



Descriptive materials of morphosyntactic microvariation in Bantu

edited by Daisuke Shinagawa and Yuko Abe



Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa
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Foreword

Lutz Marten (SOAS, University of London and Research Fellow, ILCAA)

The present volume on ‘Descriptive materials of morphosyntactic microvariation in Bantu’ is a collection of original morphosyntactic data from twelve East African Bantu languages. It is the result of extensive fieldwork with consultants in East Africa conducted by members of the ILCAA research project on ‘Typological study of microvariation in Bantu (Phase 1)’. It constitutes a rich resource and a landmark in the study of the morphology and syntax of Bantu languages.

The publication of the materials is both topical and timely. The research behind the data draws on and is a continuation of several research strands of the 1990s and 2000s, and the present volume is unlikely to have come about in this form ten or twenty years ago. This is because of its focus on morphosyntax, rather than phonology or the lexicon, and on systematic, large-scale comparison, rather than on a specific construction type or the description of one language. By adopting this perspective, the volume is embedded in a wider development of comparative Bantu which employs a set of surface-level parameters or features.

Large-scale comparison in Bantu has largely focused on lexical comparison, often in the context of interest in the internal classification and reconstruction of Bantu. Based on comparative work going back to the earliest Western studies of Bantu such as Bleek (1862) and Meinhof (1899, 1905), key Bantu researchers such as Guthrie (1967-71) and Meeussen (1980) developed large lexical databases on which to base comparative studies. From the 1970s onwards, linguists at Tervuren and Leiden developed ‘Bantu Lexical Reconstructions’ (BLR) to synthesise and extend previous results. Since the 1990s the data are available online, currently in the third edition (Bastin and Schadeberg n.d.). A related project was launched in the mid-1990s by Larry Hyman and John Lowe at the University of California at Berkeley: The ‘Comparative Bantu Online Dictionary’ (CBOLD), which by the end of the project in 1999 contained 445,000 lexical items from 200 languages. The data are currently hosted at the University of Lyon (CBOLD n.d.). Databases like BLR and CBOLD provide a rich resource for lexical comparison of Bantu languages, and it is only very recently that researchers have turned their attention to approaching morphosyntactic variation from a similar comparative perspective.

There is a strong research tradition in Bantu morphosyntax, which includes in-depth studies of particular languages (e.g. Mchombo 2004 for Chichewa), as well as comparative research on

specific construction types, such as, for example, applicative constructions (e.g. Ngonyani 1996, Bresnan and Moshi 1990, Pacchiarotti 2017). Edited volumes such as Mchombo (1993) or Downing et al. (2006) bring together papers on a variety of languages and construction types, analysed from a range of theoretical perspectives. With specific reference to Tanzanian Bantu languages, the ‘Languages of Tanzania’ (LoT) project, conducted at the University of Dar es Salaam from the early 2000s onwards, produced a range of grammatical and lexical materials in the form of published grammars and dictionaries (Muzale and Rugemalira 2008), as well as the Language Atlas of Tanzania (Languages of Tanzania Project 2009). However, until recently work on morphosyntax in Bantu has not been conducted within the context of large-scale comparison similar to lexical comparison.

It was only the increased availability of grammatical descriptions, as well as the emergence of well-documented key aspects of Bantu grammar, which has allowed researchers to approach Bantu morphosyntactic variation from a more systematic point of view. In an early paper, Marten et al. (2007) propose 19 descriptive parameters for comparing Bantu languages, and use this for the comparison of ten south-eastern Bantu languages. Subsequent work adopting a similar methodology has addressed a wider range of languages while at the same time refining the set of parameters for particular aspects of variation (e.g. Bax and Diercks 2012, Petzell and Hammarström 2013, Marten and van der Wal 2014, Zeller and Ngoboka 2015, Mtenje 2016, Chavula 2017, van der Wal 2017).

The present volume is embedded in this research tradition and develops it further. The project on which the papers in the volume are based is closely linked to a sister project hosted at SOAS, University of London, from 2014 to 2018: ‘Morphosyntactic variation in Bantu: typology, contact and change’. As part of this project, Guérois et al. (2017) develop a set of 142 parameters which underlie the materials in the volume. The ILCAA and the SOAS projects have collaborated closely over the past five years, as well as with the LoT project at the University of Dar es Salaam, the KongoKing project at Ghent University, and the Xhosa dialect project at the Universities of Gothenburg and Rhodes. The present volume is also a result of this successful international collaboration.

Materials such as those provided in the present volume are essential for progress in comparative Bantu: for our knowledge of the morphosyntax of individual languages, for charting the distribution and co-occurrence of individual features, and for large-scale typological and historical-comparative studies. By making these materials available to the public, the authors generously share the results of their work and support fellow researchers, colleagues and students of Bantu morphosyntactic variation. Through this, the volume will occupy an important place in the description and analysis of East African Bantu languages.

Acknowledgements

Support from a Leverhulme Trust Grant (RPG-2014-208) for the project “Morphosyntactic variation in Bantu: typology, contact and change” is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

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Preface

This volume is a collection of descriptive data of twelve Bantu languages, namely Kikuyu (E51), Uru (E622D), Rombo (E623), Bende (F12), Inner & Normal Mbugu (G221), Makundichi (G43c), Nyoro (JE11), Ganda (JE15), Kerewe (JE24), Nyole (JE35), and Matengo (N13), obtained through fieldwork carried out by member researchers of ILCAA join-research project ‘Typological study of microvariation in Bantu (Phase 1)’ and is part of academic results of the project. We hereby acknowledge institutional support from ILCAA and to ILCAA’s core project of linguistics unit ‘Linguistic Dynamics Science 3 (LingDy 3)’ for financial support for the publication of this volume.

All the materials presented in this volume were collected from elicitation research with native speakers of each language based on the set of 142 parameters designated to capture the morphosyntactic microvariation of Bantu languages, i.e., Guérois, Rozenn, Hannah Gibson and Lutz Marten. 2017. Parameters of Bantu morphosyntactic variation: Draft master list (Alpha version). This book has two chapters; Chapter 1 shows the geographical distribution of the values of each parameter from the above 12 languages plus Lamba (M54). Chapter 2 presents the descriptive materials of each parameter, consisting of the value, examples, and additional notes where available.

We are thankful to all the contributors for their effort to compile the descriptive material of each language and to Yuka Makino for contributing the value information of Lamba. Also our sincere thanks go to Professor Lutz Marten and his team members of Leverhulme Project ‘Morphosyntactic Variation in Bantu: Typology, contact and change’ hosted in SOAS, for sharing the various occasions of collaboration, including ‘International Workshop on Bantu microvariation’ held at ILCAA in March 2017 - the foundation of this volume owes much to shared achievement at the workshop. Last but not least, we gratefully acknowledge Patricio Varela Almiron for his tireless support for editing this volume.

March 2019

The editors

Chapter 1

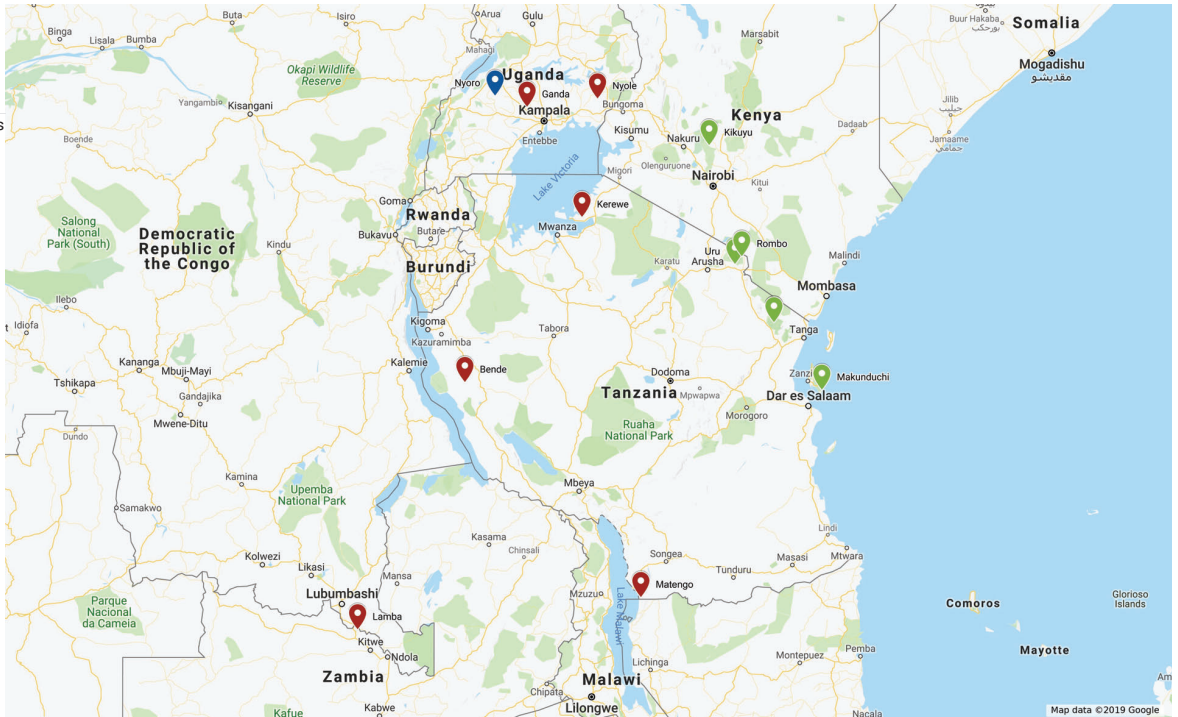
Geographical distribution of the values of 142 parameters of Bantu morphosyntactic microvariation

Lamba (M54) data is contributed by Yuka Makino

P001

- Values
- 1
 - n.a.
 - 1 V shape only

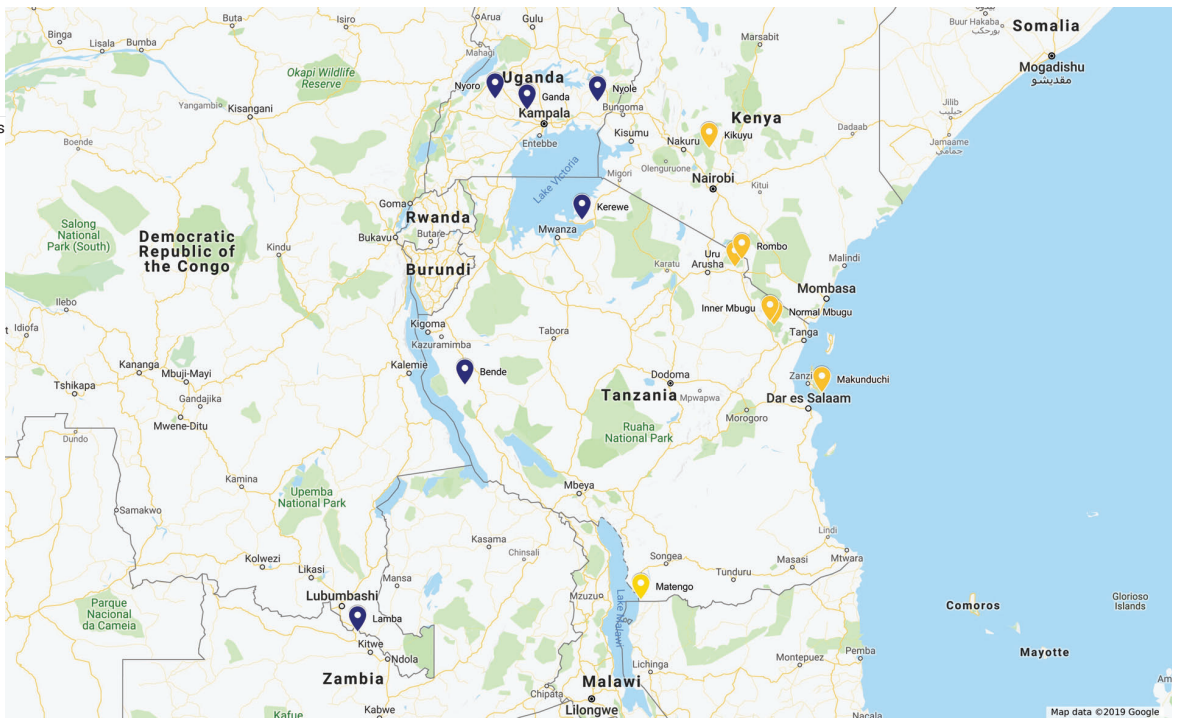
Shape of the augment: What is the shape of the augment?



P002

- Values
- n.a.
 - yes
 - no

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

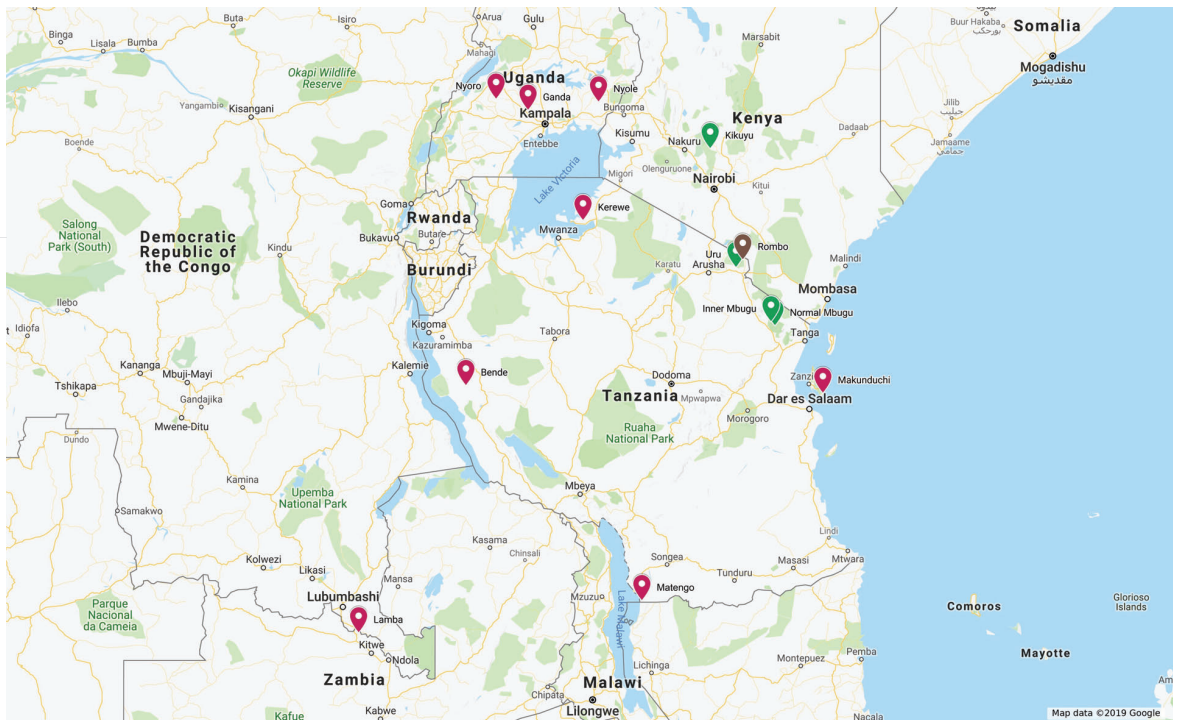


P003

Values

- 2 V shape, possibly alternating with zero-marking
- 3 CV shape, possibly alternating with zero-marking
- 4 both V and CV shape are found
- yes

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

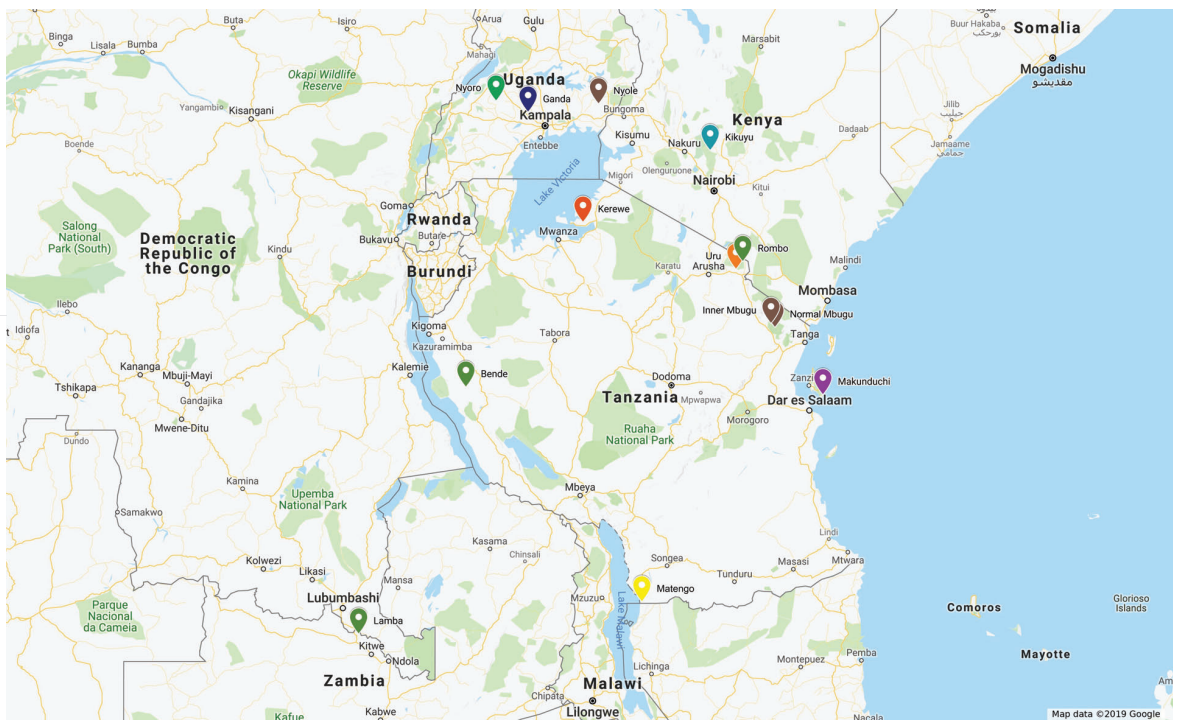


P004

Values

- 15
- 16
- 12
- 15 (subclasses not included), 18 (subclasses included)
- 17
- 18
- 19 (morphologically) 16 (syntactically)
- 19(16+3)
- 21 (17+4 locatives)

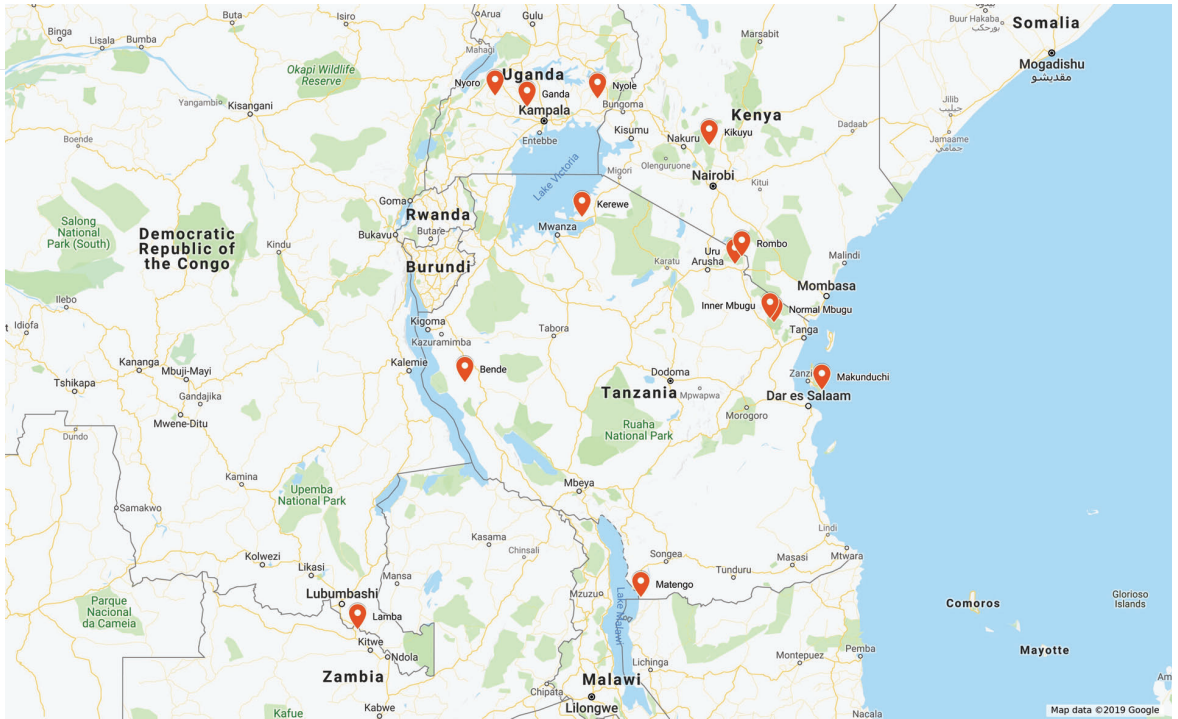
Number of noun classes: How many noun classes are there? (excluding locative classes)



P005

Values
📍 yes

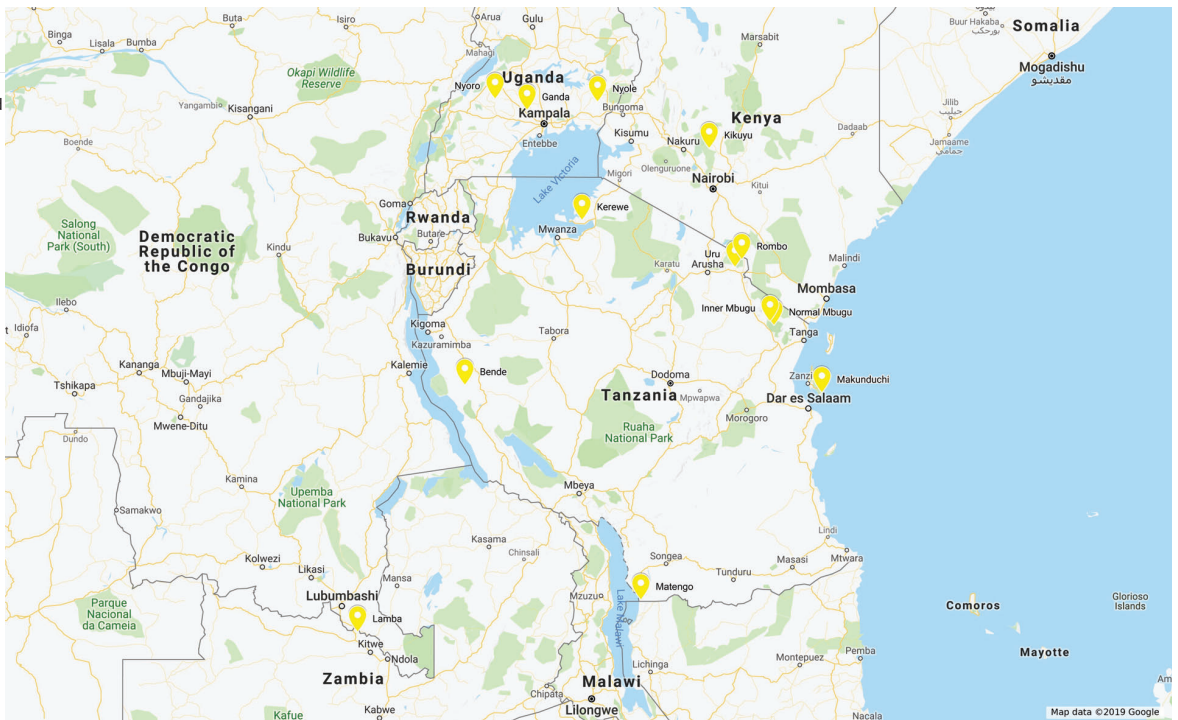
Class for infinitive: Does the infinitive take a noun class prefix?



P006

Values
📍 yes

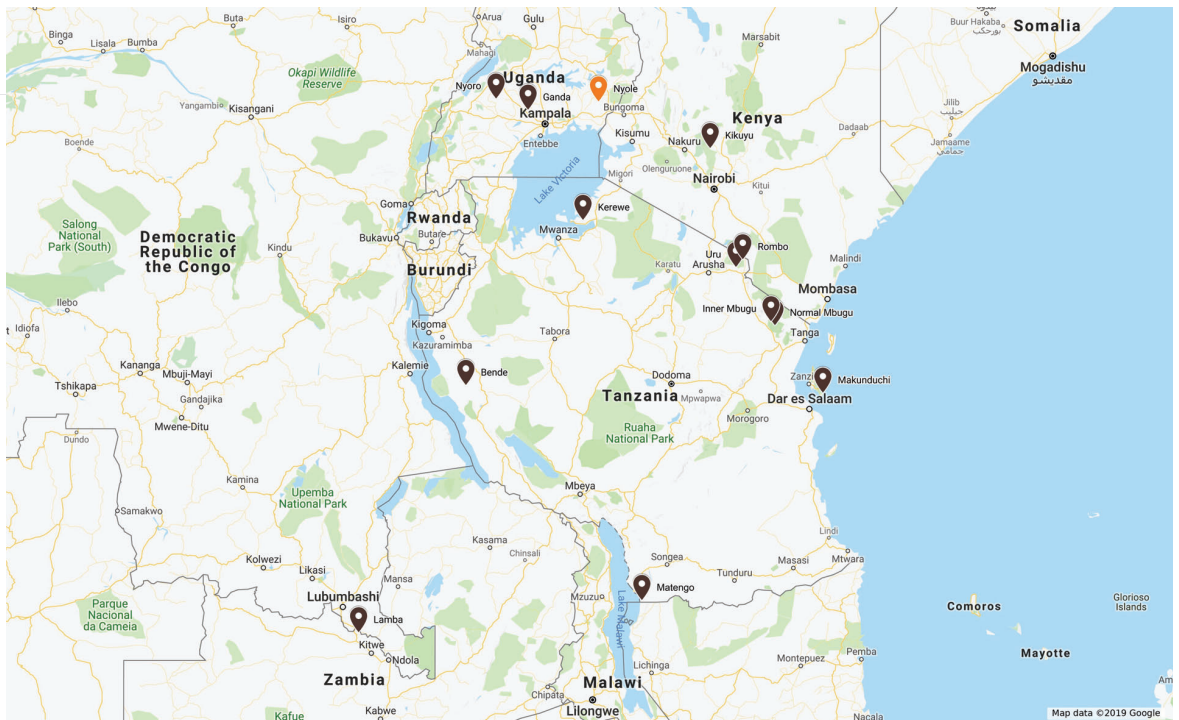
Class for diminutive: Is diminutive meaning expressed through the use of noun classes?



P007

Values
 ● yes
 ● no

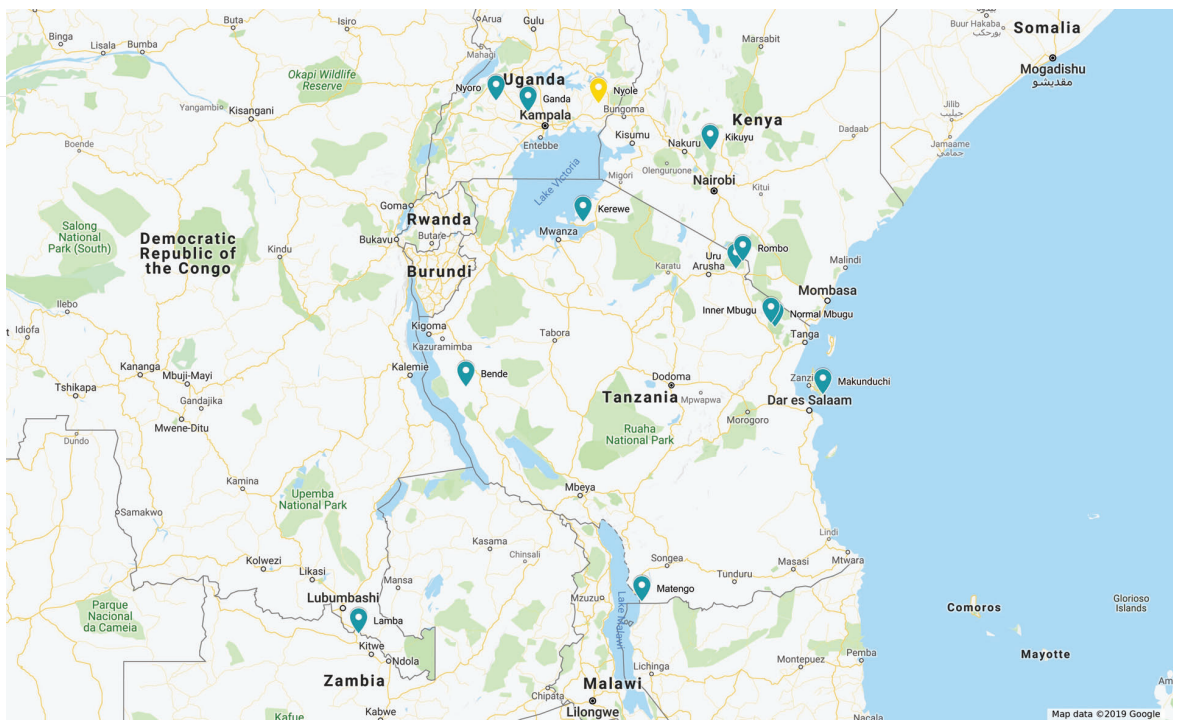
Class for augmentative: Is augmentative meaning expressed through the use of noun classes?



P008

Values
 ● no
 ● yes

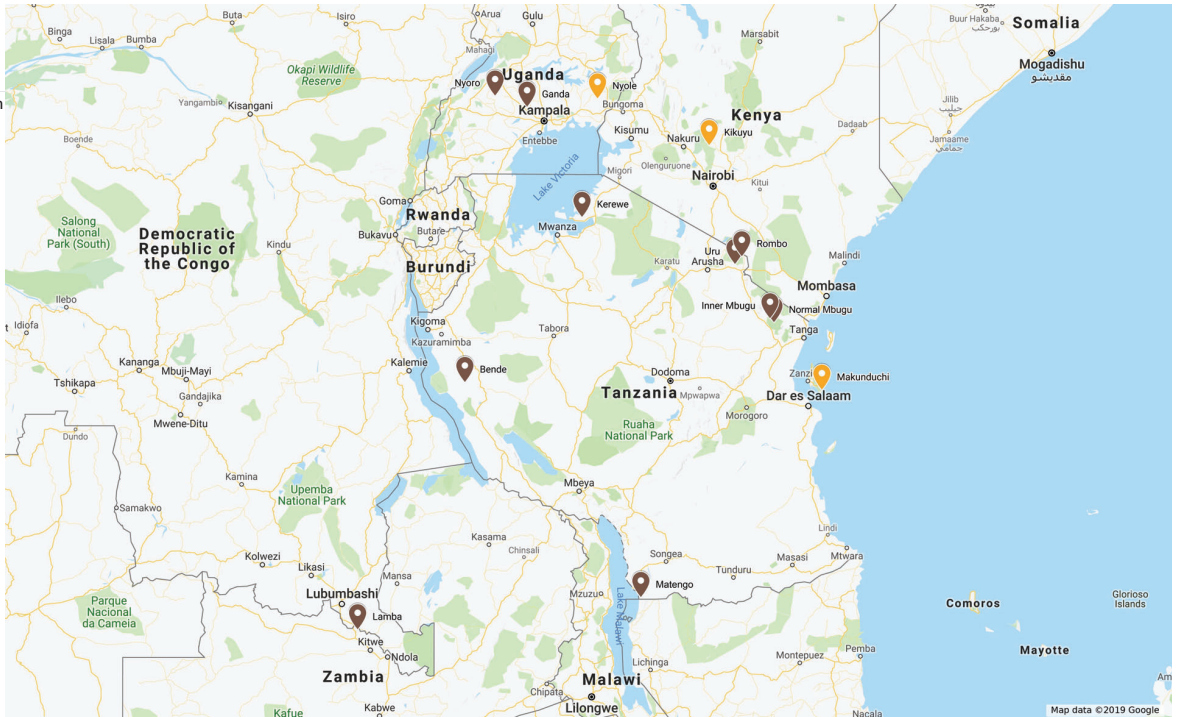
Noun class prefix omission: Is it possible to omit the noun class prefix when class membership is marked through agreement (on a modifier or on the verb)?



P009

Values
yes
no

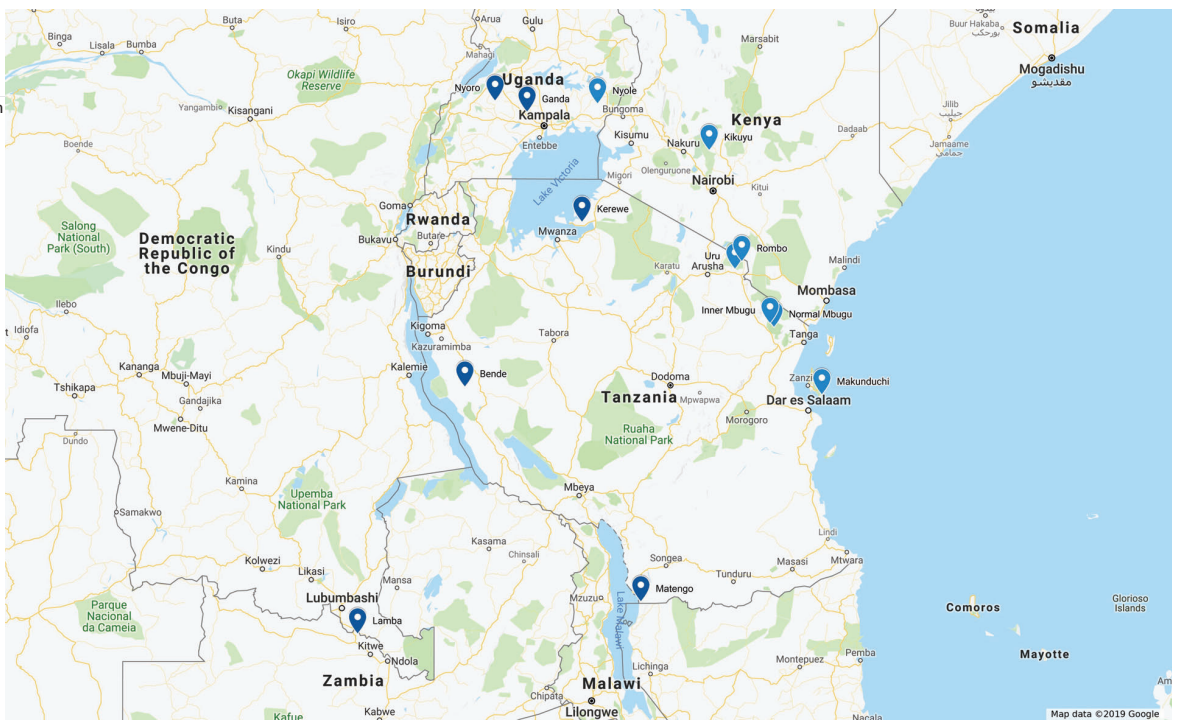
Locative class prefixation: Can a noun take a locative class prefix?



P010

Values
yes
no

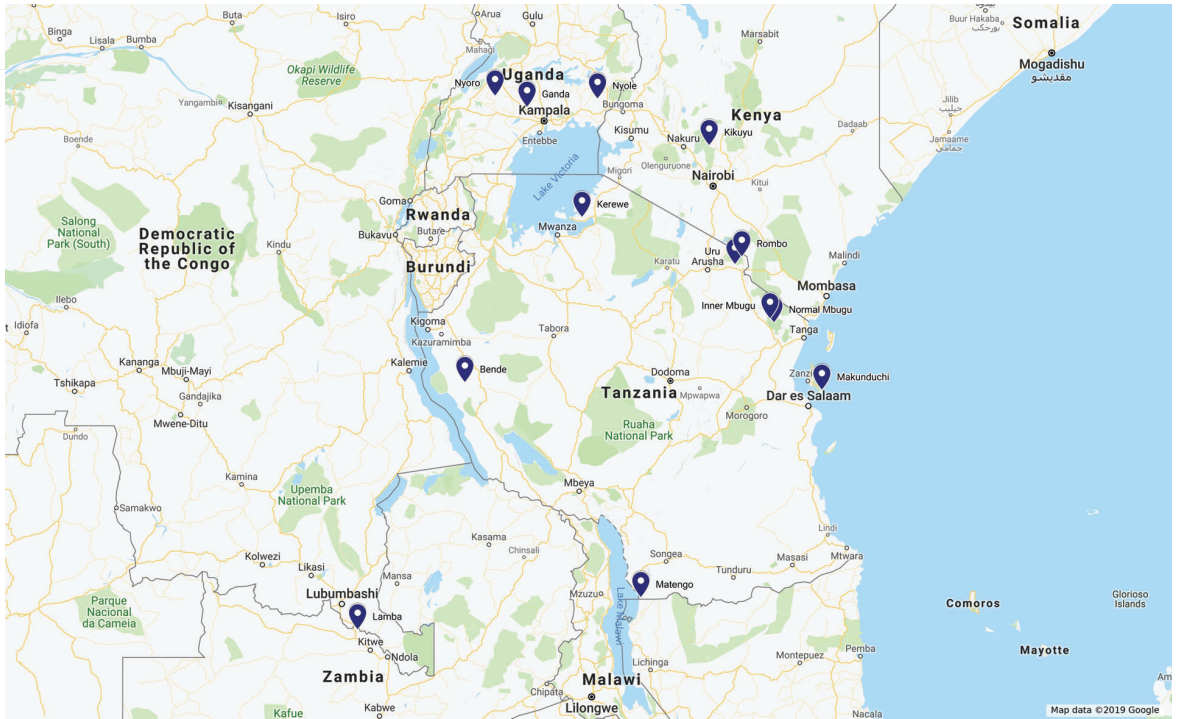
Locative class suffixation: Can a noun take a locative suffix?



P011

Values
 yes

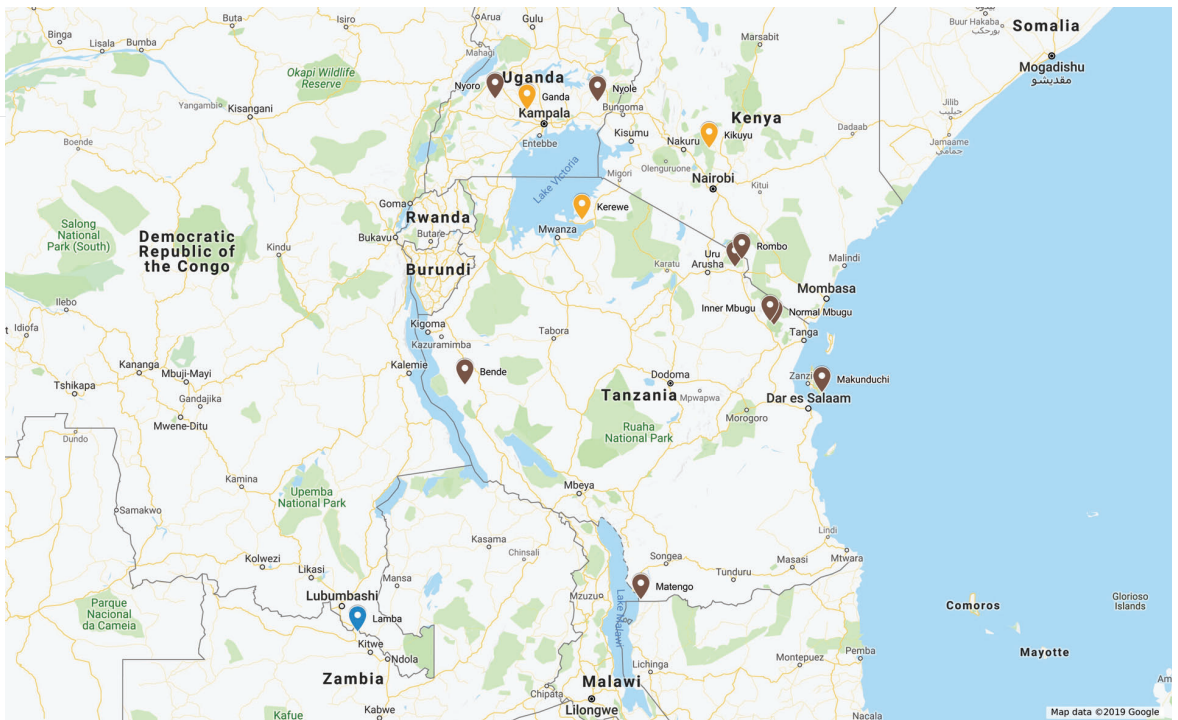
Locative subject markers: Are there locative subject markers on the verb?



P012

Values
 yes
 no
 yes?

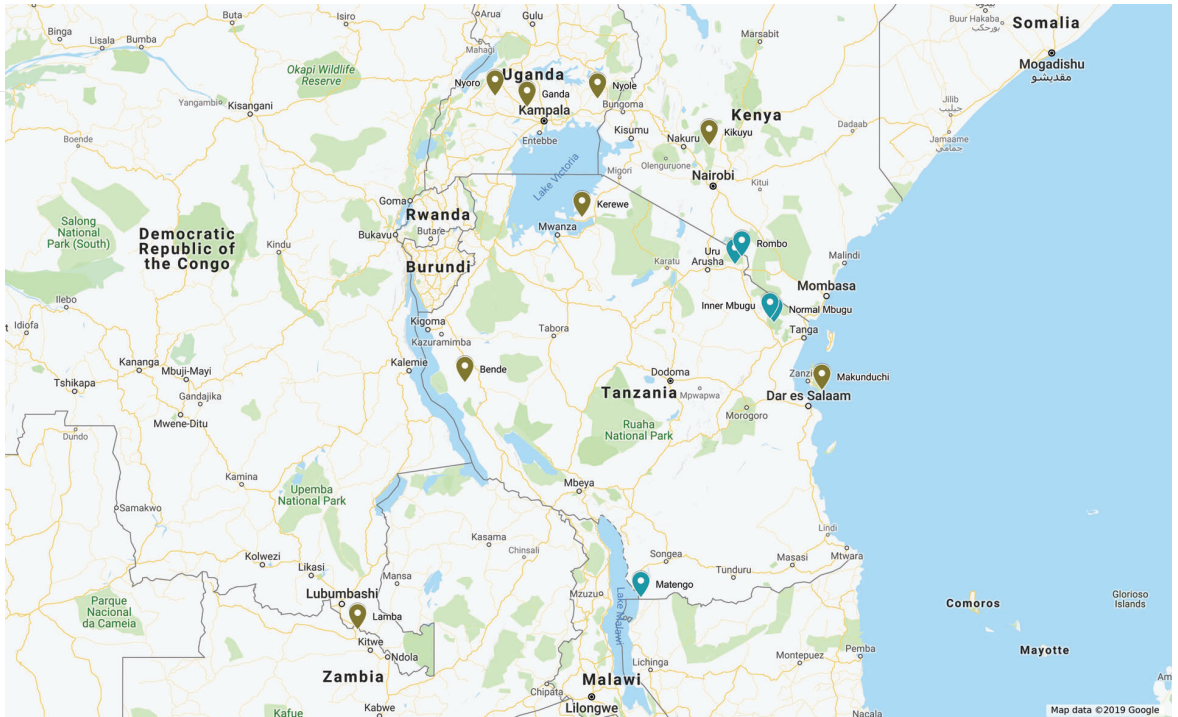
Locative object markers: Are there locative pre-stem object markers on the verb?



P013

Values
 ● yes
 ● no

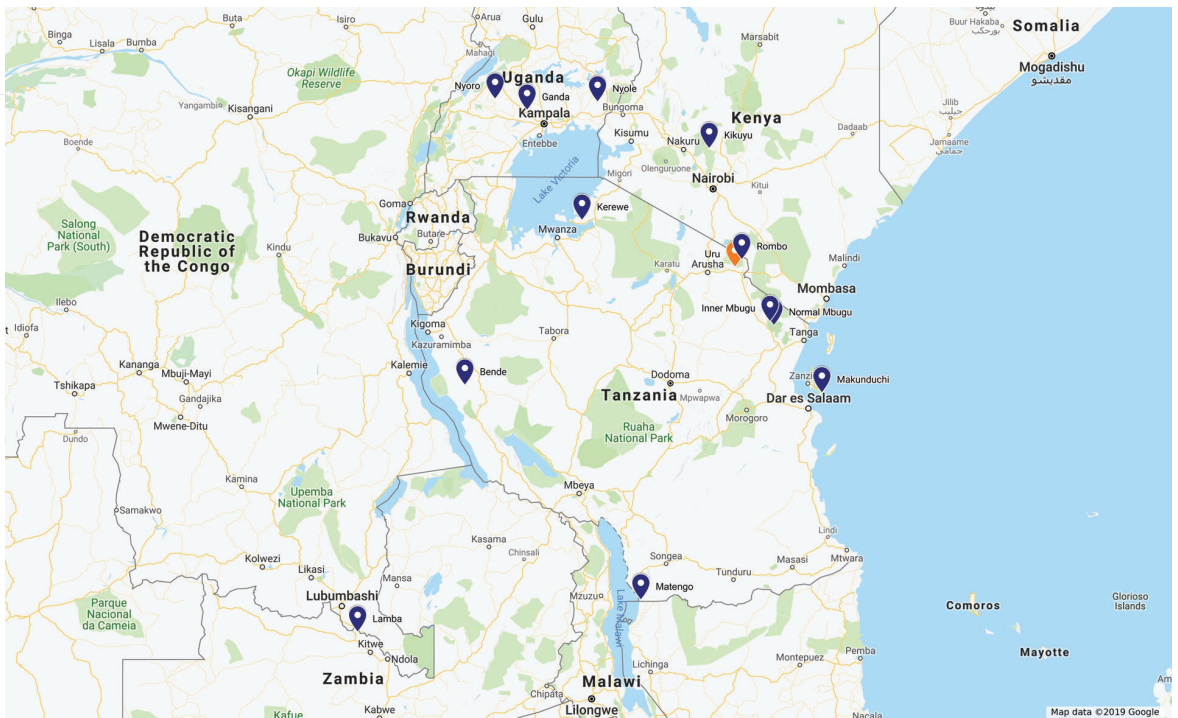
Locative enclitics: Are there locative post-verbal clitics?



P014

Values
 ● no
 ● null

Independent subject pronouns: Are independent subject pronouns obligatory?

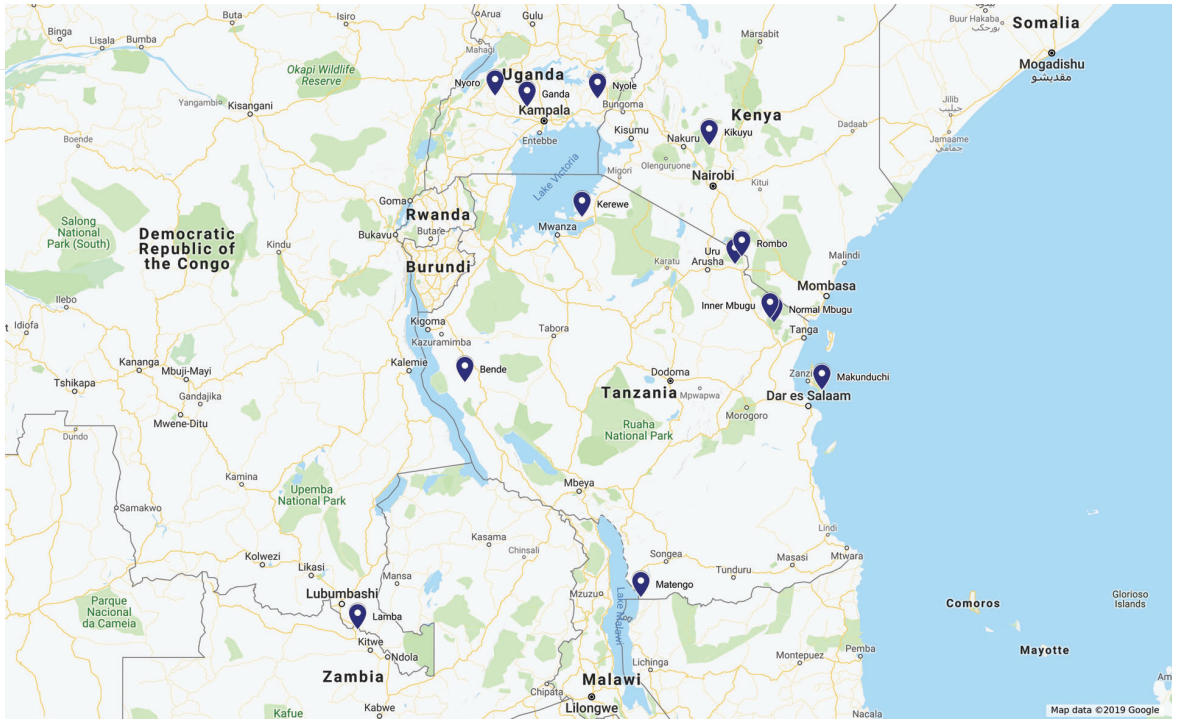


P015

Values



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

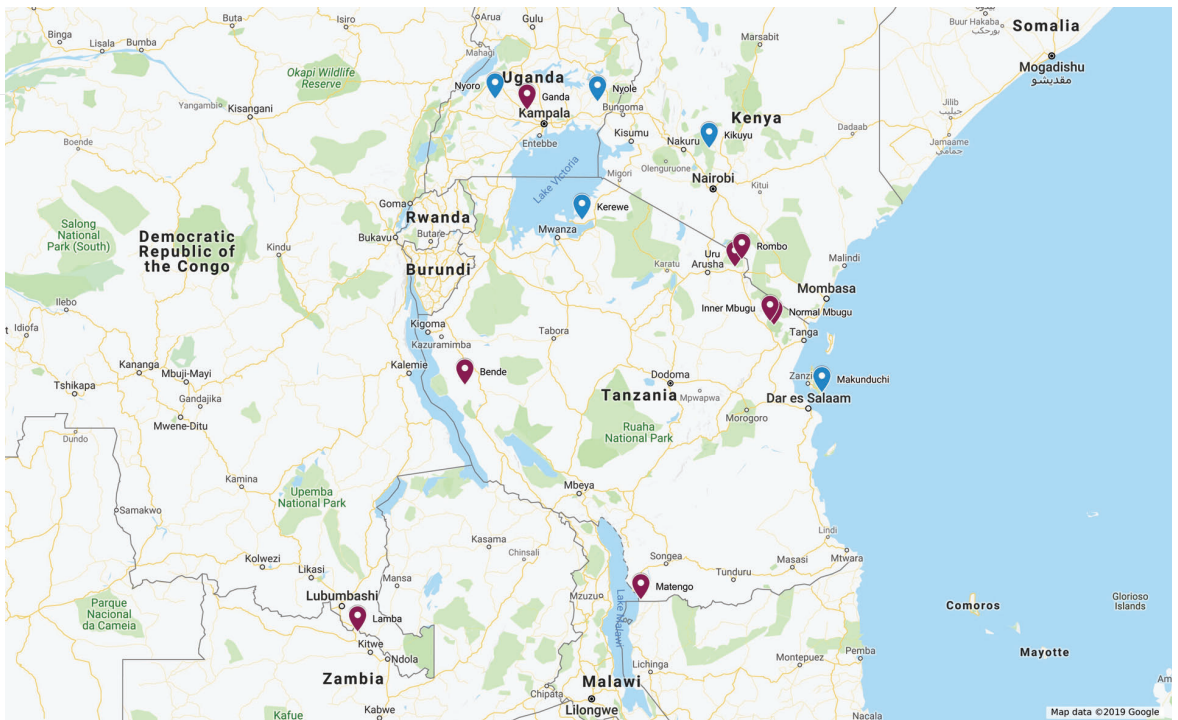


P016

Values



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

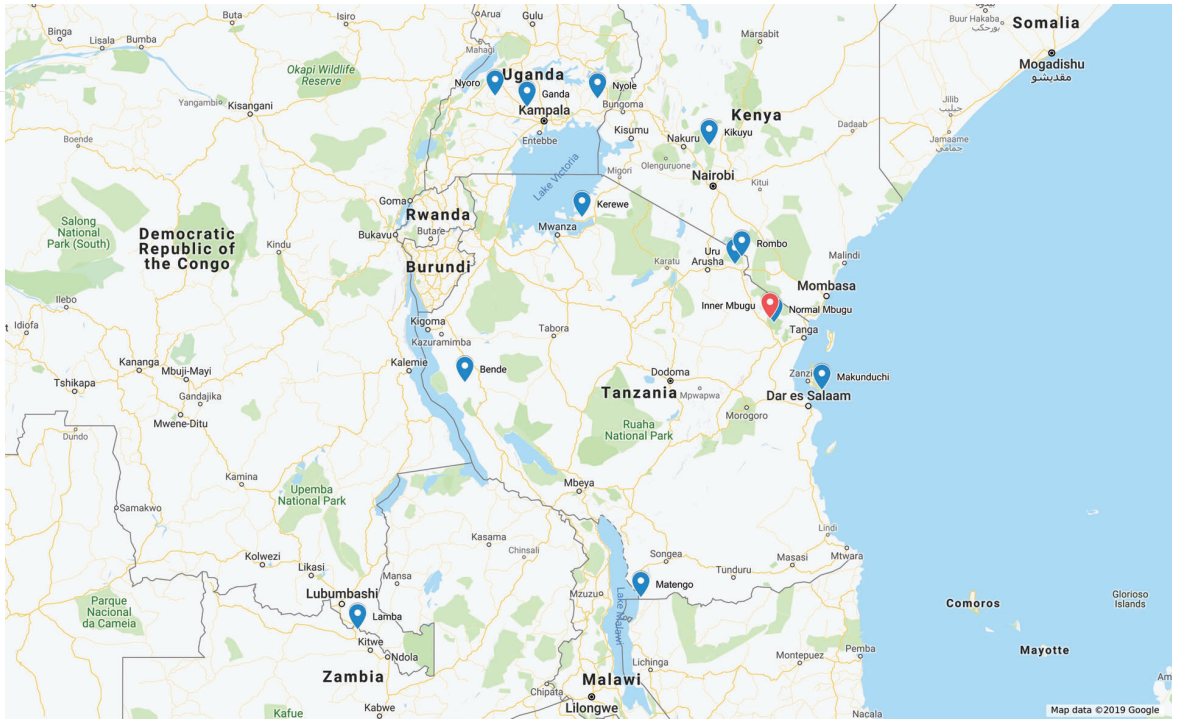


P017

Values

- yes
- no

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

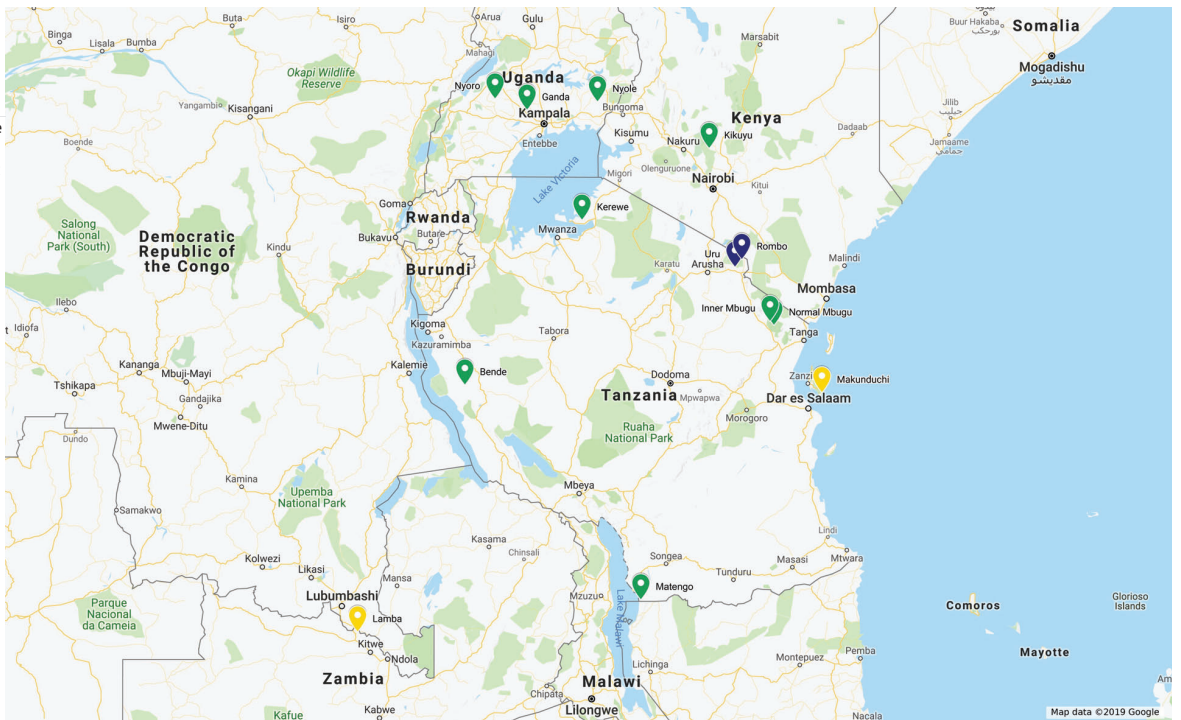


P018

Values

- no
- null
- yes

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

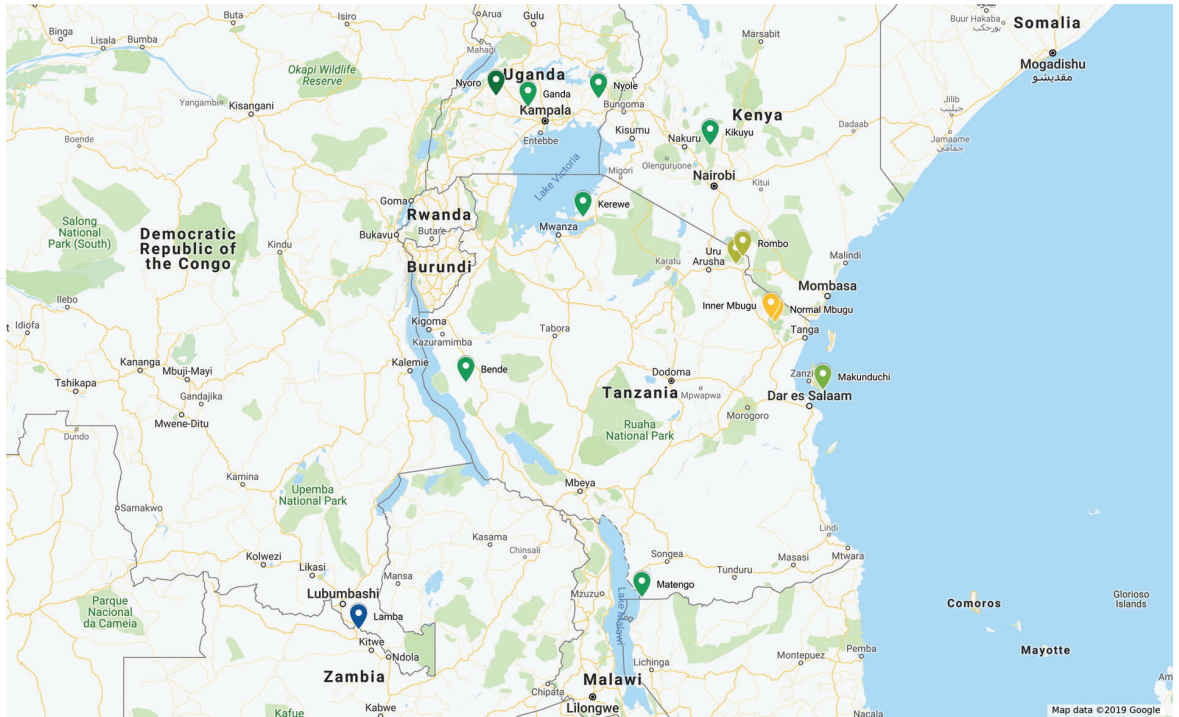


P019

Values

- 2 yes, with inalienable possession only
- 3 yes, with inalienable and alienable possession (possibly including applicative marking for alienable possession)
- null
- 1 yes, and it is unrestricted
- no
- yes

Possessor raising: Is possessor raising possible?

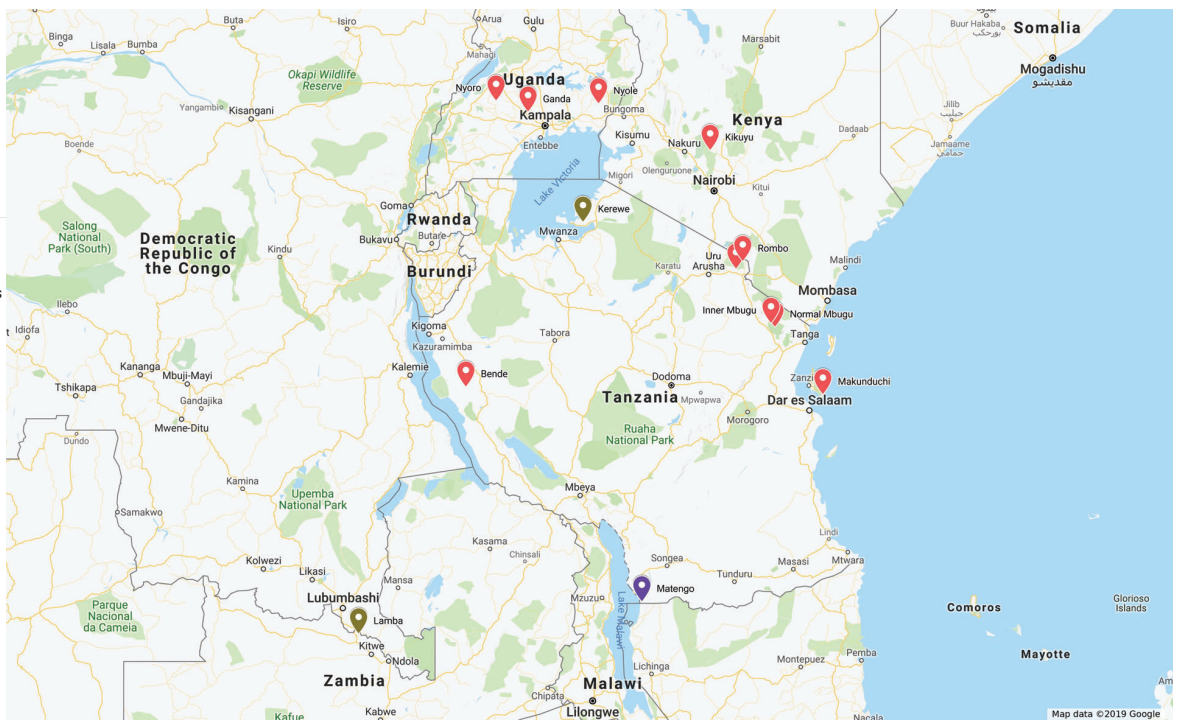


P020

Values

- 2 yes, there is a three-way distinction
- 3 yes, there is a four-way distinction
- 4 yes, there is a five-way (or more) distinction

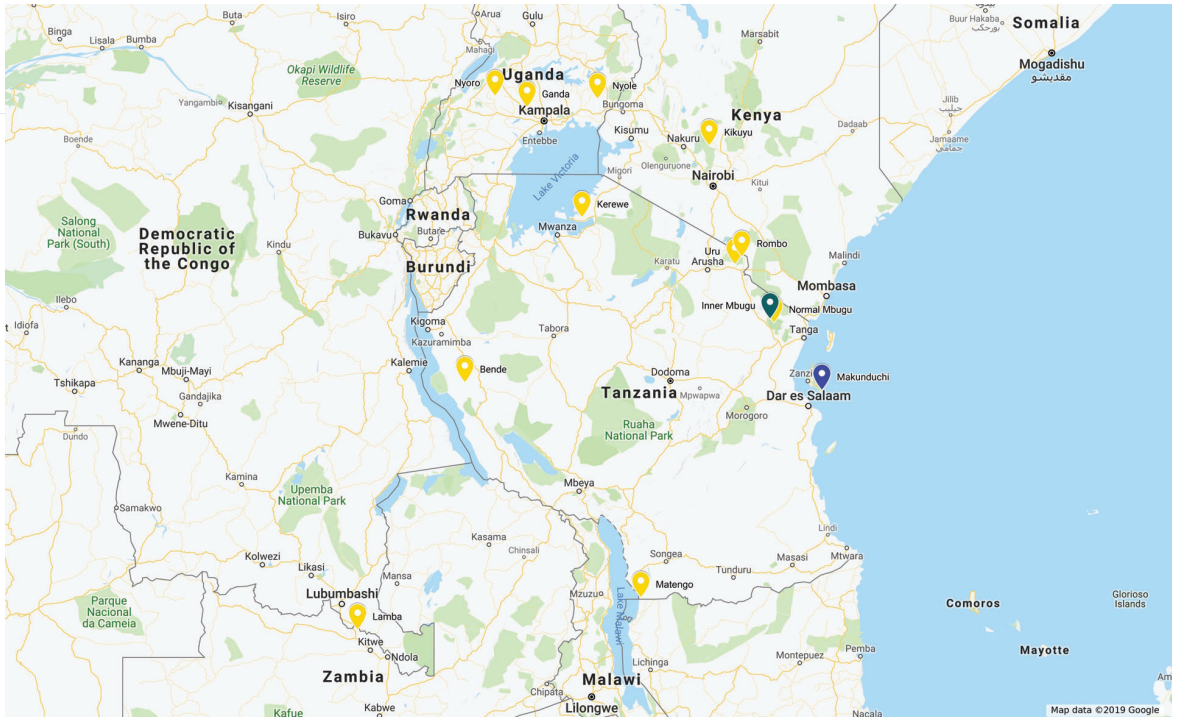
Demonstrative morphology: Are there morphological divisions in the system of demonstratives? (e.g. in terms of spatial and temporal deixis and/or visibility)



P021

Values
 1 yes, always
 no
 yes

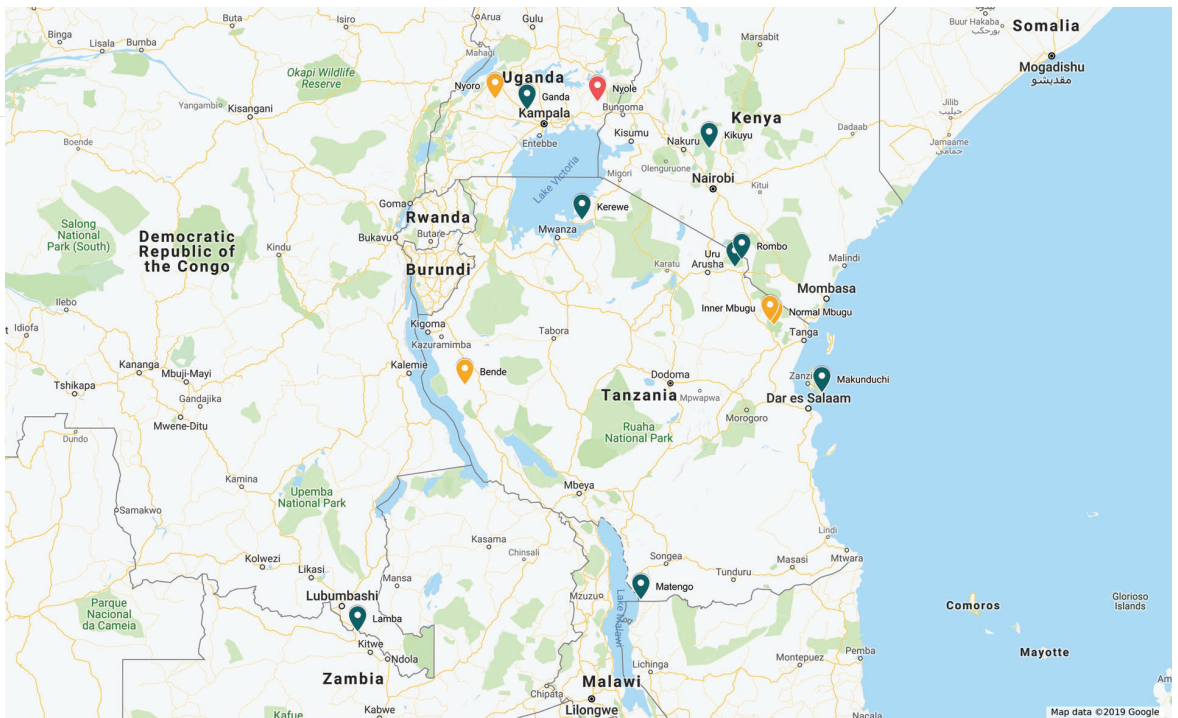
Demonstrative agreement: Do the demonstratives agree in noun class with the head noun?



P022

Values
 yes
 no
 null

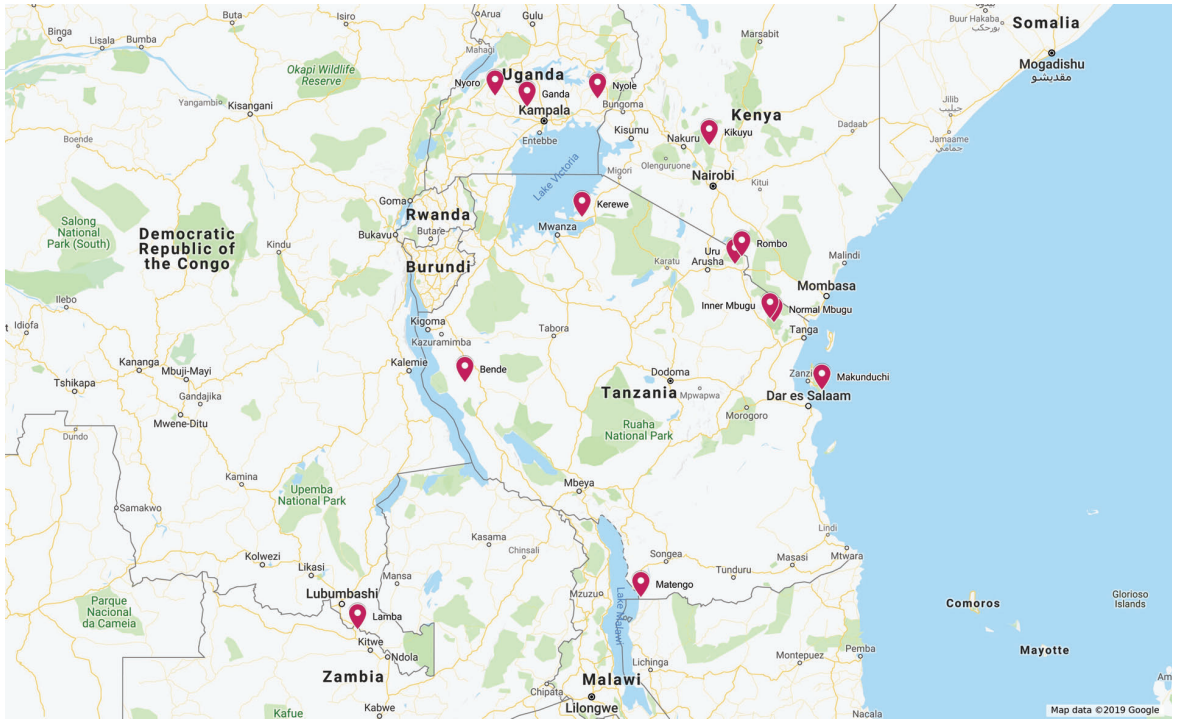
Functions of demonstratives: In addition to spatial-deictic functions, do the demonstrative pronouns assume other functions?



P023

Values
📍 yes

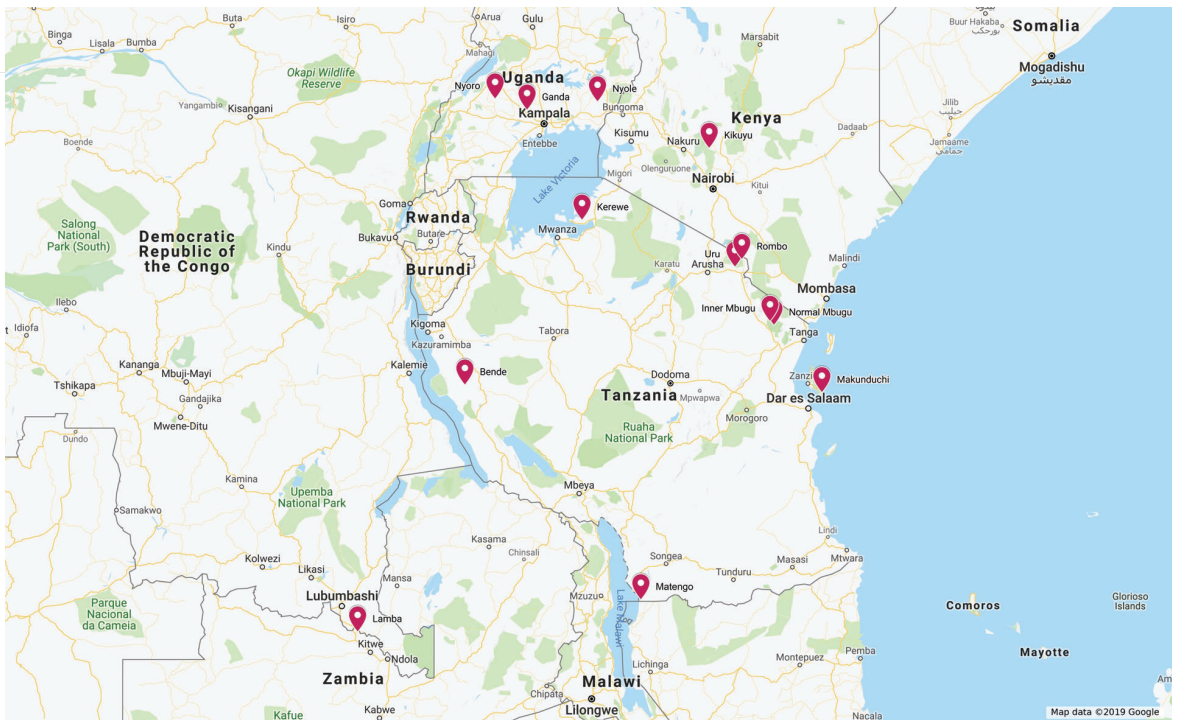
Lexical adjectives: Are there lexical adjectives? (i.e. which are not syntactically complex)



P024

Values
📍 yes

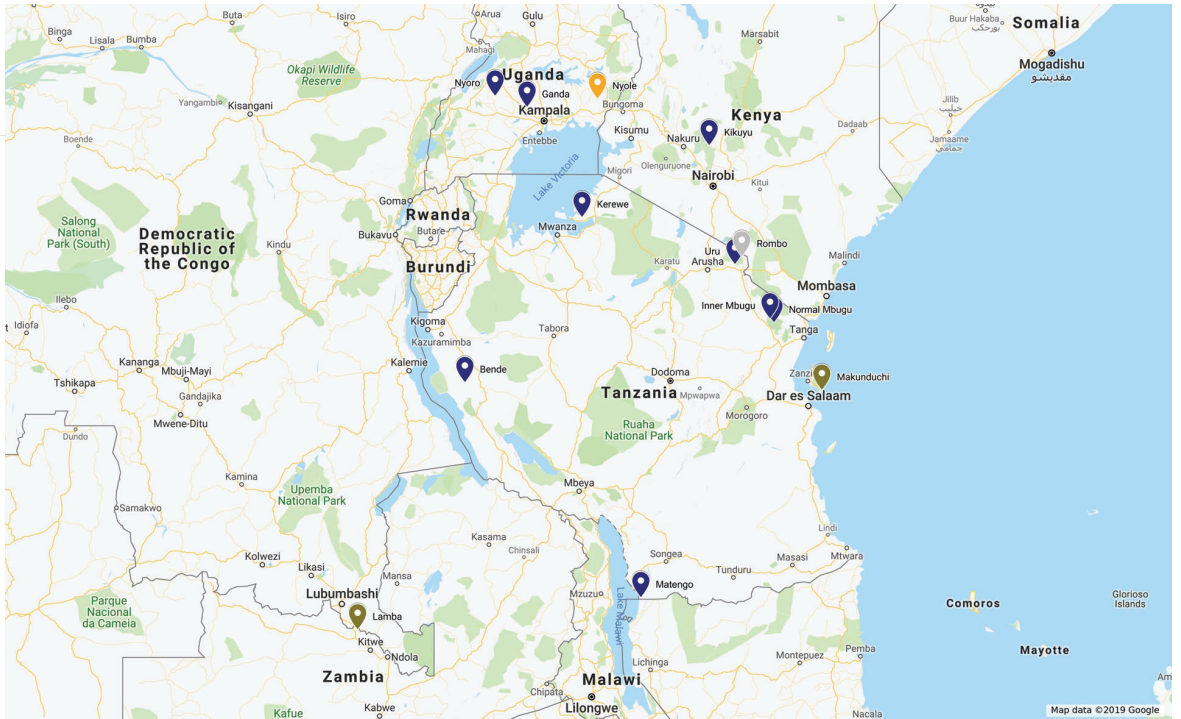
Adnominal concord prefixes: Are there different forms/paradigms for adnominal concord prefixes?



P025

- Values
- no
 - yes
 - null
 - Other / No value

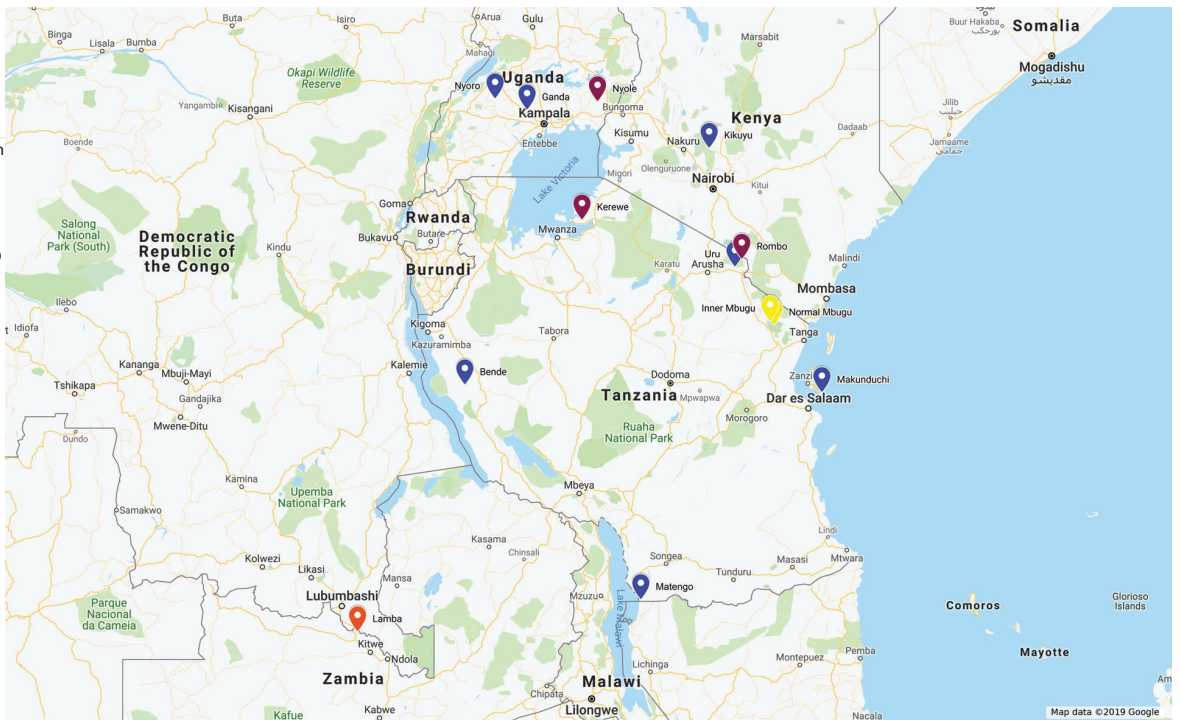
Attributive linkers: Are there attributive linkers which are used to introduce adjectives?



P026

- Values
- no
 - null
 - yes
 - no?

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

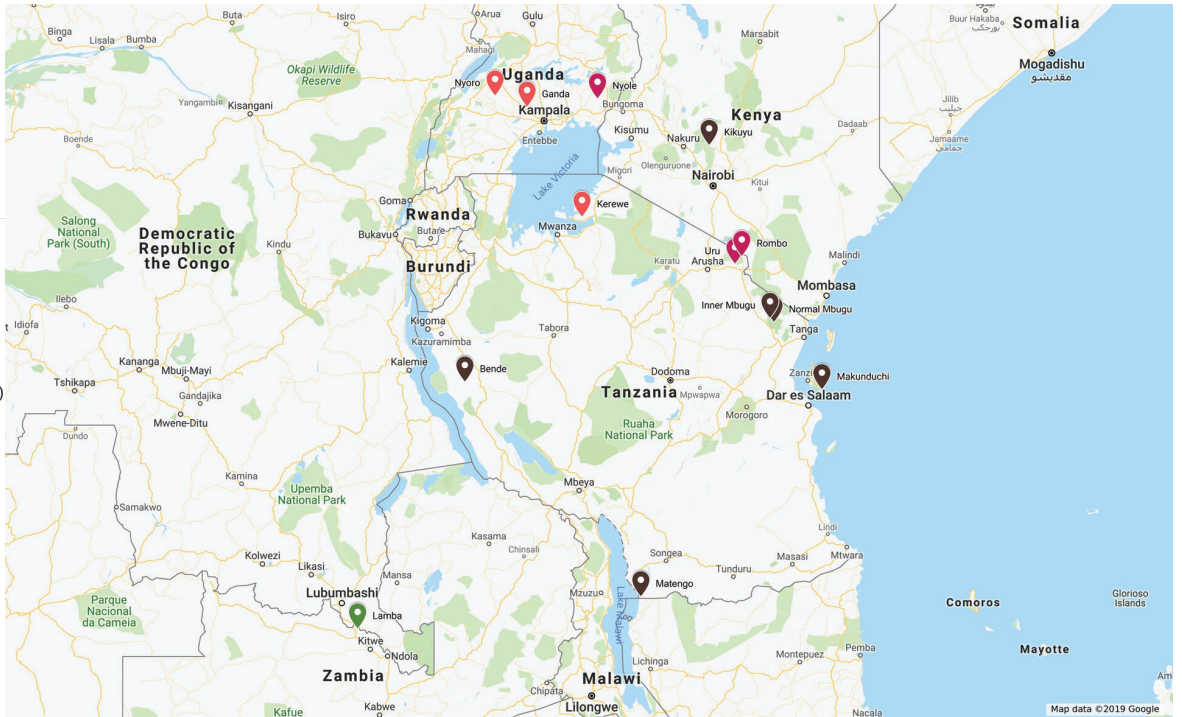


P027

Values

- no
- 2 yes, for feminine/augmentative/qualitative meanings only
- null
- 1 yes, for diminutive meaning only

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 -yána and kazi?)

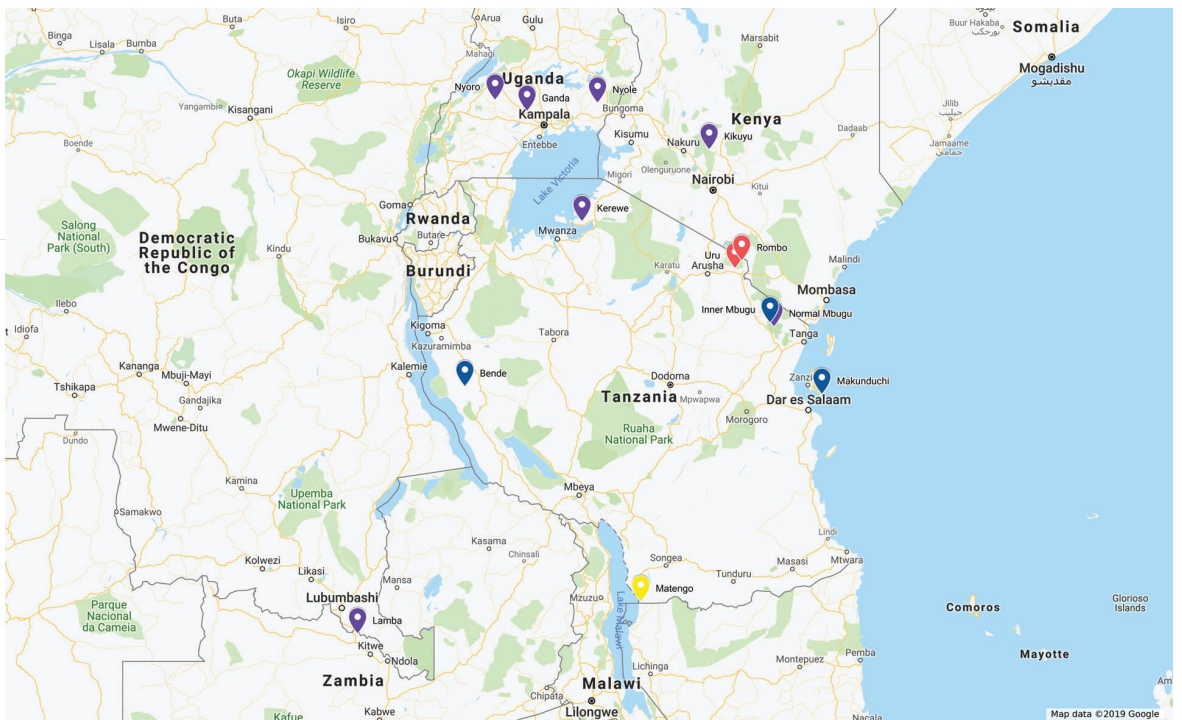


P028

Values

- 1 yes, it is used productively (give examples attesting the derivational process)
- 2 yes, but it is no longer productive (e.g. there might be frozen forms)
- yes
- null

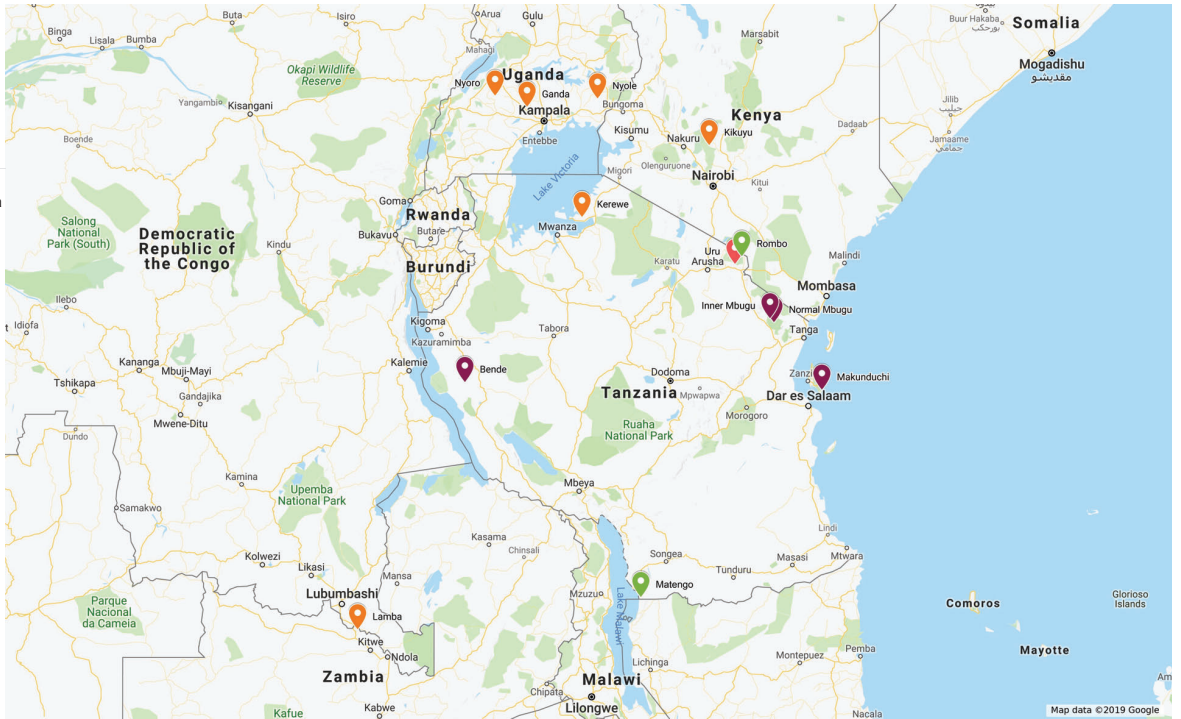
Agentive suffix -i: Does suffixation of the agentive marker -i occur as a verb-to-noun derivational process (possibly in addition to classes 1/2 prefixes?)



P029

- Values
- 1 yes, it is used productively
 - 2 yes, but it is no longer productive
 - null
 - yes

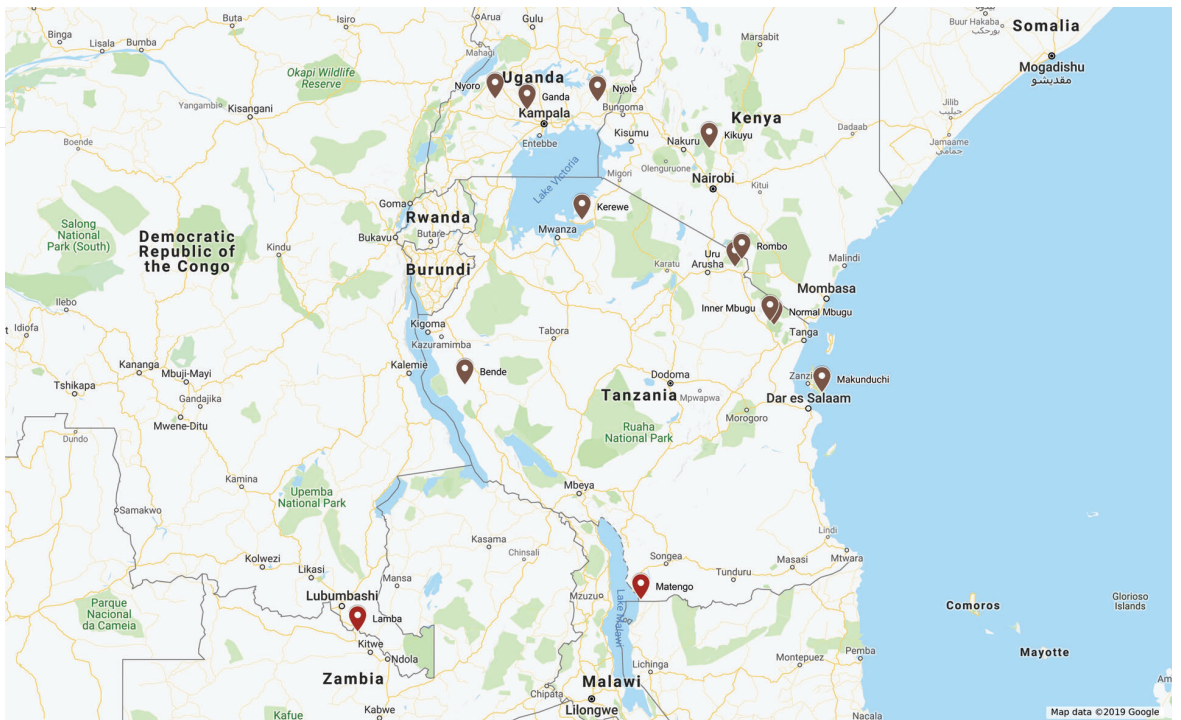
Derivational suffix -o : Does the suffixation of -o occur as a verb-to-noun derivational process (with sometimes the addition of the applicative extension)?



P030

- Values
- no
 - 1 yes, it is based on 5 (e.g. 6=5+1)

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

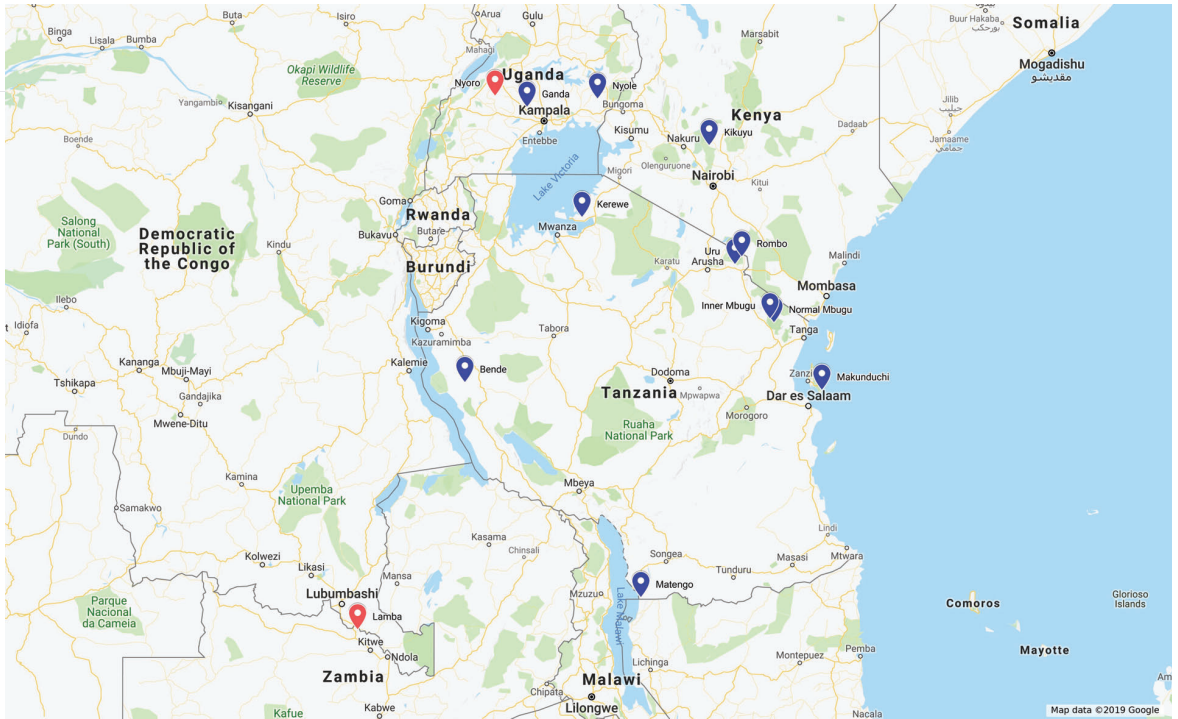


P031

Values

- yes
- no

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

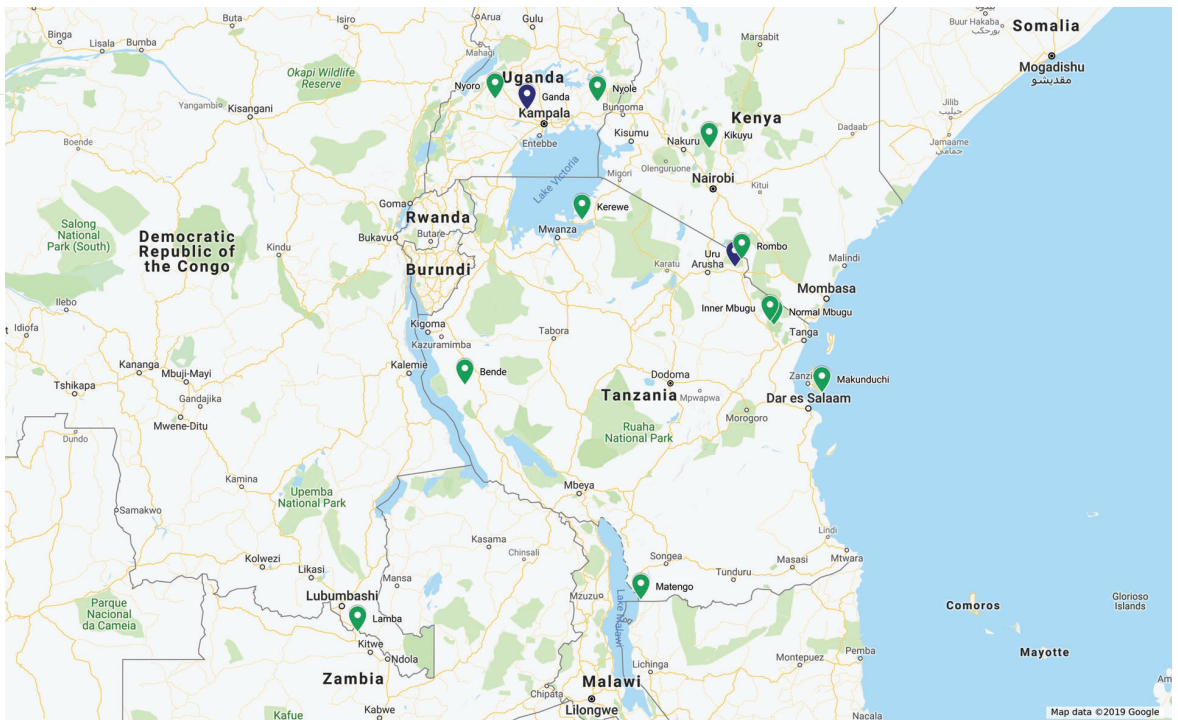


P032

Values

- no
- yes

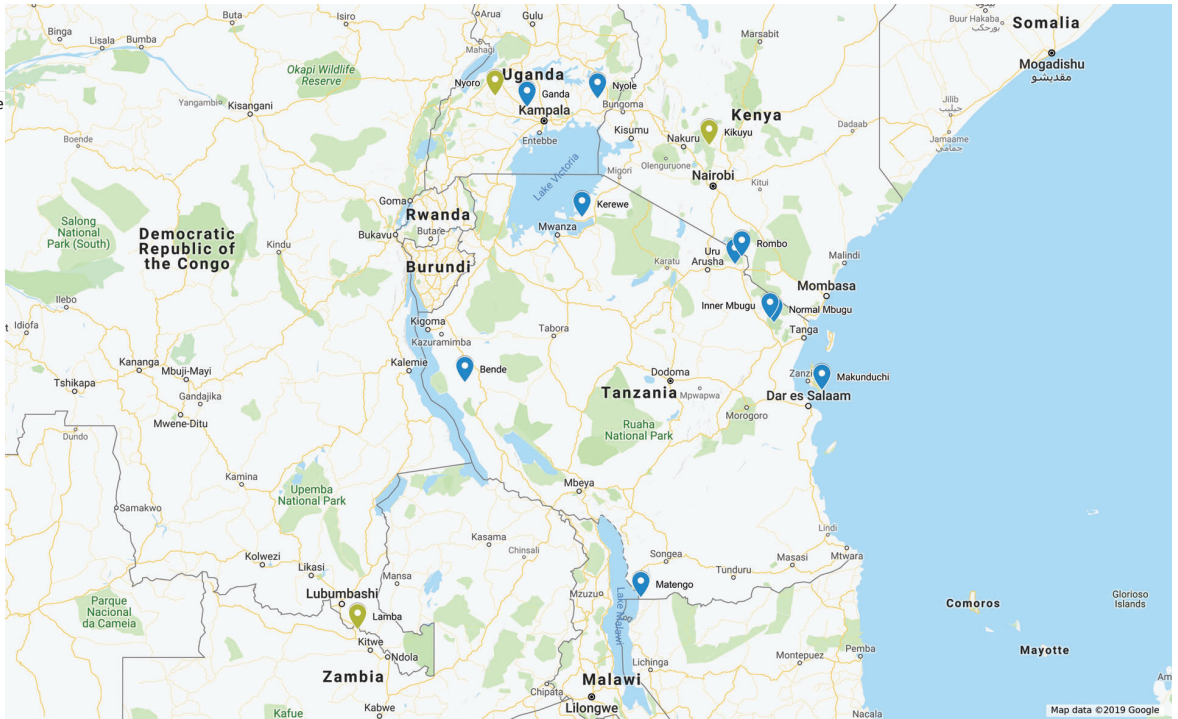
'hand' and 'finger': Is there a single stem that denotes both 'hand' and 'finger'?



P033

Values
● yes
● no

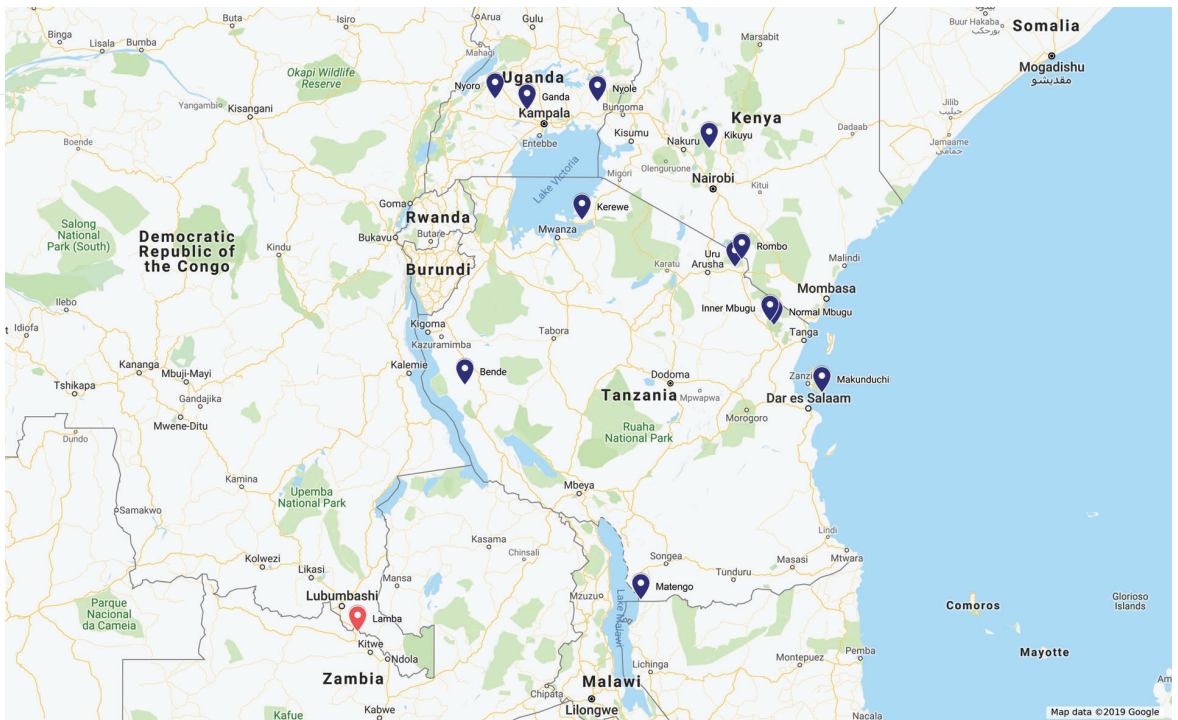
'leg' and 'foot': Is there a single stem that denotes both 'leg' and 'foot'?



P034

Values
● yes
● no

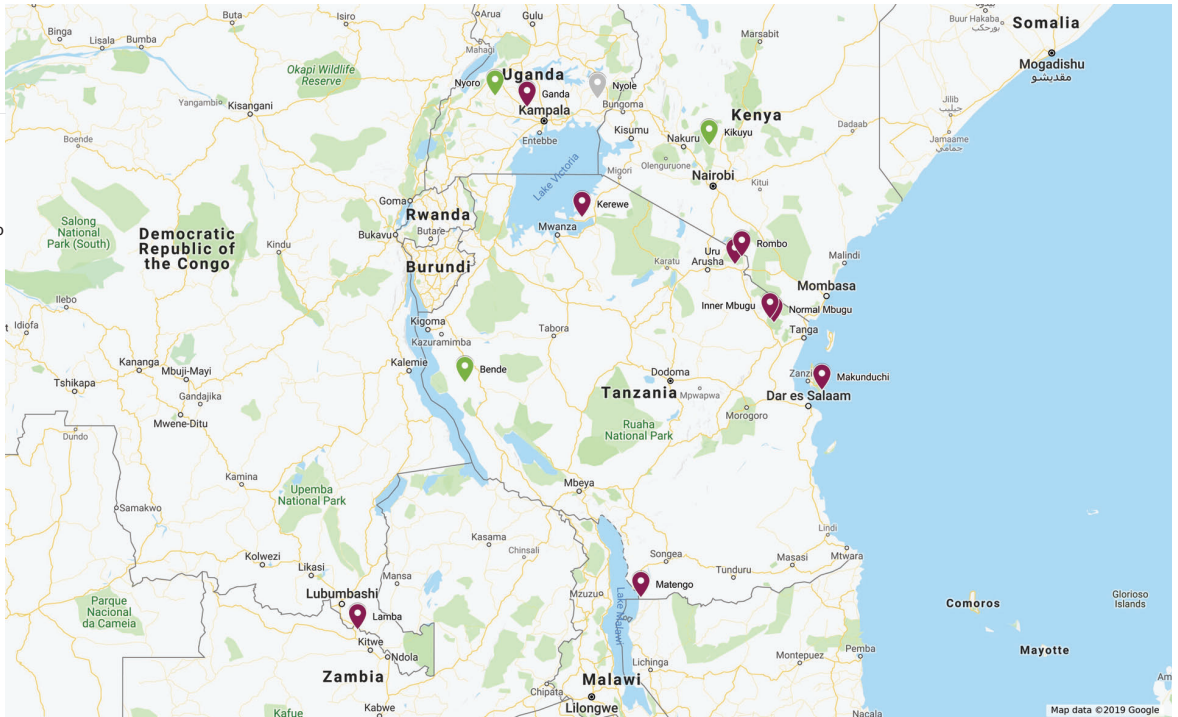
'tea': Is the word for 'tea' similar to cha?



P035

- Values
- yes
 - no
 - Other / No value

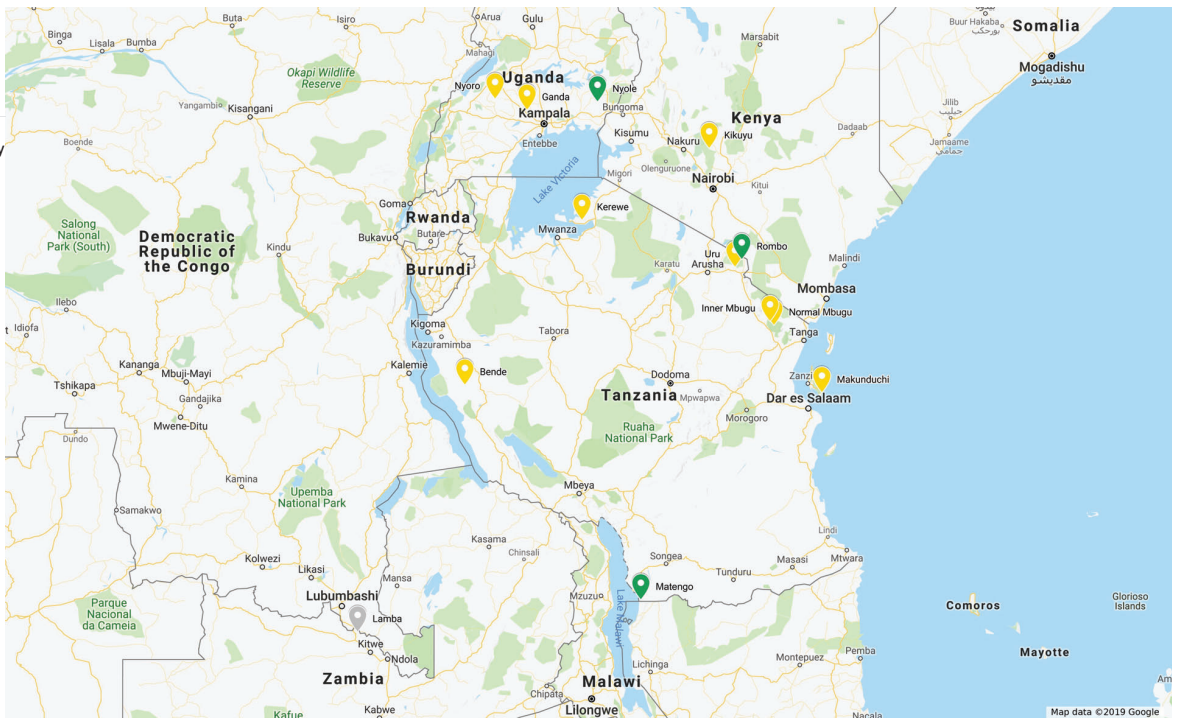
Inchoative verbs: Is there a group of verbs expressing qualities or states which are lexically inchoative and are thus typically used with a perfect/perfective verb form to express a present state? (e.g. fall asleep, be full, be late, be dirty, etc)



P036

- Values
- yes
 - no
 - Other / No value

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

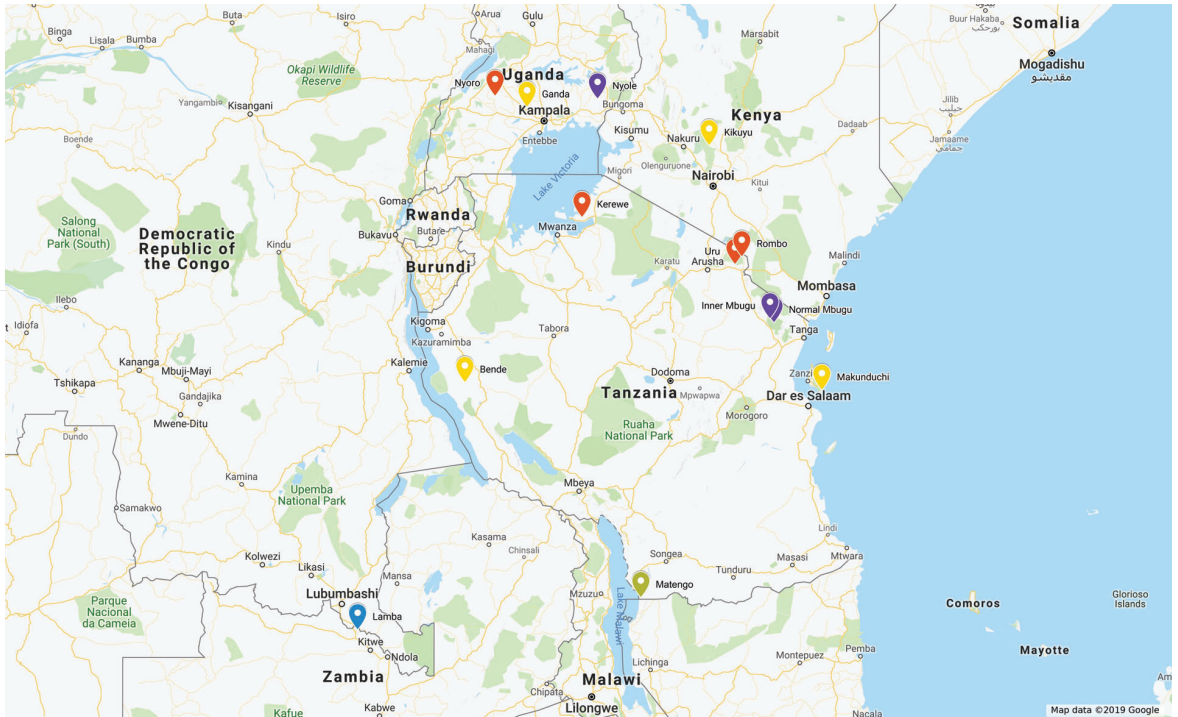


P037

Values

- 1 yes, using a class 2 SM, without the expression of an agent noun phrase
- no
- null
- 2 yes, using a class 2 SM, with an optional agent noun phrase
- 3 yes, using a class 1 SM, without the expression of an agent noun phrase

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

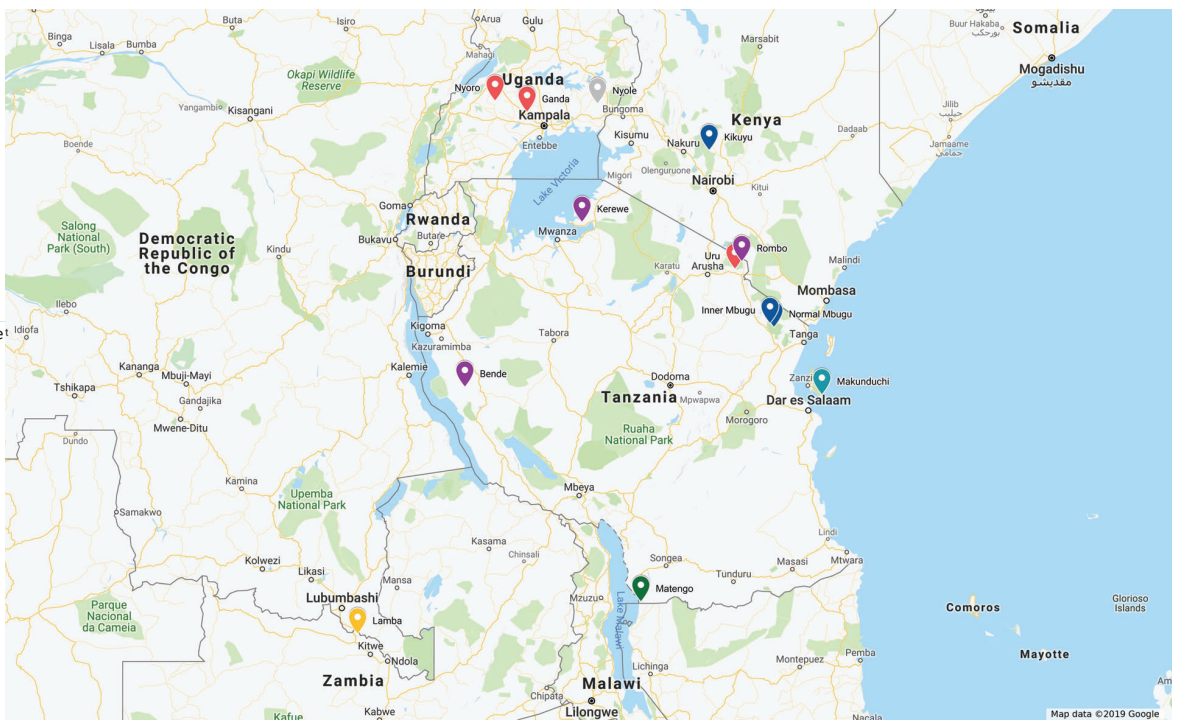


P038

Values

- 1 by the comitative or instrumental (e.g. na)
- 4 by a copula
- 5 there is no overt marker used to introduce the agent noun phrase
- 2 by class 17 locative morphology (e.g. ku or kwa)
- 3 by another preposition
- n.a.
- Other / No value

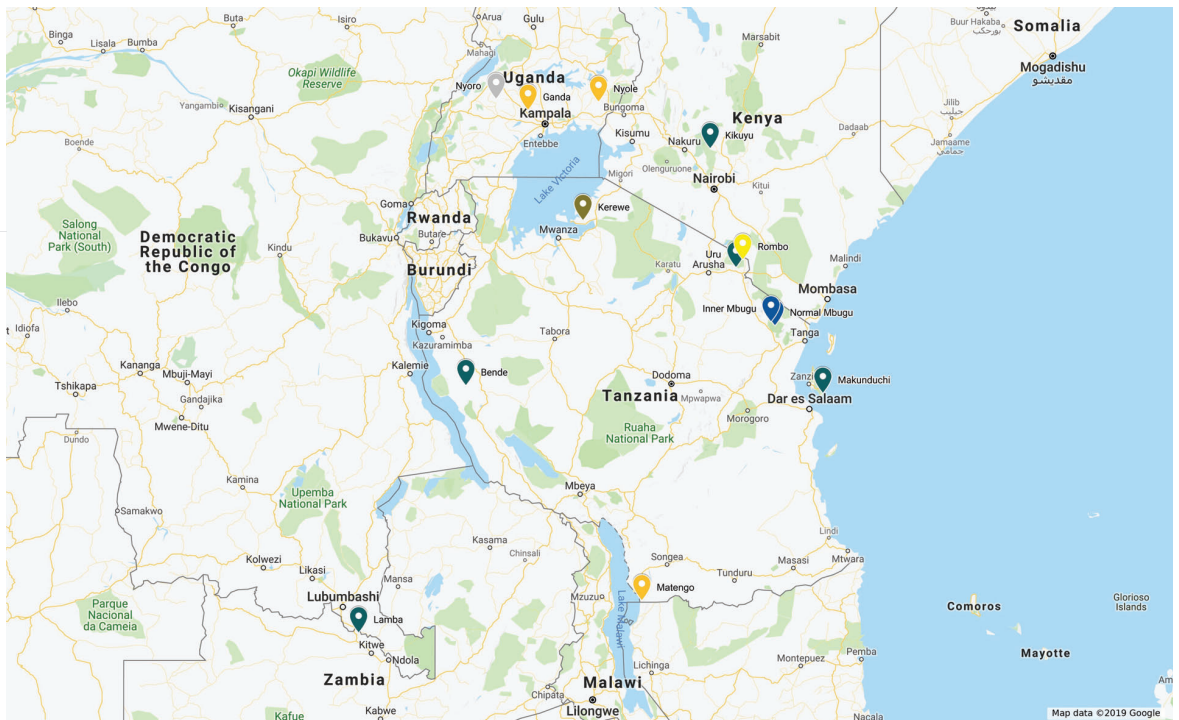
Agent noun phrase: How is the agent noun phrase (when present) introduced?



P039

- Values
- no
 - n.a.
 - no?
 - 1 yes, but in specific configuration(s) only (specify which one(s))
 - null
 - Other / No value

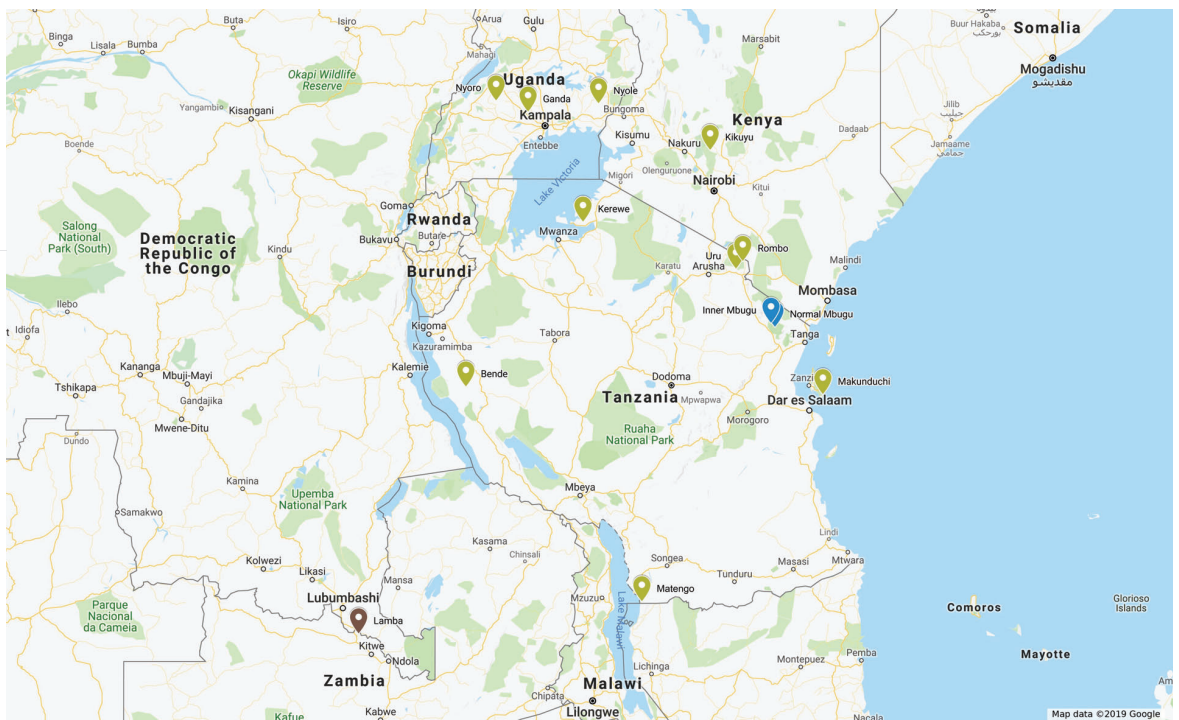
Bare agent: Can the preposition/copula which introduces the agent be omitted?



P040

- Values
- 1 through the use of a verbal affix only
 - 3 both through the use of a verbal affix and through the use of a specific construction
 - 3? both through the use of a verbal affix and through the use of a specific construction

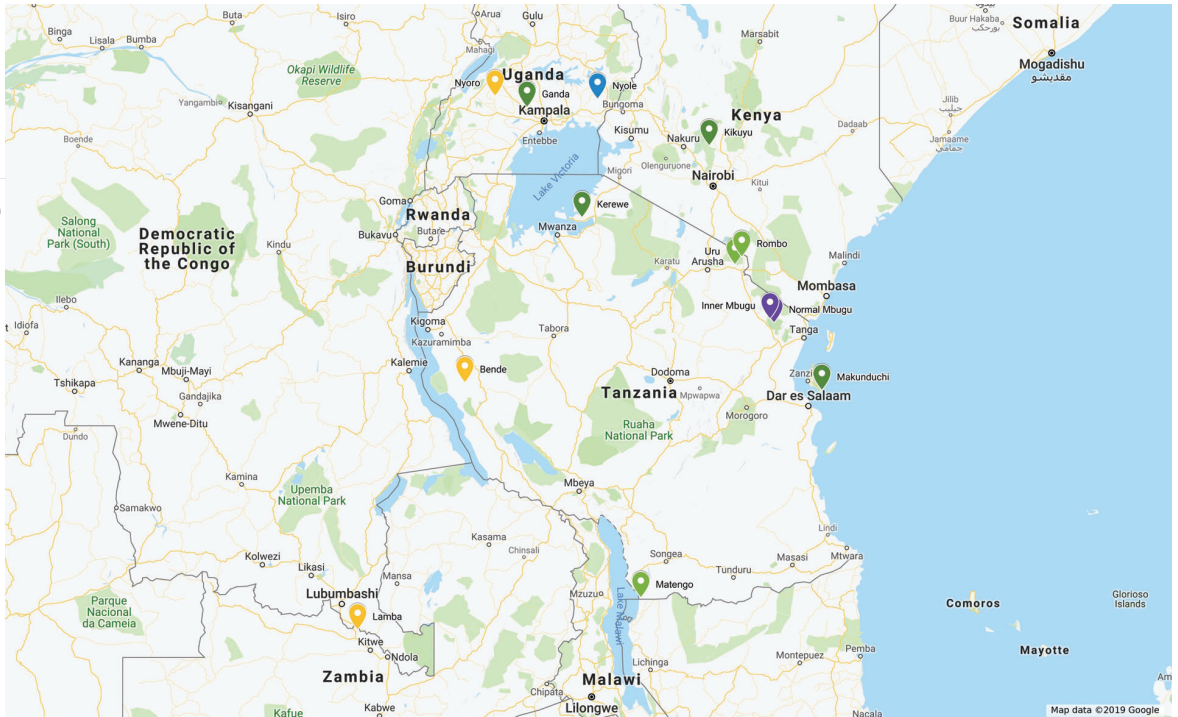
Reciprocal/associative: How is reciprocal/associative meaning expressed?



P041

- Values
- no
 - 1 yes, but these are lexicalised
 - null
 - yes
 - 2 yes, productively

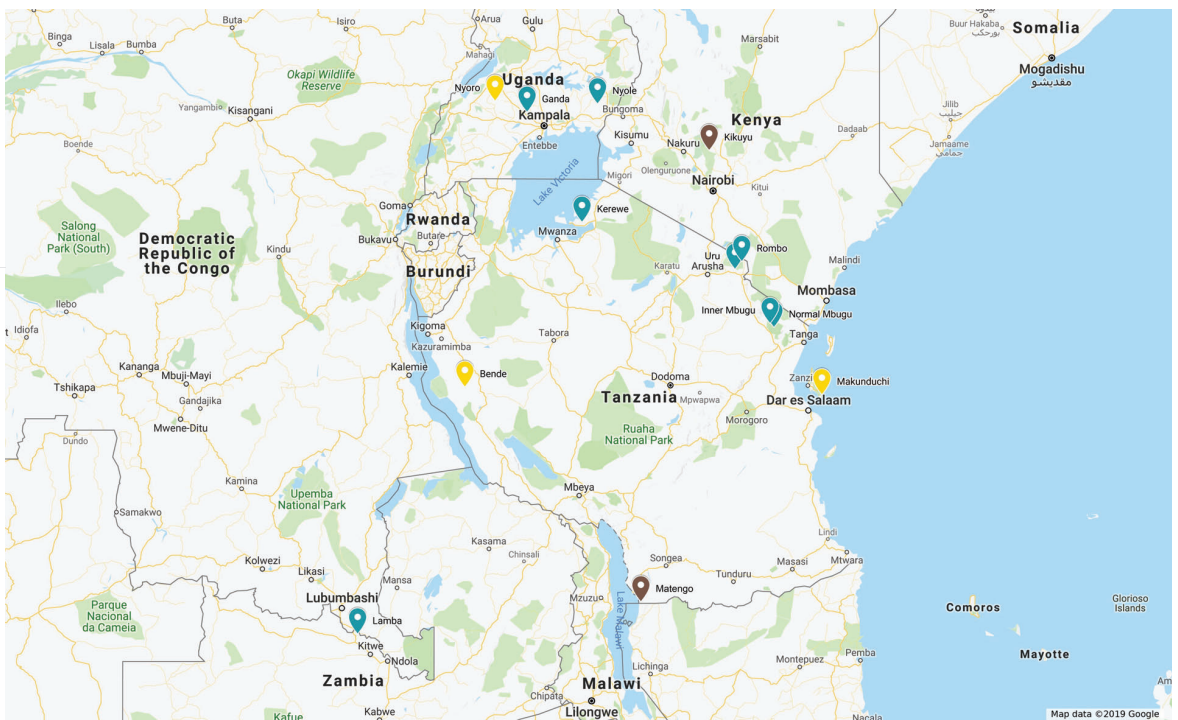
Other functions for **-an-**: Does the suffix **-an-** (or similar form) have functions other than reciprocal (e.g. antipassive function)?



P042

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

Causative: How is causative meaning expressed?

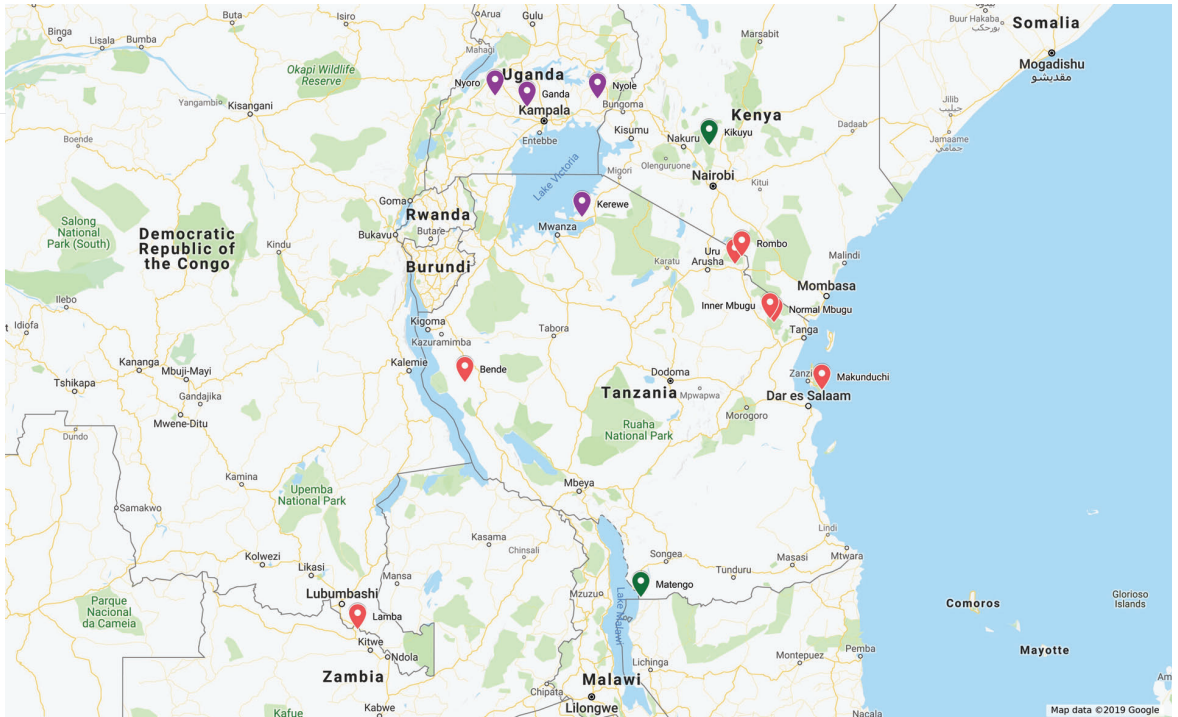


P043

Values

- no
- yes
- n.a.

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

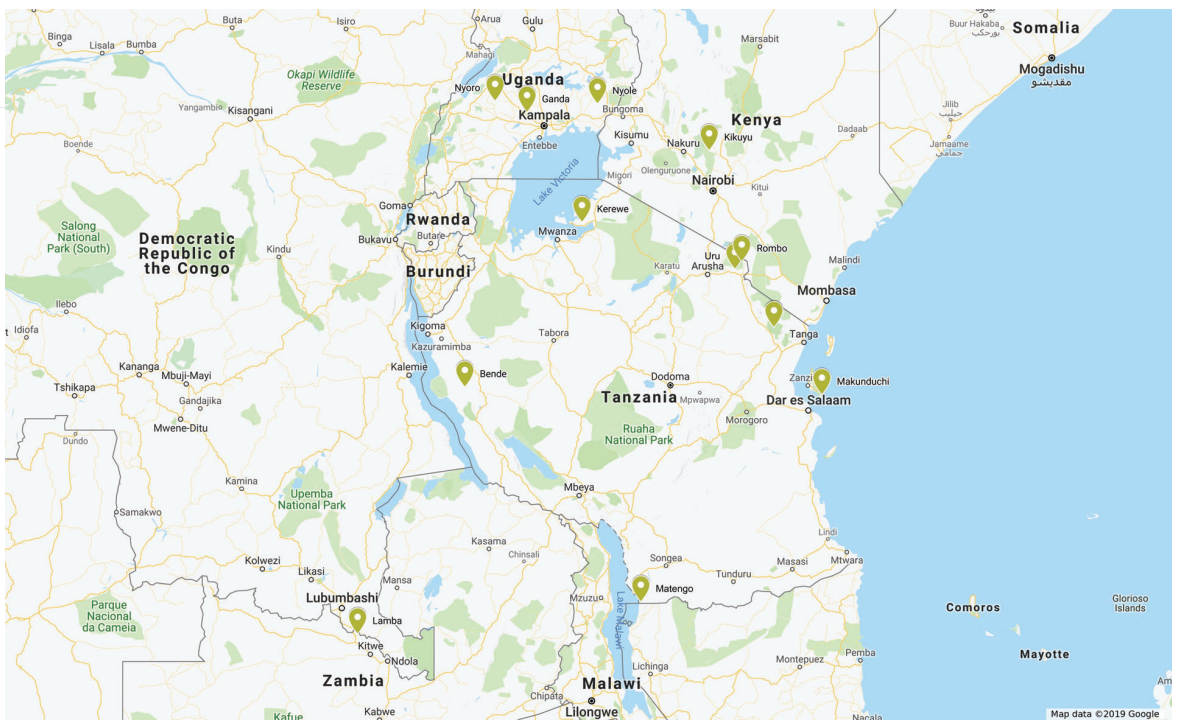


P044

Values

- 1 through the use of a verbal affix only

Applicative: How are applicative constructions formed?

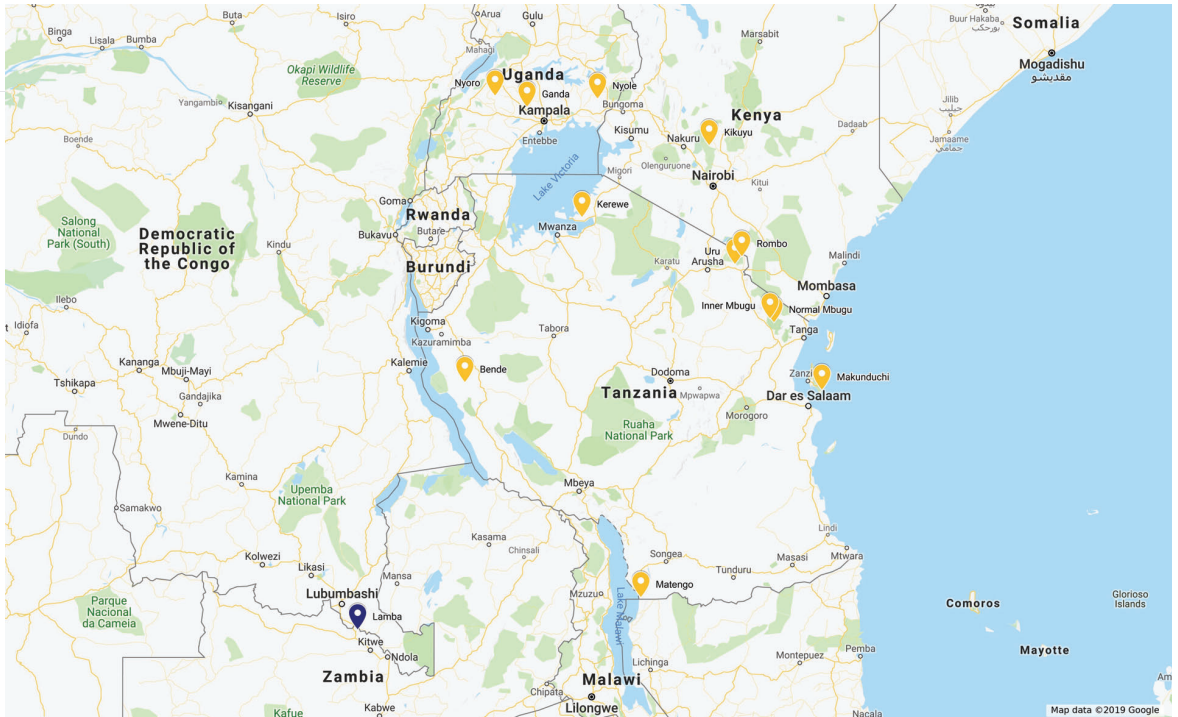


P045

Values

- yes
- yes?

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

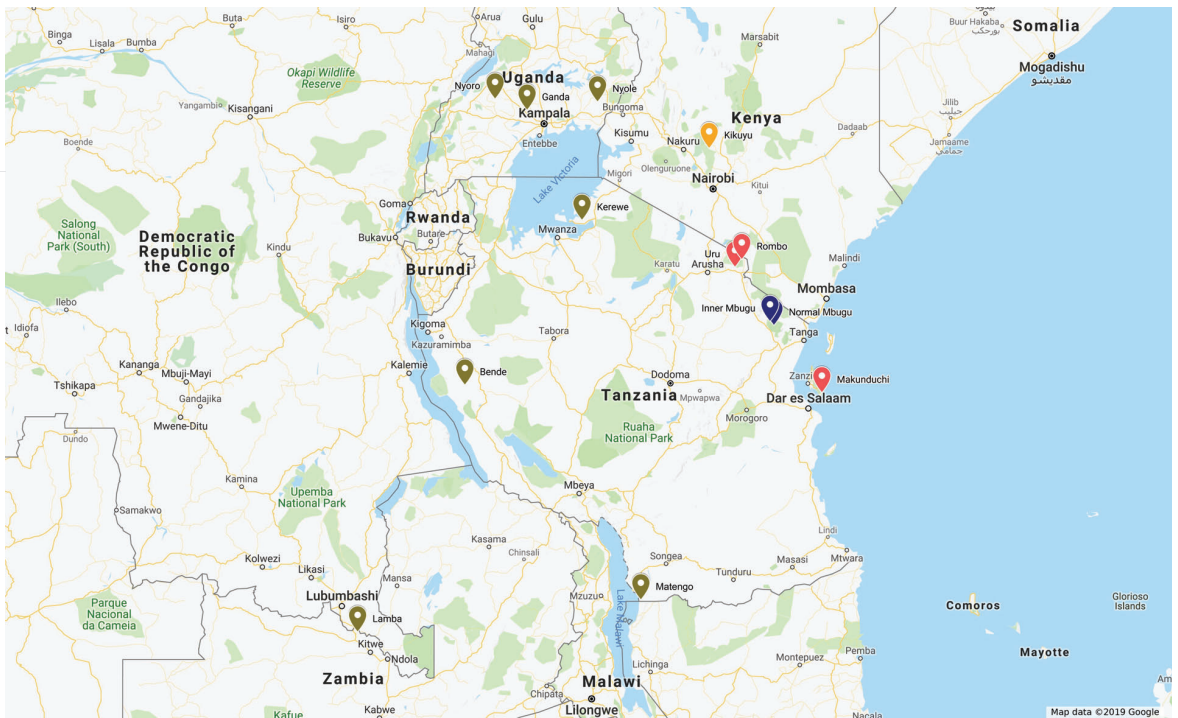


P046

Values

- 1 yes, to express intensity, repetition, completeness
- null
- no?
- no

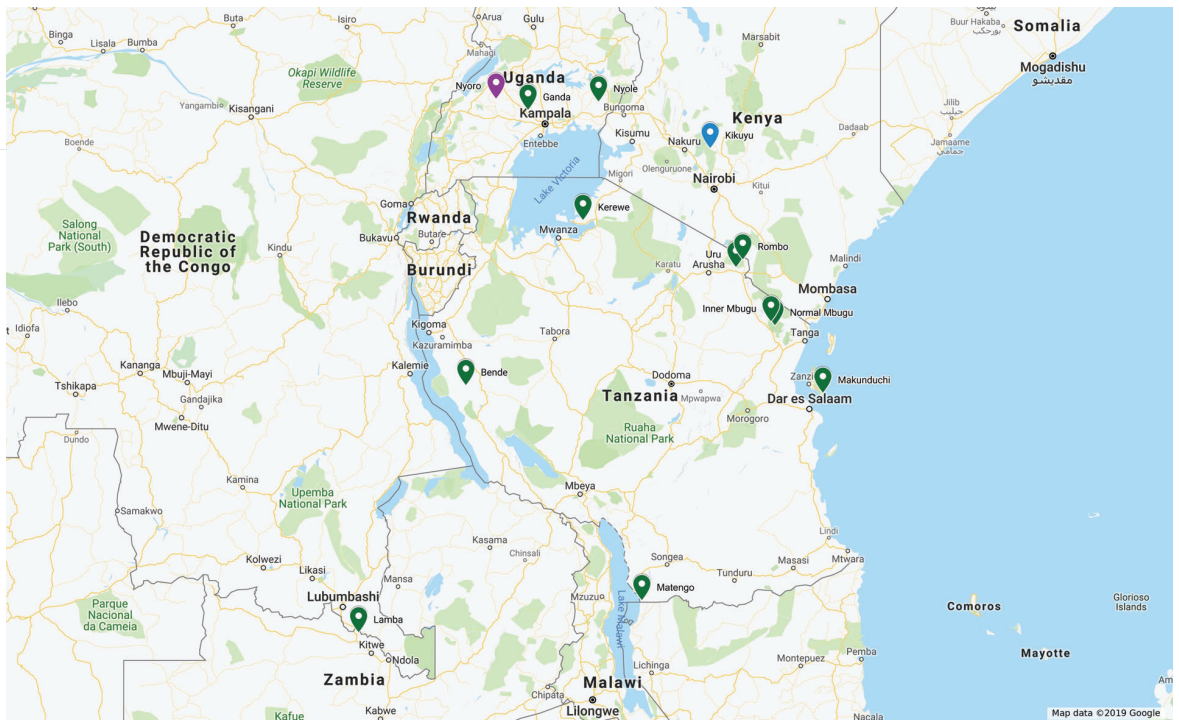
Multiple applicative extensions: Can two (or more) applicative extensions be productively used in the same verb form?



P047

- Values
- 1 yes, the suffix -ik- or similar form
 - 2 yes, another form
 - no

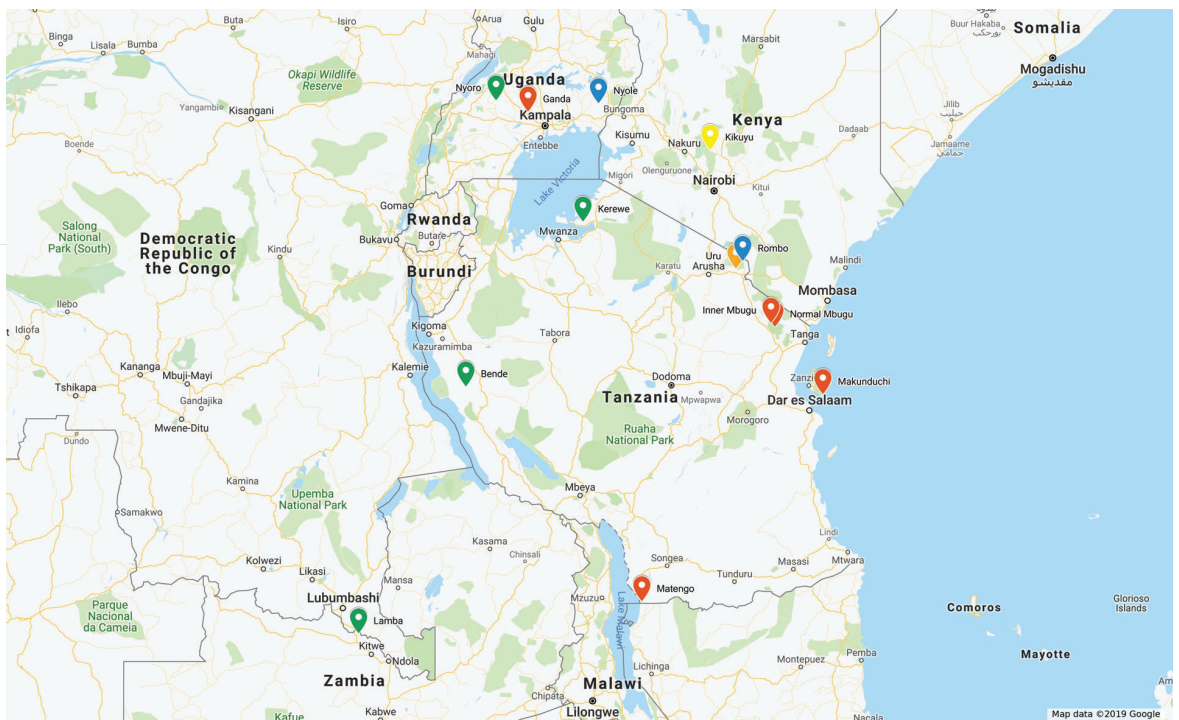
Neuter/stative: Is there a productive neuter/stative extension?



P048

- Values
- 1 yes, causative-applicative-reciprocal-passive (CARP) order
 - 3 another order
 - 2 the order reflects the order of the derivation
 - n.a.
 - null

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

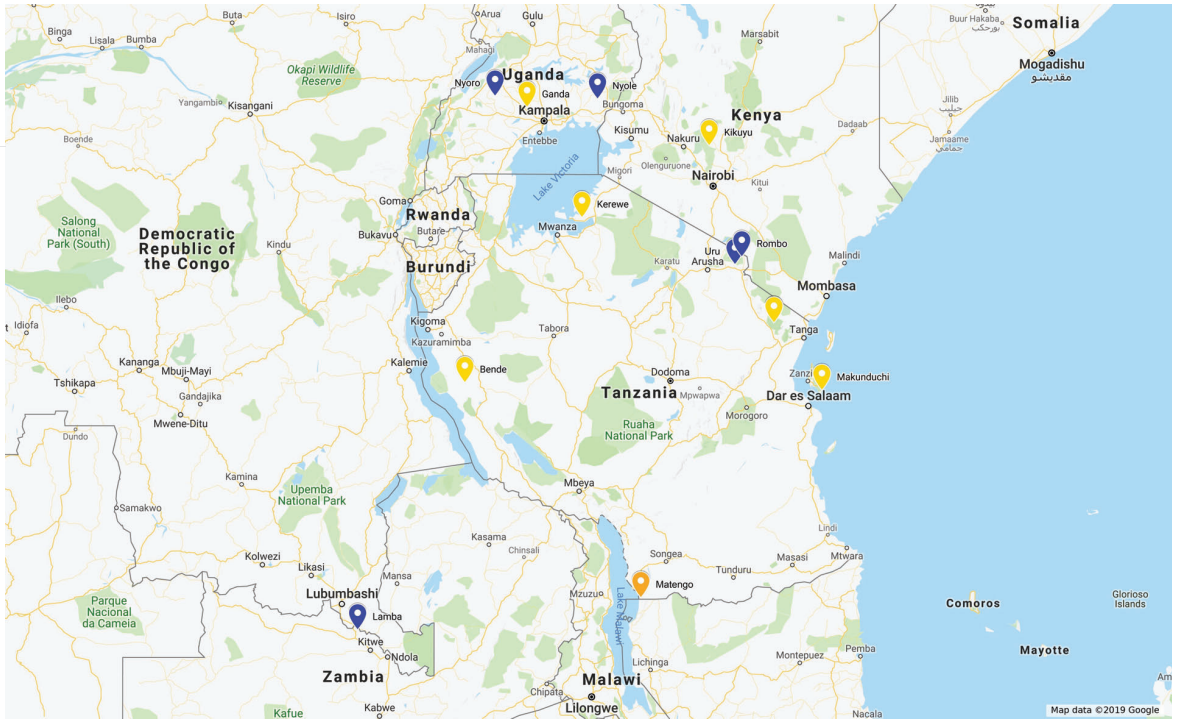


P049

Values

- 1 by morphological modification of the verb
- 4 multiple strategies
- 2 by a particle

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

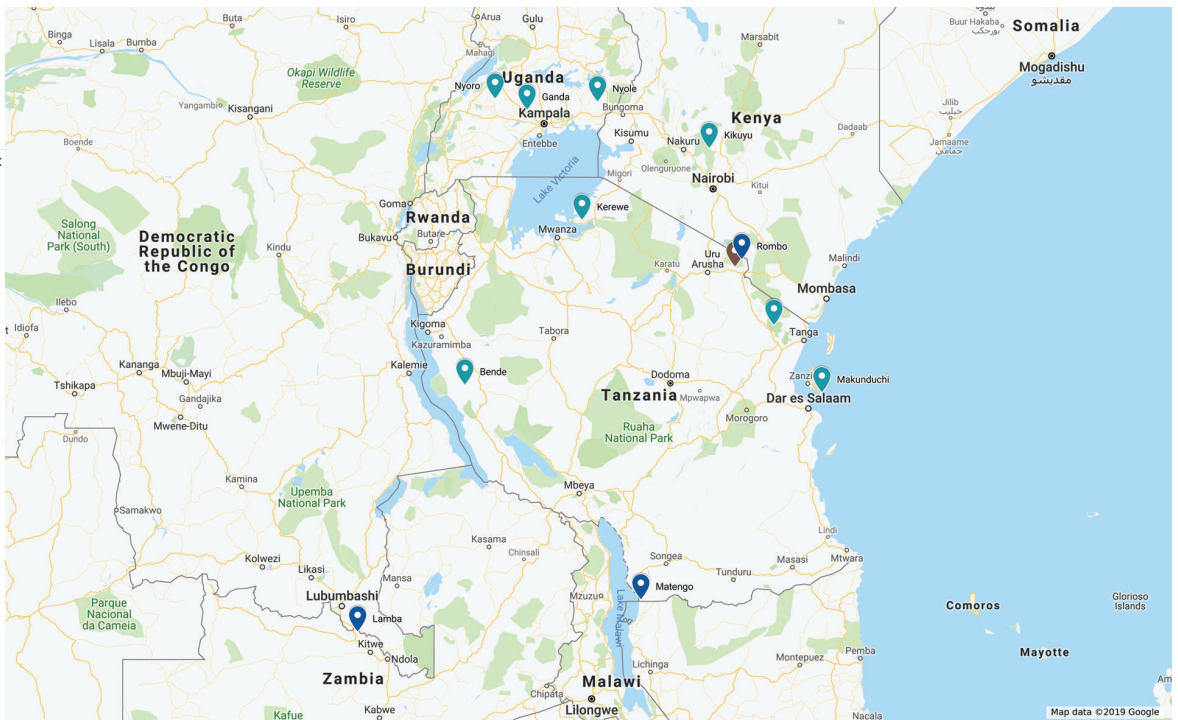


P050

Values

- 1 by morphological modification of the verb
- 4 multiple strategies
- 2 by a particle

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

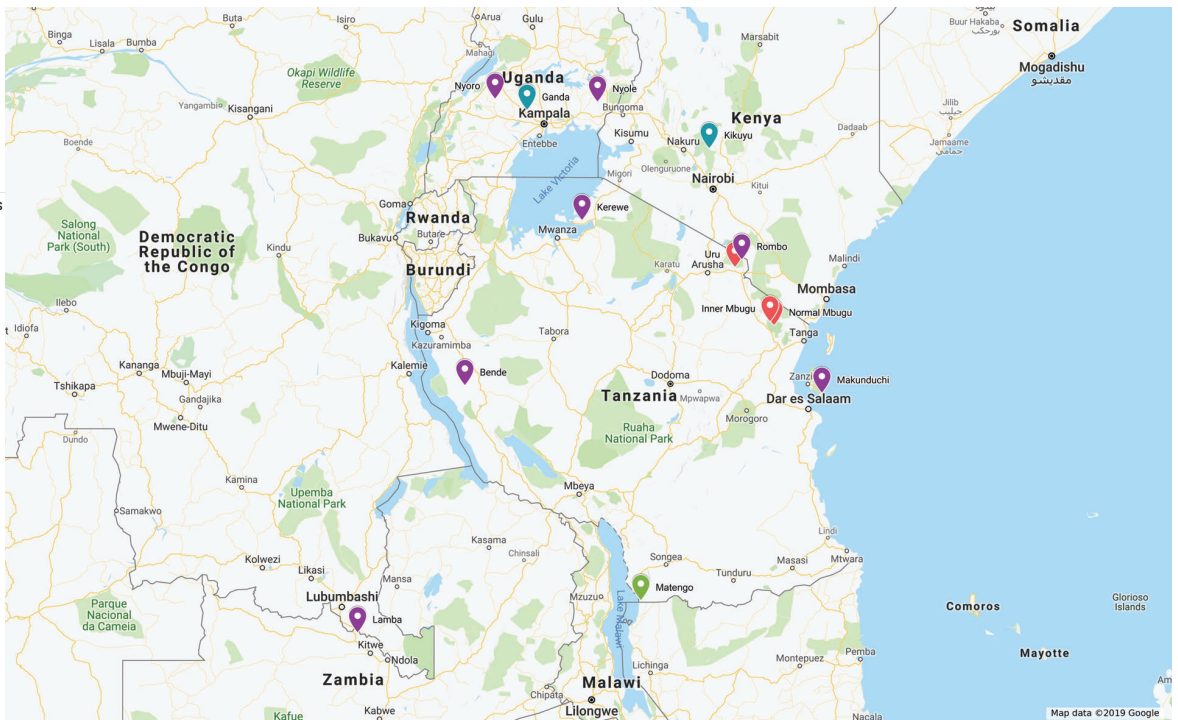


P051

Values

- 1 yes, as in dependent tenses
- 2 yes, as in independent tenses
- no
- null

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

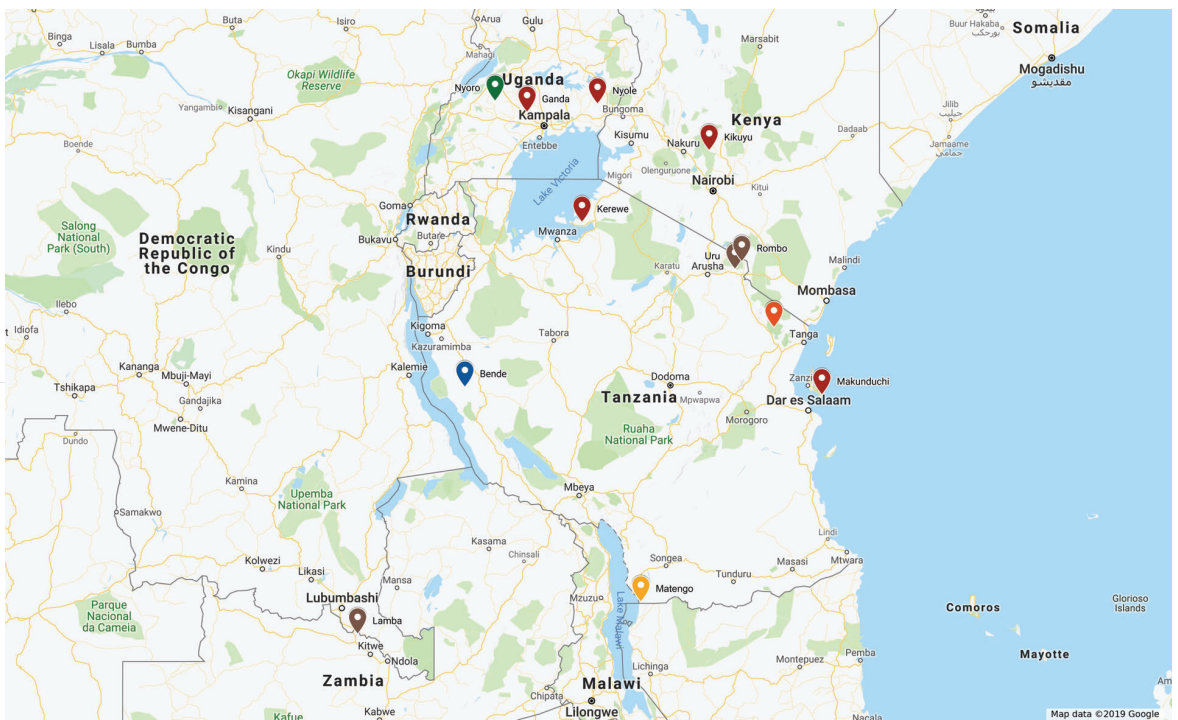


P052

Values

- 1 in the pre-initial position only? (NEG-SM-...)
- 8 two (or more) of the strategies above
- 7 in a post-verbal independent negative particle only
- 2 in the post-initial position only? (SM-NEG-...)
- 5 two (or more) of the above (either 1 or 2 + 3)?
- 6 in a pre-verbal independent negative particle only

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

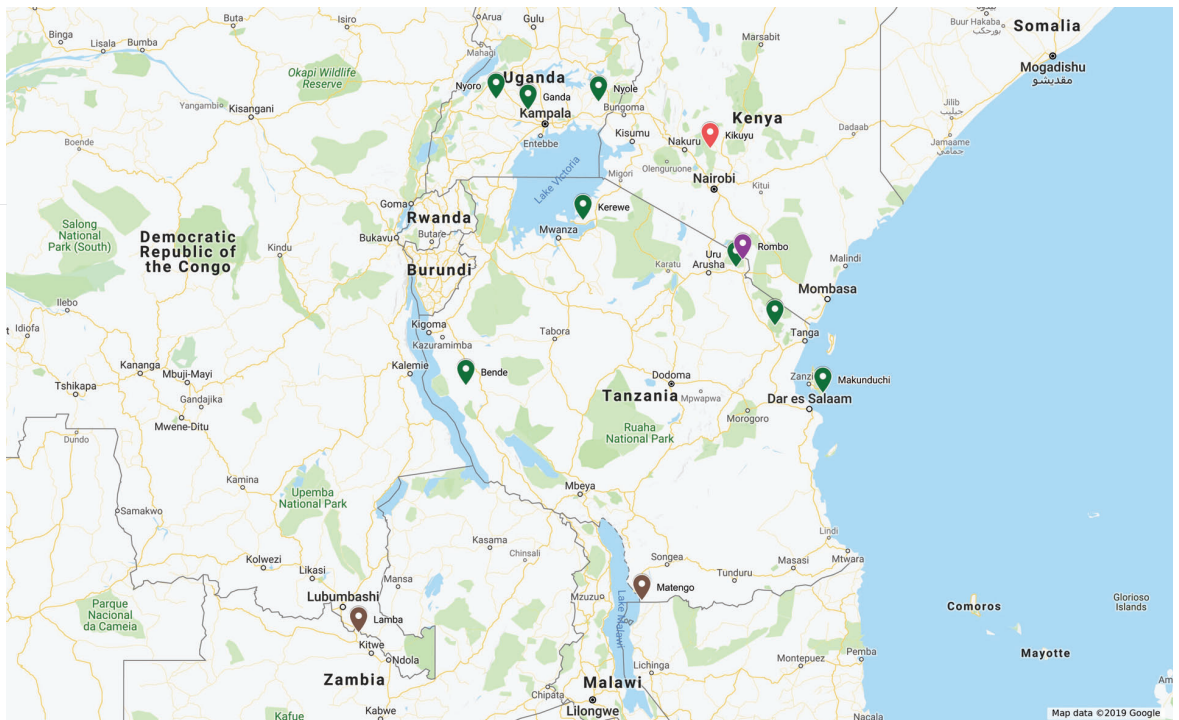


P053

Values

- 2 in the post-initial position only? (SM-NEG-...)
- 8 two (or more) strategies
- 1 in the pre-initial position only? (NEG-SM-...)
- 9

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

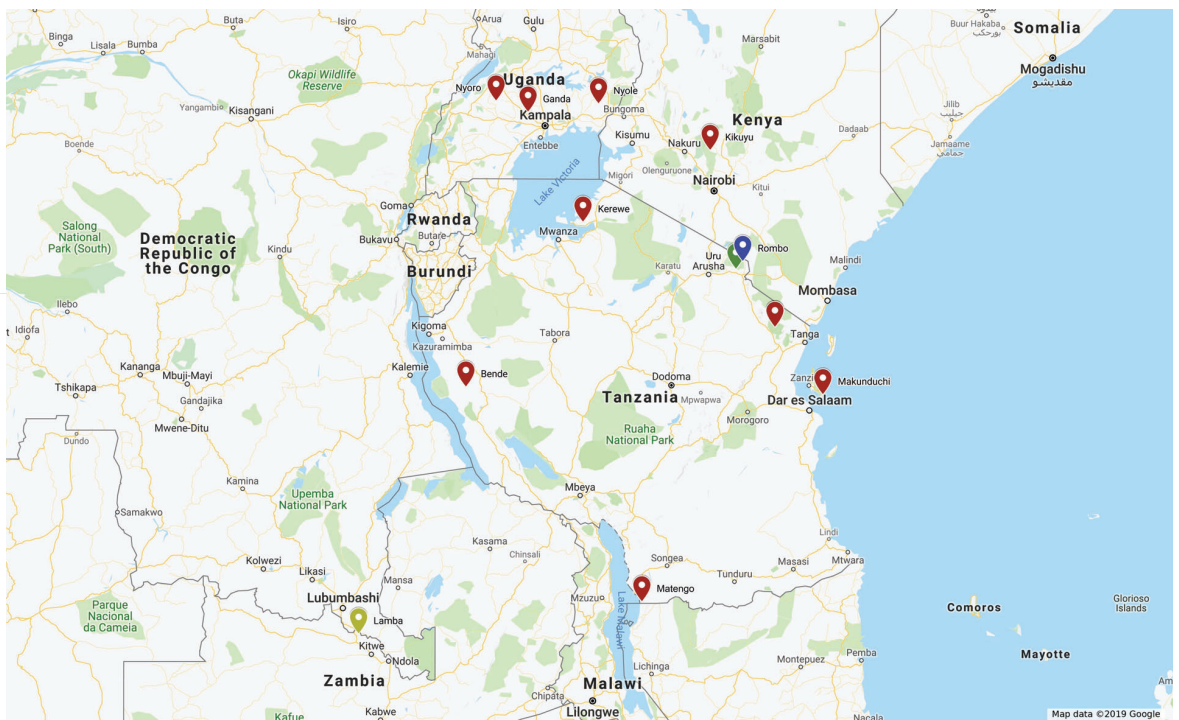


P054

Values

- 1 a single marker in the clause
- 2 optional double marking in the clause (including tone marking)
- 3 obligatory double marking in the clause (including tone marking)
- 6 it varies depending on the tense

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

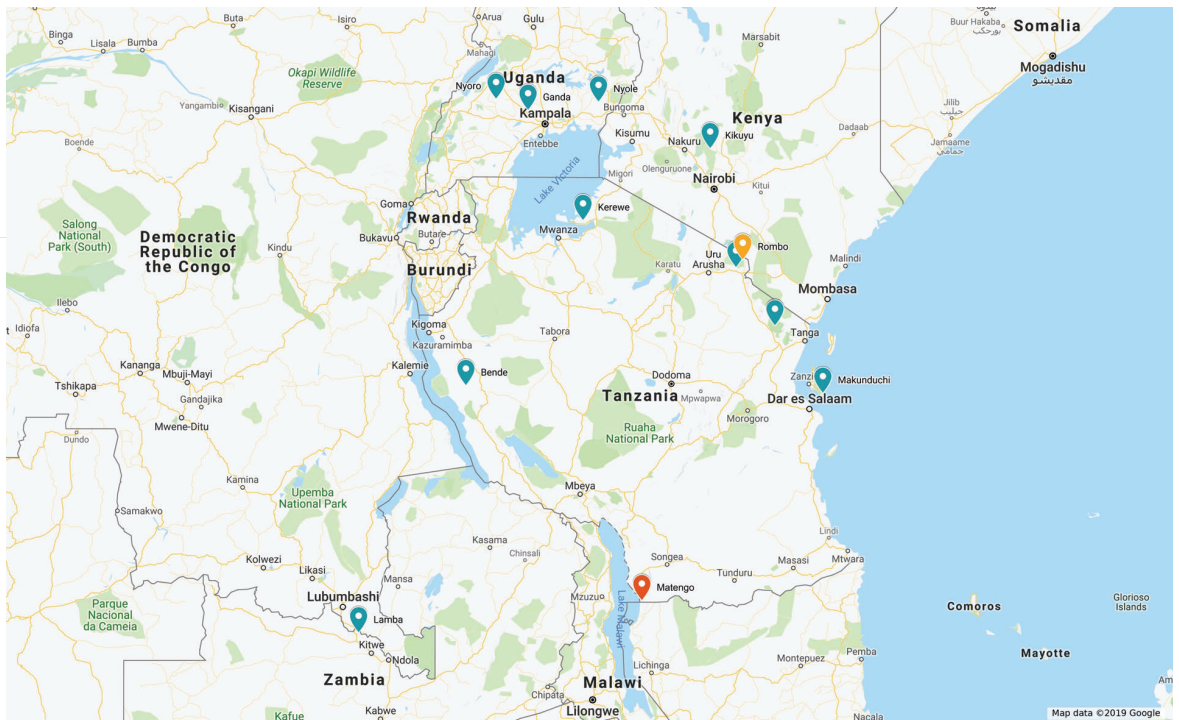


P055

Values

- 1 a single marker in the clause
- 2 possible double marking in the clause (including tone marking)
- 3 obligatory double marking in the clause (including tone marking)

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

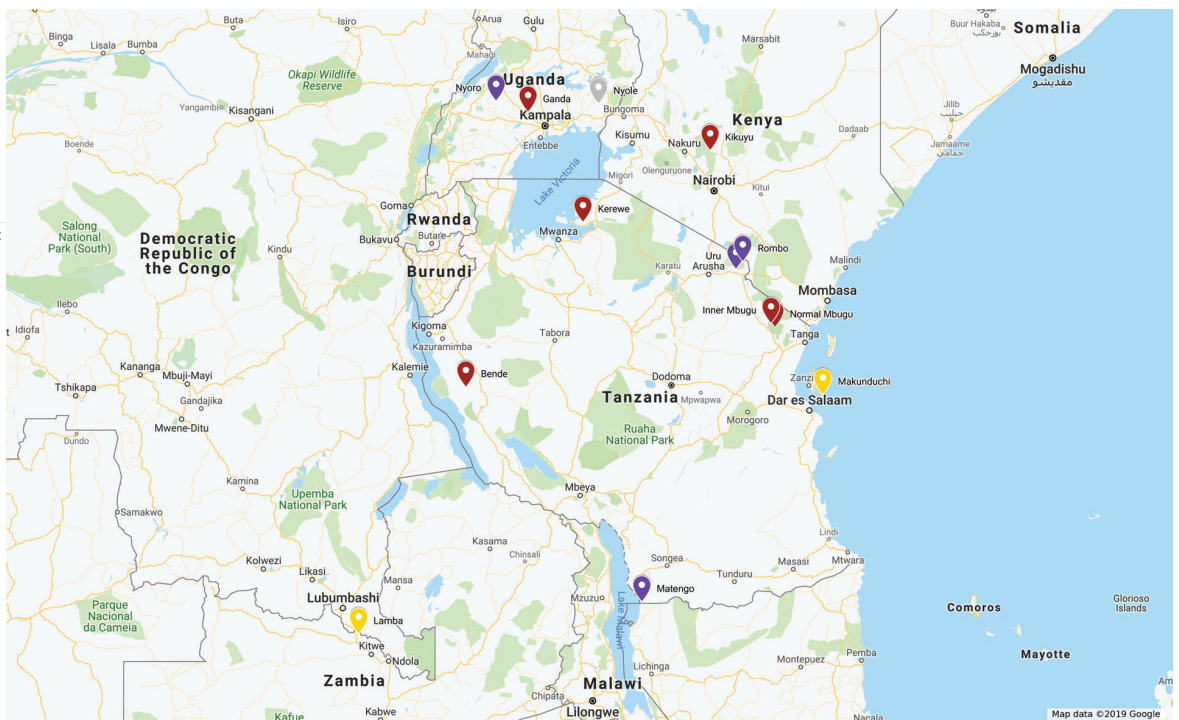


P056

Values

- no
- 1 yes, it is obligatorily present in addition to verb marking (including tone)
- 4 yes, its presence varies depending on the tense
- Other / No value

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

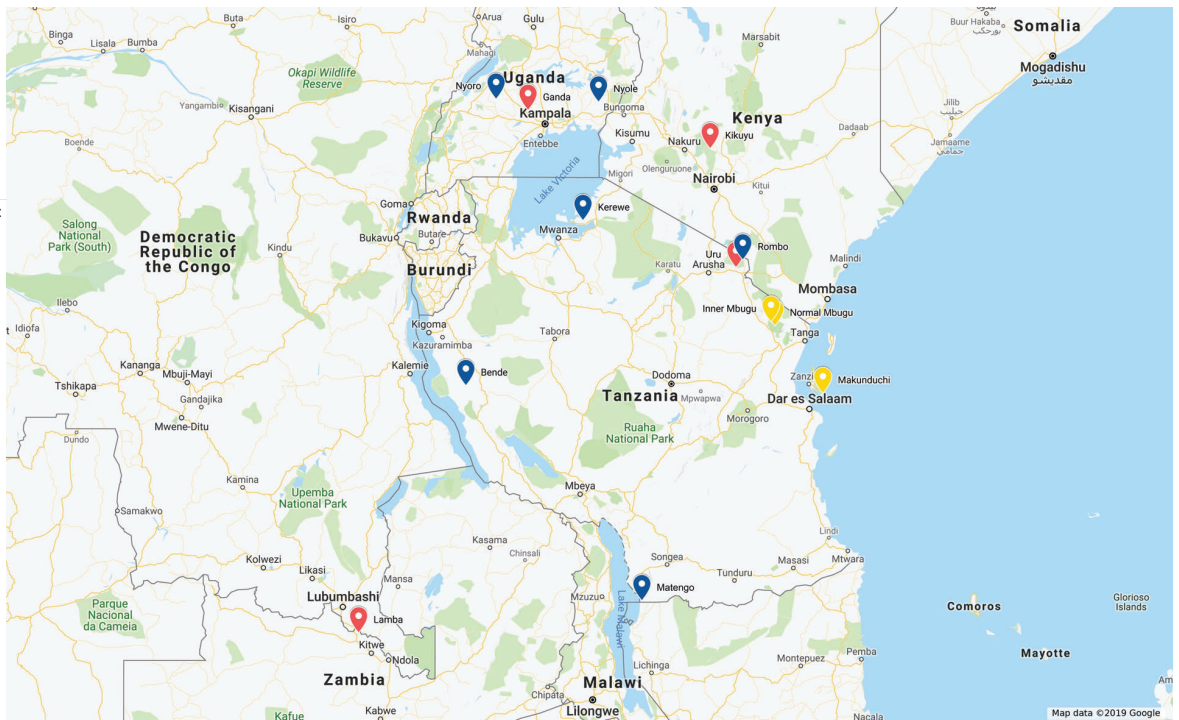


P057

Values

- no
- 1 yes, in all contexts (all tense/aspect/mood)
- 2 yes, with exceptions (e.g. in specific tense/aspect/mood only)

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

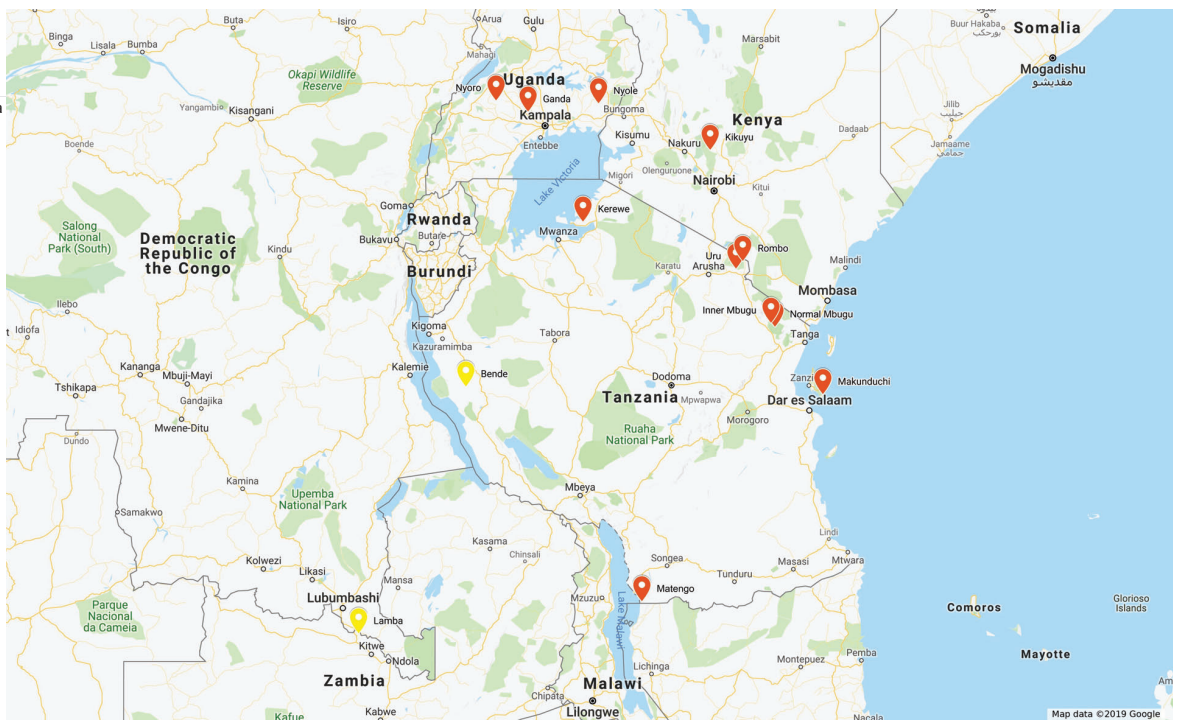


P058

Values

- no
- yes

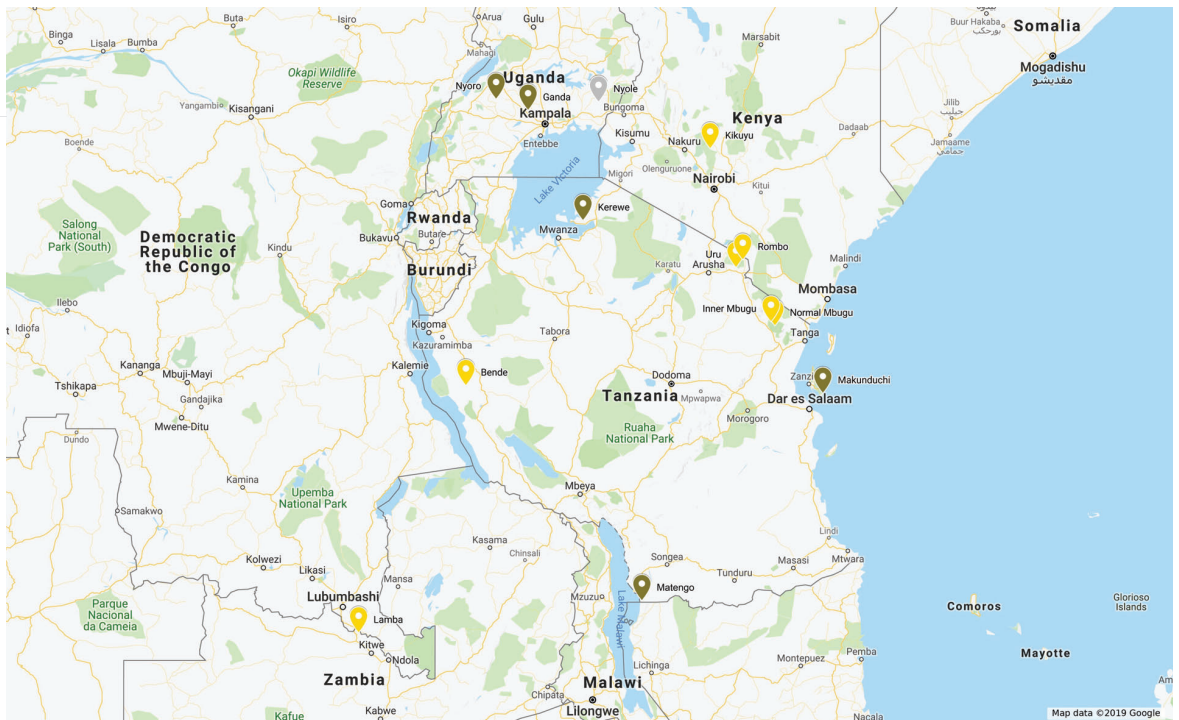
Negative imperative: Is there a negative imperative which is formally distinct from the negative subjunctive?



P059

- Values
- no
 - yes
 - Other / No value

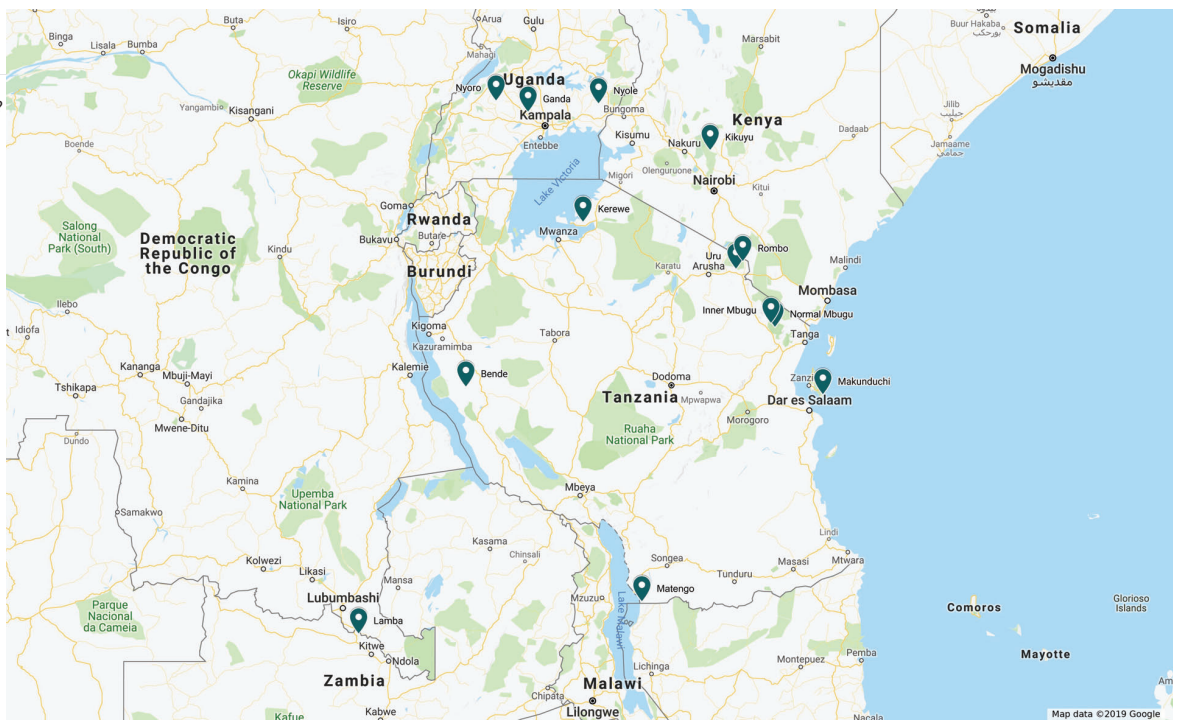
Periphrastic negation: Is negation in certain tense/aspect/moods expressed by means of a periphrastic form (e.g. making use of an auxiliary construction or a verb like 'refuse/deny' for instance)? (see (49))



P060

- Values
- yes

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

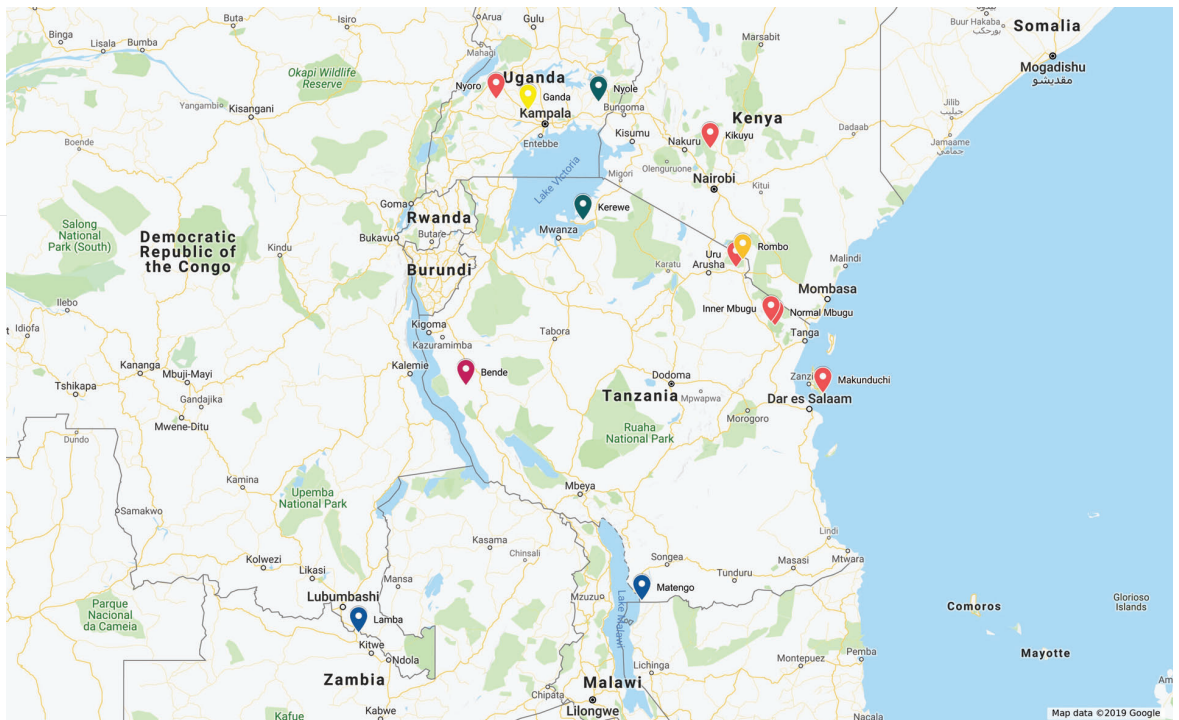


P063

Values

- no
- 3 both 1 and 2 are attested
- null
- 1 second person plural subject marker
- 2 class 2 morphology
- no?

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

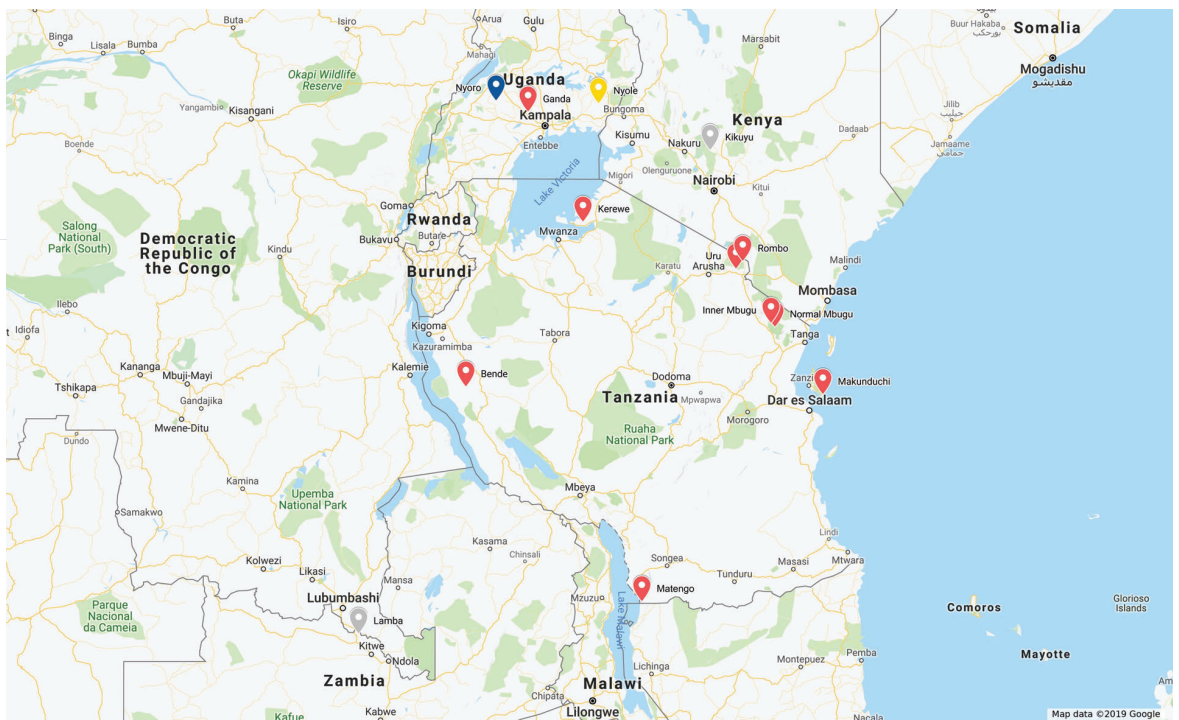


P064

Values

- 2 the verb always shows agreement with the whole noun phrase (this includes default agreement)
- 1 such constructions are avoided
- null
- Other / No value

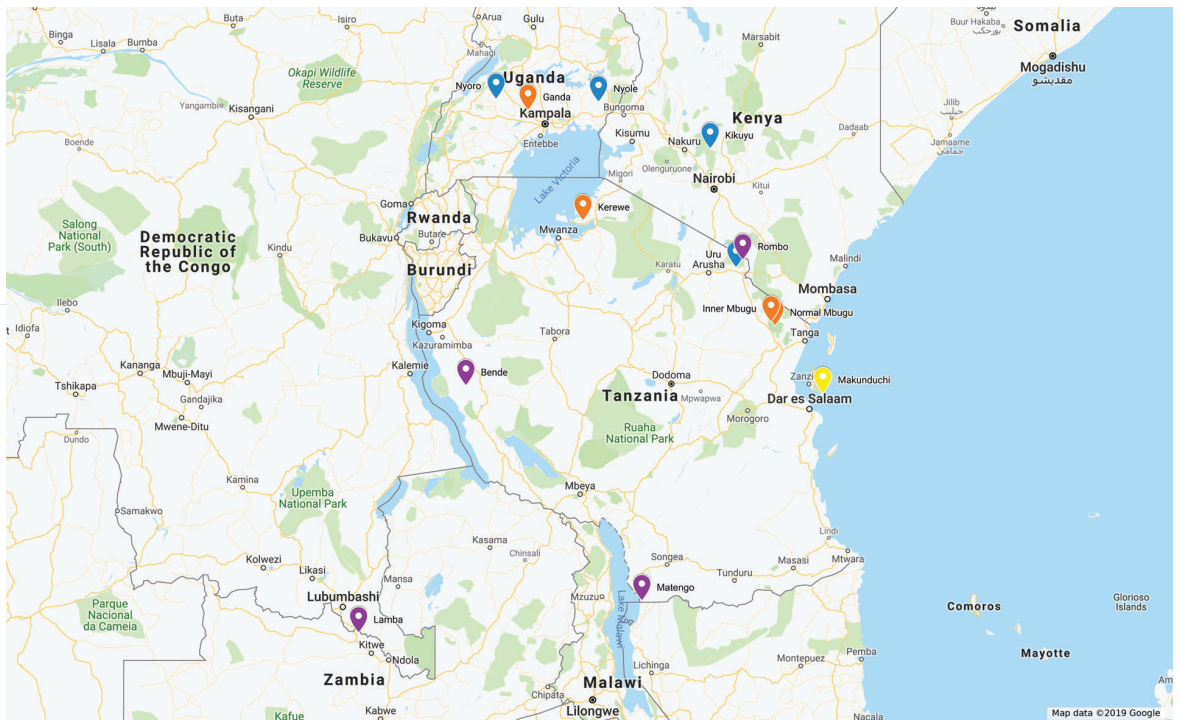
Coordinated nominals: What subject agreement does the verb show with coordinated nominals?



P065

- Values
- 2 past time is divided into two (e.g. hodiernal vs. pre-hodiernal, etc)
 - 3 past time is divided into three
 - 4 past time has more than three subdivisions
 - 1 there is a distinction between past and non-past only

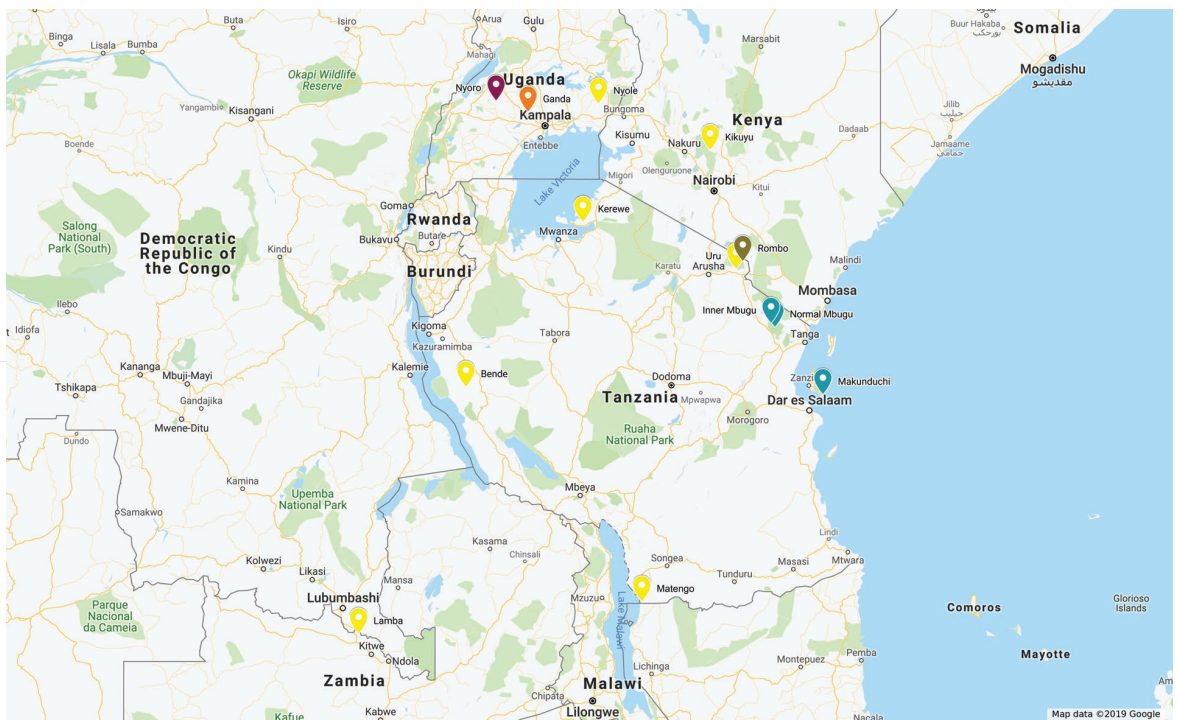
Past time reference: How is past time reference formally divided?



P066

- Values
- 2 future time is divided into two (e.g. hodiernal vs. post-hodiernal, etc)
 - 1 there is a formal distinction between future and non-future only
 - 3 future time is divided into three
 - 3? future time is divided into three
 - 4 future time has more than three subdivisions

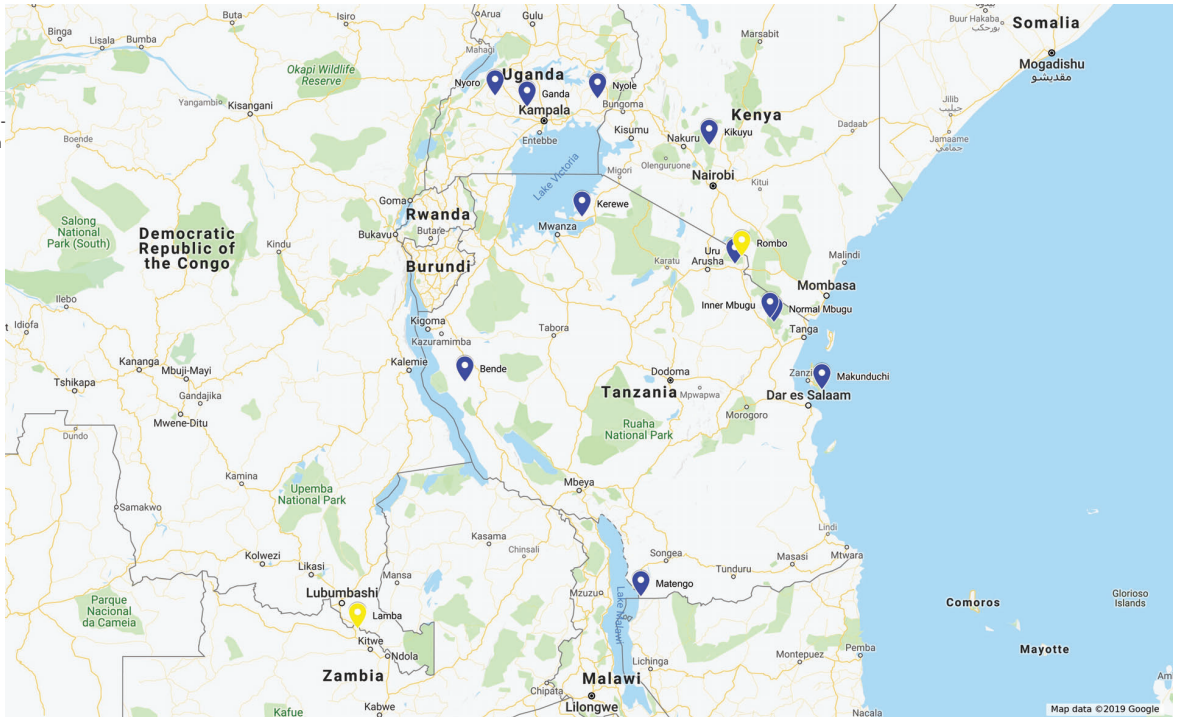
Future time reference: How is future time reference formally divided?



P067

Values
 yes
 no

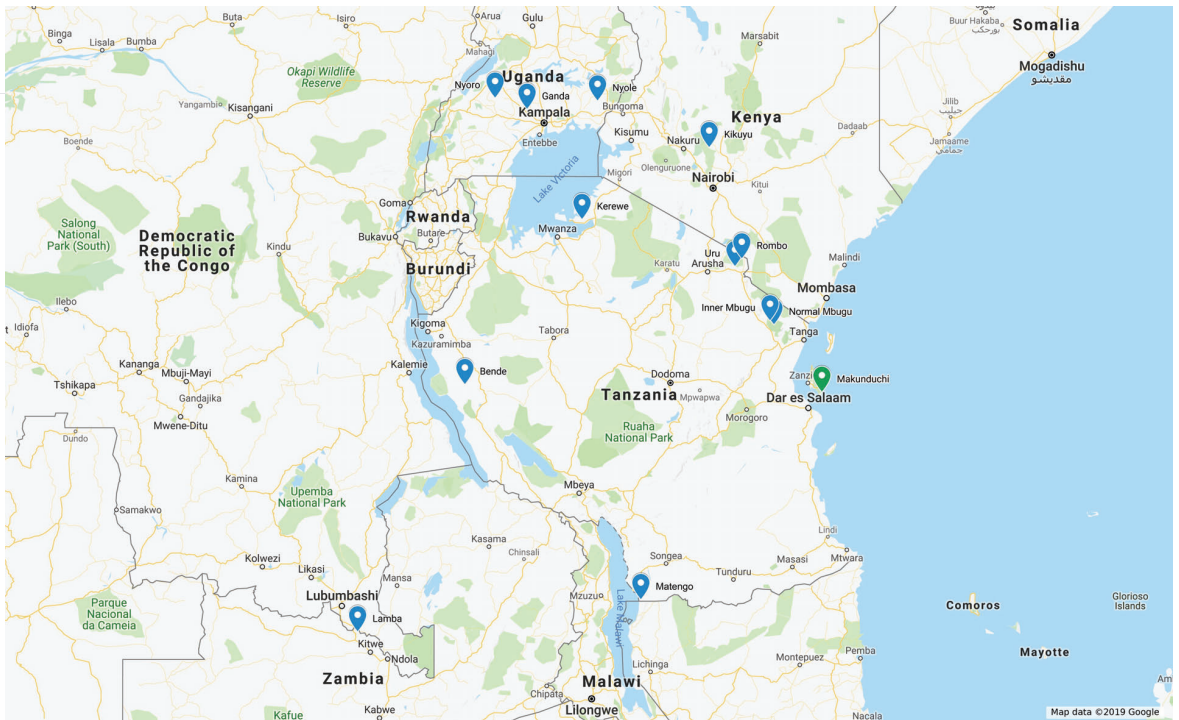
Suffix -ag-: Is there a tense/aspect (pre-final) suffix -ag- or a similar form used with an imperfective meaning (expressing for instance habituality/iterativity/pluractionality/intensity)?



P068

Values
 yes
 no

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

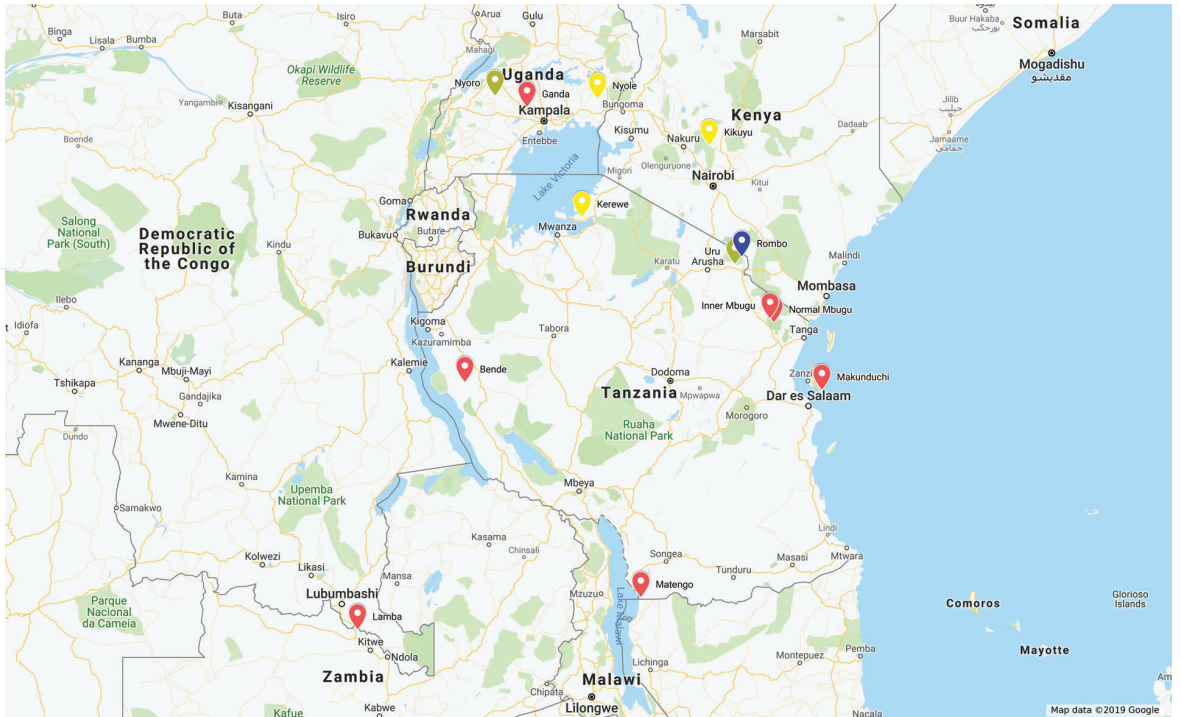


P069

Values

- 1 yes, with a ka- prefix in restricted contexts only (e.g. subjunctive)
- no
- 3 yes, with another form in restricted contexts only (e.g. subjunctive)
- 4 yes, with another form (or forms) in all contexts

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

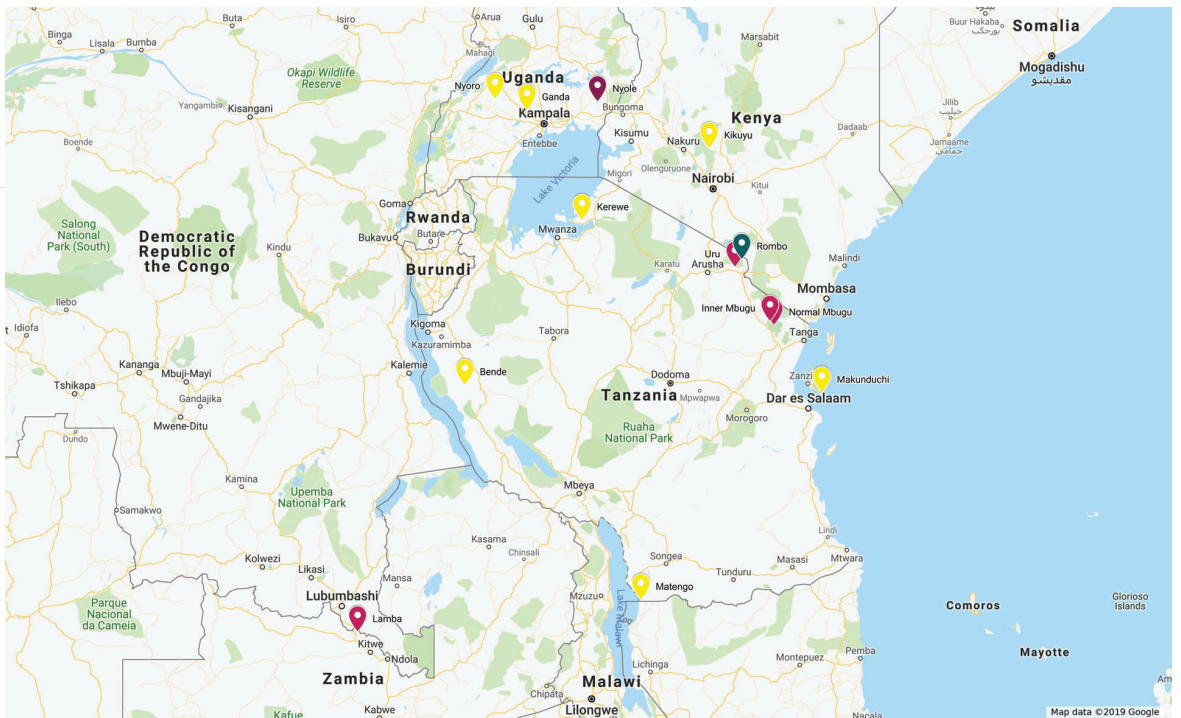


P070

Values

- no
- 1 yes, in restricted contexts only (e.g. a particular tense/aspect)
- no?
- null

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

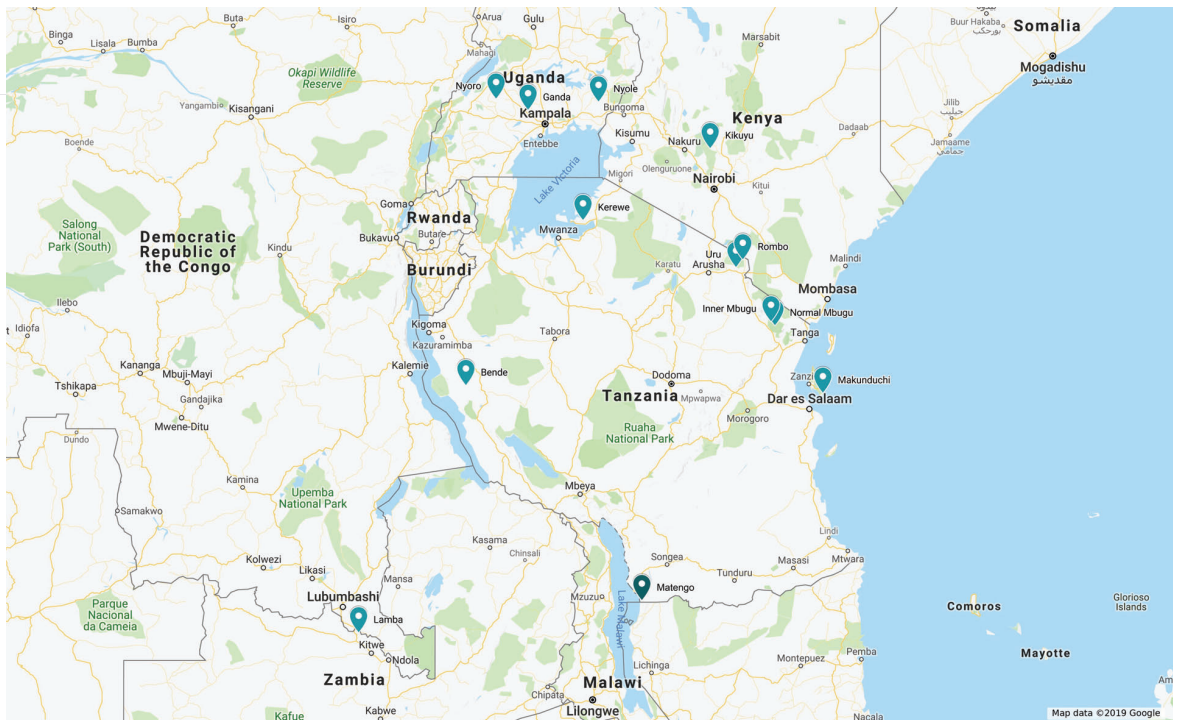


P071

Values

- yes
- n.a.

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

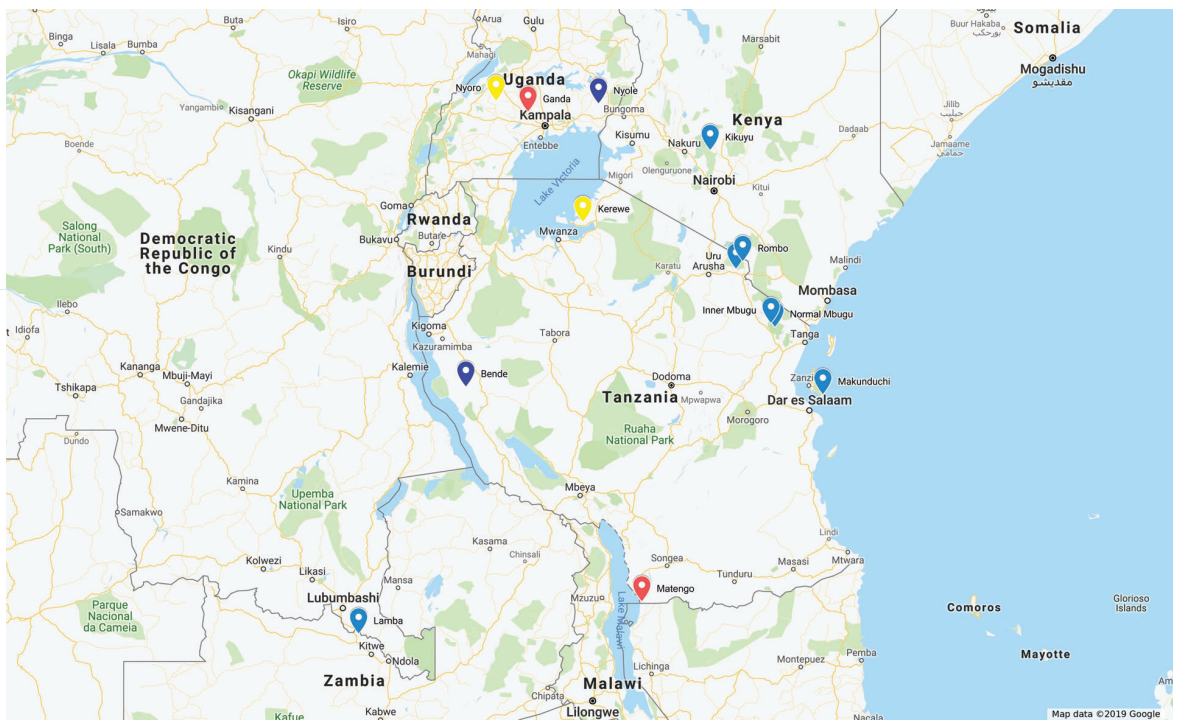


P072

Values

- 1 yes, the plural is expressed by a post-verbal marker (suffix or enclitic)
- 2 yes, the plural is expressed by substitution of the final vowel
- 3 yes, the plural is expressed by the addition of a second person plural subject marker
- no

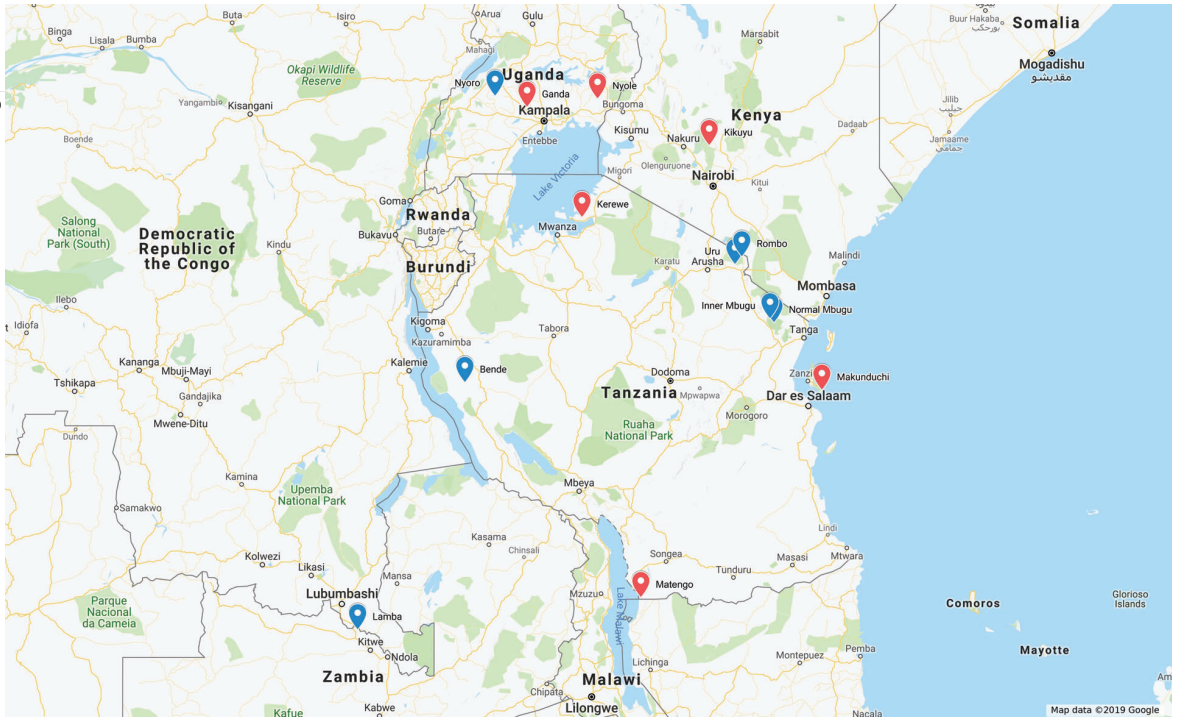
Plural imperatives: Is there a singular/plural distinction in imperative verb forms?



P073

Values
 no
 yes

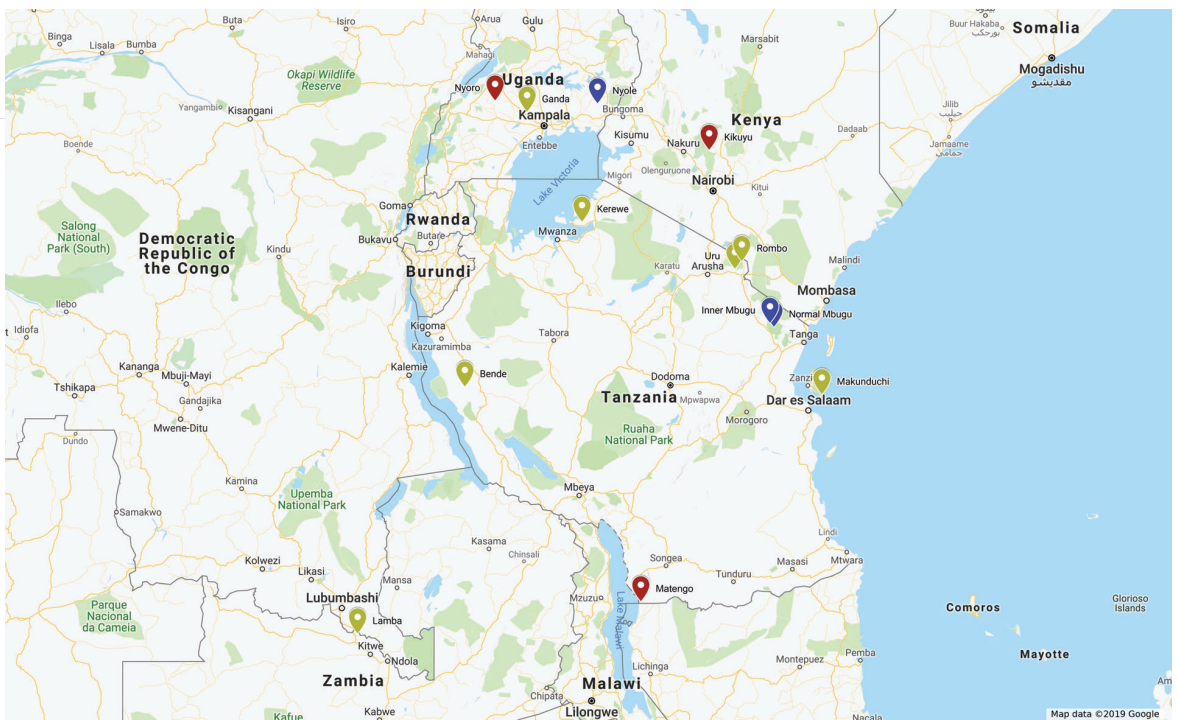
TAM slots: In an inflected verb form, is preverbal marking of tense/aspect/mood typically restricted to one slot?



P074

Values
 no
 null
 yes

Conjunct/disjunct: Does the language have a conjunct/disjunct distinction?

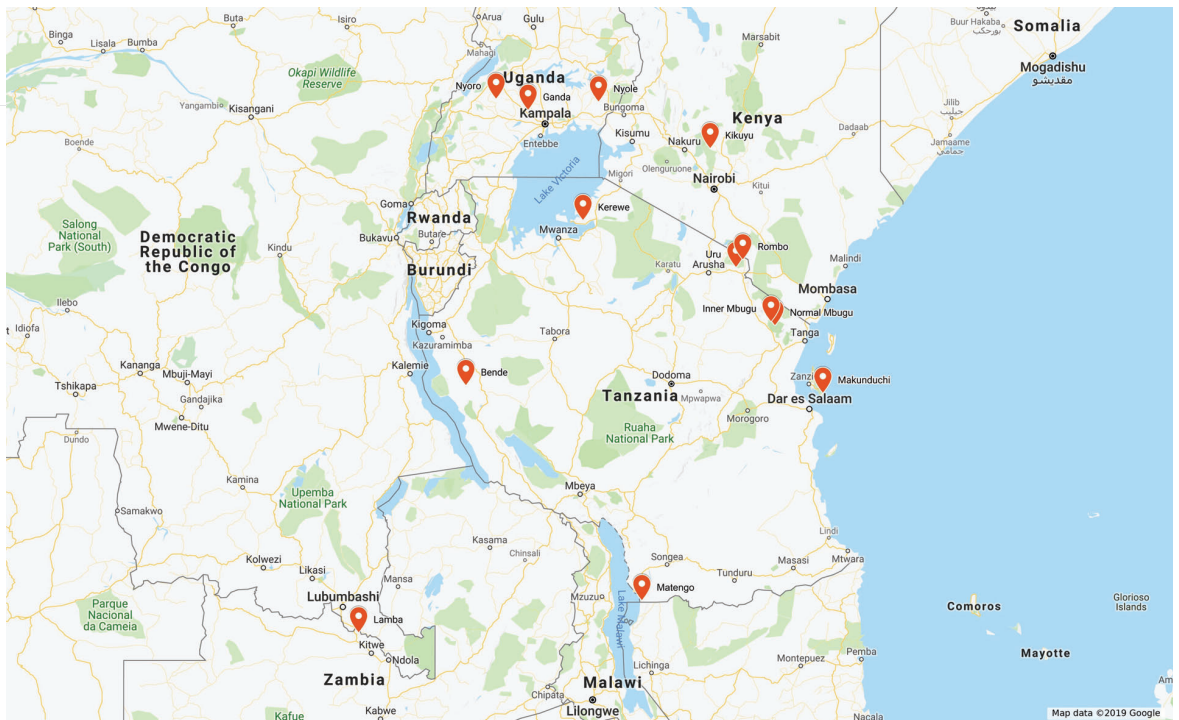


P075

Values

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

Object marking: Are there object markers on the verb (excluding locative object markers, see parameters (12) & (13))?

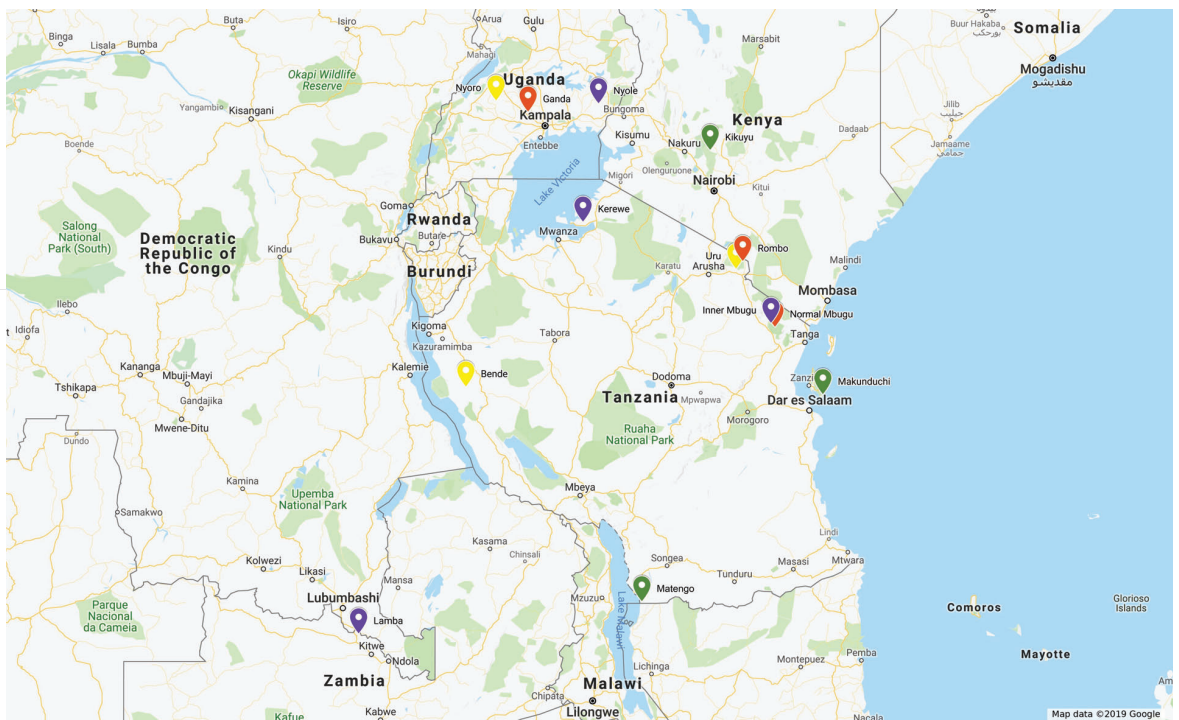


P076

Values

- 1 yes, in most contexts and they must appear in a specific order
- 2 yes, in most contexts and the order is flexible
- 3 yes, but only in certain structural contexts and they must appear in a specific order
- no

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

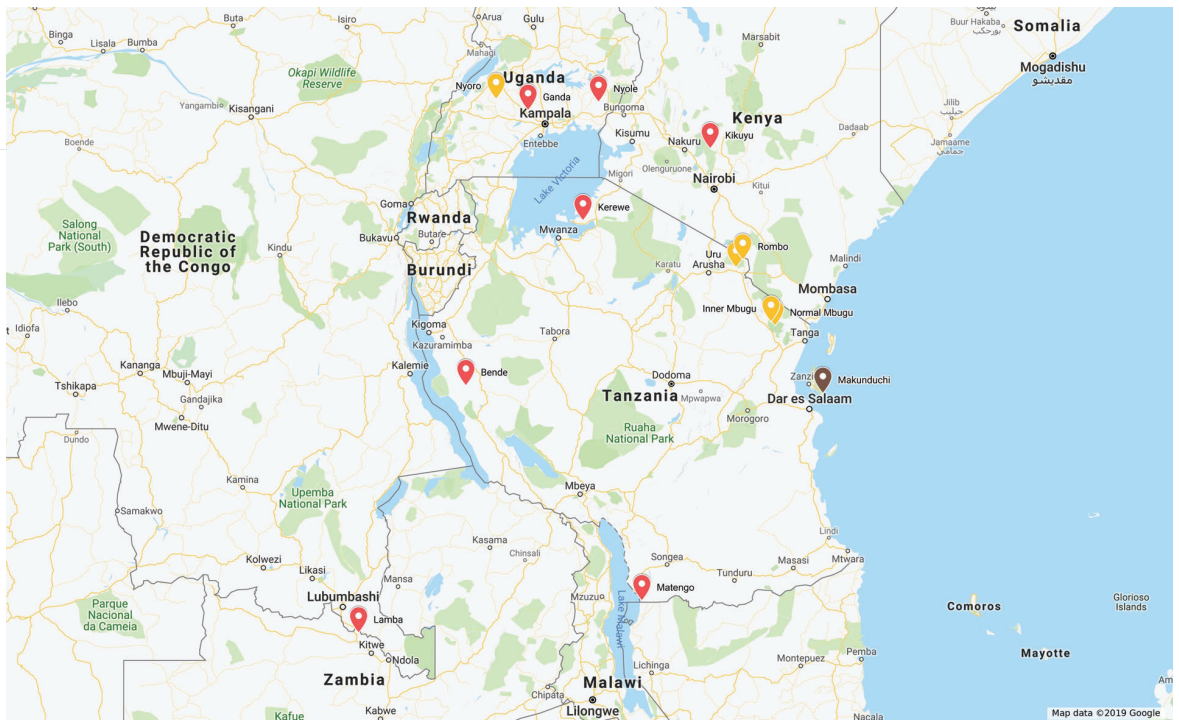


P077

Values

- 1 yes, by a form similar to \bar{i} (reflex of *yi)
- 2 yes, by another form
- yes

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

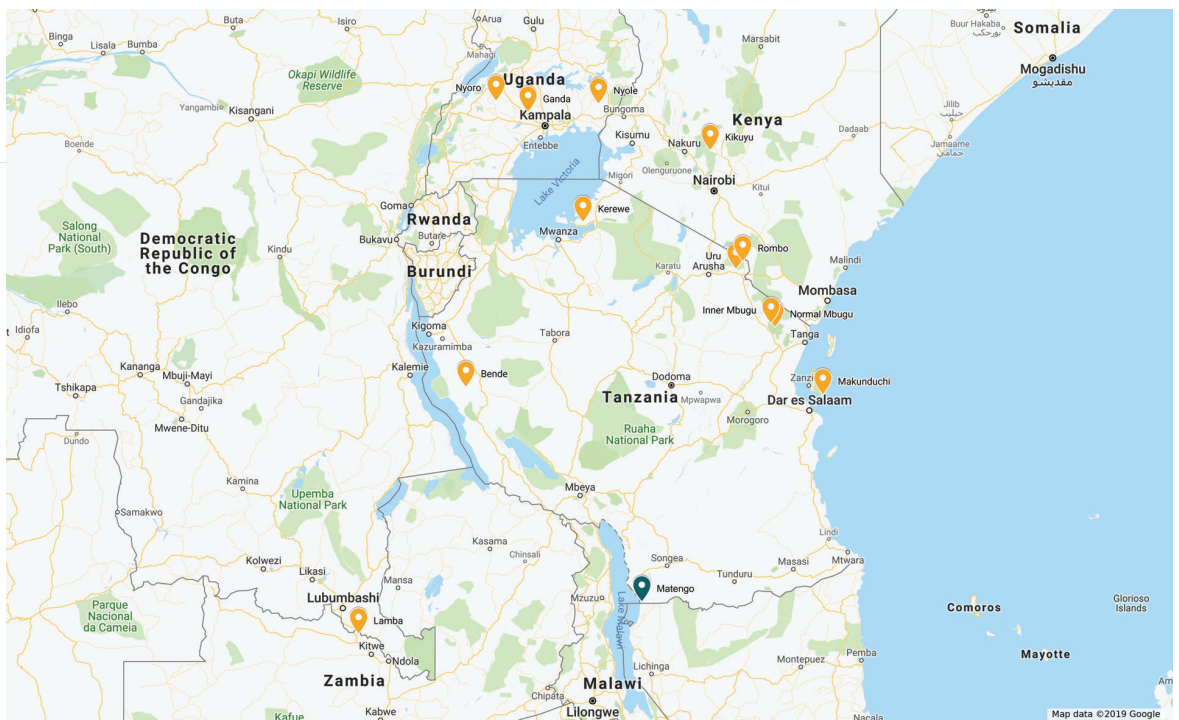


P078

Values

- 1 yes, co-occurrence is possible/optional
- 2 yes, co-occurrence is required in certain contexts

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

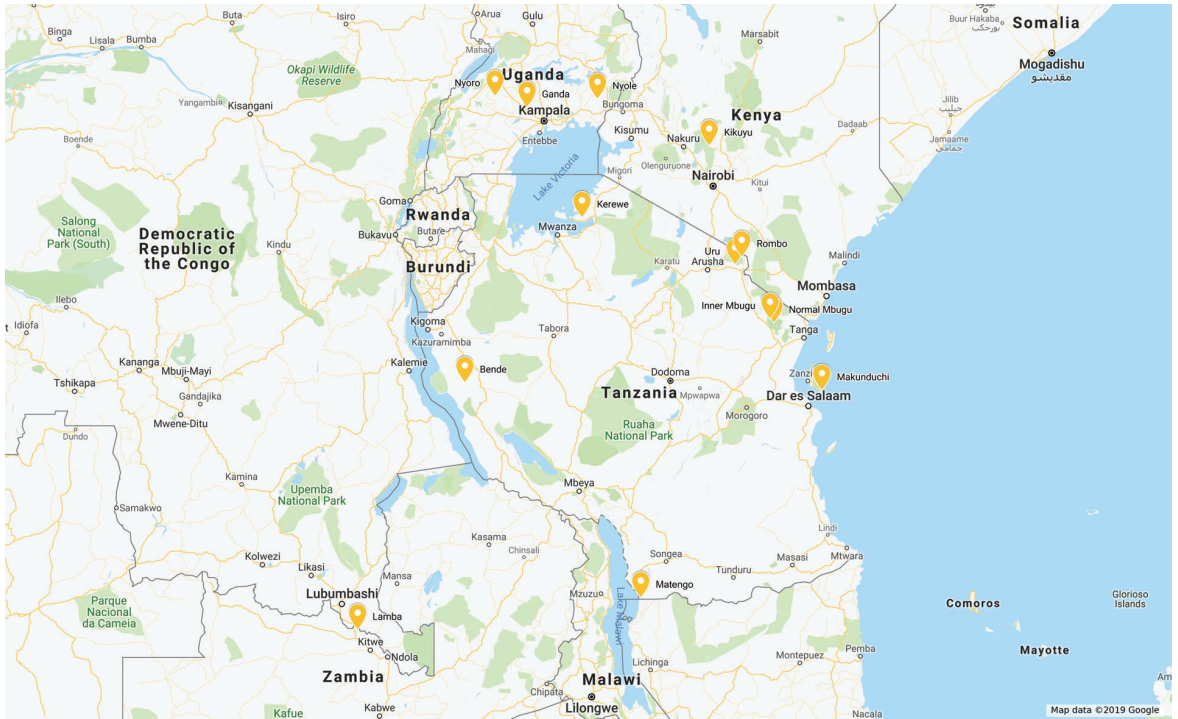


P079

Values



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

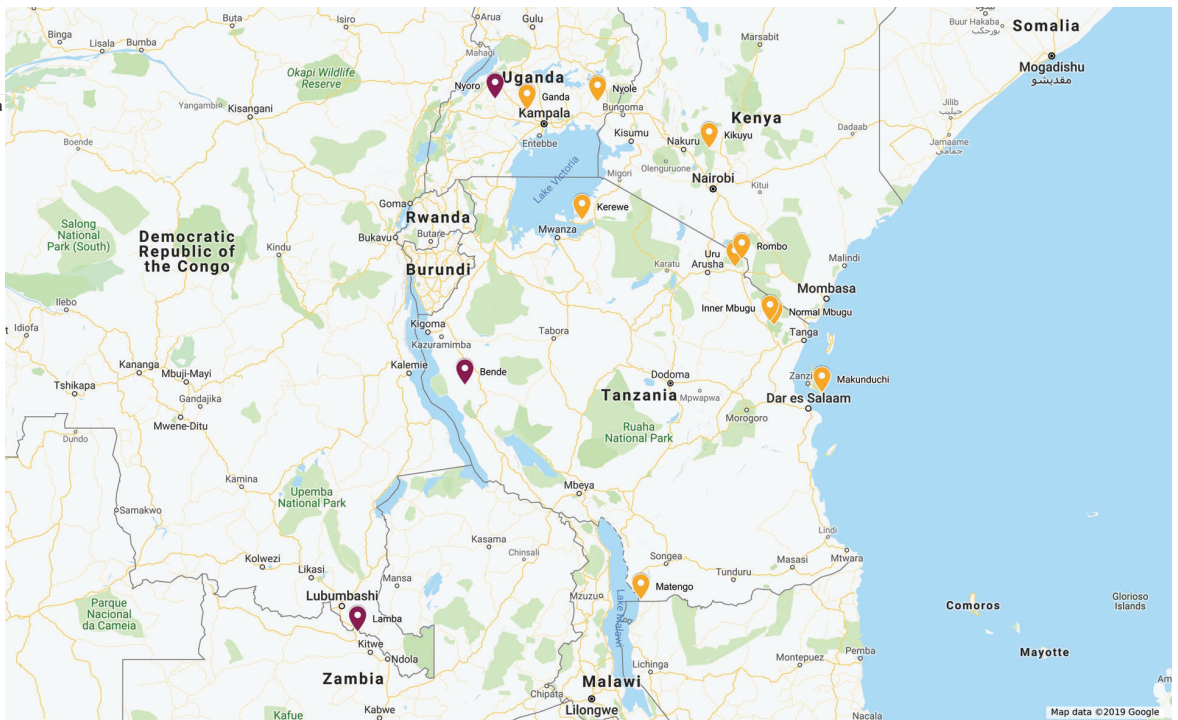


P080

Values



Negative final vowel: Is there a negative final vowel (e.g. -i, -e)? (see also parameters (52) and (53))

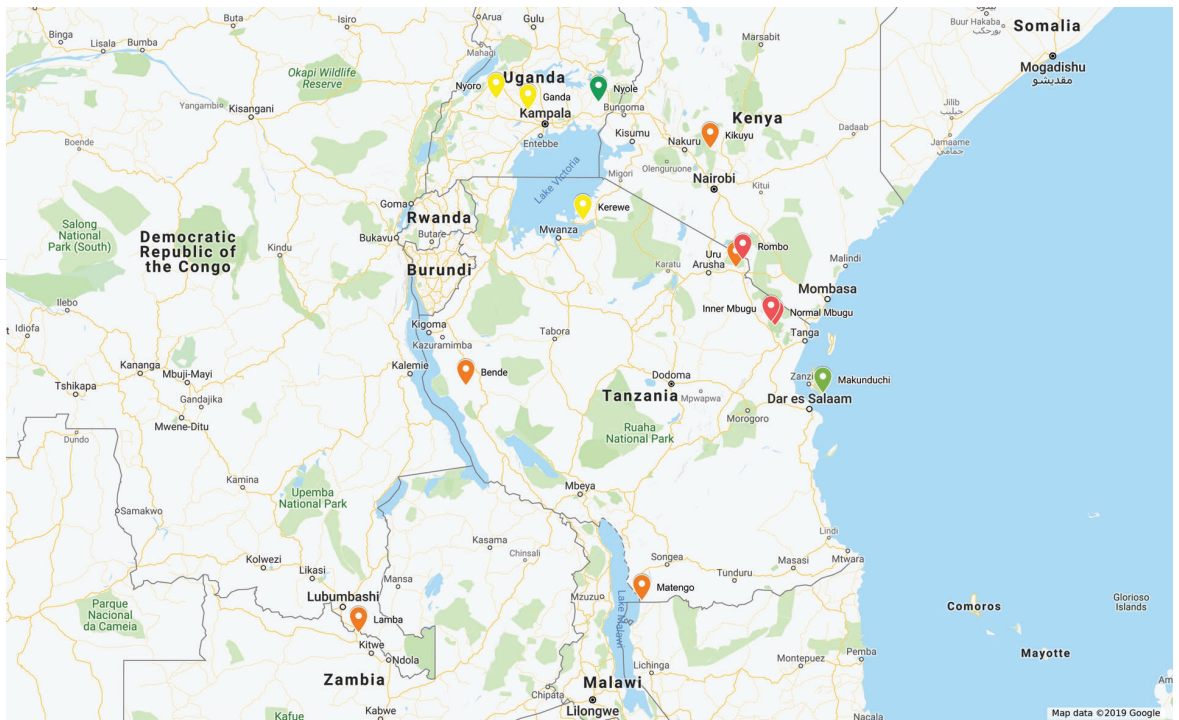


P081

Values

- 2 yes, a subset of (non-borrowed) verbs, such as 'know' or 'say'
- 3 both loan words and a subset of (non-borrowed) verbs, such as 'know' or 'say'
- no
- null
- yes

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

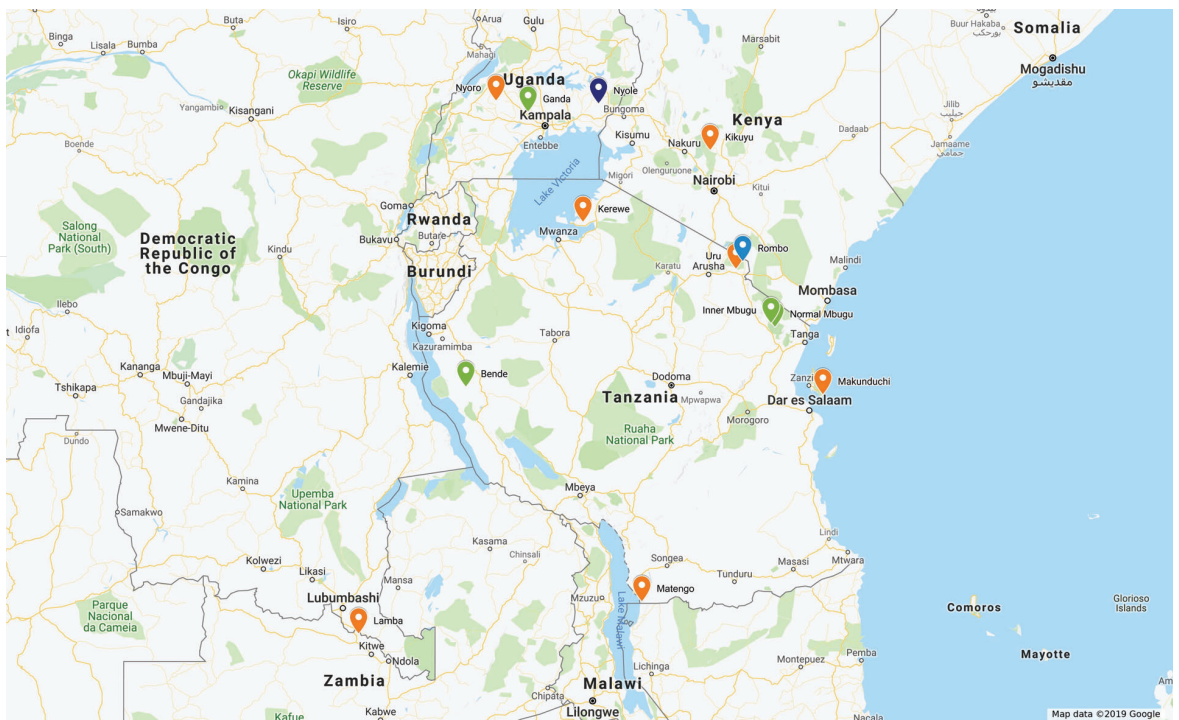


P082

Values

- 2 yes, some auxiliaries are restricted to different tense/aspect, but not with a one-to-one match
- 1 yes, each auxiliary is used with a specific tense/aspect/mood
- no
- null

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

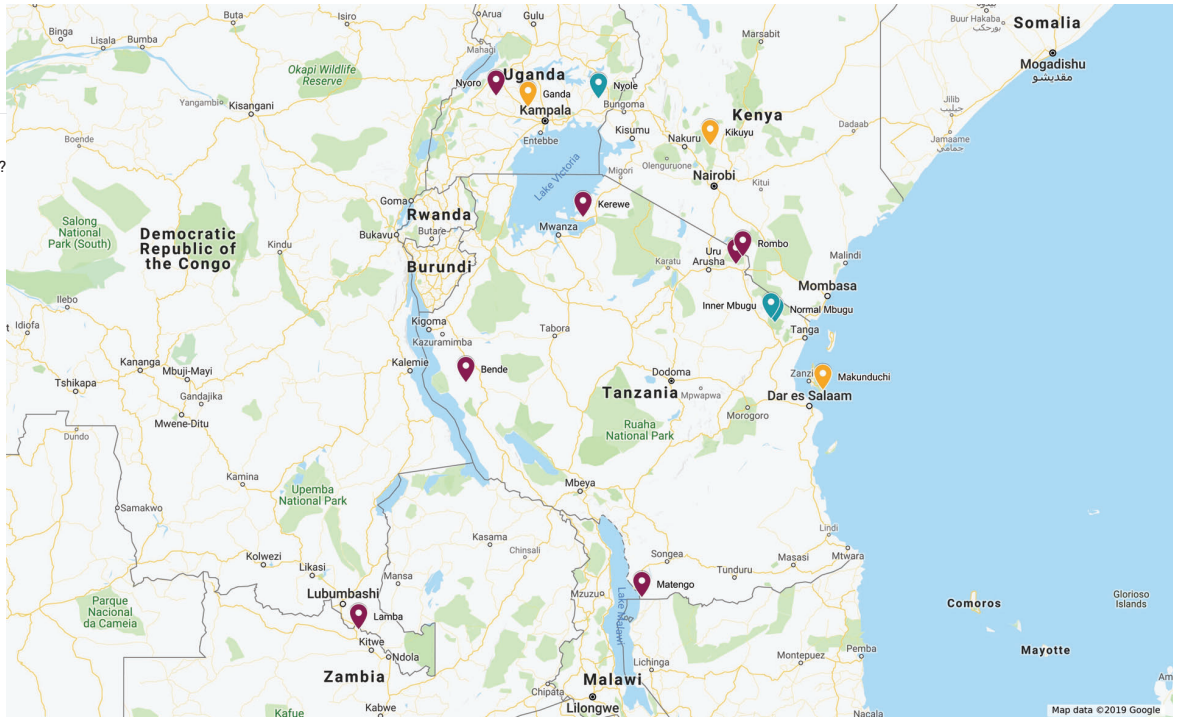


P083

Values

- no
- null
- yes

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

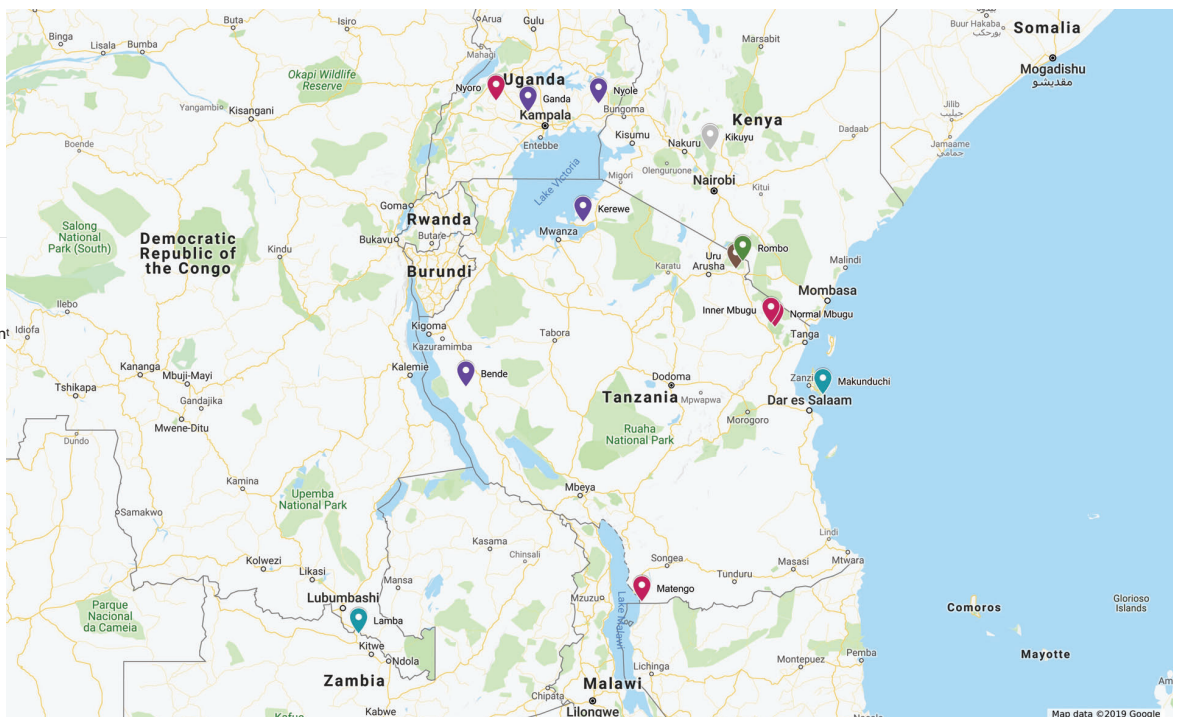


P084

Values

- 1 yes, agreement on both forms in all contexts
- no
- 2 it varies depending on TAM
- null
- yes
- Other / No value

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

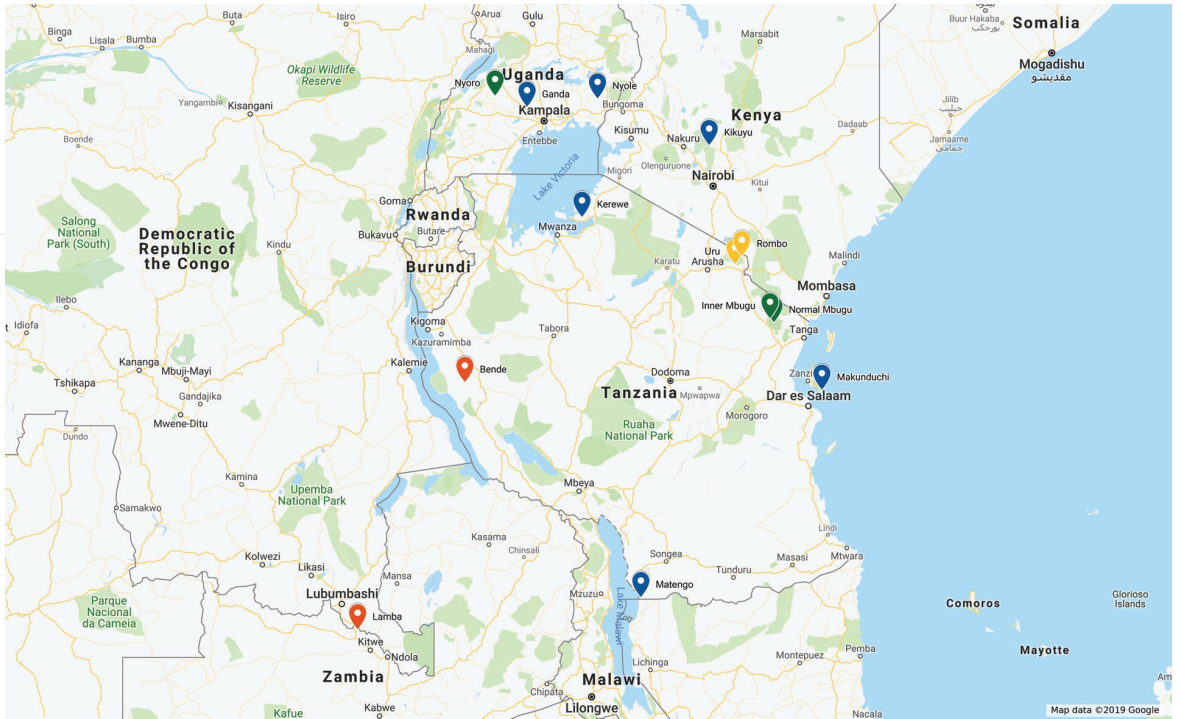


P085

Values

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

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')

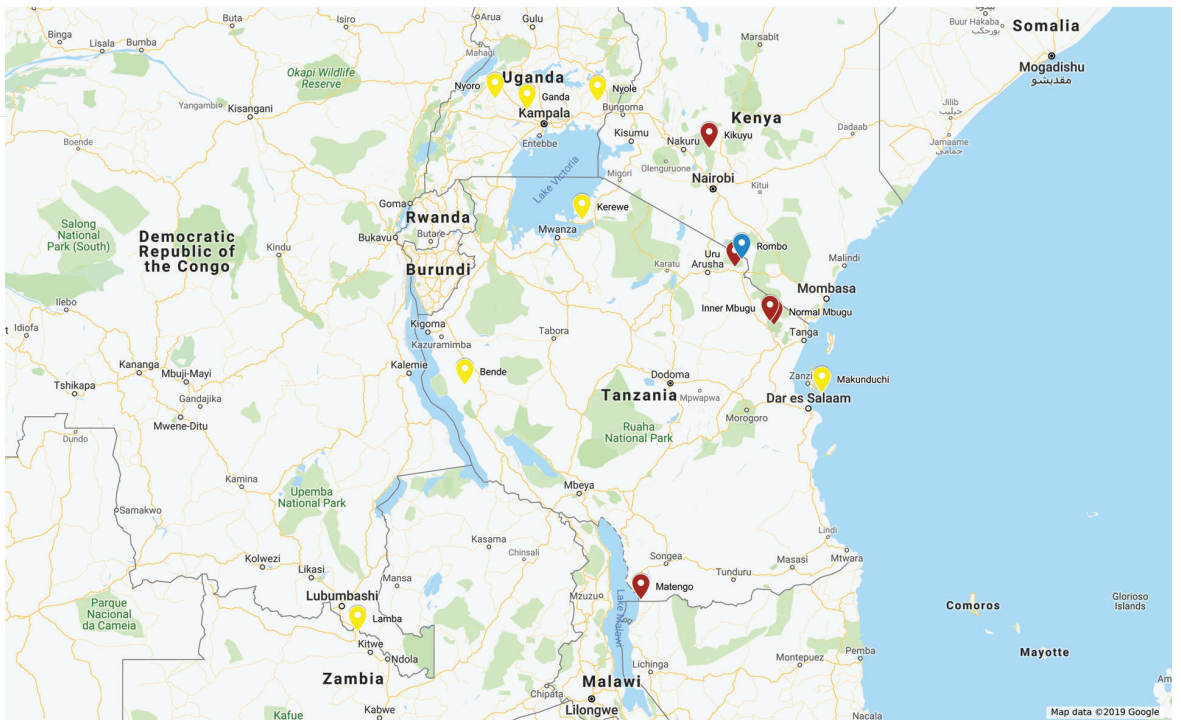


P086

Values

- yes
- no
- null

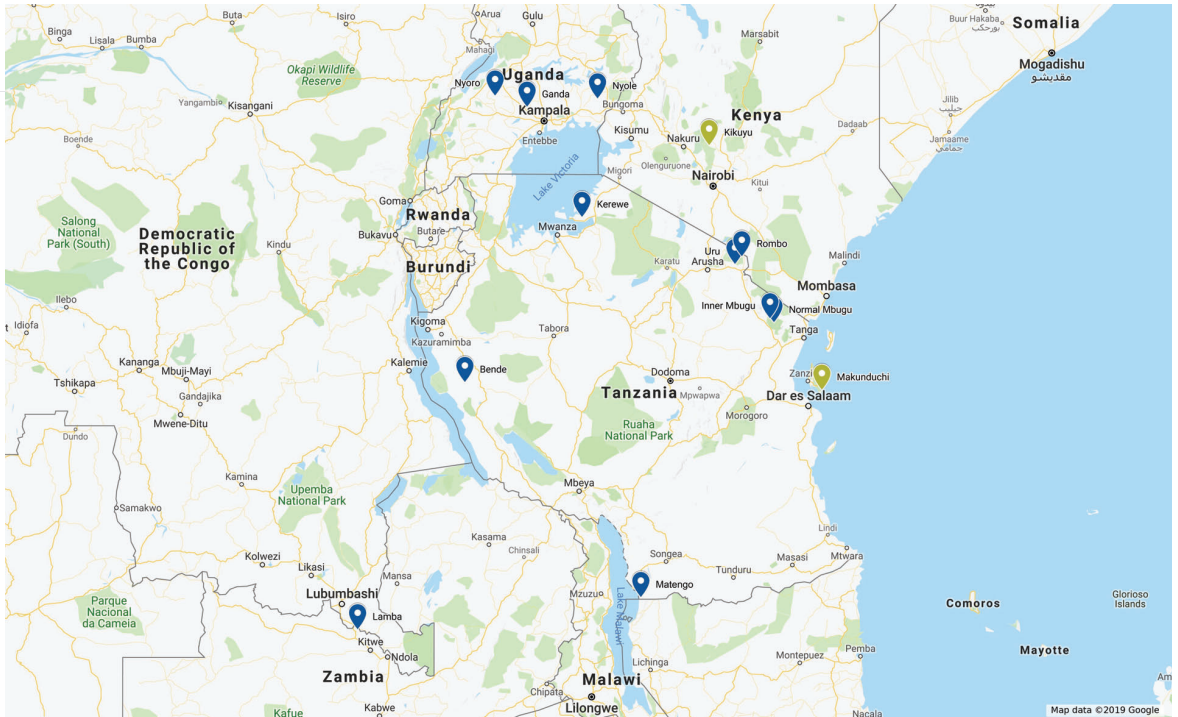
Copula as auxiliary: Is the copula used as an auxiliary?



P087

Values
● yes
● no

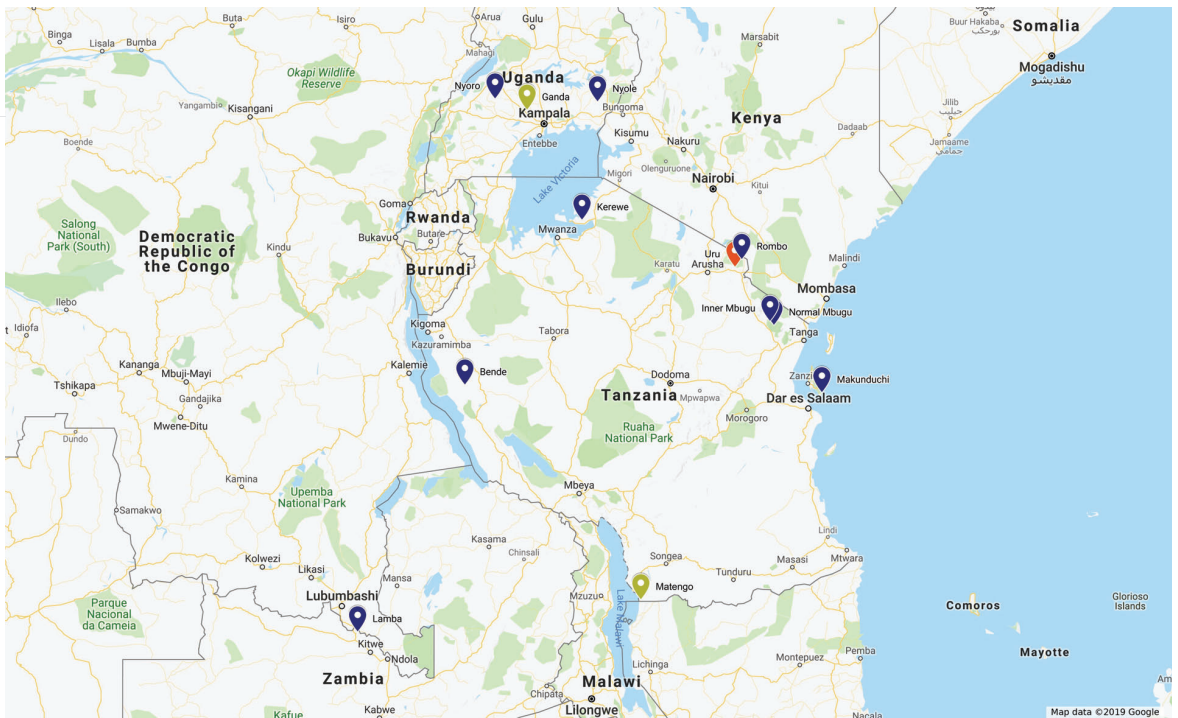
Verbal relative morphology:
Are there relative forming strategies which employ verbal morphology?



P088

Values
● yes
● no
● null

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



P089

Values

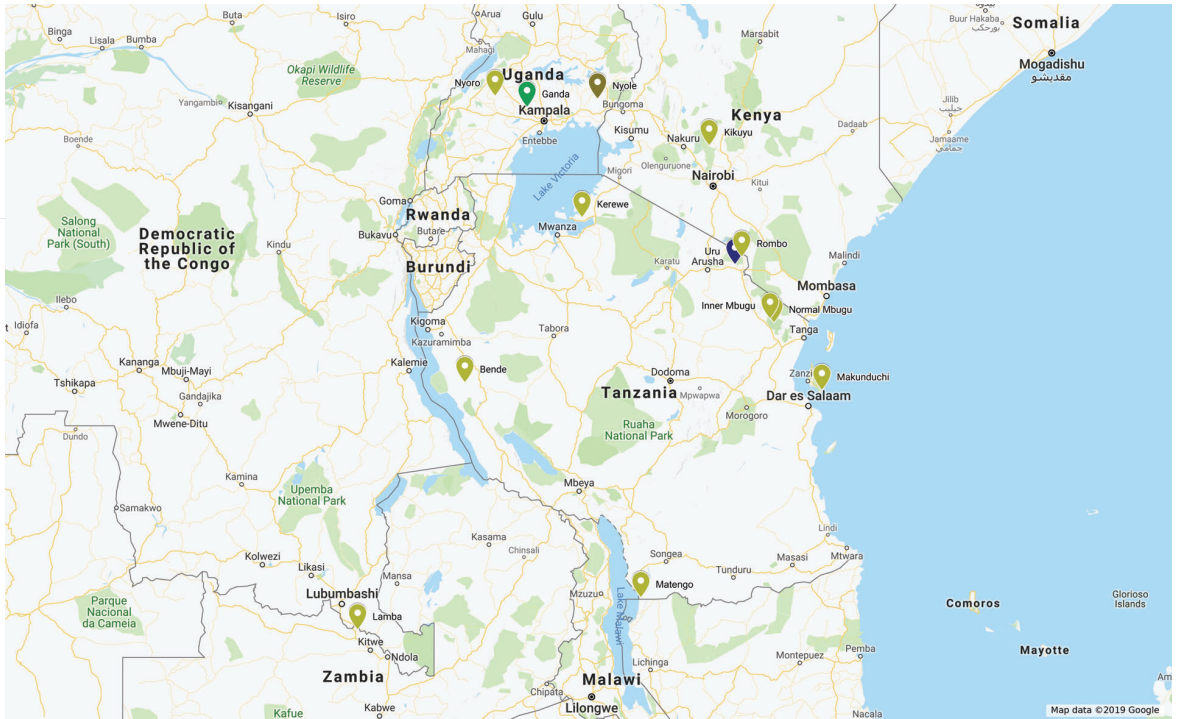
yes

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

n.a.

null

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



P090

Values

no

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

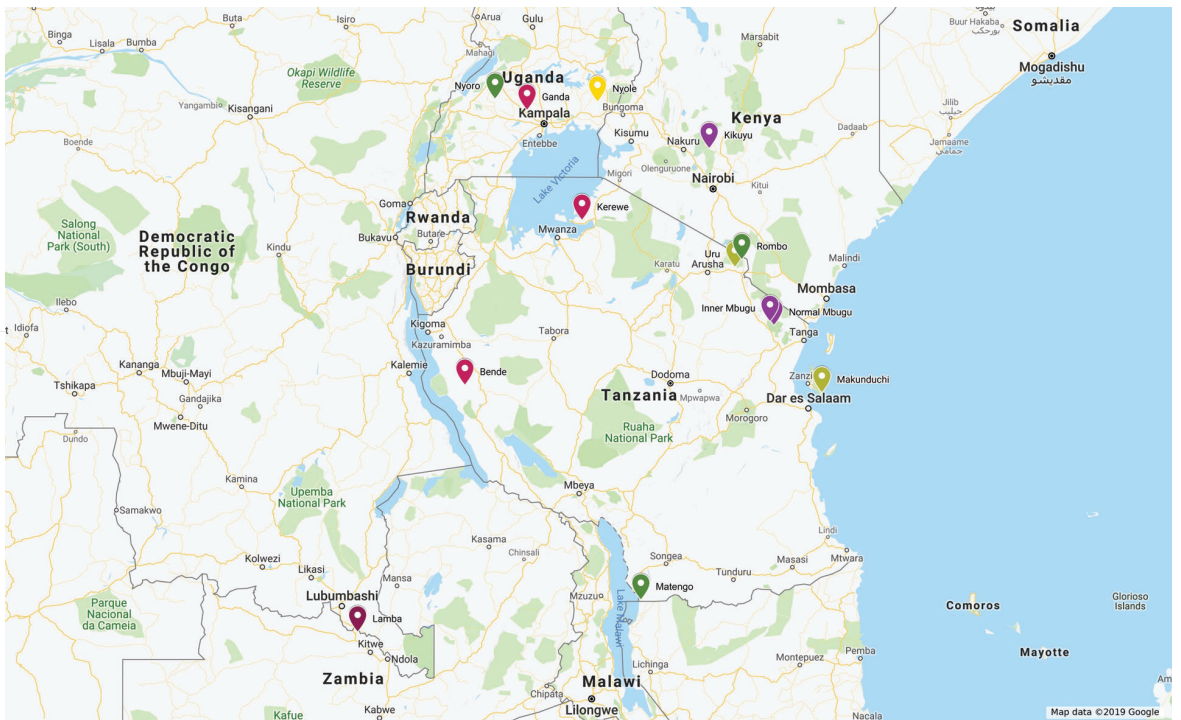
yes

2 yes, there are several types of separate word or preverbal clitic relativisers, one of which always shows agreement

no?

null

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

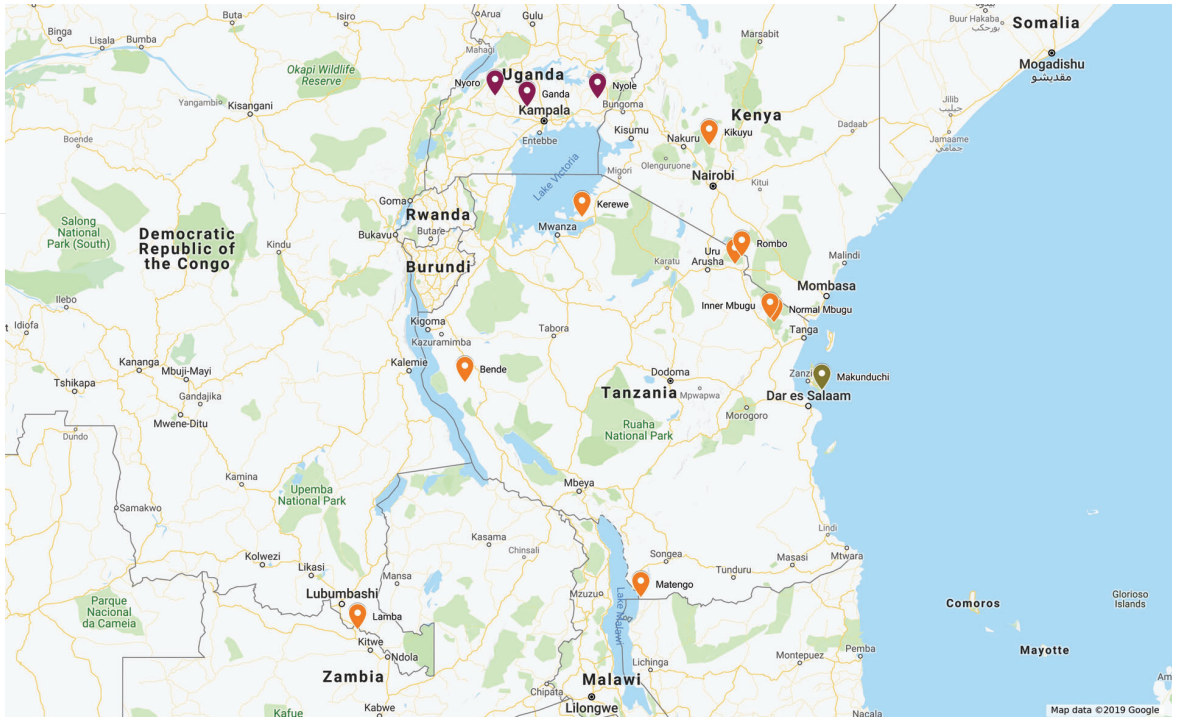


P091

Values

- 2 the subject
- 1 the head noun
- 3 there are several relativisation strategies, one of which shows agreement with the head noun, and one of which shows agreements with the subject.

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

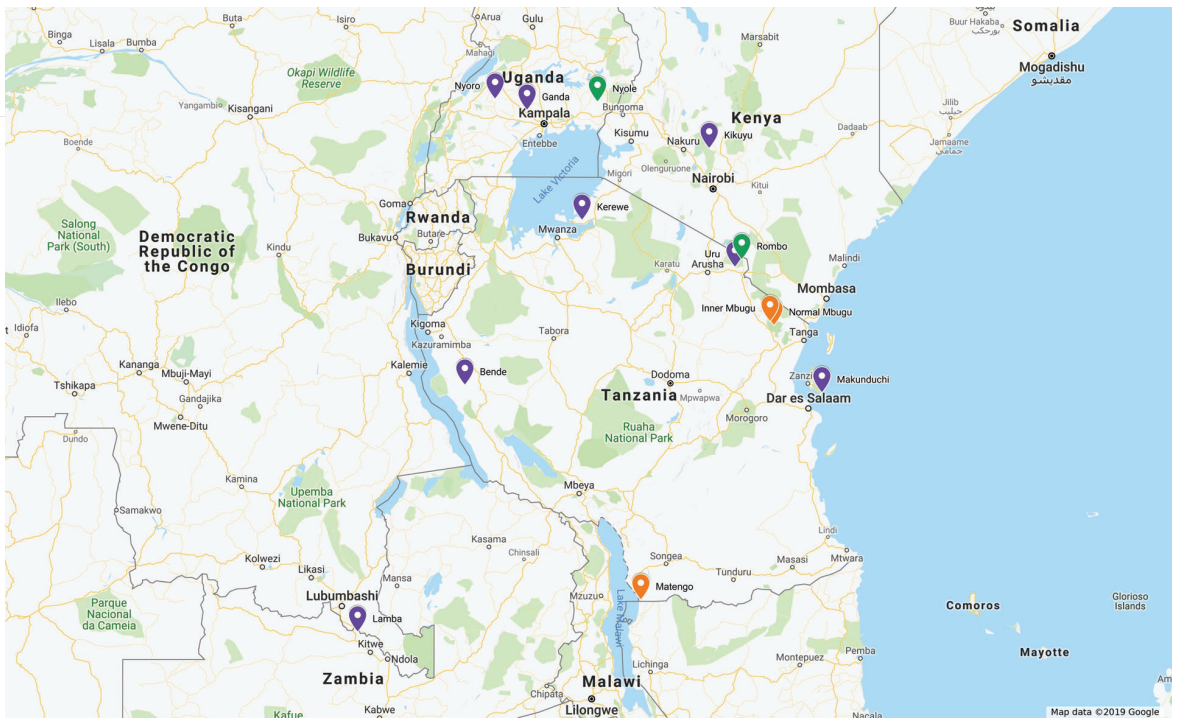


P092

Values

- yes
- no
- null

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

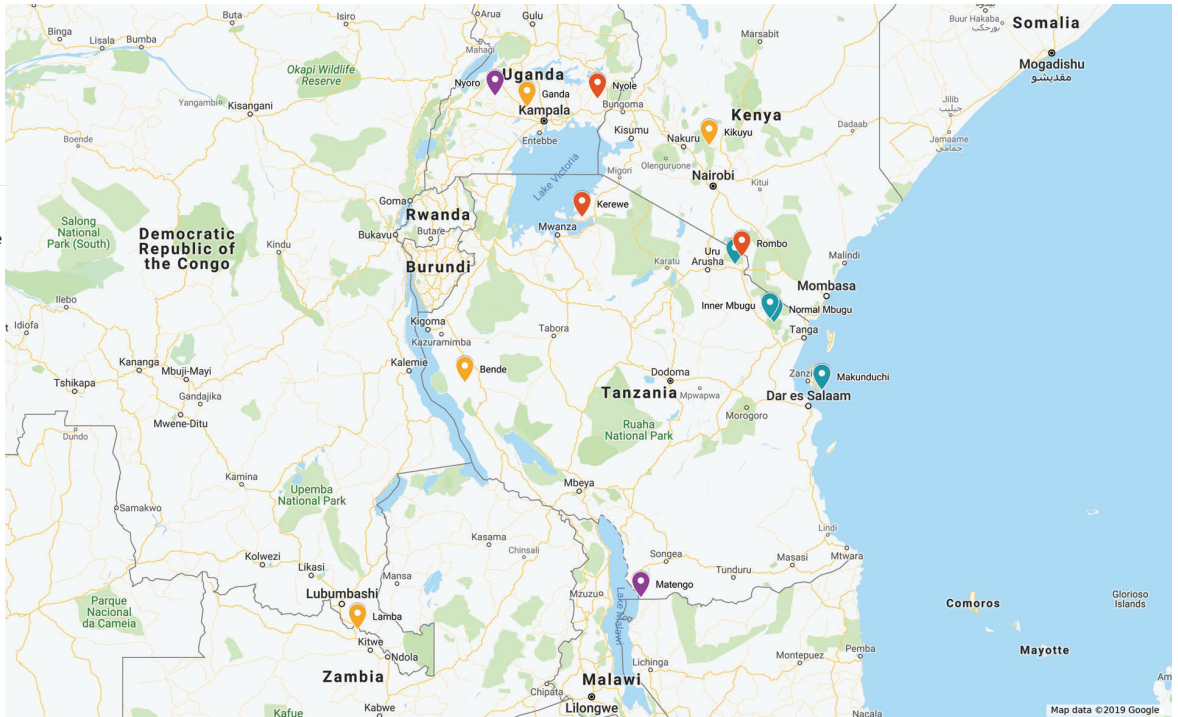


P093

Values

- 3 yes, it is required in certain conditions (e.g. depending on the class, +/- animate, etc)
- no
- null
- 1 yes, it is optional

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

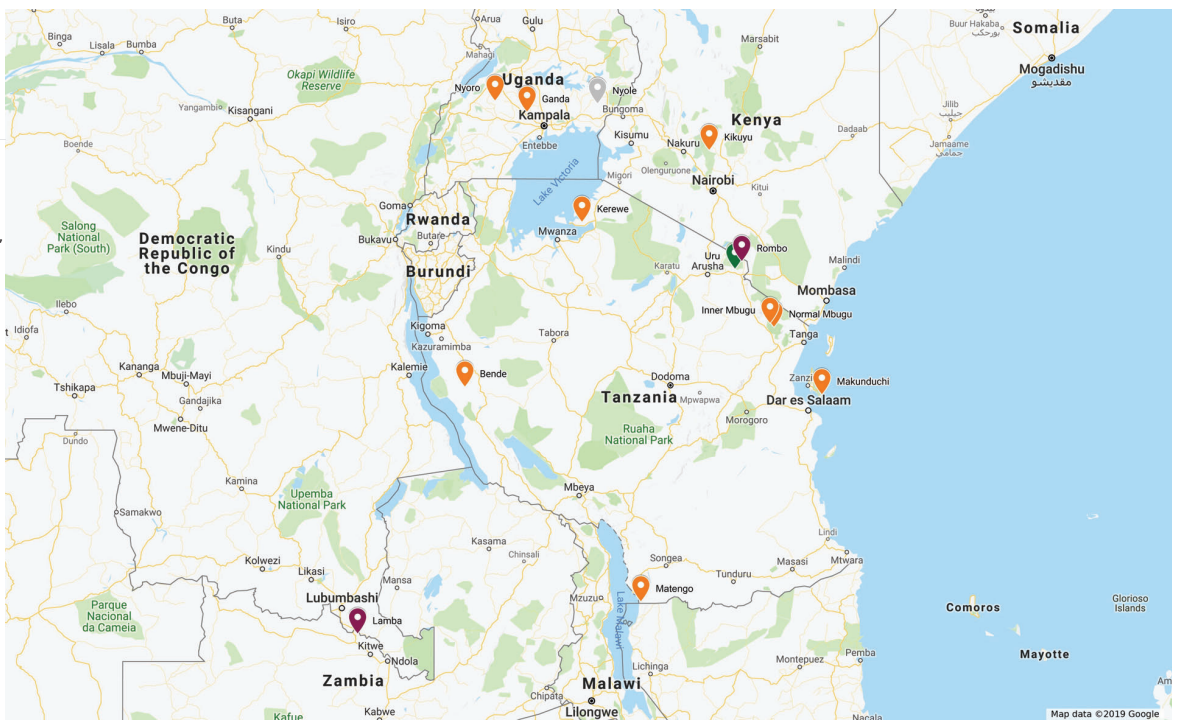


P094

Values

- yes
- n.a.
- null
- Other / No value

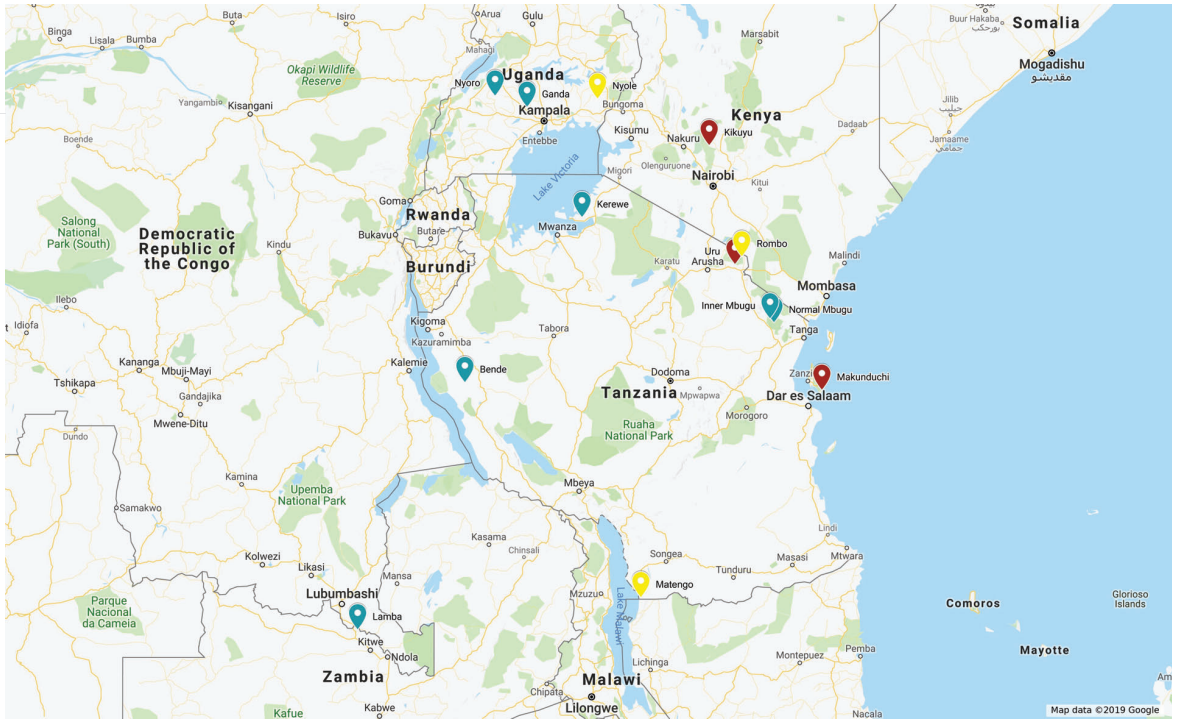
Headless adverbial relatives: Can headless relatives be used as adverbial clauses, with, for instance, temporal ('when...'), locative ('where...'), or manner ('how...') meaning?



P095



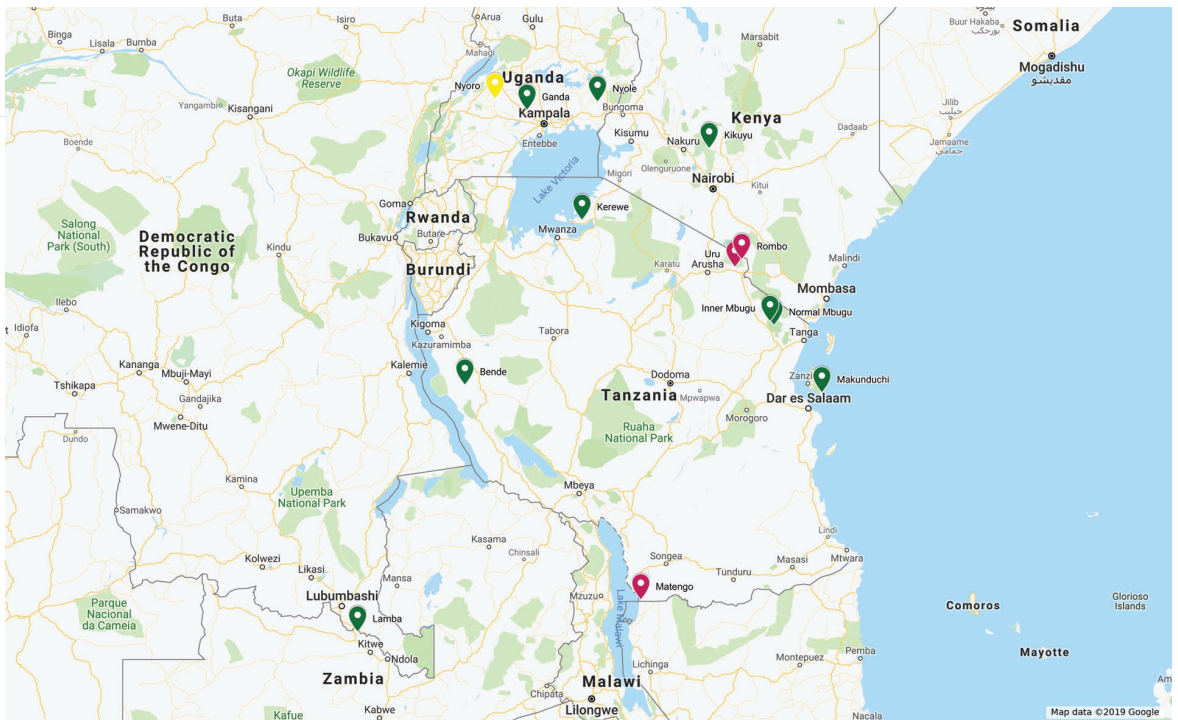
Gapless relatives: Are gapless relatives/noun-modifying clauses attested?



P096



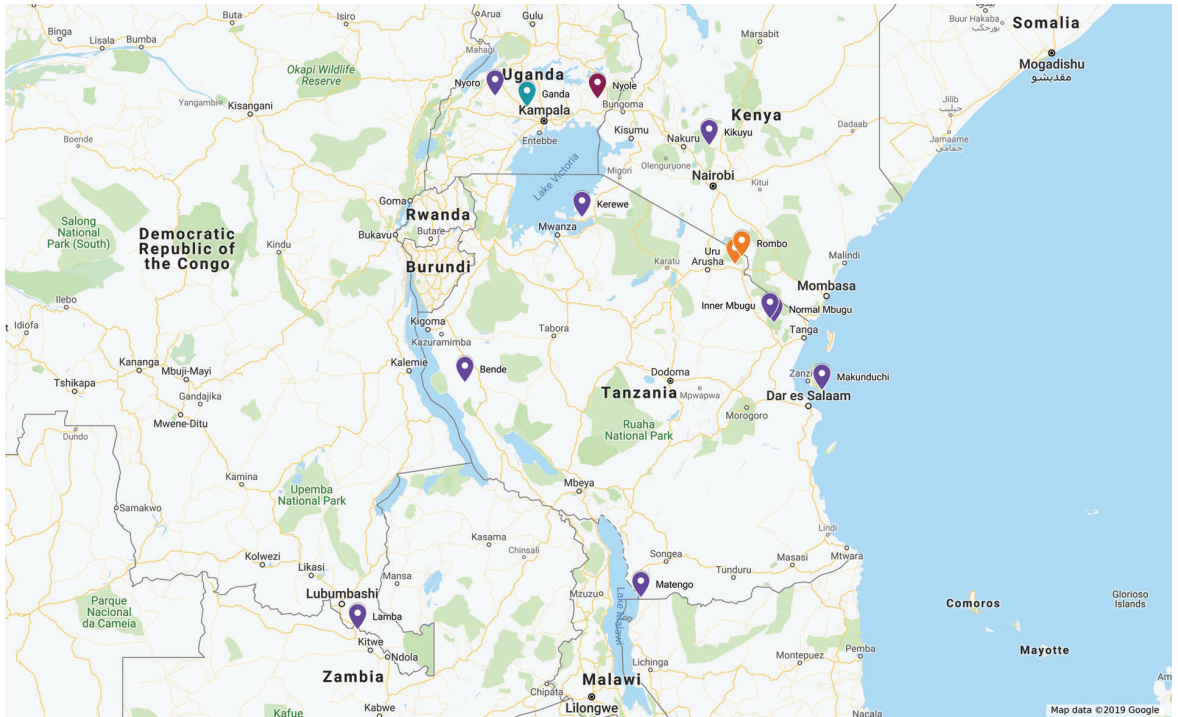
TAM and relatives: Can relative clauses express the full range of tense/aspect/mood distinctions found in main clauses?



P097

- Values
- 1 through the use of a segmentally expressed copula
 - 3 both strategies
 - 2 through modification of the noun (linked with the tonal/segmental augment)
 - null

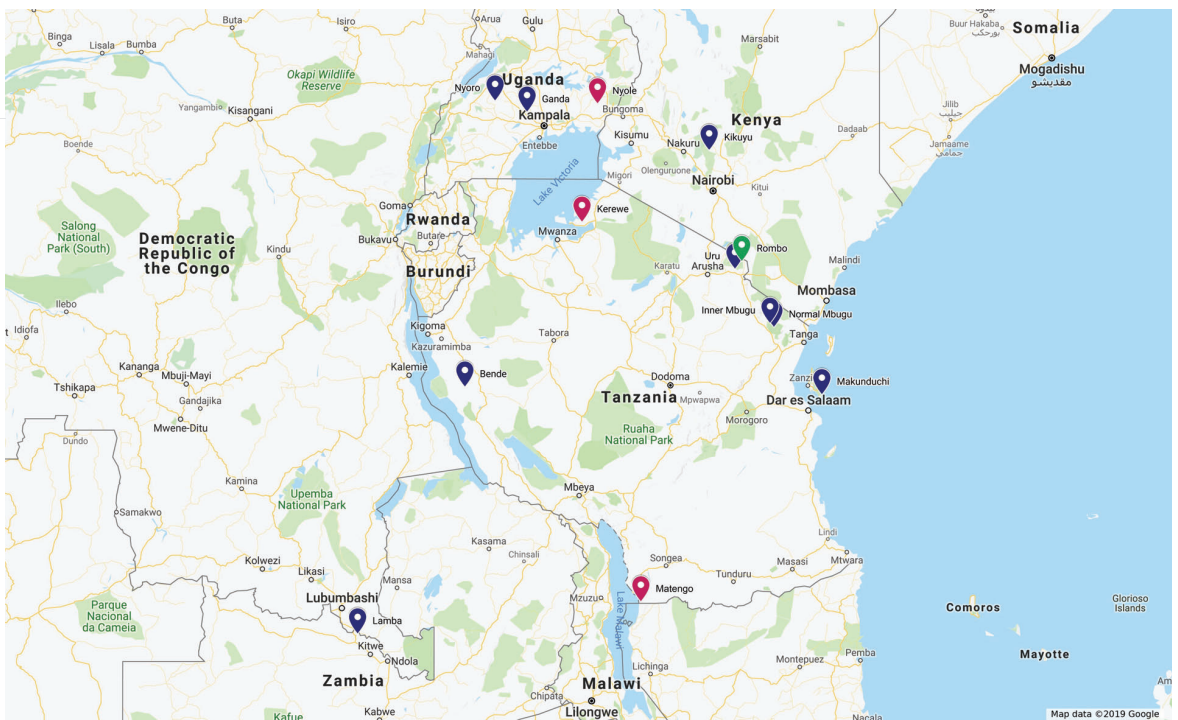
Clefts: How are clefts formed?



P098

- Values
- yes
 - null
 - no

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

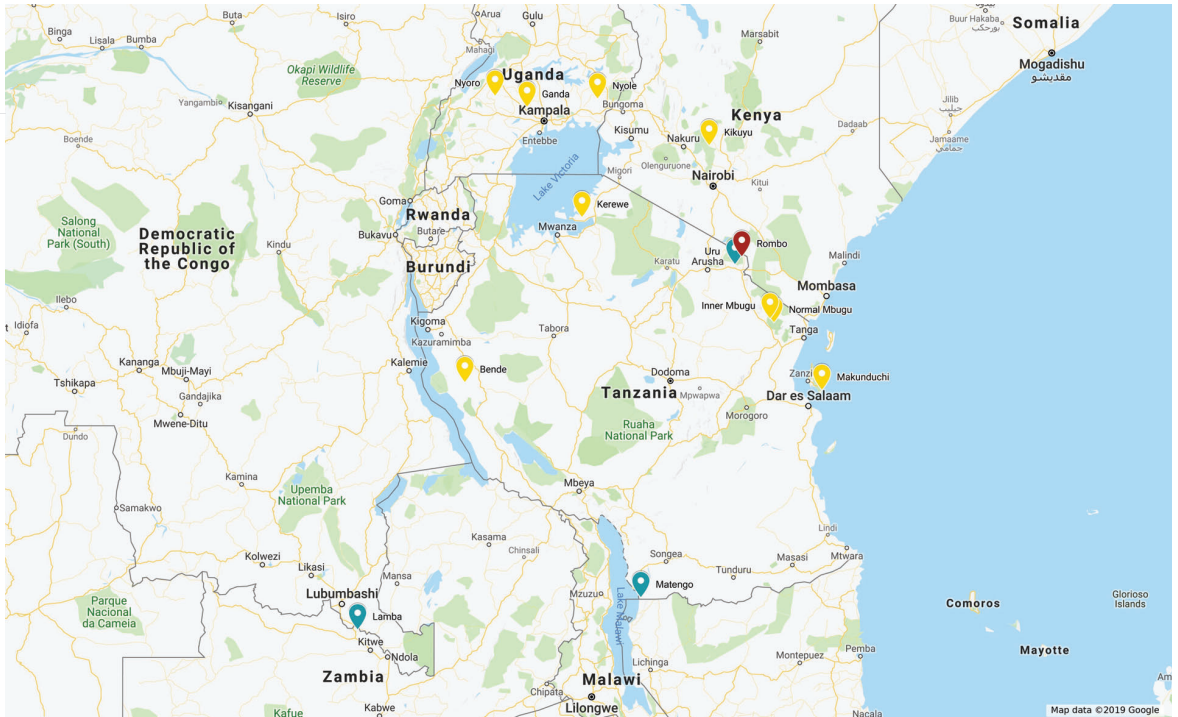


P099

Values

- no
- yes
- null

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

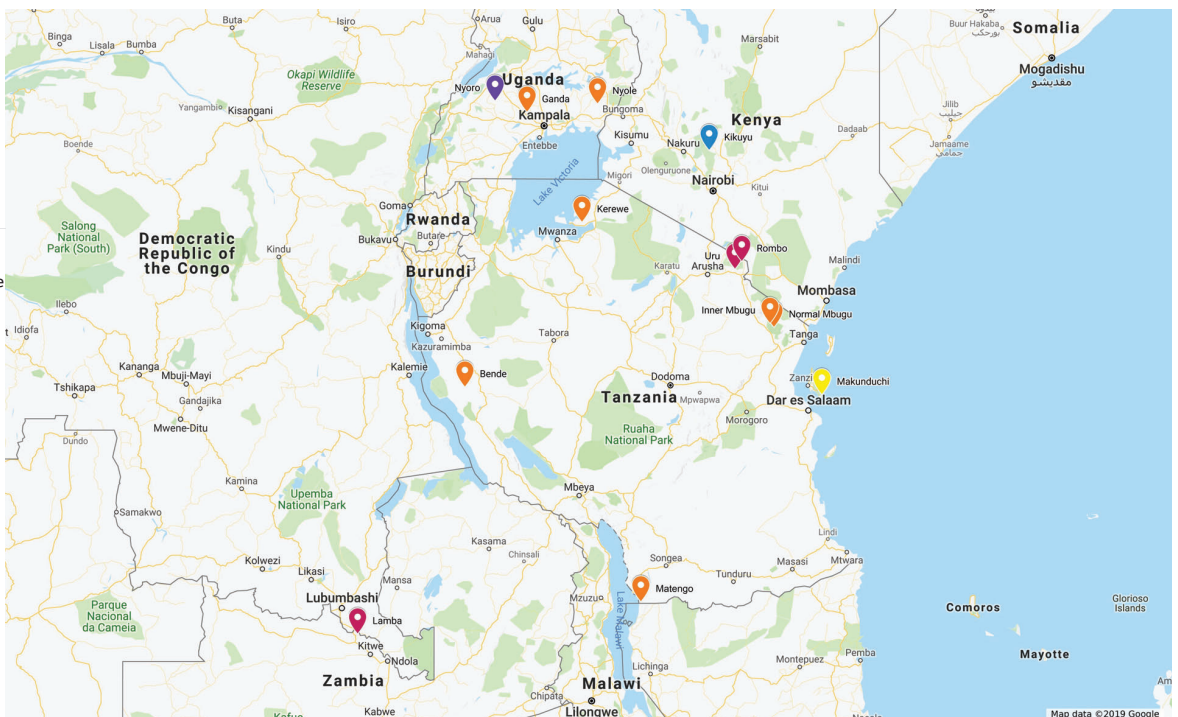


P100

Values

- 5 in situ
- 6 difficult to distinguish a dominant strategy
- 1 clause-initially
- 2 clause-finally
- 3 immediately after the verb (IAV)

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

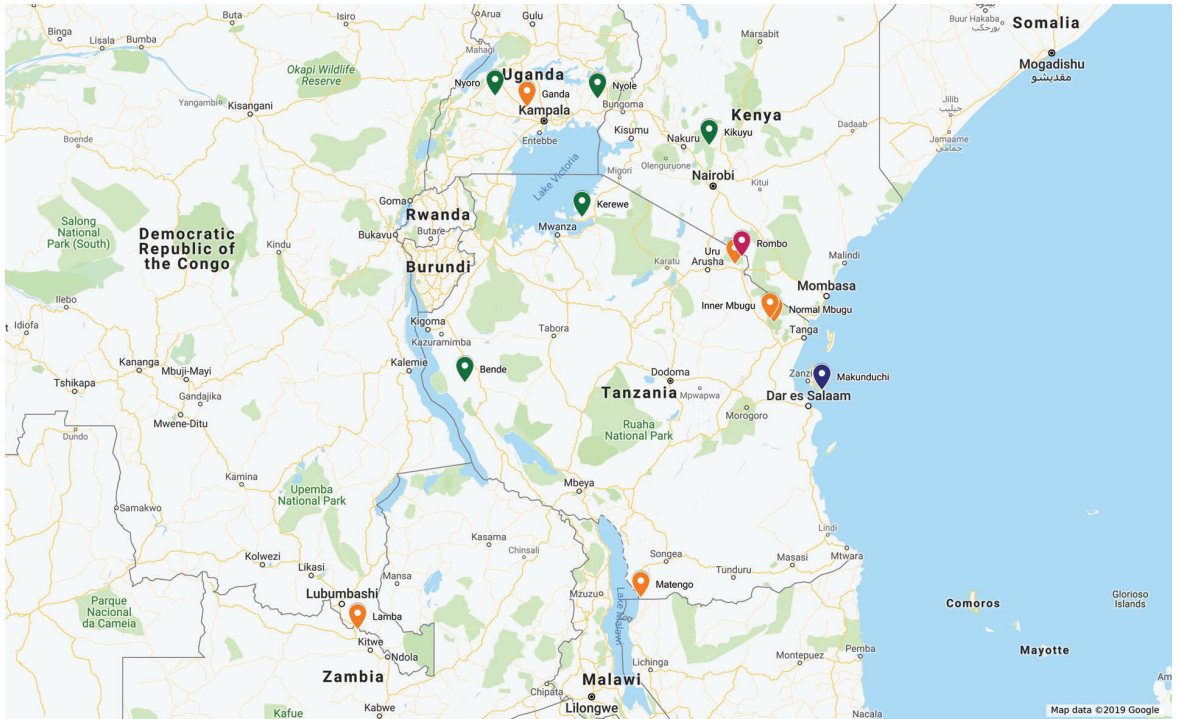


P101

Values

- yes
- no
- null
- yes?

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

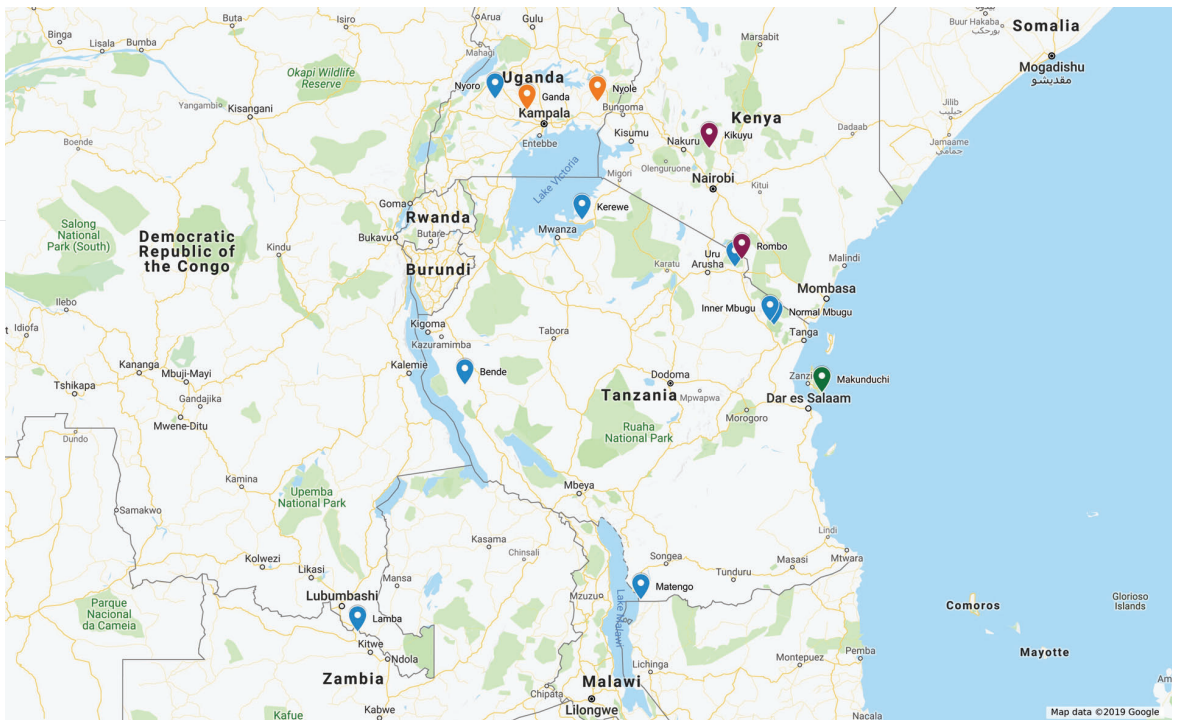


P102

Values

- 4 both 1 and 2 = both variable (class-inflected) and invariable copulas
- 1 an invariable copula only
- 2 variable (class-inflected) copulas only
- 6 both 2 and through tones

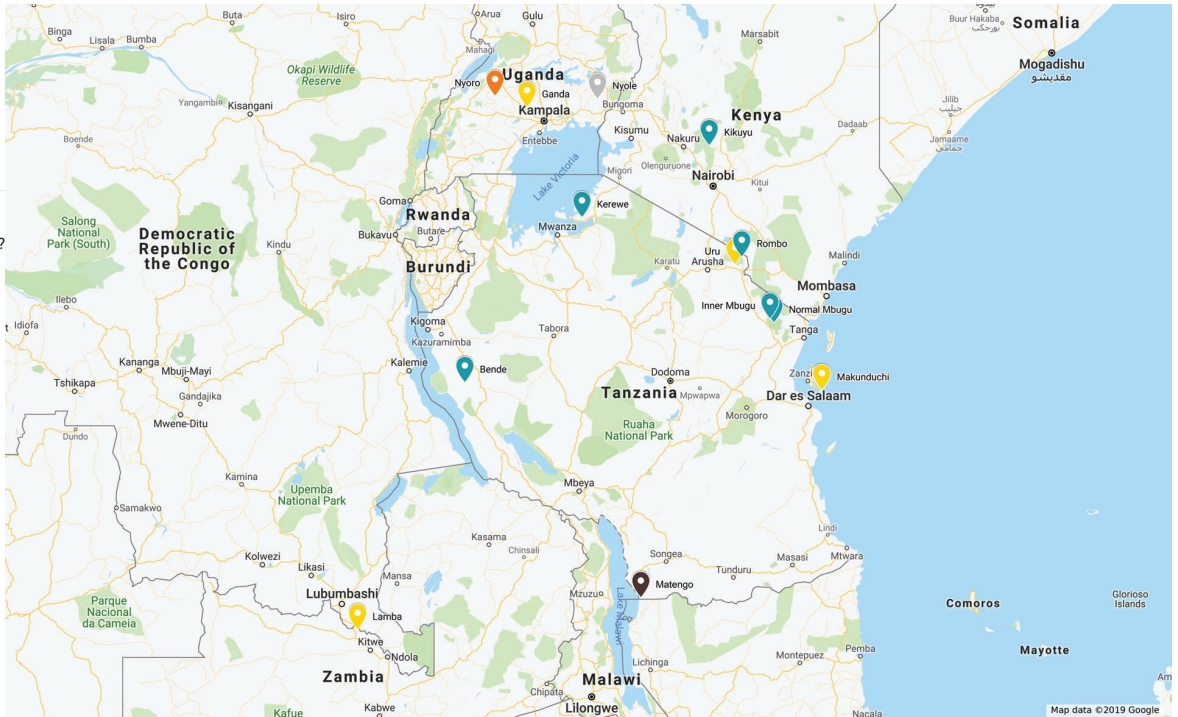
Equative predication: How is equative predication achieved with non-discourse participants?



P103

- Values
- 1 of the shape ni (or similar)
 - 6 multiple strategy
 - 2 derived from verbal subject markers
 - 5 other
 - Other / No value

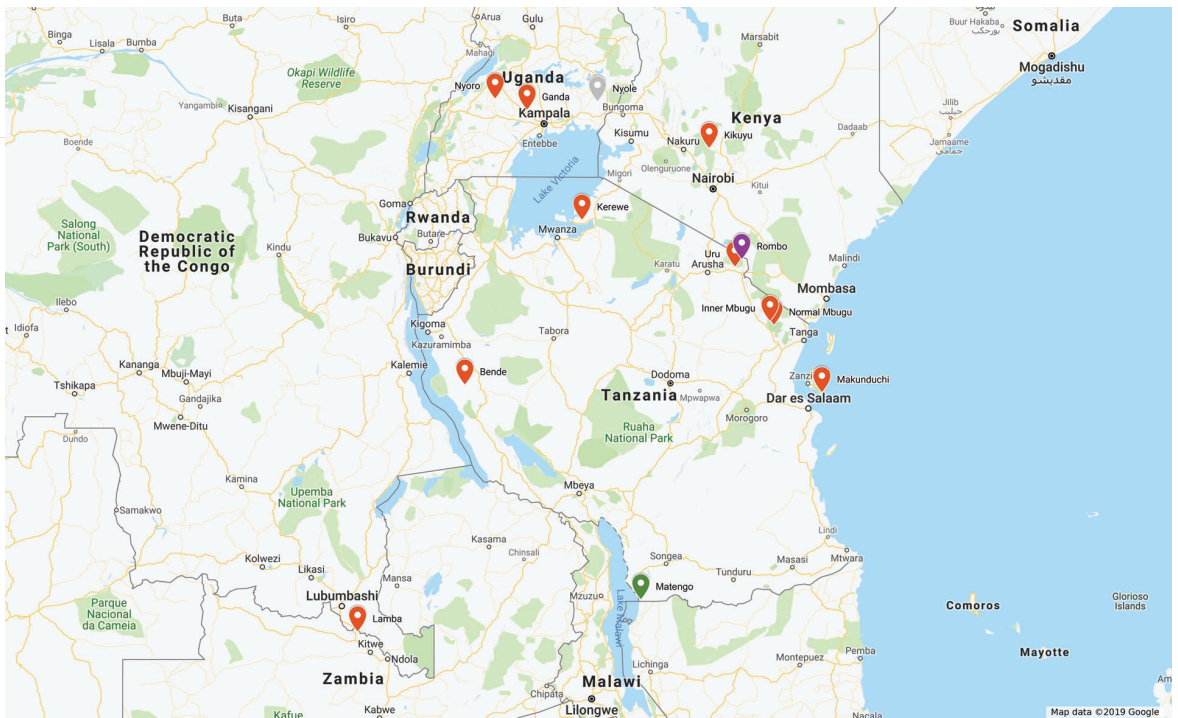
Affirmative copula: In the copula system, what is the form of the affirmative copula?



P104

- Values
- yes
 - no
 - null
 - Other / No value

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

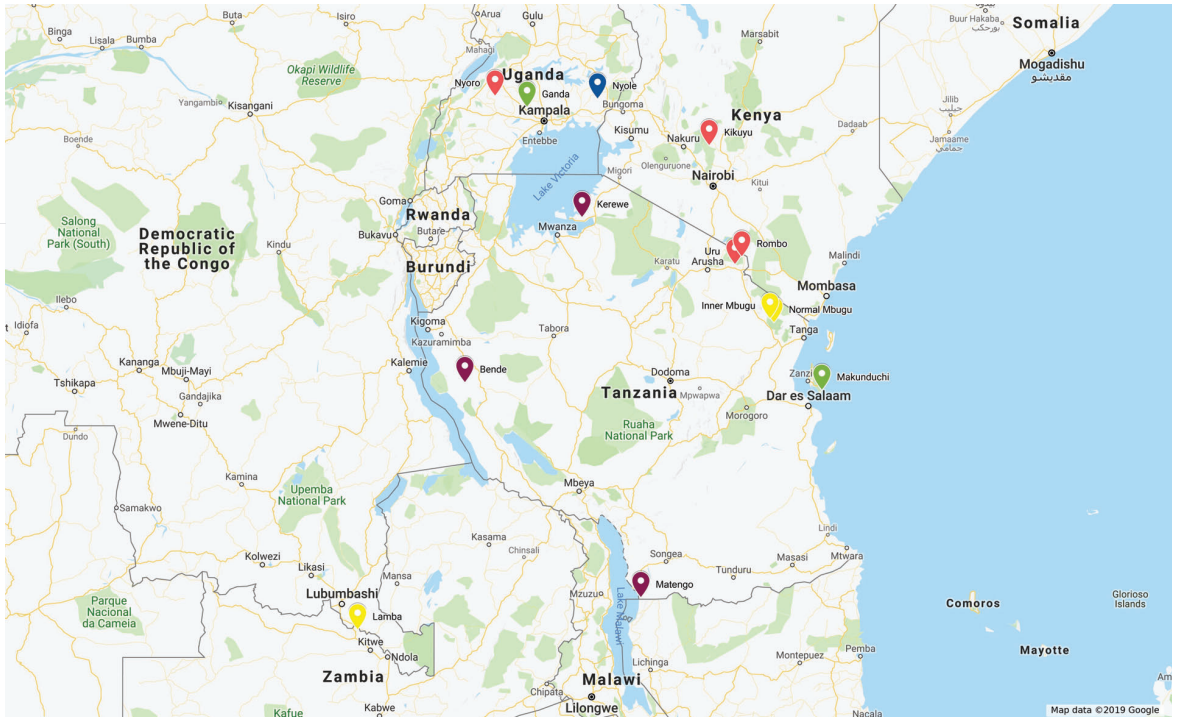


P105

Values

- 3 a lexical verb only
- 2 the verb 'be' + preposition 'with' only
- 6 both 2 and 3
- 4 both 2 and a possessive copula
- null

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

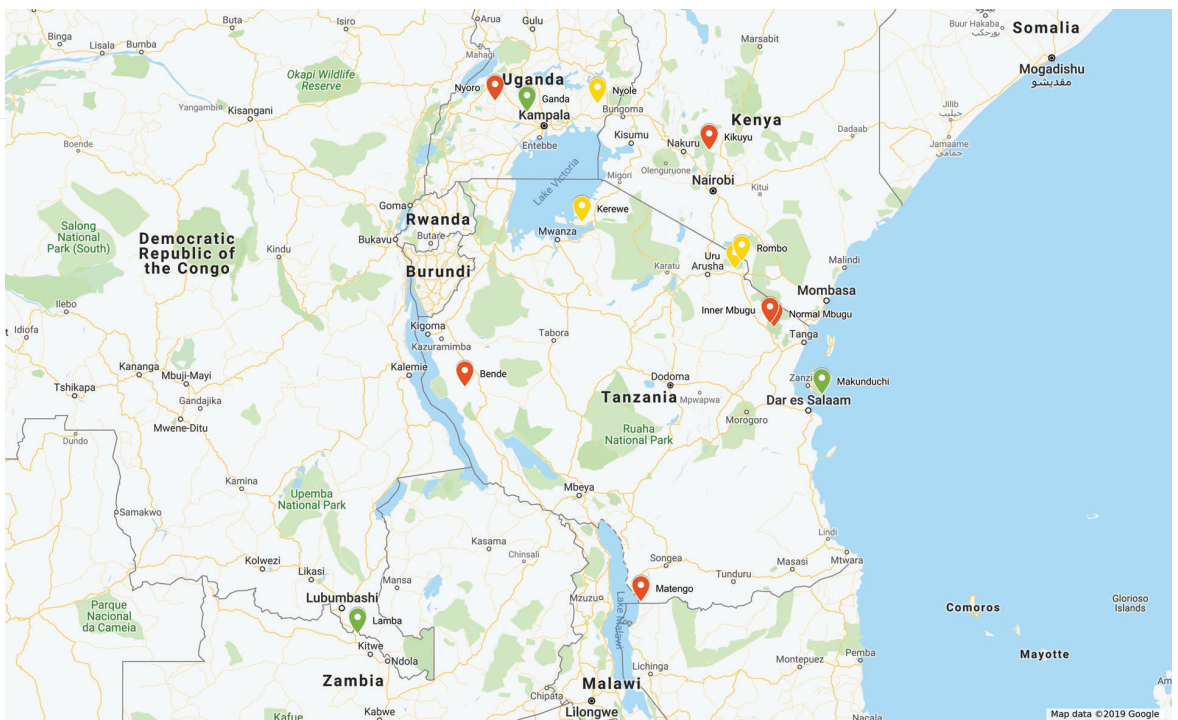


P106

Values

- yes
- null
- no

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

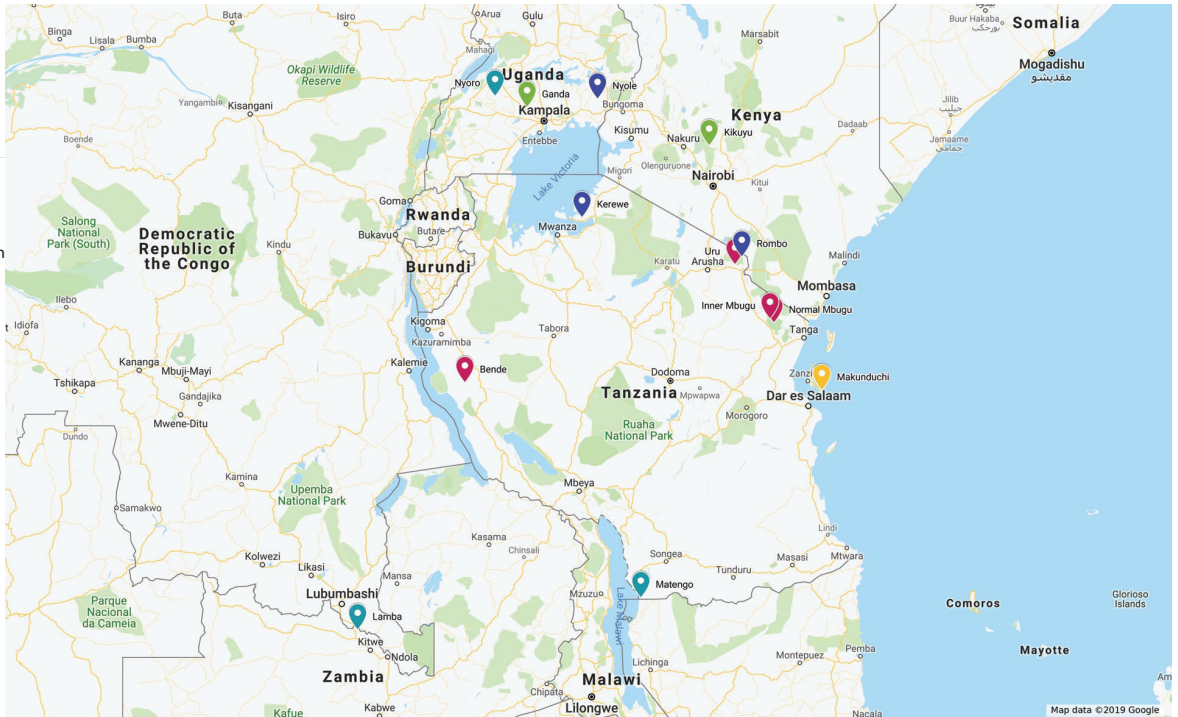


P107

Values

- 2 yes, for topicalisation
- no
- null
- 1 yes, for verb focus
- 2? yes, for topicalisation

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?

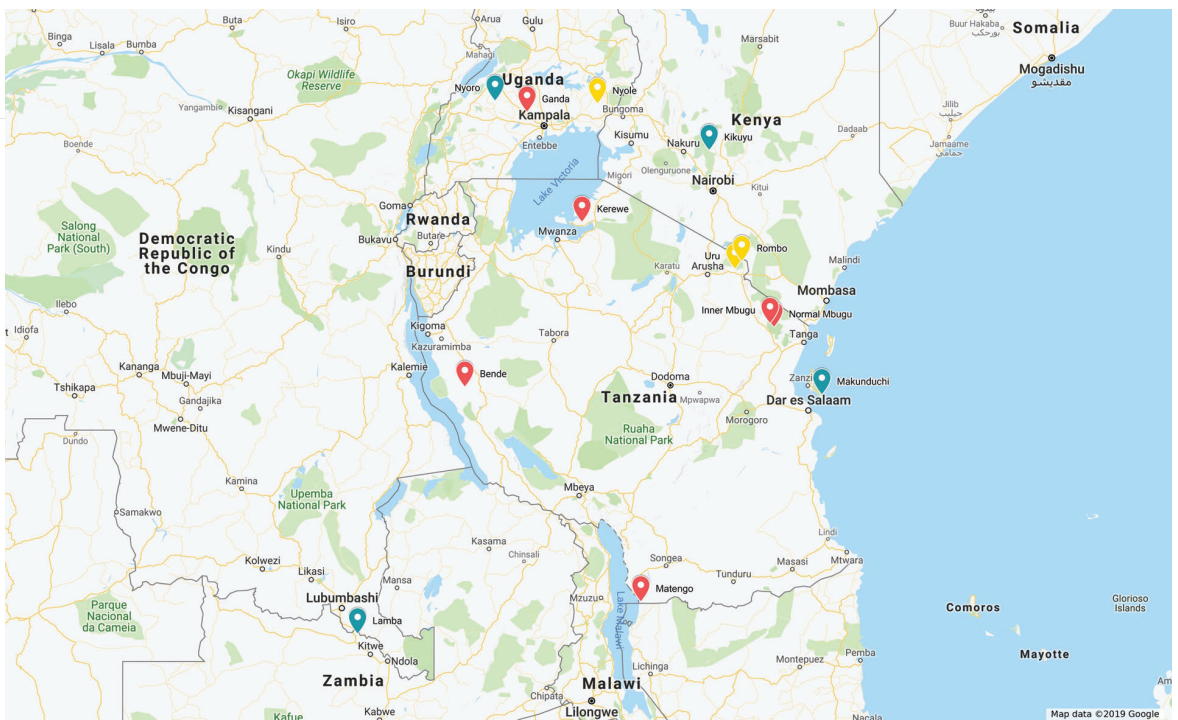


P108

Values

- yes
- no
- null

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

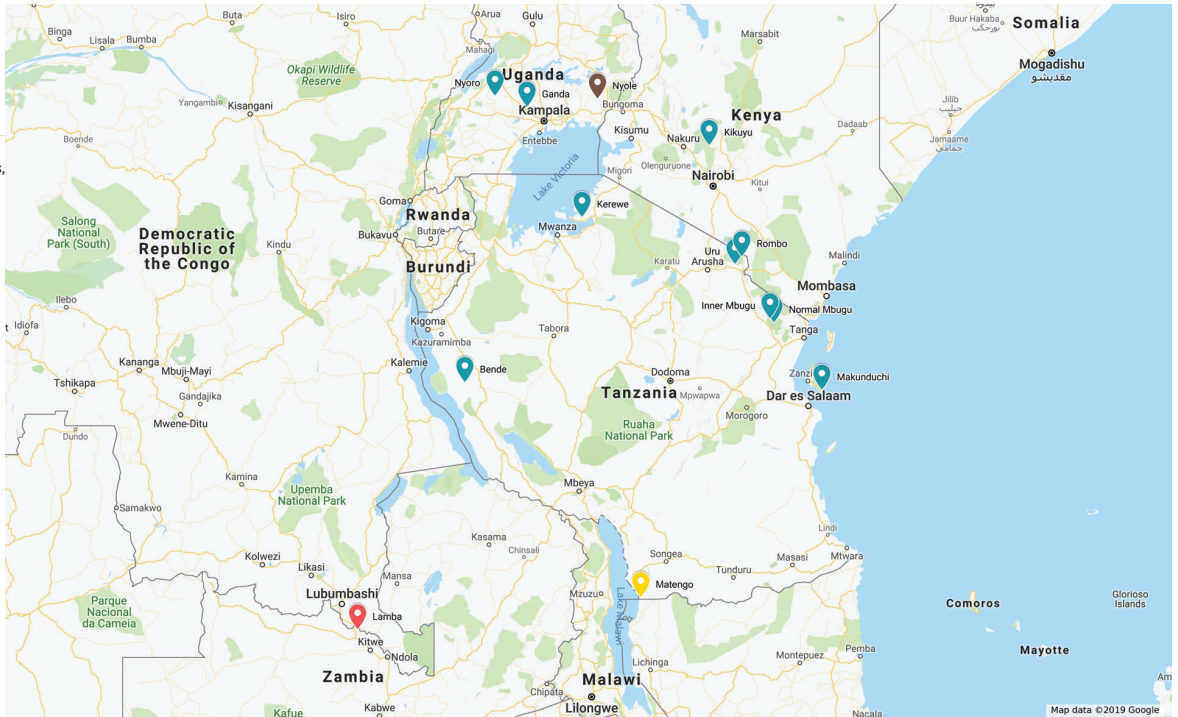


P109

Values

- yes
- n.a.
- null
- yes?

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

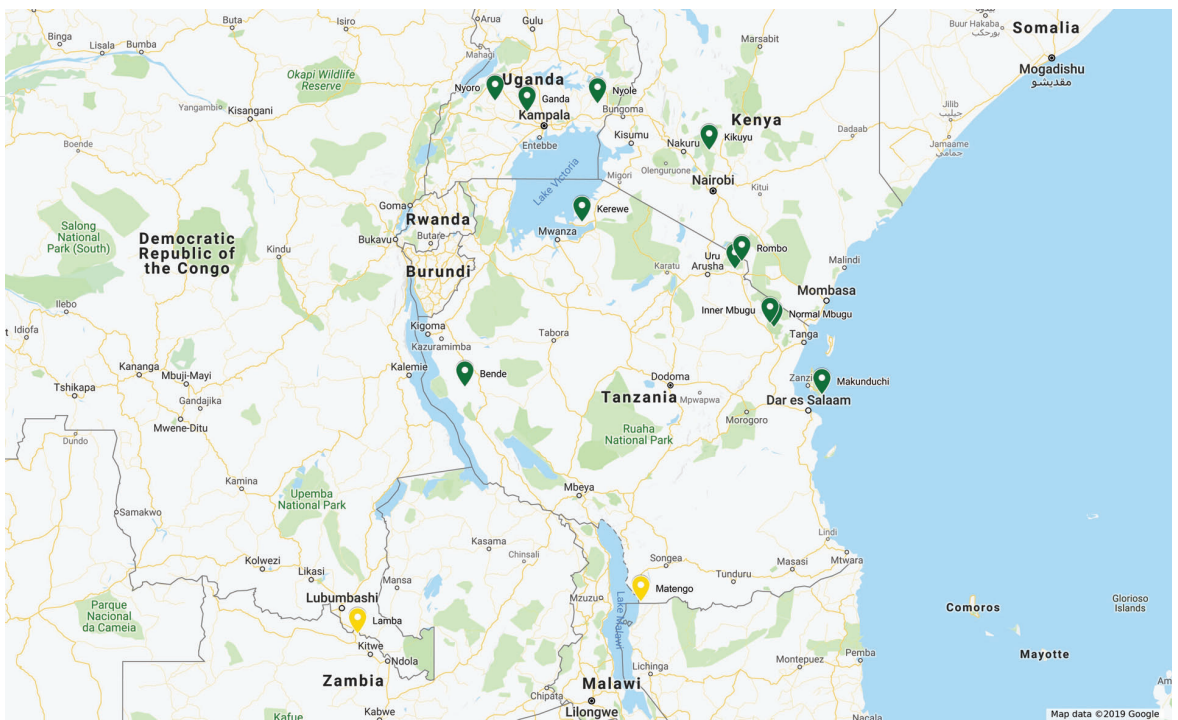


P110

Values

- yes
- no

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

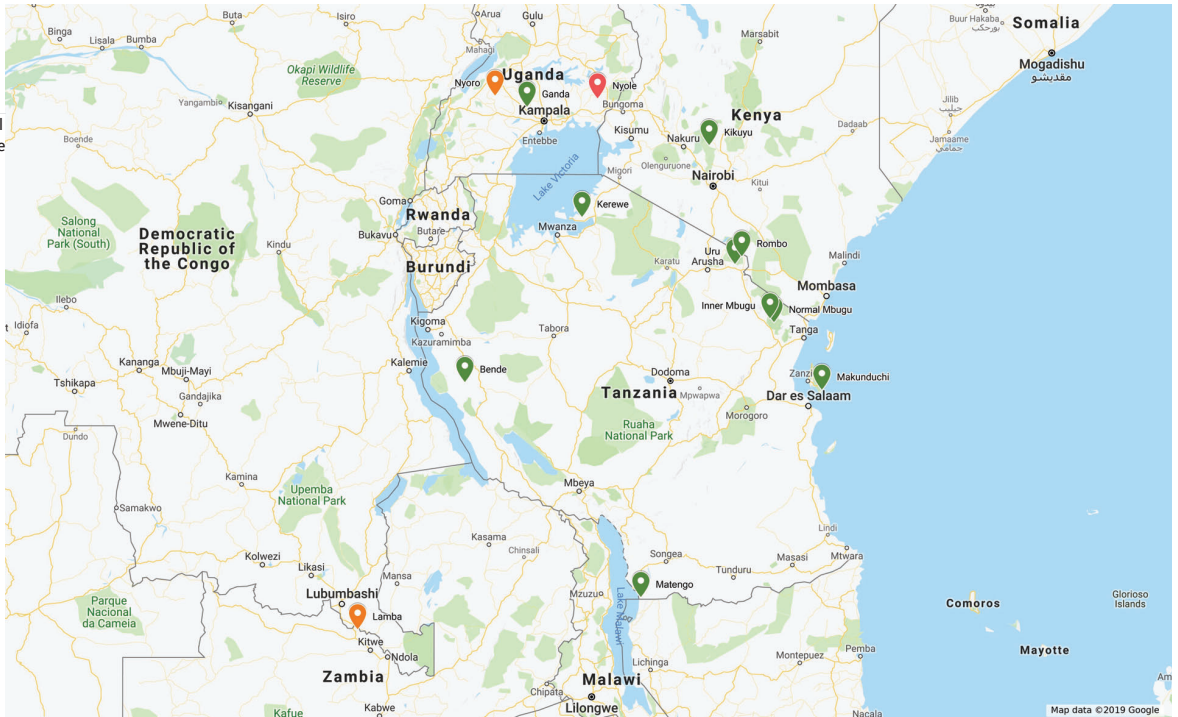


P111

Values

- yes
- no
- null

Pro-drop: Can the grammatical subject be omitted (i.e. is there pro-drop)? (link with (60))

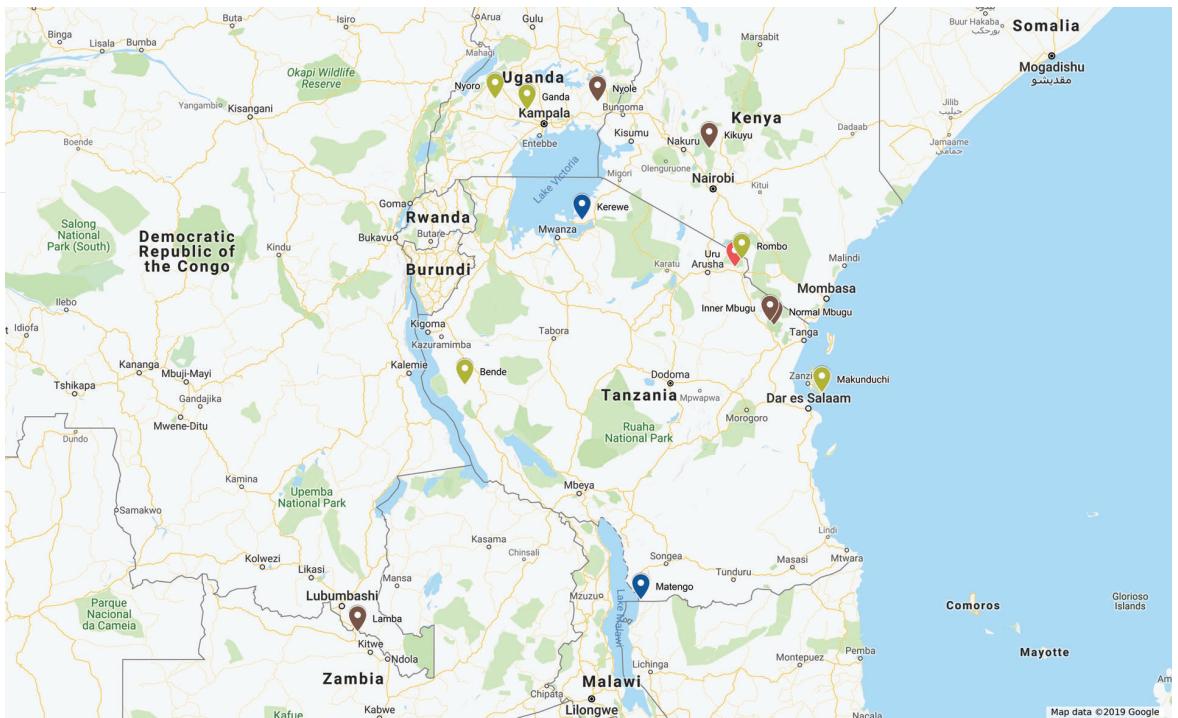


P112

Values

- 1 Dem-Noun is the default order
- 2 Dem-Noun order is attested
- null
- no

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

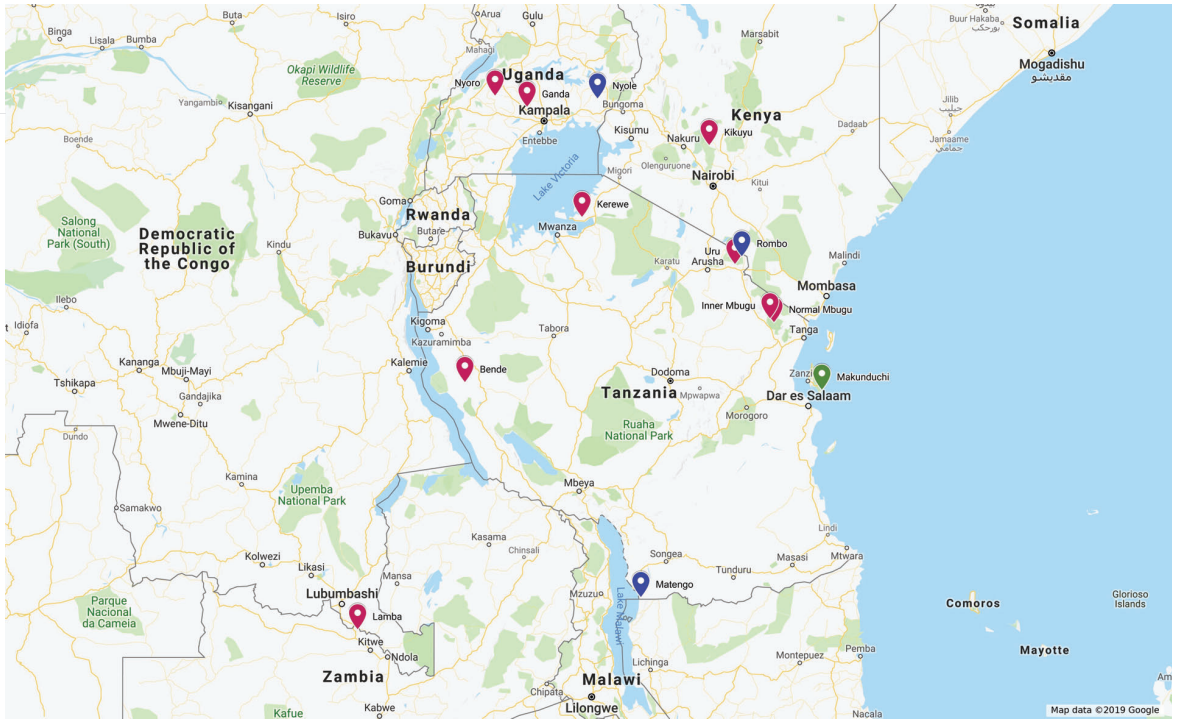


P113

Values

- yes
- null
- no

Quant-Noun: Is there a prenominal quantifier?

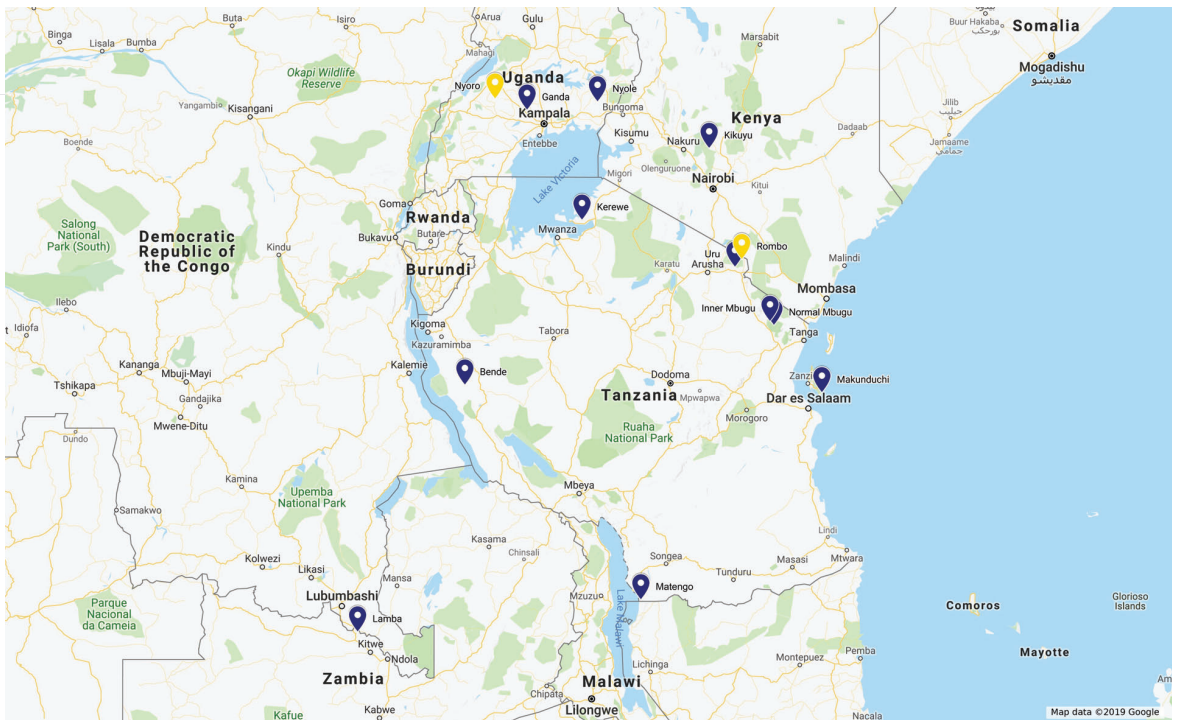


P114

Values

- yes
- null

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

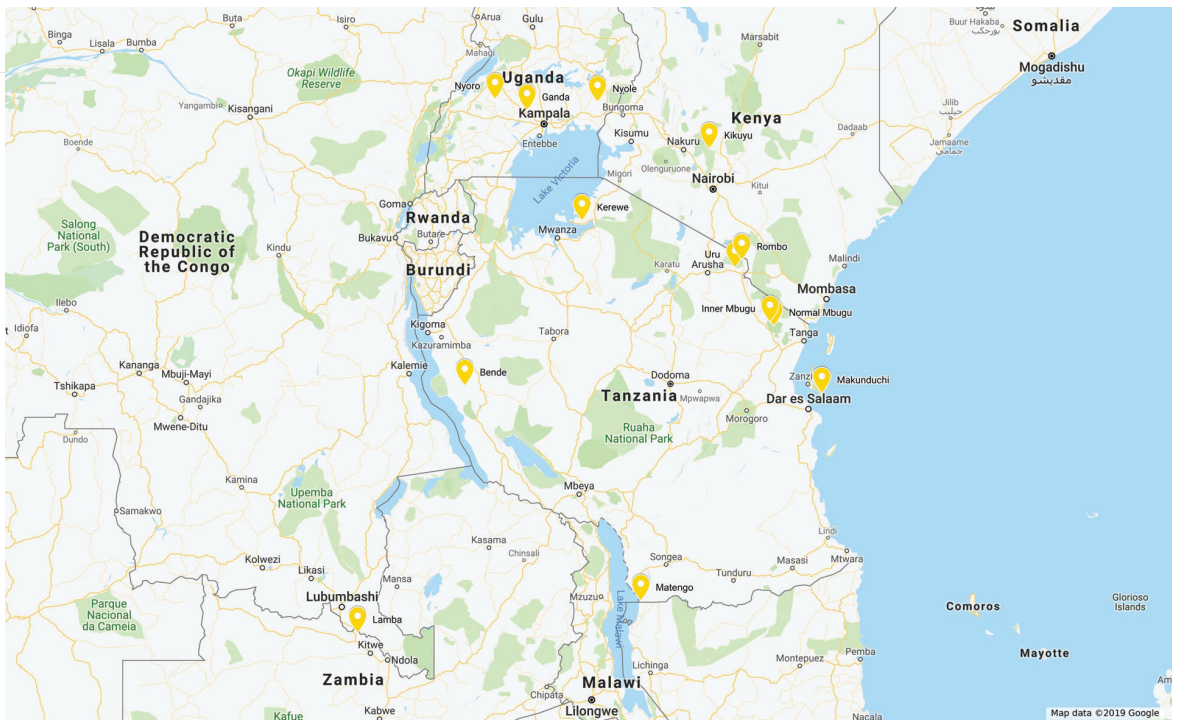


P115

Values

yes

SV0: Is Subject-Verb-Object the canonical constituent order in a neutral context (topic/comment)?



P116

Values

2

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

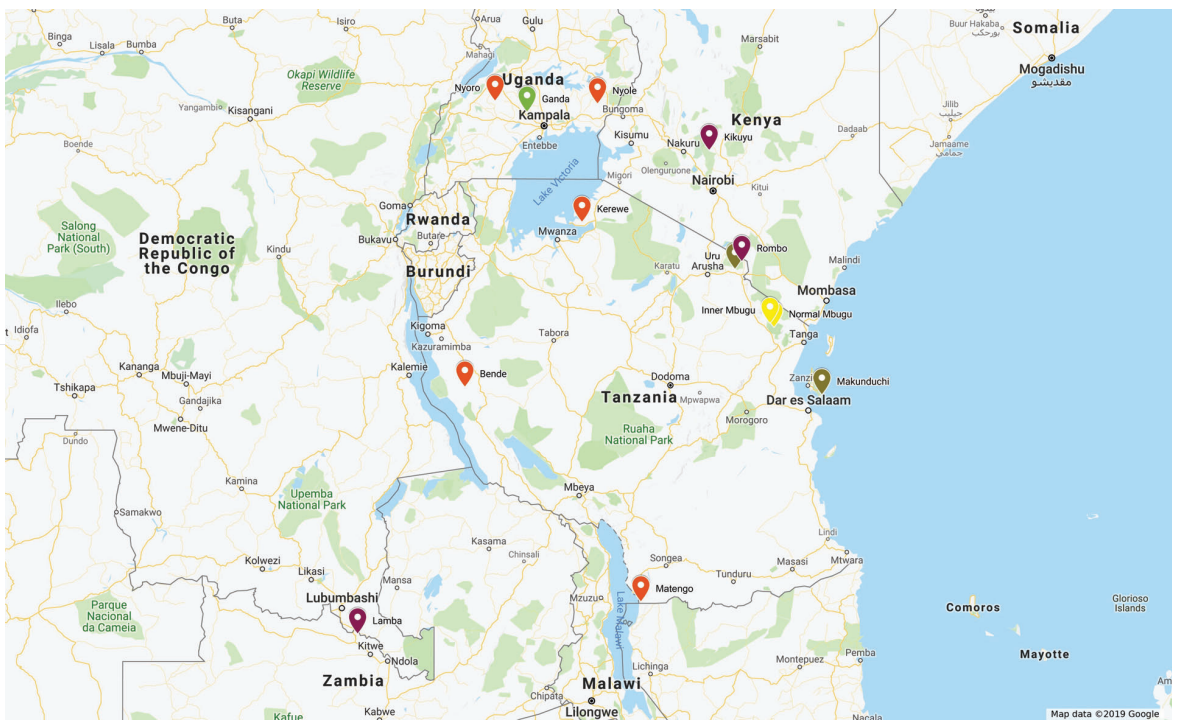
no

3 yes, both 2 and the order is determined by information structure

null

4 yes, by other factors (e.g. predicate type) possibly in addition to information structure or 2

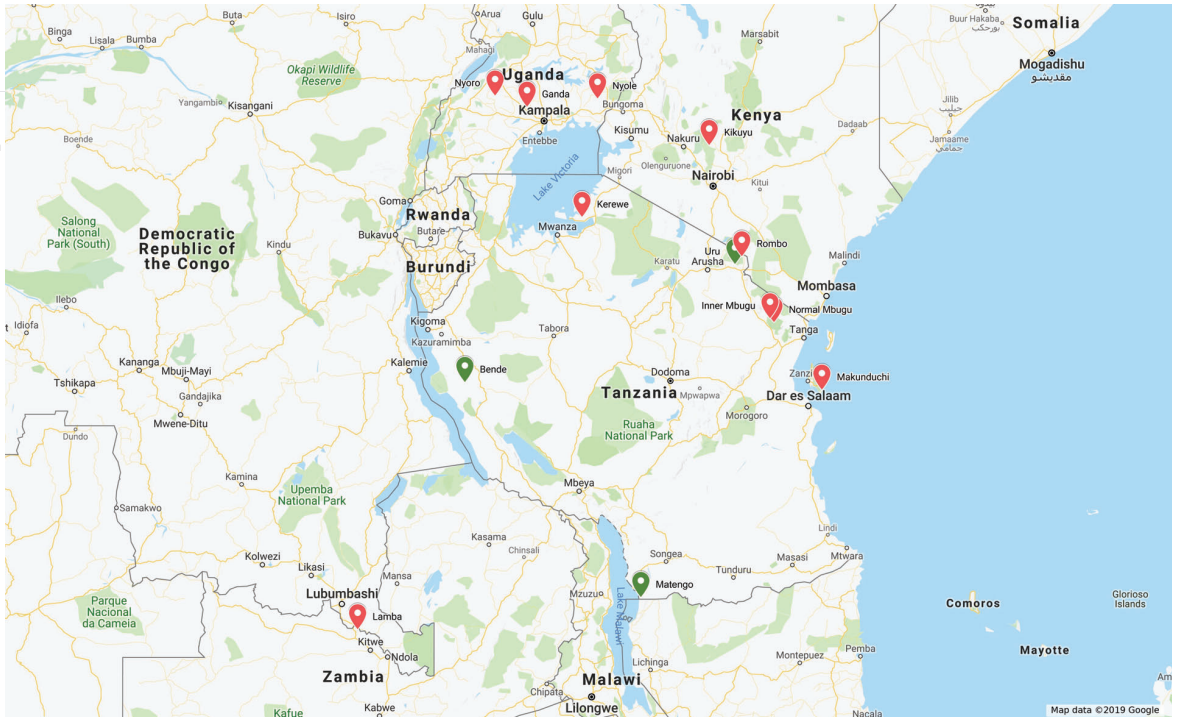
Control of object order: In ditransitive constructions, are there mechanisms which control the order of multiple objects?



P117

- Values
- yes
 - no

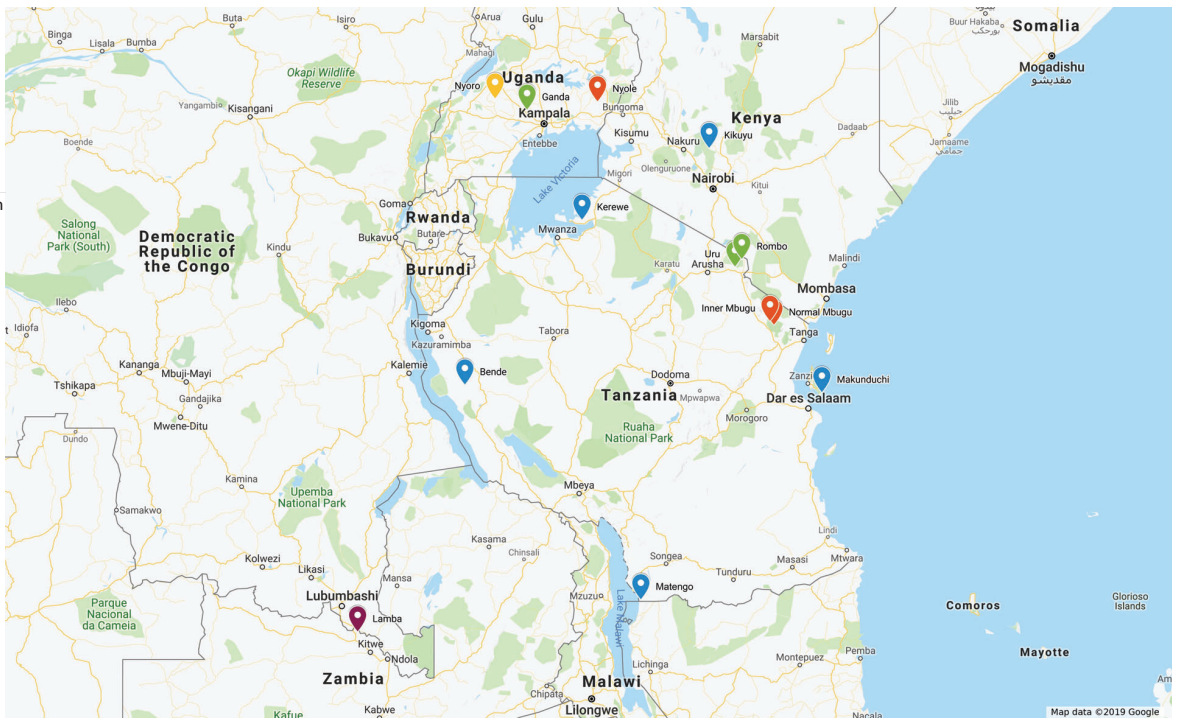
Object order asymmetry: In pragmatically neutral ditransitive constructions, can either object be adjacent to the verb?



P118

- Values
- 1 immediately after the verb (IAV)
 - no
 - null
 - 3 clause-initially
 - no?

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

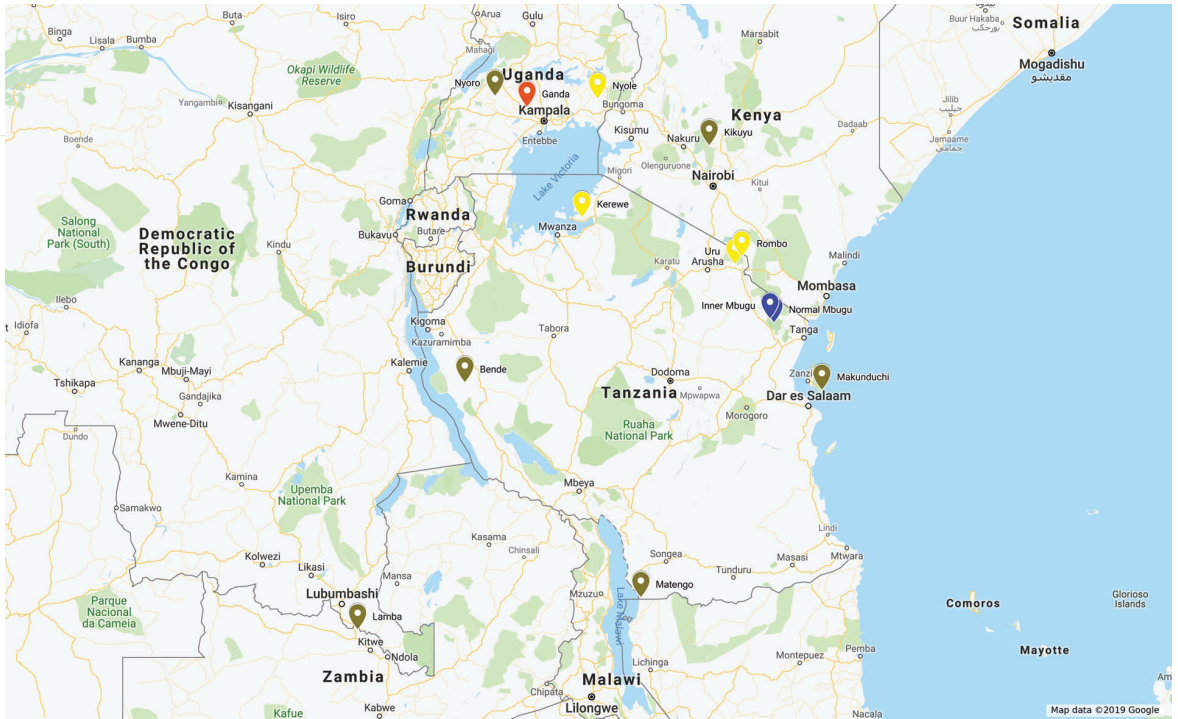


P119

Values

- no
- null
- no?
- yes

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

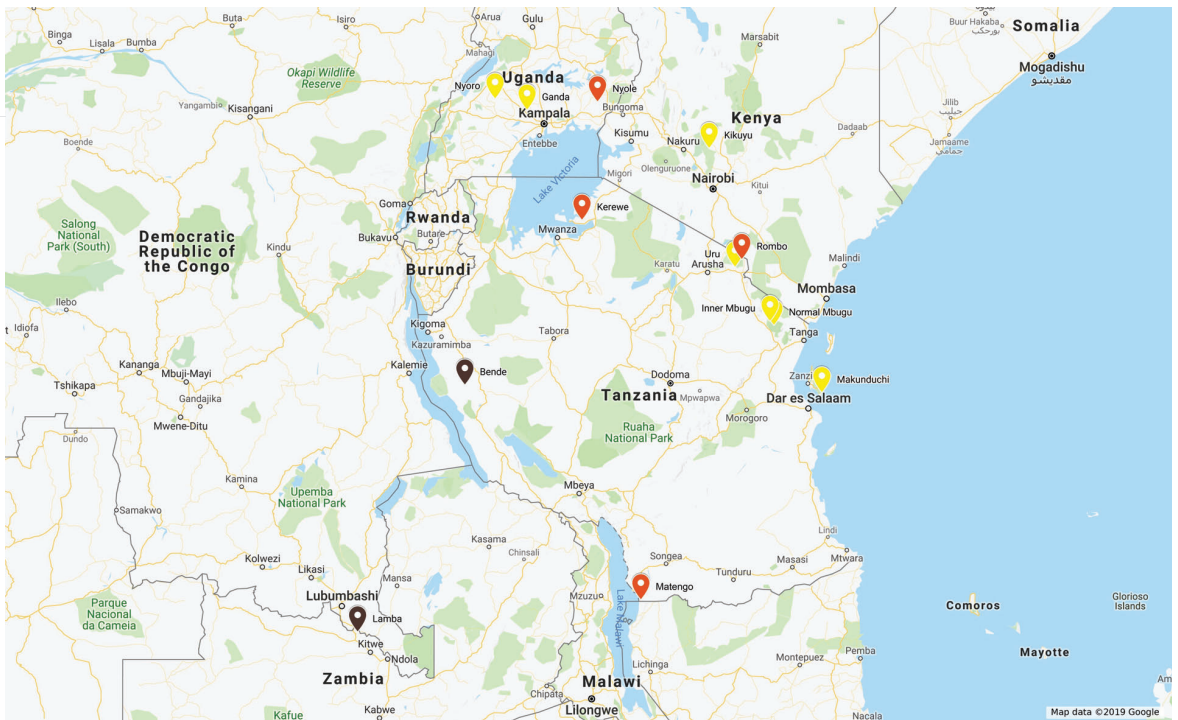


P120

Values

- no
- null
- yes

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

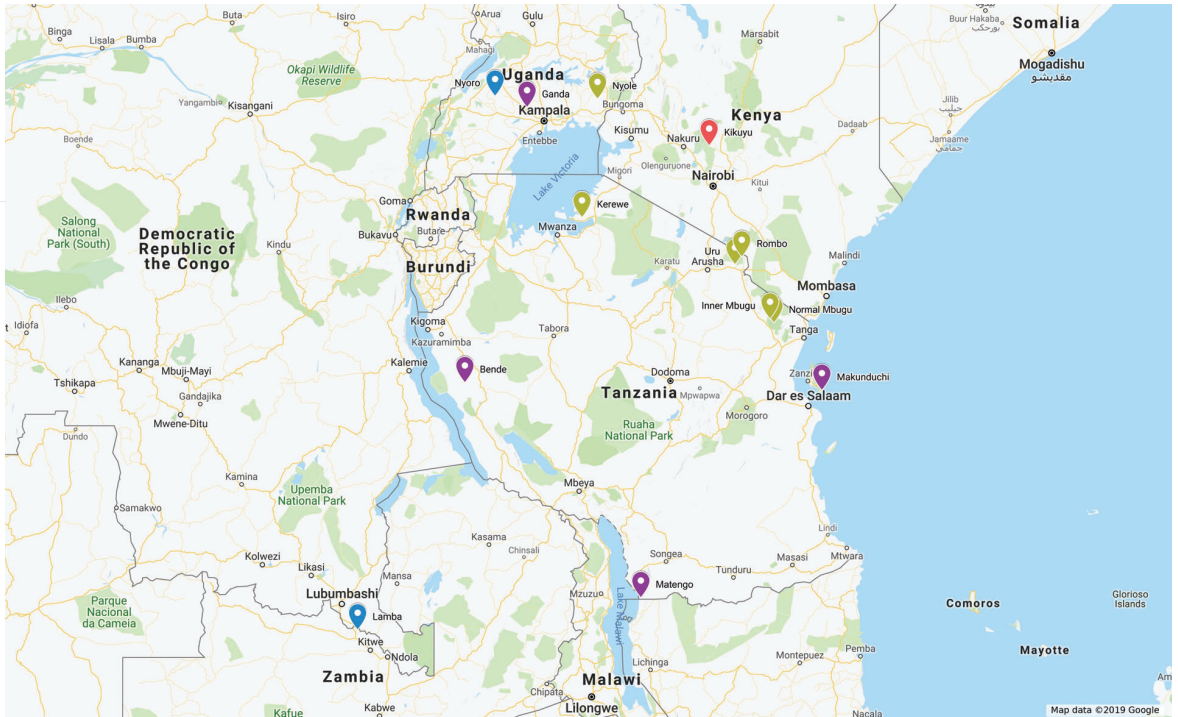


P121

Values

- null
- 1 yes, and the verb agrees with the postverbal subject
- no
- 2 yes, and the verb shows default agreement

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

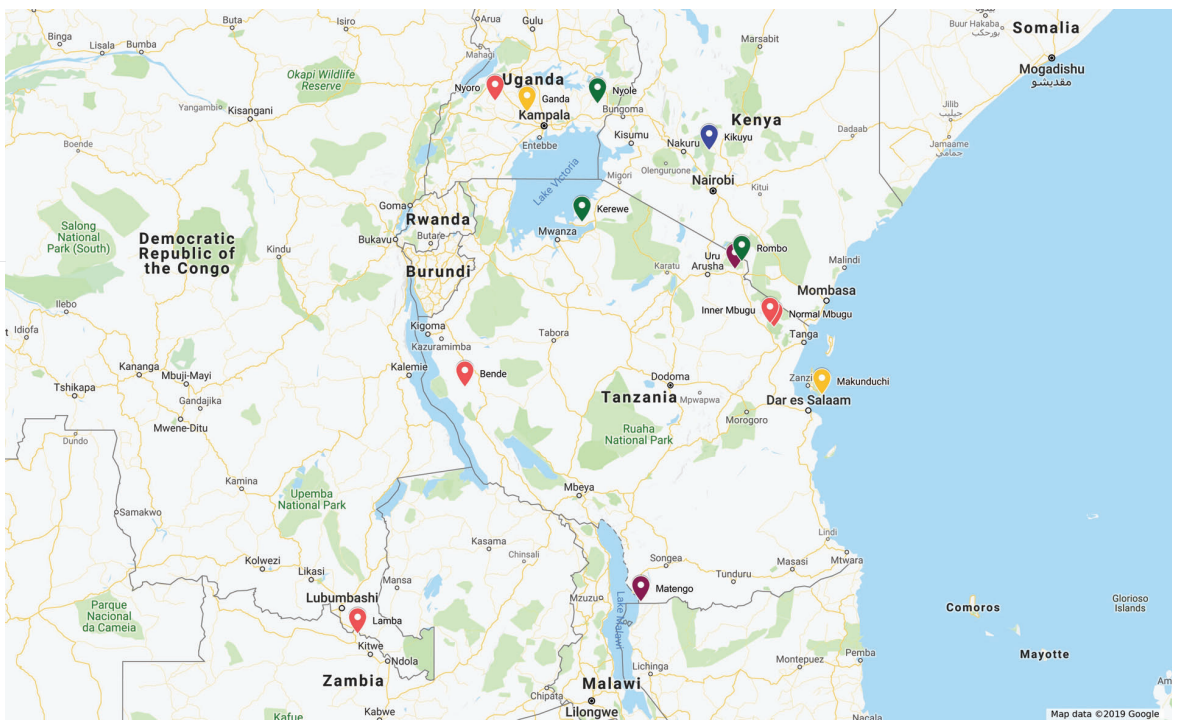


P122

Values

- 1 yes, formally (i.e. the verb shows agreement with a preceding noun phrase which is locative marked)
- null
- 3 yes, both formally and semantically
- no
- yes

Locative inversion: Is locative inversion attested?

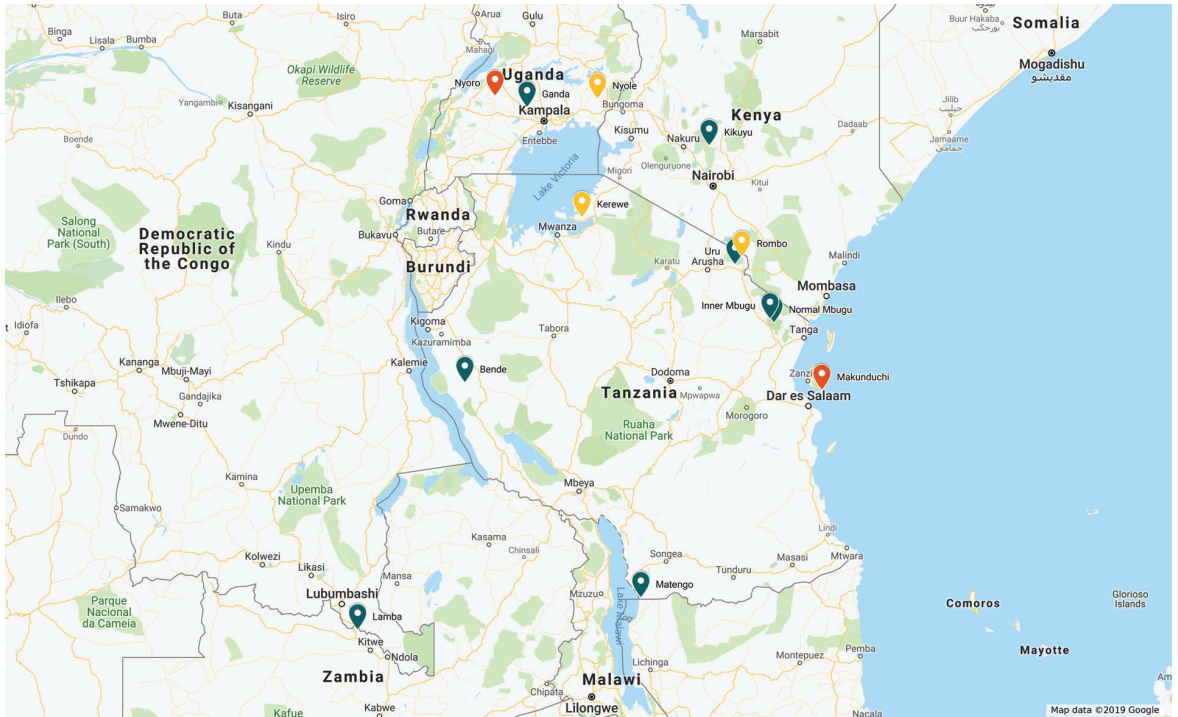


P123

Values

- no
- null
- yes

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

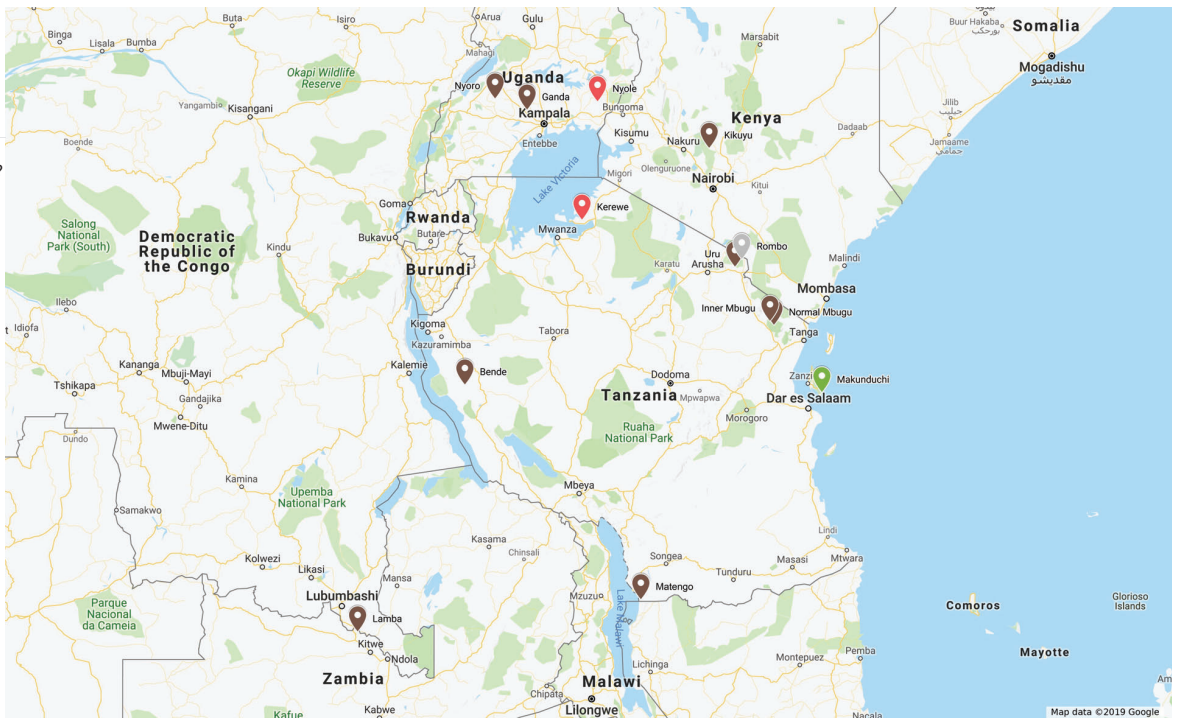


P124

Values

- no
- null
- yes
- Other / No value

Instrument inversion: Is instrument inversion attested?

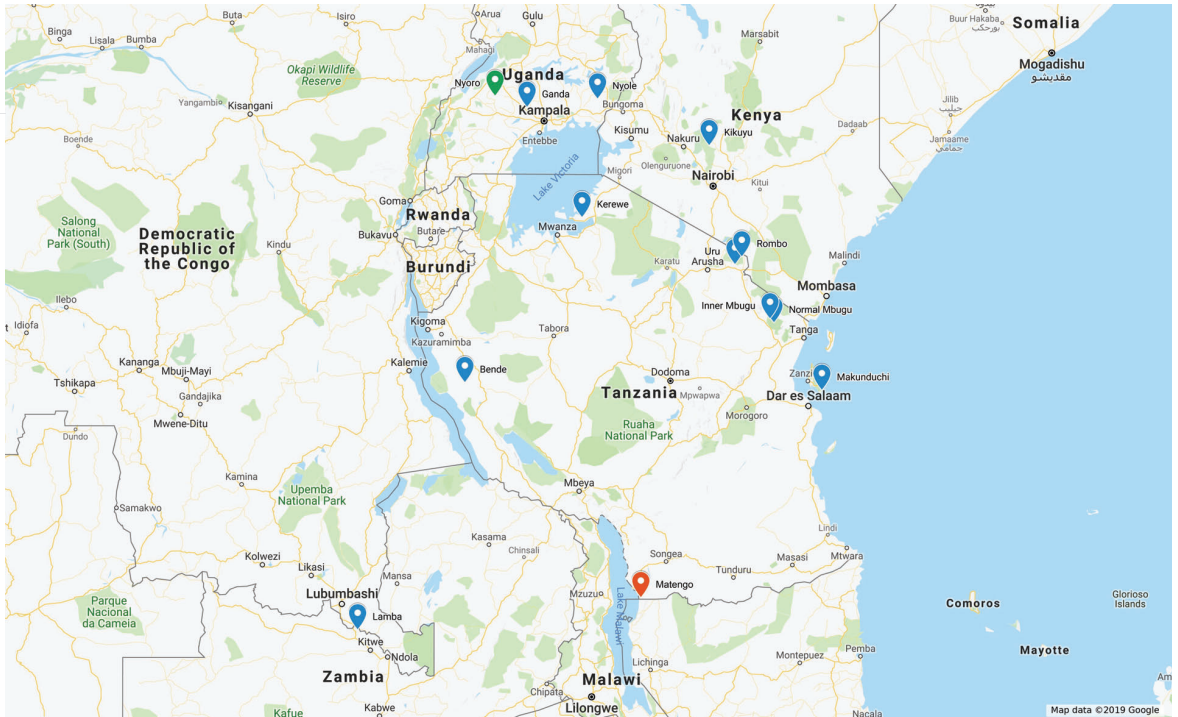


P125

Values

- yes
- n.a.
- no

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

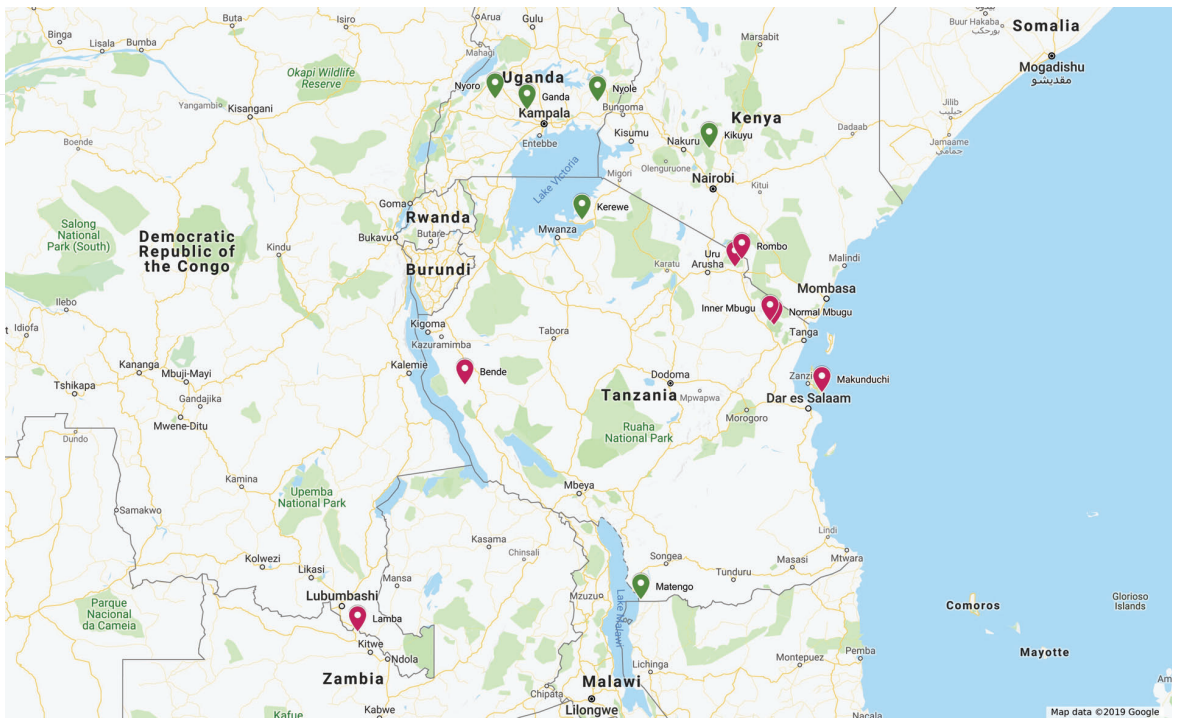


P126

Values

- yes
- no

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

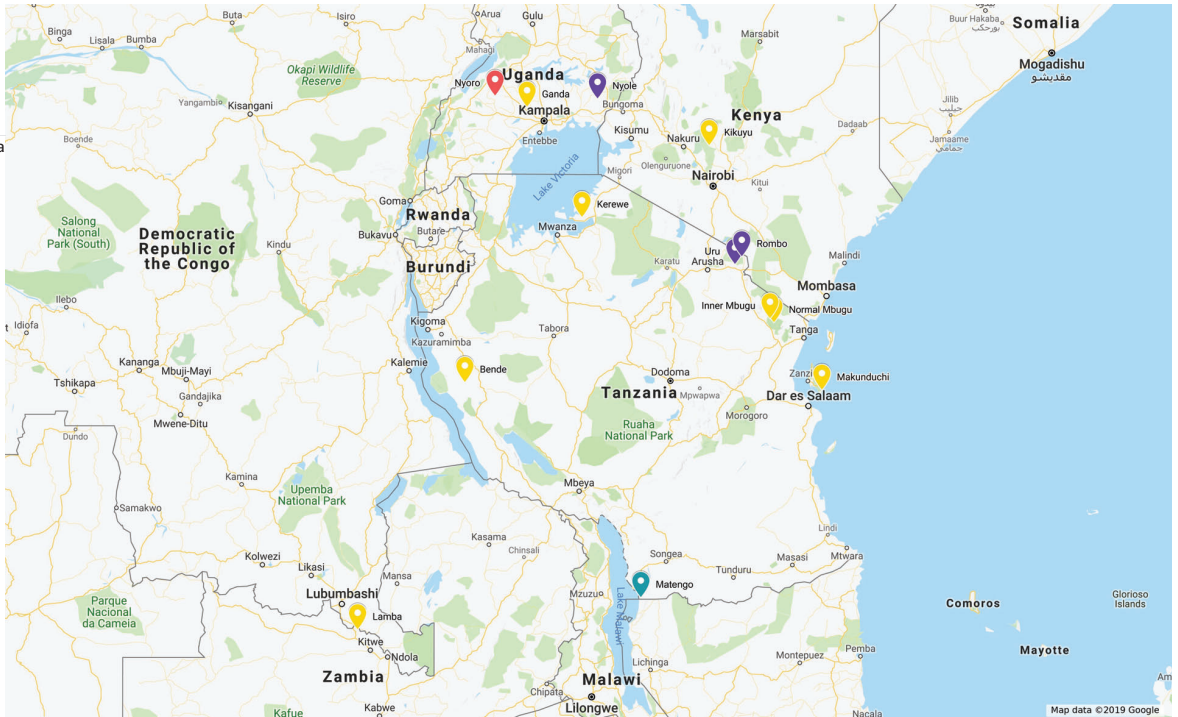


P127

Values

- 1 yes, optionally
- null
- 2 yes, necessarily
- no

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

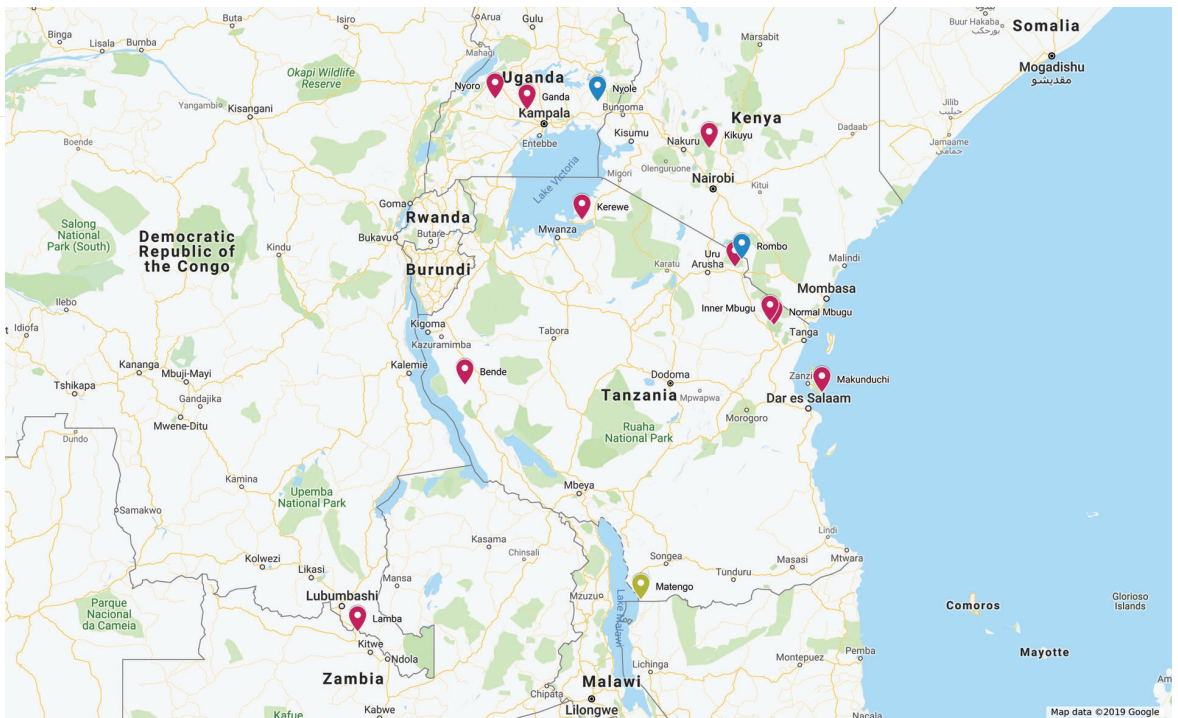


P128

Values

- 1 in front of the clause
- null
- n.a.

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

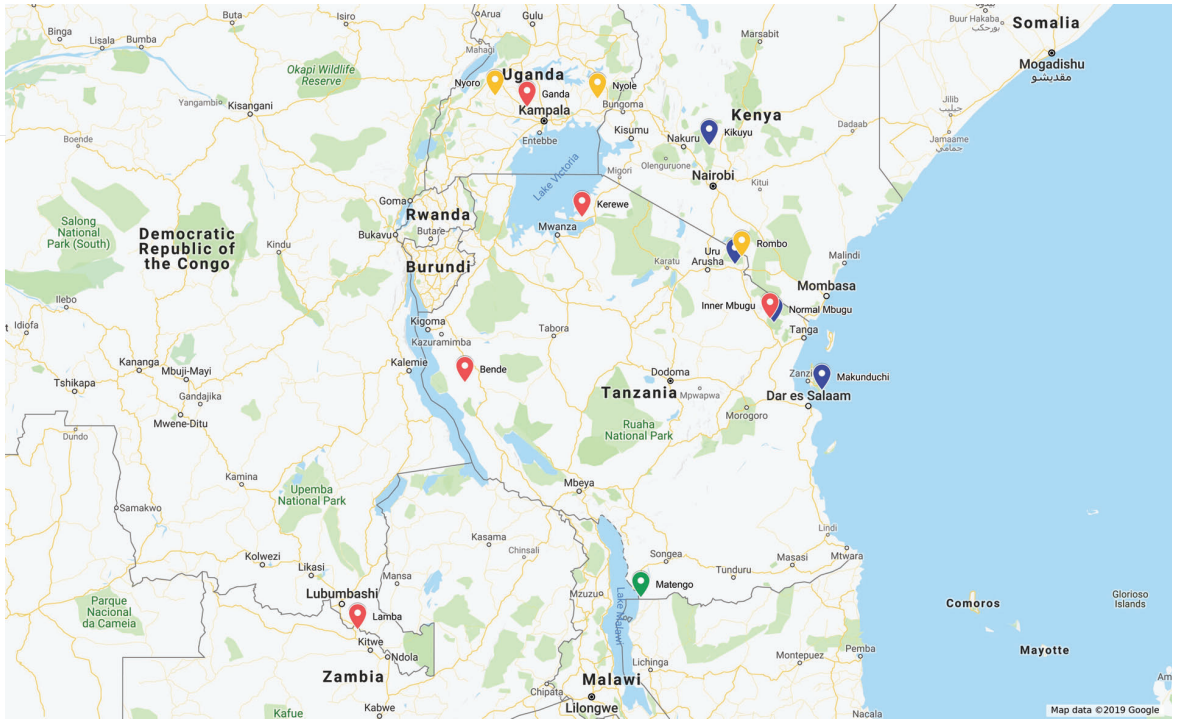


P129

Values

- yes
- no
- null
- n.a.

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

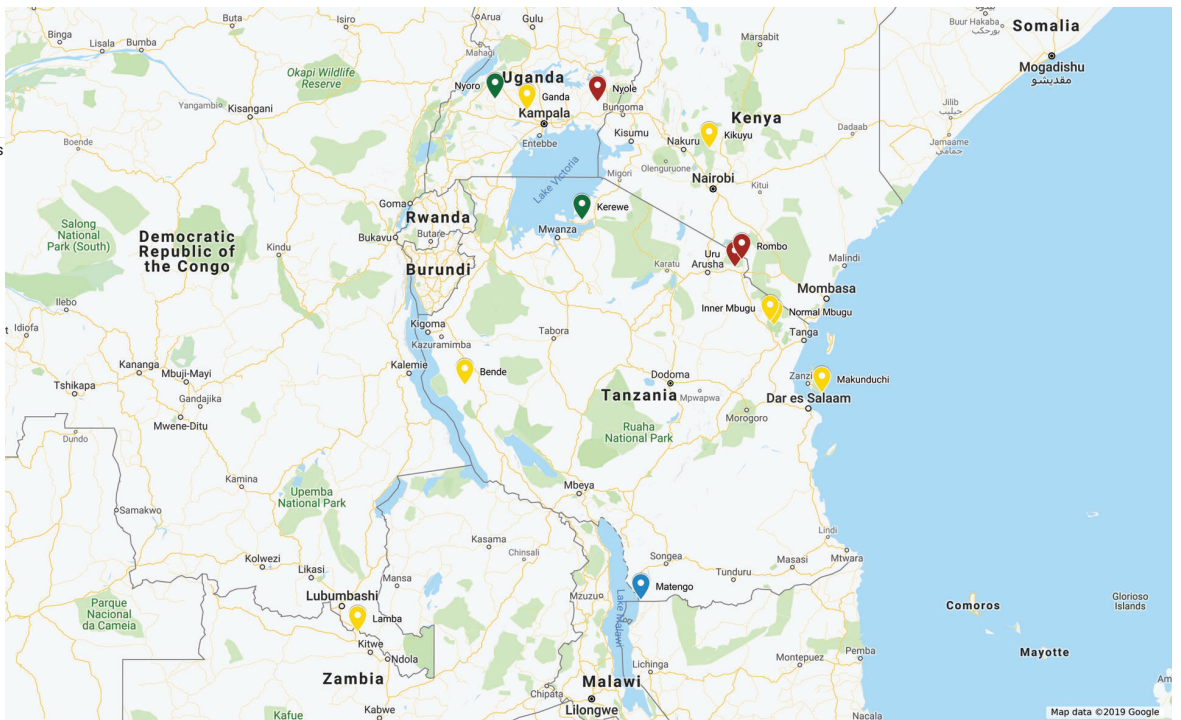


P130

Values

- no
- null
- yes
- n.a.

Complementiser agreement: Is there an agreement marker on the



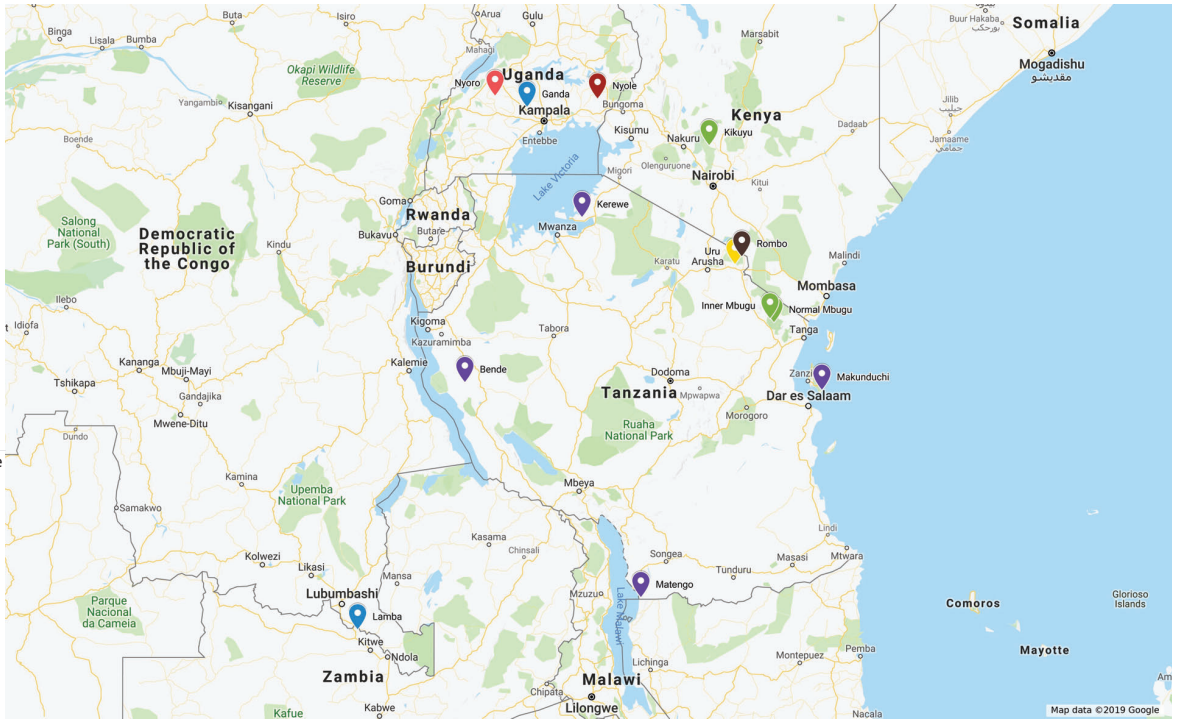
subordinator/complementiser?

P131

Values

- 4 both a conjunction and a specific tense/aspect/mood are possible in the same clause
- 2 only by means of a specific tense/aspect/mood
- 1 only by means of a conjunction semantically equivalent to English 'if'
- 3 both 1 or 2 are possible, but not in the same clause
- 5 both a conjunction and a specific tense/aspect/mood are required in the same clause
- 6 another strategy is used
- 0 null

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

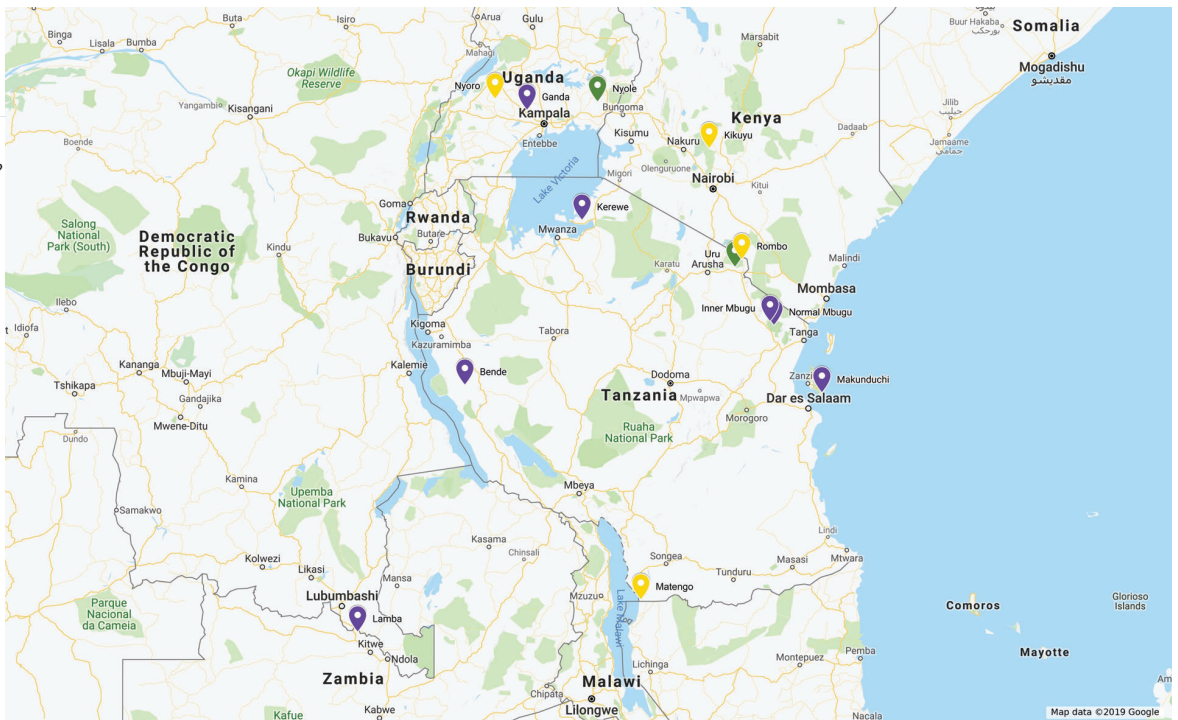


P132

Values

- no
- yes
- null

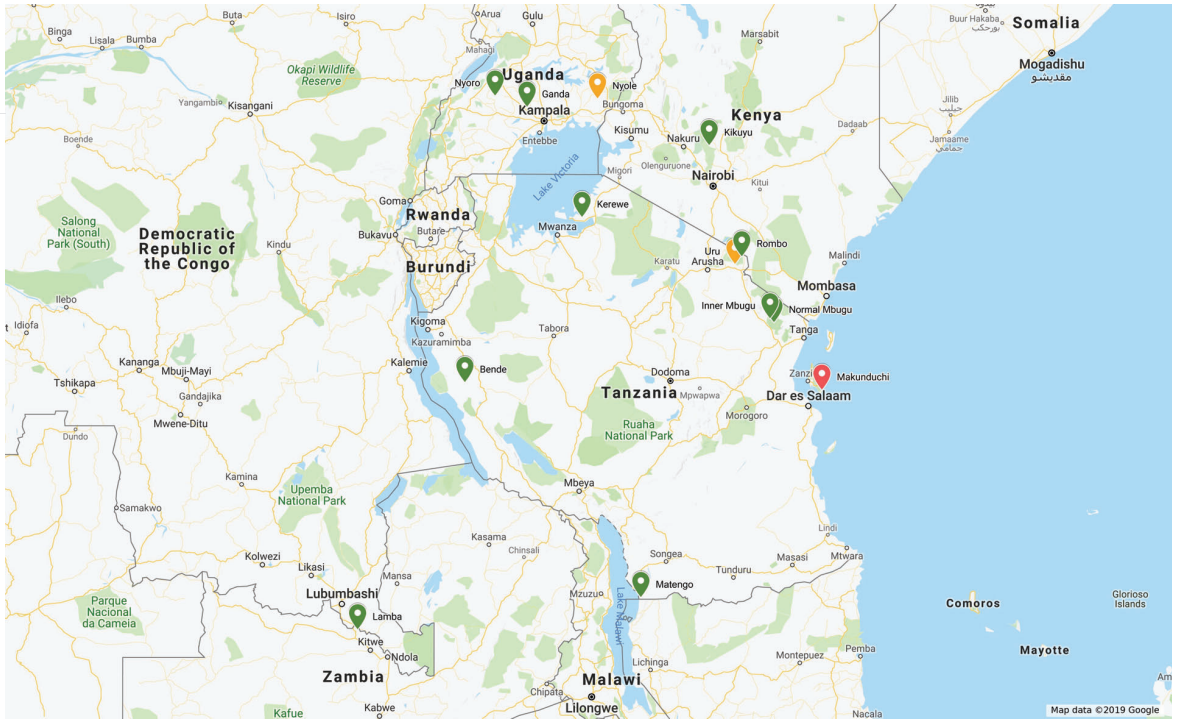
if-clause order: Does the subordinate if-clause always precede the main then-clause?



P133

- Values
- no
 - null
 - yes

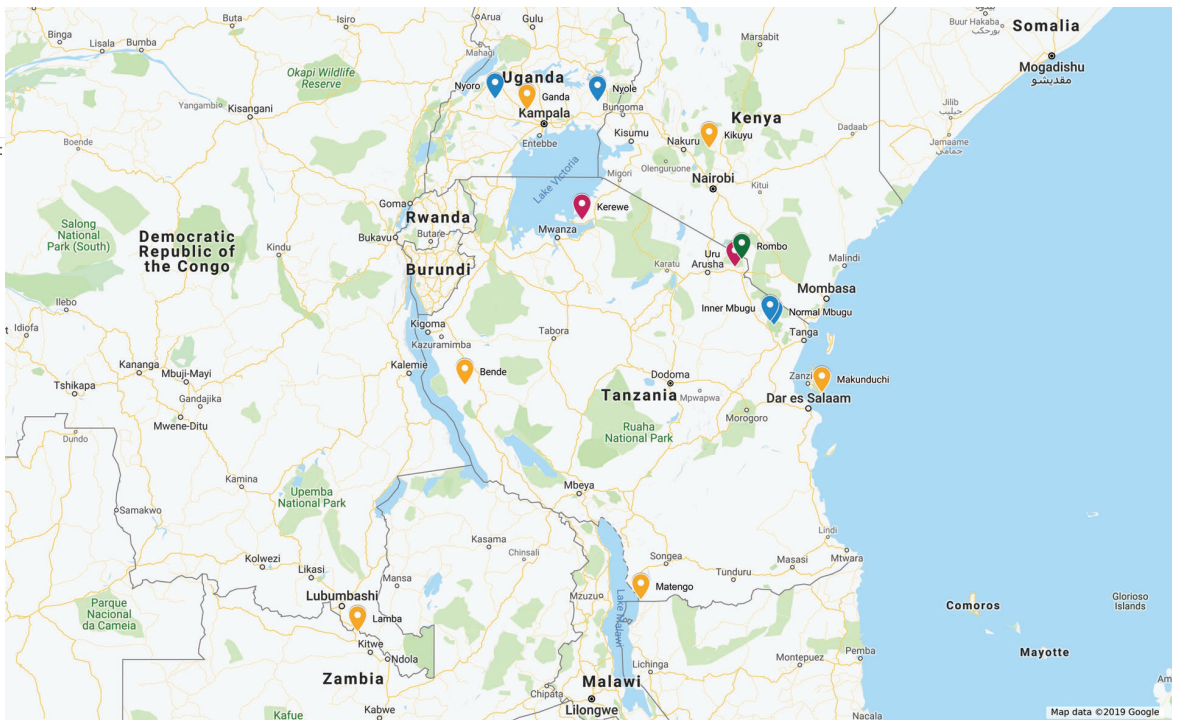
if-clause = then-clause: Do the verbs in the if-clause and the then-clause have the same tense/aspect marking?



P134

- Values
- no
 - yes
 - null
 - no?

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

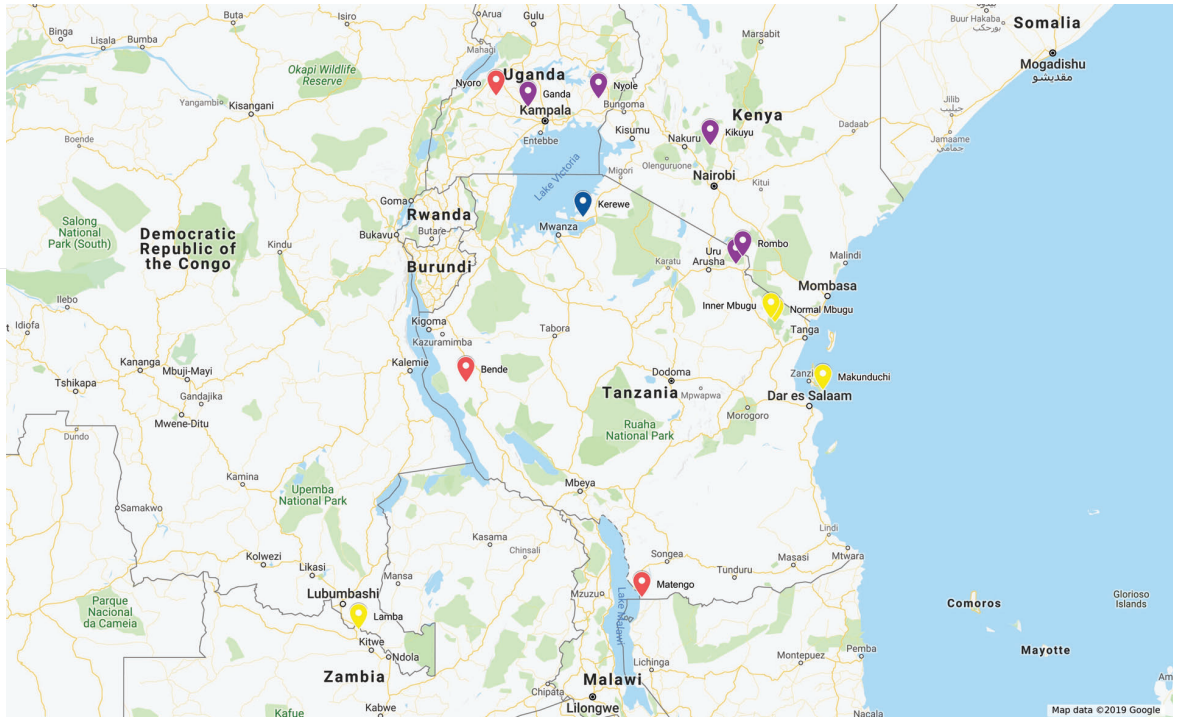


P135

Values

- 1 by the use of a specific adverbial conjunction
- 4 two or more of the above strategies
- 3 by a specific temporal relative construction
- 2 by the use of specific tense/aspect/mood marking

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

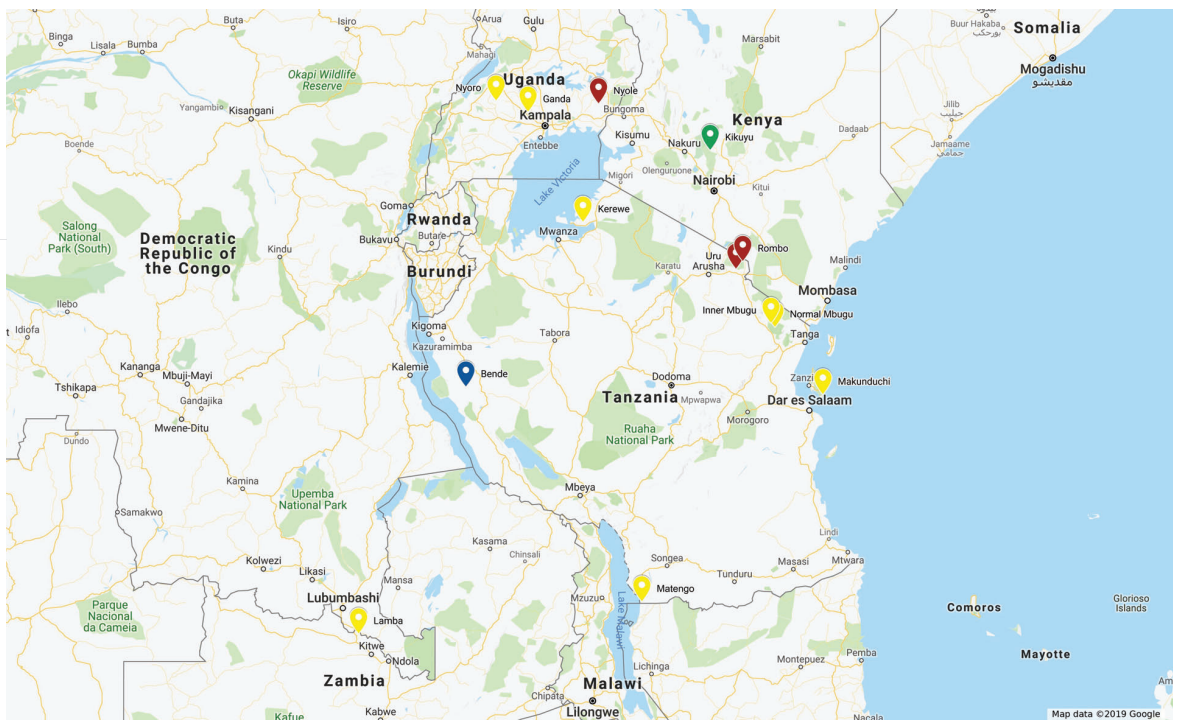


P136

Values

- 3 by a specific locative relative construction
- 1 by the use of a specific adverbial conjunction
- 2 by the use of specific tense/aspect/mood marking
- 0 null

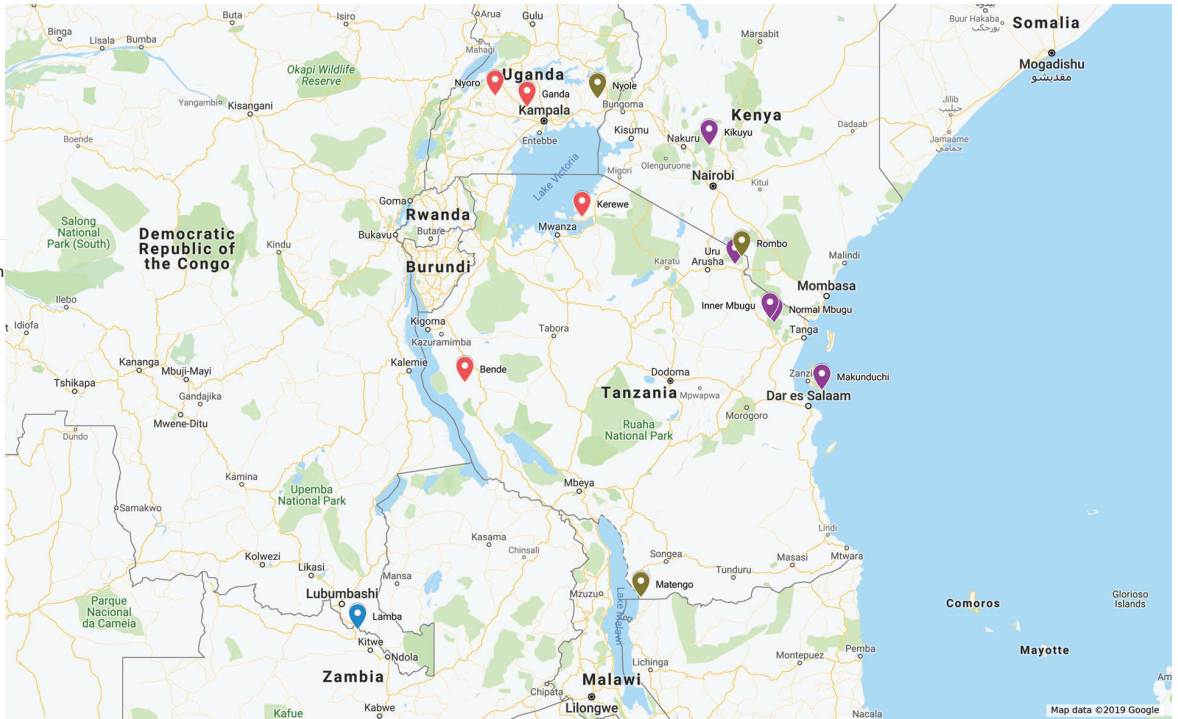
Locative adverbial clauses:
How are locative adverbial clauses ('where'-clauses) formed?



P137

- Values
- 2 by a particular lexical device (e.g. the 'comparator' kuliko in Swahili)
 - 1 by the verb 'surpass/exceed'
 - null
 - 5 several strategies are attested

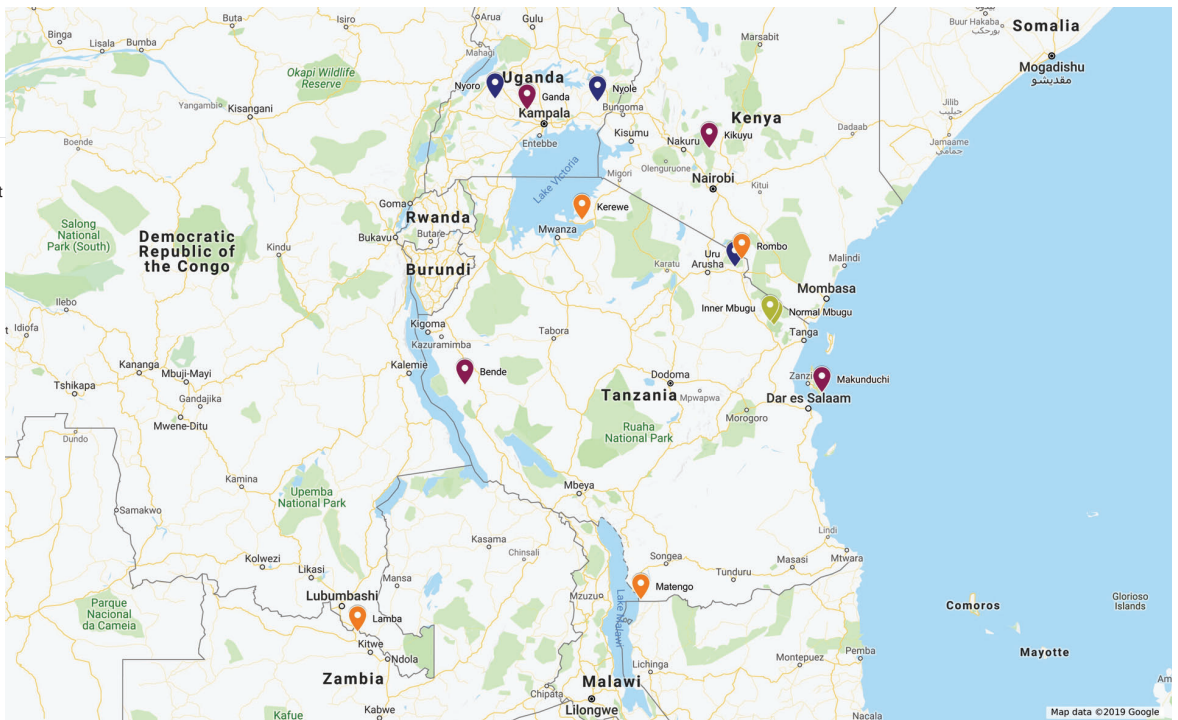
Comparative: How is the comparative (and by extension the superlative) conveyed?



P138

- Values
- no
 - yes
 - null
 - yes?

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)

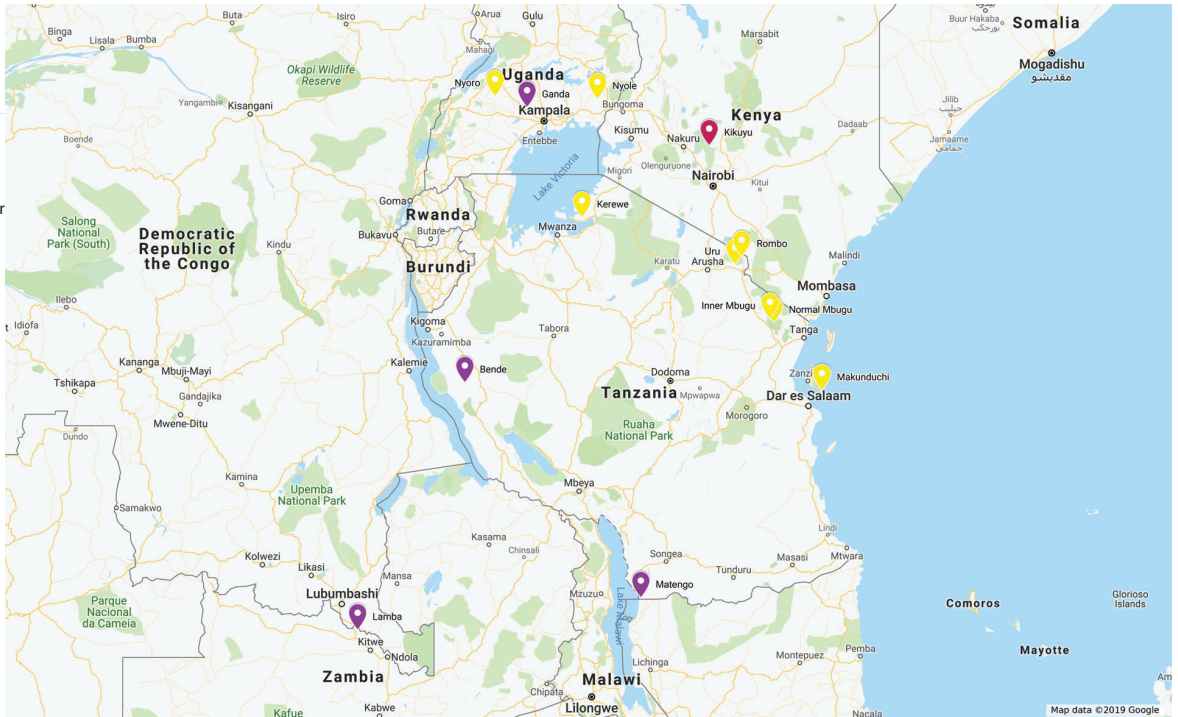


P139

Values

- null
- yes
- no

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?

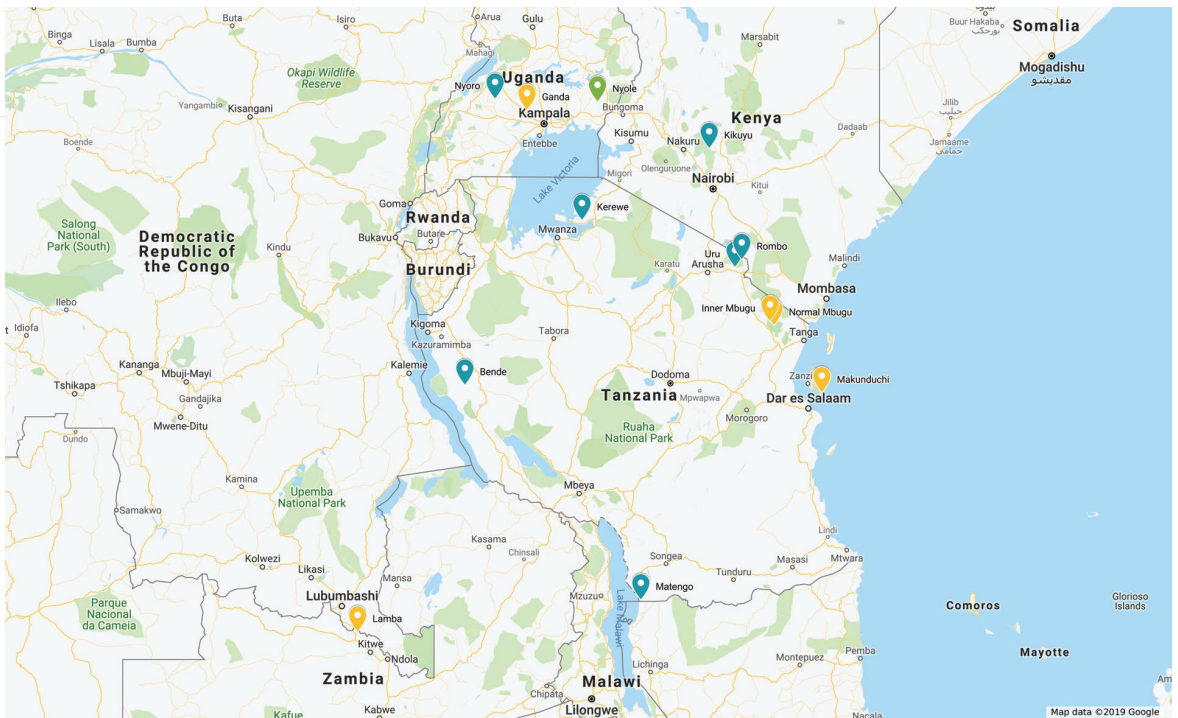


P140

Values

- yes
- no
- null

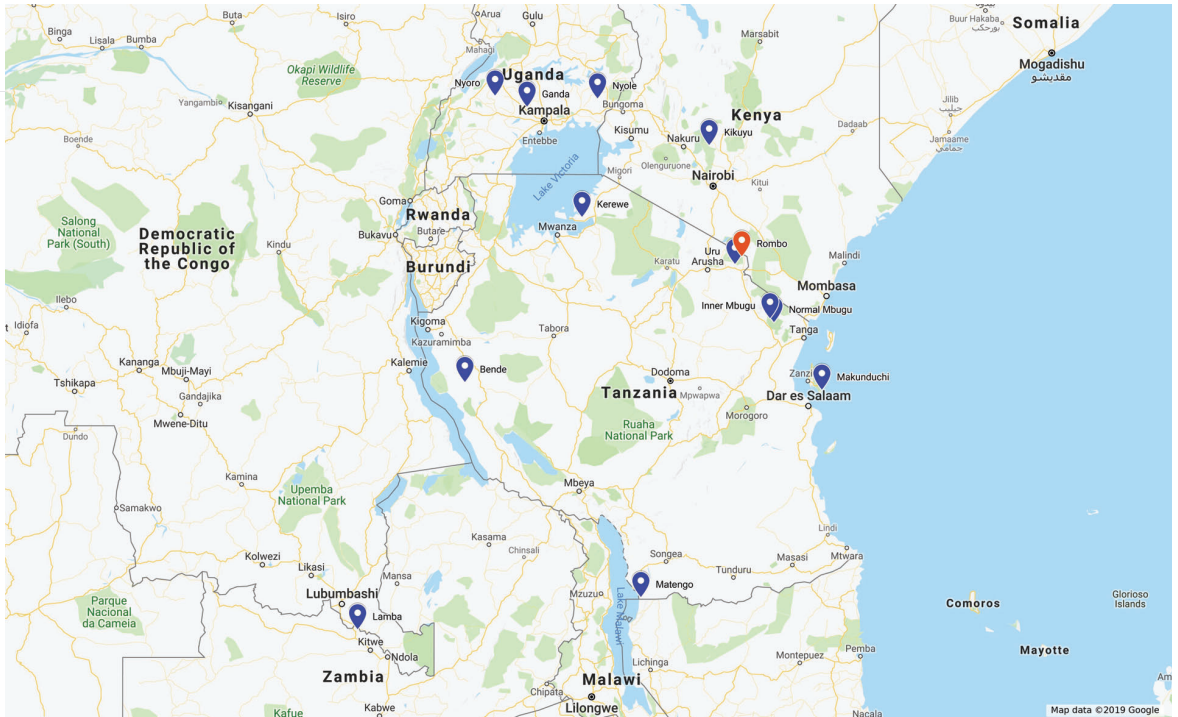
Morphological focus marker: Can a focussed term be marked by a morphological focus marker?



P141

Values
 ● yes
 ● null

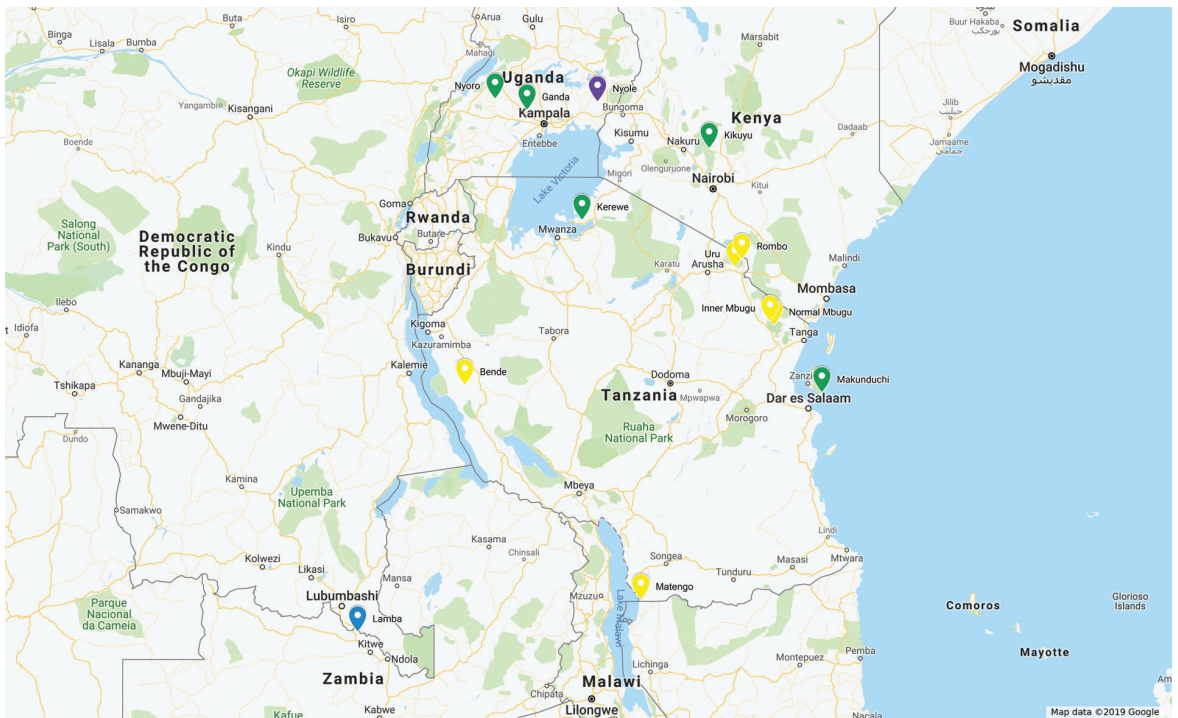
Focus-sensitive particles: Are there focus-sensitive particles such as 'too', 'only' or 'even'?



P142

Values
 ● no
 ● yes
 ● null
 ● yes?

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)



Chapter 2

Descriptive materials of 12 Eastern Bantu languages

Kikuyu (E51)[†]

Yukiko Morimoto

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

V. n.a.

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

V. n.a.

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

V. 2 V shape, possibly alternating with zero-marking

i- ihui = 5-leaf

iniũrũ = 5-nose

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

V. state

17 classes.

See Mugane (1997: 25)[§]

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

V. yes

class 15 *kũ*

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

V. yes

class 12 (Sg), 13 (Pl) prefix *ka-* reserved for the diminutive meaning

mũ-ana > *k(a)-ana* >

1-child > 12-child (little child/baby)

ru-hiũ > *ka-hiũ* 'knife'

11-knife > 12-knife (small knife)

[†] The phonemic inventory of this language is as follows. Consonants: /t, k, mb, nd, mg, ɲdʒ, m, n, ɲ, ŋ, ʃ, h, β, ð, r, y, w/. Vowels: /i, e, ε, a, ɔ, o u/. The abbreviations used in the glosses are the following: 1-17 noun class numbers, 1/2/3.S/P '1st/2nd/3rd person singular/plural', APPL 'applicative', COP 'copula', F 'focus (marker)', FUT 'future', FV 'final vowel', HAB 'habitual', INF 'infinitive', LOC 'locative', NEG 'negative (marker)', OBJ 'object', OM 'object marker', PASS 'passive', PERF 'perfect', PFV 'perfective', POS 'possessive', PROG 'progressive', PRS 'present', PST 'past', REL 'relative' SBJ 'subject', SM 'subject marker'.

[§] Mugane, John M. 1997. *A Paradigmatic Grammar of Gĩkũyũ*. (Stanford Monographs in African Languages, nographs in African languages.) Stanford: CSLI Publications. 194pp.

mũ-irĩtu > *ka-irĩtu*
1-girl > 12-girl (small girl)

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

V. yes 2
classes 6 & 7/8 (Mugane 1997: 25)

ru-hiũ ‘knife’ < ‘(big) knife’
11-knife

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. no

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

V. yes
the locative proclitic *-inĩ* can attach productively

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

V. yes
class 16
Ha-ra-kiny-ire si-ana igere (handũ)
16-PST-arrive-PFV.FV 2-child 2.two there

‘There have arrived two children (there).’

class 17
Kũ-ra-kinyire siana igere (kũndũ)

‘Here have arrived two children (here).’

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

V. no
Nyũmba-inĩ nĩkwo mami a-ra-ũ-rug-e-ire (rice).
9.house-LOC 9.COP 1.mother 1-PST-3OM-cook-APPL-PFV.FV
‘It is in the house that/where my mother cooked.’ *-e* = applicative

**a-ra-kũ-rug-e-ire*

*(intended) ‘She cooked here’

OK ‘She cooked for you.’

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

V. yes

N. *-inĩ* (enclitic) > does not belong to the locative class

P014 Independent subject pronouns: Are independent subject pronouns obligatory?

V. no

nie nĩnie ndĩ-ra-ũ-rug-ire

I COP.I 1S-PST-3OM-cook-PFV.FV

‘I am the one who cooked it (=the rice).’

We nĩwe ũ-ra-ũ-rug-ire

you COP.you 2S- PST-3OM-cook-PFV.FV

Ithue nĩithue tĩ-ra-ũ-rug-ire

we COP.we 2P-PST-3OM-cook-PFV.FV

3OM = *mũseere* 3.rice

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

V. yes

nyũmba-inĩ ĩrea mami a-ikar-aga ...

9.house 9.REL 1.mother 1-live.HAB

‘the house in which the mother lives’

ĩfuku rĩrea dĩ-ra-gũr-ire ...

5.book 5.REL 1S-PST-buy-PFV.FV

‘the book I bought’

mũthuri ũrea mũana wake a-ra-ku-ire

1.man 1.REL 1.child 1.POS 1-PST-die-PFV.FV

‘The man whose son has just died’

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

V. yes

mũana wake 'his/her son' *kwa* (my)

1.child 1.POS

ĩfuku rĩake 'his/her book' *ĩakwa*

5.book 5.POS

kahiyo gaake 'his/her little knife' *gakwa*

12.knife 12.POS

nyũmba yaake 'his/her house' *yakwa*

9.house 9.POS

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

ĩfuku rĩakwa 'my book'

5.book 5.POS

guũko guũkwa 'my arm'

15.arm 15.POS

mami 'my mother'

mami wanyu 'their mother'

1.mother 1.POS

siongo siao 'their heads'

8.head 8.POS

mafuku maa 'their book'

6.book 6.POS

P019 Possessor raising: Is possessor raising possible?

V. 2 yes, with inalienable possession only

A-ra-ni-(r)ig-ire *guũko*

1-PST-1S.O-hit-PFV.FV 15.arm

'She/he hit me in the arm (my arm)'

A-ra-mũ-rig-ire *guũko*
1-PST-3S.O-hit-PFV.FV 15.arm
'He hit her in the arm (her arm)'

**A-ra-rig-ire* *guũko guwake*
1-PST-hit-PFV.FV 15.arm POS
'She hit her arm.'

A-ra-rig-ire *metha yakwa*
1-PST-hit-PV.FV 9.table POS
'He/she hit my table.'

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

Mugane (1997: 27-28)

Metha > *ĩno* (this) *ĩrea* (that)
Ĵfuku > *rĩre* (this) *rĩrea* (that)
5.book
Musere > *ũyo* (this) *ũrea* (that)
Gĩtĩ (chair) > *gĩkĩ* (this) *kĩrea* (that)

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. yes

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

V. yes

mũ-thaka
1-beautiful
mũ-nene
1-big
mũ-kiri
1-quiet

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

V. yes

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

V. no

N. there is no attributive linker

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

V. no

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

V. no

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

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

to cook = *kũ-rug-a*, a cook = *mũ-rug-i*,
to milk = *gũ-kam-a*, a milker = *mũ-kam-i*
to farm = *kũ-rĩm-a*, a farmer = *mũ-rĩm-i*
to buy = *kũ-gũr-a*, a buyer = *mũ-gũr-i*
to sell = *kũ-edĩ-a* (*kwedyā*), a seller = *mũ-edĩ-a*
to read = *gũ-thom-a*, a reader = *mũ-thom-i*
to sing = *kũ-in-a*, a singer = *mũ-in-i*
to play = *gũ-thaka*, a pleyer = *mũ-thak-i*

(-i is used on English words to make them from verbs to nouns!)

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)

to farm = *kũ-rĩm-a*, abroad = *mũ-rĩm-o*
to write = *kũ-adĩk-a* (*kwadĩka*), writing = *mũ-adĩk-o*
to read = *gũ-thom-a*, reading = *ma-thom-o*

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

V. no

1 *ĩmũe*

2 *igere*

3 *ithatũ*

4 *inya*

5 *ithano*

6 *ithathatu*

7 *mũgũaja*

8 *inyanya*

9 *kenda*

10 *ikũmi*

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

V. yes

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

V. no

‘hand’ *guĩ-ko* (class 15), ‘fingers’ *siara* class 8 (hand and toes)

‘small finger’ *kara* (class 12)

‘finger (big)’ *kĩara* (class 7)

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

V. no

‘leg/feet’ *kũ-gũro* (class 15)

ka-gũro

12-leg

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

V. yes

N. *ca* [sa], *chai* [shai] class 3 < two different dialects

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

nĩ a-ra-koma

F 1-PROG-asleep

‘He’s falling asleep’

nĩ ndĩ-a-serero (I’ve already been late=I’m late)

F 1S-n.PST-be.late(?)

mũ-ko makũa mena-gĩko

6.hand 6.my they.are-dirty

mũko makũa nĩ ma-hi(y)o

6.hand 6.my F

mũko makũa nĩ ma-hehu

6.hand 6.my F

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

V. yes

-wo

e.g. ‘hit’ *riga* ; ‘be hit’ *rigwo*

‘wash’ *hora* ; ‘be washed’ *horwo*

‘hide’ *hitha* ; ‘be hidden’ *hithwo*

Nĩ kũ-ra-thak-wo

F 15-PST-play-PASS

‘es wurde gespielt’

Nĩ kũ-ra-re-wo

F 15-PST-eat-PASS

‘es wurde gegessen’

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

V. no

Nĩ kũ-ra-thak-wo

F 15-PST-play-PASS

‘es wurde gespielt’

Nĩ kũ-ra-re-wo

F 15-PST-eat-PASS

‘es wurde gegessen’

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

V. 4 by a copula

Maria a-ra-teng’eri-ri-wo nĩ mũrũthĩ

PN 1-PROG-chace-?-PAS by 3.lion

‘Maria is being chased by the lion.’

Mũana a-ra-thabi-wo nĩ mami

1.baby 1-PROG-bath-PAS cleaned/bathed by mother

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

V. no

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

V. 1 through the use of a verbal affix only

Nĩ tũ-ra-teitha-nĩre ‘We helped each other’ *teithia* ‘to help’

Nĩ tũ-ra-teitha-ania ‘We are helping each other’

Ma-ra-rora-nĩre ‘They looked at each other’ *rora* ‘to look’

Ma-ra-rora-ana ‘They are looking at each other’

Ma-ra-riga-nĩre ‘They hit each other’

Ma-ra-riga-(a)na ‘They are hitting each other’

Ma-ra-hea- nĩre iheyo ‘They gave each other presents’

Ma-ra-hea-(a)na iheyo ‘They are giving each other presents’

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. 2 through the use of a specific construction only (i.e. the use of a periphrastic construction)

Mũtumia a-ra-he-ire mũana iriyo

1.woman 1-PST-make-PFV 1.child 8.food

Mũtumia a-ra-he-ire iriyo mũana

Mũtumia aratomire mwana arie mboso.

ũratomire ndĩ-re ‘You made me cry.’ *rĩra* ‘cry’

ũratomire a-rĩre ‘You made her cry.’
ũratomire ndĩ-e (ndĩ-ye) ‘You made me eat.’
ũratomire a-rie ‘You made her eat.’

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

V. n.a.

P044 Applicative: How are applicative constructions formed?

V. 1 through the use of a verbal affix only

Mutumia a-ra-rug-ire iriyo siana ‘Mother cooked food for the children’
Mutumia a-ra-rug-era iriyo siana ‘Mother is cooking food for the children’

Kamau a-ra-(mũ)-thamb-eria mami wao ngari ‘Kamau is washing the car for his mother’
Kamau a-ra-(si)-thom-era siana ‘Kamau is reading for the children’
*Mutumia a-ra-(*me)-rug-era kanitha* ‘Mother is cooking for the church’
 (-era = applicative)

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

V. yes

purpose

Mũtumia a-ra-rug-era *ũhiki*
 1.mother 1-PROG-cook-APPL 3.wedding
 ‘Mother is cooking for the wedding.’

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

V. no

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

V. 2 yes, another form

passive *wo* is used

Mũrũthi nĩ mĩ-ku-wo ‘The lion is dead.’ *kua* ‘to die’
 3.lion F 3-die-PASS

Mũrũthi nĩ ũ-ra-ku-ire ‘The lion died.’
 3.lion F 3-PST-die-PFV.FV

Mũana nĩ arakoma

Mwana etro

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

V. n.a.

??*Ma-ra-hea-(a)n-era iheyo* ‘They are giving each other presents for ...’

**Ma-ra-hea-er-(a)na*

**Ma-ra-hea-(a)n-er-wo iheyo* ‘(intended:) They are being given presents for 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, 2 by a particle

Ĩno ti nyũmba y-akwa ‘This is not my house.’

9.this.is not house my

Kamau ti mũalimũ(c11). ‘Kamau is not a teacher.’

Kamau daragiya gĩthueli. (ti-aragiya) ‘Kamau does not speak Swahili.’

Kamau aragiya gĩthueli

Diaragiya gĩthueli ‘I don’t speak Swahili (c17).’

Jaragiya gĩthueli ‘I speak Swahili.’

Mwana dararĩya museere. ‘The child is not eating rice.’

Mwana danarĩya museere ‘The child did not eat rice.’

Mwana darĩte mũseere ‘The child has not eaten rice.’

Mwana darĩyaga museere. ‘The child does not eat rice.’

Mbarathi derĩyaga nyama (c19). ‘The horse does not eat meat.’

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

V. 1 by morphological modification of the verb, 2 by a particle

Maria augire (ate) Kamau ti mwalimũ.

‘Maria said that Kamau is not a teacher.’

Maria aresiria (ate) Kamau daragiya (= ti-aragia) gĩthueli.

‘Maria thinks that Kamau does not speak Swahili.’

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

V. no

Special negation is used for relative clauses.

Nĩ Kamau ata-aragiya gĩthueli. 'It was Kamau who does not speak Swahili.'

Nĩ Ifuku(5) rĩrĩ mwana ata-athomete. 'It is this book that the child has not read.'

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

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)

Nie ti mwarimũ 'I am not a teacher.'

Diaragĩya gĩthueli 'I don't speak Swahili.'

djaragĩya gĩthueli 'I speak Swahili.'

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

V. yes

Dũka-rĩe museere 'Don't eat the rice.'

mũ-ti-ka-rĩe mũseere ‘Don’t (PL) eat the rice.’
Dũga-itege iriya ‘Don’t spill the milk.’ *itaga* ‘spill’

P059 Periphrastic negation: Is negation in certain tense/aspect/moods expressed by means of a periphrastic form (e.g. making use of an auxiliary construction or a verb like ‘refuse/deny’ for instance)? (see P049)

V. no

Kamau ararega (ate) da-ikara-(a)ga na mami wao
‘Kamau refuses that he doesn’t live with his mother.’

Kamau dagĩ-thambera

‘Kamau cannot swim.’

Kamau daga-thambere

‘Kamau should not swim.’

Kamau degũ-thambera.

‘Kamau will not swim.’

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

Ngui eno erĩyaga na ithue. ‘This dog eats with us.’

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

V. no

J-aragiya gĩthueli ‘I speak Swahili’

Tũ-aragiya gĩthueli ‘We speak Swahili’

Mũ-aragiya gĩthueli ‘You (PL) speak Swahili’

(nĩ) aragiya ‘He speaks ...’

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.

Agreement > plural prefix

Class > with one in higher animacy.

Two elements with the same animacy > verb agrees with the first NP

Ngui na getada(7) si-enja.

9.Dog and 7.bed 10-outside

‘The dog is outside.’

Ngu e-enja.

9.dog 9-outside

Getada kī-enja

7.bed 7-outside

*Ngui(9) na mūtumia me(3pl)-eja/*a(1)-enja./*ci(10)-enja*

9.Dog and 1.woman are 2-outside

Atumia(2) me(2)-enja ‘The women are outside’

Ngui(10) ci(10)-enja. ‘The dogs are outside’

Ngui na mūrūthi ci-egethaka-inĩ (*si* agreeing with the first one)

Dog and lion are in the forest.

Thūfu(3) na museere nĩ si-a-rug-wo

Soup and rice F has.been.cooked

Museere na Thufu nĩ wa-a-rug-wo

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

V. 4 past time has more than three subdivisions

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

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

Kamau nĩ gũ-thie thukuru(9) omethe

PN F 15-go 9.school today

‘Kamau will go to school today.’

Kamau nĩ a-ga-thie thukuru rūsiũ.

PN F 1-FUT-go 9.school tomorrow

‘Kamau will go to school tomorrow.’

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

aga habitual, iterativity, pluractionality, intensity.

Kenya tũ-rĩy-aga ngima

‘In kenya we eat ugali.’

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. no

Kamau a-thi-ire thoko(9) na a-gũra museere.

‘Kamau went (to the market) and bought rice.’

Kamau e-gũthie thoko na agũre museere.

‘Kamau will go to the market and buy the rice.’

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

V. no

Kamau (a-)ok-ire musie na agora museere. Oka=come

‘Kamau came to the house and sold rice.’

Kamau e-oka musie na agore museere.

‘Kamau will come to the house and sell the rice.’

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

V. yes

Rĩa ngima(9) ‘Eat ugali!’

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

V. 1 yes, the plural is expressed by a post-verbal marker (suffix or enclitic)

Rĩa-i ngima ‘Eat ugali!’

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. yes

Use of *nĩ*:

- not in negative sentence

- not in relative clause
- yes in subordinate/dependent clause
- not in certain moods

Mwarimũ augire ate Kamau nĩ athambagĩra wega

‘The teacher said that Kamau swims well.’

*Mwarimũ augire ate Kamau (*nĩ) dathabagĩra wega*

‘The teacher said that Kamau doesn’t swim well.’

*Kamau athomire ifuku rereya Mwarimũ (*nĩ) amuheire.*

‘Kamau read the book that teacher gave him.’

*Kamau (*nĩ) dathambagĩra wega.*

‘Kamau cannot swim well.’

Kamau nĩ athambagĩra wega.

‘Kamau swims well.’

Kamau no athambere wega.

‘Kamau can swim well.’

Kamau no mohaka athabere wega

**Kamau nĩ ...*

**Kamau mohaka ...*

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. no

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

V. 2 yes, by another form

Kamau nĩ a-re-thabia ‘Kamau washes himself’

Kamau nĩ e-thabirie ‘Kamau washed himself’

Kamau nĩ e-rig-ire ‘Kamau hit himself’

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

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

V. yes

mwarimũ auga (ate) mwana a-kir-e kira=be.still

‘the teacher demands that the child be still.’

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

V. no

mwana nĩ arathoma ‘The child is reading.’

mwana darathoma. ‘The child is not reading.’

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

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

ue ‘to know’

Nĩ de-mo-ue ‘I know him, I have known him.’

Nĩ da-mo-ue ‘I knew him.’

di-mo-ue ‘I don’t know him.’

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

Kamau no mohaka athabere wĩga ‘Kamau must swim well.’

**Kamau nĩ ...*

**Kamau mohaka ...*

Maria no mohaka athie thoko omothe ‘Maria must go to the market today.’

Maria no agĩrathie thoko ĩra ‘Maria had to go to the market yesterday.’

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

V. no

Mwana no mohaka akorwo arĩa wakamũira dakorwo d(a)oka musie

Child NO must KORWO eat before I.KORwo I-come home

‘The child must have eaten right before I came home.’

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

V. null

Only with main verb.

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)

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

V. no

nĩ

Kamau nĩ a-ra-thabera

‘Kamau is swimming.’

Kamau a-ra-thabera pulu(9)-inĩ.

‘Kamau is swimming in the pool.’

(*nĩ* is not used in the same progressive aspect, hence not used as an aux)

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

V. no

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

V. yes by a form derived from a demonstrative marker

Mũthuri a-ikarag-a nyũmba-inĩ ãreya

‘The man lives in that house.’

Nĩjũe mũthuri ãreya aikaraga nyũmba-inĩ ãreya

‘I know the man who lives in that house.’

Ũra t-eith-irie mũthuri teithia ‘to help’

‘You helped the man.’

Nĩnjũe mũthuri ãreya ã-ra-teith-irie.

‘I know the man who(m) you helped.’

Nĩnjũe thinema(9) ereya mutumia ara(me)ona.

‘I know the movie which the woman is watching.’

OK: *Nĩnjũe thinema ereya araona mutumia.*

Nĩnjũe mũthuri ũreya araromirwo nĩ ngui.

‘I know the man who was bitten by the dog.’

Nĩnjũe mũthuri ũreya ngui eraromire.

(**Nĩnjũe mũthuri ũreya eraromire ngui.*)

‘I know the man who the dog bit.’

Nĩnjũe mũthuri ũreya mutumia ara(mu)teithirie.

‘I know the man who(m) the woman was helping.’

Nĩnjũe mũthuri ũreya arateithirie mutumia.

‘I know the man who helped the woman.’

(*I know the man who the woman was helping.)

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. yes

‘I know the man that helped my mother.’ (I know the boy that my mother helped)

N. see **P088**

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

V. 2 the subject

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

Nĩnjũe ifuku reu o-ra-thoma reu ‘that (book)’

‘I know the book that you are 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

Nd-ūtāga wīra rereya ũ-ra-thoma

‘I work when you learn/study.’

Ndīrenda kũ-menya hareya ũ-ikaraga.

‘I want to know where you live.’

Ndīrenda kũ-menya ũreya wa-thomire Gĩthũeri.

‘I want to know how you learned Swahili.’

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

V. no

??*Nĩ mũnugo ũreya mami a-ra-ruga ngũkũ.*

‘It is the smell that my mother is cooking chicken.’

Nĩ mũnugo wa ngũkũ eraya mami a-ra-ruga.

‘It’s the smell of the chicken that the mother is cooking.’

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

V. yes

Dakorwo dathoma ifuku rereya ũ-rĩ-thoma-aga

‘I (just) read the book that you will be reading.’

‘You will read.’

ũ-gũ-thoma.

‘that you read’

ũthomire

‘that you have read’

ũthomete

‘You would be reading’

ũ-gĩ-thoma-aga

‘You should have read (in school by now)’

ũ-gĩ-ra-thomire.

‘You could be reading’

ũ-gĩ-a-thoma a=possibility

‘You had read a year ago’

ũ-a-thomire (> wathomire)

Mugane (1997: 118-119)

P097 Clefts: How are clefts formed?

V. 1 through the use of a segmentally expressed copula

Nĩ maria a-rugire ngũkũ(9).

‘It’s maraia who cooked the chicken.’

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

V. no

Nĩ thukuru-inĩ ...

‘It is at school that most children learn Swahili.’

Siana nyigĩ sithomagera gĩthueri thukuru-inĩ.

Most children learn Swahili at school.

??*Nĩ gũthaka na mĩfila(4) siana(8) siedete. siana=NOT class 2*

‘It is playing with balls that children like.’

Nĩ damaka ate maria nĩ kũruga araruga

‘It is that Maria is cooking that surprises me.’

‘I’m surprised that Maria is cooking.’

Nĩ kahora maria arathi. OK

‘It is slowly that Maria is walking.’

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

V. no

use of *nĩ*

Nĩ kũruga ũraruga? ‘Are you cooking?’

Nĩ kũruga ũraruga ‘You are cooking.’

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

V. 1 clause-initially, 5 in situ

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

V. no

Ũathomire gĩthũngũ nĩkĩ? ‘Why did you study English?’

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

V. 1 an invariable copula only

Maria nĩ muarimũ. ‘Maria is a teacher.’

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

V. 1 of the shape *ni* (or similar)

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

V. yes

Meanings of *nĩ*: copula, focus marker, agentive by, in questions;

Kamau e nyũmba ‘Kamau is at the house.’

Nĩ nĩ ‘It’s me.’

ndĩ na wĩra ‘I have a job.’

Kamau nĩ arĩ ngari ‘Kamau has a car.’

Ifuku rĩrathomirwo nĩ mĩtumia ‘The book was read by the mother.’

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

V. 3 a lexical verb only

Kamau nĩ arĩ ngari (9) ‘Kamau has a car.’

Nĩ tũ-rĩ ngari

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

V. yes

Maria nĩ arutaga wĩra(3). ‘work: Maria works.’

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

Kũruga, mami arugaga wega. < infinitive verb is LDed – must be separated by a pause.

‘(As for) cooking my mother cooks very well.’

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

nĩ nyũaga ‘I usually drink.’

Ndĩrahũrire mbisa ‘I took a photo.’

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

V. yes

Mũarimũ arathomithia siana gĩthũeli. ‘The teacher is teaching children Swahili.’

Siana si-rathomithio gĩthũeli (nĩ mũarimũ). ‘Children are taught Swahili (by the teacher).’

Gĩthũeli gĩthomithio siana (nĩ mũarimũ). ‘Swahili is taught to the children.’

Mũarimũ atomaga siana sithome gĩthũngũ. ‘The teacher makes the children study/learn English.’

Siana sitomagwo sithome gĩthũngũ. ‘The children are made to learn English.’

‘English is made to be learned by the children.??’

Mutumia ararugera siana ngũkũ. ‘The woman is cooking chicken for the children.’

Siana sirarugerwo ngũkũ nĩ mutumia. ‘The children are being cooked chicken by the mother.’

Ngũkũ erarugerwo siana nĩ mutumia. ‘The chicken is being cooked for children by the mother.’

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

<i>Mũarimũ arathomithia siana gĩthũeli.</i>	‘The teacher is teaching children Swahili.’
<i>Mũarimũ aragĩthomithia siana.</i>	‘The teacher is teaching it (Swahili) to the children.’
<i>Mũarimũ arasithomithia gĩthũeli.</i>	‘The teacher is teaching them Swahli.’
<i>Mũarimũ atomaga siana sithome gĩthũngũ.</i>	‘The teacher makes the children study/learn English.’
<i>Mũarimũ asi(8)tomaga si(gĩ)thome gĩthũngũ.</i>	‘The teacher makes them study/learn English.’
<i>Mũarimũ a(si)tomaga siana sigĩ(9)thome .</i>	‘The teacher makes the children learn it (English).’
<i>Mutumia ara(si)rugera siana ngũkũ.</i>	‘The mother is cooking chicken for the children.’
<i>*Mutumia ara(mĩ)rugera siana ngũkũ.</i>	
<i>Mutumia aramĩrugera siana.</i>	‘The mother is cooking it for the children.’
<i>Mutumia arasirugera ngũkũ.</i>	‘The mother is cooking chicken for them.’

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

V. yes

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

V. 1 Dem-Noun order is attested

<i>mafúkú máya, ifuku rere</i>	‘these books’ (books these?)
<i>maya máfúkú nĩ maku</i>	‘Are these books yours?’
<i>mafuku maya nĩ maku</i>	‘Are these book yours?’ OR ‘These books are yours.’
<i>Mafuku maku nĩ máya?</i>	‘Are these books yours?’

N. the element after *nĩ* is in focus.

<i>mafuku</i>	<i>makuwa</i>	<i>mangĩ</i>	‘my other books’
books	my	other	

**mafuku mangĩ makuwa*

P113 Quant-Noun: Is there a prenominal quantifier?

V. yes

every person

mũdũ wothe (person every)

**wothe mũdũ*

Andũ othe (persons all)

Andũ eeri

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

V. yes

mafuku makuwa mangĩ ‘my other books’

**mafuku mangĩ makuwa*

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

V. yes

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

V. no

Mũarimũ arathomithia siana gĩthũeli.

Mũarimũ arathomithia gĩthũeri siana.

‘The teacher is teaching children Swahili.’

Mutumia ara(si)rugera siana ngũkũ.

Mutumia ara(si)rugera ngũkũ siana.

‘The mother is cooking chicken for the children.’

Kamau aratinia mũtĩ wa ngũ.

**Kamau aratinia wa ngũ mũtĩ.*

‘Kamau is cutting a tree for firewood(pl. 8).’

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

V. yes

N. see P116

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

V. 1 immediately after the verb (IAV), 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

Kamau no mũhaka a-kũ-ere we njĩra(9).

Kamau must 1-2sg-tell you direction/way

‘Kamau must tell you the direction.’

Kamau no muhaka a-kũ-ere njĩra we. (‘you’ can come at the end)

Kamau no muhaka we a-kũ-ere njĩra. we=Kamau

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

V. no

the main verb is not infinitive

Kamau no mũhaka athie reu ‘Kamau must go now.’

Kamau no mũhaka athie reu ‘Kamau should go now.’

Kamau no athie reu ‘Kamau can go now.’

Kamau no athie reu ‘Kamau may go now.’

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

V. 2 yes, and the verb shows default agreement

Siana igere nĩ si-ra-kiny-ire

Q: *Kũ-ra-kinyire siana si-gana?*

How many?

A: *Kũ-ra-kinyire siana igere*

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P122 Locative inversion: Is locative inversion attested?

V. no

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

V. no

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. yes

ngui(9) na nyau(9) ‘the dog and cat’

Ndirathire nduka(9) na ndiragũra mũtu(3) wa gima(9)

I went store and I-bought flour of ugali.

‘I went to the store and bought ugali flour.’

Ndĩrathire mũsie na mami nĩ kũruga araruga-ga (past progressive)

‘I went home and my mother was cooking.’

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

V. no

Ndĩrathire nduka, ndĩragora iriyo(10), ndĩrasoka mũsie(3), na ndĩraruga sapa(9)

‘I went to the store, bought some food, came home, and cooked dinner.’

*nĩ Ndĩrathire nduka, (*nĩ) ndĩragora iriyo, (*nĩ) ndĩrasoka mũsie, na (*nĩ) ndĩraruga sapa*

Ndĩnathire nduka, ndĩnagora iriyo, ndĩnasoka mũsie, na ndĩnaruga sapa [*na*=negation]

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

V. 1 yes, optionally

Kamau esiragia (atĩ) gĩthueli(7) nĩ kĩhũthũ

‘Kamau thinks that Swahili is easy.’

Kamau etĩkĩtie (atĩ) Nairobi(9) nĩ ha/kũ-raihu.

‘Kamau believes that Nairobi is far.’

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

V. 1 in front of the clause

N. Examples above in **P127**

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

V. no

Ndĩ-ra-kũ-era atĩ ... ‘I’m telling you that ...’

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

V. no

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

V. 2 only by means of a specific tense/aspect/mood

Wathie kenya, no gũthie na we. ‘If you go to Kenya, I go with you.’

Wathie kenya(9) no tũgũthie na we. ‘If you go to Kenya we go with you.’

Ũthie kenya, na nie thie Tanzania(9). ‘You go to Kenya and I go to Tanzania.’

Wathomithia gĩthueli(7), nĩ gũthoma naruwa ‘If you teach me Swahili, I will learn quickly.’

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

V. yes

examples above in **P131**

no gũthie na we Wathie kenya, ‘I go with you If you go to Kenya,’

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

V. no

Ngui yakoga, nyau nĩ yoraga. ‘If the dog barks, the cat runs.’

Ngui igĩ-yakogire, nyau nĩ yoraga ãgĩ (if, past) ‘If the dog barked, the cat ran.’

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

V. no

Igĩ-kũrwo na ngui, igĩ-thiaga nayo omũthenya

‘If I had a dog, I would go with it every day.’

Igĩ-sida milioni(9), no kũgũra mũgũnda/igĩ-gũra mũgũnda(3)

‘If I won a million, I would buy a land.’

Igĩ-athomire gĩthueli(7) thukuru(9), igĩ-ikarire kenya

‘If I had learned Swahili in school, I would have lived in Kenya (with no problem).’

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 specific constructions

Menyerera mahiga(6) ãgĩ kua mĩrigo(4)

‘Watch for the stones when carrying the luggage’ ‘Watch stone when carrying luggage.’

Kuma kamau athoma gĩthũgũ, nĩ mũkenu.

Kamau nĩ mũkenu kuma athoma gĩthũgũ.

‘Once Kamau learned English, he was happy.’

Mũana no-muhaka ethabe moko(6) wakamuiira arĩte

Child should 1-wash hands before eating

‘The child should wash his hands before eating.’

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

V. 1 by the use of specific construction

*Nĩ tũtorenda mosquito-nets(4) mafũrũri(6)-inĩ marea (*nĩ) mahio.*

‘We need a mosquito nets in countries where it’s hot.’

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

V. 2 by a particular lexical device (e.g. the ‘comparator’ *kuliko* in Swahili)

Kamau nĩ mũnene gũkera Maria mũnene ‘big’

‘Kamau is bigger than Maria.’ *mũnini* ‘small’

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

Mũana gũitaga nĩ kawaida/nomo (‘normal). ‘For a child to spill is normal.’

Maria kũruga nĩ ũndo(3) mũnene. ‘For Maria to cook is a big thing.’

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. no Only the lower verb is inflected

Kamau ahuana kai/ta emũnogu. ‘Kamau seems to be tired.’

Mami ahuana kai/ta araruga. ‘Mother seems to be cooking.’

Mami ahuana kai/ta ararugete. ‘Mother seemed to be cooking.’

Mami ahuana kai/ta ararugete ngũkũ. ‘Mother seemed to have cooked chicken.’

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

V. yes

For subject focus, *nĩ* (same as the copula) is obligatory. Wh-words appear as lexicalized combination with *nĩ* (*nĩkĩ* = what, *nĩ+ũ* > *nũ*=who)

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

V. yes

Maria no we (tu) arugaga. ‘Only Maria cooks.’

Maria only PRON(maria) (only) cooks

Maria nowe tu araruga. ‘Only maria is cooking’

No we (tu) woka. ‘Only you came.’

No nie (tu) igĩhota. ‘Only I can.’

Airetu no-o (tu). ‘Only the girls.’

onake Maria nĩ arugaga. ‘Maria cooks too.’

Maria onake nĩ arugaga.

Maria nĩ arugaga onake.

Ona Kamau nĩ arugaga. ‘Even Kamau cooks.’

Kamau ona nĩ arugaga.

Kamau nĩ arugaga ona

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. subjects have to be clefted and cannot be questioned in situ

Uru (E622D)[†]

Daisuke Shinagawa

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

V. n.a.

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

V. n.a.

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

V. 2 V shape, possibly alternating with zero-marking

1σ: *í-[†]ré* ‘leaf’

2σ: *í-ríso / ríso* ‘eye’

3σ: *í-tirîfa* ‘window (borrowing)’ etc.

N. In some words, CPx itself can be omitted (though forms with CPx are also grammatical, i.e. (near) free variation). However, at least in some cases, the presence/absence of CPx seems to be determined by syntactic conditions; CPx-less nouns must be realized with CPx in a VP complement position; *kombe* ‘back’ vs. *ndzîliwó.jí ikombê: ljo* ‘I see that back’

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

V. 15 (subclasses not included), 18 (subclasses included)

cl.1 *ṁ-kekú* [†]*ú-lja*
 CPx1-grand mother PPx1-DEM.F
 ‘That grandmother (old woman)’

cl.2 *wa-kekú* [†]*wá-ljá*
 CPx2-grand mother PPx2-DEM.F
 ‘Those grandmothers’

[†] The phonemic inventory of this language is as follows; /p, t, k, b, d, g; m, n, ŋ, ŋ; f, v, s, ʃ, x, pf, ts, tʃ; r, ɾ, l; j, w; a, e, i, o, u/. Nasals show syllabic vs. non-syllabic contrast. Note, however, that the examples are provided in a broad phonetic description. Tone marking, where available, is given as surface realization; [á]: high, [ǎ]: super high (upstepped high), [[†]á]: downstepped high, [ā]: middle, [â]: falling, [ã]: rising. Abbreviations used in the gloss are as follows; 1, 2, 3 etc.: Class numbers, 1sg, 2pl etc.: Person + Singular/Plural, ANT: Anterior, APPL: Applicative, APx: Adjective Prefix, ASSC: Associative, CAUS: Causative, CF: Counter Factual, COM: TAM grammaticalized from ‘come’, COMP: Completive, CONS: Consecutive, CONT: Continuous, COP: Copula, CPx: Noun Class Prefix, DEM.F/M/N: Demonstrative Far/Middle/Near, FV: Final vowel (default inflectional suffix of verb), FUT(n): Future, HAB: Habitual, IMPF.P: Imperfective Past, INDPRO: Independent Pronoun, INF: Infinitive, NEG2: Secondary Negative (slot), NEGP: Negative particle, NOML: Nominalizer, OM: Object Marker, P.N.: Person name, POSS: Possessive pronoun, PPx: Pronominal Prefix, PRS: Present, PST(n): Past, SM: Subject Marker, STAT: Stative, SUBJ: Subjunctive, -: Affix boundary, =: Clitic boundary, ≠: Verb stem boundary.

- cl.1a *Ø-saoé* ⁺*ú-lja*
 CPx1a-grand father PPx1-DEM.F
 'That grandfather'
- cl.2a *wa-saoé* ⁺*wá-ljá*
 CPx1-grand father PPx2-DEM.F
 'Those grandfathers'
- cl.3 *m-ro* *fú-lj⁺á*
 CPx3-head PPx3-DEM.F
 'That head'
- cl.4 *m-ro* *i-j⁺á*
 CPx4-head PPx4-DEM.F
 'Those heads'
- cl.5 *i-mbéri* ⁺*i-ljá*
 CPx5-feather PPx5-DEM.F
 'That feather'
- cl.6 *ma-mbéri* ⁺*xá-ljá*
 CPx5-feather PPx5-DEM.F
 'Those feathers'
- cl.7 *ki-mné* ⁺*kí-ljá*
 CPx7-feather PPx7-DEM.F
 'That finger'
- cl.8 *fí-mné* ⁺*fí-ljá*
 CPx8-feather PPx8-DEM.F
 'Those fingers'
- cl.9 *m-bafú* *j⁺á*
 CPx9-breast PPx9.DEM.F
 'That breast'
- cl.10 *m-bafu* *tsí-⁺ljá*
 CPx10-breast PPx10-DEM.F
 'Those breasts'
- cl.11 *o-limí* ⁺*lú-ljá*
 CPx11-tongue PPx11.DEM.F
 'That tongue'
- cl.10a *ndʒ-o-limí* *tsí-⁺ljá*
 CPx10a-breast PPx10.DEM.F
 'Those breasts'
- cl.12 *ká-ná* ⁺*ká-ljá*
 CPx12-mouth PPx12.DEM.F
 'That mouth'

- cl.14 *fu-kité* ⁺*fú-ljá*
 CPx14-dog PPx14.DEM.F
 'That dog (derogative)'
- cl.16 *á-ndú* *xa-ljá*
 CPx16-entity PPx16-DEM.F
 'That (specific) place'
- cl.17 *kú-ndo* *ku-ljá*
 CPx17-entity PPx17-DEM.F
 'That place'

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

V. yes

i) *ilǎ:la*

i≠lál-a

CPx5≠sleep-FV

'to sleep'

ii) *ndzikě.nda* *ilǎ:la*

ndzi≠ke-end-a

i-lál-a

SM1sg-CONT≠go-FV CPx5-sleep-FV

'I am going to sleep'

N. As in many Chaga languages, the infinitive/gerund marker is CPx5 *i-*.

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

V. yes

i) *kitfǒ.ndi*

ki-tfǒndi

CPx7-sheep

'small sheep [sg]'

ii) *fitfǒ.ndi*

fi-tfǒndi

CPx8-sheep

'small sheep [pl]'

Cf.-1 *itfǒ.ndi*

i-tfǒndi

CPx5-sheep

'sheep [sg]'

mátfǝ:ndi
ma-tfondi
CPx6-sheep
'sheep [pl]'
Cf.-2 *ka-tfondi
CPx12-sheep

N. Diminutive is shown by CPx replacement with CPx7/8. CPx12 is rarely used, or at least not used primarily, for derivation of diminutive nouns (*kaka(:)na* 'small mouth' derived from *ka(:)na* 'CPx12-mouth' is attested but *kika(:)na* 'small mouth' is preferred).

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

V. yes

i) *inde:he*
i-N-dehe
CPx5-CPx9-bird
'big bird [sg]'

Cf. *kinde:he*
ki-N-dehe
CPx7-CPx9-bird
'bird [sg]'

ii) *fútfǝ:ndi*
fu-tfondi
CPx3/14-sheep
'big sheep [sg]'

iii) *mátfǝ:ndi*
ma-tfondi
CPx6-sheep
'big sheep [pl]'

Cf. *ítǝ:ndi*
i-tfondi
CPx5-sheep
'sheep [sg]'

N. Augmentative nouns are derived by CPx replacement with CPx5/6. Cl.5 nouns (as its default class) replace its CPx with fu- and follow cl.3 agreement system, though the form of CPx itself is rather seen as a relic of CPx14 (PB *bǝ-), which is scarcely used (at least not attested so far) as a default noun class synchronically.

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

N. In cl.4 nouns, its (original) CPx is totally lost and the form is identical to that of cl.3 (i.e., in isolation forms, there is no formal distinction between them). e.g.; *ifũ ni ñ⁺ ró* ‘This is a head’ vs. *ĩĩ ni ñ⁺ ró* ‘These are heads’, *ñro fó* ‘that head’ vs. *ñro jó* ‘those heads’, etc. For cl.5, see (2).

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

V. yes

i) *ánda*

a-ndu

CPx16-entity

‘(the) place’ [cf. undifferentiated spot (Contini-Morava 1976: 142)]’

ii) *kúndo*

ku-ndu

CPx17-entity

‘(a) place [cf. left unspecified (Contini-Morava 1976: 142)]’

N. CPxs 16 and 17, *ha-* and *ku-* respectively, are neither productively used with other stems (practically those CPxs are used only with the stem *ndu*) nor used as derivational prefixes. However, locative nouns (productively derived by suffixation of *-ini*) always follow cl.16/17 agreement. cl.18 is missing.

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

V. yes

kirundiójì

kũoré

mě:sa

ki-řundio-ijni

ku-Ø≠or-ie

Ø-mesa

CPx7-work(n)-LOC SM17-PRS≠hold-STAT CPx9-table

‘There is a table in a/the work place (Lit: A/The workplace has a table)’

(The noun stem *-řundio* ‘work’ shall further be analyzable as *-řund-i-o*, where *-řund*: ‘work (v)’, *-i*: ‘APPL’, *-o*: ‘NOMINALIZER’)

N. The form may be identified as *-ijni* as in other Kilimanjaro languages and final *-i* is normally unpronounced.

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

V. yes

i) *andu*

haljá

hǎlefâ:na

a-ndu

ha-lja

ha-le≠fan-a

CPx16-entity PPx16-DEM.FSM16-PST1≠be dirty-FV

‘That place was dirty’

- ii) *kundo* *kuljá* *kúlefâ:na*
 ku-ndu ku-lja ku-le≠fan-a
 CPx17-entity PPx17-DEM.FSM17-PST1≠be dirty-FV
 ‘That place was dirty’

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

V. yes

- i) *ndzihaĩtĩ*
 ndzi-Ø-ha≠itĩ
 SM1sg-PRS-OM16≠know
 ‘I know there/ I know the place’
- ii) *kuljá* *ń* *dziĩkuĩtĩ*
 ku-lja ń ndzi-Ø-ku≠itĩ
 PPx17-DEM.F COP SM1sg-PRS-OM17≠know
 ‘That place, I know’

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

V. no

N. Demonstrative pronouns (Middle and Near?) are sometimes used like a postverbal clitic (i.e., enclitic), such as;

- ndzi:tĩ: xō*
 ndzi-Ø≠itf(-)i#ho
 SM1sg-PRS≠know#DEM.M.16
 ‘I know the place (where you mentioned)’

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

- i) *ikiři* *ljá* *ńmě:ku*
 i-kiři li-a ń-meku
 CPx5-tree PPx5-ASSC CPx1-elder
 ‘An elder’s tree’
- ii) *kundo* *ko* *ńrĩ:ke (~ńrĩ:ke)*
 ku-ndu ku-a ń-rike
 CPx17-entity PPx17-ASSC CPx3-warm
 ‘A warm place’

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

V. no

- 1sg) *ikaṛi* *ljā:kō*
i-kaṛi li-ako
CPx5-car PPx5-POSS1sg
'my car'
- 2sg) *ikaṛi* *ljā:pfō* (~*ljā:pfō*)
i-kaṛi li-apfo
CPx5-car PPx5-POSS2sg
'your [sg] car'
- 3sg) *ikaṛi* *ljā:kē*
i-kaṛi li-ake
CPx5-car PPx5-POSS3sg
'his/her car'
- 1pl) *ikaṛi* *ljā:rū*
i-kaṛi i-aṛu
CPx5-car PPx5-POSS1pl
'our car'
- 2pl) *ikaṛi* *ljā:nū*
i-kaṛi li-anu
CPx5-car PPx5-POSS2pl
'your [pl] car'
- 3pl) *ikaṛi* *ljā:wō*
i-kaṛi li-awo
CPx5-car PPx5-POSS3pl
'their car'

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

V. yes

See the examples in P016

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. null

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

Near: *andu* *he:ha*
a-ndu ha iha
CPx16-entity PPx16 DEM.N-PPx16
‘The place (we are talking about) is this’

Middle: *andu* *he:xo*
a-ndu ha ixo
CPx16-entity PPx16 DEM.M-PPx16
‘The place (we are talking about) is that’

Far: *andu* *ha:lja*
a-ndu ha ha-lja
CPx16-entity PPx16 PPx16-DEM.F
‘The place (we are talking about) is that over there’

Cf. (A shortened form of DEM.N (identical with PPx), which is agreed with a subject, can be used as a copula in this language.)

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

V. 1 yes, always

See the examples in P020

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

V. yes

N. The far demonstrative pronouns often behave like a relative pronoun (but it’s optional. Essential part of the relative construction is deletion of a verb initial high tone). See examples in parameters related to relative constructions.

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

V. yes

Cl.1: *ɲndu mbi:tfo*
m-ndu#m-witfo
CPx1-entity#APx1-bad
‘a bad person’

Cl.2: *wandu* *wawi:tfo*
wa-ndu wa-witfo
CPx2-entity APx2-bad
‘bad people’

- Cl.3: *ńro* *ńbí:tfo*
 m-ro m-witfo
 CPx3-head APx3-bad
 ‘a bad head’
- Cl.4 (1): *ńro* *íwĩ:tfo*
 m-ro i-witfo
 CPx4-head APx4-bad
 ‘bad heads’
- Cl.4 (2): *ńro* *ndzĩwĩ:tfo*
 m-ro ndzi-witfo
 CPx4-head APx9-bad
 ‘bad heads’
- Cl.5: *riso* *liwĩ:tfo*
 Ø-riso li-witfo
 CPx5-eye APx5-bad
 ‘a bad eye’
- Cl.6: *miso* *mawĩ:tfo*
 miso ma-witfo
 CPx6.eye APx6-bad
 ‘bad eyes’
- Cl.7: *kítimá* *kiwĩ:tfo*
 ki-tima ki-witfo
 CPx7-chair APx7-bad
 ‘a bad chair’
- Cl.8: *ńitimá* *ńiwĩ:tfo*
 ńi-tima ńi-witfo
 CPx8-chair APx5-bad
 ‘bad chairs’
- Cl.9: *ńbá* *ndziwĩ:tfo* (~*ndziwĩ:tfo*)
 N-ba ndzi-witfo
 CPx9-house APx9-bad
 ‘a bad house (family)’
- Cl.10: *ńbá* *tĩndziwĩ:tfo*
 N-ba ti-ndzi-witfo
 CPx10-house APx10-APx9-bad
 ‘bad houses (families)’

- Cl.11: *otfá* *luwî:tfo*
 o-tfa lu-witfo
 CPx11-nail APx11-bad
 ‘a bad nail’
- Cl.12: *kána* *kawî:tfo*
 ka-na ka-witfo
 CPx12-mouth APx12-bad
 ‘a bad mouth’
- Cl.16: *andu* *hawî:tfo*
 ha-ndu ha-witfo
 CPx16-entity APx16-bad
 ‘a bad place’
- Cl.17: *kundo* *kuwî:tfo*
 ku-ndu ku-witfo
 CPx17-entity APx17-bad
 ‘a bad place’

N. Morphologically genuine adjectives that take APx showing agreement with a head noun are attested, which include *-itfa* ‘good’, *-witfo* ‘bad’ etc. More extensive data are needed.

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

V. yes

See the examples in P023

N. Basically identical but (minor) formal differences or mismatches are found in following classes; [cl.4] CPx *m-* (i.e., identical to CPx3. *mi-* prefix is not attested in this language) vs. APx *i-* (or APx *ndzi-* of cl.9 can also be used instead), [cl.9] CPx *Ø-* or *N-* (or *ts-?*) vs. APx *ndzi-*, [cl.10] CPx *Ø-* or *N-* or *ts-* vs. APx *ti-ndzi-* (double marking), [cl.11] CPx *o-* vs. APx *lu-*, [cl.16] CPx *a-* vs. APx *ha-* (almost identical).

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

V. no

See the example (of a warm place) in P015

N. Adjectival notions can be expressed by NP + ASSC + NP (adjectival notion) (see P015). However, adjectives themselves are not appeared immediately after an attributive linker.

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

N. It seems that a nominal form *m̄ndu* ‘person’ is used as a head element of compound (like) nouns or noun phrases rather than *-yána, e.g. *m̄ndu mā:n̄gī* ‘chief (Sw. mfalme)’, *m̄ndu m̄fi:ři* ‘messenger’ etc. See also *m̄ndu m̄ka* ‘woman (Sw. mwanamke)’, *m̄ndu m̄mi* ‘man (Sw. mwanamme)’.

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 -yána and kazi ?)

V. null

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. yes

m̄kõ:ri

m-kor-i

CPx1-cook-AGT

‘a cook’

(*m̄korâ:ki* is also attested)

N. Agentive suffix -i is attested but its productivity is still unclear.

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. yes

i) *máwĩ:o*

ma-wi-o

CPx6-tell-NOM

‘explanation (Sw. maelezo)’ cf. *i-wi-a* ‘to tell’

ii) *kiřundĩo*

ki-řund-i-o

CPx7-work-APPL-NOML

N. Deverbal nouns derived by suffix -o are attested but its morphological productivity is still unclear.

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

V. no

The forms shown below are isolated ones. These are used with numeral prefixes (EPxs) when used as numeral adjectives. (tone omitted)

‘one’: *limu* {li-(i)mu} EPx5-one

‘two’: *kawi* {ka-wi} EPx12-two

‘three’: *kařaru* {ka-řaru} EPx12-three

‘four’: *ka:na* {ka-ana} EPx12-four

- ‘five’: *katano* {ka-tano} EPx12-five
 ‘six’: *si:ta* {Ø-sita} EPx9-six (borrowed from Swahili)
 ‘seven’: *sa:ba* {Ø-saba} EPx9-seven (borrowed from Swahili)
 ‘eight’: *na:ne* {Ø-nane} EPx9-eight (borrowed from Swahili)
 ‘nine’: *ti:sa* {Ø-tisa} EPx9-nine (borrowed from Swahili)
 ‘ten’: *ku:mi* or *iku:mi* {Ø/i-kumi} EPx9/EPx5-ten (borrowed from Swahili)

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

V. yes

i) *ówóko*

o-woko

CPx11-hand

‘hand [sg] (including ‘arm’ and ‘fingers’)’

ii) *má⁺wóko*

ma-woko

CPx6-hand

‘hand [pl] (including ‘arm’ and ‘fingers’)’

Cf.-1 *kítā:wa*

ki-tawa

CPx7-palm

‘palm [sg]’

fitā:wa

fī-tawa

CPx8-palm

‘palm [pl]’

Cf.-2 *ṁkō:so*

ṁ-koso

CPx3/4-arm

‘arm [sg/pl]’

N. *ówóko* is a cover term for ‘hand’ and ‘arm’ (and ‘fingers’ as well), but there are specific terms for referring to each of them as illustrated in the above examples.

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

V. yes

Cf. *kíṁne/ fīmne*

ki-ṁne/ fī-ṁne

CPx7-funger/ CPx8-finger

‘finger [sg]/ -[pl]’

N. See P031

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

V. yes

órě:nde / márě:nde

o-ɾende/ ma-ɾende

CPx11-leg/ CPx6-leg

‘leg~foot [sg]/ - [pl]’

Cf. *oái/ ndzoái*

Ø-oai/ ndzi-oai

CPx9-foot/ CPx10-foot

‘foot [sg]/ [pl]’

(More precisely CPx10 would be analyzed as {n-tsi-}, i.e., *tsi-* is a real CPx for 10 which is attached to by *n-*, which may possibly be a remnant of (or fossilized) FOC.)

N. *órě:nde* is a cover term referring to both leg and foot, while there is a specific word for foot, *oái*.

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

V. yes

tʃái

Ø-tʃai

CPx9/10-tea

‘tea [sg/pl]’

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

N. There is a group of verbs that can take suffix *-i*, which is historically thought to be a perfect suffix **-ide* (a regional variant of **-ide*). Since the suffix cannot be attached to typical active verbs and those which can be attached by *-i* normally express meanings with high stativity, they can be tentatively called stative verbs, which include *won* ‘see’ and *orok* ‘stand’ as illustrated in the examples. The verb stem *-lele* is also regarded as a stative verb but this is a fossilized stem formed through so-called imbrication process, i.e., **lali-ide* > (imbrication) > *la-ilie* > (vowel fusion) > *lele*. Adjectival use of this type of stems, which is found in Rombo (E623), may be attested. More investigation needed.

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

V. yes

i) *ndzileká:po*
 ndzi-le≠kap-w-a
 SM1sg-PST2≠hit-PASS-FV
 ‘I was hit’

Cf. *ndzilem̄⁺ká:pa*
 ndzi-le-m̄≠kap-a
 SM1sg-PST1-OM1≠hit-FV
 ‘I hit him’

ii) *lúlékú:ndo*
 lu-le≠kund-w-a
 SM1pl-PST1≠love-PASS-FV
 ‘We were loved’

Cf. *wálelú⁺kú:nda*
 wa-le-lu≠kund-a
 SM2-PST1-OM1pl≠love-a
 ‘They loved us/ We were loved’

N. Passive morphology, i.e. suffixation of *-w*, is productively used in this language, even in stative sentences. Note that */wa/* sequence is realized as */o/* by a consistent phonological rule.

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

See the examples in P036

N. Stative passive can be expressed by an impersonal construction, in which cl.2 SM is always used.

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

- | | | | |
|------|----------------------------------|------------|---------------|
| i) | <i>lúkeowê:fo</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>mā:ngī</i> |
| | lu-ke≠owef-w-a | na | man̄gi |
| | SM1pl-CONT≠frighten-PASS-FV | with | 1.chief |
| | ‘We are frightened by the chief’ | | |
| ii) | <i>lúkeowê:fo</i> | <i>m̄</i> | <i>mā:ngí</i> |
| | lu-ke≠owef-w-a | ni | Ø-mangi |
| | SM1pl-CONT≠frighten-PASS-FV | COP | 1.chief |
| | ‘We are frightened by the chief’ | | |
| iii) | <i>*lúkeowê:fo</i> | <i>kwa</i> | <i>mā:ngī</i> |
| | lu-ke≠owef-w-a | kwa | man̄gi |
| | SM1pl-CONT≠frighten-PASS-FV | 17.ASSC | 1.chief |

N. As illustrated in the examples above, an agent NP in passive structure can be introduced by i) preposition *na* or ii) COP. iii) *kwa* is not used for the function. It seems not allowed to introduce a bare agent NP in CAUS-PASS construction, which is possible, for example, in Rwa [E621].

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

V. no

See the examples in P038

N. See notes in P038

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

V. 1 through the use of a verbal affix only

i) *lúlesuíana*

lu-le≠sui-an-a

SM1pl-PST1≠hate-RECIP-FV

‘We hated each other’

ii) *lúkundaḡ*

lu-Ø≠kund-an-i

SM1pl-PRS≠love-RECIP-FV

‘We love each other’

N. Reciprocal marker *-an* is used productively.

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

V. null

See the examples in P040

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))*

i) *násembera*

ni=a-Ø≠sember-a

FOC=SM1-ANT-PRS≠move-FV

‘S/he has moved’

(Most probably the final VC of the stem, *-er*, can be seen as an archaic causative marker, but synchronically this verb stem is used as intransitive as well as transitive.

ii) *násembera*

kití:ma

ni=a-Ø≠sember-a

ki-tima

FOC=SM1-ANT-PRS≠move-FV CPx7-chair

‘S/he has moved a chair’

iii) *ndzilemsēmbērā*

ndzi-le-m≠sember-a

SM1sg-PST-OM1sg≠move-FV

‘I moved him/her, I forced him/her to move’

iv) *ndzilemsēmbērēā*

ndzi-le-m≠sember-i-a

SM1sg-PST-OM1sg≠move-APPL-FV

‘I moved (something) on his/her behalf, I forced him/her to move’

v) *ngámbutía*

nga-m≠wut-i-a

SM1sg.ANT-OM1sg≠act-APPL-FV

‘I have acted on his/her behalf (Sw. *nimemtendea*) or I have made him/her act (Sw. *nimemtendesha*)’. (N.B. **i≠(w?)ut-ij-a/ *i≠(w?)ut-is-a*)

vi) *lúlemtsindikia*

akaénda

lu-le-m≠tsindiki-a

a-ka≠end-a

SM1pl-PST1-OM1≠force-FV SM1-CONS≠go-FV

‘We made him/her go’

N. Basically, it seems this language has a clear tendency to avoid the causative morphology. A number of verbs, including basic verbs, simply disallow suffixation of a causative suffix; **i-rund-if-a < i-rund-a* ‘to work’, **i-rem-if-a < i-rem-a* ‘to cultivate’, **i-mañ-if-a < i-mañ-a* ‘to (get to) know, to understand’ etc. Hence, it can be predicted that there may be a certain number of ergative verbs such as in i) and ii). On causation of transitive verbs, it is partly confirmed that the applicative construction covers the function of causative, i.e., introducing an animate causee in a clause, as in iv) and v). Details of these issues (expressions of valency, interrelation between applicative and causative etc.) should be investigated further. One of the analytic constructions of expressing causation is causative verb+ *ka-* form (presumably causative verb+ subjunctive form is also possible).

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

V. no

ndzíkē:lja

kjéljá

na

kilí:ko

ndzi-ke≠li-a

ki-elja

na

ki-liko

SM1sg-CONT≠eat-FV

CPx7-food with

CPx7-spoon

‘I’m eating food with a spoon’

Cf-1 *ndzíkē:lia*

kjeljá

kilikóŋ

ndzi-ke≠li-i-a

ki-elya

ki-liko-ŋ

SM1sg-CONT≠eat-APPL-FV CPx7-food CPx7-spoon-LOC

‘I’m eating food on a spoon (e.g. with the mouth put on a spoon)’

Cf-2 *ndzíkě:lia kjeljá kilí:ko

Intd: 'I'm eating food with a spoon'

N. An instrumental argument shall be introduced by preposition *na* and neither causative nor applicative constructions can be used. If the applicative construction is used in this context, according to a consultant, an intended instrument must be interpreted as a locative argument (as in Cf-1).

P044 Applicative: How are applicative constructions formed?

V. 1 through the use of a verbal affix only

nálendzikoríá *kje:ljá*
ni=a-le-ndzi≠kor-i-a ki-elja
FOC=SM1-PST1-OM1sg≠cook-APPL-FV CPx7-food
'S/he cooked food for me'

N. Applicative is marked by the prefix *i-*.

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

V. yes

náleakoríá *kje:ljá* *aljá* *fû:le*
ni=a-le-a≠kor-i-a ki-elja a-lja Ø-fule
FOC=SM1-PST1-OM16≠cook-APPL-FV CPx7-foodPPx16-DEM.F CPx9-school
'S/he cooked food in that school'

Cf. *nalekikoríá *kja:ndu*
ni=a-le-ki≠kor-i-a ki-andu
FOC=SM1-PST1-OM7≠cook-APPL-FV CPx7-knife

Intd: S/he cooked with a knife

N. Besides benefactive, this language seemingly only allows locative arguments in the applicative construction. As in the example and as mentioned in P045, instrumental arguments are out of coverage of applicative constructions in this language.

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

V. null

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

V. yes, but not so productive

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

V. null 1 (yes, causative-applicative-reciprocal-passive (CARP) order) +2 (the order reflects the order of the derivation)

N. Basically it seems that the order of derivational suffixes follows the so-called CARP order (precisely C/NARP). However, there may be the cases where the derivational cycle influences the canonical order of suffixes (As in Swahili, *-pig-an(R)-ish(C)-a* make (someone) hit each other). More investigation needed.

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

V. 4 multiple strategies

i) *wě:ɲi* *tʃi* *ɲremĩ:* *pfo*
 we:ɲi *tʃi* *ɲ-rem-i* *pfo*
 INDPRO.1sg NEG.COP CPx1-farm-NOML NEG

‘You are not a farmer’

Cf-1 *wě:ɲi* *ɲrě:mi*
 we:ɲi *ɲ-rem-i*
 INDPRO.1sg CPx1-farm(v)-NOML

‘You are a farmer’

Cf-2 *wě:ɲi* *tʃi* *ɲrě:mi?*
 we:ɲi *tʃi* *ɲ-rem-i*
 INDPRO.1sg NEG.COP CPx1-farm(v)-NOML

‘You are not a farmer, are you?’

ii) *ndzĩ:tʃi:* *pfo*
 ndzi-Ø≠itʃi *pfo*
 SM1sg-PRS≠know NEG

‘I don’t know’

Cf-1 *ndzĩ:tʃi*
 ndzi-Ø≠itʃi
 SM1sg-PRS≠know

‘I know’

Cf-2 *ndzĩ:tʃi:̄* *pfo*
 ndzi-Ø≠itʃi *pfo*
 SM1sg-PRS≠know DEM.M.17

‘I know there’

iii) *ndzilékapá:* *pfo*
 ndzi-le≠kap-a *pfo*
 SM1sg-PST≠hit-FV NEG

‘I didn’t hit’

Cf. *ndzileká:pa*

ndzi-le≠kap-a

SM1sg-PST≠hit-FV

‘I hit’

iv) *luláēndē*

lu-la≠end-e

SM1pl-SUBJ.NEG≠go-SUBJ

‘We shall not go, Let us not go’

Cf. *luén⁺dé*

lu≠end-e

SM1pl≠go-SUBJ

‘We shall go, Let us go’

v) *kulari:tfa,* *kutʃelelō:* *pfō*

ku-la≠ritʃ-a

ku-tʃi≠elelo

pfo

SM2sg-NEG.SUB≠run-FV SM2sg-FUT2≠breathe NEG

‘If you don’t run, you will not breathe (deeply)’

Cf. *kori:tʃá,* *kúʃě:lē:lō*

ku-a≠ritʃ-a

ku-tʃi≠elelo

SM2sg-ANT≠run-FV SM2sg-FUT2≠breathe

‘If you run, you will breathe (deeply)’

vi) *ká nkweléri:tʃá,* *kwetʃelelō:* *pfō*

ka ni=ku-e-le≠ritʃ-a

ku-e-tʃi≠elelo

pfo

if FOC=SM2sg-CF-NEG.SUB≠run-FV SM2sg-CF-FUT2≠breathe NEG

‘If you hadn’t run, you would not have breathed (deeply)’

Cf. *ká nkwéří:tʃá,* *kwétʃelē:lō*

ka ni=ku-e≠ritʃ-a

ku-e-tʃi≠elelo

if FOC=SM2sg-CF≠run-FV SM2sg-CF-FUT2≠breathe

‘If you had run, you would have breathed (deeply)’

vii) *kitapú* *ʃlaléú:rā*

ki-tapu

ŋ-la-le≠ur-a

CPx7-book SM1sg(non-FOC form)-NEG.SUBJ-PST1≠buy-FV

‘A book which I didn’t buy’

Cf-1 *kitapú* *ndzileúrā* *ki* *kítʃa:* *kjó*

ki-tapu

ndzi-le≠ur-a

ki

ki-tʃa

kjo

CPx7-book SM1sg-PST1≠buy-FV SM7 APx7-good DEM.M.7

‘A book I bought isn’t good’

Cf-2 *kitapú* *alalekí⁺ú:rā*

ki-tapu

a-la-le-ki≠ur-a

CPx7-book SM1-NEG.SUBJ-PST1-OM7≠buy-FV

‘A book which s/he didn’t buy’

N. There are four forms for marking negative in this language; 1) *tʃi* as a negative copular (i), 2) clause final particle *pfo* as a negative marker for default sentences (i.e., independent indicative affirmative clauses, (i-iii)), 3) prestem prefix *la-/le-* as a negative marker for subjunctive (iv), conditional (v) relative clauses and (vi) counter-factual construction. At least in default sentences, negative is also manifested by a specific tonal pattern, which lacks a clause-initial high tone that is a shifted realization of the high tone lexically assigned to Focus/Assertive marker *ni*, which may well be a lexical cognate of an affirmative copula and in many cases segmentally dropped. In equative sentences, negative is also marked by *pfo* (or *ni~jɪ* where the subject is 1sg), i.e., doubly marked, but not tonally modified as illustrated in (i). About a negative particle, it should be noted that the form can be grammatically agreed with the class affiliation of the subject NP. For example in sentences with 1sg subject, not only *pfo* (as a default) but *ni~jɪ*, which is a shortened form of independent pronoun, can appear as a negative marker. In other examples like in (vii), a negative particle can be a shortened form of demonstrative pronouns (of middle). We need more investigation for checking the grammaticality of such a kind of alternation. It should be also noted that the subjunctive, conditional and relative clauses are identically marked by the same morpheme *la-*. Hence it can be said that these three constructions are morphosyntactically grouped into one and the same category, at least under the context of negation. Similar phenomena, i.e., the grouping of these kinds of constructions into one category, are attested in other Kilimanjaro languages (e.g. Rombo) as well as in other groups of Eastern Bantu languages (e.g. in G30 languages, p.c. Malin Petzel). This kind of grouping phenomena may be based on semantic or information-structural nature of out-of-assertion-ness shared by those constructions (cf. Dalgish 1979 lacking the possibility of an assertion contrast). This language deals with the counter-factual construction slightly differently from the above-mentioned group of constructions. It is marked by a prestem prefix but its form is *le-*. Though there is a difference in form, it could be understood that *le-* forms share the same semantic and structural characteristics with the constructions whose negative is marked by *la-*.

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

V. 2 by a particle

See the examples in P049

N. Since there seems no tonal contrast in dependent (in this case, constructions lacking an assertion contrast mentioned above) clauses, negative in these construction is marked solely by morphological modification. Regardless of polarity, subjunctives follow its own tonal pattern (lacking an initial high tone but with a final high tone assigned to the subjunctive marker *-e*), while conditional, counter-factual and relative constructions basically follow the NTP irrelevantly of the polarity.

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

V. 2 yes, as in independent tenses

See the examples in P049

N. See notes in P049 and P050

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

V. 8 two (or more) of the strategies above (7 in a post-verbal independent negative particle only + tonal marking)

See the examples in P049

N. See notes in P049

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

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

See the examples in P049 and P050

N. See notes in P049 and P050

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

V. 2 optional double marking in the clause (including tone marking)

See the examples in P049

N. Though it is not fully confirmed, it may be structurally possible to express negation without a sentence-final negative particle, i.e. solely by tone. Note that the sentence-final negative particles are isomorphic with (shortened forms of) demonstrative pronouns including default *pfo*, which is segmentally identical to shortened form of DEM. N.17, or a copular (limitedly in 1sg). This means that, at least in former cases, segmentally homonymic phrases are easily produced and they are actually attested; e.g. *ndʒiːtʃiː p̄f̄o* ‘I know there’ (*pfo* as a locative demonstrative pronoun) vs. *ndʒiːtʃiː p̄f̄o* ‘I don’t know’ (*pfo* as a negative particle), shown in the example (ii) in P049. At least in this case, an essential part of negative expression is not a negative particle but tone marking.

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

See the examples in P050

N. See notes in P050

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)

See the examples in P049

N. See notes in P049

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

V. 1 no (not limited to 1sg)

- i) *kitapú* *ʃlaléũ:rā*
ki-tapu ŋ-la-le≠ur-a
CPx7-book SM1sg.NEG?-NEG.SUBJ-PST1≠buy-FV

‘A book which I didn’t buy’

- Cf. *ndziléurá* *kitâ:pu*
ndzi-le≠ur-a ki-tapu
SM1sg-PST1≠buy-FV CPx7-book

‘I bought a book’

- ii) *ndziléurá* *kitapû:* *pfo*
ndzi-le≠ur-a ki-tapu pfo
SM1sg-PST1≠buy-FV CPx7-book NEG

‘I didn’t buy a book’

- iii) *ndziléurá* *kitapû:* *ɲ(i)*
ndzi-le≠ur-a ki-tapu ɲi
SM1sg-PST1≠buy-FV CPx7-book NEG (<a shortened form of 1sg independent pronoun)

‘I didn’t buy a book’

- **kuléurá* *kitapû:* *ɲ(i)*
ku-le≠ur-a ki-tapu ɲi
SM2sg-PST1≠buy-FV CPx7-book NEG (<a shortened form of 1sg independent pronoun)

‘You didn’t buy a book’

- iv) *kuléurá* *kitapû:* *pfo*
ku-le≠ur-a ki-tapu pfo
SM2sg-PST1≠buy-FV CPx7-book NEG

‘You didn’t buy a book’

N. Though this language doesn’t have a negative series of SMs or a pre-initial negative marker, there seems to be two different forms of SMs: one is with a focus marker and the other is without the marker, which is *ɲi* or homorganic nasal (as a shortened form of *ɲi*) with a high tone. Although the formal distinction is not always clear at least segmentally, the contrast is clearly seen in the cl.1 SM; *na-* (*ɲa*) vs. *a-*. The example of 1sg SMs shown above is apparently not suited for this morphological explanation, but this is still considered to be the case of focus vs. non-focus contrast (i.e., not like a formal contrast between **ní* ‘it is’ vs **tí* ‘it is not’ in Meeussen (1967)’s predicative indexes). See also the examples of affirmative vs. negative distinction of copular forms in P102.

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 (49))

V. no

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

V. yes

1sg: *ndzírā:̄ ngúō: jō* ‘I will wear the clothes’

2sg: *kúirā:̄ ngúō: jō* ‘You [sg] will wear the clothes’

1pl: *lúirā:̄ ngúō: jō* ‘We will wear the clothes’

2pl: *mwírā:̄ ngúō: jō* ‘You [pl] will wear the clothes’

cl.1: *náerā:̄ ngúō: jō* ‘S/he will wear the clothes’

cl.2: *wáerā:̄ ngúō: jō* ‘They will wear the clothes’

cl.3: *ḡro fō fóló:ka* ‘The head has fallen’

cl.4: *ḡro jó jóló:ka* ‘The heads have fallen’

cl.5: *risó: †ljó lóló:ka* ‘The eye has fallen’

cl.6: *misó: !xó xóló:ka* ‘The eyes have fallen’

cl.7: *kisea kjó nkjóló:ka* ‘The hip has fallen (SM itself is *ki*)’

cl.8: *fisea fō nřjóló:ka* ‘The hips have fallen (SM itself is *ři*)’

cl.9: *mbúó jó jóló:ka* ‘The nose has fallen’

cl.10: *ndzúí †tsó tsóló:ka* ‘The hairs have fallen’

cl.11: *otfúí †ló lóló:ka* ‘The hair has fallen’

cl.12: *káná: ko kóló:ka* ‘The mouth has fallen’

cl.15: *kuru ljó ljóló:ka* ‘The ear has fallen’

for cl.16 and 17, see examples in P010

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

kíte *kjárĩ:tfa*

ki-te ki-a≠ritf-a

CPx7-dog SM7-ANT≠run-FV

‘A dog has run away’

*ki-te n(-)a-a≠ritf-a

CPx7-dog SM1-ANT≠run-FV

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

V. no

See the examples in P060

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

V. no

cf.

ma:ŋgi nálelwá:kaŋna

Ø-maŋgi n(-)a-a-le-lu≠akaŋŋ-a

CPx1a-king SM1-ANT-PST-OM1pl≠help-FV

‘The king helped us’

Cf.

*Ø-maŋgi mu-a-le-lu≠akaŋŋ-a

CPx1a-king SM2pl-ANT-PST-OM1pl≠help-FV

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)

i) *ma:ná na kité wáketawa:na*

m-ana na ki-te wa-ke≠tawan-a

CPx1-child and CPx7-dog SM2-CONT≠play-FV

‘A child and a dog are playing together’

Cf. *ki:té na ma:ná fíketawa:na*

ki-te na m-ana fí-ke≠tawan-a

CPx7-dog and CPx1-child SM8-CONT≠play-FV

‘A dog and its child are playing together’

ii) *kité na pikipiki fílekapá:na*

ki-te na Ø-pikipiki fí-le≠kap-an-a

CPx7-dog and CPx9-motor bike SM8-PST≠hit-RECIP-FV

‘A dog and a motor bike crashed’

iii) *pikipi:ki na ikâ:ri fílekūmbū*

Ø-pikipiki na i-kari fí-le≠kumb-w-a

CPx9-motor bike and CPx5-car SM8-PST≠sell-POSS-FV

‘A motor bike and a car were sold’

N. This language seems to have a default agreement pattern for subject coordination which can be formulated as follows;

i) human NP + human NP: cl.2

ii) human NP+ non-human animate NP: cl.8

iii) non-human animate + non-animate: cl.8

iv) non-animate + non-animate: cl.8

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

V. 4 past time has more than three subdivisions

P1) *ndʒĩlewō:nā*

ndʒi-le≠won-a

SM1sg-PST1≠see-FV

‘I saw’

P1’) *ndʒĩlewéwō:na* (/w/→[β]/_V[+front])

ndʒi-le-we≠won-a

SM1sg-PST1-ANT2?≠see-FV

‘I saw’

P2) *ndʒěwō:na*

ndʒi-e≠won-a

SM1sg-PST2≠see-FV

‘I saw’

P2’) *ndʒěwewō:na*

ndʒi-e-we≠won-a

SM1sg-PST2-ANT2?≠see-FV

‘I saw’

P-STAT) *ndʒěwewō:ni*

ndʒi-e-we≠won-i

SM1sg-PST2-ANT2?≠see-STAT

‘I saw/ I was seeing’

Cf. STAT) *ndʒĩwō:ni*

ndʒi≠won-i

SM1sg≠see-STAT

‘I see/I’m seeing’

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

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

F1) *ndʒĩ.wō:na* (with a Initial falling tone [SH-L])

ndʒi-i≠won-a

SM1sg-FUT1≠see-FV

‘I will see/I’m seeing (present-as-future)’

F2) *ndzĩfiwô:na*
ndzi-tʃi≠won-a
SM1sg-FUT2≠see-FV
'I will see'

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

ndzĩwô:ná

ndzi≠won-á

SM.1sg≠see-HAB

'I see' (Sw. Huona)

N. (though obscuring) Final H may be a remnant of *-ag-a; i.e., *-ag-a>*-á-a>-á (cf. historical change on *-ag in other KB) esp. WK))

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

V. yes

1) *ndzĩkapié*

ndzi-Ø≠kap-ié

SM1sg-PRS.STAT≠hit-ANT

'I have hit' (Sw. Nimepiga)

2) *ndzĩwo:nié*

ndzi-Ø≠won-ie

SM1sg-PRS.STAT≠see-ANT

'I have seen' (Sw: Nimeona)

Cf. *ndzĩwo:ni*

ndzi-Ø≠won-i

SM1sg-PRS.STAT≠see-STAT

'I see/I'm seeing' (Sw: Ninaona)

N. Two forms of *-ide?: i) -ié of ANT, ii) -i of STAT (attached limitedly to the stative verb stems).

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)

lũtʃiéndambă:ŋga

lu-tʃi-enda-m≠wang-a

SM1pl-FUT2-ITV-OM1≠call-a

'We will go and call him'

Cf. *lútfiénda* *imbă:ŋga*

lu-tʃi-enda i-m≠wang-a

SM1pl-FUT2-go INF-OM1≠call-FV

‘We will go to call him’

N. The itive motional/ directional notion is normally expressed lexically by *-enda* ‘go’ (as in (1)), which is used as a more grammaticalized element There is a *ka-* prefix in this language but the prefix seems to be used as i) a consecutive marker, and ii) a conditional marker.

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

V. 1 yes, in restricted contexts only (e.g. a particular tense/aspect)?

lútʃitfa *imbă:ŋga*

lu-tʃi-enda i-m≠wang-a

SM1pl-FUT2-come INF-OM1≠call-FV

‘We will come to call him/ come and call him’

Cf. *lútʃitfa*/*ambă:ŋga*

lu-tʃi-tʃa-m≠wang-a

SM1pl-FUT2-VTV-OM1≠call-FV

‘We will come and call him/ We will (definitely) call him ‘

N. the modality marker *tʃa-* can denote a kind of ventive connotation as well.

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

V. yes

i) *éndá*

end-a

go-FV

‘Go!’

ii) *éndé:ŋi*

end-a-ijni

go-FV-PL

‘Go!’ (for plural addressee)

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

V. 1 yes, the plural is expressed by a post-verbal marker (suffix or enclitic)

i) *lja* *ké:ʎá*

li-a kelia

eat-FV 7.food

‘Eat!’

- ii) *ljeŋ́ ké:˥ljá*
 li-a-ini kelja
 eat-FV-PL 7.food
 ‘Eat!’ (for plural addressee)

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

V. no

N. As usually observed in most Kilimanjaro languages, Uru also utilizes multiple TAM slots. See, for example, past tense/aspect distinction shown in P065.

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 (12) & (13))?

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

- i) *ndzilewikia maná mba*
 ndzi-le≠wik-i-a M-ana N-ba
 SM1sg-PST1≠build-FV CPx1-child CPx9-house
 ‘I built a house for a child’

- ii) *ndzilembikía mba*
 ndzi-le-M≠wik-i-a N-ba
 SM1sg-PST1-OM1≠build-FV CPx9-house
 ‘I built a house for him/her’

- iii) *ndzileiwikia mā:na*
 ndzi-le-i≠wik-i-a ṁ-ana
 SM1sg-PST1-OM9≠build-FV CPx1-child
 ‘I built it for a child’

- iv) *ndzileimbikía*
 ndzi-le-i-M≠wik-i-a
 SM1sg-PST1-OM9-OM1≠build-FV
 ‘I built it for him/her’

- v) **ndzilemwiwikia*
 ndzi-le-M-i≠wik-i-a
 SM1sg-PST1-OM1-OM9≠build-FV
 Int. ‘I built it for him/her’

N. The verb has a morphological slot for an OM. It is structurally possible to take multiple OMs (up to two), but it seems that multiple OMs are restricted by rather strict constraints (but detailed conditions are yet to be investigated).

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

i) *ndzilě:wawikia*

ndzi-le-i-wa≠wiki-a

SM.1sg-PST1-OM.9-OM.2≠build.APPL-FV

‘I built it for them.’

ii) **ndzilewaiwikia*

ndzi-le-wa-i≠wiki-a

SM.1sg-PST1-OM.2-OM.1≠build.APPL-FV

Int. ‘I built it for them.’

iii) **ndzilewatsiwikia*

ndzi-le-wa-tsi≠wiki-a

SM.1sg-PST1-OM.2-OM.10≠build.APPL-FV

Int. ‘I built those for them.’

iv) **ndziletsiwawikia*

ndzi-le-tsi-wa≠wiki-a

SM.1sg-PST1-OM.10-OM.2≠build.APPL-FV

Int. ‘I built those for them.’

N. see P075

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

V. 2 yes, by another form

ndzilkuwó:ni

ndzi-ku≠won-i

SM1sg-REF≠see-STAT

‘I’m looking at myself’

Cf. *ndzilkuwo:ni*

ndzi-ku≠won-i

SM1sg-OM2sg≠see-STAT

‘I’m looking at you’

N. The form of the reflexive suffix is *ku-*, which is only tonally distinguished from *ku-* OM2sg.

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) *ndzilewikia* *waná* *mba*
 ndzi-le≠wiki-a wa-na N-ba
 SM.1sg-PST1≠build.APPL-FV CPx2-child CPx9-house
 ‘I built a house for children.’
- ii) *ndzilewawikia* *mba*
 ndzi-le-wa≠wiki-a N-ba
 SM.1sg-PST1-OM.2≠build.APPL-FV CPx9-house
 ‘I built a house for them.’
- iii) *ndzileiwikia* *wá:na*
 ndzi-le≠wiki-a wa-na
 SM.1sg-PST1-OM.9≠build.APPL-FV CPx2-child
 ‘I built it for children.’
- iv) *ndzileiwawikia*
 ndzi-le-i-wa≠wiki-a
 SM.1sg-PST1-OM.9-OM.2≠build.APPL-FV
 ‘I built it for them.’
- cf. *ndzilekiu:ra* *kitǎ:pu*
 SM.1sg-PST-OM7≠buy-FV CPx7-book
 ‘I bought the book’

N. Though it is structurally possible for an OM to co-occur with a post verbal object NP, the co-occurrence is normally avoided. However, if an object NP is dislocated to a preverbal position, an OM is normally required.

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

V. yes

- i) *ndzisô:me* *kitǎ:pu*
 ndzi≠som-e ki-tapu
 SM1sg≠read-SUBJ CPx7-book
 ‘I shall read a book/ so that I read a book (SUBJ)’
- ii) *ndzilásomé* *kitǎ:pu*
 ndzi-la≠som-e ki-tapu
 SM1sg-NEG2≠read-SUBJ CPx7-book
 ‘I shall not read a book/ lest I read a book (SUBJ.NEG)’

P080 Negative final vowel: Is there a negative final vowel (e.g. -i, -e)? (see also parameters (52) and (53))

V. no

N. This language, along with other Chaga languages, Negative is marked either by clause final particle (in dependent clauses) or NEG2 marker (in relative and subjunctive clauses etc.) with tonal modification. Final vowel is in principle irrelevant with negative marking.

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

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

See notes below

N. There are a group of irregular (stative) verb stems whose final vowel is *-i*; e.g. *≠keri* ‘be, exist’, *≠tʃi* ‘know’ etc. There is another group of verbs which can be inflected by the stative final vowel *-i* (i.e., they can also be inflected by *-a*, the default FV); e.g. *≠won* ‘see’, *≠kund* ‘love’ etc. So called active verbs cannot be inflected by stative *-i*.

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 data to be added

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. yes

<i>ndʒi:kõ:ja</i>	<i>ŋgaŋʃika</i>	<i>remén</i>
<i>ndʒi-i≠koi-a</i>	<i>ŋga-ŋ≠ʃik-a</i>	<i>rema-ɪŋi</i>
SM1sg-FUT1≠find-FV	SM1sg.ANT-COMP-arrive-FV	field-LOC

‘I will have arrived at the field.’

N. Not only in Uru but widely in other Kilimanjaro Bantu languages, the stem *-kõ:ja* ‘find’ or related forms are widely used complex tense constructions (especially imperfective aspects in future tense) as a tense marking auxiliary verb. See also P127 for complementizer-like usage of *-kõ:ja*.

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. null

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

V. no

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

V. yes: tonal marking

- i) *kitapú kiljá ndzilaléū:rā*
ki-tapu ki-lja ndzi-la-le≠ur-a
CPx.7-book PPx7-DEM.F SM.1sg-NEG2-PST1≠buy-FV
'The book which I didn't buy.'

- ii) *kitapú llaléū:rā*
ki-tapu ŋ-la-le≠ur-a
CPx.7-book SM.1sg(non.FOC form)-NEG2-PST1≠buy-FV
'The book which I didn't buy.'

N. Though it is not obligatory, the remote demonstrative *-lja* is supposedly cooccurs in many cases.

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

V. null

- i) *kitapú kiljá ndzilaléū:rā*
ki-tapu ki-lja ndzi-la-le≠ur-a
CPx.7-book PPx7-DEM.F SM.1sg-NEG2-PST1≠buy-FV
'The book which I did't buy.'

- ii) *kitapú llaléū:rā*
ki-tapu ŋ-la-le≠ur-a
CPx.7-book SM.1sg(non.FOC form)-NEG2-PST1≠buy-FV
'The book which I did't buy.'

N. As mentioned in P087, the remote demonstrative *-lja* can be used, but it is not an obligatory form.

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

V. n.a.

- i) *kitapú kiljá ndzilaléū:rā*
ki-tapu ki-lja ndzi-la-le≠ur-a
CPx.7-book PPx7-DEM.F SM.1sg-NEG2-PST1≠buy-FV
'The book which I didn't buy.'

- ii) *kitapú llaléū:rā*
ki-tapu ŋ-la-le≠ur-a
CPx.7-book SM.1sg(non.FOC form?)-NEG2-PST1≠buy-FV
'The book which I didn't buy.'

N. (but 'yes' if you regard a demonstrative as part of REL marking strategy. In most cases DEM.F is occurred before a relative clause and it is agreed with the noun class of the modified noun)

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

V. 2 yes, demonstratives as pseud-relativisors always shows grammatical agreement with a head noun. See the examples in P089 etc.

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

V. 2 the subject

<i>kitapú</i>	<i>ma:ná</i>	<i>alekiū:rā</i>	<i>ɲi</i>	<i>iki</i>
ki-tapu	m-ana	a-le-ki≠ur-a	ɲi	iki
CPx.7-book	CPx1-child	SM.1-PST1-OM.7≠buy-FV	COP	DEM.N-PPx7

‘The book the child bought is this’

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

V. yes

See the example in P091

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

V. 3 yes, it is required in certain conditions (e.g. depending on the class, [+/- animate], etc.)

- i) *kitapú* *ndzileúra* *ŋgí* *ki:tʃa*
 ki-tapu ndzi-le≠ur-a Nki ki-tʃa
 CPx.7-book SM.1sg-PST1≠buy-FV COP.7 APx7-good
 ‘The book I bought is good’
- ii) *kitapú* *ndzileúra* *ki* *kítʃä:* *kjó*
 ki-tapu ndzi-le≠ur-a ki ki-tʃa ki-o
 CPx.7-book SM.1sg-PST1≠buy-FV PPx7(as COP) APx7-good PPx7-DEM.M(as NEG)
 ‘The book I bought isn’t good’
- iii) *kitapú* *ma:ná* *alekiū:rā* *ɲi* *iki*
 ki-tapu m-ana a-le-ki≠ur-a ɲi iki
 CPx.7-book CPx1-child SM.1-PST1-OM.7≠buy-FV COP DEM.N-PPx7
 ‘The book the child bought is this’

N. Forms with and without a resumptive OM are attested, though specific conditions controlling presence or absence of the element are yet to be investigated.

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

V. null

N. At least about temporal relatives, demonstrative elements (in class 5) or an auxiliary-like element are used as a head noun and headless relative constructions are not attested (for more information, see P135).

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

V. no

i) **m̩ru:fu* *fo* *l̩leotʃa* *náma*
m̩-rufu *fi-o* *ŋ-le≠otʃ-a* *nama*
 CPx3-smell PPx3-DEM.M SM1sg-PST≠grill-FV 9.meat
 Int. ‘The smell that is caused by (my) grilling meat.’

ii) *m̩rũ:fu* *fo* *náma* *j̩*ó:tʃ*á*
m̩-rufu *fi-o* *n-ama* *i≠otʃ-a*
 CPx3-smell PPx3-DEM.M 9.meat CPx5≠grill-FV
 ‘The smell of meat which is grilled’

N. The existence of so-called gapless constructions has not yet been confirmed in this language. The gapless relation between a head noun and its modifying clause may be expressed by a noun modifying infinitive as in (ii).

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

V. null

N. Probably there must be a restriction on the presence of *we-* (cf. P065 of the past tense distinction). There may be some restrictions on TAM distinctions as in definite negative verb structures, where, for example, the aspectual marker *we-* cannot appear (the distinction between the form with and without *we-* is neutralized in negative forms). More research is needed.

P097 Clefts: How are clefts formed?

V. 3 both strategies 1 (through the use of a segmentally expressed copula) and 2 (through modification of the noun (linked with the tonal/segmental augment))

nʃitapú *ndzilɛwáurî:a*
n=ʃi-tapu *ndzi-le-wa≠ur-i-a*
 COP=CPx7-book SM1sg-PST1-OM2≠buy-APPL-FV
 ‘It is (the) books that I bought for them.’

(<e.g. an answer to ‘What did you buy for them?’)

Cf. *ʃitapú* *ndzilɛ:wáurîa*
 ʃi-tapu *ndzi-le-we-wa≠ur-i-a*
 CPx7-book SM1sg-PST1-IPFV-OM2≠buy-APPL-FV

‘(The) books, I bought for them (not anything else).’

(with a connotation that ‘I cannot count up other things, but I did buy books for them.)

N. The cleft construction can be identified as COP+head noun+Relative VP (without a default initial high tone assigned to VP). However, this construction is very close to a simple object raising construction, where a raised NP can be marked by *ni=*, which is homophonous with the copula and functions as a focus marker in this context.

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

V. yes

Temporal NP

i) *akidá nǎlě:nda kjúkwa:ni*
 akida ni=a-le≠end-a kjukwani
 P.N. FOC=SM1-PST1≠go-FV evening
 ‘Akida went in the evening’

ii) *ηkjúkwa:ní ákidá alě:nda*
 ni=kjukwani akida a-le≠end-a
 FOC=evening P.N. SM1-PST1≠go-FV
 ‘It is in the evening that Akida went’

Locative PP/NP

iii) *nǎlě:nda ko mā:ηgĩ*
 ni=a-le≠end-a ku-a maŋgi
 FOC=SM1-PST1≠go-FV PPx17-ASSC 1.chief
 ‘S/he went to the chief’s place’

iv) *ηkǒ mā:ηgĩ (n)ǎlě:nda*
 ni=ku-a maŋgi (ni=)a-le≠end-a
 PPx17-ASSC 1.chief (FOC=)SM1-PST1≠go-FV
 ‘It is to the chief’s place that s/he went’

Instrumental PP (with a resumptive PP)

v) *nǎlekápa na kjĩ:ri*
 ni=a-le≠kap-a na ki-ri
 FOC=SM1-PST1≠hit-FV with CPx7-stick
 ‘S/he hit (s.th.) with a stick’

vi) *ηkjĩ:ri álekápa nā:kjō*
 ni=ki-ri a-le≠kap-a na=ki-o
 FOC=CPx-stick SM1-PST1≠hit-FV with=PPx7-DEM.M
 ‘It is a stick with which s/he hit (s.th.)’

N. It is attested that not only temporal NPs (as in (ii)) but structural locative PPs, which can be functionally regarded as locative NPs (as in (iv)), can be clefted. Instrumental PPs, on the other hand, can also be clefted in a way that only an instrumental NP can be syntactically clefted and the

preposition *na* ‘with’ should be left in the matrix clause with a demonstrative stem encliticized {*na=PPx-o*}.

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

V. yes

N. Absence of the focus marker *ni=* can be a clue of a polar question, however, it should be also noted that its presence marks a sentential truth-value focus.

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

V. 6 difficult to distinguish a dominant strategy

i) [in situ (encliticized)]

ki:té kíkérəpfúnā:kī

ki-te ki-ke≠rapfun-a=ki

CPx7-dog SM7-CONT≠chew-FV=what

‘What is the dog chewing?’

ii) [IBV]

ki:té ŋkī kíkérəpfū:na

ki-te *ni=ki* ki-ke≠rapfun-a

CPx7-dog FOC=what SM7-CONT≠chew-FV

‘What is the dog chewing?’

iii) [clause-initially]

ŋkī kité kíkérəpfū:na

ni=ki ki-te ki-ke≠rapfun-a

FOC=whatCPx7-dog SM7-CONT≠chew-FV

‘What is the dog chewing?’

N. So-called wh- elements, most of them are pronominal elements (e.g. ‘what’ is expressed as *ŋki* {FOC=PPx7}, ‘where’ as *ŋku ~ ŋkwi* {FOC=PPx17}), can appear in the following positions: i) in situ, ii) IBV, and iii) clause-initial positions, though there may be Information-structural differences between them, details of which are still unclear.

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

V. yes

nákeritfīā:kī

ni=a-keri≠tʃ-i-a=ki

FOC=SM1-CONT≠run-APPL-FV=what

‘Why is s/he running?’

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

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

i) *kité* *ni* *mbúru* *ja* *ngā:rā*
ki-te ji N-buru i-a N-gara
CPx7-dog COP CPx9-animal PPx9-ASSC CPx9-forest
'A dog is an animal of the forest'

ii) *kité* *kí* *ki* *mbúru* *ja* *ngā:rā*
ki-te ki ki N-buru i-a N-gara
CPx7-dog DEM.N.7 COP.7 CPx9-animal PPx9-ASSC CPx9-forest
'A dog is an animal of the forest'

N. Both the invariant copula *ni* (i) and the class-inflected PPx (ii) can be used as an equative copula.

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

V. 6 multiple strategy

See the examples in P102

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

V. yes: Focus marking

See the examples in P140

N. See notes in P140

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

V. 3 a lexical verb only

i) PRS

náworé *mba*
ji=a≠wor-e N-ba
FOC=SM1≠hold-STAT CPx9-house
'I have a house'

ii) PST

néworé *mba*
ji=a-e≠wor-e N-ba
FOC=SM1-PST2≠hold-STAT CPx9-house
'I had a house'

‘Godi gave food to a child’

ii) [inherent ditransitive: IO (theme) passivisation]

kje:ljá (ŋ)kǎǎɲɪŋwo *mwâ:na*

ki-lja ɲi=a-eɲɪŋg-w-a mw-ana

CPx7-food(FOC=)SM1-PST2≠give-PASS-FV CPx1-child

‘Food is given to a child’

iii) [inherent ditransitive: DO (recipient) passivisation]

mwɑ:ná (ŋ)ǎǎɲɪŋwo *kē:lǎ*

mw-ana ɲi=a-eɲɪŋg-w-a kelja

CPx1-child FOC=SM1-PST2≠give-PASS-FV 7.food

‘A child is given food’

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

i) *ndzilewawikia* *mba*
ndzi-le-wa≠wiki-a N-ba
SM.1sg-PST1-OM.2≠build.APPL-FV CPx9-house
‘I built a house for them.’

ii) *ndzileiwikia* *wá:na*
ndzi-le≠wiki-a wa-na
SM.1sg-PST1-OM.9≠build.APPL-FV CPx2-child
‘I built it for children.’

iii) *ndzilě:wawikia*
ndzi-le-i-wa≠wiki-a
SM.1sg-PST1-OM.9-OM.2≠build.APPL-FV
‘I built it for them.’

N. This language, like most other Chaga languages, seems to be classified as a symmetric type of language in terms of the morphosyntactic status of objects in the applicative construction. For example, both objects can be marked in a prestem slot (see the examples in P078). However, the possibility for both object NPs can take IAV position has not yet been tested.

P111 Pro-drop: Can the grammatical subject be omitted (i.e. is there pro-drop)? (link with (60))

V. yes

i) [with a subject independent pronoun]

weɲ *ŋgátʃa* *î:ja*

weɲ ɲga≠tʃ-a ija

INDP.1sg SM1sg.ANT≠come-FV DEM.N.16

‘I have come here’

ii) [without a subject independent pronoun]

ŋgátfa *î:ja*
ŋga≠tʃ-a *ija*
SM1sg.ANT≠come-FV DEM.N.16

‘I have come here’

iii) [without SM]

* *wep tʃa î:ja*

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

V. no

i) *kitapu* *kjî:ki* *tʃilesô:ma*
ki-tapu ki-iki tʃi-le≠som-a
CPx7-book PPx7-DEM.N.7 SM1sg-PST1≠read-FV

‘(It is) the book I read’

ii) **i:ki kita:p tʃilesô:ma*

iki ki-tapu tʃi-le≠som-a
DEM.N.7 CPx7-book SM1sg-PST1≠read-FV

Cf. *i:kí* *ŋ* *kită:pu*
iki ɲi ki-tapu
DEM.N.7 COP CPx7-book

‘This is a book’

P113 Quant-Noun: Is there a prenominal quantifier?

V. yes

kilá *ŋndu* *năkeso:ma*
kila ɲ-ndu ɲi=a-ke≠som-a
every CPx1-entity FOC=SM1-CONT≠read-FV

‘Everyone is reading a book’

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

V. yes

i) *i:kí* *ŋ* *kitapú* *kja:kó* *kī:tʃā*
iki ɲi ki-tapu ki-ako ki-tʃa
DEM.N.7 COP CPx7-book PPx7-POSS.2sg PPx7-good

‘This is your good book’

N. In the case of applicative constructions, IAV position seems to be basically occupied by an applied NP as in i). What may be worth mentioning is that OM in the applicative verb seems to be required to agree with

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

V. no

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. null

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. null

[SVLoc]

godi aḿfika reméḿ
godi a-ḿ≠fik-a rema-ḿni

P.N. SM1.ANT-COMP≠arrive 9.field-LOC

‘Godi has arrived in the field’

[LocSV]

?reméḿ gōdī aḿma efi:ka
rema-ḿni godi a-ḿ≠ma-a i≠fik-a

9.field-LOC P.N. SM1.ANT-COMP≠finish-FV CPx5≠arrive-FV

‘Godi has (already) arrived in the field’

[LocVS]

**remeḿ aḿma efi:ka godi*
rema-ḿni a-ḿ≠ma-a i≠fik-a godi

9.field-LOC SM1.ANT-COMP≠finish-FV CPx5≠arrive-FV P.N.

Int. ‘Godi has (already) arrived in the field’

N. As shown in the examples, not only does VS order tend to be highly avoided, but also left-dislocation of post-verbal elements including inversion constructions seems to be restricted.

P122 Locative inversion: Is locative inversion attested?

V. no

[LocV (locative inversion)]

*alja kiloʃioɲi xakesoma
alja ki-loʃio-ɲi xa-ke≠som-a
DEM.F.16 CPx7-school-LOC SM16-CONT≠read-FV

Int. ‘In the school s/he is reading a book’

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

V. no

[SVO]

godi nãkesoma kitã:pu
godi ɲi=a-ke≠som-a ki-tapu
P.N. FOC=SM1-CONT≠read-FV CPx7-book

‘Godi is reading a book’

[OVS (object inversion)]

**kita:pu kikesoma godi*
ki-tapu ki-ke≠som-a godi
CPx7-book SM7-CONT≠read-FV P.N.

P124 Instrument inversion: Is instrument inversion attested?

V. no

[SVO-PP_{INST}]

godi nãlekãpa mbe no:pói
godi ɲi=a-le≠kap-a N-mbe na opoi
P.N. FOC=SM1-PST1≠hit-FV CPx9-cow with 11.stick

‘Godi hit a cow with a stick’

[PP_{INST}-SVO]

kõ:pói nãletsikã:pa
ku-a opoi ɲi=a-le-tsi≠kap-a
PPx17-ASSOC 11.stick FOC=SM1-PST1-OM10≠hit-FV

‘With a stick, s/he hit them (e.g. cows)’

[Instrumental inversion]

**opói lúletsikã:pa*
opoi lu-le-tsi≠kap-a
11.stick SM11-PST1-OM10≠hit-FV

Int. ‘(s.o.) hit them (e.g. cows) with a stick.’

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

<i>lūletfa</i>	<i>wo:ná</i>	<i>nda:ra</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>lūko:lja</i>
lu-le≠tʃ-a	i≠won-a	N-dara	na	lu-ka≠li-a
SM1pl-PST1≠come-FV	INF≠see-FV	CPx.9-fruit	and	SM11-CONS≠eat-FV

‘We came to see (the) fruits and eat them.’

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

V. yes

<i>lūletfa</i>	<i>wo:ná</i>	<i>nda:ra</i>	<i>lūko:lja</i>
lu-le≠tʃ-a	i≠won-a	N-dara	lu-ka≠li-a
SM1pl-PST1≠come-FV	INF≠see-FV	CPx.9-fruit	SM11-CONS≠eat-FV

N. TAM prefix *ka-* shows an aspectual notion of subsequentity. However, unlike the similar prefix in Swahili, *ka-* forms can be preceded by the conjunctive *na* ‘and’ as shown in P125.

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

V. null

<i>gódí</i>	<i>nǎleluβía</i>	<i>kokó:ja</i>	<i>nakě:tʃa</i>
godi	ɲi=a-le-lu≠wi-a	ku-a≠koj-a	ɲi-a=ke≠tʃ-a
P.N.	FOC=SM1-PST1-OM1pl≠tell-FV	SM17-ANT≠find-FV	FOC=SM1-CONT≠come-FV

‘Godi told us that s/he is coming’

N. According to a consultant, *kokó:ja* in the above example may be interpreted as a kind of complementiser. However, it is also analyzable as an auxiliary that marks futurity (cf. P084) and the consultant’s semantic explanation of this word (‘later, shortly’) seems to support the latter analysis. Additionally, this form can also be used as a conditional conjunction (like *kama* in Swahili). More investigation needed.

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

V. 1

N. See the example in P127.

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

V. no

N. If we regard *-kó:ja* shown in P127 as a kind of complementiser, then its lexical origin is, however, not from a verb meaning ‘say’ or ‘tell’ but from a verb meaning ‘find’.

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

V. null

i) *kúleámba* *kokó:ja* *kúitfa*
 ku-le≠amb-a ku-a≠koj-a ku-i≠tʃ-a
 SM2sg-PST1≠say-FV SM17-ANT≠find-FV SM2sg-FUT≠come-FV
 ‘You said that you are coming’

ii) *kúleámba* *kúikó:ja* *kúitfa*
 ku-le≠amb-a ku-i≠koj-a ku-i≠tʃ-a
 SM2sg-PST1≠say-FV SM2sg-FUT1≠find-FV SM2-FUT1≠come-FV
 ‘You said that you are coming’

N. As shown in the examples, *-kó:ja*, which might be interpreted as a complementiser grammaticalized from an auxiliary, has two series of inflectional pattern, i.e., one is the invariant form *kokó:ja* and the other is a series of forms with an agreement marker (SM), as illustrated in (i) and (ii), respectively.

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

V. 3 both 1 or 2 are possible, but not in the same clause

i) *kokó:ja* *aetʃi* *nǎekuβía*
 ku-a≠koj-a a≠itʃi ɲi=a-i-ku≠wi-a
 SM17-ANT≠find-FV SM1-FUT1≠know FOC=SM1-FUT1-OM2≠tell-FV
 ‘If s/he knows (it), s/he will tell you.’

ii) *káetʃi* *nǎekuβía*
 a-ka≠itʃi ɲi=a-i-ku≠wi-a
 SM1-COND≠know FOC=SM1-FUT1-OM2≠tell-FV
 ‘If s/he knows (it), s/he will tell you.’

N. While *kokó:ja* can also be used as a conditional conjunction (cf. P127), TAM prefix *ka-* is also used as a conditional marker in this language. Taking into account this fact, TAM marker affixed in *kokó:ja* may be regarded as the conditional *ka-*, i.e. *ku-ka≠koj-a* (k-deletion after /u/ is not unnatural in this language).

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

V. null

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

V. null

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. 1 by the use of specific constructions

<i>liljá</i>	<i>ŋgaʃika</i>	<i>ija</i>	<i>ɲélē:lē</i>
lilja	ŋgaʃik-a	ija	ɲi=eʃlal-ie

DEM.R.5 SM1sg.ANT≠arrive-FV DEM.N.16(LOC) FOC=SM1≠sleep-STAT

‘When I arrived here, s/he was sleeping’

N. Apparently the near demonstrative of cl.5 *liljá* is used as a head of temporal adverbial clauses irrespective of inflectional properties of, e.g. a subject noun.

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

V. null

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

V. 2 by a particular lexical device (e.g. the „comparator“ *kuliko* in Swahili)

<i>gódi</i>	<i>ná</i>	<i>mwa:tʃa</i>	<i>kota</i>	<i>tēmbā</i>
godi	ɲi=a	ɱ-atʃa	kota	temba

P.N. FOC=SM1PPx1-tall than P.N.

‘Godi is taller than Temba’

N. The form *kota*, whose lexical origin is unclear to the author, is observed to be used as a comparator.

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 focused term be marked by a morphological focus marker?

V. yes

- i) *ɣkɪsali* *alekapa* *ɲbe*
 ɲi=kɪsali a-le≠kap-a N-mbe
 FOC=P.N. SM1-PST1≠hit-FV CPx9-cow
 ‘_{FOC}[Kɪsali] hit a cow’ (<A. for “Who hit a cow?”)
- ii) *ɣki:ʔri* *ǎlekapa* *nā: kjō*
 ɲi=ki-ri H=a-le≠kap-a na ki-o
 FOC=CPx7-tree FOC=SM1-PST1≠hit-F with PPx7-DEM.M
 “(It is) _{FOC}[with (the) stick] (that) s/he hit (something)”

N. Focus marking of this language, be it term focus or predicate focus, can be regarded as achieved through the focus proclitic *ɲi* that is generally thought to be grammaticalized from the homophonic identificational copula.

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

V. yes

- i) *godi* *nǎekirundá* *kirundío* *dā:*
 godi ɲi=a-i-ki≠rund-a ki-rund-io daa
 P.N. FOC=SM1-FUT1-OM7≠work-FV CPx7-work-NMLZ too
 ‘Godi, too, will work’
- ii) *godi* *amují* *akerúnda* *kirundío*
 godi amuji a-ke≠rund-a ki-rund-io
 P.N. only SM1-CONT≠work-FV CPx7-work-NMLZ
 ‘Only Godi is working’
- iii) *mǎ:* *godi* *nǎekerunda* *kirundio*
 maa godi ɲi=a-ke≠rund-a ki-rund-io
 even P.N. FOC=SM1-CONT≠work-FV CPx7-work-NMLZ
 ‘Even Godi is working’

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

V. no

N. See the examples in P140

Rombo (E623)[†]

Daisuke Shinagawa

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

V. n.a.

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

V. n.a.

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

V. yes

1σ: *i-t'e* ‘birdy’

2σ: *i-riso/riso* ‘eye’

3σ: *i-bebere* kernel (of a fruit) etc. (tone omitted)

N. CPx5 *i-* can be omitted in some disyllabic inherent nouns that belong to semantically basic categories. Conditions of omission are unclear (largely both forms are used interchangeably).

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

V. 15

cl.1) *m'-shuku* *ú-⁺lá*
CPx.1-grand child PPx.1-DEM.F
‘That grandchild’

cl.2) *va-shuku* *vá-⁺lá*
CPx.2-grand child PPx.2-DEM.F
‘Those grandchildren’

cl.3) *m'-di* *ú-⁺lá*
CPx.3-‘tree’ PPx.3-DEM.F
‘That tree’

[†] The phonemic inventory of this language is as follows; /p, t, t' [te~t^h~t^l], k, b, d, j [j], g; m, n, ny [ɲ], ng' [ŋ], m' [m̥], ng' [ŋ̥]; f, v, s, sh [ʃ], h; r, r [r], l; y [j], w; a, e, i, o, u/. Following the general convention in Bantu linguistics, nasal parts of NC clusters are described by *n*, except *mC*[+bilabial]. Tone marking, where available, is given as surface realization; [á]: high, [ǎ]: super high (upstepped high), [⁺á]: downstepped high, [â]: falling, [ã]: rising. Abbreviations used in the gloss are as follows; 1, 2, 3 etc.: Class numbers, 1sg, 2pl etc.: Person + Singular/Plural, ANT: Anterior, APPL: Applicative, APx: Adjective Prefix, ASSC: Associative, CAUS: Causative, COMP: Completive, CONS: Consecutive, CONT: Continuous, COP: Copula, CPx: Noun Class Prefix, DEM.F/M/N: Demonstrative Far/Middle/Near, F: Final vowel (default inflectional suffix of verb), FUT(n): Future, HAB: Habitual, IMPF.P: Imperfective Past, INDPRO: Independent Pronoun, INF: Infinitive, NEG2: Secondary Negative (slot), NEGP: Negative particle, NOML: Nominalizer, OM: Object Marker, POSS: Possessive pronoun, PPx: Pronominal Prefix, PRS: Present, PST(n): Past, SM: Subject Marker, STAT: Stative, SUBJ: Subjunctive, -: Affix boundary, =: Clitic boundary, ≠: Verb stem boundary.

- cl.4) *mi-di* *i-lá*
 CPx.4-tree PPx.4-DEM.F
 ‘Those trees’
- cl.5) *i-we (i-wé)* *lya*
 CPx.5-stone DEM.F.5
 ‘That stone’
- cl.6) *ma-we* *yá-lá*
 CPx.6-stone PPx.6-DEM.F
 ‘Those stones’
- cl.7) *ki-óóve* *ki-lá*
 CPx.7-mirror PPx.7-DEM.F
 ‘That mirror’
- cl.8) *fí-óóve* *fí-lá*
 CPx.8-mirror PPx.8-DEM.F
 ‘Those mirrors’
- cl.9) *Ø-shubá* *í-lá*
 CPx.9-bottle PPx.9-DEM.F
 ‘That bottle’
- cl.10) *Ø-shubá* *sí-lá (si-lá)*
 CPx.10-bottle PPx.10-DEM.F
 ‘Those bottles’
- cl.11) *u-baó* *ú-lá*
 CPx.11-board PPx.11-DEM.F
 ‘That board’
- cl.12) *ka-m-báka* *ká-lá*
 CPx.12-CPx.9-cat PPx.12-DEM.F
 ‘That small cat’
- cl.13) *dú-m-ba* *dú-lá*
 CPx.13-CPx.9-room PPx.13-DEM.F
 ‘Those small rooms’
- cl.16) *ha-ndu* *há-lá*
 CPx.16-entity PPx.16-DEM.F
 ‘That (specific) place’
- cl.17) *ku-ndu* *kú-lá*
 CPx.17-entity PPx.17-DEM.F
 ‘That place’

N. cl.15 seems to have been lost in this language, e.g. the word *kdú* ‘ear’, which is a typical cl.15 word (cf. PB **ku-tói*), is grammatically treated as cl.7 (its plural may be in cl.6 *madú* or cl.8 *fidú*). This change of class affiliation seems to have been triggered by historical devoicing of high vowels after

/k/, which makes CPx15 practically homophonous with CPx7. Infinitive, which is also marked by cl.15 in many Eastern Bantu languages, is marked by CPx.5 as in many other Kilimanjaro Bantu languages.

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

V. yes

i) *ilola*

i-lol-a

CPx5-see-F

‘to see’

ii) *úkundi* *ishihilya* *lúv[†]áá*

u-Ø≠kund-i

i-shihili-a

luvaa

SM2sg-PRS≠love-STAT CPx5-leave-F now

‘You want to leave now’

N. As in many Kilimanjaro Bantu languages, the infinitive/gerund marker is CPx5 *i-*.

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

V. yes

kambaka

ka-N-baka

CPx12-CPx9-cat

‘small cat [sg]’

Cf. *mbaka*

N-baka

CPx9-cat

‘cat [sg]’

N. Plural of this class may either be cl.8 or cl.13, though the latter seems not so productive as a plural class of diminutive, e.g.;

fimbaka

fi-N-baka

CPx8-CPx9-cat

‘small cats [pl]’

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

V. yes

indeke

i-N-deke

CPx5-CPx9-bird

‘big bird [sg]’

Cf. *ndeke*

N-deke

CPx9-bird

‘bird [sg]’

N. Plural of this class is regularly cl.6, i.e.

mandeke

ma-N-deke

CPx6-CPx9-bird

‘big birds [pl]’

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

handu

ha-ndu

CPx16-entity

‘(the) place [definite-like, cf. undifferentiated spot (Contini-Morava 1976: 142)]’

kundu

ku-ndu

CPx17-entity

‘(a) place [general, indefinite, cf. left unspecified (Contini-Morava 1976: 142)]’

Cf. Contini-Morava, E. 1976. Statistical demonstration of a meaning: The Swahili locatives in existential assertions, In: *Studies in African Linguistics* 7(2): 137–156

N. CPxs 16 and 17, *ha*- and *ku*- respectively, are neither productively used with other stems (practically those CPxs are used only with the stem *ndu*) nor used as derivational suffixes. However, locative nouns (productively derived by suffixation of *-ini*) always follow cl.16/17 agreement. cl.18 is missing.

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

V. yes

i) *kasini*

Ø-kasi-**ini**

CPx9-work-LOC

‘(in) a work place [LOC noun]’

ii) *meseni*

Ø-mesa-**ini**

CPx9-table-LOC

‘(on) a table [LOC noun]’

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

V. yes

i) *handu asháfúka*

ha-ndu a^h-a≠shafuk-a

CPx16-entity SM16-ANT≠be dirty-F

‘The place has been dirty’

ii) *kundu kwasháfúka*

ku-ndu ku^h-a≠shafuk-a

CPx17-entity SM17-ANT≠be dirty-F

‘The place has been dirty’

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

V. yes

i) *ngilealólya handu*

ngi-le-a≠lol-i-a ha-ndu

SM1sg-PST1-OM16≠see-F CPx16-entity

‘I saw the place’

ii) *ngilekulólya kúndu*

ngi-le-ku≠lol-i-a ku-ndu

SM1sg-PST1-OM17≠see-F CPx17-entity

‘I saw the place (around there)’

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

V. no

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

- i) *m'di wa m'méku*
m'-di u-a m'-meeku
CPx3-tree 3-ASSC CPx1-grandfather
'a grandfather's tree'
- ii) *kundu kwa m'rike*
ku-ndu ku-a m'-rike
CPx17-entity 17-ASSC CPx3-warm
'a warm place'

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

V. no

- 1sg) *ikári lákwa*
i-kari li-akwa
CPx5-car PPx.5-POSS1sg
'my car'
- 2sg) *ikári láfo*
i-kari li-afo
CPx5-car PPx.5-POSS2sg
'your [sg] car'
- 3sg) *ikári láke*
i-kari li-ake
CPx5-car PPx.5-POSS3sg
'his/her/its car'
- 1pl) *ikári ledú*
i-kari li-edu
CPx5-car PPx.5-POSS1pl
'our car'
- 2pl) *ikári lenyú*
i-kari li-enyu
CPx5-car PPx.5-POSS2pl
'your [pl] car'
- 3pl) *ikári lavó*
i-kari li-avo
CPx5-car PPx.5-POSS3pl
'their car'

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

V. yes

See the examples in P016

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

V. null

P019 Possessor raising: Is possessor raising possible?

V. null

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)

Near) *midí* *yi*

mi-di i-i

CPx4-tree PPx.4-DEM.N

‘these trees’

Middle) *midí* *yo*

mi-di i-o

CPx4-tree PPx.4-DEM.M

‘those trees’

Far) *midí* *i⁺lá*

mi-di i-la

CPx4-tree PPx.4-DEM.F

‘these trees’

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

V. 1 yes, always

See the example in P020

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

V. yes

N. Far demonstratives behave like a pseudo-relative pronoun (i.e., it’s optional and the essential part of the relative construction is deletion of a verb initial high tone), e.g.;

<i>véenda</i>	<i>dukáni</i>	<i>kúla</i>	<i>duleolya</i>
ve≠end-a	Ø-duka-ini	ku-la	du-le≠ol-i-a
SM3pl≠go-F	CPx5-shop-LOC	PPx17-DEM.F	SM1pl-PST1≠buy-F

<i>simu</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>máoko</i>
Ø-simu	i-a	ma-oko
CPx9-phone	PPx9-ASSC	CPx6-hand

‘They go to the shop where they bought a mobile phone’

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

V. yes

<i>mba</i>	<i>ng'héwa</i>
N-ba	ng'-hewa
CPx9-room	APx9-bright

‘a bright (white) room’

other adjective stems (i.e., which take APx as an agreement marker, tone omitted): *-huu* ‘dark’, *-sima* ‘all’, *-duve* ‘big’, *-nana* ‘small, few’, *-lei* ‘long, tall’, *-fuhi* ‘low, short’, *-sise* ‘lean, thin’, *-lemi* ‘heavy’, *-angu* ‘light, fast’, *-humu* ‘hard’, *-laini* ‘soft’, *-tamu* ‘sweet’, *-lua* ‘chungu’, *-kali* ‘sharp’, *-butu* ‘dull’, *-safu* ‘clean’, *-shafu* ‘dirty’, *-pana* ‘wide’, *-ingi* ‘many’, *-hiya* ‘new’, *-sangi* ‘young’, *-meeku* ‘old’, *-sha* ‘good’, *-vishwa* ‘bad’

N. Lexical adjectives (or morphologically genuine adjectives which take an APx as an agreement marker) are not so many in number, while the verb stems can be productively used for deriving adjectives with the stative suffix *-i*. e.g.;

<i>mwaná</i>	<i>m'lálí</i>
mw-ana	m'≠lal-i
CPx1-child	APx1≠sleep-STAT

‘A sleeping child’

Cf. <i>mwaná</i>	<i>ělalí</i>
mw-ana	e-Ø≠lal-i
CPx1-child	SM1-PRS≠sleep-STAT

‘A child is sleeping’

<i>momú</i>	<i>ng'simbí</i>
Ø-momu	ng'≠simb-i
CPx10-lip	APx10≠swell-STAT

‘swollen lips’

Cf. <i>momú</i>	<i>sísimbí</i>
Ø-momu	si-Ø≠simb-i
CPx10-lip	SM10-PRS≠swell-STAT

‘Lips are swollen’

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

V. yes

mba *ng'sha* (tone omitted)

N-ba *ng'-sha*

CPx9-room APx9-good

'a nice room'

handu *asha* (tone omitted)

ha-ndu a-sha

CPx16-entity APx16-good

'a/the nice place'

N. CPx and APx are not identical in classes 9/10 and 16. In cl.9/10, CPx is a homorganic nasal *N-* (or \emptyset -), while APx is a syllabic velar nasal *ng'*- (regardless of the place of articulation of the following consonant). In cl.16, CPx is *ha-*, while APx is *a-*.

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

N. Adjectival notions can be expressed by NP + ASSC + NP (adjectival notion) (see P014). However, adjectives themselves are not appeared immediately after an attributive linker.

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

N. The word *mwaná* 'child' (pl. *vaná*) is attested and there exist compound-like NPs such as *mwaná m'náná* 'baby' (pl. *vaná vanáná*), but other examples are not confirmed (probably there may be such examples but seemingly not so productive).

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. null

N. See P026

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. yes

muivi

mu-iv-i

CPx1-steal-NOML

‘thief’

N. Nouns derived from a verb stem with the suffix *-i* are well attested (including words apparently borrowed from Swahili). More investigation needed.

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. null

N. Nouns derived from a verb stem with the suffix *-o* are attested but most of them are seemingly borrowing words from Swahili. More investigation needed.

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

V. no

The forms shown below are isolated ones (tone omitted). These are used with numeral prefixes (EPxs) when used as numeral adjectives; *imu* ‘one’, *ivili*, ‘two’, *sadu* (allomorph *radu*), ‘three’, *ina* ‘four’, *tanu* ‘five’, *sita* ‘six’, *saba* ‘seven’, *nane* ‘eight’, *kenda* ‘nine’, *ikumi* ‘ten’

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

V. yes

kooko

vs. *maoko*

Ø-kooko (<*ku-oko)

ma-oko

cl.7.arm (CPx15-arm)

CPx6-arm

‘arm, hand [sg]’

‘arms, hands [pl]’

Cf. *kgansha*

vs. *figansha*

ki-gansha

fī-gansha

CPx7-palm

CPx8-palm

‘palm [sg]’

‘palms [pl]’

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

V. no

m’nyo

vs. *minyō*

m’-nyo

mi-nyo

CPx3-finger

CPx4-finger

‘finger [sg]’

‘fingers [pl]’

Cf. for ‘hand’, see P031

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

V. yes

kt’ende

vs. *mat’ende*

ki-t’ende (possibly from *ku-t’ende, i.e. cl.15)

ma-t’ende

CPx7-leg, foot

CPx6-leg, foot

‘leg, foot [pl]’

‘legs, feet [pl]’

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

V. yes

shai

Ø-shai

CPx9/10-tea

‘tea [sg/pl]’

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

There is a group of verbs that can take suffix *-i*, which is historically thought to be a Perfect suffix **-i* (a regional variant of **-jde*, which has another derivant *-ie* that denotes Far Past). Since the suffix cannot be attached to typical active verbs and those which can be attached by *-i* normally express meanings with high stativity, they can be tentatively called stative verbs, which include *shoka* ‘be tired’, *fa* ‘die’, *vira* ‘be ripe’, *laa* (*lal-i*) ‘sleep’, *bwaa* ‘rot’, *bumsika* ‘take a rest’, *totona* ‘stand’, *shimba* ‘swell’, *oneka* ‘be born’ etc (tone omitted). Additionally, they are also used as adjectival stems when attached by an adjectival prefix (APx), e.g.,

m’nyáma *m’totóni*

m’-nyama m’≠toton-i

CPx1-animal APx1≠stand-STAT

‘An animal who is standing. A standing animal’

Cf. *m’nyáma* *nétotóni*

m’-nyama n(-)e-Ø≠toton-i

CPx1-animal FOC(-)SM1-PRS≠stand-STAT

‘An animal is standing’

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

V. no

- i) *ngálolywa*
 ngí-a≠loli-w-a
 SM1sg-ANT≠see-PASS-F
 ‘I’ve been seen’
- ii) *védukundi*
 ve-Ø-du≠kund-i
 SM3pl-PRS-OM1pl≠love-STAT
 ‘We are loved (Sw. Tunapendwa)’
 *du-Ø≠kund-w-a
 SM1pl-PRS≠love-PASS-F

N. There is a passive suffix *-w* and it practically attaches to any active verbs, however, especially in case of stative verbs, passive derivation by *-w* tends to be avoided and a kind of impersonal construction (with cl.2 agreement) is used instead.

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

N. See the example in P036.

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

V. 1, 2, or 4

N. At least *na* is used to introduce the agent NP in passive constructions: e.g.,

mw-aná *ě-le≠kor-y-w-a* *k-laló* *na ksáli*
 CPx.1-‘child’ SM.1-PST1≠‘cook’-APPL-PASS-F CPx7-‘food’ by Kisali
 ‘For a/the child, the food are cooked by Kisali’

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

V. null

N. [Cf. Rwa (E621)] In Rwa, *na*, *kwa* and *n’* (a homorganic syllabic nasal, segmentally identical with the copula) are used to introduce an agent NP. However, it is attested that only in a case of causative-passive structure, an agent cannot take any preposition and occurs as a bare form;

ñnderiíkiswa *iyé*
 ñ-nde≠riik-is-w-a iye
 SM1sg-PST2≠surprise-CAUS-PASS-F INDPRO.3sg
 ‘I was surprised by him/her’

*ñnderiíkiswa na iyé

In this case, the sentence with preposition *na* is interpreted as ‘I was surprised with him/her’, i.e., *na* is not used as an element introducing an agent but as a comitative preposition.

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

V. 1 through the use of a verbal affix only

dwáishuána *habari* *sedú*
du-a^hisu-an-a Ø-habari si-edu
SM1pl-ANT^hhear-RECIP-F CPx9-news PPx9-POSS.1pl

‘We have heard the news of each other (Sw. Tumesikiana habari zetu)’

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

V. null

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))

i) *muúúira* *m’di* *ú⁺lá*
mu-i-u^hu-ir-a m’-di u-la
SM2pl-PROGR-OM3^hfall-CAUS-F NPx3-tree PPx3-DEM.F

‘You [pl] are going to/ will make that tree fall down’

ii) *valá* *vameéku* *vávaingira* *vaná*
va-la va-meeku va-a-va^hingir-a va-ana
PPx2-DEM.F CPx2-pld person SM2-ANT-OM2^henter-CAUS-F CPx2-child

‘Those old men let the children enter (inside)’

N. Causative is also expressed by using a subjunctive form, especially when the verb stem is with high transitivity and the causee is animate. (examples should be added)

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

V. no

éleandikya *kákálámú* *barúa*
e-le^handik-i-a ka-Ø-kalamu Ø-barua
SM3sg-PST1^hwrite-APPL-F CPx12-CPx9-pen CPx9-letter

‘S/he wrote a letter with a small pen’

N. Applicative construction covers the expression of instrumental NPs.

P044 Applicative: How are applicative constructions formed?

V. 1 through the use of a verbal affix only

<i>ksali</i>	<i>élem 'korya</i>	<i>mwaná</i>	<i>klálo</i>
ksali	e-le-m'≠kor-i-a	mw-ana	ki-lalo
K	SM3sg-PST1-OM1≠cook-APPL-F	CPx1-child	CPx7-food

'Kisali cooked a food for a child'

N. Following patterns are also grammatical with a basically identical meaning (when supported by appropriate contexts).

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------|--------------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| i) | <i>ksali</i> | <i>élem 'korya</i> | <i>klaló</i> | <i>mwána</i> |
| ii) | <i>ksali</i> | <i>élekkorya</i> | <i>mwaná</i> | <i>klálo</i> |
| | K | SM3sg-PST1-OM7≠cook-APPL-F | CPx1-child | CPx7-food |
| iii) | <i>ksali</i> | <i>élem 'kikorya</i> | | |
| | K | SM3sg-PST1-OM1-OM7≠cook-APPL-F | | |
| iv) | <i>ksali</i> | <i>élekim 'korya</i> | | |
| | K | SM3sg-PST1-OM7-OM1≠cook-APPL-F | | |

Cf. See also the example in P045

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

V. yes

- | | | | |
|-----|--|----------------|------------------------------|
| i) | <i>élekfúlya</i> | <i>m'toní</i> | <i>samáki</i> |
| | e-le-ku≠ful-i-a | m'-to-ini | Ø-samaki |
| | SM3sg-PST1-OM17≠fish(v.t.)-F | CPx3-river-LOC | CPx9-fish |
| | 'S/he caught a fish in the river' | | |
| ii) | <i>éleandikya kákálámú</i> | <i>barúa</i> | (tone should be reconfirmed) |
| | e-le≠andik-i-a#ka-Ø-kalamu | Ø-barua | |
| | SM3sg-PST1≠write-APPL-F#CPx12-CPx9-pen | CPx9-letter | |
| | 'S/he wrote a letter with a small pen (cited in P045)' | | |

N. As shown in the examples, besides benefactive, at least instrumental and locative NPs are expressed in applicative constructions (as an applied object) and other semantic roles (e.g. 'reason' etc.) can also be expressed in applicative.

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

V. null

N. There may be verbal forms which seem to have, at least segmentally, two applicative suffixes. However, even in these cases, the first one may well be interpreted as part of a lexical stem, i.e. it doesn't seem that the two suffixes are productively used with both having a different (grammatical) function.

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

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

samaki yi ilika

Ø-samaki yi i-Ø≠li-ik-a

CPx9-fish DEM.N.9 SM9-PRS≠eat-NEUT-F

‘This fish is edible’

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

V. 2 the order reflects the order of the derivation

N. Basically it seems that the order of derivational suffixes follows the so-called CARP order (precisely C/NARP). However, there may be the cases where the derivational cycle influences the canonical order of suffixes (As in Swahili, *-pig-an(R)-ish(C)-a* ‘make (someone) hit each other’).

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

V. 4 multiple strategies

i) *usoma ktabú ku*
u-Ø≠som-a ki-tabu ku
SM2sg-PRS≠read-F CPx7-book NEG
‘You don’t read a book’

Cf. *úsoma ktabu*
u-Ø≠som-a ki-tabu
SM2sg-PRS≠read-F CPx7-book
‘You read a book’

ii) *utáendé*
u-ta≠end-e
SM2sg-NEG.SUBJ≠go-SUBJ
‘You shall not go/ Don’t go’

Cf. *úendé*
u≠end-e
SM2sg≠go-SUBJ
‘You shall go/ Please go’

iii) *utedishá*
u-te≠dish-a
SM2sg-NEG.SUBJ≠run-F
‘If you don’t/wouldn’t run’

Cf. *ukádishá*

u-ka≠dish-a

SM2sg-COND≠run-F

‘If you run’

N. As shown in the examples, there are three syntactic and morphological means for negative expression; i) negative particle *ku*, which is used with default indicative forms, ii) negative prefix *ta-*, which is used in Subjunctives, and iii) negative prefix *te-*, which is used with conditional (its affirmative counterpart is expressed by prefix *ka-*), counterfactual (*ve-* in affirmative) and relative clauses. Besides these markers, all the negative verb forms are marked tonally as well. Generally saying, affirmative verb forms normally have an initial high tone as a shifted realization of a lexical high tone assigned to the pre-initial focus marker *ni-* (but in most cases *ni-* itself is disappeared segmentally and only the high tone remains). In negative sentences, basically this high tone is not appeared (this can be called Negative Tone Pattern, NTP).

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

V. 4 multiple strategies

utedishá

u-te≠dish-a

SM2sg-NEG.SUB≠run-F

‘If you don’t/wouldn’t run’

Cf. *ukádishá*

u-ka≠dish-a

SM2sg-COND≠run-F

‘If you run (cited in (51))’

N. See the note in P049

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

i) *ktabú* *ambakyó* *ěteléng’ólya*

ki-tabu amba-kyo e-te-le-ng’≠ol-i-a

CPx7-book RELS-RSx7 SM3sg-NEG.SUB-PST1-OM1sg≠buy-APPL-F

‘The book which s/he didn’t buy for me’

ii) *ktabú* *eteleng’ólya*

ki-tabu e-te-le-ng’≠ólya

CPx7-book SM3sg-NEG.SUB-PST1-OM1sg≠buy-APPL-F

‘The book which s/he didn’t buy for me’

N. Negative in the relative clause can be expressed in two ways; i) *amba* marking with affirmative tone pattern, ii) *amba*-less with NTP. In both cases morphological marker of negation is *te-*, which is shared by conditional and counter-factual clauses (see P049), which are regarded as dependent clauses. However, it is not sure at all whether this negative marking pattern (i.e., *te-* + NTP) is shared by subordinate constructions in general. It would be safe to say that negative in relative clauses share the same pattern with conditional and counter-factual clauses which are usually irrelevant to sentential assertion, i.e. lacking assertion contrast (cf. Dalgish 1979: 53).
Cf. Dalgish, G. M. 1979. The syntax and semantics of the morpheme *ni* in KiVunjo (Chaga), In: *Studies in African Linguistics* 10(1): 47–63.

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

V. 8 two (or more) of the strategies above

See P049

N. see P049

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

V. 9 two (or more) of the strategies above

See P050 and P051

N. See P050 and P051

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

V. 3 obligatory double marking in the clause (including tone marking)

See P049

N. See P049

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

V. 3 obligatory double marking in the clause (including tone marking)

See P050 and P051

N. See P050 and P051

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)

See P049

N. See P049

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

V. no

- i) *ngisómá* *ku* vs. *ngísoma*
ngi-Ø≠som-a ku ngi-Ø≠som-a
SM1sg-PRS≠read-F NEG SM1sg-PRS≠read-F
'I don't read' 'I read'
- ii) *ngitáéndé* vs. *ngiéndé*
ngi-ta≠end-e ngi≠end-e
SM1sg-NEG.SUBJ≠go-SUBJ SM1sg≠go-SUBJ
'I shall not go' 'Let me go'

N. There is nothing to be regarded as a negative subject prefix not only in 1sg but in other person-number combinations or classes.

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

V. no

- i) *u-tá≠⁺sh-é*
SM.2sg-NEG.SUBJ≠'come'-SUBJ
'Do not come!'
- ii) *mu-tá≠⁺sh-é*
SM.2pl-NEG.SUBJ≠'come'-SUBJ
'Do not come! (for plural addressee)'

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 (49))

V. no

See the examples in P049

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

V. yes

- 1sg: *ngí-shesha* 'I will come'
2sg: *ú-shesha* 'You [sg] will come'
3sg: *mwaná n-ě-shesha* 'A child will come'
1pl: *dú-shesha* 'We will come'
2pl: *mú-shesha* 'You [pl] will come'
3pl: *vaná vě-shesha* 'Children will come'
cl.3: *m'di ú-sheuwa* 'A tree will fall'

- cl.4: *midi í-sheuwa* ‘Trees will fall’
 cl.5: *iwe lí-sheuwa* ‘A stone will fall’
 cl.6: *mawe yá-sheuwa* ‘Stones will fall’
 cl.7: *kióové kí-sheuwa* ‘A mirror will fall’
 cl.8: *fióové fí-sheuwa* ‘Mirrors will fall’
 cl.9: *shubá ĩ-sheuwa* ‘A bottle will fall’
 cl.10: *shubá sǐ-sheuwa* ‘Bottles will fall’
 cl.11: *ubáo ũ-sheuwa* ‘A board will fall’
 cl.12: *kambaka ká-sheuwa* ‘A small cat will fall’
 cl.13: *dumba dú-sheshafúka* ‘Small rooms will get dirty’
 cl.16: *handu á-sheshafúka* ‘The (specific) place will get dirty’
 cl.17: *kundu kú-sheshafúka* ‘A (certain) place will get dirty’

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

- i) *ikité lǎuwa*
 i-kite lí-a≠u-a
 CPx5-dog SM5-ANT≠fall-F
 ‘A dog has fallen down’
 *i-kite#n-a≠u-a
 CPx5-dog#FOC-SM1-ANT≠fall-F
- ii) *kamwaná kéělyá*
 ka-mw-ana ka-i≠li-a
 CPx12-CPx1-child SM12-PROGR≠cry-F
 ‘A small child is crying’
 *ka-mw-ana#n-e-i≠li-a
 CPx12-CPx1-child#FOC-SM1-PROGR≠cry-F

N. Verbs always concord with the inherent class of the subject NP irrespective of semantic distinction of animacy or human vs non-human.

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

V. no

See the examples in P060

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

V. no?

N. An honorific use of SM, let alone 2pl, is not confirmed.

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)

i) *mwaná na mbaká věitemana*
mw-ana na m-baka ve-i≠tem-an-a
CPx1-child and CPx9-cat SM2-PROGR≠play-RECIP-F
'A child and a cat are playing together'

ii) *ikité na pikpiki figongana*
ikite na Ø-pikpiki fi≠gong-an-a
CPx5-dog and CPx9-motorbike SM8≠crash-RECIP-F
'A dog and a motorbike crash'

iii) *pikpiki ná ikarí fíkumbwa*
Ø-pikpiki na i-kari fi≠kumb-w-a
CPx9-motorbike and CPx5-dog SM.8≠sell-PASS-F
'A motorbike and a car are sold'

N. It seems that there are certain agreement patterns of solution for subject coordination of different classes. If both nouns are animate, verbs take cl.2 agreement. While if either or both of nouns are inanimate, verbs take cl.8 agreement. When both are inanimate, cl.10 agreement is also allowed.

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

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

i) *ngilelolya*
ngi-le≠loli-a
SM1sg-PST1≠see-F
'I saw [near past]'

ii) *ngilolyé*
ngi≠loli-ie
SM1sg≠see-PST2
'I saw [far past]'

Cf. *ngívekúndí*
ngi-ve≠kund-i
SM1sg-PST.STAT≠love-STAT
'I loved/ I was in love/ I wanted [stative past]'

N. This language has a bipartite past system, where the prefix *le-* shows a relatively near (not necessarily hodiernal) past, while suffix *-ie* denotes relatively far past. In stative verbs, however, past tense has no internal distinction, i.e. there is only a single past marked by prefix *ve-*.

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

V. 3 future time is divided into three?

i) *ngiilolya*

ngi-i≠loli-a

SM1sg-PROGR≠see-F

‘I’m seeing / I’m going to see’

ii) *ngishelolya*

ngi-she≠loli-a

SM1sg-CERT≠see-F

‘I’ll see’

Cf. *ngishelolya*

ngi-i-she≠loli-a

SM1sg-PROGR-CERT≠see-F

‘I will definitely see’

iii) *ngeélolya*

ngi-e≠loli-a

SM1sg-FUT≠see-F

‘I will see (sometime later)’

N. A bit complicated situation is found in the tense categorization of future time reference. Example i), which is marked by the TAM prefix *i-*, shows that this form can be used as denoting a near future event, when it is used with a kind of atelic verbs or those with relatively stative aktionsart. However, when it is used with typical telic verbs, it denotes (present) progressive meaning. Hence, Nurse (2003) describes it as a present-as-future form. On the other hand, the TAM *she-*, which is grammaticalised from *sh-a* ‘come’, practically denotes a future time reference with any kind of verbs. However, the form is more like a modality marker than a tense marker that shows a degree of certainty on how probable the event will take place. This is also morphologically confirmed since the prefix is not placed in the slot for tense markers (where *i-* is placed) but in the following slot that is for more aspectual or modal markers. The last one, *e-*, is a genuine future marker in terms of meaning and morphological status, but this form is normally denotes far future events contrasted by near future which is shown by *she-*. Hence, the value can be changeable in terms of which criteria would be adopted. If one follows a strictly morphological criterion, this language has only one future marker (*e-*). If one takes a semantic criterion, i.e., allows any form with future time reference, the value would be 2 (*e-* and *she-*) or 3 (*e-*, *she-*, and *i-*).

Cf. Nurse, D. 2003. Tense and Aspect in Chaga, In: *Annual Publications in African Linguistics* 1: 69–90

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. no

- i) *ngyelólya*
 ngi-~~e~~loli-a
 SM1sg-HAB~~see~~-F
 ‘I see [habitual]’

Cf. *ngeélolya*
 ngi-e~~loli~~-a
 SM1sg-FUT~~see~~-F
 ‘I will see (sometime later)’ (cited in P066)

- ii) *ngi~~shelolya~~*
 ngi-i-she~~loli~~-a
 SM1sg-PROGR-CERT~~see~~-F
 ‘I will definitely see (cited in P066)’

N. In Kilimanjaro (Chaga) languages, as Philippson and Montlahuc (2003) noted, descendant forms of **-ag* are only attested in Western languages. Rombo, along with Central languages, doesn’t have a relic of **-ag*. Habitual, as one of the typical grammatical notions which **-ag* possibly covered in the past, is shown by a prefix *e-*, which is segmentally the same as far future marker but is structurally placed in a different slot (see the above example). Modal intensity, as another notion that **-ag* may have denoted, is shown by *she-* which is a grammaticalized form originated from *sh-a* ‘come’ (more precisely it denotes modal certainty, see also notes and examples in P066). Cf. Philippson, G. and M-L Montlahuc. 2003. Kilimanjaro Bantu (E60 and E74), In: Nurse, D. and G. Philippson (eds.) *The Bantu Languages*, London: Routledge, pp. 475–500

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

V. yes

- i) *ngilolyé*
 ngi~~loli~~-ie
 SM1sg~~see~~-PST2
 ‘I saw [far past]’
- ii) *ngívekúndi*
 ngi-ve~~kund~~-i
 SM1sg-PST.STAT~~love~~-STAT
 ‘I loved/ I wanted [stative past] (cited in P065)’

N. There are two markers which are possibly originated from **-ile*. One is a far past marker *-ie*, and the other is a stative marker *-i*. Examples of the latter form are also shown in P023.

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

V. 4 yes, with another form (or forms) in all contexts

i) *vélesha imwira, vekásihírya*
 ve-le≠sh-a i-mw≠ir-a ve-ka≠sihíri-a
 SM3pl-PST1≠come-F INF-OM3sg≠hold-F SM3pl-CONS≠leave-F
 ‘They came to arrest him and they left’

ii) *ndém 'l'áá*
 nde-m'≠la-a (*tentative analysis)
 ITV-OM3sg≠call-F
 ‘Go and call him/her (Sw. Nenda kamwite)’

iii) *ngiíndem 'lolya*
 ngi-i-nde-m'≠loli-a
 SM1sg-PROGR-ITV-OM3sg≠see-F
 ‘I’ll see him/her, I intend to see him/her, I’m gonna go to see him/her etc.’

N. This language has *ka-* prefix which shows an aspectual meaning of consecutive as in example i), but seemingly it is not used for denoting what can be called itive meaning (‘to go and V’), which is typically expressed in *ka-* + subjunctive construction in Swahili. This kind of notions can be expressed in somewhat irregular construction *nde-* (OM-) ≠V where SM is apparently dropped, but the initial element is rather a modal marker grammaticalized from *end-a* ‘go’ than a verb stem itself, and OM can be inserted without an infinitive marker (i.e. it is not a verb serialization nor finite + infinite structure, but a single verbal unit as a whole). Most probably this construction originated from imperative + infinitive construction, i.e., *end-a* (‘go’) + *i* (INF)-OM≠ V, where the initial verb stem was undergone phonetic attrition (*end-* to *nd-*) and *a+i* was fused into *e*. The last example that contains a modal marker *nde-* can be most suitable to be regarded as motional and directional (but not so much aspectual) itive meaning.

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

V. no?

(see examples in P066)

N. There is a TAM marker *she-* grammaticalized from *sh-a* ‘come’, which, however, denotes rather a modal notion best described as ‘certainty’ (see P066) or even used for marking future time reference. Motional or directional ventive meaning would be expressed by an analytical form, which is segmentally only slightly different from *she-* forms. A hypothetical contrast can be illustrated as follows.

ngiíshem 'lolya ‘I will meet him/her (cited in (P066))’

vs.

ngiíshe (é)m 'lolya [hypothetical, not yet confirmed]
 ngi-i≠sha i-m'≠loli-a
 SM1sg-PROGR≠come CPx5-OM3sg-see-F
 ‘I’m coming to see him/her’

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

V. yes

- | | | |
|----------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| i) <i>éndá</i> | ii) <i>sóma</i> | iii) <i>kúnda</i> |
| end-a | som-a | kund-a |
| go-F | read-F | love-F |
| ‘Go!’ | ‘Read!’ | ‘Love!’ |

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

V. 1 yes, the plural is expressed by a post-verbal marker (suffix or enclitic)

- | | | |
|------------------|-----|----------------------------------|
| i) <i>lá</i> | vs. | <i>lení</i> |
| l(i)-a | | l(i)-eni |
| eat-F | | eat-F.PL |
| ‘Eat!’ | | ‘Eat! (for plural addressees)’ |
| ii) <i>sákwa</i> | vs. | <i>sakuení</i> |
| saku-a | | saku-eni |
| watch-F | | watch-F.PL |
| ‘Watch!’ | | ‘Watch! (for plural addressees)’ |

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

V. no

nameng’lolya

n-ê-a-me-ng’≠loli-a

FOC-SM3sg-ANT-COMP-OM1sg≠see-F

‘S/he has seen me/ has finished to see me’

N. As mentioned in Nurse (2003) among others, Kilimanjaro languages normally have multiple TAM slots and this language has three slots for TAM markers and at least two markers can structurally cooccur in a single verb form.

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 (12) & (13))?

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

ngikkundi

ngí-Ø-ku≠kund-í

SM1sg-PRS-OM2sg≠love-STAT

‘I love you’

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

i) *élem 'kikorya*

é-le-m'-ki≠kor-i-a

SM3sg-PST1-OM1sg-OM7≠cook-APPL-F

'S/he cooked it (cl.7) for him/her'

ii) *élekim 'korya*

é-le-ki-m'≠kor-i-a

SM3sg-PST1-OM7-OM1sg≠cook-APPL-F

'S/he cooked it (cl.7) for him/her'

N. Seemingly there is no morphosyntactic restriction on the order of OMs. However, according to responses from some consultants, there may be a certain morpho-phonological restrictions. More investigation needed.

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

V. 2 yes, by another form

ngikkundi

ngí-Ø-ku≠kund-í

SM1sg-PRS-REFL≠love-STAT

'I love myself (see also P075)'

N. A reflexive marker of this language is, as in many other Kilimanjaro languages, *kú-* which tonally contrasts with OM2sg *ku-*. However, because of a rather strong devoicing rule in this language, the formal distinction between the two is highly obscured.

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) *ndí yakwa néleng'lia klaló*
N-di i-akwa n-e-le-ng'≠li-i-a ki-lalo
CPx9-father PPx.9-POSS.1sg FOC-SM3sg-PST1-OM1sg≠eat-APPL-F CPx7-food
'My father ate food on behalf of me'

ii) **ndí yakwa nélekliá klaló*
N-di i-akwa n-e-le-ng'≠li-i-a ki-lalo
CPx9-father PPx.9-POSS.1sg FOC-SM3sg-PST1-OM7≠eat-APPL-F CPx7-food

N. Seemingly cooccurrence of an OM and its corresponding NP is principally avoided.

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

V. yes

boṛá usomé

boṛa u≠som-e

better SM2sg≠read-SUBJ

‘You’d better read/study’

P080 Negative final vowel: Is there a negative final vowel (e.g. -i, -e)? (see also parameters (52) and (53))

V. no

See the examples in P049

N. There are several negative marking devices including both segmental (particle *ku*, prefix *ta-* for subjunctive, and prefix *te-* in out-of-assertion-scope clauses) and tonal (NTP) means, but the final vowel is irrelevant to negative marking. See also the note in P054.

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

V. 3 both1 yes, loan words and 2 yes, a subset of (non-borrowed) verbs, such as ‘know’ or ‘say’

i) *ngiṣhí*

ngi-Ø≠ishi

SM1sg-PRS≠know

‘I know’

ii) *ngíveṣhi ~ ngíveṣhí*

ngi-ve≠ishi

SM1sg-PST.STAT≠know

‘I knew’

iii) *muré* *umbé* *nyingi*

mu-Ø≠ré umbe ng’-ingi

SM2pl-PRS≠have 9.cow APx9-many

‘You [pl] have many cows’

iv) *múveré* *umbé* *nyingi*

mu-ve≠re umbe ng’-ingi

SM2pl-PST.STAT≠have 9.cow APx9-many

‘You [pl] had many cows’

N. There are few so-called deficient verbs and *-ishi* ‘know’ is one of the typical examples. Synchronically, *-re* ‘have’ can also be included in this category but seemingly it is (at least historically) a shortened form of *r* (‘hold’) *-ie* (ANT/STAT). Both of them follow the same conjugation paradigm for stative verbs (inflected by a final vowel *-i*), for which see P037.

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

V. no

i) *ngilekolya* *ngiandika* *bárúa*
 ngi-le≠koli-a ngi-i≠andik-a Ø-baṛua
 SM1sg-PST1≠get-F SM1sg-PROGR≠write-F CPx9-letter
 ‘I have been writing a letter’

ii) *ngishekolya* *ngiandika* *bárúa*
 ngi-she≠koli-a ngi-i≠andik-a Ø-baṛua
 SM1sg-CERT≠get-F SM1sg-PROGR≠write-F CPx9-letter
 ‘I will be writing a letter’

N. What is attested as a tense-marking Aux, which serves merely as a carrier of a tense marker, is *kolya*, whose lexical meaning is ‘get (find?)’. It is used in past/future progressive and past/future perfect forms.

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

V. no

See the examples in P082

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

V. null

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. null

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

V. null

N. Any usage of copula as an Aux has not been attested so far.

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

V. yes

i) *m’sangi* *ú⁺lá* *eledusaidya*
 m’-sangi u-la e-le-du≠saidi-a
 CPx1-youth PPx1-DEM.F SM1-PST1-OM1pl≠help-F
 ‘That young man who helped us’

ii) *m'sangi ú⁺lá ambayé ěledusaidya*
 m'-sangi u-la amba-ye e-le-du≠saidi-a
 CPx1-youth PPx1-DEM.F REL-AG1 SM1-PST1-OM1pl≠help-F
 'That young man who helped us'

Cf. *ěledusaidya*

e-le-du≠saidi-a
 SM1-PST1-OM1pl≠help-F
 'S/he helped us'

N. There are two types of relative clauses, i.e., *amba* relative and *amba*-less relative. In *amba* relative, verb forms are structurally the same as those in corresponding independent clauses (ii), while in *amba*-less relative (i), verbal forms are undergone tonal modification, i.e. deletion of initial high tone which is referred to as NTP (see P049). Note also that a far demonstrative pronoun (PPx-*le*) is usually used like a relative marker, but it is not structurally obligatory.

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

V. yes

m'sangi ú⁺lá ambayé ěledusaidya
 m'-sangi u-la amba-ye e-le-du≠saidi-a
 CPx1-youth PPx1-DEM.F REL.1 SM1-PST1-OM1pl≠help-F
 'That young man who helped us' (cited in P087)

N. The independent relative marker (with class agreement) *amba* is attested in this language (probably a structural borrowing from Swahili). As noted in P087, though it frequently appears immediately after an antecedent NP, a demonstrative pronoun (Far) is not structurally necessary.

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

V. yes

See the examples in P087

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

See the examples in P087

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

V. 2 the subject

See the examples in P087

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

V. null

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. n.a.

li *duéshika* *k⁺áá*
li du-e≠shik-a Ø-⁺káá
when SM1pl-FUT2≠arrive-F CPx9-home
'When/Till we get home'

N. Headless relative clauses are not attested and most probably structurally impossible, because this language has no verb-internal relative marker that shows noun class agreement with a head noun. The form *li* in the above example may be regarded as grammaticalised from a pronominal element of cl.5.

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

V. null

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

V. null

See the examples in P052 and P087

N. Though not thoroughly confirmed, it seems there is no tense restriction in relative clauses at least structurally (see also P087).

P097 Clefts: How are clefts formed?

V. 3 both strategies 1 (through the use of a segmentally expressed copula) and 2 (through modification of the noun (linked with the tonal/segmental augment))

i) *ni* *waná* *alewaólya* *mārū*
ni wa-ana a-le-wa≠ol-i-a ma-ru
COP CPx2-child SM1-PST1-OM2≠buy-APPL-F CPx6-banana
'It is for a/the child whom s/he bought bananas'

- ii) *ni waná álewaólya māṛū*
 ni wa-ana a-le-wa≠ol-i-a ma-ṛu
 FOC CPx2-child SM1-PST1-OM2≠buy-APPL-F CPx6-banana

‘For *a/the child*, s/he bought bananas’

N. The basic structure of cleft construction is *ni* + head noun + relative verb form, which lacks the initial high tone assigned to declarative main verbs, as illustrated in the first example. On the other hand, if the initial high tone is realized on the verb, it should be regarded as a focus construction, i.e., *ni* can be regarded as a focus marker. See also the examples and notes in Ps related to relative constructions.

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. null

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

V. 6 difficult to distinguish a dominant strategy

- i) *úamba kyo iki*
 u≠amb-a kî-o iki
 SM2sg≠say-F CPx7-DEM.Mwhat

‘What do you say?’

- ii) *úenda kú*
 u≠end-a ku
 SM2sg≠go-F where

‘Where do you go?’

N. Wh-elements can be either realized in situ or left dislocated with the focus marker *ni*.

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

V. null

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

V. 1 an invariable copula only

ve *ni* *mwanafúnsi*
 ve ni mw-anafunsi
 INDPRO3sg COP student
 ‘S/he is a student’

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

V. 1 of the shape *ni* (or similar)

- Cf. i) *níanyí* *ni* *mwanafúnsí* *ku*
 nianyi ni mwanafunsi ku
 INDPRO1sg COP student NEG
 ‘I’m not a student’
- ii) *váavé* *ni* *mwanafúnsí* *ku*
 vaave ni mwanafunsi ku
 INDPRO2sg COP student NEG
 ‘You [sg] are not a student’
- iii) *níanyí* *ngi* *mwanafúnsí* *ku*
 nianyi ngi mwanafunsi ku
 INDPRO1sg SM1sg student NEG
 ‘I’m not a student’
- iv) *váavé* *u* *mwanafúnsí* *ku*
 vaave u mwanafunsi ku
 INDPRO2sg SM2sg student NEG
 ‘You [sg] are not a student’

N. In affirmative, *ni* is the only copula form in this language. This form is also used in negative sentences (negation is marked by sentence final particle *ku*). Although this language doesn’t have what can be called as a negative copula (though its presence is also attested in some dialects), only 1sg and 2sg SMs are used as a copula limitedly in negative sentences.

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

V. null

N. Copula *ni* (or its weakened form) is also used as a focus/assertion marker not only in this language but also in other Kilimanjaro languages.

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

V. 3 a lexical verb only

- i) *kakalamu káleandikiwa bárúá na ksáli*
 ka-Ø-kalamu ka-le≠andik-i-w-a Ø-barua na kisáli
 CPx12-CPx9-pen SM12-PST1≠write-APPL-PASS-F CPx9-letter by Kisali
 ‘A small/useless pen was used to write a letter by Kisali’
- ii) *barua íleandikiwa kákálámú na ksáli*
 Ø-barua i-le≠andik-i-w-a ka-Ø-kalamu na ksáli
 CPx9-letter SM9-PST1≠write-APPL-PASS-F CPx12-CPx9-pen by Kisali
 ‘A letter was written with a small/useless pen by Kisali’

P111 Pro-drop: Can the grammatical subject be omitted (i.e. is there pro-drop)? (link with (60))

V. yes

See the examples in P060

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

V. 2 Dem-Noun order is attested

See the examples in P042

N. Functional difference between Noun-Dem and Dem-Noun should be further investigated.

P113 Quant-Noun: Is there a pronominal quantifier?

V. null

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

nikoláusí álekába umbe
 nikolausi a-le≠kab-a umbe
 P.N. SM1-PST1≠hit-F 9.cow
 ‘Nicolaus hit a cow’

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

V. no

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

V. yes

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

V. no*

i) *nkyo* *iki* *laswai aledolya*
ni=ki=o iki laswai a-le≠loli-a
FOC=PPx7=DEM.M DEM.N7 P.N. SM1-PST1≠see-F
'What did Laswai see?'

ii) *laswai náledolya* *kjó* *iki*
laswai ni=a-le≠loli-a ki=o iki
P.N. FOC=SM1-PST1≠see-F PPx7=DEM.M DEM.N7

N. Focus marking of this language, be it term focus or predicate focus, is basically not achieved by word order but through procliticization of *ni*, which is homophonic with identificational copula. As in (i), any focused NP is marked by the proclitic and dislocated to the clause initial position. However, as in (ii), object question words can be in situ without *ni* marking, which suggests IAV can be regarded as a default focus position at least under some specific conditions. More investigation needed.

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 probably 1 yes, and the verb agrees with the postverbal subject

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?

(tone omitted)

- i) *ifuve* *na* *ikite* *vevei* *marafiki*
i-fuve na i-kite ve-veʔi ma-rafiki
CPx5-baboon and CPx5-dog SM2-PST.STAT≠EXT CPx6-friend
vaduve sana
va-duve sana
APx2-big very
‘Baboon and Dog were very good friends’
- ii) *findo* *fya* *ifuve* *fivei* *fya*
fi-ndo fi-a i-fuve fi-veʔi fi-a
CPx8-entity PPx8-ASSC CPx5-baboon SM8-PST.STAT≠EXT PPx8-ASSC
ikite na fya *ikite fivei* *fya ifuve*
i-kite na fi-a i-kite fi-veʔi fi-a i-fuve
CPx5-dog andPPx8-ASSC CPx5-dog SM8-PST.STAT≠EXT PPx8-ASSC CPx5-baboon
‘Everything Baboon’s was shared with Dog and everything Dog’s was shared with Baboon’

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

V. yes

- vélesha* *ímwíra,* *vekásihírya*
ve-leʔsh-a i-mwʔir-a ve-kaʔsihíri-a
SM3pl-PST1≠come-F CPx5-OM3sg≠hold-F SM3pl-CONS≠leave-F
‘They came to arrest him and they left (cited in P069)’
N. Consecutive is marked by the prefix *ka-* (see P069).

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

V. null

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

V. null

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. null

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

V. 3 both 1 (only by means of a conjunction semantically equivalent to English ‘if’) and 2 (only by means of a specific tense/aspect/mood) are possible, but not in the same clause

ukádishá

u-ka≠dish-a

SM2sg-COND≠run-F

If you run (cited in (51))

N. Conditional is morphologically marked by the verbal prefix *ka-*. There is also the conjunction form *kolia* ‘if’, which can be used with the form to enforce that the clause is conditional.

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

V. yes

ukádishá, ikité lěěkdishíra

u-ka≠dish-a i-kite li-e-ku≠dish-ír-i-a

SM2sg-COND≠run-F CPx5-dog SM5-FUT2-OM2sg≠run-CAUS-APPL-F

‘If you run (off from a dog), a dog will chase you’

N. Ungrammaticality of the opposite order is not confirmed.

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

V. no

See the example in P132

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

V. no?

duvei vákúlimá

du-ve≠i va-kulima

SM1pl-CF≠EXT1 CPx2-farmer

‘If we had been farmers,’

dúveakolyá mashamba madúve

dú-ve-a≠koli-a ma-shamba ma-duve

SM1pl-CF-OM6≠get-F CPx6-farm APx6-big

‘we would have had big farms’

N. It seems no formal difference between hypothetical and counterfactual clauses (the example above is elicited as a counterfactual clause), where a verbal prefix *ve-*, which is segmentally identical to Stative Past, is inserted in both clauses.

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 *

<i>lí</i>	<i>duéshika</i>	⁺ <i>káá</i>
li	du-e≠shik-a	Ø- ⁺ káá
when	SM1pl-FUT2≠arrive-F	CPx9-home
‘When/Till we get home		

N. More extensive data are needed.

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

V. null

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

V. null

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

<i>ɰwaná</i>	<i>ǎlewaólya</i>	<i>mārū</i>
ni=wa-ana	a-le-wa≠ol-i-a	ma-ru
FOC=CPx2-child	SM1-PST1-OM2-buy-APPL-F	CPx.6-banana
‘S/he bought (<i>the</i>) children bananas		

N. Apparently *ni-*, a cognate with COP, or a high tone shifted from it (and the *ni-* itself is segmentally obscured) functions as a focus marker (cf. Moshi (1988) in Vunjo, among others), but more precisely it can be regarded as an assertion marker (cf. Dalgish (1979)).

Cf. Dalgish, G. M. 1979. The syntax and semantics of the morpheme *ni* in KiVunjo (Chaga), In: *Studies in African Linguistics* 10(1): 47–63

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

V. null

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

V. no

Bende (F12)[†]

Yuko Abe

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

V. 1 V shape only

<i>a-ká-nyónyí</i>	<i>u-tú-nyónyí</i>	<i>í-my-ongá</i>
AUG-12-bird	AUG-13-bird	AUG-4-river
‘the bird’	‘the birds’	‘the river’

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

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

V. yes

<i>ú-mu-ntu</i>	<i>ghoóghu</i>	<i>gha-a-fw-ǎ!</i>
AUG-1-man	DEM	1-PST-die-F
‘Is it the man who died!?’		

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

<i>úmonga ghwá kátuma ni músoghá</i>
‘The river Katuma is good.’ (with a modifier)

<i>i-ng’-óómbé</i>	<i>jyeji</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>jyá</i>	<i>bhútĩ?</i>
AUG-9-cattle	DEM9	COP	ASSC9	how
‘What’s happened with this cow?’ (with a demonstrative)				

<i>amabhango ghaágha bhaábho mbala fyakabhânga bhútĩ múkutumá ghaabha teéti</i>
‘These baskets, you see, I don’t know how it was, since it became like this.’ (with a demonstrative)

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

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

ísintú syesi bhaábho ni jyá bhúti? / ífintú fyeji bhaábho ni syá bhúti?

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

úbhwási bhoóbhu bhaábho bhwakabhóla!

‘The grasses became rotten!’ (with a demonstrative)

úkúghúlú koóku bhaábho kuputuké!

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

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

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

V. 4 both V and CV shape are found

íibhwé (mábhwé) libhúgha (mabhúgha)

stone Macrodipteryx vexillarius

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

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

V. 15 classes

múntú / bhántú ‘person’ (1/2)

múhámá / mihámá ‘tembo palm’ (3/4)

íikumó / mákumó ‘finger’, *liinsó / meensó* ‘eye’ (5/6)

síhughó / flhughó ‘chiefdom’ (7/8)

ng’óómbé ‘cattle’ (9/10)

lúfukú / nfukú ‘day’ (11/10)

kabhěnga / tubhěnga ‘kidney beans’ (12/13)

bhoobhá ‘fear’ (14)

bhulwěle / malwěle ‘sickness’ (14/6)

bhwási / lwási ‘grass’ (collective/single) (14/11)

kúbhokó / mábhokó ‘arm’ (15/6)

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

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

V. yes

kúlólá ‘to see’

N. CL15 *kú-*

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

V. yes

[Double prefix] *kaasítí* < *sítí* ‘tree’, *kanfwíla* < *nfwíla* ‘spitting cobra’, *kánsíghé* < *nsíghé* ‘locust’

[Replaced prefix] *káhálá* < *múhálá* ‘girl’, *kaaná* < *mwaná* ‘child’, *kaghóómbé* < *ng’óómbé* ‘cattle’, *kábhusí* < *mbusí* ‘goat’, *kásuujá* < *nsuujá* ‘bushback’, *kámpánti* < *límpánti* ‘longicorn worm’, *káásóósó* < *lísóósó* ‘caterpillar’, *kabhúgha* < *libhúgha* ‘Macrodipteryx vexillarius’

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

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

V. yes

[Double prefix] *lisíbhúli* < *síbhúli* ‘honey-badger’, *lisikombé* < *sikombé* ‘cup’, *lisílaáto* < *silááto* ‘shoe’

[Replaced prefix] *únyónyí/mányónyí* < *kányónyí/túnyónyí* ‘bird (no negative connotation)’, *línú* < *múntú* ‘person (-)’, *íhálá* < *múhálá* ‘girl (-)’, *íbhusí* < *mbusí* ‘goat (+/- connotation, large or bad)’, *úúófú* < *nsófú* ‘elephant (+/-)’

[Both] *lisílúmbú / ilúmbú* < *silúmbú* ‘sweet potato’

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

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

V. no

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

V. yes

há-lí-ghǒ *kú-lú-ghǒ* *mú-lú-ghǒ*

16-11-home 17-11-home 18-11-home

‘at/in home’

[Lexicalized locatives]

há-nsí ‘below’ (16 only), but no independent word **nsí*.

há-nsé / kú-nsé ‘outside’ (17/17), but no independent word **nsé*, neither **mú-nsé* (18)

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

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

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

V. no

N. prefixation (9) is consistently used.

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

V. yes

há-ki-jiíji ha-ká-fw-ílé mú-ntú kú-ki-jiíji ku-ká-fw-ílé mú-ntú
16-9-village 16-DIS-die-ANT 1-some 17-9-village 17-DIS-die-ANT 1-some
mú-ki-jiíji mu-ká-fw-ílé mú-ntú
18-9-village 18-DIS-die-ANT 1-some

‘A man has died in the village.’

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

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

V. yes

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

‘We like there.’

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

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

V. yes

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

‘We are going there.’

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

P014 Independent subject pronouns: Are independent subject pronouns obligatory?

V. no

[Contrastive / wh-q answer]

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

‘It’s me who says so I say so.’

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

‘It’s s/he who says so.’

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

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

V. yes

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

[Genetive]

ii-siiná lyá mú-ghábho

5-name ASSC5 3-spirit

‘spirit’s name’

[Qualifying]

mú-ntú ghwá bhw-éné

1-some ASSC1 14-truth

‘honest person’

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

V. no

mwendá ghwâne ‘my cloth’

mwendá ghóobhe ‘your cloth’

mwendá ghwâje ‘his/her cloth’, *mwendá ghwâje (ghwá síti)* ‘its cloth’

mwendá ghwêtu ‘our cloth’

mwendá ghwényu ‘your (PL) cloth’

mwendá ghwâbho ‘their cloth’

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

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

V. yes

N. see **P016**

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

V. no

N. Different lexicalized forms are observed among kinship terms

[mother]

maájo ‘my mother (no possession)’, *nyókó* ‘your mother’, *nyíná* ‘his/her mother’, *nyínééfwé* ‘our mother’, *nyínéénywé* ‘your mother’, *nyínáábho* ‘our mother’

[father]

taáta ‘my father (no possession)’, *uíso* ‘your father’, *sye/úusyē* ‘his/her father’, *siifwě* ‘our father’, *siinywě* ‘your father’, *siibhó* ‘their father’

[sister for female]

joójo ‘my sister’, *múkulu ghoobhe* ‘your sister (your elder)’, *múkulu ghwaje* ‘her sister (her elder)’, *múkulu ghwetu* ‘our sister (our elder)’, *múkulu ghwenyu* ‘your sister (your elder)’, *múkulu ghwabho* ‘their sister (their elder)’, *bháájójo* ‘my sisters’

[sister for male]

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

[brother for male / sister for female]

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

[brother for female]

íikolo lyane ‘my brother’, *íikolo lyobhe* ‘your brother’, *íikolo lyaje* ‘her brother’, *íikolo lyetu* ‘our brother’, *íikolo lyenyu* ‘your brother’, *íikolo lyabho* ‘their brother’, *bhéékolo lyane* ‘my brothers’, *bhéékolo lyobhe* ‘your brothers’

[husband]

íibhané ‘my husband’, *íibhaló* ‘your husband’, *íibha* ‘her husband’, *íibheefwé* ‘our husband’, *íibheenywé* ‘your husband’, *íibhaabhó* ‘their husband’

[wife]

múkasyáane ‘my wife’, *múkasyóobhe* ‘your wife’, *múkasyáaje / múkasí* ‘his wife’, *múkasyéetu* ‘our wife’, *múkasyényu* ‘your wife’, *múkasyóobhe* ‘their wife’

P019 Possessor raising: Is possessor raising possible?

V. 2 yes, with inalienable possession only

a-ká-Ø-hũũs-ílé *kú-mu-twe* *kw-ĩ-bheéji*

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

‘He hit my head with (taking) a bag.’

cf) *a-ká-huus-ilé mūtwe ghw-ane kw-ĩ-bheéji*

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

‘He made hit my head into the bag.’

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

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

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

‘They hit my child.’

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

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

[CL1]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

V. 1 yes, always

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

V. no

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

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

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

ghó=one n-ká-mw-íheegh-e

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

‘It’s me who killed him.’

ghó=mú-ntú mú-soghá ghó=si-taábhu sí-soghá ghó=fí-taábhu fy-a-teh-ilé Hamisi
 FOC=1-some 1-good FOC=7-book 7-good FOC=8-book REL.8-1-like-ANT PN
 ‘It’s the good person.’ ‘It’s the good book.’ ‘They are books that Hamisi likes.’

tangu gha-a-fuúk-a ty-a-na-j-e kú-má-bhála mú-ka-lim-a
 from 1-PST-be_born-F NEG-1-IRR-go-NEG 17-6-farm 18-ITV-cultivate-F
a-kóó-bh-a n-a-li#ku-som-a tu=fí-taábhu bhú-kóó-hel-a
 1-HAB-be-F CONJ-1-be#15-read-F only=8-book 14-HAB-reach_the_goal-F
bhw-a-fí-téh-ilé
 REL14=1-8-like-ANT

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

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

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

V. yes

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

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

V. yes

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

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

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

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

V. no

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

V. no

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

V. no

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

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

mu-teék-i ‘cook’ < *-teéka* ‘cook’, *mu-hĩĩgh-i* ‘hunter’ < *-hiĩgha* ‘hunt’, *mú-bhánf-i* ‘drum maker’ < *-bhámhá* ‘make drums’, *mú-lof-i* ‘fisher’ < *-lobhá* ‘fish’, *mú-jéng-i* ‘brewer’ < *-jéngá* ‘brew’, *mú-kinyí* ‘dancer’ < *-kiná* ‘dance’, *mu-hãã-ny-i* ‘generous person’ < *-haána* ‘give each other’, *mú-sas-i* ‘crazy person’ < *-salá* ‘become crazy’, *mu-twás-i* ‘carrier’ < *-twála* ‘carry’, *mú-lyás-i* ‘wanderer’ < *-lyátá* ‘walk around’, *mupeési* ‘exorcist’ < *-peéla* ‘exorcise’, *mu-hũlikís-i* ‘listener’ < *-hulikísya* ‘listen to’, *mú-tens-i* ‘speaker’ < *-tendá* ‘say’, *mú-lós-i* ‘witch’ < *-lóghá* ‘curse’, *mu-toós-i* ‘bride groom’ < *-toóla* ‘marry’, *mú-sus-i* ‘blacksmith’ < *-sulá* ‘forge’

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

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

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

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

V. no

jímwi, *íibhíilí*, *iitatú*, *úinee*, *itaánu*, *múkaaghá*, *ndúu* / *mpungáti* (Mpanda dialect), *múnaané*, *kéndá*, *íikumí*

N. Decimal base

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

V. yes

kúbhokó, *mábhokó*

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

V. no

kúbhokó, mábhokó ‘hand’, *íikumó, mákumó* ‘finger’

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

V. yes

kúghúlú, mághúlú

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

V. yes

chaái

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

V. no

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

-bhumbiká ‘become full’ (Bende dialect), *-jinsúlá* ‘become full’ (Tongwe dialect), *-fúlá* ‘be full, be many’

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

V. yes

-jihághwá < *-jihághá* ‘kill’, *-liibhwa* < *-lyă* ‘eat’

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

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

V. no

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

V. 1 by the preposition *na*

júma gha-a-he-ébhwa si-taábhu nó yúko si-taábhu sy-a-he-ébhwa júma (nó yúko)

PN 1-PST-give-PS-F 7-book by PN 7-book 7-PST-give-PS-F PN (by PN)

‘Juma was given the book by Yuko.’

‘The book is given to Juma by Yuko.’

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

V. no

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

V. 1 through the use of a verbal affix only

-an / li- (less used)

[-an] -*bhuúkána* ‘get out together to fight’ < -*bhuúka* ‘leave’, -*fúláásányá* ‘hurt each other’ < -*fúláásyá* ‘injure’, -*fúmbáána* ‘share the border’ < -*fúmbá* ‘wrap’, -*haána* ‘give free’ < -*há* ‘give’, -*hambikána* ‘(two things) be tied’ < -*hambiká* ‘be closed’, -*hulikána* ‘agree’ < -*huliká* ‘hear’, -*lághána* ‘promise, agree’ < -*lághilá* ‘give an order’, -*lóghána* ‘bewitch each other’ < -*lóghá* ‘bewitch’, -*lyátághána* ‘walk around (together with iterative -*agh*)’ < -*lyátá* ‘walk’, -*putúnkána* ‘cut to share’ < -*putúká* ‘be cut’, -*sángána* ‘see each other by chance’ < -*sángá* ‘find’, -*sumbána* ‘differ from each other’ < -*sumbá* ‘surpass’, -*súsána* ‘resemble each other’ < -*súsá* ‘be similar’, -*taaghána* ‘be separated’ < -*taágha* ‘abandon, lose’, -*tuntinkána* ‘override (each other)’ < -*tuntika* ‘override’

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

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

V. 1 yes, but these are lexicalised

-*haána* ‘give free’ < -*há* ‘give’ see P040

P042 Causative: How is causative meaning expressed?

V. 1 through the use of verbal affixation only

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

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

[-ik] -*jimiká* ‘make sb. rule’ < -*jimá* ‘rule’

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

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

V. no

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

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

‘I cut meat with a knife.’

N. No instrumental by causative.

P044 Applicative: How are applicative constructions formed?

V. 1 through the use of a verbal affix only

[Benefactive] *n-an-kw-ihágh-il-á kásyă* ‘I kill a bushbuck for you’ < *-jihághá* ‘kill’

[Space (goal)] *gha-a-kílim-il-á kú-m-ongá* ‘s/he ran to the river’ < *-kílimá* ‘run’

[Instrument/means] *n-an-di-il-a m-páná né si-jiiko* ‘I ate porridge with a spoon’ < *-lyă* ‘eat’

n-di#kú-put-il-á nyámá káámí / káámí nyáma ‘I cut meat with a knife’

[Intensifier (double AP)] *fy-a-lyoh-el-él-a* ‘(the food) has become more delicious’ < *-lyöha* ‘be good/tasty’

N. *-il / -el* (vowel harmony with the verb stem V)

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

V. yes

N. see P044

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

V. 1 yes, to express intensity, repetition, completeness

-lyoh-el-él-a ‘become more delicious’ < *-lyöha* ‘be good/tasty’, *-bhiik-il-il-a* ‘put many things’ < *-bhiika* ‘put’, *-bhumb-il-ís-y-a* ‘add to pour to fulfill’ < *-bhumbá* ‘fill up’, *-bhuul-il-ís-y-a* ‘ask many times’ < *-bhuúla* ‘accuse’, *-fiki-il-il-á* ‘return before reaching the goal, overtake’ < *-fiká* ‘arrive’, *-fum-i-il-il-a* ‘come from somewhere’ < *-fumá* ‘come from’, *-fwik-il-il-a* ‘be given enough clothes’ < *-fwika* ‘cloth (sb.)’, *-hamb-il-il-a* ‘pack many loads’ < *-hambá* ‘fasten, bind’, *-heem-el-él-a* ‘breathe very quickly’ < *-heéma* ‘breathe quickly’, *-kond-él-és-y-a* ‘cradle, cuddle’ < *-kondá* ‘be obedient’, *-lámát-il-il-á* ‘press to paste well’ < *-lámát-ík-á* ‘paste’, *-lék-é-él-él-á* ‘abandon in process’ < *-léká* ‘stop, leave’, *-sint-ík-il-il-á* ‘spot up well’ < *-sintikílá* ‘spot up’, *-sól-é-él-és-y-á* ‘pick up until the end’ < *-sólá* ‘pick up’, *-syán-il-il-a* ‘stir the fire’ < *-syána* ‘put fire woods in fire’, *-tááh-il-ís-y-á* ‘say hello to sb. for me’ < *-tááhyá* ‘greet, say farewell’, *-tah-il-il-a* ‘draw water many times to fulfill’ < *-tahá* ‘draw water’

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

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

-bhághál-ík-á ‘become flat’ < *-bhághálá* ‘flatten’, *-bhand-ík-á* ‘past’ < *-bhandá* ‘prod, flatten’

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

V. 3 another order

[C-S-R] *-his-y-úk-án-a* ‘fall down by crossing over’ < *-hitá* ‘pass’

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

[R-C] *-hambikánya* ‘tie, connect (two things)’ < *-hambikána* ‘(two things) be tied’ < *-hambiká* ‘be tied well’

[R-C/A-C] *-hulik-án-y-a* ‘hear with doubt’ < *-hulik-án-a* ‘come to an agreement’ < *-hulik-is-y-a* ‘listen to’ < *-huliká* ‘hear’

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

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

V. 1 by morphological modification of the verb

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

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

‘We didn’t say I didn’t say.’

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

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

V. 1 by morphological modification of the verb

n-di#kú-hens-á *ná-a-si-j-í*

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

‘I want him/her not to go.’

N. *si-VB-í* (depending on TA)

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

V. 1 yes, as in dependent tenses

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

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

‘The person who does not like me’

‘The person who didn’t like me’

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

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

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

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

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

N. see **P050-P051**

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

V. 1 a single marker in the clause

N. *si-* (in 1SG) or *te=* (in all the other)

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

V. 1 a single marker in the clause

N. *si-*

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

V. no

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

V. no

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

V. yes

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

mú-si-tend-i *mw-ě-tend-e*
2PL-NEG-say-NEG 2PL-?-say-SUB?
'Don't say (PL).'

N. SM-*si*-VB-*i* / SM-*ě*-VB-*e* (presentative, when the ordered person is visible)

P059 Periphrastic negation: Is negation in certain tense/aspect/moods expressed by means of a periphrastic form (e.g. making use of an auxiliary construction or a verb like 'refuse/deny' for instance)? (see P049)

V. no

-*bhulá* 'lack'

n-a-m-bul-âng-a *kú-tend-a*

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

‘I missed to say / If I have said...’

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

V. yes

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

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

sí-tí *sy-a-ghw-á* *mú-hámá* *ghw-a-ghw-á*

7-tree 7-PST-fall-F 3-tembo_palm 3-PST-fall-F

‘Tree fell down.’

‘Tembo tree fell down.’

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

V. 2 optional

lí-mwéma *li-li#kú-lyát-a* *a-li#kú-lyát-a* *ng'-óómbé* *ji-li#kú-lyát-a*

5-albino 5-be#15-walk-F 1-be#15-walk-F 9-cattle 9-be#15-walk-F

‘Albino is walking.’

‘S/he is walking.’

‘The cow is walking.’

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

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

V. no

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

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

V. 1 second person plural subject marker

mw-a-lál-a *mpolá,* *bha-kulú?* (for female singular)

2PL-PST-sleep-F peaceful 2-elder

‘How are you, the respected madam?’

mw-a-lál-a *mpolá,* *bhá-jango?* (for male singular)

2PL-PST-sleep-F peaceful 2-guy

‘How are you, the respected mister?’

N. used for parents, parents-in law

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

V. yes

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

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

N. intensity and permission?

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

V. yes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

‘S/he went to take a bath.’

gha-a-j-a *kú-nyaágh-a*

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

‘S/he started taking a bath.’

kanyaágh-e! ‘Go to take a bath!’, *kalye!* ‘Go to eat!’, *kaje!* / *kajênge!* ‘Now go!’

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

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

V. no

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

V. yes

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

-nyaágh-a ‘take a bath’, *nyaágh-a!* (SG) / *nyaágh-e!* (PL) > *nyaághânga!* (SG) / *nyaághênge!* (PL) ‘Now you can take a bath!’ (permission)

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

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

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

jísá! (SG) / *jísé!* (PL) ‘Come!’

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

V. no

N. PROC={PreSM-SM-PostSMⁿ-PreR-ROOT-EXTⁿ-PreF-F}=ENC, PostSMⁿ maximally takes four slots

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

V. no

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

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

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

N. Post-verbal enclitics are only locative

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

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

bha-li#kú-ka-n-dím-il-a

bha-li#kú-ka-mu-lím-il-a

2-be#15-12-1SG-farm-AP-F

2-be#15-12-1-farm-AP-F

‘They cultivate it (12) for me.’

‘They cultivate it (12) for him.’

n-di#kú-si-mu-ha si-taábhu júma

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

‘I give the book to Juma.’

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

OK: *kú-si-m-pá*, *kú-ji-mu-h-á*

NG: **kú-n-si-h-á*, **kú-mu-ji-h-á*

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

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

ke-e-find-e!

bhá-twáná

bha-li#kw-î-swakúl-a

káábhúla jyá

kú-láál-a

IT-RF-make_effort-SUB 2-child

2PL-be#15-RF-brush-F before

ASSC9

15-sleep-F

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

ke-n-di-find-e!

IT-1SG-RF-make_effort-SUB

‘Wait, let me make an effort!’

N. *i- ~ li-*

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

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

na-a-mw-ihágh-á júma

1SG-PAST-1-kill-F PN

‘I killed Juma.’

n-di#kú-mu-h-a júma si-taábhu / n-di#kú-si-ha júma si-taábhu

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

‘I give Juma a book.’

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

V. yes

tu-sáhúl-e sí-bhénde

1PL-talk-SUB 7-Bende

‘Let’s talk Bende.’

tu-ahiídi

1PL-promise-Ø

‘Let’s promise.’

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

V. yes

[i] / [e]?

n-di#kú-ly-a bhú-gháli lék-e né-n-si-bhul-w-i má-nágha

1SG-be#15-eat-F 14-porridge stop-SUB CONJ-1SG-NEG-lose-PAS-NEG 6-power

‘I eat porridge, in order not to lose the power.’ =P058

n-ó-si-tend-i

CONJ-2SG-NEG-say-NEG 2SG-?-say-SUB?

‘Don’t say! (SG)’

ghw-ě-tend-e

mú-si-tend-i

2PL-NEG-say-NEG 2PL-?-say-SUB?

‘Don’t say! (PL)’

mw-ě-tend-e

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

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

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

ú-many-ílé ny-insí
 2SG-know-ANT 1SG-know
 ‘Do you know? I know.’

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

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

-já ‘go’ > *-já* + INF ‘begin to do’
-bhulá ‘lose’ > *-bhulá* + INF ‘missed to do’
-kobhólá ‘win’ > *-kobhólá* + INF ‘can’
-sumwă + CONS ‘at last ...’

n-a-n-j-á kú-teék-a
 CONJ-PST-1SG-AUXgo-F 15-cook-F
 ‘I have started cooking I went to cook.’
**n-ji-ílé kú-teék-a n-ji-ílé mí-ku/ka-teék-a*
 1SG-AUX.go-ANT 15-cook-F 1SG-AUX.go-ANT 18-15/IT-cook-F

n-kobhw-élé kú-teék-a
 1SG-can-ANT 15-cook-F
 ‘I can cook.’

gha-a-sumw-ă ghá-á-teék-a
 1-PST-at.last-F 1-CONS-cook-F
 ‘Finally s/he cooked.’

sumbwă + CONS/SUB ‘S had better...’ (Adverbial phrase)

sumbwă gha-á-li-fundiísy-a sí-sukúma kulíko sí-bhénde sumbwă a-teék-e
 had_better 1-CONS-RF-learn-F 7-Sukuma than 7-Bende had.better 1-cook-SUB
 ‘S/he had better learn Sukuma than Bende S/he had better cook.’

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

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

V. no

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

V. no yes

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

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

V. yes

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

V. no

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

V. 2 the subject

mw-enda ghw=a-téh-ilé yúko / yúko ghw=a-téh-ilé
3-cloth REL3=1-like-ANT PN PN REL3=1-like-ANT
'The cloth which Yuko likes'

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

V. yes

N. see **P091**

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

V. no

*si-taábhu syo=n-sóm-ilé *syo=n-si-sóm-ilé*
7-book REL7=1SG-read-ANT REL7=1SG-7-read-ANT
'The book which I read'

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

V. yes

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

bhw=a-ka-jí-ilé / hw=a-ka-jí-ilé kú-mpanda júma,
REL14=1-DIS-go-ANT / REL16=1-DIS-go-ANT 17-PN PN,
a-ka-mú-bhwené=ko yúko
1-DIS-see=17 PN
'When Juma went to Mpanda, he saw Yuko.'

[Where] CL17 (*ko=*)

kw=a-ka-ji-ilé

17-1-DIS-go-ANT

‘The place where he went’

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

fy=a-ka-ji-ilé kú-mpanda júma ni mú-ka-ghúl-á mw-énda

REL8=3-DIS-go-ANT 17-PN PN COP 18-ITV-buy-F 3-cloth

‘The reason why Juma went to Mpanda is to go to buy a cloth.’

mú-ntú bhw=á-koo-n-fúnáníl-á mw-énda bhô=n-gu-téh-ilé

1-some REL14=1-HAB-1SG-help-F 3-cloth REL14=1SG-3-like-ANT

‘The type of person that usually helps me’ ‘The type of cloth that I like’

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

V. yes

ká-afu ko=bha-li#kú-kalâng-a ma-sembé ni ká-soghá

12-smell REL12=2PL-be#15-fry 6-fish COP 12-good

‘The smell which they’re frying fish is good.’

mpíjja sy=a-ká-ghús-iis-ié mu-utúka

10-money REL10=1-DIS-buy-CAU-ANT 3-car

‘The money s/he sold the car.’

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

V. yes

si-taábhu [syo=n-ka-ghús-ilé] ni sí-soghá

7-book [REL7=1SG-DIS-buy-ANT] COP 7-good

‘The book which I bought is good.’

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

P097 Clefts: How are clefts formed?

V. 1 through the use of a segmentally expressed copula

[+ REL] (+inversion)

ni sí-taábhu syo=n-téh-ilé gho=si-taábhu syo=n-téh-ilé

COP 7-book REL7=1SG-like-ANT FOC=7-book REL7=1SG-like-ANT

‘It’s the book that I liked.’

gho=mú-bhénde gha-li#i-kóm-a
 FOC=1-Bende 1-be#15-be_well-F
 ‘It’s Bende who is good.’

[+REL] (+inversion)

ní n-sófu jyo=gha-a-ke-éhágh-âng-a júma
 COP 9-elephant REL9=1-PST-DIS-kill-ITS-F PN
gho=n-sófu gha-a-ke-éhágh-âng-a júma
 FOC=9-elephant 1-PST-DIS-kill-ITS-F PN

‘It’s the elephant which Juma killed.’

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

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

V. yes

[Locative]

ní kú-katuma ko=n-téh-ilé kú-j-á < n-téh-ilé kú-j-á kú-katuma
 COP 17-PN REL17=1SG-like-ANT 15-go-F 1SG-like-ANT 15-go-F 17-PN
 ‘It’s Katuma where I like to go.’ ‘I like to go to Katuma.’

[Infinitive]

ní kú-sóm-a ko=n-téh-ilé < n-téh-ilé kú-sóm-a
 COP 15-read-F 15=1SG-like-ANT 1SG-like-ANT 15-read-F
 ‘I like TO READ.’

[Adverbial phrase]

ní fy=a-li#kú-tend-á fyo=n-téh-ilé
 COP REL8=1-be#15-say-F REL8-1SG-like-ANT
 ‘It’s the way how s/he says that I like.’
 < *n-téh-ilé fy=a-li#kú-tend-á*
 1SG-like-ANT REL8=1-be#15-say-F
 ‘I like how s/he says.’

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

V. no

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

ghw-a-téh-e=élo fi-taábhu? ty=o-téh-ilé=ehi fi-taábhu
 2SG-PST-like-F=TQA 8-book NEG=2SG-like-ANT=TQN 8-book

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

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

V. 5 in situ

no-oghwe u-jit-ilwé ghanyĩ? ú-kú-hens-a sí?
 CONJ-wewe 2SG-call-PAS.ANT who 2SG-15-want-F what
 ‘As whom are you called?’ ‘What do you want?’

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

V. no

The sentence below comes out as why-applicative construction

u-li#kú-líl-il-a sí? / u-li#kú-líl-a ná sí?
 2SG-be#15-cry-AP-F what / 2SG-be#15-cry-F with what
ni kú-sĩ bho=o-li#kú-líl-a?
 COP 17-what REL14=2SG-be#15-cry-F
 ‘Why are you crying?’
 N. *kúsi?* ‘Why?’ (CL17-what)

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

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

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

úughwe ni mú-bhénde / úughwe u-li mú-bhénde
 2SG COP 1-Bende / 2SG 2SG-be 1-Bende
 ‘You are a Bende.’

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

V. 1 of the shape *ni* (or similar)

N. see **P102**

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

V. yes

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

n-di kú-kátúma n-di=ná mw-ána ni kú-kátúma ko=n-di
 1SG-be 17-Katuma 1SG-be=with 1-child COP 17-Katuma REL17=1SG-be
 ‘I am in Katuma.’ ‘I have a child.’ ‘It’s Katuma where I am.’

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

V. 2 the defective verb ‘be’ + preposition ‘with’ only

<i>n-di=ná</i>	<i>mw-ána</i>	<i>m-be-élé</i>	<i>ná</i>	<i>sí-ntú</i>	<i>n-dóó-bha</i>	<i>ná</i>	<i>sí-ntú</i>
1SG-be=with	1-child	1SG-be-ANT	with	7-some	1SG-FUT-be	with	7-some
‘I have a child.’		‘I had a thing.’		‘I will have a thing.’			

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

V. yes

<i>n-á-ny-imbá</i>	<i>ny-imbo</i>
CONJ-PST-1SG-sing	9-song
‘I sang a song.’	

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

V. 2: yes, for topicalisation

<i>ku-teék-a</i>	<i>n-di#kú-teék-a</i>
15-cook-F	1SG-be#15-cook-F
‘Yes, I cook.’	

<i>bhw=a-li#kú-j-a</i>	<i>ghá-a-j-a</i>	<i>ku-mpanda,</i>
REL14=1-be#15-go-F	1-CONS-go-F	17-PN
<i>a-loo-bh-a</i>	<i>ghá-a-tu-leet-el-a</i>	<i>mú-kaáte</i>
1-FUT-be-F	1-CONS-1PL-bring-APP-F	3-bread
‘Because s/he often goes to Mpanda, s/he will bring us with bread.’		

[Reduplication]

<i>n-di#kú-teeka-téék-a</i>
1SG-be#15-cook-RED-F
‘I cook so much.’

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

V. yes

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

[*-jilá* ‘do, make’] ~ *milímo* ‘work’, ~ *bhúlânga* ‘make noise’, ~ *kabhili* ‘repeat’, ~ *mwâjú* ‘yawn’, ~ *matuútu* ‘emit a momentary sound’, ~ *mwétyä* ‘sneeze’, ~ *nkubhikubhi* ‘hiccup’

P113 Quant-Noun: Is there a prenominal quantifier?

V. yes

kila (sintu)

‘every (thing)’

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

V. yes

*mu-alimu ghw-etu ghwá sí-swahíli *mu-alimu ghwá sí-swahíli ghw-etu*

1-teacher 1-POS.1PL ASSC1 7-Swahili

‘Our Swahili teacher.’

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

V. yes

júma gha-a-ke-éhágh-âng-a n-sófu

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

‘Juma killed an elephant.’

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

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

n-a-n-si-mu-h-á júma si-taábhu n-a-a-mu-h-á júma si-taábhu

CONJ-PST-1SG-7-1-give-F PN 7-book CONJ-PST-1SG-1-give-F PN 7-book

‘I gave Juma a book.’

‘I gave Juma a book.’

n-a-n-ji-mu-h-á júma Ø-símu

CONJ-PST-1SG-9-1-give-F PN 9-phone

‘I gave Juma a phone.’

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

V. no

N. see **P038**

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

V. 1 immediately after the verb (IAV)

Q: Whom do you like?

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

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

V. no

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

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

V. yes

[*-kobhólá* + INF] OK

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

[*-já* +INF, *-bhulá*+INF] NG

**ku-teék-a n-â-n-j-á* < *n-a-n-já kú-teék-a*
 15-cook-F CONJ-PST-1SG-go ‘I began cooking.’

**ku-teék-a n-â-m-bul-á* < *n-a-m-bul-á kú-teék-a*
 15-cook-F CONJ-PST-1SG-miss-F ‘I missed to cook.’

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

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

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

N. No agreement change occurs but locative inversion.

P122 Locative inversion: Is locative inversion attested?

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

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

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

V. no

júma n-di#kú-mu-huúl-o one ni júma gho=n-di#kú-huúl-a
PN 1SG-be#15-1-hit-F 1SG COP PN REL1=1SG-be#15-hit-F
'I hit Juma.' 'It's Juma whom I hit.'

N. No formal (agreement) change on the verb

P124 Instrument inversion: Is instrument inversion attested?

V. no

ká-ámbi ka-li#ku-mw-ihágh-á júma < júma a-li#kw-ihágh-w-á ná ká-ámbi
12-knife 12-be#15-1-kill-F PN PN 1-be#15-kill-PAS-F by 12-knife
'The knife kills Juma.' 'Juma is killed by the knife.'

N. No formal (agreement) change on the verb

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

V. yes

n-a-n-j-á kú-mpanda, nó júma gha-a-fum-á kú-mpanda
CONJ-PST-1SG-go-F 17-PN CONJ PN 1-PST-go_out-F 17-PN
'I went to Mpanda and Juma went out from Mpanda.'

úune nó júma tw-a-j-á kú-mpanda
1SG and PN 1PL-PST-go-F 17-PN
'I and Juma went to Mpanda.'

N. *ná* (*né, nó*)

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

V. yes

n-a-n-j-á kú-mpanda, n-á-n-gúl-á=ko ng'-óómbe
CONJ-PST-1SG-go-F 17-PN CONJ-CONS-1SG-buy-F=17 9-cattle
'I went to Mpanda and bought a cow there.'

n-a-n-halámúk-a mú-laabho, n-á-n-j-a kú-n-osfisi,
CONJ-PST-1SG-awake-F 3-morning CONJ-CONS-1SG-go-F 17-9-office
n-á-n-kól-á mí-límo
CONJ-CONS-1SG-do-F 4-work

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

N. *á-* (CONS) in TAM slot (post SM)

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

V. 1 yes, optionally

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

1-PST-say-F [COMP]

1-CONS-go-F

‘S/he said that s/he went.’

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

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

V. 1 in front of the clause

N. see P127

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

V. yes

tí..., *kú-bhalá tí...* < *kú-bhalá* ‘say’

ku-bhá..., *tí ku-bhá...* < *ku-bhá* ‘15-be’

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

V. no

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

V. no

Compare with (131)

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

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

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

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

V. no

kubhá ghá-a-j-a kú-mu-jiíni, a-laa#kw-ís-a né mu-kaáte
if 1-CONS-go-F 17-3-town 1-FUT.N#15-come-F with 3-bread

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

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

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

V. no

mbi/mbe a-ná-j-e kú-mu-jiíni, a-ná-leét-e mú-kate
if 1-IRR-go-SUB 17-3-town, 1-IRR-bring-SUB 3-bread

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

N. *mbi/mbe* + IRR (SM-*ná-V-e*)

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

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

N. see **P094**

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

bhw=a-ka-jí-ilé / hw=a-ka-jí-ilé kú-mpanda júma,
REL14=1-DIS-go-ANT / REL16=1-DIS-go-ANT 17-PN PN
a-ka-mú-bhwené=ko yúko
1-DIS-see=17 PN

‘When Juma went to Mpanda, he saw Yuko.’

[Before-clause] Persistentive + *kundi* CONS

a-ka-bhe-élé n-a-sya-li nó ku-fík-a kú-mpanda,
1-DIS-be-ANT CONJ-1-PER-be and15-arrive-F 17-PN
kundi ghá-a-lwál-a

then 1-CONS-become_sick-F

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

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

bhaáda jya kú-j-a kú-mu-jiíni, gha-a-fík-a ghá-a-lwál-a
after of 15-go-F 17-3-town, 1-PST-arrive-F 1-CONS-become_sick-F

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

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

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

hw=a-jike-élé ni há-soghá ko=o-jí-ilé ni kú-soghá
REL16=1-stay-ANT COP 16-good REL17=2SG-go-ANT COP 17-good
'The place where s/he lives is good.' 'The place where you go is good.'

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

V. 1 by the verb 'surpass/exceed'

hamísi ni mú-talí kú-sumb-a yasíni
PN COP 1-tall 15-surpass-F PN
'Hamisi is taller than Yasini.'
N. *kúsumbá* 'to surpass'

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

V. yes

júma ku-nyw-a má-álwá ni n-sémbo jy-aje
PN 15-drink-F 6-alcoholic_drink COP 9-habit 9-POS.3SG
'For Juma to drink alcohol is his habit.'
N. No SM, but an overt subject appears in a bare form

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

V. yes

jóni a-lol-éék-é [ni mú-kol-a mí-límo | kubhá a-li#kú-kol-a mí-límo]
PN 1-see-IMP-ANT [COP 1-do-F 4-work | that 1-be#15-do-F 4-work]
'John seems like a working man. / John seems that he is doing work.'

jóni bha-li#kú-mu-bhal-a=ko [mú-pwél-a ká-móógha|kubhá a-li#kú-pwél-a ká-móógha]
PN 2-be#15-1-say-F=17 [1-smoke-F 12-marijuana|that 1-be#15-smoke-F 12-marijuana]
'People say about John that he is a marijuana smoker. | People say about John that he is smoking marijuana.'

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

V. yes

gho=mú-sagha kú-kula gho=mú-sagha ghw-á-sumb-a
FOC=3-wind 15-big FOC=3-wind 3-CONS-surpass-F
'It's strong wind!'

ni mú-sagha mú-kali ni mú-sagha ghw-á-semb-a
 COP 3-wind 3-strong COP 3-wind 3-CONS-surpass-F
 ‘It’s strong wind!’
 N. *gho=* or *ni*

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

V. yes

ninga jyá mú-sagha
 even CON9 3-wind
 ‘Even the wind...’

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

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

V. no

[Q] *gha-a-jís-âng-a ghanyí?*
 1-PST-come-ITS-F who
 ‘Who came?’

[A] *ni júma gha-a-jís-âng-a (*gho=júma)*
 COP PN 1-PST-come-ITS-F
 ‘It’s Juma that came.’

[Q] *gho=mú-bhénde ghoógho?*
 FOC=1-Bende DEM1
 ‘Is s/he a Bende?’

[A] *élo, gho=mú-bhénde*
 yes, FOC=1-Bende
 ‘Yes, s/he is a Bende.’

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

Normal Mbugu (G221)[†]

Maya Abe

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

V. n.a.

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

V. n.a.

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

V. 2

V shape

ibápa

i-bapa

NPx.CL5-forehead

‘a forehead’

zero-marking

NkuNdi

Ø-NkuNdi

NPx.CL5-skin

‘skin’

N. V shape, possibly alternating with zero-marking

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

V. 16

1	m-, mw-	<i>ɱtfekú</i>	2	va-	<i>vatfekú</i>
		m-tfeku			va-tfeku
		NPx.CL1-wife			NPx.CL2-wife
		‘wife’			‘wives’

[†] Phonological inventory of Normal Mbugu: p, b, t, d, tʃ, dʒ, k, g, f, v, s, z, ʃ, x, ɣ, h, m, n, ɲ, ŋ, r, l, j, w, i, e, a, o, u. Besides these, there is a nasal /N/ that only occurs just before the strident and assimilates to it by point of articulation and voicing ([ɱp], [mb], [ɲt], [nd], [ŋk], [ŋg], [ɱv], and so on). Tonal marking is given as surface realization.

Abbreviations: APPL ‘applicative’; ASSC ‘associative’; CAUS ‘causative’; CLn ‘noun class number’; COND ‘conditional’; CONS₁ ‘consecutive 1’; CONS₂ ‘consecutive 2’; CONT ‘continuous’; COP ‘copula’; DEM ‘demonstrative’; DIST ‘distal’; FUT ‘future’; FV ‘final vowel’; HAB ‘habitual’; LOC ‘locative’; MED ‘medial’; NEG ‘negative marker’; NegCOP ‘negative copula’; NegFUT ‘negative future’; NegPST ‘negative past’; NegSM ‘negative subject marker’; NOML ‘nominalizer’; NPx ‘nominal prefix’; OM ‘object marker’; PASS ‘passive’; PL ‘plural’; POSS ‘possessive’; PPx ‘pronominal prefix’; PRO ‘pronoun’; PROX ‘proximal’; PRS ‘present’; PST₁ ‘past 1’; PST₂ ‘past 2’; REC ‘reciprocal’; REF ‘reflexive’; REL₁ ‘relative 1’; REL₂ ‘relative 2’; SG ‘singular’; SM ‘subject marker’; STAT ‘stative’; SUBJ ‘subjunctive’

1a	Ø-	<i>abá</i> Ø-aba NPx.CL1a-father 'father'	2	va-	<i>váabá</i> va-aba NPx.CL2-father 'fathers'
3	m-, mw-	<i>m̄yóNgó</i> m-ɣoNgo NPx.CL3-back 'back'	4	mi-	<i>miyóNgó</i> mi-ɣoNgo NPx.CL4-back 'backs'
5	i-, Ø-	<i>igí</i> i-gi NPx.CL5-egg 'egg'	6	ma-	<i>magí</i> ma-gi NPx.CL6-egg 'eggs'
7	ki-, tf-	<i>kidzó</i> ki-d3o NPx.CL7-food 'food'	8	vi-, vj-	<i>vidzó</i> vi-d3o NPx.CL8-food 'foods'
9	N-, Ø-	<i>Nkúkú</i> N-kuku NPx.CL9-chicken 'chicken'	10	N-, Ø-	<i>Nkúkú</i> N-kuku NPx.CL10-chicken 'chickens'
11	lu-	<i>lukwí</i> lu-kwi NPx.CL11-firewood 'firewood'	10	N-, Ø-	<i>Nkwí</i> N-kwi NPx.CL10-firewood 'firewoods'
12	ka-	<i>kawahá</i> ka-haNdwi NPx.CL12-knife 'knife'	14	vu-	<i>vuwahá</i> vu-haNdwi NPx.CL14-knife 'knives'
14a	u-	<i>uyaNga</i> u-ɣaNga NPx.CL14a-medical_care 'medical care'	6	ma-	<i>mayaNga</i> ma-ɣaNga NPx.CL6-medical_care 'medical cares'
14a	u-	<i>urefú</i> u-refu NPx.CL14a-long 'length'	n.a.		

15	ku-	<i>kutóNga</i> ku-toNga NPx.CL15-go 'to go'	n.a.		
15	ku-	<i>kuyu</i> ku-yu NPx.CL15-leg 'leg'	6	ma-	<i>mayu</i> ma-yu NPx.CL16-leg 'legs'
16	ha-	<i>haNtu</i> ha-Ntu NPx.CL16-some 'place'	n.a.		

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

V. yes (CL.15)

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

V. yes

kadzána/vudzána

ka-dzana/vu-dzana

NPx.CL12-child/NPx.CL14-child

'infant/infants'

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

V. yes

imamé/mamamé

i-mame/ma-mame

NPx.CL5-mother/NPx.CL6-mother

'big mama/big mamas'

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

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

V. yes

mweteni

m-ete-ni

NPx.CL3-river-LOC

‘in/at/on, etc. the river’

N. Words of Bantu origin seem to be able to appear with locative suffix and the ones of non-Bantu origin may not. In such cases, the words can appear with preposition he ‘in/at/on, etc.’

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

V. yes

tfuNbaní

áha

hékáa

vaNtu

vairí

ki-uNba-ni

aha

ha-ka-a

va-Ntu

va-iri

NPx.CL7-room-LOC

DEM.PROX.CL16

SM.CL16-live-FV

NPx.CL2-some

NPx.CL2-2

‘Two persons live in this room.’

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

V. yes

hába

ha-b-a

OM.CL16-destroy-FV

‘Break there.’

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

V. no

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

mwana

wa

ḡnané

m-ana

wa

ḡnane

NPx.CL1-child

GEN.CL1

8

‘8th child’

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

V. no

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

V. yes

Normal Mbugu possessive pronoun stems

1SG	-aNgu	1PL	-etu
2SG	-ako	2PL	-eju
3SG	-akwe	3PL	-avo

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. 3

Inalienable possession

<i>áam̩biya</i>	<i>ᵐtwí</i>
a;aa-ᵐ-biy-a	ᵐ-twi
SM.CL1;PST2-OM.CL1-hit-FV	NPx.CL3-head
‘He/She hit his/her head.’	

Alienable possession

<i>áam̩biya</i>	<i>ᵐtwí</i>	<i>waNgú</i>
a;aa-ᵐ-biy-a	ᵐ-twi	wa-aNgu
SM.CL1;PST2-OM.CL1-hit-FV	NPx.CL3-head	PPx.CL3-POSS.1SG
‘He/She hit his/her head.’		

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

<i>ᵐtí</i>	<i>úu</i>
ᵐ-tí	uu
NPx.CL3-tree	DEM.PROX.CL3
‘this tree’	

<i>ᵐtí</i>	<i>úo</i>
ᵐ-tí	uo
NPx.CL3-tree	DEM.MED.CL3
‘the tree’	

mí *úlá*
 m-ti ula
 NPx.CL3-tree DEM.DIST.CL3
 ‘that tree’
 N. three-way distinction

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

V. 1

	proximal	medial	distal
CL1	<i>úu</i>	<i>úo</i>	<i>úlá</i>
CL2	<i>áva</i>	<i>ávo</i>	<i>válá</i>
CL3	<i>úu</i>	<i>úo</i>	<i>úlá</i>
CL4	<i>íi</i>	<i>íjo</i>	<i>ílá</i>
CL5	<i>íli</i>	<i>ílo</i>	<i>lílá</i>
CL6	<i>áa</i>	<i>áo</i>	<i>álá</i>
CL7	<i>ítfi</i>	<i>ítfo</i>	<i>kílá</i>
CL8	<i>ívi</i>	<i>ívjo</i>	<i>vílá</i>
CL9	<i>íi</i>	<i>íjo</i>	<i>ílá</i>
CL10	<i>ídzi</i>	<i>ídzo</i>	<i>dzilá</i>
CL11	<i>úlu</i>	<i>úlo</i>	<i>lúlá</i>
CL12	<i>áka</i>	<i>áko</i>	<i>kálá</i>
CL14	<i>úvu</i>	<i>úvwo</i>	<i>vúlá</i>
CL15	<i>úku</i>	<i>úko</i>	<i>kúlá</i>
CL16	<i>áha</i>	<i>áho</i>	<i>hálá</i>

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

<i>ibwé</i>	<i>ibahá</i>	/	<i>mabwé</i>	<i>mabahá</i>
i-bwe	i-baha	/	ma-bwe	ma-baha
NPx.CL5-stone	NPx.CL5-big	/	NPx.CL6-stone	NPx.CL6-big
‘big stone’			‘big stones’	

Other adjective stems:

-ezó ‘good’; -tana ‘good’; -vivi ‘bad’; -gumú ‘hard’; -ezá ‘long’; -fúhi ‘short’; -bahá ‘big’; -viNba ‘heavy’; -fá ‘new’; -Ngiwa ‘another, other’; -Ngi ‘many’; -óse ‘all’; -dzíru ‘black’; -dévá ‘white’;

-rótome ‘red’; *-Ngáhi* ‘how many’

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

V. yes

<i>mí</i>	<i>urótome</i>	/	<i>mití</i>	<i>irótome</i>
m-ti	u-rotome	/	mi-ti	i-rotome
NPx.CL3-wood	PPx.CL3-red	/	NPx.CL4-wood	PPx.CL4-red
‘red wood’			‘red woods’	

N. Pronominal prefixes are attached to some adjective stems.

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

V. no

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

V. yes

mwanási/vanási
m-ana-Ø-si / va-ana-Ø-si
NPx.CL1-child-NPx.CL9-country / NPx.CL2-child-NPx.CL9-country
‘citizen / citizens’

N. Almost all examples are loans from Swahili together with their functions.

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 -yanà and kazi ?)

V. no

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

V. 1

mruyi / varúyi
m-ruy-i / va-ruy-i (<-ruya)
NPx.CL1-cook-NOML / NPx.CL2-cook-NOML
‘cook / cooks’

mseki / vaseki

m-sek-i / va-sek-i

NPx.CL1-laugh-NOML / NPx.CL2-laugh-NOML

‘humorist / humorists’

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

V. 2

mló

m-la-o

NPx.CL3-eat-NOML

‘diet’

N. Almost all examples are loans from Swahili except a few ones.

lukúNdo

lu-kuNd-o

NPx.CL14-love-NOML

‘love’

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

V. no

1 *mwe*

2 *Nbirí*

3 *Ntátu*

4 *ɲne*

5 *sáno*

6 *síta*

7 *sabá*

8 *ɲnané*

9 *keNdá*

10 *ikúimí*

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

V. yes

mkóno / *mikóno*

m-kono / mi-kono

NPx.CL3-arm/hand / NPx.CL4-arm/hand

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

V. no

kitfáa / *vitfáa*

ki-tfaa / vi-tfaa

NPx.CL7-finger / NPx.CL8-finger

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

V. yes

kuyu / *mayu*

ku-yu / ma-yu

NPx.CL15-leg/foot / NPx.CL6-leg/foot

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

V. yes

tfái

Ø- tfai

NPx.CL9-tea

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

-tfoka *-fiNdziá* *-zúa*

-tfok-a -fiNdzi-a -zu-a

be_tired fall_asleep be_full

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

V. yes

-w

ábiywa *ní rafiki* *wakwé*

a;aa-biy-w-a ni Ø-rafiki wa-akwe

SM.CL1;PST2-hit-PASS-FV by NPx.CL1a-friend PPx.CL1-POSS.CL1

‘He/She was hit by his/her friend.’

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

V. null

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

V. 4

ní (short form: *ń*)

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

V. no?

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

V. 3

N. Verb without reciprocal suffix with preposition *na* can also have a reciprocal/associative meaning.

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

V. yes

<i>-dímikána</i>	<i>-majikana</i>
-dim-ik-an-a	-maj-ik-an-a
can-STAT-REC-FV	know-STAT-REC-FV
‘be possible’	‘be known’

P042 Causative: How is causative meaning expressed ?

V. 3

Causative suffix: *-ij/-ef*, *-idʒ/-edʒ*

<i>-ij/-ef</i>	
<i>náagwifa</i>	<i>ńti</i>
ni-aa-gw-ij-a	ń-ti
SM.1SG-PST2-fall-CAUS-FV	NPx.CL3-tree
‘I made tree fall.’	

<i>-idʒ/edʒ</i>	
<i>twáafédʒa</i>	<i>ńama</i>
tu-aa-f-edʒ-a	N-ama
SM.1PL-PST2-be_cooked_well-CAUS-FV	NPxCL9.-meat
‘We cooked meat well (lit. We made meat be cooked well).’	

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

V. no

P044 Applicative: How are applicative constructions formed?

V. 1

Applicative suffix: *-i/-j*

náamtfwía

mamé

waNǵú

ni-aa-m-tfw-i-a

Ø-mame

wa-aNǵu

SM.1SG-PST2-OM.CL1-cut-APPL-FV NPx.CL1a-mother PPx.CL1-POSS.1SG

ǵama

N-ama

NPx.CL9-meat

‘I cut meat for my mother.’

N. *-j* is attached to the verb stems which end with vowels.

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

V. yes

N. Malefactive, substitutive, recipient, instrumental, direction/goal, reverse direction, locative, reason, and possessor.

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

V. no?

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

V. 1

Neuter/stative suffix: *-ik*

igí

láabadzika

i-gi

li-aa-bad3-ik-a

NPx.CL5-egg SM.CL5-PST₂-break-STAT-FV

‘An egg was broken.’

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

V. 1

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

V. 1

teḥvona

teḥ-von-a

NegSM.2PL-see-FV

‘You (PL) do not see.’

kahaNdwi

kamwe

tekénagwa

ka-haNdwi

ka-mwe

teke-na-gw-a

NPx.CL12-knife NPx.CL12-one NegSM.CL12-NegPST₂-fall-FV

‘A knife did not fall down.’

N. conditionals

sikatóNgé

ḡdzini

ékúsáaza

javo

si-ka-toNg-e

ḡ-dzini

e-ku-saa-z-a

javo

SM.1SG-NegFUT-go-FV NPx.CL3-town-LOC SM.CL1-COND-NEG-come-FV tomorrow

‘I will not go to the town if he/she comes tomorrow.’

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

V. 1

úsinwé

NpoNbe

u-si-nw-e

N-poNbe

SM.2SG-NEG-drink-SUBJ NPx.CL9-water

‘Do not drink water.’

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

V. 2

vána

vó

tevésóma

nézó

v-ana

vo

teve-som-a

n-ezo

NPx.CL2-child REL₁.CL2 NegSM.CL2-study-FV NPx.CL9-good

tevékapáté

Ndimá

Ntana

teve-ka-pat-e

N-dima

N-tana

NegSM.CL2-NegFUT-get-FV NPx.CL9-work NPx.CL9-good

‘The children who do not study well will not get a good job.’

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

V. 7

N. Negation is expressed in the pre-initial position in most main clauses except conditionals (in the post-initial position).

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

V. 2

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

V. 1

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

V. 1

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. 2

sí-

N. In the conditionals and subjunctives, the combination of affirmative singular subject prefix and negative prefix is used.

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. no

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

V. yes

- 1SG *ṛnegwa*
ṛ-ne-gw-a
SM.1SG-FUT-fall-FV
'I will fall down.'
- 1PL *tunegwa*
tu-ne-gw-a
SM.1PL-FUT-fall-FV
'We will fall down.'
- 2SG *unegwa*
u-ne-gw-a
SM.2SG-FUT-fall-FV
'You (SG) will fall down.'
- 2PL *ṛnegwa*
ṛ-ne-gw-a
SM.2PL-FUT-fall-FV
'You (PL) will fall down.'
- CL1 *ṛNtu* *énegwa*
ṛ-Ntu e-ne-gw-a
NPx.CL1-some SM.CL1-FUT-fall-FV
'A person will fall down.'
- CL2 *vaNtu* *vénegwa*
va-Ntu ve-ne-gw-a
NPx.CL2-some SM.CL2-FUT-fall-FV
'People will fall down.'
- CL3 *ṛtí* *únegwa*
ṛ-ti u-ne-gw-a
NPx.CL3-tree SM.CL3-FUT-fall-FV
'A tree will fall down.'
- CL4 *mití* *únegwa*
mi-ti u-ne-gw-a
NPx.CL4-tree SM.CL4-FUT-fall-FV
'Trees will fall down.'
- CL5 *ilua* *línegwa*
i-lua li-ne-gw-a
NPx.CL5-flower SM.CL5-FUT-fall-FV
'A flower will fall down.'

- CL6 *malua* *énegwa*
ma-lua e-ne-gw-a
NPx.CL6-flower SM.CL6-FUT-fall-FV
‘Flowers will fall down.’
- CL7 *kitfúNbí* *tĭnegwa*
ki-tfuNbi tĭ-ne-gw-a
NPx.CL7-chair SM.CL7-FUT-fall-FV
‘A chair will fall down.’
- CL8 *vitfúNbí* *vinegwa*
vi-tfuNbi vi-ne-gw-a
NPx.CL8-chair SM.CL8-FUT-fall-FV
‘Chairs will fall down.’
- CL9 *suke* *ínegwa*
Ø-suke i-ne-gw-a
NPx.CL9-clothes SM.CL9-FUT-fall-FV
‘A clothes will fall down.’
- CL10 *suke* *dzínegwa*
Ø-suke dži-ne-gw-a
NPx.CL10-clothes SM.CL10-FUT-fall-FV
‘Clothes will fall down.’
- CL11 *lukwí* *lúnegwa*
lu-kwi lu-ne-gw-a
NPx.CL11-firewood SM.CL11-FUT-fall-FV
‘A firewood will fall down.’
- CL12 *kahaNdwi* *kénegwa*
ka-haNdwi ke-ne-gw-a
NPx.CL12-knife SM.CL12-FUT-fall-FV
‘A knife will fall down.’
- CL14 *vuhaNdwi* *vínegwa*
vu-haNdwi vu-ne-gw-a
NPx.CL14-knife SM.CL14-FUT-fall-FV
‘Knives will fall down.’
- CL15 *kulá* *kwáasija*
ku-la ku-aa-sij-a
NPx.CL15-eat SM.CL15-PST₂-fall-FV
‘Eating ended.’

CL16 *haNtu* *háabáika*
 ha-Ntu ha-aa-ba-ik-a
 NPx.CL16-some SM.CL16-PST₂-break-STAT-FV
 ‘The place was broken down.’

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

V. 2

N. Only human nouns show subject agreement with class 1/2 regardless of class membership.

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

V. no

1PL *tu-*

2PL *ɲ-*

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. 2

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

V. 3

Past1

<i>tutóNgíe</i>	<i>iyuo</i>
tu-toNg-ie	iyuo
SM.1PL-go-PST ₁	yesterday

Past2

<i>náalá</i>	<i>kidzó</i>	<i>tjá</i>	<i>tjéhémsí</i>
ni-aa-l-a	ki-dzo	tja	tjehemsi
SM.1SG-PST ₂ -eat-FV	NPx.CL7-food	GEN.CL7	noon

‘I ate/have eaten lunch.’

Completive past

<i>néetóNgíe</i>	<i>áho</i>	<i>mjáka</i>	<i>ifirini</i>	<i>ikelie</i>
ni-aa-toNg-ie	aho	mi-aka	ifirini	i-kel-ie
SM.1SG-PST ₂ -go-PST ₁	DEM.MED.CL16	NPx.CL4-year	20	SM.CL4-pass-PST ₁

‘I went there twenty years ago.’

N. In negation, completive past and past1 shows same time reference, on the other hands, the negation of past2 expresses imperfect.

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

V. 1

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

<i>mwána</i>	<i>waNgú</i>	<i>éfeNdziyáa</i>	<i>hé kibáNda</i>
m-ana	wa-aNgu	a-feNdziy-a-a	he ki-baNda
NPx.CL1-child	PPx.CL1-POSS.1SG	SM.CL1-play-HAB-FV	in NPx.CL7-field

<i>mpaká</i>	<i>tfamayeri</i>	<i>kila</i>	<i>msi</i>
mpaka	tfamayeri	kila	m-si
until	evening	every	NPx.CL3-day

‘My child always plays in the field until the evening every day.’

N. habituality

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

V. yes

-je/-ie

<i>étóNgíe</i>	<i>fúlé</i>	<i>iyuo</i>
a-toNg-ie	Ø-fule	iyuo
SM.1PL-go-PST ₁	NPx.CL9-school	yesterday

‘He went to school yesterday.’

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

V. 1

-ka

N. Note: -ka- is only used in the indicatives and the past tense.

<i>iyuo</i>	<i>nirúyie</i>	<i>vidzó</i>	<i>nikalá</i>
iyuo	ni-ruy-ie	vi-dzo	ni-ka-la
yesterday	SM.1SG-cook-PST ₁	NPx.CL8-food	SM.1SG-CONS ₁ -eat-FV

nikafiNdzia *saa* *ɲne*
 ni-ka-ʃiNdzi-a Ø-saa ɲne
 SM.1SG-CONS₁-sleep-FV NPx.CL9-hour 4
 ‘Yesterday I cooked food, ate (it), and slept at 10.’

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

V. 1
-ze

N. The definite verb with -ze- occurs only after the imperative verbs. -ze- is apparently derived from verb stem -za ‘come’.

tóNgá *úzeéta* *tʃái*
 toNg-a u-ze-et-a Ø-tʃai
 go-FV SM.2SG-CONS₂-bring-FV CL9-tea
 ‘Go and bring tea.’

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

V. yes
tóNga
toNg-a
go-FV
‘go’

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

V. 1
tóNgáni
toNg-a-ni
go-FV-PL
‘go’

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

V. no

<i>n-ée-kú-rúy-a</i>	<i>vidzó</i>	<i>iyuo</i>	<i>tʃámayeri</i>
ni-aa-ku-ruy-a	vi-dzo	iyuo	tʃamayeri
SM.1SG-PST ₂ -CONT-cook-FV	NPx.CL8-food	yesterday	evening

‘I was cooking food yesterday evening.’

N. Two preverbal slots have been attested with examples.

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

V. null

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. 2

a. <i>úu</i>	<i>ᵐNtu</i>	<i>áaviváNka</i>
uu	ᵐ-Ntu	a;aa-vi-va-Nk-a
DEM.PROX.CL1	NPx.CL1-some	SM.CL1;PST ₂ -OM.CL8-OM.CL2 -give-FV
<i>vána</i>	<i>váNǵú</i>	<i>vidzó</i>
v-ana	va-aNǵu	vi-dzo
NPx.CL2-child	PPx.CL2-POSS.1SG	NPx.CL8-food
b. <i>úu</i>	<i>ᵐNtu</i>	<i>áavávíNka</i>
uu	ᵐ-Ntu	a;aa-va-vi-Nk-a
DEM.PROX.CL1	NPx.CL1.some	SM.CL1;PST ₂ -OM.CL2-OM.CL8-give-FV
<i>vána</i>	<i>vaNǵu</i>	<i>vidzo</i>
vana	va-aNǵu	vi-dzo
NPx.CL2-child	PPx.CL2-POSS.1SG	NPx.CL8-food

‘This person gave my children food.’

N. Both IO and DO can be placed in the position.

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

V. 2

Reflexive prefix: *kú-*

twáakívóna

tu-aa-ku-von-a

SM.1PL-PST₂-REF-see-FV

‘We saw 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

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

V. yes

tútóNge

tu-toNg-e

SM.1PL-go-SUBJ

‘Let’s go.’

N. -e is not placed after the verb stem which ends with the vowel.

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. 3

-na ‘have’

kahaNdwi

kéena

NkaNgá

ka-haNdwi

ka-aa-na

N-kaNga

NPx.CL12-knife SM.CL12-PST₂-have

NPx.CL9/10-rust

‘A knife had rust.’

tuneoka

na

ɲoNbe

mwáka

wá

javo

tu-ne-ok-a

na

N-oNbe

ɱ-aka

wa

javo

SM.1PL-FUT-be-FV with NPx.CL9/10-cow

NPx.CL3-year

GEN.CL3 tomorrow

‘We will have a cow (cows) next year.’

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

V. 1

turoNgatáha

NpoNbe

tu-roNg;a-tah-a

N-poNbe

SM.1PL-first-FV-draw(something liquid)-FV

NPx.CL10-water

‘We draw water first.’

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

V. null

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

V. 1

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

<i>túmaNgelá</i>	<i>vidzó</i>
tu-maNg;e-la	vi-d3o
SM.1PL-hurry-SUBJ-eat-FV	NPx.CL8-food

‘Let’s eat meal in a hurry.’

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

V. no

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

V. yes

The RCs can be formed in the following ways:

- a. Without an overt relative marker
- b. With a relative pronoun specific to Mbugu (REL1)
- c. With the aNba- relative pronoun (REL2)

All three types of relative clauses observe the following three rules.

1. Head nouns precede the clause.
2. High tones on subject markers become lowered.
3. Future TA ne- has a high tone in the RC, while ne- carries a low tone in the main clause.

a.

<i>tútété</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ḡNtu</i>	<i>etóNgíe</i>	<i>rufótó</i>	<i>iyuo</i>
tu-tet-e	na	ḡ-Ntu	a-toNg-ie	rufoto	iyuo
SM.1PL-speak-SUBJ	with	NPx.CL-some	SM.CL1-go-PST ₁	Lushoto	yesterday

‘Let’s talk with the person who went to Lushoto yesterday.’

b.

<i>vaborá</i>	<i>vó</i>	<i>uvávwéné</i>	<i>iyuo</i>	<i>vétóNga</i>
va-bora	vo	u-va-vwen-e	iyuo	va-toNg-a
NPx.CL2-girl	REL ₁ .CL2	SM.2SG-OM.CL2-see-PST ₁	yesterday	SM.CL2-go-FV

mweteni

m-et-eni

NPx.CL3-river-LOC

‘The girls whom you saw yesterday go to the river.’

c.

iyuo náatéta na vaNtu aNbávo

iyuo ni-aa-tet-a na va-Ntu aNbavo

yesterday SM.1SG-PST₂-see-PST₁-FV with NPx.CL2-some REL₂.CL2

vaawahi kutoNga Keṇa

va-aa-wahi ku-toNg-a Keṇa

SM.2PL-PST₂-have_an_experience NPx.CL15-go-FV Kenya

‘Yesterday I met people who have been to Kenya.’

N. Through specific tonal marking and relative marker (b and c).

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

V. yes

N. see P087 b and c.

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. yes

N. see P087 b.

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

V. 2

N. see P087 b.

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

V. no

vidzó dʒmáli eviniétie

vi-dʒo dʒmali a-vi-ni-et-i-ie

NPx.CL8-food Jamal SM.CL1-OM.CL8-OM.1SG-bring-APPL-PST₁

vínitáhífa

vi-ni-tahi-f-a

SM.CL8-OM.1SG-vomit-CAUS-FV

‘The food which Jamal brought me makes me vomit.’

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. 3

<i>mwána</i>	<i>vėbigana</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>jé</i>	<i>sí</i>	<i>mwána</i>
m-ana	va-big-an-a	na	je	si	m-ana
NPx.CL1-child	SM.CL2-hit-REC-FV	with	PRO.CL1	NegCOP.CL1	NPx.CL1-child

waNǵú

wa-aNǵu

PPx.CL1-POSS.1SG

‘The child who is exchanging blows with him is not my child.’

<i>m̩borá</i>	<i>nimwívie</i>	<i>suke</i>
m-bora	ni-m-iv-i-ie	Ø-suke
NPx.CL1-girl	SM.1SG-OM.CL1-steal-APPL-PST ₁	NPx.CL9-clothes

<i>jakwé</i>	<i>éndósa</i>
ja-kwe	a-ni-dos-a
PPx.CL1-POSS.3SG	SM.CL1-OM.1SG-look_for-FV

‘The girl I stole the clothes from is looking for me.’

N. Resumptive pronoun is required in the RC whose head noun is a non-subject or non-object function.

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

Locative

<i>símaŋa</i>	<i>hó</i>	<i>éjfi</i>
si-maŋ-a	ho	a-ijfi
NegSM.1SG-know-FV	REL ₁ .CL16	SM.CL1-live

‘I do not know where he/she lives.’

Manner

<i>símaŋa</i>	<i>tjó</i>	<i>vefikie</i>	<i>áha</i>
si-maŋ-a	tjo	va-fik-ie	aha
NegSM.1SG-know-FV	REL ₁ .CL7	SM.CL2-arrive-PST ₁	DEM.PRO.CL16

‘I do not know how they arrived here.’

Temporal

<i>símaṇa</i>	<i>hó</i>	<i>vefikié</i>	<i>áha</i>
si-maṇ-a	ho	va-fik-ie	aha
NegSM.1SG-know-FV	REL ₁ .CL16	SM.CL1-arrive-PST ₁	DEM.PRO.CL16

‘I do not know when they arrived here.’

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

V. yes

<i>héra</i>	<i>nitáyíé</i>	<i>Nboya</i>
Ø-hera	ni-tay-ie	N-boya
NPx.CL9-money	SM.1SG-sell-PST ₁	NPx.CL10-vegetable

‘The money I got by selling vegetables.’

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

V. yes

N. In the relatives without overt relative markers, the past tense prefix.

-ie (*-je*) is much more commonly used than *-áa-*.

P097 Clefts: How are clefts formed?

V. 1

<i>ní</i>	<i>válá</i>	<i>vefeNdziya</i>	<i>NkaNdeni</i>	<i>já</i>	<i>ṁtó</i>
ni	va-la	va-feNdziy-a	N-kaNde-ni	ja	ṁ-to
COP	NPx.CL2-girl	SM.CL2-play-FV	NPx.CL9-side-LOC	GEN.CL9	NPx.CL3-river

‘It is the girls who are playing by the river.’

<i>ní</i>	<i>válá</i>	<i>vó</i>	<i>uvávwéníé</i>
ni	va-la	vo	u-va-vwen-ie
COP	NPx.CL2-girl	REL ₁ .CL2	SM.2SG-OM.CL2-see-PST ₁

‘It is the girls who you saw.’

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

V. yes

Locative

ní lufótó aNbáho Nbúa ígwa sana
ni lufoto aNbaho N-bua i-gw-a sana
COP lushoto REL₂.CL16 NP_x.CL9-rain SM.CL9-rain-FV so_much
'It's Lushoto where it rains so much.'

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

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

V. yes

uija ní
u-i-j-a ni
SM.2SG-cry-APPL-FV what
'Why are you crying?'

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

V. 4

	SG	PL	
1	<i>ni</i>	<i>tu</i>	
2	<i>u</i>	<i>ḡ</i>	
3	<i>ní</i>	<i>ní</i>	

úḡwí ḡ vatfě
uḡwi ḡ va-tfě
PRO.2PL COP.2PL NP_x.CL2-woman
'You(PL) are women.'

úu ní ḡtí wáNgú
uu ni ḡ-ti wa-aNgu
DEM.PROX.CL3 COP NP_x.CL3-tree PP_x.CL3-POSS.1SG
'This is my tree.'

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

V. 1

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

N. *ní* also appears immediately before the agent noun in the passives (see **P036**).

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

V. 6

<i>kahaNdw</i>	<i>kéena</i>	<i>NkaNgá</i>
ka-haNdwi	ka-aa-na	N-kaNga
NPx.CL12-knife	SM.CL12-PST ₂ -have	NPx.CL9/10-rust

'A knife had rust.'

<i>tuneoka</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ɲoNbe</i>	<i>mwáka</i>	<i>wá</i>	<i>javo</i>
tu-ne-ok-a	na	N-oNbe	ɱ-aka	wa	javo
SM.1PL-FUT-be-FV	with	NPx.CL9/10-cow	NPx.CL3-year	GEN.CL3	tomorrow

'We will have a cow (cows) next year.'

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

V. yes

<i>áatfeka</i>	<i>kitfeko</i>
a;aa-tfek-a	ki-tfek-o
SM.CL1;PST ₂ -laugh-FV	NPx.CL7-laugh-NOML

'He/She laughed.'

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

V. 2

<i>kumvóna</i>	<i>náamvóna</i>	<i>mirá</i>	<i>sídímié</i>
ku-ɱ-von-a	ni-aa-ɱ-von-a	mira	si-dim-ie
NPx.CL15-OM.CL1-see-FV	SM.1SG-PST ₂ -OM.CL1-see-FV	but	NegSM.1SG-can-PST ₁

<i>kutéta</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>jé</i>
ku-tet-a	na	je
NPx.CL15-talk-FV	with	PRO.CL1

'As for seeng him, I saw him/her, but I could not talk with him/her.'

kitédzú

ki-tedʒu

NPx.CL7-basket

‘I bought a basket for my mother.’

N. The case of causative has not been attested yet.

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

V. yes

váatívóna

va-aa-tu-von-a

SM.CL2-PST₂-OM.1PL-see-FV

‘They saw us.’

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

V. 1

úu

ᵐNtu

áaᵐkóma

babá

uu

ᵐ-Ntu

a;aa-ᵐ-kom-a

Ø-baba

DEM.PROX.CL1

NPx.CL1-some

SM.CL1;PST₂-OM.CL1-kill-FV

NPx.CL1.-father

waNǵú

wa-aNǵu

PPx.CL1-POSS.1SG

‘This person killed my father.’

P113 Quant-Noun: Is there a prenominal quantifier?

V. yes

kíla

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

V. yes

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

V. yes

N. see P112.

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

V. 3

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

V. yes

N. No examples.

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

V. null

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. null

P122 Locative inversion: Is locative inversion attested?

V. 1

<i>tʃuNbaní</i>	<i>áha</i>	<i>hékáa</i>	<i>vaNtu</i>	<i>vairí</i>
tʃ-uNba-ni	aha	ha-kaa	va-Ntu	va-iri
NPx.CL7-room-LOC	DEM.PROX.CL16	SM.CL16-live-FV	NPx.CL2-some	NPx.CL2-2

‘Two persons live in this room.’

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

V. no

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. yes

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

V. yes

Ventive marker: *-ze-* and Itive marker: *-ka-* (see **P069**).

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

V. 1

iti

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. no

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

V. no

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

V. 2

<i>si-ka-toNge</i>	<i>mdzini</i>	<i>ekuza</i>	<i>javo</i>
si-ka-toNg-e	m-dzi-ni	a-ku-z-a	javo
SM.1SG-NegFUT-go-FV	NPx.CL3-town-LOC	SM.CL1-COND-come-FV	tomorrow

‘I will not go to the town if he/she comes tomorrow.’

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

V. no

N. see **P131**.

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

V. no

N. see **P131**.

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

V. yes

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

V. 4

when-clause (past tense)

<i>nirefika</i>	<i>úko</i>	<i>iduka</i>	<i>láafiNgwa</i>
ni-re-fik-a	uko	i-duka	li-aa-fiNg-w-a
SM.1SG-CONT ₁ -arrive-FV	DEM.MED.CL16	SM.CL5-shop	SM.CL6-PST ₂ -close -PASS-FV

‘When I arrived there the shop was closed.’

when-clause (present and future tense)

same as conditionals

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

V. 3

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

V. 2

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?

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 focused term be marked by a morphological focus marker?

V. no

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

V. yes

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

V. no

Inner Mbugu (G221)[†]

Maya Abe

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

V. n.a.

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

V. n.a.

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

V. 2

V shape	<i>ikokohá</i>
	i-kokoha
	NPx.CL5-egg
	‘egg’
zero-marking	<i>bulé</i>
	Ø-bule
	NPx.CL5-skin
	‘skin’

N. V shape, possibly alternating with zero-marking

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

V. 16

1	m-, mw-	<i>mlagé</i>	2	va-	<i>valagé</i>
		m-lage			va-lage
		NPx.CL1-wife			NPx.CL2-wife
		‘wife’			‘wives’

[†] Phonological inventory of Inner Mbugu: p, b, t, d, tʃ, dʒ, k, g, ʔ, f, v, s, z, ʃ, x, ɣ, h, m, n, ɲ, ŋ, r, l, ɫ, j, w, i, e, a, o, u. Besides these, there is a nasal /N/ that only occurs just before the strident and assimilates to it by point of articulation and voicing ([mp], [mb], [nt], [nd], [ŋk], [ŋg], [ɲv], and so on). Tonal marking is given as surface realization.

Abbreviations: APPL ‘applicative’; ASSC ‘associative’; CAUS ‘causative’; CLn ‘noun class number’; COND ‘conditional’; CONS₁ ‘consecutive 1’; CONS₂ ‘consecutive 2’; CONT ‘continuous’; COP ‘copula’; DEM ‘demonstrative’; DIST ‘distal’; FUT ‘future’; FV ‘final vowel’; HAB ‘habitual’; LOC ‘locative’; MED ‘medial’; NEG ‘negative marker’; NegCOP ‘negative copula’; NegFUT ‘negative future’; NegPST ‘negative past’; NegSM ‘negative subject marker’; NOML ‘nominalizer’; NPx ‘nominal prefix’; OM ‘object marker’; PASS ‘passive’; PL ‘plural’; POSS ‘possessive’; PPx ‘pronominal prefix’; PRO ‘pronoun’; PROX ‘proximal’; PRS ‘present’; PST₁ ‘past 1’; PST₂ ‘past 2’; REC ‘reciprocal’; REF ‘reflexive’; REL₁ ‘relative 1’; REL₂ ‘relative 2’; SG ‘singular’; SM ‘subject marker’; STAT ‘stative’; SUBJ ‘subjunctive’

1a	Ø-	<i>abá</i> Ø-aba NPx.CL1a-father 'father'	2	va-	<i>váabá</i> va-aba NPx.CL2-father 'fathers'
3	m-, mw-	<i>mzuNguré</i> m-zuNgure NPx.CL3-back 'back'	4	mi-	<i>mizunNguré</i> mi-zunNgure NPx.CL4-back 'backs'
5	i-, Ø-	<i>ikokohá</i> i-kokoha NPx.CL5-egg 'egg'	6	ma-	<i>makokohá</i> ma-kokoha NPx.CL6-egg 'eggs'
7	ki-, tʃ-	<i>kiʔayú</i> ki-ʔayu NPx.CL7-food 'food'	8	vi-, vj-	<i>viʔayú</i> vi-ʔayu NPx.CL8-food 'foods'
9	N-, Ø-	<i>Nkwéno</i> N-kweno NPx.CL9-chicken 'chicken'	10	N-, Ø-	<i>Nkwéno</i> N-kweno NPx.CL10-chicken 'chickens'
11	lu-	<i>luhábi</i> lu-habi NPx.CL11-firewood 'firewood'	10	N-, Ø-	<i>hábi</i> Ø-habi NPx.CL10-firewood 'firewoods'
12	ka-	<i>kawahá</i> ka-waha NPx.CL12-knife 'knife'	14	vu-	<i>vuwahá</i> vu-waha NPx.CL14-knife 'knives'
14	u-	<i>ukurá</i> u-kura NPx.CL14a-medical_care 'medical care'	6	ma-	<i>makurá</i> ma-kura NPx.CL6-medical_care 'medical cares'
14a	u-	<i>uezá</i> u-eza NPx.CL14a-long 'length'			

15	ku-	<i>kusó</i> ku-so NPx.CL15-go 'to go'			
15	ku-	<i>kusáme</i> ku-same NPx.CL15-leg 'leg'	6	ma-	<i>masáme</i> ma-same NPx.CL16-leg 'legs'
16	ha-	<i>hódi</i> ha-odi NPx.CL16-place 'place'			

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

V. yes (CL.15)

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

V. yes (CL12/14)

kaʔini/vuʔini

ka-ʔini/vu-ʔini

NPx.CL12-child/NPx.CL14-child

'infant, baby/infants, babies'

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

V. yes (CL5/6)

ihé/mahé

i-he/ma-he

NPx.CL5-person/NPx.CL6-person

'giant/giants'

imiNda/mamiNda

i-miNda/ma-miNda

NPx.CL5-house/NPx.CL6-house

'mansion/mansions'

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. see P004.

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

V. yes

kidzidzini

ki-dzidzi-ni

NPx.CL7-village-LOC

‘in/at/on, etc. the village’

N. Words of Bantu origin seem to be able to appear with locative suffix and the ones of non-Bantu origin may not. In such cases, the words can appear with preposition he ‘in/at/on, etc.’

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

V. yes

iʔi

tʃuNbaní

hébódi

vahé

vanú

iʔi

ki-uNba-ni

ha-bodi

va-he

va-nu

DEM.PROX.CL16

NPx.CL7-room-LOC

SM.CL16-sleep

NPx.CL2-person

NPx.CL2-2

‘Two persons are sleeping in this room.’

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

V. yes

hápu

ha-pu

OM.CL16-destroy

‘Break there.’

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

V. no

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

<i>mʒini</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>ḡnáné</i>
m-ʒini	wa	ḡnane
NPx.CL1-child	ASSC.CL1	8

‘8th child’

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

V. no

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

V. no

1SG	<i>γó</i>	1PL	<i>kánu</i>
2SG	<i>ke</i>	2PL	<i>kayú</i>
3SG	<i>kíʒu</i>	3PL	<i>kíni</i>

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. 3

Inalienable possession

<i>éanimáje</i>	<i>mʒá</i>
a;aa-ni-ma-ie	m-ʒa
SM.CL1;PST ₂ -OM.1SG-hit-PST ₁	NPx.CL3-head

‘He/She hit his/her head.’

Alienable possession

<i>éanimáje</i>	<i>mʒá</i>	<i>γó</i>
a;aa-ni-ma-ie	m-ʒa	γo
SM.CL1;PST ₂ -OM.1SG-hit-PST ₁	NPx.CL3-head	POSS.1SG

‘He/She hit his/her head.’

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

<i>mhatú</i>	<i>já</i>
m-hatu	ja
NPx.CL3-tree	DEM.PROX.CL1~15
‘this tree’	
<i>mhatú</i>	<i>ka</i>
m-hatu	ka
NPx.CL3-tree	DEM.MED.CL1~15
‘that tree’	
<i>mhatú</i>	<i>hu</i>
m-hatu	hu
NPx.CL3-tree	DEM.DIST.CL1~15
‘that tree’	
N. three-way distinction	

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

V. no

	proximal	medial	distal
CL1-15	<i>já</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>hu</i>
CL16	<i>iʔi</i>	<i>áta</i>	<i>tó</i>

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

<i>iaserú</i>	<i>igirú</i>	/	<i>masaherú</i>	<i>magirú</i>
i-aseru	i-giru	/	ma-saheru	ma-giru
NPx.CL5-stone	NPx.CL5-big	/	NPx.CL6-stone	NPx.CL6-big
‘big stone’		/	‘big stones’	

Other adjective stems:

-*kuló* ‘good’; -*vívi* ‘bad’; -*Ntámu* ‘delicious, sweet’; -*gumú* ‘hard’; -*ezá* ‘long’; -*fuhi* ‘short’; -*girú* ‘big’; -*gitutú* ‘small’; -*viNba* ‘heavy’; -*fá* ‘new’; -*hálí* ‘another, other’; -*Ngi* ‘many’; -*yere* ‘a few’; -*kabúna* ‘all’; -*mé* ‘how many’; -*mína* ‘which’; -*dzíru* ‘black’; -*ʔáʔku* ‘white’; -*báju* ‘red’

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

V. yes

<i>mhatú</i>	<i>ubáju</i>	/	<i>mihatú</i>	<i>ibáju</i>
m-hatu	u-baju	/	mi-hatu	i-baju
NPx.CL3-wood	PPx.CL3-red	/	NPx.CL4-wood	PPx.CL4-red
‘red wood’			‘red woods’	

N. Pronominal prefixes are attached to some adjective stems.

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

V. no

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

V. yes

<i>mwanádzeŋi</i>	/	<i>vanádzeŋi</i>
m-ana-Ø-dzeŋi	/	va-ana-Ø-dzeŋi
NPx.CL1-child-NPx.CL9-military	/	NPx.CL2-child-NPx.CL9-military
‘soldier/soldiers’		

N. Almost all examples are loans from Swahili together with their functions.

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 -yanà and kazi ?)

V. no

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

V. 2

<i>m̄tʃéŋi</i>	/	<i>vatʃéŋi</i>
m-tʃe-f-i	/	va-tʃe-f-i
NPx.CL1-laugh-CAUS-NOML	/	NPx.CL2-laugh-CAUS-NOML
‘humorist/humorists’		

N. All examples collected in my fieldwork are loan from Swahili.

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

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

m̄ló
m-la-o
NPx.CL3-eat-NOML

N. Almost all examples are loans from Swahili except a few ones as below.

kidaráo

ki-dara-i-o

NPx.CL7-grab-APPL-NOML

‘handle’

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

V. no

1 *we*

2 *nú*

3 *kaí*

4 *háí*

5 *koí*

6 *síta*

7 *ṁfuNgáte*

8 *ṁnáné*

9 *keNdá*

10 *ikúmi*

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

V. yes

ṁheréya / *miheréya*

ṁ-hereya / mi-hereya

NPx.CL3-arm/hand / NPx.CL4-arm/hand

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

V. no

kiłatú / *viłatú*

ki-łatu / vi-łatu

NPx.CL7-finger / NPx.CL8-finger

P033 ‘leg’ and ‘foot’: Is there a single stem that denotes both ‘leg’ and ‘foot’?

V. yes

kusáme / *masáme*

ku-same / ma-same

NPx.CL15-leg/foot / NPx.CL6-leg/foot

P034 ‘tea’: Is the word for ‘tea’ similar to cha?

V. yes

tʃái

Ø- tʃái

NPx.CL9-tea

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

<i>-kwáha</i>	<i>-bódi</i>	<i>-hú</i>
-kwaha	-bodi	-hu
'be_tired'	'fall_asleep'	'be_full'

P036 Canonical passive: Is the canonical passive productively expressed through a verbal extension?

V. yes

-w (attached to the verb stem (radical (+derivational suffix(es)) which ends with consonants)

<i>áagwáíwa</i>	<i>héra</i>	<i>kúʔu</i>
a;aa-gwa-i-w-a	Ø-hera	kuʔu
SM.CL1;PST ₂ -steal-APPL-PASS-FV	NPx.CL9-money	POSS.CL1

'He/She had his/her many stolen.'

N. When the verb stems end with vowels, the final vowels become -e, not -a.

<i>áamáwe</i>	<i>ń</i>	<i>rafiki</i>	<i>kúʔu</i>
a;aa-ma-w-a	ni	Ø-rafiki	kuʔu
SM.CL1;PST ₂ -hit-PASS-FV	by	NPx.CL1a-friend	POSS.CL1

'He/She was hit by his/her friend.'

P037 'Impersonal' passive: Can an 'impersonal' construction be used to express passive meaning?

V. null

P038 Agent noun phrase: How is the agent noun phrase (when present) introduced?

V. 4

ńí (short form: *ń*)

P039 Bare agent: Can the preposition/copula which introduces the agent be omitted?

V. no?

P040 Reciprocal/associative: How is reciprocal/associative meaning expressed?

V. 3

N. Verb without reciprocal suffix with preposition *na* can also have a reciprocal/associative meaning.

P041 Other functions for -an-: Does the suffix -an- (or similar form) have functions other than reciprocal (e.g. antipassive function)?

V. yes

-pátíkána

-pat-ik-an-a

get-STAT-REC-FV

‘be available’

N. stative/passive

P042 Causative: How is causative meaning expressed ?

V. 3

-(i/e)ʃ, -(i/e)dʒ, -ti

-iʃ/-eʃ

náahúíʃa

maʒi

ni-aa-hu-iʃ-a

ma-ʒi

SM.1SG-PST₂-be_full-CAUS-FV

NPx.CL6-water

‘I fullfilled water.’

-idʒ/-edʒ

twáaásídʒa

nihí

tu-aa-asi-dʒ-a

N-ihí

SM.1PL-PST₂-be_cooked_well-CAUS-FV NPx.CL9-meat

-ti

mamé

áaṃwaháti

ṃʒini

maʒiba

Ø-mame

a;aa-ṃ-waha-ti

ṃ-ʒini

ma-ʒiba

NPx.CL1a-mother

SM.CL1;PST₂-OM.CL1-drink-CAUS

NPx.CL1-child

NPx.CL6-milk

‘Mother made her child drink milk.’

P043 Instrumental causative: Can the causative extension be used to introduce prototypical instruments?

V. no

P044 Applicative: How are applicative constructions formed?

V. 1

-i/-j

<i>náampá?ája</i>	<i>mamé</i>	<i>yó</i>	<i>nihí</i>
ni-aa-m-pa?a-i-a	Ø-mame	yo	N-ihí
SM.1SG-PST ₂ -OM.CL1-cut-APPL-FV	NPx.CL1a-mother	POSS.1SG	NPx.CL9-meat

‘I cut meat for my mother.’

N. -j is attached to the verb stems which end with vowels.

P045 Applicative functions: In addition to the benefactive meaning typically associated with the applicative complement, do applicative constructions convey other meanings?

V. yes

N. Malefactive, substitutive, recipient, instrumental, direction/goal, reverse direction, locative, reason, and possessor.

P046 Multiple applicative extensions: Can two (or more) applicative extensions be productively used in the same verb form?

V. no?

P047 Neuter/stative: Is there a productive neuter/stative extension?

V. 1

<i>ikokohá</i>	<i>láaká?íka</i>
i-kokoha	li-aa-ka?-ik-a
NPx.CL5-egg	SM.CL5-PST ₂ -break-STAT-FV

‘An egg was broken.’

P048 Order of suffixes: Is there a specific order in which multiple productive verbal extensions typically appear?

V. 1

N. causative-applicative-reciprocal-passive (CARP) order

P049 Negation in independent tenses: What are the formal means of expressing negation in independent tenses?

V. 1

temwáho
tem-aho
NegSM.2PL-see
‘You (PL) do not see.’

<i>kawahá</i>	<i>kawé</i>	<i>tekénatú</i>
ka-waha	ka-we	teke-na-lu
NPx.CL12-knife	NPx.CL12-one	NegSM.CL12-NegPST ₂ -fall

‘A knife did not fall down.’

N. conditionals

<i>sikasó</i>	<i>ṁdʒini</i>	<i>ékúsáalita</i>	<i>lenú</i>
si-ka-so	ṁ-dʒi-ni	e-ku-saa-lit-a	lenu
SM.1SG-NegFUT-go	NPx.CL3-town-LOC	SM.CL1-COND-NEG-come-FV	tomorrow

‘I will not go to the town if he/she comes tomorrow.’

P050 Negation in dependent tenses: What are the formal means of expressing negation in dependent tenses?

V. 1

<i>úsiwáha</i>	<i>maʔi</i>
u-si-waha	ma-ʔi
SM.2SG-NEG-drink	NPx.CL6-water

‘Do not drink water.’

P051 Negation in relative clauses: Is negation in relative clauses expressed in the same way as in another clause type?

V. 2

<i>vaʔini</i>	<i>vó</i>	<i>tevésóma</i>	<i>kikuló</i>
va-ʔini	vo	teve-som-a	ki-kuło
NPx.CL2-child	REL ₁ .CL2	NegSM.CL2-study-FV	NPx.CL7-good
<i>tevékapáté</i>		<i>ṁamálo</i>	<i>kuło</i>
teve-ka-pat-e		N-amalo	Ø-kuło
NegSM.CL2-NegFUT-get-FV		NPx.CL10-job	NPx.CL10-good

‘The children who do not study well will not get good jobs.’

P052 Place of negation in independent tenses: Where is negation expressed in independent tenses?

V. 7

N. Negation is expressed in the pre-initial position in most main clauses except conditionals (in the post-initial position)

P053 Place of negation in dependent tenses: Where is negation expressed in dependent tenses?

V. 2

N. In the post-initial position only? (SM-NEG-...)

P054 Number of negation markers in independent tenses: How many markers of negation are there in independent tenses?

V. 1

P055 Number of negation markers in dependent tenses: How many markers of negation are there in dependent tenses?

V. 1

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. 2

sí-

N. In the conditionals and subjunctives, the combination of affirmative singular subject prefix and negative prefix is used.

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. no

P060 Subject-verb agreement: Is there subject-verb agreement?

V. yes

1SG *ɲneɬú*

ɲ-ne-ɬu

SM.1SG-FUT-fall

‘I will fall down.’

1PL *tuneɬú*

tu-ne-ɬu

SM.1PL-FUT-fall

‘We will fall down.’

- 2SG *unetú*
u-ne-łú
SM.2SG-FUT-fall
‘You (SG) will fall down.’
- 2PL *ṁnetú*
ṁ-ne-łú
SM.2PL-FUT-fall
‘You (PL) will fall down.’
- CL1 *ṁhé* *énetú*
ṁ-hé e-ne-łú
NPx.CL1-person SM.CL1-FUT-fall
‘A person will fall down.’
- CL2 *vahé* *vénetú*
va-hé ve-ne-łú
NPx.CL2-person SM.CL2-FUT-fall
‘People will fall down.’
- CL3 *ṁhatú* *únetú*
ṁ-hatu u-ne-łú
NPx.CL3-tree SM.CL3-FUT-fall
‘A tree will fall down.’
- CL4 *mihatú* *ínetú*
mi-hatu i-ne-łú
NPx.CL4-tree SM.CL4-FUT-fall
‘Trees will fall down.’
- CL5 *ilua* *lénetú*
i-lua lenetú
NPx.CL5-flower SM.CL5-FUT-fall
‘A flower will fall down.’
- CL6 *mahua* *énetú*
ma-lua e-ne-łú
NPx.CL6-flower SM.CL6-FUT-fall
‘Flowers will fall down.’
- CL7 *kikíre* *tǐnetú*
ki-kire tǐ-ne-łú
NPx.CL7-chair SM.CL7-FUT-fall
‘A chair will fall down.’

- CL8 *vikire* *vinehú*
vi-kire vi-ne-lu
NPx.CL8-chair SM.CL8-FUT-fall
‘Chairs will fall down.’
- CL9 *gomaé* *inetú*
Ø-gomae i-ne-lu
NPx.CL9-clothes SM.CL9-FUT-fall
‘A cloth will fall down.’
- CL10 *gomaé* *dzínethú*
Ø-gomae dzi-ne-lu
NPx.CL10-clothes SM.CL10-FUT-fall
‘Clothes will fall down.’
- CL11 *luhábi* *lúnehú*
lu-habi lu-ne-lu
NPx.CL11-firewood SM.CL11-FUT-fall
‘A firewood will fall down.’
- CL12 *kawahá* *kénehú*
ka-waha ka-ne-lu
NPx.CL12-knife SM.CL12-FUT-fall
‘A knife will fall down.’
- CL14 *vuwahá* *vúnehú*
vu-waha vu-ne-lu
NPx.CL14-knife SM.CL14-FUT-fall
‘Knives will fall down.’
- CL15 *kuʔá* *kwáakíta*
ku-ʔa ku-aa-kita
NPx.CL15-eat SM.CL15-PST₂-end
‘Eating ended’
- CL16 *hódi* *háapwíka*
ha-odi ha-aa-pw-ik-a
NPx.CL16-place SM.CL16-PST₂-break-STAT-FV
‘The place was broken.’

P061 Animate agreement: Can animate nouns show subject agreement with class 1/2 regardless of class membership? (without class shift, e.g. the addition of a diminutive class)

V. 2

N. Only human nouns show subject agreement with class 1/2 regardless of class membership.

P062 1st and 2nd person plurals : Are first person plural and second person plural subject prefixes identical?

V. no

1PL *tu-*

2PL *m-*

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. 2

P065 Past time reference: How is past time reference formally divided?

V. 3

N. Past1, past2/perfect and completive past

Past1

<i>tusóje</i>	<i>ósa</i>
tu-so-ie	osa
SM.1PL-go-PST ₁	yesterday

‘We went yesterday.’

Past2

<i>náaʔá</i>	<i>viʔayú</i>	<i>vjá</i>	<i>tʃákakó</i>
ni-aa-ʔa	vi-ʔayu	vja	tʃakako
SM.1SG-PST ₂ -eat	NPx.CL8-food	ASSC.CL8	afternoon

‘I ate/have eaten lunch.’

Completive past

<i>néesóje</i>	<i>áta</i>	<i>mikó</i>	<i>ifirini</i>	<i>itáhóje</i>
ni-aa-so-ie	ata	mi-ko	ifirini	i-taho-ie
SM.1SG-PST ₂ -go-PST ₁	DEM.MED.CL16	NPx.CL4-year	20	SM.CL4-pass-PST ₁

‘I went there twenty years ago.’

N. In negation, completive past and past1 shows same time reference, on the other hands, the negation of past2 expresses imperfect.

P066 Future time reference: How is future time reference formally divided?

V. 1

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

-á

<i>mɔini</i>	<i>yó</i>	<i>éfeNdziyáa</i>	<i>hé</i>	<i>uwáNdzá</i>
m-ɔini	yo	a-feNdziy-a-a	he	u-waNdza
NPx.CL1-child	POSS.1SG	SM.CL1-play-HAB-FV	in	NPx.CL11-field
<i>mpaká</i>	<i>tfámayerí</i>	<i>kíla</i>	<i>iɔazé</i>	
mpaka	tfamayeri	kila	i-ɔaze	
until	evening	every	NPx.CL5-day	

‘My child always plays in the field until the evening every day.’

N. In the case of the verb stem which ends with vowels, -a is not attached; instead, the final vowel of the stem has a high tone and is lengthened with a low tone as in the following example.

<i>já</i>	<i>mɔini</i>	<i>tézoo</i>	<i>kabísa</i>
ja	m-ɔini	te-zo-o	kabisa
DEM.PROX.CL1~15	NPx.CL1-child	NegSM.CL1-cry-FV	at_all

‘This child never cries.’

P068 Suffix -ile: Is there a tense/aspect suffix -ile or a similar form (as a reflex of *-ide)?

V. yes

-je/-ie

<i>ésóje</i>	<i>fúlé</i>	<i>ósa</i>
a-so-ie	Ø-fule	osa
SM.CL1-go-PST ₁	NPx.CL9-school	yesterday

‘He went to school yesterday.’

P069 Itive marker: Is there an itive motional/directional marker? (e.g. ka- prefix)

V. 1

-ka-

<i>ósa</i>	<i>náaáNtu</i>	<i>viayú</i>	<i>nikaɔá</i>
osa	ni-aa-aNtu	vi-ayu	ni-ka-ɔa
yesterday	SM.1SG-PST ₂ -cook	NPx.CL8-food	SM.1SG-CONS ₁ -eat
<i>nikabódi</i>	<i>saa</i>	<i>háí</i>	
ni-ka-bodi	Ø-saa	hai	
SM.1SG-CONS ₁ -sleep	NPx.CL9-hour	4	

‘Yesterday I cooked food, ate (it), and slept at 10.’

N. -ka- is only used in the indicatives and the past tense.

P070 Ventive marker: Is there a ventive motional/directional marker (‘come and V’)?

V. 1

Prefix: *-ze-*

<i>só</i>	<i>úzegéra</i>	<i>tfái</i>
so	u-ze-ger-a	Ø-tfai
go	SM.2SG-CONS ₂ -bring-FV	CL9/10-tea

‘Go and bring tea.’

N. The definite verb with *-ze-* occurs only after the imperative verbs. *-ze* is apparently derived from verb stem *-za* ‘come’.

P071 Imperatives: Is the basic imperative formally identical to the verb stem (root-ext.-FV)?

V. yes

só
go
‘Go.’

P072 Plural imperatives: Is there a singular/plural distinction in imperative verb forms?

V. 1

sóni
so-ni
go-PL
‘Go.’

P073 TAM slots: In an inflected verb form, is preverbal marking of tense/aspect/mood typically restricted to one slot?

V. no

<i>néekúáNtu</i>	<i>viʔayú</i>	<i>ósa</i>	<i>tfámayerí</i>
ni-aa-ku-aNtu	vi-ʔayu	osa	tfamayeri
SM.1SG-PST ₁ -CONT-cook	NPx.CL8-food	yesterday	evening

‘I was cooking food yesterday evening.’

N. Two preverbal slots have been attested with examples.

P074 Conjoint/disjoint: Does the language have a conjoint/disjoint distinction?

V. null

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?

<i>kawahá</i>	<i>kéeló</i>	<i>NkaNga</i>
ka-waha	ka-aa-lo	N-kaNga
NPx.CL12-knife	SM.CL12-PST ₂ -have	NPx.CL9/10-rust

‘A knife had rust.’

<i>tunekwá</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>wá</i>	<i>ḡkó</i>	<i>wá</i>	<i>łenu</i>
tu-ne-kwa	na	wa	ḡ-ko	wa	łenu
SM.1PL-FUT-be	with	NPx.CL9/10-cow	NPx.CL3-year	ASSC.CL3	tomorrow

‘We will have a cow (cows) next year.’

P082 TAM and auxiliaries: Are there dedicated auxiliaries for different tense/aspect/moods?

V. 1

<i>turoNgabúku</i>	<i>maʔi</i>
tu-roNg;a-buku	ma-ʔi
SM.1PL-first;FV-draw(something liquid)	NPx.CL6-water

‘We draw water first.’

<i>tetúkaroNgébúku</i>	<i>maʔi</i>
tetu-ka-roNg;e-buku	ma-ʔi
NegSM-NegFUT-first;FV- draw(something liquid)	NPx.CL6.water

‘We will not draw water first.’

P083 Multiple auxiliaries: Can two (or more) auxiliaries co-occur with the same main verb form?

V. null

P084 Agreement in complex constructions: In complex constructions, does the subject trigger agreement on both the auxiliary and the main verb?

V. 1

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

<i>túmaNgeʔá</i>	<i>viʔayú</i>
tu-maNg;e-ʔa	vi-ʔayu
SM.1PL-hurry;SUBJ-eat	NPx.CL8-food

‘Let’s eat meal in a hurry.’

P086 Copula as auxiliary: Is the copula used as an auxiliary?

V. no

P087 Verbal relative morphology: Are there relative forming strategies which employ verbal morphology?

V. yes

N. Through specific tonal marking and relative marker (b and c). The RCs can be formed in the following ways:

- a. Without an overt relative marker
- b. With a relative pronoun specific to Mbugu (REL1)
- c. With the aNba- relative pronoun (REL2)

All three types of relative clauses observe the following three rules.

1. Head nouns precede the clause.
2. High tones on subject markers become lowered.
3. Future TA ne- has a high tone in the RC, while ne- carries a low tone in the main clause.

a.

<i>tújó</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ṁhé</i>	<i>esóje</i>	<i>lusótó</i>	<i>ósa</i>
tu-jo	na	ṁ-he	a-so-ie	lusoto	osa
SM.2PL-speak	with	NPx.CL1-person	SM.SG-go-PST ₁	Lushoto	yesterday

‘Let’s talk with the person who went to Lushoto yesterday.’

b.

<i>vaborá</i>	<i>vó</i>	<i>uvááhóje</i>	<i>ósa</i>	<i>vésó</i>
va-bora	vo	u-va-aho-ie	osa	va-so
NPx.CL2-girl	REL ₁ .CL2	SM.2SG-OM.CL2-see-PST ₁	yesterday	SM.CL2-go

háráza
Ø-haraza
NPx.CL9-river

‘The girls whom you saw yesterday go to the river.’

c.

<i>ósa</i>	<i>néehéje</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>vahé</i>	<i>aNbávo</i>
osa	ni-aa-he-ie	na	va-he	aNbavo
yesterday	SM.1SG-PST ₂ -see-PST ₁	with	NPx.CL2.person	REL ₂ .CL2

<i>váawáhi</i>	<i>kusó</i>	<i>kéna</i>
va-aa-wahi	ku-so	keṅa
SM.2PL;PST ₁ -have_an_experience	NPx.CL15-go	Kenya

‘Yesterday I met people who have been to Kenya.’

P088 Nominal relative morphology: Are there relative strategies which employ a nominal relative marker?

V. yes

N. see P087 b and c.

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. yes

N. see P087 b.

P091 Relative verb agreement: In non-subject relatives, what does the verb of the relative clause agree with?

V. 2 the subject

N. see P087 b.

P092 Subject-Relative verb: In non-subject relatives, can the subject be preverbal?

V. no

<i>viʔáyú</i>	<i>dʒamáli</i>	<i>evínigéríje</i>
vi-ʔayu	dʒamali	a-vi-ni-ger-i-ie
NPx.CL8-food	Jamal	SM.1SG-OM.CL8-OM.1SG-bring-APPL-PST ₁

vínitáhífa
vi-ni-tahi-f-a
SM.CL8-OM.1SG-vomit-CAUS-FV

‘The food which Jamal brought me makes me vomit.’

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. 3

Resumptive pronoun is required in the RC whose head noun is a non-subject or non-object function.

<i>mʔini</i>	<i>vemána</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ú</i>	<i>sí</i>	<i>mʔini</i>
m-ʔini	va-ma-na	na	u	si	m-ʔini
NPx.CL1-child	SM.CL2-hit-REC-FV	with	PRO.3SG	NegCOP.CL1	NPx.CL1-child

yó

yó

POSS.1SG

‘The child who is exchanging blows with him is not my child.’

<i>mborá</i>	<i>náamgwáia</i>	<i>gomaé</i>	<i>kúʔu</i>
m-bora	ni-aa-m-gwa-i-a	Ø-gomae	kuʔu
NPx.CL1-girl	SM.1SG-PST ₂ -OM.CL1-steal-APPL-FV	NPx.CL9-clothes	POSS.CL1

éndaá

e-ŋ-daa

SM.CL1-OM.1SG-look_for

‘The girl I stole the clothes from is looking for me.’

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

Locative

<i>siʔile</i>	<i>hó</i>	<i>edíe</i>
si-ʔile	ho	a-die
NegSM.1SG-know	REL ₁ .CL16	SM.CL1-live

‘I do not know where he/she lives.’

Manner

<i>siʔile</i>	<i>tʃó</i>	<i>vehéje</i>	<i>iʔi</i>
si-ʔile	tʃo	va-he-ie	iʔi
NegSM.1SG-know	REL ₁ .CL7	SM.CL2-arrive-PST ₁	DEM.PROX.CL16

‘I do not know how they arrived here.’

Temporal

<i>siʔile</i>	<i>hó</i>	<i>vehéje</i>	<i>iʔi</i>
si-ʔile	ho	va-he-ie	iʔi
NegSM.1SG-know	REL ₁ .CL16	SM.CL2-arrive-PST ₁	DEM.PROX.CL16

‘I do not know when they will arrive here.’

P095 Gapless relatives: Are gapless relatives/noun-modifying clauses attested?

V. yes

<i>héra</i>	<i>dzó</i>	<i>nidije</i>	<i>Nbúka</i>
Ø-hera	d3o	ni-di-ie	N-búka
NPx.CL10-CL10-money	REL ₁ .CL10	SM.1SG-sell-PST ₁	NPx.CL10-vegetable

‘The money I got by selling vegetables.’

P096 TAM and relatives: Can relative clauses express the full range of tense/aspect/mood distinctions found in main clauses?

V. yes

N. In the relatives without overt relative markers, the past tense prefix *-íe* (-je) is much more commonly used than *-áa-*.

P097 Clefts: How are clefts formed?

V. 1

<i>ní</i>	<i>vaborá</i>	<i>vefeNdziya</i>	<i>kakéra</i>	<i>já</i>	<i>ṁharáza</i>
ni	va-bora	va-feNdziy-a	Ø-kakera	ja	ṁ-haraza
COP	NPx.CL2-girl	SM.CL2-play-FV	NPx.CL9-side	ASSC.CL9	NPx.CL3-river

‘It is the girls who are playing by the river.’

<i>ní</i>	<i>vaborá</i>	<i>vó</i>	<i>uvááhóje</i>
ni	va-bora	vo	u-va-aho-ie
COP	NPx.CL2-girl	REL ₁ .CL2	SM.2SG-OM.CL2-see-PST ₁

‘It is the girls who you saw.’

P098 Clefted word classes: In addition to canonical noun phrases, may other categories be clefted?

V. yes

Locative

<i>ní</i>	<i>lusótó</i>	<i>aNbáho</i>	<i>máre</i>	<i>ísí</i>	<i>sána</i>
ni	lusoto	aNbaho	Ø-mare	i-si	sana
COP	lushoto	REL ₂ .CL16	NPx.CL9-rain	SM.CL9-rain	so_much

‘It’s Lushoto where it rains so much.’

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

P101 ‘why’ applicatives: Can ‘why’ be formed through the combination of an applicative on the verb + ‘what’?

V. yes

uzóia *ahonî*

u-zo-i-a ahoni

SM.2SG-cry-APPL-FV what

‘Why are you crying?’

P102 Equative predication: How is equative predication achieved with non-discourse participants?

V. 4

N. 1st person (SG/PL) and 2nd person (SG/PL) have own (variable) copulas and 3rd person (SG/PL)/CL1/2 and other classes have a single (invariable) copula.

	SG	PL
1	<i>ni</i>	<i>tu</i>
2	<i>u</i>	<i>ḡ</i>
3	<i>nî</i>	<i>nî</i>

kúné ḡ *valagé*

kune ḡ va-lage

PRO.2PL COP.2PL NP_x.CL2-woman

‘You (PL) are women.’

já *nî* *ḡ-hatú* *γó*

ja ni ḡ-hatu γo

DEM.PROX.CL1~15 COP NP_x.CL3-tree POSS.1SG

‘This is my tree.’

P103 Affirmative copula: In the copula system, what is the form of the affirmative copula?

V. 1

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

N. *nî* also appears immediately before the agent noun in the passives (see **P036**).

P105 ‘to have’: How is possession (‘to have’) expressed?

V. 6

<i>kawahá</i>	<i>kéeló</i>	<i>NkaNga</i>
ka-waha	ka-aa-lo	N-kaNga
NPx.CL12-knife	SM.CL12-PST ₂ -have	NPx.CL9/10-rust

‘A knife had rust.’

tunekwa	na	wa	ṁko	wa	ḥenu
tu-ne-kwa	na	Ø-wa	ṁ-ko	wa	ḥenu
SM.1PL-FUT-be	with	NPx.CL9/10-cow	NPx.CL3-year	ASSC.CL3	tomorrow

‘We will have a cow (cows) next year.’

P106 Verb + cognate object: Are there verbal constructions with obligatory cognate objects?

V. yes

<i>áafeNdziya</i>	<i>ṁfeNdziyo</i>
a;aa-ḥeNdziy-a	ṁ-ḥeNdziy-o
SM.CL1;PST ₂ -play-FV	NPx.CL3-play-NOML

P107 Verb doubling constructions: Are there verb doubling constructions, where a non-finite verb form (e.g. infinitive, verbal base) appears before an inflected form of the same verb?

V. 2

<i>kusó</i>	<i>ṁnesó</i>	<i>mirá</i>	<i>siʔile</i>	<i>ní</i>	<i>saa</i>	<i>mé</i>
ku-so	ni-ne-so	mira	si-ʔile	ni	Ø-saa	me
INF-go	SM.1SG-FUT-go	but	NegSM.1SG-know	COP	NPx.CL10-hour	how_many

‘As for going, I will go, but I don’t know what time (I will do).’

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

<i>-boʔi</i>	<i>ṁamálo</i>
-boʔi	N-amalo
do/make	NPx.CL9/10-work

‘work’

P109 Passivisation in ditransitives: In double object constructions, can either object become subject under passivisation?

V. yes

BO

kitédzú *tǫwéíwe* *mí* *ní* *mamé*
ki-tedzu tǫi-we-i-w-ie mi ni Ø-mame
NPx.CL7-basket SM.CL7-bu-APPL-PASS-PST₁ PRO.1SG by NPx.CL1a-mother
'(The) basket was bought by my mother for me.'

AO

niwéíwe *kitédzú* *ní* *mamé*
ni-we-i-w-ie ki-tedzu ni Ø-mame
SM.1SG-buy-APPL-PASS-PST₁ NPx.CL7-basket by NPx.CL1a-mother
'I was bought a basket by my mother.'

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

éteániǒ *áni* *magalé*
a-te-a-ni-ǒ ani ma-gale
SM.CL1-CONT-OM.CL6-OM.1SG-give PRO.1SG NPx.CL6-maize
'He/She gave me maize.'

Applicative

náatǫmwéja *mamé* *yó*
ni-aa-tǫi-m-we-i-a Ø-mame yó
SM.1SG-PST₂-OM.CL7-OM.CL1-buy-APPL-FV NPx.CL1a-mother POSS.1SG
kitédzú
ki-tedzu
NPx.CL7-basket

'I bought a basket for my mother.'

N. The case of causative has not been attested yet.

P111 Pro-drop: Can the grammatical subject be omitted (i.e. is there pro-drop)? (link with P060)

V. yes

váatúáho
va-aa-tu-aho
SM.CL2-PST₂-OM.1PL-see
'They saw us.'

P112 Dem-Noun: Is it possible for a demonstrative to precede the head noun?

V. 1

<i>ja</i>	<i>mhé</i>	<i>áamgáʔa</i>	<i>babá</i>
ja	m-he	a;aa-m-gaʔa	Ø-baba
DEM.PROX.CL1~15	NPx.CL1-person	SM.CL1;PST ₂ -OM.CL1-kill	NPx.CL1 a-father
<i>yo</i>			
yo			
POSS.1SG			
‘This person killed my father.’			

P113 Quant-Noun: Is there a prenominal quantifier?

V. yes

kíla

P114 Possessive in multiple modifiers: In the case of co-occurring modifiers, does the possessive normally appear closest to the noun?

V. yes

P115 SVO: Is Subject-Verb-Object the canonical constituent order in a neutral context (topic/comment)?

V. yes

N. see P112.

P116 Control of object order: In ditransitive constructions, are there mechanisms which control the order of multiple objects?

V. 3

P117 Object order asymmetry: In pragmatically neutral ditransitive constructions, can either object be adjacent to the verb?

V. yes

N. No examples

P118 Focus position: In simple main clauses, is there a specific syntactic focus position?

V. null

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. null

P122 Locative inversion: Is locative inversion attested?

V. 1

<i>iʔi</i>	<i>tfuNbani</i>	<i>hébódi</i>	<i>vahé</i>	<i>vanú</i>
iʔi	ki-uNba-ni	ha-bodi	va-he	va-nu
DEM.PROX.CL16	NPx.CL7-room-LOC	SM.CL16-sleep	NPx.CL2-person	NPx.CL2-2

‘Two persons are sleeping in this room.’

P123 Patient inversion : Is patient inversion (subject-object reversal) attested?

V. no

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. yes

P126 Subsequent/consecutive: Is there any verbal marker to express combinations of clauses encoding subsequent/consecutive events?

V. yes

Ventive marker: *-ze-* and Itive marker: *-ka-* (see **P069**).

P127 Complementiser presence: Is a subordinator/complementiser present in a subordinate clause?

V. 1

kuba

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

-ba
'tell'

P130 Complementiser agreement: Is there an agreement marker on the subordinator/complementiser?

V. no

P131 if-clauses expression: How are conditional clauses (or if-clauses) expressed?

V. 2

<i>sikasó</i>	<i>ṁdʒíni</i>	<i>ékúlitá</i>	<i>lenú</i>
si-ka-so	ṁ-dʒi-ni	a-ku-lit-a	lenu
SM.1SG-NegFUT-go	NPx.CL3-town-LOC	SM.CL1-COND-come-FV	tomorrow

'I will not go to the town if he/she comes tomorrow.'

P132 if-clause order: Does the subordinate if-clause always precede the main then-clause?

V. no

N. see P131.

P133 if-clause = then-clause: Do the verbs in the if-clause and the then-clause have the same tense/aspect marking?

V. no

N. see P131.

P134 Hypothetical = Counterfactual: Are hypothetical (if I Ved) and counterfactual (if I had Ved) clauses expressed in different ways?

V. yes

P135 Temporal adverbial clauses: How are temporal adverbial clauses formed (e.g. when-clause, once-clause, after-clause, before-clause, etc)?

V. 4

when-clause (past tense)

<i>ṁdehé</i>	<i>aré</i>	<i>iduka</i>	<i>láalátíwe</i>
ni-re-he	are	i-duka	li-aa-lati-w-e
SM.1SG-CONT ₁ -arrive	DEM.MED.CL16	SM.CL5-shop	SM.CL6-PST ₂ -close-PASS-FV

'When I arrived there the shop was closed.'

when-clause (present and future tense)

same as conditionals (P131)

P136 Locative adverbial clauses: How are locative adverbial clauses ('where'-clauses) formed?

V. 3

P137 Comparative: How is the comparative (and by extension the superlative) conveyed?

V. 2

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?

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 focused term be marked by a morphological focus marker?

V. no

P141 Focus-sensitive particles: Are there focus-sensitive particles such as 'too', 'only' or 'even'?

V. yes

P142 Subject focalisation: Are the strategies available for questioning or focusing subjects different from those available for other constituents? (e.g. subjects have to be clefted and cannot be questioned in situ)

V. no

Makunduchi (G43c)[†]

Makoto Furumoto

P001 Shape of the augment: What is the shape of the augment?

V. n.a.

P002 Function of the augment: Does the augment fulfill a specific grammatical function?

V. n.a.

P003 Shape of class 5: What is the shape of the class 5 nominal prefix?

V. 3 CV shape, possibly alternating with zero-marking

ji-: *di-cho* ‘eye’ (pl. *ma-cho*), *ji-no* ‘tooth’ (pl. *me-no*), *ji-dege* ‘big bird’ (pl. *ma-ji-dege*), zero: *bwe* ‘stone’ (pl. *ma-bwe*), *tunda* ‘fruit’ (pl. *ma-tunda*).

N. Most class 5 nouns are zero-marked, while some nouns such as *di-cho* and *ji-no*, and the augmentative nouns such as *ji-dege* are exceptionally marked with the prefix.

P004 Number of noun classes: How many noun classes are there? (excluding locative classes)

V. 12

1/2: *m-t^hu/wa-t^hu* ‘person, people’, 3/4: *m-kono/mi-kono* ‘hand(s)’, 5/6: *tunda/ma-tunda* ‘fruit(s)’, 7/8: *ki-t^hu/vi-t^hu* ‘thing(s)’, 9/10: *n-jia* ‘road(s)’, 11/10: *ungo/ny-ungo* ‘winnowing basket’, 11/4: *u-jiti/mi-jiti* ‘tree(s)’, 11/4/10: *u-fyagio/mi-fyagio/fyagio* ‘room(s)’, 15: *ku-soma* ‘to study’.

N. The plurals corresponding to class 11 nouns vary between class 4 and 10. Some class 11 nouns have two plural forms (class 4 and 10).

P005 Class for infinitive: Does the infinitive take a noun class prefix?

V. yes: class 15

ku-soma

INF-study

‘to study’

[†] The phonemes of Kimakunduchi are as follows. The vowels /i, e [ɛ], a, o [ɔ], u/, the unaspirated stops /p, t, k/, the unaspirated affricate /ch [tʃ]/, the aspirated stops /p^h, t^h, k^h/, the aspirated affricate /ch^h [tʃ^h]/, the prenasalized obstruents /mb, nd, (nz), nj [ndʒ], ng [ŋg]/, the implosives /b [ɓ], d [ɗ], j [ɟ], g [ɡ]/, the fricatives /f, v [β], th [θ], dh [ð], s, z, sh [ʃ], gh [ɣ], h/, the nasals /m [m~ṃ], n [n~ṅ], ny [ɲ~ɳ], ng’ [ŋ~ŋ’]/, the liquids /l, r/, the approximants /y [j], w/. The IPA symbols in brackets are closer to actual phonetic values, those preceding them will be used for transcription. Abbreviations are as follows; 1: first person, 2 second person, AL: allocutive, APPL: applicative, CF: counter-factual, CL: noun class (e.g. CL1 = class 1), CONS: consecutive, COND: conditional, COP: copula, DEM: demonstrative, EMPH: emphatic, FUT: future, INF: infinitive, IPFV: imperfective, LOC: locative, MED: medial, NEG: negative, OM: object marker, PASS: passive, PFV: perfective, PL/pl.: plural, PN: proper noun, PRF: perfect, PRO: pronoun, PROH: prohibitive, PROX: proximal, REL: relativiser, SG/sg.: singular, SM: subject marker, SUBJ: subjunctive.

P006 Class for diminutive: Is diminutive meaning expressed through the use of noun classes?

V. yes

ki-dege/vi-dege, ki-ji-dege/vi-ji-dege ‘small bird’ <*n-dege* ‘bird’.

N. Diminutive nouns are realized by adding the prefix *ki-/vi-*, *ki-ji-/vi-ji-* or alternating the original prefix to *ki-/vi-*, *ki-ji-/vi-ji-*, and belong to class 7/8. Adjectives agreeing with nouns marked with *ki-ji-/vi-ji-* are marked with *ki-ji-/vi-ji-* as well, while adjectives agreeing with other class 7/8 nouns are marked only with *ki-/vi-*.

P007 Class for augmentative: Is augmentative meaning expressed through the use of noun classes?

V. yes

dege/ma-dege, ji-dege/ma-ji-dege ‘big bird’ < *n-dege* ‘bird’.

N. Augmentative nouns are realized by drop of the original noun prefix or alternating the original prefix to *ji-*, and belong to class 5/6. Adjectives which agree with nouns marked with *ji-* are marked with *ji-* as well, while adjectives agreeing with other class 5 nouns are zero-marked.

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. no

N. Locative nouns are realized by the suffix *-ni*, which is not added to proper nouns.

P010 Locative class suffixation: Can a noun take a locative suffix?

V. yes

nyumba-ni

house-LOC

P011 Locative subject markers: Are there locative subject markers on the verb?

V. yes

vano *va-kaa* *juma*

here (CL16) CL16.SM-take_a_seat.PFV PN

‘Juma is sitting here.’

N. The class 16/17/18 subject prefixes (*va-/ku-/mu-*) are used.

P012 Locative object markers: Are there locative pre-stem object markers on the verb?

V. yes

tunda lyangu ‘my fruit’ (CL5)
matunda yangu ‘my fruits’ (CL6)

kisu changu ‘my knife’ (CL7)
visu vyangu ‘my knives’ (CL8)

nguo yangu ‘my clothes’ (CL9)
nguo zangu ‘my clothes’ (CL10)

ujiti wangu ‘my tree’ (CL11)

P017 Possessive pronoun agreement: Do the possessive pronouns agree in noun class with the possessed?

V. yes

N. see **P016**

P018 Kinds of possession: Are there specific possessive pronominal forms for different kinds of possession?

V. yes

mke=we ‘his wife’, *babu=ye* ‘his grand father’

N. Some kinship terms are optionally marked with contracted possessive pronouns.

P019 Possessor raising: Is possessor raising possible?

V. yes

<i>nyi-m-guii</i>	<i>mkono</i>	<i>mwanangu</i>
1SG.SM-CL1.OM-hold.PFV	hand	my_child

‘I held my son’s hand.’

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

yuno Proximal (CL1)

uyo Medial (CL1)

yulya Distal (CL1)

N. Compound forms are also used to refer to visible things. They are formed with Class 1-11 proximal + Class 16/17 proximal (e.g. *yuno+va*, *yuno+ku*), and class 1-11 medial + class 16/17 medial (e.g. *uyo+vo*, *uyo+ko*). Distal is used to refer to things which has left or passed, not visible things.

P021 Demonstrative agreement: Do the demonstratives agree in noun class with the head noun?

V. yes

P022 Functions of demonstratives: In addition to spatial-deictic functions, do the demonstrative pronouns assume other functions?

V. yes

embe *ka-zi-okoto=zo*

mangoes (CL10) CL1.SM-CL10.OM-pick up=DEM.MED.CL10

‘He picked up mangoes.’

N. There are contracted forms of demonstratives which function as a Topic marker. In the example above, the contracted medial class 10 demonstrative =zo agrees with the topicalized object *embe* ‘mango’.

P023 Lexical adjectives: Are there lexical adjectives? (i.e. which are not syntactically complex)

V. yes

-baya ‘bad’, *-bichi* ‘fresh’, *-bivu* ‘ripe’, *-bovu* ‘rotten’, *-butu* ‘blunt’ *-chafu* ‘dirty’ *-changa* ‘young, immature’, *-dogo~digi* ‘small’, *-ekundu* ‘red’, *-ema* ‘good’, *-eupe* ‘white’, *-eusi* ‘black’, *-embamba* ‘tiny, thin’, *-epesi* ‘light’, *-ingine* ‘other’, *-fupi* ‘short’, *-geni* ‘strange’, *-gumu* ‘hard, difficult’, *-kali* ‘sharp’, *-kavu* ‘dry’, *-kongwe* ‘old’, *-kubwa* ‘big’, *-kukuu* ‘old’, *-laini* ‘soft’, *-nene* ‘fat’, *-pana* ‘wide’, *-pevu* ‘mature’, *-pya* ‘new’, *-refu* ‘long’, *-tamu* ‘sweet’, *-tupu* ‘empty, only’, *-zima* ‘while, complete’, *-zito* ‘heavy’, *-zuri* ‘good’.

P024 Adnominal concord prefixes: Are there different forms/paradigms for adnominal concord prefixes?

V. yes

P025 Attributive linkers: Are there attributive linkers which are used to introduce adjectives?

V. yes

kisu *ki-o-cho* *kikali*

knife CL7.SM-PFV-CL7.REL sharp.CL7

‘the knife which is sharp’

N. The form which is derived from the copulative verb marked with the relative clause marker and lacks the original verbal stem is used as a linker optionally.

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

N. While some nouns such as *mwana-k^hele* ‘child’ appear to include a morpheme derive from *-yánà ‘child’, this kind of word formation is not productive.

P027 Nominal derivational suffixes: Does the language productively use nominal derivational suffixes for the expression of diminutive meanings or feminine/augmentative/qualitative meanings? (e.g. expressed by forms similar to -yánà and kazi ?)

V. no

P028 Agentive suffix -i : Does suffixation of the agentive marker -i occur as a verb-to-noun derivational process (possibly in addition to classes 1/2 prefixes)?

V. 2 yes, but it is no longer productive. (e.g. there might be frozen forms).

mvis-i (< -vika) ‘cook’, *mkwez-i* (<-kweya) ‘climber’

P029 Derivational suffix -o : Does the suffixation of -o occur as a verb-to-noun derivational process (with sometimes the addition of the applicative extension)?

V. 2 yes, but it is no longer productive (e.g. there might be frozen forms).

maung-o (<-unga) ‘body’

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

mkono/mikono ‘arm(s), hand(s)’

P032 ‘hand’ and ‘finger’: Is there a single stem that denotes both ‘hand’ and ‘finger’?

V. no

mkono/mikono ‘hand(s)’, *kidole/vidole* ‘finger(s)’

P033 ‘leg’ and ‘foot’ : Is there a single stem that denotes both ‘leg’ and ‘foot’?

V. yes

mguu/miguu ‘leg(s), foot’

P034 ‘tea’: Is the word for ‘tea’ similar to cha?

V. yes

chai ‘tea’

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

P036 Canonical passive: Is the canonical passive productively expressed through a verbal extension?

V. yes

N. There are several variations of the passive suffix as below: *-w*, *-lw*, *-ligw*, *-legw*, *-igw*, *-egw*.

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. 3 by another preposition

ka-cha-ligwa *nyi=nyoka*

CL1.SM-FUT-eat.PASS by=snake

‘He will be eaten by the snake.’

N. The agent marker *nyi=* is optionally alter with the contracted form *N=* when it occurs before consonants.

P039 Bare agent: Can the preposition/copula which introduces the agent be omitted?

V. no

P040 Reciprocal/associative: How is reciprocal/associative meaning expressed?

V. 1 through the use of a verbal affix only

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. 1 through the use of verbal affixation only

P043 Instrumental causative: Can the causative extension be used to introduce prototypical instruments?

V. no

P044 Applicative: How are applicative constructions formed?

V. 1 through the use of a verbal affix only

P045 Applicative functions: In addition to the benefactive meaning typically associated with the applicative complement, do applicative constructions convey other meanings?

V. yes

N. Instrument, reason

P046 Multiple applicative extensions: Can two (or more) applicative extensions be productively used in the same verb form?

V. null

P047 Neuter/stative: Is there a productive neuter/stative extension?

V. 1 yes, the suffix -ik- or similar form

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

P049 Negation in independent tenses: What are the formal means of expressing negation in independent tenses?

V. 1 by morphological modification of the verb

ha-wa-na-tenda *kazi*

NEG-CL2.SM-IPFV-do work

‘He doesn’t work/He is not working.’

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-na-tenda *hadith* *N-si-lale*

CL1.SM-IPFV-do story 1SG.SM-NEG-sleep.SUBJ

‘She told me tales for me not to sleep.’

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

a-si-ye-tenda *kazi*

CL1.SM-NEG-CL1.REL-do work

‘the one who doesn’t work’

P052 Place of negation in independent tenses: Where is negation expressed in independent tenses?

V. 1 in the pre-initial position only? (NEG-SM-...)

See P049

P053 Place of negation in dependent tenses: Where is negation expressed in dependent tenses?

V. 2 in the post-initial position only? (SM-NEG-...)

See **P050** and **P051**

P054 Number of negation markers in independent tenses: How many markers of negation are there in independent tenses?

V. 1 a single marker in the clause

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. 4 yes, its presence varies depending on the tense

a. *hebu* *u-je*

PROH 2SG.SM-come.SUBJ

cf. b. *u-si-je*

2SG.SM-NEG-come.SUBJ

‘Don’t come.’

N. Prohibition can also be expressed by the modal adverb *hebu*.

P057 First person singular negative: Is there a specific first person singular negative subject prefix which is different from the affirmative one?

V. 2 yes, with exceptions (e.g. in specific tense/aspect/mood only)

si-cha-kuja

1SG.SM:NEG-FUT-come

‘I will not come.’

N. In addition to 1st person singular, 2nd and 3rd person singular negative are also expressed by the portmanteau prefix *hu-* and *ha-*, respectively, in independent verbal forms.

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

See P056

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

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. 2 the verb always shows agreement with the whole noun phrase (this includes default agreement)

P065 Past time reference: How is past time reference formally divided?

V. 1 there is a distinction between past and non-past only

N. Past time is represented not by verbal inflection, but by the past form of the copulative verb.

P066 Future time reference: How is future time reference formally divided?

V. 1 there is a formal distinction between future and non-future only

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

N. The 'intensifying adverb' *ga* is probably derived from *-ag-*, which can be translated as 'instantly', 'just a little' in some cases (cf. Chum 1994[§]).

P068 Suffix -ile: Is there a tense/aspect suffix -ile or a similar form (as a reflex of *-ide)?

V. no

N. Perfective and Perfect are formed by vowel copy and the prefix *me-*, respectively.

[§] Chum, Haji. 1994. *Msamiati wa pekee wa Kikae, Kae specific vocabulary*. Uppsala: Nordic Association of African Studies.

P069 Itive marker: Is there an itive motional/directional marker? (e.g. ka- prefix)

V. 1 yes, with a *ka-* prefix in restricted contexts only (e.g. subjunctive)

P070 Ventive marker: Is there a ventive motional/directional marker ('come and V')?

V. no

N. The verb *-ja* 'come' is used to express to come and V.

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. 1 yes, the plural is expressed by a post-verbal marker (suffix or enclitic)

P073 TAM slots: In an inflected verb form, is preverbal marking of tense/aspect/mood typically restricted to one slot?

V. yes

N. Exceptionally, *ka-na-* (CONS-IPFV), *nge-na-* (CF-IPFV), *nge-me-* (CF-PRF) are observed.

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. no

P077 Reflexive: Is the reflexive expressed by a reflexive marker in a pre-stem verbal slot on the verb?

V. yes

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

P079 Subjunctive final -e: Is the subjunctive normally formed by means of a final -e? (with possible exceptions, such as loanwords)

V. yes

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. yes

N. Stative verbs such as *-ijua* ‘know’, *-kaza* ‘please (like)’, and *-chukia* ‘displease (hate)’ lack the form marked with *na-* ‘imperfective’. The verb *-ebu* ‘need, want’ has only the form marked with NEG, SM and OM.

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

P083 Multiple auxiliaries: Can two (or more) auxiliaries co-occur with the same main verb form?

V. yes

P084 Agreement in complex constructions: In complex constructions, does the subject trigger agreement on both the auxiliary and the main verb?

V. 2 it varies according to TAM

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)

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. no

P088 Nominal relative morphology: Are there relative strategies which employ a nominal relative marker?

V. yes

N. There are two strategies. In the one form, verbs are directly marked with the relative clause marking prefix which may be derived from demonstrative. In the other form, the copulative verb marked

with the relative clause prefix functions as a relative clause marker and a finite verbal phrase follows it.

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. 2 yes, there are several types of separate word or preverbal clitic relativisors, one of which always shows agreement

P091 Relative verb agreement: In non-subject relatives, what does the verb of the relative clause agree with?

V. 3 there are several relativisation strategies, one of which shows agreement with the head noun, and one of which shows agreements with the subject

N. When the copulative verb functions as a relative marker, the copulative verb can be marked with the subject prefix which agrees with either the subject or head noun.

P092 Subject-Relative verb: In non-subject relatives, can the subject be preverbal?

V. yes

N. It's possible when the relative clause lacks the head noun.

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. 3 yes, it is required in certain conditions (e.g. depending on the class, [+/- animate], etc)

N. When the NP marked with the comitative marker *na=* is relativized, resumptive pronoun occurs after *na=*.

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

P095 Gapless relatives: Are gapless relatives/noun-modifying clauses attested?

V. no

hadithi *ku-wa* *sungura* *ka-shindwa* *mashindano*
story (CL9) INF-COP hare (CL1) CL1.SM-win.PASS.PFV race

N. In gapless relative clauses, the copulative verb marked with the infinitive marker *ku-* is used rather than the relative clause markers.

P096 TAM and relatives: Can relative clauses express the full range of tense/aspect/mood distinctions found in main clauses?

V. yes

mw-a-wa

ha-ja-dungwa

CL1.SM.REL-PFV-COP CL1.SM:NEG-PRF.NEG-kick_out.PASS

‘The one who hasn’t kicked out.’

N. While when verbs are directly marked with the relative clause prefix, negation can rarely be represented, when the copulative verb marked with the relative clause prefix is used as a relative clause marker, full range of tense/aspect/mood distinctions found in main clauses can be expressed as in the example above.

P097 Clefts: How are clefts formed?

V. 1 through the use of a segmentally expressed copula

embe

njo=N-na-yo-i-chaka

mango (CL9) COP.EMPH=1SG.SM-IPFV-CL9.REL-CL.OM-want

‘It is a mango that I want.’

N. The emphatic copula *njo=* is used to form clefts.

P098 Clefted word classes: In addition to canonical noun phrases, may other categories be clefted?

V. yes

paje njo=n-cha-ko-kwenda

PN COP.EMPH=1SG.SM-FUT-CL15.REL-go

‘It is Paje that I’m going to.’

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. 2 clause-finally (3 immediately after the verb (IAV)?)

P101 ‘why’ applicatives: Can ‘why’ be formed through the combination of an applicative on the verb + ‘what’?

V. yes?

ka-na-kwendea

mji-ni

jambo

gani

CL1.SM-IPFV-go.APPL town-LOC matter what_kind_of

‘For what reason is he going to the town?’

N. Reasons can be asked for using an applicative verb + the phrase *jambo gani* ‘what kind of matter’ as in above.

P102 Equative predication: How is equative predication achieved with non-discourse participants?

V. 6 both 2 (variable (class-inflected) copulas only) and 3 (through tones only (unexpected as a single strategy))

P103 Affirmative copula: In the copula system, what is the form of the affirmative copula?

V. 6 multiple strategy

a. *pandu ka-wa mwalimu*
PN CL1.SM-COP.PFV teacher

b. *pandu mwalimu*
PN teacher

‘Pandu is a teacher.’

N. Copulative clauses can be realized by using perfective form of the copulative verb *-wa* and juxtaposing subject and complement.

P104 Copula’s other meanings: In addition to equative predication, may a copula form be used to convey other meanings?

V. yes

pandu ka-wa kae
PN CL1.SM-COP.PFV PN

‘Pandu is in Kae.’

N. The perfective form copula can also be used to represent location as in the example above. (See also **P103**.)

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. *pandu ka-na pesa*
PN CL1.SM-have money

‘Pandu has money.’

b. *pandu k-evu na pesa*
PN CL1.SM-COP.PST have money

‘Pandu had money.’

N. When some specific TAM information is conveyed, the copulative verb marked with subject marker + the bare preposition *-na* ‘with’ is used as in b.

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. 2 yes, for topicalisation?

ku-lima ka-na-lima

INF-cultivate CL1.SM-IPFV-cultivate

‘As for cultivating, she cultivates.’

N. This construction probably implies that action is done imperfectly. For example, the subject of the example above is a cripple lady.

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

a. *kisu kino ki-kat^hiwa kamba nyi=juma*
knife (CL7) DEM.PROX.CL7 CL7.SM-cut.APPL.PFV rope (CL9) by=PN (CL1)

‘This knife was cut a rope with by Juma.’

b. *kamba i-kat^hiwa kisu kino nyi=juma*
rope (CL9) CL9.SM-cut.APPL.PASS.PFV knife (CL7) DEM.PROX.CL7 by=PN (CL1)

‘The rope was cut by Juma with this knife.’

N. When the two objects of applicative verb refer to a theme and instrument, respectively, either object can be subject under passivisation. In a, the instrument *kisu kino* ‘this knife’ is the subject, and in b, the theme *kamba* ‘rope’ is the subject. Either object of inherent ditransitive verb *-ongoa* ‘show’ can be subject under passivisation as well.

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

a. *juma ka-i-kat^hii kamba kisu kino*
PN (CL1) CL1.SM-CL9.OM-cut.APPL.PFV rope (CL9) knife (CL7) DEM.PROX.CL7

b. *juma kisu kino ka-ki-kat^hii kamba*
PN (CL1) knife (CL7) DEM.PROX.CL7 CL1.SM-CL7.OM-cut.APPL rope (CL9)

‘Juma cut the rope with this knife.’

N. When the two objects of applicative verb refer to a theme and instrument, either object can be expressed by an object marker. Either objects of inherent ditransitive verb *-ongoa* ‘show’ can also be expressed by an object marker.

P111 Pro-drop: Can the grammatical subject be omitted (i.e. is there pro-drop)? (link with P060)

V. yes

P112 Dem-Noun: Is it possible for a demonstrative to precede the head noun?

V. 2 Dem-Noun order is attested

P113 Quant-Noun: Is there a pronominal quantifier?

V. no

P114 Possessive in multiple modifiers: In the case of co-occurring modifiers, does the possessive normally appear closest to the noun?

V. yes

P115 SVO: Is Subject-Verb-Object the canonical constituent order in a neutral context (topic/comment)?

V. yes

P116 Control of object order: In ditransitive constructions, are there mechanisms which control the order of multiple objects?

V. null

P117 Object order asymmetry: In pragmatically neutral ditransitive constructions, can either object be adjacent to the verb?

V. yes

- a. *juma ka-ŋ-kʰa pesa fatuma*
PN (CL1) CL1.SM-CL1.OM-give.PFV money (CL10) PN (CL1)
- b. *juma ka-ŋ-kʰa fatuma pesa*
PN (CL1) CL1.SM-CL1.OM-give.PFV PN (CL1) money (CL10)
- ‘Juma gave Fatuma money.’

P118 Focus position: In simple main clauses, is there a specific syntactic focus position?

V. 1 immediately after the verb (IAV) or 4 clause-finally

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. 1 yes, and the verb agrees with the postverbal subject

P122 Locative inversion: Is locative inversion attested?

V. 3 yes, both formally and semantically

- a. *sanduku-ni mu-ngii ch^hindi*
box-LOC CL16.SM-come_in.PFV squirrel
- b. *sanduku li-ngii ch^hindi*
box (CL5) CL5.SM-come_in.PFV squirrel
'A squirrel came into the box.'

P123 Patient inversion : Is patient inversion (subject-object reversal) attested?

V. yes

- kit^hu changu ki-chukuu nani*
thing (CL7) my.CL7 CL7.SM-take.PFV who
'Who took my stuff.'

P124 Instrument inversion: Is instrument inversion attested?

V. yes

- kisu kino ki-kat^hii juma kamba*
knife this.CL7 CL7.SM-cut.APPL.PFV PN rope
'Juma cut a rope with this knife.'

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

P126 Subsequent/consecutive: Is there any verbal marker to express combinations of clauses encoding subsequent/consecutive events?

V. yes

- ya=kwaza ka-fu ya=pili a-ka-fwa*
of.CL1=first CL1.SM-die.PFV of.CL1-second CL1.SM-CONS-die
'My first born died, and then second one also died.'

N. The prefix *ka-* is used to express combinations of clauses encoding sequential events.

P127 Complementiser presence: Is a subordinator/complementiser present in a subordinate clause?

V. 1 yes, optionally

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. no

P130 Complementiser agreement: Is there an agreement marker on the subordinator/complementiser?

V. no

P131 if-clauses expression: How are conditional clauses (or if-clauses) expressed?

V. 4 both a conjunction and a specific tense/aspect/mood are possible in the same clause

P132 if-clause order: Does the subordinate if-clause always precede the main then-clause?

V. no

P133 if-clause = then-clause: Do the verbs in the if-clause and the then-clause have the same tense/aspect marking?

V. yes

a-ka-lawa *nje* *joka* *tu-mu-ue=ni*
CL1.SM-COND-come_out outside snake 1PL.SM-CL1.OM-kill.SUBJ=AL.PL

‘When the snake come out, let’s kill it.’

N. Either clause is realized by the prefix *ka-*. (See also P126.)

P134 Hypothetical = Counterfactual: Are hypothetical (if I Ved) and counterfactual (if I had Ved) clauses expressed in different ways?

V. no

a. *tu-nge-wa* *ndege tu-nge-goma* *ku-ruka* *ja=kunguru*
1PL.SM-CF-COP bird 1PL.SM-CF-be_able INF-fly like=crow

‘If we were birds, we could fly like a crow.’ (hypothetical)

b. *u-nge-ja* *u-nge-vata* *pesa*
2SG.SM-CF-come 2SG.SM-CF-get money
'If you had come (yesterday), you would have get money.'

N. Either clause is realized by the prefix *nge-*.

P135 Temporal adverbial clauses: How are temporal adverbial clauses formed (e.g. when-clause, onceclause, after-clause, before-clause, etc)?

V. 4 two or more of the above strategies

P136 Locative adverbial clauses: How are locative adverbial clauses ('where'-clauses) formed?

V. 3 by a specific locative relative construction

P137 Comparative: How is the comparative (and by extension the superlative) conveyed?

V. 2 by a particular lexical device (e.g. the 'comparator' *kuliko* in Swahili)

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

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. no

P141 Focus-sensitive particles: Are there focus-sensitive particles such as 'too', 'only' or 'even'?

V. yes

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

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-ine 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. *okúlyá*

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. *-kâru* ‘old, senior’
5. *-tô* ‘young’
6. *-effûmi* ‘clean’
7. *-rôfu* ‘dirty’
8. *-zîbu* ‘difficult’
9. *-bîsi* ‘raw, unripe, uncooked’
10. *-kâ:mbwe* ‘fierce, tough, serious’
11. *-kô:to* ‘big, large’
12. *-tótô, -tî:tô, or -táitô* ‘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 *murúngí*
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-gêrê* (sg.) *e-bi-gêrê* (pl.)

Aug-NPr7-foot Aug-NPr8-foot

‘foot’

P034 ‘tea’: Is the word for ‘tea’ similar to cha?

V. yes

fâ: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

okuli: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-lék-w-a

Aug-NPr15-eat-Pass-FV

‘to be left by sb’ Cf. *okuléka* ‘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-gênd-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 tikiri hamê:za.

e-ki-tabu ti ki-ri ha-me:za

Aug-NPr7-book not SP7-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

omuntu 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

Agenzéréê

‘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 future 1

ni:nyijá 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 form 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-mân-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

Turukingîré 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:kí '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

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:ruki: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

Orwigi rukingwirê.

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 *kakúbá* ‘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-Irr₁-Irr₂-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’

Kátô n'a:kírâ Bagônza.
 Kátô ni a-kír-á Bagônza
 Kato Prog SPrl-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**.

Nyole (JE35)[†]

Kumiko Miyazaki

P001 Shape of the augment: What is the shape of the augment?

V. 1 shape only

a-, e-, o-

á-ma-gí ‘eggs’

ó-mu-twe ‘a head’

é-hi-teepe ‘a wall’

P002 Function of the augment: Does the augment fulfill a specific grammatical function?

V. yes

ó-mu-twe *mu-twé*

AUG1-CL1-head CL1-head

‘a head’ ‘It is a head’

A-túndá *e-bí-jánjááló.*

SM3SG-sell AUG-8-beans

‘fruit’ ‘beans’

P003 Shape of class 5: What is the shape of the class 5 nominal prefix?

V. 3 CV shape, possibly alternating with zero-marking

é-li-inó cf. *á-ma-inó*

AUG-5-tooth AUG-6-tooth

‘tooth’ ‘teeth’

e-ø-gósi cf. *a-ma-gósi*

AUG-5-neck AUG-6-neck

‘neck’ ‘necks’

P004 Number of noun classes: How many noun classes are there? (excluding locative classes)

V. 16

AUG NPx Example

1 *o- mu- omíúútú* ‘person’ *ómwaná* ‘child’ *omúlégi* ‘teacher’

[†] The phonemic inventory of this language is as follows; / (p), (b), t, d, k, g, m, n, ny[ɲ], ŋ[ŋ], b[β], f, (v), s, z, h[x~h], ch[tʃ], j[dʒ], l[l~ɾ], w, y[j], / a, e, i, o, u /. Abbreviations used in the gloss are as follows; 1, 2, 3...: Class numbers, 1sg/pl...: Person + Singular/Plural, APPL: Applicative, APx: Adjective Prefix, CAUS: Causative, COMP: Completive, CONT: Continuous, COP: Copula, CPx: Noun Class Prefix, DEM: Demonstrative, F: Final vowel, FUT: Future, HAB: Habitual, IMPF.P: Imperfective Past, INF: Infinitive, NEG: Negative (slot), NEG2: Secondary Negative (slot), OM: Object Marker, POSS: Possessive pronoun, PRS: Present, PST(n): Past, SM: Subject Marker, STAT: Stative, SUBJ: Subjunctive, -: Affix boundary.

1a	<i>ø- ø-</i>	<i>níná</i>	‘his mother’	<i>méelí</i>	‘friend’	
2	<i>a- ba-</i>	<i>abáátú</i>	‘person’	<i>ábaaná</i>	‘child(pl.)’	<i>abálégi</i> ‘teacher(pl.)’
2a	<i>ø- ba-</i>	<i>báníná</i>	‘his mother(pl.)’	<i>baméelí</i>	‘friend (pl.)’	
3	<i>o- mu-</i>	<i>ómuhonó</i>	‘hand, arm’	<i>ómusaala</i>	‘tree’	<i>ómwahá</i> ‘year’
4	<i>e- mi-</i>	<i>émihonó</i>	‘hand, arm(pl.)’	<i>émisaala</i>	‘tree(pl.)’	<i>émiahá</i> ‘year(pl.)’
5	<i>e- li-/ø</i>	<i>éliinó</i>	‘tooth’	<i>elégéló</i>	‘school’	<i>egósí</i> ‘neck’
6	<i>a- ma-</i>	<i>ámeenó</i>	‘tooth’	<i>amálégéló</i>	‘school(pl.)’	<i>amágósí</i> ‘neck(pl.)’
7	<i>e- hi-</i>	<i>éhiginyé</i>	‘eyebrow’	<i>éhisyaagá</i>	‘sugar cane’	
8	<i>e- bi-</i>	<i>ébiginyé</i>	‘eyebrow (pl.)’	<i>ébisyaagá</i>	‘sugar cane (pl.)’	
9	<i>e- N-</i>	<i>endéla</i>	‘berry’	<i>éngoho</i>	‘chicken’	<i>embááti</i> ‘duck’
9a	<i>e- ø-</i>	<i>émoní</i>	‘eye’	<i>ékohóla</i>	‘elbow’	<i>édwaaya</i> ‘rooster’
9b	<i>ø- ø-</i>	<i>chúmbí</i>	‘salt’	<i>sigála</i>	‘cigarette’	<i>sabúuní</i> ‘soap’
10	<i>e- n-</i>	<i>endéla</i>	‘berry (pl.)’	<i>éngoho</i>	‘chicken (pl.)’	<i>embááti</i> ‘duck (pl.)’
10a	<i>e- ø-</i>	<i>émoní</i>	‘eye (pl.)’	<i>ékohóla</i>	‘elbow (pl.)’	<i>édwaaya</i> ‘hen (pl.)’
10b	<i>ø- ø-</i>	<i>chúmbí</i>	‘salt (pl.)’	<i>sigála</i>	‘cigarette(pl.)’	<i>sabúuní</i> ‘soap (pl.)’
11	<i>o- lu-</i>	<i>ólulimí</i>	‘language’	<i>ólubegó</i>	‘ladder’	<i>ohípápúlá</i> ‘paper’
12	<i>a- ha-</i>	<i>áhaaná</i>	‘small child’	<i>aháwówó</i>	‘smell’	
14	<i>o- bu-</i>	<i>óbwaaná</i>	‘small child (pl.)’	<i>óbúutó</i>	‘oil’	
15	<i>o- hu-</i>	<i>ohúgáátíwá</i>	‘to get married’	<i>óhung’iimá</i>	‘to hunt’	
20	<i>o- gu-</i>	<i>ógusaaja</i>	‘big man’	<i>ógusaala</i>	‘big tree’	
22	<i>a- ga-</i>	<i>ágasaaja</i>	‘big man (pl.)’	<i>ágasaala</i>	‘big tree(pl.)’	

P005 Class for infinitive: Does the infinitive take a noun class prefix?

V. yes

o-hú-sómá

AUG-15-study

‘to study’

P006 Class for diminutive: Is diminutive meaning expressed through the use of noun classes?

V. yes

á-ha-ana *ó-bu-ana* cf. *ó-mw-ana*

AUG-12-child AUG-14-child AUG-1-child

‘little child’ ‘little children’ ‘a child

a-há-déng’o *o-bú-déng’o* *e-ø-déng’o*

AUG-12-forest AUG-14-forest AUG-5-forest

‘grove’ ‘groves’ ‘forest’

P007 Class for augmentative: Is augmentative meaning expressed through the use of noun classes?

V. yes

ó-gu-saani *á-ga-saani* cf. *e-sááni*
20-plate 22-plate 9-plate
'big plate' 'big plates' 'plate'

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

16 *ø- ng'a-* *ng'amúgúlú* 'up, above' *ng'áási ng'agati* 'down, below'
17 *ø- hu-* *húmúgúlú* 'surface' *húmeza* 'on the desk'
18 *ø- mu-* *múmoni* 'face, front' *múgati* 'inside' *múhisenge* 'in the room'
23 *e- e-* *Kampala* 'to Kampala'

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

16 *ng'a-si* *w-a* *e-meza* *ng'a-lí=ng'o* *é-puusi* *e-bili*.
16-down 16-GEN 9-table SM16-be=16 9-cat 9-two
'Under the table, there are two cats.'
17 *hú-meza* *hu-nó* *hu-li=ho* *ébi-hópo* *bi-bili*
17-9.table 17-DEM SM17-be=17 8-cup 8-two
'On the table, there are two cups.'
18 *mú-hi-senge* *hi-nó* *mu-baa-mo* *abá-átu* *ba-bili*.
SM17-7-room 7-DEM SM18-live=18 2-people 2-two
'In this room, live two people.'

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

ng'a-lí=ng'o *hu-li=ho* *mu-baa=mo*
SM16-be=16 SM17-be=17 SM16-live=16
-mu-túúm-il-a=hó 'jump on him/her'

P014 Independent subject pronouns: Are independent subject pronouns obligatory?

V. no

Esé n-náha-tiin-é

PRO1SG SM1SG-FUT-go-SBJV

‘(Not others but) I will go.’

P015 Connective constructions: Is the order of connective constructions always head - connective - modifier?

V. yes

ólu-limi lwa hasááshá

11-words 11-GEN 1a.God

‘words of the God’

P016 Possessive pronouns: Are there distinct possessive pronominal forms for all noun classes and all speech act participants?

V. yes

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
	<i>-ange</i>	<i>-o</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>-efe</i>	<i>-enywe</i>	<i>-awe</i>
1	<i>wange</i>	<i>wuwo</i>	<i>wuwe</i>	<i>wefe</i>	<i>wenywe</i>	<i>wawe</i>
2	<i>bange</i>	<i>babo</i>	<i>babe</i>	<i>befe</i>	<i>benywe</i>	<i>bawe</i>
3	<i>gwange</i>	<i>gugwo</i>	<i>gugwe</i>	<i>gwefe</i>	<i>gwenywe</i>	<i>gwawe</i>
4	<i>jange</i>	<i>gijo</i>	<i>gije</i>	<i>jefe</i>	<i>jenywe</i>	<i>jawe</i>
5	<i>lyange</i>	<i>lilyo</i>	<i>lilye</i>	<i>lyefe</i>	<i>lenywe</i>	<i>lyawe</i>
6	<i>gange</i>	<i>gago</i>	<i>gage</i>	<i>gefe</i>	<i>genywe</i>	<i>gawe</i>
7	<i>hyange</i>	<i>hisho</i>	<i>shishe</i>	<i>shefe</i>	<i>shenywe</i>	<i>shawe</i>
8	<i>byange</i>	<i>bibyoy</i>	<i>bibye</i>	<i>byefe</i>	<i>byenywe</i>	<i>byawe</i>
9	<i>yange</i>	<i>yiyo</i>	<i>yiye</i>	<i>yefe</i>	<i>yenye</i>	<i>yawe</i>
10	<i>jange</i>	<i>jijo</i>	<i>jije</i>	<i>jefe</i>	<i>jenywe</i>	<i>jawe</i>
11	<i>lwange</i>	<i>lulwo</i>	<i>lulwe</i>	<i>lwefe</i>	<i>lwenywe</i>	<i>lwawe</i>
12	<i>hange</i>	<i>haho</i>	<i>hahe</i>	<i>hwefe</i>	<i>hwenywe</i>	<i>hawe</i>
13	<i>twange</i>	<i>tutwo</i>	<i>tutwe</i>	<i>twefe</i>	<i>twenywe</i>	<i>twawe</i>
14	<i>bwange</i>	<i>buwo</i>	<i>bubwe</i>	<i>bwefe</i>	<i>bwenywe</i>	<i>bwawe</i>
15	<i>hwange</i>	<i>huhwo</i>	<i>huhwe</i>	<i>hwefe</i>	<i>hwenywe</i>	<i>hwawe</i>
16	<i>ng'ange</i>	<i>ng'ang'o</i>	<i>ng'ang'e</i>	<i>ng'efe</i>	<i>ng'enywe</i>	<i>ng'awe</i>
17	<i>hwange</i>	<i>huhwo</i>	<i>huhwe</i>	<i>hwefe</i>	<i>hwenywe</i>	<i>hwawe</i>
18	<i>mwange</i>	<i>mumwo</i>	<i>mumwe</i>	<i>mwefe</i>	<i>mwenywe</i>	<i>mwawe</i>
20	<i>gwange</i>	<i>gugwo</i>	<i>gugwe</i>	<i>mwefe</i>	<i>mwenywe</i>	<i>mwawe</i>
22	<i>gange</i>	<i>gago</i>	<i>gage</i>	<i>gwefe</i>	<i>gwenywe</i>	<i>gwawe</i>

P017 Possessive pronoun agreement: Do the possessive pronouns agree in noun class with the possessed?

V. yes

N. see **P016**

P018 Kinds of possession: Are there specific possessive pronominal forms for different kinds of possession?

V. no

nina ‘his/her mother’ (no possession)

P019 Possessor raising: Is possessor raising possible?

V. 2 yes, with inalienable possession only

Tú-a-bwaag-á *ómw-aná* *ómu-hono*.

SM3PL-PAST-break-FV 3-child 3-arm

‘They broke child’s arm.’

**Tú-a-bwaag-á* *ómu-hono* *ómw-aná*.

SM3PL-PAST-break-FV 3-arm 3-child

(‘They broke child’s arm.’)

Tú-a-bwaag-á *ómu-hono gw-a* *ómw-ana*

SM3PL-PAST-break-FV 3-arm 3-GEN 3-child

‘They broke child’s arm.’

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

class3 class5

nó *linó* ‘near speaker’

-yó *elyó* ‘near hearer’

-lá *lilá* ‘far from speaker and hearer’

P021 Demonstrative agreement: Do the demonstratives agree in noun class with the head noun?

V. 1 yes, always

near1 near2 far

1 *onó* *oyó* *olá*

2 *banó* *abó* *balá*

3 *gunó* *ogó* *gulá*

4 *ginó* *ejó* *gilá*

5 *linó* *elyó* *lilá*

6 *ganó* *agó* *galá*

- 7 *hinó eshó hilá*
 8 *binó ebyó bilá*
 9 *yinó eyó yilá*
 10 *ginó ejó gilá*
 11 *lunó olwó lulá*
 12 *hanó ahó halá*
 14 *bunó obwó bulá*
 15 *hunó ohwó hulá*
 16 *ng'anó ang'ó ng'alá*
 17 *hunó ohwó hulá*
 18 *munó omó mulá*
 20 *gunó ogwó gulá*
 22 *ganó agwó galá*

N. cf. *gunógunó oyóoyó gulágulá* (emphatic)

P022 Functions of demonstratives: In addition to spatial-deictic functions, do the demonstrative pronouns assume other functions?

V. null yes

ómuutu onó mu-lang'í (copula)

1-person 1.DEM 1-good

‘This person is good’

P023 Lexical adjectives: Are there lexical adjectives? (i.e. which are not syntactically complex)

V. yes

-bala ‘big, large, thick’

-leng'í ‘tall’

-pii ‘short’

-sító ‘heavy’

-ogí ‘sharp’

P024 Adnominal concord prefixes: Are there different forms/paradigms for adnominal concord prefixes?

V. yes

Nominal Prefix - adjective Pronominal Prefix - possessive

- numeral (1~5) - genitive

- demonstrative

- quantitative

P025 Attributive linkers: Are there attributive linkers which are used to introduce adjectives?

V. null

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. null

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)

om-wib-i aba-ib-i cf. *-ib-a*

‘thief’ ‘thieves’ ‘steal’

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)

éshi-emb-ó ‘song’ cf. *-emb-á* ‘sing’

P030 Cardinal numerals: Does the formation of cardinal numerals below ten obey a pattern?

V. no

1 *-lálá*

2 *-bíli*

3 *-datu*

4 *-né*

5 *-táánó*

6 *mukáagá*

7 *musánvu*

8 *munáaná*

9 *mwendá*

10 *ehumi*

P031 ‘arm’ and ‘hand’: Is there a single stem that denotes both ‘arm’ and ‘hand’?

V. yes

ómu-hono émi-hono ‘arm, hand’

P032 ‘hand’ and ‘finger’: Is there a single stem that denotes both ‘hand’ and ‘finger’?

V. no

ómu-hono émi-hono ‘hand, arm’

ólu-ala énj-ala ‘finger’

P033 ‘leg’ and ‘foot’: Is there a single stem that denotes both ‘leg’ and ‘foot’?

V. yes

óhú-gúlú amá-gúlú ‘leg, foot’

P034 ‘tea’: Is the word for ‘tea’ similar to cha?

V. yes

cháai ‘tea’

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

Élisi li-a-tú-ng’únyíl-il-ilé.

5.smoke SM5-PRES-OM2PL-smell-APPL-PFV

‘Smoke is smelling’

P036 Canonical passive: Is the canonical passive productively expressed through a verbal extension?

V. no

P037 ‘Impersonal’ passive: Can an ‘impersonal’ construction be used to express passive meaning?

V. null

P038 Agent noun phrase: How is the agent noun phrase (when present) introduced?

V. no

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

-end-á ‘to love’ *-end-án-á* ‘love each other’

P041 Other functions for -an-: Does the suffix -an- (or similar form) have functions other than reciprocal (e.g. antipassive function)?

V. 2 yes, productively

cf. *-ik-* + *-an-* → 'habitual'

-tung-ih-án-á

-sew-STAT-REC-FV

'habitually sewing'

P042 Causative: How is causative meaning expressed ?

V. 3 both 1 and 2 (1 through the use of verbal affixation only, 2 through the use of a specific construction only (i.e. the use of a periphrastic construction))

Mu-léh-é

a-som-e.

OM3SG-let-SBJV

SM3SG-come-SBJV

'Make him study.'

P043 Instrumental causative: Can the causative extension be used to introduce prototypical instruments?

V. yes

Niná a-ng'áng'át-ís-á éngésó omú-chúngwá.

1.mother SM3SG-cut-CAUS-FV 9.knife 3-orange

'His/her mother cut an orange with knife.'

P044 Applicative: How are applicative constructions formed?

V. 1 through the use of a verbal affix only

Aba-ana a-mu-emb-el-a omulegi enyimbo.

2-children SM2-OM1-sing-APPL-FV 1.teacher 5.song

'Children are singing a song for/on behalf of a teacher.'

P045 Applicative functions: In addition to the benefactive meaning typically associated with the applicative complement, do applicative constructions convey other meanings?

V. yes

ómw-aana a-mu-góból-el-a niná. (Place)

1-child SM3SG-OM3SG-cry-APPL-FV 1.his/her mother

'A child is crying at her mother.'

Lata a-n-daap-il-a é-simbo. (Instrumental)

1.father SM3SG-OM1SG-hit-APPL-FV 9-stick

'My father hit me with stick.'

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

-ig-ul-an-il-a

-close-REV-REC-APPL-FV

‘make open for each other’

-ig-ul-ih-an-a

-close-REV-STAT-REC-FV

‘be open each other (ex. windows)’

P047 Neuter/stative: Is there a productive neuter/stative extension?

V. 1 yes, the suffix *-ik-* or similar form

N. cf. *A-lum-ih-á* *ém-bwá*

SM3SG-bite-STAT-FV 9-dog

‘He was bitten by a dog.’

P048 Order of suffixes: Is there a specific order in which multiple productive verbal extensions typically appear?

V. 2 the order reflects the order of the derivation

N. cf. Reversive is always fixed (at the first position).

P049 Negation in independent tenses: What are the formal means of expressing negation in independent tenses?

V. 4 multiple strategies

sí-hu-sóm-a *ehí-táábó*

NEG-SM1PL-read-FV 7-book

‘We do not read a book.’

sí-mu-li *ba-leng’i*

NEG-SM2PL-be SM2PL-tall

‘You are not tall.’

mu-ta-gówol-a *níndi*

SM2PL-NEG2-return-FV again

‘(You) Do not come back again.’

P050 Negation in dependent tenses: What are the formal means of expressing negation in dependent tenses?

V. 1 by morphological modification of the verb

omú-útú eyí-tá-bon-a

1-person REL1-NEG2-see-FV

‘The person who I don’t see.’

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

omúútú eyí-tá-bon-a

1.person REL1-NEG2-see-FV

‘The person who I don’t see.’

Esé óta-imba.

PRO1SG REL1SG-NEG2-sing

‘I who do not sing.’

P052 Place of negation in independent tenses: Where is negation expressed in independent tenses?

V. 1 in the pre-initial position only? (NEG-SM-...)

N. see **P049**

P053 Place of negation in dependent tenses: Where is negation expressed in dependent tenses?

V. 2 in the post-initial position only? (SM-NEG-...)

N. see **P049**

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. null

Ng’a-ng’uma siina sheéyo.

SM16-lack 5.name such

‘There is not such a name.’

cf. *Ng'a-li-ng'o ésiina sheéyo.*

SM16-be-16 5.name such

‘There is such a name.’

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.null

Hu-ng'um-a mw-ana

SM1PL-lack-FV 1-child

‘We don’t have a child.’

N. cf. *-bula* (is used but not Nyole)

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

Áha-aná ha-dulum-a.

12-child SM12-run-FV

‘A little child runs.’

Ém-bwa i-dulum-a

9-dog SM9-run-FV

‘A dog runs.’

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. null no

P064 Coordinated nominals: What subject agreement does the verb show with coordinated nominals?

V. null

N. cf. *Níyé ni n-angé hu-náha-tiin-é.*
PRO3SG and PRON1SG SM1PL-FUT2-go-SBJV
'He and I will go.'

P065 Past time reference: How is past time reference formally divided?

V. 4 past time has more than three subdivisions

hu-á-gul-a eng'-ómbé. (far past)

SM1PL-P2-buy-FV 9-cow

'We bought a cow.'

hu-á-gul-ile eng'-ómbé. (before yesterday)

SM1PL-P1-buy-PFV 9-cow

'We bought a cow.'

hu-a-gúl-ile eng'-ómbé. (yesterday)

SM1PL-P1-buy-PFV 9-cow

'We bought a cow.'

hu-ø-gul-ile eng'-ómbé. (today)

SM1PL-PRES-buy- PFV 9-cow

'We bought a cow.'

P066 Future time reference: How is future time reference formally divided?

V. 2 future time is divided into two (e.g hodiernal vs. post-hodiernal, etc)

Hu-ná-som-e ehí-táábó. (today)

SM1PL-FUT1-read-SBJF 7-book

'We will read a book.'

Hu-náhá-som-e ehí-táábó. (after tomorrow)

SM1PL-FUT2-read-SBJF 7-book

'We will read a book.'

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

[habituality]

Hu-á-emb-a-ngá

SM1PL-P2-sing-FV-PROG

‘We used to sing.’

[progressive]

hu-a-som-ile-nga

SM1PL- PAST-read-FV-PROG

‘We were reading.’

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. no

A-tiín-é

a-hól-e

SM3SG-go-SBJV

SM3SG-work-SBJV

‘He goes and work.’

P070 Ventive marker: Is there a ventive motional/directional marker (‘come and V’)?

V. null

P071 Imperatives: Is the basic imperative formally identical to the verb stem (root-ext.-FV)?

V. yes

Dulum-a

run-FV

‘Run.’

Ng’enyúh-á

sleep-FV

‘Sleep.’

P072 Plural imperatives: Is there a singular/plural distinction in imperative verb forms?

V. 4 yes, several strategies are possible

Dulum-a.

Ng’enyuh-a.

run-FV

sleep-FV

‘Run.’

‘Sleep.’

Mu-dúlum-e

Mu-ng’enyúh-e

SM2PL-run-SBJF

SM2PL-sleep-SBJF

‘Run.’

‘Sleep.’

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. null

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. 1 yes, in most contexts and they must appear in a specific order

n-á-hi-mu-gul-il-a

SM1SG-PAST-OM7(=it)-OM1(=her)-buy-FV

‘I bought it for him/her’

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)

hu-é-wéén-é

SG1PL-REF-look-FV

‘We saw 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

hu-ga-mu-ng'-a *ómw-aná.*

SM1PL-OM6-OM1-give-FV 1-child

‘We gave them(6-banana) to a child.’

**hu-ga-mu-ng'-a*

SM1PL-OM6-OM1-give-FV (6-banana)

(‘We gave bananas to him/her.’)

P079 Subjunctive final -e: Is the subjunctive normally formed by means of a final -e? (with possible exceptions, such as loanwords)

V. yes

hi-húb-e

OM7-hit-SBJV

‘Hit it.’

hu-ná-som-e

1PL-FUT1-read-SBJV

‘We will read.’ (near future)

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. null

N. *-many-ile* ?

P082 TAM and auxiliaries: Are there dedicated auxiliaries for different tense/aspect/moods?

V. null

A-ng’w-a *hú-gúl-á.* (Immediate Past)

SM3SG-come.from-FV 15-buy

‘He bought (just now).’

A-j-a *hú-gúl-á.* (Immediate Future)

SM3SG-come-FV 15-buy

‘He is going to buy.’

P083 Multiple auxiliaries: Can two (or more) auxiliaries co-occur with the same main verb form?

V. null

P084 Agreement in complex constructions: In complex constructions, does the subject trigger agreement on both the auxiliary and the main verb?

V. no

Si-sobol-a *hú-sóm- á.*

SM1SG-be.able.to-FV 15-read

‘I cannot swim.’

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)

-sobol-a ‘be able to’
-j-a ‘come to (right now)’

P086 Copula as auxiliary: Is the copula used as an auxiliary?

V. yes

N-li hú-sómá.
SM1SG-be 15-read
‘I am reading.’

P087 Verbal relative morphology: Are there relative forming strategies which employ verbal morphology?

V. yes

abá-séelé á-bemb-á
2-boy REL2-sing-FV
‘boys who are singing.’
ómu-saala ogú-n-á-bon-á
3-tree REL3-SM1SG-PAST-see-FV
‘the tree which I saw.’

P088 Nominal relative morphology: Are there relative strategies which employ a nominal relative marker?

V. yes

Éhiópo éhi-gú-ile hi-angé.
7.cup 7-fall-PFT 7-POSS1SG
‘A cup which fell down is mine.’

P089 Relativisor agreement: When the relative marker is a separate word, does it agree with the head noun?

V. null

P090 Subject-Relativisor: When the relative marker is a separate word, can it be preceded by the subject in non-subject relative clauses?

V. null

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. null

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 no

P094 Headless adverbial relatives: Can headless relatives be used as adverbial clauses, with, for instance, temporal ('when...'), locative ('where...'), or manner ('how...') meaning?

V. null

n-lóm-el-e *ang'á ga-j-il-a*
SM1SG-tell-APPL-SBJF when SM3SG-come-APPL-FV
'Tell me when he comes.'

P095 Gapless relatives: Are gapless relatives/noun-modifying clauses attested?

V. null

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. null

nj + AUG?

P098 Clefted word classes: In addition to canonical noun phrases, may other categories be clefted?

V. null

N. 3 yes, it is required in certain conditions (e.g. depending on the class, [+/- animate], etc)

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 in situ

o-a-sisimuh-ile *ng'áali?*
SM2SG-PAST-wake up-PFV when
'When did you wake up?'

P101 ‘why’ applicatives: Can ‘why’ be formed through the combination of an applicative on the verb + ‘what’?

V. yes

lwaki ‘why’

o-li-il-a *hiiná?*

OM2SG-cry-APPL-FV what

‘Why are you crying? (What are you crying for?)’

Shiiné shi-hú-li-sh-a?

what SM7-OM2SG-cry-CAUS-FV

‘Why are you crying? (What makes you cry?)’

P102 Equative predication: How is equative predication achieved with non-discourse participants?

V. 2 variable (class-inflected) copulas only (does not include verbal copulas)

n-lí *mú-nyolé*

SM1SG-be 1-Nyole

‘I am Nyole.’

P103 Affirmative copula: In the copula system, what is the form of the affirmative copula?

V. 1:of the shape *ni* (or similar)

N. see **P102**

P104 Copula’s other meanings: In addition to equative predication, may a copula form be used to convey other meanings?

V. null

n-lí *nga’no*

SM1SG-be here

‘I am here’

n-li-na *ómw-aná*

SM1SG-be-with 1-child

‘I have a child.’

P105 ‘to have’: How is possession (‘to have’) expressed?

V. null, 2 the defective verb ‘be’ + preposition ‘with’ only

n-lí *ná* *ómw-aná*

SM1SG-be with 1-child

‘I have a child’

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. null, yes

P109 Passivisation in ditransitives: In double object constructions, can either object become subject under passivisation?

V. null

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

[Applicative]

Hu-ní-il-á *John ebi-jánjáálo.*

SM1PL-cook-APPL-FV 1.John 8-beans

‘We cook beans for John.’

**Hu-ní-il-á* *ebi-jánjáálo John*

SM1PL-cook-APPL-FV 8-beans 1.John

(We cook beans for John.)

Hu-mu-ní-il-á *ebi-jánjáálo.*

SM1PL-OM1-cook-APPL-FV 8-bean

‘We cook beans for John.’

* *hu-bí-ní-il-á* *John.*

SM1PL-OM7-cook-APPL-FV 1.John

(We cook beans for John.)

[Causative]

Abá-átú bá-leng-es-á *áha-aná omú-géni.*

2-people SM2PL-look-CAUS-FV 12-child 1-guest

‘People show a guest to a small child’

Abá-átú bá-mu-leng-es-á *omú-géni*

2.people SM2-OM1-look-CAUS-FV 1-guest

‘People show a guest to him/her (child)’

[Ditransitive]

Hu-ga-mú-ng'-a.

SM1PL-OM6-OM1-give-FV

‘We gave them (6-banana) him/her (1-child).’

**Hu-mu-gá-ng'-a.*

SM1PL-OM1-OM6-give-FV

P111 Pro-drop: Can the grammatical subject be omitted (i.e. is there pro-drop)? (link with P060)

V. null

P112 Dem-Noun: Is it possible for a demonstrative to precede the head noun?

V. 1 Dem-Noun order is attested

N. see **P021**

P113 Quant-Noun: Is there a pronominal quantifier?

V. null

uli lunaku ‘every day’ cf. *buli lunaku* (Luganda)

P114 Possessive in multiple modifiers: In the case of co-occurring modifiers, does the possessive normally appear closest to the noun?

V. yes

é-ng'ombe ji-jó e-jó
9-cow 9-POSS2SG 9-DEM

‘That cow of yours.’

Ábaana bá-ngé ba-bili
2-child 2-POSS1SG 2-two

‘my two children’

P115 SVO: Is Subject-Verb-Object the canonical constituent order in a neutral context (topic/comment)?

V. yes

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)

P117 Object order asymmetry: In pragmatically neutral ditransitive constructions, can either object be adjacent to the verb?

V. yes

N. see **P109**

P118 Focus position: In simple main clauses, is there a specific syntactic focus position?

V. null

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

N-énd-a éngohó ná émbusi.

SM1SG-want-FV 9.hen and 9.goat

‘I need a hen and a goat.’

N-li ng’a-no ne a-lí ng’a-mulángó.

SM1SG-be 16-DEM and SM3SG-be 16-3.door

P126 Subsequent/consecutive: Is there any verbal marker to express combinations of clauses encoding subsequent/consecutive events?

V. no

N. ate ?

P127 Complementiser presence: Is a subordinator/complementiser present in a subordinate clause?

V. null 1

P128 Complementiser location: Where does the subordinator/complementiser appear with respect to the subordinate clause?

V. null 1

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. null no

P131 if-clauses expression: How are conditional clauses (or if-clauses) expressed?

V. 6 another strategy is used

singa

P132 if-clause order: Does the subordinate if-clause always precede the main then-clause?

V. null yes

Singá n-a-tiín-ilé, (Past)

if SM1SG-P-go-PERF

‘If I go,’

Singá n-tiín-á, (Present)

if SM1SG- \emptyset -go-FV

‘If I go,’

Singá n-naha-tiín-é, (Future)

If SM1SG-FUT2-go-FV

‘If I go,’

P133 if-clause = then-clause: Do the verbs in the if-clause and the then-clause have the same tense/aspect marking?

V. null

P134 Hypothetical = Counterfactual: Are hypothetical (if I Ved) and counterfactual (if I had Ved) clauses expressed in different ways?

V. yes

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 specific constructions

Ang'á=gá-a-j-ile *n-á-li* *n-li* *hú-sómá*
When=SM3SG-P-come-PFV SM1SG-P-be SM1SG-be INF-study

‘When he came, I was studying.’

Amabeelé niganáhang'we, *n-náhá-gúl-é*
6.milk COMP-SM6-F-finish-FV SM1SG-F-buy-FV

‘When milk is finish, I will buy.’

Ni-o-náha-hul-é, *o-náha-b-e* *mú-somésa.*
COMP-SM2SG-grow-FV SM2SG-F-be-FV 1-teacher

‘When you grow up, you will be a teacher.’

P136 Locative adverbial clauses: How are locative adverbial clauses (‘where’-clauses) formed?

V. null 1

Som-el-a *ng'a-nó* *ánga* *n-lí* *hú-ng'andíh-á.*
study-APPL-FV 16-DEM where SM1SG-be INF-write-FV

‘Study here where I am writing.’

P137 Comparative: How is the comparative (and by extension the superlative) conveyed?

V. null

o-lí *mu-leng'í* *sha-níye*
SM2SG-be 2-tall

‘You are as tall as he is.’

si-hu-li *bá-leng'í* *sha-ábó*
NEG-SM1PL-be SM3PL-tall

‘We are not as tall as they are.’

Nelima *gá-n-singá* *obu-leng'í*
1.Nelima SM3SG-OM1SG-be.able.to 14-length

‘Nelima is taller than me.’

njá-singá *obu-leng'í* *mú-hitelele* *hi-nó*
REL1?-be.able.to 14-length 18-village 7-DEM

‘I am the tallest in this village.’

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. null

P141 Focus-sensitive particles: Are there focus-sensitive particles such as ‘too’, ‘only’ or ‘even’?

V. yes

N. *-oóka* ‘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. null

Ganda (JE15)[†]

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-*

[†] 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</i> (<i>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 abántu 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. *Njágálá-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. < 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 kibuuza kino eggulo.*
NEG-SM1pl-PST-answer question this yesterday

'We didn't answer this question yesterday.'

b. *Kino kye kibuuza 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 Relativiser 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 relativiser in the language which always shows agreement

P090 Subject-Relativiser: 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 égúlo.* '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 bátémýé.*
 which-he.planted
- 3’. *Omutí gwe ogwa-simbiddwa jjo, gwe bátémýé / 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.

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) *izóóba 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 nenchá, 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?’

Matengo (N13)[†]

Nobuku Yoneda

P001 Shape of the augment: What is the shape of the augment?

V. 1 V shape only

í-li-bu ‘stone’

V-5-stone

í-ma-bu ‘stones’

V-6-stone

N. it only appears as a lexicalized form of nouns with monosyllabic stem

P002 Function of the augment: Does the augment fulfill a specific grammatical function?

V. no

P003 Shape of class 5: What is the shape of the class 5 nominal prefix?

V. 3 CV shape, possibly alternating with zero-marking

li-hína ‘name’

P004 Number of noun classes: How many noun classes are there? (including locative classes)

V. 19 (16+3)

1: <i>múndu</i>	2: <i>bándu</i>	‘person’
3: <i>mpalu</i>	4: <i>mípalu</i>	‘animal trail’
5: <i>lipáhi</i>	6: <i>mapáhi</i>	‘locust’
7: <i>kibéga</i>	8: <i>ibéga</i>	‘clay pot’
9: <i>íḡma</i>	10: <i>íḡma</i>	‘drum’
11: <i>lúmuli</i>		‘torch’
12: <i>kálosi</i>	13: <i>túlosi</i>	‘stream’
14: <i>útopi</i>		‘clay’
15: <i>kúlima</i>		‘cultivating, to cultivate’
16: <i>paḡúmba</i>		‘at house’
17: <i>kuḡúmba</i>		‘around house’

[†] The phonemic inventory of this language is as follows; Consonants: /p, t, k, b, g[ɣ~ɣ], s, h, dʒ, m, n, ɲ, ŋ, l[l~d], w, j/ Vowels: / i, e, ε, a, ə, o, u, i:, e:, ε:, a:, ə:, o:, u: /. Tone marking, where available, is given as surface realization; [á]: high, [â]: falling, [ã]: rising. Abbreviations used in the gloss are as follows; 1, 2, 3...: Class numbers, 1sg/pl...: Person + Singular/Plural, APPL: Applicative, AUX: Auxiliary, CJF: Conjoint final (imperfect), CON: Connective, COP: Copula, F: Final vowel (default inflectional suffix of verb), FUT: Future, INF: Infinitive, IRR: Irrealis, ITV: Itive, NEG: Negative, OM: Object Marker, PreF: Pre-final, PRF: Perfect, PRS: Present, PST: Past, QM: Question Marker, RCPR: Reciprocal, RM: Relative Marker, SM: Subject Marker, STAT: Stative, SUBJ: Subjunctive, -: Affix boundary.

- 18: *mulúhagi* 'in a plate'
20: *gúlibu* 'big rock'

P005 Class for infinitive: Does the infinitive take a noun class prefix?

V. yes (15)

- 15: *kú-lima* 'to cultivate'
15-cultivate

P006 Class for diminutive: Is diminutive meaning expressed through the use of noun classes?

V. yes

- 12: *ká-tô:mbi* 'hill'
12-mountain
13: *tú-tô:mbi* 'hills'
13-mountain
cf. *ki-tô:mbi* 'mountain'
7-mountain
i-tô:mbi 'mountains'
8-mountain

P007 Class for augmentative: Is augmentative meaning expressed through the use of noun classes?

V. yes

- 20: *gú-li-inu* > *gúlinu* 'fang'
20-5-tooth
4: *mí-li-inu* > *mílinu* 'fangs'
4-5-tooth
cf. *li-inu* > *lînu* 'tooth'
5-tooth
má-inu > *mînu* 'teeth'
6-tooth

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

- 16: *pa-ñúmba* 'at house'
17: *ku-ñúmba* 'around house'

18: *mu-líhagi* ‘in a plate’

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

N. 16: *pa-*, 17: *ku-*, 18: *mu-*

P012 Locative object markers: Are there locative pre-stem object markers on the verb?

V. yes

N. 16: *-pa-*, 17: *-ku-*, 18: *-mu-*

P013 Locative enclitics: Are there locative post-verbal clitics?

V. no

P014 Independent subject pronouns: Are independent subject pronouns obligatory?

V. no

N. for topicalization and focalization

P015 Connective constructions: Is the order of connective constructions always head - connective - modifier?

V. yes

[genitive]

<i>mwiha</i>	<i>gwa</i>	<i>hómba</i>	‘fish bone’
3.thorn	3.CON	9.fish	

[qualifying]

<i>númba</i>	<i>dza</i>	<i>matupwáli</i>	‘brick house’
9.house	9.CON	6.bricks	

P016 Possessive pronouns: Are there distinct possessive pronominal forms for all noun classes and all speech act participants?

V. no

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 yes, with inalienable possession only

né *n-a-bágadz-adze* *kúboku* > *nabagadza*

1sg SM1sg-PST-shiver-CJF 15.hand

‘My hand shivered’

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. 4 yes, there is a five-way (or more) distinction

<i>mikongu hedzí pǎpɔ</i>	‘these trees’	close enough to the speaker to touch
<i>mikongu dzênze</i>	‘these trees’	very close to the speaker but not enough to touch
<i>mikongu adzê:</i>	‘there trees’	close but not very close to the speaker
<i>mikongu dzê:la</i>	‘those trees’	far from the speaker but close enough to see
<i>mikongu dzwê:</i>	‘the/those trees’	far and cannot see, anaphoric

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. yes

see **P020**

N. anaphoric function

P023 Lexical adjectives: Are there lexical adjectives? (i.e. which are not syntactically complex)

V. yes

<i>-dzilɔ</i>	‘black’
<i>-kéli</i>	‘red’
<i>-húhu</i>	‘white’
<i>-dzípi</i>	‘short, low’
<i>-kolóngu</i>	‘big’
<i>-lásu</i>	‘long, tall’
<i>-sɔkɔ</i>	‘small’
<i>-dzodzohu</i>	‘light’
<i>-dzomo</i>	‘dry’

<i>-pehi</i>	‘wet’
<i>-móhu</i>	‘rotten’
<i>-hímɔ</i>	‘cold’
<i>-hákau</i>	‘bad’
<i>-ilihaha</i>	‘bad’
<i>-niáhi</i>	‘good’
<i>-lihulá</i>	‘old’
<i>-tópu</i>	‘empty’
<i>-hímau</i>	‘sterile (for soil)’
<i>-tɔpeu</i>	‘difficult’
<i>-legalɛu</i>	‘easy’
<i>-ómi</i>	‘special’
<i>-amána</i>	‘important’
<i>-neɲa</i>	‘young, immature’

P024 Adnominal concord prefixes: Are there different forms/paradigms for adnominal concord prefixes?

V. yes

[nominal prefix type]

imabu má-kolónɲu ‘big stones’

6.stone 6-big

[pronominal prefix type]

possessive: *imabu ga-anɲu* ‘my stones’

connective: *imabu ga-a numba* ‘stones of the house’

demonstrative: *imabu ga-la* ‘those stones’

number: *imabu ga-beli* ‘two stones’

quantitative: *imabu ga-ɔha* < *gɔha* ‘all stones’

imabu ga-lénga ‘how many stones?’

imabu ga-ingi < *gingi* ‘many stones’

imabu ga-ngi < *gáɲgi* ‘some stones’

imabu ga-okápi ga-óla < *gokápi góla* ‘any stones’

P025 Attributive linkers: Are there attributive linkers which are used to introduce adjectives?

V. no

P026 *-yánà compounding: Is a form related to *-yánà ‘child’ productively used in word formation as the first member of a nominal compound (e.g. to express diminutive or group membership...)?

V. no

P027 Nominal derivational suffixes: Does the language productively use nominal derivational suffixes for the expression of diminutive meanings or feminine/augmentative/qualitative meanings? (e.g. expressed by forms similar to -yánà and kazi ?)

V. no

P028 Agentive suffix -i : Does suffixation of the agentive marker -i occur as a verb-to-noun derivational process (possibly in addition to classes 1/2 prefixes)?

V. null

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. null

P030 Cardinal numerals: Does the formation of cardinal numerals below ten obey a pattern?

V. 1 yes, it is based on 5 (e.g. 6=5+1)

íjhanu ná ímu class 6

5 and 1

íjhanu ná beli class 7

5 and 2

P031 ‘arm’ and ‘hand’ : Is there a single stem that denotes both ‘arm’ and ‘hand’?

V. yes

kú-bòku ‘arm/hand’

15-hand/arm

má-bòku ‘arms/hands’

6-hand/arm

P032 ‘hand’ and ‘finger’ : Is there a single stem that denotes both ‘hand’ and ‘finger’?

V. no

N. *lú-kòndzi* ‘finger’

11-finger

n-kòndzi > ηgòndzi ‘fingers’

10-finger

P033 ‘leg’ and ‘foot’ : Is there a single stem that denotes both ‘leg’ and ‘foot’?

V. yes

kú-golu ‘leg, foot’

15-leg/foot

má-golu ‘legs, feet’

6-leg/foot

P034 ‘tea’ : Is the word for ‘tea’ similar to cha?

V. yes

sái ‘tea’

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

hábu ‘fall down’

gólola ‘lay down’

gónela ‘fall asleep’

hjóbalela ‘get used to’

P036 Canonical passive: Is the canonical passive productively expressed through a verbal extension?

V. no

N. object topicalization, impersonal construction

P037 ‘Impersonal’ passive: Can an ‘impersonal’ construction be used to express passive meaning?

V. 3 yes, using a class 1 SM, without the expression of an agent noun phrase

mundu dzu-m-teg-iti kapenga.

1.person SM1-OM1-curse-PRF Kapenga

‘Someone has cursed Mr. Kapenga.’ (intended meaning: Kapenga has been cursed.)

P038 Agent noun phrase: How is the agent noun phrase (when present) introduced?

V. n.a

N. Matengo does not have passive construction. If ‘passive construction’ includes impersonal passive construction, then answer should be ‘no’

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

bag-an-a ‘share’ *bag-a* ‘deliver’
deliver-RCP-F deliver-F

P041 Other functions for -an-: Does the suffix -an- (or similar form) have functions other than reciprocal (e.g. antipassive function)?

V. null

P042 Causative: How is causative meaning expressed ?

V. 2 through the use of a specific construction only (i.e. the use of a periphrastic construction)
construction using *leka* ‘to put’

P043 Instrumental causative: Can the causative extension be used to introduce prototypical instruments?

V. n.a

P044 Applicative: How are applicative constructions formed?

V. 1 through the use of a verbal affix only

gu-mu-gólol-il-a *lúsi* *lúhã:gi.*

SM2sg-OM1-wash-APPL-F Lucy 11.plate

‘You are washing a plate instead of Lucy.’

P045 Applicative functions: In addition to the benefactive meaning typically associated with the applicative complement, do applicative constructions convey other meanings?

V. yes

N. benefaiciary, maleficiary, recipient, addressee, goal, experiencer, reason/ motive, content,
instrument, emphasis

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

P047 Neuter/stative: Is there a productive neuter/stative extension?

V. 1 yes, the suffix -ik- or similar form

hu:l-ik-a ‘be taken off (clothes)’

take.off-STAT-F

hu:l-a ‘take off clothes’

take.off-F

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

N. but Matengo does not have passive

P049 Negation in independent tenses: What are the formal means of expressing negation in independent tenses?

V. 2 by a particle

ngasé dzu-gú-butuk-il-iti. > dzugúbutukîle

NEG SM1-OM2sg-run-APPL-PRF

‘S/he didn’t run after you.’

P050 Negation in dependent tenses: What are the formal means of expressing negation in dependent tenses?

V. 4 multiple strategies

(1) with a verb *-lema* ‘to avoid’

aná n-aká-lém-iti kú-heŋga líheŋgu lisú, né nga: kú-tɔtukela.

if SM1sg-IRR-avoid-PRF INF-work 5.work yesterday 1sg NEG INF-be.tired

‘If I had not worked yesterday, I wouldn’t have been tired,’

(2) with negation prefix *-i-*

dzu-a-hi-adʒe sîndu séla, né n-i-ki-pát-á. > dzwahia

SM1-PST-hide-CJF 7.thing 7.this 1sg SM1sg-NEG-OM7-get-F

‘He hid this thing so that I did not find it.’

P051 Negation in relative clauses: Is negation in relative clauses expressed in the same way as in another clause type?

V. null

P052 Place of negation in independent tenses: Where is negation expressed in independent tenses?

V. 6 in a pre-verbal independent negative particle only

See **P049**

P053 Place of negation in dependent tenses: Where is negation expressed in dependent tenses?

V. 2 in the post-initial position only? (SM-NEG-...)

See **P050** (2)

negative prefix *-i-* and tone (*-a* → *-á*)

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

See **P049**

P055 Number of negation markers in dependent tenses: How many markers of negation are there in dependent tenses?

V. 2 possible double marking in the clause (including tone marking)

See **P050**

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)

See **P049**

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

n-aká-lém-iti kú-ba na ñdâ:su.

SM1sg-IRR-avoid-PRF INF-be COP 1.tall

‘I was not tall.’

cf. *{n-a-bí/n-áka-bi} ngaa na ñdâ:su.*

SM1sg-PST-be/SM1sg-IRR-be NEG 1sg.COP 1.tall

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. 3 both 1 (second person plural subject marker) and 2 (class 2 morphology) are attested

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)

likóló na lhimba ma-píle.

5.vegetable and 5.yam SM6-be.cooked.

‘Vegetable and yam have been cooked.’

mádzabu na úlehi i-dzélamwiki.

6.cassava and 14.millet SM8-be.overflowed

‘Cassava and millet have been overflowed.’

P065 Past time reference: How is past time reference formally divided?

V. 2 past time is divided into two (e.g hodiernal vs. pre-hodiernal, etc)

gu-heng-it-adze líhengu. > guhenggita

SM2sg-work-PreF-CJF 5.work

‘You worked (this morning).’

gu-a-heng-adze líhengu. > gwahengga

SM2sg-PST-work-CJF 5.work

‘You worked (yesterday or before that)’

P066 Future time reference: How is future time reference formally divided?

V. 2 future time is divided into two (e.g hodiernal vs. post-hodiernal, etc)

a. *tu-i-hemel-adze ɲɔmbi kilâ:bu. > twihemala* simple future, not certain

SM1pl-FUT-buy-CJF 9.cow tomorrow

b. *ɲgiti tu-hemel-a ɲɔmbi kilâ:bu.* near future, certain

AUX SM1pl-buy-F 9.cow tomorrow

‘We will buy a cow tomorrow.’

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

-adʒɛ

P068 Suffix -ile: Is there a tense/aspect suffix -ile or a similar form (as a reflex of *-ide)?

V. yes

-iti

P069 Itive marker: Is there an itive motional/directional marker? (e.g. ka- prefix)

V. 1 yes, with a ka- prefix in restricted contexts only (e.g. subjunctive)

tu-aká-lómb-a máhombi. ‘We will go and buy eggs.’

SM1pl-ITV-buy-F 6.egg

tu-aká-lómb-i. > *twakalómbɛ* ‘Let’s go and buy.’

SM1pl-ITV-buy-SUBJ

N. only future tense and 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. n.a

N. no imperative form in Matengo. Subjunctive is used instead.

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

N. no imperative form in Matengo. Subjunctive is used instead.

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. yes

(1) CJ form

a. *tu-a-hɛmɛl-adʒɛ sukáli.* > *twáhɛmala* simple far past (CJ)

SM1pl-PST-buy-CJF 9.sugar

‘We bought sugar.’

b. **tu-a-hɛmɛl-adʒɛ.*

SM1pl-PST-buy-CJF

(2) DJ form

a. *tu-a-hemɛl-iti sukáli.* > *twahémi* perfect past (DJ)

SM1pl-PST-buy-PRF 9.sugar

‘We bought sugar.’

b. *tu-a-hemɛl-iti.*

SM1PL-PST-buy-PRF

‘We bought (it).’

P075 Object marking: Are there object markers on the verb (excluding locative object markers, see parameters P012 & P013)?

V. 1 yes, there are only pre-stem object markers

n-i-ki-gólol-iti. > *nákigolwíli*

SM1sg-FUT-OM7-wash-PRF

‘I will wash it.’

P076 Multiple object marking: Is it possible to have more than one pre-stem object marker?

V. no

P077 Reflexive: Is the reflexive expressed by a reflexive marker in a pre-stem verbal slot on the verb?

V. 2

li-

-bô:la ‘to teach’

-li-bô:la ‘to teach oneself > to learn’

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. 2 yes, co-occurrence is required in certain contexts

N. co-occurrence is required when the object noun is animate

P079 Subjunctive final -e: Is the subjunctive normally formed by means of a final -e? (with possible exceptions, such as loanwords)

V. yes

tu-dʒɔb-i > *tudʒô:be.* ‘Let’s hide.’

SM1pl-hide-SUBJ

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. 2 yes, a subset of (non-borrowed) verbs, such as ‘know’ or ‘say’

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

-kiti ‘nearly happen, almost happen’

gu-a-kiti *gu-tupô:t-adʒe* *twenga.* > *gutupô:ta*

SM2sg-PST-KITI SM2sg-bump-CJF 1pl

‘You were nearly bumping us.’

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

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 agreement on both forms in all contexts

-kiti ‘nearly’

-taki ‘nearly’

-pa:lika ‘must’

P086 Copula as auxiliary: Is the copula used as an auxiliary?

V. no

P087 Verbal relative morphology: Are there relative forming strategies which employ verbal morphology?

V. yes

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. yes

lúha:gi lo: tu-a-bomb-iti

11.plate RM11 SM1pl-PST-make-PRF

‘a plate which we made’

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. 2 the subject

See **P089**

P092 Subject-Relative verb: In non-subject relatives, can the subject be preverbal?

V. no

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

[locative]

mba:la kú-kumana ko: dzu-tám-a.

I.want.to INF-know RM17 SM3sg-live-F

‘I want to know where he lives.’

[temporal]

pa: tu-a-kul-a kilebi ngasé dzwabí.

RM16 SM1pl-PST-eat-F 7.food NEG he.was

‘when we were eating, he was not present.’

P095 Gapless relatives: Are gapless relatives/noun-modifying clauses attested?

V. null

P096 TAM and relatives: Can relative clauses express the full range of tense/aspect/mood distinctions found in main clauses?

V. null

P097 Clefts: How are clefts formed?

V. 1 through the use of a segmentally expressed copula

ná: dzo: dzu-i-dzɛnd-adzɛ ná nɛ? > dzwidzɛnda

who RM1 SM1-FUT-go-CJF with 1sg

‘It is who (the one) who wants to go with me?’

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. yes

sámatɛŋgɔ gu-máŋ-iti lɛ:ló:?

Matengo SM2sg-know-PRF QM

‘Do you know the Matengo language?’

P100 Wh-element location: In the dominant strategy for argument wh-questions, where does the wh-element typically appear?

V. 5 in situ

(1) *ki-gólok-a kike?*

SM7-fly-F what

‘What is flying?’

(2) *náne dzu-pal-a ku-lɔmba ŋɔmbi?*

who SM1-want-F INF-buy cow

‘Who wants to buy a cow?’

N. VS is canonical in a sentence without object in CJ final.

P101 ‘why’ applicatives: Can ‘why’ be formed through the combination of an applicative on the verb + ‘what’?

V. yes

there is also another way

ndába dza kike íkɔngu gɔŋgɔ gu-hábuk-iti pá:hi?
 reason 3.CON what 3.tree 3.this SM3-fall-PRF down
 ‘Why this tree has fell down?’

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

[variable: with copula marker (SM) in the case of 1st and 2nd person]

(1) *mwé mu alâsu.*
 2pl 2pl.COP 2.tall
 ‘You are tall.’

[invariable: no copula marker in the case of other than 1st and 2nd person]

(2) *bangana alâsu.*
 3pl 2.tall
 ‘They are tall.’

N. variable copular in the case of 1st and 2nd, invariable copulas (no mark) in other cases

P103 Affirmative copula: In the copula system, what is the form of the affirmative copula?

V. 2 derived from verbal subject markers

	SM	COP
1sg	<i>n-</i>	<i>na</i>
1pl	<i>tu-</i>	<i>tu</i>
2sg	<i>gu-</i>	<i>gu</i>
2pl	<i>mu-</i>	<i>mu</i>

N. copula appears only in the case of 1st and 2nd person

P104 Copula’s other meanings: In addition to equative predication, may a copula form be used to convey other meanings?

V. no

P105 ‘to have’: How is possession (‘to have’) expressed?

V. 2 the verb ‘be’ + preposition ‘with’ only

(1) *a-bi na íŋmbi.*
 SM3pl-be.PRF with 10.cow
 ‘They have cows.’

(2) *kitéu sëndze ki-bí na mágolu ísesi.*
 7.chair 7.this SM7-be.PRF with 6.leg four
 ‘This chair has four legs.’

P106 Verb + cognate object: Are there verbal constructions with obligatory cognate objects?

V. yes

-henga lihengu ‘to work work’

N. limited verbs, and only in the case of CJ form.

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. yes

dzu-tend-a kú-kina.

SM1-do-F INF-dance

‘He is dancing.’

N. to do ~

P109 Passivisation in ditransitives: In double object constructions, can either object become subject under passivisation?

V. n.a

N. no passive construction

P110 Object marking in ditransitives: In double object constructions, can either object be expressed by an object marker, independently of the other object?

V. no

P111 Pro-drop: Can the grammatical subject be omitted (i.e. is there pro-drop)? (link with (60))

V. yes

(mwana dɔwɔŋgu) dzu-pal-a íŋɔma.

1.child 1.my SM1-want-F 9.drum

‘(My child) he wants a drum.’

P112 Dem-Noun: Is it possible for a demonstrative to precede the head noun?

V. null

P113 Quant-Noun: Is there a pronominal quantifier?

V. null

P114 Possessive in multiple modifiers: In the case of co-occurring modifiers, does the possessive normally appear closest to the noun?

V. yes

má-himbi gákɔ má-kɔlɔŋgu gá-beli agá: gu kú-hemalesa

6-yam 6.your 6-big 6-two 6.that 6.CON INF-sell

‘Your these two big yams to sell’

P115 SVO: Is Subject-Verb-Object the canonical constituent order in a neutral context (topic/comment)?

V. yes

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)

a. *tom á-mu-hwatiká mwana múndú likôti.*

Tom SM1.PST-OM1-dress 1.child 1.his 5.jacket

‘Tom dressed his child jacket.’

b. **á-ŋ-hwatiká likôti mwana múndú.*

SM1.PST-OM1-dress 5.jacket 1.child 1.his

P117 Object order asymmetry: In pragmatically neutral ditransitive constructions, can either object be adjacent to the verb?

V. no

P118 Focus position: In simple main clauses, is there a specific syntactic focus position?

V. 1 immediately after the verb (IAV)

dʒu-butuk-a samuél.

SM1-run-F Samuel

‘{who is running?} SAMUEL is running.’

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. null

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

See **P118**

P122 Locative inversion: Is locative inversion attested?

V. no

P123 Patient inversion : Is patient inversion (subject-object reversal) attested?

V. no

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. n.a

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. no

P128 Complementiser location: Where does the subordinator/complementiser appear with respect to the subordinate clause?

V. n.a

P129 Complementiser origin: Is there a subordinator/complementiser derived from a verb meaning ‘say’ or ‘tell’ ?

V. n.a

P130 Complementiser agreement: Is there an agreement marker on the subordinator/complementiser?

V. n.a

P131 if-clauses expression: How are conditional clauses (or if-clauses) expressed?

V. 4 both a conjunction and a specific tense/aspect/mood are possible in the same clause

aná dʒi-kúnik-iti íhjula kiâbu, ŋga: n-i-dʒênd-a.

if SM9-rain-PRF 9.rain tomorrow NEG SM1sg-FUT-go-F

‘If it rains tomorrow, I will not go.’

N. *aná* + present perfect

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

N. if-clause always appears in present perfect regardless of then-clause

P134 Hypothetical = Counterfactual: Are hypothetical (if I Ved) and counterfactual (if I had Ved) clauses expressed in different ways?

V. no

hypothetical: present perfect in if-clause

counterfactual: - *áka* -

(aná) dʒi-áka-kúnik-iti íhjula lisú ŋga: n-áka-hík-iti

If SM9-IRR-rain-PRF 9.rain yesterday NEG SM1sg-IRR-arrive-PRF

ku-númba dʒínɔ.

LOC-house your

‘If it had been raining, I would not have gone to your house.’

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 and 2 by the use of specific tense/aspect/mood marking

See **P094** for when-clause

N. 3 for when-clause, 2 for once-clause

after and before are expressed by specific verb such as ‘to precede to do ~’

P136 Locative adverbial clauses: How are locative adverbial clauses (‘where’-clauses) formed?

V. 3 by a specific locative relative construction

See **P094**

P137 Comparative: How is the comparative (and by extension the superlative) conveyed?

V. null

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

N. (or 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. yes

P140 Morphological focus marker: Can a focussed term be marked by a morphological focus marker?

V. yes

N. with conjoint final (but only in the case of the term focus)

P141 Focus-sensitive particles: Are there focus-sensitive particles such as ‘too’, ‘only’ or ‘even’?

V. yes

péna ‘only’

dzu-hik-iti *maría pê:na.*

SM1-arrive-PRF Maria only

‘Only Maria has arrived.’

P142 Subject focalisation: Are the strategies available for questioning or focusing subjects different from those available for other constituents? (e.g. subjects have to be clefted and cannot be questioned in situ)

V. no

[subject]

dzu-a-butuk-adze *samuél.* > *dzwabutuka*

SM1-PST-run-CJF Samuel

‘{who ran/ was running?} SAMUEL was running.’

[object]

dzu-a-lomb-adze *kitâbu.* > *dzwalomba*

SM1-PST-buy-CJF 7.book

‘{what did he buy?} he bought a BOOK.’

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