

Nyole (JE35)[†]

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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 ébí-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>hawwe</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 níganáhang'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