

Kerewe (JE24)[†]

Junko Komori

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

V. 1

o-mw-ána ‘child’ *e-ki-tébe* ‘chair’**P002 Function of the augment: Does the augment fulfill a specific grammatical function?**

V. yes

(1) *wange* ‘my’ (as in; *omwana wange* ‘my child’) → *o-wange* ‘mine’(2) *abantu a-ba-ku-nwa* *omuti*
people AUX-3pl-PRS-drink medicine
‘people who take medicine’cf. *ba-ku-nwa* *omuti*
3pl-PRS-drink medicine
‘They take medicine.’**P003 Shape of class 5: What is the shape of the class 5 nominal prefix?**

V. 4

i-tí ‘tree’ *eli-íno* ‘tooth’ *lii-busááto* ‘big bat’N. *ama-tí* ‘trees’, *ame-éno* ‘teeth’, *gaa-busááto* ‘big bats’**P004 Number of noun classes: How many noun classes are there? (including locative classes)**

V. 18

1	o-mu-	<i>omu-ntú</i> ‘person’	<i>omu-káma</i> ‘king’	<i>omw-ána</i> ‘child’
1a	Ø-	<i>tááta</i> ‘my father’	<i>kááka</i> ‘my grandmother’	<i>gúúku</i> ‘my grandfather’
2	a-ba-	<i>aba-ntú</i> ‘persons’	<i>aba-káma</i> ‘kings’	<i>aba-ána</i> ‘children’
2a	baa-	<i>baa-tááta</i> ‘my fathers’	<i>baa-kááka</i> ‘my grandmothers’	
3	o-mu-	<i>omu-tí</i> ‘medicin’	<i>omu-gúsa</i> ‘millet’	<i>omw-iko</i> ‘ugali scoop’

[†] The phonemic inventory; /p, b [β], t, d, k, g, f, s, z, ch [tʃ], j [dʒ], h, m, n, ny [ɲ], r, l, y [j], w, a, e, i, o, u, (each vowel has short and long ones.)

Tone marking (given as surface realization); [á]: high, [a]: low, [â]: falling.

Abbreviations; 1, 2, 3...:Class numbers, 1sg/pl...: Person + Singular/Plural, APP: Applicative, ASC: Associative, AUG: Augment, AUX: Auxiliary, Be: Be verb, CAU: Causative, cl.: noun class, COMP: Complementiser, COND: Conditional, COP: Copula, DEM: Demonstrative, F: Final vowel, FF: Far future, FP: Far Past, INF: Infinitive, IS: Intensive suffix, Loc: Locative suffix, NEG: Negative, NF: Near future, OM: Object Marker, PASS: Passive, Prf: Perfective suffix, PRS: Present, PST: Past, Rel: Relative, SBJ: Subjunctive, SM: Subject Marker, SUB: Subordinate clause marker.

Reference; Hurel, Eugène. (1909) ‘La Langue Kikerewe.’ *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* 12, 1-113.

4	e-mi-	<i>emi-tí</i> ‘medicins’	<i>emi-gúsa</i> ‘millets’	<i>emi-iko</i>	‘ugali scoops’
5	i-	<i>i-tí</i> ‘tree’	<i>i-báále</i> ‘stone’	<i>i-bánga</i>	‘mountain’
	e-li-	<i>eli-ino</i> ‘tooth’	<i>eli-iso</i> ‘eye’	<i>ely-ééyo</i>	‘broom’
5a	lii-	<i>lii-busááto</i> ‘big bat’	<i>lii-namasakala</i>	‘big centipede’	
6	a-ma-	<i>ama-tí</i> ‘trees’	<i>ama-báále</i> ‘stones’	<i>ame-éno</i> ‘teeth’	<i>ame-énzi</i> ‘water’
6a	gaa-	<i>gaa-busááto</i> ‘big bats’	<i>gaa-namasakala</i>	‘big centipede’	
7	e-ki-	<i>eki-búnu</i> ‘buttocks’	<i>eki-ibo</i> ‘ugali basket’	<i>eki-tébe</i>	
	e-ch-	<i>ech-áála</i> ‘finger’	<i>ech-ééyo</i>	‘broom’ ‘chair’	
8	e-bi-	<i>ebi-tébe</i> ‘chairs’	<i>eby-áála</i>	‘fingers’	
9	e-n-	<i>en-gáhi</i> ‘oar’	<i>en-kóko</i> ‘chicken’	<i>en-zangu</i> ‘cat’	
9a	e-	<i>e-noni</i> ‘bird’	<i>e-bási</i> ‘bus’	<i>e-sigalá</i> ‘cigarette’	<i>e-helá</i> ‘money’
9b	Ø-	<i>síina</i> ‘black cow’	<i>gáázu</i> ‘light brown cow’	<i>nalububi</i> ‘spider’	
10	e-n-	<i>en-gáhi</i> ‘oars’	<i>en-kóko</i> ‘chickens’	<i>en-zangu</i> ‘cats’	
10a	e-	<i>e-noni</i> ‘birds’	<i>e-bási</i> ‘buses’	<i>e-sigalá</i> ‘cigaretts’	
10b	zii-	<i>zii-síina</i> ‘black cows’	<i>zii-gáázu</i>	‘light brown cows’	
11	o-lu-	<i>olu-gali</i> ‘winnowing basket’	<i>olu-zála</i> ‘nail’	<i>olu-swi</i> ‘roof’	
12	a-ka-	<i>aka-síisi</i> ‘tiny ant’	<i>aka-singilo</i> ‘tiny stool’	<i>aka-tungu</i> ‘time’	
13	o-tu-	<i>otu-síisi</i> ‘tiny ants’	<i>otu-singilo</i> ‘tiny stools’		
14	o-bu-	<i>obu-síisi</i> ‘tiny ants’ <i>obw-ita</i> ‘ugali’ <i>obw-óki</i> ‘honey’			
14a		<i>obu-kóma</i> ‘bow’	(> pl. <i>ama-kóma</i> ‘bows’)		
15	o-ku-	<i>oku-gulu</i> ‘leg’	<i>oku-twí</i> ‘ear’	<i>okw-ézi</i> ‘moon’	
15a	ku-	<i>ku-genda</i> ‘to go’	<i>ku-túúla</i> ‘to live’		
16/17	ha-	<i>ha-chambu</i> ‘ashore’	<i>ha-kitabo</i> ‘at a bed’	<i>ha-nsí</i> ‘below, on the ground’	
18	mu-	<i>mu-nzú</i> ‘in the house’	<i>mu-nda</i> ‘inside (the stomach)’		

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

V. yes

cl.15 *ku-genda* ‘to go’ *ku-túúla* ‘to live’

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

V. yes

i-báále ‘stone’ (cl.5)

aka-báále ‘small stone’ (cl.12) *otu-báále* ‘small stones’ (cl.13)

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

V. yes

eki-tébe ‘chair’ (cl.7) → *i-tébe* ‘big chair’ (cl.5)

omw-ána ‘child’ (cl.1) → *ely-ána* ‘big child’ (cl.5)

busáato ‘bat’ (cl.9) → *lil-busáato* ‘big bat’ (cl.5)

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.16/17 *ha-ki-tabo* ‘at the bed’ *ha-nsí* ‘below’ cl.18 *mu-nzú* ‘in 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.16/17 *ha-* cl.18 *mu-*

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

V. no

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

V. yes

cl.16 *-ho* cl.17 *-yo* cl.18 *-mo*

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

(1) *ameenó ga omwána* ‘child’s teeth’

6.teeth 6.ASC child

(2) *omuti ógwo abantu ba-kú-nwa*

3.medicine 3.Rel people 3pl-PRS-drink

‘the medicine which people take’

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

V. yes

ekitebe ché ‘his/her/its chair’

obwato bwé ‘his/her/its canoe’

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. 2

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. 3

cl.1 *ó-nu* ‘this one (touching)’
 o-gu ‘this one (without touching)’
 o-gw-o ‘that one (near hearer)’
 o-lííya ‘that one (far from both)’

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

V. 1

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

V. yes

relativiser

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

V. yes

-zíma ‘good’ *-bí* ‘bad’ *-hángo* ‘big’ *-nóólo* ‘small’ *-leehi* ‘long’ *-gúfu* ‘short’ *-gume* ‘hard’
-íngi ‘many’ *-ké* ‘few’ *-kokolo* ‘old’ *-kúlu* ‘elder’ *-hyâ* ‘new’ *-tó* ‘young’ *-bísi* ‘raw’
-lófu ‘dirty’ *-zító* ‘heavy’ *-puupu* ‘light’

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

V. yes

N. Adjective concord and pronominal concord are different.

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. null

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

omukazi ‘woman, wife’ *omuhalakazi* ‘girl’

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

híga ‘to hunt’ > *omuhígi* ‘hunter’ *túla* ‘to wander’ > *omutúzi* ‘wanderer’

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

lya ‘to eat’ > *ekilio* ‘food’ *keneka* ‘filtration’ > *ekikeneko* ‘filter’

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. yes

omukono ‘arm’ *engalo* ‘hand’ *ekiganza* ‘palm of the hand’

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

V. no

engalo ‘hand’ *ekiganza* ‘palm of the hand’ *echáala* ‘finger’

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

V. yes

okugulu/amagulu (pl.)

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

V. yes

echai

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

(1) *a-nagi-ile*

3s-sleep-Prf

‘S/he is sleeping.’

(2) *iti lnu li-gum-ile*

5.tree 5.this 5.SM-be.hard-Prf

‘This tree is hard.’

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

V. yes

teela ‘hit’ > *teel-w-a* ‘be hit’

lya ‘eat’ > *ly-ibw-a* ‘be eaten’

nwa ‘drink’ > *nw-ebw-a* ‘be drunk’

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

V. 1

ba-a-n-téél-a

3pl-PST-1s-hit-F

‘I was hit’ (lit. They hit me.)

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

V. 1

n-a-heek-w-a *na Magesa*

1s-PST-carry-PASS-F by Magesa

‘I was carried by Magesa.’

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

V. 1

Only attested in the example below;

nina a-ku-sy-él-w-a omuhalakazi obulo
her.mother 3s-PRS-grind-APP-PASS-F girl sorghum
'Her mother has sorghum grinded for by a girl.'

cf) Active sentence is;

omuhalakazi a-ku-sy-el-a nina obulo
girl 3s-PRS-grind-APP-F her.mother sorghum
'A girl is grinding sorghum for her mother.'

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

V. 1

téél-a 'hit' > *téél-an-a* 'hit each other'

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

(1) *ambuka* 'cross' > *ambuk-y-a* 'make someone cross'

(2) *nina a-ku-h-a omuhalakazi a-goy-e obwita*
her.mother 3s-PRS-give-F girl 3s-cook-SBJ ugali
'Her mother makes a girl cook ugali.'

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

V. yes

a-ku-nw-é-sy-a omutáho améenzi
3s-PRS-drink-CAU-F ladle water
'S/he is drinking water with a ladle.'

P044 Applicative: How are applicative constructions formed?

V. 1

fula 'wash' > *ful-il-a* 'wash for'
goya 'make ugali' > *goy-el-a* 'make ugali for'

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

V. yes

- (1) *y-a-ku-leet-el-a ekaháwa*
3s-PST-2s-bring-APP-F coffee
'S/he brought the coffee to you.' (recipient, direction)
- (2) *izóoba li-sohol-el-a obutúluka*
5.sun 5.SM-appear-APP-F east
'The sun comes from the east.' (place, direction)

P046 Multiple applicative extensions: Can two (or more) applicative extensions be productively used in the same verb form?

V. 1

- lwála* 'be sick' > *lwá-il-il-a* 'be always sick'
genda 'go' > *gend-el-el-a* 'continue'

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

V. 1

- yata* 'break' > *yat-ik-a* 'be broken'

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

V. 3

- gul-a* 'buy' > *guz-y-a* 'sell' (+cau.) > *gul-iz-y-a* 'sell for' (+app. + cau.)
N. applicative-causative-passive

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

V. 1

- ti-n-tuul-a nansyo*
NEG-1s-live-F Nansyo
'I am not living in Nansyo.'

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

V. 1

- (1) *sanga a-ta-ku-kol-a emilimo*
AUX 3s-NEG-PRS-do-F work
'He was not working.'

(2) *n-kw-end-a abáána ba-ta-gá-nw-a*
1s-PRS-want-F children 3pl-NEG-6.OM-drink-F
'I want children not to drink it.'

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

V. 1

aho n-ta-ká-z-a-ga
16.Rel 1s-NEG-FP-go-F-IS
'Where I have not ever been to.'

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

V. 1

ti-n-tuul-a nansyo
NEG-1s-live-F Nansyo
'I am not living in Nansyo.'

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

V. 2

(1) *sanga a-ta-ku-kol-a emilimo*
AUX 3s-NEG-PRS-do-F work
'He was not working.'

(2) *n-kw-end-a abáána ba-ta-gá-nw-a*
1s-PRS-want-F children 3pl-NEG-6.OM-drink-F
'I want children not to drink it.'

P054 Number of negation markers in independent tenses: How many markers of negation are there in independent tenses?

V. 1

ti-n-tuul-a nansyo
NEG-1s-live-F Nansyo
'I am not living in Nansyo.'

P055 Number of negation markers in dependent tenses: How many markers of negation are there in dependent tenses?

V. 1

- (1) *sanga a-ta-ku-kol-a emilimo*
 AUX 3s-NEG-PRS-do-F work
 ‘He was not working.’
- (2) *n-kw-end-a abáána ba-ta-gá-nw-a*
 1s-PRS-want-F children 3pl-NEG-6.OM-drink-F
 ‘I want children not to drink it.’

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. 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

ku-lya ‘to eat’

ku-búlá ku-lya / ku-leka ku-lya ‘not to eat’

(cf. *búlá* ‘be lack’ *leka* ‘leave’)

N. only in the negative infinitive; This construction is influenced by the neighbour languages of Suguti group (Ex. Jita, Kwaya). Rutara group (Ex. Kerewe, Haya, Nyoro) originally have the negative infinitive form as *ku-ta-lya* with NEG infix.

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. null

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

V. 2

(1) *ente na embuzi na embwa zona zi-li-fwa* (Hurel 1909:57)

cows and goats and dogs 10.all 10.SM-FF-die

‘Cows and goats and dogs all will die.’

(2) *enoni na mati na ebyalo byona bi-li-hwa-ho* (Hurel 1909:58)

birds and trees and villages 8.all 8.SM-FF-finish-16.Loc

‘Birds and trees and villages all will finish.’

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

V. 3

far past: *S-ka-V-a*, yesterday’s past: *S-V-ile*, today’s past: *S-a-V-a*

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

V. 2

far future: *S-li-V-a*, near future: *S-laa-V-a*

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

1) habituality;

n-ku-nw-a-ga echai keebazyo

1s-PRS-drink-F-IS tea evening

‘I usually drink tea in the evening.’

2) inexperience;

ti-n-ka-ly-a-ga obwita

NEG-1s-FP-eat-F-IS ugali

‘I have never eaten ugali.’

3) as an element of the Auxiliary of complex tense for far past;

n-a-li-ga n-ki-kola emilimo

1s-PST-COP-IS 1s-still-do work

‘I was still working.’

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

V. yes

-ile

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

V. no

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

buzyâ! 'Shut up!'

N. no object prefix can be taken except 1s object prefix;

<i>n-dola!</i>	'Look at me!'	<i>*mu-lola!</i>	'Look at him!'	(cf. <i>mu-lol-e</i>)
1s.OM-look		3s.OM-look		3s.OM-look-SBJ

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

V. no

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

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

V. 1

1) *omwana ya-a-ki-mu-sagal-il-a ekitebe*
child 3s-PST-7.OM-3s.OM-take-APP-F 7.chair

'The child took the chair to him.'

2) *ekalamu enu ya-a-gi-m-p-a*
9.pen 9.this 3s-PST-9.OM-1s.OM-give-F

'This pen, he gave it to me.'

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

V. 1

-e- : *kw-íta* ‘to kill’ > *kw-e-íta* ‘to kill 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

omwana ya-a-ki-mu-sagal-il-a ekitebe

child 3s-PST-7.OM-3s.OM-take-APP-F 7.chair

‘The child took the chair to him.’

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

V. yes

mu-gend-e ‘you(pl.) should go.’

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

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

V. 2

1) *n-a-li-ga ni-n-kol-a emilimo*

1s-PST-COP-IS SUB-1s.SM-do-F work

‘I was working.’ (far past progressive)

2) *sanga ni-n-kol-a emilimo*

AUX SUB-1s.SM-do-F work

‘I was working.’ (yesterday’s past progressive)

3) *n-ku-ba ni-n-kol-a emilimo*

1s-PRS-Be SUB-1s.SM-do-F work

‘I will be working.’ (certain future progressive)

4) *n-laa-ba-ga ni-n-kol-a emilimo*

1s-NF-Be-IS SUB-1s.SM-do-F work

‘I will be working.’ (near future progressive)

- 5) *n-li-ba ni-n-kol-a emilimo*
 1s-FF-Be SUB-1s.SM-do-F work
 ‘I will be working.’ (far future progressive)

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

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

- o-ka-bul-a kw-iza*
 2s-FP-miss-F INF-come
 ‘You didn’t come.’

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

V. yes

Copula *-li-*, Copula Be verb *-ba*

- 1) *n-a-li-ga ni-n-kol-a emilimo*
 1s-PST-COP-IS SUB-1s-do-F work
 ‘I was working.’ (far past progressive)
- 2) *n-ku-ba ni-n-kol-a emilimo*
 1s-PRS-Be SUB-1s-do-F work
 ‘I will be working.’ (certain future progressive)
- 3) *n-laa-ba-ga ni-n-kol-a emilimo*
 1s-NF-Be-IS SUB-1s-do-F work
 ‘I will be working.’ (near future progressive)
- 4) *n-li-ba ni-n-kol-a emilimo*
 1s-FF-Be SUB-1s-do-F work
 ‘I will be working.’ (far future progressive)

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

V. yes

- 1) *abantu ba-kú-nw-a omuti*
 people 3pl-PRS-drink-F medicine
 ‘People take medicine.’
- 2) *abantu a-ba-kú-nw-a omuti*
 people AUG-3pl-PRS-drink-F medicine
 ‘those who take medicine’

N. The subject prefix would be with an augment when the subject is relativized.

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

V. yes

omuti ogwo abantu ba-kú-nw-a
 3.medicine 3.DEM people 3pl-PRS-drink-F
 ‘the medicine which people take’

N. The demonstrative marker would be used when the object or an argument other than subject is relativized.

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

V. yes

omuti ogwo abantu ba-kú-nw-a
 3.medicine 3.DEM people 3pl-PRS-drink-F
 ‘the medicine which people take’

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

omuti ogwo abantu ba-kú-nw-a
 3.medicine 3.DEM people 3pl-PRS-drink-F
 ‘the medicine which people take’

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

V. yes

omuti *ogwo* *abantu* *ba-kú-nw-a*
3.medicine 3.DEM people 3pl-PRS-drink-F
'the medicine which people take'

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. null

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

aho *n-ta-ká-z-a-ga*
16.Rel 1s-NEG-FP-go-F-IS
'where I have not ever been to'

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

V. yes

omwaya *ogwo* *ensato* *e-ku-och-w-a* (data taken by N. Yoneda)
3.smell 3.Rel 9.tilapia 9-PRS-grill-PASS-F
'the smell which tilapia is grilled'

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

V. yes

P097 Clefts: How are clefts formed?

V. 1

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

V. null

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. 5

o-ku-kol-a *ki*
2s-PRS-do-F what
'What are you doing?'

N. (cf. for subject, see P142)

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

V. no

-a ki 'why'

o-iz-ile *o-a* *ki* (> *wezile waki*)
2s-come-Prf 2s-ASC what
'Why did you come?'

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

V. 4

(1) *Mungu ni* *muzima*
God COP good
'The God is good.'

(2) *Iwe* *o-li* *muhango*
you 2s-COP rich
'You are rich.'

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

V. 1, 2

(1) *ebintu binu ni* *byange*
things these COP mine
'These things are mine.'

(2) *banu* *ba-li* *babi*
2.these 2.SM-COP bad
'These peopel are bad.'

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

V. yes

(1) *ente* *zi-li* *mu-kibuga*
10.cow 10.SM-COP cl.18-stall
'Cows are in the stall.' (location)

(2) *a-li na amabale*
3s-COP with stones
'S/he has stones.' (possession)

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

V. 2

a-li na amabale
3s-COP with stones
'S/he has stones.'

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

V. null

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. null

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

-tééla 'beat' > *oku-tééla ekeléle* 'to shout'

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

V. yes

(1) *obulo bu-ku-sy-es-ibw-a ensyo na omuhalakazi*
14.sorghum 14-PRS-grind-CAU-PASS-F grinding.stone by girl
'Sorghum is grinded with a stone by a girl.'

(2) *ensyo e-ku-sy-es-ibw-a obulo na omuhalakazi*
9. grinding.stone 9-PRS-grind-CAU-PASS-F sorghum by girl
'A grinding stone is used to grind sorghum by a girl.'

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

(1) *n-a-ki-ku-kob-ezy-a*
1s-PST-7.OM-2s.OM-pick.up-APP-F
'I picked it(cl.7) up for you.'

(2) *ya-a-mu-ku-leet-el-a*

3s-PST-3s.OM-2s.OM-bring-APP-F

‘S/he brought him/her to you.’

- (3) a. *omuhalakazi a-ku-bu-mu-sy-el-a nina obulo*
girl 3s-PRS-14.OM-1.OM-grind-APP-F 1.mother 14.sorghum
‘The girl is grinding sorghum for her mother.’
- b. *omuhalakazi a-ku-mu-sy-el-a nina obulo*
girl 3s-PRS-1.OM-grind-APP-F 1.mother 14.sorghum
‘The girl is grinding sorghum for her mother.’
- c. **omuhalakazi a-ku-bu-sy-el-a obulo nina*
girl 3s-PRS-14.OM-grind-APP-F 14.sorghum 1.mother

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

V. yes

n-ku-ly-a obwita

1s-PRS-eat-F ugali

‘I am eating ugali.’

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

V. null

P113 Quant-Noun: Is there a prenominal quantifier?

V. yes

buli bucha ‘every day’

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

V. yes

abaána bange babili

children my two

‘my two children’

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

V. yes

abaána ba-ku-ly-a obwita

children 3pl-PRS-eat-F ugali

‘Children are eating ugali.’

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

V. 2

N. see examples of P117.

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

V. yes/no

Yes: Both objects, theme and beneficiary can be adjacent to the verb.

- (1)a. *omuhalakazi a-ku-sy-el-a nina obulo*
girl 3s-PRS-grind-APP-F mother sorghum
- b. *omuhalakazi a-ku-sy-el-a obulo nina*
girl 3s-PRS-grind-APP-F sorghum mother
- ‘The girl is grinding sorghum for her mother.’

No: An object instrument is preferred to be adjacent to the verb.

- (2)a. *omuhalakazi a-ku-sy-esy-a ensyo obulo*
girl 3s-PRS-grind-CAU-F grinding.stone sorghum
- ‘The girl is grinding sorghum with a grinding stone.’
- b. *?omuhalakazi a-ku-sy-esy-a obulo ensyo*
girl 3s-PRS-grind-CAU-F sorghum grinding.stone
- (3)a. *a-ku-nw-esy-a omutaho ameenzi*
3s-Pro-drink-CAU-F ladle water
- ‘S/he is drinking water with a ladle.’
- b. **a-ku-nw-esy-a ameenzi omutaho*
3s-Pro-drink-CAU-F water ladle

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

V. 1

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

V. null

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

V. null

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

V. null

P122 Locative inversion: Is locative inversion attested?

V. null

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

V. null

P124 Instrument inversion: Is instrument inversion attested?

V. null

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

na ‘and’

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

V. no

ni before the S marker;

abakerebe ba-ka-ruga Unyoro ni-ba-iza kunu
Kerewe.people 3pl-FP-come.out Unyoro SUB-3pl-come here
‘Kerewe people came from Unyoro and they came here.’

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

V. 1

The complementisers are; *-ti, -kwo*

(1) *o-mu-gamb-il-e o-ti a-gend-e*
2s-3s-tell-APP-SBJ 2s-COMP 3s-go-SBJ
‘Tell him that he should go.’

(2) *tu-a-hulila tu-ti o-lwele*
1pl-PST-hear 1pl-COMP 2s-be.ill
‘We heard that you are ill.’

(3) *Ti-n-ku-manya ni-kwo ya-iz-ile*
NEG-1s-PRS-know 1s-COMP 3s.PST-come-Prf
‘I don’t know he came.’

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

V. 1

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

V. yes

-*ti* ‘say’

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

V. yes

-*ti*, -*kwo*

(1) *o-mu-gamb-il-e* *o-ti* *a-gend-e*
2s-3s-tell-APP-SBJ 2s-COMP 3s-go-SBJ
‘Tell him that he should go.’

(2) *tu-a-hulila* *tu-ti* *o-lwele*
1pl-PST-hear 1pl-COMP 2s-be.ill
‘We heard that you are ill.’

(3) *ti-n-ku-manya* *ni-kwo* *ya-iz-ile*
NEG-1s-PRS-know 1s-COMP 3s.PST-come-Prf
‘I don’t know he came.’

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

V. 4

raba/kwenda ‘if’ (Hurel 1909:50)

(1) a. *raba no-yenda, tu-gend-e*
if SUB.2s-want 1pl-go-SBJ
‘If you want, let’s go.’

b. *kwenda n-genz-ile, kwenda ni-m-pika*
if 1s-leave-Prf if SUB-1s-arrive
‘If I had left, I would arrive.’

-*ka*-

(2) *o-ka-raba kunu, n-ku-kw-ita*
2s-COND-pass here 1s-PRS-2s.OM-kill
‘If you pass here, I will kill you.’

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

V. no

n-la-iza nenchā, ka-ra-yenda tu-li-genda (Hurel 1909:50)

1s-NF-come tomorrow COND-NF-want 1pl-FF-leave

‘I will come tomorrow, if he wants us to leave.’

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. null

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

V. 2

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

V. 3

o-mu-lond-e ni-yo a-li (Hurel 1909:34)

2s.SM-3s.OM-search-SBJ COP-16.Loc 3s-COP

‘Search him where he is.’

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

V. 1

ku-kila ‘surpass’, *ku-singa* ‘win’ (Hurel 1909:44)

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. no

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

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

V. yes

-*onka* ‘only’

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

(1) *a-ya-ku-hang-ile* *ni-ga?* (Hurel 1909:21)

AUG-3s.PST-2s.OM-make-Prf COP-who

‘Who made you?’

(2) *echa-ku-zib-ir-a* *kw-iza* *ni-kiha?*

7.Rel.PST-2s.OM-prevent-APP-F INF-come COP-what

‘What prevented you from coming?’