Rombo (E623)†

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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. yes

1σ: *i-t'e* 'birdy'

2σ: *i-riso/ riso* 'eye'

3σ: *i-bebeṛe* kernel (of a fruit) etc. (tone omitted)

N. CPx5 *i-* can be omitted in some disyllabic inherent nouns that belong to semantically basic categories. Conditions of omission are unclear (largely both forms are used interchangeably).

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

V. 15

cl.1) *m'-shuku*　　　*ú-⁺lá*
　　　CPx.1-grand child PPx.1-DEM.F
　　　'That grandchild'

cl.2) *va-shuku*　　　*vá-⁺lá*
　　　CPx.2-grand child PPx.2-DEM.F
　　　'Those grandchildren'

cl.3) *m'-di*　　　*ú-⁺lá*
　　　CPx.3-'tree'　PPx.3-DEM.F
　　　'That tree'

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† The phonemic inventory of this language is as follows; /p, t, t' [tɕ~tʰ~tˡ], k, b, d, j [ɟ], g; m, n, ny [ɲ], ng' [ŋ], m' [m̩], ng' [ŋ̍]; f, v, s, sh [ʃ], h; r, ṛ [ɾ], l; y [j], w; a, e, i, o ,u/. Following the general convention in Bantu linguistics, nasal parts of NC clusters are described by *n*, except *m*C[+bilabial]. Tone marking, where available, is given as surface realization; [á]: high, [ắ]: super high (upstepped high), [⁺á]: downstepped high, [â]: falling, [ǎ]: rising. Abbreviations used in the gloss are as follows; 1, 2, 3 etc.: Class numbers, 1sg, 2pl etc.: Person + Singular/Plural, ANT: Anterior, APPL: Applicative, APx: Adjective Prefix, ASSC: Associative, CAUS: Causative, COMP: Completive, CONS: Consecutive, CONT: Continuous, COP: Copula, CPx: Noun Class Prefix, DEM.F/M/N: Demonstrative Far/Middle/Near, F: Final vowel (default inflectional suffix of verb), FUT(n): Future, HAB: Habitual, IMPF.P: Imperfective Past, INDPRO: Independent Pronoun, INF: Infinitive, NEG2: Secondary Negative (slot), NEGP: Negative particle, NOML: Nominalizer, OM: Object Marker, POSS: Possessive pronoun, PPx: Pronominal Prefix, PRS: Present, PST(n): Past, SM: Subject Marker, STAT: Stative, SUBJ: Subjunctive, -: Affix boundary, =: Clitic boundary, ≠: Verb stem boundary.

cl.4) *mi-di*   *í-⁺lá*
       CPx.4-tree   PPx.4-DEM.F
       'Those trees''

cl.5) *í-we (í-wé)*   *lya*
       CPx.5-stone   DEM.F.5
       'That stone'

cl.6) *ma-we*   *yá-l⁺á*
       CPx.6-stone   PPx.6-DEM.F
       'Those stones'

cl.7) *ki-óóve*   *kí-l⁺á*
       CPx.7-mirror   PPx.7-DEM.F
       'That mirror'

cl.8) *fi-óóve*   *fi-l⁺á*
       CPx.8-mirror   PPx.8-DEM.F
       'Those mirrors'

cl.9) *Ø-shubá*   *⁺í-lá*
       CPx.9-bottle   PPx.9-DEM.F
       'That bottle'

cl.10) *Ø-shubá*   *s⁺í-lá (si-lá)*
       CPx.10-bottle PPx.10-DEM.F
       'Those bottles'

cl.11) *u-baó*   *ú-l⁺á*
       CPx.11-board   PPx.11-DEM.F
       'That board'

cl.12) *ka-m-báka*   *ká-l⁺á*
       CPx.12-CPx.9-cat PPx.12-DEM.F
       'That small cat'

cl.13) *dú-m-ba*   *dú-l⁺á*
       CPx.13-CPx.9-room   PPx.13-DEM.F
       'Those small rooms'

cl.16) *ha-ndu*   *há-l⁺á*
       CPx.16-entity PPx.16-DEM.F
       'That (specific) place'

cl.17) *ku-ndu*   *kú-l⁺á*
       CPx.17-entity PPx.17-DEM.F
       'That place'

N. cl.15 seems to have been lost in this language, e.g. the word *kdú* 'ear', which is a typical cl.15 word
   (cf. PB *ku-tói), is grammatically treated as cl.7 (its plural may be in cl.6 *madú* or cl.8 *fidú*). This
   change of class affiliation seems to have been triggered by historical devoicing of high vowels after

/k/, which makes CPx15 practically homophonous with CPx7. Infinitive, which is also marked by cl.15 in many Eastern Bantu languages, is marked by CPx.5 as in many other Kilimanjaro Bantu languages.

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

V. yes

i) *ilola*

   i-lol-a

   CPx5-see-F

   'to see'

ii) *úkundí*   *ishihilya*   *lúv*⁺*áá*

   u-Ø≠kund-i   **i**-shihili-a   luvaa

   SM2sg-PRS≠love-STAT CPx5-leave-F now

   'You want to leave now'

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

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

V. yes

*ka**mbaka*

ka-N-baka

CPx12-CPx9-cat

'small cat [sg]'

Cf. *mbaka*

   N-baka

   CPx9-cat

   'cat [sg]'

N. Plural of this class may either be cl.8 or cl.13, though the latter seems not so productive as a plural class of diminutive, e.g.;

   fimbaka

   fi-N-baka

   CPx8-CPx9-cat

   'small cats [pl]'

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

V. yes

indeke

i-N-deke

CPx5-CPx9-bird

'big bird [sg]'

Cf. *ndeke*

    N-deke

    CPx9-bird

    'bird [sg]'

N. Plural of this class is regularly cl.6, i.e.

    *ma*ndeke

    ma-N-deke

    CPx6-CPx9-bird

    'big birds [pl]'

P008 Noun class prefix omission: Is it possible to omit the noun class prefix when class membership is marked through agreement (on a modifier or on the verb)?

V. no

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

V. yes

*ha*ndu

ha-ndu

CPx16-entity

'(the) place [definite-like, cf. undifferentiated spot (Contini-Morava 1976: 142)]'

*ku*ndu

ku-ndu

CPx17-entity

'(a) place [general, indefinite, cf. left unspecified (Contini-Morava 1976: 142)]'

    Cf. Contini-Morava, E. 1976. Statistical demonstration of a meaning: The Swahili locatives in existential assertions, In: *Studies in African Linguistics* 7(2): 137–156

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

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

V. yes

i) *kas**ini***

   Ø-kasi-**ini**

   CPx9-work-LOC

   '(in) a work place [LOC noun]'

ii) *mes**eni***

   Ø-mesa-**ini**

   CPx9-table-LOC

   '(on) a table [LOC noun]'

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

V. yes

i) *handu*   ***a**sháfúka*

   ha-ndu $\widehat{\textbf{a}\text{-a}}$≠shafuk-a

   CPx16-entity   SM16-ANT≠be dirty-F

   'The place has been dirty'

ii) *kundu*   ***kw**asháfúka*

   ku-ndu $\widehat{\textbf{ku}\text{-a}}$≠shafuk-a

   CPx17-entity   SM17-ANT≠be dirty-F

   'The place has been dirty'

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

V. yes

i) *ngíle**a**lólya*   *hándu*

   ngi-le-**a**≠lol-i-a   ha-ndu

   SM1sg-PST1-OM16≠see-F   CPx16-entity

   'I saw the place'

ii) *ngíle**ku**lólya*   *kúndu*

   ngi-le-**ku**≠lol-i-a   ku-ndu

   SM1sg-PST1-OM17≠see-F   CPx17-entity

   'I saw the place (around there)'

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

V. no

P014 Independent subject pronouns: Are independent subject pronouns obligatory?

V. no

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

V. yes

i) *m'di*   *wa*   *m'meéku*

   m'-di   u-a   m'-meeku

   CPx3-tree 3-ASSC   CPx1-grandfather

   'a grandfather's tree'

ii) *kundu*   *kwa*   *m'ríke*

   ku-ndu   ku-a   m'-rike

   CPx17-entity 17-ASSC CPx3-warm

   'a warm place'

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

V. no

1sg) *ikári*   *lákwa*

      i-kari   li-akwa

      CPx5-car PPx.5-POSS1sg

      'my car'

2sg) *ikári*   *láfo*

      i-kari   li-afo

      CPx5-car PPx.5-POSS2sg

      'your [sg] car'

3sg) *ikári*   *láke*

      i-kari   li-ake

      CPx5-car PPx.5-POSS3sg

      'his/her/its car'

1pl) *ikári*   *ledú*

      i-kari   li-edu

      CPx5-car PPx.5-POSS1pl

      'our car'

2pl) *ikári*   *lenyú*

      i-kari   li-enyu

      CPx5-car PPx.5-POSS2pl

      'your [pl] car'

3pl) *ikári*   *lavó*

      i-kari   li-avo

      CPx5-car PPx.5-POSS3pl

      'their car'

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

V. yes

See the examples in P016

P018 Kinds of possession: Are there specific possessive pronominal forms for different kinds of possession?

V. null

P019 Possessor raising: Is possessor raising possible?

V. null

P020 Demonstrative morphology: Are there morphological divisions in the system of demonstratives? (e.g. in terms of spatial and temporal deixis and/or visibility)

V. 2 yes (there is a three-way distinction)

Near) *midí*   *yi*
       mi-di   i-i
       CPx4-tree PPx.4-DEM.N
       'these trees'

Middle) *midí*   *yo*
         mi-di   i-o
         CPx4-tree PPx.4-DEM.M
         'those trees'

Far)   *midi*   *í⁺lá*
       mi-di   i-la
       CPx4-tree PPx.4-DEM.F
       'these trees'

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

V. 1 yes, always

See the example in P020

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

V. yes

N. Far demonstratives behave like a pseudo-relative pronoun (i.e., it's optional and the essential part of the relative construction is deletion of a verb initial high tone), e.g.;

véenda	*dukáni*	*kúla*	*duleolya*
ve≠end-a	Ø-duka-ini	ku-la	du-le≠ol-i-a
SM3pl≠go-F	CPx5-shop-LOC	PPx17-DEM.F	SM1pl-PST1≠buy-F

simu	*ya*	*máoko*
Ø-simu	i-a	ma-oko
CPx9-phone	PPx9-ASSC	CPx6-hand

'They go to the shop where they bought a mobile phone'

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

V. yes

mba	*ng'héwa*
N-ba	ng'-hewa
CPx9-room	APx9-bright

'a bright (white) room'

other adjective stems (i.e., which take APx as an agreement marker, tone omitted): *-huu* 'dark', *-sima* 'all', *-duve* 'big', *-nana* 'small, few', *-lei* 'long, tall', *-fuhi* 'low, short', *-sise* 'lean, thin', *-lemi* 'heavy', *-angu* 'light, fast', *-humu* 'hard', *-laini* 'soft', *-tamu* 'sweet', *-lua* 'chungu', *-kali* 'sharp', *-butu* 'dull', *-safi* 'clean', *-shafu* 'dirty', *-pana* 'wide', *-ingi* 'many', *-hiya* 'new', *-sangi* 'young', *-meeku* 'old', *-sha* 'good', *-vishwa* 'bad'

N. Lexical adjectives (or morphologically genuine adjectives which take an APx as an agreement marker) are not so many in number, while the verb stems can be productively used for deriving adjectives with the stative suffix *-i*. e.g.;

mwaná	*m'lálí*
mw-ana	m'≠lal-i
CPx1-child	APx1≠sleep-STAT

'A sleeping child'

Cf.
mwaná	*ĕlalí*
mw-ana	e-Ø≠lal-i
CPx1-child	SM1-PRS≠sleep-STAT

'A child is sleeping'

momú	*ng'simbí*
Ø-momu	ng'≠simb-i
CPx10-lip	APx10≠swell-STAT

'swollen lips'

Cf.
momú	*sĭsimbí*
Ø-momu	si-Ø≠simb-i
CPx10-lip	SM10-PRS≠swell-STAT

'Lips are swollen'

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

V. yes

mba	*ng'sha* (tone omitted)
N-ba	ng'-sha
CPx9-room	APx9-good

'a nice room'

handu	*asha* (tone omitted)
ha-ndu	a-sha
CPx16-entity	APx16-good

'a/the nice place'

N. CPx and APx are not identical in classes 9/10 and 16. In cl.9/10, CPx is a homorganic nasal *N-* (or *Ø-*), while APx is a syllabic velar nasal *ng'-* (regardless of the place of articulation of the following consonant). In cl.16, CPx is *ha-*, while APx is *a-*.

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

N. Adjectival notions can be expressed by NP + ASSC + NP (adjectival notion) (see P014). However, adjectives themselves are not appeared immediately after an attributive linker.

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

V. null

N. The word *mwaná* 'child' (pl. *vaná*) is attested and there exist compound-like NPs such as *mwaná m'náná* 'baby' (pl. *vaná vanáná*), but other examples are not confirmed (probably there may be such examples but seemingly not so productive).

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

V. null

N. See P026

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

V. yes

muiví

mu-iv-i

CPx1-steal-NOML

'thief'

N. Nouns derived from a verb stem with the suffix -*i* are well attested (including words apparently borrowed from Swahili). More investigation needed.

P029 Derivational suffix -o : Does the suffixation of -o occur as a verb-to-noun derivational process (with sometimes the addition of the applicative extension)?

V. null

N. Nouns derived from a verb stem with the suffix -*o* are attested but most of them are seemingly borrowing words from Swahili. More investigation needed.

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

V. no

The forms shown below are isolated ones (tone omitted). These are used with numeral prefixes (EPxs) when used as numeral adjectives; *imu* 'one', *ivili,* 'two', *sadu* (allomorph *ṛadu*), 'three', *ina* 'four', *tanu* 'five', *sita* 'six', *saba* 'seven', *nane* 'eight', *kenda* 'nine', *ikumi* 'ten'

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

V. yes

kooko	*vs. maoko*
Ø-kooko (<*ku-oko)	ma-oko
cl.7.arm (CPx15-arm)	CPx6-arm
'arm, hand [sg]'	'arms, hands [pl]'

Cf. *kgansha*	*vs. figansha*
ki-gansha	fi-gansha
CPx7-palm	CPx8-palm
'palm [sg]'	'palms [pl]'

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

V. no

m'nyo	*vs. minyo*
m'-nyo	mi-nyo
CPx3-finger	CPx4-finger
'finger [sg]'	'fingers [pl]'

Cf. for 'hand', see P031

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

V. yes

kt'ende   *vs. mat'ende*

ki-t'ende (possibly from *ku-t'ende, i.e. cl.15)   ma-t'ende

CPx7-leg, foot   CPx6-leg, foot

'leg, foot [pl]'   'legs, feet [pl]'

P034 'tea': Is the word for 'tea' similar to cha?

V. yes

shai

Ø-shai

CPx9/10-tea

'tea [sg/pl]'

P035 Inchoative verbs: Is there a group of verbs expressing qualities or states which are lexically inchoative and are thus typically used with a perfect/perfective verb form to express a present state? (e.g. fall asleep, be full, be late, be dirty, etc)

V. yes

There is a group of verbs that can take suffix *-i*, which is historically thought to be a Perfect suffix *-i* (a regional variant of *-ịde*, which has another derivant *-ie* that denotes Far Past). Since the suffix cannot be attached to typical active verbs and those which can be attached by *-i* normally express meanings with high stativity, they can be tentatively called stative verbs, which include *shoka* 'be tired', *fa* 'die', *viṛa* 'be ripe', *laa* (*lal-i*) 'sleep', *bwaa* 'rot', *bumsika* 'take a rest', *totona* 'stand', *shimba* 'swell', *oneka* 'be born' etc (tone omitted). Additionally, they are also used as adjectival stems when attached by an adjectival prefix (APx), e.g.,

m'nyáma   *m'totóni*

m'-nyama   m'≠toton-i

CPx1-animal   APx1≠stand-STAT

'An animal who is standing. A standing animal'

Cf. *m'nyáma*   *nétotóni*

   m'-nyama   n(-)e-Ø≠toton-i

   CPx1-animal   FOC(-)SM1-PRS≠stand-STAT

   'An animal is standing'

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

V. no

i) *ngálolywa*

ngí-a≠loli-w-a

SM1sg-ANT≠see-PASS-F

'I've been seen'

ii) *védukundí*

ve-Ø-du≠kund-i

SM3pl-PRS-OM1pl≠love-STAT

'We are loved (Sw. Tunapendwa)'

*du-Ø≠kund-w-a

SM1pl-PRS≠love-PASS-F

N. There is a passive suffix -*w* and it practically attaches to any active verbs, however, especially in case of stative verbs, passive derivation by -*w* tends to be avoided and a kind of impersonal construction (with cl.2 agreement) is used instead.

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

V. 1 yes, using a class 2 SM, without the expression of an agent noun phrase

N. See the example in P036.

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

V. 1, 2, or 4

N. At least *na* is used to introduce the agent NP in passive constructions: e.g.,

mw-aná	*ě-le≠koṛ-y-w-a*	*k-laló*	*na ksáli*
CPx.1-'child'	SM.1-PST1≠'cook'-APPL-PASS-F	CPx7-'food'	by Kisali

'For a/the child, the food are cooked by Kisali'

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

V. null

N. [Cf. Rwa (E621)] In Rwa, *na, kwa* and *n'* (a homorganic syllabic nasal, segmentally identical with the copula) are used to introduce an agent NP. However, it is attested that only in a case of causative-passive structure, an agent cannot take any preposition and occurs as a bare form;

ṇnderiíkiswa   *iyé*

ṇ-nde≠riik-is-w-a   iye

SM1sg-PST2≠surprise-CAUS-PASS-F   INDPRO.3sg

'I was surprised by him/her'

*ṇnderiíkiswa na iyé

In this case, the sentence with preposition *na* is interpreted as 'I was surprised with him/her', i.e., *na* is not used as an element introducing an agent but as a comitative preposition.

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

V. 1 through the use of a verbal affix only

dwáishuána	*habaṛí*	*sedú*
du͡-a≠isu-an-a	Ø-habaṛi	si-edu
SM1pl-ANT≠hear-RECIP-F	CPx9-news	PPx9-POSS.1pl

'We have heard the news of each other (Sw. Tumesikiana habari zetu)'

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

V. null

P042 Causative: How is causative meaning expressed ?

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

i)
muíuúiṛa	*m'di*	*ú⁺lá*
mu-i-u≠u-iṛ-a	m'-di	u-la
SM2pl-PROGR-OM3≠fall-CAUS-F	NPx3-tree	PPx3-DEM.F

'You [pl] are going to/ will make that tree fall down'

ii)
valá	*vameéku*	*vávaingíṛa*	*vaná*
va-la	va-meeku	va͡-a-va≠ingiṛ-a	va-ana
PPx2-DEM.F	CPx2-pld person	SM2-ANT-OM2≠enter-CAUS-F	CPx2-child

'Those old men let the children enter (inside)'

N. Causative is also expressed by using a subjunctive form, especially when the verb stem is with high transitivity and the causee is animate. (examples should be added)

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

V. no

éleandikya	*kákálámú*	*barúa*
e-le≠andik-i-a	ka-Ø-kalamu	Ø-barua
SM3sg-PST1≠write-APPL-F	CPx12-CPx9-pen	CPx9-letter

'S/he wrote a letter with a small pen'

N. Applicative construction covers the expression of instrumental NPs.

P044 Applicative: How are applicative constructions formed?

V. 1 through the use of a verbal affix only

ksali	élem'koṛya		mwaná	klálo
ksali	e-le-m'≠koṛ-i-a		mw-ana	ki-lalo
K	SM3sg-PST1-OM1≠cook-APPL-F		CPx1-child	CPx7-food

'Kisali cooked a food for a child'

N. Following patterns are also grammatical with a basically identical meaning (when supported by appropriate contexts).

i) *ksali* *élem'koṛya* *klaló* *mwána*

ii) *ksali* *élekkoṛya* *mwaná* *klálo*

    K   SM3sg-PST1-OM7≠cook-APPL-F CPx1-child CPx7-food

iii) *ksali* *élem'kikoṛya*

    K   SM3sg-PST1-OM1-OM7≠cook-APPL-F

iv) *ksali* *élekim'koṛya*

    K   SM3sg-PST1-OM7-OM1≠cook-APPL-F

Cf. See also the example in P045

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

V. yes

i) *élekfúlya* *m'toní* *samáki*

    e-le-ku≠ful-i-a   m'-to-ini   Ø-samaki

    SM3sg-PST1-OM17≠fish(v.t.)-F CPx3-river-LOC CPx9-fish

    'S/he caught a fish in the river'

ii) *éleandikya kákálámú* *barúa* (tone should be reconfirmed)

    e-le≠andik-i-a#ka-Ø-kalamu   Ø-barua

    SM3sg-PST1≠write-APPL-F#CPx12-CPx9-pen CPx9-letter

    'S/he wrote a letter with a small pen (cited in P045)'

N. As shown in the examples, besides benefactive, at least instrumental and locative NPs are expressed in applicative constructions (as an applied object) and other semantic roles (e.g. 'reason' etc.) can also be expressed in applicative.

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

V. null

N. There may be verbal forms which seem to have, at least segmentally, two applicative suffixes. However, even in these cases, the first one may well be interpreted as part of a lexical stem, i.e. it doesn't seem that the two suffixes are productively used with both having a different (grammatical) function.

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

V. 1 yes, the suffix -ik- or similar form

samaki   yí   ĩlika

Ø-samaki yi   i-Ø≠li-ik-a

CPx9-fish DEM.N.9 SM9-PRS≠eat-NEUT-F

'This fish is edible'

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

V. 2 the order reflects the order of the derivation

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

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

V. 4 multiple strategies

i) *usoma   ktabú   ku*

   u-Ø≠som-a   ki-tabu   ku

   SM2sg-PRS≠read-F   CPx7-book   NEG

   'You don't read a book'

Cf. *úsoma   ktábu*

   u-Ø≠som-a   ki-tabu

   SM2sg-PRS≠read-F   CPx7-book

   'You read a book'

ii) *utáendé*

   u-ta≠end-e

   SM2sg-NEG.SUBJ≠go-SUBJ

   'You shall not go/ Don't go'

Cf. *úendé*

   u≠end-e

   SM2sg≠go-SUBJ

   'You shall go/ Please go'

iii) *utedishá*

   u-te≠dish-a

   SM2sg-NEG.SUB≠run-F

   'If you don't/wouldn't run'

Cf. *ukádishá*

    u-ka≠dish-a

    SM2sg-COND≠run-F

    'If you run'

N. As shown in the examples, there are three syntactic and morphological means for negative expression; i) negative particle *ku*, which is used with default indicative forms, ii) negative prefix *ta-*, which is used in Subjunctives, and iii) negative prefix *te-*, which is used with conditional (its affirmative counterpart is expressed by prefix *ka-*), counterfactual (*ve-* in affirmative) and relative clauses. Besides these markers, all the negative verb forms are marked tonally as well. Generally saying, affirmative verb forms normally have an initial high tone as a shifted realization of a lexical high tone assigned to the pre-initial focus marker *ni-* (but in most cases *ni-* itself is disappeared segmentally and only the high tone remains). In negative sentences, basically this high tone is not appeared (this can be called Negative Tone Pattern, NTP).

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

V. 4 multiple strategies

utedishá

u-te≠dish-a

SM2sg-NEG.SUB≠run-F

'If you don't/wouldn't run'

Cf. *ukádishá*

    u-ka≠dish-a

    SM2sg-COND≠run-F

    'If you run (cited in (51))'

N. See the note in P049

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

V. 1 yes, as in dependent tenses

i) *ktabú*   *ambakyó*   *ĕteléng'ólya*

   ki-tabu   amba-kyo   e-te-le-ng'≠ol-i-a

   CPx7-book   RELS-RSx7   SM3sg-NEG.SUB-PST1-OM1sg≠buy-APPL-F

   'The book which s/he didn't buy for me'

ii) *ktabú*   *eteleng'ólya*

   ki-tabu   e-te-le-ng' ≠ólya

   CPx7-book   SM3sg-NEG.SUB-PST1-OM1sg≠buy-APPL-F

   'The book which s/he didn't buy for me'

N. Negative in the relative clause can be expressed in two ways; i) *amba* marking with affirmative tone pattern, ii) *amba*-less with NTP. In both cases morphological marker of negation is *te*-, which is shared by conditional and counter-factual clauses (see P049), which are regarded as dependent clauses. However, it is not sure at all whether this negative marking pattern (i.e., *te*- + NTP) is shared by subordinate constructions in general. It would be safe to say that negative in relative clauses share the same pattern with conditional and counter-factual clauses which are usually irrelevant to sentential assertion, i.e. lacking assertion contrast (cf. Dalgish 1979: 53).

Cf. Dalgish, G. M. 1979. The syntax and semantics of the morpheme ni in KiVunjo (Chaga), In: *Studies in African Linguistics* 10(1): 47–63.

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

V. 8 two (or more) of the strategies above

See P049

N. see P049

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

V. 9 two (or more) of the strategies above

See P050 and P051

N. See P050 and P051

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

V. 3 obligatory double marking in the clause (including tone marking)

See P049

N. See P049

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

V. 3 obligatory double marking in the clause (including tone marking)

See P050 and P051

N. See P050 and P051

P056 Independent negative particle: Is there an independent negative particle used to express negation?

V. 1 yes, it is obligatorily present in addition to verb marking (including tone)

See P049

N. See P049

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

V. no

i) *ngisómá*   *ku*   vs.   *ngísoma*

ngi-Ø≠som-a   ku   ngi-Ø≠som-a

SM1sg-PRS≠read-F   NEG   SM1sg-PRS≠read-F

'I don't read'   'I read'

ii) *ngitáendé*   vs.   *ngíendé*

ngi-ta≠end-e   ngi≠end-e

SM1sg-NEG.SUBJ≠go-SUBJ   SM1sg≠go-SUBJ

'I shall not go'   'Let me go'

N. There is nothing to be regarded as a negative subject prefix not only in 1sg but in other person-number combinations or classes.

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

V. no

i) *u-tá≠⁺sh-é*

SM.2sg-NEG.SUBJ≠'come'-SUBJ

'Do not come!'

ii) *mu-tá≠⁺sh-é*

SM.2pl-NEG.SUBJ≠'come'-SUBJ

'Do not come! (for plural addressee)'

P059 Periphrastic negation: Is negation in certain tense/aspect/moods expressed by means of a periphrastic form (e.g. making use of an auxiliary construction or a verb like 'refuse/deny' for instance)? (see (49))

V. no

See the examples in P049

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

V. yes

1sg: ***ngí**-shesha* 'I will come'

2sg: ***ú**-shesha* 'You [sg] will come'

3sg: *mwaná n-**ě**-shesha* 'A child will come'

1pl: ***dú**-shesha* 'We will come'

2pl: ***mú**-shesha* 'You [pl] will come'

3pl: *vaná **vě**-shesha* 'Children will come'

cl.3: *m'di **ú**-sheuwa* 'A tree will fall'

cl.4: *midi **í**-sheuwa* 'Trees will fall'

cl.5: *iwe **lí**-sheuwa* 'A stone will fall'

cl.6: *mawe **yá**-sheuwa* 'Stones will fall'

cl.7: *kióové **kí**-sheuwa* 'A mirror will fall'

cl.8: *fióové **fí**-sheuwa* 'Mirrors will fall'

cl.9: *shubá **í**-sheuwa* 'A bottle will fall'

cl.10: *shubá **sí**-sheuwa* 'Bottles will fall'

cl.11: *ubáó **ǔ**-sheuwa* 'A board will fall'

cl.12: *kambaka **ká**-sheuwa* 'A small cat will fall'

cl.13: *dumba **dú**-sheshafúka* 'Small rooms will get dirty'

cl.16: *handu **á**-sheshafúka* 'The (specific) place will get dirty'

cl.17: *kundu **kú**-sheshafúka* 'A (certain) place will get dirty'

P061 Animate agreement: Can animate nouns show subject agreement with class 1/2 regardless of class membership? (without class shift, e.g. the addition of a diminutive class)

V. no

i) *ikité   lǎuwa*

    i-kite   lĩ-a≠u-a

    CPx5-dog SM5-ANT≠fall-F

    'A dog has fallen down'

    *i-kite#n-a-a≠u-a

    CPx5-dog#FOC-SM1-ANT≠fall-F

ii) *kamwaná   kě̌ělya*

    ka-mw-ana   ka-i≠li-a

    CPx12-CPx1-child   SM12-PROGR≠cry-F

    'A small child is crying'

    *ka-mw-ana#n-e-i≠li-a

    CPx12-CPx1-child#FOC-SM1-PROGR≠cry-F

N. Verbs always concord with the inherent class of the subject NP irrespective of semantic distinction of animacy or human vs non-human.

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

V. no

See the examples in P060

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

V. no?

N. An honorific use of SM, let alone 2pl, is not confirmed.

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

V. 2 the verb always shows agreement with the whole noun phrase (this includes default agreement)

i) *mwaná   na   mbaká   vĕitemana*

mw-ana   na   m-baka   ve-i≠tem-an-a

CPx1-child   and   CPx9-cat   SM2-PROGR≠play-RECIP-F

'A child and a cat are playing together'

ii) *ikité   na   píkpíki   fígongana*

ikite   na   Ø-pikpiki   fi≠gong-an-a

CPx5-dog and   CPx9-motorbike   SM8≠crash-RECIP-F

'A dog and a motorbike crash'

iii) *pikpiki   ná   ikarí   fíkumbwa*

Ø-pikpiki   na   i-kari   fi≠kumb-w-a

CPx9-motorbike   and   CPx5-dog SM.8≠sell-PASS-F

'A motorbike and a car are sold'

N. It seems that there are certain agreement patterns of solution for subject coordination of different classes. If both nouns are animate, verbs take cl.2 agreement. While if either or both of nouns are inanimate, verbs take cl.8 agreement. When both are inanimate, cl.10 agreement is also allowed.

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

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

i) *ngílelólya*

ngi-le≠loli-a

SM1sg-PST1≠see-F

'I saw [near past]'

ii) *ngílolyé*

ngi≠loli-ie

SM1sg≠see-PST2

'I saw [far past]'

Cf. *ngívekúndí*

ngi-ve≠kund-i

SM1sg-PST.STAT≠love-STAT

'I loved/ I was in love/ I wanted [stative past]'

N. This language has a bipartite past system, where the prefix *le-* shows a relatively near (not necessarily hodiernal) past, while suffix *-ie* denotes relatively far past. In stative verbs, however, past tense has no internal distinction, i.e. there is only a single past marked by prefix *ve-*.

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

V. 3 future time is divided into three?

i) *ngiílolya*

    ngi-i≠loli-a

    SM1sg-PROGR≠see-F

    'I'm seeing / I'm going to see'

ii) *ngíshelolya*

    ngi-she≠loli-a

    SM1sg-CERT≠see-F

    'I'll see'

Cf. *ngiíshelolya*

    ngi-i-she≠loli-a

    SM1sg-PROGR-CERT≠see-F

    'I will definitely see'

iii) *ngeélolya*

    ngi-e≠loli-a

    SM1sg-FUT≠see-F

    'I will see (sometime later)'

N. A bit complicated situation is found in the tense categorization of future time reference. Example i), which is marked by the TAM prefix *i-*, shows that this form can be used as denoting a near future event, when it is used with a kind of atelic verbs or those with relatively stative aktionsart. However, when it is used with typical telic verbs, it denotes (present) progressive meaning. Hence, Nurse (2003) describes it as a present-as-future form. On the other hand, the TAM *she-*, which is grammaticalised from *sh-a* 'come', practically denotes a future time reference with any kind of verbs. However, the form is more like a modality marker than a tense marker that shows a degree of certainty on how probable the event will take place. This is also morphologically confirmed since the prefix is not placed in the slot for tense markers (where *i-* is placed) but in the following slot that is for more aspectual or modal markers. The last one, *e-*, is a genuine future marker in terms of meaning and morphological status, but this form is normally denotes far future events contrasted by near future which is shown by *she-*. Hence, the value can be changeable in terms of which criteria would be adopted. If one follows a strictly morphological criterion, this language has only one future marker (*e-*). If one takes a semantic criterion, i.e., allows any form with future time reference, the value would be 2 (*e-* and *she-*) or 3 (*e-*, *she-*, and *i-*).

Cf. Nurse, D. 2003. Tense and Aspect in Chaga, In: *Annual Publications in African Linguistics* 1: 69–90

P067 Suffix -ag-: Is there a tense/aspect (pre-final) suffix -ag- or a similar form used with an imperfective meaning (expressing for instance habituality/iterativity/pluractionality/intensity)?

V. no

i) *ngyelólya*

ngi-ê≠loli-a

SM1sg-HAB≠see-F

'I see [habitual]'

Cf. *ngeélolya*

ngi-e≠loli-a

SM1sg-FUT≠see-F

'I will see (sometime later)' (cited in P066)

ii) *ngiíshelolya*

ngi-i-she≠loli-a

SM1sg-PROGR-CERT≠see-F

'I will definitely see (cited in P066)'

N. In Kilimanjaro (Chaga) languages, as Philippson and Montlahuc (2003) noted, descendant forms of *-*ag* are only attested in Western languages. Rombo, along with Central languages, doesn't have a relic of *-*ag*. Habitual, as one of the typical grammatical notions which *-*ag* possibly covered in the past, is shown by a prefix *e*-, which is segmentally the same as far future marker but is structurally placed in a different slot (see the above example). Modal intensity, as another notion that *-*ag* may have denoted, is shown by *she*- which is a grammaticalized form originated from *sh-a* 'come' (more precisely it denotes modal certainty, see also notes and examples in P066).

Cf. Philippson, G. and M-L Montlahuc. 2003. Kilimanjaro Bantu (E60 and E74), In: Nurse, D. and G. Philippson (eds.) *The Bantu Languages*, London: Routledge, pp. 475–500

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

V. yes

i) *ngílolyé*

ngi≠loli-ie

SM1sg≠see-PST2

'I saw [far past]'

ii) *ngívekúndi*

ngi-ve≠kund-i

SM1sg-PST.STAT≠love-STAT

'I loved/ I wanted [stative past] (cited in P065)'

N. There are two markers which are possibly originated from *-*ile*. One is a far past marker -*ie*, and the other is a stative marker -*i*. Examples of the latter form are also shown in P023.

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

V. 4 yes, with another form (or forms) in all contexts

i) *vélesha*   *ímwíra,*   *vekásihíṛya*

    ve-le≠sh-a   i-mw≠ir-a   ve-ka≠sihiṛi-a

    SM3pl-PST1≠come-F INF-OM3sg≠hold-F   SM3pl-CONS≠leave-F

    'They came to arrest him and they left'

ii) *ndém'l⁺áá*

    nde-m'≠la-a (*tentative analysis)

    ITV-OM3sg≠call-F

    'Go and call him/her (Sw. Nenda kamwite)'

iii) *ngiíndem'lolya*

    ngi-i-nde-m'≠loli-a

    SM1sg-PROGR-ITV-OM3sg≠see-F

    'I'll see him/her, I intend to see him/her, I'm gonna go to see him/her etc.'

N. This language has *ka-* prefix which shows an aspectual meaning of consecutive as in example i), but seemingly it is not used for denoting what can be called itive meaning ('to go and V'), which is typically expressed in *ka-* + subjunctive construction in Swahili. This kind of notions can be expressed in somewhat irregular construction *nde-* (OM-) ≠V where SM is apparently dropped, but the initial element is rather a modal marker grammaticalized from *end-a* 'go' than a verb stem itself, and OM can be inserted without an infinitive marker (i.e. it is not a verb serialization nor finite + infinite structure, but a single verbal unit as a whole). Most probably this construction originated from imperative + infinitive construction, i.e., *end-a* ('go') + *i* (INF)-OM≠ V, where the initial verb stem was undergone phonetic attrition (*end-* to *nd-*) and *a+i* was fused into *e*. The last example that contains a modal marker *nde-* can be most suitable to be regarded as motional and directional (but not so much aspectual) itive meaning.

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

V. no?

(see examples in P066)

N. There is a TAM marker *she-* grammaticalized from *sh-a* 'come', which, however, denotes rather a modal notion best described as 'certainty' (see P066) or even used for marking future time reference. Motional or directional ventive meaning would be expressed by an analytical form, which is segmentally only slightly different from *she-* forms. A hypothetical contrast can be illustrated as follows.

ngiíshem'lolya 'I will meet him/her (cited in (P066))'

vs.

ngiíshe   *(é)m'lolya*   [hypotheitcal, not yet confirmed]

ngi-i≠sha   i-m'≠loli-a

SM1sg-PROGR≠come   CPx5-OM3sg-see-F

'I'm coming to see him/her'

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

V. yes

i) *éndá*	ii) *sóma*	iii) *kúnda*
end-a	som-a	kund-a
go-F	read-F	love-F
'Go!'	'Read!'	'Love!'

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

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

i) *lá*	vs.	*lení*
l(i)-a		l(i)-eni
eat-F		eat-F.PL
'Eat!'		'Eat! (for plural addressees)'

ii) *sákwa*	vs.	*sakuení*
saku-a		saku-eni
watch-F		watch-F.PL
'Watch!'		'Watch! (for plural addressees)'

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

V. no

nameng'lolya

n-e͡-a-me-ng'≠loli-a

FOC-SM3sg-ANT-COMP-OM1sg≠see-F

'S/he has seen me/ has finished to see me'

N. As mentioned in Nurse (2003) among others, Kilimanjaro languages normally have multiple TAM slots and this language has three slots for TAM markers and at least two markers can structurally cooccur in a single verb form.

P074 Conjoint/disjoint: Does the language have a conjoint/disjoint distinction?

V. no

P075 Object marking: Are there object markers on the verb (excluding locative object markers, see parameters (12) & (13))?

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

ngíkkundí

ngí-Ø-ku≠kund-í

SM1sg-PRS-OM2sg≠love-STAT

'I love you'

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

V. 2 yes, in most contexts and the order is flexible

i) *élem'kikoṛya*

é-le-m'-ki≠koṛ-i-a

SM3sg-PST1-OM1sg-OM7≠cook-APPL-F

'S/he cooked it (cl.7) for him/her'

ii) *élekim'koṛya*

é-le-ki-m'≠koṛ-i-a

SM3sg-PST1-OM7-OM1sg≠cook-APPL-F

'S/he cooked it (cl.7) for him/her'

N. Seemingly there is no morphosyntactic restriction on the order of OMs. However, according to responses from some consultants, there may be a certain morpho-phonological restrictions. More investigation needed.

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

V. 2 yes, by another form

ngíkkundí

ngí-Ø-ku≠kund-í

SM1sg-PRS-REFL≠love-STAT

'I love myself (see also P075)'

N. A reflexive marker of this language is, as in many other Kilimanjaro languages, *kú-* which tonally contrasts with OM2sg *ku-*. However, because of a rather strong devoicing rule in this language, the formal distinction between the two is highly obscured.

P078 Object doubling: Can the object marker and the post-verbal lexical object noun phrase co-occur in the same domain? (excluding 'afterthought' constructions)

V. 1 yes, co-occurrence is possible/optional

i) *ndí*   *yakwa*   *néleng'lia*   *klaló*

N-di   i-akwa   n-e-le-ng'≠li-i-a   ki-lalo

CPx9-father   PPx.9-POSS.1sg   FOC-SM3sg-PST1-OM1sg≠eat-APPL-F CPx7-food

'My father ate food on behalf of me'

ii) *ndí*   yakwa   néleklia   klaló

N-di   i-akwa   n-e-le-ng'≠li-i-a   ki-lalo

CPx9-father   PPx.9-POSS.1sg   FOC-SM3sg-PST1-OM7≠eat-APPL-F   CPx7-food

N. Seemingly cooccurrence of an OM and its corresponding NP is principally avoided.

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

V. yes

boṛá usomé

boṛa u≠som-e

better SM2sg≠read-SUBJ

'You'd better read/study'

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

V. no

See the examples in P049

N. There are several negative marking devices including both segmental (particle *ku*, prefix *ta-* for subjunctive, and prefix *te-* in out-of-assertion-scope clauses) and tonal (NTP) means, but the final vowel is irrelevant to negative marking. See also the note in P054.

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

V. 3 both1 yes, loan words and 2 yes, a subset of (non-borrowed) verbs, such as 'know' or 'say'

i) *ngíishí*

ngi-Ø≠ishi

SM1sg-PRS≠know

'I know'

ii) *ngíveíshi ~ ngíveishí*

ngi-ve≠ishi

SM1sg-PST.STAT≠know

'I knew'

iii) *muré   umbé   nyingi*

mu-Ø≠ré   umbe   ng'-ingi

SM2pl-PRS≠have   9.cow   APx9-many

'You [pl] have many cows'

iv) *múveré   umbé nyingi*

mu-ve≠re   umbe ng'-ingi

SM2pl-PST.STAT≠have 9.cow APx9-many

'You [pl] had many cows'

N. There are few so-called deficient verbs and *-ishi* 'know' is one of the typical examples. Synchronically, *-re* 'have' can also be included in this category but seemingly it is (at least historically) a shortened form of *r* ('hold') *-ie* (ANT/STAT). Both of them follow the same conjugation paradigm for stative verbs (inflected by a final vowel *-i*), for which see P037.

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

V. no

i) *ngílekolya*   *ngiíandika*   *báṛúa*

   ngi-le≠koli-a   ngi-i≠andik-a   Ø-baṛua

   SM1sg-PST1≠get-F   SM1sg-PROGR≠write-F CPx9-letter

   'I have been writing a letter'

ii) *ngíshekolya*   *ngiíandika*   *báṛúa*

   ngi-she≠koli-a   ngi-i≠andik-a   Ø-baṛua

   SM1sg-CERT≠get-F   SM1sg-PROGR≠write-F CPx9-letter

   'I will be writing a letter'

N. What is attested as a tense-marking Aux, which serves merely as a career of a tense marker, is *kolya*, whose lexical meaning is 'get (find?)'. It is used in past/future progressive and past/future perfect forms.

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

V. no

See the examples in P082

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

V. null

P085 Auxiliary semantics: Are there auxiliaries which express semantic notions beyond tense/aspect? (i.e. notions which are often expressed by adverbs in European languages, like manner such as 'quickly')

V. null

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

V. null

N. Any usage of copula as an Aux has not been attested so far.

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

V. yes

i) *m'sangi*   *ú⁺lá*   *eledusaidya*

   m'-sangi   u-la   e-le-du≠saidi-a

   CPx1-youth   PPx1-DEM.F SM1-PST1-OM1pl≠help-F

   'That young man who helped us'

ii) *m'sangi   ú⁺lá   ambayé   ĕledusaidya*

    m'-sangi   u-la   amba-ye   e-le-du≠saidi-a

    CPx1-youth   PPx1-DEM.F REL-AG1   SM1-PST1-OM1pl≠help-F

    'That young man who helped us'

Cf. *ĕledusaidya*

    e-le-du≠saidi-a

    SM1-PST1-OM1pl≠help-F

    'S/he helped us'

N. There are two types of relative clauses, i.e., *amba* relative and *amba*-less relative. In *amba* relative, verb forms are structurally the same as those in corresponding independent clauses (ii), while in *amba*-less relative (i), verbal forms are undergone tonal modification, i.e. deletion of initial high tone which is referred to as NTP (see P049). Note also that a far demonstrative pronoun (PPx-*le*) is usually used like a relative marker, but it is not structurally obligatory.

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

V. yes

m'sangi   ú⁺lá   ambayé   ĕledusaidya

m'-sangi   u-la   amba-ye   e-le-du≠saidi-a

CPx1-youth   PPx1-DEM.F REL.1   SM1-PST1-OM1pl≠help-F

'That young man who helped us' (cited in P087)

N. The independent relative marker (with class agreement) *amba* is attested in this language (probably a structural borrowing from Swahili). As noted in P087, though it frequently appears immediately after an antecedent NP, a demonstrative pronoun (Far) is not structurally necessary.

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

V. yes

See the examples in P087

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

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

See the examples in P087

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

V. 2 the subject

See the examples in P087

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

V. null

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

V. null

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

V. n.a.

lí	*duéshika*	*kᐟáá*
li	du-e≠shik-a	Ø-ᐟkáá
when	SM1pl-FUT2≠arrive-F	CPx9-home

'When/Till we get home'

N. Headless relative clauses are not attested and most probably structurally impossible, because this language has no verb-internal relative marker that shows noun class agreement with a head noun. The form *li* in the above example may be regarded as grammaticalised from a pronominal element of cl.5.

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

V. null

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

V. null

See the examples in P052 and P087

N. Though not thoroughly confirmed, it seems there is no tense restriction in relative clauses at least structurally (see also P087).

P097 Clefts: How are clefts formed?

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

i)	*ni*	*waná*	*alewaólya*	*māṛū*
	ni	wa-ana	a-le-wa≠ol-i-a	ma-ṛu
	COP	CPx2-child	SM1-PST1-OM2≠buy-APPL-F	CPx6-banana

'It is for a/the child whom s/he bought bananas'

ii) *ni*   *waná*   *ắlewaólya*   *mā̰rū*

    ni   wa-ana   a-le-wa≠ol-i-a   ma-ṛu

    FOC   CPx2-child   SM1-PST1-OM2≠buy-APPL-F   CPx6-banana

    'For *a/the child*, s/he bought bananas'

N. The basic structure of cleft construction is *ni* + head noun + relative verb form, which lacks the initial high tone assigned to declarative main verbs, as illustrated in the first example. On the other hand, if the initial high tone is realized on the verb, it should be regarded as a focus construction, i.e., *ni* can be regarded as a focus marker. See also the examples and notes in Ps related to relative constructions.

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

V. null

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

V. null

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

V. 6 difficult to distinguish a dominant strategy

i) *úamba*   *kyo*   *íki*

    u≠amb-a   kĩ-o   iki

    SM2sg≠say-F CPx7-DEM.M what

    'What do you say?'

ii) *úenda*   *kú*

    u≠end-a   ku

    SM2sg≠go-F where

    'Where do you go?'

N. Wh-elements can be either realized in situ or left dislocated with the focus marker *ni-*.

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

V. null

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

V. 1 an invariable copula only

ve	*ní*	*mwanafúnsi*
ve	ni	mw-anafunsi
INDPRO3sg	COP	student

'S/he is a student'

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

V. 1 of the shape ni (or similar)

Cf. i)
níanyí	*ni*	*mwanafúńsí*	*ku*
nianyi	ni	mwanafunsi	ku
INDPRO1sg	COP	student	NEG

'I'm not a student'

ii)
váavé	*ni*	*mwanafúńsí*	*ku*
vaave	ni	mwanafunsi	ku
INDPRO2sg	COP	student	NEG

'You [sg] are not a student'

iii)
níanyí	*ngi*	*mwanafúńsí*	*ku*
nianyi	ngi	mwanafunsi	ku
INDPRO1sg	SM1sg	student	NEG

'I'm not a student'

iv)
váavé	*u*	*mwanafúńsí*	*ku*
vaave	u	mwanafunsi	ku
INDPRO2sg	SM2sg	student	NEG

'You [sg] are not a student'

N. In affirmative, *ni* is the only copula form in this language. This form is also used in negative sentences (negation is marked by sentence final particle *ku*). Although this language doesn't have what can be called as a negative copula (though its presence is also attested in some dialects), only 1sg and 2sg SMs are used as a copula limitedly in negative sentences.

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

V. null

N. Copula *ni* (or its weakened form) is also used as a focus/assertion marker not only in this language but also in other Kilimanjaro languages.

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

V. 3 a lexical verb only

i)   *vé*   *nĕre*   *kálam*

     ve   n-e≠re   Ø-kalam

     INDPRO3sg   FOC-SM3sg≠have   CPx9-pen

     'S/he has a pen'

ii)   *vé*   *nĕveré*   *ĭshamba*

     ve   n-e-ve≠re   i-shamba

     INDPRO3sg   FOC-SM3sg-PST.STAT≠have   CPx5-farm

     'S/he had a large farm'

iii) *vé*   *nĕshere*   *vaná*

     ve   n-e-she≠re   va-ana

     INDPRO3sg   FOC-SM3sg-CERT≠have   CPx2-child

     'S/he will have children'

N. Possession is consistently expressed by a predicate *re*, which can be morphologically analyzed as the verb stem 'hold' and a (historical) stative suffix *-ie* (*-ide).

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

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

V. yes

i)   *ksali*   *élekoṛya*   *mwaná*   *klálo*

     ksali   e-le-m'≠koṛ-i-a   mw-ana   ki-lalo

     Kisali   SM3sg-PST1-OM3sg≠cook-APPL-F   CPx1-child   CPx7-food

     'Kisali cooked food for a child'

ii)   *ksali*   *élekoṛya*   *klaló*   *mwána*

     'Kisali cooked food for a child'

P110 Object marking in ditransitives: In double object constructions, can either object be expressed by an object marker, independently of the other object?

V. yes

i) *kakalamu*   *káleandikiwa*   *bárúá*   *na ksáli*

    ka-Ø-kalamu   ka-le≠andik-i-w-a   Ø-barua   na kisáli

    CPx12-CPx9-pen SM12-PST1≠write-APPL-PASS-F   CPx9-letter   by Kisali

    'A small/useless pen was used to write a letter by Kisali'

ii) *barua*   *íleandikiwa*   *kákálámú*   *na ksáli*

    Ø-barua   i-le≠andik-i-w-a   ka-Ø-kalamu   na ksali

    CPx9-letter   SM9-PST1≠write-APPL-PASS-F   CPx12-CPx9-pen by Kisali

    'A letter was written with a small/useless pen by Kisali'

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

V. yes

See the examples in P060

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

V. 2 Dem-Noun order is attested

See the examples in P042

N. Functional difference between Noun-Dem and Dem-Noun should be further investigated.

P113 Quant-Noun: Is there a prenominal quantifier?

V. null

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

V. null

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

V. yes

nikoláúsí   *ǎlekába*   *umbe*

nikolausi   a-le≠kab-a   umbe

P.N.   SM1-PST1≠hit-F   9.cow

'Nicolaus hit a cow'

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

V. no

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

V. yes

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

V. no*

i) *nkyo*   *íki*   *láswaí alelólya*

    ni=ki=o   iki   laswai a-le≠loli-a

    FOC=PPx7=DEM.M DEM.N7   P.N.   SM1-PST1≠see-F

    'What did Laswai see?'

ii) *laswaí nǎlelolya*   *kjó*   *iki*

    laswai ni=a-le≠loli-a   ki=o   iki

    P.N.   FOC=SM1-PST1≠see-F PPx7=DEM.M   DEM.N7

N. Focus marking of this language, be it term focus or predicate focus, is basically not achieved by word order but through proclicitization of *ni*, which is homophonic with identificational copula. As in (i), any focused NP is marked by the proclitic and dislocated to the clause initial position. However, as in (ii), object question words can be in situ without *ni* marking, which suggests IAV can be regarded as a default focus position at least under some specific conditions. More investigation needed.

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

V. null

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

V. null

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

V. null probably 1 yes, and the verb agrees with the postverbal subject

P122 Locative inversion: Is locative inversion attested?

V. null

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

V. null

P124 Instrument inversion: Is instrument inversion attested?

V. null

P125 Conjunction 'and': Is the conjunction 'and' used in coordinated nouns (or noun phrases) the same as the one used in coordinated clauses?

(tone omitted)

i) *ifuve*   *na*   *ikite*   *vevei*   *maṛafiki*

i-fuve   na   i-kite   ve-ve≠i   ma-ṛafiki

CPx5-baboon and   CPx5-dog SM2-PST.STAT≠EXT   CPx6-friend

vaduve   *sana*

va-duve   sana

APx2-big   very

'Baboon and Dog were very good friends'

ii) *findo*   *fya*   *ifuve*   *fivei*   *fya*

fi-ndo   fi-a   i-fuve   fi-ve≠i   fi-a

CPx8-entity   PPx8-ASSC   CPx5-baboon   SM8-PST.STAT≠EXT   PPx8-ASSC

ikite   *na fya*   *ikite*   *fivei*   *fya*   *ifuve*

i-kite   na fi-a   i-kite   fi-ve≠i   fi-a   i-fuve

CPx5-dog andPPx8-ASSC   CPx5-dog SM8-PST.STAT≠EXT   PPx8-ASSC   CPx5-baboon

'Everything Baboon's was shared with Dog and everything Dog's was shared with Baboon'

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

V. yes

vélesha   *ímwíra,*   *vekásihíṛya*

ve-le≠sh-a   i-mw≠ir-a   ve-ka≠sihiṛi-a

SM3pl-PST1≠come-F CPx5-OM3sg≠hold-F SM3pl-CONS≠leave-F

'They came to arrest him and they left (cited in P069)'

N. Consecutive is marked by the prefix *ka-* (see P069).

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

V. null

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

V. null

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

V. null

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

V. null

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

V. 3 both 1 (only by means of a conjunction semantically equivalent to English 'if') and 2 (only by means of a specific tense/aspect/mood) are possible, but not in the same clause

ukádishá

u-ka≠dish-a

SM2sg-COND≠run-F

If you run (cited in (51))

N. Conditional is morphologically marked by the verbal prefix *ka-*. There is also the conjunction form
  kolia 'if', which can be used with the form to enforce that the clause is conditional.

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

V. yes

ukádishá,   *ikité*   *lééíkdishíṛa*

u-ka≠dish-a   i-kite   li-e-ku≠dish-íṛ-i-a

SM2sg-COND≠run-F CPx5-dog SM5-FUT2-OM2sg≠run-CAUS-APPL-F

'If you run (off from a dog), a dog will chase you'

N. Ungrammaticality of the opposite order is not confirmed.

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

V. no

See the example in P132

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

V. no?

duvei   *vákúlímá*

du-ve≠i   va-kulima

SM1pl-CF≠EXT1 CPx2-farmer

'If we had been farmers,'

dúveakolyá   *mashamba*   *madúve*

dú-ve-a≠koli-a   ma-shamba   ma-duve

SM1pl-CF-OM6≠get-F   CPx6-farm   APx6-big

'we would have had big farms'

N. It seems no formal difference between hypothetical and counterfactual clauses (the example above is elicited as a counterfactual clause), where a verbal prefix *ve-*, which is segmentally identical to Stative Past, is inserted in both clauses.

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

V. 1 by the use of a specific adverbial conjunction *

lí	*duéshika*	ꜜ*káá*
li	du-e≠shik-a	Ø-ꜜkáá
when	SM1pl-FUT2≠arrive-F	CPx9-home

'When/Till we get home

N. More extensive data are needed.

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

V. null

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

V. null

P138 SM in non-finite clauses: Can non-finite clauses have an overt subject? (For John to eat cookies is fun / John eating cookies is fun / people to play football is annoying)

V. no

P139 Verb inflection in raising constructions: In raising constructions, can the raising verb (i.e. in the upper clause) and the main verb (in the lower clause) both be inflected?

V. null

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

V. yes

ẉwaná	*ǎlewaólya*	*māṛū*
ni=wa-ana	a-le-wa≠ol-i-a	ma-ṛu
FOC=CPx2-child	SM1-PST1-OM2-buy-APPL-F	CPx.6-banana

'S/he bought *(the) children* bananas

N. Apparently *ni-*, a cognate with COP, or a high tone shifted from it (and the *ni-* itself is segmentally obscured) functions as a focus marker (cf. Moshi (1988) in Vunjo, among others), but more precisely it can be regarded as an assertion marker (cf. Dalgish (1979)).

Cf. Dalgish, G. M. 1979. The syntax and semantics of the morpheme ni in KiVunjo (Chaga), In: *Studies in African Linguistics* 10(1): 47–63

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

V. null

P142 Subject focalisation: Are the strategies available for questioning or focusing subjects different from those available for other constituents? (e.g. subjects have to be clefted and cannot be questioned in situ)

V. no