

Parameters of Bantu Morphosyntactic Variation

Draft Master List

Guérois, Rozenn, Hannah Gibson, and Lutz Marten. 2017. Parameters of Bantu morphosyntactic variation: Draft master list. Alpha version, last amended 28 Dec 2017. Leverhulme Project ‘Morphosyntactic Variation in Bantu: Typology, contact and change’. SOAS, University of London. (Financial support from the Leverhulme Trust for research grant RPG-2014-208 is hereby gratefully acknowledged.)

1 Nouns and pronouns

1. Shape of the augment: What is the shape of the augment?
 - null unknown
 - no there is no augment in the language
 - 1 V shape only
 - 2 V and CV shape
 - 3 the augment is expressed only tonally
2. Function of the augment: Does the augment fulfill a specific grammatical function?
 - null unknown
 - n.a. there is no augment in the language
 - no the augment is always present or its presence is phonologically determined (e.g. for reasons of phonological weight)
 - yes the presence/absence is related to grammatical (e.g. semantic/syntactic/pragmatic) meaning
3. Shape of class 5: What is the shape of the class 5 nominal prefix?
 - null unknown
 - n.a. there is no class 5 in the language
 - 1 it is always zero-marked
 - 2 V shape, possibly alternating with zero-marking
 - 3 CV shape, possibly alternating with zero-marking
 - 4 both V and CV shape are found
4. Number of noun classes: How many noun classes are there (including locative classes)?
 - null unknown
 - n.a. the language has completely lost its noun class system
 - ... state the number and give examples for each class
5. Class for infinitive: Does the infinitive take a noun class prefix?
 - null unknown
 - n.a. there is no infinitive as such
 - no the infinitive is marked in another way (e.g. through tonal marking)
 - yes specify which noun class(es)

6. Class for diminutive: Is diminutive meaning expressed through the use of noun classes?
 - null unknown
 - no another strategy is used
 - yes give examples
7. Class for augmentative: Is augmentative meaning expressed through the use of noun classes?
 - null unknown
 - no another strategy is used
 - yes
8. 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)?
 - null unknown
 - n.a. there is no noun class prefix in the language
 - no
 - yes
9. Locative class prefixation: Can a noun take a locative class prefix?
 - null unknown
 - no another strategy is used, either locative suffixation (10) or prepositional phrases
 - yes specify which locative prefix(es) can appear on nouns
10. Locative nominal suffixation: Can a noun take a locative suffix?
 - null unknown
 - no another strategy is used, either locative prefixation (9) or prepositional phrases
 - yes
11. Locative subject markers: Are there locative subject markers on the verb?
 - null unknown
 - n.a. there is no subject marking on the verb in the language
 - no there is subject marking, but not with locative classes
 - yes specify in which class(es) these occur
12. Locative object markers: Are there locative pre-stem object markers on the verb?
 - null unknown
 - n.a. there is no object prefixation on the verb in the language
 - no there is object prefixation, but not with locative classes (give examples showing ungrammaticality)
 - yes specify in which class(es) these occur
13. Locative verbal enclitics: Are there locative post-verbal clitics?
 - null unknown
 - no such clitics do not exist in the language
 - yes specify in which class(es) these occur
14. Independent subject pronouns: Are independent subject pronouns obligatory?
 - null unknown
 - n.a. there are no personal pronouns in the language
 - no specify which function(s) these assume (e.g. contrast, focus or emphasis)
 - yes personal pronouns are obligatory

2 Noun modifiers

15. Connective constructions: Is the order of connective constructions always head - connective - modifier?
 - null unknown
 - n.a. there are no connective constructions in the language
 - no not in all contexts (e.g. modifier-connective-head in qualifying constructions)
 - yes in all contexts (e.g. genitive as well as qualifying constructions)

16. Possessive pronouns: Are there distinct possessive pronominal forms for all noun classes and all speech act participants?
 null unknown
 n.a. there are no possessive pronouns (e.g. only connective constructions?)
 no only for speech act participants
 yes
17. Possessive pronoun agreement: Do the possessive pronouns agree in noun class with the possessed?
 null unknown
 n.a. there are no possessive pronouns (e.g. only connective constructions?)
 no
 yes (if there are exceptions to this, please provide examples)
18. Kinds of possession: Are there specific possessive pronominal forms for different kinds of possession?
 null unknown
 n.a. there are no possessive pronouns (e.g. only connective constructions?)
 no possessive pronouns do not display variation
 yes specify which kind(s) of possession (inalienable / kinship terms / “community”)
19. Possessor raising: Is possessor raising possible?
 null unknown
 no the possessor is expressed only through a modifying possessive pronoun
 1 yes, and it is unrestricted
 2 yes, with inalienable possession only
 3 yes, with inalienable and alienable possession (possibly including applicative marking for alienable possession)
20. Demonstrative morphology: Are there morphological divisions in the system of demonstratives? (e.g. in terms of spatial and temporal deixis and/or visibility)
 null unknown
 no no distinction
 1 yes, there is a two-way distinction
 2 yes, there is a three-way distinction
 3 yes, there is a four-way distinction
 4 yes, there is a five-way (or more) distinction
21. Demonstrative agreement: Do the demonstratives agree in noun class with the head noun?
 null unknown
 no demonstratives are invariable
 1 yes, always
 2 yes, but with exceptions
22. Functions of demonstratives: In addition to spatial-deictic functions, do the demonstrative pronouns assume other functions?
 null unknown
 no only spatial-deictic functions
 yes specify which function(s) (e.g. discursive connector, preposition, relativiser, copula/cleft)
23. Lexical adjectives: Are there lexical adjectives? (i.e. which are not syntactically complex)
 null unknown
 no qualification is expressed using another strategy
 yes if possible, give an exhaustive list
24. Adnominal concord prefixes: Are there different forms/paradigms for adnominal concord prefixes?
 null unknown
 n.a. modifiers do not agree with the head noun
 no there is only one paradigm which applies for adjectives, numerals, and all pronominal forms
 yes different concord prefixes apply depending on the type of modifier

25. Attributive linkers: Are there attributive linkers which are used to introduce adjectives?
- null unknown
 - n.a. there are no lexical adjectives in the language
 - no another strategy is used to introduce adjectives
 - yes specify whether these linkers are optional or obligatory

3 Nominal derivation

26. *-*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)?
- null unknown
 - no such compounding is not attested
 - yes specify which functions are covered
27. 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* ?)
- null unknown
 - no such compounding is not attested
 - 1 yes, for diminutive meaning only
 - 2 yes, for feminine/augmentative/qualitative meanings only
 - 3 yes, all
28. 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)?
- null unknown
 - n.a. there is no agentive noun derivation in the language
 - no this derivational process is not attested in the language, but there are other suffixes (provide examples)
 - 1 yes, it is used productively (give examples attesting the derivational process)
 - 2 yes, but it is no longer productive (e.g. there might be frozen forms)
29. Derivational suffix *-o* : Does the suffixation of *-o* occur as a verb-to-noun derivational process (with sometimes the addition of the applicative extension)?
- null unknown
 - no this derivational process is not attested in the language
 - 1 yes, it is used productively (give examples attesting the derivational process)
 - 2 yes, but it is no longer productive (e.g. there might be frozen forms)

4 Lexicon

30. Cardinal numerals: Does the formation of cardinal numerals below ten obey a pattern?
- null unknown
 - no
 - 1 yes, it is based on 5 (e.g. 6=5+1)
 - 2 yes, it is based on different combinations (e.g. 3+3, 4+4)
 - 3 yes, it is based on another pattern
31. ‘arm’ and ‘hand’: Is there a single word that denotes both ‘arm’ and ‘hand’?
- null unknown
 - no two different words (provide the words for ‘arm’ and ‘hand’)
 - yes provide the word for ‘arm’ and ‘hand’
32. ‘hand’ and ‘finger’: Is there a single word that denotes both ‘hand’ and ‘finger’?
- null unknown
 - no two different words (provide the words for ‘hand’ and ‘finger’)
 - yes provide the word for ‘hand’ and ‘finger’

33. 'leg' and 'foot': Is there a single word that denotes both 'leg' and 'foot'?
- null unknown
 - no two different words (provide the words for 'leg' and 'foot')
 - yes provide the word for 'leg' and 'foot'
34. 'tea': Is the word for 'tea' similar to *cha*?
- null unknown
 - no provide the word for 'tea' (e.g. it is similar to *te*)
 - yes provide the word for 'tea'
35. 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)
- null unknown
 - no such qualities or states are expressed by means of another strategy (e.g. by lexical adjectives)
 - yes

5 Verbal derivation

36. Canonical passive: Is the canonical passive productively expressed through a verbal extension?
- null unknown
 - no another strategy is used to express passivisation, e.g. an impersonal construction
 - yes specify whether there is one or several possible forms
37. 'Impersonal' passive: Can passive meaning be expressed by the impersonal use of class 1 or 2 subject markers (so called '*ba*-passives')?
- null unknown
 - no 'impersonal' constructions are not typically used to express passives
 - 1 yes, using a class 2 SM, without the expression of an agent noun phrase
 - 2 yes, using a class 2 SM, with an optional agent noun phrase
 - 3 yes, using a class 1 SM, without the expression of an agent noun phrase
 - 4 yes, using a class 1 SM, with an optional agent noun phrase
38. Agent noun phrase: How is the agent noun phrase (when present) introduced?
- null unknown
 - no an agent noun phrase cannot be added to a passive construction (give exs showing ungrammaticality)
 - 1 by the comitative or instrumental (e.g. *na*)
 - 2 by class 17 locative morphology (e.g. *ku* or *kwa*)
 - 3 by another preposition
 - 4 by a copula
 - 5 there is no overt marker used to introduce the agent noun phrase
 - 6 using two (or more) of the above strategies
39. Bare agent: Can the preposition/copula which introduces the agent be omitted?
- null unknown
 - n.a. an agent noun phrase cannot be added to a passive construction or there is no agent marker
 - no its presence is always required
 - 1 yes, but in specific configuration(s) only (specify which one(s))
 - 2 yes, it is by default unmarked

40. Reciprocal: How is reciprocal meaning expressed?
- null unknown
 - 1 through the use of a verbal affix only
 - 2 through the use of a specific construction only (i.e. the use of personal pronouns)
 - 3 both 1 and 2
41. Other functions for *-an-*: Does the suffix *-an-* (or similar form) have functions other than reciprocal (e.g. antipassive function)?
- null unknown
 - n.a. there is no suffix *-an-* in the language
 - no the suffix *-an-* only has a reciprocal function
 - 1 yes, but these are lexicalised
 - 2 yes, productively
42. Causative: How is causative meaning expressed ?
- null unknown
 - 1 through the use of verbal affixation only
 - 2 through the use of a specific construction only (i.e. the use of a periphrastic construction)
 - 3 both 1 and 2
43. Instrumental causative: Can the causative extension be used to introduce prototypical instruments?
- null unknown
 - n.a. there is no causative suffix in the language
 - no prototypical instruments cannot be introduced by causative verbs
 - yes
44. Applicative: How are applicative constructions formed?
- null unknown
 - 1 through the use of a verbal affix only
 - 2 through the use of a specific construction only (i.e. the use of a preposition, verb serialisation, etc.)
 - 3 without morphological material
 - 4 two (or more) of the strategies above
45. Applicative functions: In addition to the benefactive meaning typically associated with the applicative complement, do applicative constructions convey other meanings?
- null unknown
 - no the applicative complement can only assume a benefactive meaning
 - yes specify which meaning(s)
46. Multiple applicative extensions: Can two (or more) applicative extensions be productively used in the same verb form?
- null unknown
 - n.a. there is no applicative suffix in the language
 - no no more than one applicative suffix can be attached to a verb
 - 1 yes, to express intensity, repetition, completeness
 - 2 yes, to allow the addition of an argument
 - 3 yes, for another use
 - 4 yes, for a combination of the above functions
47. Neuter/stative: Is there a productive neuter/stative extension?
- null unknown
 - no another strategy is used to express neuter/stative
 - 1 yes, the suffix *-ik-* or similar form
 - 2 yes, another form

48. Order of suffixes: Is there a specific order in which multiple productive verbal extensions typically appear?
- null unknown
 - n.a. it is not possible to have multiple verbal extensions
 - no there is no systematic fixed order (give examples of different orders)
 - 1 yes, causative-applicative-reciprocal-passive (CARP) order
 - 2 the order reflects the order of the derivation
 - 3 another order

6 Verbal inflection

49. Negation in independent tenses: What are the formal means of expressing negation in independent tenses?
- null unknown
 - 1 by morphological modification of the verb
 - 2 by a particle
 - 3 by a periphrastic construction
 - 4 multiple strategies
50. Negation in dependent tenses: What are the formal means of expressing negation in dependent tenses?
- null unknown
 - 1 by morphological modification of the verb
 - 2 by a particle
 - 3 by a periphrastic construction
 - 4 multiple strategies
51. Negation in relative clauses: Is negation in relative clauses expressed in the same way as in another clause type?
- null unknown
 - no relative clauses have a specific strategy to express negation
 - 1 yes, as in dependent tenses
 - 2 yes, as in independent tenses
 - 3 yes, as in both dependent and independent tenses (since no distinction)
 - 4 yes, either as in dependent tenses or independent tenses (two different strategies)
52. Place of negation in independent tenses: Where is negation expressed in independent tenses?
- null unknown
 - n.a. negation is achieved using a periphrastic construction
 - 1 in the pre-initial position only? (NEG-SM-...)
 - 2 in the post-initial position only? (SM-NEG-...)
 - 3 in the final vowel position of the inflected verb? (see parameter (80))
 - 4 in the post-final position of the inflected verb? (i.e. as an enclitic)
 - 5 two (or more) of the above (either 1 or 2 + 3)?
 - 6 in a pre-verbal independent negative particle only
 - 7 in a post-verbal independent negative particle only
 - 8 two (or more) of the strategies above
53. Place of negation in dependent tenses: Where is negation expressed in dependent tenses?
- null unknown
 - n.a. negation is achieved using a periphrastic construction
 - 1 in the pre-initial position only? (NEG-SM-...)
 - 2 in the post-initial position only? (SM-NEG-...)
 - 3 in the final vowel position of the inflected verb?
 - 4 in the post-final position of the inflected verb? (i.e. as an enclitic)
 - 5 two (or more) of the above (either 1 or 2 + 3)?
 - 6 in a pre-verbal independent negative particle only
 - 7 in a post-verbal independent negative particle only
 - 8 two (or more) of the strategies above

54. Number of negation markers in independent tenses: How many markers of negation are there in independent tenses?
- null unknown
 - n.a. there is no negation (or means to express negation) in the language
 - 1 a single marker in the clause
 - 2 optional double marking in the clause (including tone marking)
 - 3 obligatory double marking in the clause (including tone marking)
 - 4 optional triple marking in the clause
 - 5 obligatory triple marking in the clause
 - 6 it varies depending on the tense
55. Number of negation markers in dependent tenses: How many markers of negation are there in dependent tenses?
- null unknown
 - n.a. there is no negation (or means to express negation) in the language
 - 1 a single marker in the clause
 - 2 possible double marking in the clause (including tone marking)
 - 3 obligatory double marking in the clause (including tone marking)
 - 4 possible triple marking in the clause
 - 5 obligatory triple marking in the clause
 - 6 it varies depending on the tense
56. Independent negative particle: Is there an independent negative particle used to express negation?
- null unknown
 - n.a. there is no negation (or means to express negation) in the language
 - no not attested in the language
 - 1 yes, it is obligatorily present in addition to verb marking (including tone)
 - 2 yes, it is optionally present in addition to verb marking (including tone)
 - 3 yes, it is obligatorily present without any other verb marking
 - 4 yes, its presence varies depending on the tense
57. First person singular negative: Is there a specific first person singular negative subject prefix which is different from the affirmative one?
- null unknown
 - n.a. there is no negative prefix
 - no there is only one 1SG subject prefix used for both affirmative and negative verb forms
 - 1 yes, in all contexts (all tense/aspect/mood)
 - 2 yes, with exceptions (e.g. in specific tense/aspect/mood only)
58. Negative imperative: Is there a negative imperative which is formally distinct from the negative subjunctive?
- null unknown
 - n.a. there is no negation (or means to express negation) in the language
 - no
 - yes
59. 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)?
- null unknown
 - n.a. there is no negation (or means to express negation) in the language
 - no all tense/aspect/mood constructions are negated by a negative prefix and/or a negative particle
 - yes specify which tense/aspect/mood
60. Subject-verb agreement: Is there subject-verb agreement?
- null unknown
 - no there is no subject marking on the verb in the language
 - yes

61. Animate/human agreement: Can animate/human nouns show subject agreement with class 1/2 regardless of class membership? (without class shift, e.g. the addition of a diminutive class)
- null unknown
 - n.a. there is no subject marking on the verb anyway
 - no animate nouns trigger agreement with their inherent classes
 - 1 yes, without exception
 - 2 yes, in specific contexts (e.g. personification in a narrative, in semantic/pragmatic purposes)
62. 1st and 2nd person plurals : Are first person plural and second person plural subject prefixes identical?
- null unknown
 - n.a. there is no subject marking on the verb anyway
 - no first person plural and second person plural subject prefixes are formally distinct
 - yes
63. Honorific plural: Can plural persons be used to express a honorific singular?
- null unknown
 - n.a. there is no subject marking on the verb anyway
 - no
 - 1 second person plural subject marker
 - 2 class 2 morphology
 - 3 both 1 and 2 are attested
64. Coordinated nominals: What subject agreement does the verb show with coordinated nominals?
- null unknown
 - n.a. there is no subject marking on the verb in the language (60)
 - 1 such constructions are avoided
 - 2 the verb always shows agreement with the whole noun phrase (this includes default agreement)
 - 3 the verb may show partial agreement with only one of the coordinated nominals
65. Past time reference: How is past time reference formally divided?
- null unknown
 - n.a. there is no distinction between past and non-past in the language
 - 1 there is a distinction between past and non-past only
 - 2 past time is divided into two (e.g. hodiernal vs. pre-hodiernal, etc.)
 - 3 past time is divided into three
 - 4 past time has more than three subdivisions
66. Future time reference: How is future time reference formally divided?
- null unknown
 - n.a. there is no distinction between future and non-future in the language
 - 1 there is a formal distinction between future and non-future only
 - 2 future time is divided into two (e.g. hodiernal vs. post-hodiernal, etc.)
 - 3 future time is divided into three
 - 4 future time has more than three subdivisions
67. 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)?
- null unknown
 - no habituality/iterativity/pluractionality/intensity are expressed through another strategy
 - yes specify which meaning(s)
68. Suffix *-ile*: Is there a tense/aspect suffix *-ile* or a similar form (as a reflex of **-ide*)?
- null unknown
 - no indicate how perfect/perfective verb forms are formed
 - yes
69. Itive marker: Is there an itive motional/directional marker? (e.g. *ka-* prefix)
- null unknown
 - no indicate how expressions such as 'to go and V' are formed
 - 1 yes, with a *ka-* prefix in restricted contexts only (e.g. subjunctive)
 - 2 yes, with a *ka-* prefix in all contexts
 - 3 yes, with another form in restricted contexts only (e.g. subjunctive)
 - 4 yes, with another form (or forms) in all contexts

- 5 yes, different itive markers are attested depending on the context
70. Ventive marker: Is there a ventive motional/directional marker ('come and V')?
 null unknown
 no indicate how expressions like 'to come and V' are formed
 1 yes, in restricted contexts only (e.g. a particular tense/aspect)
 2 yes, in all contexts
71. Imperatives: Is the basic imperative formally identical to the verb stem (root-ext-FV)?
 null unknown
 no
 yes
72. Plural imperatives: Is there a singular/plural distinction in imperative verb forms?
 null unknown
 no give exs illustrating contexts which show the lack of a formal distinction
 1 yes, the plural is expressed by a post-verbal marker (suffix or enclitic)
 2 yes, the plural is expressed by substitution of the final vowel
 3 yes, the plural is expressed by the addition of a second person plural subject marker
 4 yes, several strategies are possible
73. TAM slots: In an inflected verb form, is preverbal marking of tense/aspect/mood typically restricted to one slot?
 null unknown
 n.a. there are no tense/aspect/mood prefixes in the language
 no there are two or more preverbal slots for tense/aspect/mood marking
 yes there is typically only one preverbal slot for tense/aspect/mood marking
74. Conjoint/disjoint: Does the language have a conjoint/disjoint distinction?
 null unknown
 no
 yes specify which tense-aspect-mood exhibit the distinction
75. Object marking: Are there object markers on the verb (excluding locative object markers)?
 null unknown
 no there is no slot for object marking in the language (i.e. only independent pronouns)
 1 yes, there are only pre-stem object markers
 2 yes, there are only post-stem object markers
 3 yes, there are both pre-stem and post-stem object markers
76. Multiple object marking: Is it possible to have more than one pre-stem object marker?
 null unknown
 n.a. there is no slot for object marking in the language
 no there is only one slot for pre-stem object marking
 1 yes, in most contexts and they must appear in a specific order
 2 yes, in most contexts and the order is flexible
 3 yes, but only in certain structural contexts and they must appear in a specific order
 4 yes, but only in certain structural contexts and the order is free
77. Reflexive: Is the reflexive expressed by a dedicated marker in a pre-stem slot on the verb?
 null unknown
 n.a. there is no pre-stem verbal slot in the language
 no there is no reflexive marker (but e.g. only independent reflexive pronoun, or use of an extension)
 1 yes, by a form similar to *-i-* (reflex of **yi*)
 2 yes, by another form

78. Object doubling: Can the object marker and the post-verbal lexical object noun phrase co-occur in the same domain? (excluding ‘afterthought’ constructions)
- null unknown
 - n.a. there is no slot for object marking in the language
 - no give examples illustrating the ungrammaticality of the co-occurrence of object marker and object NP
 - 1 yes, co-occurrence is possible/optional
 - 2 yes, co-occurrence is required in certain contexts
79. Subjunctive final *-e*: Is the subjunctive normally expressed by SM-stem-front vowel (*-e/-i*)? (with possible exceptions, such as loanwords)
- null unknown
 - no indicate how subjunctive verb forms are formed
 - yes
80. Negative final vowel: Is there a negative final vowel (e.g. *-i*, *-e*)?
- null unknown
 - no not used in any tense/aspect/mood construction
 - yes specify which tense/aspect/mood constructions
81. Defective verbs: Are there ‘defective verbs’ which do not exhibit regular inflection? (not including the copula *-li* or similar form)
- null unknown
 - no no evidence of defective verbs (give examples of loan words as well as verbs ‘know’ and ‘say’)
 - 1 yes, loan words
 - 2 yes, a subset of (non-borrowed) verbs, such as ‘know’ or ‘say’
 - 3 both
82. TAM and auxiliaries: Are there dedicated auxiliaries for different tense/aspect/moods?
- null unknown
 - n.a. there are no auxiliaries in the language
 - no all auxiliaries in the languages can be used with all tenses/aspects/moods
 - 1 yes, each auxiliary is used with a specific tense/aspect/mood
 - 2 yes, some auxiliaries are restricted to different tense/aspect/but not with a one-to-one match
83. Multiple auxiliaries: Can two (or more) auxiliaries co-occur with the same main verb form?
- null unknown
 - n.a. there are no auxiliaries in the language
 - no auxiliary constructions only allow one auxiliary
 - yes auxiliary constructions allow two (or more) auxiliaries
84. Agreement in complex constructions: In complex constructions, does the subject trigger agreement on both the auxiliary and the main verb?
- null unknown
 - n.a. there are no auxiliaries in the language
 - no agreement only on one form, most probably the auxiliary
 - 1 yes, agreement on both forms in all contexts
 - 2 it varies depending on TAM
85. 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’)
- null unknown
 - n.a. there are no auxiliaries in the language
 - no the auxiliaries are semantically restricted to tense/aspect
 - 1 yes, only in the domain of modality (ability, possibility, permission)
 - 2 yes, only in the domain of verbal aspect (quickly, suddenly, repeatedly)
 - 3 yes, both 1 and 2
86. Copula as auxiliary: Is the copula (*ni* or *-li* or similar forms) used as an auxiliary?
- null unknown
 - no if possible, provide an example illustrating ungrammaticality
 - yes

7 Relative clauses, clefts and questions

87. Verbal relative morphology: Are there relative forming strategies which employ verbal morphology?
 null unknown
 no relative verbs have no specific morphology, another strategy is used to express relativisation
 yes specify which type(s) of morphological marking applies on the verb (e.g. through a specific relative tense/aspect marker, tonal marking, a post-final clitic, etc.)
88. Nominal relative morphology: Are there relative strategies which employ a nominal relative marker?
 null unknown
 no there is no dedicated relative marker, or relativisation is only marked through verbal morphology
 yes specify which relative marker (e.g. by a form derived from a demonstrative marker or from a connective marker, or by another independent relative marker, etc.)
89. Relativisor agreement: When the relative marker is a separate word or a preverbal clitic, does it agree with the head noun?
 null unknown
 n.a. there is no dedicated relative marker, or relativisation is only marked through verbal morphology
 no the relative marker is invariable
 1 yes, there is only one type of separate word or preverbal clitic relativisor in the language which always shows agreement
 2 yes, there are several types of separate word or preverbal clitic relativisors, one of which always shows agreement
90. Subject-Relativisor: When the relative marker is a separate word, can it be preceded by the subject in non-subject relative clauses?
 null unknown
 n.a. there is no dedicated relative marker, or relativisation is only marked through verbal morphology
 no
 yes
91. Relative verb agreement: In non-subject relatives, what does the verb of the relative clause agree with?
 null unknown
 n.a. there is no agreement marking on the verb
 1 the head noun
 2 the subject
 3 there are several relativisation strategies, one of which shows agreement with the head noun, and one of which shows agreements with the subject.
92. Subject-Relative verb: In non-subject relatives, can the subject be preverbal?
 null unknown
 no illustrate the ungrammaticality of preverbal subject, and give examples with post-verbal subject
 yes
93. Resumptive pronouns in relatives: In non-subject relatives, is there a resumptive element referring to the head noun (through object marking or independent pronoun)?
 null unknown
 no if possible, provide ungrammatical examples
 1 yes, it is optional
 2 yes, it is always required
 3 yes, it is required in certain conditions (e.g. depending on the class, [+/- animate], etc)
94. Headless adverbial relatives: Can headless relatives be used as adverbial clauses, with, for instance, temporal ('when...'), locative ('where...'), or manner ('how...') meaning?
 null unknown
 n.a. there are no headless relatives in the language
 no add examples of other headless relatives and of ungrammatical adverbial ones
 yes give (all) possible meanings (temporal and/or locative and/or manner)

95. Gapless relatives: Are gapless relatives/noun-modifying clauses attested?
 null unknown
 no provide an example illustrating the ungrammaticality of this type of relative clauses
 yes
96. TAM and relatives: Can relative clauses express the full range of tense/aspect/mood distinctions found in main clauses?
 null unknown
 no show the ungrammaticality of certain tense/aspect/mood distinctions in relative clauses
 yes give examples of (all) the tense/aspect/mood distinctions found in main clauses and give a corresponding relative counterpart
97. Clefts: How are clefts formed?
 null unknown
 n.a. there are no cleft constructions in the language
 1 through the use of a segmentally expressed copula
 2 through modification of the noun (linked with the tonal/segmental augment)
 3 both strategies
98. Clefted word classes: In addition to canonical noun phrases, may other categories be clefted?
 null unknown
 n.a. there are no cleft constructions in the language
 no illustrate the ungrammaticality of other categories such as locative phrases, infinitives, clauses
 yes give examples of (all) the possible categories, e.g. locative phrases, infinitives, clauses
99. Yes/no questions: In addition to intonation, are there other means used to encode yes/no questions (polar interrogatives)?
 null unknown
 no there are no other means
 yes show which means (e.g. optional/compulsory question particle or marker; word order, etc.)
100. Wh-element location: In the dominant strategy for argument wh-questions, where does the wh-element typically appear?
 null unknown
 1 clause-initially
 2 clause-finally
 3 immediately after the verb
 4 immediately before the verb
 5 in situ
 6 difficult to distinguish a dominant strategy
101. ‘why’ applicatives: Can ‘why’ be formed through the combination of an applicative on the verb + ‘what’?
 null unknown
 no ‘why’ is expressed in another way
 yes

8 Verbless clauses

102. Equative predication: How is equative predication achieved with non-discourse participants?
 null unknown
 1 an invariable copula only
 2 variable (class-inflected) copulas only
 3 through tones only
 4 both 1 and 2 = both variable (class-inflected) and invariable copulas
 5 both 1 and 3
 6 both 2 and 3
 7 all of the above are possible strategies

103. Affirmative copula: In the copula system, what is the form of the affirmative copula?
- null unknown
 - n.a. there is no copula in the language
 - 1 of the shape *ni* (or similar)
 - 2 derived from verbal subject markers
 - 3 derived from a verb
 - 4 derived from demonstrative pronouns
 - 5 other (specify)
 - 6 multiple strategy
104. Copula's other meanings: In addition to equative predication, may a copula form be used to convey other meanings?
- null unknown
 - n.a. there is no copula in the language
 - no copula constructions are only used for equative predication
 - yes specify which meaning(s) (e.g. location, possession, presentative/ostentative, etc.)

9 Simple clauses

105. 'to have': How is possession ('to have') expressed?
- null unknown
 - 1 a possessive copula only (subject marker + preposition)
 - 2 the verb 'be' + preposition 'with' only
 - 3 a lexical verb only
 - 4 both 1 and 2
 - 5 both 1 and 3
 - 6 both 2 and 3
 - 7 a combination of strategies
106. Verb + cognate object: Are there verbal constructions with obligatory cognate objects?
- null unknown
 - no
 - yes
107. 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?
- null unknown
 - no if possible, illustrate the ungrammaticality of such constructions
 - 1 yes, for verb focus
 - 2 yes, for topicalisation
 - 3 yes, for both verb focus and topicalisation
108. Light verb constructions: Are there complex predicates or light verb constructions of the form *beat colour* 'to paint'? (e.g. '-piga' in Swahili)
- null unknown
 - no
 - yes specify on which verb(s) they are based (e.g. 'to beat', 'to do', 'to make', etc.)
109. Passivisation in ditransitives: In double object constructions, can either object become subject under passivisation?
- null unknown
 - n.a. there is no passive constructions
 - no illustrate the ungrammaticality with examples
 - yes give examples for each of causative, applicative and inherently ditransitive constructions

110. Object marking in ditransitives: In double object constructions, can either object be expressed by an object marker?
- null unknown
 - n.a. there are no object markers in the language
 - no illustrate the ungrammaticality with examples
 - yes give examples for each of causative, applicative and inherently ditransitive constructions

10 Constituent order

111. Pro-drop: Can the grammatical subject be omitted (i.e. is there pro-drop)?
- null unknown
 - no
 - yes
112. Dem-Noun: Is it possible for a demonstrative to precede the head noun?
- null unknown
 - no give examples showing the ungrammaticality of Dem-Noun order
 - 1 Dem-Noun is the default order
 - 2 Dem-Noun order is attested
 - 3 yes, and an additional demonstrative follows the noun: Dem-Noun-Dem
113. Quant-Noun: Is there a pronominal quantifier?
- null unknown
 - no
 - yes
114. Possessive in multiple modifiers: In the case of co-occurring modifiers, does the possessive normally appear closest to the noun?
- null unknown
 - n.a. there are no possessive pronouns (e.g. only connective constructions?)
 - no
 - yes
115. SVO: Is Subject-Verb-Object the canonical constituent order in a neutral context (topic/comment)?
- null unknown
 - no
 - yes
116. Control of object order: In ditransitive constructions, are there mechanisms which control the order of multiple objects?
- null unknown
 - n.a. there are no double object constructions
 - no the order is completely flexible
 - 1 yes, the order is determined by information structure
 - 2 yes, the order is determined by the thematic/semantic properties of the objects (e.g. benefactive-theme, animacy)
 - 3 yes, both 1 and 2
 - 4 yes, by other factors (e.g. predicate type) possibly in addition to 1 or 2
117. Object order asymmetry: In pragmatically neutral ditransitive constructions, can either object be adjacent to the verb?
- null unknown
 - no illustrate the ungrammaticality of the impossible order
 - yes give examples for each of causative, applicative and inherently ditransitive constructions

118. Focus position: In simple main clauses, is there a specific syntactic focus position?
- null unknown
 - no focus is not expressed by word order, but by another strategy (e.g. focus marker)
 - 1 immediately after the verb
 - 2 immediately before the verb
 - 3 clause-initially
 - 4 clause-finally
 - 5 two of the above strategies exist in the language
 - 6 other
119. Aux-Obj.pronoun-Verb: In auxiliary constructions, can object pronouns be placed between the auxiliary and the main verb?
- null unknown
 - n.a. there are no auxiliaries at all in the language
 - no
 - yes
120. Infinitive-Auxiliary: Is it possible for an infinitive to appear before the auxiliary?
- null unknown
 - n.a. there are no auxiliaries at all in the language
 - no provide an example of (all) constructions involving an auxiliary
 - yes give examples of (all) auxiliary constructions with such an order
121. Verb-subject: Are there verb-initial clauses with subject inversion (e.g.thetic statements or subject focus)?
- null unknown
 - no give exs showing the ungrammaticality of such constructions
 - 1 yes, and the verb agrees with the postverbal subject
 - 2 yes, and the verb shows default agreement
 - 3 yes, both 1 and 2 are possible
122. Locative inversion: Is locative inversion attested?
- null unknown
 - no there is no locative inversion (although there might be default/expletive constructions)
 - 1 yes, formally (i.e. the verb shows agreement with a preceding noun phrase which is locative marked)
 - 2 yes, semantically (i.e. the verb shows agreement with a preceding locational noun phrase of a non-locative class)
 - 3 yes, both formally and semantically
123. Patient inversion : Is patient inversion (subject-object reversal) attested?
- null unknown
 - no
 - yes
124. Instrument inversion: Is instrument inversion attested?
- null unknown
 - no
 - yes

11 Complex sentences

125. Conjunction ‘and’ : Is the conjunction ‘and’ used in coordinated nouns (or noun phrases) the same as the one used in coordinated clauses?
- null unknown
 - n.a. no conjunction is used in coordinated clauses
 - no
 - yes

126. Sequential/Narrative: Is there a dedicated verbal marker to express combinations of clauses encoding sequential events?
 null unknown
 n.a. there are no tense/aspect/mood affixes in the language
 no sequential events are expressed by means of another strategy
 yes specify which marker
127. Complementiser presence: Is a subordinator/complementiser present in a subordinate clause?
 null unknown
 no
 1 yes, optionally
 2 yes, necessarily
128. Complementiser location: Where does the subordinator/complementiser appear with respect to the subordinate clause?
 null unknown
 n.a. there is no subordinator/complementiser
 1 in front of the clause
 2 after the clause
 3 within the clause (e.g. an overt subordinate subject may precede the subordinator)
129. Complementiser origin: Is there a subordinator/complementiser derived from a verb meaning ‘say’ or ‘tell’?
 null unknown
 n.a. there are no subordinator/complementiser
 no if possible, try to trace the lexical origin of the subordinator/complementiser
 yes provide forms for both the subordinator/complementiser and the verb ‘say’ or ‘tell’
130. Complementiser agreement: Is there an agreement marker on the subordinator/complementiser?
 null unknown
 n.a. there are no subordinator/complementiser
 no
 yes
131. if-clauses expression: How are conditional clauses (or if-clauses) expressed?
 null unknown
 1 only by means of a conjunction semantically equivalent to English ‘if’
 2 only by means of a specific tense/aspect/mood
 3 both 1 or 2 are possible, but not in the same clause
 4 both a conjunction and a specific tense/aspect/mood are possible in the same clause
 5 both a conjunction and a specific tense/aspect/mood are required in the same clause
 6 another strategy is used
132. if-clause order: Does the subordinate if-clause always precede the main then-clause?
 null unknown
 no
 yes
133. if-clause = then-clause: Do the verbs in the if-clause and the then-clause necessarily have the same tense/aspect marking?
 null unknown
 no
 yes
134. Hypothetical = Counterfactual: Are hypothetical (‘if I Ved’) and counterfactual (‘if I had Ved’) clauses expressed in similar ways?
 null unknown
 no
 yes

135. Temporal adverbial clauses: How are temporal adverbial clauses formed (e.g. when-clause, once-clause, after-clause, before-clause, etc.)?
- null unknown
 - 1 by the use of a specific adverbial conjunction
 - 2 by the use of specific tense/aspect/mood marking
 - 3 by a specific temporal relative construction
 - 4 two or more of the above strategies
136. Locative adverbial clauses: How are locative adverbial clauses (where-clauses) formed?
- null unknown
 - 1 by the use of a specific adverbial conjunction
 - 2 by the use of specific tense/aspect/mood marking
 - 3 by a specific locative relative construction
 - 4 two or more of the above strategies
137. Comparative: How is the comparative conveyed?
- null unknown
 - 1 by the verb ‘surpass/exceed’
 - 2 by a particular lexical device (e.g. the ‘comparator’ *kuliko* in Swahili)
 - 3 by a verbal enclitic (with a locative morphology)
 - 4 by another strategy
 - 5 several of the above strategies are attested
138. SM in non-finite clauses: Can non-finite clauses have an overt subject?
- null unknown
 - no if possible, illustrate the ungrammaticality of such constructions
 - yes
139. 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?
- null unknown
 - n.a. raising constructions are not attested in the language (provide ungrammatical examples)
 - no the lower verb is not inflected
 - yes

12 Expression of focus

140. Morphological focus marker: Can a focused term be marked by a morphological focus marker?
- null unknown
 - no focalisation is rendered by another strategy
 - yes indicate which form and specify whether it is related to the copula (*ni* or other form(s))
141. Focus-sensitive particles: Are there focus-sensitive particles such as ‘too’, ‘only’ or ‘even’?
- null unknown
 - no
 - yes
142. 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)
- null unknown
 - no
 - yes