

Uru (E622D)[†]

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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. 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 *m-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, pʃ, 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. *ítfǝ: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* *ndzíwĩ: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: *řítimá* *řiwĩ:tfo*
 ři-tima ři-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* *tńdziwĩ: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 *kítǎ:wa*

ki-tawa

CPx7-palm

‘palm [sg]’

ǰítǎ:wa

ǰi-tawa

CPx8-palm

‘palm [pl]’

Cf.-2 *ṁkǒ: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/ǰimne*

ki-ṁne/ǰi-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 **-i* (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-ɪlie* > (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. *nimemtendeshā*)’. (N.B. **i≠(w?)ut-if-a/ *i≠(w?)ut-is-a*)

vi) *lúlemtsindíkia*

akaéndā

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*

kjéljá

kilikój

ndzi-ke≠li-i-a

ki-elya

ki-liko-j

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 nkwěri: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* *ʃlaléu:ra*

ki-tapu

ʃ-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* *ndzileúra* *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* *alaleki⁺ú:ra*

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* *llaléū: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:* *ǰ(i)*
ndzi-le≠ur-a ki-tapu ǰi
SM1sg-PST1≠buy-FV CPx7-book NEG (<a shortened form of 1sg independent pronoun)
'I didn't buy a book'

**kuléurá* *kitapû:* *ǰ(i)*
ku-le≠ur-a ki-tapu ǰi
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 *ǰi* or homorganic nasal (as a shortened form of *ǰi*) 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-* (*ǰa*) 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) *ndʒílewō:nā*

ndʒi-le≠won-a

SM1sg-PST1≠see-FV

‘I saw’

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

ndʒi-le-we≠won-a

SM1sg-PST1-ANT2?≠see-FV

‘I saw’

P2) *ndʒéwō:na*

ndʒi-e≠won-a

SM1sg-PST2≠see-FV

‘I saw’

P2’) *ndʒéwewō:na*

ndʒi-e-we≠won-a

SM1sg-PST2-ANT2?≠see-FV

‘I saw’

P-STAT) *ndʒéwewō:ni*

ndʒi-e-we≠won-i

SM1sg-PST2-ANT2?≠see-STAT

‘I saw/ I was seeing’

Cf. STAT) *ndʒíwō:nī*

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) *ndʒí: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-tjĩ≠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)

lũtjĩendambă:ŋga

lu-tjĩ-enda-m≠wang-a

SM1pl-FUT2-ITV-OM1≠call-a

'We will go and call him'

Cf. *lútfiéndá imbǎ:ŋga*
 lu-tǝi-enda i-m≠wǎŋ-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)?

lútfítfa imbǎ:ŋga
 lu-tǝi-enda i-m≠wǎŋ-a
 SM1pl-FUT2-come INF-OM1≠call-FV
 ‘We will come to call him/ come and call him’

Cf. *lútfítfa mbǎ:ŋga*
 lu-tǝi-tǝa-m≠wǎŋ-a
 SM1pl-FUT2-VTV-OM1≠call-FV
 ‘We will come and call him/ We will (definitely) call him ‘

N. the modality marker *tǝa-* 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:ǰi*
 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:ǰjá*
 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) **ndzilewawikia*

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-ijni</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* *ndzileúrá* *ŋgí* *kí: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* *ndzileúrá* *ki* *kítʃă:* *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) **ṃru:fu* *fo* *lleotʃa* *ɲáma*
ṃ-rufu *fi-o* *ṛ-le≠otʃ-a* *ɲama*
 CPx3-smell PPx3-DEM.M SM1sg-PST≠grill-FV 9.meat
 Int. ‘The smell that is caused by (my) grilling meat.’

ii) *ṃrũ:fu* *fo* *ɲáma* *j*ó:tʃ*á*
ṃ-rufu *fi-o* *ɲ-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 *ndzilewáurî: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* *ndzilě:waurîa*
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 kíkeraḫpũnā:kī

ki-te ki-ke≠ḫapfun-a=ki

CPx7-dog SM7-CONT≠chew-FV=what

‘What is the dog chewing?’

ii) [IBV]

ki:té ŋkī kíkeraḫpũ:na

ki-te *ni=ki* ki-ke≠ḫapfun-a

CPx7-dog FOC=what SM7-CONT≠chew-FV

‘What is the dog chewing?’

iii) [clause-initially]

ŋkī kité kíkeraḫpũ:na

ni=ki ki-te ki-ke≠ḫapfun-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

nákeritfĩā: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 ni 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* *ki* *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*
ni=a≠wor-e N-ba
FOC=SM1≠hold-STAT CPx9-house

‘I have a house’

ii) PST

néworé *mba*
ni=a-e≠wor-e N-ba
FOC=SM1-PST2≠hold-STAT CPx9-house

‘I had a house’

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]

* *wɛŋ 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 nákesoma kitá: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 nálekápa 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 náletsikâ: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 lúletsikâ: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

lūletfa *wo:ná* *nda:ra* *na* *lūko:lja*
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

lūletfa *wo:ná* *nda:ra* *lūko:lja*
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

gódí *nǎleluβía* *kokó:ja* *nakě:tʃa*
godi ʃi=a-le-lu≠wi-a ku-a≠koj-a ʃi-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≠tf-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≠tf-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* *aetfi* *nǎekuβía*
 ku-a≠koj-a a≠itfi 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) *káetfi* *nǎekuβía*
 a-ka≠itfi 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