



## Makunduchi (G43c)<sup>†</sup>

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### 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<sup>h</sup>u/wa-t<sup>h</sup>u* ‘person, people’, 3/4: *m-kono/mi-kono* ‘hand(s)’, 5/6: *tunda/ma-tunda* ‘fruit(s)’, 7/8: *ki-t<sup>h</sup>u/vi-t<sup>h</sup>u* ‘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’

<sup>†</sup> 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<sup>h</sup>, t<sup>h</sup>, k<sup>h</sup>/, the aspirated affricate /ch<sup>h</sup> [tʃ<sup>h</sup>]/, 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 [m̃], n [ñ], ny [ɲ̃], ng' [ŋ̃]/, 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<sup>h</sup>ele* ‘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<sup>§</sup>).

**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.

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<sup>§</sup> 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 kina ki-kat<sup>h</sup>iwa 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<sup>h</sup>iwa kisu kina 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 kina* ‘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<sup>h</sup>ii kamba kisu kina*  
PN (CL1) CL1.SM-CL9.OM-cut.APPL.PFV rope (CL9) knife (CL7) DEM.PROX.CL7

b. *juma kisu kina ka-ki-kat<sup>h</sup>ii 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<sup>h</sup>indi*  
box-LOC CL16.SM-come\_in.PFV squirrel
- b. *sanduku li-ngii ch<sup>h</sup>indi*  
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<sup>h</sup>u 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<sup>h</sup>ii 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