Nyoro (JE11)

Shigeki Kaji

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

V. 1 V shape only

e-, o-, a-

1. *e-ki-tâbu,   e-bi-tâbu*

   Aug-NPr7-book   Aug-NPr8-book

   'book'

2. *o-mû-ntu,   a-bâ-ntu*

   Aug-NPr1-person Aug-NPr2-person

   'person'

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

V. yes

1. *ɲ-ine   e-ki-tâbu.*

   I-have Aug-NPr7-book

   'I have a book.'

2. *ti:-ɲ-íne   ki-tâbu.*

   not-I-have NPr7-book

   'I don't have a book.'

N. Negative transitive verbs don't take an augment.

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

V. 4 both V and CV shape are found

1. *erî:no* 5

   e-ri-íno

   Aug-NPr5-tooth

   'tooth'

2. *i:sôke*

   e-i-sôke

   Aug-NPr5-hair

   'hair'

N. Vowel-initial stems take *ri-*, and consonant-initial stems take *i-*. (*e-i>i:*)

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

V. 19 morphologically and 16 syntactically.

N. cl.17 and 18 take the cl.16 *ha-* as their concord.

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

V. yes

class 15 *ku-*

1. *o-ku-gênd-a*

   Aug-NPr15-go-FV

   'to go'

2. *okúlyâ*

   o-ku-li-a

   Aug-NPr15-eat-FV

   'to eat'

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

V. yes

1. *a-kâ-ntu,*   *o-bû-ntu*   *or*   *o-tû-ntu*

   Aug-NPr12-thing   Aug-NPr14-thing   Aug-NPr13-thing

   'a small thing' < *ekîntu*   7/8 'thing'

N. *o-bû-ntu* and *otû-ntu* are the plural of *a-kâ-ntu* 12. They are have the same meaning.

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

V. yes

1. *e-kí-jû*   *e-bí-jû*

   Aug-NPr7-house   Aug-NPr8-house

   'big house or strange house' Cf. *énjû* 9/10 or *amájû* 6 'house'

2. *o-rú-jû*

   Aug-NPr11-house

   'big house or strange house'. Bigger or worse than *ekíjû* 7/8

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

N-ka-gend-a   *o-mu-ka-tâle.*

I-RemPst-go-FV   Aug-NPr18-NPr12-market

'I went to the market.'

N. cf. *akatâle* 12, *obutâle* 14 'market'

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

V. no

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

V. yes

Ha-ka-ba　　　　*ha-ró-hó*　　　*o-mu-sáija.*

SPr16-RemPst-be SPr16-be-there　Aug-NPr1-man

'There was a man.'

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

V. yes

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

V. yes

Ha-ró-hó　　　　*o-mû-ntu.*

SPr16-be-Clit(here)　Aug-NPr1-person

'Here is someone.'

P014 Independent subject pronouns: Are independent subject pronouns obligatory?

V. no

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

V. yes

omwá:na wa Bagô:nza

'a child of Bagonza'

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

V. yes

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

V. yes.

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

V. no

P019 Possessor raising: Is possessor raising possible?

V. no

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

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

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

V. yes

1. *-rúngî* 'good, beautiful, pretty, good-looking'
2. *-́bî* 'bad, 'ugly'
3. *-hyâka* 'new'
4. *-kûru* 'old, senior'
5. *-́tô* 'young'
6. *-eʧûmi* 'clean'
7. *-rôfu* 'dirty'
8. *-zîbu* 'difficult'
9. *-bîsi* 'raw, unripe, uncooked'
10. *-kâ:mbwe* 'fierce, tough, serious'
11. *-kô:to* 'big, large'
12. *-tóítô*, *-tí:tô*, or *-táítô* 'small'
13. *-́kê* 'small'
14. *-ráira* 'tall, high, long'
15. *-gûfu* 'short, low, shallow'

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

V. yes

1. nominal

omwá:na   *murúngî*

o-mu-ana   mu-rungi

Aug-NPr1-child   NPr1-good

'a good child'

2. pronominal

omwá:na wâ:nge

o-mu-ana   u-ange

Aug-NPr1-child   PPr1-my

'my child'

3. numeral

abá:na babîri

a-ba-ana   ba-biri

Aug-NPr2-child   Num2-two

'two children'

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. 2 yes, for feminine only
omusomesa-kátî 1, *abasomesa-kátî* 2
'female teacher'
N. *omusomésâ* 1, *abasomésâ* 2 'teacher'

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. 1 yes, it is used productively (give examples attesting the derivational process)
o-mu-sôm-i,   *a-ba-sôm-i*
Aug-NPr1-study-Agent   Aug-NPr2-study-Agent
'student'
N. *okusôma* 'to study'

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. 1 yes, it is used productively (give examples attesting the derivational process)

o-mu-kyên-o (sg.),   *e-mi-kyên-o* (pl.)

Aug-NPr3-curse-Suf   Aug-NPr4-curse-Suf

'curse'

N. *okukyêna* 'to curse'

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

V. no

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

V. no

1. *o-mu-kôno* (sg.)   *e-mi-kôno* (pl.)

    Aug-NPr3-arm   Aug-NPr4-arm

    'arm'

2. *e-n-gâro* (sg.,pl.)

    Aug-NPr9/10-hand

    'hand'

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

V. no

1. *e-n-gâro*

    Aug-NPr9/10-hand

    'hand'

2. *ekyâra*,   *ebyâra*

    e-ki-ara (sg.)   e-bi-âra (pl.)

    Aug-NPr7-finger Aug-NPr8-finger

    'finger'

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

V. no

1. *o-ku-gûru* (sg.)   *a-ma-gûru* (pl.)

    Aug-NPr15-leg   Aug-NPr6-leg

    'leg'

2. *e-ki-gérê* (sg.)   *e-bi-gérê* (pl.)

    Aug-NPr7-foot   Aug-NPr8-foot

    'foot'

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

V. yes

ʧâ:yi   9,10

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

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

V. yes

1. long passive

okulî:bwa

o-ku-li-ibw-a

Aug-NPr15-eat-Pass-FV

'to be eaten by sb, to be edible' Cf. okúlyâ 'to eat'

2. short passive

o-ku-lêk-w-a

Aug-NPr15-eat-Pass-FV

'to be left by sb' Cf. *okulêka* 'to leave sb'

N. The long passive is for monosyllabic radicals, and the long passive for other types.

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

V. 1: yes, using a class 2 SM, without the expression of an agent noun phrase

ba-ka-kom-a   o-mu-lémi   mu-hyâ:ka.

SPr2-RemPst-elect-FV   Aug-NPr1-leader NPr1-new

'A new leader was elected.'

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

V. 5 there is no overt marker used to introduce the agent noun phrase

John   a-ka-te:r-w-a   Paul.

John   SPr1-RemPst-hit-Pass-FV   Paul.

'John was hit by Paul.'

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

N. see **P038**.

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

V. 1 through the use of a verbal affix only

-angan- or *-an-* 'reciprocal, associative'

1. *o-ku-gonz-angân-a*

   Aug-NPr15-like-Recipr-FV

   'to like each other'   *okugô:nza* 'to like'

2. *o-ku-tomer-ân-a*

   Aug-NPr15-collide-Recipr-FV

   'to collide with each other'

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

P042 Causative: How is causative meaning expressed ?

V. 1 through the use of verbal affixation only

1. long causative

o-ku-tumb-îs-a

Aug-NPr15-swell-Caus-FV

'to cause to swell'   cf. *okutûmba* 'to swell'

2. short causative

okurahîza

o-ku-rahîr-i-a   'to swear'

Aug-NPr15-swaer-Caus-FV   cf. *okurahîra* 'to make swear'

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

V. yes

1. *okwo.gêsa*

   'to use sth to wash' cf. *okwô:ga* 'to wash'

2. *okurôza*

   'to use sth to see' cf. *okurôra* 'to see, to look'

P044 Applicative: How are applicative constructions formed?

V. 1 through the use of a verbal affix only, *-ir-/-er-*

1. *o-ku-cu.mb-îr-a*

   Aug-NPr15-cook-Appl-FV

   'to cook for sb, or in a pan, etc.' cf. *okucûmba* 'to cook'

2. *o-ku-kor-êr-a*

   Aug-NPr15-work-Appl-FV

   'to work for sb, or in a place' cf. *okukôra* 'to work'

N. *-ir-* when the vowel of the preceding syllable is either /i/, /u/, or /a/, and *-er-* when the vowel of the preceding syllable is either /e/ or /o/.

P045 Applicative functions: In addition to the benefactive meaning typically associated with the applicative complement, do applicative constructions convey other meanings?

V. yes

1. place

okunywêra

'to drink from a glass, at a place'   cf. *okúnywâ*   'to drink'

2. opposite direction

okufurukîra

'to move to a place or a house'   cf. *okufurûka*   'to move from a place or a house'

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

okunulî:rra

o-ku-nul-irir-a

Aug-NPr15-be.sweet-Doub.Appl-FV

'to be excessively sweet'   cf. *okunûra* 'to be sweet'

P047 Neuter/stative: Is there a productive neuter/stative extension?

V. no

P048 Order of suffixes: Is there a specific order in which multiple productive verbal extensions typically appear?

V. 3 another order

okukunganizîbwa

o-ku-kung-an-ir-i-îbw-a

Aug-NPr15-quarrel-Appl-Recipr-Caus-Pass-FV

'to be provoked to a quarrel by sb'

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

V. 4 multiple strategies

ti or *-ta-*

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

V. 1 by morphological modification of the verb

-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

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

V. 2 in the post-initial position only? (SM-NEG-…) and 6 in a pre-verbal independent negative particle only

1. *tí   n-ku-gênd-a*
   not I-Pres-go-FV
   'I am not going.' (present progressive)
2. *n-ta-génd-ê*
   I-not-go-RemPst
   'I did not go.' (remote past)

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

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

a-tá-rú-ku-gênd-a

he-not-be-Pres-go-FV (subject relative)

'he who is going'

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

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

P056 Independent negative particle: Is there an independent negative particle used to express negation?

V. 1 yes, it is obligatorily present in addition to verb marking (including tone)

ti

Ekitabu tikírí hamê:za.

e-ki-tabu	ti	ki-ri	ha-me:za
Aug-NPr7-book	not	SPr7-be	NPr16-table

'The book is not on the table.'

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. no

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. yes

Léká kugênda!

'Don't go!'

N. *okuleka* 'to leave, to abandon'

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

V. yes

omúntu	a-ra:-génd-â
person	he-Nfut-go-FV

'The person will go.'

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. no

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

V. no

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

V. no

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

V. 1 such constructions are avoided and 3 the verb may show partial agreement with only one of the coordinated nominals

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

V. 4: past time has more than three subdivisions

1. Near past

Age.nzerégê.

'He/she went today, this morning, or yesterday.'

2. Near past & resulting state relative

Agenzérê

'He/she has (or is) gone.'

3. Remote past

Akagê:nda

'He/she went yesterday or before.'

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

V. 4 future time has more than three subdivisions

1. very near future

nyija kugê:nda.

'I am going to go.'

2. Definite near future1

ni:nyíjá kugê:nda

'I will definitely go today or tomorrow.'

3. Definite near future 2

nkwí:ja kugê:nda

'I will definitely go today or tomorrow.'

4. near future

nda:gé:ndâ

'I will go today or tomorrow.'

5. Remote future

ndigé:ndâ

'I will go the day after tomorrow or later in the future.'

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

-ag- emphatic meaning always or usually

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

V. yes

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

V. 3 yes, with another form in restricted contexts only (e.g. subjunctive)

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

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

V. no

gênda! 'You(sg.) go!'

N. For the 2nd pl. imperative, the subjunctive for is used.

mugéndê! 'You(pl.) go!'

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

V. no

Na:kagê:nda

ni-a-ka-gend-a

I-Near-Perf-go-FIN [Near perfective]

'I have just gone.'

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

V. yes.

General present, Remote past, Near past and resulting state, etc.

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

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

o-ku-ru-mu-king-îr-a

Aug-NPr15-OM11-OM1-close-Appl-FV

'to close it for him'

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

V. 2 yes

o-ku-e-mâɲ-a

Aug-NPr15-Refl-know-FV

'to know oneself'

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

Turukingíré orwîgi.

tu-ru-king-ire　　　　o-ru-igi

we-OM11-close-Perf　Aug-NPr11-door

'We have closed the door.'

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

V. yes

a-génd-ê

he-go-Subj

'He should go.'

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

V. yes

n-ta-génd-ê

I-not-go-RemPst

'I did not go.'(remote past)

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

V. no

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

V. 2 yes, some auxiliaries are restricted to different tense/aspect/but not with a one-to-one match

1. *okúbâ* 'to be'
2. *-li* 'to be' (defective)
3. *okwîja* 'to come'

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. 1 yes agreement on both forms in all contexts

mba ningé:nda

m-ba-a   ni   n-génd-â

I-be-FV   Prog   I-go-FV

'I am habitually going.'

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. 2 yes, only in the domain of verbal aspect (quickly, suddenly, repeatedly)

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

V. yes

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

V. yes through specific tonal marking

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

V. yes by another independent relative marker

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. 1 yes, there is only one type of separate word or preverbal clitic relativisor in the language which always shows agreement

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

V. 1 the head noun

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

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. 1 yes, it is optional

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
obu 'when'

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

P096 TAM and relatives: Can relative clauses express the full range of tense/aspect/mood distinctions found in main clauses?
V. no

P097 Clefts: How are clefts formed?
V. 1 through the use of a segmentally expressed copula
Ní   wé   agwî:re.
it.is   him   he who has fallen
'It is him who has fallen.'

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

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

P100 Wh-element location: In the dominant strategy for argument wh-questions, where does the wh-element typically appear?
V. 3 immediately after the verb (IAV)
N'o:gé:ndá nkáhâ?

ni   o-gend-a   nkaha

Prog   you(sg.)-go-FV   where

'Where are you (sg.) going?'

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

V. no

habwá:kî 'why'

Habwá:kí otaizírê?

habwá:kí   o-ta-iz-írê

why   you(sg.)-not-come-Perf

'Why haven't you (sg.) come?'

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) = both variable (class-inflected) and invariable copulas

1. *Ndi mwâ:na.*

n-di   mu-ana

I-be   NPr1-child

'I am a child.'

2. *Oli mwâ:na.*

o-li   mu-ana

you(sg.)-be   NPr1-child

'You are a child.'

3. *Ali Mwâ:na.*

a-li   mu-ana

he/she-be   NPr1-child

'He/she is a child.'

4. *Ní Káto.*

'It is Kato.'

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

V. 5

1. *-li* (defective)

2. *ni* (invariable)

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

1. *-li* (existence)

N-di   o-mú-n-jû.
I-be   Aug-NPr18-NPr8-house
'I am in the house.'

2. *ni* (cleft sentence)

Ni	*Kátó*	*ayasíre*	*ekikópô.*
ni	Kato	a-at-ire	ekikópô
it.is	Kato	SPr1-break-Perf[relative]	cup

'It is Kato who has broken the cup.'

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

V. 3 a lexical verb only

by the defective verb *-ínê*

ɲ-ínê
I-have
'I have.'

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

V. yes

okuzína ekizîna
'to sing 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. no

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. no

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

V. yes

1. example of inherently ditransitive

Akahe:bwa   *sê:nte*

a-ka-ha-ebw-a   sente

he/she-RemPst-give-Pass-FV   money

'He/she was given money.'

2. example of applicative

Akafwe:rwa   *omwâ:na.*

a-ka-fu-er-w-a   omwâ:na

he/she-RemPst-die-Appl-Pass-FV   child

'He/she lost a child by death.'

3. example of causative

Akahuta:zibwa   *Káto.*

a-ka-huta:r-i-ibw-a   Káto

he/she-RemPst-get.hurt-Caus-Pass-FV   Kato

'He/she was made hurt by Kato.'

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

V. yes

okurumuki.ngîra

o-ku-ru-mu-king-ir-a

Aug-NPr15-it(cl.11)-him-close-Appl-FV

'to close it for him'

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

V. no

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

V. 2 Dem-Noun order is attested

kínu   *ekitâbu*

ki-nu   e-ki-tabu

PPr7-this   Aug-NPr7-book

'this book'

N. Demonstratives can come either before or after the noun it qualifies. But usually they come after the noun.

P113 Quant-Noun: Is there a prenominal quantifier?

V. yes

buli   kírô

every   day

'everyday'

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

V. null

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

V. yes

John   n'a:rukí:ngá   orwîgi.

John   ni   a-ru-kíng-á   orwîgi

John   is   SPr1-Prog-close-FV   door

'John is closing the door.'

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)

o-ku-cumb-ír-a   omwána   ebyokúlyâ

Aug-NPr15-cook-Appl-FV   child   food

'to cook food for a child'

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

V. yes

Nindí:sá   ekigî:ko   ebyokúlyâ.

Ni   n-dí-is-á   ekigî:ko   ebyokúlyâ

Prog   I-eat-Caus   spoon   food

'I am eating food with a spoon.'

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

V. 3 clause-initially

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

V. no

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

V. no

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

V. no

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)

N. see **P011**.

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

V. yes

Orwígi rukingwírê.

orwigi   ru-king-ur-ire

door11   SPr11-close-Rev.Tr-Perf

'The door is opened.'

P124 Instrument inversion: Is instrument inversion attested?

V. no

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

V. no

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

V. no

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

V. 2 yes, necessarily

a-ka-n-gamb-ir-a   *á-tí*   *wakámé* *a-ka-bi:h-a*   *entâle.*

SPr1-RemPst-me-tell-Appl-FV SPr1-that hare   SPr1-RemPst-deveive-FV   lion

'He told me that the hare deceived the lion.'

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. null

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

V. yes

N. see **P127**.

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

V. 5: both a conjunction and a specific tense/aspect/mood are required in the same clause. The word *kakúbâ* 'if' and tone are used.

kakúbá   n-génd-a   Hóima

if   I-go-FV   Hoima (a town name)

'If I go to Hoima...'

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

V. yes

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

V. no

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

V. yes

Na:kuge.nzere   Hóima.

n-a:-ku-ge.nz-ere Hóima

I-Irr$_1$-Irr$_2$-go-Perf Hoima (a town name)

'I would go to Hoima.' or 'I would have gone to Hoima.'

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

V. 3 by a specific temporal relative construction

Obu ngé:ndá Hóima, ngenda owa Kátô

when   I.go   Hoima   I.go   the.house.of   Kato

'When I go to Hoima, I go to Kato's.'

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

V. 3 by a specific locative relative construction

Aha ngé:nda, halíyó enjúra nyî:ngi.

the.place   I.go   there.is   rain   much

'There is much rain at the place where I usually go.'

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

V. 1 by the verb 'surpass/exceed'

Kátó n'a:kírá Bagônza.

Kátó   ni   a-kír-á   Bagônza

Kato   Prog   SPr1-exceed-Fv   bagonza

'Kato is better than Bagonza.' [lit.] 'Kato exceeds Bagonza.'

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. null

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. null

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

V. yes

N. see **P097**.

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

V. yes

1. *-ónkâ or -énkâ* 'only'

Abakázi bónkâ ní bó barukugéndáyô.

women   only   it.is   them   who.are.going.there

'It is only women who are going there.'

2. *na* 'even'

Na Basábá n'a:sobórá kuhandî:ka.

'Even Basaba can write (letters).'

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. yes

N. see **P097**.