Bende (F12)[†]

Yuko Abe

P001 Shape of the augment: What is the shape of the augment?

V. 1 V shape only

a-ká-nyónyí	*u-tú-nyónyí*	*í-my-ongá*
AUG-12-bird	**AUG**-13-bird	**AUG**-4-river
'the bird'	'the birds'	'the river'

N. *a, u, i*. No AUG for CL5 which starts with *ii-*. No AUG for GER (of CL15) **úkutenda malami*

P002 Function of the augment: Does the augment fulfill a specific grammatical function?

V. yes

ú-mu-ntu   *ghoóghu*   *gha-a-fw-ă!*
AUG-1-man   DEM   1-PST-die-F
'Is it the man who died!?'

ú-m-onga   *ghoóghu*   *bhaábho*   *ghw-a-bhumbik-a*   *bhu-sí-ná-lól-w-é!*
AUG-3-river   DEM3   DEM2   3-PST-be_full-F   REL14-NEG-IRR-see-PS-NEG
'The river, you see, became full as it had never been (seen) before!'

úmonga ghwá kátuma ni músoghá
'The river Katuma is good.'   (with a modifier)

i-ng'-óómbé   *jyeji*   *ni*   *jyá*   *bhútĭ?*
AUG-9-cattle   DEM9   COP   ASSC9   how
'What's happened with this cow?'   (with a demonstrative)

amabhango ghaágha bhaábho mbala fyakabhânga bhútĭ múkutumá ghaabha teéti
'These baskets, you see, I don't know how it was, since it became like this.' (with a demonstrative)

[†] Phonemic inventory: consonants /p, b, bh [β], t, d, ch [t͡ʃ], j [ɟ], k, g, gh [ɣ], f, s, z, h, m, n, ny [ɲ], ng' [ŋ], y [j], w/, vowels /a, e, i, o, u/. Tonal marking, where available, is given as surface realization; /á (high), a (low), â (falling), ă (rising)/. The nasalized realization is marked as /ã/.

Abbreviations: = (clitic boundary), - (morpheme boundary), # (pre-radical boundary), 1-18 (numbers indicate the noun class with exceptions of 1, 2, 3 which indicates both noun class and person), ANT (anterior), APP (applicative), ASSC (associative), CAU (causative), CONJ (conjunction), CONS (consecutive), DEM (demonstrative), DIS (distal), F (final), EMP (emphatic), ENC (enclitic), HAB (habitual), imb (imbricated), IMP (imperative), IRR (irrealis), IPFV (imperfective), IT (itive), ITS (intensifier), NEG (negative), NOM (nominaliser), OM (object marker), PAS (passive), PL (plural), PN (personal pronoun), POS (possessive), PRN (personal pronoun), PROC (proclitic), PST (past), REL (relative), RFL (reflexive), SEM (semelfactive), SG (singular), SM (subject marker), SUB (subjective), TAM (tense-aspect-modality)

ísíntú syesi bhaábho ni jyá bhútĭ? / ífíntú fyeji bhaábho ni syá bhútĭ?

'What's happened with this/these thing(s)?' (with a demonstrative)

úbhwásí bhoóbhu bhaábho bhwakabhólá!

'The grasses became rotten!' (with a demonstrative)

úkúghúlú koóku bhaábho kuputuké!

'How can be possible the leg had a cut!' (with a demonstrative)

N. Used for new information with astonishment. Usually used with Near demonstrative.

P003 Shape of class 5: What is the shape of the class 5 nominal prefix?

V. 4 both V and CV shape are found

ííbhwé (mábhwé)   libhúgha (mabhúgha)

stone   Macrodipteryx vexillarius

N. *ii-* or *li-* depending on the word. *li-* may be plants, animals, insects, birds, peculiar things or vowel
   initial stem words

P004 Number of noun classes: How many noun classes are there? (excluding locative classes)

V. 15 classes

múntú / bhántú 'person' (1/2)

múhámá / míhámá 'tembo palm' (3/4)

ííkumó / mákumó 'finger', *liinsó / meensó* 'eye' (5/6)

síhughó / fíhughó 'chiefdom' (7/8)

ng'óómbé 'cattle' (9/10)

lúfukú / nfukú 'day' (11/10)

kabhĕnga / tubhĕnga 'kidney beans' (12/13)

bhoobhá 'fear' (14)

bhulwĕle / malwĕle 'sickness' (14/6)

bhwásí / lwásí 'grass' (collective/single) (14/11)

kúbhokó / mábhokó 'arm' (15/6)

N. Single-Plural pairs are 1/2, 3/4, 5/6, 7/8, 9/10, 11/10, 12/13, 14/6, 14/11, 15/6

P005 Class for infinitive: Does the infinitive take a noun class prefix?

V. yes

kúlólá 'to see'

N. CL15 *kú-*

P006 Class for diminutive: Is diminutive meaning expressed through the use of noun classes?

V. yes

[Double prefix] *kaasítí < sítí* 'tree', *kanfwĭla < nfwĭla* 'spitting cobra', *kánsíghé < nsíghé* 'locust'

[Replaced prefix] *káhálá < múhálá* 'girl', *kaaná < mwaná* 'child', *kaghóómbé < ng'óómbé* 'cattle', *kábhusí < mbusí* 'goat', *kásuujá < nsuujá* 'bushback', *kámpántí < límpántí* 'longicorn warm', *káásóósó < lísóósó* 'caterpillar', *kabhúgha < libhúgha* 'Macrodipteryx vexillarius'

N. *ká-/tú-* (12/13), Replaced prefix (primary prefix change) occurs for [+animate] (snake and insect are not animal) or 5/12 alternation (augmentative/diminutive). In double prefix case the original tone does not change.

P007 Class for augmentative: Is augmentative meaning expressed through the use of noun classes?

V. yes

[Double prefix] *liisíbhúlí < síbhúlí* 'honey-badger', *lisíkombé < síkombé* 'cup', *lisílaáto < silaáto* 'shoe'

[Replaced prefix] *íínyónyí/mányónyí < kányónyí/túnyónyí* 'bird (no negative connotation)', *líntú < múntú* 'person (-)', *ííhálá < múhálá* 'girl (-)', *ííbhusí < mbusí* 'goat (+/- connotation, large or bad)', *íísófú < nsófú* 'elephant (+/-)'

[Both] *lisílúmbú / ílúmbú < sílúmbú* 'sweet potato'

N. *íí-~lí-/má-* (5/6), but less productive. Most of animate words replace the original prefix (primary prefix change). In double prefix case the original tone does not change, the prefix appears in L.

P008 Noun class prefix omission: Is it possible to omit the noun class prefix when class membership is marked through agreement (on a modifier or on the verb)?

V. no

P009 Locative class prefixation: Can a noun take a locative class prefix?

V. yes

há-*lú-ghǒ*	**kú**-*lú-ghǒ*	**mú**-*lú-ghǒ*
16-11-home	**17**-11-home	**18**-11-home

'at/in home'

[Lexicalized locatives]

hâ-*nsí* 'below' (16 only), but no independent word *nsí.

hâ-*nsé* / **kû**-*nsé* 'outside' (17/17), but no independent word *nsé, neither *mû-nsé (18)

há-*kátí* 'in the middle' (16), **kú**-*kátí* 'in the room' (17) (Bende dialect), **mú**-*syumbá* 'in the room' (Tongwe dialect), **mú**-*kátí* 'in the room' (18)

N. *há-, kú-, mú-* usually double prefixed except for a few locative terms

P010 Locative class suffixation: Can a noun take a locative suffix?

V. no

N. prefixation (9) is consistently used.

P011 Locative subject markers: Are there locative subject markers on the verb?

V. yes

há-ki-jiíji	*ha-ká-fw-ĭlé*	*mú-ntú kú-ki-jiíji*	*ku-ká-fw-ĭlé*	*mú-ntú*
16-9-village	16-DIS-die-ANT	1-some 17-9-village	17-DIS-die-ANT	1-some

mú-ki-jiíji	*mu-ká-fw-ĭlé*	*mú-ntú*
18-9-village	18-DIS-die-ANT	1-some

'A man has died in the village.'

N. CLs16-18; *ha-, ku-, mu-*

P012 Locative object markers: Are there locative pre-stem object markers on the verb?

V. yes

tú-ha-nyom-ílwé	*tú-ku-nyom-ílwé*	*tú-mu-nyom-ílwé*
1PL-16-like-ANT(imb)	1PL-17-like-ANT(imb)	1PL-18-like-ANT(imb)

'We like there.'

N. Locative object markers occur in CLs 16-18; *ha-, ku-, mu-*

P013 Locative enclitics: Are there locative post-verbal clitics?

V. yes

tu-ji-ílé=ho	*tu-ji-ílé=ko*	*tu-ji-ílé=mo*
1PL-go-ANT=16	1PL-go-ANT=17	1PL-go-ANT=18

'We are going there.'

N. Locative enclitics occur in CLs 16-18; *=ho, =ko, =mo*

P014 Independent subject pronouns: Are independent subject pronouns obligatory?

V. no

[Contrastive / wh-q answer]

ni	*iné*	*n-kú-tend-á*	*teetí*	*úúne*	*n-kú-tend-á*	*teetí*
COP	1SG	1SG-15-say-F	so	1SG	1SG-15-say-F	so

'It's me who says so I say so.'

ní	*ínyené*	*e#kú-tend-á*	*teetí*
COP	s/he	1#15-say-F	so

'It's s/he who says so.'

N. Contrastive focus or wh-q answer is preceded by copula *ni*, emphasis appear as a bare pronoun.

P015 Connective constructions: Is the order of connective constructions always head - connective - modifier?

V. yes

(1) *ghwá* (2) *bháá* (3) *ghwá* (4) *jyá/syá* (5) *lyá* (6) *gháá* (7) *syá* (8) *fyá* (9) *jyá* (10) *syá* (11) *lwá* (12) *káá* (13) *twá* (14) *bhwá* (15) *kwá* (16) *háá* (17) *kwá* (18) *mwá*

[Genetive]

íi-siiná	*lyá*	*mú-ghábho*
5-name	ASSC5	3-spirit

'spirit's name'

[Qualifying]

mú-ntú	*ghwá*	*bhw-éné*
1-some	ASSC1	14-truth

'honest person'

P016 Possessive pronouns: Are there distinct possessive pronominal forms for all noun classes and all speech act participants?

V. no

mwendá ghwâne	'my cloth'
mwendá ghóobhe	'your cloth'
mwendá ghwâje	'his/her cloth', *mwendá ghwâje (ghwá sítí)* 'its cloth'
mwendá ghwêtu	'our cloth'
mwendá ghwênyu	'your (PL) cloth'
mwendá ghwâbho	'their cloth'

N. Similar to Swahili. 3SG is applied to the other classes referred but speech act participants (his/her), and the possessive pronouns agree in noun class with the possessed.

P017 Possessive pronoun agreement: Do the possessive pronouns agree in noun class with the possessed?

V. yes

N. see **P016**

P018 Kinds of possession: Are there specific possessive pronominal forms for different kinds of possession?

V. no

N. Different lexicalized forms are observed among kinship terms

[mother]

maájo 'my mother (no possession)', *nyókó* 'your mother', *nyíná* 'his/her mother', *nyínééfwé* 'our mother', *nyínéénywé* 'your mother', *nyínáábhó* 'our mother'

[father]

taáta 'my father (no possession)', *uúso* 'your father', *sye/úusye* 'his/her father', *siifwĕ* 'our father', *siinywĕ* 'your father', *siibhó* 'their father'

[sister for female]

joójo 'my sister', *múkulu ghoobhe* 'your sister (your elder)', *múkulu ghwaje* 'her sister (her elder)', *múkulu ghwetu* 'our sister (our elder)', *múkulu ghwenyu* 'your sister (your elder)', *múkulu ghwabho* 'their sister (their elder)', *bháájoójo* 'my sisters'

[sister for male]

mwihwã ghwane / íílúmbu lyane 'my sister', *mwihwã ghoobhe / íílúmbu lyobhe* 'your sister', *mwihwã ghwaje / íílúmbu lyaje* 'his sister', *mwihwã ghwetu / íílúmbu lyetu* 'our sister', *mwihwã ghenyu / íílúmbu lyenyu* 'your sister', *mwihwã ghwabho / íílúmbu lyabho* 'their sister', *bheéhwa ...* 'sisters', no **málúmbu* (as a PL for *íílúmbu*)

[brother for male / sister for female]

múkulu ghwane 'my brother (my elder)', *múkulu ghoobhe / munyóókó* 'your brother', *múkulu ghwaje / munyííná* 'his brother', *múkulu ghwetu / munyííneefwe* 'our brother (our elder)', *múkulu ghwenyu / munyííneenywe* 'your brother (your elder)', *múkulu ghwabho / munyíínaabho* 'their brother (their elder)'

[brother for female]

ííkolo lyane 'my brother', *ííkolo lyobhe* 'your brother', *ííkolo lyaje* 'her brother', *ííkolo lyetu* 'our brother', *ííkolo lyenyu* 'your brother', *ííkolo lyabho* 'their brother', *bhéékolo lyane* 'my brothers', *bhéékolo lyobhe* 'your brothers'

[husband]

ííbhané 'my husband', *ííbhaló* 'your husband', *ííbha* 'her husband', *ííbheefwé* 'our husband', *ííbheenywé* 'your husband', *ííbhaabhó* 'their husband'

[wife]

múkasyáane 'my wife', *múkasyóobhe* 'your wife', *múkasyáaje / múkasí* 'his wife', *múkasyéetu* 'our wife', *múkasyéenyu* 'your wife', *múkasyóobhe* 'their wife'

P019 Possessor raising: Is possessor raising possible?

V. 2 yes, with inalienable possession only

a-ká-Ø-hũũs-ílé   kú-mu-twe   kw-ĭ-bheéji

1-DIS-1SG-hit-ANT   17-3-head   17-5-bag

'He hit my head with (taking) a bag.'

cf) *a-ká-huus-ílé*   *mútwe*   *ghw-ane*   *kw-ĭ-bheéji*

   1-DIS-hit-ANT   3-head   3-my   17-5-bag

   'He made hit my head into the bag.'

N. In case of body parts the possessor is raised, but not kinship term

bha-ká-mu-huus-ílé   *mwána-ane*   **bha-ká-0-hũũs-ílé*   *mwána-ane*

2-DIS-1-hit-ANT   child-my   2-DIS-1SG-hit-ANT child-my

'They hit my child.'

P020 Demonstrative morphology: Are there morphological divisions in the system of demonstratives? (e.g. in terms of spatial and temporal deixis and/or visibility)

V. 2 yes, there is a three-way distinction

[CL1]

ghoóghu múntú / ghoóghu (proximal 1) : w/ and w/out modified noun

uúghwe (proximal 2) : w/ and w/out modified noun

ghoógho múntú / ghoógho (referential 1) : w/ and w/out modified noun

uúgho (referential 2) : w/ and w/out modified noun

múntú ghóógholí / ghóógholí (distal 1) : w/ and w/out modified noun

ghulyă múntú (distal 2) : *ghulyă* is used only with modified noun

ghunú mwaká 'this year' (CL3), *hanú, kunú, munú* 'here(-in)' (CL16, 17, 18) other form for fossil expressions

N. Both DEM+NOM and NOM+DEM are applicable in 3 ways. Distal 2 is used only with modified noun.

P021 Demonstrative agreement: Do the demonstratives agree in noun class with the head noun?

V. 1 yes, always

P022 Functions of demonstratives: In addition to spatial-deictic functions, do the demonstrative pronouns assume other functions?

V. no

bhaábha   *bho=bh-ônsé* *mú-ntú*   *bhw=á-koo-n-fúnáánil-á*

they   14=2-all   1-some   14=1-HAB-1SG-help-F

'It's they all such a man who usually helps me.'

ghó=one   *n-ká-mw-ĭheegh-e*

FOC=1SG   1SG-DIS-kill-ANT

'It's me who killed him.'

ghó=mú-ntú   *mú-soghá*   *ghó=si-taábhu*   *sí-soghá*   *ghó=fi-taábhu* *fy-a-teh-ílé*   *Hamisi*

FOC-1-some   1-good   FOC=7-book   7-good   FOC=8-book   REL.8-1-like-ANT   PN

'It's the good person.'   'It's the good book.'   'They are books that Hamisi likes.'

tangu   *gha-a-fuúk-a*   *ty-a-na-j-e*   *kú-má-bhála*   *mú-ka-lim-a*

from   1-PST-be_born-F   NEG-1-IRR-go-NEG   17-6-farm   18-ITV-cultivate-F

a-kóó-bh-a   *n-a-li#ku-som-a*   *tu=fi-taábhu*   *bhu-kóó-hel-a*

1-HAB-be-F   CONJ-1-be#15-read-F   only=8-book   14-HAB-reach_the_goal-F

bhw-a-fi-téh-ílé

REL14=1-8-like-ANT

'Since s/he was born, s/he has not been in the farm to cultivate, usually s/he reads only books, because that's how s/he likes them (books).'

N. *gho=* and *bho=* are used as a focus marker, relativiser, or cleft. Originated from referential *ghoógho / uúgho*. *gho=* appears in sentence initial position only.

P023 Lexical adjectives: Are there lexical adjectives? (i.e. which are not syntactically complex)

V. yes

[*-kulú*] *mú-kulú, bhá-kulú, mú-kulú, mí-kulú, íí-kulú, má-kulú, sí-kulú, fí-kulú, n-kulú, n-kulú, lú-kulú, ká-kulú, tú-kulú, bhú-kulú, kú-kulú, há-kulú, kú-kulú, mú-kulú*

P024 Adnominal concord prefixes: Are there different forms/paradigms for adnominal concord prefixes?

V. yes

[Nonimal prefix type] *mu-, bha-, mu-, mi-, li-, ma-, si-, fi-, N-, N-, lu-, ka-, tu-, bhu-, ku-, ha-, ku-, mu-*

[Pronominal prefix type] *ghú-, bhá-, ghú-, jí- /sí-, lí-, ghá-, sí-, fí-, jí-, sí-, lú-, ká-, tú-, bhú-, kú-, há-, kú-, mú-* (used for colour etc. *-ábhé* 'red', *-áswé* 'white', *-ápí* 'black', *-hě* 'which', *-ndí* 'other', *-ongwǎ* 'only', *-onse* 'all', *-ó-onse* 'any', *-ingá* 'how many', *-ingí* 'many')

[Numeral prefix type] *ghú-, bhá-, ghú-, í-, lí-, á-, sí-, fí-, jí-, í-, lú-, ká-, tú-, bhú-, kú-*

P025 Attributive linkers: Are there attributive linkers which are used to introduce adjectives?

V. no

P026 *-yánà compounding: Is a form related to *-yánà 'child' productively used in word formation as the first member of a nominal compound (e.g. to express diminutive or group membership…)?

V. no

P027 Nominal derivational suffixes: Does the language productively use nominal derivational suffixes for the expression of diminutive meanings or feminine/augmentative/qualitative meanings? (e.g. expressed by forms similar to -yánà and kazi ?)

V. no

P028 Agentive suffix -i : Does suffixation of the agentive marker -i occur as a verb-to-noun derivational process (possibly in addition to classes 1/2 prefixes)?

V. 2 yes, but it is no longer productive (e.g. there might be frozen forms)

mu-teék-i 'cook' < *-teéka* 'cook', *mu-hĩ́gh-i* 'hunter' < *-hiígha* 'hunt', *mú-bhánf-í* 'drum maker' < *-bhámbá* 'make drums', *mú-lof-í* 'fisher' < *-lobhá* 'fish', *mú-jéng-í* 'brewer' < *-jéngá* 'brew', *mú-kinyí* 'dancer' < *-kiná* 'dance', *mu-hãã́-ny-i* 'generous person' < *-haána* 'give each other', *mú-sas-í* 'crazy person' < *-salá* 'become crazy', *mu-twăs-i* 'carrier' < *-twăla* 'carry', *mú-lyás-í* 'wonderer' < *-lyátá* 'walk around', *mupeési* 'exorcist' < *-peéla* 'exorcise', *mu-hũlikís-i* 'listener' < *-hulikísyá* 'listen to', *mú-tens-í* 'speaker' < *-tendá* 'say', *mú-lós-í* 'witch' < *-lóghá* 'curse', *mu-toós-i* 'bride groom' < *-toóla* 'marry', *mú-sus-í* 'blacksmith' < *-sulá* 'forge'

P029 Derivational suffix -o : Does the suffixation of -o occur as a verb-to-noun derivational process (with sometimes the addition of the applicative extension)?

V. 2 yes, but it is no longer productive (e.g. there might be frozen forms)

n-sy-ó 'millstone' < *-syá* 'grain', *bhú-lobh-ó* 'fishhook' < *-lobhá* 'fish', *lú-bhámb-ó* 'wooden peg' < *-bhámbá* 'stretch (skin)', *íí-ghámb-ó* 'word' < *-ghámbá* 'tell', *lw-imb-ó* 'song' < *-jimbá* 'sing', *íí-jégh-ó* 'molar' < *-jéghá* 'cut', *mú-tegh-ó* 'trap' < *-teghá* 'trap', *íí-bhang-ó* 'interlaced sticks' < *-bhangá* 'interlace (sticks)', *sí-bháng-ó* 'jerky meat' < *-bhángá* 'remove', *mú-tah-ó* 'scoop' < *-tahá* 'draw', *mú-gháj-ó* 'hatred' < *-ghájá* 'dislike', *n-sék-ó* 'laughter' < *-séká* 'laugh', *n-soók-o* 'fountain' < *-soóka* 'fall down', *ká-tend-él-ó* 'language' < *-tendá* 'say', *lú-ghél-ó* 'folktale, story' < *-ghélá* 'tell a story', *ii-peel-él-o* 'sacrifice' < *-peéla* 'sacrifice', *n-tand-íl-ó* 'ladder' < *-tandá* 'climb', *ka-jung-íl-o* 'sift' < *-jungá* 'sift', *n-dííl-ó* 'tear' < *-lílá* 'cry', *mú-síl-ó* 'taboo' < *-sílá* 'abstain', *n-tul-ó* 'flower' < *-tulá* 'bloom', *sí-píím-ó* < *-píímá* 'measure', *íí-sum-ó* 'spear' < *-sumá* 'pierce', *mú-sons-ó* 'sweet person' < *-sonsá* 'be sweet', *lw-it-ó* 'call' < *-jitá* 'call', *iityăsyo* 'shetstone' < *-tyăsya* 'sharpen'

P030 Cardinal numerals: Does the formation of cardinal numerals below ten obey a pattern?

V. no

jímwi, ííbhilí, iitatú, iínee, itaánu, múkaaghá, ndúi / mpungáti (Mpanda dialect), *múnaané, kéndá, íikumí*

N. Decimal base

P031 'arm' and 'hand': Is there a single stem that denotes both 'arm' and 'hand'?

V. yes

kúbhokó, mábhokó

P032 'hand' and 'finger': Is there a single stem that denotes both 'hand' and 'finger'?

V. no

kúbhokó, mábhokó 'hand', *íikumó, mákumó* 'finger'

P033 'leg' and 'foot': Is there a single stem that denotes both 'leg' and 'foot'?

V. yes

kúghúlú, mághúlú

P034 'tea': Is the word for 'tea' similar to cha?

V. yes

chaái

P035 Inchoative verbs: Is there a group of verbs expressing qualities or states which are lexically inchoative and are thus typically used with a perfect/perfective verb form to express a present state? (e.g. fall asleep, be full, be late, be dirty, etc)

V. no

-ghóná 'asleep, be sleeping', *-punílá* 'sleep for a short time, go nodding off'

-bhumbíká 'become full' (Bende dialect), *-jinsúlá* 'become full' (Tongwe dialect), *-fúlá* 'be full, be many'

P036 Canonical passive: Is the canonical passive productively expressed through a verbal extension?

V. yes

-jíhághwá < -jíhághá 'kill', *-liíbhwa < -lyǎ* 'eat'

N. *-u* (when follwoing C) / *-ibhu* (when following V)

P037 'Impersonal' passive: Can an 'impersonal' construction be used to express passive meaning?

V. no

P038 Agent noun phrase: How is the agent noun phrase (when present) introduced?

V. 1 by the preposition na

júma	*gha-a-he-ébhw-a*	*si-taábhu*	**nó**	*yúko*	*si-taábhu*	*sy-a-he-ébhw-a*	*júma*	*(nó yúko)*
PN	1-PST-give-PS-F	7-book	**by**	PN	7-book	7-PST-give-PS-F	PN	**(by** PN)

'Juma was given the book by Yuko.'   'The book is given to Juma by Yuko.'

P039 Bare agent: Can the preposition/copula which introduces the agent be omitted?

V. no

P040 Reciprocal/associative: How is reciprocal/associative meaning expressed?

V. 1 through the use of a verbal affix only

-an / li- (less used)

[*-an*] *-bhuúkána* 'get out together to fight' < *-bhuúka* 'leave', *-fúláásányá* 'hurt each other' < *-fúláásyá* 'injure', *-fúmbááná* 'share the border' < *-fúmbá* 'wrap', *-haána* 'give free' < *-hǎ* 'give', *-hambíkána* '(two things) be tied' < *-hambíká* 'be closed', *-hulíkána* 'agree' < *-hulíká* 'hear', *-lágháná* 'promise, agree' < *-lághílá* 'give an order', *-lógháná* 'bewitch each other' < *-lóghá* 'bewitch', *-lyátágháná* 'walk around (together with iterative *-agh*)' < *-lyátá* 'walk', *-putúnkána* 'cut to share' < *-putúká* 'be cut', *-sángáná* 'see each other by chance' < *-sángá* 'find', *-sumbáná* 'differ from each other' < *-sumbá* 'surpass', *-súsáná* 'resemble each other' < *-súsá* 'be similar', *-taaghána* 'be separated' < *-taágha* 'abandon, lose', *-tuntinkána* 'override (each other)' < *-tuntíka* 'override'

[*li-*] *-li-tandá* 'copulate' < *-tandá* 'climb', *-li-komenkányia* 'assemble' < *-komenkána* 'gather (on sth)'

P041 Other functions for -an-: Does the suffix -an- (or similar form) have functions other than reciprocal (e.g. antipassive function)?

V. 1 yes, but these are lexicalised

-haána 'give free' < *-hǎ* 'give' see **P040**

P042 Causative: How is causative meaning expressed?

V. 1 through the use of verbal affixation only

[Short form] *-bhéésyá* 'make sth. ripen' < *-bhéélá* 'be ripen', *-bhasyá* 'ask' < *-bhalá* 'say, speak'

[Long form] *-liísya* 'make sb. eat' < *-lyǎ* 'eat', *-lofyǎ* 'make sb. fish' / *-lobhésyá* 'make sb. fish by paying money (AP-CAU)' < *-lobhá* 'fish', *-bhéélésyá* 'be ripen very much' < *-bhéélá* 'be ripen' (in an intransitive verb, *-isi* indicates as intensifier)

[*-ik*] *-jimíká* 'make sb. rule' < *-jimá* 'rule'

N. *-i* (when following C) / *-isi* (when following V) (spirantize the preceding consonant), *-ik* (one only)

P043 Instrumental causative: Can the causative extension be used to introduce prototypical instruments?

V. no

n-di#kú-put-y-á /kú-put-á ny-ámaná   *ká-ámbí*

1SG-be#15-cut-CAU-F   9-meat with   12-knife

'I cut meat with a knife.'

N. No instrumental by causative.

P044 Applicative: How are applicative constructions formed?

V. 1 through the use of a verbal affix only

[Benefactive] *n-an-kw-íhágh-íl-á kásyă* 'I kill a bushbuck for you' < *-jíhághá* 'kill'

[Space (goal)] *gha-a-kílím-íl-á kú-m-ongá* 's/he ran to the river' < *-kílímá* 'run'

[Instrument/means] *n-an-di-íl-a m-páná né si-jiíko* 'I ate porridge with a spoon' < *-lyă* 'eat'
n-di#kú-put-íl-á nyámá káámbi / káámbí nyáma 'I cut meat with a knife'
[Intensifier (double AP)] *fy-a-lyoh-el-él-a* '(the food) has become more delicious'< *-lyŏha* 'be good/tasty'
N. *-il / -el* (vowel harmony with the verb stem V)

P045 Applicative functions: In addition to the benefactive meaning typically associated with the applicative complement, do applicative constructions convey other meanings?
V. yes
N. see **P044**

P046 Multiple applicative extensions: Can two (or more) applicative extensions be productively used in the same verb form?
V. 1 yes, to express intensity, repetition, completeness
-lyoh-el-él-a 'become more delicious' < *-lyŏha* 'be good/tasty', *-bhiik-il-íl-a* 'put many things' < *-bhiíka* 'put', *-bhumb-íl-ís-y-a* 'add to pour to fulfill' < *-bhumbá* 'fill up', *-bhuul-il-ís-y-a* 'ask many times' < *-bhuúla* 'accuse', *-fíkí-íl-íl-á* 'return before reaching the goal, overtake' < *-fíká* 'arrive', *-fum-í-íl-íl-a* 'come from somewhere' < *-fumá* 'come from', *-fwik-íl-íl-a* 'be given enough clothes' < *-fwĭka* 'cloth (sb.)', *-hamb-íl-íl-a* 'pack many loads' < *-hambá* 'fasten, bind', *-heem-el-él-a* 'breathe very quickly' < *-heéma* 'breathe quickly', *-kond-él-és-y-a* 'cradle, cuddle' < *-kondá* 'be obedient', *-lámát-íl-íl-á* 'press to paste well' < *-lámát-ík-á* 'paste', *-lék-é-él-él-á* 'abandan in process' < *-léká* 'stop, leave', *-sínt-ík-íl-íl-á* 'spot up well' < *-síntíkílá* 'spot up', *-sól-é-él-és-y-á* 'pick up until the end'< *-sólá* 'pick up', *-syan-il-íl-a* 'stir the fire' < *-syăna* 'put fire woods in fire', *-tááh-íl-ís-y-á* 'say hello to sb. for me' < *-tááhyá* 'greet, say farewell', *-tah-íl-íl-a* 'draw water many times to fulfill' < *-tahá* 'draw water'

P047 Neuter/stative: Is there a productive neuter/stative extension?
V. 1 yes, the suffix *-ik-* or similar form
-bhághál-ík-á 'become flat' < *-bhághálá* 'flatten', *-bhand-ík-á* 'past' < *-bhandá* 'prod, flatten'

P048 Order of suffixes: Is there a specific order in which multiple productive verbal extensions typically appear?
V. 3 another order
[C-S-R] *-his-y-úk-án-a* 'fall down by crossing over' < *-hitá* 'pass'

[S-A-C] *-he-ek-és-y-a* 'make sb. carry sh.' < *-hă* 'give'

[R-C] *-hambíkánya* 'tie, connect (two things)' < *-hambíkána* '(two things) be tied' < *-hambíká* 'be tied well'

[R-C/A-C] *-hulík-án-y-a* 'hear with doubt' < *-hulík-án-a* 'come to an agreement' < *-hulík-ís-y-a* 'listen to' < *-hulíká* 'hear'

N. [RCA(C)P / AC] usually interpret as an intensifier, but not necessarily.

P049 Negation in independent tenses: What are the formal means of expressing negation in independent tenses?

V. 1 by morphological modification of the verb

te=tw-a-tend-âng-a   *n-sy-a-tend-âng-a*

NEG=1PL-PST-say-ITS-F   1SG-NEG-PST-say-ITS-F

'We didn't say I didn't say.'

N. *te=* as proclitic, *si-* in Post SM position (limited use, 1SG or in Subjunctive / Relative / Noun clause constructions)

P050 Negation in dependent tenses: What are the formal means of expressing negation in dependent tenses?

V. 1 by morphological modification of the verb

n-di#kú-hens-á   *ná-a-si-j-í*

1SG-be#15-want-F   CONJ-1-NEG-go-NEG

'I want him/her not to go.'

N. *si*-VB-*í* (depending on TA)

P051 Negation in relative clauses: Is negation in relative clauses expressed in the same way as in another clause type?

V. 1 yes, as in dependent tenses

mú-ntú   *a-si-n-téh-ílé*   *mú-ntú*   *a-sy-a-n-téh-ânga*

1-some   1-NEG-1SG-like-ANT   1-some   1-NEG-PST-1SG-like-ANT

'The person who does not like me'   'The person who didn't like me'

P052 Place of negation in independent tenses: Where is negation expressed in independent tenses?

V. 5 two (or more) of the above (either 1 (in the pre-initial position only? (NEG-SM-…)) or 2 (in the post-initial position only? (SM-NEG-…)) + 3(in the final vowel position of the inflected verb?))?

N. see **P049**. NEG-SM for *te=*, SM-NEG for *si-* in 1SG only

P053 Place of negation in dependent tenses: Where is negation expressed in dependent tenses?

V. 2 in the post-initial position only? (SM-NEG-…)

N. see **P050-P051**

P054 Number of negation markers in independent tenses: How many markers of negation are there in independent tenses?
V. 1 a single marker in the clause
N. *si-* (in 1SG) or *te=* (in all the other)

P055 Number of negation markers in dependent tenses: How many markers of negation are there in dependent tenses?
V. 1 a single marker in the clause
N. *si-*

P056 Independent negative particle: Is there an independent negative particle used to express negation?
V. no

P057 First person singular negative: Is there a specific first person singular negative subject prefix which is different from the affirmative one?
V. no

P058 Negative imperative: Is there a negative imperative which is formally distinct from the negative subjunctive?
V. yes

n-ó-si-tend-í   *ghw-ĕ-tend-e*
CONJ-2SG-NEG-say-NEG   2SG-?-say-SUB?
'Don't say (SG).'

mú-si-tend-í   *mw-ĕ-tend-e*
2PL-NEG-say-NEG   2PL-?-say-SUB?
'Don't say (PL).'
N. SM-*si*-VB-*í* / SM-*ĕ*-VB-*e* (presentative, when the ordered person is visible)

P059 Periphrastic negation: Is negation in certain tense/aspect/moods expressed by means of a periphrastic form (e.g. making use of an auxiliary construction or a verb like 'refuse/deny' for instance)? (see P049)
V. no
-bhulá 'lack'

n-a-m-bul-âng-a   *kú-tend-a*

CONJ-PST-1SG-lack-ITS-F   15-say-F

'I missed to say / If I have said...'

P060 Subject-verb agreement: Is there subject-verb agreement?

V. yes

N- / iN- (1SG), *u- / ghu-* (2SG), *a- / e- / gha-* (3SG/1), *tu-* (1PL), *mu-* (2PL), *bha-* (3PL/2)

ghu- (3), *ji-* (4), *li-* (5), *gha-* (6), *si-* (7), *fi-* (8), *ji-* (9), *si-* (10), *lu-* (11), *ka-* (12), *tu-* (13), *bhu-* (14), *ku-* (15), *ha-* (16), *ku-* (17), *mu-* (18)

sí-tí	*sy-a-ghw-á*	*mú-hámá*	*ghw-a-ghw-á*
7-tree	7-PST-fall-F	3-tembo_palm	3-PST-fall-F

'Tree fell down.'   'Tembo tree fell down.'

P061 Animate agreement: Can animate nouns show subject agreement with class 1/2 regardless of class membership? (without class shift, e.g. the addition of a diminutive class)

V. 2 optional

lí-mwéma	*li-li#kú-lyát-a*	*a-li#kú-lyát-a*	*ng'-óómbé*	*ji-li#kú-lyát-a*
5-albino	5-be#15-walk-F	1-be#15-walk-F	9-cattle	9-be#15-walk-F

'Albino is walking.'   'S/he is walking.'   'The cow is walking.'

N. applicable only for +human (not animal) or applied to animals in folktales

P062 1st and 2nd person plurals: Are first person plural and second person plural subject prefixes identical?

V. no

tu- (1PL) / *mu-* (2PL)

P063 Honorific plural: Can plural persons be used to express a honorific singular?

V. 1 second person plural subject marker

mw-a-lál-a	*mpolá,*	*bha-kulú?* (for female singular)
2PL-PST-sleep-F	peaceful	2-elder

'How are you, the respected madam?'

mw-a-lál-a	*mpolá,*	*bhá-jango?* (for male singular)
2PL-PST-sleep-F	peaceful	2-guy

'How are you, the respected mister?'

N. used for parents, parents-in law

P064 Coordinated nominals: What subject agreement does the verb show with coordinated nominals?

V. 2 the verb always shows agreement with both/all coordinated nominals

mu-hiíghi né   líí-kábhwa bha-li#kú-lyát-a   *sí-tí   né é-dalája   fy-a-ghw-á*
1-hunter   and   5-dog   2-be#15-walk-F   7-tree and5-bridge 8-PST-fall-F
'Hunter and a dog are walking.'   'A tree and a bridge fell down.'

N. [+human]+[+/-human]=CL2, [-human]+[-human]=CL8

P065 Past time reference: How is past time reference formally divided?

V. 2 past time is divided into two (e.g hodiernal vs. pre-hodiernal, etc)

tu-ká-V-ílé   *tw-a-ká-V-a*   /   *tw-a-ká-V-áng-a*
1P-DIS-V-ANT   1PL-PST-DIS-V-F   1PL-PST-DIS-V-ITS-F
'We had Ved (yesterday till now).'   'We Ved / We already finished Ving (long time ago).'

tu-V-ílé   *tw-a-V-a*   /   *tw-a-V-áng-a*
1PL-V-ANT   1PL-PST-V-F   1PL-PST-V-ITS-F
'We have Ved (generally in the past).'   'We Ved / We already finished Ving (today).'
(In *-ílé* case the distinction is not hodiernal/pre-hodiernal, *ká-* refers the concrete time)

tw-a-lii-ká-V-a   *tw-a-na-ká-V-a*
1PL-PST-HP-DIS-V-F   1PL-PST-SEM-V-F
'We have ever Ved long time ago.'   'We already Ved long time ago.'

tw-a-lii-V-a   *tw-a-na-V-a*
1PL-PST-HP-V-F   1PL-PST-SEM-V-F
'We have ever Ved.'   'We already Ved.'

N. hodiernal vs. pre-hodiernal / near vs. remote by Distal *ká-*

P066 Future time reference: How is future time reference formally divided?

V. 2 future time is divided into two (e.g hodiernal vs. post-hodiernal, etc)

tu-loo-V-a   *tu-loo-ká-V-a*   *tu-laa-kú-V-a*
'We will V (today).'   'We will V (later than tomorrow).'   'We will V right now.'

N. hodiernal vs. post-hodiernal by Distal *ká-* + immediate future by *laa-*

P067 Suffix -ag-: Is there a tense/aspect (pre-final) suffix -ag- or a similar form used with an imperfective meaning (expressing for instance habituality/iterativity/pluractionality/intensity)?

V. yes

lyânga! 'Now you can eat!' (permission) < *lyá!* 'Eat!', *tendânga!* 'Now you can say!' (permission) < *tendá!* 'Say!', *já!* (SG) / *jé!* (PL) > *jânga!* (SG) /*jênge!* (PL) 'Now you can go!' (permission)
tw-a-V-a / tw-a-V-áng-a 'We Ved (today). / We already finished Ving (today).'

tw-a-ka-V-a / tw-a-V-ka-áng-a 'We Ved (before yesterday). / We already finished Ving (before yesterday).'

N. intensity and permission?

P068 Suffix -ile: Is there a tense/aspect suffix -ile or a similar form (as a reflex of *-ide)?

V. yes

tú-ghús-ílé (Achievement verb)   *tú-lyás-ílé

1PL-buy-ANT   1PL-walk-ANT

'We bought (in the past, not indicating when).'

N. *-ílé* spirantizes the preceding C, some active verbs cannot take *-ílé* form

P069 Itive marker: Is there an itive motional/directional marker? (e.g. ka- prefix)

V. 1 yes, with a *ka-* prefix in restricted contexts only (e.g. subjunctive)

gha-a-j-a   *ká-nyaágh-a / mú-ka-nyaágh-a / mú-kú-nyaágh-a*

1-PST-go-F   IT-bathe-F   18-IT-bathe-F   18-15-bathe-F

'S/he went to take a bath.'

gha-a-j-a   *kú-nyaágh-a*

1-PST-go-F   15-bathe-F

'S/he started taking a bath.'

kanyaághe! 'Go to take a bath!', *kalye!* 'Go to eat!', *kaje! / kajênge!* 'Now go!'

N. after motion verb, or Subjunctive (imperative, meaning go)

P070 Ventive marker: Is there a ventive motional/directional marker ('come and V')?

V. no

P071 Imperatives: Is the basic imperative formally identical to the verb stem (root-ext.-FV)?

V. yes

-já 'go' > *já!* (SG) / *jé!* (PL) > *jânga!* (SG) / *jênge!* (PL) 'Now you can go!' (permission) > *kaje!* (both SG and PL)

-nyaágha 'take a bath', *nyaágha!* (SG) / *nyaághe!* (PL) > *nyaághânga!* (SG) / *nyaághênge!* (PL) 'Now you can take a bath!' (permission)

N. also with an itive *ka-*, see **P069**

P072 Plural imperatives: Is there a singular/plural distinction in imperative verb forms?

V. 2 yes, the plural is expressed by substitution of the final vowel

jísá! (SG) / *jísé!* (PL) 'Come!'

P073 TAM slots: In an inflected verb form, is preverbal marking of tense/aspect/mood typically restricted to one slot?

V. no

N. PROC={PreSM-SM-PostSM^n-PreR-ROOT-EXT^n-PreF-F}=ENC, PostSM^n maximally takes four slots

P074 Conjoint/disjoint: Does the language have a conjoint/disjoint distinction?

V. no

P075 Object marking: Are there object markers on the verb (excluding locative object markers, see parameters P012 & P013)?

V. 1 yes, there are only pre-stem object markers

N- (1SG), *ku-* (2SG), *mu-* (3SG/1), *tu-* (1PL), *mi- / mu-* (2PL), *bha-* (3PL/2), *ghu-* (3), *ji-/si-* (4), *li-* (5), *gha-* (6), *si-* (7), *fi-* (8), *ji-* (9), *si-* (10), *lu-* (11), *ka-* (12), *tu-* (13), *bhu-* (14), *ku-* (15), *ha-* (16), *ku-* (17), *mu-* (18), *li-* (RFL)

N. Post-verbal enclitics are only locative

P076 Multiple object marking: Is it possible to have more than one pre-stem object marker?

V. 3 yes, but only in certain structural contexts and they must appear in a specific order

bha-lí#kú-ka-n-dím-íl-a	*bha-lí#kú-ka-mu-lím-íl-a*
2-be#15-12-1SG-farm-AP-F	2-be#15-12-1-farm-AP-F
'They cultivate it (12) for me.'	'They cultivate it (12) for him.'

n-di#kú-si-mu-ha   si-taábhu   júma

1SG-be#15-7-1-give   7-book   PN

'I give the book to Juma.'

N. two OMs are applicable when DO-IO and the second OM includes nasal (1SG, 3SG/1, 2PL, 9, 10).

　　OK: *kú-si-m-pá*, *kú-ji-mu-h-ǎ*　　　　NG: *kú-n-si-h-á, *kú-mu-ji-h-á

P077 Reflexive: Is the reflexive expressed by a reflexive marker in a pre-stem verbal slot on the verb?

V. 1 yes, by a form similar to -i- (reflex of *yi)

ke-e-fínd-e!	*bhá-twáná*	*bha-li#kw-î-swakúl-a*	*káábhúla*	*jyá*	*kú-láál-a*
IT-RF-make_effort-SUB	2-child	2PL-be#15-RF-brush-F	before	ASSC9	15-sleep-F

'Go and make an effort! Children brush their teeth before going to sleep.'

ke-n-di-find-e!

IT-1SG-RF-make_effort-SUB

'Wait, let me make an effort!'

N. *i- ~ li-*

P078 Object doubling: Can the object marker and the post-verbal lexical object noun phrase co-occur in the same domain? (excluding 'afterthought' constructions)

V. 1 yes, co-occurrence is possible/optional

na-a-mw-íhágh-á	*júma*
1SG-PAST-1-kill-F	PN

'I killed Juma.'

n-di#kú-mu-h-a	*júma*	*si-taábhu*	/	*n-di#kú-si-ha*	*júma*	*si-taábhu*
1SG-be#15-1-give-F	PN	7-book	/	1SG-be#15-7-give-F	PN	7-book

'I give Juma a book.'

P079 Subjunctive final -e: Is the subjunctive normally formed by means of a final -e? (with possible exceptions, such as loanwords)

V. yes

tu-sáhúl-e	*sí-bhénde*	*tu-ahiídi*
1PL-talk-SUB	7-Bende	1PL-promise-Ø

'Let's talk Bende.'   'Let's promise.'

P080 Negative final vowel: Is there a negative final vowel (e.g. -i, -e)? (see also parameters P052 and P053)

V. yes

[*i*] / [*e*]?

n-di#kú-ly-a	*bhú-gháli*	*lék-e*	*né-n-si-bhul-w-i*	*má-nágha*
1SG-be#15-eat-F	14-porridge	stop-SUB	CONJ-1SG-NEG-lose-PAS-NEG	6-power

'I eat porridge, in order not to lose the power.'   =**P058**

n-ó-si-tend-í	*ghw-ĕ-tend-e*
CONJ-2SG-NEG-say-NEG	2SG-?-say-SUB?

'Don't say! (SG)'

mú-si-tend-í	*mw-ĕ-tend-e*
2PL-NEG-say-NEG	2PL-?-say-SUB?

'Don't say! (PL)'

P081 Defective verbs: Are there 'defective verbs' which do not exhibit regular inflection?

V. 2 yes, a subset of (non-borrowed) verbs, such as 'know' or 'say'

-bhwené 'see' (cf. *-lólá*), *-jinsí* 'know' (cf. *-mányá*) used in ANT (Resultative). Both defective and regular verbs are used (stylistic difference)

ú-many-ílé   *ny-insí*

2SG-know-ANT   1SG-know

'Do you know? I know.'

P082 TAM and auxiliaries: Are there dedicated auxiliaries for different tense/aspect/moods?

V. 1 yes, each auxiliary is used with a specific tense/aspect/mood

-já 'go' > *-já* + INF   'begin to do'

-bhulá 'lose' > *-bhulá* + INF   'missed to do'

-kobhólá 'win' > *-kobhólá* + INF 'can'

-sumwǎ + CONS   'at last ...'

n-a-n-j-á   *kú-teék-a*

CONJ-PST-1SG-AUXgo-F   15-cook-F

'I have started cooking I went to cook.'

*n-ji-ílé kú-teék-a   *n-ji-ílé*   *mú-ku/ka-teék-a*

1SG-AUX.go-ANT 15-cook-F   1SG-AUX.go-ANT   18-15/IT-cook-F

n-kobhw-élé   *kú-teék-a*

1SG-can-ANT   15-cook-F

'I can cook.'

gha-a-sumw-ǎ   *ghá-á-teék-a*

1-PST-at.last-F   1-CONS-cook-F

'Finally s/he cooked.'

sumbwǎ + CONS/SUB 'S had better....' (Adverbial phrase)

sumbwǎ   *gha-á-li-fundíísy-a*   *sí-sukúma kulíko sí-bhénde sumbwǎ*   *a-teék-e*

had_better 1-CONS-RF-learn-F   7-Sukuma than   7-Bende   had.better 1-cook-SUB

'S/he had better learn Sukuma than Bende S/he had better cook.'

N. PST & FUT tense only. No Resultative, Present, NEG. NEG is expressed peripherally with *léke=*

P083 Multiple auxiliaries: Can two (or more) auxiliaries co-occur with the same main verb form?

V. no

P084 Agreement in complex constructions: In complex constructions, does the subject trigger agreement on both the auxiliary and the main verb?

V. no yes

[no] AUX+INF

n-a-n-j-á   *kú-ly-ă*

CONJ-PST-1SG-PST-go-F   15-eat-F

[yes]AUX+CONS (*-sumwă* + CONS)

gha-a-sumw-ă   *ghá-á-teék-a*

1-PST-at_last-F   1-CONS-cook-F

'Finally s/he cooked.'

P085 Auxiliary semantics: Are there auxiliaries which express semantic notions beyond tense/aspect? (i.e. notions which are often expressed by adverbs in European languages, like manner such as 'quickly')

V. 3 yes, both 1 (yes, only in the domain of modality (ability, possibility, permission)) and 2 (yes, only in the domain of verbal aspect (quickly, suddenly, repeatedly))

-kobhólá (ability), *-já* (inchoative aspect)

P086 Copula as auxiliary: Is the copula used as an auxiliary?

V. yes

tu-li#kú-tend-á

1PL-be#15-say-F

'We are talking now.'

N. Progressive aspect

P087 Verbal relative morphology: Are there relative forming strategies which employ verbal morphology?

V. yes

mú-ntú   *gh-a-n-téh-âng-a*   (Subject relative)

1-some   1-PST-1SG-like-ITS-F

'The man liked me. / The man who liked me'

mú-ntú   *gho=n-a-n-téh-âng-a*   (Object relative)

1-some   REL1-CONJ-PST-1SG-like-ITS-F

'The man whom I liked'

N. through a pre-initial clitic (Object relativisor, Subject relative clause is same as indicative). Relative clitics: *gho=, bho=, gho=, jo=, lyo=, gho=, syo=, fyo=, jo=, syo=, lo=, ko=, to=, bho=, ko=, ho=, ko=, mo=*

P088 Nominal relative morphology: Are there relative strategies which employ a nominal relative marker?

V. yes

N. by a form derived from referential demonstratives (*gho=* from *ghoógho múntú* / *ghoógho* (referential1) or *uúgho* (referential2))

P089 Relativisor agreement: When the relative marker is a separate word, does it agree with the head noun?

V. yes

P090 Subject-Relativisor: When the relative marker is a separate word, can it be preceded by the subject in non-subject relative clauses?

V. no

P091 Relative verb agreement: In non-subject relatives, what does the verb of the relative clause agree with?

V. 2 the subject

mw-enda	*ghw=a-téh-ílé*	*yúko*	/	*yúko*	*ghw=a-téh-ílé*
3-cloth	REL3=1-like-ANT	PN		PN	REL3=1-like-ANT

'The cloth which Yuko likes'

P092 Subject-Relative verb: In non-subject relatives, can the subject be preverbal?

V. yes

N. see **P091**

P093 Resumptive pronouns in relatives: In non-subject relatives, is there a resumptive element referring to the head noun (through object marking or independent pronoun)?

V. no

si-taábhu	*syo=n-sóm-ílé*	**syo=n-si-sóm-ílé*
7-book	REL7=1SG-read-ANT	REL7=1SG-7-read-ANT

'The book which I read'

P094 Headless adverbial relatives: Can headless relatives be used as adverbial clauses, with, for instance, temporal ('when…'), locative ('where…'), or manner ('how…') meaning?

V. yes

[When clause] CL14/17 (*bho=/ho=*)

bhw=a-ka-jí-ílé	/	*hw=a-ka-jí-ílé*	*kú-mpanda*	*júma,*
REL14=1-DIS-go-ANT	/	REL16=1-DIS-go-ANT	17-PN	PN,

a-ka-mú-bhwené=ko	*yúko*
1-DIS-see=17	PN

'When Juma went to Mpanda, he saw Yuko.'

[Where] CL17 (*ko=*)

kw=a-ka-jí-ílé
17-1-DIS-go-ANT
'The place where he went'

[Cause/manner clause] CL8/14 (*fyo=/bho=*)

fy=a-ka-jí-ílé   *kú-mpanda* *júma* *ni*   *mú-ka-ghúl-á mw-énda*
REL8=3-DIS-go-ANT   17-PN   PN   COP   18-ITV-buy-F 3-cloth
'The reason why Juma went to Mpanda is to go to buy a cloth.'

mú-ntú   *bhw=á-koo-n-fúnááníl-á*   *mw-enda* *bhô=n-gu-téh-ílé*
1-some   REL14=1-HAB-1SG-help-F   3-cloth   REL14=1SG-3-like-ANT
'The type of person that usually helps me'   'The type of cloth that I like'

P095 Gapless relatives: Are gapless relatives/noun-modifying clauses attested?

V. yes

ká-afu   *ko=bha-li#kú-kalâng-a*   *ma-sembé ni*   *ká-soghá*
12-smell   REL12=2PL-be#15-fry   6-fish   COP   12-good
'The smell which they're frying fish is good.'

mpííja   *sy=a-ká-ghús-iis-ié*   *mu-utúka*
10-money REL10-1-DIS-buy-CAU-ANT   3-car
'The money s/he sold the car.'

P096 TAM and relatives: Can relative clauses express the full range of tense/aspect/mood distinctions found in main clauses?

V. yes

si-taábhu [*syo=n-ka-ghús-ílé*]   *ni*   *sí-soghá*
7-book   [REL7=1SG-DIS-buy-ANT] COP   7-good
'The book which I bought is good.'

N. [*syo=n-di#kú-ghúl-a*] (PRS), [*syo=n-a-n-gúl-a / n-a-n-ká-ghúl-a*] (PST), [*syo=n-doo-ghúl-a / n-doo-ka-ghúl-a*] (FUT)

P097 Clefts: How are clefts formed?

V. 1 through the use of a segmentally expressed copula

[+ REL] (+inversion)

ni   *sí-taábhu syo=n-téh-ílé*   *gho=si-taábhu*   *syo=n-téh-ílé*
COP   7-book   REL7=1SG-like-ANT   FOC=7-book   REL7=1SG-like-ANT
'It's the book that I liked.'

gho=mú-bhénde   *gha-li#í-kóm-a*

FOC=1-Bende   1-be#15-be_well-F

'It's Bende who is good.'

[+REL] (+inversion)

ní   *n-sófu*   *jyo=gha-a-ke-éhágh-âng-a*   *júma*

COP   9-elephant REL9=1-PST-DIS-kill-ITS-F   PN

gho=n-sófu   *gha-a-ke-éhágh-âng-a*   *júma*

FOC=9-elephant   1-PST-DIS-kill-ITS-F   PN

'It's the elephant which Juma killed.'

N. *ni* NOUN + REL clause, *gho=*NOUN + REL clause / inversion

P098 Clefted word classes: In addition to canonical noun phrases, may other categories be clefted?

V. yes

[Locative]

ni   *kú-katumá ko=n-téh-ílé*   *kú-j-á* < *n-téh-ílé*   *kú-j-á*   *kú-katuma*

COP 17-PN   REL17=1SG-like-ANT   15-go-F   1SG-like-ANT   15-go-F   17-PN

'It's Katuma where I like to go.'   'I like to go to Katuma.'

[Infinitive]

ni   *kú-sóm-a ko=n-téh-ílé*   < *n-téh-ílé*   *kú-sóm-a*

COP 15-read-F 15=1SG-like-ANT   1SG-like-ANT   15-read-F

'I like TO READ.'

[Adverbial phrase]

ni   *fy=a-li#kú-tend-á*   *fyo=n-téh-ílé*

COP REL8=1-be#15-say-F   REL8-1SG-like-ANT

'It's the way how s/he says that I like.'

< *n-téh-ílé*   *fy=a-li#kú-tend-á*

   1SG-like-ANT   REL8=1-be#15-say-F

   'I like how s/he says.'

P099 Yes/no questions: In addition to intonation, are there other means used to encode yes/no questions (polar interrogatives)?

V. no

Tag question forms through enclitics available, *=elo* 'is it?' for affirmative, *=ehi* 'isn't it?' for negative

ghw-a-téh-e=élo   *fi-taábhu?*   *ty=o-téh-ílé=ehi*   *fi-taábhu*

2SG-PST-like-F=TQA   8-book   NEG=2SG-like-ANT=TQN 8-book

'You like books, yes? / Do you like books?'   'You don't like books, no? / Don't you like books?'

P100 Wh-element location: In the dominant strategy for argument wh-questions, where does the wh-element typically appear?

V. 5 in situ

no-oghwe	*u-jit-ílwé*		*ghanyĭ?*		*ú-kú-hens-a*	*sĭ?*
CONJ-wewe	2SG-call-PAS.ANT		who		2SG-15-want-F	what

'As whom are you called?' 'What do you want?'

P101 'why' applicatives: Can 'why' be formed through the combination of an applicative on the verb + 'what'?

V. no

The sentence below comes out as why-applicative construction

u-li#kú-líl-íl-a		*sĭ?*	/	*u-li#kú-líl-a*		*ná*	*sĭ?*
2SG-be#15-cry-AP-F		what	/	2SG-be#15-cry-F		with	what

ni	*kú-sĭ*	*bho=o-li#kú-líl-a?*
COP	17-what	REL14=2SG-be#15-cry-F

'Why are you crying?'

N. *kúsĭ?* 'Why?' (CL17-what)

P102 Equative predication: How is equative predication achieved with non-discourse participants?

V. 4 both 1 (an invariable copula only) and 2 (variable (class-inflected) copulas only (does not include verbal copulas)) = both variable (class-inflected) and invariable copulas

[invariable copula *ni*] [variable (class-inflected) copula, SM-*li*]

úughwe	*ni*	*mú-bhénde*	/	*úughwe*	*u-li*	*mú-bhénde*
2SG	COP	1-Bende	/	2SG	2SG-be	1-Bende

'You are a Bende.'

P103 Affirmative copula: In the copula system, what is the form of the affirmative copula?

V. 1 of the shape ni (or similar)

N. see **P102**

P104 Copula's other meanings: In addition to equative predication, may a copula form be used to convey other meanings?

V. yes

[SM-*li*] location, possession [*ni*] presentative, ostentative, cleft

n-di	*kú-kátúma*	*n-di=ná*	*mw-ána*	*ni*	*kú-kátúma*	*ko=n-di*
1SG-be	17-Katuma	1SG-be=with	1-child	COP	17-Katuma	REL17=1SG-be

'I am in Katuma.' 'I have a child.' 'It's Katuma where I am.'

P105 'to have': How is possession ('to have') expressed?

V. 2 the defective verb 'be' + preposition 'with' only

n-di=ná	*mw-ána*	*m-be-élé*	*ná*	*sí-ntú*	*n-dóó-bha*	*ná*	*sí-ntú*
1SG-be=with	1-child	1SG-be-ANT	with	7-some	1SG-FUT-be	with	7-some
'I have a child.'		'I had a thing.'			'I will have a thing.'		

P106 Verb + cognate object: Are there verbal constructions with obligatory cognate objects?

V. yes

n-á-ny-imbá	*ny-imbo*
CONJ-PST-1SG-sing	9-song
'I sang a song.'	

P107 Verb doubling constructions: Are there verb doubling constructions, where a non-finite verb form (e.g. infinitive, verbal base) appears before an inflected form of the same verb?

V. 2: yes, for topicalisation

ku-teék-a	*n-di#kú-teék-a*
15-cook-F	1SG-be#15-cook-F
'Yes, I cook.'	

bhw=a-li#kú-j-a	*ghá-a-j-a*	*ku-mpanda,*
REL14=1-be#15-go-F	1-CONS-go-F	17-PN

a-loo-bh-a	*ghá-a-tu-leet-el-a*	*mú-kaáte*
1-FUT-be-F	1-CONS-1PL-bring-APP-F	3-bread

'Because s/he often goes to Mpanda, s/he will bring us with bread.'

[Reduplication]

n-di#kú-teeka-téék-a
1SG-be#15-cook-RED-F
'I cook so much.'

P108 Light verb constructions: Are there complex predicates or light verb constructions of the form beat colour 'to paint'? (e.g. '-piga' in Swahili)

V. yes

[-*huúla* 'hit'] ~ *ngóma* 'drum', ~ *hóti* 'call when visiting', ~ *kághuunsú* 'make sounds using teeth', ~ *musítaáli* 'draw a line', ~ *éteké* 'kick', ~ *mansí* 'drink alcohol, swim', ~ *nsangá* 'play with maraca', ~ *kámógha* 'smoke a drug', ~ *kúla* 'vote'

[-*jílá* 'do, make'] ~ *mílímo* 'work', ~ *bhúlânga* 'make noise', ~ *kabhílí* 'repeat', ~ *mwâjú* 'yawn', ~ *matuútu* 'emit a momentary sound', ~ *mwêtyǎ* 'sneeze', ~ *nkubhíkubhí* 'hiccup'

[-*bhiíka* 'put'] ~ *lúsánte* 'put a sign'

P109 Passivisation in ditransitives: In double object constructions, can either object become subject under passivisation?

V. yes

N. see **P038**

P110 Object marking in ditransitives: In double object constructions, can either object be expressed by an object marker, independently of the other object?

V. yes

[Causative]

n-di#kú-mu-kos-y-a   *júma*   *mí-límo*   /   *mí-límo*   *júma*
1SG-be#15-1-do-CAU-F   PN   4-work   4-work   PN
'I am working for Juma for free.'

n-di#kú-ji-mu-kos-y-a   *gha-a-ji-n-kos-y-a*   *mi-limo*
1SG-be#15-4-1-do-CAU-F   1-be#15-4-1SG-do-CAU-F   4-work
'S/he is working for me for free.'

[Applicative]

bha-lí#kú/mú-ka-n-dím-íl-a
2-be#15-12-1SG-farm-APP-F
'They farm it (12) for me.'   = **P076**

[Ditransitive]

n-di#kú-mu-h-a   *júma*   *si-taábhu*   *n-di#kú-si-ha*   *júma*   *si-taábhu*
1SG-be#15-1-give-F   PN   7-book   1SG-be#15-7-give-F   PN   7-book
'I give Juma a book.'   = **P078**

P111 Pro-drop: Can the grammatical subject be omitted (i.e. is there pro-drop)? (link with P060)

V. yes

(*úune*)   *n-a-n-dy-ă*
(1SG)   CONJ-PST-1SG-eat-F
'I ate.'

P112 Dem-Noun: Is it possible for a demonstrative to precede the head noun?

V. 2 yes, and an additional demonstrative follows the noun: Dem-Noun-Dem

N. see **P020**

P113 Quant-Noun: Is there a prenominal quantifier?

V. yes

kíla (*síntu*)

'every (thing)'

P114 Possessive in multiple modifiers: In the case of co-occurring modifiers, does the possessive normally appear closest to the noun?

V. yes

mu-alímu	*ghw-etu*	*ghwá*	*sí-swahíli*	**mu-alímu ghwá sí-swahíli ghw-etu*
1-teacher	1-POS.1PL	ASSC1	7-Swahili	

'Our Swahili teacher.'

P115 SVO: Is Subject-Verb-Object the canonical constituent order in a neutral context (topic/comment)?

V. yes

júma	*gha-a-ke-éhágh-âng-a*	*n-sófu*
PN	1-PST-DIS-kill-ITS-F	9-elephant

'Juma killed an elephant.'

P116 Control of object order: In ditransitive constructions, are there mechanisms which control the order of multiple objects?

V. 2 yes, the order is determined by the thematic/semantic properties of the objects (e.g. benefactive-theme, animacy)

n-a-n-si-mu-h-á	*júma*	*si-taábhu*	*n-a-a-mu-h-á*	*júma*	*si-taábhu*
CONJ-PST-1SG-7-1-give-F	PN	7-book	CONJ-PST-1SG-1-give-F	PN	7-book

'I gave Juma a book.'　　　　　　　　　　　　'I gave Juma a book.'

n-a-n-ji-mu-h-á	*júma*	*Ø-símu*
CONJ-PST-1SG-9-1-give-F	PN	9-phone

'I gave Juma a phone.'

P117 Object order asymmetry: In pragmatically neutral ditransitive constructions, can either object be adjacent to the verb?

V. no

N. see **P038**

P118 Focus position: In simple main clauses, is there a specific syntactic focus position?

V. 1 immediately after the verb (IAV)

Q: Whom do you like?

A: *n-téh-ílé*   *júma*   [Cleft] *ni*   *júma*   *gho=n-téh-ílé*
1SG-like-ANT   PN   COP   PN   REL1=1SG-like-ANT
'I like Juma.'   'It's Juma whom I like.'

P119 Aux-Obj.pronoun-Verb: In auxiliary constructions, can object pronouns be placed between the auxiliary and the main verb?

V. no

a-li#kú-kobhól-á   seesyo si-taábhu   kú-(si)-sóm-a < a-li#kú-kobhól-á kú-sóm-a seesyo si-taábhu
1-be#15-can-F   DEM7 7-book   15-7-read-F
'S/he can read the book.'

P120 Infinitive-Auxiliary: Is it possible for an infinitive to appear before the auxiliary?

V. yes

[*-kobhólá* + INF] OK

ku-teék-a   n-kobhw-élé   < *n-kobhw-élé   ku-teék-a*
15-cook-F   1SG-can-ANT
'I can COOK.'

[*-já* +INF, *-bhulá*+INF] NG

*ku-teék-a   n-â-n-j-á   < *n-a-n-já kú-teék-a*
15-cook-F   CONJ-PST-1SG-go   'I began cooking.'
*ku-teék-a   n-â-m-bul-á   < *n-a-m-bul-á kú-teék-a*
15-cook-F   CONJ-PST-1SG-miss-F   'I missed to cook.'

P121 Verb-subject: Are there verb-initial clauses with subject inversion (e.g. thetic statements or subject focus)?

V. 1 yes, and the verb agrees with the postverbal subject?

ji-syá-lí#kw-ís-a=ko   *Ø-masíne*
9-PER-be#15-come-F=17   9-milling_machine
'The milling machine HAD NOT COME there yet.'

N. No agreement change occurs but locative inversion.

P122 Locative inversion: Is locative inversion attested?

V. 1 yes, formally (i.e. the verb shows agreement with a preceding noun phrase which is locative marked)

há-kátúma   bhá-ntu   bha-a-ká-fw-ă   *há-kátúma   ha-a-ká-fw-ă*   *bhá-ntu*
16-Katuma   2-some   2PL-PST-DIS-die-F   16-Katuma   16-PST-DIS-die-F   2-some
'In Katuma PEOPLE died (not animals).'   'In Katuma people DIED.'

P123 Patient inversion: Is patient inversion (subject-object reversal) attested?

V. no

júma	*n-di#kú-mu-huúl-o*	*one*		*ni*	*júma*	*gho=n-di#kú-huúl-a*
PN	1SG-be#15-1-hit-F	1SG		COP	PN	REL1=1SG-be#15-hit-F

'I hit Juma.' 'It's Juma whom I hit.'

N. No formal (agreement) change on the verb

P124 Instrument inversion: Is instrument inversion attested?

V. no

ká-ámbi	*ka-li#ku-mw-íhágh-á*	*júma*	*<*	*júma*	*a-li#kw-íhágh-w-á*	*ná*	*ká-ámbi*
12-knife	12-be#15-1-kill-F	PN		PN	1-be#15-kill-PAS-F	by	12-knife

'The knife kills Juma.' 'Juma is killed by the knife.'

N. No formal (agreement) change on the verb

P125 Conjunction 'and': Is the conjunction 'and' used in coordinated nouns (or noun phrases) the same as the one used in coordinated clauses?

V. yes

n-a-n-j-á	*kú-mpanda,*	*nó*	*júma*	*gha-a-fum-á*	*kú-mpanda*
CONJ-PST-1SG-go-F	17-PN	CONJ	PN	1-PST-go_out-F	17-PN

'I went to Mpanda and Juma went out from Mpanda.'

úune	*nó*	*júma*	*tw-a-j-á*	*kú-mpanda*
1SG	and	PN	1PL-PST-go-F	17-PN

'I and Juma went to Mpanda.'

N. *ná* (*né, nó*)

P126 Subsequent/consecutive: Is there any verbal marker to express combinations of clauses encoding subsequent/consecutive events?

V. yes

n-a-n-j-á	*kú-mpanda,*	*n-á-n-gúl-á=ko*		*ng'-óómbe*
CONJ-PST-1SG-go-F	17-PN	CONJ-CONS-1SG-buy-F=17		9-cattle

'I went to Mpanda and bought a cow there.'

n-a-n-halámúk-a	*mú-laabho,*	*n-â-n-j-a*	*kú-n-osfísi,*
CONJ-PST-1SG-awake-F	3-morning	CONJ-CONS-1SG-go-F	17-9-office

n-á-n-kól-á	*mí-límo*
CONJ-CONS-1SG-do-F	4-work

'I got up in the morning, then I went to the office, then I worked.'

N. *á-* (CONS) in TAM slot (post SM)

P127 Complementiser presence: Is a subordinator/complementiser present in a subordinate clause?

V. 1 yes, optionally

gha-a-tend-á   [Ø | *tí* | *kubhá* | *tí kubhá* | *kúbhalá tí*]   *ghá-á-j-a*

1-PST-say-F   [COMP]   1-CONS-go-F

'S/he said that s/he went.'

N. *tí..., kubhá..., tí kubhá..., kúbhalá tí...*

P128 Complementiser location: Where does the subordinator/complementiser appear with respect to the subordinate clause?

V. 1 in front of the clause

N. see **P127**

P129 Complementiser origin: Is there a subordinator/complementiser derived from a verb meaning 'say' or 'tell'?

V. yes

tí..., kú-bhalá tí...   < *kú-bhalá*   'say'

ku-bhá..., tí ku-bhá...   < *ku-bhá*   '15-be'

P130 Complementiser agreement: Is there an agreement marker on the subordinator/complementiser?

V. no

P131 if-clauses expression: How are conditional clauses (or if-clauses) expressed?

V. 4 both a conjunction and a specific tense/aspect/mood are possible in the same clause

kubhá ghá-a-j-a   kú-mu-jiíni,   a-loo-jís-a   né   mu-kaáte

if   1-CONS-go-F 17-3-town   1-FUT-come-F   and   3-bread

'If s/he goes to town, s/he will come back with bread.'

N. *kubhá / ndi* + CONS, FUT (conditional), *mbi / mbe* + IRR (SM-*ná*-V-*e*), IRR (irrelias)

P132 if-clause order: Does the subordinate if-clause always precede the main then-clause?

V. no

Compare with (131)

a-loo-jís-a   né   mu-kaáte, kubhá ghá-a-j-a   kú-mu-jiíni

1-FUT-come-F   with   3-bread   if   1-CONS-go-F 17-3-town

'S/he will come with a bread, if s/he goes to the town.'

P133 if-clause = then-clause: Do the verbs in the if-clause and the then-clause have the same tense/aspect marking?

V. no

kubhá ghá-a-j-a   kú-mu-jiíni,   a-laa#kw-ís-a   né   mu-kaáte

if   1-CONS-go-F 17-3-town   1-FUT.N#15-come-F   with   3-bread

'If s/he goes to the town, s/he will come with a bread.'

N. Future tense only, but all future forms (*loo-, loo-ka-, laa-kú*) are OK. NG with Present progressive

P134 Hypothetical = Counterfactual: Are hypothetical (if I Ved) and counterfactual (if I had Ved) clauses expressed in different ways?

V. no

mbi/mbe   a-ná-j-e   kú-mu-jiíni,   a-ná-leét-e   mú-kate

if   1-IRR-go-SUB   17-3-town,   1-IRR-bring-SUB 3-bread

'If s/he would go to town, s/he would bring with bread.'

N. *mbi/mbe* + IRR (SM-*ná*-V-*e*)

P135 Temporal adverbial clauses: How are temporal adverbial clauses formed (e.g. when-clause, onceclause, after-clause, before-clause, etc)?

V. 3 both 1 (by the use of specific constructions) and 2 (by the use of specific tense/aspect/mood marking)

N. see **P094**

[When-clause] CL14/16 (*bho=/ho=*)

bhw=a-ka-jí-ílé   / hw=a-ka-jí-ílé   kú-mpanda   júma,

REL14=1-DIS-go-ANT   / REL16=1-DIS-go-ANT 17-PN   PN

a-ka-mú-bhwené=ko   yúko

1-DIS-see=17   PN

'When Juma went to Mpanda, he saw Yuko.'

[Before-clause] Persistive + *kundi* CONS

a-ka-bhe-élé   n-a-sya-li   nó ku-fík-a   kú-mpanda,

1-DIS-be-ANT   CONJ-1-PER-be and15-arrive-F   17-PN

kundi ghá-a-lwál-a

then   1-CONS-become_sick-F

'Before s/he arrived at the town, s/he got sick (at the place where s/he lives).'

[After-clause] Adverbial phrase (*bhaáda jya* + INF)

bhaáda   jya kú-j-a   kú-mu-jiíni,   gha-a-fík-a   ghá-a-lwál-a

after   of 15-go-F   17-3-town,   1-PST-arrive-F   1-CONS-become_sick-F

'After s/he arrived at the town, s/he got sick.'

P136 Locative adverbial clauses: How are locative adverbial clauses ('where'-clauses) formed?

V. 2 by the use of a specific (relativised) verb form

hw=a-jíke-élé   *ni*   *há-soghá*   *ko=o-jí-ílé*   *ni*   *kú-soghá*

REL16=1-stay-ANT   COP   16-good   REL17=2SG-go-ANT   COP   17-good

'The place where s/he lives is good.'   'The place where you go is good.'

P137 Comparative: How is the comparative (and by extension the superlative) conveyed?

V. 1 by the verb 'surpass/exceed'

hamísi   *ni*   *mú-talí*   *kú-sumb-a*   *yasíni*

PN   COP   1-tall   15-surpass-F   PN

'Hamisi is taller than Yasini.'

N. *kúsumbá* 'to surpass'

P138 SM in non-finite clauses: Can non-finite clauses have an overt subject? (For John to eat cookies is fun / John eating cookies is fun / people to play football is annoying)

V. yes

júma   *ku-nyw-a*   *má-álwá*   *ni*   *n-sémbo*   *jy-aje*

PN   15-drink-F   6-alcoholic_drink   COP   9-habit   9-POS.3SG

'For Juma to drink alcohol is his habit.'

N. No SM, but an overt subject appears in a bare form

P139 Verb inflection in raising constructions: In raising constructions, can the raising verb (i.e. in the upper clause) and the main verb (in the lower clause) both be inflected?

V. yes

jóni   *a-lol-éék-é*   [*ni*   *mú-kol-a*   *mí-límo* | *kubhá* *a-li#kú-kol-a*   *mí-límo*]

PN   1-see-IMP-ANT   [COP   1-do-F   4-work | that   1-be#15-do-F   4-work]

'John seems like a working man. / John seems that he is doing work.'

jóni   *bha-li#kú-mu-bhal-a=ko* [*mú-pwél-a*   *ká-móógha*|*kubhá a-li#kú-pwél-a*   *ká-móógha*]

PN   2-be#15-1-say-F=17   [1-smoke-F   12-marijuana|that 1-be#15-smoke-F 12-marijuana]

'People say about John that he is a marijuana smoker. | People say about John that he is smoking marijuana.'

P140 Morphological focus marker: Can a focussed term be marked by a morphological focus marker?

V. yes

gho=mú-sagha   *kú-kula*   *gho=mú-sagha*   *ghw-á-sumb-a*

FOC=3-wind   15-big   FOC=3-wind   3-CONS-surpass-F

'It's strong wind!'

ni   mú-sagha mú-kali   ni   mú-sagha ghw-á-sumb-a

COP   3-wind   3-strong   COP   3-wind   3-CONS-surpass-F

'It's strong wind!'

N. *gho=* or *ni*

P141 Focus-sensitive particles: Are there focus-sensitive particles such as 'too', 'only' or 'even'?

V. yes

ninga   jyá   mú-sagha

even   CON9   3-wind

'Even the wind...'

N. *ninga* (CON9) even, *tu=* (proclitic) only, *gho=* (proclitic, FOC)

P142 Subject focalisation: Are the strategies available for questioning or focusing subjects different from those available for other constituents? (e.g. subjects have to be clefted and cannot be questioned in situ)

V. no

[Q] *gha-a-jís-âng-a   ghanyí?*

  1-PST-come-ITS-F   who

  'Who came?'

[A] *ni   júma   gha-a-jís-âng-a* (**gho=júma*)

  COP   PN   1-PST-come-ITS-F

  'It's Juma that came.'

[Q] *gho=mú-bhénde   ghoógho?*

  FOC=1-Bende   DEM1

  'Is s/he a Bende?'

[A] *élo,   gho=mú-bhénde*

  yes,   FOC=1-Bende

  'Yes, s/he is a Bende.'

N. with usual focus marker *gho=* or cleft *ni*