

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):

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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, mapenḍi	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-*. When 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^fa ‘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^fa

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>in</u> de	<u>in</u> de
nne ‘four’	nne	ine
mbwa ‘dog’	mbwa	imbwa
nchi ‘country’	<u>nt</u> ^h i	<u>it</u> ^h i
ncha ‘point’	<u>nt</u> ^h a	<u>it</u> ^h a
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)
 nimuombee "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-ombee '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, chwend-eli-k^hacha simbo, chwend-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
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- 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 eti ^h dh-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 vatee 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 vatee 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 hulua?” 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^fa 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^fa 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^fa 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 chwalipacha 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'