

Bajuni: people, society, geography, history, language¹

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1. Introduction

For at least five centuries the Bajuni² thrived, living a fairly peaceful subsistence existence, fishing, trading, and farming, in a string of cross-border settlements, from Kismayuu³ in southern Somalia down to the northern tip of Pate Island in Kenya, a distance of some 250 km. They did not live luxuriously,

¹ The information for this overview has come from several sources, other than those published: Alessandra Vianello, Brian and Tiffy Allen, Mohamed Bakari Mohamed (elder of Chula village), Yusuf Omar Mwalim (elder of Chovae village), Said Ahmed Abdurahman (Brava), bajuni.com (= Mohamed). I am grateful to Alessandra Vianello and Sarah Rose for editorial assistance. Brian Allen held over 350 face to face interviews with anonymous Somali Bajuni refugee claimants. I myself listened to evidence from some anonymous 80 Somali Bajuni refugee claimants. Together, these two sets of refugee claimants came from: Kismayuu, Fumayu, Koyama, Chovae, Chula, Mdova, Ras Kiamboni. Some information from these sources is also used.

² Also known as T^hik^huu, Tiku, Gunya, and al-Jazira. Bajunis is their own preferred name.

Gunya is used by some Bajuni to refer to people among them who were originally slaves. In Brava, while not referring to slave origin, the term Gunya is slightly derogatory and one would not tell a person to their face that they are a m-Gunya. When Bravanese want to make a joke or laugh at Bajunis, they call them wa-Gunya. In Bravanese traditions the Gunya were sea-people who brought mangrove poles.

T^hik^huu is used by the people of Siu and Pate in Kenya to refer to the people of the big (*kuu*) land (*i*^h*i*), the mainland, the Bajuni.

During Siad Barre's regime the term *al-jazira* was promoted to represent the islands and their inhabitants.

Since this overview is about Bajuni, all names and words cited are in their Bajuni form, with Swahili (Sw.) equivalents in brackets. I omit all prefixes, so Bajuni for the people *va-Bajuni* (Sw. *wa-Bajuni*) and the language *ki-Bajuni*

³ The name *Kismayuu(u)* is of Bajuni origin. It is formed from *Kisima yuu*, 'northern/upper well', and can be pronounced as *Kismayúu* or *Kismáyu*. *Kismayo* and *Kismaayo* are alien versions.

but they lived well enough and formed a coherent and stable community. Men travelled widely, as traders north up to Kismayuu, Muqdisho and southern Arabia, across the Indian Ocean to the east, and south to Lamu, Malindi, Mombasa, Tanzania, Zanzibar, the Comoro Islands, and Madagascar. Some Bajunis were famous as sea captains the length of the East African coast. Fishermen spent several weeks each year in temporary fishing camps on other islands⁴. Women also travelled but less far, to nearby islands and towns to buy supplies, maybe occasionally to Muqdisho or Mombasa. Men took care of business, of making boats, making and mending nets, catching and selling fish. Women took care of the home, of cooking, of some agriculture and made some money by weaving baskets and collecting cowries for sale. Children took care of goats and boys went out on fishing boats. Both sexes knew songs, stories, and poetry: some songs were the province of women, others of men. They would know the names of clans. Somalis, Bajunis, and other East African ethnicities divide the ‘tribe’ (Bajuni and Swahili *kabila*, Bajuni *uchand'u*) into smaller groupings known as clans (Bajuni *k'amasi*, Swahili and Bajuni *ukoo*). Bajuni clan names (see section 5) come from ancestors or places and clan affiliation used to play a role in allegiance, marriage, and inheritance.

Bajunis were few (see section 4), their mainland neighbours (recently Somali, formerly Oromo) were many⁵; they were fairly defenceless, their mainland neighbours were armed and aggressive. The balance between them and the neighbours was fragile but stable. The main settlements were on the islands, with agricultural areas on the mainland opposite. When times got bad, Bajuni living or working on the mainland withdrew to the (Bajuni) islands. There is little suggestion that their pastoral neighbours showed much inclination to cross over to the islands, probably because they were not too interested in what was on offer – a lot of fish, limited edible flora, and few domestic animals.

This situation continued after independence (1960 in Somalia, 1963 in Kenya). It started to change in Somalia in 1974, when the government started to move Bajunis off the islands, and it changed radically in 1991, with the fall of Siad Barre, the President of Somalia. In what follows, this period and the events from 1991 on are referred to as The Troubles⁶. The historical balance broke, ethnic Somalis rolled across the mainland settlements and flooded onto the islands. Ethnic Somalis (Hawiye, Darod/Marehan) decided to evict Bajunis from the islands where they had lived for centuries, telling them they had no right to be there (although they had been there longer than the intruders). Refugees tell horrific anecdotes of ethnic cleansing, involving chaos, theft, violence, rape, and murder: of mothers and daughters beaten and raped: of fathers and sons being beaten, stabbed, shot, having their heads held under water till they drowned, being forcibly taken to Kismayuu and never returning: of whole communities being moved to forced labour camps in Kismayuu: of fishermen going on a fishing trip for several days and returning to find their village empty, devoid of people and families. In all likelihood, the Bajunis and their culture will be gone from Somalia in the near future. At the time of writing, no one can be sure how many Bajuni remain in Somalia but an informed guesstimate would be at most a few hundred (cf section 4, paragraph 4, below).

There has also been orthographic cleansing. Since Bajunis were illiterate, their place names and their language were rendered by others, in the orthographic conventions of the others. In southern Somalia, Italian conventions were used, and reproduced by non-Italians who came later: so the Bajuni

⁴ The island of Ngumi, for instance, has been deserted for centuries but was and is used for fishing camps, and for drying fish.

⁵ The present population of Somalia is undetermined: estimates range between 8 and 10 million.

⁶ The term is borrowed from the Northern Ireland situation.

village Kiamboni⁷ just north of the border with Kenya was spelt as *Chiamboni/Chiambone*. More recently, Somali nationalism has Somaliised names, so *Kaambooni*, which has no meaning in Somali⁸, and this policy of replacing Bajuni versions by those of others is followed by bodies such as the National Geographic and the British Admiralty. In Kenya, Bajuni names have long been replaced by Swahili ones, often misspelled, since they were originally recorded by writers who had never been to the places concerned, or were not linguists.

In view of this, it seems an appropriate time to record what is known of the Bajunis, their language, and culture, before they and it are gone. This database assembles in one place material that hitherto has only been available in quite disparate places and despite the electronic world is often not easy to locate. I have made considerable effort to render Bajuni names and words accurately. Generally, this means using Swahili orthography, where appropriate, modified where necessary by conventions set out in the language section and word list.

2. Comments on sources

Documentation on the Bajuni, their language, their culture, is poor. The best documentation is in the mind of elderly Bajunis but as they die out, the chance of documenting their knowledge recedes.

General. The best single written source on Bajunis culture is Grottanelli (1955a). Although it represents a culture, language, and society now fast disappearing in Somalia, although it is hard to find, although it is written in Italian, it contains a vast amount of information, and reading it will reward and enlighten those who persevere. Prins (1967) too, although concerned with the whole coast, has a lot of detailed and direct material on the Bajunis area.

Archaeology: Chittick (1976) and especially Wilson (various), who himself worked in northern Kenya in the late 1970s and early 1980s but meticulously examined all previous work done in southern Somalia, with the eye of an archaeologist used to operating and interpreting in the area.

Language: mainly Nurse (various, especially 1982), based on work done in the late 1970s. Since that time he has worked on many refugee cases involving Somali Bajunis. Vocabulary comes also from Sacleux' epic (1939) dictionary, based on work done in the 1880's: Grottanelli, based on work done in the early 1950s in southern Somalia: and Nurse mainly on work done thirty years later in northern Kenya but also to a lesser extent on listening in the early 2000s to young refugees from Somalia, many of whom might well be labeled as semi-speakers. This geographical and temporal range of over a century means that some readers will find lexical material that strikes them as unfamiliar.

History, ethnography, culture. These sources can be roughly divided into two, early (Barton, Boteler, Brenner, Elliott, FitzGerald, Haywood, Owen, Strandes, and maybe Stigand, although his view is more comprehensive) and late (Allen, Cassanelli, Lewis). Early Europeans, first travelers, then colonial servants, sailed (Barton, Elliott, Haywood) along the coast, or walked across the interior (Brenner, FitzGerald), usually for a few days or weeks and wrote down what they saw or were told. Their material, often short, local, and anecdotal, is interesting. The later authors have a broader overview and knowledge base.

⁷ *Ki-ambo-ni* has a good Bajuni meaning, 'at the hamlet'. See *kiambo* in the word list, and discussion in Prins.

⁸ Interestingly, I have heard of attempts by ethnic Somalis, wishing to deny a Bajuni connection, to explain Kiamboni as a Boni village, the Boni being a local hunting group, whose domain was the forest and bush.

Geography. Of the many maps that exist of the coast, most are incomplete in some way. They tend to focus on one country or the other, on places that have or had a population, and on places with archaeological significance, and to omit smaller villages, islets, or reefs. Often the names of these latter are unknown. The most detailed maps are those in FitzGerald and those listed at the end under British Admiralty and Great Britain War Office⁹. If these are combined with the reports of early travelers, a reasonably - though not completely - comprehensive picture of the Bajuni area emerges¹⁰. It is difficult to get all the detail into one map of reasonable size. The map here is selective. It tries to show areas of current and recent Bajuni habitation, and places with significant ruins likely to be Bajuni. It uses Bajuni versions of names, where known. It ignores other geographical features and the many islets, reefs, and dots that join the larger islands – they can be found on the other maps (British Admiralty¹¹, British War Office, British War Office and Air Ministry, Grottanelli 1955, Wilson 1984: 74, 76).

I am also in regular contact with two other individuals who specialise in language matters in this geographical area. One is Daniel J. Van Lehman, Co Director, National Somali Bantu Project, Portland State University, Portland, Oregon, USA, who was formerly a field UNCHR officer in N.E. Province, Kenya, referred to below as “the first source”. He gave me valuable advice on the historical use of Swahili in southern Somalia¹². The other, referred to below as “the second source”, works in the UK, has personally interviewed over 300 refugees claiming to be Somali Bajunis for some three hours each, and has thus a total of over 900 hours of experience. He lived for 20 years in East Africa and has published four books in Swahili (his name can be provided, if requested). Both sources are in constant touch with Bajuni expatriate communities in their respective countries and their claims can be verified

Readers will note that sources on the www are largely absent. It is possible on the web to find reports by commissions, committees, and bodies, often made up of individuals whose successes were political and administrative and achieved in theatres other than Somalia. Their reports often deal mainly with refugees, and contain a large element of special pleading. Some of their alleged facts and figures are at odds with those from individuals who have direct and lengthy experience in the area.

The sources at the end themselves contain further (local) sources not mentioned here.

3. Geography and economy¹³

The Bajuni domain, at least since the 14/15th century, is associated with the string of coral islands that runs from Kismayuu, 16 kms south of the mouth of the Juba¹⁴, down to Kiwayuu Island in northern Kenya,

⁹ There are also Italian, and maybe German and French, government maps, here ignored.

¹⁰ Google Earth has the whole coast seen from a satellite. The pro is the physical detail, the cons are the lack of labels for places, the inability to get enough magnification, and the fact that on the day the satellite flew over the islands, clouds obscured some areas, especially most of Chula Island. I also found it hard to distinguish the exact number of buildings in each village, building from house, and inhabited from uninhabited/abandoned/ruined house.

¹¹ British Admiralty map 3362 (1997) combines the two earlier maps in the Bibliography. From a Bajuni point of view, it is retrograde, as it omits some earlier detail and Somaliises all names.

¹² In this sentence, ‘historical use of Swahili’ excludes Bajuni, Bravanese, and “Somali Bantu”.

¹³ Many of the statements made here are modifications of material in Grottanelli and Prins, which therefore see.

just north of Pate Island, a distance of some 150 miles = 250 kms. There is also a narrow and discontinuous string of mainland settlements opposite the islands, starting with Kismayuu, and FitzGerald's (1898: 502) map shows Bajuni coastal settlements in the south ending at Dodori Creek, opposite Pate Island. Distances in kms: Kismayuu to Koyama 40, Koyama to Ngumi 10, Ngumi to Chula 20, Chula to Buri Kavvo 25, Buri Kavvo to Kiamboni 60, Kiamboni to Dodori Creek 100.

Bajunis and other coastal Swahili refer to the islands as just "the islands¹⁵", other names being the Bajuni Islands, the 500 islands, and the Dundas group¹⁶. In recent times the Bajuni area stretched onto northern Pate Island. The islands do not form a continuous line, there being a northern group from Kismayuu to Chand'aa Island, just north of Buri Kavvo, and a southern group from Kiungamwini in northern Kenya to Kiwayuu Island. The biggest settlements were on the islands, mostly facing inland, with agricultural areas, some quite fertile and large, on the adjacent mainland, especially along the four rivers (Bajuni *m(u)cho*, pl. *micho*), some navigable, that run inland. The earliest reports suggest that in even earlier times these farming areas were run by slaves, controlled from the islands, but that was at a period when the Bajunis were more opulent and powerful¹⁷. Today there are no settlements along the 35 miles stretch of mainland coast between Buri Kavvo and Ras Kiamboni and on islands facing that coast. There are however ruins of earlier and smaller settlements, often walled, to protect them against marauders, human and animal.

The islands are small, Grottanelli (1955) giving these estimates of size for the main islands: Koyama 7.5 sq.kms, Chovae 6.5, Chula 5, Ngumi 4.5. Prins (1967: 28) says:

"The islands are all low coral formations, withered by the sea and the breeze, and only covered by low bush, scrub, and a few palms and trees. Only the two or three bigger islands (Simambaya, Kiungamwini, Kiwayuu) are somewhat hillier, and, especially the first, somewhat more wooded. The whole range, together with the outcrops in between, forms a barrier reef protecting the mainland coast and the straits".

¹⁴ The Bajuni term for the Juba is *Mucho wa Gobweni*, 'river of Gobwe'. Gobweni derives from Somali Goobweyn, a village 12 kms north of Kisimayu. The word consists of Goob = an open area, cleared of trees/bush + weyn = large, big. Probably the locality marks the mouth of the Juba. In old travellers' writings the river is called Ganane (especially in its upper course). The town of Lugh was called Lugh Ganane. Thanks to A. Vianello for this information. .

¹⁵ Although the general word for 'island' is *ki-dhiva* (Sw. *ki-siwa*), a second, older word for 'island' appears in place names. So beside the well-known *Kilwa* in southern Tanzania, there is also, for example *Kiwa-yuu* in northern Kenya. Sacleux (1939: 421) says *Kiwa/Kilwa* refers to a small coral island. *Kiwa/Kilwa* consist of prefix *ki-* and stem *-lwa*, the latter going back to Proto-Bantu (Guthrie (1971: 126).

¹⁶ Medieval travelers mention the "Fire Islands", off the East African coast, which might also be another earlier designation.

¹⁷ FitzGerald describes extensive Bajuni fields of millet and other plants on the mainland opposite Pate Island in the 1890's, and said there were even more extensive adjacent areas, once cleared of forest, but then abandoned. He describes the slaves as Kamba, Taita, and others. He says Boni were employed to guard them and to keep the fields clear of birds and animals.

This makes it a relatively safe shipping lane for small local vessels, with larger cargo ships going outside the reef. Published accounts vary in their description of its width, at between 2 kms and 8 kms (5 miles). In recent times only Koyama, Chovae, and Chula were inhabited. When asked, Somali Bajunis will often mention seven islands, these three plus Kismayuu, Fuma, Ngumi, and Mdova. Kismayuu Island was separate from the town of the same name until a connecting causeway was built in the 1960s. Examination of the oral traditions and the archaeological record suggests Ngumi was abandoned at the end of the 17th century. Mdova is a small island off the southern tip of Chula, the gap between them being easy to walk cross at low tide and fordable at high tide by leaping across rocks, so it might be considered a separate island or not. In northern Kenya, northern Pate Island is home to Bajuni communities, whose ancestors came from the north several centuries ago. Oral traditions, clan names, and archaeological ruins suggest earlier settlement on Chand'aa, Simambaya, and Kiwayuu Islands. Between most inhabited or once inhabited islands is a string of coral islets and outcrops, many with names given by fishermen.

The islands are not fertile, being solid coral. Although the diet centered on fish, it did depend to some extent on the availability of crops from the mainland. The 18th and 19th centuries were troubled times, when the farming areas and lines of communication with the islands were often interrupted by unfriendly Orma or, later, Somali, so this was a period of slow decline. Island populations were always small¹⁸, a major limiting factor being the supply of fresh water from the wells. The wells supplied fresh water from underground caverns, in which fresh and salt water were in balance. When populations grew too large, too much fresh water was drawn off, disturbing the underground mixture, resulting in water undrinkable by humans and only fit for washing or cattle¹⁹. Today or at various points during the 20th century the water in the wells at Koyama, Ngumi, Chovae, and Chula is/was described as brackish and fresh water has to be brought from adjacent wells or even other islands. In 1898 FitzGerald states that many of the mainland wells between Buri Kavoo and northern Kenya were brackish.

Various crops are recorded as being grown by Bajunis (Grottanelli (especially), Prins). Several kinds of millet (and sorghum), maize, several kinds of beans/peas, and sesame are mentioned in all sources as grown, and as contributing regularly to the diet. Pumpkin (squash?), sweet potatoes, and tomatoes get less mention, as do cotton, tobacco, and a very few coconut trees (for example on Chula and Koyama). It is less clear from the sources where and when these are grown: islands or mainland, all islands or just some, today or in the past? Many wild plants are used for medicinal, cosmetic, magical, and industrial purposes (see Grottanelli).

Fishing was all important to Bajuni society. When asked what work Bajunis do, there is always the same simple answer: "They (= men) fish". They fish from the shore, inside the reef, and outside the reef in the open ocean. They use several different kinds of boats²⁰. They use hooks and lines, weirs,

¹⁸ Mainland populations also: FitzGerald (1898) walked through a string of mainland Bajuni villages in northern Kenya and estimated the populations at 100 – 200 each. See footnote 2.

¹⁹ Islanders adapted to these sparse conditions. In Lamu in the 1970s a hydrologist told me that local people used five gallons of water a day per person for everything, whereas Europeans, with their wasteful ways (flush toilets, showers, baths, swimming pools) averaged 150 gallons a day.

²⁰ Grottanelli (p190ff) describes three main types of Ba boats: *mtumbwi*, *dau*, *mashua*. In the past *mtepe* also a Ba type at least up to the 1920's, but no more. *Ngalawa* and *jahazi* seen but not Bajuni types. "All *mitepe* fly three flags on the masthead, white pennant is the flag of Ali of Shungwaya,.. below the white

traps, plunge baskets, spears, and nets of different kinds. They catch dozens of types of fish, sharks, rays, shrimps, lobsters, and several varieties of turtle, the latter often by using sucker fish. Not only are fish important in the diet, they are/were also dried and exported to Kismayuu, Lamu, and Mombasa. Beside fish, a limited trade in mangrove timber, cowries, and sewn goods (mats, hats) exists. Reports into the twentieth century talk of cloth being made on Koyama and Chula. Boats were built, and the Bajuni icon, the *mtepe*, as still built on Chovae into the 20th century.

4. Settlements north to south

This section deals (mainly) with contemporary or recent settlements, while section 6 treats ruined, no longer inhabited, settlements.

Although the most northerly Bajuni settlement in recorded history is Kismayuu, there are other Bantu and Swahili outposts in Somalia. 275 kms north of Kismayuu is Brava, whose people speak Mwiini/Bravanese, a Swahili dialect. Inland are the people now curiously²¹ referred to as the Somali Bantu, along the Juba and further north. There may have been even others earlier, because Mukdishu has an area called *Shanga-ni*²² ('sand, beach'), rather clearly general Swahili/Bantu in shape: between Muqdishu and Brava is Merca, whose original Bantu shape is *ma-rika* 'age-sets': and not far from Muqdishu is the island of *Makaya* (*-kaya* is a widespread Bantu root for 'homestead, settlement').

In some Bajuni settlements, the island, a/the village on the island, and sometimes even a settlement on the coast opposite have the same name, thus Fuma is used in referring to the island, the village, and the (now abandoned) settlement opposite. Most have or had two or even three villages: so Chula in the late 19th century had Chula village and nearby Kitakundu: likewise Koyama has Gedeni (=Koyama), Ihenge, and Koyamani.

The only official census of Somali Bajunis was made by the Italian administration in 1926, and covered the main Bajuni centres, Chovae (434 people), Kismayuu²³ (334), Chula (301), and Koyama (172), reported in Grottanelli (1955: 25). Grottanelli, based on his own observation in 1953, estimated the population of Bur Kavvo (mainland) at 80 (Fitzgerald said 50 in 1898), and put the whole Bajuni population in Somalia at not more than 2,000. The population is unlikely to have increased much meanwhile. The water in the wells on the major islands being brackish, fresh water has to be brought in, and the agricultural areas on the mainland on which the Bajuni depended for most of their food other than fish was increasingly out of control of the Bajuni. So throughout the 20th century, Bajuni individuals and families trickled down into Kenya, long before the civil war of the 1990s. The size of the

flag is flown an enormously long streamer, known as utakataka. Under the streamer is the red flag of the Sultans of Shungwaya, in ancient times the capital of the Persian settlements of the Azanian coast.”

²¹ Curious because it excludes Bravanese and Bajunis, who do speak Bantu, and includes many people along the inland rivers who do not speak Bantu.

²² I have seen it recently suggested that *Shanga* derives from the city of *Shanghai*, in China. No. *Shanga* is a good Bajuni and Swahili word that goes back to Proto-Bantu, several millennia ago. There are of course other *shanga* along the coast, notably the ruined settlement in the Lamu Archipelago.

²³ Kismayuu was originally a Bajuni town. It has long had a Swahili component and proximity to an ethnic Somali presence. The first settlement was on Kismayuu Island, joined to the mainland in the 1960s.

Bajuni population in Somalia in the years and decades before The Troubles is disputed, varying from “perhaps 3000 to 4000” (Cassanelli 1993) to 11,000, or more. Allowing for an annual compound increase of some 2%, Cassanelli’s figure fits quite well with the 1926 figure. Both also fit well enough with part of the testimony given by Bajuni elders to a European delegation in 2000: at the start of The Troubles in 1991, “many” Bajuni had fled south into Kenya and were put in UN camps, and in 1997 “a large majority...some 2,500...returned to Somalia”, helped by the Kenyan Red Cross and the UNHCR. A final piece of evidence comes from looking at the Google Earth Somalia map from the early 2000s. It is possible to look down at nearly all the Bajuni settlements and count the buildings: Kismayuu, hundreds of buildings: Fuma and adjacent island, perhaps 12: Koyama, 3 villages, some 150 buildings: Chovae, 2 villages, some 100 buildings: Istambuli, 50 buildings: Chula, one village on Chula, plus Mdova off the southern tip, Chula village with 100+ buildings is visible on the satellite photo, while Mdova is small, so we might guesstimate 150 buildings for Chula/Mdova: Rasini, “a few buildings”: Kudai?: Buri Kavo, 100-150 buildings: Kiamboni. 100+ buildings. Excluding Kismayuu and Kiamboni, that makes a total of some 700 buildings, but what does ‘building’ mean? Are they inhabited or deserted? By Bajunis or others? How many are not houses, i.e. mosques or the like? What might be, or might have been just before the start of The Troubles, the average number of people per house/family? I assume four, so $4 \times 700 = 2800$, say, 3000²⁴.

What of Kiamboni, Kismayuu, (and Buri Kavo)? Kiamboni (see below) grew during the 20th century, and then its numbers were swollen by outsiders after 1991, so at a guess half the houses today have or recently had Bajuni occupants, so $50 \times 4 = 200$. The Bajuni population of Kismayuu is impossible to know now or in recent years: several hundred buildings are visible, but its population has ballooned in recent years with an influx of outsiders, many Bajuni are known to have fled south, many of the remaining Bajuni (usually women) have married or been forced to marry Somalis, so how large is the “Bajuni” population, even if it could be defined? It was 334 in 1926 (see below). A guesstimate on the generous side today might be 500. If the population of Buri Kavo is estimated at $150 \times 4 = 600$, how many are or were in recent decades Bajuni? The population in the earlier 20th century was much smaller (see below) and many of the buildings seen on the satellite photo look new, so some/many of the habitants may not be Bajuni, so the figure of 600 Bajuni is probably (far?) too high,

So, extrapolating from the satellite buildings: $3000 + 200? + 500?? + 600? =$ some 4,300, which fits well enough with the figures from the 1926 census and from Cassanelli.

In my opinion, the much higher figures sometimes given for Somalia (“11,000”) are not accurate.

Figures for Kenya are higher, with most of the population on northern Pate Island. Nurse & Hinnebusch (1993: 6) put the Bajuni population of northern Kenya at 15,000 to 20,000 in the late 20th century, but cite other sources with different estimates.

Kismayuu There is a dearth of hard factual information about Kismayuu. Thus a search of web sites in November 2009 showed at least four population estimates: 70,000, 100,000, 165,000, 250,000. This compares to the official Italian census figure of 334 Bajunis in 1926 (Grottanelli 1955: 25). Likewise, since a search of web sites and other sources showed no comprehensive history of Kismayuu over the

²⁴ At the end of the century, when Bajunis fled from Somalia, various international commissions and bodies, including the UN, were suddenly talking of up to 10,000 and even more. The Italian administration, Grottanelli, and Cassanelli were working in more peaceful times and had no reason to massage the figure, so I am more inclined to accept their numbers.

last millennium, I asked a number of specialists and they agreed – no such thing exists. So we are reduced to generalities and likelihoods.

Unlike towns further north, Muqdishu, Marika, Brava, whose history goes back for a millennium or more, Kismayuu seems to be of fairly recent origin, having started just a few centuries ago as a small Bajuni fishing village, either on the mainland or on Kismayuu Island, which was only attached to the mainland in the 1960s. The name is of Bajuni origin (see fn. 3). Although all Bajuni settlements, at least in recent centuries, were small in size and population, Kismayuu might have been somewhat larger because it was not just a fishing village but became a regional trading centre, in its own right, and on the route between other coastal towns. It grew into a small Bajuni town, starting in the late 19th century and continuing through much of the 20th century. As the result of economic and political events in the later 20th century, the population mushroomed, and most of the newcomers are not Bajunis. The village/town was once divided into wards/quarters (Swahili *mitaa*, Bajuni *michaa*): *Majengo*²⁵ (the oldest), *Sokoni*, *Garedhani*, *Hafa Badwi*. Bajunis, together with some Bravanese and Arabs, lived in the first two: the *wali*, *askaris*, and Arab traders lived in *Garedhani*: *Hafa Badwi* was exclusively Somali.

Other quarters are recent: *Campo Amhara* ('Ethiopians' Camp') dates from 1937: *Villaggio Nuovo* ('New Village') is now called *Faanoole*: *Farjano* was created in 1967 as the road from Kismayuu to Jilib was built: *Siinay* dates from the 1980s: *Buulo Obligo* is now called *Waamo*. The main areas of the town/city recognized today are *Farjano*, *Faanoole*, *Shaqaalaha*, *Siinay*, and *Calanleey*.

Calanleey now includes both the former *Hafa Badwi* and *Majengo*. *Shaqaalaha* includes the former *Campo Amhara*. *Farjano*, *Faanoole*, and *Siinay* are recent and have no historical links to Bajunis. *Sokoni* is now called *Suuq Weyne* ('Large Market') because there is also a small market (*Suuq Yare*). In *Garedhani* there is the police station. While most Bajunis today live in the area called *Majengo*, some, especially those in mixed marriages, live outside *Majengo*. Many of these "facts" may have changed as a result of recent disturbances.

Majengo has/had: the large market, a small market (*Mjinga*), a hospital, two mosques (*Haj Jamal*, *Msikiti Nuur*), a football field/stadium, two schools (*Haj Jamal*, *Halid Din walid*), a secondary school (*Nukta*). *Farjano* has/had: a mosque (*Hamsa*), a small market, a cinema (*Omatha*). In *Calanleey* there is/was: a secondary school (*Jamal*), a hospital (*Burulhadi*), a bus station (*Athmado*), a market (*Suk Yar*), a clothing shop (*Jafari Hindi*), a police station, two cinemas (*Juba*, *Umathi*). Near the ocean is the *Golden Hotel*.

Linguistically, while its traditional core was Bajuni, since at least the 19th century it has had a Swahili component, of a Kenyan coastal type: contact since the mid 19th century with the Bantu *Mushunguli*²⁶ along the *Juba River* just to the north, who spoke a form of Swahili and most of whom spoke *Zigua*: longstanding proximity to a local Somali presence: and a recent and massive influx of outside Somalis from further north.

²⁵ Curiously, *Majengo* and *Sokoni* are Swahili, not Bajuni, shapes, which may result from the colonial period, when the British imported many Swahilis from further south (A. Vianello, p.c.).

²⁶ Grottanelli (p. 201) refers to the *Mushunguli* = *Gosha* as "slaves". Not clear if he is reporting a Bajuni or a Somali attitude. *Gosha* is a Somali geographical term, which means "thick forest, unhealthy land" (Somali pastoralists avoided it because of the tsetse fly). The term *Wa-gosha* as a general indicator of its inhabitants started to be used at the turn of the 20th century. Formerly they were generally indicated as *Wa-toro* 'fugitives' (A. Vianello, p.c.)

Demographically, politically, and linguistically, Bajunis and Bajuni are now a very small force in Kismayuu.

Fuma²⁷ Fuma appears in five shapes: i) Fuma, ii) Fuma Yúu/Iyúu (full form) = Fumáyu (shorter form), iii) Fuma Mkubwa, iv) Fuma Ndangwe = Fuma Nyangwe = Fuma Nangwe, v) Fuma Tini.

The simple form i) Fuma refers to the island, and both ii) Fumayuu and iii) Fuma Kubwa to the village. The village is small, the satellite picture showing very few buildings: perhaps 6, with some ruins. Information from refugees is a little contradictory. One recent source says no more permanent population in 2009. The other says a small but dispersed population due to repeated Somali (Darood) attacks. It is said to have two large buildings (*yumba*). Fuma had more people in the past. One source said “two mosques” (is that two in Fumayuu alone, or (more likely) one each in Fuma Yuu and Fuma Tini?). Another source said one mosque (Msikiti Sharifu) on the island and the Sheikh is Mohammed Abdullah. People grew sweet potatoes, maize, peppers, coconuts, and kept hens, ducks, goats, sheep, but no cattle (fear of raids).

iv) Fuma Nangwe (Ndangwe? Nyangwe?) refers to a small island just to the south, where Bajuni went to clean and dry fish. Elliott (1925) says that, sailing south from Kismayuu with the coast on his right and the islands on the left, he came to Ilisi, Buli, Fuma Mkubwa (which he calls “the Big Beach”), and Fuma Ndangwe (“the Small Beach”), in that order. On the satellite map, an island just to the south (Kiwasi?) appears to have two or three houses today.

On the mainland, opposite and slightly NE of Fumayuu, is (v) Fuma Tini, with no permanent population in 2009. The satellite picture shows maybe 6 buildings, some ruined. There is/was a market, which serves/served the island.

The contrast between *Yuu/Iyúu* and *Tini*, seen in the pairing here, also occurs often in other settlements below: *yu/iyúuu* means ‘up, upper, above, high(er), northern’, while *tini* is the opposite. The *Yuu* member is always on the island, with *Tini* on the mainland.

Fuma had a permanent (and presumably larger) settlement before 1976, when Siad Barre forced the Bajunis to go and live at Kudai, renamed Kulmis.

Koyama Island has three villages. On the NW lee side, there is Gedeni/Ghedeni, a village, on the coast, with apparently (satellite view) some 30+ buildings in 2009. Along a path, almost due south, in the dunes, not far from the east coast, is a much larger village, Koyamani (about 100 buildings). The name situation here is puzzling, because refugees have also referred to Koyama and Koyama Yuu: my guess is that these are the same as Gedeni. About equidistant between the two is a very small village, away from the coast a bit but on the lee side, with about 12 buildings, which I have seen referred to as Ihembe, Hembeni, Wembeni, and Ihenge. (also Koyama wa Kachi?). The Koyama used to farm here and until recently there were no permanent buildings.

In contrast to other island villages, Gedeni and Koyamani have no wards.

The 1926 population (island, village?) was given as 172. Barton (1922: 3) describes the wells on Koyama as “extremely brackish”.

Refugees talk of two mosques (Koyamani = Koyama = Msikichi Nuur, and Gedeni mosque called Msikichi Kadhira). There is a *madrassa* in the “main mosque” (*nsikichi kuu*). A market called

²⁷ Some of this information about Fuma was supplied to A. Vianello by Adiyo Aweso, who was one of Grottanelli’s informants and whose picture appears in the 1955 book.

Shamsi (also Chula). I assume the “main mosque” and the market are in Koyamani. They also talk of graves “of white people”, ruins, a pillar tomb, and a large “Portuguese” *geredha*. Cultivation of sweet potatoes, cassava, maize, papaya, mangoes, coconuts, *mikoko* (used for building boats) and *mtali* trees and keeping of hens, goats, sheep, cattle, camels is reported.

On the mainland, south of Koyama, is Koyama Tini, now just a ruin, but once a rich agricultural area. Barton and Elliott both say there is/was a baobab tree on the mainland opposite Koyama where the original islanders are said to have carved their marks before crossing the water²⁸. Elliott mentions Nofali (mainly) and (also) Garre.

Ngumi Island is deserted today but was important in the past. European travelers in the early 20th century talk of “brackish water” in the wells. Opposite the island was **Ngumi Tini**, still extant in 1926 (Elliott).

Chovae Island²⁹ Two villages: Chovae village on the midwest side (70 buildings), a little inland from the coast, and in the far SW is Dhukuwa, also called Igome la Yuu (30+ buildings). There are two mosques on the island (Nsikichi wa Pwani (on the west coast, in the village), Nsikichi wa Iyu (to the east and slightly further north)). Some sources also referred to Nsikichi wa Nuuru. Sheikh Mahmud and Sheikh Sulemani were mentioned. Elliott says “Brackish water in wells at Chovae, water brought from the east of island”. Chovae consists of small groups of houses (*michaa*) called Iburini (see also Chula and Mdova, below), Michi a kachi, Firadoni, Omo³⁰, Kisiu, Kadoe. Said to be/have been a small school on the island, beside the *madrassa*. It is said to take several (four?) hours to walk the length of the island. Two “shores”, Pwani Ngadi (should it be Ngadhi?) (larger, where boats could land, part concrete), and Pwani wa Kisiu.

Going round the island, starting with the village on the leese, and then going clockwise are, in order (a question mark means I can’t read the spelling or doubt it): Pwani a Ngazi, Pwani a Sheny?, Bandari Kikochai (?). Mayapa Manoni, Bandari a Nkule, Igome la Sach?, Kwa Bora, Kwa Mongo, Nlima wa Bulibuli, Kitanga cha Irei, Kwa Asha, Kwa Vovo (?). Kilango cha Mware, Kwaheri (islet off the NE tip), Kichundruni, Kwa Bivanderemu, Panga Sera, Mongo wa Firadoni, Mongoni, Kigome cha Tepe, Kwa Barake, Kisiu cha Upandre, Kigome Kachi, Kiwa cha Mbe (?). Ipanga la Ngamia, Murpombo (?) Mdogo, Murpombo Nkulu, Bandari la Iyuu, Kitanga cha Bashiri, Iburini la Ngavo, Kipilipili cha Kae, Kipilipili cha Vatonyi, Kipilipilini, Usini, Pwani a Kisiu. Down the middle of the island, from north to south, are: (north of the village) Chumvi Uvandrani, Wa Iyuu, Mashimo a Vongo, and (south of the village) Dhiunwani (?) Dhangi, Dhisima dha Mtanga (shallow wells), Kisima cha Ng’ombeNgome (?), Kisima cha Dhukuva (a well), Vana va Kisaba.

In the early 20th century, Chovae had the largest population of all the islands, with 434 inhabitants in 1926. Grottanelli (1955:196) says *dau* and *mtepe* were built at Chovae into the 20th century. There were carpenters at Chula and Chovae. Elliott met a *mtepe* north of Koyama in 1926.

People grew maize, coconuts, *mikunadhi* (a small fruit) and kept hens, ducks, goats, sheep. Women collected *vibenza* on the beach.

²⁸ Lewis (1969: 43): “The limits of (Somali) pasture land are indicated by tribal marks cut in the bark of trees”.

²⁹ Sources for Chovae were several, the main one being Yusuf Omar Mwalim.

³⁰ Omo was originally a slave area, so named after their hair style ‘prow, crest’.

Opposite Chovae on the mainland is Chovae Creek, which splits into two, the Lac Badana (north) and the Mucho (“stream”) wa Yamani (south). On the north bank of the creek, directly west of Chovae, is the village of Istambuli. Although one refugee said that no one lives at Istambuli now, the satellite view shows some 50 buildings there. Istambuli and the Mucho wa Yamani were mentioned as agricultural areas for Chovae.

Chula Island³¹ (also pronounced **Tula**). In the late 20th century, up to 1991 at least, Chula is said to have had the largest island population, although in 1926 it had only “301” inhabitants.

There is one village today, Chula, on the west/leeside of the island, with four *michaa* (‘quarters’): (Firado-ni, in the west), Hinari-ni (north), Fuli-ni (east, also referred to as Kifulii, Kifili-ni, and Ku-fuli-ni) and Iburi-ni (south). Around the island are a number of places with names. Going north along the leeside, from Chula village, in order, are Kiwadhani, Mbara Kule, Kitakundu (mentioned in 1926 by Elliott, who wrongly said it was south of Chula), Uso wa Fumo, Mfirado, and Kipuyu (on the northern tip), described as anchorages. Then going from north to south along the windward side are Mwongo wa Firado, Igome la Ove, Mwongo wa Sichechu, Mwongo Kidoda, Mwongo Saadi, and Mwongo Mkuu, described as beaches and harbours. Finally, starting at the southern tip, and going north along the lee side to Chula village are Ntanga wa Nde, Kigome cha Imbe, Uso wa Omar Wella, Mbara Hasani, Usini, and Ngweni Ngweni (also anchorages). Going from north to south inland, down the middle of the island are Dhithima dha Firado (several wells, a tower nearby), Maniferi, Kipemba, Iburi Ikuu, Nlima Senya, and Igome la Ng’ombe. A recent source estimated it was approximately 90 minutes’ walk from the north to south of the island. The village is divided by a creek: at low tide people can walk across, but at high tide they have to wade across or walk round, so some minutes’ walk. For other islands, the Google satellite makes a clear identification possible, but on the day it flew over Chula Island, clouds obscured the southern half of the island. The satellite image shows the village, with over 100 buildings visible, perhaps a few in the south obscured by cloud. The main source said that “Up to 1975, before being evacuated, Chula village had four *michaa*”, which I find a puzzling claim as it still has four *michaa*. Some refugees refer to Fulini and Firadoni as villages.

At the edge of Firadoni is a mosque, Sharif Said Qullatten (also called the Friday Mosque, the Jamuye Mosque, and the Nsikichi Nkuu), in ruins but currently being rebuilt. There is a second mosque in Fulini, the Said Uthman Mosque. There are ruins of an old Geredha, said to be “Portuguese”, near the Msikiti Mkuu. Market (*suku*), fish auction. *madrassa*, no secular school. Much fresh water is brought from Mdova, because Chula water is brackish. There are jahazi racing competitions. People grew maize, cassava, millet, coconut trees (very old), and kept goats, sheep, and cattle.

M(u)dova Island and village Some 25 minutes’ walk south of Chula village, just off the southern tip of the island is Mdova, with a village of the same name. At low tide, it can be walked to from Chula, at high tide only by jumping from rock to rock. It is said to be small, with less than 50 houses. It has a mosque and *madrassa*³². The wells in Chula are salty today and fresh water has to be

³¹ Sources for Chula were several, the main one being Mohammed Bakari Mohamed, born 1944. He was also one of the elders who gave testimony in 2000 to the Joint British-Danish-Dutch commission.

³² One source claimed Mdoa has three wards: Mnara-ni, Mungala, Iburini, while another source said Mdoa has no wards and that these three are in Chundwa, on Pate Island.

brought from Mdova. It was “formerly all Bajuni, now Bajuni and Somali”. There is also a village Ndoa not far away on the mainland, just north of Buri Kavvo.

Opposite Chula Island is Rasini village. It appears to have just a few buildings on the satellite picture. Just south is the Mcho wa Anole = Lak Salamo/Salaam, mentioned by Grottanelli as a farming area for Chula. South again are Kudai (now Kulmisi) on the mainland, and Darakasi and Chand^faa Islands. They were not visible on the satellite image, due to cloud. Darakasi and Chand^faa are uninhabited. Kudai may still have a population, said by refugees to have been “largely Bajuni before 1991, now largely Somali”.

South again is Buri Kavvo Creek, which splits into two, Mcho wa Kimoti (north) and the Mcho wa Hola = Mcho wa Bushbushi (south). Buri Kavvo is the Port Durnford of colonial maps. On the south side of the creek is **Buri Kavvo** village, which has 100-150 buildings on the satellite picture. Since the population in 1890’s was estimated at 150 (Fitzgerald) and in 1953 at 80, the current number of buildings seems to have increased again lately. The well water here is described as so brackish as to be undrinkable, so fresh water is brought down from Bushbushi, 20 miles away. In 2009 the population at Buri Kavvo is described as “mainly Somali”.

From Buri Kavvo to Ras Kiamboni today, there are no permanent Bajuni villages nor offshore islands.

Kiamboni, village, and **Ras Kiamboni** (‘promontory at the village’), just north of the Kenya border. These show quite clearly on the satellite photo. The Ras is hammer shaped, with little habitation on the head, and most habitation on the mainland handle leading out to the head, and now stretching inland/west. The clustering of houses and the boats anchored nearby suggests the original Bajuni settlement is further out/east, with newer buildings to the west. Refugees talk of three areas: *Kwa yuu* (‘yuu’ ‘up’, or ‘north’), *Kwa kachi* ‘middle’, *Kwa t̄ini* ‘lower’ or ‘south’. Another source expresses these as Majengo, Mzee Famau, Mzee Fumo, the last two being local elders. There is/was an army camp, police post, naval base, customs house, a hospital, shops, cafes serving tea, a market, and two mosques (Friday mosque with madrasa, Nuuru (?) mosque, Takwa mosque in Upper Kiamboni). Police post, naval base, and hospital no longer operating. Cultivation takes place inland. Refugees also mention an “Islamic camp”, which is presumably what the US airforce bombed in January 2007.

The population is something of a puzzle. One middle aged Bajuni refugee, a fisherman, talks of having gone away on a fishing trip for several days (in/around 2003) and coming back to find everyone in his village vanished in a raid, and having never found his family again. Another refugee talks of Bajunis, “Swahili”, Ashraf, Bravanese, Somalis, and an “extremist political group” all living and cooperating fairly well. Well over 100 buildings are visible on the satellite picture.

There seem to have been four historical stages. The earliest is attested to by the ruins discussed in section 6. That early prosperous stage gave way to the second, described by FitzGerald (1898), who walked past Ras Kiamboni and talks of a water hole but no human habitation. Kiamboni’s fortunes revived during the 20th century as it grew into a sizeable Bajuni village. Finally, after 1991, it changed from being a purely Bajuni village into the multi-ethnic place it is today.

Bajunis from Kiamboni had the reputation of speaking a rather Swahiliised Bajuni, due to its proximity to the border with Kenya. From Kiamboni to the nearest village in Kenya is seven miles, as the crow flies, that is, under two hours by foot. The use of Swahili is probably enhanced by the presence of the many outsiders.

South of the border, in Kenya, is or was a line of mainland Bajuni villages, from Kiunga to Dodori Creek, north of Pate Island. Offshore are other islands, stretching on to northern Pate Island. These are much better mapped than those in Somalia, though there is some discrepancy between which mainland villages exist and which used to exist. No contemporary description is available of these. Many of the mainland villages were abandoned during the shifta troubles of the 1960's. From north to south, the mainland villages are/were: Ishakani, Kiunga, Mambore, Omwe, Rubu, Sendeni, Mvinden, Ashuwei, Mataroni, Vumwe, Mkokoni, Itembe, Dondo, Mpeia, Kilimandaro, Dodori. With the exception of Kiunga and those on northern Pate Island, most of these are/were very small (see the description by Fitz Gerald (1898), who talks of 100 - 200 people each), who walked through them. Some, and others now defunct, may have been larger in the past.

From north to south the islands or island settlements are: Kiungamwini Is, Shakani Is, Kiwayuu Is, Shimambaya Is, Faza = Rasini, Kidhingitini, Chundwa, Myabogi, Mbwejumali (the last five on Pate Island).

5. Clans

As other ethnic groupings in Somalia and East Africa, Bajunis are divided into clans. Their names have historical significance and the clans have contemporary meaning for some societal matters, e.g. marriages. There are three published sources for the clans, Grottanelli (1955, but 1953 fieldwork), Prins (1967), Nurse (1982, but field work a couple of years prior, also 1980, 1991): more recently there is *bajuni.com*. Grottanelli had his information from a sheikh or sheikhs in Kismayu, Nurse interviewed Mzee Bwana Boramusa, then living in Kiunga but born in Somalia (?). Prins and *Bajuni.com* do not mention their sources. As the sources overlap largely but not totally, they are repeated here.

Grottanelli (1955: 202ff) talks of "4 original clans, all originating in Yemen or Hijaz": al-Kindi (descendants of Banu Kindi), al-Ausii³³ (descendants of al-Khadhrjii³⁴), al-Khadherajii (as preceding), Nofáli (descendants of Nofali wa 'Abd-i-Shamis³⁵ wa..."), said to be more recent Arabian origin". *Bajuni.com* has five, partly overlapping, partly different from those in Grottanelli: al-Ausii, al-Khadhrjii, al-Nofali, Banu Stambuli, al-Nadhiri.

From these 4 the other 18 are said to "descend": Chandraa, Chovae, Chund^fa, Firado³⁶, Kachwa, Kisimayu, Kudai, Ndipingoni, Ngumi, Shiradhi, Shungwaya, Simambaya = Shimambaya = Simambae,

³³ Certain clan and place names are often shortened: Ausii to Ausi (also non-shortened Ausia), Khadhrjii to Khadhrji (also non-shortened Khadhrjia, Kismayu to Kismayu, Fumayu to Fumayu, etc. Shortened or not, stress is always penultimate.

³⁴ "From Medina" (Grottanelli). Lewis says these 4 clans are also present to the north, among the Benadiri.

³⁵ The market in Chula is called Shams(i).

³⁶ In Mwiini, the language of Brava, m-Firado is glossed as someone with one Bajuni and one Somali parent (Kisseberth and Abasheikh: 115). However, enquiries by A. Vianello with three elderly Bravanese produced a different story: the Firado are part of the Dafaradhi, one of the five Tunni subclans, and were originally Bajunis who asked to join the Dafaradhi. The Firado in Brava deny their Bajuni origins and claim other origins, e.g. Garre. The upshot of his is that there

Tawayu, Umbuyi, Kiunga, Rasini, Veko, Vekwaa, Vumbu, Womwe. It should be noted that although the number 18 (see Nurse, just below) is mentioned, there are in fact 20 in this list. He also says (p.204) that Chula and Koyama were mentioned to him by others as clans. So Grottanelli has a total of 26 names (4 + 20 + 2).

Prins (1967: 82) lists Amshiri, Avutila, Birkao, Daile, Dili, Faradho (= Firado?), Hartikawa, Kilio, Kisimayu, Kiunga, Kiwayuu, Koyama, Mrivi, Ndipingoni, Ngumi, Omwe, Rasmali, Simambaya, Shungwaya, Takwa, Tawayu, Tendaa (= Chandaa?), Uero, Umbuyi, Upembo, Utanuni, Uwani, Vekou, Vumwe (same as Omwe?), Zitindini, “to which should be added Il Barawi and Il Famaui”, a total of 32.

Nurse: 18³⁷ clans (“*kamasi*³⁸ *kumi na nane*”), divided into the ten (*kumi dha miuli*) and the eight (*nane dha bana*). I asked several elders about the meaning of *miuli* and *bana* but there was no agreement.

Kumi dha miuli: Kiwayuu, Koyama, Omwe, Pingoni, Shungwaya, Simambaye, Taka, Veko, Vekwa, Vumwe. Bajuni.com has Angove, Chandaa, Chismayu, Chithindani, Gede³⁹, Koyama, Ngumi, Omwe, Veko, Dhipingoni. Many of these are Bantu (or at least, not Somali terms) names. Shared names are underlined.

Nane dha bana: Abugado/Abimali, Amishiri, Avutila, Firado, Gare, Kilio, Rasmili, Yava. Bajuni.com has Amishiri, Avutila, Daile, Firado, Hatikawa, Kava (= Yava?), Na-kilio, Rasmali. These are areal Cushitic (mainly Somali) names.

Putting these all together alphabetically gives: al-Ausi(i), al-Kindi, al-Khadheraji(i) al-Nadhiri, Nofali, Banu Stambuli: Abimali, Abugado, Amshiri, Angove, Avutila, Birkao (some equate Birkao/Buri Gavo with Shungwaya), il-Barawi, Chand^faa/Tendaa, Chithindani, Chovae, Chula, Chund^fa, Daile (= Dili?), Dili, al-Famaui, Firado, Garre/Gare, Gede, Ha(r)tikawa, Kachwa, Kava(= Yava?), (Na)Kilio. Kismayuu(u), Kiunga, Kiwayuu, Koyama, Kudai, Ngumi, (W)omwe/Vumwe/Vumbe, Rasini (there are two Rasini, one in Somali, one in Kenya), Rasmali, Simambaya/Shimambaya/Simambae, Shiradhi, Shungwaya, Tak(w)a, Uero, Umbuyi, Upembo, Utanuni, Uwani, Veko, Vekwaa, Vumbu, Yava, Dhipingoni, Dhitindini, 52 (?).

are some Firado who are descendants of a father of the Garre and a Bajuni mother, similar to what Kisseberth and Abasheikh say.

This is clearly a tangled story, with Firado from the islands claiming mainland origins, while Bravanese/Tunni regard at least some Firado as having Bajuni origin. See also footnote 2.

³⁷ This use of numbers to refer to clan groupings is quite common in Somalia (Lewis 2002: 34) and extends down into traditional clans among the Swahili of northern Kenya (e.g. the nine of Siu, the seven of Pate, etc)

³⁸ The Tunni are divided into 5 ‘sections’ (*gamaas*: Tosco 1997: 1): the names do not correspond at all to the 18 Bajuni clans. The Bajuni word *k^hamasi* is taken from the Tunni term.

³⁹ There is an obvious connection between the Gede and Gede-ni village on Koyama. To linguists there is also an obvious connection between Gede and the Geledi a “chiefly tribe of the Sab family” (Lewis), thus akin to the Tunni, who mainly live today near Muqdishu. See also Cassanelli (1993). Loss of [l] (and vowel shortening) is a phonetic characteristic of Bajuni, and final [e] and [i] are often interchanged.

Some of these also found further south, in clan lists from Siu, Pate, Amu, and further afield⁴⁰.

Although three of the four sources (bajuni.com, Grottanelli, Nurse) agree that the number 18 is somehow important, there are in fact some 50 names here, allowing for possible overlap (overlap as in Ferado = Firado = Faradho, Shungwaya = Birkao?, Omwe/Vumwe/Vumbe, Chand^faa = Tendaa, etc). Only four appear in all four lists (Firado, Pingoni (various spellings), (W)omwe, Veko). Ten occur in three of the four lists (Amshiri, Avutila, Chand^faa, (Na-)Kilio, Kismayuu, Koyama, Ngumi, Rasmali/Rasmili, Shungwaya, Simambaye). Ten occur in two lists (al-Ausii⁴¹, al-Khadherajii, Nofali, Tawayu, Kiwayuu, Taka/Takwa (is Kachwa the same?), Umbuyi, Vekwaa, Vumwe, Zitindini/Chithindani). Although on the basis of the available data, it is not possible to draw up any definitive list, it is possible to make certain generalizations about the names. Seven reflect perceived connections to southern Arabia (older Shiradhi: more recent al-Kindi, al-Ausii, al-Khadherajii, al-Nadhiri. Nofali, maybe Banu Stambuli)) and some of these also occur among the Benadiri Somali further north). 13 (perhaps a couple more) are or reflect an origin in southern Somali groups – southern Somali here is used geographically and linguistically (Firado⁴², Kachwa, Kismayuu, Tawayu, Avutila, Kilio, Rasmili, Daile, Amshiri, Hartikawa, Dili, Gar(r)e, Abugado/Abimali. 7 of these 13 are in the 8 (*nane dha bana*) of Nurse's list. A very few are of unknown origin (Al-Famaui (possibly Chinese), Uero). All the rest, the majority, appear to reflect their toponymic status: il-Barawi, Koyama, Ngumi, Chovae, Chula, Rasini (there are two Rasini, one in Somalia, one in Kenya), Kudai, Chand^faa, Birkao (some equate Birkao/Buri Gavo with Shungwaya but see below), Veko (Elliott mentions Veko, at the foot of Veko Hill, just south of Buri Kav^o⁴³), Kiunga, Omwe, Simambaya, Uwani, Vumwe⁴⁴, Vumbu⁴⁵ (?), Kiwayuu, Chund^fa (= Chundwa?), Dhipingoni. Most but not all are in Somalia. The following would also seem to be locations but not known today: Umbuyi, Vekwaa⁴⁶, Zitindini, Upembo, Utanuni, Tak(w)a.

Ignoring Il-Barawi (= Barawa near Muqdishu) and the unknown places, all the rest of these place names reflect the two stretches from Koyama to Buri Kav^o, and from Kiunga to Pate Island and near Dadori Creek in northern Kenya. It will be noted that some locations do not appear in this list. Thus Fuma Island, south of Kismayuu, and Ras Kiamboni – since it appears nowhere on this list and since FitzGerald in 1898 says it was only a watering hole, it must be a new settlement (but see below). It will also be noted that some are not inhabited or are sparsely inhabited today (Ngumi, Chand^faa, Kiwayuu, Simambaya). Recent work with refugees involved listening to what they said about clans, and some of these clans appear to be defunct (e.g. al-Kindi).

⁴⁰ Fadha, Siu, Pate, Lamu, Mombasa clans are in Prins, Siu clans also in Topan and Eastman.

⁴¹ The low incidence of the “southern Arabian” clans should not be considered important because Prins and Nurse did not enquire about them.

⁴² Kachwa, Kilio, Kismayuu, Daile, Kudai, and maybe others are said to be of Garre origin. Firado are specifically a Tunni clan (Grottanelli 1955: 220). Firado and Kachwa traditionally didn't eat anything from the sea (turtle meat (*khasa*) or fish (ibid: 126)). Neither do “noble Somalis”, says Lewis (1969: 75).

⁴³ Veko is also known as Shungwaya Ndogo, ‘little Shungwaya’. The Veko are said to have once lived at Chondo, “the other Buri Kav^o”, now dispersed,

⁴⁴ The Vumbu are said to have lived on the Juba, but now dispersed south and north (Brava).

⁴⁵ The Womwe = Vumwe are said today to live at Mambore (Kenya)

⁴⁶ The Vekwaa are said to have once lived at Mdova.

How are these 50 or so to be squared with an original 18, plus the “4” from southern Arabia? Those who came from the inland Shungwaya (see 7b, below) and from southern Arabia brought their names with them and settled in the islands and mainland coast among those already living there. The newcomers either expelled or intermarried with the original inhabitants. Since the newcomers had prestige, some of the original inhabitants took on their clan names. Other original groups were referred to by their place names. As groups later moved from place to place, they took their earlier clan or place names with them. So a (m-)Kiwayuu or a (m-)Kismayuu is a descendant of someone from Kiwayuu or Kismayuu: of course they in turn might or might not be the descendant of one of the 18 or 4. In this way 18+ 4 grew into over 50.

Little has been recorded of clan names on the Kenya coast, a task which would surely reap rewards.

I do not believe in the chronological primacy of Shiradhi, al-Kindi, al-Ausii, al-Khadherajii, al-Nadhiri, Nofali, (and Banu Stambuli). I agree some settlers came from the Middle East, but to claim they were the chronologically original settlers is a piece of religious-cultural baggage, whereby any origin in, or institution from, the Middle East is held to be culturally supreme and primary. It does not correspond to what can be seen of chronology or genesis (see section 7).

The current pattern of clan distribution no longer reflects the likely original settlement pattern. The disastrous events of the last decades have dispersed individuals, families, and clans all along the coast and further afield. Even before that, there had been movement and displacement. The end of the 1600’s also appears to have been a time of considerable movement. Elliott was told that Garre Somali then took over Gedeni, in the NW of Koyama, displacing the earlier inhabitants to Koyamani. Similarly, Firado (also a Garre subset) moved into Chovae, and into Firadoni, in the north of Chula, and the former villagers moved out. Ngumi was abandoned, after being bombarded, and the Ngumi scattered to other islands – Koyama is mentioned, not surprising, given its proximity.

Despite this, it is worthwhile relating briefly what Grottanelli was told in the 1950s about the original areas of at least some clans.

Chand^faa: originally on Chand^faa Island, dispersed to Buri Kavoo, Kismayuu, and Chula.

Chovae: the oldest inhabitants of Chovae, before Firado arrived.

Firado: went to Chovae and Kismayuu. It is noteworthy that there are place names in central Chovae and northern Chula containing the name Firado, suggesting this was their original settlement area.

Kachwa: went to Koyama and Chula.

Kismayuu: originally of Kismayuu Island, went to Gedeni on Koyama.

Kudai: Kudai

Ndipingoni: “mainland near Lamu”.

Ngumi: originally Ngumi, moved to Koyama.

Nofali: mainly at Koyamani, displaced south from Gedeni. Also on Chula.

Shiradhi: Kiwayuu, Mkokoni.

Shungwaya: to Buri Kavoo and nearby Ndoa (mainland)

Tawayu: various, eventually Mombasa

Umbuyi: Kiunga, Rasini, Chundwa.

Veko: originally Chondo, “the other Buri Kavoo”, then dispersed.

Vekwaa: Ndoa, on mainland, near Buri Kavo.

Vumbu: originally near mouth of the Juba, then north to Brava.

(W)omwe: Omwe, Mambore.

If these are rearranged in terms of place, we get:

Kismayuu: Kismayuu, Chand^faa, Firado, Kachwa. Recent refugees have also mentioned: Nofali, al-Ausi, Shiradhi, al-Khazeraji, Shungwaya, Veko. Tikuu is also mentioned although unclear whether it referred to a clan or all Bajunis. A young source claimed Tikuu and Shiradhi were identical. Kismayuu was a magnet in recent years for islanders. Young people in Kismayuu today often know little of Bajuni clans.

Fuma: recent refugees have mentioned al-Ausii, al-Khazerajia, Firado, Ngumi, Chand^faa.

Koyama: Kachwa, Ngumi, Nofali, Kismayuu. Recent refugees have also mentioned: al-Ausi, al-Khaziraji, Firado, Tikuu, Chand^faa, Veko. It would be more accurate to distinguish these by village (Koyamani versus Gedeni). Grottanelli (p204) says those at Gedeni were from the Kisimayu clan, descendants of the Garre, said to be recent arrivals (ca AD1700). Mentioned in same breath as Garre are the Kilyo, Uvari, Osmani, Tawayu, Kudai, Ras Imale, Artikadha (sic). Garre are said to be quite recent arrivals (ca AD1700). So Garre (from somewhere near Afmado) to Kismayuu to Koyama.

He also says that those at Koyamani were Nofali (< Yemen, the “aristocracy”, said to have arrived at the end of 1600’s): also Firado, and refugees from Ngumi after Portuguese bombardment in 1686 (?). It would be useful to have maps of Koyama and Ngumi to confirm possible names.

Chovae: Chovae, Firado. Refugees have mentioned Chandaa (pronounced Chanda), Khadherajia, Nofali, Grottanelli (p.204) recounts that Firado (“< Sham”) found a local fisherman/fishermen of the Chovae clan living there, when they arrived, and that also Nofali and Kismayuu came later.

Chula: Chand^faa, Chula, Kachwa, Womwe. Refugees also mentioned al-Ausi/Ausii, al-Hadheraji, Veko, al-Nofali, Firado, Munghumi = Ngumi, Ndekwa/Ndeku (?). Also Tikuu (= Bajuni?) mentioned. Gunya also mentioned – language? dialect? ethnonym? One source had al-Vasia for al-Ausi, and Al-Imkid = al-Kindi?? One source said Chandaa and Tikuu darker skinned, al-Haziraji and al-Ausii lighter. Grottanelli (p.209) says there were Arab and Garre right from first mzee in 17th century.

M(u)dova Island. Refugees mentioned Kachwa.

Buri Kavo: Chand^faa, Shungwaya. Fitzgerald mentions a Kachwa headman, Grottanelli mentions a Chand^faa headman. Others have mentioned refugees from Shee in the interior, Koyama, Fuma.

Kudai: Refugees mentioned Shungwaya, Mdova, Kachwa.

Kiamboni. Refugees have mentioned: Chand^faa, Nofali, al-Ausi, al-Hazeraji, Koyama, Kachwa, talk of Tikuu (3 mention this as a clan, or as something different from Chandaa – “Tikuu” also lived in the village”) and Gunya but not clear if clans or names for Bajunis. Also mentions Boni (non-Bajuni).

Kiunga: Umbuyi.

Rasini: Umbuyi.

Chundwa: Umbuyi.

Mambore/Omwe: Omwe.

Fadha (from Prins): Masherifu, Wa-katwa (or Al Somali), Vekuu, Omwe, Dhipingoni, Tendaa, Kiwayuu, Kisimayu, Kiunga, Dhitindini, Umbuyi, Tawayu, Koyama, Barawa.

6. Ruins north to south

In three articles (1982, 1984, 1992) Wilson surveys the ruins of the southern Somali and northern Kenya coast. Kenya is much better served archaeologically than Somalia. The whole coast of northern Kenya has been reasonably covered, there are monographs on the bigger sites, and Wilson himself dug extensively on the northern coast. In contrast, the southern Somali coast is not well covered, there are no monographs, and Wilson did not work there, so had to rely on mainly surface collections by mainly non-archaeologists (with the exception of Chittick). In view of the current unfriendly environment, this is unlikely to change in the near future. When it does change, it may be possible to improve the accuracy of what is said here. What follows summarises Wilson (1984, 1992), from north to south.

The Kismayuu area = Kismayuu Town, Kismayuu Fort, Kismayuu Island, Old Kismayuu. Of these Wilson emphasizes Old Kismayuu, on and behind the headland called Cape Bissell, to the east of the present town, as having the oldest and the most ruins. These include a ruined mosque, a cemetery, tombs, “habitations”, human bones, ceramics, cannonballs, glass, ivory, and a water duct. He says that as a group these suggest the 15th and 16th century period, and thinks the depth of deposit and the range of artifacts would repay further archaeological investigation.

To the south lies **Ras Mchoni** ‘promontory at the river’, uninhabited in 2009, and a little further are the ruins at **Kandali** (also called **Gondal** on the maps), which include two buildings and a mosque.

Next is **Koyama** Island, with most ruins in the northwest, near the harbour just northeast of **Ghedeni**. It was a walled area, and includes three or four mosques and two large pillar tombs. The dating of AD1600 is uncertain, depending on the reading of an inscription. There are more tombs at **Koyamani**. Wilson says the inscription, and style of the pottery and the tombs, lead to the general conclusion that the main occupation of Koyama Island would not seem to predate the 16th century.

There are also ruins at **Koyama Tini**, opposite Koyama Island, a few minutes inland from the coast. A tradition survives that the island was populated from the mainland opposite, with each section of people cutting its mark on a baobab tree before crossing. Demarcating boundaries in this way occurs widely in Somalia (Lewis).

Further south, **Ngumi** is not inhabited permanently today, having been allegedly deserted after being bombarded by the Portuguese around AD1700, supposedly in retaliation for having been tricked commercially by the locals. Resettlement might have been inhibited by the unavailability of fresh water. There are reports of local traditions that Ngumi has a long and ancient history, but none seems to have been recorded. Ngumi was also a walled settlement, on the landward side of the island, and settlement was “dense”. The ruins include a large mosque, a cemetery with tombs, and masonry houses. Some have said some graves might be “Portuguese”. Wilson concludes that the architectural styling suggests a somewhat later date than the ceramic collection, which “appears to predate the 15th century”.

Elliott reports a mosque and “one or two houses” at **Ngumi Tini**, on the mainland opposite.

On **Chovae**, while there are some ruins (cemetery, tombstones) near the present village of **Chovae** on the landward side, “the main area of old settlement is at the southern end of the island” at **Dhukuwa/Igome la Yuu**, with remains of two mosques, tombs, and at least two stone houses. Wilson concludes “from the few chronological indications available, settlement at Chovae does not seem to predate the 16th century”.

On the south bank of Chovae Creek, on the mainland, near **Bagdad**, are the remains of a mosque, pillar tombs, and the foundations of other buildings. Just to the south, near Stirikani, are further tombs.

On **Chula**, at **Chula village**, are the ruins of many tombs, a mosque, and some house ruins. Wilson (says “the best-dated of these tombs is probably late 14th or early 15th century” (1992: 105). At the end of the 17th century Chula was important enough that Portuguese vessels were directed to call there and at Shungwaya. Grottanelli’s pottery collection from Chula contains what Wilson interprets as “one plain sherd” of Sassanian-Islamic ware, associated with the 9th to 10th century period along the coast. Elliott (1926: 343, mentioned in Wilson (p.85)) observed a Somali headrest sculpted on one tomb near Chula village and suggested a connection with the Garre.

Mdova, off the southern tip of Chula, has two “sarcophagus-like masonry graves” (Elliott) and refugees talk of a tower, “built by the Portuguese”, on the beach”. Mdova has good wells.

Opposite Chula Island, centred on Rasini/Kikoni/Kituni, are a mosque and several tombs, one 5.64 m tall, another 4.27 m high. A little further south, Kudai has ruins of a mosque and several tombs.

Just north of **Buri Kavvo** is a cluster of little known ruins, at and near Ndoa. Buri Kavvo is the best port on the whole southern shore. Chittick distinguishes three sites at Buri Kavvo, of which Buri Kavvo 2 “might have been” the earliest. All three are a little north of the current village.

Buri Kavvo 2 “was apparently extensive and might have been walled”. There are many ruins, including several unidentified structures, one of which was likely a mosque, and several tombs, one of which, at eleven metres, was the tallest on the coast⁴⁷. Chittick’s ceramic collection suggests a “15th and 16th century date”.

Buri Kavvo 3 is just a fortified defensive wall at Mabruk Hill.

Buri Kavvo 1 is surrounded by a masonry wall and the area includes tombs and other ruins but apparently no mosques. This is odd, because all other sites have mosques, and because Bajuni sites,

⁴⁷ It collapsed between 1952 and 1968.

current or historical, have a mosque as their spiritual centre. Chittick found no sherds predating the 16th century.

Buri Kavo is regarded by most 20th century observers as the site of the legendary (coastal) Shungwaya. Notable exceptions to this opinion are the archaeologist Chittick, who failed to find traces⁴⁸, and the Italian Cerulli. Grottanelli (1955: 385-7⁴⁹) reports on the coins found at Buri Kavo in 1913 by Capt. Haywood, reported in the Numismatic Chronicle in 1932, near a “walled-in fortress” (probably Buri Kavo 1), no houses nearby. This is a large trove, consisting of coins from the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th centuries AD (Ptolemy, Alexandria, Constantine, Rome, Nero, etc).

South of Buri Kavo, for nearly 60 kms, the coast “lacks offshore islands, seasonal creeks, or protected anchorages” (Wilson), until Kiamboni. There is a string of small sites from north to south: Veko, Shamkuu, Mnarani, Mbarabala, Miandi, and Odo. Elliott suggested Miandi was the most substantial and possibly interesting, with remains of a mosque, pillar tombs, and other structures.

The southernmost site in Somalia is Kiamboni, with a large pillar tomb, mosque, and “the remains of a considerable settlement”. No dates are available for Miandi or Kiamboni.

In Kenya there is a string of mainland sites dating to the 14th or 15th century, from north to south, Ishakani, Kiunga, Mwana Mchama, Omwe, Shee Umuro, Shee Jafari, Dondo. Most others on the mainland are a couple of centuries later. The only two islands mentioned with early sites are Shimambaya (16th, 15th century?) and Pate Island (Atu 16th century?), Fadha = Faza = Rasini (16th century on), Chundwa (17th century on).

Since the Bajunis traditionally had their large sites on islands, it seems strange to this non-archaeologist that there is no reference here to the Kenya offshore islands (Kiungamini Is, Shakani Is, Shimambaya Is, Kiwayuu Is).

If we arrange these by dates, then the earliest, that is, those starting in the 14th or 15th century, are: Old Kismayuu, (Koyama (16th century?)), Ngumi, Chovae, Chula, Buri Kavo, Ishakani, Kiunga, Mwana Mchama, Omwe, Shee Umuro, Shee Jafari, and Dondo. To those who hold to the idea that any ‘original’ Bajuni migration proceeded from north to south, the fact that the southern dates are just as early as those in the north is an embarrassment.

The early dates in Somalia are probably more significant for Bajuni settlement than those in Kenya because in Somalia there are no candidates for the sites other than Bajunis⁵⁰. In Kenya, on the

⁴⁸ What would a “trace of Shungwaya” look like?

⁴⁹ On pages 389 to 392, he lists the 43 pieces he brought back from Rasini, Chula, Ngumi, Chovae, Koyamani, Bur Kavo, and Koyama.

⁵⁰ There are several reasons to think these large early sites in Somali were Bajuni: i) no other group or groups claim to have lived there, ii) Bajunis live there today or did until recently, until chased away, iii) the places figure in Bajuni traditions. Many places, large and small, are also the names of Bajuni clans, that is, they claim their ancestors came from there (Chand’aa, Firado(ni), Veko, Gede(ni), Ngumi).

other hand, there are equally early sites such as Siu and Pate, and much earlier ones such as Shanga⁵¹, Manda, and Lamu Ginnars. These sites are not now nor as far as we know were ever host to Bajuni populations. They were island sites in their own right, and the mainland sites opposite, or at least some of them, were quite possibly the agricultural areas for these early towns. In that case, Bajunis may have come from the north and moved into the mainland sites, taking over from the previous populations. That certainly happened on northern Pate Island, and Bajuni songs sing of assaulting the town of Pate. Archaeologists would need to examine island and the mainland sites for evidence of a change of culture – that might be tricky since Bajuni culture would presumably not differ much from that on the Kenya mainland and islands.

Another way to arrange these sites is by size. Wilson (1984, 1992) does this, though his size criteria differ a little from one publication to the next. Large sites (over 2.5 or 3 hectares) are Ghedeni, Ngumi, Chula, Buri Kavvo 2 (?), Kiamboni, Ishakani, Kiunga, Omwe, Shee Jafari, Fadha, and Chundwa. Again, there are as many large sites in Kenya as in Somalia. Smaller sites are Old Kismayuu, Koyama Tini, Ngumi Tini, Chovae, Bagdadi, Simba Hill (inland from Chula), Veko, Miandi. Mwana Mchama, and Dondo. All other sites consist of scattered tombs or buildings.

It should be stressed that these dates and sizes are preliminary. Somalia is not well served archaeologically compared to Kenya. The only work by an archaeologist in Somalia was by Chittick (1969) and was a survey, without serious excavation. Wilson surveys all that had been written up to his time of writing (and nothing significant has been done since, as far as I know). Somalia may contain earlier dates and larger sites. So historical conclusions based on these data have to be preliminary.

Lacunae worth investigating would be the islands of Fuma, Chand'aa, Kiwayuu, and Shimambaya. At all four no excavation has been carried out, yet at least the last three are the names of oft cited clans, and clans are often named after places of origin.

Other features also need investigation. If the evidence from current towns and villages, and those well excavated from the past, can be extrapolated backwards, then all settlements of some size had a mix of stone houses, mud-and-thatch houses⁵², mosques, and cemeteries and tombs. Well-to-do places were not just larger but had more stone houses and bigger tombs – pillar tombs. Larger places might have accommodated more than one mosque.

Underlying this section is an assumption shared by those who work on historical coastal matters but perhaps unfamiliar to others. It is that a common (Swahili, including Bajuni) culture and archaeology once stretched from Muqdisho down to the coast of Mozambique, from the 9th century on. Despite local and temporal variations, there was always a large shared core. Stylistically, stone houses and mosques are built in much the same way along the coast. In most places, digging through the uppermost buildings shows a continuity of style and content until sterile sand is reached at the bottom. In most places, no ethnic group other than the present inhabitants claims responsibility for the buildings or settlements.

⁵¹ As a result of recent Chinese involvement in the Lamu area, I have seen it suggested that Shanga has to do with Shanghai. Not so. The name Shanga and similar forms occur at several places along the East African coast and derive from a common Bantu and Swahili word 'sand'.

⁵² For sketches and pictures of both types, see Grottanelli 1955: 160ff. Stone houses are hardly seen anymore today.

7. History

7a The later period It is convenient to divide the history of the Bajuni into a recent and an early period. The recent period is defined mainly by archaeology and partly by local oral traditions, some of which were recorded by early travelers. On Lamu and Pate Islands in northern Kenya, the early period stretches back to the 9th century, maybe even a little earlier.

As we have just seen, for the Bajunis, the recent period appears to start in the 14th or 15th century. Is that an illusion? North of Kismayu are non-Bajuni sites at Muqdishu, Gezira, Marika, Munghia, and Brava⁵³ which go back archaeologically to the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries (Wilson 1992: 91). Likewise, to the south are the non-Bajuni sites at Shanga, Manda, and Lamu Island, equally early. Why are Bajuni sites significantly later? There is no reason to think that Bajuni language or culture are any younger than those of their Swahili siblings. Two reasons offer themselves for these later Bajuni dates. One is that the areas to the north and south really were primary areas, while the Bajuni sites were secondary, settled later from the primary sites. The other is that these Bajuni dates are illusory, just the result of imperfect and incomplete archaeology – if we could excavate these areas better, we would find earlier dates.

While neither explanation can be upheld over the other at present, I as linguist favor the second. Positing that the Bajuni sites are later and secondary, settled from north and/or south implies that Bajuni is a linguistic offshoot of the Swahili language varieties to the north (Bravanese) or the south (Amu, Pate, Siu). However, as I will show below, this is not the case. Bravanese, Bajuni, and Amu/Siu/Pate are coordinate, not super- or subordinate, varieties. This suggests the communities speaking them ought to be of roughly equal antiquity. So I would expect that at some point in the future, significantly earlier sites will be discovered in at least the Bajuni areas of Somalia, with early dates comparable to those to the north and south. The hypothesis of early dates is supported by the Mediterranean coins at Buri Kavo and the Sassanian-Islamic ware on Chula (see above).

Of the six centuries between AD1400 (or maybe a little earlier) and the present, the last two were a period of decline in Bajuni fortunes, while the previous four were the high point. The decline during the 20th century is obvious to all but is not restricted to the years since 1991. Bajunis have been filtering

⁵³ A tombstone at Brava dates to 498 Hijra = 1104-05 CE. The name on the tombstone included an Islamic name (then the Swahili/Bravanese name Chande). This is from Cerulli (1957: 37), who says: “I was unable to go personally to Brava to carry out direct research on the remains of the Arab medieval antiquities that undoubtedly exist there. A Bravanese told me that in the Jami mosque of Brava there exists an inscription dated to the IXth century Hijra (1398-1495 AD), and, on my request, he sent me the copy of another (I believe funerary) inscription, which reads thus:

Hajj Shanid ? (Here Cerulli was unable to transliterate correctly the name, which is Chande, written as is usual for Swahili/Chimiini with Arabic letters shin-alef-nun-dal), son of Abu Bakr, son of Umar, son of Uthman, son of Hasan, son of Ali, son of Abu Bakr; and he passed into that (?) tomb in the year 498, the month being Rabi’ al Akhir.”

The month of Rabi’ Al-Akhir of 498 Hijra corresponds to the period 21 December 1104 - 18 January 1105 AD. If this date has been read correctly by my informant, this would be the most ancient inscription ever found in Somalia. The reading is not impossible because from the Xth to the XIIIth centuries AD the major Arab colonies on the Somali coast were being established.” (I am indebted to S. Vianello for this.

south, from Somalia into Kenya, for a long time, because they felt safer there, further removed from aggression from mainlanders. As far as we can tell, the Bajuni population in Kenya in the 20th century was always greater than that in Somalia, even though Somalia was regarded as “the homeland”, so at some point historically the population distribution was probably the opposite. While the main pressure in the 20th century was from ethnic Somalis, the main threat in previous centuries was from Orma (Galla), who were driven out and south by Somalis toward the end of the 19th century. While early European travelers spoke of Bajuni plantations worked by “slaves” on the Kenya coast, further north many of the mainland agricultural areas in southern Somalia had had to be abandoned because they were constantly overrun by hostile Orma (who had themselves been displaced south by Somali incursions further north). European travelers (e.g. FitzGerald 1898: 465) also tell of Bajuni inland villages for some distance south and north of Buri Kavo which had been destroyed by Orma and abandoned.

The centuries from roughly AD1400 to AD1800 were a period of relative power and opulence for coastal Bajunis, power and opulence that are hard to imagine in view of the current shrunken state of Bajuni settlements⁵⁴. Evidence for this claim comes from various sources. Taken separately, they don't amount to much, but together they form a clear picture.

First is the general statement from 19th century Europeans that there had been fairly extensive agricultural areas on the mainland, along the three rivers and in areas opposite the islands. These were important because, although Bajunis will always say “Bajunis fish”, when asked about their work and their diet, there is or was a plant component. The islands themselves, being coral rocks, are not suitable for agriculture, and depended on the mainland for this second leg of their food (and water). That these or some of these “plantations” were described as being worked by “slaves” also implies a power now gone.

Second is the evidence from archaeology. Section 6 describes several sites with remains from these centuries that had large pillar tombs, several mosques (i.e. sites big enough to have several communities), and masonry houses, not just mud-and-thatch houses. These are all signs of size, power and opulence. There are or were until recently traces of many large tombs and buildings on the islands and the mainland of Somalia and northern Kenya. There is even a suggestion that at least one settlement, Shungwaya, had buildings with more than one storey: the well known Bajuni poem, the *Utendi wa Shungwaya*, has this line:

Chu-ka-enge numba na ma-dari-ye
we-and-look at houses and plural-storeys-their
'Lets go (back) and look at the two-level houses'

Such buildings once flourished at several places along the northern Kenya coast but are now only found in Lamu. Assuming this is not just Bajuni boasting, it would indicate considerable wealth. This Shungwaya, incidentally, is probably the coastal Shungwaya = Buri Kavo (see section 7b, below).

Third are references in earlier European sources, mainly Portuguese. Grottanelli (1955: 75) says Shungwaya was “still” important from 15th to 16th century, appeared in Portuguese maps as Jungaia, Xungaia in 16th to 17th centuries, and also appears on several older European maps (English, Dutch)⁵⁵. In

⁵⁴ There was still some vestigial money to be made in the first part of the 20th century, as Prins describes Indian merchants coming to the islands to trade. Indian merchants come where trading is worthwhile.

⁵⁵ I have not seen any of these maps.

1686 a Portuguese expedition went first to Brava, then Chula and Shungwaya, so they thought the two places worth visiting for trade. They bombarded Ngumi at about the same time, which coincides nicely with the end of its settlement, as outlined archaeologically. Prins (1967: 92) says the two early “kingdoms” in Somalia were Shungwaya and Ngumi, although the basis for this claim is not clear to me. At this time Shungwaya was allied with Fadha, and so in a military struggle with Pate. Perhaps the most striking reference is in Organ (nd), who cites a letter from the Portuguese Viceroy of India, dated 6 January 1598, to one of his commanders in East Africa, “in no circumstances have you to permit the erection of stone walls there at Patta (Pate), not even then, if they say that the reason is to defend themselves against the Vanagunes (= Gunya, Bajuni)”. Grottanelli (1955: 79) says Stigand (1913: 168) quotes the Pate Chronicle that in the first half of the 17th century Bajunis came from the mainland in the north. In 1678 (Strandes 1971: 202) refers to over 1000 Bajunis allied with the Portuguese for their attack on Pate, and at the end of that century (1971: 218) to “many” Bajunis being brought by the Arabs to help with their assault on Mombasa. In the early 18th century (1728) the Portuguese hired 500 Bajuni troops, and two years later 4000 Bajunis, in their unsuccessful defence of Mombasa (Strandes 1971, 246, 256). So from the late 16th century to the early 18th century, at least, there were many Bajunis and the men were a fighting force. We have no records of this kind before the late 16th century but it is probable that their numbers and prowess long anteceded that period.

This brings us to the fourth source, local recorded literature, mainly Bajuni. The Bajunis have a very rich literature, some of it dealing with their origins and history. Particular to the Bajuni is the *vave*, a form of poem/song, sung at bush-burning time, just before planting, once a year. *Vaves* are long, a single one can last all night, up to 10 or 12 hours. The content is socio-political-religious, expressed artistically, and the full significance is really accessible only to a Bajuni⁵⁶. Most historical references are therefore coded and not straightforward, and of course carry no dates. One of the best known *vaves* is the *Vave kwa Mgunya* ‘The Vave for the Bajunis’. Near the beginning is a passage which mirrors some of the events just sketched. It starts by describing sailing down from the north and then:

‘	‘
Na m-Shela na chunyayeni	And let’s attack/strike the people of Shela
Chumwase kubika mafungu	Let’s prevent them from sharing out ⁵⁷
Na muAmu na chunyayeni	And let’s attack/strike the people of Lamu
Chumwase dari na dhiungu	Let’s stop them building mansions and tall buildings
mPate endre akapate na chunyayeni	Let’s attack/strike the people of Pate.. (obscure)
Pola Mola ashushe kivingu	Let the Lord bring down a cloud
.....’’

⁵⁶ I would like to make clear that while I understand some of the language of the *vave*, there are parts I do not understand – in that I am not alone, because elderly Bajunis disagreed among themselves about many interpretations. Once past the archaic language barrier, the content is only properly accessible to those Bajunis who are familiar with their history and culture. Such individuals are disappearing.

⁵⁷ Ali Famau interpreted this differently, “.....from making knots (in ropes)”, ropes being important for climbing coconut trees to get palm wine..

This is about striking Pate, also Lamu and Shela (just along the shore from Lamu Town) and notably makes no reference to attacking Siu or Fadha, so reflects in ancient verse the late 17th century struggle mentioned above between Bajunis, Faza, (and (Siu) against Pate (and apparently Lamu and Shela).

7b The early period Before delving into the early period, we should ask what kind of history we are talking about, and what kind of history we are not.

This essay does not investigate socio-religious history. That is, while certainly not denying that Islam came from southern Arabia and Bajunis continue to emphasise the link with that area, and while not denying also the cultural connection between East African coastal communities and southern Arabia, that is not the focus here.

Likewise, I do not wish to deny the absorption of immigrants from adjacent Somalia or southern Arabia into Bajuni society. I am quite prepared to admit that the ancestors of the Shiradhi may have come from the Middle East (Persia, Arabia) and that the ancestors of the al-Kindi, al-Ausii, al-Khadherajji, and Nofáli came later from Yemen or Hijaz. Certainly, the ancestors of Firado, Kachwa, Kismayuu, Tawayu, Avutila, Kilio, Rasmili, Daile, Amshiri, Hartikawa, Dili, Garre, Abugado/Abimali, and maybe others, originated in Somalia, from Tunni or Garre forefathers, and were absorbed into Bajuni society. Again, that is not the focus here.

The focus here is African- and language-based. Bajuni is a dialect of Swahili, which in turn is a Bantu language, an African language grouping. The earliest Bajuni ancestors spoke Bajuni – so where did these Bajuni-speakers appear, where did they come from, and when? Whereas for the later period, most of the evidence came from was archaeology and oral tradition, here the evidence is mostly linguistic, with some rather confusing input from oral tradition. Most of the evidence was set out in detail 20 years ago and is not repeated here. Some of the linguistic evidence is clear enough for non-linguists, but some is not and readers will need to read the background⁵⁸.

Swahili, and its coastal dialects, including Bajuni, are members of a linguistic grouping known as Sabaki, whose other members are Comorian (spoken in the Comoro Islands), Pokomo (Lower Tana River, NE Kenya), Elwana, (above Pokomo, on the Tana), and Miji Kenda (SE coast of Kenya). Comorian and Elwana are ignored in what follows as they are not central to the story. The community and communities speaking the language ancestral to today's Sabaki, and its emerging offspring, were located in the area bounded by the Tana River in the south, the Indian Ocean, and the Webi Shebelle in the north, in the general period from AD500 to AD800. At a later point in this early period, the Pokomo and Miji Kenda⁵⁹ lived inland, along and near the Webe Shebelle, while the community ancestral to today's northern Swahili lived on the coast, as early as AD800, in the general area of the Lamu Archipelago in northern Kenya. 'Northern Swahili', linguistically, refers to the communities speaking the Swahili dialects from Brava down to just south of Mombasa. In general, the southern Swahili dialects are more conservative phonologically, while the northern dialects have innovated, so it is easier

⁵⁸ For general background, see Nurse & Spear 1985: 33 – 98, Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993: 490 – 6. For detailed linguistic evidence Nurse & Hinnebusch 299 – 301, 485 – 90, 501 – 11, 513 – 7.

⁵⁹ A term such as “the Pokomo and the Miji Kenda”, or “the Bajuni”, in this kind of context. and MK” is a form of shorthand. Not all today's Pokomo and Miji Kenda would be able to trace their ancestry to this area, just as not all today's Americans can trace their roots to ancestors who stepped off the Mayflower. What it means is that some of today's Pokomo and Miji Kenda are the descendants of these people in the north,

to arrange them as branches on the genealogical tree. The Swahili communities now at Mombasa and maybe Malindi and Mambui were the first to move out, as Mombasa shows signs of having been settled in the 11th (?) century. They were followed by the ancestors of the Bravanese (and maybe of people formerly at Munghia, Merka, Gezira, and Mkudisho), who moved north by ca AD 1100⁶⁰. Finally, the ancestors of the Bajunis spread along the coast, in the 250 km line from Dondo and adjacent settlements on the Kenya coast, north as far as Kismayuu.

This picture differs in one respect from that sketched some 20 years ago, because of the appearance of the people currently called the “Somali Bantu”, who had not emerged clearly into the published world at that point. “Somali Bantu” refers to two historically different populations. Along the Juba River today are descendants of 19th century escaped slaves, who had been brought from Tanzania, Mozambique, and Malawa in the 19th century and are not relevant to this story. But to their north along the Shebelle River and in the area between the two rivers is a much larger and older population, whose numbers are variously estimated at between 50,000 and 4 million⁶¹. They are the descendants of Bantu farmers⁶² who stayed behind when Shungwaya was evacuated in the 17th century, when the Orma invaded from the north⁶³. They no longer speak any Bantu language, having adopted or formed local varieties of southern Somali (Maay, Maha).

While the outline just sketched may seem plausible, it is not the whole story and would seem particularly incomplete to a Bajuni reader. Above, in section 5, it was shown that there are three kinds of clan name: those reflecting an origin in Yemen/southern Arabia, those reflecting a southern Somali origin, and those reflecting local place names. We can take at least some of the latter to reflect the original Bajuni-speaking inhabitants, those who came up from the south in the 14th century or earlier, and first settled the major islands and places on the mainland (Kiwayuu, Simambaya, Omwe, Kiunga, Veko, Chand'aa, Rasini, Chula, Chovae, Ngumi, Koyama, maybe others)⁶⁴. The Arabian and southern Somali names reflect those who came later and settled among the Bajuni speakers. Names, genealogies, and places of origin can easily be changed to reflect new social identities and more prestigious origins. So not all clans with Arabic or southern Somali names necessarily came from southern Arabia or further

⁶⁰ There is some linguistic evidence suggesting that the Bravanese on the coast might have been in touch with Pokomo and Miji Kenda farmers just inland, on the Webe Shebelle, and that Bravanese might even have been pidginised by this contact (see Nurse 1991b, Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993: 485-7). Brent Henderson is currently producing a grammar of Bravanese.

⁶¹ Is this science or politics?

⁶² Also on the Shebelle there were villages with a population composed mainly or exclusively of B. freed/escaped slaves (for example, Havaai near Brava). Since the Bimal, settled inland from Marika (Mei had slaves cultivating their lands, it is probable that most riverine villages of that area were also populated slaves/former slaves (A. Vianello, p.c).

⁶³ Lewis (1969: 28) says “probably by the end of the of the 17th century, the Rahanwein pushed the Galla (= Orma) out of the area between the two rivers.. the Galla eventually withdrew to the right bank of the Juba. This increased the pressure on the Zanj, whose traditional capital, Shungwaya was at this time in the Juba region”.

⁶⁴ It should be noted that other place names are clearly not of Bantu origin (e.g. Bur Kavov/ Birkao, Kudai, Istambuli, Mambore, Rubu, etc), suggesting that Bajunis settled in non-Bajuni villages, or vice versa.

north in Somalia. The classic case of this is the Shirazi, perceived as very prestigious, not just among the Bajuni but also elsewhere on the coast, but not necessarily denoting an ancestor from the Persian city⁶⁵.

Even this modification does not correspond to Bajuni perceptions of their origins. Foremost among Bajuni representations in song and verse of their origin is Shungwaya⁶⁶: “We came from Shungwaya”. Although the versions available do not agree in all details, they do agree on broad issues. In my opinion, the three sources mentioned in footnote 64 and the *Vave kwa Mgunya*, partly cited above, differ in their reliability. The *Utendi wa Shungwaya* and the *Vave kwa Mgunya* are ancient verse and in fixed form. Singers and reciters may have modified bits of content and replaced forgotten and maybe replaced other bits over the centuries, but they are formalised accounts, written not so long after the events. So even though opaque in places, they represent a better account than the versions of Bajuni history by the two modern elders, who are much further removed from the events and contain 20th century interpretations, with heavy reliance on the older songs/verse. This summarises the general parts common to all the sources arranged chronologically:

(Before Shungwaya, all sources mention Mecca, some mention Sham, Arafat, Jedda, Bakshush).

“We came/came down to Shungwaya. (‘We’ is the 18 clans (the 10 *miuli*, the 8 *bana*), we came on foot, even with pack animals, we passed by dry areas, we avoided the mud, we crossed rivers, at Shungwaya we carved our signs (on trees), at Shungwaya there were tall buildings, the Pokomo and Giriyama (= Miji Kenda⁶⁷), (also others, such as the Orma/Galla and Boni, in some accounts) were also at Shungwaya, we came down from Shungwaya, also on foot, and moved along the shore to Koyama (fine buildings, *majumba*, there), to Bushi, crossed the river to Buri Kavvo, to Shungwaya, and others places, and settled down on the shore. Later the Orma attacked and we fled south, but later returned (by boat)”.

Reading these songs and this verse repeatedly leads to the impression that there are two Shungwaya, one in the interior and north of Koyama⁶⁸, and one on the coast, synonymous with Buri Kavvo. This dicotomy is reflected in interpretations in the second half of the 20th century, there being some interpreters (local and western) who interpret Shungwaya as a coastal (Buri Kavvo) place, and others who think it refers to an inland location. It could well be both. Miji Kenda (especially) and Pokomo versions of their time in Somalia talk of an original, earlier residence further north, and then of having been displaced south by Orma incursions to a second place on the Juba, or south of the Juba on the coast (Spear 1978)⁶⁹. That corresponds well to Bajuni descriptions. This being the case, the name

⁶⁵ See Nurse and Spear 1985: 74-5.

⁶⁶ This is based on the *Utendi wa Shungwaya* (Nurse 1994: 53 - 5), a version of Bajuni history by Ali Famau (Nurse 1994: 63 - 70), and another by Mzee Bwana Boramussa (Nurse 1994: 71-9).

⁶⁷ The Giriyama are the largest Miji Kenda community so were traditionally used as synonymous with the whole group.

⁶⁸ All accounts of early movements start with Shungwaya north of Koyama, and all early movements are north to south.

⁶⁹ A few place names support the notion of southward migration by the Pokomo. For instance, opposite Pate Island, are Pokomo-ni Creek and River, said to be so names because the Pokomo settled there on their way south from the Juba 300 years before (Fitz Gerald 1898: 401-3).

Shungwaya was carried south by the ancestors of some Bajunis and to the coast from its original inland place in the north⁷⁰. In this interpretation, ‘Shungwaya’ would be as the Arab and southern Somali clan names, reflecting later but important accretions to the original Bajuni-speaking population. I think the ancestors of some of the current Bajuni population came from the inland Shungwaya but I do not think they were Bajuni-speaking; they are later but important (Somali-speaking) arrivals.

There are several reasons to think that there were no Bajuni speakers at the first, inland, Shungwaya. First, many of the clan names (especially the *nane dha bana*) are southern Somali, presumably named after their founding father. Second, while Pokomo and Miji Kenda are linguistically similar and related, Bajuni is less similar and more distant linguistically. That would be best explained by saying that the Shungwaya Bantu ancestors spoke Pokomo or Miji Kenda and some shifted language to Bajuni when they came down to the coast. Third, if Bajunis today are asked about their identity and their work, all without exception say “We are fishermen, we live on the islands, and we travel by boat”. But those who came from the first Shungwaya can hardly have been fishermen living on islands, because Shungwaya was inland, and they say they travelled down to the coast on foot, not by boat, and even on pack animals (donkeys, camels?). They must have shifted to ocean fishing, islands, and dhows when they settled on the coast.

No interpreter has yet explained satisfactorily why (the original, northern) Shungwaya was so important in the minds of Miji Kenda, Pokomo, Elwana, Bajuni, and Aweera. It might be noted in passing that the coastal Shungwaya is remarkably poorly documented in writing. Where other towns such as Brava, Pate, Lamu, and Kilwa have long local written oral traditions/histories, coastal Shungwaya has no such history and little convincing archaeological evidence for a large early site. In his coastal overview, Prins (1967: 92) can find little to say about Shungwaya = Buri Kavo. Why not?

Bajuni oral traditions and clan names list their Shungwaya ancestors (southern Somali, Bantu), together with their Arab ancestors, but no apparent ancestor who spoke Bajuni. The only oblique reference I find to anyone possibly like that is an anecdote in Grottanelli of a conversation with a Bajuni on one of the islands who told him a local story that when the (Cushitic) Firado first arrived, they found a lone fisherman on the shore. He quickly faded from the conversation. Elsewhere along the coast there are other such stories but significantly different. At Kilwa, Lamu, and Pate, for example, when Arab immigrants arrived, they intermarried or negotiated agreements with the ruling family, producing a new or a modified ruling family, often with a Sultan. The Bajuni had no such ruling family and no central government, a common theme in oral tradition and even in current talk: “We are have no government, we are weak, we are pushed around by governments, we are just fishermen, but it is our land”. Instead of entering into a relationship with the local power holders, the incomers found a lone fisherman, who faded from the conversation, from Bajuni traditions, from history. He and his folk may be The Bajuni.

There is a final shortcoming in what precedes. It concerns the role of those referred to as southern Somalis, and others. This is of considerable importance in Bajuni history, as most of the *Nane dha Bana* clans from “Shungwaya”, and a few others, a dozen or more in total, have southern Somali names.

At this point a sketch of Somali history is needed as background. This linguistically-based sketch follows Heine (1978, 1979, 1982). Somali and its linguistic relatives are referred to as the SAM languages. Heine (1978: 45) assumes that the ancestral community, the Proto-SAM, lived in “the plains to the south of the Ethiopian Highlands east of Lake Turkana”, in “north-central Kenya, perhaps in the

⁷⁰ Other place names occur twice or more along the coast (Rasini, Tungi, Pemba, etc).

plains surrounding the Marsabit Plateau” and that “The hypothetical Proto-SAM community dates back roughly to the beginning of the Christian era”. During the early centuries A.D, they started to spread southeast, splitting into the Western SAM, the Rendille, and the Eastern SAM. The latter spread down the Tana River to the Indian Ocean, near the Lamu Archipelago and the area to its north, in what is today far northeastern Kenya and southern Somalia. They then turned north into what is today the Republic of Somalia. At an early point – the late first millennium A.D? – the ancestors of the Boni split off and moved into the forest behind the coast⁷¹. Next to split off were the ancestors of the Jabarti, who first lived along the lower Juba and then expanded into the fertile area between the Juba and Shebelle Rivers. While the “Somali proper = Northern Somali” continued to expand north until they had occupied the entire space up to the Horn of Africa, some stayed behind in the south. In the second millennium those who had moved north reversed direction and moved slowly back south again. Somali itself is a dialect continuum, conventionally divided into Northern Somali (language of Isaaq, Darod, and Hawiye, and the basis for Standard Somali), Southern Somali⁷² (Rahanwein, and Tunni, Dabarre, Karre/Garre, Jiddu), and the Benadiri, living in the coastal towns.

This linguistic sketch suggests that Bajunis might have been in touch with Boni, Jabarti or their offspring, Southern Somali, or Benadiri. If we could identify the community/communities who were in touch with early Bajunis, it would enlarge our knowledge of early Bajuni history. That identification is easier said than done. The main methodology is linguistic. Standard Somali is based on northern forms of Somali. The communities speaking these northern forms migrated back down into southern Somalia only in recent centuries⁷³. Before their arrival the communities in the south spoke the language varieties just outlined. Some of these southern communities are well known – the Tunni and Garre for example, who today live from Brava through Marika to beyond Mukdisho and beyond, along the coast and inland. They are mostly sedentary, urban or semi-urban and have interacted for a long time with the coastal people. Others have only very recently come to the light of publication – the Maay and Maha along and between the Juba and Shebelle Rivers. Yet others are felt by many Somalis not to form any part of the Somali nation, the Boni = Aweera for instance, who are hunter-gatherers and live today behind the coast in northern Kenya and southern Somalia⁷⁴. The current locations of southern Somali communities are not necessarily where they lived earlier. Colucci (1924), also mentioned in Lewis (1969: 15ff), for example, mentions a Tunni tradition that they once lived on the Juba, far inland from the coast, with some groups then moving south and settled at the mouth of the Juba, just north of Kismayu, in the tenth or eleventh centuries AD (?), and “later” moved north again, across the Juba, to settle near Brava, where

⁷¹ The maps in Heine 1982: 13-26 show the Boni as being mainly in northeastern Kenya. However, the accounts of refugees from the Bajuni Islands in southern Somali, further north, tell of Boni today on the mainland opposite. Dundas (1893) describes Boni settlements well over 100 miles up the Juba River. So Boni lived farther north than Heine’s maps suggest.

⁷² Up to this point ‘southern Somali’ (when lower case) has been a geographical term, now it may also be linguistic (when upper case).

⁷³ The differences between northern and southern Somalis are not just linguistic, but also cultural. Northern Somali, who are or were herders, tend to look down on those who are not, that is, the southerners who live as farmers or hunters.

⁷⁴ In NE Kenya, there is a Boni National Reserve.

they live today. It is also possible that some southern Somali communities in the area (“Jabarti”) have since ceased to exist.

So the position taken here is that during the second millennium AD, and possibly earlier, the area from the Tana River and Lamu Archipelago in the south, north along the coast of the Indian Ocean, at least as far as Brava⁷⁵, and including the inland interriverine area between the Shebelle and the Juba was home to various Southern Somali communities. Readers will note that the northern part of this area is isomorphic with the first, inland, Shungwaya, mentioned a few paragraphs above as the putative homeland for ‘Bajuni’, Pokomo, Miji Kenda, and others, in the first millennium AD.

The simplest way of identifying contact with outsiders is via loanwords. English today has thousands of words of French origin: we know these first entered English after AD1066, when the Norman French invaded England, and continued for many following centuries, even though French military domination had ceased. Swahili today has thousands of words of Arabic origin: these did not originate from military invasion but from prolonged religious and cultural domination over many centuries. Likewise, the Lexicon at the end of this monograph, contains many dozens, even hundreds, of words of Somali origin, undoubtedly pointing to earlier contact with Somali communities⁷⁶.

How to identify the particular Somali source? There is a standard linguistic methodology for this. One characteristic of related dialects, varieties, and languages is that they show regular and systematic phonetic correspondences. Using Bajuni and Swahili as an example, we find these (there are dozens of others at the end of the Lexicon, below):

Bajuni	Swahili
ch (e.g. <i>michi</i> ‘trees’)	t (<i>miti</i>)
si (e.g. <i>simbo</i> ‘stick(s)’)	fi (<i>fimbo</i>)

Many examples of these can be found in the Lexicon. If we found many words in a third, neighbouring language with *ch* and *si* where Swahili has *t* and *fi*, we would know those words had been taken from Bajuni, not Swahili. Conversely, if we found many words in the third language with *t* and *fi*, we would know Swahili was the source. Unfortunately, while such phonetic correspondences are well documented for Bajuni and Swahili (see end of Lexicon for over 30), they are not well documented for southern Somali varieties. What we would like is a table of the type:

Garre	Tunni	Maay	Maha	Boni	etc
a ₁	a ₂	a ₃	a ₄	a ₅	
b ₁	b ₂	b ₃	b ₄	b ₅	

To draw a table like this depends on the availability of sufficient vocabulary for all these and other Somali varieties: despite the sketch above, there is no detailed and reliable statement of the phonetic differences between Northern Somali, Southern Somali, Jabarti, and Benadiri. For a few of the words of

⁷⁵ Probably also farther north but that is not the focus here.

⁷⁶ It is impossible to list them all. Starting alphabetically are: *abawa, abaya, adee, avahadi, avu, avuru, bario, barobaro, bodo, damari, dara, doko, gura*, etc.

Somali origin in the Lexicon, most Somali varieties, northern and southern, the shape is the same (e.g. *guur* ‘move abode, migrate’). For most (e.g. *abawa*, *abaya*) the shape varies from one dialect to another, and the source is clearly not northern Somali. If we had a table such as that sketched, we could place the Bajuni words against the correspondences in the table and the southern Somali source or sources would become clear or at least clearer. Since we don’t have this knowledge, this identification of the southern Somali source community or communities is work for another year.

Two statements can be made with some confidence. One is that it is not Northern Somali who were in touch with the Bajuni settlements in the middle of the second millennium A.D. The other is that it is also not the Boni, despite their current and recent proximity to Bajuni communities: the lexical and phonetic material in Heine (1978: 41-2, 51-78: 1982) suggests this quite strongly (e.g. Somali *guur* ‘migrate, move abode’, *daar* ‘touch’, Bajuni and ND *gur-a*, *dar-a*, versus Boni *kuur*, *taar*, etc). That leaves “Southern Somali, Jabarti, Benadiri”. I looked carefully at the vocabulary and the phonology in Tosco’s (1997) short grammar of Tunni. Despite what Colucci and Lewis says about Tunni being as far south as Lamu in the late first millennium AD. I see no particular reason to think that Tunni is (or is not) the source of the Somalia material in Bajuni or the other northern Swahili dialects.

Although we cannot yet identify the exact source community/communities among these, we can hazard a well informed guess at their location. We find a set of loanwords in all northern Swahili dialects, that is, Lamu, Pate, Siu, Bajuni, and Bravanese (to keep the picture clear and simple, Malindi and Mombasa are ignored): a second set in Bajuni alone: and a third set in Bravanese alone. It is axiomatic in historical linguistics that innovations (e.g. loanwords) shared by a set of language communities are most simply explained by positing that they were not absorbed separately into those communities at different times and places, but were absorbed just once in one place, by the single ancestor of these communities, whence they were inherited into today’s speech communities. Thus the loanwords shared by all the Northern Swahili communities were absorbed just once, while the ancestral Northern Swahili communities were still living in one place, that is, most likely in the general area of the Lamu Archipelago, as early as the second half of the first millennium AD, as set out above. The additional loanwords in Bravanese alone are easy to explain: they come from one (Tunni?) or more Southern Somali communities after the Bravanese had moved north and settled at Brava. The loanwords in Bajuni are harder to explain. Bajuni is spoken along a littoral of some 250 kms. The loanwords are shared by all Bajuni communities and so were not absorbed separately into the communities at Old Kismayuu, Ngumi, Chula, Kiunga, Fadha, etc, but were taken just once into the single ancestral community. Where and when was that located? Two scenarios suggest themselves. One occurred in far northeastern Kenya and maybe bits of adjacent far southern Somalia: while still in the ancestral homeland of the Northern Swahili communities, in the Lamu Archipelago, the ancestral Bajuni community established itself on the northern fringe of the old homeland, remained in contact for some time with the same southern Somali community, absorbed more vocabulary, eventually splitting up and moving north along the coast as far as Kismayuu. The second scenario would have the ancestral Bajuni community separating from the ancestral Northern Swahili community, moving up north, settling (say, at Kismayuu?), being in contact with a southern Somali community, absorbing loan material, and then dispersing and spreading south. At present I find it impossible to choose between these two scenarios.

Two southern Somali sources might even have been involved: one in or near the Lamu Archipelago, and a second consisting of southern Somali émigrés coming south from the original inland Shungwaya⁷⁷.

The historical picture just drawn is simplified for several reasons: we lack the lexical sources to fill it out: I wanted to keep the broad outline clear: and many readers may not be linguistically trained and would have difficulty following the technical arguments. One part of the jigsaw puzzle deliberately omitted is the role of the Dahalo. They live in a very small area near the foot of the Tana River today and speak what is often called a Southern Cushitic⁷⁸ language (with some Khoisan⁷⁹ add-ons). They live or until recently lived by hunting; they are a remnant group; few in number; they are at the end of a history that lasted millennia; they once lived over a much wider area, up the Tana into central Kenya and into southern Somalia, at least. Dahalo and Boni are at the bottom of the social ladder. No self-respecting Bajuni or coastal Swahili would want to acknowledge any ancestral link or origin with them. But the linguistic evidence⁸⁰ suggests that Dahalo, besides the southern Somali communities, has influenced all the communities speaking northern Swahili dialects, besides other Bantu communities in eastern Kenya. The borrowed lexical material in the northern dialects points to Dahalo or southern Somali, the phonological changes point to southern Somali.

7c Bajuni attitudes All this history has resulted in certain attitudes among Bajunis. One was mentioned just above: we have no government, we are weak, we are pushed around by governments, we are mere fishermen, but this is our land. Indeed, they are right, as they have lived along these southern shores longer than the northern Somali who have now intruded (might is right). These attitudes presumably grew as Bajuni power declined in recent centuries, faced with the growing power of mainland peoples, first Orma⁸¹, then Somalis originating in the north. Grottanelli (1955: 200) points out that Bajunis don't feel part of the Somali nation, nor do they have a single word for it. The word *iti* (Swahili *nchi*) 'country' refers to *ubajunini* 'Bajuniland', not to bigger entities. Born in an era when there were no central governments, only raw power, it now characterizes Bajuni attitudes in both Somalia and Kenya towards the central governments. When there is or was a central government, Bajunis are/were not, or are/were scarcely, represented in it, and when there is no central government, as now in Somalia, the results are plain to see. Bajunis feel marginal and marginalized. Most Bajunis, especially in Somalia, knew little about life on the mainland or about national institutions since independence.

⁷⁷ Even on the islands Bajunis continued to be influenced by incoming southern Somalis. Elliott was told on Koyama that when the (southern Somali) Gede crossed over to the (Gedeni) village in the northeast of the island, the older (Bantu) population moved further south. On Chula he was told that the same thing had happened – the newly arrived (southern Somali) Firado displaced the earlier inhabitants.

⁷⁸ In contrast to Somali and Boni, which are Eastern Cushitic languages.

⁷⁹ "Bushmen".

⁸⁰ The linguistic evidence is lexical and phonological. It is presented in Nurse 1985, and in Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993: 299-301, 485-9, and chapter 6 and 7.

⁸¹ Resentment toward Orma/Galla is less burning today, because Orma are no longer a threat, but it can be seen in older Bajuni songs.

One aspect of this is linguistic defiance⁸². For centuries, ethnic Somalis lived on the mainland and did not venture onto the islands, and most Bajunis were born, lived, and died on their islands. The mainland was mainly Somali-speaking and the Bajuni Islands of Somalia were monolingually Bajuni. A few adult Bajuni males spoke some Swahili and/or Somali as a result of fishing or trading activities. Most islanders were resolutely monolingual – adult Bajunis did not and do not care for Somalis or Somalia, did not and do not speak Somali, did not and do not want to speak it, and strongly discouraged their children from speaking it⁸³. Relations between Bajunis and ethnic Somalis were frosty, to say the least. This traditional Bajuni aversion to Somalis and their language was based on long memories of dimly remembered events in the past (see Nurse 1982, 1991a, 1994). When Somalia imploded in 1991, ethnic Somalis flooded on to the islands, bringing chaos, violence, and death with them. The events since 1991 have only strengthened the age-old aversion to the invaders and their language⁸⁴.

8 Bajunis, Bajuni, Somalia, Somali

Bajunis in Somali are Somali nationals (so “Somalis”) but not ethnically or linguistically Somali.

For several centuries before the 1980’s, from at least AD1600, maybe longer, there was a balance between the domains of Somali and Bajuni in southeast Somalia, with Swahili apparently only appearing on the scene in the 19th century (see below). Ethnic Somalis lived on the mainland and rarely ventured onto the islands, and most Bajunis were born, lived, and died on their islands. The mainland was mainly Somali-speaking and the Bajuni Islands of Somalia were monolingually Bajuni. A few adult Bajuni males spoke some Swahili and/or Somali as a result of fishing, trading, or administrative activities. Most islanders were resolutely monolingual – adult Bajunis did and do not care for Somalis or Somali, did not and do speak Somali, did not and do want to speak it, and strongly discouraged their children from speaking it. Relations between Bajunis and ethnic Somalis were frosty, to say the least. While the islands were linguistically conservative, the mainland settlements, especially Kismayuu, were more mixed linguistically.

This impression of language use was initially based on what I was told thirty years ago by elderly Bajunis, both from northern Kenya and southern Somalia. It is confirmed by the second source mentioned above, in section 2. Our opinion runs counter to what the British-Danish-Dutch fact-finding commission (2000) was told by a set of Bajuni elders, who said that ‘many’ Bajunis could speak ‘some’ Somali. The words ‘many’ and ‘some’ here are unquantifiable. The second source and I are strongly inclined to pay little heed to the testimony of these elders to this commission⁸⁵.

⁸² Defiance takes other forms. I have an abiding image of Mzee Bwana Boramusa, sitting by his house near Kiunga, then in his 70’s or 80’s, hardly able to move because of elephantiasis, telling me in the late 1970s: “*Ukinipa bunduki, nawedha vasomali mia*” ‘If you give me a gun, I can beat/am as good as 100 Somalis’.

⁸³ ‘Somali’ here refers to those ethnic Somalis who started to arrive in numbers in the late 19th century. It does not refer to those southern Somali who infiltrated Bajuni communities for centuries.

⁸⁴ Somewhat similar to the feelings of Poles, Russians, and many others towards Germans at the end of WW2.

⁸⁵ Our opinion is shared by other specialists, e.g. see Prof. Lewis (LSE), giving testimony to an Immigration Appeal Tribunal in 2003 (www.asylumlaw.org/doc...-somalia.minoritygroups.pdf,

This traditional Bajuni aversion to Somalis and their language was based on long memories of dimly remembered events in the past (see Nurse 1982, 1991, 1994). When Somalia imploded in 1991, ethnic Somalis flooded on to the island, bringing chaos, violence, and death with them (see section 3.3. third paragraph, below). The events since 1991 have only strengthened the age old aversion to the invaders and their language⁸⁶.

Outsiders are likely to share the general assumption that if a person comes from a specific country, they should speak its national language, and cannot be from that country if they cannot speak the national language. That would be a false general assumption for Bajunis from Somalia. As pointed out in 3.3, there are today many younger Somali Bajunis who speak neither Somali nor Bajuni, or if they do, they do not speak it as their grandparents did.

9 Bajuni and Swahili, language change

This long-standing balance between Bajuni and Somali ignores the - more recent and more limited - role of Swahili. Most ethnic Somalis in southern Somalia are and were unlikely to be familiar with Swahili, yet from what we know of East African coastal history and from recent communication with the first source mentioned above, it seems that Swahili has been present as a minority language along the mainland coast, particularly in Kismayuu and Kiamboni, from the first half of the 19th century. First, up to 1890's the Sultan of Zanzibar controlled a ten-mile wide coastal strip from south of Zanzibar to Mombasa and Lamu in Kenya, and then up to Kismayuu and Muqdisho. His administrators and traders would have spoken Swahili there. Second, from Kiamboni to the nearest village in Kenya is seven miles, as the crow flies, that is, under two hours by foot. Fitzgerald followed the path visible on the satellite picture: it is also possible to walk along the beach at low tide: and a trip by dhow with the right wind would be less than two hours. So contact with northern Kenya was and is easy. It is therefore not surprising that among Bajunis from further north, Bajunis from Kiamboni had the reputation of speaking a more Swahilised Bajuni, and more Swahili, than island Bajunis, because of this proximity to Kenya. Third, Bajuni traders and fishermen sailed down the Kenya coast, to Lamu, Malindi, and Mombasa, and still do. Fourth, from the early 20th century, Kenyans working for the British colonial government operated across southern Somalia. Finally, from what we know of the Mushunguli living along the Juba, starting near Kismayuu and upriver, they also spoke Swahili and managed to maintain contact with their

section 12). He disputed the accuracy of the view expressed in the Fact-Finding Mission report (2000) that all or most Bajuni spoke Somali. He considered that the Bajunis who would speak Somali would be those who had the most interaction with Somalis, in particular those in local political or business roles or elders or leaders of local communities. He could have included young urban Bajunis who grew up in Kismayuu in the last 20 years.

Prof. Lewis lived and worked in Somalia for 50 years, specialises in Somali affairs, speaks fluent Somali, and is regarded as one of the UK's foremost Somali specialists.

It is repeatedly confirmed by the British Home Office COI reports, which over the last few years have all included this sentence: "It was highlighted in the JFFMR 2004 (pp. 37-38) that the island-based populations tended not to be able to speak Somali due to their social isolation from the mainland." Most Bajunis live or lived on the islands.

⁸⁶ Somewhat similar to the feelings of Poles, Russians, and many others towards Germans at the end of WW2.

kinfolk back in coastal Tanzania, despite a separation of a century and a half⁸⁷. There is evidence that people speaking Swahili (and Somali dialects) at Kisimayu could not understand them (see letter of Italian missionary, dated 27 April 1906, saying that the people of Jilib spoke “a very difficult dialect”: A. Vianello p.c.). Having myself listened to contemporary Mushunguli speaking their Swahili, I would agree.

What kind of Swahili did all these people speak? We may never know exactly but consideration of the various pieces just presented – cross border contact with northern Kenya for those at Ras Kiamboni, officials and traders based in Zanzibar and Mombasa up to Kismayuu, Bajuni men sailing south along the coast to Kenya, colonial officers in southern Somalia, Mushunguli contact with their Zigua kinfolk near the coast of northeast Tanzania – it was probably a form of coastal Swahili, particularly Kenya coastal Swahili.

This balance between Bajuni, Somali, and Swahili changed in 1991, when the President, Siad Barre, was overthrown. Interethnic tensions and violence (ethnic Somali versus ethnic Somali, ethnic Somali versus non-ethnic Somali) increased. Initially, Somalis flooded onto the islands (and, it goes without saying, into the mainland settlements too), bringing mayhem, violence, destruction and burning of property, robbery, beatings, rape, murder. Later, mainland Somalis from broken homes or Somali minorities, were resettled on the islands. A Somali-speaking presence was established on the islands, for the first time in history, and remains today. Not only ethnic Somalis moved onto the islands – others from the mainland who felt at risk or were felt by the UN to be at risk were also moved to the islands.

Unable to defend themselves – they traditionally had no weapons and had no access or knowledge of guns - Bajunis were terrified and thousands fled (sailed) south into Kenya, to stay with relatives in Malindi or Mombasa, or to refugee camps near Mombasa (Kwa Jomvu, St. Anne’s)⁸⁸. or near the border in northeast Kenya and southeast Somalia (Liboi, Dadaab, Dagahaley, Garissa, etc, some were even settled in Kakuma, in northwest Kenya). In these refugee camps, forms of Swahili were the lingua franca. The refugee camps held other refugees from Somalia. Bajunis in the camps might have spoken Bajuni to each other but they would have had to be careful because the other refugees were mainly Somalis, who did not like Bajunis or the use of their language, whether in Somalia or in Kenyan camps. When talking to the other refugees, the Bajunis did not use Bajuni, but Kenyan Swahili or ‘common denominator Swahili’. Not surprisingly, most Bajunis did not like the camps. Incidentally, the camps were porous (a major reason the Kenya government decided to close them⁸⁹) and refugees in Kenya were allowed to live and work outside camps if they had the right documents, and any doing so would use Kenyan Swahili as their main language of communication. Those who managed to stay with relatives in Kenya coastal towns would have been exposed to Swahili daily.

In 1998 the UN closed the Jomvu camp and told the refugees it was safe to return. The joint report (2000) says that while some Bajunis went to a new camp at Kakuma in northwestern Kenya, many decided to return to Somalia (a mistake, as it turned out, as the danger had not gone away), carrying Swahili with them. During the 1990’s UN workers entered southern Somalia, most from the

⁸⁷ Dundas (1893: 214) reports Swahili being “spoken throughout the whole Gusha (= Gosha = Mushunguli) district in 1891.

⁸⁸ A very few were settled in the camps near the border in northeast Kenya and southeast Somalia (Liboi, Dadaab, Dagahaley, etc) or at Kakuma, in northwest Kenya.

⁸⁹ Outsiders, including tourists, also walked into the camps, which the Kenya government wanted to stop.

south, many speaking Swahili. The combined result was a Swahili presence, in areas such as the islands, where before only a few older males had spoken Swahili.

Linguistically, any viable homogenous Bajuni language community crumbled in these circumstances. There were few older people to offer a language model, there was no stable set of circumstances for transmission of the ancestral language from one generation to the next, families had been broken up, people were too busy just surviving to be concerned about their children learning the language properly, and for young Bajunis in Somalia there was little incentive to speak Bajuni - if you feel your community has no future, why bother acquire its language? Then when Bajunis moved back from the camps in Kenya, many – especially younger ones - would no longer be speaking good Bajuni, but Bajuni mixed with camp/urban Swahili. When they returned, they would mix with those who had stayed.

In sum, up to twenty years ago, we can be sure that at least the islands were almost 100% monolingual Bajuni-speaking, although male traders and fishermen who travelled to Kismayuu and Kenya would have had some exposure to Swahili. The language situation on the islands has changed dramatically in the last 20 years or so, since The Troubles began. From listening to many refugee cases, it was clear to me that the Bajuni spoken by young Bajunis (born from the 1980s onward) from the islands was not that of their grandparents or even parents: they speak poor Bajuni and lots of Swahili. Those were my thoughts as I communicated in 2009 with the second source mentioned above, a man who has over 900 hours of experience interviewing Bajunis. He confirms that today there is a huge range of Bajuni language ability among those claiming to be Somali Bajunis. At one end of the scale there is more or less full fluency in Bajuni: such individuals tend to be elderly and living on the islands. At the other end of the scale are individuals who speak only Swahili, and no Bajuni: mainly young and living in Kismayuu. In between are individuals who speak a Bajuni-coloured Swahili, Swahili with some Bajuni, mainly vocabulary and common phonetic features, added. The Bajuni component varies from person to person, generation to generation, and place to place. He also confirms that the prevalent attitude among young people is that they prefer Swahili, an international language with prestige and utility, whereas Bajuni has neither so they no longer find it useful. So some younger Somali Bajunis can be characterised as semi-speakers, and they add a sixth variety of Swahili to the five mentioned in the first paragraph of this section.

The situation has gone from the mid-nineteenth century where the community was more or less completely monolingual in Bajuni, with a very minor Swahili presence, to a situation 150 years later, where Swahili is rapidly taking over and few (any?) fluent Bajuni monolinguals are left in Somalia. Bajuni in Somalia is rapidly becoming an old people's language and will be soon replaced by silence, when Bajuni will no longer be spoken in Somalia. Young Bajunis from Somalia today speak the kind of Swahili widely spoken in East Africa, especially along the adjacent coast of Kenya. That didn't used to be the case but in recent years Swahili has rolled up the coast and across the border into southern Somalia. It should be clarified that we have no direct knowledge of recent or current language use in the Bajuni areas of Somalia. That is, no professional linguist has been on the ground to observe the situation. The foregoing is based on many secondary reports from those who have interviewed expatriate Bajunis and asked them about the language situation, and observed their language abilities.

On the Kenya side of the border the problem is different. Generations of Bajuni children have been attending government schools since the 1960's and in these schools Standard Swahili or something like it is used, so ability to use traditional Bajuni has been severely eroded. In 1980 I was able to give Swahili exercises, sentences, or texts to Bajunis then in school, and they would take them home and

translate into Bajuni, either on their own or with the help of their parents. This would be harder or impossible now. Further, massive tourism, starting in Lamu but now spreading across all the islands, and commercial development, with a projected new port, oil refinery, and railhead at Lamu, are changing the face of the islands and adjacent mainland. Old ethnic and cultural differences will fade under this commercial and touristic wave as local people are absorbed into the new economy and lose their traditional identity. Bajuni.com thinks Bajuni will also be gone from Kenya within the next generation.

Alternative, mainly colonial, names, for some localities

Kismayuu Bay: Refuge Bay.

Chula; also referred to by Prins (1961, 1967) and others as Tula, also by some refugees in early 2000s.

Burgao estuary: Port Durnford. Burgao also known as Birikao and Buri Kavo.

Hood Rocks, just south of Port Durnford.

Rozier Rocks, south of Ras Garavole.

Ras Shangwani = Sherwood Point.

Ras Gome la Hekwa = Fair Point or is it Sherwood?

Ras Kiamboni: Dick's Head.

Shakani Island = Rees Island.

Simambaya Island = Arlett Island.

Mlango wa Hindi = Port Arlett.

Little Head (just north of Kiwayuu).

Ndau = Boteler Island. There is an 1835 book by a Boteler, T. on a voyage of discovery to East Africa
The islands, the Bajuni Islands = the Dundas Islands. Captain Dundas, R.N, was active along the coast in the later 19th century.

List of Bajuni places from north to south

INLAND	COAST	ISLANDS/ISLES
(River Juba)		(underlined = now or once habited, not exhaustive)
	<u>Kisimayu(u)</u>	Kimoni Island Mear Tomb Island <u>Kisimayuu Island</u> (island until 1961) K(h)andal Juu (Elliott 1925) Fawacho Islet = “Fawatu Island” Mtanga wa papa
	<u>Ras Mchoni</u> K(h)andali	Ngai (also Ngai below) Yambalangodhi (Yambalingodhi/Jambalangodhi) Furu Ilisi Buli (“also once called Tulia”, Elliott 1925)
	<u>Fuma T^hini</u>	<u>Fuma Island</u> <u>Fumayuu = Fuma Mkubwa</u> Fuma Nyangwe/Ndangwe = ? Kiwasa (= Kiwasi ?) Kiamwe
	<u>Koyama T^hini</u>	Kalibia, Galima, Galimagala, Kanda-yuu, Chawai, Marareni, Barakovu mentioned as islets N of Koyama, order to each other and to those above unclear. <u>Koyama Island</u> (3 villages, 5 names: <u>G(h)edeni</u> (NW, <u>Koyama</u> (= Gedeni?), <u>Koyama Yuu</u> , <u>Hembe/etc</u> , <u>Koyamani</u> (S of Gedeni in dunes)

Grottanelli p. 127 mentions Osboda as the mainland farming area for Koyama (also for Ngumi??), opposite Ngumi

	Ngumi T ^h ini	<u>Ngumi Island</u> (deserted today, once inhabited) Shepape, Sheepepe, Shapape, Kwa, (Kwe, Gua) Yamba, Ambuu, Thenina, Bulbuni <u>Chovae Island Chovae village</u> , consisting of Iburini (Michikachi, Firadoni, Omo, Kisiu, Kadore. In the south is <u>Dhukuwa⁹⁰/Igome la Yuu</u>
<u>Stambuli</u> (it and Mucho wa Yamani are mentioned as agricultural areas for Chovae)		
Yamani	Chovae Creek = Shamba Mouth Splits into	
Lac Badana and Mucho wa Yamani		Bavadi Dhipanga Dhine ('four little swords')
Sitarani	Bagdadi	Pangazi Mbavazi Kuivi Kuvumbe (kwa Kuvumbi, Kivumbi) Kiwa cha Moga Kuyumbi) Ngai ?? also above Burihaua Yund ^r uyund ^r u = Tegadi = Indu Schie Tangwe <u>Chula = Tula Island</u> (<u>Chula village</u> , consisting of <u>Fuli-ni</u> (east), <u>Firado-ni</u> (west), <u>Hinara-ni</u> (north), Iburi-ni (south)). <u>Mdova</u> Island, separate, off the southern end, with village of the same name.
	Rasini Kwa Bunu	
Mucho wa Anole = Lak Salaam		

⁹⁰ Possibly meaning, 'where walking is difficult'.

mentioned by Grottanelli as
farming area for Chula

(Also in this coast are
Isolijuba, Kidifani, Yara)
Borali bin Bwana
Kudai (now Kulmisi)
Tosha

Vidal ??
Darakasi
Kodhaliwa
Hagi Bule
Chand^raa

Kiembo cha Bur Kav
Puluni
Ndoa
Shea

A creek which splits into
Mcho wa Kimoti and Kelyani
Mcho wa Hola =
Mcho wa Bushbushi

Buri Kav (Burgao, Burgavo, Burgabo, Birikao, etc)
Kinaua, a ridge just inland of Port Durnford
Ras Gaulani
Buri Haula
“Ras Aliosi”

Buri Manga/Manza

Veko (also called Shungwaya Ndogo)
Ras Ishaka la Sia (14 miles march north of Gome la Hekwa)
Shondwe (= Tangwe?)
Ras Waravole/Garavole
Ras Mnarani (FitzGerald walked inland to Shamkuu from Mnarani)

Shamkuu, Shemkuu
She Mkuu?

Ras “Mai Caci”
Ras “Cau”
Ras Mbarabala
Ras Shangwani
Ras Mafufusi
Ras Igome la Hekwa
Ras Miandi
Ras kwa Odo

Famau Wali Island

Kiamboni (not mentioned by Fitzgerald 1898)
Ras Kiamboni

Border between Somalia and Kenya

Some of the names below are from different times and authors and may be synonyms.

Ishakani ('in the bush')

Ndeamui

Kiunga (in Swahili means 'link' or 'outskirts, suburbs, adjacent area')

Kiunga-mwini Island (mwini 'at the town')

Shakani Island

Mambore, Mwambore

Omwe

Simambaye = Shimambaya ([e])?

Simambaya Island

Mlango wa Hindi (= island, reef, what?)

Mwana Mtama

Shee Umuro

Uchi Juu

Shee Jafari

Rubu

(Mswakini – FitzGerald)

Sendeni

Uwani

Mvundeni, Mvinden

Ashuweji, Ashwee

Mataroni

Vumwe (island, mainland?) (same as Vumbe?)

Mkokoni

Mararui

Vumbe

Kiwayuu

Kiwayuu Island

Ndau Island

Itembe (FitzGerald)

Vaas (FitzGerald)

Dodori

Dondo

Kidhingichini

Mbwajumwali

Chundwa

Atu

Myabogi

Faza

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Moved out of above

Kismayuu.

“Founded” ???? in 1872 by Sultan of Zanzibar.

Markets in Majengo (large), Fanole, and Farjana (both smaller). ?Also Alale market/Sukwani)/fish market, two hospitals (one large, one small), three cinemas (Ayan, Juba...), madrasas, at least one primary school, one mosque is called Msikiti wa Musa. one mosque called the Bajuni mosque (same?). Police station, army base. at least one hotel (Iftin, now closed). There are boat racing competitions in November.

Chula – this might need to be put into the above again, in some form:

Chula village has two wards: Fuli-ni (also Ku-fulii, middle), Firado-ni (higher = north?), one source mentions a third (*Msikiti Mkuu*, lower). One source refers to Firadoni as a *kiambo*. Both have a mosque and a madrasa. Maybe Fulini also had a school. 2 mosques (Friday....and...?). 2 mosques also called Sharif Badawi/Juma (Fulini, also called Msikiti Mkuu) and Sharif Athumani/Osman (Firadoni). Third guy says one is called just the mosque while the other is called the Somali mosque. There is an old Geredha, said to be “Portuguese”, near the Msikiti Mkuu. Market (*suku*) and fish auction. Madrasa, no secular school, Much fresh water brought from Mdova. Jahazi racing competitions.

Somalis came to Chula and “beat” people. Chula these days described as *ndarandara* ‘a mess, chaos’.

Chula. In an email message, after he had specifically asked about his, Brian Allen said of Chula:

“Most Bajuni I have interviewed from Chula say two Mitaa or Vijiji: Firadoni and Fulini. A small number mention Narini as a third small village. Two have mentioned Mdoa as a village or Mtaa- meaning the small island near Chula where some people live and have to walk to Chula when tide is low to get water as their water is salty. Firadoni is the larger village not far from the larger Mosque Msikiti Jumaa. Get varying accounts of distance between them- Probably half hour walk. Firadoni towards central south and Fulini or Filini to north(whatever that means)”.

Somalis came to Chula and “beat” people. Chula these days described as *ndarandara* ‘a mess, chaos’.

Mdova described as 20-30 minutes’ walk south of Chula. Only two sources so far

South of Buri Kavo, and north of Ishaka la Siia the satellite image shows a small settlement I was unable to identify

Kiamboni, village, and **Ras Kiamboni** (‘promontory at the village’) see ta60564, 06281).

From 7b

Bajuni, those who came from Shungwaya included the *kumi dha miulu* (ten Bantu clan names) and the *nane dha bana* (eight southern Somali clan names, which implies intermixing with southern Somalis in Shungwaya, just as those Somali Bantu left behind today are mixed in language and culture.

Prins: p92 The early mainland kingdoms were Shungwaya, Ngumi, Faza, Pate, Kitao, Luziwa, Shaka, Ungwana, Malindi, etc

Fadha clans in Prins:

CHECK Topan and Eastman

Prins

The “nine” of Siu are: Masherifu (also the Bida and Hatimi clans of Barawa are said to be Masherifu), Famau, Katwa, Mashanga (from Shanga), Banu Saadi (long-established Shihiri), Luwaili, Al-Hatimi (as in Barawa), Mafazii (from the ‘first’ Faza), Swahili.

The remnants of older Pate are the ‘seven’: Nabahani, Masherifu, Ozi (Al-Bauri), Hatimi (< Barawa), Abdi Salami, Mafazii, Swahili = Pate.

Also Wa-amu, Shela, Mombasa, Vumba

p79 Grottanelli says first reference to Bajunis is in Stigand Land of Zinj p168, first half of 17th century in Pate Chronicle coming from the terra forma in the north – don’t forget the Bajuni vave about we came from the north and bashed Siu, Pate, Amu etc
mention of coast from Gobweni in the north to Kiunga

Lewis, I.M. 1969. *Peoples of the Horn of Africa*. London. IAI.

p15, Somali nation divided into Sab (Rahanwein, Tunni) and Somali (Ishaak, Hawiya, Darod. Rahanwein, Ishaak, Hawiya, Darod are called “Somali tribal-families”. Sab are south of Mogadishu, to the border with Kenya, mainly along the Juba. Hawiya are north of them. Darod are in Kenya, and north of the Hawiya in Somalia. Marehan are a subset of the Darod. Darod moved into Jubaland starting in 18th and 19th centuries.

Somali “noble, herding, Sab despised, mixed cultivation-herding.

Geledi are the “chiefly tribe of the Sab family”. There was maybe still is a Sultan of Geledi. Subset of Rahanwein, live today near Mogadishu. in lewis 2002 picture 12 has a

caption saying it shows a view of the town of geledi on the shebelle river in 1847. the geledi sultan was the most powerful Somali chief on the benadir coast in the 19th century.

Only reference I find to Garreh p31 is that they are a subset of Darod near the Webi.

General assumption in Lewis that Garre = Gerra, a subset of the “pre-Hawiya”. Four different sets, most scattered between Juba and Shebelle.

Tunni today live along the coast from Merca to Barawa to the Juba. At one time they lived on the Juba, but moved southwest in the 10th or 11th century and settled in Kismayuu and Lamu. “Later” they moved north across the Juba to settle at Brava.

p34 the Rahanwein are divided into the Eight and the Nine. This dividing into subsets/coalitions with numbers seems common among Somali groups.

The Asheraf are a priestly group (sheikhs, within the Tunni within the Rahanwein and live between the Juba and Shebelle.

p41 On the Juba are the WaGosha, Boni, and Gobawein. WaGosha also known as Oji and Dalgolet (‘people of the forest’) but call themselves Mahawai. They numbered 30,000 in 1922. “Gosha” has no ethnic connotation but means those who live in the bush (*gosha* in Somali).

Gosha refers to the area on both sides of the Lower Juba, and to the “Bantu” (Mushunguli) who live there, “people of the bush”

p42 according to Cerulli the site of Shungwaya is on the Juba. Prins however (p.c.) identifies it with Port Durnford = Bur Gao

p43 it seems likely that the Nofalle Arbs who inhabited the Bajuni islands and coast about 1660 had a considerable influence on the present day characteristics of the Bajuni. The Nofalle were routed by the Somali Gerrah who the Bajuni claim as ancestors. Parenti considers that the Bajuni most closely resemble Yemeni Arabs physically.

p43 “The limits of pasture land are indicated by tribal marks cut in the bark of trees”

p75 “Fish are not eaten by noble Somali, who despise fish-eaters. The coastal fish-eaters are known as Rer Manyo, a derogatory term without ethnic connotation.

Grottanelli p126 says Firado and Kachwea don’t eat fish or turtle meat
Same page. Noble Somalis do not themselves hunt.

Lewis, I.M. 2002. *A Modern History of the Somali*. Oxford, James Currey Ltd, Btec Books, Hargeisa, Ohio UP, Athens Ohio.

the caption under picture 10 says Mogadishu's oldest mosque bears an inscription dated AD1238 and its earliest funeral inscription goes back to the 8th century.

p3. Shebelle and Juba Rivers both start in Ethiopian Highlands. Shebelle in most years disappears into the ground near the Juba and doesn't reach the sea. Juba enters the IO north of Kismayuu as a broad river. Navigable to beyond Bandera by vessels with shallow draft. Both rivers are lined in places by high forest, home to hippos and elephant.

According to Lewis (evidence?) the early Bantu (of the Shebelle and south, NOT the Mushunguli) were in place by the 10th century, maybe earlier.

p22 he says "the evidence of the Arab geographers and local inscriptions and documents indicate that by the first half of the 10th century, Arab and Persian colonizers had established themselves at Mogadishu, Merca, and Brava, some years prior to the foundation of Kilwa.

p28 "probably by the end of the of the 17th century, the Rahanwein pushed the Galla out of the area between the two rivers.. the G eventually withdrew to the right bank of the Juba. This increased the pressure on the Zanj, whose traditional capital, Shungwaya was at this time "in the Juba region". (see just above p3,river navigable to beyond Bandera in by shallow boats)

Lewis 1955 said by Prins to be a good source on the Benadir as a cultural province.

Names of wards (mitaa) in each village? Names of mosques in each ward? Identify others

Not Bajuni (north of Kismayuu)

Makaya island
Assaley island
Cadey island
Mkudisho
Marika
Barawa
Fagay

Bajuni ?

Jumba 'big building'

Bajuni

(couple of miles north of K is Dalxiiska, also the name of a hotel in K)

Kismayuu town, ‘northern/upper well’. also Kismayuu, Kismayo (Kismaayo is the Somali version)
 Founded in 1872 by Sultan of Zanzibar. Originally an island, joined to mainland in 1961.
 Markets in Majengo (large), Fanole, and Farjana (both smaller). ?Also Alale market/Sukwani)/fish market, two hospitals (one large, one small), three cinemas (Ayan, Juba...),
 madrasas, at least one primary school, one mosque is called Msikiti wa Musa. one mosque called
 the Bajuni mosque (same?). Police station, army base. at least one hotel (Iftin, now closed). There
 are boat racing competitions in November.
 Wards = mitaa?: Majengo, Farjano (Farchano), Alale, Fanole, Shakalaka/Shakalani. Not many
 Bajuni names here (and Majengo is not a Bajuni form).

Odo no Bajunis left

somewhere other than Grottanelli I found :Shungwaya at “Lower Juba”. Gr thinks quite
 unambiguously it = Bur Gao

“marine peasants” Lewis year? page?

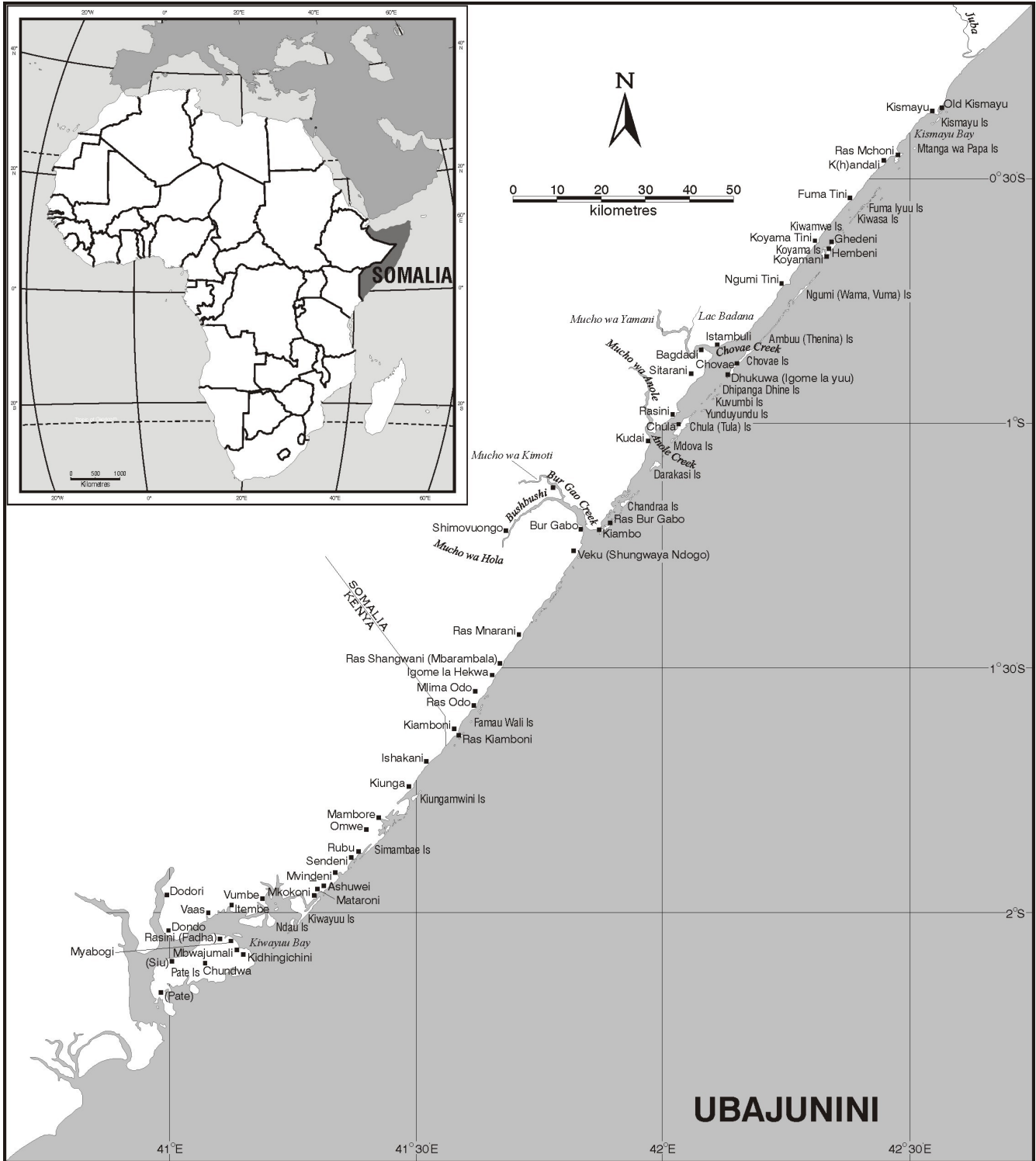
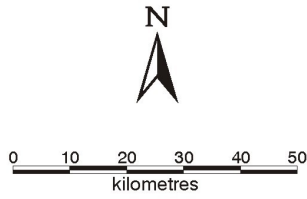
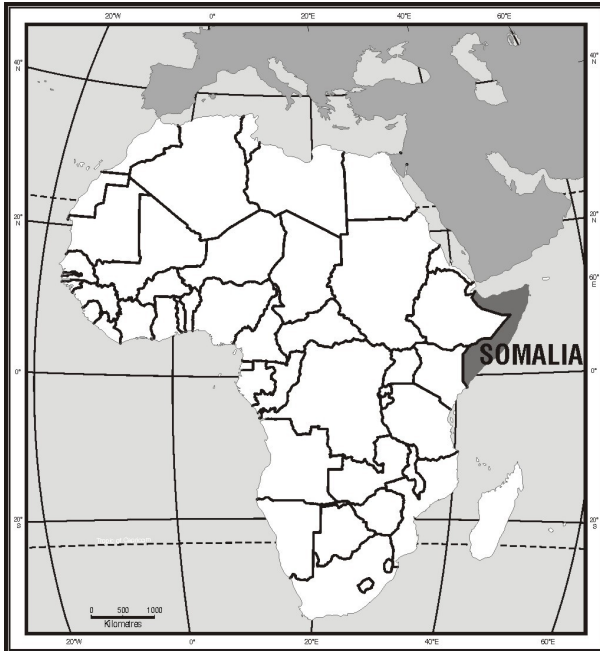
Al-jazira a name given under Siad Barre (“islands”). Does it refers to islands or people of the islands?

Names of wards (mitaa) in each village? Names of mosques in each ward? Identify others

Not clear

Igome islet between Chovae and Ngumi

Status? Ras Kiavo south of Ras Kiamboni, Pemba, Ras Mitowani, Chodhi



CHOVAE ISLAND

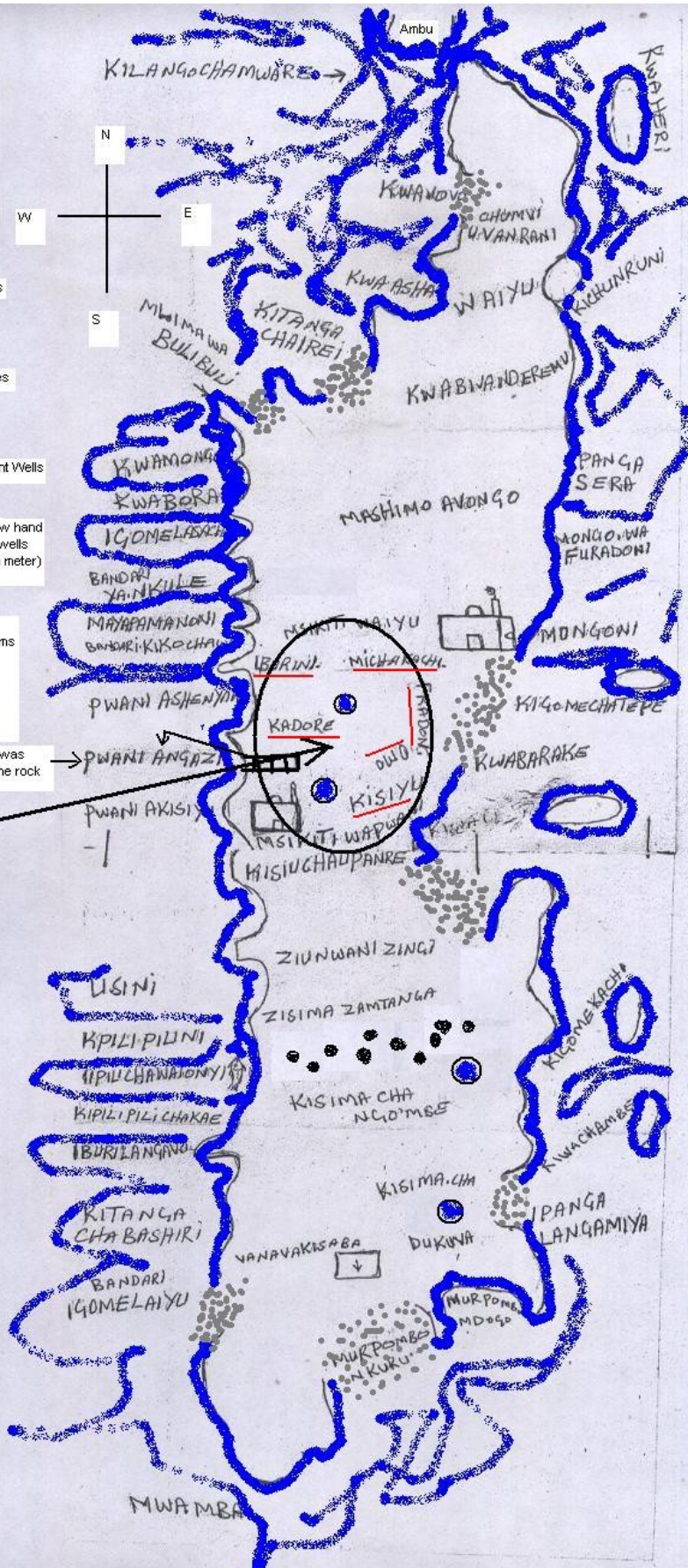


Pwani = Shore
 Furdhani = Harbour = customs
 Kisima = Well
 Miskiti = Mosque
 Mlima = Hill
 Mongo = Sand beach

Ngazi means scale which was excavated on the side of the rock

Chovae Town

By: Yusuf Omar Moallim



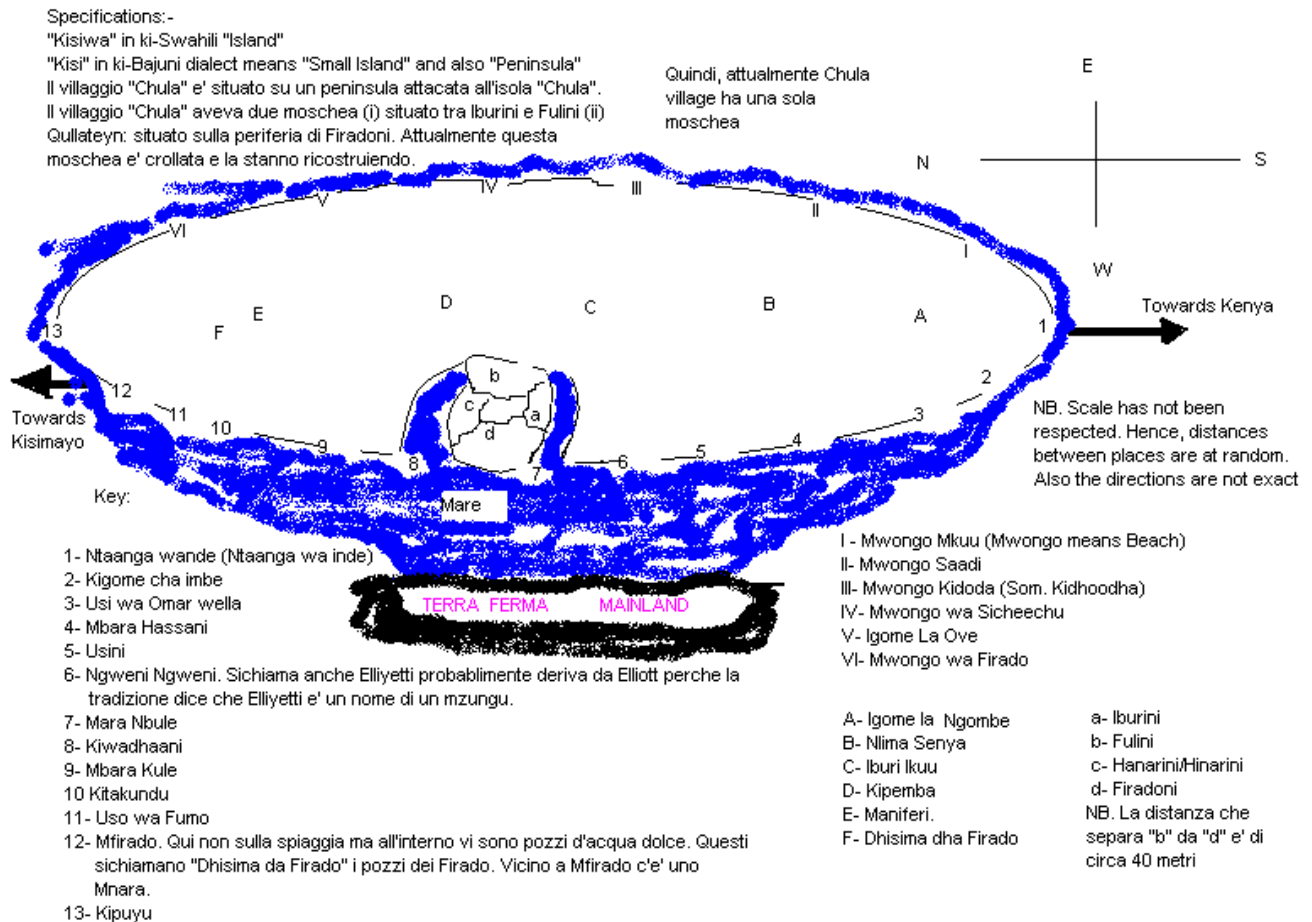
Chovae quarters

- 1- Iburini
- 2- Michkachi
- 3- Fradoni
- 4- Omo
- 5- Kisiyu

Qui sotto elenco I nomi delle varie spiagge e harbours di Chula Island. Quando si scrive su Chula e' molto importante distinguere tra "Chula Island" e "Chula village".

"Chula Island" ha due settlements (i) Chula Village e (ii) Mdoa.village. Nel disegno sotto: -

- I numeri Romani indicano nomi di beaches e harbours
- I numeri Arabi indicano spiagge, ancoraggi. However, I numeri 7 e 8 sono canali
- Le letter in maiuscola indicano nomi di posti tipo montagna etc. (not settlements) all'intero dell'isola Chula
- Le lettere in minuscola indicano le 4 quartieri del "villaggio Chula"



Bajuni grammatical sketch

This is a modification of Nurse (1982) and differs from the original mainly by excluding most of the non-Bajuni material, but also by adding limited new material. Nurse (1982) was mainly based on work done in 1978-79 on the speech of Bajunis (mostly middle-aged or older, mostly male) from northern Kenya. Since their speech patterns were acquired forty or fifty years earlier, that is, the 1930's, that is what this sketch reflects. Occasionally I also drew on translations and even on compositions done by young Bajunis who were teenagers in school at that time. To this I have added a very small amount of carefully chosen material from anonymous refugees from southern Somalia in the first decade of the 21st century, and occasional examples from the end of Grottanelli (1955), also from southern Somalia. Grottanelli's material, collected in Somalia, in the early 1950's, probably reflects an even earlier acquisition period. I do not think this mixing of sources matters, because basic Bajuni grammar did not vary significantly. This is not primarily a sketch of current Bajuni practice but a picture of Bajuni over the last 70 or so years of the 20th century. Younger speakers do not necessarily speak as described below and may regard some of it as slightly old fashioned.

I have made little attempt to alter the contents, terminology, or order of what I wrote in 1982. Further, the technology I used to scan the 1982 text failed in many places to produce an ideal text.

Acknowledgements (I have tried to include only the language sources - hopefully my memory serves me well):

Athman Lali Omari, Mohammed Bahero (Fadha), Bakari Moh'd Mbwajumali), Mzee Bwana Boramusa (Kiunga), Hamid M Salim Fumo (Myabogi), Bwanadi Fakii (Fadha), Bwana Shalo (Kidhingichini), Ali Famau (Manda), M-M Bahero (Fadha), Obo Athumani Lali (Lamu), Omari Bwana Bwanadi (then at Fort Jesus Museum), Ali Abubakar Moh'd (then at Lamu Museum), the people of Mbwajumali village. The work was supported by a generous grant from the W.H.Whiteley Memorial Fund, which the author gratefully acknowledges.

Abbreviations

C = consonant; cl or Cl = Class, EXT = extension; G = glide; N = nasal, ND = Miini, Bajuni, Amu, Matondoni, Siu, Pate, Malindi, and the Mombasa dialects. Some of the statements and claims below exclude Malindi and the Mombasa dialects; OM = object marker; pl or Pl = plural; REL = relative; sg or Sg = singular; SM = subject marker; St.Sw. = Standard Swahili; TA = tense/aspect; V = vowel. Amu etc refers to (L)amu and the dialects spoken in other smaller villages on Lamu Island.

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1 Consonant system

p	<u>t</u>		ch [tʃ]	k
p ^h	<u>t</u> ^h		ch ^h	k ^h
b	<u>d</u>		j [dʒ]	g
f	th [θ]	s	sh [ʃ]	kh [x]
v	dh [ð]			gh [ɣ]
w		l, r	y [j]	
m	<u>n</u>	n	ny	ng' [ŋ]
mb	<u>nd</u>	nd ^r	nj	ng

- Dental stops and nasals are here underlined, but not in the rest of the text.
- There is also a set of voiceless prenasalised homorganic stops of low frequency, occurring in words of non-Bantu origin (*sampuli*, *binti*, *benki*, etc).
- Other, even less frequent, consonant combinations occur (khamsini, ahksante)
- Non-prenasalised [ʒ] could also be heard as a variant of /j/ in some words (Sacleux also has this, but I did not hear it in younger speakers from Somalia).
- The main allophone of /w/ is a voiced labiodental approximant [ʋ].
- A glottal stop can be heard in the word for 'no', [haʔa].
- /kh/ often reduced to [h].
- Long consonants can be heard: kulla, shidda, Makka, sitta, for kula/kila 'each', shida 'trouble', Maka 'Mecca'.
- Other Arabic sounds can also be heard e.g. qaf, sad, etc.

2 Vowels, prosodic features

As other Swahili dialects, Bajuni has five contrastive vowels, written i, e, a, o, u. Vowels have no length contrast, though phonetically long vowels occur, as do sequences of identical vowels. Stress is penultimate. Emphasis or phrase demarcation is realised by adding stress on the last syllable.

3 Sound correspondences between Bajuni and (Standard) Swahili, arranged in rough order of frequency in the Lexicon (for rough frequency see end of Lexicon). Because of interdialect borrowing, outside loans, etc, there are exceptions to some statements below, seen in Appendix 1 in the 1982 version.

Swahili	Bajuni	Other ND
t, e.g. miti 'trees'	ch, michi	also Siu, Pate
z, e.g. zuri 'good'	dh, dhuri	also Siu, Pate
w or nul, dep. on next vowel -wawa 'hurt, itch' -weka 'put' -wili 'two' -ona 'see' -ua 'kill' u-so 'face (Cl. 14)'	v (older) -vava -veka -vili -vona -vua vu-so	Miini [w] and [β]
nd, e.g. ndugu 'brother', unda 'build boat', ndio 'yes'	nd ^f , nd ^f uu, vund ^f a, nd ^f io/nd ^f o	also but variable in Amu, Siu, Pate
ch, e.g. cheka 'laugh'	ṭ, ṭeka	All ND
m-, e.g. hamjambo 'how are ye?'	mu- hamuyambo	rare in speech in other ND today, except in monosyllables
m-, e.g. mfano 'example, msikiti 'mosque', namna 'kind', mgeni 'stranger'	mu- > m- > various assimilated nasals, mfano, nsikichi, namuna/nana, ngeni	also in other Lamu Archipelago dialects along certain parameters
s, e.g. siku 'day'	θ, θiku, only observed in Somali Bajuni	only Bajuni
j, e.g. ja 'come', jina 'name', ju(w)a 'sun'	y, ya, yina, yuva	all ND (y or nul)
ny, e.g. nyumba 'house'	ṅ, ṅumba	some in Miini?
l, e.g. mbele 'before', leo 'today'	l-loss before [e], mbee, eo	Miini has l ₂
mainly g intervocalic, ndugu 'brother'	mainly nul, nd ^f uu	Most ND
shi, often from *ki, e.g. moshi 'smoke', ushi 'eyebrow', mwashi 'builder'	si, mosi, vu-si, mwasi	only Bajuni
nj, e.g. njaa 'hunger, famine'	ṅd, ṅdaa	All ND
nz, e.g. mapenzi 'beloved'	ṅd, mapendi	All ND less Miini
fi, e.g. fika 'arrive', figo 'kidney'	si, sikilia, iso	All ND
(i)ch, e.g. i-chaka	sh, shaka	ND less Miini
o, e mainly in loans, e.g. soko 'market', elimu 'education'	u, i, suku, ilimu	ND
nasal + voiced fricative, mvua	fricative alone, vua 'rain'	only Bajuni
a...u, e.g. chagua 'choose'	e...u, ṭeua	ND...Miini?
p (also b?), e.g. peke 'alone'	pw (also bw?), pweke	Most ND

zero, e.g. nchi 'country'	[i-] in Class 9 monosyllables, i ^h i	Only Bajuni
vi, e.g. vitu 'things'	zi > dhi (see above), dhichu	vi > zi, all ND
k, e.g. kondoo 'sheep'	h, hond ^f oo (spasmodic)	Only Bajuni
i-, e.g. ingia 'enter', ingine 'other'	i-loss in verbs, adjectives, ngia, ngina	ND incl. Miini
y, e.g. huyo 'this'	y-loss, mainly Cl 1, 4, 6, 9, huo	See (3xvii), not Miini
CuCo, e.g. huyo	CoCo, Cl. 1, 3, 17, 18, hoo	Lamu Archipelago ND
Syllabification, e.g. afya, pya	afia, pia	All ND
Assimilation of n(i)+, e.g. ni yangu 'is mine' ni zangu ni wangu ni kizuri	<u>nd</u> angu <u>nd</u> angu mbwangu k ^h iduri etc	All ND (phonetic details differ)
V ₁ + V ₂ , e.g. siendi 'I don't go'	V ₁ + V ₂ > V ₂ , send ^f i	ND incl. Miini
my/mi-, e.g. myaka 'years'	ny, nyaka	Most ND, not Miini
b, d, e.g. ubavu 'rib', udongo 'mud'	v, l, uvavu, uvongo	Most ND, incl Miini
suffixal -Co, e.g. anguka-cho 'which falls'	Co > o, anguka-o	ND, incl. Miini

These and other differences are treated below below.

(i) **Replacement of [z] by Bajuni [ð]**, or vice versa, is an easy phonetic substitution. Today the use of [ð] is felt to be rustic and therefore there are those who substitute [z], especially non-Bajunis but also some Bajunis. My guess is that in the past, when the Bajuni community was large and powerful, it originated in Cushitic, passed into Bajuni, thence into Siu and Pate.

(ii) **t > Bajuni ch**. In Amu and other smaller communities in the Lamu Archipelago, the /t/ which corresponds to St.Sw. /t/ is alveolar or post-alveolar, with some retroflexion, whereas in Bajuni (also Siu and Pate) it is alveopalatal /ch/. It seems that historically all ND, even into southern Kenya, had /t/ distinct from /t/ and that more recently there was a shift from /t/ to /ch/ in all dialects except Lamu and its satellite villages. Most words of Arabic origin have /t/ in all dialects, whereas in Amu etc, more recent, non-Arabic loans have /t/. So all ND -tamu, bita, sita, hatari "sweet, duck, six, danger" but Amu etc gazeti, sitima, boti, t'ikiti "newspaper, steamer, boat, ticket". Msikiti 'mosque' is an exception – it must (?) have originally been a loan from Arabic, but has non-dental [t] in Amu, and ch in Bajuni.

Henceforth in this sketch, the /t/ is not underlined as it does not contrast with any other /t/.

(iii) **St.Sw. nd : ND nd(r)**. The degree of rhotacisation varies: strong in Kenyan Bajuni, least strong in Amu, where speakers do it but often deny it, because it is felt to be rustic and a feature that people emphasise when imitating other dialects (e.g. Lamu people imitating Bajuni or Matondoni people) and thus a feature to be denied in one's own (Amu) speech. It is hardly heard among younger Somali Bajunis.

(iv) St.Sw. j : Bajuni y or [ʒ]:

	St.Sw.		Bajuni
	-jaza	‘fill’	-yadha
	-moja	‘one’	-moya
	-jua	‘know’	-yiva
	jua	‘sun’	yuva
	mjoli	‘fellow servant’	muyoli
Class 5	jina	‘name’	yina (Amu ina)
	jicho	‘eye’	yīto (Amu īto)
	jino	‘tooth’	yino (Amu ino)
Class 1	mjinga	‘fool’	muyinga
	mji	‘town’	muʒi, muyi, <u>ny</u> i

In Bajuni Class 5, the y is obscured because the Class 5 prefix itself is y-. In the 1970’s I heard [ʒ] often for /y/, also given in Sacleux, but not at all in younger Somali Bajunis in the early 2000’s.

/j/ does not weaken to in class 5 augmentatives, so thus *ijimbwa* ‘big fierce dog’, *ijich^hu* ‘giant’.

(v) Assimilation of m(u)- + consonant. Assimilation of sequences of /mu-/, most obvious in the prefix for Classes 1 and 3. The basic synchronic form of the prefix is [m]. However, [mu] can still be heard in speech, especially in monosyllables, is common in older writing, and still occasionally used in verse today. When the vowel drops, assimilation of nasal to the stem initial consonant occurs automatically:

mu- before some vowel stems (where a consonant has recently been lost): mu-amu ‘Lamu person’

mu- in monosyllables and before certain consonants: mu-tu ‘a mangrove species’, mu-yinga ‘fool’,

mu-huni ‘divorce(e)’

mw- before other vowel stems: mw-ana ‘child’

m- before labial: m-vili ‘body’

n- before dental: ntanga ‘sand’, n-dhi ‘root’

n- before alveolar: n-lango ‘door’, n-chi ‘tree’

ny, written n: mu-ʒi > mu-yi > n-yi ‘town’

ŋ, written n-: n-kanda ‘narrows’

Other sequences of m(u) + consonant show the same phenomenon :

Bulo aka-n-jibu ‘Bulo replied to him’

ulee mwana u-n-someshao ‘that boy you are teaching’

thumuni > thumni > thunni ‘a small coin’

Vowel-loss and subsequent nasal assimilation take place along certain parameters : geographical, formal, age, syllable structure. In normal speech vowel-loss and assimilation take place in Bajuni and in those dialects of the Lamu Archipelago influenced by Bajuni (Matondoni, Siu, Pte). In these dialects consonant-assimilation occurs less in formal situations. In monosyllables failure of vowel-loss and consonant assimilation is more frequent.

Bajunis along the northern Kenya mainland coast drop the vowel less than speakers on N. Pate island, and older speakers are more conservative than younger ones.

It seems historically plausible that vowel-loss and consonant assimilation originated in Bajuni and spread thence into the dialects most influenced by it, that is, nearly everywhere except Amu and Shela.

(vi) **Assimilation my > ny.** A similar phenomenon occurs in sequences of m + y + V (also in other ND):

mw-aka 'year', mw-edhi 'year', mw-amba 'rock', plurals ny-aka, ny-edhi, ny-amba

This can also be seen in St. Sw. -choma 'stab, pierce' compared to Bajuni -toma/-tonya 'fish', ntonyi 'fisherman'.

When the plural of Class 3 nouns show ny- the plurals may transfer to Class 10:

mwedhi mmoya undokwisa 'one month has passed' (Cl. 3), but
nyedi ningi/nyingi dhindokwisa 'many months have passed'

(vii) **Assimilation of n(i) + consonant.** Another kind of assimilation involving nasal and consonant occurs when the copular /ni-/ is followed by a possessive. This assimilation is 'optional'. The assimilated nasal remains syllabic, as can be seen in verse.

/numba hii ni (y)angu/ 'this house is mine' > numba hii ndangu (Cl. 9)

/nyumba hidhi ni dhako/ 'these houses are yours' > nyumba hidhi ndhako > ndako (Cl. 10)

/dhichanda hidhi ni dhake/ 'these beds are his' > dhichanda hidhi ndhake > ndake (Cl. 8)

/maingi haa ni (y)echu/ 'these eggs are ours' > mayai haa ndeche (Cl. 6)

/maingi haa ni a nyani?/ 'whose eggs are these?' > nda nyani (Cl. 6)

/ingi hili ni la nyani/ 'whose egg is this?' > ingi hili nla nyani > nda nanyi (Cl. 5)

/udhi hunu ni vao/ 'this string is theirs' > udhi hunu mvao > mbwao (Cl. 14)

/mwana huu ni wenu/ 'this child is yours' > mwana huu mwenu > mbwenu (Cl. 1)

/vana hava ni va Juma/ 'these children are Juma's' > vana hava mba Juma (Cl. 2)

/isi ni va kulikubali/ 'we have to agree to it' > mba kulikubali

/msumeno hunu ni wa kukach^hia/ 'this saw is for cutting' > mbwa kuch^hatia (Cl. 3)

/kichanda hichi ni cha kulalia/ 'this bed is for sleeping' > ncha > ch^ha kulalia (Cl. 7)

/kichanda chako ni kidhuri/ 'your bed is good' > nkidhuri > k^hidhuri

(viii) **Deletion of (verbal) subject marker (SM).** Both in my material from northern Kenya in the 1970's and in Grottanelli's material from Somalia from the 1950's, verbal SM's may optionally drop. 'Optionally' means either in verse, for syllabic purposes, or for example in speech, in a string of verbs, all having the same subject reference. Although it occurs with a whole range of subject and tense/aspect markers, it appears to occur most often when the SM's refer to humans and with the TA marker *-ndo-*. With the 1sg morpheme /ni-/ drops it leaves aspiration of following voiceless consonants, thus:

/nitavuka imi/ 'I am going to cross' > t^havuka imi

/utavuka yeye/ 'he is going to cross' > tavuka yeye

radi ndo-mvua much^hu mmoya 'thunder has killed a man'

mamangu ndo-nendra sokoni My mother has gone to the market
(vs babangu mekwendra hondre)

/nitapicha/ 'I'll cross' > t^hapicha

/nikianda/ ‘if I start’ > k^handa

The /ni/ does not actually need to drop for aspiration to occur:

/ni-pa/ ‘give me’ > ni p'a but

/m-pe/ ‘give him’ > mpe

/utanipa nini/ ‘what will you give me?’ > (u)tanip'ani

Loans with initial voiceless consonants from English also aspirate in 9/10:

ch^himu (Eng. ‘team’), ch^hepu (Eng. ‘tape’), k^hesi (Eng. ‘case’) p^hicha (Eng. ‘picture’)

(ix) Class 9-10 prefix allomorphs. Stem initial position in Class 9-10 is marked by a distinctive set of morphophonemic changes, inter alia aspiration, and easily seen by comparing nominals with Cl. 11 singulars with their Cl. 10 plurals.

Class 11 (sg, u-)

u-pande ‘side’

u-teo ‘winnowing tray’

u-chund^ʔa ‘necklace’

u-kucha ‘wall’

u-funguo ‘key’

usimbo ‘stick’

u-nee ‘hair’

uvavu ‘rib’

u-limi ‘tongue’

m-refu ‘tall, long’

u-bele ‘wing’

m-dhuri ‘good’

(u-)uchi ‘stick’

v-uso ‘face’

Class 10 (pl, N-)

p^hande

t^heo

ch^hund^ʔa

k^hucha

funguo

simbo

nee n-ingi ‘many hairs’

ngapi ‘how many’

m-bavu

n-dimi

n-defu

m-bele

nduri

ny-uchi

ny-uso

This can be summarized as:

N + voiceless stop > aspirated voiceless stop

N+ voiceless fricative > voiceless fricative

N + nasal > nasal

N + voiced continuant > nasal + voiced stop

N + other voiced segment > nasal + voiced stop

N + vowel > ny + vowel

(x) A voiced sibilant where many other Swahili dialects nasal plus voiced sibilant:

St. Sw.
mvua ‘rain’

Bajuni
vua

mvuli ‘rainy season’	vuli
tamvua ‘fringe’	tavua
jamvi ‘mat’	javi
(also jinsi ‘kind’	jisi)

As a regular phenomenon this is peculiar to Bajuni within the ND, but other Swahili dialects further south show the same change. We can assume therefore that it was a sporadic innovation within the ND after the breakup of the ancestral community. This is part of a simplification of prenasalised units.

(xi) iC or iC^h, where most other dialects have NC or NC^h (from original iNC)

St. Sw.	Siu	Bajuni
older nswi ‘fish’	nsi	isi (a few Somali varieties have nsi)
nje ‘outside’	<u>nde</u>	<u>nde</u>
nne ‘four’	nne	ine
mbwa ‘dog’	mbwa	imbwa
nchi ‘country’	<u>nt^hi</u>	<u>it^hi</u>
ncha ‘point’	<u>nt^ha</u>	<u>it^ha</u>
figo ‘kidney’	nso	iso
mpya ‘new (Cl. 9)’		p ^h ya
(mimi ‘I, me’	mmi	imi)

(xii) Class 5 prefix allomorphs, basic shape /i-/. Details of Class 5 nominal allomorphs differ somewhat from those of St.Sw. The majority of Class 5 adjectives with initial C Stem and nouns form their plural by replacing the Class 5 prefix by Class 6 ma.

sg.		pl.
ibuki	‘plantain’	mabuki
iguu	‘leg’	maguu
ikuru	‘big’	makuru
ipia	‘new’	mapia
yenyo	‘tooth’	menyo
ijiwe	‘stone’	majiwe
ivu	‘ashes’	mavu
ijimbwa	‘big dog’	mijimbwa (Cl.4)

There is a small subset of examples, mainly consisting of vowel stems and monosyllables, in which nominals have a zero prefix, so:

ingi	‘egg’	ma - ingi
yito	‘eye’	ma-yito
yina	‘name’	ma-yina
havule	‘girl’	ma-havule

Monosyllabic and V-initial adjective stems have li- :

i-chund^a li-pi ? ‘Which fruit?’, i-chovi lumu ‘a hard banana’
 ingi l-eupe ‘a white egg’, hembe l-eusi ‘a black mango’ (for V-deletion, see (o), below)

(xiii) Palatalisation of /k/. In the late 1970's I heard quite frequent palatalisation of the Cl. 7 prefix in demonstrative and SMS, so *hiki/hichi* 'this', *kilee/chilee* 'that', *kisu hichi kimevundika/chimevundika* 'this knife is broken'. I assumed it was specific to Class 7, but recently in a refugee from Koyama I heard *chenda* (from *kenda*) 'nine', also *kitu chingine* 'other thing', so maybe it is general palatalisation of /k/ before front vowels? This also occurs in Bravanese and once occurred in Lower Pokomo (Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993: 540).

(xiv) Reduction of verbal relative -(c)o(-). Verbal relatives may reduce from *Co* to simple *o*. Only the locatives do not so reduce:

vach^hu valee vak^hacha-vo michi ni maabawangu 'Those people cutting trees are my brothers'
or vach^hu valee vak^hacha-o.....

k^hichu chianguka-cho ch^hangu 'the thing falling is mine'
or k^hichu chianguka-o.....

But utaka-po 'if you want' (not *utakao)

(xv) $V_1 + V_2 > V_2$

Vowel deletion is much more widespread than in St.Sw. The general rule is $V_1 + V_2 > V_2$

n-end^fao 'I am going' /ni + end + a + o/

s-end^fi 'I am not going' /si + end + i/

v-end^fao 'they are going' /va + end + a + o/

van-ambidhie 'they told me' /va + ni + ambi + ie/

h-anunui 'he isn't buying' /ha + a + nunu + i/

h-ununui 'you aren't buying' /ha + u + nunu + i/

a-taka 'he wants' /a + a + tak + a/

Ishelali h'enend^fi 'Ishelali isn't going' /ha + enend + i/

v-idhi 'thieves' /va + idhi/

changu 'my' (C1.7) /ki + angu/

ch^hangu 'mine' (C1.7) /ni + ki + angu/

dhangu "my" (C1.8) /dhi + angu/

hachuy-end^fa 'we haven't gone' /ha + chu + ya + end + a/

chuk-end^fa 'if we go' /chu + ki + end + a/

vak-end^fa 'and they went' /va + ka + end + a/

vas-end^fe 'they shouldn't go' /va + si + end + e/

v-eneve 'themselves' /va + eneve/

nd^f-o 'yes' /ndi + o/ (also ndio)

ibuku l-al-oanguka 'the book which fell' /li + ali + o + .../

alee magunia n-al-onunua 'the bags I bought' /ni + ali + o + .../

kichanda ch-al-orudi 'the bed which came back' /ki + ali + o + .../

nch^hu as-okuva kusikilia 'the man who hasn't arrived' /a + si + o + .../

chwalinunua dhich^hu as-okudhitaka Muhamadi 'we bought things H. didn't want' /a + si + o../

(xvi) Failure of $V_1 + V_2 > V_2$ Vowel assimilation-deletion does not take place at various points in the word. Since these points are similar (although not identical) to St.Sw., and since they will be obvious throughout the text, they are not dealt with fully here. Most obvious cases are:

- where a historical consonant is lost, most often /l/ or /g/, so -ie suffix, historical -ile
 usinieche'e maingi 'don't bring me eggs' (St.Sw. -letee)
 nik^hatia 'cut for me' (older -ila)
 Lakeni uosee 'Lakeni dreamt (-ocha, older -locha)
 uelewee 'you understand = have understood (-ee < ele)
 uevenye dhich'u 'you have distributed the things (-avanya, St.Sw. -gawanya)
 chuege 'we ordered' (-aga, Comorian -laga)
 nimuombe "I asked him" (-omba, older -lombele)
 - where the relative occurs in final position :
 aimbieo ni nyani? 'Who sang?'

In medial position the relative never assimilates to the following vowel. But it does assimilate in vowel. But it does assimilate to the preceding vowels after certain tense markers (e.g. -si-, -ali-) but not after others (e.g. -taka-, -nda(ka)-):

ulee nal-onunua 'the one I bought' /ni + ali + o +.../
 nkebe us-okafai 'a can which is no good' /u + si + o +.../
 vach^hu vanda-o(ku)sikilia 'the people who just came
 bodo chutaka-opacha 'the ugali we will get' (but see (1q), following)

- several other positions, as exemplified in
 u-achusi-e 'you are surprised' (-achuka, St.Sw. -shtuka)
 va-imbie 'they sang'
 ma-ingi 'eggs'
 uki-idha 'if you refuse'
 (maneno ambao) hachu-a-elewi '(the words which) we don't understand'
 henge-andoka 'he would not have gone out'

(xvii) Gliding of /w/

chwend^fao 'We are going' (c.f. chuyao 'We are coming')
 mwend^fao 'You are going' (c.f. muyao 'You are coming')
 wend^fao 'You are going' (c.f. uyao 'You are coming')

Again this can be blocked by the factors mentioned in (o) preceding
 Mu-amu 'person of Lamu' (older mulamu) nimu-ombe 'I asked him' (older -lomba)

(xviii) **Loss of /y/** All ND have lost /y/ in some Class 1 agreements (e.g. Amu *uko*, *ulee*, but *huyu*) but only Bajuni shows such widespread loss as:

Bajuni (Cl. 6) haa, alee, ot^he, (Cl. 1) huu, uko, nae, ule, (Cl. 3) michi a Omari, (Cl. 9) numba a Masudi

versus St. Sw haya, yalee, yote, huyu, yuko, naye, yule, miti ya Omari, nyumba ya Masudi

(xix) **CuCo > CoCo** The second demonstrative assimilates its vowels in Bajuni (and other ND):

St. Sw	Bajuni
huyo Cl.1	hoo
huo Cls. 3, 11, 14	hoo

huko Cl. 17	hoko
humo Cl.18	homo

Also other environments: nchama chu-toko-uvuna si nduri /..takao./ ‘Millet we won’t harvest isn’t good’

(xx) Syllabic differences from St.Sw A small number of words have undergone syllabic changes resulting in surface forms different from St.Sw:

St. Sw.	Bajuni
mpya ‘new. Cl.9’	pia
afya ‘health’	afia
swali ‘question’	suwali
jumanne ‘Thursday’	jumaane
kiSwahili ‘Swahili’	kiSwahili, kiSawahili

Note also St. Sw *saba* ‘seven’, *tisa* ‘nine’ but Bajuni *sabaa* and *tisia*.

(xxi) Sequences of aCu often appear as eCu:

-chagua	-taua, -teua (g-loss)
-tafuta	-tefudha
-katua	-ketua

(xxii) Labiovelarisation

popo ‘bat (Cl. 9)’	pw ^h epwe
pera	pwera
peke	pweke
mpira	mpwira
papai	pw ^h apwai
?? Old Persian ban	bwana ‘Mr.’

(xxiii) St.Sw stops vs Bajuni continuants

ubavu ‘rib’	uvavu
-bichi	-viti
-bivu	-vivu
-bovu	-ovu, -vovu
-ziba	-dhiva
udongo ‘mud’	uvongo

(xxiv) Palatalisation

chai ‘tea’	shai
chaka	i-shaka
chungwa	i-shungwa
chanuo ‘comb’	i-shanuo

(xxv) Loss of initial [i] in some verbs and quantifiers:

-ingia ‘enter’	-ngia
-ingi ‘many’	-ngi
-ingine ‘other’	-ngine/-ngina

So Cl. 1 mungine/nngine, Cl. 9 ngine/ingine

(xxvi) -ali- > -eli- > -e- Past tense marker /ali/ shows l-loss and vowel assimilation (also in Siu). The variants are semantically identical. Vowel assimilation goes beyond /ali/ in the second line.

chw-ali-kuya/chw-eli-kuya/chw-e-kuya yana ‘We came yesterday’
 chwang-ali-k^hacha simbo, chweng-eli-k^hacha simbo, chweng-e-k^hacha simbo
 ‘We would have cut a stick’

(xxvii) Kinship terms plus possessives

As in other ND and in St.Sw. kinship terms plus suffixed possessive are subject to regular shortening, thus:

nduangu ‘my brother’ (nduu + angu), nduo ‘your brother’ (nduu + ako), mwane ‘his child’ (mwana + ake), abawangu ‘my elder brother’ (abawa), abayangu ‘my elder sister’ (abaya), aumeo ‘your uncle’, (aume), aumee ‘his uncle’, aumedho ‘your uncles’.

Additionally it has a few idiosyncratic, archaic formations, so:

babe ‘father’, ishe ‘his/her father’, showe ‘your father’, vishesi ‘our father’, visheni ‘your father’, shevo ‘their father’.

mame ‘mother, my mother’, nyawe ‘your mother’ (also nyoko, which can be rude in the appropriate context), inya ‘his/her mother’, nyasi ‘our mother’, nyani ‘your mother’, nyavo ‘their mother’.

(xxviii) Aberrant /r/ Bajuni shows unexplainable and apparently haphazard [r] in a small set of words, from earlier [l], e.g.:

-kuu and -kuru ‘big’, ivoo and ivoro ‘penis’, etc

Replacement of [l] by [r], also apparently haphazard, in a much larger set of words was also noticed in younger speakers from Koyama.

4 Distinctive aspiration Bajuni contrasts aspirated and non-aspirated voiceless stops, thus:

paa ‘roof’ versus p^haa ‘sp. gazelle’
 -kaa ‘live’ versus k^haa ‘crab’
 kitabu changu ‘my book’ versus kitabu ch^hangu ‘the book is mine’

Movement of aspiration. Aspiration moves forward within certain syllable limits. Thus:

/kich^hu/ [k^hichu] ‘thing’, but /dhich^hu/ [dhich^hu] ‘things’
 /-ket^hi/ [-k^heti] ‘sit’ : literally ‘sit on the ground’ : -kaa + t^hi /-kai’a/ [-k^hacha] ‘cut’, from PB */-kanta/

Aspiration can only move forward on to ‘eligible’ consonants, that is, voiceless stops (and fricatives?). There are limits to how far the aspiration can shift:

/kuket^h/ 'sit' > [kuk^heti], not *[k^huketi]

This phenomenon also occurs in the other dialects of the Lamu Archipelago and is noted by Lambert for Chifundi, Vumba, Mvita, Jomvu, and Ngare.

5 MORPHOLOGY

5(i) The -ie suffix

The base shape in older speech and writing was *-ile*. Today the base is *-ie*. This presentation shows the main C mutations and V assimilations. It can be seen (esp. in the Nurse 1982 comparative table) that a levelling out of forms is occurring, a process whereby older assimilations, especially consonantal, are tending to be replaced. All forms are quoted in the 3sg, where the SM is u-. For comparative purposes, Amu forms are quoted on the left. Amu forms have prestem *-me-*. Glosses for verbs can be found in the Lexicon.

Amu	Bajuni
a-me-gura ‘He has moved’	u-gur-ie
a-me-baki	u-bak-ie
a-me-iza	u-yidh-ie
a-me-haribu	u-harib-ie
a-me-imba	u-imbi-ie
a-me-pija ‘hit’	u-bis-ie (-bika)
a-me-kuva	u-v-ie

[ie] changes to [ee] after stem vowels [e, o]:

a-me-ekeza	u-ekedh-ee
a-me-pond ^r a	u-pond-ee
a-me-tend ^r a	u-tend-ee
a-me-elewa	u-elew-ee
a-me-jep ^h a	u-jep ^h -ee
a-me-nijep ^h ea	u-ni-jep ^h ee

- imbrication:

a-me-kaa	u-kee (older), u-kal-ie/u-kal-idhie (newer)
a-me-aga	u-ege/u-agidha
a-me-dara	u-dere/u-dar-ie
a-me-simama	u-simeme
a-me-mw-andama	u-mw-endeme
a-me-lala	u-yele
a-me-lingana	u-lingene
a-me-fanana	u-fenene
a-me-pata	u-peche
a-me-ni-patia	u-ni-pach-ie

- short stems (C, CV, CG) – some have –ie, others –ee:

a-me-m-p-a ‘he has given her..’	u-m-p-ee
a-me-ku- <u>n</u> w-a	u- <u>n</u> w-ee

a-me-ku-f-a	u-f- <u>ie</u>
a-me-ku-y-a	u-y- <u>ie</u>
a-me-ku-l-a	u-l- <u>ie</u>

- a few cases do not fit the pattern. Since the same shapes occur all over Bantu, they are likely to be old inherited forms:

a-me-mw-on-a	u-mw-ene
--------------	----------

- most stem final consonants are now unaffected by the suffix, see preceding and...:

a-me-lipa	u-lip- <u>ie</u>
a-me-tega	u-cheg- <u>ee</u>
a-me-sala	u-sa- <u>ie</u>
a-me-kosa	u-kos- <u>ee</u> /u-kos- <u>edha</u>
a-me-udhi	u-udh- <u>ie</u>
a-me-k ^h ata	u-k ^h eche/u-k ^h ach- <u>ie</u>
a-me-i-f <u>unda</u>	u-i-f <u>und</u> - <u>ie</u>

- others do mutate, as follows (stem final /k, ch/ > [s]):

a-me-vuka	u-vus- <u>ie</u>
a-me-pika	u-pis- <u>ie</u>
a-me-haribika	u-haribis- <u>ie</u>
a-me-choka	u-chos- <u>ee</u>
a-me-weka	u-ves- <u>ee</u>
a-me-vuta	u-vus- <u>ee</u>
a-me-ota (nodoto)	u-os- <u>ee</u>
a-me-pita	u-pis- <u>ie</u>

- stem final /nd, ng/ > nd:

a-me-pond ^r a	u-pon <u>dee</u>
a-me-pand ^r a	u-pen <u>de</u> /u-pand- <u>ie</u>
a-me-kwend ^r a	u-en <u>d</u> - <u>ee</u>
a-me-funga	u-fun <u>d</u> - <u>ie</u>

- in certain types of stem this does not operate:

a-me-sinyanga	u-sin <u>e</u> ng
a-me-kanga	u-ken <u>e</u>

- stem final zero > dh:

a-me-mw-ua 'He has killed him'	u-m-vuedh- <u>ee</u>
a-me-oa 'married'	u-odh- <u>ee</u>
a-me-pea 'swept'	u-pedh- <u>ee</u>
a-me-fungua	u-fungudh- <u>ie</u>

a-me-tukua	u-tukudh-ie
a-me-sahau	u-sahaudh-ie
a-me-zowea	u-dhov-ee/u-dhovedh-ee
a-me-k ^h eti	u-k ^h etidh-ie (-k ^h eti < -kaa + ti, see -kaa, above)
a-me-mw-angalia	u-mw-eng-ee

- there is also today a new productive allomorph -idha/-edha:

a-me-fanya	u-fany-idha
a-me-maliza	u-malidh-idha
a-me-aga	u-ege/u-agidha
a-me-eta 'brought'	u-es-ee/u-ech-edha
	u-tefudh-idha 'search'

- in most extensions the V assimilates but the C does not mutate. Consider:

a-me-simama	u-simeme
a-me-simamia	u-simam-ie
	u-pis-ie 'cooked', but u-ni-pik-ie 'cooked for me'
	u-es-ee 'brought', but u-ni-ech-ee brought for me'
	u-fund-ie 'closed' but u-ni-fung-ie nlango
	u-k ^h as-ie 'cut', but u-ni-k ^h ach-ie

Further examples:

(-nunua)	Isheika u-ni-nunul-ie mashua 'Isheika bought me a dhow'
(-fungua)	Sabiri unifungulie nlango 'Sababiri opened the door for me'
(-fanya)	Avukame uvafanyie kadhi 'Avukame did the work for them'
(-lia)	mwana ulilie nini 'What did the child cry about?'
(-pacha)	Batiti uchupachie 'Batiti got us a shirt'
(-anguka)	Shali uwangukie maguuni 'Shali fell at his feet'
(-imba)	vadhee vachuimbie nimbo 'The old men sang us songs'
(-tukua)	munitukulie michi t ^h uu 'You brought me many trees'
(-tefudha)	vantefudhie noni tu 'They only looked for birds for him'
(-toma)	vatonyi vavatomee jamaa dhavo isi 'The fishermen caught fish for their friends'

(5ii) Demonstrative pronouns

There is a four-way contrast in demonstrative pronouns:

Class	1	2	3	4
1, 3, 11, 14	huu	hoo	ulee	uleee
2	hava	havo	valee	valeee
4, 9	hii	hiyo	ilee	ileee
5	hili	hilo	lilee	lileee
6	haa	hao	alee	aleee

7	hiki/hichi	hicho	kilee/chilee	kileee/chileee
8, 10	hidhi	hidho	dhilee	dhileee
15, 17	huku	hoko	kulee	kuleee
16	hapa	hapo	palee	paleee
18	humu	homo	mulee/mlee/ nlee	m(u)leee

The St.Sw and Mvita short forms (e.g. ile, kile, etc) may be heard.
The meanings of this four-way distinction are similar to those in St.Sw:

nch^hu huu ‘this man/man previously mentioned’ (St.Sw mtu huyu)
nch^hu hoo ‘that man near the addressee/previously mentioned’ (mtu huyo)
nch^hu ulee ‘that man/previously mentioned’ (mtu yule)
nch^hu yulee ‘that man over there’ (mtu yulee)

All four correspond to English articles and demonstratives. This distinction correlates to a difference in position relative to the head noun. When mainly demonstrative function is intended, these words follow the noun: when there is additional information, they precede the noun, e.g.:

numba hii iangusie ‘this house has fallen down (normal)
hii numba iangusie -do-, but surprise
numba hio iangusie ‘this (just over there) house has fallen down’
hio numba iangusie -do-, but it might be, for example, at night – ‘this house over there, the one you can't see...’
numba ilee iangusie ‘that house has fallen down’
ilee numba iangusie -do-, but ‘you know, the one we talked about’
numba ileee iangusie ‘that house over there has fallen down’
ileee numba iangusie -do-, a heavily marked form which might, for example, be used to answer the question ‘Which house is it that fell down?’

In each of the preceding pairs, the first sentence is the unmarked form, that is, it is the deictic function which is predominant. In the second, marked, sentence, there is an additional element - surprise, emphasis, disbelief, or previous reference.

In demonstrative function, at least, these words can be permuted, with no obvious change of meaning or emphasis:

Dhilee jahadhi dhiyadho/jahadhi dhiydho dhilee ‘those boats are coming’

Another demonstrative stem in -n- may be heard in locatives:

munu munu ‘right here’ (St.Sw humu humu), kunu (St.Sw. huku), hukunu, as in ndoo hukunu ‘Come here’, hukunu kwechu ‘here at ours’.

In other dialects in the Lamu Archipelago the first two demonstratives above in 5(i)), at least in some classes (e.g. 3, 6, 9, 11).

Sample text:

Akaandoka akenda kwa ndudhake, akavaeledha mambo ot^he, na valee ndudhake vakamvulidha “Nduechu, huu mwananke nu mwananke gani?” Ulee kijana asinine yina lake ulee mwananke akanene “Nimuokosee ndiani tu, na upanga huu niudirisie na huu noni indie antakao baba”. Na valee ndudhake vakavulidhwa na shevo “Mwananke huu yina lake ni nyani?” vakanena “Hachunyisi”.

‘He got up and went to his brothers, explained everything to them. His brothers asked “Who is this woman?” The boy didn't mention her name, but said ‘I just found her on the road, and this sword, I just came across it, and this bird is just what my father wants’. His brothers were asked by their father ‘What is this woman's name?’, and they replied ‘We do not know her’.

(5iii) Noun classes

Class 1	n-ch ^h u ‘person
1a	avu ‘uncle’

Since 1a/2a nouns have an unchanging, zero, prefix, they might also be considered 9/10, but since their meaning, [+human], and hence partly their concords are 1/2, they are considered a subset of 1/2.

- 1 va-chu ‘people’
- 2a avu ‘uncles’
- 3 n-chi ‘tree’
- 4 mi-chi ‘trees’
- 5a i-vingu, i-dhimbi, i-jiwe, i-paa ‘cloud, wave, stone, roof’
- 5b ingi, yina, yito, havule ‘egg, name, eye, girl’
- 6 ma-vingu, ma-dhimbi, ma-jiwe, ma-paa, ma-ingi, ma-yina, ma-yito, ma-havule

As in St. Sw, some nouns in this (and other) classes take 1/2 concords:

barobaro w-angu (u)ndokuya ‘my boy has just arrived’
 barobaro –vangu va-ndokuya ‘my boys have just arrived’
 (Cl.3) nchume a-ka-kena ‘the messenger said..’
 (Cl.7) kijana a-taecha shai ‘the boy will bring tea’
 (Cl. 9) ng’ombe w-eyao ‘the cow is coming’

This may be used as a secondary, augmentative, class, even for other Class 5 nouns:

imbwa ‘dog’ (Cl. 9), numba ‘house’ (9), havule (5), but ijimbwa ‘big dog’, ijumba ‘ mansion’, ihavule ‘big girl’.

- 7 k^hichu ‘thing’
- 8 dhich^hu ‘things’

Class 7/8 are used as diminutives so havule ‘girl but ki-havule ‘small girl’

- 9/10 numba ‘house(s)’, numba ningi ‘many houses’

Semantically and formally 9/10 are much as in St. Sw. 10 is the plural of 9 and 11. Morphophonology can be seen in (3) above.

- 11 ulimi, uvavu, uvambaa ‘tongue, rib, wall’
- 12 ka-gombe ‘very small cow’, discussed in 6(iii) below
- 14 vuso, vuongo ‘face, mud’

A few Cl. 14 nouns still have vu-, while many have fused with Cl.11 u- (see Lexicon). Since 14 nouns are often mass nouns, not all have plurals.

- 15 Only in infinitives
- 16 Only one member mahala/pahala, as in pahala pamoya ‘one place’, pahala pavili ‘two places’.

Nominal morphology As in St. Sw, two different sets of prefixes are associated with the noun classes. The various assimilations are discussed above in (3).

Set 1

- 1/3 m(u)- (note mungu, mngu ‘God’, mngine, nngine ‘other’
- 2 va-
- 1a/2a zero
- 4 mi-, zero
- 5 i- and zero
- 6 ma-
- 7 ki-
- 8 dhi-
- 9/10 N-
- 11 u-
- 12 ka-
- 14 vu, u-
- 15 ku-
- (16 pa-, ma-)

Set 1 occurs with nouns, adjectives, numerals 1-5, 8, words such as -ene ‘having’, -eneve ‘self’, etc

e.g mw-ana, mu-amu, n-ku(r)u, m-moya, n-ngine, mwene, mweneve

Classes 11/14 only have u-/vu- with nouns, otherwise mu-, so:

u-vambaa m-moya ‘one wall’, vu-so m-moya ‘one face’

Set 2

1	a-, u-, w-
2	va-
3, 11, 14	u-
4, 9	i-
5	li-
6	a-
7	ki-, chi-
8, 10	dhi-
(12	ka-)
15, 17	ku-
16	pa- and see just below
18	m(u)-

Set 2 concords occur with verbs, demonstratives, possessives, locatives, ‘verbals’, e.g

Cl. 1 (mwana) huu, hoo, ulee, ulee, (u)ndakuya, wa Ali, uko kwapi?
 ‘(child) this, that near, that, that far, has come, of Ali, is where?’

Cl. 5 (ijiwe) hili, hilo, lilee, lilee, l-ali-anguka, l-angu, liko kwapi ?
 ‘(stone) this, that near, that, that far, fell, my, is where?’

Not obvious from this display is that Classes 4/9 have i- with verbs, particles, and locatives, but zero before possessives and the connective: michi angu, michi a Omari Fumo ‘my trees, Omari F’s trees’.

Whereas older vu- is kept in Class 14 with some nouns, it is replaced by u- in Set 2.

As in St. Sw, Cl. 16-18 occur with demonstratives, locatives, etc: palee, nlee (18), kuleee, pana, etc. Pa- refers to more distant objects, ku- to nearer, thus:

Hapa kw-alifanywa kadhi ‘work was done here’
 palee p-ali-dhungumdhwa yana ‘there were people talking there yesterday’

The Cl. 16 noun takes Cl.9 concords: mahala hii, pahala ilee ‘this, that place’

(iii) Active Class 12

In contrast to St.Sw, Cl. 12 is in active use. Speakers were reluctant to use it with all nouns:

ijibwa ‘big fierce dog’	kijibwa ‘small dog’	kajibwa ‘even smaller dog’
jichu ‘giant’	kijichu ‘small person’	kajichu ‘even smaller person’
ng’ombe ‘cow’	kigombe	kagombe
k ^h uku ‘chicken’	kijiso ‘chick’	kajiso
mbudhi ‘goat’	kibudhi	kabudhi

As in other Bantu languages, such use of Cl. 12 (and 7) refers not only to physical size but to the speaker’s feelings about the object (‘despised, unnatural in some way’).

(iv) Plural of Cl. 5 augmentative in Cl .4

Unlike St. Sw, when Cl. 5 is used as an augmentative, the plural is not in Cl. 6, but Cl .4:

ijibwa, jichu, plurals mijibwa, mijichu.

(5iv) Other Pronouns**Independent pronouns**

imi ‘I, me’, uwe ‘you sg’, iye, ‘he, she’ isis ‘we, us, ini ‘you pl’, avo ‘they, them’

Used enclitically, they drop the initial syllable: nami ‘and me’, nasi ‘and us’, etc

Possessive

-angu ‘my’, -ako, ‘your’, -ake (south)/-akwe (north) ‘his/her’, -echu ‘our, -enu ‘your’, -avo ‘their’

These may be shortened also:

chu-ka-engu numba na madari-e ‘let’s go and look at the house and its floors’

hunawiri t^handu na mashina-e revealing its branches and roots’ (both from Utendi)

Relative Allowing for phonetic differences these are as in St. Sw. The consonantal element is regularly dropped, reducing the relative for all classes (except locatives/temporals) to [-o]. In Cl. -e and -ye can also be heard.

6 The verb

The basic structure of the non-compound verb is much as in St.Sw:

(pre-subject) (subject) (si) (tense-aspect) (relative) (object) root (extension) suffix₁ (suffix₂)
 (pre-SM) (SM) (si) (TA) (REL) (OM) root (EXT) suffix₁ (suffix₂)

pre-SM: ha- primary negative (1 sg. si-): hu-, see below.

SM: allowing for phonetic differences, as in St. Sw, except Cl. 1 u-.

OM, si, root, EXT: allowing for phonetic differences, as in St.Sw.

REL: as in St.Sw, allowing for phonetic differences.

Suffix₁: as St. Sw, plus -ie

Suffix₂: -o REL: -o, see below: -ni distinguishes plural and dual, so chwenende ‘let’s go’ (you and I), but chwenendeni ‘let’s go’ (all of us).

(i) 3sg u-/w- By y-loss, it replaces St.Sw yu-, so St.Sw mtu yule: Bajuni nch^hu ulee. The two 3sg SM are associated with different verbal forms.

Prefixal a- occurs with negatives, subjunctives, relatives, -ki-, -ka-, -nga-, -ngali-, (and -me-).

Prefixal u- or w- occurs with all other forms, so: w-eyao ‘he is coming’, w-ampenda mno ‘she likes him a lot’, w-endao Manda ‘he is going to Manda’, u-tavuka ‘he will cross’, (u)ndoyala ‘he is asleep’, w-ali-fanya ‘he did’.

(ii) Imperative + 1sg object pronoun When imperative is followed by the 1sg pronoun, the verb suffix is -a (not -e, as in St.Sw):

nip^h-a ‘give me 50 cents’, nisaidia senti ‘give me money’, nifanyia hii ‘do this for me’ but m-p-e sigara ‘give him a cigarette’, wa-p^h-e dhich^hu ‘give them the things’

(iii) Tense and Aspect Tense and aspect function similarly but not identically to St.Sw¹. The differences are part structural, part categorial.

(iv) The hu-form² ‘imperfective’ Together with other ND, Bajuni has an aspectual form *hu-*, which refers to ongoing, habitual, and generic events. It thus corresponds to, and largely replaces, St.Sw. *hu-*, *-a-*, *-na-*, and partially to *-ki-*. It can be used with all verbs and is unmarked for person/class. Subject can be clarified by adding the personal pronoun.

¹ Bajuni tense and aspect are very similar but not quite identical to those in the other ND.

² Hu- derives from ni + ku.

hufanya nini? ‘What are you, they, he, she doing?’ = Swahili u-na-fanya etc nini
 hufanya nini? ‘What do you, they he, she do?’
 hulima ‘I/we/you/he/she/they cultivate/are cultivating’
 isi hulima kula siku ‘We cultivate very day’
 isi hulima sasa hiao ‘We are cultivating right now’
 chutakuva hunena/chikinena ‘We will be talking’
 chwalikuva hunena/chukinena ‘We were talking’
 chukakuva hunena/chu-kinena ‘and we were talking’
 chumwene hunena/akinena ‘We have seen him talking’
 chwalimwoma ‘We saw’
 chungalimwona ‘We would have seen ...’
 sababu hu-bika k^hele vach^hu ‘Why are the people making a noise?’

dhikombe huanguka dhilee ‘Those cups are falling’
 haba na haba huyadha kibaba ‘Drop by drop fills the bucket’
 hava ndovu hutedha au hungia honden? ‘Are those elephants just playing or going into the
 shamba?’
 takuva husoma/akisoma ‘She’ll be reading’
 ukweli ingava huvava nambia usinisite ‘Although the truth hurts, tell me, don’t conceal it from
 me’
 huichwaye ‘What’s your name?’
 huk^heti hapa hudhungumdha ‘We are sitting here talking’
 “Husikia dhich^hu hulia?” sulutani akanena. “Naam, nasikia” Abunawasi akanena, havo ndivo
 mafundi huchengedha sakafu na hidho dhiliadho ni nundo na misumari”
 “Do you hear things making a noise?” the Sultan said. “Yes, I hear”, Abunawasi said,
 “Those are workmen building a floor and the things making noise are hammers and
 nails”.
 Mwana wa k^huku akuapo hukua huichengedha kuva mama wa kuvachia maingi ukiitahidi
 kachika wakati hoo wa udodi wake avapo huichengedha basi huva mama ndhuri wa
 maingi mangi
 “While a chicken is growing it is preparing itself to become a good layer, so if you take
 care of it during this period of immaturity while it is preparing itself, it will become a
 good mother and a good layer.”

(v) hu- and -a-

With other ND, Bajuni an overlap of function between *hu-* and *-a-*. *Hu-* represents ‘continuous’ and
 ‘regularity/habituality’, that is, events not marked for past or future. It can be used with all verbs. The
-a- is or was only used with verbs where the contrast between ‘continuous’ and ‘regularity’ is
 suspended, that is, stative verbs such as ‘like, want’, feel (various states), know, be able’, etc. So:

w-a-mpenda sana ‘He likes her a lot’, chw-a-taka kuk^heti hapa ‘We want to sit here’
 n-a-wedha vaSomali mia ‘I can beat/am as good as a hundred Somalis’, chw-a-yiva ‘We know’

Both *hu-* and *-a-* can be used with these verbs. Sometimes they appear synonymous, but a difference is possible, whereby the *hu-* form has general reference but *-a-* is more specific.

For most speakers in the late 1970's, especially older speakers, this was the situation, so sentences such as the following, where *-a-* is used with active verbs, were felt to be anomalous:

va(a)lima 'They are cultivating', chw-a-nena 'We are talking', chw-a-fanya kazi 'We are working'

However, the situation appears to be changing rapidly, under the influence of the Swahili of Mombasa and of St.Sw. I have listened to many young Bajunis from Somalia. They use *hu-* much less, even not at all, replacing it with *-a-*, and even with *-na-*, which formerly was never heard among Bajunis. Bajuni.com has messages from what I take to be Bajunis from northern Kenya and the same is happening there, too. *Hu-* is still fairly strong, but *-a-* with active verbs is widespread, and universal *-na-* is also widespread. As the Lamu poet Mau once said to me, "We are concerned with communicating, not with purity". For more detailed discussion, see Nurse 1982: 139-141.

(vi) Suffixal -o with 'come' and 'go' Together with other ND, Bajuni has suffixal [o], used with only two verbs, 'come, go', to represent 'continuous':

nend^fa-o Manda 'I am going to Manda', w-end^fa-o 'you...', end^fa-o or w-end^fa-o 'he/she ...',
chw-end^fa-(v)o 'we ...', mw-end^fa-(v)o 'ye...', vend^fa-(v)o 'they ...'

neya-o 'I am coming', ng'ombe weya-o 'the cow is coming'
kidau keya-cho 'the dhow...', mashua eya-o 'the dhow...'

This for most likely arose from the relative. For instance, although one cannot use **valima(v)o* 'They are cultivating' by itself, it can be used as an answer to the question "Who is (it that is cultivating?)", so *(ni) vatee valima(v)o* '(It is) those people (who) are cultivating'. From *(ni) vatee vend^fa(v)o* to *vend^fa(v)o* by deletion of copula and demonstrative is but a short step. Needless to say, the REL forms of 'come, go' are identical to the forms above: *vach^hu vend^fa(v)o* 'the people who are going', *mashua eyao* 'the dhow which is coming'.

(vii) -ta- (-to-) 'future' As other ND, Bajuni has a future in *-ta-*: occasionally *-to-* can be heard. This *-ta-* is a reduced form of *-taka* 'want'.

t^ha-vuka nkanda 'I'll cross the narrows'
(u)-ta-vapani 'What'll you give them?'
uki-to-kuya mapema t^ha-ku-va niyele 'If you don't come early I'll be asleep'
Shalishalo u-ta-ku-va wendeme na vafuasi vake vangi
'S will be accompanied by many of his followers'
ambirie magunia a-tako-chumiwa 'Throw away the bags that will be used'

In this tense, as in others, monosyllabic verbs insert *-ku-*. The form ‘go’ has two shapes, *-end^fa* and *-enend^fa*, the first but not the second requiring *-ku-*, so:

chu-ta-kw-end^fa but *chu-ta-enend^fa*

In the negative future, only *-to-* occurs: *ha-to-teka mai* ‘He won’t draw water’

This *-to-* has a wider distribution than in St. Sw, occurring not only in the negative infinitive and negative future, but also for example in:

ki-to-yafanya (mambo) ‘If she doesn’t do them...’

k^{hi}-to-pea ‘Unless I sweep...’

chuki-to-kuya ‘If we don’t come...’

nch^hu ha-to-kuya nd^fuangu ‘The man who won’t come is my brother’

ndo n^umbani u-to-furahika ‘It’s at home that you will be happy’ (Grottanelli)

Grottanelli also has one example combining suffixal *-o* and *-ta(ka)-*:

imi taka-kwend^fa-o kuyala ‘I will go to sleep’

(viii) -ali- ‘past’ This refers to an action in the past, not seen as having any particular relevance or importance for the present: a finished action. A short form, *li-*, is seen in the copula relative. See discussion, see Nurse 1982: 137.

Naliponyuka asubuhi alikuva ni Ramadhani. Nalikwend^fa pw^hani kuangalia madau ikiva atakwend^fa baharini kutoma isi. Nalirudu n^umbani k^habadilisha nguvo k^haelekea pw^hani.

‘When I got up in the morning it was Ramadan. I went to the beach to see if the boats were going out to sea to fish. I went home, changed my clothes, and set off for the beach’ (from a school composition).

Chw-e-kuya ‘yana ‘We came yesterday’

Mw-alo-jenga jengo jengo ‘You who did the building’ (from a *vave*)

Ingi l-alo-angula ndango ‘The egg which fell is mine’

Valee v-alo-k^heti mbali v-ali-peekwa vajumbe kwend^fa kuvicha

‘Messengers were sent to call those who lived far away’

Madi w-ali-fanyiwa karamu nduri ‘M was given a great feast’

W-ali-chuyia ‘You came to us’

Kw-eli-sikidhiana k^hele ‘A noise was heard’

Idau li-l-o bandarini litaandoka karibu ‘The boat which is in the harbour will leave soon’

Idau l-ali-o bandarini lindaandoka ‘The boat which was in the harbour has left’

Kw-ali-na mtajiri ‘There was a rich man’

Shekhe Omari ali ni nch^hu.... ‘Sheikh O was a man...’

(ix) **-ie ‘Perfect’** See section 5i, above. With active verbs the usual English translation is the perfect (‘X has verbed’) but with stative verbs the more common translation expresses the state resulting from the action (‘X is standing’)³. Today this suffix is in rapid retreat before *-me-*, and even Mombasa *-sha-*

bochi i-sha-peekwa Amu ? ‘Has the boat been taken to Lamu?’

In the speech of interviewees from northern Kenya in the late 1970’s, this suffix was alive and well. In the speech of young Somali Bajunis in the early 2000’s it is not alive and well.

(x) **-ndo-/-nda-** Bajuni has a formative in *-ndo-/-nda-*. It is *-nda-* in most Pate Island villages but *-ndo-* in a few Pate Island villages and along the coast into Somali (Grottanelli has only *-ndo-*, which is what I have heard in the early 21st century from Somali Bajunis. In view of its meaning, discussed below, it is tempting to see this as related to the word for "yes" (nd^fio or nd^fo). Unfortunately for this suggestion, the nasals involved are different, and Bajunis do not confuse the two. Its origin is therefore not clear at present.

Corresponding to St.Sw. *-me-*, Bajuni today has three different forms, partly overlapping : *-me-*, *-ie*, and *-ndo-/-nda-*. All involve several dimensions, viz.

- time in the past relative to the present
- the notion of an action which took place in the past, but the consequences of which are still felt to be relevant to the present
- the degree of insistence which the speaker places on the action
- emphasis on state (*-ie*, *-me-*) as opposed to action (*-nda-/-ndo-*).

The best way to explain *-ndo-/-nda-* is to compare it with the *-ie* suffix.

The *ie*-suffix implies a present state brought about by a past action, or an action starting in the past and continuing into the present, or a completed action whose consequences are felt in the present. The past action may be quite distant (compared with *-nda-/-ndo-*) or else the exact point in the past is immaterial or unknown. It is translated by English present (he is asleep) or present perfect (he has come):

uyele ‘You/he/she are asleep’
 bado uyele ‘She is still asleep’
 Haruni hayisi uyelepo ‘H doesn’t know where he slept’

³ I cannot resist an anecdote here. I have listened to many interviews where the interviewer is from western Kenya, and speaks western Kenya Swahili. The interviewees are young Bajunis from Somali, who, even though they replace the suffix by *me*, still keep the stative meaning with the appropriate verbs, quite different from the interviewers. Thus interviewers ask for example will ask: U-na-toka wapi ‘Where are you from? (**not** ‘Where are you coming from?’), U-na-mpenda? ‘Do you like him?’ U-na-fahamu? ‘Do you understand?’ U-na-ki-ona? ‘Can/do you see it?’, to which the respective Bajuni answers were: Ni-me-toka Chula ‘I am from Chula’, ni-mpenda ‘I like him’, Ni-me-fahamu ‘I understand’, Ni-me-kinoa ‘I (can) see it’.

numba ilee iangusie ‘That house has fallen down’
 honde ichendele mayani ‘The plantation produced leaves’
 nkulima ayadhieo mbeu tapacha mimea
 ‘The farmer who has planted seeds will get crops’
 vafie ‘They are dead, they have died’
 Umuro wandosee kichambo ‘U went out some time ago’

It is most often negated by the *-ya-* negative, and corresponds most often to St.Sw. *-me-*.

Semantically, it is similar to *-ie* except that the past action is more recent. In both statements and questions, it carries a note of insistence : "Did you go?" "We did". It can also be used enclitically :

yambo hili walichenda? nichendee ndo ‘Did you do this?’ ‘I did/Yes, I did’
 mboni untukudhie ulee isi "(Why) did you take that fish?"
 nintukudhie ndo, mbwangu ‘I did take it, it's mine’

(alternatively, with *ndo* ‘Yes’:

ulee isi untukudhie ‘Did you take that fish?’ Nd^fio, nintukudhie ‘Yes, I took it’)

Further examples :

mai andoyaa ‘The tide is in (literally 'the water has become full'), or mai andokuva mangi
 vatonyi vandokwisha kungia idauni
 ‘The fisherman have/had already got into the boat’

-nda-/-ndo- are negated only by use of *-ya-*. It translates St.Sw. *-me-* and *-mekwisha-*, in which latter usage it can be strengthened by *-sha-* (i.e. *-ndokwisha-*).

The differences and similarities between *-ie* and *-nda-/-ndo-* will be clarified by considering these examples :

Masudi wandosee ‘Masudi has gone out (i.e. some time ago)’
 Masudi ndoandoka ‘Masudi has (just) gone out’
 Masudi uyele ‘Masudi is asleep’ (fell asleep some time ago, or we don’t know or care when)
 Masudi ndayala ‘Masudi is asleep/has just gone to sleep’
 vach'u vandakavo kusikilia ni jamaa dhangu ‘the people who have just arrived are my friends’
 vach'u vasikilieo... ‘the people who have arrived...’
 vageni vayievo (or valokuya) yana vandarudi? vandarudi
 ‘have the guests who arrived yesterday gone back? They have’
 Hamisi ndofungua niango naloufunga ‘H. has just opened the door I closed’
 Hamisi ufungudhie nlango naloufunga ‘H. has opened the door I closed’
 kichanda kirudieo (or chalurudi) kuchengedhwa chindavundika
 ‘the bed which came back from being fixed has broken’
 mite itochiwa mai indashika/ishishie lakini itee mingine indakufa/ifie
 ‘the cuttings which were watered have taken but those others are dead’

Use of -nda- or -ie in this sentence reflects when the ‘taking root’ and ‘dying’ took place. If -nda- is used, it implies that some plants are alive, others dead, but the actions are recent. Use of -ie indicates less recent action, or ignorance/lack of interest about when the actions occurred.

tumbaku ake alianguka alipokuva ubisie magonjo
 ‘his tobacco fell when he had knelt down/was kneeling’
 tumbaku ake alianguka alipokuva ndokika magonjo
 ‘his tobacco fell just after he had knelt down’

Muhaji alikuva uyele, Muhaji alikuva ndoyala

Both mean Muhaji was asleep (but is now awake)’. The difference is when the action took place. Whereas in the second, the sleeper had gone to sleep only a few minutes before, in the first he had gone to sleep some time previously, or it is not known/important when he went to sleep.

ujup^hewa yembe lake (-ie reverts to -a in the passive),
 ndojep^hewa yembe lake ‘his hoe has been stolen’

In this pair, as in the next two, the first sentence implies an action some time in the past, with present consequences, but the second underlines the recentness of the action, or emphasises the action.

_ nch^hu huu ufiliwa na ishe, nch^hu huu ndofiliwa na ishe
 ‘that man's father had died/is dead’
 chusikiliwa na vana vachachu, chundosikiliwa na vana vachachu
 ‘three children have come to see us’
 ichubidie kwenda nsikichini, indochubidi kwenda nsikichini
 ‘we have/had to go to the mosque, we have to go to the mosque’

The two appear identical in that it is now incumbent upon us to go, although in the right context, the first could also mean "we had to go": they differ in the point at which the incumbency started.

Examples from Grottanelli (1955):

imi ndo-simama	‘I am standing’
imi ndokeṭi	‘I am sitting’
iye ndo-kufa	‘He is dead, he has died’
nyani ndo-kuya	‘Who has come?’
ndo-kuya iye	‘Has he come?’

(xi) As in St.Sw, -ki-, -ka-, -(a)ngali/(e)ngeli/-nge-forms are also present in Bajuni

‘If/participial’, -ki-. Ikiva/ikiwa is also widely used with certain tenses.

Chu-ki-pacha vua chutalima honde ‘if we get rain we’ll work in the fields’

a-ka-tokedha jini nrefu a-ka-simama karibu ake a-ka-mwambia “Binadamu, u-ki-taka utakufa, u-ki-idha utakufa”

‘and a tall genie appeared, sat down beside him, and said: “Man, whether you like it or not, you will die”

u-ki-sikia vach^h u huidhungumudha basi vayeke, na u-ki-sikia vanyemee basi vaengedhe ‘
if you hear people talking they are asleep, if you hear them saying nothing, they are awake’

fahali a-ka-k^h eti kimwa a-ki-sikidha mwisho wa maneno avo
‘and the cock sat in silence listening to the end of their speech’
a-ki-va weyao andamana nae ‘if he is coming, follow him’
ikiva alikuya yana ne-nge-mvona ‘if he had come yesterday, I would have seen him’

‘Past consecutive’, -ka-:

vot^he va-ka-dirikana, vadhee kwa vana ‘and they all met, old and young alike’

‘Conditional’

Statements about events clearly future have *-ki-* in the conditional part of the sentence, and *-ta-* in the other:

Nchi huu u-ki-angula u-ta-nivua ‘If this tree falls/fell, it will/would kill me’

Statements about events with general validity use *-nga-*:

Nchi u-nga-anguka lakini haunipachi ‘Even if this tree were to fall it wouldn’t kill me’
Chu-nga-kwend^a lakini hachumpachi ‘Even if we were to go we would not find him’
U-nga-mwambia hasikii ‘Even though you tell him he doesn’t listen’
A-nga-enend^a iyu noni hasikilii mbinguni ‘Even if a bird went high it would not reach the heavens’
Uchumi wa gahawa u-nga-wa ni nkuru haulipi faida
‘Even though the coffee trade is large it is not profitable’
ni-nga-dhivia hufanya yavuleavule ‘Even though I forbid him he keeps on doing it’

Conditional events clearly and exclusively in the past are expressed by *-(a)ngali-/- (e)ngeli-/- (e)nge-*. As the last two derive from the former by phonological processes seen elsewhere (Section (3xxvi), the *-angali-* shape is taken as basic, although all three are used interchangeably :

Chu-ngeli-kwend^a iwapo chulipacha senti ‘We would have gone if we had got money’
ikiva nchi huu ungalianguka yana ungalichuvua
‘Had this tree fallen yesterday, it would have killed us’
Ikiva u-ngali-kitefudha u-ngali-kivona ‘If you had looked for it you would have found it’
Ikiva chwaliipacha vua yudhi chw-angali-yaa mbeu
‘If we had got rain two days ago we would have planted seeds’
Ikiva hachukuyiva chw-enge-vavudha ‘If we had not known we would have asked them’
Ikiva hakuniyiva h-angali-nivudha ‘If he had not know me he would not have asked me’

Ikiva naliyiva s-engeli-kwambia? 'If I had known would I not have asked you?'

Ikiva w-engeli-enend^a mara moya kupambana nae engeli-kulipa wala h-ange-rudi bila kich'u

'If you had gone to meet him immediately he would have paid you and you would not have come back with nothing'

Ikiva naliyiva s-enge-mpa sinti dhangu 'If I had known I would not have given him my money'.

(xii) The domain/role of ka

-ka- occurs in contexts foreign to St.Sw. Consider:

Kidhere anda-ka-o(ku)anguka (or kidhere andao(ku)anguka) 'The old lady who just fell...'

Bodo chuta-ka-okula (or bodo chutaokula) 'The ugali we are just about to eat...'

Havule aso-ka-somi (or havule asosoma) 'A girl who can't read...'

More such examples are given below under Negative Relative.

St. Sw. tutakula ugali 'We will eat ugali' but ugali tuta-ka-okula 'The ugali that we will eat'

St.Sw. *-ka-* is normally interpreted as the second syllable of the verb *-taka* 'want', and with good reason, because it only co-occurs with *-ta-* and because the semantic association of 'want' with 'future' seems reasonable, since it occurs in many languages, including Somali, English (Eng. *I will go*), and German (*ich will gehen*).

In the Bajuni examples, however, this *-ka-* is not restricted to cooccurrence with *-ta-* but is also found with other TMs. Further, it is optional in all occurrences. Finally it is followed by the relative *-o-*, which in turn may be followed by the infinitive marker *ku-*: in this it is similar to *-me-*, *-li-*, *-ta-*, etc. This would indicate that although *-ka-* now only appears as an optional part of TMs, it was once an auxiliary verb in its own right, just as *-me-* and *-li-* once were.

Evidence from other dialects of Swahili and from other Sabaki languages point to this *-ka-* once having been one verb for 'be'. In some dialects of Pokomo and the Miji Kenda both *-kala* 'be' and its *-ie* form, *-kele*, appear. Further evidence for this proposition can be found in the ND, where a petrified *-ie* form of *-ka* is found:

Bankuu u-kee nvi 'Bankuu is ugly' (lit. 'has become ugly')

Bankuu ali u-kee navi 'B was ugly'

Mbona u-kee hiao 'Why are you in that state?' (lit. 'why have you become like that?')

Mbona walikuva u-kee yavulee 'Why were you in that state?'

Va-kee iye ndo? 'How are they?'

(xiii) Overview of Bajuni tense/aspect

The structure of the non-compound verb expresses semantic contrasts very similar to those of St.Sw:

'past' (*-ali-*), 'future' (*-ta-*, *-to-*)

'perfect' (*-ie*, being replaced by *-me-*),

'would have' (*-angali-*), 'even though' (*-nga-*), 'simultaneous, participial' (*-ki-*), 'past consecutive' (*-ka-*)

Somewhat different to St.Sw. are *hu-* (imperfective, covering St. Sw. *-na-*, *-a-*, *hu-*): *-a-* with a limited number of stative verbs : when *hu-* and *-a-* contrast, they imply 'habitual' versus 'present, ongoing': *-ndo-/-nda-* (see (x), above).

(xiv) Compound verbs Tense and aspect can be combined in compound verbs, with tense + 'be (-li or -va)' in the first verb, and aspect in the second, main, verb. Thus for example (not complete):

Simple past: *chwalinena/chwelinena/chwenena* 'We talked'

Past Continuous-Habitual

chwalikuva/chwelikuva/chwekuva hunena/chukinena 'We were talking/used to talk', or
chwali chukinena/hunena 'We were talking/used to talk', or
chwaliko chukinena/hunena 'We were talking/used to talk there'
chwaliveko chukinena/hunena 'We were talking/used to talk'

Past Perfect-Stativ:

walikuva ameyala/ndayala/uyele 'He had gone to sleep/he was asleep'

Future Perfect:

chuchend^fa kwako sasa hiao atakuva uomee buku
 'If we go to his place now he will have read the book' (but book not finished)
chuchend^fa atakuva amekwisa kusoma buku
 'If we go he will have read the book' (and the book finished)

Future imperfective

chuchend^fa atakuva husoma buku 'If we go he will be reading the book'

(xv) Negation

As in St.Sw., there is a contrast between primary and secondary negative.

1. The **primary negative** is marked by prefixal *ha-* (1sg *si-*), and occurs with indicative forms. It is associated with some TMs that do not occur in positive tenses (*-ku-*, *-ya-*), and with suffixal *-i* in the imperfective negative.

The **imperfective negative** negates the imperfective positive ((iv) preceding), *-a-* ((v), preceding), the limited present continuous ((vi), preceding), and very often the future ((vii), preceding). Thus:

Hachulimi eo 'We are not cultivating today'
Hachulimi hapa 'We don't cultivate here'
Hampendi mwene numba ilee 'She doesn't like the owner of that house'
Havend^fi Manda 'They are not going to Manda'

Sivuki nkanda kijaliwa 'I won't cross the narrows tomorrow'

It is possible to form a **future negative** form e.g. hachutopacha 'We won't get' but in practice the imperfective negative tends to be used (*hachupachi*).

The **past negative** is as in St.Sw:

Hachukumvona 'We didn't see him (and won't)'

This corresponds semantically to (viii), preceding.

'**Not yet**' (*ha-...-ya-...*) is also as in St.Sw:

Hachu-ya-mvona 'We haven't seen him (but might)'

This corresponds semantically to (ix), preceding.

Another 'not yet' form, in *ha-...yatasa-...*

Numba hai-yatasa-(ku)anguka 'The house hasn't collapsed yet'

How this differs from the preceding is not clear. For a discussion of this, see Sacleux (1939: 873): some of his examples were not considered quite correct by informants. This form also occurs in the other ND, in other Swahili coastal dialects further south, and in Comorian (Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993: 556). It derives from Arabic.

2. The **secondary negative**, marked by *-si-*, co-occurs with the subjunctive (including imperative, and Past Consecutive), copulas, and relativised forms.

Musinane ndarandara nenani kwa udhuri 'Don't speak carelessly, speak well'

Kadhi iso faida kuchenda si ada 'It's not usual to do work which has no point'

Sabule isokachumiwi haifai 'A room which is not used is no use'

Nalinunua dhich^hu asokudhitaka shehe 'I bought the things the Sheikh didn't want'

Vatonyi vasende bado 'The fishermen shouldn't go yet'

Akamvudha, je unani? ulee nke asinjibu ineno

'And he asked her "What is wrong?", but the woman answered not a word"

Asokuva na nocha ha hitaji shai 'A man who is not thirsty doesn't need tea"

Nsikichi use mai hauswaliwi 'A mosque without water cannot be prayed in'.

-si- can be used together with *-po-* and *-angali-*. Thus 'Unless it rains tomorrow' can be rendered by either *isipokunya vua kijaliwa* or *ikiva hainyi vua kijaliwa*

Similarly,

U-si-ponambia or Ikiva hunambii 'If you don't tell me'

U-si-podhiva ufa utajenga uvambaa or Ikiva hudhivi...

'Unless you mend a crack, you will have to build the wall'

In such cases the second method, with *ikiva* and the primary negative, was preferred. Also with *-angali-*:

Either *a-s-engekuva mwidhi a-s-engetukua dhot^he* or *ikiva hakuva mwidhi hengetukua dhot^he* or even (preferred) *ikiva alikuva si mwidhi...* ‘If he had not been a thief he would not have taken them all.’

3. There is an **imperfective relative negative** with *-so(ka)-...-i* (*soka* < *si-o-ka*)

Nch^hu a-soka-som-i (or *a-so-soma*) *hawedhi kupacha kadhi* ‘A person who can't read can't get work’

Chenjele i-soka-li-i (or *i-so-lia*) *haifai* ‘A bell which doesn't ring is no use’

Mu-soka-tak-i ‘You who don't want...’

Dhich^hu a-soka-dhitak-i *Bakari* ‘The things Bakari doesn't want...’

Mabuku a-soka-asom-i *Obo* ‘The books Obo isn't reading...’

Mahala chu-soka-enend^r-i ‘The place we are not going to...’

Ambirie magunia a-soka-chumiwi (or *a-so-chumiwa*)

‘Throw away the bags which will not be/are not used’

(xvi) Relativisation In **relativised verb forms** the number of morphological contrasts is reduced, so the forms in (iv, v, vi, and often vii) above are reduced to one form. As indicated in (3n) preceding, all full relatives of the shape *-(C)o-*, except locatives and temporals, are reducible to simple *-o-*, both medially and finally. Two positive tenses alone are formed by suffixal *-(C)o-*, the neutral and the ie-perfect, so:

Mahala papikwa-po chakula ‘A place where food is cooked...’

Mahali ufie-po ‘The place where he died...’

Bodo chukula-o hia sasa mbwa dhamani ‘The ugali we are just eating is old’

Bodo chupenda-o mbwa dhamani ‘The ugali we like is old’

Bodo chutie-o mbwa dhamani ‘The ugali we ate is old’

Pahala chwenda-po ni kudhuri ‘The place we are going to is nice’

Noni ung'wene-o (or *umwone-o*) *uko nd'ani a kichund'u* ‘The bird you saw is inside the cage’

Ulee mwana akusomesha-o kisawahili akili dhake ni nduri?

‘That boy who is teaching you Swahili - is his mind alright?’

Hapa uli-po upo literally ‘Here where-you-are is he there?’

Other positive tenses are relativised by inserting *-(C) o-* after the TM, so:

Mikache al-o-ipika Esha isiliwe mpaka kijaliwa

‘The loaves which Esha cooked shouldn't be eaten until tomorrow’

Vageni valee mwali-vo-vavona yana huk^heti kwapi?

‘Those visitors you saw yesterday - where are they staying?’

Buru chutaka-o-vuna or *chuta-o-vuna* ‘The maize we'll harvest...’

Nchama chutok-o-uvuna ‘The millet we'll harvest...’

Niechea kisu ataka-cho-kichumia (or *ata-o-kichumia*) *Hamisi* ‘Bring me the knife that H. will use’

Vach^hu watok-o-kuya ‘The people who will come...’

Although the *amba*-for is also used, Bajunis have the feeling that *amba* is an intrusion and there is some reason to think it is a fairly recent intrusion. Although the *amba*-form does appear in some older ND side y side with forms no longer used today (e.g. with older *-ile* for today’s *-ie*), so:

Nami nina nipendwapo
Ambapo nipatukile

most relatives are expressed without the use of *amba*. This is true in older and even recent writing. However. Among young people *amba*-forms may be used as alternatives for many of the tenses and aspects in this and the next section, so:

(preferred) Kuna vach^hu hapa chusi-vo-kavayisi ‘There are people here we don’t know’
(possible) Kuna vach^hu hapa amba-vo hachuvayisi

Nchama chusi-o-kuuyaa hutoa midhi ‘The millet we didn’t plant is sprouting’
Nchama amba-o hachuyayua hutoa midhi ‘The millet we haven’t planted is sprouting’
Vach^hu amba-vo havayaenenda Rasini vak^heti hapa
‘The people who haven’t gone to Faza should sit here’
Ndoo wakati amba-po hasomi ‘Come when he isn’t studying’

As the examples imply, *amba*-forms are not only alternatives to other TA forms but are even preferred with some, e.g. *-ya-*, locative/temporal negatives, and also *-me-*.

Amba may be used with *kwamba* in constructions not possible in St.Sw. For example (with *amba*)

Ni vagunya *ambao kwamba* warevu kutoma isi ‘It’s the Bajuni who are good at fishing’
Ni kilio *ambacho kwamba* hakiandoki maisha ‘It’s a cry which will never leave our lives’

In negative relatives the number of tense contrasts is further reduced, which may be illustrated by reduction of past, present, and future in:

ulee mch ^h u asoteka mai	kesho ni nduye hapati k ^h ichu hakupacha k ^h ichu hayapacha k ^h ichu
‘That man who	won’t draw water tomorrow is my brother’ isn’t drawing, doesn’t draw water gets nothing’ didn’t draw water got nothing’ hasn’t drawn water has got nothing’

A ‘real’ past relative negative (si-(C)o-ku) also exists:

Chwalinunua nsi a-sioku-wataka (or asowataka) Musa ‘We bought the fish that Moses didn't want’
 Nchama chu-sioku-uyaa hutoa midhi ‘The millet we haven't planted is sprouting’
 Vach^hu va-soku-yala vaandoke ‘The people who are not asleep should come out’
 Mwiche barobaro a-soku-kuya ‘Call the guy who hasn't arrived yet’
 Kitabu a-sichokusoma Hamadi ch^hako ‘The book Hamadi didn't read is yours’
 Most other negative relatives are expressed by use of amba-forms.

The constructions just described also apply to the copular:

Ni vat^hik^huu ambavo ni verevu kutoma isi ‘It's Bajunis who are good at fishing’
 Or ni vat^hik^huu valo verevu kutoma isi, or Ni vat^hik^huu ambavo kwamba verevu kutoma isi
 Or ni vat^hik^huu verevu kutoma isi

Idau lilo bandarini kitaandoka karibu ‘The boat which is in the harbour will leave soon’

Idau lisoko bandarini... ‘The boat which is not...’

Idau lalokuva bandarini lindaandoka_ ‘The boat which was in the harbour has left’

Idau lisokuva... ‘The boat which was not...’

Ndudu alo na (or mwene) mbava huwedha kuuka ‘An insect with wings can fly’

Ndudu aso na mbava hawedhi kuuka ‘An insect with no wings cannot fly’

Ndudu asokuva na mbava ‘The insect which had no wings...’

Asokuva na nocha utachelewa kusikilia ‘The man who wasn't thirsty will be late’

Ntonyi asokuveko² ‘The fisherman who was not there...’

(xvii) Auxiliary verbs

Many auxiliary verbs are in use (framework for some of these examples is taken from Ashton 1944):

-ka(a) ‘be’: see above.

-li ‘be’ (defective): see several sections above, and also :

kwali na ‘There was’, wali na ‘He had’, wali (ni) shekhe ‘He was a Sheikh’

These constructions are now felt to be slightly dated.

-ni- ‘copular’: much as in St .Sw. , and note:

isi ni wa kulikubali, iisi mbwa kulikubali ‘We have to agree to it’

isi ni kulikubali ‘We are to agree to it’

imi si wa kulikubali, imi si mbwa kulikubali ‘I didn't have to agree to it’

isi chungalikuba mbwa kulikubali ‘We would have had to agree to it’

-va ‘be’ : see preceding, and:

Walikuva ndoyala kichambo ‘He was asleep recently’, Walikuya uyele ‘He was asleep’

Hakuva uyele ‘He was not asleep’

Valikuva husoma sana ‘They used to read a lot’

Wakati hoo Sheebunu alikuva husoma ‘At that time Sheebunu was reading’

Mwarabu mmoya chwalokuva chukiwivana "An Arab we used to know"
 Ilimu itakuva hwanda numbani si chuvoni 'Education will start at home, not at school'
 Ukitokuya mapema takuwa niyele 'Unless you come early I'll be asleep'
 Ikiva inya walikuva hankemei hangekimbia 'If his mother had not reproached him, he would not have run away'
 Ikiva takuwa ndhivu hatakuva akisoma 'If he were idle, he would not continue studying'
 Selemani walikuva bado kugana hadithi 'Selemani hadn't yet started telling stories'
 Shevaye walikuva bado hugana hadithi 'Shevaye was still telling stories'

²The -e- in *asokuveko* occurs in all ND and looks like an -ie form of -va 'be', but it is probably not. It appears only before locatives, and apparently results from -a plus the initial vowel of the locative. The form above has an alternative *asokuva uko*. Similarly 'If that warship had been there' may be either *ikiva hio manuwari aliveko* or *alikuva iko*, and 'Perhaps in this house there is a man who...', *labuda kachika hio numba huvemo mmoya* or *huva umo*.

-kwisia/-kwisha, 'already', literally 'finish'

Famau ndakwisha kwenda 'Famau has already gone'
 Valikuva vandokwisia kupondana 'They had already fought'
 Vageni valipokuva vandokwisha pokea dhawadi yuva lalitoka kuntefudha^hwep^hwe
 'When the guests had received their presents Sun went out to look for Bat'

-kisha): from **-ki-** and **-isa/-isha** has developed a composite participial form which has neutral time reference, thus:

Vakishakuswali vatamtinda ulee hondoo 'After praying, they'll slaughter the sheep'
 Vakishakuswali valimtinda ulee hondoo 'After praying, they slaughtered the sheep'

-ya 'come'

Enend^fa kaombe mocho chuye chuoche maana ubaridi undadhidi
 'Go and ask for fire so that we can (come and) warm ourselves as it has got cold'
 Nikumbusa nisiye k^hasahau 'Remind me so I don't (come and) forget'
 Waladi walikucha asiye akashindwa 'Waladi was afraid lest he be beaten'
 Hakuna talofinikwa lisokuya likafunuka wadhi 'There is nothing hidden which cannot be revealed'

-(en)end^fa 'go'

Mai andakwnd^fa kuechwa 'People have gone to fetch water' (lit. 'water has gone to be fetched')
 End^fapo k^henend^fa itakuvaye? 'And if I should happen to go, what of it?'
 Musichuteke sana maana eo ndisi na kijaliwa hwend^fa ikavanisiku enyu a kucheseka
 'Don't laugh too much at us for today we have problems but tomorrow it might be your day for troubles'

Vach^hu hunena mangi ghalibu alee vaapendao veneve na hwend^fa ikava havaaamini alee alosikilia mashikioni mwavo

'People talk a lot as a rule about what they like themselves, and maybe they do not believe what they hear'

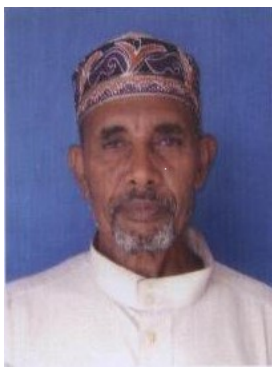
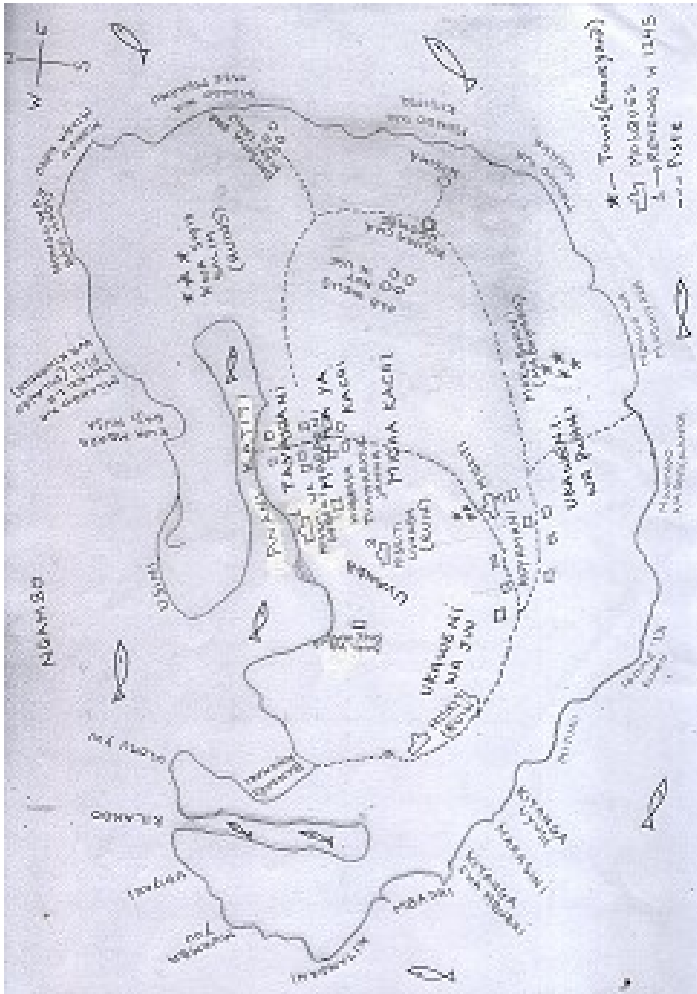
-angali 'still'

Malau angali husoma/akisoma 'Malau is still reading'

Angali ndoda 'He is still a child'

Angali uyele 'He is still asleep'

Vucha wa vua hata sasa angali hushuka kutoka it^hi a mavingu 'Still today rainbows come down from cloudland'



Nome: Mshamu Mohamoud Mshamu born in Koyama 1955.

Su tutta l'isola Koyama nome esiste località chiamata "Thembe" oppure "Hembe".

I quartieri di Gedeni sono I seguenti:

- Tavallaani (north most part)
- Micha ya kachi (Centre)
- Micha kachi (south most)

I quartieri di Koyamani sono I seguenti: -

- Ukweeni wa Juu (West part of the town)
- Uka Weeni wa Pwaani (East Part)

Lexicon for Ki-Bajuni = Ki-Gunya = Ki-T^hik^huu**8 July 2010**

This started as a Nurse & Philippson 1000-word list recorded by (?) on the northern Kenya coast (?) in the 1970's. Supplemented by material collected by Nurse in the late 1970's (Nurse 1982), also from northern Kenya, supplemented by material from Grottanelli (1955) and from Sacleux (1939), collected in the late 19th century (ca 1880), then by a limited amount of material heard in the early 21st century. Where Sacleux obtained his material is not clear. It does not include all the mass of Bajuni material in Sacleux. List here was compiled in 2009 from all sources. The lexical material therefore covers some 120-130 years of development and may include terms no longer familiar to Bajunis. Some items have been replaced by Standard Swahili. The limited grammatical material reflects Nurse 1982, an account of speech heard on the northern Kenya coast in the 1970's. Grammatical loss can also be seen, e.g. in class 5, where traditional /i-/ is being lost.

After centuries of existence, the Bajuni communities in Somalia and Kenya, and their language are currently disappearing, the result of the genocide at the hands of ethnic Somalis that started in Somalia 1991, and in Kenya as the result of educational, economic, and social. It seemed urgent to record this material. Comments, corrections, additions, improvements from interested and informed parties are welcome.

Conventions. Raised (p, t, k)^h = aspiration. Underlined (t, n, d) = dental. th and dh represent voiceless and voiced dental fricatives, respectively, but not underlined. Raised ^r = rhotacized. So there is a contrast between [nd] and [nd^r]: plain [nd] means I am not sure! Zh [ʒ] represents a voiced palatal fricative sometimes heard as an alternative for y (probably an intermediate step from j to y): Sacleux shows it regularly and I heard it in older speakers in northern Kenya in the 1970s. ? = doubt (meaning and/or shape and/or source of the word). 1/2 (mu-/va-), 3/4 (mu-, mi), 5/6 (i-, ma-), 7/8 (ki-, dhi), 9/10 (i-, dhi-), 12 (ka-), 14 (vu-). etc are the standard labels for singular (sg)/plural (pl) pairings for nouns. I have made this lexicon as accessible as possible for non-linguists – linguists will have no trouble interpreting the conventions. Ba = Bajuni.

Asterisked indicates an item clearly different from that in Standard Swahili, but some of the 'different' items are also in Amu, Siu, Pate, and Miini, that is, they are 'northern Swahili' items, not specific to Bajuni.

I would like to thank A. Vianello; Abud; Awako, Maki (both Tunni), her anonymous sources: Omar Eno, for their help with identifying words of Somali or Tunni origin; Brian and Tiffy Allen.

Some sources are suggested below: B = Bajuni, Port = Portuguese, Ar or Arabic = Arabic, Som/Somali = general Somali, Maha and Maay are southern Somali varieties, Sw = Standard Swahili. Since Arabic and Portuguese are not the focus of this lexicon, Arabic and Portuguese etymologies are not systematically noted.

Bajuni	Swahili	English
a- see u-	a-	3 sing
-a (kisi cha Ali)	-a	linker clitic
-a	ya-	same in Classes 4, 6, 9
(B michi a Omari Fumo 'OF's trees 4', mai a- <u>ndo</u> -fuma, Sw. miti ya OF, maji yamekupwa (B <u>numba</u> a mzee ni kuru kama angu 'the old man's house is as big as mine')		
-a- as in chw-a-taka 'we want', chwayiva 'we know', n-a-wedha Vasomali mia 'I am as good as/ can beat 100 Somalis'	(-a-)	stative in verbs
-a	-a	final vowel in all verbs of Bantu origin and a few of non-Bantu
*abawa 5/6 < Som	kaka	older brother
*abaya 5/6 < Som	dada	older sister
abu		father
-achuka, -shutua	-shtuka	be surprised
ade < Som	shangazi	aunt
afia < Arabic	afya	health
-aga/-agidha	-agiza	order
ahi = nduu	ahi	brother
aibu < Arabic	aibu	shame, disgrace
akamba ?		seaweeds
-ake (southern B), -akwe (north)	-ake	her, his
*akhera, ahera	kuzimu (ahera)	Hades, place of the dead
akhsante, akhsanta < Arabic	asante	thanks
-ako	-ako	your
*alagao	takataka	spot, dirt, etc
-ali- = -eli- = -e-	-li-	past
amali < Arabic	kazi	work
amba 5/6, pl mamba, see ng'amba	gamba	scale (fish), shell (turtle)
*-ambacha	-ganda	coagulate
-ambua	-ambua	peel, unstick, shell
ambari	ambari	ambergris
*ambaroni		Marabou stork
-ambia	-ambia	tell
-ambia kwa heri	-aga	take leave of
ami < Arabic? see also baba wa pili	amu	paternal uncle (also Miini)
-amka, as in hu-nkuliwa-ye	(-amka 'wake up)	what's your, his, her name?
-amwa	-amwa	suck
-and ^r ama	-andama	follow in order
- <u>anda</u>	-anza	begin
*- <u>andika</u>	-teleka	put pot on fire
- <u>andika</u>	-andika	write
*-andulia	-shambulia	attack
-angamidha	-angamiza	ruin, destroy, spoil

-angu	-angu	my
*-angua	-chuma	gather (fruit, flowers, etc)
-anguka	-anguka	fall
-angacha	-tuta, (-angata)	carry
-anika	-anika	set out to dry
-apa	-apa	swear, curse
asali	asali	honey
-a <u>ṭ</u> a	-acha	leave, divorce
-a <u>ṭ</u> ana	-achana	separate, leave each other
-atha	-nyima, -acha	withhold from, leave
*-athisha	-ji-nyima	abstain
-a <u>ṭ</u> ua	-atua split, crack	
-a <u>ṭ</u> ama	-achama	open mouth wide
aume (ume?)		uncle
*avahadi < Tunni?		gum used for earache
avia		friend
-avo	-ao	their
*avu < Som ? = aume 1a	mjomba	maternal uncle
*avuru man < Som 5/6	kijana: mwanamume, dume	strong young man: man, male
-awana	-gawanya	share
-adhima	-azima	lend, borrow
babe, see ishe	baba	father
baṭiṭi		maternal uncle ('big father')
bakulu		maternal uncle ('small father')
baba wa pili see ami		paternal uncle
-baḍili	-badili	change
bahari 9/10	bahari	ocean
bahari nd'ani		channel inside reef
bahari wadhi		open ocean
		islands
-baki	-baki	remain
-bakisha = -thadha	-bakisha	leave over
baluna < English balloon	ndege	plane
banaa < Arabic	squared beam	
bao see also uvavo	bao	board game
barabara 9/10	barabara	highway, road
baradha 9/10	baraza	meeting area, inside or outside house
bariḍi 9/10	baridi	cold
*bario < Som 'remain unsold'	chakula cha mwiko ?	left over food (berio?)
*barobaro 5/6 < Som		young man
*-baranganisha/-baringanyi ?	-vungavunga	crumple
*-baranganya		disturb someone at work

bata	bata	duck
bataṭa see kind ^f oro		potato... sweet potato?
-baua see also - <u>naa</u>		urinate
beberu	beberu	male goat
benki		bank
bibi = nyasi/nyavu etc	bibi	grandmother
bibi = sheku(w)e	babu	grandfather
biḍii	bidii	effort
-bika	-piga	hit
*-bika ipi	-piga kofi	clap hands
-bika isheke	-piga teke	kich
-bika k ^h elee	-piga kelele	make noise
-bika m-/n-lango		knock on door
-bika m-fund ^f a		draw line
-bika <u>n</u> und ^f o	-piga nyundo	hit with hammer
-bika/-pija magonjo	-piga magoti	kneel, demand justice
-bisa hodi	-piga hodi	request admission
binamu	binamu	cousin
binṭi	binti	girl
*bishee (bibi + shee, or is it bishehe?)		kind of sorghum, millet
bochi see nchabochi	(boti)	boat < English
*bodo, ubodo	ugali	'stiff porridge'
similar in Maay, Maha, Boni		
*bogosi < Orma?	buyu	kind of calabash
*boji	togwa	beer not fully fermented
*-bojola	-nyonga	twist, strangl
bora	bora	fine, excellent
m-bora		pretentious person
borega	a fish	
bunduki	bunduki	gun
*buntwa/bontwa? < Port	daraja, ulalo	bridge
Burikavo		Burgao
*buru, n-chama (wa) buru < Arabic 'wheat' muhindi		maize (Miini 'small cake', Boni b'uuru 'maize')
buthiṭani	bustani	garden
buyu, i-buyu	buyu	baobab fruit
bwana [bana] 5/6	bwana	Mr., master, husband
*-cha	-ogopa	fear
-chisha	-ogofya	frighten
m-chai, n-chai	mwoga	coward
ch ^h aa 9/10	taa	ray (fish)
t ^h aa chui		manta ray

-chacha ??		-chacha	ferment
-chachana		-tata	tangle
-chache		-chache	few
-chachu		-tatu	three
-chafuna		-tafuna	chew, bite
ch ^h ai 9/10		tai	vulture, bird of prey
chaka			dry season (January, February)
chaka		takataka	rubbish, garbage
chakacha			a dance
*chakweche			answer to riddle
chala ?			red duiker?
chama		tama	final, decisive
chama		tama	cheek
-chambaa		-tambaa	creep, crawl
*-chambika		-tega	set a trap
chambo	7/8	chambo	bait
mchambo	3/4	mtambo	trap
*uchambo		mtego	trap
*chanda	7/8	kofi	palm of hand ('finger' in poetry, and some Ba varieties)
chandarua also mustakera?		chandarua	mosquito net
*chandarua		mwavuli	umbrella
*chandarua cha mudhuka	7/8	(ki)yoga	mushroom ("umbrella of evil spirit")
changa		tanga	sail
kichanga		kitanga	small sail
changa mbili			light breeze ('two sails')
-changaa ?		-tangaa	circulate, spread
chango	7/8	chango	peg
-chanyasa		-piga chafya	sneeze
-chapika		-tapika	vomit
ch ^h are	9/10		tick like insect
ch ^h asa	9/10	see also iladhi, k ^h asa ng'amba	sea turtle (Hawksbill?)
-chaya		-taja	mention
-chea		-teleza	slip, be slippery
-checha		-teta	quarrel
-chechea		-tetea	cackle
cheche		tete	grain fully formed but soft
-chechema		-tetema, -tapa	shiver, shudder
-chegua		-tegua	1. release from trap or spell 2. sprain (ankle)
-cheka		-teka	1. pull up/out 2. plunder
*-chekechea		-ungua	become burnt
-chekechedha		-unguza	singe, burn
-chelewa		-chelewa	be late

-chema		-tema	cut (with axe)
chemchem		chemchem	spring
chembe	7/8 'arrow head/arrow'	chembe 'arrow head', mshale 'arrow'	
ch ^h embo	9/10	tembo	palm wine
-chend ^r a		-tenda	act, do
-chengea		-tengenea	be arranged
-chengedha		-tengeneza	make, prepare, arrange
ch ^h engo	9/10		covered area used before bush burning
ch ^h enjele	9/10	kengele	bell
ch-eo	7/8	cheo	measure, size
ch ^h epu	9/10 < English		tape
-cheremka		-teremka	alight, get down/out
*chewe		-chechema	(be) lame
-chia		-tia	put, place
*-chia jongo		-pinda	bend, twist
-chia mai			water
*-chia maso		-noa	sharpen
*-chia <u>tongotongo</u>		-pofua	blind v
ch ^h imu	9/10 < English		team
chiva	9/10	twiga	giraffe
chivuli		a season, or shade?	kivuli
-cho	see -nuka	-to	clitic marking energy, excellence
-choboa		-toboa	bore hole
*-chocho see - <u>dodi</u> / <u>-doda</u>		-dogo (mtoto 'child')	small
*ch ^h ochocho	9/10 tope	mud	
*-chofa		-choma	thrust into
-choka	see -kimwa		
*-chokotha		-chemsha	boil (trans.)
*ch ^h ond ^r ovi	9/10 (or is it chandove)	kitenda-wili	riddle
ch-ombo	7/8, pl dh-ombo	ch-ombo	vessel
chongodha			narrow, shallow channel
ch ^h ope	9/10	tope	antelope sp.
choro, choo	7/8	choo	toilet, loo
-chosa ?		-tosa	plunge into
-choya, -choyesha		-tosa	be almost ripe
-chu-, chu-		-tu-, tu-	we, us
chuachua	7/8	chura	frog
-chulia		-tulia : *-panda	calm down: *plant
-chwa		-chua	grind
-chuchuma ?		-tutuma	ramble ?
ch ^h uchu	9/10	pure	dish of beans and maize
-chukana		-tukana	abuse

-chuma		-tuma	send
-chumia		-tumia	use
chuma	7/8	chuma	iron
-chunda		-chuma	gather, collect, pick
-chungu		-tunga	compose, put together
*-chungama		-shutama	squat
ch-ungu	7/8	ch-ungu	earthenware cooking pt
chuvo	7/8 chuo	school	
*ch-udhi	7/8 < Somali/Boni	mavi	excrement
-chwaa		-twaa	take, carry
mchwadhi = mwidhi			thief
-dadava		-babaika	stutter, stammer
dade		dada	older sister
dama < Portuguese		dama	draughts, chequers (children's game)
damani		mainsail sheet (?)	demani
*damari < Somali (dambar)?		dang'a	beestings
damu	9/10	damu	blood
dandara	9/10		sable antelope
*-dara	< Somali	-gusa	touch
dawa		dawa	medecine
-dayua		-yeyuka	melt
dend'e		tende	elephantiasis
difundo			a children's game
dindiri			hartebeest
dingibari			a name for Zanzibar
*-diriji	< Arabic		lead (song, dance)
-dirika		-diriki	meet, attain, succeed
-dirikana			meet
ndirikano			meeting
divi	5/6		nose hole for ring
dirisha	5/6	dirisha	window
*-dodi/-doda = -chocho,		-dogo	small (also -dode ?)
Similar in Somali			
dodoke ?			a dance
*doko (dhoko?)	5/6	mkundu	anus (similar in Miini)
-doma		-donya	peck
*dome	5/6	ngisi 'squid' ?	cuttlefish (exactly same?)
*-dosa		-gusa	touch
*-doya ? < Orma		-peleleza	spy out
*duba < Somali = k ^h oyama			water gourd for travelling
-dudumia = dhama		-didimia = -zama	sink, drown
*duhu < Som		ubongo	marrow (also Tunni 'head, brain',

*- <u>du</u> kulia < ?	-lemaa	Miini 'marrow' be lame
-ea	-lea: -fuga	raise (children: animals)
-echa	-leta	bring
-echu	-etu	our
kwechu	kwetu	home
-egemea	-egama	be leaning
-ehund ^f u	-ekundu	red
-elewa	-elewa	understand
-eledha see also mwedho	-eleza	explain
-ema	-ema	good (morally)
-emea	-lemea	rest heavily on
*-enena	-changa	young, tender (plant)
-enend ^f a	-enda	go
nend ^f a, enend ^f a	nenda	go (imperative sg)
end ^f ani	nendeni	go (imperative pl)
sinend ^f i ([i])?	usiende	don't go (sg)
mwenend ^f o	mwenendo	journey
-enedha	-enea	be spread out
(*)-enga	-tazama, -angalia	look at, examine
	-enga huku na huku	look around
- <u>en</u> e	-enye	owner
-enu	-enu	your
- <u>ene</u> ve	-enyewe	self
eo	leo	today
-eua	-aua	inspect
-eupe/-eru	-eupe	white, clear
kweru	kweu	brightening up after storm
-eusi	-eusi	black
edhi	enzi	power
-fa	-fa	die
kifo	kifo	death
-fidha ?	-fisha	put to death
-faa	-faa	be suitable
fahali	fahali	male animal/bird
-fanya	-fanya	do (also Somali, Boni fal)
farathi	farasi	horse
faruma	part of sail	foroma
farumali	yard on boat	foromani
-finyana ?	-finyana	be wrinkled, shrivelled
fira	fira	spitting cobra

firado		1. a Bajuni clan (m-firado), they and the Kachwa don't eat fish or turtle 2. an area/mtaa on Chula in Brava this refers to a person with one Bajuni and one Somali parent
m-firaado (Bravanese)		wash (clothes), forge anvil (fua+we = forge+stone) blacksmith
-fua	-fua	
fuawe/fuae	fuawe	
m-fudhi = muhundhi		
-fuchia	-fifia	fade, disappear
-fuacha	-fuata	follow
mfuasi 1/2		follower
-fucha	-futa	wipe
*fududu?	kobe	tortoise
-fukidha	-fukia	give out smoke
-fukudha	-fukuza, winga	chase away
*-fuma see mai	-pwa	ebb ¹
fuma(a)juma	jumamosi	Saturday
-fuma	-fuma	pierce with spear, arrow, sew
-fumbacha	-fumbata	grasp, embrace
fumefupifupi	a fish?	
fundi wa bahari		'master of the sea'
fundi wa hond'e		'master of the fields'
-fundisha, -funda	-fundisha, -funza	teach
-ifunda	-jifunza	learn
-funga see also mfungo?	-funga, -ganga	tie up, bind up, tie up, fast
-funga n-dhigo	-funga mzigo	pack a load
-fungua	-fungua	open
*fungache, also thabaa	saba (fungate 'honeymoon')	7
-funika, -finika	-funika	cover (up)
-funua	-funua	uncover
-funuka	-funuka	be oncovered
-fupi	-fupi	short
*-fura < Som	-vimba	swell
furkombe	furukombe, fukombe	fish eagle
*furuṭa		hot compress
*galate (longolongo, hindikafiri)	mjusi islamu?	lizard sp.
galili	galili	carapace (e.g. tortoise)
*galimu		ripe female
*-gana hadithi	-simulia	tell story

¹ Two northern Bajuni Islands are called Fuma Mkubwa and Fuma Ndangwe, translated 'Big Beach' and 'Small Beach', by Elliott (1926). Since these are small islands, largely covered at high tide but uncovered at low tide, these names and translations seem appropriate.

-gand ^r a = -ambacha			
*garabu < Somali	kombe		shoulder blade
*-geudha/-gaudha	-zungua/-zungusha: -koroga		turn round: stir
godimu			young female cow
*goe ?? see i-vingu	wingu		cloud
-gonga	-gonga		hit, strike
-goroma see magurumo	-nguruma, -koroma		roar, hoot (owl)
gugu hava = havahava 2			these very ones
*gulagula	rubu		leech
*-gura < Somali	-hama		migrate, move
ha-	ha-		primary negative
ha-, hi-, hu-	ha-, hi-, hu-		this (ha-a, hi-li, hu-u)
hiao			like that, in that state
sasa hiao	sasa hivi		right/just now
haa 5/6	haya		these
haba as in haba na haba huyadha kibaba			'Drop by drop fills the bucket'
haima	hema		tent
haja	haja		need
hakimu	hakimu		judge n
hamali, also in Som. < Arabic	hamali		porter, carrier (also Boni hamar 'Bajuni, Swahili')
hapa	hapa		here
-hara also Somali, Boni	-hara		have diarrhoea
haraka	haraka		haste, hastily
*hari	jasho (but hari 'heat')		sweat (Miini/Tunni huri)
-haribu	-haribu		spoil (child)
	-haribika	haribika	be spoiled, destroyed
haritha	?		a food dish
*harti-kule < Persian/Hindi (aurat)			spinster ("tramp"?)
*harti-mali similar words in Somali, Arabic			woman who is divorced or whose husband is dead
*havule 5/6	msichana		unmarried virgin girl
< Tunni ? (hablo 'girls')			
i-havule 5/6			big girl
ki-havule 7/8			small girl
haya	haya		shame, modesty
hembe	embe		mango
*hengewa (some Boni kangeebaa)	kengewa		kite, falcon? also a spirit
hishima	heshima		honour
hogo	kubi		leaf stalk of coconut
hond ^r e	upunje, ukonde		grain of millet
*hond ^r e	shamba, also konde		field, cultivated area
hond ^r oo 9/10	kondoo		sheep

hoo	1/2		huyo	this
hoo	3/4		huo	this
hoko	17		huko	this
homo	18		humo	this
*hoṭi	< Arabic		ua?	fence, wall, palisade
hu-			-na-, hu-	imperfective
			hufanya nini	'What are you, they, he, she doing?' = Swahili u-na-fanya etc nini
			hufanya nini	'What do you, they he, she do?'
huma			homa	cold, flu
hudhuni			huzuni	grief
huu	3/4		huyu	this
-i-			-ji	reflexive
iband ^r a	5/6		banda	hut, hangar
			kibanda	small hut
i-bia	5/6		bia	earthenware food dish
			ki-bia	small dish
*i-bombwe			funza, buu	maggot
*i-buki			ndizi	plantain (buki 'Madagascar')
*i-buku, buku			kitabu	book
i-bumba	5/6		bumba	clod, lump
i-buva			bua	stem (maize, etc)
ibwibwi			bubu	deaf
-icha			-ita	call
			*hu-ichwa-ye	morning greeting
			w-ichwa-ye uwe ([w] or hw)]?	what's your name?
			-ichikia	answer a call
i-chako	5/6		tako	buttock
			utako	base
			mkuku	keel
*i-chicha	5/6		*mtumba	pack, bale, bundle
*i-chine	5/6		majimoto	small aggressive ant
*i-chobwe, chobwe			kongo	small hole
ichumbo			tumbo	stomach, belly, clan
				womb
			matumbo	intestines
i-chund ^r a	5/6	see -chun <u>da</u>	tunda	fruit
i-chund ^r u	5/6		tundu	hole, nest, basket
i- <u>da</u>	5/6		dau	small vessel, pointed at both ends, traditional kind of Bajuni boat.
			ki- <u>da</u>	smaller version
			idau la juya	used with seine net (juya) for deep sea fishing
*i- <u>dila</u> < ?	5/6 < ?		ucheche	slice fruit/vegetable

*i <u>doe</u> < ?	5/6 < ?	ukucha (cf kidole 'finger')	finger nail
i <u>dond</u> ^r o	5/6	dondo	tiger cowrie (harvested)
	i <u>dond</u> ^r o mwani		same?
i <u>dovo</u>	5/6		large gastropod: seal
i- <u>duru</u> (rumbi)	5/6	boma	pile of stones
-ie/-ee		-me-	perfect suffix
	as in chu-lip-ie 'we have paid', - <u>tomee</u> '...fished', - <u>pisie</u> '...passed/cooked', - <u>haribie</u> '...destroyed', - <u>fenene</u> '...resembled', - <u>jep^hee</u> '...stole'.		
i-fahali	5/6	fahali, dume	male
	i-fahali wa kuku		cockerel, rooster
	i-fahali wa ng'ombe		bull
	ki-fahali = kiavuru		bullock
ifond ^r o koa	5/6		medium size gastropod (harvested)
*i-fumo, fumo (also mkukwi?)		mkuki	spear see fuma
(*i-fudhi, fudhi		fuzi and bega	shoulder
i-gand ^r a	5/6	ganda	bark, skin, peel (fruit)
igego	5/6	gego	molar
	mchi wa igego		kind of tree/plant
i-gome	5/6	cf Somali goon??	small reef always above water (same shape in Tunni), rocky beach cf mwamba
*igonjo, iyondo	5/6 (which?) < ?	goti	knee, see also -bika
igorombo			Adam's apple
i-gugu		gugu	bush, uncultivated area, weeds
i-gungo		gongo	stick
i-guu	5/6	m-guu	leg
*i-gururu	5/6	(maziwa ya) robu, mtindi ?	curdled milk, Tunni goroor
iharago		haragwe	kind of bean
i-jenga	5/6		cooking banana
*ijimbi also yogoo?	5/6	jogoo	cock, rooster
i-jiwe	5/6	jiwe	stone
	ijiwe la kupaadhia		grind stone
	mawe a dhuma	mawe yenye chuma	iron ore
*ijumbi or it is yumbi?		mzoga	corpse, carcass
i-kaa	5/6	kaa	charcoal, embers
i-kebe		kebe	pot, mug
*i-kend ^r e = choma ?	5/6	pumbu	testicle
i-kind ^r a		kinda	young (bird...and animal?)
ikiva		kama, ikiwa	if
i-koma	5/6	koche, kochi	fruit of doum palm
ikond ^r e	5/6	konde	fist
ikoo la kuku	5/6		hen
ikope	5/6	kope	eyelash
	makope a simba		bush with medicinal and aphrodisiac

i-kopwa < Port. 5/6	kopo	uses
i-korobwe 5/6	donge	any metal vessel
i-kova 5/6 or kova	koa	compact mud ball
i-kund'i 5/6	kundi	snail, slug
*ikurabu 5/6	kunguru	pack, flock, group
i-kwaa (or maukwaa?) 5/6	jukwaa	crow
i-kwebe	kahaba	platform
iladhi 5/6		prostitute
ilimu	elimu	sea turtle sp.
i-liva (la noni) 5/6	liwa	education
*-ima (see also -simama, nyuka)	-simama	bird trap
w-ima	wima	stand
-imba	-imba	upright
w-imbo, pl <u>nimbo</u>	wimbo, pl nyimbo	sing
imbe 5/6		song
imbeimbe		small gastropod
im-bwa 9/10	mbwa	fish sp.
iji-bwa 5/6	ji-bwa	dog
ki-ji-bwa 7/8	ki-ji-bwa	big dog
ka-ji-bwa 12		small dog
imi	mimi	very small dog
<u>inde</u>	nje	I, me
<u>indi</u> 9/10	inzi	outside
* <u>igali</u> , <u>ndigali</u> (?)	mbungo	fly
*-i-naki	-ji-gamba	tsetse fly
ine	-nne	boast, brag
ingi 5/6	ini	four
*ingi 5/6 (see also yazhi)	yai	liver
i-ngwe 5/6	ngwe, ugwe	egg
ing'ongoti	mdudu	string: land so measured
<u>ini</u>	ninyi	insect
*-inika ?	-mimina ?	ye
innoe 5/6		pour
-i- <u>noa</u>	-ji-nyosha	worm, used for fishing
i-nya 5/6, see mame		stretch oneself
		(his/her) mother, and with
		possessives
		thy ---
nya(w)e		same, but abusive
also nyoko		your ---
nyani		their ---
nyavo		mother-in-law
nyadhaame		thatched roof
i-paa, paa	paa	slap of hand
i-pi	kofi	

i-pu	ji-pu	boil
i-pupa 5/6	pupa	zeal, eagerness
-isa/ -isia/-isha	-isha	finish
	valikuva vandökwisia kupond ^f ana ‘they had already fought’	
*i-si 9/10	samaki	fish, also nsi in some Somali places
isi wa kuokwa	samaki wakuchomwa	fried fish
isi see -ot ^h e	sisi	we, us
-isi see -yiva		
i-so 9/10	figo	kidney
i-shaka 5/6	chaka	thicket, bush
i-she 5/6 = babe		father, used with possessives
ishe wangu		my ---
isho		thy ---
sho(w)e		his/her ---
etc (see Sacleux)		
ishe Athmani		Athman’s father
sheku(w)e, shaku(w)e	also shakuo	(his) grandfather, see bibi
(she + kuu + e)		
i-sheke 5/6	teke	kick (human)
*i-shembee, shembee ? Som. sef)	shembea	large, curved knife
i-shimo, shimo	shimo	pit, hole
i-shina 5/6 = kigogo	shina	base of tree or plant
i-shuu 5/6	shuu ?	breaking wave
it ^h a 9/10	ncha	tip, point
i-tandu 5/6	tawi	branch
it ^h i 9/10	nchi: ardhi	country, land: earth, down
see t ^h i-ni		(also nt ^h i in some Somali places)
t ^h iat ^h i		ground, on the ground
t ^h ik ^h uu		Rasini Island (Sacleux)
t ^h inene		mainland coast
i-vano 5/6	wano	arrow, harpoon shaft
-i-vadha	-ji-banza	squeeze oneself against
*i-vee 5/6	ziwa	breast
ki-vee	ki-wele	udder
i-vimbi 5/6	wimbi	wave
ivingu	wingu	cloud
ivo	wao	they
i-voo, i-voro (also i-koro?)	mboo	penis
ivu, pl maivu	jivu	ash, ashes
ivumba 5/6	vumba	bad smell
ivumbi 5/6	vumbi	dust, cloud of dust
iyanga (or is it yanga?) 5/6	anga	light, sky
iyani 5/6 pl mayani	jani	leaf (tree)
-chenda iyani		put out leaves

i-yapa (also kapwa?)	kwapa	armpit
iye	yeye	he, she, him, her
*iyond ^r a 5/6	nyani	baboon
iyongoo 5/6		same as following? harvested
iyongoo-mwichu	jongoo	millipede
i-yungu	boga, tango	sort of cucumber
*-idha	-kataa, nyima	refuse
i-dhiva 5/6	ma-ziwa	milk
i-dhiva 5/6	ziwa	lake
ki-dhiva	kiziwa	pool
*i-dhu 5/6 (also Boni maado)	ndizi (m-zuzu ‘specific type of b’)	banana (general)
izunga		foreskin, ‘not circumcised’ (?)
jahadhi 9/10	jahazi	dhow, not considered a traditional kind of Bajuni boat (Grottanelli)
jamaa	jamaa	family, colleague(s), etc
-jaribu	-jaribu	try
javi 5/6	jamvi	kind of mat
*-jepa < ?	-iba	steal
*-jera < Som	-ona haya	be ashamed
-jibu	-jibu	haste
jimbo	jimbo	district
jini	jini	genie
jisi 9/10	jinsi	kind, type
jodali, jodari	jodari	tuna, bonito
jumaane	jumanne	Tuesday
jumbe, muyumbe	jumbe	chief, headman
-jumulisha	-jumlisha	add up
-ka-	-ka-	consecutive in negative relative
-soka- as in havule a-soka-somi ‘a girl who can’t read’		
-kaa	-kaa	live
-kee as in Bankuu u-kee na-vi ‘Bankuu is ugly’		perfect of -kaa “be” Nurse 1982: 105)
-k ^h eti	-kaa, keti	sit
uk ^h eto	uketo	depth, depths
k ^h aa 9/10	kaa	crab
-kacha	-kata	cut (general)
-kachika	-tindika	fall short
kachi (see also nd ^r ani)	kati	inside
kachikachi	katikati	in the middle of
kae	kale	old times, the past
make	kaka	older brother
-kali	-kali	fierce, sharp

kalifu	?	a small beach shell
-kama	-kama	squeeze, milk
-kamua	-kamua: -minya	wring (clothes), squeeze out
kamasi	kamasi	mucuous
k ^h amasi < Tunni/other Somali	gamaas ukoo	clan
k ^h amba, i-kamba	kamba	lobster, prawn, shrimp
	sometimes m-kamba used for lobster (larger) and kamba for smaller	
kamba		rope, game played with rope
kambarusa		It. aragosta
-kana	-kana	deny, refuse
-kand ^r a	-kanda	knead
-kanga (vowel length?)	-kaanga	fry
k ^h anga 9/10	kanga	guinea fowl
*kangabuṭi < Arabic	buibui	spider
kanwa see -nwa	kinywa	mouth
karale		a fish, used dried
karawe	changarawe	pebble, gravel
karibu	karibu	near
k ^h asa 9/10	kasa	Green turtle, edible, see also
ch ^h asa, ng'amba, iladhi		
k ^h asi	kata	ladle
k ^h asi	kafi	paddle
kasia 9/10, ikasia	kasia	oar
kaskadhi	kaskazi	north, NE monsoon (January to early March)
kathuku	kasuku	parrot sp.
k ^h acha 9/10	kata	headpad
-k ^h acha	-kata	cut
katiti	kidogo	a little, little
-kauka	-kauka	dry up, become dry
-kavu	-kavu	dry adj
k ^h avu 9/10		
kaure	kaure	cowrie (harvested)
kadhi 9/10	kazi	work
*-kadha	-songa	pack, press together
k ^h elee see -bika	kelele	noise
*kend ^r a, see ṭisia	tisa	9
k ^h esi 9/10 < English		case
kesho or k ^h ijaaliwa	kesho	tomorrow, following day
-ketua	-katua	rub, polish, clean
keusi		a fish, used dried (Grottanelli: 145).
-ki-	-ki-	if, etc
-kiṭo-, -sipo-	-sipo-	if not = unless
kiafrika, kiserekali 7/8		Standard Swahili

kiamacha	7/8		a mollusc (harvested)
kiambo	7/8		family building plot, hamlet
kibahalulu	7/8	kibahaluli	brazier
kibaṭali	7/8	mumenye	gourd used as calabash
kibe	7/8		children's game (hide-and-seek?)
kibembefu	7/8 = kibofi	kibofu	bladder
kibenza (?)	7/8		type of saleable beach shell
kiboko	7/8	kiboko	hippo
		kiboma	fish species
		kibua	similar to kolekole
kibula			north
kichambo	7/8	kitambo	recently
kichand ^r a	7/8	kitanda	bed
kichanga	7/8	kitanga	palm (of hand)
kichangaa	7/8		creeping plant, edible greenish fruits
kichewe	7/8	kiwete	limp, limping person
kichi	7/8, see muchi	kiti	seat, chair, stool
kicholosa	7/8 (kiholosa?)		fritter
*kichovi	7/8, i-chovi 5/6	ndizi	eating banana
kichovu	7/8	kitovu	navel
kich ^h u (or is it k ^h ichu?)	7/8	kitu	thing
kichundu	7/8	kitundu	cage
kidako	7/8	kidoko	tongue click
kidari	7/8	kidari, kifua	chest (animal, human)
kid ^u evu, kievu	7/8	kidevu	chin
kidifu	7/8		cast net (for catching)
kidividivi	7/8	buibui	buibui
kidurenge	see m-durenge		
kiema	7/8 see y-ema	kilema	1. cripple 2. type of trap
kiemba	7/8	kilemba	turban
kifaranga cha kuku	< Port 7/8		chick
kifaru	7/8	faru, kifaru	rhino
*kifiniko	7/8	*kizibo	cork, stopper
kifund ^r o	7/8	kifundo	knot
kigange	7/8 see k ^h asa		sea turtle sp (rare)
kiharehare = nyegere, see -hara		kiharahara	ratel
*kijaa	7/8	kidole	finger, toe
k ^h ijaaliwa = kesho			
kijando	7/8		sand clearing in mangroves
kijito	7/8	kijicho	stream, brook
kijiji, kijizhi	7/8	kijiji	village
kijongo	7/8	kigongo	hump (human, camel)
kikande	7/8	kikande	sole (?) (fish)
kikapu	7/8	kikapu	basket

k ^h iko	9/10	kiko	pipe
kikumbi	7/8		evergreen plant, medicinal uses
kikumbi-avara			same?
-kila		-kia	step over
kila = kula = kulla		kila	each
kiladeni	7.8		“crab plover” (Elliott)
kilimu		mvuli	short rainy season
k ^h ima	9/10	kima	monkey sp (small)
-kimbia		-kimbia	run, flee
-kimwa	= -choka	-choka	be tired
*kind ^r oro = batata	7/8	kiazi	potato
kinena	7/8		area between navel and sexual
			organs
kinena yuu	7/8		prized part (lower intestine?)
			of turtle for eating
kingwadu	7/8		kind of spotted hyena,
			different from kingugwa
kinovu	7/8	ndama	calf
kinu	7/8	kinu	mortar (for grinding)
kinyunguru	7/8	small kiuno	groin (?)
ki-ond ^r a	7/8	kidonda	sore
ki-ovo	7/8	ndoana: kioo	fishhook: mirror
*ki-pand ^r e	7/8	uwambo	(tent) peg
kipee	7/8	kipele	spot on skin
kipengee	7/8	kipengele	
(ki)pungu	7/8	(ki)pungu	eagle sp (bateleur?)
same?		(ki)pungu	fish sp. (“like a ray”)
*ki-rori	7/8 related igururu	gande	curdled milk
kisiginyo	7/8	kisigino	heel
kisiki	7/8	kisiki	stump (of tree, etc)
kisiwa (see kiwa)	7/8	kisiwa	island
kisukusuku		kisigino	elbow
kithima	7/8	kisima	well
kithu		kisu	knife
kishaka see i-shaka		kichaka	bush
kishuri (kishori?)			a dance (elderly women)
kiṭambara, kiṭambaa		kitambaa	piece of cloth
kiṭiki see mchakwi			
kiṭungue		sungura	hare
kiṭunu			grumble, grunt
kiṭwa		kichwa	head
kirumbidhi		kiumbizi, kirumbizi	stick dance/game (men)
ki-ungu	7/8		very tall building
ki-unji	7/8		peak, summit

ki-v <u>anda</u>	7/8		see u-v <u>anda</u>
*ki-v <u>andi</u>	7/8	dasi	sickness of donkeys
ki-veo	7/8	ki-weo, paja	thigh
ki-vi	7/8	kisingino, kisukusuku	elbow
kivindaduli ?	7/8		hedgehog
kivuli	7/8	kivuli, mvuli	shade, shadow
kiwa	7/8	cf the place Kilwa	reef island (small), also in names such as Kiwa-yuu)
kidha		giza	darkness
kiyembe	see w-embe		
*kidhimbe-(dhimbe-)mkia/nkia		tandu	centipede
*kidhimbe-(dhimbe-) madanda			scorpion
kidhimbwi	7/8		water deep enough to anchor
kidhidhi	7/8	kizizi	cattle stall
-k <u>o</u> do		-k <u>o</u> do	stare
-k <u>o</u> ho		-k <u>o</u> ho	cough
-k ^h o <u>ka</u>		-k <u>o</u> ka	to put on fire
-k <u>o</u> ko <u>cha</u>		-k <u>o</u> ko <u>ta</u>	drag
k ^h olek ^h ole (or is it koekoe?)	9/10	korekore	Bluefin (fish sp), horse mackerel
k ^h o <u>mba</u>	9/10	k <u>o</u> mba	galago (attacks crops)
-k <u>o</u> nd ^r u		-k <u>o</u> nda	grow thin
k ^h o <u>ngo</u>	9/10	korongo	bushbuck
k ^h o <u>o</u>	9/10	k <u>o</u> o	throat
-k <u>o</u> pa		-k <u>o</u> pa	borrow
-k <u>o</u> ra (Som qor)			scratch, carve, write
korobeni			sling shot
korobosho			edible fruit of the mu <u>tu</u>
korokosi			Adam's apple
k ^h o <u>rokoto</u>	9/10		knee cap
-k <u>o</u> roma		-k <u>o</u> roma	snore
- <u>to</u> a koroma			snore
-k <u>o</u> ta		-s <u>u</u> ka	plait
-k <u>o</u> ta		-g <u>o</u> ta?	harpoon, seize
k ^h o <u>to</u>	9/10		shark hook
k ^h o <u>tedhi</u>	9/10		cramp
k ^h o <u>yama</u> = duba			1. water gourd for journeys
			2. northern Bajuni Island
			3. Bajuni clan name
kodhi		kozi	goshawk
-k <u>u</u> -		-k <u>u</u> -	past negative
ku-ava/kw-ava		mashariki	east (cf -ji-lawu 'get up in morning')
*-k <u>u</u> cha		-shiba < Arabic	be satiated
-k <u>u</u> chana		-k <u>u</u> ta	meet
kuhu < ? Somali/Tunni gu'		masika	long, heavy rains

k ^h uku	kuku	chicken
-kumbachia = -bika makamba?	-kumbatia	embrace
-kumbuka	-kumbuka	remember
-kumbusa	-kumbusha	remind
k ^h umi 9/10	kumi	ten
ikumi 5/6		set of ten
makumikumi, also mia	mia	hundred
k ^h unewe 9/10		chicken flea
-kunga	-kunga	hem, make border
k ^h ungu (k ^h uungu?)	kulungu	male bushbuck
k ^h ungu	kungu	a fish, used fresh and dried
k ^h uni 9/10	kuni	firewood
k ^h upa 9/10	kupe	animal tick
kusi	kusi	south, S monsoon (July to September)
kusoto	kushoto	left-hand
-kuṭa	-kunja	wrap up
*-kuu, -kuru	-kubwa, (-kuu)	large, powerful
-kuukuu	-kuukuu	old
-kua	-kua	grow
mukuru		older brother
mkuu/mkuru	mkuu	elder
makuru mbwembwe mmoya		10 cents (old fashioned)
makuru mbwembwe kumi		a shilling (ditto)
-kuthanya	-kusanya: -linga	store, collect, compare
-kuthanyika	-kusanyika	assemble, gather
*kuthi, see kuhu	masika	rainy season
khamsini, hamsini	hamsini	50
-la	-la	eat
-lisa	-lisha	feed, graze
kilo ?	kulia	righthand
mulo	mlo	meal
ila (sing), ilani	la/kula, leni	eat imperative
-lee	-le	that
kulee	kule	there
apalee	pale	there
lelemama		a women's dance
-(l)eva	-lewa	be drunk, dizzy
mlevi	mlevi	drunk
nd ^f evo		? intoxicating environment (old name for Lamu)
-lia	-lia	cry, wail

-li		-li	be
kilio		mlio	sound, cry
?-likiza			send away, give leave
-lima (see kilimu)		-lima	cultivate
ukulima		kilimo	agriculture
mukulima		mkulima	farmer
-lipa		-lipa	pay
lolodhi			plant with magical properties
-luluma			bark (dog)
maamu < Arabic			like, resembling
mache 66		mate	spittle
macheo 6			3 a.m.
madange			a childrens' game
*ma-dila < ? 6 see ndarandara		taka	filth
ma-fya 6 see yeko		mafya/mafiga	(three) cooking stones
ma-fucha 6		mafuta	oil, fat
ifucha		ufuta	sesame
magurumo 6		ngurumo	thunder
mahala 16		mahali	place
mahamri 6 < Arabic 'to fry'		mandazi	small cakes
ma-i 5/6		maji	water
kimai 7/8			sailor's song
hanga mai			sailor's watch song
mai a kimbuya = mai mafu			dead water
mai afumie			low tide
mai ameyaa			high tide
Maka, Makka			Mecca
ma-kathidhi 6		masizi	soot
makete			game played with cowrie shells
-malidha		-maliza	inish tr
-mamadha see -nyamaa			
mame, see inya, shangadhi		mama	mother
mamadhi		shangazi	paternal aunt
manemane < Som, also Miini malmal			plant, the medicine from it
mangu			iron tip of harpoon
ma-nyunyu 6		manyunyu	drizzle
marara 6		magugu	the bush or branches of palm tree?
?maravulei			2 edged Somai sword
masechano see -secha		mashetano	poussée dans la foule
maso see vuso		uso	blade
masua		mbasua	dizziness
mashua		mashua	(small) boat, traditional kind of Bajuni boat

*mashekuu		alfajiri	early morning
matlai a kaskadhi			moderate wind
matlai a kusi	6		moderate wind (March)
ma-vee	6	mawele	bulrush millet
mavoda tanda			August-September
ma-yondi	6	mayonzi, kilio	mourning, sorrow
mu-amu	1/2		person from Lamu
mbachi		ukaidi, ushupavu	obstinacy
mbali		mbali	far
mbango	9/10	ngiri	warthog
mbaraka	3/4		a bush, with medicinal uses
mbasi		?	envoy, commissioner
?		mbasi	sailfin (fish sp)
mbavaa		mbawaa	small red fish (Serranus)
? mbave		muhanga	aardvark
mbee		mbele	in front
mbega	9/10	mbega	colobus monkey
mbembe	9/10		sp.small toad
mbeu	9/10	mbegu	seed
mbingu		mbingu	sky
*-mbiria		-tupa	throw
mbiu			a fish, used dried (Grottanelli, 145)
mboboo			tree (Calatropis procera) with medicinal uses
mbogu livaa			bat-eared fox
mBoni			Boni
mboni, mbona		mbona	why?
?		mbono	Fusilier (fish sp.)
mbugu			1. lesser kudu.2. a tree
mbuni	9/10	mbuni	ostrich
mbuni			small plant, medicinal uses (not coffee plant)
mbuvo	9/10	nyigu ?	wasp
mbudhi	9/10	mbuzi	goat
ki-budhi	7/8		small goat
ka-budhi	12		very small goat
nhabochi also bochi			motor driven boat
muchakwi	3/4 (also kitiki ?)		spiny bush (Flacourtia ramontchi)
kichakwi	7/8		its edible fruit (maroon)
m-chama, nchama	3.4 see buru	mtama	millet
mchama wa bishee		mtama	sorghum
mchama wa buru		mahindi	maize
mchama wa pembe			unidentified millet (rare)
n-chend ^f e	3/4	m-tende	date palm ??

n-chi	3/4	m-ti	edible fruit
nchi wa maungo		uti wa mgongo	tree
mucho, mcho, n-cho	3/4	m-to	spine
Mucho wa Hola			river
Mucho wa Kimoti			names of four rivers on mainland
Mucho wa Anole			opposite the islands
Mucho wa Yamani			(Grottanelli 1955)
mchocho	1/2	mtoto	son, daughter
muchond ^r o	3/4	mtondo	3 days from now
mucond ^r o-hoo		mtondo-goo	4 th day
muchondoo	3/4	mtondoo	large tree, medicinal and industrial uses
mu-chu/n-chu	1/2 (see also muke)	mtu	person
jichu	'giant', plural mijichu		
kijichu	'small person'		
kajichu	'even smaller person'		
mchue	3/4		tree (<i>Solanum dubium</i>) with medicinal uses
nchumbi ?			topi
mchumwa	1/2	mtumwa	messenger, servant
mchwana	1/2	mtwana	male slave
mchumbwi/n-chumbwi	3/4	mtumbwi	dugout canoe
mdewere, ndewere	3/4		local spinach-like vegetable
mdurenge, ndurenge	3/4		a (fast) dance
kidurenge			small drum, abandoned woman
mdusi	3/4		spiny tree, medicinal uses
-me-	see -ie/-ee	-me-	perfect, app. recent in Bajuni
-mea		-mea	grow
-medha		-meza	grow tr
-mechemeche			sparkling
medha	9/10	meza	table
mufalme	1/2	mfalme	"king, queen", leader
m-firado	1/2		see firado
mfukufuku	3/4		tree with edible fruit
m-fund ^r a	see -bika 3/4		line drawn on ground
mfungo			dance done at Maulidi
m-fuo	3/4	mfuo	groove, furrow
mfupa	3/4	mfupa	bone
n-ganga	1/2	mganga	doctor, sorcerer
uganga	14	uganga	magic
n-geni	1/2	mgeni	guest, stranger
mugomba / ngomba	3/4	mgomba	banana tree
mGosha (or just Gosha?)			"Somali Bantu" (on Juba)

mgodha, ngodha 3/4	mgoza	edible tree with industrial uses
muhindi 3/4	mhindi	maize plant
muhori 3/4	muhuri	seal
muhuni 1/2		divorce(e)
muhundhi see –fua		
-milia		dry (clothes, in the air)
mimba 9	mimba	stomach, belly, pregnancy
-va na mimba	-wa na mimba	be pregnant
-midha	-meza	swallow
midhe	mjenga-kando	hornet
n-kache 3/4	mkate	bread
mkambaya 3/4	= mkambala ?	acacia sp, edible fruit, usable bark
mkambwa kenendi 3/4		tree, edible fruit, medicinal uses
mkanda/nkanda 3/4		narrows
mkapau 3/4		tree, edible fruit, medicinal uses
kikapau		same..?
m-kari 1/2	< Arabic ‘disavow’	hypocrite
mkavuma 3/4		bush with medicinal uses
mkawuma 3/4		plant with cosmetic uses
mkawuma mwichu 3/4		plant with medicinal uses
n-kayupe 3/4	muwa	sugarcane
muke > nke 1/2	mke	wife
mwana muke	mwanamke	woman
nchu muke	mke	wife
mkadha		woman
mkebe, nkebe 3/4	mkebe	can
mukenge 1/2	mtoro	fugitive
n-kia 3/4	mkia	tail
mukidhi 3/4	mkizi	mullet (fish sp)
mkokoa 3/4		plant with cosmetic uses
mukond ^f o, nkond ^f o 3/4	mkondo	stream, path
n-kono 3/4 see mvuli	m-kono: mkomba	arm: trunk (elephant)
Mkudisho		Mogadisho (c.f Bravanese Mxodiisho/Mxodiisho)
mkuku 3/4		marine plant (seaweed?)
mkukusi 3/4		bush with magical properties
n-kukwi 3/4	mkuki	spear
mkunadhi 3/4	mkunazi	jujube tree (Zizyphus jujuba)
kunadhi		its edible fruit
mukund ^f e 3/4	mkunde	phaseolus vulgaris plant, with medicinal uses
ukund ^f e 3/4	ukunde	its bean
Not clear if the identification of this and m-toko, below, is accurate		
m-kuyu 3/4	m-kuyu	sp. fig-tree

mukwayu	3/4		mkwaju	tamarind tree, edible fruit
m-kwewa, n-kwewa	3/4		mkwe	in-law
mlabodo	3/4			evergreen tree, edible fruit (Boscia octandra Hochst. ?)
mulango	3/4		mlango	door
mlima, nlima	3/4		mlima	mountain
n-linga	3/4			mangrove seed pod
mliwa	3/4	see i-liva		sandalwood, cosmetic uses
*mu-lonje/n-lonje	3/4		nyanya	tomato (also Boni moloenje)
*m-mio	3/4		shingo	neck
m-nana				animal that attacks crops (Plocerus aeroflavus)
mnara	3/4		mnara	tower, minaret
manara				pillar tombs
mundule	3/4	< Somali		round straw hut of mainland people (obsolete on islands even in 1913)
mnuna	1/2		mdogo	younger sibling
mu-ngumi, nngumi	3/4		mnyangumi	whale
mocho	3/4		moto	fire
mofa	9/10		mofa	oven, bread baked in oven
mongo (mlolongo?)	3/4		mwongo	number
more			mafuta magumu	hard fat
mosi	3/4		moshi	smoke
-moya			-moja	one
m-moya apo/moyawe				someone or other
moyo	9/10		moyo	heart
mume	1/2		mume	husband
mungaa	3/4		same as mgunga Acacia ???	tree with medicinal uses
munu	3/4		chumvi, munyu	salt
mununa, mnunu, nnuna	1/2			younger bro or sis
mu-omo	3/4		mdomo	lip
m-paka	3/4	see -pakana	mpaka	boundary
mpambanya	3/4			bush with medicinal uses
m-pate	3/4			person from Pate, person who starts a fight
mpepe	3/4			a tree with edible and medicinal uses
mpilili	3/4			spiny plant, medicinal uses
mpochoa ndovo	3/4			tree with medicinal uses
mpongoe	3/4			small tree with magic uses
mpwawa	3/4		mpwa	nephew, niece
mpwira	3/4		mpira	rubber, ball
*m-pokedhi	1/2		mkunga	midwife
mrinahi	3/4			plant with magical uses
musiba, nsiba	3/4		msiba	grief

musikita	3/4	mtande	dried strips of meat, also Miini ziskita < Dahalo
mu-sikichi, nsikichi	3/4	msikiti	mosque
msingino	3/4		mimosa sp, spiny trunk, medicinal uses
n-sipa	3/4	mshipa	vein
n-thitari	3/4	mstari	line, row
muso			young male chicken
kijiso	kifaranga		chick
m-son ^f o	3/4		dance (women at wedding)
m-sumari	3/4	msumari	nail
mswaki	3/4	mswaki	trees used for toothbrushes
n-shela-koma	1/2		Boni, original inhabitant of the land
mshendi	1/2	mshenzi	rogue
n-shindo	3/4	m-shindo	tram of feet
mu-shipi, nshipi	3/4	mshipi	vein, fishing line
n-shobo	1/2		dandy, fop
	< Som		daytime
m-tana	3/4	mchana	sand
n-tanga	3/4	mchanga	sorcerer
n-tavi	1/2	mchawi	cutting, seedling
m-te, nte	3/4	mche	rice
n-tee	3/4	mchele	a plant with medicinal uses
mtende	3/4		thief, rogue, prostitute
m ^t ende	1/2		traditional Bajuni sewn boat,
mu-tepe	3/4		
flame flag on the mast head			
mu-ti	3/4	mchi	pestle
m ^t ia pisi	3/4		edible fruit
m ^t i-kachi, n ^t i-kachi		mchana	daytime, midday
mu ^t imbi	3/4		edible marine plant
m(u)-tini	3/4	mtini	fig-tree
m-toko (m-tooko?)	3/4 = nane	m-choroko, mchooko = pojo	green gram plant
		choroko, chooko	green gram
n-tori	3/4		long thin boat
mu ^t u	3/4	mchu	mangrove tree (Avicennia sp.), edible fruit, wood used for bed legs
			same? medicinal uses
mu ^t u mwichu			an edible fruit
m ^t uli	3/4		broth
n-tudhi	3/4	mchuzi	termite
mu ^t wa	3/4	mchwa	harpoon
muund ^f a	3/4		whistling
mu-undi	3/4	mwunzi, ubinja	sp. acacia
munga	3/4	mgunga	God
mungu, mngu	3/4	mungu	

*m-vandi	3/4	bomba < Port	pump
mvonda	3/4		bush with edible fruit
m-vono	3/4	m-bono	castor oil plant
muve		mbweu	belch
m-vili	3/4	mwili	body
muvu	3/4	mbuyu	baobab tree, edible fruit
mvuke	3/4	mvuke	steam, vapour
mvuli	1/2	mume	man, male
mkono wa vuli		mkono wa kiume	right hand
m-vungu	3/4	podo	wooden arrow quiver
muyakadhi. muzhakadhi, nyakadhi		mjakazi	emale slave
muzhi, muyi, nyi	3/4	mji	town
muyinga	1/2	mjinga	fool
muyoli	1/2	mjoli	fellow servant
muyukuu	1/2	mjukuu	grandchild
mwaa	3/4	mwaa?	Dwarf palm, industrial uses
mwabwabu			tree (Solanum sp), medicinal uses
mwaka, pl nyaka	3/4	mwaka	year
*mwaladi < Arabic (also Miini 'young slave')			young domestic animal
mwamba, pl nyamba	3/4	mwamba	reef covered at high tide
mwambadhi	3/4		bush with cosmetic uses
mwana [mana]	1/2	mwana	child
mwana ^{hi}	1/2	mwananchi	local, native
mwenechu		ndugu yetu	our (younger) brother
mwan ^{di}	3/4	mwanzi	bamboo, industrial uses
mwavuli ?		mvuli, vuli	lesser rains
mwena	3/4	mwina	animal trap/pit
mwene (part.), mwenye (noun)	1/2	mwenye	master, etc
mwenge			a dance? (men at wedding)
mwedhi	3/4, pl nyedhi	mwezi	moon, month
mwedho	3/4 see -elewa	mwelezo	float
(mweve) hengewa		mwewe	kite
		mwewe	greyskin (fish)
mwichu [muchu]	3/4	mwitu	forest, bush
mwiko	3/4	mwiko	spoon
mwiwa	3/4	mwiba	thorn, dorsal fin
mwidhi, also mudhi? 1/2, pl vidhi		mwizi, mwivi	thief
mw-ongo, mongo, maungo	3/4	mgongo	back
(pl. nyongo, or can nyongo also be the singular?)			
mwongo	3/4		period of 10 days in calendar, etc
mwongo	3/4		sandy 'beach'
mwongo	1/2	mwongozi, kiongozi	leader
mwongochi	3/4	mlingoti	mast

<u>n</u> -dhi	3/4	mzizi	root
<u>n</u> -dhigo	3/4	mzigo	load
mudhuka/ <u>nd</u> huka = idhuka		mzuka	(evil) spirit
<u>n</u> -dhungu	1/2	mzungu	white person
na		na	and, with, have
nahudha		nahoza	captain of vessel
namuna, namna, nanna		namna	kind, type
nana		bibi	oldest female in household
nane		nane	eight
<u>nanda</u> = ngove		ng'oe	hook for pulling down fruit
nashariti (mashariti)			a rope on boat
-natha		-nasa	catch (in trap)
-nathwa		-kwama	be stuck
ndanga mwichu			bush with edible fruits
nd ^f ani		ndani	inside
*ndarandara < ?		uchafu: ovyo	dirt, rubbish heap: chaos:
			careless(ly), in vain
nde ?			kinship term = maternal
			uncle's wife?
nd ^f evu	9/10	ndevu	beard
nd ^f ui	9/10	ndui	smallpox
nd ^f ovo	9/10	ndoo	bucket
nd ^f uu		ndugu	bro, sis, relative, friend
nd ^f u(w)a		ndugu yangu	my bro, etc
nd ^f uyo		ndugu yako	your bro
nd ^f u(w)e		ndugu yake	his/er bro
nd ^f udho		ndugu zako	your bros
?		nd(u)waru	marlin, swordfish
<u>nda</u> a	9/10	njaa	hunger, famine
<u>nd</u> ia	9/10	njia	path
<u>nd</u> iva	9/10	njiwa	pigeon sp.
*- <u>ndo</u> -/ <u>nda</u> -		-me-	(emphatic?) perfect
(regular perfect -ie)			
see -ova, -voa, -vunda			
<u>nd</u> ovu	9/10	njovu, tembo	elephant
<u>nd</u> uka	1/2	mzuka	evil spirit
<u>nd</u> ukatwa			plant with medicinal uses
<u>nd</u> hio		a fish	
*-nena		-sema	say, talk
i-neno		neno	word
-nene		-nene	fat

-nga		-nga	conditional
-ngali-, -ngeli-, -nge-		-nge	conditional (past)
-angali		bado	still
ngalawa	9/10	ngalawa	outrigger canoe, not a traditional Bajuni boat (Prins 1967: 53)
ng'amba	see amba 9/10	ng'amba	sea turtle sp (Chelonia imbricata)
ngamia	9/10	ngamia	camel
ngano	9/10	ngano	(epic) story
-ngapi		-ngapi	how many
ngavo	9/10	ngao	shield
ngavudhi			bush with cosmetic uses
-ng'ara		-ng'aa	shine
ngazi	9/10		stairs cut up rock face
nge	9/10	nge	scorpion
-ngi		-ingi	many
ḡombe va-ngi (2)		ḡombe wengi	many cows
-ngia		-ingia	enter
-ngiliana		-ingiliana	"cohabit"
-ngine/-ngina		-ingine	other
mungine, nngine 1, 3		mwingine	
vangine 2		wengine	
pangine		pengine	perhaps
ngiri ? see mbango		ngiri	warthog
ngisi		ngisi	"cuttlefish"
-ngoja, -ngoya		-ngoja	wait (for)
ngole = <u>n</u> ama 'meat'			
ngoma	9/10	ngoma	drum, dance
-pija ngoma			play drum
ng'ombe	9/10	ng'ombe	cow
ngombole			bush with industrial uses
ngove = <u>n</u> anda			
ngodhi	9/10	ngozi, ngovi	skin
nguru	9/10	nguru	kingfish, good eating
nguṭi see ṭ ^h ini			
nguva	9/10	nguva	dugong
nguve	9/10	nguruwe	pig
nguvo	9/10	nguo	clothes
nguvu	9/10	nguvu	strength
ndudho	9/10	nguzo	pillar, pole
ngware	9/10		a wrestling game
*ngwena	9/10	mamba	crocodile
ni		ni	'be'
mwana huu mbwa nyani		mwana huyu ni wa nani	whose child is this?

vana hava mbangu maingi haa <u>nda</u> nyani dhich ^h u hidhi <u>ndangu</u> k ^h ichu hichi ch ^h angu	wana hawa ni wangu mayai haya ni ya nani vitu hivi ni vyangu kitu hiki ni changu	these children are mine whose eggs are these these things are mine this thing is mine
-ni	-ni	1 and 2 plural imperative
chwenend ^f e ‘let’s go’ (dual) but chwenend ^f eni (plural)		
-ni, -nu, -no		this
as in medha hini ‘this table’, nchi hunu ‘this tree’, nchi hono, kunu ‘this’, munu munu ‘right here’, etc		
njera, anjera		(Somali) bread (water, flour)
njugu 9/10	njugu	groundnut
nini, n’nini ??	nini	what?
(u)tanip ^h a-ni		what will you give me
-nona	-nona	get fat (animals)
nond ^f omiva		gastropod sp. (harvested)
n-si see i-si		
n-so (?) 9/10	figo	kidney
nund ^f u 9/10	nundu	hump (cow)
nungu 9/10	nungu	porcupine (also Boni)
-nunua	-nunua	buy
<u>-naa</u>	<u>-nya</u>	urinate
man <u>e</u> 6	mkojo	urine
* <u>nachi</u> 9/10	mbogo, nyati	buffalo
(*) <u>nama</u> 9/10	nyama, mnyama, mifugo	animal, meat, cattle
<u>nama</u> mwichuni		wild animal
<u>nama</u> wa <u>ti</u>		reptile
* <u>nane</u>	chooko, choroko	green gram (pea sp.)
<u>ndia</u> 9/10	njia	path
<u>ndia</u> p ^h anda	njia panda	crossroads
<u>ndige</u> 9/10	nzige	locust
<u>ndururu</u>		2 ½ cents
<u>-nea</u>	-wawa (-nyea, -nyega)	itch
<u>nima</u> (or is it nima?)	nyuma	behind
<u>-noa</u>	-nyosha	straighten
<u>nocha</u> 9/10	nyota	star
* <u>nocha</u> 9/10	kiu	thirst
<u>noka</u> 9/10	nyoka	snake
<u>noki</u> 9/10	nyuki	bee
* <u>noni</u> , nyuni 9/10 also kijuni	ndege (nyuni)	bird
<u>nonga</u> 9/10	nyonga	hip, haunch
<u>nongo</u> 9/10	nyongo	bile
<u>-nuk^ha</u>	-nuka	smell, or smell bad
* <u>-nuk^ha</u> navi	-nuka	smell bad

	*- <u>nuk</u> ^h a-cho	-nukia	smell sweet
	ma-nuk ^h acho		sweet odours
<u>n</u> umba	9/10	nyumba	house
	ijumba 5/6	jumba	mansion
	chumba 7/8	chumba	room
	<u>n</u> umba a michi (common)		house built with poles
	<u>n</u> umba a mawe (less common today)		stone house
	<u>n</u> umba kachi		room in wood house with chest and grindstone
<u>n</u> und ^f o	9/10	nyundo	hammer
<u>n</u> ungu	9/10	nyungu	(large) pot
nungwi			spiny bush, industrial uses
- <u>n</u> wa	see ka <u>n</u> wa	-nywa	drink
	- <u>n</u> osa	-nyweshā	water
-nya		-nya	rain
	-nya chudhi	-nya mavi	excrete
-enda nyao		-piga miayo	yawn v
?		nyenga	sting ray
-nyama		-inama	lean, bend down
	-nyika = -nyamisa	-inika	bend over
	-nyua	-inua	lift, set up
	-nyuka see -simama	-inuka, -amka	rise: awaken
-nyamaa		-nyamaa	be silent
	-mamadha	-nyamaza	silence (child)
nyangisi		?	? (lives in the sea)
nyani, pl. mbani		nani	who?
nyanya			a bird
nyegere		nyegere	ratel ?
-nyomodhya			fish by line
nyonda			strong desire
-nyoa or is it - <u>n</u> oa		-nyoa	shave
-o		-na-	present progressive
	only with the verbs 'go' and 'come', e.g. chwend ^r a(v)o, 'we are going'. See Nurse 1982: 101		
-Co		-Co	relative
-oa		-oga	wash, bathe
	-osa	-osha	wash
-ocha		-ota	dream n
	ndocho 9/10	ndoto	dream v
-ocha yuva		-ota jua	bask in the sun, warm o.s.
-oka		-choma	thrust into
*-oka		-choma	roast
-oledha		-oleza	copy (pattern)

-omba	-omba	ask for
ombe		edge of the deep, abyss
-ond ^f oa	-ondoa	start off, send away (tr)
-ond ^f oka, also -and ^f oka ?	-ondoka	go out, go away (intr)
-onda	-onja	taste
-ongedha	-ongeza	increase
-ongodha	-ongoza	guide aright
-opoa	-opoa	pull out, fish up
-ot ^h e	-ote	all
sut ^h e also chwot ^h e?	sote	all of us
-ova (see also -toma)	-vua	fish v
-ova		get wet
-nda-ovea	-me-loa	wet
-odheka		be wet
-ovoa = vaka	-oa	marry (of man)
-ovodha	-oza	marry = give in marriage
nd ^f ova = arusi	ndoa = arusi	marriage
-pa	-pa	give
-pawa	-pewa	be given
ni-p ^h a	nipe	give me
m-pe	m-pe	give him
-paa	-paa	scrape (scales)
p ^h aa 9/10	paa	small antelope (dikdik?) (nestragus moschatus)
-pacha	-pata	get
p ^h agwa	rpanda	fork in road etc
pahala = mahala		
-paka	-katua	polish, spread
p ^h aka	paka	cat
p ^h aka dudhi	nunda ?	some kind of wild cat
p ^h aka shume	paka dume	tom cat
-pakana	-pakana	adjoin
pakudhi		intestinal worm
-pamba	-pamba	decorate
-pambauka	-pambauka	dawn v
p ^h ana	panya	rat
p ^h ana buku	buku	sp.large rat
-panda	-panda	climb
p ^h andi	panzi	cricket
-panga	-panga	arrange, pile up
-pangarara		be calm (of water)
p ^h angwa	panda	fork in path
-papachika	-papa	palpitate

p ^h ap ^h a	papa	shark, used fresh and dried
p ^h ap ^h a burasi		shark species
p ^h ap ^h a chongwela		shark species
p ^h ap ^h a chwasuvi (?)		shark species
p ^h ap ^h a mapembe		shark species
p ^h ap ^h a sumbwe	papa sumbue	shark species
p ^h ap ^h a vame		shark species
papaa		fish sp (not shark)
paramandi	-	? (in a song)
-parudha	-paruza	scrape, graze
p ^h ata	pacha	twin
-paadha	-paaza	grind coarsely
-paruza	-kwaruza	grate
-pea	-fagia, -kokoa	sweep
u-peo	ufagio	brush, broom
p ^h ea		rhino
9/10 = kifaru		
-peeka	-peleka	take, carry
pefu	ubani	incense
p ^h embe	pembe	horn, tusk
-pend ^r a	-penda	like
-pendedhwa	-pendezwa	be pleased
mpendi	mpenzi	beloved, dear
-pepea	-pepea	fan, wave
-peperusha	-peperusha	blow away
-pepecha	-pepeta	winnow
-pevuka	-pevuka	be fully grown
-pevu	-pevu	mature
-pia	-pya	new
-picha	-pita	pass
-piṭa ?	-piṣa	pass (time)
p ^h icha		picture
9/10 < English		
-pija		grumble, grunt
see entuires under -bika		curlw
*-pika kiṭunu (-pika or -bika?)	-guna	measure, test, etc
p ^h ilingii	sululu	turn over, upside down
-pima	-pima	obstruct
-pind ^r ua	-pindua	hyena
-pinga	-pinga	cool, get well, escape
pisi see shumra	fisi	cool, cure, heal
-poa	-poa	receive
-podha	-poza	God, the Lord
-pokea	-pokea	beer (sorghum,
see m-pokedhi		sugarcane, or bananas)
Pola Mola		
p ^h ombe	pombe	

pomboo		pomboo		dolphin
-pond ^r a		-piga; -ponda		hit: crush
*-pond ^r ana		-pigana		fight
pond ^r o		pondo		pole
pono	5/6	pono		parrotfish
-potedha		-potea		get lost
pua, chuma cha pua		pua, chuma cha pua		steel
pumudhika = -sona		-pumzika		relax, rest
-toa pumudhi				breathe
p ^h und ^r a		punda		donkey
p ^h und ^r a milia		punda milia		zebra
pwani		pwani		beach, sea coast
-punga		-punga		wave arms, exorcize spirits
pw ^h apai		papai		pawpaw, papaya
pw ^h apwasi		papasi		grass tick
pweke		peke		alone
pw ^h epwe	9/10	popo		bat (also Boni *popoocii 'a bird')
pwera	5/6	pera		guava fruit
-pwedha		-pwelea		run aground
pw ^h edha	9/10	pweza	(pw ^h edhi ?)	octopus
-ramba		-lamba		lick
randa n see also vave		(-randa v)		dance at bush-clearing time
ranji		rangi		colour, paint
Rasini				Pate Island or Faza Town
rede				a children's game (girls)
-refu		-refu		long, tall
urefu		urefu		length
-regea		-regea, -legea		be loose, slack
-rengwa ?		-legea, -piswa		be adrift, at sea/in the mind
-ridhisha		-ridhisha		satisfy
riahi		riahi		flatulence
-roga		-roga		bewitch
-ru ^{di}		-rudi		return
ruhu		roho		soul
ruhusa		ruhusa		permission
-ruka see -uka				
safiki				part of house furniture ?
-sahao/-sahau		-sahau		forget
sala		swala		Grant's gazelle
sampuli		sampuli		type, kind
sanduku	9/10	sanduku		box, chest
*sa ^{ti}	9	cf Som saan, Miini sa:nti		footstep, footprint

*-sea		-nywea	diminish in volume
-secha		-seta	crush, squash, trample
masechano			jostling in a crowd
sent <u>i</u> , senchi		pera, hela	money
-si-		-si	secondary negative
-so		-siyo	ditto and relative
siafu		siafu	ant sp.
-sika		-suka	shake
-sikilia		-fika	arrive
*simu(simu)		dagaa	sardine, Whitebait
simba 9/10		simba	lion
simba marara			caracal ?
-sin <u>anga</u>		-finyanga	mould pottery
msin <u>angi</u> = fundi wa dhungu			potter
sind <u>i</u> ?			greater kudu?
-sindika		-shindika, -sindika	press out
sipichali		hospitali	hospital
sita = sitt <u>a</u>		sita	6
*-soa		-twanga	pound (grain)
sogoro			leader of singing at dances
?		songoro	type of fish (good to eat)
sorio (also sabiku)			a sacrifice in hard times involving slaughtering an animal
*-sua		-mwaga	pour away
-sugua		-sugua	rub
?		sulisuli	type of fish
*-sumba		-washa	set light to
-sumua		-simua	lay down, pull out, etc
*sunyi < ? also Miji Kenda		mbu	mosquito
*suri			nutcrackers, scissors
swara		swala	Grant's gazelle
shaba		shaba	brass
shai		chai	tea
shanga			see -t <u>wa</u>
shangadhi 5/6 = mamadhi		shangazi	paternal aunt
shao, as in -la shao		-gombana	argue (esp. of women)
shavu 5/6		shavu	cheek
shehe, shekhe 5/6		shekh, sheikh, sheik, sheik,	sheik
shemeji		shemeji	bro/sis-in-law
shem <u>und</u> wa ? see shumra			striped hyena ?
-shenga		-chenga	cut (bush)
shid <u>a</u> = shid <u>da</u>		shida	trouble
-shika		-kamata	hold, seize

i-shikio 5/6	sikio	ear
*-shika maso	-koa	be sharp
-shika chama	-shika tama	rest cheek on hand
-shind ^f ua	-sindua	open
-shinda	-shinda	win, beat, overcome
shinda ndovo		marine plant with medicinal uses
*shidhi	tembo	fermented palm wine
shogo	shoka	a fish
shoka	kishoka	ax
kiṭoka, kishoka		ditto
-shona	-shona	sew
shongwe		a bird
-shopoa	-chopoa	pull out
*shumburere < Port		kind of hat
-shumua	-simua	pull out, lift (anchor)
shumra/shumrwa ? = pisi ?	fisi	hyena sp
-shuvua	-chubua	bruise, take skin off
thabaa, see fungache		
thadaka	sadaka	sacrifice
-thafiri	-safiri	travel
thafari	safari	journey
-thaga	-saga	grind (grain)
-thaa = -baki	-saa, -salia	remain
-thalia	-salia	
-thadha = -bakisha	-bakisha	leave over
kisee 7/8	masalio, etc	remains
masala		remains
thauti 9/10	sauti	voice
-thikia	-sikia	hear
-thikiza	-sikiliza	listen
thiku	siku	day
-thimama = -	-simama	stand
-thimamisha ?	-simamisha	stop tr
-thimika	-simika	erect, set up
thimbo 9/10	fimbo	stick
-thindia	-sinzia	close
-thiṭa	-ficha	hide
-thokoṭa	-sokota	twist
-thoma	-soma	read
-thuka	-suka	plait
-thuka ndia	-enda kwa miguu	walk
*-thukuhiya	-changamka	become cheerful
-thukuma	-sukuma	push

*-thumua	-ng'oa	pull up, uproot
thumuni, thumni, thunni < Arabic	sumuni, sumni	small coin (50 cents)
-thuthumuka	-sisimika	tingle (cold, fear, excitement)
-ta-/-to- see also -ki-	-ta-	future
In northern Kenya, I found -ta- in positive forms, -to- in negatives. But in southern Somalia both occurred in positives. ?		
t ^h aa	taa	light
t ^h at ^h a		a fish
*-taaṭaa		be agitated, stressed
*-ṭaba < ?	-iga, -igiza	imitate
ṭabibu	utabibu	"medecine"
-ṭefudha (see -dhengela)	-ṭafuta	seek
-ṭagamia, -ṭegemea	-ṭegemia	lean, rely on
-ṭakalika		be very tired
-ṭamba	-ṭamba	strut
-ṭamba	-chamba	wash after evacuating
-ṭamu	-ṭamu	sweet
-ṭamuka	-ṭamka	pronounce
-ṭanganya	-changanya	mix
-ṭangidha	-changa	collect, assemble
t ^h ange 9	vue	fallow, uncultivated land
t ^h angu 9/10	changu	Emperor fish
-ṭano	-ṭano	five
tasa	tasa: mgumba	barren (animate): sterile (human)
t ^h asi, ki-t ^h asi	tasi, tafi, chafi	Rabbitfish
t ^h aso 9		childrens' game
(-enend ^r a) ṭate (ṭate)		totter (children)
t ^h at ^u 9/10	chatu	python
-ṭaua or -ṭeua?	-chagua	choose
tavua 5/6	tamvua	fringe (of mat, etc)
t ^h awa 9/10	chawa	louse
*t ^h avau 9/10	tumbili	monkey sp (small), similar in some Boni
t ^h aya 9/10		antelope species
tayari 9/10	tayari	ready
t ^h adha 9/10	chazo	suckerfish, remora (used for catching turtles)
-ṭeka	-cheka	laugh
ṭele, see -yaa		
-ṭembea	-tembea	walk
ṭena	tena	again
-ṭenga	-tenga	separate
*-ṭengela	-epuka	avoid

-tengedha		-chenga	cut, lop
t ^h ete	9/10	cheche	spark
t ^h ete/tete ?	see ukeche	cheche	zorilla ? mongoose sp?
t ^h eva, kit ^h eva	(Miini nt ^h eleewa)	chewa	Grouper fish, rock cod, used fresh and dried
-tedha		-cheza	play
t ^h edho	9/10	tezo	adze
t ^h iat ^h i (see it ^h i)			terrestreal
-timba		-chimba	dig
-tinda		-chinja	slaughter
t ^h i-ni (a) = nguṭi ya (see it ^h i)		chini (ya)	below, under
*-tiriri			annoy, irritate
-tiririka		-tiririka	glide, trickle
tisia, see kenda			
-titi			small (archaic)
titi = mama wa pili			maternal aunt
-toa		-toa	give away, put forth, produce tr
-toa dhawaḍi		-toa zawadi	give a gift
-toka		-toka	go out, away vintr
-tokedha		-tokeza	put out, be prominent
tokaa		chokaa	chalk, lime
tokodhi			marine mollusk (harvested)
*-toma, tonya		-vua	fish (Sw. -choma 'stab')
ntonyi 1/2		mvuvi	fisherman
uṭonyi/uṭomi		uvuvi	fishing
-toma		-choma	burn (e.g. bush)
-tonga		-chonga	cut, cut to shape
-tongea		-chongea	slander
-tongoa		-chongoa	sharpen to a point
tonga			marine creature living on coral (edible)
tongo see -chia		chongo	one-eyed
tora			(straight) spear
-tora		-chora	carve
-tosa		-tosha	suffice
-toṭa		-chocha	poke
-tova		-chovya	dip
todhi	5/6	tozi	tear
tu		tu	only
*-tufa mache (-tufa < Som)		-tema mate	spit
-tuja ?		-chuja	filter
-tukua		-chukua, -eleka, -beba	carry
-tukufu		-tukufu	honourable
tumbaku		tumbaku	tobacco

- <u>tunda</u>		-tunza: -peleledha	care for, look after: spy out
- <u>tunga</u> 1		-chungu	sift (grain)
- <u>tunga</u> 2		-chungu	herd, graze
- <u>tungu</u>		-chungu	bitter
<u>tungu</u>		chungu	sp. ant
<u>t^hupa</u>	9/10	chupa	bottle
- <u>tura</u> ?		-tetemea	shake, tremble
- <u>turudhika</u>		-churuzika	trickle away
- <u>tusa</u>			1. trouble, surprise
			2. pass safely over rock, reef
<u>t^huu</u>	9/10	chuguu	anthill > "many"
<u>t^huvi</u>	9/10	chui	leopard
	<u>t^huvi marara</u>		serval ?
- <u>twa</u>	see macheo	-chwa	set (sun)
	yuva ku <u>twa</u>		sunset
	m <u>tana</u> ku <u>twa</u>	mchana ku <u>twa</u>	all day
	(la) ku <u>twa</u> (also (la)shanga		west
	ki-li-chele		it dawned (archaic)
- <u>tweka</u>		-twika, -tutika	raise (sail, load)
u-		u-	2 sing
u-		a-	3 sing concord verbs
			with certain positive tenses
	e.g. -ie, -a-, -o, - <u>ta-</u> , - <u>ndo-</u> , as in u-pisie 'you, he, she cooked', w-a-mpenda sana 'you, he, he likes him a lot', w-end ^f ao Manda '...going to Manda', u-tavula '...will cross', (u)ndoyala 'is asleep'. With the remaining positive tenses/aspects, and with all negatives, 3 sing a- occurs.		
u-			3 sing concord
	e.g u-lee	yu-le, u-le	that, 1 and 3
	u-ko	yu-ko, u-ko	is, 1 and 3
	u-na	a-na, u-na	it has, 1 and 3
ubava		ubawa	wing
ibava			large tail feather
*u-bele, pl.mabele		unyoya	feather (Somali, Boni baal)
ucha			see below, <i>uvucha</i>
uchaa		uchaga	grain platform
uchambo	see -chambika		
uchand ^f u, uchand ^f o		1. utand ^f u, utand ^f o	anything spread out, branch
		2. kabila	tribe (Grottannelli p 200)
uchua-uchua	14		tepidness
uchuba			tree with industrial uses
*u-chund ^f a		ushanga	bead, pearl
*udarava			panga, machete
*u-daro		kingoe	hook, stick
ufa		ufa	crack

uficho		ufito	long, thin, stick
ufununu		fununu	rumour
ufuo		ufuo	beach about high water mark
*uiunda	?	uchafu	dirt (see ndarandara)
-uka		-puruka, -ruka	1 fly 2 go away
ukeche			mongoose sp ?
ukoko		ukoko	crust
*ukombe		kijiko	sppon, ladle
*ukonde		upunje	grain of millet
ukope		ukope	eyelash
ukothi		ukosi	nape of neck
ukucha		ukuta	wall
ukund ^e		ukunde	kind of bean
k ^h und ^e nchi		ukunde	phaseolus mungo
k ^h und ^e fiwi (siwi?)		fiwi	phaseolus lunatus, lima bean
k ^h und ^e mawi (mawe?)			?
k ^h und ^e nyanya			?
ukusi		kofi	flat of hand, slap
-bika ukusi		-piga kofi	clap hands
ukuti, ukutiukuti		ukuti	children's game (involving coconut leaf or ball, they go round in a circle)
ulili		ulili	bedstead
ulimbo			spiny bush, industrial uses, glue (for catching birds)
ulimi		ulimi	tongue
ulingo		ulingo	watch platform in fields
(*)-uma		-uma: -kauka	1. bite 2. dry out
-umu		-gumu	hard
umande		umande	dew
umbu	5/6	umbu	his/her sister/brother
-und ^a		-unda	construct
undu		upanga	crest (on bird)
u- <u>nee</u>		unywele	hair sg
u- <u>nee</u> koto			'straight Bantu hair'
unyua		muwa	sugar cane
-unga		-unga	mix ingredients, season
*upaa		utosi	crown of head
u-panga		upanga	machete, traditionally sword
*upepe, pepe		umeme	lightning
upepo		upepo	wind
upoche		upote	bowstring
upovu		?	edge of field, valley
urithi		urisi	inheritance
urongo		uongo	lie(s)

?	u-rumba	sea urchin
usimbo, simbo	fimbo	stick
usulu, usuyu	asili	history, origin
ushingo	uchungu	bitterness, etc
uthiku	usiku	night
uthindidhi	usingizi	sleep
uthinga	usinga	long, straight hair
ushorodhe		long narrow space
u- <u>t</u> aa	taya	jaw, cheek
u- <u>t</u> anu	uchane	(dune) grass
u- <u>t</u> ata		fish weir
u- <u>t</u> eo	ungo	winnowing tray
u- <u>t</u> ili	kete	string (of pearls)
u- <u>t</u> uku, suku	soko	market
uva, iuva	ua	flower
u-va	ua	enclosure
uvani	bustani	garden
u-vaa = u- <u>v</u> anda		
uvachi	uwati	pole, stick, prod
u-vambaa		wall
uvambi	wambe ?	?
u- <u>v</u> anda	uwanja	open space
ki- <u>v</u> anda	kiwanja	small open space
ka- <u>v</u> anda (Amu dialect!)		very small house courtyard
u-vavo	ubao	plank, board
u-vavu	ubavu	rib
uvavuni mwa	kando ya	by the side of
u-vongo (vu-ongo ?)	u-dongo	soil, mud
uvucha, u-cha	u-ta	bow
u-wadhi	uwazi, uga	open space
u-wayo	galagala, gayogayo/wayowayosole	turbot (slippery)
uwe	wewe	thee, thou
*-uya (archaic)	-rudi	return
uyali	ujali, utambi	wick
*u-yuthi = yumbi	mzoga	corpse
udhani	uzani	weight, rhythm
-udhanya	-uza	sell
udhi	uzi	wire, string
udhio		plunge basket (fishing)
uzhi, uyi	sauti	voice

[v] in former class 14: is kept in some words before [u] (e.g. vu-cho, vu-i, vu-so) but lost before most others (*u-vongo*). These words are very few (all below, plus maybe *uvucha*, above). Why?

-va	-wa	be, become
-vaa	-vaa	1. shine (moon) 2. wear
-vika	-vika	clothe
-vua nguvo	-vua nguvo	take off clothing
*-vacha	-nata	stick, be stuck
-vachia	-atamia, -otamia	brood, hatch (eggs)
-vaka also -yenga?)	-jenga, (-aka)	build
mvasi	mwashi	mason, builder
-vaka see -ovoa		
*-vakana	-lala na	have intercourse with
*-vama	-lala fudifudi	lie face down
-vamba	-wamba	apply to, stretch over
*-vanda	-nenepa	get fat (human)
-vand ^r aa, -vand ^r alia	-andaa, andalia	prepare (food, etc)
*-vanga	-hesabu	count
*-vangua	-menya	peel
-vava	-wawa	itch, hurt
vave go to google Bajuni vave		long, traditional dance done
		day before bush burning
-vadha see also -i-vadha	-waza	think, reflect, imagine
-veka	-weka	put
-vi also -baya, see - <u>nuk</u> ^h a and...	-baya	bad
u-kee na vi see -kaa		he/she/you are bad/ugly
-via	-wia	be owed by
-vika	-fumba	close (eyes, etc)
-vili	-wili	2
mbili	mbili	ditto (CI 10)
*-vilia	-ita	call
*-vina	-cheza ngoma	dance
-v <u>inda</u>	-winda	hunt
m- <u>vinda</u>	mwindaji	hunter
u- <u>vindo</u>	uwindo	hunting
-viringa	-viranga, -viringana	be round
-viṭi	-bichi	ripe
-viva, -via	-iva/-wiva	ripen
-bivu	-vivu	ripe, mature
-voa	-oza	rot
-bovu	-vovu	rotten
ki-vudhee, ki- <u>ndo</u> -voa		it is rotten
-vona	-ona	see
-vua	-ua	kill
-vua (maṭo)	-fumbua	open (eyes)
vua 9/10	mvua	rain
mvua kilima/mwaka		lesser rains

mvua kusi		heavy rains
mavinga a mvua		occasional rains (August, September)
-vucha		pull
vucho, ucho 14	-vuta	thick oily fluid
vugo 'dance'	uto	
vui 14	vugo 'horn'	
-vuya	uji	gruel
-vuka	-vuja	leak, ouze out
-vukucha	-vuka	cross (river)
-vuma	-vukuta	blow bellows
-vumilia	-vuma	roar, rumble
-vuna	-vumilia	endure, suffer, tolerate
-vund ^f a	-vuna	harvest, reap, cut
i- <u>ndo</u> -vund ^f a	-vunda	smell bad, be high (meat)
-vunda		rotten, high, smelly
vunga 14	-vunja	break
*-vunika	unga	flour
-vurund ^f ua	-mulika	give light to
vu-si 14	-vuruga, -tibia	stir up
vu-so 14	ushi	eyebrow, and metaphorical
-vudha	uso	face
-vwana ([vw]?)	-uliza	ask
	-pigana	fight
-waa		be sick
-wee	-gonjwa	sick
u-wee = nd ^f wee	ugonjwa	sickness
mu-wee	mgonjwa	sick person
wabudhibudhi		bush with industrial uses
wakati	wakati	time
-wana		
wangwa < ?	kame	barren (land)
w-embe	wembe	razor
kiyembe	kijembe	small knife, penknife
-wedha	-weza	be able
w-eu		area cleared of trees/plants
wimbi	wimbi, ulezi	eleusine/bulrush millet
w-imbo, pl <u>nimbo</u>	wimbo, pl nyimbo	song
wivu see kiyiṭo	wivu	jealousy
-ya-	-ja-	in 'not yet'
-yatāsa-		in 'not yet'
-ya	-ja	come
<u>ndoo</u>	njoo	come imperative

*-yaa	-sia, -panda	plant
-yaa	-jaa	be full, come in (tide)
-yadha	-jaza	fill
-yaa tele	-jaa tele	abound
yana	jana	yesterday
yaani	yaani	namely, that is
-yala	-lala	sleep
-yala tani	-lala chali	lie on one's back
paku(i)yala	malalo	sleeping place
-yamba	-shuta, -jamba	fart
yambo 5/6	jambo	thing = affair
hamuyambo	hamjambo	greeting to plural addressee
yavua	bamvua	very high tide
yavuleavule	vilevile	just the same, just so, also
yavuyavu	pafu	lung
yazhi, yai egg 5/6 = ingi, which see		egg
ye	je	how?
yea		zorilla?
yeko, pl meko 5/6	jiko	fireplace
meko, mekoni	meko	fireplace, cooking stones
y-ema 5/6	dema, ndema	large basket fish trap
yembe 5/6	jembe	hoe (digging stick?), also in Somali, Tunni, Boni
yenyo 5/6, pl menyo	jino	tooth
yina 5/6	jina	name
yito, also zhiṭo, pl maṭo	jicho	eye
kiyito = wivu	kijicho	jealousy
-yiva, also -zhiva	-jua	know
si-isi, also sizhisi?	si-jui	(I) don't know
yu, zhuu	juu	up, above, north
also in place names such as Kiwa-yuu, Kismayuu < Kisima		+ yuu
yumba 5/6		prized part (=?) of turtle for eating
yumbi = uyuthi		corpse
*yuru 5/6	kenga	monitor lizard
yuṭa regret	-juta	regret
yuva sun 5/6	juwa	sun
yuva kuṭwa		sunset
yudhi	juzi	day before yesterday
yudhi la mayudhi		3 days ago
-dhaa	-zaa	give birth, beget
-dhawa passive	-zaliwa	
u-dhadh-ie	a-me-zaa	she gave birth
n-dhadhi (see chumbo)	m-zazi	parent, begetter

un-dadha	m-zao	offspring
m-dhee, n-dhee	m-zee	elder, old person
ki-dhere		very old person
-dhaifu	-zaifu	weak
-dhama	-zama	sink
dhamani	zamani	formerly
dhawadi	zawadi	gift
*dhela	ndoo	bucket
*-dhengela	-tafuta	seek
-dhia	-via	be stunted, spoilt
-dhidha	-viza	spoil, stunt
-dhia	-zia	hate
dhicha 8	vita	war
-dhicho	-zito	heavy
-dhidi	-zidi	increase
dhika	-zika	bury
madhisi	mazishi	funeral arrangements
dhikwi	a bird	
-dhimia	-zimia	faint, lose consciousness
-dhinya	-zinya	extinguish
-dhimba	-vimba	thatch
*-dhinda	-pindua	turn, tack, etc
-dhinga	-zinga	go/turn round
-dhiva	-ziba	fill a hole, stop up
-dhivu	-vivu	lazy
-dhoeva	-zoea	be accustomed to build
-dhua	-zua	bring to light
-dhumbua	-zumbua: -gungua	stir up: startle, catch unawares
-dhunguka	-zunguka	surround
-dhungumudha	-zungumza	chat
-dhuri	-zuri	good (also Bon)
kwa udhuri	vidhuri	well
*-dhuvia	-kamata, -shika, -ziwia	seize, hold, arrest, prevent

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Phonological differences between Bajuni and Standard Swahili

Some readers might be interested in the phonological differences between Ba and Sw, that is, in what constitutes a Ba “accent”. They are here listed in order of frequency. The order does not correspond exactly to frequency in speech because the frequency here is based on which lexical items happen to be in the list but it does not include prefixes etc which would be common in speech (so Class 2 *va-* for *wa-* is common in speech but doesn't figure at all in this display). Very minor differences are omitted below.

Bajuni	StSw	Example	App. number of occurrence
1. $t > tʃ$ (ch)	t	chachu versus tatu	100+
2. $z > ʒ$ (dh)	z	dhuri versus zuri	95
3. v	zero/w, dep. on next vowel	vachu versus watu	55
4. nd^f	nd	-enend ^f a versus -enda	50
5. $ch > tʃ$	ch	<u>n</u> tanga versus mchanga	48
6. (older) mu-	m-	hamuyambo vs hamjam mufalme versus mfalme	Dozens (but now fashioned)
7. mu- > m- > N-	m-	namuna, namna, nanna muchu, mchu, nchu	40+
8. $s > θ$ (th) s-replacement is pervasive than z-replacement	s	thiku versus siku	33
9. $[dʒ] > j$ (y) or zero on next vowel	j	yudhi, mai versus juzi, mai	29
10. $ny > n̄$	ny	<u>n</u> umba versus nyumba	28
11. l-loss before i and e	l	mbee and -dhawa versus mbele and -zaliwa	20
12. intervocalic g-loss	g	nduu versus ndugu	14
13. si, often from ki	sh	mosi versus moshi, mwasi versus mwashi	
14. $nj > nd$	nj	<u>n</u> dia versus njia	10
15. $nz > nd$	nz	- <u>a</u> nda versus -anza	9
16. s	f	-sikilia versus -fika	8
17. (i)sh	ch	i-shaka versus chaka	7
18. fricative	nasal and fricative	vua, edhi versus mvua, edhi	6
19. u, i mainly in A loans	o, e	ruhu, ilimu vs roho, elimu	8
20. e...u	a...u	-ke <u>t</u> ua, - <u>t</u> ea vs -katua, -chagua	6
21. pw (also bw?)	p	pweke versus peke	5
22. i- in cl 9 monosyllabic nouns	zero	i-si, i- <u>t</u> hi versus (nsi), nchi	4

23. vi > zi > dhi	vi	dhivu, dhichu vs -vivu,	4
24. k > h	k	hond ^r oo versus kondoo	4
25. initial i-loss	i-	-ngia versus -ingia	3
26. y-loss	y	huu versus huyu	mainly classes 1, 4, 6, 9
27. vowel assimilation (CuCo)		hoo versus huyo	Classes 1, 3, 17, 18
28. diff. syllabification		pia, afia versus pya, afy	infrequent
29. assimilation of n(i) + X. Outcome dependent on consonant (+/- voice)	ni wangi 'is mine' ni zangu ni changu nitavuka 'I'll cross'	mbwangu ndangu ch ^h angu t ^h avuka	common in fast speech
30. V ₁ + V ₂ = V ₂	V ₁ + V ₂	s-end ^r i versus si-endi	speech
31. ny	my/mi	nyaka versus miaka	mainly in class 4
32. b, d	l, v	uvavu versus ubavu	few
33. Suffixal REL Co > o	-anguka-cho 'which is falling'	-anguka-o	
34. k-palatalisation, mainly in demonstratives and SM's	hiki 'this' kile 'that' (kenda 'nine')	hiki/hichi kilee/chilee chenda	
35. Distinctive aspiration	paa 'roof' = paa 'gazelle'	paa 'roof' versus p ^h aa 'gazelle'	?

Also a number of alternations between zero and [r], where there was once [l], -kuu/kuru 'big', ivoo/ivoro 'penis', choro/choo 'toilet', etc.