. ‘He created discord among the children on me.’

Omari/ mlawanganyilize Iisa/ waana. ‘Omari created discord among the children on Iisa.’

ku-lawanganyilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Omari/ na Hamadi/ walawanganyilizenye waana. ‘Omari and Hamadi created discord among the children on one another.’

ku-lawanganyoowav. pass.

koodi ya Sheekhi kodeelo/ suura kulawanganyoowa [st.] ‘the Sheik’s teachings (words) warrant careful consideration’

Waana/ walaŋangeenya. ‘The children were separated from one another (by someone).’

Waant^hu/ wanaŋanganyoowa/ ka ilmu/ so/ ka maali/ walá/ so/ kaa nguvu/ walá/ so/ ka khabila. ‘People should be distinguished from one another by (the extent of their) knowledge rather than by their wealth or their power or the (size of) their clan.’

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’

Malungoye/ 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/ hashindoowi. ‘When a finger pains, it is not cut off.’ (A saying.)

Chiŋa/ chinakundraaza. ‘My head hurts me.’

Chiŋa/ chinamlaaza/ miimba/ inamlaaza/ na maluungo/ yote/ yanamlaaza. ‘His head aches him, his stomach aches him, and all his body aches him.’

Chiŋa/ shtakhu-laaza. ‘You will get a headache.’

Hubigo l^hkuŋa/ ka ikoondré/ humlaazó/ ni mkonowe. ‘One who strikes a wall with his fist, that which hurts him is his hand.’

Igoyi/ inamlaaza/ mwaana. [H!H!!H] ‘The molar tooth is paining him, the child.’ (The status of the pitch drop between the first two phrases needs more careful examination. In MI’s performance of this sentence, there seemed to be some emphasis on the verb, preventing the verb from being radically downstepped. At the same time, the drop seemed to be greater than ordinary declination. But what is clear is the extremely radical lowering of the postposed subject, **mwaana**, indicated by the double exclamation mark.)

Inamlaazo miimbá/ ni mwaana. ‘The one whom the stomach is hurting is the child.’

Inakindraaza. ‘It hurts me.’

Inakinlaaza. ‘It hurts you (pl.).’

Inakumlaaza. ‘It hurts [cl.1].’

ku-laaza/ kana ruuhu ‘to ache like the soul (coming out of one)’

Maluungo/ yote/ yanamlaaza. [H!H!!H] ‘All his body aches him.’

Miimba/ imlaziize/ mwaana. ‘(His) stomach pained the child.’

Mkono/ umlaziize/ Hamadi. ‘Hamadi’s hand/arm ached.’ Or: **Hamadi/**

mkono/ umlaziize.

Muunt^hu/ hakhaadirí/ ndiyé/ na’iwó/ mahala inamlaazó. ‘The one who is sick is he who knows where it hurts him.’ (A proverb.)

Mwaana/ igoyi/ inamlaaza. [H!H!!H] ‘The child’s molar tooth aches.’ (In the pronunciation of this sentence, there did not seem to be downstepping on the verb.)

Mwaana/ miimba/ inamlaaza. ‘The child’s stomach is hurting.’

Mwaana/ yiino/ inamlaaza. [H!H!!H] ‘The child’s tooth aches.’ Or: **Yiino/ inamlaaza/ mwaana.** [H!H!!H] ‘A tooth is paining him, the child.’ (Note the greater pitch drop on the postposed

subject than is the case with ordinary downstep.)

Mzeele/ iṭo/ ichimlaaza/ chanza kubigaa nkʰele/ 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.)

Yanamlazoo ye/ ni maluungo(ye)/ yote. [H!H!H] ‘What ached him was his whole body.’

Ye/ maluungoze/ yote/ yanamlaaza. [HH!H!H] ‘His whole body aches him.’

Yiino/ inamlaza mwaana. ‘(His) tooth is hurting the child.’ Or: **Mwaana/ yiino/ inamlaza.**)

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 na igoyi. [H!H] ‘The child is pained by a molar tooth.’

Mwaana/ nakulazowa miimba. ‘The child has stomach pains.’

Mwaana/ nakulazowa na yiino. [H!H] ‘[Lit.] The child is being pained by tooth (i.e. he has a toothache).’

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 ulaazo waa ndalá/ ni mwenyee ndala. ‘The one who knows the pain of hunger is the one who is hungry.’

khtila ulaazo ‘to inflict pain’

Mwaadamu/ chintʰu chiwovu/ haalaṭi/ mpaka/ kumtila ulaazo.
‘A human being does not quit bad things until they cause him pain.’

naayo kuwatila ulaazo waana [st.] ‘[God] has (the power) to inflict pain on them (in hell), O you children’

kuwona ulaazo ‘to experience pain’

Ali/ umo spitaale/ atiila/ naakula/ hadiile/ nakuwona ulaazó/ zaaydi. ‘Ali is in hospital, he had surgery, he is crying, saying, I am experiencing a lot of pain.’

Fardoosa/ anzize kuwona ulaazo/ miingi/ karka kuuluye.

‘Fardoosa began to experience a lot of pain in her leg.’

mbanaayo ulaazo zaa’idi ya utuungu [nt.] ‘we felt a pain more severe than labor-pains’

Mi/ ntʰakufa ka khisa ruuhuya/ iyele ulaazo/ na ghaḏabú. ‘I will die because my soul is full of pain and anger.’

mwaana/ chiwanyo ulaazo ‘if a child has pain’

Mwiisho/ mzeele/ ntʰakhaadira/ kistahamila/ ulaazo. ‘Finally, the old man could not bear the pain.’

Ulaazo 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] (*lazimiile*) compel; stick to, be with

Chimaliza/ waant^huwe/ walazimeeni/ kishkiḷa/ ka markabuuni/

khpandra chibaṭera chaawo. ‘Then, her people, you (pl.) should compel them to disembark from the ship to get on their boat.’

Humlaazima kendra ka maama. ‘She must go to her mother.’

Hunlaazima/ kendra kaziini/ kiḷa 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’

Mi/ inlazimiile/ keendra. ‘I am obliged to go.’

Mlaazime. ‘Stick to him!’

Mubli/ nakulooló/ humlaazima/ khtomola peesa/ habba mo. ‘The man who is getting married must pay some money.’

Muke/ na mubli/ huwalaazima/ kambilana liḷa. ‘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’.)

Nlazimile (or: ndrazimile) keendra. ‘He compelled me to go.’

Qaaḍi/ mlazimile kumnafikha mukeewe. ‘The judge obliged him to

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.’

Muunt^hu/ siwo/ suura/ kulazimoowa/ chiint^hu. ‘It is not good for a person to be compelled to do anything.’

Na shokuwa naacho/ cho choṭé/ halazimoowi/ khtala deeni. ‘And he who does not have anything is not obliged to take a loan.’

laazimu

obligatory, necessary, a must; variant form: *laazima*

Abú/ ingile ndraani/ khkodela nini/ laazimú/ khfanyoowá. ‘Abu got down to discussing what must be done.’

Abunawaasi/ chihada/ la/ laazima/ we/ kunbiga. ‘Abunawaasi said: No, you must beat me.’

Chihada/ ni laazima/ mi/ kumpata/ mgarwa uyu/ kunfanyilizaa mi/ kaazi. ‘He said: it is necessary for me to get this fisherman to do work for me [and not anyone else].’

Laazimu/ chibuuku/ icho/ mi/ khsooma. ‘It is a must for me to read that book.’

laazimu/ kana ibaada ‘as obligatory as worship’

Laazimu/ mi/ khsooma/ chibuku icho. ‘It is a must that I read that book.’ Or: **Mi/ laazimu/ khsooma/ chibuku icho.** Or: **Chibuku icho/ mi/ khsooma/ ni laazimu.** Or: **Khsoma chibuku icho/ ni laazimu/ mi.** Or: **Ni laazimu/ mi/ khsoma chibuku icho.**

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/ nakhtaja khkasa kaakó/ yaa mi/ laazimú/ khfaanyá. ‘I need to hear from you what I should do.’

Mi/ nambile Suufi/ tu/ kuwaa ye/ laazimu/ kuuya. ‘I told only Suufi that he should come.’ Or with the preposing of the complement: **Suufi/ tu/ mi/ nambiiló/ kuwaa ye/ laazimu/ kuuya.** ‘I told only Suufi that he should come.’

Mi/ ni laazima/ keendra/ mahaḷa/ 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.’

- Ni laazima/ keendra/ khkooða/ na waawe/ ije yaa ye/ takuhadó/ teena.** ‘I must go and speak with my father, whatever it is that he may say then.’
shkalaant^ua 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. oh no! **nature of the l -- chec k in idiomatic book as well**
Lee/ nini/ kula gari iyo/ motooreye/ nii mbovu. ‘Lee! Why did you buy that car, its engine is bad.’
Lee/ sijé/ embe iyo/ iwozele. ‘Lee! (be careful) don’t eat that mango, it is rotten!’
Pandrani ka skutaani/ wabungileeni/ wa’ambileeni/ lee/ hawajeeri/ wake wawili/ ka mara/ wanakowa chooloni/ 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**] (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**.)
Alí/ m̄inzile Nuuru/ chaala/ ka leembe. ‘Ali cut Nuuru’s finger with a razor.’
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 (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)
Chilesó chimooyi/ chiwovu/ ndreteleeó. ‘One small, bad **chileeso** he brought to me.’ (The speaker is disparaging the cloth that was brought to her.)
Zilesó za Abú/ nakuuzó/ zilesó gani/ izó. ‘The **zileeso** that Abu is selling, what the hell kind of **zileeso** are they (i.e. they are not any good).’
- leetiri** n. [Som. *liitir, litir* DSI 389] liter; variant form: **liitiri**
Mwiini/ hatá/ Mkhodiisho/ gaari/ huja/ banziina/ leetiri/ siitiini. ‘From Miini to Mogadishu, a truck consumes sixty liters of petrol.’
- leewa** n. 9/10 [Ital. *leva*] lever
Ijulu iyi/ ya gaari/ izito/ ha’ikhadiroowi/ kondroloowa/ sharti/ ka leewa. ‘This tire of a truck is heavy, it cannot be lifted, it must be (lifted) with a lever.’
Sheekhi/ mbishile Nureeni/ ka leewa/ mvunzile mkono. ‘Sheekhi hit Nureeni with a lever and broke his hand.’
- 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.’

liint^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/ likhupoteleele. ‘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/ lvumile/ ltaharakishize nt^haanzi. ‘The south wind blew and shook the branches.’

Lpepo/ lvumiile. ‘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/ naaló/ loloshele/ limpoteze 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’).’

Ili/ 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. *utili, 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^hukichilaaliá/ 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.’

khpandra chiliini ‘to be confined to bed sick’; also: **khpandrowa chiliini** (passive)
Khpanrowa chiliini/ chiza khfanyowa kaazi/ hayiwi/ tele. ‘To stay in bed without working is not advised.’

khpanza chiliini ‘to make sick (lit. to put in bed)’

Ali/ mwambile Hasani/ we/ segeti niingi/ stakhupanza chiliini/ khariibu. ‘Ali told Hasani: you, too many cigarettes will soon make you sick (lit. put you in bed).’

khpanzowa chiliini ‘(of the bride) to be prepared for the groom (lit. be put on the bed)’

Mwanaashke/ nakhpanzoowa/ chiliini. ‘The girl is put on the bed (i.e. during the wedding, the girl is prepared for the groom).’

kulu yaa chili ‘leg of the bed’

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/ 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.’

Yaayé/ mkorsheezó/ ilopo numbaani/ chimwona mwanaamke/ 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’

Omari/ mtanaani/ kaake/ imo ijili/ ikulu/ kana/ tawala. ‘In Omari’s room there is a bed big as the sea.’

u-li n. 14 [Sw. *ulili* SED 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

for the reason of

Ali/ hadiile/ mi/ nsafiriile/ li’ajli/ kumwona waawe/ Keenya. ‘Ali said: me, I traveled for the reason of seeing my father in Kenya.’

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’

Waana/ iidi/ huveshowa libsi/ mp^hiyaamp^hiya. ‘Children on Idd are dressed with new clothes.’

rel.

libaasi n. pl. clothes

Dukaani/ ka Hamadi/ huzoowa/libaasi/ suura/ ghaali. ‘At Hamadi’s shop clothes, good and expensive, are sold.’

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.’ (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.)

Farasi/ shpandroowa/ hushikowa **lijaamu/ kuhogamishoowa**. ‘If a horse is ridden, it is held by a rope in order to guide it.’

liila

n. 9 truth, truthfulness, sincerity, right

Abú/ nayo **liila/ kuwa Hasani/ shkoða wanaafakhi**. ‘Abu is right that Hasani was lying.’

Chikhambila **liila/ Omari/ siwo/ msuura**. ‘If I tell you the truth, Omari is not a good person.’

Chiwona kooði/ zaa dafa/ nza **liila**. ‘He realized that the words of the crow were true.’

Ichiwa/ haanzuye/ yatushile/ kaa mbele/ muke/ koðele **liila/ Yuusufu/ ni mwaafakhi/ na ichiwa/ haanzuye/ yatushile/ ka chinume/ muke/ koðele wanaafakhi/ Yuusufu/ ni mooyi/ karka wakoða liila**. ‘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.’

kaka **liila** ‘(it is) true’

Ni kaka **liila/ skaruude**. ‘It is true, he would not have returned.’

kaka liilaako ‘what you are saying is true’; **kaka liilaake** ‘what (s)he is saying is true’

Kana ni **liilá/ ambó/ siwó/ nt^haasá/ ni kiwoowa**. ‘Whether it is true or not remains to be learned.’

Koðele **liilá/ we/ waaziri**. ‘You have spoken the truth, minister.’

Liila/ hupiisha/ laakini/ ni liila. ‘Truth burns, but it is the truth.’ (A proverb.)

Liila/ kheepula/ wanaafakhi/ khuhalika. ‘Truth saves you, lies destroy you.’ (A proverb.)

Liila/ mojiitu/ peenzeló. ‘Truth, it is God who liked it.’ (A proverbial saying.)

Liila/ ni sibiri. ‘Truth is bitter.’ (A proverb.)

liilayo ‘your truthfulness’ (Phon. This possessive form suggests that this noun might not be CVCV fundamentally, since a CVCV noun would be expected to lengthen the final vowel in the singular possessive form – cf. **luti** ‘stick’ and **lutiila** ‘my stick’. In some cases, MI pronounced this noun with gemination: **liilla**.)

Liilayo/ itakhookola. ‘Your truthfulness will save you.’

Mahaḷa/ yiko liilá/ wanaafakhi/ hayiingili. ‘Where there is truth, a lie cannot enter.’ (A saying.)

Mi/ nayo amiini/ kuwaa Muusa/ takhfanya jawaabu/ ya **liila**. I have faith that Muusa will do what is right.

Mi/ nayo **liilá/ tarafu ya Omari/ kishkhiyansataa si**. ‘I am right about Omari cheating us.’

Mooyi/ karka askari/ chiwa’ambila weenziwe/ izo/ siwo/ koði za **liila**. ‘One of the soldiers said to his companions, these are not words of truth.’

Mwaana/ shṭinda kumwambila waawaye/ za **liila**. ‘The child decided to tell his father the truth.’

Mzeele/ chimwaambila/ kooði/ zaa mi/ khambiiló/ nza **liila**. ‘The old man said to him: the words that I said to you are true.’

Nimwambile Jaamá/ **liilá**. ‘I told Jaama the truth.’ Cf. **Jaaama/ ambila liila/ naami**. ‘Jaama was told the truth by me.’ (Note that one cannot passivize **liila**:

***Liila/ yambila Jaama/ naami**. ‘The truth was told to Jaama by me.’

Although it cannot be the passive subject, a fronted form is possible: **Liila/ ambila Jaama/ naami**. ‘The truth was told by me.’)

Nnakhsulaa ye/ nachambile **liilá**. ‘I want that he tell us the truth.’

Omari/ nayo **liila/ kulangala kazi yiiingine**. ‘It is right for Omari to look for another job.’

Si/ chinakhtahaja Omari/ kuhada **liilá**. ‘We need Omari to tell the truth.’

Sint^helezé/ nambila **liila**. ‘Don’t joke, play with me; tell me the truth.’

Sku mooyi/ nt^hafsiriile ndrootoza/ na zaa ye/ nambiiló/ zote/ stulushile/ ziwéle **liila**. ‘One day he explained for me my dreams and everything that he told me happened, all came true.’

za **liila** ‘true (e.g. words)’

lilaahi

adj. serious

Abú/ ni lilaahiye/ tarafu ya kuweka kaayi/ peesa. ‘Abu is serious about saving money.’

Hamadi/ ka wiingi/ ni lilaahi. ‘Most of the time Hamadi is very serious.’

ka lilaahi ‘with seriousness’

Abú/ siwo/ ka lilaahiye/ tarafu ya kuḷaṭa kaazi. ‘Abu isn’t serious about quitting his job.’

Abú/ yaliko ka lilaahiye/ kuwatila hima/ wo/ kuḷawa Mwiini. ‘Abu was serious in encouraging them to leave Brava.’

Mi/ ni ka lilaahiya/ tarafu ya kuza nuumba. ‘I am serious about selling the house.’

Mi/ ni lilaahiya/ kuwa waana/ wachiza khiriḷoowa/ kendra chinemaani/ woo peeke. ‘I am serious that the children should not be allowed to go to the movies alone.’

Mi/ siná/ sababu/ khtilaa shaka/ tarafu ya Abú/ lilaahiye. ‘I have no reason to doubt Abu’s sincerity.’

liili

[cl.11] first position strong demonstrative (For MI, this form is found only in the first position strong demonstrative. In the data collected by BH, this form is not found, as it is replaced by **liilo**. In the speech of GM, **liili** is one option for the first person strong demonstrative, but it was also recorded as a possibility in conjunction with the second position weak demonstrative. It is not clear how widespread this extended use of **liili** is.)

liili/ ili ‘this very one’

liili/ ikambala ili ‘this very rope, this rope itself’

luti liili/ ili ‘this very stick’

liili/ ilo ‘that very same one’ (a variant observed in the speech of GM; the more regular form would be **liilo/ ilo**)

liilije

[cl.11] third position strong demonstrative (used by MI)

liilo

[cl.11] second position strong demonstrative for MI, but can be used with all three weak demonstratives in the speech of GM and in the data collected by BH

liilo/ ikambala ili ‘this very rope, this rope itself’

liilo/ ikambala ilije ‘that very rope, that rope itself’

liilo/ ikambala ilo ‘that very rope, that rope itself’

lillaahi

Muunt^{hu}/ chinendra ka lillaahi/ hujiwaana. ‘When one goes on the right path (i.e. God’s path), he will succeed.’ (A proverb.)

(Munt^u) lillaahi/ haawoni/ dhibu. ‘A righteous person will not encounter difficulties, problems.’ (A proverb.)

Omari/ kaaziye/ siwo/ lillaahi. ‘(The way that) Omari (conducts) his business is not righteous (i.e. he is dishonest, cheats).’

Omari/ ni lillaahi. ‘Omari is righteous (e.g. he can always be trusted to tell the truth, not lie or deceive).’

Omari/ siwo/ lillaahi. ‘Omari is not telling the truth, not being honest and righteous.’

We/ fanya kaazi/ lillaahi. ‘Do work, business in the righteous way, i.e. be honest and don’t cheat etc.’

rel.

u-lillaahi n. 14

Wo/ wanayoo shaka/ nk^hulu/ tarafu ya ulillaahi/ ya Omari. ‘They have serious doubt about Omari’s honesty.’

liimbo (n-)

n. 11/10 song; [pron. **ndriimbo** ‘songs’] (The morphology of this noun is a problem. It would appear that **liimbo** should be derived from the verb **k-iimba** ‘to sing’; this would imply a morphological structure /l-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 fact *n-driimbo*, which indicates a stem that begins with *l*. It is likely that what has happened in the course of the history of Chimiini is that the noun *l-iimbo* was reanalyzed as *liimbo*.)

- Limbo ili/ Isuura/ linziḷa na Mkenya.** ‘This nice song was sung by a Kenyan.’ (It is of some interest to note that despite the phrasal separation, the initial *l* in *Isuura* syllabifies as a coda to the preceding vowel.)
- liimbo la raafu lmalize ka apa** [nt.] ‘Raafu’s song ends here’
- Leelo/ nkhasize liimbó/ Isuura/ radiyooni.** ‘Today I have heard a nice song on the radio.’ (In this example, GM preserved the prenasalized voiceless stop *nk^h*.)
- Mwaana/ inzile liimbo.** ‘The boy sang a song.’
- Ndrimbo izi/ suura/ zinzila na Mkenya.** ‘These nice songs were sung by a Kenyan.’

limi (n-)

- n. 11/10 tongue; [pron. *ndrimi* ‘tongues’]
- Ali/ limiile/ lwovu.** ‘Ali’s tongue is bad (i.e. he says bad things).’
- Hamadi/ limiile/ kana/ lpaanga.** ‘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 limi.** ‘Better to have the finger aching than the tongue.’ (A proverb.)
- khshikaa limi** ‘to catch, hold the tongue – i.e. to not talk’
- Mwaana/ wazeele/ washkooḷa/ hakoḷi/ hushika limiile.** ‘A child, if his parents/elders talk, he does not (i.e. he should not) talk, he holds his tongue.’
- khshika limiini** [lit. to catch in the tongue] to not say something’
- Omari/ hapeendi/ ba/ kuhada muunt^hu/ bozelo peesá/ dukaani/ ka Nuuru/ shishile limiini/ tu.** ‘Omari does not want at all to say who stole money from Nuuru’s shop, he just held his tongue.’
- khṭindaa limi** ‘to cut the tongue [to stop s.o. from talking]’
- Haliima/ mwambile mwaanawe/ chiza kulata maneno miingi/ nt^hakhuṭinda limiilo.** ‘Haliima told her child: if you do not stop talking so much, I will cut out your tongue (to stop you from talking).’
- Haṭá/ mojiitú/ chikhuṭinda limiilo/ we.** ‘Until God cuts your tongue, you! – I pray that God cuts your tongue out to stop you from talking!’ (A curse.)
- khṭomolaa limi** (lit. to take out the tongue) to talk’
- We/ simaamalé/ tomola limiilo.** ‘You, don’t be quiet, talk!’
- Koḷi iyo/ yaa mi/ nimwambilo Hamadi/ sku iyó/ sinakuumbuka/ laakini/ yiko limiini/ 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 limi** ‘to speak sarcastically, to reprimand by saying the opposite of what one means; to criticize indirectly; to speak harshly’
- Haliima/ mbishile Umi/ limi/ chiza kuya harusini/ ka mwaanawe/ nakulooló.** ‘Haliima spoke harshly to Umi for not coming to her child’s wedding.’
- Hamadi/ mbishile Omari/ limiile.** ‘Hamadi tongue-whipped Omari.’
- kulumaa limi** ‘to bite the tongue’
- Kuja iyi/ jisaa yo/ laddá/ haṭá/ muunt^hu/ huluma limiile.** ‘This food is so delicious that one can bite his tongue.’
- kumizaa limi** ‘to swallow the tongue’
- Omari/ mizize limiile.** ‘Omari swallowed his tongue (i.e. he couldn’t answer, he was too afraid or shy to speak).’
- kumṭomoleḷa limiile** ‘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 limiile/ Omari. ‘Hamadi opened up to Omari.’

kureba limiilo ‘to not talk (lit. to stop your tongue)’

Hamadi/ mwambile Omari/ reba limiilo. ‘Hamadi told Omari: stop talking (lit. stop your tongue)!’

We/ rebe limiilo. ‘You, don’t talk!’

kurudilowaa limi ‘to be talked back to’

Wazele/ hawarudiloowi/ limi. ‘Parents are not talked back to.’

kurudilaa limi ‘to talk back’

Muunt^hu/ wazelewe/ hawaruudili/ limi. ‘One does not talk back to one’s parents.’

Limi/ hukhaadira/ kuhada/ ma’anaye/ kila/ chiint^hu/ ni sahali. ‘The tongue can say anything, it is easy.’ (The word **ma’anaye** ‘it’s meaning’ is frequently used in explanations. The present sentence was commenting on the proverb given below: **Limi/ nt^haliná/ mwishpa.** Because the tongue is just flesh, and does not have a bone, it is flexible and can say whatever it wants. It is unconstrained by truth etc. It lacks the rigidity that a bone provides.)

Limi/ kila/ chiint^hu/ hulawa. ‘The tongue, anything can leave it (i.e. the tongue might say anything).

limi/ khshiika ‘tongue to catch –i.e. learn’

Limi la Omari/ liize/ khshiika/ limbo ilo. ‘Omari could not learn that song (lit. the tongue of Omari refused to catch that song).’

Limi 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/ mwaanawe/ 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/ mwaanawe/ 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/ mulooní. ‘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/ ndrwelee/ 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.’

Walumilee ndrими. ‘They bit their tongues.’

Wamameele/ tu/ kana/ wakuzilaa limi/ kanaaní. ‘They kept quiet, like ones who were taken away the tongue from the mouth (in better English: like ones who the tongues had been taken from their

mouths).’

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. Oloshile 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/ chimvīla Abdalla/ kumuuz/ 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.)
Yont^he/ insaliiloo mi/ khfaanyá/ ni khambilaa we/ liini/ kuuya. ‘All that remains for me to do is to tell you when to come.’
Zoombozo/ stakuya liini. ‘When will your luggage (things) arrive?’

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 wakhji 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 akhili/ 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/ wachimwiwó/ 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/ chiveko bangiini/ walá/ liini/ chimwaminilo muunt^hu/ 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 want^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)
Chili/ suura/ kubadiḷowa linsoole/ kilaa muunt̃hi. ‘It is good to change the linen of a bed every day.’
- liṣaani** n. 11 [Sw. *lisani* SSED 248; Ar.] tongue; flap under the front opening of the **haanzu Haliima/ haanzuye/ liṣaani/ yatushiló/ peshele sherkhaniini/ khshomeloowa.**
‘Haliima, the flap of her dress was torn, she took it to the sewing shop to be sewed for her.’
Muunt̃hu/ humuḷó/ humtilo aḍabuuni/ ni liṣaaniḷe. ‘What kills one and puts him in hell is his tongue.’
- 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’
nt̃hi 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. **kuliwaana** or **kulibaana**]
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.)
Munt̃hu aajizi/ haliwaani. ‘A lazy man does not succeed.’ (A proverb.)
Muunt̃hu/ chinendra ka lillaahi/ huliwaana. ‘If someone walks, goes, behaves honestly, truthfully, he succeeds.’
Muunt̃hu/ chiza kinendra ka lillaahi/ haliwaani. ‘If someone does not walk honestly, truthfully, he does not succeed.’ (A proverb)
Muunt̃hu/ shtalaa du’a/ ka wazeelewe/ huliwaana. ‘If one takes blessings from his parents he succeeds.’
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/ huviḷa kudaḍalaṭoowa. ‘For one to be successful calls for one to struggle.’
- liwaani** n. success; [pron. **liwaani** or **libaani**]
liwaani yaawo ni nk̃ulu/ janna kubarikiḷoowa [st.] ‘their bliss is great/ their reward is paradise’
Muunt̃hu/ nazo ink̃aari/ haliwaani. ‘One who is cursed does not succeed.’

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

Ijana ya Haliima/ (ni) ilizi/ masku/ na muunt^hi/ hu^hla. ‘Haliima’s child is an *ilizi*, she cries night and day.’

lo

independent pronoun [cl.11]

Ee/ nnalo mtanaani. ‘Yes, I have it (e.g. luti ‘a stick’) in (my) room.’

Lo/ lpootee. ‘It ([cl.11]) fell.’

Lo/ luti/ lpootee. ‘It, the stick, fell.’ Or: **Luti/ lo/ lpootee.**

Lo/ ndaaka. ‘It [cl.11] is mine.’

luti la Nuuru/ naalo ‘the stick that Nuuru has’

Luti/ lpootee/ lo. ‘The stick fell, it.’

Ndilo. ‘It’s it [cl.11].’

Wa’oloshele/ wamerele lkaambala/ maha^hlaa lo/ liiko/ 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/ lchiza khpita/ naalo/ loloshele/ limpooteze mwajimu Gooso/ iwuuyu/ na mwaajimu/ 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.’

logaani (ma-)

n. defile, narrow and deep depression (like those formed by water erosion on the hill slopes near Brava)

Isa/ mi/ nakhwasá/ 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’; **ndrohooha** ‘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.’

loolo

[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.)

lolo/ ili ‘this very one’

lolo/ ilije ‘that very one (far from us)’

lolo/ ilo ‘that very one (near you)’

ku-looma

v. [Sw. *laumu* SSED 24; Ar.] (**lomeele**) blame

Saanzé/ kuloma waant^hu/ nt^hasaa we/ kiwa hakhiikha. ‘Don’t start blaming people before you know the facts.’

loomu

n. [Sw. *laumu* SSED 241; Ar.] blame

huraasho ltuungo litu nt^hana loomu [st.] ‘those who follow our poem will not go wrong’

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
hujuuza nguwo vaala kulla looni/ wala nyulusi stoshe nda mu looni [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/ ma to 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.)
Looniile/ Igedishile. ‘His complexion has changed.’ (The verb is **Igedishile** in MI’s speech, but **Igadishile** 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
Watakuleta ziloози. ‘They will bring candy.’ Answers the question:
Watakuleetani. ‘What will they bring?’ Note that it would be inappropriate to answer this question with: #**Watakuleeta/ chiloozi.** ‘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’
Nakubiga zilaatuzá/ luuchidó. ‘I am polishing my shoes.’
kubigowa luuchido ‘to be polished’
Omari/ zilaatuhze/ zibishila luuchido/ zinakuwala. ‘Omari’s shoes have been polished, they are shining.’
- lufa (n-drufa)** n. 11/10 [Sw. *ufa (nyufa)* SSED 488] crack
Chiza kuziwaa lufa/ itakhushika kilwaka lkuta/ izimaale. ‘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.’ Variant: **Hurashoo lufá/ hufa.** (MI suggested that this proverb conveys the idea that one who indulges in too much sexual intercourse dies, metaphorically. GM suggests that it conveys the idea that if someone does anything risky will get hurt.)
Nt^hanakhaadira/ khtomola/ karka...kambaa lufa/ jis’iyo/ chiingiló/ nt^hanakhaadira/ khtomola. ‘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 **lufluuf** "to get stripped away, to become worn out (of fiber)" DSI 392] umbilical cord

kumtinda mwaana/ lufkuti 'to cut the child's umbilical cord'
Mwaana/ lufkuti/ limzubile shiingo. 'The child, the umbilical cord surrounded his neck.'

lughu

n. 11/10 [Sw. **lughu** SSED 219; Ar.] language (Even though this noun has a single shape, **lughu**, 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/ lughu/ mbali. 'Chijini is not a different language (from Chimiini).'

Cho/ siwo/ kama lughu za want^hu wiingine. 'It [i.e. Chimiini] is not like the languages of other people.'

Kubaraṭa kiḷaa lughu/ ni suura. 'To learn each language is good.' (If the infinitive phrase is preceded by **na** then a final accent appears at the end of the infinitive phrase: **Na kubaraṭa kiḷaa lughá/ ni suura.** 'And to learn each language is good.')

Lughu gani/ we/ hupeendo. 'Which language do you like?'

lughu ili 'this language' (cf. **lughu izi** 'these languages')

Lughu ili/ ni lughu 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.'

lughu la wangereenza 'the language of the English people, i.e. English'

lughu la want^hu wa Mwiini 'the language of the people of Brava'

lughaaḷa 'my language'

Mi/ hupenda lughu niingi. 'I like many languages.'

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**?

luh(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 **qibḷa** in Mecca

lujna

n. 9/10 committee

Ali/ waawaye/ ni mooyi/ karka lujna/ iyo. 'Ali's dad is one (member) of that committee.'

Mwiini/ ifanyiza lujna/ ya want^huu saba/ kuhaḷiḷa/ mushkila/ ya anshuuru. 'In Miini a committee of seven people has been created to solve tax problems.'

lukuuki

n. pl. [Sw. **lukuki** SSED 249] (hundreds of) thousands (cf. **laki** 'one hundred thousand')

Ali/ tomele lkuuki/ haṭá/ mwaanawe/ shṭomolowa habaasa. 'Ali paid thousands until he got his child released from the prison.'

Omari/ hadiile/ haṭá/ shpowa lukuuki/ suzi/ nuumbaya. 'Omari said: even if I am given hundreds of thousands, I will not sell my house.'

luulu

n. 9/10 [Sw. **lulu** SSED 249; Ar.] pearl

Ilu ya ijabali/ we/ takuwona luulu/ na almaasi. 'On top of the mountain you will see pearls and diamonds.'

Khufuliini/ lwalimo lfuungulo/ la luulu. 'In the padlock there was a pearl key.'

Kumera luulu/ na joohari/ humtila muunt^hu/ karka khaṭari. 'To crave pearls and

jewels puts one in danger.’

luulyo

n. [Ital. *luglio*] July

Bandeera/ ya Somaaliya/ ipanziiza/ luulyo/ mwezi muusi/ mwaaka/ wa alfu/ na miya keendrá/ na sitiini. ‘Somalia’s flag was raised (for the first time) on July 1, 1960.’

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/ fmiingi/ 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/ bishila iluuma/ leelo/ mukhtaa ye/ shkhuṭubó. ‘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, n 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/ haṭá/ 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 (GM is not familiar with this word and thus could not provide additional information or illustrate its use.)

luti (n-druti)

n. 11/10 stick

Chiwanaḷopoo luti/ simsoongé. ‘If he has the stick (e.g. that he usually carries), don’t go close to him!’

Chiwanaḷopoo luti/ simsoongé. ‘If he has a stick, don’t go close to him!’

Ili/ ndiló/ luti laa mi/ nilvuunziló. ‘This is the stick that I broke.’

Ilije/ ndiló/ luti laa mi/ niluuziló (or nuuziló). ‘That one is the stick that I bought (it).’ (Instead of **ilije**, one could use **ilo** or **ili**.)

Izi/ ndizó/ ndruti zaa mi/ nizivuunziló. ‘These are the sticks that I broke.’

Izije/ ndizó/ ndruti zaa mi/ nizuuziló (or nuuziló). ‘These are the sticks that I bought.’ (Or the demonstratives **izo** and **izi** could be used.)

Jeeli/ bozele luti la mwaalimu. ‘Jeeli stole the teacher’s stick.’ (Cf. **mwaalimu wa Jeeli/ bozele lutiile** ‘the teacher from whom Jeeli stole his stick’.)

Khamsiiniza/ mp^heeṭé/ isa/ nakhsuulá/ ye/ kuviloowa/ khpoowa/ ndrutize/ khamsini. ‘I got my fifty blows, now I want him to be called to be given his fifty blows.’

khtilaa ndruti ‘to beat (lit. put in) with sticks’

Ali/ lanile na Hamadi/ mtilee ndruti/ haṭá/ fakeete. ‘Ali fought with Hamadi, he hit (lit. put) him with sticks until he ran away.’

kubigaa luti ‘to give a blow with a stick’

Nimbishile ndrūtii nt^hatú. ‘I struck him three blows.’

Ḳuti ilí/ lpeeta. ‘This stick was found.’

Ḳuti ilí/ na chisu ichí/ 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 **Ḳuti** 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.’)

Ḳuti/ líkoo n t^hi/ halvuundiki. ‘A stick that is on the ground does not break.’

Ḳutiila ‘my stick’ (cf. **Ḳutiilo** ‘your stick’, **Ḳutiile** ‘his stick’, **Ḳuti liitu** ‘our stick’, **Ḳuti liinu** ‘your (pl.) stick’, **Ḳuti laawo** ‘their stick’; **ndrutiiza** ‘my sticks’ (cf. **ndrutiizo**, **ndrutiize**, **ndruti ziitu**, **ndruti ziinu**, **ndruti zaawo**) (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.)

Muunt^hu/ hublowa ka Ḳutiile. ‘A person is killed with his stick.’ (A proverb.)

Shtalaa Ḳuti/ chimbiga Abunawaasi. ‘He took a stick and beat Abunawaasi.’

rel.

chi-Ḳuti (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim.

Basi/ mwaana/ nfaanyeni/ nfaanyeni/ chendra ka chíḲuti/ chíḲuti/ chíḲuti. ‘So the child [thought:] what should I do? what should I do? [And] he went to the stick [calling:] stick! stick!’

ch-ambaamba/ kana chíḲuti ‘as thin as a stick’

ChíḲuti/ 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. I] object prefix in **mbigaa mp^haka** instead of **kumbigaa mp^haka**.)

Ichije/ ndichó/ chíḲuti chaa mi/ nichuuziló (or: **nuuziló**). ‘That is the small stick that I bought (it).’ (**Icho** is used if the stick is nearby the listener, **ichi** if nearby the speaker.)

Izije/ ndizó/ zíluti zaa mi/ nizuuziló (**nuuziló**). ‘These ones are the small sticks that I bought.’ (Instead of **izije**, one could use **izo** or **izi**.)

khtila zíluti ‘lit. to put in sticks, i.e. to beat with a stick’

Mwaalimu/ watile waana/ zíluti/ nash nash. ‘The teacher hit children with a stick, *nash nash!*’

Omari/ mbishile mwaana/ ka chíḲuti. ‘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 chíḲuti?** The emphatic version maintains the downstep structure, but shifts the accent in the verb phrase and the prepositional phrase: **Omari/ mbishile maaná/ ka chíḲuti!?**)

i-Ḳuti (*mi-*) n. 5/4 aug.

Ḳuuti n. the Biblical Lot

Ḳuuti n. homosexual who assumes the active role, in contrast to **khaniisi** or **ifugo** or **majo**

Ḳuzi (*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.)’

Ḳuzi la chuuma ‘wire [lit. thread of iron]’

Ḳuzi la koranta ‘electric wire’

Ḳuziila ‘my thread’; **ndruziza** ‘my threads’

rel.

chi-Ḳuzi (*zi-*) n. 7/8 dim.

i-Ḳuzi (*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**]
Mnakata/ tomelee chisu/ ijaliini/ mdurilile mwiizi. ‘The bush guy took out a pocket knife and stabbed the thief.’
 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**
Lakhaant^ho/ nii nsi/ haytowi/ nt^ho. ‘*Lakhaanto* is a fish that is not liked (lit. missed) much.’
- i-laakha* n. relationship
Ali/ na Omari/ ilakha yaawo/ skumbili izi/ yangamiile/ nt^hangú/ wana waawo/ walaniiól. ‘The relationship between Ali and Omari these days is bad since their children fought.’
Ilaakha/ ya Somáaliya/ na Keenyá/ isa/ ni suura. ‘The relationship of Somalia and Kenya now is good.’
Ilaakhaye/ na maamaye/ iwelee mbovu. ‘Her relationship with her mother has become bad.’
- i-lala* (mi-) n. 5/4 a kind of palm tree; the leaves of this palm tree
khsuka milala ‘to plait **milala**’
Pa ilala iyó. ‘Give (me) that *ilala*.’ (The use of final accent in this example has not been researched. It is not the case that an imperative verb like *pa* ordinarily triggers final accent.)
Wake/ wa Mwiini/ hushoma skapu/ ka milala. ‘Brava women sew baskets with **milala**.’
- ku-laala* v. [Sw. *lala* SSED 240] (**leele**) lie down, sleep
Ali/ leelee. ‘Ali slept; Ali is asleep.’
Ali/ lele chijiini. ‘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.’
Kuja/ ichilala masku/ hutasawara/ kughayirika. ‘If food stays (lit. sleeps) overnight, it can go bad (lit. change).’
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 usiinzizi ‘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: **Ndrelel/ kana ngoombe.** ‘I slept like a cow.’
Sheekhi/ lele kana ngoombe. ‘Sheekhi slept like a cow.’ (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 ngoombe????**)

Sheekhi/ leele/ kana ngoombe. ‘Sheekhi *slept* like a cow.’ (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/ mwana wa Haliima. [H!!H] ‘He is asleep, Haliima’s child.’

Leeló/ ni Sheekhi. ‘The one who is asleep is Sheekhi.’

Masku ayo/ wote/ wachilaala/ ka amaani. ‘That evening everyone slept peacefully.’ **masku leelopo ṭakhkasa zibuumbu** [nt.] ‘in the night, when you have just gone to sleep, you will hear the hooting of cars.’

Mi/ skuuya/ festaani/ ka khisa/ Omari/ waliko apo. ‘I did not come to the party because Omari was there.’

Mwana/ halaali/ chiliini. ‘The child does not sleep on the bed.’ (Cf. **mwana halali chiliini** ‘the child who does not sleep on the bed’.)

Mwana/ haṭakulaala/ chiliini. ‘The child will not sleep on the bed.’ (Cf. **mwana haṭakulala chiliini** ‘the child who will not sleep on the bed’.)

Mwana leeló/ ni Sheekhi. ‘The child who is asleep is Sheekhi.’ (One cannot say ***Lelo mwana/ ni Sheekhi.**)

Mwana/ 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’

Nṭ^hasaa we/ kulaala/ chiliicho/ faanya. ‘Before you sleep, you do your bed.’ (A proverbial saying.)

Nṭ^hakulaala/ Omari. [H!!H] ‘He did not sleep, Omari.’

Nṭ^hawakulaala. or **Want^hakulaala.** ‘They did not sleep.’

Nṭ^hukulaala/ we. [H!!H] ‘You did not sleep, you.’

Nuuru/ leele. ‘Nuuru is asleep.’ Cf. **Leele/ Nuuru.** ‘He is asleep, Nuuru.’

Nuuru/ tu/ leeló. ‘Only Nuuru is asleep.’ (An interesting restriction can be seen: if the subject is posposed, it cannot be focused: ***Leele/ Nuuru/ tu.** ‘He is asleep, Nuuru only.’ A sentence like the following is possible: **Leeló/ Nuuru/ tu.** ‘The one who is asleep is only Nuuru.’ In this structure, we have a headless relative clause in subject position, a null copular, and a focused predicate noun.)

Oloshela kulaala. ‘He went to sleep.’

Omari/ nt^hakulaala. [H!H] ‘Omari did not sleep.’

Sheekhi/ leele. [H!H] ‘Sheekhi is asleep; Sheekhi slept.’ Or, with right-dislocation:

Leele/ Sheekhi. [H!!H] ‘Is asleep, Sheekhi.’

Sheekhi/ lele chiliini. [H!H] ‘Sheekhi slept on the bed.’ Or: **Sheekhi/ leele/ chiliini.**

[HH!!H] ‘Sheekhi *slept* on the bed.’ Or: **Lele chiliini/ Sheekhi.** [H!!H] ‘Slept on the bed, Sheekhi.’ Or: **Leele/ chiliini/ Sheekhi.** [H!!H!!H] ‘*Slept* on the bed, Sheekhi.’

Si/ wote/ chileelé. ‘We all slept.’ Or: **Si/ chileelé/ wote.** ‘We slept, all (of us).’ Or: **Si/ chilele woté.** ‘We slept all.’

Skuuya/ festaani/ ka khisa/ mbaliko ndreelé. ‘I didn’t come to the party because I was sleeping.’

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. [H!H] ‘You (pl.) did not sleep.’

rel.

ku-laaliḷa v. appl. (-**laliḷa**)sleep on

Chili chaa we/ nt^hukichilaaliḷa/ 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 majiibu/ 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'ilaliile. '(Finally) I went to sleep.' Cf. **Chi'ilaliile.** '(Finally) we went to sleep.'

Wa'ilaliile. '(Finally) they went to sleep.'
Oloshale ki'ilaalila. '(Finally, after being disappointed in his expectations) he went to sleep (lit. he took himself to sleep).' (Cf. the simple sentence **Oloshale kulaala.** 'He went to sleep.')

ku-laaloowa v. pass.

masku na muunt^hi haychilaaloowa [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 mahala 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

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'

Maadamu/ mi/ chimwona Hasani/ tamlaaliza/ haruusi/ ya mwaanawa. 'If by chance I see Hasani, I will invite him to my son's wedding.'

Muunt^hu/ chilaliza waant^hu/ laazimu/ kuwadalbatila. 'If a person invites people, he must get ready for them.'

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* SSED 15] (**langaliile**) look at, look after, guard, look on

Basi/ jis’iyo/ haṭá/ sultaani/ haṭá/ leelo/ shkalant^ha kuja naaye/ chimlangala/ sultaani/ chimwona (ni) mwaana/ msuura/ basi/ chimwambila/ kalant^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.)

Chilangala kuzimu. ‘He looked at the sky.’

Chimwambila sultaani/ maame/ mlangale/ jisa suura. ‘He told the sultan look out after my mother nicely.’

Chiint^hu/ hulangalowa akhiriye. ‘Something must be looked at (in terms of, with respect to) its end.’ (This saying comments on the fact that one can evaluate a matter only once its end result is known.)

Ha’isii kufá/ nalangale khabri. ‘The one who does not know death, let him look at the grave.’ (A proverb.)

Halaali/ walá/ ha’ineendri/ uko nakhulangala/ 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**

Humlangala mwaana/ ka kula yaa ye/ hihtaajó. ‘He looks after the child in every way that he needs.’

Isa/ sultaani/ peleshele/ maato/ nakuwalangala/ nakuwalangala/ nakuwalangala/ 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.’

Ka khisani/ we/ nakunlangaloo mi. ‘Why are you watching me?’

Kheeri/ mi/ mmeree muke/ nimloole/ napate kumlangala mwaana. ‘It is best that I look for a woman to marry so that she can look after the child.’

Kooḍi/ langala/ nt^hasá/ yaa we/ kuhada. ‘(Your) words, look (at them) before you speak.’ (A saying: think before you speak!)

kulangala noota ‘to prophesy, astrologize, read the stars’

Langala chijumba/ nt^hachina chiint^hú. ‘Look for a nest that does not have anything in it.’ (Observe that in a relative clause, the negative verb is not separated phrasally from its complement.)

Langala/ Huseeni/ kuwasila muṭa’akhiri. ‘Watch for Huseeni to arrive late.’

Langala/ kuwaa we/ hupotezi/ mayaank^huku/ ayo. ‘Watch that you do not drop those eggs.’

Langala/ kuwaa we/ nakhsimama sawasawá. ‘Watch that you stand straight.’

Langala/ kuwona mahala ya Omari/ hoolokó. ‘Watch to see where Omari goes.’

Mi/ ndrangaliilé/ jisa Abú/ dhakhameetó. ‘I watched how Abu behaved.’

Mi/ ndrangaliilé/ jisa Omari/ hufanyo kaazi/ nt^ho. ‘I watched how hard Huseeni worked.’

Mi/ ndrangaliile nt^hiini/ yaa chili. ‘I looked under the bed.’

Mi/ nk^haleent^hé/ apo/ pashpo haraka/ kuwalangala. ‘I remained there without

moving, watching them.'

Nimlangaliḽe Haliimá/ nakhkalangoo nsi. 'I watched Haliima frying fish.'

Nimlangaliḽe Haliimá/ nakhpikó. 'I watched Haliima cook.'

Mi/ ndranganaliḽe ka cholokooni. 'I looked through the window.'

Mi/ nimlangaliḽe Haliimá/ nakulawo numbaani. 'I watched Haliima leave the house.'

Mlangaleeni. 'You (pl.) look at him!'

Muunt^hu/ chimlangala muunt^hu/ kanaa nt^hupu/ huṭowa maato. 'If someone looks at a person naked, he will lose his eyes (become blind).'

Muunt^hu/ hulanganlawa weenzawe. '(To understand a person, look at his friends.' (A proverbial saying.)

Ndranganaliḽe/ nfunguloza/ kilaa mahala. 'I looked for my keys everywhere.'

Niilé/ ka khisa khulanganlawa we. 'I came in order to see you.'

Nile khulanganlawa we. 'I came to see you.'

Noony(ez)a/ mi/ kuwaa we/ hunderanganlawa/ mi. 'Show me that you are looking after me/care for me.'

Omari/ langaliḽee muḽo/ inakaaka. 'Omari watched the fire burn.'

Salma/ nakulanganlawa ruuhuye/ chilolooni. 'Salma is looking at herself in a mirror.'

Sayidiyá/ si/ nt^hashkumlagala/ eelo/ uyu/ kama eelo/ tu/ si/ chimlangaliḽe 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/ kumlangala maamaye. 'One day the boy wanted to go and visit his mother.'

Sultaani/ chindanganlawa nt^hangú/ chaala/ cha kuulu/ hatá/ chiṭaani. 'The sultan looked at me from toe to head.' *review*

Muunt^hu/ chiint^hu/ hulanganlawa ka kaake. 'A man discovers things from his home.' (A proverb.)

Nimnanganaliḽe Jeeli/ oyo nakuwo mwaalimú. 'I looked for Jeeli, who is becoming a teacher.'

Oloshela kumlangala eelo. 'She went and looked for the gazelle.'

Ondroshelopó/ oloshela/ kulanganlawa nt^heendre. 'When he woke up, he went to survey the dates.'

We/ langala zikhushishiló/ na mwinginewó/ nalanganle zimshiishiló. 'You, mind your own business, and someone other than you, let him mind his own business.'

Ye/ nakulanganlawa jawaabu. [H!H] 'He is checking (looking over) his answers.' rel.

ku-langanlanganlawa v. freq.

Karkaa ye/ nakulanganlolanlawa/ 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/ chilanganlanganlawa chiwekaa nt^hi. 'Her younger sister took the food and looked at it and put it on the ground.'

Ye/ takulanganlanganlawa eelo. 'He will examine the gazelle.'

ku-langanlawa v. rec. look at one another

ku-langanlika v. p/s. able to be looked at

Iwa/ ha'ilanganliki/ khusawala maato. 'The sun cannot be looked at, it (lit. seduces) the eyes.' (A proverb.)

ku-langanlila v. appl. (*langaliḽiḽe*) look after (e.g. a child); practice soothsaying for

Oyo sultaani/ chimviiḽa/ kaahini/ mooyi/ chimwaambila/ mi/ nnakhsulaa we/ kundanganlila/ kuniwila/ mahala/ ya Abunawaasi/ zimiiḽo. '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-langanlisha v. caus. (*langaliḽiḽe*)

Suufi/ mlanganlishize mwaana/ ruuhuye/ chilolooni. '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.

Chili/ chilangaliila/ nt^hiinike. ‘The bed was looked under it.’

Ka cholokooni/ ilangaliila. ‘The window was looked through.’

Muunt^hu/ halangaloowi/ suuraze/ hulangalowa tabi’aye. ‘One is not judged on the basis of one’s looks but on the basis of one’s character.’ (A proverbial saying, much used in connection with marriage decisions.)

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 Chimini] 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-)

m-laango or mnaango]

n. 3/4 [Sw. *mlango* SSED 289] door, gate, channel (way into a harbor); [pron.

Chimwona sarmaala/ 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/ yandishiila/ kuila/ 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/ unayo ifungulole. [H’H] ‘Every door has its own key.’ (A proverb.) Or: **Kilaa mnaango/ unayo ifungulo laake.** [H’H]

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/ mletelelo majiibú. ‘At the door was the man who had brought the reply.’

Mnaango/ Omari/ fungilo ka lfuunguló. ‘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/ ndiítú. ‘The house that had its door repaired is ours.’ (Our first 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/ ndiítú.**, 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 second 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’.)

Nuumbaya/ nk^hulu/ nt^hayná/ mlaango. ‘My house is large, it has no doors.’
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 **m-naanzi**], pl: [**mi-laanzi**]

Zamaani/ Mwiini/ milaanzi/ ^fmiingi/ yawaalikó/ waana/ wash^tinda naazi.

‘During old times in Miini there were many coconut trees, children used to cut coconuts.’

ku-lapa

v. [Sw. *apa* SSED 18] (*lasile*) swear an oath

Nakulapá/ ka chivo 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 waantú/ 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/ zibishiḷa luuchido/ zinakuwala. 'Baana's shoes are polished, they are shining.'

chilatu cha gooma 'rubber shoe'

chilatu cha mpiira 'sports shoe'

chilaatu/ cha muke wa sultaani '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'

superstition.) **Chilatu chimooyi/ hachivaloowi.** ‘A single shoe is not worn.’ (A

Chimwaambila/ chilaatu/ ndimí/ mp^hheetó. ‘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/ chitindikiile. ‘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 khfakaṭila ‘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 ḏahabu ‘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.

mi-laatu n. 4 aug. large boots

Wakhtí wa barafu/ Ameerika/ huvalowa milaatu/ ya buuti/ kurebela bardi. ‘During cold times in America big boots are worn to stop the cold with.’

-le

adj. [Sw. -*refu* SSED 398] tall, long

Faatíma/ haanzu/ kaa wule/ yiize/ mṭosha/ iwelee yile/ zaaydi. ‘Faatima, on the length side, the dress did not fit her, it was too long.’

ibat^heraa yile ‘a long aug. boat’

khfanyaa ndre ‘to make long’

Kooḏi/ muunt^hu/ shkooḏa/ siwo/ suura/ khfanyaa ndre/ suura/

kugaawisha. ‘When a person speaks, it is not good to to make it long, it is good to shorten.’

mw-aana/ kawaa mule/ kolko Muusa ‘if the boy had been taller than Muusa’

itarajaa yile ‘a high step of a staircase’; **mat^harajaa male** ‘high steps of a staircase’

khatii ndre ‘a long letter’

Laakini/ maanyi/ yawaliko maleemale/ yotte/ apo. ‘But the grass was very tall there.’

Ipeloo lile ‘long broom’
-le/ kana igamiila (or: **ngamiila**) ‘as tall as a camel’
Omari/ waank^hulé/ mule/ kana ngamiila. ‘Omari, his grandfather is as tall as a camel.’
-le/ kana iloongoti ‘as long as a pole’
Mi nii 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.)
mibaṭeraa 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’
mp^heloo ndre ‘long brooms’, or **mp^helo ndree ndre** ‘long brooms’ (The accent is noteworthy here. Accent in both examples is on the final monosyllabic element **ndre**. But the reduplicated adjective **ndree ndre** must be taken to represent two words for this to be the case. If we were to analyze the adjective as **ndreendre**, then accent would be predicted to fall on the penult syllable.)
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 Hamadí. ‘Who is taller than Hamadi?’ (Although **ni** is possible, it seems redundant: **Naani/ nii mulé/ kolko Hamadí.**)
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).’
Nimwene Omarii mulé. ‘I saw Omari the tall (as opposed to some other Omari).’
Niwawene wana watatu waleewalé. ‘I saw the three tall children.’
numbaa ndre ‘tall building(s)’ (cf. alternative plural form: **numba ndreendre**)
Nuzile haanzú/ ndre. ‘I bought a long dress.’ (Because **ndre** is a monosyllable, it is not possible to immediately see whether it has a final accent that has propagated from the verb to the end of the verb phrase, or whether it has final accent because that is the only possible realization. The example sentence **Nuzile haanzú/ ndre/ huundru.** ‘I bought a long red dress’ does not necessarily illuminate the matter. The absence of final accent on **huundru** shows that either it or the preceding **ndre** is a barrier to the propagation of final accent. It seems to be a valid generalization that an emphasized adjective does not accept the propagation of final accent nor does it allow propagation across it. **It remains to be determined whether the location of emphasis is restricted in a sequence of adjectives.**)
Sarkaali/ mkonooe/ 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.’

Faatima/ haanzu/ kaa wule/ yiize/ m^hosha/ iwelee yile/ zaaydi. ‘Faatima, on the length side, did not fit her, it was too long.’

Muunt^hu/ chishome^howa surwaani/ hupimowa miimbaye/ na wulewé. ‘If one is sewn for trousers, he is measured his waist (stomach) and his length.’

ku-lekela

v. [cf. Sw. *elekea* SSED 81] (**lekele**) 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/ leke^hla 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 m^htanaani/ apo/ ye/ chilekela chiliini/ ka nt^hini ya m^htaawo/ shtomolaa chita/ 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 khariibu/ ya mwaana... ‘He (the snake) was going near the baby...’

Chiwalekela mp^hana ziingine. ‘He faced the other rats.’

Is^hlaamu/ wachisala/ hulekela ka’aba. ‘When Muslims pray, they face the *ka’aba*.’

Ka nasiibu/ ya Abdalla/ kuwa suura/ siimba/ lekele muiyini. ‘Abdalla’s luck being good, the lion headed towards town.’

Khaaði/ chimlekela msaafiri/ chimwaambila... ‘The judge faced the traveler and said to him...’

kulekela khibla ‘to face the direction towards which one prays’

Maha^hlaa 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.’

Muunt^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.’

Siimba/ chimlekela bakayle. ‘The lion turned to the hare.’

Wachilekela chisimaani. ‘They headed to the well.’

Wakomelopo muiyini/ sul^htaani/ 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.’

We/ waliko chilekelapi/ yana/ we/ naa munó. ‘Where were you heading to yesterday, you and your younger brother?’

rel.

ku-lekelela v. appl.

Shkalan^ha shtako/ khfikira yaa ye/ khfaanya/ laakini/ nt^haku/ imlekeleleó. ‘He sat (on his 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 ká'aba/ khibla. 'When praying, it is faced the Ka'aba/ the praying direction.'

ku-lekeza v. (**lekeeze**) 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 sultaani/ 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/ nthaná. '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 kooodi 'to make one's speech meaningful, to the point; to try to figure out what to say; to be good at using words'

Walekeze kooodi/ izi/ ka izi. 'They thought of this and that to say.'

Waana/ washalaantha/ kulekeza kooodi. 'The children sat, trying to figure out what to say.'

Ye/ ni mkali/ kulekeza kooodi. '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 (an activity that requires care and planning).' (A proverb advising that doing something willynilly or just theorizing about something is not doing.; haphazard actions or words alone do not get results.)

Lpepo/ ldegeelopó/ naa nvulá/ ifungiilopó/ ichibele majiira/ na nthashkukhaadira/ 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/ langla oko. Nt^hi yaa we/ nakuwonó/ ndiyó/ nthi 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-lekezalekeza v. redup.

Hamadi/ lekezelekeze/ fanyiize/ chili/ laakini/ sku ya piili/ ba/ chivundishile. 'Hamadi tried (lit. aimed-aimed) to fix the bed, but on the second day it broke.'

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 **stenzi** 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. (**lezele**) be loose (e.g. a tooth, clothing), hang over

Abuuyi/ surwaani/ ni nk^huluye/ inamleela/ shar^ti/ khfunga lkaandra. ‘Abuuyi, the trousers are too big, they are hanging loose, he must wear a belt.’
Alí/ shaati/ ikuluye/ inamleela. ‘Ali’s shirt is bigger than him, it is hanging on him.’
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.’
L^aani/ laa muti/ lchileeló/ lpo^te^le ilu yaa jasi/ khacha khacha!/ lweeló. ‘The branch of the tree, which was hanging over, fell on the roof *khacha khacha!* (that’s how) it became.’
Nguwo/ inamleela. ‘The cloth is loose for him.’
Nuumba/ inakuleela. ‘The house was no longer firm (lit. was loose).’
Sheekhi/ sasiile/ hatá/ surwaani/ inamleela. ‘Sheekhi got thin until trousers were loose on him.’

rel.

ku-leeleza v. caus. (leleeze) loosen, hang s.t. over

Ichiwa teena/ ye/ huleeleza/ 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.’

kuleeleza/ nguwo ‘to make cloth loose’

ku-lelezeka v. caus. p/s, (lelezeshela) able to be loosened

Ifundro iyi/ ha’ilelezeki/ jis’iyo. ‘This knot cannot be loosened in that way.’

m-leele (wa-)

n. 1/2 someone sick (apparently use is restricted to *steenzi*)

humiinfa menyé 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.’

hatá/ leelo ‘now, until one day [lit. until today]’

Basi/ hatá/ leelo/ oyo mubli/ chiwa hakhaadiri/ chifa. ‘So, until one day that man became sick and died.’

Leelo/ ni jima nne. ‘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.)

Nakhsaafirá/ leelo. ‘I am leaving on a trip today.’ (Cf. **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-lemma (zi-)

n. 7/8 [Sw. *kilema* SSED 243] handicapped person, cripple

Mteka chilema/ hu^tekowaa 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.’

Huseeni/ naayé/ chishfaanya/chileemba. ‘Huseeni, and he, made it (a piece of cloth) into a turban.’

kubiga chileemba ‘to wrap a turban on someone; use as a turban’

Huseeni/ chivala nguwoze/ shtaala/ na chiguwó/ cha mwanaamke/ mpeeló/ chibiga chileemba/ lpiindo/ 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 chileemba chelpe/ 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/ chileembaani. ‘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 chileemba/ 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

shṭakumbiga ileemba/ na nguwo ya khfinikoowa [st.] ‘tighten his turban and cover him with a cloth’

leembe

n. razor

Chisu ichi/ shkali/ kana leembe. ‘This knife is as sharp as a razor.’

rel.

chi-leembe (zi-) n. 7/8 straight razor

Omari/ nakumolowa mashuungi/ chiṭa/ ka chileembe. ‘Omari is getting his head hair cut with a little razor.’

ku-lemela

v. [Sw. *lemea* SSED 243] (**lemeele**) lean on s.t. or s.o. for support; be against s.t. (physically); be on

Baazi/ lemele ikuta. ‘Baazi leaned against the wall.’

Baazi/ mtile mwaana/ kulemela ikuta. ‘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/ mtijile Nureeni/ mwaana/ kulemela ikuta.** ‘Baazi caused on/for Nureeni the child to lean against the wall.’ And: **Baazi/ na Nureeni/ watijilene waana/ kulemela ikuta.** ‘Baazi and Nureeni caused one another’s children to lean against the wall.’)

Kharibu ya ilooni/ ofeetopó/ chilemela mteendre/ khpumula/ na usiinzizi/ 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/ walemlezenye 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/ ilemezaa 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/ lesele 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/ nakhkoḍo na Nuurú/ nakendra nṭ^hiini/ kuleta zoombozá.

‘While you are talking to Nuuru, I am going down to bring my things.’

Haye/ lete wahaliwe. ‘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 kooḍi. ‘He related the essence of the conversation.’

kuleta kooḍi ‘to relate what has been said by someone when one was not supposed to do this’

Omari/ tabi’aye/ mbovu/ kaaziye/ kulet kooḍi/ apa. ‘Omari has a bad character, his practice (lit. his job) is to take talk from here and talk from there (i.e. take people’s words and try to make mischief between people).’

kuleta nyenyeghi ‘to bother someone greatly’

Ali/ humleta waawaye/ enyenyeghi/ kilaa wakhtí/ nakuḷana na wana wiingine/ chiwooni. ‘Ali is giving his father a hard time, he is always fighting with other children at religious school.’

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, discuss how to accomplish s.t.’

Wazele/ wakalent^hee faḍi/ kuleta shaawuri/ jisaa zita/ za khabiila/ zinakinendro Miini/ kureboowa. ‘The elders held a meeting to decide how to stop the clan fighting going on in Miini.’

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.’

Lesele khati/ ka Aasha. ‘He brought a letter to Aasha (or: to Aasha’s place).’

Lesele khati/ ka Aasha/ numbaani. ‘He brought a letter to Aasha’s house.’

Lesele makina yaa tala/ Mwiini. ‘He brought an electric generator to Brava.’

Lesele n^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/ lesele 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.’

Maryamu/ zileeseló/ zo. ‘Maryamu brought them.’

Matezo 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 khatí/ kaaké ‘the woman whom he brought a letter to’ (cf. **muke waa ye/ leseloo khatí/ kaaké/ numbaani** ‘the woman whom he brought a letter to her place’; also cf. **muke waa ye/ leseloo khatí/ ka kaaké** ‘the woman whom he brought a letter from’)

Muunthu/ lesele majiwe. ‘The man brought stones.’ Or with verb focus: **Muunthu/ leesele/ majiwe.** Or with verb focus and an object marker on the verb: **Muunthu/ yaleesele/ majiwe.** Or with left dislocation without focus: **Majiwe/ muunthu/ yaleesele.**

Mpuunga/ lesele 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.’

Mwambile Ali/ sileete/ chaayi. ‘Tell Ali not to bring tea.’ (But it is also possible for the negative subjunctive verb to be phrased with the complement: **Mwambile Ali/ silete chaayi.**)

Naank^hó/ numa/ chimwaambila/ maamaye/ chimwaambila/ mwaanawá/ leelo/ mwana uyu/ mleseló/ 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’).’

Nimwambile Ali/ sileeté/ chaayi. ‘I told Ali: don’t bring tea!’ (This example illustrates a direct quote of a negative imperative verb. A negative subjunctive form is illustrated in **Nimwambile Ali/ silete chaayi.** ‘I told Ali not to bring tea.’)

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/ chimuuzá/ karaayle/ nini/ imleselo apá. ‘The king [of the kites] asked the crow what brought him here.’

Wa’ambile waana/ wasileete/ chaayi. ‘Tell the children not to bring tea.’ (But it is also possible to phrase the negative subjunctive verb with the complement: **Wa’ambile waana/ wasilete chaayi.**)

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-lesanya v. caus. rec. (**leseene** 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.’

Yaa ye/ khiinfó/ na yaa ye/ khuhāshiliizó/ ha’ileetani. ‘What he does that is useful to you and what he does that is harmful do not offset one another – i.e. he is more damaging to you than useful.’ (A proverbial saying.)

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.’

Chileteḷowa sultaani/ khabari. ‘News was brought to the sultan.’ (Notice 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.)

Mi/ nakhtahajaa yo/ kuleteḷowaa mi/ ka himá. ‘I need it brought to me immediately.’

mwalimu 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/ waleteḷeḷa/ wo.** [H’H!!H] ‘Tea they were brought for, they.’ (The postposed pronominal subject is subject to extreme downstepping.)

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/ mletelele 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^heendre/ 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.'

Mi/ nakhtaraja/ mu^hliwa/ kundretela hanzuu mp^hiya. 'I hope for my husband to bring me a new dress.'

Mi/ nimlinzile Omari/ kundretela kujá/ mi. 'I waited for Omari to bring me food.'

Mletelele Nuuru/ mwaana/ kumkorsha. 'He brought the child to Nuuru for him to raise.'

Muke/ chimletela. 'The wife brought [the books] to him.'

mwalimu wa Jaani/ mletelele zawaadi 'the teacher to whom John brought a gift'

Ndretetelele 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/ naamí/ nashiqilé/ kinletela. '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.'

Si/ chikhuletelelele/ we/ shati iyi/ kuvaala/ muunt^hi/ waa we/ zaazilá. 'We brought this shirt for you to wear it on your birthday.'

Tamletela 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-leteleloowa v. appl. pass. (**letelelela**)

Chili ichi/ chiletelelela mwana hakhaadirí. '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/ chiletelelela 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, bring for each other

Haliima/ na Umi/ wanakuletelana zoombo/ kilaa mweezi. ‘Haliima and Umi are bringing one another things every month.’

Waleteleene/ waana/ ka qaadi. ‘They brought each other’s children to the judge.’

Waleteleene khati. ‘They sent each other a letter.’

ku-leetesha v. caus. make bring

bring food home.’

Haaji/ mletesheze Nuuru/ chaakuja/ numbaani. ‘Haaji caused Nuuru to

Ali (’s place).’

Nimletesheze Nuuru/ mwaaná/ ka Ali. ‘I caused Nuuru to bring the child to

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.)

Ndretsheleze 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/ iletshelaza 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-letooa v. pass. (leeseja) be brought

Chaayi/ chileeseja. [H!H] ‘Tea was brought.’

Chaayi/ chileeseja na mgeeni. ‘Tea was brought by the guest.’

Chileeseja na mgeeni/ ni chaayi. ‘What was brought by the guest is tea.’

Chiletowapo ka mukeewé/ hukalan^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 Shekh Husein, the Tahaara family.’

Leselapó/ Harun Rashiidi/ chi'amurisha nabigoowa/ ndruti khamsiini.
'When he was brought in, Haruun Rashiidi ordered that he be given fifty blows.'

Majiwe/ yalesela na muunt^hu. 'The stones were brought by the man.'

Maraði yakoo kulé/ hayaletoowi/ 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/ nnakhsulá 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 sulṭaani. 'The girl was captured and brought in front of the king.'

Osmaani/ leseḷa 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; variant form: *uleevu*

Khamri/ huleta uleevi. 'Liquor causes drunkenness.'

Uleevu/ huletaa dhibu. 'Drunkenness causes problems.'

ku-leewa

v. [Sw. *lewa* SSED 244] (*leweele*) get drunk; get or feel nauseous, esp. seasickness

Fikiriini/ ba'ada ya wakhti/ chilewa/ 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-leweka v. p/s.

ku-lewela v. appl. get drunk with

ku-leweshá 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-leweshenze v. caus. appl. rec.

Madi/ mleweshenze Huseeni/ mwaana. 'Madi caused Huseeni's child to get drunk.'

ku-leweshenezanya 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 Chimiiini (in contrast to Swahili) to the verb **kuwa** ‘to be’
Apo/ zamaani/ waliko sultaani/ mooyi/ mĩkilo 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/ sḥtukuḷoowa/ shpelekowa miyundraani/ 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
Ṇṭhi/ haylimiki. ‘This land cannot be cultivated.’
- ku-limikila** v. ps/s. appl. become cultivated for
Ṇṭhi/ ikhulimikiliile. ‘This land became cultivated for you.’
- ku-limiḷoowa** v. appl. pass.
Baaba/ nakulimiḷowa muundra/ na Haaji. ‘[Lit.] father is being cultivated the field for by Haaji.’ Or: **Muundra/ nakulimiḷowa 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/ hulimiḷowa muundra. ‘The axe is for cultivating a farm.’
Omari/ nakulimiḷowa 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.

Nṭhi 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/ mahaḷa/ ya ma’askari/ na watumawé/ wawaalikó. ‘He returned up the hill to the place where the soldiers and his servants were.’

Fijiri/ wa’ishkilile/ ka mlimaani/ wa’olosehe kumlangala dughaaghi. ‘In the morning, they descended the hill and they went to look at the beast.’

Maayi/ hishkiḷa/ 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 nuumba/ 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 this small hill is able to see the whole town.’ (This example, from a narrative constructed by Mohammed Imam very early in our research, illustrates a significant point about Chimiini prosody. Putting emphasis on the verb routinely confines any final accent triggered by that verb from extending past the verb. However, if the verb is a relative verb, such a phrasing does not block the final accent triggered by relative verbs from extending to the end of the relative clause.)

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/ chilaṭowaa ndovu/ kulindra chisima/ na chiza mḷata 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/ hatá/ chiruuda. ‘The gazelle told the poor man to wait for him until he returned.’

Hundriindra. ‘You do not wait for me.’

Huseeni/ linzile nṭhini yaa muti/ nuumba/ ibanyaani. ‘Huseeni waited under a tree outside the house.’

Jeelaani/ chiliindra. ‘Jeelaani waited.’

Karkaa ye/ nakuliindró/ mwenee mbwa/ namsongaa ndovu. ‘While he was waiting, he saw a dog approaching the elephant.’

kulindra chitaawo ‘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.’

Mi/ nakhtaraja kulawa apá/ karka miyaka miwili/ mi/ sinakhaadira/ kuliindra. ‘I’m aiming to leave from here in about a couple of years. I can’t wait.’

Mi/ namliindra Faatimá/ kubiga telefoonó. ‘I am waiting for Faatima to telephone.’

Mi/ shkhaadiri/ kulindra kiiwa/ yo/ yont^he/ yaliko tarafu yaní. ‘I can’t wait to find out what it was all about.’

Mi/ takhulindra apa/ ba. ‘I will be waiting for you right here (at this specific place).’

Mi/ takhulindra apo/ ka Omari/ ba. ‘I will be waiting for you right there at Omari’s place (nowhere else, just there).’

Mubli/ nakulindra majiibuyo. ‘The man is waiting for your answer.’

Mwaana/ chimwambila waawaye/ mi/ ndrriinzilé/ nt^heendre/ haṭá/ 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/ haṭá/ mukhta wo/ watakuyo koowá. ‘The old man told me: you wait until the time when they will come to bathe.’

ndriindre ‘wait for me’; **mliinde** ‘wait for [cl.1]’

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.’

Ndriinzilé/ 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.)

Ndrinzile kuwa Jaamá/ takhpita imṭihaaní. ‘I expected that Jaama would 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 mweenzáwá. ‘I am expecting money from my friend.’

Nt^hakuliindra/ majiibuye. ‘I will wait for her reply.’

Nt^haná/ ismu/ ya muunt^hu/ kumliindra/ ye. ‘She has no one to wait on her.’

Omari/ ba/ liinzile/ hoteliini. ‘Even Omari waited at the hotel.’ Cf. **Omari/ linzile hoteliini/ ba.** ‘Omari waited at the hotel itself (at the hotel, not anywhere else).’

Omari/ hakhaadiri/ kulindra kuruda ndraani. ‘Omari can’t wait to get back inside.’

Si/ chiliinzilé/ masku mazima. ‘We waited the whole night.’

Si/ chimlinzile Omari/ masku mazimá. ‘We waited for Omari the whole night.’

Si/ chinakulindra kumwona dakhtarí. ‘We are waiting to see the doctor.’

Si/ chinayo wakhti miingi/ mi/ takuliindra. ‘We have plenty of time. I’ll wait.’

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/ kuḷawa.
‘When they finished (planting the garden), they returned home to wait until the garden bore fruit.’

Wanakinliindra. ‘They are waiting for you (pl.).’

Wardiya/ linzile nuumba. ‘The guard looked after the house.’

Wo/ nt^hayaaliko/ kulindra niingi. ‘They didn’t have to wait long.’

Wo/ waliko laazimu/ kuliindra/ kuḷiowa mara yingine. ‘They had to wait to be called again.’

Wote/ wachendra nt^hini ya majabali/ kulindra haṭaa nvula/ ishtiinda. ‘All went under the rocks to wait until the rain stopped.’

Ye/ njibiile/ mi/ bilaa kuliindra. ‘He answered me without hesitation.’

rel.
ku-liindrika v. p/s.
Omari/ huraaga/ haliindriki. ‘Omari delays, he cannot be waited for.’

ku-lindriḷoowa v. appl. pass.
Nt^haku/ sababu ya Omari/ kulindiḷoowa. ‘There is no reason to wait for Omari.’

ku-liindrila v. appl.
Nakumlindrilani/ Omari. ‘Why are you waiting for Omari?’

We/ hukhaadiri/ kulindrila zombo izo. ‘You can’t wait on these things.’

ku-liindrisha v. caus. (lindrishiize)
Ali/ lindrishize waant^hu/ skuliini. ‘Ali had people wait at the school.’

Ali/ mlindrishize wardiya/ nuumba. ‘Ali had the guard look after the house.’

ku-lindrishiliza v. caus. appl.
ku-lindrishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.
ku-lindroowa v. pass.

Ba’ada apo/ wachilindrowa masheekhi/ kuuya/ wachilindroowá/ ichiletoowa/ na mbuzi. ‘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/ chitaawo. ‘It is waited for long the bus.’

Jaama/ linzila naami/ kuuya. ‘[Lit.] Jaama was waited for by me to come - i.e. I waited for Jaama to come.’

Masku mazima/iliinzilá. ‘The whole night there was waiting.’

Muti/ ulinzila nt^hiinike/ nuumba/ ibanyaani. ‘A tree was waited under it outside the house.’ Another passive: **Nuumba/ ibanyaani/ iliinzilá/ nt^hini yaa muti.** ‘The house was waited outside it under a tree.’
Omari/ liinzila/ masku mazima. ‘Omari was waited for the whole night.’ Or: **Masku mazima/ linzila/ Omari.** ‘The whole night Omari was waited for.’
Uyu/ ni muunt^hi/ hударбаџiloowá/ 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
Wa'ooji/ Mwiiini/ hufumaa nguwo/ aliindi/ ka iliindri. ‘Wa'ooji in Miini weave aliindi cloth with *iliindri*.’

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. *kulinganya* below)

ku-liinganya v. caus. (**lingeenye** or **linganyiize**) compare the measurements of two things, compare two things; take measurements; try on sewn clothes to see whether they fit, they are the right size

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 *ii/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. [H'H!H] ‘The miser paid the debt.’

Bakhiili/ lisile/ deeniye. [H'H!H] ‘The miser *paid* his 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 qaada).’

Leelo/ shkhaadiri/ kulipa peesa. ‘I cannot pay today.’

Lisilo deeni/ ni bakhili. ‘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 mujo wa Hawiya [st.] ‘Zabaniya will avenge there, in the hell-fires of Hawiya’

Wachimjiiba/ wachimwaambila/ chinambiga/ mayti/ uyu/ ka khisa/ mukhta ya/ waliko hayi/ teete/ deeni/ ka kiitu/ na nthakichilipa. ‘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/ itooya. ‘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-lipana v. rec. **need examples**

ku-lipanoowa v. rec. pass.

Ichiwaa we/ mhalashize muunt^hu/ ichiwaa we/ mtawanyiz e muunt^hu/ maazi/ ni jawabuu nziito/ ni jawabuu nk^hulu/ hulipanowa aari. ‘If it be that you hurt someone, if it be that you spill someone’s blood, it is a serious (lit. heavy) thing, it’s a big deal, it’s being revenged.’

ku-lipika v. p/s.

ku-lipiloowa v. appl. pass.

Taale/ pesa izi/ mpe Safiya/ nalipiloowa/ mubli. ‘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/ chiwiloowa. ‘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 deeniza/ na wala/ 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.’

Nthakhusameha/ laakini/ ka sharti/ mooyi/ we/ ni laazima/ kundripila khasaara/ imp^hheetó/ yotte. ‘I will forgive you but on one condition: you must repay me the loss that befell me, all.’

Teete/ peesa/ zotte/ mpele mkule/ 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/ khusudijilieni/ kuhada/ kuwa ifuungu/ yanne/ we/ lipilile deeni/ walá/ nt'ukumaliza/ 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. (**lisila**)

Gharama za waana/ zilisila na sarkaali. ‘The expenses of the children were paid by the government.’

Lisila deeni/ ni bakhili. [H'H] ‘The one who was paid a debt is the miser.’

Lisila deeniyé/ ni bakhili. [H'H] ‘The one who was paid his debt is the miser.’

Mzeele/ uyu/ chishiika/ kuwa ni laazima/ ye/ kulipowa itooye. ‘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.’ (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/ mazu/ 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/ mazu/ 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/ mlshilizee 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/ mlshilizee mwaana/ chaakuja.** or: **Mwaana/ mubli/ mlshilizee muke/ chaakuja.** Or: **Chaakuja/ mubli/ mlshilizee muke/ mwaana.** Any of the complement positions may be relativized into as well: e.g. **Chakuja cha mubli/ mlshilizee muke/ mwaana/...** ‘The food that (her) husband fed the child for the woman....’)

Mubli/ mlshilizee 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: **Likoombe/ mubli/ mlshilizee muke/ mwaana/ chaakuja.** ‘The spoon, (her) husband used it to feed the child food for the woman.’ Also: **Likombe la mubli/ mlshilizee muke/ mwaana/ chaakuja/...** ‘The spoon that (her) husband used to feed the child food for the woman....’)

Tuuma/ namlisha mwaana. ‘Tuuma is feeding the child.’

ku-lishilizoowa v. appl. pass.

ku-lishoowa v. pass. (**lishiiza**) be fed

Mwaana/ nakulishoowa kuja. ‘The child is being fed food.’

Nfuye/ lishizaa mazu/ ka farkeeeta/ na mwaana. ‘The monkey was fed bananas with a fork by the child.’ (Note that in this passive structure, **mazu** cannot be the subject of the passive verb, only **nfuye**: ***Mazu/ zilishizaa nfuye/ ka farkeeeta/ 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 chiintu. ‘Haliima forgot to put something on.’

Hamadi/ liweele/ iziwa/ uzile rooti/ tu. ‘Hamadi forgot milk, he bought only bread.’

Iboorsaya/ ndrilewele apa/ iweene. ‘I forgot my bag here, have you seen it?’

khfanya ruuhuye/ kana liweelo ‘to pretend to have forgotten (though in fact you just did not do)’

Kuliwala/ siwo/ dambi. ‘To forget is not a sin.’

Maashe/ haliwali/ lutiile. ‘A blind man does not forget his (walking) stick.’ (A proverb.)

Mbona/ we/ liwele ka hima/ zema za elo uyu/ khufanyiizo. ‘How can you forget so quickly the good that this gazelle did for you?’

Mgarwa/ kama oyo/ chimliwala/ mukeewe/ na waanawe/ waa ye/ wajasilo kaawo. ‘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/ nimpeenzel/ nto. ‘Me, my husband divorced me, but I am not able to forget him because I love him very much.’

Mi/ ndrilewele tu. ‘I just forgot.’

mooja haliwali mooja halaali [st.] ‘God does not forget, God does not sleep’

Muunt^hu/ fanyiizo/ huliwala/ fanyiiza/ haliwali. ‘The one who has done something wrong, forgets;(but) the one who has been wronged does not forget.’ (A proverb.)

Mwaadamu/ chimfanyiliza ihsanii miya/ chimaliza/ mara mooyi/ zont^e/ huliwala. ‘A human being, you may do him a hundred favors, but if you refuse him once, he forgets all (those favors).’ (A proverb.)

Na itakhupato/ we/ umriwo/ hutakuliwala. ‘And what will happen to you in your

- life you will not forget.’
- 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/ kumpa Nuuru/ peesa.** ‘I forgot to give Nuuru money.’ Or: **Ndriweelé/ Nuuru/ kumpa peesa.** Or: **Ndriweelé/ kumpa peesa/ Nuuru.** Or: **Pees/ ndrriweelé/ kumpa Nuuru.** Or: **Nuuru/ ndrriweelé/ kumpa peesa.**
- Ndriweelé/ kuwa Alí/ nuzizee mi/ kumpa mwaanawe/ Omari/ peesa.** ‘I forgot that Ali asked me to give his son Omari money.’ Also: **Ndriweelé/ Alí/ nuzizé/ 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.’
- Ndriweelé/ peesa/ Nuuru/ khpoowa.** ‘I forgot money Nuuru to give him.’ Or: **Ndriweelé/ Nuuru/ peesa/ khpoowa.**
- Nimliweelé/ Nuuru/ kumpa peesa.** ‘I forgot him Nuuru to give him money.’
- Niziliweelé/ peesa/ kumpa Nuuru.** ‘I forgot it [cl.10] money to give Nuuru.’ Or: **Nuuru/ kumpa peesa/ niziliweelé.** Or: **Peesa/ niziliweelé/ kumpa Nuuru.**
- Niziliweelé/ peesa/ Nuuru/ khpoowa.** Or: **Nuuru/ peesa/ khpoowa/ niziliweelé.**
- 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.’)
- Omari/ iliweele/ kuwa Hamadi/ uzile gaari.** ‘Omari forgot it [cl.9] that Hamadi bought a car [cl.9].’ Or: **Omari/ iliweele/ kuwa gaari/ Hamadi/ uzile.** Or: **Omari/ iliweele/ gaari/ kuwa Hamadi/ uzile.** (Our consultant GM accepted all these variations where the main verb has an OM in agreement with **gaari**, but preferred that the verb be emphasized. The absence of emphasis led to a judgment of ill-formedness: ***Omari/ iliwele kuwa Hamadi/ uzile gaari.** And: ***Omari/ iliwele kuwa gaari/ Hamadi/ uzile.** And: ***Omari/ iliwele gaari/ kuwa Hamadi/ uzile.**)
- Omari/ liweele/ kuwa Hamadi/ uzile gaari.** ‘Omari forgot that Hamadi bought a car.’ (Our consultant tended to prefer sentences like this, where the main verb is emphasized, to ones where the complement is joined into a phrase with the main verb: **Omari/ liwele kuwa Hamadi/ uzile gaari.** But this second version is certainly grammatical.)
- Omari/ liweele/ kuwa Hamadi/ tu/ uzilo gaari.** ‘Omari forgot that only Hamadi bought a car.’ (Our consultant preferred emphasis on the main verb, but accepted as possible a lack of emphasis as well: **Omari/ liwele kuwa Hamadi/ tu/ uzilo gaari.** The critical thing about this sentence type is that focus on the complement subject requires pseudo-relativization of the complement verb.)
- Omari/ mliwele Hamadi/ kumpa zoombo.** ‘Omari remembered him Hamadi to give things (to him).’
- Omari/ mliweele/ kuwa Hamadi/ uzile gaari.** ‘Omari forgot him that Hamadi bought a car.’ Or: **Omari/ mliweele/ Hamadi/ kuwa uzile gaari.** (Our consultant GM wanted the main verb to be emphasized in order for that verb to have an object marker on it. He rejected ***Omari/ mliwele kuwa Hamadi/ uzile gaari.** Also: ***Omari/ mliwele Hamadi/ kuwa uzile gaari.**)
- Omari/ tu/ liweeló/ kuwa Hamadi/ uzilo gaari.** ‘Only Omari forgot that Hamadi bought a car.’ Or: **Omari/ tu/ liweeló/ kuwa Hamadi/ uzile gaari.**
- Siliwalé.** ‘Don’t forget!’ (cf. **Siliwaleeni.** ‘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,

tomorrow'

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

rel.

ku-liwaloowa v. pass. (liweela)

Gaari/ iliweela/ kuwa Hamadi/ uzile. 'The car was forgotten that Hamadi bought.' Or: **Gaari/ iliweela kuwa Hamadi/ uzile.**

Gaari/ iliweela/ kuwa yuuzila. 'The car was forgotten that it was bought.' Or: **Gaari/ iliweela kuwa yuuzila.**

Hamadi/ liweela/ kuwa uzile gaari. 'Hamadi was forgotten that he bought a car.' Or: **Hamadi/ liweela kuwa uzile gaari.**

iyi ni taarikhi sho kuliwaloowa [nt.] 'this is a [piece of] history that will not be forgotten'

Kuliwaloowa/ niingi/ huleta dhibu. 'To forget too much can cause problems.'

Liweela/ Omari/ kuwa uzile gaari. 'He was forgotten, Omari, that he bought a car.' (There is some evidence that the postposed subject in this example cannot be focused: ***Liweela/ Omari/ tu/ kuwa uzilo gaari.**)

Nuuru/ liweela/ khpoowa/ peesa. 'Nuuru was forgotten to be given money.'

Nuuru/ ziliweela/ khpoowa/ peesa. 'Nuuru, it [cl.10] was forgotten to be given money to Nuuru.' Or: **Nuuru/ peesa/ khpoowa/ ziliweela.** Or: **Nuuru/ ziliweela/ khpoowa/ peesa.** Or: **Nuuru/ ziliweela/ peesa/ khpoowa.**

Omari/ tu/ liweela/ kuwa uzilo gaari. 'Only Omari was forgotten that he bought a car.' Or: **Omari/ tu/ liweela/ kuwa uzile gaari.** (A pre-verbal focused element in Chimiini requires the verb to switch into a pseudo-relative form. In many cases, this switch involves changing the final vowel of the verb to *-o*. However, in the case of passive verbs, there is no such shift in vowel quality. All pseudo-relative verbs, however, are characterized by being a final accent-trigger. Thus it is clear in both of the examples given here, the main verb is in pseudo-relative form, **liweela**), due to the focused subject. The particle **tu** bears focus. The difference between the two examples here has to do with whether the complement verb is also put into pseudo-relative form. In the first example, it is; in the second example, it is not. It appears from these data, then, that pseudo-relativization of the complement verb is not obligatory.)

Wo/ wafiile/ laakini/ nt'awakuliwaloowa/ walá/ hawatakuliwaloowa.

'They died, but they are not forgotten nor will they be forgotten.'

ku-liwaza v. caus. (liweeze) make forget

Dhibu/ ya sa'a mooyi/ khuliwaza/ raha/ ya miyaaka. 'Hardship/pain of one hour makes you forget pleasure/entertainment of years.' (A proverb.)

Matezo/ khuliwaza mashaqa. 'Games make you forget problems, hardships.'

Omari/ hupenda kuliwaza waanthu/ sala. 'Omari likes to make people forget praying.'

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/le/ hutumikiḷowa chiloho. ‘Mawe/le [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 ṭtaki/ 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**)

Maayi/ hayalokoteki/ yachiwa habba. ‘Water cannot be taken out from it, it (the amount) is little.’

ku-lokoteḷoowa v. appl. pass.

Omari/ nakuloteḷowa maayi. ‘Omari is being dipped out water for.’

ku-lokotela v. appl. (**lokoteleele**) take out with, for

kulokotela ḷkoombe/ 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/ nakhsuḷa 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 nṭ^hi ya Mwiini/ muunt^hu/ chisuḷa 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/ mmerree muke/ nimloole. ‘It is best that I look for a woman to marry.’

Laakini/ mwaana/ iize/ kumloola/ mwanaamke/ wa waawaye/ msuḷiḷiḷó. ‘But the boy refused to marry the girl that his father wanted for him.’

Loweló/ ni Haadi. ‘The one who got married is Haadi.’

Maamaye/ chimreeba/ laakini/ iize/ mkasa/ mnoweele. ‘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/ humsuuḷó/ 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/ nṭ^hawaḷishiiza/ ndroweele/ wake wawili. ‘When I was installed as king, I married two women.’

Mwana wa sultaaniwa/ takhuloola/ naami/ nṭ^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/ nakhsuḷa kumlolá. ‘I told her that I loved her and that I wanted to marry her.’

Nṭ^hamwaambila/ kuwa siimba/ nakhsuḷa kumloola. ‘I will tell her that Lion wants to marry her.’

Sa’iidi/ nṭ^hile kumlola Haliima. ‘Saiidi persuaded me to marry Haliima.’

Sarmala mooyi/ ondroshele 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/ shiinziḷa/ chihada/ nṭ^hakhulooza/ mwanaamkewa/ Huseeni/ chiiza/ chihada/ mi/ speendi/ 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 mwiingine/ 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/ ntho. ‘He married a very beautiful girl.’

Waliko... mubli mooyi/ nnoweele/ mwanaamke/ wa amiyé. ‘There was a man married to the daughter of his paternal uncle.’ (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/ oloshela/ 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* SSED] (**loleele**)

Mwandikilile mkuélé/ khati/ kumpa idini/ yakumloolela. ‘He wrote a letter to his older brother giving him the authority to marry on his behalf.’

Nthana/ peesa/ za kuloolela. ‘He does not have money with which to marry.’

ku-loloowa v. pass. [Sw. *olea* SSED350] (**loweele**) 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/ nakuloolowa/ na mubli/ wa waawaye/ namsuliió. ‘Now today at night there is an engagement, Safiya is being married by a man whom her father wants for her.’

Kuloolowa/ mi/ nakuwona kuwa itakunondroolela ta’abú. ‘To be married I see will eliminate difficulties for me.’

Loweele/ ni Maryaamu. ‘The one who got married is Maryaamu.’

Maryaamu/ loweele na Haadi. ‘Maryaamu was married by Haadi.’

Mbujá/ chihaba/ nthakuloolowa. ‘My younger sister is not married.’

Mi/ speendi/ kuloolowa/ na muunt^h/ 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/ kuloolowa/ na muunt^h/ kuwa ni mubli/ basi/ mloweele. ‘This daughter does not want to be married by a man just for the sake of being married.’

Mwanamke wa mwaalimu/ mereele/ kuloolowa. ‘The teacher’s daughter was sought to be married (i.e. her father was asked the hand of his daughter in marriage).’

Safiya/ chiloolowa. ‘Safiya got married.’

Safiya/ loweeleapó/ naayé/ nt^haku/ wanaayo/ furaha/ ka sababu

nt^hamsuula/ mubli oyo. ‘When Safiya got married, she too was not happy because she did not want that man.’

...ya kuwa mwanaamke/ wa sultaani/ nakuloolowa. ‘...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-loolela**

ku-loweeleza 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/ mloweze mwaanawe. [H!H] ‘Ali financed his son’s wedding.’

Hasani/ loweeza. [H!H] ‘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/ mloweze Sa’iidi. ‘Suufi provided the means for Saiidi to marry.’

Suufi/ mloweze 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/ mloweze 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.’

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.’

Sulile kulozanya naaye. ‘He wanted to get married to her.’

Walozeenyó/ ni Maryaamu/ na Haadi. ‘The ones who got married were Maryaamu and Haadi.’

Want^hu 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-*)

n. 7/8 [Sw. *kioo* SSED 202] mirror, glass (in general meaning, not a glass to drink with)

kana chilolo or **kamba chilolo** ‘like a mirror, glass’

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.)

Zahara/ osheze sufuriya/ ka oomo/ inakuwala/ kana chilolo.

‘Zahara washed the pan with detergent, it is shining like glass.’

kaandra nonyeeze chilolo isa badiliile haaliyo [song] ‘first you showed me the mirror (i.e. promising me good things), now you changed your behavior’

Langala ruuhuyo/ chilolooni. ‘Look at yourself in the mirror!’

Langala ruuhuyo/ ka chilolo. ‘Look at yourself with a mirror!’

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)

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 sulṭaani/ wawaye mukeewe/ keendra/ ye/ na mukeewé/ kumzuura/ mweenzawe/ hukalo karka nt^hi ya sulṭani ḏaalimu. ‘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.’

Baazi/ lonzele koloka skolaani. ‘Baazi begged to go to school.’

Baazi/ lonzele maayi. ‘Baazi begged for water.’

Fardoosa/ chiloenzele/ si/ kuuya/ kuwaziyaṭaa wo. ‘Fardoosa begged us to come and visit them soon.’

Fardoosa/ loonzele/ kendra skolaani. ‘Fardoosa begged to go to school.’

Hufanyo kaazi/ 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/ chimbadiḏe nawe karka haali/ suura/ jisaa ye/ zazila na wazeelewe. ‘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.’

Kana kuboolá/ kheeri/ kuloomba ‘Begging is better than stealing.’ (A saying.)

Kuloomba/ na kiizá/ hadanganyoowi. ‘To beg and to refuse must not be put together.’ (A saying.)

kulombaa nvula ‘to pray for rain’

kulomba raaḏi ‘to beg forgiveness’

Basi/ oyo sulṭaani/ chimlomba raaḏi. ‘So that sultan asked him for his forgiveness.’

Mwaana/ khiriile/ kuwaa ye/ laazimu/ kulomba raaḏi. ‘The boy admitted that he should apologize.’

kulomba sadaqa ‘to beg for alms’

Chilomba sadakha/ chiloombó. ‘She begged for alms, that’s what she did.’

Chingila kuloomba/ sadakha. ‘He began (lit. entered) to beg for alms.’

Mi/ ni muunt^hu/ nakulomba sadakhá. ‘I am someone who is begging for alms.’

Maama/ chimloomba/ mwaanawe/ chiza kendra teena/ maduriini/ laakini/ mwaana/ iize/ khkasa/ kooḏi/ za maamaye. ‘Mother begged her son not to go again to the bush, but he refused to listen to his mother’s words.’

- Mi/ ndronzele khiri^loowá/ ku^lawá.** ‘I begged to be allowed to leave.’
- Mi/ nimnoonzelé/ Omari/ kuliindra/ mi.** ‘I begged Omari to wait for me.’
- Mi/ yaliko laazimu/ kumloomba.** ‘Me, it was necessary (for me) to beg him.’
- Mubli/ chimlomba mukeewe/ raaði.** ‘The man begged his wife to grant him forgiveness.’
- Muunthu/ chilomba chiintthu/ hupoowa.** ‘If someone begs for something, he is (i.e. should be) given it.’ (A proverb.)
- Muunthu/ kulomba niingi/ hukaha^oowa.** ‘A person who begs a lot will be hated.’ (A proverb.)
- Muusa/ mnoonzele/ mweenzawe/ kuya naaye.** ‘Muusa begged his friend to come with him.’
- Na killa/ chiloombapó/ we/ mlaango/ fungu^liloowa.** ‘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.’
- Nimlonzele Baazi/ ye/ kunsaydaa mi.** ‘I begged Baazi to help me.’ (In the speech of GM, the first person singular object marker in this example was not heard in front of the voiceless consonant. Nevertheless, in writing the sentence, he wrote the nasal., which was always present in the speech of MI.)
- Nloonzelé/ gaari/ koshoowa.** ‘I asked for the car to be washed.’ (Note that **gaari** is the subject of the passive infinitive, but it cannot be the object of the main verb: *Ni^liloonzelé/ gaari/ koshoowa. ‘I asked the car to be washed.’)
- Nimloonzelé/ Omari/ kosha gaari.** ‘I asked Omari to wash the car.’ Or: **Gaari/ koosha/ nimnoonzelé/ Omari.** Or: **Gaari/ nimnoonzelé/ Omari/ koosha.** (Note that it was not judged acceptable for the main verb to agree with **gaari** rather than **Omari**: *ni^liloonzelé/ gaari/ Omari/ koosha. ‘I asked the car for Omari to wash it.’)
- Oloshela ka sultaani/ chimloomba/ nampe igozi ya ngoombe.** ‘He went to the sultan and begged him to give him the skin of a cow.’
- Si/ chiloonzelé/ we/ kishpaa si/ ndila.** ‘We begged that you give us guidance.’
- Si/ chinakulomba kuwaa we/ kishpaa si/ waanó.** ‘We beg that you give us advice.’
- 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/ chilonzelee si/ kuuya/ kuwawonaa wo/ ka hima.** ‘She begged us to come and see them as soon as possible.’
- Ye/ loonzele/ mo maape/ khfungula mnaango.** ‘He begged for someone to open the door.’
- Ye/ mlonzele waawaye/ naank^hó/ deni yiingine.** ‘She begged her father for yet another loan.’
- Ye/ ndroonzele/ mi/ kumpa nguwoze/ laakini/ mi/ niüzé/ kumpa.** ‘She begged me to give her her clothes, but I refused to give her them.’
- Ye/ ndronzelee mi/ kuya kahima.** ‘He begged for me to come as soon as possible.’ 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.
Nfungu^lila 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 t^hakhuloombela/ we/ wekoowa/ karka sku ya uzele/ naawé/ fanyiki^loowa.** ‘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. (**loonzeḷa**) be begged

Hulombowa mojiitu/ kughafira ḍambi. ‘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’

Raaḍi/ 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

Chiloombo/ 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’

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/ milomô!?** 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/ Omari!?**, 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

Pinichiliina/ nii dawa/ ya ziloondra. ‘Penicillin is a cure for syphilis.’

Ziloondra/ hupakanowa ka mubli/ kujami’ana naa muke. ‘Syphilis is given to one another by a man having intercourse with a woman.’

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/ ninfanyiizeni. ‘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/ sulá

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 nuumba/ ya uloongo ‘clay house; idiomatic: someone who is easily upset, irritated’

Numba ya uloongo/ hayhimi/ 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 skopa/ za uloongo ‘clay cups’

uloongo/ na makufi ‘mud and palm leaves’

m-loongofu (wa-)

n. 1/2 guide

Mloongofu/ ni mojiitu. ‘The one who guides is God.’ (A proverb.)

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)
Ahmada longeele ka ndila njeema/ pamo na ndruuze na sahaaba weema
[st.] ‘Ahmad, who led us onto the right path, and upon his relatives and his righteous companions’ (In CLE, this example was mistranscribed and hence incorrectly glossed. Thanks to Alessandra Vianello for the correct transcription and translation.)
mooja chiloongole khsaala t̄imaamu/ ka jaaha ya mtume w̄itu 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.’

Nnaksula 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/ kulangaḷa/ 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 **jjilo* 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 mub̄liwé/ 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.’

Khariibu ya ilooni/ ofeetopó/ chilemela mteendre/ khpumula/ na usiinzizi/ 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 kiḷa ilooni. ‘He went in the morning and the afternoon twice, and he went each evening.’

review accent

ku-loota

v. [Sw. *ota* SSED 356] (**loosele**) dream (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.’ (Chimiini 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.’)

Ali/ losele kuwa siimba/ mubjelee mbuzi. ‘Ali dreamed that a lion killed a goat.’ (One can also say: **Ali/ mlosele siimba/ kuwa mubjelee mbuzi.** ‘Ali dreamed about the lion that it killed a goat.’ One can also say: **Ali/ mloselee mbuzi/ kuwa siimba/ mubjelee.** ‘Ali dreamed about the goat that a lion killed it.’)

Ali/ losele kuwa siimba/ mrashize Nuuru. ‘Ali dreamed that a lion chased Nuuru.’ (One can also say: **Ali/ mlosele siimba/ kuwa mrashize Nuuru.** But MI observed that he disliked giving emphasis to the animal over the man. So he liked better **Ali/ mlosele Nuuru/ kuwa siimba/ mrashiize.** ‘Ali dreamed about Nuuru that the lion chased him.’ One can also make **Nuuru** the subject of the passive: **Nuuru/ losela kuwa siimba/ mrashiize.** ‘Nuuru was dreamed that a lion chased him.’)

Ali/ losele kuwa Nuuru/ mbigilile Jaama/ mwaana. ‘Ali dreamed that Nuuru beat the child for/on Nuuru.’ (Observe that if one says **Ali/ mlosele mwaana/ kuwa Nuuru/ mbigilile Jaama**, this can only be understood as meaning: Ali dreamed about the child that Nuuru beat Jaama (to the child’s benefit or detriment). In other words, it is only the beneficiary that can be marked as an object on the higher verb.)

Ali/ mlosele Nuuru/ kuwa rashize siimba. ‘Ali dreamed about Nuuru that he followed/chased a lion.’

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.’

Khpata maali/ na ku’isha karka miyi mikulú/ zivaliko ba’aði ya ziint^hu/ 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.’

ndroote ‘that I dream’; **loote** ‘that you/he dream’; **nloote** ‘that you (pl.) dream’

Siloteeni. ‘You (pl.) don’t dream!’

Collect data to explore whether an inanimate noun can be raised and if it can be raised in presence of an animate/ human noun.

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^ho_{lo} 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/ mtile 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/ mtijile Huseeni/ mwaana/ kuluma ruuhuye.** ‘Boora caused for/on Huseeni the child to bite himself.’ Also: **Boora/ na Huseeni/ watijilene 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 shtana. ‘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/ ndumil^á/ 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/ nimlumilé. ‘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/ ndrumile. ‘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: **Ndrumil^á/ naa noka.**

Nimlumilé. ‘I bit him.’

Nimlumile Omari. ‘I bit Omari.’ Or: **Nimlumilé/ **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/ ndrumile. ‘An ant bit me.’ (Syn. Note that [cl.9] subject agreement may be used to render the subject NP definite:

Nt^huungu/ indrumile. ‘The ant bit me.’)

Silumeení. ‘You (pl.) don’t bite!’

rel.

ku-lumaaluma v. freq.

Mbwaawa/ mukhta ye/ mweno aduwiyá/ nakuya ka chinumechá/ kunub^hl^á/ chimulukila/ chilmumaaluma. ‘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 Hamadi/ walumeene. ‘Ali and Hamadi bit 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. (**lumilile**) bite on

kulumila chaala ‘to bite the finger in regret at s.o.’

Mwaalimu/ ndrumilile 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.’

Mwaaalimu/ 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. ‘Boora 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 Huseeni/ walumishilizenye waana/ ruhu zaawo. ‘Boora and Huseeni caused one another’s children to bite their fingers.’

ku-lumoowa v. (**lumila**) be bitten

Lumila naa noka/ hutiya ikuti. ‘One who has been bitten by a snake is afraid of a coconut palm leaf.’ (A proverb.)

Muusa/ tu/ lumila naa noka. ‘Only Muusa was bitten by a snake.’

Ndrumila naa noká. ‘I was bitten by a snake.’ Or: **Ndrumilá/ naa noka.** ‘I was *bitten* by a snake.’

Ni Muusa/ lumila 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 ndruga ‘[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.'

Wa|waawo/ wachingila kaziini/ kulundra jahazi/ khsafirila. 'Both of them began to work, building a boat to travel in.'

rel.

ku-lundri|oowa v. appl. pass.

Mwaana/ chilundri|oowa/ markabu/ saba. 'The son was built for him seven ships.'

ku-luundrila v. appl. (**lundri|iile**)

Sh|takhulundrila 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 takhpata 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/ lungameeno. '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 ku|a 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/ itakuluungika. ‘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/ maneen/ 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 **mlungaana**.’

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 aari/ 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.’

Faatiima/ 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^h akhkula/ 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/ ubleela. ‘I do not see any sign whatsoever on his body that shows that he has been killed.’

Naa wo/ ni sawasawa/ mashungi yaawo/ malungo yaawo/ uwelpe waawo/ sura zaawo/ zont^{he}/ sawa. ‘And they are equal, their hair, their body, their whiteness, their looks, all are the same.’

Nakhpaka mafta/ maluungo. ‘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

faroi ya koowa amima maluungo/ yote ka maayi silate chiluungo [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/ nakhsula kuweka iluungo. ‘I want to rest my back(bone) a little bit.’ Or: **Nakhsula kuweka iluungo/ haba mooyi.**

Haliima/ namkandra maamaye/ iluungo. ‘Haliima is massaging her mother’s backbone.’

Hamadi/ vundishile iluungo. ‘Hamadi broke his back.’

Iluungo/ inakundraaza. ‘My back aches.’

Iluungo/ kulaa/ ni maradaa wazele. ‘Backbone ache is a sickness of the elderly.’

Mtukile mwaana/ ilungooni. ‘She carried the child on her back.’

Muunt^hu/ chiwa mzele/ iluungo/ humlaaza. ‘If a person is old, his back (often) aches.’

Nt^hunakuwona/ weenziwo/ wanakhfanyo kaazi/ wanakuvundiko

miluungo. ‘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. var. [Sw. **ekusi** SSED 87] black (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. In most instances, the agreement prefix is appended to the stem **-lusi**. The [cl.9/10] form, however, is odd, appearing as **nyulusi**. There is not a synchronic explanation for this phonological shape.)

Chibuku ichi/ (ni) chilusi. ‘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 welpe 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 daawa ‘as black as ink’

Hamadi/ nakunya choolo/ chilusi/ kana/ daawa. ‘Hamadi is defecating feces black as ink.’

-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’

Nuzile faṭuurá/ móoyi/ nyulúsi. ‘I bought *one* black car.’ (We interpret the realization of this sentence to be a reflection of some emphasis on the adjective *mooyi* and that this emphasis does not allow the final accent from the verb to penetrate to *mooyi* or to cross *mooyi* and affect the next adjective in the sequence.)

yino ilusi ‘black tooth’

Tuuma/ mashuungiyé/ malusi. ‘Tuuma’s hair is black.’

Tuuma/ mukeewa/ mashuungiyé/ 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 adadí ‘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.’

ku-luzikoowa v. p/s. pass.

Huluzikoowa/ ka maraði. ‘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 ðahabu ‘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)ðuuri** adj. [Ar. *ma’ḍūr* W 600] excused; s.o. whose behavior is unbecoming
munt^hu ma’ðuuri ‘s.o. who has a good excuse for not being present’;
want^hu wa’ðuuri ‘people who have a good excuse for not being present’
Ni munt^hu ma’ðuuri. ‘He is a man whose behavior is unbecoming.’
- ma’ahsaaba** n. companions
Ma’ahsaaba/ na masheekhi/ riðwaani/ ya mojiitu/ inawe ilu yaa wo/ wafafishiize/ risaala/ ya mojiitu/ ba’adi ya mtume Mhamadi. ‘Companions and scholars, may God’s satisfaction be on them, they spread God’s message after the Prophet Mohamed.’
- ma’(a)luumu** adj. [Sw. *maalum* SSED 251; Ar. *ma’lūm* W 637] specific, definite, recognized, well-known
Gele/ ijuuniya/ sa’ariye/ ni shilingi alfu/ ikumi/ ma’aluumu/ kiḷa/ mo/ na’iwa. ‘(That) a sack of maize, its cost is ten thousand shillings, is known everyone.’
Karka sku ma’aluumu/ wazele wa mwāmbili/ 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’
Ali/ fanyize ma’aluumu/ kiḷaa fijiri/ kuya ka yaaye/ Umi/ numbaani/ kuna kahawa. ‘Ali made a habit that every morning he comes to his aunt Umi’s house to drink coffee.’

Omari/ fanyize ma'aluumu/ kilaa fijiri/ kuna kahawa/ mgahawaani/ kaa Fakhi. 'Omari made it known that every day he goes to drink coffee at the restaurant at Fakhi.'

munt^hu ma'luumu 'someone well-known'

wakh^ti ma'luumu 'a specified time'

ma'aluuli

n. difficulties

ku-wona ma'aluuli 'to see, experience difficulties'

Haliima/ safari/ ya aakhiri/ yaa ye/ oshelo Mkhodiishú/ wene ma'aluuli/ ka malaalo/ mawovu/ na kujaa dará 'Haliima, on her last trip to Mogadisho, she saw severe hardship with bad sleeping arrangement and not enough food.'

Muunt^hu/ chiint^hu/ chiwona ma'aluuli/ mara mooyi/ ka piili/ haruudili. 'If one experiences hardship (doing something) one time, he does not repeat it a second time.'

need to review the pronunciation

is ma'aluuli possible and if so, what kind of l?

is ma'luuli possible, and if so is it l and l or both l

is maaluuli possible and if so what kind of ls?

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* SED 25; Ar. *ma'nan* W 650] meaning, purpose, importance,

Ha'isi/ ma'anayé/ ha'ambi^loowi. 'The one who does not know its meaning, he is not told.'

Hasani/ mukhtaa ye/ iwiiló/ 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/ hu^tomoló/ 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/ nt^haná/ haaja/ naami/ teena. 'He has taken a mistress, that means he has no need of me anymore.'

Karkaa ye/ nakhtomolo peesá/ ka sandukhuuni/ 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'

ko^oi 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/ imwelele 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/

t^hakhuwonó. '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/ chimuuzá/ nini/ ma'anaye. 'The shark asked him: what do you mean (lit. what is its meaning)?'

Mpeende/ ka khisa koo^oize/ 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'
Koodize/ ni ma'quuli. '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 mubjaana/ mubjaana/ 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 dakh^htari/ mkulu/ mwenye ma'arifa/ na ilmú. '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'
munth^u 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'(a)siya** n. [Sw. *maasiya* M&N 1129; Ar. *ma'siya* W 618] sin, act of disobedience, adultery, extramarital sex; var. **ma'siya, maasiya**
khfanya ma'siya 'to sin'
Jeelaani/ nt^hamliindra/ Safiya/ apo/ keendra/ khfanya naaye/ ma'siya. 'Jeelaani did not wait for Safiya there (in order) to go and commit a sin with her.'
Ma'asiya/ ni haraamu/ ma'asiya/ yukharibul**bina.** 'Adultery is impure/forbidden, adultery destroys people.' (An Arabic proverb that has been "Chimiini-ized" and is known to all *want^hu wa Miini.*)
Maasiya/ yakathiril**le/ 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.'
- 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).'
- ma'ashala** adv. together **needs to be checked**
Walikoo muke/ waalikó/ na mubliwé/ wa'inshiize/ ma'ashala/ wakht^hi 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} ; var. ma’(a)wazi 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’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^{hu} 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^{hu} ma’duumu ‘something scarce’; zint^{hu} ma’duumu ‘scarce things’ kuwa ma’duumu ‘to become scarce’ munt^{hu} ma’duumu ‘someone not seen much’ ; want^{hu} ma’duumu ‘people not seen much’
ma’iisha	n. [Sw. maisha SSED 143; Ar. ma’iṣa W 662] life
ma’jnabi	n. strangers We/ laazimu/ kumdigilaa ye/ chiza khtaala/ zawaadi/ ka ma’jnabi. ‘You have to warn her about not accepting gifts from strangers.’
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’
maa’uuni	n. 10 [Ar. mā’ūn W 915; Som. maacun DSI 395] cooking utensils, dishes, cutlery, etc. Ma’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 ishtiraakiya. ‘Tanzania is one country among the countries of East Africa that follows the principles of socialism.’

maabeena

prep.[cf. Ar. *baina* W 87] between

Chisima/ cha Atikhi(i) Abdurahmaani/ chiko mabena muskiti waa jima/ na muskiti wa Atikhi(i) Abdurahmaani. ‘The well of Atiikhi Abdurahmaani is located between the Friday mosque and the mosque of Atiikhi Abdurahmaani.’

Firkha/ mabena Hamadi/ na Nuuru/ ni kana/ nṭhi/ na ku-zimú. ‘The difference between Hamadi and Nuuru is like (that between) the earth and the sky.’ Or: **Firkha/ maabeena/ Hamadi/ na Nuuru/ kana/ nṭhi/ na ku-zimú.**

mabena idi ya wamuusi/ na idi ya wataatú ‘between the **idi** following Ramadhan and the **idi** in the third month following Ramadhan’

maabeena qabri ya Mtume na miimbari [st.] ‘between the Prophet’s grave and the preacher’s platform (in the mosque)’

Mabena salaa lapii/ na salaa laatuló/ yimo salaa laakuja. ‘Between the afternoon praying and the evening praying there is the sunset praying.’

mablaghi

n. [Ar. *mablagh* 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/ mahalaa 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/ khfanyoowake/ 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’

Nii dhibu/ kumfanya kilaa mooyi/ mabsuuti. ‘It’s difficult to please everybody.’

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 kooði/ 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/ wanakuðikirisha/ wanakubiga madadi. ‘There religious scholars in the house, they are praying,

they are calling for God's blessings.'

Numbaani/ ka Omari/ yiko maṭaanga/ waant^{hu}/ wanakuleta ðikiri/ wanakubiga madadi. 'At Omari's house there is mourning, people are singing (lit. bringing) blessing songs and are calling for blessings.'

Qureeshi wiingi wagafūle madadi [st.] 'many of the Qureeshi missed blessings'

takiink^{hiro} mlāte nt^hannayo madadi [st.] 'he who will deny, let him, he does not have blessings'

maadaama

adv. [Sw. *maadam* "while, since, seeing that, because" SSED 251; Ar. *mādāma* W 303; Som. *maadaama*] while, since, as long as, seeing that, because

Ali/ mwambile Nuuru/ we/ maadaama/ heendri/ naami/ seendri. 'Ali told Nuuru: since you will not go, I also won't go.'

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.'

Maadama/ Hamiisi/ hupendo khsomá/ ye/ takhpita imtihaani. 'Because Hamiisi likes to read, he will pass the examination.'

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.'

Maadaama/ sindako/ wa muuyi/ hadilo maduká/ yanafungowa sala yaa jimá/ shpiindri/ ni laazimu/ amri/ kurashoowa/ maduka/ khfungoowa. 'Since the mayor of the town said that shops are to be closed for Friday noon prayers, it is a must that the order be followed (and) shops be closed.'

this was written in an email,. confirm the pronunciation

Maadaama/ we/ izo kunraashá/ mi/ takendra mii/ peeke. 'Since you refused to come with me, I will go alone.'

Omari/ maadaama/ khiriḷo ðambizé/ khaaḍi/ hadile hafungoowi. 'Since Omari accepted his felonies/sins, the judge said he will not be imprisoned.'

Oyo mwaana/ nakhtiya/ basi/ maamaye/ mwaambile/ maadaama/ ni sultaani/ nakupeendó/ 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].'

maadamu

adv. just in case, if by chance

Haliima/ mwambile mwanaashkewe/ maadamu/ waawo/ chiya/ mpikilee khaḍa. 'Haliima told her daughter: just in case your father comes, cook lunch for him.'

Keesho/ takuuya/ kana Haliima/ maadamu/ nakhsuula. 'I'll come tomorrow in case Haliima wants me.'

Lete jaaka/ maadamu/ fijiri/ ichiwa bardi. 'Bring a jacket in case it is cool in the morning.'

Maadamu/ kana Charles/ chiya/ mpe peesa. 'In case Charles comes, give him money.'

Maadamu/ mi/ chimwona Hasani/ tamlaaliza/ haruusi/ ya mwaanawa. 'If by chance I see Hasani, I will invite him to my son's wedding.'

Mi/ daa'imu/ hutukula kuulu/ skoortá/ maadamu/ kana kulu ya gaari/ ichint^humbukila. 'I always carry a spare tire in case I have a puncture.'

Mi/ takuuya/ keesho/ maadamu/ kana Nuuru/ chint^hahaaja. 'I will come tomorrow in case Nuuru needs me.'

Omari/ mwambile mukeewe/ maadamu/ Nuuru/ chiya/ mpe zilaatu. 'Omari told his wife: if by chance Nuuru comes, give him the shoes.'

mad.hi

n. 9 [Ar. *madḥ* w 898] laudation, extolment, glorification

variant: **madihi**

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. *madrasa* + 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, meeting, for reading or study; (2) a class-room; (3) teaching, instruction” SSED 79; Ar. *madrasa* 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 khsooma. ‘Hasiibu was put into school to learn to write and to read.’

Ijmu/ husomowa madrasaani. ‘Knowledge is studied at *madrasa*.’

kharibu ya madrasa ‘near the school’

Lesele peesa/ madrasaani. ‘He took money to school.’ (Cf. **madrasa yaa ye/ lesele peesa** ‘the school that he took money to’.)

Madrasa izo/ hazeendeki. ‘Those schools cannot be gone to.’

Maama/ uyu/ waliko aminiile/ ya kuwa mwaanawe/ chibaraṭa/ 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/ ijmu/ nsomele madrasaani/ ka Shekh Wali. ‘Me, I have studied knowledge at Sheikh Wali’s *madrasa*.’

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 kaandiká/ na kubarata kuḷa/ ya waana/ wa sulṭaani/ husuḷowa kiiwá. ‘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 kaandiká**, when a phrase-final **kuḷa** follows, there is **no final accent: na kubarata kuḷa displays default penult accent**. One does not say ***na kubarata/ kuḷa/...** nor ***na kubarata/ kuḷá/...**, 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.’

maḍaali

n. a unit of measurement borrowed from Somali

maḍbuuti

inv. adj. [Sw. *madhubuti* “precise, accurate, trustworthy, honest, reliable, strong, firm, durable, resolute, solid” SSED 74; Ar. *madbūt* “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. *madhab* 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/ khaasá/ 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.’
maðhabu ya Maaliki ‘the school of Maaliki’
maðhabuye ‘his school’
khtumila zoombo za feða na ðahabu/ mbilize ni haraamu raasha
maðhabu [st.] ‘the use of things made of silver and gold both are
 unlawful, follow [the views of our]school (*maðhabu*)’

maaði n. [Ar. *māḍn* W 913] past tense in grammar

maðila *peete liwaani ya jumla/ hondroleloowa maðila* [st.] ‘he will crown his
 achievement with success and his sinful state will be annuled’

maðiyi n. 6 [Sw. *madhii* “the clear viscid discharge of the male organ when sexually
 excited” SSED 252; Ar.]

maðluumu adj. inv. [Sw. *madhlumu*] wronged, oppressed, treated unjustly
mi ndimi maðluumu/ 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^u maðluumu ‘wronged person’; **want^u maðluumu** ‘wronged
 people’ (cf. **chijint^u chimaðluumu, ijint^u imaðluumu**)

maðmuuni 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

Khatiyō/ mp^hetē/ na maðmuuniyē/ nfahamiilē. ‘Your letter I received it,
 and its contents, I have understood.’
Kooðize/ ni maðmuuni. ‘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 koowela. ‘Mafakhaani can be reached by
 swimming.’

Mafakhaani/ hupatikana mooskolo/ na ostrīiká/ niingi. ‘At Mafakhaani
 one can find a lot of mussels and ostrich mussels (like **mooskolo**, but larger).’
 2. **mooskolo** (l 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 ostrika, meaing ostrick, 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.’

maafiya n. Mafia; someone who cheats, steals, etc.
Faatima/ khatari/ ni maafiya/ takhupiima/ takhutula ijuniyaani. ‘Faatima
 is a dangerous person, she is **maafiya**, she will measure you and (lit.) put you in a sack (i.e. cheat you and steal
 from you without your even knowing what is happening).’
Omari/ ni maafiya. ‘Omari is a big cheat, thief, etc.’

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 *-f̥ta*. However, we have not encountered any evidence for the existence of a stem *-f̥ta* appearing separate from *ma*.) (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 /maf̥.ta/, where the period indicates the syllable boundary.)
- Chooloka/ chimpika/ oyoo noka/ mafta/ yałazilo ka namaani/ shtaala/ chiyatila karka zibalasi/ 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 mawiti ‘lit. uncooked oil, e.g. seasoning for a salad’
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 maftaa tala/ 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 *meged*, variant of *magad* ‘tanned hide, vegetable tanning substance’ DSI 430] (**maghadishiize**) tan hide

79. Igozi ya bakhti huwa halaali
chimaghaadisha ni tahaara maali

79. The hide of a carcass becomes lawful
when you tan it. Then it becomes pure and is valuable.

magh(a)fira n. [Ar. *magfira* 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: **Maghaneete 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 **maghanéete** 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
Mahaḷa/ 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
iyoni 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’
- maghmuumu** invar. adj. [Ar. *maḡmūm* 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. *miḡnāḡis*, variant *maḡnāḡis* W 916] magnet
maghnaatiisiye ‘his magnet’
- maghribi** and seven p.m.; west adv. [Sw. *magharibi* SSED 253; Ar. *maḡrib* W 669] sunset, dusk, the time between six
Maghribi/ yanzizipo kuwa miinzá... ‘Around sunset, when it began to get dark...’
Mnaadisho/ oyo/ liinzile/ apo/ sukhuuni/ haḡá/ 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. *maḡabba* W 152] love
Nt^haku/ ya khshakishoowa/ mahabaye/ na Faatima. ‘There is no doubting his love’

for Faatima.’

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/ waant^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 nvulā. ‘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/ khuwonaa 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 gaarí. ‘Where did Hasani buy the truck?’ Or:

Mahaḷaamp^hi/ Hasani/ uzilō/ 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 khamaarí. ‘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/ feḍa/ weshele mahaḷa ganí/ ye. ‘Come you, the money, where did he place it?’ (Phon. The final accent on **ganí** in this example needs explanation.)

Seendré/ mahaḷa. ‘Do not go anywhere!’

Si/ shkoḍele Omarí/ khkoḍa wanaafakhi/ tarafu ya mahaḷaa yé/ waalikó. ‘We discussed Omarí’s lying about where he had gone.’

Siisi/ Hamadi/ mahaḷaa ye/ olosheló/ laakini/ nt^hakeendra/ 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/ mahaḷaa ye/ uzizo gaariyé. ‘I do not know where he sold his car.’

Sku mooyi/ ile muunt^hu/ mooyi/ mahaḷaa si/ chiwaalikó. ‘One day there came a man to the place where we were.’

Sooloki/ mahaḷa nt^haku chaakujá. ‘I don’t go where there isn’t food.’

Wachimeera/ mahaḷa/ ya qasri/ ya sulṭaani/ yíikó/ wachiingila. ‘They searched for the place where the palace of the king was and they entered.’

We/ siwo/ mahaḷayo/ kum’amilaṭa jjs’iyi. ‘You, it is not fitting for you to treat him this way.’

maharaja

n. way out, way to get out

Mojiitu/ nashṭomoleḷa maharaja/ na dhibu iyi. ‘God finds a way of getting out from these hardships.’

Nt^hayiiko/ maharaja/ yaa si/ kuḷawila dhibu iyi. ‘There is no way to get out of this difficulty.’

mahari

n. [Sw. *mahari* SED 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 sulṭaani/ 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 mubḷi/ 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.’

Qabla/ 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

Hamadi/ mahaṭi/ nt^hanaayo/ yaa we/ tamfanyiliizó. ‘Hamadi is not thankful whatever you do for him.’

khṭoza mahaṭi ‘to fail to thank s.o., fail to recognize a favor done’

mahaṭi nda mojiitu wütu m’aali [st.] ‘thanks are due to God Most High’

Nt^haná/ mahaṭi. ‘He has no gratitude.’

ku-mahaṭisha

v. caus. (**mahaṭishiize**) thank, appreciate, be grateful, praise

Hamadi/ hammahaṭishi/ muunt^hu. ‘Hamadi does not praise/thank people.’

Mwaana/ mmahaṭishiize/ baaba. ‘The child thanked his father.’

Waant^hu/ wamahaṭishiize/ ruhu zaawo. ‘The men praised themselves.’

rel.

ku-mahaṭishana v. caus. rec.

?**ku-mahaṭishika** v. caus. p/s. (This verbal form was rejected by GM.)

ku-mahaṭishiliza v. caus. appl.

Muunt^hu/ hupowa chiint^hu/ chaa ye/ kumahaṭishiliza. ‘One is given something such that one can give praise/ appreciation for it (i.e. one is given something good, not something bad).’

ku-mahaṭishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ku-mahaṭishoowa v. pass. (**mahaṭishiiza**)

Ada zaawo/ want^hu awa/ nt^haskumahaṭishoowa. ‘The traditions of these people are not appreciated.’

Mojiitu/ ndiyé/ wa kumahaṭishoowa. ‘God is the one to be praised/ thanked.’

<i>mah(a)zuuni</i>	<p>invar. adj. [Ar.] sad Aasha/ waliko mahazuuni/ nt^ho. ‘Aasha was very sad.’ Hamadi/ waliko mahazuuni/ khpotela imt̥ihaani. ‘Hamadi was sad at having failed the examination.’ munt^hu mahzuuni ‘sad person’ (cf. want^hu mahzuuni, chijint^hu chimahzuuni, etc.) n̄someelo risaala mbeelee mahazuuni [s] ‘when I read the letter I became sad’ Si/ wont^he/ chaliko mahazuuni/ Abú/ kubasha kaaziye. ‘We were all sad about Abu losing his job.’ Ye/ waliko mahazuuni/ kuḷawa Mwiini. ‘He was sad to leave Brava.’</p>
<i>mahbuubu</i>	<p>adj. [Ar. maḥbūb W 152] beloved, s.o. loved niiko ka nk^handa za miimba kuliinda we mahbuubu [song] ‘I exist (with my) stomach tightened with a belt, waiting for your love’</p>
<i>mahiibu</i> family	<p>n. a sum of money that was distributed before a wedding among the wazeele of the family</p>
<i>maahine</i>	<p>?</p>
<i>mahkama</i>	<p>n. [Sw. mahakama SSED 137; Ar. maḥkama W 196] trial, court khpanza mahkama ‘to try in court’ mahkamaani ‘in court’ Mi/ mphela peesá/ khkoḍa wanaafakhi/ mahkamaani. ‘Money was given to me to lie in court.’ Poliisi/ hu’ aḍiba wiizi/ nt^hasaa wo/ kuwapeleka mahkamaani. ‘The police torture thieves before they take them to trial.’</p>
<i>mahmaahi</i>	<p>n. [Som.] proverb Mahmaahi/ iyi/ inakhpenzelezoowa/ jis’iyo. ‘This proverb is meant like that (said in concluding a discussion of the meaning of a particular proverb).’ Mahmaahi/ iyi/ ma’anaye/ limi/ ni chinama/ tu/ nt^halíná/ mwishpa/. Limi/ hukhaadira/ kuhada/ ma’anaye/ kila/ chiint^hu/. Ni sahali. ‘This proverb, its meaning, the tongue is just flesh, it doesn’t have a bone. The tongue is able to say, its meaning, anything, It’s easy.’</p>
<i>Mahmuudi</i>	<p>n. Mohammad</p>
<i>mahrajaani</i>	<p>n. [Som. mahrajaan "parade of civilians, gymnastic display" DSI 408] parade, gymnastic display</p>
<i>mahṭuuti</i>	<p>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 munt^hu mahṭuuti ‘a sick person’ (cf. want^hu mahṭuuti, ngombe mahṭuuti, chijana chimahṭuuti, zijana zimahṭuuti, ijana imahṭuuti, mijana mimahṭuuti) Myaana/ ilopo kuleta zoombó/ eelo/ waliko mahṭuuti/ nt^ho. ‘When the servant came bringing things, the gazelle was very sick.’</p>
<i>mahuro</i>	<p>adj. [Som. mahuraan DSI 408] necessary, indispensable</p>
<i>mahuurto</i>	<p>adj. inevitable Sheekhi kufa ni mahuurto/ lombaaani kuragishoowa [st.] ‘the Sheikh’s death is inevitable, implore God that it may be postponed’</p>
<i>mahzuuni</i>	<p>adj. inv. [Ar. mahzūn W 174] sad kuwa mahzuuni ‘to be sad’</p>

na **teená/ wele mahzuuni/ kumkosa eelowe** ‘and then he became sad from missing his gazelle’
munt^hu mahzuuni ‘sad person’; **want^hu mahzuuni** ‘sad people’; but **chijint^hu 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’

majduubu adj. [Ar.] (religiously) frenzied

majduumu adj. [Ar.] leprous

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 way and we were unable to aim for the path/way.’

majlisi n. [Sw. **majilisi** "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/ kumlooza/ mwanaamke/ muḥjaana/ fulaani. ‘The sultan called a meeting and told his ministers that he had allowed 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’
Islāamu/ humlāzima kendraa Maka/ kuhija/ ichiwa/ ye/ naazo/ peesa/ za kumtōsha 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/ feestā/ 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.’
- makaaniko** n. mechanic; [pron. **makaanikó**]
Saalaha/ ni makaanikó/ hufanya magaari/ kaake/ garachaani. ‘Saalaha is a mechanic, he repairs cars in his garage.’
- 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] store, 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.)
Skaarpa/ za Hasani/ zalimo makhazinaani/ wakhtⁱ miingi/ haṭá/ zijaneene. ‘Hasani’s shoes were in the store for a long time, until they got worn out.’
- 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.’
Hu’abudiḷowa khaalikhi/ ha’abudiḷoowi/ makhluukhu. ‘It is the creator who should be worshipped, it is not worshipped the creation.’ (A proverb.)
makhluuqu kuwa haadithi 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 wakhti/ 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 limiini 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

chinthu 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 **chinthu 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 (though this word is never used with reference to the engine of a car, which is **motoore**); when used without any further specification, this word was especially used for the machinery used to grind maize and coffee beans, and also to indicate the shop/workshop where this operation was carried out

Ka makinaani/ ka Amiini/ maandra/ hutowa nasha/ kana/ chimento/ haaziwi/ lada. 'At Amiini's grinding machine, the dough is ground very smooth, like cement, the bread does not become good.'

khfanya kaazi/ kana makiina 'to do a job fast, like a machine'

Warshada/ ya zilaatu/ ya Kakamoole/ waant^hu/ washfanya kaazi/ kana/ makiina. '(In) the shoe industry of Kakamoole, people worked like a machine.'

makina ya barafu 'refrigerator (lit. machine of ice)' (probably an old term, now **frijideeri** is more commonly used)

makina ya chireeza 'razor'

makina ya kandikila 'typewriter [lit. machine to write with]'

makina yaa tala 'electric generator'

Nuuru/ uletejele muundra/ makiina. 'Nuuru brought a piece of machinery for (use in) the field.'

Peleka maandra/ makinaani. 'Take the **maandra** to the shop (to be ground).'

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

khzeza makiindri 'to play, dance with the pelvis/butt'

- kḥinda 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, stratagem
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’ulu. ‘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
- maala ya’ani** adj. senseless, meaningless **review 1 or 1 #1.1**
Hasani/ hadiile/ Alí/ mara mara/ hukoða mikooði/ maala yá’ani/ akh!/ haṭá/ iṭakhufanya matapika. ‘Hasani said: Ali sometimes talks and talks without meaning, *akh!* until it will make you want to vomit.’
Mukhṭaa mi/ nsuḷilo/ ye/ kunaambilá/ ka khisa yaa ye/ nkoðeloo mi/ kaziini/ jisaa mbovú/ ye/ jibiile maala yá’ani. ‘When I wanted him to tell me why he talked badly of me at work, he ended up talking nonsense.’
- maḷaariya** n. malaria **check the 1 #1.3**
Mbu/ huleta maḷaariya. ‘Mosquitoes cause malaria.’
Mbu za ṭawala/ nt’aziná/ maḷaariya. ‘Mosquitoes (from) the coast do not carry malaria.’
- malbolo** in the expression:
malbolo la waawowe ‘son of your father’s penis!’
- Maḷiindri** n. Malindi
ā’ā/ si/ hachooloki/ Maḷiindri. ‘No, we won’t go to Malindi.’
We/ heendri/ Maḷiindri/ naawé? ‘Won’t you go to Malindi as well?’
- malḡalaṭa** 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
Abú/ khiriḷe khfanya kaazi/ haṭá/ ichimala. ‘Abu offered to work until the job was done.’
Chaakuja/ chinakumala. ‘The food is being used up.’
jawaabu ya duniya hiingila humala [nt.] ‘the matters of this world ebb and flow’
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**

Mwaadamu/ dhibuze/ hazimali. ‘A human being’s problems don’t end.’ (A translation of a Somali proverb.)

Mwaana/ deni yaa ye/ hulipo wazeelewe/ haymali. ‘A child, the debt that he owes his parents never ends.’

Naani/ nt^hakumalá/ imṭihaani. ‘Who did not finish the examination?’ Or: **Naani/ nt^hakumala imṭihaaní.** Or: **Imṭhaani/ 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/ ukharibilīle kumala. ‘The honey was almost finished.’

Zita/ zimaliize. ‘The war has ended.’

rel.

ku-malīla v. appl. (**malīile**) end for, with

Chaakuja/ chichimalīile. ‘Our food is finished (lit. the food is finished for us).’

Liindra/ khumalīle kooḍi. ‘Wait so that I may complete my words, discourse to you.’

Mukeewa/ mmalīle maali. ‘My wife has used up my wealth (on me).’

ku-malika v. p/s.

ku-maliza v. [Sw. *maliza* SSED 258] (**malīize**) end, complete, finish

Chimalizaa kuja/ oloka skuḷiini. ‘When you finish eating, go to school.’

Fiiló/ yaake/ imaliize. ‘He who has died, his (affairs, issues, concerns, etc.) are finished.’ (A proverb.)

Isa/ imaliize. ‘Now it has finished, its over.’

Kooḍi/ zimaalīze. ‘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.’

Mukhtaa we/ malizoo kuḷá... ‘When you have finished eating...’

Mwaaka/ umaliize. ‘The year ended.’

Nt^hakumaliza kazi iyi/ lapīili. ‘I will finish this work by evening.’

Numba/ ni khariibu/ ya kumaliza. ‘The house is nearly finished (being built).’

Waana/ wamaliize/ kosha faṭuura. ‘The children have finished washing the car.’

ku-malizoowa v. pass. (**malīiza**)

Chaakuja/ chimaliza kujoowa. ‘The food was finished being eaten.’

rel. nom.

u-malizo n. 14

malaakhi

n. [Som. *malaakh* "clan headman" DSI 410] historically, a military title for Tunnis, but in modern times with the ironic meaning of ‘self-appointed chief, leader’

Alí/ hufanya ruuhuye/ kana malaakhi/ kīlaa chiint^u/ ndiyé/ tū/ hupitoo mbelé. ‘Ali makes himself like a **malaakhi**, in everything it is him who puts himself first.’

Malaakhi/ wa Baandowó/ tomele amri/ kuwa mwaka uyu/ kīlaa numba/ khsomowa khṭima sabba. ‘The leader of the Baandhowo clan issued an order that in every house this year the holy book should be read in its entirety seven times.’

malaani

adj. [Ar. *mal’ān* “full, filled” W 920] full of

khālbiye/ malani na mahaba ‘his heart full of love’

na khālbi zītu ni malaani mahaba [st.] ‘and our hearts are full of love’

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.’

Haliima/ nayo imaani/ kana malaayka. ‘Haliima has faith like an angel (i.e. she is a

woman of strong faith).’

Ibliisi waaliko malaayka mkulu/ shfaanya ibaada niingi n̄hiini 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’

Shchambiŋoowa/ ya kuwa malaayka/ hupenda kuwona kuŋa muunt^hu/ nakuwaziidila/ waanawe/ arzaakhi/ nakhtomola sadakha/ nakhteza na waant^hu/ na chimaliza nakumshukura mwajiitu/ 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.’

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 sultaani/ nayo na maali/ muŋjaana/ ni maskiini/ nt^haná/

maali/ na apó/ karka wakht̄i 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’

khpanda 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.)

Mali ya duniya/ hupatoowa/ hubashoowa. ‘The world’s wealth is made

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).’

Maaliyo/ na waanawó/ ndiwó/ aduwiyo. ‘Your wealth and your children are your enemies.’ (This saying conveys the idea that your money

and your children, these are what give you a hard time, cause you problems.)

Maaliyo/ na waanawó/ ndiwó/ khutilo janaani/ na ndiwó/ khutilo aḏabuuní. ‘Your wealth and you children are the ones who put you in paradise, and they are the ones who put you in hellfire.’ (A proverb.)

Mojiitu/ hadiile/ karka qur’aani/ maaliyo/ na waanawó/ ni aduwiyo. ‘God said in the Quran: your wealth and your children are your enemy.’ (A proverb.)

Muunt^hu/ chiwanayo maali/ hupendoowa. ‘If a man has wealth, he is loved.’ (A proverb.)

muunt^hu/ mwenye maali ‘a wealthy person’

muunt^hu naayo maali chifa 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.’

***Numba iyi/ ndiyó/ maaliya.** ‘This house it is that is my wealth.’ (One does not say

Numba izi/ ni maaliya. ‘These houses are my 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/ peḷa 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
maḏhabu ya Maaliki ‘the school of Maaliki’
Maaliki na Hanafi wote akmali [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 skuḷiini. ‘If you finish eating, go to school.’
Maaliya/ yamalize jis’iyo. ‘My wealth was exhausted in this way.’
Maliza. ‘Finish it!’ Cf. **Malizaani.** ‘(Pl.) finish it!’
Mwaaka/ umaliize. ‘The year ended.’
Mwaalimu/ takendra numbaani/ mukhtaḷa ye/ takumalizo khfanya kaazi. ‘The teacher will go home when he finished working.’
Nṯ^hakumaliza kazi iyi/ lapili. ‘I will finish this work by evening.’
Nṯ^hasaa we/ koondroka/ nṯ^hakuwa ni’imaliizé/ kazi iyi. ‘Before you get up I will have finished this job.’ Or: **Nṯ^hasaa we/ koondroka/ nṯ^hakuwa ni’imalize kazi iyí.** ‘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 masultaaní. ‘His mother said to him: what, my son, takes you to [visit] sultans?’

Muke/ apa/ numbaani/ chimwambila mamaye muḽiwe/ 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

Maamo/ khufanyilizee muḽo/ khariibuyo. ‘Your mother started a fire for you near you.’

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/ haḽa yaa mbwa. ‘If you lack your mother’s breast, suckle even a dog’s.’ (A proverb.)

Takhshalayata maamo/ khuzaa. ‘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/ haḽá/ 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/ hukooḽó/ 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.)

Kana/ khkoða kooði/ bilaa ma’aná/ kheeri/ kumaamala. ‘Instead of talking nonsense, you are better off being quiet.’ (A proverb.)

Kumaamala/ ni ðahabu/ khkooða/ ni matuzi. ‘To be silent is gold, to speak is excrement.’ (A proverb.)

Kumaamala/ ni khiira. ‘To be silent is to accept.’ (A proverb.)

Maamala/ tu. ‘Just keep quiet!’

Mayti/ nakhkooða/ 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’.)

Muunt^hu/ maskiini/ humaamaló/ mtiye/ ndiyé/ chishikowa sh^hana/ khatari. ‘A poor man, who keeps quiet, beware of him, he is the one who when angry can be dangerous..’ (A proverb.)

Ndiwa/ nt^hakumjiiba/ mameele/ tu. ‘The pigeon did not answer him, it just kept quiet.’

Nt^hawakhaadira/ kumaamala. ‘They could not keep quiet.’

Khkooða/ ni feða/ kumaamala/ ðahabu. ‘To speak is silver, to keep quiet is gold.’ (A proverb.)

Waant^hu/ wont^he/ wamameele/ shup! ‘Everybody stopped

talking...silence!’

rel.

ku-mama^lila v. appl. (**mama^lile**) be quiet for

Eelo/ sh^htowa yaa yee/ kuhada/ chi’imama^lila. ‘The gazelle [lit. missed what] to say and kept [himself] quiet.’

ku-mama^loowa v. pass. (**-mamee^la**)

Imamee^la. ‘There was silence.’

ku-mama^lika v. p/s.

ku-mama^liza v. tr. appl. (**mama^liize**)

Mama^ðo/ mmamalize Adnaani/ maana. ‘Mamadho silenced Adnaani’s child.’

ku-mama^lizanya v. tr. appl. rec.

ku-maamaza v. tr. (**mameeze**) silence s.o.

Batuula/ imameze raadiyo. ‘Batuula turned down the radio (so that it could not be heard).’

Chimmamaza mukeewe. ‘He silenced his wife.’

Eelo/ chimmaamaza/ chimwaambila... ‘The gazelle quietened him and said to him...’

Haliima/ nakummaamaza/ maanawe. ‘Haliima is quietening her child

(who is crying, e.g.).’

kummaamaza ‘to silence him’

ku-mama^zan(y)a v. tr. rec.

ku-mama^zika v. tr. p/s.

ku^la/ kumamazika ‘to cry and weep’

Omari/ naaku^la/ nakumamazika. ‘Omari is crying and weeping.’

Omari/ chi^la/ hamamaziki. ‘When Omari cries, he cannot be silenced.’

ku-mama^zikoowa v. pass.

Ku^loowa/ kumamazikoowa/ bilaa sababu/ siwo/ suura. ‘To cry and weep

without any reason is not good.’

ku-mama^zoowa v. tr. pass. (**mameeza**)

Haliima/ ha’isi/ jisa humamazowa waaná. ‘Haliima does not know how to

quieten the children.’

rel. nom.

u-maamalo n. 14 silence, quiet

u-maamazo n. 14

<i>mamaaŋi</i>	n. [Ar. <i>mamāt</i> W 930] death
<i>maamba</i>	n. 9/10 [cf. Sw. <i>mamba</i> "(1) crocodile; (2) a name of a very dangerous kind of snake" 218] a large shark
<i>maamba</i>	n. a kind of game, involving playing with small seashells
<i>mambaraani</i>	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)'
<i>Mambasa</i>	n. Mombasa, a city in Kenya Mi/ mbaliko Mambasá. 'I have been to Mambasa.' Mwaka uyu/ si/ shŋakendra Mambasa. 'This year, we will go to Mombasa.' rel. <i>chi-mambasa</i> n. the dialect of Mambasa
<i>maambiya</i>	n. parrot fish; meat isn't good for eating
<i>maambo</i>	n. 6 [Sw. <i>mambo</i> SSED 148] affairs, matters (In Swahili, <i>mambo</i> is the plural of <i>jambo</i> , 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?' Chimjiiba/ kuwaa ye/ siwo/ takhiiró/ mambo aya. 'He replied that he would not agree to this proposal.' (The infinitive prefix, when located in front of a stem with an initial <i>q</i> or <i>kh</i> has a null phonological shape. Thus the relative future tense form takhiiro comes from /ta-ku-khiiro/ and the ku is absent in pronunciation.) Duniya/ ina maambo/ haytukuliki. 'The world has affairs that are unbearable.' Mambo aya/ ya'ineenzele/ ka muḍda/ wa miyaaka/ mitatu. 'This situation [lit. these affairs, matters] continued for a period of three years.' Maambo/ hayatakhuweleleja/ jisia we/ nakhsuuló. 'Things won't turn out for you the way that you want (them to).' 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.' 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.' Sultaani/ oyo/ chanza kumfungulila khabarize/ chimweleza maambo/ 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. <i>mu'āmala</i> “association with one another, buisness relation” W 646]
mamḷaka	n. [Sw. <i>mamlaka</i> "(1) authority, dominion, rule, rights of ownership; (2) property, possessions, dominions" SSED 258; Ar. <i>mamlaka</i> W 923] kingdom mamḷaka ya Sa'uudi ‘the kingdom of Saudi Arabia’
mamnuu'u	adj. [Ar. <i>mamnū</i> ‘ W 927] forbidden variant form: <i>mamnuu'i</i> Isa/ Mkhodiisho/ khorī/ ifanyiza mamnuu'u/ khṭukuḷoowa. ‘Now in Mogadishu for guns to be carried has been forbidden.’ Mwaaḷimu/ kumbiga mwaana/ ni mamnuu'u. ‘For a teacher to hit a child is forbidden.’ Or: Ni mamnuu'u/ ka mwaaḷimu/ kumbiga mwaana.
ku-maamula serve people (e.g. at a party)	v. [Som. <i>maammul</i> , variant <i>maamul</i> “to administer, to manage” DSI 397] deal with; rel. <i>ku-mamulaṭa</i> v. (<i>mamuleeṭe</i>) 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 Pharoah himself.’ Haliima/ wamamuleeṭe/ martize/ jisa suura. [H!H!H!H] ‘Haliima served her guests well.’ (Emphasis on the verb accounts for the fact that the verb is declinated rather than downstepped. A Continuation High tone appears at the end of the subject <i>Haliima</i> , as is often the case.) <i>ku-mamulaṭoowa</i> v. pass. Waana/ humamalaṭoowa. [H!H] ‘Children are managed/served.’ (A phonetic note is perhaps in order. In our recording of this example, there is no Continuation High tone at the end of the subject <i>waana</i> . Nevertheless, it is worth pointing out that although there is a clear fall in pitch on the penult syllable of <i>waana</i> , the pitch of the final syllable is level and higher than the pitch in the next phrase. Indeed,, the downstepped accented syllable in that phrase is not as high in pitch as the final syllable of the subject <i>waana</i> .) <i>ku-mamulisha</i> v. caus. rel. nom. <i>m-mamulaṭa</i> (<i>wa-</i>) n. 1/2 one who tends, takes care of Mmamulaṭaa nt^hi/ uyu/ chimṭukula/ Yuusufu/ chimpeleka kaake. ‘This custodian of the land took Joseph and sent him to his home.’
maamuli	n. management, administration Dowḷa/ ya Amerikaano/ iwaṭindilile ma'askari/ ya Somaaliya/ mu'aawana/ yaa kuja/ ka sababu/ mamulii mbovu. ‘The American government cut assistance for food to the soldiers of Somalia because of bad administration.’ Mamulii mbovu/ huleta khasaara. [H!H] ‘Bad management brings loss.’
manaami	n. [Ar. <i>manām</i> W 1013] sleep (An Arabic-sourced word not much used in colloquial Chimiini.) variant form: <i>manaamu</i> Shekh Abduḷkhaadiri/ mwene mtume/ karka manaamu. [H!H!H] ‘Sheikh Abdulkhaadiri saw the Prophet in a dream (lit. in sleep).’ (One a phonetic note, it should be pointed out that even though

there is not a markedly raised Continuation High tone at the end of the first two phrases, it is nonetheless true that the final syllable of each of these phrases is pronounced at a pitch level which is clearly higher than the pitch of the next phrase.)

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 sentence: O Prophet we are under your protection’

the

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’

mandalavi

?useless nonsense; [**mandalavi**]

Ali/ **jawabu zaa ye/ hukooḏó/ nza mandalavi/ haṭá/ muunt^hu/**

hujunuunata. ‘The things that Ali talks are nonsense, one even gets mad.’

kooḏi/ za mandalavi ‘useless words’

mandari

n. [Sw. *mandari* SSED 258; Ar. *manẓar* ‘view, panorama’ W 977] picnic

Si/ chinakhsuḷa kendra mandari. ‘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.’

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.)

Ka ṭartiibu/wakaleent^hó/ kana/ wakuziḷa maandra/ mkoononi. ‘With calm/silence, they sat as if they had had bread taken out of their hands.’

kaja maandra/ 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 maandra/ 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/ maandra ‘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.)

kaajá/ 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**.)

kana maandra/ lpaandre ‘like the half-loaf of bread’

Hamadi/ na Ali/ uso waawo/ sawasawa/ hufaanana/ kana maandra/ lpaandre. ‘Hamadi and Ali, their faces are alike, they resemble one another like a half-loaf of bread (i.e. the two halves of a loaf of bread).’

khawaawa/ ya mandraa nne ‘a pan of/for four **maandra**’

khtilowa maandra ‘to cook bread (lit. put bread – i.e. in the oven or **khawaawa**)’; also:

khtilowa maandra (passive)

Ajini/ ikaanzila/ itila maandra. ‘The dough was kneaded and bread was cooked.’

Nkʰanzile ajini/ ntʰile maandra. ‘I kneaded the dough and cooked bread.’

Maandra/ itila/ ka ajini/ ikaanzila. ‘Maandra has been cooked with dough that has been kneaded.’

Yaa Aamó/ zamaani/ shtila maandra/ lada/ chuuza/ wanayo maamili/ wiingi. ‘Aunt Aamo used to bake very delicious bread, she had many customers.’

khinda maandra ‘to cut bread’

mandra za kudirsha ‘[lit. emergency or hasty **mandra**] **mandra** baked without yeast, flour or sugar’

Maandra/ Faatima/ pishiló. ‘(It’s) bread that Faatima cooked.’

Maandra/ Faatimá/ pishiló/ mi/ siji. ‘The bread that Faatima cooked, I will not eat it.’

Maandra/ ijiila. ‘Bread has been eaten.’ Cf. without focus: **Maandra/ ijiila.** ‘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/ mi/ siji. ‘The bread that Faatima cooked, I will not eat it.’ Or: **Mandra ya Faatimá/ pishiló/ mi/ siji.**

Maandra/ yaa ye/ peelá/ ntʰaakuja. ‘The loaf of bread that she was given, she did not eat it.’

Mandra za kudirsha/ zilada. ‘Quick bread (a special type of bread made in Brava) is tasty.’

Muusa/ kaja maandra ‘if Muusa had eaten the bread’

Muusa/ kaja maandra/ 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/ maandra.** ‘I gave the children bread.’ Or: **Niwapele maandra/ waaná.** (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 maandra/ waana.**)

mandra yaa gele ‘bread made from maize’

mandra ya mhuundru ‘bread made from sorghum’

mandra ya unga ‘bread made from wheat flour’

mukhtạa ye/ nakujo maandrá ‘when he was eating bread’ or: **mukhtạa ye/ naakujó/ maandra** (the latter form illustrates that verb emphasis triggers the Accentual Law of Focus in adverbial relative clauses as well as pseudo-relative clauses; only head-modifier relative clauses are exempt from ALF)

Muusa/ kaja maandrá ‘if Muusa had eaten bread, if Muusa ate bread’

Nt^hile mandra gani/ 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

mandari

n. [Sw. *mandhari* SSED 258; Ar. *manzar* W 977] scene, sight, view

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.)

Huṭasawara kuwa nt^ha’iná/ manfa’a/ khfikirowaa nt^ho/ tarafu ya iyi. ‘It is probably useless to think too much about this.’

Iyo/ inayo manfa’a/ kiwoowa. ‘That’s useful to know.’

Muunt^hu/ suura/ kumsimika walaaliwe/ khalbi/ chisuḷa khfanya chiint^hu/ cha manfa’a. ‘It is good for a person to encourage his friend if he wants to do something useful.’

ku-manfa’aṭa

v.
rel.

ku-manfa’aṭila v. appl.

ku-manfa’aṭiloowa v. appl. pass.

Omari/ kluṭba/ ya rasdente/ fanyiizó/ shiriini/ tomele ta’aljikhi/ hadiile/ kuwa kluṭba iyo/ ni suura/ laazimu/ kumanfa’aṭiloowa. ‘Omari, the speech that the district commissioner made at the meeting, he made a comment; he said that the speech was good and benefit must be taken from it.’

manfuukhu

adj. [Ar. *manfuk* 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 mubliwe/ maangi. ‘Haliima cooked **maangi** for her husband.’ But also possible: **Haliima/ mpikilile maangi/ mubliwe.** (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 mubliwe/ maangi? and **Haliima/ mpikilile maangi/ mubliwe?** 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 'maangi/ mubliwe.** The corresponding yes-no question for this sentence would have accent shift: **Haliima/ mpikilile maangi/ mubliwé?**)

Maangi/ ipishila. '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/ ipishilá!?**)

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 tawala. 'Hamadi forbade his son to swim in the sea.'

Hamadi/ mmani'ile mwaanawe/ soowe/ tawala. '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 tawala. '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'u/ laazimu/ koowa/ ichimlawa maniyi. 'Religion says that one must take a shower if one ejaculates.'

maniyi/ kuvuuya 'for sperm to leak, slide

maniyi shomola bataala soomu [st.] 'if semen is emitted, fasting is invalid'

Maniyi/ siwo/ nijisi. 'Sperm is not impure.'

maniyi yachilawaqpo kowoowa/ ni waajibu na taakufo koshooa [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'ale 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'ale 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 Beneficent) **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.)

Mafta/ ya zeeti/ ni afiya/ na ni ghaali/ kolko/ ya mafta ya

maasara. ‘Olive oil is healthy and is more expensive than sesame oil.’

- 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 shomola amri/ manwari/ nthatu/ zinawaraashe/ kuwadaafi’a/ kama aduwi mweepe/ chiwata’araõila. ‘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/ 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.’
- 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’
khinda 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 mahaala iyelo maanyi/ naa miti/ mikulu. ‘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’akhõari ‘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 77 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.**
Anzize kaaziyo/ maanzine. ‘Had you started your work already?’
Ilopó/ maanzine/ ma’askari/ wawaliko watawanyishile ka apa/ na apa. ‘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/ watinzile tama’a/ wo/ khshiindra/ wawaliko ni tayaari/ 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’

mada n. **get more examples of meaning**
Fardoosa/ hukahaṭa mada ya hisaabu. ‘Fardoosa hates the subject of mathematics.’
Mada gani/ ya skoola/ Fardoosa/ hukahaṭó. ‘Which school subject does Fardoosa hate?’

maape invariable adj. some, any (This is the prevalent form in present day speech. It seems likely that historically this item had the shape *mwaape*. We recorded this item as *mweepe* in the speech of Mohammad Imam, i.e. both with and without the glide element.)

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’

Haliima/ muzize Omari/ peesa/ maape. ‘Haliima asked Omari for some money.’
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/ mweepe/ zaa wo/ hukhadiro khfaanyá/ 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 mungooni. ‘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/ maapa/ 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.’

Pelesheja nuumba/ mwaape/ ya matajiiri/ khtumika. ‘He was sent to the home of some rich people to work as a servant.’

Sheekhi/ naayé/ t^hakhkalaant^ha/ muunt^hu/ mwaape/ apa/ t^hamfunga maato.

‘Sheekhi too will stay and someone here will blindfold him.’

Wapelee cho/ chibuuku/ waana/ mwaape. ‘He gave them, books, to some boys.’ (In this sentence, **chibuuku** is downstepped strongly, presumably due to the focus on **cho**.)

Wapelee cho/ waana/ mwaape. ‘He gave it to some boys.’

Wapele waana/ mwaape. ‘He gave some boys (something).’

Wapele waana/ mwaape/ izo peesa. ‘He gave some boys that money (which we were talking about).’

Wapele waana/ mwaape/ peesa. ‘He gave some boys money.’ (There is no downstep between **waana** and **maape**.)

Wapele waana/ mwaape/ peesa/ zo. ‘He gave some boys money, it.’

Wapele waana/ mwaape/ wo. ‘He gave some boys s.t., them.’

Wapele waana/ mwaape/ wo/ peesa. ‘He gave some boys, them, money.’

rel.

-eepe var. adj. some, any

chibuku cheepe ‘some book’

Wo/ watosheze kuwaa ndovu/ zimile maha^hla meepe/ nakuwalindraa wo/ kishkila. ‘They thought that the elephant was hiding some place waiting for them to come down [from the tree].’

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 prepositions *na* and *ka*.)

Abú/ ka mapeema/ weno khatari. ‘Abu was early to see the danger.’

Chondroshele na mapeema. ‘We got up early.’

Daa’imu/ siwo/ ka mapeema/ kuwowa tayaari/ na iyo/ hutasawaro khtuluká. ‘It is never too early to prepare for what might happen.’

Fijiri/ na mapeema/ chishkila ka mutiini/ chishika ndilaye. ‘Early in the morning he climbed down the tree and went on his way.’

Hamadi/ ka mapeema/ weno fursá/ khfanya kaazi/ apa. ‘Hamadi was early to see an opportunity to do business (lit. work) here.’

Mi/ nenzele sukhuuni/ na mapeema/ yana. ‘I went to the market early yesterday.’

Mi/ nsulile kendra madrasaani/ na mapeema. ‘I wanted to go to school early.’ Cf.

Ye/ sulile kendra madrasaani/ na mapeema. ‘He wanted to go to school early.’ With verb focus: **Mi/ nsulile/ kendra madrasaani/ na mapeema.** ‘I wanted to go to school early.’ Cf. **Ye/ sulile/ kendra madrasaani/ na mapeema.** ‘He wanted to go to school early.’

Mi/ sukhuuni/ nenzele na mapeema/ 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 mapeema** 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 mapeema/ 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 mapeema/ yaná!?**)

Ndrazole na mapeemá/ kendra safarí. ‘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 safarí.**])

Ni ka mapeema/ kht₁oshowa naani/ t₁akhshiindró. ‘It is very early to be thought who is going to win.’

Nondroshele na mapeemá/ ¹mi. ‘I left early (that’s why I...).’

Sht₁akhsafira (na) mapeema. ‘We will leave early.’

Yaliko ka mapeema/ mi/ kuruda Mwiini. ‘I was early coming back to Brava.’

Ye/ enzele sukhuuni/ na mapeema/ ¹yana. ‘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 kila 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/ t₁akhsafira na mapeema. ‘He will leave early.’

maapu

n. map

Mi/ kawa nayo maapú/ su₁la kuwa khupasiizé. ‘If I had a map I would have loaned it to you.’

maqaala

n. [Sw. *makala* SSED 255; Ar. *maqāla* W 798] (written) essay

want^hu wa₁takhsomo makhala iyí ‘people who read this essay’

maqaamu

[Sw. *makamu* “substitute, deputy, manager” SSED 166; Ar. *maqām* W 800] rank, position

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-maqana₁ta

v. be absent; [pron. **kumaqana₁ta** or **kumakhana₁ta**] (There is no more basic verb from which this is derived; ***kumaqana** does not exist.)

Harusi iyi/ we/ makhana₁ta. ‘Be absent from this wedding (don’t come).’

Maha₁la/ amá/ muukhá₁ta/ amá/ makhana₁ta. ‘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/ humakhana₁ta niingi/ skolaani. ‘Omari is absent from school a lot.’

rel.

ku-maqana₁tika v. p/s.

Harusi ya Omari/ ha’imakhana₁tiki. ‘One cannot be absent from Omari’s wedding.’

ku-maqana₁toowa v. appl. pass.

Nt^haku/ sababu/ ya kumakhana₁toowa/ skola. ‘There is no reason for being absent from school.’

ku-maqana₁tala v. appl.

Nt^haku/ sababu ya Omari/ kumakhana₁tala skolaani. ‘There is no reason for Omari being absent from school.’

We/ skolaani/ nakumakhana₁tilani. ‘Why are you absent from school?’

ku-maqana₁tisha v. caus.

Mi/ nakhsula kumakhana₁tisha Omari/ harusiini. ‘I want to make Omari be absent from the wedding.’

ku-maqana₁toowa v. pass.

Chiwoni/ ha’imakhana₁tiki. ‘One cannot be absent from koranic school.’

Harusi iyi/ isimakhana₁toowa. ‘This wedding (one) should not be absent from (e.g. it is very important).’

Kumakhanaṭowa 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. **miqasi** plural of **maqasi** W 766] scissors; [usu. pron. **makhasi**]
Makhasi iyi/ haṭiindi/ chiint^{bu}. ‘This [pair of] scissors does not cut anything.’
Makhasi iyi/ inayoo maso. ‘This [pair of] scissors is sharp.’
Makhasi iyi/ nk^hali. ‘This [pair of scissors] is sharp.’
Makhasi iyi/ nt^hayná/ maso. ‘This [pair of] scissors is not sharp.’
makhasi yaa nguwo ‘scissors for cutting clothes’
Maryamu/ nakhṭinda l^warakha/ ka mkhasi. ‘Maryamu is cutting paper with scissors.’
Nguwo/ itilaanzila/ ka makhasi. ‘The cloth was cut with scissors.’
Ye/ mbigilile Hamadi/ nk^he/ kuleta makhasi. ‘He shouted to Hamadi to bring scissors.’
- 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 **maqduṛ** 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 sadi** n.
Ja’da nt^hakhpata maqsada/ mpee/le sumu nt^hakuhada [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; [usu. pron. **makhsuudi**]
Baazi/ ni waaḍehe/ nt^ho/ kaake/ na makhsuudize. ‘Baazi is quite clear in his intentions.’
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.’
makhsuudiye ‘his/her need, intention’ (cf. **makhsuudize** ‘his needs, intentions’)
somaani nt^hakhpataa kulla maqsuudi/ taqiuro kumzuura mt^ume Mahmudi [st.] ‘recite it and you will see every wish fulfilled/ who agrees to visit the prophet Mohamed’
We/ nii muké/ mwovu/ we/ makhsuudiyo/ ni kunub^laa mi/ khpata sulṭaani/ khuloolo. ‘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/ ndimi/ nfuzilo nafsiyá/ karka hayaatí/ amó/ ndimi/ maquudi. ‘Is it me who tied himself up in life or is it me who is tied down?’

marā

adv. [Sw. *marā* SSED; Ar. *marra* W 900] time (occasion) (The expression **marā ya...** is often contracted to **marāa...**, 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/ marā ya taatu/ marā ya isa/ sulṭaani/ uje/ shinzila marāa 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.’

kila marā ‘every/each time’

Kilaa marā/ Hamiisi/ hulangaḷa tiivi/ mpiira. ‘Every time, Hamiisi watches football on tv.’

kula marā ‘every time (also may occur as: **kula si marā** with the same meaning; the **si** here has no obvious functional or lexical content) (Note that the vowel before **marā** in this expression is not lengthened.)

marā mooyi ‘[lit.] one time -- used in addition to **tafaḍali** and **fanya ihsaani**, strengthening the meaning “please” when asking s.o. to do s.t.’

Tafaḍali/ nnink^hila suukari/ marā mooyi. ‘Please pass the sugar to me.’

Mara/ ya aakhiri/ mi/ nakhuuzó/ keendrá. ‘For the last time, I request you to go.’

marā (y)a kaandra ‘the first time’

Mara/ ya kaandra/ ye/ koḍelo chiswaahili. ‘For the first time, she has spoken Swahili!’

marā yīingine ‘another time’

Hamiisi/ lasile masoomo/ iyo/ ma’anaye/ kuwaa ye/ haruudi/ skoḷaani/ marā yīingine. ‘Hamiisi has dropped out from his studies,, that is, he will not return to school anymore.’

Ye/ nthanakhsuula/ kumwona Omari/ marā yīingine. ‘He has no desire to see Omari again.’

Mi/ shfilaṭiḷowa kulindra maraya. ‘I was expected to wait my turn.’

Mi/ simḷaṭi/ na kama chiwajiḃoowa/ kumḷaṭa/ mi/ laazima/ peesa/ zaa mi/ nt^homeeló/ khpowa ka marāa 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 marā mooyi. ‘A man dies once.’ (A proverb.)

Nimweené/ Hasani/ kuna aḷkola/ marā niingi. ‘I have *seen* Hasani drink alcohol many times.’

Ye/ chibiga/ marā ya isa/ si/ shṭamuza/ ni naani. ‘If he knocks (again), this time we will ask him who it is.’

rel.

maramara adv. sometimes, from time to time

Hamadi/ huna biira/ maramara/ tu. [HH!!H!!H] ‘No, Hamadi drinks beer just now and then.’

Maramara/ Hamiisi/ hulangaḷa tiivi/ mpiira. ‘From time to time, Hamiisi watches football on tv.’

Siri/ maramara/ hufakaṭa. ‘Secrets sometime escape (i.e. come out, get revealed).’

marāḍi

n. 6 [Sw. *maradhi* SSED 260; Ar. *marad* W 903] disease, illness, sickness; variant form: **maradi**

Baaba/ chishikowa na marāḍi/ chifa. ‘Father was seized by illness and died.’

Baaba/ marāḍi/ yachimziida. ‘Father became sicker.’

Filile marāḍi ya khalbi. ‘He died of heart disease.’

File ka marāḍi 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 marāḍi ‘to fall sick’

Baaba/ chishikowa marāḍi/ nt^ho. ‘Father became very sick.’

- Mama yaawo/ naayé/ chishikowa maraði.** ‘Their mother also fell sick.’
Kiła/ maraði/ inayoo dawa/ shokuwaa kufa. ‘Any disease has a remedy except death.’ (A proverb.)
ma’ina/ ya maraði ‘names of diseases’
Maraði/ hayabli. ‘Disease does not kill.’ (A proverb.)
Maraði/ huya ka mshiindro/ naharisi/ ni itako ya siindanu. ‘Disease comes with quick impact, relief is a needle's point (i.e. comes very slowly).’ (A proverbial saying.)
Maraði yakoo kulé/ hayaletooi/ khariibu. ‘Disease that is far away is not brought closer.’ (A proverb.)
maradi yaa nt^hi ‘tetanus’
Mi/ siwo/ takhpolo maraði ayá. ‘I am not one who will recover from this disease.’
Naayó/ maraði/ mi/ hayapoloowi. ‘I have a disease from which one does not recover.’
nimo maraðiini, ni kaako tabiibu [song] ‘I am sick, the cure is with you’
Yampete maraði/ fiile. ‘She fell sick and died.’
Ye/ chiwaa dawa/ zote/ na chiwa maraði/ 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] perfumed water 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** adj. [Som. *mardaadi* “elegance” DSI 417] decorated, embellished, well-dressed, beautiful, fancy
Apo/ barzaani/ chiwalimoo 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. *margi* “tendons near backbone” DSI 431] sinews, cartilage, tendons
 rel.
chi-margi n. in the phrase:
khkala chimargi ‘to choke, strangle (often used figuratively and as a threat)’
Huseeni/ mkalile Omari/ chimargi. [H!H!H] ‘Huseeni choked Omari.’ (In the corresponding simple yes-no question, downsteps are replaced by declination in GM’s speech: [H’H’H]. In the exclamatory yes-no question, downstep is retained but accent shift affects the phrases in the VP: **Huseeni/ mkalile Omari/ chimargi!?** [H!H!H].)
Huseeni/ mkalilo Omari/ chimargi. [H!H!H] ‘Huseeni choked Omari.’ (Our consultant also accepted: **Huseeni/ mkalilo Omari/ chimargi.** [H!H’H] In this second pronunciation, the final accent projected from the pseudo-relative verb does not extend to **chimargi**. In various examples, the failure to extend final accent to a complement is accompanied by a radical downstep of that complement. This is clearly not the case in the present example. In fact, comparing the first pronunciation to the second pronunciation, the complement in the latter seems to only be declined as opposed to downstepped. This contrast, however, bears more detailed scrutiny.)
Huseeni/ mkaliló/ Omari/ chimargi. [H!H!H!H] ‘Huseeni choked Omari.’ (Although a verb separated phrasally from its complement is ordinarily immune from downstepping, instead simply being declined in pitch, the pseudo-relative verb is different. It is clearly downstepped. As shown in this example, emphasis of the verb invokes the Accentual Law of Focus, preventing final accent from extending beyond the emphasized verb. The status of pronunciations where ALF is violated is uncertain. For instance, GM was skeptical of ??**Huseeni/ mkaliló/ Omari/ chimargi**. But at the same time it has to be admitted that perhaps

our work on the topic did not identify an intonational pattern that would make such a sentence acceptable.)

Ijini/ chuuluka/ kumkala Hasani/ chimargi. ‘The djinn jumped and choked Hasani.’

Mkaliilo Omari/ chimargi/ ni Huseeni. [H!H!H] ‘The one who choked Omari is Huseeni.’

Mkaliilo/ Omari/ chimargi/ ni Huseeni. [H!H!H!H] ‘The one who *choked* Omari is Huseeni.’

Nimkaliile chimargi. ‘I choked him.’

Nimkaliile mwaaná/ chimargi. ‘I choked the child.’

Waa mi/ nimkaliilo chimargi/ ni mwaana. ‘The one who I choked

is the boy.’

i-margi (*mi-*) n. aug.

Namaye/ ni mimargi. [H'H] ‘Its meat has a lot of sinews, cartilage.’ (Such meat would usually be given to cats!) (In copular sentences such as this, the predicate adjective seems ordinarily to not be downstepped, but rather simply declined in its pitch realization.)

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 lfuwooni/ 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!’

marhuumo

adj. [Ar. *marhūm* “deceased” W 332] “late” (i.e. recently deceased)

Marhuumo Omari ntaasa ya ye kufa fareete nuumbaye ya Baghdaadi khpoowa mukeewe Aasha. ‘Omari, God bless him (i.e. the deceased), before dying, he left a message that his house in Baghdaadi be given to his wife Aasha.’

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 **zjint^hu zimaaridi** ‘(dim.) people who defy traditions, etc.’

mariidi

adj. sick, ill, diseased; n.1/2 a sick person

chijana chimariidi ‘a sick dim. child’; **ljana lmariiði** ‘a sick aug. child’ (or

ijana imariidi)

mariidi awa ‘these sick people’

munt^hu mariiði ‘a sick person’; **want^hu mariiði** ‘sick people’

Wawa yaawo/ chiwa muunt^hu/ mariiði/ nt^ho. ‘Their father became a very sick man.’

ya kuwa celo/ leelo/ ni mariiði ‘that the gazelle today is sick’

Ye/ naksiye/ waliko mariiði. ‘He himself was sick.’

Yuuzi/ want^hu/ wote/ wawaliko mariiði. ‘The day before yesterday everyone was sick.’

marrikihi

n. [Ar. *mirrīk* W 902] the planet Mars

marina

n. sea military, i.e. navy

Hamadi/ waliko askari/ mariina. ‘Hamadi is a naval soldier.’

maringa

in the expression:

ma’awizi/ za mariingi ‘ma’awizi of very good quality which are imported (from Singapore?)’

Ma’awizi/ za mariinga/ 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. *marjān* W 902] coral (bead)
nakaanza khtuunga marjaani [st.] 'I start stringing coral beads'
- 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 piili/ ilate/ nda Sultaani/ 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 ðahabu. 'This ship is made from gold.'
Markabu nk^huluunk^hulu/ schizaama/ ka ðarba... '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 inatiloowa/ kaake/ mtanaani. 'When the box was loaded onto the ship, the boy ordered that it be put in his room.'
- maroone** adj. invar. [Ital. *marrone*] brown
wino maroone 'brown ink'
Nayo maato/ maroone/ masuura. 'She has beautiful brown eyes.' It is also possible to say: **Nayo maato/ masuura/ maroone.**
- marqaani** adj. euphoric, hyper; [pron. **marqaani** or **markhaani**]
Hamadi/ ni markhaani/ ha'isi/ yaa ye/ koðeeló. [H!H|H!H!H] 'Hamadi is hyper, he does not know what he is talking about.'
Khaati/ inayo markhaani. [H!H] '**Khaati** has an euphoric effect.'
- maarsha** n. 9/10 [Ital. *marcia*] gear
khtomola maarsha 'to put into neutral, disengage the gears'
Gaari/ ichisimama/ hutomoloowa/ maarsha. 'When a car stops, one must disengage the gears (in order to fix the problem).'
khtila maarsha 'to engage the gears'
Gaari/ ichiineendra/ hutilowa maarsha. 'When a car moves it is put into gear.'
kubadila maarsha 'to change gears'
Gaari/ ichiineendra/ hubadiLOWa maarsha/ kaandra/ hutilowa biriima/ chimaliza sekondo/ chimaliza teersa/ chimaliza kuwaarta/ chimaliza kuwinta. 'When a car runs, you change the gears, first gear one, then gear two, then gear three, then gear four, and then gear five.'
- 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

marti

n. [Som. *marti* DSI 420] guest (from out of town), visitor (who comes for a meal)
Ahmadi/ nayo marti. 'Ahmadi has a visitor.' (Cf. **Ahmadi/ nazo marti.** 'Ahmadi has visitors.')

ba'adi ya marti 'some of the guests'

Chiwa'ambila martize/ kuwa kilaa chiint^hu/ ni tayaari/ numbaani. 'He told his guests that everything was ready at the house.'

Ile marti/ mooyi/ mi/ siisi/ inaye. 'A visitor came, I do not know his name.'

kubiga marti 'to invite for a meal, to provide a meal for a guest'

Khulipa ihsaaniyo/ mi/ mukeewa/ na waanawá/ chinakhsulaa we/ kuya kiitu/ shpate khubiga marti. '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 marti/ na apajé/ pata kubaratana/ na ndruezaza/ 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.'

Marti/ ishpita skuu nt^hatu/ hukaha^oowa. 'A guest for more than three days is hated.' (A proverb.)

Marti/ ni skuu mbili/ tu/ shkalant^ha sku niingi/ hukaha^oowa. 'A guest is just for two days; if he stays longer, he will be hated.' (A proverb.)

Marti/ nnayo numbaani. 'A guest, I have one in the house.' Cf. **Marti/ nnawo numbaani.** 'A guest/ the guest, I have in the house.'

Marti/ ni nk^huku mwelpe. 'A foreigner is like a white hen.' (A proverb.)

Marti/ umo numbaani. 'A guest is in the house.' Cf. **Marti wamo** (or: **zimo numbaani.** 'Guests are in the house.')

Marti wiitu/ ile numbaani. 'Our guest arrived at the house.'

marti/ wont^he 'all the guests'

marti ziitu 'our guests'

Mayaank^huku/ yajila na marti ziitu. 'The eggs have been eaten by our guests.'

Mwaadamu/ duniyaani/ ni marti. 'A human being is a guest in this world.' (A proverb.)

Mwaarabu/ chimpa khaadimu/ amri/ kumbiga oyo/ martiye/ ndruti miya/ ziseeló. 'The Arab ordered the servant to beat that one, his guest, the one hundred blows that remained.'

Mwaarabu/ na martiyé/ wamalizopo kosha mikonó/ wachanzaa kuja. 'When the Arab and his guest washed their hands, they began to eat.'

Nnayo marti/ numbaani. 'I have a guest in the house.' Cf. **Nnazo marti/ numbaani.** 'I have guests in the house.' Cf. **Nnawo marti/ numbaani.** 'I have guest/ guests (definite or indefinite) in the house.'

Uko marti. 'There is a guest.'

Uko marti/ apa/ iló/ na siri/ nk^hulu. 'There is a stranger here (who) has come with a big secret.'

Uko marti/ ka Ahmadi. 'There is a visitor at Ahmadi's place.'

Wako marti. 'There are guests.'

Wako marti/ ka Ahmadi. 'There are visitors at Ahmadi's place.'

rel.

martihaani n. as a guest

Muunt^hu/ chisula kendra maha^la/ ka waant^hu/ martihaani/ laazimu/ khtomola khabari/ mbele/ kiiwisha/ maha^la yaa ye/ nakeendró. 'If one wants to go somewhere as guest, he should let that place know before hand.'

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)

chiruzuqe khfakaṭa marwa na safa [st.] ‘allow us to run (between) Marwa and Safa’

- marwa** n. [Som. *murwo* DSI 450] respect, dignity
Marwa Haliima/ leelo/ ile kiitu/ numbaani/ salaamu. ‘The respected Haalima today came to our house to greet (us).’
Wawaliko wazeele/ wasuura/ wenye shuhra/ na marwá. ‘They were good parents, possessing fame and dignity.’
- marwaha** n. [Som. *marwaxad* or *marwaxo* DSI 417, cf. Ar. *mirwaḥa* "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, answer a question posed to one’
Shekh Omari/ ize khadira khfungula mas'aḷa/ ya Hamadi/ mfuunziló/ tarafu ya ilmu/ ya falaki. ‘Shekh Omari could not respond to what Hamadi asked him about the study of astrology.’
ndruuza ni waajibu amri ya diini/ khaansa kiwoowa mas'ala siṭini [st.] ‘O my friends, you must learn what our religion commands, especially with respect to sixty issues’
Nimwaḍihishilize Jaamá/ mas'alá. ‘I explained the problem to Jaama.’
- mas'yoole** n. a philanderer, someone who commits adultery over and over again
Omari/ ni ma'siyooole/ haalaṭi/ kuzina. ‘Omari is a philanderer, he does not quit committing adultery.’
- mas'uuli** adj.,n. [Ar. *mas'ul* W 391] responsible, dependable; responsibility
chijint^hu chimas'uuli ‘a responsible dim. person’
khṭukula mas'uuli ‘to take on, assume (lit. carry) a responsibility’
Haliima/ hadiile/ mi/ skhaadiri/ khṭukula mas'uuli/ ya wana wa Faaṭima/ kilaa fijiri/ kuwapeleka skoḷaani. ‘Halima said I cannot assume the responsibility of taking Fatiima's children every morning to school’
khtala mas'uuli ‘to take on a responsibility’
Alí/ tete mas'uuli/ kilaa muunt^hi/ kumpa Omari/ shilingji miya/ ila/ mwezi mooyi. ‘Ali assumed the responsibility of giving Omari one hundred shillings each day up to one month.’
Hamadi/ amiyé/ Alí/ ndiyé/ tete mas'uuli/ ya kumloozá. ‘Hamadi, his uncle Ali is the one who took responsibility for him to marry.’
Muunt^hu/ mas'uuli/ yaa ye/ hakhadiri kulawilá/ hataali. ‘One does not (i.e. should not) assume a responsibility that he cannot fulfill.’
Teto mas'uuli) tete dhibu. ‘The one who has taken responsibility (for s.t.) has taken hardship, problems.’ (A proverbial saying.)
Kuḷa muunt^hu/ ni mas'uuli/ na waanawe. ‘Each person is responsible for his children.’
mas'uli iyi ‘this responsibility’; **mas'uli izi** ‘these responsibilities’
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).’
Ndimi/ mas'uuli. ‘I am the one who is responsible (for s.o. or s.t.).’
We/ nakhtahaja kubarata kuwa mas'uuli/ zaaydí. ‘You need to learn to be more responsible.’
- rel.
mas'uuliya n. (Ar. , *mas' uliya* W 391)
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’
Mwaana/ chimpa/ kila/ mooyi/ mas’uuliya/ nk^hulu. ‘The boy gave each one an important responsibility.’
- masahaaba** n. [Sw. *masahaba* SSED 261; Ar. *aṣ-ṣahāba* ‘the companions of the Prophet Mohammed’ W 504] friends of the Prophet
wazuure masahaaba won^he 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’
Zeenabu/ nampaka maamaye/ masaajo/ chiṭa/ chinamlaazó. ‘Zeenabu is massaging her mom, (her) head is aching her.’
kununk^ha masaajo ‘to inhale vapor rub’
Mwaana/ namkandrila mwaalimu/ masaajo. ‘The child is massaging the teacher with a vapor rub.’
Zahara/ nakununk^ha masaajo/ mwaanawe/ mpashiló/ leelo. ‘Zahara is inhaling *masaajo*, her child put it on her today.’
- 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/ muḅli/ 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.’
- maasha’allah** an Arabic expression meaning ‘what Allah wishes’, used to express praise of someone; it is said that if one praises someone without saying *maasha’allah*, that person may be a target of the evil eye; the *ll* in this Arabic expression is pronounced [lʰ]
Omari/ mwaana/ msuura/ adabu/ maashaa’allah. ‘Omari is good boy. disciplined, *maasha’allah*.’
- mashakha** n. [Ar. *maṣaḥḥa* W 480] observed in the phrase: **kuwona mashakha** ‘to see, experience difficulty’
Muunt^hu/ nayo du’a ya wazeelewé/ haawoni/ mashakha/ walá/ dhibú/ duniyaani. ‘One who is blessed by his parents (because he has treated his parents properly) doesn’t experience hardship and problems in the world.’
- mashaakili** n. pl. (cf. *mushkila*) [Ar. *maṣākīl*, plural of *muškila* W 483] different sorts of worries, frustrations
Sababu/ ya safari/ iyi/ itaakuwa/ ni kumeera/ kuhila/ ba’aḍi/ ya mashaakili/ yasabibiiló/ makosanyó/ benaa nṭhi/ izii mbilí. ‘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/ nt^hawamwona/ 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.'
- Huseeni/ pete maraḍi ya maato/ miyaaka/ miingi/ nakhfanyilizowaa dawa/ isa/ wele maashe/ tozele maato.** 'Huseeni got an eye disease and for many years was treated for it; now he has become blind, he has lost his sight (lit. eyes).'
- khfanya maashe** 'to make blind'
Alí/ nakhfanya ruuhuye/ kana maashe/ nt^hanakulangaḷa/ ba/ zoombo/ dukaani. 'Ali is making himself like a blind man, he is not (even) looking at things in the shop.'
- Lizile masku/ na muunt^hi/ masku/ na muunt^hi/ haṭá/ tozele maato/ 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.)
Nt^hanakuwona/ 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. *mašḡūl* W 477] busy
Mi/ kuwa ni mashghuuli/ tu/ siwo/ na pasaportayá/ ba/ ipoteele. 'It is not only that I am too busy, but also my passport is out of date.'
Mi/ mbaliko mashghuuli/ khfanya kazii mbili. 'I have been busy working two jobs.'
Mi/ ni mashghuuli/ kabisá/ kujiba telefoono. 'I am too busy to answer the phone.'
Waawe/ ni mashghuuli/ khfanya gaari. 'My father is busy repairing the car.'
- 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; var. *mashruu'u*
khfanya mashruu'i 'to make a plan; to set up a business'
Hamadi/ na Alí/ wahadiile/ si/ chinakhsuḷa khfanya mashruu'ú/ ya kuwaka mijuumba. 'Hamadi and Ali said: we want to make a project to build houses.'
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.)
Mwiini/ skiizi/ mashruu'u/ niingi/ ziikó/ mashru'u ya miyuundra/ mashru'u ya khfanyaa ndila/ na ziinginé. 'Miini, nowadays there are many projects, agricultural, road-building, and many others.'
- mashṭaayṭa** n. [Sw. *mashtata* 'the remains of seed after oil has been skimmed off' SSED 261] sesame seeds
Saalé/ mashṭaayṭa/ mahala zikoo nk^huku. 'Don't spread sesame seeds where there are chickens.'
- masiha** 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/ mpeelo. ‘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; **khfanyiza masiiri** ‘to make jealous’

Haliima/ muḅliwe/ kumnola muke mwiingine/ imfanyize masiiri/ zaaydi. ‘For her husband to marry another woman made Halima very jealous.’

Zahara/ muḅliwe/ kumnola muke mwiingine/ imfanyize masiiri/ nakhsula kulatoowa. ‘Zahara, her husband marrying another woman made her jealous, she wants to be divorced.’

khshikowa masiiri ‘to be affected (lit. caught) by jealousy’

Haliima/ shishiḷa masiiri/ muḅliwe/ kumnolaa muke/ wa piḷi. ‘Haliima was caught by jealousy (because of) her husband marrying a second wife.’ (In the recording of this sentence, **muḅliwe** was not downstepped.)

khtila masiiri ‘to make jealous’

Hamadi/ uzile gaari/ suura/ haṭá/ inṭhile masiiri. ‘Hamadi bought a good car (lit. until) it made me jealous.’ (In the recording of this sentence, **suura** is not downstepped nor **haṭá**.)

Umi/ waanawe/ kulḷilowa nguwo mp^hya/ iwatile wana wa Khaḍija/ masiiri. ‘Umi, her children being bought new clothes has made the children of Khadhija jealous.’

kuwanayo masiiri ‘to be jealous’

Muke/ chiloleḷowa muke mwiingine/ huwanayo masiiri. ‘A woman, if (her husband) marries another woman, becomes jealous.’

Mwaana/ chihaba/ chizalḷilowa mwana mwiingine/ huwanayo masiiri. ‘A small child, if another child is born, gets jealous.’

Omari chihaba/ nayo masiiri/ ya kuzalḷilowa mana mwiingine. ‘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’

Hamadi/ ni mwenye masiiri/ miingi/ haṭá/ jawaabu/ chihaba/ humasiratila. ‘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/ hattá/ yaa ye/ kuja/nt^hanaayo 'so poor that he does not have food to eat'
Maskiini/ haatáli. '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.'
Mwana/ 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 chiya 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.
khpandanoowa 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’
- masruufu** n. expenses
Ni manfa’a/ kandika lwarakhaani/ masruufuzo. ‘It is useful to keep a record of your expenses.’
- 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.’
- maṭaḥalibu** n. 10 goals, purposes, things that are requested
- maṭaari** n. airport
Mi/ ka’iwa kanaa we/ nakuuya/ suḷa ndirkamene naawe/ maṭariini. ‘If I had known you were coming, I would have met you at the airport.’
- maṭba’a** n. [Ar. *maṭba’a* 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. *maṭīn* W 891] strong, firm
lkambala maṭiini ‘a strong rope’
- maṭla’i** n. [Sw. *matlai* "sunrise, the east, east wind, morning wind" SSED 263; Ar. *maṭla* ‘daybreak, dawn’ W 565] morning wind
- maṭobooshi** n. [Sw. *matoboshi*] 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
Du’a/ hulombowa mojiitu/ bila yaa niya/ ni maṭruudi. ‘Praying prayed to God without will is turned back.’
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 nt^hatu/ kila muunt^hi/ ilu ya mataban/ thalathina mooyi/ arba’in naa mbili/ na arba’in 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/ haya'ondroki/ ila/ ka m̄taanga. '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.)

qalamu yaa mate '[lit.] pen of saliva -- meaning: pencil'

Siná/ mate ya kumiliza. 'I do not have saliva to swallow with.'

Stufé/ mate/ nt̄hi. 'Don't spit on the floor!'

mathalan for example

Laakini/ we/ ni muunt̄ú/ mwenye khabiri/ ni mwenye chit̄a/ munt̄u mzima/ mathalan. 'But you are a person having experience, having a brain (lit. head), an adult, for example.'

Mathalan/ mwene mubjaana/ mwaapé/ we/ mweenó/ humwiisi/ umriwo/ mweené/ mubjaana/ mwaape/ mwene muunt̄ú/ mwaapé/ humwiisi/ umriwo/ nt̄umwona. 'For example, you see some young man, you see him, you have never seen him (lit. you don't know him) your whole life, you *see* him, some young man, you see some person, you don't know him, your whole life, you haven't seen him.' (Part of a discussion of the proverb: **Maazi/ ya muunt̄u/ hayaabahi.** 'Someone's blood is not lost.' The speaker is telling how you might meet someone whom you have never seen before, but detect the blood-line from which the individual comes.)

mathali for example

mauliidi n.

khfanya mauliidi 'to perform, celebrate **mauliidi**'

maayi n. 6 [Sw. *maji* SED 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, since at present we do not have any examples where the root would appear without the [cl.6] prefix.)

Hugura kharibu yaa wowi/ kuwa kharibu ya maayi. 'They move near the river to be near water.'

Kamaa we/ nakhsula maayiyá/ yotté/ mi/ nt̄akhupa/ laakini/ ka sharti mooyi. 'If you want all my water, I will give it to you, but on one condition.'

kana maayi 'like water'

Omari/ nakuza zoombo/ rakhiisi/ zinamiineendrela/ kana maayi. 'Omari is selling stuff cheap, they are moving for him like water.'

kh̄indika maayi 'for water to be cut off'

Leelo/ ikumi/ maayi/ yat̄indishile. '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'

Hamadi/ nazoo nguvu/ zaaydi/ chilana na Sheekhi/ takumuna/ kana maayi. 'Hamadi is so strong (lit. has strength surpassing), if he fights with Sheekhi, he will drink him like water (i.e. he will beat him easily).'

mayi melpe '[lit. white water] plain water, as opposed to **mayi mahuundru** '[lit. red water] tea or soft drinks'

Maayi/ yadirshilee nguvo. 'The clothes got wet.'

Maayi(ye)/ kooko/ mūlo(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.)

Mwanaashke/ ulushile/ mayiini. 'The girl jumped into the water.'

mwenye maayi 'one who sells water'

Tafaðali/ takhaadira/ kuwanayo maayi. 'May I have some water, please?'

Wachendra ka maayi/ wachiyavunaanga/ maayi/ yachiwa'uzá/ 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?' (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'uzá**, and the *y* possessive agreement in **makosaya**.)

We/ nayo maayi. 'Do you have water?'

We/ ni maayi/ huzimizoo mūló/ mūlo/ 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 (This verb is not commonly used; the preferred verb is *-lawaanganya*.)

rel.

ku-mayizoowa v. pass. (**mayiziiza**) be distinguished, discerned

Zint^{hu} zisuura/ na zint^{hu} ziwovu/ humayizoowa/ hazidanganyoowi.
‘Good things and bad things are to be differentiated / taken apart/separated , they are not put together/mixed up.’

mayleli

in the expression:

kubiga mayleli ‘to ululate (as during a wedding), jump and clap with joy’

Haliima/ furahiile/ mwaanawe/ 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 **ikaghe...** 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/ kulangala mayti/ yiko apó/ tawalá. ‘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].’

kana/ mayti ‘like a corpse’

Omari/ ha’infī chiint^hu/ ni kana/ mayti. ‘Omari is of no use for anything, he is like a corpse.’

Sheekhi/ chiint^hu/ haṭoorati/ kana mayti. ‘Sheekhi is not able to do any thing, he is like dead body.’

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 mwaana/ 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/ ikaghefe 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.’
Mi/ ninenzele kati ya mayti. ‘I walked among the corpses.’ Passive version:
Mayti/ zinenzela kati kaawo. ‘The corpses were walked among them.’
Mwosha mayti/ hoshooa. ‘The washer of corpses will be washed (himself).’ (A proverb.)
na mayti ziitu/ zilelo nt^hini ya barafu ‘and our dead bodies laying under the snow’
Noloshele numbaani/ ka Haliima/ kaawo/ wotte/ waleele/ kana/ mayti. I went to Haliima’s house; all there were asleep, like corpses.’
Tomele mayti ya celo/ ka chisimaani. ‘He took the corpse of the gazelle from the well.’
Wamzishile mayti. ‘They buried the corpse.’
Yamlesele mayti/ yamlonzele sultaani/ natomole 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: **maza** [pron. **maza**] ‘of course (I went)’)

Basi/ chimala/ teena/ wachimwaambila/ maza/ maame/ takhtambulaayi/ maskiini. ‘So then after that, they said to her: how, my mother, will he differentiated (the two things), the poor man.’

Maame/ takhtambulaayi/ maza. ‘My mother, how will he tell the difference (we ask)?’

Maza/ jilile. ‘So, did you eat?’

Maza/ mi/ khufanyeyi. ‘What shall I do for you?’

Maza/ 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.’)

Maza/ mwaanawa/ yaa mi/ khurebelo ka masultaani/ si iyo/ yaa mi/ khurebelo ka masultaani/ 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.’

Maza/ olokeleleni/ madrasaani/ chiwaa we/ nt^hunakubarata. ‘So why did you go to school if you did not learn anything?’

Mi/ nk^hawa mwenyee nguvu/ jisaa ni/ nakuhado/ maza/ mi/ sula kumlata/ ngoombé/ kunina. ‘If I [in the story, it is water speaking] have the power that you say, how come I let the cow drink me?’

Mphaampa/ chimwaamina/ chimuza/ maza/ isa/ shfanyeyi ‘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/ wazalene 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/ wiizi/ 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 spaandre/ za maazi. 'His eyes became as red as pieces of blood.'

khawanyika maazi 'to bleed'

Yanamhawanyika maazi. 'He is bleeding – [lit.] blood is flowing from him.'

Zita/ stushilo maduriini/ inakuhadowa maazi/ miingi/ yaanyishiló. 'The fighting that took place in the upcountry is said that much blood was spilt.'

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'

Muunth'u/ siwo/ suura/ kingila maazi/ ya meenziwe. 'It is not good for someone to harm his friend.'

Siingilé/ mazi ya waant'u. 'Don't get into the blood of people (i.e. harm, do bad to people)!'

kugiiṭa maazi 'to help, attract fellow clansmen'

Nureeni/ hugiṭa maazi. 'Nureeni (lit. pulls blood) helps his fellow clansmen, attracts them to him.'

kuḷawa maazi 'to bleed'

kondroka maazi 'for blood to rise—get angry'

Mi/ shkasa jawabu izo/ maaziya/ hunoondroka. 'When I hear those things, my blood goes up (i.e. I get angry).'

kumdegsha maazi 'to calm someone'

kumondrola maazi 'to raise someone's blood – i.e. make him angry'

Mahmuudi/ mkali/ kumondrola muunth'u/ 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/ kolko maayi. 'Blood is thicker (lit. heavier) than water.' (Translation of the English saying.)

Mazi ya muunth'u/ 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/ mwishkiza Omari/ maazi/ haba mooyi. ‘I
 beg you, Hamadi, go and calm Omari down a little.’
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/ lizile/ 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/ muṅé. ‘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’

Nuzile mazuu mbiti/ sukhuuni, ‘I bought *raw bananas* in the market.’ Or: **Nuzilee mazú/ mbiti/ sukhuuni.** ‘I bought *bananas*, raw ones, in the market.’ Or: **Nizuuzilé/ mazuu mbiti/ sukhuuni.** ‘I *bought* the raw bananas in the market.’ Or: **Nizuzile mazuu mbiti/ sukhuuni.** ‘I bought the *raw bananas* in the market.’

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 or sheep 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.)

Masku/ mazima/ ka Hamadi/ kaawo/ ha’ilaaliki/ mbuzi/ na ngoombé/ zinaakuḷa/ mbee mbee!/ mboo mboo! ‘The whole night at Hamadi’s place one cannot get sleep, lambs/goats and cows are shouting *mbee mbee! Mboo mboo!*’

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'

Mbujá/ t̄inzile ruuhuye/ chaala. 'My sister has cut her finger.'

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 'o, my younger sisters'

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.'

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'

mbwa

[cl.1] is of

Mbwa naani/ mwana uyu. 'Whose child is this?'

Ye/ mbwaa Juma. 'He is Juma's.'

Ye/ mbwaaká. 'It (e.g. **mbwa** 'dog', which requires a [cl.1] agreement in its singular use) is mine.'

medaalya

n. [Ital. *medaglia*] medal

Hamadi/ pete medaalya/ ya ðahabu/ ya ugaasi. 'Hamadi got a gold medal for bravery.'

mehena

n. [Ar. *mihna* W 895] difficulty, preoccupation; variant form: **mihna**

Omari/ hadiile/ mehena/ yashpeetó/ jisaa si/ khfanya kaazi/ nt^haku/ makiina/ zont^he/ zihalaaweete. 'Omari said: problems/difficulties have afflicted us, there is no way we can work, all the machines have broken down.'

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/ meji 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 chooloni. ‘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] (**merele**) search for, ask for, seek, look for, trace, go/turn around, roll

Basi/ kheeri/ mi/ mmeree muke. ‘Therefore it is best that I look for a wife.’

Basi/ oloka/ mera kaazi/ yaa we/ khfaanya/ na wanawakewo. ‘So go and look for work that you can do together with your daughters.’

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 sultaani. ‘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).’

Mi/ nk^hasizé/ ye/ nakumero numbaani. ‘I heard him moving around the house.’

Mmera chotte/ hukosa chotte. ‘The one who seeks all, loses all.’ (A proverb.)

Mmerele/ nfunguloza/ kilaa mahala. ‘I looked for my keys everywhere.’

Mmerele peesá. ‘I searched for money.’

Mpiira/ nakumeera. ‘The ball is rolling.’

Muke/ oyo/ muzize Sa’iidi/ ile kumeeraní. ‘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.’

Namera ¹mubliwá/ Nureeni. ‘I am looking for my husband Nureeni.’

Namera ¹Nureeni/ mubliwa. ‘I am looking for Nureeni my husband.’

Namera Tuumá. ‘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.’

Nimmerele Jeeli/ oyo nakuwo mwaalimú. ‘I looked for Jeeli, who is becoming a teacher.’

Niwamerele wimbili wont^hé. ‘I looked for all the boys.’ Or, with the

quantifier separated phrasally: **Niwamerele wiimbili/ wont^he.** and **Niwamerele wiimbili/ wont^he.** Or, with verb focus: **Niwamerele/ wiimbili/ wont^he.**

Oloshela kumera peesa/ ka waawaye. ‘He went looking for money from his father.’

Oloshela kumera waawaye/ sukhuuni. ‘He went for his father in the market.’

Omari/ chimera Huseeni/ laakini/ mpete Hamadi/ tu. ‘Omari was looking for Huseeni, but he found only Hamadi.’

Omari/ chimera muunt^hu/ mwaape/ nguvu/ laakini/ ye/ mpete Hamadi/ tu. ‘Omari was looking for someone strong, but he could only find Hamadi.’

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 apá. ‘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.’

Mubli/ chimwaambila/ merameera/ laazimu/ tubaaku/ yiko paapo/ apo/ tu. ‘The husband told her: keep looking, the tobacco must be there at that very place.’

ku-meerele v. appl. (merelele)

Basi/ we/ mweewe/ mmereleaa muke/ mweema. ‘Therefore you yourself look for a good wife for me.’

ki’imerele rizqi ‘to look for daily sustenance for oneself’

kumereleaa muke ‘to look for a woman’s hand in marriage for s.o.’

Mamaye mwaana/ chimerele mwaanawe/ muke/ chimloza. ‘The boy’s mother looked for a wife for her son and married him [i.e. caused him to marry her].’ (The construction **mamaye mwaana** is not acceptable to many Chimiini speakers, but was routinely used by MI.)

Mi/ khumerelelee muke/ ka sultaani. ‘I sought a wife for you from the sultan.’

Nikhumerelele/ festaani/ laakini/ sikhuwona. ‘I looked for you at the party, but I did not see you.’

ku-merelelana v. appl. rec.

Waant^hu/ siwo/ suura/ kumerelelana ziwovu. ‘It is not good for people to search for bad things about each other.’

ku-mereleloowa v. appl. pass.

Munt^hu nakumereleloowá/ ni uyu. ‘The man who is being looked for is this one.’ Or: **Muunt^hu/ nakumereleloowá/ ni uyu.** Or: **Uyu/ ni munt^hu nakumereleloowá.** Or: **Uje munt^hu nakumereleloowá/ ni uyu.**

ku-meroowa v. pass. (merele) 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/ 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.’ (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. (**mersheeze**) 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 chiṭa ‘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.’

Omari/ nmersheeze/ mi/ Mombasa. ‘Omari showed me around Mombasa.’

Simersheeni. ‘You (pl.) don’t take around!’

Simersheeni/ zoombo. ‘You (pl.) don’t take around things!’

Skumeersha/ peesa. **check the meaning**

Waant^hu/ wiingi/ wamershezo munt^hu haḷaweetó. ‘Many people surrounded the injured man.’

ku-meershanya v. caus. rec. (**-mersheenye**) make one another go around

ku-mersheleza v. caus. appl. (**mersheleeze**) take around for; turn with

Hamadi/ mmerseheleze mwaanawe/ 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 advertized.’ (A proverb.)

Imersheeza/ kahawa. ‘Coffee was offered (to those assembled).’

Maayi/ ayo/ yamersheza na ḷkuta. ‘This water is surrounded by a wall.’

Munt^hu haḷaweetó/ mersheza na waant^hu. ‘The injured man was surrounded by people.’

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’

Luti ili/ lile/ kana meetiri/ haljingili/ apo. ‘This stick is as long as a meter, it cannot fit into there.’

Taambula/ yiimp^{hi}/ kaḏá/ ikumi/ ba/ metri kaḏá/ alhaasili/ inakhuunguló. ‘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/ ndaaká. ‘That table is mine.’ (Cf. **Meza izo/ nzaaká.** ‘Those tables are mine.’)

Nuzile mezaa nk^hulú. ‘I bought the big table.’ Cf. **Nuzile meezá/ 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 khaṭi/ 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/ ziweeshela/ 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.’ (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. See below.)

Chihada/ mi/ nnakhsulá khaadimú/ mooyi/ kundraasha. ‘I want one servant to accompany me.’

Mi/ ndimí/ muke oyo. ‘I am that woman (you are looking for).’

Mwaanwá/ nt^haku/ nfurahishizoo mi/ nt^ho/ kol^{koo} we. ‘My son, there is no one who has pleased me more than you.’

Njiilé/ ba/ mi. gloss?

Ni mkulu/ kol^{koo} mi. ‘He is bigger than me.’

Noka/ ndrúmilee mi. ‘The snake bit me.’

Siimba/ njilee mi. ‘The lion ate me.’

Ye/ nakhsuláa mi/ kandikaa khaṭi. ‘He wants me to write a letter.’

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’.)

Nnakhsuláa miti/ yanawee milé. ‘I want that the trees be tall.’

- mi** question particle
Mii/ uzilé/ chibuukú. ‘Is it true that you bought a book (I did not expect you to do that)?’ (The simple yes-no question would be: **Uzilé/ chibuukú?** ‘Did you buy a book?’)
- 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 Omari/ shfanyize mi’aadi/ kudirkamana/ numbaani/ ka Nuuru/ muunt^hi/ wa mfumaa jima/ unakuuyó. ‘Me and Omari made an appointment to meet at Nuuru’s house on the coming Saturday.’
Mi’adi yiitu/ kiilana/ ni keesho. ‘Our appointment to meet, come together, is tomorrow.’
- mi’raaji** n. [Ar. *mī’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/ pesheja 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.’
- miöibu** n. 9/10 [Som. *midab* DSI ??] complexion, color
Nguwo izi/ miöibuze/ 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 khuṭba/ ya sala yaa jima. ‘The imam climbs the *mihraabu* to give the lecture for Friday prayers.’
- mihiraaji** n.
Shekh Madaa Sheekhi/ waliko sheekhi/ fasaaha/ sowṭiye/ shfungula mihiraaji/ Mwīini/ zamaani/ ka ufasaaha. ‘Sheekhu Madaa Sheekhi was a very eloquent scholar in his voice, he used to explain *mihiraaji* in the old times in Brava with clearness and eloquency.’
- 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 **mw-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^hachilawa/ ibenyaani/ kh^hteza 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.’

Zahara/ nakhkoða na waanawe/ mikooni. ‘Zahara is talking to her children in the kitchen.’

zombo za mikooni ‘kitchen utensils’

mila n. [Sw. *mila* SSED 280; Ar. *milla* ‘religious community, faith, confession’ W 918] custom, regulations, tradition, way

iyoy 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 shtosheeni sahali [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 kiwa 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 (lit. tradition)’

Want^hu awo/ nt^hawanaayo/ 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.)

militaare n. military
Jeneraale/ ni garaada/ nk^hulu/ ya militaare. ‘General is a high rank in the military.’

ku-milka v. [Ar. *malaka, milk* ‘acquire, possess’ W 921] (**milkiile**) own
Apo/ zamaani/ waliko sul^htaani/ mooyi/ milkilo nusu ya duniya. ‘Once upon a time there was a sultan who owned half of the world.’

Kulla yaa mi/ humilkó/ ni mulkuwe. ‘Everything that I possess is his property.’
kumilka ruuhu ‘to control oneself’

Ichiwa Hasani/ nt^hanakhaadira/ kumilka ruuhuye. ‘It became that Hasani could not control himself.’

Mi/ humilka faturaa m-bili. ‘I own two cars’

Mi/ humilka nuumba/ Mkhodiisho. ‘I own a house in Mogadishu.’

Muunt^hu/ humilka chaake. ‘One owns/possesses his (things), i.e. one does not own that which belongs to other people.’

Waant^hu/ wote/ wana’iwa/ kuwaa si/ hachimilki/ chiint^hu. ‘Everyone knows that we do not own anything.’

rel.

ku-milkisha v. caus. (**milkishiiize**) give or otherwise provide money for the purchase of s.t., perform the legal transactions resulting in s.o. owning s.t.

We/ hukhaadiri/ kummil^hkisha muunt^hu/ chiint^hu/ 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^ti iyi/ ni milkiya. ‘This piece of land is mine.’

s^hosheeni 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/ nt^hachinakuwona chiint^hu/ chinakambiḷowa kuwa chinakhpoowá/ doolari/ milyuuni/ miyaa mbili/ walá/ nt^hazinakhtomoloowa/ 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 (milo)

n. 11/10 [Sw. *umio* SSED 500] throat, food passage, esophagus (The [cl.11] noun class prefix is historically **lu*. In Swahili, the initial **l* has elided. In Chimiini, the **l* did not elide, but rather is realized as *l*. However, the vowel of the prefix elided, like other prefixal high vowels, in front of a consonant. Chimiini has, however, apparently reanalyzed the prefix as *li*, as evidenced by evidence that the agreement morpheme with this noun class is *li* in certain cases.)

Chimdurila chisu cha lḡmilo/ chimduriló. 'He stabbed her with a knife at the throat (lit. a knife of the throat), that's what he did.'

Haaḡibu/ lḡmiloḡe/ lwelee nk^havu. 'The preacher has become hoarse (lit. his throat has become dry).'

kumḡinda lḡmilo '[lit.] to cut the throat -- i.e. make someone miss his daily food, earn his daily wage; take s.t. that is essential to s.o., take s.t. from one who has just enough to go around (esp. food)'

Simḡindé/ lḡmilo/ mweenzawo. '[Lit.] Do not cut your friend's throat -- i.e. do not make him miss his daily food.'

Siwo/ suura/ muunt^hú/ kumḡinda mweenziwe/ lḡmilo. 'It is not good for someone to cut his friend's throat.'

lḡmilooni 'in the throat'

Shtaala/ chimdurila cha lḡmilo. 'He took (a knife) and pricked her with it at the throat (lit. of the throat).' (Note that **cha lḡmilo** 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.6] 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'

ka miilu 'by foot'

Fardoosa/ ḡinzile go'aani/ kuruda numbaani/ ka miilu/ ye/ tosheze kuwa itamtalila nusuu sa'a/ laakini/ imtalile dakha ikumi/ tu. 'Fardoosa decided to come back home on foot. She thought it would take her half an hour, but it just took her ten minutes.'

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'

khḡinda miilu 'to cut the legs -- i.e. to disappoint, to take s.o. somewhere without meaning, advantage, purpose, etc.'

Nḡ^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.'

Simḡindé/ 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 artífichaale '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 muruqu 'strong legs'
milu yaa muti 'wooden legs'
milu ya'ofeetó 'tired'
milu yafuriíó '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 ziin'bi 'fat legs, like the bastone used for grinding corn maize'
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.'
saamilu 'without shoes'
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'ayná/ miilu. 'A lie does not have legs (i.e. does not work, cannot exist for long).' (A saying.)

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 zida'iifu 'weak dim. legs'

miimba

n. 9/10 [Sw. *mimba* SSED 280] stomach

Fardoosa/ kashifile kuwaa ye/ nayo miimba. 'Fardoosa discovered that she was pregnant.'

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'bu/ laazimu/ khfunga miimbaye/ wakhiti 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'akhshiika/ 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.’

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 muḷo ‘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 yūze khaaka we ni kunuskuma [song] ‘you did not feel remorse (lit. stomach did not burn you), why did you push me aside?’

Miimbaye/ mbovu. ‘His stomach is (filled with) bad (things).’ (That is to say, he keeps everything you tell him, every bad thing you did to him, in his stomach, he does not forget, even if you apologize, he does not forget – he holds a grudge against you.) (A proverbial saying.)

Munt^u 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/ imfakeetê!?**)

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/ inaakuḷa/ 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’

miimbe

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 shŭpaani. ‘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 ɗarba/ 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/ yammnikilile. ‘Tuuma, the water poured out for her.’

ku-miminila v. appl. pour for

Safiya/ miminile 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

mingisi

n. [Som. *mingis* “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 mwaalimu/ 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 aidin

[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** represent the only form of Eid greetings.
- Miini** and
- 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. *minḥa* “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’
- Miini** n. Brava, Baarawa
Nakhtiyá/ kendra Miini. ‘I am afraid to go to Brava (e.g. because of Al Shabab activities in the region).’ Or: **Naki’itiyá/ Miini/ keendra**. ‘I am afraid of it Miini to go to.’ Or: **Naki’itiyá/ keendra/ Miini**.
- Nakhtiyá/ koloka Miini**. ‘I am afraid to go to Brava.’
- minjaniiqi** n. [Ar. *manjanīq* W 926] catapult, mangonel (GM was not familiar with this word.)
- mintidi** adj. tough, stubborn, strong-willed
Hamadi/ ni mintidi/ mwenye go’aani/ ha’ubleki/ khalbi/ shinda go’aani/ hufaanya. ‘Hamadi is a tough, stubborn man, decisive, he cannot be discouraged, if he decides to do something, he does it.’
- 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.’
khfanya miinza ‘to make dark’
Sheekhi mwambile Ali/ habamooyi/ tawaafa/ ruuda/ fanya miinza/ maato/ yanakundraaza/ ka weelo. ‘Sheekhi told Ali lower the lantern little, I cannot see (lit. eyes are lacking me) because of (lack of) light.’
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)’
Numba/ imweleele 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/ miriḷe mafta. ‘Fardoosa strained the cooking oil.’
Faatma/ mmiriḷe mwaana/ ipu. ‘Faatma squeezed the child’s boil.’
kumira ndrīimu ‘to squeeze a lemon or other citrus fruit’
Haliima/ nakumira ndrīimu/ maayi/ fashuuq!/ nakhanya
sparamuuto. ‘Haliima is squeezing out the (lit.) water of
the citrus fruit, *fashuuq!* she is making grapefruit juice.’

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. (mirilile)

ku-miirisha v. caus. (mirishiize)

Salwa/ mmirishize mwaana/ mafta. ‘Salwa had the child strain the cooking oil.’

ku-mirishiliza v. caus. appl. (mirishiliize)

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-miiro n. 3

u-miiro n. 14

miiraathi n. [Sw. *mirathi* SSED 281; Ar. *mīrāt* 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’

Mukhta’a 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’

khṭowa miiri ‘to lose one’s head’

khṭoza miiri ‘to cause to lose one’s head’

Abooke/ mṭozeze waawaye/ miiri. ‘Abooke confused, bothered his father [to the point of his losing his head].’

Mi/ miiriza/ ṭamaamu. ‘As for me, my mind is unimpaired.’

Oyo/ nt^haná/ 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].’

khpanda miiri ‘to get rusted’

Lamiyeeri/ kharibu ya ṭawala/ hupandra miiri/ kahima/ ka uumiṭo. ‘Corrugated sheets near the sea get rusted quickly from the humidity.’

chi-miiro (zi-) n. 78 sieve

Haliima/ nakumira pompee|mo/ ka chimiiro/ cha laakiri. ‘Haliima is squeezing grapefruit with a plastic sieve.’

ku-miirsata v. [Som. *miyrso*, variant *miirso* DSI 440] (**mirseete**) sober up; come out of the wildness of youth and into the sober maturity, wisdom that comes with age

Muunt^hu/ chishikowa shšana/ hulaṭowa ka yeeye/ haṭá/ chimiirsata. ‘If someone gets angry, he is left alone until he gets back to his senses.’
rel.

ku-miirisha v. [cf. Som. *miyiri* ‘to bring s.o. to his senses, to calm s.o. down’ DSI 440] calm someone and bring him to his senses, provide means to sober someone up (e.g. give him alka seltzer); subdue someone who has been bullying another person

Muunt^hu/ chiwerersata/ humirishoowa/ ka ṭarṭiibu. ‘If someone gets confused, he is slowly calmed (and returned to his senses).’

ku-mirsatisha v. caus.

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**

chileteḷoowa miskhi na rihaani/ pokela siize izo nza jannaani [st.] ‘if you are brought a perfume or sweet basil, accept them, do not refuse; those are from Paradise’

khpaka misqi ‘to apply perfume’

misqi hadaari saahibuḷ ihraamu [st.] ‘one who is in the state of *ihraamu* does not touch perfume’

Misqi/ zinakunuunk^hó. ‘Good smells/perfumes are being emitted (lit. smelling).’

Omari/ nakunuunk^ha/ 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

munt^hu wa misra ‘an Egyptian’

Si/ chinakendra karka nt^hi za misra. ‘We are going to the lands of Egypt.’

Wachoodroka/ wachiruda misra. ‘They departed and returned to Egypt.’

Ye/ safirile sku niingi/ haṭá/ komele misra. ‘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/

nt^hakhaadira/ kulawa. ‘For example, you want to go to Mogadishu tomorrow, Monday, but you cannot travel/leave.’

mi’raji ni ngazi nt^hayna mithaali [st.] ‘[the Prophet’s] ascension is a ladder that has no equal’

ndiye wa kale nt^hana mithaali [st.] ‘he is the One without beginning and without equal’ (For the most part, we follow Sandra Vianello’s suggested practical orthography for the transcription of **steenzi** and other written forms of Chimiini. We have diverged primarily in that we continue to indicate aspiration, even though it is largely predictable. We have also chosen to omit all indication of accent, since in the **steenzi** there is no manifestation of it in the oral performance. Vianello, on the other hand, retains accent marking in a few cases; e.g. she writes *ntaná* where we have written *nt^hana*. It is true that in the spoken language there is ALMOST always a final accent on **n^haná**. But there is also always a final accent on **ndiyé** ‘he is’, but Vianello does not write a final accent there. There may very well be some reason to have a different practice in these two cases, but we have preferred to simple omit indication of accent.)

si shchiparpatooa mithaali ya nt^huungu [nt.] ‘we were hunted down everywhere as if we were ants’

Waant^hu/ wanakhfilatiloowa kubarata ka mithaaliye. ‘People are expected to learn from his example.’

rel.

mithli n. [Ar. *miṭl* W 891] comparison

Hamadi wiitu sho mithli =[st.] ‘our incomparable Muhammad’

miywaani

n. 9/10 [Sw. *miwani* SSED 281; cf. Ar. ‘*uwaināt* “eyeglasses” W 663] eye-glasses
Nakihtaja miywaani/ khsoomela. ‘He needs glasses to read with.’
Nakiyih^htaja miywaani/ 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 miya. ‘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.

miyateeni n., adj. two hundred

chi-miya

n., adj. [Morphology uncertain, may be an unanalyzable **chimiya**.] silence, silent

Mamele chimaayi. ‘He kept silent.’

mow^hi ni laazimu na mwiinso chimiya [st.] ‘death is a must and the end is silence’

Numba/ iwaliko chimiya. ‘The house was dead silent.’

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

Inoka/ 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.)

Ngoombe/ wa Omari/ jibiso/ immiziizó. ‘The snake swallowed Omari’s cow.’

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/ walangalilopo 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.’

ku-mizoowa v. pass. be swallowed

Muunt^hu/ chiwa moloolo/ humizowa mzimawe. ‘If someone is soft he is swallowed whole.’ (A proverb.)

miizaani

n. [Sw. *mizani* SSED 281; Ar. *mīzān* W 1065] scale, balance (instrument), weight
Huwa’andika mizanaani/ ... mbuzi mbilize/ sawa/ tu. ‘He puts them [the goats] on a scale... Both the goats are just alike.’

Kanaa we/ nakhsula kishkiza miizaani/ we/ laazimu/ kuja haba. ‘If you want to lose weight you must eat less.’

khpoṭeza miizaani ‘to lose weight’

Kuwa ya/ nakhpoṭeza miizaani/ inakanza koonyesha. ‘That he is losing weight is beginning to show.’

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 Mogadisho 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

n. 9/10 [no etymological source found] (my) elder brother (but restricted to a brother of a male); [pron. **mkulá**]

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)

Mkulá/ waa we/ mweno numbaani/ ni mwaalimu. ‘My brother, who you saw at the house, is a teacher.’

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.’)

Hamadi/ koḏele na mkulé/ tu/ nt^hakhkooḏa/ na ismu/ ya muunt^hu/ mwiingine. ‘Hamadi spoke only to his brother. He did not speak to anyone else.’

mwaana/ na mkulé ‘a boy and his elder brother’

Muunt^hu/ na mkulé/ wa’enzele sukhuuni. ‘The brothers [lit. someone and his elder brother] went to the market.’ (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 older 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.’)

Spisile/ sku niingi/ oko/ kaawo/ mkulé/ Huseeni/ichimwingilamurugu/ ka chiiza/ kumwona/ muné/ sku izi/ zotte. ‘Many days passed, and there at home his older 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/ chiwameereja/ mkulaze/ wake/ chivalooza. ‘The boy looked for women for his elder brothers to marry.’

Mwaana/ na mkulazé/ wachizajilowa waana. ‘The boy and his elder brothers were born to children.’

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.’ (The final accent on **mkulaze** in this example is not due to an inherent final accent on **mkulaze** but rather to the fact that it is preceded by the conjunction *na*.)

Yuusufu. chanza khfatisha/ mizigo/ ya mkulaze/ qabla ya mzigu/ waa muné. ‘Joseph began to inspect the bags of his older brothers before the bag of his younger brother.’

mkulazo ‘your older brothers’

Mkulazo/ wa’ikalant^hijiile/ ka sabri/ walá/ nt^haku/ mooyi/ kati kaawo/ nakhsulo khuraashá. ‘Your older brothers stayed at home, patiently, neither does any one of them want to follow you.’

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.’

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.’

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 copular root which appears in a great variety of forms

chiimo ‘it [cl.7] is in’, **nt^hachiimo** ‘it [cl.7] is not in’

Chibuuku/ chimo sandukhuuni/ chiimó. ‘The book is in the box, that’s where it is.’

Chibuuku/ shchiwa nt^hachiimo/ sandukhuuni/ chimera

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

Chibuuku/ hashtakuwaamo/ sandukhuuni. ‘The book will not be in the box.’

liimo [cl.11] copular

Luti/ liimo numbaani. ‘The stick is in the house.’

niimo

Mi/ nimo madrasaani. ‘I am in the school.’

Mi/ nimo mtanaani. ‘I am in the room.’

Niimó. 'I am in.'

niimo

Niimó. 'You (pl.) are in.'

nt^hachiimo 'we are not in'

nt^hachiimo '[cl.7] is not in'

Chibuuku/ nt^hachiimo/ sandukhuuni. 'The book is not in the box.' (Note that negative verbs do not permit Verb Copy, hence the unacceptability of ***Chibuuku/ nt^hachiimo/ sandukhuuni/ nt^hachiimó.** 'The book is not in the box, that's where it isn't.'

Chibuuku/ shchiwa nt^hachiimo/ sandukhuuni/ chimeera kabatiini. 'If the book is not in the box, look for it in the cupboard.'

Nakumera chibuukú/ nt^hachimo sandukhuuní/ (nakumeeró). 'I am looking for the book that is not in the box (that's what I am looking for).'

Ni chibuuku/ nt^hachimo sandukhuuní. 'It is the book that is not in the box.'

nt^haamo [cl.1] negative copular

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'

nt^hawaamo 'they [cl.2] are not in'

nt^huumo 'you are not in'

sichiwaamo

Sulile 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**

siimo 'I am not in'

Ama/ mi/ siimo. 'As for me, I am not involved.'

Simo numbaani. 'I am not at home.'

umó second person singular copular

khuwonaa we/ karka dhibu yaa we/ umó 'to see you in the dire straits that you are in'

umo [cl.1] copular

Muunt^hu/ umo mṭanaani. 'The man is in the room.'

sandukhuuni/ mahaḷaa noka/ umó 'the box in which there is a

snake'

Umo markabuuni. 'He is on the ship.'

Umo muunt^hu/ mooyi/ hakhaadiri. 'There is one person sick.'

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?

waamo [cl.2] copular

Apa/ wamo waant^hu/ wazima. 'There are old people here.'

sulṭaani/ wawenopo wamo karka dahshá... 'when the sultan

looked and found them in such bewilderment'

yaamo [cl.6] copular

Ma'uwa/ yamo shkapuuni. 'The flowers are in the basket.'

Ndani ya numba iyi/ yamo maali/ miingi/ wamo waant^hu/ wiingi/

zimo zoombo/ ziingi/ na zakuja ziingi. 'Inside this house there is much wealth, there are many people, there are many things and much food.'

yiimo [cl.5] copular

yiimo [cl.9] copular

- Nama/ 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** [cl.8] copular
Ziwo za waawaye/ zimo n̄hini ya mvuungu. ‘The books of his father were under the bed.’
- ziimo** [cl.10] copular
Ndruti/ zimo numbaani. ‘The sticks are in the house.’
- mo** n. heart of an animal, which may be eaten
Wako want̄hu/ hawaaji/ mo. ‘There are (some) people, they do not eat the heart of an animal.’
- 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/ n̄^hi iyo/ na oloshela/ mo/ ka mo/ ingile sukhuuni. ‘Sa’iidi entered that land and went directly and entered the market.’
- moo’idi** n. [Ar. *mau’id* ‘pledge, engagement, appointment’ W 1081] a place or time to meet, an appointment
Nnayo moo’idi/ na Nureení. ‘I have an appointment with Nureení.’ (In GM’s speech, the first person subject marker is null before the present tense marker *na*. MI, on the other hand, usually retains a geminate nasal in this situation. We usually write the geminate due to its presence helps to identify the verb as first person.)
- 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 saant̄hize 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:
mwana mooði ‘a stillborn child’
Zazile mwana 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/ khuḍuḥiile/ 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**
Fanyiize/ jahazi/ pamooyi/ na msaa’ada/ wa waant^hu/ wamwaminiloo ye/ na mwajiituwé. ‘He made an ark (lit. boat) with the help of people who believed in him and his God.’
kumtiya/ kana mojiitu ‘to fear him as one fears God’
Mtume Nuuhu/ waliko tumiila/ na mwajiitu. ‘Prophet Noah was sent forth by God.’
- mojiitu na mrehemu** fixed phrase: God’s mery be on him, used in referring to someone dead
Shekh Nureeni/ fiile/ mojiitu/ na mrehemu. ‘Shekh Nureeni is dead, God’s mercy be on him.’
- 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.’
- moola** 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 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-moolela v. appl. (**moleele**) shave for, with
chireza chaa mi/ nmoleele muunt^hú ‘the razor that I used to shave the man’
Muke/ nmoleele waana/ ziṭa/ kaa chisu. ‘The woman shaved the children’s heads for me with a knife.’ **review pronunciation of the 1 sg obj**
Nimmoleele 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.)

Nuuru/ tiyile kumolela Ali/ chireza ichi. ‘Nuuru was afraid to shave Ali with this razor.’ (It is possible to prepose the instrument in front of the applied instrumental verb and have the main verb bear an object marker governed by this preposed instrument: **Nuuru/ shtiyile chireza ichi/ kumolela Ali.** ‘Nuuru was afraid for this razor to be used to shave Ali (e.g. the razor is not sharp enough).’)

Tete chireeza/ kumolela. ‘He took a razor to shave with.’

Tete chireeza/ kummolela. ‘He took a razor to shave him with.’

Tete chireeza/ ku-n-molela. ‘He took a razor to shave me with.’

ku-moleloowa v. appl. pass. (**moleela**)

Molela waana/ zita/ kaa chisu/ naa muké. ‘[Lit.] I was shaved for the children’s heads with a knife by the woman.’

Molela naani/ chireeza. ‘Who was shaved with a razor?’ (Observe that in the case of the instrumental applied verb, the thing directly affected may be the subject of the passive sentence. Incidentally, a possible answer to the question given here would be: **Molela Hamadi.** ‘Hamadi was shaved with it.’ **Hamadi** is the subject and controls the subject marker, which is null in this case, but appears in post-verbal position.)

Molela naani/ Hamadi. ‘Who was shaved for Hamadi.’ (In this sentence, **Hamadi** is the subject of the verb. **Naani** questions who was affected by the action, not who benefitted from the action. Notice that in post-verbal position **naani** must follow the verb since that is the position for focus and question words are inherently focused. It is also phrased with the verb. A possible answer to this question: **Molela mwaana.** ‘(His) child was shaved (for him).’)

Naani/ molela Hamadi. ‘Who was shaved for Hamadi?’ (This sentence is somewhat deceiving in its word order. The verb **moleela** is a passive of a benefactive applied verb **moleela**. In the passive, it is only the beneficiary that can be the subject. Thus in the sentence at hand, it is **Hamadi** that is the subject of the verb, not **naani** ‘who?’ **Naani** questions the identity of the person shaved. Because it is located in pre-verbal position in this example, it requires the pseudo-relativization of the verb. Note furthermore that the subject of the verb is not only shifted to post-verbal position, but it actually phrases together with the verb. The postponing of the subject is not obligatory, however: **Naani/ Hamadi/ moleela.** ‘Who is it that Hamadi was the beneficiary of his being shaved?’)

ku-moleloowa v. pass. (**moleela**) be shaved

Chitaache/ chiwaliko chimolela. ‘His head was shaven.’

ka muunt^hi waa saba mwaana moleloowa [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 chita/ kaa chisu/ naa muke. ‘The child(’s head) was shaved with a knife by the woman.’ (Syn. Note that it is ungrammatical to make **chita** the subject of the passive verb:

***Chita/ chimolela mwaana/ kaa chisu/ naa muke.** One can,

however, rearrange the word order: **Chita/ mozela mwaana/ kaa chisu/ naa muke.**)

ku-moolana v. rec.

ku-molanila v. rec. appl.

ku-moleka v. p/s.

ku-molesha v. caus. (**moleesha**)

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.)

-mole adj. shaved

chidevu chimoole ‘a shaved chin’

chita chimoole ‘a shaved head’

moomini adj. faithful

Moomini/ ni waant^hu/ humti’a mojiitu/ ka kilaa chiint^hu/ na kilaa waqtⁱ/ hawam’aansi/ mojiitu/ humaamina/ ka kilaa chiint^hu/ chaa ye/ hadiilo. ‘Faithful (people) are people who fear God in every thing and at every time, they do not negate him, they deeply believe in all that he says.’

- moomini** adj. [Ar. *mu'min* W 29] believer (esp. of Islam), faithful, good person
Abú/ sala/ ha'imgafi/ ni moomini. 'Abu, praying does not miss him (i.e. he never fails to pray), he is a righteous believer.'
munt^hu moomini 'a believer'; **want^hu moomini** 'believers'
Sheetaani/ humpata moomini. 'Evil (lit. Satan) gets a good person (i.e. bad things happen to good people).' (A proverb.)
- moomo/ umunu** locative emphatic demonstrative, first position
moomo/ umunu/ m̄tanaani 'in this very room, in this room itself'; or:
umunu/ moomu/ m̄tanaani '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/ m̄tanaani 'right there in the room (close to you)'; or **omo/ m̄tanaani/ moomo** 'ibid.'; or **m̄tanaani/ moomo/ omo** 'ibid.'; but not ***m̄tanaani/ 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/ m̄tanaani 'in that very room, in that room itself'; or:
umuje/ moomo/ m̄tanaani 'ibid.'
- moordi** n. [Som. *moordi*] red sorghum
Fasali iyi/ ndaa gele/ na moordi. 'This is the season of maize and sorghum.'
mat̄aza 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 sul̄taani. '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.'
kht̄ilowa morooni 'to be put under someone's control'
Kht̄ilowa muunt^hu/ morooni/ siwo/ suura. 'To be put under someone's control is not good.'
kuḷawa morooni 'to get out someone's control'
Nuuru/ lazile/ 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** n. [cf. Sw. *msimu* SSED 303; Ar. *mausim* "time of the year, season" W 1070] season of the year
Muke/ uzilo muundrá/ nakhfanya khorsha/ mosimu uyu/ kalaa gele. 'The woman

who has bought the farm is planning to cultivate this season.’

- Mosko** n. Moscow
Okó/ 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/ hatá/ mowti/ umwiliilopó. ‘Hasiibu lived in comfort and peace until death came for him.’
Huyo apá/ 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?’
Taksabiba mootiwa. ‘You will cause my death.’
- mooto** n. [Ital. *moto*, shortened from *motocicletta*] motorcycle
Huseeni/ uzile baaskiili/ na mootó/ ba’adiye/ na uziize. ‘Huseeni bought a bicycle and a motorbike, and then sold them.’ (Notice that it is not required to add an object marker to the final verb, though it is of course possible: **na zuziize** ‘and sold them’. Also notice that the agreement for the conjoined singular nouns is [cl.10] *zi*.)
- mootoore** 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/ mootoore. ‘Ali got an engine for the car.’
mootoore ya gaari ‘the engine of the car’
Mootoore/ ya gaari/ imujo/ inaku_lawa yifke. ‘The motor of the truck is hot, heat is coming out.’
Omari/ ulile gaari/ mootoore 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 mu_l’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'ikhṭimiila. 'The celebration of Mohammad's birthday was

completed.'

mowṭi

n. death

Mwaana/ chiwa'ambila/ ya kuwa shtiisho/ hachireebi/ mowṭi. 'The boy told them that fear does not stop death.'

Mweenziwa/ wa piili/ mowṭi/ umteete/ naayé/ nakṭekó. 'My second companion, death took him while he was laughing.'

mowṭujama

only used in the proverb:

Mowṭujama/ 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/ sulṭaani/ 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 sulṭaani. 'Some, they are poor people, beganto love the sultan.'

rel.

chimochooyi adv. one by one

moymooyi adv. one after the other

Muskitiini/ iriiri/ waant^hu/ wanakuḷawa/ moymooyi/ tu. 'At the mosque it is crowded, people are coming out one by one.'

Wafanya makosa/ waleesela/ moymooyi. 'Those who had done wrong were brought one after the other (in the story: to be judged).'

Waana/ wamoo safa/ wanakingila skolaani/ moymooyi. 'Children are in line, they are entering the school one by one.'

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/ tamilyaawata. ‘Hamadi is yawning too much (lit. you will be amazed at him).’
Omari/ ofeete/ shishiya 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 Chimiini 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?’
Karka wana wa Omari/ mwana mwiimp^hi/ mbishilo Sheekhi. ‘Among Omari’s children, which one hit Sheekhi?’
Luti liimp^hi. ‘Which stick?’ Cf. **Ndruti ziimp^hi.** ‘Which sticks?’
Mbwa mwiimp^hi/ mlumilo mwana wa Nuuru. ‘Which dog bit Nuuru’s child?’ Or: **Mbwa mwiimp^hi/ mlumilo mwaaná/ wa Nuuru.**
Mbwa mwiimp^hi/ mlumilo Omari. ‘Which dog bit Omari?’
Munt^hu ump^hi. ‘Which person?’ Cf. **Want^hu waamp^hi.** ‘Which people?’
Mwanaashke mwiimp^hi/ we/ nampeendó. ‘Which girl do you like?’
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 if 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?’
Want^hu waamp^hi/ wagurilo hafaani. ‘Which people moved away from the neighborhood?’
Zombo ziimp^hi/ Ali/ leeseló/ zibeeló. ‘Which things that Ali brought got lost?’
- mpiindri** conj. [cf. Sw. *kipindi* ‘portion of time’ and *pindi* ‘when, if’ SSED 378-9] if, so long as;
[pron. **mp^hiindri**]
- 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/ nnakhsulā kumublā. ‘Because I want to kill him.’
kamaa ye/ chimubli ‘if he kills him, it [cl.1]’
kamaa ye/ chimuja ‘if he eats [cl.1] (e.g. a goat)’
kamaa ye/ chimuza ‘if he asks him’
kumbiga ‘to beat him/her [cl.1]’
Nk^ha’oloké/ sulā (ku)mwona. ‘If I went, I would see him.’ Or: **Sulā (ku)mwona/ nk^ha’oloké.** ‘I would see him if I went.’
Simkooðishé. ‘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/ sulā 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.’
Nnakhsulāa muti/ 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^ha’ikuwaaliko/ si/ kula numba. ‘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
Tahajudi/ husaloowa/ maskuu kati/ ni sunna/ mu’akadi. ‘Tahajudi is prayed around midnight, it is a strongly recommended *sunna*’
ziyaara za Mtume sunna mu’akaddi/ takiink^hiro mlāte nt^hanaayo 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^hana/ mukhtaa wo/ wa’iwiiló/ kuwa mu’amara waawó/ ufashilishilé... ‘when the rats knew that their plan had failed’
- mu’aawana** n. help, assistance

Dowla/ ya Amerikaano/ iwaṭindiḷile ma'askari/ ya Somaaliya/ mu'aawana/ yaa kuja/ ka sababu/ mamulii mbovu. 'The American government cut assistance for food to the soldiers of Somalia because of bad administration.'

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'ujiza/ 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'ana/ mu'tamidi. 'Hamadi is not reliable.'

mu'tarafu

adj.

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).'

mubaaha

n. [Ar. *mubāh* W 81] s.t. allowed or permitted or accepted, but not required; something good, nice, joyful etc.

Haruusi/ ni mubaaha. 'A wedding is something joyful.'

mubli kumoola chitaache mubaaha/ laakini muke na nk'ope ikraaha [st.] 'it is proper for a man to shave his head, but it is reprehensible for a woman to shave her eyebrows'

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.'

Kalent^he maduriini/ muda/ wa sku niingi/ haṭá/ mliweele/ moojé. 'He stayed in the bush for a period of many days, until he forgot all about his master.'

Mereele/ 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. *mudīr* W 301] principal, director of a school
Jaama/ mletejele mwaalimu/ khati/ 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/ haṭá/ Miini/ ni kilometerii né. ‘Muduni up to Brava is four kilometers.’

Muduni/ ni mahaḷa/ ndila/ huṭindo Chismaa’ilú/ na Miini. ‘Muduni is a place where the roads going to Kisimayu and Brava intersect.’

muḍaahara n. [Ar. *muḍāhara* “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.’

Waant^hu/ waḷazile/ wafanyize muḍaahara/ hawampeendi/ mkulu wa poliisi. ‘People went out and protested that they did not want the chief of police.’

Waant^hu/ waḷazile/ wafanyize muḍaahara/ kuja/ kuwa ghaali. ‘People went out and protested that food was too expensive.’

Waant^hu/ hukomó/ khariibu/ ya milyuuni/ ishiriini/ waḷazile/ 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’ḍin* W 12] nuisance, bothersome

variant form: **mu’ḍi**

laakini kubḷa kulla mu’ḍi haydhibi [st.] ‘but to kill something that is a nuisance doesn’t matter’

munt^hu muuḍi ‘a bothersome person’; **want^hu muuḍi** ‘bothersome people’

mufiṭo [Ital. *ammuffito*] in the expression:

kuwa mufiṭo ‘to become moldy, musty (idiomatically used to refer to people who are so often at a place that they become unwanted there)

Sigareeti/ ziwele mufiṭo. ‘The cigarettes became moldy.’

mufṭi (*wa-*) n. 1/2 [Ar. *mufṭin* 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-fṭi*, in which case the plural is *wa-fṭi*, or as an unanalyzable *mufṭi*, in which case the plural is *wamufṭi*.)

ndiye mufṭi wa aakhiri zamaani [st.] ‘he is the *mufṭi* 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/ sukhuuni/ yayelee/ 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/ zileseḷa f’embe/ niingi/ kanaa mufu. ‘Mangos were

brought to the market in large quantities, like **mufu**.’

nsi zaa mufu ‘anchovies’

Waant^hu/ wayeele/ kanaa mufu. ‘People filled (the place) like sardines.’

Ziyaraani/ ka Shekh Nureeni/ waant^hu/ 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 waant^hu/ khoofu/ na shaka/ ni/ ye/ kiiza/ khtomola/ shariita/ za muhadathaati/ spasiló/ benaa ye/ na ba’ahi/ 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?’

muhaali adj. [Sw. *muhaali* SSED 313; Ar. *muḥāl* W 219] impossible

Ni mambo/ ya muhaali. ‘It is something impossible.’

Ni muhaali/ kumkhene’asha Abooke. ‘It is impossible to persuade Abooke.’

su’ali muhaali ‘an impossible question (i.e. one without an answer)’

muhibu adj. [Sw. *muheba* SSED 131; *muhibu* SSED 314; cf. Ar. verb *ḥabba* ‘to love’ W 151] beloved

muhibu niize liini [song] ‘beloved, when did I refuse?’

muhimu adj. [Sw. *muhimu* SSED 133; Ar. *muhimm* W 1033] important; var. **muhima**

Mi/ naayo/ amri/ muhimu/ nt^ho/ na siná/ 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 muhima/ we/ khtaambula/ khatari/ za khtala dawa iyi. ‘It is crucial that you understand the risks in taking this medicine.’

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 word is probably would 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 n. [Sw. *muhula* SSED 314; Ar. *muhla* ‘respite, delay, time limit’ W 929] period, space of time

Chimwambila muhli/ peja muhla/ wa skuu saba/ sku yaa saba/ chiza khfuungula/ 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.’

muhṭamali adj. [Ar. *muḥṭamal* W 208] probable (This word is unknown to GM.)

Ni muḥṭamali. ‘It is probable.’

	Siwo/ muhtamali. ‘It is not probable.’
<i>muhtaramu</i>	adj. [Ar. <i>muhtaram</i> W 172] respected munt^hu muhtaramu ‘someone respected’; want^hu muhtaramu ‘respected people’ Sharif Mubiidi/ mojiitu/ na mrehemu/ waliko muunt^hu/ muhtaramu/ Miini/ katiike. ‘Sharif Mubiidi, God’s mercy being on him, was a respected person inside Brava.’
<i>muhuri</i>	n. 9/10 [Sw. <i>muhuri</i> SSED 314; Ar. <i>muhur</i> W 929] seal, government stamp Chibuku ichi/ hachibooleki/ ka khisa chibishiḷa 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.’
<i>mujarabu</i>	adj. [Ar. <i>mujarrab</i> W 118] tested, tried, trustworthy, proven dawa mujarabu ‘proven medicine’ Hamadaa Sheekhi/ waliko muunt^hu/ mujarabu/ ka dawa za waalimu. ‘Hamadat Sheekhi was a trusted person in scholarly religious medicine.’ munt^hu mujarabu ‘a trustworthy person’
<i>mujrimu</i>	adj. [Ar. <i>mujrim</i> W 121] criminal Mujrimu/ hafanyoowi/ mweenza/ naawé/ khutila ḍambiini. ‘A criminal is not made a friend, he will thrust you into crime.’ Mujrimu/ laazimu/ khpisowa shar’a. ‘A criminal must be subjected to the rule of law.’
<i>mujtama’i</i>	n. [Ar. <i>mujtama’</i> 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.’ Kiḷa/ 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.’
<i>mujtahidi</i>	adj. [Ar. <i>mujtahid</i> W 143] industrious, diligent Hamadi/ ni mujtahidi/ kabisá/ ka kubarata diini. ‘Hamadi is very diligent in learning religion.’ Wana wa Osmaani/ ni mujtahidi/ skolaani. ‘Osmaani’s children work hard at school.’
<i>mukarramu</i>	adj. [Ar. <i>mukarram</i> W 822] poetic respected laakini lisa ni hayi mukarramu [st.] ‘but Jesus is alive and respected’
<i>mukaataba</i>	n. agreement Wanakahari/ wamrashizo Niksoni/ wanakuhada/ ya kuwa ra’iisi/ nakhfilatiloowa/ khfaanya/ mukaatabu/ pamo(oyi)/ na ba’aḍi/ 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.’
<i>ku-muukhata</i>	v. be visible Ali/ nt^hakumuukhata. ‘Ali was not visible (i.e. he did not make his presence felt).’ 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.) Omari/ mukhete jisa suura/ harusiini. ‘Omari was visible at the wedding (i.e. he

participated fully).’

mukhlisi

adj. [Ar. *muklis* W 255] sincere, candid, frank, loyal

We/ kanaa we/ ni muunt^hu/ suura/ mukhlisi/ munt^hu islaamu/ munt^hu hupendo zeemá/ mpe/ talaakhaze. ‘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/ mukhta ye/ waliko muḅjaaná. ‘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 Faatmá/ Omari/ yolokeleele.**

mukhta Haliima/ pishiloo zijó ‘when Haliima cooked *zijo*’; or: **mukhta Haliima/ pishiló/ zijó** ‘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 wiingi ‘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/ oloshole/ 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 wakhti/ ukomeeló/ sungura/ chooloka/ ka mp^huundra/ chimpa salaamu/ chimwaambila... ‘When the time came, Rabbit went to Donkey and greeted him/ and said to him...’

Mukhta ye/ Baazi/ takuuyó/ naambila. ‘When Baazi will come, tell me.’ Or:

Baazi/ mukhta ye/ takuuyó/ naambila. ‘Baazi, when he will come, tell me.’ Or: **Mukhta ye/ takuuyó/ Baazi/ naambila.** ‘When he will come, Baazi, 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/ mukhta ye/ takuuyó.** ‘Tell me Baazi, when he will come.’

Mukhta ye/ iló/ Omari/ nt^hawaaliko. ‘When he came, Omari was not there.’ Or: **Mukhta iló/ Omari/ nt^hawaaliko.**

Mukhta ye/ komelo dukaani/ mi/ skuwaaliko. ‘When he arrived at the shop, I was not there.’ Or: **Mukhta ye/ komeeló/ dukaani/ mi/ skuwaaliko.** (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.)

Mukhta ye/ komelo dukaani/ yana/ mi/ skuwaaliko. ‘When he arrived at the shop yesterday, I was not there.’ Or: **Mukhta ye/ komeeló/ dukaani/ yana/ mi/ skuwaaliko.** (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.)

Mukhta ye/ komeeló/ mi/ skuwaaliko. ‘When he arrived, I was not there.’

mukhta ye/ mpeto mp^huundá/ m’ajibiiló ‘when he found a donkey that pleased him’

mukhta ye/ naakujó ‘when/while he was eating’

mukhta ye/ ofeetó ‘when he became tired’

Mukhta ye/ welo mzeelé/ mukeewe/ shishile miimba. ‘When he became an old man, his wife became pregnant.’

Muusa/ mukhta 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 mafakató/ chimlasile Yuusufu/ mahaalaa 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/ mbaimbali. ‘Animals have different meanings (significance) for different people.’
- mukhtaari** adj. [Ar. *muktār* W 267] chosen -- an attribute of the Prophet, not used as a general term for ‘chosen’; **mtale** is the ordinary term, although it too may be used as an attribute of the Prophet; var. **mokhtaari**
- mukhtasari** adj. [Sw. *muhtasari* SSED 314; Ar. *mukhtasr* W 242] brief (of a talk, speech)
Fanya kooðizo/ mukhtasari. ‘Make your speech short.’
ka mukhtasari ‘in brief, in outline, sketchily’
Ka mukhtasari/ ni muhimu/ khsooma/ jisa khpita imtihaani.
‘In brief, it is important to study in order to pass an exam.’
keleza ka mukhtasari ‘to explain in brief’
khabari/ ka mukhtasari ‘the news in brief’
khutba mukhtasari ‘a short speech’
koði 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; var. **mulki**
Basi/ karka mulkuwe/ chi’iisha/ chizeele/ shuure/ chimó/ chiwalimo miyakaa 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 ubele. ‘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.’
- muló** 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/ muló. ‘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 muḷo. ‘One share I put in the fire.’

izo khtumila oyo mbwa muḷooni [st.] ‘the one who refuses to use (knowledge) that one is of hell (i.e. belongs in hell)’

kanaa muḷo ‘like fire’

Hamadi/ huza zoombo/ ghaali/ hazidaariki/ kanaa muḷo. ‘Hamadi sells expensive stuff, they cannot be touched likefire.’

khfanyaa muḷo ‘to make a fire’

Umi/ nakhfanyaa muḷo/ kuwapikila waanawe/ kuja. ‘Umi is making fire to cook food for her children.’

khtilaa muḷo ‘to put fire in – instigate’

Hasani/ hupeenda/ khtilaa muḷo/ karka waant^hu/ kuwalaanya. ‘Hasani likes to instigate (lit. put fire in) people to fight (make them fight).’

kubigaa 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.).’

Numba/ hazidaariki/ kanaa muḷo. ‘Houses cannot be touched like fire (i.e. houses are so expensive one cannot buy them).’

Maamaye/ oloshole/ 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.)

Muunt^hu/ mbarakha za waant^hu/ khtila muḷooni/ khpiisha/ siwo/ suura. ‘For someone to put the papers of people in a fire and burn them is not good.’

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...’ (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 muḷo/ na maayi/ mahaḷa mooyi. ‘You are putting fire and water in one place (i.e. you are putting two incompatible things together).’ (A proverbial saying.)

We/ nii muḷo/ hudhayishoo chisú/ chisu/ huḷindo lkaambalá... ‘You are the fire that melts the knife, the knife that cuts the rope...’

Zishishiloo muḷo/ ni skunyi. ‘What has retained heat is the firewood.’

rel.

u-muḷo n. heat

Umulo/ iwaletelele waant^hu/ dhibu/ naayó. ‘The heat has brought problems for people, too.’

adj. hot

Chaayi/ ni chimulo. ‘The tea is hot.’

Chuuma/ hubigowa cho chimulo. ‘The iron should be struck while it is hot.’ (A saying.)

-muḷo

-muḷo/ kana aḍaabu ‘as hot as hell’
 -muḷo/ kana beebe ‘as hot as a bonfire’
Haliima/ mphele chaayi/ chimuḷo/ kana beebe/ kanaani/ hashpelekeki. ‘Haliima gave me tea as hot as a blazing fire, into the mouth it cannot be taken (it will burn you).’
 -muḷo/ kanaa muḷo ‘as hot as fire’
Iwa/ ni imuḷo. ‘The sun is hot.’
Ja/ kuja/ yo imuḷo. ‘Eat food while it is hot.’ Or: **kuja/ ja yo imuḷo.** ‘Food, eat it while it is hot.’
Kakanyize mayi mamuḷo/ chunguuni. ‘She poured boiling water into the pot.’
Kuja/ hujowa yo imuḷo. ‘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’aḍi/ ya mumathili/ wa nt^hi za chi’aafrika/ wahadiile/ ya kuwaa si/ leelo/ wa’áfrika/ siwo/ raaḍi/ 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.’

mumkini

adj. [Ar. *mumkin* W 918] possible
Alí/ mumkini/ keesho/ kuuya/ ka Mkhodiisho/ ka sababu/ maamaye/ hakhaadiri. ‘It is possible that Ali comes tomorrow from Mogadishu because his mother is sick.’
Iwaliko mumkini. ‘It was possible.’
Keesho/ mumkini/ kuwa ramaḍaani/ ka sababu/ leelo/ ni mweezi/ wa ishiriini/ sha’abaani. ‘Tomorrow may possibly be Ramadhan because today is the 29th of the month of Sha’abaani.’
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 muumu/ 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**]
Beeló/ ni muná. ‘The one who is lost is my younger brother.’
Menyee muná/ beele. ‘My brother Menye is lost.’ Cf. **Menye/ muná/ beele.** ‘Menye, my brother, is lost.’
mi/ munaya ‘my younger brother’
Mi/ ni Yuusufú/ na uyú/ nii muná. ‘I am Yuusufu and this one is my younger brother.’
muná/ nda mi ‘my younger brother’
Muna uyu/ nii mule. [H!H] ‘This younger brother (of mine) is tall.’ (cf. **Muna uje/ ni chigobe.** [H!H] ‘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/ nnakhsuulá/ khsaafira/ lí'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.'

Peesaze/ steta naa muná. 'My money has been taken by my brother.'
rel.

muná=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 mkułaze/ khabla ya mzigu/ waa muné. 'Joseph began to inspect the

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?'

Sinviłe muná/ mi/ siwo/ munó. 'Don't call me 'my little sister', I am not your little sister.'

bags of

munaafiqi

adj. [Ar. *munāfiq* W 988] hypocritical; [pron. **munaafiqi** or **munaafikhi**]

Munaafiqi/ du'aye/ ha'itakhabaloowi. 'A hypocrite, his supplication is not accepted.'

mun^hu munaafiqi 'a hypocritical person' (cf. **want^hu munaafiqi**)

‘hypocritical people’)

munaafiqiin n. hypocrites
Munaafiqiin/ hingizowa mahala ya n̄hiini/ ya āaabu. ‘Hypocrites get entered into the lowest level of hell fire.’

munaaqasha n. [Ar. *munāqaša* W 991] argument, debate; var. **munaaqisha**; [usu. pronounced *munaakhasha* and *munaakhisha*]
Mi/ ha’itahajoowi/ ku’akida/ muhima/ inaayo adabú/ na ihtiraamú/ karka munaakhisha/ iyi. ‘I hardly need stress the importance of discretion in these discussions.’
Wazeele/ wahadiile/ munakhasha uyu/ chiwekeni chinume/ unasuła khfikiriiloowa/ zaaydi. ‘The elders said let us put this argument back (i.e. delay) it needs to be thought about more.’

munaasaba n. time, meaning, value
Kiłaa chiint̄u/ chinayo munasabaye. ‘Everything has its time/ meaning/ value.’ (A proverb.)

munaasibu adj. [Ar. *munāsib* W 991] appropriate, suitable
Chiława/ choloka numbaani/ ka Harun Rashiidi/ na waqt̄i/ nt̄akuwaaliko/ wakht̄i munaasibu/ wa muunt̄u/ 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.’
Hamadi/ mwambile Ali/ kođi iyo/ siwo/ munaasaba/ khkođowa apa. ‘Hamadi told Ali that that talk is not appropriate to talk about here.’

mundule n. [Som. *mundul* DSI 446] a circular, dome-shaped hut made of wood with mud plastering
Omari/ nuumbaye/ jisa iwashiłá/ nviriinge/ kana mundule. ‘Omari’s house the way that it is built is round like a hut.’

munishiipiyo n. [Ital. *municipio*] the town-hall in Brava; municipality; [pron. **Munishiipiyo**]
Ali/ tiliila/ rukhsa/ seeni/ ka munishiipiyo/ kuwaka nuumbaye. ‘Ali has gotten signed permission to build his house from the municipality.’
Karka diiwaani/ ya munishiipiyo/ nt̄hi/ yiko kharibu ya muskitiini/ ka Madani/ nda Nuuru. ‘In the register of the municipality, the land that is near Madani mosque belongs to Nuuru.’
Teesara/ huțomoló/ ni munishiipiyo. ‘ID’s, who issues (them) is the municipality.’

muunju n. a small weevil that enters cereals (seaweed is used to protect grain from **muunju**)
Gele/ ishkala niingi/ hingila muunju. ‘Maize if kept for too long gets infested with weevils.’
Wake/ wanakhtalaa gele/ muunju. ‘Women are taking weevils out from the corn.’

muunju n. in the phrase:
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/ chilawa/ 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. **muu**, but **munu** may also be heard]
khtilaa muu ‘to add salt to’
Tilee nama/ muu. ‘He put salt in the meat.’
muuuwe ‘his salt’
Na teená/ nguwo/ zaa ye/ veetó/ zinazo mayi yaa muu. ‘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.’
- muqtafa** adj. [Ar. “to follow; track; imitate”]
wapeenzelo Mtume muqtafa/ ndiye mrashoowa ka diini musaffa [st.] ‘they loved the Prophet, the Chosen One; he is to be followed in the pure religion’
- mura** n. [Sw. *mur* “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** n. a gold necklace made of large hollow ball beads (but has not been observed in Brava)
- 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
m^late 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.)
Omari/ mpiraani/ tuushile/ immurkeṭe kuulu. ‘Omari fell down at soccer’

and sprained his leg.’

ku-mur(u)gisha v. caus.

ku-murugsata

v. [Som. *murugeysan* DSI 449] (**murugsee**) be worried

Basi/ sultaani/ nakumurugsata. ‘So the sultan is becoming worried.’

Haliima/ ni laazimu/ chiza kumurugsata. ‘Haliima ought not to worry.’

Jariba chiza kumurugsata. ‘Try not to worry.’

Maame/ humurugsata/ tarafu ya amaaniya. ‘My mother worries about my safety.’

Mi/ daa’imu/ humurugsata/ khfanya ghalta. ‘I always worry about making a mistake.’

Mi/ nakumurugsata/ khambilaa we/ kuwaa we/ nt^hukudorsatoowa. ‘I am sorry to inform you that you were not chosen.’

Mi/ nakumurugsata/ kuwa Hasani/ haayi. ‘I am worried that Hasani will not come.’

Mi/ nakumurugsata/ kuwa waawo/ ni mariidi. ‘I am sorry that your father is sick.’

Mi/ nakumurugsata/ ka iyo/ imtulukililo Hamadi. ‘I am sorry for what happened to Hamadi.’

Mi/ nakumurugsata/ Omari/ khfungoowa. ‘I am sorry about Omari’s being arrested.’

Ni ‘aadi/ kabisá/ muunt^hu/ kumurugsata/ tarafu ya mushkila/ ya muunt^hu. ‘It is quite common to feel depressed about one’s problems.’

Simurugate. ‘Don’t worry.’

Ye/ hatahaaji/ kumurugsata tarafu ya peesa. ‘He does not need to worry about money.’

rel.

ku-murugisha v. caus. (**murugishiize**) worry someone

Mi/ sinakhtasha/ kuwaa yo/ huwamurugiisha/ wo. ‘I don’t think it worries them.’

Mi/ skusuula/ khumurugisha/ na mushkilaza. ‘I didn’t want to worry you with my problems.’

Omari/ chiza kujiba telefoono/ inamurugisha Haliima. Omari’s not answering the telephone worries Haliima.

ku-murugsatila v. appl. be worried about

Mubiidi/ maamaye/ daa’imu/ hummurugsatila. Mubiidi’s mother, she always worries about him.’

ku-murugsatisha v. caus. (**murugsatishiize**) worry someone

Sakiina/ mmurugsatishize mwaallimu. ‘Sakiina worried the teacher.’

ku-murugsatishika v. caus. p/s.

ku-murugsatishana v. caus. rec.

ku-murugsatishiliza v. caus. appl.

ku-murugsatishilizanya 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 ‘khisani/ Nuuru/ impeto murugu. ‘Why was Nuuru worried?’

(The pre-verbal question words, being focused, trigger pseudo-relativization of the verb.)

‘Murugu/ impeto maana. ‘(It is) worry that has gotten the child.’

Or: **‘Murugu/ impeeto/ maana.** Or: **Murugu/ maana/**

impeeto. (Our consultant rejected the sentence where an

initial **murugu** is not focused: ***Murugu/ impete Nuuru.**)

‘Naani/ impeto murugu. ‘Who got worried?’

Nuuru/ ka’impata murugu ‘if Nuuru had been worried’ or **Nuuru/**

ka’impatá/ murugu (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 murugu. ‘Only Nuuru was worried.’

Yana/ Nuuru/ impete murugu. ‘Yesterday Nuuru got worried.’ Or: **(Ni) yana/ Nuuru/ impeto murugú.** ‘Yesterday Nuuru got worried.’ Or: **Yana/ 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/ shtukulika/ 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/ nakh^hteza 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.).’

muruni

n.

Baazi/ jaribile kuwa waaðehe/ na jawaabu/ za muruni. ‘Baazi tried to stay clear of controversial matters.’

Hakhiikha/ ya kuwaa mi/ nfunzile mnaangó/ ha’itiloowi/ muruni. ‘The fact that I locked the door is not disputed.’

Jisa muruni/ yanziizó/ nt^haasá/ hayisoowi. ‘How the dispute began remains unknown.’

musaa’ada

n. help; var. **musaa’ida**

Leelo/ nakumereLOWa Omari/ musaa’ada/ maanawe/ hakhaadiri. ‘Today assistance for Omari is being looked for, his child is sick.’

We/ laazimu/ khfikiriJa/ kumera musaa’ida/ wa Baazi. ‘You should consider seeking Baazi’s help.’

musaffa

adj. freed from impurities, pure

wapeenzelo Mtume muqtafa/ ndiye mrashoowa ka diini musaffa [st.] ‘they loved the Prophet, the Chosen One; he is to be followed in the pure religion’

mushiiri

n. title given to the Italian governor of the Benadir during days of Italian colonialization

mushkila

n. 3,9/10 [Ar. **muškila** ‘issue, unsolved question’ W 483] problem, dilemma

Chimaliza/ oyo mnaadisha/ naayé/ choloka ka sul^taani/ na mushkilawe. ‘After that, that auctioneer went to the sultan with his problem.’

Iyi/ ni mushkila/ ya aadi. ‘This is a common problem.’

mushkila iyi ‘this problem’; **mushkila izi** ‘these problems’ (Note that in this example, **mushkila** is treated simply as an (invariant) [cl.9/10] nominal.)

mushkila mkulu ‘a big problem’ (In this example, **mushkila** is treated like a [cl.3])

	nominal consisting of a prefix mu- and a stem -shkila .)
	mushkilaa nk^hulu ‘big problem(s)’ (In this case, the noun is treated like an unanalyzable [cl. 9/10] noun.)
	Nt^haku/ mushkila . ‘There is no problem.’
	Wo/ watakinenza khkooðela/ mushkila/ keesho . ‘They will continue discussing the problem tomorrow.’
	rel.
	mashaakili n. pl. [Ar. <i>mašākil</i> W 483] different sorts of worries, frustrations
mushṭaraki	adj. [Ar. <i>mušṭarak</i> “common, joint, collective” W 469] Karka Suuqu/ Mushṭaraki/ mkulu wa Suqu Mushṭaraki/ khuṭubiile . ‘At the [meeting of] the Common Market, the head of the Common Market gave a speech.’
mushṭari	n.[Ar. <i>al-muṣṭarī</i> W 470] the planet Jupiter
muusi	one, but mooyi is used when the number is a modifier
muskiri one’s mental faculties	adj. [Ar. <i>muskir</i> “intoxicating liquor” W 417] anything that makes one lose control of
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. <i>msumari</i> SSED 305 , from Ar. <i>mismār</i> 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. <i>chi-muso</i> (<i>zi-</i>) n. 7/8 dim.
muṣṭa’amali	adj. [Ar. <i>muṣṭa’al</i> W 646] used Chiint^hu/ muṣṭa’amili/ na chiint^hú/ shpiyá/ haayiwi/ sawa/ shpiya/ ni ghaali . ‘Used things and new things are not equal, new things are more expensive.’ gari muṣṭa’amali ‘used car(s)’ mayi muṣṭa’amali ‘water that is not appropriate for taking ablutions (lit. used water)’ Nuuru/ dukaye/ huzowaa nguwo/ na zilaatú/ muṣṭ’aamili . ‘Nuuru’s shp sells used cloth and shoes
muṣṭa’amari	n. colony Doblá/ za Aafrika/ niingize/ zalimo muṣṭa’amari/ zamaani . ‘Most African nations were colonies in old times.’ Somaaliya/ yaliko muṣṭa’amari/ ya Taliyaani . ‘Somalia was a colony of Italy.’
muṣṭa’iddi anything.’	adj. [Ar. <i>muṣṭa’idd</i> W 595] ready Munt^hu uyu/ muṣṭa’iddi/ khfanya kiḷa chiint^hu . ‘This man is ready to do

<i>mustafa</i>	adj. chosen; n. a name for the Prophet Mohammad
<i>mustakhiri</i>	adj. stable Hamadi/ umo spitaale/ laakini/ haaliye/ ni mustakhiri. ‘Hamadi is in hospital, but his condition is stable. Muunthu/ chiwanayo peesa/ ma’iinshaye/ huwa mustakhiri. ‘If a person has money his life becomes stable.’
<i>mustaq(a)wali</i>	n. [Ar. <i>mustaqbal</i> ‘future’, adj. and noun, W 742] future; future tense (in grammar) = shtendro chinakuuyó ‘action which is coming’ Fardoosa/ ni waaðehe/ kaake/ nt^ho/ tarafu yaa ye/ nakhsulo khfanya mustakhbali. ‘Fardoosa is quite clear about what she wants to do in the future.’ Muunthu/ shfanya kaazi/ laazimu/ peesaze/ haba mooyi/ kuweka aakhiba/ ya mustakhbali. ‘When one works one must keep some of one’s money as a savings for the future.’
<i>mustaqilli</i>	adj. [Ar. <i>mustaqill</i> W 783] independent khfanya mustaqilli ‘to make independent’ munt^hu mustaqilli ‘s.o. independent’ nt^hi mustaqilli ‘an independent country’
<i>mustaqiimu</i>	adj. [Ar. <i>mustaqim</i> W 802] straight (physically, morally); [pron. mustaqiimu or more commonly mustakhiimu] luti mustakhiimu ‘a straight stick’ Muunthu/ chinendre sirati mustakhiim/ huliwaana. ‘If a person walks on the straight path he succeeds.’ munt^hu mustakhiimu ‘a morally upright person’
<i>musukhmaasikhi</i>	n., adj. [Som.] corruption, corrupt Waant^hu/ hingilo siyaasa/ huwa musukhmaasikhi. Men who enter politics become corrupt.
<i>muta’abidi</i>	adj. [Ar. <i>muta’abbid</i> W 587] devout, pious
<i>muta’akhiri</i>	adj. late Bilaa shaka/ Abú/ takuwa muta’akhiri. ‘Without a doubt Abu will be late.’ Mi/ kawa mbele muta’akhiri/ we/ sula kuwa shishiila shtaná. ‘If I were to be late, you would get angry.’ Mi/ ni muta’akhiri. ‘I am late.’ Oyo/ ilo muta’akhiri/ ni dakhtari. The one who arrived late is the doctor.
<i>muta’asifu</i>	adj. [Ar.] sorry Aasha/ waliko muta’asifu/ kabisá. ‘Aasha was very sad.’ Mi/ mbaliko muta’asifu/ nt^ho/ kuwalaata waana. ‘I was very sad to leave the children.’ Mi/ ni muta’asifu/ ka iyo/ imtulukililo Hamadi. ‘I am sorry for what happened to Hamadi.’ Mi/ ni muta’asifu/ kuwa waawo/ hakhaadiri. ‘I am sorry that your father is sick.’ Mi/ skukhaadira/ khtaambula/ ka khisani/ mi/ mbelo muta’asifu/ nt^ho. ‘I could not understand why I felt so sad.’ Ye/ waliko muta’sifu/ kulawa Mwiini. ‘He was sad to leave Brava.’ rel. muta’asif interj. sorry; [pron. muta’ásif] Muta’ásif/ sinakhfahama. ‘Sorry, I don’t understand.’ Muta’ásif/ siná/ peesa. ‘Sorry, I have no money.’
<i>mutanta</i>	n. 9/10 [Ital. <i>mutande</i>] underpants, underwear (Although in native Bantu words, the

the voiceless prenasalized stops written *mp nt 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* in the present word represents an example of the lack of aspiration.)

- Muṭaṅṭa iyi/ nda naani.** ‘This pair of underpants is for whom?’ (cf. **Muṭaṅṭa izi/ nza naani.** ‘These underpants (pl.) are for whom?’)
- muṭaṅṭa mooyi** ‘a pair of underpants’ (cf. **muṭaṅṭa niingi** ‘many underpants’)
- Muṭaṅṭa/ za Omari/ nakuuzó/ suura.** ‘The underpants that Omari is selling are good.’
- rel.
chi-muṭaṅṭa (*zi-*) n. 7/8 underpants
- muṭamarridi** adj. [Ar. *mutamarrid* “recalcitrant, rebellious” W 903] defiant of traditions and conventions
- muṭashaa’imu** adj. [Ar. *mutašā’im* W 449] pessimistic
- muṭawafu** n. [Ar. *muṭawwif* W 574] pilgrims’ guide in Mecca
- muṭma’ini** adj. [Ar. *muṭma’inn* “peaceful, safe – of land” W 568] tranquil. quiet, peaceful
munt^hu muṭma’ini ‘a tranquil person’
want^hu muṭma’ini/ waṭma’ini ‘tranquil people’
- muwaatini** n. nationalist, supporter of the government
Mukhtaā we/ takhfanyo zint^hu izi/ apo/ ndipó/ we/ takuvilowa muwaatini. ‘If you do these things, that is when you will be called a nationalist.’
- muzdahimu** in the expression:
ndila ya muzdahimu ‘a crowded or busy road’
- muuzika** n. [Sw. *muziki* SSED 315; Eng. *music*; Ital. *musica*] music
Ba’adi/ kinendra dakhikha/ niingi/ muuzika/ isimeeme. ‘After continuing for several minutes, the music stopped.’
- chi-mvita** n. 7 the dialect of Swahili spoken in Mombasa
- mwaamba** n. [Sw. *mwamba* SSED 318] a rock under the sea
Jahazi/ ipanzile mwaamba. ‘The dhow went aground on an underwater rock.’
- mwarbarani** n. 1/10 a kind of large shark
mwarbarani izi ‘these sharks’
mwarbarani matete ‘a sp. shark, black-spotted (tiger shark?)’
mwarbarani uyu ‘this shark’
- mwaana** n. [Sw. *mwana*, recorded under *jana* SSED 150] a title for a female
- mwanua** interj. calling s.o.’s attention and giving respect (used by females)
- mwaape**
Hutukula chijuwo/ cha khur’aani/ chijuwo/ mwaape/ cha ilmu/ husomasooma. ‘He carries a book of the Quran, some little book of knowledge, and reads it.’
Mara mwaape/ Hamadi/ huno wiinó. [HH!H] ‘Sometimes Hamadi drinks wine.’
- mwaayo** n. [Sw. *mwayo* (*miayo*) "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 mwaayo ‘to yawn’ (cf. Sw. *kupiga miayo*)
Hamadi/ hendra mwaayo/ ka^fwiingi. ‘Hamadi yawns a lot.’

Omari/ kaleent^{he}/ ^fniingi/ haṭá/ nakendra mwaayo. ‘Omari sat a lot until he started to yawn.’

kendrela mwaayo ‘to have a strong desire for s.t.’

koloka mwaayo ‘to yawn, gape’

l-mwiingu

n. [Sw. *ulimwengu* 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-mwiingu/ 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.)

Mwiini

n. 9 the indigenous name of Brava (Barawa) -- apparently a contraction of the locative noun **mu-yii=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/ Mwiini/ ni khariibu. ‘From here to Brava is close.’

Apa/ haṭá/ Mwiini/ 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.’

Mwiini/ ni mahaḷaa mi/ niliiló. ‘Brava is where I come from.’

Mwiini/ wa’oloshi/ waana. [H!H!H] ‘Brava, they went, the children.’

Mwiini/ waant^hu/ wa’oloshi. [H!H!H] ‘Brava, people went to.’

Wa’oloshi/ Mwiini/ waant^hu. [H!H] ‘They went to Brava, people.’

Wa’oloshi/ Mwiini/ ni waant^hu. [H!H] ‘The ones who went to Brava are the people.’

Wa’oloshi/ Mwiini/ ni waana. [H!H] ‘The ones who went to Brava are the children.’

Wa’oloshi/ Mwiini/ ni want^hu wazima. [H!H] ‘The ones who went to Brava are the adult people.’

Waana/ wa’oloshi/ Mwiini. [H!H] ‘Children went to Brava.’

Waant^hu/ wa’oloshi/ Mwiini. [H!H] ‘People went to Brava.’

rel.

Chi-mwiini n. Chimiini, the language of the people of **Miini**

Tafaḍali/ koḍa ka Chimiini. ‘Please speak Chimiini.’

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/ watukilo 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 mbi^{ti} ‘unripe bananas’ (The adjective stem /wi^{ti}/ illustrates that an initial **w** will form a prenasalized stop **mb** with the **N-** prefix.)

mp^heloo 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/ zivelee 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 Abdala/ 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 sul^{ta}aani. ‘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/ fiile/ 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/ mkonooni ‘and a sword in hand’ or: **na lpaangá/ mkonooni**, with no very clear difference in meaning or usage

Na mtanaani/ kaaké/ weene. ‘And he saw it in his room [e.g. after seeing it somewhere else first].’

Na mtanaani/ weene. ‘And he saw it in the room [e.g. after seeing it somewhere else first].’

na

prep. by (The preposition **na** ‘by’ forms a prosodic word with a following monosyllabic pronoun.)

Jaama/ faramila naami/ keendra. ‘Jaama was advised by me to go.’ (We know that

naami is being treated as a word because it has default penultimate accent. If **mi** were being treated as a separate word, accent would fall on it.)

Nfaramiḷa keendrá/ na Jaama. ‘I was advised to go by Jaama.’ (Observe that in this example, the agentive phrase is outside the focus and final accent is not projected to it. It is possible for the agentive phrase to be focused by putting it into position immediately after the verb: **Nfaramiḷa na Nuurú/ 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.)

Nfaramiḷa keendrá/ na Nuurú. ‘I was advised to go with Nuuru.’

Nkhani’ishize na Nuurú/ kooloka. ‘I was persuaded by Nuuru to go.’

Ra’iisi/ peḷa zawaadi/ na wanaa nt^{hi}/ barzaani. ‘The president was given a gift by the citizens of the country at the courthouse.’ Or: **Ra’iisi/ peḷa zawaadi/ barzaani/ na wanaa nt^{hi}.**

na

prep. with, to

Apo/ mzele/ chimviila/ na mwanaamke/ naayé/ chimuza su’aali/ yiiyo/ 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.’ (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^hoḏeeló/ 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^hoḏeloo yaná.**)

Na ^fNuuru/ yana/ nk^hoḏeeló. ‘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^hoḏele na Nuurú. ‘Yesterday I spoke with Nuuru.’

Yana/ nk^hoḏeelé/ na Nuuru. ‘Yesterday I spoke with Nuuru.’

^fYana/ nk^hoḏelo na Nuurú. ‘Yesterday I spoke with Nuuru.’

^fYana/ nk^hoḏeeló/ na Nuuru. ‘Yesterday I spoke with Nuuru.’

na + N, pronoun

prep. also, too (Commonly found in narrative texts, not necessarily contributing much to the sentence from a meaning point of view, though in some cases at least conveys a notion similar to also or too in English. In this usage, *na* triggers final accent, indicating its identification with the conjunction *na* ‘and’ and not the preposition *na* ‘with, by’.)

Attá/ leelo/ naayé/ mwanaa masultaani/ naayé/ husoma naaye/ chiwo/ mahala mooyi. ‘Until one day [lit. today] a son of sultans studied with him (i.e. a previously mentioned boy) in the same school.’ (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/ mwiizi/ naachó/ boozele. ‘The book, the thief stole it also.’ Or: **Mwiizi/ chibuuku/ naachó/ boozele.**

Chibuuku/ naachó/ mwiizi/ boozele. ‘And the book also has been stolen.’

Chibuuku/ nacho mwiizi/ naayé/ naacho. ‘The book which the thief has, he [someone else] also has it.’

Kuja/ naayó/ ni kaazi. ‘Eating is also work.’

Maama/ naayé/ chishikowa na maraöi/ chifa. ‘Mother too fell sick and died.’

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].’

Mwaana/ naayé/ bishiila. ‘The boy also was hit.’

Mwaana/ naayé/ uzile. ‘The boy also bought [one].’

Na mwaalimú/ ooshele. ‘The teacher also has left.’ Or: **Mwaalimu/ naayé/ ooshele.**

Na skola za sarkaali/ sfuunzila. ‘Government schools also have been closed.’

Naayé/ uzile chibuuku. ‘And he also bought a book.’

Nishfungile chisanduukú/ na ndrani ya chisandukhu ichi/ 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.’

Shtala na peesá/ zaa ye/ tukiiló. ‘She took as well the money that he was carrying.’

Waziiri/ naayé/ chihada/ naami/ kaöaalika/ noloshelé/ numba iyo/ na mbishiila ndruttii miyá. ‘The minister also said: and I likewise went to that house and I was given one hundred blows.’

Ye/ chiwaa dawa/ zote/ na chiwa maraöi/ yote. ‘He was all medicine and he was all diseases (i.e. he was totally immersed in medicine and diseases).’

-na-

present tense marker

Chinakhteza. ‘We are playing.’

Mzele uje/ nakufa kaa ndala. ‘That old man is dying of hunger.’

Naakulá. ‘You (sg.) are crying.’

Nnaakujá. ‘I am eating.’ (The first person subject marker regularly elides in front of **na** in present-day Chimiini. MI, however, regularly retained the subject marker.)

Sinakuwawona. ‘I do not see them.’

Wanakiimba. ‘They are singing.’

Wanaakufa. ‘They are dying.’

Wanakumera muunt^h/ aadili/ na faahimú/ kuwawejelela 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.’

naapite ‘that she pass’

nasoole ‘that she crush grain’

Nnakhsulaa chisú/ chinawe shkali. ‘I want that the knife be sharp.’ Cf. **Nnakhsulaa zisú/ zinawe skali.** ‘I want that the knives be sharp.’

Nnakhsulaa luti/ linawee lilé. ‘I want that the stick be long.’ Cf. **Nnakhsulaa ndruti/ zinawee ndre.** ‘I want that the sticks be long.’

Nnakhsulaa muti/ 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 jillá. ‘I want that he tell me the truth.’ Cf. **Nnakhsulaa ye/ nachambile jillá.** ‘I want that he tell us the truth.’
wanaapite ‘that they pass’
wanasoole ‘that they crush grain’
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. It can be used, however, in these cases if there is an enclitic added: **naayo.**)

Infinitive:

kuwanaayo ‘to have’

kuwanayo khalbi ‘to have courage’

Affirmative present tense:

naa ‘I have’ (MI retained the first person singular nasal **n** before **na**, while GM simplifies the geminate.)

Mi/ naa chibuukú. ‘I have a book.’

Mi/ naayo khalamú/ tu/ kaaka/ chiwovuuni. ‘I only have a pen in my pocket.’ (The verb is a final accent-trigger, but the focus marker **tu** is a barrier to the projection of the final accent to the following complements, **kaaka** and **chiwovuuni**.)

Mi/ naayo kuwaa ye/ nakhkoða wanaafakhí. ‘I think that he is lying [lit. I have it that he is lying].’ (Cf. **Mi/ naayo kuwaa ye/ koðele wanaafakhí.** ‘I think that he lied.’ And: **Mi/ naayo kuwaa ye/ shkoða wanaafakhí.** ‘I think that he used to lie.’) (Observe that the first person main verb **naayo...** 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.)

Naayo keendrá. ‘I should leave.’

na ‘you have’

E/ naayó/ chisú/ kaakó/ chiwovuuní? ‘Do you have a knife in your pocket?’ (In this yes-no question, the emphasis on **naayo** puts all of the complements to the verb out-of-focus and thus triggers Accent Shift to the final vowel. Compare the following answer to this question: **Á’á/ mi/ nayo khalamú/ kaaka/ chiwovuuni.** ‘No, I have a pen in my pocket.’ Here the focus on **khalamu** puts the following complements outside the scope of the final accent from the first person verb.)

Naayó/ ismú/ ya chiint^hú/ kaakó/ chiwovuuní? ‘Do you have anything in your pocket?’ (See above for the Accent Shift observed here.)

Nayooyí/ we. ‘How do you see it? What do you think about it?’

Nazooyí/ kooðize? ‘How do you see/ take what he said?’

Ndo/ we/ naayoní. ‘Come, you, what is the matter with you?’

***?We/ na chibuukú.** ‘You have a book.’ (Appears to be ungrammatical.)

na [cl.1] has

Amiina/ naayó/ ni Suufi. ‘Amiina, the one who is married to her, is Suufi.’

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. (The use of **cho** conveys a definite noun. If th 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/ naayó/ chibuuku. ‘Only Muusa *has* a book.’ Cf.
Muusa/ tu/ naachó/ chibuuku. ‘Only Musa *has* the book.’
mwaana/ nacho chibuukú ‘the child who has the book’ or, with
verb focus: **mwaana/ naachó/ chibuukú** (cf. **mwaana/
nayo chibuukú** ‘the child who has a book’ and, with verb
focus: **mwaana/ naayó/ chibuukú**)
mwaana/ nayo chibuukú ‘the child who has a book’ and, with verb
focus: **mwaana/ naayó/ chibuukú**)
Nayo kaazi. ‘He has a job.’
Ni Muusa/ nayo chibuukú. ‘It is Muusa who has a book.’ Or, with
verb focus: **Ni Muusa/ naayó/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.)
Noka/ naalo/ lpaanga/ kali/ nt^ho. ‘The snake has a very sharp sword.’
Nokla uyu/ naayo/ so/ lpaangá. ‘Does this snake have a sword?’
(Observe that the [cl.9] noun **noka** has [cl.1] agreement.)
Omari/ nayo Fardoosa/ ye/ humpeenda/ Fardoosa/ nt^ho. ‘Omari
is married to Fardoosa (lit. has Fardoosa), he loves her very
much.’
***?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.’
Ni/ nnaazó/ peesa. ‘You (pl.) have money.’
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.’

other noun classes:

ina ‘[cl. 9] has’
Duniya/ ina zeema/ na ziwovú. ‘The world has good and bad.’

Other noun classes in present tense affirmative

Negative present tense:

siná ‘I do not have’
Mi/ siná/ haaja/ na mp^hundra uyu. ‘I have no need of this donkey.’
Mi/ sinaayo/ ala. ‘I do not have a weapon.’
Mi/ sinaayo/ ismu/ ya chiint^hu/ khatari. ‘I do not have anything dangerous’
Siná/ chiint^hu. ‘Nothing is the matter (lit. I don’t have anything).’
Siná/ peesa. ‘I do not have money.’
Sinaazo/ peesa. ‘I do not have money.’ Or: **Sinaayo/ peesa.**
nt^huná ‘you do not have’

Nthuná/ peesa. ‘You do not have money.’
Nthunaazo/ peesa. ‘You do not have money.’ Or: **Nthunaayo/peesa.**
nt^haná [cl. I] 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.)
Nthaná/ aslí/ walá/ faǒlí. ‘He does not have (either) ancestry (i.e. noble birth) nor manners.’
Nthaná/ ifumo. ‘He does not have a spear.’
Nthaná/ ijiwe. ‘He does not have a stone.’
Nthan á/ kaazi. ‘He does not have a job.’
Nthaná/ luti. ‘He does not have a stick.’
Nthaná/ mahala ya khkala(ant^ha). ‘He does not have a place to sit.’
Nthaná/ majiwe. ‘He does not have stones.’
Nthaná/ maana. ‘He does not have a child.’
Nthaná/ mifumo. ‘He does not have spears.’
Nthaná/ mپییرا. ‘He does not have balls.’
Nthaná/ mpiira. ‘He does not have a ball.’
Nthaná/ ndruti. ‘He does not have sticks.’
Nthaná/ peesa. ‘He does not have money.’
Nthaná/ waana. ‘He does not have children.’
Nthanaalo/ luti. ‘He does not have a stick.’ Or: **Nthanaayo/ luti.**
Nthanaawo/ waana. ‘He does not have children.’ Or: **Nthanaayo/ waana.**
Nthanaayo/ ifumo. ‘He does not have a spear.’
Nthanaayo/ ijiwe. ‘He does not have a stone.’
Nthanaayo/ majiwe. ‘He does not have stones.’
Nthanaayo/ maana. ‘He does not have a child.’
Nthanaayo/ mifumo. ‘He does not have spears.’
Nthanaayo/ mپییرا. ‘He does not have balls.’
Nthanaayo/ mpiira. ‘He does not have a ball.’
Nthanaayo/ ta’aliimu. ‘He does not have an education.’
Nthanaazo/ ndruti. ‘He does not have sticks.’ Or: **Nthanaayo/ ndruti.**
Nthanaazo/ peesa. ‘He does not have money.’ Or: **Nthanaayo/ 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.’
Nthachiná/ hakhi/ si/ khteza? ‘Don’t we have the right to play?’ (The final accent on **khteza** is due to the yes-no question intonation.)
Nthachiná/ peesa. ‘We do not have money.’
Nthachinaazo/ peesa. ‘We do not have money.’ Or: **Nthachinaayo/ 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^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/ s^hezo. ‘The shirts do not have buttons.’
Mashaati/ nt^hayanaazo/ s^hezo. ‘The shirts do not have buttons.’
Or: **Mashaati/ nt^hayanaayo/ s^hezo.**
- nt^hayná** [cl.5] does not have’
Shaati/ nt^hayná/ s^hezo. ‘The shirt does not have buttons.’
Shaati/ nt^haynaazo/ s^hezo. ‘The shirt does not have buttons.’ Or:
Shaati/ nt^hanaayo/ s^hezo.
- nt^hayná** [impersonal form]
Apa/ ntayná/ maayi. ‘Here there is no water.’
Maha^hla/ 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/ shko^hda 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.’
Sult^haani/ 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.’
- iwana** [cl.9] had’
Sku mo/ mp^huundra/ ya Abunawaasi/ iwanaayo/ ooni/ naayé/ nt^hakuwanaacho/ choombo/ chaa ye/ kumpe^hle^hla/ maayi. ‘One day Abunawaasi’s donkey was thirsty and he did not have anything with which to give him water.’ (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 **kumpe^hle^hla**.)
- negative past
- nt^hawaná** [cl.1] did not have’
Muusa/ nt^hawanaayo/ chibuuku. ‘Muusa did not have a book.’
Ni Muusa/ nt^hawanayo chibuukú. ‘It was Muusa who did not have a book.’

Or, with verb focus: **Ni Muusa/ nt^hawanaayó/ chibuuku**. (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.’

Affirmative future:

takuwana [cl.1]

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.’

utakuwana [cl.3]

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.)

yatakuna [cl.4] will have

Miti/ yatakunayo makharba/ kahima. ‘The trees will have leaves soon.’

Affirmative counterfactual

kawana ‘if [cl.1] had’

Mp^hundra uyu/ kawanayo mashkiló/ na khalbí/ suja 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.)

Affirmative conditional

nch^hiwana ‘if I have’

Chih^htaja peesa/ naambila/ nch^hiwanaazo/ nt^hakhupa. ‘If you need money, tell me, if I have it [cl.10], I will give it to you.’ (There is a more emphatic form of this verb, where the nasal of **na** is geminated and there is final accent: **nch^hiwannaazó**, although the gemination may also occur without the final accent: **nch^hiwannaazo**. The final accent is possible just in first or second person.)

chiwana ‘if [cl.1] has’

Chih^htaja peesa/ mwambila Nuuru/ ye/ chiwanaazo/ takhupa. ‘If you need money, tell Nuuru, if he has it [cl.10], he will give it to you.’ (Note that final accent is not possible in the emphatic version of this verb: **chiwannaazo**, not **chiwannaazó**.)

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 khsuuḷa/ 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.’

Haṭá/ farasi/ shpowa maṭaaza/ ya mhuundru/ haṭaakuna. ‘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’ (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.)

Ma’anaye/ muunt’u/ chaakuja/ na chaa kuná/ ka maṭezo. ‘Its meaning, a person does not get food and something to drink with fooling around (i.e. if you want something, you have to work for it).’

Mbele/ mp’ani maayi/ nine. ‘First, give me some water to drink.’

Nakhsuḷa kuna shkombe cha kahawa. ‘He wants to drink a cup of coffee.’

Nakhtamanaa we/ kuna. ‘He wants you to drink.’ Cf. **Nakhtamanaa kuna chaayi.** ‘He wants you to drink tea.’ Cf. **Nakhtamanaa we/ kichina.** ‘He wants you to drink it [cl.7].’ (Note that although the verb **-tamana** permits a subjunctive complement, the second person singular form is not used in the case of monosyllabic stems. Thus the following are not used:

***Nakhtamanaa we/ ne.** ***Nakhtamanaa we/ ne chaayi.** ***Nakhtamanaa we/ chine.**

Nele ka shkoombe. ‘He drank with a cup.’

Nele maayi/ ka ikoopa. ‘He drank water with a glass.’

Nnele iziwá/ na khamrí. ‘I drank the milk and the liquor.’

Shartí ya mara ya isa/ iwaaliko/ kuwa ṭakhshindroowá/ itamlaazima/ kuna maayi/ ya ṭawala/ 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 [Fikiiriini and his horse] finished drinking water, he mounted the horse and began to travel.’

wanafaanye ibaada karka haramu/ wanaṭuufe 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.’

We/ haṭá/ china habamooyi/ tu/ wo/ waṭakhuṭomola/ kaziini. ‘Even if you drink just a little, they will fire you.’

rel.

ku-naakuna v. freq. (**neleneele**)

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-neelega v. appl. (**nelele**)
Nelele maayi/ ikoopa. ‘He drank water with a glass.’ Or: **Ikoopa/ nelele maayi.** (These data from MI illustrate his rejection of a focused instrument in the instrumental applied verb construction. This rejection is illustrated by *ikoopa* not appearing in Immediately-After-the Verb position, which is a position associated with focus. Note that *ikoopa* can be topicalized, but not *maayi*: ***Maayi/ nelele ikoopa.** If one wants to topicalize *maayi*, the prepositional instrument construction must be used: **Maayi/ nele ka ikoopa.** ‘Water, he drank with as glass.’ This pattern was regularly observed in MI’s speech, but it does not appear to hold among present day speakers.)
Nelele shkoombe. ‘He drank with a cup.’
Neleleni. ‘What did he drink with?’
ku-neesha v. caus. (**nesheeze**) water (e.g. plants); make drink; serve drinks
Ali/ nesheze muundra. ‘Ali watered the garden.’
Chiloota/ kuwaa ye/ wene ruuhuye/ uko mahala 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.**)
Nesheze 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. (**nesheleeze**)
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.’
Ikoopa/ Ali/ mnesheleze mwaana/ maayi. ‘A glass, Ali made the child drink with.’ (It should be noted that in this example the instrument *ikoopa* is not an instrument that was used to cause the child to drink but rather the instrument that the child used to drink.)
ku-neshelezoowa v. caus. appl. pass. (**nesheleeza**)
Ikoopa/ nesheleza mwaana/ maayi/ na Ali. ‘A cup, the child was made to drink water with by Ali.’ (Notice that the causee, *mwaana*, is the subject of this passive sentence, but it has been postposed after the verb while the instrument *ikoopa* has been preposed. MI did not accept ***Mwaana/ nesheleza/ maayi/ ikoopa.** It should be noted that no noun phrase other than *mwaana* can be the subject of the passive sentence: ***Ikoopa/ inesheleza mwaana/ maayi/ na Ali.** Also: ***Maayi/ yamesheleza mwaana/ ikoopa/ na Ali.**)
ku-neshoowa v. caus. pass. (**nesheeza**)
Mwaana/ nesheza maayi/ ka ikoopa. ‘The child was made to drink water with a glass.’
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/ yammajiile. ‘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.)
- Maayi/ hunoowa/ tu/ sahali/ kunoowa/ maayi/ laakini/ maazi/ maazi/ hukhaadiri/ kuna/ walá/ khtaawanya.** 'Water is just drunk, it is easy for water to be drunk, but blood, you cannot drink blood nor spill it.' (Part of a comment on the proverb: **Maazi/ ni mazito/ kolko maayi.** 'Blood is heavier than water.')
- 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/ wachiḷawa. 'They left early.'
- na'am** part. [Sw. *naam* SSED 328; Ar. xxx W 980] yes; [pron. **na'ám**] (The commonly used word for 'yes' is *ee*)
Uje taajiri/ chimjiiba/ chimwaambila/ na'am/ nakhsuulani/ Abunawaasi. 'That business man answered him, saying to him: yes, what do you want, Abunawaasi?'
- 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. respect; variant form: **naamuusi**
ezi na na'musi nda Mtume Mhamadi [st.] 'dignity and respect are due [lit. of] the Prophet Mohammad'
nt^haná/ naamuusi 'he has no respect for people'
- 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/ nakhsuḷa 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. *nabīy* 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. *ambiyā* 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

ambiila mtume Ibraahimu naada/ waviile waant^hbija ni ibaada [st.] ‘the prophet Abraham was told: summon/ all people, the pilgrimage is an act of worship’

Mbiga mnaada/ ilopó/ sultaani/ chimwamura kingila muiyini/ 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 chita cha ngoombé. ‘The auctioneer announced publicly: who wants to buy the head of a cow?’

rel.

ku-nadanaada v. freq.

Kilasku/ nakunadanada choombo/ ka sultaani/ hunaadó/ yaa ye/ hupató/ humletela sultaani. ‘Each day he auctions things for the sultan, that’s what he does, and whatever he gets, he brings to the sultan.’ (Note the verb repetition in this example. Ordinarily, the repeated verb is morphologically identical to the verb that it repeats, but here the present tense of the triggering verb is matched with the habitual verb in the repeated verb.)

Oyo mubli/ kaaziye/ iwaliko chinadanada zoombo/ ka sultaani. ‘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/ kumvijila mbiga mnaada. ‘He arose from his chair and told the people who were present in the royal hall to summon 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/ muiyini/ ya kuwa mwanaamke/ wa sultaani/ 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/ kuhuðura 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.’

Sulṭaani/ shṭomola amri/ kubigowa mnaado. ‘The sultan issued an order for a public announcement to be made.’

u-naðaaafa

n. [Sw. *unadhifu* SSED 328] cleanliness

naðari

n. [cf. Ar. verb *naðira* "to have been warned" W 953] forewarning, announcement
hokomu ya Mooja ishpitapo ntachina naðari [st.] ‘when God’s judgement passes [= death comes] we have no forewarning’

naðiifa

adj. [Sw. *nadhifu* SSED 328]

Hamadi/ ni mwaana/ naðiifa/ msuura/ na adiibú. ‘Hamadi is a child (who is) clean, handsome, and well-mannered.’

Mayi manaðiifa/ ni afiya. ‘Clean water is healthy.’ (Note that although *naðiifa* is an invariable adjective, a variant such as this exists where it displays agreement with a [cl.6] noun. We are unsure whether this phenomena extends to other noun classes.)

Mayi naðiifa/ ni muhimu/ tarafu ya afiya. ‘Clean water is important for health.’

Maayi/ ni naðiifa/ nt^ho. ‘The water is very clear.’

naðiifa/ kana chilolo ‘as clean as glass’

Numba ya Omari/ (ni) naðiifa. ‘Omari’s house is clean.’ (Cf. the simple yes-no question: ^Q**Numba ya Omari/ naðiifa?**, and the exclamatory yes-no

question: [↓]**Numba ya Omari/ naðiifá!?**)

ku-naðiifisha

v. [Sw. *nadhifisha* SSED 228; Ar. verb *naḏufa* and *naḏif* "clean" W 977]

(*naðiifishiize*) clean s.t.

Chooloka/ choowa/ chinaðiifisha ruuhuye. ‘He went and bathed and cleaned himself.’

Haliima/ nakunaðiifisha nuumba. ‘Haliima is cleaning the house.’

Munt^hu uyu/ naðiifishize ruuhuye/ tawala. ‘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^hakunaðiifisha/ ruuhuye/ tawala. ‘This man did not clean himself on the beach.’)

Tuuma/ hunnaðiifisha/ nuumba. ‘Tuuma (habitually) *cleans* the house.’

We/ ndrasilee mi/ numbaani/ khpata khulangaḷiḷa waana/ kuwapikila/ kuwanaðiifisha/ na kuwafanyiliza yaa wo/ wanakiḥṭaajó. ‘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. *naẓama* 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. *nadr* 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.’
- nafi* 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
Ilmu/ suura/ ya nafi. ‘Knowledge is good, (something) useful.’ (A proverbial saying.)
- 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.)
Aduwi/ hapoowi/ nafasi. ‘An enemy is not given space, room (to do s.t.).’ (A saying.)
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?’
Hamadi/ na wakhṭi/ nafasi/ kilaa chiint^hu/ hudirka/ faanya. ‘Hamadi has a lot of time, he can do anything.’
khpata nafasi ‘to find the time/chance (to do something)’
Mp^ha nafasi. ‘Give me enough time.’
nafasi ya khalbi ‘(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**]
kuḷazima kunafikha ‘to oblige to support’ (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, id
ahli infariqiile mi nakhkooḍa na nafsiya [nt.] ‘my relatives have left me and I talk to my soul’

Chakujaache/ shpikiloowa/ na watumishe/ wiingine/ na chegeshoowa/ na mwanaamke/ nafsye. ‘His food was cooked by other servants and brought to him by the girl herself.’

Chimuuló/ ni muunt^hu/ apo/ chimamula^o shu’uni zaa nt^hi/ siwo/ fir’ooni/ nafsye. ‘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/ nafsye. ‘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 **iyo** nor **nafsye** downstepped relative to **jaaka**. The intensifier **nafsye** is apparently focused, and a bit higher in pitch than the preceding phrase.)

Jaaka/ iyo/ nafsye/ Omari/ uziló. ‘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 **nafsye** 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/ nnakeendrá/ kumwubla/ sul^htaani/ nafsye/ nt^hasaa ye/ kunub^hlaa mi. ‘But that, you will not obtain it; I am going to kill the sultan himself before he kills me.’

mapeendo ya nafsi ni óambi l’akbari [st.] ‘love of self is a great sin’

na killa maadamu khtiyila nafsye [nt.] ‘and every one is fearing for his own life’

Nafsi/ ni aduwi/ si’itúilé. ‘The self/soul/emotion/id 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/ nafsye/ stomeeló. ‘It is the fifty shillings that he himself gave to her.’

nt^hana mithaali nt^hana mfaano nafsye [st.] ‘[God] has no equal, he has nothing like himself’

Nureeni/ uzile jaaka/ iyo/ nafsye. ‘Nureeni bought that jacket itself.’

Sul^htaani/ naafsye/ chingila chisimaani/ chimtomola celo. ‘The sultan himself went down in the well and took the gazelle out.’

Tumila aqliyo/ siraashé/ nafsyo. ‘Use your brains, don’t follow (obey) your emotions.’

uhaqi wa nafsi kumeera salaama [nt.] ‘it is one’s right to seek safety’

We/ nafsyo/ nayo ijini. ‘You yourself are crazy.’

Ye/ nafsye/ waliko mariiði/ na walikoo...khalbi/ imvundishile. ‘He himself was sick and he was discouraged.’ (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’ **Gaari/ za nafta/ nii nguvu/ kolko gari za banziina.** ‘Diesel trucks are stronger than petrol trucks.’

ku-naha

v. [Som. *nax* DSI 463] be scared, startled, terrified, shocked

Naha! ‘Be scared!’

Nahaani! ‘(Pl.) be scared!’

Sinahé! ‘Don’t be scared!’

Sinaheeni! ‘(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, feel empathy for s.o.

Omari/ hanahili/ waant^hu/ hupeenda/ kujuza waant^hu/ tu. ‘Omari does

not feel empathy for people, he just likes to reproach/find fault/ rub it in.'

ku-nahisha v. caus. scare, startle someone

Fikiriini/ mukhtaa ye/ mweno mwanaamké/ qalbi/ imbishile/ sura za mwanaamke/ zimnahishiize/ nt^ho. 'When Fikiriini 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 attack (lit. disease pf heart).'

chi-naho (zi-)

n. 7/8 a scare

Ulushile ka chinaho. 'He jumped from fright.'

ku-naharisa

v. be generous

ka rahmaze humnaharisa sha'iibu [st.] '(God) in his compassion is generous to the old'

Mnaharise/ uko nt^hi/ naawé/ takhunaharisó/ uko kuzimú. 'Be kind to the one who is on earth and you will be the one who the one in the sky will be kind to.'

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/ wazeele/ wa sku izi/ nt^hawaná/ nahrisi. 'Truly, old people these days have no pity.'

E we/ sho naharisi/ muumuu/ khalbiyo/ inakhfungoowa. 'O you, merciless and rigid, your heart is being locked.'

Khalbiye/ iyele naharisi. 'His heart was filled with kindness, pity, etc.' Or: **Iyele naharisi/ khalbiye.** 'Was filled with kindness, generosity, etc., his heart.'

Khalbiye/ nt^hayná/ naharisi. 'His heart did not have generosity [in it].'

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 mojiitu na amaani/ ilu ya mtume mtafe wa rahmaani [st.]

'may God's mercy and peace be upon the Prophet, the one chosen by the Compassionate'

Nt^haná/ naharisi/ khalbiini. 'There is no kindness, generosity in [his] heart.'

	<p>Sultaani/ chishikowa sh̄tanaa nt^ho/ chihada/ uyu/ Abunawaasi/ nofishiize/ nt^ho/ walá/ ba'ada ya isa/ mi/ siwo/ nt^hamonelo 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.'</p> <p>Uyu muunt^hu/ imdarile naharisi/ shkharira kishtala icho chinoka/ kishkorsha kaake. 'This man felt pity and decided to take that little snake and raise it at his place.'</p> <p>Uyu/ nii muke/ mwenye naharisi/ na khalbi suurá. 'This is a woman who has generosity and a good heart.'</p> <p>Wanakuhada/ mzele uyu/ nt^haná/ naharisi/ ye/ panzile mp^huundra/ m̄wana chihaba/ nakiineendra. 'They said, this old man doesn't have any pity, he has climbed the donkey and his small son is walking.'</p>
<i>naharisoole</i>	<p>adj. generous</p> <p>Maskiini/ ye/ naharisoole. 'The poor person, he is generous.'</p>
<i>ku-nahila</i>	<p>v. take care of</p> <p>Muunt^hu/ chiza kunahila ruuhuye/ nt^haku/ humnahiló. 'When a person does not take care of himself, no one will take care of him.' (A proverb.)</p> <p>Muunt^hu/ mbele/ hunahila ruuhuye/ chimaliza/ hunahila waant^hu. 'One first has to take care of himself and then take care of others.' (A proverb.)</p>
<i>chi-naho</i>	<p>n.</p> <p>Ulushile/ ka chinaho/ na fungilopo maṭoyé/ wene ruuhuye/ uko nt^hakaani/ ka shpandre cha maandra/ mkonooni. '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.'</p>
<i>nahwi</i>	<p>n. [Sw. <i>nahau</i> SSED 329; Ar. <i>nahw</i> W 948] grammar</p> <p>Ali/ hukoda nahwi. 'Ali speaks grammatically, correctly.'</p> <p>Ni muṭabahiri/ ka nahwi. 'He is well versed in grammar.'</p>
<i>najaahi</i>	<p>n. success</p> <p>Daḍaal̄iyo/ ṭaajiye/ ni najaahi/ na liwaani. 'Your effort, its crown is success and success.'</p>
<i>ku-najiha</i>	<p>v. [Ar. <i>najaḥa</i> W 943] (najihile) succeed, pass (an exam)</p> <p>Muunt^hu/ mojiitu/ chimla'ana/ hanajih 'if God curses someone, he does not succeed.'</p> <p>Mukhtāa we/ hudaḍalaṭo khsomá/ we/ ṭakunajiha. 'When you study hard, you succeed.'</p> <p>M̄waana najihile imṭihaani 'The boy passed the examination.'</p> <p>We/ kajaaribá/ skanajihe. 'If you had tried, you would not have succeeded.'</p> <p>rel.</p> <p><i>ku-najihisha</i> v. caus.</p> <p>Mnajihishize m̄waana/ imṭihaani. 'He passed the child on the examination (e.g. he raised the child's grade so that he would pass).'</p> <p><i>ku-najihishiliza</i> v. caus. appl.</p> <p>Nuuru/ mnajihishilize Ali/ m̄waana. 'Nuuru passed Ali's child on the exam.'</p>
<i>najla</i>	<p>n. [Ar. <i>najl</i> W 945] offspring, descendants, progeny</p>
<i>mu-najimu (wa-)</i>	<p>n. 1/2 [Ar. <i>munajjim</i> W 945] astrologer (The initial syllable of the Arabic source <i>munajjim</i> 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 <i>mu</i> is unexpected for the [cl.1] prefix <i>mu-</i>.</p>

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 ziitu/ china'afiya ziitu.**) (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)

Jahazi/ bilaa naakhuḍa/ nt'a'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?)

nalī

n. [Som. *nal* "electric bulb, electric power" DSI 461] light, light bulb, electric power **Gaari/ ya Alí/ nakuwoná/ nalize/ kaa kule/ birikhibirikhize.** 'Ali's truck, I see its lights from afar flashing.'

kudarshaa nalī 'to put on a light'

kuzimizaa nalī 'to put off the light'

maṭoye/ kana/ nalī 'his eyes are like a light (i.e. he sees very well)'

Mp'aka/ maṭo yaawo/ huwala/ masku/ kana/ nalī/ haṭá/ minzaani/ huwona. 'Cats, their eyes are bright during the night, they shine like a lamp, they see even in darkness.'

ku-nala

v. (**ṅazile**) urinate; [pron. **kunala**, but [**kunala**] is also possible]

Amá/ ngamiilaye/ uyu/ ṅazile 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.)

Huṅa maayi/ hanali. 'He drinks water, but he does not urinate.' (A riddle, the answer to which is **nk'uku** 'hen'.)

Ngamiila/ schiwaamo/ karka safari/ mukhtāa zo/ huṅaló/ 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/ chigalapó. 'Your grandfather shouts when he urinates.' (A riddle, the answer to which is **nvula** 'rain'.)

rel.

ku-nalīla v. appl. (**nalīile**) urinate on

Haliima/ harusini/ ka Omari/ mwaanawe/ shishile shṭeko/ haṭá/ nalīle ruuhuye. 'Haliima, at the wedding of Omari's son, kept laughing until she pissed on herself.'

Mwaana/ ṅalīile. '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/ mṅalishize mariiḍi. '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/ mtile mariiði/ kunala.**)

Dakhtari/ mñalishize mariiði/ shtupaani. ‘The doctor persuaded the sick person to urinate into the small bottle.’

Zeena/ mñalishize mwaana. ‘Zeena trained the child to urinate.’

nama

n. 9/10 [Sw. *nyama* SSED 293] meat, flesh; [pron. nama, but **nama** may also be heard]

Chija zijoze/ ka mtuzi/ naa namá. ‘She ate her **zijo** with gravy and meat.’

Chooloka/ chimpika/ oyoo noka/ mafta/ yałazilo ka namaani/ shtaala/ chiyatila karka zibałasi/ saba. ‘She went and she cooked that snake and the oil that came from its meat, she put it in seven large clay jars.’

Muunt^hu/ hałiindi/ namaye. ‘One does not eat his meat – i.e., one does not fight, deny, reject his clansman.’

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/ ijila/ 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.’

rel.

chi-nama n.

Limi/ ni chinama/ tu/ nt^haliná/ mwishpa. ‘The tongue is just flesh, it doesn’t have a bone.’

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** ‘sladers’

namiiima ow kuhamata islaamu [st.] ‘a slanderer or to speak slanderously of Muslims’

rel.

unamiiimu n. 10 backbiting, slandering, gossiping

Huseeni/ unamiiimuze/ ni niingi. ‘Huseeni’s backbitings are many.’
(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’

Kuła mwaana/ hułukula chibeeramu/ zaakuja/ za namna ka namna/ na nt^hupa ya sharbaatí. ‘Every child carries a banner, foods of various kinds, and a bottle of kool-aid.’

Munt^hi uyu/ lapiiile/ wakulu/ na zihabá/ huława ibana ya muuyi/ hendra kulangała małezo 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 yiingine ‘another, a different way’

zaakuja/ za namna mbałbali ‘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 zibaṭeera. '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 wachiḍana 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] *swahilicisms* anchor
- naani** interrog. pron. [Sw. *nani* SSED 330] who(m)? variant form: **naá**
Abashekh/ 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?' (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?' (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/ namviló.** '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/ takeendró/ 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?' (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?’ Or: **Ni naani/ iló.** ‘It is who who came?’ (Note that it is ungrammatical not to put the verb in pseudo-relative form: ***Naani/ ile.** The relative clause may come first: **Iló/ (ni) naani.** ‘The one who came is who?’ But **naani** may also occur inside the VP: **Ile naani/ numbaani.** ‘Who came home?’ In this case, the verb is not put into pseudo-relative form.)

Naani/ mwekelelo Nuurú/ chibuukú/ nt^hini ya meezá. ‘Who put a book for Nuuru under the table?’

Naani/ mnaango/ funguiló. ‘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 **zijo**?’ A possible answer to this question would be: **Tuuma/ nt^hakhpikaa zijó.** ‘Tuuma did not cook **zijo**.’

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/ peła chibuukú/ na mwaajimú. ‘Who was given a book by the teacher?’

Naani/ somelo chibuukú. ‘Who read the book?’ Or: **Naani/ someeló/ chibuuku.** (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.** (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?’

Nza naani/ surwani izi. ‘Whose trousers are these?’ Or: **Surwani izi/ nza naani.**

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.’ (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?’) (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 chaakujá/ 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: [Mi/ [ni]mulile ^FHuseeni/ [↓]chibúuku]. 'I bought for Huseeni a book.'

We/ naani. 'Who are you?'

Wene n aani. 'Who did you see?' Cf. **Wene naani.** 'Who did he see?'

Ye/ nt^h ampa naani/ chibuuku. 'Whom didn't he give a book?' (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, also; [pron. **naank^hó**]; variant form: **naakó**

Apo/ naank^hó/ chijile matuundrá/ na chinele maayi. '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.'

Hamisi/ husoma niingi/ naank^hó/ hupeenda/ mpiira/ wa kuulu/ nt^ho. 'Hamisi reads a lot. Also, he likes football a lot.'

Karkaa wo/ wanakiineendr^hó/ naank^hó/ chiwakasa waant^hu/ wachihada/ mzeele/ uyu/ mwaana/ 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/ mlasile 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/ mleeete/. 'Again tomorrow bring him (along).'

Naank^hó/ nt^humiiló/ ni eelo. '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/ wachilačila 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
khtomola naqdi 'to pay in cash'

ku-naqida

v. criticize

Winginewe/ wachimnaqida/ ya kuwaa ye/ angamiize/ nuumbaye/ na angamiize/ weenziwe/ ka kumloozza/ 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.’

naaqisi

adj. [cf. Sw. *nakisi* v. "reduce" and *nakisi* n. "reduction, deficit, blemish" SSED 329; Ar. *nāqīs* 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/ naaqisi. ‘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]

Sku mooyi/ mp^hana/ ziweshelee fadhi/ kunaqisha/ jisaa wo/ watakingilo amaniini/ na mp^haká. ‘One day the rats held a meeting to discuss how they could find safety from the cats.’

Ye/ iize/ kunakhisha want^huu kamu/ wafiló. ‘He refused to discuss how many people died.’

rel.

ku-naqishan(y)a v. rec. (-naqisheene)

kunaqishana na wazele waawo ‘to discuss (things) with their parents’

Nureeni/ na Baaná/ 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 almaasí. ‘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^hachiiwa/ chihiiindi/ na tosheeze/ yandishiila 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/ yandishiila 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.)
- Ifuwo (/) la mnaraani** ‘the beach at Mnaraani’
mnara waa tala ‘lighthouse; globe of a paraffin lamp’
- chi-naara** n. 7/8 a folded paper which sugar is put into
Ali/ nakuzuba suukari/ ka zinaara. ‘Ali is wrapping sugar with folded papers.’
- naari** only in the Arabicism: **adhabu nnaari** ‘the tortures of hell’ (from Ar. *al-nār*, which becomes *an-nar* by assimilation)
- naarsi** n. [Eng. *nurse*] nurse
Iyo/ yaliko mukhtaa mi/ nt^hinzilo go’aani/ kingila naarsi. ‘That was when I decided to go into nursing.’
Naarsi/ ile. ‘The nurse came.’
Ye/ koðele naarsi/ tu. [HH!H] ‘She only talked to the nurse (not the doctor, for example).’
- ku-nasabila** v. appl. (cf. *nasabu* below) attribute a lineage or ancestry to s.o., to call after one’s ancestors (but in the *st^{eenzi}*, only the passive form has been observed)
rel.
ku-nasabiloowa v. appl. pass.
chuzoowa maamaye hadaani Mariya/ uje hunasabiloowa Qibtiya [st.] ‘if you are asked who was his mother, say: Mariya, who was a Copt by descent’
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 ituungu 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
Munt^hu uyu/ ni nasabu. ‘This person is of good origin (meaning pure and of good manner).’
Takhaadira/ kunaambila/ nasabuyo. ‘Can you tell me your lineage (usually with reference to father’s lineage, but could mean mother’s as well).’
rel.
u-nasabu n. 14 behavior associated with members of ‘good’ families
Kuda’owada’oowa/ siwo/ unasabu/ ni ubooni. [H’H!H[H]] ‘To boast is not behavior associated with the upper class of people, it is the behavior of the lower class.’
- nash** ideo.
M^waalimu/ watile waana/ ziluti/ nash nash. ‘The teacher hit children with a stick, *nash nash!*’
- nasha** adj. [cf. Som. *nashnaash* “to refine, smooth down, polish -- work or speech” DSI 462] smooth (surface); s.t. grinded into a fine powder etc. [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. In fact, we at least sometimes observed gemination of *sh* in speech, although it is doubtful that this is a consistent feature of pronunciation. It should also be noted that words showing the possibility of either *n* or *ñ* are ordinarily of Swahili origin.)
khfanya nasha ‘to make smooth’
kuwa nasha ‘to be smooth’

Msaḷa uje/ ni mnasha. ‘That mat is smooth.’
nasha/ kana/ chimento ‘as smooth as cement’
Ka makinaani/ ka Amiini/ maandra/ hutowa nasha/ kana/ chimento/ haaziwi/ ḷada. ‘At Amiini’s grinding machine, the flour is ground very smooth, like cement, the bread does not become good.’
nasha/ kana/ hariiri ‘as smooth as silk’
Ḳuzi ḷa Hamadi/ shomeḷelo shaatiye/ Ḳnasha/ kana/ hariiri. ‘The thread that Hamadi sewed his shirt with is smooth as silk.’
nasha/ kana/ ṭoomu ‘as smooth as butter, curd’
Buru izi /nt^haskuviva/ suura/ unga/ ndraanike/ mnasha/ kana/ ṭoomu. ‘These doughnuts are not well-cooked, the flour inside is smooth/soft like curd.’
ndila nasha ‘a smooth road’
Nṭ^hi iyi/ nasha/ husheroowa. ‘This floor is smooth, it is slippery.’
Ṭangawizi iyi/ itele nasha. ‘This ginger is ground very fine.’

ku-nashiqā

v. long for
Nsi uyu/ waawó/ humpeenda/ naami/ nashiḳiilé/ 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, publicize, spread news, gossip
Mwachiwooni/ nakunashira chiwo chaa ye/ andishiló. ‘The educated person is publishing the book that he wrote.’
Sarkaari/ nakunashira sirri/ zaa zita. ‘The government is spreading the secrets of the war.’

naashiza

[Ar. *nāšiza* "recalcitrant woman", from *nusūz* "violation of marital duties" W 966] a woman who is legally separated from her husband; in **shari**’a law, **naashiza** refers to the status of a married woman who is not obedient to her husband, refusing her husband his legal rights; as a consequence, he discharges himself from delivering her rights

ḷaakini naashiza huyuuta aakhera [st.] ‘but a separated woman will regret it in the afterlife’

muke muḷiwe chifa humpaandra idda/ hant^hi na hurri muṭii’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’

Muke/ naashiza/ nt^haná/ haqi ya masruufu. ‘The *naashiza* wife has no right to receive expenses from the husband.’

Muke uyu/ ḷasiḷa naashiza. ‘This woman has been left in the position of being *nashiiiza*.’

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. *ḳair al-nās*, where Ar. *al-n* becomes *ann*] ‘the best of all mankind’

ḷaakini 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).’

nasiibdara

Som. = **nasibuu mbovu** ‘bad luck, bad chance’
Ṭakuwa nasiibdara/ si/ kubasha fursa iyo. ‘It would be a pity to waste that opportunity.’

nasiibu

n. 9 [Sw. *nasibu* SSED 330; Ar. *našīb* W 969] chance, luck
Abunawaasi/ choloka chingila muyiini/ kumera mushṭari mwiingine/ na ka nasiibuyé/ kuwaa mbovu/ nt^hakhpata. ‘Abunawaasi went and entered

- town to look for another buyer and his luck being bad, he did not find one.’
Itakuwa nasibuu mbovu/ si/ kubasha fursa iyo. ‘It would be a pity to waste that opportunity.’
- Ka nasiibuye/ kuwaa mbovu/ mukeewe/ nt^hakhshiika/ miimba.** ‘His luck being bad, his wife did not become pregnant.’
- Langaḷa nasiibuyo.** ‘Try [lit. see] your luck!’
- Maamé/ mi/ nnayo nasiibuyá/ nt^hakhpata muḷi/ 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/ ndiyó/ humeeró/ mwene. ‘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.)
- Wateezeze/ 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.’
- nasiha** n. [Sw. *nasiha* SSED 330; Ar.] advice, specifically positive advice regarding good deeds, not bad deeds
khṭomola nasiha ‘to issue good advice’
Sheekhi/ totele nasiha/ suura. ‘The sheikh issued good advice.’
khtala nasiha ‘to take advice’
Tala nasiha ya mzelewo. ‘Take your parent’s advice.’
kumera nasiha ‘to seek advice’
Endra ka dakhtari/ mera nasiha. ‘Go to the doctor and look for advice.’
mtume fafishiize diini ka nasiha na hikma [song] ‘the prophet promulgated religion with good advice and wisdom’
- ku-nasiha** v. [Sw. *nasihi* SSED 330; Ar. *naṣaha* W 969] (*nasihiile*) advise rel.
ku-nasihika v. p/s. be capable of getting advice, listening to advice
- ku-nasikha** v. [Ar. *nasaka* W 961] abolish, abrogate
- nasiimu** adj. [Ar. *naṣīm* "fresh air, wind, breeze" W 963] *Arabicism* someone who is very generous; used as an epithet of Sheekh Nureeni (This lexical item is not known to Gelani Mohamed or others with whom he consulted. The citation is from a *shṭeenzi* where words of Arabic origin are employed even though not common in everyday Chimiini speech.)
Sheekhi Nureeni nasiimu/ rahma mba kulombeḷowa ‘[sṭ.] Sheikh Nureeni, the Gentle Breeze/ mercy is to be implored for him’
- nasli** n. [Ar. *nasl* W 962] *Arabicism* issue, progeny, offspring (This word is not known to Gelani Mohamed or people with whom he consulted, although it was recognized as being of Arabic origin.)
- 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**]
- nasraani** n. [Ar. *naṣrānī* W 970] Christian
variant: *nasaara*
Diini/ ya nasraani/ huhada/ kuwa mtume Iisa/ ni mojiitu. ‘The Christian religion says that the prophet Jesus is God.’ (It is also possible to say: **ya nasaara** instead of **ya nasraani**.)

Quraani/ huhada/ kuwa mtume Ibraahimu/ nthakuwaaliko/ nasaara/ walá/ yahuudí/ laakini/ islaamu. ‘The Quran says that the prophet Ibraahimu was neither Christian nor Jew but was Muslim.’

- nasri** n. [Ar. *naṣr* W 970] victory
Laakini/ wufo/ nt^hawapatikana/ karka nasri. ‘But death did not achieve a victory (lit. did not obtain in victory).’
- naastro** n. [Ital. *nastro*] recording tape; tape recorder
Haliima/ nakuzuba ndriimbo/ ka naastro. ‘Haliima is recording songs with a tape recorder.’
Hamadi/ mgahawaani/ kaake/ inakula naastro/ inakiimba. ‘Hamadi, at his restaurant, the tape recorder is playing (lit. sounding), it is singing (i.e. someone is singing on the tape recorder).’
Omari/ nayo naastro/ nkulu/ huzuba ndriimbo. ‘Omari has a large tape recorder, he records songs.’
- natijja** n. [Ar. *natīja* W 942] result, outcome
Fanyiizé/ yaa we/ nakhsuuló/ lesele (or: pete) natija gani. ‘You did what you wanted, so what outcome did you get?’
Hamiisi/ hupeenda/ khsooma/ natijjaye/ takhpita imtihaani. ‘Hamiisi likes to read, as a result (lit. its result), he will pass the examination.’
Itakuwani/ natijjaye. ‘What will be its result?’
Natija ya imtihaani/ ilazile. ‘The result of the examination is out.’
- nawli** n. (cf. *nowli, nooli*) [Sw. *nauli* SSED 330] fare (for transportation)
khtomola nawli ‘to pay the fare’
kulipa nawli ‘to pay the fare’
- naylooni** n. [Eng. *nylon*] nylon
Khufu za naylooni/ ni nuumu/ kolko/ za kotoone. ‘Nylon socks are stronger than cotton ones.’
- Nayroobi** n. Nairobi
Mi/ n’inshize Nayroobi/ miyaka miingi. ‘I have lived in Nairobi for many years.’
- nazaa’a** n. [cf. Sw. verb *nazaa* "to quarrel, contend" SSED 331; Ar. *naza’a* W 954] *uncommon* argument, difficulty
karka qiyaama haawoni nazaa’a [st.] ‘in the hereafter he will not encounter difficulty’
- nazaaja** 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.**
- naazi** n. 9/10 [Sw. *nazi* 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 idaaifu.** 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.

chi-naazi (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/ chiṭaache/ chiviriinge/ kana/ chinaazi. ‘Hamadi’s head is round like a coconut.’

m-naazi (mi-) n. 3/4 coconut tree

mnazi wa nt^heendre ‘a date palm’

nch^ha

[cl.7] is of

Cho/ nch^haaká. ‘It is mine.’

Cho/ nch^hiitú. ‘It is ours.’

Nch^ha naani/ chibuku ichi. ‘Whose book is this?’

nda

[cl.5] is of

Nda naani/ shati iyi. ‘Whose shirt is this?’

nda

[cl.9] is of

Feli iyi/ nda Hamadi. ‘This file belongs to Hamadi.’

Ndaa Juma. ‘It (e.g. [cl.9] **sabuura**) is Juma’s.’

Shati iyi/ nda naani. ‘Whose shirt is this?’

nde

adv. outside

ndi+pronoun

cop. it is

ndicho it is it [cl.7]; [pron. **ndichó**]

ndilo it is it [cl.11]; [pron. **ndilóló**]

ndimi it is me; [pron. **ndimí**]

Mwaðihishizo Jaamá/ mas’alá/ ndimí. ‘The one who explained to Jaama

the problem is me.’

Ndimí/ waziri wa sultaani. ‘I am the minister of the sultan.’

Ni/ nnaakulá/ kama ndimí/ nfiiló. ‘You (pl.) are crying as if it was me who

died.’

Nimwambile kuwa ndimí/ nt^heto nguwozé. ‘I told her that it was me who

took her clothes.’

Oyo muke/ chimwaambila/ mi/ ndimí/ muke oyó. ‘That woman told him: I am that woman.’

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. **ndiní** 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. **ndisí**]

ndiwe it is you (sg.); [pron. **ndiwé**]

Waawé/ we/ ndiwé/ sultani Hashiindrikí. ‘My father, are you Sultan Hashiindrikí [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/ nnakhsuułó. ‘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/ nułleeni. ‘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

Chindooro/ ni karka mooyi/ hubini/ zaa wake/ huwonelo raahá/ yaa muké. ‘The clitoris is one of the female organs from which a woman derives pleasure.’

Wanaashke/ washtinoowa/ hutindowa chindooro/ habamooyi. ‘When girls are circumcised, the clitoris is cut a little.’

ndraani

n. down in; deep

Chishkila/ chiskila/ ndranaa magome. ‘He climbed down and down inside the sea rocks.’ (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’

Irudilopo sufuriyá/ ka jiraani/ mwenye sufuriya/ chiwona/ chisufuriya/ chihaba/ ndrani yaake. ‘When he returned the pot to the neighbor, the owner of the pot saw a small pot inside his (pot).’

itundru ya ndraani ‘a deep hole’

Jahazi/ ichoondroka/ icholoka ndraani/ mayiini/ oko/ ba’adaye/ nvula/ ishuunguka/ 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?’

Mwaana/ nakhfakata ndranaa nuumba. ‘The boy is running inside the house.’

ndraani/ kana/ chisima ‘deep like a well’

Omari/ nuumbaye/ posoneero/ ituunzilá/ ndraani/ kana/ chisima/ siwo/ itakuyelo ka himá. ‘Omari his house the pit hole is dug deep like a well, it will not get filled quickly.’

ndraani/ kolko chisima ‘deeper than well’

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 mwa ndraani

Chingile maduriini/ ndraani/ mwa ndraani. ‘We entered deep into the forest.’ accent

Luuu/ hupatoowa/ bahariini/ ndraani/ mwa 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 chisiṭa ‘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.’

ndruuwá ‘my relative’

ndruwa yaawo ‘their relative’

ndruwa yiinu ‘your (pl.) relative’

ndru(wa) yiitu ‘our relative’

ndruuwé ‘his/ her relative’

ndruuwó ‘your relative’ is this correct

ndruuzá ‘my relatives’ (but also: **ndruuzaza**)

keendra ka moja yiitu al rahmaani/ na iyo ni haqi ndruuzá kasaani [st.] ‘he is going to our God, the merciful, and this is something inevitable, my relatives, listen’

ndruuzé ‘his relatives’ (but also: **ndruuzaze**)

ndruuzó ‘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. **undrú**]

kumera undrú/ na u’ahlí ‘to seek **undru** and kinship’

chi-ne (zi-)

n. [cf. **chi-nena** ‘groin’] bladder

We/ fungaa chine/ cha ngoombe. Mi/ takhuyezeza 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-*.)

chiuntu chilazilo karka ndila mbili/ ni nijisi hatta mane ya mwiimbili [st.]
'whatever is excreted from the two outlets [of the body] is impure,
even a little boy's urine'

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'

Hasani/ mwaanawe/ rebelee mane/ leelo/ taano/ peshele

spitaale/ tomelaa mane/ ka kateetra. 'Hasani's child
was unable to urinate; today, the fifth day/, he was sent to
hospital and urine was extracted with a catheter.'

mane ya mwiimbili hufufiiloowa/ 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 yashitiindika 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'

Muunthu/ ha'ovi/ matuzi/ naa mane/ huletaa dhibu. [H'H!H!H||H] 'One
does not get mixed up with shit and urine (i.e. mixed up in corrupt,
evil matters), it brings difficulties.'

Nguwo ii/ inakunuunkha/ kanaa mane. 'This cloth is smelling like urine.'

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/ peeto. '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'emeshela*) have plenty

rel.

ku-ne'emesha v. caus. [Sw. *neemesha* SSED 335] (*ne'emeshenze*)

ku-ne'emeshela v. caus. appl.

ku-ne'emeshelazanya v. caus. appl. rec.

neefu

n. [Som. *neef* "1. air contained in lungs and expelled, 2. asthma" DSI 464] breathing

*Ali/ ha'ikhadiroowi/ warshadaani/ kaake/ khfanyowa kaazi/ neefu/
hupati.* 'Ali at his workshop cannot work, he is unable to breathe.'

khpanza neefu 'to breathe, pant'

khtila mpiira/ neefu or *khtila neefu/ mpiira* 'to inflate a ball, to put air in
a ball'

khomola neefu 'to breathe'

Nimo mahaia/ iririini/ khomola 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.’
Sheekhi/ fakeete/ kaa nguvu/ hatá/ nakubiga neefu. [HH'H'H!H]
‘Sheekhi ran hard until he was panting.’
kuvuta neefu ‘to take (lit. pull) a breath’
Kuvuta neefu/ nt^ho/ tu/ kuumbuká. ‘Just remember to take a deep
breath.’
qalbiya faza’a na neefu hundüüqa [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?’
Mukhtaa mi/ nazo peesá/ hupeenda/ kendra chinemaani. ‘When I have money, I
like to go to the cinema.’
Nakhsula kun^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’
-nene/ kana iboori ‘lit. as fat as a pumpkin-- said in particular of plump girls’
Aamina/ wele mnene/ kana/ iboori/ nt^hangú/ nakujokujo niingi. ‘Aamina
became fat like a big pumpkin since she started eating a lot.’
Wake/ wanene/ nt^hawakuuya. Women, fat ones, did not come.’ (The phrasal
separation of **wake** and **wanene** is indicative that there is no contrast being
made between fat women and women who are not fat.)
**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
Omari/ hadiile/ Ali/ unenewe/ ni zaaydi/ mba maraði. ‘Omari said that
Ali’s fatness is too much, it is of disease.’
Unene/ ni maraði. ‘Fatness is a disease.’ (A saying.)
- 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.)’
Tukiila 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.’
khfanya maneeno ‘to talk (lit. do talking)’
**Hasani/ mwambiile/ Ali/ we/ sfaanyé/ maneno miingi/ hada/ yaa we/
nakhsuuló kahimá.** ‘Hasani said to him: Ali, you, don’t talk so
much, say what you want quickly.’
- 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/ koðelo ka sul^htaani/ 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.’ (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**.)

Muunt^hu/ ^hambiila/ maneeno. [H^hH!!H] ‘The man was *told* words.’ Cf. **Maneeno/ ambiila/ muunt^hu.** [H^hH!!H] ‘Words he was told, the man.’

muunt^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.’

Wamwabile muunt^hu/ maneeno. [H!H] ‘They spoke to the man [lit. they spoke to the man words].’ Or: **Muunt^hu/ wamwabile maneeno.** [H!H]

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.’

Vitamini “B”/ hinfa maradi ya neervo. ‘Vitamin B is good for nerve disease.’

We/ nayo maradaa neervó. ‘You have nerve disease.’ (There seems to be variation between **maraoi** and **maradi**. In the example here, **maradi ya** is contracted to **maradaa**.)

chi-ngalaawa (zi-)
Gelani Mohamed.)

n. 7/8 [Sw. *ngalawa* SSED 334] an outrigger canoe (This word was not known to

Ngereenza

n. England

wilaya ya Ngereenza ‘the country of England’

rel.

chi-ngereenza n. 7 English

Aziizi/ muné/ somele chingereenza. ‘Aziizi’s younger brother studied English.’

Si/ nt^hashkusooma/ chingereenza. ‘We didn’t learn 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

Want^hu wa Mwiini/ 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).’

mbwa [cl.3]

Ni kaawo/ numbaani/ tu/ muundra/ mbwa bataata. ‘It just there at their house, a garden of potatoes.’

nch^ha [cl.7]’

Icho/ chisu/ chaa we/ chinaambilo/ nch^ha Faatima. ‘That basket that you told me about belongs to Faatima.’

nch^haaká ‘mine’

Cho/ nch^haaká. ‘It is mine.’

nch^haaké ‘his, hers, its’

nch^haakó ‘yours’

nch^haawó ‘theirs’

Shkapu ichi/ nch^ha naani. ‘Whose basket is this?’

nda [cl.5]

Nda naani/ koti iyi. ‘Whose coat is this?’

Yo/ ndaakó. ‘It is yours.’

ndani ‘it is of why?’

Yiko lila/ wanaafakhi/ ndani. ‘Since there is truth, why lie (lit. lie is for why)?’ (A proverb.)

nza [cl.8]

nza [cl.10]

Nza naani/ khufu izi. ‘Whose socks are these?’

Zo/ nziitú. ‘They (e.g. khufu) are ours.’

ni-

first person singular subject prefix (morphophonemic variants: *n m*)

Mi/ waliko nch^hiija mwaangi/ mukhta^ha we/ iló. ‘I was eating **mwaangi** when you came.’

mp^hite ‘that I pass’

Niwalooselé. ‘I dreamed about them.’

nk^haa^há ‘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/ shfungooni/ mi/ nnakhsuulá/ kuletelowa waant^hu/ won^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/ nub^hleleni. ‘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/ sultaani/ takunub^hla. ‘If I stay here it is certain that the sultan will kill me.’

Nakhsula kunt^hukula chineema. ‘He wants to take me to a movie.’

Nakumbona. ‘He sees me.’

(Ye/ ka’oloká/ sul^ha kumbona. ‘If he went, he would see me.’

- ni-** second person plural object prefix
Nk^ha'oloké/ su^la kinwona. 'If I went, I would see you (pl.)'
- =ni** interrogative enclitic: what?
Ali/ mbozeleni/ m^waa^limu. 'What did Ali steal from the teacher?'
Ali/ patiliileni/ gaari. 'What did Ali get for the car.' (Possible answer: **mo^toore** 'an engine'.) (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/ mo^toore.** can only mean: what was gotten for the engine? and cannot mean: what was the engine gotten for?)
Ambiilani/ we/ pe^la amri gani/ we/ amuri^la kunfanyilizani/ we. 'What have you been told, you were given what orders, what were you ordered to do for me?'
Hadiileni/ sultaani. '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/ hukaha^tani. 'What does Jaama dislike?'
Jaama/ nakhfa^dilani. '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/ nakhsu^la nfaanyeni. 'So, the girl said: My father, what do you want me to do?'
Mwekeleleni/ Nuuru/ nt^hini ya meeza. 'What did you put for Nuuru under the table?' (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/ chimuza/ 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 fiiló. '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/ mwanaa 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?'
Nt^haku/ nayo waadehé/ inafanyoowani. 'Nobody is clear what to do.'
Nuuru/ jileni. 'What did Nuuru eat?'
Nuuru/ weeneni. 'What did Nuuru see?' Variant form: **Weeneni/ Nuuru.**
Omaari/ bozeleni. 'What did Omari steal?' (A possible answer would be: **Omari/ bozelee chisu.** 'Omari stole a knife.' Note that a proper answer to this question phrases the 'what?' into a single phrase with the verb. As a consequence, a sentence like **Omari/ bozelee/ chisu.** is *not* an answer to the question.)
Omari/ vuzile kulu yani. 'Omari broke the leg of what?' (A possible answer: **Omari/ vuzile kulu yaa chiti.** 'Omari broke the leg of a chair.' Another person might then deny this by saying: **ã'ã/ vuzile 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.**

Tinzilení/ kaa chisu. ‘What did you cut with a knife?’ Or: **Kaa chisu/ t̥inzilení.**
We/ bozelení. ‘What did you steal?’ (A possible answer would be: **Mi/ bozelee chisú.** ‘I stole a knife.’ A sentence with the complement phrasally separated from the verb is not a possible answer to this question: **Mi/ boozelé/ chisu.**)
We/ t̥ukiilení. ‘What are you carrying?’ (There are variant ways of asking this question with an enclitic: **T̥ukiilení/ we.** ‘What carried, you?’ **We/ t̥ukiilení/ yo.** ‘You carried what it?’ For variants using **nini**, see under its entry.)
Watalishiizani/ waana. ‘What were they made to take, the children?’
We/ fanyiizení. ‘What did you do?’ or **Fanyiizení/ 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/ nimuḽile Nuurá/ chibuukú.** ‘I bought for Nuura a book.’ Or **Mi/ nimuḽile 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: **Nimuḽile Nuurá/ chibuuku.** And **Nimuḽile chibuukú/ Nuura.** are both unacceptable responses.
We/ muḽilení/ Nuura. ‘What did you buy for Nuura?’ A possible answer to this question would be: **Mi/ nimuḽile ʰchibuukú/ Núura.** ‘I bought a book for Nuura.’
Weenení/ we. ‘What did you see?’ (Possible answers include: **Mbene gari ya Hamadí/ uziló.** ‘I saw the car that Hamadi bought.’ Or: **Mbene gaarí/ ya Hamadí/ 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?’
Wo/ wanakihtaja khfikira/ tarafu ya khfanyoowani. ‘They need to think about what to do.’

=ni

interrogative clitic attached to the associative particle

Muusa/ mekelele Nuuru/ chibuuku/ nt̥ʰini 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.)
Nt̥ʰini 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/ nt̥ʰini 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

Andikil̥il̥ilení/ khaṭi. ‘Why did you write the letter?’
Boleelení/ chiwaa we/ nt̥ʰukuwanaayo/ ndala. ‘Why did you steal if you were not hungry?’
Iḽil̥ilení/ madrasaani/ chiwaa we/ hupeendi/ khsooma. ‘Why did you come to school if you do not wish to study?’
Jil̥il̥ilení/ mkono/ chiwaa we/ nalo ʰkoombé. ‘Why did you eat with your hand if you had a spoon?’
Jil̥il̥ilení/ zijo/ ka farkeeta. ‘Why did you eat **zijo** with a fork (if...)?’
Neleelení/ mataaza/ ka sufuriya. ‘Why did you drink the porridge from a pot (if...)?’
T̥indil̥il̥ilení/ nk̥ʰuku. ‘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 lila/ khfanya kaazi/ ni suura. 'My wife, it is true, to do work is good.'
Mwanaashke/ waa ye/ mpelo chibuukú/ ni msuura. 'The girl to who(m) he gave the book is nice.'
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/ humkahaṭa siimba/ ni/ nakhsulaa mi/ nimublé. 'You (pl.) hate the lion, you want me to kill him.'

niḍaamu n. [Ar. *niḍām* W 978] rule, regulation, order, system; var. **niḍaamo**
Kawa mbarakhá/ ziiṭú/ zaliko niḍaamó/ si/ suḷa kuwa chivuushilé/ ka paapo. 'If our documents had been in order we would have gone immediately.'
Kiḷa chiint^u/ suura/ khfanyowa ka niḍaamu/ bilaa niḍaamu/ bilaashi. 'Every thing must be made in an orderly (well-regulated) fashion, without order, it is useless.'
Weḷweli/ ya kakaliḷa/ ni kuwa niḍaamu/ yont^{he}/ inakuvuundika. 'The real worry is that the whole system is breaking down.'
Ziint^u/ schiwa sfunziḷa ka niḍaamu/ huzubikake/ ni sahali. 'If things are tied up in a good manner, their folding is easy.'
rel.
niḍaamdara adj. without rules (Cf. *adabdara* for another example of the use of =*dara* in word formation.)
Harusiini/ ka Hasani/ niḍaamdara/ waant^u/ mahaḷa/ ya khkalaant^a/ waṭozele. 'At the wedding of Hasani there was no order, people could not find a place to sit.'

nifaaqi n. [Sw. *unafiki* SSED 292; Ar. *nifāq* W 988] hypocrisy
rel.
u-nifaaqi n. 14 hypocrisy
Ka diini/ ya Islaamu/ unifaakhi/ ni karka maḍambi/ makulu. 'With the Islamic religion, hypocrisy is among the major sins.'
u-nifaaqawe n. 14 his hypocrisy
Hamadi/ siwo/ muunt^u/ msuura/ unifaakhawe/ miingi. 'Hamadi is not a good person, his hypocrisy is too much.'

nijaasa n. [Sw. *najisi* SSED 329; Ar. *najis* W 945, Ar. *najāsa* W 945] impurity
variant forms: **nijaasi, nijisi**
karka aḍaabu habaasa / nk^hulu ya wenye nijaasa [st.] 'in hell there is a big

prison for the impure ones'

Mañe/ na matuzi/ ni nijisi/ ichidirkaa nguwo/ hutoza tahaara/ laazimu/ khfuloowa. 'Urine and feces are not pure, if they reach the clothing, they cause impurity, (the clothing) must be washed.'

nijisi iingine koshoowa waajibu/laakini mara mooyi we nt'una dhibu [st.]
'cleansing with water is required for any other impurity, but once [is enough], so it is easy for you'

nikaaha

n. [Ar. *nikāh* "marriage" W 997] the religious agreement between a man and a woman to marry, engagement to marry

Isa/ leelo/ masku/ yiiko/ nikaaha/ Safiya/ nakuloowa/ na muñli/ wa waawaye/ namsuñiñó. 'Now today at night there is an engagement, Safiya is being married by a man whom her father wants for her.'

Omari/ khubaliñle/ nikaaha/ kumnola Aamina. 'Omari agreed to marry Aamina.'

Sku ya nikaaha/ mwanaamke/ na mwiimbili/ wazazi wa mwanaamke/ na wazazi wa mwiimbili/ huviñla 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. *nikāh* "marriage" W 997] (**nikahishiize**) marry

Hunikaahishó/ ni khaði wa muuyi/ amó/ muunt^hu/ nayo uwakala wa khaaði. '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)

Qaaði/ chimwaambila/ Safiya/ uyu/ ni muñliwo/ we/ nikahishiizá/ na mukhta we/ nikahishiizá/ we/ qiriñé. '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 exmple, *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.'

Kanaa we/ nakhsuñla kiwa nini/ mp^hiyá/ iyi/ ni mahala/ ya kulangala. 'If you want to know what's new this is where to look.'

Malizopo khtomola salaamú/ baaba/ chimuza/ nini/ khabari za nt^eeendre. '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 gaarí. '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.** (Interestingly, it is not possible to preface the question word **nini** with the copular: ***Ni nini/ impeto Omari.**)

Nini/ ipoteeló. ‘What fell?’ (Cf. **Ipoeteleeni.** ‘What fell?’)

Nini/ ivundishiló. ‘What broke?’

Nini/ khabarizó. ‘What is your news?’

Nini/ kulaala. ‘Why did you lay down?’

Nini/ kundura ka baakoora. ‘Why did you poke me with a cane?’

Nini/ ma’anayé. ‘What is the meaning (of what you said)?’

Nini/ naayoni. ‘Why? What’s the matter [lit. what does he have]?’

Nini/ naayoni/ 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 money?’

Nini/ sababu yaa we/ holokelelo madrasaani/ ka kuraagá. ‘Why do you always go to school late?’

Nini/ sababu yaa we/ jililo chakuja ichi. ‘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 ichi.**)

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/ kendrela madrasaani/ ka nguwoo nt^haka.** with the same meaning.)

Nini/ sababu yaa we/ khfakata. ‘Why did you run?’ (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/ khfakata.**)

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?’ (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?’ (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/ sultaani/ khufanyiizeni. ‘Why? What did the sultan do to you?’

Nini/ tu/ ikhuleselo apa. ‘What (on earth) brought you here?’

Nini/ we/ kendra madrasaani. ‘Why did you go to school?’

Nini/ ya Ali/ mbozelo mwaajimú. ‘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?’

Si/ ni waaðehé/ kiitu/ wajibu yiitu/ nini. ‘We are clear what our duty is.’

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

v. [etymology unknown] *not in general use* give, hand over to someone; [pron.

kuniink^ha]

Mgarwa/ sh^htomola/ 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/ khsooma. ‘Ali handed the letter to the sultan to read.’

Chiwaniink^hila. ‘He handed it to them.’

Nimwambile kunnink^hijila 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 munú/ na Hamadi. ‘I was passed salt by Hamadi.’

ku-niink^hila v. appl. (**nink^hijile**) 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. *našāt* W 966] energy (as opposed to laziness)

Ni muunt^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

Chiint^hu/ hufanyowa kaa niya. ‘A thing is done with will, intention.’ (A proverb.)

Ichiwakoo niyá/ yikoo ndilá. ‘If there is a will, there is a way.’ (A proverb.)

Ismu/ ya chiint^hu/ nii niya/ bilaa niya/ chiint^hu/ haachiwi. ‘Every thing is will, without will nothing gets done.’

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.’

Kilaa chiint^hu/ ni kaa niya. ‘Everything (done, accomplished) is with (i.e. due to) will, intention.’ (A proverb.)

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 jannaani [st.] ‘and pure intentions will take you to Paradise’
	niya ni shartí 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.)
	Nt^haná/ niya. ‘He has no will power.’
	Ye/ nsaydiile/ mi/ ka peesa/ na kaa niyá. ‘He supported me with money and with moral support.’
niyaaba	[Ar. <i>niyābatan</i> “in place/ instead of” and <i>niyāba</i> “replacement, proxy” W 1007] representative
	ka niyaaba/ ya ‘on behalf of, in place of’
	Niyaaba/ wa ra’iisi/ daa’imu/ huwó/ ni wandiinike. ‘The representative of the head is always his second.’
	Rasdenté/ karkaa shiri/ nt^hakuuya/ mfanyize niyaaba/ sindako. ‘The district commissioner did not come to the meeting, he had the mayor represent him.’
ma-niyi	n. 6 [Sw. <i>manii</i> SSED 259; Ar.] semen (Note that body fluids are regularly in [cl.6]: cf. ma-ne, ma-pula, ma-sila, m-aazi.)
	maniyi shTomola batāala soomu [st.] ‘if semen is emitted, fasting is invalid’
	maniyi yachilawapo kowoowa/ ni waajibu na taakufu koshoowa [st.] ‘when semen comes out, to be washed up is obligatory, and he who dies must be washed’
nizaa’a	n. [Ar. <i>nizā</i> ‘ W 955] argument
nla	[cl.11] agreement form of ni + a : is of, belonging to
	Luti ili/ nla naani. ‘Whose stick is this?’
	Nla naani/ limbo ilo. ‘Whose song is it?’
	rel.
	nlaaká (or ndaaká)
	Lo/ lwaliko nlaaká. ‘It [cl.11] was mine.’ (However, ndaaká seems to be preferred.)
	nlaaké his/hers [cl.11]
	nlaakó ‘yours [cl.11]’
	nlaawó ‘theirs [cl.11]’
	nliinú ‘yours (pl.) [cl.11]’
	nliitú ‘ours [cl.11]’
-nne	adj. four; [pron. nne or nne] (Phon. Sometimes it is a bit difficult to be certain of the

presence of gemination.)

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 matezo/ 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/ ilipiḷila deeni/ na deenizé/ nt^haasá/ kumaliza kulipoowa. 'The first portuub 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 ḍarba/ na lpepó/ ichivuma/ 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 muḷi/ karka kula/ 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. *naḥisa* "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 **noka** 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 **muḷu** which employ the sound, it seems to be consistently used in the speech of our consultants.)

Duḷ'eda/ chimuḷḷaa noka. 'The fox killed the snake.'

kanaa noka 'like a snake'

Hutaambala/ kanaa noka. 'He crawls like a snake.'

Ni kanaa noka '(S)he is like a snake (not to be trusted, will try to harm you).'

Shariifu/ chiḷana na muunt^hu/ humluma/ kanaa noka. 'When Shariifu fights with someone, he bites him like 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 chiṭa chaa noka 'to stand on a snake's head' (said when one is trying to do s.t.very risky)

Luti/ limo mkonooni/ ndiló/ huḷloo 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.'

Mwanaashke/ ulushile/ ilu yaa noka. 'The girl jumped over the snake.'
Noka/ hubigowaa chita. '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/ koreelopó/ yu muunt^{hu}/ chimlata kumeramera numbaani.
'When the snake grew up, this man allowed him to roam the house.'

noka za tawala 'sea snakes'

Omari/ ni noka wa nt^{hi}iini. '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. **chinoka** and **zinoka**]

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** SED 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 mashata. '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.’

<i>m-nome</i>	n. a kind of shark mp^hamp^ha wa mnome ‘a shark of the mnome type’
<i>noongo</i>	n. [Sw. <i>nyongo</i> SSED 347] bile haraarisi/ kana noongo ‘as bitter as bile’
<i>chi-noongo</i>	n. gall bladder
<i>ku-nongona</i>	v. [Sw. <i>nong’ona</i> SSED 340] whisper
<i>ma-nongono</i>	n. 6 [Sw. <i>manong’ono</i> SSED 340] whispering; complaints Ye/ ni muunt^hu/ mwenye manongono . ‘He is a man full of complaints.’
<i>noota</i>	n. 9/10 [Sw. <i>nyota</i> 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 yingiilo mwiini kaake skutakalama [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. <i>chi-noota</i> (<i>zi-</i>) 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).’
<i>nowli</i> for transportation)	n. [Sw. <i>nauli</i> SSED 330; Ar. <i>naul</i> and <i>naulūn</i> “freightage, freight” W 1910] fare (paid kh^htomola nooli ‘to pay a fare’ Msaafiri/ tomele nowli za chitaawo . ‘The traveler paid the bus fare.’ Nowli/ spaanzile . ‘The fare has gone up.’
<i>ntaasa</i>	particle [Sw. <i>tasa</i> SSED 455] not yet, before, especially (also khaansá is used for this meaning); [pron. nt^haasá] Baaba/ maraði/ yachimziida/ chifa/ nt^haasá/ mukeewe/ kuzaala . ‘Father’s illness increased (and) he died before his wife gave birth.’ Huhadaayi/ we/ jis’iyo/ naawe/ nt^haasá/ nt^humjaariba . ‘How can you say that when you haven’t yet tried him out?’ Kuła waa mi/ nk^hođelo 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/ niwiilé/ khabari za inchidente/ nt^hasa ya kuya numbaani.** ‘I found out about the accident before coming home.’
- Mi/ niwiilé/ khabari/ za inchidente/ nt^hasa yaa yé/ ilo numbaani.** ‘I found out about the accident before she came home.’
- Mi/ nk^hoðeelé/ na Omari/ nt^hasa yaa mi/ kendra kaziini.** ‘I talked to Omari before I went to work.’
- 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.’
- Mukhta 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...’
- Mwaka yana/ Haliima/ waliko nt^haasá/ ni mukeewa.** ‘Last year Haliima was still my wife.’
- Mwaka yana/ Hamadi/ waliko nt^haasá/ ni mubliwa.** ‘Last year Hamadi was still my husband.’
- 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.’
- Ndrasile numbaani/ nt^haasa/ Nuuru/ kulawa.** ‘I left the house before Nuuru left.’ Cf.
- Ndrasile 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.**
- Ndroshole nt^hasaa ye/ kuwasila.** ‘I went away before he arrived.’
- Nt^haasá/ celo/ kumuza/ 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/ muo/ 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/ kuwanguoowa.** ‘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.’

Ye/ nt^haasá/ nakhsu_{la} khkoða naawe. ‘He’ll still want to discuss it with you.’

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] (This word is not used in a locative form.)

Fakeṭe muunt^hi/ mzimawe. ‘He ran the whole day.’

Haalima/ safariye/ itete muunt^hi/ mzima. [HHH!H] ‘Haliima’s trip took the whole day’

Hasiibu/ munt^hi oyo/ chirashmanya na jiraani/ chendra khṭinda skunyi. ‘Hasiibu that day went with the neighbors to cut firewood.’

kana muunt^hi ‘like daytime’

Masku/ ya iidi/ mitala/ hashoowa/ kila mahala/ huwa weelu/ kana muunt^hi. ‘On the night of Iidi lights are lit every where, it gets clear/light like daytime.’

kila muunt^hi ‘every day’

Kila 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)’

Muunt^hi/ wa mwaanaashkewa/ zaazilá/ mi/ nfanyize kaazi/ fijiri. ‘On the day my daughter was born I worked in the morning.’

Muunt^hi/ wa mwaanaashkewe/ zaazilá/ uwaliko muunt^hi/ wa furaha/ kabisá/ karka ma’iinshaya. The day my daughter was born was the happiest day of my life.

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.’

Teena/ ichiwa/ ye/ heendra/ hadiqaani/ maraa nt^hatu/ ku_{la} 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-] (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/ chiint^hu/ cha kureeba. ‘There is nothing that stops or blocks or constrains it.’

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 wote) madrasaani. ‘There aren’t any children in the school.’

ntamu

there is not in; [pron. nt^hamu]

Laakini/ iyi/ nt^hamu/ mwishpa/ nt^hamu/ chiint^hu/ cha kureeba. ‘But this does not have in it a bone, there is nothing in it to stop, constrain it.’ (This sentence appears in a discussion of the proverb that says the tongue (**limi**) does not have a bone, meaning that the tongue freely tells lies etc. Notice that although the noun **limi** is a [cl.11] noun and would thus trigger the demonstrative **ili**, here the speaker uses the [cl.9] form **iyi**.)

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**] (This conjunction is phonologically marked: it is a phrasal isolate, has final accent, and the vowel in the first syllable is not lengthened in front of an apparently prenasalized consonant.)

Haliima/ na Omari/ nt^hangú/ walozeenyó/ takhriiban/ ni miyaaka/ ishiriini. ‘Since Haliima and Omari married is almost twenty years.’

Nt^hangú/ fijiri/ hatá/ laakuja/ nimniinziló. ‘From morning until dusk I waited for him.’

nt^hangú/ mwaanza/ hattá/ aakhiri ‘from the beginning to the end’

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 nūngi. ‘Since you came problems have increased.’

Nt^hangú/ we/ teto maali/ hatá/ 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 Ifuunguló. ‘My watch has never stopped since it was wound up.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **khalbi** 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/ hadiikha/ nk^hulu/ nt^ho. ‘He made a very large garden for his children.’

Hamiisi/ husooma/ nt^ho/ jisa waalimu/ kumpeenda. ‘Hamiisi reads a lot so that teachers will like him.’

Harun Rashiidi/ humpendaa nt^ho/ Abunawaasi. ‘Haruun Rashiidi loved Abunawaasi very much.’

Karkaa ndila/ mp^haamp^ha/ chihada/ mweenza/ mukeewa/ sku izi/ hakhaadiri/ nt^ho. ‘On the way, Shark said: my friend, my wife these days is very sick.’

Mbona/ Muusa/ nakulaa nt^ho. ‘Why is Muusa crying so much?’ (If **nt^ho** is relocated to pre-verbal position, it triggers pseudo-relativization of the verb: **Mbona/ Muusa/ nt^ho/ naakuló.**

Munth^u 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.**

Mwaana/ impete murugu/ nt^ho. ‘The child was very worried.’ (Preposing **nt^ho**

causes a shift of the main verb to pseudo-relative form: **Mwaana/ nt^ho/ impeto murugú**. ‘The child very much was worried.’ Also: **Nt^ho/ mwaana/ impeto murugú**. ‘Very much the child was worried.’ It is not possible to phrase **nt^ho** with a preceding noun: ***Mwaana/ impeto muruguu nt^ho**. nor ***Mwanaa nt^ho/ impeto murugú**.)

Naami/ nampeendá/ nt^ho. ‘And I love her very much.’

Nfanyize kaazi/ nt^ho. ‘He worked a lot, hard, etc.’

Nimpendelele mwaalimú/ mwaaná/ nt^ho. ‘I loved the teacher’s child very much.’ (Cf. **Nimpendelelee nt^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 nt^ho/ Haliimá**, 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**. (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.)

Si/ hispeenda/ zo/ nt^ho. ‘We like them a lot.’

Wote/ washfurahaa nt^ho. ‘All were very happy.’

Ye/ daa’imu/ humpa salaamu/ kanaa mi/ mbaliko mweenzawé/ nt^ho. ‘She always greets me as if I were her best friend.’

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 miyá. ‘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.)

khfanya chiint^hu ‘lit. to do s.t. -- deal with’; also: **khfanyowa chiint^hu**

Msiba uyu/ ufanyiza chiint^hu/ naayo. ‘This crisis was dealt with it.’ (This is a personal passive. The corresponding impersonal passive is **Msiba uyu/ ifanyiza chiint^hu/ naayo**. ‘This crisis was dealt with it.’)

Nt^haku/ 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: **Mbejele raaði/ nragiilé.** ‘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] (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/ mwaana/ 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 maduriini/ mahaļa/ 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’

Ito ya waant^hu/ isikhudirké. ‘Do not let the evil eye reach (and therefore effect) you!’

munt^hu bakhili ‘a miserly person’

Ni ‘aadi/ muunt^hu/ khtiyaa noka. ‘It is common for one to be afraid of snakes.’

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.

- nufuudi** n. [Ar. *nufūd* W 983] influence
Shtumiḷa nufuudi/ 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’
rel.
u-nuhsi n. bad luck
Ukaṣlaani/ ni alama ya unuhsi. ‘Laziness is a sign of bad luck.’
- Nuuhu** n. Noah
Iyi/ nii qisa/ ya mtume Nuuhu. ‘This is the story of Prophet Noah.’
Nuuhu/ nt^hakuvuundika/ khalbi. ‘Noah never got disheartened.’
- numa** adv. [Sw. *nyuma* SSED 348] later, then, coming; back
Hujoo mbelé/ haaji/ numa. ‘The one who eats first does not eat later.’ (A proverb.)
kaamina ka qalbiini na ibaada [st.] ‘to believe it in your heart and to worship’
muḷoowe mbele na numa [st.] ‘fire (of hell) in front and behind him’
Nt^hakuja numake. ‘I will eat later.’
Nuuhu/ chihuzunika/ nt^ho/ numake/ chilekeza usowe/ kuzimu/ chihada/ moojá/ we/ mp^hele ahdí/ kunokolaa mi/ na ahliyá. ‘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’adaana 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’olosehe. ‘Then they left me and went away.’
shari kiitu ilaziile ziko kheeri numa yiitu [nt.] ‘evil has left our place and there are good times to come’
rel.
numaanuma adv.
Komelopo zitaani/ naank^hó/ chiwawona ma’askari/ waawo/ waṭawanyishile/ ka apa/ na apá/ na wanakuruda numaanuma/ khpata jisaa wo/ ki’ichimbiḷiḷa. ‘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.)
- numba** n. 9/10 [Sw. *nyumba* SSED 64] house; [pron. **numba** usually, but may also be heard as **nuumba**] (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**. In other words, we consider the diminutive and augmentative forms to be synchronically irregular and not productively derived from a base /uumba/.)
duniya ni numba ya mwenye sho numba [st.] ‘the world is the house of one without a house’
Iyi/ ndiyó/ numba yaa mi/ niyuuziló. ‘This is the house that I bought.’
Izi/ ndizó/ numba zaa mi nizuuziló. ‘These are the houses that I bought.’
Without object marker on the relative verb: **Izi/ ndizó/ numba zaa**

mi/ nuuziló.

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’

Martí wíitu/ ile 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 ^fmukeewá/ numbaani. ‘I stayed with my wife at home.’ Cf.

Nk^halent^he ^fnumbaani/ mukeewa. ‘I stayed *at home* with my wife.’

numba iburbushiizá ‘the house that was destroyed’

Nuumba/ inakhtetema. ‘The house was shaking.’

Nuumba/ ivuunzila. ‘The house was destroyed.’ Cf. Nuumba/ zivuunzila. ‘The houses were destroyed.’

Numba iyi/ hump^hendeza. ‘This house pleases me.’ Cf. Numba iyi/

imp^hendeze. ‘This house pleased me.’ Cf. Numba izi/

zimp^hendeze. ‘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 locate 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’

numba/ ya mnango wa chuuma ‘a house with an iron door’

Nuumba/ yuziiza. ‘The house was sold.’ Cf. Nuumba/ zuziiza. ‘The houses were sold.’

numbani/ katiike ‘the house, in its middle’

Numbaani/ niikó. ‘At home I am.’

numbaya ‘my house’ (cf. nuumbayo ‘your house’; nuumbaye ‘his/her/its house’; numba yíitu ‘our house’; numba yíinu ‘your (pl.) house’; numba yaawo ‘their house’); nuumbaza ‘my houses’ (cf. nuumbazo, nuumbaze, numba zítu, numba zíinu, 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^hulú. ‘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/ zaziḷa kuwa mwana wa taatu/ na wa mwĩisó/ karka nuumba. 'He was born the third and last child in the family.'

rel.

chi-j-uumba (zi-j-) n. 7/8 dim. small house

Chijumba ichije/ ni chelpe. 'That (dim.) house is white.'

Ori/ walimo karka chijuumba/ chaa nk^hbuku/ 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. large house

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 uzi. 'They built houses of stone and of mud.'

chi-nume

n. [Sw. *kinume* SSED 348] back, behind

Chimrashize eelo/ uyu/ ye/ nakhfakata/ naasi/ chinumeché/ hatá/

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.')

Mukeewe/ simeme chinume cha Omari. 'His wife stood behind Omari.' (Cf. **Omari/ isimema chinumeche.** 'Omari was stood behind him.')

Nuuru/ weshele masanduukhu/ chinume cha kaabaati. 'Nuuru put the boxes behind the cupboard.'

Si/ choshele Daawú/ chinumeché. 'We went beyond Daawu.' Cf.

Daawu/ chinumeche/ yooshejá. 'Daawu beyond it was gone. **Yosheja Daawu/ chinumeche.** 'It was gone Daawu beyond it.'

Ye/ chinendra chinume cha waant^hu. 'He walked behind the people.'

ka chinume 'behind, from behind; in depth

Jawaabu/ izi zont^he/ stakhkoðelowa ka chinume/ nt^ho. 'All these matters will be discussed in depth later.'

Waziiri/ chimrasha mwaana/ ka chinume/ chimwambila khsimama. 'The minister followed the boy from behind and told him to stop.'

Ye/ na waaná/ sittá/ wachilawa/ 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/ chimgüita/ hatá/ 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.'

Nt^hale/ 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/ waasiⁱ/ kamba zaa mbele. ‘The seats at the back are not as roomy as those at the front.’

rel.
chi-numeenum adv. back, backwards

Wawene ma’askari/ wa sultaani/ wawaye mwanaamke/ wanakuruda chinumeenum. ‘He saw the soldiers of the sultan, the girl’s father, returning back [retreating from the fight].’

nuundru n. a kind of fish

ku-nuunka v. smell; [pron. **kunuunk^ha**]

Inakununk^ha l^yuundró/ 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)’

Siimba/ uyu/ waliko mwembaamba/ ka khisa/ apo/ tu/ lazilo ka maraḍiini/ 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 l^yuundro. ‘The meat is giving off a stench.’

rel.
ku-nuunsha 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. *cunug* DSI 109] infant
 rel.
chi-nuunu n. dim.

nuqsaani n. [Ar. *nuqsān* 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
hadīle tamwonapi Nuuraḷeeni [st.] ‘she said, where will I see the Prophet’

ku-nuurisha v.
 rel.
ku-nurishoowa 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. *nuru* SSED 342; Ar. *nūr* 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 worthless’
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 light of Muhammad’
Nuru za nuumba/ ni waana. ‘The light of a house is children.’ (A proverb.)
nuuruze zuunzila nt^haasa malaayka [st.] ‘his light was created before the

angels'

- nusmani** adj. **no etymology found** impotent; n. impotence
- nusra** n. [cf. **-nusura** below] act of saving, protecting
- nusu** [Sw. **nusu** SSED 342; Ar. **niṣf, nuṣf** W 971] half
Darsi ziingine/ hanza sa'aa saba/ waa nusu/ lapiili. 'Other lessons begin at 1:30 p.m.'
Khaṭi/ ni nusu ya kuwonana. '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/ matezoo saba. 'He put the hand with the ring in front of her; in a half hour, Huseeni defeated the girl in seven games (of cards).'
- ku-nusuha** v. [Ar. **naṣaḥa** W 969] admonish, give advice, advise
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.'
Dakhṭari/ hunusuha want^hu hawakhaadirí. 'The doctor advises the patients (lit. the people who are not well).' (Remember that a habitual verb like **hununusuha** does have any subject marking on it. The identity of the subject must be determined by context or by an over subject. Thus one says **Mi/ hunusuha...** 'I advise...', **We/ hunusuha...** 'You advise...', **Ye/ hunusuha...** '(S)he advises...', **Si/ hunusuha...** 'We advise...', **Ni/ hunusuha...** 'You (pl.) advise...', **Wo/ hunusuha...** 'They advise...', etc.
E/ we/ sulṭaani/ mi/ nakhunusuhá/ we/ chiza khfaanya/ zita/ ilu ya jahazi/ iyi. 'Oh, you, sultan, I advise you not to wage war against this ship.'
Ñnakhunusuhá/ mukhṭaa we/ takuwo nakhtezó/ maatoyo/ 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.'
Ñnakuwanusuha wanafuunzi. 'I am advising the students.'
Ñnamnusuha mwaanawá. 'I am advising my son.'
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; have the will or intention to do s.t.

Kiḷaa chiint^hu/ ni muunt^hu/ kunuwa. ‘Everything (that is done, accomplished) is (the result of) someone to have the will, the intention (to do it).’

Nt^hasaa muunt^hu/ khsala/ laazimu/ kunuwa. ‘Before praying one must have the intention of praying.’

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’

ku-nya

v. (i-nyeele) rain

kunyaa nvula ‘to rain’

Chimalizopo kumt̄indá/ ichanza kuvuma lpepo/ naa nvula/ kunyá.

‘When we finished slaughtering it, the wind began to blow and rain to fall.’

Ichanza kunyaa nvula. ‘It began to rain.’ Or: **Nvula/ ichanzaa kunya. Inyeele/ nvula.** ‘It rained.’

Inyeele nvula/ yana. ‘It rained yesterday.’

Mukhtāa si/ shkomelo numbaani/ nvula/ ichinyoo nt^ho. ‘When we got home, it rained a lot.’ (In this example, *nvula* is focused, as can be seen clearly in the fact that the following verb is in pseudo-relative clause form.)

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 imnyeeleló. ‘The one who praises the rain is the person for whom the rain has fallen.’ (A proverb.)

Nvula/ imnyeelele Sa’iidi. ‘The rain fell on Sa’iidi.’

ku-nyeesha v. make it rain

Mwajiitu/ nyeshzee nvula. ‘God made it rain.’

ku-nya

v. [Sw. *nya* SSED 342] (nyeele) defecate

kunya maazi ‘to have blood in stool (lit. to defecate blood)’

Haliima/ miimba/ inamlaaza/ nakunya maazi. [H!H!H!H] ‘Haliima has a stomach ache, she has blood in her stool.’ (Although **nakunya maazi** is an independent clause, it seems to be downstepped relative to the preceding phrase, giving no evidence for being an independent IP.)

Maradi ya dizenteriya/ hunyowa maazi. [H!H] ‘Dysentery (if one has it) there is blood in the stool.’

rel.

ku-nyeeke 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-nyeshenzeza v. caus. appl.

ku-nyeshenezanya 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.’

Mp^haka/ takhunyakula/ kanaa we/ chimgita mkilawe. ‘The cat will scratch you if you pull her tail.’

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.’

khiinda inyala ow ishuungi hudhiba [st.] ‘to cut the nails or hair does harm’

ku-nyaalaa

v. [etymology unknown] (**nyaazile**) collapse, fall down (of something animate), come down

Sinyaleeni. ‘You (pl.) don’t fall down!’

rel.

ku-nyaalila v. appl. (**nyaliile**)

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’

Sinyazeeni. ‘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 piili/ 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 again to his place because that day he scratched me, pounded me, and bit me all over.’

- rel.
ku-nyamulila v. appl. (**nyamuliile**)
ku-nyamuliloowa 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/ ichisula/ 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)’
- 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^hele/ 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.)
- nyenyeghi* [possibly connected to Sw. *nyenga* and *nyenya* “urge, pump with questions” SSED 345]
Daðalele/ hattá/ nyenyeghi/ imwliile. ‘He tried hard until he became bothered.’
kuleta fulaani/ nyenyeghi ‘to bother s.o. greatly’
- chi-nyi* (*zi-*) n. 7/8 [Sw. *kiini* SSED 192] the heart of s.t.
chinyi cha iyaank^huku ‘the yolk of an egg’
- nyiime* 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 hisula uki/ rasha 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/ kanaa nyoki/ wa’iló/ harusiini/ ya Hamadi. ‘People as many as bees came to the marriage of hamadi.’
Waant^hu/ watubeene/ 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’adi yaa nyunyi/ hazijoowi/ ka khisa ya kuwa nt^hawaná/ nama suura. ‘Some birds are not eaten because they do not have good meat.’

Ba’adi 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.’

Kula/ nyunyi/ huluka ka lbawale. ‘Each bird flies with its own wing.’ (A proverb.)
kuuluka/ kana/ nyunyi ‘fly like a bird’

Hamadi/ hakalaant^hi/ mahala/ ka tartibu/ chiwonoowa/ nakhfakata/ nakuuluka/ kana/ nyunyi. ‘Hamadi does not sit calmly; whenever he is seen, he is running, flying, like a bird.’

Nimpete nyunyi uyú/ msuura/ nt^ho. ‘I caught this very pretty bird.’

Sababu za islaamu/ kuwa hawaaji/ ba’adi 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 piili/ chisanifa/ tu/ chihada/ kuwaa ye/ loosele/ ye/ tukiile/ maandra/ chitaani/ naa nyunyi/ zinaakuja/ karka maandra/ 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/ hatá/ ilooni. ‘They hunted birds until dusk.’

Wamtinzilee nyunyi/ chita. ‘They cut off the bird’s head.’ (cf. **Nyunyi/ tinzila/ chita/ naawo.** ‘The bird had his head cut off by them.’) (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/ itinzila/ chita/ 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’

Wam̄t̄inzile chinyunyi/ ch̄iṭa. ‘They cut off the little bird’s head.’ (cf.

Chinyunyi/ t̄inzilaa ch̄iṭa/ 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/ sh̄t̄inzilaa ch̄iṭa/ (naawo).**

i-nyunyi (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.

Ye/ nambiile/ kuwa inyunyi/ ikulu/ it̄akh̄tukulaa ngozi/ ka mlomowe/ it̄akh̄pandra 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.’

nyuṭe

all of you (pl.)

nz-a

[cl.8] agreement form of copular: *ni + AGR-a*

Nza naani/ zombo izi. ‘Whose things are these?’

nzaaká ‘they are mine’

nzaaké ‘they are his, hers’

Ziti/ nza naani. ‘Whose chairs are these?’

nz-a

[cl.10] agreement form of copular: *ni + AGR-a*

Peesas/ nza naani. ‘Whose coins are these?’

Taala/ feḏa/ izi/ nzaakó/ ziwaliimo hundaani. ‘Take these coins, they are yours, they were inside the measuring cup.’

Zo/ nzaakó. ‘They (e.g. **ndriimu**) are yours.’

Zo/ nzaawó. ‘They (e.g. [cl.10] **nuumba**) are theirs.’

-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/ peelá/ choloka naacho/ chinume cha nuumba. ‘She carried the food that she had been given and went with it behind the house.’

Tetemesheze ch̄iṭaachó. ‘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 khat̄iyó/ na fahamiilé/ zotte/ zaa we/ niwishiizó/ karkaa khat̄i. ‘I received your letter and I have understood all that you informed me of in the letter.’

Muḅliwá/ 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/ mukhtaá 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:

mukhtaá ye/ mpeto mp^huundrá/ m’ajibiiló ‘when he found a donkey that pleased him’

We/ tumbile l_{ku}tá/ nt^huundrú/ l_{ku}tá/ l_{re}belo l_{pe}pó/ l_a kuusi/ khpitá/ l_{pe}po/ l_vumiiló/ l_{im}po_{te}leze m_walimu Goosó/ i_wuuyú/ i_wuuyu/ i_mu_hle_{le}lo m_waalimú. ‘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:

L_iini/ shkhadiro khtawalo ruuhuyé. ‘He was not able to control himself.’

relative of the *na* present tense:

M_wajiitu/ 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 l_{ku}tá/ nt^huundrú/ l_{ku}tá/ hilrebo l_{pe}po l_a kuusi/ khpitá/ l_{pe}po l_a kuusi/ hupo_{te}zo mawuuyú/ mawuuyu/ hupo_{te}le_{le}lo waanthú/ chitaani/ hu_hló.

‘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/ salaamá. ‘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]

Da_haa_{li}yo/ ta_{aj}iye/ ni najaahi/ na liwaaní. ‘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/ muun^hi/ ha_halamí/ khutilaa mu_lo/ 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	<p>morphological element employed in the demonstrative system</p> <p><i>awo</i> ‘those’ [cl.2] <i>ayo</i> ‘those’ [cl.4] <i>ayo</i> ‘those’ [cl.6] <i>icho</i> ‘that’ [cl.7] <i>ilo</i> ‘that’ [cl.11] <i>iyo</i> ‘that’ [cl.5] <i>iyo</i> ‘that’ [cl.9] <i>izo</i> ‘those’ [cl.8] <i>izo</i> ‘those’ [cl.10] <i>oko</i> <i>omo</i> <i>owo</i> <i>oyo</i></p>
o, ow	conj. or
oo	<p>presumably the demonstrative <i>o(y)o</i> used in the expression of an “either-or” type of sentence</p> <p>Oo/ Hamiisi/ takandika zaaydi/ oo takhpotela imtihaani. ‘Either Hamiisi will read more or he will fail the examination.’ is oyo variant possible?</p>
o’oo	<p>interj.</p> <p>O’oo/ kuja iyi/ pishiló/ Haliima. ‘<i>oo’o!</i> this food, was the one who cooked it Haliima?’</p> <p>O’oo/ Omari/ ndiyé/ vuzilo nuumbá. ‘<i>oo’o</i>, is it Omari who wrecked the house?’</p>
odka	<p>n. [Som. <i>oodkac</i> DSI 473] meat cut into tiny pieces and dried in the sun and then fried</p> <p>Hamadi/ kilaa fijiri/ quraa’a/ huja odka/ ka maandra. ‘Hamadi every morning for breakfast he eats <i>odka</i> with bread.’</p> <p>Odka/ hukala wakhti miingi/ haťa/ mwaaka/ hukoma/ hayangamili. ‘<i>Odka</i> stays for a long time; it can stay up to a year and does not get bad.’</p> <p>Odka/ ka wiingi/ hufanyowa ka nama ya ngoombe/ na mafta ya sehemú. ‘<i>Odka</i> is usually made with beef meat and ghee.’</p>
odsi	<p>n. request, offer</p> <p>Mi/ ndrinzile odsiyá/ khiroowá. ‘I waited for my request to be approved.’</p> <p>Mi/ niizé/ odsi/ ya Hasani/ si/ khfanya kaazi/ pamooyi. ‘I rejected Hasani’s offer that we work together.’</p>
k-oofata	<p>v. [Tunni <i>oof-</i> Tosco 229] (ofeete) be tired</p> <p>Fanyize kaazi/ haťa/ ofeete. ‘He worked until he got tired.’</p> <p>Fanyize kaazi/ haťa/ ofeete ntho. ‘He worked until he got very tired.’ Cf.</p> <p>Fanyize kaazi/ fanyiizó/ haťa/ ofeete ntho. ‘He did work, that’s what he did, until he got very tired.’</p> <p>Maama/ ofeetopó/ chintokomeza. ‘When mother got tired, she left him.’</p> <p>Mi/ ni muuntú/ nofeetó/ nakhadiraayi/ kujaa kuja. ‘I am a man who is exhausted, how am I able to eat food?’</p> <p>Mmera chiint^hu/ ha’ofati. ‘The seeker of something never gets tired.’ (A proverb.)</p> <p>Mukhta we/ hufakató/ we/ hoofata. ‘When you run, you get tired.’</p> <p>Munt^hu ofeto khfakatá/ nakhpumula. ‘The man who is tired from running is resting now.’</p> <p>Mwaanawa/ hinendra munt^hi mzima/ walá/ ha’ofati. ‘My child walks all</p>

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 numbaani/ nfungile shaati/ ndreelé. 'I was (so) tired (that) I went home (and) took off my shirt (and) slept.'

Ofeeté/ so? 'Are you getting tired?'

Safiya/ nt'akuuya/ ipisile sa'a mooyi/ sa'aa mbili/ sa'aa n'atu/ Jeelaani/ waliko mwenye sabri/ kaleent'e/ liinzile/ walá/ nt'akoofata.
'Safiya did not come. One hour passed, two hours, three hours. Jeelaani was a man possessing patience. He sat down and waited, nor did he (ever) get 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/ khulazima/ khfaanya/ kanaa we/ nakhsula

muunt'ú/ 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 quyuuudi. '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 member of an ethnic group found in Miini; a kind of servant who assists at marriages, funerals (The term *ooji* 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.)

Wa'ooji/ wa Mwiini/ wakali/ kubigaa zita. 'The Ooji tribe of Brava are good in fighting.'

k-ooka

v. [Sw. *oka* SSED 351] (*oshele*) fry (fish, meat) on a fire, grill
Barka/ nakoka štata. '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. (*-okeshele*)

k-ookela v. appl. (*okeleele*)

k-ookesha v. caus.

k-okoowa v. pass. (*osheja*) be fried

Apo/ zinakokowa štata. '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'ikalant'ila oko. 'He went away (took himself off) and lived there.'

Kasa/ oko/ maha_{la} si/ chinakeendró/ ni... 'Listen, near where we are going is...'

Mbeshele okó. 'I put it far away.'

Na oko maduriini/ ziko hayawaani/ niingi/ na dughaaghi/ niingi. 'And there in the bush there are many animals and many beasts.'

Ni munt^u 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_{da}ali/ chida_{da}ala_{ta}/ ku_{la}wila wajibuye/ we/ hisaba_{to}owi/ kuwa muunt^u. '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_{la} mi/ nolosheló/ ni maha_{la} njeema/ nt^o. 'There where I went is a very good place.'

Wachendra oko/ sku iyo/ washkalaant^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_{lo}owa v. tr. pass. (*okeela*) be saved

Waana/ wa'oke_{la} 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_{ta}mu_hla. '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 muḷo. 'We saved the children from the fire.'

Dobla ya Aldo/ Mooro/ inakudaḷaalata/ 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 hayawaani/ zaa we/ pakiiló/ wanaadamú/ woté/ ahliyó/ wakhaminiló. '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/ kiḷa/ 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 raaḷi/ 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-oozowa 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.'

Cholo chiimp^hi/ Hamadi/ weno chivundishiló/ numbaani/ ka Hasaní. 'Which toilet did Hamadi see broken at the house of Hasani?'

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'

Ali/ shishiḷaa kunya/ tozele choolo/ rebele choolo/ mpaka/ peto mahaḷá/ kunyá. 'Ali needed to defecate, but he couldn't find a toilet (lit. missed a toilet); he held it in until he found somewhere to defecate.'

kureba choolo 'to be unable to defecate'

Haliima/ mwaanawe/ nyeele/ tomele goryaani/ niingi/ isa/

nakhtiya/ kunya/ rebele choolo/ leelo/ tatu. ‘Haliima’s child defecated, he passed many worms, now he is afraid to defecate, he has not passed stool, today is the third day.’

Mgeeni/ nt^haasá/ nt^hakuława/ 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/ nshishiłá chooló/ ni laazima/ koondroka/ we/ kalaant^ha/ na mułliwo. ‘I need to use the bathroom; I must leave; you stay with your husband.’

Mgeeni/ nt^haasá/ nt^hakuława/ 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).’

Mwenzá wiitu/ takuruuda/ oloshéle chooloni/ tu. ‘Our friend will return; he just went to the bathroom.’

shkalaant^ha chooloni kistaránja laazimu [st.] ‘if you sit to defecate, then cleaning oneself is a necessity’

Tafađali/ takhaadira/ khtumikila chooló. ‘May I use the bathroom, please?’

rel.

chi-j-oolo n. dim. bathroom

Hutaloowa/ huwekowa mahałá/ kama chijoolo/ ibana nk^haani/ hutıłowa maayi/ hupowa sabuni zaawo/ hupowa makopa yaawo/ hambıłoowa/ 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] (**oloshéle**) go (we have recorded forms where the *lo* is elided in the perfective form: e.g. **-oshéle**)

Chıławe/ 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/ oloshéle. ‘As soon as he ate, he left.’

Juma/ oloshéle ka muza mp^huundra/ kula mp^huundra. ‘Juma went to a donkey-seller to buy a donkey.’

Khamiisi/ na mukeewé/ wa’oloshéle muyiini. ‘Khamiisi and his wife went to town.’ Or: **Khamiisi/ oloshéle muyiini/ na mukeewe.** ‘Khamiisi went to town with his wife.’ If one says: **Wa’oloshéle muyiini/ na mukeewe.**, the interpretation is: ‘They went to town with his wife.’
Check to see whether it is possible to say: Khamiisi/ wa’oloshéle 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.)

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/ noloshele 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/ noloshele 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/ oloshelo numbaani. ‘The/a man went home.’ Or: **Oloshelo**

muunt^hu/ numbaani. ‘Someone went home.’

Mwaalimu/ na mwaaná/ wa’oloshelo. ‘The teacher and the child left.’

mwaana/ oloshela naayé... ‘the boy who was gone with him...’

Mwana oloshelo Mwiini/ 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.)

mwana oloshelo na mwaalimú... ‘the child who left with the teacher’

mwana oloshelo sukhuuní ‘the child who went to the market’

mwana wa mwaalimu/ oloshelo naayé... ‘the child whom the teacher left with him’

Mwaana/ wa Omari/ oloshelo Mwiini/ 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.)

Mwaana/ 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.’

Na mwaalimú/ oloshelo. ‘The teacher also has left.’ Or: **Mwaalimu/ naayé/ oloshelo.**

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 gaarí. ‘I went by car.’ Or: **Noloshele ka gaarí.**

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 wowiini. ‘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.’)

Noshele kumzirata Nuuru/ oyo/ mwalimu wa mwaanawá. ‘I went to visit Nuuru, who is my son’s teacher.’

Ntakooloka. ‘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’oloshelo. ‘Nuuru’s children went.’ Or: **Wanawe Nuuru/ wa’oloshelo.** (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!’

Oloshela 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/ zoloshela. ‘The money is gone.’

^hSho/ kuwa muḷjiwa/ 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: ***Numba/ yoloshela na Suufi.**)

Sultaani/ oloshela miskiti waa jima/ khsala. ‘The sultan went to Friday mosque to pray.’

Sultaani/ oloshelipi. ‘Where did the Sultan go?’

Wa’oloshela na gari niingi. ‘They went by many cars.’

Wa’oloshelo Mwiini/ ni want^hu wazima. ‘The ones who left Brava are the adults.’

waana/ wa’oloshela naawó. ‘the boys who were gone with them’

Waana/ wa’oloshela Mwiini. ‘The children went to Brava.’ Or: [**Mwiini/ wa’oloshela/ ^hwaana.**]

Waant^hu/ wa’oloshela Mwiini. ‘People left Brava.’ Or: [**Mwiini/**

wa’oloshela/ ^hwaant^hu.] Or: **Mwiini/ waant^hu/ wa’oloshela.** Or:

[**Wa’oloshela Mwiini/ ^hwaant^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/ oloshela/ naakuló. ‘She left crying.’

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/ yolokeleele. ‘(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!’

sułani 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/ yolokeleele. ‘(After waiting and waiting,) he went ahead and ate on his own and took himself off.’

Młate mukeewa/ nayolokele kaawo. ‘Just let my wife go to her parents.’

Wayolokeleele. ‘They took themselves off.’

Yolokeleele/ ijililee kuja. ‘He went and ate food (for himself).’

Yolokelele ki’ijililaa 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-olokeloowa v. appl. pass. (olokeleele)

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)

Gari niingi/ zoloshela naazó. ‘Many cars were gone by them.’ (This is an example of the promotion of the object of the preposition **na** to subject position in the passive, with a resumptive pronoun left behind. Impersonal passives are also possible: **Yoloshela na gari niingi.** ‘There was going by many cars.’ ‘Many cars were gone by them.’ And with the fronting of the object of the preposition with a resumptive pronoun left behind: **Gari niingi/ yoloshela naazó.** ‘Many cars, there was going by them.’)

Icholokoowa/ khtalowa zibałaasi/ 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 khaadi. ‘On the second day they went to the

judge [lit. there was going to the judge].’ (Note the impersonal passive construction in this example.)

Yoloshela numbaani. ‘One cannot go to the house.’

Yoloshelapo ka sultaani/ 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/ chimvila mwanamke wa sultaani/ chimwaambila/ nintukulile nsi iyi/ mooyi. ‘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 sultaani/ nakhtungila choloko. ‘He raised his eyes up and he saw the daughter of the sultan peeping from a window.’

Ha’endri/ mahaĵa/ haĵawi/ hattá/ choloko/ haĵuungili. ‘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’

khfungula choloko ‘to peep out from a window’

Maama/ shĵuungila/ ka cholokooni. ‘Mother peered out from the window.’

Mwaana/ vuzile choloko ichije. ‘The boy broke that window.’

Mwanaamke/ oyo/ iwaliko ni aadaye/ khsimama cholokooni/ kulangaĵa/ 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/ mwĩngine/ 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-otoleĵa v. appl.

Mololeje 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

Abú/ ololeshele chiliini. ‘Abu laid across the bed.’

k-ololekoowa v. p/s. pass.

Chili/ chiloloshela. ‘The bed was laid across.’

-oloolo adj. [Sw. *-ororo* SSED 356] soft, tender, pliable; (idiom.) depressed, low, down (in mood); [the [cl.9/10] form may be pronounced **noloolo** or **oloolo**]

chinama choloolo ‘a piece of tender meat’

kuwa mwoloolo ‘to be lenient; to be spiritually dead’

Nuuru/ wele mwoloolo. ‘Nuuru was lenient; Nuuru became spiritually dead.’

kuwelela mwoloolo ‘to be lenient with’

Nuuru/ mwelele Ali/ mwoloolo. ‘Nuuru was lenient with Ali.’

mazu noloolo ‘over-ripe bananas’

mwoloolo/ kanaa nk'uku/ potelo mayiini ‘someone soft or weak like a chicken who has fallen into water’

Muke/ chiwelelowa moloolo/ khupandra chitaani. ‘If a woman/wife is shown softness, she will stand on your head.’ (A proverb.)

muti mwoloolo ‘a tree that can be easily bent’

nama noloolo ‘tender meat’

Nimene Hamadi/ maskiini/ ↑mwoloolo. ‘I have seen poor Hamadi, he is depressed, down, low.’

noloolo/ kamba toomu ‘soft as curdled milk’

-oloolo/ 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, but it can also be used to refer to someone being depressed or down in mood)’

mwoloolo/ kana/ lbaani/ haṭá/ khkooḍa/ntʰaná/ khaadira ‘soft as chewing gum, even to talk he is not able’

Omari/ khshindroowa/ wele mwoloolo/ kana lbaani. ‘Omari, being defeated, he became as (lit. soft) depressed, down as chewing gum.’

Wele mwoloolo. ‘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] (**oloweele**) get wet, soaked

Nguwo/ zoloweele. ‘The clothes were soaked.’

Zoloweeló/ nii nguwo. ‘What were soaked are the clothes.’

rel.

k-oolowana v. (**-oloweene**) get wet

Waana/ nguwo zaawo/ zoloweene/ kaa nvula/ ziwele fachakh! ‘The children’s clothes got wet with rain, they became *fachakh!*’

k-ololeza v. caus. appl. (**ololeeze**) soak for, by means of

k-ooloza v. caus. (**oleeze**) make wet

Nvula ya deeri/ ha'imoolozi/ muuntʰu. ‘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 nṭhiini/ 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”)

na zoombo ẓiinu kanaye fungaani [st.] ‘and you should cover all your

containers’ (Observe that **zoombo** is a [cl.8] noun as demonstrated by the agreement on the possessive **ẓiinu**. At the same time, the possessive form **kanaye** shows what seems to be a [cl.9] agreement.)

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 waanṭ^hu/ zoombo. ‘Nuuru likes to give people things.’

Panzize choombo/ mwaamba. ‘He ran the vessel onto the rock.’ (A proverbial saying.)

Shṭamwaambila/ ya kuwa mukṭaa si/ chenzelo khshindramana ka mafakaṭó/ chimṭasile 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.’

Shṭomola 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/ nṭ^hakuwanaacho/ choombo/ chaa ye/ kumpeḷeḷa 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)

Chimṭala maamaye/ wchiguura/ karka nuumba/ nḳ^hulu/ nṭ^ho/ wachịⁱiisha/ omo/ karka raaha. ‘He took his mother and moved into the very big house and lived in there in comfort.’

Hasani/ nṭ^hakuwanaayo/ khabari/ kuwa omo/ numbaani/ walimo mwanaamke/ wa sultaani. ‘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 muunṭ^hu/ mooyi/ maskiini/ mwenzawe Ali/ na Ali/ 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/ m̄tanaani/ umo munt^hu leele. ‘In there in the room there is someone asleep.’

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.’

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 nyoki/ hujó/ (we)/ ska’onde/ uki. ‘If you knew what bees eat, you wouldn’t taste honey.’ (A proverb.)

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

Ndovu/ choonda/ chiwona/ kuwa maayi/ ya bakayle/ ni malada. ‘The elephant tasted it and saw that the water of the hare [which in fact was honey, not water] was sweet.’

Nondele mtuzi. ‘I tasted the soup.’

Ni laazima/ mi/ na mweenzawa/ 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/ pishilo. ‘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

chilada cho hondoowa, pamooyi yo hujooa [song] ‘something sweet it is tasted, together it is eaten’

rel. nom.

m̄-oonda n. one who tastes

Mwonda 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/ wanazuble. ‘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 chita/ chichiweeka/ mahala/ yiingine/

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/ humwondrolo 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 numba. ‘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)’

Omari/ ni jaahili/ iize/ khadira kondrola chiina/ haṭá/ chimooyi ‘Omari is ignorant, he is not able to read even one word.’

kondrolaa chiṭa ‘to raise the head’

kondrolaa chiti ‘to lift a chair’

kondrola ruuhu) ilu...) ‘to give oneself airs, act arrogant (lit. to raise oneself up)’

Muunt^hu/ siwo/ suura/ kondrola ruuhuye/ ilu ya waant^hu/ ni alaama/ ya uṭakaburi. ‘A person should not raise himself up (preen, puff himself up, etc.), it is a sign of arrogance.’

kondrola sheetaani ‘[lit.] to remove the devil -- i.e. to not let anger get the better of one, to be calm’

Hamadi/ mwambile Omari/ sishikoowá/ shtana/ ondrola sheetaani. ‘Hamadi told Omari: do not get angry, keep Satan away from you!’

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).’

Mwondrele mwaana/ ka mezaani. ‘He removed the child from the table.’

Ni laazima/ si/ khfaanya/ hiila/ mwewepe/ kumwoondrola/ 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^hanakoondrola. ‘He is not taking it away.’

Omari/ mshishile Hamadi/ garabu/ mondreele. ‘Omari took Hamadi by the shoulders and stood him up.’

Ondrola 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/ ifiriṭi 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.’

Wachondrola godoro/ wachimwona noka. ‘They moved the mattress (and) saw a snake.’

rel.

k-oondroka v. intr. [Sw. *ondoka* SSED 354] (**ondroshele**) 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 khtomolowa muḥjaana/ mo/ suura/ kulaṭilowa bahariini. ‘From here a boat does not take off until a boy, one, handsome, is taken to be thrown into the sea.’

Chimaliza/ wa’ondroshele. ‘Then they awoke.’

Chiizé/ si/ hachoondroki/ 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/ ondroshele. ‘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.'

kondroka hima

Hamadi/ hima/ imwondroshela/ nakhsula khfungulaa duka.

'Hamadi is determined, has his mind set, he wants to open a shop.'

Mate/ haya'ondroki/ bila mtaanga. 'Spit does not get off the ground without having some sand in it.' (A proverb.)

Muunt^hu/ kila/ shpata pesa zaaydi/ husula zaaydi/ imaani/ humoondroka. 'When a person gets more money, he wants more, he is no longer content.' (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'akhaadira/ koondroka. 'He was not able to move.'

Ondroka/ ondroka/ ka apo/ we. 'Leave, get out of here, you.'

Ondroka ruuda/ ka maha^haa we/ ilijilo. '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/ kuwavila 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/ chimgiita/ 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-ondrokeoowa 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-ondrokeoowa v. appl. pass. (**ondrokeleela**)

k-ondrokoowa v. pass. (**ondoshela**)

Leelo/ sultaani/ naank^o/ 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’

Nondrolele heshma. ‘He disgraced me.’

Kuuyake/ inondrolele huzni. ‘His coming took away my sorrow.’

Ma’askari/ wachimuza/ khondroleleni. ‘The soldiers asked him: what did he accuse you of?’

Nondrolele mashakha. ‘He relieved me of financial difficulties.’

Nondrolele 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 usenziini. ‘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-oondroscha v. caus. (**ondrosheeze**) wake s.o. up, make s.o. get up; raise up; remove, cause to move

Awuukari/ mwondrosheze mwaana. ‘Awuukari woke the child.’

kondroscha hima ‘to prod’

kondroscha hima ‘to be decided, determined to do s.t., want to do s.t. very much’

Omari/ ondrosheze hima/ nakhsula kuloola. [H’H!H] ‘Omari is determined, he wants to marry.’

Mwondrosheze mwaana/ ka mezaani. ‘He removed the child from the

table; he induced the child to get off the table.’

Mwondrosheze mwaana/ ka usinziziini. ‘He woke up the child from sleep.’

Mubli/ chiya numbaani/ ondroshezopo 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/ nondrosheleze 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 usiziziini. ‘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/ nondrosheleza 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/ na’ondroshoowa/ 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)umjazishizee chita. ‘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/ takhtundrikowa wa mutiini/ naa nyunyú/ s^taakuja/ 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’

Ali/ 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/ sula 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 eelo. ‘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; pl: [**miyoongo** ‘backs’]; variant form: **muungo**

Chizeele/ choondroka/ chuuluka/ chooloka/ ilu/ nt^ho/ naachó/

chimtukilo mwaaná/ mungooni. ‘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’

kh^htuwa moongo ‘to rub the back, esp. during bathing’

kh^htukula ka moongo ‘to carry on the back’

kh^htukulana mungooni ‘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?**

Omari) mi) namkoodishó) tu) mp^hele moongo. ‘Omari, while I was talking to him, just gave me his back, i.e. left me.’

Omari/ peesa/ zimpele moongo. [H!H!H] ‘Omari money left him (i.e. at one time Omari had money, but now it is gone).’

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).’ (A proverb.)

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^wishpa wa moongo ‘back bone’

Omari/ m^wishpa wa 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 muḅliwe. '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/ washishiḷa ooni. 'Once upon a time, the animals of the bush country became thirsty.'

Nshishiḷa ooní. 'I was thirsty.' (Cf. **Shishiḷa ooni.** 'He was thirsty.' It should be noted that in the speech of GM, the *n* prefix for first person singular is omitted in front of a voiceless consonant and it is only the final accent that distinguishes 'I was thirsty' and 'he was thirsty'.)

khṭinda ooni 'to cut the thirst -- i.e. quench the thirst'

Mayi maḷada/ hayaṭiindi/ ooni. 'Sweet water (e.g. juice) does not quench the thirst.'

Maayi/ tu/ huṭindo ooní. 'Only water quenches thirst.'

kuwanayo ooni 'to be thirsty'

Mp^huundra/ ya Abunawaasi/ iwanayo ooni. 'Abunawaasi's donkey was thirsty.'

Nnayo ooní. 'I am thirsty.'

kuwona ooni 'to be thirsty – [lit.] to see thirst'

Maye/ hadiile/ leelo/ iwa/ zaaydi/ ooni/ nt^ho/ nakuwonó. 'Maye said: it is very hot today, (lit. I see thirst too much) I am very thirsty.'

ndalaye niingi ooniye siwo haba [st.] 'his hunger is great, his thirst is not small'

Omari/ file ka ooni. 'Omari died of thirst.' Also: **Ka ooni/ ifiilá.** 'From thirst there was dying.' **Ooni/ ifiilá.** 'Thirst was died from.'

Shṭinda kendraa mbele/ kaa ndala/ na ooní. 'He decided to go forward, with hunger and thirst.'

waana wasibeete ka ooni na ndala [nt.] 'children suffered thirst and hunger'

oono

n. UN (United Nations)

Dowḷa ya Soomaaliya/ nt^haasá/ nt^ha'iku'aqonsaṭoowa/ 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

Abú/ onyeeze/ kuwaa ye/ mtiiḷe Omari/ voota. 'Abu revealed that he voted for Omari.'

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/ mvile mwaana/ shpate kumwonya nt^huunziye. 'Go and call the daughter so that we may show her her dowry.'

Hamadi/ chonyeeze/ si/ jisaa ye/ huṭezo jisa surá/ mpiirá/ tu. 'Hamadi showed us just how well he plays football.'

hiskaṭilo 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.'

Maryamu/ khiyasishiize/ mukḥta waana/ chibuuku/ waṭamonyo mwaalimú. 'Maryamu guessed when the children would show the book to the teacher.'

Mbele/ Jawa khonye nuumba/ iyi. ‘First let me show you this house.’
Omari/ nonyeeze mi/ Mombasa. ‘Omari showed me around Mombasa.’
Onyá. ‘Show it!’
ukali wa sakaraati/ Sheekhi ka chiza konyoowa [st.] ‘from the torturous agonies of dying/ may the Sheikh be spared’
Watumishi/ washta’ajaba/ wachimvija sultaani/ kumwooneza. ‘The servants were astonished, they called the sultan to come [for them] to show him [the pieces of gold].’
Ye/ nonyeeze mi/ siri. ‘She revealed the secret to me.’
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-oonyesha v. caus. (onyesheeze) show; seem
Abubakari/ nakonyesha kuwa tambile mas’ala. ‘Abubakari is showing/indicating that he understands the question.’ (Note that an infinitival complement is not permitted: ***Abubakari/ nakonyesha khtambula 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/ tambile mas’ala. ‘It seems that Abubakari understood the question.’
Hupenda koonyesha. ‘He likes showing off.’
Inakonyesha kuwa miyunda aya/ nt^hayakhpata/ nvula. ‘It seems that these farms did not get rain.’
Jaama/ honyesha kuwa nakhfaanyani. ‘What does Jaama seem to be doing?’ Or: **Jaama/ nakonyesha kuwa nakhfaanyani.** (The first sentence uses the habitual form of the verb while the second sentence uses the present tense.)
Nakonyesha kuwa nakumera chiint^hu. ‘He seems to be looking for something.’
Nonyesha huruma. ‘Show me pity!’
Nt^hanakoonyesha. ‘He is not showing it.’
Nt^haynakoonyesha. ‘It is unlikely (lit. it does not show).’
Nt^haynakoonyesha/ kuwaa we/ takhpita imtihaani. ‘It does not appear likely that you will pass the examination.’
Ye/ nakonyesha kuwa nakumera chiint^hu. ‘He seems that he is looking for something.’
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/ chimwonyeza 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.’
konyeza 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'

Noonyeza/ mi/ iyi/ jisaayo/ hufanyowa kaazi. 'Show me how this works.'

Noonyeza/ mi/ jisa hufanyowa iyi. 'Show me how this is done.'

Nonyezaa nguwo/ zaa we/ uziló. 'Let me see the clothes that you have bought.'

Nt'akhoonyeza. '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 Nuuru/ 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. [H!H] '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.** [H!H] 'Pictures were shown to people.'

Zonyeza waant^hu/ ni piicha. [HH] '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'ambi^loowi/ 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.)

Mzeele/ ha'onyoowi/ chiint^hu/ huwona/ zaaydiyo. 'An old man is not shown (told) things, he sees more than you.' (A proverb.)

Nt'akonyoowa/ 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
variant form: **owra**
Farji/ ni karka mooyi/ owra/ muhimu/ yaa wake. ‘The vagina is one of the important private parts of women.’
- 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 fijiri. ‘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’
- orijinaale** adj. original
Alí/ mulíle mwaanawe/ surwaani/ ya jiiinsi/ orijinaale. ‘Ali bought for his son the original jeans.’
- ooro** n.[Som. *ooro* DSI 474] pus from the ear
- ku-’ororata** v. (**ororete**) gather together, concentrate things in one place
hadiithi/ i’ororetó/ ka Abu Hureerá ‘the sayings [of the Prophet] which have been collected together by Abu Hureera’
Hadithi iyi/ i’orereṭe 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/ doḅla/ za chi’orupa/ na sha’ abuyé/ wotte/ laazima/ si/ khsimama kuunganya/ maali/ kumpeleka doḅla/ ya ṭalyaani/ 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. [H’H!!H] ‘One finger does not wash the face.’ (A proverb.)
Chosha mtele/ 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 hutosha/ laakini maayi ndiyo zaaydi kosha [st.]
‘(to clean oneself after defecating) with water or with stones suffices, but water is better to wash with’
kosha mtuungi ‘to wash a water pot’
Mwaana/ osheze faṭura ya Omari. ‘The child washed Omari’s car.’ Or, with focus on **faṭuura**: **Mwaana/ osheze faṭuura/ ya Omari.** Or, with focus on the verb: **Mwaana/ osheeze/ faṭura ya Omari.**
Muke/ mwosheze mwaana. ‘The woman washed the child.’
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’osheze mikonó/ khaadimu/ naayó/ chiya/ chija/ makombo yaseeló/ hatá/ 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 fațuurá. ‘I washed the car.’ Or with verb emphasis: **Nosheezé/ fațuura.** Or with complement preposing: **Fațuura/ nosheezé.** Or with focus on preposed complement: **Fațuura/ nosheezó.**

Nosheze fațura ya Omari. ‘I washed Omari’s car.’ Cf. **Nosheze fațura ya Omari/ nosheezó.** ‘I washed Omari’s car, that’s what I did.’ But cannot say: ***Nosheezé/ fațura 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 that there is no internal focus in the sentence **Nosheze fațura ya Omari.** As a consequence, one does not continue this sentence with **siwo** ‘not’ plus a contrasted element in the sentence: ***Nosheze fațura 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 fațuurá/ 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/ baskiili.** ‘Not (Omari’s) bicycle.’ One cannot also locate a Verb Copy after ‘car’: ***Nosheze fațuurá/ 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/ fațuuraye. ‘Omari washed Hamadi’s car.’

Oshá. ‘Wash!’

Tuuma/ mwosheze mwaana/ uso. ‘Tuuma washed the child’s face.’ (The simple yes-no question exhibits Q-raising but no accent shift. The exclamatory yes-no question shifts the accent in the VP: **Tuuma/ mwosheze mwaaná/ usó!?**)

Tuuma/ mwosheze mwaaná/ usó. ‘Tuuma washed the child’s face.’ Or, with focus on **maana** rather than the subject: **[Tuuma/ mwosheze mwaana/ uso].** (This sentence differs from the simple statement cited in the previous example in that **mwaana** is not downstepped but rather raised in pitch. The yes-no question version of the sentence with focus on **mwaana** shifts the accent in the out-of-focus **uso**: **Tuuma/ mwosheze mwaana/ usó?**)

Tuuma/ mwosheze mwaana/ uso. ‘Tuuma washed the child’s *face*.’ (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 mwaana. ‘Tuuma washed the face of the child.’ (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 mwaana/ Tuuma/ osheezó. ‘It’s the child’s face that Tuuma washed.’ Or: **Mwaana/ usowe/ Tuuma/ osheezó.** ‘It’s the child *his face* that Tuuma washed.’ Or: **Mwaana/ 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’osheenyé) wash one another

Nuuru/ na Baaná/ wa’osheenyé. ‘Nuuru and Baana washed each other.’ (Reciprocal shift does not appear to be allowed for this verb: *Nuuru/ oshenyé na Baana. ‘Nuuru washed one another with Baana.’)

Wa’oshenye mikono. ‘They washed one another’s hands.’

Waana/ wa’osheenyé, ‘The children 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.

Mwaana/ mwoshekelele Baana. ‘The child was able to be washed for

Baana.’

k-osheleza v. appl.

Baana/ mwosheleze Nuuru/ shkoombe. ‘Baana washed the cup for Nuuru.’

Mwaana/ mwosheleze Omari/ faṭuura. ‘The child washed the car for Omari.’ Or, with focus on the subject: **Mwaana/ mwosheleze Omari/ faṭuurá.**

Mwaana/ wa Aasha/ mwosheezo sabuuní/ 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.’ (In the instrumental applied construction, the instrument, here **saabuni**, cannot be focused in the speech of MI. 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.’

Saabuni/ mwosheleze mwaana/ uso. ‘With soap, she washed the child’s face.’

Tete saabuni/ kumwosheleza mwaana. ‘She took soap to wash the child with.’

k-oshelezanya v. appl. rec. (-oshelezeenyé) wash s.t. for one another (One can also

hear

koshanyiliza.)

sabuuni yaa wo/ wa’oshelezeenyó ‘the soap that they washed one another with’

Wa’oshelezenye waana/ mikono. ‘They washed the children’s hands for one another.’

Waana/ wa’oshelezenye saabuni. ‘Children washed one another with soap.’ (A possible sentence, but preferred is **Wa’oshenye ka saabuni.** ‘They washed one another with soap.’)

Waana/ wa’oshelezen ye waant^u. ‘The children washed the man for one another.’ (This sentence cannot mean ‘the children washed one another for the man’.)

Watete saabuni/ koshelezanya waana/ mikono. ‘They took soap to wash the children’s hands with for one another.’

k-oshelezanyoowa v. appl. rec. pass..

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/ yosheleza mwaana/ uso. 'Soap was used to wash the child's face.' (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, at least in the speech of MI: ***Mwaana/ osheleza saabuuni.** '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) (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

manyi yachilawapo kowoowa/ ni waajibu na takufo koshooa [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/ hoshooa. '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/ hoshooa. '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 hujuza [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 mujo '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 ***moté** or ***ka moté** or ***mo moté** 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 choṭe

Wawalimo karka ḏiṭiqi/ nt^ho/ ka sababu/ wo/
 nt^hawakuwanaayo/ hattá/ /peesa/ mooyi/ yaa
 wo/ kulila chaakuja/ cho choṭe. ‘They were in
 great difficulty because they did not have even
 one coin for them to buy any food with.’

choṭe [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 koṭe

Nichimereje chibuukuchá/ ka koṭe/ skishpata. ‘I looked
 everywhere for my book, (but) I didn’t find it.’

ko koṭe

Ko koṭe/ we/ takeendró/ takhpata kaazi. ‘Wherever you go, you
 will get a job.’ review whether koṭe is PP-final here always

or whether final vowel could lengthen in front of /we/

koṭe/ kont^he

Humero zont^hé/ huṭowa kont^he. ‘The one who searches for (or:
 demands) all misses all ([lit.] everywhere).’ (A proverb.)

Koṭe/ maháala ye/ olosheló/ nt^hakhpandoowa. ‘Every place that
 he went, he was not loved.’ Or: Maháala ye/ olosheló/
 koṭe/ nt^hakhpandoowa.

Koṭe/ ni bahari/ tu. ‘Everywhere it is just the sea.’

Nmereeḷé/ koṭe/ skishpata. ‘I looked for it all over, (but) I did not
 find it.’

everywhere.’

Omari/ mereje zibuuku/ kont^he. ‘He looked for the books

po poṭe

Ziweke po poṭe. ‘Put them anywhere!’ Or: Ziweeke/ po poṭe.

wo woṭe

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).'

Waanthu/ wont'e/ hawaawi/ wasuura. 'All people cannot be good.' (A proverbial saying.)

Waanthu/ wote/hawaawi/ wawovu. 'All people cannot be bad.' (A proverbial saying.)

Waanthu/ wotte/ wa'ile. 'All the people came.'

Wo/ washtaanzile/ wotte/ wiitu. 'They insulted all of us.' Or: **Wo/ washanzile 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/ nakhsula uki wote/ mbele/ nikhufunge/ 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 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**.)

Chimwaambila/ ya kuwa magozi/ yotte/ yawozele. 'He told him that all the skins got rotten.'

Kamaa we/ hukhaadiri/ kawanya tawala/ jis'iyó/ 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^hakhusameha/ laakini/ ka sharti/ mooyi/ we/ ni laazima/ kundripila khasaara/ imp^hetó/ 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.’
nuumba/ 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 darbiníyé. ‘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/ somelee/ zibuuku/ zont^he. ‘Muusa read all the books.’

Mwanaamke/ huwono zotté/ zinakhtulukó/ weene/ zimpeto Hasaní. ‘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^hé.** ‘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^hé.** ‘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/ nuuzilé.** ‘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 ndrriimú/ zotté. ‘I ate all the lemons.’

piicha/ zotte ‘all the pictures’

Wajile nt^eendre/ zotte/ wajiiló. ‘They had eaten all the dates, that’s what they had done.’ Or: **Wajile nt^eendre/ 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 ndrriimú/ zotté. ‘You ate all the lemons.’ Cf. **Zijile ndrriimu/**

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. **m^{tu}ungi** ‘a large pot for carrying and storing water’) rel.

rel.

k-otelelela v. appl. (**otelelele**)

k-oteleloowa v. appl. pass.

k-oteleloowa v. pass.

k-oteza 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 m^{tu}ungi/ 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

lbaani 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/ naðiifa/ hotezoowa/ jisa

suura. ‘The woman also will be dressed with new clothes, white, clean, [and] will be fumigated with incense thoroughly.’

k-ooova

v. [cf. Sw. **lowa** "get wet, be soaked (drenched, saturated), be damp" SSED 249] roll out dough; mix (e.g. cement)

Abdalla/ sh^tomola 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.’

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’

Hamadi/ mwambile waawaye/ siingilé/ jawabu za Omari/ na

Sheekhi/ soové/ matuzi. [H!HH!H'H||H!H] ‘Hamadi told his father: do not interfere in the argument between Omari and Sheekhi, do not get involved in a corrupt situation.’ (The main aspects of the intonation of this sentence is clear. The pitch of the negative imperative **siingilé** is raised a bit above the preceding accent syllable, hence the lack of any symbol for lowering here. It is clear that the clause **soové/ matuzi** represents an independent IP, where the initial accent is clearly raised above the final accent in the preceding IP. This situation is represented by the symbol ||. The only minor issue is whether there is downstep between the conjoined phrases in **jawabu za Omari/ na Sheekhi**. There is some pitch lowering in **na Sheekhi**, but it is not much. We are however not confident of distinctions between downstep and declination in post-verbal phrases.)

Muunthu/ ha'ovi/ matuzi/ naa mané/ huletaa dhibu.

[H'H!H!H||H] 'One does not get mixed up with shit and urine (i.e. mixed up in corrupt, evil matters), it brings difficulties.' (The second clause in this example is an independent IP, since it resets the pitch range clearly above the final accent in the preceding IP. It is not, however, returned to the pitch height of the sentence-initial accented syllable.)

Nakova naawó/ matuzi. 'I am doing as they do.'

rel.

k-oovana v. **does this verb exist**

-oow-

passive suffix

Hukahaŋoowa. 'x is hated.'

Hupelekoowa/ chiwooni. 'He is sent to koranic school.'

k-oowa

v. [Sw. *oga* SSED 350] (*oweele*) 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 ŋawala/ 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 cholooni/ 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.**

Nnakoowá/ isa. 'I am taking a bath now.' Cf. **Nnakoowa/ isa.** 'He is taking a bath now.'

Nnakoowá/ leelo. 'I am taking a bath today.' Cf. **Nakoowa/ leelo.** 'He is taking a bath today.'

Nowele wowiini. 'I bathed in the river.' Or (with the location outside the focus): **Noweelé/ wowiini.**

Oloshela ŋawala/ 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'oweele. '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-oowela v. appl. [Sw. *ogea* SSED 350] (**oweleele**) bathe in, with

Munt^{bu} uyu/ oweleele tawala. ‘This man bathed in the sea.’ Or: **Munt^{bu} 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-oowesh v. caus. [Sw. *ogesh* 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-oowela

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’

Wagarwa/ wakali/ koowela/ hoowela/ kana mp^haamp^ha/ chilaani/ hukoma/ ka dakhikha ikumi. ‘Fishermen are good in swimming, they swim like sharks, they reach Chilaani in ten minutes.’

koowela/ kanaa nsi ‘to swim like a fish’

Ali/ hoowela/ nthangú/ Maafakha/ hatá/ nthí/ kana/ nsi/ ka dakhikha nth^haano/ hukoma ifuwooni. ‘Ali can swim from Maafakha like a fish, he reaches the coast in five minutes.’

kowelake ‘his/ her/ its swimming’

Maryamu/ oo hu-khadiro k-oowela/ ni mweenzawa. ‘Maryamu, who can swim well, is my friend.’

Mi/ siisi/ koowela. ‘I do not know how to swim.’

Mp^haamp^ha/ naa nfuye/ ilu ya moongó/ chanza koowela. ‘The shark, with the monkey on its back, began to swim.’

Muunt^{bu}/ mara mooyi/ shpotela mayiini/ ni koowela/ tu. ‘Once a person has fallen into water, there is (nothing to do but) just swim.’ (A proverbial saying somewhat akin to the English “sink or swim”, advising that once one gets drawn into some issue, situation, one just must deal with it.)

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.)

Nimpele lwawó/ koowela. ‘I gave him a board to swim (with).’

Noloshela 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’.)

Omari/ howela tawala/ ye/ ha’oweli/ mahala yyingine. ‘Omari swims in the sea, he does not swim any other place.’

Oweleele ka lwawo. ‘He swam with a board.’

Oweleele kanaa nt^hupu. ‘He swam naked.’

Oweleele munt^hi mzima. ‘He swam the whole day.’

Tete chisarwaani/ kowela tawala. ‘He took shorts to swim in the sea (with).’

Tete lwawo/ koowela. ‘He took a board to swim (with).’

- Wachoowela/ ka himaahima/ kudirka jaziira.** ‘They swam quickly to reach the island.’
- Wanaashke/ awo/ hukhadiro koowelá/ wanakhteza wowiini.** ‘The girls who can swim are playing in the river.’
- Wanaashke/ hukhadiro koowelá/ wanakhteza kharibu ya wowiini.** ‘The girls who can swim are playing by the river.’
- Wanaashke/ wa Maryamu/ waweenó/ wanakendra koowela.** ‘The girls who Maryamu saw are going swimming.’
- rel.
- k-oweleka* v. p/s. [Sw. *ogeleka* SSED 350] (**owelekeshele**, a form based on a doubling of the p/s. extension) be swimmable
- k-owelela* v. appl. (**oweleele** – a form that is indistinguishable from the perfect of the simple verb stem)
- lwawo/ oweleele.** ‘A board, he swam with.’
- Nakowelela kamardaariyo.** ‘He is swimming with an inner tube.’
- Nimpele lwawó/ kowelelá.** ‘I gave him a board to swim with.’
- k-oweeloowa* v. pass. (**-oweleela**)
- rel. nom.
- ma-’owelo* n. 6 the act of swimming
- ma’owelewe 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 kalili 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** ideo. [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/ haṭá/ leelo/ oyo muḅli/ chiwa hakhaadiri/ chifa.** ‘So, until one day the man became sick and died.’
- Basi/ oyo mwiimbili/ naank^{hó}/ shfakaṭa/ cheendra/ shṭukula oyoo nsi/ naank^{hó}/ 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.’
- Mp^{hu}undra/ si oyo naakulá/ naawé/ nakuhada kuwaa ye/ nt^haaakó.** ‘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/ mweenó/ ni Nuuru.** ‘That man that you saw is Nuuru.’

Muunt^hu/ oyo/ mwalimu wa mwaanawá/ ni Nuuru. ‘The man who is my son’s teacher is Nuuru.’

Muunt^hu/ oyo/ waliko mwalimu wa mwaanawá/ mwakaa yaná/ ni Nuuru. ‘The man who was my son’s teacher last year 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 sulṭaani. ‘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.’

Namfanyaayi/ maskini o(y)o. ‘What do you want from that poor fellow (i.e. quit harrasing him).’

Namfanyaayi/ 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/ nakhuviiḷó/ 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/ naakuḷó/ 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/ oloshale 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)’

Mṭungi 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 wakhtí 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 **poloshelepi** ‘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** SSED 358] (**peele**) give (The infinitive prefix **ku** regularly changes to **kh** in front of verb stems that begin with a voiceless obstruent consonant (**p t 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.’ (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/) suła kuwa oloshela. ‘If Hamadi had given Omari money, (Omari) would have gone.’ It is possible to reverse the order of the clauses: **Omari/ suła kuwa oloshela/ 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.** (But for some reason, MI did not accept: ***Hamadi/ mpele mwaana/ Nuuru/ chibuukuche.** This point needs further research.)

kawapá/ peesa/ waana/ Omari ‘if he had *given* the children money, Omari’ (In this example, the subject has been postposed to the end of the clause, and the verb has been emphasized; the verb is a *ka*-tense verb, which triggers final accent, but the emphasis on the verb prevents the final accent to be realized on the complements due to the effects of the Accentual Law of Focus. The postposed subject would in any case be outside the scope of final accent derived from the verb. It should be noted, however, that GM does accept: **kawapá/ peesa/ waana/ Omari.** The final accent on the postposed subject seems connected to the unexplained final accent at the end of the clause shown in other examples below.)

Keesho/ nt^hakhupaa nguwo/ na riwú/ kumpeleka. ‘Tomorrow I will give you clothes and gifts to take to her.’

khpaa 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)

madrasa yaa mi/ mp^helo zibuukú ‘the school that I gave books to’ or **madrasa yaa mi/ ni^hipelo zibuukú** ‘the school that I gave it books’

Mwaalimu/ mpele mwaana/ chibuuku. ‘The teacher gave the child a book.’ (Cf. It is possible for the subject of this sentence, **mwaalimu**, to be the head of a corresponding relative clause: **mwaalimu mpelo mwaaná/ chibuukú...** ‘the teacher who gave the child a book...’ It is also possible for **mwaana** to be the head of a corresponding relative clause: **mwana wa mwaalimu/ 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 mwaalimu/ mpelo mwaaná** ‘the book that the teacher gave the child...’)

Mwaana/ chiiza/ kumpa. ‘The boy refused to give it to him.’

Mwana gani/ mpelo chibuukú. ‘Which child did you give a book?’

Mwaana/ peła peesa/ peelá. ‘The child was given money, that’s what he was given.’

Mi/ siná/ ^hchiint^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.’)

Mp^hele zibuukú/ madrasá. ‘I gave books to the school.’ (Note that the direct object cannot control an object marker on the verb: ***Nispele zibuukú/ madrasá.** ‘I gave them (the books) to the school.’)

Mpeeleni/ maana. ‘What have you given the child?’ Or: **Maana/ mpeeleni.**

- 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.**
- mukhta Haliima/ wapele waaná/ peesá [H!H!H]** ‘when Haliima gave the children money’ (This example represents the canonical prosody where there is downstep between the subject and the VP, as well as downstep between the two complements to the verb. One can put some emphasis on the subject by raising its pitch, which then induces a stronger downstep on the VP: [↑H!H!H]. Focus on *waana* would alter the prosody significantly, but it may be the case that some emphasis on *waana* can be achieved by manipulating the degree of downstep after it but without otherwise altering the prosody. This point requires further study.)
- mukhta Haliima/ wapeeló/ waana/ peesa [HH!!H!H]** ‘when Haliima gave the children money’ (Emphasis on the verb changes the prosody of the sentence given immediately above: the verb is now not downstepped relative to the subject, and there is a radical lowering of the complement after the emphasized verb. Note also that the Accentual Law of Focus comes into play and bars final accent from extending to the complements of the verb.)
- Munt^hu mpelo Jaamá/ peesá/ ni Nuuru.** ‘The man who gave Jaama money is Nuuru.’ (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 wapele 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 chibuuku/ maana.** (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 ^fmwaana/ chibuukú?** and **Muusa/ mpele ^fchibuuku/ maaná?** It is possible to focus a complement even if it is not in post-verbal position: **Muusa/ mpele mwaana/ ^fchibuuku.**)
- Muusa/ mpee/ 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/ mpee/ maaná/ chibuukú?**)
- Muusa/ nt^hakuwapa/ waana/ maandra.** ‘Muusa did not give the children bread.’ Or, putting focus on the subject: **Muusa/ nt^hakuwapa waaná/ maandra.** ‘*Muusa* did not give the children bread.’ (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/ wapele 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 maandrá.** ‘It is the children whom Muusa gave bread.’

Muusa/ wapelo waaná/ maandrá. ‘*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/ maandrá.**)

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^h ampa 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^h ampa Omari/ peesá.** ‘It is Nuuru who gave Omari money.’)

Naani/ nt^h ampá/ 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.)

Ni’ipele madrasá/ zibuukú. ‘I gave the school books.’

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/ Hamadí/ 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 Hamadí/ 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 balani/ kuwaa mi/ nt^hakeendra. ‘I gave him a promise that I would go.’ (Phon. In this example, there is emphasis on **balani**, 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 Fardoosá/ tu/ peesa. [HH!H] ‘I gave only Fardoosa money.’

Nimpele Fardoosá/ peesá/ tu. [H!HH] ‘I gave Fardoosa only money.’

Nimpele peesá/ fardoosá/ tu [H!HH] ‘I gave money to only Fardoosa.’

Nimpele peesá/ tu/ Fardoosa. [HH!H] ‘I gave only money to Fardoosa.’

Nimpele Hamadí/ chibuukú. ‘I gave Hamadi a book.’ (In this sentence, **chibuuku** would be understood as being indefinite.) Cf. **Nimpele Hamadí/ chibuuku.** ‘I gave *Hamadi* a book.’ (In this sentence there is focus on Hamadi, as shown by the failure of the final accent triggered by the verb to project past **Hamadi**. As for **chibuuku**, it would still be interpreted as indefinite.) Cf.

Chibuuku/ nimpele Hamadí. ‘The book, I gave to Hamadi.’ (The preposing of **chibuuku** indicates that this noun is definite. Note that although an object marker can be used to indicate that a noun is definite, this strategy is not available for **chibuuku** in this example since it is the indirect object **Hamadi** that controls an OM on the verb, not the direct object

chibuuku.)

Nimpele Jaamá/ kujá. 'I gave Jaama food.'

Nimpele mwaaná/ 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 mwaaná/ ruuhuyá.** 'I gave myself to the child.' The word order of the complements may be inverted without affecting the prosody: **Nimpele chibuukú/ mwaaná.** 'I gave a book to the child.')

Nimpele mwaaná/ chibuuku. 'I gave the *child* money.' Cf. **Nimpele chibuukú/ mwaana.** '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/ mwaana/ 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 mwaaná/ chibuukú/ skolaani. '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 mwaaná/ chibuukú/ skolaani.** With focus on **maana**:

Nimpele mwaaná/ chibuuku/ skolaani. It is possible to put the locative into the IAV position, in which case the final accent does not extend past it:

Nimpele skolaani/ mwaana/ chibuuku. Or: **Nimpele skolaani/ chibuuku/ mwaana.**

Nimpele maaná/ peesá. 'I gave the child money.'

Nimpele maaná/ peesa. 'I gave the child *money*.' (In this sentence, the noun **peesa** is focused *in situ*. Its pitch is raised and thus contrasts with a sentence such as: **Nimpele maaná/ peesa.** 'I gave the *child* money.' In this latter sentence, **peesa** is downstepped while **maana** bears the higher pitch associated with focus.)

Nimpele maaná/ peesa/ yana. 'I gave the child *money* yesterday.' (In this example **peesa** is focused *in situ* by being raised in pitch. But notice that despite the final-accent triggering verb, **peesa** 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/ peesá/ yana.** It needs to be whether this is also a valid option.)

explored

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: **Zawaadi/ nimpeelé/ muunt^hu.**

Nnakhsu_la 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 bałani/ kuwaa ye/ takeendra. 'Nuuru promised me that he would not go.'

Nuuru/ mpele maana/ peesa. 'Nuuru gave the child *money*.' (Note that this example, where **peesa** is focused *in situ* by means of pitch raising, contrasts with **Nuuru/ mpele maana/ peesa.** In this latter sentence, where **maana** is focused, **peesa** is downstepped.)

Nuuru/ mpele mwaana/ peesa/ mpeeló. 'Nuuru gave the child money, that's what he did'

the focus.
triggers

- Nuuru/ mpele maana/ ^fpeesa/ niingi.** ‘Nuuru gave the child a lot of *money*.’ (This example illustrates focus, in the form of high pitch, on **peesa** in an *in situ* position. It should be noted that **niingi**, which is phrasally separated from **peesa**, is not downstepped, but rather itself somewhat raised in pitch.)
- Nuuru/ mpele maana/ ^fpeesa/ yana.** ‘Nuuru gave the child *money* yesterday.’ (The noun **peesa** is focused *in situ* by raising its pitch. The following time adverbial is downstepped.)
- Nuuru/ mpele Omari/ peesa.** ‘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!?**)
- ^f**Nuuru/ mpelo Omari/ peesá.** ‘It’s Nuuru who gave Omari money.’
- Nuuru/ nt^hampa/ 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^hampa/ 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^hampá/ Omari/ peesá!?**)
- 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.’
- Omari/ kawapa waaná/ peesá** ‘if Omari had given the children money’ or, with verb emphasis: **Omari/ kawapá/ waana/ peesa**, where the Accentual Law of Focus explains the absence of final accent on the post-verbal complements (GM does accept the pronunciation: **Omari/ kawapá/ waana/ peesá**, but the explanation for this form is not apparent: it is not simply a failure of ALF to be enforced, since the phrase *waana* lacks a final H tone.)
- Peesa/ mi/ ^fmwaana/ simpe.** ‘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 pseudo-relativization of the verb. The verb **simpe** is a negative subjunctive verb form with a null subject marker for first person in GM’s speech, as opposed to MI who has *n-* as the subject marker. In this example it has final accent due to be subject to pseudo-relativization triggered by focus on **mwaana**. One can also say: ^f**Mwaana/ mi/ peesa/ simpe.** ‘The *child* I money I should not give him.’ (The verb is downstepped. The pre-verbal elements show some declination.) Or: ^f**Mwaana/ 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 **peesa**.)
- Peesa/ mi/ simpe naani.** ‘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.)
- Peesa/ nimpele Tuumá.** ‘Money, I gave to Tuuma.’ Or: ^f**Peesa/ Tuuma/ nimpeeló.** ‘*Money* to Tuuma I gave.’ Or: ^f**Tuumá/ nimpeeló/ peesa.** ‘*Tuumá* I gave money.’
- ^f**Peesa/ simpe Tuumá.** ‘*Money* don’t give to Tuuma!’
- peesa/ Omari/ kawapa waaná** ‘money, if Omari had given the children’ or, with verb emphasis: **peesa/ Omari/ kawapá/ waana**, where ALF puts *waana* outside the scope of the final accent associated with the *ka*-tense verb (GM does allow **peesa/ kawapá/ waaná**, but as noted above, it is not clear that this form involves simply the failure of ALF to hold.)
- ^f**Peesa/ 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.)

intonation
There

Omari/ chaakuja/ mpele Jaama. ‘As for the food, Omari gave it to Jaama.’
(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/ mpele/ Nureeni/ peesa.** (Phrasing alone does not reveal all prosodic contras. 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 across the sentence. The second pronunciation is somewhat different. is focus on **Nureeni**. This noun is followed by a slight pause, and the following word **peesa** 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 mukeewô!?** ‘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!’

Tabaru’i/ ni’ipele madrasá. ‘A contribution, I gave to the school.’

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’.)

Tuuma/ simpe peesá/ nguwo/ mpe. ‘Tuuma, don’t give her money, clothes give

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/ 'wo. 'They gave (something) to them.'

Waspee. '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.)

Waspee/ 'wo. '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.)

Waspee/ 'zo. 'They gave (someone) them [cl.8].'

Wawapele. '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/ peesa/ 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/ 'Omari/ suḷa 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 'peesá/ Omari/ suḷa kuwa oloshole. '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.'

Kuwaviḷa 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 postponed 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/ spela 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^helempele 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-peejele v. appl.

Ye/ nt^hakuwanaacho/ choombo/ cha ye/ kumpejele maayi. ‘He did not have a vessel with which to give him water.’

kh-peeeka v. p/s.

Nuuru/ hupeeeka. ‘Nuuru can be given things (i.e. he does not refuse to accept things when offered).’

kh-poowa v. pass. (pele) be given

Ali/ pele bakhsha huundru. ‘Ali was fired (lit. was given a red letter).’

Chibuuku/ pele maana/ na maalimu. ‘The book, the child was given it by the teacher.’ (Syn. This is a rearrangement of the basic sentence:

Maana/ pele chibuuku/ na maalimu. ‘The child was given a book by the teacher.’ The subject of the passive verb is **maana** and not **chibuuku**.)

chibuku pele 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/ peesá!?**)

Fardoosa/ nt^hakhpowa peesá. ‘It was) Fardoosa (who) was not given money.’

Fardoosa/ pele peesa. ‘Fardoosa was given money.’ Or: **Fardoosa/ pele/ peesa.** (Phon. The simple yes-no questions: **Fardoosa/ pele peesa?** and **Fardoosa/ pele/ peesá?** The only natural exclamatory version: **Fardoosa/ pele peesá!?**)

ʔFardoosa/ pele peesá. ‘Fardoosa was given money.’ Or: **ʔFardoosa/ pele/ peesa.** ‘Fardoosa was given money.’

Fardoosa/ peleani. ‘What was Fardoosa given?’ Possible answers: **Fardoosa/ pele peesa.** ‘Fardoosa was given money.’

ʔFardoosa/ peesa/ pele. ‘Fardoosa, money, was given.’

Hamadi/ pele 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/ pele 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.)

ʔHamadi/ pele peesá? ‘Was it Hamadi who was given money?’ (The corresponding statement, where focus is on Hamadi, is: **ʔHamadi/ pele 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/ pele/ 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/ pele/ 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.)

ʔHamadi/ peesa/ pele. ‘Hamadi money was given.’

Hamadi/ (ni) peesa/ pele. ‘Hamadi, money he was given.’

Hamadi/ (ni) peesa/ pele/ khfanya jawabu iyo. ‘Hamadi, money he was given to do that thing.’

Jaama/ pelaa kuja/ naami. ‘Jaama was given food by me.’ Or: **Kuja/ pele 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.’)

Jaama/ pele peesa. ‘Jaama was given money.’ (Note the ungrammaticality of ***Peesa/ spela Jaama.** ‘Money was given to Jaama.’)

Khamsiiniza/ mp^heeeté/ isa/ mi/ nakhsuulá/ ye/ kuviloowa/ 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 tabaru’i/ naami. ‘The school was given a contribution by me.’

Madrasa/ ipela zibuuku. ‘The school was given books.’ (Cf. the ungrammaticality of *Zibuuku/ spela madrasa/ naami. ‘Books were given the school by me.’
maskiini wa Maka nama hupoowa [st.] ‘the poor people of Mecca are given meat’

Maana/ pela chibuuku/ na maaḷimu. ‘The child was given a book by the teacher.’

mana pela chibuukú/ na maaḷimú ‘the child who was given a book by the teacher’

Mi/ spoowi/ chaakuja/ chisuura. ‘I am not given good food.’

Mp^hela balani/ na Nuuru/ 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/ peelá/ kuwaka numba iyo/ ni skuu nt^hatu. ‘The period of time that he was given to built the house was three days.’

Muunt^hu/ pela deeni/ naami. ‘The man was paid the debt by me.’

Muunt^hu/ pela peesa. ‘The man was given money.’ Or: **Peesa/ pela muunt^hu.**

Muunt^hu/ pela zawaadi/ naami. ‘The man was given a gift by me.’ Or: **Zawaadi/ pela muunt^hu/ naami.**

Mwaana/ pela chibuku cha Nuuru. ‘The child was given Nuuru’s book.’ Or: **Mwaana/ pela chibukuche Nuuru/ na Hamadi.** But MI did not like: ***Mwaana/ pela Nuuru/ chibuukuche/ na Hamadi.** It is possible to prepose the possessive phrase: **Chibuku cha Nuuru/ pela 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/ shpela 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/ pela mwaana/ na Hamadi.** Our consultant MI was less inclined to accept: ?**Chibukuche Nuuru/ pela 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/ pela 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/ takhpowa chibuuku/ naami. ‘The girl will be given a book by me.’ Or: **Chibuuku/ takhpowa 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/ pela chibuukú/ na mwaalimú. ‘Who was given a book by the teacher?’

Ndru/ shtukula zoombo/ zaa ye/ peelá. ‘The relative took the things that he had been given.’

Pela peesa/ Fardoosa. ‘She was given money, Fardoosa.’

Pela 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/ peelani.** ‘What was Hamadi given?’ In a simple yes-no question, the postposed subject would undergo accent shift: **Peļa peesa/ Hamadi?**

Peļa peesá/ (ni) Hamadi. ‘The one who was given money is Hamadi.’

Peļa peesá/ ni muunt^hu. ‘The one who was given money is the man.’

Peesa/ Fardoosa/ peelá. ‘Money, Fardoosa was given.’

Peesa/ Hamadi/ peelá. ‘Money, Hamadi has been given it.’ Or: **Hamadi/**

peesa/ peelá. ‘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’.)

Peesa/ Hamadi/ peelá. ‘Money Hamadi was given.’ Or: **Ni Peesa/ Hamadi/**

peelá.

Peesa/ naani/ peelá. ‘Who was given money?’ Possible answer: **Peesa/ peļa**

Fardoosa. ‘Money was given to Fardoosa.’ Or: **Peesa/ Fardoosa/ peelá/** ‘Fardoosa was given money.’

Peesa/ (ni) Hamadi/ peelá. ‘Money, Hamadi was given.’

Peesa/ (ni) Hamadi/ peelá/ kumsayda mana oyo. ‘Money, Hamadi was

given to assist that boy.’

Peesa/ Hamadi/ peelá/ khtumba khabri. ‘Money Hamadi was given to dig the grave.’

Peesa/ Hamadi/ peelá/ kumlipa Omari. ‘Money Hamadi was given to pay Omari.’

Peesa/ Hamadi/ peelá/ kumsayda mana oyo. ‘Money Hamadi was given to assist that boy.’

Peesa/ peļa Fardoosá. ‘Money Fardoosa was given.’

Peesa/ peelá/ Fardoosa. ‘(It was) money (that) was given to Fardoosa.’

Peesa/ peļa Hamadi. ‘Money was given to Hamadi.’ (This sentence, where

the subject is postposed and phrased with the passive verb, answers the question: **Peesa/ peļa naani.** ‘Money was given to whom?’)(The simple yes-no question version of this sentence has no accent shift: **Peesa/ peļa Hamadi?** The emphatic question, as usual, does shift the accent of the verb phrase: **Peesa/ peļa Hamadi!?** It is possible to focus the initial NP in this sentence: **Peesa/ peļa Hamadi.** ‘Money was given Hamadi.’)

Peesa/ peelá/ 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/ peļa naani. ‘Money was given to whom?’ A possible answer: **Peesa/**

peļa Fardoosa. ‘Money was given to Fardoosa.’ (Phon. The simple

yes-no question version of this answer is: **Peesa/ peļa Fardoosa?**

while the exclamatory version is **Peesa/ peļa Fardoosá!?**)

Shkoma skuu nt^hatu/ wanapowa izo/ uje/

takhfakaťó/ 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/ watakhpowa zibuuku/ naami. ‘The children will be given books

by me.’ Or: **Zibuuku/ watakhpowa 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/ naami/ 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. 1/2 one who is given
mpowaa kuja/ na waanthu ‘one who is given food by people’

pa ideo.
Masku/ si/ nthashkukhaadira/ kulaala/ ka kulaṭilowa bundukhu/ pa pa pa pa!
 ‘At night we could not sleep because of gun shots *pa pa pa pa!*’

pa na pu fixed expression: of great magnitude
Fanyiliza haruusi/ ya pa/ na pu. ‘For her was made a great wedding.’

pa’ ideo.
Muke/ shereele/ potelee nt’i/ pa’! ‘The woman slipped and fell on the ground *pa’!*’

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.’
ye/ kampaka mwaaná/ dawá ‘if he rubbed medicine on the child’
ye/ kampaka mwaaná/ dawá/ mkonooni ‘if he rubbed medicine on the child’s arm’
ye/ kampaka mwaaná/ dawá/ mkonooni/ ka chiguwó ‘if he rubbed medicine on the child’s arm with a rag’
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 maraḍi etc. ‘to pass on, communicate a disease etc.’
Mp^hashile hargabu. ‘He passed on the cold to me.’
Mp^hashile maraḍi. ‘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 ^franj/ 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/ ranj/ faṭuura?**) Or with preposing of **faṭuura**: **Faṭuura/ mp^hashile ranj.** Or with preposing and focusing of **ranji**: **^fRanj/ 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 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.’

rel.

kh-pakana v. rec. apply to one another (-pakeene)

khpakana maraði ‘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.

Ipakenaa dawa. ‘There was rubbing on of medicine to one another.’

maraði/ 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.’)

Shpakapaka ruuhuye/ mi’ivu. ‘She rubbed ashes all over her (body).’

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 izi/ hupakika waana. ‘These medicines can (only) be rubbed on children.’ Cf. **Dawa izi/ hupakika/ waana.** ‘These medicines can be rubbed on children.’

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 uyu/ hapakiki/ dawa. ‘This child cannot have medicine rubbed on him (e.g. he won’t stay still so that one can apply the medicine).’

Wana awa/ hupakikaa dawa. ‘These children can be rubbed medicine on

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/ pakilila mafta. ‘Where is the cloth that Nuuru was rubbed on oil with?’ Though one can also say **Chiikopi/ chiguwo shpakilila 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/ mafta. ‘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/ mafta/ kaa cho.** The simple verb and a *ka*-phrase is used to introduce new information.)

Na shpakila/ kuja/ niingi/ ntho/ kuja/ husuloowa/ khtoshá/ waanthú/ na hayawaani/ stakuwaamó/ karka jahazi. ‘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/ pakiliilo nuumba/ 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 nuumba/ 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 Boora/ 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/ pashila...** ‘the medicine that the child had applied to him.’)

Ijaraha/ 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/ lpashila 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.’

Nuumba/ 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**] (Several of the examples below illustrate that the initial element in this noun is a pre-nasalized stop, i.e. a sound unit that counts as a single consonant. Phrase-final words of the shape *CV* and *CVCV* induce the lengthening of a preceding word-final vowel in the same phrase. The noun *mp^haka* systematically shows this lengthening behavior.)

Chilaweeni/ chimmereni mp^haka. ‘Let us go out and look for a cat.’

Hamadi/ na Huseeni/ hawakhaadiri/ karka mahala mooyi/ ni kana/ mp^haka/ na mp^haná. ‘Hamadi and Huseeni cannot stay in one place, they are like a cat and a rat.’

Hawawonaani/ kana mp^haka/ naa mphaná. ‘They cannot see each other, like a cat and a rat.’

Kamaa mp^haka/ naa mp^haná. ‘Like a cat and a rat.’ (A proverb.)

...kiwa/ mukhtaa mp^haka/ nakhtolezó ‘to know when the cat is approaching’

kublaa mp^haka ‘to kill a cat’

kulaa mp^haka ‘to buy a cat’

Llaakini/ 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.’

Mbishilee mp^haka. ‘He hit the cat.’

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.’)

Mwenee mp^haka. ‘He saw the cat.’ (Notice that a [cl.9/10] noun referring to an animal controls [cl.1], or ‘human’, agreement on the verb. In this case, the agreement indicates a definite cat. If it is an indefinite cat, the object marker may be omitted: **Wenee mp^haka**. ‘He saw a cat.’)

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 wataaná/

wachi'ikookota/ haṭá/ 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.)

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.'

Pisile mpaka. 'He went beyond, crossed the boundary.' (This example provides a clear example of the difference between the [cl.3] noun class prefix and the [cl.9/10] nasal prefix. The [cl.3] prefix is underlyingly **mu-**, but elides its vowel in front of a consonant. In **mpaka**, the resulting word has a *sequence* of a nasal consonant **m** followed by a voiceless stop **p**. This structure is a consonant cluster, and such consonant clusters do not allowing a preceding word-final vowel to lengthen. In contrast, a noun like **mp^haka** 'cat' has a nasal prefix that assimilates to the following stem-initial consonant and forms a pre-nasalized consonant with it. A pre-nasalized consonant is a *single* consonant, but one with two components: the nasal onser to the consonant and its oral release. When a voiceless stop is part of a prenasalized consonant, it is aspirated in Chimiini. Word-final long vowels are lengthened in front of **CV** and **CVCV** words that are final in a phrase. Thus there is lengthening in front of **mp^haka**.)

Wene mpaka. 'He saw the boundary.'

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 sultaani/ 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 Sultani 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/ mpaka/ wachiya/ askari/ wa sultaani. '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/ Ifuwooni. 'Those people carried that box up to the shore.' (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 mukhta we/ takuuyó. 'Do you want the children to stay hungry until you come?'

Ye/ hukoḍa Chiswahili/ jisa suura/ haali/ nt^hakhsoomá/ mpaka/ ye/ welo mzeelé. 'He speaks Kiswahili well even though he did not learn it until he was old.'

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.’ (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 hayawaani/ zaa we/ pakiiló/ na wanaadamu/ woṭé/ ahliyó/ wakhaminiióló. ‘This boat will save you and the animals that you put on board and the human beings, all, your family who believed in you.’ (We have not worked out the explanation for the accentual pattern of **na wanaadamu/ woṭé/ ahliyó**.)

Mp^hakilee buni. ‘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.’ (Although the verb **-pakila** takes a ‘location’ as its primary object, the strong preference in Chimini 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.’)

Pakiileni. ‘What have you loaded it (e.g. the ship) with?’

ye/ nakhpakilo gaari ‘while he was loading the truck’ or, with verb emphasis: **ye/ nakhpakiló/ gaari** (The latter form shows the effect of the Accentual Law of Focus. Another pronunciation appears possible: **ye/ nakhpakiló/ gaari**. It is not clear whether this shows the failure of ALF to be applied, or whether it represents an independent optional principle.)

rel.

kh-pakiliila v. appl. (**pakiliile**)

kh-pakiliiloowa v. appl. pass. (**pakiliila**)

kh-pakiloowa v. pass. (**pakiila**)

Gaari/ ipakila mwaana. ‘The truck had a child loaded (on it).’

Gaari/ spakila mazu. ‘Trucks were loaded with bananas.’

Hamaali/ pakila ijuuniya. ‘(On) the porter was put a sack.’ (Cf. the unacceptability of ***Ijuuniya/ ipakila hamaali**. ‘The sack was loaded on the porter.’)

Mazu/ yapakila gariini. ‘Bananas were loaded onto the truck.’ (Syn: It is not possible for **mazu** to be the passive subject if **gaari** is unmarked: ***Mazu/ yapakila gaari**. ‘Bananas were loaded onto the truck.’ But it is possible for a human NP to be the passive subject:

Waant^hu/ wapakila 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/ spakila**

waant^hu. ‘Trucks were loaded with people; trucks people were sent in.’)

Mwaana/ pakila gariini. ‘The child was loaded onto the truck.’
ngamiila/ schiwa spakiila/ mizigo ‘when camels are loaded with things’
Ngamiilayo/ nt^hayikhpiki_{loowa}/ mizigo/ yo yote? ‘Is your camel not carrying anything?’

Waant^hu/ wapakila gariini. ‘Children were put on trucks.’

kh-pakilisha v. caus. cause s.o. to load s.t. on

gari ya Suufi/ mpakilishizo hamaali/ mizigo... ‘the lorry that Suufi had the porter put the luggage in...’

Gari ya Suufi/ mpakilishizo hamaali/ waana/ ivundishile. ‘The lorry that Suufi had the porter put the children in has broken down.’

gari ya Suufi/ pakilishizo mizigo... ‘the lorry that Suufi had the luggage put in...’

Munt^hu wa Suufi/ mpakilishizo Nuuru/ 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 Nuuru/ 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 Nuuru/ 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

Hasani/ mpakize gaari/ choombo/ pashpo msaa’ada. ‘Hasani put goods on the truck without help.’

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 gaari/ majuuniya/ mawiliye. ‘I loaded both bags onto the truck.’ Or: **Mp^hakii_{ze}/ 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.)

Mp^hakize gaari/ suukari. ‘I loaded onto the truck sugar.’

Mp^hakize suukari/ gaari. ‘I loaded sugar onto the truck.’

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 Nureeni 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.)

Nuuru/ pakize gaari/ majiwe. ‘Nuuru loaded the truck with stones.’ Or: **Nuuru/ pakize majiwe/ gaari.**

Nuuru/ pakize majiwe/ gariini. ‘Nuuru load stones onto the truck (in this case, the stones are only part of the load).’

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/ shpakiza.** ‘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.’ (This example was preferred by MI over **Majiwe/ yapakiza gaari.**)

Spakiza gaari/ majiwe. ‘The trucks have been loaded with stones.’

rel. nom.

m-pakila (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who loads

Pakistaani

n. Pakistan

Skiizi/ waant^u/ wiingi/ hupeenda/kuvala hanzu za Pakistaani/ ni raaha/ nafasi. ‘These days people like to wear Pakistani *hanzu*, they are loose and comfortable.’

rel.

***m-pakistaani* (*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 mwaana/ zijo. ‘Ali dished out **zijo** for the child.’

Ali/ pakulilee zijo/ lkoombe. ‘Ali dished out **zijo** with a **lkoombe**.’

lkombe laa muke/ pakuliloo zijó ‘the spoon that was used to dish out **zijo**’

(Note that a bare noun like **lkoombe**, when being used to indicate an instrument, requires the applied form of the verb. One cannot say either ***lkombe laa muke/ pakilee zijo** ‘the spoon that the woman dished out **zijo**’ nor ***lkombe laa muke/ pakilee zijo/ kaa ló** ‘the spoon that the woman dished out **zijo** with it’, where a resumptive pronoun is used with the preposition **ka**.)

Muke/ chimpakulilaa zijo. ‘The woman dished out **zijo** for him.’

Muke/ shpikaa zijo/ zivivilopó/ 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.’

mwana waa muke/ mpakuliloo zijó/ ka lkoombé ‘the child for whom the woman dished out **zijo** with a spoon’ (MI did not permit the

preposition **ka** to be elided in this example; if it were omitted, the applied verb would have to be doing “double duty”, licensing both a beneficiary and an instrumental. But MI did not like an instrumental to be part of the focus of the verb phrase.)

zijo zaa muke/ mpakulilo mwaaná/ ka lkoombé ‘the **zijo** that the woman dished out for the child with a spoon’ (Like the preceding sentence, MI did not permit the preposition **ka** to be elided.)

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-pakuoowa v. pass. be dished out

Zijo/ zinakhpakuoowa. ‘**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^hu/ (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 muḷo** 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 nṭ^hi. ‘A chick is not taught to scratch the ground.’ (A proverb.)
Nk^huku/ nakhpalaa nṭ^hi. ‘The chicken is scratching the ground.’
rel.
kh-paloowa v. pass.
Masku/ ha’ipaloowi/ 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/ gele. ‘This stone will not grind the maize.’
Nuuru/ palezee gele. ‘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/ gele. ‘Omari cannot be ground maize for.’ (Syn: In this construction, **Omari** can be the subject of the verb but not **gele**, thus the ungrammaticality of ***Gele iyi/ haypalaliziki/ Omari.**)

kh-palazika v. p/s.

Gele iyi/ haypalaziki. ‘This maize cannot be ground.’

Gele iyi/ ipalazishile. ‘This maize was able to be ground.’

kh-palazikila v. p/s/ appl.

kh-palazisha v. caus.

Nuuru/ mpalazishize mwaana/ gele. ‘Nuuru had the child grind the maize.’

kh-palazishiliza v. caus. appl.

Nuuru/ mpalazishilize Suufi/ mwaana/ gele. ‘Nuuru had Suufi’s child grind the maize.’

kh-palazishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Nuuru/ na Suufi/ wapalazishilizenye waana/ gele. ‘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 ku^la 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.’

Iize/ kuuwa pamo na mp^hundra za kaazi. ‘He refused to be together with the working donkeys.’

Juma/ chimtaala/ chisimika pamo na mp^hundra za kaazi. ‘Juma took 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 mubliwe. ‘All that time which passed, not even one day did Safiya go to bed with her husband.’

Oloshela 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 waant^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/ wajiló/ waana. ‘Together the children ate.’

Sku mooyi/ mp^huundra/ naa mbwa/ wachisaafira/ pamooyi. ‘One day a donkey and a dog were traveling together.’

Wajate wanjeteze numbaani/ pamooyi. ‘Let them play at home together.’

Waana/ wawena pamooyi. ‘The children were seen together.’

Ye/ yutiliile/ kuwaa ye/ fanyize mkaataba/ kama uyu/ pamooyi/ na Abunawaasi. ‘He regretted that he had made a contract like this together with Abunaawasi.’

m-paampa n. 9/10 [Sw. *papa* SSED 366] shark; [pron. mp^haamp^ha]

Apo/ ichiwa ziko mp^haamp^ha/ niingi. ‘It was the case that there were many sharks at that place.’

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 matete/ 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^hamp^ha mgoomba ‘a type of smaller shark [the name refers to a plant called **igoomba**, which has a color similar to the fish]’
mp^hamp^ha mlome (or: **mnome**) ‘a kind of shark, not dangerous to man, with a small mouth and without teeth, crunches what it eats’
mp^hamp^ha mṅoka ‘[lit.] snake shark – a very long, but small shark’
mp^hamp^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^hamp^ha wa fantu ‘a type of shark, much preferred in Brava for eating’
mp^hamp^ha ya maazi ‘lit.] blood shark, a kind of hammerhead shark with reddish meat, brownish in color (perhaps a bonnethead shark?)’
mp^hamp^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^hamp^haa nk^havu/... ‘They sent to East Africa dried fish, dried sharks...

rel.

i-paampa n. aug. large shark; [pron. **ipaamp^ha**]

Leelo/ ipeta ipaamp^ha/ ikulu/ kana iyama. ‘Today a big shark has been caught, as big as a whale.’

pana

existential verbal form (This form was provided by MI, but is unknown to GM and other speakers consulted; most likely it represents a Swahilism due to MI also speaking Swahili natively, but of course one cannot rule out that the form existed in Chimiini as well at some stage in its history.)

Panaa nfuye/ maduriini. ‘There is a monkey/are monkeys in the bush.’ Or: **Maduriini/ panaa nfuye.**

-paana

adj. [Sw. *-pana* SSED 364] wide

chibatera shpaana ‘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.’

Chitaache/ 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/ chitaache/ chihaba/ kana/ chaa mp^hana. ‘Hamadi’s

head is small like that of a rat/mouse.'

Omari/ chiya dukaani/ ka Ali/ hufatishafatisha zoombo/ kana mp^hana. 'Omari when he comes to Ali's shop he searches and searches things like a rat.'

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^haná/ 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/ khufanyiizeni. '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^haná. '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/ ziweshelee 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^haná. '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, step on; increase (as of prices)

Abunawaasi/ shpaandra/ haṭá/ 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 chibateera. ‘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.’

Chimviija/ waziiriwe/ chimwaambila/ mi/ nnakhsula 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 Haaji/ 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.’

khpandra baaro ‘to be, get moldy’

Maandra/ ipanzile baaro. ‘The bread got moldy.’

khpandra chiliini ‘to confine oneself to bed (as of a sick person)’

Mama yaawo/ naayé/ chishikowa maraði/ shpandra chiliini.

‘Their mother also fell sick and confined herself to bed.’

khpandra chiṭaani ‘lit. to climb on the head -- to take advantage of someone’

Waṭakhupandra chiṭaani. ‘They will take advantage of you.’

khpandra farasi ‘to mount a horse’

Pandra farasi/ chilawe. ‘Mount a horse and let us go.’

khpandra gaari ‘to take a car’

khpandra ibuuri/ iburiini ‘to climb a hill’

khpandra 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)’

khpandra miriri ‘to be rusty’

Chisu/ shpanzile miriri. ‘The knife got rusty.’

khpandraa muti ‘to climb a tree’

Bakayle/ hakhaadiri/ khpandraa 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.’

Omari/ panzile ilu ya lkuta. ‘Omari climbed over the wall.’

Mwaka 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/ nnakhsaandra/ so/ amó/ nnakishkila. ‘Am I climbing up or coming

down?’

Mooshi/ upaanzile. ‘The smoke rose.’

Mukhta wo/ walazilo chibulooni/ mzeele/ chimpantra 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 muti/ 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:

focus

Mp^hanzilee muti/ yuuzi. ‘It is the day before yesterday that I climbed the tree.’)j

Mukhta wo/ walazilo chibulooni/ mzeele/ chimpantra 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/ chimviiḷa/ 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/ mwishpa (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 maraḍi/ shpandra chiliini. ‘One day the woman fell sick and was confined to bed.’

Uzilopo mp^huundrá/ 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-pandriḷoowa v. appl. pass. (pandriiḷa)

Igazi iyo/ yile/ haṭá/ chilungu cha taano/ hukhadiroowa/ khpandriḷoowa. ‘That big ladder is so tall, even five storeys are able to be climbed up.’

kh-paandriḷa v. appl. (pandriiḷe) go up for, with, using; climb on

Chimera kaa wo/ iḍni/ yaa ye/ kumpandriḷa Harun Rashiidi. ‘He asked from them permission to go up to see Harun Rashiidi.’

Mleete/ mwaana/ mooyi/ na chiza kump^há/ n^hakhupaandriḷa/ 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/ nakhupandriḷa muti. ‘The child is climbing up the tree on you (putting himself in danger and thus to your detriment).’

Takump^haandriḷa/ apa/ mahaḷaa mi/ niikó. ‘It will come up here to the place where I am.’

Wakomeelopó/ nfuye/ chuuluka/ chi’ipandriḷa 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

Lkuta/ lpanzila iluke. ‘The wall was climbed over it.’ But also: **Lkuta/ lpaanzila.** ‘The wall was climbed.’

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 m^wanaamke/ chilini ‘[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. boat) and went to the ship.’

kh-paanzanya v. tr. rec. (**panzeenye** or **panzanyiize**) 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.’

Suufi/ mpanzilize Nuuru/ mwaana/ chulunguuni. ‘Suufi took Nuuru’s child upstairs.’

kh-panzilizanya v. tr. appl. rec.

kh-panzilizoowa v. caus. appl. pass. (**panziliiza**)

kh-paanzisha v. tr. caus. cause s.t. to go up

Suufi/ mpanzishize mwaana/ maayi/ chulunguuni. ‘Suufi caused the child to take water upstairs’

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/ mțanaani. ‘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.)

Mpandraa ngazi/ mwiishowe/ hishkiĵa. ‘The one who climbs a ladder, his end, he comes down.’ (A proverb.)

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^handrem^haandre**]

ĵ-paandre (m-) n. 11/10 [Sw. *upande* SSED 202] side, direction, region, portion; [pron. pl. **mp^haandre**]

Chiwona/ naambila/ chiiko/ ĵpandre gani/ mi/ nt^hakhpita/ ĵpandre 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/ mukhtaa wo/ wanakiineendró/ ĵpaandre/ mbilize/ zaa ndila/ waliko waant^hu. ‘On the street when they were walking, on both sides of the road there were people.’

ĵpandre ĵa maandra ‘a half loaf of bread’

ĵpandra ĵa mlima ‘the side of a hill’

Mi/ na makhaadimú/ saba/ choloshele ka ĵpandre ĵiinginé/ ĵa mdauriini. ‘I and my seven servants went to the other side of the bush country.’

Mwanaamke/ ĵiile/ ka ĵpaandre/ ĵaa 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/ kiĵa shpisa/ hukumu/ hulangaĵa/ ka kubĵlike/ chimaliza huteka/ kanmake/ hulangaĵa/ ĵpaandre/ ĵa kusooĵo/ huĵa. ‘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.’

...ya kuwa muuyi/ uyu/ wiiko/ ka ĵpaandre/ wineeme ‘that this town was tilted on one side’

rel.

u-paandre 14 direction

Oloshole upandre uyu. ‘He went in this direction.’

upandre wa kubĵi ‘the right side, direction’

upandre wa kusooĵo ‘the left side, direction’

sh-paandre (s-) n. 7/8 [Sw. *kipande* SSED 202] slice, piece, some amount of time; adv. for a while, some time ago

Chimwaambila/ kumulĵlaa ĵuzi/ 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’

Maatoye/ yawele mahuundru/ kana spaandre/ za maazi. ‘His eyes became as red as pieces of blood.’

Mbele/ mizize shpandre cha nt^hiini/ kaa numa/ rudiile/ mizize shpandre cha ilu. ‘First it [the shark] swallowed 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/ owejele ka himaahima/ hattá/ dirshile igome/ laakini/ mukhtaaya/ anzizo khpandra igomé/ mp^haamp^ha/ mdirshile/ mbishile spandre ziwili. ‘Siimba swam quickly until he reached the rock, but when he started to climb up the rock, the shark reached him and tore him into two pieces.’

Siimba/ owejele ka himaahima/ hattá/ dirshile igome/ laakini/ mukhtaaya/ anzizo khpandra igomé/ mp^haamp^ha/ mdirshile/ mbishile spandre ziwili. ‘Siimba swam quickly until he reached the rock, but when he started to climb up the rock, the shark reached him and tore him into two pieces.’

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 (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] 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)

Mi/ nonyeezé/ kuwa mpaango/ wa Omari/ ha’u-fuuzi. I showed that Omari’s plan would not be successful.

Muke/ uzilo muundrá/ nakhfanya mpaango/ mosimu uyu/ kalaa gele. ‘The woman who has bought the farm is planning to cultivate this season.’

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 mwimbili/ 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.’

limiile/ kana/ lpaanga ‘his tongue like sword (he shouts, talks bad)’

lpaanga/ la maskuu kati ‘lit. sword of midnight, i.e. a troublemaker, s.o. who is always creating problems, making difficulties’

Hamadi/ ni lpaanga/ la maskuu kati. [H¹H!H] ‘Hamadi is a troublemaker.’

Muke/ zimiile/ mtanaani/ kaake/ na lpaangá/ mkoononi/ 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 **lpaangá** is triggered by this being a yes-no question.)

Sulhu/ hayiyi/ ıla 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/ kalpaanga/ 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 mkoononi/ 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

khfanya mpaangu ‘to plan’

Mi/ nfanyize mpaangú/ fadhi/ kumal khabla/ ya masku. ‘I planned for the meeting to end before evening.’

Mi/ nfanyize mpaangú/ kumnola Haliimá. ‘I planned to marry Haliima.’

Si/ shfanyize mpaangú/ kudirkamana shpiindri. ‘We planned to meet each other at noon.’

Wo/ wafanyize mpaangu/ kulawa fijiri. ‘They planned to leave in the morning.’

Mi/ nk^hodele mpaangú/wont^hé/ na mukeewá. ‘I discussed the whole plan with my wife.’

Mi/ nt^hete balani/ chiza kuđuhurisha/ naani/ nambiiló/ tarafu ya mpaangu/ ya Abú. ‘I promised not to reveal who told me about Hamidi’s plan.’

Mpangu wiitu/ ni kulawa masku/ Mwiini. ‘Our plan is to stay overnight in Brava.’

kh-paanguka

v. intr. (-pangushile) fade (of colors); be erased, be erasable

Alama izi/ zinakhpanguka. ‘These marks can be erased.’

Chiguwo ichi/ haspaanguki. ‘This cloth won’t fade.’

Ranji iyi/ haypaanguki. ‘This paint 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 fasaleeta/ 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.’

Fasaleeta/ ipangulila mapula. ‘A handkerchief was used to wipe (someone’s) nose.’ (Syn. Our data is unclear with regard to whether

the instrument can be the passive subject in a sentence like
?Fasaļeeta/ ipangūļa mwaana/ mapula. ‘A handkerchief was used to wipe the child’s nose.’)

Muke/ pangūļa mwaana/ mapula. ‘The woman had the child’s nose wiped for her.’

kh-pangūloowa v. tr. pass.

Mwaana/ pangļa mapula/ ka fasaļeeta. ‘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/ yapangļa 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.’

Chiguwo ichi/ hashpaanguli/ sabuura. ‘This rag doesn’t erase the blackboard.’

Haliima/ nakhpangula zilolo. ‘Haliima is wiping clean the mirrors.’

kh pangula mapula ‘to wipe the nose’ **is this used for one’s own nose**

Maamé/ pangula maatoyo/ jisa suura/ ndrangaļa. ‘My mother, wipe your eyes nicely and look at me.’

Mpangile mwaana/ mapula/ ka fasaļeeta. ‘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).’

Zeema/ hupangula ziwovu. ‘Good deeds/things cancel/clear bad deeds.’ (A proverbial saying.)

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

hachilaṭi muuyi wiitu shtiloowa papa kafani [nṭ.] ‘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/ khudirkila 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/ khudirkila 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 suła...kumłata/ mp^haapasi/ kunaambaŋa. ‘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/ suła 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^hakhaambaŋa kama mp^hapaasi. ‘I will stick to you like a cow tick (i.e. like glue).’
We/ ni mp^haapasi/ humwambaŋo ngoombé/ huno maazi/ ngoombe/ huno maayi...; 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
variant form: **ipapaaya**
Ipapaaya/ ni itundra ije yaa we/ naki’iwono mezaani. ‘A papaya is that fruit that you see it on the table.’ Cf. **Mapapaaya/ ni matundra ayaje yaa we/ nakiyawono mezaani.** ‘Papayas are those fruits that you see them on the table.’
- 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 kooði ‘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’
Hamiisi/ nakhsoma chibuuku/ na ka paapó/ nakulangala mpiira.
‘Hamiisi is reading a book, and simultaneously, he is watching football.’
Isa/ mp^huundra/ ka paapo/ chiwa nakubigaa nk^hele. ‘Now the donkey at

- the very same time was braying [lit. hitting noise].’
- Jima ijje/ Hamiisi/ somele niingi/ ka paapó/ ye/ fahamiile/ darsi.** ‘Last Friday, Hamiisi studied a lot. Immediately, he understood the lessons.’
- Ka paapo/ sultaani/ shtuma ma’askari/ kendra kumvīla mbiga mnaado.** ‘Instantly, the sultan sent policemen to go to call the one who makes public announcements.’
- Kawa mbarakhá/ zītú/ zaliko nīdaamó/ si/ sula kuwa chilazilé/ ka paapo.** ‘If our documents had been in order we would have gone immediately.’
- Ma’askari wa Simsini/ wachiya ka paapo/ washpandra markabu/ wachimtukula mwanaamke/ na mwaana/ naayé/ chishkīla/ chendra Ifuwooni.** ‘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.’
- We/ oo olosheló/ Hamadi/ ka paapo/ ile.** ‘When you went, Hamadi immediately came.’ (The optional **oo** is the [cl.14] demonstrative referring to [cl. 14] **wakh̄ti** ‘time’.)
- ka paapo/ apo** ‘at that very place, right then and there’
- Mi/ nt^hakhupaandri/ 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** or: **paapo/ numbaani/ apaje**
- paapo/ apo** [Sw. *papo hapo* SSED 367] at that very place, there, at that very moment, then
- Chibuuku/ chiko** (or: **chipo**) **paapo/ apo/ mahaḷaa we/ chiweesheló.** ‘The book is still there where you put it.’
- Chibuuku/ chiweshela paapo/ apo/ mahaḷaa we/ suliiló.** ‘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^hakuweeka zibuukú.**
- paapo/ apo/ numbaani** ‘right at this house’; or: **numbaani/ paapo/ apo** or: **numbaani/ apo/ paapo**
- 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/ mahaḷaa 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/ weshele zibuuku.** to be questionable.)

Paapo/ ichimweeleḷa/ ya kuwa taajiri/ huusha/ maaliye/ nḡhini 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.’

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/ lnakhpapuka. ‘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-papuliḷa v. tr. appl. (**papuliile**) break something off for, with

kh-papuliḷana v. tr. appl. rec. break off for one another

kh-papuliḷika 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-papuzā v. caus. (**papiize**)

Papize chidaank^hu. ‘He broke off a piece of the roof.’

paramendo

n. peppermint

ndruza na loozi paramendo khatari/ kuwamo khamri ni haqūqa khabari

[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/ kampasa Omari/ peesa/ su^la kuwa oloshole. ‘If Hamadi had lent Omari money, he (i.e. Omari) would have gone.’ Or: **Omari/ su^la kuwa oloshole/ Hamadi/ kampasa peesa.** ‘Omari would have gone if Hamadi had lent him money.’

Hamadi/ kampasa peesa/ Omari/ su^la kuwa oloshole. ‘If Hamadi had lent money to Omari, he (Omari) would have gone.’

Khpassa/ haruusi/ kulipa/ mataanga. ‘To borrow something is a wedding; to repay is days of mourning.’ (A proverb.)

Khpassake/ peesa/ ka Ali/ imkirihishize waawaye. ‘His borrowing money from Ali displeased his father.’

Khusudilileni/ we/ ka kuhada/ kuwa ifuungu/ ya taatu/ we/ pasize waant^hu/ na hutakulipoowa. ‘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.’

Mi/ kawa nayo khariita/ su^la khupasa. ‘If I had a map I would loan it to you.’

Mi/ nimtahaadarishiize/ Omari/ chiza kumpasa/ peesa/ Huseeni. ‘I warned Omari that he should not lend money to Huseeni.’

Mpassize 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^hasiize. ‘I borrowed something.’

Mpassiizeni/ Tuuma. ‘What did you lend Tuuma?’ (Possible answer: **Nimpasize peesa.** ‘I lent money.’ Or: **Nimpasize peesa/ Tuuma.** ‘I lent money to Tuuma.’)

Nakhsu^la/ khpassa 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.)

Nakhsu^la khpassa/ 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.)

Nakhtosha Fardoosa/ haapasi/ 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**

Nimpasiize. ‘I lent him something.’

Nimpasize Tuuma/ peesa. ‘I lent money to Tuuma.’ Or: **Nimpasize peesa/**

Tuumá.

Omari/ suḷa kuwa oloshela/ Hamadi/ kampaśa/ 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/ kiḷa choloka ka ṭajiri bakhiili/ khpasa peesa/ amó/ kumera kaazi/ shchimbizoowa/ ka maṭaando. ‘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 kuḷa chiint^hu. ‘These neighbors borrowed everything from one another.’

Wapasene peesa. ‘They loaned each other money.’

kh-pasanyana v. rec. (-pasanyeene)

Jirani izi/ hupasanyana kuḷa 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. [H!H] ‘These ones were lent bread.’ Or:

Maandra/ wapasiza awa. [H!H] ‘Bread, they were lent.’

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

Tuumá/ pasiza peesa. ‘Tuuma was lent money.’ Or: **Peesa/ pasiza Tuumá.**

Wapasiza maandra/ ni awa. [H!H] ‘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.’

pasaporta

n. passport

Mi/ kuwa ni mashghuuli/ tu/ siwo/ na pasaportayá/ ba/ ipoteele. ‘It is not only that I am too busy, but also my passport is out of date.’

pash

ideo. of striking with the hand

Haliima/ mbishile mwaanawe/ ipi ya tuusi/ pash. ‘Haliima struck her child with a blow of the buttocks.’

Mwana/ waliko shpandraa muti/ mukhta₂ ye/ mweno mwenewé/ ulushile/ potelee n₂hi/ mtangaani/ pash! ‘The child who was climbing a tree, when he saw the owner, he jumped and fell down into the sand *pash!*’

pashpo

prep. [Sw. *pasipo* SSED 368] without

Ali/ nandikishizee khatí/ pashpoo ye/ kiiwa. ‘Ali made me write a letter without him knowing/realizing (it).’

amali pashpo ilmu hurudoowa [st.] ‘for deeds unsupported by knowledge are rejected’

Chiloho/ pashpo chaambo/ hashpati/ nsi. ‘A hook without bait does not get a fish.’ (A proverb.)

Hasani/ nsafirishize pashpoo sehe. ‘Hasani made me travel without provisions.’

Hula/ pashpo kubigoowa. ‘He cries without being beaten.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is: **munt₂u nayo ma₂to mtuzi** ‘a man who has ‘soup eyes’, a disease of the eyes where the sufferer continually has tears in the eyes).’

Nandishilee khatí/ pashpo Mubiidi/ kiiwa. ‘I wrote a letter without Mubiidi knowing.’

pashpo kumwona Abunawaasi ‘without seeing Abunawaasi’

Siimba/ chanza khfakata/ pashpo/ kiiwa/ maha₂laa ye/ nakeendró. ‘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 suurá. ‘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/ leeló.** ‘It is today that I ironed.’ One can also focus on the time adverbial by putting it in post-verbal position: **Mi/ mbishile leeló/ 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** ^h**leeló/ paasi.**] would lead to an interpretation like ‘It is today (not any other time) that I ironed.’)

ironing that I am doing.’

Mi/ nakubiga paasi. ‘I am ironing.’ Or: **Mi/ paasi/ nakubigó.** ‘It’s

nakubiga paasi/ nguwo.

Mi/ nakubigaa nguwo/ paasi. ‘I am ironing clothes.’ Or: **Mi/**

kubiga paasi. ‘I am *going* to iron.’

Nakendra kubiga paasi. ‘I am going to iron.’ Or: **Nakeendrá/**

Naani/ nakubigo paasi. ‘Who is ironing?’

Naani/ nakubigo paasi/ nguwo. ‘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 nguwo/ paasi/ 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 paasi/ nguwo/ 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 jisa 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/ nimbiligile Nuurú/ nguwo/ paasi. ‘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 paasi/ 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/ haṭalami/ 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/ mtiinzile/ na maliizopó/ kumpasulá/ chinaambila/ kuwaa

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!’

Paṭika/ tu. ‘Just put it on (don’t worry about putting it on properly)!’
Paṭishile shaati/ musmaari. ‘He hung the shirt on a nail.’

rel.

kh-paṭikika v. p/s.

kh-paṭikila v. appl. hook for, with

Mpaṭikilile shaati/ musmaari. ‘He hung the shirt for me on a nail.’

Tete shaatiya/ kump^haṭikila 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^haaṭu**]

muti wa mp^haaṭu ‘the shrub on which **mp^haaṭu** grow’

kh-pata

v. [Sw. *pata* SSED 368] (**peete**) 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.’

Hatá/ 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^heteni/ tu/ mi/ koondroka/ kumlaṭaa muke/ naayé/

nakump^heendo jis’iyi. ‘What just possessed me to up and divorce [this] woman while she is loving me this way?’

Kaḍiḍo/ impete jisa suura. ‘Fever really laid him low.’

Kamaa we/ chiwona chiint^hu/ chiza kuhada chiint^hu/ haykhopati/

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 maato ‘to close the eyes of a dying person’

Mwaana/ mpete waawaye/ maato. ‘The child closed his father’s

eyes (upon his death).’

khpata miimba ‘to get pregnant’

Muke/ chidirkamana na mubli/ hupata miimba. ‘If a woman meets with a man, she gets 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’

khpatowaa 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”?”’

Koði izi/ skupata/ mwaanzowe. ‘This talk, I did not get its beginning -- i.e. I did not hear what was said at the beginning.’

Limiiile/ 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^heeetó.** ‘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 ye/ **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.' (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^hheeté/ basi/ nakendra muyiini. 'That which I wanted, I have gotten, so I am going to town.'

Yaa ye/ hupató/ humletela sultaani/ jis'iyo/ jis'iyo/ hatá/ leelo/ chint^hu mwaape/ cha mazaaydi/ chaa ye/ hupató/ chisuura/ hi'iwekela kaake. 'That which he gets, he brings to the sultan, like this, like this, until one day (lit. today) something else of profit that he got, something nice, he puts aside for himself at his place.'

rel.

kh-pataapata v. freq.

Cheendra/ nakhpatapataa nsi/ nakhpató/ chileeta/ chuuzá. '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 Ifuwooni/ 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 maraḍi. ‘One day the woman’s father fell ill.’

Ye/ nambile kuwa mzele oyo/ takunoonyeza/ nt^hi/ hapatikano mayahuudi. ‘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.’

Mgarwa/ nakumera chaambo/ khpatilaa nsi. ‘A fisherman is searching for bait to get fish.’

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/ ninpatililee kujá/ nt^haziná/ ba/ adadi. ‘Wa! Today I got for you (pl.) food that cannot be counted.’

We/ chiza kump^hatila/ mi/ nt^hakhuḍinda 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/ moṭoore. ‘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/ moṭoore.** ‘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/ moṭoore. ‘What did Omari cause someone to get a motor for?’

Omari/ patishiliizeni/ Nuuru/ mofoore. ‘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.’

Chimvīla khadimuye/ Juuma/ chimuuzā/ mahala ya Ali/ hupatoowá. ‘He called his servant Juuma and asked him where Ali could be found.’

chisu chaa muke/ shpeta na Nuurú ‘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 iṭo iwovu. ‘So-and-so was gotten by the evil eye.’

Gaari/ ipatīlīla shufeeri. ‘The car was gotten (for it) a driver.’

Shufeeri/ patīlīla gaari. ‘The driver was gotten a car (for him).’

Si/ shkoḏele jisa khpatowa peesá/ khsafira Ameeriká. ‘We discussed how to get money to travel to America.’

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 mubli/ wanakhsulo ku’isha pamooyi/ ka muda ya hayati 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.)

Chidaḏalateeni/ shpate khshiindra. ‘Let us try hard so that we may win.’

Chisu ichi/ hupata khtjiinda. ‘This knife is sharp [lit. can cut].’

Daḏalataani/ 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/ khpata 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.’

Kooḏa/ 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/ sitakhpata/ 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 Mogadisho 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/ khkooḏa/ mbele za waant^hu. ‘I cannot speak in front of people.’

We/ ndrasilee mi/ numbaani/ khpata khulangalila 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 Ali/ wanakhpatana/ ba’adi yaa wo/ kuḷaana. ‘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/ wapatene keendra. ‘The children agreed to go.’
Waanawa/ wawili/ huḷaana/ muunt^hi/ ishkoma masku/ hupatana. ‘My children quarrel during the day, when night comes, they agree.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is *milaango* ‘door’, the two parts of which are closed together at night.)
rel.
kh-patanika v. p/s.
Haypataniki/ apa. ‘There cannot be harmony, reconciliation here (s.o. keeps preventing it).’
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 khtomola 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 imlazimiile/ oyo ijini/ khtomola 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 Mkhodiisho/ 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 cha 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 maṭaaza ‘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^hayná/ 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 ab 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 (Notice that Chimiini contrasts with Swahili in that **peeke** does not require a possessive element to follow.)

Mi/ mbaliko mwaana/ peeke. ‘I was a child alone (i.e. an only child).’

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.)

munt^hu peeke ‘a solitary man’

Muskila/ peeke/ yaaliko ni khatika na Omari/ kinenza ka tartiibu. ‘The only problem was to get Omari to drive slowly.’

Nii dhibu/ kuwa ni mwaana/ peeke. ‘It is difficult being an only child.’

Nt^haná/khaadira/ ku'iisha/ peeke. 'He cannot live alone any longer.'

Peeke/ ni mojiitu. 'God is alone.' (A proverb.)

Taha/ peeke/ impeto murugú. 'Only Taha got worried.'

Waant^hu/ hujo peeké/ na kuharbishá/ huwa laazima/ huharbishisha peeke. 'People who eat alone and then fight, they are obliged to fight alone.'

rel.

choo peeke [cl.7] only, all by itself, on its own'

Chibuuku/ choo peeke/ shpo^teeló. 'The book, on its own, fell down.'

loo peeke ' [cl.11] only, all by itself, on its own'

Luti/ loo peeke/ lpo^teeló. 'The stick, on its own, fell down.'

mii peeke 'only me, all by myself, on my own, me alone'

Mi/ ni mii peeke/ tu/ apa. 'Only I am here, all alone.'

Mi/ noloshele mii peeké. 'I went by myself.' Or, with preposing and focus:

Mii peeke/ nolosheló. 'By myself, I went.' (Note that one cannot say in Chimiini *noloshele peeké.)

Ngulgulile kendra mii peeké. 'I threatened to go alone.'

Nseeló/ ndi mii/ peeke. 'The one who remained was me alone.'

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/ ko^odele li^lá/ naasi/ apa/ sh^takiwa/ kuwaa we/ tambii^lé/ 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'

Wa'olosheloo woo peeke. 'They went alone.'

woo peeke [cl.3] only them, etc.'

Muti/ woo peeke/ upo^teeló. '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

Ali/ mpeleshele mwaana/s sukhuuni/ ka yee peeke. 'Ali sent the child to the market by himself.'

Ali/ mwene mwaana/ ka yee peeke. 'Ali saw the child by himself.'

Hasiibu/ kalent^he mahala/ yee peeke. 'Hasiibu sat in a place by himself.'

Ka yee peeke/ chibigaa zita/ chub^lá/ ma'aduwiye/ wotte/ sho kuwa mooyi. 'All alone, he fought the battle, killing all his enemies except one.'

Skhaadiri/ kum^lata numbaani/ ka yee peeke. 'I cannot leave her alone by herself.'

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/ ha^takufa/ yee peeke. 'It will not die alone.'

yoo peeke [cl.4] only them, etc.'

Miti/ yoo peeke/ yapo^teeló. 'The trees, on their own, fell down.'

yoo peeke [cl.5] only it, etc.'

Ijiwe/ yoo peeke/ ipo^teeló. 'The stone, on its own, fell down.'

Mi/ hutumila iziwa yoo peeke/ karka kahawa. 'I use milk alone in my coffee.'

yoo peeke [cl.6] only them, etc.'

Majiwe/ yoo peeke/ yapo^teeló. 'The stones, on their own, fell down.'

yoo peeke [cl.9]

Apo/ ise^le mp^huundra/ tu/ yoo peeke. 'There remained just an ass only.'

Numba/ yoo peeke/ ipo^teeló. 'The house, on its own, fell down.'

zoo peeke [cl.8]

Mi/ muk^htaa 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 chiinthú/ 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-peeke* (mi-) n. 3/4 clitoris
rel.
sh-peeke (s-) n. 7/8 dim.
- m-peeke* (mi-) n. 3/4 [Sw. *mpekwe* SSED 37] a tree with long, straight branches from which sticks are obtained
- 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 mahaḷa/ 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-peeḷeḷa v. appl. (peleeḷe) sweep with
Ali/ peleeḷe nt^hi/ lpeelo. ‘Ali swept the floor with a broom.’
kh-peeḷoowa v. appl. pass. be swept with; run aground (of a boat)
Liikopi/ lpelo lpeeḷaa nt^hi. ‘Where is the broom that was used to sweep the floor?’
Lpeelo/ lpeeḷaa 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/ ipēḷeḷa 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-peeḷoowa v. pass. (peezeḷa)
Masku/ ha-’i-peḷoowi. ‘At night there is no sweeping.’ (A superstition.)
Muke/ peeḷaa 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/ ipēḷeḷaa muke/ na Nuuru.)
Nt^hi/ inakhpeloowa. ‘The floor is being swept.’
Nt^hi/ inakhtahaja khpeḷoowa. ‘The floor needs sweeping.’
Shpata mahaḷa/ suura/ wukoo muti/ suura/ nt^hiiniye/ muti/ uyu/ naḷiifa/ kama apo/ tu/ ipeezeḷá. ‘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-peeḷeka v. (pelekeshele) capable of being swept
Nt^hi/ haypeeḷeki. ‘The floor cannot be swept.’ (Syn. One cannot say: *Lpeelo/ halpeḷeki/ 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-peeḷeḷa v. caus. (peleseeze) cause to sweep
kh-peeḷeḷeḷa v. caus. appl. (peleseeleeze) make sweep on
Mpeleseeze mwaana/ nt^hi. ‘He made my child sweep the floor.’
- kh-peeḷeka* v. [Sw. *peleka* SSED 372] (peleseele) send (a letter, e.g.), take, take or lead to (It should be noted that *-peeḷeka* cannot elide the *l* and become **-peeḷeka*, but the past tense verb *-peeḷeḷe* may elide the *l* and become *-peeḷeḷe*; this long *ee* vowel shortens when in an environment that requires shortening.)
Ahmadi/ peleseele 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 wanyaasá. ‘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.’

Hamadi/ mpeshele mwaana/ maduriini. ‘Hamadi took the boy to the bush.’

Hasani/ mukhta^ha ye/ onyezaa ndilá/ humpeleko ka sultaani 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 mu^hliwa. ‘Hurry, let us go, take me to my husband!’

khpeleka mkono ‘to stretch the hand (reach for)’

Peleshelopo 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/ maha^haa 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/ ndimi/ 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’aðiba 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.’

Sultaani waa dafa/ chimpelekela/ khati/ ya piili. ‘The king of the kites sent a second letter.’

Uje/ shkooḏa/ hukooḏakoḏa naaye/ uje/ shpeleka mkono/ naayé/ hupeleka mkono/ uje/ chidaara/ naayé/ hudara jis'iyó/ tu/ jis'iyó/ 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 sultaani/ 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/ khatí. 'He sent a letter to Aasha.'

Mpelekelele Aasha/ khatí postaaani (or: **ka postaa**). 'He took a letter for Aasha to the post office; he sent a letter to Aasha by mail.'

Nayo majiibú/ kump^ha/ mp^hate nimpelikelé. 'Do you have an answer to give me so that I can take it to him?'

Nimpete nyunyi uyú/ msuura/ nt^ho/ nt^hampelekela sultaani. '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 ḏahabu/ na feḏá/ kaḏalika/ 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**

Mi/ mp^heshela spitaalé/ na mukeewá. 'I was taken to the hospital by my wife.' (This is a grammatical sentence in Chimiini, but does not constitute the usual way the idea would be conveyed. Preferred would be one of the following: **Mukeewa/ mp^heshelo spitaalé.** 'It's my wife who took me to the hospital.' **Mi/ mp^heshelo spitaalé/ ni mukeewa.** 'Me, the one who took me to the hospital is my wife.'

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/ peeshela/ Moomo/ mbujé.**

Mwaana/ peshela maduriini. 'The boy was taken to the bush.' Or:

Maduriini/ peshela mwaana. 'To the bush the boy was taken.'

Nakhsula chakujaache/ mpelekelowa morooni/ mahalaa ye/ ukó. 'She wants her food to be brought to the backyard where she is.'

Nt^hawakhaadira/ 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 sultaani. 'She was taken to the sultan.'

Shtaaloowa/ ye/ na mzeelé/ washpelekoowa/ ka sultaani. '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

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^heloo nk^hulu** 'big brooms')

lpelo lpiya 'a new broom' (cf. **mp^heloo mp^hiya** 'new brooms')

Lpeelo/ mp^hejelee 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/ nilpejelee nt^hi.**)

Lpeelo/ ni-l-vuunzilé. 'The broom, I broke it.'

l-peembe (*m-*)

n. 11/10 [Sw. *peembe* 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 lpembeeni. 'He stood at the edge.'

rel.

i-peembe (*ma-*) n. 5/6 horn of an animal, tusk of an elephant

kumdufila ka lpembe '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 mwana 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/ mpenzele/ mwana uyu.** Both of these sentences exhibit the default 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 mwaana/ uyu.** Or: **Baazi/ mpenzele/ mwaana/ uyu.** In both cases, **uyu** is downstepped relative to **mwaana**. A first person subject clarifies to some extent the nature of the phrasing. The canonical sentence is **Nimpenzele mwana 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/ mwana uyu.** Or even: **Nimpeenzelé/ mwaana/ uyu.** But now consider the case where a phrasally separated **mwaana** is grouped with the verb: **Nimpenzele mwaaná/ uyú.** What we notice here is that the final accent extends not just to **mwaana** but also **uyu**. This suggests strongly that **mwaana** 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 mwaaná/ uyu.** However, its status remains unclear.)

Fardoosa/ enzele Mwiini/ tu? [HH!H] 'Did Fardoosa go to Miini only?' (But also:

Fardoosa/ Mwiini/ tu/ enzeló? [HH!H!H] Notice that contrary to the usual case in

yes-no questions, *tu* and the pseudo-relativized verb are both downstepped. See below for discussion of the general absence of downstep in yes-no questions.)

Fardoosa/ tu/ enzelo Mwiini? [HHH] ‘Did only Fardoosa go to Miini?’ (But one could also say: **Mwiini/ enzele Fardoosa/ tu?** [HH!H]). The intonation of this latter question is interesting. Simple yes-no sentences typically exhibit what we have referred to as Q-Raising, which minimally involves the suspension of downstep in the sentence. In MI’s speech, Q-Raising raises the final accented syllable to the pitch peak of the sentence. In GM’s speech, this does not happen. Rather the sentence tends to show some declination across the question, but without the pitch drops associated with downstep intonation. However, in the example just cited, the *tu* is markedly lowered in pitch.

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 kuyuut^hilá/ nashike mlaango(we)/ mfuunge. ‘The one who does not want to regret anything, let him keep (his) door closed.’ (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.)

Hupeenda/ kuwa nkhadirile khkumbuka inayé. ‘I wish I could remember her name.’

Hupeenda/ kuwa nkhadirile khuwona weé/ peeké. ‘I wish I could see you alone.’ (In the speech of GM, the nasal prefix for first person singular is elided in front of *kh*. It is of interest that nevertheless he habitually writes the nasal in this position, but does not do so when the same prefix elides in front of the present tense marker *na*.)

Hupeenda/ kuwaa we/ hufaanyi/ iyo. ‘I wish you would not do that.’

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/ hupeenda/ khsoma chibuuku. ‘Me, I like reading a book.’ Or: **Mi/ khsoma chibuuku/ hupeenda.** Or: **Khsoma chibuuku/ mi/ hupeenda.** Or: **Khsoma chibuuku/ mi/ hupeenda.** Or: **Khsoma chibuuku/ hupeenda/ mi.**

Mi/ khsoma zibuuku/ hupeenda/ mi. ‘I to read books like me.’ Or: **Zibuuku/ khsooma/ hupeenda/mi.** Or: **Mi/ zibuuku/ hupeenda/ khsooma.**

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/ speendi/ kuwa Fardoosa/ tu/ kendra Mwiini. [HH!H!H!H] ‘I do not want only Fardoosa to go to Miini.’

Mi/ speendi/ we/ kufa. ‘I don’t wish you dead!’

Mi/ speendi/ we/ kulana na mukeewo. ‘I do not want you to fight with your wife.’

Mi/ speendi/ yo yote/ ka kaake. ‘I do not want anything from him.’

Mi/ zibuuku/ hispeenda/ khsooma. ‘I books like them to read.’ Or: **Mi/ zibuuku/ hispeenda/ kizisooma.** ‘I books like them to read them.’ Or: **Zibuuku/ kizisooma/ mi/ hispeenda.** ‘Books to read them I like them.’ Or: **Hispeenda/**

kizisoma zibuuku/ mi.

Mp^henzele jaka iyó. ‘I like(d) that jacket.’

Mp^henzele jaaká/ iyo iwaliko cholokooní. ‘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/ khuletelo dhibu. ‘The one that you love is the one who brings you problems.’ (A saying.)

Mwambile mamaye Hasiibu/ kuwaa wo/ wanakendra maduriini/ khinda skunyi/ na watakhpenda Hasiibu/ kendra naawo. ‘They told Hasiibu’s mother that they were going to the forest to cut firewood and that they wanted Hasiibu to go with them.’

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.’ (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.’ (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.)

Nzaaká/ mi/ hispeendi/ nt^ho. ‘They are mine, I like them at lot.’

Omari/ hupeenda/ nama. ‘Omari likes meat.’

Omari/ nama/ hupeendó. ‘Omari meat likes.’ (In this example, **nama** is focused and thus the verb is shifted into pseudo-relative clause form.)

Si/ hupeenda/ kiwa lila. ‘We wish to learn the truth.’

Speendi. ‘I do not want it.’

Speendi/ kuwa Fardoosa/ tu/ takendro Mwiini. I don’t like (it) that only Fardoosa will go to Miini.’ With verb emphasis in the complement clause: **Speendi/ kuwa Fardoosa/ tu/ takeendró/ Mwiini.** I don’t like (it) that only Fardoosa will go to Miini.’

Sultaani/ mpeenzele/ mwaana/ uyu/ kolko waanawe/ wawili. ‘The king loved this boy more than his own two children.’

Sultaani/ mpenzeloo 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*.’ (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/ shpendó. ‘My father loved very much to hunt, that’s what he loved.’
Ya khalbi inakhpendó/ 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
Humpeendela/ Hamadi/ kuliwaana/ nt^ho. I wish Hamadi great success.
Mi/ humpeendela/ Abú/ kila nasibu ya duniya. ‘I wish Abu all the luck in the world.’
Si/ chimpendeleele/ Omari/ zeema/ ka kaaziye/ mp^hiya. ‘We wish Omari well in his new position/job.’

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. (-pendeshelezeenye)
Nuuru/ na Suufi/ wapendeshelezenye 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. (penzele) be loved
Abunawaasi/ waliko shpendoowa/ nt^ho/ na Harun Rashiidi.
‘Abunawaasi was liked very much by Harun Rashiidi.’

Mukeewe/ shpendoowa. ‘His wife was loved.’

Siwo/ ipeenzela. ‘It is not that it is liked (or wanted, desired).’

Suufi/ penzeleaa 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.’

Zibuuku/ haspendoowa/ khsomoowa. ‘Books are not liked to be read.’

Zibuuku/ hupendoowa/ khsomoowa. ‘Books are liked to be read.’

kh-peenza v. ? [only recorded in the extended form below]

kh-penzeleza v. appl. (penzeleeze) like for; mean by, intend, indicate

Kilaa muunt^hu/ mahmaahi/ iyi/ hupenzeleza/ lamnaye/ ye/ jisaa ye/ keeló/ haabahi. ‘Each person, this proverb means, his type, his form, how he looks, cannot be lost.’

Penzeleezeni/ we/ kuhada kuwa ifungu imooyi/ we/ lafile bahariini.
‘What did you mean by [lit. like for] saying that one part [of your squandered wealth] you threw into the sea?’

Welele raadi/ ka ije ya waawaye/ mpenzeleezó. ‘She agreed to whatever her father liked for her.’

kh-penzelezanya v. appl. rec.

Waant^hu/ washpendana ka lilaahi/ hupenzelezanya kilaa chiint^hu. ‘When people truly love each other, they love for each other everything.’

kh-penzelezoowa v. appl. pass. be liked for, be meant by

Inakhpenzelezoowa/ ka kuwaa limi/ nt^haliná/ mwishpa/ limi/ ma’anaye/ ni sahali/ kuhada/ kilaa chiint^hu/ ni loloolo/ nt^haliná/ mwishpa. ‘What is meant by that the tongue has no bone, for the tongue, it means, it is easy to say anything, it is soft, it has no bone.’ (This is a discussion of the proverb: **Limí/ nt^haliná/ mwishpa.** ‘The tongue has no bone.’ The tongue says whatever it wants, true or false. It is soft, boneless, there is nothing to stop it from going in whatever direction it likes.)

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.)

wataale ka mpeendo wa’iwe ka lilla [st.] ‘give them your love (lit. take them with love) and learn (lit. know) their true (story)’

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 òambi l’akbari [st.] ‘love of self is a major sin’

Wa’ishiize/ pamooyi/ ka mapeendo/ na mahabá/ pashpo ikraahi/ haṭá/ 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^o] 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 kama sh-kololo/ haya’ushiki. ‘Love is like coughing, it cannot be hidden.’ (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/ khfakata. ‘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/ kutta schinendroowa [st.] ‘the pathways along which he

- walked daily will feel sad'
kulanga **lpeengele** 'to look outside'
Mp^hete lpengeleeni. 'I got it outside.'
Uko lpengeleeni. 'He is outside.'
- l-peengo (m-)** adj. 11/10 [Sw. *pengo* SSED 373] broken, chipped par 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/ maato. '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] (**pepeele**) 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 mulo '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 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/ inakhpepelelo. '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. (**pepeent^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-pepezshenzeza v. caus. appl.
kh-pepezshenzezanya v. caus. appl. rec.
kh-pepezoowa v. pass.
khpepezoowa/ maato ‘to be blinked’
Iseeló/ khpepezowa maato. ‘What remains is to blink (i.e. nothing remains to be done but blink).’ Or: **Iseeló/ khpepezoowa/ maato**.
- Spipo (m-pepo)* n. 11 [Sw. *upepo* SSED 375] wind; polio; [in plural] a kind of partial facial or motor paralysis; [pron. pl. **m^hepo**]
Hamadi/ chiwonoowa/ nakhfakata/ kana/ lpepo / hakhadiroowa/ khshikoowa. ‘Hamadi, whenever you see him, he is running, like the wind, you cannot catch him.’
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".)
Jahazi/ hurasha lpepo. ‘A 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 hima/ kana lpepo ‘as quick as the wind’
khchimbila kana lpepo ‘to run like the wind’
Wachimbil kana lpepo/ wachiimbiiló. ‘They ran like the wind, that’s what they did.’
kubiga lpepo ‘to hit the breeze – i.e. of not selling’
Leelo/ sukhuuni/ mazu/ yanakubiga lpepo/ nt^hakunakuuló/ yabariile. ‘Today at the market bananas are (lit. Hitting breeze) not selling, no one is buying, they have no value (cannot attract buyers).’
kuuluka/ kana lpepo ‘to fly, jump like the wind’
Lpepo/ mahala yaa yo/ Inakeendró/ Iraashé. ‘The wind, (the direction) where it is going, you should follow it.’ (A proverb.) (We do not currently have an explanation for the final accent in the final phrase, but it was unambiguously present in our recording of this proverb.)
maraði ya lpepo ‘polio’
Maraði ya lpepo/ yawafanya waana/ zigulu. [H!H!H] ‘Polio cripples children (makes them crippled).’
maraði 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/ Inakuvuma. ‘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.’

Oyo/ ni kana/ lpepo/ hashiikiki. ‘That one is like wind, he cannot be caught.’
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^heendré/ 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’

maraði 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/ mwaana/ peesa. ‘Huseeni did not give the child money.’ (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/ mwaaná/ peesá?** In the exclamatory question, the negative verb also shows accent-shift: **Huseeni/ nt^hampá/ mwaaná/ peesá!?**)

Jaama/ peja peesa/ naami. ‘Jaama was given money by me.’

khakanya peesa ‘to change money (coins, bills) into different denominations’

khteleza peesa ‘to waste, squander money’; also: **khtelezowa peesa** (passive)

Alí/ wanazo peesa/ niingi/ steleeze/ leelo/ hatá/ shaati/ mooyi/

hakhaadiri/ kuula. ‘Ali had a lot of money, he squandered it, and today he cannot buy even a single shirt.’

- Muunt^hu/ peesaze/ kh^hteleza/ siwo/ suura/ sku mooyi/ hum^wiinfó.** ‘For someone to squander his money is not good, one day it will be useful to him.’
- Peesa/ kh^htelezoowa/ akhiriye/ hushala^toowa.** ‘For money to be wasted, at the end it will be repented.’
- Peesa/ kh^htelezoowa/ siwo/ suura/ sku mo/ st^hakhiinfó.** ‘For money to be wasted is not good, one day it will be useful.’
- Ki^laa chiint^hu/ ni ka peesa.** ‘Everything is with money.’ (A proverbial saying.)
- 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 mpe^la 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/ pe^la peesa.** [H!H] ‘The man was given money.’ Or: **Peesa/ pe^la muunt^hu.** (Notice that even though **muunt^hu** and **peesá** 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^hu/ 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).’
- Naani/ mbozelo peesá.** ‘Who stole the money?’ Or: **Naani/ boozeló/ peesa.** (The question word **naani**, when pre-verbal, triggers pseudo-relativization of the verb, a signal that **naani** is focused. It is possible for the verb to phrase with the complement **peesá** or to be phrasally separated. Phrasal separation puts some emphasis on the verb and triggers the Accentual Law of Focus, which prevents the final accent associated with pseudo-relativization extending to the complement.)
- 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 gaari/ 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 gaari/ 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 gaari.**
- 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.’
- Pe^la peesá/ ni muunt^hu.** [H!H] ‘The one who was given money is the man.’

Peesa/ ha'ipati/ kilaa chiint^hu. 'Money cannot get everything.' (A proverbial saying.)

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/ khupoteza. 'Money spoils you.' (A proverbial saying.)

Peesa/ nuliile gaari. 'Money, with it I bought a car.' Or: **Peesa/ nuliile/ gaari.** (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/ nuliilo gaari.** The verb may be phrasally separated at the same time: **Peesa/ nuliiló/ peesa.**)

Peesa/ nza Omari/ zaa mi/ mp^hheetó. 'The money belongs to Omari that I found.' Or: **Nza Omari/ pesa zaa mi/ mp^hheetó/.** '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/ pela muunt^hu. [H!H] 'Money, the man was given.'

Peesa/ sh^htakaawanya. '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/ hula^htoowa/ 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/ mp^hheetó/ nza Omari. 'The money that I found belongs to Omari.' Or: **Peesa/ zaa mi/ mp^hheetó/ nza Omari.**

Peesazo/ khutilo janaani/ khutilo a^habuuni. 'It is your money that takes you to heaven and hell.' (A proverb.)

Peesazo/ khutilo janaani/ khutilo mu^hlooní. 'It is your money that takes you to heaven and hell.' (A proverb.)

rel.

ma-peesa n. 6 money

Abaa^hde/ la^hzile (ka) karka ahli/ nt^hawana mapeesá/ miingí. 'Abaa^hde 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. *upes* 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/ kumv^hila mu^hliwe/ 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. (**peteshela**) 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
variant form: **betrooli**
chisima cha petrooliyo ‘an oil well’
Gaari/ hinendra ka petrooliyo. ‘Trucks run on petrol.’
Gaari/ za diizali/ nii nguvu/ kolko gari za betrooli. ‘Diesel trucks are stronger than petrol trucks.’
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 ajabu ‘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’
khomola shpete ‘to take off a ring’
khtila shpete ‘to put on a ring’
kuvala shpete ‘to wear a ring, to have a ring on’
Mp^hete shpete cha Nuuru. ‘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 hakhiikha ‘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/ shtakhtala shpeteche. ‘If we get to see the prophet Suleemeeni, we will take his ring.’
Ye/ naawé/ kuwa nakulangala/ 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.’

Chiikopi/ chakuja cha mwaana/ pikililila. ‘Where is the food that the child was cooked for?’

Chiikopi/ chisu/ shtindililaa namá. ‘Where is the knife that was used to cut the meat?’ (Note that one cannot say: ***Chikoopi/ chisu/ tindililaa namá.** ‘Where is the knife that the meat was cut with?’ This ungrammatical sentence is one where the passive subject is the direct object of the corresponding active verb and not the instrument. MI restricted passivization in the applied instrumental construction to the instrument.)

Chuuza/ sultaani/ olosholepi. ‘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.**)

Liikopi/ luti la mwaana/ bigililila. ‘Where is the stick that the child was hit with?’ (Note that in MI’s speech it is unacceptable to say ***Ukopi/ mwaana/ bigililaa luti.** ‘Where is the child who was beaten with a stick.’ MI rejected sentences where the instrument appears as the post-verbal NP in an instrumental applied verb construction.)

Liikopi/ luti/ (l)bigilila mwaaná. ‘Where is the stick that was used to beat the child? where is the stick that the child was beaten with?’ (These two different interpretations are correlated with the presence or not of *l* as the subject marker on the verb. If present, the meaning is that the stick was used to beat the child. If not present, then the meaning is that the child was beaten with a stick.)

Lazile ka numbaani/ pashpo kiiwa/ nakeendrapí. ‘He left the house without knowing where he was going.’

Majiwe/ itiila=pi? ‘Where has there been putting stones?’

Majiwe/ yatiila=pi? ‘Where have the stones been put?’

Mbona/ lazilepi/ maskiini. ‘Say, where did he come from, the poor man?’ (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.**]

Meenepí. ‘Where did you see him?’ (An appropriate answer: **Nimene wowiiní.** ‘I saw him in the river.’)

Mi/ nakendra khpatapi/ inyi yaa nfuye. ‘Where am I going to get a monkey’s liver from?’

Muusa/ mekeleelepi/ Nuuru/ chibuuku. ‘Where did Muusa put the book for Nuuru?’ (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.)

Nakeendrapí. ‘Where are you going?’

Ndo/ nimlatiilepi. ‘Come, where have you thrown him?’

Nfaanyépi. ‘Where shall I do it?’

Nfaanyépi/ 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.’)

Siisi/ hulawapi/ amó/ heendrapí. ‘I don’t know where it comes from or where it goes to.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **lpepo** ‘the wind’.)

Sulataani/ 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.**)

Walikopi/ we/ si/ pamó/ na waant^hu/ wotte/ wa muuyi/ chenzele kubiga harbí/ we/ izimilililé. ‘Where were you? We, together with all the people of the town, went to fight the war; you hid yourself.’

Wesholepi/ zibuuku. ‘Where did you put the books?’ (Phon. cf. the accent in **Wesholepi/ zibuuku.** ‘Where did (s)he put the books?’)

Yiikopi/ khalamu/ yandikililaa khatí. ‘Where is the pen that was used to write the letter?’ (Note that it is ungrammatical to say: ***Yiikopi/ khatí/ yandikililaa khalamú.** ‘Where is the letter that was written with a pen?’ In MI’s speech, an instrument could not be the post-verbal NP in an instrumental applied construction.)

Yiikopi/ nama/ itinzila kaa chisú. ‘Where is the meat that was cut with a knife?’ (One cannot use the applied verbal form: ***Yiikopi/ nama/ itindililaa chisú.** ‘Where is the meat that was cut using the knife?’)

piicha

n. 9/10 [Sw. *piicha* SSED 376; Eng.] picture, photograph

khtala piicha ‘to take a photograph’

kubiga piicha ‘to take a photograph’

Nonyeza piicha/ iyo. ‘Show me that photograph.’ Or: **Noony(ez)a/ mi/ piicha iyo.**

Piicha/ ilawililile. ‘The picture has come out good.’

piicha/ ya teesara ‘identity picture’

Waant^hu/ wa’onyeza piicha. [H!H] ‘The people were shown pictures.’

Zonyeza waant^hu/ ni piicha. [HH] ‘What were shown people were pictures.’ (Our transcription of the pitch pattern of sentences of this structure has wavered between [H!H] and [HH]. It may be that there is simply some variation with respect to the extent of the emphasis on the predicate phrase in this structure, or perhaps there is not a definite contrast in the case of such sentences.)

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)’

pijaama

n. pyjamas

Masku/ muunt^hu/ suura/ kulaala/ ka pijaama/ sababu/ nguwo/ hukhadira mfakaṭa. ‘At night it is good for a person to sleep with pyjamas because the cloth (i.e. sheet or blanket) can run off him (i.e. slide off).’

kh-pika

v. [Sw. *pika* SSED 377] (**pishile**) cook; idiom. betray, tell on

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 zijô/ Haliimâ!**? 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/ zijô?** 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/ ^htakhpika mataaza/ ^htakhpikó. ‘Haliima will cook porridge, that’s what she

will do ‘

Hamadi/ mpishile Ali/ ka sarkaali. ‘Hamadi betrayed Ali to the government.’

Iyaank^huku/ ipishila ka maayi. ‘The egg was boiled (lit. cooked with water).’

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.’ (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.’ (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.’ (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 muunt^hi/ ni Faatma. ‘The woman who is cooking every day is Faatma.’)

Muke/ pishile. ‘The woman cooked.’ Or, with subject postposing: **Pishile/ muke**. (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!?**) (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.’ (One cannot say: *Pishiloo muke/ ni Faatma.)

muke oyo/ shpika ‘if that woman cooks’

muke oyo/ shpikaa zijo ‘if that woman/ cooks *zijo*’

Muusa/ haapiki/ maandra. ‘Muusa doesn’t cook bread.’ Or: **Muusa/ hapiki maandra.** ‘Muusa doesn’t/won’t cook bread.’ Or: **Muusa/ maandra/ haapiki.** ‘*Muusa* doesn’t cook bread.’

Nakhpika mataaza/ 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-relative clause form.)

Naani/ pishiloo kujá. ‘Who cooked food?’

Pika. ‘Cook!’ (cf. **Pikaa zijo.** ‘Cook *zijo*!’ **Pikaani.** ‘You (pl.) cook!’ **Pikani nsi.** ‘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 mataaza/ 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 mataaza/ Haliima/ pishiló.** (where the subject is repeated) nor ***Haliima/ pishile mataaza/ pishilo mataazá.** (where the object is repeated as well as the verb).)

Pishiló/ ni Faatma. ‘The one who cooked is Faatma.’

Wake/ wapishiloo zijó/ wa’oloshéle. ‘The women who cooked *zijo* went away.’ (We have not seen any evidence that the phrasal separation of the head of a relative clause and the relative verb is necessarily an indication of a non-restrictive relative clause. On the other hand, the absence of separation seems to clearly convey a restrictive interpretation.)

Zijo/ pishile/ Faatima. ‘[Lit.] *zijo* cooked Faatima.’ (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’askujoowa. ‘The *zijo* Haliima cooked was not eaten.’

Zijo/ pishiló/ muke. ‘[Lit.] *zijo* cooked the woman.’ (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.’ (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 mu’looni/ isa/ yat’akhpikika. ‘You, those pumpkins, (if you) put them in the fire, they will cook immediately.’

kh-pikikila v. p/s. appl.

Chaakuja/ chimpikikilile. ‘Food was able to be cooked for him (after some effort on his part).’

kh-pikiloowa v. appl. pass. (**pikilila**) be cooked for, be cooked with

Baana/ ni sahali/ khpikilowa chaakuja. ‘Baana is easy to be cooked food for.’

Chuungu/ shpikilila 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.’)

Khpiḱilowa Hamadi/ ha’itasawari. ‘Hamadi to be cooked for is impossible.’

Khpiḱilowa Hamadi/ siwo/ sahali. ‘To cook for Hamadi is not easy (lit. Hamadi to be cooked for is not easy).’

Kuja/ yaliko sahali/ khpiḱilowa 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.’)

Muḱli/ 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 mwaana.** ‘(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 na naani/ chaakuja. ‘You were cooked for food by whom?’ Cf.

Pikilila na naani/ chaakuja. ‘He was cooked for food by whom?’

Pikilila naani/ chaakuja. ‘Who was cooked for food?’

Pikilila naani/ kuja iyi. ‘Who was this food cooked for?’ (One cannot put **naani** last: ***Pikilila kuja iyi/ naani.** The question word **naani** is focused, and a focused element in post-verb position must immediately follow the verb and be phrased with it. One can say: **Pikilila kuja iyi/ ni naani.** ‘The one who was cooked for this food is whom?’)

Shpiḱilowa 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 cook **zijo** for the children.’ (Note that the applicative verb in this example permits three unmarked nouns, **sufuriya**, **w-aana**, 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. (**pikiliile**) cook for, with

Ali/ pikililee 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/ pikiliileni/ skunyi. ‘What did Ali cook using firewood?’ (The sentence **Ali/ pikililee nama/ skunyi.** is an appropriate answer to this question.)

Boyesawo/ takhupikila. ‘Your maid will cook for you.’

Faatma/ mpikilile Khaje/ zijo/ chimaliza mpakulile. ‘Faatma cooked **zijo** for Khaje and then served it to him.’ (Note that the conjoined sentences can be relativized: **zijo za Faatma/**

mpikililo Khajé/ chimaliza mpakuliiló... ‘the **zijo** that Faatima 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 simple 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 ruuhuye/ chaakuja. ‘And so Hamadi cooked food for himself.’ (It may be possible to omit the reflexive pronoun **ruuhuye**, 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.’

Lüini/ Haliima/ wapikililoo 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/ wapikilile zijo/ waaa/ fijiri iyi?**)

Mp^hikilile 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 mpikililo 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.’

Nureeni.’

Nimpikilile muḅliwá/ Nureení/ zijó. ‘I cooked **zijo** for my husband

husband.’

Nimpikilile Nureení/ muḅliwa/ zijo. ‘I cooked **zijo** for *Nureeni* my

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/ mpikilileni. ‘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/ mpikilile 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.)

cook

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 skunyí.**)

Skunyi/ spikilīlani. ‘Firewood, what was cooked with it?’ (A possible answer: **Skunyi/ spikilīlaa kuja.** ‘Firewood was used to cook.’)

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/ kiⁱipikilaa kuja.**)

Uzile mafta/ kumpikilaa kuja. ‘He bought oil to cook food for him.’

Wo/ humpikilaa kuja. ‘They cook food for her.’

ye/ nakuwapikilo waaná/ mpuungá ‘while she was cooking rice for the children’ or with verb emphasis: **ye/ nakuwapikiló/ waana/ mpuunga** (The latter example shows the effect of the Accentual Law of Focus; however, GM did accept: **ye/ nakuwapikiló/ waana/ mpuungá.** We do not think that this actually shows that ALF is optional. Notice that it is only the final phrase that has a final accent, not both the post-verbal phrases. If ALF were simply not in effect, we would expect: ***ye/ nakuwapikiló/ waaná/ mpuungá.** Further research is required.)

‘Zijo/ 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^f chaakuja/ 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.’

Muusa/ mpikishize Faatima/ kaa dhibu. ‘Muusa caused Faatima to cook with difficulty.’ (It is interesting that, as MI noted in his Ph.D. dissertation on Chimiini causative verbs, that the manner adverb *kaa dhibu* differs from a number of other manner adverbials in that it has scope only over the act of causation and not over the action performed by the causee. Thus this sentence means only that it was difficult for Muusa to make Faatima cook and not the he made Faatima’s cooking difficult. Other manner adverbials with this same restriction to higher scope include *ka sahali* ‘easily’, *ka khada’a* ‘deceitfully’, *kaa zita* ‘violently’.)

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. (-pikisheenye)

Shpikisheenyé. ‘We made each other cook.’

Wapikisheenye. ‘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/ mpikishilize 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/ pikishilizeni/ 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.)

Ali/ wapikishilize wazeele/ mwanaamke/ chaakuja. ‘Ali had the parents’

girl cook the food.’

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 mubli/ 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 mubli/ 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'.)

wanthu wa Ali/ wapikishilizo mwanaamké/ chaakujá 'the people whose girl Ali made (for them) cook food' (Note the ungrammaticality of * wantthu wa Ali/ mpikishilizo mwanaamké/ chaakujá 'the people who Ali made their girl cook food'; in other words, the verb must agree with the beneficiary and not the person who actually did the cooking.)

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 státa. '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/ muyiini/ 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 mmamulaṭaa nt^hi. ‘Both of them were cooks for the caretaker of the land.’

Wapishi wiingi/ hangamiza mṭuzi. ‘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.’

Hamadi/ anzize khfanya kazi ya piili/ jisaa ye/ khpata peesa/ zaaydi. ‘Hamadi began working a second job in order to make more money.’

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’

Nnaxsoma mara piili/ chibuku ichi. ‘I read *a second time* this book.’ Or:

Nnaxsoma chibuku ichi/ mara piili. ‘I read *this book* a second time.’ Or:

Nnaxsoma chibuku ichi/ mara piili. ‘I read this book a second time.’

munt^hu wa piili/ chihada... ‘the second man said...’

Shṭezeze 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/ haṭá/ sku ya ikumi. ‘They travelled the first day, the second day, the third day, the fourth day, until the tenth day.’

pilpili

n. hot pepper; variant form: **pilipili**

Khupashilo waandá/ simpaké/ pilpili. ‘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/ pilpili ‘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] (**pimiile**) weigh, measure, evaluate, judge

Abunawaasi/ shfaanya/ jis'iyoy/ 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/ khuṭiinde/ 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**)

mukhtaa wo/ wapimiliila/ 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-pimila v. appl. (**pimiliile**)

kh-pimisha v. caus.

Sudo/ mpimishize mwaana/ suukari. 'Sudo had the child measure the sugar.'

kh-pimishiliza v. caus. appl.

Ali 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/ inakulanga^oowa/ 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 **makoofiya** (skullcaps), but **mpiima** was also a nautical measure **review is this mp^hiima**

sh-piimo

used to measure with

n. a unit of measurement; the act of weighing, measuring; measurement, estimation; s.t.

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.'

Simp^hiindré. ‘Don’t oppose me!’
Suufi/ mpinzile Abooke/ kooði. ‘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.
Ji/ na Alí/ wapindrishilizenye waana/ mwaalimu. ‘Ji and Ali caused one another’s children to contradict the teacher.’(The beneficiary is expressed in the verb by the reciprocal extension.)
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/ ku^hla shpindri cha wakht^hi/ shchipita. ‘I change shape when each noon passes.’
sala ya shpiindri ‘prayer at mid-day’
Shpiindri/ mub^hli/ 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 kub^hli ‘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/ yandishi^hla/ ina/ ya waawaye. ‘At the edge (of the cloth) there was written the name of her father.’

Simeme mp^hindrooni. ‘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’
kulangała ka mp^hindrooni ‘to look out of the corners of one’s eyes’
mp^hindro 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-pindruliła 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
Maałimu/ 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.’
- ł-piingo (m-piingo)* n. 11/10 rim; [pron. **mp^hiingu**] (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’
khřinda 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, handcuff, tie up’; also: **hubigowa mp^hiingu**

Muunt^hu/ mwiizi/ askari/ chimshiika/ hubigowa mp^hiingu/ mp^hiingu(=z-e). ‘A person, a thief, if the police arrest him, he is handcuffed.’

Mwiizi/ shiishiila/ bishiila mp^hiingu/ tila habaasa. ‘The thief was caught, handcuffed, and jailed.’

Omari/ mwaanawe/ chiwooni/ bishiila mp^hiingu/ fuunzila/ ka khisa/ waliko zimiile/ chi-woo=ni. ‘Omari’s son at religious school was handcuffed, he was tied up, because he ran away (lit. hid) from school.’

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^hiingu 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 mülü/ 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’

pinichiliina

n. [Ital. *penicillina*] penicillin

Pinichiliina/ nii dawa/ ya ziloondra. ‘Penicillin is a cure for syphyllis.’

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/ uvundishilee 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)

khshika mpiira ‘to catch a ball’
khteza mpiira ‘to play soccer’
ye/ nakhtezo mpiirá... ‘while he was playing soccer...’
khtila mpiira/ neefu ‘to put air in a ball, inflate a ball’
kubiga mpiira ‘to kick a ball’
Bishile mpiira. ‘He kicked the soccer ball.’
kuḷaṭila mpiira ‘to throw a ball’
kumbiga/ kana mpiira ‘to kick, hit him like a football – i.e. hard’

Mi/ nimbishile Hamadí/ ka maṭeké/ 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 maṭeke/ kana mpiira.** And with focus on **Hamadi**: **Mi/ nimbishile Hamadí/ ka maṭeke/ 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 maṭeke/ 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 Hamadí/ ka maṭeké/ kana mpiirá!?** Interestingly, when we elicited a version of this sentence with focus on the verb, **Omari/ mbishile/ Hamadi/ ka maṭeke/ kana mpiira.**, the corresponding simple yes-no question still did not involve accent shift.)

mpira chihaba ‘a small ball’
mpira mkulu ‘a big ball’
Mpiira/ nakumeera. ‘The ball is rolling.’
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.’

Marti/ wachiya/ mbujá/ huwo mpishi. ‘When visitors come, it is my sister who is the cook.’

his knives’

mpishi/ na chisuuché ‘a cook and his knife’; **mpishi/ na zisuuzé** ‘a cook and

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/ kambaa 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.’

kublaa mp^hisi ‘to kill a hyena’

Mahała 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/ kamuja. ‘I am afraid lest some hyena eat him.’

Ndo/ mwaanawá/ peteeyi/ 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

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 *ii* 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.’

Chufkujila nt^huundru/ haṭá/ 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.’

kapita imṭihaani/ Muusá ‘if he had passed the exam, Muusa’ (The final accent on the postposed subject in this example seems to be the consequence of the phenomenon noted below.)

kapitá/ imṭihaani/ Muusa ‘if he had passed the exam, Muusa’ (But it appears also possible to have a final accent on the postposed subject: **kapitá/ imṭihaani/ Muusá.**)

kapita Muusá/ imṭihaani ‘if Muusa had passed the exam’ (Further research on this example is required. If the postposed subject *Muusa* is focused, then the Accentual Law of Focus would be expected to block final accent on the following complement. However, there seems to be some phenomenon that can assign final accent to the last phrase, though the attested examples seem always to be linked to a final-accent triggering verb. Further research is needed.)

kapita Tuumá/ imṭihaani ‘if Tuuma had passed the examination’ or **imṭihaani/ kapitá/ Tuumá** or **imṭihaani/ kaapitá/ Tuuma** ‘if the examination she had passed, Tuuma’ (The last example has an interesting alternative form: **imṭihaani/ kaapitá/ Tuumá.** The final accent on the postposed subject does not arise from its being in the scope of the final accent of the *ka*-tense verb.)

kapita Tuumá/ tu/ imṭihaani ‘if only Tuuma (and no one else) had passed the examination’ or **imṭihaani/ kapitá/ Tuumá/ tu**

khpita hukumu ‘to sentence, pass judgement’

Sultaani/ uyu/ naayé/ kila shpisa/ hukumu/ hulangaḷa/ ka kublike/ chimaliza huteka/ 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.’

Sultaani/ walimo barzaani/ nakhpisa hukumu. ‘The king was in the audience hall passing judgement.’

khpitaa 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 imṭihaani ‘if Muusa had passed the exam...’ (No matter what the subject prefix is, this verb tense triggers final accent.) Or: **Muusa/ kaapitá/ imṭihaani** (This pronunciation suggests that the Accentual Law of Focus is not necessarily applicable in this tense.

Mwiizi/ mpisile Omari. ‘The thief ran past Omari.’

na Tuumá/ kaapitá/ imṭihaani ‘if Tuuma also had passed the examination’ or **imṭihaani/ na Tuumá/ kaapitá**

Nnaayó/ ndala/ laakini/ chaakuja/ hachimp^hiti. ‘I am hungry but food does not pass through me.’ *review*

Nt^ha’ukhpita/ wakhtí. ‘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.)
Siiimba/ 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/ darbaṭila/ ziko mbeleyó. ‘The things that went by never come back, be prepared for the things that are ahead of you.’ (A proverb.)

Suufi/ pisile imṭihaani. ‘Suufi passed the examination.’

Sulṭaani/ walimo barzaani/ nakhpisa hukumu. ‘The king was in the audience hall passing judgement.’

Tuuma/ haṭá/ kapita imṭihaani ‘if even Tuuma had passed the exam’ or, with verb emphasis: **Tuuma/ haṭá/ kaapitá/ imṭihaani**, where the Accentual Law of Focus bans the final H tone triggered by the *ka*-tense verb from extending to the complement noun *imṭihaani* (GM does allow, however, **Tuuma/ haṭá/ kaapitá/ imṭihaani**, although the analysis of this phenomenon is not yet entirely clear.)

Tuuma/ kapita imṭihaani ‘if Tuuma had passed the examination’ or, with verb emphasis: **Tuuma/ kaapitá/ imṭihaani**, where the Accentual Law of Focus has blocked final accent on the nominal complement (GM accepts **Tuuma/ kaapitá/ imṭihaani**, though the precise analysis of this pronunciation is unclear at present.)

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**

Waliko ni Nuuru/ oyo mwaḷimu wa mwaanawá/ mwakaa upisiló. ‘It was Nuuru who was my son’s teacher last year.’

Yapisile miyaaka/ miingi/ jis’iyi. ‘Many years passed this way.’ (Observe the postposing of the subject *miyaaka* ‘years’ in this example. Observe also the phrasal separation of the modifier *miingi* ‘many’ from the noun that it modifies.)

rel.

kh-pisa v. caus. [Sw. *pisha* SED 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 waalí. ‘I managed to attain everything I wanted like a military commander and a governor do.’

ka nt^heendre khpisa mbele ndrúuza afḍali [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/ sulṭaani/ 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/ imṭihaani. ‘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.’
Skuwadra/ ya Mwiini/ washiinzila/ hawa’isi/ khpisilizanya mpiira/ jisa suura. ‘The Miini team was defeated because they don’t know how to pass to each other the ball well.’

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. [H’H] ‘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. (**pitiliile**) 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’iyo. ‘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.
kh-pitoowa v. pass. (**pisila**) be passed; (in the impersonal passive, e.g. **inakhpitoowa**) going on as well as one can (despite difficulties)
Ipisila. ‘We managed to get through some situation (lit. there was passing through).’
Ipisila jisa suura. ‘It has been gotten through very well.’
Ipisilaayi. ‘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’.)
Omari/ pisila. ‘Omari was run past.’
Wapisila ndilaani. ‘They were passed on the road.’ Or: **wapasila 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/ chimwaambila/ nakhsuulani. ‘Then he went to the new wife, the younger wife, and said to her, what do you want?’ (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'

fa^tuuraya/ mp^hiya 'my new car'

Hasani/ uzile fa^turaa mp^hiya. 'Hasani bought the new car.' Or: **Hasani/**

uzile fa^tuura/ mp^hiya. 'Hasani bought a new car'

Ku^la muunt^hu/ huvala nguwoo mp^hiya. 'Everyone wears new clothes.'

(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 **nguwo**, which is in the same phrase with the adjective **mp^hiya**, is obviously not definite.)

lpanga lpiya 'a new sword'

lpelo lpiya 'a new broom'

Mi/ ni mpiyá/ amó/ ni qadiimú/ karka wujuudi. 'Am I new or am I old in existence?'

Miizi/ bozele fa^turaa Omari/ mp^hiya. 'The thief stole Omari's new car.'

(Observe that **fa^tura ya Omari** may contract to **fa^turaa Omari**.) Or: **Miizi/ bozele fa^turaa 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 fa^turaa mp^hiya/ ya Omari?** When the adjective modifies the associative phrase, however, the associative phrase seems to be out of focus: **Miizi/ bozele fa^turaa Omari/ mp^hiya?** The emphatic questions, of course, show accent shift: **Miizi/ bozele fa^turaa mp^hiyá/ ya Omari!?** and **Miizi/ bozele fa^turaa Omari/ mp^hiyâ!?**)

Miizi/ bozele fa^tura 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 **fa^tuura: fa^tura (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 **fa^tuura**.) (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 fa^turaa mukeewá/ Barká/ mp^hiyâ!?**)

mp^hanga mp^hiya 'new swords'

mp^heloo mp^hiya 'new brooms'

Nimu^lile Nuurú/ 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 ***Nimu^lile Nuurú/ 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 Ali/ 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.' (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 [yáɸ¹], 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 [áɸ¹] 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.)

Numba/ ipiile. ‘The house burned up.’

Piya. ‘Burn!’ **Piyaani.** ‘(Pl.) burn!’

Spiyé. ‘Don’t burn!’ **Spiyeeni.** ‘(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 ruksha/ khpisha numba/ 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/ haṭá/ ivuye/ hutiya. ‘A person who is burned by fire, he is afraid even of its ashes.’ (A proverb.)

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’.)

Spisheeni. ‘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.)

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.’

Numba/ ipishiiza. ‘The house was burned down (by someone).’

Yashpishoowa. ‘It (cl.6) was burned.’

kh-piyoowa v. pass. (**piila**)

Ipila kaa mufo. ‘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

muntu 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/ oloshole. ‘When Ali finished eating, he left.’

Chilaalapó/ sfaanye/ nkhele. ‘If he sleeps, don’t make noise!’

Chiwanapo kaazi/ simviile. ‘If he is busy, don’t call him.’

Chiwanapo peesá/ 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/ nchandikaa khati. ‘When Muusa came, I was writing a letter.’

Ilopo Muusá/ we/ shfaanyani. ‘When Muusa came, what were you doing?’

Ingilopo numbaani/ sultani daalimu/ chimwaambila/ mubjiwo/

ndeteleele/ khabari suura/ zilazilo ka nt’i za wanyaasa/ na isa/ nimtumiile/ 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...’

chimweegsha. ‘When he arrived [at the sultan’s royal parlor], he extended greetings and the sultan answered him and welcomed him.’

Malizopo khtinda ngoombé/ tete iyoo nama/ tinzile spandre spaandre.
‘When he finished slaughtering the cow, he took that meat and cut it into pieces.’

Malizopo kulangalá/ ishkiile/ ka mlongotiini. ‘When he finished looking, he climbed down from the mast.’

Mbeenopó/ negesheeze/ chimaliza/ mp^hele chaakuja/ na maayi. ‘When he saw me, he welcomed me, and then he gave me food and water.’
mubliwe/ muzizopo waakopi/ 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/ kumwona 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^huundra/ 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).’

Wanakhkokotapó/ 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/ chiwapo/ 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/ mukhtaa mi/ nanzizo khtuhumá. ‘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/ simviiélé. ‘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?’

mahaŋaa mi/ niipó ‘the place where I am’

Mwaana/ upopi. ‘Where is the child?’ Possible an swer: **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 numbaaní. ‘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. The emphatic yes-no question shifts the accent in the two non-initial phrases: **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/ zoṭe/ zaa si/ shṭukiiló... ‘After they took from us everything that we were carrying...’

Laakini/ kamaa we/ chiza/ khtaambula/ ma’ana/ ya kooḍi/ za Ali/ ka aqilizo/ mi/ nt^hakhupoka kuḷa yaa we/ humiḷkó. ‘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/ chíloozi. ‘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 zíloozi.** ‘Hamadi and Osmaani snatched

sweets from one another.’ (MI did not accept “reciprocal shift” with this verb: ***Hamadi/ pokene na Osmaani/ zילוּזי**. ‘Hamadi snatched with Osmaani sweets.’)

kh-pokanoowa v. rec. pass.

Ni zילוּזי 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

Chילוּזי 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/ chילוּזי. ‘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-pokeshu v. caus. (**pokeshu**)

Muumini/ mpokeshu 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/ mpokeshu 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/ mpokeshu 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/ mpokeshu 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/ pokeshu.** ‘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/ pokeshu zibuuku.** ‘Muumini made someone snatch books from someone.’ One can have **Muumini/ pokeshu mwaalimu/ (zibuuku).** ‘Muumini made a teacher snatch (books) from someone.’ However, a sentence like **Muumini/ pokeshu 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-pokeshu v. caus. pass. (**pokeshu**)

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/ waposhelo waana... ‘the woman whom he took from the children...’; **wana waa ye/ waposhelo 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/ posheja 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/ shposheja 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 chimweegsha. ‘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.’

Mpokele 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 nguwo. ‘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/ oloshela/ 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 wageeni. ‘We received the luggage of the guests.’ Or: **Shpokele wageeni/ mizigo yaawó.** ‘We received the guests their luggage.’

Tafaðali/ bwana sultaani/ mp^hokela feða izi/ ni zawaadi/ mi/

khuletelelee we. ‘Please, Mr. Sultan, accept these coins, they are a gift, I have given them to you.’

rel.

kh-pokelela v. appl. (**pokelelele**)

kh-pokeleloowa v. pass. [Sw. **pokewa** SSED 383] (**pokeela**)

Chibuuku/ shpokelela mwaalimu/ na mwanafuunzi. ‘The book was received from the teacher by the student.’

chibuku shpokelela 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.)

mwaalimu pokela chibuukú/ na mwanafuunzi ‘the teacher from whom the book was received by the student’

Mwaalimu/ shpokeja chibuuku/ kaake/ na mwanafunzi. ‘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**) cause to receive for; help to deliver baby for

Haliima/ mp^hokeleze mukeewa. ‘Haliima helped my wife deliver the baby.’

kh-pokelezanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-pokeza v. caus. [Sw. *pokeza*] (**pokeeze**) cause to receive, give to, put in the hands of; help deliver a baby, act as a midwife

Mizigo/ yapokeeza. [H!H] ‘The luggage was received.’

Wageeni/ wapokeza mizigo. [H!H] ‘The guests they were given luggage.’

Wapokeze mgeeni/ mizigoye. [H!H] ‘They gave the guest his luggage.’

(The pitch lowering in this example is very clear and we regard it as an instance of downstep, it is still worth noting that the downstep between a pre-verbal PP and a following PP initiated by the verb is typically significantly greater than in a case like this.)

Wawapokeze wageeni/ mizigo yaawo. [H!H] ‘They handed the guests their luggage.’ (With respect to the intonational pattern, the pitch drop in this example is somewhat more pronounced than in the immediately preceding example. Our suspicion is that the precise extent of downstep may be affected by the length of a phrase, with the shorter *mizigoye* being not quite as lowered as the longer *mizigo yaawo*. This is at best a hypothesis that we think would be worth pursuing in a controlled experiment with multiple speakers.)

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 khpooowa 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/ huguðatoowowi. ‘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/ chita/ 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.’
Ali/ pozelee chitta. ‘Ali’s head hurt.’
Ali/ pozele miimba. ‘Ali’s stomach hurt.’ Or: **Pozele/ Ali/ miimba.** Or: **Pozele miimba/ Ali.**
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.’
Chitta/ chimpozele Ali. ‘The head, it hurt Ali.’ Or: **Ali/ chitta/ chimpozele.**
khpola miimba, etc. ‘to heal, get better, become cured etc.’
Ali/ chiṭa/ chimpozele. ‘Ali’s headache got better.’
Ali/ miimba/ ipozele. ‘Ali’s stomachache got better.’
Ali/ pozelee chiṭa. ‘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 khpola/ muunt^hu/ uyu/ fanyizoo dawá/ takhtindowa chiṭaache. ‘But if the child does not recover, this man who gave him the medicine, his head will be cut off.’
Maraḍi aya/ ni makulu/ laakini/ hukhadiroowa/ khfanyilizowaa dawa/ hupola. ‘This disease is serious but it can be cured (lit. it heals).’
Maayi/ yapozele. ‘The water got cold.’
Miimba/ impozele Ali. ‘The stomach, it hurt Ali.’ Or: **Ali/ miimba/ impozele.** (Note that one does not say ***Ali/ pozeḷa na miimba.** ‘Ali was pained by the stomach.’)
Nnakhtaraja napole kahimá. ‘I hope that he gets well soon.’ Cf. **Nnakhtaraja khpola kahimá.** ‘I hope to get well soon.’ Cf. **Nnakhtaraja Baaná/ khpola 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-poleḷa v. appl. (**poleeḷe**)
Maambo/ yampoleeḷe. ‘Matters have improved for him.’
Mp^helee dawa/ khpoleḷa. ‘He gave me medicine to help me recover.’
kh-poloowa v. pass. (**-pozeḷa**) be recovered from
Kaḍiḍo izi/ haspoloowi. ‘These fevers cannot be recovered from.’
Maraḍi ya saraṭaani/ 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
Chijamu/ poleze chaayi. ‘He used a saucer to cool the tea.’
Mp^holeze chaayi/ ka kijamu. ‘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.’ (Note that one cannot make **chaayi** the passive subject: ***Chaayi/ shpoleze kijamu.** ‘The tea was cooled with a saucer.’ In order to have

chaayi the subject, the prepositional instrumental construction must be used: **Chaayi/ shpozeza ka chijamu**. ‘The tea was cooled with a saucer.’)

kh-poza v. [Sw. *poza* SSED 382] (**poseeze**) heal, cool, make s.t. cold, calm someone
Dawa/ impozeze Ali/ ijaraha. ‘The medicine healed Ali’s wound.’

Dawa yaa we/ mpeeló/ impozeze. ‘The medicine that you gave him cured him.’

Hamadi/ ile/ mp^hozeze. ‘Hamadi came and calmed me down.’

Ikopa ya maayi/ yaa we/ mp^heeló/ imp^hozeze. ‘The glass of water that you gave me cooled me off.’ (Note that there is no passive sentence like: ***Mp^hozeza na ikopa ya maayi/ yaa we/ mp^heeló**. ‘I was cooled off by the glass of water that you gave me.’)

khpoza maandra ‘to cool bread (by opening a window, by letting it sit)’

khpoza khalbi ‘to comfort’

Ile/ mp^hozeze khalbi. ‘He came and comforted me.’

Mwanaamke/ oyo/ fanyiliza 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 not get well, and all were beaten [lit. their swords] for not being able to cure the girl.’

Nishpozeze chaakujá/ napate kuja kahima. ‘I cooled off the food so that he could eat it quickly.’ (MI found it dubious to omit the verb *pata* from this construction: ?? **Nishpozeze chaakujá/ naje kahima**. ‘I cooled down the food so that he could eat it quickly.’)

Pozeze maayi. ‘He made the water cold.’

Waṭampoza mgeeni/ mkonowe. [H’H] ‘They will heal the guest’s arm.’

we karka khalbi ijaraha kumpoza ize [song] ‘you refused to heal the wound in my heart’

kh-pozanya v. tr. rec.

kh-pozeza v. tr. p/s.

kh-pozoowa v. tr. pass. (**pozeza**) 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. [H!H!H] ‘The guest will have his arm healed by them.’

Ḷnama/ 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.] police; var. forms: **piliisi, bulisiya, boliisi askari poliisi** ‘policeman’

Ichiwa muunt^hu/ mwaape/ nakhsuḷa kunkhiyaansaṭa/ ṭamwambila boliisi. ‘If someone tried to blackmail me I would tell the police.’

Keenya/ poliisi/ wont^he/ huja ḷaaluushi. ‘In Kenya all police accept (lit. eat) bribes.’

Ḷliini/ mapoliisi/ wamshishilo miizi. ‘When did the police catch the thief?’ (When the question word **Ḷliini** ‘when’ precedes the verb, the verb must be put into a relative clause shape.)

Majiraani/ wa’iize/ khkoḷa na boliisi. ‘The neighbors avoided talking to the police.’

Mapoliisi/ wamshishile mwiizi/ yana. ‘The police caught the thief yesterday.’ (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/ ^fbulisiya/ 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 man who ran away was caught by the police.’

mwa^limu wa poliisi/ mshishilo mwaanawé ‘the teacher whom the police arrested his son’

Nakhtaambulá/ kuwa poliisi/ wa’ile /kahima. ‘I understand that the police came quickly.’

Poliisi/ hu’adiba wiizi/ nt^hasaa wo/ kuwapeleka mahkamaani. ‘Police torture thieves before they take them to trial.’

Poliisi/ mshishile mwana wa mwa^limu. ‘The police arrested the son of the teacher.’

Skotland/ Yaad/ na piliisi/ ba/ waamo/ karka kumeera/ muunt^hu/ amó/ waant^hu/ wa...sabibiiló/ dhibu iyí. ‘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, hurt oneself

Mwana wa Omari/ potele shkutaani/ polomoshele. ‘Omari’s child fell down from the wall and hurt himself.’

rel.

kh-polomeka v. (**polomeshele**)

kh-polomekoowa v. pass.

Ikuta iyo/ muunt^hu/ shpotela/ hupolomekoowa. ‘That big wall, if someone falls from it, he gets hurt.’ (In a second rendering of this

sentence, GM substituted **shpoteloowa** for **shpotela**.)

kh-polomola v. tr. (**polomeele**) break s.t. up, down

kh-polomoleka v. tr. p/s. (**polomoleshele**)

Hee/ mwaana/ we/ lata/ matezo mawovu/ takhpolomoleka. ‘Hey, you child, I warn you, stop/quit playing bad games, you will be badly hurt.’

Omari/ takhsaara/ ba/ potele chidank^haani/ mzimaye/ polomoleshele. ‘Omari, no part of his body was spared, he fell from the roof, his entirety was badly hurt.’

pom

ideo.

Mfanya kaazi/ mukhta^a ya/ anzizo kaazi/ naazi/ spoteele/ pom pom pom! ‘When the worker began working, the coconuts fell *pom pom pom!*’

poombono

n. 9/10 a kind of fish; considered a low quality of fish and thus only eaten by the poorest people in Brava

rel.

i-poombono (*mi-*) n. a kind of fish

Ipoombono/ hayjoowi. ‘*Ipoombono* is not eaten.’

Leelo/ mipoombono/ miingi/ yapeeta. ‘Today a lot of *mipoombono* have been caught.’

Mipoombono/ hufanya chaambo. ‘*Mipoombono* are used as bait.’

Mipoombono/ hujoowa/ na masaakiini/ tu. ‘*Mipoombono* is eaten only by poor people.’

kh-pomoka

v. intr. [Sw. *bomoka, pomoka* SSED 38] (-**pomoshele**) break to pieces, come to harm
Mwaana/ we/ taha^adara/ 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.

Matezo mawovu/ hupomokoowa. One gets hurt from bad games.’

kh-pomolela v. appl. (**pomolelele**) 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/ ipomelaa nk^huta. 'This house was demolished the walls.' (Cf. the ungrammaticality of ***Nk^huta izi/ spomeela nuumba**. Also note the ungrammaticality of ***Numba iyi/ ipomela 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 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/ spomela 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/ shtomola 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/ ponzelee gele. 'Zeena pounded the maize.'

rel.

kh-poondreka 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-poondrela v. appl. [Sw. *pondea* SSED 384] (**pondreleele**)

kh-poondresha v. caus. (**pondresheeze**)

Huseeni/ mpondresheze Zeena/ mwaana/ gele. 'Huseeni had Zeena's child pound the maize.'

kh-pondreshana v. caus. rec.

kh-pondreshaka 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. (**-pondresheleeze**)

Muusa/ na Huseeni/ waponresheleezenye waana/ gele. 'Muusa and Huseeni caused one another's children to pound maize.'

kh-pondroowa v. pass. [Sw. *pondwa* SSED 384] (**poonzele**)

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-ponolele v. appl.

rel. nom.

m-ponolo n. 3

u-ponolo n. 14

m-ponompono

n. a kind of fish; [pron. **mp^honomp^hono**]

porobleema

n. 9/10 problem

Iyi/ ma'anaye/ ichiwaa we/ ingile dhibuuni/ ichiwaa we/ nayo porobleemá/... 'The meaning of this is that if you get into difficulty, if you have problems...'

porobleema iyi 'this problem'; **porobleema izi** 'these problems'

porobleemaa nk^hulu 'a big problem, big problems'

porobleemayo 'your problem'

poropoganda

n.

Alí/ mtijile Omari/ muyiini/ poropoganda/ kuwaa ye/ ni m-iizi. 'Ali circulated on Omari the charge (lit. propoganda) that he is a thief.'

<i>l-poororo (m-)</i>	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 waanthu ‘a procession of people’
<i>portageezi (ma-)</i>	n. a Portuguese person
<i>portakoranta</i>	n. 9/10 electric plug, outlet
<i>posoneero</i>	n. [Ital.] pit hole (commonly used in Brava although there is also the Bantu word m-fuumbi) Omari/ nuumbaye/ posoneero/ ituunzilá/ ndraani/ kana/ chisima/ siwo/ itakuyelo ka himá. ‘Omari his house the pit hole is dug deep like a well, it will not get filled quickly.’
<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^hakhpata/ chiint^hu/ postaani. ‘He did not get anything at the post office.’
<i>posteejo</i>	n. a car, bus, or lorry station, where people take transport and where they arrive Mi/ nakendra postejooni/ leelo/ kumlindra mkulá/ nakuuya/ ka chitaawo. ‘I am going to the station today to wait for my brother coming by bus.’ Muunt^hu/ chendra postejooni/ ya chitaawo/ laazimu/ kuviringika/ ka Galwaani. ‘If one goes to the bus staging area, he must go around galwaani.’ Posteejo/ ya chitaawo/ zamaani/ yaliko ibanya ya Galwaani. ‘The bus station in old times was at the open area of Galwaani.’ Posteejo ya magaari/ nii kule. ‘The lorry station is far away.’
<i>poosto</i>	n. position, place Hamadi/ leelo/ nt^hakhsaafira/ tozele poosto/ chitaawo. ‘Hamadi did not travel today, he could not find a place in the bus.’ Mi/ nimdorsete Omari/ koloka poostoyá. ‘I chose Omari to go in my place.’
<i>kh-potela interfere</i>	v. [Sw. <i>potea</i> SSED 386] (poteele) fall; roll; be corrupted, go astray; be out of date; 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 sacrifice falls’

Mbeené/ ijabali/ inakhpotelo iburiini. ‘I saw the rock roll(ing) down the hill.’
Mi/ kuwa ni mashghuuli/ tu/ siwo/ na pasaportayá/ ba/ ipoteele. ‘It is not only that I am too busy, but also my passport is out of date.’

Munt^hu humtumbilo iboholi/ mweenziwé/ ndiyé/ hupoteló. ‘One who digs a hole for his friend it is he who falls in.’ (A proverb.)

Muunt^hu/ mara mooyi/ shpotela mayiini/ ni koowela/ tu. ‘Once a person has fallen into water, there is (nothing to do but) just swim.’ (A proverbial saying somewhat akin to the English “sink or swim”, advising that once one gets drawn into some issue, situation, one just must deal with it.)

Na kuḷa muḷi/ 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/ khalbiini/ 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).’

Wakhtí/ ukhupoteele. ‘Time was lost to you – i.e. you wasted time.’

We/ kajaaribá/ suḷa khpotela. ‘If you had tried, you would have failed.’

Ye/ potele tawala. ‘He fell into the sea.’

Ye/ shfikira/ kumwambila waawaye/ kuwa masku/ ivumile lpepo/ kaa nguvu/ na nt^heendré/ spoteele/ mutiini. ‘He thought about telling his father that during the night the wind blew hard and the dates fell from the tree.’

rel.

kh-potelela v. appl. (**potelele**) fall on

Chimpotelelaa nge/ mkulu. ‘A large scorpion fell on him.’

ijiwe/ inawapotelele ‘that the stone fall on them’; **majiwe/ yanawapotelele** ‘that the stones fall on them’

Ituundra/ imp^hotelele chiṭaani. ‘A fruit fell on my head.’

Kalaant^ha/ chizingitiini/ ilu ya mlaango/ muḷiwa/ 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/ chimpotelela 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.

Tawala/ ipoteela. ‘The sea was fallen (into).’

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 chiṭa/ 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’
Haliima/ poteze waana/ maraa mbili. [H!H!H] ‘Haliima aborted children twice.’ (Observe that there is no object marker on the verb when the object is human but indefinite.)
Muke/ shpata shuruwa/ ye/ nayo miimbá/ hupoteza mwaana. ‘If a woman gets measles while she is pregnant, she aborts the child.’
khpoteza peesa ‘to lose, squander money’
Muunt^{bu}/ khpoteza peesaze/ akhiriye/ hushalaayata. ‘For someone to squander his money, its end is to regret.’
Omarí/ peesaze/ poteeze/ isa/ chiint^{bu}/ nt^{anaayo}. ‘Omarí his money squandered, now he has nothing.’
- khpoteza ruuhu** ‘to jump, throw oneself’
Mp^hoteze ruuhuyá/ ibirkaani. ‘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^{haani}. ‘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 wakhti** ‘to waste time’
Poteze wakhti. ‘You wasted time.’
khpotezoowa/ wakhti ‘time to be wasted’
Wakhti/ ni ghaali/ ha’upotezoowi. ‘Time is precious, it is not to be wasted.’
Mwaanawá/ awa/ wanakhsula khupoteza/ laakini/ haydhibi. ‘My son, these ones want to bring forth your destruction, but it does not matter.’
Ni Chimwiini/ tu/ sh-potezáz/ khpata waant^{bu}/ hawa’iisi/ noo’i/ ya koði izi/ wastaambule/ inakhkoðoowa. ‘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 Chimwiini).’
Poteze chibuukú. ‘You dropped a/the book (it could either be accidentally or on purpose).’
Uhuriya/ mwiingi/ hupoteza waant^{bu}. ‘Too much freedom spoils people.’
Ujahli/ umpoteeze. ‘Ignorance led him astray.’
Uyu/ ndiyé/ potezo iwuyú/ 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

Diini/ ya Islaamu/ jawaabu/ za upotevu/ haykhiiri. ‘Islamic religions does not accept wrong doings.’

Nuuru/ wabarshize waanawe/ jawaabu/ za upotevu/ kana khtezeza peesa/ khkoða wanaafakhi/ na jawabu zinginé/ kana izó. ‘Nuuru taught his children bad things, like wasting money, telling lies and other things like those.’

-potofu

adj. bent, crooked

itundru ipotofu ‘a ragged, rough, uneven hole’

luti lpotofu ‘a crooked stick’

munt^hu mpotofu ‘a crooked or spoiled person’

Munt^hu mpotofu/ harashoowi. ‘A crooked man is not followed.’ (A proverb.)

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□u/ ndila toosani/ wanapate ki’iraasha/ na kuwa’onyeza ndila mp□otofu/ 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’uṭosishiki. ‘A tree that is bent cannot be straightened.’ (A proverb.)

Muti/ ushpotoka/ ha’uṭosishiki. ‘When a tree is bent, it cannot be straightened.’ (Variant of the preceding proverb.)

Umí/ potoshele/ ka khkolola. ‘Umi bent over coughing.’

rel.

kh-potolela v. tr. appl. (**potoleele**)

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] (**poteele**) 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.)’

Muunt^hu/ wa mojiitú/ mpotosheezó/ hukhaadiri/ kumtoosisha. ‘A person whom God has bent him, you cannot make him straight.’ (A proverb.)

Nimptosheze Nuurú/ mkonó. ‘I twisted Nuuru’s arm.’

Potosheze ruuhuye/ mkono. ‘He twisted his own hand.’

Wa mojiitú/ mpotosheezó/ hatosishiki. ‘One who God has bent cannot be straightened.’ (A proverb.)

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/ mtijile Shaafi/ mwaana.** ‘Baazi instilled in Shaafi’s child to be bent.’)

kh-potoshelezanya v. caus. appl. rec. (**-potosheleezenye**)

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/ watijilene waana/ khpotoka.** ‘Baazi and Shaafi instilled in one another’s children

to be bent.’

profesoore n. professor
Nimene Osmari profesoore. ‘I saw Omari the professor (where the reference to “professor” contrasts him with some other Omari).’
Nimene Osmaani/ profesoore. ‘I saw Osmaani the professor.’ Or: **Nimene Osmaani/ profesoore.** ‘I saw *Osmaani* the professor.’
Nimene profesoore Osmaani. ‘I saw Professor Osmaani.’
Osmaani/ profesoore/ ingile mṭanaani. ‘Osmaani the professor entered the room.’ Or: **Profesoore Osmaani/ ingile mṭanaani.** ‘Professor Osmaani entered the room.’
Tuuma/ waawaye/ ni profesoore. ‘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.’
shuumbula ipuya wo watakununsha [song] ‘if my boil breaks open, they will smell it’
Ni dhee’aani/ niingi/ Hamadi/ yanamlawó/ ipuuni. ‘A lot of secretion is coming out from Hamadi’s infected wound.’

puḷoovari n. [Eng. *pullover*] sweater
variant form: **poḷoovere**
Leelo/ ni bardi/ nvete poḷooveré. ‘Today is cold, I wore a sweater.’
Omari/ vete poḷoovere/ ya laana. ‘Omari wore a silk 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/ hukoða kaa mp^hula. ‘Omari speaks arrogantly.’
khshumula kaa mp^hula ‘to sneeze with the nose’
khtaḡaa 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’
kunaḋifishaa mp^hula ‘to clean the nose’
kununk^ha kaa mp^hula ‘to sniff, smell with the nose’
ka l^yuundo/ 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/ inamlawa 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-pululila v. appl. (**pululiile**)
kh-pululilana 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-puluzā* 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/ nakhpuluzā 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-puluzā (*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/ laṭa/ upuluzi. ‘Stay, my son, give up this foolishness.’

Maama/ chimwambila mwaana/ kuṭa 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/ ndraṭila upuluziwo. ‘My husband, what you are saying has no meaning, I do not love anyone except you, leave for me your nonsensical words.’

Sultaani/ mukhtaaya/ kasizo kodi za Abunawaasi/ mtete ngoombe/ oyo/ mtiinzile/ ka khisa koonyesha/ ya kuwa koodi/ 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

variant form: **pomaata**

Haliima/ mpashile mwaanawe/ pomaata/ ipuuni. ‘Haliima put ointment on her child on the infected wound.’

-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**

maradi ya mp^huume ‘asthma’

kh-pumula

v. [Sw. *pumua* SED 388] (**pumiile**) rest

Apo/ wajiile/ chimaliza/ walaṭiize/ 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/ zelpe. ‘When he sat down to rest, in the distance he saw white things.’

Mi/ sinakhfanya chiint^hu/ maamé/ sinakhfanya yo yotte/ nk^haleent^hbé/ nnakhpumulá. ‘I am not doing anything, mother, I am not doing anything at all; I have just sat down to rest.’

Munt^hu malizo khpumulá/ anzize khfakata. ‘The man who finished resting began to run.’

Munt^hu ofeetó/ nakhpumula. ‘The man who is tired is resting.’

Nk^halen^he hosiini/ khpumula. ‘I sat in the shade to rest.’

Nt^hangú/ chuunzi/ 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’.)

Peteeyi/ we/ khkalan^ha khpumula. ‘How can you sit down to rest?’

Pumiilopó/ shfunga safari/ kuruuda/ ka moojé. ‘After he rested, he prepared for a journey to return to his master.’

Wakh^hi 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/ wak^hti/ wa khpo^hteza/ laakini/ chiwenopo kuwa chofeet^é/ mwaalimu/ shpumuuze. ‘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**]

kh^htomola 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.’

Bareto mp^huundrá/ hapaandri/ farasi. ‘A person accustomed to riding a donkey does not ride a horse.’ (A proverb.)

Juha/ oloshole 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.)’

Alí/ ha’ofati/ hufanya kaazi/ kana mp^huundra. ‘Ali does not get Tired, he works like donkey.’

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 mubli ‘a he-donkey’

mp^huundraa muke ‘a she-donkey’

Mp^huundra uyu/ siwo/ takunfanyilizo kaazi. ‘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^hundra yaawo** ‘their donkey’; **mp^huundraza** ‘my donkeys’,
mp^huundrazo ‘your donkeys’, **mp^huundraze** ‘his or her donkeys’,
mp^hundra ziitu ‘our donkeys’, **mp^hundra ziinu** ‘your (pl.) donkeys’,
mp^hundra zaawo ‘their donkeys’) **but can have cII agreement as well,**
correct?

Mukhta wo/ **walazilo chibulooni/ mzeele/ chimpandra mp^huundra.** ‘When they
left the village, the old man rode the donkey.’

Uzile mp^hundra ikumi/ uziló. ‘He bought ten donkeys, that’s what he did.’

We/ ni mp^huundra. ‘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 kaandra.** ‘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/ leselo 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/ leseló/ 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.’
(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!?)

ye/ nakhpiko mpuungá ‘while she was cooking rice’ or **ye/ nakhpikó/ mpuunga** (The latter form illustrates that emphasis on the verb in the case of an adverbial relative clause construction triggers the Accentual Law of Focus;. It might appear that ALF is not obligatory, as GM also accepted **ye/ nakhpikó/ mpuungá**. However, more complex data involving double object constructions suggest that perhaps this unexpected final H is restricted to the last NP and does not reflect an optional suspension of ALF. See, for example, the discussion under **-pikila** ‘cook for’ and **-wakila** ‘build for’.)

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] (**pungushile**) 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. **puunguka** SSED 390] (**-pungukiliile**)

Ajabu/ nt^haykuwapungukila/ kumwona celo/ 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.’

Maali/ yampungukiliile. ‘I was short of money.’

Maayi/ yamp^hungukiliile. ‘The water diminished/decreased (on) me.’

Mwaana/ waliko hodaari/ na akhili/ liini/ shchimpungukila. ‘The boy was clever and wits never were less with him.’

Peesa/ zimpungukiliile. ‘I was short of money.’

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/

nampungulilo. ‘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] (**pungiile**) lessen, decrease, be less than required; be missing

Amá/ ni/ wanaadamu/ hanpuunguli/ kuwa mijiinga. ‘O, you humans, you are stupid [lit. you do not decrease to be stupid].’

Akhili/ zimpungiile. ‘He had a mental lapse (at that time).’

Chilanga/ 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/ spungile.** ‘The money is not as much (as needed).’
- Peesa/ zinakhpuungula.** ‘The money is not as much as needed.’
- Ulaazo/ upungiile.** ‘The pain has decreased.’
- Wo/ wamereje mwaana/ nakhpuunguló.** ‘They searched for the missing child.’ Or: **Mwaana/ nakhpuunguló/ mereela.** ‘The missing child was searched for.’
- 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. **punguza** SSED 390] (**pungüize**) 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. (**-pungüiza**)
- 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** known to GM.) v. intr. (**punushile**) capsize (of a boat) (This verb was provided by MI, but is not known to GM.)
- rel.
- kh-punuḷoowa** 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’
- Nt^haná/ 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/ hadirki/ 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'* ideo. [usually pron. **kha'**]
Hamadi/ tuushile/ vundishile mkono/ kha'. 'Hamadi fell and broke (his) hand, *kha'*'
- qa'ida* n. [Sw. kaida, *kawaida* SSED 180; Ar. *qā'ida* W 780] a regulative principle
kurasha kha'ida 'to follow the recognized custom, the usual practice'
- qa'isha* v. (**kha'ishiize**) convince; [usu. pron. *kha'isha*]
Mi/ hutosha/ kuwaa mi/ hutasawara/ kuda'aa jeza/ yaa mi/ nimkha'ishizoo ye/ kichisaydaa si. 'I think I may claim the credit (lit. reward) for having convinced him to help us.'
- m-qaabala* in the phrase:
mkitabala ya (or: **wa**)... 'in front of, opposite to'
- qabaa'ili* (*ma-*) n. [Sw. *kabila* (*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. *qabīḥ* W 737] repulsive, foul, mean; [usually pron. **khabiihi**]
Sheekhi/ ni muunt'u/ qabihi. 'Sheekhi is a mean person.'
- qaabila* v. [Sw. *kabili* SSED 164; Ar. *qabila* W 739-40] (**khabiliile**) approach someone; welcome, embrace someone; be near, close to (of death); confront, oppose, defy, be contradictory
Khaadimu/ chimwaambila/ keendra/ kumkhabila waawaye/ na kumwambila jilá. 'The servant told him to go and approach his father and tell him the truth.'
Nimkhabiliile. 'I approached him.'
Khabiliile kufa. 'He was close to death.'
kumkhaabila 'to embrace someone'
Shkhabiliile/ ka ihtaraamu. 'He received us with compassion.'
rel.
qabiliila v. appl. (**khabiliile**)
qabiloowa v. pass.
Khasaara/ humpato mooyi/ huqabiloowa/ na qabiila/ nzimaye/ na iyi/ huleta waant'u/ pamooyi/ na huleta khpandanoowa. '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. (**khabileene**)
qabilika v. p/s. be approachable
qabilisha v. caus. (**khabilshiize**) make someone face something else
m-qabila (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who faces, confronts
Naani/ nakendro mkhabila baabá. 'Who is going to face the father (and tell him that his daughter wants to marry a poor man)?'
- qabiila* (*∅, ma-*) n. [Sw. *kabila* SSED 164; Ar. *qabila* W 741] clan, tribe; [pron. **qabiila** or **khabiila**]
Khabiiilaye/ chihaba. 'His clan is small.'
Kulawanganyowa waant'u/ ka khabiila/ amá/ ka maali/ amá/ kaa nguvu/ siwo.

‘People are not (should not be) differentiated by clan nor by wealth nor by power (but rather by the level of their knowledge, as a Chimiini proverb states).’

Mfaano/ wa want^hu awa/ ni ba’aōi ya makhabiila/ hukalo n^hi ya wahiindi. ‘An example of such people is some of the tribes who live in the land of the wahiindi.’

Ni khabilaa nk^hulu. ‘It is a large clan.’

Want^hu wa qabila mooyi/ huta^lowa kuwa ni waant^hu/ as^li yaawo/ mooyi/ na wa^lazilo ka chizazi chimooyi. ‘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/ hash^ttukuli/ khal^bi ziitu/ mukhta^a si/ huwo chinakhsaafirā. ‘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 ukhabiila/ ni kuwa want^hu wa khabila mooyi/ hiiwana/ ka ki^la amri/ wo/ husaaydana/ dhibu ya munt^hu mooyi/ wa khabiila/ 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/ u^lazile ka wanaadamu/ wo/ wenewe/ amó/ ka mahala yingineye/ ba/ unayo faayda/ na khasaarā. ‘Tribalism, whether it comes from human beings themselves or from some other place, has advantages and disadvantages.’

qabla

prep. [Sw. *kabla* (ya) SSED 164; Ar. *qablan* W 740] before (in time); [usu. pron. **khabla**]

Huseeni/ jile khabla ya Omari. ‘Huseeni ate before Omari [did].’ Or: **Huseeni/ jiile/ khabla ya Omari.** (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 Omari!?** The second example only has a simple yes-no question version in GM’s speech: **Huseeni/ jiile/ khabla ya Omari?** Notice that the complement to the verb undergoes Accent Shift.)

khabla ya isa ‘before now’

khabla ya kulla chiint^hu ‘before everything else’

khabla (y)a leelo ‘before today’

Khabla yaa sala/ ni laazimu/ khta^lowa uu^o. ‘Before praying it is necessary to take ablution.’

Muunt^hu/ laazima/ khfikira/ khabla yaa ye/ khfanya chiint^hu. ‘A man must think before he does something.’

Ndrazole (ka) numbaani/ khabla ya Nuuru. ‘I left the house before Nuuru.’ (This example illustrates a final-accent trigger in the verb. Cf. the default accent in:

Lazile (ka) numbaani/ khabla ya Nuuru. ‘He left the house before Nuuru.’)

Ni ’aadi/ kuzowa khpowa peesa/ khabla. ‘It is common to ask for payment in advance.’

Nile khabla ya Ali. ‘I came before Ali.’

Nile khablayé. ‘I came before him.’

Nvete haanzuyá/ mp^hiyá/ khabla kendra festaani. ‘I put on my new dress before going to the party.’

Ondroka khabla yaa ye/ kuuya. ‘Leave before he comes.’

Yuusufu/ chanza khfatisha/ mizigo/ ya mkulaze/ khabla 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; [usu. pron. **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 mtuumba khabri ye lasila liini [nt.] 'not even the grave digger was spared -- lit. when was even the grave digger spared?'

ilmu humsaayda saahibe khabriini [st.] 'knowledge helps the one who possesses it, (even) in the grave'

kamu mi nk'aleent'ho na wenye fakhari/ na wotte waweelo karka maqabri [st.] 'how many important people I sat with, and all finished in the grave'

Khabri/ inamniindra/ kilaa muunt'hu. 'The grave is waiting for every body.'

khtumba khabri 'to dig a grave'

kumzika khabriini 'to bury him in a grave'

Mart'i ziitu/ skomele khabriini. 'Our guests reached the graveyard.' (Observe that **mart'i** in the plural behaves as a [cl.10] noun in triggering the subject marker **zi-** on the verb; **zi-** of course is reduced to **s-** in front of a voiceless stop.)

Masheekhi/ na ma'aaḷimú/ ni waajiba/ kuzuroowa/ khabri zaawo/ kilā mwaaka. 'Religious scholars and knowledgeable people their tombs must be visited each year.'

Mtumba khabri/ mwiishowe/ huṭumbilowaa ye. 'The gravedigger's end is that somebody will dig [his graver] for him.' (A proverb.)

Mwaana/ chilata chakujaache/ shfakata/ choloka khabriini/ ka maamaye. 'The child left her food and ran to the grave of her mother.'

nt'aangú/ leeló/ hatá/ mi/ nch'hendra khabriini 'from today until I go to my grave (i.e. all my life)'

Sku yaa saba/ mtaana/ oyo/ chufkula khabri. 'On the seventh day the servant dug up the grave.'

Sulṭaani/ na winginiwé/ wamrashiizó/ wachingila khabriini/ wachizumbizowa mtaanga. 'The sultan and the others who followed him entered the tomb and they were covered with sand.'

Uko ḷpindro la khabri. '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.'

ma-qabrii=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 Aṭiikhi/

Abdurahmaani. 'The graveyard of Dada Masiiti is near the mosque of Atiikhi Abdurahmaani.'

makhabriini/ ka Shekh Abdulkhadiri 'Shekh 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
Hamadi/ qabuuli/ kaake/ itozeela. ‘Omari, permission, from his side, is lacking.’
Omari/ zoombo/ izo/ hadile qabuuli/ takuula. ‘Omari, those things, said: (I) agree, I will buy (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/ chihaba/ laakini/ qadiimu/ nt^ho. ‘Brava is a small town, but a very old one.’
Qabiila/ ni kalima/ qaadimu/ 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; [pron. **qadira** or **khadira**]
Mwajitu/ mkhadirile Nuuru/ khshiindra. ‘God destined Nuuru to win.’
rel.
qadirila v. appl. (**qadiriliile**) (of God) to destine someone
Mwaajitu/ mkhadiriliile 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/ ikhadirila na mwaajitu. ‘His winning was destined by God.’
qadiroowa v. pass. (**qadiriila**) be destined
Khshiindrake/ ikhadirila na mwaajitu. ‘His winning was destined by God.’
- qaadira** v. [Ar. *qadara* W 745] (**qadiriile**) [pron. **qaadira** or **khaadira**] be able to, manage;
in the negative habitual (**skhaadiri, hukhaadiri, hakhaadiri**, etc.): be sick, ill
Mzele uy/ khadirileeyi/ kumpandra mp^huundra/ na kumlaṭa mwaaná/ chihaba uyú/ kiineendrá. ‘This old man, how could he ride the donkey and let this small child walk?’
munt^hu hakhaadiri ‘a sick person (lit. a person who is not able to do)’
Nuuru/ khadirile khshiindra. ‘Nuuru managed to win.’
rel.
qadirika v. p/s.
Koodize/ haskhadiriki. ‘His language is unintelligible; you can’t believe his words (i.e. he lies); he speaks obscenely (lit. his words cannot be estimated).’
qadirisha v. caus. (**qadirishiize**) enable
qadiroowa v. pass. (**qadiriila**)
- 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/ shkhubaḷa/ na chimpa peesa/ khadari yaa ye/ ṭulubiiló. ‘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/ ukiiwe/ chiwuje/ ye/ mwenewe/ naa ndovú/ nakulangaló/ chimaliza/ bakayle/ shteka maayi/ qadri/ yaa ye/ suḷiiló. ‘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 waṭaano/ wa’ile. ‘As many as five people have come.’ Or: **Khadri ya want^hu waṭaano/ wa’iló.** ‘(There are) as many as five people who have come.’

khfanya qadri ‘to make an estimate’

Khushikiḷiilé/ khadari ya mwaaka/ isa/ imaliize/ basi/ oloka/ mera kaazi/ yaa we/ khfaanya/ na wanawakewo. ‘I gave you a period of time of one year, now, it is finished, so go and look for work that you can do together with your daughters.’ (Observe the absence of the first person singular subject marker *ni* in front of the *khu* object marker. The absence of the SM here does not represent a phonological process; prefixes do not elide their high vowel when they stand in front of an OM. Phonologically, we would expect **nikhushikiḷiilé**. The null subject prefix that we observe here is a morphologically-conditioned variant.)

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.’

qaaḍa

adj. [cf. Ar. *qaḍā* "to decide, impose as a duty" W 771] obligatory, unavoidable; of a prayer whose prescribed time has passed’ [pron. *qaaḍa* or *khaaḍa*]

mowṭi ni qaaḍa ni amri ya haakimu [st.] ‘death is obligatory, it is an order of God)

sala hayjuuzi shfarama kundripila/ wala qaaḍa mayṭi chifa kumsaḷila [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 qaaḍa ‘perform a prayer’

qaaḍi (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/ chimwishtaka. ‘He went to a judge to sue her.’

Khaaḍi/ chimwaambila/ Safiya... ‘The judge said to Safiya...’

Makhaaḍi/ na ma’akhyaari/ wa muuyi/ wote/ sultaani/ wapele khabari/ wa mowṭi 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 the death of the gazelle and told them to prepare for a journey to go quickly with him to his daughter.’

Mwaanawá/ kanaa we nakhsuḷa kuloolá/ waako/ waana/ wa mawaziiri/ na wa maqaaḍi/ waako/ wanaashke/ wa want^hu wa mataajiri/ 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?’

Sultaani/ 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.’

qafasi n. 9/10 cage; [pron. qafasi or khafasi]
Hamadi/ fanyize khafasi/ ya chuuma/ kuwatīla nk^hukuze. ‘Hamadi made an iron cage to put his hens in.’
Omari/ stile ndiwa/ khafasiini. ‘Omari put pigeons in the cage.’
Omari/ uzile khafasi/ yaa nyunyi. ‘Omari bought a bird cage.’
rel.
sh-qafasi (s-) n. 7/8
Shpeleshelopo numbaani/ shfanyilize shqafasi/ natetee 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.’
Omari/ hupeenda/ kuqahira waant^hu. ‘Omari likes to give people a hard time.’
rel.
qahirisha v.
Jawabu iyo/ inakukhahirisha waant^hu. [H!H] ‘That thing is giving people a hard time.’

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’
Waant^hu/ wa Mwiini/ wapisile qahri/ niingi/ hera ya qahooti/ Mambasa.
‘The people of Brava endured a lot of hardship/ coercion etc. in a refugee camp in Mombasa.’

qaja’ ideo.
Mwenye/ vuzilee luti/ qaja’. ‘Menye broke the stick, *qaja’*!’

qajajaq ideo.
Omari/ jawaabu/ ka tartaibu/ ba/ hafaanyi/ kaaziye/ ni qajajaq! ‘Omari does not do things calmly, his job (i.e. his way of doing, his behavior) is hectic/rapid/unorganized.’

qakhooti n. [Som. *qaxooti* "refugees" (collective noun) DSI 495] refugee; [pron. **qakhooti** or **khakhooti**]
Waant^hu/ wa Mwiini/ wa’ile Ameerika/ kamba qahooti. ‘The people of Brava came to the United States as refugees.’

qalbi n. [Ar. *qalb* W784] heart; [pron. **qalbi** or **khalbi**]
Baaba/ chiskitika 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/ khaḷbi/ 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/ khaḷbi.** and **Khaḷbi/ inambiga Hasani.** In both of these constructions, the verb is somewhat raised in pitch and the following element is strongly lowered.)

Hasani/ khaḷbi/ imsimeeme. ‘Hasani’s heart has stopped -- i.e. he has had cardiac arrest, a heart attack.’

hinzizi ya qaḷbi ‘vessel or nerve of the heart’

Huṭomoló/ ni khaḷbi/ siwo/ uṭaajiri. ‘That which gives is the heart, not wealth.’ (A proverb.)

kangamila qaḷbi ‘to suffer, get hurt (inside one)’

katuḷowa khaḷbi ‘a heart operation (lit. cutting of the heart)’

Omari/ nakatuḷowa khaḷbi. ‘Omari is having a heart operation.’

khaḷbi/ khfakata ‘heart to run’

Khaḷbiye/ nakhfakata. ‘His heart is racing.’

khaḷbi/ khsimama ‘heart to stop’

Khaḷbi/ imsimeeme. ‘His heart stopped.’

khaḷbi noloolo ‘a soft heart (e.g. easily affected)’

khaḷbi nyulusi ‘a black heart (said of someone whose heart is not good, someone who wishes to do bad etc.)’

Khaḷbiye/ ða’iifu. ‘His heart is weak’

Khaḷbiye/ miinza. ‘His heart is dark (i.e. he is gloomy, depressed).’

Khaḷbiye/ ni furhaani. ‘His heart is happy.’

Khaḷbiye/ ni mahazuuni. ‘His heart is sad.’

Khaḷbiye/ nuumu. ‘His heart is hard (i.e. he is not kind).’

Kheeri/ kufa maato/ kama kufa khaḷbi. ‘Better to lose one’s eyes than to die in the heart.’ (A proverb.)

khfunga khaḷbi ‘to tighten the heart – i.e. **to check one’s emotions**’

Maamo/ fiile/ Haliima/ funga khaḷbiyo. ‘Your mother has died, Haliima, **tighten your heart (do not cry etc.)**’

khkoða na khaḷbi ‘to speak to oneself’

Omari/ nt^hangú/ mukeewe/ fiiló/ hukooða koði na khaḷbiye/

imwingile waswaasi. ‘Omari, since his wife died, talks to himself, he has become suspicious, hesitant, uncertain.’

khsimika khaḷbi ‘to not be afraid, lift up one’s courage’

Omari/ mambile Hamadi/ simika khaḷbi/ 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 khaḷbiyo/ ondroka/ faanya/ kazi iyo. ‘Take courage, stand up and do that job.’

khṭufa khaḷbi ‘lit. to spit the heart – i.e. dare, have the courage to do s.t.’

Muunt^hu/ chisuḷa khfanya chiint^hu/ haṭalamitaḷami/ huṭufa

khaḷbi/ mara mooyi/ hufaanya. ‘If one wants to do s.t., he does not hesitate, he finds the courage (lit. spits heart) one time and does it.’

Omari/ ṭufile khaḷbi/ uzile/ nuumba/ iyo/ ya Hamadi. ‘Omari

has dared, he has bought that house of Hamadi’s.’

khtila qaḷbiini ‘(lit.) to put into the heart, i.e. to have the intention to do s.t.’

Nṭhile qaḷbiini/ kendra hijjá/ mwaka uyú. ‘I have the intention of going to the pilgrimage this year.’

kulla mo waswaasi khkooða na qaḷbiye [nt.] ‘every one is prey to fear

and talks to his heart’

kubiga qaḷbi ‘to race (of the heart)’

Khaḷbi(ya)/ inakumbiga. ‘My heart is beating me – i.e. is racing.’

Khaḷbi(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.’

kubla khalbi ‘to discourage (lit. kill the heart)’; also: **kubleka khalbi Hamadi/ ni mintjidi/ mwenye go’aani/ ha’ubleki/ khalbi/ shjinda go’aani/ hufaanya.** ‘Hamadi is a tough, stubborn man, decisive, he cannot be discouraged, if he decides to do something, he does it.’

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 nthaku/ 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’ (also: **khsimikowa qalbi,**

khsimikika khalbi)

Hamadi/ msimishile mwaanawe/ khalbi/ kingila imtjhaani. ‘Hamadi encouraged his son to enter/take the exam.’

Hamadi/ ni moloolo/ hakhaadiri/ chiintu/ hasimikiki/ khalbi/ hatá/ shfanyaayi. ‘Hamadi is soft, he is not able to do anything, he cannot be encouraged even (lit.) if you do how – i.e. whatever you do.’

Muuntu/ chisimikowa khalbi/ hukhaadira/ khfanya chiintu. ‘If one is encouraged he is able to do something.’

Muuntu/ suura/ kumsimika walaaliwe/ khalbi. ‘It is good for one to encourage his brother.’

kumtila qalbi ‘to encourage someone (to do s.t.)’

Hamadi/ mtile Ali/ khalbi/ ye/ kuwaka nuumba. ‘Hamadi encouraged Ali to build a house.’

kurasha qalbi ‘to follow one’s desires’

kuvunda qalbi ‘to discourage’

Ali/ hashoratoowi/ chiintu/ daa’imu/ huvunda waant’u/ khalbi. ‘Advice is not sought from Ali, he always discourages people.’ (Notice that with a plural [cl.2] indefinite noun like **waant’u**, there is no object marking on the verb. In the case of a singular [cl.1] indefinite noun like **muunt’u**, the object marker must occur. In this example sentence, one could also say **humvunda muunt’u**, and the object marker would be used.)

kuvundika qalbi ‘to be discouraged, give up hope, have one’s heart broken’; also: **kuvundikowa khalbi**

Jawaabu/ ya manfa’a/ muunt’u/ chisula khfaanya/ hufanyowa ka hima/ nth’aasá/ ya kuvundikowa khalbi. ‘If one wants to do something useful, it should be done quickly, before one is discouraged (by naysayers).’

Mfanya kaazi/ vundishile qalbi. ‘The worker was discouraged.’

Siwo suura/ kuvundowa muunt’u/ khalbi. ‘It is not good to break s.o.’s heart.’ Or: **Siwo suura/ kuvundoowa/ muunt’u/ khalbi.**

Waliko qalbi/ imvundishile. ‘He was discouraged.’

kuwaamo/ qalbiini ‘to have the intention, wish, resolution (to do

something)

Iwaalimo/ qalbiini/ kaaka/ keendra/ hija. ‘I had the intention to go on pilgrimage.’

kuwanayo qalbi ‘lit. to have the heart, meaning: to have courage’

Hamadi/ ntʰaná/ khalbi/ ya kooweja. ‘Hamadi does not have the courage to swim.’

Ntʰaná/ qalbi. ‘He does not have courage, he is not brave.’

Lawa/ khurude mutini/ 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’

maraði 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/ ʰhayimo/ khalbiini/ kaaka. ‘That thing (lit.) is not in my heart – i.e. I am not interested in that thing.’

Muuntʰu/ yimo kaaké / khalbiini/ ntʰaku/ hiiwó/ shokuwa mojiitu. ‘What is in a person’s heart no one knows except God.’ (A proverbial saying.)

Na madakhṭari/ wote/ wamwaambile/ ya kuwa ntʰaku/ 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 chiintʰu. ‘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/ iskirihe. ‘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 maraði yaa chita/ wana wazima/ maraði 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 inakhpeendó/ 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; [usu. *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 gani/ nyulusi/ zibeeló. ‘Which black pens are lost?’

khalamu iyi ‘this pen’ (cf. **khalamu izi** ‘these pens’)

Khalamu/ ivunziḷa na Omari. ‘The pen was broken by Omari.’

Khalamu izo/ nyulusi/ ni suura. ‘Those black pens are nice.’

Khalamu iyi/ ndaakó. ‘Is this pen yours?’

Khalamu/ niyushiizé. ‘The pen, I hid it.’

Khalamu ya Aziizi/ ivundishile. ‘Aziizi’s pen broke.’

khalamu ya biiro ‘ballpoint pen’

khalamu yaa dawa ‘fountain pen’

khalamu ya maṭiita ‘pencil’

khalamu 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.)

khalamu za kaloora ‘crayons’

khalamuya ‘my pen’ (cf. **qalamuza** ‘my pens’)

Khalamuza/ nyulusi/ zont^he/ zibeeló. ‘All my black pens are lost.’

Muke/ kasiizopó/ tete lwarakha/ na khalamú/ 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.’ (In the possessive construction **Haliima/ khalamuye** ‘Haliima, her pen’, the third person singular enclitic $\Rightarrow y-e$ must refer to **Haliima**, it cannot refer to some other individual.) [review this point](#)

Nyunzile khalamu ya Aziizi. ‘I broke Aziizi’s pen.’

Omari/ andishilee khaṭi/ ka khalamu. ‘Omari wrote a letter with a pen.’

Vunzile khalamu. ‘He broke the pen.’

Ye/ nakhsula khalamu nyulusi/ mbili. ‘He wants two black pens.’

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. *qalil* W 783] little, few

Mazu/ sku izi/ sukhuuni/ qaliili. ‘Bananas nowadays at the market are few.’

wafarama haqi na wo qaliili [st.] ‘those who counsel righteousness, and they are few’

i-qaama

n. (cf. **qiima**, below) call to prayer: when the congregation has assembled in the mosque, having been called to prayer by the **aḏaana** (diffused by loudspeaker), the faithful are invited to stand and start prayers; this invitation is called **iqaama** and is uttered inside the mosque and in a lower (normal) voice; [pron. **iqaama** or **ikhaama**]

qamari

n. an attribute, name for the Prophet (usually found in poetry); moon (again, usually only used in poetry)

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’

rebeelo mtume wiitu mweema qamari [st.] ‘the one who prohibited it is our good Prophet **qamari**’

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 mahala/ ya majini/ wanakheteza khamaari. 'That night he left and went to the place where the djinns were gambling.'

Omari/ sheteza khamari/ mukhetaa ye/ mweno askari/ fakeete/ fagax!/ mahala ye/ ingiilo/ tozela. 'Omari was gambling; when he saw police (coming), he ran away fast, *fagax!* whatever place he went into, he was not seen (i.e. he could not be found).'

Ye/ chiwona majini/ miingi/ yakumangeene/ kheteza 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 maqaamu. 'Once upon a time there was an important businessman having wealth and high social position.'

Maqaamu ya Ibraahiimu yiiko Makka/ takuhijo takhata niingi Baraka [st.] 'the sacred place of Abraham is in Mecca (and) the pilgrims (lit. the one who will go on pilgrimage) will obtain many blessings'

Nayo maqaamu makulu/ ka sarkaali. 'He has a high position in the government.'

Ni mwenye maqaamu. 'He is a person of high rank.'

We/ zaa we/ namfaanyo/ siwo/ maqaamuyo/ wala/ 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] (**khani'iile**) persuade; [usu. pron. **khani'a**]

rel.

qani'isha v. caus. (**khani'ishiize**) persuade; [usu. pron. **khani'isha**]; variant forms:

khana'isha, khan'isha

Nimjaribiile/ kumkhan'isha/ Omari. 'I tried to persuade Omari.'

Nimkhan'ishiize/ Hamadi/ tu/ kuwa Haliima/ kodele wanaafakhi. 'I persuaded only Hamadi that Haliima had lied.'

Nimkhan'ishiize/ Hamadi/ tu/ kuwaa ye/ laazimu/ kuya festaani. 'I persuaded only Hamadi that he should come to the party.'

Nimkhan'ishiize/ Hamadi/ tu/ kuya festaani. [HHH!H] 'I persuaded only Hamadi to come to the party.' (Typically the complement of an emphasized verb would exhibit radical downstepping. But in this example, *Hamadi* is not downstepped. This is presumably a consequence of the fact that *Hamadi* is *tu*-marked.)

Nimkhani'ishize Nuuru/ kooloka. 'I persuaded Nuuru to go.' (Cf. default accent: **Boora/ mkhani'ishize Nuuru/ kooloka.** 'Boora persuaded Nuuru to go.'

Nimkhani'ishize Nuurú/ kuwaa ye/ ʔakhpita imʔihaani. '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: **Nimkhani'ishize Nuurú/ kuwaa ye/ ʔakhpita imʔihaaní.**)

Waalimu/ wamkhana'ishize Muusa/ leelo/ mi/ kingila skooʔa. 'The teachers persuaded Muusa today (to allow) me to enter school.'

Wazelewe/ wamkhana'ishize Muusa/ leelo/ kingila skooʔa. '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 skooʔa.** '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.'

qaanuuni

n. 9/10 [Sw. *kanuni* SSED 173; Ar. *qānūn* W 737] custom, rule, law, regulation of a civil nature as opposed to religious; [usually pronounced: **khaanuuni**] (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.)

Khanuuni/ laazimu/ kuwa waaðehe/ na kilaa muunt^hu. 'The rules should be clear to everyone.'

khanuni yaa nt^hi 'the laws of the land'

Mi/ hukahaʔa/ khanuni iyi. [HH!H] 'I hate this custom.' Or: **Khanuni iyi/ mi/ hi'ikahaʔa.** [H'H'H] 'This custom, I hate it.' (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.'

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/ qap. 'Hamadi went out of the house angrily, he slammed the door shut **qap!**'

Hamadi/ funzile mnaango/ kaa nguvu/ bishile/ qap. 'Hamadi closed the door with force, he hit it **qap!**'

qaaq

ideo. [pron. **qaaq!** or **khaakh!**]

Haliima/ kaawo/ numbaani/ icholokoowa/ ba/ nk^heje za waana/ wanaakuʔa/ qaaq!/ ha'ikaʔaant^hiki/ ba. 'Haliima's house, whenever you go, there is noise, children are crying **qaaq!** You cannot sit, rest, relax.' (A bimoraic, monosyllabic ideophone like

qaaq! is like its monomoraic counterpart raised in pitch and phrasally separated from the word preceding and the word following. What is most notable prosodically is that the high pitch is sustained over both moras of the ideophone: [qááq].)

qaraaba

n. [Ar. *qarāba* "relation, kinship" W 754] family; a more distant relative than that covered by the term **ahji**; [usu. pron. **kharaaba**]

Ahji/ na kharaabá/ woʔe/ wako haaðiri. 'Relatives, close and distant, were all there.'

Kharaaba/ hegemeshoowa. 'Relatives are welcome.' (A saying.)

Omari/ kharaabaze/ (ni) wiingi. ‘Omari, his relatives are many.’
Siwo/ suura/ muunt^hu/ khtinda kharaaba. ‘It is not good for one to cut off relatives.’
 rel.
u-qaraaba n. 14

qar(a)ði

n. [Sw. *karadha* SSED 174; Ar. *qardo* "loan of money or food" DSI 490] loan of money; [usu. pron. **khar(a)ði**]
Kharaði/ ni waajibu/ kulipoowa/ ka wakhtiwe. ‘A loan must be paid back in due time.’
khpa khar(a)ði ‘to give a loan’
Omari/ mpele Hamadi/ kharaði/ kulipa ba’adi ya mwaaka. ‘Omari gave Hamadi a loan to pay back after a year.’
khtomola khar(a)ði ‘to give a loan’
khtala khar(a)ði ‘to take a loan’

qaribila

v. (**kharibiliile**) go near to, go close to; be almost; [usu. pron. **kharibila**]
Kamaa we/ shishi^laa ndalá/ amó/ nakuwamere^la waanawó/ chaakujá/ ruda mukhta^a 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.’
Kharibili^lee kufa. ‘He was almost dead.’
Si/ shchipata kumwona/ sultani waa noka/ sh^takuwa shkharibili^lilé/ mradi wiitu. ‘If we get to see the king of snakes we will have neared our goal.’
Uki/ ukharibili^lee kumala. ‘The honey was almost finished.’
 rel.
qaribisha v. caus. welcome; [usu. pron. **kharibisha**]
Chilawa ndilaani/ chimkharibisha muunt^hu. ‘He went outside and welcomed the man.’
Chimkharibisha Yuusufu. ‘He welcome Joseph; he brought Joseph close.’
Kharibisha. ‘Welcome!’
Sultaani/ chilawa kumkharibisha Sultani Daraayi. ‘The sultan went out to welcome Sultan Daraayi.’

qariibu

n. 9/10 [Sw. *karibu* SSED 175; Ar. *qarīb* W 754] near, close; just recently; [pron. **qariibu** or **khariibu**]
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’
Kalent^he kharibu ya nuumba ‘He sat near a/the house.’ Or, with verb focus:
Kaleent^he/ kharibu ya nuumba.
kharibu izi ‘these environs’
khariibu/ kanaa mp^hula/ na mnómó ‘as close as the nose and the lip’
kharibu na [Sw. *karibu na* “near” SSED 175]
kharibu naami ‘near me’; **kharibu naasi** ‘near us’
khariibu/ naa duka ‘near the shop’
khariibu/ na nuumba ‘near the house’
kharibu/ na skoolá ‘near the school’

kharibu ya [Sw. *karibu ya* “near” SSED 175]
Apo/ khariibu/ ya muuyi/ ziwaaliko/ zisima/ ziingi/ ntho/ 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.**
kharibu ya muuyi ‘near the city’
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’
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/ shomola salaamu. ‘When he reached near (the donkey), he extended his greetings.’
Mbaliko Keenyá/ khariibu. ‘I have been to Kenya recently.’
Mi/ nt^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/ nt^hakhpata chibuuku/ kharibu yiinu.** ‘You (pl.) will find a book near you.’ **Wo/ w^takhpata chibuuku/ kharibu yaawo.** ‘They will find a book near them.’)
Mi/ siná/ shaka/ kuwa poliisi/ w^takuuya/ khariibu. ‘I have no doubt that the police will arrive soon.’
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’
mwana waa mi/ simemo kharibu naa yé... ‘the child whom I stood near him...’
 (This is an acceptable relative clause, but MI preferred: **mwana waa mi/ simemo khariibuyé...**)
Nakhtarajá/ kumwona maame/ khariibu. ‘I am looking forward to seeing my mother soon.’
ndila ya khariibu ‘a nearby road’
Nii ndruwa/ ka khariibu. ‘He is my close relative.’
ndru wa qariibu ‘near relative’
ngombe yaa mi/ nsimemo khariibuyé... ‘the cow that I stood near it...’ (The alternative version of this is **ngombe yaa mi/ nsimemo kharibu naayé...** It is important to emphasize that the *ye* here is the [cl.1] pronoun and not the [cl.1] possessive enclitic. The example below makes this point clear.)
ngombe zaa mi/ nsimemo khariibuzé... ‘the cows that I stood near them...’ (Note that the alternative version of this is: **ngombe zaa mi/ nsimemo naazó...** ‘the cows that I stood near them’, where the pronoun *zo* is employed, not the possessive enclitic: **ngombe zaa mi/ nsimemo kharibu naazé...**)
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 nuumba/ 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/ kharibu/ ya nuumba.** (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.’

Numba yaawo/ yiko kharibu ya numba yiitu. ‘Their house is near our house.’

Omari/ khariibu/ kuuya. ‘Omari is going to come shortly.’ Or: **khariibu/ Omari/ kuuya.** (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/ kuuyá!?**)

Omari/ komeele/ khariibu/ sa’a ya sala ya fijri. ‘Omari arrived about the time of the morning prayers.’

Omari/ komele kharibu ya muskiti. ‘Omari arrived near the mosque.’ Or: **Omari/ komele khariibu/ ya muskiti.** ‘Omari arrived *near* the mosque.’ Or, with verb focus: **Omari/ komeele/ kharibu ya muskiti.** or **Omari/ komeele/ khariibu/ ya muskiti.** (The first person forms of these phrases are instructive: **Nk^homele kharibu ya muskiti.** Or: **Nk^homele khariibú/ ya muskiti.** Or: **Nk^homeelé/ kharibu ya muskiti.** Or: **Nk^homeelé/ khariibu/ ya muskiti.** These examples show that it is possible to focus the head of the associative phrase: **kharibu 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.’ (The pitch on **khariibu** is raised.)

Omari/ lazile kharibu ya masku. ‘Omari left near night time.’ (The simple yes-no question involves no accent shift, while the exclamatory question shifts the accent of the verb phrase: **Omari/ lazile kharibu ya maskú!?**)

Omari/ lazile/ kharibu ya masku. ‘Omari left around night-time.’ (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/ kharibu ya masku** (or: **maskú?**))

Omari/ lazile Mkhodiisho/ kharibu ya masku. ‘Omari left for Mogadishu around night-time.’ (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/ kharibu ya maskú!?**)

Omari/ lazile/ Mkhodiisho/ kharibu ya masku. ‘Omari *left* for Mogadishu about night-time.’ (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/ kharibu ya masku?**)

Sisoongé/ kharibu ya nuumbaya. ‘Don’t come near my house.’

Suufi/ ondrosheze chaakuja/ kharibu ya siimba. ‘Suufi took the food away from near the lion.’

Wabjaana/ hufanyo kaazi/ Mkhodiishó/ amó/ mahaḷa ziinginé/ kharibu khariibú/ kila 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. **Ninenzelo kharibu yaa wowi**. ‘I walked near the river.’)
- wowi yaa muti/ wiko khariibuyé** ‘the river that the tree is near’ (cf. **Muti/ wiko kharibu yaa wowi**. ‘The tree is near the river.’)
- mu-qariibu** n. stranger
Zahara/ nakhkooḍa/ tarafu ya mukhariibu. ‘Zahara is talking about the stranger.’
- qariha**
qariha or **khariha** v. tr. or intr. [Som. *qarxi* "to make s.t. explode" DSI 492] (**qarihiile**) explode; [pron. **qarira** v. [?Sw. *kariri* SSED 175; Ar. *qarra* W 751] decide on; [pron. **qarira** or **khariira**]
Apa/ wazele/ na wazaazi/ hukharira sku ya nikaaha/ ya haruusi/ na pesa za mwiimbili/ humlazimo khtomola 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 wazelewe/ na ndruezazé/ wofé. ‘He decided to move from there to go far away from his parents and all his relatives.’
- qarni** n. [Sw. *karini* SSED 175; Ar. *qarn* W 760] century, one hundred years; [pron. **qarni** or **kharni**]
Karni mooyi/ ni miyakaa miya. [H!H] ‘One century is a hundred years.’
Pesa izo/ schitumikiḷoowa/ kharni za zamaani. [H!H!H] ‘Those coins were used in earlier centuries.’
- qartaasi** n. [Sw. *karatasi* SSED 175; Ar. *qartas* W 757] a piece of paper; [pron. **qartaasi** or **khartaasi**]
Omari/ andishile inaye/ ilu ya khartaasi. [H!H!H] ‘Omari wrote his name on a piece of paper.’
Hamadi/ tukile khalamu/ na khartaasi. [H!H!H] ‘Hamadi carried a pen and paper.’
- qasabu** n. 9/10 [cf. Sw. verb *kashabi* "press sugar cane" SSED 175, with a suggested origin in Persian; Ar. *qaṣab* "sugar cane" W 766] sugar cane (though **muuwa** is the much more common word for sugar cane); [pron. **qasabu** or **khasabu**]
Miyuundra/ ya qasabu (or **muuwa/ miingi/ yachalowa Johari**). [H!H!H!H] ‘Many sugar cane farms were cultivated in Johari (a town near Mogadishu).’
Suukari/ hufanyowa ka qasabu (or **muuwa** or **miyuuwa**). [H!H] ‘Sugar is made of sugar cane.’
- qasiida** [Ar. *qaṣīda* W 767] a poem in Arabic or Chimiini, usually with a religious them (a synonym for **shṭeenzi**); [pron. **qasiida** or **khasiida**]
Haliima/ nakuleta khasiida/ za Daada Maasiṭi. [H!H!H] ‘Haliima is singing/ reciting/ reading (lit. bringing) poems of Daada Masasiṭi.’ (In this example, we did not hear any evidence of accent on **Daada**, but at the same time it did seem that there was some length on the first vowel, contrary to the usual principle of Vowel Shortening in Chimiini.)
Mowliidi/ huletoowa (or **husomoowa/ khasiida/ za mtume**). [H!H!H!H] ‘At the Prophet’s birthday celebration are sung the poems of the Prophet.’ (The intonational pattern of this example is of some interest. The critical aspect of the sentence is that the syntactic phrase **khasiida za mtume** is the postposed subject of the main verb **huletoowa** or **husomoowa**. Observe that this postposed subject is not phrased with the verb. What follows from that observation is that the verb is *not* at the end of the Phonological Phrase due to emphasis on the verb, but rather due to the fact that the postposed subject is not treated as part of the

VP. This lack of emphasis on the verb explains why it is downstepped relative to the initial word *mowlīidi*. An emphasized verb would not be downstepped. Note that we regard there to be downstep between the verb and the head of the Associative Phrase *khasiūda* and between this head and the AP *za mtume*.)

qasiidaya iṭimiile/ faataha inasomoowa [st.] ‘my poem is completed, let us recite the *faataha*’

qaasimu n. [Sw. *kasimu* SSED 176; Ar. *qāsim* W 763] divider; [pron. **qaasimu** or **khaasimu**] **Khaasimu/ laazimu/ kawanya hakhi**. [H'H!H] ‘One who divides things up must distribute things justly/ equally.’ (The predicate *laazimu* is regularly a PP isolate and subject to declination rather than downstep when it is preceded by its subject.)

qaasiri [cf. Ar. *qaṣura* "to be short" W 767 and *qaṣr* "shortening, diminution" W 768; note that Ar. *qāṣir* has a different meaning] minus, less, short by; [pron. **qaasiri** or **khaasiri**]

variant form: **qaasi** or **khaasi**

sa'aa mbili/ khaasi/ robo ‘7:45 a.m. (lit. a quarter before the second hour of the day)’ (but also: **khaasiri/ robo**)

sa'a moo(yi) / khaasi/ robo ‘a quarter to one (i.e. seven o'clock)’ (but also: **khaasiri/ robo**)

sa'aa nt^hatu/ khaasiri/ thuluthi ‘8:40 a.m. (lit. the third hour of the day minus a third)’

qasri n. [Ar. *qaṣr* W 768] palace, castle; [pron. **qasri** or **khasri**] **Apo/ wachendra karka qasri/ ya sulṭaani**. ‘There they went to the palace of the king.’

kana qasri ‘like a palace’

Omari/ washile numba/ kana qasri/ nakhfakhara/ kana sulṭaani. ‘Omari built a house like a castle, he is as proud as a king.’

Nuuru/ numba yaawo/ suura/ [↑]ikulu/ kana/ khasri. [H!H'H[↑]H'H!H] ‘Nuuru, their house (i.e. Nuuru’s family’s house) is good, big, like a castle.’

rel.

i-qasri (*mi-*) n. aug.

Hafa iyo/ yawashiḷa/ [↑]mijuumba/ mikulumikulu/ kama/ mikhasri. [H!H[↑]H'H!H] ‘That neighborhood, big houses have been built (there), like castles.’ (In this example, the syntactic phrase *mijuumba mikulumikulu* ‘big houses’ is the postposed subject of the verb *yawashiḷa* ‘[cl.4] were built’. This subject does not form a PP with the preceding verb. Although this verb is at the end of a PP, it does not constitute an emphasis-phrase. It is thus subject to downstepping, like any simple ϕ -phrase. The Head-R phrasing principle separates the head noun *mijuumba* from its modifier *mikumikulu*.)

qaati n. [Sw. *katu* SSED 179; Ar. *qāt* "Catha edulis Forskal" W 795] the leaves of a certain plant that are used as a narcotic; also called **jaati**; [pron. **qaati** or **khaati**]

Khaati/ inayo markhaani. [H!H] ‘**Khaati** has an euphoric effect.’

Khaati/ ni mamnuu'u/ Ameerika. [H'H!H] ‘**Khaati** is prohibited in America.’

kuja khaati ‘to chew [lit. eat] **qaati**’

Khaati/ hujowa Somaaliyá/ niingiye/ huya ka Keenya.

[H!H[↑]H!H] ‘Most of the **Khaati** eaten in Somalia comes from Kenya.’

Omari/ jile khaati/ markhaani. [H!H!H] ‘Omari ate **khaati**; he is hyper.’ (Although this example consists of two clauses: *Omari jile khaati* and *markhaani*, the latter being a predicate adjective with both a null subject and a null copular verb *ni*, nevertheless the two clauses are treated as a single Intonational Phrase. If *markhaani* were a separate IP, then its pitch level would be roughly the same as the preceding accented syllable; however, in fact, it is downstepped, at least in this particular implementation of the sentence.)

qati'utariiqi n. [Ar. *qaṭ' al-ṭariq* "highway robbery", see under *qaṭ'* W 776] brigand

Si/ shkumangeené/ na qati'utariiqi/ wiingi. ‘We met with many brigands.’

sandra says this word is not used check

- qaatila** v. [Sw. *katili* SSED 179; Ar. *qatala* W 742] kill, murder
rel.
qaatilila v. appl.
qaatiloowa v. appl. pass.
qaatiloowa v. pass.
qaatika v. p/s.
- qaatili** n., adj. killer
Isa/ majini/ ayaje/ ya tawala/ yasulilo kumshika Sa'iidi/ naayó/ ya'ile mbele ya sulṭaani/ yamlesele mayti/ yamlonzele sulṭaani/ naṭomole 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 mafakaṭo. 'They were telling him: stop, you killer, stop, you killer, but Sa'iidi ran faster.'
- 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. *qaṣd* W 767] intention
variant form: **qasṭi**
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] (**qene'eele**) be satisfied, esp. with food
rel.
qene'eka v. p/s. be convinced
Mubli/ shkhene'eka. 'The husband was convinced.'
qene'esha v. caus. [Sw. *kinaisha* SSED 198] (**qene'esheeze**) persuade
Ni muhaali/ kumkhene'esha Abooke. 'It is impossible to persuade Abooke.'
Or: **Kumkhene'esha Abooke/ ni muhaali.**
qene'esheka v. caus. p/s.
qene'esheleza v. caus. appl.
qene'eshoowa v. caus. pass.
Abooke/ khene'eshoowa/ ni muhaali. 'For Abooke to be persuaded is impossible.' Or: **Khene'eshowa Abooke/ ni muhaali.** Or: **Abooke/ ni muhaali/ khene'eshoowa.**
Abooke/ khene'eshoowake/ ni muhaali. 'Abooke's being persuaded is impossible.'
- qibla** n. [Sw. *kibla* SSED 186; Ar. *qibla* W 740] the direction to which Muslims turn in praying (towards the Ka'aba in Mecca)

Iyi/ nii du'a/ sheekhi/ humsoomó/: (hu)mwambila mayti/ kuwa isa/ tamiiló/ ni malaayka/ ştakumuuzá/ su'aali/ izi/ naani/ moojó/ naani/ mtumewo/ niini/ diiniyo/ niini/ khiblayo. 'This is the *du'a* that the sheikh reads to him: he tells the dead person that now the ones who will come to him are angels 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?'

Khibla yaa sala/ ni kulekeleowa/ ká'aba. 'The direction of praying is to be directed toward the *ka'aba*.'

uso kulekeza qibla haraamu [st.] 'for the face to be directed towards **qibla** is unlawful (while taking care of bodily needs)'

Qibtíya

n. a Copt; [pron. **Qibtíya** or **Khibtíya**]
chuzoowa maamaye hadaani Mariya/ uje hunasabiloowa Qibtíya [st.] 'if you are asked who was his mother, say: Mariya, who was a Copt by descent'
Waant'u/ awa/ ni Khibtíya. [H!H'H] 'Those people are Copts.'
Wazuungu/ wa Misra/ huviłowa Khibtíya. [H!H!H] 'The infidels of Egypt are called *khibtíya*.'

qiða

[pron. *qiða* or *khiða*]

v. [Sw. *kidhi* SEED 188; Ar. *qaḏā* W 771] (**khiðiiile**) reach, fulfill, accomplish a goal; left.'

Fulaani/ khiðile haajaye/ yolokeleele. 'So-and-so reached his goal and then

Nile [ku]khiða wakhtí/ naawé. 'I came in order to spend time with you.'

Or: **Nile [ku]khiðá/ wakhtí/ naawe.** (The infinitive prefix *ku* is obligatorily elided in front of a stem-initial *q* or *kh* in the speech of MI, and apparently other speakers as well. However, GM permitted its retention.)

qiða deeni 'to repay a debt'

qiða haaja 'to satisfy, achieve, resolve a need, accomplish a goal'

Khiðile haajaye. 'He achieved his need.'

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'

Wachoondroka/ washkhiða haja zaawo/ chimaliza/ washkalan^haa

kuja. 'They woke up and washed [lit. did the necessary things] and then sat down to eat.'

rel.

khiðoowa v. pass.

Inakukhiðowa 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.)

qíila

n. a statement (or religious tradition) not supported by strong evidence or reference
laakini qabri ya Ali i'ushiiza/ qíila huhada kuzimu panziza [st.] 'but Ali's grave was hidden; an unsupported tradition says that he was taken up to heaven'

qíima

v., n. [Sw. *kimu* SSED 198; Ar. *qāma* "perform ritual prayer" W 798-9] (**qíimiile**) announce the beginning of prayer in the mosque while people are standing (as compared to **aaðana**); [pron. **qíiima** or **khiiima**]

aðina ka lkele qíima ka hasili [st.] 'call to prayer loudly but announce the approaching of the time to pray in a low voice'

Khiiima/ na aaðaná/ siwo/ sawa. [H!H'H!H] '*khiiima* and *aaðana* are not the same.'

khimaa sala ‘to announce the beginning of prayers’

Sala ya shpiindri/ Hamadi/ khimiiló. [H!H!H] ‘Noon prayer, Hamadi called for it.’ (The intonation recorded for this example is one where there is downstep between the preposed object *salaya shpiindri* and the subject *Hamadi*. Ordinarily a pre-verbal sequence of Phonological Phrases exhibits declination rather than downstep. The downstep seen here indicates that *sala ya shpiindri* is focused. This is confirmed by the fact that the verb is in pseudo-relative form.)

rel.

khimoowa v. pass. for a prayer to be called for

Khiima/ hukhimowa mukhtạa sala/ isimeemá. [H!H!H] ‘*khiima* is called for when a prayer is being stood (i.e. while those about to pray are still standing).’

Sala/ nt^hasa ya khsaloowa/ hukhimoowa. [H!H!H] ‘Prayer, before being prayed, it must be called for.’

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

n. [Sw. *kima* SSED 196; Ar. *qīma* W 800] value, price; [pron. **qiima** or **khiima**]

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’

Kịla mooyi/ nimwambilopo khima ya eeloó... ‘Every time I told one the price of a gazelle..’

Marṭi/ ile/ uzilee chịta/ ka kaako/ na qiimayé/ weshele/ ilu / ya chịtaacho/ naawé/ ka apo/ khiriilé/ na isá/ nakuneelezá/ izi. ‘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.’

Omari/ koọdize/ nt^haziná/ khiima. [H!H!H!H] ‘Omari’s words do not have value/ meaning.’ (The intonational pattern exhibited in this example is interesting. The declination between the first two Phonological Phrases is the usual one between the two phrases constituting the NP+NP=poss construction (“so-and-so his such-and-such”, “such-and-such its such-and-such” when it occurs in initial position in the clause. The downstep exhibit by the negative ‘have’ verb *ntazina* is in contrast with the negative form of other verbs, which, when main clause verbs, typically show declination rather than downstep. The downstep shown by the complement to the negative verb is regular.)

rel.

qiimisha v. caus. value s.t.

Ismu/ ya muunt^hu/ huqiimisha/ chaake. [H!H!H!H] ‘Everyone values his thing.’

qimishilizoowa v., caus. appl. pass.

Haliima/ peshele shtakiche/ cha ðahabu/ dukaani/ khimishilizoowa. [H!H!H!H!H] ‘Haliima took her gold necklace to the shop to have it be evaluated for her.’

qimishoowa v. caus. pass.

Haliima/ peshele shtakiche/ cha ðahabu/ dukaani/ khimishoowa. [H!H!H!H!H] ‘Haliima took her gold necklace to the shop to be evaluated.’

qiiq

ideo.

Sheekhuná/ shishile gaari/ fariina/ kaa nguvu/ qiiq!/ khariibu/ kumbiga muunt^hu. ‘Sheekhuna pushed the car’s brakes with force, *qiiq!* he almost hit a man.’

qisa

n. 9/10 [Sw. *kisa* SSED 205; Ar. *qiṣṣa* W 765] story, tale, matter; [usu. pron.

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 suḷtaani/ waa noka/ kumfungụḷla 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.' (The lengthening of the vowel in front of **khisa** supports the proposition that gemination is not a lexical property of the **s** in this word. If **khisa** were in fact ***khissa** lexically, we would not expect lengthening to occur in front of it.)

khisa ya Hasiibu/ na sultani 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'iyi/ 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).'

Mi/ nanzize kuwa'ambila waaná/ khisá. 'I began telling the story to the children.'

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?'

Si/ shtakanza ka Abú/ khfungulaa khisa. 'We will begin with Abu telling us a story.'

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 noká/ chimwaambila/ kuwa khisaze/ nii ndre/ nt^ho. 'The king of snakes told him that his story was very long.'

qisaasi

n. [Sw. *kisasi* SSED 206; Ar. *qīṣāṣ* "settlement of account, punishment" W 766] revenge

kulapa kulipa khisaasi 'to swear revenge'

Lasile kulipa qisaasi. 'He swore to get revenge.'

kulipa khisaasi 'to revenge'

Lisile khisasi yaa ndruwe. 'He revenged his relative.'

Ndrisile khisasi yaa ndruwá. 'I revenged my relative.'

qishi

n. copying, cheating (on a test, e.g.)

khfanyaa khishi 'to copy, cheat'

Hamadi/ fanyizee khishi/ pisile imtihaani. 'Hamadi copied/ cheated and passed the exam.'

qisma

n. [cf. Ar. *qisma* W 763] share; division (in arithmetic); [pron. *qisma* or *khisma*] var. *qismu* 'ibid.' [usu. pron. *khismu*]

Hamadi/ peḷa khismu/ nk^hulu. 'Hamadi was given a bigger share.'

Kiḷaa muunt^hu/ takhpata khismuye. 'Everybody will get his share.'

Ḥama/ yawanyiiza/ Hamadi/ tete khisma/ nk^hulu. 'The meat has been divided up, Hamadi has taken a big share.'

We/ khismuyo/ huḡowi. 'You your share you won't miss it.'

Zoombo/ zawanyiiza/ kiḷaa mooyi/ tete khismaye. 'Things have been divided up, everyone has taken his share.'

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'

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] (**khiyasishiize**) measure, estimate, guess, give the value of **qiyaasisha na...** 'to measure against, compare'; [usu. pronounced **khiyaasisha**]
Mwaana/ khiyasishiize/ kuwa waant^hu/ waṭakiwa/ jawaabu. 'The boy guessed/thought that people would know the answer.'
Nuuru/ khiyasishiize/ ya waana/ wa'iwiló. 'Nuuru guessed what the children knew.'
- 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.'
Maadaama/ mi/ nt^heto khoowli/ skhaadira/ kulawa. 'Since I gave my 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. *qasḍ* 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; [pron. **quba** or **khuba**] (Note the absence of lengthening in front of a phrase-final occurrence of this noun, apparently a reflection of the gemination that occurs in the Arabic source but which is not maintained in the Chimiini pronunciation of the word.)
Kilaa muskiti/ inayo khuba/ na ka wiingi/ ni khuba akthari. [H!H!H!H] 'Every mosque has a dome, and most of the time it is a green dome.'
- qubala** v. [Sw. *kubali* SSED 225; Ar. *qabila* W 739] (**khubaliile**) accept, approve, agree; [usu. pron. **khubala**] (The examples below illustrate this this verb allows an infinitival complement. It does not permit a subjunctive complement:
***Khubaliile na'oloke numbaani.** 'He agreed that he should go home.' Nor:
***Khubaliile Hamadi/ na'oloke numbaani.** 'He agreed that Hamadi should go home.')
Bwaana/ shkhubala/ chiingila/ chija chakujaache/ maliizopó/ chilawa/ kendra mwiskitiini. '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/ shtakulaana. 'If you do not consent, I and you will fight one another.'

Khubalīle 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. **khubalīile** ‘he agreed’, **kooloka** ‘to go’, and **numba** ‘house’.)

Khubalīle kula chibuuku. ‘He agreed to buy a book.’

Khubalīle kumwosha mwaana. ‘He agreed to wash the child.’

Majini/ kama awo/ washkhubala. ‘The jinns, like them, agreed.’

Mi/ skukhaadira/ khubala. ‘I was not able to accept it.’

Mweenzawe/ shkhubala. ‘His friend agreed (to his proposal).’

Niskhubalīle zibuukú/ kuuzá. ‘I agreed the books to sell.’ **confirm**

Nk^hasiizé/ na nkhubalīilé. ‘I heard and I accept.’

Nkhubalīilé/ kula numba. ‘I agreed to buy the house.’ Or: **Nkhubalīilé/ numba/ kuula.** Or: **Nuuma/ kuula/ nkhubalīilé.** Or: **Nuumba/ nkhubalīilé/ 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.)

Nkhubalīle kumlola Tuumá. ‘I agreed to marry Tuuma.’

Nkhubalīle kuza zibuukú. ‘I agreed to sell the books.’

Nkhubalīle Nuurú/ kumlola Tuumá. ‘I agreed for Nuuru to marry Tuuma.’ Or with verb emphasis: **Nkhubalīilé/ kumlola Tuuma.** But also with object agreement on the main verb: **Nimkhubalīle Nuurú/ kumlola Tuumá.** ‘I agreed for him Nuuru to marry Tuuma.’ Or with verb emphasis: **Nimkhubalīilé/ Nuueu/ kumlola Tuuma.**

Nkhubalīle zibuukú/ kuuzá. ‘I agreed the books to sell.’

Omari/ khubalīle Hamadi/ kooloka. ‘Omari agreed to Hamadi going.’ (This would be a possible answer to the question: **Omari/ khubalīileni.** ‘What did Omari accept/ agree to?’)

Sa’iidi/ shkhubala/ sharti iyi. ‘Sa’iidi accepted this condition.’

Sitakhubala/ khpowa amri/ na elo/ 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/ nkhubalīilé. ‘That’s not bad, I accept (your offer).’

Sultaani/ shkhubala. ‘The sultan agreed.’

Yaa mi/ nhadiiló/ yaliko kuwa nt^haku/ muunt^hu/ yaliko kulawá/ bilaa yaa mi/ khubala. ‘What I said was that no one *was* to le without my permission.’

rel.

qubalīka v. p/s.

Uđuri uyu/ hawqubalīki. ‘This excuse is not acceptable.’

qubalīla v. appl. (**qubalīilē**)

qubalīsha v. caus. (**qubalīshiize**)

qubalīshana v. caus. rec.

qubalīshika v. caus. p/s.

qubalīshiliza v. caus. appl.

qubalīshilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

qubaloowa v. pass. (**qubalīila**) be agreed to

Mwaana/ qubalīla koshoowa. ‘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/ yaqubalīla kulowa na Ali.** ‘The cars were agreed to be bought by Ali.’ **Chibuuku/ shqubalīla kua kulooowa.** ‘The book was agreed to be bought.’ On the other hand, our consultant GM was not hesitant about accepting such sentences: **Zibuuku/ shkhubalīila/ khpishoowa.** ‘Books were agreed to be burned.’)

Nuuru/ khubalīla kumlola Tuuma. ‘Nuuru was accepted to marry Tuuma.’

Tuumá/ khubalīla kulolowa na Nuuru. ‘Tuuma was accepted to be married by Nuuru.’

Tuumá/ khubalīla Nuuru/ kumlola. ‘Tuuma was accepted for Nuuru to marry her.’

Uđuriwe/ nt^hawqubaloowa. ‘His excuse was not accepted.’

Waqubalīla na sultaani. ‘They were accepted by the sultan.’

- Zibuuku/ skhubajila kuzoowa.** 'The books were agreed to be sold.'
Zibuuku/ skhubajila/ mi/ kuuza. 'The books were agreed for me to sell.'
- rel. nom.
ma-qubalo n. 6 approval
- qubalo** n. act of accepting
- qudra** n. [Sw. *kudura* "strength, power, might -- but only in reference to God" SSED 225; Ar. *qudra* W 746] destiny, fate, divine will; willpower; [pron. **qudra** or more commonly **khudra**]
Ijtihaadi/ hayoondroli/ khudra. 'Effort cannot undo fate.' (A proverb.)
Ijtihaadi/ hayreebi/ khudra. 'Effort cannot stop fate.' (A proverb.)
Iyi/ ni khudra ya mwajitu. 'This is God's will.'
ni mooyi qudra ya mwajitu ndruuza [st.] 'God's divine will is unique, my brothers'
Nt^haná/ khudra. 'He has no will power.'
- qufuli** n. 9/10 [Sw. *kufuli* SSED 225; Ar. *qufi* W 782] padlock; [pron. **qufuli** or more commonly **khufuli**]
khfunga qufuli 'to lock'
khfungula qufuli 'to open a lock'
kubiga qufuli 'to lock with a padlock'
kubigila qufuli 'to lock'
kuvunda qufuli 'to break a lock'
lfungulo la qufuli 'lock key'
Omari/ tile lfuungulo/khufuliini/ l'vundishile. 'Omari put the key in the lock and it broke.'
Qufuli/ iwaliko ikomejele mlaangó/ iwaliko nda ðahabu. 'The padlock that was used to lock the door was of gold.'
qufuli ya mnaango 'door lock'
Qufuliini/ l'walimo lfuungulo/ la luulu. 'In the lock there was a pearl key.'
- qumani** adj. [cf. Som. verb **qumman** "to be upright, honest, correct; to be sensible, reasonable" DSI 505] straight, upright (of character); sensible, reasonable
munt^hu qumani 'an upright man, a man of good character'
- qumbuluq** ideo. **check the l**
variant: **tumbuluq**
Hamadi/ yana/ masku/ hafaani/ potele iboholiini/ qumbuluq!/ vundishile kuulu. 'Hamadi last night in the neighborhood fell into hole/ditch, **qumbuluq!** and broke the leg.'
- quuni** n.
- qunuuti** n. [Ar. *qunūt* W 792] obedience and humility towards God
chiskafile diini na khsooma qunuuti [nt.] 'let us rely on our faith and pray with humility'
- quuq** ideo. [pron. **qquuq!** or **khuukh!**]
Haliima/ kaawo/ numbaani/ icholokoowa/ ba/ nk^heje za waana/ wanaaku^la/ quuq!/ ha'ika^laant^hiki/ ba. 'Haliima's house, whenever you go, there is noise, children are crying **quuq!** You cannot sit, rest, relax.' (A bimoraic, monosyllabic ideophone like **quuq!** is like its monomoraic counterpart raised in pitch and phrasally separated from the word preceding and the word following. What is most notable prosodically is that the high pitch is sustained over both moras of the ideophone: [qúúq].)
- qur'aani** n. [Sw. *korani, kurani* SSED 222; Ar. *al-qur'ān* W 753] Quran
kuhafiða/ kana qur'aani 'to memorize as (one does) the Quran'

Mwaaḷimu/ 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. *qasada* 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 keendrá. 'He intended to go.' Cf. **Nqusudiliile keendrá.** 'I intended to go.'
Skukhusudila/ imbejeḷa raaḷi. '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'd* "thunder" W 345] *uncommon* peal of thunder
- ra'afaani** n. an appeal (in a court case)
khṭinda ra'afaani 'to make an appeal at court'
Omari/ hokomeeḷa/ laakini/ ṭinzile ra'afaani. 'Omari has been sentenced, but he has made an appeal.'
- ra'asulmaali** n. capital
chiṭa cha diini ni sala ṭimaamu/ 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'isa* 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/ peja zawaadi/ barzaani. 'The president was given a gift in the meeting hall.'
Ra'isi wiitu/ haliwa_{lo}owi. 'Our president will not be forgotten.'
Wanakahabari/ wanakuhada/ ya kuwa ra'iisi/ nakhfilatiloowa/ khfaanya/ mukaataba/ pamó/ na ba'a_oi/ 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'iya* W 346] citizen
Sultaani/ hisabato waant^hu/ wotté/ ra'iyawé/ sawasawá. 'A sultan who considers all people, his subjects, to be equal.'
Ye/ sulile mkulaze/ 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'amilatana/ na waant^hu. 'She expressed her opinions to him and taught him how to deal with people.'
kh_tomola ra'yi 'to give an opinion'
kuleta ra'yi 'to make a suggestion (lit. bring a suggestion)'
Kila/ 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'al_uqeene. '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 minne 'a square table'
miraba mineeye khsa_loowa ni mi_la [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/ rabsha/ schoondroka/ beena/ Safiya/ na mub_liwe. 'After two, three days, quarreling started between Safiya and her

- husband.’
- khfanya rabsha** ‘to cause confusion, quarreling, trouble’
Alí/ chiya numbaani/ ka Huseeni/ hufanya rabsha. ‘When Ali comes to Huseeni’s house he makes disturbances.’
- Isa/ nini/ rabsha izi/ zaa we/ nakhfaanyó.** ‘Now why this quarreling that you are causing?’
- mwenye rabsha** ‘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
wa radiini ‘goodbye to you (more than one person)’
- m-raadi** n. 3/4 [Sw. *mradi* SSED 299; Ar. *murād* W 366] purpose, goal, thing desired, need
Baazi/ ni waaðehe/ nt^ho/ kaake/ na mraadiwe. ‘Baazi is quite clear in his intentions.’
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/ shakuwa shkharibiilí/ 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.’
rel.
ku-radikiiloowa v. appl. pass.
Jawabu iyo/ ha’iradikiiloowi. ‘That thing cannot be pleased with.’
Koða jawaabu/ yakuradikiiloowa. ‘Say something that could be pleased with.’
- radiyaþoore** n. 9/10 [Ital. *radiatore*] radiator (of a car)
- raadiyo** n. 9 [Eng. and Ital. *radio*] radio
Ibozeļa raadiyo/ ka Hamadi/ numbaani. ‘A radio has been stolen from Hamadi’s house.’ Or: **Ka Hamadi/ numbaani/ ibozeļa 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’
kudaldalamata/ kana raadiyo ‘to talk like the radio – i.e. to talk non-stop, like the radio’
Leelo/ nkhasize iimbó/ lsuura/ radiyooni. ‘Today I have heard a nice song on the radio.’

maneeno/ kana raadiyo ‘too much talking, like the radio’
Raadiyo/ mwiizi/ boozeló. ‘[It was] the radio [that] the thief stole.’
Raadiyo/ ya mwiizi/ boozeló/ ipeeta. ‘The radio that the thief stole was found.’

raađi

n. 9 [Sw. *radhi* SSED 39; cf. Ar. *rađiya* "to satisfy, conciliate, appease" W 344] approval, satisfaction, and blessings of a parent (extended to obedient children); apology, forgiveness, pardon; var. *raađi* n. [Som. *raalli* "satisfaction (noun); satisfied (adj.) DSI 510] (but not considered as good as **raađi**)

Apo/ wo/ wachilomba Yuusufu/ raađi. ‘Then, they asked Joseph for forgiveness.’

Baaba/ chilomba raađi. ‘Father begged forgiveness.’

chiwa nkhada’iile nt’unaayo raađiya [song] ‘if you have deceived me [then know that] you do not have my blessing’

Chiwelele raađi. ‘Forgive us!’

Iyo/ ha’iwelele/ raađi/ iyo itulushilo ba’adiyé. ‘That does not excuse what happened next.’

Ka raađiya/ oloka mwaambile/ muđli/ naaye/ munt’i wa arabiya. ‘With my blessing, go and tell the man that he should come on Wednesday.’

khtila raađi ‘to forgive’

Omari/ namtile Ali/ raađi. ‘Omari is seeking forgiveness from Ali.’

Khuwelele raađi. ‘I forgive you; I am pleased with you (I bless you).’

Kulomba raađi ‘to ask for forgiveness, to apologize’

Kumraađi. ‘Forgive me!’

kuwa raađi ‘to acquiesce’

Mi/ siwelele/ raađi/ hađa/ haba mo/ zaa we/ nakhfanyoowá. ‘I cannot approve even a little of what is being done to you.’

Muđliwe/ chimlomba mukeewe/ raađi. ‘The man begged his wife forgiveness.’

Mumathili mwiingine/ hadiile/ ya kuwaa si/ hachiwelele/ raađi/ 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.’

Muunt’u/ chilomba raađi/ hafishoowa. ‘When one begs for pardon he is pardoned.’ (A proverb.)

Mwaanawá/ mbelela raađi/ ka yaa mi/ khuteenzeló. ‘My child, forgive me for what I did to you.’

naami/ shpata/ raađi/ ya mwajiitu ‘and if I obtain the approval of God’

Nayo rađi ya waawaye. ‘He has the blessing of his father.’

Raađi/ nii nk’ulu/ kolko maali. ‘Blessings are better than wealth.’ (A proverb.)

rađi ya mwajiitu ‘the blessing of God’

Raađiya/ mi/ nikhupeelé/ nt’angú/ leelo/ hattá/ keesho/ qiyaama. ‘My blessings, I have given them to you from today until tomorrow, the resurrection day.’

Si/ chinakhsula maali/ raađi/ ni chint’u gani. ‘We want wealth; what sort of thing is **raađi** [implying it is something of no value at all]?’

Si/ hashkhaadiri/ kuwelele raađi/ Baazi/ tabi’aze. ‘We cannot excuse Baazi’s behavior.’

Wa raađi. ‘Be forgiving!’

Wa raađi/ mi/ ndrivelee tu. ‘Forgive me, I just forgot.’

Waanawá/ mi/ skhaadiri/ walá/ siđakhpola/ marađi aya/ basi/ ni/ nnakhsula raađi/ amó/ nnakhsula maali. ‘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 raađi/ ka yaa we/ nfanyiizó/ yotte. ‘Father, I forgive you for what you did to me, all of it.’

Waawé/ mi/ nnakhsula raađi. ‘Father, I want [your] blessings, approval etc.’

Welele raađi/ ka ije ya waawaye/ mpenzelezó. ‘She agreed with whatever her father wanted for her.’

raađiya

adj. obedient, quiescent (used to refer to women, descriptive of being obedient to her husband, quiet, not making any trouble or extravagant demands

muke ka muđliwe muđi’i raađiya [st.] a woman (=Fatima) obedient and

acquiescent to her husband'

- raf'aani** n. [Sw. *rufani* "legal appeal" SSED 402; Ar. *fafa'á* "to make an appeal to a court" W 349-50] appeal (in a court of law)
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, put topsy turvy etc.; cause damage, destruction, hardship, problems; spoil s.t.'
Mp^hana/ na'endre ka sul'taani/ na'endré/ nakhsu'la kurafadishaa dali.
'Let the rat go to the sultan, that's what he should do, he wants 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, cramps, contractions" DSI 513] (**rafeete**) toss around in bed
Ahmadi/ masku/ mazima/ chirafata/ ka ulaazo/ wa miimba. 'Ahmadi all night tossed and turned from stomach pains.'
Ali/ chisu/ chimtiinzile/ chaala/ nakurafata/ ka ulaazo/ kana/ nsi/ tomela mayiini.
'Ali, the knife cut his finger and he is shook up with pain, like a fish that has been taken out of water.'
rel.
ku-rafatisha v. caus.
- raafu** n. 9 [Som. *raaf* DSI 510] forcible draft into the army
liimbo la raafu lmalize 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.'
Wakhti/ wa Siyaad Barre/ sh'tersho Somaaliya/ yaliko raafu/ niingi/ waant^hu/ wachishikoowa/washfanyowa mi'itaare/ kubiga harbi. 'At the time when Siyad Barre ruled Somalia, there were many kidnappings, people were caught and made to join the military to fight.'
- 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.')
- Bila/ kuraaga/ Hamiisi/ tete chibuuku/ anzize khsooma.** 'Without delay, Hamiisi took a book and began reading.'
Chimuza mukeewe/ mbona/ 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/ huraago/ 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.)
- Mukhtaa mi/ huraagó/ we/ hushikowa shšana.** ‘Whenever I am late, you get angry.’
- 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.’
- Omari/ ta’akhariile/ kuraga kaa shiri.** ‘Omari delayed (lit.) to be late to the meeting.’
- Raaga.** ‘Delay!’ **Ragaani.** ‘(pl.) delay!’ **Ragani keendra.** ‘(Pl.) delay going!’
- Sirageeni,** ‘(Pl.) don’t be late!’ **Sirageeni/ keendra.** ‘(Pl.) don’t delay going!’
- Ragiilopó/ mp^haamp^ha/ chimviila/ mweenza/ mweenza/ mboni/ we/ ragiile.** ‘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!’ **Sirageeni.** ‘You (pl.) don’t be late!’
- Waant^hu/ waragiile/ kuya numbaani.** ‘People are late coming home.’ (The yes-no question corresponding to this sentence is: **Waant^hu/ waragiile/ kuya numbaani?**)
- rel.
- ku-raagika* v. p/s.
- Hayraagiki.** ‘One cannot be late. There is no being late.’
- ku-raagila* v. appl.
- Mwaana/ 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!’ **Siragisheeni.** ‘You (pl.) don’t delay in responding!’ **Siragisheeni/ kuja.** ‘(Pl.) don’t cause a delay in eating!’
- Siwaraagishé/ waana/ chiwooni.** ‘Do not delay the children from going to school.’
- 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**)
- Waana/ waragishiiza/ chiwooni.** ‘The children have been delayed going to school.’ (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. *raġba* W 347] desire

kuwanayo raghba ‘to have a desire’

Muunt^hu/ shfanya chiint^hu/ husuloowa/ kuwanayo raghba/ kaandra. ‘If a person is going to do something, he must first have a desire (to do it).’

raaha

n. [Sw. *raha* SSED 394; Ar. *rāḥa* W 365] rest, comfort, ease

Hamadi/ kana/ nt^hana raahá. ‘It seems that Hamadi is not enjoying himself.’

Hasiibu/ ishiize/ karka raaha/ na amaani/ hatá/ mowti. ‘Hasiibu lived in comfort and peace until (his) death.’

Husulo raahá/ laazima/ kuwona ta’abu. ‘The one who wants comfort must see difficulties (first).’ (A proverb.)

Itakunzidila raaha. ‘It will increase my comfort.’

Janaani/ ni mahaḷa ya raaha. ‘Paradise is a place of rest.’

ka raaha/ mustarehe ‘in comfort and peace, joy’

Alí/ naakuja/ ka [↑]raaha/ mustarehe. ‘Ali is sleeping with pleasure and joy.’

Hamadi/ leele/ ka [↑]raaha/ 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’; also:

kuwoneka raaha, kuwoneka raaha, kuwoneka raaha

Alí/ hadiile/ salaḷa iyi/ noloolo/ muunt^hu/ huwoneka raaha/ khkalaant^hila.

‘Ali said: this couch is soft, a person experiences comfort/pleasure with/by sitting on it.’

Alí/ hadiile/ spendi/ ba/ kondroka salaḷaani/ apa/ nakuwona raahá/ khkalaant^ha. ‘Ali said I don’t want to get up from the couch here, I feel relaxed sitting.’

Hamadi/ numba iyo/ huwona [↑]raaha. ‘Hamadi in that house feels happy/contented/ comfortable.’

Hamadi/ numba iyo/ nakuwona [↑]raaha. ‘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.)

Mahaḷa/ wako wana wiingi/ ha’iwoneki/ raaha/ ka nk^ele. ‘Where there are many children, comfort/relaxation is not experienced because of the noise/shouting.’

Mi/ sina kuwona/ raaha/ na wana awa. ‘I do not feel at ease with these children.’

Omari/ hadiile/ mi/ sinakuwona raaha/ ka muke uyu/ waa mi/ naayo/ isá/ nakhsula mlaḷá/ kumnola muke mwiingine. ‘Omari said: I do not have comfort/ joy with this wife that I have now, I want to divorce her and marry another wife.’

Mwaadamu/ hupeenda/ ismu ya chiint^hu/ huwoneka raaha. ‘A human being likes anything from which he finds pleasure.’

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/ 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 put you in comfort.’

raaha sinaayo [song] ‘I have no comfort’

Tile ruhuye/ 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] bond, bail, collateral, a guarantee

duka ya rahani 'pawnshop'

khshika rahani 'to hold as a security, collateral'

Haliima/ pasize peesa/ ka Omari/ mpele ðahabu/ khshika

rahani. [H!H!H!H!H] 'Haliima borrowed money from

Omari, she gave him gold to hold as collateral'

khtila rahani 'to pawn s.t., use s.t. as bail, collateral, a guarantee'

Hamadi/ hadiile/ stili/ rahani/ nuumbaya/ kumtomola Sheekhi/

habasaani. 'Hamadi said: I refuse to use my house as bail to get Sheekhi out of prison.'

kuweka rahani 'to pawn s.t., use as collateral, etc.'; also: **kuwekowa**

rahani

Haliima/ pasize peesa/ dukaani/ ka Nuuru/ weshele rahani/

shtakiche/ cha ðahabu. 'Haliima borrowed money from

Nuuru's shop, she put her gold necklace as bond.'

Omari/ tomeela/ habasaani/ iweshela rahani/ doolari/ alfu.

'Omari has been released from prison, a bond has been paid of a thousand dollars.'

Omari/ weshele gaariye/ rahani/ khpowa deeni. [H!H!H!H]

'Omari put his car up as collateral for being given a loan.'

ku-rahiba

v. [Ar. *rahiba* W 330] (*rahibiile*) welcome

Mumathili/ wa nṭhi za ch'arabu/ ba'adi yaa ye/ kurahiba/ na kuwapa salaamú/ mumathili/ wa nṭhi za chi'aafriká/ hadiile/ karka khuḡbaye/ ya kuwa nṭhi za ch'arabu/ ziko ṭayaari/ khpaa nṭhi/ za chi'áfrika/ dolari/ miḡyooni/ 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.'

Waanṭhu/ walazile kumrahiba ra'iisi. 'People went out to welcome the president.'

rel.

ku-rahibana v. rec. (-*rahibeene*) welcome one another (This verb does not seem to permit the "reciprocal shift" noted as possible for many other reciprocal verbs.)

Waanṭhu/ 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/ muunṭhu/ 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; used as a name for God, in which case it is usually translated as "the Compassionate" and coupled with **rahmaani** "the Merciful"

hayi hupeendawaayawe rahiimu [sṭ.] '[God is] alive, he loves his creatures, he is merciful'

Mojiitu/ ghafuru rahiimu/ ndiyé/ hulombowa kilaa chiinṭhú. 'God *ghafuru rahiimu* is the one who is asked/requested for every thing.'

munṭhu rahiimu 'a generous person'

Rabbi Rahmaani Rahiimu/ rahmaye hulomboowa [sṭ.] '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, acts of mercy (by God)

Dhibu/ iwele niingi/ skiizi/ mojiitu/ nachishkiliza rahma. ‘Nowadays hardships have become a lot, may God bring us mercy.’
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 ndruza kasaani/ kumwiiwa moojo khuunzilo rahmaani [st.] ‘listen my friends: the beginning of [all] religious obligations is to know God, the Compassionate, who created you’
na mtume mpeenzelo mooja rahmaani [st.] ‘and the Prophet, the one who loved him, my merciful Lord’
nahrizi nda mojiitu na amaani/ ilu ya mtume mtale wa rahmaani [st.] ‘may God’s mercy and peace be upon the Prophet, the one chosen by the Compassionate’

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).’ Or:

Chinaayó/ raja suura.

khṭindaa raja ‘to give up hope’; also: **khṭindowaa raja**

Ka mojiitu/ ha-’i-tindoowi/ raja. ‘(Lit.) from God hope is not lost.’

Mwaadamu/ haṭṭindi/ raja/ ka mojiitu. ‘A human being does not (should not) lose hope (lit.) from God (because there is God, one should never give up hope).’

Omari/ jisaa ye/ namliindró/ Abú/ kumsaayda/ khfungulaa duka/ miyaaka/ haṭá/ ṭindishilee raja. ‘Omari was waiting for Abu to help him open a shop for years until he reached a point where he gave up hope.’

khṭozaa raja ‘to cause someone to lack hope, to give up’

Alí/ muunṭhu/ chimrasha kooḏize/ humṭoza muunṭhu/ raja. ‘If one follows Ali’s talk (i.e. listens to what he is saying), it makes one lose hope.’

Muunṭhu/ chifa/ rajaye/ imaliize. ‘When one dies his hope is finished.’ (A proverbial saying.)

Nayoo raja. ‘He has hope.’

Nt^haná/ raja. ‘He has no hope.’

nṭ^haasa nimo karka raja [song] ‘I am 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

	variant form: kurujuma [Sw. <i>rujumu</i> SSED 403]
rajistratoore	n. 9/10 [Ital. <i>registratore</i>] tape-recorder
raka'a	n. 9/10 [Sw. <i>rakaa</i> SSED 395; Ar. <i>rak'ū</i> W 358] the act of bowing with the hands on the knees in Muslim prayer; there is a fixed set of bowings and prostrations that form a part of a formal Islamic prayer; the prayers to be performed at various hours of the day consist of different numbers (two, three, etc.) of raka'a du'a y-a raká'a 'the prayer recited while bowing', which must be spoken in Arabic: <i>subhaana rabbi al adhiim wa bihamdihi</i> 'Glory be to my Lord, the Almighty' Sala ya fijri/ inayo raka'aa mbili. 'The morning prayer has two <i>raka'a</i> .'
mu-rakabu	adj. [cf. Ar. verb <i>rakiba</i> W 356, which among other meanings has "to commit foolish mistakes, to commit a folly"] very ignorant and foolish młate humpiindro jaahili murakabu [st.] 'leave alone (do not bother with) the one who contradicts [this], he is very ignorant and foolish'
rakhi	n. [Ar. <i>riqq</i> "quality or condition of being a slave, bondage" W 352] slave
rakhiisi	adj. [Sw. <i>rahisi</i> SSED 394; Ar. <i>rakīs</i> 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' Omari/ kashifile mahaļa hułowa gaari/ rakhiisi. 'Omari discovered where to buy inexpensive cars.' Uza ghaali/ suuzé/ rakhiisi. 'Sell at a high price! Don't sell cheap!'
ku-rakiba	v. [Ar. <i>rakiba</i> W 356] (rakibiile) assemble, install (machine, car, etc.), fix Omari/ nakurakibaa chili. 'Omari is assembling the bed.' rel. ku-rakibisha v. caus. [Sw. <i>rakibisha</i> 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. <i>rakibu</i> SSED 395; Ar. <i>rākib</i> W 357] <i>uncommon</i> 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: raađiya, raadiya Maasiti meema raaliya/ shfaanya ibaađa ka niya [st.] 'Masiiti, good and resigned to God's will, performed her worship with intention' muke ka mubliwe mutii'i raađiya [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' wahafiđe 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. *ramaḏān* "9th month of the Muslim year" W 360] the month of Ramadhan (the last month of the calander year in the Bravanese calandar, the month of fasting)
darsi ya ramaḏaani/ na qur’áan ‘a lesson concerning Ramadhan and the Quran’ (In Chimiini, the sound *q* found in Arabic loanwords is usually pronounced *kh*, and the word for the Quran is not different in this regard. Also note that consonant-final loanwords receive an epenthetic vowel at the end when they are Chimiini-ized. Thus **qur’aani** ordinarily ends in the vowel *i*. In the example cited here, the epenthetic vowel did not appear. The point we wish to make note of is this: the preposition *na* ‘and’ triggers final accent. In the absence of the epenthetic vowel, final accent falls on the final syllable *aan*. But it is important to point out that default penultimate accent would appear on the very same syllable; it would not shift back the preceding syllable: *[qúraan].)
huwaajiba soomu ya ramaḏaani [st.] fasting during Ramadhan is obligatory’
ramaḏaani/ na qur’aani ‘Ramadhan and the Quran’
Ramaḏaani/ ni mweezi/ wa khfungoowa. ‘Ramadhan is the month of fasting.’
Ramaḏaani/ ni mwezi wa soomu. ‘Ramadhan is the month of fasting.’
- 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.’
- raanda** n. [Sw. *raanda* SSED 396; Pers.] carpenter’s plane
kubiga raanda [Sw. *piga raanda* SSED 396] ‘to plane’
- raani** n. [Som. *raani*; Hind. *raanee*] queen (with reference to playing card)
- ranji** n. 9/10 [Sw. *rangi* SSED 396; from Hindiand Persian] color; paint
khpaka ranji ‘to paint, apply paint’
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/ inakhtahaja khpakowa ranji. ‘The house needs painting.’
Nuumba/ ipashila ranji/ nelpe. ‘The house was painted white.’
Ranji/ ipashila. ‘Paint was applied.’ Cf., **Ipashila/ ni ranji.** ‘What was applied is paint.’
kubiga ranji ‘to paint’; also: **kubigowa ranji** ‘to be painted’
Nuumba/ inakihtaja kubigowa ranji. ‘This house needs to be painted.’
lkuta/ ranjiye ‘the wall, its color’
nk^huta/ ranjize ‘the walls, their color’

	<p>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.</p>
<i>raqamu</i>	<p>n. [Ar. <i>raqm</i> W 355] number Hamadi/ m^waanawe/ skolaani/ lazile rakhamu ya piili. ‘Hamadi his son at school became number two (second ranked student).’ Huhadoowa/ rakhamu/ yaa saba/ ni rakhamu/ ya nasiibu. ‘It is said that the number seven is a lucky number.’ khsoma rakhamu ‘to read the numbers’ rakhamu suura ‘a good number’ rakhamu/ kamu ‘how many numbers’</p>
<i>ku-rara</i>	<p>v. [Som. <i>rar</i> DSI 515] (rariile) load (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/ m^taanga. ‘Load the donkey with sand.’ rel. <i>ku-rara^ta</i> v. (rareete) load (e.g. a truck), carry (of a truck) Gaari/ inakurara^ta suukari. ‘The truck is loaded with/ carrying sugar.’ Hamaali/ wanakurara^ta gaari. ‘The porters are loading the truck.’ <i>ku-rara^toowa</i> v. pass. Gaari/ inakurara^toowa. ‘The truck is being loaded.’ <i>ku-rari^la</i> v. appl. Omari/ nakurari^la Hamadi/ mp^huundra/ m^taanga. ‘Omari is loading sand on the donkey for Hamadi.’ <i>ku-raroowa</i> v. pass. Mp^huundra/ nakuraroowa. ‘The donkey is being loaded.’</p>
<i>rasaasi</i>	<p>n. [Ar. <i>rasās</i> "bullets" W 342] lead, graphite, bullet, cartridge chiwaa we/ takandikaa kha^ti/ 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’ khalamu ya rasaasi ‘lead pencil’ kubiga rasaasi ‘to shoot a gun’ Masku/ si/ nt^hashkukhaadira/ kulaala/ ka ku^lat^lilowa rasaasi/ pa pa pa pa! ‘At night we could not sleep because of gun shots <i>pa pa pa pa!</i>’ M^wana/ sh^tomola amri/ na rasaasi/ schi^lawa/ zote/ ka mara mooyi. ‘The boy gave the order and the bullets all left [the rifles] at the same time.’ Wote/ wachi^lat^lila rasaasi/ ka mara mooyi. ‘All fired their guns (lit. bullets) at one time.’ Zinakubigaa nk^huwa/ kana rasaasi. ‘It is thundering like bullets.’</p>
<i>rasdente</i>	<p>n. district commissioner commissioner Ma’ajnabi/ wako muyiini/ wont^he/ wavi^liila/ hafisaani/ ka rasdente. ‘All strangers in the city are called to the commissioner’s office.’ Rasdente/ mtumile Abú/ Maringuwaayi/ kuleta hakhiikha/ yaa zita/ stushiló/ apo. ‘The commissioner sent Ali to Maringuwaay to get the facts about the fighting that happened there’</p>
<i>kh-raasha</i> money)	<p>v. [Som. <i>raac</i> DSI 509] (rashiize) follow s.o., chase s.o., accompany; be owed (e.g. Chi^laweeni/ chimraashe/ chiwoneeni. ‘Let us go and follow him so that we may see (what happens.)’ Chiraasha/ chiraasha/ ha^ta/ chiwona/ ruuhuye/ uko karka ibanya/</p>

ikulu. ‘She followed (the opening), she followed until she found herself in a large open space.’

Chiraasha/ hatá/ 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’iiló. ‘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 lpindooni ‘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 saan^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’

Maha_laa mi/ heendró/ hundraasha. ‘Wherever I go, it follows me.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **chib_li** ‘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/ muḅle. ‘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 Nuuru. ‘I followed Nuuru.’

Rashaa nyoki/ ja uki. ‘Follow bees and you will eat honey.’ (A proverb.)

Sirasheení/ lfuwo. ‘You (pl.) don’t follow the shore!’

Suufi/ namrasha Ali/ peesa. ‘Suufi is owed money (by) Ali.’

Takhaadira/ mtaambula/ kuhada mwana^fuyu/ mbwa Omari/ mwana^fuyu/ maaziye/ nda Omari/ hisaabuye/ maazi/ hayaabahi/ mazi ya muunt^hu/ ma’anaye/ mwaaanawo/ takhurashaa we/ maaziyo/ mwiiikulo/ takhurasha mazi yiinu/ ma’anaye. ‘You can recognize him and say this boy is Omari’s, this boy his blood is of Omari, meaning blood is not lost (a proverb), the blood of a person, it means, your son follows (takes after) you, your blood, your grandchild follows your (pl.) blood, it means.’

Wana khabari/ wamrashizo Niksoní/ wanakuhada/ ya kuwa... ‘The newsmen who are accompanying Nixon are saying that...’

Wanakinraasha. ‘They are following you (pl.).’ (Note the shift of the infinitive marker **ku** to **ki** in front of an object marker containing a palatal element. Note also that the second person plural object marker does not form a prenasalized stop with the stem-initial **r**. Thus we get **nr** and not **ndr**.)

Wanakumraasha. ‘They are following [c l. l].’

Wanakundraasha. ‘They are following me.’

Waant^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/ nakhsuuló/ 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.’

Omari/ kooðize/ ni huuhaa!/ nt^haziná/ ma’ana/ haziraashiki. ‘Omari his talks are *huu haa!*, they have no meaning, they cannot be trusted (lit. followed).’

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).’

Haliima/ nakhshoma stezo/ nakurashiliza alaama/ ya fuunzi/ fanyiizó. ‘Haliima is sewing buttons following the line that the artist made.’

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.] ‘for those who have learned *ilm* and act accordingly’

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 Jeełani/ 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’

Sirashmanyé/ na wenza wawovu/ khupozeza iboholiini. ‘Do not go with bad friends, they put you in a hole/ditch.’ (A proverb.)

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/ chirashmeenye/ 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^u/ 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/ kudhakhalataa mbwa/ ka jis'iyo/ want^u walima miyuundra/ hukorshaa mbwa/ na hisabaata/ mbwa/ kuwa ni karka daaba/ haminiko/ na hukhadorpwa kaminilowa 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 n^h oongo/ huwa n^h oongo. '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. *rašaha* W 340] (**rashihile**) nominate a candidate, approve the candidacy of a member of one's party

Abú/ waawaye/ rashihile ruuhuye/ kuwa dibutaato. 'Abu's father nominated himself to be a member of parliament.'

Want^u wa Mwiini/ wamrashihile Shekh Nuuru/ kuwa wakiili/ wa Mwiini/ tarafu ya diini. 'The people of Brava have nominated Shekh Nuuru to be the representative for Brava in religious affairs.'

raashini

n. 9 [Eng. *ration*] ration

Haaji/ pesa zaa ye/ peja kula raashini/ teleze khamaari. 'Ali, the money that he was given to buy food with, he gambled with it.'

Ma'askari/ leelo/ wanakhpowa raashini/ wont^e/ wako haaðiri. 'Soldiers are today being given food, they are all present.'

rashiiniye 'his ration'

rashwa

n. 9/10 [Sw. *rashwa* SSED 403; Ar. *rašwa* W 342] bribe

variant form: *rishwa*

Hamadi/ pete posto iyo/ ya hisaabiye/ tomele rishwa. 'Hamadi got a position as an accountant, he gave a bribe.'

Keenya/ hafisaani/ ish^tomolowa rashwa/ kilaa chiint^u/ huwa. 'In Kenya, in an office, if there is a bribe given, everything is (i.e. everything can be gotten).'

Rashwa/ khtomojoowa/ ni haraamu/ ka dini ya islaamu. ‘Giving a bribe is impure/illegal in the Islamic religion.’

rasiidi n. 9/10 [Som. *rasiid* DSI 516, from Eng. *receipt*] receipt

ku-rasima v. (**rasimiile**) draw

Ali/ mrasimile muunt^hu/ kana/ waawaye. ‘Ali drew a person that looked like his father.’

Omari/ mwaanawe/ mkali/ kurasima/ mrasimile waawaye/ kana/ piicha.
‘Omari’s son is good at drawing, he drew his father like (as accurately) as a photograph.’

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 and thus also referred to as **Bajuni**

Mi/ hukumbuka (kuwa) nch^hinendra koloka Raasiini/ ku^la fijiri. ‘I remember that I used to walk going to Raasiini every morning.’

rasmī adj. [Sw. *rasmī* SSED 397; Ar. *rasmī* W 339] official, correct, right
-a **rasmī** ‘official’

nguwo ya rasmī [Sw. *nguwo za rasmī* SSED] ‘official dress, uniform’

khabari rasmī ‘official news’

Mi/ kuwa aajizi/ tu/ siwo/ na khalabú/ rasmī/ sinaayo. ‘It is not just that I am lazy, but also I do not have the right equipment.’

nguwo rasmī ‘official dress, uniform’

Nureeni/ uzile jaaka/ rasmī. ‘Nureeni bought an official uniform.’ (Notice the prosodic separation of **jaaka** and **rasmī** in this sentence. This separation gives some emphasis to **rasmī**. The intonational pattern of the sentence is that **jaaka** is downstepped relative to **Nureeni**, but **rasmī** and **jaaka** are at a similar pitch level. The corresponding simple yes-no question establishes that neither **jaaka** nor **rasmī** are out-of-focus since neither undergoes the accent shift associated with out-of-focus complements in these questions: **Nureeni/ uzile jaaka/ rasmī?**)

rasmu [Ar. *rasm* "drawing, sketch, illustration" W 339] drawing

Hasani/ mwaanawe/ skolaani/ mkali/ rasmu/ lazile rakhamu/ mooyi. ‘Hasani’s child at school is an expert at drawing, he became number one (ranked).’

khfanya rasmu ‘to draw’

rasuulu (ma-) n. messenger, apostle

oyo 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’

Mitume/ yont^he/ ni marasuulu) wa mojiitu. ‘All prophets are messengers of God.’

Mtume Mhamadi/ ni rasuulu/ ya mojiitu/ tumi^la khkomeza risaala waant^hu/ duniyaani. ‘Prophet Mohamed is a messenger of God, sent to make the message reach all the people of the world.’

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 riyaaali/ nt^hatu/ tu. ‘At that time, Sa’idi’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.’

- raṭali** n. 9/10 [Sw. *ratli*, *ratili* SSED 307; Ar. *raṭl* W 345] pound (unit of weight)
- raaṭi** ?
- ku-raṭiba** v. [Sw. *ratibu* SSED 397; Ar. *ratiba* W 324] (**raṭibiile**) put in order, arrange
kuraṭiba zibuuku ‘to arrange books’
rel.
ku-raṭibisha v. caus. (**raṭibishiize**)
Omari/ mkali/ kuraṭib isha. ‘Omari is good in arranging things.’
ku-raṭiboowa v. pass.
kuraṭiboowa/ jisa suura ‘to arrange well’
rel. nom.
u-raṭibisho n. 14
u-raṭibo n. 14
- ku-raaṭiba** v. [cf. Ar. noiu *rawātib*, plural of *rātib* W 325] perform repeatedly certain devotions
kuda’a’ima kuraaṭiba maulūidi / 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.)
- raaṭibu (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 raaṭibu ‘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, support
Ijiko mooyi/ ha’ireebi/ chuungu. ‘One cooking stone does not support a pot.’ (A proverb.) (We sometimes write a form like **ha’ireebi** as **hayreebi**. Perhaps there are two variant ways of pronouncing the sequence *ai* and *au* before a consonant, or perhaps we just did not succeed in determining the precise pronunciation.)
Ikoofiya/ imrebele iwa. ‘The hat protected him from the sun.’
Ṛkhurebele kumpa peesá. ‘I stopped you from giving him money.’
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 kuwatambulatabula want^hu awó/ niyrebelele saant^hiyá.
cannot understand those people, I stopped seeing them.’
Noloshale ta’azyaaní/ ndrebele saant^hiyá/ attá/ mayṭi/ shṭomoloowa. ‘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/ mnowelee. ‘Her mother forbid it (i.e. forbid him to marry a woman), but he refused to listen to her, and he married her.’

Mi/ nrebeelé. ‘I stopped you (pl.).’ (The first person singular subject prefix *ni-* was elided in this example, but its elision cannot be analyzed as being the result of phonological processes. This cannot be a phonological phenomenon due to the fact that prefixes do not elide their vowel when placed in front of an object prefix. Therefore the elision of the subject marker must be viewed as a special morphological alternation. We have not, however, determined precisely the contexts where this elision can be found. The present example comes from the speech of our first consultant, MI. Our second primary consultant, GM, commonly elides the first person subject prefix in front of the TAM marker *na*, as well as in front of various voiceless consonants.)

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’

Ndrebeelé. ‘I stopped.’ Cf. **Rebeelé.** ‘You stopped.’ **Rebeele.** ‘(S)he stopped.’ **Chirebeelé.** ‘We stopped.’ **Nrebeelé.** ‘You (pl.) stopped.’ **Warebeele.** ‘They stopped.’

Ndrebele khtomolowa peesá. ‘I stopped money from being paid.’

Ndrebele peesá. ‘I refused (to pay) money.’

Ndrebelee ye/ khpowa peesá. ‘I refused for him to be given money.’

Nimrebeelé. ‘I stopped him.’ Cf. **Wandrebeele.** ‘They stopped me.’

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 khfuungulá. ‘I arose and unlocked the room that the old man had forbidden me to unlock.’

Nrebeelé/ ruuhuya/ kendra festaani. ‘I prevented myself from going to the party.’

Nt^haku/ chiint^hu/ hureebó. ‘There is nothing that stops, constrains it.’

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.’

Warebe/ waana/ seendré/ kawaalawá/ ndilaani. ‘Stop the children, otherwise they might go outside.’

Warebe/ waana/ wasilawe/ ndilaani. ‘Stop the children from going outside.’

Ye/ mrebeele/ Hamadi/ kendra festaani. ‘He prevented Hamadi from going to the party.’

Yuusufu/ chiiza/ chihada/ iyi/ ni ma’asiya/ mwajütu/ rebeele/ khfanyoowa. ‘Joseph refused, saying, this is a sin, God prohibited it from being done.’

rel.

ta v. (rebeete) stop

ku-reebeka v. p.s,

ku-rebe_loowa v. appl. pass.

Mtumba chisima/ harebe_loowi/ maayi. ‘The digger of a well is never denied water.’ (A proverb.)

Wawa yiitu/ si/ chinakurebe_loowá/ 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. (rebe_le_le) stop for

Ikoofiya/ imrebele iwa. ‘The hat protected him from the sun.’

Isa/ mi/ nikhurebe_le_le/ 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.’

Wanakinrebela. ‘They are stopping for you (pl).’

Wanakumrebela. ‘They are stopping for [cl.1].’

Wanakundrebela. ‘They are stopping for me.’

ku-rebelana v. appl. rec. (-rebeleene) stop for one another

*ku-reebesh*a 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. (rebe_la)

Gaari/ irebe_la/ khpakowa ranji. ‘The car was prevented from being painted.’

Gaari/ irebe_la/ khpelekowa numbaani/ ka Hamadi. ‘The car was prevented from being taken to Hamadi’s house.’

Hamadi/ rebe_la/ koloka numbaani. ‘Hamadi was prevented from going home.’

Hamadi/ rebe_la/ koloka sko_laani. ‘Hamadi was prevented from going to school.’

Mtumba chisima/ hareboowi/ maayi. ‘The digger of a well is not denied water.’ (A proverb.)

Muunt^hu/ yaa ye/ nakhsu_ló/ hakhadiroowi/ kureboowa. ‘When someone wants something, he cannot be stopped (from getting it).’ (A proverb.)

mwenye ihraamu rebe_la ziint^hu saba [st.] ‘someone in the state of *ihraamu* is forbidden seven things’

Peesa/ zirebe_la/ khtomoloowa. ‘Money was prevented from being released.’

ku-reeptama v. (repteeme) abstain from, stop (The transcription of this item is not clear-cut. On morphological grounds, one could justify *ku-reeb_ltama*. However, both in Chimiini and Somali, a sequence *bt* would naturally be devoiced to *pt*. However, careful phonetic evidence would be needed to determine whether this devoicing fully merges *b* with the phoneme *p*.)

Gaari/ irepteeme. ‘The car stopped.’

Nvula/ irepteeme. ‘The rain stopped.’

Repteeme/ ku_la. ‘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/ chimwaambila/ reeptama/ la_ta/ 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] (rehemeele) have mercy on, compassion for; be generous

Ali/ mrehomele 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/ mrehemeseheze Iisa/ mwaana. ‘Ali caused Iisa to have compassion for the child.’

ku-rehemesheleza v. caus. appl. (**-rehemesheleeze**)

ku-rehemeshelezanya v. caus. appl. rec. (**-rehemesheleezenye**)

ku-rehemu v.

Muunt^hu/ humrehemu ukoo nt^hi/ naayé/ humrehemu uko kuzimú. ‘One who helps/gives mercy to one on earth, he will be given mercy by one who is in sky.’ (A proverb.)

rehemu

n. in the phrase:

kh^htinda rehemu ‘to sever relationship with one’s relatives’

Kh^htinda rehemu/ ni jawaabu/ siwo/ suura. ‘To cut oneself off from family is not good.’

m-rehemu(la) (wa-)

adj. [Ar. *marhūm* W 332] the late so-and-so (lit. the one who has found mercy)

Wana wawili/ wa mrehemu^la 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 mrehemu^la Saalehe. ‘She was the wife of the late Saalehe.’

rehema

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; variant form: **rayli**

Mizigo/ yatakhsaafira/ ka rayli. ‘The loads will travel by rail.’

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 chireenzá?** ‘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: **Atiilile/ shaati/ ka chireenzá?**)

Ka chireenza/ atilo shaati. ‘It is with a razor that he cut the shirt.’ Or, with the addition of verb focus: **Ka chireenza/ atiiló/ shaati.** ‘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 shaati.**)

kana chireenza ‘like a razor’

Natile ka chireenzá/ shaati. ‘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/ shaati.** It is possible to focus on the verb, in which the case the final accent does not extend beyond the verb: **Natiilé/ ka chireenza/ shaati.**)

Shfiniko ichi/ cha chigaango/ chinayoo maso/ kana chireenza/ tahaðara/ sichikhuúinde. ‘This lid of a tin has sharpness like razor, be careful not to cut you.’

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/ beeló/ 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.’ is this example correct **karka wa reeri?**

Ni habba/ want^hu wa mwiini/ hulooló/ ka reeri/ ziinginé. ‘It is small [the number of] people of Brava who marry into another family.’

reeri iniize [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.’

Takhaadira/ khpata mzeelewe/ takhaadira/ khpata reeriye/ takhaadira/ kiiwa/ uyu/ ni m^wana wa fulaani/ ambó/ uyu/ ni reeri fulaani/ jisaa mi/ nam^wono maaziyé/ maaziye/ kana...reeri fulaani. ‘You can get his parent, you can get his family, you can know this is so-and-so’s child, or this is from so-and-so’s family, as I see him, his blood is like so-and-so’s family.’ (Said in explaining the proverb, **Maazi/ ya muunt^hu/ hayaabahi.** ‘The blood of a person is not lost.’ This proverb conveys the idea that a person’s characteristics can be seen in those related to him.)

Tamlangala/ takuhada uyu/ maaziye/ waawaye/ ni ^fkana/ fulaani/ fulaani/ tu/ ambó/ takuhada uyu/ ni ^fkana/ reeri fulaani/ ni ^fkana/ reeri fulaani/ maaziye/ uyu/ ni ^fkana/ fulaani/ ambó/ maaziye/ ni ^fkana/ Abdulkhadiri fulaani/ ndiyé/ so/ mzaaziló. ‘You will see someone, you will say this one his blood, his father is like so-and-so, so-and-so just. Or you will say this one is like such-and-such family, he is like such-and-such family, his blood is like so-and-so. Or his blood is like such-and-such Abdulkhadiri. Is he the one who gave birth to him?’ (Continuing the discussion of the proverb cited above.) (Notice how the noun **fulaani** ‘so-and-so’ forms a phonological phrase with a preceding noun: **reeri fulaani,**

Abdukhadiri fulaani. This phrasing explains the lack of accent on the preceding noun and the shortening of the vowel in the noun **reeri**.)

Wabjaana/ wa leelo/ hawapeendi/ kuloola/ karka reeri/ zaawo. ‘Youth today do not like to marry inside their own clan.’

Want^u wa reri mooyi/ huloola/ ka reri yiyo/ iyo. ‘The people of one clan marry from this very same clan.’

resiiti

n. [Eng. *receipt*] receipt

Muunt^u/ chiwanayo resiiti/ ya chiint^u/ hukhaadira/ kuruda chint^u ichi. ‘If someone has a receipt for something, he can return this thing back.’

Naayó/ resiiti/ yaa yo/ uzilo zombo izi. ‘You have a receipt for which you have bought these things.’

Shati iyi/ mbashiizé/ resiitiye. ‘This shirt, I lost its 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^oabu [st.] ‘he saw in hell s.o. who charged excessive interest’

khpa^a riba ‘to pay interest’

Karka diini/ ya islaamu/ muunt^u/ kumpa muunt^u/ riba/ ni haraamu. ‘In Islam, for one to pay interest to someone is forbidden.’

Omari/ kaaziye/ yont^he/ ni khpa waant^u/ riba. ‘Omari, his entire job (all that he does) is to pay people interest.’

kh^tomolaa riba ‘to lend money at a high interest rate’

khtalaa riba ‘to lend money with interest’

Bangi/ zont^he/ schimpa muunt^u/ deeni/ hutalaa riba. ‘All banks, if they give a loan, charge interest.’

Komelopo ka ujee muké/ Sa’iidi/ chambiloowa/ chimwaambiló/ nii muke/ we/ tete^e 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.’

ribhi

n. [Ar. *ribh* W 321] gain, profit, benefit (This word is not used by GM and we did not record it during our research with MI.)

shpe ribhi ya tijaara/ cheepushe na khasaara [st.] ‘grant us profit from trade, keep us away from losses’

ri^oa

n.[Sw. *radhi* SSED 393; Ar.] blessing, act of blessing or approving

ri^owaana

n. approval

Mooja nawaape wo ri^owaana [st.] ‘may God grant them his approval’

ri^owaani

n. [Ar. *ri^owān* W 344] pleasure, delight (esp. in heaven)

Ma’ahsaaba/ na masheekhi/ ri^owaani/ ya mojiitu/ inawe ilu yaa wo/ wafafishiize/ risaala/ ya mojiitu/ ba’adi ya mtume Mhamadi.

‘Companions and scholars, may God’s satisfaction be on them, they spread God’s message after the Prophet Mohamed.’

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!’

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.

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 mwaana. ‘Abdelaziizi pleased the child.’
Daðalete kumriðisha waawaye. ‘He tried hard to win his father’s approval.’

Harusi iyi/ kama chiza kuwariðisha/ want^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/ mwana 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 kuwariðishiliza. ‘There is nothing that you can do to please them.’ [review use of applied verb here](#)

Omari/ mriðishilize Abdulwahaabi/ mwaana. ‘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. *rīḥa* W 365] smell

variant form: *riihi*

Hasani/ hadiile/ ka Omari/ numbaani/ choolo/ chinakunuunk^ha/ rihi/ ya maṭuzi/ siwo/ naðiifa/ chooloche. ‘Hasani said at Omari house the toilet is smelling the smell of feces, it is not clean, his toilet.’

rihaani

n. sweet basil

chileteḷoowa miskhi na rihaani/ pokela siize izo nza jannaani [st.] ‘if you are brought a perfume or sweet basil, accept them, do not refuse; those are from Paradise’

mafta ya rihāani ‘oil made from basil’

Rihaani/ ishkabiḷowi mṭuziini/ hununk^ha miskhi/ rihaani/ na mafta ya mshuungi/ hufanyilizoowa. ‘If basil is added to soup, it smells good; basil is also used to be make shoe polish.’

riihi

n. [Som. *riix* "rheumatism" DSI 519] rheumatism

Omari/ maamaye/ miilu/ na magoonji/ humḷaaza/ ka wiingi/ oshele ka

dakhtari/ ambiila/ nayo rihi/ andikiila/aspero/ kilaa muunthi/ kunaa mbili. ‘Omari’s mother’s legs and knees always ache her, she went to the doctor and was told you have rheumatism and was prescribed two aspirins a day to drink.’

- rihi** n. [Ar. *rīḥ* "wind" W 364] flatulence, burping, and generally gas in the stomach
Alí/ waawaye/atila bawaasiri/ rihi/ ntamlawa/ skuu ntatu/ hatá/ dakhtari/ chivelwelata. ‘Ali’s father was operated on for hemorrhoids, gas did not come out of him for three days, even the doctor got worried.’
- rijaali** adj. [Sw. *rijali* SSED 399; cf. Ar. verb *rajila* "to behave like a man" W 329] manly, a real man, brave, intelligent, clever
Alí/ ni rijaali/ humsaayda/ waake/ ka dhibu. ‘Ali is a real man, he helps his fellow man in hardship.’
Hamiisi/ mara mara/ ni rijaali. ‘Hamiisi is at times a man.’
- 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/ Miini/ wakhti wa aarani/ schipelekowa maduriini/ kurima/ chimaliza/ ba’adi ya kuzaala/schirudoowa. ‘Cows in Miini, during the prosperous/productive season, are taken upcountry to get pregnant, and then after delivery are brought back.’
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)rimisha 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
- rimoorkiyo** n. 9/10 [Ital. *rimorchio*] a truck with trailer for carrying goods
Alí/ lesele zoombo/ bidaa’a/ niingi/ ka gaari/ na rimoorkiyó/ zishkiziiza. ‘Ali brought a lot of goods, a truck and its trailer have been offloaded.’
- ripoti** n. [Sw. *ripoti* SSED 400; Eng. *report*] report

- khpa ripooti** ‘to give a report’
Askari/ chishkila waardiya/ fijiri/ humpa ripooti/ mkuluwe/ khabari/ za masku/ stuushiló. ‘A policeman when coming off (lit. getting down) from guard in the morning reports to his superior about what happened during the night.’
- kh̄tomola ripooti** ‘to issue, give a report’
Askari/ chishkila waardiya/ fijiri/ hūtomola ripooti/ mkuluwe/ khabari/ za masku/ stuushiló. ‘A policeman when coming off (lit. getting down) from guard in the morning reports to his superior about what happened during the night.’
- kubiga ripooti** ‘to make a report’
Omari/ ripooti/ yaa ye/ peshelo steeshini/ ka poliisi/ ya kuwa Nuuru/ boozele/ iwele wanafaakhi. ‘Omari, the report that he took to the police station that Nuuru stole something was lit. became, a lie.’
- i-r̄iri** 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 ndrat̄ila daghaali [song] ‘when you send a letter, complaining stops for me’
Mtume Nuuhu/ waliko tumiila/ na mojiitu/ keendra/ khkomeza/ risaala/ ka makh̄luukhu/ wa nt̄i izo/ karka wakht̄i/ 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’
- ku-ritha** cf. **ku-waritha** [Sw. *rithi* SSED 400; Ar. *warīta* W 1060] inherit
- ku-riiwata** 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-riwatoowa 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/ nt̄hakhupaa nguwo/ na riwú/ kumpelekela. ‘Tomorrow I will give you clothes and gifts to take to her.’
- riyaahi** stomach) n. [Sw. *riyahi* SSED 399; Ar. *riyāh*, plural of *rīḥ* “wind, fart, smell” W 364] gas (in the
- 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 chileembache/ chitaani. ‘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^h a riyaali/ mooyi/ nt̄^h akhupikila chaakuja/ na nt̄^h akhupa/ 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.’
- ku-riziqa** v. provide for someone
var. **ku-’arzuqa**
Kiḷa/ muunt̄u/ hum’arzukhó/ ni mojiitu. ‘Each person, the one who

- provides for him is God.’ (A proverb.)
Kiḷa/ muunt^hu/ humrizikhó/ ni mojiitu. ‘Each person, the one who provides for him is God.’
- rizqi** [Ar. *rizq* W 336] means of living, sustenance, daily bread, food, edible things, anything that can be obtained (The *z* is probably devoiced immediately in front of the voiceless *kh*.)
Rizkhi/ ni makhsuumu. ‘Provisions are distributed by God.’ (A religious proverb that assures people not to worry, every one will get what God has prescribed for him as provision of food or money. The word *makhsuumu* is an Arabic word (although Chimiini speakers substitute *kh* for the original *q* in Arabic and add the final vowel) that is not generally used in Chimiini.)
Rizkhi/ naazó/ mojiitu. ‘Food or other resources, it is God who has them.’ (A proverb.)
Ye/ ondroshole/ oloshole nt^hakaani/ ki’imereḷa 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 riyali. ‘They are sold two for a quarter of a riyal.’
- robo**[Ar. *rub?* W 322]
- rooḍa** n. 9/10 [Ar. *rauḍa* W 367] *Arabacism* garden
variant form: **rowḍa**
ma beina qabri ya Mtume na minb ari/ ni rowḍa 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]
Liḷa/ ichiya/ uroongo/ huṭeenga. ‘If truth comes, lies stay away.’ (A proverb.)
- rooti** n. 9/10 [Hind.] wheat bread
Chiwa’ulila rooti. ‘He bought bread for them.’
Fardoosa/ muzize Hamadi/ kula iziwa/ na rooti. ‘Fardoosa asked Hamadi to buy milk and bread.’
Kanaa we/ nakhsuḷa kishkiza uzitó/ we/ laazimu/ kuja haba/ rooti. ‘If you want to lose weight you must eat less bread.’
- 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.] ‘O 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

ru'yaṭuḷ hilaali n. the sighting of the new moon
Ramaḍaani/ hufungoowa/ soomu/ sharti/ ka ru'yaṭuḷ hilaali/ ya mweezi/ wa ramaḍaani. ‘In Ramadhan there is fasting, but the new moon of Ramadhan month must be sighted (before fasting begins).’

rubṭa n. [Ar. *rabṭa* "bundle" and *rubṭ* "binding" W 322] bundle (of cloth)
variant form: **rupṭa**

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/ mukḥṭaa ye/ ilo nṯ^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.’
Chikhuṭukulapó/ hakhuruudi. ‘When it takes you, it does not bring you back.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is: **qabri** ‘the grave’.)
Chiḷawopo numbaani/ kuruudake/ ni masku/ tu. ‘When he left home, his return was late in the evening.’
Chimṭukula/ chimruda ka mwenewe. ‘He took him and returned him to his owner.’
Chiwona kuwaa nfuye/ ndiyé/ namrebo muḷḷiwé/ kuruda numbaani. ‘She saw that this monkey was the one keeping her husband from returning home.’
Chizeele/ na mwaaná/ wachiruuda/ muyiini/ 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’
kuruda ka kaziini ‘to get back from work’
Mi/ ndrudile kiitú. ‘I returned home (lit. to ours).’
mp^haka/ ye/ nakurudo muyiini ‘while the cat was returning to the town’, or: **mp^haka/ ye/ nakuruudó/ muyiini** (the latter example shows the effect of the Accentual Law of Focus which generally holds for pseudo-relative clauses and adverbial relative clauses but not for true relative clauses, i.e. head-modifier relative clauses)
Mp^hana/ schifakata/ schiruuda/ ka winginewe. ‘The rats ran away and returned to the others.’
Muke/ kumwona/ muḷḷiwe/ 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 him back into the well.’
Ndru/ chiruda ka sarmala. ‘The relative returned to the carpenter.’
Ndruwé/ rudiilopó/ chimwona sarmala/ uko mlangooni/ namliindra. ‘When his

relative returned, he found the carpenter there at the door waiting for him.’
Nguwo/ irudiile. ‘The cloth has shrunk.’
Nt^hale/ ilaziló/ hayruudi/ chinume. ‘An arrow that has left does not come back.’ (A proverb.)
Ruuda. ‘Return, go back!’ **Rudaani.** ‘(Pl.) go back!’ **Rudani kiinu.** ‘Go back to your place!’ **Sirudeeni.** ‘(Pl.) don’t to gabk!’ **Sirudeeni/ 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.’
Sirudeeni. ‘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 waanthu/ wotte/ wanakhfuraha. ‘People all came back pleased.’

rel.

ku-ruudika v. p/s. able to be returned

kurudikaa numa ‘to be delayed’

Haliima/ haruusiye/ irudishilee numa/ ka sababu/ kaawo/ yingile ta’aziya. ‘Haliima’s wedding has been delayed because at their house someone has died and people are coming to express condolences etc.’

Safariya/ mi/ irudishilee numa. ‘Me, my journey has been delayed.’

Zibuku izi/ haziruudiki. ‘These books cannot be returned.’

ku-rudiḷoowa v. appl. pass.

Munt^hu mzima/ harudiloowi/ limi. ‘An elder is not talked back to (lit. is not returned the tongue).’

Mweenzawe wa kaandra/ chirudiḷoowa/ kaaziye. ‘His first friend was returned to his job.’

Naank^hó/ ichirudiḷowa 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.’ (Syn: Observe the two impersonal passive verbs in this sentence: **ichirudiḷoowa** ‘there was repeating’ and **ichendroowa** ‘there was going’.)

Su’ali iyo/ irudiḷiḷa. ‘That question was returned to.’

Yaa mi/ nk^hasiizó/ siwo/ hukhadirowa kurudiḷoowa. ‘What I heard is not 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/ ruudilá. ‘What did you see, say it again!’ Compare: **Hadiileni/ ruudilá.** ‘What did he say, say it again!’ (Observe the final accent in the imperative verb in these sentences; we have not explored this phenomenon.)

Hamadi/ mruudile/ 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/ liini/ wachirudilo want^hu wazimá/ limí. ‘Children did not talk back to old people.’

kurudila mkono ‘(lit.) return the hand, i.e. hit back’

Haliima/ ni mtuuvu/ haṭá/ chibigoowa/ haruudili/ mkono/ degani/ kana maayi. ‘Haliima is calm, even if she is hit,

she does not (lit.) return the hand (i.e. hit back), she stays as calm as water.'

Mubli/ 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? Nthakhuruudila/ ba'ada ya imfhaani. 'Can I borrow your pen? I will return it to you after the examination.'

Ndrudilile chibuuku. 'He brought the book back to me.'

Nimrudilile ziina. 'I repeated the reading for him.'

Niwarudilile wenewé. 'I returned it to its owners.'

Shiinda/ kumruudila/ na kumlaṭa muke uje mwiinginé. 'He decided to remarry her [lit. return to her] and divorce that other wife.'

Si/ shtakanza ka kurudila kulangala darsi yaa yana. 'We will begin by reviewing yesterday's lesson.'

Sindruudilé/ ka numba iyi. 'Don't come back to me at this house!'

Sultaani/ 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 mahari. '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/ nfulahishizee nt^ho/ kaa we/ kundruudila. 'You have pleased me very much by your returning to me.'

Ye/ rudilile su'ali iyo. 'He returned to that question.'

ku-ruudisha v. caus. (**rudishiize**) have s.o. return s.t. (The causative form of the verb *-ruuda* is not used in connection to the meaning 'shrink'; one cannot say ***Hamadi/ rudishize chiguwo.** 'Hamadi shrunk the cloth.')

Nuuru/ mrudishize mwaana/ chibuuku. 'Nuuru had the child return the book.'

ku-rudishana v. caus. rec. (**wa-rudisheene**) cause one another to return s.t.

ku-rudishiliza v. caus. appl.

Hamadi/ mrudishilize Iisa/ mwaana/ chibuuku. 'Hamadi had Iisa's child return a book.'

ku-rudishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. (**wa-rudishilizeenye**)

Omari/ na Hasani/ warudishilizenye waana/ zibuuku. 'Omari and Hasani had one another's children return books.'

ku-rudoowa v. pass. (**rudiiḷa**)

amali pashpo ilmu hurudoowa [st.] 'deeds (done) without knowledge are rejected (returned)'

Hadiya/ ha'irudoowi. 'A gift is not returned.'

Isa/ ni waqti 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: [**issa/ ni waqti wa kurudoowa**]. It is also possible to convey the focus on the adverb by putting the verb into pseudo-relative form: **Isa/ ni waqti 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 mahaḷa/ ni sahali/ kurudoowa/ ni ṭa'abu. 'To go somewhere is easy, but to come back is difficult.'

kurudowaa numa 'to be put back, delayed'

Fadhi/ ya wazeele/ irudilaa numa. 'The meeting of the elders has been delayed.'

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. *rūḥānī* "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. *rūḥ* W 365] self, soul, spirit; oneself

Cheema/ huza ruuhuye/ chiwovu/ humershoowa. 'Something good sells itself, something bad has to be advertised.' (A proverb.)

Husuḷo 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.'

kana ruuhu 'like the soul'

Hamadi/ humpenda/ Khadija/ nakhsuḷa kumloola/ kana ruuhu. 'Hamadi loves Khadija, he wants to marry her very much (lit. like the soul).'

Humpeenda/ kana ruuhu. 'He loves her like (his) soul.'

khfanya ruuhuye 'make oneself'

Huseeni/ nakhfanya ruuhuye/ kana nthaku/ kanaa ye/ nakhfakarisha peesaze. 'Huseeni is making himself like there is no one like him, he is showing off his money.'

Omari/ nakhfanya ruuhuye/ taajiri/ naayé/ shiḷiingi/ nthaanayo. 'Omari is making himself out to be rich and he does not have a shilling.'

khfanyiliza ruuhu 'to pretend'

Bakayle/ ondroshele/ oloshela/ leele/ iwaani/ fanyilize ruuhuye/ kuwaa ye/ fiile. 'The rabbit left and went and slept in the sun, pretending that it was dead.'

khfilila ruuhu 'to die for something'

khteleza ruuhu 'to play with oneself -- i.e. to deceive oneself, not behave responsibly etc.'

Muunt^hu/ shteleza ruuhuye/ hushalaayata/ aakhiriye. 'If someone (lit.) plays with himself (deceives himself, does not behave responsibly etc.), in the end he will have regret.'

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**.)

khṭinda ruuhu 'to die [lit. to cut the soul]'

khṭindika ruuhu 'to die [lit. the soul be cut]'

Omari/ ruuhu/ imṭindishile/ sa'a ikumi/ (za) masku/ ya arabiya. 'Omari died on Wednesday night at ten o'clock.'

khṭowa 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'

kurebela ruuhu 'to keep alive with'

Omari/ shshilaa ndala/ nthakuja/ chiint^hu/ nthangú/ fijiri/ ingile mgahawaani/ petee kuja/ habamooyi/ kurebela ruuhuye. 'Omari was hungry, he had not eaten anything since morning; he went to a restaurant and got a little food to keep him alive with (lit. keep his soul with).'

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/ chijaaza/ ruuhuye/ mahaḷa yiiyo/ 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/ humereḷa ruuhuye. ‘When one searches for something, he searches for himself.’ (A proverb.)

Muunt^hu/ huḷḷa ruuhuye/ ka kanaye. ‘A man kills himself by his mouth.’ (A proverb.)

Mwaana/ chiwa’ambila waant^huwe/ kistawisha ruhuzaawo/ kuvala 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 kuḷaṭa 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/ niyubleeló/ dughaaghi/ muja waant^hu/ khuleteleelé. ‘The evil spirit, I killed it, the beast, the eater of people, I brought it to you.’

ruuhu/ na maali ‘soul/self and wealth’ (This phrase is used in expressions like **kumsa’ida muunt^hu/ ka ruuhu/ na maali** ‘to help s.o. with all one has, i.e. with personal efforts and with one’s money’. This expression is much used in Chimiini poetry; in this expression, **ruuhu** does not mean spirit, but life, the physical person, e.g. **khtowa ruhu zaawo** ‘to lose their lives’.)

ruuhu na maali mooja m’iptiliile [st.] ‘God afflicted him [Job] in his person/body (with many diseases) and in his property (wealth, which he lost)’

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/ shtamhafiḍa/ 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/ watziza ruuhu. ‘The women were comforted in spirit.’

wanarude ruuhu ‘so that they get their strength back’

We/ laazimu/ kubarata kulangala ruuhuyo. ‘You must learn to take care of yourself.’

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

raaḍi 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’siyooole/ 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’
- ku-rukhisisha* v. **explore this verb**
We/ hatá/ china habamooyi/ tu/ wo/ watakurukhisisha/ kaziini. ‘Even if you drink just a little, they will fire you.’
- 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 muḷo/ walá/ kuḷaṭowaa ṭalá/ 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.’
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’
khṭomola rukhsa [cf. Sw. *toa ruhusa*] ‘to give permission’
kumera rukhsa ‘to seek permission’
Chimlaṭaa ndruwé/ 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. *rukṅ* "support" W 359] pillar
rukni ya taatu zaka ṭomolaani / na rukni yaa nne khfuunga Ramaḥaani [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'á, 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 ruku'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**)
- ruum* n. rum
Khamrii mbili/ schifanyoowá/ Johaari/ dry gin/ na rúum. [H!H!H!H!H]
'Two kinds of liquor were made in Johaari (from the sugar cane grown there): dry gin and rum.' (That the initial phrase, **khamrii mbili**, is focused is shown by (a) the radical downstep on the next phrase and (b) the pseudo-relativization of the verb **schifanyoowá**. Why do we say that the radical downstep is evidence of focus on the initial phrase? The phrasal separation of the verb **schifanyoowa** from **Johaari** represents an emphasis on the verb. A non-relative emphasized verb is not downstepped, but rather exhibits declination. An emphasized relative verb does exhibit downstep.)
- 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 zijiila/ 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
variant form: **roshaani**
Omari/ kalent^he roshaani. ‘Omari sat on the balcony.’
- ruusi* n.
m-ruusi (wa-,na-) n. Russian
chi-ruusi n. manner, way of the Russians; language of the Russians
Laakini/ jisa aada/ ya chiruusi/ sababu/ walá/ ghardi/ 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 khuḡbaye/ wa’ambiile/ maruusi/ ya kuwa...ba’ada/ ya miyaaka/ miwili/ ruusya/ takhshiindra/ 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. *ruṭuūba* W 345] dampness, moisture, fertility, humidity of the air; 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 khfakaṭa 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. *mizamu* SSED 291; Ar. *mizrāb* "spout" W 375] drainpipe (The morphology of this and other examples parallel to it are contradictory. The fact that the plural form has the prefix *mi-* would indicate that this item consists of a class prefix and a stem *-rzaamu*. However, the diminutive and augmentative forms listed below indicate that *murzaamu* is the stem.)

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’a* W 441] hour, clock, watch, time (In

Chimiini, 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 študiyo yíitu/ 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’

Chíta/ chinakumbiga/ kanaa sa’a. ‘My head is throbbing like a clock.’

kulla mo qalbiye yíiko kamba sa’a [nt.] ‘everybody’s heart beats like a clock’

Langaḷaa sa’a/ štakuraaga. ‘Look at the time, we will be late.’

maḷḷooya mawaazi sa’a na daqiiqa [nt.] ‘my eyes stay open for hours and minutes’

Mi/ nsomeelé/ sa’aa mbili. ‘I have read for two hours.’

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/ muḷa waa sa’a. ‘I waited for Jeeli for an hour.’

ruuhu huliindra (ka) sa’aye na waqtí [st.] ‘the soul awaits its hour and time (i.e. its appointed time for dying)’

Sa’aa kamu. ‘What time is it?’

sa’a siḷa ‘noon (lit. sixth hour)’

sa’a siḷa 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/ itíla lfuunguló. ‘My watch never stopped since it was wound up.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **khalbi** 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 kaazi. ‘They obtain help from their children who are away working.’

	Msa'ada waa mi/ mp^h eetó/ uwaliko mkulu/ kolko waa mi/ shfilaṭiló. 'The help that I got was greater than I expected.'
sa'ari	n. 9/10 [Sw. <i>saari</i> SSED 404; Ar. <i>si'ir</i> W 411] price; variant (apparently preferable) form: <i>si'iri</i> n. 9/10 Baabu/ mtile musaaji/ khpunguza sa'ari. 'Baabu made the seller reduce the price.' Chimuuza/ sa'ari ya eelo. 'He asked him the price of the gazelle.' Chuula/ ka Abunawaasi/ ka sa'ari/ yaa ye/ Abunawaasi/ sujiiló. '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.' Nthangú/ izidiila/ sa'ari/ ya nafta/ si/ shpeete/ khasara niingi/ na iwaaliko/ ahdi/ ilu yaa nthi/ za ch'arabu/ khsaaydila/ nthi 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.'
ma-saa'iba	n. [Ar. <i>maṣā'ib</i> W 529] calamities duniya nuumba ya masaa'iba na dhibu [st.] 'the world is the abode of calamities and hardships'
m-sa'iida	n. help Mi/ mbaliko nakulindra msaa'idá/ sa'a mooyi/ zaaydi. 'I have been waiting for over an hour for help.' Mi/ nakhtahaja msaa'idawo. 'I need your help.'
sa'iidi	adj. [Ar. <i>sa'īd</i> "happy, blissful, lucky" W 410] blessed, characterized by good things, good hopes, etc., good, nice Ali/ ni sa'iidi. 'Ali is good.' Na skuu nt^h atú/ ni ayamu sa'iidi. 'And three days are blessed days.' ni ayaamu sa'iidi, leelo muunt^hi wa iidi [song] 'it is days of goodness/good hopes, today <i>iidi</i> day' Numba iyi/ Omari/ imwelele sa'iidi. 'This house, Omari, it brought him good things/hopes etc. (e.g. this house that Omari bought recently has been something good, positive etc. for him).' Omari/ ni muunt^hu/ sa'iidi. 'Omari is a good man.' rel. -sa'iidi n. goodness Omari/ pete usa'iidi. 'Omari is a good man, has the best characteristics.'
sa'iiri	n. [Ar. <i>sa'īr</i> "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. <i>sabini</i> SSED 404; Ar. <i>sab'ūni</i> W 394] seventy ab'ina keendra or sab'iini/ na keendrá 'seventy nine' sab'ina naane or sab'iini/ na naané 'seventy eight' sab'ina nth'aano or sab'iini/ na nth'aanó 'seventy five' sab'inaa saba or sab'iini/ naa sabá 'seventy seven' sab'ina sitta or sab'iini/ na sittá '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.' (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/ stjimiilopó 'when seven days passed'

Sku yaa saba/ chiza kuðihira/ mi/ ni uje nt^hakhiliiló/ 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/ wanakhindo 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/ humkaható. '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/ wambaamba. 'He dreamed that he saw seven fat cows and it was seven thin cows who were eating them.'

rel.

saba^{ta}ashara 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/ mp^hate kinaambila/ sababu yaa mi/ nfungiilo 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/ nt^ho/ Safiya/ kuwa mukeewe. 'He waited for Safiya because he desired and wanted very much for Safiya to become his wife.'

Hamiisi/ hupeenda/ khsooma/ iyi/ ni sababu/ ye/ takhpito imtihaani. 'Hamiisi likes to read, this is the reason that he will pass the examination.'

Isa/ si/ chinaayo/ kuwa sababu/ ya mwaalimu/ kufa/ ndiwé. 'Now we believe [lit. have it] that the reason that the teacher died is you.'

Iyi/ yaliko ni sababu/ yaa mi/ ndraziló. 'This was the reason that I left.'

ka sababu 'because, for the reason'

Hamiisi/ hupeenda/ khsooma/ ka sababu iyi/ takhpita imtihaani. 'Hamiisi likes to read, for this reason he will pass the exam.'

ka sababu mweepe 'for some reason'

Siimba/ chighaðibika/ nt^ho/ ka sababu imkalile kuwa... 'Lion became very angry because it seemed to him that...'

ka sababu ya 'because of'

Ka sababu ya Hamiisi/ hupeenda/ khsooma/ ye/ takhpita imtihaani. 'Because Hamiisi likes to read, he will pass the exam.'

ka sababu ya mwanaamkewa 'because of my daughter'

Nakuḷa ka sababu ya uje nyunyí. ‘I am crying because of that bird.’
khutaala ruhuuyo bila ya sababu [nt.] ‘they take your life without any reason’
Mukhta mwaana/ komelo lfuwooni/ sultani Simsini/ sulile kumtinda chitache/ ka sababu zaa ye/ fanyiizó. ‘When the boy reached the shore, Simsini wanted to cut off his head because of what he had done.’
Nakuḷa ka sababu ya uje nyunyí. ‘I am crying because of that bird.’
Nt^haku/ sababu/ ya kaminoowa/ ya Hamadi/ huhadó. ‘There is no reason to believe what Hamadi says.’
Nt^hashkuwanaayo/ sababu yaa si/ ku’awaaóila. ‘We did not have reason to complain.’
Pashpo/ sababu/ mbishile/ nt^humbile ito iyi. ‘Without a reason, he hit me and perforated me this eye.’
sababu gani ‘why?’
Sababu/ ni mayti/ ya muunt^hu/ hurudoowa/ ka mojiitu/ jisaa yo/ yiikó. ‘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^hilangaḷa/ ka kuḷi/ 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.’
Sababu/ yaa ye/ ililo apá/ ni kumwona maamaye. ‘The reason that she came here for is to see her mother.’
Sababuye/ nini. ‘What is the reason?’
Siisi/ sababu gani/ uzizo gaariyé. ‘I do not know for what reason he sold his car.’
Ziwovu izi/ zotte/ stulushiló/ sababu ndimí. ‘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’adi/ ya mashaakili/ yasabibiiló/ makosanyó/ benaa nt^hi/ izii mbilí. ‘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 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.’

kh-sabibisha v. caus. (-*sabibishiize*) cause s.t. to happen

Yont^he/ yaa we/ takendro khfaanyá/ ni khsabibishiza wereeri/ niingi. ‘All you’re going to do is cause a lot of confusion.’

rel. nom.

m-sabibisha (wa-) n. 1/2

u-sabibisho n. 14

kh-sabiq

v. [Ar. *sabaqa* W 394]

saabiri

adj. patient

<i>sabraani</i>	n. patience Mi/ daa'imu/ ni sabraani/ mukhtaa mi/ nakihtajoo kuwá. 'I am always patient when I need to be.'
<i>sabri</i>	n. 9/10 [Sw. <i>saburi</i> SSED 405; Ar. <i>ṣabr</i> W 501] patience; alternative form: sawari (but this form from MI has not been confirmed) chiza sabri [awa nḡiini 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/ nsuliió/ 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 fanyūza 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 lfungulo la faraji. 'Patience is the key to (lit. of) relief.' (A proverb.) Sabri/ ni sibiri. 'Patience is as bitter as sibiri .' (A proverb.)
<i>kh-sabrisha</i>	v. caus. (cf. <i>sabri</i>) Nafsi sabrisha. 'Cause the soul to be patient!'
<i>saabuuni</i>	n. [Ar. <i>ṣābūn</i> W 502] soap Saabuuni/ hufanyowa ka maftaatala. 'Soap is made from fat.'
<i>sabuura</i>	n. [Ar. <i>sabbūra</i> W 394] blackboard Nda naani/ sabura iyi. 'Whose blackboard is this?' 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'
<i>sabuuri</i>	adj. most patient iyó ni tabii'a ya muunt'u sabuuri [st.] 'that is the behaviour of a most patient person'
<i>sadaqa</i>	n. [Sw. <i>sadaka</i> SSED 405; Ar. <i>ṣadaqa</i> 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.' khkomezā 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/ ishanyowa sadakha. 'The children went back to their schools and that goat was given as charity.'
<i>u-sadaqa</i>	n. 14 [Ar. <i>ṣadāqa</i> W 509] friendship; [pron. usaadaqa or usaadakha]
<i>sadaati (ma-)</i>	(cf. <i>sadiyi</i>) [from Ar. plural form <i>sādāt</i> W 440] a synonym for mashariifu (= descendants of the Prophet)
<i>kh-sadifa</i>	v. [Sw. <i>sadifu</i> SSED 405; Ar. <i>ṣadafa</i> W 508] (sadifiile) coincide Haruusiye/ isadifile haruusiya. 'His wedding coincided with mine.'

<i>kh-sadiqa</i>	<p>v. [Sw. <i>sadiki</i> SSED 405; Ar. <i>ṣadaqa</i> W 508] (sadiqiile) believe; [pron. khsadiqa or khsadikha] <i>Abubakari msadiqiile Qumari</i> [st.] ‘Abubakari believed the Prophet’ <i>makhluuqu kuwa haadithi we khsadiqa</i> [st.] [that] creatures are not eternal, believe [that]’ <i>sadiqa qowli ya mtume Amiini</i> [st.] ‘believe the sayings of Prophet Mohammad’ <i>ya taano amri ya qiyaama sadiqa</i> [st.] ‘the fifth point, believe the fact of the life hereafter’</p>
<i>saadiqi</i>	<p>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.’</p>
<i>Safa</i>	<p>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) <i>chiruzuqe khfakata Marwa na Safa</i> [st.] ‘allow us to run (between) Marwa</p>
<i>l-safa (safa)</i>	<p>n. [Ar. <i>ṣaff</i> "aligning or arranging in a line or row" W 516] line, row kingilaa safá or kingila safaaani ‘to get in line’ kubiga lsafa ‘to form a row, line’ kubigaa safá ‘to form rows, lines’ kuḷawaa safá or kuḷawa safaaani ‘to come out in lines’ Ma’askari/ wamoo safá (or: wamo safaaani). ‘The soldiers are in rows.’ Safa/ ni chiogobe. ‘The lines are short.’ Safa/ nii ndre. ‘The lines are long.’</p>
<i>ma-saafa</i>	<p>n. [Ar. <i>masāfa</i> "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 masaafa/ 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 wachiwonaa 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/ file. ‘The elephant, after running for a long time, fell down and died.’ Masaafa/ benna 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’</p>

Mp^haamp^ha/ chanza koowe^la/ owelee^le/ 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/ ha^tá/ nk^homeelé/ maha^la/ iwaliko nuumba/ mooyi/ tu. ‘I continued walking some distance until I reached a place, there was just one house there.’

N^hamu 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 maha^la. ‘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.’

Haliima/ safariye/ itete muunt^hi/ mzima. [HHH!H] ‘Haliima’s trip took an entire day’

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 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.’

Miini/ ha^tá/ Mkhodiisho/ ni sa’aa kamu/ safariye. ‘Brava to Mogadishu is how many hours its travel?’

Muunt^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/ ¹niingi. ‘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/ kulanga^loowa 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 yit^u/ ituykile sku niingi. ‘Our trip took many days.’

safariyo ‘your trip’; **safarizo** ‘your trips’

Safarizo/ ¹niingi/ 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.)

	Sk <u>u</u> yaa tatu/ mzeele/ rudiile/ ka safariini. ‘On the third day, the old man returned from his trip.’
<i>safha</i>	n. page of a book
<i>saafi</i>	adj. [Sw. <i>saafi</i> SSED 405] clean, pure, clear, good kumkhuduma mwaana/ na ikhlaasi/ na niya saafi ‘to obey the boy with loyalty and pure intention’ <u>Lim</u> i/ ni chinama/ chisaafi/ yaa ye/ nakhsuuló/ huhada. ‘The tongue is a small piece of pure (lit. clean) flesh, whatever it wants, it says.’ (The speaker here is explaining the proverb: <u>Lim</u> i/nth ^h aliná/ mwishpa. ‘The tongue does not have a bone.’ The speaker is saying that the tongue consists of just flesh and says whatever it like, true or false. If the tongue had a bone in the flesh, it would be constrained in what it could say.) (Observe the use of the [cl.1] pronoun <i>ye</i> and the null subject marker on the relative verb nakhsuuló which the <i>ye</i> triggers. In other words, the sentence personifies the tongue: whatever he wants, he says.) mafta saafi ‘pure oil’ mafta ya sehemu/ masaafi ‘clear, pure ghee’ mayi saafi ‘clean water’ Maayi/ ya chisima/ ichi/ masaafi/ kana/ ya bomba. ‘The water of this well is as clear as tap water.’ Maayiye/ masaafi/ na maladá. ‘Its water (of a river) was clean and fresh.’ na niya saafi khutila jannaani [st.] ‘and pure intentions will take you to 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)’ Uki msaafi/ nii dawa. ‘Pure/clear honey is a remedy.’ rel. <i>u-saafi</i> n. 14 cleanliness, purity
<i>safihi</i>	adj. [Sw. <i>safihi</i> "impudent, bold, shameless" SSED 405; Ar. <i>safih</i> “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 <i>safihi</i> related to this adjective, there is no such verb used in Chimiini.) kuwa safihi ‘to be a squanderer’ Mi/ kila/ cheendra/ nuumba/ iwaliko lpandre la kubli/ nch^hiwonaa dhibu/ ka khisa mukeewa/ walimo numba uyó/ waliko muke mwovu/ 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.’
<i>u-safihi</i>	n. 14 khfanya usafihi ‘to have a loose tongue, to insult people shamelessly’ khfanyiliza usafihi ‘to insult someone shamelessly’
<i>kh-saafira</i>	v. [Sw. <i>safiri</i> SSED 406; Ar. <i>safara</i> 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 <i>a</i> , in Chimiini the final vowel is regularly <i>a</i> , just as in native words.) Haaji/ mweenzawe/ Abdi/ husafira ka wiingi. ‘Haaji’s friend Abdi travels a lot.’ Or: Haaji/ mweenzawe/ Abdi/ husafira niingi. Or: Haaji/ mweenzawe/ Abdi/ husafira ntho. Husafira. ‘They travel.’ Mi/ sinakishkila/ nthakhsafira na Huseeni/ kendra naaye/ mahala ya takeendró/ kumera 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/ leese^{la}/ sultani ^{da}alimu/ 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.’

nchisu^{la} khsaafira ‘if you (pl.) want to travel’

Nnakhsaafira/ leelo. ‘I am leaving on a trip today.’ (Cf. **Nakhsaafira/ leelo.** ‘He is leaving on a trip today.’)

Sho khsaafira/ ni Shekh Abu Gaawo. ‘The one who never travelled is Sheikh Abu Gaawo.’ (A proverbial saying.)

Si/ chisafirile Mwiini. ‘We traveled to Brava.’

Sultaani/ mukhtaa ye/ iwiilo/ kuwa mgarwa/ 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/ humsafirisho/ 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].’

Mi/ nt^haasa/ laazimu/ khkasa kana ni amaani/ khsafirowa Miini. ‘I have yet to hear (still must hear) whether it is safe to travel to Brava.’

Mwiini/ isafirila. ‘Brava was traveled to.’

rel. nom.

- u-saafiro* n. 14 [Sw. *usafiri* xxx] journeying, traveling
- safiiri* n. [Ar. *safir* W 413; cf. Som. *safiir* DSI 530] ambassador; embassy
Tafaðali/ nakhsula kendra ka safiiri/ wa Amerikanó. ‘Please, I need to go to the American embassy.’
- 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/ hatá/ 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 kunsha hola zaawó/ maayi. ‘And people, travelers, every time when passing, they stay there to fetch water and to give their animals water to drink.’
Ni mzeelé/ msaafiri/ ða’iifu/ nt^ho/ maskiini. ‘I am an old man, a traveler, very weak, poor.’
Sa’iidi/ mfuturishize 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: which knife are you cleaning?)
Nnakhsafisha chisu cha Hasani. ‘I am cleaning Hasani’s knife.’ (Answers the question: what are you doing?)
Nnakhsafisha chisú/ cha Hasani. ‘I am cleaning Hasani’s knife.’ (Answers the question: what thing of Hasani’s are you cleaning?)
Nnakhsaafishá/ chisu cha Hasani. ‘I am *cleaning* Hasani’s knife.’
Nnakhsaafishá/ chisu cha Hasani/ chaa mi/ hupeendó. ‘I am cleaning the knife of Hasani that I like.’
Nnakhsaafishá/ chisu cha Hasani/ waa mi/ hupeendó. ‘I am cleaning the knife of the Hasani that I like.’
Nnakhsafisha chisu chaa mi/ hupeendó/ cha Hasani. ‘I am cleaning the knife that I like of Hasani’s.’
Nnakhsafisha chisu=ch-é/ Hasani. ‘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 ***Nnakhsafisha chibukuche Hasani**. 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.)
Nnakhsafisha chisuu=ch-é/ Hasani. ‘I am cleaning his knife, Hasani’s.’ (Notice that in this example, there is focus on **chisuuche**, which prevents the final accent from projecting onto **Hasani**. This contrasts with the case where **Hasani** precedes **chisuuche**, where **Hasani** cannot be focused. See below for discussion. It appears that in the construction **Hasani/ chisuuche** or its variant **chisuuche/ Hasani**, it is only the possessed NP or the entire construction that can be focused.)
Nnakhsafisha chisuuché/ Hasani/ chaa mi/ hupeendó. ‘I am cleaning his knife (the one of) Hasani which I like.’
Nnakhsafisha Hasani/ chisuuché. ‘I am cleaning Hasani’s knife.’ Or:
Nnakhsaafishá/ Hasani/ chisuuche. (It does not appear grammatical to say: ***Nnakhsafisha Hasani/ chisuuche**. In other words, in the construction **Hasani/ chisuuche** it is not possible to focus **Hasani** to the exclusion of **chisuuche**. Notice that this contrasts with the construction **chisu cha Hasani**, where one may focus on **chisu** to the exclusion of **Hasani**. See examples above.)
Nnakhsafisha Hasani/ chisuuché/ chaa mi/ hupeendó. ‘I am cleaning Hasani’s knife (the one) that I like.’

- Nt^hakhsaafisha/ nuumba.** ‘She did not clean the house.’
Saafisha. ‘Clean!’ **Safishaani.** ‘(Pl.) clean!’ **Sisafisheení.** ‘(Pl.) don’t clean!’
Safishani khalbi. ‘(Pl.) purify the heart!’ **Sisafisheení/ khalbi.** ‘(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] (**saghiirete**) die at an early age (of a child); variant form: **khsaghiirata**
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 khtjinda 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. *sahih* SSED 407; Ar. *ṣahḥa* "to be correct, true" W 503] correct, exact, right
Abú/ ni saha/ kuwaa si/ ni laazimu/ kulindra habamooyi/ dakhikha/ zaaydi. ‘Abu is right that we should wait for a few more minutes.’
As.habul kahfi/ wawaaliko/ ni waant^hu/ adadi yaawo/ saha/ hayisoowi. ‘The companions of the cave were people whose whose number is not exactly known.’
Hamadi/ ni saha/ kuhada/ kuwaa we/ laazimu/ kumera raaði/ ka Faaṭima. ‘Hamadi is right to say that you should apologize to Faaṭima.’
Hamadi/ ni saha/ kuwa Haliima/ nayoo ndila/ khtala wakht^hiwe. ‘Hamadi is correct that Haliima has the right to take her time.’
Iyo/ ni saha. ‘That’s right.’
koði ya saha ‘exact words’
Mi/ haamina/ ziint^hu/ khfanyowa kaa ndila/ saha. ‘I believe in doing things the right way (lit. things being done the right way).’
Mi/ ni sahá/ kuwa nt^hachiná/ ndila yiingine. ‘I am right that we have no alternative.’
Ni saha/ kuwaa si/ laazimu/ khtuluba/ pesa ziitu/ kurudiloowa. ‘It is only right that we should demand our money back.’
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’
ṭarikhi ya saha ‘exact date’

We/ kheerí/ kuwa saha/ kuwa Abú/ nakichirudilaa si. ‘You had better be right that Abu is coming back for us.’

We/ ni sahá/ kumtahaðara Huseeni. ‘You are right to avoid Huseeni.’

We/ ni sahá/ kuwa ntʰaku/ sababu/ si/ kooloka. ‘You are right that there is no reason for us to go.’

We/ waliko ni sahá/ tarafu ya Maryamu. ‘You were right about Maryamu.’

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.’

Ye/ nakhsaha jawaabu. [H!H] ‘He is checking his answers.’

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. *ṣāḥib* has several possible plurals: *aṣḥāb*, *ṣaḥb*, *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 longelo ka ndila njeema/ pamo na nduuzi na sahaaba weema [st.] ‘Ahmad who led us onto the right path/ and upon his relatives and his righteous Companions’

Sheekhi na sahaabuze/ watakuḥiwanishoowa [st.] ‘the Sheikh and his companions/ will be granted eternal bliss’

zita spisilo karka masahaaba/ maamala chiza takkosa 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. *msahafi* SSED 300; Ar. *maṣḥaf* “copy of the Koran” W 505] the text of the Quran, the Quran

Baana/ atile chibuuku/ Iwarakhale/ siwo/ msahaafu. ‘Baana tore off a page of the book (lit. the book its page), not (of the) Quran.’ (There is focus in this sentence on *chibuuku*. The evidence for this is twofold. First, the pitch on *chibuuku* is raised, whereas in the absence of focus it would be downstepped (in canonical intonation, there is always a major downstep between the phrase preceding the verb and the phrase containing the verb. Second, focus on *chibuuku* is reflected in the continuation of the sentence by *siwo/ msahaafu*. The word *msahaafu* is being contrasted with *chibuuku*. One would not continue the sentence with **siwo/ jalaada* ‘not the cover’. If there is no focus on *chibuuku*, the facts are reversed. One would say **Baana/ atile chibuuku/ Iwarakhale/ siwo/ jalaada.** ‘Baana tore off a page of the book, not the cover.’ It would be incongruous to say **#Baana/ atile chibuuku/ Iwarakhale/ siwo/ msahaafu.** ‘Baana tore off a page of the book, not (of the) Quran.’)

Maali/ mi/ spendi/ haṭá/ habamó/ sho kuwa msahaafuwa/ mp^ha raaði/ maamé/ spendi/ chiint^hu/ chiingine. ‘[Your] wealth, I do not want it, not even a little of it, except my Quran; give me [your] blessings, mother, 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 chivaliko sahali/ khsomoowá ‘that book which was easy to be read’

Chibuku icho/ ni sahali/ khsomoowa. ‘That book is easy to be read.’
Chibuku icho/ ni sahali/ khsomoowake. ‘That book its being read is easy.’
chibuku khsomoowake/ iwaliko sahali ‘this book which its reading was easy’
chibuku ni sahali/ khsomoowá ‘the book that is easy to be read’
chibuku ni sahali/ khsomoowaké ‘the book that is easily read’
Khfanya Jaani/ mabsuuti/ ni sahali. ‘For John to be pleased is easy.’ Or:
Khfanyowa mabsuuti/ Jaani/ ni sahali. Or: **Jaani/ khfanyowa mabsuuti/ ni sahali.** Or: **Jaani/ ni sahali/ khfanyowa mabsuuti.**
khfanya sahali ‘to make easy’
Limi/ kilaa chiint^hu/ huhada/ ni sahali. ‘For the tongue to say anything (true or false) is 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.**
N^hosheze ni sahali/ khfanyoowa/ gaariya. ‘I thought that it would be easy for my car to be fixed.’ Or: **N^hosheze 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 maha^la 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?’ (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.’
sahaniini ‘on the plate’

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).’
- sahawu** n. 10 forgetfulness; var. **sahwu**
Haliima/ sahawuze/ niingi/ hakuumbuki/ ba/ chiint^hu. ‘Haliima, her forgetfulness is a lot, she does not remember anything.’
Sala/ muunt^hu/ hafishoowa/ ka sababu ya sahwu. ‘Prayers, a person is forgiven if forgotten (lit. because of forgetfulness).’
rel.
u-sahawu n. 14 forgetfulness
Hasani/ mwambile mukeewe/ usikhutaale/ usahawu/ ka ibada ya mojiitu. ‘Hasani told his wife: let forgetfulness not take you away from worshipping God.’
- sahbi** n. [Ar. *ṣaḥb*, one of the possible plurals of *ṣāḥib* W 504] (variant of **sahaaba, ma-sahaaba**) = companions
na ndruuze na sahbi na mu’miniina/ wenye kuloongola na khkiza diina [st.] ‘and upon his relatives, his companions, and the believers, those who guide people onto the right path and honor religion’
na ndruuze na sahbi wenye sidqi [st.] ‘and his (=the Prophet’s) relatives and the sincere companions’
- saahera** n. [Ar. *sāḥra* W 400] witch; var. **saahiri (ma-)**
Jirani wiitu/ ni saahera. ‘Our neighbor is a witch.’
Omari/ badijila/ fanyiza chuula. ‘Omari was turned into a frog (lit. was changed and made a frog).’
Saahera/ mbadile Omari/ mfanyize chuula. ‘The witch turned Omari into a frog (lit. changed Omari and made him a frog).’
Saheera/ watishize waant^hu. ‘The witch frightened people.’ (cf. **Waant^hu/ watishiza na saahera.** ‘People were frightened by the witch.’ Also cf. **Watishizo waant^hu/ ni saahera.** ‘Who frightened people was the witch.’)
- kh-saahiba** v. [Ar. *ṣaḥiba* 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. *ṣāḥib* 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 ndruuzaze wotte na sahb dawaamu [st.] ‘and on the Prophet may be prayers and greetings, and on all his relatives and comrades, for ever’
- saahibu_lmaali** n. owner of the property
Saahibu_lmaali/ gadimishize da’wa. ‘The owner filed a suit.’
- Saahibu_lmi’raaji** n. the man of the ascension, i.e. Mohammad
- sahiifa (ma-)** n. [Sw. *sahifa* SSED 407; Ar. *ṣaḥīfa* W 505] newspaper; page of a book

<i>sahiiha</i> from this root] signature	n. 9/10 [Sw. <i>sahiha</i> SSED 407; we did not find an Arabic noun meaning "signature" khtila sahiha 'to sign, put one's signature on ' Basi/ isa/ nandikilaa khaṭī/ ka mkonowo/ kuwa ziint^{bu}/ zaa we/ humiḷkó/ zotte/ ni muḷkuwa/ 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.'
<i>sahiiha</i>	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
<i>kh-sahiiha</i>	v. [Ar. <i>ṣahḥa</i> "to attest, to sign" and <i>ṣahīḥ</i> "authentic, valid" W 503] to final accent in the last phrase is the only case of accent shift?
<i>kh-sahiiha</i>	v. [Sw. <i>sahihi</i> SSED 407; Ar.] sign; [rarely] correct rel. <i>kh-sahiihila</i> v. appl. sign with, for; transfer khsahihila muḷki 'to transfer one's possessions to' <i>kh-sahiihisha</i> v. caus. (<i>sahihishiize</i>) verify <i>kh-sahihishiliza</i> v. caus. appl. <i>kh-sahihishilizanya</i> v. caus. appl. rec. rel. nom. <i>u-sahiiho</i> n. 14
<i>kh-sahila</i>	v. [Ar. <i>sahula</i> "to provide" W 437] (<i>sahiliile</i>) bless with Mwajiitu/ nakhusahila mwaana. 'May God bless you with a child.'
<i>saahibuḷ ihraamu</i>	=mwenye ihraamu miskhi hadaari saahibuḷ ihraamu [st.] 'one does not touch perfume when in the state of ihraamu '
<i>saahiri (ma-)</i>	n. [Ar. <i>sāḥir</i> W 400] witch rel. <i>u-saahiri</i> n. meaning and example
<i>m-saaji (mi-)</i>	n. 3/4 [Sw. <i>msaji (mi-)</i> SSED 399; Ar. <i>sāj</i> W 391] teak tree; in Brava, any hard wood of reddish color (also called muti mhuundru)
<i>kh-sajila</i>	v. [Ar. <i>sajila</i> W 398] (<i>sajiliile</i>) record rel. <i>kh-sajilila</i> v. appl. (<i>sajiliile</i>) nom. rel. <i>u-sajilo</i> n. meaning and example
<i>saajima</i>	n. 9/10 [Sw. <i>shemeji</i> SSED 419] brother- or sister-in-law saajimá 'my brother- or sister-in-law' (cf. sajimaza 'my brother/sister-in-laws')
<i>sakaraaṭi</i> death dying!'	n. [Ar. <i>sakarāt [al-maut]</i> "agony of death" W 417] death throes; time, moment of death Hamadi/ hadile/ sakaraaṭi/ sakaraaṭi. 'Hamadi said: (I am) dying! (I am) dying! Qur'aani hiinfa karka sakaraaṭi [st.] 'the Quran is useful at the moment of death' ukali wa sakaraaṭi/ 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^hu/ 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.’
Mbe;e sakharaani/ mbeeló. ‘I was drunk, that’s what I was.’
- sakhaawa** adj. [Ar. noun *sakāwa* “generosity” W 402] liberal, generous (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 müingine 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 wenye khalawa / 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
- saakiti** adj. [cf. Sw. *sukutu* “be silent” SSED 439; Ar. *sākit* W 417] silent
- kh-sala** v. [Sw. *sala* SSED 408; Ar. *ṣala* W 524] (**saliile**) say prayers (at the prescribed times)
aṭa chisala peeke pashpo wahali [st.] ‘even if one prays alone without companions’
Hasani/ saliile/ ka himaahima/ maliize/ mbele ya waant^hu/ wotte/ oloshela/ tete chibaṭeera/ 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 mkulé/ 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’
khsala shtaanga ‘to pray shtaanga’
Omari/ husala muskitiini. ‘Omari prays at the mosque.’
Sho khsala/ ni mkaafiri. ‘One who does not pray is an infidel.’
Wamalizopo khsalá/ wachilawa/ wachendra ka sultaani. ‘When they finished praying, they left and went to the sultan.’
Watile ngiisha// bahariini/ wachishkila/ ka chibaṭeera/ 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-salīla v. appl. (**salīlile**) pray with, for
khsalīla 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’

tamsalīlo Mtume nayo shifaa’a [st.] ‘the one who prays for the Prophet has [the Prophet’s] intercession [on his behalf]’

kh-salīloowa v. appl. pass.

iidi du’a hulomboowa, mtume husalīloowa [song] ‘on **iidi, du’a** is implored, the Prophet is prayed to’

kh-salīsha v. caus. lead in prayers

Muskitiini/ ka Maftaaho/ husalīshó/ ye/ mwenewe/ Sharif Muftaaho. ‘In the mosque of Maftaaho, the one who leads the prayers is Sharif Muftaaho himself.’

kh-salīshana v. caus. rec.

kh-salīshiliza v. caus. appl.

kh-salīshilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-salōowa v. pass. be prayed

masku nt^haasa fijiri yo khsalōowa [st.] ‘in the evening before morning prayers are said’

Muskitiini/ isalīila. ‘At the mosque there is being prayed at.’

ndruuza khsalōowa wakhtī nt^haano laazimu/ za farōi hu’ink^hiro ni mzuungu daalimu [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 husalōwa 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.’

kana msala ‘like a mat’

Wakhtī/ wa jilaali/ tawala/ hudega/ kana msala/ mayiimbi/ huwa naadira. During summer time, the sea gets calm like a mat, waves become rare.’

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’

saalihi

Waloombele wabli watuuvu weema/ na waana saalihi wateendra zeema [SCB:588] ‘Pray that they may find good and gentle husbands and have upright children who act virtuously.’

kh-salīma
past tense

v. [Sw. *salimu* SSED 409; Ar. *salima* "to surrender, resign oneself" W 424] **check for**

khsalīma amri ‘to give oneself up (e.g. to the police); to recognize a failure’

khsalīma amri/ ka mwaajitu ‘to commit one’s cause to God, resign oneself to the will of God’

kh-salīmila v. [Sw. *salimia* SSED 409; cf. Ar. *salām* "Islamic greeting" W 425] **check for past tense** say hello to someone for; give one’s regards to

Chandikaa khaṭī/ nsalīmila Muusa. ‘If you write a letter, say hello for me to Muusa.’

kh-salīsha v. [etymology unknown] (**salīshiize**) lose one’s money (which he has given for the purpose of getting a profit through trading)

Ali/ msalīshize 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/ salīshize 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).’

salīiṭa adj. slippery

ndila ya salīiṭa ‘a slippery road’

kh-salīṭa v. (**salīṭiile**) [Sw. *saliti* SSED 409; cf. Ar. *salāṭa* “lack of restraint in one’s language” and *salīṭ* “viciue” W 422] report, incite, turn someone against someone, cause friction between people

Ali msalīṭile Nuuru/ ka askari. ‘Ali reported Nuuru to the police.’

rel.

kh-salīṭila v. appl. (**salīṭiiliile**) talk someone into doing harm to another

kh-salīṭiloowa v. appl. pass. (**salīṭiliila**)

sho khsala husalīṭiloowa minoka/ chifa hupondroowa ka ndruundo na ṣṭoka [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-salīṭika v. be crazy for, fall in love

rel.

kh-salīṭoowa v. pass. (**salīṭiila**) be hung up on (e.g. in love with)

Ali/ salīṭila na Haliima. ‘Ali is hung up on Haliima.’

saḷwa na manna [Ar. *salwa* “comfort” W 427 and *mann* “boon” W 925] a fixed expression: ‘high on the hog’; [pron. **saḷwa/ na manná**]

keesho takulishoowa saḷwa 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.’

salīṭinaari n. [Som. *saliid naar* "iodine [lit. oil of fire]", Italian-Somali Dictionary, p. 687, probably from Arabic verb *ṣaly* "to burn" W 524 + *nār* "fire" W 1009] iodine

saḷoota n. couch, sofa

Ali/ hadiile/ saḷota iyi/ noloolo/ muunt^hu/ huwonela raaha/ khkalaant^hila.

‘Ali said: this couch is soft, a person experiences comfort/pleasure with/by sitting on it.’

Mi/ nakhtahaja kaaḷmeyó/ kondrola saḷota iyi. ‘I need your help in moving this sofa.’

saḷuuti n. salute

kubiga saḷuuti ‘to salute’

sala n. 9/10 [Sw. *sala* SSED 408; Ar. *ṣalāh* "Islamic official prayer ritual" W 524]

Islamic official prayer ritual

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)’

Mwaana/ chimwambila waawaye/ mi/ ndrĩnzilé/ nt^heendre/ hatá/ kharibu yaa sala/ ya fijiri. ‘The boy told his father, I watched over the dates until near the time of the morning prayers.’

na ilu ya mtume sala na salaamu/ na ndrũuzaze wotte na sabhu dawaamu [st.] ‘and on the Prophet may be prayers and greetings, and on all his relatives and comrades forever’

Sala/ husalowa ka wakhtuwe. ‘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 farõi [st.] ‘prayer and fasting, their knowledge, is obligatory’

sala ya fijiri ‘morning prayers’

sala ya mayti ‘the prayer for the dead’

Ba’adi ya khsalilowa/ sala ya mayti/ 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.’

Shtaanga/ ni sala husalowa fijiri ya sku ya iidĩ. ‘Shtaanga is a prayer that is prayed on the morning of **iidĩ** (ya **wamuusi**).’

wakhti waa sala ‘time for prayer’

ya piĩli 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 igobegebe/ chisaaló/ ni yee peeke/ tu. ‘So the old tortoise was the one who remained, just him alone.’

Chĩta cha ngoombe/ chiseele. ‘The head of a cow remained.’

Hasani/ chisaala/ na mwanaamke/ wa sulṭaani/ uje mkhada’ilo karka maṭezó. ‘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 piĩli/ 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/ hump^hati. ‘Now stay there, you cannot get me.’

Karaayle/ weene/ kuwaa dafa/ zoṭe/ 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’

minginiwe seelo kabisa hasaali [st.] ‘while (in contrast to God the Eternal) the rest (of us) (lit. others who remain) will definitely perish (lit. not survive)’

Mukhtaawo/ 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^haku/ iselo khfanyoowá. ‘Nothing remains to be done.’

Nt^heende/ zijiḷa/ naa nyunyi/ nt^hayikhsaala/ haṭá/ nt^heende 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!’ **Sisaleení.** ‘(Pl.) don’t remain!’ **Sisaleení/ numbaani.** ‘Don’t remain in the house!’

Shalaayi/ husalaa numa. ‘Regrets remain to the end.’ (A proverb.)

Sisaleení/ 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^hawakishkiḷa/ muunt^hi/ oyo/ mzimawe/ na maskuyé/ waseele/ ilu yaa miti/ kaa ndala/ na ooní. ‘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.’

Wasele numbaani. ‘They stayed in the house.’ Cf. **Nt^hawakhsaala/ numbaani.** ‘They did not stay in the house.’

Wasele watupu. ‘They stayed naked.’ Cf. **Nt^hawakhsaala/ watupu.** ‘They did not stay naked.’

Wasele woo peeke. ‘They stayed alone.’ Cf. **Nt^hawakhsaala/ woo peeke.** ‘They did not stay alone.’

Ye/ seele/ karka jazira iyi/ miyaka matatu. ‘He remained on this island for three years.’

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/ mwenewe/ humsaaliló/ ni kubiga magoonjo/ ki’iḷilila. ‘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/ khkalanṭ^ha naaye. ‘So then Joseph found the way to keep Benjamin to stay with him.’

Karkaa ye/ walimo usinziini/ 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

Nᵀakhsazoowa. ‘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

saalafu

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 (safari) ant

Mkate/ wa Faatima/ pishiló/ zingile nᵀhuungu/ za saalafu. ‘The cake that Faatima made has been entered by safari ants.’

Zoloko/ numbaani/ ka Hamadi/ zingila na nᵀhuungu/ za saalafu/ zinaakuja.

‘Windows at Hamadi’s house are being invaded by ants, they are eating them.’

salaama

adv. [Sw. *salama* SSED 408; Ar. *salāma* W 425] safely, peacefully; n. safety

Baaba/ zimkomelopo khabari/ kuwa mwaana/ rudiile/ salaama/ na ile/ na bakhᵀi/ ya dughaaghi/ shfuraha/ nᵀho. ‘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/ nakhelekelowa 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/ nᵀho/ kuwaa ye/ pete salaama. ‘The sultan was very pleased that he had escaped death [lit. gotten salvation, safety].’

kuᵀawa 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: **alhamdujilla** ‘praise be to God’.)

Mwaana/ chihada/ khabari suura/ ni kuwaa mi/ mwaanawo/ ndrudile numbaani/ salaamá. ‘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 nafi 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. *sanāmakᵀ* 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/ sulṭaani/ mi/ nnakhsuḷa khteza karaṭá/ na mwanaamkewó. 'After the greeting, he said to the sultan: I want to play cards with your daughter.'
khpa salaamu 'to greet'

Mukhtaḷa 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, **mukhtaḷa 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.'

khpata salaamu

khpokela salaamu 'to return a greeting'

khṭomola salaamu 'to extend greetings'

ba'ada ya khṭomola salaamu 'after extending greetings'

Dul'eda/ ḍhiriilopó/ 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/ chimwuuzá/ 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'

Ye/ daa'imu/ humpa salaamu/ kana mweenzawe/ wa kaandra. 'She always greets me as if I were her best friend.'

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'

saalehe

Amali saalehe/ huḷiwanoowa/ humtila muunt^hu/ janaani. 'Good deeds succeed, they take one to paradise.'

kh-saliba

v. [Sw. *sulibi* SSED 440; Ar. *ṣalaba* W 521] crucify

rel.

u-salibo n. 14 crucifixion; var. **usalibu**

saalihi

adj. [Sw. *salih* SSED 409; Ar. *ṣāliḥ* W 523] correct, well-behaved, well-mannered, virtuous, pious

	mwana saalihi ‘a well-mannered child’
Salihya	n. a Sufi order alamu ya Salihya ‘the Salihya flag’
saliimu	adj. [Sw. <i>salamu</i> SSED 408; Ar. <i>salīm</i> 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/ raaði/ pamooyi/ na saluuku/ na mweendrö/ 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. <i>ṣamad</i> W 525] an attribute of God (Lord eternal, everlasting)
samadi	n. [SW. <i>samadi</i> SSED 409; Ar. <i>samad</i> W 428] fertilizer, manure xtila samadi ‘to spread manure’ check vowel length
saamaani	n. 10 [Sw. <i>samani</i> 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. <i>Sambab</i> DSI 534] lung kumpaa mba/ saambavu ‘to give lungs to the dog(s)’ kuvuta neefu/ ka saambavu ‘to breathe in air with the lungs’ maraði ya saambavu ‘lung disease’ Omari/ nayo maraði 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. <i>sambusa</i> 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 Mi/ nakhtaraja Faatimá/ kumfanyiliza Charles/ sambuusa. ‘I need Faatima to make samoosas for Charles.’ 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. <i>samehe</i> SSED 410; Ar. <i>samuḥa</i> W 428] (sameheele) forgive Ba’adiye/ Abunawaasi/ pete khabari/ ya kuwa sulṭaani/ msameheele. ‘After that, Abunawaasi got the news that the sultan had forgiven him.’ Iyo/ ha’isaamehi/ iyo itulushilo ba’adiyé. That does not excuse what happened next. kumsaameha ‘to forgive someone’ Mbaliko nshishilaa nt^{ho}/ shtana/ na Abunawaasi/ laakini/ isa/ shtana/ chinondroshele/ 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/ ðambiza. ‘I am begging God to forgive my sins.’

ni mwenye msaameha ðambi na hooba/ ka jaaha ya mtume chinakuloomba [st.]
‘he is the one who remits all sins, for the glory of the Prophet we beg him’

Nt^hakhsaameha/ wenye ðambi. ‘He did not forgive sinners.’

Nt^hakhsaameha/ laakini/ ka sharti/ mooyi/ we/ ni laazima/ kundripila

khasaara/ imp^heeetó/ 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 ðambi. ‘He forgave sinners.’

Si/ hashkhaadiri/ khsameha Baazi/ tabi’aye. ‘We cannot excuse Baazi’s behavior.’

Sisameheeni. ‘You (pl.) don’t forgive!’ **Sisameheeni/ waant^hu.** ‘You (pl.) don’t forgive people!’

Sultaani/ 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.

illa mashuungi ya chiintu hujoowa/ mishpa na mbawaze husamehoowa
[st.] ‘only the hair of edible things, their bones and wings are allowed’

Mi/ nakhsuulá/ khsamehoowa/ na ðambi/ zaa mi/ nfanyiizó. ‘I want to be forgiven for the sins that I have committed.’ Or: **Mi/ nakhsuula khsamehoowá/ ni ðambi/ zaa mi/ nfanyiizó.**

m-saameha (wa-)

n., adj. 1/2 one who forgives

samiini

adj. [Ar. *samīn* W 431] corpulent, stout

Izra’iili [...] humlaṭa daharishiilo chiijini / 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

n. [Sw. *sanaa* SSED 410; Ar. *ṣan’á* W 526] art, handicraft, manmade, etc.

Chiint^hu/ chunziḷa na mojiitú/ na chiint^hú/ cha san’á/ haayiwi/ sawa/ cha

mojiitu/ unziḷó/ huwo chisuurá. ‘A thing created by God and a manmade thing are not the same, that which God created is better.’

Oyo/ san’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'
- Waana/ wa'uzile misanamu ya majini/ khtishilizana.** 'Children bought
 jinn-idols to frighten one another with.'
- 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 takulabisoowa '[st.] after he has been
 washed and wiped, he will be clothed in a shroud'
- saandali** n. 9/10 [Sw. *sandali* SSED 410; Ar. *şandal* W 526] sandal; the sandalwood tree
chilatu cha saandali 'a sandal'
sandali iyi 'this sandal' (cf. **sandali izi** 'these sandals')
**Mwiini/ zamaani/ waant^hu/ nt^hawachivaala/ skaarpa/ wachivala saandali/ na
 da'asi.** 'In Brava in old days people did not wear shoes, they wore sandals
 and flip-flops.'
Saandali/ huvaloowa/ wakhti wa hari/ miilu/ hingila lpepo. 'Sandals are
 worn during hot times, the legs get air.'
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. *şandūq* W 526] box; [usu. pron. **sanduukhu**]
Hamadi/ tile maandra/ sandukhuuni. 'Hamadi put the bread in a box.'
Jaama/ andishile gaari/ sanduukhu. 'Jama loaded the box into the truck.'
 Or: **Jaama/ andishile sanduukhu/ gariini.**
kumtila muunt^hu/ sandukhuuni '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 sandukhuuni**
 'Yes, I have it in the box.')
- Lesele majiwé?** 'Did you bring the stones?' (Possible answers: **Ee/ nnayo
 sandukhuuni.** 'Yes, I have them in the box.' Or: **Ee/ nnaayó/
 yamo sandukhuuni.** '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
 sandukhuuni.** '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/ sandukhuuni.** '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 sanduukhu.**)
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/ sanduukhu.** '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 sanduukhu/ naami/ ni'ifungiilé.** 'In the house there
 was a box and I opened it.'

Peesa/ stiḷa sanduukhhu. ‘Money was put in the box.’ (Cf. **Sandukhu iyi/ itiḷa peesa.** ‘This box, there was money put (in it).’ Besides this impersonal passive, one can also have: **Sandukhu iyi/ stiḷa 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/ stiḷa majiwe.** ‘These boxes had stones put in them.’)

Sanduukhu/ imo nthuundru. ‘The box has a hole in it; there is a hole in the box.’

Sanduukhu/ itiḷa maandra. ‘The box had bread put into it.’ (Cf.

Sanduukhu/ stiḷa maandra. ‘The boxes had bread put into them.’)

sandukhu iyi ‘this box’

sandukhuuni ‘in the box’

sanduukhuya ‘my box’

rel.

chi-sanduuqu (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.

Ndrani ya sanduukhu/ chivalimo chiwovu/ na ndrani ya chiwová/ chivalimo chisanduukhu/ 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. *ṣanifa* W 527] (**sanifiile**) invent, compose

Naani/ sanifilo markabú. ‘Who invented this ship?’

Sanifiile wanaafakhi. ‘He fabricated lies.’

Wa piḷi/ chisanifa/ tu/ chihada/ kuwaa ye/ losele/ ye/ tukiile/ maandra/ chiṭaani/ naa nyunyi/ zinaakuja/ karka maandra/ iyo. ‘The second just made up (a dream), he said that he dreamed he carrying bread on his head and birds were eating from that bread.’

was

review

rel.

kh-sanifoowa v. pass. (**sanifiḷa**) be invented

Ni zint^hu zisanifiḷa 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.’

sansa

without

Fulaana/ sansa maaniko/ huvaḷowa ndraani/ ka ilu/ huvaḷilowa shaati. ‘A sleeveless undergarment is worn inside and on top a shirt is worn.’

saanti

n. 9/10 [Som. *saan* DSI 526, Tunni *sáan* Tosco 234, apparently added to **n-t^hi** ‘ground’; but also cf. Bajuni *sati* in Nurse’s Bajuni wordlist] footprint, footstep, foot; [pron. **saant^hi**]

khtila saant^hi ‘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’

kondrola saant^hi ‘to move’

Saant^hi/ hoondrolo/ mojiitu. ‘It is God who moves our footsteps, i.e. who decides when we go to some place.’ (Used as a justification for not going somewhere earlier.)

Sultaani/ wawaye mwanaamke/ naayé/ chilawa/ na askarizé/ kendra kubiga harbi/ laakini/ Hasani/ maraa isa/ nt^hakoondrola/ saant^hi/ kaleent^he/ 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.’

kubadila saant^hi ‘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 saant^hi ‘to track’

kureba saant^hi ‘to stop the footsteps – i.e. not go’

Omari/ mwambile Sheekhi/ sooloké/ ka Abú/ numbaani/ skumbili izi/ ziko rabsha/ kheerí/ reba saant^hiyó.

‘Omari told Sheekhu: don’t go to Abu’s house, these days there is trouble there, better to (lit. stop your steps) not go.’

Nakhkasa sant^hi za muunt^hú. ‘I can hear someone’s footsteps.’

Ngamiila/ schiwa spakiila/ mizigo/ saant^hize/ hingila mtangaani. ‘When camels are carrying loads, their footprints are deep in the sand.’

sant^hi ya mbuuni ‘a bad omen [lit. footprints of an ostrich]’

Uyu/ ni sant^hi ya mbuuni. ‘He is a bad omen.’

Sí/ ka kaako/ chinakhsulaa dawá/ yaa si/ khpaka saant^hi/ ziitu/ khpata kinendra ilu ya tawala/ kendra mahala/ 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.’

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

igonjooi. ‘The old man sat down and Huseeni took out a knife to cut the old man at the knee.’

Nimsariile kaa chisu. ‘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-sariila v. appl. (**sariile**)

Nimsariile/ chisu. ‘I scratched him with a knife.’ (Phon. This phrasing is used in response to a question such as **Fanyilizeni/ chisu.** ‘What did you do with the knife?’)

kh-sariiloowa v. app. pass/ (**sariila**)

Chisu/ chisariila. ‘A knife was used to scratch someone with.’

kh-sarisha v. caus. (**sarishiie**)

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. (**sarishilize**) (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 dakh̄tari/ 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 dakh̄tari. '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. *sarf* "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** ?

sarataani

n. [Ar. *saratān* W 407] cancer

Maraḍi ya sarataani/ hayapoloowi. '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. *sarf* W 513] morphology (in grammar)

saari

n. a kind of dress worn by Indian women

Wako wake/ hupeenda/ saari/ kuvaala/ kolko/ hanzu za aadi. 'There are women who prefer wearing saris rather than regular dresses.'

l-saari

n. [Som. *saar* DSI 527] crawler (bot.)

l̄saari l̄chitaambala ndilo hufiito [st.] 'when a plant crawls it will blossom'

sariigi

n. 9 respect, deference

Mwaadamu/ laazimu/ kuwamo sariigi. 'A human being must be respectful, deferential.'

Omari/ ntʰaná/ 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 **nt̄** in this example is not aspirated, indicating that it counts as a nasal-consonant sequence rather than a pre-nasalized **t̄**.)

sarkaali

n. [Sw. *serikali* "government, public authority" SSED 414; Persian] government variant form: **salikaari**

Basi/ ichiwa/ nt̄^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/ sfanyiiiza. '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'

Haṭá/ skola za sarkaali/ sfuunzila. 'Even the government schools have been closed.'

Nuuru/ andishilee khaṭi/ 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'

Sarkaali/ tomele i'laani. 'The government issued a proclamation.' (Notice that we did not record a [cl.9] subject marker on the verb. It seems to control [cl.1] agreement on the verb.)

sarkali yiimp^hi 'which government?'; **sarkali ziimp^hi** 'which governments?'

Sarkaari/ nakunashira sirri/ zaa zita. 'The government is spreading the secrets of the war.'

Waant^hu/ wa khabiiḷaye/ hupata kiḷa yaa wo/ wanakhsuuḷó/ ka sarkaali/ hupata 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
haayaṭi 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 kḥtindaa muti/ kḥtomola sḥtolokocha. '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 kḥtindilowaa muti/ kḥtomola sḥtolokocha. '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 (*ṣārūj*) 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 (The perfect stem for this verb is irregular. One would have expected ***sasiize**.)

khsasa/ kanaa luti 'to become as thin as a stick' **review**

khsasa/ kanaa luti 'to become as thin as a thread'

Ahmadi/ sasiile/ ka murugu/ ya waawaye/ khfungoowa/ wele mambaamba/ kanaa luzi. 'Ahmadi became thin from the distress of his father being imprisoned, he became thin like thread.'

Kuwaa ye/ nakhsasa/ inakanza koonyesha. 'That he is losing weight is beginning to show.'

Mbona/ sasiile/ we. 'How come you have lost weight?'

Mwana wa sultaani/ ka murugu/ chisasa/ nt^ho. 'The sultan's son grew very thin from worrying.'

Nakuwoná/ jisaa mi/ nsasiiló. '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/ lwawo. 'He sandpapered a plank of wood.' Or: **Mbishile lwawo/ msaasa.**

saatiri

n. [cf. Ar. verb *satarā* "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.'

Mbujaze/ ni sawa/ ka suura/ na kaa wulé. 'His sisters are similar in beauty and height.'

Mwana mwovu/ chibiga/ ba/ na chimkooðisha/ 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.'

Nuuru/ shaati/ ni sawaye. 'Nuuru's shirt fits him.'

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 mwajitu/ munt^hu faqiiri/ na munt^hu taajiri/ 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 sharti/ 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'amilaṭanó/ na faqiiri/ ku'amilaṭana/ na munt^hu taajiri '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 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/ chimleetelo/ 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 mwajiitu/ 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; get a child to sleep (by rocking or singing)
variant form: **khsawa (sawiile)**

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/ saweele. ‘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. *sabr* 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/ huliwaanó. ‘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.’)
sawarataani tulaani/ Sheekhi siwo wa kupatoowa [st.] ‘calm down and be consoled, the Sheik is out of reach’
We/ laazima/ khsawarata. ‘You must be patient.’
- rel.
kh-sawaratiika v. p/s.
kh-sawaratiila v. appl. (**sawaratiile**) bear, tolerate s.o.
Msawaratiile mwaana. ‘He tolerated the child.’
Omari/ waliko saha/ chiza khsawaratiila/ tabi’a/ ya Abú. ‘Omari was right in refusing to tolerate Abu’s behavior.’
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 Alí/ wasawarishilizenye waana. ‘Ji and Ali consoled one another’s children.’ (It is apparently possible to leave unexpressed who was consoled: **Ji/ na Alí/ wasawaratiishilizeenye.** ‘Ji and Ali consoled for one another.’)
- rel. nom.
m-sawarata (wa-) n. 1/2
m-sawasrisha (wa-) n. 1/2
m-sawarisho n. 3
- kh-sawira* v. [Sw. *sawiri* SSED 412; Ar. *sawara* W 529] (**sawiriile**) draw/ make a picture
variant form: **kh-sawirata**
khsawir(at)a nuumba ‘to draw a house; to take a picture of a house’
- rel.
kh-sawirika, kh-sawiratiika v. p/s.
Numba/ ha’isawiratiiki. ‘The house cannot be drawn, pictured.’
Numba/ husawaratiika. ‘The house can be drawn, pictured.’
kh-sawiroowa v. pass.
Isawirila nuumba. ‘A house has been drawn, pictured.’
Numba/ inakhsawiroowa. ‘A house is being drawn, pictured.’
Numba/ isawiriila. ‘A house has been drawn, pictured.’
- sawo* there are ([cl.2] close to you); [pron. **sawó**]
Sawó/ waana. ‘There are the children (close to you).’
- say’aaṭi* n. pl. [Ar. *sayy āṭ* 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.’

- v. [Sw. *saidia* SSED 407; Ar. *sa'ida* W 410] (*saydiile*) help
Isa/ nnakhsuulá/ mi/ teena/ kunsaaayda. 'Now I want again (you) to help me.'
Iwá/ waa we/ tamsaaaydó. 'Know the one who you help!' (A proverbial saying warning that one should be careful with respect to the person one chooses to help.)
Jeneraale/ waliko apo/ khsaaayda/ tu. [HHH!!H] 'The general was there just to give his support.'
Karkaa ndila/ Alfaani/ chimwambila Buluukhiya/ kumsaaayda/ khfanya ipakacha. 'On the road, Alfaani asked Buluukhiya to help him make a basket.'
Khaliifa/ msaydiile. 'Khaliifa helped him.'
khsayda wazeelewe 'to help his parents'
Mi/ sinakhtosha/ kuwa Omari/ takhsaaayda. 'I don't believe that Omari will help.'
Mpa riyaali/ mooyi/ naami/ nt^h akhsaaayda/ ka khupikila chaakuja. 'Give me one riyal and I will help you by cooking food for you.'
Muunthu/ husaydo ruuhuyé/ na mwiingine/ humsaaaydó. 'He who helps himself is the one who helps another.' (A proverb.)
Muusa/ msaydiile Hamadi/ khfunga mlaango. 'Muusa helped Hamadi to shut the door.'
Mwana wa Khaliifa/ msaydiile. 'Khaliifa's son helped him.' (Simple yes-no question: **Mwana wa Khaliifa/ msaydiile?** Exclamatory yes-no question: **Mwana wa Khaliifá/ msaydiilé!?** Notice the possibility of shifting the accent in the initial phrase in the emphatic yes-no question.)
Ni laazimu/ we/ kunsaaayda. 'You must help me.'
Nimsaydiilé/ Omari/ khpikaa zijo. 'I helped Omari to cook zijo.' Or: **Omari/ nimsaydiilé/ khpikaa zijo.** Or: **Zijo/ khpika/ Omari/ nimsaydiilé.** Or: **Khpikaa zijo/ Omari/ nimsaydiilé.** Or: **Khpikaa zijo/ nimsaydiilé/ Omari.** (Note that one cannot omit the object marker on the main verb: ***Nsaydiilé/ zijo/ Omari/ khpika.** Nor is it possible for a passive subject of the infinitive to be promoted to be the passive subject of the main verb: ***Zijo/ zisaydiila/ khpikoowa.** 'Zijo was helped to be cooked.'
Nimsaydiilé/ Omari/ zijo/ khpikoowa. 'I helped Omari for zijo to be cooked.' Or: **Zijo/ khpikoowa/ nimsaydiilé/ Omari.** Or: **khpikowaa zijo/ nimsaydiilé/ Omari.** Or: **Zijo/ khpikoowa/ Omari/ nimsaydiilé.**
Sayda waanthu/ naawé/ takinfoowa. 'Help people and you will be helped.' (A proverb.) A variant of this proverb: **Sayda waanthu/ naawé/ takhsaydoowa.** Help people and you will be helped.'
Tafaðali/ isa/ nsaayda/ jisa khpata/ muðliwa/ kundruudila. 'Please now help me to get my husband to remarry [lit. return to] me.'
Uqabiila/ ha'usaaydi/ kulesanya wantthu 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.'
Wazeele/ wamsaydiile. 'The elders helped him.'
Wo/ hufanya kaazi/ khpata khsaaayda/ wabli waawo/ na ruhu zaawó. 'They (e.g. women) do jobs so as to get to help their husbands and themselves.'
Ye/ takhsaaayda. 'She will help you.'
rel.
kh-saaydana v. rec. help one another
Chimaliza/ waanthu/ 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/ khsaaaydana. '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
Nt^haná/ aqli/ za kichisaaydila. 'He does not have the wits to help us with.'
kh-saydilana v. appl. rec.

- N^hawaná/ 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.’
Husu_{lo} khsaydoowá/ husimika ruuhuye. ‘He who wants to be helped should put himself on his feet.’ (A proverb.)
wazaazi hukumbukoowa, na maskiini husaydoowa [song] ‘parents are remembered, the poor are helped’
- 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** n. [Sw. **saidi**; Ar. **sayyid** W 440] owner, master; honorific title prefixed to personal names, particularly of **Mashariifu**, or to the name of a person who is called after an Islamic sheikh (e.g. **Sayid Ahmadi**); note that in these cases, the final vowel is deleted
 variant form: **saydi** [pron. **saydí**]
Bin^ti sultaani/ mukewe mgarwa/ chimjiiba/ nkhubajilé/ 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.’
Khaadimu/ chishikaa luti/ ilo/ chibiga sultaani/ 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’
- rel.
sadaati (ma-) [Ar. **sādāt** W 440] a synonym for **mashariifu** (= descendants of the Prophet)
- sayi’aatí** n. [Ar. **sayyi’āt**, pl. of **sayyi’a** “offence, misdeed” W 439] those things that are bad from a religious point of view
- 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.
N^hamsayira/ ha^tá/ 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’
- segretaariyo** n. secretary
Abu wa Boosiri/ zamaani/ waliko segretaariyo/ ya rasdenté/ Miini. ‘Abu wa Boosiri was secretary of the district commissioner in Brava in old times.’

Segreṭaariyo/ laazimu/ kuwa muunt^hu/ na'iwo khsoomá/ na kaandiká. 'A secretary should be a person who knows how to read and write.'

- sehe** n. 9/10 [Som., Tunni dialect, *sehó* "provisions, supplies" Tosco 235] provisions
Naawó/ wachishindroowa/ na ichiwa^hlaazima khfakaṭa/ zombo zaawo/ na sehe zaawó/ ṣṭakuwa 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/ hutululowaa mbele. 'Something done in preparation for doing some activity is prepared first.' (A proverb.)
seheye kuwa haraamu siwo suura [st.] '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.'
Washkalaant^ha/ wachija/ sehe zaa wo/ waṭukiló. '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: **sehemu**
mafta ya sehemu 'ghee'
- u-seeja** n. a silver or golden necklace with small beads in the shape of cardamon seeds
- sekertaariyo (ma-)** n. [Ital. *segretario*] secretary or minister in the government
- sekondo** n. second
Gaari/ ichineendra/ hubadiḷowa maarsha/ kaandra/ hutilowa biriima/ chimaliza sekondo/ chimaliza teersa/ chimaliza kuwaarta/ chimaliza kuwinta.
'When a car runs, you change the gears, first gear one, then gear two, then gear three, then gear four, and then gear five.'
- 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
khtila seeni 'to sign'; also **khtilowa seeni, khtilika seeni, khtilila seeni**
Alí/ tiliila/ rukhsa/ seeni/ ka munichiipiyo/ kuwaka nuumbaye.
'Ali has gotten signed permission to build his house.'
Hamadi/ mmerseheleze mwaanawe/ nuumbaye/ tiile/ mbarakha/ seeni. 'Hamadi has turned over his house to his son, he has signed the papers.' Or: **Hamadi/ mmerseheleze nuumbaye/ mwaanawe/ seeni/ mbarakha.**
Khaaḍi/ tiile/ lwarakha/ seeni/ la Hamadi/ khtomolowa habasaani. 'The judge signed the paper for Hamadi to be released from jail.'
Omari/ mwambile Huseeni/ simtililé/ Alí/ seeni/ lwarakha la khtalila peesa/ bangiini. 'Omari told Huseeni don't sign for Ali the paper to take money from the bank with.'
Rasdente/ hadiile/ lwarakha/ lchiwa siwo/ fasiha/ khsoomeka/ haltiliki/ seeni. 'The district commissioner said that if the paper is not clearly readable, it cannot be signed.'

Seeni/ lwarakha/ hutilika/ ichiwa kilaa chiint^u/ ni kaamili. ‘A paper can be signed if everything is complete.’

- seenyo** n. signal
(I)tala ya Manaweera/ hupa markabu/ zinakhpita twala/ seenyo. ‘Tala ya Manaweera gives signals to ships which are passing in the sea.’
- senṭi** n. [Sw. *senṭi* SSED 414; Eng. *cent*]
Wamó/ huleta senṭi 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. khseseegata] confirm Somali velar fricative g
Nakhseegata bilaa kaazi. ‘He is wandering about jobless.’
rel.
kh-seseegisha v. caus. [pron. khseseegisha]
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] (setele) 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-seeteka v. p/s. (-seteshele) be stamped on
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. (-seteela) be run over
Mwaana/ setela ka gaari/ na Haaji. ‘The child was run over with a car by Haaji.’
Mwaana/ setela na gaari. ‘The child was run over by a car.’
- sfañji** n. [Ar. *safañj* W 414] sponge
- sfeeli** n. race; competition (e.g. in dancing)
Zamaani/ ramaḏaani/ Mwiini/ masku ya sfeeli/wachiletowaa wake/ ka Bulu Mareer/ wawaliko wakali/ khṭinda makiindri. ‘During old times, in Ramadhan, on the night of competition, women were brought from Buulo Mareer; they were expert in dancing.’
- 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. people, in the sense of the nation as a whole (e.g. if you speak of a national assembly or of people’s vote); more restrictively, it applies to people of the same town or of the same tribe, when you speak of them in a general sense (e.g. popular feelings or the will of the people)
Nṭ^haasá/ ni yaabu/ jisa ra’iisi/ bashizo iná/ kahimá/ ka sha’abú. ‘It remains astonishing how quickly the president lost popularity (lit. lost name with the 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 yiiitu/ 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'
iwilo 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; honorific title for town elder, member of Brava's council formed by the "toddoba tol" (the seven groups represented on the council)
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, brass
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.)
Ndrani ya sanduukhu/ chivalimo chiwovu/ na ndrani ya chiwovú/ 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**
Want^hu awa/ shabaabu/ washerehele ruuhu zaawo. 'These young people have explained themselves.'
- 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 mauḷiidi / 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-shabihana v. [cf. Sw. *shabihana* SSED 414; Ar. *šabiha* W 453] look alike, resemble
- shadda** n. [Ar. *sadda* W 460] the mark of gemination in the Arabic script
is this word actually used in speaking chimiini; if so, get examples otherwise delete
- shadiidi (O, ma-)** adj. [Sw. *shadidi* SSED 415; Ar. *sadīd* W 460] strong, strict, rude, hot, fierce
munt^hu shadiidi 'a tough man' (with a negative connotation)

	<i>nakheepushe aḍabuye shadiidi</i> [st.] ‘so that he keep you away from his hot hell’
<i>m-shaaḍara</i> (mi-)	n. 3/4 the white, headband part of the skullcap that is made and worn in Brava
<i>kh-shafa</i>	v. [Som. <i>shaf</i> DSI 544] harvest, reap, gather crops 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 finished 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.’ Muunt^hu/ yaa ye/ haaló/ hushafó. ‘What one grows is what he harvests.’ (A proverb.) rel. <i>kh-shafoowa</i> v. pass. Inakhshafowa muundra. ‘The farm is being harvested.’ Uyu/ ni meezi/ wa khshafowa. ‘This is the month of harvesting.’
<i>shafa’a</i>	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’
<i>kh-shafi’a</i>	v. [Ar. <i>ṣafa’u</i> W 478] heal, cure, but usually used with a religious reference: forgive, give relief variant form: khshafiya Mtume Mhamadi/ takshafiya umaṭiye/ kesho akhera. ‘Prophet Mhamadi will forgive his people in the other world, the afterlife.’ washafi’e ma’aalimu na menye shṭeenzi Maalimu [st.] ‘intercede for the religious scholars and for the author of the poem, Maalimu [Nuuri]’ rel. <i>kh-shafi’ila</i> v. intercede for, give mercy to Takhshafi’ilo waant^hú/ ni mtume Mhamadi. ‘The one who will intercede for/ give mercy to people is Prophet Mhamadi.’ ṭamshafi’ila kuḷa muunt^hu mpeenzelo [st.] ‘he (Mohammad) will intercede for any one who has loved him’
<i>shaafi’i</i>	n. one of the schools of Islam Ibnu Hajari ilṃuye ni waasi’i/ maḍhabuye ni kamba yiitu shaafi’i [st.] ‘Ibnu Hajari’s knowledge was broad, his sect was like ours, Shaafi’i.’
<i>shafu</i> (ma-)	n. chest
<i>shaghaale</i> (ma-)	n. [Ar. <i>ṣaḡḡāl</i> W 476, but the usual pronunciation of this word, <i>shakhaale</i> , comes from the Som. word <i>shaqo</i> “work” and <i>shaqaale</i> “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 he came with them to (his) house.’ Kaziini/ tomeela/ shaghaale. [HH!!H] ‘From work was fired the worker.’
workers and	

(Observe the extreme downstepping, symbolized as !, on a postposed subject.)

Mashakhaale/ leelo/ wape!a 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/ tomee!a/ kaziini. [HH!H] ‘The worker was fired from his job.’

Or: **Kaziini/ tomee!a/ shaghaale.** (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. [H'H] ‘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, you must [recite] the Shahādah’

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 mshahará/ kilaa meezi. ‘I get salary each month.’ (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 mshahará/ 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’

Nt^haaasá/ skutaala/ mshahara/ wa mezi uyu. ‘I have not yet gotten my salary for this month.’

mshahara wa nuumba ‘rent (to be paid)’

Saalaha/ bakhete kaazi/ sku niingi/ tindilila feða/ mshaharaani. ‘Saalaha has been absent from work many times, he had had his salary cut.’

shahaari

n. womanizer

<i>shahawa</i>	n. 9 semen
<i>shahawaati</i>	n. desires
<i>shaahidi</i> (ma-)	n. [Sw. <i>shahidi</i> SSED 415; Ar. <i>šāhid</i> W 489] one who testifies, certifies (like a witness in court); a witness; martyr (but this usage primarily from <i>steenzi</i>) Mi/ ni shaahidi/ kuwa Nuuru/ vuzile 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)’
<i>shahiiri</i>	adj. famous; pl: mashahiiri munt^hu shahiiri ‘someone famous’ Shuhra/ ha’iduumi/ walá/ shahiiri. ‘Fame does not last nor does the famous person.’ (A proverb.) want^hu mashahiiri ‘famous people’
<i>shaahiri</i>	adj. true khu’ink’iro ni kaafiri/ nt’ana imaani shaahiri [poem] ‘whoever rejects you is an unbeliever who lacks true faith’
<i>kh-shahirika</i>	v. (<i>shahirishile</i>) 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.’
<i>shaka</i>	n. 9 [Sw. <i>shaka</i> SSED 425; Ar. <i>šakk</i> 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 <i>CVCV</i> and <i>CV</i> words. In this respect, the gemination observed in the Arabic source has no role to play in Chimini 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’ Bilaa shaka/ Abú/ takuraaga. ‘Without a doubt Abu will be late.’ khṭilowa shakka ‘to be doubted’ Hamadi/ nakhtilowa shakka/ kuwaa yé) Ø-ta-kh-shiindra. Hamadi is khṭilaa shaka ‘to doubt -- lit. put doubt in’ Mi/ nakhtilaa shaká/ kuwa Nuurú/ takhteza. ‘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.) Mi/ siná/ sababu/ khutilaa we/ shaka. I have no reason to doubt you. Nnakhtila shakká/ kuwa Hamadi/ takhshiindra. ‘I <i>doubt</i> that Hamadi will win.’ Also: Nnakhtila shakká/ Hamadi/ kuwa takhshiindra. Also: Nnakumtila shakká/ Hamadi/ kuwa takhshiindra. ‘I <i>doubt</i> (him) Hamadi that he will win.’ Also: Nnakumtila shakká/ Hamadi/

kuwaa ye/ 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/ nayoo shaká/ kuwa Hamadi/ takhfaanya/ jawabu izo. ‘I doubt that Hamadi will do that thing.’
Mi/ nayoo shaká/ kuwa Omari/ takhadira kuuya. ‘I doubt that Omari will be able to come.’
Mi/ nayoo shaká/ kuwa Omari/ takuuya/ keesho. ‘I doubt Omari will come tomorrow.’
Mi/ nayoo shaká/ na Hasani. ‘I have doubts about Hasani.’
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 **isaka* “thicket, brush” for Proto-Sabaki in N&H 623] tree, bush, plant rel.

chi-shaka (zi-) n. 7/8 bush
Hasani/ chilawa/ cheendra/ chishakaani/ mahaḷaa 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’)
Mi/ ndratile mpiirá/ chinume cha mshaká. ‘I threw the ball behind the tree.’
mshaka/ nt^haanzize ‘the trees, their branches’
mshaka/ Itaanziḷe ‘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/ mahaḷaa ye/ zishile zoombozé. ‘Hasani travelled and travelled until he reached there in the bush the place where he had buried his things.’
Omari/ oloshela 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 v. [no etymology known] (**shakabiile**) accuse someone of something (without direct evidence)

Mzeele/ uyu/ nakunshakaba/ tu/ ka khisa waawe/ hayiisi/ nt^hbi 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].’ (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/ shakabiḷa 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.)

Nshakabiḷa 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. *ṣiqqa* 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. *ṣakka* “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.** (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.’

Mi/ nakhshakishá/ kuwa Omari/ takhadira kuuya. ‘I doubt that Omari will be able to come.’

Mi/ siná/ sababu/ khushakisha/ we. ‘I have no reason to doubt you.’

Mi/ sinaayo/ sababu ya khshakisha/ kuwaa ye/ fanyize jisa husuḷoowa. ‘I have no reason to doubt that he acted properly.’

Shaafi’i/ shakishize kuwa Huseeni/ fungile mlaango/ ka yee peeke. ‘Shaafi’i doubted that Huseeni closed the door by himself.’

Wo/ nt^hawakhaadira/ kiiwa/ khadaraayi/ mi/ hushakisho ruuhuyá/ mara maape. ‘They could not know how much I sometimes doubt myself.’

Zubeeri/ shakishize kooḷi. ‘Zubeeri doubted the news.’

rel.

kh-shakishana v. tr. rec.

kh-shakishika v. tr. p/s.

Sa’iidi/ kooḷize/ 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.

shakli

n. form, appearance, the way s.t. looks or is made etc.

Hanzu iyo/ shakliye/ skupeenda. ‘That dress, its form (i.e. the way it looked, the way it was made) I did not like.’

Khanziiri/ shakliye/ nii mbovu. ‘The way a pig looks is bad.’

Maazi/ ya muunt^hu/ hayaabahi/ kiḷaa muunt^hu/ mahmaahi/ iyi/ hupenzeleza/ kiḷaa muunt^hu/ ma’anaye/ lamnaye/ shakliye/

jisaa ye/ keeló/ haabahi. ‘The blood of a person is not lost [a Chimiini proverb]... Each person, this proverb intends [to communicate], each person, it means, his type, his physical form, how he looks, cannot be lost.’

Numba/ iyo/ jisaa yo/ iwashilá/ shakliye suura. ‘That house, how it was built, its form, is good.’

kh-shalaayata

v. [Som. verb *shallaa* and noun *shallay* DSI 544-5] (**shalayeeṭe**) 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/ nshalayeeṭé/ chiza kenda skolaani. ‘I regretted not going to school.’

Mi/ nshalayeeṭé/ kuwaa mi/ nrashize Omari/ teleyé. ‘I regretted that I followed Omari’s advice.’

Mkasa waake/ hashalaayati. ‘The one who listens to his relative does not regret it.’

Nshalayete 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: Nshalayete 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/ haytakhulata. ‘If you stay in this land, you will have regret, and during your whole life, sadness will never leave you.’

rel.

kh-shalayaṭila v. appl. regret for

Omari/ nakhshalayaṭila chiza kumpa maana/ peesa. ‘Omari is regretting not giving the child money.’

kh-shalayaṭiloowa v. appl. pass.

Chint^hu shpisiól/ hachishalayaṭiloowi. ‘Things that have passed are not regretted.’

Nasiibu/ ha’ishalayaṭiloowi. ‘Luck is not regretted (for).’ (A proverb.)

Umri/ upisiól/ hushalayaṭiloowi. ‘Life that has passed is not regretted (it has passed, it is gone).’

kh-shalayaṭoowa v. pass. be regretted

Ishalayeeta/ chiza kujowaa zijo. ‘Not eating was regretted.’

kh-shalaayata

v. (**shalayeeṭe**) 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’

Ziweshele 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
- shamaali** 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 shamaali ‘to jump and sing loudly’
Haliima/ furahiile/ mwaanawe/ khpita imtihaani/ haṭá/ bishile shamaali. ‘Halima got happy her son passed the exam until she jumped and loudly ululated.’
kubiga shamaali 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
Shṭomola shpetechē/ chichiloomba/ chihada/ mi/ nakhsuḷa kuwa ḍaliilī/ na looniḷá/ 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.’
- 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 mushṭari/ uṭaaridi 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 ađiimu shaani [st.] 'Exalted and Sublime'
sheekhi shaaniye ađiimu [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.)
- shab** ideo.
Hamadi/ shishiła shtana/ mtile Sheekhi/ maayi/ ya uso/ shab! 'Hamadi got angry, he splashed water on Sheekhi face, **shab!**'
- 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.'
- m-shaqaale** n. [Som.] worker; pl: **mshaqaale** (This term is the usual word for 'worker'; there is another word **shawaala** that is now rarely used.)
Inakoonyesha/ kuwa Omari/ ni mshakhale msuura. 'Omari seems to be a good worker.'
Mshakhale msuura/ kabisá/ ni kana/ Omari. 'The best worker seems to be Omari.'
Or: **Omari/ kana mshakhale msuura/ kabisá**.
Nyaanya/ izi/ zihalaaweete/ ziseteshele/ ka khisa/ mashakhaale /awo/ wafukile bilaa tahađari/ hobeła hobeła!/ tu. 'These tomatoes were spoiled because those workers carried them carelessly.'
- shaqiyi** adj. [Ar. *šaḳīy* "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,...'
Shar'a/ laazimu/ kuwa waađehe/ na kilaa muunt'u. 'The rules should be clear to everyone.'

<i>i-shaara</i>	n. a signal, a sign (e.g. a sign or revelation as to what God wants done) kh-pa ishaara ‘to signal’
<i>sharabu</i>	n. flank (referring to part of an animal)
<i>sharaabu</i>	n. a cold drink; [pron. sharaabú] review pronunciation Tafaðali/ takhaadira/ kuwanayo sharaabú. ‘Please, may I have a cold drink?’
<i>sharafa</i>	in the expression: ndevu sharafa ‘a long flowing beard’
<i>i-sharafa (ma-)</i>	n. 5/6 round mat made of a certain kind of grass used to put food on (when eating all together) rel. <i>chi-sharafa (zi-)</i> n. 7/8
<i>sharafu</i>	n. 9 respect, dignity, honor kuvunda sharafu ‘to embarrass, disgrace’; also: kuvundowa sharafu (passive), kuvundana sharafu (reciprocal), kuvundanowa sharafu (reciprocal passive) Hamadi/ vunziła sharafuye. ‘Hamadi was disgraced.’ Kuvundanowa sharafu/ nt^haku/ faayda/ huletaa zita/ tu. ‘To bring disgrace on one another is not beneficial to anyone, it just brings fighting.’ Maneno miingi/ humvunda muunt^hu/ sharafuye. ‘Too much talking undermines (lit. breaks) one’s respect (i.e. the respect people have for one, the esteem that people hold one in, etc.).’ (A proverb.) Mvunzile Hamadi/ sharafu. ‘He embarrassed Hamadi.’ (Note that sharafu cannot be made the subject of the corresponding passive sentence: * Sharafu/ ivunziła Hamadi.) Omari/ mvunzile Nuuru/ sharafuye/ shiriini/ mtaanzile. ‘Omari disgraced Nuuru at the meeting, he insulted him.’ Mp^huundra/ shfuraha/ shtosha kuwa iyi/ ni sharafu/ nk^hulu/ kuwaa muke/ wa sult^haani/ ya maduuri. ‘Donkey was very happy, thinking that it was a great honor to be the wife of the king of the forest.’ muunt^hu/ mwenye sharafu ‘a man having dignity, honor, etc.’ rel. sharafa n. honor wake keendra kufa Mustafa/ wapeenzeła wo ka sharafa [st.] ‘when he died, the Prophet had nine wives, who were loved and honored’ <i>u-sharafu</i> n. Wo/ wanayoo shaka/ nk^hulu/ tarafu ya usharafu/ ya Omari. ‘They have cast serious doubt about Omari’s honesty.’
<i>sharaara</i>	n. [probably from Ar. <i>šar’a</i> W 466] musical instrument, similar to a guitar, which was played during the tumbura dances
<i>sharbaati</i>	n. [Sw. <i>sharabeti</i> SED 417; Ar. <i>šarba</i> "drink", plural <i>šarbāt</i> W 462] a sweet, colored drink (like kool-aid) drunk mostly in Ramadhan when the fast is broken around sunset Ichendrowa apo/ ishtukuloowa sharbaati/ mazu/ embe. ‘They used to go there bringing <i>sharbaati</i> , bananas, mangoes.’ Kuła 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.’

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.)

...**kuṭaanda/ khuletelaa shari** ‘to insult you, bring evil to you’

Moojá/ chihafiðe/ 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 kheeri/ hulawa na mojiitu. ‘Evil and good come from God.’ (A proverb.)

shari/ walá/ kheerí ‘neither evil nor good – anything at all’

Laakini/ ntʰangú/ si/ chiwasiliiló/ ye/ ntʰakunuzaa 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. *šarīʿa* W 466] canonical law of Islam, 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’; also: **kendrowa shari’aani,**

kendreka shari’aani, kendrelowa shari’aani

Chiint^hu/ ichiza kuwako adeeni/ hayeendreki/ shari’aani/ sharii’a/ husuḷa adeeni. ‘If there is no evidence for something, then one cannot go to court, law needs evidence.’

Huseeni/ muzize Hamadi/ mwambiile/ we/ naazó/ mbarakhá/ za kendrelowa shari’aani/ kuda’awatiḷoowá. ‘Huseeni asked Hamadi, he said to him: do you have papers to be gone with to court to sue with.’

Muunt^hu/ chimera hakhiye/ hendra shari’aani/ kumeera. ‘If one is seeking what is due to one, he goes to court to seek it.’

Waant^hu/ wachiza khpatana kati kaawo/ hendrowa shari'aani. 'If people do not reconcile (differences) between themselves, they go to court.'

khfulisha shariya 'to carry out the law'

Shariya/ hufuulishó/ ni mahkama. 'Law, who implements it is the court.'

khpeleka shari'aani 'to take to court, prosecute'; also: khpelekowa shari'aani (passive), khpelekeka shari'aani (potential/stative)

Alí/ nampeleka mkulé/ Nuuru/ shari'aani/ kumdawata dhahali. 'Ali is taking his brother Nuuru to court to sue over inheritance.'

Omari nakhpelekowa shari'aani/ bozelee duka. 'Omari is being prosecuted, he stole from a shop.'

Omari/ nayo awoodi/ nawa'iwa/ zita/ wont^he/ hapelekeki/ shari'aani/ hatá/ shpelekoowa/ hashindroowi. 'Omari has power, he knows all the bosses, even if he is taken to court, he cannot be defeated.'

kuweka shariya 'to enact laws'

Dobla/ husulowa kuweka shariya/ ya kinendreloowa. '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
maapa tilaanga puunguza n shaaribu/ izo ni sunna na khtinoowa waajibu [st.]
 'shave your armpits, trim your moustache, as these [acts] are part of approved custom; circumcision is also obligatory'

Nayo shaaribu (or: mashaaribu). 'He has a moustache.'
 shaaribu 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] (sharifile) respect, honor
 Hamsharifi/ waawaye. 'He does not respect his father.'
 ku'ajiza kuwakuza/ na kuwasharifá 'to fail to honor and respect them'
 kumsharifa/ kana mzelewa '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
 Mooja ka jaha ya Mtume Shariifu [st.] 'God, because of the Prophet Shariifu'
 Mwiini/ zamaani/ mashariifu/ washfanya makashaṭa/ wachuuzwa. 'In Brava during old times, *mashariifu* used to make *makashaṭa* and sell them.'

Sheekhi/ chiya/ shariifu/ hooloka. 'If a sheekhi comes, a shariifu goes away.' (A proverb.)

rel.
shurafa pl. [Ar. *šurafā* W 467]

- shariita** n. tape
Iwatilo waant^hú/ khoofú/ na shaká/ ni/ ye/ kiiza/ khtomola/ shariita/ za muhadathaati/ spasiló/ benaa ye/ na ba'a^hi/ 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/ t^helle/ 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/ kuzuura/ nt^hi 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. *šarata* W 464] (**shartiile**) impose a condition
Basi/ naayé/ mubjaana/ uyu/ huviilowa Fikiriini/ chiwona/ kuwa ni afóali/ naayé/ kulangala/ nasiibuye/ keendra/ kummeera/ mwanaamke/ uyu/ naksharto waant^hú. '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/ na'endre.** '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 v. pass.
Muunt^hu/ siwo/ suura/ khshartoowa/ khfanya chiint^hu. 'It is not good for someone to be compelled to do something.'
- kh-shartana** v. (**sharteene**) bet, wager
- sharti** (Ø, ma-) n.[Sw.*sharti* SSED 427; Ar. *šart* W 465] obligation, requirement, condition

Hasani/ naayé/ shkhubala/ sharṭi iyó. ‘Hasani agreed to that condition.’
Huseeni/ chuuza/ masharṭi gani. ‘Huseeni asked: what conditions?’
Imaani/ haa’iwi/ kaamili/ sharṭi/ ka shahaada. ‘Faith is not complete unless it has shahaada (i.e. acceptance of the oneness of God).’
ka masharṭi ‘on condition’
ka sharṭi ‘on the condition’
Abunawaasi/ nt^hakhupa rukhsa/ kumwolokela Harun Rashiidi/ laakini/ ka sharṭi/ mooyi/ ya kuwa yaa we/ takhpató/ yote/ takaawanya/ naami/ sawasawa. ‘Abunawaasi, I will give you permission to go to Harun 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 sharṭi mooyi/ we/ ndraṭa/ 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 (ma)sharṭi ‘to put condition(s) on; to make a wager, bet’
Laakini/ Sa’iidi/ iize/ masharṭi ayo. ‘But Sa’iidi refused (to accept) these conditions.’
Mi/ nakuweka masharṭi/ Omari/ takuya khabla/ ya maskuu kati. ‘I bet Omari will come before midnight.’
Mi/ nakuweka masharṭi/ we/ nt^hukulangaḷa/ chibuuku. ‘I bet you did not look for the book.’
Mi/ nakuweka masharṭi/ ye/ hakhaadiri/ kumala ka wakḥti. ‘I bet he cannot finish in time.’
Muusa/ weshele (ma)sharṭi/ peesa/ niingi. ‘Muusa bet a lot of money.’
Siweeké/ masharṭi/ na awo. ‘Don’t bet against them.’
Yont^he/ yaa we/ nakhsulo kiiwá/ ni jisaayi/ yaa we/ takuweko sharṭiyó. ‘All you really need to know is how to place your bet.’
Mi/ sharṭi/ khsooma/ chibuku icho. ‘It is necessary for me to read that book.’ (The location of the pronoun **mi**, which establishes for whom it is necessary that he read the book, is rather flexible. Some other possible locations: **Sharṭi/ mi/ khsooma/ chibuku icho. Sharṭi/ chibuuku/ icho/ mi/ khsooma. Sharṭi/ chibuku icho/ khsooma/ mi.** Alternatively to the latter example: **Sharṭi/ chibuuku/ icho/ khsooma/ mi.**
Na kila muunt^hu/ husulo kumlolá/ ha’ilizoowi/ laakini/ hupoowa/ masharṭi. ‘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 sharṭi miwili [st.] ‘a cow and a goat must be two years of age (to be slaughtered)’
Ni sharṭi/ ye/ chiza khsoma ka lkele. ‘It is necessary for him not to read loudly.’ Or with a subjunctive verb: **Ni sharṭi/ ye/ sisome ka lkele.** ‘It is necessary that he not read loudly.’
Ni sharṭi/ ye/ keendra. ‘He must go.’ Or, with a subjunctive verb instead: **Ni sharṭi/ ye/ na’endre.**
Ni sharṭi/ ye/ kuuya. ‘It is necessary that he come.’
sharṭi + verb (this expresses the necessity of doing s.t., the fact that there is no other way but to do so)
Waaliko/ wererseete/ sharṭi/ fanyiliza tumbura. ‘He was in serious trouble, it became necessary to make **tumbura** for him.’
Sharṭi ya mara ya isa/ iwaaliko/ kuwa takhshindroowá/ itamlaazima/ kuna maayi/ ya tawala/ yotte. ‘The condition this time was that **sharṭi 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]

kh-sharuba

v. [Ar. *šariba* W 462] (**sharubiile**) absorb water (of a crack or hole, e.g. in a roof)

<i>shaashi</i>	n. reef shark
<i>i-shaṭa (ma-)</i>	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-shaṭara (ma-)</i>	n. umbrella
<i>ma-shaṭara</i>	in the expression: dank^hu za mashaṭara ‘popped corn’
<i>u-shaṭaara</i>	n. [Ar. <i>saṭāra</i> W 471] cleverness khfanya ushaṭaara ‘to be clever’
<i>shaṭiri(ma-)</i>	adj. clever, skillful, smart, cunning
<i>shaṭranji</i>	n. 9/10 [Sw. <i>sataranji</i> SSED 411; Ar. <i>saṭranj</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 (Ø, ma-)</i>	n. 9/10, 6 [Sw. <i>shati</i> SSED 417; Eng. <i>shirt</i>] shirt Faatiima/ ndretelelee mi/ shati naḍiifa. ‘Faatima brought me a clean shirt.’ Ka Omari/ dukaani/ huzowa shaati/ zaa wake/ suura/ rakhiisi. ‘At Omari’s shop women’s dresses are sold, good, inexpensive.’ 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/ shaati/ ni chihabache. ‘Omari, the shirt is too small for him (lit. is his small).’ Omari/ tundrishile shaatiye/ musmariini. ‘Omari hung his shirt on a nail.’ Shaati/ atile ka chireenza. ‘The shirt, he cut it with a razor. (Or, with focus on the preposed <i>shaati</i> : Shaati/ atilo ka chireenza. ‘It is the shirt that he cut with a razor.’ One can also simultaneously put focus on the verb: Shaati/ atilól/ 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.’ (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/ atulilól. ‘The shirt, a razor he used to cut.’ Or: Chireenza/ shaati/ atulilól. ‘With a razor, the shirt he cut.’ (It does not seem possible to fail to pseudo-relativize the verb if both object and instrument are preposed.) Shati iyi/ nda naani. ‘Whose shirt is this?’ Shaati/ ka chireenza/ atilól. ‘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/ atilile.) shaati/ ya laasi ‘wool shirt’ shaati/ ya mikonoo mile ‘a long-sleeved shirt’

	<p>shaati/ ya mikono zigobe ‘a short-sleeved shirt’ shaati/ zaa wake ‘dresses for women’ Ye/ uzile shaati/ iyi/ kuvaala/ muunt̃hi/ waa ye/ zaazilá. ‘He bought this shirt to wear it on his birthday.’</p>
<i>shaw</i>	<p>ideo. Hamadi/ numba yaawo/ yiko kharibu ya tawala/ masku/ hukasowa mayiimbi/ yanaakuló/ shaw! ‘Hamadi’s house is near the sea, in the night waves are heard, <i>shaw!</i>’</p>
<i>i-shawakha (ma-)</i>	<p>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 ishawakhaani/ 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’</p>
<i>shawaala</i>	<p>n. [dialectal Arabic source?] <i>rare</i> porter Shawaala/ tomeela/ kaziini. ‘The porter was fired from his job.’</p>
<i>kh-shawisha</i>	<p>v. [?Ar. <i>šawīha</i> "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</p>
<i>shawri</i>	<p>n. 9 [cf. the more common form shoori] advice; business Iyo/ siwo/ shawri yiinu. ‘That is not your (pl.) business.’ Shawriyo/ ni suura/ nt̃o. ‘Your advice is very good.’</p>
<i>shaawuri</i>	<p>n. 9/10 advice, consultation, suggestion, plan; idea, opinion kht̃inda 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].’</p> <p>rel. <i>ma-shaawuri</i> n. 6 consultations, plans Kila/ mooyi/ nayo mashaawuri/ mbaḽmbali. ‘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).’</p>
<i>m-shaawuri</i>	<p>n. [Sw. <i>mashauri</i> SED 418; Ar. <i>mušāwar</i> W 493] advisor Apo/ stendro izi/ zinakh̃t̃ulukó/ mshaawuri/ wa mmamulaṭa muuyi/ waliko nakhpita/ ka apo/ chiwona. ‘There where these happenings were taking place, the advisor of the administrator of the town was passing by that place and saw (everything that happened).’</p>
<i>shaawushi</i>	<p>n. a military title: a petty officer of the Zanzibari garrison, commanding ten soldiers</p>

<i>sheeba</i>	n. king (in cards), but also mzeele is used
<i>kh-sheegata</i>	v. [Som.] (shegeete) claim; [pron. kh-sheegata] Baazi/ shegeete kuwaa ye/ waliko maskiini. ‘Baazi claimed that he was poor.’ Faatima/ shegeete kuwa Omari/ chimhadgudbaṭila/ ye. ‘Faatima claimed Omari was abusive to her.’ Omari/ nshegetee mi/ kuwaa mi/ ni mweenzawé/ msuurá/ kabisá. ‘Omari claimed me as his best friend.’
<i>shehena</i>	n. [Sw. <i>shehena</i> SSED 418; Ar. <i>sah</i> □ <i>na</i> 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/ ipoonzela. ‘And the cargo should be coffee that has been ground.’
<i>Shekh Abu Gaawo</i>	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.’
<i>Shekh Abdu Qadiri</i>	n. the founder of the Qadiriya, a Sufi order
<i>Shekh Aaweeso</i>	n. one of the three main religious leaders in Brava Sekkh Aaweeso/ zishile Biyoole. ‘Sheikh Aaweeso is buried in Biyoole.’
<i>Shekh Khaasimu</i>	n. one of the three main religious leaders in Brava
<i>Shekh Mohammud</i>	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.’
<i>Shekh Nureeni</i>	n. one of the three main religious leaders in Brava check whether this is Shekh Nuraani or whether both may be used
<i>kh-sheekhaṭa</i>	v. [Som. n. <i>sheegato</i> "person who denies belonging to a certain tribe" DSI 548] (shekheete) repudiate one’s tribe, team, etc., and join another
<i>sheekhasho</i>	n. the act of repudiating one’s affiliation
<i>sheekhi (ma-)</i> a saint	n. 1/2, 9/6 [Sw. <i>sheik(i)</i> SSED 418; Ar. <i>ṣaiḳ</i> W 496] a learned person, esp. in religion, Karamuuni/ wa’azimiḷa/ masheekhi/ walangaḷa noota/ na ma’akhyari wa muuyí. ‘To the feast were invited learned men, astrologers, and gentlemen of the town.’ Masheekhi/ hudirkamana muskitiini. ‘Religious people meet in the mosque.’ (A saying.) masheekhi matatu or masheekhi watatu ‘three learned people’ ([cl.6] and [cl.2] agreement) masheekhi wa Miini or masheekhi 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 muuntʰu. ‘A religious scholar is a man.’ (A proverb.) sheekhi yiitu or sheekhi 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/ namtoshō sheekhi/ ndiyé/ huwo sheetaani. ‘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

sheelara

n. accelerator
khkala sheelara ‘to press down on the accelerator’
Omari/ nakhkala sheelara/ zaaydi/ gaari. ‘Omari is accelerating the car too much.’
kulata sheelara ‘to release the accelerator’

-sheenzi

chi-sheenzi n/adj. [Sw. *kishenzi* SSED 419; Pers.] in a barbarous, uncivilized manner
m-sheenzi (wa-) n/adj. 1/2 a barbarous, uncivilized, uncouth, stupid person
u-sheenzi n. 14 [Sw. *ushenzi* SSED 419] stupidity; the condition of being barbarous, uncivilized

m-sheenzi

n. a kind of grouper; var. **isheenzi**

-shepe

adj. worn-out, old
Chita/ weshelee feeli/ nshepe/ mtanaani. ‘The chief kept old files inside the room.’
garii nshepe ‘an old car’
Hanzu iyi/ ni ishepe. ‘This dress is old.’ (Observe the possibility of using the agreement prefix *i-* for [cl.9] rather than the nasal *n-*.)
Nguwo/ iwelee nshepe. ‘The clothes became worn out.’
nguwo nshepe old clothes’
numbaa nshepe ‘an old house’
shtoka chishepe ‘worn-out axe’
We/ inenzeze garii nshepe/ ambó/ garii mp^hiyá? ‘Did you drive the new car or the old car?’ (Although yes-no questions in general are formed by suspending

the

downstepping ordinarily associated with statements, we have not studied the more complex sentences such as this one.)

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.) 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/ zimshereele 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.’
Mi/ nshereele nt^hini ya imooró. ‘I slid under the fence.’
ndila ya khsheera ‘a slippery road’

- Nguwo/imshereele.** ‘The cloth slid down him.’
Wo/ wafakeete/ ka khsheera/ ikambalaani/ nt^hiini. ‘They escaped by sliding down a rope.’
 rel.
kh-sheeresha v. caus. (**sheresheeze**)
Ali/ sheresheze chigaari/ ndilaani. ‘Ali rolled the cart along the road.’
Mi/ nsheresheze lfuungulo/ nt^hiini ya mnaangó. ‘I slid the key under the door.’
kh-shereshoowa v. caus. pass.
 lfuungulo/ l-sheresheza nt^hiini ya mnaango. ‘The key was slid under the door.’ Also: **Nt^hiini ya mnaango/ lfuungulo/ lsheresheezá.** ‘Under the door the key was slid.’
kh-sheroowa v. pass. be slippery
Husheroowa/ kana chimento. ‘It is slippery like cement.’
Imooro/ ishereja nt^hiinike. ‘The fence was slid under it.’
Nt^hi iyi/ nasha/ husheroowa. ‘This floor is smooth, it is slippery.’
- shere** [Sw. *shere* SSED 419] in the expression:
khetelezaa 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) (**sherehele**) 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
- sherehe** (Ø, ma-) n. 9/10,6 [Som. *sharax* DSI 546] explanation; variant form: **sherehe**
Khur’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.’
Chimrasha sheetaani/ khupoteza. ‘If you go with satan, he will make you fail.’ (A proverb.)
Heendra/ kuwa sheetaani/ ingile kati kiinu. ‘It is possible that the devil has gotten between you (e.g. causing you to quarrel).’
Mwoondrole sheetaani/ ndata nk^hooðe. ‘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/ khutomola nuumbayo/ khulata 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/ kulanga/a/ chimwona mwanaamke/ msuura/ ye/ chimuuz/ ndo/ we/ naani/ sheetaani. ‘A man climbed up [the tree] to tak 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. 5/6 [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. *šūḡl* 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^hakhpiká.** ‘Why did Tuuma not cook?’)
Makhaadimu/ wake/ na wabli/ wachiwa mashghuli/ wanakudarbisha zaakuja/ za namna mba^lmbali. ‘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^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’
- shi’iri** n. [Ar. *šī’ir* W473] verse, poem
Ikofiyaani/ andishile shi’iri/ ka chihindi. ‘On the hat, he wrote a poem in Hindi.’
khtunga shi’iri ‘to compose poetry’
Shi’iri iyi/ yandishiḷa na Iliya Abumaadī/ na itafsiriḷa na Madimaamu. ‘This poem was written by Iliya Abumaadhi and was translated by Madimaamu.’
- shibhi** n. (cf. verb **kh-shibiha**) resemblance
ni msuura nt^hako 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"] (**shibhiile**) 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 taḥaḍari/ 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
variant form: **khshabihana**
- 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 (this term is used mostly in religious contexts by learned me; its more used synonym is **taaka**, a span used in particular in measuring **makoofiya**)
- shiibu** n. beauty
chuuma cha miriiri china shiibu 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'ā* 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'u_l
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

Nuuru/ molokelele Hasani/ shifa'u_lwalideeni. 'Nuuru 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'u_lwalideeni.** 'I went to Hasani's place to give my condolences.')

Omari/ nt^hamolokela/ Nuuru/ shifa'u_lwalideeni. 'Omari did not go to Nuuru'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] (**shishile**) grasp, seize, catch, grab, hold, have a grip on, reach for; 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/ wachimmera mwaana/ 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 mwaaná.** ‘Here, keep my child for me.’
- Nshikila mwaaná/ mara mooyí.** ‘Keep my child for me for a little while.’
- Nshikila pesa izi/ mara mooyí.** ‘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’
- Hamadi/ namshika Omari/ deeniye/ mniinzile/ wakhti miingi.** ‘Omari is demanding/asking Omari to pay back his loan, he has waited for him to pay for a long time.’
- 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 magoonjo** ‘to beg, go down on one’s knees to someone [lit. hold someone’s knees]’
- 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]’
- Nakhsuḷa 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 mimbaani** ‘lit. hold in the stomach’
- Omari/ hushika kooḍi/ mimbaani/ haliwali/ haṭá/ miyaka**
- khamsiini.** [H’H!H|| HH!H] ‘Omari keep talk/words in his stomach (i.e. holds onto s.t., e.g. a grudge), he does not forget for even fifty years.’ (The evidence for the double vertical line before **haliwali** is that the pitch in this word is raised above the pitch of the last accented syllable in the preceding clause.)
- 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/ mub̥li. ‘The man felt hungry.’ (Phon. It is out impression that in a sentence of this type, the noun **mub̥li** 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 **mub̥li** is out-of-focus. The corresponding yes-no question reflects this fact in that the out-of-focus element undergoes accent shift: **Imshishilee ndala/ mub̥li?**)

Mub̥li/ ndala/ imshishile. ‘The man felt hungry.’ (Phon. The yes-no question corresponding to this sentence involves no accent shifts, just Q-raising: **Mub̥li/ ndala/ imshishile?** Comparison, then, of the present example with the immediately preceding one, supports the proposition that the movement of **mub̥li** 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/ khat̥i/ iyi/ shikaa ndila/ ndo. ‘When you read this letter, follow the road and come!’

Hamadi/ mwambile Sheekhi/ chiint̥u/ sikhupi/ shika ndilazo.
‘Omari told Sheekhi, I will not give you anything, go! leave! take your way!’

Muunt̥u/ uyu/ chishika ndilaye/ chiyolokela. ‘This man left and took himself off.’

Omari/ kōdeele/ koo̊i/ zimooyi/ nt̥azina ma’aná/ hat̥á/ waawaye/ shishi̊la sh̥ana/ shishile ndilaze. ‘Omari spoke nonsense till his dad got angry and walked away.’

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 uůu ‘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)’

Mi/ hukhaadira/ khshika uůu/ munt̥i mzima. [H(̊)H!H!H] ‘I can keep my ablution valid all day.’

wazele ha wakhaadiri khshuika uudu wakhti miingi ka sabababu hu nala niingi (old people cannot keep uudu for long because they pee often)

khshika utuungu ‘to go into labor’

Muke/ wakh̥ti ukomeelopó/ chishika utuungu/ chizaala. ‘When the time came, the woman went into labor and gave birth.’

khshika wakh̥ti ‘to set, fix a time’

khshikaa zi̊o ‘to cry’

Waana/ wa Omari/ hawadaariki/ ka paapo/ hushikaa zi̊o. ‘Omari’s children cannot be touched, immediately they start crying.’

khshika ziwovu ‘to hold a grudge, have rancour’

Ki̊aa muunt̥u/ yaake/ imshishile. ‘Every one is caught with his (i.e. with his problems and issues).’ (A proverbial saying.)

Liini/ mapoliisi/ wamshishilo miizi. ‘When did the police arrest the thief?’
Langala ikhushiishilo. ‘Mind your own affairs [lit. look after that which holds you]!’

mapoliisi/ kawamshika miizi/ yana ‘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/ yana?** ‘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/ yana?** The same shift occurs in the emphatic yes-no question, but here it is not linked to being out-of-focus: **Mi/ nimshishile miizi/ yanâ!?**)

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/ yanâ. ‘(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.)

Mwanaashke/ ulushile/ shishile mpiira. ‘The girl jumped and caught the ball.’

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 chibuukú. ‘I reached for the book.’

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/ shishile 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/ shishile 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 celo. ‘He caught a gazelle.’

Shishile kuulu yaa mbwa. ‘He held the leg of the dog.’ Or: **Mshishile 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*, agree-*nebt* 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.’

Shishile 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/ chiwaviḷa 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’olosehe. ‘They joined hands and left.’

Mbarakha/ nt^haskushikamana. ‘The papers did not stick together.’

Mbarakha/ zishikameene. ‘The papers stuck together.’

Numba iyi/ ishikameene. ‘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-shikashiika v. redup. keep holding

Khshikashika ziwovu/ mimbaani/ siwo/ suura. [H!H!HH!H] ‘To keep holding bad things inside the stomach is not good.’

Muunt^hu/ siwo/ suura/ khshikashika koḏi za waant^hu. [H!H!H!H] ‘It is not good for one to hold onto (e.g. trust) the words that people have

said.’

kh-shiikika v. p/s.

kh-shiikila v. appl.

Chimaliza/ chi’ishikila ndilaye [or: **ndilaze**]/ **chiyolokela**. ‘Then he kept himself on his way and went away.’

khshikila shṭana ‘to be mad, angry at someone’

Mshikilile Omari/ shṭana. ‘He was angry at Omari.’

mwana mshikililo ye/ shṭaná ‘the child who was mad at him’

khshikila wakht̃i ‘to set, fix a time for’

Hamadi/ mwambile Omari/ nshikila wakht̃i/ nakhsuulá/ peesaza. ‘Hamadi told Omari: fix/set a time for me, I want my money back.’

Hamadi/ mi/ nimpele deeni/ skumshiikila/ wakht̃i. ‘Hamadi, I gave him a loan, but I did not set a date for him (to repay the loan).’

ku’ishikila hapt̃i ‘to take oneself on one’s own business’

Sheekhi/ chilawa/ ka apo/ chi’ishikila hapt̃ize. ‘Sheekhi left from there and went about his own business.’

Numa/ oyoo muke/ sulṭaani/ 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-shikilana v. appl. rec.

Nuuru/ mwambile Ali/ nakshshikilani/ pesa za waant̃u/ warudiile/ wenewe. ‘Nuuru said to Ali: for what are you holding people’s money, give it back to the owners.’

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. (**shiishiḷa**)

Baaba/ chshikowa na maraḍi/ chifa. ‘Father was seized by illness and died.’

Chibuuku/ chishiishiḷa. ‘The book was reached for.’

khshikowaa chiṭa ‘to have a headache’

Shishiḷaa chiṭa. ‘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 / kubḷoowa qutbuḷarabu/ 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’

Shishiḷa kaḍiiḍo. ‘He had a fever.’

khshikowa khoofu ‘to be fearful, afraid’

Omari/ wene waant̃u/ wiingi/ wafiló/ ka ṭaa’uuni/ shishiḷa

khoofu. ‘Omari saw many people died of cholera it made him fearful.’ (Note that in this pronunciation, even though **ka ṭaa’uuni** is clearly part of the relative clause, the final accent of the relative verb was not extended to it. This does not seem to be the norm, although we have certainly observed such cases. Of course, the exclusion of **ka ṭaa’uuni** from the scope of final accent is dependent on it not being phrased with the relative verb. GM also gave the pronunciation **Omari/ wene waant̃u/ wiingi/ wafilo ka ṭaa’uuni/ shishiḷa khoofu**. In this pronunciation, **ka ṭaa’uuni** phrases with the relative verb and receives the final accent.)

khshikowaa kunya ‘to feel the need to defecate’

ndilá?

khshikowaa mane ‘to feel the need to urinate’

khshikowa meezi ‘to have a lunar eclipse’

khshikowa miimba ‘to have a stomach ache’

Shishiġa miimba. ‘He has a stomach ache.’

khshikowa mimbaani ‘to keep, hold in the stomach’

Khshikowa kooġi/ mimbaani/ ni maraġi. [H!H!H] ‘To keep talk/words in the stomach is a sickness.’ (a saying)

khshikowa mkono ‘to be caught red-handed’

Suufi/ shishiġa mkono/ naa ye/ nakubooló. ‘Suufi was caught red-handed stealing.’

khshikowa mkono ‘to be held (by) the arm’

Mkono wa mwaana/ ushiishiġa. ‘The child’s arm was held.’

Mwaana/ mkonowe/ ushiishiġa. ‘The child, his arm was held.’

Mwaana/ shishiġa mkono. ‘The child was held by the arm.’

Shishiġa mkono/ ni mwaana. ‘The one who was held by the arm is the child.’

Ushiishiġa/ 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/ khtiiinda ‘...(so that) if I should become hungry, I might go and pick them’

Mi/ ntʰakuja mukhta mi/ ntʰakhshikowaa ndalá. ‘I will eat when I am hungry.’

Shishiġaa ndalá. ‘You are hungry.’ (Phon. The corresponding yes-no question just involves Q-raising: **Shishiġaa**

The exclamatory yes-no question does not have Q-raising, but does make the final accent clearly falling in nature:

Shishiġaa ndalá!?)

washishiġapoo ndalá ‘when they become hungry’

khshikowa ooni ‘to be thirsty’

khshikowa shtana ‘to be angry’

Muke/ chshikowa shtana/ ntʰo. ‘His wife was very angry.’

Nuuru/ shishiġa shtana. ‘Nuuru was angry.’

khshikowa usiinzi ‘to be sleepy’

Sooloké/ chinemaani/ masku/ takhshikowa usiinzi. ‘Don’t go to the cinema at night, you will get sleepy.’

Hamadi/ shishiġa kuulu/ na Ali. ‘Hamadi was held by the leg by Ali.’

(Syn: It is less common to say **Hamadi/ shishiġa kuuluye/ na Ali.**

And it is ungrammatical to say: ***Kuulu/ ishishiġa Hamadi/ na Ali.**

Mbwa/ shishiġa kuulu/ na Ali. ‘The dog was held by the leg by Ali.’

Mwaana/ shishiġa mkono. [H!H] ‘The child was held by the hand.’ Cf.

Shishiġa mkono/ ni mwaana. [H!H] ‘The one who was taken by the hand is the child.’ Cf. **Mkono wa mwaana/ ushiishiġa.** [H!H] ‘The hand of the child was held.’ Cf. **Mwaana/ mkonowe/ ushiishiġa.** [H!H!H] ‘The child, his hand was held.’ Cf. **Ushiishiġa/ ni mkono wa mwaana.** [H!H] ‘What was held is the hand of the child.’

Mwanaamke/ chshikoowa/ chiletowaa mbele/ ya sulṭaani. ‘The young woman was caught and brought in front of the sultan.’

mwiiizi/ oyo shishiġaa yaná ‘the thief who was arrested yesterday’ or **mwiiizi/**

shishiġaa 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/ ntʰaná/ 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].’

- ma-shiiko* n. 6 catching
Omari/ nt^haná/ mashiiko. ‘Omari (lit.) does not have catching – i.e. he is not reliable.’
- 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.’
maskiini/ hatá/ shilingi/ nt^hanaayo ‘so poor that he does not have a shilling’
Mp^ha shilingii miya. ‘Give me one hundred shillings!’
Mubli/ sh^htomola/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’
Nt^haná/ shiima. ‘He has no enthusiasm, vigor.’
- shimaaḷi* [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.)
- shiimo* n. [Sw. *shimo* SSED 421] hole in a rock in the depth of the sea; this hole is really dark and one does not know where it ends
shiimo/ ya nt^heleewa ‘a type of fish (cherna, a type of grouper)’
Ituundru iyi/ miinza/ kamba shiimo/ ya nt^heleewa. ‘This hole is dark like the rock hole of cherna.’
- rel.
i-shiimo (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
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).’
Nt^heleewa/ umo karka ishimo. ‘The cherna are in the hole of the sea rock.’
- i-shina (ma-), (mi-)* n. 5/6,4 [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’
Mishaka aya/ mishinaye/ yakuushile. ‘These trees, their roots have come out.’
Nt^hukile mijint^hu mizito/ attá/ kushile ishina. ‘I carried heavy things until I had my roots removed (i.e. became like a dead person).’ **need to confirm morphology**
- i-shinaamo* n. essence
variant form: **ishinaamu**
Ishinaamo/ ink^huushiló/ nt^haykunruuda. ‘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.)
Munt^hu uyu/ nahishiize/ attá/ nk^huzile ishinaamu. ‘This person frightened me until he uprooted me (extracted my essence, made me like a dead person).’
Zeena/ nahiile/ hatá/ 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/ washiinzele.** ‘They were amazed [lit. surprise defeated them].’
Hasani/ takhshindra muunt’hi/ kiitu/ keesho. ‘Hasani will spend the day at our place tomorrow.’

Iwashiinziló/ ni kazi iyi. [H!H] ‘What defeated them is this job -- i.e. they could not do the job.’

Kazi iyi/ iwashiinzile. [H!H] ‘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/ nthakhaadira/ 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 for you to sleep with me.’

Taahiri/ hunshindra kaa nguvu. ‘Taahiri is stronger than me.’

Turki/ iwaliko khshiindra/ laakini/ nthakhshiindra. ‘Turkey was winning (the game), but did not win.’

Uyu/ khushiinzile. ‘This one defeated you.’

We/ chinshiindra/ mi/ nthakhuji’a/ naami/ nch’ikhushiindra/ we/

itakhulaazima/ kunt’hi’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) **Ha’á/ 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 sul’taani/ Simisini/ nthaskukhaadira/ 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 mfakató/ chimlasile Yuusufu/ maha’laa si/ chiweshelo zoombó. ‘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-shindramanoowa v. pass.

Ahmakhi/ ha’ishindramanoowi/ naaye. ‘Stupid cannot be competed with.’ (A proverbial saying.)

Jaahili/ ha’ishindramanoowi/ naaye. ‘Ignorance cannot be competed with.’ (A proverbial saying.)

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

Chiviḷa 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. (**shindriḷile**)

Nshindriḷile maṭezo. 'He won the game for me (i.e. he played in my place and won).'

Nṯaná/ 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 Baaná/ karaṭá.** '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/ ṭakubasha kila yaa we/ peeto. 'If you are defeated, you will lose everything that you got.'

khshindrowa maṭezo 'to lose [lit. be defeated] a game'

Mwanaamke/ chishindroow/ mara ya kaandra/ na mara ya piiḷi. '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.)

Shṭezeze maraa taatú/ mara iyi/ mi/ nshiinzilá. '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. [H!H] 'The ones who could not do the job are these.'

Wo/ washiinzila/ na kazi iyi. [HH!H] 'They were unable to do the job [lit. they were defeated by the job].' (There is no pitch drop between the pronominal subject and the emphasized verb. The verb in fact is a bit higher in pitch. The drop on the agent phrase *na kazi iyi*, raising the issue whether the pitch drop that follows the emphasized verb should be regarded as distinct from ordinary downstep. We tentatively judge it to be distinct from the extreme downstepping, symbolized by !!, that precedes a postposed subject.)

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; this was originally a victory dance, with stomping of feet, performed after winning a game of **nk^hoonk^ho**; the accompanying song said: ‘be defeated, be defeated, we have defeated them’, thus the noun is closely associated with the verb **khshiindra**; later the term came to be used for any loud music with dancing
- (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 ulongo/ 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 shšana/ nakubiga mashiindro. ‘Hamadi came here, he was angry, he is stamping the ground.’
rel.
- mi-shiindro* n. 4
zi-shiindro n. 8
- kubiga zishiindro** ‘to stomp on the ground’
Waana/ wa skoolá/ wafurahiile/ khshindra mpiira/ wabishile zishiindro. ‘School children were happy to win the ball game, they were lit. hitting *zishiindro*, stomping on the ground in joy.’
- 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/ halvaaliki/ shingooni.** ‘My necklace is long but it cannot be worn around the neck.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **siyaafu** ‘safari ants’.)
- Mojitu/ 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 eelo/ shiingo.** ‘The old woman embraced the gazelle’s neck.’
- na shiingo zaawo nt’iiniya/ ata qiyaama ahdiya** [poem] ‘and their bent heads are under me until the end of time’
- Shiingo/ haypiti** (or: **ha’ipiti**) / **chiṭa.** ‘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/ surwaani. ‘I am zipping up my trousers.’ Or:
Nakhfunga surwaani/ shinyeeri.
- ship** ideo. of being silent
variant form: **shup**
Omari ile/ kaleent^he/ shup/ nt^hakhkooḍa/ ba. ‘Omari came in and sat down, **ship!** he did not say anything at all.’
- m-shipa** n. [Sw. *mshipa* SSED 302] elephantiasis of the scrotum
NOTE: Never heard in Chim., but names of various illnesses not yet checked.
- shiiq** ideo. of frying; [pron. **shiiq** or **sheikh**]
Haliima/ nakokaa nsi/ ka mafta/ shiiq!/ arfuye/ haṭá/ ka ibanyaani/ inakhkasoowa. ‘Haliima is frying fish with oil, **shiiq**, its smell is (lit. heard) smelled from outside.’
- shiqaaqi** n., adj. [Ar. *ṣiqāq* "disunity, dissension" W 480] problematic and complicated situation; 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’
Soomaaliya/ na Keenya/ wanakuḷaana/ kati kaawo/ zimo shiqaaqi.
‘Somalia and Kenya are fighting, between them there are problems.’
- kh-shiirata** v. [Som. *shiiir* "to have bad smell of dirt or sweat" DSI 549] (**shireete**) smell, stink (of a person, of meat, etc.)
Shaati/ inakhshiirata. ‘The shirt is smelling.’
rel.
kh-shiraṭoowa v. pass.
Apa/ inakhshiraṭoowa/ mbona/ ijiilani. ‘Here it is smelling, what was eaten?’
- 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.)

Mi/ nüüzé/ khiira/ Abú/ kingila shiriini. ‘I objected to allowing Abu to participate in the meeting.’

Ni lila/ kuwa Nuuru/ bakheete/ shiri. ‘It is true that Nuuru missed the meeting.’

Ni lila/ kuwa Nuuru/ shiri/ imgafiile. ‘It is true that Nuuru missed the meeting (lit. the meeting missed him).’

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.’

Si/ shchitaraja/ kuwa sindako/ kuya shiriini/ laakini/ wa nt^hiinike/ tu/ iló.
‘We hoped that the mayor would come to the meeting, but just his second-in-command came.’

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 [Se. *mshirika* SSED] partner

Tajiri uyu/ ni mshirkawa. ‘This merchant is my partner.’

kh-shirka

divine qualities **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

mu-shirki (wa-)

n. 1/2 a person who claims that God has a partner or partners (most common meaning), or a person who claims that he or she is a partner of God (less common meaning)

Munt^hu uyu/ ni mshirki. ‘This person is a *mshirki* (i.e. a person who believes that God has a partner or partners, or a person who believes himself or herself to be a partner of God)

Want^hu awa/ ni washirki. ‘These people are *washirki* (i.e. people who believe that God has a partner or partners, or people who claim to be partners with God).’

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 Chimini, Shalaambood is **Shirombooto**, although the 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/ unamlawa. 'His gum is bleeding.' Or: **Ushiza/ inamlawa.**
Ushizi/ unamlaaza. 'His gum is paining.' Or: **Ushizi/ inamlaaza.**
ushiziwa 'my gum'

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 nk^haanga. 'His ears are like a guinea fowl.'
Mi/ spendi/ 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 (lit. don't put into the ear) to what the old woman says.'
Ye/ nayo maluungo/ ya eelo/ milu ya eelo/ mafo ya eelo/ mashkilo ya eelo/ laakini/ ye/ khalbiye/ siwo/ khalbi ya eelo. 'He has the body of a gazelle, 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 uðhiya miṭaano sho khkoma [st.] 'a camel [to be slaughtered as]
uðhiya must not have reached the age of five'
sho khsala 's.o. who does not pray'
sho kuwa 'except'
Masku ayo/ nṭakuja/ chiintḥu/ sho kuwa ikopa ya maayi. 'That evening he did not eat anything except a glass of water.'
Nṭakuwanaayo/ kaazi/ yiingine/ sho kuwa khpataa nsi. 'He did not have any other work except to catch fish.'
Nṭakuwanaayo/ majiibu/ miingine/ sho kuwa aya. 'He did not have any other answer than this.'
Nṭakuwanaayo/ sho kuwa zuwo/ zaa dawa. 'He did not have anything except medical books.'
Sulṭaani/ wapeenzele/ waanawe/ wotte/ sho kuwa waa saba. 'The sultan loved all his children except the seventh one.'
ya kuwaa we/ dawayo/ siwo/ chintḥu chiingine/ sho kuwa inyi yaa nfuye 'that your medicine is nothing except the liver of a monkey'
Ziwo/ zotte/ zivaliko zijiila/ na rurumu/ sho kuwa lwarakha/ mooyi. 'All the books were eaten by termites except for a single page.'

rel.

-sho without

chintḥu chisho ma'ana 'something without meaning'; **zintḥu zisho ma'ana** 'things without meaning'
iberamu isho lkaambala 'flag without a rope'; **maberamu yasho nkḥaambala** 'flags without ropes'
Iyi/ ni raadiyo/ isho wenewe. 'This is Free Radio [lit. radio without owners].'
lkuta lisho jidari suura 'a wall without a good foundation, base'; **nkḥuta zisho jidari suura** 'walls without a good foundation, base'
muntḥu sho ma'ana 'a man without importance'; **wantḥu washo ma'ana** 'men without importance' (Notice the null agreement in the case of a [cl.1] nominal.)
muti usho nṭaanzi 'a tree without branches'; **miti yasho nṭaanzi** 'trees without branches'
Nṭaku 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 sowṭi [st.] 'those who have no voice (i.e. are silent = the dead)'

shokuwana+pronoun who does not have

Na shokuwanaachó/ cho chotté/ halazimoowi/ 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.'

wablī ka mashoga waṭomeele 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 shugamaano 'to cover with a towel'
kh pangula maayi/ ka shogamaano 'to wipe water with a towel'
- shookhi** n. passion
ka shockhi 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'ilāta/ paapo/ apo/ ifuwooni/ 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.)
kubarāta 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. (**shomeleela**)
charkhani chishomeleela shaati... 'the sewing machine that was used to sew the shirt...'
Mwaana/ shomeleela shaati/ ka charkhaani. 'The child was sewed for a shirt with a sewing machine.' But also: **Charkhaani/ chishomeleela mwaana/ shaati.** 'A sewing machine was used to sew a shirt for the child.'
kh-shomela v. appl. (**shomelele**) sew with, for
Aasha/ mshomelele 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/ mshomelele mwaana/ shaati.** And also: **Charkhaani/ Aasha/ mshomelele 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.'
Muusa/ nakhtahaja surwaaniye/ khshomoowa. 'Muusa needs his trousers mended.'
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; [usu. pron. **shookhi**]

Apa/ muiyini/ kiḷa/munt^hu kasizo qisa za jasira ya Wakhwaakhi/ imwingile

shookhi/ na ṭamanile kendra kuzura jasira iyi/ laakini/ nt^haku/ jasiriḷó/ 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 shookhi ‘eagerly, with enthusiasm’

kingila shookhi ‘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 amri/

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 shookhi. ‘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/ mkuḷaze/ kuwashoorata. ‘When the wake ended, the boy called his elder brothers to consult with them.’

Mi/ shifilaṭila/ ye/ kunviila/ kunshoorata/ amó/ kunuza haaliyá. ‘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.'
	kh̄inda shoori 'to ignore advice'
	kuwamo shoori/ mooyi 'to be in something together; to have previous secret understanding about a common course of action'
	ni shoori/ mooyi '[lit.] are one counsel -- meaning: two people have been 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).'
<i>m-shoori (wa-)</i>	n. 1/2 consultant Na chimfanya mshooriwe/ chiwa humshoorata/ ka killa/ yaa ye/ azimilo khfaanyá. 'And he made him his consultant, and it became that he consulted him for everything that he planned to do.'
<i>shorofo</i>	n. tape Alí/ nakhsula shorofo/ kuzubila zilaatu. 'Ali wants tape to wrap around shoes.'
<i>kh-shoowata</i>	v. [Som. <i>shoob</i> "to be elegant" DSI 551] (showeete) put on new or fancy clothes rel. <i>kh-showatila</i> v. appl. dress elegantly for s.o. fulaani ni mubliwa mi humshowatila kuta [st.] 'so-and-so is my husband [and] I dress elegantly for him always' <i>kh-showatiloowa</i> v. appl. pass. janna hushowatiloowa [st.] 'for paradise one dresses elegantly, people make themselves elegant' <i>kh-shoowisha</i> or <i>kh-showatisha</i> v. caus. cause s.o. to put on nice clothes, help s.o. put on nice clothes, put nice clothes on s.o.
<i>m-shpi (mi-)</i>	n. 3/4 [Sw. <i>mshpi</i> SSED 302] fishing line khtila mishpi/ kaasi 'to twist a fishing line' kubiga mishpi 'to make a fishing line' Tayiiibu/ mishpi aya/ patililee nsi. 'Tayiiibu used these lines to catch fish.'
<i>shsh</i>	ideo. of blood flowing, sliding Hamadi/ maazi/ yanamshera mkonooni/ shsh. 'The blood is flowing from Hamadi's hand shsh.' Maayi/ yanakhsheera/ lkutaani/ shsh. 'Water is sliding along the wall shsh.'
<i>ma-sh̄taka</i>	n. 6 [Sw. <i>mashtaka</i> SSED 262; Ar. <i>šakā</i> "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'
<i>check had mashtako</i>	
<i>ma-sh̄taayta</i>	n. [cf. Sw. <i>mashata</i> SSED 26] sesame Huyala mashtaayta. 'They grow sesame.' mafta ya mashtaayta 'sesame seeds' (Sesame oil is commonly mafta ya maansara .) Saalé/ mashtaayta/ mahala/ zikoo nk^hukú. 'Don't spread sesame seeds where there are chickens.'
<i>mu-sh̄tari (wa-)</i>	n. [cf. Ar. <i>šarā</i> "to buy" W 470] buyer Meera/ washtari/ mahala yiingine. '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-shṭari** n. [Ar. *m iṣṭara* W 410] a ruler to measure with
kubiga mushṭari ‘to make a line’
rel.
chi-mu-shṭari (*zi-mu-*) n. 7/8 dim. ruler
- i-shu** adj. fresh (camel’s milk’)
iziwa ishu ‘fresh milk’
meḷpe/ kana iziwa ishu ‘someone as white as fresh milk’
- shu’uuni** n. [Ar. *ṣu’ūn*, pl. of *ṣa’n* "affair, matter" W 449] affairs, matters
Chimuuló/ ni muunt^hu/ apo/ chimamulaṭo shu’uni zaa nt^hi/ siwo/ fir’ooni/ nafiye. ‘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. *ṣa’ara, ṣu’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/ ipatijila shufeeri. ‘The car was gotten a driver for it.’
gaari/ na shufeeri ‘a car and a chauffeur’
gaari/ na shufeeriwé ‘a car and its chauffeur’ (Note that in this example, **shufeeri** governs [cl.1] agreement on the possessive enclitic.)
Jaama/ nakumerela gaari/ shufeeri. ‘Jaama is looking for a driver for the car.’
Nimpatijile shufeeri/ gaari. ‘I got a car for the driver.’ Cf. **Mpatijile gaari/ shufeeri.** ‘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 gaari ‘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.)
Shufeeri/ patijila gaari. ‘The driver was gotten a car.’
- 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** (Ø, ma-) n. 9/10 [Sw. *shughuli* SSED 426; Ar. *ṣuḡl* 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, be interested in
Naani/ hushughulikó/ ka taariikhí. ‘Who is interested in history?’ (The

pseudo-relative verb often shows the effects of the Accentual Law of Focus, but in this example final accent was extended past the verb even though the verb was emphasized.)

Shughulikishile ka kaaziye. ‘He was busy with his work.’

rel.

kh-shughulikila v. appl. be interested in

Ā’ā/ Huseeni/ tu/ hushughulikiló/ taariikhí. ‘No, only Huseeni is interested in history.’

Huseeni/ na Omarí/ wawiliwe/ ba/ hushughulikila/ taariikhi/ so. ‘Are both Huseeni and Omari interested in history?’

kh-shughulisha v. caus. [Sw. *shughulisha* SSED 426] keep someone busy, preoccupy someone, worry someone, interest s.o.

Koði za waant^hu/ hazinshughulishi. ‘What people say doesn’t worry me.’

Njaribile khshughulisha ruuhuyá. ‘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

mtume mwambiile Faatima shuhudila [st.] ‘the Prophet told Faatima, be a witness!’

rel.

kh-shuhudiḷoowa 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 (Ø, ma-)

adj. courageous, brave; n. courage

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.’

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 odelo naayé. ‘Hamadi was emboldened after I talked with him.’

rel.

- kh-shuja'ika* v. p/s.
Ali/ mtilé mwaana/ khshuja'ika. 'Ali instilled in the child to be courageous.'
- kh-shuja'isha* v. caus.
Hamadi/ mshuja'ishize mwaana/ khtala imtijaani. '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*
- v. [Som.*shukaami* "to court s.o., to trap or ensnare" DSI 552] talk into, seduce, talk with a woman concerning marriage or intimate relationship, court
- Ali/ m̄tindilile Haliima/ ito/ ka nt^hiini/ nakhsula kumshukaamisha.** 'Ali has winked at Haliima secretly, he wants to talk to her about getting together for sex etc.'
- Chimshukaamisha/ hatá/ Sa'iidi/ shkhiira/ chi'upaandra/ oyo mloongofi.** '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
- shuukulu* only in the expression:
ka shuukulu 'before daybreak, between dawn and sunrise'
Dul'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 zishila 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 nsharifile [song] 'thanks, I thank you; you have

honored me’
Chimshukura maama/ chirashmana naaye/ atá/ muiini. ‘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. 9/10 [Som. *shumac* ‘candle’; Ar. *šama* ‘W 486] (=nt^ha) candle

Omari/ ashize shuma’a. ‘Omari lit a candle.’

shuma’a iyi ‘this candle’; **shuma’a izi** ‘these candles’

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-shumuloowa v. pass. (**shumiila**)

Hargabu/ hushumuloowa. ‘A cold causes sneezing.’

Mayoshi miingi/ apo/ hatá/ hushumuloowa. ‘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 kshumula.** ‘This medicine caused me to sneeze.’)

Mayooshi/ humshimuza muunt^hu. ‘Smoke causes one to sneeze.’

kh-shumuzoowa v. caus. pass.

dawa ya kshumuzoowa ‘medicine for sneezing’

i-shuungi (ma-)

n. 5/6 [Sw. *shungi* SSED 426] a strand of hair, (pl.) 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/ kiła 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.)

ishungi ilusi ‘a (single) black hair’

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 Mwiini**’

khĩinda inyala ow ishuungi hudhiba [st.] ‘to cut finger/toe-nail or hair is harmful’

kiska mashuungi ‘to wash or shampoo the hair’

komezma maayi mashuungi ni farõi [st.] ‘to make water reach the hair (in doing ablutions) is an obligation’

kumola mashuungi ‘to shave the hair’

Leyla/ nayo ishungi ilusi. ‘Leyla has black hair.’ (Although **ishuungi** is typically singular, referring to a strand of hair, it is possible to use it to refer to hair, as in this example.)

Leyla/ nayo mashuungi/ male/ laakini/ mashuungi ya baayé/ ni zigobe/ na ni malusi. ‘Leyla has long hair, but her sister’s hair is short and black.’

mashuungi makavu ‘dry hair’

mashuungi malaasi ‘long, soft, silk hair’

mashuungi yaa chĩta ‘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’

Nayo mashuungi/ male/ malusi. ‘She has long black hair.’

Nimĩnzile Hamadi/ mashuungĩ. ‘I cut Hamadi’s hair.’ (Observe that it is not necessary to mark morphologically the possessive relationship between **Hamadi** and **mashuungĩ**.)

Tuuma/ mĩnzile Hamadi/ mashuungĩ. ‘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/ mĩnzile Hamadi/ mashuungĩ!?**) Or: **Tuuma/ mĩnzile mashuungĩ/ Hamadi.** ‘Tuuma cut the hair [of] Hamadi.’) (Note that **mashuungĩ** may be put in post-verbal position, but the verb still agrees with the possessor.)

Tuuma/ mĩnzile/ Hamadi/ mashuungĩ. ‘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/ mĩnzile/ Hamadi/ mashuungĩ**. Our consultant, MG, was not comfortable trying to make this into an exclamatory question.)

Tuuma/ mĩnzile Hamadi/ mashuungĩ/ ka makhasi. ‘Tuuma cut Hamadi’s hair with scissors.’ (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/ mĩnzile Hamadi/ mashuungĩ/ ka makhasi!?**) Or with the applied verb being used to absorb the preposition: **Tuuma/ mĩndĩlĩle makhasi/ Hamadi/ mashuungĩ.** ‘Tuuma cut Hamadi’s hair with scissors.’ (Observe that even though the applied form of the verb makes it possible to omit the preposition **ka**, the verb still agrees with **Hamadi**. Also note that this example comes from GM, who in contrast to MI does not place severe restrictions on the instrument in an instrumental applied construction. In MI’s speech, the instrument in this construction cannot be focused and thus could not be placed in the IAV position.) Or, with preposing of the instrument: **Tuuma/ makhasi/ mĩndĩlĩlo Hamadi/ mashuungĩ.** (Note that the preposing of **makhasi** puts focus on it, triggering the pseudo-relativization of the verb.) Or: **Tuuma/ ka makhasi/ mashuungĩ/ mĩnzilo Hamadi.** ‘Tuuma, with scissors, hair cut Hamadi.’ Or: **Ka makhasi/ Tuuma/ mĩnzilo Hamadi/ mashuungĩ.** ‘With scissors

- Tuuma cut Hamadi the hair.’
- Tuuma/ m̄tinzilo Hamadi/ mashuungí.** ‘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/ m̄tinzile Hamadi/ mashuungí.]’)
- Tuuma/ tinzile mashungi ya Hamadi.** ‘Tuuma cut Hamadi’s hair.’ (Note that when mashungi 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/ m̄tinzile mashungi ya Hamadi.) Or: **Tuuma/ tinzile Hamadi/ mashuungíye.** ‘Tuuma cut Hamadi his hair.’
- Taala/ mashuungiya/ yolokele/ chinihtaja/ ka jawaabu/ mwēpe/ 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) (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 na 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.’
Waantʰu/ wontʰe/ 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.’
- shupu** adj. quiet
shupu/ kana khabri ‘as quiet as a grave’
Omari/ numba yaawo/ muuntʰu/ ntʰaku/ shupu/ kana khabri. ‘Omari’s house, there’s nobody there, it is as quiet as a grave.’
shupu/ kana khabriini ‘as quiet as a grave (loc.)’
shupu/ kana mahala ifiila ‘as quiet as a place where someone has died’
- shurafa** pl. (cf. *shariifu*) [Ar. *ṣurafā* W 467] #1.4
- shurba** n. 9 [Ar. *ṣorba* "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. *shurutu* SSED 427; Ar. *surūt*, pl. of *sart* "condition" W 465] conditions
Husuḷoowa/ muuntʰu/ na’iwó/ shuruutizé/ 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. 9 [Sw. *shurua* SSED 427, *surua* SSED 441; Pers.] measles
Mwaana/ chiwanayo shuruwa/ husulowa koshoowa/ ka wiingi. [H!H!H] ‘When a child has measles, he needs to be bathed a lot of times.’
Nayo shuruwa. ‘He has measles.’
Shuruwa/ hubla waana. [H!H] ‘Measles kills children.’
Shuruwa/ hubla waana/ wiingi. [H!HH] ‘Measles kills many children.’ (In our intonational transcriptions, we write HH in cases where there is neither declination or downstep between the successive accented syllables, but neither is there a radical upstep, which we symbolize as [↑]. Instead, the second H may be a bit higher than the first. In the present example, this intonational is associated with some emphasis on *wiingi*.)
Shuruwa/ ni maraḍi/ khatari/ ya waana. [H!H!H!H] ‘Measles is a dangerous disease for children.’ (The downstep on *maradi* and *waana* in this example was clear. The declination between *maradi* and *khatari* apparently reflects the presence of some emphasis on *khatari*, i.e. the speaker is observing that it is a dangerous disease.)
Shuruwa/ yublele waana/ wiingi/ mwaka waa yana. ‘Measles killed many children last year.’ (The subject marker *y-* on the verb establishes that the noun *shuruwa* is [cl.9].)
Waana/ hupata shuruwa. [H!H] ‘Children get measles.’
- kh-shutuma** v. [Sw. *shutumu* SSED 427; Ar. *ṣatama* W 455] (**shutumiile**) *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’ondroshele. ‘On the morning of one day when it was calm, they set out [on their journey].’
Leelo/ yiko shuwaari. ‘Today it is calm.’
Skuu nt^h atu/ 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-shuwaṭa** v. [Som. noun and verb *shuban* DSI 551] (**shuweeṭe**) to have diarrhoea
like water from a pipe)
khshuwaṭa/ kana bomba ‘to have diarrhoea like a water pipe (gushing out pipe.’
Nakhshuwaṭa/ kana bomba. ‘He is having diarrhoea like a water pipe.’
khshuwaṭa maayi ‘to have watery diarrhoea’
khshuwaṭa maazi ‘to have bloody diarrhoea’
Omari/ nakhshuwaṭa. ‘Omari is having diarrhoea.’
- rel.
kh-shuwaṭiloowa v. appl. pass.
Dighlo/ hushuwaṭiloowa. ‘A laxative causes diarrhoea.’
kh-shuwaṭoowa v. pass.
Inakhshuwaṭoowa/ kana bomba. ‘People are having diarrhoea like a water pipe.’
- kh-shuwisha** v. cause diarrhoea
dawa ya khshuwisha ‘purgative’
- shuwini** n. [cf. Som. *shuban*] diarrhoea
Shuwini/ hubla waana. ‘Diarrhoea kills children.’
- shuwu** n. [Som. *shub* DSI 551] concrete (cement conglomerate)
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

Jezaa mp^huundra/ mashuzi. ‘The compensation (you get) from a donkey is farts.’ (The phrase **jeza ya mp^huundra** may contract to **jezaa mp^huundra**, thereby creating an otherwise unpermitted sequence of long vowels.)

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/ lsiwaṭiinde ‘that the sword not cut [cl.2]’; **mp^haanga/**

siziwaṭiinde ‘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]’

Nakhsuḷa chijaana/ sichibigoowa. ‘He wants that the (dim.) child be beaten.’ Cf. **Nakhsuḷa 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.)

Nakhsuḷaa chisu/ sichivundoowa. ‘He wants that the knife not be broken.’

Cf. **Nakhsuḷaa 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.)

Nakhsuḷa ijaana/ isibigoowa. ‘He wants that the (aug.) child be beaten.’

Cf. **Nakhsuḷa mijaana/ yasibigoowa.** ‘He wants that the (aug.) children be beaten.’

Nakhsuḷa ijiwe/ isilatiloowa. ‘He wants that the stone not be thrown.’ Cf.

Nakhsuḷa majiwe/ yasilatiloowa. ‘He wants that the stones not be thrown.’

Nakhsuḷaa luti/ lsivundoowa (but also possible: **silvundoowa**). ‘He wants

that the stick not be broken.’ Cf. **Nakhsuḷaa ndruti/ sizivundoowa.** ‘He wants that the sticks not be broken.’

Nakhsuḷa muunt^hu/ sambiloowa. ‘He wants that the man not be told.’ Cf.

Nakhsuḷa waant^hu/ wasambiloowa. ‘He wants that the men not be told.’

Nakhsuḷaa muti/ usiburbushoowa. ‘He wants that the tree not be cut

down.’ Cf. **Nakhsuḷaa miti/ yasiburbushoowa.** ‘He wants that the trees not be cut down.’

Nakhsuḷaa 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: **Nakhsuḷaa ni/ sinambiloowa.** This variation does not seem to be possible in the active: **Nakhsuḷaa ni/ (n)sooloke.** ‘He wants that you not go.’ Not: ***Nakhsuḷaa ni/ sinooloke.** **We need to double check whether it is the passive of all verbs or just vowel-initial verbs that allow this variation.**

Nakhsuḷaa ni/ (n)seendre. ‘He wants that you (pl.) not go.’ (Cf. the unacceptability of ***Nakhsuḷaa 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.)

Nakhsuḷa nuumba/ isuzoowa. ‘He wants that the house not be sold.’ Cf.

Nakhsuḷa 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]’

nsisoom ‘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]’.)

sichisoom ‘that we not read’

sisoome ‘that you, [cl.1] not read’
uki/ usiwaṭawanyikile ‘that the honey not spill on [cl.2]’
wasisoome ‘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
Mukhtaa si/ chilazilo ka chinemaani ‘when we came from the cinema...’
Mwiizi/ bishiḷa 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/ bishiḷa 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/ chinakhsulaa 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: ¹**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: ¹**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/ nawanyüzé. ‘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)’
Numba/ siyó. ‘There is the house.’
Siyó/ mahmaahi/ inakuhada jis’iyo/ ma’anaye/ kilaa chiint^hu/ ha’ipatowa ka matezo. ‘(Summing up an explanation of the meaning of a proverb) so there it is, the proverb says like that, it means, each thing (that you desire), it cannot be gotten by playing around (you must work hard in order to get it).’
sizí ‘here are [cl.8]’
Sizí/ zibuukú. ‘Here are the books.’
Sizí/ zoombó. ‘Here are the things’
sizí ‘here are [cl.10]’
Numba/ sizí. ‘Here are the houses.’
Sizí/ ndrutí. ‘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)’
Numba/ sizijé. ‘There are the houses.’
Sizijé/ ndrutí. ‘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)’
Numba/ sizó. ‘There are the houses (near you).’
Sizó/ nk^hele z-a m-p^huundrá. ‘Here are the brays of a donkey.’
Sizó/ ndrutí. ‘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/ Hamadí.** ‘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/ Nuurú. ‘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
Á’á/ ye/ shishilee nsi/ mooyi/ tu. [HHHH!!H] ‘No, he just caught one 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.’
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.**
chiṭa 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’
khṭindaa nsi ‘to cut fish’
kokaa nsi ‘to fry fish’
koshaa nsi ‘to wash fish’
kugazaa nsi ‘to attempt to catch fish’
kumgṭaa 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’
matuumbo/ 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’
m^tuzi waa nsi ‘fish soup’
mwishpa yaa nsi ‘fish bone’
Na chijamu cha taatu/ tile makooko/ na chita chaa nsi/ kumpa mwana wa mub^liwe. ‘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.’
Nsi/ ha’ijowi ka iziwa/ hushowatoowa. ‘Fish is not eaten with milk, it causes diarrhoea.’
nsi inakunuunk^hó ‘fish which smell bad’
nsi/ isa/ tu/ s-tumela mayiini ‘fish just not taken out of water, i.e. very fresh’
nsi iwozeló ‘rotten fish’
nsi iwozeló/ muunt^hu/ shkala/ ni noloolo. ‘A rotten fish, if you press it, it is soft.’ (A saying.)
Nsi iyi/ ndimi/ ndreeseló. ‘This fish, it is me who brought it.’
nsi/ kingila chilohooni ‘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. **lbaawa** ‘feather’
nsi zaa mufu ‘lit. fish of mufu’
nsi zaa munu ‘salted fish’
nsi zaa muto ‘river fish’
nsi zaa wowi ‘river fish’
nt^huumbulu/ yaa nsi/ ya mp^haamp^ha ‘shark granules (lit. granules of fish of shark)’
Omari/ nayo ulaazo/ nakhtapa/ kana nsi tumela mayiini. ‘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/ hubashala^tabashaala^ta/ 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.’

si ka

[apparently a contraction of **si ka khisa**] is it not because of?

Si ka kuwaa we/ dokhaani. ‘Isn’t it because you are stupid?’

Si kaa we/ kuwa dokhaani/ tu/ bashizo peesá. ‘Isn’t it just because you are stupid that you lost [your] money?’

Si kaa we/ kuwa dokhaani/ we/ m^lasilo eeló. ‘Is it not because of your stupidity that you let the gazelle go?’

si’iri

n. cost

Si’iri/ ya mpuunga/ nt^haasá/ ni ghaali. ‘The cost of rice remains high.’

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. *uštba* "to be stricken, afflicted" W 528 and *wašab* "hardship, suffering" W 1072] (**sibiile**) (i) do correctly,

right; (ii) be afflicted, befall, happen to

(i) **We/ sibiile/ na yaa we/ hadiiló/ ni ka kalíla.** ‘You are correct and what you have said is true.’

(ii) **Afðali/ inampate/ ije itakumpató/ kama keendra/ kunsiba ghaðabu za mwajütü.** 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/ chí’ifilíla 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. **usiba** "to be stricken, afflicted" W 528 and **wasib** "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**’

Msiiba/ ushtuluka/ kiila/ mo/ humdirka. ‘When disaster happens it affects every one.’ (A proverbial saying.)

Msiiba wa munt^hu mooyi/ ni haruusi/ ya mwiingine. ‘The misfortune of one man is the marriage of another.’ (A proverb.)

Mzele wa muuyi/ nt^haná/ ilmu/ ya khfanya chiint^hu/ na msiiba/ uyu. ‘The mayor is not competent to deal with this crisis.’

Nt^haku/ msiiba/ usho mwenewé. ‘There is no misfortune without its companion.’ (A proverb.)

Waant^hu/ muyiini/ wawanayo msiiba/ laakini/ mukhtaawo/ 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. **sibyānī** "boyish, childish" W 503] stupid, intellectually weak, childish (in behavior)

nüko 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**]

sichije

[cl.7] there it is; [pron. **sichijé**]

sicho

[cl.7] there it is; [pron. **sichó**]

sidiiqi

adj. [Ar. **siddīq** W 509] one who tells the truth

ka sabri Yuusufu sidiiqi peeḷa [st.] ‘because of patience, Joseph the truth-teller was given’

- sidiriya* n. [Sw. *sidiria* SSED 428; Ar. Ar. *sidra* and *sidairī* "bodice" W 507] brassiere
- sidqi* n. [Ar. *ṣidq* W 509] truth, sincerity
- sifa* n. [Ar. *sifa* 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.' (Observe that in the =*po* 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 khpendelaowa. '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.'
- siifa* n. act of praising; variant form: **siifu**
- kh-siifa* v. [Sw. *sifu* SSED 429; Ar. *waṣafa* W 1072] (**sifiile**) 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 imnyeleeleó. '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 **imnyeleeleó**, 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 to the subject by means of the *-a* link.)
Sisifeeni. 'You (pl.) don't praise!'
- joined

soomu za sku sitta Mtume sifüle [st.] ‘the Prophet praised the fasting of [those] six days’

We/ husuloowa/ khsiifa/ waant^{hu}/ wako ilukó/ haṭá/ 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-süifika v. p/s.

kh-sifiloowa v. appl. pass. (sifiliila)

Ni lila/ kooḍi/ zaa we/ ambiilá/ laakini/ mi/ ndimí/ mzele/ 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-süifila 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-süifisha 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)

sifilüto

n. syphilis

Maraḍi/ ya sifilüto/ huhadoowa/ muke/ farji/ humjaaja. ‘It is said that the disease of syphilis [causes] a woman’s vagina to itch her.’

sigareeti

n. 9/10 [Sw. *sigareti* SSED 429; Eng. *cigarette*] cigarette

kasha sigareeti ‘to light a cigarette’

kuvuta sigareeti ‘to smoke a cigarette’

kh-süigata

v. survive, be saved

Mara mo/ chisiigata/ mara piili/ husiigati. ‘If you get saved, survive once the second time you will not survive.’ (A proverb.)

Muunt^{hu}/ maraa mbili/ chisiigata/ mara ya taatu/ hasiigati. ‘If a person survives two times, the third time, he does not survive.’

siha

n. [Sw. *siha* SSED 429; Ar. *sihha* 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. *saḥḥa* W 503] (-sihiile) be valid, correct, befitting

Haysihi. ‘It is not valid.’

husiha we sin’aaqibe/ ndo mp^haangula itoziya [song] ‘it befits you that you don’t punish me, come and wipe away my tear drop’

	<i>imaani khsihake shartī shahaada</i> [st.] ‘for your faith to be valid, you must [recite] the Shahādah’
	<i>khṭayamuma husiha waqti chiingila</i> ‘it is permitted to take ablutions using sand when the time [for prayers] approaches’
<i>kh-sihira</i>	v. [Sw. <i>sihiri</i> SSED 429; Ar. <i>saḥara, siḥr</i> W 400] (sihiriile) charm, bewitch, practice witchcraft rel. <i>kh-sihirika</i> v. p/s. <i>kh-sihiriḷa</i> v. appl. <i>kh-sihirisha</i> v. caus.
<i>sihiri</i>	n. [Sw. <i>sihiri</i> SSED 429; Ar.] witchcraft, black magic <i>hashkasi sihiri na miḷa ya diini</i> [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)’
<i>sihiroole (ma-)</i>	n. [Som. <i>sixiroole, sixirrow</i> DSI 558] witch
<i>ku-sijila</i>	v. [Ital. <i>sigillare</i>] (sijiliile) seal with a stamp
<i>siiki</i>	n. 9 [Sw. <i>siki</i> SSED 429; Pers.] vinegar <i>khamri ka nafsiye ichiwa siiki/ hada tahaara tila karka milki</i> [st.] ‘when an alcoholic drink changes to vinegar by natural means, you can say it is pure and keep it among your possessions’ mkali/ kana siiki ‘as sour as vinegar’
<i>sikiini</i>	n. [Som. <i>sakiini</i> or <i>sikiin</i> "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)’
<i>siji</i>	[cl.11] here it is; [pron. siḷi] Lutiilo/ siḷi. ‘Here’s your stick.’ Siḷi/ luti. ‘Here’s the stick.’
<i>sijije</i>	[cl.11] there it is; [pron. siḷijé] Siḷijé/ luti. ‘There’s the stick (far from us).’
<i>silo</i>	[cl.11] there it is; [pron. siḷó] Siḷó/ luti. ‘There’s the stick (close to you).’
<i>siḷsila</i>	n. [Sw. <i>sitsila</i> SSED 430; Ar. <i>sitsila</i> W 421] chain sultaani/ funzilo ruuhuyé/ mikonó/ ka siḷsilá ‘the sultan who tied his hands with a chain’
<i>ma-sila</i>	n. 6 no etymological source found pus kuḷawa masila ‘to suppurate’ <i>ni mu’afu maazi ya mapu na masila</i> [st.] ‘it is forgiven, the blood from boils and pus (i.e. those do not invalidate prayers)’
<i>silaaha</i>	n. [Sw. <i>silaha</i> SSED 430; Ar. <i>silāḥ</i> W 420] weapon Chiint^hu/ ni chimo chiwovuuni/ silaaha/ ni yimo mkonooni. [H!H H!H] ‘Possessions, money, etc. [lit. thing] is in the pocket, a weapon is in the hand.’ (A proverb.)

kuweka silaaha/ nthiini ‘to lay weapons down’

Mukhtaa ye/ komelo mashakaaní/ sh^tuumba/ sh^tomola silaahaze/ kanmake/ chichilomba shpeteche/ kumbadila kumfaanya/ m^waarabu/ 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

Is^laamu/ ni muunt^hu/ khsilima ka limi^le/ na ka mkonowé. ‘A Muslim is someone who is a Muslim with his tongue and with his hand.’

Khsilima/ ni muunt^hu/ kumamina mojiitu/ na mtumewé. ‘To be a Muslim is to believe in God and the Prophet.’

Muunt^hu/ hakhasboowi/ khsilima/ husilima ka khalbiye/ na miirizé/ khiirá. ‘One is not forced to become a Muslim, he becomes a Muslim by his heart and his mind to accept.’

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 A^tiikhi/ Abdurahmaani ‘the well of Atiikhi Abdurahmaani’ (There seems to be a contraction of *khi/a* to *áa*)

Chisima cha A^tiikhi/ Abdrahmaani/ ni ndraani. ‘The Atiikhi Abdurahmaani well is deep.’

Wake ^fwiingi/ hupato maayi/ masku/ chisima cha a^tiikhi/

Abdurahmaani. ‘Many women fetch water at night from Atiikhi Abdurahmaani’s well.’ (Same contraction of *khi+A.*)

chisima cha E^l 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.)

Maayi/ yaamo/ chisimaani. ‘There is water in the well.’ Or: **Chisimaani/ yaamo/ maayi.** Or: **Yaamo/ maayi/ chisimaani.**

ndraani/ kana/ chisima ‘deep like a well’

Omari/ nuumbaye/ posoneero/ ituunzilá/ ndraani/ kana/ chisima/ siwo/ itakuyelo ka himá. ‘Omari his house the pit hole is dug deep like a well, it will not get filled quickly.’

Uki/ umaliizopó/ Hasiibu/ chiwa’ambila weenziwe/ wawaliko ilú/ kumlatilila 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'bele/ namvīla ṭajjiri. ‘He stood outside shouting, calling to the rich man.’
Chisimama/ nt^hini yaa muti/ chivaala/ icho shpete/ chiruda numbaani/ ka mweenzawe/ mahala 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.’
Jeelaani/ waaliko/ simeeme/ ilu/ ya chilima. ‘Jeelaani was standing up on a little hill.’ (This sentence is the opening line in a narrative that Mohammad Imam constructed very early on in our research. It is instructive in that its isolative phrasing here seems unconnected to notions of focus or contrast and seems more a matter of style and emphasis.)
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’
Mwanaskoolā/ simeeme. ‘A/the student stood up.’ Or, with right-dislocation: **Simeeme/ mwanaskoolā.** (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/ mwanaskoolá?** The exclamatory questions are quite different as well: **Mwanaskoolā/ simeemé!?** and **Simeemé/ mwanaskoolá!?**)
Mkulu/ wa mawaardiya/ chisimama. ‘The head of the guards stood up.’
Muke/ chihada/ chisimame apa. ‘The woman said: let’s stop here.’
Mukhtaā 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?’ (One cannot fail to use the pseudo-relative form of the verb here: ***Naani/ nt^hakhsimama.**)
Naani/ simeemó. ‘Who stood up?’ (One cannot fail to use the pseudo-relative verb in this structure: ***Naani/ simeeme.**)
Si/ chisimeemé/ apo/ ka khisa/ si/ chofeeté. ‘We stopped there because we were tired.’
Si/ chisimeemé/ apo/ ka khisa/ yaliko miinza/ kinendroowa. ‘We stopped there because it was too dark to go on.’
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/ tu. Rabbit said: I stopped (walking) just to think.’

Washishilapoo ndalá/ wachisimama. ‘When they became hungry, they stopped.’

Weenziwe/ wamweenopó/ simeemé/ wachihada/ sungura/ repteeem/ 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

Mukhta sultaani/ ingiiló/ wotte/ wamsimamiliile. ‘When the sultan entered, all stood up for him.’

na mtume Ibraahimu ka’ba washile/ ijiwe khsimamila apo weshela [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/ simamiliile chiti. ‘He stood on the chair.’

kh-simamisha v. caus. (simamishiize) make stand; stop s.t. in motion

Msimamishize mwaana/ mezaani. ‘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(ya) 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 ye/ ofeetó/ sh^htomola 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 lkele/ 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 fiilo ‘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/ mublele. ‘A lion killed him.’ (The verb has a null subject prefix, indicating that **siimba** is treated as a [cl.1] human subject.)

simba ubleela ‘a lion that was killed’

Sku mooyi/ siimba/ mp^huundra/ na bakayle/ wazazile kuwiinda. ‘One day Lion, Donkey, and Hare left to go hunting.’

Waant^hu/ wachimletelela sultaani/ khabari/ wanakhsuula/ siimba/ na’ubloowa. ‘The people brought the news to the sultan, they wanted the lion to be killed.’

Wazelewe/ 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 khsaydoowa/ 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/ mahaala/ 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/ chimubla. ‘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/ mloongoi/ 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/ mereje 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).'

Isimishiḷa pashpoo nguzo. 'It is raised without a pillar.' (A riddle, the answer to which is **iwiingu** 'a cloud'.)

rel. nom.

m-simika (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who stops

Msimika muunt^hu/ msaafiri/ ndilaani/ kumboola/ ni munt^hu wa aḏabuuni. 'He who stops someone on the road to rob him is a person of hell.'

simista

n. [Eng. *semester*] semester

Amina/ umo simista/ ya taano/ jaami'a. 'Amina is in the fifth semester at the university.'

siimo

n. 9/10 [Sw. *simu* SSED 432; Pers.] cable, telegram

kubiga siimo 'to cable, telegram, telephone'

Omari/ mbigiḷile mwaanawe/ siimo/ Ameerika/ kumwiiwisha/ kuwa maamaye/ hakhaadiri. 'Omari made a phone call to his son in America to inform him that his mother was sick.'

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 dību. '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'a

n. technology, discovery

Chiint^hu/ chunziḷa na mojiitú/ na chiint^hú/ cha sinaa'a/ haayiwi/ sawa/ cha mojiitu/ unziḷó/ huwo chisuurá. 'A thing created by God and a thing (created) artificially are not the same, that which God created is better.'

Madobḷa/ skiizi/ hushindramana/ ka sinaa'a. 'Nations nowadays compete with technology.'

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

Mwiini/ zamaani/ ishfanyowa voota/ kudorsatowa sindako. 'In old times in Brava there used to be voting to choose a mayor.'

Sindako/ kalent^he wakhti haba/ tu/ kanumake/ vuushile. [H!HH!H!H] 'The mayor

just stayed for a short time and then left.’

Sindako/ koðele dakhikha haba/ tu. [H!HH] ‘The mayor spoke for just a few minutes.’

Sindako/ na mukeewe/ wa’iló/ laakini/ sindako/ tu/ koðeeló. [HH!H!HHH!!H] ‘The mayor and his wife came, but just the mayor spoke.’

Sindako/ wa Mwĩini/ ma’aruufu/ ni Nureni Khaasimu. ‘A famous mayor of Brava is Nureeni Kaasimu.’

siindanu

n. [Sw. *sindano* SSED 432] needle, syringe, 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. (**sindrikishiize**)

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 (This word not known to GM.)

chisindru cha kuulu ‘the heel of a foot’

chi-siindru 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
Mwaana/ hatá/ 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 chisinga '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)
- siiniya** n. 9/10 [Sw. *sinia* SSED 432] a kind of large tray
Haliima/ mpele Hamadi/ kuja/ ka isiiniya/ ikulu. 'Haliima gave Hamadi food with a large plate.'
Haliima/ wawekelele marti/ zijo/ ka isiiniya. 'Haliima put **zijo** for the guests in a big dish.'
mkate wa siiniya 'a kind of cake made from flour and very little oil'
rel.
chi-siiniya (zi-) n. 7/8 dim.
ma-siiniya n. 6 trays
Waana/ wotte/ wachiyaa kuja/ laakini/ wamalizopoo kujá/ nt^hawakhaadira/ kuwawona/ khaadimu/ waleselo zaakujá/ walá/ awaje/ wa'ondrolo masiiniyá. '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.'
- 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. (**sinziiliile**)
Ondroka/ sinsinziililé. '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 usinziziini/ ilee nyunyi/ jile nt^heendre/ yote/ nt^hakhsaaza/ hatá/ haba mooyi. 'While he was sleeping, a bird came and ate all the dates and did not leave behind even a single one.'
khтила ruuhu/ usinziziini 'to pretend to sleep'
Mp^haka/ shtila ruuhuye/ usinziziini. 'The cat pretended to be asleep.'
khтила usiinziizi/ usinziziini 'to induce sleep'
Ziboori/ huhadoowa/ muunt^hu/ chija/ humtila usiinziizi. 'It is said of *ziboori* that if one eats it, it helps him to sleep.'
kondroka ka usinziziini 'to awake from sleep'
kondrola ka usinziziini 'to wake up from sleep'
Chimondrola waawaye/ ka usinziziini. 'She woke her father up from sleep.'
Sultaani/ ondroshelopo ka usinziziini/ chunganya ma'askariwe/ wotte/

chiwapa amri/ chiwa'ambila/ olokaani/ safiraani/ kiḷa muuyi/ wimo karka nt^hiyá/ na kiḷa mwaamuḅli/ takuzaloowá/ muḅleni/ 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 nshishiḷa usiinzizi/ Hamadi/ jisaa ye/ shtilo maneno miingi/ haṭá/ usiinzizi/ umbeelee. '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/ umbeelee. [H!H] '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.** [H!H] 'What was lost to him was sleep.'

Usiinzizi/ umbeelee/ Hasani. 'Hasani could not sleep.' (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/ umbeelee/ 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/ uwateete/ 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.'

siraaḷi

n. [Ar. *sirāj* "light, lamp" W 406] a name of the Prophet

apa wanamzuure mtume siraaḷi [st.] 'so that they visit the Prophet Siraaḷi here'

Qaasimu waawaye mtume siraaḷi [st.] 'Qaasimu's father is the Prophet Siraaḷi'

zotte ni qissa za mtume siraaḷi [st.] 'all are stories of the Prophet Siraaḷi'

siraati

n. [Sw. *sirati* SSED 433; Ar. *sirāṭ* "way, path" W 405] the narrow path leading to heaven or to hell

Muunt^hu/ chinendre siraṭi mustakhiim/ huḷiwaana. 'If a person walks on the straight path he succeeds.'

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 piḷi/ 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/ mahala ya/ 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

khaṭi/ 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.'

Oloshela ka siri. 'She went secretly.'

khfanya siri 'to consider, make s.t. a secret'

proverb.) **Khupeendó/ khupo siriye.** ‘Who loves you gives you his secret.’ (A

Kila/ muun^{hu}/ siriye/ na’iwó/ mojiitu. ‘Everyone’s secret is known by God.’ (A saying.)

secret’ ...**kuwaa ye/ nayoo nt^hume/ na ni siri** ‘that he had a message and it was a

Mgarwa/ na’iwa/ kuwa sultaani/ uyu/ ni ðaalimu/ 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 siriyo/ 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/ hudhoroowa/ ha’itomo^{lo}owi/ ibanyaani. ‘A secret is guarded, kept safe,, it is not put outside, i.e. out in the open.’ (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.**

proverb.) **Siri yaa wake/ ha’ipatikani.** ‘A secret of women cannot be discovered.’ (A

Siri za mojiitu/ zimo karka makhluuquye. ‘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.)

siriyo ‘your secret’; **sirizo** ‘your secrets’

soldiers to follow him secretly.’ **Sultaani/ chamura askari/ kumraasha/ ka siri.**

waziiri/ chimwaambila/ kuwaa ye/ takhpeenda/ wo/ keendra/ kaake/ ka sababu ya ye/ ililó/ 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’

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.’ (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/ chiwaviḷa wanawabli sittawe/ chiwa'ambila...** 'He called the boys, the six of them, to come and said to them...'
rel.
siṭaashara n., adj. sixteen
- siiṭa** adj. sour, bitter
chindrimu chisiiṭa 'a sour lemon'
iziwa isiiṭa 'sour camel's milk'
Iziwa/ iwele isiiṭa. 'The milk turned sour.'
...laakini/ manyi/ maleemale/ yotte/ apo/ yawaliko masiiṭa 'but all the grass there was tall and bitter'
siiṭa/ kana chindriimu 'as sour as a lemon/lime'
Omari/ nakhsonda chiloozi/ chisiiṭa/ kana chindriimu. 'Omari is sucking on candy as sour as lemon.'
siiṭa/ kamba ukwaayu or siiṭa/ kana ukaawu 'as sour as tamarind'
Haliima/ uzile iziwa/ isiiṭa/ kana ukaawu. 'Haliima bought milk as sour as tamarind.'
Omari/ lesele embe/ mbiti/ siiṭa/ kana ukaawu/ nṭazinamuzikila. 'Omari brought ripe mangoes sour like tamarind, they are not getting sold.'
- siṭaara** n. [Ar. *sitara* "veil, screen, cover" W 397 and verb *satara* "to hide, conceal" W 397] hiding place, a place of concealment
Mahala iyi/ nṭayná/ siṭaara. 'This place is exposed (it has no place for hiding things).'
- siṭaashara** adj. sixteen
Jeelaani/ waliko mubjaana/ wa miyaka siṭaashara. 'Jeelaani was a boy of sixteen years.'
- siṭaashara** n. a game played involving throw sea shells up in the air
Nakhteza siṭaashara. 'He is playing siṭaashara.'
- 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'
Si/ hupoowa/ miya nṭaano/ na sitiini/ doolarí/ mweezi. 'We are paid five hundred and sixty dollars per month.'
siṭina keendra or sitiini/ na keendrá 'sixty nine'
siṭina naane or sitiini/ na naané 'sixty eight'
siṭina nṭaano or sitiini/ na nṭaanó 'sixty five'
siṭinaa saba or sitiini/ naa sabá 'sixty seven'
siṭina sitta or sitiini/ na sittá 'sixty six'
- chi-siwa (zi-)** n. 7/8 [Sw. *kisiwa* SSED 207] island
variant: **chiziwa**
Chisiwa ichi/ nṭashkuwaaliko/ chisiwa/ chaa wo/ walazilo kendra. 'This island was not the island that they had left to go to.'
Chiswaahili/ ni lugha la kaandra/ la wanṭu 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**

Aasha/ siwo/ tu/ kuwa pishile asha/ na zizamú/ osheeze. ‘Aasha not only cooked dinner, she also washed the dishes (lit. Aasha, it is not only that she cooked dinner, also dishes she washed).’ (In this construction, *siwo* is not lowered in pitch, but *tu* is lowered, as it generally is when modifying a verb.)

Aya// siwo/ mambo ya waant^hu/ akhyaari. ‘This is not the behavior of gentlemen.’

Faatima/ tu/ siwo/ enzelo Mwiini/ na Fardoosá/ enzele. ‘Not only Faatima went to Mwiini, Fardoosa also went.’

Humlazima kendra ka maama/ siwo/ ka baaba. ‘She must go to her mother, not her father.’

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’

Munt^hu waa mi/ nimbishiló/ siwo/ uyu. ‘The man whom I hit is not this one.’

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/ ubleejó/ 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.’

Siyaama

n. a coastal location north of Brava

Siyaama/ haṭá Mwiini/ ni takhriibu/ kilomeṭiri thalathiini/ ka miilu/ nii kule.

‘From Siyaama to Brava is about thirty kilometers, it is far to be walked by

- foot.’
waana wafakeete Daawu na Siyaama [nt.] ‘young people fled to Daawu and Siyaama’
- siyaasa* n. [Sw. *siasa* SSED 428; Ar. *siyāsa* W 441] politics
Muunt^hu/ hingilo siyaasá/ huwa miizi. ‘Men who enter politics become corrupt (lit. thieves).’
- siyi* [cl.5] here it is; [pron. *siyí*]
- siyi* [cl.9] here it is; [pron. *siyí*]
Kana/ siyí/ inajililoovani. ‘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.’
Numba/ siyí. ‘Here’s the house.’
- siyije* [cl.5] there it is; [pron. *siyijé*]
variant form: *sijé*
Numba/ siyijé (or: *sijé*). ‘There’s the house (far from us).’
- si(y)üje* [cl.9] there it is; [pron. *siiyé*]
- siyo* [cl.5] there it is; here it is; therefore, thus; [pron. *siyó*]
siyó/ numayó ‘lit. here it is, there it is, therefore, next you’
Siyó/ numayó/ khiriile. ‘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.’
- siyo* [cl.9] there it is; here it is; [pron. *siyó*]
Mahmaahi/ yingine/ siyó/ yaa mi/ nhadiiló/ muunt^hu/ kaleent^hó/ haani/ chaayi. ‘Here is the other proverb that I said: a man who is seated does not drink tea.’
Siyó/ huṭasawara/ kuwa ziiint^hu/ ziwele suura/ laakini/ mi/ siweeki/ masharti/ na iyo. ‘So maybe things have improved, but I wouldn’t bet on it.’
Siyó/ mahmaahi/ inakuhada jis’iyo/ ma’anaye/ kilaa chiint^hu/ nt^ha’ipatowa ka maṭezo. ‘Thus, the proverb is saying that way, it means, each thing, it is not gotten with playing (i.e. you must work for anything that you want).’
Siyó/ mahmaahi/ ni jis’iyo/ ma’anaye. ‘Thus, the proverb is like that, its meaning.’
Numba/ siyó. ‘There’s the house (near you).’
- sizi* [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.’ Sizí/ 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).’
<i>skaarpa</i>	n. [Ital. <i>scarpa</i>] shoe of the western type Alí/ vete skaarpa/ Itaaliya/ zilusi. ‘Ali wore black Italian shoes.’ Skaarpa/ hufakharoowa/ za Itaaliya. ‘Shoes from Italy are praised.’
<i>chi-ski (zi-)</i>	n. 7/8 [etymology unknown] ear (of maize) Na weene/ ziski/ saba/ akhõari/ 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.’
<i>skiifari</i>	n. 9/10 ikaandra/ na skiifari ikaandra/ na skifariyé nkhaandra/ na siifari nkhaandra/ na skifarizé
<i>chi-skita (zi-)</i>	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’
<i>mu-skiti</i>	n. see under <i>mw-iskiti</i>
<i>skoola</i>	n. school khariibu/ na skoola ‘near, close to the school’ khariibu/ ya skoola ‘near, close to the school’ Mi/ ni mwaalimú/ wa skoolá/ yiko muyiini. ‘I am a teacher of the school that is in town.’ Mwaalimu Rufaa’i/ zamaani/ skolaani. chisomesha jograafiya. ‘Teacher Rufaa’i in the old times at school taught geography.’ Ni skoola/ yiko muyiini. ‘It is the school that is in town.’ Skoola/ itakhfanya koncheerto/ khpata peesa. ‘The school will put on (lit. make) a concert in order to raise (lit. get) money.’ Skoola/ yiko muyiini. ‘The school is in town.’ Skoola/ yiko muyiini/ yiikó. ‘The school is in town, that’s where it is.’

rel.

mwaanaaskoolā (*w-*) n. 1/2 student = *mwaana/ wa skoolā*

many students.'

Fardoosa/ nt^hanaayo/ wanaaskoolā/ wiingi. 'Fardoosa does not have

Mwaalimu/ nt^hanayo wana wiingi/ wa skoolā/ ni Fardoosa. 'The teacher who does not have many students is Fardoosa.'

Namwiiwá/ mwaalimu/ nayo wanaaskoolá/ waṭaanó. 'I know a teacher who has five students.'

Namwiiwá/ mwaalimu/ nayo wanaaskoolá/ waṭaanó/ namwiiwó. 'I know a teacher who has five students, that's what he has.'

Ni Fardoosa/ nt^hana wana wiingi/ wa skoolá. 'It is Fardoosa who does not have many students.'

Ni Osmaani/ nayo wana waṭaanó/ wa skoolá. 'It is Osmaani who has five students.' (Apparently, *wana wa skoolā* can be used as an alternative to *wanaaskoolā*; in this usage, an adjectival modifier may be placed after the head of the associative phrase, resulting in...*wana waṭaano/ wa skoolā*.)

Ni Osmaani/ nayo wana waṭaanó/ wa skoolá naayó. 'It is Osmaani who has five students, that's what he has.'

Osmaani/ nayo wanaaskoolā/ waṭaano/ naayó. 'Osmaani has five students, that's what he has.'

Osmaani/ nayo wana waṭaano/ wa skoolā. 'Osmaani has five students.'

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

skoortā

n. [Ital. *scorta*] spare, extra

Mi/ daa'imu/ huṭukula kuulu/ skoortā/ maadamu/ kana kulu ya gaari/ ichint^humbukila. 'I always carry a spare tire in case I have a puncture.'

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.*)

haṭá/ 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.'

Kalent^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 Ramaḍaani '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.'

Nt^haskupita/ sku niingi/ maali/ yachimḷaṭa. '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 ¹niingi/ 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 **ni** exaggeratedly lengthened.)

Sku niingi/ spisile jis’iyi. ‘Many days passed this way.’

Sku niingi/ spisile jis’iyo/ haṭá/ sku mooyi/ mp^haamp^ha/ chimwambilaa nfuye...
‘Many days passed that way until one day the shark said to the monkey...’

¹Sku/ 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/ ¹sku/ 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/ washfakaṭa masku/ na muunt^hi/ haṭá/ 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/ mukṭa yakomeeló ‘when night arrived’

masku/ na muunt^hi ‘night and day’ (preferred to saying “day and night”)

Masku/ shpanzile ilu yaa muti/ 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/ khati/ 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}/ haṭá/ masku. ‘The girl stayed until night.’
	Nakhsuulani/ masku kati aya. ‘What do you want in the middle of the night?’
skuuli	n. [Sw. <i>skuli</i> SSED 434; Eng. <i>school</i>] <i>Swahilism</i> school Skujiini/ waana/ husomeshowa darsi za ajnaasi. ‘At school children are taught a variety of lessons.’ Waana/ wachimbiza ka skujiini. ‘Children were sent away from the school.’ Waana/ washkoma miyaaka/ siṭa/ ya umri/ hupelekoowa/ skujiini. ‘When children reach six years of age, they are sent to school.’
skuola	n. [Ital. <i>scuola</i>] <i>st.</i> school
skuruu	n. screw driver review Omari/ nakhsula khfungula miilu/ daada/ ka skuruu. ‘Omari wants to open the nuts of the tires with a screwdriver.’
skuwaadra	n. team, squad Ka paapo/ skuwaadra/ ya Hamiisi/ watile chigooli/ cha kaandra. ‘Suddenly, Hamiisi’s team scored the first goal.’ Nṭ^haasá/ huṭasawara/ skuwaadra/ kunajiha. ‘It remains possible for the team to be successful.’
mu-smaari (mi-)	n. 3/4 [Sw. <i>msumari</i> SSED 305; Ar. <i>mismar</i> 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. <i>msumeno</i> SSED 305] a saw (for cutting) khtiinda/ kana musmiino ‘to cut as a saw cuts’ Mino ya ngeena/ makali/ yaṭakhuṭiinda/ kana musmiino. ‘The teeth of a crocodile are sharp, they cut like a saw.’
i-smu (ma-)	n. 5/6 [Sw. <i>isimu</i> or <i>ismu</i> “(1) name; (2) a person himself, or thing itself” SSED 144; Ar. <i>ism</i> W 427] any one, no one, none at all; everyone, everything; name; noun (in grammar) chizaliloowa maana ismu mtaliile [<i>st.</i>] ‘when a child is born to you, choose a name for him’ Hamadi/ lasile/ ka ismu/ ya mojiitu. [H’H!H!H] ‘Hamadi <i>swore</i> in the name of God.’ Hamadi/ nayo ismu/ ikulu/ Mwiini. [H’H!H!H] ‘Hamadi has a great name in Brava.’ (Note how the modifier <i>ikulu</i> is phrased separately from the noun <i>ismu</i> .)

The noun is not downstepped relative to *Hamadi*, but the adjective is downstepped, as well as the following noun.)

ismu iwovu ‘a bad name’

Ismu/ ya ariplaano/ leelo/ nthaykuuya/ 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.’

Mbujazá/ ismu/ ya muunt^hu/ skumwaambila/ yaa ni/ fanyiizó. ‘My sisters (a male is speaking), anyone I did not tell what you did.’ Cf. **Baayazá/ yaa ni/ fanyiizó/ ismu/ ya muunt^hu/ skumwaambila.** ‘My elder sisters (a female speaking) what you did, anyone I did not tell.’

miya mbili na waahidi masmu ya mtume [st.] ‘two hundred and one are the names of the Prophet’

Muunt^hu/ chivanazo 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.)

Siná/ 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.’

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, **or more generally as a yes-no question**

Ali/ leele/ so. ‘Is Ali asleep?’ (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.)

Ali/ waliko leele/ so. ‘Was Ali sleeping? e.g. is that why something happened?’ (MI rejected locating *so* between the auxiliary verb and the verb: ***Ali/ waaliko/ so/ leele.**)

Baana/ jiile/ so. ‘Baana ate, didn’t he?’

Basi/ ye/ kawa nayo khalbi/ na mashkiló/ sula kuruuda/ so. ‘So, if she had a heart and ears, would she have come back?’

Fardoosa/ hukahata/ so/ khsomá/ ismu ya mada yiinginé/ shokuwa ya hisaabú. ‘Does Fardoosa hate studying anything else beside math?’ (Notice that when *so* is located immediately after the verb, the phrases following all shift their accent to the final vowel.)

Fardoosa/ nakendra khpika asha/ naa kujá/ so. [HH!HH] Is Fardoosa going to cook and eat dinner? (The phrase *nakendra khpika asha* ‘she is going to cook dinner’ does not undergo the usual downstep intonation, but the conjunction *naa kuja* ‘and eat’ is downstepped and *so* is realized at roughly the same height.)

Fiile/ so/ ye. ‘He died, didn’t he?’ Or: **Fiile/ ye/ so.** (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.** (But it is not possible for **so** to be preverbal: ***So/ Hamadi/ boozele/ chibuuku.** Also: ***Hamadi/ so/ boozele/ chibuuku.**

Hamadi/ huna mbilize/ so/ khamri/ na wiinó. [HHH!HH] ‘Does Hamadi drink both beer and wine?’ (In this example, *so* is located between *mbilize* ‘both’ and the conjoined NP. The conjoined NP is downstepped.)

Hiisi/ so/ we. ‘Don’t you know?’

Hiisi/ so/ we/ kama mzele/ 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/ anakhpaandrá/ so/ amó/ anakishkilá. ‘Am I climbing up or coming down?’ (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)?’ (Observe that the negative verb is not separated from its complement in this example.)

Ndimí/ so/ nnakiineendró/ ilu yaa n̄hi. ‘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?’

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.** (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 you eat (presupposes the person indeed did eat)?’ (Cf. **Nt^haakuja/so.** ‘He ate, didn’t he?’)

Nuuru/ oloshale numbaani/ yana/ so. ‘Did Nuuru go home yesterday (is that why something happened)?’ Or: **Nuuru/ oloshale numbaani/ so/ yana.** ‘Did Nuuru go home (I think this may be the case but I want to confirm that he did) yesterday?’

Nuuru/ oloshale/ so/ numbaani/ yana. ‘Did Nuuru go home yesterday (as he was expected to do)?’ But also: **Nuuru/ oloshale/ numbaani/ yana/ so.** This has the same interpretation. (These two sentences involved putting emphasis on the verb and separating it from the following complement. MI rejected putting *so* between **numbaani** and the time adverbial: ***Nuuru/ oloshale/ numbaani/ so/ yana.**)

Ofeete/ so/ we. ‘Are you tired?’

Oloshelé/ so ‘Did you go?’ (Cf. **Oloshale/ so.** ‘Did he go?’)

Omari/ gaari/ so/ pakiiló. ‘The truck, Omari loaded it, didn’t he?’ (The noun which **so** follows is focused; since in this example, this noun is pre-verbal, the verb must be put into pseudo-relativeform.)

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/ huwakahata wana wa Nuuru/ so. ‘Does Omari hate Nuuru’s children?’ (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?’ (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/ namá.** ‘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?’ (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?’ (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?’ (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?’
- Omari/ teete/ so/ imtihaani/ na tomeele.** [HHHHH] ‘Has Omari taken the exam and turned it in?’ (Observe that the nominal complement to the first of the conjoined verbs undergoes Accent Shift, but the second conjoined verb does not shift its accent.)
- Skukhaambila/ so.** ‘Didn’t I tell you? (Now you will have to pay the consequences of not listening to me.)’
- Sultaani/ chimuza Ali/ mbele za waantu/ wotte/ ndo/ Ali/ ni lila/ so/ za waantu/ wanakuhadó.** ‘The sultan asked Ali in front of all the people: come, Ali, is it true what people are saying (about you)?’
- Waana/ wanakulangala tiivi/ so.** [HHH] ‘Are the children watching TV?’ (The particle **so** suppresses the usual downstep intonation of canonical sentences. This does not mean that there is not some declination of the accent on the phrase *wanakulangala tiivi*, but the lowering is not to the same degree as in downstep intonation. Note that **so** is of the same pitch height as the preceding phrase.)
- 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^h oshaa 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 yiitú.** ‘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 maraði 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’

maraði yaa nso ‘kidney disease’

Nso/ hujoowa. ‘Kidneys can be eaten, are edible.’

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.)

Muuntu/ ha’ebishi/ ruuhuye/ ka soddowe. ‘One does not disgrace himself in front of his brother-in-law.’ (A proverb.)

Omari/ soddowe/ iló. ‘Omari’s brother-in-law came.’ (It is clear from the pseudo-relative form of the verb that there is focus to its left. It is not

Soddo/ hujeroowa. ‘A brother-in-law is respected.’ (A proverb.)

Soddo/ nayo sariigi. ‘A brother-in-law deserves respect (one should be deferential to one’s brother-in-law).’ (A proverb.)

soddowa ‘my brother-in-law’; **soddoza** ‘my brothers-in-law’

- sogooti** n. the act of seeing off; [pron. **sogooti**]
- kh-sogootisha** v. [Som. *saagooti* "to accompany s.o. who is leaving to say goodbye" DSI 526] (**sogotishiize**) see off; [pron. **kh-sogootisha**]
Fikiriini/ shpowa khaadimu/ wiingi/ kumsogootisha/ hattá/ nusu yaa ndila. 'Fikiriini was given many servants to escort him half way.'
kumsogotisha Sultani Daraayi/ na mukeewé 'to see Sultan Daraayi and his wife off'
Omari/ namsogotisha Ali/ nakhsaafira. [H'H!H] 'Omari is accompanying, saying goodbye to Ali, (Ali) is travelling.' (In this example, the complement to the first verb is not downstepped, but instead shows just some declination. The second verb is downstepped. It is noticeable that the second verb is not treated as though it is separated from what precedes by an Intonational Phrase boundary: there is no pitch resetting as normal in such cases.)
rel.
kh-sogotishiliza v. caus. appl. (**sogotishiliize**)
kh-sogotishoowa v. pass. (**sogotishiiza**) be seen off by
Hamadi/ iize/ khsogotishoowa/ numbaani/ kaake/ hadiile/ takendra mii peeke. [H'H!H!H||H!H] 'Hamadi refused to be accompanied to his house; he said: I will go by myself.' (The verb **hadiile** does not undergo simple pitch resetting, as would be the case if we had a (IP)IP); rather its accented syllable is raised above the preceding accented syllable, indicating a structure (IP)(IP).)
- kh-sookota** v. [Sw. *sokota* SED 434] (**sokeete** or **sokosele**) twist
khsokotaa luzi 'to make thread from combed cotton'
Harameni/ sokete luzi. 'Harameni twisted it into thread.'
khsokota mkono 'to twist the hand or arm'
khsokota shiingo 'to twist the neck'
Moomini/ msokete mwaana/ mkono. 'Moomini twisted the boy's arm.'
Muunt'u/ khsokotowa mkono/ ni khatari/ hukhadira kuvuundika. [H!H!H!H] 'It is dangerous for one to twist his hand, he may break it.' (Although this example consists of two independent clauses, and in the pronunciation there is a clear pause between these clauses, nevertheless from an intonational point of view there is no clear indication that the first clause is at the end of an Intonational Phrase. Specifically, the second clause does not appear to involve either resetting or raising.)
Omari/ msokete mwaana/ mkono/ kaa nguvu/ hatá/ mvuunzile. [H!H!H'HH!H] 'Omari twisted the child's hand with force until he broke him (i.e. broke his hand).'
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-sokoteshaka v. caus. p/s.
kh-sokotesheleza v. caus. p/s.
kh-sokoteshelezanya v. caus. appl. rec.
rel. nom.
m-sookota (wa-) n. 1/2
m-sookoto n. 3

-khsokotela; hamadi nakhsokotela luzi chiguwo (Hamdi is twisting thread a piece of cloth).

-khsokotiloowa; Omari lesele lkaambala khsokotiloowa (Hamadi brought rope to be twisted for him)

-khsokoteka; filo iyi nuumu ha i sokoteki (this wire is hard cannot be twisted)

- 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
Soola/ yaa ngozi/ na soolá/ ya goomá/ siwo/ sawa/ yaa ngozi/ suura/ ngozi/ haayiwi/ imulo. ‘A leather sole and a rubber sole are not the same, the leather one is better, leather does not get hot.’
- 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 mubli/ 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?’
Miini/ gele/ husooló/ nii wake. ‘In Brava it is women who pound maize.’
Mwanaamina/ sozelee gele. ‘Junior Aamina pounded maize.’ Or with verb focus: **Mwanaamina/ soozele/ gele.** (The simple yes-no question for these two inputs: **Mwanaamina/ sozelee géle?** and **Mwanaamina/ soozele/ géle?** GM has an exclamatory version of the sentence without verb focus: **Mwanaamina/ sozelee géle!?** but is hesitant to offer an exclamatory version of the sentence with verb focus. Data from MI suggests that the expected pronunciation is **Mwanaamina/ soozelé/ géle!?**)
Sozelee gele/ ka muunt^hi. ‘She ground the maize with a pestle.’
Wake/ wanakhsolaa gele/ khtomola wiisha/ khpowa ngoombe. ‘Women are pounding maize to get out the husks to be given to the cows.’
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**)
Gele/ husolowa kaa chinu/ na muunt^hi. ‘Maize is pounded with a mortar and a pestle.’
- solooli** 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.’ (This sentence, from a tale recorded by an unidentified female speaker, illustrates the pervasive use of the phrase **naayé** ‘and (s)he’ in spoken Chimiini.)
Chibuku icho/ mwaana/ nakhsooma. ‘That book, the boy is reading (it).’ (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/ mwaana/ 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).’

Hamadi/ hasoomi. [H!H] ‘Hamadi does not read’ (In sentence-final position, the negative verb is downstepped. This downstep is eliminated in the simple yes-no question: **Hamadi/ hasoomi?** [HH]. If emphasis is placed on the subject, it is raised in pitch, in comparison to the normal pitch height of an initial phrase, and this raising results in a much more extreme difference in pitch height between the subject and the following negative verb: **Hamadi/ hasoomi.** [H!!H] ‘*Hamadi* does not read.’ This sort of emphasis does not constitute focus, as focus would require putting the verb into pseudo-relative form.)

Hamadi/ tu/ nakhsoomó. [HH!!H] ‘Only Hamadi is studying.’

khsoma shteenzi ‘to read a **steenzi**’

Maryamu/ oyo/ wa Abú/ mpelo chibuukú/ hupeenda/ khsooma. ‘Maryamu, to who(m) Abu gave the book, loves reading.’

Mwaana/ somele chibuuku/ someeló. ‘The child read a book, that’s what he did.’
Cf. **Mwaana/ 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 cannot 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^hachisoomá ‘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.’

Omari/ hasoomi/ chibuuku. [HH!!H] ‘Omari **is not reading** a book.’ (The simple yes-no question version: **Omari/ hasoomi/ chibuukú?** [HHH].) **tense?**

Omari/ hasoomi/ chibuuku/ chaa we/ mpeló. ‘Omari is not reading the book that you gave him.’

Omari/ nakhsooma. [H!H] ‘Omari is studying.’

Shfungulaa chiwo/ chisooma. ‘He opened the book and read it.’

Sooma. ‘Read it!’ **Somaani.** ‘(Pl.) read it!’ **Somani khur’aani.** ‘Read the Quran!’

Sisoomé. ‘Don’t read it!’ **Sisomeeni.** ‘(Pl.) Don’t read it!’ **Sisomeeni/ khur’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.’

Waana/ wanakhsooma/ so. [HHH] ‘Are the children studying?’

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/ mukhta waana/ wa'iló. 'What was he studying when the children came?' (Cf. **Ye/ waliko chisoma chingereenza/ mukhta waana/ wa'iló.** 'He was studying English when the children came.')

rel.

kh-somasooma v. freq. **how do you form the past tense?**

Hukalaant^ha/ husomasoma chijuwoche. 'He sits, he reads his book.'

Nakhsomasooma/ apo. 'He went on reading there.'

kh-soomeka v. p/s. (**someshele**) be readable

kh-somekela v. p/s. appl. (**somekelele**) able to be read for

Khati/ imsomekelele ka sahali. 'The letter read easily for him.'

kh-someleloowa v. appl. pass. (**someshele**) be read to

kana isomelele '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) nsomelele chibuukú/ na Nuurú. 'I was read a book by Nuuru.'

(Mi) nsomeleleaa chuwó/ na Nuurú. 'I was read a religious book by Nuuru.'

(Mi) nsomeleleaa chuwó/ naayé. 'I was read a religious book by him.'

kh-soomela v. appl. (**somelele**) read to, for, with

chibuku chaa mi/ nimsomelelo mwaaná 'the book that I read to/for the child'

kumsoomela 'to read to/for him'

miwani ya khsomela 'reading glasses (lit. glasses of/for reading)'

mwana waa mi/ nimsomelelo 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 Alí'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. (**someshele**)

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. (**somesheeze**) 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/ mtile mwaana/ khsoma chingereenza.** 'Nuru persuaded etc. the child to learn English'.)

Chimsoomesha/ oyo mwaana/ numa/ teena/ maamaye/ chimsoomesha/ chibarata qur'aani/ chibarató/ 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.**)

Hasani/ msomesheze mwaana/ bilaa msaa'ada. 'Hasani taught the child without help.'

Lugha la mwaalimu/ someshezo 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.**)

Mwaalimu Gooso/ chisomesha waana/ nt^hini yaa muti/ wa mawuuyu. 'Teacher Gooso used to teach children under a baobab tree.'

Niwasomesheze waaná/ chingereenza. 'I taught the children English.' Or:

Niwasomesheze chingereenzá/ waaná. Cf. **Niwasomesheze waaná/ chingereenza.** ‘I taught the *children* English.’ Or: **Niwasomesheze chingereenzá/ 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^hakhsomesha/ 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!’

Takunsoomesha. ‘He will teach me.’ Other object markers:

Takhusomesha. (Note the elision of *ku* in front of the second person OM *khu*.) **Takumsomesha.** ‘He will teach him.’ (But this could also be: **Tamsomesha.**, with the elision of the infinitive prefix in front of the [cl.1] object marker.) **Takichisomesha.** (Note the shift of *ku* to *ki* in front of the 1 pl. object marker.)

Takinsomesha. (Note the shift of *ku* to *ki* in front of the 2 pl. OM.)

Takuwasomesha. ‘He will teach them.’

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/ haysomeshanyiki. ‘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. (-somesheeny)

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?’ (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/ msomesheleze mwaalimú.** ‘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/ wasomesheze chingereenzá/ ka chibuukú.** ‘Where are the children whom the teacher taught English with a book?’

ᶠChingereenza/ nimsomeshelezo Nuurú/ waaná. ‘English I an teaching the children for Nuuru.’ Or: **ᶠChingereenza/ nimsomeshelezo waaná/ Nuurú.** Or, with two complements preposed: **ᶠChingereenza/ waana/ nimsomeshelezo Nuurú.** ‘English the children I taught for Nuuru.’ And: **ᶠChingereenza/ 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/ nakuwasomesha 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.’ (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 mwaalimú/ 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 muuntʰu/ 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?’ (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/ khur’aani/ 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 sahalí.** ‘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’

kh-somoowa v. pass.

Chiwo/ mahaḷa hachisomoowí/ hashfunguloowi. ‘A book where it is not read should not be open.’ (A proverb.)

Isomeḷa qur’aani. ‘The quran has been read.’ (An impersonal passive. Cf. other impersonal passives where the thing read belongs to various noun classes: **Isomeḷaa du’a.** ‘Supplication has been read.’ **Isomeḷa zibuuku.** ‘Books have been read.’ **Isomeḷaa ziwo.** ‘Religious books have been read.’ These answer the question: **Isomeḷani.** ‘What has been read?’)

Khaṭi/ 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/ t̄imishize masoomoye. ‘Haadi completed his studies.’
Hamiisi/ lasile masoomo/ iyo/ ma’anaye/ kuwaa ye/ haruudi/ skolaani/ teena. ‘Hamiisi has dropped out from his studies,, that is, he will not return to school anymore.’
Malizopo masoomoyé/ ize kurasha kooði/ za maamaye/ khkalan^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’.)

Soomaal̄iya

n. Somalia; [pron. **Soomáaliya**]
Bandeera/ ya Soomáaliya/ ni bulú. ‘The flag of Somalia is blue.’
Ma’askari/ wa Soomáaliya/ ba’adi yaa wo/ khshiindra/ chiwa’amura ma’adui/ kuweka silaha zaawo/ nt̄hiini. ‘The Somali military, after winning (the war), ordered the enemies to lay down their weapons.’
‘Soomáaliya/ inqilaabu/ ituushiló. ‘Revolution happened in Somalia.’
Soomáaliya/ nt̄haku/ adaala. ‘In Somalia there is no justice.’
 rel.

chi-soomaal̄i n.7 the Somali language
Ni ’aadi/ waant̄hu/ wa Mw̄iini/ khkoða chisoomaal̄i. ‘It is common for the people of Brava to speak Somali.’

m-soomaal̄i (wa-) n. 1/2 a Somali person
Wasomal̄i leeni/ kapitale yaawo/ ni Hargeysa. ‘The capital of the Somaliland people is Hargeysa.’
Wasomal̄i leeni/ wakali/ khfanya odka. ‘People of Somaliland are very good at making *odka*.’
Wotte/ ni wasoomaal̄i/ ka sharii’a. ‘They are all legally Somalis.’

some

n. [Sw. *somo* SSED 435] s.o. named after s.o., namesake **review accent etc**
somá ‘someone named after me’
somó ‘someone named after you’
somé ‘someone named after him, her’
somo waawo ‘someone named after them’
somo wiinu ‘someone named after you (pl.)’
somo witu ‘someone named after us’

soomu

n. [Sw. *saumu* SSED 411; Ar.] fasting
Mi/ nayo soomú/ skooði/ wanaafakhi. ‘Me, I am fasting, I do not tell lies.’
Muunt̄hu/ chiwanayo soomu/ hakooði/ koðii mbovu. ‘When one is fasting (lit. has fasting) he should not utter bad words, nonsense, etc.’
muunt̄hu hukhadiro soomu wajibu [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/ ramaðaani/ ni farði. ‘Fasting Ramadhan is prescribed.’
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.’
Waana/ wanakhsonda sukari yaa mawe. ‘The children are sucking on rock sugar.’
Ziloozi/ ziko za khsoonda/ na za khtafuná. ‘There are candies for sucking and for chewing.’
 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 (This item is unknown to GM.)
- 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/ nakuharbisho/ na waweno ma’askari wa aduwi/ jisaa wo/ wanaakufa/ wachisimika khalbi/ naawo/ wachaanza/ 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^ho/ chimwaambila/ sinoongé/ 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 sinsongeeni. ‘If you (pl.) do not bring to me your younger brother, you will not be given any more foodstuffs and do not come near to me!’
Simba/ 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!’
Sisongeeni. ‘You (pl.) do not come near!’
Soonga. ‘Approach!’ (Cf. **Songaani.** ‘You (pl.) approach!’)
songeelopó ‘when he went nearer’
Waant^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/ chimsongekelēle/ 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. (**songeleele**)

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 chibaṭeera/ bontaani. ‘Ali moved the boat closer to the bridge.’

Ali/ songesheze chibaṭeera/ kharibu ya mwaana. ‘Ali brought the boat near to the child.’

Hasani/ songeshezee chiti/ ka tartaibu. ‘Hasani moved the chair slowly.’

Huseeni/ msongeshezee muke/ ka tartaibu. ‘Gently/slowly, Huseeni caused the woman to move.’ But also may mean: ‘Huseeni caused the woman to move slowly.’ (Notice the ambiguity that exists when there is a causee: the manner adverb may express the means of causation or it may refer to the causee’s action. No such ambiguity exists in the immediately preceding sentence, where the verb does not take a causee argument but rather an inanimate direct object *chiti*.)

Mubiidi/ songeshezee 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/ chimsongeshekeleele. ‘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 chibaṭeera. ‘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
Waanth^u/ Miini/ nsi/ zaa wo/ hupeendó/ nt^ho/ ni nguulu/ joodari/ na songoló.
 'People in Brava, the fish that they like a lot are kingfish, tuna, and *singolo*.'
- 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.'
mowti huya ka ghafuula / sho sababu na sonk^haali [st.] 'death comes suddenly, without any reason whatsoever'
Muunth^u/ chimeraa zita/ hufanya sonk^haali. 'When one wants to fight, one looks for a rationale (false reason).'
Muunth^u/ chisula khfanya chiinth^u/ 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'
Waawe/ chibiga msoonyo/ iwa kuwa chiinth^u/ mweepe/ changamiile. 'When my father makes *msoonyo*, know that something has gone wrong.'
- l-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 lsoosoni na harri ni zaaydi [st.] '(on the day of judgement) the sun on the head and the heat is great'
lsooso lpaandre 'hair parted on the side of the head'
- sooti** n. 9/10 [Sw. *sauti* SSED 412; Ar. *šaut* W 529] sound, voice; variant forms: **sowti, sauti**
Hasani/ chisimama/ chidhuukhisha/ sooti/ iyo/ inamvīlaa ye. 'Hasani stopped and listened carefully, that voice was calling him.'
Humkina/ si/ khtambula sootiye/ kamaa ye/ chichijiba. 'It is possible that we will recognize his voice if he answers us.'
Huseeni/ ka khkoða niingi/ sooti/ imbeele. [H!H!H!H] 'Huseen lost his voice from speaking too much [lit. Huseeni from speaking too much voice was lost to him].' Or: **Huseeni/ sooti/ imbele ka khkoða niingi.** [H!H!H] (When declination is just a matter of, say, 10 hz, there is no difficulty in distinguishing between it and downstep. When downstep is a matter of 40 hz or more, there is again no difficulty in recognizing it as opposed to declination. But at times the issue can be muddled. In our transcriptions we have made use of the following observation: In a sequence of two downsteps, the first downstep is more substantial than the second. It is this observation that leads us to represent the second example above as [H!H!H]. In this example it is clear that the most radical pitch lowering is on *niingi* and not on *sooti*. We thus conclude that *sooti* is only declinated, not downstepped. In the first example, we regard the pattern as [H!H!H!H] since the first step down is greater (c. 40 hz) than the second step down (c. 30 hz), etc.)
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.'
Muunth^u / oyo/ chirasha sowti/ haṭá/ chiya kharibu ya ijuuniya/ iyo. 'That man followed the voice [that he heard] until he came near that sack.'
Mukhtaa ye/ ineenzeló/ mudda/ wa sa'a naane/ jis'iyó/ 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 soot̥i/ yaa muke/ mzeele. ‘He heard the voice of an old woman.’ sow̥t̥i ya ngoma nk^hulu shar’a hiiza [st.] ‘the loud sound of a drum, regulations do not allow’
soṭomariina	n. submarine Mwiini/ ziwena soṭomariina/ zinakhpito tawalá. ‘In Brava submarines were seen passing in the sea.’
kh-soota	v. pound to get the husks off sandra has not heard this word
Sovyeet̥i	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.’
i-sparamuuto	n. [Som. <i>sparamuto</i> , Ital. <i>spremuta</i> ‘squeezed fruit juice’] grapefruit juice drink, squeezed grapefruit juice with sugar added over ice; variant: sparamuuto Haliima/ nakumira ndriimu/ maayi/ fashuuq!/ nakhfanya sparamuuto. ‘Haliima is squeezing out the (lit.) water of the citrus fruit, <i>fashuuq!</i> she is making grapefruit juice.’ Omari/ kilaa fijiri/ huna maayi/ ya isparamuuto (or: pompeelo). ‘Omari each morning drinks grapefruit juice drink.’ Waant^hu/ wa Miini/ hupeenda/ kuna maayi/ ya isparamuuto (or pompeelo). ‘The people of Brava like to drink <i>isparamuuto</i> .’
spartiwo	n. [Ital. <i>sportivo</i>] sports field Mwiini/ nthaku/ spartiwo. ‘There is no sports field in Brava (where we can play football etc.).’
Spartiwooni	n. (Ital. <i>campo sportivo</i> ‘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 Spartiwooni. ‘Shek Mahmuudi’s graveyard is near the sports stadium.’ Mpiira/ huwezowa Spartiwooni. ‘(Foot) ball is played at the stadium.’ Nakendra Spartiwooni/ kulangala mpiira. ‘I am going to the stadium to watch (foot)ball.’
spitaale	n. hospital; variant of hospiṭaale Haliima/ kasulaa kufá/ sula mpeleka/ mi/ ye/ spitaalé? ‘If I had wanted Haliima to die, would I have taken her to the hospital?’ (The second clause of this example is a yes-no question, which explains the shift of accent on the out-of-focus <i>spitaale</i> .) Marka/ yiko spitaale/ nk^hulu. ‘In Merca there is a large hospital.’ Muunt^hu/ oo mwaanawe/ hakhaadiri/ nampelekaa ye/ spitaleeni. The man whose daughter is sick is taking her to the hospital.’ nguwo 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.’

<i>spitoore</i>	n. inspector Leelo/ spitoore/ steeshini/ wabigilile ma'askari/ khuṭba. 'Today the inspector at the station made a speech to the soldiers.'
<i>spoorti</i>	n. sport(s) Ka waant^hu/ wiingi/ spoorti/ ni muhimu. 'For many people, sports are important.' Omari/ waanawe/ hupeenda/ nguwo za spoorti. 'Omari's children like athletic clothing.' Zilaatu/ za spoorti/ ka barafu/ haziinfi. 'Sports shoes are not useful for snow.'
<i>mu-sriifu (wa-)</i>	adj. 1/2 (cf. israafu) [Ar. musrif "wasteful, prodigal, extravagant" W 408] spendthrift, s.o. who squanders money Mojiitu/ hawapeendi/ want^hu musriifu. 'God does not like people who spend wastefully.' munt^hu musriifu 'a spendthrift' (cf. want^hu wasriifu 'spendthrifts')
<i>kh-sta'ajaba</i>	v. Na kila yaa we/ takuwonó/ sista'ajabé. 'And anything that you will see, don't be amazed.'
<i>mu-sta'amari</i>	n. [Ar. musta'mara "colony" W 644] colony, that which has been colonized rel. <i>mu-sta'amari (wa-)</i> n. 1/2 colonizer, colonialist, tyrant
<i>mu-sta'amila (wa-)</i>	n. one who uses something
<i>mu-sta'arabu (wa-)</i>	adj.[cf. Ar. 'araba "to Arabize" 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'
<i>staahili (wa-)</i>	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 khindoowa/ 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. <i>(w)u-staahilo</i> n. worth
<i>stantiivo</i>	n. [Ital. distintivo] badge Alí/ veete/ stantiivo/ ya hisbu/ ya SYL. 'Ali wore the badge of the SYL party.' Skuwaadra/ ya studenti/ ishiinzile/ mpiira/ wapela stantiivo/ ya alamu/ ya Somaaliya. 'The team of students won the game and were given a badge of the flag of Somalia.'
<i>mu-staqiri (wa-)</i>	adj. 1/2 [Ar. mustaqirr W 753] stable (of human beings)
<i>mu-stareehe</i>	adj. [Sw. adj. -starehefu , n. mustarehe SSED 394; Ar. istirāḥa "rest, recreation" W 366] comfortable (of human beings) mustareeche 'singular or plural human in comfort' (cf. wastareeche 'plural humans in comfort')

- Wakalent^he mustareeche.** ‘They are sitting comfortably.’
- st^heha** n. [Sw. *staha* SSED 436; Persian.] respect; variant form: **ist^heha**
Alí/ nt^haná/ st^heha/ haṭá/ na wazele/ huwarudilaa l^himi. ‘Ali does not have respect, he even talks back to elders.’
Muunt^hu/ laazimu/ kuwanayoo st^heha/ na wakuluwe. ‘A person must have respect for his elders.’ (The lengthening observed before *st^heha* indicates that the *s* behaves as part of the onset of the first syllable of *st^heha* and not as a coda to the preceding vowel. If it were a coda to the preceding syllable, a lengthened vowel would not occur.)
Nt^haná/ (i)st^heha/ na muunt^hu. ‘He has no respect for anyone.’
- st^heeshini** n. [Eng. *station*] police station
Muskiti wa Fakhtaani/ wiko kharibu ya st^heeshini. ‘Fakhtaani mosque is near the police station.’
st^heshiniini ‘in, at, to the police station’
Mwiizi/ peleshela st^heshiniini. ‘The thief was taken to the police station.’
- st^hiira** n. [Ital. *ferro da stiro*] iron
Wako waant^hu/ nguwo zaawo/ schifuloowa/ sharti/ kubiga st^hiira/ na wako wamooyi/ huvaala/ bilaa st^hiira. ‘There are people who when they wash clothes must iron them, and there are some who dress without ironing.’
- st^hiiraasha** n. [Ital. *straccio* "rag, duster"; cf. Som. *istaraasho* in Italian-Somali Dictionary 658] any piece of (old) cloth that can be put to a variety of uses (cleaning, wiping spilled water, etc.)
Haliima/ hamkasi/ maamaye/ kooḍi/ humfanya kana st^hiiraasha. ‘Haliima does not listen to her mom’s words, she treats her like a cleaning cloth (like trash).’
Sheekhi/ hadiile/ mgahawaani/ ka Shariifu/ haṭá/ st^hiiraasha/ yakhpangulizowa mkono/ nt^haku. ‘Sheekhi said at the restaurant of Sharif there is not even a cleaning cloth to clean hands.’
- st^hudenti** n. student; pl: **ma^hstudenti**
Ma^hstudenti/ leelo/ walazile muḍaahara/ wanakhsuḷa skoolā/ ramaḍaani/ khfungoowa. ‘Students today demonstrated, they want school to be closed during Ramadhan.’
Mwaka yaana/ nt^haa^há/ chaliko st^hudenti. ‘Last year we were still students.’
Mwaana/ studenti/ husaydoowa. ‘A student must be (lit. is) helped.’
- st^huudiyo** n. [Eng. *studio*] studio
Hasani/ nayo mahaḷa/ st^huudiyo/ nk^hulu/ hubarsha waant^hu/ kompiyuṭar. ‘Hasani has a big studio, he teaches people (to use the) computer.’
Isa/ chinakuliindrá/ sa’a/ ya st^huudiyo 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.’
- st^huwaana** n. [Ar. *ustuwāna* W 26] column, post
Jasi/ bilaa st^huwaana/ huburbuka. ‘A roof without posts falls down.’
Muskiti/ ka wiingi/ huwanayo st^huwaana/ ziingi/ ka sababu/ jasi/ nii nk^hulu/ kureebela. ‘Mosques usually have many posts because the roof is big to hold it.’
- chi-su (zi-)** n. 7/8 [Sw. *kisu* SSED 207] knife
Abdi/ chisuche ‘Abdi’s knife’
Chisu ichi/ nch^ha Abdi. ‘This knife belongs to Abdi.’

Chisu ichi/ ni shkali. [H!H] ‘This knife is sharp.’
Chisu ichi/ ni shkalii nt^ho. [H!H] ‘This knife is very sharp.’
chisuucha ‘my knife’
Ichi/ ndichó/ chisu chaa mi/ nuuziló. ‘This is the knife that I bought.’
Izi/ ndizó/ zisu zaa mi/ nuuziló. ‘These are the knives that I bought.’
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/ t̄inzilee nama/ kaa chisu. ‘The woman cut the meat with a knife.’
nama ya mwaana/ t̄indil̄ila kaa chisú ‘[lit.] the meat that the child was cut for meat with a knife’ (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/ t̄indil̄ilaa 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/ t̄indil̄ilaa namá** ‘the knife that the child was cut for meat.’)
Nii chisu/ cha mwanaamke/ t̄indil̄iloo namá. ‘It is a knife that the girl used to cut meat.’
Nii chisu/ t̄indil̄ila mwaaná/ namá. ‘[Lit.] what a knife the child was cut for meat with!’ (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/ mt̄indil̄ile 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.** (The former example permits the yes-no question: **Omari/ uzilee zisu/ zont^hé?**, where the quantifier, being out of focus, undergoes accent shift to the final syllable.)
Uzilee chisu/ khfungul̄ila sanduukhu. ‘He bought a knife to open the box with.’ (The instrument cannot control an OM on the infinitive verb: ***Uzilee chisu/ ki-sh-fungul̄ila sanduukhu.** ‘He bought a knife to use to open the box.’ The logical object also does not govern an OM: ***Uzilee chisu/ ki’ifungul̄ila (sanduukhu).** ‘He bought a knife to use to open it (the box).’)
Zisu izi/ ni skali. [H!H] ‘These knives are sharp.’
Zisu izi/ ni skalii nt^ho. [H!H] ‘These knives are very sharp.’
Zisu izi/ siwo/ skali. [HH!H] ‘These knives are not sharp.’
Zisu izi/ siwo/ skalii nt^ho. [HH!H] ‘These knives are not 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 ʔaal* "to ask" DSI 561; cf. Ar. *su ʔal* "question" W 391; cf. Sw. *saili* SSED 407] ask, question
Nuuhu/ chihada/ moojá/ mbelela 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/ kuḷa/ mara/ humsu’alaata/ ka khisa ni/ khaajá/ 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’alata oyo mwanaamke/ namsu’aalató. ‘He was asking that girl, that’s what he was doing.’
rel.
kh-su’alata v. appl.

su’aali (ma-)

n. 9/10 [Sw. *swali* SSED 407; Ar. *su ʔal* "question" W 391] question; variant: *so’aali*

Ba'ađi ya su'aali/ nt^haziná/ majiibu. 'Some questions do not have answers.' (A proverbial saying.)

Hamadi/ tu/ jibilo su'aali. 'Only Hamadi answered questions.'

Isa/ kila/ mub^hji/ huyo kummera kumlolá/ 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).'

Kilaa so'aali/ ha'iwanaayo/ jawaabu. 'Every question does not have answer.' (A proverbial saying.)

Laakini/ su'aali/ iyo/ ichinshiindra/ we/ takundroola. 'But if this question stumps [lit. defeats] me, you will marry me.'

Mi/ siná/ yakhiini/ kana Hasani/ uzize su'aali. 'I am unsure if Hasani asked any questions.'

mukhta su'aali/ ziwelo niingi... 'when the questions become many'

Muunt^hu/ chiwa'uza waant^hu/ masu'aali/ huŋama'a/ khpata majiibu/ ka kaawo. 'If a person asks people questions, he wants to get answers from them.'

Mwanaamke/ wa sulŋaani/ chimjiiba/ chimwaambila/ mi/ ni ŋayaari/ kuloŋowa 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'

Nimjibijile 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.'

Omari/ nt^hakujiiba/ su'aali. [HH!!H] 'Omari did not answer the question.'

Omari/ su'aali/ nt^hakujiiba. [HH!!H] 'Omari the question did not answer.'

Su'aali/ iyo/ mwanaamke/ wa sulŋaani/ chiza khaadira/ kujiiba/ teena/ munt^hu oyo/ ndiyé/ takuwo mub^hjiwé. 'That question, if the daughter of the sultan is not able to answer it, then it is that man who will become her husband.'

Su'aali/ niingi/ zuziizá/ laakini/ Hamadi/ jibile mooyi/ tu. 'Many questions were asked, but Hamadi answered just one.' (Note that the final accent on the verb indicates the presence of pre-verbal focus.)

We/ nayo matezó/ nt^hukunjiiba/ su'aaliya. 'You are joking, you have not answered my question.'

Ye/ yaliko laazimu/ kulindra niingi/ khpata jawabu ya su'aaliye. 'He had to wait for a long time to get an answer to his question.'

suu'i

n. [Ar. *sū* W 437] evil, bad behavior, inequity

ni sunna muunt^hu khtawađa 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 **chisubahiya** is that (suggesting that it is not a good piece of cloth)?'

subhaanallah

an Arabic expression meaning 'glory to Allah', used in a variety of situations (The "ll" in **subhaanallah** is pronounced [l'] in Arabic and Chimiini speakers maintain this pronunciation.)

Hamadi/ subhaanallah/ jawaabu/ haakasi. 'Hamadi **subhaanallah** he does not

listen to anything.'

- subira** n. patience, endurance, acceptance of things without complaints
- kh-subuṭa** v. [Sw. *thubutu* SSED 465; Ar. *ṭabata* "resist, defy" W 101] (**subuṭile**) 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 waseló/ nt^haku/ mo/ nakhsubuṭó/ keendra/ kuhada nakhsuḷa kumfanyilizaa dawá/ mwanamke wa suṭaani. '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. *sufi* "(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 naazí. 'In the morning she saw that people had come with pots and big quantities of ground corn, goats, ghee, and coconuts.'
Nelele maṭaaza/ sufuriya. 'He drank porridge with a pot.'
Sufuriya/ ipikililaa nama. 'The pan was used to cook meat.'
Sufuriya iyi/ ileteleḷa shfiniko. 'This pan was brought a lid for it.'
Sufuriya/ spikililaa nama. 'The pans were used to cook meat.'
- suugo** n.
suugo/ ya paasta 'pasta tomato sauce'

- kh-suuhata* v. [Som. *suux* "to faint" DSI 565] faint, lose consciousness
We/ suuhata/ 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)'
- suhuuri* n. the meal consumed early in the morning by Muslims before fasting during Ramadhan
Ali/ kilaa ramaḍaani/ hudhafaṛaṭa/ halaali/ mpaka suhuuri. 'Ali, every (night of) Ramadhan stays awake all night, he does not sleep until (the time of) *suhuuri*.'
Zamaani/ Miini/ Abu Dheera/ chondrola waant^hu/ ka shuukulu/ kuja suhuuri. 'During olden times in Miini, Abu Dheera was waking people up at daybreak to eat the last meal before fasting begins.'
- sujaada* n. prayer mat
Omari/ uzile sujaada/ khsalija/ numbaani/ sala. 'Omari bought a praying mat to pray his prayers with at home.'
Sujaada/ ka wiingi/ huwanayo piicha/ ya muskiti/ hulekezowa khibla.
 'A prayer mat usually has a picture of a mosque and is placed in the direction of the *ka'aba*.'
- sujuuda* n. [Ar. *sujūd* W 397] the act of bowing and touching the forehead to the ground in prayer
du'a y-a sujúuda 'the prayer said while prostrating', which must be recited in Arabic: *subhaana rabbi al a'ala wa bihamdih* 'Glory be to my Lord, the Most High'
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/ naamí/ nimo katiiké/ inasujude/ ni nimo katiiké/ 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/ hukalaanth^ha/ husuka msala/ na choofata/ hulaala.
 'After eating, she sits and plaits a mat, and when she gets tired, she sleeps.'
Chinenzaa 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/ nthi/ nakhsuko msalá/ chimpoteleja/ 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 suukari/ 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/ itozeja. ‘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 sugar’

Waana/ wankhsonda sukari yaa mawe. ‘The children are sucking on rock sugar.’

Suukari/ yingile nt^huungu. ‘Ants got into the sugar.’

sukraani

adj. drunk

Wambenopo kuwaa mi/ mbele sukraani/ wafunzile chilango cha ipakacha/ wanthukiile. ‘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/ chíliini/ chimaliza/ mwenopo uyú/ kuwa sukurishilé/ chimuza/ bwaana/ tafaðali/ neeleza/ majibu/ 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/ mtijilee dawa/ ya khsukurisha/ chakujaani/ jisaa ye/ khpata kumtomoza/ kooði/ kiiwa/ majibu/ 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’

suḷa invariable auxiliary verb
Kawa ile ka himá/ suḷa kuwa mweene. ‘If he had come quickly, he would have seen him.’ Or: **Suḷa kuwa mweene/ kawa ile ka himá.** ‘He would have seen him if he had come quickly.’
Nk^hawa nile ka himá/ suḷa kuwa nimweené. ‘If I had come quickly, I would have seen him. Or: **Suḷa kuwa nimweené/ nk^hawa nile ka himá.** ‘I would have seen him if I had come quickly.’
Nk^haya ka himá/ suḷa mwona. ‘If I come quickly, I would see him.’ Or: **Suḷa mwona/ nk^haya kahimá.** ‘I would see him if I come quickly.’
Ye/ suḷa khfaðilaa si/ keendra. ‘He would prefer for us to leave.’

kh-suḷa v. [etymology unknown] (*suḷiile*) want, need
Ali/ chisuḷa Muusa/ khpikiḷowa 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/ msuḷiile Muusa/ khpikiḷoowa. ‘Ali wanted Muusa to be cooked for.’
Ali/ msuḷiile Muusa/ kumpikila chaakuja. ‘Ali wanted Muusa to cook food for him.’
Ali/ suḷiile kumpikila Muusa. ‘Ali wanted to cook for Muusa.’
Ali/ suḷiile mazu/ yanajoowa. ‘Ali wanted that the bananas be eaten.’
Ali/ suḷiile Muusa/ khpikiḷoowa. ‘Ali wanted Muusa to be cooked for.’
Ali/ suḷiile Muusa/ nampikile mwaana/ chaakuja. ‘Ali wanted that Muusa cook food for the child.’
Chisuḷa kuwa taajiri/ kaza lkaandra. ‘If you want to be rich, tighten your belt.’ (A proverb.)
Hamadi/ nakhsuḷa naani/ kooloka. ‘Hamadi wants who to go?’ Or: **Naani/ Hamadi/ nakhsuḷo kooloká.** ‘Who wants Hamadi to go?’ But also: ‘Hamadi wants who to go?’
Isa/ leelo/ masku/ yiiko/ nikaaha/ Safiya/ nakuloḷoowa/ na muḷi/ wa waawaye/ namsuḷiiló. ‘Now today at night there is an engagement, Safiya is being married by a man whom her father wants for her.’
khsuḷa kamba ruuhu ‘to want (desire) s.t. like life (soul) -- i.e. to desire something very passionately’
Kilaa muunt^hu/ husuḷa yaa ye/ nt^hanaayó. ‘Everyone wants what he cannot have.’ (A proverbial saying.)
Laakini/ mwaana/ iize/ kumlola mwanamke wa waawaye/ suḷiiló. ‘But the boy refused to marry the girl that his father wanted (him to marry).’
Mi/ humsuḷa/ Fardoosa/ laakini/ simpeendi. ‘I want Fardoosa, but I do not love her.’
Mi/ nakhsuḷa Fardoosá/ khsoomá/ khaṭi iyi/ tu. [HHH!!HH] ‘I want Fardoosa to read only this letter.’
Mi/ nakhsuḷa Fardoosá/ khsoma khaṭi iyi/ tu. ‘I want Fardoosa to read only this letter.’
Mi/ ñnakhsuḷa kendra harusini. ‘I want to go to the wedding.’
Mi/ ñnakhsuḷaa we/ kuya apá/ kahimá. ‘I want you to come here early.’
Muunt^hu/ chisuḷa khfanya chiint^hu/ hufaanya/ jisa suura/ ambó/ huḷaṭa. ‘When one wants to do something, one does it well or leaves it.’ (A proverb.)
Muusa/ suḷiile mwaana/ napikiḷowa chaakuja. ‘Muusa wanted that the child be cooked for food (by someone else).’
Mwaanawe/ ni chihaba/ husuḷa muunt^hu/ kumlangala. ‘His child is small and she needs someone to look after her.’
Nakhsuḷa kuwa’uḷiḷa waaná/ zibuukú. ‘I want to buy for the children books.’ Or: **Nakhsuḷa zibuukú/ kuwa’uḷiḷa waaná.** ‘I want books to buy for the children.’ There are as always many variations. Here are some: **‘Zibuuku/ nakhsuḷó/ kuwa’uḷiḷa waana.** ‘It’s books that I want to buy for the children.’ Or: **Waana/ zibuuku/ kuwa’uḷiḷa/ nakhsuḷó.** ‘Children, books, to buy for them, I want.’ Or: **Nakhsuḷá/ zibuuku/ kuwa’uḷiḷa/ waana.** ‘I want books to

buy for them the children.’ Or: **Nakhsuulá/ zibuuku/ waana/ kuwa’ulila**. ‘I want books, children, to buy for them. Or: **Kuwa’ulila waana/ zibuuku/ nakhsuuló**. ‘To buy for the children books, I want.’ Or: **Kuwa’ulila zibuuku/ nakhsuuló/ waana**. ‘To buy books for them I want the children.’ Or: **Zibuuku/ nakhsula wa’ulila waaná**. ‘Books, I want to buy for the children.’ Or: **Kuwa’ulila waana/ zibuuku/ nakhsuuló**. ‘To buy for the children books I want.’ In this last example, the pseudo-relative nature of the main verb indicates that there is focus in the preposed infinitival complement, but it is not apparent to us whether there is a specific element within the preposed infinitive that is focus or whether it is the clause itself. It was perhaps significant that no downstep was observed between the first phrase and the second phrase of this sentence, although of course the main verb was clearly downstepped.)

Nakhsulaa mi/ khshindra matezo. ‘He wants me to win the game.’

Nakhsulaa we/ kuya apa. ‘I want you to come here.’ (In the speech of GM, the first person singular subject prefix is ordinarily null in front of the present tense morpheme *na*. In MI’s speech, one finds *n-na-*.)

Nakhsuulani. ‘What do you want?’

Nakizisuulá/ zibuuku/ kuwa’ulila waana. ‘I want them the books to buy for the children.’ (Note the possibility that the main verb bears an object marker controlled by the secondary object of the infinitive complement. Other variants showing this same possibility: **Zibuuku/ nakizisuulá/ kuwa’ulila waana**. Or: **Nakizisuulá/ izi zibuuku/ kuwa’ulila waana** Or: **Izi zibuuku/ nakizisuulá/ kuwa’ulila waana**.)

Nakuwasula waaná/ kuwa’ulila zibuukú. ‘I want the children to buy for them books.’ (Note the possibility of the main verb having an object marker controlled by the primary object of the infinitive complement. Another variant with this OM: **Nakuwasulila kuwa’ulila waaná/ zibuukú**. Also: **Zibuuku/ nakuwasula kuwa’ulila waaná**.)

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.’

Nnakhsula kujaa namá. ‘I want to eat meat.’

Nnakhsula kula mo/ najee namá. ‘I want that each one eat meat.’

Nnakhsula (ku)mbigá. ‘I want to hit him.’

Nnakhsula kuwa’ulila waaná/ zibuukú. ‘I want to buy books for the children.’ (There is no internal focus in this sentence, hence the final accent triggered by the main verb extends to the final word in both of the phonological phrases that make up the Verb Phrase in this sentence. Fronting **zibuuku** does not necessarily involve any sort of focus on it, as can be seen from the example **Nnakhsula zibuukú/ kuwa’ulila waaná**. In this version, the final accent again extends both to **zibuuku** and to **waana**.)

Nnakhsula mwaaná/ khpita imtihaani. ‘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: ***Nnakhsuulaa mi/ khshindra matezo.** ‘I want for me to win the game.’)

Nnakhsula Muusá/ khshindra matezó. ‘I want Muusa to win the game.’ (It is also possible to put focus on **Muusa**: **Nnakhsula ‘Muusá/ 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: **Nnakhsuulaa ye/ Muusa/ khshindra matezo.**)

Nnakhsuulaa ye/ najee nama. ‘I want that he eat meat.’

Nnakhsuulaa ye/ sijee nama. ‘I want that he not eat meat.’

Nnamsula 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/ nakhsula kendra kuwiinda/ nakhsuuló. ‘Osmaani wants to go hunting, that’s what he wants.’

Osmaani/ sulile keendra. ‘Osmaani wanted to go.’

Siimba/ nakhsuulaa we/ kuwa mukeewe. ‘Lion wants you to be his wife.’

Sisuleeni. ‘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/ nakhsuulani. ‘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 for.’ Note that in this impersonal passive, again both verbs

cooked meat
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**)

Sisulisheeni. ‘You (pl.) don’t make want!’

kh-suloowa v. pass. (**sulila**) 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/ chisuḷiḷa na Muusa/ napikiḷowa mwaana. ‘The food was wanted by Muusa that the child be cooked it.’

Chaakuja/ chisuḷiḷa napikiḷowa mwaana/ na Muusa. ‘Food was wanted that the child be cooked it by Muusa.’ Cf. **Chaakuja/ chisuḷiḷa wanapikiḷowa 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/ chisuḷiḷa chinapikiḷowa 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/ chisuḷiḷa mwaana/ napikiḷowa.** Or with a plural beneficiary: ***Chaakuja/ chisuḷiḷa waana/ wanapikiḷowa.**)

Chaakuja/ isulḷiḷa napikiḷowa 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/ isulḷiḷa chinapikiḷowa mwaana/ na Muusa.**)

Gaari/ isulḷiḷa kuḷoowa. ‘A car was wanted to be bought.’

Haysuḷoowi/ we/ kumlipa ziwovu. ‘It ought not be that you repay him with evil.’

Ichisuḷowa khpikiḷowa 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/ ichisuḷowa khpikiḷowa Muusa.** ‘Food, it was wanted for it to be cooked for Muusa.’

Husuḷowa muunt^hu/ kuwanayo qalbi. ‘A man ought to have courage.’

Kamaa ye/ chindrata/ iyo/ ndiyó/ inakhsuḷoowa. ‘If he lets me go, this it is that is desired.’

kumkorsha za mwanaamke/ husuḷowa kiiwá ‘to teach her what a young lady is required to know’ **review final accent which i did not originally write in CLE**

Mazu/ yasulḷiḷa kujoowa/ mwaana. ‘Bananas were wanted to be eaten by the child (i.e. the child wanted to eat the bananas).’ Cf. **Mazu/ yasulḷiḷa yanajowa na mwaana.** ‘Bananas were wanted (by someone) to be eaten by the child.’

Muunt^hu/ nakhsuḷoowá/ ni uyu. or **Munt^hu nakhsuḷoowá/ ni uyu.** ‘The person who is wanted is this one.’

Muusa/ chisuḷowa khpikiḷowa chaakuja/ na Hamadi. ‘Muusa was wanted to be cooked food for by Hamadi (i.e. Hamadi wanted to cook food for Muusa).’

Muusa/ chisuḷowa na Ali/ khpikiḷowa chaakuja. ‘Muusa is wanted by Ali to be cooked food for.’ **check whether another na-Np phrase is possible here**

Muusa/ ichisuḷowa khpikiḷowa 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/ ichisuḷowa khpikiḷowa chaakuja/ na Hamadi.** ‘Muusa was wanted to be cooked food for by Hamadi.’)

Muusa/ sulḷiḷa khpikiḷowa na Ali. ‘Muusa was wanted to be cooked for by Ali.’ Cf. **Muusa/ sulḷiḷa na Ali/ khpikiḷowa.** ‘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/ sulḷiḷa 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/ sulḷiḷa na Muusa/ napikiḷowa 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/ sulḷiḷa khpikiḷowa 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/ sulḷiḷa napikiḷowa chaakuja/ na Muusa. ‘The child was wanted that he be cooked food for by Muusa.’ **Need to review whether muusa did the wanting**

Mwaana/ isulḷiḷa napikiḷowa 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].'

Peesa/ zisulile kunbaha. 'I was about to lose the money [lit. the money wanted to be lost to me].'

We/ kheeri/ nakhsula kuja ka hima. '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.'

shouldn't take (it).'

We/ nt^haykhsuloowa/ khtaala. 'It was not wished that you take (it); i.e. you

shouldn't buy (it).'

We/ nt^haykhsuloowa/ 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/ hayiyi/ 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. *sultān* 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/ nakuyaawaṭa. ‘Then the son [lit. young men] of the king [lit. kings] was surprised.’

Eelo/ chiineendra/ haṭá/ 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 sulṭani 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/ suḷa khaadira/ khfanya ruuhuye/ sulṭaani/ wa muyi uyu/ laakini/ nt^hakuda’a usulṭaani/ walá/ nt^hakhtaala/ haṭá/ musmaari/ mooyi/ kuwa mbwaaké. ‘When he defeated the enemy, he could have made himself sultan of this town, but he did not claim the sultanship, nor did he take even one nail to be his.’

Mweenza/ siimba/ ni sulṭaani/ na masulṭaani/ hukoda 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.’

Sulṭani uyu/ sulḷe 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-sulṭaani 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’

nguwo niingi/ za chisulṭaani ‘many clothes fit for a king’

Sulṭaani/ wakorsheze waanawe/ chisulṭaani. ‘The king raised his children in a royal manner.’

u-sulṭaani n. 14 kingdom

Chandikaa mi/ chittiche/ cha usulṭaani. ‘He put me on his throne (lit. his chair of sultanship).’

Khadimu sulṭaani/ chimfungulila moojé/ jisaa ye/ welo sulṭaani/ chimaliza/ chimwaambila/ ya kuwaa ye/ nakishkiza ruuhuye/ na namṭawalisha/ 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 sultanship.’

Mi/ mp^hindri yaa mi/ nch^hifa/ usulṭaani/ naṭawalishowa 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^hó. ‘The sultan gave his kingdom to me, that’s what he did.’

suḷu

n. [cf. Sw. *sulika* "to feel dizzy" SSED 440] dizziness, giddiness, loss of sense of balance

khfanyaa suḷu ‘to be dizzy’

khshikaa suḷu ‘to be dizzy’

khshikowaa suḷu ‘to feel fizzy (lit. to be held by dizziness)’

Omari/ shishilaa suḷu. ‘Omari was dizzy or giddy.’

kh-suluha

v. [Sw. *suluhu* SSED 440; Ar. *ṣalaḥa, ṣulūḥ* W 521] (*suluhile*) 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/ msuluhishiize. ‘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 Baana/ 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'ikhubli/ 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/ maraḍi/ 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 asking 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-sembukila v. app.
Mwaana/ nsembukiliile/ 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-sembuliila v. tr. appl. (**sembuliile**)
kh-sembuloowa v. tr. pass. (**sembiila**)
kh-suumbula v. tr. (**sumbiile**) annoy, worry, trouble s.o.
Muḍliwe/ 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/ shtomola 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-sembulana 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 daalimu [st.] ‘Hasani was killed by poison/
given to him by his wife, the deceiver’
khpaasumu ‘to give poison’
Nuuru/ mub̩lele Haaji/ kaa sumu. ‘Nuuru killed Haaji with poison.’
Sumu/ imub̩lele Haaji. ‘Poison killed Haaji.’
sumu yaa mp̩h̩ana ‘rat poison’
Sumu yaa noka/ kana ya waawayo. ‘The poison of a snake is like **waawayo.**’
Teena/ we/ takhaadira/ khtaambula/ sumu/ jisaa yo/ khatari. ‘So you can
understand just how dangerous the venom is.’

kh-suundula

v. [etymology unknown] (perfect form is not known since this verb is usually used in
the negative) gratify, satisfy
Nt̩aku/ chint̩hu humsuunduló/ oyo. ‘There is nothing that satisfies that
one.’

Baana.’

Ratali yaa nama/ haymsuunduli Baana. ‘A pound of meat does not satisfy

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 matuuri/ 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/ sh̩tomola salaamu. ‘The rabbit issued greetings.’

sunna

n. better to follow a particular religious practice; a practice sanctioned by tradition;
the sayings and doings of the Prophet, later established as legally binding precedents
a̩daana na iqaama sunna akmali [st.] ‘the call to prayer and the
announcement that it is time to pray are preferred but non-obligatory acts’

kh-sunula

v. [etymology unknown] (**suniile**) (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.)

penis’

khsunula chibolo ‘to turn back the foreskin, uncovering the glans of the

khsunula miino ‘to show the teeth (i.e. to smile) in gratification’

rel.

kh-sunulila v. appl. (**sunuliile**)

kh-sunulisha v. caus.

suuqu

n. [Sw. *soko* SSED 434; Ar. *sūq* W 443] market; [pron. **suuqu** or **suukhu**]
Chilawa/ choloka sukhuuni/ kula mp̩uundra. ‘He left and went to the
market to buy donkeys.’
Enzele sukhuuni/ uzile/ nt̩h̩oloko/ ye/ nakiineendró/ nakiineendró/

nakiineendró/ komele mahaḷa/ mo/ yikoo muti/ yīikó. ‘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/ oloshela sukhuuni/ kula mp^huundra. ‘Juha went to the market to buy a donkey.’

Karka Suuqu/ Mushṭaraki/ mkulu wa Suuqu/ Mushṭaraki/ 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 tezezo sukhuuní ‘the child who played in the market’

Ṇnakendra sukhuuní/ kulaa mazú. ‘I went to the market to buy bananas.’

(This sentence could be used to answer the question : What did you go to the market to buy?)

Ṇnakendra ^fsukhuuní/ kuula/ mazu. ‘I went to the *market* to buy bananas.’

(This sentence answers the question: Where did you go to buy bananas?)

Niwawene waant^hú/ wiingi/ sukhuuni. ‘I saw (or found) many people at the market.’

Noloshelé/ sukhuuni. ‘I *did go* to the market.’

Noloshela sukhuuní/ pamo na Nuuru. ‘I went to the market with Saliimu.’

N^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: **N^hezeze na ^fSaalimú/ sukhuuní.** If the locative is moved to post-verbal position, then it

is being focused and the final accent does not go past it: **N^hezeze ^fsukhuuní/ 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 tezezo na Saalimú/ sukhuuní and also **mwana tezezo sukhuuní/ na Saalimú** ‘the child who played with Saalimu in the market’.)

Nuuru/ na Jaamá/ wa’oloshela sukhuuni. ‘Nuuru and Jaama went to the market.’ Cf. **Mi/ na Nuurú/ choloshela 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/ oloshela 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.’

Sukhuuni/ nakendra kulaaní. ‘To the market you are going to buy what?’

(A possible answer to this question: **Sukhuuni/ Ṇnakendra kulaa mazú.** ‘To the market I am going to buy bananas.’)

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

Alí/ kilaa fijiri/ husoma khur’aani/ suraa mbili. ‘Every morning Ali reads two chapters of the Quran.’

khkoma suura ‘to complete a chapter of the Quran’

Hasani/ mwaanawe/ komele sura ya yaasini/ chiwooni. ‘Hasani’s child completed the *suura* of Yaasin at religion school.’

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/ ndre/ kabisá/ karka khur’aani/ ni suura/ alba**khara.** ‘The longest chapter in the Quran is the *al**ba**khara* 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

Ali/ suuraye/ (ni) kendra numbaani. ‘It is good for Ali to go home.’

chakuja chisuura ‘good food’

Chibuuku/ cha Maryamu/ mp^heeló/ ni chisuura. ‘The book which Maryamu gave me is nice.’

Chimpa mwaanawe/ chakuja chisuura/ na mwana wa mubli**wé/ 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/ nadi**ifa/ 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 suura. ‘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’

Maryamu/ oyo/ wa Abú/ mpelo chibuukú/ ni msuura. ‘Maryamu, to who(m) Abu gave the book, is nice.’

Mayank^huku aya/ (ni) masuura. ‘These eggs are nice.’

Mayank^huku aya/ (ni) masuraa nt^ho. ‘These eggs are very nice.’

Maayi/ siwo/ masuura/ kunoowa. ‘The water is not safe to drink.’

Mi/ kapata pesa niingi/ sulá kula fatu**ura/ suura.** ‘If I had gotten a lot of money, I would have bought a nice car.’ (The prosody of *fa**tu**ura/ 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/ nakhsuuláni. ‘Yes, pretty one, what do you want?’

Muunt^hu/ mwaape/ kana Omari/ ni suura/ kuwanayo kana mweenza. ‘Someone like Omari is useful (lit. good) to have as a friend.’

Mwanaamke/ ni msuura/ ka suura/ laakini/ nt^haná/ amali. ‘The girl is beautiful, physically, but she has no manners.’

Mwenye/ waliko ni mubjaana/ someeló/ na wanayo mahala 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: **maamayē**). ‘[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 faṭura (y)a mana (w)a Omari/ mpʰiyá**. ‘I bought Omari’s son’s new car.’ Cf. **Uzile faṭurs (y)a mana (w)a Omari/ mpʰiya**. ‘He bought Omari’s son’s new car.’
- Nuzile nuumbá/ mpʰiyá/ ^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/ mpʰiya**. ‘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 **mpʰiya** 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/ mpʰiyá**. ‘I bought a beautiful new house.’ Or: **Nuzile nuumbá/ ^fsuurá/ mpʰiya**. (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/ mpʰiyá/ suurá**. ‘I bought Omari’s beautiful new house.’ Or: **Nuzile numba ya Omari/ suurá/ mpʰiyá**.
- Omari/ uzile numbaa mpʰiya/ suura**. ‘Omari bought a beautiful new house.’ Or: **Omari/ uzile numba/ mpʰiya/ suura**. Or: **Omari/ uzile nuumba/ suura/ mpʰiya**. ‘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/ mʰwaanawe/ mpʰiya**. ‘He bought Omari’s son’s new car.’
- Wake wasuura/ nt^hawakuuya**. ‘Beautiful women did not come.’ Cf. **Wake/ wasuura/ nt^hawakuuya**. ‘The women, beautiful, did not come.’
- 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/ maḷaasi/ 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 sultaani/ 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.

suura well

↑**Suura/ mi/ stahaaji/ kingila karka jawabu/ izo/ zont^he/ mara ya piili.**
‘Well, I needn’t go into all that again.’

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 tabi’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)’

want^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.

surtaani

n. [cf. **sultaani**] sultan

Siimba/ ni surtaani/ wa maduuri. ‘The lion is the king of the jungle.’

Wo/ wanakulindra kumwona surtaani. ‘They are waiting to see the king.’

rel.

u-surtaani n. 14 kingdom, empire

We/ laazimu/ khfahama/ kuwaa ye/ nakhsula khfanya usurtaani/ wa nafsiye. ‘You have to understand that he wants to create an empire for himself.’

kh-surufa

v. [Ar. *ṣarafa* W 512] (**surufiile**) spend money, change money; give one’s daughter in marriage

Baaba/ msurufiile 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/ yasurufiilá/ 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/ khtelesa maali/ na khsurufá/ ilu ya want^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-surufoowa v. pass. (**surufiila**)

Ali/ surufiile/ ifungu iyi/ ilu ya zaakuja/ naa nguwo/ na maali/ yasurufiilá/ 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

kḥtomolá/ ni peesa/ nch^haache/ na husufurowa ka kuḷiḷowa

maharuusi/ zili/ magodoro/ miṭaawo/ 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/ surufiḷa. '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 Allāhi [...] *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.'
Mi/ nakhtaraja surwaaniyá/ khfanyoowá. 'I need my trousers mended.'
Muusa/ nakhtahaja surwaaniye/ khfanyoowa. 'Muusa needs his trousers mended.'
Sinakuvala shaati/ walá/ surwaani. 'I am not wearing a shirt nor trousers.'
surwani chigobe 'short pants'
Miini/ wana zihaba/ ka wiingi/ wachivala surwani zigobe/ sababu/ ni rakhiisi/ kolko surwanii ndre. 'In Miini little children wore short pants because they are cheaper than long pants.'
surwani iyi 'this pair of pants'; **sarwani izi** 'these pairs of pants'
Surwani izi/ nza naani. 'Whose pants are these?'
surwanii ndre 'long pants'
Surwaani/ za jiinsi/ ni nuumu/ hazimali/ ka hima. 'Jeans trousers are strong, they do not wear out (lit. finish) quickly.'
Wazuungu/ hupeenda kuvala surwani zigobe/ laakini/ ka diini/ ya islaamu/ siwo/ suura/ ni haraamu. 'Non-believers like to wear shorts, but in the religion of Muslims it is not good, it is forbidden.'

Surya n. Syria
Ye/ takuzuura/ Misra/ Surya/ Isra'iili/ na mamḷaka 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.'
chisusumuka na kana ishṭaghayara/ khsala bila mtimiino we tahaḍara [st.] 'when you wake up, if your mouth feels unclean, you should beware of praying without (first) brushing your teeth'

	Maluungo/ yamsusumushile Nureeni. ‘Nureeni shuddered – [lit.] body shuddered to Nureeni (similar to English “for one’s hair to stand on end”).’
	Mukhtaa wo/ wasusumushiló/ watosheze kuwaa wo/ waleele/ skumó/ mbili. ‘When they woke up, they thought that they had slept one or two (nights).’
	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.’ (The periphrastic version: Suufi/ mtijile 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/ watijilene 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
	Si/ chisomele chisuwaahili/ skoḷaani. ‘We learned Swahili at school.’
	Chisuwaahili/ ni lugha hukoḍowa karka nt^hi ya Keenyá/ Ugaandá/ Tanzaniyá. ‘Kiswahili is a language spoken in the country of Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania.’ <i>review accent, this from written source</i>
<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]
suwu	[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/ sultaani/ 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.’ Sakuwakoo ngoma. ‘There will be drumming tomorrow.’ Yaa we/ nakhsuuló/ shatakupa. ‘Whatever you want, we will give you.’
<i>chi-ta (zi-)</i>	n. 7/8 [Sw. <i>kichwa</i> SSED 188] head; head, chief, president etc. (In Mohammad Imam’s speech, the stem-initial consonant varies between a single and a geminated consonant. We did not notice gemination in the speech of Gelani Mohamed, but do not have any further information on the matter.) Afiya/ ni taaji/ ilu ya zita za wenye afiya/ nt^haku/ na’iwó/ shokuwa wenye maradi. ‘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 chiṭa/ nt^hiini/ miilu/ ilu. ‘If you enter his house you will see it is in a mess.’

Koodize/ nize khtaambulá/ leselee chiṭa/ nt^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’

ṠChiṭa/ wamt^hiinziló/ nyunyi. ‘The bird’s *head* they cut off.’ Or: **Ni chiṭa/ wamt^hiinziló/ nyunyi.** ‘It is the head of the bird that they cut off.’

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/ takht^hindowaa chiṭa. ‘If you do not bring it, you will be beheaded.’

Hamadi/ koḏele naa chiṭa? [HH] ‘Did Hamadi speak to the president (lit. the head)?’

khkandraa chitta ‘to massage the head’

khpandra chiṭaani ‘lit. to climb on the head -- to take advantage of someone’; also: **khpandrowa chiṭaani** (passive), **khpandriki chiṭaani** (passive-stative)

Nuuru/ ni mwenye shṭana/ na ghaḏabú/ hapaandriki/ chiṭaani/ paapo/ hufanyaa zita. ‘Nuuru is a man of anger, he cannot be climbed on the head, he fights immediately.’

Omari/ hupeenda/ khpandra waant^hu/ chiṭaani/ huṭosha ruuhuye/ ni akhili niingi. ‘Omari likes to disrespect people (lit. climb on people’s heads), he thinks he is the very intelligent one.’

Waant^hu/wazima/ hawapandroowi/ chiṭaani/ hiht^harimoowa. ‘Elders are not (lit.) to be climbed on their head (=disrespected etc.), they are to be respected.’

kumbadila muunt^hu/ chiṭaache ‘to change someone’s mind’

Ali/ mkali/ hubadila waant^hu/ chiṭa. ‘Ali is very good at changing people’s minds.’

kumbigaa chitta ‘to hit him on the head’

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.’

kumolaa chitta ‘to shave the head’

kumvundaa chiṭa ‘[lit. to break the head] -- i.e. to disgrace, dishonor, disrespect someone’

Omari/ nvunzilee mi/ chiṭaacha. ‘Omari disgraced me.’

Omari/ nayo awoodi/ nawa’iwa/ zita/ wont^he/ hapelekeki/ shari’aani/ haṭá/ shpelekoowa/ hashindroowi. ‘Omari has power, he knows all the bosses, even if he is taken to court, he cannot be defeated.’ (Observe that here **zita** ‘heads’ refers to ‘bosses, heads of human enterprises’ and thus governs [cl.2] ‘human’ agreement in the form of the **wa** object marker on the preceding verb and the initial **w** agreement on the quantifier **-ont^he** ‘all’.)

Shṭinzile tikiti/ chiṭa/ shiliingi/ miya. ‘We bought (lit. cut) tickets at one hundred shillings per person.’

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.’

Ye/ waliko peela/ kaazi/ haali/ chiṭa/ umriwe/ nt^hakumso’ aalaṭá. ‘He was hired (lit. given job), although the boss never interviewed him.’

rel.

chi-ta (*zi-ta*) n. 7/8 head; [pron. **chítá** in the singular and **zítá** 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 Chítá 'Habiibi 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. **nt^ha**]

Nt^ha yaa chisu/ imdurile mwaana. 'The point of the knife pierced the child.' Or: **Chisu/ nt^haaye/ imdurile mwaana.** '[Lit.] The

knife,

its point pierced the child.' Or: **Nt^hayee chisu/ imdurile mwaana.**

'[Lit.] Its point the knife pierced the child.' (Syn: It should be noted that in the alternative **Chisu/ nt^haaye/ imdurile mwaana.**, the

noun **chisu** and the possessed noun **nt^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/ nt^haaye., the sentence-final **nt^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/ hayiyi/ 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^ha 'to cut a point'

taa'a

n. [Sw. *taa* SSED 466; Ar. *tā'ū* "obedience, compliance, submissiveness" W 573] obedience, loyalty

du'a ndrasile numbaani/ ka waana waamo ta'aani [st.] 'I left (my) blessing at home, to children who are obedient'

Janna/ hingilowa ka taa'a/ ya mojiitu. 'Paradise is entered with obedience to God.'

Janna/ hupatowa ka taa'a/ ya mojiitu. 'Paradise is found with obedience to God.'

khtila 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'

kuwaamo ta'aani 'to be submissive, obedient'

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'abaṭa

v. [Som. *tacab* "to earn s.t. by one's own work" DSI 570] (**ta'abeete**) earn, make money

Huta'abaṭo zeemá/ humwínfa yeeye. 'The one who works hard so that he accumulates good deeds gets his benefits/rewards.' (A proverb.)

Nt^ha'abeṭe maali. 'I have earned wealth (with difficulty).'

Nt^hasaa we/ kistereha/ ta'abaṭa. 'Before you rest/relax/enjoy, earn/work!

Sharti/ kuwa nakiineendra/ kuwa nakhta'abaṭa. '(In order to get what one wants) it is a must that one moves (lit. walks) and works for it (not sitting waiting for it to come to you).'

Takumera maali/ bilaa ya khta'abaṭa? 'Will you look for wealth without working for it?' (A saying.)

rel.

kh-ta'abaṭisha v. caus.

kh-ta'abaṭishana v. caus. rec.

kh-ta'abaṭishiliza v. caus. appl.

kh-ta'abaṭishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-ta'abaṭoowa v. pass.

Maali/ huta'abaṭoowa. '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/ waṭa'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/ chimtiinzilé. '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 enmity (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'aḍimisha

v. respect, bestow honor on

- ta'adiimu** n. 9 [Sw. *taadhima* SSED 3; Ar. *ta'ẓīm* "glorification, exaltation" W 624] respect variant form: **ta'adīma** **verify pronunciation**
yezeeze waant^hu qalbiini ka heshma na ta'adīma [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'
Steendrozo/ 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 someone
Ma'askari/ wachilawa/ keendra/ kummeera/ mgeeni/ oyo/ mta'adishizo sulṭaani. '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/ shṭa'ajaba ka kuwona muuyi/ karka hali iyi. 'The gazelle was surprised to see the town in this condition.'
Kuwa Hamadi/ pisile imṭihaani/ ta'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 aspirate the following voiceless dental stop.)
Laakini/ Abdalla/ mukhta'a ye/ kasizo kooḍi/ 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/ ndraani/ ya ikholi/ naachó/ chinamsulo kumwona sulṭaani. '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 ḍahabú/ washta'ajaba/ nt^ho. 'When the people saw the ship made of gold, they marvelled very much.'
Wasimeeme/ wanakhta'ajaba eelo/ 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 kendra madrasaani/ imta'ajabishize Nuuru. 'Jaama's not going to school surprised Nuuru.'
Khabari/ zimta'ajabishize Nuuru. 'The news surprised Nuuru.'
Mambo aya/ yawasta'ajabishiize/ nt^ho/ wana awo/ laakini/ nt^hawakhaadira/ khtemuka/ kiḷa mooyi/ rebele kaake/ khalbiini/ 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.)
Bila/ khta'akhara/ Hamiisi/ tete chibuuku/ anzize khsooma. 'Without delay, Hamiisi took a book and began reading.'
Hamadi/ mwambile Omari/ nakhuloombá/ sta'akharé/ karka shiri yiitu. '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'akhariilé/ jawaabu/ maape/ ikhurebeele. 'You got delayed, something stopped you (from doing what you intended).'

rel.

kh-ta'akharika v. (**ta'akharishile**) be delayed

Ta'akharishilé. 'You got delayed.'

kh-ta'akharisha v. delay

Muunt^hu/ chisuḷo khfanya chiint^hú/ siwo/ suura/ khta'akharisha. 'A person who wants to do something, it is not good to delay.'

ta'khiiri

n. a delay

Kuḷa/ ta'khiiri/ 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.)

Shiri/ yiineenzele/ ta'khiiri/ haṭá/ masku. 'The meeting continued late into the night.'

ta'kiidi

n. 9 [Ar. *ta kīd* "assurance, confirmation" W 21] affirmation, assurance

khfanya ta'kiidi 'to assure, make sure, certain

Muunt^hu/ chint^hu cha muhimu/ kana balani ya dakhṭari/ laazimu/ khfanya ta'kiidi/ taariikhiye. 'For an important thing like a doctor's appointment, one must make sure of its date.'

Omari/ aakhili/ kiḷaa jawaabu/ shartḡi hufanya ta'kiidi. 'Omari is intelligent, everything he must make certain/ confirm.'

khpa ta'kiidi 'to give assurance'

khpatata ta'kiidi 'to get confirmation'; also: **khpatowa ta'kiidi** (passive)

Ali/ pete ta'kiidi/ mahkamaani/ kuwa ramaḍaani/ ni keesho/ jima piḷi. 'Ali got confirmation from the court that Ramadhan is tomorrow Sunday.'

Kiḷaa chiint^hu/ suura/ khpatowa ta'kiidiye. 'It is good for everything to be confirmed.'

Walakata/ huhada/ shaka may kiroon, yakhiin/ ta'kiidi/ ni suura/ kolko/ shaka. 'Bush people say: "doubt, what is better than it, is to make sure", [in Chimiini:] confirmation is better than doubt.' (The Maymaay proverb cited here was well known in Brava and used when speaking Chimiini.)

ta'liimu

n. [Ar. *ta ṭīm* W 636] education

Nt^hanaayo/ ta'liimu. 'He does not have an education.'

ta'liiqi

n. [Ar. *ta ṭīq* W 634] comment, commentary

khfanya ta'liikhi 'to comment'

khṭomola ta'liikhi 'to make a comment'

Omari/ khuṭba/ ya rasdentḡe/ fanyiiḷó/ shiriini/ tomele ta'aliikhi/ hadiile/ kuwa khuṭba iyo/ ni suura/ laazimu/ kumanfa'aṭiḷoowa. 'Omari, the speech that the district commissioner made at the meeting, he made a comment; he said that the speech was good and benefit must be taken from it.'

Siná/ ta'liikhi/ ilu ya koodize. 'I have no comment on his talk.'

kh-ta'aluqana na

v. [Ar. *aliqa* "to be attached, connected, related" W 634] (**-ta'alukheene**) concern, deal with, have a relationship with

Hashṭa'alukhani/ teena. 'We do not deal with each other any more.'

Kooḍi iyi/ ita'alukhene na Omari. 'This talking concerns Omari.'

Kooḍi/ izi/ zinakhkoḍoowá/ sṭa'alukhene na mteendre. 'These things that have been talked about concern the date tree.'

Mushkila/ ita'alukhene na mteendre. 'The problem is related to the date tree.'

Mwaana/ shkalaant^ha/ chimaliza chihada/ khabarii mbovu/ sṭa'alukheene/ na mteendre. 'The child sat down and then reported the bad news concerning

the date tree.’ (This example is from a MI narrative. When re-elicited, GM gave: **Chihada/ khabarii mbovu/ s̄ta’alukheenó/ na mteendré.** This instantiation of the sentence utilized the pseudo-relativization triggered by pre-verbal focus that is common in GM’s speech, but was observed in MI’s speech only in connected with pre-verbal question words. In addition, GM preferred *-ta’alukhana* to *-ta’aa’alukhana*.)

Omari/ ni mwovu/ hāta’alukhani/ na waant^hu. ‘Omari is bad, he does not deal with/ interact with people.’

rel.

kh-ta’aluqanoowa v. pass.

It̄a’alukhena na mteendre. ‘There was concern about the date tree.’ (This impersonal passive sentence is well-formed. However, unlike a number of other cases, the object of the preposition cannot be preposed to the beginning of the sentence, with a resumptive pronoun left behind: ***Mteendre/ it̄a’alukhena naayo.** ‘The date tree, there was concern about it.’ The unacceptability of this sentence can be attributed to the inanimate nature of the object of the preposition. Compare the parallel sentence below where the object of the preposition is human.)

Omari/ it̄a’alukhena naaye/ jisa suura. ‘Omari has been dealt with in a very good way.’

Want^hu awa/ wāta’alukhena naawo. ‘These people were dealt with.’ (When the object of the preposition *na* in their construction *-ta’alukhana na* is human, then the object may be promoted to be the subject of the passive verb as long as a resumptive pronoun remains behind. An inanimate object, on the other hand, cannot be promoted to subject position: ***Mteendre/ ut̄a’alukheena naayo.** ‘The date tree was concerned about it.’)

- kh-ta’amula* v. [Ar. *amala* and *ta’ammul* W 28] (**ta’amuliile**) ponder
T̄a’amula koōize. ‘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’arāõila* v. [Sw. *taaradhia* SSED 443; Ar. *aruḍa* 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/ lāzilopo k̄ta’arzukha kama aad̄a... ‘In the morning when he went to go looking for his daily bread as usual...’
T̄eena/ ichiwa kulla muunt̄hi/ hendra k̄ta’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’sīs* 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
T̄a’tharishilee n̄tho/ ka kufa waawaye. ‘He was very much affected by his father’s death.’
- ta’(a)wiili** n. [Ar. *ta’wīl* W 35] interpretation
- kh-ta’(a)ziya* v. (**ta’aziyiile**) give condolences

<i>ta'(a)ziya</i>	<p>n. [Ar. <i>ta'ziya</i> W 612, from verb '<i>azā</i> W 611] condolence, sympathy khkalantha 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' khkalanthowa ta'aziya (passive form of above) Numbaani/ maha^{la} ifiilá/ itakhkalanthowa ta'aziya/ skuu nt^hatu. 'At the house where (lit.) there is being died on, (lit.) there is sat ta'aziya for three days.' kingila ta'aziya 'for mourning etc. to occur' Haliima/ haruusiye/ irudishilee numa/ ka sababu/ kaawo/ yingile ta'aziya. 'Haliima's wedding has been delayed because at their house someone has died and people are coming to express condolences etc.' kuwanayo ta'aziya 'to be in the state of receiving condolences'' 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'</p>
<i>taa'ifa</i>	<p>n. 9/10,6 [Sw. <i>taifa</i> SSED 445; Ar. <i>ṭā'ifa</i> "band, group, people" W 574] nation, group of people</p>
<i>ta'khiiri</i>	<p>n. delay Kila/ ta'khiiri/ ni kheeri. 'Each delay in a blessing.' (A proverb.)</p>
<i>taa'uuni</i>	<p>n. [Ar. <i>ṭā'ūn</i> W 560] epidemic, plague marāḍi ya taa'uuni 'an epidemic disease' Omari/ wene waant^hu/ wiingi/ wafiiló/ ka taa'uuni/ shishi^{la} khoofu. 'Omari saw many people died of cholera, it made him fearful.'</p>
<i>ta'ziiri</i>	<p>n. (cf. ku-'azira) [Ar. <i>ta'zīr</i> "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)'</p>
<i>tab'i</i>	<p>n. in the expression: kubiga tab'i 'to print (a book)' Ye/ bishilee chuwo/ tab'i. 'He printed a book.'</p>
<i>mu-tabahiri</i>	<p>adj. [Ar. <i>mutabaḥḥir</i> W 43] very learned, having vast knowledge; tabahiri or wa-tabahiri (pl.) Ni mutabahiri/ ka nahwi. 'He is well-versed in grammar.'</p>
<i>kh-tabaru'a</i>	<p>v. [Ar. <i>tabarru</i> "donation, contribution" W 53] (tabaru'iile) make a contribution Ali/ tabaru'ile ka dolarii miya. 'Ali made a contribution of a hundred dollars.' Mi/ nt^habaru'iilé/ kaalmeya/ karka kuwaka nuumba/ mp^hiya. 'I offered my help in building a new house.' rel. kh-tabaru'ila v. appl. (tabaru'iliile) contribute to Ali/ tabaru'ilile madrasa/ dolarii miya. 'Ali contributed a hundred dollars to the school.'</p>
<i>tabaru'i</i>	<p>n. 9/10 contribution</p>
<i>kh-tabasama</i>	<p>v. [Sw. <i>tabasamu</i> SSED 443; Ar. <i>basama</i> W 59] smile</p>
<i>tabasamu</i>	<p>n. 9 smiling</p>
<i>tabaashiri</i>	<p>n. 9/10 [Ar. <i>ṭabāshīr</i> W 551] chalk</p>

- 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'
Mi/ nkhashifilee ye/ kuwa ṭabi'aye/ ni kana ya mweenza. 'I discovered her to be friendly.'
Muunt^hu/ ṭabi'aye/ ha'ibadiliki. 'A person, his character does not change.' (A proverbial saying.)
Omari/ wanayoo ndila/ chiza khsawaraṭila/ ṭabi'a/ ya Abú. 'Omari was right in refusing to tolerate Abu's behavior.'
Ori/ kuwiika/ ni ṭabi'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.'
ṭabi'a mbovu n^huwanaayo kumbe na waant^hu barshūza [song] 'bad behavior you did not have, rather you were taught this by people' (The form **n^huwanaayo** is a shortening from **nt^hukuwanaayo**.)
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.)
Ye/ laazimu/ khfikiriḷa kubadila ṭabi'a iyo. 'You should consider changing your behavior.'
- kh-ṭabi'a* v. [Ar. *ṭaba'a* W 551] (**ṭabi'iile**) print something
Ye/ ṭabi'ilee chuwo. 'He printed a book.'
- ṭabi'iina* n. the successors of the Companions (in Islam, those who met the Companions of the Prophet and spent time in their company and followed in their path)
na wenye kuraasha kheeri ya yaqīna/ wenye ulongofu na ṭabi'iina [st.] 'and those who follow what is the good, who are morally upright and the successors of the Companions'
- kh-ṭabiiba* v. [Sw. *tabibia* SSED 444; Ar. *ṭabba, ṭibb* W 550] (**ṭabibiile**) cure, heal, treat (as a patient); solve a problem
Niya njeema/ huṭabiiba/ niyaa mbovu/ hukhariba. 'A good intention cures, a bad intention spoils.' (A proverb.)
- ṭabiibu* n. [Sw. *tabibu* SSED 444; Ar. *ṭabīb* W 550] doctor; adj. someone who can solve, handle people's problems effectively
Tozelee dawa/ na ṭabiibú. 'He did not find treatment and healer (someone who could cure him).'
 rel.
u-ṭabiibu n. 14 [Sw. *utabibu* SSED 444] the profession of being a doctor; the act of treating a patient'
- kh-ṭabīqa* v. (**ṭabikhiile**) apply s.t. to s.t.; [pron. **khṭabīqa** or **khṭabikha**]
- ṭabuuti* 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 ṭadakhuli '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: **khtadaraka**

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

Ma'askari/ hupowa tadriibu/ niingi/ kuḷaṭila bundukhu. 'Soldiers are given a lot of training to shoot rifles.'

Waana/ wanakhpowa tadriibu ya chi'askari. 'The children are given military training.'

tafaḍali invar. [Sw. *tafadhali* SSED 89; Ar. *fadʿl* "grace, favour, benefit" W 718] please
Ali/ tafaḍali/ naambila/ nini/ ma'anaye. 'Ali, please, tell me what is its meaning?'

Chimwambila mgarwa/ tafaḍali/ 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/ tafaḍali/ nonyeza mahala/ wako mayahuudi. 'Mother, please show me a place where there are Jews.'

Mi/ nakihtaja peesa/ tafaḍali/ 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 tafaḍali/ ndretela majiibu/ na mapeema. 'Go and take [them] to him and please bring me the answer quickly.'

Tafaḍali/ Ali/ nfunguḷila mlaango/ amó/ we/ lawa/ ndilaani/ nikhaambile/ yaa mi/ niḷiḷó. 'Please, Ali, open the door for me, or you come outside so that I tell you what I have come for.'

Tafaḍali/ bwana sultaani/ mp^hokela feḍa izi/ ni zawaadi/ mi/ khuletelelee we. 'Please, Mr. Sultan, accept these coins, they are a gift, I have given them to you.'

Tafaḍali/ mp^ha. 'Please, give it to me!'

Tafaḍali/ mwaanawá/ naambila/ yaa we/ nakhsuuló. 'Please, my son, tell me what you want.'

Tafaḍali/ stóshé/ kuwaa si/ chinakhuchiimbilá. 'Please do not think that we are running away from you.'

kh-tafakara v. [Ar. *fakara* W 724] think about something with hesitation

hokomuye kana chiza khtaghayara/ hada tahaara we bila khtafakara [st.]
'the rule is that, if it has not been polluted, (then you can) say it is clean without any hesitation'

tafaraarukhi n. separation, splitting apart

Pamooyi/ nii nguvu/ tafaraarukhi/ ni uḍa'iifu. 'Unity is strength, power; separation, splitting apart is weakness.' (A proverb.)

kh-tafaruja v. [Sw. *tafaraji, tafaruji* SSED 444; Ar. *faraja* "take pleasure, relax" W 702] (**tafarujiile**) take a stroll for pleasure in the evening

Skú mooyi/ mi/ nḷazile/ khtafaruja/ ka mii/ peeke. 'One day I went out for a stroll alone.'

Skú yingine/ masku/ Abunawaasi/ uje waliko waziri chihabba/ wa Harun Rashiidi/ wakhti oyo/ oloshela/ khtafaruja/ ndilaani/ ye/ naaye/ nakinendro'ineendro/ ndilaani/ wene nuumba/ yiyo/ iyo/ naa ṭala/ iwaliko ichaaka. 'On another day at night, Abunawaasi, who was a sub-minister of Harun Rashiidi 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.

Haṭá/ 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/ kulangala 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-tafarujishana v. caus. rec.

kh-tafarujishiliza v. caus. appl.

Ji/ mṭafarujishilize baaba/ mwaana. ‘Ji took father’s child for a stroll.’

kh-tafarujishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

Ji/ na Alí/ waṭafarujishilizenye 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 mbaḷmbali/ hufanyo haruusi. ‘The difference is in the way how different nations conduct a marriage.’

tafkiiri n. 9 [Sw. *tafakiri* SSED 96; Ar. *tafkīr* 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)

khtafsira darsi ‘to explain a lesson’

Nt^haku/ karka waant^hu/ awo/ khadiriiló/ khtafsiirá/ 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/ khtafsira ndrooto/ si/ siwo/ china’iwó. ‘They said: to interpret dreams, we are not the ones who know how.’

rel.

kh-tafsiriila v. appl. [Sw. *tafsiria* SSED 93] (**tafsiriile**)

Isa/ nt^hafsiriila/ 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.’

kumtafsiriila darsi ‘to explain a lesson to someone’

Nimtafsiriile 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/ nimtafsiriilo mwaaná** ‘the lesson that I explained to the child’ or **mwana waa mi/ nimtafsiriilo darsi** ‘the child to whom I explained the lesson’.)

Maliizopó/ Ali/ shkalant^{ha}/ kumtafsiriila/ 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/ tafsiriila darsi/ naami. ‘The child had the lesson explained to him by me.’

Shta^hafsiriilá/ maneeno/ yote. [H'H'H] ‘[Lit.] We were explained all the words -- i.e. all the words were explained to us.’ (Emphasis 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/ itafsiriila 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’

Mwaana/ 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/ Ikaambala. ‘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 agikiliile. ‘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 on’
Omari/ hadiile/ mi/ Ali/ ka kooweḷa/ nimtagilile mikonó/ haykhadiroowi/ khshindramanowa naaye/ mkali/ kooweḷa/ kabisá/ kana/ nsi. ‘Omari said: me, Ali in swimming, I surrender to him, I am not able to compete with him, he is an expert at swimming completely, he is like a fish.’
- Omari/ hadiile/ mwaanawa/ Hasani/ nimtagilile mikono/ haakasi/ jawaabu/ kiḷa muunṭhi/ rabsha.** ‘Omari said: I am fed up with my son Hasani, he does not listen to what is said, every day is trouble.’
- 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 mwaanana/ 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-taageera* v. [Som.] help; [pron. **kh-taageera**], with the “Somali g”, i.e. the fricative version of ordinary **g** which occurs only in loanwords from Somali; in Somali, the fricative is an allophone of **g** that occurs between vowels; [**tagereete**]
Haliima/ mtagerete Faatima/ khtila maandra. ‘Haliima helped Faatima to bake bread.’
- Ali/ tozele khtaageera/ khshiindra/ mpiira.** ‘Ali did not get help to win the match.’
- rel.
kh-tageroowa v. pass. be helped; [pron. **kh-tageroowa**]
Ali/ nakhsuḷa khtageratoowa/ kuwaka nuumba. ‘Ali wants to be helped to build a house.’
- 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. *ḡara, ḡaira* W 690] (**taghayariile**) turn, change (e.g. milk becoming sour)
maayi yashtaghayara mahala nijisi/ chisuuḷa khtumila shari’a nafasi [st.]
‘when water changes [in intrinsic quality] in a place where there is something impure and you want to use it, the Shari’ah gives you some freedom’

	rel.
	<i>kh-tāghayarika</i> v. p/s.
	Hawapeendi/ ba/ ziint^hu/ kubadilika/ walá/ ziint^hu/ kḥtāghayariká. ‘They do not want things to change nor to alter.’ review phrasing, esp ziinthu after wala
accent and	<i>kh-tāgharisha</i> v. caus.
	Kanaa ni/ nnakhaadiró/ kḥtāgharisha ziint^hú... ‘If you (pl.) are to change things...’
<i>tāghayuri</i>	n. 9 a change in a situation or state of affairs
<i>kh-tahaðara</i>	v. [Sw. <i>tahadhari</i> SSED 122; Ar. <i>ħadira</i> W 163; see also <i>taḥdir</i> "warning" W 164] (tahaðariile) be careful, pay attention, be aware, stay off/away from, watch out chisusumuka na kana ishtāghayara/ khsala bila mtimiino we tahaðara [st.] ‘when you wake up, if your mouth feels unclean, you should beware of praying without (first) brushing your teeth’
	Ṇtahaðariile/ kumpa Hamadi/ peesa. ‘I took care about giving Hamadi money.’ (Cf. Peesa/ nistahaðariile/ kumpa Hamadi. ‘Money, I took care about it to give it to Hamadi.’ Cf. Hamadi/ nimtahaðariile/ kumpa peesa. ‘Hamadi, I was careful about him to give him money.’)
	Osmaani/ tahaðara/ meza iyo. ‘Osmaani, watch out for/take care of that table.’
	rel.
	<i>kh-tahaðarisha</i> v. caus. warn, make alert
	<i>kh-tahaðarishiliza</i> v. caus. appl. warn for
	<i>kh-tahaðarishoowa</i> v. caus. pass. be warned
	Ye/ haṭahaðarishoowi. ‘He won't be warned.’
	<i>kh-tahaðaroowa</i> v. pass.
	Kḥtahaðaroowa/ ni suura. ‘To be careful is good.’
<i>tahaðari</i>	n. attention, carefulness; interj. beware, take care
	Abú/ nayoo dhibu/ khpa tahaðari/ waant^hu. . ‘Abu has difficulty paying attention to people.’
	ka tahaðari ‘with caution, cautiously, carefully’
	Haliima/ mpikishize muné/ chaakuja/ ka tahaðari. ‘Haliima cautiously got her younger sister to cook the food.’ (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’
	Muunt^hu/ laazimu/ kuwa tahaðari/ mukḥtaa ye/ nakinenzo gaari. ‘One must be careful when he is driving a car.’
	Muunt^hu/ mahaḷa/ yikoo zitá/ laazimu/ khfanya tahaðari. ‘In a place where there is fighting, one must be careful.’
	na nt^hiini ya muti na nt^huundru khatari/ majini hukalo ndrúwa 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/ chiint^hu/ huletoo dhibú. ‘Beware of a thing that can cause a problem.’ (A proverb.)
	Tahaðari/ khabla al athari. ‘Be careful before the damage comes (lit. before the effect).’ (A proverb.)

<i>m-tahaḍari</i> (<i>wa-</i>)	adj. someone careful
<i>kh-tahaaja</i>	v. (variant of <i>-ihtahaaja</i>) need Mi/ nakhtahaja kaalmejó. ‘I need your help.’ Mi/ nakhtahaja mo/ maapé/ kunsaaýdá. ‘I need someone to help me.’ Mi/ nakhutahajaa we. ‘I need you.’ Mi/ stahaaji/ khfikirilaa yo. ‘I don’t need to think about it.’ Mi/ takuuya/ keesho/ maadamu/ kana Nuuru/ chintahaaja. ‘I will come tomorrow in case Nuuru needs me.’ Numba/ inakhtahaja kubigowa ranji. ‘The house needs to be painted.’ Numba/ inakhtahaja ranji. ‘The house needs paint.’ Omari/ bishile lkele/ kuwaa ye/ tahajilee chisu. ‘Omari shouted that he needed a knife.’ We/ hutahaaja/ pesa niingi/ kula baaskiili. ‘You don’t need a lot of money to buy a bicycle.’ Ye/ haṭahaaji/ khfikiriḷa peesa. ‘He does not need to worry about money.’ rel. <i>kh-tahajoowa</i> v. pass. Hamadi/ nakhtahajowa kuwaka numba. ‘Hamadi is needed to help build the house.’
<i>m-tahaaji</i>	n. 3 need Kilaa mooyi/ nayo mtahaaji/ ya khpendoowa. ‘Everyone has a need to be loved.’ Mi/ siná/ mtahaaji/ ya kuruda Mwiini. ‘I have no need to return to Brava.’ Ye/ nthaná/ mtahaaji/ ya kuwelwela/ tarafu ya peesa. ‘He does not need to worry about money.’
<i>tahajudi</i>	n. a strongly recommended, but optional, prayer performed around midnight or very early in the morning Tahajudi/ husaloowa/ maskuu kati/ ni sunna/ mu’akadi. ‘Tahajudi is prayed around midnight, it is a strongly recommended <i>sunna</i> ’
<i>tahaliili</i>	n. [cf. Som. <i>tahliil</i> “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. <i>hall</i> “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: tahliili Moomini/ nakhfaanya/ tahliili/ ya waawaye. ‘Moomini is performing the tahliili of his father (i.e. a ceremony on the anniversary of his father’s death).’
<i>tahaluka</i>	n. [Ar. <i>tahluka</i> “ruin, perilous situation” W 1031] disaster, great danger that causes masheekhi ni tahaluka / hudaraawo hutuluka / hughiiba ruuhu na maali [st.] ‘holy men are very dangerous, those who despise them fall, their souls and their wealth perish’
<i>kh-tahamaka</i> notice	v. [Sw. <i>tahamaki</i> SSED 445; Ar. <i>hamaka</i> “to be engrossed, dedicated” W 1034] take
<i>tahaara</i>	n. [Sw. <i>tohara</i> SSED 445; Ar. <i>tahāra</i> W 570] (ritual) cleanliness (of body, clothes) Ghasli/ ma’anaye/ ni muunthu/ shfanya ijtimaa’i/ naa muke/ na maniyi/ yachimlawá/ laazimu/ koowa/ mzimawe/ kuwa tahaara. ‘ <i>Ghasli</i> means that when one engages in sexual activity and ejaculates, he must take full bath/shower to be clean/pure.’ hada tahaara we bila khtafakara [st.] ‘[then you can] say it is clean without hesitation’

- Mi/ nayo tahaará.** ‘I am ritually clean (lit. have ritual cleanliness).’
Muunt^{bu}/ chisoma khur’aani/ ambó/ chisa^{lá}/ laazimu/ kuwanayo tahaara.
 ‘When one reads the Quran or performing prayer, one must be ritually clean (lit. have ritual cleanliness)’
ni mwaana tahaara mubliwe Ali [st.] ‘a virtuous girl whose husband was Ali’
tahaara na nijisi we shila shaka/ khtahida waajibu naanko kktaharaka [st.] ‘when you are not sure of something being pure or impure, you must make your best efforts to remove it quickly’
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. *ḥaraka* "to move, to excite" W 170] move, be in a hurry, be eager, be worried
Dughaaghi/ nt^hakudakhaakha/ 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-taharakaṭaharaka v. freq.
Mwanaamke/ nelopo dawa iyó/ chanza khtaharakaṭaharaka. ‘When the girl drank that medicine, she began to move a little.’
kh-taharakisha v. caus. move s.t.; urge
Lpepo/ la kuusi/ Ivyumiile/ Itaharakishiize/ nt^haanzi/ na iwuyú/ impotelele mwaalimu/ imubleele. ‘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: **khtahirika**
 rel.
kh-tahaarisha v. caus. clean
 variant form: **khtahirisha**
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/ kumboolela*. '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.'
tahaara na nijisi we shila shaka/ khtahida waajibu naanko kktaharaka [st.] 'when you are not sure of something being pure or impure, you must make your best efforts to remove it quickly'

kh-tahira

v. [Sw. *tahiri* SSED 445; Ar. *tahara* W 570] (**tahiriile**) clean
maayi yashtahira mahala nijisi [st.] 'when water has cleaned an unclean place'
rel.
kh-tahirisha v. caus. (**tahirishiize**) wash
Haliima/ nakuwatahirisha waanawe. 'Haliima is washing her children.'
kh-tahirishoowa v. caus. pass. (**tahirishiiza**) be washed
Nguwo izi/ stahirishiiza. 'These clothes have been cleaned.'

taahiri

adj. [cf. Sw. verb *tahiri* SSED 445; Ar. *tāhir* "clean, pure" W 571] clean; n.
cleanliness
Mi/ ni taahiri. 'I am ritually clean.'
Muunt^hu/ chisoma khur'aani/ ambó/ chisala/ laazimu/ kuwa taahiri. 'When one reads the Quran or performing prayer, one must be ritually clean.'
Ni muunt^hu/ taahiri/ ka ndraani/ na ḍaahiri. 'He is a clean person, bothinside and out.'

tahqiiri

n. 9 (cf. *ku-haqira*) [Ar. *tahqīr* W 194] humiliation

kh-taaja

v. [Sw. *taja* SSED 445] (**tajiile**) *uncommon* mention
Staajé/ 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 makhaamú. '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 uḍhiya khatari/ khpoowa nama mbiti iyo tahaḍari [st.] 'for a rich man **uḍhiya** 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 **uḍhiya**, 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 walazile 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^hú/ taajiri.** ‘I know a rich man.’ (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’; **ma^htaajiri/ na maali** ‘rich men and wealth’
- taajiri/ na maaliyé** ‘a rich man and his wealth’; **ma^htaajiri/ 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 taajirii.** ‘Tuuma’s father is rich.’
- want^hu wa muuyi/ ma^htaajiri/ 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
- Hutomoló/ ni khalbi/ siwo/ u^htaajiri.** ‘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. *tajwid* W146] the phonology of the Quran, the art of reciting the Quran, each word and sentence according to the phonological principles
- hifódi/ na tajwiidi** ‘the memorization and accurate recitation of the Quran’
- Khur’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
- khтила taaka** ‘to trip’
- Omari/ mtile Ali/ taaka/ mtulushiize.** ‘Omari tripped Ali and made him fall down.’
- 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 **makoofiya** (skullcaps); a unit of measurement -- one foot, a pace, a step
- na wakhti uchiya sina hata 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’
- Ni taaka/ yaa ndila/ ya saha.** ‘It is a step in the right direction.’
- takabaana** n. [Ital. *attaccapanni*] hanger
- Hamadi/ tundrishile shaatiye/ takabanaani.** ‘Hamadi hung his shirt on a hanger.’
- Omari/ magarabuye/ yasimeeme/ kana/ takabaana.** ‘Omari, his shoulders are standing like a hanger (straight and long).’

<i>mu-takabiri</i>	adj. arrogant Safiya/ haba mooyi/ ni mutakabiri. 'Safiya is a little arrogant.'
<i>kh-takabura</i>	v. [Sw. <i>takabari</i> SSED 187; Ar. <i>takabbur</i> "pride, arrogance" W 810] (takaburiile) be arrogant, give oneself airs; be corrupt rel. <i>kh-takaburila</i> v. appl. Takaburiile peesa. 'He became arrogant because of money.' <i>kh-takaburisha</i> v. caus. Mtakaburishiize/ nt^ho/ mwanaamke. 'She made her daughter very arrogant.' Peesa/ zimtakabuirishiize. 'Money made him arrogant.' Simtakaburishé/ mwaana. 'Don't cause the child to react violently.'
<i>takaburi</i>	n. [Sw. SSED cites only <i>kiburi</i> as a nominal form, but M&N cite <i>takaburi</i> on page 2288] arrogance takaburi/ zaaydi 'too arrogant' Hamadi/ (ni) takaburi/ zaaydi. 'Hamadi is too arrogant.' Ye/ teete/ amali ya maamaye/ takaburi/ na kooneshá/ na fakharí. 'She took the manners of her mother -- arrogance, being a show off, a braggart.'
<i>u-takaburi</i>	n. 14 arrogance Muunt^hu/ siwo/ suura/ kondrola ruuhuye/ ilu ya waant^hu/ ni alaama/ ya utakaburi. 'A person should not raise himself up (preen, puff himself up, etc.), it is a sign of arrogance.'
<i>m-takaburi (wa-)</i>	n. 1/2 one who is arrogant and gives himself airs
<i>kh-takalama</i>	v. [Sw. <i>takalamu</i> M&N 2289; Ar. <i>tiqlām</i> "eloquent, good talker" W 838] (takalamiile) talk well Ye/ hutakalama. 'He has a way with words.'
<i>kh-takata</i>	v. [cf. Sw. <i>chakacha</i> "rustle, as of grass when one goes through a forest" SSED 47; cf. Som. <i>tag</i> , past <i>tagay, tagtay</i> "to go" DSI 572] (takeete) squeak
<i>ma-takato</i>	n. 6 sound of steps (heard, without seeing the person who is walking or running)
<i>takaazi</i>	n. [Sw. <i>chakaazi</i> "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. (The dental ɟ in Chimiini corresponds to Standard Swahili ch .)
<i>takbiiri</i>	n. 9 [cf. Sw. verb <i>takbira</i> SSED 447; Ar. <i>takbīr</i> 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 .'
<i>taakha</i>	n. 9/10 [Ar. <i>tauq</i> 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/ sulṭaani/ 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.' Nṭ^hasa muunt^hu/ khfanya chiint^hu/ husuḷowa kiwa taakhaye/ mbele husuḷowa kiiwa. 'Before a person does a thing, he should know (the limits of) his ability.' (A proverbial saying.)

- 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.
Omari/ mwambile Ali/ mṭakhaluse/ Nuuru/ kaako/ kaziini/ ntʰaná/ faayda/ hafaanyi/ kaazi/ jisa suura. ‘Omari told Ali: get rid of Nuuru from your workplace, he has no advantage (for you), he does not work well.’
- takhriiban*** adv. [Ar. *taqrīban* W 755] approximately, almost, nearly; [pron: ***takhriiban***] (Observe that the accent in this word falls, in the default case, on the penult vowel, which is *ii* given the absence of the usual final vowel that is added in Chimiiini to borrowed words ending in a consonant.)
Haliima/ na Omari/ ntʰangú/ walozeenyó/ takhriiban/ ni miyaaka/ ishiriini. ‘Since Haliima and Omari married is almost twenty years.’
- takhriibu*** adv. approximately, almost, nearly
Chinakubiga iteké/ chinakeendrá/ ziyaraani/ ka Shekh Makhtuubu/ ni kilomeetiri/ ntʰaano/ takhriibu. ‘We are going on foot to the religious ceremony for Shekh Makhtuubu, it is (held) about five kilometers (from Miini).’
Haliima/ safariye/ itukiile/ takhriibu/ muuntʰi/ mzima. [HHHH!H!H] ‘Haliima’s trip took almost an entire day.’
- taaki*** n. heel of a shoe
Haliima/ vete zilaatu/ za taaki/ zimfanyizee mule/ habamooyi/ ‘Haliima wore high-heel shoes, they made her a little taller.’
taki ya chilaatu ‘heel of a shoe’; **taki za zilaatu** ‘heels of shoes’
Umi/ ha’isi kinendrela zilaatu/ za taaki/ zimtulushiize. ‘Umi does not know how to wear high-heeled shoes, they make her fall.’
- l-taki (n-)*** n. 11/10 [cf. Ar. *tauq*, pl. *atwāq* "necklace" W 574] necklace (generic term); [pron. ***ntʰaki*** ‘necklaces’]
kama ltaki/ lbeele ‘if the necklace is lost’
kamaa ntʰaki/ zibeele ‘if the necklaces are lost’
Kula mwaana/ ka ltakile. ‘Each child has his own necklace.’ (A proverb.)
Ltaki ilo/ nlaake. ‘That necklace is hers.’ (Cf. ***Ntʰaki izo/ nzaake.*** ‘Those necklaces are hers.’)
ltaki lembaamba ‘a thin necklace’; **ntʰaki nempaamba** ‘thin necklaces’
ltakila ‘my necklace’; **ntʰakiza** ‘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’.)
Nimwekelele mwaanawá/ 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.
Haliima/ pasize peesa/ dukaani/ ka Nuuru/ weshele rahani/ shtakiche/ cha ḍahabu. ‘Haliima borrowed money from Nuuru’s shop, she put her gold necklace as bond.’ (This example does not appear to be using ***shtaki*** as a diminutive, i.e. specifically indicating the smallness of the necklace.)
- 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. *taklif* "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
Nakhsuḷa taksi. 'I want a taxi.'
Nakhtaraja taksi. 'I need a taxi.'
- kh-tala** v. [cf. Sw. *chagua* SSED 47] (**taliile**) choose
Maskiini/ haatali. 'A poor man does not choose.' (A proverb.)
Mwenyee ndala/ haatali. 'A hungry man does not choose.' (A proverb.)
rel.
kh-taliḷa v. appl.
chizaliḷoowa mwaana ismu mtaliḷe [st.] 'when you have a child born to you, choose a name for him'
kh-taliḷoowa v. appl. pass. be chosen for
wake wa hur al- 'aini/ Sheekhi takhtaliḷoowa [st.] 'wives who are celestial virgins, chosen especially for the Sheikh'
mooja nawaape wo riḍwaana/ hutaliḷoowa wake na wabjaana [st.] 'may God grant His approval to them [all], girls and boys'
kh-taloowa v. pass.
hutaḷoowa teena baaqi ya waana/ wanaawake ni wanne china Maana [st.] 'now we have to speak of the remaining children: there were four daughters, born of Lady [Khadija]'
rel. nom.
m-tala (wa-) n. one who chooses
m-tale (wa-) adj. (of human beings) chosen
nahrīsi nda mojiitu na amaani/ ilu ya mtume mtale wa rahmaani [st.] 'may God's mercy and peace be upon the Prophet, the one chosen by the Compassionate'
ma-talo n. 6 choice
Maṭaloye/ yatulushile ilu ya Nuuru. '[Lit.] His choice fell on Nuuru -- i.e. he chose Nuuru.'
Nuuru/ hadiile/ mi/ simuulizi/ Hasani/ zoomboza/ maṭaloye/ miingi/ haamali/ khtala. 'Nuuru said: I do not sell my things to Nuuru, his selecting is too much, he never finishes selecting.'
u-talo n. 14 choice
Uṭalo/ wa Haliima/ huṭalo ziint^hú/ mukhtaye/ nakuuló/ ni zaaydi/ haṭá/ muunt^hu/ humkiriha. 'Haliima's choosing thing when she buys is too extreme, even one gets annoyed at her.'
- kh-talama** v. [Som. *tallan*, past *tallamay* "to be hesitant, perplexed" DSI 575] hesitate, fear
chiza khtalama kumera yaa ye/ takihṭajó 'not to hesitate to look for whatever he needed'
Haaji/ mwana mkulu/ wanazo ba'aḍi zaa sifa/ za waawaye/ laakini/ ye/ liini/ shṭalamo kumkirihiha maamayé/ ka khisa/ ye/ shṭosha ya kuwa maama/ chimpēndaa muné/ nt^ho/ 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/ haṭalami/ khutilaa muḷo/ masku.** ‘The one who reveals your defects in the daytime does not hesitate to burn you at night.’ (A proverb.)
- Mṭinda hoola/ haṭalami/ khpasula.** ‘The one who slaughters an animal does not hesitate to skin [him].’ (A proverb.)
- Munt^hu nayo uuḍú/ haṭalami/ 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.)
- talaawu** n. step
Ni **talaawu/ yaa ndila/ ya saha.** ‘It is a step in the right direction.’
- i-taale (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 (GM did not know this word.)
rel.
sh-taale (s-) n. 7/8 dim.
- n-tale** n. 9/10 [cf. Sw. *mshale* SSED 301] arrow; [pron. nṭ^hale]
Chiint^hu/ siwo/ chaakó/ naa nṭ^halé/ khufakaṭa. ‘Something not yours and an arrow runs from you.’ (A proverb.)
Markabu za sultaani/ Simsini/ zote/ schondroloowa/ kumrasha mwaana/ laakini/ markabu ya mwaana/ hufakaṭa/ kamaa nṭ^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.’
Nṭ^hale/ ichikhiingila/ ha’ikhulawi. ‘An arrow, when it enters you, it does not come out.’ (A saying.)
Nṭ^hale/ ichilawa/ ha’iruudi. ‘An arrow that has gone does not return.’ (A proverb.)
Nṭ^hale/ ilaṭila ilú/ humsiba kilaa muunt^hu. ‘An arrow that has been shot up in the air can hit anyone.’ (A saying.)
Nṭ^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.)
nṭ^hale iyi ‘this arrow’; **nṭ^hale izi** ‘these arrows’
Nṭ^haleya/ nch^hi’ilaṭila masku/ hayooloki/ kule/ laakini/ nch^hi’ilaṭila muunt^hi/ hendra mwendo 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’u* 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 mayṭi/ kuzikoowa/ sheekhi/ humsomela mayṭi/ talkhiini. ‘After the dead person is buried, a *sheekhi* reads the **talkhiini** to the dead person.’
Ba’adi/ ya mayṭi/ khsomelowa talkhiini/ waant^hu/ wafakuruuda. ‘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).’
Mwana wa Omari/ tuushile/ vundishile mkono/ nakhtaltala ka ulaazo. ‘Omari’s child fell and broke his hand, he is writhing with pain.’
Zinalktaltala. ‘They are crawling around.’
rel.
m-taltalo n. 3
Nuuru/ masku/ mazima/ chiṭa shchimlaazó/ zaaydi/ talteele/ mṭaltalo/ umriwe/ haliwali. ‘Omari, the whole night his head was aching him too much, he shook in pain such that he will never forget.’
- 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 Mwiini ‘Italians of Brava’ ([cl.2] agreement); less common is **matalyani ya Mwiini** ‘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)
mṭalyani wiitu ‘our Italian person’ ([cl.1] agreement)
talyaaniwa ‘my Italian person’ ([cl.1] agreement, which seems to be the only form used)
rel.
i-taliyaani n. Italians **review for vowel between l and y in the other forms**
Maṭezó/ ya mpiira/ wa kuulu/ huhadoowa/ asliye/ asisiiló/ ni italiyaani.
‘The game of soccer (lit. ball of leg), it is said that the ones who originally founded it were the Italians.’
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, light a lamp’
Muuyi/ mzimawe/ washizaa tala. [H’H!H] ‘The town, its entirety, was lit up.’
kashowaa tala ‘lamps to be lit’
Tala/ zashiiza. [H’H] ‘Lamps were lit.’
Zashiizá/ nii tala. [H’H] ‘What was lit were lamps.’
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/ hashaa 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 ltaambilé ‘lamp and its wick’, **tala/ na nt^haambize** ‘lamps and their wicks’
rel.
i-tala (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
Masku ya iidi/ miṭala/ hashoowa/ kiḷaa mahala/ huwa weelu/ kana

muunthi. ‘On the night of Idi lights are lit every where, it gets clear/light like daytime.’

ma-tala n. (exaggerated number of) lamps

Nt^hi/ nzimaye/ matala. ‘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^htala 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 **Chiḷaani**, 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 **Chiḷaani** 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-talagalata

v.

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)

Omari/ nakhtalalata mishaka. [H!H] ‘Omari is planting trees.’

rel.

kh-talalatoowa v. pass.

Waana/ wanakhtalalataw shuruwa. [H!H] ‘Children are being vaccinated for measles.’

talaali

n. 9 [Som. *tallaal* DSI 574] vaccination; small branch or offshoot of plant (to be used for grafting or replanting), seed root **check the two l consonants**

Nuuru/ kaake/ numbaani/ imorooni/ tile talaali/ ya ndriimu. ‘Nuuru, in the backyard of his house, put the root of a lime tree.’

Sukhuuni/ zinakuzowa talaali/ zaa miti/ za embe/ naa mazú. ‘At the market seed roots of mango and banana are being sold.’

talaqa

repudiation

n. **10?** [Sw. *talaka* SSED 447; Ar. *talāq* W 567] divorce (by husband only),

Want^hu awa/ hawafurahili/ talaqa/ 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/ talaqaze. ‘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. *talāsim*, plural of *tilasm* W 564] a charm
kubiga talaasimu ‘to prophesy (using cards, etc.)’

talaashaara

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] (**taleeze**) spread something (news, seed)

Haliima/ taleeze gele/ iwaani/ kuuma/ chimaliza/ khsoola/ khfanya maandra. 'Haliima spread the maize in the sun to dry and then to pound and make bread.'

Nt^hi/ nzimaye/ sh^halazaa zitta/ za ma'aduwi. 'The whole of the ground he scattered it with the heads of the enemy.'

Stalazeeni. 'You (pl.) don't spread it!'

Taleze khabari. 'Spread the news!'

taalibu n. seeker of knowledge

Waana/ wa ziwooni/ ni ma^htaalibu/ humera ilmu/ kilaa mahala/ na kilaa wakhtⁱ. 'Scholars are knowledge-seekers from any place and any time.'

taalibu^l ilmi n. seekers of knowledge

Taalibu^l ilmi/ ni af^hali/ ka mojiitu/ kolko jaahili. 'Seekers of knowledge are more preferable to God than the ignorant.'

tama'a

n. 9/10 [Sw. *tama* SSED 448; Ar. *tama* ' W 569] hope, longing, craving, ambition

khtila tama'a 'to instill hope'

Nt^hile tama'a. 'He caused me to live with hope.'

kh^htinda tama'a 'to give up hope, lose hope, despair'

Sku mooyi/ naayé/ tinzilo tama'a/ walá/ nt^hanakhfilat^hililá... '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 mu^hjaana/ 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 mwajiitu/ 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.'

mshika tama'a an ambitious person'

mwenye tama'a 'a person having ambition'

ndiwe nt^hiilo tama'aani naambilo tuuza kha^hbiyo [song] 'it is you who instilled hope in me, who told me: make quiet your heart'

Tama'aye/ iwalikoo nk^hulu/ na imaan^hiyé/ ka mwajiitú/ iwaliko thaabitⁱ. 'His hope was great and his faith in God was firm.'

Tama'aze/ niingi. 'His ambitions are many.'

kh-tama'a
strong desire for

v. [Sw. uses a verbal form *tumai* SSED 448; Ar. *tami* 'a, *tama* ' W569] hope; have a

Ye/ tama'iile/ kh^hpata tafsiiri/ ya koo^hdi/ za Ali/ karkaa ziwo/ laakini/ nt^hakhaadira/ kh^hpata 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)

Ali/ **tamanilee kufa**. 'Ali wanted to die.'

Ali/ **tamanile kuwa nt'akuuya**. 'Ali wished that he had not gone.' **review meaning**

Ali/ **tamanilee mazu**. 'Ali wished for a banana.'

Chimlindra Safiya/ **sababu/ ye/ tamaniile/ na suljile/ nt'ho/ Safiya/ kuwa mukeewe**. 'He waited for Safiya because he longed and wished very much for Safiya to be his wife.'

Huseeni/ **hadiile/ mi/ nakhtamaná/ khpata numba suura/ nk'bulu/ kana/ ya Ali**. 'Huseeni said: I wish I could get a good and big house like Ali.'

Mi/ **nnakhtamana kuja nt'heendré/ walá/ sinakhpata**. 'I want to eat dates, but I cannot get any.'

Muke/ **wa mmamulaṭaa nt'hi/ ba'ada/ ya Yuusufi/ khkula/ kuwa muḥjaana/ chimtamana**. 'The wife of the caretaker of the land, after Joseph grew up to become a young man, desired him (sexually).'

Muunt'hu/ **chiint'hu/ chaa ye/ hakhadiri kuulá/ haṭamani**. 'A person, something that he cannot buy, he does not (i.e. should not) desire.'

Nt'akuja **yaa mi/ nt'akhsuuló/ na nt'akhtamanó**. '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/ **mtamanile mwaanawe/ khpita imṭihaani**.)

Wana wa waant'hu/ **wafanyiliza wazele waawo/ yaa wo/ wanakhtamanó**. 'The children of other people do for their parents that which they want done.'

yaa ye takihṭaajó/ na takhtamanó '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-tamanika v. p/s.

Ali/ **zoombo/ ziko kaaké/ dukaani/ siwo/ zisuura/ haṭtamaniki/ ba**. 'The things at Ali's shop are not good, they can never be wished for.'

Omari/ **mwanaashkewe/ Faatima/ ni inene/ haṭtamaniki/ kuloloowa**. 'Omari's daughter Faatima is fat, she cannot be wished for to marry.'

kh-tamaniloowa v. appl. pass.

Mwaana/ **tamanijila khpita imṭihaani**. 'The child was wished for to pass the examination.'

kh-tamanila v. appl.

Khuṭamanijile 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/ m̄tamanilile Muusa/ gari iyi. 'Nuuru wanted this car for Muusa.'

Nuuru/ m̄tamanilile mwaanawe/ khpita im̄tihaani. '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/ m̄tamanilile Muusa/ kula gaari. 'Nuuru wished for Muusa to buy a car.')

kh-tamanisha v. caus.

Ali/ m̄tamanishize mwaana/ mazu. 'Ali made the child wish for bananas.'

Omari/ jisaa ye/ hufakharó/ ziint^hú/ hatá/ takhu^htamanisha. 'The way that Omari praises things makes you fall in love with them.'

kh-tamanishana v. caus. rec.

kh-tamanishika v. caus. p/s.

kh-tamanishiliza v. caus. appl.

Ali/ m̄tamanishilize Iisa/ mwaana/ mazu. 'Ali made Iisa's child wish for bananas.'

kh-tamanishiliza(y)a v. caus. appl. rec.

Wa^htamanishilizenye waana/ ziloozi. 'They made one another's children long for candies.'

kh-tamanoowa v. pass.

Gari iyi/ itamanila ku^hloowa. 'This car was desired to be bought.'

Gari iyi/ itamanila ku^hlowa 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/ ku^hloowa.** '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/ ku^hloowa/ hatá/ file. '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/ sul^htaani/ chiwa'ambila waanawe/ kuwaa ye/ nakhsu^hu^hla/ keendra/ maduriini/ kh^htamasha. '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']

Itambi laa tala 'wick of a lamp'

Itambi la thawaafa 'wick of a lantern'

Itambii 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^hambi za maboori 'strips of a special kind of pumpkin cooked with oil and sugar'

nt^hambi za pataata 'strips of sweet potato cooked with oil and sugar'

Shfungula Itaambi/ laa nguwo. 'He opened (out) the edge of the cloth.'

sh-taambi (*s-*)

n. tassel (of a cap, curtains, etc.)

sh^htambi cha haanzu 'tassel of haanzu'

sh^htambi cha ikoofiya 'tassel of a hat'

sh^htambi chaa nguwo 'tassel of cloth'

sh^htambi 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 **ka^htu** 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) (This item was provided by MI, but we did not record an example sentence. GM was unfamiliar with the word.)
rel.
kh-taambuza v. caus.
- kh-taamila** v. [no etymological source found] (**tamiliile**) lean on, rest on
Mpe mtaawo/ nataamile. ‘Give him a pillow so that he may rest.’
Tamiliile mtaawo. ‘He rested on a pillow.’
Tamiliile mlaango. ‘He leaned against the door.’
rel.
kh-tamilila v. appl.
Mpe mtaawo/ 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. cf. **tama’a** [Ar. *tammā* “avid, covetous, grasping” W 569] ambitious (but with negative connotations)
- tamriini** n. 9/10 [Ar. *tamrīn* W 905] exercise, homework, assignment
Leelo/ waana/ skolaani/ wapela tamriini/ khfanya numbaani. ‘Today children at school are given exercises to work at home.’
Ma’askari/ wa’oloshale maduriini/ kfanya tamriini/ ya kuwiinda. ‘Soldiers went upcountry to train to learn to shoot.’
Mi/ hupenda tamriini/ iyi. ‘I like this exercise.’
Tamrini ziingine/ nii dhibu. ‘The other exercises are difficult.’
- taamu** adj. [Sw. *-tamu* SSED 450] tasty (used with reference to salty or spicy, not sweet)
Haliima/ mkali/ khpikaa kuja/ kujaye/ taamu. ‘Haliima is good at cooking food, her food is delicious.’
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/ mwanaamkewá/ mashuungi. ‘I combed Haliima my daughter’s hair.’ Or: **Nimtanile mwanaamkewá/ 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 mwanaashkewe/ Haliima/ mashuungi. ‘Tuuma combed her daughter Haliima’s hair.’
Tuuma/ na(ku)mtana mwaana/ mashuungi. ‘Tuuma is combing the child’s hair.’ (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 mwaaná/ mashuungi!?)
Tuuma/ namtana mashuungi/ mwaana. ‘Tuuma is combing the child’s hair.’
Tuuma/ tanile mashuungi/ ya mwaana. ‘Tuuma combed the hair of the child.’ (While this is an acceptable sentence, it is more preferred to say: **Tuuma/ mtanile mwaana/ mashuungi**.)

rel.

kh-tanila v. appl. comb for, with

sh̄tana cha khtanila ‘a comb for combing with’

Tuuma/ m̄tanilile Haliima/ m̄waana/ mashuungi. ‘Tuuma combed for Haliima the child’s hair.’ (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/ m̄tanilile mashuungi/ m̄waana/ 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/ m̄tanilile Haliima/ m̄waana/ mashuungi/ ka sh̄tana. ‘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 **sh̄tana** 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/ m̄tanilile Haliima/ m̄waana/ mashuungi/ sh̄tana.** It should be noted that **m̄waana** may precede **Haliima** in the word order without altering the meaning. The pragmatic unlikelihood that **m̄waana** would be the beneficiary rather than **Haliima** is perhaps the reason for the flexibility in word order here, despite the fact that **Haliima** and **m̄waana** govern the same agreement and thus the object prefix, which is controlled by the beneficiary, does not unambiguously identify **Haliima** as the beneficiary.)

Tuuma/ sh̄tana/ m̄tanililo Haliimá/ m̄waaná/ mashuungi. ‘Tuuma, a comb, combed the child’s hair for Haliima.’ Or: **Tuuma/ sh̄tana/ m̄tanililo m̄waaná/ Haliimá/ mashuungi.** Or: **Sh̄tana/ Tuuma/ m̄tanililo m̄waaná/ 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 m̄tanaani... ‘When father came from the room...’

Chimwonya m̄taana/ na zombo za zivalimo m̄tanaani. ‘She showed him the rooms and the things that were in the rooms.’

Chita/ weshele felii nshepe/ m̄tanaani. ‘The chief put old files in the room.’

Chingila ndraani/ kaake/ m̄tanaani. ‘He entered his room.’

Jaama/ ingile m̄tanaani. ‘Jaama entered the room.’ (Cf. the case where there is a final accent trigger: **Ningile m̄tanaani.** ‘I entered the room.’)

M̄taana/ uyele waant^hu. [H!H] ‘The room was filled with people.’

m̄tana waa kuja ‘dining room’

M̄tanaani/ wamo waana. ‘There are some children in the room.’ Cf. **Waana/ wako m̄tanaani.** ‘The children are in the room.’

m̄taanawa ‘my room’, **m̄taanawe** ‘his room’; **m̄tana waawo** ‘their room’; cf. **m̄taanaye** ‘his rooms’; **m̄tana yaawo** ‘their rooms’

M̄waana/ chingila m̄tanaani/ kaake/ shfuunga/ mlaangowe. ‘The boy entered his room and shut the door.’

Mwanaamke/ chimera rukhsa/ kingila kaake/ m̄tanaani. ‘The girl asked permission to enter her bedroom.’

Nambiile/ khfuungula/ m̄taana/ yote/ shokuwa m̄tana mooyi. ‘He told me to unlock all the rooms except one room.’

Ningile m̄tanaani/ ka waawayé. ‘I entered the room of his father.’

Waant^hu/ wayeele/ m̄tanaani. [H!H] ‘People filled the room.’ Or: **M̄tanaani/ wayele waant^hu.** [H!H] Or: **Wayelo m̄tanaani/ ni waant^hu.** [H!H] ‘The ones who filled the room are the people.’

sh-tana (s-)

n. 7/8 [Sw. *kitana* (vi-) SSED 49] comb; variant form: **tana**
hata mashuungi ya tana ni khatari [st.] ‘even the hair that remains behind in the comb is dangerous [i.e. not permitted]’
shana cha aaga ‘a plastic or rubber comb’
shana cha chuuma ‘a steel comb’
shana chaa muti ‘a wooden comb’

sh-tana

n. [unknown etymology] anger
Chinayo shana. ‘We are angry.’
ka shana ‘angrily’
Ka shana/ koðeeló/ Omari. ‘Angrily spoke Omari.’
Ka shana/ Omari/ koðeeló. ‘Angrily Omari spoke.’ (In the simple yes-no question, **Omari** may undergo accent shift: **Ka shana/ Omari/ koðeeló?** In the exclamatory question, even the initial adverb may undergo accent shift: **Ka shana/ Omari/ koðeeló!?**)
Omari/ koðele ka shana. ‘Omari spoke angrily.’ Or: **Omari/ koðele/ ka shana.** ‘Omari spoke angrily.’ (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/ koðele/ ka shana?** Only the first sentence permits an exclamatory question (in GM’s speech): **Omari/ koðele ka shana!?**)
khfanya shana ‘to make angry’
Jawaabuze/ zinfanyize shana. ‘His words etc. made me angry.’
khshikilowa shana ‘to be gotten angry at’
Omari/ mambile Hamadi/ jawaabu/ iyo/ siwo/ ya khshikilowa shana. ‘Omari told Hamadi that that thing is not something to be gotten angry at (i.e. it is a small matter).’
khshikila shana ‘to be angry at’
khshikilana shana ‘to be angry at one another’
Nuuru/ na Hamadi/ washikileene. ‘Nuuru and Hamadi were angry at each other.’
Nuuru/ shikilene shana/ na Hamadi. ‘Nuuru was angry at each other with Hamadi.’
khshikowa shana ‘to be taken, held by anger -- i.e. to become angry’
Apo/ teena/ ijini/ chshikowa shanaa nt^ho. ‘There then the djinn became very angry.’
Baba/ chshikowa shana. ‘Father became angry.’
Muke/ chshikowa shana/ nt^ho. ‘The woman became very angry.’
Mi/ nshshila shana/ we/ shshila shana/ shshakpatanaayi. ‘I am angry, you are angry, how can we negotiate, come to an agreement?’ (A saying.)
Omari/ hushikowa kahima. ‘Omari gets angry quickly.’
Omari/ hushikowa ka sahali. ‘Omari gets angry easily.’
Omari/ shshila shana. ‘Omari got angry.’
Shshila shana naami. ‘He was angry at me.’
Sultaani/ mwenopo mgarwá/ shshila/ nt^ho/ laakini/ nt^hakonyesha/ shshanache. ‘When the sultan saw the fisherman, he became very angry, but he did not show his anger.’
Want^hu wiingine/ washshila shana. ‘The other people got angry.’
khtila shana ‘to make angry, irritate’
Faanya/ ihsaani/ sintilé/ shana. ‘Do a favor, don’t make me angry.’
Hamadi/ hupeenda/ tile waant^hu/ shana. ‘Hamadi likes to make people angry.’
Hamadi/ namtila Omari/ shana. ‘Hamadi is making Omari angry.’
Nuuru/ mwambile Hamadi/ sintilé/ shana. ‘Nuuru told Hamadi: do not make me angry!’
kuwanacho shana ‘to be mad, angry’
Nacho shana/ naami. ‘He is angry at me.’
Siná/ shana/ naawe. ‘I am not angry at you.’
mwana waa ye/ nacho shana naa ye ‘the child who he is angry at’

kuwanayo shtana ‘to be angry’
kuwona shtana ‘to experience, feel anger’
Shtana/ chaa mi/ shishila sku iyó/ umriwa/ skuwona/ shtana/ kana icho.
 ‘The anger that grabbed me that day, I had never in my life seen anger like that.’
mwenye shtana ‘hot-tempered (lit. possessor of anger), short-tempered’
Baaba/ waliko ni muunt^hu/ mwenye shtana. ‘Father was a short-tempered man.’
Nayo shtana. ‘He is angry.’
Omari/ wanayo shtana. ‘Omari was angry.’
Shtana/ huleta khasaara. ‘Anger brings a loss.’ (A proverb.) Or: **Shtana niingi/ huleta khasaara.** ‘Too much anger brings a loss.’ Or: **Shtana niingi/ ni khasaara.** ‘Too much anger is a loss.’ Or: **Shtana niingi/ huletaa dhibu.** ‘Too much anger brings trouble, harm.’

x-tanabaha v. [Sw. *tanabahi* SSED 328; Ar. *nabaha* W 940] (**tanabahiile**) be attentive; realize, reawaken to something (This, and many other examples, illustrated that whereas borrowed Arabic verbs end in a variety of vowels in Swahili, in Chimiini they are regularly realized with the final vowel *a*.)

Hamadi/ tanabahile kuwa ziwovu/ haziduumi. ‘Hamadi reawakened to the fact that evil never lasts.’

tanafusi n. 9 [cf. Sw. verb form *tanafusi* SSED 328; Ar. *tanaffus* "respiration" W 986] breathing

Ali/ ha'ikhadiroowi/ warshadaani/ kaake/ khfanyowa kaazi/ tanafusi/ hupati. ‘Ali at his workshop cannot work, he is unable to breathe.’

kh-tanazula v. [Ar. verb *nazala* W 956 and noun *tanāzul* "renunciation" W 958] (**tanazuliile**) renounce, forsake, give up, not continue, leave it

Waan^hu/ wachilaana/ ka chiint^hu/ mwaape/ laazimu/ mooyi/ kh^htanazula. ‘If people have a dispute over something, it is a must that one of them give up.’

rel.

kh-tanazulila v. appl.

Baaba/ chimtanazulila/ usultaani. ‘Father abdicated the sultanship to him.’

Baaba/ hattá/ khiriile/ kumtanazulila/ usultaani. ‘Father even agreed to resign his sultanship for him.’

Khut^hanazuliile/ kula yaa ye/ peetó/ ka nguvuzé/ na aqilizé. ‘He gave up to you everything that he got from his power and his wits.’

Mi/ nt^hakhupa yaa mi/ humilkó/ na nt^hakhut^hanazulila/ usultaani. ‘I will give you all my possessions and I will install you in my sultanship.’

kh-tanazuloowa v. pass.

Omari/ hakhiiri/ ba/ kh^htanazula/ ka sahali. ‘Omari never accepts to give up easily.’

rel. nom.

u-tanazuli n. 14

Maha^hla/ ichiza kuwako utanazuli/ ha'ipatanoowi. ‘If there is no compromise there is no reconciliation.’

kh-taanda v. [etymological source unknown] (**taanzile**) insult someone

Ali/ sh^hanzile wote/ wiitu. ‘Ali insulted all of us.’

kum^htaanda ‘to insult someone’

kish^htaanda ‘to insult us’

Mi/ waliko nt^hachiwa/ kuwa nim^hanzile Abú. ‘I was not aware that I had offended Abu.’

Muke mwenye miimba/ ham^htaandi/ mweka uzele. ‘A pregnant woman does not insult the one who attends her (i.e. the midwife).’ (A proverb.)

Omari/ m^hanzile muke wa Hamadi. ‘Omari insulted Hamadi’s wife.’ Or: **Omari/ m^hanzile Hamadi/ mukeewe.**

Skhut^htaanda. ‘I did not insult you.’

Wa'izo kumraashó/ wa'anziize/ kumteleza/ na mahālaa ye/ shpitó/ waant^hu

wachibigaa nk^hele/ 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.

takhtandoowa. 'I you hit someone, if you insult someone, you will be hit as well, you will be insulted as well.' (A proverb.)

Qaliifa/ nakhtandoowa. 'Qaliifa is being insulted.'

rel. nom.

i-taando (ma-)

n. 5/6 insult

Wanch^himbiize/ ka mataando. '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.)

rel.

kh-taangana v. rec.

Waana/ wanakhtangana peesa/ zaawo/ kula mpiira. 'Children are saving their money to buy a ball.'

m-taanga (mi-)

n. 3/4 [Sw. *mchanga* SSED 271] sand

Chimzumbiza mitaanga. 'He covered him with sand.'

Inenzele jaziira/ nzimaye/ na nt^hakuwona/ sho kuwa majiwe/ namtaanga. 'He walked around the whole isand and he did not see anything except stones and

sand.’

ka m̄taanga usho maayi ndruuza laazimu/ takiizo diini yitu daalimu [st.] ‘if you do not have water, then with dust, my friends; whoever rejects the teachings of our faith is a wrongdoer’

kugursha m̄taanga niya leete awali [st.] ‘(before) taking the sand (from its place to use it to clean) state the intention first’

(-ingi) *kana m̄taanga* ‘as many as sand (meaning: extremely numerous)’ (Note that it is possible to omit *-iingi* from the expression.)

Mazu/ yayelee/ sukhuuni/ kana m̄taanga. ‘Bananas were abundant at the market.’

Nuuru/ nayo peesa/ kana m̄taanga. ‘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’

Mwaana/ waliko shpandraa muti/ mukhta ya ye/ mweno mwenewé/ ulushile/ potelee nthi/ m̄tangaani/ pash! ‘The child who was climbing a tree, when he saw the owner, he jumped and fell down into the sand *pash!*’

Ngamiila/ schiwa spakiila/ / mizigo/ saant^hi/ hingila m̄tangaani. ‘When a camel is carrying a load, (their) footprints are deep in the sand.’

rahiisi/ kolko m̄tanga ya tawala ‘cheaper than sea sand’

Saant^hize/ nt^haskiingila/ m̄tangaani. ‘His feet did not go deep into the sand.’

Tanganyika

n. Tanzania

tangawizi

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.)

Tangawizi iyi/ itele nasha. ‘This ginger has been ground very fine.’

kh-taangaza

v. [Sw. *tangaza* SSED 452] *Swahilism* (*tangeeze*) spread news, information

n-taangazo

n. *Swahilism* 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/ tangiliila 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.)]

ni suna khfarama kureeba nt^haangilo [st.] ‘it is preferred to suggest to stop

loud singing’

sh-taango (s-)

n. 7/8 a collection; a co-operative effort in raising funds

<i>kh-taangula</i>	v. tr. [Sw. <i>tangua</i> SSED 452] (tangiile) nullify, revoke (This word not used by GM.) kḥtangula (w)uūdu ‘to nullify one’s ablutions’ rel. <i>kh-taanguka</i> v. intr. khkuunt^h ana na muke soomu hụtaanguka [st.] ‘to lie with a woman [renders] fasting invalid’ <i>kh-tangulisha</i> v. tr. caus. Biint^h o/ ṃtangulishize Sarmadi/ ruuhuye/ uūdu. ‘Biinto caused Sarmadi to lose his ritual purity.’ <i>kh-taanguza</i> v. tr. caus. (tangiize) Luulu/ nt^h angize uūdu. ‘Luulu made me lose uūdu (by touching my uncovered skin with her bare hands).’
<i>sh-taangulo</i>	n. 7 nullification, revocation
-taano	adj. [Sw. <i>tano</i> SSED 453] five ikumi na nt^haano ‘fifteen’ khfanya wạtaano/ ðidi ya mooyi ‘to masturbate [lit. to make five (fingers) against one (penis)]’ Muundrawa/ unayo miti mịtaano/ 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 iṣlaamu [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.’ Qur’aani/ mara/ huhada watatu/ mara/ huhada wạtaano/ mara/ huhadaa saba/ na mba waawó. ‘The Quran says at times three, says at times five, and at times says seven, and their dog.’ skapu staano ‘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 wạtaano ‘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 ltaant^ha laa chili ‘the edge of the bed’
n-tanu	n. 9/10 [cf. Sw. verb <i>chana</i> "to slit" and <i>kichane</i> "a small splinter" SSED 49] splinter; [pron. nt^hanu] rel. <i>i-tanu (mi-)</i> n. 5/4 aug. <i>sh-tanu (s-)</i> n. 7/8 dim.
<i>kh-tanula</i>	v. [cf. the Sw. verb <i>chanua</i> "(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. <i>kh-tanulaṭanula</i> v. freq. kḥtanulaṭanula kooði ‘to squeeze words and then deduce different senses’
<i>kh-taanyika</i>	v. [variant form of -tawanyika] kḥtaanyika maazi ‘to bleed’

kumtanyika maatozi/ kamaa nvula ‘for tears to pour from him like rain’
Zinamtanyika huuri/ kana muunt^hu/ naakufó. ‘He is sweating like someone dying.’

Tanzaanya

n. Tanzania

Ra’iisi/ wa Tanzaanya/ mwaalimu/ Nyereere/ 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 tawala/ uwaliko muti/ mooyi/ nt^haanzize/ schilelo ilu ya maayi.

‘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

kh^htapa/ kana mwaank^huku ‘to move like a chick’

Nakh^htapa/ kana mwaank^huku. ‘He is 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.)’

kh^htapa/ kanaa mbuzi/ tiinzi^l ‘to writhe like a goat that has been
slaughtered’

kh^htapa/ kanaa noka ‘to writhe in pain – lit. to move about like a snake’

kh^htapa/ kana ruuhu/ inamkuukó ‘to writhe like the soul is coming out of
one – i.e. like one is dying’

Nakh^htapa/ kana ruuhu/ inamkuukó. ‘He is writhing in pain like
he is dying.’

Omari/ nakhtapa/ kana bateera/ yimo mayiini. ‘Omari is moving about
like a boat in the water.’

rel.

kh-tapaatapa v. freq. (**tapiletapiile**)

kh-tapila v. appl.

kh^htapila ruuhu ‘to struggle to live, stay alive’

kh-tapisha v. caus. move (e.g. of an animal moving its tail)

kh^htapisha 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-taqabaða

v. [Sw. *takabadhi* SSED 163; Ar. *qabad?a* "to grasp, receive, collect" W 738]
(**taqabaðiile**) receive something by hand; [pron. -**taqabaða** or -**takhabaða**]

	Nt^h akhabaðilee peesá/ ka Hamadí. ‘I received the money from Hamadi (by hand).’ rel.
	<i>kh-taqabaðila</i> v. appl. receive something for someone <i>kh-taqabaðisha</i> v. caus. (taqabaðishiize) give something to someone directly by hand
	Hamadi/ nt^h aqabaðishize peesa. ‘Hamadi handed over the money to me.’ Nuuru/ taqabaðishize madrasa/ peesa. ‘Nuuru gave the school money.’ Uyu/ malizopo kumtakhabaðisha maskiini/ eeloyé... ‘When this one handed over to the poor man his gazelle...’
	<i>kh-taqabaðishan(y)a</i> v. caus. rec. give one another something Ali/ na Nuuru/ wataqabaðishenye peesa. ‘Ali and Nuuru handed over money to one another.’ (Note that this reciprocal verb does not permit what we refer to as "reciprocal shift": * Ali/ taqabaðishenye na Nuuru/ peesa.)
	<i>kh-taqabaðishika</i> v. caus. p/s. <i>kh-taqabaðishiliza</i> v. caus. appl. hand over something to someone for someone
	Nt^h aqabaðisilize mwaana/ peesa. ‘He handed money over to the child for me.’
	<i>kh-taqabaðishilizanya</i> v. caus. appl. rec. <i>kh-taqabaðishoowa</i> v. caus. pass.
	Madrasa/ itaqabaðishiza peesa/ na Nuuru. ‘The school was given money by Nuuru.’ Sarkaali/ itaqabaðishiza peesa/ na Nuuru. ‘The government was given money by Nuuru.’ (The recipient can be the subject of the passive verb, not the logical object: * Peesa/ sataqabadhishiza sarkaali/ na Nuuru. ‘Money was given to the government by Nuuru.’)
	rel. nom. <i>m-taqabadhi</i> n. 1/2 one who receives <i>m-taqabadho</i> n. 3 <i>u-taqabadhisho</i> n. 14 <i>u-taqabadho</i> n. 14
<i>kh-taqadama</i> ahead, progress	v. [Sw. <i>takadmu</i> SSED 164; Ar. <i>qadama</i> W 747] (taqadamiile) precede, be or go variant form: khataqaduma (taqadumiile) rel. <i>kh-taq(a)damishiliza</i> 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/ ntakistiro. ‘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.’ <i>kh-taqadumisha</i> v. caus. send someone ahead, in advance
<i>u-taqadamu</i>	n. 14 progress
<i>taqadumu</i>	n. development Yiko takhadumu/ niingi. ‘There is a lot of development.’
<i>taqaaliidi</i> <i>takhaaliidi</i>	n. 10 [Ar. <i>taqaalid</i> , plural of <i>taqaalid</i> W786] traditions; [pron. taqaaliidi or
<i>taqdiimu</i>	n. 9 an advance, something given in advance; [pron. taqdiimu or takhdiimu] Tomele peesa/ taqdiimu. ‘He paid the money in advance.’
<i>taqiiyi (Ø, ma-)</i>	adj. pious, devout; [pron. taqiiyi or takhiiyi] Mi/ ni takhiiyi. ‘I am a devout believer.’ Omari/ ni taqiiyi. ‘Omari is of great faith and has great fear of God and does believe and practice all that God says.’ 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. *taqsīr* “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*]

Janna/ hupatowa ka taqwa/ ya mojiitu. ‘Paradise is found by extreme fear of and obedience to God.’

khfanya taqwa ‘to devote oneself to prayers and other religious activities’

mwenye taqwa ‘someone pious, devout’

na qabri ni miinza dadalataani/ 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/ kōdele ka tarafuyé ‘the dim. child that he spoke about him’;

zijana zaa ye/ kōdele 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/ kōdele ka tarafuyé ‘the fish trap that he spoke about it’; *zilavi zaa ye/ kōdele ka tarafuyé* ‘the fish traps that he spoke about them’

Hamiisi/ hupeenda/ khsooma/ ka tarafuye/ Faatima/ hupeenda/ kaandika.

‘Hamiisi likes to read; on her part, Faatima likes to write.’

Hamiisi/ husooma/ niingi/ ka tarafu yingine/ Faatima/ hupeenda/ kaandika.

‘Hamiisi likes to read, on the other hand, Faatima likes to write.’

izuliya yaa ye/ kōdele ka tarafuyé ‘the rug that he spoke about it’; *mazuliya yaa ye/ kōdele ka tarafuyé* ‘the rugs that he spoke about them’

Ka khisani/ si/ umriwiitu/ hashkasi/ tarafu ya mataajiri/ kendra habaasa. ‘Why do we never hear about any rich people going to jail?’ **The accent needs**

looking into., note tarafu phrase outside final accent scope, but infinitive has final accent... construction yields final accent for infinitive?

khaasá/ tarafu yaa wake ‘especially concerning women’

ltaki laa ye/ kōdele ka tarafuyé ‘the bracelet that he spoke about it’; *nṭhaki zaa ye/ kōdele ka tarafuyé* ‘the bracelets that he spoke about them’

Mi/ hupeenda/ khkasa yaa we/ na’iwó/ tarafu ya jawabu izi. ‘I would like to hear what you know about these matters.’

Mi/ nḳḥasiizé/ tarafu ya Umi/ nṭḥasa yaa mi/ kudirkamana naaye/ dukaani. ‘I had heard of Umi before I met her at the shop.’

Mi/ nḳḥasiizé/ tarafu ya Umi/ nṭḥasa yaa yé/ kanza khfanya kaazi/ dukaani. ‘I had heard of Umi before she started to work at the shop.’

Mi/ nḳḥoodele tarafu ya Omari. ‘I talked about Omari.’ Or: *Omari/ ikoodele tarafuye*. ‘Omari was talked about him.’

ṃṭana waa ye/ kōdele ka tarafuyé ‘the room which he spoke about it’; *miṭana waa ye/ kōdele ka tarafuyé* ‘the rooms that he spoke about them’

ṃuṇe waa ye/ kōdele ka tarafuyé ‘the younger brother whom he spoke about him’; *ṃuṇaze waa ye/ kōdele ka tarafu yaawó* ‘the younger brothers whom he

spoke about them’
Na’iwani/ we/ hattá/ khkoða tarafu ya mwajiitu. ‘What do you know about talking concerning God?’
Nakhkoða na Nuuru/ tarafu ya kaazi. ‘I am speaking with Nuuru about work.’ Or with verb emphasis: **Nakhkoða/ 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**: **Nakhkoða na Nuuru/ tarafu ya kaazi.** (In this example, focus on **Nuuru** prevents the projection of final accent past **Nuuru**.)
Nnakhkoða tarafu ya kaazi. ‘I am speaking about work.’ Or: **Nakhkoða/ tarafu ya kaazi.** ‘I am speaking about work.’ Cf. the third person subject forms with default accent: **Nakhkoða tarafu ya kaazi.** ‘He is speaking about work.’ Or with verb emphasis: **Nakhkoða/ tarafu ya kaazi.** (The preposition **tarafu** apparently cannot be focused: ***Nnakhkoða tarafu ya kaazi.** ‘I am speaking about work.’ Phrasal separation of **tarafu** does seem possible when it is not being focused: **Nnakhkoða/ tarafu/ ya kaazi.** ‘I am speaking about work.’)
Nnakhkoða 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 Ali. ‘I came on behalf of Ali.’
numba yaa ye/ koðele ka tarafuyé ‘the house that he spoke about it’; **numba zaa ye/ koðele ka tarafuyé** ‘the houses that he spoke about them’
Omari/ chiwa/ kuwa Haliima/ koðele wanaafakhi/ tarafu ya mahala yaa ye/ waalikó. ‘Omari was aware that Haliima had lied about where she was.’
Shkoðeelé/ mi/ na Ali/ tarafu ya Safiya. ‘We spoke, me and Ali, about Safiya.’
Si/ chilaniilé/ tarafu ya peesa. ‘We quarreled about money.’ Cf. **Peesa/ tarafuye/ ilaniila.** ‘Money, about it, there was quarreling.’
Tarafu ya kaazi/ nakhkoðó. ‘About work I am speaking.’
tarafu ya peesa/ zaa mi/ khupeeló ‘about the money that I gave to you’
Yaa mi/ nakujaribo khaanya/ ni kiwisha waanthu/ zaaydi/ tarafu ya khatari. ‘What I’m trying to do is increase awareness of the danger.’
Ye/ ha’isi chiint^h/ tarafu ya numba iyi/ walá/ ya mui uyú. ‘He does not know anything about this house nor this town.’
Ye/ koðele ka tarafu za jaama’a. ‘He spoke about the university.’
Zahara/ nakhkoða/ tarafu ya mgeeni. ‘Zahara is talking about the stranger.’

i-taraja (ma-)

n. 5/6 [Sw. *daraja* SSED 70; Ar. *daraja* "step, stairs" W 277] a step of a ladder; pl. stairs
Mwaambile/ kuwaa we/ hukhaadiri/ khpandra mataraja. ‘Tell him that you cannot climb the stairs.’
Laakini/ Abunawaasi/ muliize/ chulungu cha piili/ na matarajayé/ 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
Imtihani ya Mawlaana/ tarajilo mwaaná/ khpitá/ iwalikoo dibu. ‘The examination that Mawlaana hoped for the child to pass was difficult.’
Kuwa Jaama/ takuuya/ nakhatarajá. ‘That Jaama will come I hope.’
Nakhataraja 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.)
Nakhataraja kendra ka himá. ‘I hope to go quickly.’
Nakhataraja kendra keeshó. ‘I hope to go tomorrow.’ Or: **Keesho/ nakhataraja keendrá.** ‘Tomorrow I hope to go.’
Nakhatarajá/ 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.)

Nnakhtaraja Jaamá/ kuuyá. ‘I hope Jaama comes.’

Nnakhtaraja khpola kahimá. ‘I hope to get well soon.’

Nnakhtaraja kuwa Nureeni/ tamwandikila Hasani/ khatí. ‘I hope that Nureeni will write a letter to Hasani.’ (Observe that the final accent triggered by the verb **nnakhtaraja** extends to the end of the complement clause. The verb **tamwaandikila** 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: **Nnakhtarajá/ kuwa Nureeni/ tamwandikila Hasani/ khatí.** 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/ khatí.** ‘They hoped that Nureeni will write a letter to Hasani.’ And with focus on the main verb: **Wo/ wanakhtaraja/ kuwa Nureeni/ tamwandikila Hasani/ khatí.** The only difference between the preceding two sentences is intonational; the default accent pattern in all the phrases remains the same.)

Nnakhtaraja kuwa Jaamá/ ntʰakeendrá. ‘I hope that Jaama did not go.’

Nnakhtaraja kuwa Jaamá/ oloshelé. ‘I hope that Jaama went.’

Nnakhtaraja kuwa Jaamá/ uko apá. ‘I hope that Jaama is here.’

Nnakhtaraja kuwaa ye/ hatakeendrá. ‘I hope that he will not go.’

Nnakhtaraja kuwaa ye/ takeendrá. ‘I hope that he will go.’ (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.)

Nnakhtaraja kuwaa ye/ takeendrá. ‘I hope that he will go.’ (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.)

Nnakhtaraja maaná/ khpita imtihaaní. ‘I hope that the child passes the examination.’

Nnakhtaraja napole kahimá. ‘I hope that he gets well soon.’

Nnakhtarajaa ntʰo/ kuwa Jaama/ takuuya. ‘I hope very much that Jaama will come.’

Nnakhtaraja Nuurú/ khpola kahimá. ‘I hope Nuuru gets well soon.’

Ntha’ikuwaaliko/ naami/ waaðehe/ ntʰo/ yaa ye/ tarajilo khpata. ‘It wasn’t clear to me precisely what he hoped to find.’

Si/ shtarajile kendra Mkhodiishó. ‘We hoped to go to Mogadishu.’ (Cf. **Wo/ watarajile kendra Mkhodiisho.** ‘We hoped to go to Mkhodiisho.’)

Si/ shtarajile (kuwa) Nuurú/ takendra Mkhodiishó. ‘We hoped that Nuuru would go to Mogadishu.’ (It is possible for the subject of the complement clause to precede the complementizer **kuwa**: **Shtarajile Nuurú/ kuwa takendra Mkhodiishó.** ‘We hoped that Nuuru would go to Mogadishu.’)

Si/ shtarajile Nuurú/ kendra Mkhodiishó. ‘We hoped for Nuuru to go to Mogadishu.’ (It is not possible for the complementizer **kuwa** to be used to introduce the complement: ***Shtarajile 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: ***Chimtarajile Nuurú/ kendra Mkhodiishó.**)

Si/ shtarajile Nureeni/ chiza keendrá. ‘We hoped that Nureeni would not go.’ Cf. **Wo/ watarajile Nureeni/ chiza keendra.** ‘They hoped that Nureeni would not go.’ (If the final-accent triggering main verb is focused, then final accent is not extended to the complement: **Si/ shtarajilé/ Nureeni/ chiza keendra.**)

Si/ shtarajilee nvulá/ itakunya na mapeemá. ‘We hope that the rain will fall early.’ (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/ watarajilee nvula/ itakunya na mapeema.** ‘They hope that the rain will fall early.’)

Si/ shtarajilee 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/ watarajilee nvula/ kunya na mapeema.** ‘They hope(d) for the rain to fall early.’)

uwe maambo nakhtaraja [song] ‘that you be living with hope for things to happen’
rel.

kh-tajarila v. appl.

Namtarajila Hamadi/ kunajih/ nt^{ho}. ‘I wish Hamadi great success.’

kh-tarajoowa v. pass.

Itarajilaa nvula/ kunya na mapeema. ‘It was hope for the rain to fall early.’

Nakhtarajowa 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

turaawehe 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; the last meal eaten before dawn during Ramadhan

chakuja cha turaawehe ‘food eaten before dawn during the fasting period’
Matezo/ ya karata/ ramaḏaani/ masku/ huṭezoowa/ kubashilizowa wakhti/ haṭá/ ishkoma turaawehe. ‘Cards are played at night during Ramadhan to pass the time until *turaawehe* (and the last meal before dawn) arrives.’

tarbaale n. [Som. *darbaal* “canvas”; Sw. *turubali* SSED 482] canvas, tarpaulin

Omari/ nakhfinka gaari/ tarbaale. ‘Omari covered the truck with a tarp.’ (Note that the verb *-finika* ‘cover’ permits two bare NP’s as complements. A preposition is not required to precede *tarbaale* in this sentence.)

tarbuushi (Ø, ma-) n. 9/10,6 [Som. *tarbuush* “fez”; 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:

khtila tarfaanyo ‘to trip someone’

Omari/ mtile Ali/ tarfaanyo/ mtulushiize. ‘Omari tripped Ali and made him fall down.’

targeeta (Ø, ma-) n. 9/10,6 [Ital. *traghetto*] ferry

taari n. musical instrument, similar to a tambourine, used originally as an accompaniment to recitations in the mosque

kubiga taari ‘to play the *taari*; to have sexual intercourse’

kubigowa taari ‘for *taari* to be played’

Leelo/ yiko ziyaara/ ka Dada Maasiti/ inakubigowa taari.

‘Today there is religious festivities at daada Maasita, it is being played *taari*.’

taarifa n. manifest, list, description, declaration (of contents), explanation

Zombo izi/ yikoyi/ taariifaye. ‘Where is the manifest for these goods?’ Or: **Yikoyi/ taariifaye/ zombo izi.** Or instead of *yikoyi*, it may be **yikopi**.

taariikhi n. 9/10 [Sw. *tarehe* SSED 455; Ar. *ta’rīk* 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'

Muunt^hu/ suura/ kulata tariikhi/ suura/ duniyaani. 'It is good for one to set a good record in the world (i.e. to do good things and leave behind a history of such deeds).'

kuweka taariikhi 'to make history, set a record'

Omari/ hadiile/ mi/ sharti/ kuweka taariikhi/ kumwakila Shekh Nureeni/ chisima. 'Omari said: I must make history (i.e. do something that will be remembered) by making a well for Shekh Nuureeni.' (Our consultant GM regularly elides the *w* in a sequence *mw* both when the *mw* is morpheme internal and also when in separate morphemes. It was striking that he retained the *mw* in this sequence both times that he pronounced it.)

Muuyi/ wa Miini/ unaayo/ taariikhi/ nk^hulu. 'The city of Miini has a long [lit. large, great] history.'

Omari/ tariikhi gani/ nakuuyó. 'When [lit. which date] is Omari coming?'

Taariikhi/ ha'ibahi. 'History does not get lost.' (A proverb with a number of variants: **Taariikhi/ ha'iliwaloowi.** 'History is not forgotten.'

Taariikhi/ ha'ipiindriki. 'History cannot be denied.' **Taariikhi/ hukumbukoowa.** 'History is remembered.')

tariikhi 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/ mweezi/ ishiriini. 'Omari will come on approximately the twentieth of the month.'

tariikhi yaa mbele 'earlier, earliest date'

Omari/ ile tariikhi yaa mbele. 'Omari came at an earlier date.'

taariikhi/ (ya) miisho 'the last, latest date'

taariikhi/ ya muuyi/ wa Mwiini 'the history of the city of Brava'

taariikhi/ (ya) rasmi 'official, correct date'

tariikhi yaa saha 'the exact date'

tariikhi 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 yingine. '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'

tariiqā (Ø, ma-)

n. 9/10,6 [Ar. *tariqa* "religious brotherhood" W 559] Islamic religious brotherhood [pron. **tariiqā** or **tariikha**]

muunt^hu rashiizo ka lila/ tariiqā yiitu na mila [st.] 'whoever follows with a true (heart) our brotherhood and (its) traditions'

tariiqi

n. 9/10 [Ar. *tariq* W 559] road; [pron. **tariiqi** or **tariikhi**]
variant form: **tariiqā**

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 Hamadi/ ka chingereenza. ‘I translated Hamadi’s speech into English.’ (Phon. If there is focus on **Hamadi**, then the final accent does not extend to **ka chingereenza**: **Mi/ nt^harjumile khuṭba ya Hamadi/ 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 Hamadi/ 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 Hamadi/ 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 Hamadi/ chingereenza!?**)

rel. nom.

u-tarjumo n. 14 the act of interpreting (from one language to another)

m-tarjumaani (wa-)

n. 1/2 translator

Yasili/ wele mtarjumaani. ‘Yasili had become a translator.’

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]

tarṭiibu

adj. [Sw. *taratibu* SSED 397; Ar. *tartīb* "order, arrangement, organization" W 325] quiet, slow, easygoing

Hinendro tarṭiibú/ haḷazoowi/ na miilu. ‘The one who walks slowly is not given pain by his legs.’ (A proverb.)

ka tarṭiibu [Sw. *kwa tartibu* “orderly, carefully” cited in M&N 2324] slowly, carefully; with a low voice

Fanya ka tarṭiibu. ‘Do it slowly!’

Inendra ka tarṭiibu. ‘Go slowly!’

Ja ka tarṭiibu. ‘Eat slowly!’

ka tarṭiibu/ kana igombegoombe ‘slow like a tortoise’

Ka tarṭiibu/ kilaa chiint^hu/ hupatikana. ‘Slowly everything is achievable.’

Ka tarṭiibu/ ye/ chiineendra/ chiineendra/ haṭá/ shkoma muyi wa sulṭaani. ‘Slowly he walked and walked until he reached the sultan’s town.’

kendra ka tarṭiibu ‘to go, walk slowly’

munt^hu tarṭiibu ‘a very quiet and composed person’

Mwaana/ chiwa’ambila/ waant^hu/ awo/ khṭukula sanduukhu/ ka tarṭiibu.

- ‘The boy told those people to carry the box carefully.’
Nakhsooma/ nakhsooma/ ka t̥artiibu/ basi/ basi/ ayo majini/ wachiwa kanna maashe/ nt̥awamwona/ 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 af̥ḍali/ wo/ mbele/ kutuma mooyi/ kati kaawo/ keendra/ kaṭartiibu/ 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 t̥artiibu.** ‘When they reached (the place), the minister knocked on the door slowly.’
ka t̥artiibuyo ‘at your own pace’
Jawabu iyo/ Hamadi/ faanya/ ka t̥artiibuyo/ sibigbigat̥é. ‘That matter, Hamadi, do it at your own pace, don’t rush!’
t̥artiibu/ kana igarnyuungu ‘as slow as a tortoise’
t̥artiibu/ kana ijungjuungu ‘as slow as a tortoise’
We/ laazimu/ khfahama/ kuwa waant̥u/ ba’adiye/ ni t̥artiibu/ kolko wiingine. ‘They must understand that some people are slower than others.’
- rel.
t̥artibuṭart̥iibu adv. slowly, gently
Basi/ isa/ mwaanawá/ mi/ nt̥akuuluka/ naawé/ ilu/ nt̥o/ chimaliza/ nt̥akishkila/ t̥artibuṭart̥iibu/ hat̥á/ 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 t̥artibuṭart̥iibu ‘very slowly, gently’
Chimbiga Abunawaasi/ laakini/ ka t̥artibuṭart̥iibu. ‘He beat Abunawaasi, but very gently.’
Fanya kazi iyi/ ka t̥artibuṭart̥iibu. ‘Do this work very slowly.’
u-t̥art̥iibu n. the act of doing something slowly
- i-t̥aasa (mi-)** n. 5/4 [Sw. *kitasa* SSED 209] a kind of door lock
rel.
sh-t̥aasa (s-) n. 7/8 dim.
- sh-t̥aasa (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, **ṣtaasa**, is used to refer to a large, round, copper musical instrument, somehow similar to cymbals, that is used at weddings
kubiga ṣtaasa ‘to play the **ṣtaasa**’
- kh-t̥asaahula** v. [cf. Ar. *tasāhul* "indulgence, leniency" W 437] (**tasahuliile**) be lenient
- t̥asaahuli** n. 9 [Ar. *tasāhul* "indulgence, leniency" W 437] leniency
khfanya t̥asaahuli ‘to be lenient’
- kh-t̥asarufa** v. [cf. Ar. *taṣarruf* "disposal, administration" W 513, from verb *ṣarafa* W 512] discharge duties, make decisions
Naminilaa mi/ makhazina/ zaa nt̥i/ iyi/ mi/ ni muunt̥ú/ na’iwo kudhoorá/ na na’iwo kht̥asarufá. ‘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/ nakht̥asarufó/ maali/ yaa nt̥i. ‘Joseph was made minister of finances and it became that he was the one who discharged the affairs of finance of this country.’
- kh-t̥asawara** 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/ waliko festaani. ‘It is possible that Hamadi has been at the party.’

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/ kuwa Hamiisi/ takuḷaṭa/ khsooma. ‘It is probable that Hamiisi will drop out (lit. quit studying).’

Huṭasawara/ kuwa Hamiisi/ tinzile go’aani/ kuḷaṭa masoomo. ‘It is possible that Hamiisi has decided to drop out from school (lit. studies).’

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’

Khpikiḷowa Hamadi/ ha’iṭasawari. ‘Hamadi to be cooked for is not possible.’
kuja haraamu ṭaa’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.**

Mi/ ska’amine/ kuwaa yo/ huṭasawara. ‘I wouldn’t have believed it possible.’

Nusu/ sa'a/ ba'adiye/ iwele waaðehe/ ka kuwa ðambi/ huṭasawara/ kuwa yiingila.
 'Half an hour later it was clear that a crime had probably been committed.'
 Si/ khshiindra/ maṭezo/ ni kana/ ha'iṭasawari. 'Our winning the match seems
 unlikely.'
 Ye/ ṭasawarile kuwa kaazi/ ni sahali. 'He assumed that the work was easy.'

- ṭasbihi** n. 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-ṭoṣha, 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 *ṭasḥīl* "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.'
- ṭashbihi** n. [Sw. *ṭashbiha*, *ṭashbihi* M&N 2326; Ar. *ṭasbīh* W 454] comparison
- n-ṭasi** n. 9/10 [Sw. *ṭasi* SSED 456] a kind of fish; [pron. nṭ^hasi]
- ṭashwiishi** n. 9/10 [Sw. *ṭashwishi* SSED 418; Ar. *ṭaswīs* "confusion, disturbance" W 493] worries; radio interference
- ṭasliimu** n. [Sw. *ṭaslimu* SSED409; Ar. *ṭaslīm* "handing over, delivery" W 426] payment
khṭomola ṭasliimu 'to pay in cash'
Hamadi/ uzilee nguwo/ ka Sheekhi/ dukaani/ tomele peesa/ ṭasliimu. 'Hamadi bought cloth from Sheekhi's shop and paid the money in cash.'
- ṭaswiiri** n. [Sw. *ṭaswira* "a picture, likeness, painting, portrait" SSED 412] painting
ṭaswiiri ya chiunt^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 muḷo 'a blister caused by fire'
na maṭata na fimbalbari khsalila [st.] 'and blisters and boils/ pimples, to pray with these (on your body is forbidden)'
- l-ṭata (n-)** n. 11/10 (cf. **ltaant^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 peesa/ ṭaw/ iyi. 'Now I want you to give me money right now.'
- sh-ṭawa (s-)** n. 7/8 a clay frying pan
 rel.
i-ṭawa (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-tawaada** v. [Sw. *tawada* SSED 457; Ar.] take ritual ablutions before praying
Ali/ shtalaa khati/ ka waziiri/ chimaliza cheendra/ shtawaada/ 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/ khtawaada. ‘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.)
Mkatulo/ wa Aamina/ hukatulo tawaafa/ ni kana/ tala. ‘The polishing of Aamina that she polishes the lantern makes it bright, like a light.’
Sheekhi mwambile Ali/ habamooyi/ tawaafa/ ruuda/ fanya miinza/ maato/ yanakundraaza/ ka weelo. ‘Sheekhi told Ali lower the lantern little, I cannot see (lit. eyes are lacking me) because of (lack of) light.’
- kh-tawafa** v. go around the *ka’aba*
Hamadi/ hadiile/ mojiitu/ hanubli/ bilaa khtawafa ka’aba. ‘Hamadi said: God will not kill me (i.e. let me die) without having gone around the *ka’aba*.’
rel.
kh-tawafuwa v. pass.
Ka’aba/ ishtawafuwa/ hutawafuwa/ maraa saba. ‘When the *ka’aba* is gone around, it is gone around seven times.’
Ka’aba/ khtawafuwa/ ni waajibu/ wakhti waa hija/ na umra. ‘For the *ka’aba* to be gone around is a must during *haj* and *umra*.’
- 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 (Note that this noun is never used in the locative form **tawalaani*.)
Ifuungu/ imooyi/ mi/ ni’ila tile 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 tawala ‘shore of the sea’
Wiiko/ ilu ya Ifuwo la tawala ya Hiindri. ‘It is located on the shore of the Indian Ocean.’
Mafta/ yachila tile tawala. ‘The oil was thrown into the sea.’
mtanga wa tawala ‘sand along the shore of the sea’
nsi za tawala ‘sea fish (as opposed to river fish)’
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 nkʰulu ‘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 sultanship, 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.’

khawala amri ‘to be the giver of orders’

Waawe/ fiilopó/ mi/ ntʰawalile amri. ‘When father died, I became the ruler.’

Liini/ shkhadiro khawala ruuhuyé. ‘He was not able to control himself’

Mgarwa/ shawala/ chiti/ cha sultaani. ‘The fisherman took over the throne of the sultan.’

Mpʰaka/ choondroka/ mpʰana/ 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/ ntʰo/ mwaana/ uyu/ tawalilo usultaani. ‘The two children of the late sultan loved very much this child who had taken over the sultanship.’

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/ shawala 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/ hattaa ye/ chiruda ka safariini. ‘He told them that the sultanship, 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/ khutawalishiize/ 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 sultanship.’

Waawe/ fiile/ na wantʰu awá/ wanakhsula kuntʰawalisha/ 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/ mpʰindri yaa mi/ nchʰifa/ usultaani/ natawalishoowa/ mwaana/ uyu. ‘At the time when I die, as for the sultanship, 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 (This verb stem, in our data, often contracts the first two syllables to **taa** in extended forms of the stem.)

Gele/ staawanyé/ mahala zikoo n-k^hukú. ‘Don’t spill grain where there are chickens.’ (A proverb.)

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/ chistaawanya/ 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/ shtawanyishile mtuzi. ‘From the bowl, soup spilled out.’ (Syn. Note that one cannot say: ***Mtuzi/ utawanyishile chisiinga.** ‘Soup spilled out from the bowl.’)

Ma’anaye/ maayi/ hutanyika/ yashtanyika/ siwo/ jawabuu nk^hulu/ laakini/ maazi/ yashtanyika/ ni jawabuu nk^hulu. ‘Its meaning (referring to the proverb **maazi/ ni mazito/ kolko maayi** ‘blood is heavier than water’), water does spill, if it spills, it is not a big deal, but if blood spills, it is a big deal.’

Maayi/ yashtanyika/ hayazooleki. ‘If water is spilled, it cannot be gathered up.’ (A proverb.)

Mayi yatawanyishiló/ hayazooleki. ‘Water that has been spilt cannot be gathered up.’ (A proverb.)

Maayi/ yanakhtawanyika ka lufaan/ 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/ ‘miingi/ yamta(w)anyishiló. ‘Hamadi struck Omari a blow on the head and a lot of blood came out.’

Maazi/ yanamṭawanyikó. ‘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/ yanaṭawannyike 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. (**ṭawanyikiliile**)

Maayi/ yamṭawanyikiliile. ‘Water spilled on him.’

uki/ unawaṭawanyikile ‘...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/ ṭawanyiliza.** Or: **Maayi/ Suufi/ ṭawanyiliza.**)

kh-tawanyisha v. caus. [Sw. *tawanyisha*]

kh-tawanyoowa v. pass. [Sw. *tawanyywa*] be scattered

Gele/ ha’itawanyoowi/ mahala 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 züingine/ 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] energy, 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 (**ṭawasuliile**) ask/seek/implore the intercession of a saint or a prophet; do someone’s bidding in order to get help from him; resort to someone for help

Chimwamura maraa piili/ khtomola chiṭaache/ laakini/ mnaadisha/ chizidaa kuḷa/ na kumṭawasula sultaani. ‘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’

mṭawasuleeni 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* SSED 457] branch; [pron. **nt^hawi** ‘branches’]
ltawi laa muti ‘the branch of a tree’

tawiili

adj. [Sw. *tawiili* “long, tall” SSED 457; Ar. *tawīl* W 576] in the expression:
Mooja/ nampa umri tawiili. ‘May God give him a long life.’

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**.)

Chitaawo/ cha Mwenye Abuuyi/ huya ka wakhti. ‘The bus of Menye Abuuyi comes on time.’

Chitaawo/ cha Saydi Aamaro/ 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.)

Chitaawo/ isa/ ni sa’aze/ za kuwasila. ‘The bus, now is its time of arrival.’

Duka/ mahaḷaa wé/ takhadiro kula zibuukú/ yiiko/ ba’adi/ ya mahaḷa/ husimamo zitaawó. ‘The shop where you can buy books is next to the bus stop.’

Mwana panzilo chitaawó/ kendra Mkhodiishó/ rudiile. ‘The child who boarded the bus to go to Mogadishu came back.’ (cf. **Mwaana/ panzile chitaawo/ kendra Mkhodiisho**. ‘The child boarded the bus to go to Mogadisho.’)

Naani/ hendro skolaani/ ka chitaawó. [H!H!H] ‘Who goes to school by bus?’

Naani/ rashizo shitaawó/ Mkhodiishó. ‘Who took the bus to Mogadishu?’ (With verb emphasis, the usual pronunciation is: **Naani/ rashiizó/ shitaawo/ 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/ shitaawó/ 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/ shitaawo/ 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 chitaawo ‘a bus stop’

Takhulindra shitaawooni. ‘I will wait for you at the bus (i.e. bus stop).’ Cf.

Takhulindra mahaḷa ya shitaawo/ hudegó. ‘I will wait for you at the place where the bus stops.’

Ye/ kasafira ka chitaawó/ suḷa kumbona ndilaani. ‘If he had traveled by bus, he would have seen me on the road.’

Ye/ kasafira Mkhodiishó/ ka chitaawó/ suḷa kumbona ndilaani. ‘If he had traveled to Mogadishu by bus he would have seen me on the road.’

Ye/ waliko chilindra chitaawo/ kuḷawa. ‘He was waiting for the bus to leave.’

m-taawo (mi-)

n. 3/4 [cf. Sw. *mta* SSED 309] pillow

Makhaadimu/ awo/ wa’ishkiziize/ chita/ icho/ ka heshma/ nk^hulu/ wachiweshela ilu/ ya mtaawo/ na mtaawo/ 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^hini ya mtaawo. ‘The man remembered that he had put tobacco under the pillow.’

Sku ya taano/ shtalaa chita/ chaa mbuzi/ chichiweeka/ nt^hiini/ ya mtaawowe. ‘On the fifth day, she took the head of the goat and put it under her pillow.’

<i>taawuusi</i>	n. [Sw. <i>tausi</i> SSED 457; Ar. <i>ṭā'ūs</i> W 550] peacock (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>i-taaya (ma-)</i>	n. 5/6 [Sw. <i>taya (ma-)</i> "jaw, jaw-bone" SSED 458] cheek itayaani 'on the cheek' <i>raaha nt^hinikiiza mkono itayaani</i> [song] 'I was deprived of comfort, [and I have my] hand on [my] cheek'
<i>kh-tayamama</i>	v. [etymology unknown] (tayamamiile) take ablutions using sand; variant form: khtayamuma <i>khtayamuma husiha waqti chiingila</i> [st.] 'it is permitted to take ablutions using sand when the time [for prayers] approaches'
<i>tayaari</i>	inv. adj. [Sw. <i>tayari</i> SSED 458; Pers. and Hind.] ready Bataata/ 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.' (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 sh^ttayaari . However, invariant adjectives do show agreement with derived diminutive and augmentative nouns: chijana sh^ttayaari , zijana st^ttayaari , 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. <i>fanya tayari</i> 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 numba/ 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/ kula 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.' Mi/ nkhashifiilé/ jisa hukhadirowa Baazi/ kuwa tayaari/ ka wakhtí. 'I discovered how to get Baazi to be ready on time.' Mukhta majuniya/ yawelo tayaari/ sul^ttaani/ 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/ oloshole/ kumera mush^ttari/ 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.'

Sultaani/ malizopo khsomaa khaṭi/ 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

Nṭ^hayarishilize nuumba. 'He made the house ready for me.'

kh-tayarishilizoowa v. appl. pass.

Mi/ nṭ^hayarishiliza nuumbá. 'I was prepared for the house -- i.e. the house was made ready for me.'

kh-tayarishoowa v. be prepared, made ready

Kalaasi/ itayarishiiza/ na wana wa skoola. 'The classroom has been prepared by the students.'

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 maṭaza yaa nganu. 'He drank the wheat porridge.' Cf. with focus on **Hasani: (Ni) Hasani/ nele maṭaza yaa nganú.** 'It is Hasani who drank the wheat porridge.'

Maṭaaza/ nele Omari/ masuura. 'The porridge that Omari drank is good.'

Or: **Maṭaza nele 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.)

maṭaza yaa geḷe '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**.)

maṭaza ya khamadi 'wheat porridge'

maṭaza ya mhuundru 'gruel made out of **mhuundru** (red sorghum)'

maṭaza ya moordi 'porridge made from sorghum'

maṭaza ya mpuunga 'rice porridge'

maṭaza 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.**

maṭaza ya unga 'flour porridge'

Nakhpika maṭaaza/ Haliima/ nakhpikó. 'She is cooking porridge, Haliima, that's what she is doing.'

Omari/ nele maṭaaza. 'Omari drank porridge.' (It is possible to focus on the subject: **Omari/ nele maṭaazá.** Or: **Omari/ neeló/ maṭaaza.** Or: **Mataaza/ 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. **nṭ^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/ nt^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.)
Mi/ ndrazile mtanaani/ mi/ nakhtekó. 'I left the room smiling.'
Mwaalimuwa/ poteele/ chitiini/ kaake/ mi/ sula kuwa nimsaydiile/ laakini/ nimplangaliile/ tu/ nakhtekó. 'My teacher fell off his chair. I should have helped him, but I just stared at him, laughing.'
Na mwaaná/ uko nakhteka. 'And the child is there and is laughing.'
Shteka/ chiwa'ambila awaje waant^hu... 'He laughed and said to those people...'
Steké. 'Don't laugh!' (cf. **Stekeení.** '(Pl.) don't laugh!')
Teka. 'Laugh!' (cf. **Tekaani.** '(Pl.) laugh!')
Wamteshele mzeele/ koodize. [H!H] 'They laughed at the words of the elder.'
Weenziwe/ warudilopo ka miyundraani/ wachimwona ngombe 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'ingile/ kumteka. 'All began to laugh at him [lit. entered to laugh at him].'

subject and object marking illustrated with the past tense verb **-teshele**:
nikhuteshelé 'I laughed at you'; **nimteshelé** 'I laughed at [cl.1]'; **ninteshelé** 'I laughed at you (pl.)'; **niwateshelé** 'I laughed at [cl.2]' (Note that a subject prefix like **ni-** 'I' does not elide its vowel in front of an object marker. Note furthermore that it triggers final accent.)
nt^heshelé 'you laughed at me'; **mteshelé** 'you laughed at [cl.1]'; **shteshelé** 'you laughed at us'; **wateshelé** 'you laughed at [cl.2]' (Note that the second person singular subject prefix is null in the affirmative past tense. Note also that it triggers final accent.)
nt^heshele '[cl.1] laughed at me'; **khuteshele** '[cl.1] laughed at you'; **mteshele** '[cl.1] laughed at [cl.1]'; **shteshele** '[cl.1] laughed at us'; **nateshele** '[cl.1] laughed at you (pl.)'; **wateshele** '[cl.1] laughed at [cl.2]' (Note that the third person subject marker is null in the affirmative past, just like the second person singular subject marker. The difference is that the second person subject marker triggers final accent, while the [cl.1] subject marker has default penult accent.)
chikhuteshelé 'we laughed at you'; **chimteshelé** 'we laughed at [cl.1]'; **chinteshelé** 'we laughed at you (pl.)'; **chiwateshelé** 'we laughed at [cl.2]' (Note that the first person plural subject marker **chi** does not elide its vowel in front of an object marker. Note also that it triggers final accent.)
nint^heshelé 'you (pl.) laughed at me'; **nimteshelé** 'you (pl.) laughed at [cl.1]'; **nishteshelé** 'you (pl.) laughed at us'; **niwateshelé** 'you (pl.) laughed at [cl.2]' (Note that the second person plural subject marker **ni** does not elide its vowel in front of an object marker. Note also that it triggers final accent.)
want^heshele '[cl.2] laughed at me'; **wakhuteshele** '[cl.2] laughed at you'; **wamteshele** '[cl.2] laughed at [cl.1]'; **washteshele** '[cl.2] laughed at us'; **wanteshele** '[cl.2] laughed at you (pl.)'; **wawateshele** '[cl.2] laughed at [cl.2]' (Note that the [cl.2] subject marker does not trigger final accent, rather default penult accent is used.)

rel.

kh-tekaateka v. freq. laugh and laugh

Basi/ waant^hu/ awo/ watesheleteshel/ kuwona mi'ujiza/ ayo/ hattá/

sultaani/ naayé/ walimo karka haali/ yiyo/ 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. (**tekeshzee**) 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: ***Mtekesheze Sa'iidi/ Hamadi.**)

Mtekesheze mwaana/ ka matezoye. ‘He made the child laugh with his jokes.’

Sa'iidi/ nt^hekeshzee. ‘Saiidi 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-tekeshleza v. caus. appl. (**tekeshleeze**)

Matezoye/ mtekesheleze naani. ‘With his jokes, whom did he cause to laugh?’ (A possible answer: **Matezoye/ mtekesheleze mwaana.** ‘With his jokes, he made the child laugh.’

Tekeshleze naani/ matezoye. ‘Who did he make laugh with his jokes?’ (A possible answer would be: **Tekeshleze mwaana/ matezoye.** ‘He made the child laugh with his jokes.’

kh-tekeshlezoowa v. caus. appl. pass. (**tekeshleeza**)

Muunt^hu/ tekeshleza mwaana. ‘To the man's benefit/detriment the child was made to laugh.’

kh-tekeshoowa v. caus. pass.

Mwaana/ tekeshza ka matezo. ‘The child was made to laugh with jokes.’

kh-tekoowa v. pass. (**teshela**)

Kooði/ za mzeele/ steshela (naawo). [H!H] ‘The words of the elder were laughed at (by them).’ Cf. **Kooði/ za mzeele/ steshela.** [HH!H] ‘Words of the elder were laughed at.’

Mzeele/ teshela/ ka khisa kooðize. [HH!H] ‘The elder was laughed at because of his words.’

Mzeele/ teshela ka kooðize. ‘The elder was laughed at (from) his words.’

Mzeele/ teshela kooðize. [H!H] ‘The elder was laughed at [with respect to] his words.’

Mzeele/ teshela/ naawo/ ka khisa kooðize. [H'H'H!H] ‘The elder was laughed at by them because of his words.’ Or: **Mzeele/ teshela naawo/ ka khisa kooðize.** [H!H!H] ‘The old man was laughed at by them because of his words.’ (The intonational pattern of the first example was uncertain. We generally take the position that when a verb is separated phrasally from its complement, it may be clearly declined as here but not downstepped. The remainder of the example is clear: the agent phrase *na wo* is declined, while the next phrase *ka kooðize* is unambiguously downstepped. The intonation of the second example is unambiguously one of successive downsteps.)

Shteka/ itakhtekowa naawe/ chila/ takula wee/ peeke. ‘If you laugh, there will be laughing with you, if you cry, you will cry alone.’ (A proverb.)

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).’ (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).’ (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] (**tekeze**) 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.

Lkuta ili/ haltekezeki/ ngazi. ‘This wall cannot have a ladder leaned against 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. (**tekeza**)

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

khshika shteko ‘to keep on laughing (lit. to hold laughter)’

Aamina/ nakiimba/ kana/ ijiniile/ Haliima/ shishile shteko/ ki ki ki ki!
‘Aamina is singing like a crazy person, Haliima is bursting with laughter *ki ki ki ki!*’

Haliima/ harusiini/ ka Omari/ mwaanawe/ shishile shteko/ hatá/ nalile ruuhuye. ‘Haliima, at the wedding of Omari’s son, kept laughing until she pissed on herself.’

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.)

tekoole

adj. someone who laughs a lot

Zahara/ ni tekoole/ hatá/ chint^hu chihaba/ hushika shteko. 'Zahara is a great laugher, even something small, she keeps on laughing.'

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/ t_{le}/ 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/ chihuðurishoowa/ mbele za sul^htaani/ na waant^hú/ t_{le}/ apo. 'Hasani was made to be present in front of the sultan and the numerous people there.'

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); proposal

Abú/ iize tele iyo. 'Abu objected to the proposal.'

Ishpatowa khabari/ hupatawaa t_{le}. 'If information is gotten, advice is gotten.' (A proverb.)

khpaa 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 t_{le}/ Haliimá/ mwaanawe/ khtinoowa. 'I gave advice to Haliima for her child to be circumcised.'

khtomolaa tele 'to advise'

Mi/ nt^homelee t_{le}/ mwáana/ khtinoowa. 'I advised that the child be circumcised.'

Kiila/ mo/ chimera khtersha/ tele/ hulawa mkonooni. 'If every one wants to rule, advice/suggestion gets out of the hands (i.e. there is no command structure, there is no hierarchy of a ruler and subordinates giving advice).' (A saying.)

kuletaa tele 'to advise (lit. bring advice)'

Huseeni/ mwambile Abú/ Omari/ bashize nfuungulo/ za nuumba/ jisa kingiloowa/ nt^haku/ isa/ letee tele. 'Huseeni told Abu that Omari lost the keys of the house, now there is no way to get inside, give advice now.'

Mi/ ndreselee t_{le}/ mwáana/ khtinoowa. 'I advised that the child be circumcised.'

Omari/ muzize mukeewe/ Haliima/ kuletaa tele/ mwáana/ khfanyowaayi. 'Omari asked his wife Haliima to bring a suggestion what (lit. how) to do regarding the child.'

Mi/ teleya/ ni mwáana/ khtinoowa. 'Me, my suggestion is that the child be circumcised.'

Miizi/ chishikoowa/ nt^haná/ tele. 'If a thief is caught, he has no way out.' (A proverb.)

sabri nk^hoseeze na teleya ikomeele [song] 'I lacked patience and my means (of solving the problem) reached a deadend'

Sho khkasa ya mzeele/ tele/ impoteele. 'The one who does not listen to an elder, advice is lost to him.' (A proverb.)

Sho mzeele/ 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/ humerowa ka wenye hikma. ‘Advice is sought from wise men.’ (A proverb.)
tele mi sinaayo 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 hii’i 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’

Ye/ uzizee tele/ tarafu ya kumera kaazi. ‘She asked for advice about looking for a job.’

m-tele

n. [Sw. *mchele* SSED 271] uncooked cereal grains or flour

Cha unga/ nch’ha mtele/ cha mwaana/ 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’

mtele wa mpuunga ‘uncooked rice’

mtele waa zijo ‘uncooked maize flour’

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; telephone call

Chiza kujiibako/ telefonoya/ infanyize sh’ana. ‘Your not answering my telephone call made me angry.’

Chiza kujiibako/ telefonoya/ int’ile sh’ana. ‘Your not answering my telephone call made me angry.’

khshika telepono ‘to pick up the telephone (to use it)’

Haliima/ chibigila telepono/ 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 telepono ‘to make a telephone call’

kuweka telepono ‘to hang up the telephone’

Omari/ weeshele/ telepono. ‘Omari hung up the telephone.’ Or: **Omari/ telepono/ weeshele.**

kuwekela telepono ‘to hang up the telephone on’

Omari/ huwekela want’u/ telepono. ‘Omari hangs the telephone up on people (whenever they call, he just answers and hangs up).’

Omari/ chiza kujiba telepono/ inamwelwelisha Haliima. ‘Omari’s not answering the telephone worries Haliima.’

n-teleewa

n. 9/10 a kind of fish that is very large and lives under the rocks in the sea; [pron. nt’eleewa]

ikana/ kana nt’eleewa ‘a mouth like a sp. fish – i.e. a big mouth, of talking too much’

Kanaye/ kana nt’eleewa. ‘His mouth is as as large as that of the nt’eleewa.’

shiimo/ ya nt’eleewa ‘a kind of fish that lives in the hole (**shiimo**) of holes in the rocks in the depth of the sea’

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’
Nakhpepent^haa gele/ ka ltelo. ‘She is cleaning the maize with a sifting tray.’
Nakhpepent^ha mash^htaata/ ka ltelo. ‘She is cleaning th sesame with a sifting tray.’
- 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
Nimt^helushize mwaana. ‘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 eelo/ uyu/ we/ hukiriha. ‘Whenever I speak well of this gazelle, you are disgusted.’
Ni ajabu gani/ nk^hulu/ hushindro iyí/ we/ khtemuka. ‘What great wonder surpasses this one -- for you [a gazelle] to speak?’
Stemuké/ kooði/ lamna izi. ‘Don’t utter words like these!’
Ye/ temushile inaye/ mara niingi. ‘She uttered his name several times.’
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), therefore, so
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/ hupeenda/khsooma/ teena/ takhpita imtihaani. ‘Haliima likes to study, therefore she will pass the examination.’
Haliima/ shpiká/ teená. ‘If Haliima cooks, what then?’ Or: **Haliima/ teená/ shpiká.**

Or: **Teená/ Haliimá/ shpiká.**
Haliima/ shpikaa zijó/ teená. ‘If Haliima cooks **zijo**, what then?’ Or: **Teená/ Haliimá/ shpikaa zijó.**
Haliima/ zijo/ nt^hakhpika teená. ‘Haliima never cooked **zijo** again after that.’
Hatá/ 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/ hatá/ ichiwa teena/ mwanaamke/ m’ashiqile muḷjaana/ na nampeenda/ nakhsuḷa kulolowa 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 mubli/ 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 mwii(n)sho/ 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/ hattá/ peesa/ yaa si/ kuja/ nt^hachiná/ na waant^hú/ muiyiini/ 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 gaari/ teena. ‘I loaded the truck then.’ Variant sentences: **Mi/ teena/ mp^hakile gaari.** Or: **Mi/ teena/ mp^hakiilé/ gaari.** Or: **Mi/ mp^hakiilé/ teena/ gaari.** Or: **Mi/ mp^hakile teená/ gaari.** (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.)
Mubli/ 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 teená. ‘Omari new played a game again after that.’
Omari/ nt^hakuja teená. ‘Omari has never eaten again (after something bad happened).’
Omari/ nt^hakuya teená. ‘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 teená. ‘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,

accent in

the phrase containing the verb also undergoes accent shift: **Omari/ pakile gaari/ teená!?**)

Omari/ pakile teená/ gaari. ‘Omari loaded *then* the truck.’ (The simple yes-no question establishes the out-of-focus nature of **gaari** in this sentence:

Omari/ pakile teená/ gaari? The preceding phrase also shifts its the emphatic yes-no question: **Omari/ pakile teená/ gaari!?**)

Omari/ shpakiza gaari/ teená. ‘If Omari loads the truck, what then?’ Or: **Omari/ teená/ shpakiza gaari.** Or: **Teená/ 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/ skolaani/ nt^hakendra teená. ‘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/ ku^la 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: **Washkhira/ 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/ ichiðihira/ wanaafakhi/ huteenga. ‘If truth appears, a lie stays away.’ (A proverb.)

Mfanye mweenza/ munt^hu msuura/ mwovu/ mteenge. ‘Make a friend of a good person, a bad one, just stay away from him.’ (A proverbial saying.)

Mtenge Hamza/ mteengé. ‘Stay away from Hamza, that’s what you should do.’

Mtenge Hamza/ ni mwovu. ‘Stay away from Hamza, he is evil.’

We/ ni sahá/ kumtenga Huseeni. ‘You are right to avoid Huseeni.’

rel.

kh-teengana v. rec. [Sw. *tengana* SSED 462] (**tengeene**) avoid one another, stay away from one another, move away from one another, be far from one another

kh-teengeka v. p/s. [Sw. *tengeka* SSED 462]

Khaasimu / hateengeki. ‘Khaasimu cannot be avoided.’

kh-teengela v. appl. [Sw. *tengea* SSED 462]

Nt^hengela mwaanawa. ‘Leave my child alone (stay away from my child for me)!’

- kh-tengeleka* v. appl. p/s.
kh-teengsha v. caus. [Sw. *tengsha* SSED 462] (tengesheeze) cause someone to move away
Ibraahiimu/ tengesheze chiti/ naa mulo. ‘Ibraahiimu moved the chair away from the fire.’
Mwaalimu/ mtengesheze mwaana/ na mweenzawe. ‘The teacher had the child move away from his friend.’
- kh-tengeshana* v. caus. rec.
kh-tengesheka v. caus. p/s.
kh-tengesheleza v. caus. appl.
kh-tengeshelezanya v. caus. appl. rec.
kh-teengeza v. tr. (teengeze) move something away from something
kh-tengoowa v. pass.
Mwovu/ hutengoowa. ‘A bad person is avoided.’
- rel. nom.
m-teenga (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who avoids
mtenga waant^hu ‘one who avoids people’
ma-teengano n. 6
ma-teengo n. 6
m-tengoowa (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who is avoided
- n-teenga* n. [Sw. *chenga* "a kind of fish" SSED 54; *t^henga* "cephaloptere" [=manta ray] Sac. 883] manta ray; [pron. **nt^heenga**]
- ma-teenge* n. 6 large, bow-shaped golden ear-rings, usually worn together with the smaller *ambali* ear-rings (in the past)
- teenka* 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 **Tunni** to work for them); [pron. **teenk^ha**]
khpeleka teenk^ha ‘to send forced laborers’
- sh-teenzi* (*s-*) n. 7/8 [Sw. *utenzi* (*tenzi*) SSED 509] poem composed in Chimiini with religious didactic theme (The Chijini form [**nzish^t**] establishes that *nzi* has a prenasalized consonant as onset)
kuleta sh^teenzi ‘to recite a poem’
Mi/ hukuumbuka/ kubarata sh^teenzi/ icho/ ka kaamu. ‘I remember learning that poem by heart.’
na sh^teenzi cha hija teena khit^aamu/ somaani kulla kheeri ni timaamu [st.] ‘now the poem of the pilgrimage is at an end/ recite it: its blessing is all-encompassing’
na sh^teenzi cha sabri tala timaamu [st.] ‘and the poem of patience, take it, it is completed’
sh^teenzi chimooyi ‘one poem’
st^teenzi za deeni ‘religious poems’
st^teenzi statu ‘three poems’
st^teenzi ziwili ‘two poems’
- l-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. **nt^hepe**]
Ltepe ili/ nlaako. ‘This bandage is yours.’ (Cf. **Nt^hepe izi/ nzaako**. ‘These bandages are yours.’)
ltepe lmooyi ‘one stripe (as of a military officer)’
Ma’iisha/ mzubile maana/ ltepe/ chittaani. ‘Ma’iisha wrapped a strip of

cloth around the child's head.'

nt^hepee mbili 'two stripes'

rel.

sh-tepe (s-) n. 7/8 piece of cloth

Chiza khuraasha/ m̄inde 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/ yandishila 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.

Sheekhi/ nakht̄erega kilaa muunt̄hi/ khpita mahala/ zinakinendroo zitá. 'Omari is taking a risk every day passing a place where fighting is going on.'

rel.

kh-teregeka v. p/s.

Sheekhi/ mwaanawe/ nakht̄eregeka/ kurashmanyā na wiizi./ 'Sheekhi is taking a risk by accompanying thieves.'

kh-teregeka v. appl.

Mwaana/ nakhut̄eregeka. 'The child is taking a risk on you.'

nom. rel.

m-tereega (wa-) n. 1/2 one who is foolhardy

ma-tereego n. 6

Mat̄erego miingi/ nt^hamu/ shaka/ kuwa akhiriye/ nii mbovu. 'Too much risk-taking, there is no doubt that in the end it will be bad.'

kh-teremeka

v. (**teremeshele**) leave, go away in a rush

Hamadi/ mwabile Hasani/ kahima/ teremeka/ kaaka/ numbaani/ na kapiili/ siye. 'Hamadi told Hasani: get away from my house quickly and don't come again.'

rel. Nom.

ma-teremeko n. way of leaving in a rush

u-teremeko n. way of leaving in a rush

Omari/ ut̄eremeko/ waa ye/ teremeshelo numbaani/ ka Hasani/ nt^hakuruuda/ kapiili. 'Hasani, the way that he ran away from Hasani's house, he never went back again.'

m-teremko (mi-)

n. [Sw. **mtelemko** SSED 460] slope

variant form: **m̄teremuko**

rel.

ma-teremko n. **check**

tereena

n. train

Ali/ leelo/ masku/ nakhsaafira/ ka t̄ereena/ nakendra Mambasa. 'Tonight Ali is traveling by train going to Mombasa.'

Hachisaafiri/ ka t̄ereena. 'We will not travel by train.'

Somaaliya/ nt^haziiko/ t̄ereena/ laakini/ Keenya/ ziiko. 'There are no trains in Somalia, but in Kenya there are.'

teersa

Gaari/ ichineendra/ hubadīlowa maarsha/ kaandra/ hut̄īlowa biriima/ chimaliza sekondo/ chimaliza t̄eersa/ chimaliza kuwaarta/ chimaliza kuwinta.

'When a car runs, you change the gears, first gear one, then gear two, then

gear three, then gear four, and then gear five.’

kh-tersata

v. [unknown etymology] take care of oneself; go away, find another place to be

Muunt^hu/ mahala/ shkaha^htoowa/ hutersata. ‘If a person is in a place where he hated/not wanted, he must find a solution/ another option.’

rel.
kh-tersatela v. appl.

Ali/ hadiile/ mi/ nt^hersateleni/ chiint^hu/ ba/ siná/ walá/ mahala ya keendra/ sinaayo. Ali said: me, with what can I find a solution, I have nothing and I have no where to go.’

kh-tersatoowa v. pass.

Muunt^hu/ mahala/ shkaha^htoowa/ hutersatoowa. ‘If a person is in a place where he hated/not wanted, he must find a solution/ another option.’

kh-tersatila

v. [unknown etymology] conspire, plot against

kh-tersha

v. [unknown etymology] (**tersheeze**) rule, govern

Muunt^hu/ chiwanazoo nguvu/ hutersha. ‘When one is strong, possesses force, he rules.’ (A proverbial saying.)

Waant^hu/ awa/ mahala yaa wo/ wachi^hiinshó/ waliko sh^htershó/ sul^htaani/ nt^hana diini) ambó) kaafiri. ‘Those people, the place where they lived (which) a sultan ruled who did not have a religion, or (he was) an infidel.’ (The syntax of this example is unclear. The initial NP **waant^hu/ awa** ‘people these’ is followed by a non-restrictive relative clause, **mahala yaa wo wachi^hiinshó** ‘the place where they lived’. The next phonological phrase, **waliko sh^htershó** is obviously a relative clause, and **sul^htaani** is the postposed subject of the relative verb. What is not very clear is the syntactic link between this structure and the preceding part of the sentence. Our consultant glossed the sentence as “those people, the place where they lived was ruled by a king who had no religion or was an infidel.’ In that translation, **mahala** would be the subject of the passive verb **-tershoowa**. But **waliko sh^htershó** is clearly not passive and has a [cl.1] subject which requires a null subject prefix. Thus we must translate this segment as ‘which he ruled, a sultan’ but the syntactic linkage to what precedes is not transparent, however. Given that **waliko sh^htershó** is a relative compound verb, **waaliko** being a past tense copular verb and **sh^htershó** a past tense verb in the **chi** tense, where **chi** is here reduced to **sh** by virtue of phonological rules, then we have an instance of a case where the postposed subject of a relative clause is (a) prosodically separated from the verb and (b) falls outside the scope of the final accent triggered by the relative verb. Now notice that **sul^htaani** is itself modified by a relative clause **nt^hana diini** ‘who did not have religion’. The final accent shows that this is a relative verb, as does the fact that **diini** ‘religion’ phrases with the negative verb. In a non-relative clause structure we would expect **nt^haná/ diini** ‘he does not have religion’. The absence of a final accent in **kaafiri** ‘infidel’ demonstrates that **ambó/ kaafiri** is not part of the relative clause modifying **sul^htaani**, hence we translate as “or (in other words, he was) an infidel’ and take this to be an aside, not part of the relative modifier of **sul^htaani**. The syntactic issue that remains is that **waant^hu/ awa** does not have a predicate to which it is tied, while the rest of the sentence is a comment about where these people lived.)

Sarkaali/ hutersho bilaa u’adaalá/ hayduumi. ‘The government that rules without justice does not last long.’

rel.

kh-tershanya v. rec.

Waant^hu/ wattershenye ka mahabba. ‘People governed themselves [lit. one another] with love.’

kh-tersheka v. p/s.

Hawattersheki. ‘They cannot be governed (said, for example, of a group of rebellious people).’

kh-tersheleza v. appl.

Nt^haná/ chitta cha khtersheleza. ‘He has no brains [lit. head] to govern with.’

Sh^htersheleze muuyi/ ka u’adaala/ na haqqí. ‘He governed the town with justice and righteousness.’

kh-tershelezanya v. appl. rec.

khtershelezanya 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
Alí/ ṃwaanawe/ chiṃlazile sḥterteegi/ itayaani. ‘Ali’s son, a wart has grown on his cheek.’
Wanṭu wa Miini/ huhada/ dawa ya sḥterteegi/ ni kḥpishoowa. ‘The people of Miini say that the cure for a wart is to burn it.’
- teesara* n. identification document, I.D.
piicha/ ya teesara ‘identity picture’
Somaaliya/ nṭaku/ teesara/ laakini/ Keenya/ ziiko/ askari/ takhushiika/ kinendra bilaa teesara. ‘In Somali there are no identification documents, but in Kenya there are; police will arrest you for walking without an I.D.’
- i-tete* (ma-) 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’
mp̣ḥamp̣ha wa matete (or: **mambarani wa matete**) ‘sp. of (spotted) shark’
Nḳhasiizé/ maayi/ yanakinendra itete itete/ bombaani. ‘I heard water drip(ping) from the faucet/tap.’ (In GM’s speech, the first person subject marker typically elides in front of a voiceless consonant, and as a consequence of this elision, a voiceless stop is unaspirated. Thus the initial verb in this example was actually pronounced **kasiizé**. MI, on the other hand, consistently retained the nasal and aspirated the voiceless stop: **nḳhasiizé**.)
Wowi/ asliye/ ni matete yaa nvula. ‘A river, its origin is drops of rain.’ (A proverb.)
- rel.
l-tete (mi-) n. 11/4 aug.
n-ṭete n. 9/10
nṭete yaa mulo ‘a spark of fire’
sh-tete (s-) n. 7/8 dim.
maazi ya ụdhiya sḥtete sḥchipotela [st.] ‘if a drop of blood of a slaughtered animal falls’
sḥtete chaa mulo ‘a little spark of fire’
- 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) – perhaps a polecat (*Mustela putorius*)
- kh-teza* v. [Sw. *cheza* SSED 55] (**tezeze**) play games (cards, dominos, etc.), joke, play a musical instrument, dance, make rhymical movements (said of things, e.g. boat)
kḥteza ka’uta ‘to take risks, be foolhardy’
Makhaadimu/ watezezee ngoma/ haṭá/ maskuu kati. ‘The servants drummed until midnight.’

Mbene majini/ miingi/ yakumangeene/ kheteza khamaari/ basi/ naami/ nakhsuulá/ keendra/ kheteza naawo. ‘I saw many djinns gathered together playing games of chance, so I also want to go and play with them.’

Mi/ n^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/ n^hezeze!?** ‘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/ tezeze!?** ‘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/ skuteza!?** ‘Did I really not play?’)

Mwana/ tezeze naa mbwa. ‘The child played with the dog.’ (One can relativize the object of the preposition *na*, as in: **Mbwa wa mwana/ tezezo naayé/ waliko mzele.** ‘The dog that the child played with it was old.’ The pronoun *ye* cannot be omitted: ***tezezo na/**, and also the preposition must be retained. Cf. the plural form of *mbwa*: **Mbwa za mwana/ tezezo naazó/ ziwaliko wazele.** ‘The dogs that the child played with them were old.’ It should be noted that while the singular *mbwa* governs human agreement ([cl.1] agreement), the plural *mbwa* governs [cl.10] agreement, as seen in *za*, *naazo*, and *zi-*. While this is true, it can also be seen that the adjective *-zele* seems to have fixed human agreement prefixes: *m-* and *wa-*.)

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 ndilaani. ‘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^hakhteza/ 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^hakhteza ndilaani** ‘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^hawakhteza. or **Want^hakhteza.** ‘They did not play.’

Nuru/ tezeze. ‘Nuru 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: **Nurú/ tezeze!?**.)

Tezeze/ Nuuru. ‘He played, Nuuru.’ (In this statement, **Nuru** is radically downstepped. The simple yes/no question is **Tezeze/ Nuuru?** ‘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 wanateze numbaani/ pamooyi. ‘Let them play in the house together.’
rel.

kh-teleza v. appl. (**teleeze**) play with, joke with, at; put s.o. off

Akhili/ hatelezi/ chaake. ‘A wise man does not waste [lit. play with] his things.’ (A proverb.)

Chaake/ muunt^u/ hatelezi. ‘His things, a person does not play with.’ (A proverb.)

khteleza peesa ‘to squander money (lit. play with)’

Omari/ peesaze/ teleeze/ isa/ chiint^u/ nt^hanaayo. ‘Omari, his money he squandered, now he has nothing.’

khteleza ruuhuye ‘to deceive oneself, undermine oneself’

Hasani/ wanayo fursa/ khpata peesa/ dukaye/ ichiineendra/ laakini/ teleze ruuhuye/ nt^hashfaanya/ kaazi/ jisa suura/ kila wakhtⁱ/ duka/ shfuunga. ‘Hasani had an opportunity to make money; his shop was running good, but he undermined himself, he was not working well, every time the shop was closed.’

Na maali/ teleeze/ hatá/ iweele/ nt^haná/ yaa ye/ kuja. ‘And (his) wealth he squandered until it became that he had nothing to eat.’

Sint^helezé/ nambila lila. ‘Don’t joke, play with me; tell me the truth.’

Wa’izo kumraashá/ wa’anziize/ kumteleza/ na mahala ya/ shpitó/ waant^u/ wachibiga nk^heje/ wachimtaanda. ‘The ones who refused to follow him, they began to laugh at him and wherever he passed, people shouted and they insulted him.’

Weele/ kuwa waant^u/ wanamteleza. ‘It became that people were mocking him.’

kh-telezoowa v. appl. pass. (**teleeza**) be played with

Laakini/ [†]maayi/ ni sahali/ khtaanyika/ khtelezoowa/ khfanyowa kila chiint^u/ maayi/ maayi/ ma’anaye/ siwo/ jawabuu nk^hulu/ siwo/ jawabu yaa dhibu/ laakini/ maazi/ maazi/ siwo/ (jawabu ya) matezo. ‘But water is easy to spill, to play around with, for anything to be done with it, water, water, it means, is not a big thing, it not a thing that causes trouble; but blood, blood, is not a thing to play around with.’ (This is a portion of a discussion of the proverb **Maazi/ ni mazito/ kolko maayi.** ‘Blood is heavier than water.’)

wakhtⁱ/ khtelezoowa ‘for time to be wasted, lit. played with’

Wakhtⁱ/ ni ghaali/ ha’utelezoowi. ‘Time is precious, it is not to be wasted.’ (A proverb.)

kh-tezaateza v. freq.

Basi shtezashtez. ‘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/ nakhtezateza/ nakizaa kuja. ‘That one was playing, refusing to eat.’

kh-tezesh v. caus. (**tezesheeze**) instruct in how to play a game

Nakhtezesh waana/ mpiira. ‘He is training the children to play football (soccer).’

Nuuru/ mtezesheze mwaana/ mpiira. ‘Nuuru trained/guided/supervised the child playing football.’

Nuuru/ tezesheze mpiira. ‘Nuuru directed/guided the playing of football (e.g. if Nuuru is the coach, then it is his team that he is training).’

Nuuru/ tezeshezee ngoma. ‘Nuuru supervised the playing of drums.’

kh-tezesh v. caus. p/s. (**tezeshehile**) able to be made to play

Mwaana/ hatezesheki. ‘The child cannot be made to play.’

kh-tezesheleza v. caus. appl.

rel. nom.

m-teza (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who plays

Mteza na matotoope/ haatowi/ kangamiza nguwoze. ‘One who plays with

mud does not fail to dirty his clothes.’ (Proverb.)

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.)

Maatezo masuura/ nakhfilatú/ kuwa Omari/ takhteza. ‘A good game, I expect that Omari will play.’

Maatezo miingi/ huletaa dhibu. ‘Too many jokes brings problems.’ (A proverb.)

Maatezo/ yawaliko masuura. ‘The game was good!’ Or: **Maatezo/ masuura/ yawaalikó.**

Munt^hi uyu/ lapiiile/ 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 shiinzió. ‘The one who just wins the third game, it is he who will be the one who won.’

Wakhti/ mwiingiwe/ Hamadi/ hafaanyi/ matezo. ‘Most of the time Hamadi is very serious (lit. doesn’t play games).’

We/ nayo matezó. ‘You are joking.’

ye/ nakhtezo matezó ‘while he was playing games’ or **ye/ nakhtezó/ matezo** (The second form shows that verb emphasis triggers the Accentual Law of Focus in an adverbial relative clause. GM did accept **ye/ nakhtezó/ matezó** as a possibility.)

rel.

ma-tezomatezo n. playing, joking

Chiint^hu/ muunt^hu/ chisula chiint^hu/ ka matezomatezo/ tu/ haapati.

‘Something, if a person wants (to get) something just by playing (joking, not taking seriously etc.), he does not get it.’

sh-tezo (s-)

n. 7/8 [unknown etymology] button

Ali/ vete shaati/ sansa stezo. ‘Ali wore a shirt without buttons.’

hanzu ya stezo ‘a haanzu with buttons (rather than a zipper)’

khtila shetezo ‘to button’

Namtila maaná/ shaati/ 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/ ^fshaati/ 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/ shaati/ stezó!?**)

shetezoche ‘its button’; **stezoze** ‘its buttons’

stezo za haanzu ‘the buttons on a haanzu’

n-ti

n. 9/10 [Sw. *nchi* SED 331] land, country, place, ground, earth; [pron. nt^hi]

Chimwambilaa muke/ ya kuwaa ye/ waliko... nakumeera/ nt^hi/ wako mayahuudi. ‘He told the woman that he was looking for a land where there were Jews.’

Chimuuló/ ni muunt^hu/ apo/ chimamulato 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/ mahala/ ya Hasani/ ukó/ yikoo nt^hi/ yiingine/ sultaaniye/ humkahaata/ wawaye mwanaamke. ‘Now, near this country where Hasani is, there is another country whose sultan hates the girl’s

father.’ (The construction **wawaye mwanaamke** is common in MI’s speech, but rejected by other speakers.)

Mi sula khpeenda/ kuziyarataa nt^{hi}/ mahala we/ iliiló. ‘I would like to visit the country where you come from.’

Mi/ takhpeenda/ kuziyarataa nt^{hi}/ yaa we/ iliiló. ‘I would like to visit the country where you come from.’

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.’

Na ichiwa apo/ nt^{hi}/ nzimaye/ maazi. ‘And there was blood everywhere on the ground.’

nt^{hi}aasa 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^{hi}ii 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} yingine. ‘They walked and walked until they reached another land.’

Wahamari/ ni waant^hu/ wa’iló/ ka nt^{hi} zingine. ‘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} yitu/ 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. [Sw. **tii** SSED 466; Ar. **tā’a** W572] (**ti’iile**) obey

Janna/ hingilowa ka kumti’a/ ya mojiitu. ‘Paradise is attained (lit. entered) by obeying God.’

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].’

Muunt^hu/ chiza kuwati’a wazele/ hutala ink’aari. ‘If one does not obey his parents he is cursed.’

muunt^hu mt^{hi}iilo humtila janaani [st.] ‘the man who obeys him (God), (God) puts him in paradise’

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/ wash̄t̄ii'a/ amri/ ya chizeele.** 'The children and grandchildren obeyed the order of the old woman.'
- Waant^hu/ wachim̄jiiba/ kuwa wat̄amt̄ii'a.** 'The people answered that they would obey him.'
- We/ chinshiindra/ mi/ nt̄^hakhūt̄ii'a/ naamí/ nch^hikhushiindra/ we/ it̄akhulaazima/ kun̄t̄^hii'a.** 'If you defeat me, I will obey you, and if I defeat you, it is a must that you obey me.'
- rel.
kh-ti'oowa v. pass. (**ti'iila**) be obeyed
We/ amura/ takht̄i'oowa. 'You give orders, you will be obeyed.'
- (mu-)t̄ii'i** adj. obedient
m̄wana mūt̄ii'i 'an obedient child'
wana wat̄ii'i or **wana mūt̄ii'i** 'obedient children'
- t̄ibaaku** n. [Sw. *tumbako* SSED 478, said to be derived from Hindi] tobacco
variant form: **t̄ubaaku**
kuja t̄ibaaku 'to eat, chew tobacco'
magomba ya t̄ibaaku or **magoomba/ ya t̄ibaaku** 'tobacco leaves'
t̄ibaku bardi or **t̄ibaaku/ bardi** 'soft, cold (i.e. mild) tobacco'
t̄ibaku booyi or **t̄ibaaku/ booyi** 'spoiled, tasteless tobacco'
t̄ibakuu nk^hali or **t̄ibaaku/ nk^hali** 'hot tobacco'
- t̄if** ideo. of dripping
Khula iyo/ ivuyiile/ t̄if t̄if!/ haṭá/ maayi/ yamaliize. 'That calabash leaked until the water got finished.'
- t̄ifik** ideo. of dripping slowly
Boomba/ chooloni/ ihaḷaweete/ maayi/ yanakuvuuya/ habahaba/ t̄ifik t̄ifik! 'The pipe in the toilet is damaged, water is dripping little by little, *t̄ifik t̄ifik!*'
Maayi/ yanakht̄awanyika habahaba/ t̄ifik t̄ifik! 'The water is dropping slowly, drop by drop.'
- i-t̄iga** adj. effeminate
- kh-t̄iga** v. [etymology unknown] (**t̄igiile**) castrate
- s-t̄igaant̄i** n. small, dark brown birds, flying in large groups (100 or more); they usually arrived in Brava in the dry season from the interior, where they mainly fed on sorghum in the fields; according to others, they were seen also in the rainy season when they fed on flowers; [pron. **st̄igaant̄^hi**]
- t̄ijaara** n. [Ar. *tijāra* "commerce, trade" W91] commerce, trading
Miini/ ni muuyi/ nda t̄ijaara. 'Brava is a city of commerce/trading.'
Omari/ hufanya t̄ijaara/ mabena ya Mkhodiisho/ na Miini. 'Omari makes trade between Mogadishu and Brava.'
Safari/ ya kuraaga/ ni t̄ijaara. 'A delayed trip is trade (i.e. good).'
- m-t̄ikati** adv. mid-day, noon; [pron. **m̄t̄^hikati**] (This word seems to be a reduction from **muunt̄^hi** plus **kati**. The result of this reduction is unusual in that the **t̄** is realized with aspiration, which is otherwise a phenomenon restricted to a prenasalized voiceless stop. Here, the nasal is missing, but aspiration is still retained.)
- t̄ikiti** n. 9/10 ticket
kh̄t̄inda t̄ikiti 'to buy a ticket'
Hamadi/ t̄inzile t̄ikiti/ ya ariplaano/ nakhsaafira/ nakendra M̄wiini. 'Hamadi bought an air ticket, he is traveling to Brava.'
Mi/ siisi/ t̄ikit̄ii kamu/ nuulé. 'I do not know how many tickets to buy.' (Observe that a *kamu*-marked phrase triggers pseudo-relativization of a following verb; in

this case, the verb is a subjunctive verb, which does not ordinarily function as a relative verb, but does nevertheless have a pseudo-relative form. The pseudo-relative form does not involve altering the final vowel, but does require final accent.)

Takhadira kuulapi/ tikiṭi/ ya dayuura. ‘Where can I buy an airline ticket?’
tikiṭi iyi ‘this ticket’ (cf. **tikiṭi izi** ‘these tickets’)

kh-tilfisha

v. [Sw. *tilfisha* SSED 467; Ar. *talifa* "to be(come) ruined, damaged" W 96] (**tilfishiize**) spoil, destroy, wear s.t. out, damage, cause to be in inferior or poor condition

Omari/ maraḏi/ yamtifishiiize/ wakhti miingi/ laaziló. ‘Omari, disease debilitated him, he has been sick for a long time.’

rel.

kh-tilfika v. p/s. get worn out

Ali/ ofeete/ tilfishile/ leelo/ nzimaye/ chilima muundra. ‘Ali is tired, he got worn out, today the whole day he was cultivating the farm.’

kh-tilmaamisha

v. [Som. *tilmaan*, past *tilmaamay* DSI 583] (**tilmamishiize**) point at, indicate, instruct

Basi/ chiineendra/ chiineendra/ chiineendra/ jisa uje/ mtilmamishiizó. ‘So he went and went just as that (man) had instructed him.’

kh-tilmamishoowa v. pass.

Muunt^hu/ ukoo kulé/ haṭilmamishoowi/ chiint^hu. ‘One who is far off is not given directions.’ (A proverb.)

Sultaani shtomola amri/ namerowa muunt^hu/ oyo/ waant^hu/ washṭimamishoowa/ kuwa muunt^hu/ oyo/ nt^haná/ chaala/ chimó. ‘The sultan issued an order that that man be searched for; people were indicated that that man had only one finger.’

tilmaamu

n. [Som. noun *tilmaan*, pl. *tilmaamo* "indication, sign" DSI 583] act of indicating, giving direction

Nuuru/ oshale numbaani/ ka mkulé/ Ali/ ka tilmaamu/ tu. ‘Nuuru went to his brother Ali’s house just by (following) directions.’

Wako waant^hu/ hawa’isi/ kumpa muunt^hu/ tilmaamu/ jisa suura/ humbaasha. ‘There are people who do not know how to give good directions, they make people get lost.’

tilmiidi

n. [Ar. *tilmīd* W 97] student

Shekh Wali/ Miini/ wanayo tilmiidi/ wiingi/ chiwasomesha ilmu/ ya diini/ ya islaamu. ‘Sheikh Wali in Miini had many students, he was teaching them knowledge of the Islamic religion.’

kh-tilaanga

v. [Sw. *changa* “cut into small pieces, said of firewood” SSED 50] (**tilaanzile**) cut into small pieces, slice (e.g. meat); collect

Baana/ tilanzile kani/ nama. ‘What did Baana slice the meat with?’

Baana/ tilanzilee nama/ kaa chisu. ‘Baana sliced the meat with a knife.’

Chilaweeni/ shtilangeni skunyi/ ka paapo/ shtakhtilanga ukuundri. ‘Let us go and let us collect firewood and at the same time, we shall collect the ukuundri fruit.’

Izoo nguwo/ za Omari/ tilaanziló/ ka makhasi iyi/ iwaliko za Haliima. ‘The cloth that Omari cut with these scissors belonged to Haliima.’

Ka khisani/ Omari/ tilanziloo nguwo/ ka makhasi iyó. ‘“Why did Omari cut the cloth with the scissors?” (In the implementation of this sentence, the consultant raised the pitch of the sentence-final *iyó*. It is significant that with emphasis in this location, there is no barrier to the projection of the final accent of the pseudo-relativized verb all the way to the end of the sentence.)

Mubji/ tilaanziló/ nguwo izo/ waliko Omari. ‘The man who cut the (pieces of) cloth was Omari.’ (In the implementation of this sentence, the pitch on *Omari* is raised to a level comparable to the initial accented syllable.)

nama ya Baana/ tilanzilo kaa chisú ‘the meat that Baana sliced with a knife’
Naani/ tilanziloo nguwo/ ka makhasi. ‘Who cut cloth with scissors?’
Omari/ tilanzilee nguwo/ ka makhasi. ‘Omari cut cloth with scissors.’
 rel.

kh-tilangiloowa v. appl. pass.

Chisu/ sh^htilangililaa 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/ itilangililaa 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/ itilanzila kaa chisu/ naami.** ‘Meat was sliced with a knife by me.’)

Hunkhalila/ makhasi/ iyo/ itilangililaa nguwo. ‘I think that the scissors were used to cut the cloth.’ (In the implementation of this sentence, our consultant raised the pitch of the accented syllable in **makhasi**, which of course is phrasally separated from the demonstrative pronoun that follows it.)

Mwaana/ tilangililaa nama/ naami. ‘The child was sliced for meat by me.’ (**Nama** cannot be the subject of the passive applied verb: ***Nama/ itilangilila mwaana/ naami.**)

kh-tilaangila v. appl. (**tilangiliile**) slice for, with

Lüini/ Omari/ tilangililoo nguwo/ ka makhasi iyo. ‘When did Omari cut the cloth with the scissors?’ (Observe that in this example, the final accent associated with the pseudo-relativization of the verb was not extended past **nguwo**.)

Omari/ tilangiliileni/ nguwo. ‘What did Omari cut cloth with?’ (Observe that the enclitic =**ni** ‘what’ does not lengthen the vowel in front of it, in contrast to the locative enclitic =**ni**. Also notice that when =**ni** questions the instrument used, the verb is in the applied form.)

kh-tilangoowa v. pass. (-**tilaanzila**)

Hunkhalila/ nguwo izo/ stilaanzila/ ka makhasi. ‘I think these clothes were cut with scissors.’ (Our consultant implemented this example with markedly raised pitch on the sentence final **makhasi**.)

Nguwo/ itilaanzila/ ka makhasi. ‘The cloth was cut with scissors.’

kh-tima

v. cf. *k-ikh^htima* [Sw. *timu* SSED 467Ar. *tamma* W 97] (**timiile**) be or become complete

Ba’ada ya miyaaka/ mitatu/ ya^htimiiló/ Abunawaasi/ chandikaa khat^hi/ kumpelekela sul^htaani. ‘After three years were completed, Abunawaasi wrote a letter and sent it to the sultan.’

Mukhta st^himiiló/ 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.’

qasiidaya it^himiile/ faataha inasomoowa [st.] ‘my poem is completed, let us recite the **faataha**’

skuu saba/ st^himiilopó ‘when seven days passed (lit. were completed)’

Soma kht^htima. ‘Recite the **Qur’aan** in its entirety!’

rel.

kh-timiliza v. caus. appl.

kh-timisha v. caus. (**timishiize**) complete s.t.

kh-timishika v. p/s. capable of being completed

kh-timishiliza v. appl.

Basi/ hunt^hosha/ aya/ yaa we/ nt^himishiliizó. ‘It’s enough, it suffices for me these (things) that you have done for me.’

kh-timiza v. caus. (**timiize**) cause s.o. to complete s.t.

kh-tima

n. ceremony during which people gather to read the whole text of the Qur’an
khsoma kht^htima ‘to recite the Quran in its entirety’

- tīmaamu*** adj. [Sw. *timamu*] complete, perfect, right
variant: ***khiṭaamu***
Mi/ miiriza/ tīmaamu. 'My reasoning is unimpaired.'
munt^hu tīmaamu 'an accomplished person'
ra'yi tīmaamu 'a good idea'
wa'eenzelo wanahije tīmaamu/ 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-tīimbi (s-)*** n. 7/8 a golden or silver necklace made of several strings of small beads
- l-tīimbo (n-)*** n. 11/10 rod used to break up stones (pointed at one end and of fairly thick diameter);
penis (colloq.); [pron. **nt^hiimbo**]
līimbo lnene 'a thick rod'; **nt^hiimbo nnene** 'thick rods'
līimboḷa 'my rod'; **nt^hiimboza** 'my rods'
rel.
i-tīimbo n.
kuvunda majiwe/ ka iṭiimbo 'to break stones with rod'
kuvunda skunyi/ ka iṭiimbo 'to break firesticks with rod'
- sh-tīmiri*** 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
Mamaḍo/ burureete/ shṭimiriini/ bigilīlaa ngoma/ tezeze/ mirseete. 'Mamadho
fell into a trance during the **shṭimiri** dancing, drums were beaten for him
and he (resumed) dancing/playing and got his senses back.' (GM
commented that Mamadho was the name of homosexual man in Brava and
that homosexuals were commonly participants in dances like **shṭimiri** and
tumbura.)
- tīimu*** n. team
Ka ghaḷa/ tīimu/ ya Hamiisi/ watile gooḷi/ ya kaandra. 'Suddenly, Hamiisi's team
scored the first goal.'
Tīmu yīimp^hi/ Nuuru/ hadiiló/ washīnzilé. 'Which team did Nuuru say won?' (Note
that this example shows that while the main verb is pseudo-relativized due to
the preposed question word, it is not necessary for its complement verb to be
pseudo-relativized as well. We should comment that generally emphasis on
the main verb would prevent the final accent from extending to the following
phrase. Nevertheless, in the performance of this sentence, we did observe the
final accent being extended.)
Tīmu yīimp^hi/ Nuuru/ hadiiló/ washinzilo ikoopá. 'Which team did Nuuru say won
the cup?' (In this example, not only is the main verb pseudo-relativized by the
preposed question word but also the complement verb is pseudo-relativized.)
- kh-tīinda*** v. [cf. Sw. *chinja* SSED 56] (**tīinzile**) cut, break off, quit; slaughter (an animal);
knock fruit from a tree
Apo/ muyiini/ waliko baduwi/ mooyi/ kaaziye/ shṭinda hoola/ chuzaa nama. 'In
the town there was a nomad, his work was slaughtering animals and selling
the meat.'
Boobo/ tīnzilee nama. 'Boobo cut the meat.' Or, with verb focus: **Boobo/ tīnzile/
nama.** (In the corresponding yes-no questions, the first example has no
accent-shift whereas the second one does: **Boobo/ tīnzilee nama?** And
Boobo/ tīnzile/ namá?)
Chint^hu cha mwanaamke/ tīnziló/ iwalikoo nama. 'What the girl cut was meat.'
(Observe the use of a [cl.9] subject prefix on the past tense copular verb.)
Chint^hu cha mwanaamke/ tīnzilo kaa chisú/ nii nama. 'What [lit. the thing] the
girl cut with a knife is meat.' (Or: **iwalikoo nama** 'was meat'.)
Chint^hu cha mwanaamke/ tīnziló/ nii nama. 'What the girl cut is meat.'

Chisu chaa ye/ t̥indil̥iloo namá/ 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/ t̥indil̥iloo chisú/ j̥iló...** ‘the meat that he cut with the knife and ate’)

Chisu ichi/ hast̥indi/ nama. ‘This knife won’t cut meat.’

ʿChita/ wamt̥inziló/ nyunyi. ‘Head they cut off the chicken.’ Or: **ʿChita/ nyunyi/ wamt̥inziló.**

Endrá/ mmeere/ mahaḷa/ it̥aakuwó/ chiza kundeetela/ nyunyi/ kama

uyu/ nt̥^hakhuḷinda. ‘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/ t̥inzile mkate/ kaa chisu. ‘Haliima cut the bread with a knife.’

Haliima/ t̥inzile nama/ kaa cho/ chisu. ‘Haliima cut the meat with it, the knife.’

Huḷinda/ zaaydi/ yaa chisu. ‘It cuts more than a knife (i.e. it is sharper than a knife).’

Jaani/ t̥inzile nama. ‘Jaani cut the meat.’ Or, with verb focus: **Jaani/ t̥inzile/ nama.** (Cf. the pronunciation when there is a final accent-

trigger: **Mi/ nt̥^hinzile namá.** ‘I cut the meat.’ Or, with verb focus: **Mi/ nt̥^hiinzlé/ nama.)**

Kanaa we/ nt̥^hunakunaamina/ chilawe kaako/ we/ nt̥^hinda/ pata kuwona ka maat̥oyo. ‘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].’

kh̥inda amri ‘to decide a matter’
Si/ sh̥t̥inzile amri/ kh̥t̥awakalá. ‘We decided to take a chance.’
Wash̥inda amri/ kh̥t̥uumba. ‘They decided to dig.’

kh̥inda chibarwa ‘to take out a summons’

kh̥inda chaakuja or **kh̥indaa kuja** ‘to stop supplies, food’

kh̥indaa chita ‘to disgrace someone [lit. cut the head]’

Fulaani/ nt̥^hinzile chita. ‘So-and-so disgraced me.’

kh̥inda feḷa ‘to reduce or withhold a sum of money (e.g. fine, tax)’

Saalaha/ bakhete kaazi/ sku niingi/ t̥indil̥ila feḷa/ mshaharaani.

‘Saalaha has been absent from work many times, he had his salary cut.’

kh̥inda hokomu ‘to decide a suit, sentence, pronounce judgement’
Leelo/ khaadi/ mahkamaani/ t̥inzile hokomu/ Omari/ kilaa mweezi/ kulipa shilingii miya/ deeni/ ya Ali/ namwiló

(or: **namraashó**). ‘Today the judge at the court sentenced Omari to pay one hundred shillings every month for the debt that he owes Ali (lit. Ali is owed from him).’

kh̥inda it̥o ‘to wink’
kh̥inda jawaabu ‘to cut short talking’
Muunt̥^hu/ maneno miingi/ siwo/ suura/ suura/ kh̥fanya mukht̥asari/ kh̥inda jawaabu. ‘It is not good for someone to talk too much, it is good to be brief, to cut talking short.’

kh̥inda kafaara ‘to slaughter an animal as an offering’
Nuuru/ koḷele wanaafakhi/ imwajibiile/ kh̥inda ngoombe/ kafaara. ‘Nuuru told lies, he must (as punishment) slaughter a cow as an offering.’ (Although GM regularly pronounces *mw* sequences derived from pre-vocalic *mu-* as simply *m*, he does not necessarily reduce cross morpheme *m-w* sequences as simply *m*. For example, in the present example, the *m-w* sequence was maintained.)

kh̥inda keesi ‘to decide a case at law’
Leelo/ mahkamaani/ inakht̥alowa da’awa ya Nuuru/

namwishtako Huseeni/ khaaḍi/ leelo/ takhtinda keesi. 'Today at the court the matter of Nuuru suing Huseeni is being taken up, today the judge will make a decision.'

khṭinda kooḍi 'to decide, conclude something; to interrupt someone; to stop talking'

Omari/ ha'isi/ khṭinda kooḍi/ maneeno/ haamali/ leelo/ muntḥi mzima. 'Omari does not know how to stop talking, he does not finish talking the whole day.'

khṭinda 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.'

khṭinda imilo 'to eat one's share [lit. to cut the throat]'

Fulaani/ nt^hinzile imilo. 'So-and-so ate my share.'

khṭinda makiindri 'to rotate the buttocks in dancing'

Mamadaano/ mojiitu/ namrehemu/ waliko mkali/ khṭinda makiindri. 'Mamadaano, God have mercy on him, was very good in dancing.'

Zamaani/ ramaḍaani/ Mwiini/ masku ya sfeeli/wachiletowaa wake/ ka Bulu Mareer/ wawaliko wakali/ khṭinda makiindri. 'During old times, in Ramadhan, on the night of competition, women were brought from Bulu Mareer; they were expert in dancing.'

khṭinda masaafa 'to run for a long distance'

Ndovu/ ba'ada ya khṭinda masaafa/ tulushile/ fiile. 'The elephant, after running for a long time, fell down and died.'

khṭinda matuundra 'to collect fruit from a tree'

Walima miyuundra/ leelo/ wanakhṭinda matuundra/ miyuundra/ yalazile jisa suura. 'Farmers today are harvesting fruits; farms produced very well.'

khṭinda miilu 'to cut the legs – e.g. send s.o. where he will get no profit'

Simṭiindé/ miilu/ ye/ maskiini. 'Don't send him where he is not going to get any profit.'

khṭinda mshahara 'to reduce or withhold money from wages'

Omari/ hafisaani/ tindilila mshahara/ nt'akhfaanya/ kaazi/ mwezi uyu. 'Omari, at the office, has had his salary reduced; he did not work this month.'

khṭinda nakhshi 'to carve wood or stone'

Omari/ nakhtinda lwawo/ nakhshi/ kana/ mbawo za Nguuja. 'Omari is cutting wood with designs like those in Nguuja (Zanzibar).'

khṭindaa nama 'to annoy [lit. to cut the flesh]'

Fanya ihsaani/ sintḥiindé/ nama/ ka su'aali. 'Please don't annoy me with questions.'

Nakunt^hindaa nama. 'He is annoying me.'

khṭindaa ndila 'to take a short cut; cut across, blocking a road'

Ali/ tinzilee ndila/ holoko sukhuuni) ka gaari/ nt'a'ina/khpitika. 'Ali cut off the road going to the market with his car; it cannot be passed.'

khṭindaa nguwo 'to buy cloth, order a new dress or suit'

khṭinda ooni 'to quench the thirst'

khṭinda ruuhu 'to annoy someone by repeatedly asking him to do something; be dying'

Nakhtinda ruuhu. 'He is dying.'

khṭinda ruuhuye/ nama 'to worry oneself to death, to be deeply troubled'

Stiindé/ ruuhuyo/ nama. 'Don't worry yourself!'

khṭinda showri/ shoori 'to decide a matter'

kh̄tinda tama'a 'to give up hope, despair'

sku mooyi/ naayé/ t̄inzile tama'á/ walá/ nt^h anakhfilat̄ililá 'one day when he had given up hope and was not expecting (someone to come)...'

kum̄tinda muunt^hu/ kuulu '[lit.] to cut someone's leg -- i.e. to give someone wrong or false guidance'

Kuusi/ it̄indishile. 'The south wind has ended.'

Mi/ nt^hinzilee 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 ūdhiya [st.] 'the Prophet slaughtered *ūdhiya* for himself'

muke chisalo idi sh̄t̄iindo ūdhiya [st.] 'a woman who prayed [the prayer of *īidi* and who slaughtered *ūdhiya*']

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) t̄iinziló/ 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 uyū/ sh̄fikira/ sh̄fikira/ sh̄t̄iinda/ kulaa mbuzi/ kum̄tinda. 'This woman thought and thought and decided to buy a goat to slaughter it.'

Muunt^hu/ hūt̄indo ngamiilá/ mbuzi/ hadaayaṭi. 'One who slaughters a camel does not hesitate to slaughter a goat.' (A proverb.)

Muusa/ nt^hakht̄iinda/ nama. 'Muusa did not cut the meat.'

Muusa/ t̄inzilee nama. 'Muusa cut the meat.' Or with emphasis on the verb: **Muusa/ t̄inzile/ nama.**

Mwaana/ fakeete/ t̄inzilee ndila. 'The child ran and crossed the street.' Or just: **Mwaana/ t̄inzilee ndila.** 'The child crossed the street.'

Mwaana/ t̄inzilee wowi. 'The boy crossed the river.'

Naa(ni)/ m̄t̄inziloo nyunyi/ chiṭá. 'Who cut off the bird's head?' Or with verb focus: **Naa(ni)/ m̄t̄iinziló/ nyunyi/ chiṭa.** (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 hūt̄inda matuundra/ hūlaṭila mayiini. 'The monkey used to pick off the fruit and throw them into the water.'

Nim̄t̄inzile mkonó/ mzeelé. 'I cut off the hand the old man.'

Nim̄t̄inzile mkonowé/ mzeelé. 'I cut off his hand the old man.'

Nim̄t̄inzile mzeelé/ mkonó. 'I cut off the old man's hand.' Or: **Nim̄t̄inzile mzeelé/ mkonowé.**

Nim̄t̄inzile Tuumá/ chaalá. 'I cut Tuuma's finger.' Or: **Nim̄t̄inzile ^fchaalá/ Tuuma.** 'I cut the *finger* (of) Tuuma.'

Nim̄t̄inzile Tuumá/ mashuungí. 'I cut Tuuma's hair.' Or: **Nim̄t̄inzile 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 **Nim̄t̄inzile ^fmashuungí/ Tuuma.** 'I cut the *hair* (of) Tuuma.' Or: **Nim̄t̄inzile Tuumá/ mashuungí.** 'I cut *Tuumá's* hair.' There is an additional possibility where both verbal complements are focused: **Nim̄t̄inzile ^fTuumá/ ^fmashuungí.** This sentence does clearly from **Nim̄t̄inzile Tuumá/ mashuungí.** The latter sentence has downstep intonation, whereas in the former sentence **mashuungí** is not downstepped.)

Nnakht̄indaa namá kaa chisú. 'I am cutting the meat with a knife.' Or, with focus on **kaa chisu**: **Nnakht̄inda kaa chisú/ nama.** (Phon. If **kaa chisu** 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 kaa chisú/ namá**. This is a reflection of the focused nature of **kaa chisu** in this position.)

Nt^hinzile mkonó/ wa mzeelé. ‘I cut off the hand of the old man.’ Or:

Nt^hinzile fmkonó/ wa mzeele. (While these two sentences are grammatical, they are not as common as, say, **Nimtinzile mzeelé/ mkonó**. or **Nimtinzile f mzeelé/ mkono**. It seems that the associative construction is not preferred in cases of inalienable possession. One prefers a structure involving possessor raising.)

Nt^hinzilee namá/ kaa chisú. ‘I cut meat with a kn ife.’

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 fngoombé/ 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).’

fNyunyi/ chita/ 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 **chita** instead: **Nyunyi/ fchita/ wamtinziló**. When **chita** is focused, its pitch is raised somewhat above the initial phrase. Preposing does not require focus: **Nyunyi/ wamtinzilee chita**.)

Omari/ mtinziilo nyunyi/ chita. ‘*Omari* cut off the bird’s head.’ Or, with focus on the verb as well: **Omari/ mtinziló/ nyunyi/ chita**. (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.)

Omari/ nt^hakhtinda/ nama. ‘*Omari* did not cut the meat.’ (Cf. the ill-formed phrasing: **Omari/ nt^hakhtindaa nama**.) Or, with subject focus: **Omari/ nt^hakhtindaa namá**. Or: **Omari/ nt^hakhtindá/ nama**.)

Omari/ tinzile nama yaa ye/ uziló/ kaa chisu. ‘*Omari* 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 kn ife 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 nkʰuku.** ‘He slaughtered a chicken.’)

Tinziloo namá/ kaa chisú/ ni mwanaamke. ‘The one who cut the meat with a knife is the girl.’

Uje/ takhtĩindó/ 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).’

Wamĩnzilee nyunyi/ chiṭa. ‘They cut off the bird’s head.’ (The simple yes-no question involves no accent shift: **Wamĩnzilee nyunyi/ chiṭa?** The exclamatory question, of course, does: **Wamĩnzilee nyunyi/ chiṭá!?**) Or: **Wamĩnzilee chiṭa/ 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 **chiṭa**. However, it is possible to focus on a post-verbal **chiṭa**: **Wamĩnzilee ʿchiṭa/ nyunyi.** In this case, there is a simple yes-no question with accent shift: **Wamĩnzilee chiṭa/ nyunyi?**)

Ye/ itinzile karka mundra wa waantʰu. ‘He picked it (e.g. a melon) from the garden of some people.’

rel.

kh-tĩindana v. rec. cut one another

kh-tĩindaṭĩinda v. freq. cut frequently

Endrá/ ruuda/ ka moojó/ muuze/ waṭakuwaayi/ wake/ awaje/ waṭinzilozĩnzilo ruhu zaawó/ mikonó. ‘Go and return to your master and ask him what about those women who cut their hands.’

kh-tĩindika v. be broken, cut; be breakable, able to be cut; fall short

Chaakuja/ shṭĩndishile. ‘The food was insufficient.’

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

Chiʼuṭĩinda/ hawṭĩndiki/ na chiʼushiiká/ hawshiikiki. ‘If you (try to) cut it, you cannot cut it, and if you (try to) sieze it, you cannot sieze it.’

khṭĩndika ruuhu ‘to breathe the last, die’

Kuulu/ itĩndishile. ‘The leg is broken.’

Kuusi/ itĩndishile. ‘The south wind died down.’

Lkaambala/ huṭĩndika mahaḷa nambaamba. ‘A rope breaks where it is thin.’ (A proverb.)

Muuntʰu/ imṭĩndishile/ kuulu. ‘The man broke his leg -- [lit.] the leg was broken with respect to the man.’

Muuntʰu/ tĩndishile kuulu. ‘The man broke his leg.’ Cf. **Tĩndishilo kuulú/ ni muuntʰu.** ‘The one who broke his leg was the man.’

Shfanya jisʼiyo/ hattá/ ooni/ imṭĩndishile. ‘He did that way until thirst [lit.] was cut off to him -- i.e. his thirst was quenched.’

Sooti/ imṭĩndishile. ‘He is hoarse (lit. voice is broken with respect to him).’

kh-tĩndikana v. p/s. rec. (**wa-tĩndikeene**) break off a friendly relationship; be cut off from one another’

Waṭĩndikeene. ‘They were not on good terms with one another.’

kh-tĩndikanya v. p/s. rec. caus. (**-tĩndikanyiize**) create friction between people

kh-tĩndikanyoowa v. p/s. rec. caus. pass. (**-tĩndikanyiiza**)

Waana/ waṭĩndikanyiiza. ‘The children were stirred up against one another.’

kh-tĩndikila 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/ chintʰĩndikiliile. ‘Food was short for me.’

Chaakuja/ chishtĩndikiliile. ‘Food was short for us.’

Ka chimusmino icho/ muti uyu/ haʼuṭĩndikila/ hatá/ keesho. ‘With this little saw, this tree will not be able to be cut for (you), not even by tomorrow.’

Lkaambala/ limṭĩndikiliile. ‘The rope finally cut in two for him.’

Muti/ ukhuṭindikiliile? ‘Were you able to cut the tree (lit. was the tree able to be cut for you)? was the tree able to be cut for you (by someone else)?’

Peesa/ zikhuṭindikiliile? ‘Are you short of money?’

Peesa/ zintḥindikiliile. ‘I ran short of money (lit. money ran short to me).’

kh-tindikiloowa v. p/s. appl. pass. (**tindikiliila**)

Nṭḥindikiliila na peesá. ‘I was short of money.’

kh-tindiloowa v. appl. pass. be cut for, with

Chisu cha Nuuru/ shṭindililaa nama. ‘Nuuru’s knife was used to cut the meat.’ Or: **Chisuche Nuuru/ shṭindililaa nama.** Or: **Nuuru/ chisuuche/ shṭindililaa nama.**

Chisu/ shṭindililaa nama. ‘The knife was used to cut meat.’ (This example from MI shows the instrument having been promoted to passive subject. In this situation, MI rejected relativizing onto the secondary object: ***nama yaa chisu/ shṭindililá** ‘the meat that the knife was used to cut’.)

Muke/ tindililaa nama/ na muunt^hu. ‘The woman had the meat cut for her by the man.’ (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/ ileseḷa kḥtindilowa 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**

Saalaha/ bakhete kaazi/ sku niingi/ tindilila feḷa/ mshaharaani. ‘Saalaha has been absent from work many times, he had had his salary cut.’

Shṭindililaa namá/ na mwanaamké/ nii chisu. ‘What was used to cut the meat by the girl was a knife.’

kh-tiindila v. appl. (**tindiliile**) cut for, with; to avoid an opponent in ball games, dodge an opponent

Chint^hu cha mwanaamke/ mṭindililo 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/ nṭḥindililee nk^hukú/ chibeele. ‘The knife that I used to slaughter the chickens is lost.’)

Chisu/ nṭḥindililee namá. ‘The knife, I cut the meat with it.’ (In this example of the instrumental applied verb, the instrument is very comfortably left-dislocated. MI disfavored a structure where the instrument is in IAV position: ?**Nṭḥindililee^f chisú/ nama.** ‘I cut with a *knife* meat.’ It is not the case that we cannot find in our notes from MI examples like this offered, but there is also the case that he clearly preferred to prepose the instrument. MI would accept have the instrument in a out-of-focus position in the VP, as in **Nṭḥindililee^f namá/ chisu.** However, fronting the instrument was even more common. In summary, MI dispreferred using the applied instrumental if the instrument bore focus.)

Chisu/ tindilileni. ‘The knife was used to cut what?’ (cf. A possible answer to this question: **Chisu, nṭḥindililee namá.** ‘The knife, I used it to cut meat.’)

Chisu/ nṭḥindililoo namá. ‘It’s a knife that I used to cut the meat.’ Or, with

verb emphasis: **Chisu/ nt^hindililó/ nama.**

Daawuudi/ tindilile/ 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/ tindilile 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/ tindilile^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/ tindilile^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/ tindilileni/ mkate. ‘What did Haliima use to cut the bread?’ Or:
Haliima/ mkate/ tindilileni. ‘Haliima the bread what did she use to cut?’ (A possible answer: **Haliima/ mkate/ tindilile chisu.** ‘Haliima the bread cut with a knife.’)

Haliima/ tindilile 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/ tindilile nama/ chisu cha Nuuru. ‘Hamadi cut the meat with Nuuru’s knife.’ Or: **Hamadi/ tindilile nama/ chisuche Nuuru.**

But our consultant MI rejected: ***Hamadi/ tindilile nama/ Nuuru/ chisuche.** The ill-formedness of this example suggests that perhaps there is focus present on **chisu** in the expression **Nuuru/ chisuche** (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/ tindilile nama.** This possessive phrase may be restructured; best is: **Chisuche Nuuru/ Hamadi/ tindilile nama.** But also: **Nuuru/ chisuche/ Hamadi/ tindilile nama.**)

Ibraahimu/ khadirile khindilaa 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.)

Itindilile ruuhuye/ chinofu chaa nama. ‘And so he cut himself a piece of meat.’

Itindilile ruuhuye/ 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: ***Itindilile ruuhuye/ 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/ itindilile ruuhuye/ nama.** ‘The knife, he finally cut the meat with it.’ and ***Chisu chaa ye/ itindililo ruuhuyé/ namá/ chibeele.** ‘The knife that he finally cut the meat with it is lost.’

Jaama/ mtindilile naani/ nama. ‘For whom did Jaama cut meat?’

khindila chaakuja or **khindilaa kuja** ‘to cut off food, supplies to’

Dowla/ ya Amerikaano/ iwatindilile ma’askari/ ya Somaaliya/ mu’aawana/ yaa kuja/ ka sababu/ mamulii mbovu.

‘The American government cut assistance for food to the soldiers of Somalia because of bad administration.’

khindila ito ‘to wink at’

Ali/ mtindilile Haliima/ ito/ ka nt^hiini/ nakhsula

kumshukaamisha. ‘Ali has winked at Haliima secretly, he wants to talk to her about getting together for sex etc.’

Muunt^hu/ mtindilile muke/ nama. ‘The man cut the meat for the woman.’

munt^hu mtindililo muké/ namá ‘the man who cut the meat for the woman’

Mwaana/ tindilile nama/ chisu. ‘The boy cut the meat with a knife.’ (Syn. The instrumental position in this sentence can be relativized ‘into’:

Chisu cha mwaana/ tindililo namaá/ chivundishile. ‘The knife that the boy used to cut the meat is broken.’

Nama/ nt^hindilīlee chisú. ‘Meat, I cut it using a knife.’ (This example from GM illustrates that he allows Left Dislocation of the secondary object in an instrumental applied construction. MI preferred not to have an instrument sitting after the verb, thus he avoided such forms and preferred to use the simple verb plus preposition construction:

Nama/ nt^hinzile kaa chisú. ‘The meat, I cut it with a knife.’

Nimtindilīle maaná/ nama. ‘I cut meat for the child.’ (Syn. Either one of the complements in this sentence may be preposed: **Maana/ nimtindilīlee nama.** or **Nama/ nimtindilīle maaná.** The logical object may be ordered after the verb, while still retaining canonical downstep intonation: **Nimtindilīlee nama/ maaná.**)

Nk^huku zaa mi/ nt^hindilīloo chisú/ spishiḷa 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^haná/ chisu chaa ye/ kunt^hindilaa mi/ nama. ‘He does not have a knife to cut meat for me.

Nt^hindilīle ruuhuyá/ chisu. ‘I cut myself (on purpose) with a knife.’ Or:

Chisu/ nt^hindilīle ruuhuyá.

Tuuma/ mtindilīle 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 version retains the same accent locations as the statement. The emphatic yes-no question shifts accent in VP phonological phrases: **Tuuma/ mtindilīle maaná/ nama!**?)

Tuuma/ mtindilīlee 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/ mtindilīlee 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/ mtindilīlee nama/ maaná!**?)

Uzile chisu chaa ye/ kh^hindilaa nama. ‘He bought a knife (for him) to cut meat with.’ (Cf. **Uzilee chisu/ kh^hindilaa nama.** ‘He bought a knife to use to cut meat.’)

kh-tindilana v. appl. rec. settle accounts together, with one another

kh-tindilika v. appl. p/s.

Saahibu/ ha^htindiliki/ hoola. ‘Animals cannot be slaughtered for animals for Saahibu (e.g. he will not pay the fee), but note that it is **Saahibu** that is the subject of the verb.’

kh-tiindisha v. caus. (**tindishiize**)

Abú/ 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/ m̄t̄indishilize 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/ m̄t̄indishilize 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 identification of thematic roles clear.)

Osmaani/ m̄t̄indishilize Nureeni/ mwaana/ muti. 'Osmaani caused Nureeni's child to cut the tree.'

Suufi/ chisu/ m̄t̄indishilize Waali/ nama. 'Suufi, a knife, caused Waali to cut meat with.' Or: **Chisu/ Suufi/ m̄t̄indishilize 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/ t̄indishilizeeni/ chisu. 'What did Suufi cause to be cut with a knife?' (A possible answer to this question: **Suufi/ t̄indishilizee nama/ chisu**. 'Suufi caused meat to be cut with a knife.')

kh-t̄indishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-t̄indishilizoowa v. caus. appl. pass. (**t̄indishiliza**)

Chisu/ sh̄t̄indishiliza 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/ sh̄t̄indishiliza nama**. The agent of the cutting cannot be omitted.)

kh-t̄indoowa v. pass. (**t̄inzila**) be cut, slaughtered

Apa/ sh̄t̄indoowa/ 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/ t̄inzilaa chita. '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/ t̄inzilapi. 'Where did they cut the bird?' Or: **T̄inzilapo/ chinyunyi**. (Possible answer: **Chinyunyi/ t̄inzilaa chita**. 'The bird was cut off the head.')

Chita/ t̄inzilaa nyunyi. 'The head, the bird has had it cut off.' (In this example, **chita** 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.)

T̄inzila kaa chisú/ na mwanaamké/ nii nama. 'What was cut with a knife by the girl is meat.'

Karka muunt^{hi}/ kati/ hūt̄indowaa mbuzi/ niingi. 'Around mid-day many goats are slaughtered.'

Nambiilá/ kumeera/ nyunyi/ mwiingine/ kama oyo/ na chiza kumpatá/ nt̄^hakht̄indoowa. 'I am told to look for another bird like that one and if I do not find one, I will be slaughtered.'

Ndila/ it̄inzila. 'The street was run across.'

Shchibasila/ muyiini/ mi/ nt̄^hakht̄indoowa/ na namayá/ it̄akhpikoowa. 'When we arrive in town, I will be slaughtered and my meat will be cooked.'

T̄inzila naani/ chita. '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/ nakhtindowa khuuni. ‘Menye is having a tonsilectomy (lit. cutting the tonsils).’

Na chiza kumpatá/ nt^hakhindoowa. ‘And if I do not get it, I will be killed.’

Ndiwó/ kuła maaka/ wachileetó/ mbuzi iyó/ ishindoowá/ okó/ ishindoowá/ ka Iboholi yaa Wake/ apa/ shindoowa/ 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/ chitaache/ tiinzilá. ‘Omari, his head was cut off.’

‘**Omari/ tinzilaa chitá.** ‘Omari’s head was cut off.’

Sultaani/ choondroka/ shtomola amri/ ngoombeze/ zotte/ khindoowa. ‘The sultan arose and gave an order that all his cattle be slaughtered.’

Wowi/ itiinzi. ‘The river was crossed.’

Ye/ shindowa chitaache. ‘He got his head cut off.’

rel. nom.

m-tinda (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who cuts, slaughters

mtinda 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)’

Mtinda hoola/ haṭalami/ khpasula. ‘One who slaughter animals does not hesitate/ to skin (them).’ (A proverb.)

m-tindo (*mi-*) n. 3/4 cutting, butchering; style (in clothes, etc.)

sh-tindo (*s-*) n. dim. 7/8 cutting, butchering

n-tindo

n. chisel; [pron. nt^hiindo]

ting

ideo. of metal, coins, etc., falling and making noise

Jisaa ye/ nakualo kootiyé/ mashijiingi/ yapootele/ nt^hi/ ting ting! ‘The way he was wearing his coat, a several shillings fell onto the floor **ting ting!**’ descending pitch

Mwaana/ uskumilee sa’a/ ipootele/ ting/ ivundishile. ‘The child pushed the clock and it fell down **ting!** it broke.’ (Ideophones can usually be repeated, as in: **Mwaana/ uskumilee sa’a/ ipootele/ ting ting/ ivundishile.**)

tiini

n. 9/10 [cf. Sw. *tini* SSED 468; Ar. *fin* W 100] fig, fig tree

Ali/ azile mshaka/ wa tiini/ kaake/ numbaani/ imorooni. ‘Ali grew a fig tree in the backyard of his house.’

muti wa tiini ‘fig tree’

Tiini/ huhadoowa/ ni karka mashaka/ ya matuundra/ ya janaani. ‘The fig tree is said to be among the fruit trees of paradise.’

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.’ Or:

Chibuuku/ chiko nt^hiini ya meeza. ‘A book is under the table.’

Also: **Nt^hiini ya meeza/ chibuuku/ chiikó.** ‘Under the table there is a book.’ **Meeza/ nt^hiinike/ chiko chibuuku.** ‘The table, under it, there is a book.’

Chishkila nt^hiini. ‘She went downstairs.’

chiti chaa mbwa/ uko nt^hiiniké... ‘the chair that the dog is under it...’

Chooloka/ nt^hini yaa muti. ‘He went under a tree.’

Hamadi/ uko nt^hini yaa muti. ‘Hamadi is under a tree.’

Ha^htaa we/ nakhko^oo na Nuuru/ 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, (to speak) in a whisper’

Ye/ hadile inaye/ ka nt^hiini/ mara niingi. ‘She said his name several times in a whisper.’

Ye/ hadile ka nt^hiini/ kuwaa ye/ nt^hachiiwa/ jisa hinenzowa gaari.
‘He whispered that he did not know how to drive a car.’

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^hini yaa chiti. ‘He slept under the chair. ‘ Or, with emphasis on the verb: Leele/ nt^hini yaa chiti. Or, with preposing of the prepositional phrase and a shifting of the verb to its pseudo-relative form: Nt^hini yaa ^fchiti/ leeló.

Mbwa/ sh^hteza nt^hini ya meeza. ‘The dog was playing under the table.’

Mbwa/ uko nt^hini ya meeza. ‘The dog is under the table.’

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/ sh^hpeta 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/ sh^htezo nt^hiiniyé// ndaaká. ‘The table that the dog is playing under it is mine.’

Meza yaa mbwa/ uko nt^hiiniyé/ ndaaká. ‘The table that the dog is under is mine.’ (cf. Mbwa/ uko nt^hini ya meeza. ‘The dog is under the table.’)

Mukhta^a ye/ langajilo nt^hiini/ chimwona/ uje siimba/ leele/ nt^hini yaa muti. ‘When he look down, he saw that lion sleeping under the tree.’

Muti wa Hamadi/ uko nt^hiiniyé/ mbwa sarkaali. ‘The tree that Hamadi is under it belongs to the government.’

Nnakendra nt^hiini/ kuleta zoombozá. ‘I am going down to bring my stuff.’
Or with verb emphasis: N^hnakeendrá/ nt^hiini/ kuleta zoomboza. ‘I am going down to bring my things.’

Ndrele nt^hiini. ‘I slept down/ under.’

Ndrele nt^hini yaa chiti. ‘I slept under the chair.’ Or, with focus on the verb:

Ndreelé/ nt^hini yaa chiti., but also possible: Ndreelé/ nt^hiini/ yaa

chiti. Or with focus on the preposition: Ndrele nt^hiini/ yaa chiti.

Or: Ndreelé/ ^fnt^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/ naku^la 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.’

Wo/ wafakeete/ numbaani/ ka khshera nt^hiini/ ka lkaambala. ‘They escaped from the house by sliding down a rope.’

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

n. [Som. *tirri* “exceptional strength” DSI 583; ?Ital. *tirare* “to pull”] force, strength, power

Gari iyi/ nt^haná/ tiira. ‘This car has no power.’

khtowa 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^{oore}

n. [Ital. *tiratore*] slingshot, catapult (Although *tiratore* is an Italian word, it does not correspond to the meaning of the Chimiini term, which in Italian is *fionda*. Many Italian loanwords used in Somali and Chimiini have meanings that do not correspond to the Italian use of these words.)

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] petrolmax

Nalí/ yana/ masku/ ziyaraani/ ka Dada Maasi^ti/ zoloshela/ mara mooyi/ tu/ zam!/ chimaliza/ zashiza tiriiki. ‘Lights (electric) last night at the Dada Maasiti ceremony went off at once *zam!* then petrolmaxes were lit.’

tis’a

num. nine

Keesho/ mumkini/ kuwa rama^ḍaani/ ka sababu/ leelo/ ni mweezi/ tis’a/ wa ishiriini/ sha’abaani. ‘Tomorrow may possibly be Ramadhan because today is the 29th of the month of Sha’abaani.’

tis’iini

n., adj. [Ar. *tis’ūn* W94] ninety

tis’ina keendra or **tis’iini/ na keendrá** ‘ninety nine’

Ma’ina/ masuura/ ya mojiitu/ ni tis’ina keendra. ‘God’s good names are 99.’

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 mut^hma'ini 'a tranquil person'; **want^hu mut^hma'ini** or **want^hu wat^hma'ini** 'tranquil people'
- tiivi** n. television; [pron. **tiiví**]
Ā'ā/ Huseeni/ tu/ nakulangalo tiiví. [HH!H] 'No, only Huseeni is watching TV.'
Omari/ nakulangala tiiví/ matezo ya mpiira/ ya duniya/ kubashiliza wakhti. 'Omari is watching on television the football game of the world (=World Cup) to pass time with.'
Want^hu wiingi/ hawapeendi/ khsooma/ wiingine/ hupenda kulangala tiiví. 'Many people do not like to read. Other people like to watch TV.'
- 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
Chondrola maotooye/ 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.'
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/ hatá/ muti/ ivuunzile. 'The evil eye of a person, even a tree it breaks down.' (A proverb.)
Itó/ ya mwaadamu/ kana ha'ikhubli/ khuluza. '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 maraði. '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 maraði. '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).’

khinda ito ‘to wink’

khindila 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 itooyo ‘to protect him as (you would your) eye’

Haliima/ humdhoora/ mwaanawe/ kana maatoye. ‘Haliima protects her child like her eyes.’

Maama/ watile waanawe/ waandra/ maatooni. ‘Mother applied eyeshadow to her daughters’ eyes.’

mato makavu ‘dry eyes’

mato mtuzi ‘conjunctivitis (where eyes become red and blurred)-- lit. soup eyes’

Mato ya mapeenzi/ hayaawoni/ ebu/ (za shpeendo). ‘The eyes of the lover do not see the defects (of the loved one).’ (A proverb.)

Mato yaamp^{hi}. ‘Which eyes?’

Maatoya/ yawele miinza/ ka zaa mi/ nakhkasó. ‘My eyes have become dim from what I have heard (experienced).’

Maatoye/ makali/ kana iwa. ‘His eyes are bright like the sun (i.e. he sees very well).’

Maatoye/ (makali)/ kana ya wiizi. ‘His eyes are sharp like those of thieves.’

Maatoyo/ ni shaahidi. ‘Your eyes are witnesses.’ (A proverb.)

Mkorshe/ heendra/ kachiwelela shtuzo cha maato. ‘Raise him (e.g. this child) so that he becomes for us the joy of our eyes.’

Mubli/ chiya numbaani/ ondroshezopo maatoyé/ ilú/ chimwona noka. ‘The husband came into the house, and when he raised his eyes up, he saw a snake.’

Muunt^hu/ nayo maato/ ha’onyoowi/ ndila. ‘The man who has eyes is not shown the road.’ (A proverb.)

Mwaana/ fungile maato. ‘The child came to understand things (lit. opened eyes).’

Na khariibuye/ iwaaliko/ ito ya maayi/ mabardi/ na malada. ‘And near it was a spring of water, cool and fresh.’

Nakhsula nimtile kaaka/ maatooni. ‘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 maato. ‘We opened [our] eyes.’

Shfungula maato. ‘He opened his eyes.’

Shfunzile mato yitú. ‘We closed our eyes.’ Or: **Mato yitú/ shfunzilé.**

Wakomele mahala/ iwaliko ito ya maayi. ‘They reached a place where there was a spring of water.’

Zita/ nt^haziná/ maato. ‘War does not have eyes.’ (A proverb.)

rel.

chi-ji-to (zi-) n. dim. 7/8

Zijitoze/ kana/ zaa nyunyi. ‘Her eyes are [small] like those of a bird.’

tooba

n. 9 [Sw. *toba* SSED 475; Ar. *tauba* W98] penitence, repentance, remorse, self-

reproach; variant form: **towba**

kuleta tooba 'to repent'

abdi ni waajibu kuleeta tooba/ shfaanya dambi nk'ulu mooje kumloomba [st.] 'a slave of God obliged to repent if he does a great sin and to pray to his God'

Chanzaa kula/ na kuleta toobá. 'He began to cry and to repent.'
duniya ni nuumba ya mwenye sho nuumba/ mtiyeeni mwajiitu ka kuleeta tooba [st.] 'the world is the house of of the one without a house, fear God and repent'

Muunt'u/ chileta tooba/ hafishoowa. 'When someone repents, he is forgiven.' (A proverb.)

Muunt'u/ chileta towba/ chint'u icho/ mara yingine/ haruudili. 'If a person repents for that thing one time, he should not repeat it.'

Mwaadamu/ chigafa/ ka mojiitu/ huleta towba/ hulomba maghfira. 'If a human being errs before God, he repents and begs for forgiveness.'

ya nafsi lete tooba mloomba rabi/ tooba ni waajibu kila shfaanya dambi [st.] 'oh mortals, repent, pray to God, repentance is a duty whenever you sin'

toohiidi

n. theology; variant form: **toowhiidi**

Husomeshowa diini/ akhlaakhi/ toohiidi. 'They are taught religions, ethics, theology.'

tooka

n. 9/10 [Som. *toogo* DSI 587] turn

khfanya tooka 'to arrange turns (e.g. of a manager establishing the taking of turns)'

khtala tooka 'to take turns'

Wabjaana/ wawili wawili/ watete tooka/ kudara maayi. 'The young men in twos took turns bailing out the water.'

Mi/ shfilatilowa kulindra tookaya 'I was expected to wait my turn.'

Ni toka ya naani/ kuumisha. 'It is whose turn to dry (e.g. the dishes)?'

tookaye 'his turn'

kh-tooka

v. get away

Bur'i/ hadiile/ Omari/ natooke/ ka apa. 'Bur'i told Omari that he should get away from here.'

Haliima/ mwambile Faaṭima/ tooka/ ka apa/ speendi/ kuwona. 'Haliima told Faaṭima: go away from here, I do not want to see you.'

rel.

kh-tookesha v. cause.

Mtookeshe. 'Send him away!'

kh-tokoowa v. pass.

Somo/ hadiile/ apa/ ni khtokoowa/ tu/ sababu/ siwo/ mahala/ suura. 'Somo said: here it should be left because it is not a good place.'

kh-tokeza

v. [Sw. *tokeza* "cause to come out" SSED 470] (**tokeeze**) appear

Mp'isi/ sh'tokeza/ tamlatilila rasaasi. 'If a hyena appears, I will shoot a bullet at it.'

Nimwene Omari/ nakhtokeza ka shpululuuni. 'I saw Omari appearing from the alley.'

Toldobaṭol

n. the seven clans of Brava: the five **Tunni** clans and the **Bida**, consisting of the **Wakohaṭimu** and the **Raa Waali**

kh-toleza

v. appear, come from

Apo/ sh'tolezaa 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/ amo waliko mubji/ 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].' (In the recording of the story from which this line comes, Mohammad Imam seemed to pronounce **amo** without any accent. In many other examples, **amó** can be heard, i.e. it is pronounced as a phrasal isolate with final accent.)

Kaa kule/ sh^htoleza/ mzele igobeegobe. 'In the distance, out popped Old Tortoise.'

Mara niingi/ hachiiwi/ maha^hlaa ye/ hu^htolezó. 'Often we do not know the place where he comes from.'

rel.

kh-tolezoowa v. pass. be come from

Kaa kule/ sh^htoleza mbwa wa maduuri. 'A wild dog approached from afar.'

Kaa kule/ sh^htoleza 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/ sh^htoloko 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 sh^htoloko. 'Now I will tell the story of the little bean.'

kh-tomola

v. [Sw. *chomoa* SSED 59] (**tomeele**) pay, give out, offer, take something or someone out of, send out; disburse, distribute

Abú/ tomele peesa/ chiborsaani/ kaake. 'Abu took money out of his wallet.'

Awa/ hawa^htomoli/ chaayi. 'These ones did not give out tea.'

Ba'ada yaa ye/ kulaa kuja/ tomele pesa za feða. 'After he bought the food, he paid with coins of silver.'

Basi/ muunt^hu/ oyo/ ka himaahima/ shfuungula/ ijuuniya/ chimtomola 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/ mtomele mwaana/ igoyi. 'The doctor extracted the child's molar tooth.'

Enzele/ tiinzile/ muti uje/ mwaana/ tomele sh^htolokoche. 'He went and cut down the tree; the boy took out his little bean [from it].'

Hasiibu/ sh^htomolaa ziwo/ za waawaye/ ka mivunguuni. 'Hasiibu took the books of his father out from the space under the bed.'

Hu^htomolo ni khalbí/ siwo/ utaajiri. 'That which gives is the heart, not wealth.' (A proverb.)

Ijini/ munt^hu tiiló/ ndiyé/ hu^htomoló. 'The djinn, the one who brought him in, is the one who can take him out.' (A proverb.)

Isa/ tomola chitaacho/ mpe. 'Now, take your head and give it to him.'

khtomola amri 'to issue an order'

khtomola deeni 'to give a loan'

khtomola fitiri 'to distribute alms at the end of Ramadhan'

khtomola hukumu 'to pass judgement'

Apo/ sul^htaani/ wa muuyi/ sh^htomola hukumu. 'There the king of the town passed judgement.'

khtomola iðni 'to approve'

kḥtomola kafaara ‘to give an offering, make a sacrifice in atonement for a wrong one has done’

Nuuru/ koḍele wanaafakhi/ imwajibibile/ kḥtomola ngoombe/ kafaara. ‘Nuuru told lies, he must (as punishment) slaughter a cow as an offering.’

kḥtomola khabari ‘to issue news’

kḥtomola khabari mbelé ‘to predict (lit. issue news preceding)’

kḥtomola makosa ‘to point out a mistake’

Abdul Khaadiri/ ṃtomele ṃwaana/ makosa. ‘Abdul Khaadiri pointed out the child’s mistake to him.’

kḥtomola mshahara ‘to pay a salary’

kḥtomola sadaqa ‘to distribute alms’

kḥtomola waajibu ‘to fulfill an obligation (also, in particular, a *social* obligation, like going to present condolences, or to attend a ceremony)

kḥtomolaa zaka ‘to distribute zaka’

Mahaḷaa we/ tamtiló/ haṭá/ nṭhupaani/ ṃwaachisi/ takhṭtomola 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/ sḥtomola/ shiḷingi/ khamsiini/ ka chiwovuuni/ chimpa. ‘The husband took out fifty shillings from the pocket and gave it to her.’

Mukhtạa ye/ maliizó/ Abunawaasi/ sḥtomolaa khati/ chimpa Harun Rashiidi. ‘When he [Abunawaasi] was finished, Abunawaasi took out the letter and gave it to Harun Rashiidi.’

Ni eelo/ iló/ sḥtomelo ka khaṭariini. ‘It was the gazelle who came and who got you out of danger.’

Nuuru/ tomele meeza/ ka mṭanaani. ‘Nuuru took the table out of the room.’

Omari/ tomele mpiira/ sandukhuuni. ‘Omari took the ball out from the box.’

Oyo ṃwiimbili/ chilawa/ shtala icho chilaatu/ sḥtomola/ cheendra. ‘That young man went out, taking that shoe, taking (it from the leg that he had cut off the woman) and went away.’

Sḥtomola thumuni ya riyaali. ‘He took out an eighth of a riyal.’

Tomelee chiti/ ndilaani. ‘He took the chair out.’

ṭomola sadaqa sku ya ziyaara [st.] ‘distribute alms (or food) on the day of the *ziyaara*’

Wasḥtomola peesa. ‘They paid the money.’

Waṭaṃtomola ka ḷkaambala. ‘They will bring him out with a rope.’

rel.

kḥ-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] (-**tomoshēle**) come out; be extractable

Mpiira uṭomeḷa sandukhuuni. ‘The ball was taken out of the box.’ Also: **Sandukhuuni/ iṭomeḷa mpiira.** ‘From the box there was taking of the ball.’

Musmaari/ nṭḥa’ unakḥtomoka/ ka ḷkutaani. ‘The nail cannot be extracted from the wall.’

kḥ-tomoloowa v. pass. (**tomeeḷa**) be paid; be taken out of

Chaayi/ hasḥtomoloowi/ na awa. ‘Tea was not given out by these ones.’

Hasḥtomolowi na awá/ ni chaayi. ‘What was not given out by these ones is tea.’

Peesa/ ṣtomēḷa chiborsaani/ kaake. ‘Money was taken out of his wallet.’

Also: **Chiborsaani/ kaake/ ṣtomēḷa peesá.** ‘His wallet money was taken from.’ **Chiboorsa/ sḥtomēḷa peesa.** ‘The wallet was taken from money.’

Shawaala/ tomeeḷa/ kaziini. ‘The worker was fired from his job.’ Or:

Kaziini/ tomeeḷa/ shawaala. (Although MI used the word **shawaala** in this example, it is rarely used now. The word **shaqaale/ shakhaale** from Somali is the usual term for a worker.)

- Sh_tomolowa 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 nthupaani. ‘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 koo_oi ‘to make s.o. say s.t. unconsciously’
N^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, fresh 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^hu wazima. ‘Don’t provoke adults!’
rel.
kh-toongana v. rec. (**-tongeene**) provoke one another
Omari wa Nuuru/ watongeene. ‘Omari and Nuuru provoked one another.’
kh-toongeka v. p/s. able to be provoked
Ha_toongeki/ ka sahali. ‘He is not easily provoked.’
kh-toongela v. appl. provoke for
Ndi_iwa/ chimwaambila/ sint^hoongelé/ zita zaa mi/ sikhaadiri. ‘The pigeon told him: Don’t provoke for me wars that I cannot afford!’
Nyunyi uje/ nt^hongelee bala. ‘That bird did cause me a mishap.’
kh-tongoowa v. pass. (**toonzele**)
Khtongowa muunt^hu/ ikalant^hiliiló/ 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 mzele/ 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 mitoongo ‘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?’
- Nt^hoongo/ hinendra na nt^hoongo.** ‘Blind goes with blind.’ (A proverb, essentially ‘birds of a feather, flock together’.)
- rel
- i-toongo** (*mi-*) adj. 5/4 in agreement with augmentative nouns
- ibwa itoongo** ‘a large blind-in-one-eye dog’
- sh-toongo** (*s-*) adj. in agreement with diminutive nouns
- chibwa sh^htoongo** ‘a blind-in-one-eye little dog’
- i-toongo** (*ma-*) n. secretion from the eye, thick, like paste
- kh^hpangula ma^htoongo** ‘to clean, wipe away secretion from the eye’
- Maato/ yanamlawa ma^htoongo.** ‘His eyes are secreting ma^htoongo.’
- 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
- Ha^htoonsi.** ‘He is not able to take care of himself; he is impotent.’
- Wako mifuga/ hu^htoonsó.** ‘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/ hu^htoonsa.** ‘You are potent.’
- ma-toonso** n. 6
- kh-toontela** v. [Sw. *chochea* SSED 57] (**tont^heleele** 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. **kh^htoont^hela**]
- kh^htont^helaa mu^hlo** ‘to revive a fire’
- rel.
- kh-tontelela** v. appl. (**tont^heleele**) [pron. **kh^htont^he^hela**]
- rel. nom.
- u-toontelo** n. 14 act of poking; [pron. **u^htoont^helo**]
- sh-toontelo** (*s-*) n. 7/8 an instrument used to stir up a fire to revive it; [pron. **sh^htoont^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] (**toreete**) be useful
- Ha^htoorati/ chiint^hu.** ‘He is good for nothing.’ Or, less commonly: **Ha^htoorati chiint^hu.**
- Hu^htoorani/ Hasani.** ‘What is Hasani able to do?’ Or: **Hasani/ hu^htoorani.** (These questions imply that Hasani isn’t able to do anything.)
- kh^htoorataa 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)’
- kh^htoorata daank^hu** ‘to mix **daank^hu** with oil, sugar, resins, etc.’
- Mkono mtupu/ ha^hu^htoorati/ chiint^hu.** ‘An empty hand cannot do anything.’ (A proverb.)
- Mubli/ ha^htoorati chiint^hu/ siwo/ mubli.** ‘A man who is not capable of anything’

is not a man.’ (A proverb.)

Naani/ haṭoraṭi chiint^hu. ‘Who is not able to do anything?’ The answer to this question might be: **Omari/ haṭoraṭi chiint^hu.** ‘Omari is not able to do anything.’

rel.

kh-toraṭika v. p/s.

Buni/ haṣṭoraṭiki/ bilaa daank^hu. ‘Coffee beans cannot be used/served in (making the concoction described above) without **daank^hu.**’

Hayṭoraṭiki/ chiint^hu/ bilaa ma’arifa. ‘Nothing can be useful without knowledge.’

kh-toraṭila v. appl. able to do for

M(w)ana uyu/ hant^horaṭili/ chiint^hu. ‘This child is not able to do anything for me.’

kh-toraṭilana v. appl. rec. be able to do for one another, be of help to one another

kh-toraṭisha v. caus.

Mṭoraṭishize Haliima/ buni. ‘He had Haliima add the ingredients to the coffee beans (to make the concoction described above).’

rel. nom.

m-tooraṭo n. 3

u-tooraṭo n. 14

tooraṭi

n. [Sw. *torati* SSED 473; Ar. *taurāh* W 99] Torah
ṭoraṭiini ‘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] (**ṭoroshēle**) 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)

ṭuti toosani ‘a straight stick’

munt^hu toosani ‘an upright man’

Mtume Ya’aquuba/ ni mooyi/ karka mitume/ watumiilá/ na mwajiitu/ keendra/ koonyeza/ 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-toosaṭa

v. [Som. *toos* ‘to become straight, honest’ DSI 587] (**ṭoseete**) be morally or physically straight; become correct in behavior; become clear, certain

Laakini/ mwaana/ wele karwaayi/ ize khtooṣaṭa. ‘But the boy became stubborn and refused to be corrected.’

Safari/ iṭoseete. ‘The journey was confirmed, became certain (after there had been doubts as to its being possible).’

Sho khkoḍowa ṭila/ jawaabu/ ha’iṭoosaṭi. ‘Without telling the truth, things do not get right.’ (A proverb.)

rel.

kh-toosaṭila v. appl.

Mwaana/ nt^hakunt^hosaṭila. ‘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] (**ṭoshishiize**) make straight; give clear directions, indications (e.g. about what route to follow).’

Mwaana/ nt^hakhaadira/ khtosisha yaa ye/ (ku)m^wambila waawaye. ‘The

boy was not able to think of anything (plausible) to tell his father.’
Nt^hakhaadira/ khtosisha chiint^hu/ mun^hi oyo/ mzimawe. ‘He was not able to think straight that whole day.’

kh-tosishika v. caus. p/s.

Muti upotosheló/ ha’u^htosishiki. ‘A tree that is bent cannot be straightened.’
(A proverb.)

kh-tosishiliza v. caus. appl.

Mi/ khuletelele mwaaná/ kun^htosishilizá. ‘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; guess; be sufficient, suffice
variant form: *khtasha*

Abastiide/ tosheze kuwa mlaango/ uwaliko mwaazi. ‘Abastiidhe thought that the door was open.’

Adabu/ inakhutoshe. ‘Behave [lit. let good manners suffice you]!’

Amiini/ mtosheze Mustafa/ dokhaani. ‘Amiini thought Mustafa to be a fool.’

Basi/ hun^hosha/ aya/ yaa we/ nt^himishiliizó. ‘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/ sh^htosheeze. ‘The food was sufficient.’

Chibuku cha Ali/ toshezo kuwa Nuuru/ chiboozelé/ shpeeta. ‘The book that Ali thought that Nuuru stole (it) has been found.’ (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].’ (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.’)

Chibuku gani/ we/ nakhtoshó/ kuwa Hamadi/ takuuló (or: takuula). ‘Which book do you think that Hamadi will buy.’

Fakhi/ tosheze kuwa Imaamu/ mpele mwaana/ chibuuku. ‘Fakhi thought that Imaamu gave the child the book.’ (Cf. It is possible for **mwaana** to be the head of a relative version of this sentence: **Mwana 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 fiile. ‘Hamadi thought Baazi that he died.’ (Note that one can also have: **Hamadi/ mtosheze Baazi/ kuwaa ye/ fiile.** ‘Hamadi thought Baazi that he died.’)

Haanzu/ ha’im^htoshi/ Fardoosa. ‘This dress will not fit Fardoosa.’

Hutosha/ mi/ we/ ni laazimu/ khsoma chibuku ichi. ‘I think that you should read this book.’ (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/ mwaana/ 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/ ichin^hosha ‘if the hat fits me’

kama makoofiya/ yachin^hosha ‘if the hats fit me’

the

Kuwa mwaana/ takhpita imtihaani/ Muusa/ nakhtoshó. ‘That the child will pass 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.**)

Maryamu/ tosheeze/ mukhta waana/ chibuuku/ watamony mwaalimu.

‘Maryamu guessed when the children would show the book to the teacher.’

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 mwaaná/ takhpita imtihaani.** ‘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^hasá/ nt^hawaakujá. ‘I thought that they had not yet eaten.’ (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 kumwona/ mtume uyu. ‘I do not think that you will get to see this prophet.’

Milyuuni/ miyaa mbili/ hastoshi chiint^u/ na husuloowa/ zo/ khtomoloowa/ ka hima/ ka sababu ba^aodi yaa nt^hi/ zimo karkaa dhibu/ nt^o/ 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 raⁱisi/ hadiiló/ ni wanaafakhi. ‘Mukhtaari thinks that what the president said is a lie.’ (The complementizer **kuwa** cannot be elided in this example.)

Muusa/ nakhtosha/ kuwa mwaana/ takhpita (/) imtihaani. ‘Muusa thinks that the child will pass the examination.’

Muusa/ nakhtosha kuwa mwaana/ tu/ takhpito imtihaani. ‘Muusa thinks that only the child will pass the examination.’

Muusa/ nakhtosha/ ^fNuuru/ takhpitó/ imtihaani. ‘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/ nakhtosha ^fNuuru/ takhpito imtihaani. ‘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/ nakhtosha mwaaná/ takhpita imtihaani. ‘Only Muusa thinks that the child will pass the examination.’

Mwaalimu/ watosheze mwanaamke/ na mwiimbili/ madokhani. ‘The teacher

thought that the girl and the boy were fools.’ Or: **Mwaaalimu/ m̄tosheze mwanaamke/ na m̄wiimbili/ madokhani**. (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/ ̄tosheze kuwa Jaamá/ mpelo chibuukú/ ni Nureeni. ‘The child whom Baana thought that Jaama gave him a book is Nureeni.’

mwaana/ wa Hasani/ nakht̄osho (kuwaa ye/) ̄takhsoomá ‘the child whom Hasani thinks (that he) will read the book’

mwanaamke/ na m̄wiimbili wa Banafuunzi/ m̄tosheze kuwa madokhani ‘the girl and the boy whom Banafuunzi thought were fools’ (It is possible for the head of the relative to be just the second member of the conjunct: **mwanamke wa Banafuunzi/ wa ̄tosheze m̄wiimbili/ naayé/ madokhani** ‘the girl who Banafuunzi thought the boy and her were fools’. The head cannot be the first member of the conjunction: ***mwanamke wa Banafuunzi/ m̄tosheze na m̄wiimbili/ madokhani** ‘the girl who Banafuunzi thought she and the boy were fools’.)

nafasi ya kht̄osha ‘enough room’

Nakht̄oshá/ Jeeli/ nakuwa mwaaalimu. ‘I think that Jeeli is becoming a teacher.’

Nakht̄osha Haliimá/ ̄tu/ wasaydilo waaná. [HH!!H] ‘I think only Haliima helped the children.’

Nakht̄osha kuwa Hamadí/ chimbele chibuukú. ‘I think that Hamadi lost a book.’ Cf.

Nakht̄osha kuwa Hamadí/ chibuukú/ chimbeelé. ‘I think that Hamadi lost the book.’ **confirm accent in definite form and the distinction between indefinite and definite**

Nakht̄osha kuwa mwaaná/ ̄takhpita im̄tihaaní/ 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

Nakht̄osha kuwa mwaaná/ ̄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 ML, generally elides in front of *na* in the speech of GM.)

Nakht̄oshá/ kuwa mwaana/ ̄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.)

Nakht̄oshá/ kuwa Nureeni/ nakhsuúlaa kuja. ‘I think that Nureeni wants food.’ Or: **Nakht̄oshá/ kuwaa kuja/ Nureeni/ nakhsuúla**. ‘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/ nakht̄oshá/ kuwa Nureeni/ nakhsuúla**. ‘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/ nakhsuúla/ nakht̄oshá**. ‘Food, that Nureeni wants, I think.’)

Nakht̄osha kuwa Nuurú/ jilee kujá. ‘I think that Nuuru ate the food.’ Or:

Nakht̄osha 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/ jiiilé/ 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/ jiiilé/ 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/ mbozelo 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/ mbozelo Nureeni/ peesá/ yaná** (or: **yana**).’

Nakhtosha kuwa Nureeni/ nakhsuúlaa 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 nakhsuúlaa kuja. ‘I think that *Nureeni* wants food.’ Or: **Nakhtosha Nureeni/ kuja/ nakhsuúla**. (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.)

Nakhtoshá/ ye/ mbishilee mi/ ka khašti. ‘I think he knocked me down on purpose’

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 mwaana/ 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**.)

Naani/ takhshiindró/ we/ nakhtoshó. ‘Who will win do you think?’

Naani/ we/ nakhtoshó/ kuwa bozelo gaari. ‘Who do you think that he stole the car?’ (Although this example shows the focused phrase **naani** triggering pseudo-relativization of both the main verb and the complement verb, the latter pseudo-relativization is not obligatory.)

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 faró [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 *Nish**tosheze** 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^h**osheze 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.’

Nuuru/ tu/ nakhtoshó/ kuwa Baana/ **takhshiindró** (or: **takhshiindra**). ‘Only Nuuru thinks that Baana will win.’

Omari/ nakhtosha/ kuwa Nureeni/ nakhsu_laa kuja. ‘Omari *thinks* that Nureeni wants food.’ Or: **Omari/ nakht**osha/ kuwaa ^fkuja/ Nureeni/ nakhsu_ló. ‘Omari *thinks* that it is food that Nureeni wants.’ Or: **Omari/ nakht**osha/ kuwa ^fNureeni/ kuja/ nakhsu_ló. ‘Omari *thinks* that Nureeni food wants.’

Omari/ nakhtosha kuwa Sheekhe/ ni **taajiri**. ‘Omari thinks that Sheekhe is rich.’

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/ tos**heze Nureeni/ kuwa chimbiile. Or: **Shaafi m**tosheze Nureeni/ kuwa chimbiile.

Skutosha/ hatá/ 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.’

Stoshi/ kuwa Baana/ **takuuya**. ‘I don’t think that Baana will come.’ Cf. **Nakht**osha Baana/ kuwa hatakuuya. ‘I think that Baana will not come.’

Taahiri/ tosheze (kuwa) Fatú/ fiile. ‘Taahiri thought that Fatu died.’ Or: **Taahiri/ tos**heze Fatú/ kuwa fiile. Or: **Taahiri/ m**tosheze 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/ bozeleni. ‘You think that Nuuru stole what?’ Or: **We/ nakht**oshani/ kuwa Nuuru/ bozele. ‘What do you think that Nuuru stole?’

We/ nakhtosha kuwa naani/ Hamadi/ mpelo peesá. Who do you think that Hamadi gave money to?’ Without pseudo-relativization of the complement verb: **We/ nakht**osha kuwa naani/ Hamadi/ mpele peesa. Without pseudo-relativization of the complement verb and also with emphasis on that verb: **We/ nakht**osha kuwa naani/ Hamadi/ mpee/ peesa. **are these examples of non-pseudo relativization valid?**

We/ nakhtosha kuwa naani/ **takhshiindró**. ‘Who do you think that he will win?’ Without pseudo-relativization: **We/ nakht**osha kuwa naani/ **takhshiindra**. **is this really ok?**

We/ nakhtosha naani/ kuwa Hamadi/ mpelo peesá. ‘Who do you think that Hamadi gave money to?’ Without pseudo-relativization of the complement verb: **We/ nakht**osha naani/ kuwa Hamadi/ mpele peesa. Without pseudo-relativization and with emphasis on the complement verb: **We/ nakht**osha naani/ kuwa Hamadi/ mpee/ peesa.

We/ nakhtosha naani/ kuwa **takhshiindró**. ‘Who do you think that he will win?’ Without pseudo-relativization: **We/ nakht**osha naani/ kuwa **takhshiindra**.

Ye/ bakayle/ fikirii_le/ shfanya jis’iyo/ dafa/ **takht**osha kuwaa ye/ fiile. ‘It, the rabbit, thought that if he acted that way, the hawk would believe that he was dead.’

Ye/ fikiriile/ shfanya jis’iyo/ dafa/ **takht**osha 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**)

Baazi/ tosheza kuwa fiile. 'Baazi was thought that he died.' But note that one can also say: **Baazi/ tosheza kuwaa ye/ fiile.** 'Baazi was thought that he died.'

Chibuuku/ sh_tosheza kuwa chiboozela. 'The book was thought that it had been stolen.'

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.'

Kuwa Nuuru/ takhpita imtihaani/ inakhtoshoowa/ naami. 'That Nuuru will pass the examination is believed by me.'

Mwanaamke/ na mwiimbili/ watosheza madokhani/ na mwaalimu. 'The girl and the boy were thought to be fools by the teacher.' (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/ katiike '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] (**-tovelele**) dip for, with

Nimtovelele mwaaná/ maandra/ 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^he/ hutowa kont^he. 'The one who searches for (or: demands) all misses all ([lit.] everywhere).' (A proverb.) Also: **Humero zont^he/ hutowa zont^he.** 'The one who searches for (or: demands) all misses all.'

Khsula yont^he/ hutowa yont^he. 'Wanting all means missing all.' (A proverb.)

khtowaa kati 'to disappear, to come to a place and then disappear without being noticed -- lit. to get lost in the middle'

Shpetecha/ cha dhahabu/ sh_tozelaa kati/ tu. 'My gold ring has gotten lost (it has just disappeared, it was here and then it was gone).'

khtowa maato 'to lose one's sight (but with the eye not being damaged or lost)'

Zubeeri/ tozele maato. 'Zubeeri lost his sight.' (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.’

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).’

Mukhtaa mi/ nsuliloo ye/ kunaambilá/ ka khisa yaa ye/ nkoðeloo mi/ kaziini/ jisaa mbovú/ ye/ / tozele/ yaa ye/ kujiiba. ‘When I wanted him to tell me why he talked badly of me at work, he ended up talking nonsense.’

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.)

Mwana waa noka/ haatowi/ kuluma. ‘The child of a snake does not fail to bite.’ (A proverb.)

Mwanamke chihaba/ tozele/ nguwoze. ‘The youngest girl could not find her clothes.’

ngamila sh^towa miti ha’imshiki [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/ sh^tozele ikopa ya sul^taani. ‘We are missing the cup of the sultan.’

Sul^taani/ sh^towa/ yaa ye/ kuhada. ‘The sultan could not find what to say.’

Tozele/ ba/ nsi. ‘He could not find any fish at all.’

Waant^hu/ wa^tozele/ jisaa wo/ kendra maduriini. ‘People could not go into the bush country.’

Washt^towa. ‘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/ hawa^towani. ‘A man and his wife do not miss each other.’ (A proverb.)

kh-toweka v. p/s. (-*toweshela*) be unobtainable, unavailable

kh-towe^loowa v. appl. pass.

Muunt^hu/ sh^teza ka’uta/ sh^towe^lowa taakha/ huwona yaake. ‘If a person takes risks and cannot be managed, he sees his (i.e. he will get what he deserves for being so reckless).’

Towe^lela 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 sul^taani/ wa muuyi/ uyu/ hakhaadiri/ nt^ho/ na hattá/ isa/ toze^la muunt^hu/ wa kumfanyilizaa 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/ s^toze^la. ‘No signs of him were seen.’

Chimó/ sh^hitowoowa/ tu/ kont^he/ sh^toze^la. ‘One [of the shoes] was not to be seen anywhere, it was missing.’

Chiint^hu/ itoze^la muunt^hi/ masku/ haypatoowi. ‘Something not found during the day is not found at night.’ (A proverb.)

maayi ni numa na zote sh^towoowa futuri^laani ka kila hujoowa [st.] ‘water is later, and if there is nothing available, break your fast with anything edible’

Mbona/ toze^la. ‘[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^u wa khupa koo^odi/ ha^towoowi/ munt^u wa khufanyiliza chiint^u/ 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^u/ khtafsiira. ‘There was no one found to interpret (the dream).’

Wachiimba/ washteza/ ha^tá/ sa’a ikumi/ za masku/ ba’ada ya apo/ dhokhookhi/ yaawo/ itozela/ wote/ usiinzizi/ uwateete/ wala^tize/

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.’
kh^toza uso ‘to cause to lose face’

Nt^hozeze uso/ ka weenzawa. ‘He caused me to lose face (in the eyes of) my friends.’

kh^tozaa 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/ wa^tozelezenye 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, famine, lack of food; [pron. **nt^howa**]

Mwaka oyo/ apo/ ba’adiye/ yilee nt^howa/ na ooni. ‘That year at that place afterwards came drought/famine and thirst.’

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)/ nam^toweshe. ‘Let him be, do not oppose him or interfere with his wrong doing.’

Ichiwaa ye/ ize khkasa jawaabu/ za wazeleewe/ mojiitu/ nam^toweshe/ 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. [Sw. *taufiki* "guidance and grace of God, fulfillment of one’s wishes, success, prosperity" SSED 457; Ar. *taufiq* W 1085] God’s guidance, grace, success and prosperity (granted by God)

variants: *toofiqi, toofikhi, towfikhi*

Mojiitu/ nakhupa towfiqi. ‘May God crown your efforts with success.’

pamo na towfiqi janna ni sahali [st.] ‘with God’s guidance, Paradise is easily attainable’

toowhiidi

n. [Ar. *tawhīd* W 1055] theology; the oneness of God

i-tozi (maa-)

n. 5/6 [Sw. *chozi* SSED 61] tear

Asadi/ huṭasawara kuwa maatozi/ yachimvuuya. ‘Asadi, it is possible that he was crying.’ Or: **Maatozi/ huṭasawara kuwa yachimvuya Asadi.** ‘Tears, it is possible that they were flowing from Asadi.’

Huṭasawara kuwa Asadi/ yachimvuya maatozi. ‘It is possible that Asadi was crying.’

kumiminika maatozi/ kana bomba ‘for tears to pour out like tap water’

kureba maatozi ‘to hold back tears’

Kuwa Asadi/ yachimvuya maatozi/ huṭasawara. ‘That Asadi was crying is possible.’ Or: **Asadi/ kuwa yachimvuya maatozi/ huṭasawara.**

Kuwa maatozi/ yachimvuya Asadi/ huṭasawara. ‘That tears were flowing (from Asadi) is possible.’ Or: **Maatozi/ kuwa yachimvuya Asadi/ huṭasawara.**

Maatozi/ yachimṭawanyika kamaa nvula. ‘Tears spilled from her like rain.’

Mwaana/ yamḷazile maatozi. [H!H] ‘Tears flowed from the child.’ Cf. **Maatozi/ yamḷazile/ mwaana.** [H!H!H] ‘Tears *flowed* from him, the child.’ Cf.

Yamḷazile mwaaná/ ni maatozi. [H!H] ‘What flowed from the child was tears.’

Mwanaamke/ uko ilu yaa muti/ chila/ matoziye/yachimpotelela/ mwaana/ wa sultaani/ leeló/ nt^hini yaa muti. ‘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/ kumpa 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.)

Fardoosa/ haanzu/ jaribiile/ tu/ ye/ nt^hakiyuula. ‘Fardoosa only tried on the dress, she did not buy it.’

Haliima/ tu/ imṭihaani/ pisile. ‘Only Haliima passed the examination.’

Ichiwa/ teena/ kuḷa mara/ humviiḷa/ 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/ namsuḷa 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/ kòdeeló/ ka lkelé.** ‘It is only Muusa who spoke loudly.’
- Muusa/ tu/ nakhtósho 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^hakkoḍa 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.’
- Nakhsuḷa chibuuku/ tu.** ‘He wants just a book.’
- Nakhsuḷa 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.’ (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/ tu.** [HH!!H] ‘Omari just came [i.e. he did not come for any particular reason, he just came to be there, “hang out”, etc.]’
- Omari/ tu/ iló.** ‘Only Omari came.’ Or: **Iló/ Omari/ tu.** ‘Who came is only Omari.’ (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/ peesá.** ‘[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.’ (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.’ (Note that one cannot say ***Omari/ mpele/ 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.’
- Paṭika/ tu.** ‘Just put it on (any old way, don’t worry about putting it on properly)!’ (The accent on **tu** is clearly present, though the raised pitch on **tu** is not higher than the raised pitch on the penult of **paṭika**.)
- Sule faṭura 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 **Sulé/ faṭura iyo.** ‘Don’t buy that car.’ In the present example, the particle **tu**

draws the focus to the complement **faṭura iyo** ‘that car’ and thus allows the verb to escape phrase-final position. The final accent of the verb now appears on the complement.)

zint^hu 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^heje/ n^hubiilé/ n^hubiilé/ basi/ ndraṭa/ mi/ nk^hoḍele wanaafakhí. ‘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
Mubli/ chimwambila mukeewe/ kumletela tubaaku/ ka kabaṭiini. ‘The husband told his wife to bring him tobacco from the cupboard.’
Talaa ṭala/ mereḷa tubaaku. ‘Take the lamp and loo for the tobacco.’

kh-tubaṭa v. pile up
khṭubaṭa mṭaanga ‘to pile up sand’
rel.
kh-tubama v. (**tubeeme**) be abundant (to be piled up)
Gele/ itubeeme. ‘Maize is abundant.’
Mṭaanga/ uṭubeeme. ‘Sand is abundant.’
Sukhuuni/ mazu/ yaṭubeeme. ‘In the market bananas are abundant (i.e. there are piles of bananas).’
kh-tubana v. (**tubeene**) gather, collect
Waant^hu/ waṭubeene/ apo/ kanaa nyoki. ‘People gathered there like bees.’
kh-tubisha v. pile s.t. up
khṭubishaa kuja ‘to pile up food’
khṭubisha mṭaanga ‘to pile up sand’

tuubo n. 9/10 [Ital. *tubo*] water pipe, hose
Ṭubo 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
ṭubu ya mṭaanga ‘sandpile’
rel.
i-tuubu n. pile
iṭubu ya mṭaanga ‘sandpile’

tuf ideo. of spitting
Makiina/ inakhṭa(w)anya maayi/ tuf tuf tuf. ‘The machne is spitting out water tuf tuf tuf.’
Makiina/ inakhṭufa 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 ifuwooni/ chimṭufa. ‘When (the fish) reached the shore, he spit him (Huseeni) out.’

kumṭufa ‘to spit on s.o. – i.e. to give up on that person, reject him’
Khaasimu/ hadile kuwaa ye/ ṭakunsaayda/ laakini/ nt^hakuuya/ nimṭufiilé/ tamuza munt^hu mwiingine/ badiliye. ‘Khaasimu said that he would help me, but he did not come, I have given up on him, I will ask someone else instead.’
stoshe khuṭufiile umo karka niya [song] ‘don’t think that I have quit on you, you are in my mind’

kḥtufaa mate ‘to spit’

Stufé/ mate/ n̄thi. ‘Don’t spit on the floor!’

kḥtufa maazi ‘to spit blood’

Mara maape/ mi/ hụtufa maazi/ ka khisa miinoya/ hụlawa maazi/ masku. ‘Sometimes I spit up blood because my teeth bleed at night.’

Omari/ fanyize kaazi/ karka warshada iyo/ hạtá/ tufile maazi. ‘Omari worked (long and hard) in that industry until he spit blood.’

rel.

kh-tufạatufa v. freq.

kḥtufạatufaa mate ‘to spit over and over’

kh-tufịloowa v. pass. (**tufịlịla**) be spit on

kh-tufịla v. appl. (**tufịlịle**) spit on

kḥtufila qur’aani/ maayi ‘to spit water (while reading) the Quran – refers to the still common custom in Brava, 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/ wanakḥtufila maayi/ pu pu. ‘The religious people are “spitting” in the water (while reading the Quran) **pu pu.**’

Shekh Nureeni/ mayi aya/ tufịlịle quraani/ pu pu. ‘Sheikh

Nureeni has spit in this water (while reading the Quran).’

kh-tufịsha v. caus. (**tufịshịize**) cause s.o. to spit

Ṃtufịshịize. ‘He caused him to spit.’

kh-tufịshoowa v. caus. pass. (**tufịshịiza**) be made to spit

Nuuru/ tufịshiza maazi. ‘Nuuru was made to spit blood (i.e. he was beaten to the point that he started spitting blood).’

kh-tuufa

v. [Ar. *fāfa, tūf* “perform the circumambulation of the Kaaba” W 573-574] (**tufịile**) go around the **Ka’ba**

kḥtufa ka’ba ‘to go around the Kaaba seven rounds’

wanạtuufe 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 shartị kḥtufoowa [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.’

Chala tufaaha/ ha’ịlawi/ mazu. ‘If you plant apples, it will not yield bananas.’ (A proverb.)

Chisụlịlopo kḥtinda tufaahá/ kujá/ shkasize muunt^hu/ nakuhada/ sṭindeeni/ tufaha izi./ Muti uyu/ mbwa suḷtaani. ‘When we wanted to pick apples to eat, we heard a man say: Don’t pick these apples! This tree belongs to the king.’

kana tufaaha or **mạtufaaha** ‘like an apple/apples’ (Apples are not found in Brava, but the **want^h wa Miini** consider apples to be something very good, and thus they compare other things to apples.)

Omari/ lesele embe/ kana ma-tufaaha/ yanakuuzika/ yanakiineendra/ kana mayịmbi. ‘Omari bought mangoes which (are good, magbificent) like apples; they are getting sold, they are moving like sea waves.’

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] storm, hurricane, etc.

Muyi wa Miini/ khariibu/ khpangulowa na tuufaani. ‘The town of Brava was nearly wiped out by a storm.’

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 ziboozela. ‘Hasani suspects that the books were stolen.’

Hasani/ nakhtuhumaa zijo/ kuwa zijiila. ‘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 kujâ!?**)

Hasani/ namtuhuma kuwaa zijo/ jiile. ‘Hasani 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/ kujâ!?**)

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^hu kh^htuhuma [song] ‘even your staying at my place, people suspect you’

Mukeewe/ ba/ mtuhumiile. ‘Even his wife suspected him.’

Omari/ tuhumile 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/ tuhumile 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/ mfitinile 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/ hatuhumiki/ ka *khisaa ye/ waliko apa/ mukhtạa duka/ iboozeḷá*. ‘Ali cannot be suspected (of the crime) because he was here at the time when the shop was robbed.’

kh-tuhumiloowa v. appl. pass. (tuhumiḷiḷa)

kh-tuhumila v. appl. [Sw. *tuhumia* SSED 475] (tuhumiḷiḷe) suspect on (i.e. suspect someone related to one)

Nt^huhumililee 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] (tuhumiḷa) be suspected by

Mwaana/ tuhumiḷa kuwa bozele peesa. ‘The child was suspected to have stolen some money.’ (Syn: Interestingly, MI accepted having an infinitive in the lower clause: Mwaana/ tuhumiḷa 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/ zinakh^htuhumoowa/ kuwa ziboozeḷa. ‘The books were suspected to have been stolen.’ Or: Zibuuku/ zinakh^htuhuma kuwa ziboozeḷa.

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^hu mtukufu ‘someone exalted’

want^hu watukufu ‘exalted people’

- 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.** ‘Baana 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 sulṭaani/ waṭukile ijuuniya/ wa’oloshele/ naayo/ ka Abunawaasi/ numbaani.** ‘So the sultan’s soldiers carried a sack and went with it to Abunawaasi’s house.’
- Chikhuṭukulapó/ hakhuruudi.** ‘When it takes you, it does not bring you back.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **khabri** ‘the grave’.)
- Chimṭukula/ chimruda ka mwenḡewe.** ‘He took him and returned him to his owner.’
- Chimwaambila/ e/ we/ muunṭhu/ tukiloo mbuzi/ leete/ nuuliza/ mbuzi.** ‘He (Bwanawaasi) said to him: O, you, man who is taking goats (somewhere), bring (them), sell me a goat.’
- Chiti ichi/ changaangu/ kana shkuti/ haṭá/ mwaana/ hukhaadira/ kishṭukula.** ‘This chair is as light as a reed, even a child can carry it.’
- Dafa/ mwenopo karaaylé/ wamṭukiile/ wampeleshele/ ka sulṭani waawo.** ‘When the kites saw the crow, they carried him, and took him to their king.’
- Eelo/ shṭukula aḷmaasi/ iyo/ kanaani/ kaake.** ‘The gazelle carried this diamond in his mouth.’
- humṭukulo ni maḷaayka/ makaaniye takonyoowa** [st.] ‘the angels are to take him away to show him his place (in heaven)’
- Jidari iyi/ itakhaadira/ khṭukula zulungu statu.** ‘This foundation will be able to support three stories.’
- Karkaa ndila/ chiwawona/ waanṭhu/ wawili/ waṭukilo sufuriyaa nk^hulú/ na nguwo nelṭé.** ‘On the way, he saw two people who were carrying a large pot and a white cloth.’
- khṭukulaa dhibu** ‘to endure, bear difficulties’
- Fulaani/ ni munt^hu huṭukuloo dhibú.** ‘So-and-so is a man who can endure hardships.’
- khṭukula ḡambi** ‘to sin [lit. to carry a sin]’
- Simkooḡé/ mweenziwo/ takṭukula ḡambi.** ‘Don’t speak ill of your companion [in his absence], you will be committing a sin.’
- khṭukula ḡulṭi** ‘to endure being scorned and reviled’
- Fulaani/ ni munt^hu huṭukulo ḡulṭi.** ‘So-and-so is a man who can endure scorn.’
- khṭukula fulaani** ‘to endure, put up with, tolerate someone’
- Ni laazima/ ilu ya mwaana/ kuwaṭukula wazelewe.** ‘It is an obligation for a child to tolerate his parents.’
- khṭukula khasaara** ‘to suffer a loss’
- khṭukula kooḡi** ‘to gossip, tell others everything that one is told’
- Skooḡé/ kharibu ya Jeeli/ huṭukula kooḡi.** ‘Don’t talk in front of Jeeli, he will broadcast what is said everywhere.’
- khṭukula miimba** ‘to be pregnant’
- khṭukula mṭuungi** ‘to carry a large pot’
- khṭukulaa 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/ nimtukuliilé/ tu, ‘Omari is troublesome; I just put up with him.’

Mwene muunt^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 majibu/ 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.)

Ntukileeyi. ‘How did you (pl.) carry it?’

Nuuru/ nakhtuluka meeza. ‘Nuuru is carrying a table.’

Omari/ hatukuli/ 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/ fikiriile/ kuwa ipakacha/ itakih^htajoowa/ kumtukulila sultani waa noká/ mukhtaa wo/ watamshiikó. ‘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.' (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).'

Tukila na fikiri. 'His mind was somewhere else (lit. he was carried off by thought).'

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, be patient with, endure

Ntukulene na Osmaani/ ka mudaa mulé/ hattá/ ilopo Nuuru. 'I put up with Osmaani for a long time until Nuuru showed up.'

Waana/ wanakhteza ibanyaani/ wanakhtukulana. 'Children are playing outside, they are carrying one another.'

Waant^u/ wazaleenó/ laazimu/ khtukulana/ khsaaydana. 'People who are relatives should endure/ be patient with each other, help each other.'

kh-tukulatukula v. freq.

kh-tukulika v. p/s. (-tukulishile) able to be carried; take off; tolerate, put up with s.o.

Duniya/ ina maambo/ haytukuliki. 'The world has affairs that are unbearable.'

Izi/ siwo/ zamani hutukuliko khasaará. '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/ haytukuliki. 'These stones cannot be carried (e.g. they are too heavy).'

Mubli/ na ahliyé/ washtukulika/ wachooloka/ waawaye/ mwanaamke. 'The man and his relatives carried (themselves) and went to her father, the girl's.'

Mwana uyu/ hastukuliki. 'This child is not bearable.'

Ntumeye/ haytukuliki. 'His message cannot be carried.'

Omari/ hastukuliki. 'Omari cannot be tolerated/put up with etc.'

Sanduukhu/ haytukuliki/ ka khisa nii nzito. 'This box cannot be carried because it is too heavy.'

Washtukulika/ 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/ shtukulika/ 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 khaṭi/ chimaliza/ mṭukulize waawaye. ‘Dede wrote a letter and then mailed it to her father.’

Mṭukulize mwaanawe/ peesa. ‘He sent money to his child.’

Nimṭukulize mwaaná/ khaṭi. ‘I sent a letter to/for the boy.’

Ñkhiriiḷé/ kumṭukuliza Hamadi/ peesa. ‘I agreed to send Hamadi money.’

Nṭʰaná/ tiki zaa ye/ khṭukulizaa khaṭi. ‘He has no stamp to send the letter with.’

Nṭʰukulize mwaana/ sandukhuu nzito. ‘He made my child carry a heavy box.’

Zisu za Baana/ nṭʰukuliizó/ nṭʰaskwasila. ‘The knives that Baana sent to me did not arrive.’

kh-tukulizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

kh-tukulizoowa v. pass. (ṭukuliiza)

Mwaana/ ṭukulizaa khaṭi. ‘The child was sent a letter.’ (Note that **khaṭi** cannot be the passive subject: ***Khaṭi/ iṭukuliza mwaana**. That word is possible, but **mwaana** must still control the subject agreement: **Khaṭi/ ṭukuliza mwaana**.)

Nṭʰukuliza peesá/ na waawé. ‘I was sent money by my father.’

kh-tukuza v. caus. (ṭukiize) have take or carry, send (via s.o.); entrust s.t. to s.o.

Aawó/ mṭukize mwaana/ majiwe. Aawo made the child carry stones.’

Baana/ mṭukize mwaana/ Mkhodiisho. ‘Baana sent the child (with someone) to Mogadishu.’

Baazi/ ṭukizee khaṭi. ‘Baazi sent a letter.’

khṭukuza ḍambi ‘to cause to sin (e.g. by exposing someone to sinful things)’

khṭukuza khasaara ‘to cause s.o. to suffer a loss’

Mṭukize 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).’

Ye/ da’ile kuwa Baazi/ tete baḷani/ khṭukuza peesa. ‘She claimed that Baazi promised to send money.’

kh-tukuzanya v. caus. rec.

Wanakhtukuzanya mizigo. ‘They are loading one another with loads.’

Waṭukuzenye zoombo. ‘They took, carried things for one another.’

kh-tukuzika v. caus. p/s.

Majiwe aya/ hayaṭukuziki. ‘These stones cannot be sent.’

Wana awa/ hawaṭuzukiki. ‘These children cannot be made to carry (things).’

kh-tukuzoowa v. caus. pass. (ṭukiiza)

Mi/ nṭʰukiza zombo izi/ khuleetela. ‘I am loaded with these things to bring to you’

Myaana/ chimninkʰila eelo/ zintʰu zaa ye/ ṭukiiza. ‘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.’

Lamna/ yaa ye/ himbo limbo ili/ hunkʰumbushaa mi/ tuuloaya. ‘The way she sings this song reminds me of my home village.’

rel.

sh-tuulo (s-) n. small village

Eeriile/ ni shṭuulo/ 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/ ichi/ chimtila Hasani/ chalaani/ chimwaambila/ kuḷa/ 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/ nṯakhufitina/ ka mubliwa. ‘If you refuse to do what I ask from you, I will report you to my husband.’

Huseeni/ chimpa mḡanaamke/ 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...khkooḡa. ‘One young man who understood world news asked permission to speak.’

Mḡaana/ 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.)

Nimṯulubile Nuurú/ kujá. ‘I requested Nuuru eat.’ Or: **Nimṯulubile ^fNuurú/ kuja.** ‘I requested *Nuuru* eat.’

Niṯṯulubilee ^fchisú/ Nuuru/ kuleeta. ‘I requested it the *knife* Nuuru to bring.’ (Note that the object of the infinitive can control an OM on the main verb when it is inserted between the main verb and the subject of the infinitive. Agreement is also possible if the subject of the infinitive is preposed in front of the main verb: **Nuuru/ niṯṯulubilee ^fchisú/ kuleeta.** ‘Nuuru, I requested it the *knife* to bring.’ The object of the infinitive cannot control object marking on the main verb if it is separated from that verb by the subject of the infinitive: ***Niṯṯulubile ^fNuurú/ kuleetaa chisu.** Also: ***Niṯṯulubile ^fNuurú/ chisu/ kuleeta.**)

Nṯulubiilé/ kuja/ 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**?)

Nṯulubile ^fNuurú/ chisu/ kuleeta (or: **kichileeta**). ‘I requested *Nuuru* knife to bring (it).’

Nṯulubiilé/ Nuuru/ kuja. ‘I requested (that) Nuuru eat.’ Cf. **Nṯulubile Nuurú/ kujá.** ‘I requested Nuuru eat.’ Cf. **Nṯulubile ^fNuurú/ kuja.** ‘I requested *Nuuru* eat.’

Nṯulubile Nuurú/ keendra. ‘I requested for Nuuru to go.’ Cf. **Nimṯulubile ^fNuurú/ keendra.** ‘I requested *Nuuru* to go.’

Nṯulubile Nuurú/ kuja maandra. ‘I requested Nuuru to eat bread.’ Cf. **Nṯulubile ^fNuurú/ kuja maandra.** ‘I requested *Nuuru* eat bread.’ Also: **Nṯulubile ^fNuurú/ kuja/ maandra.** ‘I requested *Nuuru* eat bread.’ (Our consultant did not accept: ***Nṯulubile Nuurú/ ^fkujá/ maandra.** ‘I requested Nuuru eat bread.’) This point needs further exploration.

Nṯulubile Nuurú/ kuleetaa chisú. ‘I requested for Nuuru to bring a knife.’ Cf. **Nimṯulubile Nuurú/ kuleetaa chisú.** ‘I requested Nuuru to bring a knife.’

Nṯulubile ^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 **Nṯulubile 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 **Nṯulubile Nuurú/ ^fmaandra/ kuja.** ‘I requested Nuuru *bread* eat.’ We interpret this pronunciation to reflect focus on the preposed object.)

Nṯulubile peesá. ‘I requested money.’

Nṭhulubile 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 **Nṭhulubile ˈpeesá/ kaako**. If the verb is emphasized, we get **Nṭhulubiilé/ peesa/ kaako**. If one wishes to focus on **kaako**, it is put in position immediately after the verb: **Nṭhulubile ˈkaakó/ peesa**.)

Nṭhulubile Jaamá/ keendrá. ‘I wanted Jaama to go.’ (Note that this verb does not allow a *kuwa*-complement clause: ***Mi/ nṭhulubile kuwa Nuuru/ oloshole**. ‘I wanted that Nuuru went.’)

Numbaani/ shfanya yaa ye/ chisuuló/ na yaa ye/ sḥtulubó/ shpata ka wazeelewe. ‘In the house he did whatever he wanted to do and whatever he asked for, he got from his parents.’

Omari/ ˈpeesá/ tulubiiló. ‘Omari *money* requested.’

Omari/ tulubile 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/ tulubile 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/ tulubile peesa. ‘Omari asked for money.’

Omari/ tulubile ˈpeesá/ 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/ tulubile ˈpeesá/ kaakó?** A simple yes-no question without Accent-Shift is possible: **Omari/ tulubile peesa/ kaako?** But this corresponds to a statement where there is no focus on **peesá**.)

peesá.

ˈOmari/ tulubilo peesá. ‘(It’s) Omari (who) requested money.’ Or: **ˈOmari/ tulubiiló/**

ˈPeesa/ kaako/ nṭhulubiiló. ‘*Money* from you I requested.’

kaako.

ˈPeesa/ nṭhulubilo kaakó. ‘*Money* I requested from you.’ Or: **ˈPeesa/ nṭhulubiiló/**

his dreams.’

Sḥtuluba ka Yuusufu/ kuṃtafsirịla ndrootoze. ‘He asked Joseph to explain to him

Sultaani/ chimpa zaakuja/ zaa ye/ tulubiiló. ‘The sultan gave him the different kinds of foods that he requested.’

Tuluba/ ka kaaka/ yaa we/ nakhsuuló/ mi/ nṭhakhupa/ laakini/

sịnṭḥịndé/ chitta. ‘Ask for whatever you want from me, I will give it to you, but do not cut off my head.’

Tulubile chisima/ ka sarkaali. ‘He requested a well from the government.’

Tulubiile/ ka mwanaamke/ kunụbla/ mi/ waawaye. ‘He asked (my) daughter to kill me, me, her father.’

Tulubile peesa/ Omari. ‘He requested money, Omari.’ (In the corresponding simple yes-no question, the right-dislocated subject undergoes Accent-Shift: **Tulubile peesa/ Omari?**)

Ye/ nakhaambila/ kḥtuluba yaa we/ takhsuuló. ‘He is telling you to ask for whatever you want.’

Zijo/ nṭhulubiilé/ Nuuru/ kuja. ‘*Zijo* I requested Nuuru eat.’ Or with focus on the preposed complement: **Zijo/ nṭhulubiiló/ Nuuru/ kuja.**

rel.

kh-tulubana v. rec. (-tulubeene)

Wạtulubene chiza khf̣af̣ishilizanya sirri. ‘They asked one another to not reveal secrets on one another.’

kh-tulubika v. p/s. (-tulubishile)

Ka sarkali iyi/ haỵtulubiki/ chiinṭhu. ‘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/ tulubila chiza kuzaa nama/ ibanyaani. ‘Ali was requested not to sell meat outside.’

Chisu/ shtulubila kuletoowa. ‘The knife was requested to be brought.’

Jaama/ tulubila keendra. ‘Jaama was asked to go.’

Leelo/ fijiri/ nthulubila na Jaama/ keendra. ‘Today this morning I was asked by Jaama to go.’ Or: Nthulubila na Jaama/ leelo/ fijiri/ keendra.

Mi/ keendra/ ithulubila 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/ nthulubila 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-thulubile keendra ‘I asked him to go’ or : ni-m-thulubile Nuuru/ keendra.

Mi/ nthulubila 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/ tulubila keendra. ‘Nuuru was requested to go.’

Nuuru/ tulubilaa kuja. ‘Nuuru was requested to eat.’

Nuuru/ tulubilaa kuja/ zijo. ‘Nuuru was requested to eat zijo.’ Cf. with focus on the subject: Nuuru/ tulubila kujaa zijo. ‘Nuuru was requested to eat zijo.’

Nuuru/ tulubila 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

Mi/ niizé/utulubo/ wa Hasani/ si/ khfanya kaazi/ pamooyi. ‘I rejected Hasani’s offer that we work together.’

Utulubo wa mashakhaale/ yiiza. ‘The demand(s) of the workers was/were denied.’

Utulubowa/ mi/ khkalanta/ hatá/ maskuu kati/ wiiza. ‘My offer to stay until midnight was rejected.’

Utulubowa/ Omari/ khirilowa kulawa/ ukhiriila. ‘My request that Omari be allowed to leave was accepted.’

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; take out **confirm second use below ‘take out’**

khtuma maali ‘to make money’

Fulaani/ oloshela Mkhodiisho/ khtuma maali. ‘So-and-so went to Mogadishu to make money.’

Omari/ nayo ulaazo/ nakhtapa/ kana nsi tumela mayiini. ‘Omari has pain, he is moving like a fish taken out of water.’

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

Abú/ tumbile lkuta. ‘Abu made a hole in the wall.’ Or, with focus on the verb: Abú/ tumbiile/ lkuta. Or, with focus on the subject: Abú/ tumbilo lkutá.

Apo/ ye/ shtumba 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/ shtumbe

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/ khuṭumbiiló/... itó/ naayé/ hakhiisi/ walá/ ntʰakhkoma/ ntʰi 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/ ntʰi yaa ni/ ntʰakhṭumbó/ takhṭumbo maayi/ yaṭakuḷawa maayi/ tu. ‘Now, whatever land you (plural) will dig in search of water, water will just come out.’

khṭumba chisima ‘to dig a well’

khṭumba iboholi ‘to dig a hole’

Kiḷa/ muuntʰu/ kaaké/ numbaani/ shṭumba chisima/ shṭumbó. ‘Every person at his house dug a well, that’s what he did.’

Mi/ ntʰunzile iboholi/ nzishile nguwozé. ‘I dug a hole and buried her clothes.’

Mukhṭaa ye/ maskiini/ qaribililoo mutí/ chiwona ya kuwa muntʰu nakhṭumbo 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/ ntʰumbiiló/ ni waawo/ mukhṭaa ye/ pisilo apá. ‘This old man said to Huseeni: this eye, me, the one who pierced me was your father when he passed here.’

Shṭumba/ shṭomola lpaangale/ na ijambiyayé. ‘He dug and he took out his sword and his dagger [from the hole in which he had hidden them].’

Stumbeení. ‘(Pl.) don’t dig!’

Tumbaani. ‘(pl.) dig!’

Waṭuunzile/ zisima/ mbele ya kiḷa miskiti. ‘They dug wells in front of each mosque.’

waṭunzilopó ‘when they had dug’

Wotte/ washṭumba/ laakini/ ntʰawakhpata/ maayi. ‘All went digging, but they did not find ([lit.] get) water.’

rel.

kh-tuumbika v. p/s. able to be dug; get punctured

Hayṭuumbiki/ apa. ‘One cannot dig a hole here (e.g. the ground is too hard).’

Iboholi/ itumbishile ka sahali. ‘The hole was easily dug.’

Ijulu ya gaari/ itumbishile. ‘The tire of the lorry got punctured.’

kh-tumbikila v. p/s. appl.

Iboholi/ intʰumbikilile ka sahali. ‘The hole dug easily for me.’

kh-tumbiloowa v. appl. pass.

Mṭumba khabri/ mwiishowe/ huṭumbilowaa 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) **Mṭumbilile mwaalimu/ iboholi/ ka iyeembe.** ‘He dug a hole for the teacher with a hoe.’

Simṭumbilé/ muuntʰu/ iboholi/ na shṭumbá/ si’ifaanya/ ndraani/ heendra/ kapotelaa we/ mw-enewé.

Simṭumbilé/ walaaliwo/ iboholi/ na chimtuumbila/ 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.)

(ii) **Tete iyeembe/ khṭumbila iboholi.** ‘He took a hoe to dig a hole with.’
Mṭumbilile mweenziwe/ iboholi. ‘He set his mate up (so that he would be caught etc.’)

- Ntumbilile 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/ haṭumbiliki/ 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/ mṭumbishize 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/ ndraṭila iṭooya/ tu/ iyi/ mi/ iṭo ya kaandra/ siwo/ waawo/ ntumbiiló/ inṭumbushile ka maraḏi/ mwajitu/ 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
- Ntumbulile musmaari/ ntʰundru yinginé/ Ikaandraḷá.** ‘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: **Ntumbulile Ikaandraḷá/ musmaari/ ntʰundru yinginé.** And also: **Ntumbulile musmaari/ Ikaandraḷá/ ntʰundu yinginé.** 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-tumboowa v. pass. (**tuunzila**)
Iboholi/ iṭuunzila. ‘A hole was dug.’
rel. nom.
m-tumba (*wa-*) n. 1/2 one who digs
- Mtumba chisima/ harebeḷoowi/ 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.)
- Mtumba iboholi/ hiingiló/ ye/ mwenewe.** ‘The digger of a hole, the one who enters it, is he himself.’ (A proverb.)
- Mtumba khabri/ mwiishowe/ huṭumbilowaa ye.** ‘The gravedigger’s end is dug for him.’
- Shtakingilo mimbaani/ kaakó/ ndicho chaako/ shtakhsaaló/ nch^ha mṭumba 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/ mṭumbowe... ‘This drill, its making a hole...’
- ma-tumbo* n. 6 way of digging; act of digging
matumbo 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/ waṭumbene ntʰini 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.
iṭumbi ya mṭaanga ‘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. **ntʰumbi**]
Itumba la mṭaanga ‘a pile of sand’
ntʰumbi za waant^hu ‘groups of people’

<i>m-tuumbi</i>	adj. full to the brim huundra/ m̄tuumbi/ yaa gele ‘a full measure of maize’
<i>n-tuumbulu</i> [pron. n̄t̄ ^h uumbulu]	n.9/10 [Sw. <i>tumbuu</i> SSED 479; ?Pers.] a sliding long rod that locks a door;
<i>n-tuumbulu</i>	n. granule n̄t̄^huumbulu/ yaa nsi/ ya mp^haamp^ha ‘shark granules (lit. granules of fish of shark)’
<i>tumbuluq</i>	ideo. check the l variant: <i>qumbuluq</i> Hamadi/ yana/ masku/ hafaani/ potele iboholiini/ tumbuluq!/ vundishile kuulu. ‘Hamadi last night in the neighborhood fell into hole/ditch, tumbuluq! and broke the leg.’
<i>tumbura</i>	n. [perhaps somehow connected to the <i>tumbura</i> spirit possession cult in the Sudan] a kind of dance accompanied by a guitar-like instrument and singing
<i>kh-tuunga</i>	v. [Sw. <i>chunga</i> SSED 65] (tuunzile) tend, graze animals; strain, sift (crushed grain, e.g.); string together (fish, meat) (Chimiini dental t̄ often corresponds to ch in Swahili.) Abdow/ tunzilee mbuzi. ‘Abdow herded goats.’ Hutunga unga. ‘He sifts flour.’ kh̄tungaa limi ‘to watch one’s tongue, be careful what one says’ Tunga limiilo/ mwaana/ we. ‘Watch your tongue, you child.’ kh̄tungaa unga ‘to sift flour’ Amina/ tunzile unga. ‘Amina sifted flour.’ Tunzile ngoombe. ‘He herded, grazed cattle.’ rel. <i>kh-tuungika</i> v. p/s. is this verb used? <i>kh-tungikila</i> v. p/s/ appl. is this verb in use? <i>kh-tuungila</i> v. appl. (tungiliile) graze for; sift for, with Tuuma/ tete skhukuunt • o/ kh̄tungila unga. ‘Tuuma took a sieve to sift flour with.’ <i>kh-tuungisha</i> v. caus. have s.o. herd animals. Osmaani/ m̄tungishize mwaana/ mbuzi. ‘Osmaani had the boy herd goats.’ <i>kh-tungishana</i> v. caus. rec. <i>kh-tungishika</i> v. caus. p/s. <i>kh-tungishiliza</i> v. caus. appl. Zubeeri/ m̄tungishilize Sayyidina/ mwaana/ mbuzi. ‘Zubeeri had Sayyidina’s child herd goats.’ <i>kh-tungishilizanya</i> v. caus. appl. rec. Zubeeri/ na Sayyidiná/ watungishilizenye waana/ mbuzi. ‘Zubeeri and Sayyidina had one another’s children herd goats.’ rel. nom. <i>m-tuunga</i> (<i>wa-</i>) n. 1/2 [Sw. <i>mchunga</i> SSED xxx] one who tends animals, shepherd m̄tungaa mbuzi ‘a shepherd of goats’ m̄tungaa ngoombe ‘a shepherd of cattle’ <i>m-tuungo</i> n. 3 <i>ma-tuungo</i> n. 6 <i>u-tuungo</i> n. 14 <i>m-tuungi</i> (<i>mi-</i>) n. 3/4 [Sw. <i>mtungi</i> (<i>mi-</i>) SSED 512] a big pot made of clay (Note that while the Chimiini dental t̄ often corresponds to ch in Swahili, there are also items such as the present one where t̄ corresponds to Swahili t .) kh̄tukula m̄tuungi ‘to carry a water pot’ khteka maayi/ ka m̄tuungi ‘to fetch water with a large pot’

kosha m̄tuungi ‘to clean a pot’
koteza m̄tuungi ‘to fumigate, smoke a pot’
kuvunda m̄tuungi ‘to break a pot’

Maayi/ ha’inoowi/ m̄tungini. ‘Water is not drunk at, near, in the water pot.’
(It is believed by the **want̄u 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 m̄tuungi ‘water for the pot’
Miimbaye/ kana m̄tuungi. ‘His stomach is large like that of a clay pot.’
M̄tungi 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. [H^hH] ‘The clay pot was not filled with honey.’

M̄tuungi/ uyele uki. [H!H] ‘The pot was filled with honey.’ Cf. **Uyelo m̄tuungi/ ni uki.** [H^hH] ‘What filled the pot is 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/ m̄tungini. ‘There is no water in the clay pot.’

Uki/ uyele m̄tuungi. [H!H] ‘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/ haṭuungili. ‘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/ ub̄leeló/ 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 mub̄jaaná. ‘When the girl heard the shouting, she looked out from the window and she saw Abunawaasi and the young man.’

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/ zingiiiló/ sukaari. ‘Ants entered the sugar.’

si shchiparpatooowa mithaali ya nt'uungu [nt.] 'we were hunted down everywhere as if we were ants'
Ulumo wa nt'uungu/ 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 mituungu/ 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 utuungo 'to go into labor'

Muke/ wakhti ukomeelopó/ chishika utuungu/ chizaala. 'When the time arrived, the woman went into labor and gave birth.'

than

mbanaayo ulaazo zaa'idi ya utuungu [nt.] 'we felt a pain more severe 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)

garlic when he was a child.'

Hamadi/ shtumikila tuuni/ miingi/ ka chihaba. 'Hamadi used to eat a lot of

kh-tuunza

v. [Sw. *tunza* SSED 481] (**tunziize**) look at s.t. stealthily, peep at, keep an eye on

Ni laazima/ kumtuunza/ mp'aka. 'You (pl.) must watch the cat.'

Shenze mara yiingine/ na isá/ tuunza/ kamaa we/ chiwona/ kuwaa mi/ nakhukhada'a. '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.'

Nt'ilee chisú/ makali/ ka tuupá. 'I sharpened the knife with a file.' (MI did not like putting the prepositional phrase in front of **makali**: *Nt'ilee chisú/ ka tuupá/ makali. He did accept focusing the prepositional phrase by moving it to Immediately After the Verb position: **Nt'ile ka tuupá/ chisu/ makali.** 'I used a *file* to sharpen the knife.' He rejected putting **makali** in front of **chisu**: *Nt'ile ka tuupá/ makali/ chisu.

N^hilīlee chisú/ makalí/ tuupa. ‘I used it to sharpen the knife, a file.’ (MI generally avoided having the instrument in an instrumental applied verb construction located in the verb phrase. In the present example, the instrument is right-dislocated, as indicated by the fact that the final accent triggered by the verb does not project onto it. Notice that in this sentence, the final accent does project onto both **chisu** and **ma-kalí**, indicating that the Immediately After the Verb **chisu** is not focused. If it is focused, then the final accent will not cross past **chisu**: **N^hilīlee ^fchisú/ makalí/ tuupa**. MI rejected a sentence like ***N^hilīlee chisú/ tuupá/ ma-kalí**. It is important to admit that while MI seemed to reject focusing the instrument by putting it into Immediately After the Verb position, we do find examples in our notes where such sentences were offered; e.g. **N^hilīle ^ftuupá/ chisu/ makalí**. In any case, our present consultant, GM, accepts focusing on the instrument. Other consultants had similar judgments. But MI did not allow **makalí** to precede **chisu**: ***N^hilīle ka tuupá/ makalí/ chisu**.)

Tuupa/ n^hilīlee chisu/ makalí. ‘A file, I used it to sharpen the knife (lit. to put sharpness in the knife).’

n-tupa n. 9/10 [Sw. *chupa* SSED 66] bottle; glass; [pron. **n^hupa**]
chijamu chaa n^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 **n^hupa** ‘bottle’.)

Nakuwala/ kambaa n^hupa. ‘He is shining like a bottle – i.e. he looks good, fresh.’

N^hupa izi/ hastiliki/ maayi. ‘ [Lit.] these bottles cannot be put water into (e.g. their mouths are too small).’

n^hupa ya mafta ‘a bottle of oil’

n^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/ m^finzile 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

Haliima/ fungile shfiniko/ sh^tupa/ kaa nguvu/ bukh! ‘Haliima opened the lid of the bottle with force, *buq!*’

sh^tupa 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*.)

Sh^tupa/ chim^finzile. ‘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: **sh^tuure (s^tuure)**

Muun^hu/ chim^teka sh^tuure/ naayé/ huzala maana/ sh^tuure. ‘If someone laughs at a deformed person, he will have a deformed child.’ (A belief among the **wan^hu wa Miini**.)

munt^hu tuure ‘a humpbacked person’

Tuure (or: **s^tuure**)/ **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 mulkuwe/ chi'iisha/ chizeele/ sh̄tuure/ chimó/ chiwalimo miyakaa 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/ matuuri/ numbaani. 'She told these guests: there is good, fatty meat in the house.'

Mi/ huja zint^hu matuuri/ 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 matuuri 'a fat cow'

Ngombe yuu/ ni matuuri. '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.’

tuusu’i [Ar. *tus* ‘W94] one-ninth

-tuuvu *adj.*
waloombele wabli watuuvu weema/ na waana saalihi wateendra zeema [SCB:588]
‘Pray that they may find good and gentle husbands and have upright children who act virtuously.’

u-tuuvu n. 14 [Sw. *utuvu* SSED 475] gentleness, tranquillity, quietness

kh-tuwa v. [Sw. *chua* SSED 62] (**tuwiile**) rub
kh-tuwa ka maayi ‘to rub with water’
kh-tuwa kaa nguvu ‘to rub with force’
kh-tuwa ka sabuuni ‘to rub with soap’
kh-tuwa ka tartiibu ‘to rub gently’
kh-tuwa maluungo ‘to rub the body’
kh-tuwa moongo ‘to rub the back’
kh-tuwa 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 wallx

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 m̄tuzi. ‘He is eating **zijo** with soup.’

Nakuna m̄tuzi. ‘He is drinking (=eating) soup.’

Nt^hovele maandra/ m̄tuziini. ‘I dipped the bread into the sauce.’

Wapishi wiingi/ hangamiza m̄tuzi. ‘Many cooks spoil the soup.’ (A proverb.)

Ye/ takhtala m̄tuzi 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

Hasani/ hadiile/ ka Omari/ numbaani/ choolo/ chinakunuunk^ha/ rihi/ ya matuzi/ siwo/ nañiifa/ chooloche. ‘Hasani said at Omari house the toilet is smelling the smell of feces, it is not clean, his toilet.’

Matuzi 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

Tangawizi iyi/ itele nasha. ‘This ginger has been ground very fine.’

rel.

kh-teeka v. p/s. able to be pounded

kh-teelele v. appl. (**teelele**)

ijiwe ya khteleele ‘the stone used to grind he maize = **ijiwe yaa kuta**’

kh-teeleloowa v. appl. pass.

kh-toowa v. pass. (**teele**) (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.)

Ka makinaani/ ka Amiini/ maandra/ hutowa nasha/ kana/ chimento/ haaziwi/ lada. ‘At Amiini’s grinding machine, the dough is ground very smooth, like cement, the bread does not become good.’

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^ha**, **zint^ha**]

k-asha chint^ha ‘to light a candle’

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/ kishtafuna. ‘It is a light, soft thing but one cannot chew it.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **maayi** ‘water’.)

Nuuru/ tafinee nama. ‘Nuuru chewed the meat.’

Washtafuna tambú. ‘They were chewing **tambú**.’

rel.

kh-tafunana v. rec. (**tafuneeene**)

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.’
mahala ya waant^hu/ huṭawanyoo nt^haká ‘a place where people dump garbage’
sku mooyi/ naayé/ nakhfatiṣhofatiṣhoo nt^haka ‘one day while he was rummaging through garbage’
Ye/ hisabaṭowa 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/ huṭaṭiló. ‘Your food is the garbage that people throw away.’

Wé/ chi’iisha/ ka nt^hakant^haka za waant^hu/ huṭawanyó. ‘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.

kh-takasoowa v. pass. (*takasiiza*)

Lkuta ili/ lbishiḷa buraashi/ Itakasiiza/ inasha/ kana chimento. ‘This wall has been brushed and filled in, it is smooth like cement.’

i-tako (ma-)

n. 5/6 [Sw. *tako (ma-)* SSED 447] buttock; keel of a boat

Abunawaasi/ shtala lkaambala/ shfuunga/ mbuzi ya matako/ 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 matako ‘sheep’

Mbuzi uyu/ wa matako/ mbwa sulṭaani/ mi/ mboozelé/ we/

chimkhubura/ muunt^hu/ jawaabu/ iyi/ si/ shtakubloowa. ‘This sheep belongs to the sultan, I stole it; if you inform anyone of

this matter, we will be killed.’

Muunthu/ 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

khkalantha ka shtako [Sw. *kaa kitako*] ‘to sit (on the buttock)’

Shkalantha ka 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 ukiwe/ 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/ darbishiliizá. ‘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. *twaa* SSED 483] (teete) take

Chibuku cha mwaalimu/ oloshelo numbaani/ khtaala/ nt^hashkuwaaliko. ‘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 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/ huuza/ 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/ naami/ 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.’

Huseeni/ hataali/ imtihaani/ mara ya piili. ‘Huseeni will not take the examination a second time.’

Ka khisani/ we/ nakunt^haaló. ‘For what reason are you taking [kidnapping] me?’

Kharibu ya ilooni/ ofeetopó/ chilemela mteendre/ khpumula/ na usiinzizi/ uchimtaala. ‘About dusk, when he grew tired, he leaned against the date tree to rest and sleep overtook him.’

khurashiize ka tama’a ahdiyo nt^heeete mi skiiza [song] ‘I followed you with hope, I took your promise, I did not refuse’

khutaala ruhuuyo bila ya sababu [n.] ‘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 Omari. ‘I took Omari’s money.’ Or: **Mi/ nt^hete Omari/ peesazé.**

Mi/ siisi/ walá/ skhaadiri/ khtaala/ peesa/ izi. ‘I don’t know nor am I able to take this money.’

Mtaale. ‘Take him!’

muke waa ye/ teto peesá/ ka kaaké ‘the woman whom he took money from (her)’

muke waa ye/ teto 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.’

Mwiizi/ tete Omari/ peesaze. ‘The thief took Omari’s money.’ Cf. **Mwiizi/ tete Omari/ peesaze?** and **Miizi/ tete Omari/ peesazê!?**

Mwiizi/ tete peesa/ ka Omari. ‘The thief took money from Omari.’

Mwiizi/ tete pesa za Omari. ‘The thief took Omari’s money.’ Cf. **Mwiizi/ tete pesa za Omari?** and **Mwiizi/ tete pesa za Omari!?**

Naayé/ nakishtaaló/ icho chijuumbá/ majini/ wachimwona. ‘While he was taking that bird’s nest, the djinns saw him.’

Nimwambile kuwa ndimi/ nt^heto nguwozé. ‘I told her that it is me who took the clothes.’

Nt^hakishtaala. ‘He did not take it [cl.7].’ (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^hheeté/ 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.’ (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/ teto ka Omari/ speeta. ‘the money that the thief took from Omari was found.’

Peesa/ za mwiizi/ teetó/ speeta. ‘The money that the thief took was found.’ (Notice the variability in the pre-relative medial phrase **za mwiizi** 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!’

Staleeni. ‘Don’t take it!’ **Staleeni/ skunyi.** ‘Don’t take the firewood!’

Taala/ dawa iyi/ endrá/ tumba iboholi. ‘Take this medicine and go and dig a hole.’

Talaa tala/ meereja. ‘Take a lamp and look for it.’

Talaa zijo/ ja. ‘Take some **zijo** and eat!’

Tetee mazu/ sandukhuuni. ‘He took bananas from the box.’

Teeteni/ nt^hini 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*] (**taliile**) take for, take someone’s, choose for

Abú/ nt^halile balani/ mi/ kaalmeje/ khpata kazii mp^hiya. ‘Abu promised me his help in getting me a new job.’

Hamadi/ imtilile wakhtí/ [↑]miingi/ kumala khsoma chibuku icho. ‘Hamadi, it took him a *long* time to finish reading that book.’

Mi/ nimalile Omari/ peesá. ‘I took Omari’s money.’ Or: ‘I took the money for Omari.’

Mwaana/ nt^halile 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.)

Mwiizi/ mtalile Omari/ peesa (or: peesaze). ‘The thief took Omari’s

money.’ Or: ‘The thief took money for Omari.’ Or, with the same two interpretations: **Mwiizi/ mtalile peesa/ Omari**. (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: **Mwiizi/ mtalile Omari/ peesa?** and **Miizi/ mtalile Omari/ peesâ!?** One can of course put focus on **peesa**, for example, by preposing it and putting the verb in pseudo-relative form: **Mwiizi/ peesa/ mtalilo Omari**. ‘The thief *money* took from Omari.’)

Peesa/ za mwiizi/ mtalilo Omari/ speeta. ‘The money that the thief took from Omari was found.’

Si/ hihtaja khadira khtalila ruhu ziitu. ‘We need to be able to choose for ourselves.’

We/ chita/ takitaajila/ 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 **mw-aalimu**, even if a resumptive pronoun is left behind with *ka*: ***mw-aalimu/ teta chibuuku/ kaake/ na mw-anafuunzi**. ‘The teacher was taken a book from him by a student.’ One can prepose **mw-aalimu**, but the verb must have **chibuuku** as its subject: **mw-aalimu/ shteta chibuuku/ kaake/ na mwanafuunzi**. ‘The teacher, the book was taken from him by a student.’)

hutaaliloowa wake na wabjaana [st.] ‘it is taken for (in context: God’s approval is given to them all) the girls and boys’

Shtililowa nt’eendre/ 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 nt’atu/ amó/ skuu saba/ kaa ndala. ‘They were taken, those goats, and made to stay three days or seven days in hunger.’

Icholokoowa/ khtalowa zibalaasi/ sabaze/ za mafta/ na shkooyá/ naachó/ shchitaloowa/ naa talá/ naayó/ ishtaloowa. ‘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.’

khtalowa na maayi ‘to drown (lit. be taken by water)’

Tete na maayi. ‘He drowned.’

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/ shchitaloowa. ‘And the necklace as well was taken.’

Naa talá/ naayó/ ishtaloowa. ‘And the lamp as well was taken.’

numa takishila ruuhu khtaloowa [st.] ‘later he will descend and his soul be taken’

Schitalowaa mbuzi/ schifungoowa/ skuu kamu. ‘The goats were taken and

tied up for some days.’

Sku yaa saba/ hutaloowa. ‘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.’

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.
Nuuru/ hashtaaliki/ chiint^huche. ‘As for Nuuru, 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: **Nuuru/ haytaaliki/ chiint^huche.** But it is not possible for **Nuuru** to be the subject: ***Nuuru/ hataaliki/ chiint^huche.**
- kh-taalisha* v. caus. (**talishiize**) cause to take
N^talishize zibuuku. ‘He made me take books.’
- kh-talishana* v. caus. rec.
kh-talishiliza v. caus. appl. make take for/on
N^talishilize waana/ zibuuku. ‘He made the children take the books for/on me.’
- Nuuru/ mtalishilize Ali/ waana/ zibuuku.** ‘Nuuru 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] a synonym for **gele** ‘maize’, but with a slightly different use: **mtama** refers to the yield or the harvest, while **gele** can be a large or a small quantity, even a grain, and is used for all products of maize, e.g. **zijo zaa gele** ‘maize meal’, **unga waa gele** ‘maize flour’
Mahaḷa (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] (**tambeele**) creep, crawl on all four (of child who has not yet learned to walk), spread (of vines); drag on the ground (e.g. of a dress)
Chiboodo/ tambeele/ 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/ wachaanza/ 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’
Mi/ nt^hambeelé/ kulawa muḷooni. ‘I crawled out of the fire.’
Muḷo/ utambeela/ kulawoowa. ‘The fire was crawled out of.’

- Tambeele/ nt^hini ya maburaangeeti.** ‘He crawled under the blankets.’
rel.
- kh-tambaḽila** v. appl. crawl with; crawl for, on someone; (but not used in the sense of ‘crawl to’)
- kh-tambaliḽoowa** v. appl. pass.
Magoonjo/ yashtambaliḽoowá/ haḽá/ mnangooni. ‘Knees were crawled on to the door.’
- kh-tambaḽoowa** v. pass.
Maburaangeeti/ yatambela nt^hiniyaawo. ‘The blankets were crawled under them.’
- kh-tambalataambala** v. freq.
Shtambalatambala ka magoonjo/ haḽá/ mnangoonio. ‘He crawled on his knees to the door.’
- 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/ haḽá/ 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/ kuḽa muzizo fanyizeeyi/ maaliyó/ mjibiile/ ha’isi/ ma’anayé/ ha’ambiḽoowi/ ma’ana/ ka khisa/ wo/ kawa’ambiḽoowá/ 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).’
Chiza khtambulake/ inyawishiize. ‘His not understanding surprised me.’
Isa/ chaambile/ jisaa ye/ takhtaambuló. ‘Now tell us how he will tell the difference.’
Kanaa we/ nakhsuḽa amaani/ mbuzi izi/ mbilize/ taambula/ ump^hi/ mzeele/ ump^hi/ mwaana. ‘If you want peace, these two goats, determine which is the older and which is the younger.’
Kooḽi/ kiḽa 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/ hutaambula/ jisa iyi/ hufanyoowá. ‘I understand how to fix this.’
Mi/ nakhaadirá/ khtaambula/ ka khisani/ Haliima/ nakhshikowa shḽanaa nt^ho/ na muḽiwé. ‘I can understand Haliima getting very angry at her husband.’
Mi/ nhadiilé/ sho kiwa ma’anaye/ ha’ambiḽoowi/ ma’anaye/ ka khisa/ chimweeleza/ muunt^hu/ nt^hana aqili/ kooḽi/ 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/ simtaambuli/ Omari/ biḽkuliya. ‘I do not understand Omari at all.’
Mi/ sinakhtaambula. ‘I do not understand.’
Mmereelé/ nfunguloza/ kiḽa/ mahaḽa/ skutaambula/ mbeshleepí. ‘I looked for my keys everywhere, I could not figure out where I had put them.’
Muḽjaana/ chimwaambila/ we/ ni mwenye aqili/ tambiiélé. ‘The young

- man said to him, you possess intelligence, you understood.'
- Muun^hu/ hutambula yaa ye/ nakhpeendó/ tu.** 'One understands only what he likes.' (A proverbial.)
- Muun^hu/ itooye/ hutambu^oowa.** 'One is understood by his eye (i.e. by the expression on his face).' (A proverbial saying.)
- 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/ chi^taacha/ halaaliyo/ na chiiza/ khtambula/ chi^taacho/ 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^hheetó.** '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/ tambiiile/ ma'ana/ ya ndrooto/ izi.** 'He recognized the meaning of these dreams.'
- rel.
- kh-tambu^oowa* v. pass. be recognized, differentiated, understood
- Chiint^hu/ hutambu^oowa/ jisaa cho/ shkeeló/ kamba ni chisuurá/ ambá/ kamba ni chiwovú.** 'Something is understood as to how it looks like, whether it is good or whether it is bad.'
- hutambu^oowa langala ka aqli/ na ma'ina yaawo taala mba^lmbali [st.]** 'you should focus your mind on it, and learn their names one by one'
- Nt^haynakhtambu^oowa/ ba.** 'There was no way [for the difference between the two goats] to be recognized.'
- kh-tambulana* v. rec. understand one another
- Si/ hutambulana.** 'We understand each other.'
- 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. able to be understood
- 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-taambuza* v. caus. (tambiize) help to understand
- Nuuru/ mtambize mwaana/ darsi.** 'Nuuru helped the child understand the lesson.'
- shtambiizo si haraamu na halaali [st.]** 'who made us discern the lawful from the unlawful'
- kh-tambuzanya* v. caus. rec.
- kh-tambuzika* v. caus. p/s.

- kh-tambuzoowa* v.
rel. nom.
m-taambula (wa-) n. 1/2
ma-taambulo n. 6
u-taambulo n. 14
m-taambuza (wa-) n. 1/2
u-taambuzo n. 14
- kh-taambuza* v. sharpen
rel.
kh-tambuzoowa v. pass. be sharpened
Chisu/ chinakhtahaja khtambuzoowa. ‘This knife needs to be sharpened.’
rel. nom.
m-taambuzo n. 3
Chisu/ chinakhtahaja mtaambuzo. ‘This knife needs sharpening.’
- 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 descendants of slaves, thus someone who cannot trace his ancestry (equivalent to the Somali word *addoon*)
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/ nakhsula khfaanya. ‘There he called one of his slaves and told him what he wanted.’
Ka kaake/ nt^haku/ mtaana/ wala/ 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 slaves got up and took a stroll.’
Mtaana/ shfaanya/ zaa ye/ amuriila. ‘The slave did what he was ordered to do.’
Mwaana/ chiwa’amura wataana/ kumkokotaa ndovu/ hatá/ muyiini. ‘The son ordered the slaves to drag the elephant up to the town.’
Sku yaa saba mtaana/ oyo/ chufkula khabri. ‘On the seventh day that slave dug up the tomb.’
Tala majumbaya/ miyuundraya/ na wataanawa/ wotte. ‘Take my houses, my gardens, and all my slaves.’
Wataana/ washkhiira/ kumraasha. ‘The slaves agreed to follow him.’
We/ chimshiindra/ takulozowa/ mwanaamke/ ama/ ye/ chikhushiindra/ we/ takhfanyowa mtaana/ kumtumika sul^htani. ‘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 sul^htani. ‘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**
ku^hlawa utaana ‘to become free (lit. come out of slavery)’
Mtume Mhamadi/ mukhta^ha 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/ chimpaanza. ‘He put a saddle on his horse and helped her to mount [the horse].’

kibri ni garbasaari ya Mojiitu/ hutaandriko kuzaamake si chiint^{hu} [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-taandriisha 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 wrap used by Bravanese women to cover the head and shoulders, often made of flimsy material like cotton voile

Ka paapo/ apo/ Fikiriini/ shtomola/ ichije shtaandriko/ cha

mwanaamke/ lasilo/ 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/

yiwiila. ‘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.’

Waspeelee/ 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: **Staadriko/waspee/ 'wo**. Also: **Waspee/ 'wo/ staadriko**. More extensive research on this point is required.)

(**Wo/ waspee/ staadriko**. 'They gave head coverings (to someone unspecified).')

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 thick skin that forms on top of liquids (e.g. milk) when cooked (cf. **ikooko**, which refers to the hard crust that forms at the bottom of 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.

l-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/ shomola 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/ milongoŕiye/ ya feða/ mitaangaye/ ya hariiri. 'I want a ship of gold, its masts of silver, its sails of silk.'

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] six day mourning period, 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'

Khpasa/ haruusi/ kulipa/ mataanga. 'To take a loan is a wedding, to repay is, is days of mourning.' (A proverb.)

kuweka mataanga 'to conduct the formal mourning period'

- Weshele matanga makulu.** ‘He held a large wake.’
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.’
- 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**
khsalowa shtaanga ‘for *shtaanga* to be prayed’
Shtaanga/ ni sala husalowa fijiri ya sku ya iidí. ‘Shtaanga is a prayer that is prayed on the morning of **iidi (ya wamuusi).**’
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*.’
- m-taange (mi-)* n. 3/4 [Sw. *mtange* SSED 307: "the beam of a pair of scales for weighing with"] scale
- kh-tanguliza* v. [Sw. *tangulia* "precede" and *tanguliza* "give precedence" SSED 453] precede
rel. nom.
u-tangulizo n. 14
- n-tanu* n. [Sw. *tanu* SSED 453; Ar. *tannūr* "baking oven, usually clay-lined, for baking bread" W 98] oven made of clay, and used mainly to bake local bread (**maandra**); it is found in most houses of Brava and it consists of a large clay jar, usually embedded in cement; [pron. **nt^hanu**]
Nt^hanu/ nt^haasá/ ni imulo/ yifke/ inakuławó. ‘The stove is still hot, heat is coming out.’
Siná/ nt^hanu ya khpikila. ‘I do not have a stove to cook on.’
rel.
i-tanu (mi-) n. 5/4 aug.
sh-tanu (s-) n. 7/8 dim.
- i-tapika (ma-)* n. 5/6 vomit; pl: **matapika**
maazi na matapika ya kanaani/ ni nijisi pashpo kuuya ka ndraani [st.] ‘blood and vomit from the mouth are impure, even if they do not come from deep inside’
- i-tapika ya tawala* n. [lit. vomit of the sea] jellyfish
- kh-tapika* v. [Sw. *tapika* SSED 454] (**tapishile**) vomit
Chimdirka eelo/ nakhtapika. ‘She found the gazelle vomiting.’
Hamadi/ mbenee mi/ khtapika. ‘Hamadi saw me vomiting.’
Hamadi/ mbenee mi/ nakhtapikó. ‘Hamadi saw me vomiting.’
Muunt^hu/ yaa ye/ hujó/ hutapikó. ‘What a person eats is what he vomits.’ (A proverb.)
Nele maayi/ tapishile. ‘(As soon as) he drank water, he vomited.’
rel.
kh-tapikila v. appl. (**tapikiliile**) vomit on, with
Mwaana/ mtapikiliile maamaye. ‘The child threw up on his mother.’
kh-tapisha 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' Sta'alūqané/ naaye/ ni mwenye matata. 'Don't associate with him, he is a troublemaker.' rel. <i>sh-tata</i> (s-) 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 Hamadi. '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 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.' 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 Miini 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/ chiwablá. All three of them, the cats killed at the same time.' Ye/ ni kuya apa/ keesho/ sa'aa nt^hatu/ fijiri. 'She is to come here tomorrow at nine in the morning.' 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'.)
<i>taatu</i>	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/ mzeele/ 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/ haḡá/ 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.’
<i>kh-tatula</i>	v. [Sw. <i>tatua</i> 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/ kooḡiza. ‘He did not get the idea of what I said.’
	Ye/ ḡakhtatula kooḡiza. ‘He will grasp the meaning of my words.’
	rel.
	<i>kh-tatuza</i> v. (tatiize or tatuziize) let someone be quiet and think about something
<i>sh-tatuzi (s-)</i>	n. 7/8 clue, sign
<i>ku-tawa</i>	v. kumtawaa nt^hawa ‘to pick out lice from s.o.’
<i>n-tawa</i>	n. 9/10 [Sw. <i>chawa</i> SSED 52] louse; [pron. nt^hawa] Chala chimooyi/ hachubli/ nt^hawa. ‘One finger does not kill a louse.’ (A proverb.) kubḡaa nt^hawa ‘to kill a louse/lice’ Nt^hawa/ zimingiló. ‘Lice has entered him, he is infested with lice.’
<i>sh-tawa (s-)</i>	n. 7/8 a kind of fish
<i>i-taza</i>	n. a kind of small fish, Remora; they swim along with and attach themselves to sharks, feeding off them confirm pronunciation
<i>sh-taazi (s-)</i>	n. 7/8 [cf. Sw. verb <i>twaá</i> "carry away" SSED 483] a stretcher, with a cover on it, for carrying corpses
<i>kh-teka</i>	v. [Sw. <i>teka</i> 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 mḡuungi ‘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 mḡuungi . There is a well at each of the many mosques.) khteka skunyi ‘to fetch firewood’ maayi ya bahari shteka hayamali / na siifa za mtume ndrúwa 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 Nḡ^hakhtekaayi/ mi/ maayi. ‘How can I fetch water?’ We/ iizé/ khḡumba chisima/ na isá/ ile khḡeka 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. (**tesheja**) 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; raise or lift up

khteka itaanga ‘to hoist a sail’

khteka mp^huundra ‘to load a donkey’

Mp^huundra/ zinakhtekoowa. ‘Donkeys are being loaded.’

ya mweema khteka apa duniyaani [st.] ‘that the good [man] is departing from (lit. being raised from) this world’

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 siraaji ni nt^heeka khpandroowa [st.] ‘it is a burden animal to be ridden on the narrow path 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.

Int^heketelelee nama/ int^heketelelelo. ‘The meat burned up on me, that’s what it did.’

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 was able to be charred for me.’

rel. nom.

m-teketelo n. 3

m-teketezo n. 3

teembo

n. 9/10 [Sw. *tembo* SSED 461] *Swahilicism* coconut palm wine made from the sap of the coconut tree (This word and the examples are from our first consultant, Mohammed Imam Abasheikh, who spoke both Chimiini, his father’s language, and Swahili, his mother’s language. The word **teembo** is not used generally among the Bravanese as there are no coconut trees in Brava and thus no palm wine made from coconuts.)

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.’

Muunt^hu/ chiwanazo peesa/ humwambila nt^heendra. ‘If one has money, it tells him: spend (lit. do) me!’ (A proverbial saying.)

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.)

Sulilee 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. do well on one’s own
Nakhteendreka. ‘He is doing well on his own.’
kh-tendrefoowa v. appl. pass.
kh-teendrela v. appl.
Mooja shteendrele biða’a rakhīsi [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 ndruuza 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.’
khfufuriḷa 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/ chiwaviḷa 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 farði ‘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 farði**’
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 farði** 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.’ (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.’ (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^hendre mooyi. ‘In the date tree not even one date remained.’
Mwaana/ chiruda mtendreeni. ‘The boy returned to the date tree.’
- 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/ zinakhtulukó/ mshaawuri/ wa maamulaṭa muuyi/ waliko nakhpita/ ka apo/ chiwona. ‘There, where these happenings were taking place, the advisor of the administrator 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/ zinakurudiḷoowa. ‘When they are gone, the same actions are repeated.’
Wana awa/ shtendro zaawo/ (ni) ziwovu. ‘These children, their actions are bad.’
Wiingine/ wa’aminile/ 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 fasiiha. ‘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] (**teteele**) stammer, stutter; cackle
Nk^huku/ zinakhtetela. ‘The hens are cackling.’
rel.
kh-tetelesha v. caus.
- kh-tetema* v. [Sw. *tetema* SSED 464] (**tetemeele**) 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 kaḍiiḍo. ‘Huseeni is shaking from fever.’
Jeelaani/ mkono/ umtetemeele. ‘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.)

	<p>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.’</p> <p>Tetemele ka bardí. ‘He shivered from the cold.’</p> <p>Wa’ingile nuumba/ nuumba/ inakhtetema. ‘They entered the house; the house was shaking.’</p> <p>rel.</p> <p>kh-tetemeka v. p/s. (-tetemeshele) Chanza khtetemeka shtiisho. ‘He started to tremble from fear.’</p> <p>kh-tetemesha v. caus. (tetemesheeze) 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/ tetemeshezee muti/ na iwuyú/ impotelele mwaalimu/ chiṭaani/ imublelele. ‘You shook the tree and the baobab fell on the teacher’s head and killed him.’</p> <p>kh-tetemeshana v. caus. rec. kh-tetermesheka v. caus. p/s. kh-tetemesheleza v. caus. appl. kh-tetemeshelezanya v. caus. appl. rec. kh-tetemeshoowa v. caus. pass. (tetemesheeza) Hamadi/ nakhtetemeshowa/ na (or: ka) kaḍiiḍo. ‘Hamadi is shaking from, because of fever.’</p> <p>kh-tetemoowa v. pass. (tetemeela) Yiko bardí/ zaaydi/ haṭá/ hutetemoowa. ‘There is so much cold to the point that there is trembling.’</p> <p>rel. nom. m-tetemeko n. shaking, trembling mtetemeko wa miino ‘chattering of teeth’ m-tetemesha (wa-) n. 1/2 one who shakes</p>
<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 (mi-)</i>	n. 5/4 cyst rel. <i>sh-tezi (s-)</i> n. 7/8 no etymological source found cyst; lump on the body that has no function
<i>thaabitī</i>	adj. firm khsimama thaabitī ‘to stand firm’

	Tama'aye/ iwalikoo nk^hulu/ na imaaniiyé/ ka mwaajitú/ iwaliko thaabiṭi. 'His hope was great and his faith in God was firm.'
thaqaleeni	n. [Ar. <i>at-taqalān</i> , W 104] the humans and the jinns sulūile miime Muusa kuwa ummaṭiyo sayyiḍi ya thaqaleeni [st.] 'the prophet Moses wanted to belong to your people, o lord of humans and jinns'
thalaatha	n., adj. [Ar. <i>ṭalāṭa</i> W 105] three (in Chimiini, the stem <i>-tatu</i> is the most common means to express the notion 'three', but thalaatha is a possible alternative, at least in some expressions) thalatha alfu 'three thousand' (or alfuu nt^hatu) thalathaa miya 'three hundred' (or miyaa nt^hatu) thalaatha miya na ikumi ka jimla/ na watatu sho kiiwa nt^haanayo 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)'
thalaathiini	n., adj. [Sw. <i>thelathini</i> SSED 465; Ar. <i>ṭalātūn</i> W 105] thirty Chimpa mwaana/ shilingi thalaathiini. 'He gave the boy thirty shillings.' Jeelaani/ waliko mubjaana/ wa miyaka siṭaashara/ laakini/ akhilize/ schipita/ aqli/ za muunt^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 sitta or thalaathiini/ na sittá 'thirt six'
thamanṭaashara	n., adj. eighteen
thaamani	n. [Sw. <i>thamani</i>] value, cost chint^hu chenye thaamani 'something having value' khamri tahaḍari walo thamaniye/ ni ḍambi 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. <i>themanini</i> SSED 465; Ar. <i>ṭamānān</i> W 107] eighty thamanina keendra or thamaaniini/ na keendrá 'eighty nine'
kh-thamina	v. [Sw. <i>thamini</i> SSED 465; Ar. <i>ṭamina</i> W 107] (thaminiile) 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^u/ 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^u/ 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, reward, blessing
heendro husaalo hupoowa thawaabu/ na hasanaati nt^hazina hisaabu [st.] ‘those who pray there receive rewards/ and benefits without number’
Ismu ya jawaabu/ ya mojiitu/ faramiiló/ muunt^u/ shfaanya/ hupata thawaabu. ‘Whatever God recommended to be done, if one does it, one gets rewards.’ (Note that there is an alternative pronunciation where the subject of the relative clause receives final accent: **ya mojiitú**. Also: **hu-pata...** may be replaced by **h-andikiḷowa...**)
Kiḷa/ kalima/ mooyi/ ya qur’aani/ inaayo/ thawaabu/ miya. ‘Every word of the Quran has one hundred blessings.’
sadaqa afḍali 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-thibiṭa** v. [Ar. *ṭabata* W 101] (**thibiṭiile**) be certain, confirmed
Ka haqiiqa/ nt^haasá/ nt^haykhthibiṭa/ ya kuwaa ye/ ingiile/ ḍambi izo. ‘In fact, it has not yet been confirmed that he committed those crimes.’
zithibiṭiile furaha niingi karka makhluuqu [st.] ‘(at the Prophet’s birth) much joy [=furaha [cl.10] noun] was evident/appeared among (all) creatures’
rel.
kh-thibiṭisha v. caus. [Sw. *thibitisha* “make firm, secure, establish, prove” SSED 464] (**thibiṭishiize**) make certain, affirm, maintain that
- thimaari** n. fruit
mwenye thimaari ‘productive, fruitful’
munt^u mwenye thimaari ‘a productive person’
- thiqa** n. trust; [pron. **thiqa** or **thikha**]
kubasha thikha ‘to lose trust’
Mi/ na Omari/ mbashiizé/ thikha. ‘Me, I have lost trust with Omari.’
Muunt^u/ mara mooyi/ chibasha thikha/ bas/ teena/ hakhaamini. ‘Once a

	person loses trust he will never again believe in you.’ Mi/ siná/ thikha/ na Hamadi. ‘I do not have trust in Hamadi.’ Nt^haná/ thikha/ na waant^hu. ‘He does not trust people.’ Omari/ nt^haná/ thikha/ 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. <i>tult</i> 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. <i>thumu</i> SSED 465; Ar. <i>tūm</i> W 109] garlic Thuumu/ nii dawa. ‘Garlic is a remedy, a medicine.’ khtila thuumu/ kujaani ‘to put garlic in food’
thumuni	adj. [Sw. <i>thumuni</i> SSED 465; Ar. <i>tumn</i> 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. <i>kiti</i> 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 piili ‘the second chair’ chiti chaa saba ‘the seventh chair’ Chiti chimooyi/ chivaliko 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. <i>chi-ji-ti (zi-ji-)</i> n. 7/8 dim. <i>chi-mu-ti (zi-mu-)</i> n. dim. <i>i-ji-ti (mi-ji-)</i> n. 5/4 aug. <i>i-mu-ti (mi-mu-)</i> n. 5/4 aug.
mu-ti (mi-)	n. 3/4 [Sw. <i>mti</i> 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’ (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.' Or: **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).'

Langaḷa/ mahaḷa/ 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.' (Although MI used the form **membraamba**, our current consultants use the form **mambaamba**.)

miti membaamba 'thin trees'

Miti ayo/ ni zigobe/ kuzida miti aya. 'Those trees are shorter than these trees.'

Mubjaana/ paanzile/ ilu/ mutiini. 'The young man climbed up the tree.'

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/ ni chigobe/ kolko muti uyu. [H'H'H] 'That tree is shorter than this tree.'

Muti oyo/ nii mule. [H!H] 'That tree is tall.' (cf. **Muti uje/ ni chigobe.** [H!H] 'That tree is short.')

(In a simple statement "x is adjective" or "x is noun", the adjective or noun is regularly lowered in pitch relative to x. The basic intonational pattern of the language is that there is a radical downstep of the pitch in the accented syllable of the adjective or noun relative to the accented syllable of x. But at the same time, in these copular sentences, the more emphasis is put on the adjective or noun, the expected downstep may be altered to what we have referred to as declination.)

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 wowi 'a tree which was near the river'

Muti uyu/ nii mule/ kuzida muti oyo. [H'H'H] 'This tree is taller than that tree.' (In this construction, "x is adj-er than y", the drop in pitch on the adjective strikes us as being declination rather than radical downstep, and the final phrase **kuzida muti oyo** seems similar.)

Muti uyu/ nt^hawuná/ mwenewe. 'This tree has no owner.'

Muti uyu/ uwanaayo/ matuundra/ miingi. 'This tree had a lot of fruit on it.'

mutiiwa 'my tree'

Nii mile/ miti aya. 'Are tall, these trees.'

Ni milee nt^ho/ miti aya. 'Are very tall, these trees.'

Nuumba/ naa miti/ 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/ ileseḷapó/ 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.'

- Wachingukula/ haṭá/ shchikoma jaziira/ mooyi/ yenyee miti/ miingi.**
‘They carried me until we reached an island, one having many trees.’
- Ye/ ishkiḷiḷe/ ka mutiini/ na ingiile/ kubigaa nk^heje/ kuwaviḷa 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/ ichiḷawa na itiki ikulu. ‘From the basket also a large watermelon came out.’
Leelo/ sukhuuni/ matiki/ yabariḷe. ‘Today at the market watermelons became very cheap (no one was buying them and they lacked value as a consequence).’
Ndrani ya itiki/ yawalimo maayi/ na katiiké/ zivalimo zinsí/ ziwili/ schiṭezootézó. ‘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^hantikiza/ waawaye. ‘He did not pay heed to his father.’
Skutikiza/ wano waa mi/ mp^heeḷá. ‘I did not heed the advice that I was given.’
- rel.
kh-tikiliza v. appl. (*tikiliize*) listen to (to someone’s detriment)
Nt^hikilize kooḷiza. ‘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, pour (liquids)
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 ziṭa ziingine/ shtilaa nt^hi/ shtiló/ chimó/ ka apa/ chimó/ ka apa/ mahaḷaa 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/ nakunt^hila/ karka igozi/ ya ngamiila. ‘He told me that he was going to put me inside the skin of the camel.’
Hamadi/ fanyize khafasi/ ya chuuma/ kuwatila nk^hbukuze. ‘Hamadi made an iron cage to put his hens in to brood.’
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/ huṭomoló. ‘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/ tiḷa miimba. ‘The woman was made pregnant.’
khtila adaba ‘to discipline’
Hamadi/ ni aḍabdara/ waawaye/ nt^hamtila/ adabu/ ka chihaba. ‘Hamadi is undisciplined, his father did not discipline him while he was a child.’
khtila baakoora ‘to hit with a cane’
khtilaa be’i ‘to make a bid, name a price’

khtila chaayi ‘to pour tea’ (also: **khtilila chaayi** ‘to pour tea for’)
Haliima/ nakuwatilila marti/ chaayi. ‘Haliima is pouring tea for the guests.’

khtilaa dawa ‘to apply medicine (etc.) externally’
Haliima/ nakhtilaa dawa/ mashungiini/ khfanya mahuundru.
‘Haliima is putting dye in her hair to make it red.’

khtila eebu ‘to find fault with, disgrace’
Kilaa mahala/ ichiwaliko chiintu/ Omari/ hupeenda/ khtila eebu. ‘Everywhere there is something (that happens, that is said) Omari likes to find fault, blame someone.’

khtila iboholiini ‘to put into trouble (lit. put in a hole)’
Ntaku/ mtilo/ tile ruuhuye/ iboholiini. ‘No one put him in, he put himself in a hole (trouble).’

khtila illa ‘to find fault’
Ali/ hupeenda/ khtila illa/ jawabu za waantbu. ‘Ali likes to find fault with what people say.’

khtila ishkilooni ‘to pay heed’
Maskiini/ ntakhtila/ ishkilooni/ yaa wo/ wamwambiilo. ‘The poor man did not pay heed to what they told him.’

khtila ka apa/ x-tomola 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 mwaajimu/ kati. ‘The students surrounded the teacher.’

khtila khasara ‘to cause to incur losses (financial, e.g.)’

khtila khoofu ‘to frighten’
Nkuwa/ zinakubiga/ hatá/ stile waantbu/ khoofu.
‘Thunderstorms are sounding loudly till they put fear to people.’
Saahera/ watile waantbu/ khoofu. ‘The witch instilled in the people fear (i.e. frightened them).’

khtila ifuungulo ‘to insert a key into; to wind up (a clock)’
Omari/ nakhtilaa sa’a/ ifuungulo. ‘Omari is winding up the clock.’
Omari/ tile ifuungulo/khufuliini/ lyundishile. ‘Omari put the key in the lock and it broke.’

Omari/ tile ifuungulo/ gariini/ koondrola. ‘Omari put the key in the car to start it.’

khtila makali ‘to sharpen’
Nthilee chisú/ makali/ ijiweení. ‘I sharpened a knife on the stone.’
(While it would be possible to focus the locative and put it into Immediately After the Verb position, MI did not accept *Nthilee chisú/ ijiweení/ makali.)

khtila maandra ‘to make bread’
Haliima/ nakuwatila waana/ maandra/ kujilaa nsi. ‘Haliima is making bread for children to eat with fish.’
Haliima/ umo mikooni/ nakhtila maandra. ‘Haliima is in the kitchen, she is making bread.’

khtila maraöi ‘to cause illness, disease’
Kufake/ waawaye/ umtile maraöi. ‘His father’s death caused him to become ill.’

khtila masiiri ‘to make jealous’
Hamadi/ mwambile Nuuru/ fauura/ we/ uzilo/ suura/ hatá/ itile masiiri. ‘Hamadi told Nuuru: the car you bought is nice, it even made me jealous.’
Omari/ jawabu yaa ye/ fanyiizo/ imtile mukeewe/ masiiri. ‘The thing that Omari did made his wife jealous.’

khtila matata ‘to cause troubles’
khtila miimba ‘to make pregnant’
Mtilee muke/ miimba. ‘He made the woman pregnant.’ Or: **Mtile miimba/ muke.**
khtila mkate ‘to bake bread’
Fardoosa/ tile mkate/ laakini/ ye/ nt^hakiyija. ‘Fardoosa baked a cake but did not eat it.’
khtila mkono ‘to greet with a handshake’
khtilaa mu_lo ‘to burn s.t.’
khtilaa mu_looni ‘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 mweenzawa. ‘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 hijj^a/ mwaka uyú. ‘I have the intention of going to the pilgrimage this year.’

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 kha_tari ‘to expose oneself to danger, jeopardize oneself’

Tile ruuhuye/ kha_tari/ khutilaa we/ karka raaha. ‘He put himself in danger (in order to) put you in comfort.’

khtilaa shaka ‘to doubt (lit. put in doubt)’; **kh-tila ma-sháka** ‘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/ mu_looni. ‘It is the tongue that puts one in hell.’ (A proverb.)

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.)

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.’

Nureeni/ tile peesa/ sandukhuuni. ‘Nureeni put money in the box.’ Or:

Nureeni/ tile peesa/ ndrani ya sanduukhu. ‘Nureeni put money in the box.’ (The bare noun cannot be used in place of the locative or ndrani-phrase: *Nureeni/ tile peesa/ sanduukhu. ‘Nureeni put money in the box.’

Nuru/ tile chibuuku/ mezaani/ tiiló. ‘Nuru put a book on the table, that’s what he did.’ Or: **Nuru/ tile chibuuku/ tiiló/ mezaani.** ‘Nuru put a book, that’s what he did, on the table.’

sandukhu ya Nureeni/ tilo peesá/ (katiiké) ‘the box that Nureeni put money in (it)’

Shtila chaakuja/ karka zijamu statu. ‘She put food on three plates.’

Tilee kha_ti/ 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 put water on the teacher.’

rel.

kh-tiila v. appl. (**tiila**) put for

Basi/ nthiilani nthendre/ nthiilaani/ ka chiguni. ‘So, (you pl.) put for me dates, that’s what you should do, in a bag.’

Hamadi/ mtile Nuuru/ maandra/ sandukhuuni. ‘Hamadi put the bread in the box for Nuuru.’

khtilowa lfuungulo ‘to be wound up (of a clock)’

Sa’aya/ nthaykhsimama/ nthangu/ itila lfuungulo. ‘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.**

skiza we kuntiila [song] ‘I did not refuse your pouring for me’

Sku mooyi/ waant’u/ wachimtilila fitina/ ka Harun Rashiidi. ‘One day people created discord between him and Harun Rashiidi.’

Taahiri/ mtile mbwa/ maayi. ‘Taahiri poured the dog water.’

dog into the bucket.’

Taahiri/ mtile mbwa/ maayi/ wadamuuni. ‘Taahiri poured water for the

teacher’s dog.’

Taahiri/ mtile mwaalimu/ mbwa/ maayi. ‘Taahiri threw water at the

teacher water into the bucket.’ Or: **Taahiri/ mtile mwaalimu/ maayi/ wadamuuni.** ‘Ibid.’ (Although MI accepted the use of a bare **wadamu** in the first example, the word order seemed pertinent, as he rejected ***Taahiri/ mtile mwaalimu/ maayi/ wadamu.**)

Taahiri/ mtile mwaana/ maayi/ wadamuuni. ‘Taahiri poured water into the bucket for the child.’

Ye/ nthile makooko/ na chita chaa nsi. ‘She put for me (on the plate) the hard crust of the rice and a fish head.’

kh-tiiloowa v. appl. pass. (**tiila**) be put in for

Mwaalimu/ tiila mbwa/ maayi. ‘The teacher’s dog was thrown water at.’ (Notice that it is ungrammatical to say ***Mbwa/ tiila mwaalimu/ maayi.** Also ***Maayi/ yatila mwaalimu/ mbwa.** Only the beneficiary can be the subject of the passive applied structure here.)

Shtilowa nthendre/ ka chiguni/ shtilowá. ‘There was put dates in the bag, that’s what was done.’

kh-tiloowa v. pass. (**tiila**) 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’o/ 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 peesa ‘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'
Waant^hu/ watiila khoofu/ na saahera. 'People were frightened by the witch.'

Yuusufu/ shtilowa habasaani. 'Joseph was put in prison.'

kh-tilana v. rec. go in one another

Stezo/ izi/ na stuundru/ izi/ hastilani/ ka sababu/ stuundru/ ni zihaba.
'These buttons and these button holes cannot enter each other because the holes are small.'

kh-tilika v. p/s.

N^hupa iyi/ haytiliki/ maayi. 'This bottle cannot have water put in it (e.g. it has too small an opening).'

N^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 uyu/ 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 wadamuu=ni.** 'Water was caused to be put in the bucket.' Notice the use of the locative **wadamuuni**. MI rejected making a bare **wadaamu** the passive subject even with the causee not identified: ***Wadaamu/ 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
Nuru mfile mwaana/ kendra sukhuuni. ‘Nuru 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)
kubiga mtimiino ‘to clean the teeth’
Hubiga/ mtimiino/ nt^hasaa we/ kulaala? ‘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. circumcise
muke na mubli sho khtina nt^hana milla/ ya mtume Ibraahimu na iyo ni illa [st.] ‘uncircumcised women and men do not follow the tradition of Prophet Ibraahiim – this is the truth’
rel.
kh-tinoowa v. pass.
Wanaashke/ washtinoowa/ huḡindowa chindooro/ habamooyi. ‘When girls are circumcised, the clitoris is cut a little.’
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.
adwi mkulu sheḡaani Iblisi/ watinikiize jannatu lfirdowsi [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.’
- m-tino (mi-)* n. 3/4 [cf. Sw. *tina* sac. 89, identified with Kipemba and Kiamu dialects] part of the penis where the foreskin has been cut
na mitino yashkunt^hana ni laazimu/ kowoowa chizapo aḡabu daa’imu [st.] ‘and if **mitino** meet (i.e. sexual intercourse occurs), (then) it is obligatory to bathe, otherwise punishment is eternal’
- 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’
Mwaana/ mtishize maamaye. ‘The child was still-born [lit. still-born his mother].’
mwana 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.’
Laḡa/ shtisho chaa we/ naachó/ paandra/ mloongoti/ uyu/ na shkoma ilu/

simama/ bila/ khoofu/ huṭakhtuluka/ 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.’

Mukhtāa we/ nayo shtiishó/ khalbiyo/ hubiga zaaydi. ‘When you are afraid, your heart beats fast.’

Oyo munt^hu umo ijuniyaaní/ kasizopo koḏi za askarí/ chimwingile shtiisho/ shkulu. ‘That man who was inside the sack, when he heard the words of the soldiers, great fear entered him.’

Ndrangaliile/ mi/ bilaa shtiisho. ‘He watched me fearlessly.’

Ndrangaliile/ mi/ ka shtiisho. ‘He watched me fearfully.’

Uyu/ wenopo ma’askarí/ qalbiye/ yanzize mbiga/ na mwingile shtiisho. ‘This one, when he saw the policemen, his heart began to pound and he became afraid.’

Waant^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 money’

rel.

i-titu n. [cf. Sw. *tuta* ‘to pile up’ SSED 482] pile

ititu ya peesa ‘a pile of money’

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/ nayo ^hkhalbi/ 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 [n̄.] ‘overpowered, sweating, suffocating/ ready with sticks, we were fearing guns’

Karkaa ndila/ wawili/ karka wataana/ wachihada/ kuwaa wo/ wanakhtiya. ‘On the way, two of the slaves said that they were afraid.’

kuuya khuwona fahama n^hiyiile [song] ‘understand, I was afraid to come to see you’

Lumiḷa 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.)

Mukhtāa we/ nakhtiyó/ khalbiyo/ hubiga zaaydi. ‘When you are afraid, your heart beats fast.’

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?’

Nakhtiyaní. ‘What are you afraid of?’

Ndiwa/ chanza khtiya. ‘The pigeon began to be afraid.’

Ni ’aadi/ muunt^hu/ khtiyaa noka. ‘It is common for one to be afraid of snakes.’

Ñnakhtiya kujaa nsi. ‘I am afraid to eat fish.’ Cf. with verb emphasis: **Ñnakhtiyá/ kujaa nsi.**

Ñnakhtiyá/ kula gari ya Hamadi. ‘I am afraid to buy Hamadi’s car.’

Ñnakhtiyá. ‘I am afraid of you.’

Ñnakishtiyá. ‘I am afraid of it [cl.7].’

Ñnakishtiyá/ kula chigaari/ cha Hamadi. ‘I am afraid it (dim.) car of Hamadi to buy.’

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 nobody 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/ shtiyilee chisu ichi/ khtindilaa nama. ‘Nuuru was afraid to use this knife to cut the meat.’ (Observe that the main verb *-tiya* may bear an object marker agreeing with the topicalized instrument *chisu ichi* ‘this knife’ The use of a demonstrative is not required: **Nuuru/ stiyilee chisu/ khtindilaa nama.** The preposing of the instrument does seem to be necessary, as a sentence like the following was judged to be dubious: **?Nuuru/ shtiyile khtindilaa nama.** An even more egregious ungrammaticality comes from trying to have the higher verb agree with an instrument preceded by a preposition: ***Nuuru/ shtiyile khtindaa nama/ ka chisu ichi.**)

Nuuru/ tiyile kanza kuja chaakuja. ‘Nuuru was afraid to begin to eat food.’
Or: **Nuuru/ tiyile kanza kichija chaakuja.** ‘Nuuru was afraid to begin to eat the food.’

Nuuru/ tiyiile/ chisu ichi/ kumpa mwaana. ‘Nuuru was afraid this knife to give the child.’ (Mohammad Imam rejected having the main verb be marked with an object marker referring to *chisu*: ***Nuuru/ shtiyiile/ chisu ichi/ kumpa mwaana.** However, if *chisu* is made the subject of the passive version of the infinitive, then it may be passivized into the subject of the main verb: **Chisu ichi/ shtiyila khpowa mwaana.** ‘This knife was feared to be given to the child.’)

Nuuru/ tiyile khpakila gaari/ boomba. ‘Nuuru was afraid to load the truck with the bomb.’ (It is not possible to mark an object of the infinitive verb on the main verb if the object is not marked on the infinitive: ***Nuuru/ itiyle khpakila gaari/ boomba.** Marking a lower object on the main verb is possible when the object is also marked on the infinitive: **Nuuru/ itiyle ki’ipikila bomba iyi/ gariini.** ‘Nuuru was afraid of it for to be load this bomb on the truck.’)

Nuuru/ tiyile khtindilaa nama/ chisu. ‘Nuuru was afraid to cut the meat with a knife.’ (In an instrumental applied construction with two non-human objects, the applied instrumental verb cannot agree with either object in Mohammad Imam’s speech: ***Nuuru/ tiyile kishindilaa nama/ chisu.** Also: ***Nuuru/ tiyile ki’itindilaa nama/ chisu.** To put an object marker on the verb, the verb must be in its simple form and can only agree with the logical object: **Nuuru/ tiyile ki’itinda nama iyi/ kaa chisu.** ‘Nuuru was afraid to cut the meat with a knife.’)

Nuuru/ tiyile kumbiga siimba/ kaa luti. ‘Nuuru was afraid to strike the lion with a stick.’ (The infinitival verb can be put into the applied form as well: **Nuuru/ tiyile kumbigila siimba/ luti.** This example is from Mohammad Imam, who systematically avoided focusing the instrument in an instrumental applied construction, as reflected in the example just given by its not being located in Immediately-After-Verb position. The instrument can be topicalized and when it is, the main verb may bear an object marker agreeing with it: **Nuuru/ ltiyile luti ili/ kumbigila siimba.** ‘Nuuru is afraid for it, this stick, to be used to strike the lion.’ Marking the higher verb by agreeing with the instrument has the effect of suggesting that it is something about the stick that makes Nuuru afraid of the situation, for example, it is not strong enough and might break and be ineffectual.)

Nuuru/ tiyile kumpa mwaana/ chisu ichi. ‘Nuuru was afraid to give the child this knife.’

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: **Chibuuku**

cha Nuuru/ tiyilo kuwa mwaaná/ takichibashá/ nch^haaká. ‘The book that Nuuru was afraid that the boy would lose is mine.’)

Sinakhtiya/ chiint^hu/ nnakhiiwá/ jisaa mi/ nna’iwo wazelewa. ‘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^heendrece. ‘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.’

Waant^hu/ kawa mtiya mojiitú/ dhibu/ ska’iwaako/ duniyaani. ‘If people had been obeying God, there would have been no problems in this world.’ (A proverbial saying.)

Watishizo waant^hú/ ni saahera. ‘The one who frightened people is the witch.’

Watiyile sultaani/ kuwabla. ‘They were afraid for the sultan to kill them.’

Wo/ ka khtiyaa si/ khfakata/ wachivundavunda batera yitu. ‘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-tiyiloowa v. appl. pass.

Luti ili/ Itiyila kubigilowaa noka. ‘This stick was feared to be used to beat the snake.’ (This example illustrates that an instrument in an instrumental applied infinitive clause can be the subject of the main verb *-tiya* ‘be afraid’.)

kh-tiyila v. appl. (*tiyilile*) 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 nafiye [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/ mukewe. (Note that one cannot say ***Miizi/ mtishize Omari/ muke.** Possession must be overtly marked.)

Nuuru/ mtishize mwaana. ‘Nuuru frightened the boy.’

mwana wa khtiisha ‘lit. child of causing fear – although MI glossed this expression as referring to a child who is dead at birth, others have suggested that it refers to a “changeling” or a handicapped or abnormal infant’

ismu mtomolele hata wa khtiisha [st.] ‘give a name even to a changeling etc.’

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.)

Nuru/ mtishilize Suufi/ mwaana. ‘Nuru frightened Suufi’s child.’
kh-tishilizan(y)a v. caus. appl. rec.
Nuru/ na Suufi/ watishilizenye waana. ‘Nuru and Suufi frightened one another’s children.’
Waana/ wa’uzile misanamu ya majini/ khtishilizana. ‘Children bought jinn-idols to frighten one another with.’

kh-tishoowa v. pass. be frightened by

Waant^hu/ watishiza na saahera. ‘People were frightened by the witch.’
kh-tiyila v. appl. (tiyiliile)

Mi/ khutyiiliile/ nt^ho. ‘I was very afraid of you.’
kh-tiyoowa v. pass. be afraid of

Bomba iyi/ itiyila khpakilowa gaari (or: **gariini**). ‘This bomb was feared to be loaded on the truck.’ (This is a personal passive verb where the logical indirect object of a applied infinitival verb has been raised to become the subject of the passive of the main verb *-tiya*. The subject marker on the verb is *i* in agreement with the [cl.9] noun *boomba*. This raising is possible, however, only because *boomba* was made into the passive subject of the infinitive.)

Chisu ichi/ shtiyila khtindilowaa nama. ‘This knife was feared to be used to cut meat.’ (Observe that the instrument in the infinitival complement clause can appear as the subject of a passive version of *-tiya* ‘be afraid of’, but this is only possible because it has been made the subject of the passive instrumental infinitive verb.

Inakhtiyowa kuwa mwaana/ haṭakhpata/ imṭihaani. ‘It is feared that the child will not pass the examination.’ (This represents an impersonal passive of the verb *-tiya* which uses the [cl.9] subject marker *i* on the main verb. The complement is a *kuwa*-clause.)

Mwana uyu/ tiyila khtindilowaa nama. ‘This child was feared to be cut meat for.’

Nt^haku/ sababu/ ya khtiyooowa. ‘There is no reason to be afraid.’
Siimba/ mbwa khtiyooowa. ‘A lion is something to be afraid of.’

rel. nom.

i-tiishi (mi-) n. 5/4 coward

sh-tiisho (s-) n. 7/8 fright (either caused or felt)

u-tiisho n. 14

hula ka qalbiini ka utiisho hutaḷama [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. *mtō* SSED 309] pool of water near the shore of the sea (just south of Brava there was one such secluded spot, a pool sheltered by the reef where women used to bathe and was called **ibohooli/ yaa wake** ‘the women’s hole, or pool’); puddle of water left behind on shore when high tide recedes; river [archaic in this sense, as **wowi** is preferred]; spring of fresh water

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.)

kharibu yaa muto ‘near the pool of water’

mtii’e mojiitu khuunzilo/ menyē bahari na mito [st.] ‘obey God, your Creator, the Lord of the seas and the rivers’

ndalaye niingi ooniye siwo haba/ haṭa 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 mṭanaani/ mbene hadiiqá/ nk^hulu/ 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 pool of water.’

Wake awa/ wa’ingile mutooni/ koowa. ‘These women entered the pool 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/ haṭowi/ 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^hokolo]:

farasi yaa nt^haka/ na nt^hokoló ‘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^haka/ naa nt^hokoló/ kuhada ā’ā/ Iisha/ nt^hachiiwa. ‘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^hokolo]; to say “no”, Iisha did not know how.’

rel.

wa-tokolo n. 2 whores

Wake/ wa shtulo ichi/ wonṭhe/ 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.

Aa/ mtokomeze Omari/ kooḍizé. ‘Aa! leave Omari (forget about him), his words (what he is saying)!’

Basi/ baaba/ chintokomeza/ na chilawa/ karka hawaze. ‘So Father let him be and forsook him.’

Maama/ ofeṭopó/ 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’

N^haná/ 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: *N^haná/ budi/ ye/ natokose maayi.)

N^huná/ 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

Omari/ mtonzele mukeewe. ‘Omari fucked his wife.’ (Cf. the yes-no questions: **Omari/ mtonzele mukeewe?** and **Omari/ mtonzele mukeewé!?**)

Omari/ mtoonzele/ mukeewe. ‘Omari *fucked* his wife.’ (Cf. the simple yes-no question: **Omari/ mtoonzele/ mukeewé?**)

m-toondro

n. 3 [Sw. *mtondo* ‘the third day following’ SSED 310] day after tomorrow

Leelo/ ziyaara/ za Shekh Khaasimu/ ni taano/ mtoondro/ nii saba/ itakikhimoowa. ‘Today the religious ceremony of Sheekh Khaasimu is the fifth day, the day after tomorrow is

the seventh, it will be concluded.’

mtondro wa nḡbiini ‘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 ijarahā ya Muusa. ‘Hamadi hurt Muusa’s wound by knocking against it.’
Nureeni/ tonoshele ijarahā. ‘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/ ijarahā. ‘Nureeni knocked against the child’s wound.’ (Syn. Contrast the periphrastic causative: **Nureeni/ mtile mwaana/ khtonoka ijarahā.** ‘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/ ijarahā. ‘Nureeni bumped against Suufi’s child’s wound, reopening it.’ (Syn. Compare the periphrastic version: **Nureeni/ mtile Suufi/ mwaana/ khtonoka ijarahā.** ‘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/ yadariḡe 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^hakuzaama/ matotoopeeni. ‘Nuuru did not sink in the mud.’

Nuuru/ zamile matotoopeeni. ‘Nuuru sank in the mud.’

Yadariḡo matotoopé/ ni mitaanga. ‘What is soaked in mud is the sails.’

kh-towela v. [Sw. *toweā* 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/ towelelee zijo/ m̄tuzi. ‘Nuuru used the gravy as a sauce for the zijo.’ Or: **Nuuru/ towelele m̄tuzi/ zijo.**

rel.

kh-toweeloowa v. pass.

Nt̄aku/ chiint̄u/ khtowelowa maandra. ‘There is nothing to be used as a relish for the bread.’

sh-towelo

n. 7 [Sw. *kitoweo* SSED 474] whatever is eaten along with bread, rice, starches (e.g. meat, fish, sauce, gravy)

variant form: **shtewelo**

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 howōi na m̄ito ya Kowthari / zont̄e izo nza mtume w̄itu =[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

Ali/ tuzilee chitta. ‘Ali felt better, the head (i.e. his headache subsided).’

Ali/ tuzile miimba. ‘Ali’s stomach ache subsided.’

Chimwaambila/ maamaye/ kuwaa ye/ siwo/ takhtuuló/ mpaka kumub̄ja siimba. ‘He told his mother that he would not rest until he killed the lion.’

Kuja/ ha’ijoowi/ imulo/ hulindrowa khtuula. ‘Food is not eaten hot, one waits for it to cool down.’

Muunt̄^hu/ tuzile ruuhu. [H!H] ‘The man was calm, settled.’

Nt̄^huuzilé. ‘I felt better.’

Ruuhu/ imtuuzile/ muunt̄^hu. [H!H!H] ‘The man was calm, settled.’ Or: **Imtuuzilo muunt̄^hú/ ni ruuhu.** [HH] ‘What became calm for the man was (his) spirit.’ (In this construction **ruuhu** controls the subject agreement on the verb, while **muunt̄^hu** controls an object prefix. As shown above, there is an alternative construction where **muunt̄^hu** controls the subject agreement.)

rel.

kh-tuulila v. appl. (**tuliile**) calm down for

Mwaana/ nt̄^huliile. ‘The child calmed down for me (e.g. after I soothed the child).’

kh-tuuliza v. caus. appl. (**tuliize**)

Ali/ mtulize Iisa/ mwaana. ‘Ali calmed the child down for Iisa.’

kh-tulizanya v. caus. appl. rec. (**-tulizeenye**) calm down for one another’

Ali/ na Ji/ watulizenye waana. ‘Ali and Ji calmed the children down for one another.’

kh-tulizika v. caus. appl. p/s.

Ye/ hatuliziki/ mwaana. ‘The child cannot be calmed down for him.’

kh-tuuzā v. caus. (**tuziize**) quieten s.o.; relieve s.o. (of medicine, e.g.); calm s.o. down, comfort, soothe

Ali/ mtuzize mwaana. ‘Ali soothed the child.’ (Note that one cannot say: ***Ali/ mtuzize mwaana/ chitta.** ‘Ali caused the child’s headache to subside.’)

Bilaa khtuuzā/ Hamiisi/ bishile mpiira. ‘Without hesitation, Hamiisi kicked the ball.’

Mi/ nakht̄ahaja wakht̄i/ habamooyi/ khtuza ch̄itaachá. ‘I need a little time to make up my mind.’ (But cf. with emphasis on adverb: **Mi/ nakht̄ahaja wakht̄i/ [↑]haba/ khtuza ch̄itaacha.** ‘I need a little time

to make up my mind.’ Notice that when the adverb is raised in pitch, the final accent from the verb does extend to it nor past it.)

Muunt^hu/ tuzize ruuhuye. [H!H] ‘The man calmed himself.’

Omari/ mwambile Hamadi/ oloka/ mtuze Ali/ shishiḷa shtana. ‘Omari told Hamadi: go and calm Ali down, he is angry.’

kh-tuuzanya v. caus. rec. (-tuzeenye) calm one another down

x-tuzatuuza v. caus. freq.

Chimtuzatuuza/ 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. [HH] ‘What was calmed by the man was the spirit.’

Tuziza qalbi. ‘His mind was put at ease.’

Wake/ watuziza ruuhu. [H!H] ‘The women were comforted.’

Wanaashke/ watuziza ruuhu. [H!H] ‘The girls were comforted.’

Watuziza ruuhú/ nii wake. [H'H] ‘The ones who were comforted were the women.’ Or: **Watuziza ruuhú/ ni wanaashke.** [H'H] ‘The ones who were comforted were the girls.’ (The declination in these two examples is minimal; this is perhaps a function of the copular structure of the sentence.)

rel. nom.

u-tuuliḷo 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/ kachiweleḷa shtuzo cha maatḷo. ‘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] (**tuushile, tuushile**) fall; fail (an examination); happen, befall

Ali/ tuushile. ‘Ali fell down.’

Amaani/ naa zitá/ ba/ hutuluka. ‘Peace and war both happen.’

Ba’adi ya apo/ tu/ mi/ niwiiló/ iyo itulushiló. ‘Only then did I understand what had happened.’

Chiboodo/ weene/ mahaḷa yaa ndovú/ tulushiló... ‘Flea saw the place where the elephant had fallen...’

Chiint^hu/ ishtuluka/ husaaló/ maneeno. ‘When something happens, what remains is talking.’ (This saying remarks that once something has happened, there is nothing more that can be done except to talk about it.)

Chiint^hu/ mara mooyi/ shchituluka/ kafanya jis’iyí/ kana/ kafanya jis’iyó/ hayiinfi/ chiint^hu. ‘Once something has happened, if this, if that does not serve any purpose.’ (A proverb that conveys the idea that once something has happened, there is no point to talking about what if this, what if that, etc.)

Hamadi/ tuushile/ vundishile mkono/ qa’. ‘Hamadi fell and broke (his) hand, *qa’!*’
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.'

Kasiizé/ ituushileni. 'Did you hear what happened?'

Kasiizé/ ituushiló. 'Did you hear what happened?'

Kuwa Ali/ nt^hakhtuluka/ imtihaani/ inakonyesha kuwaa ye/ someele. 'That Ali did not fail the examination shows that he studied.'

Mi/ nayoo shaká/ haba/ kuwa iyi/.aakhiri/ itakhtuluka. 'I have little doubt that this will ultimately occur.'

Mi/ skuumbuki/ itulushiló. 'I don't remember what happened.'

Munt^hu oyo/ tulushile. 'That man fell.' Or: **Tulushile/ munt^hu oyo.** (But the phrasing **Tulushile munt^hu oyo.** seems incomplete. It seems to be

acceptable however in a sentence such as: **Tulushile munt^hu oyo/ takhuyaawata.** '(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'

Mwaana/ ha'ineendri/ sho khtuluka. 'A child does not walk without falling down.' (A proverb.)

Mwaana/ tulushile/ bun. 'The child fell *bun!*'

Mwaana/ tulushiló/ ni Omari. 'The child who fell is Omari.'

Ndrata/ mbele/ khaambile/ stulushiló. 'Let me first tell you what happened.'

Omari/ tuushile. 'Omari fell.' Or: **Tuushile/ Omari.**

Omari/ tulushile ka uso. 'Omari fell on his face.'

Si/ chinaayo/ ya kuwa...ka chiza kuwaa we/ izi/ zoŋe/ skastuluke. 'We believe [lit. have it] that if not for you, all these [things] would not have happened.'

Si/ khshindra matezo/ ni kana/ ha'ituluki. 'Our winning the match seems unlikely.'

Si/ ni kuliindra/ tu/ kuwona iyo/ itakhtulukó. 'We just have to wait and see what happens.'

Waliko tulushile/ kihumiila. 'He has fallen down and fainted.'

rel.

kh-tulukiloowa v. appl. pass. (**tulukiliila**)

Uso/ utulukiliila. 'His face was fallen on/'

kh-tulukila v. appl. (**tulukiliile**) fall down on, befall someone

Maskiini/ nafiye/ nt^hakhaadira/ kiiwa/ impeetó/ walá/ imtulukiliiló. 'The poor man himself did not know what had happened to him nor what had befallen him.'

Muti/ ka'unt^hulukilá/ mi/ suŋaa kufa. 'If the tree fell on me, I would die.'

Or: **Suŋaa kufa/ mi/ muti/ ka'unt^hulukilá.** 'I would die if the tree fell on me.' Or: **Suŋaa kufa/ muti/ ka'unt^hulukilá.**

Muti/ kawa unt^hulukiliilé/ suŋa kuwa nfiilé. 'If the tree had fallen on me, I would have died.' Or: **Suŋa kuwa nfiilé/ kawaa muti/ unt^hulukiliile.** 'I would have died if the tree had fallen on me.'

Mwaana/ mtulukiliile Hamadi. 'The child fell on Hamadi.'

Sku ya piilike/ chilawa/ ka numbaani/ chendra ka sulŋaani/ oyo/ chimtulukila 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.'

Ye/ nt^hataambula/ isa/ inamtulukilani/ ye. 'She did not understand what was happening to her.'

kh-tulukoowa v. pass. (**tulushiila**)

kh-tulusha v. caus. (**tulushiize**) cause to fall, fell, cause to happen, knock down

Hamadi/ mtulushize mwaana. 'Hamadi caused the child to fall.'

Mi/ nk^hawa hukhadira khtulusha izi/ zoté/ mazá/ mi/ su^lla ku^lata/ chisú/ kunt^hiindá. ‘If I were able to make all these things happen, how come I let a knife cut me?’ **review accent**

Omari/ mwaanawe/ chambaamba/ kana chiluti/ hatá/ lpepo/ ltamtulusha. ‘Omari, his son is thin, like a small stick, to the point that the wind will knock him down.’

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/ iwuyú/ imub^hee^ló. ‘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’

Chimtuma mwaana/ mwiingine/ keendra/ kulindra nt^heendre. ‘He sent another son to look over the dates.’

Khaadimu/ chimjiiba/ ya kuwa mtumiló/ 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 mtumiló. ‘The man ran back to the man who had sent him.’

Munt^hu tumilá/ haw^hloowi. ‘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/ kumub^hla Abunawaasi. ‘He sent people to go and kill Abunawaasi.’

Sultaani/ chimtuma muunt^hu/ keendra/ kumvila oyo ijini. ‘The sultan sent a man to go and call that djinn.’

Sultaani/ shtuma waant^huwe/ keendra/ jahaziini/ kuleta sanduukhu/ iyo. ‘The sultan sent his men to go to the dhow to bring that box.’

Wachimtuma 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.

Nt^hume/ watumiliila/ reeriya. ‘A message, they were sent, my family.’

Reeriya/ watumiliila nt^hume. ‘My family was sent a message to.’

Ukopi/ munt^hu tumiila waaná. ‘Where is the man to whom the children were sent?’

kh-tumila v. appl. (tumiliile) send to, send for;

Ali/ mtumiliile Jaama/ nt^hume. ‘Ali sent Jaama a message.’

Hamadi/ mtumiliile Omari/ na Huseeni. [HH!!H] ‘Hamadi sent for Omari and Huseeni.’

Hamadi/ mtumiliile Omari/ tu. [H!HH] ‘Hamadi sent for only Omari.’

Hamadi/ nt^hamtumilila/ Omari/ tu/ na Huseeni/ mtumiliile. ‘Hamadi not only sent for Omari, he also sent for Huseeni.’

Mi/ niwatumililee nt^humé/ reeriyá. ‘I sent a message to my family.’

Nimtumilile Nuurú/ Jaamá. ‘I sent Jaama (to call) Nuuru.’ Or: **Nuuru/ nimtumilile Jaamá.** ‘As for Nuuru, I sent Jaama to (call) Jaama.’ (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 Nuuruú.** ‘As for Jaama, I sent him to Nuuru’)

Nimtumilile Nuurú/ khatí. ‘I sent a letter to Nuuru.’ (One can prepose either complement in a case like this wherethe logical direct object is non-human: **Nuuru/ nimtumililee khatí.** or **Khatí/ nimtumilile 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.’ (The construction **wawaye mukeewa** was used by MI, and also observed in texts recorded by family members; **mukeewa/ waawaye** was also used by MI and is the form accepted by our current consultants.)

Ye/ nt^hamtumilila/ Huseeni. [HH!!H] ‘He did not send for Huseeni.’

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.

Muunt^hu/ chiint^hu/ cha khatari/ kana/ kinenza gaari/ khtumikilaa khori/ laazimu/ khtumisha tahaðari. ‘If something is dangerous, like driving a car, handling guns, one must use caution.’

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. (**tumiila**) be sent

Basi/ sku mooyi/ mwaana/ oyo/ tumila sukhuuni/ keendra/ kula nt^holoko. ‘So, one day the child was sent to the market to go and buy beans.’

Ma’askari/ watumila khfitisha nuumba. ‘Police were sent to search the house.’ With emphasis on the verb: **Ma’askari/ watumiila/ khfitisha nuumba.** (The emphasized verb does not undergo the strong downstepping associated with canonical downstep intonation, although the subsequent infinitive phrase **khfitisha 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-tumiila/ khfitisha nuumba?** As usual, GM did not offer an emphatic yes-no question version of such a sentence.)

Mi/ nt^humila kaako/ na munt^hu mweema/ na akhyaari. ‘I have been sent to you by a good and kind man.’

Naani/ tumila Mkhodiishó. ‘Who was sent to Mogadishu.’ Or: **Naani/ tumiila/ Mkhodiisho.** Or: **Tumiila naani/ Mkhodiisho.**

N^humila khfitisha nuumba. ‘I was sent to search the house.’ Or with verb emphasis: **N^humiilá/ khfitisha nuumba.** ‘I was *sent* to search the house.’ (The infinitive verb can also be emphasized: **N^humiilá/ khfitisha/ nuumba.** In this rendition, there is some declination of pitch on the infinitive verb, but it is only its complement that is strongly downstepped.)

Watumila ma’askari/ khfitisha nuumba. ‘Policemen were sent to search the house.’ (This sentence illustrates the subject postposing that is common in passive sentences in Chimini, 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 watuumawe/ 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.’

i-tuumbo

n. 5/6 [Sw. *matumbo* SSED 264, 478] belly, stomach, piece of intestine; (pl.) 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.’

Itumbo izaaziló/ 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.)

Matuumbo/ suura/ khkhalangoowa. ‘It is good for intestines to be fried.’

Matuumbo/ yaa mbuzi/ maláda/ zayda ya ngoombe. ‘A goat’s intestines taste more delicious than the intestines of a cow.’ Or: **Matumbo yaa mbuzi/ maládda/ kolko ya ngoombe.**

Omari/ huja matuumno. ‘Omari eats intestines.’

Omari/ ituumbo ‘Omari the big belly’

Want’u wa Mwiini/ hupeenda/ kuja matuumbo. ‘People of Brava like to eat intestines.’

kh-tuumbuka

v. intr. (-tumbushile) burst, break open

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).’

(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.'

Omari/ tumbushile miimba/ ka shṭeko. 'Omari burst his stomach with laughter.'
Osmaani/ ipu/ imtumbushile. 'Osmani's boil burst.' Or: **Osmaani/ imtumbushile ipu.** (MI suggested that in this position, **ipu** represents new information.) (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 lkuta. 'The craftsman made a hole in the wall.'

khtumbula mashkilo 'to pierce the ears'

khtumbula iyaank^huku 'to puncture the egg'

khtumbula nt^huundru 'to make a hole'

Haliima) Ø-tumble ishkilo) n-t^huundru 'Haliima pierced her ear (lit. made a hole in the ear).'

Nakhtumbula nt^huundru/ mashkilooni. 'She is piercing the ears.'

Nakhtumbula nt^huundru/ mp^hulaani. 'She is piercing the nose.'

Mwaana/ tumble 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/ haṭtumbuliki/ ka sahali. 'The piece of wood cannot be pierced easily.'

kh-tumbuliza v.

kh-tuumbuza v. (**tumbiize**) to frequent a place

Tumbize ka Haliima. 'He was always at Haliima's place.'

rel. nom.

m-tuumbuko n. 3

u-tuumbuko n. 14

m-tuumbulo n. 3

n-tumbulo 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/ kulḷa/ 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 sulṭaani/ 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/ hawbuloowi. ‘A messenger is not killed.’ (A proverb that says that the
messenger must be respected, whatever the message may be.)

Nt^humeeye/ yalikoo dhibu/ khtambuḷoowa. ‘His message was difficult to
understand.’

*Shtumaa nt^hume/ ka apa/ na apa/ kendroowa/ kumerowa muunṭu/ 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 mayti/ ya elo/ ka chisimaani/
oloshiye 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.’

Yalikoo nt^hume/ ichimlindro kaaké/ sandukhuuni. ‘There was a message waiting
for him in his box.’

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), shop

Aasha/ hendra dukaani/ khtumika/ jima/ na jima piili. [HHHH!H] ‘Aasha goes
to the market to shop on Fridays and on Sundays.’ (The intonation of this
statement has not been explored in detail, but it is clear that there is no
downstepping of *jima* ‘Friday’ but is radical downstepping of *na jima piili*
‘Sunday’. We recorded a possible response to this statement that was
noteworthy: *ā’ā/ Aasha/ hendra dukaani/ khtumika/ jima tu.* [HHHHH]
‘No, Aasha goes shopping only on Fridays.’ Generally, we observed *tu*
phrasally separated from the phrase that it focuses, but here it seems that *tu*
phrases with *jima* and furthermore this phrase is not lowered in pitch. Further
research is required.)

Ali/ peesaze/ hastumiki. ‘Ali’s money is not negotiable (e.g. it is counterfeit).’

Khaadimu/ ka jis’iyo/ chi’iwelela sulṭaani/ ka makhaadimu/ khtumika. ‘The
servant in that way became a sultan himself with servants [of his own] to
serve him.’

*Mphundra oyo/ kulla/ mukhtaaya ye/ chisuḷo kendra mahalá/ amo fanyiza kaazi/
chimtumikila mp^hundra/ oyo.* ‘That donkey, every time he wanted to go
somewhere or work, he used that donkey.’

Pelesheḷa 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.'

Peesa/ zinakhtumikaa nt^ho. 'The money is circulating widely.'

Pesa ziitu/ hastumiki/ apa. 'Our coins are not negotiable here.'

rel.

kh-tumiki^loowa v. intr. appl. pass.

Mawele/ hutumiki^lowa chiloho. 'Mawele [a sp. fish] is used for bait.'

Ndrebeelé/ pesa izo/ khtumiki^loowa. 'I prevented that money from being used.' Or: **Peza izo/ khtumiki^loowa/ ndrebeelé.** 'That money being used I prevented.'

Peesa/ izi/ za feḏa/ stambiila/ kuwa schitumiki^lowa zamaani/ muuyi/ uyu. 'These coins of silver were understood that they were used a long time ago in this town.'

kh-tumikila v. intr. appl. (-tumikiile) use something; use, serve for

Chisu gani/ tumikiiló/ we. 'Which knife did you use?'

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?'

Tumikile chisu shkali. 'I used the sharp knife.'

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/ tumiliilo hiilá/ khpataa ndrevú/ zaa mp^hisi/ naank^hó/ tumila hiilazo/ jisaa we/ khpata mu^hjiwo/ 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 mu^looni [st.] 'the one who refuses to use [knowledge of Islam], that one belongs in hell'

N^hi/ za chi'aafrika/ nt^haziná/ haja ya kooḏi/ zinaayo/ haaja/ ya peesa/ khtumila. 'The countries of Africa do not have need for talk, they have a need for money to use.'

Tete peesa/ khtumila. 'He took money to use.'

Tumiliile chisu. 'He used the knife.'

tumila hatta ikumi ka mooyi [st.] 'follow at least one tenth [of the precepts given below]'

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^hu '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 sulṭaani/ chiloomba/ kaake/ khpowa Hasani/ kumwelele 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.'

Karka watumishi/ waliko mwanaashke/ msuura. 'Among the servants there was a beautiful girl.'

Mwanaashke/ msuura/ waliko karka watumishi. 'A beautiful girl was among the servants.'

Sultaani/ chimbabila/ 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 grass for the goat.'

kh-tuundrisha v. caus. (-*tundrishiiize*) have someone gather

Mtundrishize mwaana/ skunyi. 'He had the child gather firewood.'

Tundrishize 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 chitaani. 'A piece of fruit fell on my head.'

Jaziraani/ shpete matuundra/ chijiilé/ na maayi/ 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/ nakhinda 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] (*tundrishile*) hang s.t.; worry someone

Haliima/ nt^hundrishile. 'Haliima worried me [e.g. when she did not show up when expected].'

khtuundrika alamu 'to hang a flag'

Tundrishile ikooti/ musmariini. 'He hung the coat on a nail.'

rel.

kh-tuundrikana v. rec. worry one another

kh-tuundrikika v. p/s. (i) able to be hung; (ii) be worried about s.t.

kh-tuundrikila v. appl. (i) hang for, with; (ii) worry s.o. on s.o.

Nt^hundrikilile mwaana. 'He worried my child on me.'

kh-tuundrikisha v. caus.

kh-tuundrikoowa v. pass. (*tundrishila*) be hung; be hung up on (i.e. in love with)' be

worried

Ali/ tundrishila na Haliima. 'Ali is in love with Haliima [lit. hung up on Haliima].'

Amá/ we/ takulawa/ ka apa/ laakini/ takubloowa/ takhtuundrikowa 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^hijile 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/ chibaratana 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

n. 9/10 [Sw. **tundu** SSED 479] hole (in the ground), hole (e.g. in a shirt); [pron. nt^huundru]

Choloko/ chimo nt^huundru. ‘There’s a hole in the window.’

Hiingila/ kaake/ nt^huundruuni. ‘He (the rat) enters into his hole.’

kh^htumbula 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 ishkilo ‘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, cave

As.haabu/ alkahfi/ wawaalimo/ itundruuni/ miyaaka/ alfu. ‘The companions of the cave (in Christian mythology known as the “Seven Sleepers of Ephesus”) were in the cave for a years.’

thousand

itundru ikulu ‘a large hole’

itundru ya ndraani ‘a deep hole’

itundru yaa noka ‘a snake hole’

Wotte/ washfakaṭa/ wachingila mitundruuni. ‘All of them ran and entered into aug. holes.’

i-tuundru (ma-) n. 5/6 hole

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

- Abú/ hufanya kaazi/ sherkhaniini/ ka Taahá/ huḡumbula shaati/ stuundru/ chimaliza hutila sṭezo.** ‘Ali works at tailor shop of Taaha, he makes button holes in shirts, then he puts in buttons.’
- 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’
- Sṭezo/ izi/ na stuundrú/ izi/ hastilani/ ka sababu/ stuundru/ ni zihaba.** ‘These buttons and these button holes cannot enter each other because the holes are small.’
- kh-tuunga* necklace v. [Sw. *tunga* SSED 480] (**tuunzile**) compose poetry; string beads of a rosary or
- khtunga shṭeenzi** ‘to compose a **shṭeenzi**’
nakaanza khtuunga marjaani [st.] ‘I start stringing coral beads’
- l-tuungo* n. [Sw. *utungo* SSED 481] poem, composition
variant: **l̥tuungu**
- huraasho l̥tuungo l̥itu nt^hana loomu** [st.] ‘those who follow our poem will not go wrong’
- L̥tuungolo/ nt^haliná/ ma’ana.** ‘Your composition has no meaning.’
tuunzilo ilo l̥tuungu ni Ahmadi/ hunasabiloowa Marzuuqu ni jaddi [st.] \ ‘that poem was composed by Ahmad, who took the *nisba* al-Marzuqi from his grandfather’
- rel.
sh-tuungo (s-) n. 7/8 [Sw. *kitungo* SSED] composition
- n-tuungu* n. elephantiasis of the scrotum, testicles; [pron. **nt^huungu**]
- Omari/ nayo nt^huungu/ nakendra Mkhodiisho/ spitaaleeni/ khtindoowa.**
‘Omari has swelling of the scrotum, he is going to the hospital in Mogadishu to be operated on (lit. be cut).’
- 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*)
- n-tuunzi* n. [cf. Sw. *tuzo, tunzo* “present”: SSED 481, 483] wedding gifts arranged prior to the wedding; [pron. **nt^huunzi**]
- Endrá/ mvile mwaana/ shpata kumwonya nt^huunziye.** ‘Go and call the child so that we may show her her wedding presents.’
Mi/ speendi/ nt^huunzi/ ka kaake. ‘I do not want wedding presents from him.’
- tupu* adj. [Sw. *-tupu* SSED 482] empty, naked, bare; only; completely ignorant (of a certain subject, especially related to school learning)
- Ali/ ile kanaa nt^hupu.** ‘Ali came naked.’
Ali/ lele kanaa nt^hupu. ‘Ali slept naked.’
Ali/ owelele kanaa nt^hupu. ‘Ali swam naked.’
chiwovu shtupu ‘an empty pocket’
Hamiisi/ nambilee mi/ ye/ hupeenda/ khsooma/ kumbé/ ni wanaafakhi/ nt^hupú’
‘Hamiisi told me he likes to read but it was an empty lie!’
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 kilá/ waa mi/ nimpeshelo 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 **kilá**: ***Na kilá/....**)

nt^hupaa nt^hupu 'empty bottle(s)'

Sa'iidi/ ba'adaa ye/ khtomola maaliye/ yotte/ kumpa sultaani/ chisala mtupú/ nt^haykumsaalíla/ 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 **ituvi**'

-tuuvu

adj. [cf. Sw. **utuuvu** "gentleness, good manners, quietness of mien" SSED 475] sober, quiet, calm, gentleness

Askari uyu/ ni mtuuvu. 'This soldier is calm, quiet.' (Cf. **Askari izi/ ni watuuvu.** 'These soldiers are calm.' (MI did not accept ***Askari izi/ ni stuuvu.**)

Haliima/ ni mtuuvu/ hatá/ chibigoowa/ haruudili/ mkono/ degani/ kana/ maayi. 'Haliima is calm, even if she is hit, she does not (lit.) return the hand (i.e. hit back), she stays as calm as water.'

ma'askari matuuvu or **ma'askari watuuvu** 'calm, quiet soldiers'

Ngombe uyu/ ni mtuuvu. 'This cow is calm.' Cf. **Ngombe izi/ ni watuuvu.** 'These cows are calm.' (MI did not accept ***Ngombe izi/ ni stuuvu.**)

want^hu watuuvu 'quiet, calm people'

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 mujaana/ mwenyee nguvu/ na utuuvú/ haali/ na maali/

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. '

ma-tuzi

n. 6 [cf. Bajuni **ch-udhi** "excrement" (from Nurse's Bajuni wordlist)] excrement, dung, shit

Haliima/ nakumera matuzi/ ya ngoombe/ kuwakilaa ngawo/ ya nuumbaye. 'Haliima is searching for cow dung to build the side wall of her house.'

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.’ (**hupeendi** is derived from /ha-u-peendi)

u-

[cl.3] subject prefix; **u** in preconsonantal position and **w** in prevocalic position

Muundrawa/ unayo miti mi^haano/ 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

Muke/ wakhtⁱ ukomeelopó/ chishika utuungu/ chizaala. ‘The woman, when the time came, went into labor and gave birth.’ (The noun **wakhtⁱ** ‘time’ is treated as a [cl.14], though its initial **w** is not transparently a surface alternant of the [cl.14] noun class prefix **u**. The noun is a borrowing from an Arabic word with an initial **w**.)

Uhuru/ umfurahishiize. ‘Freedom pleased him.’

Usiinzi/ umbeele. ‘Sleep was lost to him (i.e. he could not sleep).’

u-

[cl.14] noun class prefix

uhuru ‘freedom’

ujaja ‘itching’

usiinzi ‘sleep’

utuungu ‘labor pains’

-u-

[cl.3] object prefix

Iyo huunda/ shtila/ ndraani/ ya msala/ chi’utukula/ chooloka/ naawo/ ka sul^htaani. ‘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].’

Skuwuuzza. ‘I did not sell it [cl.3].’

Uvunzile mlaango. ‘He closed the door.’

(Ye/ ka’oloká/ sula ku’uwonaa muti. ‘If he went, he would see the tree.’

k-ubla

v. [Sw. *ua* SSED 484] (**ub^hlele**) kill; [pron. **kub^hla**]

Baaba/ chihada/ ni laazimu/ uyu/ kub^hloowa/ laakini/ Huseeni/ chihada/ simub^hlé/ waawé/ ml^hate 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/ chub^hla ngoombe/ mbili. ‘Hasani went and killed two cows.’

Hasiibu/ chimuḅḷa. ‘Hasiibu killed him.’

Kamaa ye/ chinuḅḷa/ nanuḅḷe. ‘If he kills me, let him kill me.’

Khambile muḅḷe muḅḷiwá. ‘I told you that you should kill my husband.’

Kheeri/ oloka/ chizaa mi/ takufa/ watakunubḷaa mi/ watakunubḷó.

‘Better (to) go, otherwise I will die, they will kill me, that’s what they will do.’

kubḷa qalbi ‘to discourage (lit. kill the heart)’

Hamadi/ hupeenda/ kubḷa waant^hu/ khalbi. [H^hH^hH^h] ‘Hamadi likes to discourage people.’

kubḷa ruuhu ‘to kill oneself; to go all out, do all that one can do for someone’

Chuḅḷeḷe ruhu ziiṭú/ ka khisaa we. ‘We went all out for you (lit. killed ourselves because of you).’

Nuḅḷeḷe ruuhuyá/ ka khisaa we. ‘I went all out for you (lit. killed myself because of you).’

Wa’uḅḷeḷe ruhu zaawo/ ka khisaa we. ‘They went all out for you (lit. killed themselves for you).’

Ḳuti/ limo mkonooni/ ndiló/ huḅḷoo noká. ‘The stick which is in your hand is the thing that kills a snake.’ (A proverb.)

malizopo kumuḅḷa mp^huundrá ‘when he killed the donkey’

Mweenzawo/ ndiyé/ khuḅḷó. ‘It is your friend who kills you.’ (A proverb.)

Mi/ siṭamubḷa/ siimba/ ye/ mbwaaká/ na kiḷa chiint^hu/ chiko apá/

nch^haaká. ‘I will not kill the lion; he is mine, and everything that is here is mine.’

mp^hate kumwubḷa noka uyu ‘so that I can kill this snake’

Muunt^hu/ huḅḷa ruuhuye/ ka kanaye. ‘A man kills himself by his mouth.’ (A proverb.)

Muti/ ka’utuluká/ suḷa kumuḅḷa. ‘If the tree fell, it would kill him.’

Muti/ kawa unt^hbulukilililé/ suḷa kuwa unuḅḷeḷe. ‘If the tree had fallen on

me, it would have killed me.’

would have killed him.’ Or: **Muti/ suḷa kuwa umuḅḷeḷe/ kawa utulushilé.** ‘The tree would have killed me if it had fallen.’

Mwiingine/ chihada/ la/ sichimuḅḷe/ walá/ sichimrude chisimaani.

‘Another one said: no, let us not kill him, neither let us return back into the well.’

Nakuḅḷa. ‘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**.)

Nimwubḷeeyi. ‘How should I kill him?’

Nk^hbuku/ hamuḅḷi/ mwank^hukuwe. ‘A hen does not kill its chick.’ (A proverb.)

Noka/ chimwaambila/ nimuḅḷeeyi/ ye/ sulile kunuḅḷaa mi/ leelo. ‘The snake said to her: how should I kill him? Today he wanted (tried) to kill me.’

Nuḅḷeḷe noká/ kaa luti. ‘I killed a snake with a stick.’ (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: **Nuḅḷeḷe 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: **Nuḅḷeḷe kaa luti/ noka.** ‘It was a snake (not anything else) that I killed with a stick.’)

Sultaani/ chimwamura Abdalla/ keendra/ kumwubḷa siimba/ oyo. ‘The sultan ordered Abdalla to go and kill that lion.’

Takinuḅḷa. ‘He will kill you (pl.)’

Waant^hu/ watamuḅḷa. ‘People will kill him.’

Watatuwe/ ka paapo/ mp^haka/ chiwabḷa. ‘At the same time, the cat killed all three of them (rats).’

Watiyile sultaani/ kuwabḷa. ‘They were afraid for the sultan to kill them.’

(The form **kuwabla** is employing a stem shape **-bla** rather than **-ubla**. If the latter stem form were being used, then the object marker **wa** would be separated from the stem-initial vowel by a glottal stop: **kuwa'ubla**.)

rel.

k-ublana v. rec. [Sw. *uana* SSED 484] kill one another; [pron. **kuɓlana**]

k-ubleka v. p/s. able to be killed; [pron. **kuɓleka**]

k-ublela v. appl. [Sw. *ulia* SSED 484] kill with, for; [pron. **kuɓlela**]

Hamadi/ mwubulele mwaana/ mp^haka. ‘Hamadi killed the child’s cat.’ (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/ ubulelo mbuziyá/ naayé/ na’ubloowa. ‘The way that he killed my lamb, he too should be killed.’

k-ubuleloowa v. appl. pass. (**ubulelela**) [pron. **kuɓleloowa**]

Luti ili/ lubulelelaa 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-ubloowa v. pass. [Sw. *uawa* SSED 484] be killed; [pron. **kuɓloowa**]

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.’

Basi/ mbwa/ chimtokomeza mp^huundra/ kubloowa/ 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/ ubulela. ‘So the woman went out at night to go to the river to pick up the snake that had been killed.’

karka we/ nakuɓloowá ‘while you are being killed’

Mooyi/ chihada/ natukuloowa/ na’endroowa/ na’ubloowa. ‘One (person) said: let him be taken and be gone away with and be killed.’

Munt^hu uyu/ naayé/ ubulelaayi/ ubulela lamna gani. ‘This man, how was he killed? He was killed in what manner?’

Mzele Simsini/ chamura sul^taan/ uyu/ kubloowa. ‘Old Simsini ordered this sultan to be killed.’

Nt^hume/ hawɓloowi. ‘A messenger is not killed.’ (A proverb.)

We/ takubloowa. ‘You will be killed.’

Yubulela 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: **Yubulela 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-ubla n. [Sw. *mwua* SSED 484] killer; [pron. **muɓla**]

m-ublo n. 3 the act of killing; [pron. **muɓlo**]

w-ublo n. 14 the act of killing; [pron. **wuɓlo**]

uudi

n. 14 [Sw. *udi* “aromatic aloe wood – used for fumigation” SSED 468] imported aromatic wood which comes in little splinters and is burnt on religious and festive occasions to fumigate clothes, incense

uudi/ wa suukari ‘a concoction of sugar, perfume, and resins used to fumigate clothes and rooms’

Wake/ wachilawa hiiði/ hu’uunsata ka bakhuuri/ na uudi. ‘When women finish their period, they fumigate with incense.’

<i>k-uuḏa</i>	<p>v. [Sw. <i>udhi</i> SSED 487] make suffer, give a hard time, disturb, annoy, molest Mbuzi wa Hamadi/ masku mazima/ nakuwa'uḏa waant^hu/ nakubigaa nk^heje/ mbée mbée mbée. 'Hamadi's goat is disturbing people the whole night, it is making noise mbee mbee mbee.'</p> <p>rel. <i>k-uuḏika</i> v. p/s. (uḏishile) be disturbed, troubled, annoyed, uneasy <i>k-uḏikila</i> v. p/s. appl. be worried about, for <i>k-uuḏisha</i> v. caus. bother, trouble, annoy someone mambo ya mwana uje/ yanuḏishiizó '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/ yanuḏishiize. 'That child's behavior annoyed me.' Nambila inakhuuḏishó. 'Tell me what is troubling you.' Ni mambo ya mwana uje/ yanuḏishiizó. 'It is the behavior of that child that annoyed me.'</p> <p><i>k-uḏishiliza</i> v. caus. appl. rel. nom. <i>ma-'uḏiko</i> n. 6 <i>ma-'uḏisho</i> n. 6</p>
<i>m-uuḏi</i> (w-)	<p>adj. 1/2 bothersome, troublesome, annoying, devilish Kilaa muunt^hu/ nayo muuḏiye. 'Every one has his devil/troublemaker.' (A proverb.)</p>
<i>uḏhiya</i>	<p>n. slaughtering an animal during the performance of the pilgrimage and the meat given to the poor when this is done <i>uḏhiya wakht^hiwe chisala iid</i> [st.] 'the time of slaughtering is when one says the prayers of iid.'</p>
<i>uḏiya</i>	<p>n. trouble, annoyance, nuisance, burden khfanya uḏiya 'to annoy, trouble, make difficult Umi/ mwambile mwanashkewe/ we/ hufanya uḏiya/ haṭá/ khfula ziguwo/ habamooyi. 'Umi told her daughter: you make it difficult, even if you wash just a few clothes (e.g. you lament, complain about it)' Mp^hana/ ni chihayawaani/ chihaba/ huchileteloo dhibu/ na uḏiyá. 'A rat is a small animal who brings to us harm and nuisance.' Muunt^hu/ uḏiyaye/ hamwaandiki/ walaaliwe. 'One does not put one's burdens on his brother.' Nini/ we/ khtala uḏiya/ uyu/ wote/ ka wee peeke. 'Why do you take all this trouble alone?' <i>sinoonye uḏiya we ndiwe nuuruza</i> [song] 'don't show me annoyance/ nuisance, you are my light'</p>
<i>uuḏu</i>	<p>n. [Sw. <i>udhu</i> "state of ceremonial purity" SSED 488] ablution; state of purity Ba'adi ya maḏhabu/ ya islaamu/ huhada/ mubli/ chimdaraa muke/ uuḏu/ huvuundika. 'Some Islamic schools say that if a man touches a woman, it nullifies ablution.' khtala uuḏu 'to make ablutions (prior to praying) Muunt^hu/ laazimu/ khtala uuḏu/ qabla yaa sala. 'One must take ablution before praying.' kuwa nayo uuḏu 'to be in a state of purity (and therefore able to pray) Muunt^hu/ laazimu/ kuwanayo uuḏu/ khabla yaa sala. 'One must have one's ablutions before praying.' Munt^hu nayo uuḏu/ haṭalami/ khsala. 'The person who has ritual cleanliness does not fear prayer.' (A proverb.) Sala/ bila ya uuḏu/ ha'isih. 'Praying without ablution is not approved/not accepted.' (A proverb.)</p>

uð(u)ri

n. 14, 9/10 excuse; sickness, disease

kudara uðuri ‘to give, make, have an excuse’; also: **kudariḷa uðuru**, **kudarowa uðuri**

Dafa/ wamuzizopo ka khisaní/ ye/ nt^hanakendra kanisaani/ ye/ darile uðri/ hadiile/ kuwa miimba/ inamḷaaza. ‘When the kites asked him why he was not going to church, he gave an excuse and said that his stomach was aching him.’

Hamadi/ nt^haakuya/ karkaa shiri/ darile uðuri ‘Hamadi did not come to the meeting, he sent an excuse.’

Kiḷaa wakhtí/ kudarowa uðuri/ chiza kuyoowa/ shiriini/ hayiinfi/ ni udokhani. ‘To every time make excuses not to come to meetings does not work, it is foolishness.’

Leelo/ shiriini/ Hasani/ nt^hakuuya/ darile uðuri/ mwaanawe/ hakhaadiri. ‘Today Hasani did not come to the meeting; he gave the excuse that his child is sick.’

Omari/ tozele sababu/ ya ka kalila/ kudariḷa uðuri/ yaa ye/ nt^hakuuyá/ skoḷaani. ‘Omari lacked a valid reason for why he did not come to school.’

Sungura/ chidara uðri/ chiwaḷaṭa wawili waawo/ apo. ‘Rabbit excused himself and left both of them there.’

manyala ya muḷḷi henna hizzoowa/ khpaka bila udhuri hureboowa [st.] ‘it is also forbidden for a man to apply henna to his nails, he should not do so without a valid excuse’

Peetepi/ uðuri uyu. ‘Where did you get this disease?’

uðuri izi ‘these excuses’ (In this example **uðuri** is treated as a [cl.10] nominal, as shown by the *izi* form of the demonstrative.)

uðuri niingi ‘many excuses’ (In this example **uðuri** is treated as a [cl.10] nominal, as shown by the initial *n-* agreement on *-iingi*.)

Uðuriwe/ nt^hawkuḷaloowa. ‘His excuses are not accepted.’ (This

examples provides an example where the noun **uðuri** is treated as a [cl.14] noun. This is shown by the use of the possessive enclitic =*w-e*, where the *w* is [cl.14] agreement, in contrast to the example below where a [cl.9] agreement is used: =*y-e*. It is also shown by the *w* subject marking on the negative verb **nt^hawqubaḷoowa**.)

Uðuriye/ nini. ‘His sickness (or his excuse) is what?’ (In this example,

uðuri is treated as a [cl.9] nominal, as shown by the *y* agreement in the possessive enclitic.)

rel.

uðurdaari n. excuse

Kiḷaa mara/ si/ hukasa uðurdaari/ yiyo. ‘Every time we hear the same excuse.’

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

Omari/ hadiile/ nama iyi/ inakununk^ha lvuundro/ uf!/ inaṭawanyoowa. ‘Omarí said: his meat is smelling bad, *uf!* it should be thrown away.’

Uf/ ishuziyo/ inakunuunk^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-ufkuka

v. intr. [cf. Sw. *fukukua* SSED 102] (**ufkushile**) be dug up, broken up; be coming loose (of stones, bricks in a wall, because not cemented together)

rel.

kh-kufkuḷiḷa v. tr. appl. dig up with, for

Chufkuḷiḷa nt^huundru. ‘He began to dig a hole with his paw.’

kh-kufkuḷiḷana v. tr. appl. rec.

kh-fukuḷoowa v. pass.

Mukhta khabri/ imalizo kufkuḷoowá/ sulṭaani/ chimwambila mgarwa/

haye/ ingila. ‘When the grave was finished being dug up, the sultan said to the fisherman: well, then, get in.’

k-ufkula v. tr. [cf. Sw. *fukua* SSED 102; *kufkua*, a metathesized form such as is found in Chimiini, occurs in the “Word List to the Epic of the Gospel” by M.E. Mnyampala and Dr. Jan Knappert in the journal *Swahili* 34.1 (1964), p. 84] (**ufkiile**) dig up s.t. buried

variant form: **khfukula**

Chanza kufkulaa nt^{hi}/ ka kuuluye. ‘He began to dig up the ground with his paw.’

karkaa ye/ nakufkuló ‘while he was digging up’

Sku yaa saba/ mtaana/ oyo/ chufkula khabri. ‘On the seventh day that servant dug up the grave.’

Sultani ðaalimu/ 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.’

Kuła 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.’

kh-fukulafukula ‘to scratch the earth (action of chicken that unearths food by scratching soil)’

k-ufkulika v. tr. p/s. able to be dug

k-ufkulisha v. tr. caus.

k-ufu

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 [t^hant^hákuf].)

rel.

k-ufuowa v. pass.

hadilo 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^hiindri/ raadiyo/ ya BBC/ ichiza kułata/ khfaafisha/ ishaa’aatⁱ/ ðiddi/ yaa nt^hi/ 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.’

uje

[cl.1] demonstrative (cf. Sw. *yule*) someone away from speaker and addressee (It should be noted that **uje** in post-nominal position is used as a demonstrative, e.g. **munt^hu uje** ‘that man’, while in pre-nominal position it identifies the

referent of the noun as being previously identified, e.g. **uje mukeewe** ‘the wife of his previously mentioned’.

Chimwambila ujee noka. ‘She told that (previously mentioned) 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 kumwolakela/ uje tamviiló. ‘It is a must for him to go to whomever calls him.’

Isa/ mpishi/ uje walimo habasaani/ na Yuusufú/ na isá/ rudilila 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.’

Munt’u uje/ chilaala/ paapo/ apo/ maduriini. ‘That man slept in the very same place in the country/bush.’

Munt’u uje/ si/ chinamwiiwá/ kol’koo we. ‘That man we know him better than you.’

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.’

mwana/ uje oloshelo numbaani ‘the child, the one who went home’ (The relative clause construction illustrated here – namely, a full NP phrasally separated from a co-referential demonstrative -- has a **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’

Nnamwiiwá/ uje munt’u iló. ‘I know the man who has come.’

Sa’iidi/ chiruuda/ numbaani/ ka ujee muke. ‘Sa’iidi returned home to the woman (mentioned earlier).’

Uje mukeewe/ chimwaambila/ mubliwá/ we/ leelo/ we/ takubloowa. ‘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/ yaweeṭe/ sultani uje/ kuwa uyu/ tambiiile. ‘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.’

mṭana uje ‘that room’

Muti uje/ ni chigobe. ‘That tree is short.’

ujo

[cl.1] demonstrative (This demonstrative was not known to GM.)

Hasani/ shpandra mp^huundra/ ujo. ‘Hasani rode that donkey.’

ujubu

n. [Ar. ‘*ujb* W 591] pride, vanity

Hukoḍo ujubú/ akhiriye/ huḍulika. ‘The one who talks with pride/vanity, finally is humiliated.’ (A proverb.)

kibri na aariya na ujbu [st.] ‘arrogance, wordly (lit. temporary) things and vanity’

w-ujuudi

n. 14 existence

ukhda

n. [Som. *cugda* DSI 109; Ar. ‘*uqda* W 628] bad feelings

Muunt’u/ siwo/ suura/ kumshikila ukhda/ walaaliwe/ suura/ kumwambila lila.

‘It is not good to keep bad feeling of your brother, it is good to tell the truth.’

Omari/ nayo ukhda/ na Ali/ nt'angú/ wana waawo/ wajaniló. 'Omari is having bad feelings about Ali ever since their children fought.'

ukhuba

n. hardship, curse, bad

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 uki. 'Well, Hare came carrying honey.'

lada/ kana uki 'as sweet as honey'

Mtuungi/ 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 mtuungi. 'The honey filled the clay pot.'

ukuje

[cl. 16] demon. [Sw. *kule*] over there (far from speaker and hearer)

Chendra ka ukuje/ chiwonaa mbuzi/ mooyi/ fiile. '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) (This demonstrative, used by GM, is not known to GM.)

Chibuuku/ chiko ukunu. 'The book is here somewhere.'

Chiko ukunu/ mahaḷa/ mweepe. 'It's here somewhere.'

ujillaahi

in the phrase:

ka ujillaahi 'with truth, honesty'

Muunt^h/ chinendra ka ujillaahi/ haawoni/ dhibu. 'If one behaves with truth, he does not see problems.'

-ul/-ol-

a recurring stem formative without any identifiable semantic characterization

khkolola 'to cough'

khpaangula 'to cancel, erase'

khpapula 'to break off a portion'

khpasula 'to skin an animal'

khpotola 'to bend'

khpumula 'to rest'

kh^tomola 'ay, take out'

kh^tukula 'to carry'

khtamaayula 'to move back and forth'

khtaambula 'to understand'

Koondrola 'to lift up, wake up'

kuvuumbula 'to revive a fire'

- kuwaangula** ‘to hatch’
- ul/-ol-** a recurring stem formative indicating a transitive verb that pairs with an intransitive formative **-uk/-ok-**
khpiindula ‘to turn s.t. over’ **khpiinduka** ‘to turn over’
- ch-uula (z-)** n. 7/8 [Sw. *chura (vyura)* SSED 66] frog
Chuula/ chimo mayiini. ‘The frog is in the water.’
Chuula/ hukhadira kumub^hlaa 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).’
kuna maayi/ zaaydi/ ya chuula ‘to drink water more than a frog (i.e. drink a lot of water)’
- k-uula** 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).’ (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/ Faatma?** 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.’ (The presence of an object prefix in agreement with **haanzu** indicates a definite object.) (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/ Faatma?** ‘Did she buy the dress, Faatma?’)
Fatuura/ uzile/ Tuuma. ‘A car, she has bought, Tuuma.’ (Cf. the simple yes-no question: **Fatuura/ uzile/Tuumá?**)
^f**Fatuura/ uziló/ Omari/ mwaanawe.** ‘The car he bought it, Omari’s son.’ Cf. the simple yes-no question: **Fatuura/ uziló/ Omari/ mwaanawé?**
^f**Fatuura/ uziló/ ye.** ‘The car he bought, he.’ (The postposed subject in this example is radically lowered in pitch. The simple yes-no question, on the other hand, raises the pitch on the postposed subject: **Fatuura/ uziló/ ye?** GM did not offer an emphatic yes-no question version for a sentence of this sort.)
gari yaa mi/ nuzilo ka do^oooré... ‘the car that I bought from a doctor...’ (Cf. **do^oore 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: ***do^oore waa mi/ nuzilo gaarí/ (ká)...**)
Haaji/ uzile fatuura. ‘Haaji bought a car’ (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 fatuurâ!?**)
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.’
- Jaama/ uzilee nama/ tinzile kaa chisu.** ‘Jama bought meat (and) cut it with a knife.’ (Putting the second verb into the instrumental applied **kachula gaari** ‘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/ gaari**. Using an overt subject pronoun apparently would give emphasis: **si/ kachula gaari** ‘if we (had) bought the car’.)
- Maama/ choloka sukhuuni/ chulaa mbuzi/ shtindaa mbuzi/ shfanya karamu/ nk^hulu.** ‘Mother went to the market (and) bought a goat (and) slaughtered the goat (and) made a large feast.’
- Mwaanawe/ uzile fatuura/ 'Omari.** ‘His son bought a car, Omari’s.’ Cf. simple yes-no question: **Mwaanawe/ uzile fatuura/ Omari?**
- Mi/ nuzile nama yaa mbuzi.** ‘I bought goat meat.’ (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?’ (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/ ^fmi/ 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 gaari/ ka dotooré.** ‘I bought a car from a doctor.’
- Omari/ chuuzile.** ‘Omari *bought* it.’
- Omari/ mwaanawe/ uzile fatuura.** ‘Omari’s son bought a car.’ Or with verb focus: **Omari/ mwaanawe/ uzile/ fatuura.** The two simple yes-no questions corresponding to these are **Omari/ maanawe/ uzile fatuura?** and **Omari/ mwaanawe/ uzile/ fatuurá?**
- Omari/ uzile fatuura/ 'mwaanawe.** ‘Omari he bought a car, his son’ Cf. the simple yes-no question: **Omari/ uzile fatuura/ mwaanawé?**
- 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 fatuura/ yana/ uziló.** ‘Osmaani bought a car yesterday, he did.’

Suulé/ **faṭura iyo**. ‘Don’t buy that car!’
Sule faṭura iyó/ tu. ‘(Buy anything else, but just) don’y buy that car!’
Suuléni/ mi. ‘What should I not buy?’
Tuuma/ ^ffaṭuura/ uziló. ‘Tuuma, a *car*, she bought.’
Tuuma/ uzile faṭuura. ‘Tuuma bought a car.’ (Cf. **Tuuma/ uzile faṭuura?** ‘Did Tuuma buy a car? **Tuuma/ uzile faṭuurâ!?**)
Ulá. ‘Buy!’
Uzile faṭuura/ Tuuma. ‘She bought a car, Tuuma.’ (Cf. **Uzile faṭuura/ Tuumá?** ‘She bought a car, did Tuuma?’ **Uzile faṭuurá/ Tuumâ!?**)
Uzile faṭuura/ ye. ‘Has bought a car, he.’ (Cf. **Uzile faṭuura/ ye?** ‘Has bought a car, he?’ **Uzile faṭuurá/ ye!?**)
Uzile jaaká. ‘You bought a jacket.’
Uzilé/ jaaká? ‘Did you *buy* a jacket?’ (A possible answer: **Ā’ā/ 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: **Ā’ā/ nt^hakuula**. ‘No, he didn’t buy it.’ Or: **Ee/ uzile**. ‘Yes, he did buy it.’)
Uzilee nama/ jiile. ‘He bought meat (and) ate it.’ (This example involves two actions in sequence with the same object. MI thought that it was acceptable, but not normal for the common action to be mentioned in only the second sentence: **Uzile/ jiilee nama**. ‘He bought (and) ate the meat.’)
Uzile shpandre 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/ kulawaanganya/ want^hu watakuuló/ na want^hu hawatakuuló. ‘He cannot distinguish people who will buy from people who will not buy.’
Ye/ uzile faṭuura. ‘He has bought a car.’ (Cf. **Ye/ uzile faṭuura?** ‘Has he bought a car?’ **Ye/ uzile faṭuurâ!?**)
Ye/ waliko oloshale kuulani/ sukhuuni/ yana. ‘He had gone to buy what at the market yesterday?’ (A possible answer: **Ye/ waliko oloshale 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 for me is very sharp.’
^f**Faṭuura/ nimwulilo mwaanawá**. ‘A *car* I bought for my son.’ Or with verb focus as well: ^f**Faṭuura/ nimwuliiló/ mwaanawa**.
Huseeni/ mwuliile=ni/ Nuura. ‘What did Huseeni buy for Nuura?’ A possible response to this question would be: **Huseeni/ mwulile chibuuku/ Nuura**. ‘Huseeni bought a book for Nuura.’
Maama/ shkhiira/ chiwa’ambila/ kuwaa ye/ tamwulila mp^huundra napate khtukulila skunyi. ‘Mother agreed and told them that she would buy for him (her son) a donkey so that he might carry firewood.’
^f**Mwaanawa/ nimulilo faṭuurá**. ‘My *son* I bought a car for him.’ Or with verb focus as well: ^f**Mwaanawa/ nimwuliiló/ faṭuura**.
^f**Mi/ nimwulilo mwaanawá/ faṭuurá**. Or even better: **Ndimi/ nimwulilo mwaanawá/ faṭuurá**. ‘It is me who bought my son a car.’
Mulilee luzi/ na shpandre chaa nguwo/ muliiló. ‘He bought for him thread and a piece of cloth, that’s what he did.’ Or: **Mulilee luzi/ muliiló/ na shpandre chaa nguwo**. ‘He bought for him thread, that’s what he did, and a piece of cloth.’ Or: **Mulilee luzi/ na**

- shpaandré/ muliiló/ chaá nguwo.** ‘He bought for him thread and a piece, that’s what he did, of cloth.’
- Mzele mulilo Hasani/ sanduukhú/ oloshéle.** ‘The old man who bought a box for Hasani left.’ (cf. **Mzeele/ mulile Hasani/ sanduukhu.** ‘The old man bought a box for Hasani.’)
- Nimulile^f fatuurá/ maanawa.** ‘I bought a *car* for my son.’ Cf. without focus: **Nimulile fatuurá/ mwaanawá.**
- Nimulile mwaaná/ gaarí/ ka dotóoré.** ‘I bought for the child a car from the doctor.’
- Nimulile mwaaná/ gaarí/ ka dotóoré/ ka pesa zaa mi/ nt^heto (ka) bangiini.** ‘I bought a car for the child with money that I took from the bank.’
- Nimulile mwaanwá/ fatuurá.** ‘I bought a car for my son.’ Or, with verb focus: **Nimulilé/ 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^f 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/ khufli.**, but agreement with the logical direct object is ungrammatical, whatever the word order: ***Nuuru/ yulile mlaango/ khufuli.** or ***Nuuru/ yulile khufuli/ mlaango.**)
- Omari/ mwulile^f fatuura/ mwaanawe.** ‘Omari bought a *car* for his son.’ (In the simple-yes no question version of this sentence, there is accent shift on **mwaanawe**, which can be attributed to the out-of-focus nature of this NP: **Omari/ mulile fatuura/ mwaanawé?** In the exclamatory yes-no question, both of the last two phrases in this sentence undergo accent shift: **Omari/ mwulile fatuurá/ mwaanawé!?**)
- Omari/ muliile/ mwaanawe/ 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/ mulile^f mwaanawe/ fatuura.** ‘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, **mwaanawe** is at the end of a phrase regardless of whether it is focused or not. We use the symbol ^f to indicate that **mwaanawe** is focused and thus has raised pitch. It is also possible to put special emphasis on **fatuura**, as well: **Omari/ mwulile mwaanawe/ fatuurá.**)
- Omari/ mulile mwaanawe/ fatuura.** ‘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/ mulile mwaanawe/ fatuura?** 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/ mulile mwaanawé/ fatuura!?**

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.)

Omari/ mulilo mwaanawé/ fatuurá. '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/ hulilaa chili. 'This money, the parents of the girl used to buy a bed.'

Peesa/ nulile 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/ nulile gaarí/ ka doṭooré. '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 *?*nulilile gaarí/ ka doṭooré/ peesá.* is of questionable validity.)

Peesa/ uliilení. 'Using money, what did you buy?'

pesa zaa mi/ nulilo gaarí/ ka doṭooré... '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 **peesa/ nulilo gaarí/ ka doṭooré...** or **pesa nulilo gaarí/ ka doṭooré...*)

Tuuma/ mulilee khorí/ Omari. 'Tuuma bought a gun for Omari.' (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/ kulila chiint^hu. 'This is a poor man, he has nothing with which to buy anything.'

Yulile 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 **Yulile zilatu/ yolokelele.** 'And so he bought the shoes and went.')

k-ulilana v. appl. rec. (*-ulileene*) buy for one another

Wa'ulilene zibuuku/ ka pesa zaa mi/ niwapeeló. 'They bought books for one another with money that I gave them.'

Wa'ulilene 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 majuuu/ ya gaari. ‘The children bought for one another tires for the car.’

k-uliloowa v. appl. pass. (-**ulii**) be bought for, with

Faatma/ uli **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/ uli haanzu?** ‘Was Faatma bought for a dress?’) (Emphasis can be placed on **Faatma** causing the verb to be in pseudo-relative form: **Faatma/ uli haanzu**. ‘(It was) Faatma (who) was bought for a dress.’ This subject-focus is also possible when there is also emphasis on the verb: **Faatma/ uli/ haanzu**. ‘(It was) Faatma (who) was bought for a dress.’)

Fatuura/ uli 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/ yuli Omari/ ivundishile**.)

Gaari/ yuli 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/ yuli 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/ uli fatuura. ‘Omari was bought a car.’ Or: **Omari/ uli/ fatuura**. Or, with right-dislocation of the subject: **Uli fatuura/ Omari**. Or: **Fatuura/ uli 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/ uli 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-uuloowa v. (**uzi**) 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. (**ulishiliize**) 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

chimala naank^ho ka peesa takhuuliza [nt̩.] ‘then he will sell it back to you for money’ (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.’ (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)ooowa v. caus. rec. pass. (**-ulizeenya, -ulizanyeena**)

k-ulizoowa v. caus. appl. pass. (**uliiza**) be sold for, to

Mmamulaṭaa nt̩^hi/ tomele amri/ uje takuuyó/ kulizoowa/ chaakuja. ‘The administrator of the land issued orders that anyone who comes should be sold for food.’

k-uuzaa v. caus. (**uziize**) sell

Majirani wanne/ wa’ilo ka mamaye Hasiibú/ kazi yaawo/ iwaliko kht̩inda skunyi/ kuuza. ‘The four neighbors who came to Hasiibu’s mother, their work was to cut firewood (and) sell it’

Nt̩^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. **Suzeení.** ‘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 oloshale kuzaa nsi/ sukhuuni/ yana. ‘He had gone to sell fish at the market yesterday.’ (A possible answer to the question: **Ye/ waliko oloshale 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/ nt̩^hakhpata/ khabari za mkuḷé. ‘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**) able to be sold

Nsi/ zinakuuzika. ‘The fish are being, getting sold (now, perhaps before they were too expensive and were not being bought).’

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.’

Kana waant^hu/ laazimu/ kulaa yo/ teena/ wo/ laazimu/ kuliindra/ ayamu mooyi/ amá/ mbili/ haṭaa yo/ ichuzoowa. ‘If people have to buy it then they should wait two or three weeks until it's on sale.’

numa ka maali machaache uziiza [st̩.] ‘later he was sold for a small amount

of money (referring to Joseph)
si/ wa'uzá ziiint'bu '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/ oloshale 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 rare seller (MI gave a few deverbal nouns ending in *-ji* and regarded them as being examples of Chimiini, but these nouns are not generally found in present-day Chimiini to our knowledge. Perhaps they reflect the fact that MI was bilingual in Chimiini and Kiswahili, or represent a variety of Chimiini with greater affinity to Kiswahili.)

Baabu/ mtile muzaaji/ khpunguza sa'ari. 'Baabu made the seller lower the price.'

k-uuluka

v. (**ulushile**) jump, fly, skip

Abú/ ulushile baṭeera. 'Abu jumped from the boat.'

Abú/ ulushile baṭeraani. 'Abu jumped from the boat.'

Baazi/ ulushile. 'Baazi jumped.' Or: **Ulushile/ Baazi.** 'Jumped, Baazi.' (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.** (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.'

Hamadi/ hakaḷaant'hi/ mahaḷa/ ka tartiibu/ chiwonoowa/ nakhfakaṭa/ nakuuluka/ kana/ nyunyi. 'Hamadi does not sit calmly; whenever he is seen, he is running, flying, like a bird.'

Hamadi/ ulushile/ kubigoo nk'elé. 'Hamadi jumped up screaming.'

Hamadi/ ulushile l-kuta. 'Hamadi jumped off the wall.'

Hamadi/ ulushile l-kutáa=ni 'Hamadi jumped off the wall.'

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/ kana 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/ yasuuluke/ 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'awakhkoma/ wakhṭi/ 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/ chimpandra mp^haamp^ha/ mongooni. '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.’ (The right-dislocated subject is radically lowered in pitch, and in the corresponding yes-no question undergoes accent-shift: **Ulushile mayiini/ Baazi?**)

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^u/ 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-ulukoowa v. pass.

Bateera/ yulushila. ‘The boat was jumped from.’

Lkuta/ lulushila. ‘The wall was jumped off.’

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^u ‘to tell people lies (lit. make people jump)’

L^uaakini/ jisa aada/ ya chiruusi/ sababu/ walá/ gharó/ 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 yulushiza 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.’

Nt^hakunulushiliza. ‘He did not fly it for me.’

Nt^hakuwa’ulushiliza. ‘He did not fly it for them.’

k-ulushilizoowa v. caus. appl. pass.

Mwaana/ ulushiliza duwaara/ na Ali. ‘The child was flown for a kite by Ali.’ (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**. We have not determined what makes this particular word problematic in contrast to all the others.)

Ni duwaara/ ya mwaana/ ulushiliza na Ali. ‘It was a kite that the child was flown for by Ali.’

Ni na Ali/ mwaana/ ulushiliza duwaara. ‘It is by Ali that the child was flown for a kite.’

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/ yulukijiile/ kendra kaawo. ‘My wife dug a hole and took out all her clothes put them on, and then flew herself off to go to her home.’

k-uulukila

v. (ulukijiile) attack, scold, shout at

Ka jis’iyo/ chimwulukila mp^huundra/ chimuḅḷa. ‘Therefore he attacked the donkey and killed him.’

Kamba mbwa wa maduuri/ chinulukila... ‘If the wild dog attacks me...’

Kiḷaa mukhtāa ye/ humulukilo mwaaná/ ye/ huḷa. ‘Whenever she scolds the boy, he cries.’

kunulukila kamaa mp^haka/ pashpo kunuuzá ‘to attack (scold) me like a cat without asking me (any questions first)’

Mwulukijiile mw aana. ‘He scolded the child.’

Nuuru/ mwulukijiile mwaalimu/ mwaana. ‘Nuuru scolded the child on [i.e. to the detriment of] the teacher, [or] the teacher’s child’ (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/ nakhsuḷa kumuḅḷa. ‘When she came near, Lion attacked her and wanted to kill her.’

Sungura/ lazilopó/ siimba/ chimwulukila mp^huundra/ chimuḅḷa. ‘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.’

Ali/ ishkizize chibuuku/ chulungu cha kaandra. ‘Ali brought a book down to the first floor.’

chilungu chaa nne ‘fourth floor’

chilungu cha piili ‘the second floor’

chilungu cha taatu ‘the third floor’

Nenzele chulunguuni/ ka sultaani. ‘I went upstairs to the king.’

Nuura/ ishkizize chibuuku/ ka chulunguuni. ‘Nuura brought a book down from upstairs.’

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-)

n. 7/8 [Sw. *chuma* SSED 64] iron, metal, steel; capital (for use in business), money

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 chimuḷo. ‘Iron is hit (shaped) when hot.’ (A proverb.)

kumbiga ka chuuma ‘to hit s.o. with a piece of iron’

Nacho chuuma. ‘He has money.’

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’
Mwana uyu/ mzito/ kana/ chuuma. ‘This child is as heavy as iron.’

k-uuma

v. (**umiile**) become dry
Shaati/ yumiile. ‘The shirt is dry.’
Wowi/ yumiile. ‘The river dried up.’
Wowi/ zumiile. ‘The rivers dried up.’
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.

umati

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.)
afðali ya umati ni Abubakar [st.] ‘the best of the followers is Abubakar’
umati ya Iisa ‘followers of Jesus’
umati ya Mhamadi ‘the people (=community, followers) of Mohammad’
umati ya Muusa ‘followers of Moses’
umatiyo ni aajizi ða’iifu [st.] ‘your people are lazy [and] weak’
umati wa Mtume Mhamadi ‘Prophet Mohammad’s people, nation’
ummati wa Mohamadi/ ka diini huzalanoowa [st.] ‘(we) Mohammad’s community/ all are related (brothers) in the faith’

ummati or *umati* 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 sultaani/ nakuya kulangala 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 cha kati ‘central chamber’
chumba cha mataraja ‘storing space under staircase’
chumba cha meeza ‘drawer’
chumba cha peesa ‘a box to put money in’
Jhaziini/ 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. [H’H!H] ‘People filled the room.’

go through the uses of this word with *gelani*

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 kasaani/ kumwiwa moojo khuunzilo rahmaani [st.] ‘listen my friends: the beginning of [all] religious obligations is to know

	<p>God, the Compassionate, who created you' <i>wa'unzilo mwajiitu ka khtiyariye</i> [st.] 'it is God who created them, of his own will' rel. <i>k-umboowa</i> v. pass. (<i>unzila</i>) be created Nt'angú/ chuunzila/ chinakhfakata/ nt'ashkupata/ 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 <i>iwa</i> 'the sun'.) rel. nom. <i>m(w)-uumba</i> n. 1 [Sw.] the creator <i>ch-uumbe</i> (z-) n. 7/8 [Sw. <i>kiumbe</i> "a created thing, a creature, but usually limited to the rational, or at least animate, creation" SSED 498] creature, mortal, human being <i>l-uumbo</i> n. 11 [Sw. <i>umbo</i> SSED 498] the figure, shape of a person luumbole 'his/her figure, shape' Mi/ hubadilika luumbo/ kuja shpindri cha wakhti/ shchipita. 'I change shapes when each noon passes.' <i>m-uumbo</i> n. 3 creation <i>w-uumbo</i> n. 14 creation</p>
umbo	<p>n. creation Kilaa chiint'u/ hayi/ ni umbo/ ya mojiitu. 'Every living thing is a creation of God.'</p>
k-umbukhsata	<p>v. (umbukhseeete) hold anger inside, trying not to show it; be suffocated Ka Omari/ numbaani/ waant'u/ wiingi/ ikaleena/ hatá/ hu'umbukhsatoowa. 'At Omari's house there are many people, it is packed to the point one gets suffocated.'</p>
umbukhu	<p>n. the act of holding anger inside one; breathing problem when the chest is congested, suffocation Besmentiini/ ka Ali/ numbaani/ nt'amu/ chooloko/ kingilaa hawa/ humfanya muunt'u/ umbukhu.</p>
umburiyaako	<p>adj. [Ital.] drunk; n. drunkard Khamri/ humfanya umburiyaako. 'Liquor makes him drunk.' Mi/ mbishila na gaari/ nakinenzo umburiyaako. '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.'</p>
uumito	<p>n. humidity Lamiyeeri/ kharibu ya tawala/ hupandra miriiri/ kahima/ ka uumito. 'Corrugated sheets near the sea get rusted quickly from the humidity.'</p>
umra	<p>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'amu shaka amri ya Mooja Haakimu [st.] 'Hajj and Umra are both obligatory/ they were definitely commanded by God' Mwaaka/ mzimawe/ umra/ ukhadiroowa/ kolokoowa/ sho/ kuwa wakhti yaa hija. 'It is possible for <i>umra</i> to be gone on the whole year, except for the period of <i>hija</i>.' Nakhtaraja/ kendra umra/ mwaka unakuuyó. 'I hope to go on <i>umra</i> next year (lit. the year which is coming).'</p>
umri	<p>n. 14 [Sw. <i>umri</i> SSED 500; Ar.] age; life; ever (It is quite possible that this item should be analyzed as consisting of the [cl.14] prefix <i>u</i> plus a stem <i>-mri</i>, but we have no example where the stem <i>-mri</i> is used independently of the <i>u</i>.) 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</p>

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/ nt^hayná/ faayda. ‘There is no profit for someone to waste his life without meaning.’

muke umriwe sho mfuṭa faḍila [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 aalkolá? ‘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: **ā’ā/ 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: **Umriwa/ skuwaalikó/ Mambasa.** ‘I have never been to Mombasa.’

Shṭana/ chaa mi/ shishiḷa sku iyó/ umriwa/ skuwona/ shṭana/ 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/ skukooḍa/ 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 [such a thing] in my life.’

Umriwe/ nii kamu. ‘Hold old is (s)he?’

Ye/ hamwiisi/ waawe/ walá/ waawe/ umriwe/ nt^hakuuya/ nt^hi iyi. ‘He doesn’t know my father nor did my father his whole life ever come to this land.’

Ye/ umriwe/ hasoomi/ jornaale. [HHH!!H] ‘He never reads newspapers.’

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**]

Chili ichi/ chuumu/ kana/ chuuma. ‘This bed is hard like iron.’

chiṭa chuumu ‘hard-headed, head-strong, stubborn, stern’

Chiṭa chuumu/ haapiti/ mbele. ‘A stubborn person (hard-headed one) does not progress.’ (A saying.)

mun^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’
nuumu/ kana/ chuuma ‘as hard as steel’
Omari/ ^fmuumu/ kana chuuma. ‘Omari is strong, hard, tough like iron.’
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’
muumu/ kana/ shkunyi ‘as hard as a piece of firewood’
munt^hu m^wuumu ‘tough person’; **want^hu wuumu** ‘tough people’
muti m^wuumu ‘hard wood tree’; **miti muumu** ‘hard wood trees’
Omari/ chi^taache/ nuumu. ‘Omari is hard-headed – i.e. he doesn’t understand things.’
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 m^tanaani/ 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/ hawaasaji. ‘In here there are people who do not pray.’

review whether there is final accent

m-uundra (mi-)

n. 3/4 [Sw. *mgunda* SSED 278] field, cultivated land, farm; [pron. **miyuundra** (pl.)]
Ali/ tala miyuundraya/ yotte. ‘Ali, take all my fields.’
Ba’adi ya waant^hu/ awa/ hala miyuundra. ‘Some of these people cultivate fields.’
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 shiinzila/ 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/ kulangala muundra. ‘In the morning, the head of the servants, as was his custom, came and surveyed the field.’
Fijiri/ naank^hó/ hayawaani/ zotte/ scheendra miyundaani/ kulima. ‘In the morning, again all the animals went to the fields to cultivate.’
Hulima miyuundrá/ ni waant^hu/ haba. [H’HH] ‘Those who are farm are a few people.’ (The successive H pitches indicated in our intonational transcription represents a pronunciation where there is no clear declination between *waantu* and *haba*.)
Mahala/ yaa mi/ ndirkameno naayé/ ibadilila/ ifanyiza muundra. ‘The place where I met her has been turned into farmland.’
Hulima miyuundrá/ ni waant^hu/ wiingi. [H’HH] ‘Those who farm are many people.’
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 muundraani. 'I [lit.came with it -- i.e. took it] from the field.'

Nuuru/ letelele muundra/ makiina. 'Nuuru brought a machine for (to cultivate) the field.'

nt^hangú/ kaaka/ muundraani/ 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/ mubliwe/ oloshela miyundraani. 'One day this woman's husband went to the farms.'

Waant^hu/ wiingi/ walima miyundra. [HH'H] 'Many people are farmers.' (The adjective *wiingi* was slightly raised in pitch relative to *waantu*, which indicates some emphasis on *wiingi*. The following PP would ordinarily be downstepped, but in the recording of this example, the pitch does not undergo radical lowering, although the declination is obvious. We interpret this declination as indicating that *miyundra* is emphasized to some extent.)

Waant^hu/ wote/ ni walima miyundra. [H'HH] 'All the people are farmers.' (This example sentence comes from one of our earliest recordings from MI of example sentences. The intonation observed in this example is in part quite expected: there is declination between the initial *waantu*, which is the pitch peak, and *wote*. One would expect the following PredP to be downstepped, but in fact in the recording *miyundra* is not downstepped. It is declinated with respect to the initial PP, but a bit higher than *wote*. It seems that this shape is due to the presence of emphasis on *miyundra*.)

Wene maali/ miingi/ wene miyundra/ 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 muundraani/ kaawo. 'They all began to walk to go to their field.'

Ye/ itinzile karka muundra wa waant^hu. 'She picked it [a melon] from the field of some people.'

Ye/ shinda tamáa/ chiruda muundraani. 'He grew up and returned to the field.'

unga

n. 14 [Sw. *unga* SSED 501] flour (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 mtí*] sawdust

unga waa nganu 'wheat flour'

ungawa 'my flour'

k-uunganya

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 collected much water so as to satisfy his horse.'

kuunganya/ maali/ kumpelekela dobla ya talyaani 'to collect money to send to the government of Italy'

Wachunganya peesa/ zaa wo/ wakhadirilo khatá. '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/ ḍakari/ na uunthá/ muke/ na muḷi.
‘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/ mkuḷé/ ilopó/ chimpa/ chimwaambila/ kuḷilaa 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

won^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.’

Nungu nk^hulu/ haykosi/ ikooko. ‘A large pot never fails to have ikooko.’ (A proverb.)

Unguja
check with Gelani

n. [Sw. *unguja* SSED 502] Zanzibar; var. form: **Nguja**

ch-unguḷiya

n. [Sw. *kiungulia* SSED 502] heartburn

Huhadoowa/ iziwa/ nii dawa/ ya chunguḷiya. ‘It is said that milk is a remedy for 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)

Wake/ wachiḷawa hiiḍi/ hu’uunsata ka bakhuuri/ na uurdí. ‘When women finish their period, they fumigate with incense.’

rel.

ku-’uunsisha v. caus. (**unsishiize**)

unsuri

n. [Som. *cunsur* DSI 108] mishap, trouble, disaster, bad luck

Omari/ faṭura yaa ye/ uziló/ imwelele unsuri/ kiḷaa wakhtí/ inakuvuundika.

‘Omari, the car that he bought has become back luck for him, it is always breaking.’

m-uunti

n. [no etymological source found] day; [pron. **muunt^hi**]

Fijiri/ ya sku ya piili/ maama/ chimulila mp^huundra/ na Hasiibú/ munt^hi oyo/ chirashmánya 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.** (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 dukaani/ kilaa muunt^hi!?**)

Sa’iidi/ chishkila/ ka mlongoṭiini/ 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.’

untha

n. a female

Hasani/ tabi’aye/ kana/ untha/ siwo/ ba/ kana/ mubḷi. ‘Hasani’s behavior is like a female, he is not like a man at all.’

Ungamanya/ kuḷa/ hayawaani/ ḍakari/ na unthá/ muke/ na mubḷi. ‘Gather together every creature, a male and a female, a woman and a man.’

Untha/ na ḍakari/ ni mojiitu/ huumbó. ‘Female and male are created by God.’

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

Skiiizi/ maayi/ haba/ Mwiini/ waant^hu/ hawa’owi/ hatá/ wanaku’urata.

‘Nowadays there is little water in Miini, people don’t take shower until they are smelling bad.’

rel.

ku-’ursata v. caus. (**urseeṭe**)

ure

n. someone dirty; slave, someone low in status

Mwenye maali/ ni mkulu/ hatá/ ure/ pete jaaha. ‘One who is wealthy is important, respected, even someone of low caste is esteemed (if he is wealthy).’ (A proverb.)

Wana wa Haliima/ ni ure/ mama yaawo/ hawa’oshi/ hatá/ mweezi. ‘Haliima’s children are dirty, their mother does not wash them even for a month.’

urugu

n. [Som. *urug*] tuberculosis

Huhadoowa/ maraḍi/ ya urugu/ ni miingi/ Somáaliya. ‘It is said that the t.b. disease is a lot in Somalia.’

Pete urugu. ‘He got tuberculosis.’

Skiiizi/ maraḍi/ ya urugu/ ni sahali/ khfanyilizowaa dawa. ‘Nowadays it is easy to treat the TB disease.’

k-uusata

v. (**useete**) wait cautiously

Baaba/ ilopó/ na fungilopo mlaangó/ chimwona noka/ mzimawe/ maazi/ na

nt^hakuliinda/ kuusata/ shtala shtoka/ chimub^hlela 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)’

Muun^hu/ chiwanayo imaani/ hakuusata/ nahirisi/ ya mojiitu. ‘When one has faith he does not give up on God’s mercy/kindness.’

Nt^hasaa we/ kujiiba/ 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/ ndrudiile/ ka amaani/ laakini/ siwakhubure/ waant^hu/ kuwaa mi/ ndrudiile/ 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^htani/ chimuusha. ‘He went and stole that sheep [mbuzi ya matako] of the sultan and hid it.’

Hasani/ chilawa/ ka numbaani/ chooloka/ apaje/ mashakaani/ mahala ya/ husho silahaze. ‘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/ nushiize. ‘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/ niyushiize.** ‘The pen, I hid it.’)

kana/ muun^hu/ nakusho chiint^hu ‘like someone hiding something’

Mbigaa nk^heje/ ha’ushi/ ziwovu/ mimbaani. ‘The one who shouts does not hide evil inside him (lit. in the stomach).’ (A proverb.)

Nichushize chaakujá/ ye/ sichiwoni. ‘I hid the food so that he would not see it.’ Or: **Nichusize chaakujá/ ye/ spate kichiwona.** ‘I hid the food so that he would not (get to) see it.’

Nkhashifile/ kuwa Baazi/ ushize peesa/ nt^hini yaa chili. ‘I discovered that Baazi had hidden the money under the bed.’

Omari/ ushize mwaana/ nguwoze. ‘Omari hid the child’s clothes (lit. The child his clothes).’

Omari/ ushize mwaana/ nguwoze/ siwo/ zibuukuze. ‘Omari hid the child’s clothes, not his books.’

Omari/ ushize nguwo za mwaana. ‘Omari hid the clothes of the child.’ Or, with verb emphasis: **Omari/ ushiize/ nguwo za mwaana.**

Omari/ ushize nguwo za mwaana/ siwo/ (za) mweenzawe . ‘Omari hid the child’s clothes, not those of his friend.’ (Note that with this phrasing of **nguwo za mwaana**, one cannot continue the sentence by contrasting **nguwo: *Omari/ ushize nguwo za mwaana/ siwo/ peesa.** ‘Omari hid the clothes of the child, not the money.’ In order to allow this continuation, one must put focus on **nguwo: Omari/ ushize Omari/ ushize mwaana/ nguwoze. nguwo/ za mwaana/ 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’ashiqiiló/ 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/ kaajá. ‘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-ushakuusha v. redup.

Haliima/ hupeenda/ kushakusha ziint^hu. ‘Halima likes to hide things.’

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

N^hakhushiliza. ‘He did not hide it for you.’

N^hakichushiliza. ‘He did not hide it for us.’

N^hakinushiliza. ‘He did not hide it for you (pl.).’

N^hakunushiliza. ‘He did not hide it for me.’

N^hakuwa’ushiliza. ‘He did not hide it for them.’

Tuuma/ mwushilize mwaana/ 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.’

k-ushowakushoowa v. pass. redup.

Jawaabu/ ya lila/ hayushowiyushoowi. True/facts thing is not hidden

Ziint^hu/ kushowakushoowa/ siwo/ suura. ‘For things to be hidden is not good.’

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/ mayiini. ‘I pushed Jaama into the water.’

Uskumile ijiwe/ lkutaani. ‘He pushed the stone towards the wall.’

rel.

k-uskuma’uskuma or *k-uskumakuskuma* v. redup.

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].’

Hamadi/ namuskumamuskuma Omari/ khsaafira/ kendra Mkhodiisho. ‘Hamadi is pushing Omari to travel to Mogadishu.’

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/ gaari. ‘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.**

k-uskumowakuskumoowa v. pass. redup.

Omari/ chiinthu/ hafaanyi/ ka sahali/ sharti/ kuskumowakuskumoowa. ‘Omari does not do thing easily, he must be pushed.’

rel. nom.

m-uskuma (*wa-*) n. one who pushes; [pron. **wa’uskuma** (pl.)]

Mahamaali/ sukhuuni/ ndiwó/ wa’uskuma mikookoto. ‘Porters at the market are the ones who push carts.’

w-uskumo n. 14 the act of pushing

Mahamaali/ sukhuuni/ ndiwó/ wa’uskuma mikookoto. ‘Porters at the market are the ones who push carts.’

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-uskutitila v. appl. (**uskutitiile**)

Uskutitiile maayi. ‘He gargled with water.’

k-uskutitila v. (**uskutiile**) gargle

kuskutitila kana ‘to rinse the mouth’

k-uskutitiliza v. appl. (**uskutitiize**)

Ji/ mwuskutitilize mwaana/ kana. ‘Ji rinsed the child’s mouth.’

k-uskutitizoowa v. appl. pass.

k-uskutitizowakuskutitizoowa v. appl. pass. redup.

Mayi ayo/ haba mooyi/ yaseeló/ yatakuskutitizowakuskutitizowa ziguwo/ za waana. ‘That small amount of water left will be used to rinse the clothes of the children.’

k-uskutisha v. caus.

k-uskutishana v. caus. rec.

k-uskutishiliza v. caus. appl.

k-uskutishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

k-uskutizakuskutiza v. redup.

Kuskutizakuskutiza zihaanzu/ za waana/ ka maayi. ‘Haliima is rinsing dresses of children with water.’

uslubu

n. behavior, character

Ali/ nt^hanaayo/ uslubu suura/ hahistarimi/ waant^hu. ‘Ali does not have good character, he does not respect people.’

uso (ny-)

n. 14/10 [Sw. *uso (nyuso)* SSED 507] face (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 sulṭaani/ uyu/ nayo mwanaamke/ mwenye akhili/ na usura wa usó. ‘He was told that this sultan had a daughter possessing intelligence and a beautiful face.’

chimwona mublīwe usowe chuusha [st.] ‘if she saw her husband, she hid her face’
kangamila uso ‘to lose face’

khfursha uso ‘to swell the face (with anger)’

Haliima/ mfurshize usowe. ‘Haliima swelled her face (with anger etc).’

khkunda uso ‘to grimace’ **needs checking**

khkuta uso ‘to grimace [lit. fold face]’; also: **khkutila uso** ‘grimace at’

Haliima/ mkutiliḷe Umi/ uso/ harusiini. ‘Haliima scowled (lit. folded the face) at Umi at the wedding.’

kumkuṭila uso ‘to fold one’s face – i.e. to show anger or dissatisfaction’

khpaka uso/ mashizi ‘to disgrace by not doing what was asked or expected [lit. smear the face with soot]’

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’

kuwa mhuundru uso ‘to redden the face’

Nyuso/ ziwawele huundru. ‘Their faces reddened.’ **is nyuso possible? in chimiini**

Mpowaa kuja/ na waant^hu/ 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’

Muunt^hu/ shfanya chiint^hu/ hufanya ka uso wa mojiitu/ hameeri/ ka muunt^hu/ jeza/ walá/ ihsaaní. ‘When a human being does something, he does (i.e. should do) it for the sake (lit. face) of God; he does not (i.e. should not) seek reward or favor from someone.’ (A proverb,)

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 **mwaana**: ***Mwaana/ uso/ uwele mhuundru.**)

Mwaana/ usowe/ u(m)wele mhuundru. ‘The child, his face, became red.’ (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).’

Speendi/ kooḏizo/ walá/ kuwona usoowó. ‘I do not want [to hear] your words nor to see your face.’

uso kamba chilaatu ‘lit. a face like a shoe -- said of person with gloomy or displeased mien’

uso mhuundru ‘red face’

uso/ ka uso ‘face to face’

Uso/ umwele mhuundru. ‘(His) face became red (to him).’ (**Mwaana** 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 **mwaana** immediately post-verbal: ***Uso/ umwele mwaana/ mhuundru.**)

uso wa furaha ‘a happy face’

uso waa nt^hi ‘the surface of the earth’

uso wa nuumba ‘the front of the house’

	<p>Uso wa mwaana/ uchiwala. ‘The child’s face was shining. Uso wa mwaana/ uwele mhuundru. ‘The face of the child became red.’ (It is not grammatical to say: *Uso wa mwaana/ umwele mhuundru., where there is object agreement on the verb -- lit. the face of the child became red to him.) 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.) usooni ‘on the face’ uso zaawo ‘their faces’ note use as pl. usoowa ‘my face’ 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.) 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.’</p>
usri	<p>n. [Ar. <i>úsr</i> W 612] predicament, difficult situation, distress (This item is not known to GM.) usri faanya yasiiri/ oondrola ufaqiri [st.] ‘ease [our] distress, remove poverty’</p>
uss	<p>interj. [Sw. <i>usu</i> 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!’</p>
ustaadi (ma-’)	<p>n. professor, teacher; variant form: ustaaði Baana/ ustaadi/ waliko apa/ yana. ‘Baana the teacher was here yesterday.’ Nimwené/ Baana/ ustaadi/ yana masku. ‘I saw Baana the teacher last night.’ Nimwene Omari/ ustaadi. ‘I saw Omari the teacher.’ Nimwene Ustadi Baaná. ‘I saw Teacher Baana.’</p>
utaaridi	<p>n. [Ar. <i>utārid</i> W 620] the planet Mercury</p>
utla	<p>n. holiday, vacation (This item is not known to GM.) koloka utla ‘to go on holiday’</p>
uwa	<p>interj. of surprise; [pron. uwá] Uwá/ Omari/ naank^{bó}/ iize. ‘What! Omari refused again.’</p>
m-uuwa (miy-)	<p>n. 3/4 [Sw. <i>muwa (miwa)</i> SSED 315] sugar cane muundra/ wa muuwa ‘a sugar cane farm’ muwa mlada ‘sweet sugar cane’; miyuwa milada ‘sweet sugar canes’ Suukari/ hufanyowa ka muuwa. ‘Sugar is made from sugar cane.’</p>
uwah	<p>interj. Uwah/ Hamadi/ jawaabu/ ba/ haakasi. ‘uwah! Hamadi never listens to anything.’</p>
ch-uwu (z-)	<p>n. 7/8 [Sw. <i>chuo</i> 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’</p>

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 yamivuungu.**] ‘(His mother answered him that the books of his father were under the bed.’ (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/ somelee/ chiwo.** ‘Nuuru read a book.’ Or: **Nuuru/ someloo chiwó.** ‘Nuuru read a book.’ (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/ somelee/ 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/ hukalan^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/ zandishiīa. ‘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/ mbuzi/ 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 yu (or: **uwu**)/ (**laazimu**)/ **ustindoowa.** ‘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.’ (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/ hударбатїloowa/ na hulindroowa. ‘This is a day prepared for and waited for.’
- uyu** [cl.14] demonstrative
Uyu/ ni wakhti/ waa ye/ huyoo kujá. ‘This is the time that he comes to eat.’
- (‘)uyuubi** n. [Ar. ‘uyūb, plural of ‘aib W 660] flaws, shortcomings (This item is not known to GM.)
na mzimaawo ni ‘uyuubi / ka ḡaahiri na ka gheebi [st.] ‘and you are full of flaws, evident and hidden’
- k-uuzā** v. [Sw. *uza* SSED 511] (**uziize**) ask
Apo/ teena/ we/ mwuuze/ majiibu/ ya su’aaliye. ‘There then you ask him the answer to his question.’
Chimvīla mzeele/ chimwuuzā. ‘He called the old woman and asked her.’
Hunuuzi/ chiint^hu. ‘You don’t ask me anything.’
Kīla chuuzā/ ka khisani/ ye/ hapoowi/ peesazé/ ma’askari/ humjiiba/ si/ chamurīla 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.’ (Observe the final accent triggered by the pre-verbal **ka khisani** ‘why?’.)
muunt^hu sho kīwa namuuzē 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 inamlizoní ‘when I asked her what made her cry’ **Sandra suggested ni**
be added – check with gelani

Nizuzize peesá/ khpoowá. ‘I asked for the money to be given.’

Nizuzize peesazá. ‘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/ Hamadi.** ‘I asked for the money from Hamadi.’ In contrast, the verb may agree with **Hamadi** and still mention **peesá**:

Nimwuziizé/ Hamadi/ peesa. Or: **Nimwuziizé/ peesa/ Hamadi.**

Nuuza/ mi/ yaa we/ nakhsulo kiiwá. ‘Ask me whatever you want to know.’

Nuuza/ teena/ naa wé/ nakhsuuló/ nuuza. ‘Ask me, then, what you want [to ask me], ask me.’

Omari/ uzize kulala masku. ‘Omari asked to stay (lit. to sleep) overnight.’

Omari/ uzize kuwako masku. ‘Omari asked to stay (lit. to be there) overnight.’

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/ kuwawelela 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.’

Ye/ uzize rukhsa/ kulawa numbaani. ‘She asked permission to leave the house.’

rel.

k-uuliza v. appl. (**uliize**)

k-ulizanya or **k-ulizanyana** v. appl. rec. (**ulizeenye** or **ulizanyeene**)

k-ulizoowa v. appl. pass. (**uliiza**)

k-uza’uza v. redup.

Muunt^hu/ kuza’uza su’aali/ niingi/ hukaha^oowa. ‘(For) one to ask many questions is hated.’

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^hi. ‘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 khfungula/ shtandrawili.

‘The boy was asked: for what reason did you refuse to solve the

riddle?’

k-uzowa’uzoowa or *k-uzowakuzoowa* v. redup.

Kuzowakuzowa su’aali/ niingi/ muunt^hu/ hushikowa shtana. ‘(For) one be asked many questions, a person gets angry.’

rel. nom.

*mw-uuz*a (*wa-’uza*) n. 1/2 one who asks

uzi

in the expression:

majumba ya uzi ‘houses of mud’

vaalvola

n. [Ital. *valvola*] valve

Maayi/ tubooni/ yasimeeme/ sharti/ khfungulowa vaalvola. ‘The water in the tube has been stopped, the valve must be opened.’

ku-vaala

v. [Sw.*vaa* SED 512] (**veete**) dress, wear clothes, put on clothes

Ali/ chivaala/ haanzu/ cheendra/ ka sultaani. ‘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 sultaani. ‘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/ muke/ veeto. ‘A dress, the woman wore.’ Or: **Haanzu/ muke/ veeto.** ‘A dress the woman wore.’

Huseeni/ chivala nguwoze/ shtaala/ na chiguwo/ cha mwanaamke/ mpeelo/ chibiga chileemba. ‘Huseeni put on his clothes, he took (also) the cloth which the girl had given him and used it as a turban.’

Iveta naami/ nguwo. ‘By me were put on clothes (i.e. clothes were put on by me).’

Kula muunt^hu/ huvala nguwo mp^hiya. ‘Everyone wears new clothes.’

Kuvala chileemba chelpe/ si kumtiya/ mwajiitu. ‘To wear a white turban is not to fear God.’ (A proverb.)

Maskiini/ chivala sarwaani. ‘The poor man put on trousers.’

Mukeewa/ tuzile iboholi/ tete nguwoze/ veete/ chimaliza/ yulukiliile/ kendra kaawo. ‘My wife dug a hole and took out her clothes, put them on, and then she flew herself off to go to her home.’

Naami/ ivetaa nguwo. ‘By me were put on clothes.’

Na naani/ ivetaa nguwo. ‘By whom were put on clothes?’ **verify accent**

Nakuvaala. ‘He is getting dressed.’

Nguwo/ fuzilo Faatima/ sivaali ‘The clothes that Faatima washed, I won’t put (them) on.’

Nguwo/ iveta na naani. ‘Clothes were put on by whom?’

Nguwo suura/ ziveta na waana. [H!H] ‘Nice clothes were worn by the children.’

nguwo zaa ye/ veeto ‘the clothes that she wore’

Nureeni/ vete jaaka. ‘Nureeni wore a jacket.’

Nureeni/ vete jaka ya naani. ‘Nureeni wore whose jacket?’

Nveete. ‘I got dressed.’

Nvete haanzuya/ mp^hiyá. ‘I put on my new dress.’

Nvete 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 Ikandra la aaga/ veetó. ‘He wore a rubber belt, that’s what he did.’ Or: **Vete Ikaandra/ veetó/ la aaga.** ‘He wore a belt, that’s what he wore, of rubber.’
Vete shati nyulusi. ‘He has a black shirt on.’
Wamalizo po 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’iya.** ‘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).’ (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 muhli/ khamsiini/ kulawa/ 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/ ziveṭa na waana. ‘Nice clothes were worn by the children.’

ku-valowavaloowa v. redup.

Nguwo/ kuvalowavaloowa/ ka wiingi/ humala. ‘(For) a cloth to be worn a lot, they get worn/finished.’

ku-valavaala v. redup.

Wana wa Haliima/ huvalavala ziguwo zishepe/ ni masaakiini. ‘Haliima’s children wear old cloth, they are poor.’

ku-vaalika v. p/s. able to be worn

Ltakila/ nii lile/ 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 Hamadi/ 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/ kuveshá? and **Tuuma/ mkali/ kuveshá!?**)

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**

maana/ shaati. 'Tuuma dressed the child with a shirt.' (Cf.

Tuuma/ namvesha/ maaná/ shaati?) Or: **Tuuma/ namvesha**

maana/ shaati. 'Tuuma dressed the *child* with a shirt.' (Cf.

Tuuma/ namvesha maana/ shaati?)

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.'

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/ sh^tukula ruuhuye/ chendra ka Fikiriini. 'The

girl changed her clothes and took herself and went to Fikiriini.’

ventilatoore

n. 9/10 [Ital. *ventilatore*] fan (of a car)

Numbaani/ ka Nuuru/ hari/ sharti/ kudarshowa ventilatoore/ ya lpepo. ‘It is hot at Nuuru’s house, it is necessary for an air ventilator to be put on.’

videyo

n. video

Videyoye/ ivundishile/ khacha khacha!/ ba’adi ya ijuuniya/ yaa gele/ khpotela iluke. ‘His video was completely broken after the gunny sack of maize fell onto it.’

ku-viila

v. [uncertain etymology; cf. Sw. *lia* ‘utter a sound, cry out’ SSED 244] (**viilile**) call s.o., summon; name

Ali/ mviilile mwaana. ‘Ali called the child.’

Apo/ ye/ chimvila mooyi/ karka wataanaawe/ chimwambila/ zaa ye/ nakhsulo khfaanya. ‘Then he called one of his slaves and told him what he wanted to do.’

Chimwuuza/ naani/ namviililo. ‘She asked her who was the one calling her.’

Endraani/ mviileni bakayle/ naayé/ shatumbe chisima. ‘You all go and call the rabbit (so that) he come and we can dig a well.’

Iyi/ ni sababu/ yaa mi/ khuviiililo. ‘This is the reason (for which) I have called you.’

Iyi/ siwo/ sababu yaa mi/ khuviiililo. ‘This is not the reason (for which) I have called you.’

Jaama/ nviilile. ‘Jaama called me.’

Kanaa we/ chint^hahaaja/ viila. ‘If you need me, call.’

Mi/ nimviilile/ Umi/ mukhtaa mi/ noshelo Mwiini. ‘I called Umi when I went to Brava.’

Mi/ nimviilile/ Umi/ mukhtaa ye/ ilo Mwiini. ‘I called Umi when she came to Brava.’

Mi/ niwaviilile/ 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/ mviilile mwaanawe. ‘Muusa called his son.’

Mwaana/ chimvila maamaye/ chimwuuza/ mfanyiizeni/ mune. ‘The child called her mother and asked her what she had done to her little sister.’

Nimviilile Haaji/ mweenzwe. ‘I called Haaji’s friend.’

Nimviilile Jeeli/ oyo waliko mwalimu wa mwaanawa/ mwakaa yaná. ‘I called Jeeli, who was my son’s teacher last year.’ Alternatively: **Nimviilile Jeeli/ oyo waliko mwaanawa/ mwalimuwe/ mwakaa yaná.** (The phrase **mwakaa yaná** is a contraction of **mwaka waa yaná**.)

Nimviilile mukeewa/ Barka/ yana. ‘I called my wife Barka yesterday.’

Nt^hakuwaviila/ waana. ‘She did not call the children.’

Sinviiile/ maame. ‘Don’t call me mother!’

Sku yaane/ khaadi/ chimvila. ‘On the fourth day the judge summoned her.’

Wachimvila mubli/ wachimwambila/ bwaana/ apa/ ukoo noka. ‘They called the husband and said to him: master, there is a snake there.’

rel.

ku-viilana v. rec. call one another, name one another

ku-vilanoowa v. rec. pass. for one another to be called, named

iido huvilanoowa, iidi mubarak huhadoowa [song] ‘on *iidi* there is calling of one another, blessed *iidi* is said’

ku-vilaviila v. redup.

Haliima/ mwambile Omari/ we/ simvileviile/ Sheekhi/ kilaa muunthi/ nthana/ wakhfi/ wa khiilila. ‘Halima told Omari: do not call Sheekhi every day, he has no time to come to you.’

Hamadi/ hadile Omari/ sinvileviile/ bilaa ma’ana. ‘Hamadi said to Omari: don’t call me without reason.’

ku-viilila v. appl.

ku-viḷiḷoowa v. appl. pass. (**viḷiḷa**)

Nviḷiḷa na Jaamá. ‘I was called by Jaama.’

Sultaani/ chaamura/ kuviḷiḷoowa/ Ali. ‘The king ordered that Ali be called (to come to him).’

Ye/ chamura kuviḷiḷoowa/ oyo mgarwa. ‘He ordered that fisherman to be summoned.’

ku-viḷoowa v. pass. (**viḷiḷa**) be called

Apo/ zamaani/ waliko muunt^hu/ mooyi/ chiviḷowa Khamiisi. ‘Once upon a time there was a man called Khamiisi.’

Chimaliza/ khaadimu/ chimviḷaa mbwa/ naa mbwa/ ikusilopó/ chiviḷowa 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 nakuviḷoowa. ‘She told her that she was being called.’

Chiviḷoowa. ‘He was called.’

inaye chiviḷoowa Hawla [st.] ‘by name [lit. her name] she was called Hawla’

Khamsiiniza/ mp^heté/ isa/ nakhsuulá/ ye/ kuviḷoowa/ xpoowa/ ndrutize khamsiini. ‘My fifty (blows) I got, now I want him to be called to be given his fifty blows.’

Kooḍizo/ ḷiḷa/ naviḷoowa/ mwana maskiini/ naaye. ‘Your words are true; let the poor boy be called so that he come.’

Mooyi/ karka waanawe/ zihaba/ chiviḷoowa/ Yuusufu/ na mwiinginé/ chiviḷoowa/ Binyameeni. ‘One among his small children was named Joseph and the other was named Benjamin.’

Muke oyo/ wanayo mwaana/ mooyi/ chiviḷowa Sa’iidi. ‘That woman had a child called Sa’iidi.’

Mwaana/ choondroka/ chendra markabuuni/ chimwambila sultaani/ bwaana/ we/ nakuviḷoowá/ ṭawala. ‘The boy got up and went to the ship and said to the sultan: master, you are being called at the shore.’

Mwanamke oyo/ chiviḷowa.. Safiya. ‘That girl was called Safiya.’ (In the recording of the story from which this example comes, the speaker pauses between the verb and **Safiya**. In this and other similar examples, the final vowel of the word preceding the pause is lengthened.)

Sultaani/ shtumaa nt^hume/ kuviḷowa mwaana. ‘The sultan sent a message calling the boy (to come to him).’ (Observe the postposing of the subject after the passive verb. This postposed passive subject phrases with the verb.)

ku-viḷowaviḷoowa v. redup.

Omari/ hapeendi/ kuviḷowaviḷoowa/ kiḷaa wakḥti/ kaaziye/ niingi.

‘Omari does not like to be called evry time, his work is too much.’

ku-viḷiḷa 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

Aweeso/ chijitache/ chihaba/ chiviriinge/ kana chinaazi. ‘Aweeso his head is small, round like small coconut.’

baskuṭi 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’

	<p>Baana/ usowe/ mviriinge. ‘Baana’s face is round.’</p> <p>rel.</p> <p>m-viriingo (mi-) n. 3/4 circle</p> <p>u-viriingo n. 14 circle, rim, circumference</p> <p>uviringo wa shkoombe ‘the rim of a cup’</p>
ku-viriingika	v. go or walk around
viisita	<p>n. visit; [pron. viisita]</p> <p>dakhtari/ kumfanya viisita ‘for a doctor to examine someone’; also: dakhtari/ khfanyowa viisita</p> <p>Ali/ hakhaadiri/ oshele ka dakhtari/ khfanyowa viisita. ‘Ali is sick; he went to the doctor to be checked.’</p> <p>Dakhtari/ namfanya Omari/ viisita/ mwambiile/ panza neefu/ ilu. ‘The doctor examined Omari and told him: breathe in hard (lit. raise up breath).’</p> <p>Nakendra dakhtari/ kumfanya viisita. ‘I am going to the doctor for him to examine me.’</p> <p>kumfanya viisita ‘to visit someone’; also: khfanyowa viisita, khfanyiliza viisita</p> <p>Haaji/ nayo rukhsa/ ya mfanyiliza muunt^hu/ umo spitaleeni/ viisita/ kilaa wakhti yaa ye/ nakhsuuló. ‘Haaji has permission to visit someone in the hospital any time that he wants.’</p> <p>Haliima/ umo spitaale/ waant^hu/ wiingi/ wa’enzele (ku)mfanya viisita. ‘Haliima is in hospital, many people went to visit her.’</p> <p>Zikoo sa’a/ spitaleeni/ ha’ikhiroowi/ khfanyowa viisita/ muunt^hu. ‘There are times in the hospital when it is not allowed for a visit to be made.’</p>
vitamiini	<p>n. vitamins</p> <p>Baghali/ inayo vitamiini. ‘<i>Baghali</i> has vitamins.’</p> <p>Mayaank^huku/ ni afiya/ zimo vitamiini. ‘Eggs are healthy, they have vitamins.’</p> <p>Vitamiini “B”/ hinfa maraöi ya neervo. ‘Vitamin B is good for nerve disease.’</p>
ku-viva	<p>v. [Sw. <i>iva</i> SSED 145] (viviile) be ripe, cooked</p> <p>Chaakuja/ chiviviilopó/ Fikiriini/ shpakula/ chiweeka/ chaakuja/ icho/ ilu ya meeza. ‘When the food was cooked, Fikiriini dished it out and placed that food on the table.’</p> <p>Ha’ivivi. ‘It won’t ripen.’</p> <p>Khariibu/ ya kuviva/ mwaana/ chilawa/ cheendra/ kuliindra. ‘[When the dates were] close to ripening, the boy left and went to look after [them].’</p> <p>...kuliinda/ nt^heendre/ hattá/ mukhta zo/ stakuvivó ‘...to guard the dates until they become ripe’</p> <p>Mayank^huku aya/ nt^hayakuviva. [H’H] ‘These eggs are not cooked.’</p> <p>Mayank^huku aya/ yaviviile. [H!H] ‘These eggs are cooked.’</p> <p>Mazu iviviiló ‘a banana that is ripe’</p> <p>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).’</p> <p>Muke/ shpikaa zijo/ ziviviilopó/ chiwapakulila waana. ‘The woman prepared zijo and when it was cooked, she dished it out to the children.’</p> <p>Mukhta nt^heendre/ zilaziló/ baaba/ chiwavila waanawe/ sitta/ chiwa’ambila/ kuwaa ye/ namsula mooyi/ kati kaawo/ kuliindra/ nt^heendre/ hattá/ mukhta 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.’</p> <p>Nama/ iviviile. ‘The meat is cooked.’</p> <p>Sultaani/ liinzile/ hattá/ ya nt^heendre/ kuviva. ‘The sultan waited until about the time of the ripening of the dates.’</p> <p>Washkoöakooöa/ walwaawo/ hattá/ chaakuja/ shchiviva. ‘They chatted, both of</p>

them, until the food was cooked [lit. ripe].’

rel.

ku-vivila v. appl. [Sw. *ivia* SSED 145] (-**viviliile**) become ripe for
Matuundra/ humvivila mwenye sabri. ‘Fruits ripen for the one with
patience.’ (A proverb.)

Nama/ imviviile. ‘The meat became cooked for him.’

ku-vivisha v. caus. ripen, cook

**Isa/ mayooshi/ tu/ mahala/ ichiwa yanakuḷawa/ weshelee kuja/
khupikilá/ha’ivivishi**. ‘Now, if only smoke is coming out from a
place and you put (there) food to cook for you, it does not cook it.’

Nvivishizee namá. ‘I cooked the meat.’

ku-vivishiliza v. caus. appl.

rel. nom.

u-vivo n. 14 ripeness

voota

n. vote, election

Voṭaa mp^hiya/ nt^haasá/ yiko khtasawara/ nt^ho. ‘A new election remains a stong
possibility.’

Ye/ nt^haasá/ takuwa ni ra’iisi/ haṭá/ voota/ mp^hiya. ‘He will remain as president
until there are new elections.’

i-vu

n. 9 [cf. Sw. *majivu* SSED 255] ashes

Ivu/ ha’ipiishi. ‘Ash does not burn.’ (A proverb.)

ivu niigi ‘a lot of ashes’

khpakana ivu/ usooni ‘to put ashes on one another’s face’

Muḷo/ uwele ivu. ‘Fire becomes ash.’

Muunt^hu/ impishizoo muḷó/ haṭá/ ivuye/ hutiya. ‘A person who has been burned by
fire, he is afraid of even its ashes.’ (A proverb.)

Muunt^hu/ muḷo/ chimpiisha/ haṭá/ 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/ chila/ awaje/ wotte/ wachivuka harusiini. ‘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.’

Hamadi/ vuushile/ ka khisa/ ye/ suliiile/ kumziyaraṭa mweenzawe. ‘Hamadi left
because he wanted to visit his friend.’

**Isa/ basi/ vushile ka sulṭaani/ sku iyo/ bozele chilaatu/ chimooyi/ cha ḍahabu/
bozeló**. ‘So now he went to the sultan that day and stole one shoe of gold,
that’s what he did.’

Mi/ nimviliile/ Umi/ mukhtaa mi/ nvushilo Mwiini. ‘I called Umi when I went to
Brava.’

Muḷjiwa/ vushile safari. ‘My husband has gone away on a trip.’

Muke/ (uje) vushilo Mkhodiishó/ ni Tuuma. ‘The woman who went to Mogadiiisho
is Tuuma.’

**Naank^hó/ sku ya piiji/ 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 Mkhodishó/ 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.

Si/ shchifilaṭila Hamadi/ khkalaant^ha/ laakini/ ye/ ziyareete/ wakhtí/ chihaba/ tu/ na vuushile. 'We expected Hamadi to stay, but he just visited for a short while and left.'

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!?**

Umi/ anzize khpika/ ba'adi ya mubliwe/ vuushiló. 'Umi started cooking after her husband left.'

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-vukavuuka v. redup.

Omari/ mwambile Ali/ we/ sivukevuuké/ ka Hamadi/ hawakhupeendi.

'Omari told Ali: you, don't keep going to Hamadi's place, they do not like you.'

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-vukowavukoowa v. redup. pass.

Kuvukowavukowa mahala/ nth^a'ina faaydá/ ni u'ahmakhi. 'To keep going to a place that is not beneficial, useful is foolishness.'

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

Alama yaa nvula/ ni mawiingu. 'The sign of rain is clouds.' (A proverb.)

Astaghafirú/ ni sku/ waant^hu/ wa Mwiini/ hulawa kendra lfuwooni/

kulombaa nvula. 'Astaghafirú is the day the people of Miini leave to go to the beach to pray for rain.'

Chiletele nvula ya aarani. ‘Bring us the rain of plenty.’

Chiiza/ magozi/ yafakuwola/ 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 ichaanza/ 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 imnyejeeló. ‘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/ lvyumiile. ‘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 nt^eendré/ 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-vumaavuma v. redup.

Lpepo la waarabu/ Inakuvumaavuma. ‘The Arab wind is blowing (referring to strong winds that at a certain time of year come from the Arabian peninsula).’

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

v. [Sw. *vumbika* SSED 517] (**vumbiile**) bury a fire with ashes so as to keep the coals from going out

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. (**vumbiize**) cover, bury

Abú/ tunzile iboholi/ zishile nk^hoombe/ vumbize ka mtaanga. ‘Abu dug a hole and buried the forks and covered with sand.’

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

Haliima/ mwambile mwanaashkewe/ Umi/ vuumbula/ mujo/ kahima/
nt^haasá/ yaa wo/ kufa. ‘Haliima told her daughter Umi: revive the
fire before it dies.’

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.’

Nt^hi za dhowooyi/ zinayo ivuumbi. ‘Areas with clay soil have dust.’

Nt^hakuwona/ sho kuwa ivuumbi. ‘He could not see anything except dust.’

ku-vuna

v. [Sw. *vuna* SSED 518] (*vuniile*) harvest; n. harvesting

Halo nt^holokó/ 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/ Ikusi. ‘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?’

Mwana uyu/ tu/ chimvunango Hamadí. ‘Only this child was beating Hamadi.’ One
cannot say: ***Mwaana/ tu/ uyu/ chimvunango Hamadí.**

Mwana uyu/ tu/ chimvunaangó/ Hamadi. This sentence is ambiguous: Only this
child was beating Hamadi, or Hamadi was beating only this child. The same
Mwaana/ uyu/ tu/ chimvunaangó/ Hamadi.

Mwaana/ wa Hamadi/ tu/ chimvunango Nuurú. ‘Only Hamadi’s child beat Nuuru.’
Or: **Mwana wa Hamadi/ tu/ chimvunango Nuurú.** ‘Only the child of
Hamadi beat Nuuru.’ Nor can you say: ***Mwaana/ tu/ wa Hamadi/
chimvunango Nuurú.**

Omari/ chimvunanga mwaana/ wa Hamadi/ tu. ‘Omari beat only Hamadi’s child.’
One cannot say: ***Omari/ chimvunaanga/ mwaana/ tu/ wa Hamadi.** Nor:
***Omari/ chimvunanga mwaana/ tu/ wa Hamadi.**

Omari/ chimvunaanga/ tu/ mwana wa Hamadi. ‘Omari just beat Hamadi’s child (he
didn’t kill him).’

Omari/ mvunanzile mwaana/ kana/ ngoma. ‘Omari beat the boy like a drum.’

Omari/ tu/ chimvunaangó/ Hamadi. ‘Only Omari beat Hamadi.’

Omari/ tu/ chimvunaangó/ mwana wa Hamadi. ‘Only Omari beat Hamadi’s child.’

Shtala sarbi/ chimvunaanga. ‘He took the sticks and beat her.’

Wachaanza/ kumvunaanga/ nt^hangú/ 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 (past tense) him.’

Zinavunaanziló/ ni karayle weenziwa/ ka sababu/ mi/ niwa'ambiilé/ kuwa ni kheeri/ sì/ kuruda muyiini/ kiitu/ kumtíi'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/ laṭa/ kuvunangavunanga waana. 'You, quit beating and beating children.'

ku-vunaangila v. appl. (-vunangiile) beat with

Luti/ lo/ laa we/ mvunangilo maaná/ lpeetá. 'The stick itself that you beat the child with is the (very) one that has been found.'

ku-vunangoowa v. pass.

Mi/ nvunaanzilá/ na Omari. 'I was beaten by Omari'. Or: **Mi/ mbaliko nvunaanzilá/ na Omari.**

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. *vunja* 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 aduwi. '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.)

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.' (This sentence is a better way to put emphasis on **idiriisha** than: **Idiriisha/ vunzile mwana uje.**)

Ijiwe/ imvunzile kuuluye. [H!H] 'A stone broke his leg.'

Ijiwe/ imvunzile muunt^hu/ kuuluye. [H!H!H] 'A stone broke the man's leg.'

Iyĩmbi/ 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. *vunja 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 kaḏiiḏo 'to reduce, lower, break a fever'

Lwato/ ka chindriimu/ na ukí/ huvunda kaḏiiḏo. 'Fennugreek with lemon and honey reduces fever.'

kuvundaa mbavu '[lit.] break the ribs'

Nakhsula kuvundaa mbavú / khṭukula 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. *vanja moyo* SSED 519] ‘[lit.] to break the heart, will -- i.e. be discouraged, demoralized’
Hamadi/ hupeenda/ kuvunda waant^hu/ khalbi. [H’H!H!H] ‘Hamadi likes to discourage people.’
Imvunzilo shaghaalé/ qalbi/ 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. *vanja thamani* SSED 519] reduce the price as a result of competition developing ([lit.] to break the price)’
L̄iini/ 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 choloko. ‘That child broke a window.’ (cf. **Ni mwana uje/ vunzilo cholokó.** ‘It is that child who broke the window.’ And: **Ndiyé/ mwana uje/ vunzilo 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 chala.** One can only say: **Mwana uyu/ chivunzila chaalache.** ‘This child, his finger was broken.’ The noun

questions:
arm.'

- 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 chiti/ kuulú!?**)
- Omari/ vuzile 'kuulu/ 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 'kuulu/ chiti?** The emphatic yes-no question does not in any way reflect focus on **kuulu**: **Omari/ vuzile kuulú/ chiti!?**)
- 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?'
- Omari/ vuzileni/ chiti.** 'What part of the chair did Omari break?' Or:
Omari/ chiti/ vuzileni. (Possible answers to these
Omari/ chiti/ vuzile ikono. 'Omari the chair he broke the
Or: **Omari/ chiti/ 'ikono/ ivuunziló.** 'Omari, the chair, the arm he broke.')
- 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 pen.'
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 piiji/ hashtakhkalaant'a.** '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. redup. (**vuzilevuuzile**) crumble up, break up

Mi/ kawanazoo nguvú/ sulá mvundavunda Hamadi. 'If I had the strength, I would have (broken Hamadi (cf. English: broken him in two).'

Vuzilevuzile maandra/ tile mtuziini. 'She crumbled up the bread and

put it in the soup.’

Wo/ ka khtiyaa si/ khfakata/ wachivundavunda bafera yiitu. ‘Running away from us from fear, they broke our boat.’

ku-vuundika v. p/s. [Sw. *vuunjika*] (**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.’

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 kuulu. ‘Hamadi broke his leg.’ Or: **Kuulu/ imvundishile Hamadi.**

Hamadi/ vundishile mkono. ‘Hamadi is broken, the hand/arm.’

Isa/ Mwiini/ inakuvuundika/ na want^huwé/ wanakhpunguka. ‘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. [H^hH] ‘His leg is broken.’ (This example was recorded with declination between the two phrases rather than downstep..)

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 nt^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/ imvundishile. ‘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/ nthashkuṭiindika. ‘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 mariiḍi/ na waliko qalbi/ imvundishile. ‘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.

Nuumba/ imvundikiliile. ‘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*]

Mvundiile mwaalimu/ khalamu. ‘He broke the teacher’s pen.’

Sarkali uyu/ chivundiile muuyi. ‘The government destroys the town’s economy on us.’

Tete shtoka/ 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.’

Mamaḍo/ mvundishize Suufi/ mkono wa mwaana. ‘Mamadho caused Suufi to break the child’s arm.’ (Syn. But this verb cannot be used to say: ***Mamaḍo/ 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*] (-vuunziḷa)

Choloko ichije/ chivunziḷa na mwaana. ‘That window was broken by the child.’

Hamadi/ vunziḷa mkono. ‘Hamadi(’s) arm was broken (b y s.o.).’ (One cannot make **mkono** the subject of the passive verb: ***Mkono/ uvunziḷa Hamadi.**)

Khalamu/ ivunziḷa na Hamadi. ‘The pen was broken by Hamadi.’

Kuuluye/ ivunziḷa. ‘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 balani ‘a promise to be broken, not fulfilled’

Balani/ ni kana/ deeni/ ha’ivundoowi/ laazimu/ khfulishoowa.

‘A promise is like a debt, it must be fulfilled.’

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/ vuunziḷa. [H!H!H] ‘The man broke his leg.’ (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**. More research on this matter is warranted. With respect to intonation, the pitch drop between the first two phrases was recorded as about 30 hz. This seems to us to be an instance of declination since the drop between the second and third phrases is even greater.) Cf. **Kuuluye/ ivuunziḷa.** [H!H] ‘His leg was broken.’

Muunt^hu/ vunziḷa kuulu/ naami. [H!H!H] ‘The man’s leg was broken by me.’

Nuumba/ ivunziḷa choloko. ‘The house was broken the window.’

Nuumba/ ivunziḷa ḷkuta. ‘The house was broken the wall.’ (Not ***ḷkuta/ ivunziḷa nuumba.**)

Nuumba/ kuvundoowa/ siwo/ sahali. ‘For a house to be destroyed is not easy.’

Shkoombe/ chivunziḷa na Omari. ‘The cup was broken by Omari.’

ku-vundowaavundoowa v. redup. pass.

Fijiri/ choloshelopo ḷfuwooní/ khtala baṭera yíitú/ chiwene kuwa baṭeerá/ ivunziḷavuunziḷa. ‘In the morning when we went to the shore to get our boat, we found that the boat has been broken into pieces.’

rel. nom.

chi-vuunda (zi-) n. 7/8 s.t that breaks s.t. (This word was not familiar to GM.)

m-vuundo n. 3 [Sw. *mvunjo*]

ma-vuundo n. 6 the act of breaking s.t.

Mavundo ya mwashi/ vunzilo ḷkutá/ haḷwakiki/ teena/ mara yíingine.

‘The act of breaking of the builder broke the wall, it cannot be built again another time.’

u-vuundo n. 14 [Sw. *uvunjo*]

Uvuundo/ wa Hamadi/ vunzilo meezá/ jisaa mbovú/ ha’ifaanyiki/ teena.

‘Hamadi’s act of breaking the table is badly done, it cannot be fixed again.’

chi-vuundo (zi-)

n. 7/8 7/8 [no etymological source identified] corner, angle; hiding place, secret place

Chivuundoche/ chiwiḷa. ‘His secret hiding place was discovered.’

Nimlinzile Jeelí/ chivundooní. ‘I waited for Jeeli at the corner.’

ḷ-vuundo

n. 11 [Sw. *uvundo* SSED 518] bad smell

ikana ḷvuundo ‘bad-smelling mouth’

Kuja/ ichiwola/ hununk^ha ḷvuundo. ‘If food gets spoiled, it smells bad.’

ḷvuundo/ kolko bakhtí ‘of smelling worse than s.t. dead’

ḷNama/ inakununk^ha ḷvuundo. ‘The meat smells bad.’ Or: **Inakununk^ho**

ḷvuundró/ nii ḷnama. ‘What smells bad is the meat.’

ḷNama i(y)i/ inakununk^ha ḷvuundo. ‘This meat smells bad.’

Omari/ kanaye/ hununk^ha ḷvuundo. ‘Omari’s mouth smells bad.’

Omari/ ikanaye/ ḷvuundo. ‘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.’

Husuḷo 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 nṯ^hini ya mivungu. ‘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 zingile [st.] ‘worms entered Job’s body’

Kuja/ iwozele/ hatá/ 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**) throw away something unwanted, with anger and hate; leave s.o. without due care (implying that they are unwanted) (When said with anger and hate, the *r* in this stem is geminated.)

Ali/ vurumishize chibuuku. ‘Ali threw the book away.’

Mwaana/ iwilopo kuwa dughaaghi/ yaa ye/ ubleeló/ 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/ mknooni/ 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.’

Watete waana/ wavurumishiize. ‘They took the children and left them without proper care.’

rel.

ku-vurumishiliza v. caus. appl. throw at

Saalimu/ mvurumishilize Sa’iidi/ zibuuku. ‘Saliimu 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. [H!H] ‘Stones were thrown. Or:

Yavurumishiiza/ ni majiwe. [H’H] ‘What were thrown are stones.’

Mwaana/ vurumishiza majiwe. [H!H] ‘The child was thrown at stones.’

Watakuvurumishoowa/ mułooni/ 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 (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

Gaari/ ya Nuuru/ imvusile gari ya Aba/ imtomele matotopeeni. 'Nuuru's car pulled Aba's car out from the mud.'

kuvuta gaari 'to tow a car'

kuvuta mapula 'to sniffle'

kuvuta neefu/ kaa kana 'to inhale with the mouth'

kuvuta neefu/ kaa mp^hula 'to inhale with the nose'

kuvuta ngoroonzi '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

Maayi/ ya'ingilo ka Mukhtaari/ numbaani/ miingi/ hayavuutiki/ ka bomba ichi/ chihaba. 'The water that entered Mukhtaari's house is too much, it cannot be pulled out by this small pump.'

ku-vuutika 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.)

Omari/ lesele makiina/ kuvutila maayi/ ya'ingilo basmenteeni/ ka Haaji/ numbaani. 'Omari brought a machine to extract the water that had entered the basement of Haaji's house.'

ku-vuutisha v. caus. cause to pull, smoke a cigarette

Mvutishize mwaana/ sigareeti. 'He caused the child to smoke cigarettes.'

ku-vutoowa v. pass. be pulled

Gaari/ ya Ali/ ikalene matotopeeni/ inakuvutoowa. 'Ali's truck is stuck in the mud, it is being pulled.'

ku-vuuya

v. [Sw. *vuja* SSED 516] (-vuyiile) leak, trickle, drip; fall (of rain)

Baazi/ wena maatozi/ yachimvuuya. 'Baazi was seen crying.'

ha^ta/ 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) wadamu.

Maayi/ yavuyiile. 'Water dripped down.'

Maayi/ yavuyile (ka) birikhiini. 'Water leaked from the kettle.'

Maayi/ yavuyiile/ ka wadamuuni. [H'H!H] 'Water leaked from the bucket.'

Mbene maatozi/ yachimvuya Baazi. 'I saw tears trickling down Baazi's face.'

Mp^hete mahala inakuvuuyó. 'I found the place where it is leaking.'

Nimwene Baazi/ maatozi/ yachimvuuyá. 'I saw tears trickling down Baazi's face.'

Wadamu/ inakuvuuya. 'The bucket is leaking.'

Wadamu/ inakuvuya maayi. 'The bucket is leaking water.'

	<p>Wadaamu/ ivuyile maayi. [H!H] ‘The bucket leaked water.’ rel. <i>ku-vuuyila</i> v. appl. (-vuyiliile) fall down on, leak into Hamadi/ weshele ibaaldi/ maayi/ kuvuyila ka jasiini. ‘Hamadi put a bucket for water to leak into from the roof.’</p> <p>Nvula/ imvuyiile mwaana. ‘The rain fell on the child.’ <i>ku-vuuyisha</i> v. caus. (vuyishiize) Haliima/ tumbile sufuriya/ kuvuyisha mtuzi. ‘Haliima punctured the dish to let soup drip out.’ <i>ku-vuyishiliza</i> v. caus. appl. (vuyishiliize) <i>ku-vuyishilizanya</i> v. caus. appl. rec. (-vuyishilizeenye) <i>ku-vuuyoowa</i> v. pass. (-vuyiila) 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</p>
<i>n-vuuye</i>	<p>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.’</p>
<i>i-vuuyu (mi-)</i>	<p>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.’ Ublele ivuuyu/ ilusi/ ikulu. ‘She killed a large black spider.’</p>
<i>ku-vuzila</i>	<p>v. [Sw. <i>vuvia</i> SSED 520] (vuziile) blow with the mouth; blow (as wind) Baabu/ nakuvuzila firiimbi. ‘Baabu is blowing the whistle.’ Bur’i/ nakuvuzila ipiira. ‘Bur’i is blowing up the balloon.’ Lpepo/ inakuvuzila. ‘The wind is blowing.’</p>
=w-	<p>[cl.3] possessive agreement Muuyi/ mzimawe/ washizaa tala. ‘The whole town (lit. town its whole) was lit with lamps.’</p>
<i>wa-</i>	<p>[cl.2] subject prefix; [morphophonemic variants: wa-, waa-, wa’-] Ma’askari/ wachiluma zaala/ killa mooyi/ nakhsuula/ kuwa ndiyé/ takhshiindó. ‘The soldiers bit their fingers, each one wants to be the one who wins [and thus marries the sultan’s daughter].’ (Although ma’askari is formally a [cl.6] noun taking the prefix ma-, it governs human [cl.2] agreement on the subject prefix.) ngoombe/ kawaafá ‘if cows/ the cows were to die’ Wajile liini. ‘When did they eat?’ Waant^hu/ wa’ingile numbaani. ‘People entered the house.’</p> <p>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.’</p>
<i>-wa-</i>	<p>[cl.2] object prefix Abdalla/ chiwaraasha/ askari/ cheendra/ mbele za sultaani. ‘Abdalla</p>

followed the soldiers to go in front of the sultan.’ (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/ kalant’haani/ nifungulile 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.’
Niwalooselé. ‘I dreamed about them.’
Siwakooðishé. ‘Don’t talk to them!’ or ‘Don’t make them talk!’
Sultaani/ sh’omola 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/ suja 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’
wazeele ‘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 deverbal vowel-initial stems, **wa-** is retained but is separated from the following vowel by a glottal stop.

wa’endresha ‘supervisors’
wa’imbaaji ‘singers’
wa’iskitika ‘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’oloshihe. ‘The children of Nuuru left.’

wa

interjection expressing amazement

Chimwambila oyo mzeele/ 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’aziná/ ba/ adadi. ‘**Wa!** Today I have gotten for you food that has no count.’

Wa/ Omari/ oloshhe. ‘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 [**íwa**] ‘sun’ which has a penult H tone and [**iwá**] ‘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.)

iwa/ kana/ aðaabu ‘a (hot) sun like hell’

Ka iwa/ tu/ chiikó/ hattá/ sku mo/ haayinyi/ ba/ nt'hi iyi/ nvula. 'With the sun only have we lived; until this day it has not rained in this land.'

kana iwa 'like the sun'

Haliima/ osheze zoombo/ zinakuwala/ kana iwa. 'Haliima washed stuff, they are as bright as the sun.'

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 imuḷo. '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.'

Mwelp/ 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/ haawi/ mzeele. 'Ali does not become old (i.e. he always looks young).'

Chibuku ichi/ kachiwa chiwaliko nch'aaká/ mi/ suḷa kiiwa. 'If this book was mine, I would know it.'

Chibuku ichi/ kachiwa nch'aaká... '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.)

Chisuḷa kuwa taajiri/ sibaðizé/ 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 khaḫi 'if you are writing a letter'

Chiwaa we/ ni dakhḫari/ ingila. 'If you are a doctor, come in.'

chiwaa ye/ nakhsuḷaa muke/ wa masku mooyi 'if he wants a woman for one evening'

Endrá/ mmeere/ mahaḷa/ itaakuwó. 'Go and look for it in any place where it might be!'

Haḫá/ kanaa we/ nazo peesá/ kilaa chiint^hu/ haayiwi. 'Even if you have money, not everything is possible.'

Hunk^hajila/ Jeeli/ nakuwa mwaalimu. 'I think that Jeeli is becoming a teacher.'

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 Saiidi was a patient man.'

Jeeli/ nakuwa mwaalimu. 'Jeeli is becoming a teacher.'

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'akuwako 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*.)

Limi/ ni chinama/ tu/ nt^haliná/ mwishpa/ Nt^haku/ chiint^hu/ hureebó/ Hisaabuye/ mwishpa/ mahaja/ ichiwaamo/ chiint^hu/ haayiwi/ ma'anaye/ nasha. 'The tongue is flesh only, it has no bone. There is nothing to stop it (metaphorically: to constrain it from saying whatever it wishes to say, be it true or false). That's to say, if a bone is somewhere in something, it is not, I mean (lit. its meaning) smooth (i.e. if the tongue had a bone, false words would not so smoothly come forth).'

maame/ kawa hayi 'if my mother were alive'

Maandra/ iwelee nk^havu. 'The bread has gotten dry.'

Mi/ nk^hawaa munó/ mi/ suła khpoowa/ makooko/ naawé/ zijo. 'If I were your little sister, would I be given rice crust and you zijo?'

Muunt^hu/ oyo nakuwo mwaalimú/ ni Jeeli. 'The man who is becoming a teacher is Jeeli.'

Naani/ nakhsomo kuwa mwaalimú. 'Who is studying to be a teacher?'

Naani/ nakuwo mwaalimú. 'Who is becoming a teacher?'

Ni Jeeli/ nakuwo mwaalimú. 'It is Jeeli who is becoming a teacher.'

Nk^hawa noloshelé/ suła kuwa niwaweené. 'If I had gone, I would have seen them.'

Nt^hakuwa mzelee. '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.)

numba/ nzimaye/ inawe yaako 'so that the whole house be yours'

Oyo muunt^hu/ chimuuzá/ iweleeyi/ nuumbayo/ iyi/ ni numba ya waziiri.

'That man asked him: how did it become your house? This is the house of the minister.'

Oyo/ takuwo bozelo peesazá/ takulipa. 'Who(ever) has stolen my money will have

to pay for it.' Other variants recorded: **Oyo/ taakuwó/ bozelo peesazá/ takulipa.** Or: **Oyo/ taakuwó/ bozelo peesazá/ takulipa.** Or: **Oyo/ taakuwó/ boozelé/ peesazá/ takulipa.** (Note there is variation between whether the verb 'he stole' shifts its final vowel to *o* or not. There is also variation in whether there is verb emphasis on 'he will be' as well as on 'he stole'. But in any case, the verb emphasis does not impede the projection of final accent to the end of the relative clause.)

Sku mooyi/ nt^hafsirilile ndrootoza/ na zaa ye/ nambiiló/ zote/ stulushile/ ziwele lila. 'One day he explained to me my dreams and everything that he told me happened and came true.'

Teena/ ichiwa ye/ naku'iisha/ na mwanaamke. 'Then it was that he lived with his daughter.'

Teena/ wachiwa/ wanakooða. 'Then they started talking [lit. they became they were talking].'

Uu/ hadiile/ uu/ hadiile/ haayiwi/ kooði. 'This one said, this one said does not become talk.' (A proverb.)

Wana awa/ kawa mbwaaká... 'If these children were mine...' Cf. **Mwana uyu/ 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^haaaká...** '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/ imbelelele chihaba. ‘The coat became small, short for me.’
Ka dhibu/ kumwelele niingi/ mwaana/ chi’azima/ kondroka 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 raaði ‘to forgive’
Mi/ khiriilé/ we/ kumbelele moojá. ‘I agreed for you to be my master.’
Mwaana/ mbelele mwovu. ‘The child turned out bad on me.’
Na imwelele/ 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. (-wele)

Iwela waalimu. ‘Some people became teachers [lit. there was becoming teachers].’

Mule/ na chigobé/ muunt^hu/ huzaliloowa/ laakini/ mwambaamba/ na mnené/ huwonoowa. ‘Tall and short a person is born with, but skinny and fat one becomes.’ (A proverb.)

ku-wa

v. aux. be

Mi/ speendi/ we/ kuwa fiilé. ‘I don’t wish you dead!’

Walwaawo/ wachirashmánya/ wachiwa wanakendra ka siimba. ‘Both together followed one another and they went went to Lion.’

ku-waa-li-ko

v. past tense copular verb

waaliko ‘you were’

Waliko (karka) numba ganí. ‘Which house were you at?’

waaliko ‘(s)he was’

Ali/ waliko nakuwa mwaana/ msuura. ‘Ali was becoming a good child.’

Hutaraja/ kuwa Hamadi/ waaliko/ festaani. ‘I wish that Hamadi had been at the party.’

Omari/ chiiwa/ kuwa Haliima/ kódele wanaafakhi/ tarafu ya mahaļa yaa ye/ waalikó. ‘Omari was aware that Haliima had lied about where she was.’

mbaaliko first person singular

Hutaraja/ kuwaa mi/ mbaliko festaani. ‘I wish that I had been at the party.’

Mbaliko numbaani. ‘I was at home.’ Or: **Mbaalikó/ numbaani.**

zaaliko [cl.10]

Kawa mbarakhá/ ziitú/ zaliko niđaaamó/ si/ suļa kuwa chivuushilé/ ka paapo. ‘If our documents had been in order we would have gone immediately.’

wa’

ideo. (cf. Sw. *-washa waa* ‘light at once’)

Ba’adi yaa ye/ kingila mtanaani/ wa kulaala/ darshizee nali/ ka paapo/ wa’!/ jisaa ye/ khpata kuwona haļaawu/ mashakhaale/ wa’aminiiłá/ kulangala nuumbá/ wafanyiižó. ‘After entering in the bedroom, he put on the lights at once in order to see the damage that the workers whom he had entrusted with looking after the house had done.’

ku-wa’adisha

v. (wa’adishiize) preach to a group, giving advice

Kiļaa jima/ masheekhi/ huwa’adisha/ diini/ muskitiini. ‘Every Friday scholars preach religion in mosques.’

wa’adi

n. advice, counsel, sermon; variant form: **wa’adi**

Laakini/ Sa’iidi/ iize/ khtila ishkiłooni/ waano/ na wa’adi. ‘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’
Ye/ hataali/ wa’adi. ‘He won’t listen to (lit. take) advice.’

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)

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.’ (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 wadamu 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^hakuwaó/ 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.’

waadi n. valley; var. **iwaadi**

Gaari/ iburbushile/ ipotele karka waadi/ nk^hulu/ itozeja. ‘The car crashed and fell into a big valley, it went missing (no one can see where it is).’

Shkoma mahaala/ yiko iwaadi/ ikulu. ‘He reached a place, at that place there was a large valley.’

waduudi adj. [Ar. *wadūd* W 1058] favorably disposed (This word is not known to our primary consultant and likely not in general use.)

chimnoombe ma’abudi / rabbi rahiimu waduudi [st.] ‘let us beg the one to be adored, the Lord, [who is] compassionate and favorably disposed’

waaðehe adj. clear; variant form: **waaðihi**

Baazi/ waliko waaðehe/ tarafu yaa ye/ suljiiló. ‘Baazi was very clear about what he wanted.’

Fardoosa/ fanyize waaðehe/ kuwaa ye/ ni tayaari/ kichisaayda/ si. ‘Fardoosa gave a clear indication that she is ready to help us.’

Habba/ ni waaðehe/ tarafu ya khisa/ iseeló. ‘Very little about the rest of the story is clear.’

Inakuwonoowa/ waaðehe/ kuwa Baazi/ nakhkoða wanaafakhi. ‘It is clear to see that Baazi is lying.’

ka waaðihi ‘clearly’

Koođi/ suura/ waađehe/ huhadika. ‘Good words and clear can be said.’
Mi/ nakhfanya ruuhuyá/ waađehe? ‘Do I make myself clear?’
Mi/ siná/ waađehe/ kaamili/ nini/ iwelo ghaltá. ‘I’m not entirely clear what’s actually gone wrong.’
Mzele wa muuyi/ fanyize waađehe/ ye/ halati/ iyi/ khtuluka. ‘The mayor has made clear he will not let this happen.’
Ni waađehe/ kuwa Abú/ shkhiyanseeṭe. ‘It is clear that Abu cheated/betrayed us.’
Nt^haasá/ siwo/ waađehe/ liini/ amá/ mahalaamp^hi/ Baazi/ takeendró. ‘It’s not yet clear when or where Baazi will go.’
Nt^ha’ikuwaaliko/ waađehe/ ka khisani/ ariplaano/ ipoteeló. ‘It is not clear why the airplane crashed.’
Omari/ ziinaze/ waađehe/ kila mo/ hukhaadira/ khsooma. ‘Omari’s handwriting is clear, anyone can read it.’
Sababu ya Omari/ chiza kuya shiriini/ waađehe. ‘Omari’s reason for not attending the meeting is clear.’
Sheekhi/ koođize/ waađehe/ kila mo/ hukhaadira/ khtaambula. ‘Sheekhi, his talking is clear, any one can understand.’
Yaliko waađehe/ ka koođize/ kuwa Fardoosa/ nt^hakhiira/ fi’ili/ za Baazi. ‘It was clear from her comments that Fardoosa did not approve of Baazi’s actions.’
Yaliko waađehe/ wakhṭi miingi/ kuwa nt^haku/ chiint^hu/ chisuura/ shṭakuyo ka yaa wó/ wafanyiizó. ‘It’s been clear for a long time that nothing good would come from what they did.’
Ye/ fanyiizee yó/ waađehe/ kuwaa mi/ sinakhsuloowa. ‘He’s made it clear I’m not wanted.’
Ye/ fanyizee yo/ waađehe/ kuwaa ye/ hapeendi/ kaazi. ‘He has made it clear that he does not want the job.’
Ye nayo piicha/ waađehe/ ya iyo itulushiló. ‘She had a clear view of what happened.’
Ye/ nt^hakhfaanya/ waađehe/ kanaa ye/ takhkalant^ha Mwiini. He did not make clear whether he would stay in Brava.’

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’alá. ‘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’alá/ Jaamá. If **mas’ala** is the focus, of course, then the final accent does not extend past it:

Nimwađihishilize mas’alá/ Jaama.)

ku-wađihishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec. explain to one another

ku-wađihishilizoowa v. caus. appl. pass.

Chiwađihishiliizá/ jawaabu/ zote. [H’H’H] ‘We were explained all the matters.’

Chiwađihishiliizá/ koođi/ zote. [H’H’H] ‘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 Hamadi/ wakomele muwaafakha/ khsaaydana. ‘Omari and Hamadi reached an agreement to help each other.’
rel.
u-waafaqa n. 14 togetherness; [usu. pron. **uwaafakha**]
Guuli/ hupatowa ka uwaafakha. ‘Victory is achieved by being united.’
uwaafakha una kheeri [song] ‘togetherness has blessing’
- wafaati* n. the time of death, death
Muunthu/ suura/ kudardaarmaṭa/ khabla ya wafaati. ‘It is good to leave a will before the time of 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 Chimini after the independence of Somalia)
Leelo/ wafdi/ wa’ilo Mwiini/ ka Mkhodiisho. ‘Today a delegation came to Miini from Mogadishu.’ (This example illustrates the pseudo-relativization that affects a main verb when a pre-verb element is focused. It also illustrates that in pseudo-relativization, the entire verb phrase does not necessarily fall within the scope of the final accent triggered by the verb. Here **ka Mkhodiisho** does not exhibit final accent. This is not the case when the verb is a true relative verb.)
Nuuru/ ni mooyi/ karka wafdi/ watumila kingilaa shiri/ Misra. ‘Nuuru is one of a delegation sent to attend a meeting in Egypt.’
- waafi* n. as complete and correct as possible (specifically with respect to weighing correctly and not reducing the weight, or with respect to talking correctly and completely)
Ali/ miizaaniye/ siwo/ waafi/ ni nukhsaani (or: **ni gaasiri**). ‘Ali’s scale is not accurate, it (weighs) less than the correct weight.’
Ghaltaze/ zinakoonyesha/ kuwaa ye/ nt^hana/ khpata/ mp^humuzi/ waafi. ‘His mistakes show that he is not getting enough rest.’
Muunthu/ miizaani/ laazimu/ khfanya waafi/ chiza khiyansaṭa waant^hu. ‘A person, scales, must make balanced/ fair, not to cheat people.’
Omari/ kooḍize/ ni waafi/ tarafu ya Abu/ kuboola/ nt^hamu/ shaka. ‘Omari, his (lit.) talk is complete/correct concerning Abu’s stealing, there is no doubt.’
- ku-waafiqa* v. [Sw. **afiki** SSED 4; Ar.] (**wafiqiile**) agree (with, to), approve, affirm; be fitting, appropriate, useful; [usu. pron. **kuwaafikha**]
Ali/ wafikhile keendra. ‘Ali agreed to go.’
Ali/ wafikhile kula gaari. ‘Ali agreed to buy a car.’
Ali/ wafikhile kumwujila Nuuru/ gaari. ‘Ali agreed to buy a car for Nuuru.’
Ali/ wafikhilee mi/ keendra. ‘Ali approved my going.’
Ali/ wafikhilee mi/ kula gaari. ‘Ali agreed for me to buy a car.’
Omari/ wafikhile kula gaari. ‘Omari agreed to buy a car.’
Wafikhile khtomola peesa. ‘He agreed to pay money.’
rel.
ku-wafiqana v. rec. [Sw. **afik(i)ana** SSED 4] (**-wafiqeene**) agree with one another; reconcile; [usu. pron. **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 Nuurú/ 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.’

Wazeele/ wawafikheene/ Mwiini/ khfungulowa skoolá/ za diini. ‘Elders agreed together in Miini to open a religious school.’

Woŋe/ wachiwafikhana kumtumila khaaŋi/ nt^hume. ‘All agreed to send a messenger to the judge.’

ku-wafiqanoowa v. rec. pass. (-wafiqeena)

Isa/ ráyi/ iwafiqeena/ iwaaliko/ ya kuwaa wo/ ni laazima/ keendra/ khfula/ khfaanya/ chijarsi chihaba/ hukhadiroowa/

khŋulukoowa/ 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-wafiqila v. guide, crown one’s efforts with success (of God)

Mojiitu/ kheeri/ nachiwafikhila/ shari/ nachiba’idila. ‘May God make good things (blessings) happen to us, and bad things (evil) take far away from us.’ (A supplication made to God.)

ku-wafiqoowa v. pass.

Gari iyi/ iwafiqila kuŋoowa. ‘This car was agreed to be purchased.’ (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/ ziwafiqilakuŋoowa.** or **Magari aya/ yawafiqila kuŋoowa.** ‘These cars were agreed to be purchased.’ There is an impersonal form as well: **Iwaqila kuŋowa magari aya.** ‘There was agreement for these cars to be purchased.’

Gari izi/ ziwafiqila kuŋilowa Nuuru. ‘These cars were agreed to be bought for Nuuru.’

Nuuru/ iwafiqila kuŋilowa gaari. ‘There was agreement for Nuuru to have a car bought for him.’

wah

interj. a word expressing surprise or astonishment

Chimwambila oyo mzeele/ wah/ mi/ chilaatu/ chimp^hoŋela/ 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’

Hamadi/ ilo numbaani/ teto peesá/ wah. ‘(I wonder that) it was Hamadi who came home and took the money, **wah!**’

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/ nakuleetani/ naank^hó/ we. 'What are you coming with (i.e. saying, doing) now?'

Wah/ Omari/ mbishile mwaaná? 'what! Omari hit the boy?'

Wah/ Omari/ oloshela? 'What! Omari went?'

Wah/ Omari/ we/ naank^hó/ leseleni. '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
ata chisala p(w)eeki pashpo wahali [st.] 'even if you pray alone without a companion'

Bilaa wahali/ ni dahari. 'Without a companion is suffering.' (A proverb.)

Koði njeema/ wahali/ koði 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.)

Namsu^la 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).'

wanakhuwelele 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. *wāḥid* W 1055] *Arabicism* one; an attribute of God (the One)

variant: **waahidu**

miya mbili na waahidi masmu ya mtume [st.] 'two hundred and one are the names of the Prophet'

Peeke/ waahidu a] ahadi/ ni mojiitu. 'Alone, the only one is God.' (A proverb.)

qiraani mooja wiitu kuwa waahidi [st.] 'accept that our God is [the only] one'

wahshi

adj. wild, animal-like, cruel

Ali/ maramara/ kooðize/ kana/ za wahshi/ humtila muunt^hu/ sh^htana. 'Sometimes Ali's words are like (those of) an animal, they make one angry.'

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)

Mtume Mhamadi/ chishkiliza wahyi/ ka mojiitu/ na Malik Jibriili. 'The Prophet Mohammad was handed down revelation from God through the angel Gabriel.'

Wahyi/ mojiitu/ humwishkiliza muunt^hu/ waa ye/ namsuuló/ kana mitume/ na masheekhi. 'Revelation, God brings down to whomever he likes, such as prophets and learned men.'

- wajhi** n. face; status (in society)
muunt^hu mwenye wajhi ‘a man of status, position in society’
Nt^haná/ wajhi. ‘He has no status; he is not respected.’
- wajhillahi** n. the face of God (Allah)
Muunt^hu/ shfanya chiint^hu/ hufanya ka wajhillahi/ hameeri/ ka muunt^hu/ jeza/ walá/ ihsaani. ‘When a human being does something, he does (i.e. should do) it for the sake (lit. face) of God; he does not (i.e. should not) seek reward or favor from someone.’ (A proverb,)
- ku-waajiba** v. [Sw. *wajibu* SSED 523; Ar.] (**wajibiile**) compel, oblige
Hinwaajiba/ keendra. ‘You (pl.) are obliged to go.’
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 ramadaani [st.] ‘it is obligatory to fast during Ramadhan’
huwawaajiba ‘it becomes a must for them’
Ikuwajibile keendra. ‘You were obliged to go.’ (Similarly: **Imwajibile keendra.** ‘He was obliged to go.’ **Ichiwajibile keendra.** ‘We were obliged to go.’ Etc.
Inwajibile keendra. ‘I was obliged to go.’ (The hardening of *w* after the first person singular object marker in the case of this verb is infrequent: **Imbajibile keendra.**)
Iwaliko ichiwajibiile/ kuwelele raaði/ ya mwajiitu/ choolele. ‘It was compelled for us to be pleased with what God decreed for us.’
Khuwaajiba/ keendra. ‘You are obliged to go.’ (Observe that the habitual prefix *hu-* elides in front of the second person singular object marker *khu-* just like the infinitive prefix.)
Kula 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 muhjiwe. ‘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.’
Mwaajimu/ mwajibile mwaana/ keendra. ‘The teacher compelled the child to go.’
rel.
ku-wajibisha v. caus. (**wajibishiize**) compel
Mwaajimu/ 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
Islaamu/ waajibu/ khsala/ sala nt^haano/ muunt^hi. ‘For a Muslim it is an obligation to pray five prayers a day.’
Ka kaaka/ kufa/ ni waajibu. ‘For me, dying is something necessary, obligatory.’
Kila muunt^hu/ wa Mwiini/ ni waajibu/ iluye/ khsaayda/ wazelewe/ 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.’
Nuuru/ hisabataa kufa/ kuwa ni waajibu. ‘Nuuru considers dying a necessity, s.t. obligatory.’
Ramadaani/ khfuunga/ ni waajibu. ‘The month of Ramadhan, to fast it is obligatory.’
sho kiiwa waajibu hu’adiboowa [st.] ‘those ignorant of religious obligations will be

punished'

Oko kiitu/ we/ shfanya kaazi/ ka daḍaali/ chidaḍaalata/ 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).'

ku-wajiha

v. **expand this entry**

Ziko khaṭari/ zaa si/ laazimu/ kuwajihá. 'There are dangers that we must face.'

waaka

n. underground silo for storing grains

Waaka/ yaa geḷe/ ka Nuuru/ numbaani/ yingile maayi/ geḷe/ yont^he/ yangamiile.
'The underground grain storage pl;ace at Nuuru's house became flooded with water, all the grain has gone bad.'

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.)

Hasani/ nakuwaka nuumbaye/ chiluungu. 'Omari is building another floor to his house.'

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.'

mbake 'that I build' (Note the hardening of the stem-initial *w* after the first person singular subject marker. This hardening does not take place in **nwake** 'that you (pl.) build'.)

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/ nsulīle kuwaka madrasá. ‘I wanted to build the school.’ Or: **Mi/ nsulīlélé/ kuwaka madrasa.** ‘I *wanted* to build the school.’ Or: **Mi/ nsulīle 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 Aadamu ba’da miyaaka [st.] ‘the first to build the **ka’ba** were the angels/ then Adam, years later’

ye/ nakuwako nuumbá ‘while he was building a house’ or, with verb emphasis: **ye/ nakuwakó/ nuumba** (The latter example shows the consequences of the Accentual Law of Focus, which applies to adverbial relative clauses. GM accepts the possibility of **ye/ nakuwakó/ nuumbá**, but it is not clear that this should be viewed simply as a failure of ALF to apply. See below under **-wakila**.)

rel.

ku-wakika v. p/s. able to be built

ku-wakikila v. p/s. appl. able to be built for

Nuumba/ imwakilīle. ‘The house was able to be built for him.’

ku-wakilooowa v. appl. pass.

Mwaaḷimu/ wakīlīla 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/ wakīlīla mwaaḷimu/ na muunt^hu.**

mwaḷimu wakīlīla nuumbá/ na muunt^hú ‘the teacher who was built for a house by the man’

Omari/ wakīlīla nuumba. ‘Omari was built for a house.’ Or with verb focus: **Omari/ wakīlīla/ nuumba.**

Pesa izi/ schisulowa kuwakīloowa. ‘This money was earmarked for building a house (with it).’

Peesa/ zont^he/ stumikīlīla kuwakilowa nuumba. ‘All the money has been used for repairing/building the house.’

Wakīlīla Omari/ nuumba. ‘He was built for Omari a house.’ (The simple yes-no question reveals the out-of-focus nature of the complement: **Wakīlīla Omari/ nuumbá?** The exclamatory question shifts accent in both phrases: **Wakīlīla Omari/ nuumbá!?**)

ku-wakila v. appl.

Haliima/ nakumera matuzi/ ya ngoombe/ kuwakilaa ngawo/ ya ariishiye. ‘Haliima is searching for cow dung to build the side wall of her hut.’

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.’

ye/ namwakilo Haliimá/ nuumbá ‘while he was building a house for Haliima’ or, with verb emphasis: **ye/ namwakiló/ Haliima/ nuumba**, where the Accentual Law of Focus bars final accent from being assigned to the post-verb phrases (GM does accept as possible: **ye/ namwakiló/ Haliima/ nuumbá**, but this pronunciation cannot be explained by a proposal that ALF may optionally fail to constrain adverbial relative clauses; the simple failure of ALF to be applied would rather predict the unattested pronunciation: **ye/ namwakiló/ Haliimá/ nuumbá**. We are uncertain of the correct interpretation of the data, however, as the shift to final accent in the final phrase somehow does seem to be dependent on the presence of final accent on the verb.)

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 dhahabu / nusu nda feḍa 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 khaṭari. ‘That way of building is dangerous.’
Mwako waa we/ huwako nuumbá/ ni khaṭari. ‘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 khaḍi wa muuyi/ amó/ muunt^hu/ nayo uwakala wa khaaḍi. ‘The one who performs the marriage is the town judge, or someone who has an appointment from the judge.’
Mbarakha/ za uwakaala/ nuumba/ ya Ali/ Mkhodiisho/ naazó/ ni mkulé/ Abú. ‘Papers for the representation of Ali’s house in Mogadishu, the one who has them is his brother Abu.’
- wakiili (ma-)** n. [Sw. *wakili* SSED 523] lawyer, representative of s.o., s.o. with power of attorney
Omari/ mfanyize Sheekhi/ wakiili/ wa nuumbaye/ Miini. ‘Omari made Sheekhi the representative for his house in Miini.’
Si/ shchifilaṭila Hamadi/ kuuya/ laakini/ iló/ wakiiliwe/ tu. ‘We expected Hamadi to come, but just his representative came.’
- ku-wakilisha** v. give power of attorney to, make one’s representative, etc.
Abú/ mwakilishize dhahaliye/ mukeewe. ‘Abu designated his wife to be his representative with respect to his inheritance (from his father), i.e. his wife would receive the inheritance.’
rel.
ku-wakilishiliza v. tr. appl.
ku-wakilishilizanya v. tr. appl. rec.
ku-wakilishoowa v. pass.
Muunt^hu/ amiini/ huwakilishowa chiint^hu. ‘Someone trustworthy can be given power to represent one.’
- waakh** ideo. of the sound of ducks
Mibiṭa/ yanaakuḷa/ waakh waakh waakh. ‘The ducks are crying waakh waakh waakh.’
- Wakohaatiimu** n.
Forḍaani/ yiko kharibu ya Wakohaatiimu. ‘Port stores are near Wakohaatiimu.’
Makoofiya/ masuura/ hushomowa ka Wakohaatiimu. ‘Good (traditional Bravanese) hats are knitted at Wakohaatiimu.’
- waḷ-** prep. [a contraction of **wa-wili**] between, both, together
waḷwaawo ‘both of them, both of those’
Waḷwaawo/ wachirashmana koloka kaa muke. ‘The two went together to the woman.’
Waḷwaawo/ washpandra mp^huundra/ wanakiineendra/ wanakiineendra. ‘Both of them climbed up on the donkey and continued on.’
waḷwiitu ‘both of us, between us two’
Basi Juha/ chiwakasa/ chimwambila maanawe/ shṭakhpandra waḷwiitu/ 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/ waḷwiitu/ chimpanzile mp^huundrá. ‘We went, then we both rode the donkey.’
Ni ḍaruuri/ naasi/ waḷwiitu/ kuwa marti ziitu/ wanayo niingi/ kuja. ‘It’s

essential to us both that our guests have lots to eat.’
Oloka/ chiwanyilize walwiitu. ‘Go and divide it between us two.’
Walwiitu/ chirashmeenye/ choloshele kaaké. ‘The two of us
together left and we went to his place.’

walwiinu ‘between you (pl.)’
ni walwiinu ‘both of us’

cf.

watatu waawo ‘among those three’

watatu wiinu ‘among you three’

watatu wiitu ‘among us three’

wane wiitu ‘among us four’

etc.

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/ ziwaleene. ‘This old man is in good physical shape [lit. his
limbs are stuck firmly together].’

Nuuru/ vete jiinsi/ iriri/ imwaleene. ‘Nuuru wore very narrow jeans, they were
tight on him.’ (It should be noted that while Gelani Mohamed regular
simplifies a *mw-* prefix to *m-*, and in some cases similarly simplifies a
sequence *m-w* across morphemes. in this example the *mw* was maintained.
Further study of cross-morpheme *m-w* sequences is required.)

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.’

**Omari/ chiza khfunga mnaango/ kuwaliza/ mo/ mwaape/ takhadira
kiingila.** ‘If Omari does not close the door tight, someone can come
in.’

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

**Nuuru/ uwalizo/ waa ye/ walizo shfinikó/ chigaangó/ nt’aku/ khadiriilo
khfuungulá.** ‘Nuuru, the tightening that he tightened the lid (of the)
tin can, there is no one who is able to loosen it.’

waldaraani

n. something bad

Wiikuto/ waldaraani. ‘To be over-full (satisfied, satiated, lacking for nothing) is a
bad thing.’ (A proverb.)

waliija

n. [Ital. *valigia*] luggage, suitcase, valise

Walijaza/ zibeele. ‘My luggage has been lost.’

Walijazo/ stakuya liini. ‘When will your luggage arrive?’

ku-walika

v. (-walishile) pop, squeak

- Daank^hu/ zinakuwajika.** ‘The popcorn is popping.’
rel.
ku-wajisha v. caus. (**wajishiize**) cause to pop or crack (e.g. the knuckles of the hand)
kuwajisha sh^heko ‘to crack up laughing’
Hamadi/ wajishize sh^heko/ dhakh dhakh dhakh. ‘Hamadi laughed **dhakh dhakh dhakh.**’
kuwajisha zaala ‘to crack the fingers (i.e. knuckles)’
- wajima**
n. food served at the wedding feast (**haruusi**)
khfanya wajima ‘to prepare the food for the wedding feast’
Pesa husaaló/ hupiki^lowa wajima wa haruusi. ‘The money that remains is used to cook the food for the wedding feast.’
wajima wa haruusi ‘the food served at the wedding feast’
- wajiyi (ma-)**
n. [Sw. *walii* SSED 524; Ar. *waliy* W 1100] a man close to God, an Islamic saint
na mawajiyi won^he ni wenye haqi na lilla [st.] ‘and all men close to God are just and true’
Sku mooyi/ du^l’eda/ mōihirilile ori/ ka nguwo za wajiyi. ‘One day a fox appeared to a cock in the clothes of a pious man dedicated to God.’
rel.
owliya (ma-) n. ibid. [Ar. *awliyā*’ W 1100]
Ma’owliya/ni waant^hu/ wa janaani. ‘Religious people are people of paradise.’
Mojiitu/ hadiile/ ma’owliya/ nt^hawanaayo/ khoofu/ kaaka/ ni wenye janna. ‘God said religious people do not have fear from me, they are people of paradise.’
Omari/ ni kana/ owliya/ hamwangamizi/ muunt^hu/ umriwe. ‘Omari is like saint, he does not harm/ make one feel bad in all his life.’
- ku-walkhalata**
v. slaughter an animal to celebrate the birth of a child
kumwalkhalata ‘to slaughter a goat for him’
Omari/ nakumwalkhalata/ mwaanawe. ‘Omari is slaughtering a goat for (the purification of) his child.’
rel.
ku-walkhalatoowa v. pass. be slaughtered
Waana/ wachizaloowa/ diini/ ya islaamu/ huhada/ laazimu/ kuwalkhalatoowa. ‘When children are born, the Islamic religion says that it is necessary for a sacrifice to be made.’
- walkhali**
n. a celebration purifying a child, male or female, where a goat is slaughtered and eaten
Huseeni/ nakuwafanyiliza waanawe/ walkhali/ nakhtindaa mbuzi/ nt^hatu. ‘Huseeni is making a sacrifice for his children, he is slaughtering fthree goats).
- wajwaawo**
both of them
Haaji/ na Nuuru/ wajwaawo/ ni wiizi. ‘Haaji and Nuuru are both thieves.’
Ma’askari/ wachiwona/ kuwa ni afōali/ kuwatukula wajwaawo/ kendra naawo/ ka sultaani. ‘The soldiers saw that it was better to take both of them to go to the sultan.’
Sheekhi/ na Hamadi/ wajwaawo/ wa’ub^lleela/ harbiini. ‘Sheekhi and Hamadi were both killed in the war.’
- wala**
conj. [Sw. *wala* SSED 524] nor, neither [pron: **walá**]; variant form: **waló**
Faatima/ hapeendi/ khsooma/ walá/ kulangala mpiirá. Faatima does not like reading nor watching football.’
Jeelaani/ nt^hakiwa yaa ye/ khfaanya/ walá/ yaa ye/ kuhadá. ‘Jeelaani did not

know what to do nor what to say.'

Ka khisa/ mi/ skumkoseleza/ mukeewo/ walá/ skukhukoseleza. 'Because I did not wrong your wife nor did I wrong you.'

Kaleent^he/ liinzile/ walá/ nt^hakoofaṭa. '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/ muyiini/

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/ mahala mi/ niliiló/ walá/ mahala mi/ nnakeendró. 'I do not know where I came from nor where I am going.'

Mwiingine/ chihada/ la/ sichimuble/ walá/ sichimrude chisimaani. 'Another one said no, let us not kill him, neither let us return back into the well.'

Nthamwona Omari/ walá/ Hamadí/ walá/ Nuuru. 'I did not see Omari nor Hamadi nor Nuuru.'

Nthaná/ asli/ walá/ faḍli. '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/ khkooḍa/ walá/ kudawaṭá. I cannot speak, nor complain.'

Skhaadiri/ khkooḍa/ 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 khaṭi/ 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/ siwanaayo/ 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 Nuuru 'or Nuuru's son'

walá/ Nureení 'or Nureení'

Walá/ nt^haku/ chiwó. 'Neither was there anyone who knew about it.'

Walá/ nt^hawanakhfurahila/ kichiwona. 'Nor are they pleased to see us.'

walá/ Nuuru/ 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-)

n. 7/8 [Sw. *waa* "spot, patch of colour (light or dark), mark, speck" SSED 522] scar, mark

Chiwala/ chimlazole iṭooni. '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/ inakuwalo nt^ho. 'He saw a large diamond which was shining very much.'

Haliima/ osheze zoombo/ zinakuwala/ kana iwa. 'Haliima washed stuff,

they are as bright as the sun.’

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)’

kuwala/ kuzima ‘to flash (lit. to shine, to go out)’

Awow/ awoow/ langala Omari/ shati yaa ye/ veetó/ inakuwala/ inakuzima. ‘Wow! look at the shirt Omari is wearing, it is flashing (lit. it shines, it goes out).’

Haliima/ haanzuye/ inakuwala/ inakuzima. ‘Haliima’s dress is flashing, shiny.’

Hamadi/ numba yaawo/ ipashila buraashi/ nelpe/ inakuwala/ inakuzima. ‘Hamadi, their house has been painted white, it is shining.’

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 **Itaambi** ‘a wick’.)

Omari/ shaatiye/ inakuwala/ nelpe/ kana bafta. ‘Omari’s shirt is shining, it is white, like **bafta**.’

rel.

ku-walaawala v. freq. glow, flash

ku-walisha v. caus. make bright

kuwalisha/ kana muunt^hi ‘as clear as daytime’

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 **mwana waa mbwa** ‘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) (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/ nt^haziná/ walaali. ‘Curses do not have brotherhood.’ (A proverb.)

Muunt^hu/ kumpa walaaliwe/ koði suura/ ni zaaydi/ ya kumpa maali. ‘For one to give one’s brother good words/talk is better than to give him wealth.’ (A proverb.)

Muunt^hu/ walaaliwe/ humtila garabuuni. ‘One must give support to his relative.’

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.)

Ni waajibu/ muunt^hu/ kumrahibisha walaaliwe. ‘It is an obligation for a person to welcome his brother etc.’

Walaaliwo/ chiza khadira kumsayda ka fi’li/ msayde kaa kana. ‘If you cannot help your brother with actions, help him with words (lit. the mouth).’ (A proverb.)

rel.

u-walaali n. brotherhood

Nt^haku/ chiint^hu/ suura/ kana uwalaali. ‘There is nothing as good as brotherhood.’ (A proverb.)

ku-walaanga

v. (**walaanzile**) count

kuwalanga zaala ‘to count the fingers’ (used with reference to someone who has lost all his money and has gone mad, counting his fingers since he has no money to count)

Alí/ peesa/ zimlasile/ pete ijini/ nakuwalanga zaalaze. ‘Ali lost his money and he went mad, he is counting his fingers.’

Siwalaangé/ wanaank^huku/ nt^hasaa wo/ kuwanguḷoowa. ‘Don’t count the chicks before they are hatched.’ (A proverb.)

rel.

ku-walaangika v. p/s.

ku-walaangila v. appl. (**walangiliile**)

Omari/ namwalangila Alí/ peesa/ zaa ye/ peto sadakhá/ muskitiiní.

‘Omari is counting for Ali the money that he got as charity from the mosque.’ (Although GM always elides *w* in a *mw* syllable onset, in cases where *m* is followed by a *w*-initial stem, the *w* is often not elided, as in this particular example.)

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, over s.t.

Alí/ mukeewe/ kufa/ waleete. ‘Ali went mad over his wife dying.’

rel.

ku-waalata v. appl.

ku-waalisha v. caus. make mad for s.t.

ku-waalatoowa v. pass.

Muunt^hu/ maali/ shtowa/ ha’iwalaṭoowi/ maali/ humpo muunt^hú/ na

humkulo muunt^hú/ ni mojiitu. ‘If a person fails to get money, it is not something to go mad about, it is God who gives a person money and who takes it away.’

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 **ziyo** 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)

Du’a/ muunt^hu/ hutaala/ ka walidiwe. ‘Blessings one takes from his parents.’ Or:

Du’a/ muunt^hu/ hupata/ ka walidiwe.

Kuja/ ipishiḷa na walidiza. ‘The food has been cooked by my parents.’

Walidiwo/ ukopi. ‘Where is your parent?’

Walidiwo (or: **walidizo**)/ **wakopi.** ‘Where are your parents?’ **waakopi?**

-waaliko

loc. cop., past tense auxiliary verb

Alí/ waliko nakuwa mwaana/ msuura. ‘Ali was becoming a good child’.

Hunk^halíḷa/ Nuuru/ waliko mwalimu wa mwaanawá/ mwakaa yaná. ‘I think that Nuuru was my son’s teacher last year.’ (In this implementation of the sentence, pitch was raised on **Nuuru**, indicating the presence of focus. As a consequence, the copular verb is pseudo-relativized, triggering final accent.)

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.’

Naani/ waliko mwalimu wa mwaanawó. ‘Who was your son’s teacher?’

(The pre-verbal question word **naani** triggers the pseudo-relativization of the overt past tense copular verb. A possible answer to this question: **Jeelí/ waliko mwalimu wa mwaanawa.** ‘Jeeli was my son’s teacher.’)

Waliko enzelepi/ leelo/ fijiri. ‘Where had you gone today this morning?’

Waliko ni Nuuru/ oyo/ mwalimu wa mwaanawá/ mwakaa yaná. ‘It was Nuuru who was my son’s teacher last year.’

rel.

-chaaliko

Chibuuku/ chalikoo dhibu/ khsomoowa. ‘The book was very difficult to read.’

-yaaliko

Nt^humeeye/ yalikoo dhibu/ khtambuḷoowa. ‘His message was difficult to understand.’

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/ mzeele/ 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.’

waliyi (ma-)

n. [Sw. *walii* SSED 524; Ar.] a saint; someone who is totally dedicated to God, religion; a pious person

Khalbi ya waliyi/ iyele naharisi. ‘The heart of the saint filled with generosity.’

Khalbi ya waliyi/ iyele rahma. ‘The heart of the saint filled with mercy.’

Sku mooyi/ du’eda/ mōirilīle 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)’

Waliyi/ khalbiye/ iyele rahma. ‘The saint, his heart filled with mercy.’ (**Naharisi** ‘generosity’ may replace **rahma**.)

- Waliyi uyu/ khalbi/ imyele rahma.** ‘This saint’s heart was filled with compassion.’
Waliyi/ yele rahma/ khalbiini. ‘The saint became full of mercy, compassion in the heart (lit. mercy filled the saint’s heart).’
- wallahi** fixed expression from Arabic: by Allah, it’s true
Wachihada/ wallahi/ ni/ nna’iwá/ kuwaa si/ nt^hashkuuya/ khfisdishaa 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.’
Wallahi/ Ali/ ile/ ka Mkhodiisho? ‘Is it true that Ali came from Mogadishu?’
Wallaahi/ mwaana/ we/ pitikiililá/ ambo/ ni mzimá/ sh^toloko chimó/ endrá/ endrá/ endrá. ‘By God, boy, are you **befallen** or are you insane? One little bean! Go, get away, be gone!’
- waambari** n. [Som. *jijnbaar* 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 waanawe/ waanda/ ma^tooni. ‘Mother applied eyeshadow to her daughters.’
waanda ni sunna na mafta khpakoowa/ na nda ni sunna na mafta khpakoowa/ na kulla waqti manyala khtindoowa [st.] ‘it is recommended by the Sunna to apply kohl and oil and to cut the nails at all times’
- 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/ kubarata khfula dhahabu/ na fe^dá.** ‘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 ma^tuuri/ 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 kupa/ 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.’
Tuuma/ waanzile/ niizé/ mtaambula. ‘Tuuma put on weight, I did not recognize her.’
Tuuma/ waanzile/ (nt^ho)/ hatá/ niizé/ mtaambula. ‘Tuuma put on so much weight I could not recognize her.’
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

kumbaandri^hsha ‘to fatten me’ (Note the hardening of the stem-initial **w** after the first person singular subject marker. This hardening does not occur in **kumwaandri^hsha** ‘to fatten him’ or **kunwaandri^hsha** ‘to fatten you (pl.)’.)

Ma^hto ya mwenewe/ humwandri^hsha 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

Ndi^hiwa/ ba’ada ya kuwaangula/ na nt^hasa kul^hafa chiwatiló/ bakayle/ chimwaambila/... ‘The pigeon. after it hatched the chicken, and before it left the hatching place, the hare told it...’

Nk^huku/ nakuwaangula. ‘The hen is producing, wants to produce eggs.’

rel.

ku-wangu^loowa v. pass.

Siwalaangé/ wanaank^huku/ nt^hasaa wo/ kuwangu^loowa. ‘Don’t count the chicks before they are hatched.’

ku-wanguliza v. caus. appl.

ku-wangulizanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ku-waanguza v. caus.

ku-wanguzika v. caus. p/s.

ku-waanisha

v. [Som. **waan-** F&H 264] (**wanishiize**) advise, warn

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.)

Takunwaanisha. ‘He will advise me.’

waankul^ha

n. (my) grandfather; [pron. **waank^hul^há**]

Hamadi/ hadiile/ waank^hul^há/ ile ka Nguuja. ‘Hamadi said: my grandfather came from Zanzibar.’

wank^hul^ha wiitu ‘our grandfather’

wank^hul^hazó ‘your grandfathers’

Waankhul^hó/ mub^hlaa mp^hana/ hamdaayati/ mwadamu 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 ishkilooni/ waano/ na wa’aóí. ‘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.’

sh^hteenzi sh^himiile cha hija ma waano [st.] ‘the poem of pilgrimage and advice is completed’

Skutikiza/ wano waa mi/ mp^heelá. ‘I did not heed the advice that I was given.’

Ye/ haakasi/ waano. ‘He won’t listen to advice.’

wantiini

n. assistant, second-in-command (lit. someone of under)

Á’á/ want^hiinike/ tu/ kódeeló. [HHH!!H] ‘No, just his aide/second-in-command spoke.’

Á’á/ ye/ kódele naa ch^hita/ want^hiinike. ‘No, he just spoke to the president’s

second-in-command.’

wapiili

n. the second month after Ramadhan

waqfu

n. [Sw. *wakf* SSWD 524; Ar. an endowment fund established either for religious and charitable purposes, or as a family endowment in favor of the owner’s descendants; [usu. pron. *wakhfu*]

khfanya wakhfu ‘to give a charitable bequest’

kuḷaṭa wakhfu ‘to leave as a bequest; leave s.t. free for all’

Mzele Hamadi/ ḷasile nuumbaye/ wakhfu. ‘Old Hamadi has left his house (free to everybody).’

kuḷaṭila wakhfu ‘to leave s.t. as a bequest’

ḷatilile miskiti/ nuumba/ wakhfu. ‘He left the house as a bequest to the mosque.’

kuweka wakhfu ‘to bequeath’

Mzele Hamadi/ weshele nuumbaye/ wakhfu. ‘Old Hamadi has left his house (free to everybody).’

Muuntʰu/ suura/ kuweka wakhfu/ 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 *wakhfu*).’

Sheekhi/ uzile misahaafu/ ya khur’aani/ hadiile/ nakuweka wakhfu/ muskitiini/ ka Darmale. ‘Sheekhi bought copies of the Quran and said that he is giving them free at Darmaale mosque.’

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*]

Ali/ 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/ chimkoḷisha ka ishkilooni. ‘After a short period of time, Rabbit approached Lion and spoke into his ear.’

Ba’adi/ ya wakhti/ mchaache/ chiyaa mpʰisi/ chija kuulu/ iyo/ yaa mbuzi. ‘After a little while, a hyena came and ate that leg of the goat.’

Chinakhkoḷela jawabu iyi/ wakhti miingi/ ni wakhti/ ya khfanyowa chiintʰu. ‘We have been discussing this matter for too long, it is time to take action.’

Chiintʰu/ husulowa wakhti. ‘Everything requires, needs time.’

Du’a/ suura/ kulombowa wakhti/ nʰaanoze/ zaa sala. ‘It is good to make supplication during the five praying times.’

endraani Arafaṭi waqti ukomeelo [st.] ‘go to Arafat in good time (i.e. do not be late)’

Haba mooyi/ ṇnakhsuḷa wakhti/ mi/ khkalanṭʰa naawé/ khkoḷá. ‘I want a little time to sit with you and speak.’

Hamadi/ mwambile Omari/ kanaa we/ shpata wakhti/ ndo/ pita numbaani. ‘Hamadi told Omari: if you get time, come and pass by my house.’

Hamadi/ mwambile Omari/ ṇshikila wakhti/ nakhsuulá/ peesaza. ‘Hamadi told Omari: fix/set a time for me, I want my money back.’

Hamadi/ mwambile Omari/ ṽwakhti/ unakhfakata/ ṽkheeri/ chilawe/ chimaliza jawabu iyi/ kahima. ‘Hamadi told Omari: time is running, we had better go and finish this thing.’

Hamadi/ mwambile Omari/ wakhtiwo/ nakumaliza apá/ bilaa ma’ana. ‘Hamadi told Omari: your time, you are spending it uselessly (wasting it).’

Hamadi/ mi/ nimple 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.’

Hatá/ wakhti/ yaa we/ shkoma apo/ fadhi/ itakumala.

Ile mbele ya wakhti waa mi/ chimfilaṭló. ‘He came before the time that I expected him.’

Jisaa mi/ namindra Omari/ ↑ wakhti/ ugitiṣhile. ‘As I was waiting for Omari, time dragged.’

ka wakhti ‘on time’

Chitawo cha Menye Abuuyi/ huya ka wakhti. ‘The bus of Menye Abuuyi comes 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.)

Numbaani/ ka wakhti/ chiiló/ kulangala maṭezo. ‘We came to the house on time to watch the game.’

karka wakhti uyu ‘at this time’

khfanya wakhti ‘to take (lit. make, do) time’

Kilaa chiint^{bu}/ hjufanya wakhti. ‘Everything takes time.’

khtala wakhti ‘to take time’

Kilaa chiint^{bu}/ hutala wakhti. ‘Everything takes time.’

Kilaa muunt^{bu}/ wakhti/ uchiingila/ taakufa. ‘Everyone, when his time comes (in), he will die.’

Kilaa chiint^{bu}/ china wakhti/ humaliza/ tu. ‘Everything has time (i.e. lasts for a period of time) and just finishes/ends.’

Kilaa chiint^{bu}/ hubadilika/ ka wakhti. ‘Everything changes in time.’

Kilaa chiint^{bu}/ husulowa wakhti/ tu/ huliwaloowa. ‘Everything just needs time (i.e. lasts for a period of time) and is forgotten.’ **Confirm gloss.**

Kilaa chiint^{bu}/ inayo wakhtiwe. ‘Everything has its time.’ (A saying.)

Kilaa chiint^{bu}/ wakhtiwe/ humala. ‘Everything, its time finishes.’

Kilaa muunt^{bu}/ wakhtiwe/ chiingila/ hufa (or: taakufa). ‘Everybody, when his time enters (i.e. comes), he dies.’ (A saying.)

kilaa wakhti ‘each/every/all the time’

Kilaa wakhti/ Hamiisi/ hulangala tiivi/ mpiira. ‘Hamiisi watches football on tv all the time.’

khshika wakhti ‘to set, fix a time’

khṭinda wakhti ‘to set a time, make an appointment’

Tiinda/ wakhti yaa si/ kuwonana. ‘Set a time when we can see one another.’

kubasha wakhti ‘to lose, waste, pass time’ (also: **kubashowa wakhti, kubashika wakhti, kubashiliza wakhti, kubashilizowa wakhti**)

Hamadi/ kalent^{he} apo/ nakubasha wakhtiwe/ bilaa ma’ana.

‘Hamadi sat there, wasting his time uselessly (lit. without meaning).’

Kubashowa wakhti/ bilaa ma’ana/ ni khasaara. ‘For time to be passed uselessly is a loss.’

Maṭezo/ ya karaṭa/ ramaḏaani/ masku/ huṭezoowa/

kubashilizowa wakhti/ haṭá/ ishkoma taraawehe.

‘Cards are played at night during Ramadhan to pass the time until taraawehe (the last meal before dawn, around three or four in the morning) arrives.’

Mi/ wakhtiwa/ ni ghaali/ skhaadiri/ kubasha wakhtiwa. ‘Me, my time is valuable, I cannot waste my time.’

Muunt^{bu}/ shṭeza geemu/ ya aaypaad/ amá/ komp(i)yuutar/ jisa wakhti/ hubaashikó/ ha’iwi. ‘If one plays a game for the i-Pad or the computer, the way in which time passes, one does not realize.’

Omari/ hadiile/ nakendra dukaani/ ka Ali/ kubasha wakhti/ haṭá/ sala ya lapili/ ichiingila. ‘Omari said: I am going

to Ali's shop to pass time until the afternoon prayer time comes (lit. enters).'

Omari/ mwambile Nuuru/ chilawe tawala/ sheteze mpiira/ chibashilize wakhti/ hatá/ ishkomowa wakhti/ yaa khaða. 'Omari told Nuuru: let us go to the beach to play football to pass the time with until it reaches the time for lunch.'

Omari/ nakulangała tiivi/ matezo ya mpiira/ ya duniya/ kubashiliza wakhti. 'Omari is watching on television the football game of the world (=World Cup) to pass time with.'

kubla wakhti 'to kill time'

Mi/ anakendra kulangała mpiira/ kubla wakhti. 'I am going to watch football to kill time.'

kulindra wakhti/ haba mooyi 'to wait for a little while; or **kulindra haba mooyi/ wakhti**

Mi/ nakhsulaa we/ kulindra haba mooyi/ wakhti/ chimaliza/ takhufanyiliza. 'I want you to wait a little more time and then I will do it for you.'

kuweka wakhti 'to set, fix a time'

Langala wakhti/ stakuraaga. 'Look at the time, we will be late.'

Mi/ Hamadi/ wakhti/ miingi/ nimpeeló/ kumsaayda. 'Me, Hamadi, a lot of time, I gave him, to help him.'

Mi/ shpata wakhti/ takuuya/ khusaayda. 'Me, if I have the time, I will come to help you.'

Mi/ takhpata/ wakhti/ waa mi/ kuuya/ khusaayda. 'Me, I will get for me to come and help you.'

Mi/ takhpatila/ wakhti/ kuuya/ khusaayda. 'Me, I will get time to come and help you.'

Mi/ wakhti/ unakummaliza/ nakhsula keendrá. 'Time is running out for me (lit. is finishing for me), I want to go.'

Muke/ wakhti ukomeeló/ chishika utungu/ chizaala. 'The woman, when the time came, went into labor and gave birth.'

mukhta wakhti ukomeeló 'when the time came'

Muunt'u/ hatelezi/ wakhtiwe. 'A person should not play with (waste) his time.'

Muunt'u/ wakhtiwe/ uchiya/ nt'a'iku/ su'aali. 'When someone's time (for death) comes, there is no question (i.e. he is going to die).' (A saying.) Or: **Muunt'u/ wakhtiwe/ uchiingila/ nt'a'iku/ 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.'

Naayó/ wakhti waa we/ kuya numbaani/ kuja naami? 'Do you have time to come home and eat with me?'

Ndriinzilé/ wakhti miingi. 'I waited for a long time.'

Nimlinzile Omari/ wakhti miingi. 'I waited for Omari for a long time.'

Nimweené/ Hasani/ kuna khamri/ wakhti mwiingi. 'I have seen Hasani drink alcohol many times.'

Nnakhsula haba mooyi/ wakhtiu/ khkalan'a khkoða naawé. 'I want some time to sit and talk with you.'

Nt'a'ukhpita/ wakhti/ mule/ khaadimu/ chileta chaakuja/ na waziiri/ na Ali/ washkalaant'a/ 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).'

Omari/ mwambile Hamadi/ mi/ chimp'a wakhti/ jawabu iyo/

takhumajila. ‘Omari said to Hamadi: me, if you give me time, that thing, I will finish it for you.’

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 **hawanaayo.**)

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.’

Sina/ wakhti. ‘I do not have time.’

Sivo/ 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.’

Wa’ize/ kump’ha wakhti/ mi/ khkoða naawo/ jawabu izo. ‘They refused to give me time to talk with them about that matter.’

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 safiriilo. ‘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.’

Wakhti/ ha’itelezoowi. ‘Time is not played with (i.e. don’t waste your time).’ (A proverb.)

Wakhti/ ha’ibashoowi. ‘Time is not (i.e. should not be) wasted.’ (A proverb.)

Wakhti/ hufaydishilizoowa. ‘Time is benefitted from.’ (A proverb.)

Wakhti/ hugitika. ‘Time stretches, pulls, drags (i.e. becomes long).’

Wakhti/ humala. ‘Time finishes (i.e. time flies).’

wakhti/ iriiri ‘little, insufficient, restricted time’

Mi/ wakhtiwa/ iriiri/ sina/ kudirka/ kooloka/ kumlangala Hamadi. ‘Me, my time is very restricted, I cannot go and visit Hamadi.’

wakhti/ kamba uyu ‘time like this (i.e. same time as this)’

Hamadi/ mambile Omari/ mi/ nakhulindra/ keesho/ kuya numbaani/ we/ wakhti/ kamba uyu. ‘Hamadi told Omari: I will wait for you tomorrow to come to the house, you, at this time.’

wakhti miingi ‘a lot of time’

Ali/ wana wakhti miingi/ khfanya kazi iyo. ‘Ali had a lot of time to do that job.’

wakhti mmovu ‘a bad time (for something)

wakhti msuura ‘a good time (for something)’

Hamadi/ ile numbaani/ wakhti msuura/ mukhta waant’hu/ wont’e/ waalikó. ‘Hamadi came home at a good time, when everyone was there.’

wakhti/ nafasi ‘a lot of time’

Hamadi/ nawo wakhti/ nafasi/ yaa ye/ kooloka/ kumlangala daadaye. ‘Hamadi has a lot of time for him to go to visit (lit. look at) his grandmother.’

Wakhti/ ni ghaali/ ha’utelezoowi. ‘Time is valuable (lit. expensive), it shouldn’t be wasted (lit. played with).’

Wakhti/ ni kana/ lpepo/ lchikhupita/ halruudi. ‘Time is like the wind, if it passes you, it does not come back.’

Wakhti/ ni mwaalimu. ‘Time is the teacher.’

wakhti oyo ‘at that time’

wakhti uje ‘at that time’

Wakhti/ unakhfakata. ‘Time is running (i.e. time goes by quickly).’ Or:

Wakhti/ hufakata. ‘Ibid.’

Wakhti/ unakhpita. ‘Time passes.’ Or: **Wakhti/ hupita.** ‘Ibid.’

Wakhti/ unakhpita/ naami/ nt^haasa/ sinakhaadira/ kumaliza jawabu iyo. ‘Time is passing and I am still not able to finish that thing.’

Wakhti/ upisilo. ‘A while passed.’ Or: **Ipisile wakhti.** ‘There passed a while.’

Wakhti uyu/ waant^hu/ hupumula. ‘At this time people rest.’

wakhti wa awari ‘a time of drought’

wakhti waa chiwo ‘school period’

wakhti wa izdihaamu ‘a time of crowdedness, much activity, etc.’

Sa’a idaashara/ za lapiili/ Columbus/ ni wakhti wa izdihaamu.

‘Five o’clock [lit. eleven] is a crowded, busy time in Columbus.’

wakhti wa khfuunga ‘time of closing’

wakhti wa khfungoowa ‘time of being closed’

Isa/ ni wakhti wa maduka/ khfungoowa/ ni wakhti waa sala.

‘Now is the time for shops to be closed, it is the time for prayer.’

wakhti wa khfunguloowa ‘time for being opened’

Isa/ ni wakhti wa maduka/ khfunguloowa masku/ sababu ya iidi/

ni khariibu. ‘Now is the time for shops to be opened this evening since **iidi** is near.’

wakhti wa khsaafira ‘time to travel’

Sa’a za ariplaano/ khsaafira/ ni khariibu. ‘The time for the airplane to depart (travel) is near.’

wakhti wa khshafa ‘the time for harvesting’

wakhti waa kuja ‘a time for eating’

wakhti wa kulawa ‘time to leave, travel’

wakhti wa kulima ‘the time for plowing’

wakhti wa kuwasila ‘time of arrival’

wakhti wa matezo ‘a time for playing’

Wakhti wa Obama/ kh^htersha/ ni miyaka minne (or minne). ‘The time for Obama to rule is four years.’

wakhti waa nvula ‘the time of rain’

wakhti waa sala ‘a time for prayer’

wakht^h wa skoola ‘school period’

wakhti/ waa ye/ naakujó ‘the time when he was eating’

wakhti/ waa ye/ tersheezó ‘the time during which he ruled’

ku-waara

v. [Som. *waar-* Ab250] (**wariile**) be long-lasting, eternal

chint^hu cha kuwaara ‘something eternal, long-lasting’

Dhibu/ haywaari/ na ichiwaara/ husulowa imani. ‘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/ ichiwaara/ husulowa imani.

‘There is a God, hardship does not last forever; if hardship is never-ending, what is needed is faith.’ (A proverb.)

Nt^haku/ cha kuwaara. ‘There is nothing eternal.’

nt^haku huwaaro... [s] ‘there is no one who lives forever’

takuwaara mulooni kula kaafiri [st.] ‘he will be in hell forever, every infidel’

Zint^hu za duniya/ haziwaari. ‘Mundane things do not last.’

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

khpa waraadi 'to bid farewell'

Eelo/ chimpa sultaani/ waraadi/ chilawa. 'The gazelle said goodbye to the king and left.'

Mp^hele waraadi. 'He bid me farewell.'

Mwaana/ chiwapa waant^hu/ waraadi. 'The boy bid farewell to the people.'

khpanana waraadi 'to bid one another farewell'

Chimaliza/ baaba/ na mwaaná/ washpanana waraadi. 'After that, father and son bid one another farewell.'

ndruuza iwaani #nakinpa waraadi/ kuwonana kiitu ni yomu' l'miyaadi [st.] 'relatives, be aware, I say farewell to you; we shall see one another on the day of final judgment' (Although we have included an optional first person singular subject marker in **#nakinpa** for the sake of clarity, it probably should be omitted from the practical orthography since at least among present-day speakers we have observed it seems to be missing in front of the present tense **na** prefix. Note that the infinitive prefix **ku** used in the present tense shifts to **ki** in front of the second person plural object marker realized here as **n**, hence **#nakinpa**.)

Waraadi/ nakhadira kunsaaaydá/ #nammera Tuuma. 'Excuse me, can you help me? I am looking for Tuuma.'

Waraadi/ #nakiyolokelá. 'Goodbye! I am going.' (Note that the infinitive prefix **ku**, used in forming the present tense, shifts to **ki** in front of the reflexive prefix realized as **y** in **#nakiyolokelá**.)

waraadi

sorry

Waraadi/ sinakhfahama. 'Sorry, I don't understand.'

Waraadi/ siná/ peesa. 'Sorry, I have no money.'

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

Baana/ atile lwarakha/ chibuuku/ nt'akaatula/ jaalaada. 'Baana tore off a page from the book, he did not tear off the cover.'

Baana/ atile lwarakha la chibuuku. 'Baana tore off a page of the book.'

Or: **Baana/ atile lwarakha/ la chibuuku.** Or: **Baana/ atile/ lwarakha la chibuuku.** 'Baana tore off a page of the book.'

Chita/ weshele mbarakha/ za zamaani/ mtanaani. 'The chief kept old papers inside the room.'

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 l'usi/ 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/ nakhsomó. '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/ nakhsoma** 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: **Nakhsoma/**

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: ***Nakhsomó/ lwarakha.**)

Omari/ nakhsoma lwarakha. 'Omari is reading a piece of paper.' Or, with focus on the verb: **Omari/ nakhsoma/ 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 khaṭi. ‘On the seventh day, he took sheets of paper and a pen to write a letter.’
Tete lwarakha/ na qalamú/ kumwandikila waawaye/ khaṭi. ‘He took a piece of paper and a pen to write a letter to his father.’

wardi	n. 9/10 [Sw. <i>waridi</i> SSED 526; Ar.] rose Mpele shpeendoche/ wardi. ‘He gave his lover a rose.’ wardi ya jannaan ‘rose of paradise’
wardiya (ma-)	n. guard, watchman Apo/ mlangooni/ chidirkamana/ na mawaardiya. ‘There at the door he encountered guards.’ khfanya waardiya ‘to keep guard’ kulindra waardiya ‘to keep guard’ Mbwa/ kalent^he mahala hingilowa itundruuni/ mlaango/ wa ituundru/ kana waardiya. ‘The dog stayed at the place where the cave had been entered, the (lit.) door of the cave, like a watchman.’
ku-wareegaṭa	v. [Som.] circumvent, go around, avoid Omari/ nakuwareegaṭa/ kuhada za liḷa. ‘ <i>Omari</i> is avoiding telling the truth.’ Or: Omari/ nakuwaregaṭa kuhada za liḷa.
wareento	n. [Som. <i>wareento</i> "(rheumatic) pains caused by being exposed to cold air" DSI 608] chest infection; [pron. wareento]
wari	in the expression: khfililaa wari ‘to act energetically to accomplish or do s.t. for fame’
ku-waritha	v. (warithiile) inherit kumwaritha ‘to inherit from him’
wariya	interj. Ja/ wariya/ kuja iyi/ ka hima. ‘(Said e.g. to a child) eat, you, this food quickly!’ Or: Wariya/ ja/ kuja iyi/ ka hima. we/ wariya ‘hey you!’
warshada	n. [Som. <i>warshad</i>] workshop, industry Ali/ ha’ikhadiroowi/ warshadaani/ kaake/ khfanyowa kaazi/ tanafusi/ hupati. ‘Ali at his workshop cannot work, he is unable to breathe.’ Hasani/ mweenzawe/ Nuuru/ mwingilo garabuuni/ khfungula warshada/ ya zilaatu. ‘It is Hasani’s friend Nuuru who supported him in opening a shoe factory.’ Omari/ fanyize kaazi/ karka warshada iyo/ haṭá/ tufile maazi. ‘ <i>Omari</i> worked (long and hard) in that industry until he spit blood.’ Warshada/ ya zilaatu/ ya Kakamoole/ waant^hu/ washfanya kaazi/ kana/ makiina. ‘(In) the shoe industry of Kakamoole, people worked like a machine.’
warthi	n. inheritance

<i>ku-wasa</i>	<p>v. (wasiize) make a will, leaving special instructions concerning burial, care of children or other matters; warn</p> <p>Isa/ mi/ nakhuwasá/ zint^hu ziwilí. ‘Now I warn you of two things.’</p> <p>Mwaana/ jisa sultaani/ wasiizó/ shtawalishoowa/ usultaani. ‘The boy, just as the sultan had directed in his will, was installed to the kingship.’</p> <p>Sultaani/ chiwasa. ‘The king made a will.’</p> <p>rel. nom.</p> <p><i>m-wasa</i> (<i>wa-</i>) n. 1/2 one who makes a will</p>
<i>wasakha</i>	<p>n. dirt; adj. dirty</p> <p>khfanya wasakha ‘to make dirty’</p> <p>Meeza/ yaa we/ nakandiko iluké/ kaka lila/ ni wasakha The table on which you’re writing is really (lit. truly) dirty.’</p> <p>Stilé/ kanaani/ kaako/ iyo/ ni wasakha. ‘Don’t put that in your mouth, it is dirty.’</p> <p>Wasakha/ huletoo mp^haná. ‘Dirt brings rats [to a place].’</p>
<i>ku-wasakhisha</i>	<p>v. make dirty</p>
<i>m-washi</i> (<i>wa-</i>)	<p>n. 1/2 [Sw. <i>mwashi</i>] mason</p> <p>mwashi/ na ndruundró ‘a mason and a hammer’; mwashi/ na ndruundroyé ‘a mason and his hammer’; mwashi/ na ndruundrozé ‘a mason and his hammers’</p>
<i>ku-waasi’a</i>	<p>v. (wasi’iile) expand; give more of s.t. (e.g. food to one’s family)</p> <p>rel.</p> <p><i>ku-wasi’isha</i> v. caus.</p> <p><i>ku-wasi’ishiliza</i> v. caus. appl.</p> <p>rel. nom.</p> <p><i>u-waasi’o</i> n. 14</p> <p><i>u-wasi’isho</i> n. 14</p> <p><i>u-wasi’ishilizo</i> n. 14</p>
<i>wasi’i</i> (<i>ma-</i>)	<p>n. [Sw. <i>wasii</i> SSED 507; Ar.] trustee, guardian</p>
<i>waasi’i</i>	<p>adj. roomy, spacious, wide, abundant</p> <p>ashuura ni sunna nakhfanyoowa waasi’i/ khuuti lhalaali 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’</p> <p>Ziti zaa numa/ siwo/ waasi’i/ kamba zaa mbele. ‘The seats at the back are not as roomy as those at the front.’</p>
<i>ku-wasila</i>	<p>v. [Sw. <i>wasili</i> SSED 527; Ar.] (wasiliile) arrive</p> <p>Chimaliza/ chiwasila khaadimu. ‘After that a servant arrived.’</p> <p>Chiint^hu/ chisuura/ khfanyoowa/ ni kulindra gargaari/ kuwasila. ‘The best thing to do would be to wait for help to arrive.’</p> <p>Chiza kuwasilako/ nt^haykunfurahisha. ‘Your not arriving displeased me.’</p> <p>Hasani/ naayé/ ba’ada ya sku/ chiwasila/ choloka ka waawaye/ naayé/ naakuló/ muná/ muná. ‘Hasani after (some) days arrived and went to his father’s place, crying: my little brother! my little brother!’</p> <p>Khati/ iwasiiliile. ‘The letter arrived.’ Cf. Iwasiliilee khati. ‘A letter arrived.’</p> <p>kumkhubura sultaani/ kuwa eelo/ wasiliile ‘to inform the sultan that the gazelle had arrived’</p> <p>kuwasila chisimaani ‘to arrive at the island’</p> <p>kuwasila kaake ‘to arrive at his place’</p> <p>kuwasila numbaani ‘to arrive at the house’</p> <p>kuwasila Unguja ‘to arrive at Zanzibar’</p> <p>kuwasilake/ bila kudighila ‘his arrival without warning’</p> <p>kuwasilake/ bila kiiwisha ‘his arrival without making (it) known’</p>

Kuwasilake/ kahima/ nt^haykumpeendeza/ Nuuru. ‘His early arrival did not please Nuuru.’

Kuwasilako/ ishfurahishiize. ‘Your arrival pleased us.’

Mbasijile numba ya Nuuru. ‘I arrived at Nuuru’s house.’

Mbasijile numbaani. ‘I arrived at the house.’

Mi/ nwasilile khablá/ ya maskuu kati. ‘I arrived before midnight.’

Mi/ saamini/ kuwa Omari/ takuwasila ka wakhti. ‘I don’t believe that Omari will arrive in time.’

mubli/ wasililopó ‘when the man arrived’

Mukeewa/ Barka/ takuwasila keesho. ‘My wife Barka will arrive tomorrow.’

Mukhtaa ye/ wasililó/ 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/ wasilile. ‘The man arrived.’ Cf. **Wasilile muunt^hu.** ‘A man arrived.’

Ni Barka/ mukeewa/ 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/ chiwasililó ‘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.’

ṭaariikhi/ yaa wo/ wawasililó/ Mwiini/ na jisaa wo/ wawasililó ‘the date when they arrived in Brava 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.’

Wasilile masku. ‘He arrived at night.’

Wawasilile/ 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-wasilila v. appl. (**wasililile**) arrive by means of; arrive for

Gaari/ imwasililile. ‘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-wasilooa v. pass.

Maskuu kati/ khablaye/ iwasililá. ‘Midnight before it there was arriving.’

wasiya

n. 9/10 [Sw. *usia* SSED 507] will; short story; warning (Notice the fluctuation in the examples between *ya* and *wa* as the associative marker.)

Isa/ mi/ mbeené/ kuwa wasiya za waawe/ ni jila. ‘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^hwona/ kuwa ni lila/ wasiya wa kaandra. ‘I realized [lit. saw] that it was true, the first warning.’

Wasiya/ ya kaandra/ iwaaliko/ silaalé/ karka lugaani. ‘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 washkaani ‘an immoral person’

want^hu wakhsaani ‘immoral people’

wastaani

n. [Sw. *wastani* SSED 527] middle, average

Ismu/ ya chiint^hu/ suura/ wastaani. ‘Everything is good in moderation/ in the middle.’ (A proverb.)

Kila chiint^hu/ suura/ wastaani. ‘Moderation is best in all things.’ (A proverb.)

waswaasi

n. [Sw. *wasiwasi* SSED 527] doubt, hesitation, perplexity, neurosis, extreme worry (approaching madness), paranoia

apo kulla muunt^hu tila 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 Ali/ nayo waswaasi. ‘Hamadi said: me, Ali’s words, I have concerns, doubts (about them).’

lawa chiwonane mi ndrate 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’

Ye/ chiwona shpete/ icho/ itamwingila waswaasi/ hatá/ khsuula/ 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).’

yiiko shifaa’aye lata waswaasi [st.] ‘there is his (the Prophet’s) intercession (available), abandon fears’

rel.

waswasoole adj.

munt^hu waswasoole ‘a person who has doubts’

watani

n. nation

bandera ya watani ‘national flag’

Chiswaahili/ hukodowa watani niingi. ‘Swahili is spoken in many countries.’

Ka sababu iyo/ kulla mgaandra/ mubli/ naa muké/ mwaana/ na munt^hu mzimá/ ni laazima/ kubarata 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.’

Mi/ wataniya/ ni Somaaliya. ‘Me, my nation is Somalia.’

waant^hu wa’enzele Keenya walaile watani [nt.] ‘[some] people have gone to Kenya, have left the country’

rel.

muwaatini n. patriot

Watani/ ihorishiiza/ na waant^hu/ muwaatini/ haba. ‘The country was liberated by a few patriots.’

wataatu	n. the third month after Ramadhan, also called mwezi wa aarafa
ku-watila	v. hatch, brood (of poultry) Sisaabaṭé/ 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 Ndiüwa/ ba’ada ya kuwaangula/ na nt^hasá/ kuḷaṭa 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 Lwato/ ka chindriimu/ na uki/ hupunguza kaḍiüḍo. ‘Fennugreek with lemon and honey reduces fever.’ lwatoḷa ‘my incense’
l-wavu (m-bavu)	n. 11/10 side of the body; side (e.g. of a boat) Bishiḷaa mbavu. ‘He was hit on the sides.’ ka lwavu ‘sideways’ Lwavu/ la kubli/ hufunguloowa/ kafani/ jisa lwavu/ kudirka/ amá/ kudaara/ nt^hi (or: maṭaanga). ‘The right side of the kafani is opened so that the side [of the body] is let to touch the ground.’ Lwavu/ linamlaaza. ‘His side is aching.’ lwavula ‘my side’; mbavuzá ‘my sides’ lwavuuni ‘at the side, alongside’ lwavuuni/ kaaka ‘at my side’ lwavuuni/ ka Nuuru ‘at Nuuru’s side’ Leele/ ka lwavu. ‘He slept on his side.’ Mbavu/ zinamlaaza. ‘His sides are aching.’
waaw	ideo. of crying Mwaana/ oyo chihaba/ chowonoowa/ naakuḷa/ 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	n. father (Most commonly used in a possessive form.) waawaye 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.’ (The word order and phrasing found in wawaye mwanaamke is well-established in Mohammad Imam’s speech, but is not present in Gelani Mohamed’s speech; mwanaamke/ waawaye , on the other hand, is accepted by both speakers.) 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/ kuḷa 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.’

Mbishile waawe/ munt^hu uyu. [H!H] ‘He beat father, this man.’

Munt^hui uyu/ mbishile waawe. [H!H] ‘This man beat father.’

Maame/ ni chigobe/ kolko waawe. [H’H’H] ‘Mother is shorter than father.’

Waawe/ mbishile munt^hu uyu. [H!H] ‘Father hit this man.’ Cf. **Waawe/ mbishile/ munt^hu uyu.** [H’H!H] ‘Father *hit him* this man.’

Waawe/ na maamé/ ni walee nt^ho. [H’H!H] ‘My father and my mother are very tall.’ (There is declination rather than downstep in the initial conjoined NP. The final accented syllable in the VP *ni walee nto* is downstepped, as is regularly the pattern.)

Waawe/ ni msoomaali. ‘My father is a Somali.’

Waawe/ (nii) mule. [H!H] ‘My father is tall.’ (cf. **Waawe/ ni mulee nt^ho.** [H!H] ‘My father is very tall.’)

Waawe/ nii mule/ kolko maame. [H’H’H] ‘Father is taller than mother.’

(The interpretation of the intonational pattern is not entirely clear. There is no doubt that the predicate *ni mule* is only declinated, not downstepped. This seems to reflect some emphasis on this PP. The pitch drop on *kolko maame* is more substantial, roughly 30+ hz in our recording of this example. This is on the low side for the first radical downstep in a sentence. We have interpreted the drop to be declination. Similar facts obtain for the example *maame ni chigobe kolko waawe* given earlier in this entry.)

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/ takshindroowa/ mi/ leelo/ nch^hendra zitaani/ waawo/ takshiiindra/ na ba’ada zita izi/

has^hakuwako 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/ washukula/ ziwawo/ zi'andishila Qur'aani/ na malimu waawo/ shpitaa mbele. 'The children of the Quranic schools carried wooden boards on which the Koran was their teacher walked [lit. passed] in front.' (Phon. We have translated **zi'andishila Qur'aani** '(on them) were written Quran' as a relative clause, but if that were the structure, would have to be a final accent: **zi'andishila Qur'aaní.** In recording of the text from which this example is extracted there is no such accent present.)
written and
the
there
our

waaya n. man, human being, creature
waya aragi n. [Som.] expert, skilled in s.t.
Hamadi/ ismu/ ya waya aragi/ nt'anaayo/ khfanya gaari. 'Hamadi does not have any experience fixing a car.'
Hamadi/ naayo/ waya aragi/ ya kinenza gaari. 'Hamadi has experience driving a car.'
Ni waya aragi/ ni munt^hu mzimá/ nayo khibrá/ nayo waya aragi/ naayó. 'You are a man of experience, you are an adult, you have skills, you have the experience of a man, that's what you have.'
Omari/ nt'anaayo/ waya aragi/ ya kuwaka. 'Omari does not have the skills to build something.'

-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^huundru 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 daqiiqa [nt.] 'my eyes stay open for hours and minutes'
Mlaango/ uwaliko mwaazi. 'The door was open.'
Munt^hu hafanyi kaazi/ miimbaye/ waazi. 'The man who does not work, his stomach is open [i.e. empty].' (A proverb.)

	<p>Numa/ shtala ibiriikhi/ imo ikulu/ kanaye/ iwaazi/ ikulu. ‘Then she took one big water jug, its mouth open, large.’</p> <p>numba waazi ‘lit. open house -- refers to the Bravanese custom to leave the house door open all day long, if the occupants are present’</p> <p><i>n^haku nuumba waazi Miini sho ku^loowa</i> [nt.] ‘in all Brava’s houses people are weeping -- lit. there is not in inhabited house where there is no weeping’</p> <p>Shkombe cha sultaani chiwaazi. ‘The cup of the sultan is open.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is chisima ‘well’.)</p> <p>Sho kaazi/ miimbaye/ ni waazi. ‘The one who has no work, his stomach is open.’ (A proverb.) Or: Sho/ khfanya kaazi/ miimbaye/ ni waazi.</p> <p>Wa’oloshela zita ziwaazi. ‘They went bare-headed.’</p>
Brava an	
<i>waziiri (ma-)</i>	<p>n. [Sw. <i>waziri</i> SSED 528; Ar.] minister (in the government)</p> <p>variant form: waziiri</p> <p>Ali/ shfanyowa waziiri/ na waziri fanyizo khada’á/ chingila muyiini/ naaye/ maskiini. ‘Ali was made minister, and the minister who had cheated, he entered town a poor man.’</p> <p>Apo/ zamaani/ waliko sultaani/ mooyi/ na waziiriwé. ‘Once upon a time there was a sultan and his minister.’</p> <p>Cheendra/ naank^hó/ chimleta mwana wa piili/ wa waziiri. ‘He went again and brought a second child, [the son] of a minister.’</p> <p>Hasiibu/ waziiri/ na ma’askari/ wachirashmanyá/ wachendra ka sultani waa noka. ‘Hasiibu, the minister, and the soldiers followed and went with the king of the snakes.’</p> <p>Ka upees/ waziiri/ cheendra/ kumvila Hasani. ‘Quickly the minister went to call Hasani.’</p> <p>Mkulu wa mawaziiri/ wanayo mwaamubli/ mooyi. ‘The prime minister has one son.’</p> <p>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...’</p> <p>Nxiriilé/ naami/ n^hakhu^tanazulila/ usultaani/ na n^hakhtumika/ kama waziiriwo. ‘I agree and I will relinquish to you the sultanhip and I will serve as your minister.’</p> <p>Ye/ waliko ni waziiri/ wa sultaani/ wa muuyi. ‘He was a minister of the sultan of the town.’</p>
=w-e	<p>[cl.3] possessive enclitic, third person singular</p> <p>Muuyi/ mzimawe/ uchiyela waant^hu/ kana zamaani. ‘The whole town became full of people just as before.’</p>
we	<p>second person singular independent pron.</p> <p>Ikhudariileni/ we. ‘What’s wrong with you [lit. what touched you]?’</p> <p>Ha^taa we/ shkoma numbaani/ mu^lo/ utakuwa uzuushile. ‘By the time you reach home, the fire will be revived.’</p> <p>Mi/ siná/ chaakuja/ cha khupaa we. ‘Me, I do not have any food to give you.’</p> <p>Mi/ siná/ dhibu/ yo yotte/ sho kuwa khutiyilaa we. ‘I have no difficulty whatsoever except to be afraid for you.’</p> <p>Mwaana/ kamaa we/ siná/ haaja/ naaye. ‘A child like you, I have no need of him.’</p> <p>Mwanaamke/ naayé/ chiviloowa/ chuzoowa/ mwaanawá/ we/ nakhsula maali/ amó/ raa^di. ‘The daughter also was invited to come and was asked: my child, do you want wealth or [my] blessings?’</p> <p>Nakhsulaa we/ keendra. ‘I want you to go.’</p> <p>Naayoni/ manaa we. ‘[Lit.] what do you have -- what’s wrong with you, you child.’</p> <p>Ndi wé. ‘It’s you.’</p>

- 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/ sul^htaani/ wa muuyi.** ‘You, now, it is you, who is sultan of the town.’ (Phon. Observe the lack of final accent on **sul^htaani**.)
- 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/ naki’iwoná/ yo.** ‘Do you see it?’
- We/ ndiwé/ mbozelo mwanaamkewá.** ‘You, it is you who stole my daughter.’
- we** you know
Alhaasili/ we/ washkhiira (or: **wakhiriile**). ‘Finally, you know, they agreed.’
- ma-we** n. 6 (cf. **i-jiwe** ‘stone’) stones
Chiwonaa ndila/ chiraasha/ hatá/ shkoma/ maha^hla/ iwaliko numba/ yaa mawe/ mlaangowe/ uwaliko wa ðahabu. ‘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
Chichiwekaa nt^hi. ‘She put it [cl.7] on the ground.’
Chichiweeka/ khariibuye. ‘She put it [cl.7] near her.’
Chisu chaa ye/ tindililoo 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 chili. ‘Then she put that necklace under the bed.’
Chimweeka/ kharibu yaa mu^hlo. ‘He placed him near the fire.’
Chita/ weshele feji za zamaani/ m^htanaani. ‘The chief kept old files inside the room.’
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/ naku^hloowá/ 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.’

Kiġa/ muunt^hi/ nch^himweka muunt^hu/ kulindra chisima/ bakayġe/ nakula^{toowa}/ khteke maayi/ keesho/ ndimí/ mwenewe/ nt^hakhkalantho 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 mublġiwe/ mtete suriya/ mweshele numbaani/ ka mrehemuġa 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.’

kuwekaa numa or **kuweka chinume** ‘to put back, delay, postpone’

Sheekhi/ na Omari/ wahadiile/ isa/ nt^hachiná/ peesa/ za khfanyiliza gaari/ chiwekenii numa/ khfaanyake. ‘Sheekhi and Omari said: now we do not have money with which to repair the car, let us put it at a later time.’

Laakini/ ba’ađi ya want^hu wiingine/ hawaweeki/ ma’ina/ wo/ hulindra hattá/ mukhta mwaana/ takuza^{loowá}. ‘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/ feđa/ weshele ilu ya chiġaacha. ‘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).’

Mbeshele/ 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/ igonjooní. ‘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/ mbeshele ikoofiyá** ‘the knee that I put the hat on’.)

Mbeshele zibuukú/ nt^hini ya meezá. ‘I put the books under the table.’ O with focus on the first complement: **Mbeshele ^fzibuukú/ nt^hini ya meeza.** Or with focus on the verb: **Mbeshele zibuuku/ nt^hini 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/ kiġaa mahala/ skutaambula/ mbesheleepí. ‘I looked for my keys everywhere, I could not figure out where I had put them.’

Naani/ weshelo zibuukú/ nt^hini ya meezá. ‘Who put the books under the table?’

Ndrangalilé/ nfunguloza/ kiġaa mahala/ skutaambúla/ mbesheleepí. ‘I looked for my keys everywhere, I could not figure out where I put them.’

Nt^hini ya meza gani/ weshelo zibuukú. ‘Under which table did you put the books?’

Nt^hini yani/ weshelo zibuukú. ‘Under what did you put the books?’

Nuuru/ weshele masanduukhu/ chinume cha kaabaati. ‘Nuuru put the boxes behind the cupboard.’

Siwo/ ndila/ Hamadi/ kichiwekaa si/ kuliindra. ‘It’s not right for Hamadi to keep us waiting.’

Sku ya taatu/ wekaa kule/ mahala/ numa/ weka wiisha/ na maanyi/ mahala/ 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, them (the goats) with small ropes.’

Taala/ weka skuu nt^hatu/ 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.’

Wesheleni/ gariini. ‘What did you put in the lorry?’ (A possible answer to this

and tie

question: **Mbeshele f'zoombó/ gariini.** 'I put things in the lorry.' This sentence contrasts with **Mbeshele zoombó/ 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'.)

Wesheleni/ nthini ya meeza. 'What did you put under the table?'

Weshelipi/ zibuuku. 'Where did you put the books?' (Cf. **Weshelipi/ 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.

Mahala 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-wekeleowa v. appl. pass. (**wekelelela**)

Naank^hó/ yaaya/ tu/ mp^hisi/ chiharfisaa nama/ iyo/ chiingila/ numbaani/ chija garabu/ yaa ye/ wekelelela. 'Again, just the same way, the hyena smelled that meat and went into the house ate the shoulder portion that had been laid there.'

Nk^huku/ wekelela mayaank^huku/ khkalaant^hila. 'A hen is put for eggs to sit on.'

Numa/ sku ya taatu/ schiwekelowa wiisha/ na manyi. 'Then on the third day there was put for them (the goats) husk and hay (lit. grass).'

ku-weekela v. appl. (**wekelelele**)

Haliima/ wekelelee kaja/ mu^hjiwe. 'Haliima has put food (on the table) for her husband.'

Naani/ mekelele Nuuru/ chibuuku/ nthini ya meeza. 'Who put the book under the table for Nuuru?'

Nimekelele Nuuru/ zibuuku/ nthini ya meeza. 'I have put books under the table for Nuuru.' Or with switch in the order of the complements: **Nimekelele zibuuku/ Nuuru/ nthini ya meeza.** Or with focus on first complement: **Nimekelele f'Nuuru/ zibuuku/ nthini ya meeza.** Or: **Nimekelele f'zibuuku/ Nuuru/ nthini ya meeza.** Or with verb focus: **Nimekelele/ Nuuru/ zibuuku/ nthini ya meeza.** Or with verb focus but a switch in the order of complements: **Nimekelele/ zibuuku/ Nuuru/ nthini 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/ mahala kule/ na manyi. 'Afterwards, let him put husks for them (the goats) in a place far away and hay.'

ku-wekoowa v. pass. (**weeshela**) be put

Boorti/ mbilize/ huwekoowa. 'Both of the poles were put in (the water).'

Chibuuku/ chiweshela ilu ya meeza. 'The book was put on the table.'

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 zibuuku/ iluke 'the chair that books were put on it'

Chiweshela numbaani. 'It was put in the house.' Cf. **Chiweshela karka numba.** 'It was put in the house.' [H!H] 'In the house was put something.' (The third example is particularly interesting. Note that **numbaani**, a locative noun, has been preposed to the beginning of the sentence. The subject, **chiintu**, of the passive verb **chiweeshela** has been relocated after the verb, but phrased with it. This suggests that the postposed subject is part of the syntactic VP, since otherwise one would expect the verb to be phrase-final since it would be at the end of the VP. Recall that the right edge of a lexical

maximal projection is regularly at the end of a Phonological Phrase. It should be noted that our consultant MI actually gave two pronunciations for this sentence, one with the intonational pattern [H!H] noted above, but another with the intonational pattern [H!!H].)

Chizeele/ chiweshelaa nt^{hi}. ‘The old woman was placed on the floor.’
Feli za zamaani/ ziweshela mtanaani. ‘Old files were kept in the room.’
hoosi ya Maana Fatima/ ndrombelaani kuwekoowa [st.] ‘in the shade of Lady Fatima/ implore God (o brothers) that I may find a place’
ka’ba ni nuumba awali iweshela/ ka khisa waant^u 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^u katiiké ‘the boxes in which things were put’ (with **masanduukhu** governing subject marking on the relative verb) or **masandukhu ziweshela ziint^u/ katiiké** (where **ziint^u** 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^u/ katiike.** ‘These boxes were put things in them.’)
qariibuye huwekoowa [st.] ‘(they) will all stay by his side’
Wakomelopo Ifuwooni/ waziiri/ chiwekoowa/ Ifunguuni/ mukhta mwanaamke/ ishkiliiló/ ka bateraani/ 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

mweka 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

ku-welwelata

v. be worried

Ali/ waawaye/atila bawaasiri/ rihi/ nt^hamlawa/ skuu nt^hatu/ ha^á/ dakhtari/ chiwelwelata. ‘Ali’s father was operated on for hemorrhoids, gas did not come out of him for three days, even the doctor got worried.’

Haliima/ nakuwelwelata/ kuwa Omari/ nakhfikira kulata skoolo. ‘Haliima is worried that Omari is thinking about quitting school.’

Haliima/ ni laazimu/ chiza kuwelwelata. ‘Haliima ought not to worry.’

Jariba chiza kuwelwelata. ‘Try not to worry.’

Maame/ huwelwelata/ tarafu ya amaaniya. My mother worries about my safety.

Mi/ daa’imu/ huwelwelata/ khfanya ghaltu. I always worry about making a mistake.

Mi/ huwelwelata/ kuhada jila/ ama/ chiza kuhada. ‘I worry whether I should tell the truth or not.’

Mi/ nakuwelwelata/ kuwa Hasani/ haayi. ‘I am worried that Hasani will not come.’

Mi/ nakuwelwelata/ tarafu ya Omari. ‘I am worried about Omari.’

Siwelwelate. ‘Don’t worry.’

Waanawe/ wachiraaga/ ye/ huwelwelata. ‘If her children are late, she worries.’

Wo/ wanakuwelwelata/ kuwa Hasani/ takhshikoowa. ‘They are worried that Huseeni will be arrested.’

Ye/ hatahaaji/ kuwelwelata na peesa. ‘He does not need to worry about money.’

Ye/ hatahaaji/ kuwelwelata/ tarafu ya peesa. ‘He does not need to worry about money.’

rel.

ku-welwelatila v. appl.

Mi/ nakumwelwelatila/ Omari. ‘I am worried about Omari.’

ku-wejwelisha v. caus.

Hunwejwelishó/ mi/ ni Omari/ tahaðaraye. ‘What worries me about Omari is his recklessness.’

Mi/ sinakhtasha/ kuwaa yo/ huwawejwelisha/ wo. ‘I don’t think it worries them.’

Omari/ chiza kujiba telefoono/ inamwejwelisha Haliima. ‘Omari’s not answering the telephone worries Haliima.’ (No deletion of the stem-initial *w* was noted in this example after *m*. Although such a reduction does often take place in GM’s speech for a common verb like *-wona*, it does not seem necessarily generally applicable.)

wejweli

n. worry

Haliima/ nayo wejweli/ kuwa Omari/ nakhfikira kulata skoolā. ‘Haliima is worried that Omari is thinking about quitting school.’

Mi/ nayo wejweli/ kuwa Hasani/ haayi. ‘I am worried that Hasani will not come.’

Wo/ wanayo wejweli/ Huseeni/ takhshikoowa. ‘They are worried that Huseeni will be arrested.’

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 mwaanawe/ iwele. ‘The mother is breast-feeding her child.’

Mawele/ hutumikilowa chiloho. ‘Mawele [sp. fish] is used as bait.’

Maweleye/ yapoteele. ‘Her breasts are hanging (loose).’

Maweleye/ yasimeeme. ‘Her breasts are standing firm.’

Mwaana/ nakama iwele. ‘The child is breast-feeding.’

Shkosa iwele ya maamo/ amá/ hata 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.

l-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. *kiveo* 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.’

Mwaana/ 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.’

weeraró

n. attack; var. *weraari*

Ni ðaruuri/ si/ kumhafiða Baazi/ na weerari. ‘It is essential that we protect Baazi from being attacked.’

Nt^haku/ muunt^hu/ shegeto mas’uulí/ ya weeraró. ‘No one has claimed responsibility for the attack.’

- wereeri** n. 9/10 trouble, disturbance, s.t. annoying **review vowel length maybe wereeri**
mbwaalimo karka wereeri [song] ‘and I was in trouble’
Sababu/ yaa we/ ililo apá/ inakunt^hila wereeri. ‘The reason that she came here worries me.’
Ye/ hachilati/ si/ kubasha peesa/ kumtomola Omari/ wereriini. ‘He wouldn’t let us waste money getting Omari out of trouble.’
- ku-wereersata** v. [Som.] worry, become worried, be perplexed; variant form: **ku-wersata**
mahabaya fahamaani yambaliize mi mberseeete [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, bore
Chibuuku/ cha Maryamu/ mp^heeló/ humbereerisha. ‘The book which Maryamu gave me bores me.’ Or: **Chibuuku/ cha Maryamu/ hupeendó/ humbereerisha/ mi.** ‘The book which Maryamu likes bore me.’
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’
Mi/ skusuula/ khuwereerisha/ na dhibuza. I didn’t want to worry you with my problems.
Mwaambile/ sichiwereerishé. ‘Tell him: don’t bother us!’
Simwereerishé/ maamo/ mudaa ye/ nampo mwaaná/ 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].’
Zibuuku/ za Maryamu/ hupeendó/ humbereerisha/ mi. ‘The books which Mary likes bore me.’
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.’
- weey** interj.
- wif** ideo.
Sheekhi/ nakhfakaṭisha/ gaari/ mpisile Omari/ wif!/ kana lpepo. ‘Sheekhi is speeding, the car passed Omari, *wif!*’
Yaró/ hufakaṭisha gaari/ mpisile Abdaa Nuurú/ wif! mbirimbiriyé/ iize/ kumwona. ‘Yaro drives his truck fast, he passed Abdaa Nuuru, *xuf*, and (then) there could not be seen any trace of him in the distance.’
- 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’
Omari mwambile Ali/ muunt^h/ chisula chiint^h/ hufaanya/ hawiiki/ kana ori/ kilaa muunt^h. ‘Omari told Ali that when one wants to do something, he does it, he does not scream like a cock every day.’
Kuwika kiitu/ ni faayda/ ka want^hu wamó/ na ni khasaara/ ka want^hu wuingine. ‘Our crowing is a profit for some people and a loss for other people.’
Kuwiikako/ ina kheeri/ ka khisa hichiviila/ kulata 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 kulatiza/ 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 waundraani/ hawiiki/ muiini. '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-wiki^loowa 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.

Kutá/ 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 (Although GM regularly elides a stem initial *w* after a [cl.1] object marker, he regularly failed to do so in the case of this verb.)

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.' (An indefinite noun like *waant^hu* does not trigger an object marker on the verb.)

Hamadi/ nakumbila peesa/ nt^harajá/ chiza kubigana naaye. 'I owe 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.'

Wachimjiiba/ wachimwaambila/ kiila/ muunt^hu/ namwila/ riyali/ miya/ na khamsiini. 'They answered him and said to him: each man is owed by him one hundred and fifty riyals.'

rel.

ku-wi^loowa v. pass. owe

(he owed to people).'

Ali/ mlipilile Nuuru/ deni zaa ye chiwi^loowá. 'Ali paid for Nuuru the debts

Chiwi^lowa na waant^hu. 'He owed people.'

Chiwi^lowa peesa/ na waant^hu. 'He owed people money.'

Nsi wa piili/ chihada/ mi/ ni uje munt^hu waa we/ mweno kuwa ni mayti/ nakubigowa kaa nduti/ ka khisa chiwi^lowa 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 mayti/ nakuwi^loowá. 'He opened the box and took out the money that the dead man owed.'

wilaaya

n. [Sw. *ulaya* SSED 495; Ar.] a foreign (European) country
mafta ya wilaayi 'paraffin for lamps, kerosine'

Nakendra kula mafta ya wilaayá/ kabaá mbilí. ‘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 kuwonaá nt^hi.

‘So they sailed for a period of two months without seeing land.’

Karka habaasa/ Yuusufu/ chibaraṭana na want^hu wawili. ‘In prison Joseph became acquainted with two people.’

Mbene ^fwiingí/ wenye milu miwili/ kht^howa ruhu zaawo/ apa. ‘I have seen many two-legged (creatures, i.e. human beings) lose their lives here.’ (The focus on **wiingí** accounts for the fact that the final accent triggered by the main verb does not extend further to the right.)

Muja ka miwili/ nt^haná/ 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 filiḷa na wazeelé/ wawiliwé. ‘Once upon a time there lived a boy who was orphaned by his two parents (lit. was died on).’

Ni^hipakiizé/ majuniya/ mawiliye. ‘I loaded both bags on it [cl.9].’ Or: **Ni^hipakiizé/ mawiliye/ majuniya.** ‘I loaded both the bags on it [cl.9].’

Omari/ wawiliile/ waana/ wawiliwe. ‘Omari called both children.’

Wachilaana/ hattá/ wawiliwe/ wachubḷana. ‘They fought until the two of them killed one another.’

Waana/ wawiliwe/ wa^hile. ‘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’

Mwiimbili/ 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: ***Mwiimbili/ ile kuwindaa nyunyi/ kuwiindá.**)

Mwiimbili wa sultaani/ ile kuwindaa nyunyi. ‘A boy of the sultan came to hunt birds.’

Nnakendra kuwiindá. ‘I am going hunting.’

Nnakhsuḷa 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/ nnakhsuḷa 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/ waḷazile kuwiinda. 'One day, lion, donkey, and rabbit went out to go hunting.'

Speendi/ kendra kuwiinda. 'I do not like to go hunting.'

Wachiwindaa nyunyi/ haṭá/ ilooni. 'They hunted birds until dusk.'

Waawe/ shpendaa nt^ho/ kuwiinda. 'My father loved very much to hunt.'

rel.

ku-windawiinda v. freq.

Ye/chiwindawiinda/ haṭá/ 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. (*windilile*) hunt for, with

ku-wiindisha v. caus.

ku-windoowa v.

Yosheḷa 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/ mahala si/ hashtakugafa mawiindó. 'Do you know of any place where we will be certain to find prey?'

mukhta ukomelopo wakhti/ wa kawanya mawiindó 'when the time came to divide the loot'

Ni/ nna'iwá/ so/ mahala si/ hashtakugafa mawiindó. 'Do you know of any place where we will be certain to find prey?'

m-wiinda n. 1/2 one who hunts (In his pronunciation of this form, GM retained the stem-initial *w*.)

Muunt^hu/ ni mwinda hayawaani. 'The man is a hunter of wild animals.'

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.)

possible it will rain.'

Kuzimu/ mawiingu/ mumkini/ nvula/ kunya. 'The sky is cloudy, it's

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']

Ali/ shishiḷa maraḷi 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'

<i>wiino</i>	n. wine Mara mwaape/ Hamadi/ huna/ wiino. ‘Sometimes Hamadi drinks wine.’
<i>wiino</i>	n. 14 ink (a type that is not easy to erase) nyulusi/ kama wiino ‘as black as ink’ Ranji iyi/ ishiishile/ kana wiino. ‘This paint holds fast like ink.’ review wino mhuundru ‘red ink’ wino mlusi ‘black ink’ wino uwu ‘this ink’; wino owo ‘that ink’; wino uje (or: uwuje) ‘that ink’ Wiino/ waa mi/ nuuziló/ ni herge. ‘The ink that I bought is thick.’ wiinowe his ink’
<i>wiraatha</i>	n. inheritance
<i>Wirile</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, wiswa</i> ‘chaff, bran, husk’ SSED 531] husk, cover of grain Hutala wiisha/ huuzal/ hula iziwa. ‘He takes the husks and sells them and buys milk.’ Numa/ sku ya taatu/ schiwekelowa wiisha/ na manyi. ‘Then on the third day there was put for them (the goats) husk and hay (lit. grass).’ Shfakata mbuzi mooyi/ shfakata/ shiinda/ 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/ huletelelowa wiisha/ na manyi. ‘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 walaa 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’ Omari/ lesele embe/ mbiti/ siita/ kana ukwaayu/ nt^hazinamuzikila. ‘Omari brought ripe mangoes sour like tamarind, they are not getting sold.’ shitungulu chiwiti ‘raw onion’ rel. m-bitimbiti adj. raw kufa mbitimbiti [lit.] to die raw raw – i.e. die without having been sick, as in an accident’ u-witi n. [Sw. <i>ubichi</i>] unripeness, freshness

<i>witri</i>	<p>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)</p> <p>khsala witri <i>ikum na saba Aisha file/ meezi wa soomu na witri salile</i> [st.] 'Aisha died on the 17th day in the month of fasting and (i.e. after) she had performed the witri prayer'</p>
<i>ku-wiya</i>	<p>v. (wiyiile) sew the border of a cloth rel. <i>ku-wiyoowa</i> v. pass.</p>
<i>wo</i>	<p>[cl.2] independent pronoun</p> <p>Askari/ wacholoka ka baduwi/ washfaanya/ jisaa wo/ wa'amurila 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.)</p> <p>Chaamura/ wo/ khpoowa/ zawaadi/ niingi. 'He ordered them to be given many gifts.'</p> <p>ka waant^hu/ waa ye/ hushirkana naawo 'from the people that he associated with them'</p> <p>Mboni/ unakuraaga/ wo/ khfunguloowa. 'How come it is being delayed (e.g. the door) to be opened.'</p> <p>Mi/ nt^hosheze kuwaa wo/ nt^haasa/ nt^hawaakujá. 'I thought that they had not yet eaten.'</p> <p>mpishi wa Nuuru/ naawó 'the cook that Nuuru has' (but can also say: mpishi wa Nuuru/ naayó)</p> <p>Nakhsulaa wo/ keendra. 'I want them to go.'</p> <p>Ndiwó/ hupendo zinooló. 'It is them who like zinooló.' Or, with verb emphasis in addition: Ndiwó/ hupeendó/ zinooló. Or, with covert rather than overt clefting: Wo/ hupendo zinooló. 'They like zinooló.' Or: Wo/ hupeendó/ zinooló.</p> <p>N^hawaná/ chakuja chaa wo/ khpaanana. 'They do not have food to give one another.'</p> <p>Wa'ambilaa wo. 'It was said, told to them.'</p> <p>Wa'oloshela woo peeke. 'They went alone.'</p> <p>Wo/ mbwaaká. 'They are mine.'</p> <p>Wo/ wachizaama. 'They drowned.'</p> <p>Wo/ wachimera maayi/ ka apa/ na apa. 'They [referring to hayawaani 'animals'] looked for water here and there.'</p> <p>Sulṭaani/ we/ kapata chijuumbá/ chaa nyunyi/ wo/ suḷa kiimba. 'Sultan, if you get a nest of the birds, they would sing.'</p> <p>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/ umtulukililó 'the man whom the tree fell on him', not *munt^hu waa wo/ muti/ umtulukililó; munt^hu waa chisu/ chimṭiinziḷó 'the man whom the knife cut', not *munt^hu waa cho/ chisu/ chimṭiinziḷó. 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'.)</p>
<i>wo</i>	<p>[cl.3] independent pronoun</p> <p>Iyo huunda/ shtila/ ndraani/ ya msaḷa/ chi'utukula/ chooloka/ naawo/ ka sulṭaani. 'That measuring cup he put inside the mat and carried it</p>

(the mat) and went with it to the sultan.’

Muti/ upoŋeele/ 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/ mładda/ wo. ‘The honey is sweet, it.’

Wo/ mładda. ‘It is sweet.’

Wo/ uki/ mładda. ‘It, the honey, is sweet.’ Or: **Uki/ wo/ mładda.**

ku-wola

rot, go bad, spoil

v. [cf. Sw. *oza* SSED 357; cf. Proto-Sabaki **wol* = “rot” N&H 614] (**wozele**) be rotten,

Chiwozeló/ nt^h achiná/ lbaani. ‘That which is rotten has no incense.’ (A proverb.)

Chiiza/ magozi/ yaŋakuwola/ nvulaani. ‘Otherwise the hides will rot in the rain.’

kuja/ kuwola ‘for food to decay, rot, become spoiled’

Kuja/ (ya) Ali/ jiló/ iwozele. ‘The food that Ali ate was rotten.’

Mayank^huku aya/ nt^h ayakuwola. ‘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.’

rot.’

Mi/ naa mi/ nk’alent^he numbaani/ kuwolá. ‘Me and me stayed home to

Nama/ iwozele. ‘The meat became spoiled.’

Ndaaká/ mayank^huku yawozeló. ‘Are mine the eggs that went bad.’

does not rot, decay (upon dying)’

shaahidi wa harbiini oyo haawoli [st.] ‘a martyr of a water is the one who

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/ itakuwoloowa. ‘(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 ŋawala/ nzimaye. ‘One fish contaminates the whole sea.’ (A proverb.)

ku-wozanya v. caus. rec.

ku-wozeka v. caus. p/s.

- v. [Sw. *ona* SSED 352] (**weene**) see (but not in the sense of intentionally looking at s.t.), think
- 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’
- Iyi/ ni jisaa mi/ naki^hwonó.** ‘This is how I see it.’
- 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’
- kuwonaa dhibu** ‘to experience difficulties’
- kuwona haya** ‘to be embarrassed, ashamed’
- kuwona ma^haluuli** ‘to experience difficulties’
- kuwona mashakha** ‘to be in difficulty, experience difficulties’
- kuwonaa 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/ chimwonaa mp^haka/ hufakaṭa.** ‘But if he sees a cat, he runs away.’
- Liinda/ wpma ka maṭaayo.** ‘Wait and see with your own eyes.’
- 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.’ (Observe that the object agreement is first person singular, even though the object is conjoined.)
- Mbene mi/ na Jaamá/ shchowa ṭawala.** ‘He saw me and Jaama bathing in the sea.’ (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.’
- mbone** ‘that I see’ (Note the hardening of the stem-initial *w* after the first person singular subject marker; this hardening does not occur in **nwone** ‘that you (pl.) see’ or **nimwone** ‘that I see him’ or **ninwone** ‘that I see you (pl.)’.)
- Mwaana/ mwene Huseeni/ yana.** [H^hH^hH] ‘The child saw Huseeni yesterday.’ (The intonational pattern in this example with a time adverbial departs from canonical intonation. First of all, there is not a strong downstepping between the subject and the following phrase initiated by the verb. Second, the time adverbial is radically downstepped. The corresponding simple yes-no question eliminates the radical downstep: [H^hH^hH], but does not shift the accent in the time adverbial. The exclamatory question shifts accent in the non-initial phrases: **Mwaana/ mwene Huseeni/ yaná!?** [H^hH^hH]. Furthermore, as noted, there is ordinary downstep between the phrases.)
- Mwaana/ mweno Huseeni/ yana.** [H^hH^hH] ‘It’s the boy who saw Huseeni yesterday.’ (The subject in this example is focused, triggering pseudo-relativization of the verb. The downstepping of that pseudo-relativized verb is strong, and it is probably worth exploring whether this downstepping should be distinguished as being more radical than ordinary between a subject and a verb. It does not appear that the time adverbial should be regarded as exhibiting radical downstepping. It is not clear that radical downstepping occurs following a phrase that itself is downstepped.)
- mwana wa Nuurú/ mweenó** ‘the boy who Nuuru saw’ (This example illustrates the possibility of the structure **mwana wa Nuuru** being assigned final accent.)
- Mwene mwaana/ mweenó.** ‘He saw a child, that’s what he saw.’

Mwene Nuuru/ tu. ‘He saw only Nuuru.’ (It is not “sweet” to say ?**Mweene/ Nuuru/ tu.** It seems that a focused NP is dispreferred if following an emphasized verb.)

Mweno Huseení/ yaná/ ni Omari. [H’H!H] ‘The one who saw Huseeni yesterday is Omari.’

Mweenó/ Huseeni/ yana/ ni Omari. ‘The one who saw Huseeni yesterday is Omari.’ (This pronunciation, where the headless relative verb is phrasally separated from its complement, permitted the Accentual Law of Focus to come into play. This is not the usual case with true relative clauses. Further research on this phenomenon is warranted. There is clearly lowering of phrases across this sentence, but we have not attempted to categorize these lowerings.)

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...’

Muunthu/ mwene mwiizi. ‘The man saw the thief.’ Or, with subject focus: **Muunthu/ mweno mwiizi.** ‘The *man* saw the thief.’

munt^hu mweno miizi ‘the man who saw the thief’ or **muunthu/ mweno mwiizi** or **muunthu/ oyo(/) mweno mwiizi** (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: **muunthu/ mweenó/ mwiizi** ‘the man who *saw* the thief’.)

Mwene Jaama/ na Nuurú. ‘He saw Jaama and Nuuru.’ (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 Nuurú.**)

Mwene mwimbili wa Nuuru/ siwo/ Omari. ‘He saw the son of Nuuru, not (the son of) Omari.’

Mwene mwiimbili/ wa Nuuru/ siwo/ Omari. ‘He saw the son of Nuuru, not (the son of) Omari.’ **Review whether this is ambiguous, ditto above.**

Mwene mwiimbili/ wa Nuuru/ siwo/ mwanaamke. ‘He saw the *son* of Nuuru, not the *daughter*.’

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/ mweno mwaaná ‘Who saw the child?’

Naani/ nt^hamwona 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^hamwoná/ 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.)

Ndo/ we/ mweené/ ngamiilaya/ amó/ nt^humwona. ‘Come, did you see my camel or did you not?’

Nimwene Huseení/ skumona/ Hasani. ‘I saw Huseeni, I did not see Hasani.’ Or: **Nimwene Huseení/ Hasani/ skumona.** ‘I saw Huseeni; Hasani, I did not see.’

Nimwene 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/ muunthu/ mpelo Omari/ peesá.** Or: **Nimwene**

munt^hu oyo mpelo Omari/ peesá. (The following phrasing was rejected by GM: ***Nimwene muunt^hú/ (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 Nuuru/ tú. ‘I saw only Nuuru.’ Or: **Nuuru/ tu/ nimweenó.**

Nimwene Omari/ nakhkoða na Nuuru. ‘I saw Omari speaking with Nuuru.’

Nuuru/ nt^hamwona/ 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^hamwoná/ 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.)

^f**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/ mweene/ mubliwá/ Nureeni? ‘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/ mweene muke. ‘Osmaani saw a woman.’ Cf. **Osmaani/ mweene/ 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/ menee 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).’ Or: **Sho mkasa waake/ huwona yaake.** ‘The one who does not listen to his relatives sees his own (i.e. regrets it).’ 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 naani.** (Possible answers include: **Wa Omari.** ‘Omari’s.’ **Niwawene wana (w)a Omari.** ‘I saw Omari’s children.’)

Waana/ wa skoolá/ wawene darsi/ dhibu. ‘The students found the lesson difficult.’

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).’

We/ mene naani. ‘Who did you see?’ Or: **Naani/ we/ meenó.** (Possible 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 naani. ‘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 wakhtí/ sulṭaani/ lazile ndilaani/ kuwonana na mgeeni/ oyo. ‘After awhile, the sultan came out in the open to meet with that visitor.’

Basi/ khaṭi/ 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].’

Khaṭi/ ni nusu ya kuwonana. ‘A letter is half of seeing one another.’ (A proverb.)

kuḷa muunṭʰu/ 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 sulṭaani/ khabari/ kuwa chile chizeele/ chimooyi/ chinakhsuḷo 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 [↑]**niingi/ skuwonana/ na Hamadi.** ‘Many days I have not seen Hamadi (lit. meet with).’

We/ khuḷaazima/ khtinda shawuuri/ na kendra kuwonana naayé. ‘You are obliged to make a decision and go to meet with him.’

Ye/ nakhsuḷa kuwonana naawe/ munṭʰi wa arabiya. ‘He wants to meet with you on Wednesday.’

ku-wonanoowa v. rec. pass. (-woneena)

Hamadi/ iwonena naaye/ wakhtí/ mwiingi. ‘There was seeing Hamadi for a long time.’

Hamadi/wonena naaye/ wakhtí/ mwiingi. ‘Hamadi has been seen for a long time.’

Kuwaviḷa waanṭʰu/ kudirkamanoowa/ kuwonanoowa/ kpanana salaamu/ na kubadilana ra’yi. ‘To call people to meet and to see one another and greet one another and exchange ideas.’

Nṭʰa’ikuwonanoowa/ na Hamadi/ wakhtí/ mwiingi. ‘There has not been being seen with Hamadi for a long time.’ Also: **Hamadi/ nṭʰa’ikuwonanoowa/ naaye/ wakhtí/ mwiingi.** (The second sentence is an impersonal passive like the first sentence, but in addition it topicalizes the object of the preposition *na*, leaving a resumptive pronoun behind.)

ku-woneka v. [Sw. *oneka*] be visible

ku-wonekana v. [Sw. *onekana*] be seen

Ka paapo/ nyunyi/ zigedishile/ 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.)

Nṭʰaynakuwonekana. ‘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/ huṭakhaadiri/ kunaamina/ basi ḵawa/ chooloke/ kiinu/ we/ nṭ^hiinda/ iwonele/ ka maṭoyo/ kuwa siná/ khaḵbi. '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 maṭoye. 'Come and see with your own eyes.'

ku-wonoowa v. pass. [Sw. *onwá*] (*weena*)

Chiwa teena/ hawonoowi/ chi'ilaḵila/ 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/ hukooḵa/ 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 khṭukula want^hu wawili. 'For a donkey, where is it seen to be able to carry two people?'

na karaama ziitu ziweena bayaana [nṭ.] 'and our miraculous delivery became clear'

We/ weená/ na Huseeni. 'You were seen by Huseeni.'

We/ wena na Nuuru. 'You were seen with Nuuru.'

ku-wonela
etc.

v. [Sw. *onea* SSED 353] (*-woneleele*) mistreat, abuse s.o. younger, weaker, poorer,

Ni/ nakumbonela/ ka khisa/ mi/ ni ḵa'iifú. 'You are bullying me because I am weak.'

We/ waawé/ nfunzile ka kumbonela tṭ. 'You, father, tied me up without justification (lit. just to abuse me).'

rel.

ku-wondeḵoowa v. pass.

Hayawaani/ haziwoneḵoowa/ 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/

mukhta^a ye/ waliko muḵjaaná. 'His fortune being bad, his wife did not get pregnant while he was a young man.'

khfanya ziwovu 'to make (look) bad'

Nureeni/ kiḵaa jawaabu/ hupenda khfanya ziwovu/ haṭá/ jawaabu/ suura/ hubadila. 'Nureeni likes to make everything look bad, he changes even good things.'

Koḵi njeema/ wahali/ koḵii 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.'

Mṭenge Hamza/ ni mwovu/ 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.)

Muunt^hu mwovu/ hafanyoowi/ mweenza. 'A bad person is not made a friend.' *A proverb.)

Mwaana/ chimjiiba/ ya kuwa ziko khabari suura/ na khabarii mbovú. 'The child answered him that there was good news and bad news.'

Mwenzu mwovu/ khutila iboholiini. 'Bad friends put you in a hole.' (A proverb.)

Ndru mwovu/ khinfa skuu mbovu. ‘A bad relative is of use on a bad day.’
(A proverb.)

Niya njeema/ hutabiiba/ 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/ shiinziḷa. ‘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’

Waawe/ pete khabari/ mbovu. ‘My father received sad (lit. bad) news.’

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/ mkuḷazo/ ndroto zaa we/ weenó/ seendré/ mkuḷazo/ 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/ huḷindo 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.’

what is in your pocket, a weapon is what is in your hand.’ (A proverb.)

Chiinthu/ ni chimo chiwovuuni/ silaaha/ ni yimo mkonooní. ‘A thing is

chiwovu cha kuboola ‘fob pocket (lit. pocket of stealing)’

chiwovu cha mtaawo ‘pillowcase’

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 nt^huundru. ‘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/ chiwalimo chisanduukhu/ chihaba/ chishaba. ‘And inside the bag was a small box of copper.’

Sandukhuuni/ chiwaliko chiwovu/ na chiwovuuni/ chiwalimoo 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. *wēbi*] river; [**wowi** or **wōbi**]

Chilaweni wowiini. ‘Let us go to the river.’

Chimlatile 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’

lpindro laa wowi ‘river bank’

mayi yaa wowi ‘river water’

Maayi/ yagudhiile/ wowiini. [HH!!H] ‘Water has dried up in the river.’ Or:

Yagudhilo wowiini/ ni maayi. [H'H] ‘What has dried up in the river is water.’

Maayi/ yayeel/ 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. **Noweel/ wowiini.** ‘I *bathed* in the river.’ Cf. **Nowele wowiini.** ‘I bathed in the river.’

Ninenzele kharibu yaa wowi. ‘I walked near the river.’

Noloshele 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.)

Nowelele karka wowi. ‘I swam in the river.’ Also: **Nowelele wowiini.** (It should be noted that when relativizing **wowi** in the first version, MI switched the preposition: **wowi yaa mi/ nowelele katiiké...** ‘the river that I swam in it’. Relativization into **wowiini** does not require resumptive possessive enclitic: **wowi yaa mi/ nowelele...**

nsi zaa wowi ‘river fish’

Polpoloo mbili/ hugudbaṭaa wowi. ‘Two areca nuts cross the river.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is **maato** ‘eyes’.)

Simeme wowiini. ‘He stood in the river.’ (Note that MI did not accept ***wowi yaa yé/simeemó..** ‘the river that he stood’; he required a resumptive possessive clitic: **wowi yaa yé/ simemo katiiké** ‘the river that he stood in it’. The reader may have noted that the unacceptability of ***wowi yaa yé/simeemó..** contrasts with the acceptability of **wowi yaa mi/ nowelele...** We suspect that this contrast is not random, but we did not pursue the matter.)

Teta naa wowi. ‘He was taken by the river.’

Wowi/ asliye/ ni matete yaa nvula. ‘A river, its origin is drops of rain.’ (A proverb.)

Wowi/ igudhiile. [H!H] ‘The river has dried up.’ Cf. **Igudhiiló/ nii wowi.** [H'H] ‘What has dried up is the river.’

Wowi/ iwelee nk^havu. [H!H] ‘The river has dried up.’ Or: **Iwelee nk^havu/ nii wowi.** [H'H] ‘What has dried up is the river.’

Wowi/ iyele maayi. [H!H] ‘The river has filled up with water.’ Or: **Iyele maayi/ nii wowi.** [H'H] ‘What the water has filled is the river.’

wowi yaa mi/ ninenzelo khariibuyé ‘the river that I walked near it’ (Observe that when the object of a preposition is relativized, the third person possessive enclitic is attached to the preposition. The preposition may not be stranded.)

woowo

[cl.2] strong demonstrative

Waletee wo/ wanataale/ ka woowo. ‘Let them choose (lit. take) for themselves.’

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 bātera 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.** (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.)
Hamiisi/ nakhsoma chibuuku/ na ka wakhtⁱ woowó/ nakulangaḷa mpiira. ‘Hamiisi is reading a book, and at the very same time, he is watching football.’
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
Jima ipisiló/ Hamiisi/ somele chibuuku/ muunt^hi/ woowo/ owo/ ye langaḷile mpiira. ‘Last Friday, Hamisi read a book. That same day, he watched football.’
Muti owo/ woowo/ uvundishiló. ‘That tree itself broke.’ Or: **Woowo/ muti owo/ uvundishiló.** Or: **Woowo/ owo/ uvundishiló.** (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 mikel^e/ 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?’
Muunt^hu/ isḷaamu/ laazimu/ kaamina/ uwujuudi/ wa mojiitu. ‘A Muslim must believe in the existence of God.’

- wuquufu** n. the action of standing at a certain place in Mecca during the pilgrimage
wukhuufu wakhtiwe 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.’
Mwalimu Gooso/ chisomesha waana/ nt^hini ya muti wa mawuuyu. ‘Teacher Gooso used to teach children under a baobab tree.’
We/ tetemeshezee muti/ na iwuuyú/ impoṭelele mwaalimu/ chiṭaani/ imublelele. ‘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.)
Chisu/ chimntinzile chaala/ xáf! ‘The knife cut his finger, **xaf!**’
- xaf** ideo. of speeding past
Sheekhi/ nakhfakaṭisha/ gaari/ mpisile Omari/ xaf!/ kana lpepo. ‘Sheekhi is speeding, the car passed Omari, **xaf!**’
- xaax** ideo. [Som. *xaax*, cited in an internet source: “of feeling cold”] of feeling cold
Hamadi/ nakuhada xáax/ apa/ bardi/ shiishilá. ‘Hamadi is saying **xaax!** I feel cold here.’
Xaax/ chiti ichi/ chibardi/ kana/ barafu/ ha’ikhadiroowi/ khkalanṭhiloowa. ‘**Xaax!** this chair is cold like ice, it cannot be sat on.’
- xuf** ideo. of speeding
Yaró/ hufakaṭisha gaari/ mpisile Abdaa Nuurú/ xuf! mbirimiriye/ iize/ kumwona. ‘Yaro drives his truck fast, he passed Abdaa Nuuru, **xuf**, and (then) there could not be seen any trace of him in the distance.’
- xuux** ideo. [Som. *xuux* ‘to give off a sudden cry or shout in order to threaten’ cited in Dhoorre & Tosco, p. 155] used to threaten, e.g. a child, to avoid s.t. harmful
Faatima/ mwambile mwaanawe/ apo/ yikoo muḷo/ itakhupiisha/ sisoongé/ ni

xúux! ‘Faatima told her child: there there is fire, it will burn you, don’t go near it, it is **xuux**.’ (It should be noted that in this and the following examples, **xuux** is pronounced with a high pitch throughout the syllable; we indicate this with the acute mark over the first mora of the ideophone.)

Faatiima/ mwambile mwaanawe/ xúux! sisoongé/ apo/ yikoo muḷo/ itakhupiisha.
‘Faatima told her child: **xuux**, don’t go near there, it is fire, it will burn you.’

Haliima/ mwambile mwaanawe/ sisoongé/ muḷooni/ ni xúux! ‘Haliima told her child: don’t go near the fire, it is **xuux**, s.t. harmful, dangerous, etc.’

Mwaana/ wa Haliima/ sulile khshikaa chisu/ maamaye/ mwambile xuux!/ sidaaré/ iyo/ itakhuṭiinda. ‘Haliima’s child wanted to take a knife, his mom told him **xuux!** do not touch that, it will cut you.’

ya [cl.6] associative particle; see under **-a**
mazalo ya miyuundra ‘agricultural production’

ya [cl.9] associative particle; see under **-a**
Yaaka/ ni moyi iyi. ‘Mine (e.g. [cl.9] **ndrimu**) is this one.’
Yo/ ni numba ya naani. ‘Whose house is it?’
Yo/ siwo/ yaaka. ‘It (e.g. [cl.9] **khalamu**) is not mine.’

ya- [cl.4] subject prefix
Nnakhsulaa mití/ yanawee milé. ‘I want that the trees be tall.’

ya- [cl.6] subject prefix
Chiiza/ magozi/ yaṭakuwola/ nvulaani. ‘Otherwise the hides will rot in the rain.’

Maduuri/ yanakhtishaa nt^ho. ‘The bush country is very frightening.’

Majiwe/ yalesela na muunt^hu. ‘Stones were brought by the man.’

Mapeenzi/ ni kama shkololo/ haya’ushiki. ‘Love is like coughing, it cannot be hidden.’ (A proverb.)

Maayi/ yamṭawanyikilile. ‘Water spilled on him.’

We/ mabori ayo/ andika muḷooni/ isa/ yaṭakhpikika. ‘You, those pumpkins, (if you) put them in the fire, they will cook immediately.’

ya- [cl.6] adjective agreement

-ya- [cl.4] object prefix
Majiwe ayo/ yaa we/ yaboozeló/ yapeete. ‘Those stones that you stole (them) have been found.’
Siyakuumbuki. ‘I did not remember them [cl.4].’
Skiya’uza. ‘I did not sell them [cl.4].’
Yafunzile milaango. ‘He closed the doors.’
(Ye)/ ka’oloká/ suḷa kiyawonaa miti. ‘If he went, he would see the trees.’

-ya- [cl.6] object prefix
Chimwamura Abunawaasi/ khtala magozi/ yotte/ keendra/ kiya’uza.
‘He ordered Abunawaasi to take all the skins and go and sell them.’
Majiwe/ yaleesele. ‘The stones, he brought them.’
Sku mo/ Abunawaasi/ ile/ kiyalangaḷa/ ayo/ magozi. ‘One day Abunawaasi came to see those hides.’
(Ye)/ ka’oloká/ suḷa kiyawona majabali. ‘If he went, he would see the mountain.’
Ye/ yaleesele/ majiwe. ‘He brought them, the stones.’ (Cf. **Ye/ lesele majiwe.** ‘He brought stones.’)

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/ filatīlila kuuya. 'Bay was expected to come.'

Chiint^hu/ chisuura/ khfanyoowa/ ni kulindra kaalme/ kuuya. 'The best thing to do would be to wait for help to come.'

Chiza kuuyako/ nt^haykunfurahisha. 'Your not coming displeased me.'

Hamadi/ nakuya ka Mkhodiisho. 'Hamadi is coming [here] from Mkhodiisho.'

Hasani/ nt^hakuuya/ yana. [HH!H] 'Hasani did not come yesterday.' (The simple yes-no question version of this sentence: **Hasani/ nt^hakuuya/ yaná?** Note the Accent Shift in the time adverbial.)

Hasani/ yana/ nt^hakuuya. [HH!H] 'Hasani did not come *yesterday*.'

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.'

Kuuyako/ ishfurahishiize. 'Your coming pleased us.'

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^hakuuyâ!?**)

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?')

Mi/ *nimwambile* Suufi/ *tu/ kuuya*. ‘I told only Suufi to come.’ Or: Mi/ Suufi/ *tu/ nimwambilo kuuyá*. Or: Suufi/ *tu/ mi/ nimwaambiló/ kuuya*.

Mukewa/ Barka/ *takuya keesho*. ‘My wife Barka will come tomorrow.’

Muunthu/ *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: Munt^hu *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)o: Munt^hu *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: Munt^hu *oo mule iló/ waliko ni waawe*.)

Muunthu/ *mzeele/ iló/ waliko ni waawe*. ‘The old man who came was my father.’ Or: Munt^hu *mzeele/ iló/ waliko ni waawe*. (But it does not appear to be “sweet” to have a phrasing *Munt^hu *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*.)

Munt^hu *oo iló/ waliko ni waawe*. ‘The man who came was my father.’ Or: Muunthu/ *oo iló/ waliko ni waawe*.

Mwaalimu/ *ile*. ‘The teacher came.’ Cf. *Ile mwaalimu*. ‘A teacher came.’

Mwana gani/ *wa Nureeni/ iló*. ‘Which child of Nureeni’s has come?’

Mwana *wa naani/ iló*. ‘Whose child has come?’ (A possible answer: *Mwana wa Nureeni/ iló*. ‘(It is) Nureeni’s child (who) has come.’)

Mwana *wa Nureeni/ ile*. ‘Nureeni’s son has come.’ Or with phrasal separation of the head of the associative phrase: *Mwana/ wa Nureeni/ ile*. Or with focus on subject: *Mwana wa Nureeni/ 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*.)

Nthakuuyó/ *ndimí/ ambó/ Nuuru*. ‘It’s me who will come or Nuuru.’

Nureeni/ *mwaanawe/ 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/ mwaanawé/ ilé!?*)

^f*Nureeni/ mwaanawe/ 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 *mwaanawe* 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/*

haayi. ‘*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: **Leelo/ siyé/ keesho/ ndo.** ‘Today, don’t come; tomorrow come.’

Siyé/ Mwiini/ leelo. ‘Don’t come to Brava today.’ Or: **Leelo/ siyé/ Mwiini.**

Siyé/ Miini/ leelo/ ndo keesho. ‘Don’t come to Brava today, come tomorrow.’ Or:

Siyé/ Mwiini/ leelo/ keesho/ ndo. Or: **Leelo/ siye Mwiini/ 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.** Or: **Mwiini/ leelo/ siyé/ 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/ isa/ 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 eelo/ 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’

Yana/ Hasani/ nt^hakuuya. [ʰH!H!H] ‘*Yesterday* Hasani did not come.’

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/ suḷa khpata/ peesa. ‘If he had come, he would have gotten money.’

Ye/ kaya dukaani/ suḷa khpata/ peesa. ‘If he had come to the shop, he would have gotten money.’ Or, with focus on the verb: **Ye/ kaayá/ dukaani/ suḷa khpata/ peesa.**

Ye/ kaya dukaani/ yana/ suḷa 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/ suḷa khpata/ peesa.**

rel.

k-iḷiḷa v. appl. (**iḷiḷe**) come towards, come to, for

Bandera huundru/ inḷiḷe. ‘My (lit. red flag) menstrual period has come.’

Hasiibu/ ishiize/ karka raaha/ na amaani/ haṭá/ mowti/ umwiḷiḷopó. ‘Hasiibu lived in comfort and peace until death came for him.’

Isaabuye/ uko bilaa khfanya kaazi/ chaayi/ hachikhiḷiḷi/ khambila na/ sharti/ kuwaa we/ nakhfanya kaazi/ nakhta’abatá. ‘Meaning, without working, tea does not come to you, telling you drink me! you must work, you must earn (what you want).’ (Notice that a word-final vowel is not lengthen in front of a monosyllabic verb form like **na** ‘drink!’ in the same way that it lengths before a monosyllabic **CV** noun.)

na ichiwa nakuwa’iḷiḷa ‘and if it was coming towards them’

	<p>Sku mooyi/ fijiri/ niḷile muunt^hu/ mooyi/ nuziize/ kamaa mi/ nnakhsuḷa kaazi. ‘One day in the morning a man approached me and he asked me if I wanted a job.’</p> <p><i>k-ḷiḷoowa</i> v. appl. pass.</p> <p>Shṭiinda/ ki’ifakaṭila/ ka apo/ nṭ^hasaa ye/ kiḷiḷoowa. ‘He decided to run from there before he was come for.’</p> <p><i>k-iilana</i> v. rec.</p> <p>Leelo/ apa/ chileené/ ka munaasaba/ ya Omari/ haruusiye. ‘Today we came together here for the occasion of Omari’s marriage.’</p> <p>Mi’adi yiitu/ kiilana/ ni keesho. ‘Our appointment to meet, come together, is tomorrow.’</p> <p><i>ku-yoowa</i> v. pass. (iḷa)</p> <p>ishkasoowa yūla yo hufakaṭoowa [nṭ.] ‘when people hear “they have come”, they run’</p> <p>rel. nom.</p> <p><i>muu-ya</i> (<i>waa-</i>) n. one who comes (Phon. Notice that the root <i>-ya</i> induces lengthening in a preceding noun class prefix, just as it does in the infinitive.)</p> <p><i>muu-yo</i> n. 3 the act of coming</p>
<i>kuu-ya</i>	<p>v. aux. [semantically bleached]</p> <p>rel.</p> <p><i>ku-yoowa</i> v. pass.</p> <p>Gaari/ zinakuyowa khpakowa ranji. ‘The trucks [lit. are coming] to be painted -- i.e. are going to be painted.’</p>
<i>muu-ya</i> (<i>waa-</i>)	<p>n. [not found in SSED, but present in Swahili poetry as <i>waja</i>, translated by Knappert as “mortals” and also “[God’s] servants”; cf. <i>muja</i> “newcomer, slave” in N&H 616] creature; mankind, human beings</p> <p>hayi hupeenda waayawe rahiimu [st.] ‘[God is] alive, he loves his creatures, he is merciful’</p> <p>Mpa waaya/ ni mwajiitu/ simwiskaṭilé/ mwaadamu. ‘The one who gives to mankind is God, do not rely on a human being.’ (A proverb.)</p> <p>yaa rabbi mooja kulla muuya msaamehe [st.] ‘O Lord God, forgive every creature’</p>
<i>yaa</i>	<p>interj. oh!</p> <p>yaa qalbi/ ‘oh my heart, oh my soul’</p>
<i>ya’</i>	<p>interj. watch out! don’t do it! stop!</p> <p>Hamadi/ hawa’ambili/ waanawe/ ya’/ nṭ^hawaná/ aḍabu. ‘Hamadi does not tell his children: hey stop! behave! They don’t have dicipline.’</p> <p>Ya’/ jawaabu/ kana izo/ skooḍé. ‘Stop, don’t say things like those.’</p> <p>Ya’/ sfaanyé/ jawabu iyo. ‘Stop, don’t do that.’</p> <p>Ya’/ sidaaré/ apo/ ni wasaakha. ‘Stop, don’t touch there, it is dirty.’</p> <p>Ya’/ skusuḷa/ mi/ Hamadi/ koloka apo. ‘Ya’ I did not want Hamadi to go there.’</p> <p>Ya’/ wa kheeri/ mi/ chiza khfanya jawabu izo. ‘Ya’ it was better for me not to do those things.’</p>
<i>yaa’alla</i>	<p>ka yaa’alla ‘barely (lit. because of God’s wish)’</p> <p>Aziizi/ muné/ pisile imṭihaani/ ka yaa’alla. ‘Aziizi’s younger brother barely passed the examination.’</p>
<i>ya’ani</i>	<p>[Ar. <i>ya ḥī</i>, from the verb <i>ḥanā</i> W 650] that is to say, I mean, you see</p> <p>Mi/ nhadiilé/ kuwa ngoombeya/ inaye/ Haafi/ yee peeke/ na isá/ ni/ nweené/ ye/ nṭ^hakufa/ yee peeke/ ya’ani/ ngombe za sulṭaani/ 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.’</p> <p>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</p>

	hardship.'
Ya'aquuba	n. Jacob
yaabisi	n. [Ar. <i>yabs</i> , <i>yabis</i> "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. <i>yaab</i> DSI 643] surprise Muusa/ khukahataa we/ siwo/ yaabu. yaabu 'Muusa's hating you is not a surprise.' Nt^haasá/ ni yaabu/ jisa ra'iisi/ bashizo iná/ kahimá/ ka sha'abú. 'It remains astonishing how quickly the president lost popularity (lit. lost name with the people).' Yaabu/ Hamadi/ kiza khsaafira. 'It is a surprise that Hamadi refused to travel.' Yaabu/ kuwa Omari/ nt^hakuuya/ harusí ya Hamadi. 'It is a surprise that Omari did not come to Hamadi's wedding.' Yaabu/ nt^haasá/ yiiko. 'The mystery still remains.'
yahu'	interj. of surprise; [pron. yahú'] Yahú'/ naank^hó/ mpele Omari/ peesá/ mara yiinginé. '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^hiye. 'This (mhunda ya yahuudi) he could not get because there were no Jews in his country.' Maame/ tafaðali/ nonyeza mahaða/ wako mayahuudí. 'Mother, please show me a place where there are Jews.'
yaka	n. the ace in cards
m-yakazi (wa-)	n. 1/2 [Sw. <i>mjakazi</i> "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.)
yaq	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 internet forum, someone wrote: "somali songs suck....too friggin romantic for me...yakh.."; this would seem to attest to the existence of yakh in Somali; our consultant GM corroborated the use of yaq/yakh in Chimiini] of something dirty, e.g. faeces, garbage etc.; similar to English yuck Haliima/ mwambile mwaanawe/ sidaaré/ matuzi/ yákh! 'Haliima told her child: don't touch the faeces, yakh! '

Haliima/ mwambile mwaanawe/ yakh!/ tufa/ kuja iyo/ simizé/ iwozele. ‘Haliima told her child, (it is) **yakh!**, disgusting, spit it out, do not swallow that food, it is rotten.’

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-yaaloowa 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.

rel. nom.

m-yaala n. one who cultivates; pl: *miyaala*.

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 [lʕlʕ] sound found only in the word ‘Allah’. Its use in Chimiini is restricted to a few expressions borrowed from Arabic.)

Ba’adaa ye/ khtinda chita chimooyi/ yalla/ shtalaa chita/ 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 mwiimbili/ 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;

kana iyama) ‘like a whale’

keeluka/ kanaa yama ‘to swim like a whale – i.e. to swim well’

Ahmadi/ ni mgarwa/ mkali/ keeluka/ heeluka/ kanaa yama.

‘Ahmadi is a fisherman, he is skilled at swimming, he swims like a whale.’

Hooweja/ kana/ yama. ‘He swims like a whale (i.e. he swims 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 (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’
Leelo/ ipeta ipaamp^ha/ ikulu/ kana iyama. ‘Today a big shark has been
 caught, as big as a whale.’

ku-yaamba

v. [Sw. *jamba* SSED 148] fart
Nakuyaamba. ‘He is farting.’
Siyambeen/ 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 ^f**yana/ nimpelo Barká/ mukeewá/ peesá.** ‘It was yesterday that I gave
 Barka my wife money.’ Also: **Iwaliko nii** ^f**yana/ nimpelo Barká/ mukeewá/**
peesá.
Jaama/ mwene Nuuru/ na Hamadí/ ^fyana. ‘Jaama saw Nuuru and Hamadi
 yesterday.’
mwakaa yana ‘last year’
Mwaana/ 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: ***Mwaana/ tulushiló/ yana/ni**
Omari. is ungrammatical. Even if the verb is emphasized, final accent must
 appear on the adverb: **Mwaana/ tulushiló/ yaná/ ni Omari.**)
Nandishilee khatí/ ^fyana. ‘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.)
Ndrazilee 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** ^fyana/ ndiyó/ nimpelo Barká mukeewá/ peesá. ‘It is yesterday that I gave Barka my wife money.’
- Nimpele mukeewá/ Barká/ peesá/ ^fyana.** ‘I gave my wife Barka money.’
- Omari/ jilee zijo/ ^fyana.** ‘Omari ate zijo yesterday.’ Or with verb emphasis: **Omari/ jiile/ zijo/ yana.** ‘Omari ate zijo yesterday.’ (Cf. the corresponding sentences with a final-accent trigger: **Njilee zijó/ ^fyana.** 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/ ^fyana.** ‘Omari fell yesterday.’ Cf. **Nt^hulushilé/ ^fyana.** ‘I fell yesterday.’ (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 focused 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.** (Our consultant freely accepted these cases of Left-Dislocation of the time adverbial. Fronting of **yana** may also trigger pseudo-relativization: ^f**Yanajiloo zijó/ Omari.** Also: ^f**Yana/ jiiló/ zijo/ Omari.** Also: ^f**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/ mun^hi mzima/ mi/ nfanyize kaazi.** ‘Yesterday I worked the whole day.’
- ^f**Yana/ ndiyó/ nimpelo mukeewá/ Barká/ peesá.** ‘Yesterday it is that I gave my wife Barka money.’
- Yana/ nk^hoðele na Nuuru.** ‘Yesterday I spoke with Nuuru.’
- ^f**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^hoðeelé/ na Nuuru.**, where the phrasally separate non-relative verb is not downstepped.)
- Yana/ nk^hoðele na Nuuru.** ‘(Yes) yesterday I spoke with Nuuru.’
- Yé/ enzelee ^fyana/ 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 ^fyana/ na mapeemá/ sukhuuní?** In the emphatic question,

accent shift also affects the focus phrase: **Ye/ enzelee yaná/ na mapeemá/ sukhuuní!?**).

rel.

yana masku adv. last night

Wazeelewa/ wa'ile/ yana masku. 'My parents arrived last night.' (Cf. the simple yes-no question: **Wazeelewa/ wa'ile/ yana maskú?**)

Wazeelewa/ wa'ile/ yana masku. [[↑]H!H!!H] 'My parents arrived last night.' (In this example, emphasis is placed on the subject by markedly raising the pitch. The verb is downstepped, while the time adverbial is radically downstepped.)

Yana masku/ wazeelewa/ wa'ile. [[↑]H!H!H] 'Last night my parents arrived.' (Emphasis on the time adverbial may be achieved by preposing it to initial position and raising its pitch markedly. In the presence of this raising, the subject is clearly lowered in pitch and the verb is downstepped.)

m-yaana (wa-)

n. 1/2 [etymology unknown] a female slave; female servant, maid

Chambiloowa/ taambula/ ni ump^hi/ myaana/ ni ump^hi/ mluungana. 'He was told: tell the difference (between the two), which one is the female slave and which one is the free-born.'

Mtukize myaana/ kumpelekela eelo. 'She sent a servant to take it to the gazelle.'

Mub^hji/ khkomake/ numbaani/ chiwavi^hla wayaana/ chiwa'ambila/ kondrola godoro. 'The husband, on his arrival home, called the female servants and told them to move the mattress.'

Myaana/ chimmink^hila eelo/ 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/ walasile/ naami/ neenzelé/ njiilé/ mipuunga/ ki^hla 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'

kubiga iyaank^huku 'to mix, beat an egg'

khpika iyaank^huku/ ka mafta 'to cook an egg with oil'

kumiza iyaank^huku iwiti 'to swallow a raw egg'

kuvunda iyaank^huku 'to break an egg'

Mayank^huku aya/ ni mapiya. [H!H] ‘These eggs are new.’
Mayank^huku aya/ (ni) masuura. [H!H] ‘These eggs are good.’
Mayank^huku aya/ (ni) masuraa nt^ho. [H!H] ‘These eggs are very good.’
Mayank^huku aya/ nt^hayakuwola. [H!H] ‘These eggs haven’t become rotten.’

Mayank^huku aya/ siwo/ mapiya. [H!H!H] ‘These eggs are not new.’

Mayank^huku aya/ yawozele. [H!H] ‘These eggs have become rotten.’ (A simple statement of the sort illustrated here regularly exhibits downstep intonation, i.e. there is a radical pitch drop on the PredP from the pitch peak on the initial PP. To the extent that there is some emphasis on the PredP, this downstep gives way to simple pitch declination.)

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 ibiṭa ‘duck eggs’

mayaank^hu/ ya ndiwa ‘pigeon eggs’

mayaank^hu/ ya nk^haasa ‘turtle eggs’

Mayaank^huku/ yachisuḷowa khpikilowa 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/ yawozeló/ ndaaká. [H!H!H] ‘The eggs which are rotten are mine.’

Mayaank^huku/ yawozeló/ ndaakó. [H!H!H] ‘The eggs which are rotten are yours.’

mayaank^huku/ zihaba ‘small eggs’

mkate wa mayaank^huku ‘egg cake’

Ndaaká/ mayank^huku yawozeló. [H!H] ‘(They are) mine, the eggs which have become rotten.’

Ndaakó/ mayank^huku yawozeló. [H!H] ‘(They are) yours, the eggs which have become rotten.’

Nk^huku/ kalanṭ^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.

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] [usu. pron. **yakhiini**] certainty; adj. certain, sure

Baana/ nayo yakhiini/ kuwa Tuuma/ ile. ‘Baana is certain that Tuuma has arrived.’

Baana/ nt^haná/ yakhiini/ kuwa Tuuma/ ile. ‘Baana is not certain that Tuuma has arrived.’ Or: **Baana/ nt^haná/ yakhiini/ kuwa ^fTuuma/ iló.**

Baana/ nt^haná/ yakhiini/ kuwa Tuuma/ tu/ iló. ‘Baana is not certain that only Tuuma has come.’

Baana/ tu/ nayo yakhiini/ kuwa Tuuma/ ile. ‘Only Baana is certain that Tuuma has come.’

Baana/ tu/ nayo yakhiini/ kuwa ^fTuuma/ iló. ‘Only Baana is certain that *Tuuma* has come.’

khfanya yakhiini ‘make sure’

Fanya yakhiini/ we/ kuleta zilaatu/ saha/ naawe/ khpandriḷowa ibuuri.

‘Make sure you bring suitable shoes with you for climbing up the hill.’

khtinda yakhiini ‘to make sure, be sure, confirm’

kumera yakhiini ‘to seek certainty’

Mi/ nayo yakhiini/ kuwa Hasani/ takichisaayda. ‘I am certain that Hasani will help us.’

Mi/ nayo yakhiini/ kuwa Tuuma/ ile. ‘I am certain that Tuuma has arrived.’ Or:

Mi/ nayo yakhiini/ kuwa Tuuma/ iló.

Mi/ skuwanaayo/ yakhiini/ want^huu kamu/ wo/ wawaliko apó. ‘I was not sure how many people were there.’ Or: **Mi/ skuwanaayo/ yakhiini/ want^huu kamu/ wo/ wawaalikó/ apo.**

Muunt^hu/ chila/ na chiyuuti/ chiza kuusa/ kiwa yakhiini. ‘The man cried and regretted not taking the time to know the truth.’

Nakhtóshá/ kuwa Nuuru/ oloshole 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.’

Nii dhibu/ kiwowa yakhiini. ‘It’s difficult to be sure.’

Nt^haku/ muunt^hu/ nayo yakhiini/ khtówa kaaziyé. ‘No one is safe from losing his job.’

Nt^haku/ na’iwo ka yakhiini. ‘There is no one who knows for sure.’

Siná/ yakhiini. ‘I am not sure.’

Sinaayo/ yakhiini. ‘I am not certain.’

takuhijo jima mpeni yakhiini 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.’

yakhiini/ kamba kufa or: **kanaa kufa** ‘as sure, certain as dying’

Sheekhi/ hadilee mi/ nayo yakhiini/ kana/ kufa/ kuwa Omari/ keesho/ takuuya/ ka Mkhodiisho. ‘Sheekhi said that he has/is certain as death that Omari will tomorrow come back from Mogadisho.’ (It is also possible to have: **hadiile/ mi/**. This sentence provides an example of direct speech: **mi/ nayo yakhiini** is a first person form. The gloss thus is properly: ‘Sheekhi said: I am as certain as death that Omari will come back tomorrow from Mogadisho’.)

ku-yaqinisha

v. [Sw. *yakinisha* SSED 533; Ar. *yaqina* W 1108] ascertain; be certain

Yakhinisha/ we/ kuleta zilaatu/ saha/ naawe/ khpandriLOWA ibuuri. ‘Make sure you bring suitable shoes with you for climbing up the hill.’

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’

yaaquuti

n. [Sw. *yakuti* "sapphire, ruby" SSED 533; Ar. *yāqūt* W 1105] any red gemstone

yaardi

n. 9/10 yard

me five yards of cloth).’

Nt^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. *yaṭima* SSED 534; Ar. *yatim* “orphan” W 1105] a child who has lost one of his parents in death

Isa/ fiile/ naami/ 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/ t̄myaawata. ‘Hamadi is yawning too much (lit. you will be amazed at him).’

Omari/ Huseeni/ kuuya/ yaweete. ‘Omari, Huseeni to come, was surprised.’ (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.’ (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/ yaweete Huseeni/ kuuya. ‘Omari was surprised that Huseeni came.’ Or, with verb focus: **Omari/ yaweete/ Huseeni/ kuuya.** (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/ kuuyá!?** ‘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.)

Omari/ yaweete/ mukhta Fardoosa/ uzilo faṭura iyó. [HHH!H] ‘Omari was surprised when Fardoosa bought that car.’ (In an example like this one, the subject of the *mukhta*-clause may be somewhat declined with respect to the preceding phrase. If there is some emphasis on that subject, then this declination is absent. In any case, the following phrase *uzilo faṭura iyo* is downstepped.)

Omari/ yaweete/ mukhta Fardoosa/ uziló/ gari iyo. [HHHH!H] ‘Omari was surprised when Fardoosa *bought* that car.’ (Note that in the *mukhta*-clause, when the verb is emphasized, the Accentual Law of Focus kicks in and blocks the projection of final accent to the complement *gari iyo*.)

Uje mwaarabu/ chiyaawata/ 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.’

Wanakuyaawata/ awo. ‘They are amazed, those ones.’

rel.

ku-yawatisha v. caus. (**yawatishiize**) surprise **review whether this form is correct**

Nuru/ kuraaga/ imyawatishize Omari. ‘For Nuru to delay surprised Omari.’

ku-yaawisha v. caus. surprise; [pron. **kuyaawisha** or **kuyaabisha**]

Iwayawishize kuwa Hamadi/ tu/ mbishilo Nuuru. ‘It surprised them that only Hamadi hit Nuuru.’ Or: **Iwayawishiize/ kuwa Hamadi/ tu/ mbishilo Nuuru.** (Note that focus in the complement cannot trigger pseudo-relativization of the main verb to the left:

***Iwayawishiizó**) **kuwa Hamadi/ tu/ mbishilo Nuuru.**

Kuwa Hamadi/ mbishile Nuuru/ in.yawishiize. ‘That Hamadi hit Nuuru

surprised me.’

Kuwa Hamadi/ mbishile Nuuru/ tu/ in.yawishiizó. ‘That Hamadi hit only Nuuru surprised me.’

Kuwa Hamadi/ pisile imtihaani/ inyawishiize. ‘That Hamadi passed the examination surprised me.’ (We did not hear the first person singular OM in GM’s pronunciation of this sentence. This point needs further examination.)

Kuwa Hamadi/ tu/ mbishilo Nuuru/ iwayawishiize (or: **iwayawishiizó**). ‘That only Hamadi hit Nuuru surprised them.’

Kuuyake/ inyawishiize. ‘His coming, arrival surprised me.’

Nuuru/ kumbigake/ mwaana/ imyawishize Omari. ‘Nuuru’s hitting the child surprised Omari.’ Or: **Nuuru/ kumbigake/ mwaana/ imyawishiize/ Omari.**

Nuuru/ kumbigake/ mwaana/ tu/ imyawishizo Omari (or: **imyawishize Omari**). ‘Nuuru his hitting only the child surprised Omari.’

Nuuru/ kuraagake/ imyawashize Omari. ‘Nuuru’s delaying surprised Omari.’

Nuuru/ tu/ kuraagake/ imyawishizo Omari. ‘Only Nuuru’s being late surprised Omari.’ (Although generally it is optional for a focused element in the initial sentence complement to pseudo-relativize a following main verb, in this example our consultant liked pseudo-relativization better than its absence. He judged the following sentence to be acceptable, but not very “sweet”: **Nuuru/ tu/ kuraagake/ imyawishize Omari.**)

yaaya

n. (my) aunt; [pron. **yaayá**]

Si/ shkorsheza na yaya yitú. ‘We have been raised by our aunt.’

yaayá/ ka baaba ‘my paternal aunt’

yaayá/ ka maama ‘my maternal aunt’

rel.

yaayaza n. pl. my aunts

yaaye n. his/ her aunt; [pron. **yaayé**]

Oyo yaayé/ hamkhiiriji. ‘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.’

Yaayé/ mkorsheezó/ ilopo numbaani/ chimwona mwanaamke/ kalent^he chilijini. ‘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.’

Nt^haku/ chiint^hu/ husalo yaayá. ‘Nothing remains the same.’

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’
<i>yaaya/ aya</i>	[cl.6] emphatic demonstrative yaaya/ mafundo aya ‘these knots themselves’
<i>yaaya/ ayo</i>	[cl.6] emphatic demonstrative yaaya/ mafundo ayo ‘those knots themselves’
<i>yaayaje</i>	[cl.4] demon. yaayaje/ ayaje ‘those same ones’
<i>yaayaje</i>	[cl.6] demon. yaayaje/ ayaje ‘those same ones’
<i>yaayi</i>	interrog. [Perhaps to be derived from the verb root <i>ya</i> ‘go’ and the enclitic <i>yi</i> ‘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 muḅjaana/ 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 waḅjaana/ 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/ hashtakhkalaant^ha. ‘How come? if you demolish your first storey (of the house), the second one will not stay standing.’
	Yaayi/ mbona/ we/ kamura eelo/ khpikilowa mataza 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 yitú. ‘How come you do not trust us (with him) our younger brother?’
<i>yaayo</i>	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’
<i>yaayo</i>	[cl.6] strong demonstrative Masku yaayo/ zaakuja/ schipikiloowa. ‘That same night, foods [of different kinds] were cooked.’
<i>yaayo</i>	[cl.9] strong demonstrative Chiwapa kuja yaayo. ‘She gave them their food.’ Mbene Hamadi/ gari yaayo/ uziló. ‘I saw that car that Hamadi bought.’
<i>yaayo/ aya</i> <i>yaaya/ aya.</i>	[cl.4] emphatic demonstrative (This form was offered by GM, whereas MI gave only <i>yooyo/ aya</i> .) Other speakers give <i>yooyo/ aya</i> .)
<i>yaayo/ ayo</i>	[cl.4] emphatic demonstrative miti yaayo/ ayo ‘those very same trees’
<i>yaayo/ ayaje</i>	[cl.6] emphatic demonstrative yaayo/ mafundo ayaje ‘those knots themselves’

yaayo/ ayo

[cl.6] emphatic demonstrative

Muḽeḽe mwaana/ chimaliza/ muḽeḽe muunt^hu/ mzima/ na sulṭaani/ 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 **sulṭaani** and does not extend onto **majiibuye**.)

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’ (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.)

Mi/ namuuzá/ ye. ‘I am selling it (e.g. **mbwa** ‘dog’).

Ye/ chi’iisha/ karka kheeri/ ye/ na mukeewé. ‘He lived in blessing, he and his wife.’

Ye/ chihada/ kuwa washkhaadira/ kumuḽa/ dughaaghi. ‘He said that they were able to kill the beast.’

Ye/ humpeenda/ ye/ nt^ho. ‘He likes him a lot.’

Ye/ ni mbwa wa naani. ‘Whose dog is it?’ (Observe the use of the [cl.1] independent pronoun to refer to the animate [cl.9] noun **mbwa**.)

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.’

ikopa yaa mi/ njezezo maayi ‘the glass that I filled with water’

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.’

mayi yaa mi/ njezezo ikoopá ‘the water that I filled the glass with’ (the hardening of the stem-initial **y** may not be obligatory)

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.’
Numba/ iyele waant^hu. ‘The house was filled with people.’ Also:
Waant^hu/ wayele numba. ‘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.)
Tawala/ maayi/ yayelee. ‘The seat water is at high tide.’
Uwaliko mooro/ uyelo farasi. ‘There was a yard full of horses.’
Waant^hu/ wayele muuyi. ‘People filled the town.’
Waant^hu/ wayele numba. ‘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.’)
Ye/ ni mwaalimu/ msuura/ ka jis’iyo/ darsize zont^he/ ziyelee. ‘She is a
good lecturer, so that all her courses are full.’
Yele mashuungi/ male/ malusi. ‘She has long black hair.’
Yele mashuungi/ male/ nt^ho/ malusi. ‘She has very long black hair.’
Yele muunt^hu/ chigobe/ nt^ho/ nyulusi. ‘He is a very short black man.’
Yele muunt^hu / chigobe/ nyulusi. ‘He is a short black man.’

rel.

ku-ye[lo]owa v. pass. [Sw. *jawa*] (i-ye[e]a)

Muuyi/ uyele na waant^hu. ‘The town was filled with people (lit. by
people).’

Numba/ iyela na waant^hu. ‘The house was filled with people.’

ku-yeleza v. caus. appl. (yeleeze) fill for, with

ikopa yaa mi/ nimyelezo Nuuru ‘the glass that I filled for Nuuru’

mayi yaa mi/ nimyelezo Nuuru/ ikoopá ‘the water that I filled the glass
with for Nuuru’

Mi/ takhuyeleza maazi/ mi/ takhuyelezó/ ya ngoombe. ‘I will fill it up for
you with the blood, that’s what I will fill up for you, of a cow.’

Myeleze ikoopá/ maayi. ‘He filled a glass with water for him.’

Nimyeleze Nuuru/ ikoopá/ maayi. ‘I filled the glass with water for Nuuru.’

ku-yelezoowa v. caus. appl. pass. (yeleeza)

Yelega ikoopá/ maayi. ‘He was filled for a glass with water.’

ku-yeza v. caus. [Sw. *jaza* SED 147] (yezeze) fill

Chiyeza uki/ zombo zaa ye/ peelá. ‘He filled honey into the pots, into the
vessels that he was given.’

kuyezaa sa’a [cf. Sw. *kujaza saa* SED 147] ‘to wind a watch’

mayi yaa mi/ njezezo i

Mwaana/ shkalaant^ha/ chija zaakuja/ zaa ye/ leeseló/ chiyeza miimba.

‘The boy sat down and ate the food that he had brought and he
filled his stomach.’

njeze ‘that I fill’ (Note that the stem-initial *y* hardens to *j* after the first
person subject marker. This hardening does not occur in the case of
the second person plural SM: **nyeze** ‘that you (pl.) fill’.)

Njezeze ikoopá. ‘I filled the glass.’

Yezeze ikoopá/ maayi. ‘He filled the glass with water.’

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)

Ikoopa/ iyezeza maayi. ‘The glass was filled with water (by someone).’

Makoopa/ yayezeza naami. ‘The glasses were filled by me.’

Wadaamu/ ziyezeza maayi. [H!H] ‘The buckets were filled.’

Wadaamu/ ziyezeza maayi/ na mwanaamke. ‘The buckets were filled with water by the girl.’

Ziyezeza maayi/ ni wadaamu. [H'H] ‘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 **can j be used instead of y?**

iyembe ya kulimila ‘a hoe for ploughing’

khumba ka iyeembe ‘to dig with a hoe’

kulima ka iyeembe ‘to plough with a hoe’

Mtala iyeembe/ si mlima muundra. ‘The one who chooses a hoe is not a farmer.’ (A proverb.)

Omari/ tunzile iboholi/ ka iyeembe. ‘Omari dug a hole with a hoe.’

Shtala iyeembe/ yaa ye/ holokelo khfanyiliza kaazi/ chimbigila dul’eda/ chimubjele. ‘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/ zilaṭilapó/ 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 Chimiini, so one may also have **lizó/ yeeye/ Omari.** and **lizó/ 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: **lizó/ 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: **lizó/ 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: **lizó/ 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!?**)

Waant^hu/ 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/ iizô!?**)

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-**, **yV-**]
ngoombe/ kaayifá ‘if the cow were to die’

yi- [cl.9] object marker; [morphophonemic variants: **yi-**, **i-**, **yV-**]
Fardoosa/ pishile mkate/ laakini/ ye/ nt^hakijija. ‘Fardoosa baked (lit. cooked) a

cake but did not eat it.’ (Note the possibility of using the [cl.9] object marker to refer back to *mkate*, a [cl.3] nominal. Also note that the [cl.9] object marker has the shape *yi* in front of a *CV* root.)

=*yi*

encl. how? (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 fatuura/ Miini.** ‘Abubakari came by car to Brava.’ This statement differs from the ‘all new statement: **Abubakari/ ile Miini/ ka fatuura.** ‘Abubakari came to Brava by car.’

Ali/ kila/ waanthu/ wachimuuza/ fanyizeeyi/ maaliye/ chiwajiiba/ ha’isi/ ma’anayé/ ha’ambiloowi. ‘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/ nfanyeeyi. ‘Father asked, how shall I do it?’

Chineema/ chiwalikooyi. ‘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/ fatuura.** ‘What did you do to the car?’ is similar in meaning to **Fanyiizeni/ fatuura.** A possible answer to both these questions: **Mp^hashile ranji.** ‘I painted (it).’

Isa/ mi/ nfanyeeyi/ 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?’ (Observe the absence of first person subject marking on the future tense verb in this example from GM.)

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?’

Nfanyeeyi. ‘How shall I do it?’

Npishileeyi. ‘How did you (pl.) cook?’

Ni mwaana/ isa/ chimfanyeeyi. ‘It is a child, now what shall we do with him?’

Ntakulawaayi. ‘How will you (all) travel?’

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?’ **Ntukileeyi.** ‘How did you (pl.) 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 muiyini/ chimera ndilaa nk^hulu/ ya muuyi. 'He entered the town and looked for the main road of the town.'

kharibu ya miyi 'near the towns'

Khariibu/ ya muuyi/ uyu/ uwaliko muuyi/ mwiingine. 'Near this town was another town.'

khtila muiyini '[lit. to put in town] to circulate news, information, etc.';

also: **khtilila muiyini** (applied)

Ali/ mtilile Omari/ muiyini/ poropoganda/ kuwaa ye/ ni mwiizi. 'Ali circulated on Omari the charge (lit. propaganda) that he is a thief.'

Ali/ tile muiyini/ nzimaye/ kooði/ za wanaafakhi. 'Ali circulated widely throughout the town lies.'

Wakulu wa muuyi/ wachimasiirata/ washtila muiyini/ ya kuwa mwanaamke/ wa sul^taani/ 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/ oloshela muiyini/ 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.'

N^takuwona/ muuyi/ wo wotte. 'He did not see any town'

Ori wa mundraani/ hawiiki/ muiyini. 'A farm rooster does not crow in town.' (A proverb.)

Si/ shfilatiliilé/ Nuuru/ ku^lawa muiyini. 'We expected Nuuru to leave town.'

Si/ shtakuwona miyi miingine/ miingi. 'We will see many other towns.'

Sku mooyi/ chilawa/ chingila muiyini. 'One day he came out [of his house] and went into town.'

Wakomelopo muiyini/ Hasiibu/ shfaanya/ jisa mweenzawe/ sul^tani 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 wala^siile muuyi waawo [nt.] '[some] people went to Kenya and left their town'

Waant^hu/ wa'oloshela muiyini. 'The people went to town.'

Wo/ wachingila khkala muiy wa karaayle. 'They entered and stayed in the town of the crows.'

Ye/ waliko ni waaziri/ wa sul^taani/ 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')
chimuuyini 'in the way of the town'

yifke

n. [cf. Som. *if* "light" DSI 322] great heat (e.g. from an oven)

Numbaani/ ka Omari/ imulo/ kana beebe/ inaku^lawa yifke. 'At Omari's house, it is hot like a flaming fire, there is heat going out.'

<i>yifte</i>	n. grey, scaly fish; looks like shtawa , but with bigger lips
<i>yija nkala</i>	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>i-yiimbi (ma-)</i>	n. 5/6 [Sw. <i>wimbi</i> 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? <i>l-yiimbi (mi-)</i> n. 11/4 aug.
<i>yüyi</i>	[cl.5] strong dem.
<i>yüyi</i>	[cl.9] strong dem.
<i>yüyi/ iyi</i>	[cl.5] emphatic demonstrative, first position
<i>yüyi/ iyi</i>	[cl.9] emphatic demonstrative, first position yüyi/ numba iyi ‘this very house, this house itself’
<i>yüyije</i>	[cl.5] strong dem. (a form used by MI)
<i>yüyije</i>	[cl.9] strong dem.
<i>yüyije/ ije</i>	[cl.5] emphatic demonstrative, third position (a form used by MI)
<i>yüyije/ ije</i>	[cl.9] emphatic demonstrative, third position (a form used by MI)
<i>yüyo</i>	[cl.5] strong dem. yüyo/ iyo ‘that very same one near you’
<i>yüyo</i>	[cl.9] strong dem. Basi/ waant^hu/ awo/ watesheleleshel/ kuwona mi’ujiza/ ayo/ hattá/ sulṭaani/ naayé/ walimo karka haali/ yüyo/ 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 mwajüitu/ ni yüyo/ mwajüitu/ 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.’
<i>yüyo/ iyi</i>	[cl.5] emphatic demonstrative (form used by present-day speakers) yüyo/ ifundro iyi ‘this knot itself’
<i>yüyo/ iyi</i>	[cl.9] emphatic demonstrative (form used by present-day speakers) yüyo/ numba iyi ‘this very same house, this house itself’
<i>yüyo/ iyo</i>	[cl.5] second position emphatic demonstrative yüyo/ ifundro iyo ‘that knot itself’
<i>yüyo/ iyo</i>	[cl.9] second position emphatic demonstrative Kaaziyo/ ni yüyo/ iyo/ we/ takhpataa nsi/ tu. ‘Your work is the very same one: you will catch fish only.’ mahaḷa yüyo/ iyo ‘at that very same place’ yüyo/ 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].’
We/ hi’ipeenda/ yo. ‘Do you like it (e.g. **shaati**)?’
Weenepi/ we/ yo. ‘Where did you see it (e.g. [cl.5] **shaati**)?’
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/ ndaaké. ‘It (e.g. [cl.5] **shaati**) is hers.’
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 khati iyo/ chiya naayo/ kaawo/ muyiini. ‘Abunawaasi carried that letter and came with it to their town.’
chiwa nayoo ndalá ‘if you are hungry’
Ee/ nnayo mtanaani. ‘Yes, it is in the room.’
Hamiisi/ husooma/ niingi/ laakini/ yo/ jis’iyo/ ye/ hafahami/ yaa ye/ husoomó.
‘Hamiisi reads a lot, but it is like that, he does not understand what he reads.’
Mi/ stahaaji/ khfikirila yoy/ mara yiingine. ‘I don’t need to think it over.’
Mpele Huseeni/ yo. ‘He gave it to Huseeni.’
Mubjaana/ sh_htukulaa dawa/ chendra naayo/ numbaani. ‘The young man took the medicine and went with it to his house.’
Mwaana/ sh_htukula sanduukhu/ chendra naayo/ kaake. ‘The boy carried the box and went with it to his place.’
Nama iwaliko apa/ ndiyó/ ijiilá. ‘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**)
Ndiyó/ ya Hamadi/uziló. ‘It is that one [cl.9] that Hamadi bought.’
Nnaayó. ‘I have [it].’
Nnumba/ 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/ fake_hte naayo. ‘He took the leg (he had cut off with the sword) and ran

	away with it.’
	Shtukula ikoofiya/ chendra naayo/ ka sulṭaani. ‘He carried the hat and went with it to the sultan.
	We/ hupeenda/ yo. ‘Do you like it (e.g. nuumba)?’
	Weenepi/ we/ yo. ‘Where did you see it?’
	Ye/ nakiyuza/ yo. ‘He is selling it (e.g. [cl.9] sabuura).’
	Yo/ ndaaké. ‘It (e.g. [cl.9] nuumba) is hers.’
	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. <i>yaum</i> W 1110] day kuḷa yoomu ‘every day’ <i>chimsalīla mtume ka kuḷa yoomu</i> [st.] ‘if you pray to God for the Prophet every day’ kumera khuuti/ yoomu ‘to search for one’s daily food’ rel. ayaamu [Ar. <i>ayyām</i> W 1110] week; days (this meaning is confined to poetry and proverbs and comes directly from the Arabic meaning) <i>ni ayaamu za iidi, leelo muuntʰi wa iidi</i> [song] ‘it is the days of <i>iidi</i> , today is the day of <i>iidi</i> ’
yomuḷmiyaadi	[Ar.] day of judgment check pronunciation for chimiiini <i>ndruuza iwaani nakinpa waraadi/ kuwonana kiitu ni yomuḷmiyaadi</i> [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 <i>yaum al-qiyaama</i> "day of Resurrection" W 800] the day when everyone will be standing awaiting judgment Yomuḷqiyaama/ ni muntʰi wa aakhera. ‘Yomuḷqiyaama is the day of the hereafter.’
ma-yoonzi	n. 6 [?related to Sw. <i>majonzi, mayonsi</i> “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.’

<i>yooyo</i>	[cl.9] strong second position dem.
<i>yooyo/ aya</i>	[cl.4] emphatic demonstrative used by some speakers
<i>yooyo/ aya</i>	[cl.6] emphatic demonstrative used by some speakers yooyo/ mafundro aya ‘these knots themselves’
<i>yooyo/ ayaje</i>	[cl.4] emphatic demonstrative used by some speakers
<i>yooyo/ ayaje</i>	[cl.6] emphatic demonstrative used by some speakers yooyo/ mafundro ayaje ‘those knots themselves’
<i>yooyo/ ayo</i>	[cl.4] emphatic demonstrative used by some speakers
<i>yooyo/ ayo</i>	[cl.6] emphatic demonstrative used by some speakers yooyo/ mafundro ayo ‘those knots themselves’
<i>yooyo/ oyo</i>	[cl.1] second position emphatic dem. (used by MI) yooyo/ oyo ‘that same one near you’
<i>yooyo/ oyo</i>	[cl.4] second position strong dem. miti yooyo/ oyo ‘those very same trees’
<i>yooyo/ oyo</i>	[cl.6] second position emphatic dem.
<i>yooyo/ oyo</i>	[cl.9] second position emphatic dem.
<i>yukharibulbina</i>	in the “Chimiini-ized” Arabic proverb: Ma’asiya/ ni haraamu/ ma’asiya/ yukharibulbina. ‘Adultery is impure/forbidden, adultery destroys people.’
<i>Yuunusu</i>	n. Jonas
<i>yur</i>	ideo. [Som. <i>yur</i> “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 <i>yur</i> .’ (We do not write <i>yur</i> with a high pitch, since unlike various other CVC ideophones, the pitch of <i>yur</i> is not raised to the pitch peak.)
<i>Yuusufu</i>	n. Joseph
<i>ku-yuutā</i>	v. [Sw. <i>juta</i> SSED 160; Ar.] (yuṭiile) regret Siyuṭeení. ‘You (pl.) don’t regret doing s.t.!’ Yuṭile keendra. ‘He regretted going.’ Or, with verb focus: Yuṭiile/ keendra. rel. <i>ku-yuutā</i> v. appl. regret s.t., regret for s.t. Haaji/ chiyuutā/ zaa ye/ fanyiizó/ na chiwashukura wazelewe/ 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 kuyuutā/ 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 tomeḷa 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/ **yuṭiṭile** kuwaa ye/ fanyize mkaatāba/ kama uyu/ pamo na

Abunawaasi. ‘He regretted that he had made a contract like this with Abunawaasi.’

ku-yuṭiṭisha v. caus.

Njutishiize. ‘He caused me to regret s.t.’ (Note the hardening of the stem-initial *y* after the first person singular object marker. This hardening does not occur in **Myuṭishiize.** ‘He caused him to regret s.t.’ and **Nyuṭishiize.** ‘He caused you (pl.) to regret s.t.’)

Siyuṭisheení. ‘You (pl.) don’t make regret!’

ku-yuṭishiliza v. caus. appl. (**yuṭishiliize**)

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

mwaana/ 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.)

mwana 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 mwaaná/ 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 Mogadisho 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/ yuuz?**)

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/ ^hOmari. ‘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 subje^c*t, 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/ ^hOmari. ‘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 Mogadishu, 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: **‘Yuuzi/ oloshelo Mkhodiishó/ Omari?’** 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/ Omari?’**

‘Yuuzi/ Omari/ oloshelo Mkhodiishó. *‘The day before yesterday Omari went to Mogadisho.’*

rel.

yuziyuuzi adv. recently

Ni waana/ wazaziḷa yuziyuuzí. ‘These are children who were recently born.’

Ni ziiint^hu/ zisanifiḷa yuziyuuzí. ‘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 ziiitu** ‘our keys’; **nfungulo ziiinu** ‘your (pl.) keys’; **nfungulo zaawo** ‘their keys’
- za-a-** [cl.8] associative and relative clause particle
- za-a-** [cl.10] associative and relative clause particle
Nguwo za Haliima/ nthakhfulá/ nzaaká. ‘The clothes that Haliima did not wash are mine.’
- za’iidi**
 than **mbanaayo uḷaazo zaa’idi ya utuungu** [nt.] ‘we felt a pain more severe 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 mṭangawe ni za’faraani [st.] ‘in Paradise the sand is saffron’
- za’ṭari** n. [cf. Sw. *zartari* "a kind of herb put in tea to give it a pleasant flavour and smell" SSED 539; Ar. *za’ṭar* W377, a variant of *sa’ṭar* "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/ akhḏari. ‘It illuminates the heart like a green chrysolite.’

kana ya farasi mkila zabarjuudi [st.] ‘(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 ‘**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. (**zabuniiliile**)
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. *mazaḥa* "to joke" and n. *muzāḥa* "joke" W 906] joke, teasing, kidding
Isa/ teena/ Abunawaasi/ kilasku/ kama aadaye/ hufanya mzaaha/ na khtezeza waant^hú. ‘Now then Abunawaasi, every day, as was his custom, made jokes and kidded people.’
kh-fanya mzaaha ‘to make jokes’
Nuuru/ hufekesha waant^hu/ hufanya mzaha/ ka wiingi. ‘Nuuru makes people laugh, he makes jokes often.’
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 (<i>ma-</i>)	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. (zajiriliile) <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 ' Kilaa mwaaka/ maramooyi/ islaamu/ laazimu/ khtomolaa zaka. 'Once a year a Muslim must pay charity.' 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 mayi 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^haanu/ 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 mwaaka 'annual charity'
zakhma	n. [Sw. <i>zahama</i> SSED 537; Ar. <i>zahma</i> W 374] state of confusion, overcrowdedness; variant form: zahma Suukhu/ leelo/ zahma. 'The market is overcrowded today.'
zalba	n. [etymology unknown] lie, untruth kubiga zalba 'to lie, be untruthful' Omari/ mbigiliile Ali/ zalba/ kuwaa ye/ nakhsaafira/ nakendra Keenya. 'Omari told Ali a lie that he is traveling to Kenya.' Nuuru/ mzimawe/ zalba/ lila/ hakooði. 'Nuuru is all lies, he never tells the truth.'
zalboole	adj. unfounded
ku-zaala	v. [Sw. <i>zaa</i> SSED 536] (zaazile) give birth, bear, produce; name someone after someone Baaba/ maraði/ 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.)

Muĵo/ hawazaali/ muĵo. ‘Fire does not beget fire.’ (A proverb.)
Muĵo/ 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/ muḅĵi/ chimpenda muke miingine/ suĵile kumnoola. ‘They lived like this for some time and had children; after that, the husband loved another woman and wanted to marry her.’
Wamĵasile kanaa nt^hupu/ jisa maamaye/ mzaaziló. ‘They left him naked, just like his mother gave birth to him.’
We/ ṭakuzala mwaana/ mwiimbili. ‘You will bear a male child.’
rel.
ku-zaalĵa v. appl. (**zazĵile**) bear someone a child; give birth to
Muke/ ba’ada ya kumzaalĵa/ mwanaamke... ‘After the woman gave birth to a daughter...’
Mukeewe/ mzalĵile mwaamubĵi. ‘His wife bore him a son.’
ku-zalĵiloowa v. appl. pass. have a child born to one
Sultaani/ weele/ mapsuuti/ nt^ho/ kuzalĵiloowa/ waana/ wote/ wiimbili. ‘The king was very happy to have all male children born to him.’
wakhĵali ni suna chizalĵiloowa [st.] ‘[the slaughtering at the] **wakhĵali** celebration is not obligatory [but sanctioned by tradition and therefore better to do it] when a child is born to one’
ku-zalĵoowa v. pass. (**zaazĵa**) be born
Isa/ mwaana/ chizalĵoowa/ wazeele/ wanayo khĵala 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).’
Kilaa muunt^hu/ zaazĵa. ‘Each person is born.’ (A proverb which conveys the idea that one should be careful and not abuse people, for they also have been born (and are human beings just like you).’
kuzalĵowaka ‘my birth’
kuzalĵowa kaawo ‘their birth’ (but more commonly: **kuzalĵowa yaawo**)
Muunt^hu/ suura/ kufa mahaĵaa ye/ zaazĵá. ‘It is good for one to die at the place where one was born.’ (A proverb.)
Nambiilá/ kuwaa ye/ nt^haasá/ nt^hakuzalĵoowa. ‘I was told that he is not yet born.’
Nzazĵa Miini. ‘I was born in Brava.’
Ye/ zazĵa 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/ ĵla 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/ ṭakulatiĵowaa 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. (**zalishiize**) 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/ shishiila maradaa izaalo. ‘Halima has a disease of the uterus.’

Haliima/ tomele izaalo. ‘Haliima had an hysterectomy.’

Mwaana/ hukora ka izaalo. ‘A child forms (lit. grows up) in the uterus.’

zam

ideo. (cf. also *dam*) of light being extinguished

Nali/ yana/ masku/ ziyaraani/ ka Dada Maasiti/ zoloshele/ mara mooyi/ tu/ zam!/ chimaliza/ zashiza bitirmaakis. ‘Lights (electric) last night at the Dada Maasiti ceremony went off at once *zam!* then petromaxes were lit.’

zama

zamaa zama ‘in groups’

Ka muyiini/ waanthu/ hulawa zamaa zama/ wote/ naawo/ 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/ lmalize 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^hu/ chifa. ‘The sack sank and that man died.’

Ilooni/ jahazi/ ichizaama/ na waant^hu/ akthari yaawo/ wachifa. ‘At dusk the dhow sank and the majority of the people died.’

Jahazi/ imalizopo kuzaama/ wachanza koowela. ‘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 darba ‘if large ships sink from a storm’

Mwaana/ zamile tawala. ‘The child drowned in the sea.’

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/ mabahariya wazamiiló. ‘The sailors who drowned are many.’

waant^hu karka khasara wazamiile/ ila wafarama sabri jamiili [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. (*zamiiliile*)

Jahazi/ inzamiliile. ‘My boat sank on me.’
ku-zaamisha v. caus. (**zamishiize**) cause to sink, drown
Mzamishize Hasani. ‘He caused Hasani to sink.’
Mzamishize waawaye. ‘He brought to financial ruin to his father.’
Naakhuḁa/ zamishize jahazi. ‘The captain caused the boat to sink.’
ku-zamishan(y)a v. caus. rec.
ku-zamishiliza v. caus. appl.
Naakhuḁa/ 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 sultaani/ mooyi/ na mwaanawé. ‘Once upon a time there was a sultan and his son.’
chint^hu cha zamaani ‘something old’
Chita/ weshele mbarakha za zamaani/ mṭanaani. ‘The chief kept old papers in the room.’
ndiye mufti wa aakhiri zamaani [st.] ‘he is the **mufti** of the last days’
Hamadi/ sulile kula fatura mp^hiya/ laakini/ badiliye/ fanyize fatuuraye/ ya zamaani/ tu. ‘Hamadi wanted to buy a new car, but instead he just repaired his old car.’
Want^hu wa zamaani/ hawahadi/ wanaafakhi. ‘The people from ancient times do not speak lies.’ (A proverb.)
Zamaani/ nch^himpeenda/ nt^ho/ na kuḁa 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.’

rel.

chi-zamaani n. 7 in the way, manner of the olden days

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.)

zamu

n. [Sw. *zamu* SSED 538] guard
khpandra zamu ‘to start one’s turn in guarding’
Masku aya/ ka rasdente/ hafisaani/ takhpandro zaamú/ ni Omari. ‘Tonight at the DC’s office it is Ali who will be guard.’
khshika zamu ‘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 zamu ‘to end one’s turn in guarding’
Alí/ ishkiilile zaamu/ steeshini/ fijiri iyi. ‘Ali ended his guard duty this morning at the station.’
kubiga zamu ‘to krrp guard guard’
Abú/ masku mazima/ halaali/ hubiga zamu/ huja khaati. ‘Abu keeps

guard all night, he does not sleep, he eats khat (to stay awake).'
kulindra zaamu 'to guard'
Chimfuunga/ karka m̄taana/ 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*
ambiila 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. *zindiq* "unbeliever, atheist" W 383] liar, hypocrite
kuwa mzandiiqi 'to behave hypocritically'
nt^haku humbughuo ilo 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. *zanin* W 383] adulterer, fornicator

Zanzibaari

n. Zanzibar
Si/ asli yitu/ 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 mal'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.'
Marti/ pela zawaadi. 'The guest has been given a gift.' (In the corresponding simple yes-no question, there is only Q-raising, no accentual shift.) With focus on the verb: *Marti/ peela/ zawaadi.* 'The guest was given a gift.' (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: **Martí/ peela/ zawaadí?**)

Mpele martí/ zawaadi. ‘He gave the guest a gift.’ (The corresponding yes-no question, **Mpele martí/ zawaadi?**, involves only Q-raising and no Accent Shift. One can also interchange the position of the two NPs: **Mpele zawaadi/ martí.** The simple yes-no question of this sentence also involves only Q-raising and no Accent Shift. It is also possible to put focus on the NP that is immediately after the verb: **Mpele ^fmartí/ zawaadi.** Also: **Mpele ^fzawaadi/ martí.** When there is focus on the first object, there is a much more radical downstep on the second object in comparison to the case where there is no focus. The simple yes-no questions also differ, since there is Accent Shift in the second object: **Mpele ^fmartí/ zawaadi?** and **Mpele ^fzawaadi/ martí?**)

Ni wanaashke/ wa Maryamu/ watumiḷiḷo zawaadí. ‘It’s the girls that Maryamu sent the presents to.’

Nimpele martí/ zawaadi. ‘I gave the *guest* a gift.’ (In this example, there is focus on **martí**, which accounts for why the final accent does not extend beyond **martí**. In the corresponding yes-no question, **Nimpele martí/ zawaadi?** ‘Did I give the guest a present?’, there is accent shift to the final syllable in the dislocated phrase **zawaadi**. If there is not focus on **martí**, then in the statement, the final accent extends throughout the verb phrase: **Nimpele martí/ zawaadi.** ‘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.’)

Nimpele muunt^hú/ zawaadí. [H!H] ‘I gave the man a gift.’ Cf. **Muunt^hu/ nimpele zawaadí.** [H!H] ‘The man, I gave him a gift.’ Cf. **Zawaadi/ nimpele/ muunt^hu.** [HH!!H] ‘A gift I gave *him* the man.’

Nt^huunzi/ riiwu/ na zawaadí/ hupowa wazaazí/ waa muké/ maanzine/ nt^homeelé. ‘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.’

Waan^hu/ wa muuyi/ wakulu/ na zihabá/ walungaana/ na wataaná/ wabli/ naa waké/ 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/ peḷa martí. ‘A gift was given the *guest*.’ (The subject of the passive sentence is located here in the Immediately After Verb position, which is a position of focus in Chimini 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/ peḷa 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/ peḷa martí?!)**

Zawaadi/ peela/ martí. ‘A gift was given to the *guest*.’ (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/ peḷa martí. ‘A *gift* was given the *guest*.’ (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/ peḷa muunt^hu/ naami. [H!H!H] ‘A gift, the man was given by me.’ Cf.

Muunt^hu/ peḷa zawaadi/ naami. [H!H!H] ‘The man was given a gift by me.’

Zawaadi/ peela/ Omari. ‘[It’s] a gift [that] was *given* to Omari.’ Or: **Zawaadi/ peḷa Omari.** ‘[It’s] a gift [that] was given to Omari.’

Zawaadi/ peḷa Omari/ zileesela/ kaa Jidda. ‘The gifts that were given to Omari were brought from Jeddah.’

zawaadi/ za Mkhodiisho ‘a gift from Mogadishu’

zawadi zaa Maka ‘a gift from Mecca’

zawaali

wa chinume baaqi pashpo zawaali [st.] ‘the Everlasting who will never disappear’ (a description of God)

zaaydi

adv. [Sw. *zaidi* SSED 537; Ar. *zā’ id* W 389] more, surpassing

Abú/ nayoo ndila/ kuwaa si/ ni laazimu/ kulindra habamooyi/ dakhiikha/ zaaydi. ‘Abu is right that we should wait for a few more minutes.’

Ito/ ya maadamu/ ni khatari/ zaaydi/ ya maraöi. ‘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’

Kazi iyi/ inakhtahaja zaaydi/ ya muntu mooyi/ khfaanya. ‘This job needs more than one person to do it.’

Laakini/ leelo/ akthari ya waanthu/ hawakalaanthi/ 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.’

Mi/ hutukula kuulu/ ya gaari/ mazaaydi/ kana maadamu/ kana kuulu/ ichintumbukila. ‘I carry a spare wheel in case I have a puncture (the tire gets punctured for me).’

Mi/ mbaliko nakulindra kaalmé/ sa’a mooyi/ zaaydi. ‘I have been waiting for over an hour for help.’

Nama yaa mbuzi/ ni suura/ zaydi ya ngoombe. ‘The meat of a goat is better than the meat of a cow.’

Naankó/ 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.’ (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/ shtamhafiöa/ na shtamdhooa/ jisa muuntu/ humdhoru ruuhuyé/ na zaaydi. ‘We will protect him and guard him just as a person does to protect himself, and more than that.’

Uje mwaarabu/ chiyaawata/ 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.’

Waanthu/ akhyaari/ washfanyowa zeema/ hulipa zeema/ na zaaydizé. ‘People, gentlemen, if good is done to them, they repay with good things and more.’

watiila ulaazo zaaydi ya utuungu [nt.] ‘they feel a pain worse than labor-pains’

zaaydi/ ya wantu khamsiini/ wanviliö ‘more than fifty people who have called’

ma-zaaydi

n. 6 surplus, a little more

Jis’iyo/ jis’iyo/ hatá/ leelo/ chintu 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/ ntulubiö/ na mazaaydi. ‘Do you (pl.) see that I gave you what you asked for and a little more?’

Si/ chinakulindra khkasa mazaaydi/ tarafu ya jawabu izi. ‘We are waiting to hear more about these matters.’

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!’

- kh̄inda chizaazi** ‘to sever a relationship with one’s relatives’
nt^hana shifaa’a t̄inzilo 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/ nnakhsula 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/ 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.’
- 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.)
- wazaazi hukumbukoowa, maskiini husaydoowa** [song] ‘parents are remembered, and poor people are helped’
- 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 kinship
variant form: **uzaazi**
Uzaazo/ ha’uṭ̄indiki. ‘Kinship cannot be cut (i.e. cannot be severed, cancelled),’
- =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; the king in cards; adj. old (but with fixed [cl.1/2] agreement)
Apo/ zamaani/ ishiize/ mwaana/ mooyi/ waliko fil̄ila 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/ wazeele/ wa muuyi/ na ma’akhyariwé/ chiwa’ambila/ mi/ mp^hetee khat̄i/ il̄azilo ka waawé/ ye/ nt^hulubile kendra/ 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/ mzeele/ wa wote/ chihada... 'The oldest crow of all arose and said...'

kana mzeele 'like an old man'

Haliima/ hinendra ka tartiibu/ kana/ mzeele. 'Haliima walks slowly like an old man.'

Karaayle/ sfanyiize/ jisa mzeele/ wa'ambiló. 'The crows did what the elder had told them to do.'

Kila muuntu/ nayo mzelewe. 'Everyone has his parents.' (A proverbial saying conveying the idea that we are all humans, we each have our parents, and we each are deserving of respect, etc.)

Mbwa wa mwaana/ tezezo naayé/ waliko mzeele. 'The dog that the child played with it was old.' (An animate [cl.9/10] noun like *mbwa*, when used in the singular, ordinarily governs [cl.1] agreement. The [cl.10] form, on the other hand, ordinarily governs [cl.10] agreement: **Mbwa za mwaana/ tezezo naazó/ ziwaliko wazeele.** 'The dogs that the child played with them were old.' This [cl.10] agreement pattern is seen in *za*, *naazo*, and *zi-*. While this is true, it can also be seen that the adjective *-zeele* doesn't take *zi-* as its prefix. The prefix is *wa-*. This indicates that *-zeele* requires agrees in number with the noun that it modifies but is always either *m-* or *wa-*.)

Mi/ mbaliko mwaana/ peeke/ na wazeelewa/ wachimp'eenda/ nt'ho. 'I was a child alone (i.e. an only child) and my parents loved me very much.'

Mukhta ya ye/ welo mzelele/ mukeewe/ shishile miimba/ laakini/ ye/ apo/ waliko maskiini/ nt'ho/ nt'akuwanaayo/ 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.'

munthu mzeele 'an old person'; **wanthu wazeele** 'old people'

Muuntu/ wazeelewe/ hawa'ambili/ wanaafakhi. 'One does not tell his parents lies.'

Mzele mp'aka/ leele. 'Mr. Cat slept.'

Mzele mp'aamp'a/ mukhta ya 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.'

Mzeele/ 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 mzeele 'an old cow'

Ndiyé/ mzeele. '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 mzeele/ mooyi. 'In the house there was an old man.'

Si/ shchitaraja/ kuwa mzeele/ wa muuyi/ kuuya/ shiriini/ laakini/ wa nt'hiinike/ tu/ iló. 'We hoped that the chief of the town would come to the meeting, but just his second-in-command came.'

Suufi/ penzela nt'ho/ na wazeelewe. 'Suufi was loved very much by his parents.'

Wake /wazeele/ wakalent'e numbaani/ wake/ chihabba/ wa'ile. 'The old women stayed home, the young women came.'

Wamfanyize Saalimu/ mzeele. [H!H] 'They made Saalimu chief.' (cf. **Saalimu/ fanyiza mzeele/ (naawo).** 'Saalimu was made chief (by us).')

Waawaye/ na maamayé/ wawaliko wazeele 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* SSED 324] manner of an old person
kinendra chizeele ‘to walk like an old person’
chi-zeele n. [Sw. *kizee* SSED 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/ muḅli/ 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 kḥtindá/ 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* SSED 324] old age; laying-in period after giving birth
chilawa karka hiidi na uzele/ muke sho koowa nḥana 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/ fanyikiḷoowa. ‘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 hiidi 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’
Mafta/ ya zeeti/ ni afiya/ na ni ghaali/ kolko/ ya mafta ya maasara. ‘Olive oil is healthy and is more expensive than sesame oil.’
- zeetuuni** n. [Sw. *zeituni* SW 539; Ar. *zaitūn* W 388] guava fruit (not ‘olive’ as originally given in CLE)
mafta ya zeetuuni ‘olive oil’
- rel.
m-zeetuuni (mi-) n. tree bearing fruit
mzeetuniini ‘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/ nḥeendre/ hatá/ mukḥtaa zo/ ṣṭakuvivó ‘to guard the dates until they become ripe’
ngoombe/ kaazifá ‘if cows/ the cows were to die’
Nk^huta/ zimpoṭelele. ‘The walls fell on him.’
Peesa/ izo/ schiḷa kaa nk^hele/ hattá/ sultaani/ shkasa. ‘Those coins made a lot of noise until the sultan heard.’

- Ye/ hakhaadiri/ kumwambila waawaye/ kuwa nt^heendre/ zibooze_{la}/ ambo zijilá.** ‘He could not tell his father that the dates either were stolen or eaten.’
- Ziikopi/ ndrootoza/ zivaliko schindraashó/ maha_{la} mi/ nch^hoolokó.** ‘Where are my dreams which used to follow me everywhere I went?’
- Zita/ nt^haziná/ maato.** ‘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.’
 (The object prefix here refers to the omitted [cl.8] noun **ziint^hu** ‘things’.)
Wanakizija. ‘They are eating [cl.8].’ (Strikingly, it is possible for this sentence to be pseudo-relativized: **Wanakizijó.**)
(Ye/) ka’oloká/ su_{la} 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 Abunawaasi/ washtukula/ koo_oi/ izo/ wachispeleka/ ka sultaani. ‘The people who hate Abunawaasi took those words and sent them to the sultan.’
(Ye/) ka’oloká/ su_{la} kispataa ndruti. ‘If he went, he would get the sticks.’
(Ye/) ka’oloká/ su_{la} kizula nuumba. ‘If he went, he would buy the houses.’
- 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/ chimwub_{la}/ na chibiga/ lkele/ nzi. ‘Abdalla hit that fly and killed it and shouted: a fly!’
Apo/ mukhta sanduukhu/ iweeshelá/ ka nasiibu/ nzi mooyi/ chimkalan^hila 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 nt^haka/ 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 nt^hupa/ na nt^hupa 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 increase 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 khetema/ ka shtiisho/ chiĵa/ 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 muĵiwe. ‘The girl was loved even more by her husband.’

Mzele Simsini/ chizida kiġa’ajaba. ‘Old Simsini was even more amazed at (these things).’

Nazo fahamu/ na basarā/ kuzida wanaadamu/ wiingi. ‘He has understanding and talents surpassing many people.’

Nk^hele ziinu/ zizidiile/ nt^ho. ‘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^h akhupoleka/ kaa muke/ mooyi/ mzele/ nt^h 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/ nakhsuĵa/ kuloĵoowa/ na muunt^hu/ humzidoo ye/ ka akhilí. ‘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

Waant^hu/ huzidana ka ĵmu/ ka maali/ na ka darajā. ‘People are better than one another in knowledge, wealth, and status.’

ku-zidiĵoowa v. appl. pass.

Askari/ shfanya kaazi/ jisa suura/ huzidiĵoowa daraja/ na mshaharā. ‘If a soldier performs his job well, he is given a higher rank and greater salary.’

lombaani Sheekhi kuraaga/ umriwe kuzidiĵoowa [st.] ‘pray that the Sheikh may live on and that his life be extended’

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

ku-ziidila v. appl.

Haliima/ mwaanawe/ haakasi/ kooōi/ tuushile/ maamaye/ mwambiile/ khuziīdila. ‘Haliima’s child does not listen to warnings (lit. talk), he falls down, his mother tells him: you deserve more.’

Kuĵa mwenye waana/ humĵazima kuwaziidila/ waanawe/ chaakuĵa/ cha masku ayo. ‘Everyone who has children is obliged to increase for his children the food for that evening (Ashuura).’

Kuloĵoowa/ mi/ nakuwonā/ kuwa itakunondoleĵa ta’abu/ na itakunzidila raaha. ‘To get married, I see that it will eliminate difficulties and it will increase my comfort.’

Mzeele/ chija/ chihada/ mi siná/ waana/ waanawa/ ni maraði/ na [ka]wa'infi/ sho/ kuwa kumzidila muunt'u/ 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.'

Omari/ hadiile/ Ali/ haṭá/ chiyá/ hakhuziidili/ chiint'u. 'Omari said that even if Ali comes, he will not add anything for you.'

ku-zidilana v. appl. rec. (-zidileene) add for one another

ku-ziidisha v. caus. (zidishiize)

Muunt'u/ kuulu/ ichimlaaza/ mwiineendro/ huzidisha/ ulaazo. 'If someone's leg aches him, walking makes it more painful.'

ku-zidoowa v. pass.

Haliima/ huzidoowa/ ka suura/ humziidó/ ni Aaminá. 'Haliima is surpassed in beauty, the one who surpasses her is Aamina.'

nalombeloowa Rahimu/ 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.'

Mahaḷaa ye/ heendró/ 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'a/ khuwelela izigo/ ilu yo/ skhaadiri. 'To stay and be a burden on you, I cannot [do it].'

Yuusufu/ chimpa/ mtumishi/ mooyi/ amri/ ka nt'iini/ 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 mubliwe. '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/ jüüló/ zijo.** 'Who ate the zijo?'

Naani/ nt'akujaa zijó. 'Who did not eat the zijo?' Or: **Naani/ nt'aakujá/ zijo.** 'Who did not eat the zijo?'

Omari/ nt'aakujá/ zijo. 'Omari did not eat the zijo.' Or: **Omari/ nt'akujaa zijó.** 'It's Omari who did not eat the zijo.'

Sku ya kaandra/ ba'adi yaawo/ kingila haruusi/ wajile/ 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-zũika

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 sultaani. 'He buried his weapons and ordered his [magical] ring to make him as he was known to the sultan.'

Fiilopó/ mwaana/ chimziika/ kama sultaani. '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.'

Mayti/ hamziiki/ mayti. 'A corpse cannot bury a corpse.' (A proverb.)

Mi/ nt^hunzile iboholi/ nzishile nguwozé. 'I dug a hole and buried her clothes.'

Mwaana/ humzika mzele/ mzele/ humzika mwaana. '(It should be that) the child buries the parent, (not) the parent buries the child.' (A proverb.)

Sultaani/ 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-zũikana v. rec. (**zikeene**) bury one another

Awo/ hawaziikani. 'Those ones do not attend the funerals of one another (i.e. they are enemies).'

ku-zũikila v. appl. (**zikiliile**) bury for, with

ku-zikilana v. appl. rec. (**zikileene**) bury for one another

ku-zikoowa v. pass. (**ziishiila**) be buried

awo waziishiila na mtume Qumari [st.] 'they were buried by the prophet Qumari'

kalan^taani 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^u/ 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/ zishiila 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.’
	waziishiġa Maka karka ijabali [st.] ‘they were buried in Mecca under a hill’
	rel. nom.
	m-ziiiko n. funeral
	Mi/ nhisize muġa’asifú/ kugafa mziiko. ‘I felt sad about missing the funeral.’
zilzaali	n. [Ar. <i>zilzāl</i> W 380] earthquake
	Zilzaali/ ihalishile/ mui wa Miini. ‘An earthquake destroyed the town of Brava.’
-zima	adj. [Sw. <i>-zima</i> SSED 540] whole, entire, all, complete; adult
	Abdalla/ chiġawa/ ka apo/ naayé/ mzimawe/ shġana/ cheendra/ ka mukeewe.
went to	‘Abdalla left from there and while he was all nothing but anger, he went to his wife.’
	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.)
	masku mazima ‘all night’
	munt^hi mzima ‘all day’
	munt^hi oyo/ mzimawe ‘that whole day’
	munt^hu mzima ‘an adult’
	Muuyi/ mzimawe/ washizaa ġala. [H’H!H] ‘The entirety of the town was lit up.’ Cf. ġala/ zashiiza/ muuyi/ mzimawe. [HH!H’H] ‘Lamps lit the whole town.’ Cf. Zashiza muuyi/ mzimawé/ ni ġala. [H’H’H] ‘What lit up the whole town is lamps.’
	Ndrinzile sa’aa nzimá. ‘I waited for a whole hour.’
	Nsi mooyi/ huwoza ġawala/ nzimaye. ‘One fish contaminates the whole sea.’ (A proverb.)
	Nthaná/ adabu/ hujiba want^hu wazima. ‘He does not have good manners, he talks back to his elders.’
	Numba iyi/ na mui uyu/ mzimawe/ mbwaa noka/ mooyi/ mkulu/ ka ziġaa saba. ‘This house and the whole of this town belong to a large snake with seven heads.’
	Nuumba/ 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/ sulġaani/ mizimawe/ ye/ wene chitaache/ tu. ‘Sa’iidi did not see all of the sultan, he saw only his head.’
	Siwo/ waajibu/ ilu yiinu/ kudhora want^hu wazima. ‘Is it not obligatory on you (plural) to respect adults?’ (The final accent in the last phrase is to be attributed to the yes-no question intonation in this sentence.)
	ġalaya/ huwaza duniya nzima. ‘My lamp lights the whole world.’ (A riddle, the answer to which is mwezi wa weelu ‘moon’.)
	Wa’oloshelo muiiini/ 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 mziimá. ‘You are an adult.’
	rel.
	u-zima n. 14 adulthood
ku-zima	v. [Sw. <i>zima</i> SSED 540] (zimiile) be out (of a light, fire); be calm, patient, not carried away
	Muġo/ 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 mulo 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 kiyajata/ maayi/ 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 mooyi/

nt^hanakhfikirila/ shokuwa waant^hu/ wa khabilaye. ‘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/ chimuza/ naambila/ waliko zimiilepi. ‘When the sultan saw Abunawaasi, he asked him, tell me, where were you hidden?’

Nzimile nt^hini yaa chili/ ye/ simbone. ‘I hid under the bed so that he would not see me.’ Or: **Nzimile nt^hini yaa chili/ spate kumbona.** ‘I hid under the bed so that he would not (get to) see me.’ (Note that one cannot use a negative infinitive complement: *Nzimile nt^hini yaa chili/ chiza kumbona. ‘I hid under the bed in order (for him) not to see me.’)

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/ mukhta ye/ kasizo kuwa Abunawaasi/ zimiile. ‘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/ shfakaṭa/ 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 mpenziwe/ 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/ limzimiize. '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, djinn, madman

Ali/ kana/ izimu/ hakooði/ ba. 'Ali is like a madman, he does not talk at all.'

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 nṭhi/ 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.)

chimooble Mooja unzilo kuzimu saba [st.] 'pray for us to God who created the seven heavens'

chiiza sabri lawa nṭhiini 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/ chinṭhu 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 nṭhi/ na mwajiitú/ 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 huwoni bahari [st.] 'you do not see the sky, you do not see the ocean'

Jibriili/ uko kuzimu. 'The archangel Gabriel is in heaven.' (Notice that this noun is not used in the locative: ***ku-zimuu=ni.**)

kana kuzimu/ naa nṭhi 'like heaven and earth -- said of two persons who are as different as possible'

khpandra kuzimu 'to ascend to heaven'

Kula hendro ilú/ kuzimu/ hashkoma/ hishkila. '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 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.' [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
ya nafsi laṭa kibri laṭa fakhari/ laṭa zina laṭa riba laṭa khamri [st.] ‘oh mortal, leave arrogance, leave showing off, leave adultery, leave usury, leave alcohol’

Zina/ hubadilaa bina. ‘Adultery alters physical appearance (in a negative way).’ (A proverb.)

Zina/ hukharibishaa bina. ‘Adultery destroys physical appearance (makes one look bad).’ (A proverb.)

Zina/ ni haraamu/ ka dini ya Islaamu. ‘Adultery is forbidden in the religion of Islam.’

ziina

n. [Ar. *zīna* W 390] poetic beauty

karka Makka peleshela teena/ Betu al-Muqaddasi iyo muuyi wa ziina [st.] ‘from Mecca and was then transported to Jerusalem, the beautiful city’

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

Omari/ ni ma’siyoole/ haalaṭi/ kuzina. ‘Omari is a philanderer, he does not quit committing adultery.’

rel.

ku-zinisha v. caus. (**zinishiize**) induce to commit adultery’

ku-ziinga

v. [Sw. *zinga* SSED 542] (**zingiile**) turn; wander aimlessly (Not known to GM.)
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!’

Mukhtaawo/ wawelo tayaari/ wachibiga miziinga/ kama wanakhpo waant^hu/ waraadi. ‘When they were ready [to depart], they fired cannons like they were saying farewell to the people.’ (Observe that **kama** here triggers relativization of its verbal complement.)

Mukhtaaye/ 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

Waana/ wa Ali/ jisaa wo/ wanakuzingamanó/ waha^lasheene/ wavundishile mikono. ‘Ali’s children hurt themselves as they were fighting, they broke arms/ hands.’

rel.

ku-zingamanila v. appl. (**zingamaniile**)

ku-zingamanoowa v. pass.

Sukhuuni/ rabsha/ ziikó/ ma’askari/ na waant^hu/ inakuzingamanoowa/ yiko mazingamano. ‘At the market there are disturbances, soldiers and people are wrestling, there are wrestling events.’

- nom. rel.
ma-zingamano n. events of wrestling
Omari/ ha'ipatoowi/ kaake/ chiint^hu/ sharti/ ka mazingamano. 'Things cannot be easily gotten from Omari, one must (get what one wants) by use of lit. wrestlings, i.e by strenuous efforts.'
- chi-zilingiti* (zi-)
n. 7/8 [Sw. *kizingiti* SSED 214] threshold (into the house)
Chimwona eelowe/ simeme chizingitiini. 'He saw his gazelle standing at the steps.'
Hukalaant^ha/ chizingitiini/ kaake/ huuzā. 'He sits on the threshold of his home and sells things.'
Kalaant^ha/ chizingitiini/ ilu ya mlaango/ mub^hliwa/ chiya/ khpita/ kingila numbaani/ mpo^hteleele/ 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 chizingiti/ 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-zilingo* (zi-)
n. 7/8 [Sw. *kizingo* SSED 542] rim; s.t. curved or round (This word is not known to GM.)
- Zinjibaari*
n. Zanzibar
Laakini/ ba'adaa yo/ kudangamana/ na jaziira/ ya Zinjibaari/ wakulu/ waa nt^hi/ wa Tanganyika/ na wajaziirā/ 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.'
- 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 (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.)
Hamadi/ ndiyé/ hanzoo zitá/ naank^hó/ ndiyó/ humero kudirka chiinó. 'Hamadi is the one who starts fights, still he is the one who seeks to claim being in the right.'
khfanyaa zita 'to sever a relationship; to make war'
Sheekhuna/ ile numbaani/ ka Abú/ fanyizee zita/ chiza kulalizowa haruusi. 'Sheekhuna came to Abu's house and made war over not being invited for the wedding.'
Kodi niingi/ huletaa zita. 'Too much talking brings conflict.' (A proverb.)
kubigaa zita 'to fight, make war'; also: **kubigowaa zita** (passive)
Hubigoo zitá/ ni muunt^hu/ nayo tawariye. 'The one who fights is the one who has energy for it.'
Muunt^hu/ kaleent^hó/ mkali/ kubigaa zita. 'One who is sitting is very good at fighting.' (A saying.)
Zamaani/ zita/ schibigoowa/ ka lpaanga/ na gaashaani. 'In olden times wars were fought with swords and shields.'
Maneno miingi/ huletaa zita. 'Too much talking brings conflict.' (A proverb.)
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/ shtomola 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 takhkosha 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].’

Zita /zimuḷo/ zinakiineendra. ‘Fierce fighting is continuing.’

-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).’

kh^htukula uzito wa muunt^hu ‘(lit.) carry s.o.’s weight, load – i.e. taking on the responsibility, load of another’

Nini/ insumbiiló/ kh^htukula 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)?’

Limila/ lwele lzito. ‘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/ hadiile/ jawabu za Alí/ nii nzito/ zinakhsuḷa wakht^hi niingi/ khkoḷoḷoowa/ kheeri/ chiwekeni chinume. ‘Omari said: the discussion about Ali is hard, tough etc., they need a lot of time to be discussed, it is better that we postpone it to a later time.’

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

Kanaa we/ nakhsuḷa kishkiza uzitó/ we/ laazimu/ kuja haba. If you want to lose weight you must eat less.

uzito mp^hakūza 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 isiṭa ‘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 khamrí. ‘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] (**ziwiile**) fill a hole or a crack (in a wall, e.g., not the ground), block

Chiza kuziwa lufa/ itakhushika kilwaka lkuta/ Izimale. ‘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

Ali/ moro wa nuumbaye/ ziwiliile/ ka lkuta/ ha’iwonoowi/ ndraani.

‘Ali’s backyard, he has surrounded it with a wall, it cannot be seen inside it.’

kuziwila nt^huundru/ ka chimento ‘to fill a hole with cement’

kuziwila nt^huundru/ ka mtaanga ‘to fill a hole with sand’

Omari/ ziwiliile chooloko/ cha nuumbaye/ ka bulukeeti. ‘Omari covered the window of his house with bricks.’

ku-ziwilika v. appl. p/s.

khalbi ya mapeendo ha’iziwiliki [song] ‘a heart that loves cannot be repaired’

ku-ziwisha v. caus. (**ziwishiize**)

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 harusi =[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.’

Leelo/ ziyaara/ za Shekh Khaasimu/ ni taano/ mtoondro/ nii saba/

itakikhtimoowa. ‘Today the religious ceremony of Sheekh Khaasimu is the fifth day, the day after tomorrow is the seventh, it will be concluded.’

Nali/ yana/ masku/ ziyaraani/ ka Dada Maasiti/ zoloshela/ mara mooyi/ tu/

zam!/ chimaliza/ zashiza tiriiki. ‘Lights (electric) last night at the Dada

Maasiti ceremony went off at once *zam!* then petromaxes were lit.’
rabi chiruzuqe keendra ziyaara [st.] ‘O God, make it possible for us to visit’
Si/ chinayo weenzá/ wanakuyo ziyaará/ aakhiri/ ya ayaamu/ ka jis’iyo/ si/ hashkhaadiri/ kuya feestá/ ya Umi. ‘We have friends visiting over the weekend so that we won’t be able to attend Umi’s party.’
Waant^{hu}/ 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 inakalanthoowa [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; variant form: **kuziirata**
Ali/ ile Mwiini/ kumziyaarata/ daadaye/ Aamina. ‘Ali came to Brava to visit his grandmother Aamina.’
Biyoole/ holokowa kuziyarata Shekh Aweeso. ‘One goes to Biyoole to visit the grave of Sheikh Aweeso.’
Dhibu/ ni khtinda go’aani/ mahala gani/ kuziyarata. ‘The difficulty is deciding which places to visit.’
Hamadi/ hadiile/ mojiitu/ hanubli/ shoo mi/ kuziyarata ka’aba. ‘Omari said God will not kill me without me visiting ka’aba.’
Mubliwa/ Nureeni/ maamaye/ nakichiziyarata. ‘My husband Nureeni’s mother is visiting us.’
Mukhta waanawe/ hendro skołani/ ye/ huwaziyarata weenzawe. ‘When her children go to school, she visits her friends.’
mziyareeto khitamal mursaliina [st.] ‘and the one who visits the Last of the Prophets’
Nimziyarete mubliwa/ Nureeni/ maamayé. ‘I visited my husband Nureeni’s mother.’
Nimziyarete Nureni mubliwa/ maamá=y-e. ‘I visited Nureeni my husband’s mother.’
Noshele kumzirata Nuuru/ oyo/ mwalimu wa mwaanawá. ‘I went to visit Nuuru, who is my son’s teacher.’
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-ziyaratana v. rec.

Waant^{hu}/ wazaleenó/ ni waajibu/ kuziyaratana. ‘People who are relatives must visit one another.’

ku-ziyaratoowa v. pass.

Masheekhi/ na ma’aalimú/ ni waajiba/ kuziyaratoowa/ kila mwaaka.

‘Religious scholars and knowledgeable people must be visited each year (e.g. at the mosque where they teach etc.).’

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]. (An emphatic yes-no question: **Hamadi/ tukile ziizi/ izi!**? ‘Did Hamadi really carry these ones themselves!?’)

[**Hamadi/ tukile** ^fziizi/ ziti] ‘Hamadi carried these chairs themselves.’ Or: [**Hamadi/**

	<p>tukiile/ ^fziizi/ ziti]. (Although prosodically separating the verb from its complement has the consequence that the verb is not downstepped, example like this the following focused demonstrative is the only element with a markedly raised pitch.)</p> <p>[mi/ nt^hukiilé/ ^fziizi/ izi] ‘I carried these ones themselves.’ Or: [mi/ nt^hukiilé/ ^fziizi]. Or: [mi/ nt^hukile ^fziizi/ izi]. Or: [mi/ nt^hukile ziizi].</p> <p>[mi/ nt^hukiilé/ ^fziizi/ ziti] ‘I carried these chairs themselves.’ Or: [nt^hukile ^fziizi/ ziti]. (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.)</p> <p>ziizi/ izi ‘these very same ones [cl.8]’</p> <p>[^fziizi/ izi/ Hamadi/ tukiiló] ‘These ones themselves Hamadi carried.’ Or: [^fziizi/ Hamadi/ tukiiló]. Or: [^fziizi/ tukiiló/ Hamadi], where the postposed subject is set off with a small pause. (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.)</p> <p>[^fziizi/ stukiila na Hamadi] ‘These ones themselves were carried by Hamadi.’ Or: [^fziizi/ stukiilá/ na Hamadi]. (Syn. Observe that the focused passive subject ziizi triggers pseudo-relativization of the verb. Without focus, there is no pseudo-relativization: Ziizi/ stukiila na Hamadi. or Ziizi/ stukiila/ na Hamadi.)</p> <p>[^fziizi/ ziti] ‘It’s these chairs themselves.’</p> <p>[^fziizi/ zoombo] ‘It’s these things (this stuff) themselves.’</p>
<i>ziizi</i>	[cl.10] strong dem.
<i>ziizi/ izi</i>	[cl.8] first position emphatic demonstrative ziizi/ skapu izi ‘these baskets themselves’
<i>ziizi/ izi</i>	[cl.10] first position emphatic demonstrative ziizi/ numba izi ‘these very houses, these houses themselves’
<i>chi-zizi</i>	n. [Sw. <i>zizi</i> SSED 543] stable where animals are kept
<i>ziizije</i>	[cl.8] strong dem. ziizije/ izije ‘those same ones’
<i>ziizije</i>	[cl.10] strong dem. ziizije/ izije ‘those same ones’
<i>ziizo</i>	[cl.8] strong dem. ziizo/ izo ‘those same ones near you’ Kharibu ya muuyi/ chaanza/ kiimba/ ndrumbo/ ziizo/ izo/ na maamayé/ chimjiiba/ ka ndrumbo/ 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’
<i>ziizo</i>	[cl.10] strong dem. Jawaabu/ ni ziizo/ tu/ kiila muunt^hi . ‘The affairs are just the same every day.’ ziizo/ izo ‘those same ones near you’ Jawaabu/ ziizo/ izo/ mi/ mubli uyu/ simpeendi . ‘Things are exactly the same. I do not love this man.’ Mukeewe/ killa/ 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 <i>carried</i> 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/ ^lzo/ 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^hukiil^é/ zo. ‘I <i>carried</i> them.’ (It should be noted that in the second pronunciation cited, where the verb is separated from the pronoun, the pronoun is <i>not</i> 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 ^lzo/ 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?) Ye/ nakizuuzo/ zo. ‘He is selling them (e.g. ziint^hu or zoombo).’ Zibuuku/ zatushile/ zo. ‘The books are torn, they.’ Zo/ nzaa Juma. ‘They (e.g. ziint^hu or zoombo) are Juma’s.’ Zo/ zatushile. ‘They [cl.8] are torn.’ Zo/ zibuuku/ zatushile. ‘They, the books, are torn.’ Or: Zibuuku/ zo/ zatushile.
zo	[cl.10] independent pronoun Apo/ numbaani/ zo/ huja ku^la/ 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.’ Mi/ hispeenda/ zo/ nt^ho. ‘I like them at lot.’ Also: Mi/ hupeenda/ zo/ nt^ho. 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/ chiwaviḷa waanawe/ sitta/ chiwa’ambila/ kuwaa ye/ namsuḷa mooyi/ kati kaawo/ kuliindra/ nt^heendre/ hattá/ mukhta zo/ stakuvivó. ‘When the dates came out, Father called his six children and told them that he wanted one among them to protect the dates until they became ripe.’

Numba/ zivundishile/ zo. ‘The houses are broken down, they.’

Wanakizija. ‘They are eating [cl.8].’ (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’oloshela naazo/ ka sulṭaani. ‘Those servants carried those fish and went with them to the sultan.’

Wo/ wanakizuuzo/ zo. ‘They are selling them.’

Zo/ nzaaká. ‘They (e.g. [cl.10] **surwaani**) are mine.’

Zo/ numba/ ziburushile. ‘They, the houses, collapsed.’ Or: **Numba/ zo/ ziburushile.**

Zo/ ziburushile. ‘They collapsed.’

zooali

n. [Ar. *zawāl* "noon" W 387] a little after mid-day; variant form: **zuhaali**
zooali hoosi ichiguura [st.] ‘a little after mid-day, when the shade moves west’

zooara

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 son left to go someplace.’

zookola

n. high-heel rubber-soled shoes, usu. worn by women but may be worn by men as well

Haliima/ vete zilaatu/ za zookolo/ ka sababu/ kuweleḷaa mule/ haba mooyi.
‘Haliima wore high-heeled shoes so as to be a little taller with.’

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’

Umi/ nakuzolaa gele/ itaanyishiloo nt^hi. ‘Umi is collecting maize that spilled on the floor.’

rel.

ku-zooḷeḷa v. appl.

Waana/ watukile skapu/ kuzoleḷaa gele. ‘Children are carrying baskets to collect maize with.’

ku-zoleḷoowa v. appl. pass.

Omari/ nakhsuḷa kuzoleḷowa zoombo/ numbaani/ kaake/ khpelekowa dukaani. ‘Omari wants stuff to be collected from his house and taken to the shop.’

ku-zoloowa v. pass. (**zoozeḷa**)

Haliima/ hadiile/ mi/ kaaka/ nt^haku/ kuja ya buure/ kuzoloowa. ‘Haliima said: me at my place there is no free food to be carried out.’

ku-zolazoola v. redup.

Haliima/ nakuzolazolaa gele/ itaanyishiló. [H!H!H] ‘Haliima is picking up the maize which had spilled.’

Haliima/ nakuzolazolaa gele/ itaanyishiloo nt^{hi}. [H!H!H] ‘Haliima is picking up the maize which had spilled onto the floor.’

Laakini/ ye/ oyo mwanaamke/ ka kumwingila haraka/ naayé/ nakuzolozolo ruuhuyé/ ki’ilawilá/ 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

Maayi/ yash^{ta}anyika/ hayazooleki. ‘Water if poured cannot be collected back/taken back.’

Mayi ya^{ta}wanyishiló/ hayazooleki. ‘Water that has been spilt cannot be gathered up.’ (A proverb.)

Suukari/ ush^{ta}anyika nt^{hi}/ kuzolekake/ ni ta’abu. ‘Sugar, if spilled on the floor, is difficult to gather up.’

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: ***Kooóí/ 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; record

Ali/ mzubile mwaana/ ltepe/ chitaani. ‘Ali wrapped a bandage around the child’s head.’

Ali/ nakuzuba suukari/ ka zinaara. ‘Ali is wrapping sugar with folded papers.’

Ali/ zubilee chita/ ltepe. ‘Ali wrapped a bandage around his (own) head.’

Ali/ zubilee luzi. ‘Ali rolled the thread.’

Ali/ zubile ruuhuye/ ltepe/ chitaani. ‘Ali wrapped a bandage around himself on the head.’

Chimzuba mwaana/ chiguwo/ shiingo. ‘He wrapped a piece of cloth around the child’s neck.’ Or: **Chimzuuba/ mwaana/ chiguwo/ shiingo.** ‘He *weapped* a piece of cloth around the child’s neck.’ (Note that in this sentence we see that the nouns *mwaana* and *shiingo* are used without any overt marking of the possessive nature of their relationship.)

Chimzuba mwaana/ chiguwo/ shingooni. ‘He wrapped a piece of cloth around the child’s neck [lit. on, at the neck].’ (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. E.g.

Chimzuba chiguwo/ mwaana/ shingooni. Or: **Chimzuba shingooni/ mwaana/ chiguwo.** Or: **Chimzuba/ shingooni/ mwaana.**)

Eelo/ walikoo ye/ zubile almaasi/ karka ikharba yaa muti. ‘The gazelle had wrapped the diamond in the leaf of the tree.’

Haliima/ nakuzuba ndriimbo/ ka naastro. ‘Haliima is recording songs with a tape recorder.’

kuzuba kaa luti ‘to hit with a stick’

Mwaana/ lufkuti/ limzubile shiingo. ‘The child, the umbilical cord surrounded his neck.’

Omari/ nayo naastro/ nkulu/ huzuba ndriimbo. ‘Omari has a large tape recorder, he records songs.’

Zubile chiguwo/ mwaana/ shiingo. ‘He wrapped a piece of cloth around the child’s neck.’ (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. E.g., **Zubile shiingo/ mwaana/**

shiingo/ the simple	<p>chiguwo. Zubile mwaana/ chiguwo/ shiingo. Zubile mwaana/ chiguwo. This reordering does not require putting strong focus on complement in IAV position. In the absence of strong focus, the 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.)</p> <p>Zubiileni/ mwaana/ shiingo. ‘What did he wrap around the child’s neck?’ Or: Zubiileni/ shiingo/ mwaana. (A possible answer: Zubile ‘chiguwo/ mwaana/ shiingo/ chiguwo. ‘He wrapped <i>a piece of cloth</i> around the child’s neck.’)</p> <p>rel.</p> <p>ku-zubamana v. (zubameene) be entangled</p> <p>ku-zuubana v. rec. hit one another; embrace; wrap one another with something kuzubana shiingo ‘to embrace’</p> <p>ku-zubazuuba v. freq. hug Maskiini/ chondroka ka chiliini/ chimzubazuba eelo/ chili. ‘The poor man got up from bed and hugged the gazelle and cried.’</p> <p>Uyu/ mwenopo eeló/ chuuluka/ chimzubazuba ka furaha. ‘When this one saw the gazelle, he jumped up and embraced him with joy.’</p> <p>ku-zuubika v. p/s. Ziint^{hu}/ schiwa sfunziḷa ka niḷaamu/ huzubikake/ ni sahali. ‘If things are tied up in a good manner, their folding is easy.’</p> <p>ku-zubiḷoowa v. appl. pass. be wrapped with Na chala ichó/ chizubila shtepe/ na shtepeeni/ yandishila/ ina ya sulṭaani. ‘And that finger was wrapped with a rag, and on the rag was written the name of the sultan.’</p> <p>Omari/ leselee nguwo/ kuzubiḷowa zoomboze. ‘Omari brought cloth to wrap his stuff with.’</p> <p>ku-zuubila v. appl. (zubiḷiile) wrap with Ali/ nakhsuḷa ikaambala/ kuzubila zilaatu. ‘Ali wants a rope to wrap around shoes.’</p> <p>ku-zuubisha v. caus.</p> <p>ku-zubishana v. caus. rec.</p> <p>ku-zubishika v. caus. p/s.</p> <p>ku-zubishiliza v. caus. appl.</p> <p>ku-zubishilizanya v. caus. appl. rec.</p> <p>ku-zuboowa v. pass. (-zubiila) be rolled, wrapped up Hasani/ chiwonowa kuwa chaalache/ shṭiinzila/ na chizubila shtepe/ cha sulṭaani/ 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.’</p> <p>Ltepe lzubila mutiini. ‘A strip of cloth was wrapped around the tree.’</p>
zubadi	<p>n. [Ar. <i>zubad</i> "choicest part, cream" pl. of <i>zubda</i> "cream or fresh butter" W 372] <i>lit.</i> curdled milk</p> <p>zubadi ka chimbalazi ni toomu [st.] ‘zubadi in Chimbalazi is toomu’</p>
i-zugula	<p>n. type of trevally; very big, with perfectly smooth skin like a king fish</p>
zuhali	<p>n. [Ar. <i>zuḥal</i> W 374] the planet Saturn</p>
zuhaali	<p>n. mid-day</p> <p>Leelo/ iwa/ ikali/ kana/ zuhaali/ ibanyaani/ ha’iḷawiki/ hari. ‘Today the sun is hot like midday, one cannot go outside, it is very hot.’</p> <p>mtimiino ni sunna ka kulla haali/ illa ka soomu waqṭi wa zuhaali [st.] ‘the Sunna recommends brushing the teeth at all times, except in the middle of the day when you are fasting’</p>
zuhura	<p>n. [Sw. <i>zuhura</i> SSED 546; Ar. <i>az-zuhara</i> W 384] the planet Venus</p>

- 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)
Muḷo/ uzuushile. 'The fire has revived.'
Zushile ka qabriini. 'He rose from the grave.'
rel.
ku-zuukila v. appl. (**zukupiile**) revive for
Ali/ muḷo/ umzukupiile. '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 muḷo. '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/ muḷo/ umzushikipiile. 'The fire was able to be revived for him (by someone).'
ku-zushiliza v. caus. appl. (**zushiliize**)
ku-zushoowa v. pass. (**zushiiza**)
Muḷo/ 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)
Omari/ hadiile/ mḷate/ mzuka oyo/ huwererisha waant^hu. 'Omari said: leave that crazy one, he disturbs people.'
- ku-zuula* v. [Sw. *zulu* SSED 546; Ar. *zūl, zāla* "to go away, abandon, come to an end" W 386]; finish, come to an end; lose one's senses, be confused, lose one's mind; lose everything
Kilaa chiint^hu/ cha duniya/ huzuula/ dawaamu/ ni mojiitu. 'Every worldly thing finishes, what lasts forever is God.'
rel.
ku-zuulata v. (**zuleete**) lose one's senses, be confused, lose one's mind; lose everything
Aqili/ zimzuleete/ Hiindra. 'Hiindra lost his senses.'
Hiindra/ zuleete aqili. 'Hiindra lost his senses.'
kana/ muunt^hu/ zuleetó 'like someone who has gone mad, lost his mind'
Hamadi/ nt^hanakhtaambula/ yaa ye/ nakhfaanyó/ walá/ nakhkoóó/ kana/ zuleetó. 'Hamadi is not understanding what he is doing or saying, he is like someone crazy, someone who has lost his mind.'
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/ mzulushize 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-)* 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-zulusha* v. fan a fire

Umi/ nakuzulushaa muḷo/ nakhsuḷa kuwapikila waana/ ṅama. ‘Umi is fanning the fire, she wants to cook meat for her children.’

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).)

Ḳpepo/ yana/ masku/ ichivuma/ kana/ zumaari. ‘The wind was blowing last night like flutes (whispering).’

Leelo/ masku/ yiko feṣṭa/ zinakubigowa zumaari/ nt^ha’inakulaalika. ‘Tonight there is a holiday, pipes are being sounded, there is no sleeping’

na kkhiiṅga ishkiḷo kkhasa 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/ inakuзуumbika. ‘The hole is filling up.’

Iboholi/ izumbushile. ‘The hole was, got filled in.’

rel.

ku-zumbiliza v. tr. appl. (*zumbiliize*)

Mṭaanga/ 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/ mṭile mwaana/ kuzumbiza iboholi.** ‘Ali made the child fill the hole.’)

Chimzumbiza mṭaanga. ‘He covered him with sand.’

Haanzó/ kuzumbiza mṭaanga/ ni aḥḷi/ ya khariibu/ kiḷaa mooyi/ maraa nt^hatu/ ka mkono/ hutilo mṭaangá. ‘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 **kuzumiza mṭaanga** 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.’

Mṭaanga/ uzumbize iboholi. ‘The sand covered up the hole, ditch.’

Mukḥṭa khaadimu/ wa’anzizo kuzumbiza mṭaangá/ mgarwa/ shṭomola 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^haku inakhfanyoowa [st.] ‘fill it up and go, there is nothing else to do’

Zumbize chibuuku/ mṭaanga. ‘He covered the book with sand.’

Zumbize iboholi/ ka mṭaanga. ‘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 mṭaanga. ‘Then [the corpse] is covered with sand.’

Sheekhi umo harusini/ 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.’

m-zuungu (wa-)

n. 1/2 [Sw. *mzungu* SSED 326] white man, European or American; an unbeliever
aḍabu ya mzuungu nt^hamu shaka [st.] ‘the punishment of non-believers, there is no doubt’

Chisu ichi/ hachimtiindi/ haḥá/ 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-zuunguka

v. wander about

Sheekhi/ mukeewe/ chiwonoowa/ nakuzuunguka/ hawonoowi/ numbaani/ kaake. ‘Whenever Sheekhi’s wife is seen, she is wandering about, she is not seen at her house.’

ku-zungumuza

v. *Swahilism* chat (Our current sources judge this word to be Swahili and not Chimiini.)

Nnazo kooḍi/ nakhsuḷa 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

Alí/ ile Mwiini/ kumzuura/ daadaye/ Aamina. ‘Ali came to Brava to visit his grandmother Aamina.’

Ba’adi yaa sala/ kuḷa mooyi/ humjazima 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 mukhtaā 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/ oloshale mutiini/ kuzura peesaze/ laakini/ mara iyi/ mukhtaā 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.’

khuzuriile kama ziyaara [song] ‘I paid a visit to you like the visiting of a great man who died’

kuzuura/ ba’aḍi ya ahliye ‘to visit members of his (extended) family’

Mi/ nzurile khabri/ ya mtume/ Madiina. ‘I have visited the tomb of the Prophet in Medina.’

Ndrata/ 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’

Nuuru/ ile Mwiini/ kuzura khabri/ ya waawaye. ‘Nuuru came to Brava to visit the tomb of his dad.’

Safiriile/ ka ariplaanoye/ 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.’

Sizureení. ‘You (pl.) don’t visit!’

Sizureení/ ahli. ‘You (pl.) don’t visit relatives!’

Suufi/ mzurile mwaanawa. ‘Suufi visited my child.’ (Observe that the benefactive applied may be used to express the same notion: **Suufi/ nzurijile 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/ zurīle madrasa. ‘Suufi visited school.’

Wamzurīle mwaalimu. ‘They visited the teacher.’

Wana khabari/ wanakuhada/ ya kuwa ra’iisi/ nakhfilatīloowa/ khfaanya/ mukaataba/ pamó/ na ba’ađi/ 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.’

Zuura. ‘Visit!’

Zuraani. ‘You (pl.) visit!’ (cf. **Zurani ahli.** ‘You (pl.) visit relatives!’)

rel.

ku-zuurana v. rec. visit one another

Waant^{hu}/ wazaleenó/ ni waajibu/ kuzuurana. ‘People who are relatives must visit one another.’

ku-zuurika v. p/s.

ku-zuurīla v. appl.

ku-zuurīsha v. make someone pay a visit

ku-zurīshan(y)a v. caus. rec.

ku-zurīshilīza v. caus. appl.

ku-zurīshilīzanya v. caus. appl. rec.

ku-zuroowa v. pass.

Masheekhi/ na ma’aalimú/ ni waajiba/ kuzuroowa/ kilā mwaaka.

‘Religious scholars and knowledgeable people must be visited each year (e.g. at the mosque where they teach etc).’

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 zuraafa/ 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 zuurī. ‘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 mwaanawe/ ⊙ ⊙. ‘Haliima kissed her child ⊙ ⊙.’

Personal Names

Male names.

Abdi

Abú
Abubakari
Ahmaduná
Alí
Aweeso
Habiibi
Hamadi
Hasani
Huseeni
Jeeli
JeeJaani
Khaasimu
Muydiini
Mwenye
Nuureeni
Nuuru
Omari
Osmaani
Rufáa'i
Sheekhuná
-

female names:

Aa'ísha
Abayi
Aamina
Baayi

Biibi
Fardoosa
Faatima
Haliima
Khadija
Maa'ísha
Maafaatima
Maakhaadija
Maaluulu
Mwana'aamina
Mwana'ísha **check this one**
Mwanafaatima
Mwanazahara
Mwanakhaadija
Maryamu
Maasiti
Maazahara
Mwaana
Zahara
Umi
Uumi

Maa- equals “senior”, while Mwana- is junior.
Is “Maa” really “mwaa” in MI’s speech.

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.

<i>k-aalika</i>	v. [Sw. <i>alike</i> SSED 9] (alishile) invite s.o. to a party, wedding, or other ceremony rel. <i>k-alikana</i> v. rec. (-alikeene) <i>k-alikila</i> v. appl. (alikiile) <i>k-alikoowa</i> v. pass. (alishila)
<i>ku-'arida</i>	v. [apparently related to Som. <i>arday</i> "student" DSI 23, but there is no related verb in Standard Somali] (aridiile) recite – unknown to GM
<i>ku-'asira</i>	v. [Ar. ' <i>asira</i> "to force, oppress, treat harshly" W 612] (asiriile) take captive in war (This word is not known to GM.)
<i>kh-choma</i>	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)
<i>kh-chora</i>	v. (choreele) engrave, carve, design, decorate rel. <i>kh-choraachora</i> v. freq. <i>kh-choroowa</i> v. pass. (-choreela) be engraved on rel. nom. <i>m-chora</i> (<i>wa-</i>) n. 1/2 one who carves etc. <i>ma-choro</i> n. 6 engraving, design <i>u-choro</i> n. 14 drawing
<i>i-chuungwa</i> (<i>ma-</i>)	n. 5/6 orange rel. <i>m-chuungwa</i> (<i>mi-</i>) n. 3/4 orange tree
<i>da'a</i>	n. [Ar. <i>da'a</i> W 1058] meekness, gentleness, equanimity – this item not known to GM
<i>dasiisi</i> (<i>ma-</i>)	adj. [Ar. <i>dasīsa</i> "intrigue, machination" W 281] mean, evil (This word is not known to GM.)
<i>fartaki</i>	??not known to gm, given by MI but not translated rel. <i>sh-fartaki</i> (<i>s-</i>) n.
<i>faṭuura</i>	n. [Ital. <i>fattura</i>] <i>obsolete?</i> bill (MI used this word, but it does not seem to be presently in use.) faṭura ya maayi 'water bill' Iṣṭalimile faṭura ya koranṭa. 'He received the electric bill.'
<i>jazaari</i>	n. [Ar. <i>jazzār</i> W 123] butcher
<i>m-loofari</i> (<i>wa-</i>)	n. 1/2 one who wastes money and spends so much that he becomes bankrupt (This word not known to GM.)
<i>loongo</i>	in the expression: kubiga loongo 'to make a fishing line' (This word not known to GM.)

<i>luuma (n-druuma)</i>	n. 11/10 [Sw. <i>uma (nyuma, mauma)</i> SSED 497] metal rod; the metal stick with which kohl is applied to the eyes. (This word not known to GM.)
<i>madali</i>	n. [Som. <i>madal</i> DSI 402] place of meeting (This word not known to GM.)
<i>madfani</i>	n. [Ar. <i>madfan</i> W 287] burying place (This word not known to GM.)
<i>muhmili</i>	adj. [Ar. <i>muhmil</i> W 1035] negligent, careless (This word is unknown to GM.)
<i>ku-rafi'ila</i>	v. [Ar. <i>rafa'ū</i> W 349] lift, remove, relieve
<i>rafrafu</i>	n. [Ar. <i>rafrāf</i> W 349] cushion
<i>rafu</i>	n. 9/10 [Sw. <i>rafu</i> SSED 394; Ar. <i>raff</i> W 348] shelf
<i>kh-sawiṭa</i>	v. [cf. Ar. noun <i>ṣaut</i> , pl. <i>aṣwāt</i> and <i>ṣuwāt</i> "crying, loud sound" W 529] (sawitile) cry, shout, clamor (This verb was not known to GM.)
<i>skurubu</i>	n. 9/10 [Sw. <i>skrubu</i> "screw" 434; Eng.] screw-driver (GM does not use)
<i>sodaawi</i>	adj. [Sw. <i>sodawi</i> "proud, supercilious, arrogant" SSED 508; Ar. <i>saudawi</i> "melancholic, depressed" W 440] <i>Swahilism?</i> hot-tempered rel. <i>u-sodaawi</i> n. [Sw. <i>usodawi</i>] hot-temperedness
<i>l-tete (n-)</i>	n. 11/10 [Sw. <i>cheche la moto</i> "a spark" SSED 52] spark; [pron. nt^hete (pl.)] nt^hete zaa muḷo 'sparks of fire'
<i>kh-tewa</i>	v. [?Som. <i>taabo</i> "to touch" DSI 567] (teweele) fondle, caress (with sexual connotations) this item not known to GM rel. <i>kh-tewana</i> v. rec. (teweene)
<i>k-uundra</i>	v. [Sw. <i>unda</i> SSED 500] construct, build (This word is not known to GM.) rel. <i>k-uundrila</i> v. appl. <i>k-undroowa</i> v. appl.
<i>urri</i>	n. [Som. <i>curre</i> DSI 109] male cat (This word is not known to GM as being in use in Chimiini.)
<i>-vivo</i> or <i>-vivu</i>	adj. [Sw. <i>-bivu</i> SSED 37] ripe (Not in use in present-day Chimiini. Perhaps a Swahilism.) Ipapayu ivivo 'a ripe papaya' Mweka chiwiti/ huja chivivu. 'The person who puts aside s.t. unripe (now), eats s.t. ripe (later).'
<i>-vuundifu</i>	adj. destructive (character); broke (This word was not familiar to GM. Probably a Swahilism.) Mlate mvundifu oyo. 'Let that destructive one alone.'
<i>zumra</i>	n. [Ar. <i>zumra</i> W 381] group of people [GM does not know this word.]

