

## Ganda (JE15)<sup>†</sup>

Judith Nakayiza and Nobuko Yoneda

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

V. 1 V shape only

<i>o-mu-sómésa</i>	‘teacher’
<i>e-chí-bala</i>	‘fruit’
<i>e-bí-bala</i>	‘fruits’

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

V. yes

Syntactic

<i>mwana gwe nng’amba</i>	‘the child who I am talking to’
<i>Omwana gwe nng’amba.</i>	‘It’s the child who I am talking to.’

Information structure (see P142)

<i>Mukasa a-lyá ebinyeebwa.</i>	‘Musaka is eating groundnuts.’ thetic
<i>Mukasa a-lyá binyeebwa (si matooke).</i>	‘Musaka is eating GROUNDNUTS (not bananas).’

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

V. 3 CV shape, possibly alternating with zero-marking

cl.5: <i>li-nnyo</i>	‘tooth’	cf. cl.6: <i>ma-nnyo</i>	‘teeth’
cl.5: <i>líiso</i>	‘eye’	cl.6: <i>máaso</i>	‘eyes’

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

V. 21 (17 +4 locatives)

- 1: *mu-* 2: *ba-*  
3: *mu-* 4: *mi-*  
5: *li-* 6: *ma-* (augmentative)  
7: *ki-* 8: *zi-*  
9: *n-* 10: *n-*

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<sup>†</sup> The phonemic inventory of this language is as follows; Consonants: /p, t, k, b, d, g, f, v, s, z, tʃ, dʒ, m, n, ɲ, ŋ, l[l~r], w, j/, Vowels: /i, e[ɛ], a, o[ɔ], u /. Tone marking, where available, is given as surface realization; [á]: high, [â]: falling. Abbreviations used in the gloss are as follows; 1, 2, 3...: Class numbers, 1sg/pl...: Person + Singular/Plural, APPL: Applicative, cl.: Class, CON: Connective, COP: Copula, F: Final, FUT: Future, INF: Infinitive, LOC: locative, NEG: Negative, OM: Object Marker, PASS: passive, pl.: plural, PRF: Perfect, PROG: progressive, PRS: Present, PST: Past, REC: Reciprocal, RM: Relative Marker, sg.: single, SM: Subject Marker, SF: Subjunctive final, -: Affix boundary.

11: <i>lu-</i>		
12: <i>ka-</i>	13: <i>tu-</i>	diminutive
14: <i>bu-</i>		
15: <i>ku-</i>		infinitive
16: <i>wa-</i>		locative
17: <i>ku-</i>		locative
18: <i>mu-</i>		locative
20: <i>gu-</i>	22: <i>ga-</i>	augmentative
23: <i>e-</i>		locative

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

V. yes

<i>oku-somesa</i>	‘to teach’ (class 15)	cf. <i>tusomesa</i>	‘we teach’
<i>okwámبالا</i>	‘to dress up’ < <i>oku-ambala</i>	cf. <i>twámبالا</i>	

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

V. yes

12: <i>akáana</i>	‘baby, small child’	13: <i>otwáana</i>	‘babies, small children’
12: <i>akatébe</i>	‘small chair’	13: <i>otutébe</i>	‘small chairs’ (grammatical but not very natural)
cf. 9: <i>entéve</i>	‘chair’	10: <i>entéve</i>	‘chairs’

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

V. yes

cl. 5: <i>eggwála (e-li-wala)</i>	‘big tall girl’	cl. 8?: <i>ebiwála</i>	‘big tall guys’ (size)
cl.20: <i>oguwála</i>	‘big tall girl’	cl.22: <i>agawála</i>	‘big tall guys’ (more abusive)
cl. 1: <i>omuwála</i>	‘girl’	cl. 2: <i>abawála</i>	‘girls’

**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

cl.16. <i>wa-nsi</i>	‘down’
<i>wa-mbéli</i>	‘side’
cl.17. <i>ku-mééza</i>	‘on the table’
<i>ku-nsi</i>	‘on earth’
<i>ku-nyumba</i>	‘on the top of the house’

- cl.18. *mu-nyumba* ‘in the house’  
*mu-nsi* ‘on earth (< in earth)’
- cl.21. *e-Kampala* ‘to Kampala’ with proper nouns \**e-nyumba* (to the house)

**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

- cl.16. *Wansi wa-ményésé.* *okumenyeka* ‘to break’  
 ‘The floor is broken.’
- cl.17. *Kumeeza ku-kalábuse.* *okukalabuka* ‘to scratch’  
 ‘The top of the desk is scratched.’
- cl.18. *Munnyumba mu-li-mu abantu bángi.*  
 ‘In the room there are many people.’  
*Munnyumba mu-ebas-e-mu omwâna.* *okuebaka* ‘to sleep’  
 ‘In the room is sleeping a child.’
- cf. *Munnyumba omwâna ye-ebase.*  
 ‘In the room a child is sleeping.’
- cl.23. *Ejapani bo-ogela luJapani.*  
 ‘In Japan they speak Japanese.’  
*Ejapani wo-oononese.* *okuononeka* ‘to destroy’  
 ‘Japan is destroyed.’

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

V. no

- a. *Njágálá énnímílo yange.* *okuagala* ‘to like’  
 I.like garden my  
 ‘I like my garden.’
- b. \**Nja-mu-gala.*
- c. \**Nja-ku-gala.*

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

V. yes

- okuzza* ‘to clean’
- cl.16. *Nayonje zza wansi.*  
*Nayonje zza-wo.*
- cl.17. *Nayonje zza kumééza (kungúlu).*  
*Nayonje zza-ko.*

cl.18. *Njágála-mo*.

**P014 Independent subject pronouns: Are independent subject pronouns obligatory?**

V. no

for contrast or/and emphasis

*Nze na-mu-kubye.* ‘(Not other person but) I beat him.’

I SM1sg.PST-OM1-beat.PRF

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

V. yes

a. *kalámú yo ’músomésa* ‘a pen of a teacher’  
pen CON.teacher

b. *amágúlí g’omowala* ‘legs of a girl’  
legs CON.girl

c. *ekitabo ky’oluganda* (< *ekitabo kya luganda*) ‘a book of Ganda language’  
book CON.Ganda

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

V. no

*amányá gákyó* ‘its names (a book)’

*amányá gábyó* ‘their names (books)’

*amagúlu gááyó* ‘its legs (cow)’

*amagúlu gáázó* ‘their legs (cows)’

*amagúlu ge* ‘his legs (person)’

*amagúlu gáabwé* ‘their legs (chair)’

*amagúlu gááyo* ‘its legs (chairs)’

*amagúlu gange* ‘my legs’

*amagúlu gaffe* ‘our legs’

*amagúlu go* ‘your (sg.) legs’

*amagúlugammwe* ‘your (pl.) legs’

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

V. yes

see **P016** for examples, and no exceptions

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

V. no

*mámá wange* 'my mother'

*omukóno gwange* 'my hand'

*ekitábo kyange* 'my book'

**P019 Possessor raising: Is possessor raising possible?**

V. 2 yes, with inalienable possession only

a. *N-ja ku-kuba abaana omutwe.* 'I will hit children's head.'

I- FUT INF-hit children head (< *n-jja*, cf. *tu-jja*)

b. \**Nja kukuba abaana embwa.* (I will hit a children's dog.)

c. *Nja kukuba embwa y'abaana.* 'I will hit a children's dog.'

**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

	cl. 7	cl. 1
near speaker:	<i>kinó</i>	<i>onó</i>
near hearer:	<i>ekyó</i>	<i>oyó</i>
far from both:	<i>kiri</i>	<i>orí</i>

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

V. 1 yes, always

see **P020**

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

V. yes

relativiser, copular

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

V. yes

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

V. yes

	cl.1 'woman'	cl.2 'women'	cl.4 'fruits'	cl.7 'book'
my	<i>omukazi w-ange</i>	<i>abakazi b-ange</i>	<i>emikyungwa gy-ange</i>	<i>ekitabo ch-ange</i>
good	<i>omukazi mu-lungi</i>	<i>abakazi ba-lungi</i>	<i>emikyungwa mi-rungi</i>	<i>ekitabo ki-rungi</i>
	<i>omukazi o-no</i>	<i>abakazi ba-no</i>	<i>emikyungwa gi-no</i>	<i>ekitabo ki-no</i>
1, 2	<i>omukazi o-mu</i>	<i>abakazi ba-biri</i>	<i>emikyungwa e-biri</i>	<i>ekitabo ki-mu</i>

	cl.7,8 <i>ekitabo</i> 'book(s)'	cl.3,4 <i>mukyungwa</i> 'fruit(s)'
one	<i>kimú</i>	<i>gumú</i>
two	<i>bibíri</i>	<i>ebíri</i>
three	<i>bisátu</i>	<i>esátu</i>
four	<i>biná</i>	<i>ená</i>
five	<i>bitáano</i>	<i>etáano</i>
six	<i>mukáaga</i>	<i>mukáaga</i>
seven	<i>musáánvú</i>	<i>musáánvú</i>
eight	<i>munááná</i>	<i>munááná</i>
nine	<i>mwendá</i>	<i>mwendá</i>
ten	<i>kúmi</i>	<i>kúmi</i>

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

V. no

- a. *kitabó kirúngi* 'a/the good book'
- b. *ekitabó eki-rúngi* 'a/the good book'
- c. *Ekitabó kino kirúngi.* 'This book is good.'  
 book this good
- e. *Kinó kitabó kirúngi.* 'This is a good book.' (general statement)  
 this book good
- e. *Kinó kye kitabó ekirungi.* 'This is the good book. < This is (which is) the good book.'
- f. *Kinó ekitabó kye kirúngi.* 'This is the book which is good.'  
 this book RM good
- g. \**Kinó ekitabó ekirúngi.*
- h. \**Kinó kye kitabó kirungi.* 'This is (which is) good book.'  
 this RM book good
- i. *Kinó kyé ekitabó ekirungi.* 'This is (which is) good book.'  
 this RM book good
- j. *Ekitabó kinó kye kirúngi* 'This book is (which is) good.'  
 book this RM good
- muwala munéne / omuwalá omunéne* 'a/the big girl'
- Omuwalá munéne.* 'The girl is big.'

N. Both can be used as a complete phrase, but when the adjective is used as a predicate, initial vowel does not appear. Also the initial vowel of adjective does not appear when the noun does not appear with initial vowel.

‘I want a new dress.’	<i>Njágálá ólúgóye olupyá. &lt; okwagala</i>
‘I want a good dress.’	<i>Njágálá ólúgóye olulúngi.</i>
‘I want a dress which is good.’	<i>Njágálá ólúgóye nga lulúngi. / Njágálá ólúgóye olulúngi.</i>
‘I washed my dress.’	<i>Náyózézzá olugóye lwangé.</i>
‘The book is mine.’	<i>Ekitábó kyánge.</i>
‘I left my book.’	<i>Nálésé ekitábo kyánge.</i>
‘I left the book which is mine.’	<i>Nálésé ekitábo ekyánge.</i>
‘The book is good.’	<i>Ekitabo kilúngi.</i>
‘I want a good book.’	<i>Njágálá ekitábó ekilúngi.</i>
‘I want a book which is good.’	<i>Njágálá ekitábó nga kilúngi. / njágálá ekitábó ekilúngi.</i>
‘The child is mine.’	<i>Omwána wánge.</i>
‘I love my child.’	<i>Njágálá ómwána wange.</i>
‘I love the child who is mine.’	<i>Njágálá ómwána owânge.</i>
‘The child is good.’	<i>Omwána mulúngi.</i>
‘I love a good child.’	<i>Njágálá ómwána omulúngi.</i>
‘I love a child who is good.’	<i>Njágálá ómwána omulúngi. / Njágálá ómwána nga mulúngi.</i>

**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/augmentative/qualitative meanings only

- ekikazikazi* ‘weak woman, not well mannered woman’
- musajja- mukazi* ‘a man like a woman’

N. But not very productive.

**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

<i>zimba</i>	‘to build’	<i>zimbi</i>	‘a builder’
<i>fumba</i>	‘to cook’	<i>fumbi</i>	‘a cook’
<i>wandika</i>	‘to write’	<i>muwandisi</i>	‘a writer’
<i>kola</i>	‘to work’	<i>kozi</i>	‘a worker’

**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

<i>soma</i>	‘to study, to read’	<i>somo</i>	‘subject, lesson’
		<i>somero</i>	‘school’
<i>lima</i>	‘to cultivate’	<i>limilo</i>	‘garden’
<i>fumba</i>	‘to cook’	<i>fumbilo</i>	‘a kitchen’
<i>kola</i>	‘to work’	<i>kolero</i>	‘factory’
<i>yolesa</i>	‘to show’	<i>omwoleso</i>	‘exhibition’
<i>toka</i>	‘to mix’	<i>katogo</i>	‘mixture of everything’

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

V. no

see **P027**

**P031 ‘arm’ and ‘hand’: Is there a single stem that denotes both ‘arm’ and ‘hand’?**

V. yes

arm / hand: *omukóno, emikóno*

**P032 ‘hand’ and ‘finger’: Is there a single stem that denotes both ‘hand’ and ‘finger’?**

V. yes

hand, finger: *engáló, engáló*

**P033 ‘leg’ and ‘foot’: Is there a single stem that denotes both ‘leg’ and ‘foot’?**

V. yes

leg, foot: *kugúlú, magúlú*

**P034 ‘tea’: Is the word for ‘tea’ similar to cha?**

V. yes

*ccai*

**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. yes

a. *A-e-basé.*

SM1-PST-sleep.PRF

‘She is sleeping.’

b. *Ekikópo ki-a-tisé. > kyá*

7.cup SM7-PST-be\_broken.PRF

‘The cup is broken.’

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

V. yes

a. *Ekitabo ki-someddwa abantu bangi.*

7.book SM7-read.PASS.PRF people many

‘Book has read by many people.’ (neutral)

b. *Ekitabo ki-someddwa bantu.*

7.book SM7-read.PASS.PRF 2.people

‘Book has read by people (not animal).’

c. *Omwana a-kubiddwa.*

1.child SM1-beat.PASS.PRF

‘A child has been beaten.’

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

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

V. n.a

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

V. 1 through the use of a verbal affix only

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

V. no

**P042 Causative: How is causative meaning expressed ?**

V. 3 both 1 (through the use of verbal affixation only) and 2 (through the use of a specific construction only (i.e. the use of a periphrastic construction))

*ku-kaaba* ‘to cry’

*ku-kaab-is-a* ‘to make someone cry’

a. *A-kaab-izza* *abaana.*  
SM1.PST-cry-CAUS.PRF 2.children  
‘He made children cry.’

b. *A-leetera* *abaana* *oku-kaaba.*  
SM1.PST-bring 2.children INF-cry

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

V. yes

a. *Na-liisizza* *(e)kigiiko emmere.*  
SM1sg.PST-eat.CAUS.PRF 7.spoon food  
‘I ate food with spoon’

b. *Na-kozesezza* *(e)kigiiko ku-lya emmere.* *okukozesa* ‘to use’  
SM1sg.PST-use.PRF 7.spoon INF-eat food  
‘I used a spoon to eat food. (it is spoon that I used, not anything else)’

**P044 Applicative: How are applicative constructions formed?**

V. 1 through the use of a verbal affix only

*oku-fimb-ir-a* *abaana* ‘to cook for children’  
INF-cook-APPL-F children

a. *Tu-a-fumbye.* ‘We cooked.’  
SM1pl-PST-cook.PRF

b. *Tu-a-fumb-ir-ire.* > *twafumbidde* ‘We cooked for ~.’  
SM1pl-PST-cook-APPL-PRF

c. *Na-fumbye* *emmere.* ‘I cooked.’  
SM1sg.PST-cook.PRF food

d. *Na-fumbidde* *abaana emmere.* ‘I cooked food for children.’  
SM1sg.PST-cook-APPL.PRF children food

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

V. yes

Locative: *Na-fumbidde* *Kampala*.  
 SM1sg.PST-cook.APPL.PRF *Kampala*  
 ‘I cooked in Kampala.’ (place)

N. No instrument use

**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

*oku-fumba* ‘to cook’  
*oku-fumb-ir-a* ‘to cook for ~’  
*oku-fumb-irir-a* ‘to cook repeatedly’

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

V. 1 yes, the suffix *-ik-* or similar form

- a. *Ayasizza* *ekikopo*. *oku-yasa* (> *okwasa*) ‘to break’  
 SM1.PST.break.F 7.cup  
 ‘He has broken a cup.’
- b. *Ekikopo* *kya-tise*. *oku-yatika* (> *okwatika*) ‘to be broken’  
 7.cup SM7.PST-be.broken.PRF  
 ‘A cup is broken.’

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

V. 1 yes, causative-applicative-reciprocal-passive (CARP) order

*Ba-a-fumb-ir-igan-iddwa*.  
 SM2-PST-cook-APPL-REC-PASS.PRF  
 ‘They married < they were cooked repeatedly each other.’

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

V. 1 by morphological modification of the verb

*Tu-som-a* *ekitabo*. ‘We read a book.’  
 we-read-F book

*Te-tu-som-a* *ekitabo*. ‘We don’t read a book.’  
 NEG-we-read-F book

*Tu-a-som-a* *ekitbo*. ‘We read a book.’  
 we-PST-read-F book

*Te-tu-a-som-a* *ekitabo*. ‘We didn’t read a book.’  
 NEG-we-read-F book

*Ekikopo kino te-ki-a-tise.* > *tekyatise* 'This cup is not broken.'

7.cup this NEG-SM7-PST-be.broken

*Si-som-a ekitabo.* 'I don't read a book.'

NEG.SM1sg-read-F book

\**Te-n-soma*

\**Si-tu-soma ekitabo.*

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

V. 1 by morphological modification of the verb

*Ka tu-some.* 'Let's read' (*ka* here is not meaning of moving)

*Ka tu-leme kusoma.* 'Let's not read'

*Tu-some.* 'Let's read.'

*Te-tu-soma.* 'Let's not read.'

*Te-tu-ki-kora kati.* 'Let's not do it now.'

NEG-SM1pl-OM7-do now

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

V. no

a. *Te-tu-a-zzeemu kibuuzo kino eggulo.*  
NEG-SM1pl-PST-answer question this yesterday

'We didn't answer this question yesterday.'

b. *Kino kye kibuuzo kye tu-ta-zzeemu eggulo.*  
this COP question RM SM1pl-NEG-answer yesterday

'This is the question which we didn't answer yesterday.'

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

V. 1 in the pre-initial position only? (NEG-SM-...)

#### **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. *Nja ku-jja bwe-o-te-beer-e (> bwotobeere) na byakukóla.*  
SM1sg.FUT INF-come when-SM2sg-NEG-live-F with work

'I will come when you don't have work.'

b. *Nyambadde engoye nnyingio buta-walira mpewo.*  
I.have.wore clothes many NEG-INF-feel cold

- b'. *Nyambadde engoye nnyingi n-lem-e (> nneme) ku-walira mpewo.*  
 I.have.wore clothes many SM1sg- refuse -SF INF-feel cold  
 'I wear a lot of clothes so that I don't feel cold.'
- c. *Tu-fumb-ir-e tu-leme ku-fumba.*  
 OM1pl.-cook-APPR-F SM1pl-refuse INF-cook  
 'Cook for us so that we don't have to cook.'
- d. *Bwe-o-to-tu-fumb-ir-e (> bwototufumbire) mmere tu-jja ku-fumba.*  
 when-SM2sg-NEG-OM1pl.-cook-APPL-F food SM1pl-FUT INF-cook  
 'If you don't cook for us, we will cook.'
- e. *Bwe-ba-ta-tu-fumb-ir-e mmere tu-jja ku-fumba.*  
 when-SM2-NEG-OM1pl.-cook-APPL-F food SM1pl-FUT INF-cook  
 'If they don't cook for us, we will cook.'

**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. no

**P057 First person singular negative: Is there a specific first person singular negative subject prefix which is different from the affirmative one?**

V. 1 yes, in all contexts (all tense/aspect/mood)

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

V. no

*Te-o-genda.* > *togenda* 'Don't go.'

NEG-SM2sg-go

*Te-mu-genda.* 'Don't go (for plural)'

NEG-SM2pl-go

*Te-tú-génda.* 'Let's not go.'

NEG-SM1pl-go

cf. *Té-tú-génda.* 'We don't go.'

- a. *Tu-a-soma nnyo tu-lem-e oku-gwa ebibuuzo.*  
 SM1pl-PST-study much SM1pl-refuse-SF INF-fail exam  
 ‘Let’s study hard not to fail the exams.’
- b. *Tu-soma nnyo obuta-gwa bibuuzo. (< te-tu-gwa)*  
 SM1pl-study much NEG.INF-fail exam  
 ‘Let’s study hard so that we don’t fail exams.’
- cf. *okusoma* ‘to study’ *obutasoma* ‘not to study’

**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

*kulema* ‘to refuse’ is used as negation only in subjunctive.

- a. *Yámizé eddagala a-leme kú-lwala.*  
 he. swallowed medicine he-refuse to-be.sick  
 ‘He had medicine not to get sick.’
- b. *A-lemye oku-lya emmére.* ‘He has refused to eat food.’  
 SM1-refuse.PRF INF-eat food
- c. *Bulikadde a-lemma oku-lya emmére.* ‘He always refuses to eat food.’  
 always SM1-refuse INF-eat food

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

V. yes

**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

- 1pl *tu-*  
 2pl *mu-*

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

V. 2 class 2 morphology

*ka-n-ba-yite-ko* > *kambaiteko*

let-1sg-3PL-pass-?

- a. *N-ba-tumidde.* > *mbatumidde* ‘I greet you.’  
SM1sg-OM2-greet
- b. *Tu-ba-sanyuki-ir-e* > *tu-ba-sanyukidde* ‘We welcome you.’  
SM1pl-OM2-be.happy.APPL-F
- c. *Ba-tu-we* *ssente.* ‘Give us money.’  
SM2-OM1pl-give money
- c’. *Mu-tu-we* (impolite than *batuwe*, because it sounds like pointing a person)

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

V. 2 the verb always shows agreement with the whole noun phrase (this includes default agreement)

- a. *Omuyembe n'ekikopo bigudde.* ‘A mango and a cup fell down.’  
mango COP.cup fell.down
- b. *Omuyembe n'ekkovu bigudde.* ‘A mango and snail fell down.’  
mango COP.snale fell.down

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

V. 3 past time is divided into three

- a. *bá-génd-e* resent past  
they-go-PST
- b. *bá-á-génd-e* middle past  
they- PST-go-PST
- c. *bá-á-gend-a* far past  
they-PST-go-F

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

V. 3 future time is divided into three

- a. *bá-genda* near future / progressive / simple present  
cf. *bá-genda búli jjo* ‘they go every day’
- b. *bajja ku-genda (bajjagenda)* middle future
- c. *bá-li-gendá* far 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

*twásom-ang-á* ‘We used to read’ past habitual

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

V. yes

<i>Tu-li-ire.</i>	>	<i>tulidde</i>	‘We have eaten.’	<i>okulya</i>	‘to eat’
<i>Tu-gend-ire.</i>	>	<i>tugenze</i>	‘We have been.’	<i>okugenda</i>	‘to go’
<i>Tu-som-ire.</i>	>	<i>tusomye</i>	‘We have read/studied.’	<i>okusoma</i>	‘to read/ study’
cf. <i>Tu-ly-e</i>	>	<i>tulye</i>	‘Let’s eat.’		
<i>Tu-gend-e</i>	>	<i>tugende</i>	‘Let’s go.’		
<i>Tu-som-e</i>	>	<i>tusome</i>	‘Let’s read’		

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

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

(Even in the case of the action at the same place)

- Ka-n-som-e.* ‘Let me read/ Let me go and read.’  
let-I-study-SF
- Ka-m-pa-andiike bino.* ‘Let me write it down.’
- Ka-n-wandiik-e.* ‘Let me write.’
- Ka-tu-wandiik-e.* ‘Let’s write.’
- Ka-o-som-e.* > *koosomé* ‘Let you read.’
- Ka-ba-som-e.* ‘Let them read.’

N. It appears only in subjunctive. It means not ‘go and ~’, but rather near future?

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

V. indicate how expressions like ‘to come and V’ are formed

- Ka-n-jj-e*                      *n-ku-yamb-e.*                      (> *kanzigye / kanjje*)  
let-SM1sg-come-SF    SM1sg-OM2sg-help-SF  
‘Let me come and help you.’
- Ka-tu-jj-e*                      *tu-ku-yámb-e.*  
let-SM1pl-come-SF    SM1pl-OM2sg-help-SF  
‘Let us come and help you.’

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

V. yes

see **P072** for example

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

V. 3 yes, the plural is expressed by the addition of a second person plural subject marker

*Soma.* (for singular)

*Musome.* (for plural)



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

V. yes

**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

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

V. 2 yes, in most contexts and the order is flexible (but with some exceptions)

‘I bought it for you (sg).’

- a. *n-a-ki-mu-gulidde*
- b. *n-a-mu-ki-gulidde* (not as common as (a))

‘I told it to you for them.’

- a. *n-a-ki-ba-mu-gambidde*
- b. *n-a-ki-ba-mu-gambidde*
- c. *?n-a-mu-ba-ki-gambidde* (still fine)
- d. *?n-a-mu-ki-ba-gambidde*

‘I told it to them for you (sg).’

- a. *n-a-ki-ba-ku-gambidde*
- b. *n-a-ba-ki-ku-gambidde*
- c. *n-a-ba-ku-ki-gambidde*
- d. *??n-a-ku-ki-ba-gambidde* (but still meaning is the same)

**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*)

*N-ee-kubye.* ‘I have beaten myself.’

*Tu-ee-kubye.* > *twekubye* ‘We have beaten ourselves.’

**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

‘I bought a book.’

- a. *Na-gula ekitabo.*  
SM1sg.PST-buy 7.book
- b. *Na-ki-gula kitabo.*  
SM1sg.PST-OM7-buy 7.book

‘I met my friend.’

- a. *Na-labye mukwano gwange.*  
SM1sg.PST-meet.PRF 1.friend my
- b. *Na-mu-labye mukwano gwange.*  
SM1sg.PST-OM1-meet.PRF 1.friend my

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

V. yes

- Tusome.* < *tu-som-e* ‘Let’s read.’
- Tusomye.* < *tu-som-ire* ‘We have read.’
- Tubasomedde.* < *tu-ba-som-ir-ire* ‘We have read for them.’

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

V. no

**P081 Defective verbs: Are there ‘defective verbs’ which do not exhibit regular inflection?**

V. no

- okumanya* ‘to know’
- okuogera* ‘to say’
- okusaakinga* ‘to search’
- okumikisinga* ‘to mix’

**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

- Tujja kugenda.* ‘We will go.’
- Bajja kugenda.* ‘They will go.’
- Túliná okugéndá.* ‘We must go.’ > *tulino*
- Báliná okugéndá.* ‘They must go.’
- Túyinzá okugéndá.* ‘We may go.’ > *tiyinzo*

*Báyinzá okugéndá.* ‘They may go.’

*Twáli tutambula*

*Bááli batambula*

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

V. yes

*Bajja kuba batambula.* ‘We will be walking.’

*Osanga bajja kugenda.* ‘Maybe we will go.’

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

V. no

N. Sometimes with the main verb. It depends on auxiliaries. See **P082**

**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. 1 yes, only in the domain of modality (ability, possibility, permission)

*Tujja kuba nga okulima okukola.* ‘We will have to work.’

*Oyinza okuyingira.* ‘You may come in.’

*Tujja kusobola okukola.* ‘We will be able to work.’

*Bajja kusobola okukola.* ‘They will be able to work.’

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

V. yes

*Njja kuba musomesa.* ‘I will be a teacher.’

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

V. yes

a. *Omwana eyagenze ku somelo afudde.* ‘A child who went to school has died.’  
1.child who.went to school died

b. *Omwana gwe twalabye eggulo.* ‘The child who I saw yesterday’  
1.child RM1 we.say yesterday

c. *Ekitabo ekyagudde kyange.* ‘The book which fell down is mine.’  
7.book RM7.fell.down mine

- d. *Ekitabo omwana ky'a-soma.* 'The book the child is reading'  
 7.book 1.child RM7.SM1-read
- e. *Ekitabo ky'a-soma.* 'The book which he is reading'  
 book RM7.SM3sg-read

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

V. no

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

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

**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

- a. *Omwana maama gwe yasanze eggulo.* < *a-a-sanze*  
 child mother RM1 she.found yesterday SM3SG-PST-find  
 'The child who (my) mother found yesterday.'

- b.\* *Omwana gwe maama yasanze eggulo.*  
 child RM1 mother she.found yesterday

N. Although *gwe* is written as a separate word in the orthography of Ganda, I think it is a verbal prefix. In this meaning, the value should be 'n.a'. See **P087**

**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

- Nasomye ekitabo omusomesa kye-yaguze.* 'I read a book which teacher bought.'  
 I.read 7.book teacher RM7-she.bought

**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

*Omwana a-ki-soma.*

- a. \**Ekitabo omwana ky'a-ki-soma.*  
7.book 1.child RM7.SM1-OM7-read
- b. *Ekitabo omwana ky'a-soma.*  
7.book 1.child RM7.SM1-read  
'The book a child is reading'

**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

- a. *Njakuwa nga nzize.* < *njakukuwa nga n-jj-e*  
I will give when I.come  
'When I come I will give you'
- b. *Fumba nga bwe na-ku-gambye.*  
cook how like I-you-told  
'Cook how I told you.'
- c. *Ázzee-yo naté mu kifo we-twasisinkana/gye-twasisinkana.*  
he.went-there again in place where-we.met
- c'. *Ázzee-yo naté we-twasisinka/gye-twasisinkana.*  
he.went-there again where-we.met  
'He visited the place again where we met.'

**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. yes

- |                              |   |
|------------------------------|---|
| <i>ekítábó kyetúlisómá</i>   | 'the book which we read'                              |
| <i>kyetujja okusoma</i>      | 'the book which we will read'                         |
| <i>kyetúgéndá okusoma</i>    | 'the book which we are going to read'                 |
| <i>kyetúsómá kati</i>        | 'the book which we are reading now'                   |
| <i>kyetúsómá buli lunáku</i> | 'the book which we read every day'                    |
| <i>kyetwákasoma</i>          | 'the book which we have read' (finish just now)       |
| <i>kyetusomye</i>            | 'the book which we read' (near past, a few hours ago) |
| <i>kyetwásomyé</i>           | 'the book which we read' (middle past)                |
| <i>kyetwásómá</i>            | 'the book which we read' (far past)                   |

**P097 Clefts: How are clefts formed?**

V. 2 through modification of the noun (linked with the tonal/segmental augment)

- a. *Njágálá kááwa.* 'I like coffee.'  
b. *Kááwa gwenjagála.* 'It is coffee which I like.'
- a. *Nágúzé amatóóké égulo.* 'I bought matoke yesterday.'  
b. *(A)matóóké génnágúzéégulo.* 'It's matoke which I bought yesterday.'

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

V. yes

- a. *Bánzálá ku-kyálo kinó.* 'I was born in this village.'  
I.was.born 17-village this
- b. *Kino kye kyalo ku-ebanzala.* 'It is the village where I was born.'  
this is village RM17-I.was.born
- a. *Omwána wangé okubá nga a-sómá namányi kí-n-sányusá.*  
child my to.be PROG he-study hard it-me-make.happy  
'(The fact that) my child is studying hard makes me happy.'
- b. *Kí-n-sányusá omwána wangé okubá nga a-sómá namányi.*  
it-me-make.happy child my to.be PROG he-study hard  
'It makes me happy that my child is studying hard.'

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

V. no

- Básoma lugánda.* 'They study/are studying Luganda.'  
*Básoma olugándâ.* 'Do they study/are studying Luganda.'  
*Básoma lugánda.* 'Do they study/are studying Luganda.' (it sounds having other choice)
- Báagala matóóke.* 'They like matoke.'  
*Báagala amatóóke.* 'Do they like matoke?'  
*Báagala matooke.* 'Do they like matoke?'

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

V. 5 in situ

- a. *Aní yaguze olugóye eggulo?* 'Who bought the dress yesterday?'  
b. *Aní alígulá olugóye?* 'Who will buy the dress?'  
c. *María alígula olugóye.* 'Maria will buy the dress.'

‘I bought the dress yesterday.’

a. *Nágúzé olugóye eggulo.*

I.bought dress yesterday

b. *Nágúzé eggulo olugóye.* (in the case when the focus on yesterday)

I.bought yesterday dress

‘What did you buy yesterday?’

a. *Wágúze kí eggulo?*

you.bought what yesterday.

b. *Kí kyewágúzé eggulo?*

what which.you.bought yesterday

‘When did you buy a dress?’

a. *Wágúze ddi olugoye?*

you.bought when dress

b. *Ddí lwewáguzé olugóye?*

when which.you.bought dress

c. *\*Wágúze olugoye ddi ?*

‘I bought the dress at the market.’

a. *Nágúzé olugóye mukatále.*

I.bought dress LOC.market

b. *Nágúzé mukatále olugóye.*

I.bought LOC.market dress

‘Where did you buy a dress?’

c. *Wáguzé wá olugóye?*

you.bought where dress

d. *Wáguzé olugóye wá?*

you.bought dress where

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

V. yes

‘Why do you beat students?’

a. *Okúb-ír-á kí abayízi?*

you.beat.APPL what students

- b. *Lwáki okúba abayízi?*  
 for.what=why you.beat students

‘Why is he coming to London?’

- a. *Ajíla kí e London?*  
 he.come.APPL what LOC London
- b. *Lwáki ajja e London?*  
 for.what he.come LOC London

N. There is another way using the word *lwaki* ‘why (<for what)’

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

V. 2 variable (class-inflected) copulas only + **adding initial vowel**

- Omusómésa mulúngi.* ‘Teacher is good.’  
*Musómésa mulúngi.* ‘He is a good teacher.’  
*omusómésa omulúngi* ‘the teacher who is good’

- a. *Ekitabo kipyá.* ‘The book is new.’
- b. *Ekitábó kyé bá-á-n-wádde (> bampadde) kyé kipyá.* (kye is L)  
 7.book RM7 SM3pl-PST-OM1sg-give.PRF RM7 new  
 ‘The book which they gave me is new.’
- c. \**Ekitabo kye kipyá.* (The book is new.)
- d. *Omuyémbé gwe bá-á-kú-wádde gwe mulúngi.* (gwe is L)  
 3.mango RM3 SM3pl-PST.OM2sg-give.PRF RM3 good  
 ‘The mango which you gave you are good.’

- a. *N-sómá ékítábó ékípyá.* ‘I am reading a new book.’  
 b. *ékítábó ékípyá* ‘the book which is new’  
 c. *Abayízi bano bapyá.* ‘These students are new.’  
 d. *Tu-jja kuisinkana abayízi abapyá.* ‘We will meet new students.’

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

V. 6 multiple strategy

*li* is used only with 1st and 2nd person

embedded copular for 3rd person

derived from demonstrative pronouns for classes

- a. *Ndi nobuko.* < *n-li* ‘I am Nobuko.’  
 b. *Tu-li-bayizi.* ‘We are students.’



- c. *O-li muízi.* ‘You are a student.’  
 d. *Mú-li báyízi.* ‘You are students.’  
 e. *Muyízi.* ‘He is a student.’  
 f. *Bayízi.* ‘They are students.’
- a. *Akambe ke, ke-yaguze jjo, ke-ka-menyese.*  
 ‘His knife, which he bought yesterday, is the one broken.’
- b. *Ekitabo kye, kye-yaguze jjo, kye ki-buze.*  
 ‘His book, which he bought yesterday, is the one which is lost.’
- c. *Omwana we, gwe yazaala jjo, ye yabuze.* < *okubula* ‘to lose’  
 child his who he.was.born recently COP he.was lost  
 ‘His child who was born recently is the one who lost.’
1. *Omwána wê, gwe yázáálá jjó, ye yáwángudde.*  
 child his who he.was.born recently COP he.won  
 ‘His child who was born recently is the one who won.’
2. *Abána bê, beyazaala jjo, be báwángudde.*
3. *Omutí gwe gwe-ya-sima jjo, gwe bátémyé.*  
 which-he.planted
- 3’. *Omutí gwe ogwa-simbiddwa jjo, gwe bátémyé / gwe gutemeddwa.*  
 which.was.planted
4. *Emiti gye gyayasima jjo, gyebatemye.*
- 4’. *Emiti gye egyasimbidde jjo, gye batemye / gye gitemeddwa.*
9. *Enkumbi ye gye-yalimisizza eggulo y’emenyese / gye bamenye.*  
 small.hoe his which-he.cultivate.with yesterday which is broken / which they broke

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

V. yes

- a. *Ndi muKampala.* ‘I am in Kampala.’ \**ndi e Kampala*  
 b. *Tu-li-na ensawo.* ‘We have bags.’

**P105 ‘to have’: How is possession (‘to have’) expressed?**

V. 4 both 1 (a possessive copula only (subject marker + preposition)) and 2 (the verb ‘be’ + preposition ‘with’ only)

- a. *Nina abaana basatu.* ‘I have three children.’ < *n-li-na*  
 b. *Tulina abaana basatu.* ‘we have three children.’  
 c. *Tuba na abaana basatu.* ‘we are with three children.’  
 d. *A-li-na abakazi bangi.* ‘He had many wives.’

- e. *A-ba n'abakazi bangi.* 'He had (was with) many women.'  
 f. *Nina engóye nyíngi.* 'I have many dresses.'

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

V. no

**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. 1 yes, for verb focus

- a. *Oku-fumba n-fumba.* 'I am cooking' (progressive) / I COOK. (focus on the verb)  
 INF-cook SM1sg-cook
- b. *Oku-fumba n-fumba naye te-bi-jja ku-wooma.*  
 INF-cook SM1sg-cook but NEG-SM-FUT INF-be.tasty  
 'I am cooking, but it will not be tasty.'

**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

*oku-kuba* 'to beat'

- okukuba ekigaananyi* (to draw a picture / take photo)  
*akapiira* (to play football)  
*omubisi* (to drink beer)  
*omuntu* (to impress someone)

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

V. yes

**APPL**

- a. *Maama ya-fumb-idde mikwano gyange amatooke.* (middle past)  
 1.mother SM1.PST-cook-APPL.PST 4.friends my 6.bananas  
 'Mother cooked bananas for my friends.'
- b. *Amatooke ga-fumb-idd-w-a maama ??( mikwano gyange).*  
 6.bananas SM6.PST-cook-APPL-PASS-F 1.mother 4.friends my  
 'Bananas were cooked for my friends by mother.' more likely interpretation but ambiguous  
 'Bananas were cooked for mother by my friends.'
- c. *Mikwano gyange gi-fumb-idd-w-a maama amatooke.*  
 4.friends my SM4-cook-APPL-PASS-F 1.mother 6.bananas

- d. *Mikwano gyange gi-fumb-idd-w-a amatooke maama.*  
 4.friends my SM4-cook-APPL-W-F 6.bananas 1.mother  
 ‘My friends were cooked bananas by mother.’

### CAUS

- a. *Maama ya-fumb-is-izza mikwano gyange amatooke.*  
 1.mother SM1-cook-CAUS.PST 4.friends my 6.bananas  
 ‘Mother made my friends cook bananas.’
- b. *Amotooke ga-fumb-isidd-w-a mikwano gyange maana.*  
 6.bananas SM6-cook-CAUS-PASS-F 4.friends my 1.mother  
 ‘Bananas were caused to be cooked by my friends by mother.’
- c. *Mikwano gyange gi-fumb-isidd-w-a amatooke maama.*  
 4.friends my SM4-cook-CAUS-PASS-F 6.bananas 1.mother  
 ‘My friends were caused to cook bananas by mother.’

### DITRANSITIVE

- a. *Maama a-wa-dde mikwano gyange amatooke.*  
 1.mother SM1-give-PST 4.friends my 6.bananas
- b. *Maama a-wa-dde amatooke mikwano gyange.*  
 1.mother SM1-give-PST 6.bananas 4.friends my  
 ‘Mother gave my friends bananas.’
- c. *Amatooke ga-we-ereddw-a mikwano gyange maama.* [not interchangeable!]  
 6.bananas SM6-give-PASS-F 4.friends my 1.mother  
 ‘Bananas were given to my friends by mama.’
- d.?? *Amatooke ga-weereddwa maama mikwano gyange.*
- e. *Mikwano gyange gi-weeredd-w-a amatooke maama.*  
 4.friends my SM4-give-PASS-F 6.bananas 1.mother  
 ‘My friends were given bananas by my mother.’
- f.?? *Mikwano gyange giweereddwa maama amatooke.*

**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

### APPL

‘Mother cooked bananas for my friends.’

- a. *Maama ya-fumb-idde mikwano gyange amatooke.*  
 1.mother SM1.PST-cook-APPL.PST 4.friends my 6.banana
- b. *Maama ya-ba-fumb-idde amatooke.*  
 1.mother SM1.PST-OM2-cook-APPL.PST 6.bananas

- c. *Maama ya-ga-fumb-idd-e mikwano gyane.*  
 1.mother SM1.PST-OM6-cook-APPL.PST 4.friends my
- d.??*Maama ya-ba-ga-fumb-idde.*  
 1.mother SM1.PST-OM2-OM6-cook-APPL.PST
- e. *Maama ya-ga-ba-fumb-idde.*  
 1.mother SM1.PST-OM6-OM2-cook-APPL.PST

### CAUS

- a. *Maama ya-fumb-isizza mikwano gyange amatooke.*  
 1.mother SM1.PST-cook-CAUS.PAST 4.friends my 6.bananas  
 ‘Mother made my friends cook bananas.’
- b. *Maama ya-ba-fumbisizza amatooke.*  
 1.mother SM1.PST-OM2-cook-CAUS.PST 6.bananas  
 ‘Mother cook bananas for her.’
- c. *Maama ya-ga-funmisizza mikwano gyange.*  
 1.mother SM1.PST-OM6-CAUS.PST 4.friends my  
 ‘Mother cooked it for my friends.’
- d.??*Maama ya-ba-ga-fumb-isizza.*  
 1.mother SM1.PST-OM2-OM6-CAUS.PST
- e. *Maama ya-ga-ba-fumb-isizza.*  
 1.mother SM1.PST-OM6-OM3-CAUS.PST  
 ‘Mother cooked it for her.’

### DITRANSITIVE

- a. *Maama ya-wa-dde mikwano gyange amatooke.*  
 1.mother SM1.PST-give-PST 4.friends my 6.bananas  
 ‘Mother gave my friends bananas.’
- b. *Maama ya-ba-wa-dde amatooke.*  
 1.mother SM1.PST-OM2-give-PST 6.bananas  
 ‘Mother gave them bananas.’
- c. *Maama ya-ga-wa-dde mikwano gyange.*  
 1.mother SM1.PST-OM6-give-PST 4.friends my  
 ‘Mother gave it to my friends.’
- d.??*Maama ya-ba-ga-wa-dde.*  
 1.mother SM1.PST-OM2-OM6-give-PST
- e. *Maama ya-ga-ba-wa-dde.*  
 1.mother SM1.PST-OM6-OM2-give-PST

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

V. yes

*Musómésa yágúzé ekitábo.* ‘Teacher bought a book.’

*Yágúzé ekitábo.* ‘S/he bought a book.’

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

V. 2 Dem-Noun order is attested

‘This child is good.’

a. *Omwana ono mulungi.*

child this good

b. *Ono omwana mulungi.*

this child good

cf. *Ono omwánôno.* ‘this particular girl!!’ (it is possible, but very rare)

this child.this

**P113 Quant-Noun: Is there a prenominal quantifier?**

V. yes

*buli lunaku* ‘every day’

*buli mwana* ‘every child’

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

V. yes

a. *ekitabo kyange ekirungi.*

b. *ebitabo byange ebibiri.*

c. *ebitabo byange bino.*

d. *ebitábo byangé bino ebibiri ebirúngi.* (last three are changeable)

book my these two good

‘these good two books of mine’

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

V. yes

*Maama afumbye amatooke.* (near past, just finished)

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

V. 4 yes, by other factors (e.g. predicate type) possibly in addition to 1 (yes, the order is determined by information structure) or 2 (yes, the order is determined by the thematic/semantic properties of the objects (e.g. benefactive-theme, animacy))

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

V. yes

see P109 for examples

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

V. no

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

V. yes

- a. *Tújja ku-gula.* 'We will buy'  
we.will INF-buy
- b. *Tújja ku-gulá olugoye.* 'We will buy a dress'  
we.will INF-buy dress
- c. *Tújja ku-lú-gula.* 'We will buy it.'  
we.will INF-OM-buy
- d. *Tújja luno oku-lú-gula.* 'We will buy THIS DRESS / we will buy it.'  
we.will this INF-OM-buy
- e. \**Tújja luno okugula.*

'We will marry this one.'

- a. *Tujja ono ku-mu-wasa.*  
we.will this INF-OM-marry
- b. *Tujja ku-mu-wasa ono.*  
we.will INF-OM-marry this

N. 'we' doesn't mean husband and wife, but it means husband and his family

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

V. no

\**kugula tújja*

**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

'A person has arrived.'

- a. *Ómúntú a-túuse.* < *-tuka* 'arrive'
- b. *A-túuse omúntú.* (both a. & b. forthetic statements and subject focus)

‘One who I love has arrived.’

- a. *A-túuse gwénjágála.*  
b. *Gwénjágála a-túuse.* (both a. & b. for thetic statements and subject focus)

‘Those who I love have arrived.’

- a. *Bé-njágála ba-túuse.*  
b. *Batúuse bé-njágála.* (both a. & b. for thetic statements and subject focus)

‘A bird is flying.’

- a. *Ekinyonyi kibuuka.*  
b. *Kibuuka ekinyonyi.* (both a. & b. for thetic statements and subject focus)

### **P122 Locative inversion: Is locative inversion attested?**

V. 3 yes, both formally and semantically

- a. *Empologoma zibeera mukibira.* ‘In the forest lions live.’  
b. *Empologoma zibeeramu mukibira.*  
c. *Mukibira empologoma mwezibeera.* \**muzibeera*  
d. *Mukibira empologoma zibeeramu.*  
e. *Mukibira mwezibeera empologoma.* \**mwezibeeramu*  
f. *Mukibira mubeera empologoma.*  
(grammatical but it is usually used only when the speaker is surprised for many lions.)  
g. *Mukibira mubeeramu empologoma.*

- Where do lions live? c, a (focus on the forest)  
- You are wondering if lions are still in the forest. b, d (focus on lions and forest)  
- Who live in the forest? b (focus on lions)

*Olwatuuka* (start of the story by the teller) -*munnaffe ngotulabira* (response by children)

- a. *Edda ennyo, emplogoma zaabeeranga mukibira.*  
‘Once upon a time, lions lived in the forest.’  
b. *Edda ennyo, mukibira mwaabeerangamu emplogoma.*  
‘Long time ago, in the forest used to live lions.’  
c. *Edda ennyo, mukibira mwemwaabeeranga emplogoma.*  
‘Long time ago it is in the forest where lions used to live.’

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

V. no

‘A child is reading a book.’

- a. *Omwána a-soma ekitabo.*

- b. *Ekitabo kisomwa omwana.*  
 c. \**Ekitabo kisoma omwana.*

**P124 Instrument inversion: Is instrument inversion attested?**

V. no

‘I wrote a letter with pen.’

- a. *Nawandiise ebbaluwa n’ekalaamu.*  
 b.\* *N’ekalaamu nawandiise ebbaluwa.*  
 c.\* *Ekalaamu nawandiise ebbaluwa.*

**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

- a. *Naguze omuyembe n’omucungwa.* < *omuyembe ne omuchungwa* ‘mango and orange’  
 I.bought mango and.orange  
 ‘I bought a mango and an orange.’
- b. *maama ne taata* ‘mother and father’
- c. *Naguze omuyembe ne ngulya.*  
 I.bought mango and I.ate  
 ‘I bought a mango and I ate it.’

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

V. no

- a. *Twa-yimbye ne tu-zina.*  
 SM1pl.PST-sing.PRF and SM1pl-dance  
 ‘We sang with dancing. /we danced and sang.’
- b. \**Twayimbye na twazinye.*
- c. *Twayimbye ngabwe tu-zina.*  
 SM1pl.PST-sing.PRF while SM1pl-dance  
 ‘We sang while we were dancing.’
- d. *Twayimbye olwamaze oku-yimba erá ne tu-zina.*  
 SM1pl.PST-sing.PRF when.finishing INF-sing then and SM1pl-dance  
 ‘After finishing singing, we danced.’
- e. \**Twayimbye olwamaze oku-yimba erá ne twa-zinye.*  
 SM1pl.PST-sing.PRF when.finishing INF-sing then and SM1pl.PST-dance.PRF
- f. *Twayimbye era twazinye.*  
 we.sang and.then we.danced  
 ‘We sang and then danced.’



g. *Yalidde emiyembe era n'emichungwa.* 'He ate mangos and then oranges.'  
 he.ate mangos then and.oranges

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

V. 1 yes, optionally

'He thought that his girl friend would come back.'

*Ya-lowooza (nti) omwagalwa we a-jja ku-dda.*  
 he.thought that girl.friend his she.will INF-come.back

cf. *Ajja kudda.* 'She will come back.'

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

V. 1 in front of the clause

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

V. yes

defective verb *-ti* but ordinal 'to say' is *okugamba*

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

V. no

a. *Yagambye nti yabadde mulwadde.*  
 he.said that he.was sick

'He said that he was sick.'

b. *Yegambye nti babadde balwadde.*  
 he.said that they.are sick

'He said that they were sick.'

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

V. 1 only by means of a conjunction semantically equivalent to English 'if'

a. *Singa (enkuba) etonnya enkya sijja kugenda.*  
 if rain to.rain tomorrow I.will.not to.go

'If it rains tomorrow I will not go.'

b. *Singa o-n-kuba sijja ku-ku-fumb-ir-a.*  
 if you-me-hit I.will.not INF-you-cook-APPL-F

'If you hit me, I will not cook for you.'

- c. *Bw-o-n-kuba sija ku-ku-fumb-ir-a.*  
 if-you-me-hit I.will.not INF-you-cook-APPL-F  
 ‘If/when you hit me, I will not cook for you.’

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

V. no

*Sija ku-genda singa (enkuba) etonnya enkya.*  
 I.will.not INF-go if rains it.rains tomorrow  
 ‘I will not go, if it rains tomorrow.’

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

V. no

\* *Singa ejja ku-tonnya enkya sija ku-genda.*  
 if it.wil INF-rain tomorrow I.will.not INF-go  
 (If it rains tomorrow, I will not go.)

cf. *E-jja kutonnya enkya.* ‘It will rain tomorrow.’

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

V. no

- a. *Singa wankubye sandi-ku-fumbidde.* < *si-andi-ku-fumb-ir-a*  
 if you.hit.me I.will.not-you-cook.for  
 ‘If you hit me, I will not cook for you.’
- b. *Singá na-li musajja n-andi-ku-wasizza.* < *n-andi-ku-was-ir-a*  
 if I-was man I-would-you-marry  
 ‘If I were a man, I would marry you.’
- c. *Singá na-li musajja ky-andi-ba-dde kirungi.* < *ki-andi- ba-dde*  
 if I-was man it-would-be-PST good  
 ‘If I were a man, it would be good.’
- d. *Singá nategedde nti waali n-andi-zze.*  
 if I.had.known that he.was I-would-come  
 ‘If I had known that he was around, I would have come.’
- e. *Osángá te-yátedgedde, singá yategedde nti woolí yándízze.*  
 maybe NEG-he.knew if he.knew that ? he.would.come  
 ‘Maybe he didn’t know, if he had known he would have come.’

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

V. 1 by the use of a specific adverbial conjunction

- a. *Bwenalidde omuyembe, nalwadde.*  
when.I.ate mango I.became.sick  
'When I ate a mango, I became sick.'
- b. *Nalwadde nga mmaze oku-lya omuyembe.*  
I.became.sick when i.finished INF-eat mango  
'I became sick after eating a mango.'
- c. \**Nga nalidde omuyembe, nalwadde.*  
when I.ate mango I.became.sick
- d. *Bazze ewaka nga tu-maze oku-lya.*  
they.came home when we-finished INF-eat  
'They came home after we ate.'
- e. *Bazze ewaka nga te-tu-*nnaba* ku-lya.*  
they.came home when NEG-we-finished INF-eat  
'They came home when we have not yet eaten.'
- f. *Naaba engalo zo nga to-*nnaba* ku-lya. (nga *tonnaba* = *kulya nga tonnalya*)*  
wash hands your when not.you.finish INF-eat  
'Wash your hands before you eat.'
- g. *Tulina ku-fumba nga abagenyi te-ba-*nnaba* ku-*jja*. (=te-ba-*najja*)*  
we.must INF-cook when guests NEG-SM3pl-finished.yet INF-come

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

V. 3 by a specific locative relative construction

- a. *Kino kye kyallo gye nazaalibwa.*  
this COP village where I.was.born  
'This is the village where I was born.'
- b. *Na-mú-sanga gye nagula ekitabo kino.*  
SM1sg.PST-OM3sg-meet where I.bought book this  
'I met him where I bought this book.'

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

V. 1 by the verb 'surpass/exceed'

- a. *A-n-singa obuwanvu.*  
SM1-OM1sg-surpass tallness  
'He is taller than me.'
- b. *Twa-kungudde amatooke mangi oku-singa bálíránwa.*  
SM1pl.PST-harvest bananas many INF-surpass neighbors  
'We harvest bananas more than neighbors.'

- c. *Twa-kungudde amatooke oku-singa bálíránwa.*  
 SM1pl.PST-harvest bananas INF-surpass neighbors  
 ‘We harvest better/more bananas than neighbors.’

**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

- a. *Mukasa oku-lya ebinyeebwa ki-mu-yisa bubi.*  
 Mukasa INF-eat groundnuts SM7-OM1-treat bad  
 ‘Mukasa’s eating groundnuts treats him bad.’
- b. *Mukasa oku-lya ebinyeebwa kibi.*  
 Mukasa INF-eat groundnuts bad  
 ‘Mukasa eating groundnuts is bad.’ (maybe he has allergy)
- c. *{n-kola mwana wange ku-genda Bungereza.*  
 SM1sg-work child my INF-go England  
 ‘I am working so that my child goes to England.’

N. It should be specified that this must appear in the pre-verbal position.

**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

‘He looks like he is working.’

- a. *John a-rabika nga a-kola.*  
 John he-look like he-work.
- b. *A-suubirwa oku-ba nga kati a-koba.*  
 he-is.expected INF-be like now he-work  
 ‘He was expected that he was working.’
- a. *Yali asuubirwa okuba nga kati a-koba.*
- b. *Ya-súúbirwa okuba nga kati a-koba.*  
 ‘They were expected that they were working.’
- a. *Bali basuubirwa okuba nga bá-kolá.*
- b. *Ba-a-suubirwa okuba nga bákalo.*

N. But not with the tense. Tense doesn’t change.

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

V. no

*Mukasa a-lyá ebinyeebwa.*

‘Musaka is eating groundnuts.’ thetic

*Mukasa a-lyá binyeebwa (si matooke).*

‘Musaka is eating GROUNDNUTS (not bananas).’

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

V. yes

a. *Twalidde matooke gokka.*

*\*Amatooke gokka.*

we.ate bananas only

‘We ate only bananas.’

b. *Twalidde n’amatooke.*

we.ate and.bananas

‘We ate bananas too.’

c. *Enjala ya-n-lumye, o-laba twalidde n’amatooke. <yannumye*

hunger it.PST-me-hurt.PST you-see we.ate and.bananas

‘We were very hungry and we ate even bananas (we don’t like bananas.)’

**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

a. *Mukásá yekká ye-yálidde amatóóke.*

‘It’s only Mukasa who ate bananas.’

Mukasa only who-ate bananas

b. *Mukásá yekka ye-alidde amatóóke.*

‘It’s only Mukasa who has eaten bananas.’

Mukasa only who-has.eaten bananas (> *y’alidde*)

c. *\*Mukasa yekka yalidde amatooke.*

(Only Mukasa ate bananas.)

Mukasa only ate bananas

d. *Mukasa yaliddé amatóóke.*

‘Mukasa ate bananas.’

Mukasa ate bananas

N. But only for focus sensitive particle, but not for wh-question of subject.