Parameters of Bantu Morphosyntactic Variation

Draft Master List

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 (unexpected)
   - 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 exs

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 exs 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 explain)

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 (37)
        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 (36)
        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 38
        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? (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

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)? (see (49))
    - 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 (60)
- 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 (60)
- 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 (60)
- 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, see parameters 12 & 13)?
      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-verbal object markers (enclitics)
      3   yes, there are both pre-stem and post-verbal 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 (75)
      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 (75)
      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 (75)
   - no give exs 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)? (see also parameters (52) and (53))
   - 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 exs of loan verbs 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 (88)
  yes specify which type(s) of morphological marking applies on the verb
    Examples of possibilities:
     through only a specific relative tense/aspect marker
     through specific tonal marking
     through a post-final clitic
     a combination of the strategies above

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 (87)
  yes specify which relative marker
    Examples of possibilities:
     by a form derived from a demonstrative marker
     by a form derived from a connective marker
     by another independent relative marker
     two or more strategies exist in the language

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 (87)
  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 87
  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 (60)
  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 exs 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 exs 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 (IAV)
    4   immediately before the verb (IBV)
    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 (unexpected as a single strategy)
  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)? (link with 60)
    - null   unknown
    - no
    - yes

112. Dem-Noun: Is it possible for a demonstrative to precede the head noun?
    - null   unknown
    - no   give exs 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 prenominal 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 (IAV)
  2 immediately before the verb (IBV)
  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 (82)
  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 (82)
  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 (73)
   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 (127)
   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 (127)
   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 (127)
   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

Provide clear definition of what we mean here by 'hypothetical' and 'counterfactual'.

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 (and by extension the superlative) 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? (For John to eat cookies is fun / John eating cookies is fun / people to play football is annoying)
  null unknown
  no if possible, illustrate the ungrammaticality of such constructions
  yes

It should be specified that this must appear in the pre-verbal position.

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 (if possible, 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 (e.g. word order 118)
  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